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Simbolizam pogrebne prakse tokom prekeramičkog neolita na Levantu i Anadoliji

The symbolism of mortuary practices in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic in the Levant and Anatolia

Pregledni rad
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Ovaj rad je postmoderna kritika teorija o uticaju pogrebne prakse na proces neolitizacije na Bliskom istoku. Pažljivo teorijski tretira pojavu sekundarnog sahranjivanja, tačnije uticaja ideologije na procese transformacije društva iz lovačko-sakupljačkog, mobilnog, u farmersko, sedentarno društvo. Jedan segment simboličke sfere života, duhovne, kao što je sahranjivanje i rituali vezani za isto, predstavlja okosnicu rada i medijum na kojem se mogla vidjeti promjena i prvi tragovi neolitskog života. Došlo se do zaključaka da je neolitizacija proces koji se dešavao prvo u svijetu simbola, i samim tim ideologije, a da je ključni element nove neolitske ideologije i kulturne matrice ustvari nova pogrebna praksa, koja podrazumijeva dugu obradu, učesće čitave zajednice i pojedinaca koji su posebno zaduženi za nju. Pogrebna praksa prekeramičkog neolita na Levantu i Anadoliji u tom periodu razvijala se u smjeru promjene ideološke matrice društva, ona je jedan od najbitnijih faktora neolitizacije, jer je kroz simboličku ravan uspjela domestikovati smrt i stvoriti kultove koji su ključni za sedentarni način života. Pokazalo se kako je domestikacija smrti kroz pogrebne rituale, počela mijenjati način života prije nego li se promijenila ekonomija.

Ključne riječi: modelovanje lobanja, neolitizacija, Levant, simboli pogrebnih rituala

This paper is a postmodern critique of the theory of the impact of mortuary practices on Neolithization in the Near East. It offers a detailed theoretical consideration of secondary burials and the impact of ideology on the transformation of society from mobile hunter-gatherer to sedentary farming societies. One part of the symbolic aspect of life, the spiritual, burials and their associated rituals, forms the framework of the paper and the lens through which change and the first signs of the Neolithic can be observed. The conclusion reached is that Neolithization occurred initially in the world of symbols, and thereby of ideology, and that a key element of the new Neolithic ideology and cultural matrix was a new mortuary practice, a lengthy process involving the entire community, for which certain individuals were particularly responsible. The evolution of the mortuary practice of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic in the Levant and Anatolia at this time changed the ideological matrix of society, and constitutes one of the most important factors of Neolithization, successfully domesticating death at the symbolic level and creating cults that were crucial to the sedentary lifestyle. The domestication of death through funerary rituals proved to have initiated changes to the way of life that preceded changes to the economy.

Key words: skull modelling, Neolithization, Levant, symbols of funerary rituals

Osnovni cilj rada je pronalaženje veze između pogrebnih rituala i procesa promjene društva, tj. kako su te promjene videne očima samih učesnika, odnosno kako su izazvane i postepeno usmjeravane od strane aktivnih pojedinaca, a u sprezi sa svim ostalim faktorima, bilo ljudske, ekološke

The central aim of this paper is to discover the link between funerary rituals and social change: how those changes were seen by those who were a part of them, and how they were instigated and gradually directed by active individuals, in tandem with the many other factors – human, environmental

ili neke druge prirode, koji učestvuju u tranziciji, i samim tim stvaranju jednog novog habitusa. Pojašnjenja radi, cilj ovdje otkriva mogući rezultat i trasira teorijsku i metodološku putanju kojom se želi doći do određenih zaključaka. Prethodna definicija je, moglo bi se reći, bezlična esencija koja je konkretizovana na primjeru tranzicije iz natufijenskih u prekeramičke neolitske zajednice na Bliskom istoku.

Dakle, jedno generalizovano pitanje promjene ideoloških okvira, te mjesto pojedinaca u takvim promjenama primijenjeno je na možda najveću promjenu u ljudskom društvu do sada, na neolitizaciju. Preciznije, ne radi se o neolitizaciji već se pokušava ustanoviti refleksija te pojave na pogrebnu praksu, odnosno sekundarnom sahranjivanju tokom prekeramičkog neolita, posebno učestaloj pojavi modelovanih lobanja u prekeramičkom neolitu B, i obratno.

Nije potrebno postavljati pitanje o značaju ovog problema za arheologiju, on u sebi integriše nekoliko veoma bitnih arheoloških pitanja. Sam spoj pogrebnih rituala i neolitizacije dovoljan je razlog za postavljanje jednog ovakvog pitanja. Neolitizacija sama po sebi predstavlja najbitniji problem sa kojim se arheologija susrela, a razlike koje su nastale u tumačenju i pogledu na nju predstavljaju suštinsku razliku u arheološkim pravicima, kao i temelj uspostavljanja naučnih postulata arheologije.¹

Ovdje dolazimo do izvjesnih ograničenja. Kako je rad zasnovan na reinterpretaciji tuđih radova, svoje razmišljanje o ulozi složenih pogrebnih rituala prekeramičkog neolita u kreiranju ideološke matrice tih zajednica, i mogućoj ulozi pojedinca u tom procesu, ograničeno je tim radovima. Potrebno je mnogo veće iskustvo i znanje, značajniji pristup informacijama i, na kraju, mnogo duži rad na ovom problemu. Ovako pojedini zaključci dobijaju veoma spekulativnu formu, što ne mora biti značajno jer, najzad, bavljenje naukom i nema nikakvog smisla ukoliko predstavlja prepričavanje tuđih stavova i mišljenja bez formiranja svog ličnog. Svijest o tome da je nemoguće objektivno posmatrati kulturnu pojavu uopšte, a posebno ako se radi o pojavi koja se dešavala prije nekoliko hiljada godina i čiji učesnici svakako nismo mogli biti, razbija iluziju o objektivnosti, ili o tome da će ovdje biti nešto

or other – that are involved in transition, with the resulting formation of a new habitus. To clarify, it identifies possible results and traces the theoretical and methodological trajectory by which certain conclusions are to be reached. A preliminary definition could be an impersonal essence concretized by way of examples of the transition from Natufian to Pre-Pottery Neolithic societies in the Near East.

The generalized issue of changes to ideological frameworks, and the place of the individual in these changes, is thus applied to perhaps the greatest change ever to occur in human society, the shift to Neolithization. To be exact, it is not about Neolithization per se, but an attempt to identify how it impacted on mortuary practice, in the form of secondary burials in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic, and particularly the common phenomenon of skull modelling in Pre-Pottery Neolithic B, and vice versa.

It is scarcely necessary to question the importance of this for archaeology, as it brings together a number of crucial archaeological issues. The link between funerary rituals and Neolithization is itself sufficient reason to address the matter. Neolithization itself is the most important issue archaeology has ever encountered, and the differences that have emerged in our understanding and view of it are fundamental to trends in archaeology as well as the basis for establishing the scientific postulates of archaeology.¹

This brings us to certain constraints. Since the paper is based on a reinterpretation of papers written by others, our reflections on the role of the complex funerary rituals of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic in the creation of the ideological matrix of those societies, and on the possible role of the individual in that process, are limited by those works. Much more experience and knowledge, better access to information and, finally, much more work on the issue, are all needed. Certain conclusions are highly speculative in nature, which does not necessarily matter since, ultimately, science is meaningless if it is no more than a restatement of others' opinions and thinking without forming one's own. Awareness that objective observation of any cultural phenomenon is impossible, and particularly of a phenomenon that occurred several thousand years ago, which we could not have been part of, shatters the

¹ Wright 1971, 23.

¹ Wright 1971, 23.

riješeno. Takozvana naučna objektivnost potiče iz koncepta "svete nauke" koji pripada savremenom zapadnom društvu, gdje je naučni pozitivizam zamijenio religijsku istinu, zanemarujući činjenicu da je često današnja nauka sutrašnja bajka.²

Pogrebna praksa ovdje se posmatra iz jednog drugačijeg ugla od onog na koji smo naviknuti u arheološkoj literaturi gdje sahrane predstavljaju izvor informacija samo polnoj i rodnoj strukturi populacije, društvenoj diferencijaciji, statusu i sl., pri čemu se izbjegavaju ostale uloge sahrana jer one su kompleksan ritual koji obuhvata sve aspekte života, od kojih neki nemaju ritualno značenje u našem društvu.³ Pogrebni rituali predstavljaju odlično polje za ideološku reprezentaciju odnosa moći, i manipulaciju njima⁴, a samim tim i za neke procese koji služe ponovnom uspostavljanju poretka u zajednici.

Način sahranjivanja na teritoriji Levanta i jugoistočne Anadolije u periodu nastanka neolitskog društva upućuje na to da je na kreiranje samog neolitskog načina života, kao snažan odraz ljudskog pogleda na svijet, uticala promjena koja se postepeno dešavala u pogrebnoj praksi, posebno pojava i razvoj sekundarnog sahranjivanja lobanja i modelovanja istih.

Ovdje se postavljaju dva problema – prvi, kakva je korelacija i da li ona uopšte postoji između promjene jednog rituala i promjene cjelokupnog poretka u društvu, i drugi, odakle pojam *kontrolisanje smrti*.

Modelovanje lobanja

Jedna od najvažnijih kulturnih pojava koje se obrađuju u ovom radu, a koja svojom posebnošću označava period prekeramičkog neolita B na Levantu, jeste modelovanje lobanja. U ovom radu se upravo pokušava otkriti značenje modelovanih lobanja u neolitu te priroda poruke koju su neolici preko nje slali jedni drugima. Stoga se na ovom mjestu mora kratko objasniti sam proces modelovanja, tehnike koje su korišćene, materijali i sl. da bi se na taj način stekao bolji uvid u organizaciju ovog rituala i energiju koju su pojedinac i zajednica uopšte pri tom utrošili.

² Cauvin 2000a, 236.

³ Verhoeven 2002, 236.

⁴ Hertz 2006, 67.

illusion of objectivity, or of the idea that anything will be solved. Academic objectivity derives from modern Western society's concept of science as a sacred cow, in which scientific positivism replaced religious truth, overlooking the fact that today's science is often tomorrow's fairytale.²

Mortuary practices are considered here from a different angle from the one we are accustomed to in archaeological literature, where burials are a source of information on no more than the gender and kin structure of a population, social differentiation, status and such like, avoiding any consideration of the other roles of burial; it is a complex ritual embracing every aspect of life, including some that have no ritual significance in our society.³ Burial rituals are an excellent field for the ideological representation of power relations and their manipulation,⁴ and hence of certain processes that serve to reestablish order in the community.

Burial methods in the Levant and south-east Anatolia at the time Neolithic society was taking shape suggest that the gradual changes taking place in mortuary practices, and particularly the emergency of secondary skull burial and skull modelling, as a striking reflection of the human view of the world, had an impact on the creation of the Neolithic way of life itself.

This raises two issues – first, what is the correlation, if any, between changes to a certain ritual and changes to the social order as a whole, and second, where did the feeling of *control over death* come from.

Skull modelling

One of the most important aspects of cultural behaviour discussed in this paper, specific to the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B in the Levant, is skull modelling. An attempt is made in this paper to discover the significance of skull modelling in the Neolithic, and the nature of the message that Neolithic people were sending each other by this means. It is necessary therefore to begin with a brief explanation of the process of modelling, the techniques and materials used, and so on, to gain a clearer insight into the organization of the ritual and the energy expended on it by the individual and by society as a whole.

² Cauvin 2000a, 236.

³ Verhoeven 2002, 236.

⁴ Hertz 2006, 67.

Postoje određeni standardi modelovanja koji se primjenjuju na svim levantinskim lokalitetima, ali sličnosti, kako u tehnici modelovanja tako i u ikonografiji, mnogo su veće unutar lokaliteta.

Modelovanje je ograničeno na lice, ponekad na strane glave i na bazu, ali ne i na tjeme, što može indicirati neki drugi način prekrivanja glave. Jedinствен je primjer lobanje iz Tel Ramada gdje je modelovan i vrat, što ukazuje da je lobanja mogla stajati na nekoj skulpturi torza. Ne čini se mogućim da su modelovane lobanje predstavljale portrete umrlih, posebno što mnogima od njih nedostaje mandibula, što je uslovalo nerealni brahikefalni oblik. Nije se obraćala pažnja na anatomske karakteristike lobanje. Smatra se da su dvije lobanje, jedna iz Jerihona i jedna iz 'Ain Ghazala, najrealnije predstave umrloga, s tim što je detalj na bradi lobanje iz Kfar Ha Horesha realna karakteristika pokojnika.

Ostali anatomske dijelovi lobanje predstavljeni su manje ili više stilizovano. Obrazi su mali i nenaglašeni, a uši nisu čak uvijek ni prikazane.

Oči, prema nekima, predstavljaju najbitniji detalj, za njih se najčešće koriste školjke i prikazuju otvorene oči. U Beisamunu očne jame su ostavljene nemodelovane, a ponegdje (Kfar Ha Horesh i 'Ain Ghazal) oči su prikazane zatvorenim. Dešava se da se oči naglase bitumenom ('Ain Ghazal). Nos je mali i nenaglašen, dužina zavisi od prisustva mandibule. Usta se najčešće predstavljaju horizontalnim prorezom ili linijom, sa donekle naglašenim usnama.

Svi modelovani dijelovi glave boje se raznim pigmentima u rasponu od ružičaste, crvene do braon nijanse. Nije poznato da li se na neki način označavaju brada i brkovi.

Lokalni majstori su na različite načine razmjenjivali znanja i tehnike i malo je vjerovatno da su putovali u druga naselja, već je svako naselje imalo svoje majstore.

Mreža rasprostranjenosti sekundarno pohranjenih lobanja

Natufijan

Najstariji primjer sekundarnog sahranjivanja u kojem se lobanja odvaja od ostatka skeleta na Blijskom istoku javlja se u ranom natufijenu na lokalitetu **Erq el-Ahmar** na zapadu Jordana, gdje su pro-

There are certain modelling standards that were applied in every Levantine site, but the similarities of both modelling technique and iconography are much greater within each site.

The plaster is limited to the face and, at times, to the sides and base of the head, but not to the crown, which may indicate the head was covered in some other way. One skull from Tel Ramada is unique in that the neck too is plastered, suggesting that the skull may have been mounted on a sculpted torso of some kind. It seems unlikely that skull modelling was intended as a portrait of the deceased, particularly since many of them lack the mandible, creating an unrealistic brachycephalic outline. No attention was paid to the anatomical characteristics of the skull. Two skulls, one from Jericho and the other from 'Ain Ghazala, are thought to be the most realistic portrayals of the deceased, though a detail on the chin of a skull from Kfar Ha Horesh is also an actual feature of the deceased.

Other anatomical features of the skull are depicted in more or less stylized fashion. The cheeks are small and unpronounced, and the ears are not even always shown.

In some the eyes are the most striking feature, usually represented by shells, as though wide open. In Beisamun, the eye sockets are left unplastered, and in some cases (Kfar Ha Horesh and 'Ain Ghazal) the eyes are as if closed. The nose is small and unpronounced, the length depending on the presence of the mandible. The mouth is usually represented by a horizontal slit or line, with the lips indicated to some degree.

All the plastered parts of the head are painted with various pigments ranging from pink and red to brown. It is not known whether the beard and moustache were indicated in some way.

Local craftsmen exchanged know-how and techniques in a variety of ways, though it is unlikely that they travelled to other settlements; rather, each settlement would have had its own artisan.

The distribution of secondary skull burials

Natufian

The earliest example in the Near East of a secondary burial in which the skull is separated from the rest of the skeleton is in the early Natufian, at

nađeni ostaci sedam individua smještenih zajedno, četiri odrasle osobe i tri dječije individue, od kojih je šest bilo predstavljeno samo lobanjama.⁵

Ipak, prave potvrde ovakvog sahranjivanja imamo u kasnom natufijenu u pećini Hajonim (Hayonim) i vjerovatno u finalnoj fazi 'Ain Mallaha. Uklanjanje lobanje se vršilo jedino nad odraslim osobama, dječiji skeleti bili su netaknuti. Izdvojene lobanje ponekad su bile pronađene u stanišnim prostorijama ili u objektima specijalne namjene.⁶

U pećini **Hajonim** pronađeno je šest lobanja odraslih osoba. Na lokalitetu '**Ain Mallaha** u sjevernoj Palestini pronađena je dječija lobanja u središtu staništa. Kako je na dva vratna pršljena koja su ostala povezana sa lobanjom pronađen trag mehaničkog oštećenja, smatra se da je dekapitacija bila obavljena u sklopu obreda žrtvovanja.⁷

Daljih podataka o sekundarnom sahranjivanju lobanja nema, ne zato što ih nije bilo, već zato što nisu pronađene. Naime, postoji nesrazmjer između broja sekundarnih sahrana i skeleta bez lobanja i lobanja s obzirom da je ukupno učešće sekundarnog sahranjivanja u natufijenskoj pogrebnoj praksi 25%. Na lokalitetu 'Ain Mallaha se sekundarno sahranjivanje javlja upravo najviše u kasnoj fazi, kada nema lobanja. Samo jedan slučaj sekundarnog sahranjivanja imamo u finalnoj fazi, i to upravo lobanju o kojoj govorimo. Još je važnije da se na natufijenskim lokalitetima el Wad, Kebara, Nahal Oren, 'Ain Mallaha, 'Iraq ed-Dubb, krečnjački blokovi stavljaju na torzo ili glavu umrloga.⁸

Kadžt (Kuijt) smatra da se u ovom ritualu, u kome se upravo glava označava kao poseban dio ljudskog tijela, zanemarujući veoma često postavljanje krečnjačkih blokova na torakalni dio tijela, kriju korijeni kasnijeg uklanjanja lobanja u prekeramičkom neolitu A.⁹

Prekeramički neolit A

U periodu koji slijedi, dekapitovanje skeleta postaje mnogo češća praksa nego u natufijenu. To postaje, reklo bi se, uobičajna pojava u južnom i

Erq el-Ahmar in western Jordan, where the remains of seven individuals in a group were found, four adults and three children, six of which were represented only by their skulls.⁵

However, actual proof of this kind of burial occurs in the late Natufian, in HaYonim cave, and probably in the final phase of 'Ain Mallaha. The skulls were removed only from adults; children's skeletons were left intact. Detached skulls were sometimes found in dwellings or in purpose-built premises.⁶

Six adult skulls were found in **HaYonim cave**. A child's skull was found in the middle of a dwelling at '**Ain Mallaha** in northern Palestine. Signs of mechanical damage were observed on the two cervical vertebrae still attached to the skull, suggesting that decapitation was performed as part of a ritual sacrifice.⁷

There are no further details of secondary skull burials not because there were none, but because none has been found. There is a mismatch between the number of secondary burials and skeletons without skulls and of skulls, given that more than 25% of Natufian burials are secondary. At 'Ain Mallaha, secondary burials are most common in the late phase, when there are no skulls. There is only one case of a secondary burial in the final phase – that of the skull just referred to. Still more significant is the fact that at the Natufian sites of el Wad, Kebara, Nahal Oren, 'Ain Mallaha and 'Iraq ed-Dubb, limestone blocks are placed on the torso or head of the deceased.⁸

Disregarding the frequent placing of limestone blocks on the thorax, Kuijt is of the view that the origins of the later removal of skulls in Pre-Pottery Neolithic A lie behind this ritual, in which the head is designated as a special part of the human body.⁹

Pre-Pottery Neolithic A

In the next period, the decapitation of skeletons becomes much more frequent than in the Natufian;

⁵ Kuijt 1996, 324.

⁶ Bar-Yosef 1998, 171.

⁷ Bienert 1995, 77.

⁸ Byrd *et al.* 1995, 278, 279.

⁹ Kuijt 1996, 322.

⁵ Kuijt 1996, 324.

⁶ Bar-Yosef 1998, 171.

⁷ Bienert 1995, 77.

⁸ Byrd *et al.* 1995, 278, 279.

⁹ Kuijt 1996, 322.

centralnom Levantu. Na mnogim lokalitetima se u prekeramičkoj A fazi javlja ova pojava, kao npr. u Jerihonu, Netiv Hagdudu, Mureybetu, Qermez Dereu.

Jerihon

Jerihon, ili Tell es-Sultan, se početkom prekeramičkog neolita naseljava tokom cijele godine, za razliku od natufijskog perioda kada je predstavljao sezonsko naselje. Neolitski Jerihon pokazuje znake socijalne diferencijacije, kako u arhitekturi tako i u pogrebnoj praksi. Ovdje su 1956. godine prvi put pronađene sahranjene lobanje koje su datovane u prekeramički neolit A. Prva grupa lobanja nalazila se na podnici dvorišta građevine. Lobanje su bile poređane u krug i sve su bile orijentisane prema centru tog kruga. Druga grupa lobanja, njih 9, bile su smještene u tri rova po tri lobanje i sve su u istom smjeru orijentisane.¹⁰ Ispod centra podnice velikog obojenog bazena okruženog opet malim okrećenim zidom pronađeno je 5 lobanja koje se svrstavaju u infant uzrast, od kojih su neke imale vratne pršljenove, što može ukazivati na žrtvovanje. Ukupan broj skeleta odraslih osoba sa kojih su uklonjene lobanje je 37, dok je takvih lobanja 11, što čini 12,9% ukupnih sahrana.¹¹

Netiv Hagdud

Na ovom lokalitetu, na podnici objekta, pronađene su 3 lobanje koje su pripadale odraslim osobama. Nije jasno da li su ostavljene na podu kada je struktura napuštena, ili su se našle unutar jame nakon što je struktura napuštena. Moguće je da je postojala još jedna lobanja ali to nije potvrđeno.¹²

Dva bliskoistočna lokaliteta koja se ne nalaze na Levantu na kojima su konstatovane sahrane lobanja su **Mureybet** u Siriji i **Qermez Dere** u Iraku. U tri slučaja u Mureybetu lobanje su se nalazile u zidovima i ispod podnice i bile su prekrivene crvenom glinom, dok je jedna lobanja, pronađena u centralnom dijelu podnice objekta okrugle osnove, bila ukrašena geometrijskim freskama. Na lokalitetu Qermez Dere pronađeno je šest lobanja odraslih osoba smještenih u sjeverozapadnom dijelu kuće.

¹⁰ Bienert 1995, 78.

¹¹ Kuijt 1996, 320.

¹² Bar-Yosef 1991, 412.

one could say that it was the norm in the southern and central Levant, featuring at many sites in PPNA, such as Jericho, Netiv Hagdud, Mureybet and Qermez Dere.

Jericho

From the beginning of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic, Jericho or Tell es-Sultan was occupied all year round, unlike the Natufian period when it was a seasonal settlement. Neolithic Jericho shows signs of social differentiation, both in architecture and in mortuary practice. It was here that, in 1956, skull burials dating from PPNA were first found. The first group of skulls was found on the floor of a courtyard. The skulls were arranged in a circle, all facing the centre. The second group consisted of nine skulls in three rows of three, all facing in the same direction.¹⁰ Five skulls of infants were found under the middle of the floor of a large painted pool surrounded by a small limewashed wall; some of these had cervical vertebrae, suggesting sacrifice. There were 37 adult skeletons from which the skulls had been removed, but only eleven skulls, or 12.9% of all burials.¹¹

Netiv Hagdud

Three adults' skulls were found here on the floor of a room. It is not clear whether they were left on the floor when the building was abandoned, or were placed in a pit after it was abandoned. There may have been yet another skull, though this has not been confirmed.¹²

Two sites in the Near East but not in the Levant at which skull burials have been identified are **Mureybet** in Syria and **Qermez Dere** in Iraq. In three cases in Mureybet, the skulls were in walls and under floors, and were coated with red clay; another, found in the middle of the floor of a round building, was decorated with geometric frescoes. Six adult skulls were found in the north-western part of a dwelling at Qermez Dere.

¹⁰ Bienert 1995, 78.

¹¹ Kuijt 1996, 320.

¹² Bar-Yosef 1991, 412.

Prekeramički neolit B

Za razliku od prethodnog perioda, iz kojeg imamo oskudne arheološke podatke o pogrebnoj praksi, gdje su primjeri često jedinstveni i nepovezani, iako postoji izvjestan obrazac, u prekeramičkom neolitu B društveni i ritualni život postaju mnogo kompleksniji. Sve one promjene koje su se dešavale tokom dugog vremenskog perioda, započete u natufijenu i nastavile da se razvijaju kroz prekeramički neolit A, u svakom pogledu doživljavaju vrhunac u ovom periodu. Prekeramički neolit B je tako "svjedok jedne od najtemeljnijih transformacija u ljudskoj istoriji: prihvatanje i širenje zemljoradnje i stočarstva, stalnog naseljavanja u solidnim kućama, rasta populacije u stalnim naseljima, trgovine sirovinama kao opsidijan između udaljenih centara, specijalizacija u litičkoj industriji... upotreba vatre u izradi boja... i konstrukcija struktura za sakralne rituale."¹³

Za našu temu najbitnija promjena koja se dogodila na Bliskom istoku u ovom periodu je pojava modelovanih lobanja. O razvoju ritualne prakse biće kasnije riječi, dok ćemo ovdje samo nabrojati lokalitete na kojima se susreću modelovane lobanje i uopšte sahrane lobanja.

Jerihon

U Jerihonu je konstatovano dvanaest modelovanih lobanja, od kojih je deset pronađeno na podnicama kuća, tačnije sedam lobanja na podnici jednog objekta, a tri u drugim objektima, u prvim fazama iskopavanja, dok su dvije ostale nađene u sjevernom kraju lokaliteta. Lobanje su modelovane samo sa frontalne strane, u ljudskom liku. Šest od sedam spomenutih lobanja imalo je inkrustrirane školjke u glini umjesto očiju. Na njima su primijećeni tragovi bojenja, a oči su naglašavane bitumenom.¹⁴

Kadžt navodi cifru od 59 lobanja u Jerihonu, od kojih je njih 38 u grupnim sahranama, a 21 je pronađena individualno. Ovaj broj se odnosi i na modelovane lobanje i na one koje nisu pretrpjele posebnu obradu nakon uklanjanja.¹⁵

Ain Ghazal

Lokalitet se nalazi blizu današnjeg Amana. Predstavlja najvažnije nalazište prekeramičkog

Pre-Pottery Neolithic B

Unlike the previous period, where the archaeological evidence of mortuary practice is scanty, and examples are often isolated and unconnected, though showing a certain pattern, social and ritual life in PPNB becomes much more complex. All those changes that took place over a long period, beginning in the Natufian and continuing to evolve throughout PPNA, reached culmination in this period. Pre-Pottery Neolithic B "witnessed some of the most profound transformations in human history: the inception and spread of agriculture and animal husbandry, permanent settlement in solid houses, growing populations around fixed locales, long-distance trade in raw materials such as obsidian, craft specialization in lithic production... the use of pyrotechnology in the making of plaster and the production of ceramics, ...and the construction of structures for sacred rituals."¹³

For our purposes, the most significant change that took place in the Near East at this time was in skull modelling. The evolution of this ritual practice will be considered later; here we shall merely enumerate the sites where skull modelling and skull burial in general are found.

Jericho

Twelve plastered skulls have been recorded in Jericho, ten of which were found on the floor of dwellings – seven in one house and three in others, in the first excavation seasons, and the remaining two at the northern end of the site. Only the front of the skulls was plastered, in human form. Six of the seven skulls found together had incrustated shells set in clay serving as eyes. They showed traces of pigment, and the eyes were accentuated with bitumen.¹⁴

Kuijt mentions a figure of 59 skulls in Jericho, 38 of which were in communal burials, and 21 found individually. The number includes both modelled skulls and those that had not been given any special treatment after removal.¹⁵

Ain Ghazal

This site, near modern-day Amman, is the most important Pre-Pottery Neolithic B site in the Near

¹³ Hole 2000, 127.

¹⁴ Lewis-Williams *et al.* 2005, 16, 17.

¹⁵ Kuijt 1996, 322.

¹³ Hole 2000, 127.

¹⁴ Lewis-Williams *et al.* 2005, 16, 17.

¹⁵ Kuijt 1996, 322.

neolita B na Bliskom istoku, jer se upravo ovdje nalaze izrazi transformacije simboličkog sistema u neolitu. Najpoznatiji je po velikim krečnjačkim antropomorfnim statuama. Iskopavanja ovog lokaliteta započeta su 1982. i traju i danas.¹⁶

Većina sahrana odraslih osoba, oko dvije trećine, su sekundarne. Uobičajeni model sahranjivanja jeste posthumno uklanjanje lobanje i njeno deponovanje u podnicama ili na podnicama kuća ili dvorišta. Lobanje su često modelovane u glini, ali to nije pravilo. Četiri lobanje bile su deponovane zajedno u dvorišnoj jami, pri čemu je jedna od njih imala modelovano desno oko u glini ukrašeno bitumenom.¹⁷ Druga modelovana lobanja pronađena je ispod podnice kuće i pripadala je odraslom muškarcu, kod koje nije pronađena mandibula. "Okcipitalna kost ove lobanje sadržavala je četiri ureza (cut-marks), što govori o posthumnom kasapljenju. Donji dijelovi lobanje mogli su biti modelovani, kao npr. os occipitale, dok su ostali dijelovi bez tragova modelovanja. Modelovane su oči, nos, desni obraz i uho... Nema tragova boje na modelovanim dijelovima, niti bitumena oko očiju, što je uobičajeno na primjercima iz Jerihona."¹⁸

Postojao je i veliki broj lobanja koje su sekundarno sahranjivane, ali nisu imale poseban tretman u smislu modelovanja. Tako je na podnici kuće pronađena velika količina lobanjskih fragmenata. U drugom objektu pronađene su dvije lobanje odraslih osoba i jedna dječija ispod podnice. U istoj kući, ali u drugoj prostoriji, u podnicu je ukopana oštećena lobanja djeteta starog sedam ili osam godina.

Beisamoun

Dvije modelovane lobanje pronađene su ispod kamenom popločane podnice objekta. Bile su postavljene jedna pored druge – jedna je bila jako oštećena, dok je druga sačuvana. Za razliku od jerihonskih, ove lobanje imaju mandibule, a kao i u Jerihonu, modelovan je samo donji dio lobanje. Pored modelovanih, pronađeno je još nekoliko izolovanih lobanja koje nisu prošle nikakav posthumni tretman.

¹⁶ Rollefson *et al.* 1992, 443, 444.

¹⁷ Ibidem 466, 467.

¹⁸ Rollefson *et al.* 1990, 108.

East, since it is here that manifestations of the transformation of the symbolic system in the Neolithic are found. It is most famous for its numerous anthropomorphic limestone statues. Excavations of the site began in 1982 and are still on-going.¹⁶

About two-thirds of the adult burials are secondary. The usual manner of burial consists of the post-mortem removal of the skull which was then deposited beneath or on the floor of a house or courtyard. The skulls are often plastered, but this is not the rule. Four skulls were deposited together in an outdoor pit, one of which bore plaster with traces of black bitumen on it in the right eye-socket.¹⁷ Another plastered skull, found beneath the floor of a house, belonged to an adult male; the mandible was not found. "The occipital bone exhibits four distinct cut marks, suggestive of *post-mortem* defleshing of the cranium. Posterior parts of the skull may have been plastered: a fragment is still adhering to the occipital, although all other posterior bones of the cranial vault are free of plaster. The extant plaster facial features include both eyes, the nose, the right cheek, and an ear... There was no indication that the specimen had been painted, nor was there evidence of bitumen eyeliner, both common features on some of the Jericho examples."¹⁸

There were also many skulls in secondary burials but without modelling. Quantities of fragmented skulls, most belonging to one individual, were found on the floor of a house. In another, two adult skulls and one child's were found beneath the floor. The damaged skull of a 7 or 8 year old child had been buried in the floor of another room in this same house.

Beisamoun

Two plastered skulls were found side by side beneath the stone floor of a building. One was badly damaged, the other well preserved. Unlike the Jericho skulls, these had mandibles; but like Jericho, only the lower part of the skull was plastered. In addition, a number of isolated skulls that had received no post-mortem treatment were found.

¹⁶ Rollefson *et al.* 1992, 443, 444.

¹⁷ Ibidem 466, 467.

¹⁸ Rollefson *et al.* 1990, 108.

Tel Ramad

Na ovom sirijskom lokalitetu pronađen je veliki broj lobanja. Neke od njih su modelovane i bojene okerom. Kao i u prethodnom slučaju, i ovdje su mandibule nađene zajedno sa ostatkom glave.¹⁹

Kfar Ha Horesh

Lobanja koja je pronađena na lokalitetu Kfar Ha Horesh, o kojem će kasnije biti riječi, modelovana je glinom sa frontalne strane i obojena je okerom.²⁰

Nahal Hemar

Drugačiji posthumni tretman od svih do sada navedenih lobanja imaju one sa lokaliteta Nahal Hemar u Palestini. Tri lobanje prekrivene su jednom vrstom asfaltnog sloja sa okcipitalne strane. Nemaju znakova modelovanja na licu. To nas upućuje na mogućnost da se preko lica stavljao drugačiji materijal, što je umnogome potvrđeno pronalaskom kamenih maski u blizini lobanja. Maske shematski prikazuju pojedine dijelove lica i pravljene su od krečnjaka sa Judejskih brda. O značenju i funkciji ovih maski biće riječi kasnije.²¹

Tabela 3 – Prikaz brojnosti sekundarno sahranjenih lobanja na levantinskoj i sirijskoj oblasti.

period	natufijan	prek. neol. A	prek. neol. B	
tretman	bez posebne posthumne obrade		modelovane	
Erq el-Ahmar	6			
‘Ain Mallaha	1			
Hayonim	6			
Jericho		21?	47	10, 12?
Mureybet		4?		
Netiv Hagdud		3,4?		
Qermez Dere		6		
‘Ain Ghazal			?	2,4?
Beisamoun				2
Tel Ramad				?
Kfar Ha Horesh				1
Nahal Hemar				3*

?- nije utvrđen tačan broj, * – nisu u pitanju modelovane lobanje već lobanje sa krečnjačkim maskama

¹⁹ Cauvin 2000a, 113, 114.

²⁰ Kuijt, Goring-Moris 2002, 137.

²¹ Bienert 1995, 80.

Tel Ramad

Many skulls were found at this Syrian site, some of them plastered and painted with ochre. As in the previous instance, here too the mandibles were found together with the rest of the head.¹⁹

Kfar Ha Horesh

The front of a skull found at Kfar Ha Horesh, which will be described later, was plastered and painted with ochre.²⁰

Nahal Hemar

The post-mortem treatment of the skulls from Nahal Hemar in Palestine differ from all those described above. The occipital area of three skulls was covered with a layer of asphalt; there were no signs of modelling on the face. This suggests that a different material was used for the face, as largely confirmed by the discovery of stone masks near the skulls. The various facial features are indicated conventionally on the masks, which were made of limestone from the Judean hills. The meaning and function of these masks will be considered later.²¹

Table 3 – Numbers of secondary skull burials in the Levant and Syria.

Period	Natufian	PPNA	PPNB	
Treatment	no special post-mortem treatment		plastered	
Erq el-Ahmar	6			
‘Ain Mallaha	1			
HaYonim	6			
Jericho		21?	47	10, 12?
Mureybet		4?		
Netiv Hagdud		3, 4?		
Qermez Dere		6		
‘Ain Ghazal			?	2, 4?
Beisamoun				2
Tel Ramad				?
Kfar Ha Horesh				1
Nahal Hemar				3*

? = exact number not determined, * – skulls with limestone masks, not plastered

¹⁹ Cauvin 2000a, 113, 114.

²⁰ Kuijt, Goring-Moris 2002, 137.

²¹ Bienert 1995, 80.

Anadolija

U Anadoliji imamo nešto drugačiju sliku nego na Levantu. Naime, ovdje nemamo primjere modelovanja lobanja, a imamo malo primjera dekapitovanja skeleta u akeramičkom neolitu. Veći broj lobanja javlja se u samom razvijenom neolitu kada su procesi transformacije društva već završeni. Oni mogu poslužiti kao primjeri, odnosno kao indikatori promjena koje su se desile u prethodnim etapama razvoja zajednica na tom prostoru. Ipak, kasnije u radu će biti spomenuti lokaliteti Çatalhöyük, Nevali Çori i Göbegli Tepe, dok ćemo se sada osvrnuti samo na sekundarne sahrane u Hadžilaru (Hacilar) i Čejenima (Çayönü).

Hadžilar

Kao lokalitet u jugozapadnoj Anadoliji, Hadžilar ne mora činiti jedinstvenu kulturnu cjelinu sa lokalitetima na krajnjem jugoistoku Anadolije. U akeramičkom neolitu javljaju se sekundarne sahrane lobanja u objektima za stanovanje. Dvije lobanje, postavljene uspravno, oslonjene na kamenčiće, pronađene su u dvorištu okrenute licem ka kući. Lobanje su bile u sloju iznad zdravice. Treća lobanja, kojoj nedostaje mandibula, hronološki mlađa od prve dvije, pronađena je također u dvorištu. U samu granicu između akeramičkog i keramičkog neolita datuje se lobanja bebe, vjerovatno ostavljena na podu pokraj dvorišnog zida. Sve lobanje sa Hadžilara smještene su na vidljivoj i vjerovatno "javnoj" površini.²²

Čejeni

Ovaj lokalitet je najpoznatiji po "kući lobanja" i specifičan je u odnosu na sva ostala nalazišta na kojima susrećemo sekundarno sahranjene lobanje. Kuća lobanja sukcesivno je obnavljana nekoliko puta, a najstariji slojevi datuju se u rani prekeramički neolit B. Lobanje su deponovane na originalnoj podnici, u kasnijim fazama pronađeno je 49 lobanja koje su izgorjele i vjerovatno popadale sa polica. Pored ljudskih, tu su nađene i životinjske lobanje. Na kremenom nožu pronađeni su ostaci krvi ljudi i govečeta, što nedvosmisleno govori o postojanju obreda žrtvovanja. Na osnovu lobanja u ovom objektu konstatovano je najmanje 450 individua.²³

²² Talalay 2004, 141.

²³ Özdoğan 1999, 74.

Anatolia

The picture in Anatolia is rather different from that of the Levant. There are no plastered skulls here, but there are examples of decapitated skeletons in the aceramic Neolithic. Larger numbers of skulls appear in the high Neolithic, when social transformation is already complete. They may serve as examples or indicators of the changes that had taken place at earlier stages in the evolution of the communities in Asia Minor. Later in this paper, reference will be made to the sites of Çatalhöyük, Nevali Çori and Göbegli Tepe; here, we shall consider only the secondary burials at Hacilar and Çayönü.

Hacilar

Hacilar, in south-western Anatolia, is not necessarily part of the same cultural group as sites in the far south-east of Anatolia. Secondary skull burials feature in Pre-Pottery Neolithic dwellings. Two skulls set upright, propped up with small stones, were found in the layer above the subsoil in a courtyard, facing the house. A third, lacking the mandible, and of later date than the first two, was also found in a courtyard. The skull of an infant, probably left on the floor by a courtyard wall, dates from the turn of the Pre-Pottery to the Pottery Neolithic. All the skulls at Hacilar were placed in plain sight, probably in a "public" place.²²

Çayönü

This site is most famous for its "skull building," and is distinct from every other site where secondary skull burials are found. The skull building was rebuilt several times; the earliest strata date from the early PPNB. The skulls were deposited on the original floor; 49 burnt skulls of later phases were found, having probably fallen from shelves. Animal skulls were found along with the human ones. Vestiges of human and bovine blood were found on a flint knife, clear indication of ritual sacrifice. Based on the evidence of the skulls, there were at least 450 individuals in this building.²³

²² Talalay 2004, 141.

²³ Özdoğan 1999, 74.

Ritual, simboli

Ovdje se može samo potvrditi da je ritualna praksa neodvojiv dio svakodnevice ljudi, posebno kad se radi o pogrebu. Nedoumica može nastati onda kad pokušamo pronaći da li je ritual uticao na promjene ili su promjene koje su se desile na cjelokupnom planu uticale na ritual.

Međutim, ukoliko krenemo od pretpostavke da pojedinac aktivno utiče na kreiranje ideološke matrice, to implicira da ugrađujući sebe u obred, odnosno noseći u ritual svoje viđenje, svoje tumačenje dok učestvuju u njemu, on istovremeno gradi i cjelokupni sistem. Tačnije, ovo je interakcija kulturnih matrica i pojedinca, ili društva i pojedinca. Ponašanje pojedinca nije u potpunosti determinisano kulturom, ali ona ipak kanališe u određenoj mjeri njegov život. Pojedinac prihvata kulturne norme moglo bi se reći nesvjesno, one mu omogućavaju izgradnju strategije prihvatanja od zajednice i preživljavanja u njoj. To se definiše kao habitus, znanje o društveno prihvatljivom ponašanju. Pri tome pojedinac mijenja pravila i prilagođava ih specifičnoj situaciji i tako mijenja i čitav habitus.²⁴

Materijalna kultura kao odraz uvjerenja i svakodnevnog života ljudi, kao objektivizacija duha, također trpi promjene koje se dešavaju u društvu, u njegovom simboličkom sistemu i u ekonomskom, ako su razdvojeni. "Materijalna kultura ne samo da postoji nego ju je neko i proizveo. Stvorena je da bi nešto činila. Zato nije pasivan odraz društva – ona najprije stvara društvo kroz aktivnost pojedinaca. ...materijalna kultura ne može ništa da uradi sama: ako ona 'uzvrća' društvu, onda mora da djeluje u okviru značenja sadržanih u samom društvu. ...Materijalna kultura i značenja koja se za nju vezuju predstavljaju aspekte socijalnih strategija. ...Mi najprije koristimo mnoštvo sredstava, uključujući i simbolizam materijalne kulture, da stvorimo nove uloge, redefinišemo postojeće i negiramo postojanje nekih drugih."²⁵

Uklanjanje lobanja i ponovno sahranjivanje i u prekeramičkom neolitu B modelovanje lobanje vršeno je od strane pojedinaca koji su to radili sa određenom namjerom. To se dešava u periodu

²⁴ Bourdieu 1977, 53.

²⁵ Hodder 1986, 10, 11.

Ritual, symbols

All that can be stated with certainty is that ritual behaviour is an integral part of people's daily life, particularly as regards burial. Ambiguities arise when we attempt to determine whether ritual influenced change, or whether changes occurring across the board had an effect on ritual.

However, if we begin with the assumption that the individual is an active player in the creation of an ideological matrix, this implies that as he embeds himself in ritual, introducing to it his own views and understanding as a participant, he is simultaneously constructing an entire system. To be precise, this is an interaction between cultural matrices and the individual, or society and the individual. Individual behaviour is not wholly determined by culture, but culture does to some extent channel the life of the individual. People accept cultural norms unconsciously, as it were, and these norms enable them to construct strategies of social acceptance and survival. This is what constitutes habitus, knowledge of socially acceptable behaviour. As the individual changes the rules, adapting them to specific situations, so he changes the entire habitus.²⁴

Material culture, as the reflection of beliefs and day-to-day life, as the objectivization of the spirit, also undergoes the changes occurring within society, in its symbolic system and also, if they are distinct, in its economic system. "Material culture does not just exist. It is made by someone. It is produced to do something. Therefore it does not passively reflect society – rather, it creates society through the acts of social agents... Material culture cannot of itself do anything: if it does 'act back' on society it must do so within the frameworks of meaning within the society itself... Material culture and its associated meanings are played out as parts of social strategies... we use a myriad of means, including material culture symbolism, to create new roles, to redefine existing ones and to deny the existence of others."²⁵

The removal and reburial of skulls and, in PPNB, skull modelling, was performed by individuals who did so for a specific reason. The practice occurred at a time of perhaps the greatest changes ever experienced by human society, in an

²⁴ Bourdieu 1977, 53.

²⁵ Hodder 1986, 10, 11.

možda najvećih promjena u ljudskom društvu, na određenom kulturno relativno homogenom prostoru, u trenutku kad jedna ekonomija zamjenjuje drugu, kada se jedan način naseljavanja ustaljuje, što biva praćeno *eksplozijom simbolizma* u prekeramičkom neolitu B, kako tvrdi Verhoven.

Pojedinci su svoje viđenje tranzicije u neolitskom društvu oslikali dijelom i u pogrebnoj praksi. Poseban tretman lobanje u tom periodu bila je strategija kojom su poruke o sedentarizaciji, prostornoj organizaciji i novoj kolektivnoj svijesti slate grupi i pojedincima u novim neolitskim društvima.

Na taj način možemo zaključiti da su uticaji pogrebnog rituala kao dijela kulturne matrice na razmišljanja pojedinca i promjene u sferi svakodnevnog života uzajamni.

Neolitizacija u neolitu

Moglo bi se reći da je sekundarno sahranjivanje lobanja, kao i svi procesi koji su dio tog rituala (odabir, odvajanje od leša, modelovanje, eventualna procesija, pohranjivanje na posebna mjesta), te sama simbolika lobanje neolitska pojava, i kao takva nije bila dio neolitizacijskog procesa. To bi bilo tačno da je neolitizacija bila momentalna i kada bi se ogledala samo u sedentarizaciji. Međutim, neolitizacija je jedan dugotrajan proces, čiji su prakorijeni u gornjem paleolitu, velikim promjenama u simboličkom svijetu, strategiji lova i standardizaciji litičke industrije. Na Levantu neolitizacija je uzela maha u natufijenu, trajala postepeno kroz čitav prekeramički neolit, da bi se neolitsko društvo u potpunosti uspostavilo krajem prekeramičkog neolita B.²⁶

U ekonomskom pogledu prekeramički neolit A ne razlikuje se od natufijena. Još uvijek se ishrana sastoji pretežno od divljih vrsta cerealija, lova na sitnije sisare i sl., iako postoje naznake kultivacije i pripitomljavanja, one nisu od ekonomskog značaja.²⁷ Takva slika važi i za prekeramički neolit B, gdje do kasne faze prevladavaju divlje biljke u ishrani. Što se životinja tiče, u kasnom prekeramičkom neolitu B oko 80% mesa u ishrani potiče od domestikovanih vrsta.²⁸

²⁶ Kuijt 2000, 93.

²⁷ Bar-Yosef 1980, 112.

²⁸ Kuijt *et al.* 2002, 234.

area that was relatively homogeneous culturally, at a time when one economy was being replaced by another, one kind of settlement becoming the norm, accompanied by what Verhoeven calls an *explosion of symbolism* in PPNB.

Individuals displayed their view of transition in Neolithic society in part in their mortuary practice. The distinctive treatment of the skull in this period was a strategy sending messages of sedentarization, spatial organization and a new collective consciousness to the group and individuals in new Neolithic societies.

This allows us to conclude that the mortuary ritual, as part of the cultural matrix on the thinking of the individual, impacted on changes to daily life, and vice versa.

Neolithization in the Neolithic

Secondary skull burials, like everything else forming part of the ritual (selection, removal from the corpse, modelling, perhaps a funeral procession, burial in a special place), together with the very symbolism of the skull, can be said to be a Neolithic phenomenon, and that as such, it was not part of the process of Neolithization. This would be true if Neolithization had happened suddenly and was reflected only in sedentarization. But Neolithization was a long-lasting process, its roots deep in the Upper Palaeolithic, in major changes to the world of symbolism, hunting strategy and the standardization of the lithic industry. In the Levant, Neolithization gained momentum in the Natufian period, continuing by degrees throughout the entire Pre-Pottery Neolithic, until Neolithic society was fully established in the late PPNB.²⁶

As regards the economy, PPNA is no different from the Natufian. People's diet still consisted mainly of wild cereals, small mammals and the like; though there are signs of cultivation and domestication, they are of no economic significance.²⁷ This is also true of PPNB, where wild plants continued to predominate to a late stage. By the late PPNB, however, about 80% of the meat consumed came from domesticated animals.²⁸

²⁶ Kuijt 2000, 93.

²⁷ Bar-Yosef 1980, 112.

²⁸ Kuijt *et al.* 2002, 234.

Sa ovog aspekta posmatrano, pogrebna praksa koja je započeta u kasnom natufijenu razvijala se paralelno sa pojavom i razvojem neolita na Levantu, a prije pojave "neolitske" ekonomije.

Može se pretpostaviti da je postojao određen ritualni kontinuitet u pogledu sahranjivanja, u čitavom periodu od kasnog natufijena do kraja prekeramičkog neolita, dakle oko 3000 godina, a na jednoj ograničenoj teritoriji.

Modelovanje lobanja, kao karakteristika srednjeg prekeramičkog neolita B, predstavlja evolutivni vrhunac tog rituala. Ovo je možda prejaka konstatacija, ali korijeni modelovanja lobanja nalaze se u kasnonatufijenskom sekundarnom sahranjivanju lobanja. Ono što je u prekeramičkom neolitu B uobičajena, čak dominantna pojava, u kasnom natufijenu bila je prava rijetkost, a tokom prekeramičkog neolita A tek sporadična pojava.

Uporedo sa razvojem naselja, koja od malih sezonskih postaju stalna i veća, da bi vrhunac doživjela upravo u prekeramičkom B neolitu (krajem ovog perioda se raspadaju), uz kompleksniju urbanu strukturu i arhitekturu pogrebni ritual je sve složeniji. Onako kako se kontroliše teritorija (prostor u kućama postaje definisaniji, stavljen pod ljudsku kontrolu), isto se dešava i sa smrću, preko sahrana koje se vezuju za kuće i posebno definisan prostor. Domestikacija životinja i kultivisanje biljaka također prati ovaj proces, sve se dešava u naseljima u blizini kuća, i to se opet samo po sebi može smatrati kontrolisanjem, jer domestikacija i jeste kontrola, odnosno usmjeravanje razvoja biljaka i životinja.

U tom smislu, logičan slijed svega navedenog je: razvoj pogrebnog rituala tokom prekeramičkog neolita na Levantu i jugoistočnoj Anadoliji nije ništa drugo do stavljanje smrti pod kontrolu ljudi, odnosno domestikacija smrti, što će se detaljno objasniti kada se bude govorilo o kontekstu sekundarno sahranjivanih lobanja.

Značenje i/ili funkcija lobanje

Simbolika lobanje tumačena je na različite načine. Ono što je zajedničko za svako od tih tumačenja je suštinska povezanost značenja posebnog tretmana lobanje sa ideološkim konceptima društva. U ovom slučaju to znači da su sva objašnjenja

Seen from this perspective, the mortuary practice that began in the late Natufian developed alongside the emergence and development of the Neolithic in the Levant, before the appearance of the "Neolithic" economy.

It may be assumed that there was a certain ritual continuity in burial practices throughout, from the late Natufian to the end of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic, a period of some 3,000 years, in a certain limited territory.

Skull modelling, as a feature of the middle PPNB, constitutes the evolutionary pinnacle of the ritual. This may seem to be an exaggeration, but the roots of skull modelling are to be found in late Natufian secondary skull burials. Behaviour that became common or even predominant in PPNB was a rarity in the late Natufian and a sporadic feature of PPNA.

As settlements evolved from small seasonal ones to larger, permanent ones, culminating in PPNB (at the end of which period they broke up), increasingly complex urban structures and architecture were accompanied by an ever more complex burial ritual. Just as control was established over space (the rooms in houses became more clearly defined and under human control), so too with death, by means of burial associated with the dwelling and a specific room. The process was also accompanied by the domestication of animals and the cultivation of plants, all of which took place near the dwelling houses, and may also be seen as a form of control, since domestication is itself a form of control over the evolution of plants and animals.

In this light, the logical consequence of all this is that the development of mortuary ritual during the Pre-Pottery Neolithic in the Levant and south-eastern Anatolia is nothing less than the establishment of human control over death, the domestication of death, as will be explained in detail in the context of secondary skull burials.

The meaning and/or function of the skull

There are different views of the symbolism of the skull, but all share the belief that there is an essential connection between the meaning of the special treatment of the skull and ideological concepts of society. In each case, this means an intimate association with the processes of

tijesno povezana sa procesima sedentarizacije i domestikacije, novog religijskog i ritualnog sistema, koji su ključni za pojavu i utemeljenje neolitskog načina života.

Ključ svih tih procesa je kontrola, bilo da je u pitanju teritorija, resursi, životinje i biljke, ritualno ponašanje i duhovni život. Kontrolisanje smrti, odnosno pogrebnog rituala u smjeru neolitizacije je također jedan dio cjelokupne promjene. Pri tom je značenje često istovjetno sa funkcijom, odnosno posmatra se kroz funkciju. Zato će ovdje biti navedena najčešća objašnjenja ovog kulturnog fenomena.

Kult lobanje – kult pretka

Istraživači koji su se bavili neolitom Bliskog istoka, nastankom zemljoradnje i nove ekonomije, kulturni fenomen posebnog sekundarnog sahranjivanja lobanja i modelovanja lobanja u prekeramičkom neolitu B najčešće su objašnjavali "kultom pretka" i sličnim oblicima obožavanja. To je krajnje racionalističko objašnjenje simbolizma lobanje, proisteklo iz našeg savremenog poimanja groblja, teritorije i umrlih. Međutim, i kao takvo preživjelo je sve kritike tokom redefinisavanja arheologije kao nauke i njene metodologije. Iako je preovlađujuće objašnjenje i danas, to nikako ne znači da je tačno i jedino.

Kult lobanje koji se pojavio u prekeramičkom neolitu najčešće se vezuje za pretka, a samim tim za zemlju, a on predstavlja sliku ne umrlog već kolektivnu sliku čitave zajednice.

Modelovane lobanje simbolišu umrle predstavnike porodice ili klana. U tom slučaju one simbolišu vođe klana ili ostale važne figure čija se moć treba sačuvati za budućnost i dobrobit klana ili sela.

Kult pretka ne označava samo obožavanje pretka već je taj kult suštinski povezan sa posjedovanjem zemlje. Ova hipoteza se potkrepljuje time što nekada lovačko-sakupljačka društva kada pređu na sedentarni način života umnogome zavise od teritorije. Zato je sasvim moguće da su željeli sačuvati duhovnu vezu sa svojim vođama. Od lobanje se u specifičnim, kriznim situacijama traži pomoć, jer je ona personifikacija vođe.²⁹

²⁹ Bienert 1995, 79.

sedentarization and domestication, and of a new religious and ritual system, which are central to the emergence and establishment of the Neolithic way of life.

The key to all these processes is control, whether over territory, resources, plants and animals, ritual behaviour or spiritual life. Control over death, in the form of mortuary ritual within Neolithization, is also part of these sweeping changes. In this, meaning is often equated with function, or seen through the lens of function. The most common explanations for this cultural phenomenon will therefore be cited here.

Skull cult – ancestor cult

Scholars researching the Neolithic in the Near East, the genesis of agriculture and a new economy, the cultural phenomenon of separate secondary skull burial and skull modelling in PPNB usually explain it as "ancestor cult" or similar forms of worship. This is an extremely rationalist explanation of skull symbolism, deriving from our modern notions of burial grounds, territory and the dead, and has withstood all critique during the redefinition of archaeology as a science and its methodology. Though it remains the leading explanation even now, this does not mean that it is correct, or the only one.

The skull cult that first appeared in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic is usually associated with ancestors, and thereby with the land, representing not the deceased but a collective image of the community as a whole.

Skull modelling symbolizes deceased members of the family or clan, and thus the clan chieftain or other leading figure, whose power needs to be preserved for the future, for the welfare of the clan or village.

The ancestor cult is more than just ancestor worship; it is essentially associated with the possession of land. Corroboration of this hypothesis may be seen in the fact that when a hunter-gatherer society adopts a sedentary lifestyle, it becomes largely dependent on territory. It is entirely possible, therefore, that they sought to preserve the spiritual bond with their leaders. They turned to the skull for help in specific crisis situations, since it was the personification of the leader.²⁹

²⁹ Bienert 1995, 79.

Kuvan ima dosta definisanije viđenje problema, osvrćući se i na ritualnu praksu i na kontekst nalaza, o čemu će kasnije detaljno biti riječi. On kult lobanje jasno povezuje sa kreiranjem neolitskog načina života i ideologije.

Činjenica da su glave bile sačuvane u stanju koje je omogućavalo posmatranje od strane seoske zajednice bila je novi fenomen za dotadašnju funerarnu praksu, po kojoj su mrtvi jednostavno sahranjivani u zemlji i ostavljeni zaboravu. Ovo indicira da su sedentarne zajednice, što se posebno odnosi na prekeramiči neolit B kao period simboličke revolucije, pažljivo čuvali uspomenu na svoje pretke kroz ritualne ceremonije i samo modelovanje lobanje. Poseban tretman lobanje, svi procesi vezani za njeno očuvanje i ceremonija sekundarne sahrane bili su naglašavanje porijekla, osnaživanje društvenih veza, afirmacija zajedničke imovine u definisanoj teritoriji.

To ne mora značiti da je ova ideologija jedini razlog pojave nove socijalne organizacije. Iako je teško odrediti šta je nastalo prije, vjerovatno je da imamo dvije simultane strane, jednu unutrašnju, drugu spoljašnju, iste transformacije bliskoistočnih populacija u prekeramičkom periodu.³⁰

Sekundarno sahranjene lobanje, bile modelovane ili ne, odslikavaju način kako živi doživljavaju svoje pretke – dok se leševi, dekapitovani, nalaze direktno ispod nogu živih, lobanje dijele prostor sa živima. To simboliše višegeneracijsko prisustvo na nekoj teritoriji, te daje legitimitet živima da koriste taj prostor.³¹

U prekeramičkom neolitu A, prije modelovanja lobanja, lobanje koje se izdvajaju za sekundarnu sahranu predstavljaju pretke, a sam čin je kao obožavanje tog pretka i vezivanje za tlo, razvoj odgovornosti za umrle i uvjerenja o univerzalnom poretku.

Iako je fokusirana na određene individue iz posebnih domaćinstava, sekundarna pogrebna praksa je viđena kao element zajedničkog obožavanja predaka i kao dio kolektivnog društvenog pamćenja i identiteta.

Na osnovu svega navedenog može se zaključiti da su lobanje, odnosno simboli koji se kriju u njima, veza između živih i mrtvih, i to kolektivna.

Cauvin has a rather more definite view of the matter, with reference to ritual behaviour and the context of the finds, which will be addressed in detail later. He specifically associates the skull cult with the creation of the Neolithic way of life and ideology.

The fact that the skulls were preserved in a state that allowed them to be viewed by the rural community was a new phenomenon in funerary practice, where previously the dead had simply been laid in the ground and consigned to oblivion. This indicates that sedentary communities, particularly those of PPNB, a period of revolution in symbolism, deliberately preserved the memory of their ancestors by means of ritual ceremonies and skull modelling itself. The special treatment of the skull, the various processes involved in its preservation, and the ceremony of secondary burial placed the accent on origins, reinforced social bonds, and affirmed shared property in a defined territory.

This does not necessarily mean that this ideology was the only reason for the emergence of a new social organization. Though it is difficult to determine which came first, it is likely that these are two simultaneous facets, one the inner and the other the outward face of the same transformation of Near Eastern populations in the pre-pottery period.³⁰

Secondary skull burials, whether plastered or not, reflect the way the living experience their forebears – whereas the decapitated corpses lie directly beneath the feet of the living, the skulls share the same space with the living. This symbolizes a multigeneration presence in a given territory, bestowing on the living the legitimate right to occupy it.³¹

In PPNA, before the appearance of skull modelling, the skulls that were removed for secondary burial represented ancestors, and the very act is the equivalent of ancestor worship and the bond with the soil, the development of a sense of responsibility for the death and belief in the universal order.

Though focused on certain individuals from specific households, secondary mortuary practice is seen as part of communal ancestor worship and of collective social memory and identity.

All this suggests that the skulls, or rather the symbols they embody, form a collective bond between the living and the dead.

³⁰ Cauvin 2000b, 248.

³¹ Parker-Pearson 2005, 159, 160.

³⁰ Cauvin 2000b, 248.

³¹ Parker-Pearson 2005, 159, 160.

Ova teorija proizašla je iz antropološke tradicije, koja osnivanje neke zajednice vezuje za pojavu mitskog pretka i ima korijene u mitologijama poznatih nam društava. Ukoliko mitovi generišu strukture društva, kako to tvrde strukturalisti, onda bi objašnjenje simboličkog značenja lobanje u opštem slučaju bilo potpuno ispravno. Etnografska iskustva također mogu da potvrde ovu hipotezu.

Međutim, problem nastaje kada treba objasniti prisustvo dječijih lobanja na ovim lokalitetima. Dječije lobanje teško da mogu simbolisati pretke, a još manje vođu klana ili neku individuu koja ima poseban status u zajednici. Može se prigovoriti da je ovakva konstatacija proizvod našeg sopstvenog simboličkog sistema, što je dobrim dijelom tačno. Naime, u društvima koja su nama poznata dijete ne predstavlja pretka i nema značajnu, ili bolje reći upravljačku ulogu u društvu. Dijete može imati samo već upisan povlašćen status u društvu. Naravno, ne isključuje se mogućnost da u simboličkom sistemu populacija u prekeramičkom neolitu lobanja djeteta može označavati nešto sasvim drugačije od onoga što bi mogla značiti u našem. Arheolozi često previde, bilo svjesno ili nesvjesno, pojedinačne slučajeve. Oni se prihvataju kao statistička greška, te je tako zbog malog udjela dječijih lobanja u ukupnom broju zanemaren njihov značaj u interpretaciji arheološke građe.

Lobanja – vitalnost

Simbolizam lobanje u tzv. kultu lobanje u prekeramičkom neolitu interpretiran je od strane Verhoveena na drugačiji način od uobičajenog. I ovdje se radi o domestikaciji, teritoriji, socijalnoj organizaciji, pa je i ona uzeta u razmatranje u ovom radu.

Da bi objasnio pojavu sekundarno sahranjenih lobanja i modelovanih lobanja, Verhoven je iskoristio termin *vitalnost*. Koncept vitalnosti kao suština ideologije prekeramičkog neolita materijalizovan je u kultu lobanje. On ne odbacuje kult pretka, smatra da modelovane lobanje predstavljaju pretke ili vođe, dok nemodelovane predstavljaju manje važne članove zajednice, ali vitalnost je osnovno značenje kulta lobanja.

This theory derives from the anthropological tradition, which associates the formation of a given community with the appearance of a mythical ancestor, and has its roots in the mythologies of known societies. If myths generate social structures, as structuralists claim, the explanation of the symbolic meaning of the skull in general would be correct. Ethnographic experience also provides evidence in support of this hypothesis.

However, this does not explain the presence of children's skulls at these sites. A child's skull can scarcely symbolize an ancestor, still less a clan chieftain or other individual enjoying special status within the community. To this may be objected that this assertion is the product of our own symbolic system, which is largely fair comment. In the societies we know, a child does not represent a forebear, nor does it have a significant, or more precisely a commanding, role in society. A child can only enjoy privileged status that is already registered in society. This, of course, does not rule out the possibility that in the symbolic system of Pre-Pottery Neolithic populations a child's skull might have designated something quite different from what it means to us. Archaeologists frequently overlook isolated cases, deliberately or unconsciously, seeing them as a statistical anomaly; as a result, the significance of the small percentage of children's skulls is overlooked when interpreting the archaeological material.

Skull – vitality

Verhoeven's interpretation of the symbolism of the skull in the skull cult of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic differs from the usual view. Here too it is a question of domestication, territory and social organization, and is therefore considered in this paper.

To explain the phenomenon of secondary skull burials and skull modelling, Verhoeven uses the term *vitality*. The concept of vitality as the essence of Pre-Pottery Neolithic ideology is manifested in the skull cult. He does not dismiss the ancestor cult, believing that plastered skulls represent forebears or leaders, while those without plaster stand for less important members of the community, but vitality is the basic meaning of the skull cult.

Ovaj autor vitalnost je definisao kroz tri pojma, za koja tvrdi da su najbitniji za konstituisanje neolitskog društva. To su *domestikacija*, *plodnost* i *životna sila*. "Domestikacija ili kontrola naselja i prostora je u prekeramičkom neolitu B dovršena. U poređenju sa prethodnim lovačko-sakupljačkim načinom života, ljudi su povećavali kontrolu nad okruženjem. Posmatrajući rituale, pretpostavio bih da je označeni simbolizam prekeramičkog neolita B bio izraz želje za kontrolisanjem ritualnog ponašanja i natprirodnog svijeta, da bi se kontrolisao ljudski svijet."³²

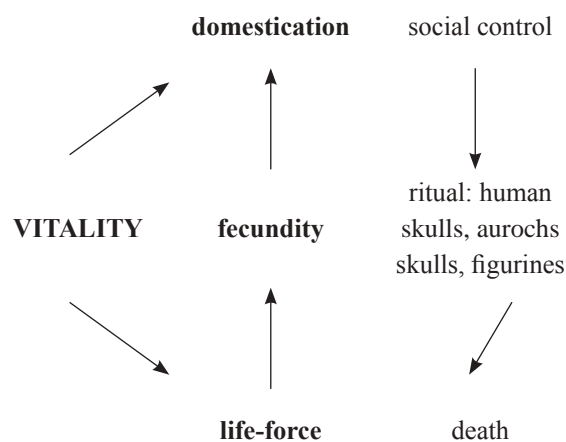
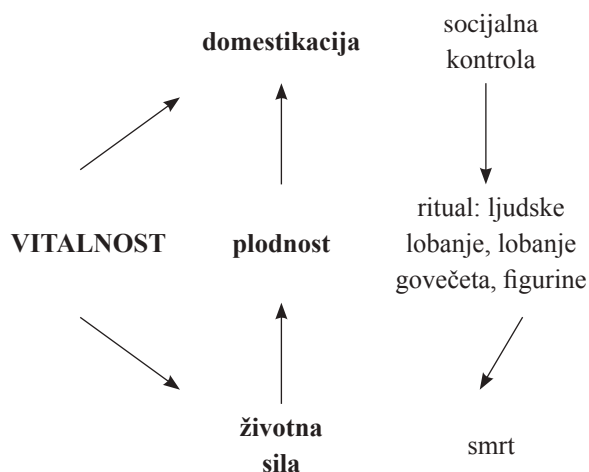
Plodnost, kao drugi pojam, odnosi se na plodnost zemljišta i plodnost kod ljudi, što, istini za volju, nema neke posebne veze sa lobanjama. Pod životnom silom podrazumijeva se vitalna moć koja se u principu nalazi u glavi, odnosno glava simboliše mogućnost novog pokretanja, ponovnog rođenja i sl.

Hipotezu potkrepljuje etnografskim materijalom, naprimjer u mnogim zajednicama donošenje neprijateljske lobanje u zajednicu obezbjeđuje plodnost i stabilnost zajednice, reafirmiše moć predaka itd. Na kraju zaključuje: "...dok su preci kao mitske ličnosti vjerovatno obožavane, ljudske lobanje (modelovane i nemodelovane) bile su specifično poštovane jer su predstavljale sjedište životne sile, koja je mogla biti korišćena da obezbijedi plodnost (polja, domaćih životinja, žena) i blagostanje."³³

He defines vitality by means of three concepts which he regards as crucial to the constitution of Neolithic society: *domestication*, *fecundity* and *life-force*. "In the PPNB this process entailed the domestication, or control, of settlement space and the landscape. Compared to the preceding hunting-and-gathering way of life, people began to exert ever-more control over their surroundings. As regards rituals, I would propose that the marked PPNB ritual symbolism was an expression of the desire to control ritual behaviour and the supernatural world, in order to control the human world."³²

The next concept, fecundity, refers to fertility (more specifically to soil fertility and birth-giving) – which, truth to tell, has no particular connection with skulls. "By *life-force* is meant the vital power which principally resides in the head," so that the head symbolizes the potential for a new start, re-birth and so on.

The hypothesis is backed up by ethnographical material. For instances, in many communities, bringing enemy skulls back to the village secures the community's fertility and stability, reaffirms the power of ancestors, etc. Verhoeven concludes that "while ancestors, as mythical persons, were probably worshipped, human skulls (plastered as well as unplastered), were specially honoured because they were the seat of life-force, which could be used to ensure fecundity (of the fields, domesticated animals and women) and well-being."³³



³² Verhoeven 2002, 249.

³³ Ibidem 251.

³² Verhoeven 2002, 249.

³³ Ibidem 251.

Lobanje i "vertikalni" šamanizam

Najspecifičnije tumačenje značenja lobanja u prekeramičkom neolitu, prije svega modelovanih lobanja, dao je Luis-Vilijams. Ma koliko njegovo tumačenje bilo čudno i djelovalo usiljeno, neke pojedinosti takvog viđenja prekeramičkih sahrana govore da je ova pojava dio promjene simboličkih kodova, te da je kao izraz religijskog uvjerenja uticala na tranziciju u neolitsko društvo.

On, naime, pojavu sekundarno sahranjenih i modelovanih lobanja posmatra kao dio jednog novog religijskog okvira koji je stvorio promjene karakteristične za neolit. Promjena u mišljenju, odnosno superstrukturi, prethodila je promjenama u infrastrukturi, odnosno ljudi su promijenili religiju i simbolizam prije nego li su postali farmeri, a ne kao rezultat toga što su farmeri.³⁴

U definisanju neolitske religije Luis-Vilijams zastupa stav o postojanju dva tipa religija: imaginativne i doktrinalne. Imaginativne religije su karakteristične za tzv. mala društva – zajednice sa relativno malim brojem članova. Zasnivaju se na polisemičkoj uobrazilji, umnožavanjem mišljenja koja se prenose periodično, često u visokoemocionalnim ritualima kao što je obred inicijacije. Nasuprot tome, doktrinalni oblik religioznosti je povezan sa pisanjem i formulisanjem doktrina koje mogu biti primijenjene na širokom geografskom arealu. Neolitska religija je, po Luis-Vilijamsu šamanistička, samim tim imaginativna, jer su u pitanju male zajednice. Razlika između gornjopaleolitskog šamanizma i neolitskog je u tome što je šamanizam u pećini horizontalan, a neolitski vertikaln.

Horizontalni šamanizam je, moglo bi se reći, demokratski – svi šamani su jednaki, mada nisu isto poštovani, vezani su za pojedinca, tj. jedan šaman prolazi kroz trans, obezbjeđuje dobro svima, lov i sl.

Vertikalni šamanizam je ezoterično znanje, ograničeno na elitu, postoje ceremonije, uče se mitovi i kanon, postoje obredi prelaza, ne vezuju se za životinje već za biljke, ne za šumu već za kuću, obredi su javni i vezani za politiku.³⁵

Sve navedene definicije bile su potrebne samo kao kratko uvođenje u to kako su modelovane lobanje mogle biti dio šamanističke religije, na

Skulls and "vertical" shamanism

The most unusual interpretation of the meaning of skulls in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic, and in particular of plastered skulls, is that given by Lewis-Williams. However strange and contrived his explanation may seem, some features of this view of Pre-Pottery burials suggest that they were part of changes to symbolic codes, and that as an expression of religious conviction they had an impact on the transition to Neolithic society.

He sees secondary skull burial and skull modelling as part of a new religious framework that created the changes characteristic of the Neolithic. The new way of thinking, the changes to the superstructure, preceded changes to the infrastructure: people changed their religion and symbolism before, not as a result of, becoming farmers.³⁴

When considering Neolithic religion, Lewis-Williams takes the view that there are two types of religion: the imaginative, and the doctrinal. Imaginative religions are typical of small societies – those with relatively few members. They are based on the polysemic imagination, the replication of thought that is transmitted periodically, often in highly emotional rituals such as initiation. The doctrinal form of religion, on the other hand, is associated with writing, and the formulation of doctrines capable of application over a wide geographical area. To Lewis-Williams, Neolithic religion is shamanist, and hence imaginative, since it was the religion of small communities. The difference between Upper Palaeolithic and Neolithic shamanism is that the shamanism of cave-dwellers was horizontal, while Neolithic shamanism was vertical.

Horizontal shamanism could be described as democratic – all shamans are equal, even if not equally venerated, and are associated with the individual: a single shaman enters into a trance to ensure the general well-being, success in the hunt etc.

Vertical shamanism is esoteric knowledge, confined to the elite; it has its ceremonies, its myths and canon are learned, it has rites of passage, is associated with animals not plants, with the dwelling not the forest, and its rituals are public and concerned with politics.³⁵

All these definitions were needed merely as a brief introduction to how skull modelling could be

³⁴ Lewis-Williams, Pearce 2005, 23.

³⁵ Ibidem 87.

³⁴ Lewis-Williams, Pearce 2005, 23.

³⁵ Ibidem 87.

šta ćemo se vratiti kada bude riječi o pogrebnom ritualu.

Statue sa lokaliteta 'Ain Ghazal mogu označavati duhove ili božanstva, ono što su šamani mogli vidjeti u transu. Zato imaju jako naglašene oči, koje simbolišu dušu, odnosno u ovom slučaju vezu sa nekim drugim svjetovima. Istu simboliku mogu imati posebno obrađene oči na lobanjama sa istog lokaliteta, ili posebno modelovane oči umetanjem školjki na lobanjama iz Jerihona. Na kraju zaključuje: "Neolitski ljudi sahranjuju se na ovaj način iz kosmoloških, mitoloških razloga, njihova vjerska praksa nije uslovljena adaptacijom na sredinu, već je definisana njihovom kosmologijom koja upućuje na posmrtni život i na višestepeni kosmos, odnosno na kosmologiju više isprepletenih svjetova i pojedinačev put kroz njih. Živi tako pomažu mrtvima da pređu u neki drugi nivo kosmosa."³⁶

Kontekst nalaza

Za utvrđivanje značenja materijalne kulture ili nekog kulturnog fenomena, a u ovom slučaju radi se o sekundarno sahranjenim lobanjama iz prekeramičkog neolita na Levantu, čini se najvažnijim kontekst nalaza. Samo na osnovu konteksta nalaza možemo shvatiti kakva je suština nalaza.

Za kontekst se u današnjoj arheologiji iskazuje primarno zanimanje, on je vratio arheologiju onome što ona jeste, omogućio je razumijevanje kulturnih pojava i društava u prošlosti. U izvjesnom smislu arheologija je i definisana svojom preokupiranošću za kontekst.

Hodder izdvaja dva tipa značenja kojima se arheolozi bave: strukturirani sistem funkcionalnih međuodnosa i strukturirani sadržaj ideja i simbola.³⁷ Prvi se odnosi na okruženje, procese deponovanja, urbanizaciju, organizaciju rada, tipove razmjene. Predmet dobija značenja na osnovu funkcionisanja u odnosu na prethodno nabrojane faktore, u odnosu na društvene i ekonomske strukture, i u ovom slučaju, kako se ostvaruju društveni ciljevi manipulacijom artefaktima.

Drugi tip značenja je onaj koji pripisujemo predmetu na osnovu njegove simboličke funkcije,

³⁶ Lewis-Williams, Pearce 2005, 79.

³⁷ Hodder 1982, 163.

part of shamanist religion, to which we shall revert when discussing burial rituals.

The statues from 'Ain Ghazal could signify spirits or divinities, that which shamans might see while in a trance. This is why their eyes are so arresting, symbolizing the soul or, in this instance, the link with other worlds. The special treatment of the eyes on the skulls from the same site, or of the eyes formed by the insertion of shells into the eye-sockets of the skulls from Jericho, could have the same symbolism. Lewis-Williams concludes: "Neolithic people practiced serial burials for mythological and, importantly, cosmological reasons, not simply because those religious practices were adaptive to environmental conditions. We suggest that their view of the cosmos entailed multiple stages of post-mortem existence that were lived out in multiple cosmological levels... The living had to 'help' the dead from one stage to the next..."³⁶

The context of finds

The most important factor in determining the meaning of material culture or of a given cultural phenomenon, in this case the secondary skull burials of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic in the Levant, would seem to be the context of the finds, the only real basis for understanding the essence of a find.

Archaeology today is primarily interested in context, restoring archaeology to its true self, facilitating our understanding of the cultural phenomena and societies of the past. In a sense, archaeology is even defined by its preoccupation with context.

Hodder identifies two types of meaning of interest to archaeologists: the structured system of functional interrelations and the structured content of ideas and symbols.³⁷ The first is to do with the environment, depositions, urbanization, the organization of labour, and types of exchange. An object acquires meaning from its function in relation to these factors, to social and economic structures and, in this specific instance, to the way social goals are achieved by the manipulation of artefacts.

The second type of meaning is the one ascribed to an object on the basis of its symbolic function.

³⁶ Lewis-Williams, Pearce 2005, 79.

³⁷ Hodder 1982, 163.

odnosno istražuju se načini na koji ideje, označene materijalnim simbolima, učestvuju u strukturisanju društva.

Dakle, jedan predmet se posmatra u odnosu na one koji su u vezi sa njim, u bio kojoj dimenziji, a što je veća mreža asocijacija i kontrasta u odnosu na posmatrani predmet, to je lakša interpretacija njegovog značenja. Totalitet relevantnih dimenzija varijacije oko bilo kojeg objekta može se definisati kao kontekst tog objekta.³⁸ Ovakva definicija podsjeća na pristup koji Meri Douglas ima prema kulturnim pojavama, koje se mogu definisati samo u odnosu na sistem u kojem se nalaze, i obratno, sistem čine dijelovi i oni ga definišu.³⁹ Tek u kontekstu predmeti poprimaju simbolička značenja kroz njihove veze i kontraste sa drugim predmetima.

Problem je kako odrediti kriterije posmatranja i asocijacije učiniti relevantnim? To samo daje potvrdu da postoje različiti pogledi na istu kuturnu pojavu, i samim tim različite interpretacije materijalne kulture, a ne nekakvi univerzalni i rigidni zakoni u društvima na koje nas ista može uputiti.

Koji je kontekst sekundarno sahranjenih lobanja u prekeramičkom neolitu? Ovdje ćemo obratiti pažnju na dvije odvojene dimenzije značenja lobanja: na značenje lobanje u odnosu na tijelo, i simboliku u odnosu na mjesto deponovanja, što je ujedno najvažnije za ovu temu.

Simbolizam tijela

Karakteristika pogrebne prakse prekeramičkog neolita na Levantu je sekundarno sahranjivanje lobanja, uz modelovanje koje je značajno za prekeramički neolit B. Zašto su baš lobanje odabrane da budu posebno tretirane a ne neki drugi dio tijela? Kulturna upotreba tijela je dio društvene konstrukcije stvarnosti svakog društva. Značenje lobanje u tom smislu je povezano sa kategorijama kao što su naprijed, prvo, jedinstveno, središte i sl. Lobanja se vezuje za ove pojmove samo u sklopu cijelog organizma, jer ako je ona vezana uz termin gore, mora postojati nešto što se vezuje uz dolje.⁴⁰

³⁸ Hodder 1986, 91.

³⁹ Douglas 2001.

⁴⁰ Shanks, Tilley 1982.

Here, the subject of study is the way in which ideas, denoted by physical symbols, are involved in structuring society.

A given object is thus considered in relation to those that are associated with it, in whatever dimension, and the wider the network of associations and contrasts in relation to the object under consideration, the easier it is to interpret its meaning. The totality of the relevant dimensions of variation around any object may be defined as its context.³⁸ This definition is reminiscent of Mary Douglas's approach to cultural phenomena, which can be defined only in relation to the system in which they are located; and conversely, the system consists of its parts, which define it.³⁹ It is only in context that objects acquire symbolic meaning through their associations and contrasts with other objects.

The problem is how to define the criteria for observation and make associations relevant. This merely confirms that there are different views of the same cultural phenomenon, and hence different interpretations of material culture, not universal, rigid laws within societies to which it may direct us.

What is the context of secondary skull burials in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic? At this point we shall draw attention to two separate dimensions of the meaning of skulls: their meaning in relation to the body, and their symbolism in relation to the place of deposition, which is equally important for this topic.

Symbolism of the body

Secondary skull burials are a feature of the mortuary practice of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic in the Levant, together with skull modelling in PPNB. Why were skulls singled out for special treatment, rather than some other part of the body? The cultural use of the body is part of the social construction of reality of every society. In this regard, the significance of the skull is associated with such notions as *forward*, *first*, *unique*, *centre* and such like. The skull is associated with these notions only as part of the entire organism, because if it is linked to the idea of *above*, there must be something connected with *below*.⁴⁰

The symbolism of the skull in this case is that it is distinct from the other parts of the body; it

³⁸ Hodder 1986, 91.

³⁹ Douglas 2001.

⁴⁰ Shanks, Tilley 1982.

Simbolizam lobanje je u ovom slučaju njena posebnost u odnosu na ostale dijelove tijela, njena jedinstvenost i nezamjenjivost, što je čini univerzalnim simbolom jedinice, ona je centar psihičkih radnji, ona je tvorac mišljenja, ona je dio koji kontrolira ostatak tijela, te je stoga izdvojena od tijela jer je dovoljna sama sebi.

Prostor, domus

Razumjeti kontekst sekundarno sahranjenih lobanja moguće je samo ako se pravilno shvati simbolika prostora u koji se one smještaju. Čini se da bi definisanje životnog prostora kao pozornice na kojoj se odigravaju ritualne radnje, zajedno sa onim svakodnevnim aktivnostima, davalo poseban značaj i značenje simbola sekundarno sahranjenih i kasnije modelovanih lobanja, a posebno u društveno stresnim trenucima, kao što je nastajanje i učvršćivanje neolitskog načina života, odnosno neolitske ideologije. Mora se imati na umu da je prostor u to vrijeme posmatran u skladu sa tadašnjim pogledom na svijet, tako da distinkcija koju mi često u svojim društvima imamo, odnosno podjela prostora na sakralnu, koji je rezervisan za obredno ponašanje i kult, ideološku manipulaciju i sl., i profanu sferu u kojoj se odigravaju svakodnevne aktivnosti, nije morala postojati. Naprotiv, više izgleda ima hipoteza da je sakralno bilo neraskidivo povezano sa profanim, a da je eksplozija simbolizma, kako kaže Kuvan u prekeramičkom neolitu B, dovela do vrhunca emotivni naboj insistiranjem na "ritualizaciji" svakodnevnog života, a u cilju novog organizovanja društva.⁴¹

Kako je u opisu građe navedeno, apsolutna većina sekundarnih sahrana vezana je za prostor kuće, bilo da se radi o dvorištima ili samim kućama. Lobanje su najčešće nalažene na podnicama kuća, ili su ukopavane u njih, zatim na pragovima, u dvorištu i sl. Postojale su također i javne zgrade, možda ritualni objekti u koje se smještaju modelovane ili nemodelovane lobanje, kao naprimjer u Čejenima i sl.

Time se naglašava stalno prisustvo lobanja u prostoru živih, one su lokalizovane unutar naselja, bilo da se radi o privatnoj teritoriji, bilo o javnoj, one su na vidljivim mjestima, na kojima se odvija

is unique, irreplaceable, rendering it a universal symbol of the individual. It is the centre of mental life, the creator of thought, the organ that controls the rest of the body, and is therefore separated from the body, being self-sufficient.

Space, domus

The context of secondary skull burials can be understood only if the symbolism of the space where they are placed is itself understood properly. A definition of living space as the stage on which rituals are enacted as well as daily activities would apparently yield a particular significance and meaning of the symbols of secondary skull burials and, later, skull modelling, particularly at times of social stress, such as the emergence and consolidation of the Neolithic way of life and ideology. One must bear in mind that at that time, people thought of space in the light of their own world view, and may not have made the distinction we often make between the sacred and the profane, between religious space, reserved for ritual behaviour and worship, ideological manipulation and so on, and the secular space in which our daily lives unfold. To the contrary, a more likely hypothesis is that the sacred and the profane were inextricably linked, and that the explosion of symbolism, as Cauvin calls it, in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B, led to a huge emotional charge by insisting on the "ritualization" of everyday life to bring about a new social organization.⁴¹

As noted in the description of the material, an absolute majority of secondary burials were associated with dwellings, whether in a courtyard or inside the house itself. Skulls are usually found on or beneath the floor of the houses, and less frequently at the threshold or in the courtyard. There were also public buildings, possibly ritual structures, in which plastered or unplastered skulls were placed, as at Çayönü and elsewhere.

This highlights the constant presence of skulls in the space of the living, localized within the village; whether on private or public property, they are in prominent places, where people pursue their lives. Skulls are thus found in the context of a settlement, mainly in the context of a house, which

⁴¹ Cauvin 2000a, 137.

⁴¹ Cauvin 2000a, 137.

aktivan život. Dakle, lobanje se nalaze u kontekstu naselja a prevashodno u kontekstu kuće, što je izuzetno značajno u potvrdi hipoteze da je smrt u toku prekeramičkog neolita stavljena pod kontrolu, odnosno domestikovana, što je bila ideja čitavog rada.

Koncept domusa koji je uveo Hoder na najbolji način omogućava razumijevanje prethodno iznijete tvrdnje.

Latinski domus prevodi se kao kuća, dom, međutim, ovdje se pod terminom domus podrazumijevaju "sve praktične aktivnosti sprovedene u kući, priprema hrane i održavanje života... simbolička konotacija data je praktičnim aktivnostima, koje vode ka kući (domu) kao fokusu simboličke razrade i upotrebi kuće kao metafore za socijalne i ekonomske strategije i relacije moći."⁴²

U tom smislu domus predstavlja mjesto domestikacije kulture, jer se unutar domusa kontrolišu simboličke manifestacije svijeta koji ih okružuje i njihove nove zajednice. Pod kontrolu se prije svega stavlja smrt, odnosno priprema pokojnika i onoga što se dešava njegovim odlaskom iz zajednice. Čitava zajednica, ne samo pokojnik, povezana sa njim, u trenutku njegovog odlaska nalazi se u nekoj vrsti liminalne faze obreda prelaza, jer tada dolazi do inverzije kulturnih pojava, dolazi do promjene uloga u sistemu, ispražnjavanjem uloge i funkcije jedinke koja napušta zajednicu na ovaj način. Pokojnik je, stoga što na taj način uzdrmava poredak, opasan i smrt se privodi kontroli. Kontroliše se obrada i priprema hrane, sama hrana se preradom prevodi u domen iz divljeg u domaće, odnosno sve ovo na kraju vodi ka odnosu priroda – kultura. Da se uočiti da je ova opozicija tipična za strukturalizam, koji se u ranijim Hoderovim radovima primjećuje.

Unutar domusa nalaze se obrađeni simboli svih kontrolisanih segmenata života. Tu se, pored lobanja predaka u podnici ili pragu, nalaze obrađene lobanje životinja bitnih za ishranu, zatim biljke, kasnije i keramika, unutra je i ognjište, figurine i to najčešće ženske, itd. Dakle, svi ovi objekti su *pripitomljeni*, domestikovani i tako izmijenjeni izdvojeni iz korpusa prirode i stavljeni pod ljudsku kontrolu. Oni su simbolički prikaz domestikacije društva i odvajanja entiteta čovjeka kao predstav-

is of the greatest importance in corroborating the hypothesis that during the Pre-Pottery Neolithic death was brought under control or domesticated, the underlying idea of this entire paper.

The concept of domus introduced by Hodder provides the best framework for understanding this assertion.

The Latin word *domus* is translated as house or home, but here it is taken to mean "all the practical activities carried out within the house, food preparation and the sustaining of life... Symbolic connotations are given to the practical activities, leading to the house as a focus for symbolic elaboration and to the use of the house as a metaphor for social and economic strategies and relations of power."⁴²

In this sense, the domus is where culture is domesticated, for it is within the house that the symbolic manifestations of the world around people and their new communities are controlled. It is death, first and foremost, that is placed under control, with the preparation of the deceased and what happens when he leaves the community. At the moment of his departure, the entire community, not just the deceased himself, is in the liminal state of a rite of passage, for it is at such moments that an inversion of cultural phenomena occurs; roles within the system change as the role and function of the individual who is leaving the community in this way are vacated. By thus disrupting the old order, the deceased is a threat, and death is brought under control. Food processing and production are also controlled, as by the act of processing food is re-assigned from the wild to the domestic, and all this ultimately leads towards the nature-culture relationship. It is noteworthy that this opposition is typical of structuralism, as can be seen in Hodder's earlier works.

The domus contains the processed or treated symbols of every aspect of life that is brought under control: not only the skulls of ancestors on the floor or at the threshold, but also the skulls of the animals that form an essential part of the diet, plants, and later pottery, the hearth, and figurines, usually female. Every object has thus been *tamed*, domesticated, and thus altered, has been separated from nature and placed under human control. All these objects are a symbolic depiction of the domestication of society and the distinction between the entity of man as a representative of a culture and man as a representative

⁴² Hodder 1990, 44, 45.

⁴² Hodder 1990, 44, 45.

nika kulture od čovjeka predstavnika prirode. U tom smislu se žena i simboli vezani za nju javljaju unutar domusa, a muškarac izvan. Kao opozicija domusu definisan je termin *agrios*, *ager* – polje na latinskom iz kojeg potiče riječ *peregrinos* – stranac. Tako se *agrios* smatra bliže divljem i nekontrolisanom, ali to još nije prava priroda, divljina, jer se tu obavljaju aktivnosti vezane za život, samo se tu javljaju sada drugi simboli, muški, kao npr. oruđe, oružje, životinje, tu se vrši razmjena i sl.

NAPRIJED	SVJETLOST	ŽIVOT	DIVLJE
NAZAD	TAMA	SMRT	DOMAĆE
AGRIOS	MUŠKO	KAMEN	PRIRODA
DOMUS	ŽENSKO	GLINA	KULTURA

Domus, prema Hodderu, predstavlja mjesto na kome se odvija transformacija simboličkog svijeta, koja je prethodila ekonomskoj transformaciji, odnosno nastanku zemljoradnje. Socijalni odnosi se uređuju unutar domusa, odakle se preslikavaju na čitavu zajednicu. On je zaštita jedinice od spoljnog uticaja prirode i onog što se svrstava u nepoznato. Odatle se uspostavlja kontrola nad zajednicom i on postaje metafora za strategije ostvarivanja moći u zajednici i formiranje elita i mehanizama njihovog održanja. Domus je mjesto u kojem su smješteni simboli kojima se manipuliše prilikom ostvarivanja dominacije i održanja poretka. Unutrašnjost kuće pruža zaštitu od prirode, ognjište obezbjeđuje koheziju porodice i uspostavlja odnose u njoj. Zidovi se oslikavaju, preci, odnosno simboli predaka se ugrađuju u temelje kuća (ukopavaju se u podnice), najčešće na graničnom prostoru, time se polaže pravo na posjedovanje tog prostora, a drugima to obznanjuje. Hrana se obrađuje i vrlo često skladišti unutra, dok se simboli zajedničkog rada i odnosa sa drugima ostavljaju vani.

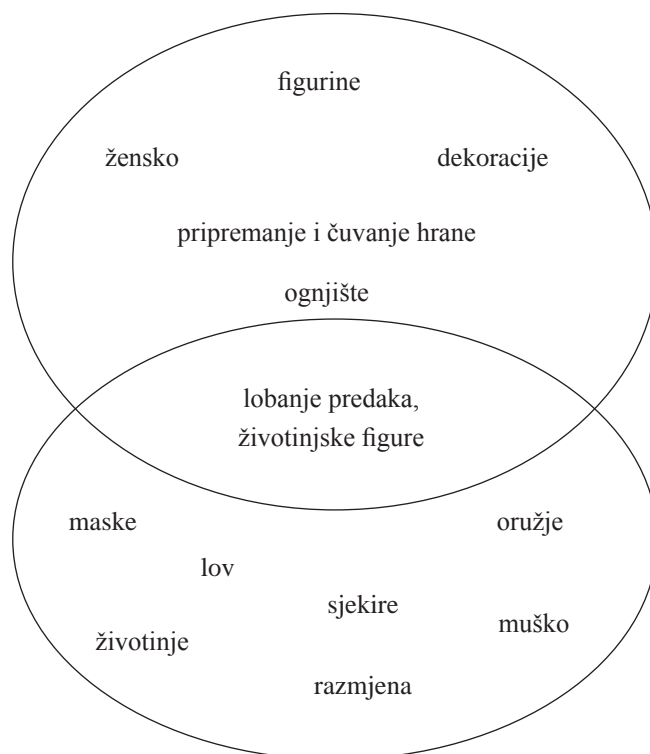
Suština domusa je, kako se vidi, stavljanje pod kontrolu. Samim približavanjem toj sferi predmet dobija novo značenje u odnosu na simbolički sistem unutar njega. Smještanje lobanja unutar domusa znači kontrolisanje smrti, ili pripitomljavanje. Tome doprinosi i činjenica da su lobanje vrlo često, posebno u prekeramičkom neolitu B, prethodno obrađene. Sama obrada u simboličkom smislu znači pripitomljavanje, jer se to

of nature. Hence woman, and the symbols associated with her, feature within the house, while man is outside. The counterpart to the domus is *agrios*, from *ager*, the Latin for field, which is the root of the word *peregrinus*, from foreign parts, alien, foreign. *Agrios* is thus seen as wild and uncontrolled but not yet true, wild nature, for work in the fields is associated with life – but here the symbols are different, masculine – tools, weapons, animals – and it is here that exchange and other transactions take place.

FORWARD	LIGHT	LIFE	WILD
BACK	DARKNESS	DEATH	DOMESTIC
AGRIOS	MASCULINE	STONE	NATURE
DOMUS	FEMININE	CLAY	CULTURE

To Hodder, the house, the domus, is the place where the transformation takes place of the symbolic life, which preceded economic transformation, the emergence of agriculture. Social relations are ordered within the domus, and thence transferred to the community as a whole. The house is the individual's defence against the outside world, against nature and everything that belongs to the domain of the unknown. It is from there that control over the community is established, so that the domus becomes the metaphor for strategies of power within the community and the formation of elites, as well as of mechanisms for maintaining them. The domus is the locus of the symbols that are manipulated when achieving dominance and maintaining order. The interior of the house offers shelter from the elements, the hearth ensures family cohesion and establishes relations within the family. The walls are painted, ancestors – or rather the symbols of ancestors – are built into the foundations of the house by burying them beneath the floor, usually at a boundary, thereby claiming the right to own the space and making others aware of it. Food is prepared and often stored in the house, whereas the symbols of communal endeavour and relations with others remain outside.

As this reveals, the essence of the domus is the establishment of control. By converging on that domain, the object acquires new meaning in relation to the symbolic system within it. Placing skulls within the house means controlling or domesticating death. This is enhanced by the fact that, particularly in PPNB, skulls are often plastered



Legenda / Legend: figurine = figurines; žensko = female; dekoracije = decorations; pripremanje i čuvanje hrane = food preparation and storage; ognjište = hearth; lobanje predaka = ancestors' skulls; životinjske figurine = animal figurines; maske = masks; oružje = weapons; lov = hunting; sjekire = axes; životinje = animals; muško = male; razmjena = exchange

može zaključiti na osnovu ostalih simbola unutar domusa, obrada biljaka i mesa za ishranu i sl. Ukoliko nije postojala jasna podjela prostora na sakralni i profani, prostor je definitivno bio podijeljen na domaći – domestikovani, sigurni (selo, kuća) i divlji – nedomestikovani, opasan (šuma, pećina). Ono što se dešavalo na planu simboličkog organizovanja domusa možda se preslikalo i na organizaciju naselja. "Uprkos svim razlikama i teškoćama da se definiše domestikacija, izgleda jasno da su korijeni zemljoradnje unutar kompleksne simboličke mreže sa centrima u kući i smrti"⁴³

Položaj lobanja unutar domusa definiše njihovo značenje u društvu, naravno samo ukoliko prihvatimo Burdijeovu definiciju kuće kao primarno mjesta generativnih shema i gdje je organizacija kuće, kroz njenu podjelu i hijerarhiju uspostavljenu između stvari, individua i prakse, slika

beforehand. This in itself means domestication, symbolically speaking, as may be concluded from other symbols within the house, the preparation of plants and meat for food and so on. There may have been no clear distinction between sacred and profane space, but there was undoubtedly one between the domestic – domesticated, safe (the village, the house) and the wild – undomesticated, dangerous (the forest, caves). And what happened in the symbolic organization of the house may well have been transferred to the organization of the settlement. "Despite all the variability and difficulty of definition of 'domestication', it seems clear that the origins of agriculture take place within a complex symbolic web that centres on the house and on death."⁷⁴³

The position of the skulls within the house defines their meaning in society, provided of course that we accept Bourdieu's definition of the house as the primary locus of generative schemes, where

⁴³ Hodder 1990, 36.

⁴³ Hodder 1990, 36.

ideološke matrice društva.⁴⁴ U slučaju prekeramičkog neolita one su stalno prisutne i u samim temeljima društva, bilo koje konkretno značenje i funkciju da imaju, kroz mjesto konačne depozicije i obrade simbolišu uspostavljenu kontrolu nad smrću.

Pogrebni obred, lobanje u relacijama moći

Opet se vraćamo na začenje rituala, kako definirati ovaj konkretni pogrebni ritual. Arheolozi nisu u stanju da rekonstruišu u potpunosti jednu procesiju. Nama su najčešće dostupne samo posljednje faze, odnosno već završen obred. Upravo zato se nerijetko koriste etnografske analogije.

Sekundarno sahranjivanje u prekeramičkom neolitu na Levantu predstavljalo je strategiju kojom se naglašavala društvena kohezija i prednost kolektivnog identiteta u odnosu na individualni. Sahranjivanje i obrada lobanja prestaju biti privatni obred – on prelazi rodbinske granice i postaje javni ritual, koji imitira ljudski životni ciklus.

Zajednice organizuju sekundarne mortuarne rituale kao visokoprofilisane javne ceremonije, duhovni i simbolički postupci koji imaju socijalna, politička i lična značenja.⁴⁵

U organizovanju i izvođenju obreda, u stvaranju gramatike jednog ovakvog obreda prelaza učestvuje više ljudi, poruka koju oni tokom obreda šalju sami sebi, odsustvom priloga i velikih grobnica je da u tranziciji kroz koju prolazi društvo, u trenucima raspada egalitarnog sistema, upravo se egalitarnost, koja je povezana sa kolektivom, naglašava.⁴⁶ Moć je koncentrisana kod onih koji predstavljaju zajednicu, koji koristeći emocije učesnika u ritualu i izgrađujući kolektivnu svijest o pripadnosti i prošlosti na određen način kreiraju novi ideološki koncept. Naravno, besmisleno je reći da svi učesnici rituala u obrede ulaze svjesno da bi pojačali koheziju društva ili usmjeravali odnose moći. Svjesno ili nesvjesno, mortuarna praksa omogućava da se kao dio jednog šireg

“the house is the principal locus for the objectification of the generative schemes; and, through the intermediary of the divisions and hierarchies it sets up between things, persons, and practices,” mirrors the ideological matrix of society.⁴⁴ In the case of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic, they are a constant presence at the very foundations of society, whatever specific meaning and function they may have, by virtue of the place where they are finally deposited, and their treatment symbolizes the establishment of control over death.

Mortuary ritual, skulls in power relations

We come back to the meaning of ritual, and how to define this specific mortuary ritual. Archaeologists are unable wholly to reconstruct a given procession; as a rule, only the final stages are accessible to them, in the form of a completed ritual. They often therefore resort to ethnographic analogies.

Secondary burials in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic in the Levant constituted a strategy for defining social cohesion and the precedence of collective over individual identity. Burials and the treatment of skulls ceased to be a private ritual, crossing kin-group lines to become a public ritual, one that imitated the human life-cycle.

Communities organize secondary mortuary rituals as high-profile public ceremonies, spiritual and symbolic procedures imbued with social, political and personal significance.⁴⁵ Many people are involved in the organization and performance of the rituals, the creation of the grammar of such a rite of passage, and the message they send themselves during the ritual, through the absence of grave goods and large burial grounds, is one that, at a time when society is undergoing a transition in which an egalitarian system is breaking down, in fact places the accent on the egalitarian, which is associated with the collective.⁴⁶ Power is concentrated in those who represent the community, who exploit the emotions of participants in the ritual and build a collective consciousness of affiliation and the past to create a new ideological concept. It would be absurd, of course, to claim that everyone

⁴⁴ Bourdieu 1977, 58.

⁴⁵ Kuijt 1996, 326.

⁴⁶ Verhoeven 2002, 241.

⁴⁴ Bourdieu 1977, 58.

⁴⁵ Kuijt 1996, 326.

⁴⁶ Verhoeven 2002, 241.

simboličkog sistema koji se u tom periodu uspostavljao, redefinišu društvene uloge i socijalno prihvatljivo ponašanje u smjeru stvaranja neolitskog načina života.

Zaključak

Ova kratka kritika radova koji govore o pogrebnoj praksi na Bliskom istoku u doba prekeramičkog neolita započeta je sa ciljem da se odredi učešće sekundarnog sahranjivanja lobanja u procesu promjene načina života u neolitskom svijetu. Teško bi se moglo reći da se do nekog jasnog odgovora došlo.

Sekundarno sahranjivanje lobanja započeto je u kasnom natufijenu. To je tada predstavljalo rijetkost, lobanje su dislocirane sa prostora prvobitne sahrane, ali nisu podvrgavane nekoj posebnoj obradi. Ova promjena u ritualnoj praksi poklapa se sa sve naglašenijim naznakama sedentarnog neolitskog društva. Ekonomska baza i dalje ostaje ista, ali se simbolički sistem postepeno razgrađuje. Praksa sekundarnog sahranjivanja lobanja nastavlja se kroz prekeramički neolit A i širi se po Levantu, da bi vrhunac doživjela u prekeramičkom B neolitu, kada se simbolizam potpuno mijenja i uspostavlja se ideologija koja je karakteristična za neolit.

Nakon onoga što je iznijeto u ovom radu, kontrola nad smrću predstavlja simbol domestikacije, a obrađene lobanje prevedene u sferu domusa upravo su manifestacije domestikovane smrti. To je bio dug put od neartikuliranih sahrana izvan kuća ili javnog prostora do jasno izražene strategije da se promijeni jedan pogled na svijet, promjenom uvjerenja, ideološke matrice, jednom riječju načina života.

Promjene u odnosu prema smrti su, pored kreiranja domusa, uticale na stvaranje temelja neolitskog društva. Ideološka tranzicija, u kojoj je došlo do preraspodjele moći, u kojoj su društvene uloge nanovo dodjeljivane, a predmeti, rituali, naseobinski i javni objekti dobijali novi smisao, bila je avangarda novoj ekonomiji.

U funkcionalnom smislu, složeni rituali koji su iziskivali sinergiju pojedinačnih radnji i emocija vezanih za sahranu djelovali su kao kohezioni faktor u zajednici, u kojima se sve ono prethodno spomenuto objašnjavalo i kanalisalo.

taking part in the ritual consciously does so in order to enhance social cohesion or direct power relations. Consciously or unconsciously, mortuary practice enables social roles and socially acceptable behaviour to be redefined, as part of the wider symbolic system being established at the time, leading to the creation of the Neolithic way of life.

Conclusion

This brief critique of various works dealing with mortuary practice in the Near East in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic period was begun with the aim of determining the extent to which secondary skull burials were involved in changing the way of life in the Neolithic world. It can hardly be said that any clear answer has emerged.

Secondary skull burials began in the late Natufian, when they were a rarity. The skulls were removed from their original burial place, but received no special treatment. This new ritual practice coincided with the increasingly pronounced features of a sedentary Neolithic society. The economic base remained unchanged, but the symbolic system was gradually disintegrating. The practice of secondary skull burial continued throughout PPNA, spreading around the Levant and reaching a peak in PPNB, when the symbolism was undergoing a total change, and the ideology typical of the Neolithic was being established.

After the events outlined in this paper, control over death becomes a symbol of domestication, and plastered skulls transferred into the domus are a manifestation of domesticated death. It was a long journey from unarticulated burials outside the house or public space to clearly expressed strategies for changing a world view, by changing convictions, the ideological matrix – in a word, the way of life.

Changing attitudes towards death, along with the creation of the domus, helped to lay the foundations of Neolithic society. Ideological transition, which involved a redistribution of power, in which social roles were reallocated, and objects, rituals, dwellings and public buildings acquired new meaning, preceded the new economy.

Functionally, the complex rituals that required the synergy of the individual actions and emotions associated with burial acted as a factor for

Treba na kraju naglasiti da je ovo samo jedno od mogućih viđenja povezanosti pogrebne prakse u prekeramičkom neolitu sa socijalnom tranzicijom, i da u svakom slučaju ne mora biti ispravno, koliko zbog nedostatka konkretnih podataka, do kojih se, nažalost, u jednom ovakvom istraživanju teško dolazi, toliko zbog činjenice da je svaki arheološki zaključak velikim dijelom društveno određen našim sopstvenim sistemom.

communal cohesion, in which everything referred to above was explained and channelled.

Finally, it should be understood that this is just one possible view of the connection between mortuary practices in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic and social transition, and that it may not be the right one, both because of the absence of specific data – which it is difficult to obtain in research such as this – and because every archaeological conclusion is largely dictated socially by our own system.

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Ilirske kacige s područja Bosne i Hercegovine

Illyrian helmets from Bosnia and Herzegovina

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Na zemljopisnom se prostoru suvremenog teritorija Bosne i Hercegovine bilježi impozantan broj kaciga ilirskoga tipa. Riječ je o brončanim kacigama koje se, kao dio uporabne obrambene vojne opreme, ili kao amblem statusno-simboličkog paradnog karaktera, iznađuju i koriste, u različitim tipovima i varijantama, tijekom razdoblja starijeg željeznog doba. Njihova se kulturna obilježja i povijesna vertikala prate na 24 poznata primjerka, i njima pripadajućim ulomcima, koji potječu s čak 20 nalazišta razasutih po čitavom teritoriju Bosne i Hercegovine. Takvo je stanje potaknulo ovo istraživanje kojim se prikazuje detaljna kataloška obrada svih kaciga i njihovih ulomaka, pogotovo onih u literaturi do sada navodenih, ali u biti nepoznatih primjeraka. Obrada je izrađena u korist pregleda kvantitete, tipološko-kronološke razlikovitosti, prostorne disperzije, te kulturno-povijesne aktualnosti kojima su se bitno i izričito nadopunile dosadašnje iscrpne i poznate sintetičke studije o kacigama ilirskog tipa uopće. Stoga ih, s obzirom na dostupne arheološke podatke, klasificiramo tipom II. i III., s njima pripadajućim inačicama (II A, III A1-a, III A1-b (?), III A2-a, III A2-b), te kronološki slijedimo od 7. pa sve do 4. stoljeća pr. Kr. u različitim kulturnim miljeima. Uz analiziranje i prikazivanje arheološkog konteksta zatvorenih cjelina te materijalne kulture cijeloga prostora i okolnih regija, pruža se novo sagledavanje vojne opreme u svrhu boljeg poznavanja kulturno-povijesnih prilika starijeg željeznog doba na području Bosne i Hercegovine.

Ključne riječi: Bosna i Hercegovina, vojna oprema, ilirske kacige, nošnja, tipologija, kronologija, prostorna distribucija, kulturna i društvena obilježja

A remarkable number of Illyrian type helmets have been recorded in present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina. These bronze helmets, used as part of a warrior's defence weapons or as emblems of status, of symbolic, parade nature, were made in the early Iron Age, and were of various types and variants. Their cultural features and historical trajectory are traced by means of 24 specimens and accompanying fragments, originating from no fewer than 20 sites scattered throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina. This is what prompted the research, the result of which is a detailed catalogue of all the helmets and fragments thereof, particularly those that have already been referred to in the literature but remain essentially unknown. The study was designed to identify the quantity, typological and chronological diversity, geographical distribution and cultural and historical features that have added, both essentially and specifically, to the exhaustive, well-known synthetic studies to date of Illyrian type helmets in general. In the light of the available archaeological data, therefore, we have classified them as type II and III, with their respective variants (II A, III A1-a, III A1-b (?), III A2-a, III A2-b), and traced them chronologically from the 7th to the 4th century BC, in various cultural settings. The analysis and presentation of the archaeological context of close associations and the material culture of the entire area and surrounding regions are accompanied by new observations on military equipment, with a view to advancing knowledge of cultural and historical circumstances in the early Iron Age in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Key words: Bosnia and Herzegovina, military equipment, Illyrian helmets, attire, typology, chronology, geographical distribution, cultural and social features

Uvod

Na zemljopisnom prostoru političkih granica suvremene Bosne i Hercegovine do današnjih je dana zabilježen prilično zadivljujući broj kaciga

Introduction

The area lying within the political borders of present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina has already yielded a quite remarkable number of Illyrian

ilirskoga tipa. Riječ je o brončanim kacigama koje se, u različitim tipovima i varijantama, izrađuju i koriste tijekom razdoblja starijeg željeznog doba. Njihova se kulturna obilježja i povijesna vertikala prate na 24 poznata primjerka, i njima pripadajućim ulomcima, koji potječu s čak 20 nalazišta razasutih po čitavom teritoriju Bosne i Hercegovine (sl. 1). Na pojedinim od tih nalazišta, mahom istraživanih od strane nadležnih institucija, u pravilu se nalaze dvije ili više kaciga, što je svojstveno za prostor južnije Hercegovine. Ondje je, pored toga, zabilježen i ukupno najveći broj ilirskih kaciga u Bosni i Hercegovini, pa tako s 13 nalazišta poznajemo kacige dvije različite varijante jednoga tipa (III A1-a i III A2-a) (sl. 1). Nalazišta su prostorno raspoređena i s jedne i s druge strane Neretve, nedjeljivo povezana s onima na teritoriju današnje Hrvatske, te tako tretirana kao asociirani prostor zaleđa jadranskog priobalja, tj. srednje i južne Dalmacije (sl. 7; sl. 14). S obzirom na dostupne arheološke podatke, kronološko im se određenje slijedi od kraja 6. pa sve do 4. stoljeća pr. Kr. (sl. 18). Sjevernija područja, regija središnje i sjeverne Bosne, zastupljena su s osjetno manjim brojem nalazišta takvih kaciga (sl. 1). No, ondje je bitno povećana različitost tipova i njihovih varijanti (II A, III A1-a, III A2-a i III A2-b) koja se, također kulturološki i prostorno, povezuje uz okolne prostore, ponajprije požeške kotline i Posavine, odnosno središnjeg balkanskog prostora (sl. 3; sl. 7; sl. 14). Sukladno tomu, i kontinuitet njihove uporabe dužeg je vremenskog raspona, pa su tako bile poznate već i u 7. stoljeću, korištene sve do 4. stoljeća pr. Kr. (sl. 18). Određen broj ilirskih kaciga pripada i skupini slučajnih i/ili pojedinačnih nalaza, za koje nam precizniji podatci o kontekstima njihovih nalaza nisu poznati i koji su najčešće prikupljeni od slučajnih nalaznika. Možemo stoga reći da kacige ilirskoga tipa iz Bosne i Hercegovine, kako kvantitetom tako i varijabilnošću i kvalitetom, svjedoče tezi po kojoj su one bile najzastupljenija forma poznatog nam obrambenog dijela vojne opreme starijeg željeznog doba šire zapadnobalkanske regije (sl. 1). Time su bile potpuno ravnopravno uklupljene u modu onodobne jugoistočne Europe pa zato navedenom brojnošću i slijede odmah iza teritorija povijesnih Grčke i Makedonije (sl. 3; sl. 7; sl. 14).

type helmets – bronze helmets of various types and variants, made and in use during the early Iron Age. Their cultural features and historical trajectory are traced by means of 24 specimens and accompanying fragments, originating from no fewer than 20 sites scattered throughout the country (fig. 1). It was common for some of these sites, mainly investigated by the relevant institutions, to yield two or more helmets, a particular feature of southern Herzegovina, where the highest total number of Illyrian helmets in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been recorded. Helmets of two different variants of a single type (III A1-a and III A2-a) (fig. 1) are known from thirteen sites, distributed on both sides of the River Neretva, clearly associated with those in present-day Croatia, and therefore treated as from an associated region of the hinterland of the Adriatic coast, i.e. central and southern Dalmatia (figs. 7; 14). Judging from the available archaeological data, they range in date from the late 6th to the 4th century BC (fig. 18). The more northerly region of central and north Bosnia has markedly fewer sites of these helmets (fig. 1), but with a greater diversity of types and variants (II A, III A1-a, III A2-a and III A2-b), again associated culturally and geographically with their surroundings, mainly the central Balkan regions of the Požega valley and Sava basin (figs. 3; 7; 14). Concomitantly, they were used over a longer period, from the 7th to the 4th century BC (fig. 18). A certain number of Illyrian helmets also fall within the category of chance and/or individual finds, where accurate details of the contexts in which they were found are unknown, and which were usually obtained from those who discovered them. One could therefore say that both quantitatively and qualitatively, as well as in variability, Illyrian type helmets from Bosnia and Herzegovina suggest that they were the most widespread kind of early Iron Age defence weapon known to us in the wider western Balkans (fig. 1). They were thus completely in accord with the fashions of south-east Europe at that time, coming second only in numbers to those in ancient Greece and Macedonia (figs. 3; 7; 14).

The study of Illyrian helmets in Bosnia and Herzegovina is an ongoing process which began in the late 19th century, and may be seen as falling into two or three stages of systematic research.



Sl. 1. Geopolitička karta Bosne i Hercegovine s ucrtanim nalazištima obrađenim u istraživanju.

Fig 1. Sites covered by the research marked on the geopolitical map of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Proučavanje ilirskih kaciga u Bosni i Hercegovini dugotrajan je proces koji započinje krajem 19. stoljeća i može se sagledavati u dvije, odnosno tri faze njihova temeljitoga istraživanja. Već je 1897. godine Franjo Fiala objavio prve kacige iz hercegovačkih Gruda, zatim iz Putičeva kod Travnika, te prvu kacigu iz Donje Doline¹ (sl. 1). Uslijedili su brojni radovi Ćire Truhelke koji je priopćio do tada najveći njihov broj, bilo opisno bilo vrijednim reprodukcijama, i to iz: Gorice,² Plana, Drinovaca i Radišića,³ Podstinja kod Kiseljaka⁴ (sl. 1). Isti je autor objavio i drugu kacigu iz nekropole u Donjoj

The first helmets, from Grude in Herzegovina, were published by Franjo Fiala in 1897, followed by others from Putičevo near Travnik, and the first helmet from Donja Dolina¹ (fig. 1). This was followed by several studies by Ćiro Truhelka, who published the highest number of Illyrian helmets to date, whether as description or illustration – those from Gorica,² Plana, Drinovci and Radišić,³ and Podstinja near Kiseljak⁴ (fig. 1). He also published another helmet from the necropolis at Donja Dolina⁵ (fig. 1), and provided the first comprehensive interpretation of these helmets in Bosnia

¹ Fiala 1897.

² Truhelka 1899.

³ Truhelka 1901.

⁴ Truhelka 1914.

¹ Фиала 1897.

² Труhelка 1899.

³ Труhelка 1901.

⁴ Труhelка 1914.

⁵ Труhelка 1902.

Dolini⁵ (sl. 1), a pružio je i prvu cjelovitiju sintezu njihova interpretiranja u Bosni i Hercegovini, te okolnim područjima.⁶ Njegovim se radom zaokružuje tzv. prva faza istraživanja ilirskih kaciga koja je zapravo okončana početkom Prvog svjetskog rata.

Nakon više od četiri desetljeća, u godinama nakon Drugoga svjetskoga rata, objavama nalaza Zdravka Marića iz Kačnja i Ošanića (sl. 1), započeti će druga, vrlo intenzivna faza istraživanja ilirskih kaciga u Bosni i Hercegovini.⁷ Tako će, izuzev objava i analiza pojedinih primjeraka, i Borivoj Čović pokazati na složenije kronološke i kulturološke interpretacije tih kaciga u kudikamo široj povijesnoj i prostornoj perspektivi,⁸ objelodanjujući po prvi puta jedino kacigu iz Radišića⁹ (sl. 1). U preglednom i sintetičkom prikazivanju kaciga ilirskog tipa s područja Balkana, Ivan Marović je pomno obradio i pojedine kacige iz Bosne i Hercegovine. Definirajući ih u razrađenim tipovima, "korporu" je tada pridodao i kacige iz Podstinja kod Kiseljaka te onu iz okolice Stoca¹⁰ (sl. 1). U toj maniri, studioznih i sintetičkih radova, nastavio je potom i Rastko Vasić. Nadopunjujući dotadašnje spoznaje tipološkim analizama te njihovim prostornim distribucijama, kacige iz Bosne i Hercegovine bile su uvijek detaljno elaborirane, tim više što i objavljuje ilirsku kacigu nađenu u Savi između Županje i Orašja¹¹ (sl. 1).

S krajem 80-tih godina 20. stoljeća završavala se i ta tzv. druga faza istraživanja ilirskih kaciga na prostoru Bosne i Hercegovine. Unatoč tomu, veliko zanimanje za ove kacige je nastavljeno, pa su podrobnom reinterpretacijom svih poznatih podataka bile uključene u djela stranih istraživača. Naime, najpotpuniju razradu i konačno prihvaćenu tipološku razdjelnicu, odnosno smjernicu, pružio je tada rad Hermanna Pfluga.¹² Njegovo je djelo uvelike nadopunila, i popravila, upravo podacima za prostor Balkana i ponajviše Bosne i Hercegovine, Biba Teržan¹³ pružajući time najcjelovitiju prostornu i kulturnu sliku njihova rasporeda do današnjih dana.

S erom 3. milenija započinje i ova zadnja, treća, ali ne i posljednja faza istraživanja ilirskih kaciga u i iz Bosne i Hercegovine. Njihov se broj, pa tako i

and Herzegovina and its surroundings.⁶ His work completes the first stage in the study of Illyrian helmets, brought to an end by the outbreak of World War I.

More than four decades elapsed before, in the post World War II years, the second stage in the intensive study of Illyrian helmets in Bosnia and Herzegovina began with the publication by Zdravko Marić of finds from Kačanj and Ošanići (fig. 1).⁷ As well as publishing and studying individual specimens, Borivoj Čović was also to draw attention to the complex chronological and cultural interpretation of these helmets from a far broader historical and geographical perspective,⁸ bringing to public notice for the first time the only helmet from Radišić⁹ (fig. 1). Ivan Marović also made a detailed study of certain helmets from Bosnia and Herzegovina in his survey and synthetic presentation of Illyrian type helmets from the Balkan region. He classified them into different types, adding to the "corpus" the helmets from Podstinje near Kiseljak and those from the Stolac region¹⁰ (fig. 1). This same scholarly, synthetic approach was also taken later by Rastko Vasić, who added to the existing knowledge with his typological analyses and coverage of their distribution, invariably studying the helmets from Bosnia and Herzegovina in detail, especially since he also published the Illyrian helmet found in the River Sava between Županja and Orašje¹¹ (fig. 1).

This second stage in the study of Illyrian helmets in Bosnia and Herzegovina came to an end in the late 1980s, though interest in them persisted, and they were covered in the works of foreign scholars with a detailed reinterpretation of all the known facts. Their most comprehensive treatment, providing the conclusive typological classification and guidelines, was that of Hermann Pflug.¹² His work was complemented and amended by data from the Balkans, and Bosnia and Herzegovina in particular, by Biba Teržan,¹³ whose account of their geographical and cultural distribution is the most comprehensive yet published.

The third, but not the last, stage in the study of Illyrian helmets in and from Bosnia and Herzegovina began with the third millennium. Their numbers, and hence new findings concerning their typological, chronological and cultural features, continue to rise

⁵ Truhelka 1902.

⁶ Truhelka 1901; 1914, 116-118.

⁷ Marić 1959; 1964; 1976a; 1976b; 1976c; 1995.

⁸ Čović 1956; 1961; 1962; 1976; 1985; 1987a.

⁹ Čović 1985.

¹⁰ Marović 1976.

¹¹ Vasić 1975; 1982a; 1983a.

¹² Pflug 1988a.

¹³ Teržan 1995.

⁶ Truhelka 1901; 1914, 116-118.

⁷ Marić 1959; 1964; 1976a; 1976b; 1976c; 1995.

⁸ Čović 1956; 1961; 1962; 1976; 1985; 1987a.

⁹ Čović 1985.

¹⁰ Marović 1976.

¹¹ Vasić 1975; 1982a; 1983a.

¹² Pflug 1988a.

¹³ Teržan 1995.

tipološko-kronološka te kulturna saznanja i dalje postupno povećavaju. Pogotovo se to odnosi na nalaze ulomaka više kaciga iz nekropole Kamenjača u Brezi koje je objavio Veljko Paškvalin.¹⁴ Dvije nove kacige istražene su i u tumulu u Vranjevom Selu kod Neuma,¹⁵ a javnosti su predstavljeni i “čuveni” ulomci iz glasilačkih Rusanovića i Talina u najnovijoj studiji o ilirskim kacigama R. Vasića, gdje je ujedno navedena i kaciga iz Ritešića kod Doboja¹⁶ (sl. 1). Svoje su zasluženno mjesto pojedine kacige našle i u studijama Boška Marijana o kasnom brončanom i starijem željeznom dobu na prostoru Hercegovine,¹⁷ te Bosne u sintezi Maria Gavranovića.¹⁸

Unatoč tako relativno dobroj istraženosti, neprestano je “tinjala” misao kako su ilirske kacige iz Bosne i Hercegovine ipak nedostavno poznate. Ta je činjenica afirmirala namjeru ovoga istraživanja kojim se, ponajprije, prikazuje detaljna katalogska obrada svih kaciga, kao i njihovih ulomaka, pogotovo onih do sada spominjanih, ali u biti nepoznatih primjeraka. Takva obrada koristi se u svrhu što podrobnije tipološke analize kojom smo, uz arheološki kontekst zatvorenih cjelina i materijalne kulture cijeloga prostora, nastojale prikazati novo sagledavanje kulturno-povijesne interpretacije vojne opreme starijeg željeznog doba na prostoru Bosne i Hercegovine.

Ilirske kacige II tipa

Najstariji stupanj ilirskih kaciga, ili tip I, nije poznat iz zemljopisnog prostora današnje Bosne i Hercegovine, te stoga prvu pojavnu varijantu predstavljaju kacige koje pripadaju II. tipu ili srednjem stupnju. Riječ je o kacigama koje, za sada, potječu jedino iz Donje Doline (k. 1-2).¹⁹ To su dva relativno dobro očuvana primjerka, od kojih je jedan pojedinačni nalaz iz naselja, Gradine (k. 1),²⁰ a jedan

¹⁴ Paškvalin 2002; 2003.

¹⁵ Miličević-Capek 2007; Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011.

¹⁶ Vasić 2010.

¹⁷ Marijan 2000.

¹⁸ Gavranović 2011.

¹⁹ Фидала 1897, 662-663, T. III; Truhelka 1902, 266-268, sl. 7-8, T. XIII, 1, 3-6; Čović 1961, Y25; Marić 1964, 37, T. XI, 10, T. XII, 2a-b; Marović 1976, 291, T. I, 2-3 3; Vasić 1975, T. 2, 1-2; 2010, 38, T. II, 1-3; Gavranović 2011, 154-155, sl. 156, sl. 264/1.

²⁰ S navedenom je kacigom u stručnoj literaturi bilo čestih nesporazuma. Tako npr. Hrvoje Potrebica nepravilno preuzima podatak od B. Čovića, po kome kacigu iz donjodolinskog naselja identificira s kacigom iz nekropole gradine Čarakovo kod Prijedora (Potrebica 2008, 194). Naime, riječ je o posve drugom primjerku koji pripada III. stupnju ilirskih kaciga i

gradually. This is particularly the case with the discovery of fragments of several helmets from the Kamenjača necropolis in Breza, published by Veljko Paškvalin.¹⁴ Two new helmets have also been excavated from the tumulus in Vranjevo Selo near Neum,¹⁵ and the “eminent” fragments from Rusanovići and Talina in Glasinac have also been presented to the public in the latest study of Illyrian helmets by R. Vasić, which also refers to the helmets from Ritešići near Doboje¹⁶ (fig. 1). Certain helmets have also found their place in the studies by Boško Marijan on the late Bronze Age and early Iron Age in Bosnia and Herzegovina,¹⁷ and of Bosnia in the synthesis by Mario Gavranović.¹⁸

Despite being relatively thoroughly studied, the notion persisted that the Illyrian helmets of Bosnia and Herzegovina are not as well known as they should be. This underpinned the purpose of this research, which has resulted initially in a detailed, catalogue-style treatment of all the helmets and fragments, particularly those that have already been referred to but remain essentially unknown. This treatment is used for the purpose of the most detailed typological analysis possible, by means of which we have sought, in the archaeological context of close associations and the material culture of the entire area, to present new reflections on the cultural and historical interpretation of early Iron Age military equipment in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Illyrian helmets of type II

The earliest type of Illyrian helmet, type I, is unknown in present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina. As a result, the first variant to appear consists of middle form or type II Illyrian helmets. Thus far, these are known only from Donja Dolina (cat. 1-2).¹⁹ The helmets in question are two relatively well preserved specimens, one of which was an individual find from a settlement, Gradina (cat. 1),²⁰ and the other from the necropolis

¹⁴ Paškvalin 2002; 2003.

¹⁵ Miličević-Capek 2007; Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011.

¹⁶ Vasić 2010.

¹⁷ Marijan 2000.

¹⁸ Gavranović 2011.

¹⁹ Фидала 1897, 662-663, Pl. III; Truhelka 1902, 266-268, figs. 7-8, Pl. XIII, 1, 3-6; Čović 1961, Y25; Marić 1964, 37, Pl. XI, 10, Pl. XII, 2a-b; Marović 1976, 291, Pl. I, 2-3 3; Vasić 1975, Pl. 2, 1-2; 2010, 38, Pl. II, 1-3; Gavranović 2011, 154-155, fig. 156, fig. 264/1.

²⁰ There have been numerous misunderstandings in the specialist literature over this helmet. For instance, Hrvoje Potrebica mistook data from B. Čović, equating the Donja Dolina helmet with a helmet from the necropolis of Čarakovo hill fort near Prijedor (Potrebica 2008, 194). This is in fact a completely different

iz same nekropole (k. 2; sl. 2, 8). Kako su oni mnogostruko i podrobno već bili obrađivani u šire dostupnoj te znanstvenoj literaturi, ovdje će biti istaknute njihove osnovne i najvažnije činjenice.

Prema tipološkim karakteristikama, obje kacige pripadaju starijoj varijanti ili tipu II A ilirskih kaciga,²¹ zaobljeno izvučenih paragnatida, četvrtastog otvora za lice te s blago izvijenim i širokim štitnikom za vrat (k. 1-2; sl. 18). Izrazito ukrasno rebro proteže se uz cijeli rub kacige, odvajajući tako širi rubnik na kome su bile smještene velike zakovice s glavicom u obliku kuglica, naknadno dodavane u izreze rubnika. Kuglice su, ili zakovice, imale ne samo dekorativnu već i funkcionalnu namjenu podržavajući time podstave koje su gotovo sigurno bile izrađivane od organskih materijala.²² Duž najvišeg dijela kalote kacige protezala su se dva paralelna rebra koja su tako tvorila ležište za perjanicu. Ona su istaknuto trokutasto profilirana, prilično razmaknuta i s po dvije vanjske kanelure. Jedino su na kacigi iz naselja (k. 1) sačuvani otvori za nosače perjanice i s prednje i sa stražnje strane kacige. Po jedno je ukrasno, profilirano rebro dodano i na frontalnoj, čeonj strani iznad otvora. Budući da njihov broj na kacigama varira od jednog do dva, pa čak i tri rebra, pretpostavlja se da je time mogao označavati i određenu statusnu razliku između njihovih imatelja i/ili nositelja.²³

Dragocjen je, u tome smislu, inventar groba XXVII s parcele M. Petrovića ml., jer obilježava jedan od najbogatijih grobova nekropole u Donjoj Dolini vezanih uz starije razdoblje željeznoga doba (sl. 2). Izuzev kacige i umba štita, posebnu zanimljivost toga groba obilježava i brončana posuda tipa *lotus phiale* (sl. 2, 9),²⁴ čija prostorna disperzija ukazuje na širu povezanost ne samo unutar egejskog već i istočnomediterranskog te anatolskog kulturnog kruga.²⁵

(cat. 2; fig. 2, 8). Since they have already been studied several times in detail in both the popular and the scholarly literature, only their basic and most important features will be highlighted here.

Based on their typological characteristics both helmets belong to the earlier variant or type II A Illyrian helmet,²¹ with a rounded base to the cheek guards, a square face opening and a wide, somewhat curved neck guard (cat. 1-2; fig. 18). A pronounced decorative rib ran around the entire rim of the helmet, forming a wide border set with large, globule-headed rivets. These rivets were both decorative and functional, holding in place the lining of the helmet, which would certainly have consisted of organic material.²² Two parallel ribs extended along the crown of the helmet, into which the crest of the helmet would be fitted. These ribs were strongly triangular in profile, set fairly far apart, and each had two cannelures on the outer side. The apertures for the crest holder at the front and back of the helmet were still extant only on the helmet from the settlement (cat. 1). A single decorative, profiled rib was also added to the front of the helmet, above the face opening. Since the number of these ribs varies from one to two or even three per helmet, it is possible that they also served to denote differences in the status of their owners or wearers.²³

Of great value in this regard is the inventory of grave XXVII from the plot of M. Petrović jr., which records one of the most richly furnished early Iron Age graves in the Donja Dolina necropolis (fig. 2). An item of particular interest from this grave, in addition to the helmet and a shield boss, was a bronze vessel of *lotus phiale* type (fig. 2, 9),²⁴ the geographical distribution of which suggests widespread connections not only within the Aegean but also in the eastern Mediterranean and Anatolian Kulturkreis.²⁵

kojeg je B. Čović jasno odredio u 3a fazu grupe Donja Dolina – Sanski Most, tj. u 5. i eventualno u 4. stoljeće pr. Kr. (Čović 1987a, 258), a ne u fazu 2b kako su datirane obje ilirske kacige II. tipa iz Donje Doline (Čović 1987a, 245-246, 249, sl. 15, 4).

²¹ Vasić 1975, 87-89; Marović 1976, 290; Pflug 1988a, 51.

²² Marović 1976, 290.

²³ Vasić 2010, 38.

²⁴ Marić 1964, 36-37; Čović 1987a, 250-251; Vasić 1975, 87-88; 1983b, 187-188, sl. 1; 2003, 113, sl. 73.

²⁵ Teržan 1995, 90, sl. 16; Gavranović 2011, 158-159, sl. 160. Vrlo sličnu phialu poznajemo još iz Osova (Benac, Čović 1957, T. XXVIII, 2). Pri nešto svježijem pokušaju njezine interpretacije Martin Trachsel, npr., niči ne spominje ovu phialu iz Donje Doline, već je dovodi u izravnu vezu s Gordionom, kronološki je tako usklađujući na donju granicu njezina korištenja u vremenu Ha C2 stupnja (Trachsel 2004, 299, sl. 182). Vidjeti o tome raspravu i kod Teleaga 2008, 270-271.

specimen, belonging to type III, which B. Čović clearly attributed to phase 3a of the Donja Dolina-Sanski Most group, dating from the 5th or possibly the 4th century BC (Čović 1987a, 258), not to phase 2b to which the type II Illyrian helmets from Donja Dolina belong (Čović 1987a, 245-246, 249, fig. 15, 4).

²¹ Vasić 1975, 87-89; Marović 1976, 290; Pflug 1988a, 51.

²² Marović 1976, 290.

²³ Vasić 2010, 38.

²⁴ Marić 1964, 36-37; Čović 1987a, 250-251; Vasić 1975, 87-88; 1983b, 187-188, fig. 1; 2003, 113, fig. 73.

²⁵ Teržan 1995, 90, fig. 16; Gavranović 2011, 158-159, fig. 160. A very similar phiale is known from Osovo (Benac, Čović 1957, Pl. XXVIII, 2). In his attempt to provide a somewhat fresher interpretation of it, Martin Trachsel, for example, does not even refer to the phiale from Donja Dolina, but associates it directly with Gordion, thereby placing it chronologically at the lower limit of its use in Ha C2 phase (Trachsel 2004, 299, fig. 182; see also Teleaga 270-271).



Sl. 2. Inventar groba XXVII, greda M. Petrović, Donja Dolina (prema: Truhelka 1902; Čović 1961; Marić 1964).

Fig. 2. Inventory of grave XXVII, M. Petrović jr. terrace, Donja Dolina (adapted from Truhelka 1902; Čović 1961; Marić 1964).

U odnosu na cjelokupni repertoar građe, grob je najprije smješten u prijelaz 6. na 5. stoljeće pr. Kr.²⁶ i povezan uz kraj glasinacke IVc faze.²⁷ No, revizijom građe datacija je ipak podignuta i to u drugu četvrtinu 6. stoljeća, pa je time smješten i u relativnu 2b fazu kulturnog kompleksa Donja Dolina – Sanski Most.²⁸ Napokon, takva je vremenska odrednica usuglašena kao najprihvatljivija mogućnost općenito datiranja tog tipa ilirskih kaciga na području Balkana, dakle od sredine 7. do sredine 6. stoljeća.²⁹

Donja je Dolina tako jedino za sada poznato nalazište kartirano s po dvije kacige predmetnoga tipa, a da nije riječ o nekom od makedonskih nalazišta ili panhelenskih svetišta (sl. 3). Izuzev najrodnijih primjeraka koje za donjodolinske primjerke nalazimo na području Makedonije,³⁰ izuzetna sličnost s kacigom iz Kaptola već je konkretno uspostavljena i definirana,³¹ naravno, uz ostalu građu koja je ondje nađena. Zato je općeprihvaćeno mnijenje kako kacige iz Donje Doline i Kaptola predstavljaju import iz južnobalkanskih, najvjerojatnije makedonskih radionica, budući da je njihovo možebitno obrtničko središte smješteno upravo negdje na području između Aiani i Kozania pa sve do Thessaloniki (sl. 3).³² Na tom zemljopisnom arealu brojne su i u novijim istraživanjima osobito nekropole Archontiko u Pelli,³³ a racionalno se i realno misli kako velik njihov broj s tržišta antikviteta potječe upravo iz toga prostora.³⁴ Ondje je također zabilježena i mlađa varijanta,

In the light of the entire range of material, the grave was initially ascribed to the turn of the 6th and 5th centuries BC²⁶ and associated with the end of Glasinac phase IVc.²⁷ A revised dating pushed it back to the fourth quarter of the 6th century, placing it in the related 2b phase of the Donja Dolina-Sanski Most cultural complex.²⁸ Finally, this chronological determinant is agreed to be the most acceptable possibility for the general dating of this type of Illyrian helmet in the Balkans, i.e. from the mid 7th to the mid 6th century.²⁹

Donja Dolina is thus so far the only site with two helmets of this type that is not one of the Macedonian sites or pan-Hellenic sanctuaries (fig. 3). In addition to the specimens from Macedonia,³⁰ the remarkable similarity to the helmet from Kaptol has already been noted,³¹ with, of course, the other material found there. It is therefore widely accepted that the helmets from Donja Dolina and Kaptol were imported from southern Balkan – probably Macedonian – manufacturing sites, since their likely manufacturing centre was somewhere between Aiani and Kozani and all the way down to Thessaloniki (fig. 3).³² They are common in that part of the world, particularly in the recently excavated necropolis of Archontiko in Pella,³³ and it is both reasonable and realistic to imagine that many of them on the antiquities market come from that very area.³⁴

²⁶ Svi datumi, godine i stoljeća odnose se na vrijeme stare ere, *pr. Kr.*

²⁷ Čović 1961, Y25.

²⁸ Marić 1964, 36-38; Vasić 1975, 87-90; 1982a, 7; Čović 1987a, 250-251.

²⁹ Pflug 1988a, 52; Potrebica 2008, 195; Vasić 2010, 38.

³⁰ Teržan 1995, 87, 113, sl. 6. Iz korita rijeke Cetine kod Trilja ne potječe niti jedna ilirska kaciga navedenog tipa, kao što je to bilo kartirano kod B. Teržan (1995, sl. 6), a prenijeli su H. Potrebica (2008, sl. 2) i M. Gavranović (2011, 155). Sve kacige pripadaju kasnom stupnju, tj. III. tipu i njihovim varijantama. Pregledano u Muzeju cetinske krajine, Sinj, i u Muzeju triljskog kraja, Trilj.

³¹ Naprimjer: Marović 1976, 290-291; Potrebica 2008, 194-195; Vasić 1975, 87-89; 2010, 38; uz stariju literaturu.

³² Vasić 2010, 38.

³³ Χρυσοστόμου, Χρυσοστόμου 2007; 2009.

³⁴ Njihovom broju valja sada pridružiti i dvije kacige iz Italije koje se čuvaju u Modeni i u Bologni. Kao recentne akvizicije smatra se da izvorno potječu iz prostora Balkana, a obje se svrstavaju u stariju varijantu II. tipa ilirskih kaciga (II A). Kaciga iz Bologne na čeonom dijelu ima tri ukrasna paralelna rebra (http://www.archeobo.arti.beniculturali.it/comunicati_stampa/bo_elmo_bals.htm; http://www.anticoantico.com/l_port/scheda_articolo_main.asp?ID=57594 (14. 02. 2011).

²⁶ All dates, years and centuries are BC.

²⁷ Čović 1961, Y25.

²⁸ Marić 1964, 36-38; Vasić 1975, 87-90; 1982a, 7; Čović 1987a, 250-251.

²⁹ Pflug 1988a, 52; Potrebica 2008, 195; Vasić 2010, 38.

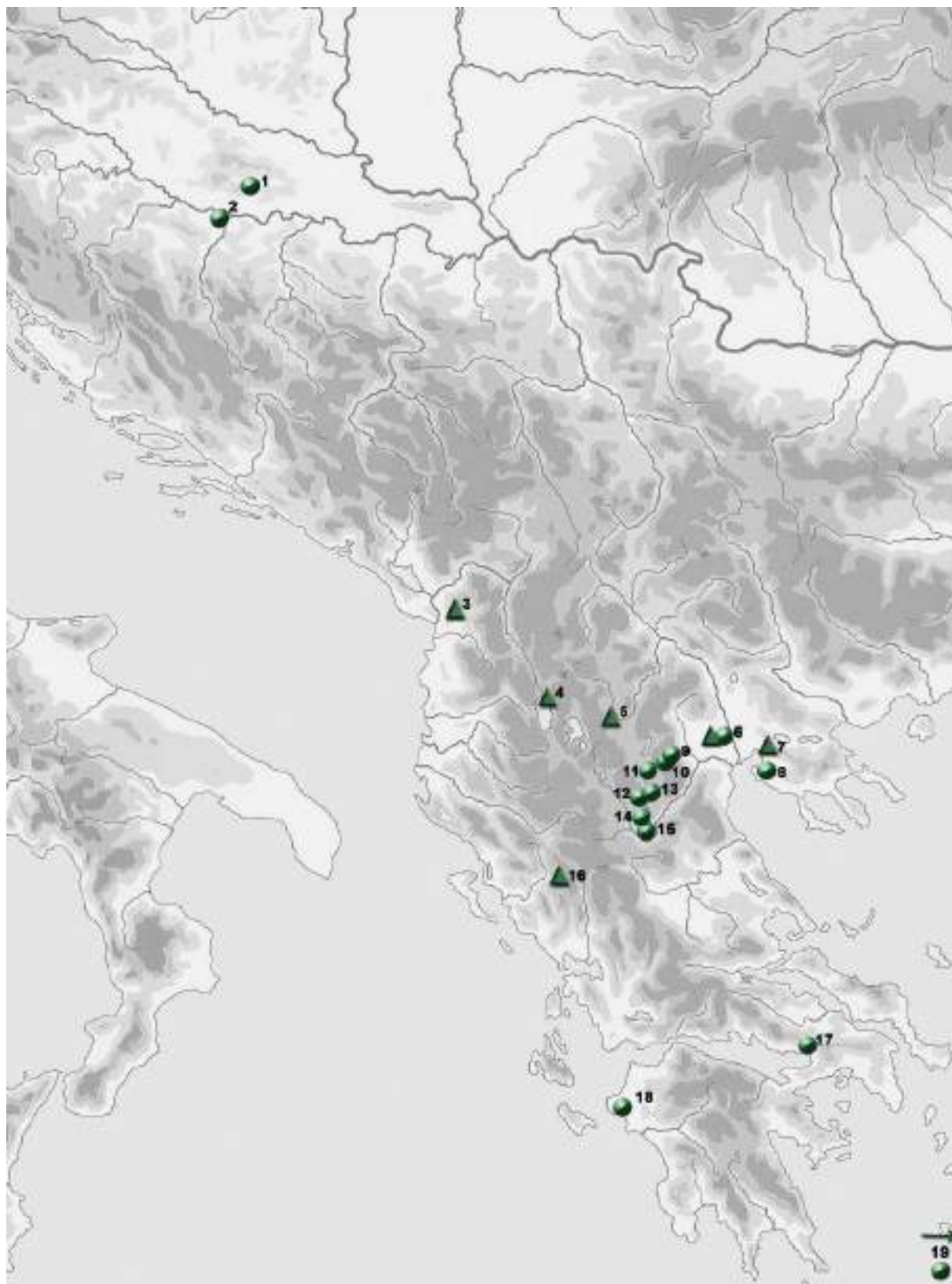
³⁰ Teržan 1995, 87, 113, fig. 6. There is not one Illyrian helmet of this type from the River Cetina near Trilj, as indicated by B. Teržan (1995, fig. 6), and taken up by H. Potrebica (2008, fig. 2) and M. Gavranović (2011, 155). All helmets belong to the later type III and its variants. Studied in the Cetinska krajina Museum, Sinj, and the Trilj Museum in Trilj.

³¹ E.g.: Marović 1976, 290-291; Potrebica 2008, 194-195; Vasić 1975, 87-89; 2010, 38; with earlier literature.

³² Vasić 2010, 38.

³³ Χρυσοστόμου, Χρυσοστόμου 2007; 2009.

³⁴ To these should now be added two helmets from Italy housed in Modena and Bologna. Recent acquisitions, they are thought to have come originally from the Balkans; both belong to the older variant of type II Illyrian helmet (II A). The helmet in Bologna has three decorative parallel ribs at the front (http://www.archeobo.arti.beniculturali.it/comunicati_stampa/bo_elmo_bals.htm; http://www.anticoantico.com/l_port/scheda_articolo_main.asp?ID=57594 (14. 02. 2011).



Sl. 3. Karta rasprostranjenosti ilirskih kaciga II A (●) i II B (▲) tipa (nadopunjeno prema: Teržan 1995; Vasić 2010).

Fig. 3. Map showing the distribution of Illyrian helmets of type II A (●) and II B (▲) (updated from Teržan 1995; Vasić 2010).



Sl. 4. Ilirske kacige II B varijante:
1: Ioannina, grob 43 (prema: Catling 1986),
2: Ungrej (Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine).

Fig. 4. Illyrian helmets of variant II B: 1: Ioannina, grave 43 (after Catling 1986), 2: Ungrej (National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina).

ili prijelazni oblik prema III. tipu ilirskih kaciga (II B), što ilustrira kaciga s korintskim natpisom iz sjeverne Grčke (Halkidike?),³⁵ te iznimna kaciga iz Ioannine koja na desnoj paragnatidi ima prikaz urezanog vepra³⁶ (sl. 3; sl. 4, 1).³⁷ To je ujedno prvi ukras s prikazom vepra na nekoj od ilirskih kaciga, što će postati, u mnogo razvijenijoj i luksuznijoj varijanti, značajka ilirskih kaciga III A1-b tipa.³⁸ Najsjeverniji nalaz te varijante kaciga smješten je u Ungrej na skadarskom području (sl. 4, 2; sl. 18),³⁹ dok ih najveći broj poznajemo iz nekropole Trebeništa, i to iz

A later variant or transitional form to the Illyrian helmet type III (II B) has also been recorded there, illustrated by a helmet with a Corinthian inscription from northern Greece (Halkidiki?),³⁵ and an exceptional helmet from Ioannina with the figure of a wild boar incised on the right cheek guard³⁶ (figs. 3; 4, 1).³⁷ This is also the earliest figure on any Illyrian helmet of a wild boar, a more highly worked version of which was later to become the hallmark of type III A1-b Illyrian helmets.³⁸ The northernmost find of this variant of helmet was at Ungrej in the Shkodër region (figs. 4, 2; 18),³⁹ while the greatest numbers known are from

³⁵ Amandry 1971, 589-597, sl. 4-5.

³⁶ Catling 1986, 50, sl. 65; Andreou 1997, 96-97, sl. 80-80a; Pflug 1988a, 49-50.

³⁷ Obje su kacige smatrane korintskim uradcima, što su podupirali i korintski natpis i stilizirani prikaz vepra u maniri korintске škole važnoga slikarstva. No, to proizvodno središte nije prihvaćeno kao uvjerljivo rješenje. Svakako je zanimljiv podatak da je ioanninska kaciga nađena u grobu 43 korištena kao urna, a to je isto bio slučaj i s grobom 52, gdje je u funkciji urne bila pak ilirska kaciga I. tipa (Catling 1986, 50). U okolici Ioannine, na nalazištu Parkio Koutseliou, istražen je grob ratnika s još jednom ilirskom kacigom nepoznatih tipoloških obilježja (Whitley et al. 2006, 81).

³⁸ Blečić 2007, 79-87.

³⁹ Nopcsa 1907, 2-4, sl. 2-3.

³⁵ Amandry 1971, 589-597, figs. 4-5.

³⁶ Catling 1986, 50, fig. 65; Andreou 1997, 96-97, figs. 80-80a; Pflug 1988a, 49-50.

³⁷ Both helmets are regarded as Corinthian, as attested by the Corinthian inscription and stylized figure of a wild boar in the manner of the Corinthian school of vase painting. However, this manufacturing centre is not seen as convincing. Of undoubted interest is the fact that the Ioannina helmet found in grave 43 was used as an urn, as was the case in grave 52, where an Illyrian type I helmet was used as an urn (Catling 1986, 50). The grave of a warrior with another Illyrian helmet of unknown typological features was excavated at the Parkio Koutseliou site near Ioannina (Whitley et al. 2006, 81).

³⁸ Blečić 2007, 79-87.

³⁹ Nopcsa 1907, 2-4, figs. 2-3.

grobova I, III i IV,⁴⁰ dakle iz konteksta koji je uže odredio njihovu dataciju, tretirajući ih kronološki nešto mlađim datumom od onih kaciga II A varijante.

Kacige iz Donje Doline i Kaptola obilježavaju tako najsjeverniji nalaz njihova sezanja na području Posavine i Slavonije (sl. 3). Temeljem njih uspostavljena je, kao i uz pomoć drugih nalaza materijalne kulture prestižne vojne opreme i brončanog posuda na širem prostoru od Glasinca do Posavine, relacija prvih snažnijih prodora, najopćenitije mišljeno, grčkih proizvoda, trgovine i razmjene, u sjevernija područja "barbarskog" Balkanskog poluotoka.⁴¹ Međutim, to se prostorno i kulturno izvorište, barem kada su ilirske kacige u pitanju, definitivno može promišljati znatno konkretnije, i to za prostor povijesne Makedonije gdje se te kacige isključivo nalaze u bogatijim, pa čak i u kneževskim, muškim grobovima, kao što je to već više puta pokazao R. Vasić.⁴² Ondje su također prisutne obje razvojne varijante, s time da mlađa, II B varijanta, penetrira više u sjevernije prostore Makedonije i Ilirije (sl. 3). U samoj se Grčkoj te kacige nalaze isključivo u svetištima, od kojih će nam nalaz iz Dodone samo dodatno argumentirati tijesnu povezanost Epira i Makedonije toga vremena (sl. 3).

Ilirske kacige III A tipa

Ilirske kacige posljednjeg ili trećeg stupnja, odnosno III A tipa, u pravom i punom smislu podrazumijevaju i opravdavaju imensko nazivlje *ilirske*.⁴³ Najvećim

the Trebeništa necropolis, where they came from graves I, III and IV,⁴⁰ or in other words from a context that allowed for a close dating, treating them as chronologically of somewhat later date than the type II A variant of helmet.

The helmets from Donja Dolina and Kaptol thus mark the northernmost limit of their distribution in the Posavina (Sava basin) and Slavonia (fig. 3). They form the basis, along with other finds of high-status military equipment and a bronze vessel in the wider region from Glasinac to the Posavina (Sava basin), for identifying, generally, the first time Greek wares made any serious inroads, in terms of trade and exchange, into the more northerly regions of the "barbarian" Balkan peninsula.⁴¹ However, at least where Illyrian helmets are concerned, this geographical and cultural point of origin may be regarded much more specifically as ancient Macedonia, where these helmets are found solely in the graves of wealthier, even princely males, as already pointed out more than once by R. Vasić.⁴² Both variants are also present there, though the later II B variant reached further north into Macedonia and Illyria (fig. 3). In Greece itself these helmets are found only in sanctuaries, of which the find from Dodona will merely add weight to the argument that there were close relations between Epirus and Macedonia at that time (fig. 3).

Illyrian helmets of type III A

Illyrian helmets of the third or last form, type III A, may with full justification be called *Illyrian*,⁴³

⁴⁰ Filow 1927, 79-83, sl. 3, 5, 6, 96, T. XV, 1. Iz nekropole Trebeništa, do danas, poznajemo isključivo tri kacige varijante II B, ne pet primjeraka kaciga tipa II kako se to učestalo navodi u literaturi (npr. Potrebica 1998, 242; 2000, 280-281; 2008, 194). Također, danas znamo preko 30-tak kaciga toga tipa, čiju tipološku i kronološku shemu daleko upotpunjuju nalazi kaciga iz Makedonije, a posebno nekropole Archontiko u Pelli, čiji će konačni broj tek biti poznat (Χρυσοστόμου, Χρυσοστόμου 2007; 2009; vidjeti i Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011, 54-61, bilj. 22 i 25).

⁴¹ Čović 1987a, 250; Teržan 1995, 87; Potrebica 2008, 194-196; Vasić 1975, 89-91; 2003, 113-114; 2010, 38.

⁴² Vasić 1993, 1684-1686; 2010, 38.

⁴³ Tako ujednačen naziv uglavnom je opredijeljen teritorijalno, a manjim dijelom etničkim nositeljima. Valja, međutim, naglasiti kako različito imensko nazivlje odražava zapravo kronologiju poznavanja i analiziranja te kacige, i to od *grčko-ilirskih, ilirsko-grčkih, makedonsko-ilirskih* pa sve do *ilirskih* kaciga. Suprotno tomu, i nadalje se upotrebljavaju, ponajčešće u domaćoj literaturi, zastarjela nazivlja, a predlažu se i posve nove imenske varijante, primjerice *pajonski* tip ili *grčko-makedonski* tip kacige (Blečić 2007, 74; Vasić 2009b, 182; Vasić 1982a, 5; 2010, 37; uz navedenu stariju literaturu).

⁴⁰ Filow 1927, 79-83, figs. 3, 5, 6, 96, Pl. XV, 1. Thus far only three helmets of variant II B are known from the Trebeništa necropolis, not five examples of type II helmet, as often stated in the specialist literature (e.g. Potrebica 1998, 242; 2000, 280-281; 2008, 194). More than thirty helmets of that type are now known, of which the typology and chronology is largely supplemented by the finds of helmets in Macedonia, and in particular at the necropolis at Archontiko in Pella, the final number of which is yet to be determined (Χρυσοστόμου, Χρυσοστόμου 2007; 2009; see also Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011, 54-61, fn. 22 and 25).

⁴¹ Čović 1987a, 250; Teržan 1995, 87; Potrebica 2008, 194-196; Vasić 1975, 89-91; 2003, 113-114; 2010, 38.

⁴² Vasić 1993, 1684-1686; 2010, 38.

⁴³ The term Illyrian pertains mainly to a territory, and only in part to ethnic groups. It is worth noting, however, that different epithets reflect the chronology of the discovery and analysis of these helmets, ranging from *Graeco-Illyrian* and *Illyro-Graecian* to *Macedonian-Illyrian* and finally *Illyrian*. In contrast,

su, dakle, dijelom rasprostranjene na području južnog i zapadnog balkanskog teritorija, te uz istočnojadransku obalu i njezino zaleđe. Nekoliko novih nalaza, ali i revizija te objavljivanje do sada nepoznatih ilirskih kaciga toga tipa iz prostora Bosne i Hercegovine, dali su zapravo inicijalni poticaj pristupanju ovom i ovakvom istraživanju. Shodno tipološkim različitostima, kao i srodnostima, ilirske kacige III. tipa definirane su u nekoliko varijanti koje, iako pokazuju prostorne povezanosti, tipološku srodnost i kronološku usklađenost, naznačuju određene vrijednosti i po tim problematskim pitanjima. Prema do sada prikupljenim podacima, na prostoru današnje Bosne i Hercegovine zabilježene su kacige III A1-a, III A2-a i III A2-b varijanti. S obzirom na nalaz aplikativnog vepra iz Zagrađa, možemo pretpostavljati, s dosta sigurnosti, da je ondje bila poznata, ili u nekom određenom smislu korištena, kaciga III A1-b tipa, odnosno njezin simbolički supstitut. Kacige tipa III A3 i III B za sada u toj zemljopisnoj regiji posve izostaju.

Varijanta III A1-a ilirskih kaciga

Kao i kacige II. tipa, tako su i one u klasifikaciji III A1 tipa, s izvedenim ukrasom pravih kuglica na rubovima, već dobro poznate i obrađene u znanstvenoj literaturi. To su čuvena kaciga iz Gorice (k. 3), zatim kacige iz Kačnja (k. 5-7) i iz Putičeva (k. 4), koje su sve pribrojene III A1-a varijanti istih.⁴⁴

Prema mjestu i okolnostima nalaženja Kačanj je jedino nalazište gdje su dokumentirane tri kacige predmetnoga tipa, obilježavajući istovremeno jedine kacige koje potječu iz masovne tzv. "zajedničke grobnice".⁴⁵ Kacige iz Gorice i Putičeva, s obzirom na mjesto nalaženja, možda bi mogli sagledavati u istoj kategoriji. Naime, kaciga iz

⁴⁴ Pflug 1988a, 53, sl. 14; Teržan 1995, 115, sl. 7; Blečić 2007, 80-81, sl. 4; Vasić 2010, 39-40, 42-43, T. III, 1-2. Dva ulomka kaciga iz Kamenjače u Brezi (Paškvalin 2002, 526-527, T. II, 1-2; Blečić 2007, 79, 81) (k. 15-16) provjerom i obradom građe u Zemaljskom muzeju BiH isključena su iz III A1-a varijante, budući da su uz rubove izrađene imitirajuće pravilno obrađene kuglice koje tako navedene ulomke kaciga opredjeljuju III A2 varijanti. O tome vidjeti raspravu dalje u tekstu.

⁴⁵ Marić 1959, 87-88; 1976a, 102. Da je to nekropola na ravnome, kako je o tom nalazištu promišljao B. Marijan (2000, 34), definitivno je malo vjerojatno.

being most widespread in the south and west Balkans and along the eastern Adriatic coast and its hinterland. A number of new finds and a review and publication of previously unknown Illyrian helmets of this type from Bosnia and Herzegovina in fact constituted the initial impetus to begin this and similar research. In the light of their typological diversity and their similarities, Illyrian type III helmets have been classified into a number of variants which, although related geographically, typologically and chronologically, indicate certain values and concomitant issues. According to the data assembled so far, helmets of variants III A1-a, III A2-a and III A2-b have been recorded in present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina. The discovery of plaque representing a wild boar from Zagrađe suggests with a fair degree of certainty that the helmet of type III A1-b or its symbolic substitute was known or used there in some way. So far, helmets of type III A3 and III B are completely absent from the region.

Illyrian helmets of variant III A1-a

Like type II helmets, those classified as type III A1, with a decoration of true globules along the rim, are already well known and described in scholarly literature. They are the famous helmets from Gorica (cat. 3), Kačanj (cat. 5-7) and Putičevo (cat. 4), all of which are of variant III A1-a.⁴⁴

In terms of the context and circumstances of the find, Kačanj is the only site where three helmets of this type have been documented; they are also the only helmets from a large "communal grave".⁴⁵

outdated epithets are still in use, mainly in the local literature, and entirely new epithets are also being proposed, such as the *Paionian* type or the *Graeco-Macedonian* type of helmet (Blečić 2007, 74; Bacnĥ 2009b, 182; Vasić 1982a, 5; 2010, 37; together with the earlier works referred to).

⁴⁴ Pflug 1988a, 53, fig. 14; Teržan 1995, 115, fig. 7; Blečić 2007, 80-81, fig. 4; Vasić 2010, 39-40, 42-43, Pl. III, 1-2. After checking and analysing the material in the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, two fragments of helmets from Kamenjača in Breza (Paškvalin 2002, 526-527, Pl. II, 1-2; Blečić 2007, 79, 81) (cat. 15-16) have been ruled out from variant III A1-a, as the rims are worked in imitation of even-sized globules, which thus place these fragments in the III A2 variant. This is discussed later in this paper.

⁴⁵ Marić 1959, 87-88; 1976a, 102. It is very unlikely that this is a flat necropolis, as B. Marijan considered this site (Marijan 2000, 34).

Putičeva je pojedinačni nalaz,⁴⁶ dok je kaciga iz Gorice navodno iz “svetišta”,⁴⁷ pa stoga i jednu i drugu možemo razumijevati kao votivne darove ili poklone zavjetnoga karaktera, što je za ilirske kacige bila načelno znana i dobro potvrđena praksa.⁴⁸

Iako sve četiri kacige imaju ukras rubnika izveden s umetnutim, gusto poredanim pravim kuglicama, koje imaju isključivo dekorativnu namjenu, one nisu posve identične nego ih obilježavaju određene tipološke razlike. Kaciga iz Gorice (k. 3; sl. 18) najlošije je očuvan primjerak i dobrim je dijelom rekonstruirana, budući da je bila namjerno (ritualno) razbijana i nagorena. Ona ima izrazito zašiljene, a kratke paragnatide, s relativno plitkim usjekom s bočnih strana kacige. Čeonni dio je nizak i zabačen, štitnik za vrat je kratak i izdignut, a trokutasta rebra ležišta za perjanicu posve su neizrazito i plitko profilirana. Prema tim odlikama vjerojatno pripada nešto starijoj izradbi kaciga predmetnoga tipa, pa je morfološki možemo usporediti sa trebeniškim, grobovi VII i II,⁴⁹ i sindoškim kacigama⁵⁰ no svakako i s, najbližom, kacigom iz Kličeva.⁵¹ To znači da je prema svom osnovnom obliku vrlo srodna “makedonskim” kacigama III A3 tipa koje su bile obilježjem prostora Makedonije u širem smislu zemljopisnog poimanja.⁵² Stoga ju R. Vasić i smatra najranijim, ili čak prijelaznim oblikom prema III. tipu ilirskih kaciga.⁵³ U usporedbi s kacigama II B tipa, gorička je kaciga ipak znatnije razvijenija, te bi bilo prihvatljivije smatrati je nekim ranim oblikom općenito III A tipa, ali s određenim mjesnim ili radioničkim karakteristikama (sl. 18).

Kacige iz Putičeva (k. 4)⁵⁴ i Kačnja (k. 5-7)⁵⁵ pripadaju pak klasičnim oblicima III A1 tipa kaciga. Ona iz Putičeva je djelomično očuvana te joj nedostaje gotovo čitava lijeva strana.

Given the place where they were found, the helmets from Gorica and Putičevo could perhaps be considered as belonging to the same category. The helmet from Putičevo was a one-off find,⁴⁶ whereas the helmet from Gorica is supposedly from a “sanctuary”,⁴⁷ both may thus be seen as votive offerings or gifts of a votive nature, a practice that is known in principle and confirmed in practice in the case of Illyrian helmets.⁴⁸

Though all four helmets have a decorative border with close-packed, inset, true globules, which are purely decorative in nature, they are not completely identical, but display certain typological differences. The helmet from Gorica (cat. 3; fig. 18) is the least well preserved specimen, and has been largely reconstructed, having been deliberately (ritually) smashed and burned. It has markedly pointed but short cheek guards, with a relatively short notch on each side of the helmet. The front is low and set back, the neck guard is short with an upturned brim, and the triangular ribs of the crest holder are barely profiled. These features suggest that it belongs to an earlier sub-variant of this type of helmet, which may be compared morphologically with the Trebeništa helmets, graves VII and II,⁴⁹ and the Sindos helmets,⁵⁰ and certainly with its closest match, the helmet from Kličevo.⁵¹ This means that it is very similar in basic form to the “Macedonian” helmets of type III A3 that were a feature of Macedonia in its wider meaning as a geographical concept.⁵² R. Vasić therefore regards it as the earliest type III Illyrian helmet, or perhaps even a transitional form to that type.⁵³ The Gorica helmet is nonetheless more sophisticated than type II B helmets, and it would be preferable to regard it as an early form of type III A in general, but with certain local or manufacturing site-related characteristics (sl. 18).

⁴⁶ Фиала 1897, 661, Т. II; Nadbath 2004, Т. I, 1; Vasić 2010, 43, Т. III, 2; Gavranović 2011, 155-156, sl. 157, k. 60.

⁴⁷ Truhelka 1899, 340-341; Човић 1976, 253; Potrebica 2008, 201.

⁴⁸ Blečić 2007, 82, 92-93.

⁴⁹ Filow 1927, 83, sl. 97-98.

⁵⁰ Sindos 1997, 83, k. 121, 127, k. 199, 131, k. 211, 148-149, k. 240, 276-277, k. 452.

⁵¹ Жижић 1979, 206, sl. 1; Васић 2009а, 114, sl. 2; Vasić 2010, 43, Т. IV, 1.

⁵² Teržan 1995, 121, sl. 9.

⁵³ Vasić 1983а, 76; Васић 2009а, 114.

⁵⁴ Фиала 1897, 661, Т. II.

⁵⁵ Marić 1959, 89-90, sl. 1, Т. I, 1; 1976а, Т. I, 3-6.

⁴⁶ Фиала 1897, 661, Pl. II; Nadbath 2004, Pl. 1, 1; Vasić 2010, 43, Pl. III, 2; Gavranović 2011, 155-156, fig. 157, cat. 60.

⁴⁷ Truhelka 1899, 340-341; Човић 1976, 253; Potrebica 2008, 201.

⁴⁸ Blečić 2007, 82, 92-93.

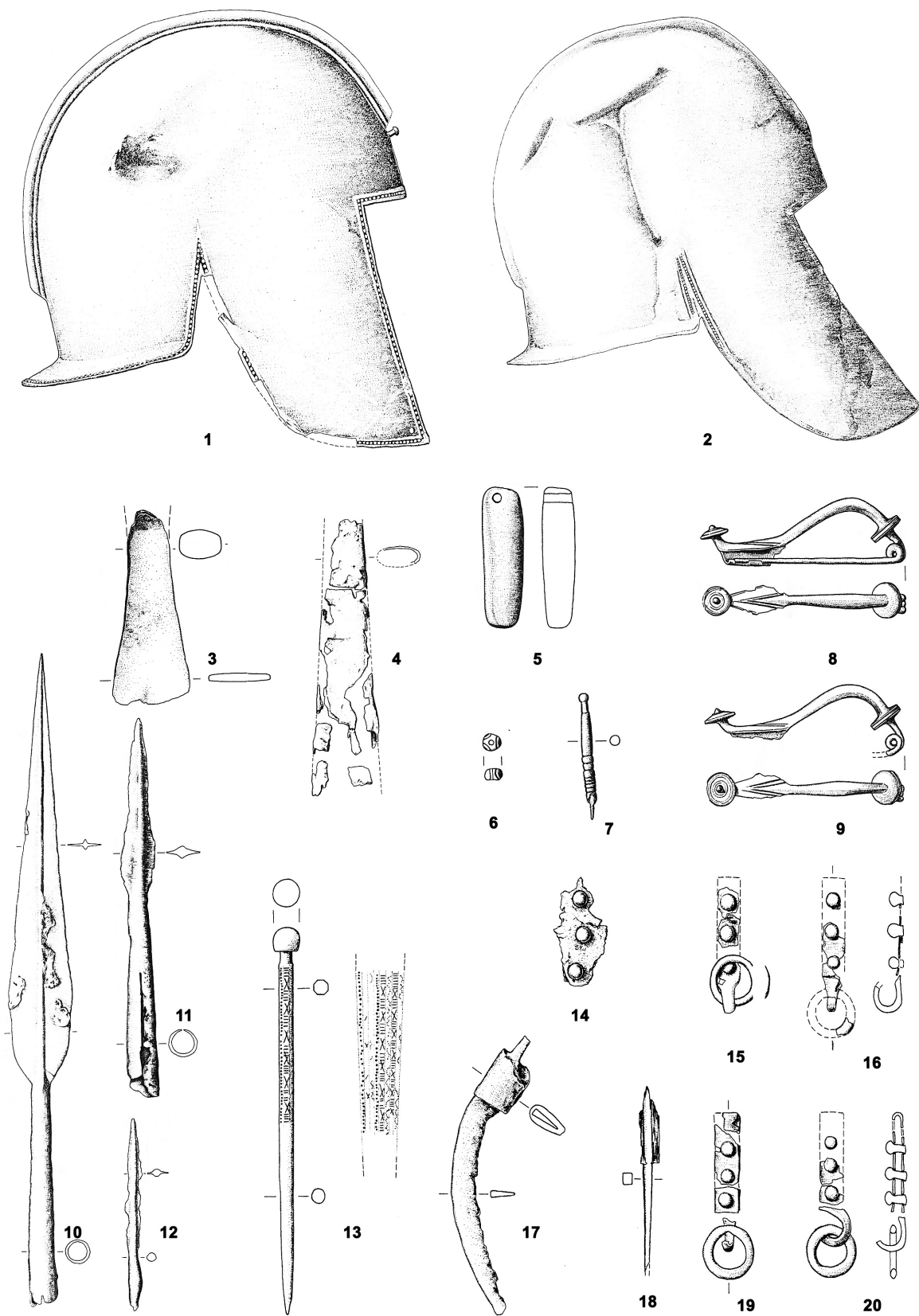
⁴⁹ Filow 1927, 83, figs. 97-98.

⁵⁰ Sindos 1997, 83, cat. 121, 127, cat. 199, 131, cat. 211, 148-149, cat. 240, 276-277, cat. 452.

⁵¹ Жижић 1979, 206, fig. 1; Васић 2009а, 114, fig. 2; Vasić 2010, 43, Pl. IV, 1.

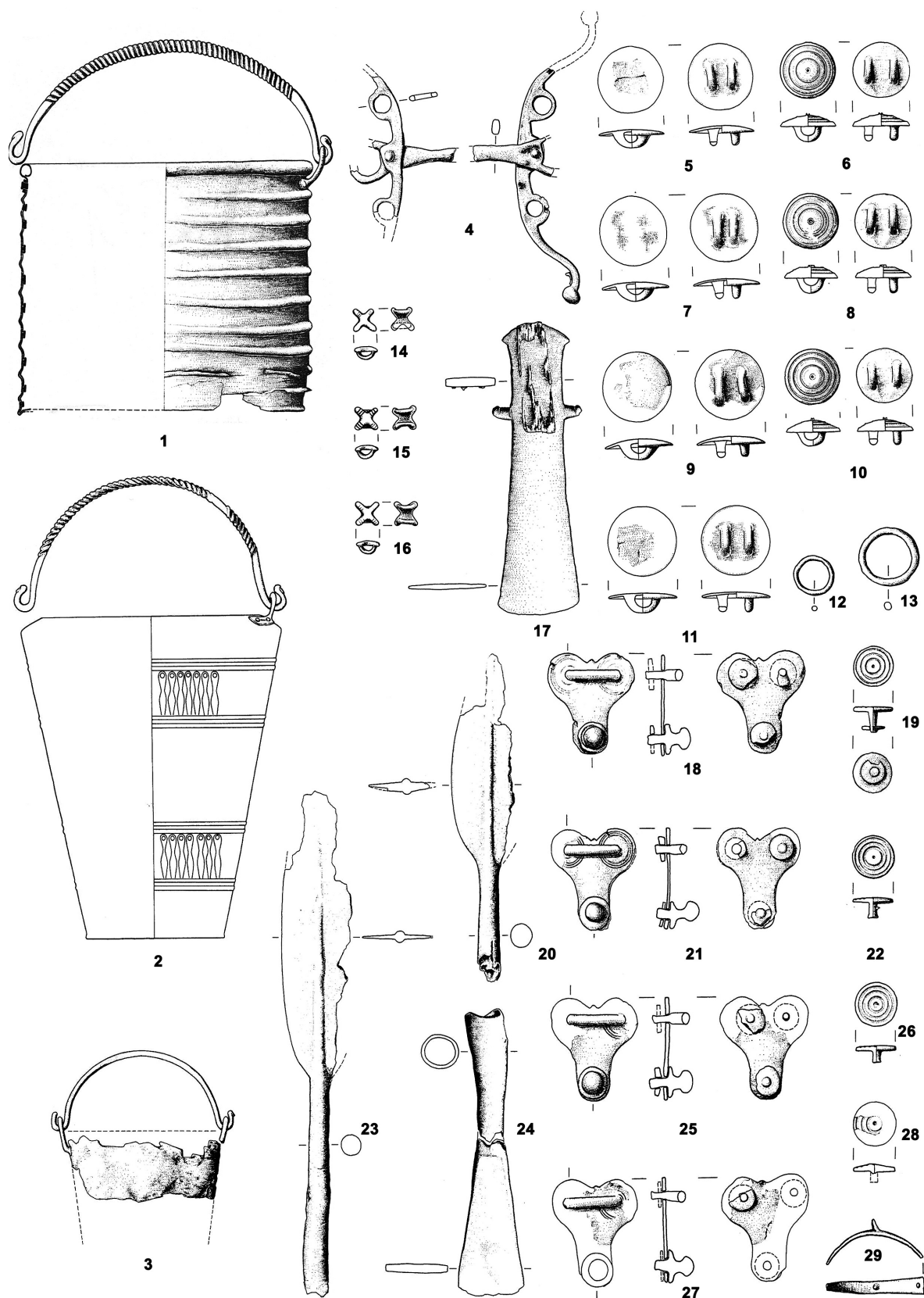
⁵² Teržan 1995, 121, fig. 9.

⁵³ Vasić 1983а, 76; Васић 2009а, 114.



Sl. 5. Grobna cjelina iz Novoga Mesta – Kapiteljska njiva VII/19 (prilagođeno prema: Egg 1999).

Fig. 5. Funerary complex from Novo Mesto – Kapiteljska njiva VII/19 (adapted from Egg 1999).



Sl. 6. Grobna cjelina iz Novoga Mesta – Kapiteljska njiva VII/19 (prilagođeno prema: Egg 1999).

Fig. 6. Funerary complex from Novo Mesto – Kapiteljska njiva VII/19 (adapted from Egg 1999).

Od primjeraka iz Kačnja za detaljniju su analizu valjane dvije, cjelovitije sačuvane kacige (k. 5-6). Sve navedene na postojanim dijelovima imaju, tipološki vrednujući, jasno istaknute relevantne elemente, od samog zaobljenog oblika kalote, izduženih i zaobljenih paragnatida s nešto izraženijim bočnim usjecima, koje se prema vratu sužavaju, do blago izvučenog i kraćeg štitnika za vrat. Trokutasto profilirana rebra ležišta perjanice usporedno teku uzduž kalote, između kojih su urezane tri linije, a na čeonom dijelu se u pravilu nalazi nosač, odnosno alka na zatiljnom dijelu, za pričvršćivanje iste. Tako se kod ove varijante već razvidno zaokružuje evolutivna faza i naznačuje stabilizirano standardiziranje toga tipa obrambenog naoružanja. On neće doživjeti daljnja preoblikovanja, ali će zato dozvoljavati određene, ponekad i znatne regionalne ili produkcijske znakovitosti. Najvažnije, sve te kacige imaju izveden ukras rubnika sa zasebno lijevanim i potom umetnutim malim kuglicama. One su poredane vrlo gusto, pravilno i proporcionalno, ostvarujući tako, isključivo u dekorativnom kanonu, kugličasti – *perlasti* učinak. Pri njihovom umetanju vrlo je često korišten i kositar, s obzirom da su kuglice bile posrebrnjene.⁵⁶ Takvim tehnološkim i stilskim osobitostima podudaraju se s ostalim kacigama iz iste tipološke skupine: od one iz akvatorija Belog na otoku Cresu,⁵⁷ do kacige te varijante iz Novoga Mesta (sl. 5, 1),⁵⁸ zatim s kacigom iz Bulbina kod Imotskog⁵⁹ ali pogotovo s kacigama iz Pečke Banje⁶⁰ i iz Ražane.⁶¹ Po tom značenju moraju se dakako dovesti i u blisku vezu s drugom, raskošnijom inačicom, III A1-b kaciga iz Olimpije,⁶² Trebeništa, grobovi V i VIII,⁶³ i Găvojdie kod Timișoare (sl. 11)!⁶⁴

⁵⁶ Hockey et al. 1992, 283-285; Blečić 2007, 86.

⁵⁷ Blečić 2007, 74-78, sl. 1-2, T. 1.

⁵⁸ Križ 1997, 57, k. 43; Egg 1999, 321-325, sl. 4, T. 12.

⁵⁹ Nikolanci 1959, 82, sl. 1; Marović 1976, 295, T. IV, 9.

⁶⁰ Љуци 1998, k. 222; Shukriu 2004, 51, sl. 52; Krstić 2007a, 94, 98-99.

⁶¹ Vasić 2010, 43, T. V, 1-2, 4. U radu Staše Babić kaciga je propustom objelodanjena pod nalazištem Kličevo (Babić 2002, sl. 5).

⁶² Snodgrass 1984, 89-90, sl. 44; Hockey et al. 1992, T. 19-23.

⁶³ Filow 1927, 84-85, T. XV, 2; Popović 1956, 47, T. 18; Krstić 2007b, 108-109; Vasić 1987b, 726-727, T. LXXVI, 1; 2010, T. IV, 3.

⁶⁴ Medeț, Cediciă 2004, 97-100; Васић 2009b, 193, sl. 6; Vasić 2010, 44, T. V, 3.

The helmets from Putičevo (cat. 4)⁵⁴ and Kačanj (cat. 5-7)⁵⁵ belong to the classic forms of type III A1 helmet. The one from Putičevo is incomplete, missing almost the entire left side. Two of the helmets from Kačanj (cat. 5-6), both fairly complete, are of value for detailed study. The extant parts of all these have clearly marked features relevant to typological evaluation, from the rounded form of the crown and the long, rounded cheek guards with rather more pronounced lateral notches, narrowing towards the neck, to the slightly curved, shorter neck guard. The triangular profiled ribs of the crest holder run parallel along the crown, with three incised lines between them, while there is usually a holder or ring at the back of the headpiece to which the crest is attached. In this variant, therefore, the evolutionary stage clearly reaches completion, suggesting that a stable, standard form of this type of defence weapon has been achieved. It would undergo no further remodelling, but instead would acquire certain sometimes quite significant features typical of a given region or manufacturing centre. Most important, all these helmets have a decorative border with small globules that were cast separately and then inset evenly, very close together, to create a purely decorative bead-like effect. Tin was often used for the setting, since the globules were frequently silver plated.⁵⁶ These technological and stylistic features correspond to those of other helmets from the same typological group, ranging from those from the Beli aquatorium on the island of Cres⁵⁷ to the helmets of this variant from Novo Mesto (fig. 5, 1),⁵⁸ the helmet from Bulbin near Imotski⁵⁹ and, in particular, the helmets from Pečka Banja⁶⁰ and Ražana.⁶¹ In this regard they are also very similar to more elaborate specimens of type III A1-b helmet from Olympia,⁶²

⁵⁴ Фиала 1897, 661, Pl. II.

⁵⁵ Marić 1959, 89-90, fig. 1, Pl. I, 1; 1976a, Pl. I, 3-6.

⁵⁶ Hockey et al. 1992, 283-285; Blečić 2007, 86.

⁵⁷ Blečić 2007, 74-78, figs. 1-2, Pl. 1.

⁵⁸ Križ 1997, 57, cat. 43; Egg 1999, 321-325, fig. 4, Pl. 12.

⁵⁹ Nikolanci 1959, 82, fig. 1; Marović 1976, 295, Pl. IV, 9.

⁶⁰ Љуци 1998, cat. 222; Shukriu 2004, 51, fig. 52; Krstić 2007a, 94, 98-99.

⁶¹ Vasić 2010, 43, Pl. V. 1-2, 4. In Staša Babić's paper the helmet is wrongly ascribed to the site of Kličevo (Babić 2002, fig. 5).

⁶² Snodgrass 1984, 89-90, fig. 44; Hockey et al. 1992, Pl. 19-23.

Analitički, upravo će nam te tipološke karakteristike, odnosno njihove najbliže i najbolje analogije, biti ključnim argumentom i za njihovo vremensko opredjeljenje. Ono će naime i dalje biti okvirno i/ili relativno, s obzirom da na predmetnom području ne poznajemo niti jednu kacigu iz kronološki preciznijeg, a kontekstualno jasnijeg ili užeg kulturološkog okvira. Stoga se, uopćeno, prihvaća njihov smještaj u kraj 6. i početak 5. stoljeća, interpretiran ovdje unutar kulturnih faza IVc2/Va glasinackog, odnosno istovremenih faza 4 i 5 hercegovačkog kulturnog kruga.⁶⁵ No, povrh toga, sigurnim će biti to, da su kronološki dobro usklađene s kacigama III A1-b, III A2 i III A3 varijanti što nam pokazuju već diskutirani nalazi iz grobova Trebeništa ili Sindosa, te iz Novoga Mesta (sl. 5, 1-2), koji ponavljaju situaciju iz imotskog Bulbina, ako je vjerovati do nas pristiglim podacima.⁶⁶

Njihova prostorna distribucija ukazuje pak na fenomen izuzetne disperzije, što nije bio slučaj niti s prethodnim tipovima, niti će biti sa sljedećim varijantama i njihovim inačicama. Najvećim su dijelom nalažene s po jednim primjerkom na širem prostoru Balkana, i to sjevernije od Makedonije (sl. 7), ukoliko nalaze iz svetišta Isthmije⁶⁷ i Olimpije shvaćamo u njima primjerenom kontekstu! Posebnu pozornost privlače noviji nalazi iz osjetno sjevernijih zemljopisnih položaja, naročito oni iz Novoga Mesta u Dolenjskoj i iz Găvojdie kod Timișoare u Banatu (sl. 5, 1; sl. 11, 3; sl. 18).

⁶⁵ Čović 1987b, 454, 630, 633-634; Marijan 2000, 83, 94, 147.

⁶⁶ H. Pflug obje kacige iz Bulbina svrstava u ovu varijantu (Pflug 1988a, 53, bilj. 68) što je prihvaćeno i kod drugih autora (npr. Blečić 2007, 81; Vasić 2010, 42). Međutim, ispravno je samo jednu kacigu pridružiti III A1-a varijanti, jer druga ide u red kaciga III A2-a varijante, kako je to bilježio još Ivan Marović (1976, 295, 297, sl. 9) i kako je to je revizijom u Franjevačkom samostanu u Imotskom definitivno i potvrđeno. Kacige su navodno nađene zajedno u istome grobu s ostalim tipovima navalne vojne opreme (Nikolanci 1959, 82; 1960, 31). Objе su prilično oštećene i neadekvatno restaurirane, od kojih je kaciga tipa III A1-a znatno bolje očuvana.

⁶⁷ Oscar Broneer je definirao samo jedan ulomak kao ilirsku kacigu, dok se u publiciranoj građi može izdvojiti još nekoliko takvih ulomaka koje isti autor pripisuje posudama (Broneer 1953, T. 60e). Novijim istraživanjima zabilježena je jedna gotovo cijela, i rekonstruirana, ilirska kaciga, posvećena Posejdonu i izložena u Muzeju (A. Jackson: http://lucian.uchicago.edu/blogs/isthmia/annual-reports/2009_report (25. 04. 2011)).

Trebeništa, graves V and VIII,⁶³ and Găvojdia near Timișoara!⁶⁴

Analytically, these typological features and their closest parallels will also constitute key evidence for dating purposes. Their dates will remain tentative and/or relative, since not one helmet from the area in question is known from a chronologically more precise, contextually clearer or more specific cultural setting. A date of the late 6th and early 5th century is widely accepted, seen here within cultural phases IVc2/Va of the Glasinac Kulturkreis or the contemporaneous phases 4 and 5 of the Hercegovina Kulturkreis.⁶⁵ Above all, however, there is no doubt that they are a good chronological match with helmets of variants III A1-b, III A2 and III A3, as demonstrated by the finds from the Trebeništa or Sindos graves already discussed, or those from Novo Mesto (fig. 5, 1-2), which are a repeat of the situation from Imotski Bulbin, if the data we have received are to be believed.⁶⁶

Their geographical distribution was also unusually wide, unlike the preceding types, and unlike also the next variants and their sub-variants. In most cases they have been found as single specimens in the wider Balkan region north of Macedonia (fig. 7), that is if the finds from the Isthmia⁶⁷ sanctuary and Olympia are seen in the context appropriate to them! New finds from markedly more northerly sites are of

⁶³ Filow 1927, 84-85, Pl. XV, 2; Popović 1956, 47, Pl. 18; Krstić 2007b, 108-109; Vasić 1987b, 726-727, Pl. LXXVI, 1; 2010, Pl. IV, 3.

⁶⁴ Medeleț, Cedică 2004, 97-100; Васић 2009b, 193, fig. 6; Vasić 2010, 44, Pl. V, 3.

⁶⁵ Čović 1987b, 454, 630, 633-634; Marijan 2000, 83, 94, 147.

⁶⁶ H. Pflug attributes both helmets from Bulbin to this variant (Pflug 1988a, 53, fn. 68), which is accepted by other authors too (e.g. Blečić 2007, 81; Vasić 2010, 42). However, only one of these helmets should properly be attributed to variant III A1-a; the other is of variant III A2-a, as long since noted by Ivan Marović (1976, 295, 297, fig. 9) and conclusively confirmed by a review in the Franciscan monastery in Imotski. The helmets were supposedly found together in the same grave with other types of naval military equipment (Nikolanci 1959, 82; 1960, 31). Both are quite badly damaged and have been poorly restored, but helmet type III A1-a is in a much better state of preservation.

⁶⁷ Oscar Broneer defined only one piece as an Illyrian helmet, but in the published literature a number of other such fragments described by him as from vessels may also be singled out (Broneer 1953, Pl. 60e). More recent investigations have brought to light an almost intact, reconstructed Illyrian helmet dedicated to Poseidon and on display in the Museum (A. Jackson: http://lucian.uchicago.edu/blogs/isthmia/annual-reports/2009_report (25. 04. 2011)).

Prema tomu, kaciga iz Putičeva ipak neće obilježavati najsjeverniji nalaz njihova rasprostiranja, kako je to na zadnje iznio M. Gavranović,⁶⁸ slijedeći kartografske podatke kod B. Teržan,⁶⁹ već samo na zemljopisnom prostoru Bosne i Hercegovine, jer ih sjevernije nalazimo još u Sisku, Novom Mestu i kod Belog na Cresu (sl. 7).

Sudeći prema do sada dostupnim podacima, mjesto eventualne njihove produkcije i dalje nije moguće pobliže locirati, ukoliko smo prisiljeni oslanjati se jedino na mjesta i gustoću njihova nalaznja. Najveći broj kaciga toga tipa poznajemo iz nekropole Trebeništa⁷⁰ te sada, s barem tri primjerka, iz Kačnja (k. 5-7), izuzmemo li panhelenška svetišta Isthmije i Olimpije, gdje ih je nađeno po nekoliko primjeraka. No, i pri tomu moramo uzimati u obzir činjenicu da su upravo Makedonci izrazito štovali i častili, religiozno i diplomatski u prohelenskoj promidžbi, upravo Olimpiju, odnosno snažno istaknut muški princip toga svetišta.⁷¹ Samim time, grčke kolonije na istočnoj obali Jadrana, za koje su mnogi autori pretpostavljali, ne mogu biti jedinim i/ili ispravnim ishodom u traženju mogućih proizvodnih središta navedenog tipa kaciga. Na koncu, u tim središtima nije nađena niti jedna kaciga predmetnoga tipa, nisu zabilježeni ostatci nikakvih radioničkih ili obrtničkih ateljea, niti ikakvi poluproizvodi koji bi mogli biti čvršćim dokazom ili barem sigurnijim "putokazom" u daljnjem takvom promišljanju! Trenutačna činjenica, da se sjeverno od Makedonije nalazi ponajmanje 15 primjeraka, a na samom ohridskom prostoru 5 ili čak 6 kaciga III A1 varijante, svakako mora imati svoju težinu. Definitivno je, s tim stupnjem i u tome vremenu, put prema Makedoniji bio svojski nadopunjen i razvijeniji u odnosu na vrijeme korištenja kaciga II. tipa (sl. 3; sl. 18). Isto tako taj predočeni put svjedokom je ne samo vojnog ili trgovačkog angažmana već kulturno i komunikacijski srodnog ideološkog sustava u posredničkoj mreži jasno definiranih odnosa, u kontaktima širokih razmjera,

particular interest, especially those from Novo Mesto in Dolenjska and Găvojdia near Timișoara in Banat (figs. 5, 1; 11, 3; 18). The helmet from Putičevo does not, therefore, mark the northernmost point in their distribution, as most recently stated by M. Gavranović,⁶⁸ following the cartographic details in B. Teržan,⁶⁹ but only the northernmost site in Bosnia and Herzegovina, since they are found further north in Sisak, Novo Mesto and Beli on Cres (fig. 7).

It remains impossible, on the basis of the available data, to pinpoint the location where they were manufactured, inasmuch as we are forced to rely only on the sites where they were found and their density. The largest number of helmets of this type known to us are from the Trebeništa necropolis⁷⁰ and now, with at least three specimens, from Kačanj (cat. 5-7), if we except the pan-Hellenic sanctuaries of Isthmia and Olympia, at each of which several specimens have been found. We must also, however, consider the fact that in pro-Hellenic propaganda the Macedonians greatly revered, religiously and diplomatically, the sanctuary at Olympia and its strongly male principle.⁷¹ By the same token, the Greek colonies on the eastern Adriatic coast, as assumed by several authors, cannot be the only or correct point of origin in the quest for possible manufacturing centres of this type of helmet. Finally, not one helmet of this type has been found in these centres, nor have any remains of manufacturing sites or artisans' workshops, or semi-finished products, that might provide solid evidence, or at the very least a reliable "signpost," for such thinking! At present the fact that at least 15 specimens are from north of Macedonia, while five or six specimens of variant III A1 are from the Ohrid region, must carry some weight. There is no doubt that at that time the road to Macedonia was much better developed than at the time helmets of type II were in use (figs. 3; 18). Again, this road also attests not only to military or trade relations, but also to a culturally similar ideological system in an indirect diffusion network of clearly defined relations, in wide-scale contacts

⁶⁸ Gavranović 2011, 156.

⁶⁹ Teržan 1995, sl. 7.

⁷⁰ Filow 1927, 84-85, sl. 99, T. XV, 2; Булић 1932, 4, sl. 3, 24; Popović 1956, 47, T. 18; Stibbe 2003, 26-29, 36-37.

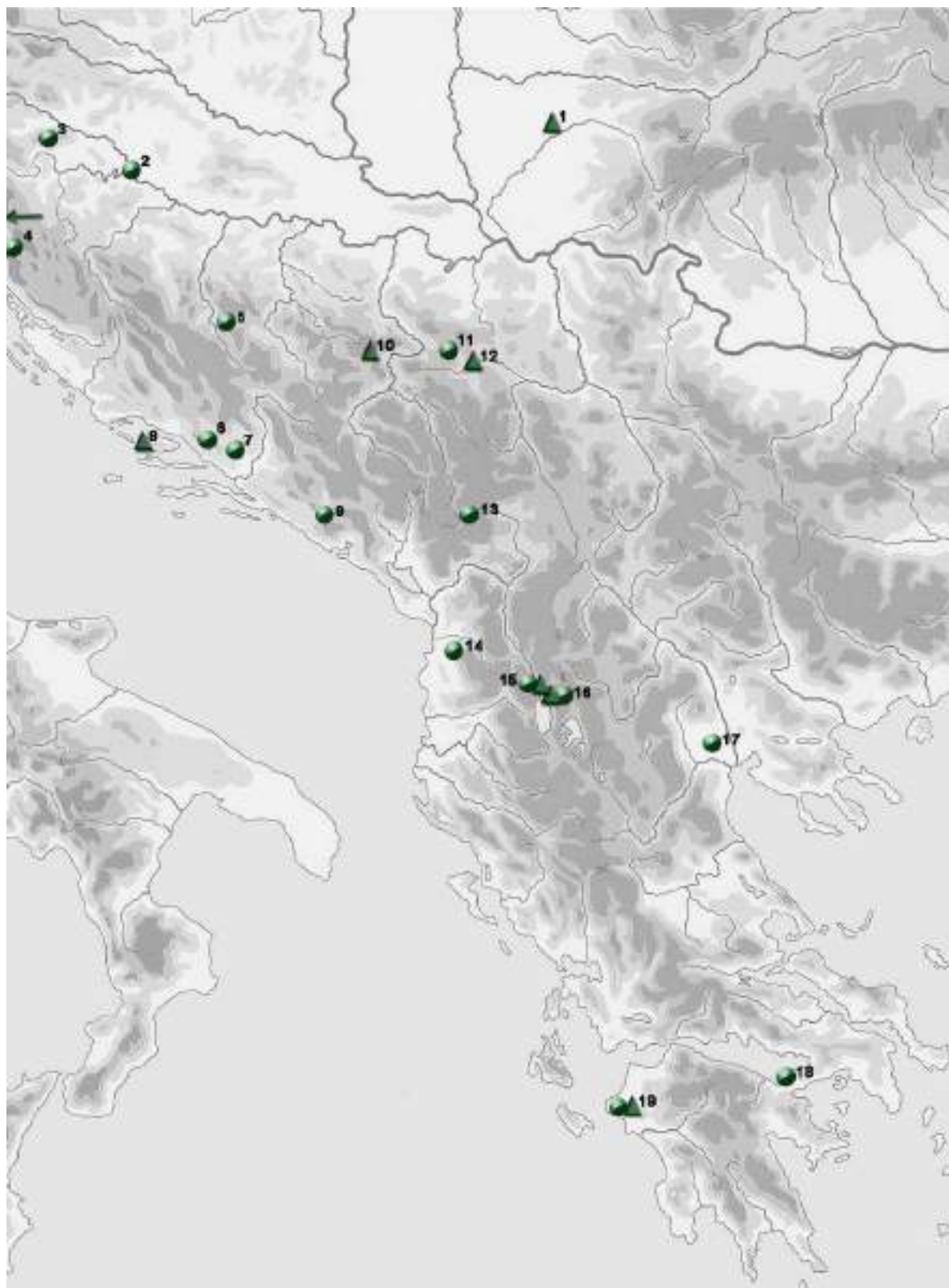
⁷¹ Herodot 5.22; Barringer 2008, 54-58; Engels 2010, 96-97; Sprawski 2010, 141-142. Vidjeti i: Borza 1990; Errington 1990; Gandeto 2002, uz stariju i potpuniju literaturu na tu temu.

⁶⁸ Gavranović 2011, 156.

⁶⁹ Teržan 1995, fig. 7.

⁷⁰ Filow 1927, 84-85, fig. 99, Pl. XV, 2; Булић 1932, 4, fig. 3, 24; Popović 1956, 47, Pl. 18; Stibbe 2003, 26-29, 36-37.

⁷¹ Herodot 5.22; Barringer 2008, 54-58; Engels 2010, 96-97; Sprawski 2010, 141-142. See also: Borza 1990; Errington 1990; Gandeto 2002, previous literature of this subject.



Sl. 7. Karta rasprostriranja ilirskih kaciga III A1-a (●) i III A1-b (▲) varijante, uz pojedinačne nalaze srebrnih aplikacija kao ukrasa kaciga III A1-b varijante (nadopunjeno prema: Blečić 2007).

Fig. 7. Map showing the distribution of Illyrian helmets of variants III A1-a (●) and III A1-b (▲), with individual finds of silver plaques as decorations on helmets of variant III A1-b (updated from Blečić 2007).

ali međusobno jednakih vrijednosti, iako je riječ o zajednicama, konvencionalno smatranim, sasvim različite društvene i političke organizacije!? Stoga je već i u tome stupnju moguće promišljati o pomicanju radioničkih središta sjevernije prema zapadnom balkanskom prostoru i istočnoj jadranskoj obali, koja su, čini se izglednim, bila pod sve snažnijim makedonskim utjecajem. U određenoj interakciji preuzimali su od njih ne samo importe i oblike ponašanja nego i određena znanja i vještine koja su mogla pogodovati razvoju mjesnih radioničkih obrta za proizvodnju ili barem završnu obradu i kaciga ilirskoga tipa.

Varijanta III A1-b ilirskih kaciga

U drugoj inačici iste varijante ilirskih kaciga (III A1-b) nije zabilježen niti jedan primjerak kacige, ali se u toj kategoriji razmatra aplikacija vepra iz Zagrađa s Glasinca (sl. 8, 1; k. 8). Riječ je o srebrnoj aplikaciji koja je nađena u tumulu I, i to u njegovom središtu u paljevinskom grobu 3. Pored nje, zabilježeni su ulomci brončane veće posude, vjerojatno lebesa, zatim dva brončana konična dugmeta sa središnjim bukrom, dvojna igla IIIId tipa prema R. Vasiću, brončani kolut, brončani privjesak s anti-tetično postavljenim životinjskim (ptičjim?) glavica, uz ulomke željeznog noža, brus, jedan kameneri veći pršljenak, te ulomci keramike (sl. 8).⁷² Svi su predmeti bili nagoreni ili oštećeni, izuzev aplikacije koja je, vidljivo, naknadno u cijelosti i neoštećena položena u grob.

Aplikacija vepra izrađena je od srebrnog tankog lima, koji je izrezan i otisnut u zlatarskoj repoussé tehnici (sl. 8, 1). Materijal je sam po sebi bio preduvjetom oblikovnosti budućega predmeta, pa je tako postignut umjeren, plitki reljefni oblik, čiju plastičnost dodatno naglašava sjajnost, zapravo boja srebrnoga lima. Linije su u osnovi, iako postavljene u različitim smjerovima, geometrijske, ostvarujući tako decentni *chiaro-scuro* efekt kombinacije materijala i linija. Vepar je postavljen na ravno izrezanu, ali profiliranu traku koja, sudeći prema lomovima, izlazi iz okvira životinje, pa time odaje osjećaj stabilnosti čvrste linije tla.

⁷² Фиала 1897, 608, sl. 51; Hunyady 1942, T. XXXVIII, 3; Паровић-Пешикан 1960, 25, sl. 2; Lucentini 1981, T. XI, 14-16; Čović 1983, 150-151, T. XXXIV, 18-19; 1987b, 616, T. LXIV, 1-3; Vasić 1982b, 240, sl. 5, 11; 2002, 308, sl. 2, 2.

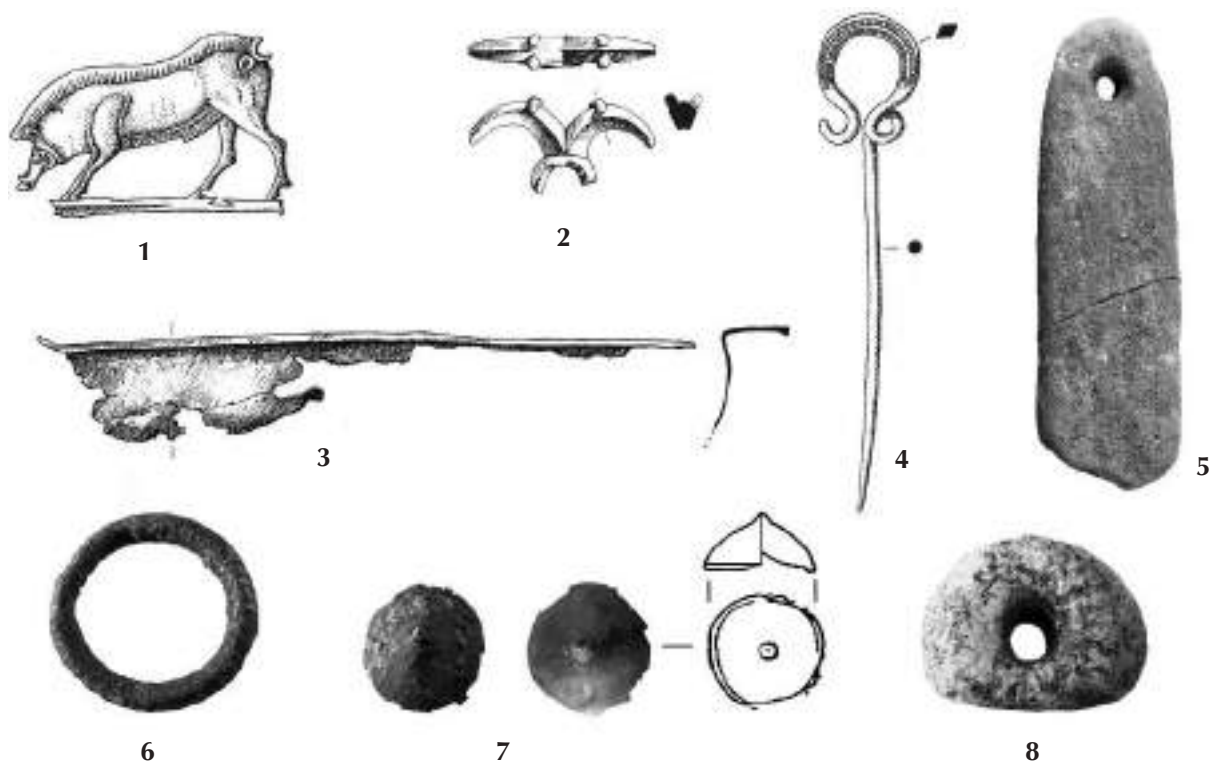
and shared values, even though there were communities that, from a conventional perspective, were organized socially and politically in quite different ways!? At this level it is already possible, therefore, to consider shifting the manufacturing centres northwards to the western Balkans and eastern Adriatic coast, which it seems likely were increasingly influenced by Macedonia, adopting not only imported goods and forms of behaviour, but also certain know-how and skills that could have favoured the development of local manufacturing sites where Illyrian helmets could have been among the wares being manufactured, or at least finished.

Illyrian helmets of variant III A1-b

Not one specimen of helmet from the other sub-variant of this variant of Illyrian helmet (III A1-b) has been recorded, but the plaque of a wild boar from Zagrađe, Glasinac, is regarded as belonging to this category (fig. 8, 1; cat. 8). It consists of a silver plaque found in tumulus I, at the centre of the tumulus, in cinerary grave 3, where too were found fragments of a large bronze vessel, probably a lebes, two conical bronze buttons with a central boucle, a double shank pin of R. Vasić's type IIIId, a bronze ring, a bronze pendant with antithetic animals' (birds'?) heads, a fragment of an iron knife, a whetstone, a large stone whorl, and pottery sherds (fig. 8).⁷² All these artefacts were burned or damaged except for the plaque, which was intact and undamaged and had clearly been placed later in the grave.

The plaque of the wild boar was made of a thin chased and embossed sheet of silver (fig. 8, 1). The material was itself a prerequisite for the creation of the plaque, being malleable enough to achieve a low-relief form, further accentuated by the shine and colour of the silver. The lines are essentially geometric, though lying in different directions, creating a *chiaro-scuro* effect in the combination of the silver itself and the lines. The boar was set on a flat, incised but moulded band which, judging from the way it is broken, extended beyond

⁷² Фиала 1897, 608, fig. 51; Hunyady 1942, Pl. XXXVIII, 3; Паровић-Пешикан 1960, 25, fig. 2; Lucentini 1981, Pl. XI, 14-16; Čović 1983, 150-151, Pl. XXXIV, 18-19; 1987b, 616, Pl. LXIV, 1-3; Vasić 1982b, 240, fig. 5, 11; 2002, 308, fig. 2, 2.



Sl. 8. Grobna cjelina iz Zagrađa I/3 (nadopunjeno prema: Čović 1983; 1987b; Lucentini 1981).

Fig. 8. Funerary complex from Zagrađe I/3 (adapted from Čović 1983; 1987b; Lucentini 1981).

Položaj pognutoga vepra usmjeren je udesno, s ispruženim i spojenim prednjim nogama, s nesimetrično postavljenim stražnjim nogama u izražajnom raskoraku.

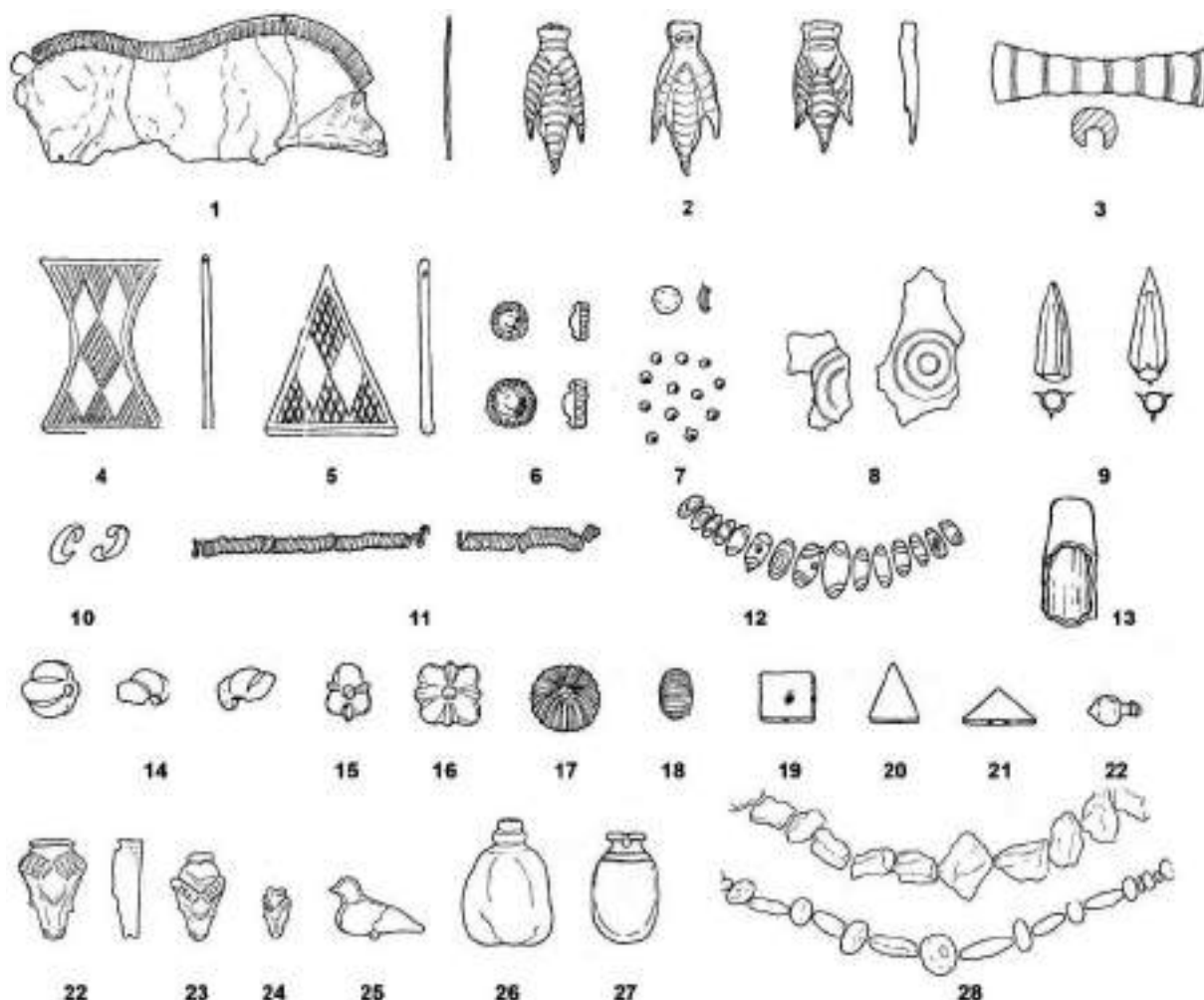
Kompozicija tog malog umjetničkog djela dijagonalna je, ali uravnotežena i harmonično ostvarena, izravno definirajući plastični morfološki stil njezine izvedbe. Pa iako je u perspektivi tijelo statično i linearno, struktura linija odaje vrlo dinamičan i aktivan prizor decidirano određenog životinjskog motiva, koji kao da je dio nekog kompleksnog umjetničkog ansambla, posebne ikonografske poruke u interaktivnosti sustava znak-simbol.

Takva nam formalna predodžba aplikacije vepra iz Zagrađa omogućuje ujedno i realnu pretpostavku po kojoj ona nije mogla biti proizvodom domaćih radionica, negdje s prostora Glasinca ili središnjeg Balkana. Materijal i tehnike izradbe, te likovnost djela ukazuju na bliskost umjetnosti arhajskog stila Grčke, što ikonografska manifestacija još dodatno pospješuje. Budući da se samo od sebe nameće da je aplikacija vepra produkt umjetničkoga obrta koji po svojoj biti i smislu ima praktičnu vrijednost, izuzev tretiranja unutar tzv. uporabne umjetnosti, ona

the animal, giving an impression of the solidity of the ground. The animal, depicted at the kill, faces right, front legs together and forward, one hind leg forward and the other back as if in motion.

The composition of this small work of art is diagonal yet balanced and harmonious, directly defining the plasticity and morphology of its execution. Though the body is static and linear in perspective, the structure of the lines reveals a highly dynamic and active representation of a specific animal motif which, as though part of a complex art ensemble, conveys a distinct iconographic message in an interactive sign-symbol system.

This formal conception of the wild boar plaque from Zagrađe also suggests that it could not have been made in a local manufacturing site somewhere in Glasinac or the central Balkans. The material and techniques used, and the artistry of the work, suggest an affinity with archaic Greek art, as further indicated by the iconographic manifestation. Since this in itself means that the wild boar plaque is the product of an applied art that was essentially of practical value, unless regarded from the perspective of comparative art, it is not



Sl. 9. Izbor iz perifernog groba I. ateničkog tumula (prilagođeno prema: Djuknić, Jovanović 1966).

Fig. 9. Selection from peripheral grave I of the Atenica tumulus (adapted from Djuknić, Jovanović 1966).

nema provincijalni, popularni karakter, nego je možemo smatrati i vrhunskim proizvodom onodobne konceptualne umjetnosti, karakteristične ideje, realističnog animalističkog prikaza, preuzetog vjerovatno i iz onodobne mitologije prostora.

Komparativna raščlamba usredotočuje nas stoga ponajprije i izravno na ne tako udaljenu Atenicu, jer je u tumulu I, u perifernom grobu muške mlađe osobe, istražen najrodniji do sada poznati primjerak (sl. 9, 1).⁷³ Riječ je o gotovo identičnom primjerku, dužine 4,8 cm, identičnog načina izradbe, te istih tehnoloških i stilskih odrednica, iako bitno slabije očuvanosti. To nije aplikacija izrađena od zlata, kako se učestalo navodi u literaturi, već je riječ o srebrnom obrađenom i potom

provincial or popular in nature, but may be regarded as a very fine product of the conceptual art of the time, of the typical notion of realistic representations of animal figures, probably taken from the mythology of the region.

A comparative analysis directs us initially and directly to not-so-distant Atenica, where in tumulus I, the most nearly identical specimen yet known was found in the peripheral grave of a young male (fig. 9, 1).⁷³ This specimen is 4.8 cm long, of identical execution and with the same technological and stylistic features, though much less well preserved. It was not made of gold, as often stated in the literature, but of silver-gilt. Like the one from Zagrađe, it was undamaged, but later

⁷³ Djuknić, Jovanović 1966, 17-18, T. XI, 1; T. XIX, 1; T. XXIX-XXXIII; Vasić 1987a, 650; 2004, sl. 15.

⁷³ Djuknić, Jovanović 1966, 17-18, Pl. XI, 1; Pl. XIX, 1; Pl. XXIX-XXXIII; Vasić 1987a, 650; 2004, fig. 15.

pozlaćenom limu. Kao i ona iz Zagrađa, bila je u potpunosti neoštećena, ali naknadno polomljena i rekonstruirana.⁷⁴ Zbog dimenzija, načina i tipa izradbe, te stilsko-estetskog dojma, pretpostavlja se da obje potječu najvjerojatnije iz jednog radioničkog centra, ili barem iz užeg radioničkog kruga.⁷⁵ No, pored aplikativnih veprova ta dva groba imaju i druge poveznice materijalne kulture. U prvome redu ističu se ulomci velikih brončanih posuda (sl. 8, 2-3; sl. 9, 3, 8?),⁷⁶ koji su kao *pars pro toto* priloženi u grobni repertoar inače cjelovitijih ili u potpunosti kompletiranih garnitura. Povrh svega, brončanom privjesku s antitetično postavljenim životinjskim (ptičjim?) glavicama (sl. 8, 2), ukrasu s neke posude ili najvjerojatnije sceptra,⁷⁷ izravnu paralelu možemo također vidjeti u Atenici, doduše kod druge humke, također iz centralnog groba,⁷⁸ gdje ujedno nalazimo i paralelu za kameni brus.⁷⁹ Sve to omogućilo je ne samo stvaranje bliže povezanosti između ta dva područja već je pružalo i čvrsti oslonac u kronološkoj i kulturnoj sinkronizaciji tih grobova u treću četvrtinu 6. stoljeća.

O mogućoj interpretaciji namjene te aplikacije dosta se raspravljalo u stručnoj literaturi. Tako su pojedini autori bili mišljenja kako je mogla biti ornamentalnim ukrasom posude, najvjerojatnije one koja se nalazila u grobu, tj. brončanog lebesa.⁸⁰ Razumijevana je bila i kao ukras tkanina ili kože, pri čemu je dominirao prijedlog ukrasa za kape

broken and reconstructed.⁷⁴ Its size, method and type of execution, and stylistic aesthetic impression suggest that the two plaques may well have come from the same manufacturing centre, or at least from the same narrow circle.⁷⁵ The two graves have further material cultural affinities, in particular the fragments of large bronze vessels (figs. 8, 2-3; 9, 3, 8?),⁷⁶ which were included as *pars pro toto* in the range of grave goods as more complete or full sets. Above all, there are the bronze pendant with anti-tetetic animals' (birds?) heads (fig. 8, 2), a decoration from a vessel or, more likely, a sceptre;⁷⁷ a direct parallel may also be seen in Atenica, admittedly from another tumulus, also from the central grave,⁷⁸ where there is also a parallel with the whetstone.⁷⁹ All this has not only made it possible to establish the close connections between the two areas, but has also provided a solid basis for the chronological and cultural synchronization of these graves in the third quarter of the 6th century.

There has been much discussion in specialist literature of possible interpretations of the purpose of these plaques. Some authors are of the view that they could have been decorations on vessels, probably those found in the grave, i.e. the bronze lebes.⁸⁰ They have also been seen as decorations on fabric or leather, especially as decorations on a cap or other head-covering.⁸¹ These suggestions did not,

⁷⁴ Tasić 1992, sl. 9.

⁷⁵ Blečić 2007, 83. Nasuprot tomu, aplikacija veptra iz Atenice povezivana je i uz skitsku umjetničku baštinu, tretirana analoški uz aplikaciju veptra iz kurgana Aleksandrovka (Hellmuth 2010, T. 18, 32). Riječ je, međutim, o posve drugačijem veptru izrađenom od zlatnoga lima, postavljenom u zgrčeni i uvučeni položaj, zaobljenih kontura i skraćene perspektive. Naturalističko prikazivanje veptra iz Aleksandrovke značajka je slikovitog stila karakterističnog za provincijalnu skitsku umjetnost ukrajinskoga prostora, pa se stoga niti formalno, niti tehnički, a ponajmanje stilski ne može usporediti s veprom iz Atenice, ili iz Zagrađa, kako je to ponudila Anja Hellmuth (2010, 280, sl. 252, 1).

⁷⁶ Vasić 1983b, 189; 1987a, 647; 2003, 123, sl. 84.

⁷⁷ Djuknić, Jovanović 1966, 15; Čović 1983, 150; 1987b, 616; Палавестра 1984, 43; Vasić 1987a, 647-648; 2002, 308.

⁷⁸ Djuknić, Jovanović 1966, 15, T. XIII, 5; T. XXIII, 3; Vasić 1987a, 647.

⁷⁹ Djuknić, Jovanović 1966, T. XXIII, 21.

⁸⁰ Čović 1983, 150-151; Vasić 1983b, 189; 2003, 116, 124, bilj. 25; Babić 1990, 166-171; 2002, sl. 2; Бабић 2004, 106, 131, 151-152.

⁷⁴ Tasić 1992, fig. 9.

⁷⁵ Blečić 2007, 83. On the other hand, the wild boar plaque from Atenica has been linked to the Scythian artistic heritage, treated by analogy with the wild boar plaque from the Alexandrovka *kurgan* (Hellmuth 2010, Pl. 18, 32). This, however, is an entirely different wild boar, made of sheet gold and portrayed in a contorted position, with rounded contours and foreshortened perspective. The naturalistic depiction of the wild boar from Alexandrovka is a feature of the artistic style typical of provincial Scythian art from the Ukrainian region, and cannot be compared in form or technique, let alone in style, with the wild boar from Atenica or that from Zagrađa, as suggested by Anja Hellmuth (2010, 280, fig. 252, 1).

⁷⁶ Vasić 1983b, 189; 1987a, 647; 2003, 123, fig. 84.

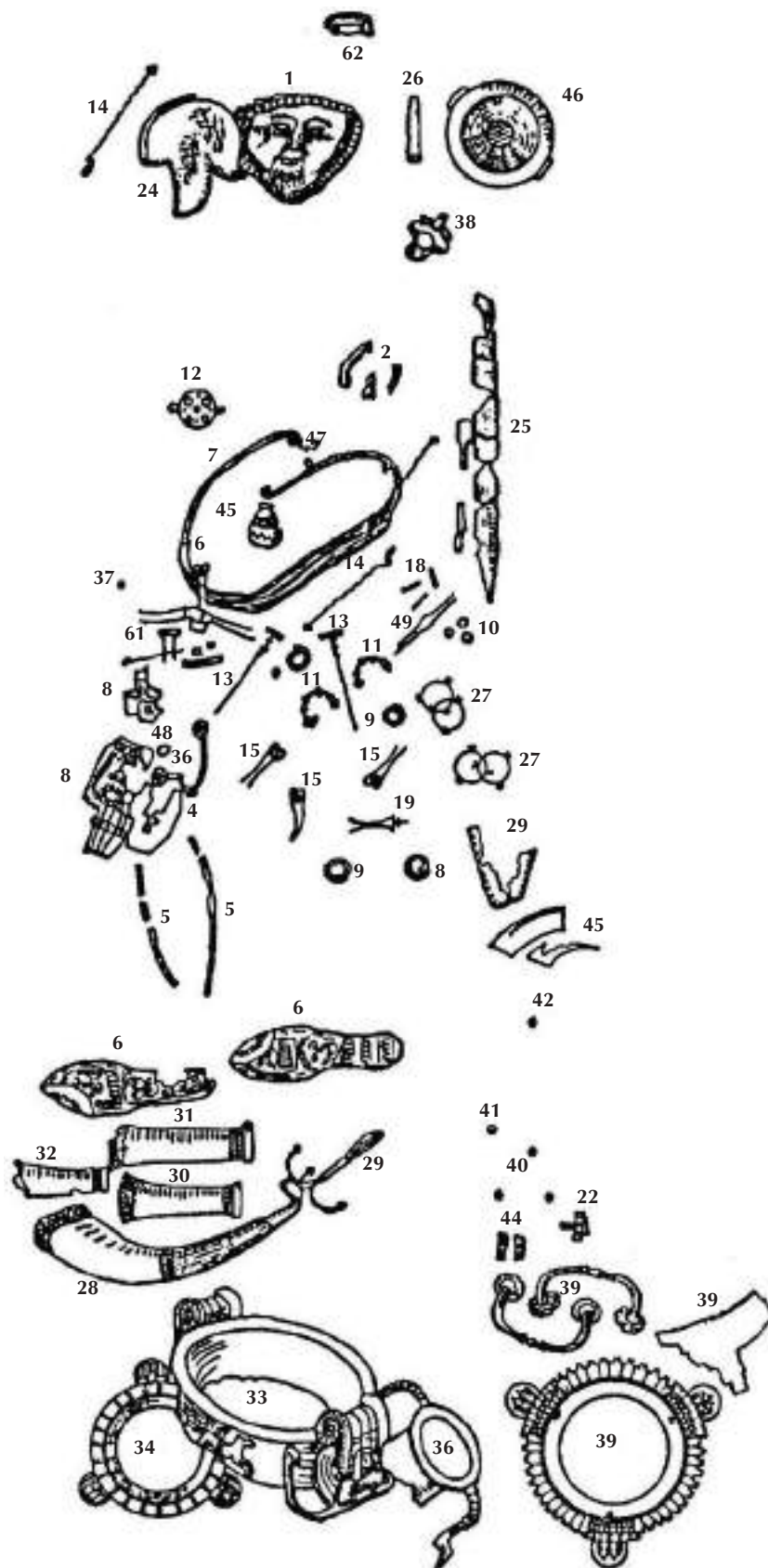
⁷⁷ Djuknić, Jovanović 1966, 15; Čović 1983, 150; 1987b, 616; Палавестра 1984, 43; Vasić 1987a, 647-648; 2002, 308.

⁷⁸ Djuknić, Jovanović 1966, 15, Pl. XIII, 5; Pl. XXIII, 3; Vasić 1987a, 647.

⁷⁹ Djuknić, Jovanović 1966, Pl. XXIII, 21.

⁸⁰ Čović 1983, 150-151; Vasić 1983b, 189; 2003, 116, 124, fn. 25; Babić 1990, 166-171; 2002, fig. 2; Бабић 2004, 106, 131, 151-152.

⁸¹ Паровић-Пешикан 1960, 25; Палавестра 1984, 41, fig. 7, Pl. XIV; Čović 1987b, 616; Vasić 1987a, 650.



Sl. 10. Trebeništa, grob VIII (prema: Булућ 1932). Fig 10. Trebeništa, grave VIII (after Булућ 1932).



Sl. 11. Ilirske kacige III A1-b varijante:
1. Olimpija, 2. Trebeništa (prema: Vasić 1987a),
3. Găvojdia (prema: Medeleţ, Cedică 2004).

Fig. 11. Illyrian helmets of variant III A1-b:
1. Olympia, 2. Trebeništa (after Vasić 1987a),
3. Găvojdia (after Medeleţ, Cedică 2004).

ili pokrivala za glavu.⁸¹ No, otvorena mogućnost bila je postavljena i glede njezinog nošenja na iznimnim primjercima ilirskih kaciga.⁸² Razmatrana u bilo kojoj od navedenih kategorija konvencionalno je dobivala opipljiv, uporabni, namjenski, svakodnevni i čak svečani karakter. S obzirom da ništa od toga do sada nije bilo prihvaćeno kao konačni dispozitiv najveće doze sigurnosti, a da predmet nije bio nagoren zajedno s ostalim nalazima i priložima u grobu, ne može biti isključena niti njegova individualna pozicija kao amblema mitske reprezentacije ovozemaljskog, odnosno posebnog značenja i eshatološke poruke onostranog.⁸³

Aplikacija vepra mogla je, dakle, biti središnjim motivom reprezentativnih kaciga III A1-b varijante koje su, na čeonj strani, imale heraldički postavljen koncept vepra između dva lava. Takve su kacige vrlo dobro znane iz Trebeništa, grob VIII (sl. 10; sl. 11, 2),⁸⁴ iz panhelenskog svetišta Olimpije, te iz korita rijeke Găvojdie kod Timișoare (sl. 11, 1, 3; sl. 18).⁸⁵ Od svih poznatih

however, exclude the possibility that they were applied to exceptional specimens of Illyrian helmets.⁸² Whichever category they were considered under, they were conventionally accorded tangible, comparative, specific use as everyday or even ceremonial objects. Since none of this has yet been accepted as definitive, and since the artefact was not burned with the other finds and goods from the grave, it is not impossible that it holds a special place as the emblem of a mythical representation of this world, or is of particular significance as an eschatological message from the next.⁸³

The wild boar plaque could, therefore, be the central motif on a ceremonial helmet of variant III A1-b, with a heraldic-style wild boar on the forehead, between two lions. Such helmets are well known from Trebeništa, grave VIII (figs. 10; 11, 2),⁸⁴ from the pan-Hellenic sanctuary at Olympia, and from the River Găvojdia near Timișoara (figs. 11, 1, 3; 18).⁸⁵ The boars from Trebeništa and in part from Găvojdia are known from their imprint in this position (fig. 11, 2-3). The hindquarters of the “Olympian” wild boar

⁸¹ Паровић-Пешикан 1960, 25; Палавестра 1984, 41, сл. 7, Т. XIV; Čović 1987b, 616; Vasić 1987a, 650.

⁸² Djuknić, Jovanović 1966, 18; Popović 1975, 54–55, bilj. 270; Treister 2001, 45–58; Blečić 2007, 83–87.

⁸³ Blečić 2007, 87.

⁸⁴ Булић 1932, сл. 4.

⁸⁵ Medeleţ, Cedică 2004, 97–100; Blečić 2007, 79–85; Blečić Kavur 2010, 207–211.

⁸² Djuknić, Jovanović 1966, 18; Popović 1975, 54–55, fn. 270; Treister 2001, 45–58; Blečić 2007, 83–87.

⁸³ Blečić 2007, 87.

⁸⁴ Булић 1932, fig. 4.

⁸⁵ Medeleţ, Cedică 2004, 97–100; Blečić 2007, 79–85; Blečić Kavur 2010, 207–211.

nedostaju “veprovi” iz Trebeništa i dijelom iz Găvojdie, sačuvani u otisku na prepoznatoj poziciji (sl. 11, 2-3). “Olimpijski” je vepar fragmentiran u stražnjem dijelu tijela, ali predstavlja drugi najsljicniji primjerak onome iz Zagrađa.

“Virtualnu” poveznicu kaciga III A1-b tipa iz Olimpije i Trebeništa s našim veprom iz Zagrađa ponudio je i Mikhail Y. Treister, lokalizirajući aplikaciju u Sarajevo i smatrajući je nedvojbenim ukrasom paragnatide!⁸⁶ Moguće predloške za izradbu ostalih aplikacija ilirskih kaciga isti je autor vidio dalje na brončanoj matrici iz Krfa (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).⁸⁷ Međutim, riječ je o krajnje neprikladno ispostavljenoj usporedbi, jer životinje s tih predmeta niti formalno, niti stilski, te tako niti kronološki, nisu ni po čemu srodne. Prikaz veptra na toj matrici ima doduše brojne paralele u srednjem i kasnokorintskom vaznom slikarstvu, pa je matrica najvjerojatnije služila za izradbu brončanih ploča koje su mogle ukrašavati čuvane argivske štitove, a čiji je vodeći proizvođač doista bio Korint. Zbog toga je ta matrica i datirana u godine oko 630.-620.⁸⁸ Valja, međutim, istaknuti kako je vepar s matrice naglašene horizontalne kompozicije prikazan u trku, zbog čega u likovnoj izvedbi podsjeća na prikaz urezanog veptra s ioanninske kacige II B varijante (sl. 4, 1), udaljujući se time još više od veprova s luksuznih kaciga III A1-b inačice, što bi tako i u pogledu vremenske usklađenosti bila mnogo prihvatljivija okolnost. U korist toj tezi išla bi i komparativna usporedba konja, sa paragnatida kaciga, s antičkim slikarstvom i reljefnim prikazima, za koje je već i Paul Jacobsthal ponudio dataciju treće četvrtine 6. stoljeća.⁸⁹

Tim kacigama valjalo bi, barem prema očuvanim pisanim izvorima, pridružiti i davno izgubljene nalaze iz nekropole Vičje luke na otoku Braču. Naime, ondje je, prilikom starih i nestručnih iskopavanja, istražen grob “više ratnika” dobro opremljen s tada sasvim očuvanim kacigama i knemidama, kao i ostalim dijelovima nošnje. Od kaciga se navode dvije tipa *a cresta*, što zapravo odgovara tipu ilirskih kaciga, kako je to već davno zaključio i Mladen Nikolanci.⁹⁰ Međutim, u jednoj brončanoj posudi bili su nađeni i, nama ovdje posebno važni, komadi lima na kojima su bili prikazani “*lav s otvorenim ždrijelom*,

are fragmentary, but this is the second most similar example to the one from Zagrađa.

A “virtual” connection between the type III A1-b helmets from Olympia and Trebeništa with our wild boar has also been proposed by Mikhail Y. Treister, attributing it to Sarajevo and regarding it as indubitably a cheek guard decoration!⁸⁶ He saw a bronze matrix from Corfu (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)⁸⁷ as providing possible models for the design of other plaques on Illyrian helmets. However, this is an extremely inappropriate comparison, since the animals on the matrix are completely unrelated, whether in form, style or chronology. True, the wild boar on the matrix has numerous parallels in middle and late Corinthian vase painting, and it is therefore likely that the matrix was used to produce the bronze plaques that might have decorated the famous Argive shields, the main manufacturer of which was Corinth. The matrix is accordingly dated to about 630-620.⁸⁸ It is worth noting, however, that the wild boar from the matrix is depicted as if running, in a markedly horizontal composition, reminiscent in artistic execution of the incised wild boar on the Ioanninan helmet of variant III B (fig. 4, 1), taking it still further from the boars on the grand helmets of sub-variant III A1-b, which would also be more appropriate in terms of date. A comparative analysis of the horse on the cheek guards of the helmet with Attic art and relief scenes, for which Paul Jacobsthal has already proposed a date of the third quarter of the 6th century,⁸⁹ provides further evidence in support of this hypothesis.

Judging from surviving written sources, if nothing else, to these helmets should be added long-lost finds from the Vičja luka necropolis on the island of Brač, where the grave of “several warriors” was amateurishly excavated many years ago. The warriors were well equipped with helmets and greaves, then in a good state of preservation, as well as other articles of clothing. Two types of *a cresta* helmet were found, corresponding to the Illyrian helmet, as concluded half a century ago by Mladen Nikolanci.⁹⁰ Of particular significance, however, was the discovery, in a bronze vessel, of a piece of sheet metal with the depiction of “*a lion, jaws*

⁸⁶ Treister 2001, 45-58.

⁸⁷ Treister 2001, 54-58.

⁸⁸ Treister 2001, 58.

⁸⁹ Jacobsthal 1956, 203-204.

⁹⁰ Bulić 1900, 27; Nikolanci 1959, 84; Barbarić 2006, 45-46.

⁸⁶ Treister 2001, 45-58.

⁸⁷ Treister 2001, 54-58.

⁸⁸ Treister 2001, 58.

⁸⁹ Jacobsthal 1956, 203-204.

⁹⁰ Bulić 1900, 27; Nikolanci 1959, 84; Barbarić 2006, 45-46.

nagi konj i nagi konjanik na nagom konju”.⁹¹ Budući da su ti “komadi” bili već tada jasno prepoznatljivi i sačuvani u cijelosti, argumentirano se pretpostavlja kako je riječ o aplikacijama kakve su se koristile i za ukrašavanje upravo ilirskih kaciga III A1-b tipa (sl. 7; sl. 11). Interpretirane su stoga kao predstavnice cjelovitog kompleksa, ili očuvane u dijelovima ili namjerno, ali iznimno pažljivo, fragmentirane, koje su kao simboli ili metonimije vrha željeznodobne aristokracije toga srednjodalmatinskog prostora bile polagane u njihove grobove. Prihvatimo li, nadalje, mogućnost eventualnog postojanja jedne tako luksuzne kacige III A1-b inačice i kod tumula u Novom Pazaru, na što nas uvjerljivo upućuje R. Vasić,⁹² jasno se razaznaje da je najveći broj tako luksuznih kaciga prostorno raspoređen na zemljopisu “barbarskog” Balkana (sl. 7).

Sama proizvodnja predmetnih kaciga, kao i njihovih srebrnih aplikacija, i dalje je aktualna tema promišljanja brojnih i različitih stručnjaka. Isprva se, i dugo, smatralo da su to bili proizvodi korintskih radionica,⁹³ oslanjajući se pri tomu ponajviše na analogije kod korintskog vaznog slikarstva. Ta teza ipak nije prihvaćena i danas se pouzdano zna da Korint nije proizvodio niti ilirske kacige, niti takve srebrne aplikacije. No, eventualno su se u toj “proizvodnji” mogli slijediti određeni uzori, pa su se radionice uobičajeno i kompromisno lokalizirale u korintske kolonije na zapadnoj obali Grčke ili na istočnoj, albanskoj obali Jadrana.⁹⁴ Stilski i izvedbeno, kao i kontekstima njihova nalaženja, te radove ipak valja približiti opusu halkidiških i/ili makedonskih radionica koje su stvarale pod snažnim atičkim “patronatom”, budući da su imale sve mogućnosti, znanja i sposobnosti kreirati takva mala umjetnička djela koja su, najzad, uživala isti sustav simboličkih vrijednosti.⁹⁵ U tome

agape, a barebacked horse and a naked bareback rider.”⁹¹ Since these “pieces” were already clearly identifiable at that time, and had survived intact, there are good grounds for supposing that they were plaques of the kind used to decorate Illyrian helmets of type III A1-b (figs. 7; 11). They are thus seen as representing an entire complex, either surviving in pieces or deliberately, but very carefully, broken up, and laid in the aristocratic graves of the central Dalmatian region as symbols or metonyms of the high Iron Age nobility. If one also accepts that there may have been a grand sub-variant III A1-b helmet in the tumulus in Novi Pazar, as persuasively argued by R. Vasić,⁹² it becomes clear that the greatest number of such magnificent helmets came from the “barbarian” Balkans (fig. 7).

The manufacture of these helmets, as of the silver plaques, remains a matter of speculation on the part of many and diverse scholars. It was initially long believed that they were made in Corinthian manufacturing sites,⁹³ mainly on the basis of analogies with Corinthian vase painting, but this hypothesis has now been rejected, and it is certain that Corinth manufactured neither Illyrian helmets nor silver plaques of this kind. It is not impossible however, that certain models were followed in this “manufacture,” and that it was common for manufacturing sites to open, as a compromise, in the Corinthian colonies of the western Greek coast or the eastern Albanian coastal region of the Adriatic.⁹⁴ Stylistically and in execution, as well as in the contexts in which they were found, these objects should be associated with the products of manufacturing sites in Halkidiki and/or Macedonia, created under significant Attic “patronage,” since they had all the facilities, know-how and skills to create such small works of art which, at the end of the day, formed part of the same system of symbolic values.⁹⁵ In this regard

⁹¹ M. Nikolanci i V. Barbarić nešto drugačije prenose, tj. parafraziraju objavljene podatke kod F. Bulića!

⁹² Vasić 2009b, 185.

⁹³ Naprimjer: Паровић-Пешикан 1960, 25; Djuknić, Jovanović 1966, 18.

⁹⁴ Pflug 1988a, 50.

⁹⁵ Pored korintске, mogućnosti atičkoj provenijenciji aplikativnih veprova pružili su još Milena Djuknić i Borislav Jovanović (1966, 18), dok je nešto određeniji bio Aleksandar Palavestra koji ih je temeljem motiva povezo uz neka od remek djela atičkog smofiguralnog slikarstva druge polovine 6. stoljeća (Палавестра 1984, 41). U novijim radovima isti je autor, međutim, pretpostavio njihovu proizvodnju u radioničkim krugovima iz južnog Apeninskog poluotoka (Palavestra 1993, 161-162, 235, 259; 2006, 354, k. 577).

⁹¹ M. Nikolanci and V. Barbarić put it rather differently, paraphrasing the details published by F. Bulić.

⁹² Vasić 2009b, 185.

⁹³ E.g.: Паровић-Пешикан 1960, 25; Djuknić, Jovanović 1966, 18.

⁹⁴ Pflug 1988a, 50.

⁹⁵ Another possible provenance, apart from Corinth, for the wild boar plaques, was proposed by Milena Djuknić and Borislav Jovanović (1966, 18), while Aleksandar Palavestra was rather more specific, associating them on the basis of the motif with some of the master-works of Attic black-figure art of the latter half of the 6th century (Палавестра 1984, 41). In more recent works, however, he suggests that they were made in the manufacturing sites of the southern Apenine peninsula (Palavestra 1993, 161-162, 235, 259; 2006, 354, cat. 577).

aspektu valja reći da su, općenito, interpretacije vepa u pretpovijesnim, jednako kao i u povijesnim društvima i sredinama brojne i izrazite. U usporedbi nalaza materijalne kulture s kulturnim i religioznim tumačenjima simbola vepa, u dostupnom kontekstu, baš kao i u mitologiji prostora, dokazana je njegova izrazita ritualna vrijednost u najširem prostoru Sredozemlja.⁹⁶ Vepar je u svojoj biti bio antipod svinji, imao je tako prvobitni značaj koji je simbolizirao čisti duhovni autoritet. S time povezano, njegovo je prikazivanje u različitim umjetničkim djelima sadržavalo ikonografsku poruku, a u interaktivnosti sustava znak-simbol bio je medij prenošenja izrazite ritualne vrijednosti kojom se obilježavao status vodećih, viših ili najviših članova zajednice. Upravo na prostoru Balkana, u kompoziciji sa aplikacijama i ukrasima iz plemenitih metala ili egzotičnih materijala, a posebno zajedno s ilirskim kacigama, mogao je značiti najviši oblik insignije, zbog čega je morao imati znakovno javno odaslanu poruku o ekonomskoj, političkoj ili duhovnoj dominaciji. U eshatološkom smislu, moguće je njegovo daljnje shvaćanje u legendarnim lovovima, tj. u heroizaciji te divinizaciji pokojnika, pa je stoga često interpretiran u kontekstima arhajske i klasične grčke i makedonske funerarne umjetnosti.⁹⁷

Poimamo li stoga grob iz Zagrađa (sl. 8), analizom i kompozicijom gradiva, importiranih posuda,⁹⁸ aplike i privjesaka/sceptra, brusa, noža⁹⁹ i sl., kao grob gdje je morala biti pokopana osoba aristokratskog, možda i najvišeg društvenog autoriteta glasinackog područja, tada smo na mogućem tragu promišljanja da je ondje također riječ

it is worth noting that there are many and diverse interpretations of the wild boar in both prehistoric and historical societies and settings. Comparative analyses of the material culture and the cultic and religious interpretations of the symbol of the wild boar in the available context and in mythological space have demonstrated its pronounced ritual value in the Mediterranean region as a whole.⁹⁶ The wild boar was essentially the very antithesis of the domesticated pig, and its original meaning was thus as the symbol of pure spiritual authority. Correspondingly, representations of the wild boar in various works of art carried an iconographic message, while in the interactive relations of the sign-symbol system; it was the medium for conveying explicit ritual values marking the status of leading, senior or the seniormost members of the community. In the Balkans, featuring in compositions on plaques and decorations made of precious metals or exotic materials, and particularly in association with Illyrian helmets, it could have been the ultimate insignia, and must have sent a clear semiotic message concerning economic, political or spiritual domination. Eschatologically, it could also be seen in the context of legendary hunts and the heroization or divinization of the deceased, and is therefore often interpreted in the context of archaic and classical Greek and Macedonian funerary art.⁹⁷

As a result, if by analysis and composition of the material, imported vessels,⁹⁸ appliqué plaques and pendent/sceptre, whetstone, knife and so on,⁹⁹ we see the grave from Zagrađe (fig. 8) as one where a person of aristocratic, perhaps even supreme social authority in the Glasinac region was

⁹⁶ Dalix, Vila 2007, 359-372; Eibner 2001, 266-270.

⁹⁷ Поповић 1966, 23-29; Burkert 1990, 263-264, 285-286; Sokolovska 1997, 103; Theodossiev 1998, 360; 2000, 200; Babić 2001, 83-88.

⁹⁸ Brončani kolut, zbog svojih malih dimenzija i bikonične profilacije, mogao je biti također dijelom ručke šire, niže posude, bazena s izvijenim obodom i sa pokretnim ručkicama, poput brojnih iz južne Italije (npr. Tarditi 1996, 19-22), koje su se koristile za obredna pranja ruku ili nogu. Profilacija preostalog dijela posude išla bi tomu u prilog.

⁹⁹ Mlade muške osobe, koje nisu prošle obred inicijacije u društvo odraslih, vojno sposobnih i hijerarhiziranih muškaraca, nisu nosile oružje pune vojne panoplje, niti im se ono kao takvo prilagalo u grobove, već je najčešće riječ samo o pojedinim elementima ili dijelovima ratničke opreme, na što možda upućuje, pored insignije, upravo i nož u tome grobu?! Raspravu na tu temu vidjeti kod H. Hoffmanna (1997, 68-70).

⁹⁶ Dalix, Vila 2007, 359-372; Eibner 2001, 266-270.

⁹⁷ Поповић 1966, 23-29; Burkert 1990, 263-264, 285-286; Sokolovska 1997, 103; Theodossiev 1998, 360; 2000, 200; Babić 2001, 83-88.

⁹⁸ Given its small size and biconical profile, the bronze ring could also be part of the handle of a wide, shallow vessel, a basin with everted rim and hinged handles, like many from southern Italy (e.g. Tarditi 1996, 19-22), used for the ritual washing of hands or feet. The profile of the surviving part of the vessel would also suggest this.

⁹⁹ Young males who had not yet undergone the ritual of initiation into adult society, the hierarchy of men of military age, did not wear the full panoply of arms, nor was such a panoply placed in their graves; in such cases, the grave goods would consist only of certain parts of a warrior's equipment, as might be suggested not only by the insignia but also by the knife in that grave. See the discussion of this subject in H. Hoffmann (1997, 68-70).

o muškoj mlađoj osobi kojemu je, kao i onome u Atenici, posvećena sva počast ne samo odabirom priloženog ansambla predmeta već načinom, obredom i tipom njihova pohranjivanja i posvećivanja.¹⁰⁰ *Pars pro toto* pouzdano je dokazan ritualni princip toga groba, u kome najvjerojatnije valja sagledavati i aplikativnoga vepra. Smijemo li ga stoga, u obliku *insignia*, razumijevati kao simbolički supstitut individualnog pojavljivanja ilirskih kaciga najvišeg III A1-b ranga?

Uvriježeno je mnijenje da se u kneževske grobove glasinackog područja ubrajaju oni grobovi koji imaju bogate priloge, naročito obrambenog naoružanja, brončanih posuda ili određenih *insignia*. Tomu se dodavala i kvantitativna zastupljenost ostalih predmeta osobne opreme i nošnje, budući da su glasinacki grobovi poznati po prilaganju većeg broja predmeta, osobito nakita.¹⁰¹ Možemo li u ovome slučaju groba iz Zagrađa govoriti o pokopu kneževskog ili najvišeg društvenog statusa? Ukoliko prihvatimo kvantitativni princip procjene, najvjerojatnije ne. Međutim, ukoliko prihvatimo kvalitativno, amblemsko te ritualno obilježavanje preminulog pokojnika i njegova groba, tada nam se bez prepreke otvara perspektiva još jednog kneževskog, tj. prinčevskog groba glasinackog prostora koji je primio točno određene predmete primjerene "za putovanje" njegove dobi i društvenog položaja.

Varijanta III A2-a ilirskih kaciga

Situacija se sa sljedećom varijantom, i njezinim inačicama, znatnije mijenja ne samo u kvantitativnom već i u kulturološkom smislu (sl. 14). Naime, najveći broj ilirskih kaciga, kao i onih sa prostora Bosne i Hercegovine, upravo pripada ovoj, III A2 varijanti, pa im se

¹⁰⁰ U korist takvoga promišljanja svjedočio bi i pršljenak koji je u ovome grobu asociran s iglom i ostalim priložima muškog principa opreme. Uobičajeno je, i dokazano, kako je pršljenak od kasnog brončanog doba bio obilježjem karakterističnih i iznimnih ženskih grobova (Eibner 1986, 39-48; Teržan 1996, 507-536; Torelli 1997, 59-62; Lefkowitz 2007, 95-98). Međutim, ukoliko je bio izrađen od kamena, kao što je slučaj ovdje, obilježavao je i dječije ili adolescentske grobove u kojima je bio prilagan kao amulet-zaštitnik (Primas 2007, 309-311). Upravo o takvim amuletima-zaštitnicima od kamena na balkanskom prostoru vidjeti i kod A. Stipčević (1981, 138-139).

¹⁰¹ Vasić 2007, 557-559; Васић 2009a, 110-111.

buried, this might suggest that the deceased was a young male to whom due honours were paid not only in the selection of the grave goods, but also in the manner and ritual by which they were placed there and consecrated.¹⁰⁰ The ritual principle of the grave has already been convincingly demonstrated *pars pro toto*, in the light of which the wild boar plaque should probably also be considered. Could one therefore see it, in the form of an insignia, as a symbolic substitute for the individual occurrences of Illyrian helmets of the highest III A1-b rank?

The established view is that the princely graves of the Glasinac region include those that are especially richly furnished, particularly with defence weapons, bronze vessels or certain insignia. Added to this was the quantity of other articles, particularly accoutrements and articles of clothing, since the graves of Glasinac are famous for the number of goods they contain, particularly jewellery.¹⁰¹ Could one refer in this case to the grave from Zagrađa as the last resting-place of someone of princely or supreme social status? Based on quantity, probably not; but the qualitative, emblematic and ritual features of the deceased and his grave certainly allow for its interpretation as yet another princely grave from Glasinac, whose occupant was buried with the precise articles required for "the journey" to be made by one of his age and social standing.

Illyrian helmets of variant III A2-a

The case of the next variant and its sub-variants is significantly different not only quantitatively but also in the cultural sense (fig. 14). The largest number of Illyrian helmets, like those from Bosnia and Herzegovina, belong to this III A2 variant, a total of 31 specimens, some intact, others fragmentary. Most have been recorded in scholarly

¹⁰⁰ Further evidence in support of this idea comes from the whorl, associated in this grave with a needle and other goods more appropriate to male equipment. It is known to have been the custom in the late Bronze Age for a whorl to denote typical and exceptional female graves (Eibner 1986, 39-48; Teržan 1996, 507-536; Torelli 1997, 59-62; Lefkowitz 2007, 95-98), but if made of stone, as is the case here, it also denoted a child's or adolescent's grave, where it was placed as a protective amulet (Primas 2007, 309-311). For more on these stone amulets in the Balkans, see also A. Stipčević (1981, 138-139).

¹⁰¹ Vasić 2007, 557-559; Васић 2009a, 110-111.

može pripisati čak 31 primjerak, bilo u cijelosti sačuvanih kaciga ili onih u najmanjim ulomcima. Većina je njih bila zabilježena u stručnoj literaturi, ali ih je reproducirano, bilo crtežom, bilo fotografijom, samo nekoliko primjeraka od kojih je dobar dio bio objelodanjen u ne šire dostupnoj literaturi.

Od tog imponantnog broja, ukupno 15 primjeraka sa sigurnošću razmatramo unutar III A2-a inačice (sl. 14; sl. 18), dakle onih kaciga koje nemaju urezan znak strelice iznad bočnih usjeka paragnatida, što je odlika kaciga sljedeće, III A2-b inačice.¹⁰² Kontekst nalaženja tih kaciga najvećim nas dijelom upućuje na ratničke grobove ponajviše hercegovačkog područja od kojih su poznati nalazi s većim brojem kaciga iz Plane (k. 32-33)¹⁰³ i Kačnja (k. 34-36),¹⁰⁴ a pridružuju im se i relativno noviji nalazi iz Vranjeva Sela kod Neuma (k. 30-31).¹⁰⁵ Međutim, najveći broj hercegovačkih grobova je uništen; izvorno i povijesno, sukcesivnim naknadnim ukopavanjem, ili kasnijim najrazličitijim oblicima devastacija. Zbog toga se građa uglavnom tretirala zajednički i datacijski vrlo rastezljivo, kao npr. kacige iz Ritke Liske kod Crvenica (k. 21),¹⁰⁶ iz Radišića kod Ljubuškog (k. 23),¹⁰⁷ kaciga iz Gruda (k. 22)¹⁰⁸ ili one iz Kačnja (k. 34-36).

Određen broj kaciga ove inačice istraživan je i na nekropolama ili grobovima uz naselja, što predstavljaju dvije kacige iz Čarakova kod Prijedora (k. 9-10),¹⁰⁹ kaciga iz Radišića (k. 23), te ulomak kacige iz Prisojske gradine u Drinovcima (k. 24).¹¹⁰ Međutim, iz naselja za sada jedino potječe dobro poznata kaciga iz Ošanića (k. 26),¹¹¹ koju možemo

literature, but only a few have been illustrated in a drawing or photograph, and of these, a good many feature in literature that is not widely available.

Fifteen of this impressive number may undoubtedly be regarded as belonging to sub-variant III A2-a (figs. 14; 18), consisting of those helmets that have no incised arrow mark above the side notches of the cheek guards, as is typical of the next sub-variant, III A2-b.¹⁰² The context in which these helmets were found usually suggests warrior graves, particularly in Herzegovina, the origin of the well-known finds with several helmets from Plana (cat. 32-33)¹⁰³ and Kačanj (cat. 34-36),¹⁰⁴ joined by the relatively new finds from Vranjevo Selo near Neum (cat. 30-31).¹⁰⁵ The majority of Herzegovina graves have been destroyed, however, historically by successive later burials, or later by destruction of the most varied kinds. The material has therefore largely been treated together, and very ambiguously in terms of date, as for example the helmets from Ritke Liske near Crvenica (cat. 21)¹⁰⁶ and from Radišić near Ljubuški (cat. 23),¹⁰⁷ the helmet from Grude (cat. 22)¹⁰⁸ or those from Kačanj (cat. 34-36).

A certain number of helmets of this sub-variant have also been excavated from necropolises or graves near settlements. Such is the case of two helmets from Čarakovo near Prijedor (cat. 9-10),¹⁰⁹ a helmet from Radišić (cat. 23), and a fragment of helmet from Prisojska gradina (hill fort) in Drinovci (cat. 24).¹¹⁰ Thus far the only one to originate from a settlement is the well-known helmet from Ošanići (cat. 26),¹¹¹ which

¹⁰² Teržan 1995, 87–88, 118–119, sl. 8.

¹⁰³ Truhelka 1901, 3-6, sl. 1-2; sl. 3-4.

¹⁰⁴ Marić 1959, 89-90, T. I, 2; 1976a, 106-107, sl. 3.

¹⁰⁵ Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011, 53-63.

¹⁰⁶ Bojanovski 1967, 182-185, sl. 1-2; Čović 1962, 27-28.

¹⁰⁷ Čović 1985, 55, T. III, 4; Dodig 2011, 51. Nađena je na privatnom posjedu u grobu s još 20 vrhova koplja, fibulama i posudama. (Podatci iz inventarne knjige Zbirke Franjevačkog muzeja na Humcu.)

¹⁰⁸ Фиала 1897, 660-661, T. I; Vasić 2010, 42, Pl. III, 3.

¹⁰⁹ U literaturi se obično navodila samo jedna kaciga kojoj nije moguće odrediti tipološku klasifikaciju (Teržan 1995, 121; Gavranović 2011, 156), iako je već i B. Čović 1987. jasno opredjeljuje i vremenski smješta u stupanj 3a kulturnog kompleksa Donja Dolina-Sanski Most i tako izričito odjeljuje od starijih kaciga II. tipa iz Donje Doline (Čović 1987a, 258). Ivan Marović je upravo tako i kartira, što potom preuzimaju i drugi autori (Marović 1976, 297, karta).

¹¹⁰ Truhelka 1901, 5; 1914, 117.

¹¹¹ Marić 1976b, 634-638, sl. 2; 1976c, T. XXVI, 48; 1995, 41, T. 3, 1-2.

¹⁰² Teržan 1995, 87–88, 118–119, fig. 8.

¹⁰³ Truhelka 1901, 3-6, figs. 1-2; 3-4.

¹⁰⁴ Marić 1959, 89-90, Pl. I, 2; 1976a, 106-107, fig. 3.

¹⁰⁵ Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011, 53-63.

¹⁰⁶ Bojanovski 1967, 182-185, figs. 1-2; Čović 1962, 27-28.

¹⁰⁷ Čović 1985, 55, Pl. III, 4; Dodig 2011, 51. It was found in a grave on private property with twenty spear heads, fibulae and vessels (details from the inventory records of the Franciscan Museum in Humac).

¹⁰⁸ Фиала 1897, 660-661, Pl. I; Vasić 2010, 42, Pl. III, 3.

¹⁰⁹ As a rule only one helmet, which could not be ascribed to a particular type, is referred to in the literature (Teržan 1995, 121; Gavranović 2011, 156), though in 1987 B. Čović had already clearly determined the time frame as phase 3a of the Donja Dolina-Sanski Most cultural complex, thereby explicitly separating it from the older type II helmets from Donja Dolina (Čović 1987a, 258). Ivan Marović maps it accordingly, and was followed by other authorities (Marović 1976, 297, map).

¹¹⁰ Truhelka 1901, 5; 1914, 117.

¹¹¹ Marić 1976b, 634-638, fig. 2; 1976c, Pl. XXVI, 48; 1995, 41, Pl. 3, 1-2.

razumijevati i kao oblik obrednog polaganja ili zavjetnog prinošenja/ostavljanja, budući da je nađena prilično deformirana uz sam ulaz na podij gradine.¹¹² Nekoliko ulomaka kaciga, koji su izdvojeni iz nalaza sa same akropole ili u njezinome podnožju (k. 27-29), pripadaju nesumnjivo III A2 varijanti ilirskih kaciga, iako nije moguće odrediti i kojoj od njezine dvije inačice. Unatoč tomu, zanimljivijim se svakako čini oblik njihove fragmentacije i mjesto nalaženja, pa bi u toj percepciji i njih mogli interpretirati kao zavjetne darove akropoljskog svetišta Ošanića.

Ista se situacija ponavlja i kod ulomaka iz nekropole Kamenjača u Brezi (k. 15-19).¹¹³ Niti jedan od predočenih ulomaka ne može biti određen pojedinoj inačici, jer su ulomci fragmentirani i spaljeni, a nađeni su na posebno izgrađenom i ograđenom podiju, u kv. XXV, na tzv. "odru" sa spaljenim pokojnicima. Pored njih, ondje su nađeni i drugi dijelovi navalne i obrambene vojne opreme, kao i ostala luksuzna roba, npr. ulomci knemida, drugih tipova kaciga, koplja, mahaira, brončanih posuda, nakita i sl. Većina ih je bila namjerno lomljena, paljena ili uništavana, i to u vremenski podužem rasponu.¹¹⁴

Ne uzimajući u obzir manje ulomke, sve kacige predmetne varijante možemo izdvojiti u određenim sličnostima prema načinu izradbe, oblikovanju te izvedbi pojedinih ukrasa. Morfološki se tu izdvaja skupina lijevanih kaciga iz šireg prostora Hercegovine, koje krasi odlike tipološki standardizirane proizvodnje kaciga III. tipa. Sve one tako imaju zaobljen oblik kalote, izdužene i pravilno zaobljene, na vrhovima zašiljene paragnatide, koje se prema vratu sužavaju i gdje im se nalaze rupice za pričvršćivanje kacige prilikom nošenja. S bočnih su strana paragnatide znatnije i dublje zasječene u kalotu kacige. Štitnik za vrat je kratak, blago izvučen i zaobljen. Trokutasto profilirana rebra ležišta perjanice usporedno teku uzduž kalote, u širem razmaku između kojih su urezane tri linije. To se ležište također može mijenjati, pa kod mlađih primjeraka trokutasta rebra postaju izdignuta i masivnija, te međusobno prilično uža, češće i bez urezanih linija, odnosno bez nosača za perjanicu. Na čeonom dijelu se u pravilu nalazio

may also be seen as a kind of ritual deposit or votive offering, since it was found in a quite misshapen state at the entrance to a podium on the hill fort.¹¹² A number of fragments of helmets, among the finds in the acropolis itself or at its foot (cat. 27-29) certainly belong to variant III A2 of the Illyrian helmet, though they cannot be ascribed to either one of its two sub-variants. Nevertheless, their fragmentary nature and the place where they were found are of interest, and in that light they could be seen as votive offerings at the acropolis sanctuary of Ošanići.

The same is true of the fragments from the Kamenjača necropolis in Breza (cat. 15-19).¹¹³ None of these fragments can be attributed to a particular sub-variant, as too fragmentary as well as having been burned; they were found on a specially erected, enclosed podium in qu. XXV, on a "catafalque" with the cremated remains of the deceased. Also found there were other parts of naval and defence weaponry and luxury goods, such as fragments of greaves, other types of helmet, spears, machairas, bronze vessels, jewellery and so on. Most of them had been deliberately smashed, burned or destroyed, a procedure that continued over a fairly long period.¹¹⁴

Without taking small fragments into account, all the helmets of this variant may be grouped by certain similarities of workmanship, shape and the execution of the decorations. Morphologically, one group consists of cast helmets from the wider Herzegovina region, with the features of the typologically standardized manufacture of type III helmets. All have a rounded crown and elongated, evenly rounded cheek guards with pointed ends, narrowing towards the neck and with holes for attaching the helmet in wear. To the sides the cheek guards are significantly more deeply notched into the crown. The neck guard is short, slightly curved, and rounded. The triangular profiled ribs forming the crest holder run parallel along the crown and are quite far apart; between them are three incised lines. The crest holder too may vary; in later examples, the triangular ribs become more substantial and raised, and are closer together, often without incised lines, i.e. without a crest holder. There was

¹¹² H. Pflug navodi netočan podatak da ta kaciga potječe iz groba, datirajući ju u 4. stoljeće (Pflug 1988a, 53).

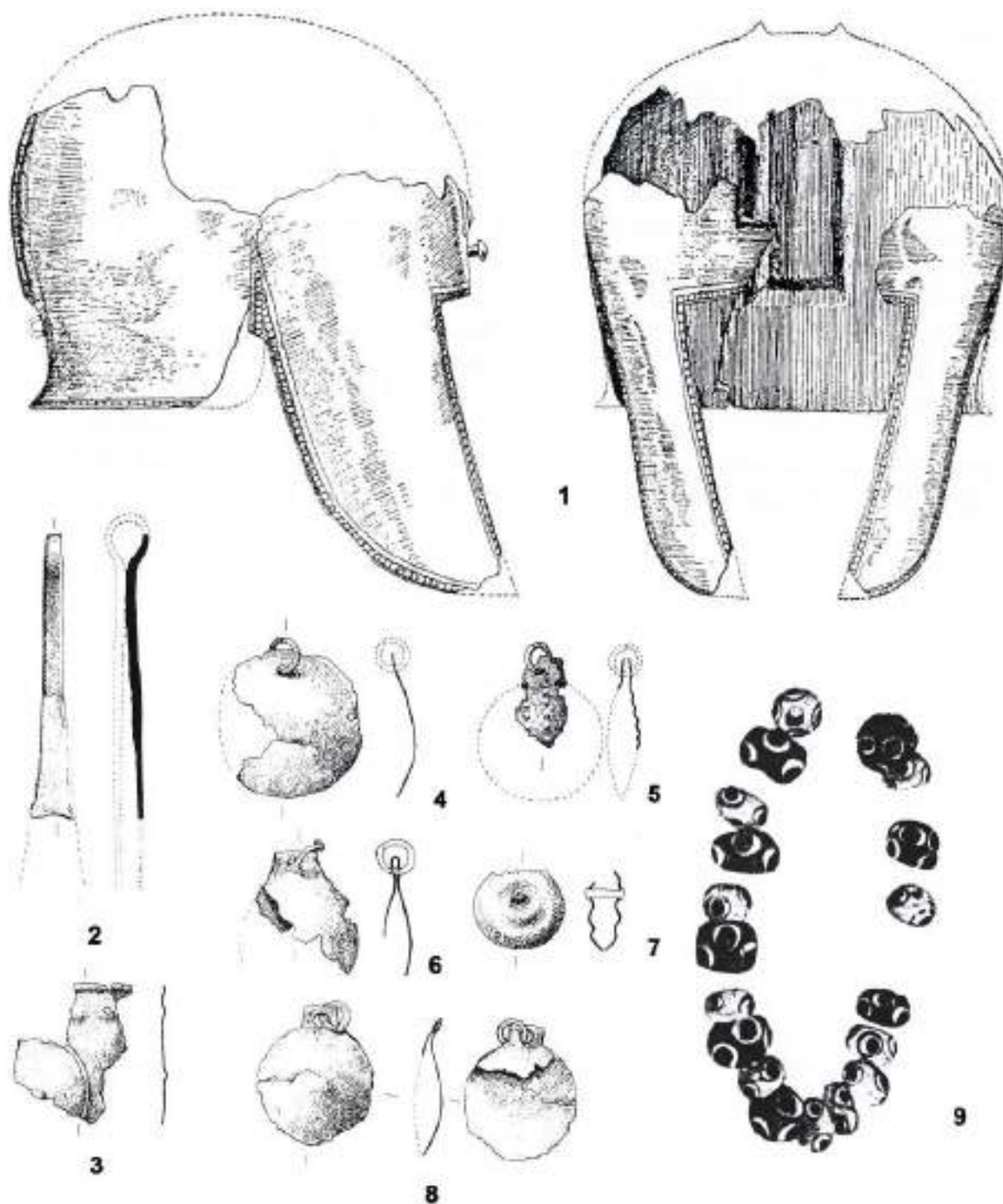
¹¹³ Paškvalin 2002, T. II, 1-4; 2008, T. 17, 1-4.

¹¹⁴ Paškvalin 2002, 526-527; 2008, 113-115.

¹¹² H. Pflug wrongly states that the helmet was from a grave, and dates it to the 4th century (Pflug 1988a, 53).

¹¹³ Paškvalin 2002, Pl. II, 1-4; 2008, Pl. 17, 1-4.

¹¹⁴ Paškvalin 2002, 526-527; 2008, 113-115.



Sl. 12. Izbor iz groba 2 nekropole u Vičjoj luci na otoku Braču (prilagođeno prema: Marović, Nikolanci 1969).

Fig. 12 – Selection from grave 2 of the necropolis in Vičja luka on the island of Brač (adapted from Marović, Nikolanci 1969).

nosač, odnosno alka na zatiljnom dijelu, koji su pričvršćivali perjanicu. Međutim, sve njih obilježava veći i markantniji usjek paragnatida na bočnim

usually a ring at the back of the headpiece, where the crest was attached. All, however, have the typically larger, more pronounced cheek guards notch

stranama kaciga koji je bio dodatno naglašen izvedbom duboko usječenih ukrasa rubnika i imitirajućih kuglica. Te osobine pratimo na kacigama iz Ritke Liske, iz Gruda, Radišića i iz Prisojske gradine sa zapadne strane Hercegovine (k. 21-24), ili sve do kaciga iz Stoca, Ošanića, Vranjeva Sela kod Neuma, Plane i Kačnja iz istočne Hercegovine (k. 25-36).

Lijevanjem su izrađene i kacige zabilježene na sjevernijim nalazištima današnje Bosne i Hercegovine, pa su uz ulomke kaciga iz Talina i Kamenjače nedvojbeno to bile i obje kacige iz Čarakova (k. 9-10), zatim kaciga iz Save između Županje i Orašja (k. 11),¹¹⁵ te kaciga iz Ritešića kod Doboja (k. 12).¹¹⁶ Eventualno je kaciga iz Rusanovića bila izrađena od tankog brončanog lima (k. 14), što je pak osobitost kaciga istoga tipa sa srednjodalmatinskog područja.¹¹⁷

S obzirom na toliko evoluiran i osebujan način ukrašavanja ove varijante ilirskih kaciga, premda među njima postoje i znatno bolji i nešto lošiji radovi, prema izvedbi imitacija pravih kuglica možemo preciznije razlikovati nekoliko skupina:

1. To je skupina s izvedbom lijevanih i naknadno obrađivanih, proporcionalnih, pravilno zaobljenih i skladnih imitacija kuglica unutar reljefno profiliranog rubnika. U nju možemo ubrojiti kacige iz Ritke Liske-Crvenica (k. 21), Gruda (k. 22), Radišića (k. 23), Vranjeva Sela-Neum (k. 30), Plane (k. 32) i Kačnja (k. 34-35). Pribrajaju im se i kacige iz Čarakova (k. 9-10) te ulomci kaciga iz Kamenjače-Breza (k. 15-17). Prema tome elementu vrlo su srodne s kacigama iz nešto konkretnije poznatih konteksta nalaženja kao što su kacige iz Vičje luke, grob 2 (sl. 12, 1)¹¹⁸ ili druga kaciga iz Novoga Mesta (sl. 5, 2). S druge strane, slično urađene ukrasne rubnike nalazimo na kacigama iz Ohrida, npr. kod Gorne Porte, te dalje sve do halkidiških primjeraka, kao naprimjer kod kacige iz Zeitenlika,

at the sides of the helmet, which was further accentuated by the deeply cut decorative border and imitation globules. These features may be seen on the helmets from Ritke Liske, Grude, Radišić and the Prisojska hill fort from western Herzegovina (cat. 21-24), or all the way to the helmets from Stolac, Ošanići, Vranjevo Selo near Neum, Plana, and Kačanj in eastern Herzegovina (cat. 25-36).

The helmets from the more northerly sites in present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina were also cast; in addition to the fragments of helmet from Taline and Kamenjača, both helmets from Čarakovo (cat. 9-10) undoubtedly belong to this group, as did the helmet from the Sava between Županja and Orašje (cat. 11),¹¹⁵ and the helmet from Ritešić near Doboja (cat. 12).¹¹⁶ The helmet from Rusanovići could have been made from thin sheet bronze (cat. 14), as is typical of the helmets of this same time from the central Dalmatian region.¹¹⁷

Given the highly evolved and distinctive nature of the decorations on this variant of Illyrian helmet, and even though they vary from very well to somewhat poorly made, the execution of the imitation globules forms the basis for a more precise classification into several groups:

1. A group with cast and finished, well proportioned, evenly rounded and matching imitation globules within a relief-moulded border. This group includes the helmets from Ritke Liske-Crvenica (cat. 21), Grude (cat. 22), Radišić (cat. 23), Vranjevo Selo-Neum (cat. 30), Plana (cat. 32) and Kačanj (cat. 34-35), as well as the helmets from Čarakovo (cat. 9-10) and the fragments of helmet from Kamenjača-Breza (cat. 15-17). As regards this feature, they are very similar to the helmets from the rather more specifically identified contexts of sites such as those from Vičja luka, grave 2 (fig. 12, 1)¹¹⁸ or another helmet from Novo Mesto (fig. 5, 2). On the other hand, decorative borders executed in similar fashion are to be found on helmets from Ohrid, e.g. near Gorna Porta, and beyond, all the way to specimens from Halkidiki, such as

¹¹⁵ Vasić 1982a, 8, sl. 1; 1983a, sl. 2.

¹¹⁶ Vasić 2010, 43.

¹¹⁷ Nikolanci 1959, T. VII, 1; T. VIII, 1-2; Marović, Nikolanci 1969, sl. 4; sl. 16; Marović 1976, T. III, 6-7; T. IV, 8; Milošević 1999, 206-210, sl. 4-5.

¹¹⁸ Marović, Nikolanci 1969, sl. 4.

¹¹⁵ Vasić 1982a, 8, fig. 1; 1983a, fig. 2.

¹¹⁶ Vasić 2010, 43.

¹¹⁷ Nikolanci 1959, Pl. VII, 1; Pl. VIII, 1-2; Marović, Nikolanci 1969, figs. 4; 16; Marović 1976, Pl. III, 6-7; Pl. IV, 8; Milošević 1999, 206-210, figs. 4-5.

¹¹⁸ Marović, Nikolanci 1969, fig. 4.

sarkofag C.¹¹⁹ Stoga ta izvedba neće ukazivati nužno na vremensku, nego više na tehnološku ili produkcijsku uniformiranost.

2. Drugu skupinu obilježavale bi kacige s ukrasom rubnika izvedenim žigosanjem kvadratića s izdignutim unutrašnjim kugličastim ispupčenjem, čiji rubnik nije reljefno profiliran, već je obilježen samo urezanim linijom koja dijeli rub kaciga. To obilježava kacige iz Prisojske gradine (k. 24), drugu kacigu iz Vranjeva Sela kod Neuma (k. 31), kacigu iz okolice Stoca (k. 25), drugu kacigu iz Plane (k. 33), treću iz Kačnja (k. 36), tj. ulomke kaciga iz Talina (k. 13) i Kamenjače (k. 18-19), odnosno kacige iz Save (k. 11) i iz Ritešića (k. 12). Taj se ukras uglavnom određivao datacijski mlađim primjercima, poput onih iz Budve ili Albanije,¹²⁰ no to bi kontekst groba iz glasinacčkih Talina djelomično osporio, i tako afirmirao već kod prve skupine postavljenu tezu po kojoj ukras nije bio distinktivan pojam vremenskog razgraničenja, već je eventualno bilo obilježjem različitih ili drugih radioničkih "potpisa". Tome svjedoče kacige III A3 varijante koje duž rubnika imaju identično tako izveden ukras (npr. kaciga u Trocadero, New York).¹²¹
3. Treću skupinu označavaju kacige s pravilno žigosanom/utisnutom jednostavnom kružnicom usporedno postavljenom duž urezane linije izdvojenog, ali neprofiliranog rubnika. To je značajka jedino kacige iz Ošanića (k. 26; sl. 16, 1). Ona se po načinu ukrašavanja približava ukrasima kaciga i knemida iz područja srednjodalmatinskih nalazišta koje su sve izrađene od tankog brončanog lima i koje se mahom ubrajaju u inačicu III A2-b ilirskih kaciga.¹²² Kaciga ujedno nema sistem za pričvršćivanje perjanice, niti trna, niti alke. Upravo iz tog

the helmet from Zeitenlik, sarcophagus C.¹¹⁹ This rendition does not necessarily, therefore, suggest similarity of dates, but rather technological or manufacturing uniformity.

2. Another group would consist of helmets with a decorative border made by stamping squares with a central spherical boss, where the border is not in relief, but merely indicated by an incised line. This is the case with the helmets from Prisojska hill fort (cat. 25), another helmet from Vranjevo Selo near Neum (cat. 31), a helmet from the Stolac area (cat. 25), another helmet from Plana (cat. 33), a third from Kačanj (cat. 36), helmet fragments from Taline (cat. 13) and Kamenjača (cat. 18-19), and helmets from the Sava (cat. 11) and Ritešić (cat. 12). This decoration was usually found on later specimens, such as those from Budva or Albania,¹²⁰ but the context of a grave from Taline in Glasinac would in part suggest the contrary, and thereby corroborate the hypothesis already advanced for the first group, that decoration is not a date-dependent feature, but rather one that indicates the "signatures" of different manufacturing sites. Evidence in support of this is found in III A3 variant helmets with the identical decoration along the rim.¹²¹
3. The third group consists of helmets with simple, evenly stamped/impressed circles set side by side along the incised line of the separate but not moulded border. This is a feature only of a helmet from Ošanići (cat. 26; fig. 16, 1). This manner of decoration is similar to that of the helmets and greaves from central Dalmatian sites, all made of thin sheet bronze and mainly belonging to variant III A2-b of the Illyrian helmet.¹²² In addition, the helmet has no means of attachment – spike or ring – for the crest, for which reason Emilian Teleaga ascribes

¹¹⁹ Descamps et al. 2002, 99. Kod B. Teržan kartirana je samo kaciga III A3 tipa iz sarkofaga A (Teržan 1995, 121), dok je kod R. Vasića navedena još i kaciga III A1 tipa iz Louvra (Vasić 2010, 46) koja zapravo odgovara tipu III A2-a, kao što su to ispravno bilježili H. Pflug (1988a, 58) i E. Teleaga (2008, 233).

¹²⁰ Pflug 1988a, 55-56.

¹²¹ <http://www.trocadero.com/explorer/items/1000316/en1.html> (08.05.2011).

¹²² Teržan 1995, sl. 8.

¹¹⁹ Descamps et al. 2002, 99. B. Teržan maps only the III A3 type helmet from sarcophagus A (Teržan 1995, 121), whereas R. Vasić also refers to a type III A1 helmet in the Louvre (Vasić 2010, 46), which in fact corresponds to type III A2-a, as correctly noted by H. Pflug (1988a, 58) and E. Teleaga (2008, 233).

¹²⁰ Pflug 1988a, 55-56.

¹²¹ <http://www.trocadero.com/explorer/items/1000316/en1.html> (08.05.2011).

¹²² Teržan 1995, fig. 8.

razloga Emilian Teleaga je pripisuje III A3 tipu,¹²³ gdje je ukras utisnutih kružnica uz rubnike bio vrlo dobro poznat, npr. kod kaciga iz Sindosa ili Archontika, ali je posebno zastupljen na kacigama ohridskoga područja. Kako ipak ukras nije jedini niti odlučujući kriterij predloženih tipoloških klasifikacija, tako niti ta tvrdnja ne može biti prihvaćena sa sigurnošću jer, ponajprije, ilirske kacige III A3 varijante imaju posve drugačije morfološke, tehnološke i, napokon, stilske karakteristike. No, i u ovome slučaju vjerojatnijim se također čini perspektiva kojom te podatke možemo vrednovati karakteristikama mjesnih obrtništva i umjetničkih sloboda prilikom završnog obrađivanja bilo koje od ilirskih kaciga uopće!

Najčešće i ova inačica kaciga potječe iz mahom nepoznatih konteksta nalaženja. Ipak, broj onih malobrojnih primjeraka kojima preciznije poznamo okolnosti načina i mjesta nalaženja proporcionalno je znatno viši u odnosu na ranije varijante i njihove inačice, čime je relativno sigurniji i za kronološko bliže definiranje, odnosno kulturološko međusobno usklađivanje. Nalazi iz Plane i Vranjeva Sela, zbog vremenski osjetljivijih predmeta osobne opreme, nošnje i priloga, svjedoče pak o nešto užoj dataciji prve polovine 5. stoljeća i tako upućuju na moguću vremensku podešenost s ostalim srodnim kacigama u regiji (sl. 18). U tome smislu posebno je pogodovala prisutna importirana keramika koja upravo ukazuje na užu dataciju i kraći raspon pokopavanja u tim grobovima.¹²⁴ Jasniji kontekst nalaženja pružala bi i kaciga iz Ošanića koja je nađena pored ulaznih vrata na gradinsku akropolu (k. 26). Budući da se tzv. kiklopska gradnja ošaničkih bedema smatra helenističkog datuma, a da je samu akropolu zadesio veći napad od strane Delmata u 2. stoljeću,¹²⁵ kaciga je bila datirana u skladu s tim događajima, u rano 2. stoljeće.¹²⁶ U odnosu na poblizi položaj nalaženja, kao i način pohrane te kacige, tj. na način njezine nasilne deformacije i fragmentiranosti, vjerojatnije će

it to type III A3,¹²³ where the decoration of impressed circles along the rim was very well known, e.g. in the case of the helmets from Sindos or Archontiko, but is particularly common on the helmets from the Ohrid region. Since decoration is not the only or the decisive criterion for the proposed typological classification, even this assertion cannot be accepted unreservedly; above all, Illyrian helmets of variant III A3 have entirely different morphological, technological and stylistic features. In this case, too, the more likely perspective is one that, when evaluating this feature, takes into account the characteristics of local craftsmanship and artistic freedom in the final finish of an Illyrian helmet of any kind!

This sub-variant of helmet mainly originates from largely unknown site contexts. Despite this, the number of those few specimens of which the precise circumstances relating to the site and the manner of their discovery is proportionately much higher than in earlier variants and their sub-variants, and it is therefore relatively more securely and accurately datable and set in its cultural context. Thanks to the more time-sensitive items of personal accoutrements, articles of clothing and effects, the finds from Plana and Vranjevo Selo attest to a somewhat more specific date of the first half of the 5th century, thereby suggesting a chronological match with other, similar helmets in the region (fig. 18). Of particular value in this regard was the imported pottery found there, suggesting a narrower time frame and shorter period during which burials in those graves were carried out.¹²⁴ The helmet from Ošanići found by the entrance gateway to the hill fort acropolis (cat. 26) would also provide a clearer context for these finds. Since the Cyclopean construction of the Ošanići ramparts suggests a Hellenistic date, and since too the acropolis was attacked several times by the Delmatae in the 2nd century,¹²⁵ the helmet was dated to those events of the early

¹²³ Teleaga 2008, 233. U diskusiji o ilirskim kacigama, navodeći citat iz B. Teržan (1976), umjesto Talinama, autor kacigu pripisuje Zagrađu, što ne odgovara istini, s obzirom na to da je ondje nađena aplikacija vepra od srebrnog lima.

¹²⁴ Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011, 65-70.

¹²⁵ Zaninović 2003, 281; Šašel Kos 2005, 314. Raspravu oko datacije ošaničke ostave, povezane uz te povijesne događaje, vidjeti i kod Michael Pfrommer (1990, 161, 246, 369).

¹²⁶ Marić 1976b, 634-638; 1976c, 48; 1995, 41.

¹²³ Teleaga 2008, 233. When discussing Illyrian helmets and quoting from B. Teržan (1976), the author ascribes the helmet to Zagrađe rather than Taline, which does not agree with the facts, since a wild boar plaque of sheet silver was found there.

¹²⁴ Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011, 65-70.

¹²⁵ Zaninović 2003, 281; Šašel Kos 2005, 314. For a discussion of the date of the Ošanići hoard associated with these events, see also Michael Pfrommer (1990, 161, 246, 369).

biti da tu kacigu razumijevamo kao zavjetni poklon pri podizanju ili posvećivanju tog monumentalnog građevinskog ansambla. Time bi njezina datacija u šire 4. stoljeće bila realnija i razumljivija, u odnosu na prenislo predloženu dataciju 2. stoljeća, i uz dodatnu argumentaciju nalazima ulomaka na akropoli te u bližoj okolini (k. 27-29). Time bi samo osnaživala dobro poznatu tezu po kojoj su kacige toga tipa mogle trajati do u 4. stoljeće, iako je njihova uporaba ipak bila najznatnija i najraširenija tijekom 5. stoljeća (sl. 18).

Kao primjer za interpretativno konkretniji kronološki oslonac, hercegovačkim nalazištima pridružuju se tek grobovi s Glasinca (k. 13-14), iako njih također nije moguće preciznije odrediti pojedinoj od inačica. Pri tomu se posebno zanimljivim, iz mnoštva razloga, nameće grob iz Talina I/1-2 (k. 13). Riječ je o prilično uništenom grobu s paljevin- skim načinom sahranjivanja. Ondje je, pored želje- znih kopalja i noževa,¹²⁷ zabilježen ulomak ilirske kacige III A2 tipa zajedno s dvije fibule tipa Certosa varijante V prema B. Teržan,¹²⁸ zatim s dvjema brončanim narukvicama, dvojnomo iglom tipa IIIa prema R. Vasiću,¹²⁹ a uz brončana, staklena, kame- na i koštana zrna i jantarno zrno narebrenog tipa varijante 52c prema A. Palavestri,¹³⁰ te uz ulomke keramike i karakteristični keramički pršljenak. S obzirom na takvu građu može se s velikom vjero- jatnosti promišljati o tom grobu kao dvojnomo, muš- kom i ženskom, čiji je ansambl nošnje i priloga bio bogat, ali ne i raskošno preobiman da bi obilježavao status glasinackog kneževskog groba. Uža datacija groba u 5. stoljeće, barem prema fibulama tipa Cer- tosa, čini se stoga i dalje ispravnom.

Srodnu situaciju, s ulomkom ilirske kacige III. stupnja (sl. 13, 14), objelodanjuje nam i grob iz Rusanovića VIII/3 (k. 14).¹³¹ Riječ je o paljevin- skom grobu koji se nalazio u tumulu s još dva ske- letna ukopa. Sadržavao je najviše priložene građe,

2nd century.¹²⁶ In the light of the position in which it was found and the way it had been smashed, it seems more probably that this helmet was a votive offering at the time this monumental structure was built or consecrated. A date of the 4th century would there- fore be more realistic and make more sense than one of the 2nd century, which is too late; further grounds for this are to be found in the discovery of fragments in and around the acropolis (cat. 27-29). This would merely add further weight to the familiar hypothesis that helmets of this type could have continued in use until the 4th century, though they were much more extensively used during the 5th century (fig. 18).

As an example for placing them on an interpreta- tively sounder chronological footing, the Herzegovina sites are joined by the graves from Glasinac (cat. 13- 14), even though they too cannot be accurately as- signed to a particular sub-variant. In this regard, the grave from Taline I/1-2 (cat. 13) is of particular inter- est, for a variety of reasons. This badly damaged grave of a cinerary burial contained iron spears and knives¹²⁷ and a fragment of a type III A2 Illyrian helmet along with two fibulae of B. Teržan's Certosa variant V,¹²⁸ and two bronze bracelets, a double shank pin of R. Vasić's type IIIa,¹²⁹ and bronze, glass, stone and bone beads together with an amber bead of ribbed type – A. Palavestra's variant 52c,¹³⁰ accompanied by potsherds and a distinctive pottery whorl. These artefacts strong- ly suggest that this was a double grave, of a man and a woman, whose articles of clothing and grave goods suggested wealth but were not so magnificent or abun- dant as to denote a princely Glasinac grave. A closer dating of the grave to the 5th century, at least according to the Certosa fibulae, therefore still seems correct.

A similar state of affairs, with a fragment of a type III Illyrian helmet (fig. 13, 14), is revealed by the grave at Rusanovići VIII/3 (cat. 14),¹³¹ a ciner- ary grave in a tumulus with another two burials, these latter being inhumations. It contained the

¹²⁷ Fiala 1895, 547.

¹²⁸ Teržan 1976, 376, bilj. 145; Vasić 1982a, 14; 2010, 43, T. III, 4; Čović 1987b, 630; Bacih 2009a, 110.

¹²⁹ Vasić 1982b, 234.

¹³⁰ Taj je tip narebrenih zrna u pravilu cvjetnog oblika i obilje- žavao je sve kneževske ili bogatije grobove na širem pro- storu zapadnog i središnjeg Balkana (Palavestra 1993, 116, 210; 2006, 244, 253-259).

¹³¹ Vasić 2010, 43, T. III, 4. Kod R. Vasića se u više radova na- vodi da je riječ o grobu VIII/1. Budući da je u izvornoj objavi Franje Fiale iz 1895. godine naveden grob 3, kao i u inven- tarnim knjigama, i u ovoj se studiji koristi VIII/3 numerička oznaka predmetnoga groba.

¹²⁶ Marić 1976b, 634-638; 1976c, 48; 1995, 41.

¹²⁷ Fiala 1895, 547.

¹²⁸ Teržan 1976, 376, fn. 145; Vasić 1982a, 14; 2010, 43, Pl. III, 4; Čović 1987b, 630; Bacih 2009a, 110.

¹²⁹ Vasić 1982b, 234.

¹³⁰ This type of ribbed bead is usually floral in shape, and was a feature of every princely or richly furnished grave in the wider western and central Balkan region (Palavestra 1993, 116, 210; 2006, 244, 253-259).

¹³¹ Vasić 2010, 43, Pl. III, 4. R. Vasić states in several papers that the grave in question was grave VIII/1. Since it was numbered as grave 3 when originally published by Franjo Fiala in 1895, and is also so numbered in the inventory records, in this paper too the number VIII/3 is used to denote this grave.



Sl. 13. Repertoar nalaza iz groba VIII/3 iz Rusanovića (nadopunjeno prema: Čović 1983; Vasić 2010).

Fig. 13. Range of goods from grave VIII/3 in Rusanovići (updated from Čović 1983; Vasić 2010).

poglavito nakita, tj. 12 fibula tipa Arareva gromila, 13 brončanih koluta, 4 željezna koluta, ostatak brončane narukvice i keramičke ulomke.¹³² Međutim, još je davne 1983. godine B. Čović precizno odredio “ostatak brončane narukvice” kao dio ručke neke veće ukrašene brončane posude (sl. 13, 15).¹³³ No, tome se podatku u kasnijim radovima nije pridavao veći značaj, nego je bio uobičajeno tretiran među klasične muške grobove s većim brojem fibula. Te su fibule vremenski grob sigurnije smjestile u IVc-2 fazu glasinacke kulture, odnosno u 5. stoljeće, baš kao i netom opisan grob iz Talina. Ali, ako se i u ovome slučaju pomno razmotre okolnosti smještaja groba, nalaženja i obilježja priloga različitog karaktera i raznorodnog podrijetla, tada je moguće i ovaj grob spoznavati kao jedan od značajnijih glasinackih

largest quantity of grave goods, and particularly of jewellery: twelve Arareva gromila-type fibulae, 13 bronze rings, 4 iron rings, the remains of a bronze bracelet and potsherds.¹³² As long ago as 1983, however, B. Čović specifically defined the “remains of the bronze bracelet” as part of the handle of a rather large, ornamental bronze vessel (fig. 13, 15).¹³³ Little significance was accorded to this in later works, and the grave was regarded as a typical man’s grave with several fibulae. These date the grave securely to phase IVc-2 of the Glasinac culture, i.e. the 5th century, just like the grave in Taline described above. However, the circumstances of the grave – its position, its discovery, and the features of the grave goods of diverse kinds and origins – allow for this grave too to be recognized as one of the

¹³² Fiala 1895, 535; Vasić 2007, 558-559; 2010, 43; Vasić 2009a, 110.

¹³³ Čović 1983, 151, T. XXXIV, 23.

¹³² Fiala 1895, 535; Vasić 2007, 558-559; 2010, 43; Vasić 2009a, 110.

¹³³ Čović 1983, 151, Pl. XXXIV, 23.

grobova koji je, ako već nije imao status kneževskog, definitivno bio svjedokom visoko društveno rangiranog pokojnika iz vremena 5. stoljeća.

Za razliku od svih do tada poznatih varijanti, ilirske kacige III A2-a tipa zemljopisno su najšire rasprostranjene i tako kulturno najrazličitije raspoređene. Osjetno prostorno i kvantitativno povećanje obilježje je područja zapadnog balkanskog i istočnojadranskog područja sa zaleđem. Međutim, taj je odnos značajno porastao i za područje Makedonije, od Halkidike pa sve do Ohrida (sl. 14), čijem zemljopisnom seznanju dominiraju i, otprilike istovremene, kacige III A3 tipa.¹³⁴ Potpuno novu i zanimljivu prostornu razmjerenost za sada pokazuje tzv. sjeverni rub njihova prostiranja, koji se kao vijenac pruža duž Posavine, od Novoga Mesta na zapadu do Sremske Mitrovice na istoku, odakle se širi dalje prema sjeveroistoku sve do transilvanijskih nalazišta. Diskutirano pak područje današnje Bosne i Hercegovine svakako bitno odskakače ovako upotpunjenim dokumentiranjem. Stoga se po pitanju ove varijante, s ukupnim brojem od 15 sigurno opredijeljenih kaciga te mnoštva manjih ulomaka koje općenito pribrajamo varijanti III A2, smješta odmah iza kaciga iz teritorija povijesne Makedonije.

Ako smo kojim slučajem, ili srećom, prijašnje tipove kaciga i njihovih varijanti mogli radionički pobliže smjestiti određenom kulturnom krugu, ova nam pak varijanta ilirskih kaciga, slijedeći princip gustoće nalaženja i kvantitete, tj. kvalitete pojedinih radova sugerira na nekoliko mogućih proizvodnih središta. Nedvojbeno je jedno od središta izrazitijih obrtničkih produkcija moralo postojati na teritoriju Makedonije (sl. 14). Ondje je praksa dobro uhodana i stoljetno razvijana još od II. tipa ilirskih kaciga, pa tako ne bi trebalo biti nikakve prepreke za sagledavanjem i prihvaćanjem istovremenih, ili s vrlo neznatnim vremenskim odmacima, proizvodnja kaciga i III A1, III A2 i III A3 tipa. Kao drugo moguće središte stvaralaštva i proizvodnje ističe se svakako prostor istočne jadranske obale, Dalmacije i obližnjeg hercegovačkog zaleđa. Na tom ih je prostoru i sveukupno zabilježen najveći

more important in Glasinac which, if not actually princely, definitely bore witness to the high social status of the 5th century deceased.

Unlike every other variant known to date, Illyrian helmets of type II A2-a are the most widespread geographically and hence the most diverse culturally. A noticeable increase both geographically and quantitatively is a feature of the western Balkans and the eastern Adriatic coast and hinterland. This was also true, however, of Macedonia, from Halkidiki to Ohrid (fig. 14) an area dominated at almost the same period by type III A3 helmets.¹³⁴ An entirely new and fascinating geographical shift is now demonstrated by the northern limit of their range, extending along the Sava basin from Novo Mesto in the west to Sremska Mitrovica in the east, whence it continues north-eastwards all the way to the Transylvanian sites. The area of present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina under discussion, however, stands out markedly in being more fully documented. With fifteen helmets classified with certainty as belonging to this variant, and a quantity of smaller fragments generally attributed to variant III A2, it is just behind historical Macedonia in number of helmets.

If by chance, or good fortune, we have been able to attribute the manufacturing sites where previous types of helmet and their variants were made fairly accurately to a specific *Kulturkreis*, based on the principle of density of finds and of the quantity and quality of the individual artefacts, this variant of Illyrian helmet suggests a number of possible manufacturing centres. There can be no doubt that one of the more active artisanal manufacturing centres must have been located in Macedonia (fig. 14), where the practice was already well established and had evolved over the centuries from the time of the type II Illyrian helmets, so there should be no obstacle to accepting that type III A1, III A2 and III A3 helmets were being manufactured at the same, or nearly the same, time. Another possible manufacturing centre would be the eastern Adriatic coast, Dalmatia and the nearby Herzegovina hinterland, where the largest number of these helmets has been recorded (fig. 14).

¹³⁴ Pflug 1988a, 59-63, sl. 19; Teržan 1995, 87-88, 121, sl. 9; Basić 2009a, 114; Vasić 2010, 40. Izuzev kacige iz Parkio Koutseliou (Whitley et al. 2006, 81), ilirske kacige još nedefiniranih tipoloških obilježja poznate su i iz Stavroupoli na području Thessaloniki (Whitley 2004, 50), što je zapravo antički Zeitenlik gdje su do tada već nađene dvije ilirske kacige, zatim to su kacige trećeg stupnja iz nekropole u Vergini (Whitley et al. 2006, 59), Toroni (Fraser 1969, 23) te Thermi na Halkidiki (Tomlinson 1995, 45; Blackman 1997, 68; Vasić 2010, 46).

¹³⁴ Pflug 1988a, 59-63, fig. 19; Teržan 1995, 87-88, 121, fig. 9; Basić 2009a, 114; Vasić 2010, 40. As well as the helmet from Parkio Koutseliou (Whitley et al. 2006, 81), Illyrian helmets of as yet undefined typology are known from Stavroupoli in the Thessaloniki region (Whitley 2004, 50), which is in fact ancient Zeitenlik, where two Illyrian helmets have already been found, and the type III helmets from the necropolis in Vergina (Whitley et al. 2006, 59), Torona (Fraser 1969, 23) and Thermi in Halkidiki (Tomlinson 1995, 45; Blackman 1997, 68; Vasić 2010, 46).

broj (sl. 14). Tomu bi svakako kumovala i činjenica što je ondje prisutna i ekskluzivno zastupljena druga inačica istoga tipa, tj. III A2-b varijanta ilirskih kaciga (sl. 18). Njihovo je pak distribuiranje u sjevernije predjele Posavine i Transilvanije najčešće i uobičajeno tumačeno mrežom trgovačkih ili posredničkih kontakata najrazličitijih kulturnih sredina. No, iznenađuje i dalje činjenica da je područje središnjeg Balkana izuzetno rijetko zastupljeno, pa bi možda time i njegova posrednička uloga mogla biti umanjena, iako tome u suprotnosti stoje noviji nalazi iz područja Kosova, iz Gralishta kod Korishë i iz Deje kod Rahaveca.¹³⁵

U pravilu, svi do sada poznati ulomci ilirskih kaciga potječu zapravo iz panhelenskih svetišta,¹³⁶ Olimpije, Isthmije, Dodone te atenske akropole. Svi su oni tretirani kao votivni pokloni, odlagani ili prilagani, ritualno oštećeni i/ili fragmentirani. Upravo tako možemo shvaćati i deformirane, nasilno lomljene i paljene kacige iz hercegovačkih Gorice i Ošanića, kojima se u istome smislu pridružuju i ulomci iz ošanićke akropole, te ulomci iz nekropole Kamenjače. Posljedično zato i za njih smatramo da potječu iz domaćih, autohtonih posvećenih mjesta gdje se takva ritualna praksa odvijala sukladno, ili vrlo srodno, a identične svrhe onoj u panhelenskim svetištima. Njima bismo, barem kada je o načinu pohranjivanja riječ, mogli pridružiti i prisutne pojedinačne nalaze i nalaze iz rijeka, koji su doduše najrjeđi oblik nalaza, kao što su kacige iz Save, između Županje i Orašja (k. 11) i iz okolice Stoca (k. 25), jer, kako je već rečeno, razumijevamo ih kao zavjetne poklone, namjerno odlagane u prostoru ili vodama. Pokazano je i dokazano kako upravo nalazi iz rijeka ili iz prirodnih ambijenata nisu uništeni ili znatnije oštećeni.¹³⁷ One su gotovo neoštećene, sa svim prisutnim elementima te s lijepom patinom, baš kao što su to naše kacige iz Save ili iz okolice Stoca.

Varijanta III A2-b ilirskih kaciga

Zasebnu inačicu iste varijante obilježavati će i samo jedan primjerak III A2-b kacige iz Podstinja kod Kiseljaka (k. 20, sl. 14; sl. 16, 2). Riječ je o kacigi koja je bila nađena u rijeci, zbog čega njezina očuvanost bitno odskače od drugih. S obzirom na mjesto i tip nalaženja, vjerojatno je bila zavjetnog karaktera, te zato ostavljena ili bačena u rijeku.

¹³⁵ Shukriu 2004, 51, 67, sl. 73.

¹³⁶ Pflug 1988a, 58.

¹³⁷ Hockey et al. 1992; Blečić 2007, 82; Manti, Watkinson 2008.

Also in support of this is the presence there of another variant of the same type, the III A2-b variant of Illyrian helmet, where it is exclusively represented (fig. 18). Their distribution in the more northerly areas of the Sava basin and Transylvania is usually ascribed to the network of trade or intermediary contacts between the most diverse cultural settings. It remains the surprising fact that the central Balkans are extremely rarely represented, and the region's role in indirect diffusion could perhaps be less significant, though in contrast to this are recent finds from Kosovo, from Gralishta near Korishë and Deje near Rahavec.¹³⁵

As a rule, all fragments of Illyrian helmets known thus far are from the pan-Hellenic sanctuaries,¹³⁶ Olympia, Isthmia, Dodona and the Acropolis of Athens. All have been treated as votive offerings, ritually damaged and/or fragmented. The misshapen, smashed and burned helmets of Herzegovina Gorica and Ošanići may also be seen as such, to which may be added the fragments from the Ošanići acropolis and those from the Kamenjača necropolis. As a result, we believe that these too originate from local, indigenous consecrated places where this ritual practice occurred in the same or very similar ways and for the same purpose as in the pan-Hellenic sanctuaries. As least as regards the way they were deposited, one could add to them various individual finds and those found in rivers, admittedly the least common type of find, such as the helmets from the Sava between Županja and Orašje (cat. 11) or from the Stolac area (cat. 25), for, as already noted, we see them as votive offerings, deliberately buried or cast into water. It has been demonstrated that finds from rivers or natural settings are not smashed or badly damaged,¹³⁷ but are more or less intact, with all their components and a fine patina, just like our helmets from the Sava or the surroundings of Stolac.

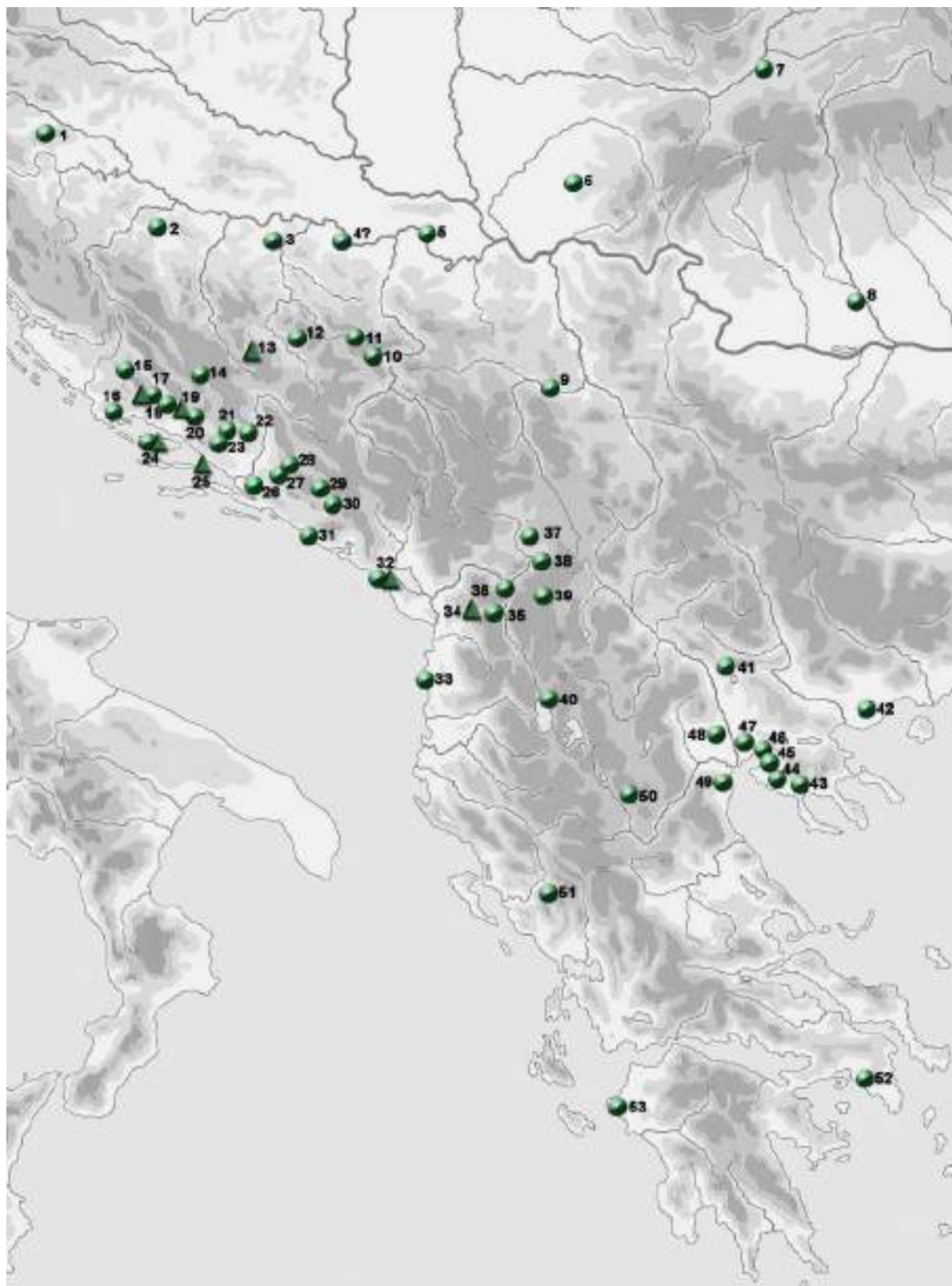
Illyrian helmets of variant III A2-b

A distinct sub-variant of this variant is represented by just one specimen of a III A2-b helmet from Podstinje near Kiseljak (cat. 20, figs. 14; 16, 2). The helmet was found in the river, and is therefore much better preserved. Its discovery in a river suggests that it was a votive offering that was either deposited or thrown into the river.

¹³⁵ Shukriu 2004, 51, 67, fig. 73.

¹³⁶ Pflug 1988a, 58.

¹³⁷ Hockey et al. 1992; Blečić 2007, 82; Manti, Watkinson 2008.



Sl. 14. Karta rasprostiranja ilirskih kaciga III A2-a (●) i III A2-b (▲) varijanti (nadopunjeno prema: Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011).

Fig. 14. Map showing the distribution of Illyrian helmets of variant III A2-a (●) and III A2-b (▲) (updated from Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011).

Kaciga je izvedena masivno od debljeg lijevanog brončanog lima. Oblikovnim i stilskim karakteristikama posvema odgovara onim kacigama III A2-a inačice, sa žigosanim kvadratićima s izdignutim unutrašnjim kugličastim ispupčenjem, čiji rubnik nije reljefno profiliran. Ipak, njezina je kalota izdignuta i blago zabačena prema unatrag, što pokazuje i položaj ležišta za perjanicu koji je kraći u odnosu na druge kacige III A2 varijante, te je izdignut visoko iznad čeonog, kao i iznad zatiljnog dijela, tj. iznad štitnika za vrat. Štitnik za vrat je masivan i, u odnosu na ostale inačice, naglašeno izvučen i ravan. Trokutasto profilirana rebra su pak izrazita i mnogo masivnija nego kod kaciga III A2-a inačice, s urezane tri linije u središnjem dijelu, ali bez trna s prednje i bez alke sa stražnje strane koji su perjanicu i fizički morali podržavati. Iz tog razloga kaciga najvjerojatnije nije imala perjanicu, pa su trokutasto profilirana rebra razvidno imala ekskluzivno dekorativnu namjenu reminiscentnog karaktera relikta iz prethodnih ili drugih varijanti ilirskih kaciga. Paragnatide su izrazito sužene i približene, a njihov je usjek s bočnih strana plitak. Dubina usjeka je vizualno ipak predisponirana, i to urezanim motivom strelice. Duž čitavog rubnika, koji je izveden vrlo jednostavno, urezivanjem paralelne linije, teče ukras od žigosanih kvadratića-kružnica, koji je vrlo čest na kacigama III A2-a inačice (k. 20). Princip takvog dekorativnog kanona najbrojnije je poznat na kacigama iz srednjodalmatinskog područja istočnoga Jadrana (sl. 14). Međutim, te se kacige u toliko sve razlikuju od kacige iz Podstinja ponajprije stoga što su izrađene od brončanog lima, zatim što su im imitacije kuglica u rubnicima izvedene žigosanjem ili tiještenjem jednostavnih kružnica i, napokon, zbog toga što je strelica posve drugačije izvedena s još pridodanim znakom "X" ili motivom klepsidre, zavisno o tumačenju.

Izravne paralele, te gotovo identičnost u tehnološkoj i ukrasnoj izvedbi moguće je naprotiv vidjeti kod preostalih kaciga iste inačice, i to onih iz Budve¹³⁸ i Perlata kod Mati (sl. 15),¹³⁹ odnosno kod kacige iz Budimpešte za koju se već odredilo da potječe negdje s balkanskog područja.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ Popović 1969, 69, k. 29; 1994, 130, k. 99; Marković 2003, 18, sl. 9.

¹³⁹ Korkuti 1971, 12, sl. 32.

¹⁴⁰ Mozsolics 1955, 50, sl. 13; Marović 1976, 293. Navodno s nalazišta Rodokali, zapadno od Ohridskog jezera, potječe još jedna neobjavljena ilirska kaciga III A2-b varijante koja se čuva u Muzeju u Pogradecu (Stipčević 1981, 111, bilj. 205).

The helmet, which was made of thick cast bronze, had the form and stylistic features of helmets of sub-variant III A2-a, with stamped squares with a globular boss set within a border with no relief moulding. Yet the crown was raised and set slightly back, as revealed by the position of the crest holder, which is shorter than those of other variant III A2 helmets, and rises high over the forehead and the back of the head, above the neck guard. The neck guard itself is substantial and, unlike other sub-variants, is markedly flat and elongated. The triangular-section ribs are pronounced, much more substantial than those of the helmets of the III A2-a variant, with three incised lines between, but lacking the spike at the front and ring at the back that held the crest in place. This makes it likely that the helmet had no crest, and that the triangular ribs were purely decorative, designed to recall earlier or other variants of Illyrian helmet. The cheek guards are markedly narrow and close-set, with a shallow side notch, which is accentuated visually by an incised arrow mark. The entire border, which is very simply created by means of incised parallel lines, is echoed by the decoration of stamped squares and globules, a very common feature of helmets of the III A2-a sub-variant (cat. 20). This decorative canon features most commonly on helmets from the central Dalmatian region of the eastern Adriatic (fig. 14), but these helmets differ from the Podstinje helmet mainly in that they are of sheet bronze, and that the imitation globules along the rim are executed by stamping or impressing simple circles and, lastly, in that the arrow mark is completely different, with the addition of a mark variously interpreted as an X or a clepsydra.

Direct parallels, almost identical in technology and decoration, can be seen in other helmets of the same sub-variant, from Budva¹³⁸ and Perlat near Mati (fig. 15),¹³⁹ and the helmet from Budapest, which has already been identified as originating from somewhere in the Balkan region.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ Popović 1969, 69, cat. 29; 1994, 130, cat. 99; Marković 2003, 18, fig. 9.

¹³⁹ Korkuti 1971, 12, fig. 32.

¹⁴⁰ Yet another unpublished Illyrian helmet of III A2-b variant, housed in the Museum in Pogradec, apparently originated from the site of Rodokali, west of Lake Ohrid (Stipčević 1981, 111, fn. 205).



Sl. 15. Ilirske kacige III A2-b varijante:
1. Perlat (prema: Korkuti 1971), 2. Budva
(Foto: Narodni muzej Beograd).



Fig. 15. Illyrian helmets of variant III A2-b:
1. Perlat (after Korkuti 1971), 2. Budva
(Photo: National Museum, Belgrade).

Nadalje, sve one su oblikovno izdignute kalote, naglašenih rebara i jako izduženih paragnatida pa vrlo nalikuju kacigi iz Mainza, a koja navodno potječe iz Makedonije.¹⁴¹ Sve navedene imaju nedostatak sistema za pričvršćivanje perjanice, nosač i alku, čime se u usporedbi približavaju kacigi iz Ošanića (k. 26), te još jednoj kacigi iz Budve.¹⁴²

Na izuzetnu srodnost kaciga iz Podstinja i Budimpešte ukazao je već i I. Marović, smatrajući ih proizvodima iste radionice.¹⁴³ Slijedeći tomu, možda bismo i u ovome slučaju mogli razmišljati o nekom drugom radioničkom središtu koje je proizvodilo nešto različitiije kacige od onog na dalmatinskom području, drastično regionalnog

In shape, all these have a raised crown, pronounced ribs and particularly elongated cheek guards, thus closely resembling the helmet from Mainz, which supposedly originated from Macedonia.¹⁴¹ All of these lack the crest holder and ring, in which they more closely resemble the helmet from Ošanići (cat. 26) and another helmet from Budva (fig. 14).¹⁴²

I. Marović had already drawn attention to the close similarity between the Podstinje and Budapest helmets, regarding them as products of the same manufacturing site.¹⁴³ Here too, therefore, one could consider the possibility of another artisanal centre making rather different helmets from those of the Dalmatian region, of markedly regional

¹⁴¹ Pflug 1988a, 63, sl. 20-21.

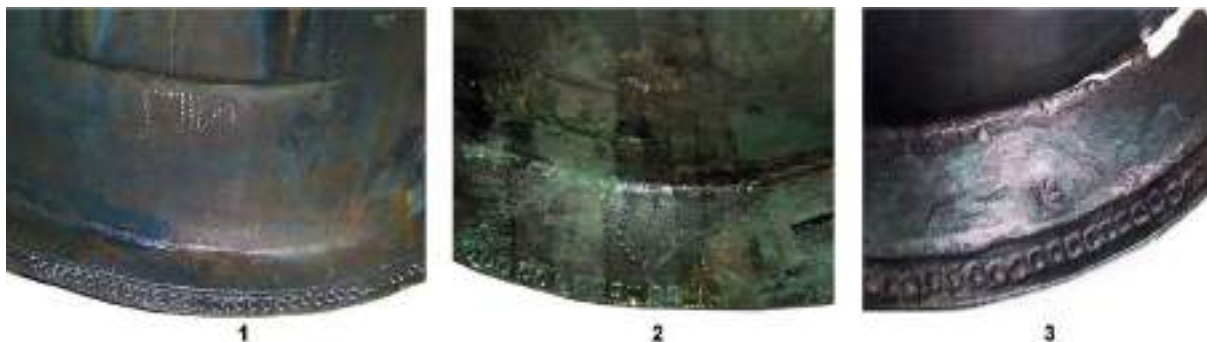
¹⁴² Krstić 2007c, 134, 142, k. 100. Pouzdano ne može biti isključen i način pričvršćivanja perjanice izravno na njezino ležište, između rebara. To bi nam upravo mogla sugerirati navedena druga poznata kaciga iz Budve, jer se na njezinom prednjem dijelu ležišta vidi kružni, masivniji ostatak od lemljenja.

¹⁴³ Marović 1976, 293.

¹⁴¹ Pflug 1988a, 63, figs. 20-21.

¹⁴² Krstić 2007c, 134, 142, cat. 100. One cannot definitively rule out the possibility that the crest was attached directly to the holder, between the ribs, as could be suggested by the other known helmet from Budva, where a large circular solder mark can be seen on the front part of the holder.

¹⁴³ Marović 1976, 293.



Sl. 16. Detalji s kaciga: 1. Ošanići, 2. Podstinje, 3. Budva (prema: Krstić 2007c).

Fig. 16. Details of helmets: 1. Ošanići, 2. Podstinje, 3. Budva (after Krstić 2007c).

karaktera.¹⁴⁴ Tu se ubrajaju po jedna kaciga iz Vičje luke na otoku Braču, grob 4 (sl. 17, 1), kaciga iz Podgore kod Sućuraja na otoku Hvaru, zatim po dva primjerka iz Zagvozda, te čak tri kacige iz Malog Drinića na Cetini kod Trilja.¹⁴⁵ Da je tomu doista moglo biti tako, reflektirati će se i na izvedbi rubnih ukrasa na knemidama nađenim također na srednjodalmatinskom prostoru, onima iz Vičje luke¹⁴⁶ i iz Zagvozda,¹⁴⁷ koje sve imaju utisnute kružnice uz rubove.¹⁴⁸

Smisao “potpisanih” kaciga jednostavnim znakovnim sustavom ili slovima/inicijalima, H. Pflug je pokušao tumačiti kao označavanje radioničkih ili trgovačkih središta.¹⁴⁹ Upravo je u ovoj inačici do sada zabilježen najveći broj kaciga obilježenih znakovnim simboli- ma, te ih stoga pratimo od Podstinja, gdje je na štitniku sa zatiljne strane puncirana zakrivljena linija poput slova “U” (sl. 16, 2), preko kacige iz Ošanića (sl. 16, 1), koja, kao i kaciga iz Budve, ima urezane inicijale sa zatiljne

character.¹⁴⁴ These include a helmet from Vičja luka on the island of Brač, grave 4 (fig. 17, 1), a helmet from Podgora near Sućuraj on the island of Hvar, two specimens from Zagvozd, and no fewer than three from Mali Drinić on the Cetina near Trilj.¹⁴⁵ The execution of decorative edgings on greaves, also found in the central Dalmatian region, from Vičja luka¹⁴⁶ and Zagvozd,¹⁴⁷ which all have impressed circles along the rim, also suggests this.¹⁴⁸

H. Pflug attempted to interpret the idea of helmets “signed” with a simple system of signs and/or letters/initials as denoting manufacturing sites or trading centres.¹⁴⁹ Most of the helmets so far recorded with semiotic symbols are from this sub-variant, and can be traced from the Podstinje helmet, where a curved U-shaped line has been punched on the neck guard at the back (fig. 16, 2), to the helmet from Ošanići (fig. 16, 1) which, like the one from Budva, has incised initials at the back

¹⁴⁴ Vasić 2010, 40.

¹⁴⁵ Nikolanci 1959, T. VII, 1; T. VIII, 1-2; Marović 1976, T. III, 6-7; T. IV, 8; Milošević 1999, sl. 4. Pregledane u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu i u Muzeju cetinske krajine u Sinju.

¹⁴⁶ Bulić 1900, T. III, 3; Nikolanci 1959, 89, T. VII, 3.

¹⁴⁷ Nikolanci 1959, 89, T. IX, 1-2.

¹⁴⁸ Pregledane također u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu. Tri pak očuvane knemide iz korita rijeke Cetine kod Malog Drinića nemaju navedeni ukras, a pregledane su u Muzeju cetinske krajine u Sinju. Isto se odnosi na izdvojene i definirane ulomke knemida iz Kamenjača u Brezi i Rakitna, čiji je rub blago profiliran i u pravilu gladak s očuvanim, najvjerojatnije donjim rupicama za pričvršćivanje (Paškvalin 2008, T. 17, 1; neobjavljeno, Zemaljski muzej BiH).

¹⁴⁹ Pflug 1988a, 56, bilj. 85.

¹⁴⁴ Vasić 2010, 40.

¹⁴⁵ Nikolanci 1959, Pl. VII, 1; Pl. VIII, 1-2; Marović 1976, Pl. III, 6-7; Pl. IV, 8; Milošević 1999, fig. 4. Seen in the Archaeological Museum in Split and the Cetinska krajina Museum in Sinj.

¹⁴⁶ Bulić 1900, Pl. III, 3; Nikolanci 1959, 89, Pl. VII, 3.

¹⁴⁷ Nikolanci 1959, 89, Pl. IX, 1-2.

¹⁴⁸ Also seen in the Archaeological Museum in Split. The three surviving greaves from the River Cetina near Mali Drinić, seen in the Cetinska krajina Museum in Sinj, lack this decoration, as does the detached and identified fragments of greaves from Kamenjača in Breza and from Rakitno, of which the edge is slightly moulded and usually smooth, and which still have what are probably the lower holes for attachment (Paškvalin 2008, Pl. 17, 1; unpublished, National Museum of BiH).

¹⁴⁹ Pflug 1988a, 56, fn. 85.

strane (sl. 16, 3).¹⁵⁰ U istoj tipološkoj skupini pridružuje im se i kaciga iz Budimpešte, koja pak ima nešto cjelovitiji natpis.¹⁵¹ U smislu označavanja, iako u tipološkoj klasifikaciji III A1 tipa kaciga, valja im pridodati i kacigu iz Belog na otoku Cresu, koja ima urezan križ na čeonj strani kacige ispod nosača,¹⁵² inicijalima označenu paragnatidu iz Dodone¹⁵³ te, posebno, kacigu iz Gorne Porte na Ohridu, koja pak ima cjelovit natpis na čeonom dijelu ispod nosača.¹⁵⁴ Najbitnije su svakako kacige III A2-a tipa iz atenske akropole, na kojoj se nalazi zavjetni natpis posvećen Ateni,¹⁵⁵ te iz Olimpije, koja nosi natpis ilirskog imena Verzana, sina Graba, i najvjerojatnije je zavjetni dar njegovog imatelja Ilira.¹⁵⁶ Iz predočenog neposredno saznajemo kako su sve kacige obilježene na sasvim različite načine, i to na različitim tipovima, pa je stoga malo vjerojatnim da će nam te oznake, a još manje inicijali, svjedočiti o nekom radioničkom ili posredničkom obrtu. Riječ je ovdje o poosobljivanju osobnoga vlasništva, statusnog ili simboličkog značenja, poglavito kada su oni bili najvišeg religioznog zavjetnog karaktera zrelih i vojno hijerarhiziranih muškaraca.¹⁵⁷

of the head (fig. 16, 3).¹⁵⁰ The helmet from Budapest belongs to the same typological group, which even has a rather more complete inscription.¹⁵¹ Though it belongs typologically to the type III A1 helmet, in terms of its markings the helmet from Beli on the island of Cres, which has an incised cross on the front of the helmet below the holder, also fits in with this group,¹⁵² as does a cheek guard from Dodona marked with initials¹⁵³ and, in particular, a helmet from Gorna Porta in Ohrid, which has a complete inscription on the front of the helmet below the holder.¹⁵⁴ Undoubtedly the most important are the type III A2-a helmets from the Athens Acropolis, which have votive inscriptions to Athena,¹⁵⁵ and from Olympia, which bears the inscription of the Illyrian name Verzan, son of Grab, and was probably a votive offering from its Illyrian owner.¹⁵⁶ All this shows that the helmets are marked in very different ways, and on different types, making it unlikely that these marks, let alone initials, indicate a particular manufacturing site or intermediary. This is about the personification of individual ownership, status or symbolic meaning, particularly when they were of the highest religious, votive character of adult males in a military hierarchy.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁰ Ošanići: *III* (Marić 1976b, 634, 636, sl. 2, 3-4; 1976c, 48, T. XXVI, 48); Budva: *IΣ* ili *IΘ* (Krstić 2007c, 142, k. 100). Još dvije kacige iz Budve, istih tipoloških osobitosti, imaju potpise na desnim paragnatidama. Vjerojatno je riječ o iskucanim inicijalima. Urezane strelice na usjeku paragnatida kod svih su primjeraka izvedene na isti način. Kacige, jedna bolje jedna lošije očuvana, potječu iz grobova 2 i 6, iz istraživanja budvanske nekropole 1980. godine. Pregledano u JU Muzeji, galerija i biblioteka Budva.

¹⁵¹ Mozsolics 1955, 50, sl. 13. Riječ je o korinjskom natpisu koji se nalazi na desnoj paragnatidi uz rub otvora za lice, gotovo identično kao i kod kacige iz sjeverne Grčke II. tipa (Amandry 1971, 589-597, sl. 4-5) ili onih netom spomenutih iz Budve.

¹⁵² Blečić 2007, 76, sl. 2.

¹⁵³ Carapanos 1878, 102, T. LVI, 10.

¹⁵⁴ Krikhaar 2011, 20, sl. 28. Natpis osobnog imena, izveden punciranjem, vjerojatno obilježava imatelja te kacige: ΤΕΥΤΙΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΩΣ (Кузман, Димитрова 2010, 40).

¹⁵⁵ Kunze 1958, 138, k. 35.

¹⁵⁶ Kunze 1958, 145-146, k. 53, sl. 106; Marović 1976, 293. Amalia Mozsolics izvještavala je da se jedna kaciga s natpisom nalazi i u privatnoj zbirci Trau u Beču (Mozsolics 1955, 50, bilj. 60).

¹⁵⁷ Svakako valja raspolagati spoznajom kako su ilirske kacige većinom prilično oštećene, kako dobrim dijelom nisu restaurirane i/ili adekvatno obrađene da bi se na njima raspoznivali sitni detalji, a koji bi nas upućivali na različite tehnološke i tehničke produkcijske izvedbe, na izvorna oštećenja, namjerna ili slučajna, na onodobna popravljivanja, ali naravno i na najrazličitije načine obilježavanja.

¹⁵⁰ Ošanići: *III* (Marić 1976b, 634, 636, figs. 2, 3-4; 1976c, 48, Pl. XXVI, 48); Budva: *IΣ* or *IΘ* (Krstić 2007c, 142, cat. 100). Another two helmets from Budva, of the same typological features, have signatures on the right cheek guards, probably impressed initials. The incised arrows on the cheek guards notch are executed in the same manner on all specimens. The helmets, one well and one poorly preserved, came from graves 2 and 6 of the Budva necropolis, excavated in 1980. Viewed in the Budva Museum, Gallery and Library.

¹⁵¹ Mozsolics 1955, 50, fig. 13. This is a Corinthian inscription on the right cheek guard by the edge of the face opening, almost identical to the one on a type II helmet from northern Greece (Amandry 1971, 589-597, figs. 4-5) or those from Budva referred to above.

¹⁵² Blečić 2007, 76, fig. 2.

¹⁵³ Carapanos 1878, 102, Pl. LVI, 10.

¹⁵⁴ Krikhaar 2011, 20, fig. 28. The punched inscription of a personal name probably denotes the owner of the helmet: ΤΕΥΤΙΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΩΣ (Кузман, Димитрова 2010, 40).

¹⁵⁵ Kunze 1958, 138, cat. 35.

¹⁵⁶ Kunze 1958, 145-146, cat. 53, fig. 106; Marović 1976, 293. Amalia Mozsolics reports that one helmet with an inscription is in the Trau private collection in Vienna (Mozsolics 1955, 50, fn. 60).

¹⁵⁷ It is important to recognize that most Illyrian helmets are somewhat damaged, and that many have not been restored and/or properly studied to identify every minute detail that

Izuzev “potpisa” i opisano je ukrašavanje na kacigama predmetne inačice, uz dekorativno-estetski dojam, nedvojbeno imalo i određeni simbolički karakter, ističući najvjerojatnije status osobe koja je takvo ukrasje i/ili znakovlje nosila. Tako je simbol strelice uobičajeno, u najrazličitijim kulturama i vremenima, tumačen kao oružje i oruđe nebeskog djelovanja, kao simbol moći i posvećenosti onoga koji ga posjeduje. Teofanijska uloga strelice obilježavala je utjecanje nebeskoga božanstva na zemlji, tj. samu njegovu kreaciju. Ali, po svojoj je biti nebeska strijela, pa tako i njezin simbolički supstitut, ambivalentan i dvojne moći; započinje i uništava, stvara i razdire, poput života i smrti.¹⁵⁸ Povrh svega, strelici se, baš kao i koplju, pripisuje muško, faličko značenje interpretirano također u aspektu plodnosti i vitalnosti, pružajući tako apotropejski smisao njezinome nošenju i isticanju.¹⁵⁹

Toj znakovnoj strukturi izvanredno pristaje i znak “klepsidre” koja je, često isprepletana ili u kombinaciji sa znakom križa, obilježavala solarni aspekt, odnosno ciklus života, povezan čak uz službe kulta ili pojedinih religijskih obreda.¹⁶⁰ Klepsidra je svakako osiguravala nebesku zaštitu, vitalnost i pokretačku životnu snagu njegova vlasnika. Njezino je tako nošenje na nošnji ili osobnoj opremi, a osobito u znakovnoj kompoziciji strelica-klepsidra, što je dakle slučaj kod kaciga III A2-b inačice s prostora Dalmacije, moralo priskrbiti željeno i neophodno apotropejsko i profilaktičko značenje.

Po pitanju kronologije, barem djelomično, zanimljiv je upravo grobni nalaz iz Perlata, gdje je uz ilirsku kacigu nađena i posudica tipa *kantharos* iz klase St. Valentin atičke keramografske produkcije. Grobna je cjelina tako datirana u razdoblja posljednjih desetljeća 5. stoljeća (425.-400.),¹⁶¹ iako je dobro poznato kako se takva keramika koristi sve do ranog 4. stoljeća. Značajnija količina te klase keramike već je odavno poznata i na prostoru sjeverne Makedonije, te dalje do središnjeg

As well as “signatures,” the decorations on the helmets of this sub-variant are described; in addition to the decorative and aesthetic impression it creates, this decoration was undoubtedly of a certain symbolic nature, probably denoting the status of the person bearing such decorations and/or symbols. In the most diverse cultures and at various times, the arrow is usually seen as a weapon of celestial origin, a symbol of the power and dedication of its owner. The theophanic role of the arrow denoted the influence of a heavenly divinity on earth, his very creation. In essence, however, the celestial arrow, and its symbolic substitute, is ambivalent in nature, with dual powers: initiating and destroying, creating and splitting apart, like life and death.¹⁵⁸ Above all, a male, phallic significance is ascribed to the arrow, as it is to the spear, seen from the perspective of fertility and vitality, thus providing an apotropaic meaning for wearing and accentuating it.¹⁵⁹

The clepsydra symbol fits perfectly into this semiotic structure; often interlinked or combined with the sign of the cross, it marks the solar cycle, the cycle of life, and is even connected with cultic worship or certain religious rituals.¹⁶⁰ The clepsydra undoubtedly secured the protection of the gods, vitality and the motive life-force of its owner, and its presence on clothing or personal accoutrements, especially in a semiotic arrow-clepsydra composition – as on sub-variant III A2-b helmets from Dalmatia – must have supplied the desired and essential apotropaic and prophylactic meaning.

As regards chronology, even partial, the grave find from Perlat, where an Illyrian helmet was found along with a *kantharos* from the Saint-Valentin class of Attic pottery, is of interest. The funerary ensemble was therefore dated to the final decades of the 5th century (425-400),¹⁶¹ though, as is well known, this kind of pottery remained in use until the early 4th century. A significant quantity of this class of pottery has long been known in northern Macedonia and beyond,

would indicate the various technologies and techniques used to make them, original damage whether deliberate or accidental and any repairs, and, of course the extremely varied ways in which they are marked.

¹⁵⁸ Chevalier, Gheerbrant 2006, 581-582.

¹⁵⁹ Stipčević 1981, 110-111. Za pobliže pojašnjenje i značenje prikazivanja vrha koplja vidjet kod Brigitte Kull (1997, 329-336).

¹⁶⁰ Marović, Nikolanci 1969, 36, 39; Stipčević 1981, 21, 33. Znakovi klepsidre urezani su i na keramičkim kalemovima iz groba 4 nekropole u Vičjoj luci (sl. 17, 19).

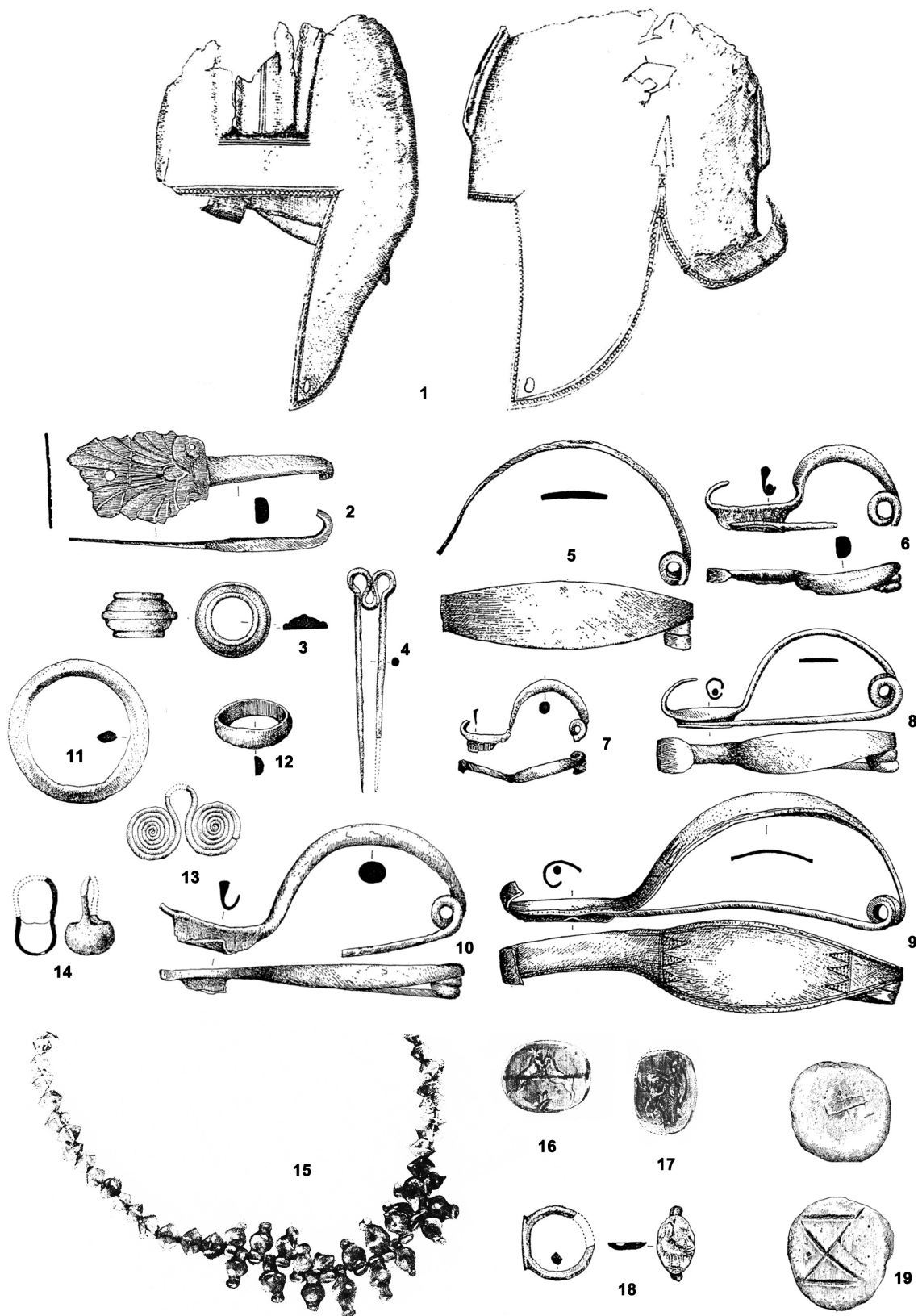
¹⁶¹ Prendi 1988, 229, k. 95; Teleaga 2008, 233, k. 39.

¹⁵⁸ Chevalier, Gheerbrant 2006, 581-582.

¹⁵⁹ Stipčević 1981, 110-111. For more on the significance of the spear-head, see Brigitte Kull (1997, 329-336).

¹⁶⁰ Marović, Nikolanci 1969, 36, 39; Stipčević 1981, 21, 33. Clepsydres were also incised on the pottery spoils from grave 4 in Vičja luka (fig. 17, 19).

¹⁶¹ Prendi 1988, 229, cat. 95; Teleaga 2008, 233, cat. 39.



Sl. 17. Izbor iz groba 4 nekropole u Vičjoj luci na otoku Braču (prilagođeno prema: Marović, Nikolanci 1969).

Fig. 17. Selection from grave 4 of the necropolis at Vičja luka on the island of Brač (adapted from Marović, Nikolanci 1969).

balkanskog područja, od Kale Krševice do Novoga Pazara.¹⁶²

Datiranje gotovo svih ovdje srodnih kaciga, pogotovo onih iz Makedonije, općenito je smješteno od sredine 6. do sredine 5. stoljeća, čime su sinkronizirane s prethodnom inačicom III A2-a i varijantom III A3 ilirskih kaciga.¹⁶³ Međutim, iako nam grobne cjeline iz Budve nisu poznate,¹⁶⁴ a ostali su nalazi pojedinačni, grob iz Perlata sugerira na njihovu osjetno mlađu dataciju. Argument tomu pružala bi i sama morfologija kaciga, koja se bitno udaljuje ili, još bolje, degenerira u odnosu na prethodno kanonizirane forme. Stoga ih R. Vasić smatra kasnijim razvojnim oblicima, koji su definitivno bili djelom određenog prepoznatljivog proizvođača ili radionice, prihvaćajući i dalje, kao potencijalne, radionice s prostora Apolonije i Epidamnosa.¹⁶⁵

Budući da su ilirske kacige dugo ostajale u modi, a da nam obilježavanje znakom strelice dopušta i određenu usklađenost glede trenda i vremena, valja se i u kronološkome pogledu osvrnuti na kacige iz područja srednje Dalmacije. Naime, i one imaju više nego simptomatičan kontekst, rijeka i mora, ili problematične okolnosti nalaženja. Ohrabruje jedino poznatije okruženje iz spominjanog groba 4 nekropole u Vičjoj luci (sl. 17, 1). Repertoar tih nalaza svjedoči o višekratnom pokopavanju u grobnu jamu, i to u razdoblju od kraja 5. pa sve do početnog 4. stoljeća (sl. 18).¹⁶⁶ Unatoč tomu, upravo je taj grob poslužio B. Čoviću da argumentira svoju

to the central Balkans, from Kala Krševica to Novi Pazar.¹⁶²

Almost all of these similar helmets, particularly those from Macedonia, are broadly dated to the mid 6th to mid 5th century, making them contemporary with Illyrian helmets of the previous sub-variant III A2-a and variant III A3.¹⁶³ However, though we are not familiar with the funerary ensembles from Budva,¹⁶⁴ and the others are individual finds, the Perlat grave suggests a much later date. Further evidence in support of this is the morphology of the helmet, which is markedly different from, or more accurately has degenerated from, the previous canonized forms. R. Vasić therefore regards them as later developed forms, undoubtedly the work of a specific, recognizable craftsman or manufacturing site, which he tentatively identifies as from the Apollonia and Epidamnus region.¹⁶⁵

Since Illyrian helmets remained fashionable over a long period, and given that the arrow mark provides the basis for some alignment of trends and time periods, it is worth considering the chronology of helmets from central Dalmatia, as they too are of a more than symptomatic context – river and sea – or were discovered in problematic circumstances. The only encouragement comes from the known setting of grave 4 in the necropolis at Vičja luka (fig. 17, 1). The repertoire of those finds attests to the short time span of burial in the grave pit, from the late 5th to the early 4th century (fig. 18).¹⁶⁶ Notwithstanding, this very grave was used by B. Čović

¹⁶² Паровић-Пешикан 1992, 339-346; Krstić 2005, T. II-IV. Najviše ih svakako potječe iz Demir-Kapije, oko 13 primjeraka (Микулчић 2005, 97-98, 105, T. XIV; T. XV), zatim iz Trebeništa (Лажтов, Кастелиц 1957, 36, T. XII, 40), iz Karaormana u okolici Štipa (Микулчић 1963, 206, sl. 34), a posljednji nalazi potječu iz okolice Korešnice, tj. iz Kamena (Petrov-Pecakovska 1999, 66-69). Njihovo je rasprostiranje u mnogo-me podudarno s rasprostranjem upravo ilirskih kaciga.

¹⁶³ Pflug 1988a, 63.

¹⁶⁴ Kaciga iz Budve, koja se nalazi u Beogradu, s urezanim inicijalima datirana je u 5. stoljeće (Krstić 2007c, 142), sva do sada poznata keramika tretirana je od 4. do 2. stoljeća (npr. Krstić 2007c, 162-172), dok se za grobove iz Budve općenito navodi datacija u 3. stoljeće (Vasić 1982a, 7, bilj. 8; 2010, 40, 42)!? Činjenica je, kako se ondje radi o grobnicama koje su sadržavale više ukopa, vjerojatno u dužem vremenskom rasponu od 4. pa do 2. stoljeća, čiji razmak obilježavaju posude italске *Gnathia* produkcije s Heraklovim čvorom te megarske čaše, što će posvjedočiti upravo grobovi 2 i 6 iz iste nekropole (vidjeti i Marković 2003, 14; Faber 2005, 245-248).

¹⁶⁵ Vasić 2010, 40.

¹⁶⁶ Marović, Nikolanci 1969, 32; Barbarić 2006, 56.

¹⁶² Паровић-Пешикан 1992, 339-346; Krstić 2005, Pl. II-IV. Most of them – about 13 – are from Demir-Kapija (Микулчић 2005, 97-98, 105, Pl. XIV; Pl. XV), followed by Trebeništa (Лажтов, Кастелиц 1957, 36, Pl. XII, 40), Karaorman in the Štip area (Микулчић 1963, 206, fig. 34), and the most recent finds, from the Korešnica area, i.e. from Kamen (Petrov-Pecakovska 1999, 66-69). Their distribution largely coincides with that of Illyrian helmets.

¹⁶³ Pflug 1988a, 63.

¹⁶⁴ The helmet from Budva with incised initials, which is housed in Belgrade, has been dated to the 5th century (Krstić 2007c, 142), all the pottery known to date has been treated as from the 4th to the 2nd century (e.g. Krstić 2007c, 162-172), and the graves from Budva are generally dated to the 3rd century (Vasić 1982a, 7, fn. 8; 2010, 40, 42). The fact is that these were tombs containing several burials, probably over a long period from the 4th to the 2nd century, the span of which is denoted by vessels of Italic *Gnathia* manufacture with a Heracles knot and Megaran goblets, as evidenced by graves 2 and 6 from this same necropolis (see also Marković 2003, 14; Faber 2005, 245-248).

¹⁶⁵ Vasić 2010, 40.

¹⁶⁶ Marović, Nikolanci 1969, 32; Barbarić 2006, 56.

zamislao donje granice, po kojoj su ilirske kacige bile još i u 4. stoljeću u punoj upotrebi na području istočnoga Jadrana i njegova zaleđa, potkrepljujući to nalazom kacige iz Ošanića,¹⁶⁷ što će dalje potvrdivati i nalazi kaciga iz Budve!

Namjesto zaključaka

Predočena nam obradba i diskusija o ilirskim kacigama dozvoljava da naposljetku, umjesto zaključka, izdvojimo nekoliko važnih i posvema novih tumačenja. Ponajprije, vidjeli smo da se zemljopisno područje današnje Bosne i Hercegovine glede kvantitete, tipološko-kronološke razlikovnosti, prostorne disperzije, te sukladno tomu kulturno-povijesne aktualnosti, bitno i izričito nadopunilo. U odnosu na najpoznatije sinteze toga tipa naoružanja njihov se broj progresivno povećavao od 14¹⁶⁸ sve do 19 primjeraka.¹⁶⁹ Od tog broja, dobar dio nije bio tipološki preciznije odrediv, njih 5,¹⁷⁰ ili čak 7 primjeraka.¹⁷¹ Sada ih brojimo ukupno 36 primjeraka, od kojih nam samo najmanji ulomci nisu određivi pojedinoj inačici konkretno poznatoga tipa (III A2). Ipak, već je i od tih studija bilo pouzdano znano kako je predmetni, kulturološki nejedinstveni teritorij bio jedina regija sa zastupljenim gotovo svim varijantama ilirskih kaciga počevši od II. tipa, pa sve do III A2-b varijante. Ta činjenica postavljala ju je u rang odmjeren onome za područje povijesne Makedonije i Ilirije (sl. 3; sl. 7; sl. 14). Dakako, najveći broj tih kaciga zastupljen je na širem hercegovačkom prostoru, koje se ovdje tumači kao zaleđe istočne jadranske obale, putem koje je ono bilo aktivno prisutno na vojnoj i političkoj, pa tako i kulturnoj sceni od polovine 6. sve do konca 4. stoljeća. Unatoč izdvajanju dva ulomka kaciga sa Glasinca, te možebitnog njegovog simboličkog supstituta iz Zagrađa, ondje nije prisutna veća količina tog obrambenog naoružanja. Stoga najvjerojatnije nije imalo svrhu masovne uporabe, nego određenog statusno-simboličkog značenja, što su morale obilježavati već i kacige II. tipa iz Donje Doline, kako je detaljno i predstavljeno.

¹⁶⁷ Čović 1987b, 458.

¹⁶⁸ Pflug 1988a, sl. 9; sl. 14.

¹⁶⁹ Vasić 2010, 42-44.

¹⁷⁰ Teržan 1995, 121.

¹⁷¹ Pflug 1988a, sl. 14. U katalogu kojeg je nedavno objavio R. Vasić navode se isključivo tipovi kaciga. Tome broju treba dodati i onih pet tipološki još neopredijeljenih kaciga iz Epira i Makedonije, te brojne druge iz Kosova, Albanije, Makedonije ili Grčke, kako su navedene u listama nalazišta.

to argue his notion of the lower limit, according to which Illyrian helmets were still in widespread use in the eastern Adriatic and its hinterland in the 4th century, underpinning the argument with reference to the helmet found in Ošanići,¹⁶⁷ which would be further corroborated by the helmets found in Budva.

By way of conclusion

The preceding discussion of Illyrian helmets allows us, by way of conclusion, to single out a number of important and entirely new interpretations. Above all, we have seen that much has been added to our knowledge of the quantity, typological and chronological diversity, geographical distribution, and concomitant cultural and historical events relating to the area of present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina. By comparison with the best-known synthesis of this type of defence weapon, their number has risen progressively from 14¹⁶⁸ to 19,¹⁶⁹ of which several had not been accurately classified typologically – five¹⁷⁰ or even seven.¹⁷¹ We now have a total of 36 specimens, of which only the smallest fragments cannot be ascribed to a given sub-variant of a specific known type (III A2). Even from the time of those studies, however, it was a known fact that the territory in question, which was not culturally uniform, was the only one where almost every variant of Illyrian helmet was represented, from type II right through to type III A2-b. The area is thus comparable with that of historical Macedonia and Illyria (figs. 3; 7; 14). True, most of these helmets came from the wider Herzegovina region, seen here as the hinterland of the eastern Adriatic coast, where they were actively present on the military and political scene, and hence on the cultural scene too, from the mid 6th to the late 4th century. Despite singling out two fragments of helmet from Glasinac, and their possible symbolic substitute from Zagrađe, there is no great quantity of this defence weapon there.

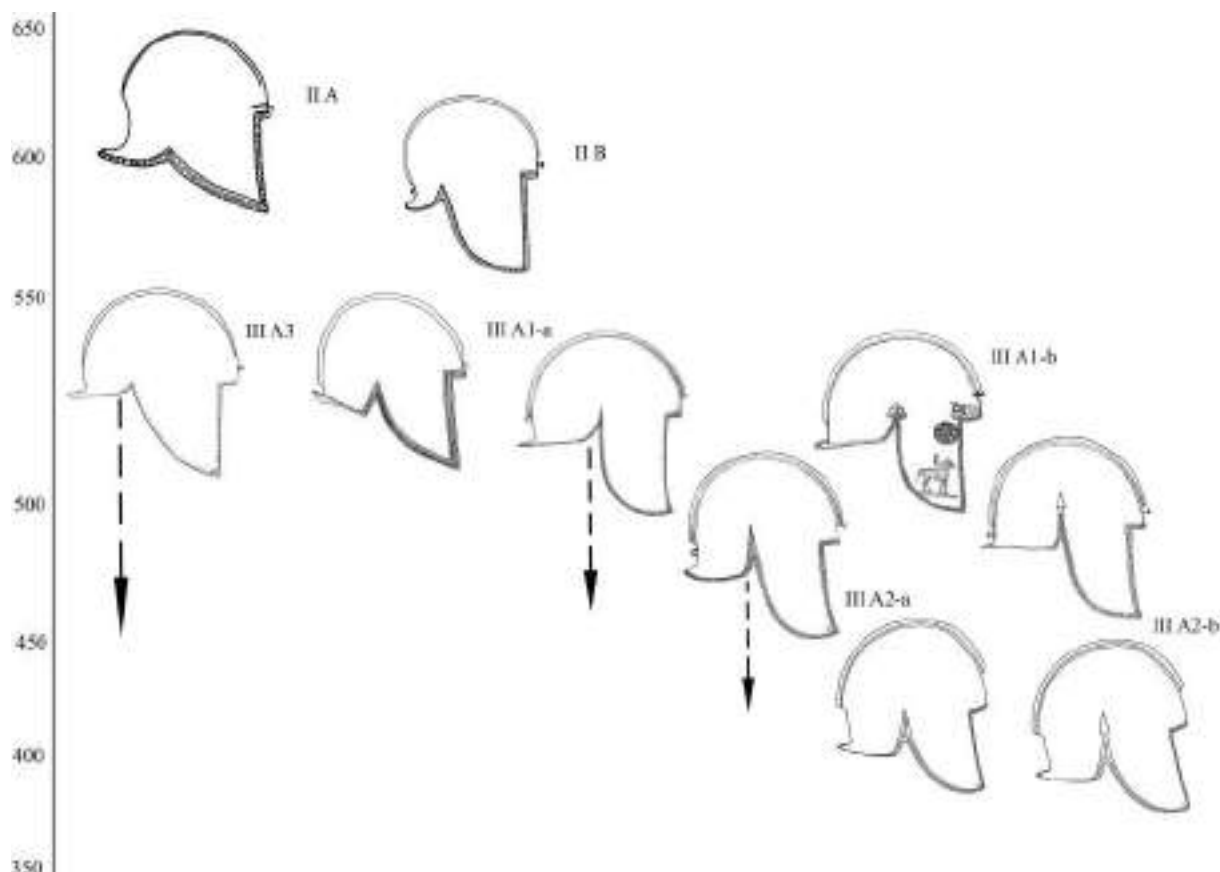
¹⁶⁷ Čović 1987b, 458.

¹⁶⁸ Pflug 1988a, figs. 9; 14.

¹⁶⁹ Vasić 2010, 42-44.

¹⁷⁰ Teržan 1995, 121.

¹⁷¹ Pflug 1988a, fig. 14. The catalogue recently published by R. Vasić gives only the types of helmet, to which should be added five as yet typologically unclassified helmets from Epirus and Macedonia, along with many others from Kosovo, Albania, Macedonia or Greece, as shown in the site lists.



Sl. 18. Shematski prikaz razvoja ilirskih kaciga rasprostranjenih na prostoru središnjeg i zapadnog Balkana te istočne obale Jadrana i njezina zaleđa.

Fig. 18. Schematical view represents a development of Illyrian helmets widespread in the central and west Balkans and along the eastern Adriatic coast and its hinterland.

U tipološko-kronološkom smislu najčešće se podrazumijeva da se o ilirskim kacigama nema mnogo toga za nadodati, da je njihova tipologija jasna i definirana, a da je kronološka pozicija njihova korištenja uglavnom pouzdano određena. No, ovakvom obradbom pojedinih tipova i njihovih varijanti, tj. njihovih inačica, pokazano je posve suprotno stanje koje nas i dalje potiče na promišljanja o različitim tipološkim karakteristikama kojima se prije, iz različitih razloga, nije posvećivala veća pozornost. Iz tipološke se usklađenosti, pravila i odstupanja, uniformiranosti ili deriviranosti mogu pak izvesti brojna druga promišljanja koja nas vode ka boljem ili jasnijem spoznavanju kulturno-povijesnih momenata. Tako smo sada uspješni konačno potvrditi kako kaciga iz Podstinja ne može biti tretirana u istoj klasi III A2-b inačice u kojoj su smještene i kacige iz prostora središnje Dalmacije, i da se ondje vjerojatno

They were probably not intended for widespread use, therefore, but were of a certain status or symbolic significance, which must already have been true of the type II helmets from Donja Dolina, as set out in detail.

As regards their typology and chronology, the usual view is that there is little to add concerning Illyrian helmets, that their typology is clearly defined and that the chronology of their use has largely been identified with certainty. However, this study of the individual types and their variants and sub-variants has shown that this is far from the truth, and encourages us to further consideration of the various typological characteristics to which little attention has previously been paid, for a variety of reasons. Numerous other considerations may be drawn from typological synchrony, principles and variations, uniformity or derivative nature, leading towards a better or clearer understanding of cultural and historical events. We have finally been able, for example, to confirm that the helmet from

radilo o drugom radioničkom obrtu ili drugom modelu izradbe istoga proizvođača, sukladno različitim naručiteljima. U takav se koncept nadovezuju i različito ukrašene kacige III A2-a varijante koje su također, u odnosu na izvedbu njihova ukrasa, svrstane u pojedine skupine.

Isto tako, u ovoj je raspravi izravno pokazano kako je kronološka pozicija i dalje samo okvirna, bez čvršćih i konkretnijih uporišta za preciznije izvođenje vremenskih odrednica. Problem toga je, naravno, općenito nepostojanje više zatvorenih i grobnih cjelina koje bi nam pružale jasnije okolnosti nalaženja i kontekstualno mjerodavne elemente. Naprotiv, i onaj mali broj poznatih i/ili sigurnih konteksta nalaženja afirmirao je postavljanje evolutivnog procesa ilirskih kaciga u kome se varijanta III A1 najvjerojatnije neposredno razvija iz II. tipa i starija je, uglavnom kronološki povezana uz vrijeme druge polovine 6. stoljeća. Konvencionalno je stoga III A2 varijanta smatrana mlađom inačicom, načelno smještenom u tijek 5. stoljeća, iako je ostajala otvorena mogućnost njezina trajanja i do 4. stoljeća (sl. 18).¹⁷² Upravo nam novi primjerci iz zatvorenih cjelina pokazuju kako je ta varijanta bila razvojno, ali ne nužno i vremenski mlađa, budući da se upravo i pojavljuje zajedno s kacigama III A1-a varijante, što nam pak svjedoči grob iz Novoga Mesta. Vjerojatnijim se čini, kako nam trenutačno svjedoči stanje, da su kacige III A1 i A2 varijante bile otprilike istovremene, ali da su nosile svoja posebna obilježja, namijenjena vojno i društveno različito pozicioniranim osobama, te zato nalažena u posve drugačijim omjerima i kontekstima.¹⁷³ Kako smo pokazale, to iznimno vrijedi za kacige III A1-b varijante (sl. 18).

Nadalje, prostorno su se, i proizvodnjom, ilirske kacige i II. i III. tipa najčešće povezivale uz Grčku ili uz njezine "gradove" duž istočne jadranske obale,¹⁷⁴ iako je takvo promišljanje daleko prije procijenjeno nerelevantnim.¹⁷⁵ Nalazi u sjevernijim, "barbarskim" regijama tumačeni su, shodno tomu, unutar mreže trgovačkih ili vojnih posredništva i kontakata. Pa i s time u suprotnosti stoji upravo nova "slika" distribuiranja i zastupljenosti ilirskih kaciga. Ona pokazuje kako se njihov broj kasnoga stupnja povećava prema sjeveru,

Podstinje cannot be treated in the same class III A2-b sub-variant to which the helmets from central Dalmatia have been ascribed, and that they probably originate from a different manufacturing site or were based on another model by the same maker, as required by different clients. Associated with this concept are the different decorations on helmets of variant III A2-a, also classified into various groups on the basis of the execution of those decorations.

Again, this study provides direct evidence that the chronology remains tentative, lacking specific, firm grounds for an accurate determination of dates. The problem with this, of course, is the general absence of sufficient closed funerary ensembles to provide a clearer view of the circumstances of the finds and contextually relevant elements. In contrast, the few known and/or certain contexts of finds has affirmed the establishment of the evolutionary process undergone by Illyrian helmets, by which variant III A1 probably evolved directly from type II and is earlier in date, mainly associated chronologically with the latter half of the 6th century. Conventionally, therefore, variant III A2 is regarded as later, dated in principle to the 5th century, but leaving open the possibility that it remained in use into the 4th century (fig. 18).¹⁷² New specimens from closed ensembles show that this variant was a later development, but not necessarily chronologically later, since it appears together with variant III A-1 helmets, as in the grave in Novo Mesto. It seems more likely, as suggested by the current state of affairs, that helmets of variants III A1 and A2 were more or less contemporaneous, but that they had their own distinct features, designed for persons of different military and social standing, and were thus found in entirely different proportions and contexts.¹⁷³ As we have demonstrated, this is particularly true of helmets of variant III A1-b (fig. 18).

Furthermore, in terms of manufacture, Illyrian helmets of types II and III are usually associated with Greece or its "cities" along the eastern Adriatic coast,¹⁷⁴ though this was long ago shown to be irrelevant.¹⁷⁵ Finds in the more northerly, "barbarian" regions have therefore been interpreted within the network of trade or military contacts. The new "picture" of the distribution and numbers of Illyrian helmets is in stark contrast to this, showing that the number of

¹⁷² Vasić 2010, 40-41.

¹⁷³ Blečić 2007.

¹⁷⁴ Pflug 1988a, 57-58; Teržan 1995, 87-88; Gavranović 2011, 155.

¹⁷⁵ Vasić 1982a, 7.

¹⁷² Vasić 2010, 40-41.

¹⁷³ Blečić 2007.

¹⁷⁴ Pflug 1988a, 57-58; Teržan 1995, 87-88; Gavranović 2011, 155.

¹⁷⁵ Vasić 1982a, 7.

prema zapadnom Balkanu, ali i uvelike pomiče još sjevernije, duž Posavine sve do Banata i Transilvanije, baš kao i do sjevernoga Jadrana. Najvažnije je da se ovdje izdvaja i područje Makedonije koje je, nesumnjivo, bilo izvorištem i poprištem kreacije, proizvodnje i distribucije ilirskih kaciga. Taj se kontinuitet može pratiti od II. pa sve do III. tipa, različitih oblika i njihovih inačica, ne podrazumijevajući time i neophodnost njihove primjene, već otvarajući mogućnost proizvodnje isključivo za strano tržište susjednih sjevernijih područja Ilirije i “*Barbaricum*”. Proizvodnja je potom mogla biti, na razne načine, prenesena barem djelomično, kako smo vidjeli po kacigama s mjesnim karakteristikama, na predmetna sjevernija područja, ponajviše središnje Dalmacije i njezina hercegovačkog zaleđa. Biti će tako izglednim da je Makedonija održavala izravne i stalne kontakte s tim prostorom, povijesno dokazane još od 6. stoljeća, što potkrepljuju i brojni drugi nalazi materijalne kulture, a da o promjenama u društvenom i religijskom odnosu i ne govorimo.¹⁷⁶ Makedonija je vršila svoju određenu političku i ekonomsku propagandu i time postupnu penetraciju na situaciju koja se odvijala na prostoru srednjega Sredozemlja. Navedenu pretpostavku potvrđuje i činjenica da se na prostoru Halkidike i Grčke istovremeno nose halkidiške i ponajviše korinthske kacige,¹⁷⁷ odnosno da ilirske kacige uopće nemaju vojni ili modni autoritet toga vremena.

S druge strane, ilirske su kacige nerijetko žrtvovane ili zavjetno odlagane i prilagane baš u grčkim panhelenskim svetištima. To izgledno nije bila jednosmjerna praksa, već isključivo posljedica istraživanja, spoznaja i interpretacija ilirskih kaciga općenito. Obredna i religiozna percepcija ilirskih kaciga, tj. njihova manifestacija potvrđena je ovim i za mjesna, autohtona područja ne samo “svetišta” u Gorici već i akropole Ošanića i nekropole Kamenjače. Te su kacige sve ritualizirane namjernim i nasilnim, destruktivnim radnjama. U smislu načina deponiranja pridodati im možemo i kacige odlagane u prostoru, pogotovo u rijekama koje su, posve suprotno, najbolje očuvani primjerci cijeloga područja. Tako će nam te zavjetovane, baš kao

later types increases as one moves north, towards the western Balkans, and shifts still further north, along the Sava basin and all the way to Banat and Transylvania, as well as to the northern Adriatic. It is crucial here to single out Macedonia, which was indubitably the point of origin of the creation, manufacture and distribution of Illyrian helmets. This continuity can be traced from type II right through to type III and its different forms and sub-variants, not necessarily entailing their use, but suggesting the possibility that they were made exclusively for the foreign market of the neighbouring, more northerly areas of Illyria and “*Barbaricum*.” Manufacture could then have been diffused in various ways, partly at least, as we have seen from the presence of helmets with local features, to these more northerly areas, particularly central Dalmatia and its hinterland in Herzegovina. It thus seems likely that Macedonia maintained direct and continued contacts with this region, demonstrated historically since the 6th century, as corroborated by many other material finds, to say nothing of changes in social and religious relations.¹⁷⁶ Macedonia conducted its own specific political and economic propaganda, gradually penetrating into events taking place in the central Mediterranean region. Evidence of this may be found in the fact that Halkidikian and, above all, Corinthian helmets were in use at the same time in Halkidiki and Greece,¹⁷⁷ and that Illyrian helmets lack all military or fashion authority of that time.

On the other hand, it was not uncommon for Illyrian helmets to be used as sacrificial or votive offerings in the Greek pan-Hellenic sanctuaries. It is unlikely that this was a one-way practice, but solely the consequence of the study and interpretation of Illyrian helmets in general. The ritual and religious view of Illyrian helmets and their manifestation is also confirmed for local, indigenous sites, not only the “sanctuary” in Gorica but also the Ošanići acropolis and the Kamenjača necropolis. These helmets were all ritualized by deliberate, violent acts of destruction. As regards the manner in which they were deposited, one may include here the helmets that were deposited or thrown into rivers which, quite unlike the former, are the best-preserved specimens in the entire area.

¹⁷⁶ Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011, 71-74.

¹⁷⁷ Vasić 1982a, 8-10, karta; Pflug 1988b, 65-106; 1988c, 137-150; Teržan 1995, 123, sl. 10. Tipološki su iz grupe ilirskih kaciga izdvojeni ulomci kaciga iz Rakitna i pojedini ulomci iz Kamenjače u Brezi koji se mogu pripisati korinthskom tipu kaciga najmlađe generacije prema H. Pflugu (1988b, 65-106).

¹⁷⁶ Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011, 71-74.

¹⁷⁷ Vasić 1982a, 8-10, map; Pflug 1988b, 65-106; 1988c, 137-150; Teržan 1995, 123, fig. 10. Typologically, the helmet fragments from Rakitna and some fragments from Kamenjača in Breza may be ascribed to the latest generation of Corinthian-type helmets after H. Pflug (1988b, 65-106).

i tzv. “potpisane” kacige, svjedočiti o razvijenom i snažnom simboličkom *ex voto* principu toga tipa obrambene vojne opreme, ujedno kulturnog i statusnog razumijevanja njihovih nositelja i/ili onih koji su ih svojim darovanjem posvetili.

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Votive helmets, like those that were “signed,” also attest to the advanced, powerfully symbolic *ex voto* principle of this type of defence weaponry, and of the understanding of the culture and standing of those who wore and/or hallowed them as offerings.

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Liste nalazišta uz kartografiju¹⁷⁸

Slika 3. Karta rasprostranjenosti ilirskih kaciga II A (●) i II B (▲) tipa (nadopunjeno prema: Teržan 1995; Vasić 2010).

Br.	Nalazište	Kom./Tip	Okolnosti	Bibliografija
1	Kaptol / Čemernica (Hr)	1/ II A	Grob IV/1	Vejvoda, Mirnik 1971, T. V, 1; T. VII; Vinski-Gasparini 1987, T. XIX, 5; Šimek 2004, sl. 33–34, k. 12.2; Potrebeca 1998, sl. 5; 2000, sl. 6; 2007, T. LXXIa; 2008, T. 1, 5; T. 2, 1.
2	Donja Dolina (BiH)	2/ II A	Naselje; Grob 27	Φιала 1897, T. III; Truhelka 1902, sl. 7–8, T. XIII, 1, 3–6; Čović 1961, Y25; Marić 1964, T. XI, 10; T. XII, 2a–b; Marović 1976, T. I, 2–3 3; Vasić 1975, T. 2, 1–2; 2010, T. II, 1–3; Gavranović 2011, sl. 156; sl. 264/1. – T. I, 1-2.
3	Ungrej (Al)	1/ II B	Grob?	Нореса 1907, sl. 2–3; Лахтов 1965, sl. 2, 1. – Sl. 4, 2.
4	Trebeništa / Gorenci (Mk)	3/ II B	Grobovi I, III, IV	Filow 1927, Abb. 3, 5, 6, 96, T. XV: 1; Sokolovska 1997, sl. 1.
5	Progon / Bukri (Mk)	1/ II B	Grob	Mikulčić 1966, T. 10, 19a; Janakievski 1969, k. 26; Sokolovska 1997, sl. 7.
6	Archontiko / Pella (Gr)	Više kom. II	Grobovi	Whitley 2003: 59; 2004: 44; 2005: 70; Whitley et al. 2005: 88; Whitley et al. 2006: 57; Evely et al. 2008: 67–68; Manti, Watkinson 2008, 170–177; Χρυσοστόμου, Χρυσοστόμου 2007; 2009; Vasić 2010, 44–45; http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2008/09/080911-goldphoto.html (12. 12. 2010).
7	Halkidiki, Thessaloniki (Gr)	1/ II A; 1/ II B	Grobovi?	Amandry 1971, sl. 4–5; Sokolovska 1997, sl. 10; Vasić 2010, 45.
8	Agia Paraskevi / Thessaloniki (Gr)	2/ II A	Grobovi?	Teržan 1995, 113; Vasić 2010, 44.
9	Lefkadia / Naussa (Gr)	2/ II A	Grob	Rolley 1984, sl. 271; Pflug 1988a, sl. 7–8.
10	Ano Kopanos (Gr)	?/ II A	Grobovi?	Vasić 2010, 44.
11	Agia Paraskevi / Kozani (Gr)	2/ II A	Grobovi	Catling 1984, 48; Vasić 2010, T. I, 1.
12	Anarahi / Kozani /Gr	2/ II A	Grobovi	Catling 1984, 48; Vasić 2010, T. I, 2.
13	Kozani (Gr)	2/ II A	Grobovi; Okolica	Vasić 2010, 45, T. I, 4.
14	Leivadia / Aiani (Gr)	1/ II A	Grob	Neobjavljeno – Archaeological Museum of Aiani; http://www.mouseioaianis.gr/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=183:pit-graves&catid=46:2009-04-15-19-14-38&Itemid=141 ; http://www.mouseioaianis.gr/en/#myGallery1-picture(3) (10.03.2011).
15	Agia Paraskevi /Aiani (Gr)	1/ II A	?	Neobjavljeno – Archaeological Museum of Aiani; http://www.mouseioaianis.gr/en/#myGallery1-picture(3) (10.03.2011).
16	Ioannina (Gr)	1/ II B	Grob 43	Catling 1986, sl. 65; Andreou 1997, sl. 80–80a. – Sl. 4, 1.
17	Platea (Gr)	1/ II A	?	Kunze 1967, sl. 41.
18	Olympia (Gr)	4/ II A	Svetište	Kunze 1958, k. 23–27, T. 46–49; 1967, k. 28, T. 56.
19	Lindos / Rhodos (Gr)	1/ II A	?	Teržan 1995, 113.

¹⁷⁸ Redni brojevi na tablicama odgovaraju numeraciji nalazišta na kartama. Kartografiju, grafiku i dizajn potpisuje M. Blečić Kavur.

20	Balkan?	1/ II A	?	Modena, Mutina Ars Antiqua, http://www. anticoantico.com/l_port/scheda_articolo_main.asp?ID=57594 (14. 02. 2011).
21	Balkan?	1/ II B	?	Pflug 1988a, 381, k. 4.
22	Balkan?	1/ II A	?	Bologna, Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Emilia-Romagna, http://www.archeobo.arti.beniculturali.it/comunicati_stampa/bo_elmo_bals.htm (14. 02. 2011).
23	Balkan/Ilirija?	1/ II A	?	Brakat Gallery, Abu Dabi; http://www.brakatgalleryuae.com/classicalart.html (04. 12. 2010).

Slika 7. Karta rasprostiranja ilirskih kaciga III A1-a (●) i III A1-b (▲) varijante, uz pojedinačne nalaze srebrnih aplikacija kao ukrasa kaciga III A1-b varijante (nadopunjeno prema: Blečić 2007).

Br.	Nalazište	Kom./Tip	Okolnosti	Bibliografija
1	Găvojdia / Timișoara (Ro)	1/ III A1-b	Podvodni nalaz	Medeleț, Cedică 2004, 100; Bacuș 2009b, sl. 6; Vasić 2010, T. V, 3. – <i>Sl. II, 3.</i>
2	Novo Mesto / Kapiteljska njiva (Si)	1/ III A1-a	Grob 19/VII	Križ 1997, 73, k. 43; 2004, sl. 4; Egg 1999, sl. 4, T. 12; Blečić 2007, T. II, 1. – <i>Sl. 5, I.</i>
3	Sisak (Hr)	1/ III A1-a	Podvodni nalaz	Burkowsky 2001, k. 5; 2004, k. 1; Čučković 2004, sl. 4, k. 13; Blečić 2007, T. II, 2.
4	Beli /rt Jablanac, o. Cres (Hr)	1/ III A1-a	Podvodni nalaz	Blečić 2007, sl. 1–2, T. I.
5	Putičevo / Travnik (BiH)	1/ III A1-a	Slučajni nalaz?	Фиала 1897, T. II; Nadbath 2004, T. 1: 1; Blečić 2007, T. III, 1; Vasić 2010, T. III: 2; Gavranović 2011, Abb. 157 – <i>T. II, 4.</i>
6	Bulbin / Imotski (Hr)	1/ III A1-a	Uništen grob?	Nikolanci 1959, sl. 1; Marović 1976, T. IV, 9; Blečić 2007, T. II, 3.
7	Gorica (BiH)	1/ III A1-a	“Svetište”	Truhelka 1899, sl. 3–4; Blečić 2007, T. II, 4; Vasić 2010, T. III, 1. – <i>T. II, 3.</i>
8	Vičja luka, o. Brač (Hr)	1/ III A1-b	Stari nalazi?	Bulić 1900, 27–28.
9	Kačanj / Bileća (BiH)	3/ III A1-a	Skupna grobnica?	Marić 1959, sl. 1b, T. I, 1a–b; 1976a, sl. 3, T. I, 2–5; Blečić 2007, T. II, 5–6. – <i>T. III, 5-6, T. IV, 7.</i>
10	Zagrade / Glasinac (BiH)	Aplikacija vepa	Grob I/3	Фиала 1897, sl. 51; Hunyady 1942, T. XXXVIII, 3; Паровић-Пешикан 1960, sl. 2; Lucentini 1981, T. XI, 14; Čović 1983, T. XXXIV, 18; 1987b, T. XIV, 1; Vasić 2002, sl. 2, 2; Blečić 2007, sl. 6b. – <i>Sl. 8, I; T. IV, 8.</i>
11	Ražana / Kosjerići (Srb)	1/ III A1-a	Grob	Гаращанин 1973, sl. 25; Popović 1975, k. 46; Vasić 1977, T. 24, 1; 2010, T. V, 4; Blečić 2007, T. III, 3.
12	Atenica / Čačak (Srb)	Aplikacija vepa	Humka I, periferni grob	Djuknić, Jovanović 1966, T. XI, 1; T. XIX, 1; T. XXIX–XXXIII; Vasić 1987a, 650; 2004, sl. 15; Tasić 1992, sl. 9; Blečić 2007, sl. 6a. – <i>Sl. 9, I.</i>
13	Pečka Banja (Baja a Pejës) (Kosovo)	3/ III A1-a	Tumul, pored groba	<i>Κελτοι</i> 1984, sl. 29; <i>Gospodari srebra</i> 1990, k. 137/13–14; Лџуци 1998, k. 222; Vačkalov 2004, k. 57–56; Shukri 2004, sl. 52; Krstić 2007a, 94, 98–99; Blečić 2007, T. III, 4; Vasić 2010, T. V: 1–2.
14	Lači (Lezhë) (Al)	1/ III A1-a	?	Franjevačka zbirka S. Gjecov; Nopcsa 1912, sl. 44; Blečić 2007, T. III, 5.

15	Trebeništa / Gorenci (Mk)	1/ III A1-a; 2/ III A1-b	Grobovi V, VI, VIII	Filow 1927, sl. 7–8, 99, T. XV, 2; Булић 1932, sl. 4; Popović 1956, 47, T. 18; 1994, k. 96; Vasić 1987b, T. LXXVI, 1; Vasić 2010, T. IV, 3; Sokolovska 1997, sl. 2; 4; Krstić 2007b, 108–109; Blečić 2007, sl. 8a, T. IV, 1a–b; Бабић 2011, 148. – <i>Sl. II, 2.</i>
16	Ohrid / Gorna porta (Mk)	Više kom. III A1-a; 1/ III A1-b	Grobnica 1	Kuzman 2006: 546; Blečić 2007, T. IV, 4; Кузман, Димитрова 2010, 40; Krikhaar 2011, sl. 28.
17	Archontiko / Pella (Gr)	Više kom. III A1	Nekropola	Whitley 2003: 59; 2004: 44; 2005: 70; Whitley et al. 2005: 88; Whitley et al. 2006: 57; Evely et al. 2008: 67–68; Χρυσοστόμου, Χρυσοστόμου 2007; 2009; Vasić 2010, 44–45; http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2008/09/080911-goldphoto.html (12. 12. 2010).
18	Isthmia (Gr)	3/ III A1-a	Svetište	Broneer 1953, T. 60e; 1958, T. 17b; Blečić 2007, T. III, 6; Blackman 2001, 23; Alastar Jackson u: http://lucian.uchicago.edu/blogs/isthmia/annualreports/2000-report/ (25.04.2011).
19	Olympia (Gr)	10/ III A1-a; 3/ III A1-b	12 svetište; 1 pored svetišta; 1 podvodni nalaz	Kunze 1967, T. 57–68; Pflug 1988a, sl. 10–11; Hockey et al 1992, T. 19–23; Blečić 2007, T. III, 7; T. IV, 2–3, 5. – <i>Sl. II, I.</i>

Slika 14. Karta rasprostiranja ilirskih kaciga III A2-a (●) i III A2-b (▲) varijanti (nadopunjeno prema: Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011).

Br	Nalazište	Kom./Tip	Okolnosti	Bibliografija
1	Novo Mesto / Kapiteljska njiva (Si)	1/ III A2-a	Grob 19/VII	Križ 1997, k. 42; 2004, sl. 4; Egg 1999, sl. 5, T. 13; – <i>Sl. 5, 2.</i>
2	Čarakovo / Prijedor (BiH)	2/ III A2-a	Grobovi?	Čović 1956, 187; 1987a, 258; Marović 1976, 297; Teržan 1995, 121; Vasić 2010, 42. – <i>T. V, 9-10.</i>
3	Ritešić / Doboј (BiH)	1/ III A2-a	Grob	Vasić 2010, 43. – <i>T. VI, 12.</i>
4	Sava: Županja–Orašje?	1/ III A2-a	Podvodni nalaz?	Vasić 1982a, sl. 1; 1983a, sl. 2; Pop-Lazić 1984, 211. – <i>T. VI, 11.</i>
5	Sremska Mitrovica (Srb)	1/ III A2-a	Pojedinačni nalaz?	Vasić 1983a, sl. 1.
6	Jidovin / Brezovia (Ro)	1/ III A2-a	?	Gumă 1991, sl. 1–3.
7	Ocna Mureş (Ro)	1/ III A2-a	?	Mozsolics 1955, sl. 12; Berciu 1958, sl. 3–4; Teleaga 2008: T. 176, 1-4.
8	Gostavăţu / Craiova (Ro)	1/ III A2-a	Grob	Berciu 1958, sl. 1–2; Teleaga 2008: T. 147, 1-4.
9	Trstenik (Srb)	1/ III A2-a	?	Garašanin 1973, T. 111; Васић 2009a, sl. 1.
10	Taline / Glasinac (BiH)	1/ III A2-a	Grob I/1–2	Teržan 1976, 376, bilj. 145; Vasić 1982a, 6; 2010, T. III, 4; Čović 1987b, 630 – <i>T. VII, 13.</i>
11	Rusanovići / Glasinac (BiH)	1/ III A2-a	Grob VIII/3	Fiala 1895, 535; Čović 1983, 151; Vasić 2010, T. III, 4. – <i>Sl. 13, 14; T. VII, 14.</i>
12	Kamenjača / Breza (BiH)	5/ III A2	Nekropola	Paškvalin 2002, T. II, 1–4; 2008, T. 17, 1–4 – <i>T. VII, 15-19.</i>
13	Podstinja / Kiseljak (BiH)	1/ III A2-b	Slučajni nalaz	Marović 1976, sl. 4; Čović 1987, 503, sl. 28, 21. – <i>Sl. 16, 2; T. VIII, 20.</i>
14	Ritke Liske / Crvenice (BiH)	1/ III A2-a	Uništeni grobovi?	Bojanovski 1967, sl. 1–2; Čović 1962, 27–28. – <i>T. VIII, 21.</i>

15	Topolje=Burnum=Knin (Hr)	1/ III A2	Grob?	Truhelka 1901, 5; Nikolanci 1960, 31; Marun 1998, 47, 196–197.
16	Labin / Trogir (Hr)	1/ III A2-a	?	Balen-Letunić 1993, k. br. 46; 2001, k. 6.
17	Trilj / Mali Drinić (Hr)	7/ III A2-a 3/ III A2-b	Podvodni nalazi	Milošević 1999, sl. 4–5; neobjavljeno, Muzej cetinske krajine Sinj.
18	Trilj / Veliki Drinić (Hr)	1/ III A2-a	Podvodni nalaz	Neobjavljeno, Muzej triljskog kraja.
19	Zagvozd (Hr)	2/ III A2-b	Grobovi?	Nicolanci 1959, T. 8, 1–2; Marović 1976, sl. 7–8.
20	Bulbin / Imotski (Hr)	1/ III A2-a	Uništeni grob?	Nicolanci 1959, sl. 1; Marović 1976, sl. 9.
21	Grude (BiH)	1/ III A2-a	Grobovi?	Фиала 1897, T. I; Vasić 2010, T. III, 3. – <i>T. IX, 22.</i>
22	Drinovci / Prisojska gradina (BiH)	1/ III A2-a	Naselje	Truhelka 1901, 5; 1914, 117. – <i>T. IX, 24.</i>
23	Radišići / Ljubuški (BiH)	1/ III A2-a	Grob	Truhelka 1901, 5; Marović 1976, 298; Vasić 1982, 6; Čović 1985, 55, T. III, 4; Dodig 2011, 51. – <i>T. X, 23.</i>
24	Vičja luka, o. Brač (Hr)	2/ III A2-a; 1/ III A2-b	Stari nalazi; grobovi 2, 4	Bulić 1900, 27–28, T. III, 1–2; Marović, Nicolanci 1969, sl. 4; sl. 16; Marović 1976, sl. 5–6. – <i>Sl. 12, 1; Sl. 17, 1.</i>
25	Sučuraj, o. Hvar (Hr)	1/ III A2-b	Podvodni nalaz	Nicolanci 1960, T. I; Stipčević 1981, T. XXXIII, 4.
26	Vranjevo Selo / Neum (BiH)	2/ III A2-a	Tumul-Grob	Miličević-Capek 2007, 139–144; Puljić 2008, sl. 12; Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011. – <i>T. XII, 30-31.</i>
27	Stolac ? (BiH)	1/ III A2-a	?	Nicolanci 1959, T. 9, 2; Marović 1976, sl. 11; Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011. – <i>T. X, 25.</i>
28	Ošanići / Stolac (BiH)	1/ III A2-a; 8 ulomaka III A2	Akropola; podnožje akropole	Marić 1976b, sl. 2; 1976c, T. XXVI, 48; 1995, T. 3, 1–2. – <i>Sl. 16, 1; T. XI, 26-29.</i>
29	Plana / Bileća (BiH)	2/ III A2-a	Grobovi	Truhelka 1901, sl. 1–4; 1914, sl. 109; Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011. – <i>T. XIII, 32-33.</i>
30	Kačanj / Bileća (BiH)	3/ III A2-a	Skupna grobnica ?	Marić 1959, T. I, 2; 1976a, sl. 3. – <i>T. XIV, 34-36.</i>
31	Cavtat (Hr)	1/ III A2-a	?	Lisičar 1966, sl. 6; Batović 1988, sl. 10.
32	Budva (CG)	3/ III A2-a; 3/ III A2-b	Nekropola; Grob 2, 6	Vasić 1982a, 6; Popović 1994, k. 98–99; Krstić 2007c, k. 100, Marković 2003, sl. 9. – <i>Sl. 15, 2; Sl. 16, 3.</i>
33	Durrës (Epidamnus) (Al)	2/ III A2-a	Grobovi	Osmani 1988, sl. 1–2; Vasić 2010, 46.
34	Perlat / Mati (Al)	1/ III A2-b	Grob	Korkuti 1971, sl. 32; http://www.hist.tirana.cch.net.it/muzeu-historik-kombetar/pavioni-arkeologjik/atoggettoarheologico.2008-09-23.2682185335 (10.01.2011). – <i>Sl. 15, 1.</i>
35	Draj Rec / Dibra (Al)	1/ III A2-a	Grob	Bunguri 1989, T. 2, 5.
36	Çinamak / Kukes (Al)	1/ III A2-a	Grob	Prendi 1988, k. 96.
37	Gralishta / Korischë (Kosovo)	1/ III A2-a	Grob?	Shukriu 2004, 51; neobjavljeno, Filozofski fakultet u Prištini.
38	Deja / Rahavec (Kosovo)	1/ III A2-a	Grob?	Shukriu 2004, 51, sl. 73; Filozofski fakultet u Prištini.
39	Tetovo (Mk)	1/ III A2-a	Grob (?)	Vasić 1982a, 12; Teržan 1995, 121.
40	Ohrid / Gorna Porta (Mk)	Više kom. III A2-a	Grobnica	Kuzman 2006, 546; Bangs 2006; Balkanalysis 2006.

41	Dedeli / Valdanovo (Mk)	1/ III A2-a	?	Ружак, Велковски 2007, sl. 1–10.
42	Pangaion (Gr)	1/ III A2-a	?	Pflug 1988a, sl. 14.8.
43	Halkidika (Gr)	1/III A2-a	Grob	Hassel 1967, T. 52–53.
44	Halkidika (Gr)	1/ III A2-a	Grob ?	Walter Art Museum, Baltimore; Kent Hill 1965, sl. 1–3.
45	Zeitenlik / Thessaloniki (Gr)	1/ III A2-a	Sarkofag C	Musée du Louvre, Paris; 4116; Descamps et al. 2002, 99; Pflug 1988, 58, bilj. 97; Teleaga 2008, 233; Vasić 2010, 46; http://communaute.louvre.fr/louvre/casque-de-type-illyrien (12.12.2010).
46	Thessaloniki (Gr)	1/ III A2-a	?	Archaeological Museum Istanbul; Vasić 2010, 46.
47	Sindos (Gr)	4/ III A2-a	Grobovi 111, 65, 76, 87	<i>Sindos</i> 1997, k. 100; 121; 337, 408; Teleaga 2008, 233.
48	Archontiko / Pella (Gr)	Više kom. III A2-a	Nekropola	Whitley 2003: 59; 2004: 44; 2005: 70; Whitley et al. 2005: 88; Whitley et al. 2006: 57; Evely et al. 2008: 67-68; Manti, Watkinson 2008; Χρυσοστόμου, Χρυσοστόμου 2007; 2009; http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2008/09/080911-gold-photo.html (12. 12. 2010).
49	Pydna (Gr)	1/ III A2-a	Nekropola	Catling 1989, 69; Teleaga 2008, 233.
50	Tymphaia / Grevena (Gr)	1/ III A2-a	Grobница ?	Ducrey 1985, sl. 57; Ellis 1992, sl. 24; Blečić 2007, sl. 7c; http://www.amth.gr/makedonia6.html (16.02.2011).
51	Dodona (Gr)	1/ III A2	Svetište	Carapanos 1878, T. LVI, 10.
52	Atena (Gr)	1/ III A2-a	Akropola	Kunze 1958, k. 35; Teržan 1995, 115; http://www.flickr.com/photos/dandiffendale/3466944336/ (15. 02. 2011).
53	Olympia (Gr)	Više kom. III A2-a	Svetište	Kunze 1958, T. 53–54; Teržan 1995, 113, 115, 119, 121.
54	Rodokali / Pogradec (Al)	1/ III A2-b?	?	Stipčević 1981, 111, bilj. 205.
55	Korešnica, Demir Kapija (Mk)	18/ III A ?	Opljačkana grobnica	Vasić 2010, 43, http://lootingmatters.blogspot.com/2008/03/koreschnica-krater-more-on-tomb.html ; http://lootingmatters.blogspot.com/2009/06/is-archaeology-of-balkans-under-threat.html (02.02.2011).
56	Agios Athanasios / Thessaloniki (Gr)	4/ III A	?	Blackman 1997, 67; Vasić 2010, 44. Vjerojatno neki od tih primjeraka pripada varijanti III A2-a?
57	Agios Georgios / Grevena (Gr)	3/ III A	?	Vasić 2010, 44. Vjerojatno neki od tih primjeraka pripada tipu III A2-a? Vidjeti i: http://www.amth.gr/vr_museum_vr_makedonia2.html (16.02.2011).
58	Balkan ?	1/ III A2-a	?	Antikenmuseum Berlin, Sammlung Lipperheide; Pflug 1988a, k. 5.
59	Balkan ?	1/ III A2-a	?	National Archaeological Museum, Athens; Whitley 2003, 5, sl. 2.
60	Malta ?	1/ III A2-a	?	Antikenmuseum Berlin, Sammlung Lipperheide; Pflug 1988a, k. 6.
61	Balkan?	1/ III A2-b	?	Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest; Moszolics 1955, sl. 13; http://www.flickr.com/photos/hansonsc/3214957263 (20. 06. 2011).
62	Balkan / Ilirija?	1/ III A2-a	?	Brakat Gallery, Abu Dabi http://www.brakatgalleryuae.com/classicalart.html (04. 12. 2010).

Lists of finds with cartography¹⁷⁸

Fig. 3 – Map showing the distribution of Illyrian helmets of type II A (●) and II B (▲) (updated from Teržan 1995; Vasić 2010).

No.	Site	No./Type	Setting	Bibliography
1	Kaptol / Čemernica (Hr)	1/ II A	Grave IV/1	Vejvoda, Mirnik 1971, Pl. V, 1; Pl. VII; Vinski-Gasparini 1987, Pl. XIX, 5; Šimek 2004, figs. 33–34, cat. 12.2; Potrebica 1998, fig. 5; 2000, fig. 6; 2007, Pl. LXXIa; 2008, Pl. 1, 5; Pl. 2, 1.
2	Donja Dolina (BiH)	2/ II A	Settlement; Grave 27	Фила 1897, Pl. III; Truhelka 1902, figs. 7–8, Pl. XIII, 1, 3–6; Čović 1961, Y25; Marić 1964, Pl. XI, 10; Pl. XII, 2a–b; Marović 1976, Pl. I, 2–3 3; Vasić 1975, Pl. 2, 1–2; 2010, Pl. II, 1–3; Gavranović 2011, fig. 156; fig. 264/1. – <i>Pl. I, 1-2</i> .
3	Ungrej (Al)	1/ II B	Grave?	Nopcsa 1907, figs. 2–3; Жахов 1965, fig. 2, 1. – <i>Fig. 4, 2</i> .
4	Trebeništa / Gorenci (Mk)	3/ II B	Graves I, III, IV	Filow 1927, Abb. 3, 5, 6, 96, Pl. XV: 1; Sokolovska 1997, fig. 1.
5	Progon / Bukri (Mk)	1/ II B	Grave	Mikulčić 1966, Pl. 10, 19a; Janakievski 1969, cat. 26; Sokolovska 1997, fig. 7.
6	Archontiko / Pella (Gr)	Several II	Graves	Whitley 2003: 59; 2004: 44; 2005: 70; Whitley et al. 2005: 88; Whitley et al. 2006: 57; Evely et al. 2008: 67–68; Manti, Watkinson 2008, 170–177; Χρυσοστόμου, Χρυσοστόμου 2007; 2009; Vasić 2010, 44–45; http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2008/09/080911-goldphoto.html (12. 12. 2010).
7	Halkidiki, Thessaloniki (Gr)	1/ II A; 1/ II B	Graves?	Amandry 1971, figs. 4–5; Sokolovska 1997, fig. 10; Vasić 2010, 45.
8	Agia Paraskevi / Thessaloniki (Gr)	2/ II A	Graves?	Teržan 1995, 113; Vasić 2010, 44.
9	Lefkadia / Naussa (Gr)	2/ II A	Grave	Rolley 1984, fig. 271; Pflug 1988a, figs. 7–8.
10	Ano Kopanos (Gr)	?/ II A	Graves?	Vasić 2010, 44.
11	Agia Paraskevi / Kozani (Gr)	2/ II A	Graves	Catling 1984, 48; Vasić 2010, Pl. I, 1.
12	Anarahi / Kozani /Gr	2/ II A	Graves	Catling 1984, 48; Vasić 2010, Pl. I, 2.
13	Kozani (Gr)	2/ II A	Graves; surroundings	Vasić 2010, 45, Pl. I, 4.
14	Leivadia / Aiani (Gr)	1/ II A	Grave	Unpublished – Archaeological Museum of Aiani; http://www.mouseioaianis.gr/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=183:pit-graves&catid=46:2009-04-15-19-14-38&Itemid=141 ; http://www.mouseioaianis.gr/en/#myGallery1-picture(3) (10.03.2011).
15	Agia Paraskevi /Aiani (Gr)	1/ II A	?	Unpublished – Archaeological Museum of Aiani; http://www.mouseioaianis.gr/en/#myGallery1-picture(3) (10.03.2011).
16	Ioannina (Gr)	1/ II B	Grave 43	Catling 1986, fig. 65; Andreou 1997, figs. 80–80a. – <i>Fig. 4, 1</i> .
17	Platea (Gr)	1/ II A	?	Kunze 1967, fig. 41.
18	Olympia (Gr)	4/ II A	Sanctuary	Kunze 1958, cat. 23–27, Pl. 46–49; 1967, cat. 28, Pl. 56.

¹⁷⁸ The serial numbers in the tables correspond to the numbering of sites on the maps. Cartography, graphics and design by M. Blečić Kavur.

19	Lindos / Rhodos (Gr)	1/ II A	?	Teržan 1995, 113.
20	Balkans?	1/ II A	?	Modena, Mutina Ars Antiqua, http://www.anticoantico.com/l_port/scheda_articolo_main.asp?ID=57594 (14. 02. 2011).
21	Balkans?	1/ II B	?	Pflug 1988a, 381, cat. 4.
22	Balkans?	1/ II A	?	Bologna, Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Emilia-Romagna, http://www.archeobo.arti.beniculturali.it/comunicati_stampa/bo_elmo_bal.htm (14. 02. 2011).
23	Balkans/Illyria?	1/ II A	?	Brakat Gallery, Abu Dhabi; http://www.brakatgalleryuae.com/classicalart.html (04. 12. 2010).

Fig. 7 – Map showing the distribution of Illyrian helmets of variants III A1-a (●) and III A1-b (▲), with individual finds of silver plaques as decorations on helmets of variant III A1-b (updated from Blečić 2007).

No.	Site	No./Type	Setting	Bibliography
1	Găvojdia / Timișoara (Ro)	1/ III A1-b	Underwater find	Medeleț, Cedică 2004, 100; Васић 2009b, fig. 6; Vasić 2010, Pl. V, 3. – <i>Fig. 11, 3.</i>
2	Novo Mesto / Kapiteljska njiva (Si)	1/ III A1-a	Grave 19/VII	Križ 1997, 73, cat. 43; 2004, fig. 4; Egg 1999, fig. 4, Pl. 12; Blečić 2007, Pl. II, 1. – <i>Fig. 5, 1.</i>
3	Sisak (Hr)	1/ III A1-a	Underwater find	Burkowsky 2001, cat. 5; 2004, cat. 1; Čučković 2004, fig. 4, cat. 13; Blečić 2007, Pl. II, 2.
4	Beli /rt Jablanac, o. Cres (Hr)	1/ III A1-a	Underwater find	Blečić 2007, figs. 1–2, Pl. I.
5	Putičevo / Travnik (BiH)	1/ III A1-a	Chance find?	Фиала 1897, Pl. II; Nadbath 2004, Pl. 1: 1; Blečić 2007, Pl. III, 1; Vasić 2010, Pl. III: 2; Gavranović 2011, Abb. 157 – <i>Pl. II, 4.</i>
6	Bulbin / Imotski (Hr)	1/ III A1-a	Destroyed grave?	Nikolanci 1959, fig. 1; Marović 1976, Pl. IV, 9; Blečić 2007, Pl. II, 3.
7	Gorica (BiH)	1/ III A1-a	“Sanctuary”	Truhelka 1899, figs. 3–4; Blečić 2007, Pl. II, 4; Vasić 2010, Pl. III, 1. – <i>Pl. II, 3.</i>
8	Vičja luka, Island of Brač (Hr)	1/ III A1-b	Old finds?	Bulić 1900, 27–28.
9	Kačanj / Bileća (BiH)	3/ III A1-a	Communal tomb?	Marić 1959, fig. 1b, Pl. I, 1a–b; 1976a, fig. 3, Pl. I, 2–5; Blečić 2007, Pl. II, 5–6. – <i>Pl. III, 5-6, Pl. IV, 7.</i>
10	Zagrade / Glasinac (BiH)	Wild boar plaque	Grave I/3	Фиала 1897, fig. 51; Hunyady 1942, Pl. XXX VIII, 3; Паровић-Пешикан 1960, fig. 2; Lucentini 1981, Pl. XI, 14; Čović 1983, Pl. XXXIV, 18; 1987b, Pl. XIV, 1; Vasić 2002, fig. 2, 2; Blečić 2007, fig. 6b. – <i>Fig. 8, 1; Pl. IV, 8.</i>
11	Ražana / Kosjerići (Srb)	1/ III A1-a	Grave	Гарашанин 1973, fig. 25; Popović 1975, cat. 46; Vasić 1977, Pl. 24, 1; 2010, Pl. V, 4; Blečić 2007, Pl. III, 3.
12	Atenica / Čačak (Srb)	Wild boar plaque	Tumulus I, peripheral grave	Djuknić, Jovanović 1966, Pl. XI, 1; Pl. XIX, 1; Pl. XXIX–XXXIII; Vasić 1987a, 650; 2004, fig. 15; Tasić 1992, fig. 9; Blečić 2007, fig. 6a. – <i>Fig. 9, 1.</i>
13	Pečka Banja (Baja a Pejës) (Kosovo)	3/ III A1-a	Tumulus, beside grave	<i>Keltoi</i> 1984, fig. 29; <i>Gospodari srebra</i> 1990, cat. 137/13–14; Љуци 1998, cat. 222; Bačkalov 2004, cat. 57–56; Shukriju 2004, fig. 52; Krstić 2007a, 94, 98–99; Blečić 2007, Pl. III, 4; Vasić 2010, Pl. V, 1–2.
14	Lači (Lezhë) (Al)	1/ III A1-a	?	Franciscan collection S. Gjecov; Nopcsa 1912, fig. 44; Blečić 2007, Pl. III, 5.

15	Trebeništa / Gorenci (Mk)	1/ III A1-a; 2/ III A1-b	Graves V, VI, VIII	Filow 1927, figs. 7–8, 99, Pl. XV, 2; Булић 1932, fig. 4; Поповић 1956, 47, Pl. 18; 1994, cat. 96; Vasić 1987b, Pl. LXXVI, 1; Vasić 2010, Pl. IV, 3; Sokolovska 1997, figs. 2, 4; Krstić 2007b, 108–109; Blečić 2007, fig. 8a, Pl. IV, 1a–b; Бабић 2011, 148. – <i>Fig. 11, 2.</i>
16	Ohrid / Gorna porta (Mk)	Several III A1-a; 1/ III A1-b	Tomb 1	Kuzman 2006: 546; Blečić 2007, Pl. IV, 4; Кузман, Димитрова 2010, 40; Krikhaar 2011, fig. 28.
17	Archontiko / Pella (Gr)	Several III A1	Necropolis	Whitley 2003: 59; 2004: 44; 2005: 70; Whitley et al. 2005: 88; Whitley et al. 2006: 57; Evely et al. 2008: 67–68; Χρυσοστόμου, Χρυσοστόμου 2007; 2009; Vasić 2010, 44–45; http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2008/09/080911-goldphoto.html (12. 12. 2010).
18	Isthmia (Gr)	3/ III A1-a	Sanctuary	Broneer 1953, Pl. 60e; 1958, Pl. 17b; Blečić 2007, Pl. III, 6; Blackman 2001, 23; Alastair Jackson in: http://lucian.uchicago.edu/logs/isthmia/annualreports/2000-report/ (25.04.2011).
19	Olympia (Gr)	10/III A1-a; 3/III A1-b	12 Sanctuaries; 1 beside sanctuary; 1 underwater find	Kunze 1967, Pl. 57–68; Pflug 1988a, figs. 10–11; Hockey et al 1992, Pl. 19–23; Blečić 2007, Pl. III, 7; Pl. IV, 2–3, 5. – <i>Fig. 11, 1.</i>

Fig. 14 – Map showing the distribution of Illyrian helmets of variant III A2-a (●) and III A2-b (▲) (updated from Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011).

No.	Site	No./Type	Setting	Bibliography
1	Novo Mesto / Kapiteljska njiva (Si)	1/ III A2-a	Grave 19/VII	Križ 1997, cat. 42; 2004, fig. 4; Egg 1999, fig. 5, Pl. 13; – <i>Fig. 5, 2.</i>
2	Čarakovo / Prijedor (BiH)	2/ III A2-a	Graves?	Čović 1956, 187; 1987a, 258; Marović 1976, 297; Teržan 1995, 121; Vasić 2010, 42. – <i>Pl. V, 9-10.</i>
3	Ritešić / Doboj (BiH)	1/ III A2-a	Grave	Vasić 2010, 43. – <i>Pl. VI, 12.</i>
4	Sava: Županja–Orašje ? (BiH)	1/ III A2-a	Individual find?	Vasić 1982a, fig. 1; 1983a, fig. 2; Pop-Lazić 1984, 211. – <i>Pl. VI, 11.</i>
5	Sremska Mitrovica (Srb)	1/ III A2-a	Individual find	Vasić 1983a, fig. 1.
6	Jidovin / Brezovia (Ro)	1/ III A2-a	?	Gumă 1991, figs. 1–3.
7	Ocna Mureșului (Ro)	1/ III A2-a	?	Mozsolics 1955, fig. 12; Berciu 1958, figs. 3–4; Teleaga 2008, Pl. 176, 1-4.
8	Gostavăț / Craiova (Ro)	1/ III A2-a	Grave	Berciu 1958, fig. 1–2; Teleaga 2008, Pl. 147, 1-4.
9	Trstenik (Srb)	1/ III A2-a	?	Garašanin 1973, Pl. 111; Васић 2009a, fig. 1.
10	Taline / Glasinac (BiH)	1/ III A2-a	Grave 1/1–2	Teržan 1976, 376, fn. 145; Vasić 1982a, 6; 2010, Pl. III, 4; Čović 1987b, 630 – <i>Pl. VII, 13.</i>
11	Rusanovići / Glasinac (BiH)	1/ III A2-a	Grave VIII/3	Fiala 1895, 535; Čović 1983, 151; Vasić 2010, Pl. III, 4. – <i>Fig. 13, 14; Pl. VII, 14.</i>
12	Kamenjača / Breza (BiH)	5/ III A2	Necropolis	Paškvalin 2002, Pl. II, 1–4; 2008, Pl. 17, 1–4 – <i>Pl. VII, 15-19.</i>

13	Podstinje / Kiseljak (BiH)	1/ III A2-b	Chance find	Marović 1976, fig. 4; Čović 1987, 503, fig. 28, 21. – <i>Sl. 16, 2; Pl. VIII, 20.</i>
14	Ritke Liske / Crvenice (BiH)	1/ III A2-a	Destroyed graves?	Bojanovski 1967, figs. 1–2; Čović 1962, 27–28. – <i>Pl. VIII, 21.</i>
15	Topolje=Burnum=Knin (Hr)	1/ III A2	Grave?	Truhelka 1901, 5; Nikolanci 1960, 31; Marun 1998, 47, 196–197.
16	Labin / Trogir (Hr)	1/ III A2-a	?	Balen–Letunić 1993, cat. 46; 2001, cat. 6.
17	Trilj / Mali Drinić (Hr)	7/ III A2-a 3/ III A2-b	Underwater find	Milošević 1999, figs. 4–5; unpublished, Cetinska krajina Museum, Sinj.
18	Trilj / Veliki Drinić (Hr)	1/ III A2-a	Underwater find	Unpublished, Trilj Museum, Trilj.
19	Zagvozd (Hr)	2/ III A2-b	Graves?	Nicolanci 1959, Pl. 8, 1–2; Marović 1976, figs. 7–8.
20	Bulbin / Imotski (Hr)	1/ III A2-a	Destroyed grave?	Nicolanci 1959, fig. 1; Marović 1976, fig. 9.
21	Grude (BiH)	1/ III A2-a	Graves?	Фиа́ла 1897, Pl. I; Vasić 2010, Pl. III, 3. – <i>Pl. IX, 22.</i>
22	Drinovci / Prisojska gradina (BiH)	1/ III A2-a	Settlement	Truhelka 1901, 5; 1914, 117. – <i>Pl. IX, 24.</i>
23	Radišići / Ljubuški (BiH)	1/ III A2-a	Grave	Truhelka 1901, 5; Marović 1976, 298; Vasić 1982, 6; Čović 1985, 55, Pl. III, 4; Dodig 2011, 51. – <i>Pl. X, 23.</i>
24	Vičja luka, Brač (Hr)	2/ III A2-a; 1/ III A2-b	Old finds; graves 2, 4	Bulić 1900, 27–28, Pl. III, 1–2; Marović, Nicolanci 1969, figs. 4, 16; Marović 1976, figs. 5–6. – <i>Figs. 12, 1; 17, 1.</i>
25	Sučuraj, Hvar (Hr)	1/ III A2-b	Underwater find?	Nicolanci 1960, Pl. I; Stipčević 1981, Pl. XXXIII, 4.
26	Vranjevo Selo / Neum (BiH)	2/ III A2-a	Tumulus grave	Miličević-Capek 2007, 139–144; Puljić 2008, fig. 12; Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011. – <i>Pl. XII, 30–31.</i>
27	Stolac ? (BiH)	1/ III A2-a	?	Nicolanci 1959, Pl. 9, 2; Marović 1976, fig. 11; Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011. – <i>Pl. X, 25.</i>
28	Ošanići / Stolac (BiH)	1/ III A2-a; 8 fragments III A2	Acropolis; foot of acropolis	Marić 1976b, fig. 2; 1976c, Pl. XXVI, 48; 1995, Pl. 3, 1–2. – <i>Fig. 16, 1; Pl. XI, 26–29.</i>
29	Plana / Bileća (BiH)	2/ III A2-a	Graves	Truhelka 1901, figs. 1–4; 1914, fig. 109; Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011. – <i>Pl. XIII, 32–33.</i>
30	Kačanj / Bileća (BiH)	3/ III A2-a	Communal tomb?	Marić 1959, Pl. I, 2; 1976a, fig. 3. – <i>Pl. XIV, 34–36.</i>
31	Cavtat (Hr)	1/ III A2-a	?	Lisičar 1966, fig. 6; Batović 1988, fig. 10.
32	Budva (CG)	3/ III A2-a; 3/ III A2-b	Necropolis; Grave 2, 6	Vasić 1982a, 6; Popović 1994, cat. 98–99; Krstić 2007 c, cat. 100, Marković 2003, fig. 9. – <i>Figs. 15, 2; 16, 3.</i>
33	Durrës (Epidamnus) (Al)	2/ III A2-a	Graves	Osmani 1988, figs. 1–2; Vasić 2010, 46.
34	Perlat / Mati (Al)	1/ III A2-b	Grave	Korkuti 1971, fig. 32; http://www.hist.tirana.cch.net.it/muzeu-historik-kombetar/pavioni-arkeologjik/atoggettoarheologico.2008-09-23.2682185335 (10.01.2011). – <i>Fig. 15, 1.</i>
35	Draj Rec / Dibra (Al)	1/ III A2-a	Grave	Bunguri 1989, Pl. 2, 5.

36	Çinamak / Kükës (Al)	1/ III A2-a	Grave	Prendi 1988, cat. 96.
37	Gralishta / Korischë (Kosovo)	1/ III A2-a	Grave?	Shukriu 2004, 51; unpublished, Faculty of Philosophy in Priština.
38	Deja / Rahavec (Kosovo)	1/ III A2-a	Grave?	Shukriu 2004, 51, fig. 73; Faculty of Philosophy in Priština.
39	Tetovo (Mk)	1/ III A2-a	Grave(?)	Vasić 1982a, 12; Teržan 1995, 121.
40	Ohrid / Gorna Porta (Mk)	Several III A2-a	Tomb	Kuzman 2006, 546; Bangs 2006; Balkanalysis 2006.
41	Dedeli / Valdanovo (Mk)	1/ III A2-a	?	Ружак, Велковски 2007, figs. 1–10.
42	Pangaion (Gr)	1/ III A2-a	?	Pflug 1988a, Abb. 14.8.
43	Halkidiki (Gr)	1/III A2-a	Grave	Hassel 1967, Pl. 52–53.
44	Halkidiki (Gr)	1/ III A2-a	Grave?	Walter Art Museum, Baltimore; Kent Hill 1965, figs. 1–3.
45	Zeitenlik / Thessaloniki (Gr)	1/ III A2-a	Sarcophagus C	Musée du Louvre, Paris; 4116; Descamps et al. 2002, 99; Pflug 1988, 58, fn. 97; Teleaga 2008, 233; Vasić 2010, 46; http://communaute.louvre.fr/louvre/casque-de-type-illyrien (12. 12. 2010).
46	Thessaloniki (Gr)	1/ III A2-a	?	Archaeological Museum Istanbul; Vasić 2010, 46.
47	Sindos (Gr)	4/ III A2-a	Graves 111, 65, 76, 87	<i>Sindos</i> 1997, cat. 100; 121; 337, 408; Teleaga 2008, 233.
48	Archontiko / Pella (Gr)	Several III A2-a	Necropolis	Whitley 2003: 59; 2004: 44; 2005: 70; Whitley et al. 2005: 88; 2006: 57; Evelyn et al. 2008: 67-68; Manti, Watkinson 2008; Χρυσοστόμου, Χρυσοστόμου 2007; 2009; Vasić 2010, 44–45; http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2008/09/080911-goldphoto.html (12. 12. 2010).
49	Pydna (Gr)	1/ III A2-a	Necropolis	Catling 1989, 69; Teleaga 2008, 233.
50	Tymphaia / Grevena (Gr)	1/ III A2-a	Tomb?	Ducrey 1985, fig. 57; Ellis 1992, fig. 24; Blečić 2007, fig. 7c; http://www.amth.gr/makedonia6.html (16.02.2011).
51	Dodona (Gr)	1/ III A2	Sanctuary	Carapanos 1878, Pl. LVI, 10.
52	Athens (Gr)	1/ III A2-a	Acropolis	Kunze 1958, cat. 35; Teržan 1995, 115; http://www.flickr.com/photos/dandiffendale/3466944336/ (15. 02. 2011).
53	Olympia (Gr)	Several III A2-a	Sanctuary	Kunze 1958, Pl. 53–54; Teržan 1995, 113, 115, 119, 121.
54	Rodokali / Pogradec (Al)	1/ III A2-b?	?	Stipčević 1981, 111, fn. 205.
55	Korešnica, Demir Kapija (Mk)	18/ III A?	Looted Tomb	Vasić 2010, 43, http://lootingmatters.blogspot.com/2008/03/koreschnica-krater-more-on-tomb.html ; http://lootingmatters.blogspot.com/2009/06/is-archaeology-of-balkans-under-threat.html (02. 02. 2011).
56	Agios Athanasios / Thessaloniki (Gr)	4/ III A	?	Blackman 1997, 67; Vasić 2010, 44. Some of these probably belong to variant III A2-a?
57	Agios Georgios / Grevena (Gr)	3/ III A	?	Vasić 2010, 44. Some of these probably belong to type III A2-a? See also: http://www.amth.gr/vr_museum_vr_makedonia2.html (16.02.2011).

58	Balkans?	1/ III A2-a	?	Antikenmuseum Berlin, Sammlung Lipperheide; Pflug 1988a, cat. 5.
59	Balkans?	1/ III A2-a	?	National Archaeological Museum, Athens; Whitley 2003, 5, fig. 2.
60	Malta?	1/ III A2-a	?	Antikenmuseum Berlin, Sammlung Lipperheide; Pflug 1988a, cat. 6.
61	Balkans?	1/ III A2-b	?	Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest; Moszolics 1955, fig. 13; http://www.flickr.com/photos/hansonsc/3214957263 (20. 06. 2011).
62	Balkans / Illyria?	1/ III A2-a	?	Brakat Gallery, Abu Dhabi http://www.brakatgalleryuae.com/classicalart.html (04. 12. 2010).

Katalog¹⁷⁹

T. I

1. Donja Dolina kod Bosanske Gradiške – Gradina, naselje

Brončana kaciga ilirskog tipa II A inačice relativno je dobro očuvana i restaurirana, s postojanim svim indikativnim dijelovima. Zaobljenog je oblika, blago izvučenog i širokog štitnika za vrat, koji se ravnomjerno produžava iz bočnih usjeka obrazina (paragnatida) i stražnjeg dijela kalote prema krajnjem rubu kacige. Paragnatide su blago zaobljenih vanjskih krajeva i zašiljenog završetka, na kojem se nalazi po jedna rupica za vezivanje kacige. Otvor za lice je nepravilnog četvrtastog oblika. Na čeonom dijelu očuvana je rupica koja je služila za pričvršćivanje zakovice/trna (nosača), kojom se na kacigu pričvršćivala perjanica. Duž najvišeg dijela kalote kacige protezala su se dva paralelna rebra koja su tako tvorila ležište za perjanicu. Ona su istaknuto trokutasto profilirana, prilično razmaknuta i s po dvije vanjske kanelure. Izrazito ukrasno rebro proteže se uz cijeli rub kacige, odvajajući tako široki rubnik na kome su smještene velike zakovice s glavicom u obliku kuglica, naknadno dodavane u izreze rubnika. Kuglice su, ili zakovice, sačuvane djelomično, a imale su pored dekorativne, i funkcionalnu namjenu za podržavanje podstave. Iznad otvora za frontalni nosač perjanice, paralelno s gornjim rubom četvrtastog otvora, nalazi se još jedno ukrasno, profilirano rebro.

Veličina: v. 24,7 cm; š. otvora 9,4 cm; d. paragnatide 13,4 cm; š. paragnatide 12,5 cm.

¹⁷⁹ Redni brojevi obrađenih kaciga u katalogu odgovaraju brojevima na tablama. Korištene kratice su sljedeće: v = visina, š = širina, d = dužina, pr = promjer.

Catalogue¹⁷⁹

Pl. I

1. Donja Dolina near Bosanska Gradiška – Gradina, settlement

Bronze helmet of Illyrian type II A, relatively well preserved and restored, with all indicative parts. Rounded in form, with slightly everted wide neck guard evenly extending from the side notches of the cheek guards and the back of the crown to the outer rim of the helmet. The cheek guards are slightly rounded on the outer rim and end in a point, where there is a hole on each side for tying the helmet. The face opening is an irregular square. The hole used to fix the rivet or spike (holder) by which the crest was attached to the helmet can still be seen on the front of the helmet. Two parallel ribs extend along the top of the helmet, creating the crest holder. The ribs are triangular in profile, quite far apart, and each has two outer canelures. A markedly decorative rib extends around the entire rim of the helmet, creating a wide border in which are large rivets with spherical heads, a later addition to the border. The globules or rivets have survived in part, and in addition to their decorative role, served to hold the helmet lining in place. Above the opening for the front crest holder, parallel with the top of the rectangular openings, is another decorative, moulded rib.

Size: h. 24.7 cm; w. of opening 9.4 cm; l. of cheek guard 13.4 cm; w. of cheek guard 12.5 cm.

¹⁷⁹ The serial numbers of the helmets described in the catalogue correspond to the numbers in the tables. The abbreviations are h = height, w = width, l = length, d = diameter.

Smještaj: Zemaljski muzej BiH, Sarajevo; inv. br. 14455.

Foto: Ivo Dragičević

2. Donja Dolina kod Bosanske Gradiške – grob XXVII, nekropola grede M. Petrovića ml.

Brončana kaciga ilirskog tipa II A inačice loše je očuvana, nedostaju desni čeon i stražnji dio, konzervirana je, ali nije rekonstruirana. Zaobljenog je oblika, blago izvučenog i širokog štitnika za vrat, koji se ravnomjerno produžava iz bočnih usjeka paragnatida i stražnjeg dijela kalote prema krajnjem rubu kacige. Paragnatide su blago zaobljenih vanjskih krajeva i zašiljenog završetka, na kojem se nalazi po jedna rupica za vezivanje kacige. Otvor za lice je nepravilnog četvrtastog oblika. Na čeonom dijelu očuvana je rupica koja je služila za pričvršćivanje nosača perjanice. Duž najvišeg dijela kalote kacige protezala su se dva paralelna rebra ležišta za perjanicu. Ona su istaknuto trokutasto profilirana, prilično razmaknuta i s po dvije vanjske kanelure. Izrazito ukrasno rebro proteže se uz cijeli rub kacige, odvajajući tako široki rubnik na kome su bile smještene velike zakovice s glavicom u obliku kuglica, naknadno dodavane u izreze rubnika. Kuglice su, ili zakovice, sačuvane djelomično, a imale su, pored dekorativne, i funkcionalnu namjenu za podržavanje podstave. Iznad otvora za frontalni nosač perjanice, paralelno s gornjim rubom četvrtastog otvora, nalazi se još jedno ukrasno, profilirano rebro.

Veličina: v. 23,8 cm; š. otvora 10, 7 cm; š. štitnika 2,8 cm; d. paragnatide 13,5 cm; š. paragnatide 12,4 cm.

Smještaj: Zemaljski muzej BiH, Sarajevo; inv. br. 22244.

Foto: Ivo Dragičević

T. II

3. Gorica kod Gruda – pojedinačni nalaz iz “svetišta”

Brončana kaciga ilirskog tipa III A1-a inačice izrazito je loše očuvana, sastavljena iz više polomljenih i nagorenih ulomaka, restaurirana te djelomično rekonstruirana. Zaobljenog je oblika, istaknutog, kratkog i izdignutog štitnika za vrat koji

Location: National Museum of BiH, Sarajevo; inv. no. 14455.

Photo: Ivo Dragičević

2. Donja Dolina near Bosanska Gradiška – grave XXVII, necropolis terrace of M. Petrović jr.

Bronze helmet of Illyrian type II A, poorly preserved, missing the right front and back, conserved but not restored. Rounded in form, with slightly everted wide neck guard evenly extending from the side notches of the cheek guards and the back of the crown to the outer rim of the helmet. The cheek guards are slightly rounded on the outer rim and end in a point, where there is a hole on each side for tying the helmet. The face opening is an irregular square. The hole used to fix the rivet or spike (holder) by which the crest was attached to the helmet can still be seen on the front of the helmet. Two parallel ribs extend along the top of the helmet, creating the crest holder. The ribs are triangular in profile, quite far apart, and each has two outer canelures. A markedly decorative rib extends around the entire rim of the helmet, creating a wide border in which are large rivets with spherical heads, a later addition to the border. The globules or rivets have survived in part, and in addition to their decorative role, served to hold the helmet lining in place. Above the opening for the front crest holder, parallel with the top of the rectangular openings, is another decorative, moulded rib.

Size: h. 23.8 cm; w. of opening 10, 7 cm; w. of neck guard 2.8 cm; l. of cheek guard 13.5 cm; w. of cheek guard 12.4 cm.

Location: National Museum of BiH, Sarajevo; inv. no. 22244.

Photo: Ivo Dragičević

Pl. II

3. Gorica near Grude – individual find from “sanctuary”

Bronze helmet of Illyrian type III A1-a, in a very poor state of preservation, composed of several broken and burned fragments, restored and partly reconstructed. Rounded in form, with a pronounced, short, everted neck guard, extending

ravnomjerno prelazi iz paragnatida prema krajnjem rubu kacige. Paragnatide su trokutasto rezane, kratke i izrazito zašiljene, oštećenih rubnih dijelova i s relativno plitkim usjekom s bočnih strana kacige. Zašiljeni završetak lijeve paragnatide je rekonstruiran, dok završetak desne paragnatide nedostaje i djelomično je rekonstruiran. Otvor za lice je četvrtast, niskog i zabačenog čeonog dijela. Od čeonog prema zatiljnom dijelu, po sredini kalote, smještena su dva plitko profilirana rebra trokutastog presjeka između kojih su urezane tri paralelne linije. Cijeli je rubni dio kacige plitkom kanelurom odvojen od uskog rubnika čiji je ukras izveden s umetnutim, gusto poredanim kuglicama u neprekinutom nizu.

Veličina: v. 20,2 cm; š. otvora 10 cm; š. štitnika 2,3 cm; d. paragnatide 13 cm; š. paragnatide 10,6 cm.

Smještaj: Zemaljski muzej BiH, Sarajevo; inv. br. 19815.

Foto: Ivo Dragičević

4. Putičevo kod Travnika – slučajni nalaz

Brončana kaciga ilirskog tipa III A1-a inačice očuvana je djelomično, nedostaje joj čitava lijeva polovica, fiksirana je, ali nije konzervirana niti restaurirana. Zaobljeni kalotni dio znatno je oštećen na čeonom i tjemenom dijelu. Štitnik za vrat, koji ravnomjerno prelazi iz paragnatida prema krajnjem rubu kacige je, u sačuvanom dijelu, znatno oštećen na rubnim krajevima. Desna paragnatida polukružno je zaobljenih vanjskih krajeva, uvučena prema otvoru, na rubovima oštećena i bez zašiljenog završetka. Otvor za lice je četvrtast. Na čeonom dijelu nalazi se nosač kojim se na kacigu pričvršćivala perjanica. Od čeonog prema zatiljnom dijelu, po sredini kalote, smještena su dva istaknuta rebra trokutastog presjeka, s vanjskim kanelurama, između kojih su urezane tri paralelne linije. Cijeli je rubni dio kacige ukrašen tankim rubnikom s ukrasom izvedenim od zasebno lijevanih i potom umetnutih malih kuglica. Poredane su pravilno i proporcionalno, u neprekinutom nizu, ali su također djelomično očuvane.

Veličina: v. 20,5 cm; š. otvora 8,7 cm; š. štitnika 2,5 cm; d. paragnatide 10,5 cm; š. paragnatide 9,3 cm.

Smještaj: Zavičajni muzej Travnik, Travnik; inv. br. 3976.

Foto: Ivo Dragičević

evenly from the cheek guards to the outer rim of the helmet. The triangular-cut cheek guards are short and sharp-pointed, with damaged edges and a relatively shallow notch to the sides. The pointed end of the left cheek guard has been reconstructed; the end of the right cheek guard is missing and has been partly reconstructed. The face opening is square, with a low, set-back forehead. Two shallow moulded ribs, triangular in profile, extend along the middle of the crown from front to back, with between them three incised parallel lines. The entire rim of the helmet is separated by a shallow cannellure from the narrow border, which is decorated with inset globules in close-packed, unbroken succession.

Size: h. 20.2 cm; w. of opening 10 cm; w. of neck guard 2.3 cm; l. of cheek guard 13 cm; w. of cheek guard 10.6 cm.

Location: National Museum of BiH, Sarajevo; inv. no. 19815.

Photo: Ivo Dragičević

4. Putičevo near Travnik – chance find

Bronze helmet of Illyrian type III A1-a, preserved in part, fixed but not conserved or restored. The front and top of the rounded crown are badly damaged. The surviving part of the neck guard, which extends evenly from the cheek guards to the outer rim of the helmet, is badly damaged at the edges. The right cheek guard is semicircular on the outer rim, curving towards the opening, damaged at the edges and lacking the pointed end. The face opening is square. The holder with which the crest was attached to the helmet can be seen on the forehead. Two prominent triangular-section ribs with cannellures on the outside extend along the middle of the crown from front to back; between them are three incised parallel lines. The entire rim of the helmet is decorated with a narrow border with a decoration of globules cast separately and then inset in even, regular, unbroken succession, but not all have survived.

Size: h. 20.5 cm; w. of opening 8.7 cm; w. of neck guard 2.5 cm; l. of cheek guard 10.5 cm; w. of cheek guard 9.3 cm.

Location: Local museum of Travnik, Travnik; inv. no. 3976.

Photo: Ivo Dragičević

T. III**5. Kačanj** kod Bileće – “zajednička grobnica”

Brončana kaciga ilirskog tipa III A1-a inačice relativno je dobro očuvana, s postojanim svim indikativnim dijelovima. Zaobljenog je oblika, a oštećena je na gornjem lijevom i zatiljnom dijelu kalote, te djelomično duž rubova. Štitnik za vrat očuvan je na dijelu prijelaza iz desne i iz lijeve paragnatide, a nedostaje na sredini zatiljnog dijela kacige. Paragnatide su trokutasto rezane, uvučene prema otvoru za lice te izrazitih bočnih usjeka. Vanjski su krajevi polukružno zaobljeni, zašiljenog završetka, ali su na rubnim dijelovima i prilično oštećeni. Otvor za lice je četvrtast. Nosač je očuvan donjim dijelom zakovice ispod ležišta za perjanicu. Od čeonog prema stražnjem dijelu, po sredini kalote, smještena su dva istaknuta rebra trokutastog presjeka, s vanjskim kanelurama, između kojih su urezane tri paralelne linije. Cijeli je rubni dio kacige ukrašen tankim rubnikom u kojem se nalazi ukras zasebno lijevanih i potom umetnutih malih kuglica. Poredane su pravilno i proporcionalno u neprekinutom nizu, djelomično očuvane.

Veličina: v. 23 cm; š. otvora 10 cm; d. paragnatide 14 cm; š. paragnatide 10 cm.

Smještaj: Muzej Hercegovine, Trebinje; inv. br. 27.

Foto: Ivo Dragičević

6. Kačanj kod Bileće – “zajednička grobnica”

Brončana kaciga ilirskog tipa III A1-a inačice loše je očuvana, iako s postojanim svim indikativnim dijelovima. Zaobljenog je oblika kalote te rekonstruirana na čeonom i desnom gornjem dijelu. Štitnik za vrat je postojan samo na dijelu gdje ravnomjerno prelazi iz paragnatida prema rubu kacige. Paragnatide su trokutasto rezane, uvučene prema otvoru za lice, polukružno zaobljenih vanjskih krajeva i zašiljenog završetka, te na rubnim dijelovima oštećene. Na svakoj se paragnatidi nalazi po jedna rupica za vezivanje kacige. Otvor za lice je četvrtast. Od čeonog prema zatiljnom dijelu, po sredini kalote, smještena su dva istaknuta rebra trokutastog presjeka, s vanjskim kanelurama, između kojih su urezane tri paralelne linije vidljive samo na zatiljnom dijelu kalote. Ondje je očuvana i alka za pričvršćivanje perjanice. Cijeli je rubni dio kacige ukrašen tankim rubnikom u kojem se

Pl. III**5. Kačanj** near Bileća – “communal grave”

Bronze helmet of Illyrian type III A1-a, relatively well preserved, with all indicative parts. Rounded in form, but damaged on the top left and back of the crown, and partly along the edges. The neck guard has survived where it extends into the right and left cheek guards, but the central part of the back is missing. The cheek guards are triangular-cut, curve towards the face opening, and have pronounced side notches. The outer edges are semicircular, ending in a point, but are quite badly damaged along the edges. The face opening is square. The lower part of the rivet for the crest attachment can be seen below the crest holder. Two prominent triangular-section ribs with canelures on the outside extend along the middle of the crown from front to back; between them are three incised parallel lines. The entire rim of the helmet is decorated with a narrow border with a decoration of globules cast separately and then inset in even, unbroken succession, but not all have survived.

Size: h. 23 cm; w. of opening 10 cm; l. of cheek guard 14 cm; w. of cheek guard 10 cm.

Location: Museum of Herzegovina, Trebinje; inv. no. 27.

Photo: Ivo Dragičević

6. Kačanj near Bileća – “communal grave”

Bronze helmet of Illyrian type III A1-a, poorly preserved, but with all indicative parts. The rounded crown has been reconstructed at the front and right top area. The neck guard has survived only where it extends evenly from the cheek guards to the rim of the helmet. The cheek guards are triangular-cut, curve inwards towards the face opening, and have rounded outer edges ending in a point; the edges are damaged. Each cheek guard has a hole for attaching the helmet in wear. The face opening is square. Two prominent triangular-section ribs with canelures on the outside extend along the middle of the crown from front to back; between them are three incised parallel lines, visible only on the back of the crown, where the ring used to attach the crest can also be seen. The entire rim of the helmet is decorated with

nalazi ukras zasebno lijevanih i potom umetnutih malih kuglica. Poredane su pravilno i proporcionalno u neprekinutom nizu. Kaciga je konzervirana te djelomično rekonstruirana.

Veličina: v. 23 cm; š. otvora 10,5 cm; d. paragnatide 13,5 cm, š. paragnatide 10 cm.

Smještaj: Muzej Hercegovine, Trebinje; inv. br. 28.

Foto: Ivo Dragičević

T. IV

7. Kačanj kod Bileće – “zajednička grobnica”

Četiri brončana ulomka kaciga ilirskog tipa III A1 inačice, od debljeg lima s ukrašenim profiliranim rubnikom od zasebno lijevanih i potom umetnutih malih kuglica. Poredane su vrlo gusto, pravilno i proporcionalno u neprekinutom nizu, djelomično očuvane. Najbolje je očuvan dio ruba desne paragnatide (4).

Veličina: **1:** d. 1,3 cm; š. 0,7 cm; **2:** d. 2,2 cm; š. 0,9 cm; **3:** d. 4,2 cm; š. 1,2 cm; **4:** d. 5,6 cm; š. 2,2 cm.

Smještaj: Muzej Hercegovine, Trebinje

Foto: prema Marić 1976a.

8. Zagrađe na Glasincu – tumul I, grob 3

Aplikacija vepra izrađena je od tankog srebrnog lima, izrezanog i otisnutog na matrici. Vepar je postavljen dijagonalno na ravno izrezanu, profiliranu traku koja izlazi iz okvira životinje. Položaj pognutoga vepra usmjeren je udesno, s ispruženim i spojenim prednjim nogama, s nesimetrično postavljenim stražnjim nogama u izražajnom raskoraku. Trokutasto sužena njuška prikazana je spušteno, s istaknutim velikim okom te s izrezanom i zašiljenom kljovom. Gornja linija hrpta životinje valovita je i dijagonalno postavljena, odnosno s izražajno nakostriješenim dlakama, a završava realistično prikazanim savijenim repom. Aplikacija je vjerojatno krasila čeonni dio kacige ilirskog tipa III A1-b inačice?

Veličina: d. 4,3 cm; š. 3 cm.

Smještaj: Zemaljski muzej BiH, Sarajevo; inv. br. 18186.

Foto: Ivo Dragičević

a narrow border with a decoration of globules cast separately and then inset in even, regular, unbroken succession. The helmet has been conserved and partly reconstructed.

Size: h. 23 cm; w. of opening 10.5 cm; l. of cheek guard 13.5 cm, w. of cheek guard 10 cm.

Location: Museum of Herzegovina, Trebinje; inv. no. 28.

Photo: Ivo Dragičević

Pl. IV

7. Kačanj near Bileća – “communal grave”

Four bronze fragments of helmets of Illyrian type III A1, of thick sheet metal with a decorative, moulded border of globules cast separately and then inset in very close-packed, even, regular succession, partly preserved. Part of the rim of the right cheek guard is in the best state of preservation (4).

Size: **1:** l. 1.3 cm; w. 0.7 cm; **2:** l. 2.2 cm; w. 0.9 cm; **3:** l. 4.2 cm; w. 1.2 cm; **4:** l. 5.6 cm; w. 2.2 cm.

Location: Museum of Herzegovina, Trebinje

Photo: after Marić 1976a.

8. Zagrađe in Glasinac – tumulus I, grave 3

Plaque of a wild boar made of thin sheet silver, chased and mould-impressed. The boar is set diagonally on a horizontally-cut, moulded band extending beyond the animal. The boar faces right, front legs together and forward, one hind leg forward and the other back. The triangular, tapering muzzle points downwards; the eye is exaggeratedly large, the tusk pointed. The undulating upper line of the animal's spine is set diagonally, with pronounced hackles, and ends in a realistic curly tail. The plaque probably adorned the forehead of a helmet of Illyrian type III A1-b.

Size: l. 4.3 cm; w. 3 cm.

Location: National Museum of BiH, Sarajevo; inv. no. 18186.

Photo: Ivo Dragičević

Pl. V

T. V

9. Čarakovo kod Prijedora-slučajni nalaz prilikom rada šljunčare 1956. godine, uništeni grobovi?

Brončana kaciga ilirskog tipa III A2-a inačice relativno je dobro očuvana s postojećim svim indikativnim dijelovima. Zaobljenog je oblika kalote koja je oštećena i zasječena na čeonnoj, lijevoj strani. Paragnatide su na rubnim dijelovima oštećene, nedostaju dijelovi polukružno zaobljenih vanjskih krajeva i zašiljenog završetka. Rupica za vezivanje kacige očuvana je samo na desnoj paragnatidi. Otvor za lice je četvrtast. Na čeonom dijelu nalazi se nosač kojim se na kacigu pričvršćivala perjanica. Od čeonog prema stražnjem dijelu, po sredini kalote, smještena su dva istaknuta rebra trokutastog presjeka, s vanjskim kanelurama, između kojih su urezane tri paralelne linije. Duž cijelog rubnog dijela teče ukras lijevanih i naknadno obrađivanih, proporcionalnih i pravilno zaobljenih imitacija kuglica unutar reljefno profiliranog rubnika. Štitnik za vrat je odlomljen, a očuvan je samo manji dio uz usjek desne paragnatide. Kaciga nije konzervirana, niti restaurirana.

Veličina: v. 28 cm; š. otvora 10 cm; d. paragnatide 13 cm; š. paragnatide 10 cm.

Smještaj: Muzej Kozare, Prijedor; inv. br. 426/1.

Foto: Milenko Radivojac

10. Čarakovo kod Prijedora – slučajni nalaz iz 1986. godine, uništeni grobovi?

Brončana kaciga ilirskog tipa III A2-a inačice očuvana je sa svim indikativnim dijelovima, ali znatno oštećena na kalotnom i zatiljnom dijelu. Zaobljenog je oblika s većim raspuknućem na gornjoj lijevoj strani kalote, koje se proteže duž cijele lijeve strane prema zatiljku. Ondje je kaciga također prilično oštećena, pa nedostaju dijelovi štitnika za vrat. Paragnatide su na rubnim dijelovima polukružno zaobljenih vanjskih krajeva i zašiljenog završetka s po jednom rupicom za vezivanje kacige. Otvor za lice je četvrtast. Na čeonom dijelu nalazi se nosač kojim se na kacigu pričvršćivala perjanica. Od čeonog prema stražnjem dijelu po sredini kalote smještena su dva istaknuta rebra trokutastog presjeka, s vanjskim kanelurama, između kojih su urezane tri paralelne linije. Duž cijelog rubnog dijela teče ukras imitacije lijevanih i naknadno obrađivanih,

9. Čarakovo near Prijedor – chance find during gravel workings in 1956 – destroyed graves?

Bronze helmet of Illyrian type III A2-a, relatively well preserved and with all indicative parts. Rounded crown, damaged and cut on the left front. The cheek guards are damaged along the edges, missing parts of the semicircular outer part and the pointed end. The hole for attaching the helmet in wear remains only on the right cheek guard. The face opening is square. The fitting with which the crest was attached to the helmet can be seen on the forehead. Two prominent triangular-section ribs with cannelures on the outside extend along the middle of the crown from front to back; between them are three incised parallel lines. The entire rim is decorated with cast and finished imitation globules set evenly within a relief moulded border. The neck guard has been broken off, with only a small part by the notch of the right cheek guard remaining. The helmet has been neither conserved nor restored.

Size: h. 28 cm; w. of opening 10 cm; l. of cheek guard 13 cm; w. of cheek guard 10 cm.

Location: Kozara Museum, Prijedor; inv. no. 426/1.

Photo: Milenko Radivojac

10. Čarakovo near Prijedor – chance find in 1986 – destroyed graves?

Bronze helmet of Illyrian type III A2-a, with all indicative parts present, but badly damaged on the crown and back. Rounded in form, with a large crack on the top left side of the crown, extending along the entire left side towards the back, where the helmet is also quite badly damaged, missing parts of the neck guard. The cheek guards are semicircular on the outside, with pointed ends each with a hole for attaching the helmet in wear. The face opening is square. The fitting used to attach the crest to the helmet can be seen on the front of the helmet. Two prominent triangular-section ribs with cannelures on the outside extend along the middle of the crown from front to back; between them are three incised parallel lines. The entire rim of the helmet is decorated with a narrow border with a decoration of imitation globules cast separately and then inset in even, regular, unbroken

proporcionalnih i pravilno zaobljenih imitacija kuglica unutar reljefno profiliranog rubnika. Kaciga nije konzervirana, niti restaurirana.

Veličina: v. 28 cm; š. otvora 10 cm; d. paragnatide 13 cm; š. paragnatide 9,8 cm.

Smještaj: Muzej Kozare, Prijedor; inv. br. 67/26.

Foto: Milenko Radivojac

T. VI

11. Rijeka Sava, na potezu između Županje i Orašja, slučajni nalaz¹⁸⁰

Brončana kaciga ilirskog tipa III A2-a inačice izvanredno je dobro očuvana s postojanim svim indikativnim dijelovima. Zaobljenog je oblika kalote, istaknutog štitnika za vrat koji ravnomjerno prelazi iz paragnatida prema krajnjem rubu kacige. Paragnatide su uvučene prema otvoru za lice, polukružno zaobljenih vanjskih rubova i zašiljenog završetka, s po jednom rupicom za vezivanje kacige. Otvor za lice je četvrtast. Na čeonom dijelu nalazi se nosač, a na stražnjem dijelu alka kojima se na kacigu pričvršćivala perjanica. Od čeonog prema stražnjem dijelu, po sredini kalote, smještena su dva istaknuta rebra trokutastog presjeka s vanjskim kanelurama, između kojih su urezane tri paralelne linije. Duž cijelog rubnog dijela, unutar rubnika koji je odvojen urezanim linijom, teče ukras izveden žigosanjem kvadratića s izdignutim unutrašnjim kugličastim ispupčenjem. Kaciga nije konzervirana, niti restaurirana.

Veličina: v. 28 cm; š. otvora 11 cm.

Smještaj: Istarski muzej Srbije, Beograd; inv. br. A 405.

Foto: Rastko Šurdić

12. Ritešić kod Doboja – grob

Brončana kaciga ilirskog tipa III A2-a inačice relativno je dobro očuvana s postojanim svim indikativnim dijelovima. Zaobljenog je oblika kalote. Istaknuti štitnik za vrat ravnomjerno prelazi iz paragnatida prema krajnjem rubu kacige, a znatnija su oštećenja vidljiva uz rubove s lijeve i desne zatiljne

¹⁸⁰ Nažalost, kontekst nalaženja kacige potpuno je nepoznat. Naime, smatra se da je nađena kao pojedinačni, slučajni nalaz 1979. godine, vjerojatno u rijeci Savi između Županje i Orašja. Glede na drugo mišljenje, ilirska kaciga, smještena u Istarskom muzeju Srbije u Beogradu, bila je nađena u Dunavu, na potezu između Smedereva i Golupca (Pop-Lazić 1984, 209)?!

succession in a relief border. The helmet has been neither conserved nor restored.

Size: h. 28 cm; w. of opening 10 cm; l. of cheek guard 13 cm; w. of cheek guard 9.8 cm.

Location: Kozara Museum, Prijedor; inv. no. 67/26.

Photo: Milenko Radivojac

Pl. VI

11. River Sava, between Županja and Orašje – chance find¹⁸⁰

Bronze helmet of Illyrian type III A2-a, extremely well preserved with all indicative parts. Rounded crown, prominent neck guard extending evenly from the cheek guards to the outer rim of the helmet. The cheek guards, which curve inwards towards the face opening, are semicircular on the outer rim and have pointed ends, each with a hole for attaching the helmet in wear. The face opening is square. The holder on the front and the ring at the back used to attach the crest have both survived. Two prominent triangular-section ribs with canelures on the outside extend along the middle of the crown from front to back; between them are three incised parallel lines. The entire rim of the helmet is decorated with stamped squares with a spherical central boss within a narrow border indicated by an incised line. The helmet has been neither conserved nor restored.

Size: h. 28 cm; w. of opening 11 cm.

Location: Historical Museum of Serbia, Beograd; inv. no. A 405

Photo: Rastko Šurdić

12. Ritešić near Doboja – grave

Bronze helmet of Illyrian type III A2-a, relatively well preserved with all indicative parts. Rounded crown. Prominent neck guard extending evenly from the cheek guards to the outer rim of the helmet, badly damaged along the edges to left and right of the back section. The cheek guards are semicircular on the outside, with pointed ends,

¹⁸⁰ Unfortunately the context of its discovery is not known at all. Well it is believed that the helmet was discovered as an isolated find in 1979, most probably in the Sava River between Županja and Orašje. Taking into consideration a *second opinion* the Illyrian helmet, housed in the Historical Museum of Serbia in Beograd, was discovered in the Dunav River between Smederevo and Golubac (Pop-Lazić 1984, 209)?!

strane. Paragnatide su polukružno zaobljenih vanjskih krajeva i zašiljenog završetka, na rubnim dijelovima oštećene i s po jednom rupicom za vezivanje kacige. Otvor za lice je četvrtast. Na čeonom dijelu se nalazi nosač kojim se na kacigu pričvršćivala perjanica. Od čeonog prema zatiljnom dijelu, po sredini kalote, smještene su dva istaknuta rebra trokutastog presjeka. Duž cijelog rubnog dijela, unutar rubnika koji je odvojen samo urezanim linijom, teče ukras izveden žigosanjem kvadratića s izdignutim unutrašnjim kugličastim ispupčenjem. Kaciga nije konzervirana, niti restaurirana.

Veličina: v. 26 cm; š. otvora 10,2 cm; d. paragnatide 12 cm; š. paragnatide 9 cm.

Smještaj: Muzej u Doboju, Doboju; inv.br. 4790.

Foto: Andrijana Pravidur

T. VII

13. Taline na Glasincu – tumul I, grob 1-2

Ulomak brončane kacige ilirskog tipa III A2 varijante, s očuvanim rubnim dijelom na kojem, unutar rubnika koji je odvojen samo urezanim linijom, teče ukras izveden žigosanjem kvadratića s izdignutim unutrašnjim kugličastim ispupčenjem.

Veličina: d. 3,5 cm; š. 1,9 cm.

Smještaj: Zemaljski muzej BiH, Sarajevo

Foto: prema Vasić 2010.

14. Rusanovići na Glasincu – tumul VIII, grob 3

Ulomak brončane kacige ilirskog tipa III A2 varijante, s očuvanim rubnim dijelom profiliranog rubnika.

Veličina: d. 5,5 cm; š. 3 cm.

Smještaj: Zemaljski muzej BiH, Sarajevo

Foto: prema Vasić 2010.

15. Kamenjača kod Breze – nekropola, “skupni nalaz / odar”

Veći ulomak brončane kacige ilirskog tipa III A2 varijante, dijela desne paragnatide s prijelazom na frontalni, čeonni dio. Očuvan je ukras s lijevanim i naknadno obrađivanim, proporcionalnim i pravilno zaobljenim imitacijama kuglica, u neprekinutom nizu, unutar reljefno profiliranog rubnika.

Veličina: d. 7,1 cm; š. 7,3 cm.

Smještaj: Zemaljski muzej BiH, Sarajevo

Foto: Andrijana Pravidur

damaged along the edges, and each with a hole for attaching the helmet in wear. The face opening is square. The fitting to which the crest was attached can be seen on the front of the helmet. Two prominent triangular-section ribs extend along the middle of the crown from front to back. The entire rim of the helmet is decorated with stamped squares with a spherical central boss within a narrow border indicated by an incised line. The helmet has been neither conserved nor restored.

Size: h. 26 cm; w. of opening 10.2 cm; l. of cheek guard 12 cm; w. of cheek guard 9 cm.

Location: Doboju Museum, Doboju; inv. no. 4790.

Photo: Andrijana Pravidur

Pl. VII

13. Taline in Glasinac – tumulus I, grave 1-2

Fragment of a bronze helmet of Illyrian type III A2, with extant rim decorated with stamped squares with a spherical central boss within a narrow border indicated by an incised line.

Size: l. 3.5 cm; w. 1.9 cm.

Location: National Museum of BiH, Sarajevo

Photo: after Vasić 2010.

14. Rusanovići in Glasinac – tumulus VIII, grave 3

Fragment of a bronze helmet of Illyrian type III A2, with extant rim on which is a moulded border.

Size: l. 5.5 cm; w. 3 cm.

Location: National Museum of BiH, Sarajevo

Photo: after Vasić 2010.

15. Kamenjača near Breza – necropolis, “collective find / catafalque”

Large fragment of a bronze helmet of Illyrian type III A2, part of right cheek guard with transition to frontal section. Decoration of cast and finished, evenly and regularly rounded imitation globules in unbroken succession within a relief moulded border.

Size: l. 7.1 cm; w. 7.3 cm.

Location: National Museum of BiH, Sarajevo

Photo: Andrijana Pravidur

16. Kamenjača kod Breze – nekropola, “skupni nalaz / odar”

Ulomak paragnatide bronzane kacige ilirskog tipa III A2 varijante. Očuvan je krajnji zašiljeni kraj lijeve paragnatide s ukrasom od lijevanih i naknadno obrađivanih, proporcionalnih i pravilno zaobljenih imitacija kuglica u neprekinutom nizu, unutar reljefno profiliranog rubnika.

Veličina: d. 5 cm; š. 4,6 cm.

Smještaj: Zemaljski muzej BiH, Sarajevo

Foto: Andrijana Pravidur

17. Kamenjača kod Breze – nekropola, “skupni nalaz / odar”

Ulomak bronzane kacige ilirskog tipa III A2 varijante s djelomično očuvanim ukrasom izvedenim lijevanjem i naknadnim obrađivanjem, proporcionalnih i pravilno zaobljenih imitacija kuglica, u neprekinutom nizu.

Veličina: d. 2,3 cm; š. 2,5 cm.

Smještaj: Zemaljski muzej BiH, Sarajevo

Foto: Andrijana Pravidur

18. Kamenjača kod Breze – nekropola, “skupni nalaz / odar”

Dva ulomka bronzane kacige ilirskog tipa III A2 varijante, pripadaju zatiljnoj strani kacige široko izvučenog štitnika za vrat. Duž cijelog rubnog dijela, unutar rubnika koji je odvojen samo urezanom linijom, teče ukras izveden žigosanjem kvadratića s izdignutim unutrašnjim kugličastim ispupčenjem.

Veličina: d. 5,7 cm; š. 2 cm.

Smještaj: Zemaljski muzej BiH, Sarajevo

Foto: Andrijana Pravidur

19. Kamenjača kod Breze – nekropola, “skupni nalaz / odar”

Dva ulomka bronzane kacige ilirskog tipa III A2 varijante, najvjerojatnije od ruba paragnatide sa strane otvora za lice. Duž cijelog rubnog dijela, unutar rubnika koji je odvojen samo urezanom linijom, teče ukras izveden žigosanjem kvadratića s izdignutim unutrašnjim kugličastim ispupčenjem.

Veličina: d. 3,8 cm; š. 3,4 cm.

Smještaj: Zemaljski muzej BiH, Sarajevo

Foto: Andrijana Pravidur

16. Kamenjača near Breza – necropolis, “collective find / catafalque”

Fragment of the cheek guard of a bronze helmet of Illyrian type III A2 – pointed end of the left cheek guard with a decoration of cast and finished, evenly and regularly rounded imitation globules in unbroken succession within a relief moulded border.

Size: l. 5 cm; w. 4.6 cm.

Location: National Museum of BiH, Sarajevo

Photo: Andrijana Pravidur

17. Kamenjača near Breza – necropolis, “collective find / catafalque”

Fragment of a bronze helmet of Illyrian type III A2, partly preserved decoration of cast and finished, evenly and regularly rounded imitation globules in unbroken succession within a relief moulded border.

Size: l. 2.3 cm; w. 2.5 cm.

Location: National Museum of BiH, Sarajevo

Photo: Andrijana Pravidur

18. Kamenjača near Breza – necropolis, “collective find / catafalque”

Two fragments of bronze helmet of Illyrian type III A2, from the back of a helmet with a wide, everted neck guard. The entire rim bears a decoration of cast and finished, evenly and regularly rounded imitation globules in unbroken succession within a relief moulded border.

Size: l. 5.7 cm; w. 2 cm.

Location: National Museum of BiH, Sarajevo

Photo: Andrijana Pravidur

19. Kamenjača near Breza – necropolis, “collective find / catafalque”

Two fragments of bronze helmet of Illyrian type III A2, probably from the rim of the cheek guard by the face opening. The entire rim bears a decoration of cast and finished, evenly and regularly rounded imitation globules in unbroken succession within a relief moulded border.

Size: l. 3.8 cm; w. 3.4 cm.

Location: National Museum of BiH, Sarajevo

Photo: Andrijana Pravidur

T. VIII**20. Podstinje** kod Kiseljaka – slučajni nalaz

Brončana kaciga ilirskog tipa III A2-b inačice vrlo je dobro očuvana s postojanim svim indikativnim dijelovima. Zaobljenog je oblika, zabačenog i suženog gornjeg dijela kalote, te istaknutog štitnika za vrat, koji ravnomjerno prelazi iz paragnatida prema krajnjem rubu kacige. Na središnjem dijelu površine štitnika iskucana je zaobljena linija u obliku polovičnog slova "U". Paragnatide su trokutasto rezane, polukružno zaobljenih vanjskih krajeva i zašiljenog završetka, izrazito uvučene prema otvoru za lice. S bočnih strana kacige, iznad usjeka paragnatida, nalazi se jednostavni ukras urezane strelice. Izveden je kao neprekinuta urezana linija koja služi odvajanju ukrasnog rubnika od ostatka kacige. Na svakoj se paragnatidi nalazi po jedna rupica za vezivanje kacige. Otvor za lice je četvrtast. Od čeonog prema stražnjem dijelu, po sredini kalote, smještena su dva istaknuta rebra trokutastog presjeka s vanjskim kanelurama, između kojih su urezane tri paralelne linije. Duž cijelog rubnog dijela, unutar samo urezanom linijom odvojenog rubnika, teče ukras izveden žigosanjem kvadratića s izdignutim unutrašnjim kugličastim ispupčenjem. Kaciga je restaurirana.

Veličina: v. 23,6 cm; pr. 19,2 cm; š. otvora 10,8 cm; d. paragnatide 13,5 cm; š. paragnatide 9,8 cm.

Smještaj: Zemaljski muzej BiH, Sarajevo; inv. br. 30520.

Foto: Ivo Dragičević

21. Ritke Liske – Crvenice kod Duvna – uništeni grobovi

Brončana kaciga ilirskog tipa III A2-a inačice relativno dobro je očuvana te rekonstruirana na gornjem, tjemenom i lijevom dijelu kalote. Zaobljenog je oblika i istaknutog štitnika za vrat, koji ravnomjerno prelazi iz paragnatida prema krajnjem rubu kacige. Paragnatide su trokutasto rezane, izrazitijih bočnih usjeka, polukružno zaobljenih vanjskih krajeva, te oštećenih rubnih dijelova. Završetak desne paragnatide nedostaje. Otvor za lice je četvrtast. Na čeonom dijelu je nosač, a na stražnjem dijelu alka kojima se na kacigu pričvršćivala perjanica. Od čeonog prema stražnjem dijelu, po sredini kalote, smještena su dva istaknuta rebra trokutastog presjeka s vanjskim kanelurama, između kojih su urezane

Pl. VIII**20. Podstinje** near Kiseljak – chance find

Bronze helmet of Illyrian type III A2-b, very well preserved with all indicative parts. Rounded, with the top of the crown set back and narrowed, and with a pronounced neck guard extending evenly from the cheek guards to the outer rim of the helmet. A rounded line resembling a half letter U stamped on the middle of the neck guard. The cheek guards are triangular-cut, semicircular on the outside and with pointed end, markedly curving in towards the face opening. Above the cheek guard notch to the sides of the helmet is a simple decoration of an incised arrow in the form of a single incised line separating the decorative border from the rest of the helmet. Each cheek guard has a hole for attaching the helmet in wear. The face opening is square. Two prominent triangular-section ribs, with cannelures on the outside and three incised lines between, extend along the middle of the crown from front to back. The entire rim of the helmet is decorated with stamped squares with a spherical central boss within a narrow border indicated by an incised line. The helmet has been restored.

Size: h. 23.6 cm; pr. 19.2 cm; w. of opening 10.8 cm; l. of cheek guard 13.5 cm; w. of cheek guard 9.8 cm.

Location: National Museum of BiH, Sarajevo; inv. no. 30520.

Photo: Ivo Dragičević

21. Ritke Liske – Crvenice near Duvno – destroyed graves

Bronze helmet of Illyrian type III A2-a, relatively well preserved, with the top and left side of the crown reconstructed. Rounded in shape with a prominent neck guard extending evenly from the cheek guards to the outer rim of the helmet. The cheek guards are triangular-cut, with pronounced side notches, semicircular outer sides, and damaged edges. The end of the right cheek guard is damaged. The face opening is square. The holder on the front and the ring at the back used to attach the crest to the helmet remain. Two prominent triangular-section ribs, with cannelures on the outside and three incised lines between, extend along the middle of the crown from front to back. The

tri paralelne linije. Cijeli je rubni dio kacige ukrašen lijevanim i naknadno obrađivanim, proporcionalnim i pravilno zaobljenim imitacijama kuglica unutar reljefno profiliranog rubnika. Kaciga je restaurirana i djelomično rekonstruirana.

Veličina: v. 22,5 cm; š. otvora 10,2 cm; š. štitnika 1,7 cm; d. paragnatide 13 cm; š. paragnatide 9,6 cm.

Smještaj: Muzej Hercegovine, Mostar

Foto: Ivo Dragičević

T. IX

22. Grude – uništeni grobovi

Brončana kaciga ilirskog tipa III A2-a inačice vrlo je dobro očuvana s postojanim svim indikativnim dijelovima. Zaobljenog je oblika, istaknutog štitnika za vrat, koji ravnomjerno prelazi iz paragnatida prema krajnjem rubu kacige. Paragnatide su trokutasto rezane, polukružno zaobljenih vanjskih krajeva i zašiljenog završetka. Na svakoj se paragnatidi nalazi po jedna rupica za vezivanje kacige. Otvor za lice je četvrtast. Na čeonom dijelu nalazi se nosač, a na zatiljnom dijelu alka kojima se na kacigu pričvršćivala perjanica. Od čeonog prema zatiljnom dijelu, po sredini kalote, smještena su dva istaknuta rebra trokutastog presjeka, između kojih su urezane tri paralelne linije. Cijeli je rubni dio kacige ukrašen lijevanim i naknadno obrađivanim, proporcionalnim i pravilno zaobljenim imitacijama kuglica unutar reljefno profiliranog rubnika.

Foto: prema Фиала 1897.

23. Radišići kod Ljubuškog – grob nađen 1900. godine

Brončana kaciga ilirskog tipa III A2-a inačice vrlo je dobro očuvana s postojanim svim indikativnim dijelovima. Zaobljenog je oblika, istaknutog štitnika za vrat koji ravnomjerno prelazi iz paragnatida prema krajnjem rubu kacige. Paragnatide su trokutasto rezane, polukružno zaobljenih vanjskih krajeva i zašiljenog završetka. Lijeva paragnatida je na rubnim dijelovima oštećena i višestruko zasječena, a nedostaje joj i zašiljeni završetak. Na desnoj paragnatidi očuvana je rupica za vezivanje kacige. Otvor za lice je četvrtast. Na čeonom dijelu nalazi se nosač, a na stražnjem dijelu alka kojima se na kacigu pričvršćivala perjanica. Od čeonog prema stražnjem dijelu,

entire rim of the helmet is decorated with cast and finished, evenly and regularly rounded imitation globules in unbroken succession within a relief moulded border. The helmet has been restored and partly reconstructed.

Size: h. 22.5 cm; w. of opening 10.2 cm; w. of neck guard 1.7 cm; l. of cheek guard 13 cm; w. of cheek guard 9.6 cm.

Location: Museum of Herzegovina, Mostar

Photo: Ivo Dragičević

Pl. IX

22. Grude near Ljubuški – destroyed graves

Bronze helmet of Illyrian type III A2-a, very well preserved with all indicative parts. Rounded in shape with a prominent neck guard extending evenly from the cheek guards to the outer rim of the helmet. The cheek guards are triangular-cut, with semicircular outer sides and pointed ends. Each cheek guard has a hole for attaching the helmet in wear. The face opening is square. The holder on the front and the ring at the back used to attach the crest to the helmet remain. Two prominent triangular-section ribs, with three incised lines between, extend along the middle of the crown from front to back. The entire rim of the helmet is decorated with cast and finished, evenly and regularly rounded imitation globules in unbroken succession within a relief moulded border.

Photo: after Фиала 1897.

23. Radišić near Ljubuški – grave found in 1900

Bronze helmet of Illyrian type III A2-a, very well preserved with all indicative parts. Rounded in shape with a prominent neck guard extending evenly from the cheek guards to the outer rim of the helmet. The cheek guards are triangular-cut, with semicircular outer sides and pointed ends. The left cheek guard is damaged along the edge and has multiple cuts, and is missing its pointed end. The right cheek guard retains the hole for attaching the helmet in wear. The face opening is square. The holder on the front and the ring at the back used to attach the crest to the helmet remain. Two prominent triangular-section ribs, with outer

po sredini kalote, smještena su dva istaknuta rebra trokutastog presjeka s vanjskim kanelurama, između kojih su urezane tri paralelne linije. Cijeli je rubni dio kacige, unutar reljefno profiliranog rubnika, ukrašen lijevanim i naknadno obrađivanim, proporcionalnim i pravilno zaobljenim imitacijama kuglica. Kaciga je restaurirana i djelomično rekonstruirana.

Veličina: v. 23 cm; pr. 21 cm; š. otvora 10 cm; d. paragnatide 13,5 cm; š. paragnatide 9,8 cm.

Smještaj: Franjevački samostan Humac, Ljubuški; inv. br. 121.

Foto: Radoslav Dodig

T. X

24. Prisojska gradina u Drinovcima – pojedinačni nalaz iz naselja

Brončana kaciga ilirskog tipa III A2-a inačice, djelomično je i izrazito loše očuvana, s postojanom lijevom paragnatidom i zatiljnim dijelom kacige. Paragnatida je trokutasto rezana s polukružno zaobljenim vanjskim rubom. Rubni su dijelovi također oštećeni, a nedostaje i zašiljeni završetak. Otvor za lice je četvrtast. Na zatiljnom dijelu kacige djelomično je očuvano ležište za perjanicu, s po dva istaknuta rebra trokutastog presjeka, s vanjskim kanelurama, između kojih su urezane tri paralelne linije. Vidljive su i dvije rupice od alke za pričvršćivanje iste. Duž cijelog rubnog dijela, unutar samo urezane linije odvojenog rubnika, teče ukras izveden žigosanjem kvadratića s izdignutim unutrašnjim kugličastim ispupčenjem. Kaciga je fiksirana, restaurirana, ali nije rekonstruirana.

Veličina: v. 16,4 cm; d. paragnatide 12,6 cm; š. paragnatide 9,8 cm.

Smještaj: Zemaljski muzej BiH, Sarajevo; inv. br. 19475.

Foto: Andrijana Pravidur

25. Stolac-okolica? – slučajni nalaz

Brončana kaciga ilirskog tipa III A2-a inačice vrlo je dobro očuvana s postojanim svim indikativnim dijelovima. Zaobljenog je oblika, istaknutog štitnika za vrat, koji ravnomjerno prelazi iz paragnatida prema krajnjem rubu kacige. Paragnatide su trokutasto rezane, polukružno zaobljenih vanjskih krajeva i zašiljenog završetka. Na svakoj se paragnatidi nalazi po jedna rupica za vezivanje

cannelures and three incised lines between, extend along the middle of the crown from front to back. The entire rim of the helmet is decorated with cast and finished, evenly and regularly rounded imitation globules in unbroken succession within a relief moulded border. The helmet has been restored and partly reconstructed.

Size: h. 23 cm; d. 21 cm; w. of opening 10 cm; l. of cheek guard 13.5 cm; w. of cheek guard 9.8 cm.

Location: Franciscan monastery, Humac, Ljubuški; inv. no. 121.

Photo: Radoslav Dodig

Pl. X

24. Prisojska gradina (hill fort) in Drinovci – individual find from settlement

Bronze helmet of Illyrian type III A2-a, partly and very poorly preserved, consisting of the left cheek guard and back of the helmet. The cheek guard is triangular-cut, with semi-circular outer side; the edges are damaged, and the pointed end is missing. The face opening is square. Part of the crest holder remains on the back of the helmet, together with two prominent triangular-section ribs, with three incised lines between. The two holes of the ring used to attach the crest can still be seen. The entire rim of the helmet is decorated with stamped squares with a spherical central boss within a narrow border indicated by an incised line. The helmet has been fixed and restored, but not reconstructed.

Size: h. 16.4 cm; l. of cheek guard 12.6 cm; w. of cheek guard 9.8 cm.

Location: National Museum of BiH, Sarajevo; inv. no. 19475.

Photo: Andrijana Pravidur

25. Stolac – surroundings? – chance find

Bronze helmet of Illyrian type III A2-a, very well preserved with all indicative parts. Rounded in shape with a prominent neck guard extending evenly from the cheek guards to the outer rim of the helmet. The cheek guards are triangular-cut, with semicircular outer sides and pointed ends. Each cheek guard has a hole for attaching the helmet in wear. The face opening

kacige. Otvor za lice je četvrtast. Na čeonom dijelu nalazi se nosač, a na stražnjem dijelu alka kojima se na kacigu pričvršćivala perjanica. Od čeonog prema stražnjem dijelu, po sredini kalote, smještena su dva istaknuta rebra trokutastog presjeka s vanjskim kanelurama, između kojih su urezane tri paralelne linije. Duž cijelog rubnog dijela, unutar samo urezanom linijom odvojenog rubnika, teče ukras izveden žigosanjem kvadratića s izdignutim unutrašnjim kugličastim ispupčenjem. Kaciga je konzervirana i restaurirana.

Veličina: v. 25,2 cm; š. otvora 10 cm; š. štitnika 2,2 cm; d. paragnatide 12,5 cm; š. paragnatide 10,5 cm.

Smještaj: Arheološki muzej u Splitu, Split; inv. br. N 1755.

Foto: Damir Kliškić

T. XI

26. Ošanići kod Stoca – uz ulazna vrata akropole

Brončana kaciga ilirskog tipa III A2-a inačice djelomično je očuvana i znatno deformirana. Zaobljenog je oblika, istaknutog štitnika za vrat, koji ravnomjerno prelazi iz paragnatida prema krajnjem rubu kacige. Na središnjem zatiljnom dijelu kacige iskucana su slova "IIII". Paragnatide su polukružno zaobljenih vanjskih krajeva i zašiljenog završetka, deformirane i uvučene prema otvoru za lice. Desna paragnatida je rekonstruirana od više izvornih ulomaka. Na svakoj se paragnatidi nalazi po jedna rupica za vezivanje kacige. Otvor za lice je četvrtast. Od čeonog prema stražnjem dijelu, po sredini kalote, smještena su dva istaknuta rebra trokutastog presjeka s vanjskim kanelurama, između kojih su urezane tri paralelne linije. Nedostaju ulomci čeonog i prednjeg kalotnog dijela. Cijeli je rubni dio kacige ukrašen s pravilno žigosanim/utisnutim jednostavnim kružnicama duž urezanom linijom izdvojenog rubnika. Kaciga je konzervirana i djelomično rekonstruirana.

Veličina: v. 22,6 cm; š. otvora 10,2 cm; š. štitnika 1,6 cm; d. paragnatide 13,8 cm; š. paragnatide 9,4 cm.

Smještaj: Zemaljski muzej BiH, Sarajevo

Foto: Andrijana Pravidur

is square. The holder on the front and the ring at the back used to attach the crest to the helmet remain. Two prominent triangular-section ribs, with outer cannelures and three incised lines between, extend along the middle of the crown from front to back. The entire rim of the helmet is decorated with stamped squares with a spherical central boss within a narrow border indicated by an incised line. The helmet has been conserved and restored.

Size: h. 25.2 cm; w. of opening 10 cm; w. of neck guard 2.2 cm; l. of cheek guard 12.5 cm; w. of cheek guard 10.5 cm.

Location: Archaeological Museum in Split; inv. no. N 1755.

Photo: Damir Kliškić

Pl. XI

26. Ošanići near Stolac – by entrance gateway to acropolis

Bronze helmet of Illyrian type III A2-a, partly preserved and badly misshapen. Rounded in form, with a pronounced neck guard extending evenly from the cheek guards to the outer rim of the helmet. The letters "IIII" are impressed on the middle of the back of the helmet. The cheek guards semicircular on the outside, with pointed ends, and are misshapen and curved in towards the face opening. The right cheek guard has been reconstructed from several original fragments. Each cheek guard has a hole for attaching the helmet in wear. The face opening is square. The holder on the front and the ring at the back used to attach the crest to the helmet remain. Two prominent triangular-section ribs, with outer cannelures and three incised lines between, extend along the middle of the crown from front to back. The entire rim of the helmet is decorated with stamped squares with a spherical central boss within a narrow incised border. The helmet has been conserved and partly reconstructed.

Size: h. 22.6 cm; w. of opening 10.2 cm; w. of neck guard 1.6 cm; l. of cheek guard 13.8 cm; w. of cheek guard 9.4 cm.

Location: National Museum of BiH, Sarajevo

Photo: Andrijana Pravidur

27. Ošanići kod Stoca – akropola, podij uz hram

Četiri ulomka brončane kacige ilirskog tipa III A2 varijante. Ulomci su namjerno fragmentirani, deformirani i paljeni. Na očuvanim rubnim dijelovima ulomaka, unutar reljefno profiliranog rubnika, nalazi se ukras lijevanih i naknadno obrađivanih, proporcionalnih i pravilno zaobljenih imitacija kuglica u neprekinutom nizu.

Veličina: **1:** d. 3,3 cm; š. 4 cm; **2:** d. 2,4 cm; š. 3,4 cm; **3:** d. 3,4 cm; š. 2,3 cm; **4:** d. 2,5 cm; š. 2 cm.

Smještaj: Zemaljski muzej BiH, Sarajevo

Foto: Andrijana Pravidur

28. Ošanići kod Stoca – akropola

Tri ulomka različitih brončanih kaciga ilirskog tipa III A2 varijante. Prvi i treći ulomak na očuvanim su rubnim dijelovima, unutar reljefno profiliranog rubnika, ukrašeni proporcionalnim i pravilno zaobljenim imitacijama kuglica u neprekinutom nizu. Drugi ulomak ima također reljefno profilirani rubnik, ali je u njemu izveden ukras žigosanjem kvadratića s izdignutim unutrašnjim kugličastim ispupčenjem.

Veličina: **1:** d. 2,3 cm; š. 3,2 cm; **2:** d. 2,8 cm; š. 3 cm; **3:** d. 1 cm; š. 1,3 cm.

Smještaj: Zemaljski muzej BiH, Sarajevo

Foto: Andrijana Pravidur

29. Ošanići-podnožje akropole, padina prema Radimlji

Ulomak ruba brončane kacige ilirskog tipa III A2 varijante, ukrašenog reljefno profiliranim rubnikom s pravilno žigosanim/utisnutim jednostavnim kružnicama.

Veličina: d. 1,9 cm; š. 1,6 cm.

Smještaj: Zemaljski muzej BiH, Sarajevo; inv. br. 54292.

Foto: Andrijana Pravidur

T. XII

30. Vranjevo Selo kod Neuma – grob u tumulu

Brončana kaciga ilirskog tipa III A2–a varijante djelomično je očuvana. Kaciga je zaobljenog oblika. Štitnik za vrat je istaknut i ravnomjerno prelazi

27. Ošanići near Stolac – acropolis, podium beside temple

Four fragments of bronze helmet of Illyrian type III A2. The fragments had been deliberately smashed, misshapen and burned. The surviving edges are decorated with cast and finished, evenly and regularly rounded imitation globules in unbroken succession within a relief moulded border.

Size: **1:** cat. 3.3 cm; w. 4 cm; **2:** l. 2.4 cm; w. 3.4 cm; **3:** l. 3.4 cm; w. 2.3 cm; **4:** l. 2.5 cm; w. 2 cm.

Location: National Museum of BiH, Sarajevo

Photo: Andrijana Pravidur

28. Ošanići near Stolac – acropolis

Three fragments from different bronze helmets of Illyrian type III A2. The first and third fragments, where the rims are still extant, are decorated with cast and finished, evenly and regularly rounded imitation globules in unbroken succession within a relief moulded border. The second fragment also has a relief moulded border, but with a decoration of stamped squares with a spherical central boss.

Size: **1:** l. 2.3 cm; w. 3.2 cm; **2:** l. 2.8 cm; w. 3 cm; **3:** l. 1 cm; w. 1.3 cm.

Location: National Museum of BiH, Sarajevo

Photo: Andrijana Pravidur

29. Ošanići – foot of acropolis, slope facing Radimlja

Fragment of the rim of a bronze helmet of Illyrian type III A2, decorated with a relief moulded border with evenly stamped plain circles.

Size: l. 1.9 cm; w. 1.6 cm.

Location: National Museum of BiH, Sarajevo; inv. no. 54292.

Photo: Andrijana Pravidur

Pl. XII

30. Vranjevo Selo near Neum – grave in tumulus

Bronze helmet of Illyrian type III A2–a, partly preserved. Rounded in shape with a prominent neck guard, partly broken and reconstructed,

iz paragnatida prema krajnjem rubu kacige, ali je djelomično polomljen i rekonstruiran. Paragnatide su trokutasto rezane, polukružno zaobljenih vanjskih krajeva i zašiljenog završetka, a na svakoj se nalazila po jedna rupica za vezivanje kacige. Od njih je djelomično očuvana samo ona na desnoj paragnatidi. Otvor za lice je četvrtast. Od čeonog prema zatiljnom dijelu, po sredini kalote, smještena su dva istaknuta rebra trokutastog presjeka s vanjskim kanelurama, između kojih su urezane tri paralelne linije. Cijeli je rubni dio ukrašen lijevanim i naknadno obrađivanim, proporcionalnim i pravilno zaobljenim imitacijama kuglica unutar reljefno profiliranog rubnika. Kaciga je konzervirana i djelomično rekonstruirana.

Veličina: v. 24, 6 cm; š. otvora 10,5 cm; d. paragnatide 14 cm.

Smještaj: Muzej i Galerija Neum, Neum; inv. br. 15.

Foto: Martina Blečić Kavur

31. Vranjevo Selo kod Neuma – grob u tumulu

Brončana kaciga ilirskog tipa III A2–a inačice djelomično je očuvana. Kaciga je zaobljenog oblika, sa štitnikom za vrat koji je polomljen, ali gotovo u cijelosti očuvan. Istaknut je i ravnomjerno prelazi iz paragnatida prema krajnjem rubu kacige. Paragnatide su trokutasto rezane, polukružno zaobljenih vanjskih krajeva i zašiljenog završetka, a na svakoj se nalazi po jedna rupica za vezivanje kacige. Lijeva je paragnatida djelomično rekonstruirana. Otvor za lice je četvrtast, s potpuno rekonstruiranim čeonim dijelom. Na zatiljnom se dijelu nalazi dio zakovice od alke, gdje je očuvan i ostatak od dva istaknuta rebra trokutastog presjeka s vanjskim kanelurama, sistema ležišta za perjanicu. Uobičajeno tri urezane paralelne linije nisu vidljive. Cijeli je rubni dio kacige ukrašen tankim rubnikom koji je, od ostalog dijela kacige, odvojen samo urezanom linijom. Ukrašen je žigosanim kvadratićima s izdignutim unutrašnjim kugličastim ispupčenjem, koji su bolje vidljivi na paragnatidama, nego na štitniku kacige. Kaciga je konzervirana i djelomično rekonstruirana.

Veličina: v. 26,6 cm; š. otvora 12,2 cm; š. štitnika 1,8 cm; d. paragnatida 14 cm.

Smještaj: Muzej i Galerija Neum, Neum; inv. br. 16.

Foto: Martina Blečić Kavur

extending evenly from the cheek guards to the outer rim of the helmet. The cheek guards are triangular-cut, with semicircular outer sides and pointed ends. Each cheek guard had a hole for attaching the helmet in wear, but only the one on the right cheek guard remains partly intact. The face opening is square. Two prominent triangular-section ribs, with outer cannelures and three incised lines between, extend along the middle of the crown from front to back. The entire rim of the helmet is decorated with cast and finished, evenly and regularly rounded imitation globules in unbroken succession within a relief moulded border. The helmet has been conserved and partly reconstructed.

Size: h. 24, 6 cm; w. of opening 10.5 cm; l. of cheek guard 14 cm.

Location: Neum Museum and Gallery, Neum; inv. no. 15.

Photo: Martina Blečić Kavur

31. Vranjevo Selo near Neum – grave in tumulus

Bronze helmet of Illyrian type III A2–a, partly preserved. Rounded in shape with a prominent neck guard which is broken but almost complete, extending evenly from the cheek guards to the outer rim of the helmet. The cheek guards are triangular-cut, with semicircular outer sides and pointed ends. Each cheek guard has a hole for attaching the helmet in wear. The left cheek guard has been partly reconstructed. The face opening is square, with a fully reconstructed front section. At the back is part of the rivet of a ring, with part of two prominent triangular-section ribs with outer cannelures, forming the crest holder. The customary three incised parallel lines do not appear to be present. The helmet is decorated with stamped squares with a spherical central boss within a narrow incised border, more clearly visible on the cheek guards than on the neck guard. The helmet has been conserved and partly reconstructed.

Size: h. 26.6 cm; w. of opening 12.2 cm; w. of neck guard 1.8 cm; l. of cheek guard 14 cm.

Location: Neum Museum and Gallery, Neum; inv. no. 16.

Photo: Martina Blečić Kavur

T. XIII**32. Plana** kod Bileće – uništeni grobovi

Brončana kaciga ilirskog tipa III A2–a inačice vrlo je dobro očuvana s postojanim svim indikativnim dijelovima. Zaobljenog je oblika, istaknutog štitnika za vrat, koji ravnomjerno prelazi iz paragnatida prema krajnjem rubu kacige. Sačuvan je samo dio štitnika za vrat na prijelazu iz desne paragnatide. Paragnatide su trokutasto rezane, polukružno zaobljenih vanjskih krajeva i zašiljenog završetka, te na rubnim dijelovima oštećene. Na svakoj se paragnatidi nalazi po jedna rupica za vezivanje kacige. Otvor za lice je četvrtast. Na čeonom dijelu nalazi se nosač, a na stražnjem dijelu djelomično je očuvana alka kojima se na kacigu pričvršćivala perjanica. Od čeonog prema stražnjem dijelu, po sredini kalote, smještene su dva istaknuta rebra trokutastog presjeka s vanjskim kanelurama, između kojih su urezane tri paralelne linije. Cijeli je rubni dio kacige ukrašen tankim, reljefno profiliranim rubnikom u kojem se nalazi ukras imitacije lijevanih i naknadno obrađivanih, proporcionalnih i pravilno zaobljenih kuglica. Kaciga je restaurirana, ali nije rekonstruirana.

Veličina: v. 21 cm; pr. 19 cm; š. otvora 11 cm; š. štitnika 2 cm; d. paragnatide 12,3 cm; š. paragnatide 9,2 cm.

Smještaj: Zemaljski muzej BiH, Sarajevo; inv. br. 21377.

Foto: Andrijana Pravidur

33. Plana kod Bileće – uništeni grobovi

Brončana kaciga ilirskog tipa III A2–a inačice dobro je očuvana s postojanim svim indikativnim dijelovima. Zaobljenog je oblika, istaknutog štitnika za vrat, koji ravnomjerno prelazi iz paragnatida prema krajnjem rubu kacige. Nedostaje dio štitnika za vrat koji prelazi iz desne paragnatide. Paragnatide su trokutasto rezane, polukružno zaobljenih vanjskih krajeva i zašiljenog završetka, te na rubnim dijelovima oštećene. Na svakoj se paragnatidi nalazi po jedna rupica za vezivanje kacige. Otvor za lice je četvrtast. Na zatiljnom dijelu očuvana je alka kojom se na kacigu pričvršćivala perjanica. Od čeonog prema stražnjem dijelu, po sredini kalote, smještene su dva istaknuta rebra trokutastog presjeka s vanjskim kanelurama, između kojih su urezane tri paralelne linije. Lijevo rebro i dio kalote na čeonog strani kacige su oštećeni.

Pl. XIII**32. Plana** near Bileća – destroyed graves

Bronze helmet of Illyrian type III A2–a, very well preserved with all indicative parts. Rounded in shape with a prominent neck guard extending evenly from the cheek guards to the outer rim of the helmet; only the part of the neck guard at the transition to the right cheek guard remains. The cheek guards are triangular-cut, with semi-circular outer sides and pointed ends, and are damaged at the edges. Each cheek guard has a hole for attaching the helmet in wear. The face opening is square. The holder on the front and the ring at the back used to attach the crest to the helmet remain. Two prominent triangular-section ribs, with outer cannelures and three incised lines between, extend along the middle of the crown from front to back. The entire rim of the helmet is decorated with cast and finished, evenly and regularly rounded globules within a narrow relief moulded border. The helmet has been restored but not reconstructed.

Size: h. 21 cm; pr. 19 cm; w. of opening 11 cm; w. of neck guard 2 cm; l. of cheek guard 12.3 cm; w. of cheek guard 9.2 cm.

Location: National Museum of BiH, Sarajevo; inv. no. 21377.

Photo: Andrijana Pravidur

33. Plana near Bileća – destroyed graves

Bronze helmet of Illyrian type III A2–a, well preserved with all indicative parts. Rounded in shape with a prominent neck guard extending evenly from the cheek guards to the outer rim of the helmet, missing the part of the neck guard at the transition to the right cheek guard remains. The cheek guards are triangular-cut, with semi-circular outer sides and pointed ends, and are damaged at the edges. Each cheek guard has a hole for attaching the helmet in wear. The face opening is square. The holder on the front and the ring at the back used to attach the crest to the helmet remain. Two prominent triangular-section ribs, with outer cannelures and three incised lines between, extend along the middle of the crown from front to back. The entire rim of the helmet is decorated with stamped squares with a spherical central boss within a narrow

Cijeli je rubni dio kacige ukrašen tankim rubnikom, odvojenim samo urezanom linijom, u kojem se nalazi ukras izveden žigosanjem kvadratića s izdignutim unutrašnjim kugličastim ispupčenjem. Kaciga je restaurirana, ali nije rekonstruirana.

Veličina: v. 20,7 cm; pr. 17,3 cm; š. otvora 11 cm; š. štitnika 2,8 cm; d. paragnatide 12,5 cm; š. paragnatide 11,2 cm.

Smještaj: Zemaljski muzej BiH, Sarajevo; inv. br. 21378.

Foto: Andrijana Pravidur

T. XIV

34. Kačanj kod Bileće – “zajednička grobnica”

Brončana kaciga ilirskog tipa III A2-a inačice je relativno dobro očuvana s postojanim svim indikativnim dijelovima. Zaobljenog je oblika kalote koji je oštećen u gornjem desnom dijelu. Istaknuti štitnik za vrat ravnomjerno prelazi iz paragnatida prema krajnjem rubu kacige. Nedostaje dio štitnika za vrat koji prelazi iz desne paragnatide. Paragnatide su trokutasto rezane, polukružno zaobljenih vanjskih krajeva i zašiljenog završetka. Desna paragnatida je oštećena višestrukim prijelomom zašiljenog završetka. Na svakoj se paragnatidi nalazi po jedna rupica za vezivanje kacige. Otvor za lice je četvrtast. Na čeonom dijelu nalazi se nosač, a na stražnjem dijelu alka kojima se na kacigu pričvršćivala perjanica. Od čeonog prema stražnjem dijelu, po sredini kalote, smještena su dva istaknuta rebra trokutastog presjeka, između kojih su urezane tri paralelne linije. Cijeli je rubni dio kacige ukrašen tankim, reljefno profiliranim rubnikom u kojem se nalazi ukras lijevanih i naknadno obrađivanih, proporcionalnih i pravilno zaobljenih imitacija kuglica.

Veličina: v. 23 cm; š. otvora 10,5 cm; d. paragnatida 13,5 cm; š. paragnatida 10 cm.

Smještaj: Muzej Hercegovine, Trebinje; inv. br. 26.

Foto: Ivo Dragičević

35. Kačanj kod Bileće – “zajednička grobnica”

Brončana kaciga ilirskog tipa III A2-a inačice djelomično je očuvana sa svim indikativnim dijelovima. Sačuvani dio istaknutog štitnika za vrat ravnomjerno prelazi iz lijeve paragnatide prema krajnjem rubu kacige. Paragnatidama, koje su trokutasto

incised border. The helmet has been restored but not reconstructed.

Size: h. 20.7 cm; pr. 17.3 cm; w. of opening 11 cm; w. of neck guard 2.8 cm; l. of cheek guard 12.5 cm; w. of cheek guard 11.2 cm.

Location: National Museum of BiH, Sarajevo; inv. no. 21378.

Photo: Andrijana Pravidur

Pl. XIV

34. Kačanj near Bileća – “communal grave”

Bronze helmet of Illyrian type III A2-a, relatively well preserved with all indicative parts. Rounded crown, damaged to the top right. Prominent neck guard extending evenly from the cheek guards to the outer rim of the helmet, missing the part of the neck guard at the transition from the right cheek guard. The cheek guards are triangular-cut, with semicircular outer sides and pointed ends. The right cheek guard is damaged by multiple breaks on the pointed end. Each cheek guard has a hole for attaching the helmet in wear. The face opening is square. The holder on the front and the ring at the back used to attach the crest to the helmet remain. Two prominent triangular-section ribs, with outer cannelures and three incised lines between, extend along the middle of the crown from front to back. The entire rim of the helmet is decorated with cast and finished, evenly and regularly rounded imitation globules within a narrow relief moulded border.

Size: h. 23 cm; w. of opening 10.5 cm; l. of cheek guard 13.5 cm; w. of cheek guard 10 cm.

Location: Museum of Herzegovina, Trebinje; inv. no. 26.

Photo: Ivo Dragičević

35. Kačanj near Bileća – “communal grave”

Bronze helmet of Illyrian type III A2-a, partly preserved with all indicative parts. Rounded crown. The remaining part of the prominent neck guard extends evenly from the left cheek guard to the outer rim of the helmet. The cheek guards, which are triangular-cut, are missing their semicircular outer sides and pointed ends.

rezane, nedostaju polukružno zaobljeni vanjski krajevi i zašiljeni završetci. Otvor za lice je četvrtast. Na čeonom dijelu nalazi se nosač, a na stražnjem dijelu alka kojima se na kacigu pričvršćivala perjanica. Od čeonog prema stražnjem dijelu, po sredini kalote, smještena su dva istaknuta rebra trokutastog presjeka s vanjskim kanelurama, između kojih su urezane tri paralelne linije. Cijeli je rubni dio kacige ukrašen tankim, reljefno profiliranim rubnikom s izvedbom lijevanih i naknadno obrađivanih, proporcionalnih i pravilno zaobljenih imitacija kuglica. Kaciga je konzervirana i djelomično rekonstruirana.

Veličina: v. 24,5 cm; š. otvora 10 cm; š. paragnatida 9 cm; d. paragnatida 10 cm.

Smještaj: Muzej Hercegovine, Trebinje; inv. br. 29.

Foto: Ivo Dragičević

36. Kačanj kod Bileće – “zajednička grobnica”

Brončana kaciga ilirskog tipa III A2-a inačice izrazito je loše očuvana, s desnim dijelom kalote i paragnatidom. Paragnatida je trokutasto rezana, polukružno zaobljenih vanjskih krajeva, bez zašiljenog završetka. Na čeonom dijelu nalazi se nosač za perjanicu. Od čeonog prema stražnjem dijelu, po sredini kalote, smještena su dva istaknuta rebra trokutastog presjeka, između kojih su urezane tri paralelne linije. Cijeli je rubni dio kacige s tankim rubnikom, odvojenim samo urezanim linijom, ukrašen izvedbom žigosanih kvadratića s izdignutim unutrašnjim kugličastim ispupčenjem. Kaciga je restaurirana i rekonstruirana.

Veličina: v. 22,2 cm; š. otvora 10 cm; d. paragnatide 12 cm; š. paragnatide 9,5 cm.

Smještaj: Muzej Hercegovine, Trebinje; inv. br. 30.

Foto: Ivo Dragičević

The face opening is square. The holder on the front and the ring at the back used to attach the crest to the helmet remain. Two prominent triangular-section ribs, with outer cannelures and three incised lines between, extend along the middle of the crown from front to back. The entire rim of the helmet is decorated with cast and finished, evenly and regularly rounded imitation globules within a narrow relief moulded border. The helmet has been conserved and partly reconstructed.

Size: h. 24.5 cm; w. of opening 10 cm; w. of cheek guard 9 cm; l. of cheek guard 10 cm.

Location: Museum of Herzegovina, Trebinje; inv. no. 29.

Photo: Ivo Dragičević

36. Kačanj near Bileća – “communal grave”

Bronze helmet of Illyrian type III A2-a, very poorly preserved, with the right side of the crown and cheek guard. The cheek guard is triangular-cut, with semicircular outer side, lacking the pointed end. The holder on the front used to attach the crest to the helmet remains. Two prominent triangular-section ribs, with and three incised lines between, extend along the middle of the crown from front to back. The entire rim of the helmet is decorated with stamped squares with a spherical central boss within a narrow border indicated by an incised line. The helmet has been restored and reconstructed.

Size: h. 22.2 cm; w. of opening 10 cm; l. of cheek guard 12 cm; w. of cheek guard 9.5 cm.

Location: Museum of Herzegovina, Trebinje; inv. no. 30.

Photo: Ivo Dragičević

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T/PI – I



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T/PI – II



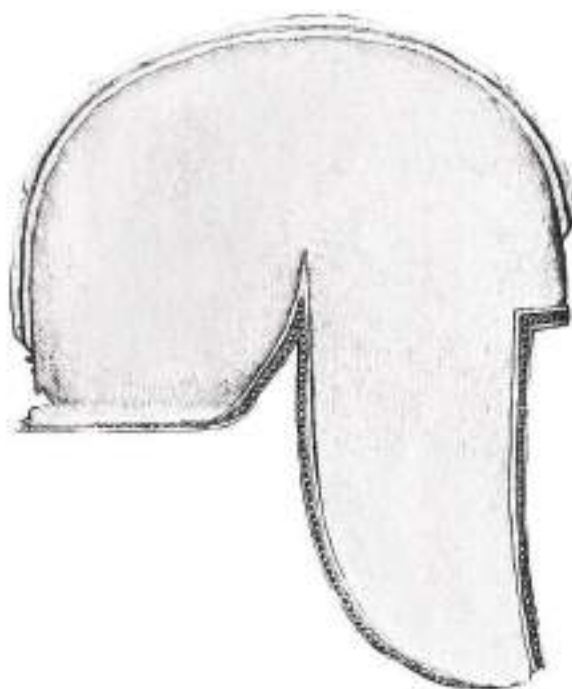
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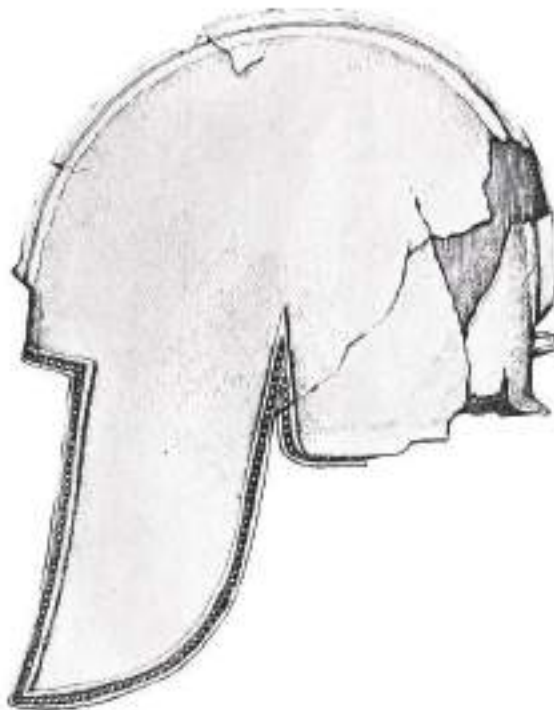
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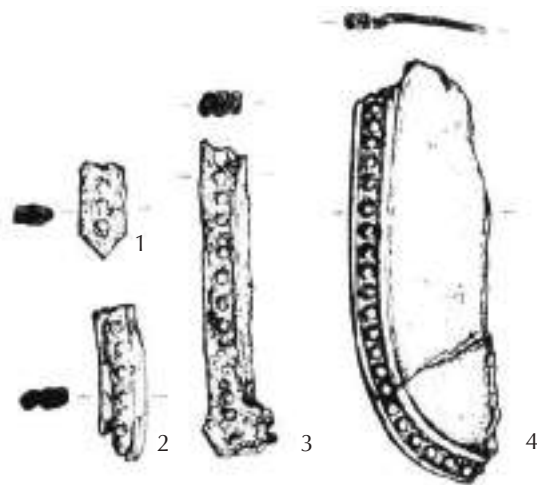


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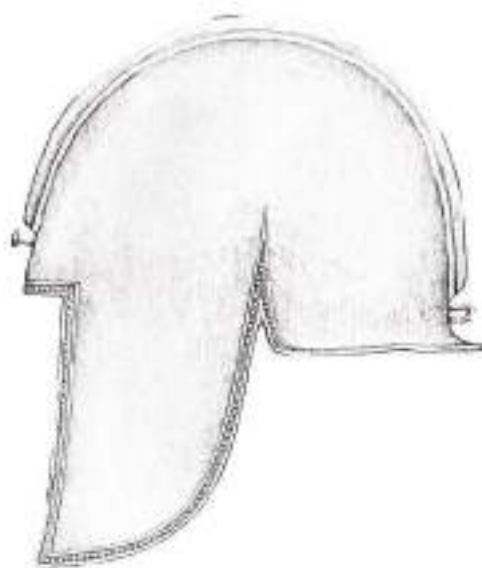


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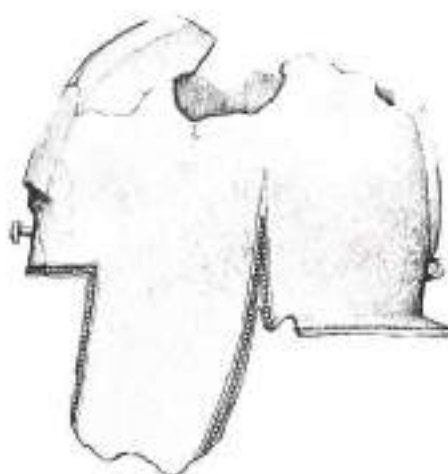


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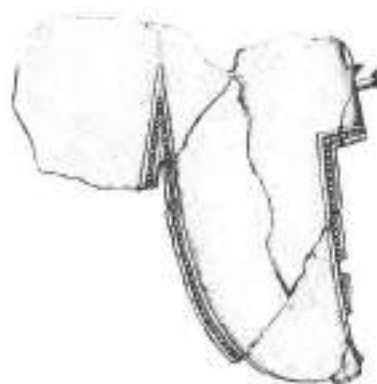
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Rimska vila na lokalitetu Mlinčići – Podmočilo u selu Tišina kod Zenice

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Ključne riječi: villa rustica, keramika, fibule, staklo, nakit, arhitektonski fragmenti, Bosna i Hercegovina

Uvod¹

Jedan od značajnih i bogatih antičkih arheoloških lokaliteta na prostoru Bosne i Hercegovine koji do danas nije na sistematski način obrađen i publiciran je lokalitet velike rimske vile u selu Tišina nedaleko od Zenice. Lokalitet, iako istraživan u više faza, nije studiozije prezentiran široj stručnoj javnosti. Štute informacije o rezultatima provedenih arheoloških istraživanja date su u vidu kratkih izvještaja koji su publicirani u dva

¹ U ratu (1992.–1995.) materijal sa lokaliteta Mlinčići je više puta dislociran. U toku ratnih dešavanja došlo je do gubitka ili miješanja znatne količine pokretnog arheološkog materijala. Tako je novac najvjerovatnije u muzejskoj zbirci, ali s obzirom da inventarni brojevi nisu upisani na kovanice, došlo je do miješanja sa identičnim rimskim kovanicama sa drugih lokaliteta, zbog čega je nemoguće izvršiti prezentaciju ovog materijala. Isto tako, znatan dio materijala je zagubljen, kao što su primjerci nekih fibula, ulomci keramike, metalnih predmeta, arhitektonskih fragmenata, freski i sl.

Zbog toga je u toku kataloške obrade materijala primarni izvor bila inventarna knjiga, a ne materijal kojeg u mnogim slučajevima nema, ili se ne može determinirati.

The Roman villa at Mlinčići – Podmočilo in the village of Tišina near Zenica

Original scientific paper
UDK: 937:725.22 (497.6 Mlinčići-Podmočilo) " 00/03 "

This paper provides the first complete account of the Roman villa rustica at Mlinčići–Podmočilo in the village of Tišina near Zenica, in central Bosnia. It describes the architecture and the movable archaeological material (pottery, metal, fibulae, coins, tools, glass, jewellery and architectural fragments) found during the archaeological investigations.

Key words: villa rustica, pottery, fibula, glass, jewellery, architectural fragments, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Introduction¹

One of the richest and most important archaeological sites of Antiquity in Bosnia and Herzegovina, never before systematically recorded and published, is the site of the large Roman villa in the village of Tišina, not far from Zenica. Though investigated in several stages, the site has never been properly presented to the wider professional and academic community. Scanty details of the results of the archaeological investigations have been provided in the form of brief reports, published on

¹ During the 1992-1995 war, the material from the site at Mlinčići was moved from place to place several times, and a significant amount of the movable archaeological material was lost or mixed up. The coins are probably in the museum collection, but since the inventory numbers were not attached to the coins, they became mixed with identical Roman coins from other sites. This material cannot therefore be presented. Again, much of the material was lost, including a number of fibulae, pottery sherds, metal artefacts, architectural fragments, frescoes and so on. As a result, the primary source used while cataloguing the material was the inventory records, not the material, which in many cases is missing or cannot be identified.

navrata.² Tom prilikom nisu publicirani tlocrti, detaljan opis nađenog pokretnog materijala, arhitektonskih elemenata, stakla, keramike, mozaika, freski, metala, fibula, novca i sl.

Najvjerojatnije, jedan od osnovnih razloga neobjavljivanja ozbiljnije analize ovog lokaliteta leži u činjenici da je plan objekta C ostao nejasan prema sjeveru, kao i plan centralnog dvorišta u kome su na dubini od 1,30 metara otkriveni ostaci starije arhitekture. Ovi tragovi su zalazili i ispod objekta B. Zbog toga su stručnjaci Muzeja grada Zenice, Dušanka i Čedomir Trajković, tražili nastavak sistematskih arheoloških istraživanja kako bi projekt u cijelosti bio zaokružen. Nakon završetka istraživanja, planirano je da se cjelokupan lokalitet integralno publicira sa svim pokretnim materijalom. Nažalost, zbog nerazumijevanja nadležnih institucija i nedostatka finansijskih sredstava, do nastavka arheoloških istraživanja nikada nije došlo. Zbog toga je lokalitet praktički do danas ostao nepubliciran već gotovo 40 godina.

U ovom radu se po prvi put objavljuje tlocrt cjelokupnog građevinskog kompleksa sa pokušajem rekonstrukcije, kao i detaljnija analiza pronađenog arheološkog materijala (keramika, staklo, nakit, novac, metal, i sl.).

Tok arheoloških istraživanja u selu Tišina

Prilikom rekognosciranja terena radi ustanovljavanja lokaliteta za arheološku kartu Bosne i Hercegovine, maja 1969. godine ekipa arheologa u sastavu Ivo Bojanovski, Veljko Paškvalin, Dušanka i Čedomir Trajković³ je konstatala postojanje antičkog objekta većih dimenzija. Lokalitet se nalazi na blagoj padini ispod sela Tišina u neposrednoj blizini potoka Mlinica.⁴

Prva arheološka kampanja organizirana je tokom 1969. godine u dva vremenska intervala (8. 07. – 2. 08. i 9. 09. – 26. 09. 1969.). Arheološka istraživanja su izvođena na katastarskim česticama (br. 1004/2, 1004/3, 1004/5, k. o. Vrace, z. k. ul. 172), koje su bile u vlasništvu Čančar Derviša, Čančar Sulejmana i Čančar Mustafe. Prostor na kome se vršilo istraživanje obuhvatao je površinu od 2000 m². U drugoj

two occasions², without ground plans or a detailed description of the movable artefacts, architectural elements, glass, pottery, mosaics, frescoes, metals, fibulae and so on that were discovered.

One of the most likely reasons for the failure to publish a serious study of the site is that the plan of building C remains unclear to the north, as does that of the central courtyard, where the remains of earlier architecture were uncovered at a depth of 1.30 m. These also lay below building B. Dušanka and Čedomir Trajković, experts from the Zenica Museum, therefore called for systematic archaeological investigations to be continued so that the project as a whole could be completed. The intention was to publish the entire site, with all the movable artefacts, on completion of the investigations; but regrettably, due to the lack of understanding on the part of the relevant institutions and of financial resources, the investigations were never continued, and the site has effectively remained unpublished for almost forty years.

For the first time, the ground plan of the entire architectural complex is published in this paper, together with a conjectural reconstruction and a detailed study of the archaeological material found on the site (pottery, glass, jewellery, coins, metal etc.).

History of the archaeological investigations in the village of Tišina

A field study was conducted in May 1969 with a view to identifying sites for the archaeological map of Bosnia and Herzegovina, during which a team of archaeologists consisting of Ivo Bojanovski, Veljko Paškvalin, Dušanka and Čedomir Trajković³ identified a sizeable building dating from Antiquity on a gentle slope below the village of Tišina, close by the Mlinica brook.⁴

The first archaeological dig was conducted in two stages in 1969 – 8 July to 2 August, and 9 to 26 September 1969. The investigations were carried out on cadastral plots 1004/2, 1004/3 and 1004/5, cadastral municipality Vraca, Land Register entry no. 172), the property of Derviš,

² Trajković 1969, 183-185; 1971, 70-72.

³ Dokument br. 833/69, 1969: 1.

⁴ Dokument br. 833/70, 1970: 1.

² Trajković 1969, 183-185; 1971, 70-72.

³ Document no. 833/69, 1969: 1.

⁴ Document no. 833/70, 1970: 1.

arheološkoj kampanji tokom 1971. godine istraživanja je organizirano na parceli Podmočilo, (br. 966/1, k. o. Vrace), u vlasništvu Čančar Ahmeda.

Tokom prve godine arheoloških istraživanja stručni tim arheologa su sačinjavali viši kustos Zemaljskog muzeja Veljko Paškvalin – voditelj istraživanja, kustosi u Muzeju grada Zenice Dušanka i Čedomir Trajković, arheolog iz Beograda Ljubinka Subotić, geometar Husein Huseinagić i fotografi Todor Čup i Murat Jašarević.

Sredstva za istraživanje i organizaciju projekta osigurali su Muzej grada Zenice i Republički fond za naučni rad Bosne i Hercegovine.⁵

U sklopu sistematskih arheoloških istraživanja Muzej grada Zenice je inicirao i eksproprijaciju ili otkup površina na kojima se nalazi antički građevinski kompleks, ali do realizacije ove ideje nije došlo.⁶

I tokom 1980. godine Muzej grada Zenice je planirao izvođenje sondažnih arheoloških radova u cilju nastavka sistematskih istraživanja. Cilj navedenih aktivnosti je bio utvrditi eventualno postojanje novih tragova supstrukcija, ali i vađenje evidentiranog mozaika i arhitektonskih ulomaka i njihovo pohranjivanje u Muzej grada Zenice. U sklopu planiranih aktivnosti predviđeno je konzerviranje cjelokupnog građevinskog kompleksa i pravno reguliranje nadležnosti Muzeja u odnosu na arheološki lokalitet u Mlinčićima.⁷

Interes za ovim arheološkim lokalitetom nije prestao ni u narednim godinama. Tako je Muzej grada Zenice podnio molbu 1984. godine, za nastavak sistematskih arheoloških istraživanja. Molba je upućena Republičkom zavodu za zaštitu spomenika kulture, prirodnih znamenitosti i rijetkosti Bosne i Hercegovine. Spomenuti Zavod je uvjetno dozvolio nastavak, ali uz prethodno planiranje ozbiljnih konzervatorskih zahvata i obezbjeđenje finansijskih sredstava za isto.⁸ Ni ovaj pokušaj Muzeja grada Zenice za nastavkom istraživanja lokaliteta Mlinčići u Tišini nije realiziran.⁹

Sulejman and Mustafa Čančar. An area of 2000 m² was covered by the investigations. During a second campaign, in 1971, the plot known as Podmočilo (no. 966/1, c.m. Vraca), the property of Ahmed Čančar, was investigated.

During year one of the archaeological investigations, the team of archaeologists consisted of Veljko Paškvalin, senior curator of the National Museum and leader of the investigations, Dušanka and Čedomir Trajković, curators at the Zenica Museum, Ljubinka Subotić, an archaeologist from Belgrade, Husein Huseinagić, a surveyor, and photographers Todor Čup and Murat Jašarević.⁵

As part of these systematic archaeological investigations, Zenica Museum also planned for the expropriation or compulsory purchase of the site where the Antique archaeological complex was located, but this was not executed.⁶

In 1980, Zenica Museum again planned to conduct a test dig with a view to continuing systematic investigations. The aim was to determine whether there was any new evidence of substructures and to remove the mosaics and architectural fragments already identified and house them in the Zenica Museum. The Museum also proposed to carry out the conservation of the entire architectural complex and to regularize the Museum's legal jurisdiction over the archaeological site at Mlinčići.⁷

Interest in the archaeological site did not wane over the next few years. In 1984 the Zenica Museum applied for a continuation of systematic archaeological investigations to the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which issued a provisional permit, subject to first making plans and raising funds for major conservation works.⁸ However, this attempt by Zenica Museum to continue investigating the site of Mlinčići in Tišina also came to nothing.⁹

⁵ Dokument br. 833/69 i 833/70.

⁶ Dokument br. 202/72 od 18. 04. 1972.

⁷ Dokument br. 198/80, 1980: 4. Planirani nastavak istraživanja je trebala voditi dipl. arheolog Fidreta Glamočanin, a investitor svih aktivnosti je trebao da bude Muzej grada Zenice. Istraživanja je planirano u vremenskom periodu od 20 dana. Do nastavka planiranih arheoloških istraživanja nije nikada došlo.

⁸ Dokument br. 05-421-1, od 29. 05. 1984.

⁹ Iz sačuvane dokumentacije se uočava da je izvršena samo privremena konzervacija metodom tzv. fugovanja, nasipanja zemlje oko zidova, podzidavanja, kao i nasipanje pijeska po

⁵ Document no. 833/69 and 833/70.

⁶ Document no. 202/72 of 18. 04. 1972.

⁷ Document no. 198/80, 1980: 4. The proposed continuation of the investigations was to be led by graduate archaeologist Fidreta Glamočanin, with the entire 20-day project funded by the Zenica Museum. The proposed investigations never took place.

⁸ Document no. 05-421-1, of 29. 05. 1984.

⁹ The surviving documentation reveals that interim conservation only was carried out, by repointing, earthing up around the walls, building retaining walls, and

Opis arhitektonskog kompleksa (T. I – V)

Nedaleko od sela Tišina, na lokalitetima Mlinčići i Podmočilo, nalazi se lokalitet na kome postoje tri objekta.

Objekat A

Jedan od istraženih objekata je veća građevina sa apsidom na sjevernom dijelu nazvana objekat A. Zgrada je posjedovala šest prostorija pa su i dimenzije objekta bile velike – 17,20 × 14,60 m. Na tom objektu su konstatirane dvije građevinske faze. U svim prostorijama je primijećeno postojanje većeg broja kanala koji su služili za odvod i dovod vode¹⁰. U apsidi ovog objekta pronađeni su ostaci freski, a sa vanjske strane zida apside i neidentificirani teško oštećeni brončani novac.¹¹ Podnica apside bila je od maltera i tucane cigle.¹² U prostorijama objekta A južno od apside pronađena je baza stuba kružnog presjeka i dio podnice od većih kamenih ploča nejednakih dimenzija. Sjeverno od baze stuba otkriven je komad pločice mozaika i jedan primjerak novca.¹³

Kod objekta A, je pronađena i ograđena peć sa većim kamenim pločama. Ona je direktno povezana jednim pravougaonim otvorom sa prostorijom u kojoj se nalazio hipokaust. Kameni blokovi sa lijeve i desne strane peći su intenzivno crvene boje usljed gorenja. Konstrukcija peći je pravougaonog oblika, a u produžetku se javljaju proširenja sa lijeve i desne strane tako da okružuju prostoriju u obliku slova "T". U produžnoj prostoriji je pronađena fragmentirana zdjela sive boje, tankih stijenki i finije fature.¹⁴ Sa spoljne strane apside otkrivena je i kamena cijev, za odvod ili dovod vode, pravougaonog presjeka, čiji jedan kraj ulazi u zid apside.¹⁵

Istočno od objekta A pronađeni su ostaci odvodnog, vjerovatno drenažnog kanala, sagrađenog od većih i manjih kamenih blokova.¹⁶

estrihu i mozaiku. Neprotokolirani dokument – dopis Muzeja grada Zenice upućen Zavodu za zaštitu spomenika kulture, prirodnih znamenitosti i rijetkosti Bosne i Hercegovine. (Objašnjenje zahtjeva za nastavak sistematskog istraživanja).

¹⁰ Trajković 1969, 184.

¹¹ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 4.

¹² Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 5.

¹³ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 4.

¹⁴ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 10.

¹⁵ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 18.

¹⁶ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 5.

Description of the architectural complex (figs. T. I – V)

The site, on which there are three buildings, is at Mlinčići and Podmočilo, not far from the village of Tišina.

Building A

One of the buildings excavated is a sizeable building with an apse to the north, designated as building A. It had six rooms, giving an overall footprint of 17.20 × 14.60 m. Two construction phases were identified. Every room had several channels used to supply and drain away water.¹⁰ The remains of frescoes were found in the apse, and badly damaged, unidentifiable bronze coins were found outside the apse wall.¹¹ The apse floor was of plaster and crushed brick.¹² Room A, south of the apse, contained the base of a round column and part of the flooring of uneven-sized stone flags. A piece of mosaic floor and a coin were found to the north of the column base.¹³

A built-in furnace with large stone slabs was also found by building A, connected via a rectangular opening to the hypocaust room. The blocks of stone to right and left of the furnace were burnt a rich red. The furnace was rectangular, with arms to left and right, thus enclosing a T-shaped room, where a broken grey ware bowl was found, of fine body, with thin walls.¹⁴ Also outside the apse was a stone water or drainage pipe, rectangular in section, one end of which was set into the apse wall.¹⁵

The remains of a drainage channel composed of stone blocks of varying sizes were found to the east of building A.¹⁶

spreading sand over the screed and mosaics. Unregistered document – letter from Zenica Museum to the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities of Bosnia and Herzegovina. (Explanation of application to continue systematic investigations).

¹⁰ Trajković 1969, 184.

¹¹ Excavation log 1969, 4.

¹² Excavation log 1969, 5.

¹³ Excavation log 1969, 4.

¹⁴ Excavation log 1969, 10.

¹⁵ Excavation log 1969, 18.

¹⁶ Excavation log 1969, 5.

Objekat B

Desetak metara zapadno od prve nalazi se druga, građevina B. Njene dimenzije su bile $20,30 \times 14,18$ m. Posjedovala je dvije velike prostorije, poluapsidu u južnom dijelu i praefurnium sa zapada. Sjeverni zid je imao tubuluse koji su služili za provod toplog zraka¹⁷. U poluapsidi je pronađeno i dosta fragmenata keramičkih cijevi pravougaonog presjeka.¹⁸ Prilaz u ovaj objekat je bio u obliku popločanog trijema sa pokretnom kapijom.¹⁹ U poluapsidi je konstatiran veći broj fragmenata fresko maltera.²⁰ U poluapsidi se javlja znatno uništen pod od maltera sa tragovima kamene konstrukcije u zidu stubića hipokausta, koji su vjerovatno služili kao zamjena hipokaustu od opeke. U sloju iznad poda je pronađeno i nekoliko jednoboynih fragmenata kockica mozaika, vrlo grube izrade.²¹

Objekat C

Treći objekat, C, se nalazio sjeverno od prva dva objekta. Ova zgrada je imala veće dimenzije (27×12 m). Sama zgrada se sastojala iz više stambenih i pomoćnih prostorija. U prostoriji koja zauzima centralno mjesto "a" ($5,20 \times 4,20$ m) nađeni su ostaci mozaika. U ovoj prostoriji su pronađeni i ostaci fresaka, što dokazuje da je riječ o centralnoj, svečanoj prostoriji, koja je najvjerovatnije služila kao glavno boravište za objede i gozbe. Iz velike prostorije se ulazilo u manju apsidu "b", u kojoj su također pronađeni fragmenti mozaika. Ova apside je bolje građena od apside u objektu A.²² Zapadno se nadovezivao hodnik "c". U ovom hodniku zidovi su također bili ukrašeni fresko molerajem. Zapadno od hodnika "c" se nalazila prostorija "d" ($5,50 \times 6,50$ m). Prostorija "d" je imala očuvanu podnicu od estriha sa tragovima suspensura, koji su uz zapadni i istočni zid nalaženi in situ. Suspensure su bile cilindričnog oblika. Ova prostorija je u kasnijoj fazi pregrađena zidom i imala je očuvane zidove u visini od 120 cm. Zapadno od prostorije "d" nalazila se prostorija "f" ($3,70 \times 3,70$ m). Prostorija "f" se nalazila u okviru veće prostorije "e" i služila je

¹⁷ Trajković 1969, 183-185. Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 13-14.

¹⁸ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 12.

¹⁹ Trajković 1969, 183-185.

²⁰ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 2.

²¹ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 14.

²² Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 31.

Building B

The second building, B, some ten metres west of the first, measured 20.30×14.18 m, and had two large rooms, a semi-apse to the south and a praefurnium to the west. The north wall was fitted with tubuli serving as hot-air ducts.¹⁷ A quantity of sherds of rectangular earthenware pipes was found in the semi-apse.¹⁸ The building was entered through a paved portico with a hinged gate.¹⁹ Quantities of fragments of fresco plaster were found in the semi-apse,²⁰ where the badly damaged plaster floor shows traces of a stone structure in the wall of hypocaust pillars, probably instead of brick hypocaust pilae. A number of monochrome mosaic tesserae of very crude workmanship were found in the stratum above the floor.²¹

Building C

The third building, C, to the north of the first two, was larger still, at 27×12 m. It consisted of several living rooms and service quarters. The room occupying a central position, designated as "a" (5.20×4.20) contained the remains of mosaics and of frescoes, indicating that this was the main reception room, probably used as the principal dining and banqueting room. This large room led into a small apse, "b", where fragments of mosaics were also found. This apse was of better construction than the apse in building A.²² To the west was a corridor, "c", where the walls were also decorated with frescoes. To the west of corridor "c" was room "d" (5.50×6.50 m), in which the screed floor had survived, with vestiges of cylindrical suspensurae, found in situ by the west and east walls. At a later stage, this room was subdivided by a partition wall; the walls were preserved to a height of 120 cm. To the west of room "d" was room "f" (3.70×3.70 m), which was part of a larger room, "e", for which it served as a fuel store. Next to it was the praefurnium which headed the living quarters. The entrance

¹⁷ Trajković 1969, 183-185. Excavation log 1969, 13-14.

¹⁸ Excavation log 1969, 12.

¹⁹ Trajković 1969, 183-185.

²⁰ Excavation log 1969, 2.

²¹ Excavation log 1969, 14.

²² Excavation log 1969, 31.

kao ostava za ogrjev. Odmah do nje se nalazio i praefurnium koji je zagrijavao stambene prostorije. Ulaz u praefurnium je bio sa zapadne strane, a otvor za prolaz toplog zraka je bio na istočnoj strani. Kao podloga kanala za pepeo upotrijebljena je veća tegula. U kasnijoj fazi, kada se peć nije upotrebljavala, otvor za prolaz toplog zraka je zazidan, a kao građevinski materijal je upotrijebljen i jedan oštećeni žrvanj.

Sjeverozapadno od ovog zdanja nadovezuju se pomoćne prostorije, drvene arhitekture. Pomoćni objekti u temeljnom dijelu su rađeni od kamena.

Zapadno od istraženih objekata ustanovljeno je postojanje kulturnog sloja sa identičnim materijalom kao i u samim objektima, ali bez tragova arhitekture.

Sva tri objekta čine zatvoreni kompleks, a svaka zgrada je predstavljala samostalnu cjelinu. Luksuzne prostorije su činile glavni dio kompleksa. Zgrade B i C se dodiruju te sa objektom A čine jedno centralno dvorište.

U svim objektima nađene su velike količine fragmenata fresaka, sive, grube, mramorirane keramike, ostataka stakla, predmeta od bronzne kao i novac Proba, Tacita i Konstantina, što pomaže datiranju građevinskog kompleksa u vrijeme od kraja III i prve polovine IV stoljeća.²³

Arhitektonski fragmenti i kameni ulomci (T. IV, 1, 2; T. V, 1) (redni kataloški broj 1 – 13)

Loše očuvani zidovi i dugogodišnje iskorištavanje materijala za kasniju izgradnju uzrok je da se sačuvalo vrlo malo kamene plastike, namještaja, arhitektonskih elemenata i sl. Riječ je o sedam fragmentiranih elemenata stubova (red. br. 1, inv. br. 1699, red. br. 2, inv. br. 1718, **T. IV, 1; T. V, 1**), ukrašenoj arhitektonskoj plastici (red. br. 3, inv. br. 1757, red. br. 4, inv. br. 1790, red. br. 5, inv. br. 1896) i kamenom žrvnju (red. br. 6, inv. br. 1953).

Posebnoj grupi građevinskih elemenata mogu se pridodati i keramički tubulusi (red. br. 7, inv. br. 1727, red. br. 8, inv. br. 1728, red. br. 9, inv. br. 1731, red. br. 10, inv. br. 1742) i suspensure (red. br. 11, inv. br. 1698, red. br. 12, inv. br. 1700, red. br. 13, inv. br. 1805, **T. IV, 2**), koji su korišteni u procesu konstrukcijski planskog organiziranja grijanja u određenim prostorijama ovog zdanja, ili kao dio vodovodnog sistema.

²³ Trajković 1971, 70-71.

to the praefurnium was from the west, with the hot-air outlet on the east side. A large tegula was used as the base of the ash box. Later, when the furnace was no longer in use, the hot-air vent was bricked up, with building material that included a damaged quern.

To the north-west of this building were wooden outbuildings on stone foundations.

A cultural layer was found to the west of the buildings, with the same material as in the buildings, but with no traces of architecture.

The three buildings, each self-contained, formed an enclosed complex. The most luxuriously equipped rooms formed the heart of the complex. Buildings B and C abutted onto building A to form a central courtyard.

Large quantities of fresco fragments, coarse grey marbled pottery, sherds of glass, bronze artefacts and coins of the Roman emperors Probus, Tacitus and Constantine, dating the architectural complex to the late 3rd and first half of the 4th century.²³

Architectural and stone fragments (figs. T. IV, 1, 2; T. V, 1) (catalogue nos. 1 – 13)

The poor state of preservation of the walls and years of robbing out building materials for re-use meant that very little had survived of stone mouldings, furnishings, architectural elements and the like: only seven fragments of columns (serial no. 1, inv. no. 1699, serial no. 2, inv. no. 1718, **T. IV, 1; T. V, 1**), decorated architectural mouldings (serial no. 3, inv. no. 1757, serial no. 4, inv. no. 1790, serial no. 5, inv. no. 1896) and a stone quern (serial no. 6, inv. no. 1953).

To this separate group of building components may be added the earthenware tubuli (serial no. 7, inv. no. 1727, serial no. 8, inv. no. 1728, serial no. 9, inv. no. 1731, serial no. 10, inv. no. 1742) and suspensurae (serial no. 11, inv. no. 1698, serial no. 12, inv. no. 1700, serial no. 13, inv. no. 1805, **T. IV, 2**), used for the built-in heating system in certain rooms and as part of the water supply system.

²³ Trajković 1971, 70-71.

Mozaik (T. VI, 1 – 3)

U objektu C u centralnoj prostoriji “a”, pronađen je mozaik.²⁴ Riječ je o mozaiku koji nije u cijelosti očuvan. Površina koja je očuvana ukazuje da se radi o mozaiku koji je rađen sa ponavljanim geometrijskim motivom svastike – meandra. Ovaj motiv je dosta čest na prostorima današnje Bosne i Hercegovine. Mozaici sa identičnim motivom su pronađeni u Stocu²⁵ i Paniku,²⁶ a šire analogije se mogu konstatirati u Germaniji,²⁷ Antiohiji,²⁸ Galiji²⁹ i Italiji, gdje se datira u široki vremenski raspon od I do VI stoljeća.³⁰ Mozaik iz Mlinčića je dvobojan. Ornament je sivoplave boje, a ostalo polje bijele boje. Okvir ornamenta je u sivoplavoj boji. Mozaik je oštećen požarom.³¹

U objektu C u apsidalnom dijelu također su pronađeni fragmenti koji ukazuju na postojanje mozaične površine i u ovoj prostoriji.

U poluapsidi objekta B pronađeno je nekoliko jednobojskih kockica mozaika,³² što ukazuje na mogućnost da je ova prostorija ili jedan njen dio bio presvučen mozaikom površinom.

Cijelom površinom objekta A su pronađeni fragmenti mozaičkih kockica.³³

Freske (T. VII, 1 – 13) (redni kataloški broj 14 – 47)

Među nalazima na lokalitetu Tišina svojom brojnošću ističu se nalazi freski. Najveći broj fragmenta freski je pripadao objektima A i C. Prevladavaju crvene nijanse, ali i svijetlozelena, plavičasta, žuta, bijela, oker i smeđa. Najvjerovatnije je riječ o zidnim freskama, jer se nije očuvao sloj sa

²⁴ O mozaicima na tlu današnje Bosne i Hercegovine vidi: Busuladžić 2008.

²⁵ Fiala 1897: sl. 9.

²⁶ Čremošnik 1976, 72-73, sl. 9 i 74, sl. 10; Busuladžić 2008, T. XXXIX i T. XL.

²⁷ Parlasca 1959, 39, T. VI sl. 4.

²⁸ Levi 1947, pl. CVII.

²⁹ Stern 1960, pl. XLI, 2.

³⁰ Čremošnik 1976, 72.

³¹ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1971, 9.

³² Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 14 i 15.

³³ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 15.

Mosaic (figs. T. VI, 1 – 3)

A partly-preserved mosaic was found in central room “a” of building C.²⁴ The surviving area of the mosaic consisted of the repeated geometric motif of a meander, a fairly common motif in what is now Bosnia and Herzegovina. Mosaics with this motif have been found in Stolac²⁵ and Panik,²⁶ and analogous examples can be found in Germania,²⁷ Antioch,²⁸ Gaul²⁹ and Italy, where they range in date from the 1st to the 6th century.³⁰ The Mlinčići mosaic is in two colours – the design in grey-blue, the ground in white – with a grey-blue frame. The mosaic showed evidence of fire damage.³¹

The apse of building C also contained fragments indicating that this room had a mosaic floor.

A number of monochrome mosaic tesserae were found in the semi-apse of building B,³² suggesting that this too, or part of it, also had a mosaic floor.

Mosaic tesserae were found throughout building A.³³

Frescoes (figs. T. VII, 1 – 13) (catalogue nos. 14 – 47)

Frescoes were among the most numerous finds at Tišina. Most of the fresco fragments belonged to buildings A and C. The dominant colour was shades of red, but light green, a bluish tint, yellow, white, ochre and brown were also present. These were probably wall frescoes, since there was no layer with the imprint of reeds. The surviving

²⁴ See Busuladžić 2008 for details of mosaics in present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina

²⁵ Fiala 1897, fig. 9.

²⁶ Čremošnik 1976, 72-73, fig. 9 and 74, fig. 10; Busuladžić 2008, T. XXXIX and T. XL.

²⁷ Parlasca 1959, 39, T. VI fig. 4.

²⁸ Levi 1947, pl. CVII.

²⁹ Stern 1960, pl. XLI, 2.

³⁰ Čremošnik 1976, 72.

³¹ Excavation log 1971, 9.

³² Excavation log 1969, 14 i 15.

³³ Excavation log 1969, 15.

otiskom trske. Freske su se sačuvale na mjestima gdje je bio deblji sloj šuta.

U apsidi u objektu A su pronađeni ostaci fresko maltera.³⁴ Najviše prevladavaju bordure izvučene svjetlijim i tamnijim tonovima, uvijek u kontrastu u odnosu na grund. Ove bordure najvjerojatnije dijele pojedina polja u kojima su izvedeni geometrijski prikazi, polukrugovi, prave i kose linije ili lažne girlande (red. br. 14, inv. br. 1553, red. br. 15, inv. br. 1566, red. br. 16, inv. br. 1567, red. br. 17, inv. br. 1568, red. br. 18, inv. br. 1569, red. br. 19, inv. br. 1572, red. br. 20, inv. br. 1573, red. br. 21, inv. br. 1574). Neki fragmenti prikazuju imitaciju mermera.³⁵

U istoj prostoriji objekta C, gdje je nađen i mozaik, otkrivene su in situ freske do visine 30 – 35 cm. Freske su višebojne, sa ornamentom užih i širih linija, lukova, polulukova, listova i sl. Po očuvanim ostacima na podnožju zidova može se reći da su ornamenti bili podijeljeni. Linije koje čine polja su izvedene sivoplavom bojom na bijeloj osnovi.³⁶

U hodniku "c", istoimenog objekta C, zidovi su bili ukrašeni fresko molerajem, što se može zaključiti po obilju fragmenata fresko maltera u samom hodniku.³⁷

U prostoriji "d" objekta C, pronađeni su fragmenti fresaka u velikom broju. Rađeni su u raznim bojama sa geometrijskim i shematiziranim floralnim ornamentom.³⁸

Od svih fragmenata fresko slikarija u objektu C, osobito su karakteristična dva primjerka. Fragment (red. br. 46, inv. br. 1894) je zanimljiv jer pokazuje da su na toj površini bile dvije molerske intervencije, odnosno obnavljanje. Drugi fragment (red. br. 47, inv. br. 1898) karakterističan je po prikazu stiliziranog lista.

U objektu B u prostoriji poluapsidalne osnove, također su pronađeni ostaci zidnog maltera koji je rađen u fresko tehnici. Fragmenti freski su pronađeni i u drugim prostorijama objekta B.³⁹ I kod fragmenata fresko moleraja u ovom objektu vidljivi su isti motivi u vidu linija, karika, traka, trouglova, polulukova, lukova, cvjetova i tačaka (red. br. 22, inv. br. 1701, red. br. 23, inv. br. 1702, red. br. 24, inv. br. 1704, red. br. 25, inv. br. 1705, red. br. 26, inv. br. 1706, red. br. 27, inv. br. 1707, red. br. 28, inv. br. 1724, red. br.

frescoes were found where there was a thickish layer of rubble.

The remains of fresco plaster were found in the apse of building A,³⁴ consisting mainly of borders of alternating light and dark shades, invariably contrasting with the ground colour. These borders probably framed the panels containing geometric designs, semicircles, straight and diagonal lines and trompe l'oeil garlands (serial no. 14, inv. no. 1553, serial no. 15, inv. no. 1566, serial no. 16, inv. no. 1567, serial no. 17, inv. no. 1568, serial no. 18, inv. no. 1569, serial no. 19, inv. no. 1572, serial no. 20, inv. no. 1573, serial no. 21, inv. no. 1574). Some fragments were painted to imitate marble.³⁵

The room in building C where mosaic was found also contained frescoes in situ to a height of 30 to 35 cm. These were polychrome, with a design of thin and thick lines, arches, semi-arches, leaves and so on. The surviving frescoes at the base of the walls suggested that the designs were separated into panels by lines of grey-blue on a white ground.³⁶

Corridor "c" in building C had frescoed walls, as suggested by the quantities of fresco plaster in the corridor.³⁷

Room "d" of building C contained a great many fresco fragments of various colours, with geometric and stylized floral designs.³⁸

Two examples of frescoes were of particular note among the many fragments in building C. Fragment (serial no. 46, inv. no. 1894) is of interest in that it had twice been repainted; the second fragment (serial no. 47, inv. no. 1898) bore a design of a stylized leaf.

The remains of wall frescoes were also found in the semi-apsidal part of building B and other rooms in the same building.³⁹ Here too the same motifs were found: lines, links, bands, triangles, semi-arches, arches, flowers and dots (serial no. 22, inv. no. 1701, serial no. 23, inv. no. 1702, serial no. 24, inv. no. 1704, serial no. 25, inv. no. 1705, serial no. 26, inv. no. 1706, serial no. 27, inv. no. 1707, serial no. 28, inv. no. 1724, serial

³⁴ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 4 i 5.

³⁵ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 6.

³⁶ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1971, 11.

³⁷ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1971, 28.

³⁸ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1971, 12.

³⁹ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 2, 4 i 12.

³⁴ Excavation log 1969, 4 and 5.

³⁵ Excavation log 1969, 6.

³⁶ Excavation log 1971, 11.

³⁷ Excavation log 1971, 28.

³⁸ Excavation log 1971, 12.

³⁹ Excavation log 1969, 2, 4 and 12.

29, inv. br. 1725 – **T. VII, 1**, red. br. 30, inv. br. 1726, red. br. 32, inv. br. 1737, red. br. 33, inv. br. 1748, red. br. 34, inv. br. 1749, red. br. 35, inv. br. 1750, red. br. 36, inv. br. 1751, red. br. 37, inv. br. 1753, red. br. 38, inv. br. 1758, red. br. 39, inv. br. 1759, red. br. 40, inv. br. 1760, red. br. 41, inv. br. 1761, red. br. 42, inv. br. 1801, red. br. 43, inv. br. 1802 – **T. VII, 8**, red. br. 44, inv. br. 1803, red. br. 45, inv. br. 1804).

Od svih fragmenata fresko moleraja zanimljiv primjerak predstavljaju dva ulomka (red. br. 31, inv. br. 1736).⁴⁰ Navedeni fragmenti su bili dio fresko moleraja na plafonu, temeljem čega se može zaključiti da su i stropovi ovog objekta bili dekorirani na ovaj način.

Među motivima dosta su brojne i vertikalne bordure u vidu jednostavnih užih ili širih traka. Svi ovi motivi mogu se uvrstiti u grupu shematiziranih arhitektonskih prikaza.

Figuralnih predstava i scena u očuvanim fragmentima nema.

Ovaj stil je dosta omiljen u Italiji, a od III stoljeća se javljaju i realistični prikazi. Najbliže uvjetne analogije mogu se konstatirati u Paniku.⁴¹

Keramika

Od pokretnog materijala najviše je nađeno rimske keramike, finije i grublje fature. Vrlo bogata koncentracija rimske keramike pronađena je na prostoru između objekata A, B i C u tzv. dvorištu. U objektu B je pronađeno nekoliko fragmenata keramičkih posuda,⁴² fragmenata svijetložute boje⁴³ i bojene keramike.⁴⁴

U objektu A je pronađena i fragmentirana posuda sive boje, tankih stijenki i finije fature,⁴⁵ nekoliko različitih ulomaka,⁴⁶ fragmenata terra sigillate bez ukrasa,⁴⁷ bojene keramike,⁴⁸ grube keramike,⁴⁹ crvene i svijetlocrvene keramike,⁵⁰ kao i fragmenti amfora.⁵¹

⁴⁰ Riječ je o dva fragmenta zavedena pod istim inventarnim brojem.

⁴¹ Čremošnik 1976, 83-94.

⁴² Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 8.

⁴³ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 19.

⁴⁴ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 23.

⁴⁵ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 10, 16.

⁴⁶ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 11, 12.

⁴⁷ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 15, 16.

⁴⁸ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 17.

⁴⁹ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 17.

⁵⁰ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 19, 20,

⁵¹ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 23.

no. 29, inv. no. 1725 – **T. VII, 1**, serial no. 30, inv. no. 1726, serial no. 32, inv. no. 1737, serial no. 33, inv. no. 1748, serial no. 34, inv. no. 1749, serial no. 35, inv. no. 1750, serial no. 36, inv. no. 1751, serial no. 37, inv. no. 1753, serial no. 38, inv. no. 1758, serial no. 39, inv. no. 1759, serial no. 40, inv. no. 1760, serial no. 41, inv. no. 1761, serial no. 42, inv. no. 1801, serial no. 43, inv. no. 1802 – **T. VII, 8**, serial no. 44, inv. no. 1803, serial no. 45, inv. no. 1804).

Two of these fragments were of particular interest (serial no. 31, inv. no. 1736),⁴⁰ which were from a ceiling fresco, suggesting that the ceilings of this building were also decorated with frescoes.

The designs included many vertical borders of simple narrow lines or broader bands. All these motifs could be regarded as schematic architectural scenes.

No figures or scenes were found among the surviving fragments.

This style was popular in Italy, while realistic scenes also appear by the 3rd century. The closest analogies may be found at Panik.⁴¹

Pottery

Roman pottery, both coarse and fine ware, constituted the bulk of the movable material, concentrated particular in the courtyard area between buildings A, B and C. A number of sherds of pottery vessels,⁴² light yellow pottery⁴³ and painted pottery⁴⁴ were found in building B.

Sherds of grey ware vessels with fine walls and of fine body,⁴⁵ various potsherds,⁴⁶ sherds of undecorated terra sigillata,⁴⁷ painted pottery,⁴⁸ coarse pottery,⁴⁹ red and light red pottery⁵⁰ and fragments of amphorae⁵¹ were found in building A.

⁴⁰ Two fragments given the same inventory number.

⁴¹ Čremošnik 1976, 83-94.

⁴² Excavation log 1969, 8.

⁴³ Excavation log 1969, 19.

⁴⁴ Excavation log 1969, 23.

⁴⁵ Excavation log 1969, 10, 16.

⁴⁶ Excavation log 1969, 11, 12.

⁴⁷ Excavation log 1969, 15, 16.

⁴⁸ Excavation log 1969, 17.

⁴⁹ Excavation log 1969, 17.

⁵⁰ Excavation log 1969, 19, 20,

⁵¹ Excavation log 1969, 23.

Bojena keramika

(T. VIII, 1, 2)

(redni kataloški broj 48 i 49)

Na lokalitetu vile u Tišini pronađeni su i fragmenti bojene keramike karakteristične za centralnu Bosnu. Najčešći zastupljeni ornamenti su paralelne linije, spirale, trouglovi, rombovi, koncentrični krugovi, talasaste linije i drugi geometrijski motivi. Jedan od karakterističnih ulomaka iz Tišine predstavlja dio trbuha suda žute boje i finije fature. Na trbuhu su svjetlomrkom bojom izvedeni ornamenti u vidu pravih i talasastih linija i mrežastog ornamenta (red. br. 49, inv. br. 2043). Drugi pronađeni ulomak je dio trbuha posude sa ukrasom u vidu paralelnih linija (red. br. 48, inv. br. 1626).

Ova vrsta keramičkog posuđa sa bojenom geometrijskom ornamentikom pripada tipu finije provincijske keramike, izrađene od prečišćene i dobro termički obrađene zemlje. Karakteristična je po tankim stijenkama i uglačanoj površini. U kontekstu oblika posuđa, na ovoj keramici se odražavaju rimski i autohtoni utjecaji, dok su ornamenti vezani za kasnolatske uzore.⁵²

Mramorirana keramika

(T. VIII, 3, 4)

(redni kataloški broj 50 – 76)

Ova vrsta keramike ima dvije varijante. Prva varijanta je starija i datira se u razdoblje I – II stoljeća. Starija varijanta je finije obrade sa ornamentom svijetlocrvenkaste boje nanasene spužvom. Mlađa varijanta ima grublju obradu sa tamnosmeđim ornamentom. Datira se u razdoblje III – IV stoljeća.⁵³

Analiza pronađenih ulomaka mramorirane keramike ukazuje da su zastupljene obje varijante, na temelju čega se može dati i okvirna datacija čitavog arhitektonskog kompleksa od kraja I do IV stoljeća.

Obrađeni ulomci predstavljaju najčešće dijelove plićih i manjih zdjela, a u manjem broju slučajeva riječ je o posuđu većih dimenzija. Najbliže analogije ovakvoj vrsti mramorirane keramike nalazimo u vilama u Višićima⁵⁴ i Gromilama kod Kaknja.⁵⁵

⁵² Čremošnik 1961, 189-202.

⁵³ Čremošnik 1965, 185 sa literaturom.

⁵⁴ Čremošnik 1965, 185.

⁵⁵ Paškvalin 1991/2005, 136.

Painted pottery

(T. VIII, 1, 2)

(catalogue nos. 48 and 49)

Sherds of painted pottery typical of central Bosnia were also found on the site of the villa in Tišina. The most common decorations were parallel lines, spirals, triangles, rhombs, concentric circles, wavy lines and other geometric motifs. A typical sherd from Tišina was part of the belly of a yellow fine ware pot, decorated in light brown with straight and wavy lines and a reticular pattern (serial no. 49, inv. no. 2043). Another sherd consisted of part of the belly of a pot decorated with parallel lines (serial no. 48, inv. no. 1626).

This type of pottery vessel, with painted geometric designs, belongs to the type of finer-quality provincial pottery of purified, well-fired clay, characterized by its thin walls and burnished surface. The shape of the pots reveals both Roman and indigenous influences, while the decoration is similar to that of late La Tène pottery.⁵²

Marbled pottery

(T. VIII, 3, 4)

(catalogue nos. 50 – 76)

This type of pottery comes in two variants. The older, dating from the 1st to 2nd century, is finer, and is marbled in light red using a sponge to apply the slip. The more recent, dating from the 3rd to 4th century, is coarser, and is decorated in dark brown.⁵³

A study of the marbled potsherds that were found revealed both types, providing a rough date of the late 1st to the 4th century for the architectural complex as a whole.

The sherds that were catalogued were mainly from small, shallow bowls, with only a few from larger vessels. The closest analogous examples of this type of marbled pottery are to be found in the villas in Višići⁵⁴ and Gromile near Kakanj.⁵⁵

⁵² Čremošnik 1961, 189-202.

⁵³ Čremošnik 1965, 185 with bibliography.

⁵⁴ Čremošnik 1965, 185.

⁵⁵ Paškvalin 1991/2005, 136.

Terra sigillata

(T. IX, 1, 2)

(redni kataloški broj 77 – 84)

Ova vrsta keramike pripada najkvalitetnijem tipu uvožene rimske keramike.⁵⁶ Karakteristična je po sjajnoj crvenoj prevlaci. Ovakva prevlaka dobijala se smjesom glinene kaše i biljnog pepela, koja se zatim peče. Ovim se postupkom postizalo da posuđe od terra sigillate postaje nepropusno za vodu. Posuđe od terra sigillate se prema načinu izrade dijeli na reljefno i glatko. Reljefno je rađeno na kalupu, a glatko na lončarskom kolu.⁵⁷ Vrlo često je zastupljena i vrsta terra sigillate chiare,⁵⁸ svjetlije narandžaste varijante, koja je zbog manje osjetljivosti na lomljenje bila nešto zahvalnija za transport.⁵⁹

U vili na lokalitetu sela Tišina u izvjesnom broju slučajeva su konstatirani ulomci imitacije terre sigillate, koja je proizvedena u domaćim radionicama. Ova imitacija karakteristična je po sjajnom premazu nejednake gustoće, slabije postojanim oscilirajućim nijansama od žućkastonarandžaste do tamnocrvene. Podražavanje italskog importiranog posuđa javlja se na početku I stoljeća u provincijskoj proizvodnji na teritoriji cijelog Carstva.⁶⁰

Na području rimske vile u Tišini, broj ulomaka terra sigillate je znatno manji od svih drugih vrsta keramičke robe. Ova vrsta keramike zastupljena je sa samo sedam fragmenata.

Na prostorima Bosne i Hercegovine terra sigillata je pronađena i u Lisičićima,⁶¹ Višićima,⁶² Paniku,⁶³ Brodču,⁶⁴ Žabljaku,⁶⁵ Ilidži,⁶⁶ Gromilama kod Kaknja⁶⁷ i Putovića.⁶⁸

I ova vrsta keramike pokazuje zastupljenost istih oblika posuđa kao i kod mramorirane keramike. Radi se isključivo o manjim i plićim zdjelicama i sudovima.

⁵⁶ Mikl – Curk 1969; Kanaet – Šimić 2003, 110 sa napomenama 2-4.

⁵⁷ Pinterović 1973/75, 58-64.

⁵⁸ Kanaet – Šimić 2003, 123.

⁵⁹ Čremošnik 1962, 115.

⁶⁰ Brukner 1981, 29.

⁶¹ Čremošnik 1955, 121.

⁶² Čremošnik 1965, 184-185.

⁶³ Čremošnik 1976, 100.

⁶⁴ Čremošnik 1957, 137-139.

⁶⁵ Čremošnik 1970, 105.

⁶⁶ Pašalić 1959, 126

⁶⁷ Paškvalin 1991/2005, 135-136

⁶⁸ Paškvalin 1990, 45, 54-57.

Terra sigillata

(T. IX, 1, 2)

(catalogue nos. 77 – 84)

This type of pottery, consisting of the finest imported Roman wares,⁵⁶ is characterized by its glossy red slip, obtained by mixing clay slip and white ash and then firing. As a result of this process, terra sigillata wares are non-porous. In terms of manufacture, they are classified as relief, made in a mould, or smooth, thrown on the potter's wheel.⁵⁷ Also very common is the lighter orange variant known as terra sigillata chiara,⁵⁸ which is less fragile and therefore easier to transport.⁵⁹

A certain number of sherds from the villa at Tišina were of imitation terra sigillata produced in local potteries, typified by its glossy slip of uneven thickness and variations in colour from yellowish-orange to dark red. Copies of imported Italic pottery of provincial make first appear in the early 1st century throughout the Empire.⁶⁰

There were significantly fewer sherds of terra sigillata on the site of the Roman villa in Tišina than of other types of pottery; it was represented by only seven sherds.

Terra sigillata has also been found in Bosnia and Herzegovina at Lisičići,⁶¹ Višići,⁶² Panik,⁶³ Brodac,⁶⁴ Žabljak,⁶⁵ Ilidža,⁶⁶ Gromile near Kakanj⁶⁷ and Putovići.⁶⁸

The same shapes of pot are represented in terra sigillata as in marbled pottery – small, shallow bowls and vessels.

Grey ware pottery

(T. IX, 3, 4)

(catalogue nos. 85 – 166)

Grey ware pottery or terra nigra was well represented by a quantity of sherds, most of fine mark,

⁵⁶ Mikl – Curk 1969; Kanaet – Šimić 2003, 110 with nn. 2-4.

⁵⁷ Pinterović 1973/75, 58-64.

⁵⁸ Kanaet – Šimić 2003, 123.

⁵⁹ Čremošnik 1962, 115.

⁶⁰ Brukner 1981, 29.

⁶¹ Čremošnik 1955, 121.

⁶² Čremošnik 1965, 184-185.

⁶³ Čremošnik 1976, 100.

⁶⁴ Čremošnik 1957, 137-139.

⁶⁵ Čremošnik 1970, 105.

⁶⁶ Pašalić 1959, 126

⁶⁷ Paškvalin 1991/2005, 135-136

⁶⁸ Paškvalin 1990, 45, 54-57.

Siva keramika

(T. IX, 3, 4)

(redni kataloški broj 85 – 166)

Siva keramika ili terra nigra je dobro zastupljena sa većim brojem ulomaka. Većina fragmentata je fine obrade, tankih stijenki, svijetlosive i mrke površine. Ova siva keramika tankih stijenki i fine fakture datira se u period I i II stoljeća.⁶⁹ Na području rimske vile u selu Tišina pronađeno je mnogo ulomaka ove keramike, čak 81 fragment.

Prema očuvanosti ulomaka može se zaključiti da je najveći broj nekarakterističan, a manji broj predstavlja fragmente stolnog posuđa ili male fine posuđice. U kontekst navedenog može se uvrstiti i postojanje poklopaca posuđa sa tri evidentirana primjerka (red. br. 164, inv. br. 1636, red. br. 165, inv. br. 1667, red. br. 166, inv. br. 1839). Od navedenih primjeraka poklopaca prva dva posjeduju dršku, a treći poklopac je bez drške. Keramičkom materijalu sive boje treba pridodati i cjediljke i sita. Prva cjediljka (red. br. 161, inv. br. 1617) je očuvana kao fragment trbuha i vrata posude, sive boje od dobro prečišćene gline, bojene crnom bojom. Rupice za cijedenje postavljene su u nepravilnim nizovima na donjoj površini trbuha. Drugi primjerak (red. br. 162, inv. br. 1964) je izrađen na način da je cijela površina perforirana sitnim otvorima. Sud je finije fakture, mrkocrne boje.

Sličnoj namjeni pripada i primjerak sita (red. br. 163, inv. br. 1844) izrađen od fino prečišćene gline sa rešetkastim perforacijama po cijeloj površini.

Analogije sivoj vrsti keramike i posuđa nalazimo i na drugim lokalitetima u Bosni i Hercegovini.⁷⁰

U skupini posuđa finije izrade sive keramike sa lokaliteta Tišina ističu se i tri otkrivena fragmentirana primjerka ojnohoe. Prvi primjerak predstavlja ulomak izlivenika sa dijelom vrata, svijetlosive boje, dobro prečišćene gline (red. br. 160, inv. br. 1817). Druga dva fragmenta, također su očuvana u dijelu izlivenika finije fakture, mrkosive (red. br. 155, inv. br. 2018) i svijetlosive boje (red. br. 156, inv. br. 2019).

Domaća kućna gruba keramika

(T. X, 1)

(redni kataloški broj 167 – 213)

Pod ovom vrstom keramike obuhvaćeni su nalazi ulomaka neprečišćene strukture, loše tehnike i

with thin walls and light grey or brown surface. This grey ware with fine body and thin walls dates from the 1st and 2nd centuries.⁶⁹ No fewer than 81 sherds of this pottery were found at the Roman villa in Tišina.

The state of preservation of the sherds suggests that most were atypical, with a few consisting of tableware or small fine ware vessels. This includes the lids of vessels, of which three specimens were found (serial no. 164, inv. no. 1636, serial no. 165, inv. no. 1667, serial no. 166, inv. no. 1839). The first two of these had handles, the third had none. Grey ware pottery also includes strainers and sieves. Part of the belly and neck had survived of the first grey ware strainer (serial no. 161, inv. no. 1617), made of purified clay painted red, with the holes of the strainer forming uneven rows on the lower part of the belly. The second specimen (serial no. 162, inv. no. 1964) was perforated over its entire surface with small holes; it was of fine body, dark red in colour.

A sieve (serial no. 163, inv. no. 1844) of purified clay also had a grid of perforations over its entire surface.

Analogous examples of grey ware pottery and vessels can be found elsewhere in Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁷⁰

Three sherds of oinochoe made of fine grey ware were also found at Tišina. The first consisted of part of the lip and neck, of light grey, purified clay (serial no. 160, inv. no. 1817). The other two sherds, also consisting of the lip, were of fine body, one dark grey (serial no. 155, inv. no. 2018) and the other light grey (serial no. 156, inv. no. 2019).

Coarse household pottery of local make

(T. X, 1)

(catalogue nos. 167 – 213)

This type of pottery included sherds of unpurified body, coarse body and badly fired, mostly coarse and with thick walls, and a considerable admixture of quartzite, grey, dark grey, reddish and black. It is thus easy to distinguish from Roman pottery. This local pottery was largely made for each household's

⁶⁹ Čremošnik 1976, 108.

⁷⁰ Čremošnik 1965, 185-186; 1976: 106-107.

⁶⁹ Čremošnik 1976, 108.

⁷⁰ Čremošnik 1965, 185-186; 1976: 106-107.

pečenja, uglavnom grube fature i debelih stijenki, sa jakom primjesom kvarcita, sive, mrkosive, crvenkaste i crne boje. Na temelju ovih karakteristika ona se razmjerno lako odvaja od rimske keramike. Ova domaća lokalna keramika, rađena je većinom za potrebe sopstvenog kućanstva. Način i kvalitet izrade ukazuje na veliku sličnost od prahistorije do srednjeg vijeka.

Manji broj ulomaka pokazuje izvjestan kvalitet u načinu izrade i fakturi stijenki posuda (red. br. 172, inv. br. 1602, red. br. 174, inv. br. 1627, red. br. 175, inv. br. 1628, red. br. 176, inv. br. 1630, red. br. 177, inv. br. 1631).

Nalazi domaće kućne keramike su u Tišini dosta zastupljeni (sa 46 ulomaka).

Analiza nabrojanih ulomaka ukazuje da je kod ove vrste keramičkog posuđa najviše prevladavalo manje posuđe, loptaste i trbušaste zdjele, šire plitke zdjele, bikonične zdjele i pehari, a u jednom slučaju i ulomak amfore (red. br. 213, inv. br. 1649).

Najmnogobrojnija vrsta keramike pronađene na lokalitetima rimskih vila u Bosni i Hercegovini je gruba domaća kućna keramika. Znatan broj je utvrđen na lokalitetima vila u Ljusini,⁷¹ Tutnjevcu,⁷² Lisičićima,⁷³ Višićima,⁷⁴ Paniku i Dračevoj Strani,⁷⁵ Brodcau,⁷⁶ Čelebićima,⁷⁷ Mušićima,⁷⁸ Rankovićima,⁷⁹ Putovićima,⁸⁰ Žabljaku⁸¹ i Ilidži.⁸²

Crvena i keramika sa crvenom prevlakom

(T. X, 2, 3)

(redni kataloški broj 214 – 270)

Ovoj skupini keramike pripada veliki broj ulomaka, njih 56. Pripadaju različitim tipovima posuđa, plitkih zdjela (red. br. 214, inv. br. 1565, red. br. 215, inv. br. 1576, red. br. 216, inv. br. 1595, red. br. 217, inv. br. 1605, red. br. 218, inv. br. 1621, red. br. 219, inv. br. 1642, red. br. 220, inv. br. 1668, red. br. 221, inv. br. 1696, red. br. 222, inv. br. 1719, red. br. 223, inv. br. 1762, red. br.

own use. The method and quality of manufacture remain very similar from prehistory to the Middle Ages.

A few specimens displayed some quality of manufacture and in the body of the walls (serial no. 172, inv. no. 1602, serial no. 174, inv. no. 1627, serial no. 175, inv. no. 1628, serial no. 176, inv. no. 1630, serial no. 177, inv. no. 1631).

Several specimens of household pottery were found at Tišina (46 sherds).

A study of these sherds revealed that they were mainly from small pots, globular and bellied bowls, wider, shallow bowls, biconical bowls and beakers; there was also one piece of an amphora (serial no. 213, inv. no. 1649).

Coarse locally-made household pottery accounts for the majority of pottery found at Roman villa sites in Bosnia and Herzegovina, with significant numbers found at Ljusina,⁷¹ Tutnjevac,⁷² Lisičići,⁷³ Višići,⁷⁴ Panik and Dračeva Strana,⁷⁵ Brodac,⁷⁶ Čelebići,⁷⁷ Mušići,⁷⁸ Rankovići,⁷⁹ Putovići,⁸⁰ Žabljak⁸¹ and Ilidža.⁸²

Red ware and red-slip ware

(T. X, 2, 3)

(catalogue nos. 214 – 270)

A total of 56 sherds belonged to this group of wares. They came from various types of vessel: shallow bowls (serial no. 214, inv. no. 1565, serial no. 215, inv. no. 1576, serial no. 216, inv. no. 1595, serial no. 217, inv. no. 1605, serial no. 218, inv. no. 1621, serial no. 219, inv. no. 1642, serial no. 220, inv. no. 1668, serial no. 221, inv. no. 1696, serial no. 222, inv. no. 1719, serial no. 223, inv. no. 1762, serial no. 224, inv. no. 1866, serial no. 225, inv. no. 1907, serial no. 226, inv. no. 1920, serial no. 227, inv. no. 1932, serial no. 228, inv. no. 1973, serial no. 229, inv. no.

⁷¹ Čremošnik 1959, 142.

⁷² Čremošnik 1958, 39-43.

⁷³ Čremošnik 1955, 121, ista 1957a: 146.

⁷⁴ Čremošnik 1965, 186-187 i 204.

⁷⁵ Čremošnik 1976, 103-106.

⁷⁶ Čremošnik 1957, 134-135.

⁷⁷ Čremošnik 1954, 182.

⁷⁸ Čremošnik 1970, 49.

⁷⁹ Čremošnik 1955, 130-131.

⁸⁰ Paškvalin 1990, 45 i 47.

⁸¹ Čremošnik 1970, 104.

⁸² Pašalić 1959, 126.

⁷¹ Čremošnik 1959, 142.

⁷² Čremošnik 1958, 39-43.

⁷³ Čremošnik 1955, 121, idem 1957a: 146.

⁷⁴ Čremošnik 1965, 186-187 and 204.

⁷⁵ Čremošnik 1976, 103-106.

⁷⁶ Čremošnik 1957, 134-135.

⁷⁷ Čremošnik 1954, 182.

⁷⁸ Čremošnik 1970, 49.

⁷⁹ Čremošnik 1955, 130-131.

⁸⁰ Paškvalin 1990, 45 and 47.

⁸¹ Čremošnik 1970, 104.

⁸² Pašalić 1959, 126.

224, inv. br. 1866, red. br. 225, inv. br. 1907, red. br. 226, inv. br. 1920, red. br. 227, inv. br. 1932, red. br. 228, inv. br. 1973, red. br. 229, inv. br. 2047, **T. X, 2**); manjih posuda (red. br. 230, inv. br. 1613, red. br. 231, inv. br. 1638, red. br. 232, inv. br. 1865); trbušastih posuda (red. br. 233, inv. br. 1616, red. br. 234, inv. br. 1639, red. br. 235, inv. br. 1962); drški (red. br. 236, inv. br. 1583, red. br. 237, inv. br. 1674, red. br. 238, inv. br. 1722, red. br. 239, inv. br. 1733, red. br. 240, inv. br. 1796, red. br. 241, inv. br. 1858, red. br. 242, inv. br. 1977, red. br. 243, inv. br. 1999, red. br. 253, inv. br. 1992 (**T. X, 3**); kuglastih posuda (red. br. 244, inv. br. 1604, red. br. 245, inv. br. 1833); čaša (red. br. 246, inv. br. 1660); dna (red. br. 247, inv. br. 1708, red. br. 248, inv. br. 1744, red. br. 249, inv. br. 1836, red. br. 250, inv. br. 1877, red. br. 251, inv. br. 2041, red. br. 252, inv. br. 2042); tanjira (red. br. 254, inv. br. 1906, red. br. 255, inv. br. 1950); poklopaca sa drškom (red. br. 265, inv. br. 1777, red. br. 266, inv. br. 1830, red. br. 267, inv. br. 1942); poklopaca bez drške (red. br. 268, inv. br. 1615, red. br. 269, inv. br. 1623, red. br. 270, inv. br. 1943) i većih sudova (red. br. 256, inv. br. 1891, red. br. 257, inv. br. 1905, red. br. 258, inv. br. 1990). U navedenu kategoriju se mogu uvrstiti i ulomci drški i manjih dijelova trbuha amfora (red. br. 259, inv. br. 1563, red. br. 260, inv. br. 1678, red. br. 261, inv. br. 1729, red. br. 262, inv. br. 1789, red. br. 263, inv. br. 1971).

Pitosi su korišteni kao posuđe većih dimenzija, koje je služilo za pohranjivanje većih količina prehrambenih artikala. Ovakvo posuđe na lokalitetu Tišine je zastupljeno sa tri fragmenta jednog pitosa (red. br. 264, inv. br. 1810). Riječ je o ravno razgrnutom obodu sa dijelom vrata pitosa, većih dimenzija, grublje fature, svijetlocrvenkaste boje.

Analiza ukrasa na ovim primjercima keramike pokazuje da se najzastupljeniji oblik odnosio na tehniku izrade kenelura, u nešto manjem broju rebara, bradavica, pletenica, ornamenata nastalih štipanjem i ornamenata u obliku grubo pletene tkanine. Faktura navedenih primjeraka ukazuje da je zastupljeno posuđe kako grublje fature, tako i od fino prečišćene zemlje, dobro pečeno i obrađeno. Analogni primjeri iste keramike pronađeni su i na lokalitetima Dračeva Strana te Panik kod Bileće.⁸³

⁸³ Čremošnik 1976, 104-105.

2047, **T. X, 2**); small pots (serial no. 230, inv. no. 1613, serial no. 231, inv. no. 1638, serial no. 232, inv. no. 1865); bellied pots (serial no. 233, inv. no. 1616, serial no. 234, inv. no. 1639, serial no. 235, inv. no. 1962); handles (serial no. 236, inv. no. 1583, serial no. 237, inv. no. 1674, serial no. 238, inv. no. 1722, serial no. 239, inv. no. 1733, serial no. 240, inv. no. 1796, serial no. 241, inv. no. 1858, serial no. 242, inv. no. 1977, serial no. 243, inv. no. 1999, serial no. 253, inv. no. 1992 (**T. X, 3**); globular pots (serial no. 244, inv. no. 1604, serial no. 245, inv. no. 1833); beakers (serial no. 246, inv. no. 1660); bases (serial no. 247, inv. no. 1708, serial no. 248, inv. no. 1744, serial no. 249, inv. no. 1836, serial no. 250, inv. no. 1877, serial no. 251, inv. no. 2041, serial no. 252, inv. no. 2042); plates (serial no. 254, inv. no. 1906, serial no. 255, inv. no. 1950); lids with handle (serial no. 265, inv. no. 1777, serial no. 266, inv. no. 1830, serial no. 267, inv. no. 1942); lids without handle (serial no. 268, inv. no. 1615, serial no. 269, inv. no. 1623, serial no. 270, inv. no. 1943) and large pots (serial no. 256, inv. no. 1891, serial no. 257, inv. no. 1905, serial no. 258, inv. no. 1990). This group also includes parts of handles and small pieces from the belly of amphorae (serial no. 259, inv. no. 1563, serial no. 260, inv. no. 1678, serial no. 261, inv. no. 1729, serial no. 262, inv. no. 1789, serial no. 263, inv. no. 1971).

A pithos was a large vessel used for storing large quantities of foodstuffs. This type of vessel was represented at Tišina by three sherds from the same pithos (serial no. 264, inv. no. 1810), consisting of the everted rim and part of the neck of a large pithos of coarse body, light reddish in colour.

A study of the decoration on these pottery specimens reveals that the most common form or technique was cannelures, followed by ribs, warts, interlace, pinching, and a design of coarsely-woven fabric. The body of these specimens showed that vessels of both coarse and fine body, well fired and well made, were represented. Analogous specimens of this type of pottery have been found at Dračeva Strana and at Panik near Bileća.⁸³

⁸³ Čremošnik 1976, 104-105.

Svijetla keramika

(T. X, 4)

(redni kataloški broj 271 – 299)

Među svijetlom keramikom zastupljeno je 28 fragmenata žute i bijele keramike. Najviše ulomaka predstavljaju dijelovi oboda i trbuha grublje (red. br. 271, inv. br. 1559) ili finije fature (red. br. 272, inv. br. 1609, red. br. 273, inv. br. 1720, red. br. 274, inv. br. 1721, red. br. 275, inv. br. 1745, red. br. 276, inv. br. 1755, red. br. 277, inv. br. 1778, red. br. 278, inv. br. 1821, red. br. 279, inv. br. 1849, red. br. 280, inv. br. 1863, red. br. 281, inv. br. 1915, red. br. 282, inv. br. 1934); trbuha (red. br. 283, inv. br. 1911); oboda sa dijelom vrata (red. br. 284, inv. br. 1871); prstenastog dna i trbuha finije (red. br. 285, inv. br. 1594, red. br. 286, inv. br. 1679, red. br. 287, inv. br. 1732, red. br. 288, inv. br. 1853), ili grublje fature (red. br. 289, inv. br. 1779); oboda sa dijelom trbuha i dna pliće šire zdjele (red. br. 290, inv. br. 1763, red. br. 291, inv. br. 1799, red. br. 292, inv. br. 1949); tanjira (red. br. 293, inv. br. 1908); drške sa dijelom trbuha ili oboda i vrata (red. br. 294, inv. br. 1864); loptastog suda (red. br. 295, inv. br. 2004, **T. X, 4**) i fragmenti trbuha i vrata veće posude (red. br. 296, inv. br. 2000). Najveći dio nabrojanih fragmenata je od dobro prečišćene zemlje. Zanimljivi su i fragmenti amfora (red. br. 297, inv. br. 1651, red. br. 298, inv. br. 1827, red. br. 299, inv. br. 1974) koji se zbog fragmentiranosti ne mogu preciznije definirati u tip ili varijantu. Amfore kao keramički predmet svakodnevne upotrebe, čuvanja i transporta različitih artikala, a najčešće vina i ulja, pronađene su na različitim lokalitetima rimskih vila u Bosni i Hercegovini.⁸⁴

Kod izvjesnog broja primjeraka konstatirano je i bojenje površine crvenom bojom sa spužvom (tzv. "Flammenware"), (red. br. 290, inv. br. 1763, red. br. 277, inv. br. 1778, red. br. 291, inv. br. 1799, red. br. 293, inv. br. 1908, red. br. 282, inv. br. 1934, red. br. 292, inv. br. 1949), narandžastom (red. br. 286, inv. br. 1679) ili mrkom bojom (red. br. 276, inv. br. 1755).

Slični primjerci pronađeni su i na lokalitetima Dračeva Strana te Panik u općini Bileća.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Čremošnik 1965, 188-191, ista 1976, 107.

⁸⁵ Čremošnik 1976, 103-104.

Light-coloured pottery

(T. X, 4)

(catalogue nos. 271 – 299)

Light-coloured pottery was represented by 28 sherds of yellow and white pottery, mostly parts of the rim and belly of coarse pots (serial no. 271, inv. no. 1559) or of finer body (serial no. 272, inv. no. 1609, serial no. 273, inv. no. 1720, serial no. 274, inv. no. 1721, serial no. 275, inv. no. 1745, serial no. 276, inv. no. 1755, serial no. 277, inv. no. 1778, serial no. 278, inv. no. 1821, serial no. 279, inv. no. 1849, serial no. 280, inv. no. 1863, serial no. 281, inv. no. 1915, serial no. 282, inv. no. 1934); belly (serial no. 283, inv. no. 1911); a rim and part of the neck (serial no. 284, inv. no. 1871); the annular base and belly of finer (serial no. 285, inv. no. 1594, serial no. 286, inv. no. 1679, serial no. 287, inv. no. 1732, serial no. 288, inv. no. 1853) or coarser body (serial no. 289, inv. no. 1779); a rim with part of the belly and the base of a wide, shallow bowl (serial no. 290, inv. no. 1763, serial no. 291, inv. no. 1799, serial no. 292, inv. no. 1949); a plate (serial no. 293, inv. no. 1908); a handle with part of the belly or rim and neck (serial no. 294, inv. no. 1864); a globular pot (serial no. 295, inv. no. 2004, **T. X, 4**) and pieces of the belly and neck of a sizeable vessel (serial no. 296, inv. no. 2000). Most of these sherds were of purified clay. Also of interest are pieces of amphorae (serial no. 297, inv. no. 1651, serial no. 298, inv. no. 1827, serial no. 299, inv. no. 1974), which were too fragmentary to enable their type or variant to be identified. Amphorae, pottery vessels in everyday use to store and transport a variety of goods, usually wine or oil, have been found at various Roman villa sites in Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁸⁴

On a certain number of these specimens, red colouring had been applied to the surface with a sponge (Flammenware) (serial no. 290, inv. no. 1763, serial no. 277, inv. no. 1778, serial no. 291, inv. no. 1799, serial no. 293, inv. no. 1908, serial no. 282, inv. no. 1934, serial no. 292, inv. no. 1949); another was orange (serial no. 286, inv. no. 1679); one was coloured brown (serial no. 276, inv. no. 1755).

Similar examples have been found at Dračeva Strana and Panik in Bileća Municipality.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Čremošnik 1965, 188-191, idem 1976, 107.

⁸⁵ Čremošnik 1976, 103-104.

Ostali keramički predmeti

Analiza ulomaka svih vrsta sive, crvene, mramorirane, sigilatne, domaće kućne grube i svijetle keramike potvrđuje raznovrsnost oblika i tipova posuđa. Najzastupljeniji su oblici malih posudica, stolnog posuđa, manjih plićih zdjela i sudova, tanjira, kao i nešto posuđa većih dimenzija, amfora i pitosa, cjediljki i sita.

U grupu keramičkog materijala pripada i nekoliko primjeraka pršljenova i prahistorijske keramike. Tako su dva keramička pršljena (red. br. 436, inv. br. 2051), kružnog presjeka po sredini perforirana, grublje fature, mrkosive boje jedini primjerci ove vrste keramičkog inventara sa lokaliteta Tišina (**T. XI, 2, 3**).

Kontinuitet naseljenosti lokaliteta i prije podizanja rimskog objekta dokazan je i jednim ulomkom prahistorijske keramike (red. br. 300, inv. br. 1781, **T. XI, 1**). Radi se o manjem fragmentu trbuha barbotiranog suda mrkosive boje i lošije fature. Lokalitet se nalazi na blagoj padini u neposrednoj blizini potoka Mlinica, pa pronalazak i ulomka iz predrimskog perioda ne predstavlja nikakvo iznenađenje.

Prilikom analize načina izrade keramičkog posuđa sa lokaliteta Tišina pokazalo se da su bile zastupljene dvije osnovne tehnike izrade zemljanog posuđa – ručno i uz pomoć vitla.

Metal

(željezo, bronza)

(T. XIII, 1; T. XV, 4; T. XVI, 1, 2)

(redni kataloški broj 301 – 344)

Nalazi metalnih predmeta u Tišini su dosta raznovrsni. Ovakva situacija je i logična u bogatoj vili sa velikim domaćinstvom, kakva je upravo vila iz Tišine.

Među uobičajene nalaze spadaju fragmenti predmeta za svakodnevnu upotrebu, kao što su noževi, oplate, brave, ključevi, zasuni, testere, zvana, kuke, utezi, udice, strelice i sl.

Jedan od mnogobrojnih metalnih (željeznih) nalaza su noževi (red. br. 301, inv. br. 1792, red. br. 302, inv. br. 1899, red. br. 303, inv. br. 2021, red. br. 304, inv. br. 2034, red. br. 305, inv. br. 2038, red. br. 306, inv. br. 2059). U grupu sječiva spada i otkriveni list sa dijelom većeg bodeža sa oštricom na jednoj strani. Gornja strana je lučno povijena (red. br. 307, inv. br. 2035).

U posebnu skupinu spadaju i otkrivene strelice, koje su najvjerojatnije u sekundarnoj upotrebi

Other pottery artefacts

A study of the sherds of every type of pottery – grey ware, red ware, marbled, sigillata, local coarse household wares and light-coloured wares – reveals the diversity of shapes and types of vessel. Most common are small pots, tableware, small shallow bowls and dishes, plates, and a number of larger vessels (amphorae and pithoi), strainers and sieves.

The pottery material also included a few specimens of spinning-wheel whorls and prehistoric pottery. Two pottery whorls of dark grey colouring and coarse body (serial no. 436, inv. no. 2051), circular in section with a central perforation, constitute the only specimens of this type of pottery from the site at Tišina (**T. XI, 2, 3**).

Evidence of continuity of habitation of the site even before the Roman villa was built is provided by a sherd of prehistoric pottery (serial no. 300, inv. no. 1781, **T. XI, 1**), consisting of a small piece from the belly of a dark grey barbotine vessel of inferior make. It is no surprise to find pre-Roman potsherds on such a site, on a gentle slope very close to the Mlinica brook.

A study of the techniques used in making the pottery vessels from the site at Tišina showed that the two basic techniques were both used – hand moulded, and thrown on the wheel.

Metal

(iron, bronze)

(T. XIII, 1; T. XV, 4; T. XVI, 1, 2)

(catalogue nos. 301 – 344)

The metal artefacts found at Tišina are quite varied, as is to be expected in the villa of a wealthy family with a large household.

Among the finds are the usual fragments of items of everyday use such as knives, facings, locks, keys, door latches, saws, bells, hooks, weights, fish-hooks, arrow-heads and so on.

Several knives were found (serial no. 301, inv. no. 1792, serial no. 302, inv. no. 1899, serial no. 303, inv. no. 2021, serial no. 304, inv. no. 2034, serial no. 305, inv. no. 2038, serial no. 306, inv. no. 2059). Cutting implements also included part of the blade of a large single-edged

služile u lovačke svrhe (red. br. 308, inv. br. 1936, red. br. 309, inv. br. 1951). Primjerak (red. br. 310, inv. br. 1774) je strelica sa punim tuljcem i listastog je oblika. Druga dva primjerka (red. br. 308, inv. br. 1936 i red. br. 309, inv. br. 1951) zbog stepena oštećenosti i korozije se ne mogu pobliže opisati.

Veći broj klinova (red. br. 311, inv. br. 1692, red. br. 312, inv. br. 1693, red. br. 313, inv. br. 1703, red. br. 314, inv. br. 1714, red. br. 315, inv. br. 1772, red. br. 316, inv. br. 1886, red. br. 317, inv. br. 2052), koji su otkriveni, potiču iz konstrukcije građevine. Klinovi su istih karakteristika. Riječ je o klinovima sa pravougaonim presjekom tijela i pločastom glavom.

Grupi željeznih predmeta koji dokazuju postojanje stočarstva u sklopu ovog građevinskog kompleksa pripada postojanje stočarskog zvona (red. br. 318, inv. br. 2011) i kuke (red. br. 319, inv. br. 1773). Stočarsko zvono usmjerava na zaključak da su vlasnici objekta posjedovali i izvjestan broj stoke, dok je pronađena kuka dokaz da su se na imanju obavljale i aktivnosti u vezi obrade mesa.

Ribolovstvo kao privredna aktivnost dokazana je i na ovom lokalitetu otkrivanjem jednog primjerka udice (red. br. 320, inv. br. 2037).

Željeznim predmetima koji su svakodnevno korišteni pripada i jedan uteg elipsoidnog oblika sa donjim širim i gornjim užim krajem (red. br. 321, inv. br. 1876), kao i željezni ključ rađen u tehnici prolamanja (red. br. 322, inv. br. 1554).

Široku primjenu sistema zaključavanja objekata ili nekih prostorija dokazuje i pronalazak tri fragmenta željeznog okova i brave (red. br. 323, inv. br. 1589). Brava je bila jednostavnije konstrukcije i zatvarala se na način tzv. reze. Veći fragment je u obliku slova "T". Drugi primjerak brave (red. br. 324, inv. br. 1715) je također od željeza, sa jednim krajem polukružnog oblika, po sredini perforiran. Drugi kraj je sužen, pravougaonog presjeka.

Alatu za rezanje drveta pripada jedan primjerak pronađene testere, sa očuvanom perforacijom na jednoj strani za učvršćivanje oplate drške (red. br. 325, inv. br. 1735).⁸⁶

Grupi različitog alata pripada još pet primjeraka. Alat (red. br. 326, inv. br. 1711) predstavlja oštećenu i korodiranu alatku za poljoprivredne radove i okopavanje. Predmet posjeduje tuljac na jednom kraju i dva račvasta špicasta kraka, koji su služili za okopavanje. Druga alatka predstavlja

dagger, curved at the top (serial no. 307, inv. no. 2035).

The arrow-heads that were found form a separate group, probably used for the secondary purpose of hunting (serial no. 308, inv. no. 1936, serial no. 309, inv. no. 1951). One example (serial no. 310, inv. no. 1774) is a leaf-shaped arrow with a solid socket; others (serial no. 308, inv. no. 1936 and serial no. 309, inv. no. 1951) were too badly damaged to be described in detail.

The many nails found (serial no. 311, inv. no. 1692, serial no. 312, inv. no. 1693, serial no. 313, inv. no. 1703, serial no. 314, inv. no. 1714, serial no. 315, inv. no. 1772, serial no. 316, inv. no. 1886, serial no. 317, inv. no. 2052), all from the structure of the building, were all alike, rectangular in section with a flattened head.

A cowbell (serial no. 318, inv. no. 2011) and hooks (serial no. 319, inv. no. 1773) fall within the group of iron artefacts attesting to livestock farming on this estate. The cowbell suggests that the owners had a number of farm animals, while the hook suggests that animals were butchered on the estate.

A single fishhook (serial no. 320, inv. no. 2037) suggested that fishing also formed part of the economy of the estate.

Other iron artefacts in everyday use include an ellipsoid weight, wider at the base than at the top (serial no. 321, inv. no. 1876), and an iron key made by piercing (serial no. 322, inv. no. 1554).

The discovery of three fragments of iron latches and locks (serial no. 323, inv. no. 1589) suggests that the buildings or certain rooms could be locked. The lock was a simple latch lifter. The larger fragment is Γ-shaped. The other lock (serial no. 324, inv. no. 1715), also of iron, was semicircular at one end, with a hole in the middle, narrower and rectangular in section at the other end.

Woodcutting implements were represented by a saw, still with the hole at one end to which the handle would have been fixed (serial no. 325, inv. no. 1735).⁸⁶

Another five finds constituted a heterogeneous group of tools. One of these (serial no. 326, inv. no. 1711) was a damaged, corroded agricultural digging implement with a socket at one end and

⁸⁶ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 14.

⁸⁶ Excavation log 1969, 14.

formu otikača (red. br. 327, inv. br. 1775), koja je služila za čišćenje i struganje kopita ili rala. Otikač je od željeza, korodiran, sa savijenom drškom i listastim proširenim tijelom. Strane su povijene. Treći primjerak predstavlja željeznu korodiranu sjekiru sa tuljcem (red. br. 328, inv. br. 1892). Željezna lopatica sa tragom drške (red. br. 329, inv. br. 2054), dosta oštećena, i nedefinirani oštećeni željezni predmet (red. br. 330, inv. br. 1997) predstavljaju posljednje primjerke alata sa lokaliteta Tišine. Sjekire, testere, lopatice, otikači, budaci su česte alatke na rimskim poljoprivrednim imanjima. Njihova svakodnevna upotreba u građevinskim, stolarskim, drvnoprerađivačkim i poljoprivrednim aktivnostima potvrđena je kao masovna u rimsko doba.⁸⁷

Željeznim predmetima sa lokaliteta Tišina pripadaju i dvije oplate, pravougaonog oblika, kanelirane (red. br. 331, inv. br. 1767) i primjerak oplate sa perforiranim rupama na jednoj strani za pričvršćivanje (red. br. 332, inv. br. 1716).

U objektu A pronađene su i dvije korodirane halke.⁸⁸

Na lokalitetu Tišina u objektu B u velikoj prostoriji pronađena je jedna bronzana pinceta (red. br. 339, inv. br. 1809).⁸⁹ Pinceta je urađena iz jednog tanjeg lima i predstavlja predmet koji je mogao služiti kao kozmetički ili medicinski instrument (**T. XV, 4**).⁹⁰

Od igala je zastupljena samo jedna bronzana igla (red. br. 340, inv. br. 1882) za šivanje sa očuvanom elipsoidnom ušicom.⁹¹

Skupini malih bronzanih predmeta pripada i trn (igla) pojase kopče, pravougaonog presjeka tijela sa spiralnim završetkom za pričvršćivanje (red. br. 333, inv. br. 1689).

U kategoriji postojanijeg bronzanog posuđa su i očuvana dva primjerka fragmenata drške. Prvi je primjerak drške suda kružnog presjeka tijela na sredini, sa krajevima kvadratnog presjeka dobijenim iskucavanjem (red. br. 334, inv. br. 1840). Drugi primjer (red. br. 335, inv. br. 1841) predstavlja fragment drške bronzanog suda kružnog presjeka tijela, koji je savijen skoro u halku.

a two-pronged fork at the other. Another was a kind of plough scraper or hoof pick (serial no. 327, inv. no. 1775), of corroded iron, with a curved handle and leaf-shaped blade with curved sides. A third item consisted of a corroded iron axe with a socket (serial no. 328, inv. no. 1892). An iron shovel with vestiges of a handle (serial no. 329, inv. no. 2054), quite badly damaged, and an unidentified, damaged iron object (serial no. 330, inv. no. 1997) constitute the final examples of tools from the site at Tišina. Axes, saws, shovels, plough scrapers and mattocks are common on Roman agricultural estates, and are known to have been widely used in Roman times not only for agricultural purposes but also in building, carpentry and woodworking.⁸⁷

Two rectangular, grooved iron facings (serial no. 331, inv. no. 1767) and a facing with perforations on one side for attachment (serial no. 332, inv. no. 1716), were also found at the Tišina site.

Two corroded door knockers were also found in building A.⁸⁸

A pair of bronze pincers, made of a thin sheet of metal and suitable for use for cosmetic or medical purposes⁸⁹ (serial no. 339, inv. no. 1809) was found in the large room in building B (**T. XV, 4**).⁹⁰ Just one bronze needle with intact elliptical eye (serial no. 340, inv. no. 1882) was found.⁹¹ Another small bronze artefact consisted of the prong of a belt buckle, rectangular in section ending in a spiral (serial no. 333, inv. no. 1689).

Among more durable bronze artefacts are two fragments of the handles of a vessel, the first round in section at the middle and hammered into square section at the ends (serial no. 334, inv. no. 1840), and the second (serial no. 335, inv. no. 1841) part of a bronze handle, the middle round in section, bent almost into a circle.

Other everyday articles include two bronze door latches (serial no. 336, inv. no. 1555 and serial no. 337, inv. no. 2025), the first rectangular with the handle rectangular in section, made by piercing, with a fine patina (**T. XVI, 1**), and the second also rectangular, with eight perforations

⁸⁷ Popović 1988.

⁸⁸ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 13.

⁸⁹ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 8.

⁹⁰ Jacobi 1897, 452, T. LXII, 11; Ivčević 1999, 113-114.

⁹¹ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1971, 9.

⁸⁷ Popović 1988.

⁸⁸ Excavation log 1969, 13.

⁸⁹ Excavation log 1969, 8.

⁹⁰ Jacobi 1897, 452, T. LXII, 11; Ivčević 1999, 113-114.

⁹¹ Excavation log 1971, 9.

Predmetima svakodnevne upotrebe mogu se pridodati i dva bronzana zasuna (red. br. 336, inv. br. 1555 i red. br. 337, inv. br. 2025). Prvi zasun je pravougaonog oblika tijela i drške pravougaonog presjeka, rađen u tehnici prolamanja. Patiniran je plemenitom patinom (T. XVI, 1). Drugi primjerak je također pravougaonog tijela sa osam perforiranih rupa i drškom kvadratnog presjeka tijela (T. XVI, 2). Vrlo slični primjerci pronađeni su na lokalitetima Bribira i Burnuma.⁹²

Nedefiniranom predmetu od bronzne pripadaju i dva fragmenta tankog patiniranog lima sa ostacima četiri perforirane rupe i dvije male bronzane zakivke (red. br. 338, inv. br. 1677), te također nedefinirani željezni predmet (red. br. 344, inv. br. 1820) (T. XIII, 1).

Fibule
(T. XIII, 2, 3)
(redni kataloški broj 409 – 418)

Fibule pronađene na lokalitetu vile u selu Tišina pokazuju razmjernu mnogobrojnost različitih oblika i tipova. Među zastupljenije tipove se mogu ubrojiti sidraste fibule (red. br. 412, inv. br. 1946, red. br. 414, inv. br. 1955, red. br. 417, inv. br. 2007). Osnovna karakteristika ovog tipa je oblik u vidu sidra. Konstrukcijski uglavnom pripadaju dvočlanim fibulama. Sidraste fibule su korištene najviše na prostoru Panonije, Dakije i Dalmacije. Osobito mnogo ih je pronađeno na prostoru današnje Bosne i Hercegovine.⁹³ Datiraju se u vremenskom intervalu od kraja I do početka III stoljeća.⁹⁴

Pored sidrastih, na lokalitetu rimske vile u selu Tišina pronađena su i dva primjerka izrazito profiliranih fibula (red. br. 412, inv. br. 1946, red. br. 413, inv. br. 1947). Ovih fibula ima više tipova, što ovisi od postojanja potporne grede. Svoje porijeklo vode od kasnolatskih primjeraka. Karakteristične su za period II i prvu polovinu III stoljeća.⁹⁵ Prvi primjerak iz Tišine (T. XIII, 2) pripada starijem tipu izrazito profiliranih fibula sa potpornom gredom, dok mlađem tipu izrazito profiliranih fibula bez potporne grede pripada druga fibula (red. br. 413). Fibule ove grupacije pronađene su na više mjesta današnje Bosne i Hercegovine.⁹⁶

and a square-section shaft (T. XVI, 2). Very similar specimens have been found at Bribir and Burnum.⁹²

Two fragments of thinly plated sheet metal with the remains of four perforations and two small bronze rivets (serial no. 338, inv. no. 1677), and an iron object (serial no. 344, inv. no. 1820) (T. XIII, 1) remain unidentified.

Fibulae
(T. XIII, 2, 3)
(catalogue nos. 409 – 418)

The fibulae found at the site of the villa in Tišina consist of a relatively large number of forms and types, including anchor fibulae (serial no. 412, inv. no. 1946, serial no. 414, inv. no. 1955, serial no. 417, inv. no. 2007) which, as their name suggests, are anchor-shaped; most consist of two parts. Anchor fibulae were most widely used in Pannonia, Dacia and Dalmatia, and have been found in particularly large numbers in what is now Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁹³ They date from the late 1st to the early 3rd century.⁹⁴

Two specimens of strongly profiled fibulae were also found at the site of the Roman villa in Tišina (serial no. 412, inv. no. 1946, serial no. 413, inv. no. 1947). There are several types of such fibulae, depending on the presence or absence of a spring cover. They derive from late La Tène examples, and are typical of the 2nd and first half of the 3rd century.⁹⁵ The first specimen from Tišina (T. XIII, 2) is of the earlier type of markedly profiled fibula with a backing plate; the second (serial no. 413) is of the later type, without a spring cover. Fibulae of this group have been found in several places in Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁹⁶

One specimen of a plate fibula was found (serial no. 410, inv. no. 1881). Unenamelled plate fibulae of geometrical shape are characterized by their diversity of shapes (rhombus, ellipse, circle, rectangle and so on), and are widespread

⁹² Šeparović *et al.* 2009, 78, sl. 183-185.

⁹³ Busuladžić 2010, 83-88.

⁹⁴ Bojović 1983, 44-45.

⁹⁵ Bojović 1983, 38-39.

⁹⁶ Busuladžić 2010, 56-60.

⁹² Šeparović *et al.* 2009, 78, fig. 183-185.

⁹³ Busuladžić 2010, 83-88.

⁹⁴ Bojović 1983, 44-45.

⁹⁵ Bojović 1983, 38-39.

⁹⁶ Busuladžić 2010, 56-60.

Tip pločaste fibule zastupljen je sa jednim primjerkom (red. br. 410, inv. br. 1881). Pločaste ne-emajlirane fibule geometrijskih oblika karakteristične su upravo po različitim geometrijskim oblicima (romb, elipsa, krug, četverokut i sl.). Fibule ovog tipa rasprostranjene su u širokom prostoru od Engleske do dijelova današnje Ukrajine i Moldavije. Ima ih na prostorima današnje Bosne i Hercegovine.⁹⁷ Datiraju se u period sredine I stoljeća.⁹⁸

Konstatiran je jedan primjerak (red. br. 415, inv. br. 1982) lučne fibule sa lokaliteta Tišina. Ova velika grupacija fibula zastupljena je sa više različitih tipova.⁹⁹ lučne fibule sa šarnirom slične fibulama sa dvije igle, lučne fibule sa šarnirom i zadebljanjem na luku u vidu grebena, lučne fibule sa jednom lukovicom¹⁰⁰ i lučne fibule ukrašene emajlom.¹⁰¹ Zbog stepena oštećenosti i nedostatka dijelova, navedeni bronzani primjerak se ne može sa sigurnošću definirati ni u jedan od ponuđenih tipova.

Prstenasta fibula otkrivena na lokalitetu rimske vile (red. br. 418, inv. br. 2015) (**T. XIII, 3**) predstavlja jedini primjerak ovog tipa. Ove fibule karakterizira specifičan kružni, prstenasti oblik. Krajevi ovih fibula savijeni su spiralno u obliku rolne. Luk fibule može biti različitog presjeka. Konstatiran ih je veliki broj na prostorima današnje Bosne i Hercegovine.¹⁰² Datiraju se u period III i IV stoljeća.¹⁰³

Grupi zoomorfnih fibula mogu se pripisati dvije fibule. Primjerak fibule (red. br. 411, inv. br. 1931) u obliku ptice je razmjerno čest na području unutrašnjosti rimske provincije Dalmacije.¹⁰⁴ Druga zoomorfna fibula koja se klasificira i u tip cikaden fibule u obliku cvrčka predstavljena je jednim oštećenim primjerkom (red. br. 409, inv. br. 1598). Zoomorfne fibule mogu biti izrađene plastično, ili u obliku ploče. Bile su u širokoj upotrebi tokom rimske vladavine u svim dijelovima Carstva, sve do kasne antike. Zanimljivi primjerci pronađeni su na različitim lokalitetima u Bosni i Hercegovini.¹⁰⁵ Preciznija datacija još nije utvrđena, osim

from England to parts of present-day Ukraine and Moldavia; they are also found in Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁹⁷ These fibulae date from the mid 1st century.⁹⁸

A single specimen of bow fibula (serial no. 415, inv. no. 1982) was found at the Tišina site. This large group of fibulae is represented by several different types:⁹⁹ hinged bow fibulae similar to two-pin fibulae, hinged bow fibulae with a ridge-like thickening on the bow, single-bow fibulae¹⁰⁰ and enamelled bow fibulae.¹⁰¹ This specimen is too badly damaged, with parts missing, to be attributed with certainty to any one of these types.

Only one specimen of a pennular fibula was found at the site of the Roman villa (serial no. 418, inv. no. 2015) (**T. XIII, 3**). These fibulae are characterized by their round, annular shape with spiral ends rolled inwards. The bow of the fibula may be of different shapes in section. Many of them have been found in Bosnia and Herzegovina,¹⁰² dating from the 3rd and 4th centuries.¹⁰³

Two fibulae belong to the group of zoomorphic fibulae. One, in the form of a bird (serial no. 411, inv. no. 1931), is fairly common in the interior of the Roman province of Dalmatia.¹⁰⁴ The other zoomorphic fibula, in the shape of a cicada, is badly damaged (serial no. 409, inv. no. 1598). Zoomorphic fibulae, which may be in the round or plate-like, were widespread throughout the Roman Empire and into late Antiquity. Interesting examples have been found at various sites in Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹⁰⁵ They have yet to be accurately dated, other than a time frame of the 1st to the 6th century.¹⁰⁶ In many cases these fibulae have apotropaic, mythological or cultic meaning.¹⁰⁷

Most of the fibulae are of bronze (serial no. 409, inv. no. 1598, serial no. 410, inv. no. 1881,

⁹⁷ Busuladžić 2010, 74.

⁹⁸ Bojović 1983, 61-62.

⁹⁹ O ovim fibulama vidi: Busuladžić 2010, 36-37.

¹⁰⁰ Bojović 1983, 26-27, 46-48, 76-78.

¹⁰¹ Košćević 1980, 30-31.

¹⁰² Busuladžić 2010, 91-93.

¹⁰³ Weiwegh 2003, 75-84.

¹⁰⁴ Na području Bosne i Hercegovine konstatirano je nekoliko primjerkova ovog oblika fibula; Busuladžić 2010, 81-82.

¹⁰⁵ Busuladžić 2010, 78-83.

⁹⁷ Busuladžić 2010, 74.

⁹⁸ Bojović 1983, 61-62.

⁹⁹ For more on these fibulae see Busuladžić 2010, 36-37.

¹⁰⁰ Bojović 1983, 26-27, 46-48, 76-78.

¹⁰¹ Košćević 1980, 30-31.

¹⁰² Busuladžić 2010, 91-93.

¹⁰³ Weiwegh 2003, 75-84.

¹⁰⁴ A number of examples of this type of fibula have been found in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Busuladžić 2010, 81-82.

¹⁰⁵ Busuladžić 2010, 78-83.

¹⁰⁶ Bojović 1983, 67-68.

¹⁰⁷ Vinski 1974, 17.

okvirnog datiranja od I – VI stoljeća.¹⁰⁶ Ove fibule u mnogim slučajevima imaju apotropejsko – mitološko i kultno značenje.¹⁰⁷

Najveći broj fibula izrađen je od bronzе (red. br. 409, inv. br. 1598, red. br. 410, inv. br. 1881, red. br. 412, inv. br. 1946, red. br. 413, inv. br. 1947, red. br. 414, inv. br. 1955, red. br. 415, inv. br. 1982, red. br. 416, inv. br. 1983, red. br. 417, inv. br. 2007, red. br. 418, inv. br. 2015), te samo jedan od željeza (red. br. 411, inv. br. 1931).

STAKLO (T. XII, 1 – 4) (redni kataloški broj 345 – 378)

Staklo predstavlja žitku talinu kvarcnog pijeska, alkalne supstancije i vapna – silikata (SiO_2), sode (Na_2CO_3), ili potaše (K_2CO_3) i kalcijevog karbonata (CaCO_3). Staklo je spoj kremenih kiselina i metalnih oksida. Na visokoj temperaturi postaje tečno i viskozno, a kada se ohladi očvrstne. Osnovna njegova karakteristika se odnosi na tvrdoću, krtoš – lomljivost i veću ili manju prozirnost. U skoro svim antičkim staklima je analizom dokazano da su u relativno kontinuiranim omjerima bile smjese pijeska 65 – 75%, kreča 12 – 20% i 10 – 20% alkalija.¹⁰⁸

Proizvodi su se iz otopljene staklene mase izrađivali na dva osnovna načina.

Lijevanje: izlivanjem mase u kalupe ili ravne ploče.¹⁰⁹ Za vrijeme Rimljana staklena masa je tehnikom izrade i dodavanjem sastavima postala bistra i prozirna. Ovakva masa je našla primjenu i u izradi velikih ploča – okulusa za zastakljivanje prozorskih otvora. U početku su samo najluksuznija zdanja imala staklene prozorske otvore.¹¹⁰

Duhanje: Drugi način je podrazumijevao duhanje staklene mase u mjehur, kojim se formira željeni oblik posude.¹¹¹ Ova tehnika je usavršena još u starom Egiptu. Zahvaljujući viskoznosti rastaljene staklene mase, nju je moguće pomoću šuplje cijevi naduhati u mjehur, poput sapunice. Na drugom kra-

serial no. 412, inv. no. 1946, serial no. 413, inv. no. 1947, serial no. 414, inv. no. 1955, serial no. 415, inv. no. 1982, serial no. 416, inv. no. 1983, serial no. 417, inv. no. 2007, serial no. 418, inv. no. 2015), with just one made of iron (serial no. 411, inv. no. 1931).

GLASS (T. XII, 1 – 4) (catalogue nos. 345 – 378)

Glass is an amorphous fusion of quartz sand, an alkali and lime – silica or fused quartz (SiO_2), sodium oxide (Na_2CO_3) or potash (K_2CO_3) and calcium carbonate (CaCO_3); a compound of silicates and metal oxides, it becomes a ductile, viscous liquid at high temperatures, and solidifies as it cools. It is typically hard, brittle and more or less transparent. Almost all antique glass has been found to have fairly consistent proportions of 65-75% sand, 12-20% lime and 10-20% alkali.¹⁰⁸ Glass artefacts are made from molten glass in two basic ways:

- 1) the float-glass method, by pouring the molten glass into moulds or onto a flat surface.¹⁰⁹ During the Roman period improved techniques and the addition of various substances led to the production of transparent, clear glass, which was used in making large sheets or oculi for glazing windows. At first only the grandest of edifices had glazed windows.¹¹⁰
- 2) glass-blowing, which entails blowing the molten glass into a bubble from which the desired shape of vessel is formed.¹¹¹ This technique was perfected in ancient Egypt. The viscosity of molten glass enables it to be blown into a bubble through a hollow blowpipe, by collecting a lump of molten glass on one end of the pipe and blowing at the other end, to form the bubble that will become a vessel. Different shapes are

¹⁰⁶ Bojović 1983, 67-68.

¹⁰⁷ Vinski 1974, 17.

¹⁰⁸ Vujaklija 1992, 5-7.

¹⁰⁹ Vujaklija 1992, 8; Lazar 2004: 22-25.

¹¹⁰ Vujaklija 1992, 9.

¹¹¹ Baldoni 1987, 22-30; Lazar 2004, 26-28. O tehnikama u rimsko doba: F. M. A. van den Dries 2007, 23-39.

¹⁰⁸ Vujaklija 1992, 5-7.

¹⁰⁹ Vujaklija 1992, 8; Lazar 2004: 22-25.

¹¹⁰ Vujaklija 1992, 9.

¹¹¹ Baldoni 1987, 22-30; Lazar 2004, 26-28. For more on glass-making techniques in Roman times, see F. M. A. van den Dries 2007, 23-39.

ju cijevi se hvata komad staklene mase i duhanjem se počinje formirati oblik posude. Prilikom izrade, različiti oblici profilacija se postižu raznim alatkama, kojima se posuda modelira.¹¹² Mnogobrojni arheološki nalazi posjeduju prikaze koji potvrđuju tehnike puhanja prilikom izrade staklenih predmeta, dokazujući pri tom i postojanje staklarskih radionica na određenim područjima.¹¹³

U nešto većem broju pronađeno je staklenih ulomaka na lokalitetu Tišina. Stakleni fragmenti pronađeni su u objektima A, B i C.¹¹⁴

Analizom ulomaka stakla iz vile u selu Tišina može se zaključiti da se najveći dio odnosi na različite oblike staklenih posuda, u manjem broju flaša i čaša, kao i nekoliko staklenih drški. Fragmenti (red. br. 364, inv. br. 1900, red. br. 360, inv. br. 1815, red. br. 349, inv. br. 1665) dokazuju i da su prozori vile u Tišini bili obloženi staklenom površinom. Analiza tehnika ukrašavanja ukazuje da su ukrasi na staklenim predmetima bili vrlo oskudni, predstavljajući se pri tom isključivo u obliku kaneliranih traka na drškama, plastično izvedenim rebrima i staklenim nitima.

Od boja zastupljene su svijetlozelenkasta, tamnoplava, svijetloplava, petrolej, žutozelena i mliječne boja.

Najmnogobrojniji su primjeri svijetlozelenkaste boje. Ova vrsta antičkog stakla se može datirati u period razvijene i početka kasne antike (III – IV stoljeće).¹¹⁵

Pored svijetlozelenkaste, najzastupljeniji su primjeri svijetlo i tamnoplavog stakla (red. br. 377, inv. br. 2053, red. br. 375, inv. br. 2014, red. br. 370, inv. br. 1978, red. br. 366, inv. br. 1926, red. br. 363, inv. br. 1897, red. br. 361, inv. br. 1842).

Plavi primjerak (red. br. 347, inv. br. 1653) posjeduje ukrase od staklenih niti. Ova tehnika ukrašavanja staklenog posuda osobito se razvija u razdoblju od II do IV stoljeća,¹¹⁶ prema čemu se i ovi primjerci mogu datirati u isti vremenski okvir kao i druga vrsta staklenog materijala.

Stakleni ulomak (red. br. 361, inv. br. 1842) pokazuje tendenciju ukrašavanja sa naborima i ispupčenjima. Ova tehnika dekoriranja pojavljuje

achieved with the use of various modelling tools.¹¹² Many archaeological sites reveal the presence of glass vessels made by blowing, thereby demonstrating the existence of glass works in certain areas.¹¹³

Glass sherds were found in fairly large quantities at Tišina, in all three buildings, A, B and C.¹¹⁴

A study of these sherds indicates that most of them were from glass vessels of various shapes, rather fewer were from bottles and drinking glasses, and a few consist of glass handles. Other fragments (serial no. 364, inv. no. 1900, serial no. 360, inv. no. 1815, serial no. 349, inv. no. 1665) reveal that the windows of the villa at Tišina were glazed. An analysis of the techniques applied reveals that there was very little decoration on the glass vessels, consisting only of canelures on the handles, ribbing, and glass threads.

The colours represented are light green, dark blue, light blue, petroleum, yellow-green and milky white. Light green is the most common colour; this type of antique glass may be dated to high Antiquity and the early stages of Late Antiquity (3rd to 4th century).¹¹⁵

The next most numerous examples are of light and dark blue glass (serial no. 377, inv. no. 2053, serial no. 375, inv. no. 2014, serial no. 370, inv. no. 1978, serial no. 366, inv. no. 1926, serial no. 363, inv. no. 1897, serial no. 361, inv. no. 1842). One example of blue glass (serial no. 347, inv. no. 1653) is decorated with glass threads, a technique that was developed from the 2nd to the 4th century,¹¹⁶ providing the time frame for these and the other types of glass objects.

Another glass fragment (serial no. 361, inv. no. 1842) demonstrates the trend towards decoration with ribbing, a technique that appeared at the same time as that of decoration with glass threads, in the late 2nd to the 4th century.¹¹⁷

One specimen (serial no. 352, inv. no. 1743) was found of milk-white glass, a type dating from the 2nd and 3rd centuries.¹¹⁸

¹¹² Vujaklija 1992, 10-11.

¹¹³ Fadić 2002, 385-407; Lazar 2004, 42-46.

¹¹⁴ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 15, 16, 18, 19.

¹¹⁵ Čremošnik 1976, 118.

¹¹⁶ Čremošnik 1965, 197.

¹¹² Vujaklija 1992, 10-11.

¹¹³ Fadić 2002, 385-407; Lazar 2004: 42-46.

¹¹⁴ Excavation log 1969, 15, 16, 18, 19.

¹¹⁵ Čremošnik 1976, 118.

¹¹⁶ Čremošnik 1965, 197.

¹¹⁷ Čremošnik 1965, 197.

¹¹⁸ Čremošnik 1965, 197.

se u isto vrijeme kao i tehnika izrade ukrasa sa staklenim nitima od kraja II – IV stoljeća.¹¹⁷

Mliječnobijela boja stakla zastupljena je sa primjerkom ulomka (red. br. 352, inv. br. 1743). Ova vrsta stakla pripada periodu II i III stoljeća.¹¹⁸

Najbliže analogije pronađenom staklu mogu se konstatirati u rimskim vilama u Višićima,¹¹⁹ Paniku i Dračevoj Strani,¹²⁰ Žabljaku,¹²¹ Brodču,¹²² Ljusini,¹²³ Laktašima,¹²⁴ Malom Mošunju,¹²⁵ Proboju,¹²⁶ Stocu,¹²⁷ Čelebićima,¹²⁸ Lisičićima,¹²⁹ Ildži,¹³⁰ Putovićima,¹³¹ Novom Šeheru,¹³² Tutnjevcu¹³³ i Mgorjelu.¹³⁴

NOVAC¹³⁵

(redni kataloški broj 379 – 408)

Na lokalitetu rimske vile u selu Tišina pronađen je veći broj rimskih novčića, njih 30 komada. Od tog broja, dvadeset pet primjeraka pripada bronzanim novcima, tri su srebrna i dva posrebrna. Zbog stupnja oštećenosti velikoj većini se ne može dati ikonografski i datacijski okvir. Kod četrnaest primjeraka je moguće dati sigurnu dataciju. Tako IV stoljeću pripada sedam primjeraka, od čega četiri pripadaju Konstantinu I (307. – 337. g. red. br. 391, inv. br. 1828, red. br. 392, inv. br. 1829, red. br. 395, inv. br. 1925, red. br. 403, inv. br. 2061), jedan Konstantinu II (337. – 340. g. red. br. 382, inv. br. 1558), a dva Licinusu I (308. – 324. g. red. br. 397, inv. br. 1939, red. br. 399, inv. br. 1956). Jedan primjerak se može definirati u razdoblje kraja III i početka IV stoljeća,

¹¹⁷ Čremošnik 1965, 197.

¹¹⁸ Čremošnik 1965, 197.

¹¹⁹ Čremošnik 1965, 196-198.

¹²⁰ Čremošnik 1976, 115-122.

¹²¹ Čremošnik 1970, 105.

¹²² Čremošnik 1957, 139-140.

¹²³ Čremošnik 1959, 144.

¹²⁴ Kellner 1890, 62.

¹²⁵ Truhelka 1893, 690.

¹²⁶ Fiala 1895, 367.

¹²⁷ Fiala 1893, 516; 1895, 371.

¹²⁸ Čremošnik 1954, 182.

¹²⁹ Čremošnik 1957a, 146.

¹³⁰ Pašalić 1959, 126.

¹³¹ Paškvalin 1990, 57 – 58.

¹³² Dragičević 1896, 426.

¹³³ Čremošnik 1958, 44.

¹³⁴ Busuladžić 2011, 179-197.

¹³⁵ Prilikom analize rimskih kovanica korisne savjete mi je pružila kolegica Ana Marić, na čemu joj se još jednom zahvaljujem.

The closest analogies to the glass found at Tišina are from the Roman villas at Višići,¹¹⁹ Panik and Dračeva Strana,¹²⁰ Žabljak,¹²¹ Brodac,¹²² Ljusina,¹²³ Laktaši,¹²⁴ Mali Mošunj,¹²⁵ Proboj,¹²⁶ Stolac,¹²⁷ Čelebići,¹²⁸ Lisičići,¹²⁹ Ildža,¹³⁰ Putovići,¹³¹ Novi Šeher,¹³² Tutnjevac¹³³ and Mgorjelo.¹³⁴

COINS¹³⁵

(catalogue nos. 379 – 408)

A total of 30 Roman coins were found at the site of the Roman villa in Tišina, of which 25 were bronze, three silver and two silver-plated. Most were too badly damaged to be dated or identified iconographically; fourteen could be dated with certainty. Seven were from the 4th century – four of Constantine I (307-337, serial no. 391, inv. no. 1828, serial no. 392, inv. no. 1829, serial no. 395, inv. no. 1925, serial no. 403, inv. no. 2061), one of Constantine II (337-340, serial no. 382, inv. no. 1558), and two of Licinius I (308-324, serial no. 397, inv. no. 1939, serial no. 399, inv. no. 1956). One was identified as dating from the late 3rd or early 4th century, from the reign of Maximianus (286-305, serial no. 384, inv. no. 1587). Six were from the reigns of Galienus (253-268, serial no. 393, inv. no. 1887), Trebonianus Gallus (251-253, serial no. 404, inv. no. 1888), Numerianus (283-284, serial no. 405, inv. no. 2026), Tacitus (275-276, serial no. 406, inv. no. 1584), Probus (276-282, serial no. 407, inv. no. 1787)

¹¹⁹ Čremošnik 1965, 196-198.

¹²⁰ Čremošnik 1976, 115-122.

¹²¹ Čremošnik 1970, 105.

¹²² Čremošnik 1957, 139-140.

¹²³ Čremošnik 1959, 144.

¹²⁴ Kellner 1890, 62.

¹²⁵ Truhelka 1893, 690.

¹²⁶ Fiala 1895, 367.

¹²⁷ Fiala 1893, 516; 1895, 371.

¹²⁸ Čremošnik 1954, 182.

¹²⁹ Čremošnik 1957a, 146.

¹³⁰ Pašalić 1959, 126.

¹³¹ Paškvalin 1990, 57-58.

¹³² Dragičević 1896, 426.

¹³³ Čremošnik 1958, 44.

¹³⁴ Busuladžić 2011, 179-197.

¹³⁵ My colleague Ana Marić provided helpful advice for the study of the Roman coins, for which I am grateful.

a pripada Maximianusu (286. – 305. g. red. br. 384, inv. br. 1587). Šest kovanica pripada vladarima Galienusu (253. – 268. g. red. br. 393, inv. br. 1887), Trebonianusu Gallusu (251. – 253. g. red. br. 404, inv. br. 1888), Numerianusu (283. – 284. g. red. br. 405, inv. br. 2026), Tacitu (275. – 276. g. red. br. 406, inv. br. 1584), Probu (276. – 282. g. red. br. 407, inv. br. 1787) i Gordianu III (238. – 244. g. red. br. 408, inv. br. 1985), prema čemu se mogu datirati u III stoljeće. Najstariji sigurno determiniran primjerak je posljednji primjerak koji se datira u kraj druge polovine III stoljeća i pripada jednom od tri srebrena primjerka.

NAKIT

Nalazi različitog bronzanog, željeznog i staklenog nakita na lokalitetu Tišina su malobrojni. Riječ je o devet različitih primjeraka prstena, narukvica, kameje, naušnice, privjeska, medaljona i dugmeta.

Narukvice

(T. XIII, 4)

(redni kataloški broj 419 – 422)

Narukvice koje su otkrivene na lokalitetu vile potvrđuju postojanje ovih ukrasnih predmeta u dva osnovna načina izrade, odnosno materijala. Jedan broj narukvica izrađen je od staklene paste,¹³⁶ a manji broj od bronze. Primjerci od staklene paste su crne boje, polukružnog (red. br. 419, inv. br. 1607, **T. XIII, 4**), elipsoidnog (red. br. 420, inv. br. 1895) presjeka bez ukrasa, kao i crne osnove sa ukrasima u vidu niti blijedožute, drap i tamnobraon boje (red. br. 421, inv. br. 1684). Ova vrsta narukvica od crne staklene paste je razmjerno čest nalaz.¹³⁷

Pored narukvica od staklene paste, na istom lokalitetu je pronađen i jedan primjerak narukvice od bronze. Tako je pronađena bronzana narukvica trougaonog presjeka, ukrašena na tri mjesta urezanim linijama u ornamentu riblje kosti (red. br. 422, inv. br. 1924).

Prsten, naušnica, privjesak i dugme

(T. XIV, 1)

(redni kataloški broj 423 – 426)

Od predmeta koji se mogu definirati kao nakit, u objektu A, na dubini od 0, 50 cm, pronađen je i jedan bronzani prsten (red. br. 423, inv. br.

and Gordianus III (238-244, serial no. 408, inv. no. 1985), thus dating from the 3rd century. The earliest coin that could be dated with certainty is one of the three silver coins from the latter half of the 3rd century.

JEWELLERY

There were few finds of bronze, iron or glass-paste jewellery at the Tišina site, nine items in all: a ring, bracelets, a cameo, an earring, a pendant, a medallion and a button.

Bracelets

(T. XIII, 4)

(catalogue nos. 419 – 422)

The bracelets found at the villa site were of two types of material, glass paste,¹³⁶ and a smaller number of bronze. The glass paste bracelets are black, semicircular (serial no. 419, inv. no. 1607, **T. XIII, 4**) or elliptical (serial no. 420, inv. no. 1895) in section, without decoration, together with one decorated with pale yellow, beige and dark brown threads on a black ground (serial no. 421, inv. no. 1684). This type of black glass-paste bracelet is fairly common.¹³⁷

One bronze bracelet was also found on the site, triangular in section and decorated in three places with an incised herringbone pattern (serial no. 422, inv. no. 1924).

Ring, earring, pendant and button

(T. XIV, 1)

(catalogue nos. 423 – 426)

Among the objects that may be defined as jewellery was a bronze ring (serial no. 423, inv. no. 1952), found in building A at a depth of 0.50 cm.¹³⁸ The ring has a flat, round head with no decoration, marked with the patina of age. Analogous rings from various sites reveal that this is an antique ring, a fairly common decorative item.¹³⁹

¹³⁶ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 29.

¹³⁷ Čremošnik 1965, 198.

¹³⁶ Excavation log 1969, 29.

¹³⁷ Čremošnik 1965, 198.

¹³⁸ Excavation log 1969, 11.

¹³⁹ Popović 1992, 47-54.

1952).¹³⁸ Prsten je kružne glave, pločastog oblika. Na ploči nema nikakvog ornamentalnog ukrasa. Patiniran je divljom patinom. Analogni prstenovi sa različitim lokaliteta ukazuju na činjenicu da je riječ o antičkom prstenu, razmjerno čestom ukrasnom predmetu.¹³⁹

Naušnica (red. br. 424, inv. br. 1578) sa lokaliteta vile predstavlja bronzani primjerak oblika proste kružne halke oko koje je spiralno uvijena tanja bronzana žica (**T. XIV, 1**).

Pronađeni bronzani privjesak (red. br. 425, inv. br. 2008) je srcolikog oblika sa dvije polukružne perforacije, oblika polumjeseca, ispod kojih je na sredini kružni udubljeni prostor uokviren dvostrukom koncentričnom kanelurom. Gornji dio privjeska je profiliran i savijen u dnu. Slični primjerci pronađeni su na lokalitetima Burnuma i Varvarie.¹⁴⁰

Od manjih ukrasno – upotrebnih predmeta, u skupinu nakita može se uvrstiti i pronađeno bronzano konkavno veće dugme (red. br. 426, inv. br. 1938).

Kameja

(T. XIV, 2)

(redni kataloški broj 427)

Na lokalitetu rimske vile pronađena je i kameja od crne staklene paste (red. br. 427, inv. br. 2005). Na kameji je teško vidljiv prikaz sa pretpostavljenim desnim profilom bradatog muškarca¹⁴¹ i kosom u kovrdžama, što ukazuje na mogućnost datacije u period vladavine Antonina.¹⁴²

Sitni predmeti od kosti

(T. XIV, 3, 4; T. XV, 1 – 3)

(redni kataloški broj 428 – 435)

Koštani predmeti na lokalitetu Tišina nisu mnogobrojni. Riječ je o nekoliko predmeta od čega se najveći broj, njih pet, odnosi na koštane igle – ukosnice.¹⁴³ Iгла – ukosnica (red. br. 428, inv. br. 1593) je valjkastog presjeka tijela i glave u obliku valjkastog turbana, ukrašena urezanim rombovima (**T. XIV, 4**).

The earring (serial no. 424, inv. no. 1578) from the villa site is a simple bronze ring with fine bronze wire wound around it in a spiral (**T. XIV, 1**).

The bronze pendant (serial no. 425, inv. no. 2008) is heart-shaped, with two semicircular perforations in the form of a crescent moon, below which is a central circular dimple surrounded by a double concentric canelure. The top of the pendant is moulded and curved at the bottom. Similar specimens have been found at Burnum and Varvaria.¹⁴⁰

A rather large, concave bronze button (serial no. 426, inv. no. 1938), a useful and decorative item, may also be regarded as jewellery.

Cameo

(T. XIV, 2)

(catalogue no. 427)

The cameo found at the site of the Roman villa (serial no. 427, inv. no. 2005) was of black glass paste, with a barely identifiable image, probably the right profile of a bearded man¹⁴¹ with curly hair, suggesting a date during the reign of Antoninus.¹⁴²

Small bone articles

(T. XIV, 3, 4; T. XV, 1 – 3)

(catalogue nos. 428 – 435)

Few bone articles were found at the Tišina site; the most numerous were five bone pins or hairpins.¹⁴³ One of these (serial no. 428, inv. no. 1593) is cylindrical in section, with a cylindrical turban-shaped head decorated with incised rhombs (**T. XIV, 4**). Another similar, broken pin had a turban-shaped head (serial no. 429, inv. no. 2012, **T. XIV, 3**). Of rather simpler workmanship are a pin of cylindrical section (serial no. 430, inv. no. 1690) and another two round-headed pins (serial no. 431, inv. no. 1912 and serial no. 432, inv. no. 1913) (**T. XV, 1, 2**). Similar comparative

¹³⁸ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 11.

¹³⁹ Popović 1992, 47-54.

¹⁴⁰ Šeparović *et al.* 2009, 47.

¹⁴¹ Dnevnik rada sa arheološkog iskopavanja od 8. 06. – 13. 07. 1971, 25.

¹⁴² Popović 1989: 9. izvještaj o izvršenom arheološkom iskopavanju... 1971, 2.

¹⁴³ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 12.

¹⁴⁰ Šeparović *et al.* 2009, 47.

¹⁴¹ Excavation log of the dig from 8 June to 13 July 1971, 25.

¹⁴² Popović 1989: 9. Report on archaeological excavations. 1971, 2.

¹⁴³ Excavation log 1969, 12.

Sličan prethodnoj igli – ukosnici je i fragmentirani primjerak sa glavom u obliku turbana (red. br. 429, inv. br. 2012, **T. XIV, 3**). Nešto jednostavnije izrade je primjerak (red. br. 430, inv. br. 1690) također valjkastog presjeka, kao i dvije igle (red. br. 431, inv. br. 1912 i red. br. 432, inv. br. 1913) sa kružno izvedenom glavom (**T. XV, 1, 2**). Sličan komparativni materijal konstatiran je u Saloni,¹⁴⁴ a izvjestan broj sa uglavnom nepoznatih lokaliteta se čuva u Muzeju hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika u Splitu.¹⁴⁵

Pored nabrojanih koštanih predmeta, pronađen je i rog jelena (red. br. 434, inv. br. 1710), kao i jedna obrađena kost (red. br. 433, inv. br. 1984, **T. XV, 3**). Kost je elipsoidnog oblika, perforirana po sredini i ukrašena koncentričnim krugovima. Gornja površina je fino obrađena i uglačana, dok je donja površina neobrađena. Jelenski rog je također obrađen i po sredini perforiran.

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Prema evidenciji dnevnika iskopavanja za 1969. i 1971. godinu, kao i inventarnih knjiga na lokalitetima Mlinčići i Podmočilo, u selu Tišina pronađeno je:

1. različitih fragmenata keramike – 800 komada
2. cijelih keramičkih posuda – 15 komada
3. različitih brončanih predmeta – 50 komada
4. fibula – 11 komada
5. različitog brončanog novca – 30 komada
6. srebrenog novca – 2 komada
7. posrebrenog novca – 2 komada
8. kameja od staklene paste – 1 komad
9. bronzani prsten – 1 komad
10. bronzana narukvica – 1 komad
11. staklenih fragmenata – 40 komada
12. različitih željeznih predmeta – 100 komada
13. koštane igle – 4 komada
14. koštani privjesak – 1 komad
15. mozaik – 1 komad (djelomično očuvan)
16. više fragmenata fresko maltera

¹⁴⁴ Ivčević 2002, 334-336.

¹⁴⁵ Šeparović *et al.* 2009, 106-111.

¹⁴⁶ Izvjestan broj materijala nije inventarisan, nego je pohranjen kao “studijski materijal”. Zbog toga su moguće oscilacije u brojnom stanju inventarisanih jedinica i sumarnog popisa. Isto tako, zbog dislokacije arheološkog materijala tokom ratnih dešavanja (1992.–1995.), određen broj inventarnih jedinica je zagubljen ili trajno otuđen, pa zbog toga nije mogao biti prezentiran.

specimens have been found in Salona,¹⁴⁴ and a number, mainly from unidentified sites, are housed in the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split.¹⁴⁵

Also found were a deer antler (serial no. 434, inv. no. 1710) and a worked bone (serial no. 433, inv. no. 1984, **T. XV, 3**), elliptical in shape, perforated in the middle and decorated with concentric circles. The upper surface is finely worked and polished, but the underside was not worked. The deer antler was also worked and perforated in the middle.

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According to the excavation logs of 1969 and 1971 and the inventory records for Mlinčići and Podmočilo, the finds from the sites in the village of Tišina consisted of:

1. various pottery sherds – 800
2. intact pottery vessels – 15
3. various bronze articles – 50
4. fibulae – 11
5. various bronze coins – 30
6. silver coins – 2
7. silver-plated coins – 2
8. a glass-paste cameo – 1
9. a bronze ring – 1
10. a bronze bracelet – 1
11. glass sherds – 40
12. various iron articles – 100
13. bone pins – 4
14. a bone pendant – 1
15. mosaics – 1 (partly preserved)
16. several fragments of fresco plaster

¹⁴⁴ Ivčević 2002: 334-336.

¹⁴⁵ Šeparović *et al.* 2009: 106-111.

¹⁴⁶ Some of the material was not inventoried, but housed as “study material.” There may therefore be discrepancies between the number of inventory items and the summary inventory. Again, given that the archaeological material was moved during the 1992-1995 war, a certain number of inventory items have been lost or removed for ever, and cannot be presented.

Zaključak

Arhitektonski rimski kompleks u selu Tišina kod Zenice predstavlja rimsku vilu primarno luksuzno-stambene, a u manjoj mjeri proizvodne namjene. Tri objekta, A, B i C čine funkcionalno odvojena zdanja istog kompleksa. Sva tri objekta su sagrađena na način da se između njih nalazi centralno dvorište, što vilu definira kao tzv. vilu U tipa. Prema opremljenosti, prisustvu sistema zagrijavanja i banje, kao i gabaritima predstavlja vilu više suburbanog, višedijelnog tipa. Slične analogije mogu se naći i na drugim prostorima Bosne i Hercegovine, kao što su Višići,¹⁴⁷ Panik, Dračeva Strana¹⁴⁸ i Proboj.¹⁴⁹ Prema postojanju apsidalnog rješenja, kao i termalnog kompleksa u sastavu vile, šire analogije se mogu konstatirati na otoku Murteru u Hrvatskoj,¹⁵⁰ Školarice u Sloveniji¹⁵¹ i u Mađarskoj.¹⁵² Apsida koja se nalazi u sastavu centralne prostorije ili postojanje izdvojene banje u sklopu kompleksa usmjeravaju na analogiju sa primjerom vila istraženih u Pešterici kod Prilepa u Makedoniji,¹⁵³ Algorosu u Španjolskoj¹⁵⁴ i Orliću u Hrvatskoj.¹⁵⁵ Komparativan objekat koji posjeduje tlocrt koji odstupa od oštih uglova objekta, prateći pri tom konfiguraciju zemljišta, konstatiran je na lokalitetu Stabiae u Italiji.¹⁵⁶

Pojava pomoćnih objekata koji su sagrađeni od trošnijeg materijala upućuje na zaključak da je vila u izvjesnoj mjeri pripadala i tipu kombiniranih objekata (stambeno-proizvodna namjena). Ovakva tvrdnja se upotpunjuje pronađenim predmetima koji se definiraju kao alat, sjekire, zvona, testere, budaci, lopatice i sl., a koji se mogu klasificirati kao dio poljoprivrednog i građevinskog alata i stočne opreme.

Agglomeracija ovih gabarita na jednom fundusu u Bosni i Hercegovini još uvijek predstavlja jedan od rjeđih istraženih spomenika ove vrste. Značaj istražene vile ogleda se i u činjenici da je riječ o

¹⁴⁷ Čremošnik 1965, 147-260.

¹⁴⁸ Čremošnik 1976, 41-164.

¹⁴⁹ Fiala 1895, 365-368.

¹⁵⁰ Faber 1998, 98, 101 i 103.

¹⁵¹ Trenz *et al.* 2004, 78-79.

¹⁵² Jenő 1970, fig. 41.

¹⁵³ Кеписки 1976, 143-146.

¹⁵⁴ Mondelo 1985, 108, fig. 2.

¹⁵⁵ Radić *et al.* 1992, 41-49.

¹⁵⁶ McKay 1984, 110, sl. 102.

Conclusion

The architectural complex in the village of Tišina near Zenica consists of a Roman villa intended mainly as a luxurious residence, with production as a secondary consideration. The three buildings, A, B and C, are functionally separate parts of the complex, built to surround a central courtyard; the villa is thus of U type. The furnishings, central heating and bath-house, as well as the villa's size, reveal that it was a suburban villa with several parts. Analogous villas are to be found elsewhere in Bosnia and Herzegovina, such as Višići,¹⁴⁷ Panik, Dračeva Strana¹⁴⁸ and Proboj.¹⁴⁹ The presence of an apsidal layout and of a thermal complex within the villa points to broader analogies on the island of Murter in Croatia,¹⁵⁰ Školarice in Slovenia,¹⁵¹ and in Hungary.¹⁵² The apse of the central room and the presence of a separate bath-house in the complex suggests analogies with the villas excavated in Pešterica near Prilep in Macedonia,¹⁵³ Algoros in Spain¹⁵⁴ and Orlić in Croatia.¹⁵⁵ A comparable building with a ground plan lacking sharp corners, but instead following the lie of the land, has been found at Stabiae in Italy.¹⁵⁶

The presence of outbuildings of less durable materials suggests that the villa belonged to a certain extent to the type of combined estate (residential and production). This is corroborated by the tools and related artefacts found there – axes, bells, saws, mattocks, shovels etc. – that may be classified as agricultural or building equipment and livestock accessories.

An agglomeration of this size on a single fundus in Bosnia and Herzegovina remains one of the few monuments of this type so far excavated. The importance of the villa lies in the fact that it was the residence of a Roman landowner with an agricultural estate.

¹⁴⁷ Čremošnik 1965, 147-260.

¹⁴⁸ Čremošnik 1976, 41-164.

¹⁴⁹ Fiala 1895, 365-368.

¹⁵⁰ Faber 1998, 98, 101 and 103.

¹⁵¹ Trenz *et al.* 2004, 78-79.

¹⁵² Jenő 1970, fig. 41.

¹⁵³ Кеписки 1976, 143-146.

¹⁵⁴ Mondelo 1985, 108, fig. 2.

¹⁵⁵ Radić *et al.* 1992, 41-49.

¹⁵⁶ McKay 1984, 110, fig. 102.

stambenoj građevini rimskih veleposjednika sa poljoprivrednim imanjem.

Veličina samog objekta, struktura zidova, dobro izrađene podnice od estriha i mozaika, vrlo dobro izrađen sistem grijanja, veliki broj fragmenata freski, tipično izvedeno građenje karakteristično za antičko doba, terme i svetište u neposrednoj blizini vile, kao i indicije o većoj rimskoj aglomeraciji u neposrednoj blizini u naselju Selo, ukazuju da je objekat mogao biti centar više okolnih naselja.

Navedene činjenice ostavljaju prostora tvrdnji i da se u literaturi spominjan *municipium Bistue Novae* nalazi u neposrednoj blizini ili možda na lokalitetu Mlinčići.¹⁵⁷ U prilog ovome ide i neposredna blizina velike dvostruke bazilike podignute u Bilimišću,¹⁵⁸ na temeljima starije rimske građevine, kao i otkrivanje rimskih termi, također izrađenih na temeljima starije rimske vile na lokalitetu Ograja u Putovićima.¹⁵⁹ Prostor između tri arheološki potvrđena lokaliteta može se promatrati kao jedno od najstarijih naselja, možda i urbanog karaktera. Ovakva vrsta političke, administrativne i ekonomske aktivnosti povezuje se i sa djelatnošću cara Vespazijana, koji grad Sirmijum podiže na rang kolonije, a ostala mjesta dobijaju pravni status municipija. U takvu kategoriju naselja može se pretpostaviti i naselje u okolici današnje Zenice.¹⁶⁰

Temeljem statističke analize pronađenog arheološkog pokretnog materijala (arhitektonskih ulomaka, keramike, metala, novca, nakita, stakla i sl.), može se konstatirati da je lokalitet bio naseljen od I do IV stoljeća. Kulminacija životnih tokova na objektu može se staviti u nešto uži okvir III – IV stoljeća. U navedenom vremenskom intervalu objekat je posigurno pretrpio različite građevinske faze i izmjene gabarita, rasporeda i funkcionalnosti pojedinih prostora. Blizina vode i padinski povoljan položaj osigurali su da prostor bude mjesto življenja od samih početaka rimske vladavine. Prahistorijski ulomak keramike (red. br. 300) potvrđuje da je lokalitet bio naseljen i u predrimsko doba.

The size of the property, the structure of the walls, the nicely finished screed and mosaic floors, the very well-made heating system, the many fragments of frescoes, the building methods typical of Antiquity, the *thermae* and the sanctuary adjacent to the villa, and the traces of a sizeable Roman agglomeration close to the village of Selo, indicate that the property could have been the focal point of several surrounding settlements.

All this allows for the suggestion that the *municipium Bistue Novae* of the literature was very close to or perhaps at Mlinčići.¹⁵⁷ Further probably evidence for this is the close proximity of the large twin basilica in Bilimišće,¹⁵⁸ built on the foundations of an older Roman building, and the discovery of Roman *thermae*, also erected on the foundations of an earlier Roman villa at Ograja in Putovići.¹⁵⁹ The area between three archaeologically confirmed sites may be regarded as one of the earliest settlements, perhaps urban in nature. This type of political, administrative and economic activity is also associated with the Emperor Vespasian, who raised the town of Sirmium to the rank of a colony, with other places acquiring the status of *municipium*. It is likely that the settlement near present-day Zenica also fell into this category.¹⁶⁰

A statistical analysis of the movable archaeological finds (architectural fragments, pottery, metal, coins, jewellery, glass etc.) indicates that the site was inhabited from the 1st to the 4th century, with its heyday from the 3rd to the 4th century. The property undoubtedly underwent various stages of building, enlargement, alterations and changes of use of the rooms during this period. The proximity of water and the gentle slope ensured that the site was inhabited from the very start of the Roman period, while a prehistoric pottery sherd (serial no. 300) attested that the site was also occupied in the pre-Roman period.

¹⁵⁷ Ubikaciju municipiuma na prostoru današnje Zenice ili njene okolice pretpostavljaju autori koji su se bavili arheološkim istraživanjima na spomenutom području; Paškvalin 1990, 69; 1996, 102, Trajković 1971a, 15.

¹⁵⁸ Truhelka 1892, 340-349; Sergejevski 1932, 35-36.

¹⁵⁹ Paškvalin 1990, 35-92.

¹⁶⁰ Bojanovski 1988, 167; Paškvalin 1990, 66.

¹⁵⁷ The location of municipia in present-day Zenica and its environs is postulated by authorities engaged in archaeological investigations in the area. Paškvalin 1990, 69; 1996, 102, Trajković 1971a, 15.

¹⁵⁸ Truhelka 1892, 340-349; Sergejevski 1932, 35-36.

¹⁵⁹ Paškvalin 1990, 35-92.

¹⁶⁰ Bojanovski 1988, 167; Paškvalin 1990, 66.

Veliki broj mjesta na kojima su otkriveni tragovi gorenja i pepela¹⁶¹ ukazuju da je objekat gorio, što je najvjerojatnije i bio razlog uništenja zdanja u nesigurnim razdobljima kasne antike.

Paljevine i uništenja objekata ovog tipa nisu bila rijetkost i do sada su konstatirana u više slučajeva, kao što su vile u Strupniću kod Livna,¹⁶² Ljubomiru¹⁶³ i Bihovu¹⁶⁴ kod Trebinja.

The numerous places showing signs of burning and ash¹⁶¹ reveal that the building was burned down, which was also probably the reason it was demolished during the troubled times of late Antiquity.

It was not uncommon for properties of this type to be burned down or demolished, as evidence by several cases, among them the villas at Strupnić near Livno,¹⁶² Ljubomir¹⁶³ and Bihovo¹⁶⁴ near Trebinje.

Katalog¹⁶⁵

Arhitektonski i kameni ulomci

1. Inv. br. 1699 – Fragmentirana četvrtasta baza stuba kružnog presjeka od kamena muljike. Na bazi i dijelu stuba vidljivi tragovi rada dljetom. Sa donje strane oštrim predmetom urezanim linijama baza je podijeljena na četiri polja. **(T. V, 1)**

Dimenzije: R: 36 cm.

Datacija: II – III st.

2. Inv. br. 1718 – Fragment kamenog stuba, kružnog presjeka tijela grublje izrade. Na kamenu su vidljivi tragovi grubog oštećenja. Fragment je rađen od muljike. **(T. IV, 1)**

Dimenzije: R: 30 cm.

Datacija: II – III st.

3. Inv. br. 1757 – Fragment arhitektonske plastike od kamena pješčara, čije su bočne strane profilirane, a na licu izveden ornament lista akantusa u vidu plitkog reljefa.

Dimenzije: 11,3 cm.

Datacija: II – III st.

¹⁶¹ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 17, 20, 22, 23, 24, 29, Dnevnik iskopavanja 1971, 12.

¹⁶² Patsch 1906, 170.

¹⁶³ Građa iz dokumentacije Zemaljskog muzeja: 69/68, Fascikl 21, Projekat: Širi bazen Trebišnjice 68, Ljubomir, lokalitet Tanoge. Dnevnik iskopavanja, strana 1.

¹⁶⁴ Busuladžić 2002, 194.

¹⁶⁵ Tokom kompletiranja kataloških jedinica veliku pomoć mi je pružila kolegica iz Odsjeka za dokumentaciju Odjeljenja za arheologiju Zemaljskog muzeja Valentina Kavazović. Pokušaj rekonstrukcije vile je napravila kolegica Tatjana Mijatović iz istog Odsjeka, te im se ovom prilikom još jednom zahvaljujem.

Catalogue¹⁶⁵

Architectural and stone fragments

1. Inv. no. 1699 – broken square base of a round mudstone column. The marks of a chisel can be seen on the base and part of the column. On the underside a sharp object was used to incise lines dividing the base into four sections. **(T. V, 1)**

Measurements: R: 36 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

2. Inv. no. 1718 – part of a round mudstone column of crude workmanship, showing signs of damage. **(T. IV, 1)**

Measurements: R: 30 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

3. Inv. no. 1757 – fragment of architectural moulding of sandstone, with mouldings to the sides and an acanthus leaf ornament in bas relief on the face.

Measurements: 11.3 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

¹⁶¹ Excavation log 1969, 17, 20, 22, 23, 24, 29, Excavation log 1971, 12.

¹⁶² Patsch 1906, 170.

¹⁶³ From the documentation of the National Museum: 69/68, Folder 21, Project: Wider Trebišnjica basin 68, Ljubomir, site of Tanoge. Excavation log, p. 1.

¹⁶⁴ Busuladžić 2002, 194.

¹⁶⁵ My colleague from the Documentation Section of the Archaeology Department at the National Museum, Valentina Kavazović, helped me greatly in completing the catalogue entries. A conjectural reconstruction of the villa was made by my colleague Tatjana Mijatović from the same section, and I take this opportunity once again to thank them.

4. Inv. br. 1790 – Odlomci arhitektonske plastike čije su bočne strane ukrašene volutama, a lice plitkim reljefom predstavlja akantusov list.

Dimenzije: H: 10 cm.
Datacija: II – III st.

5. Inv. br. 1896 – Fragment kamenog namještaja sa plastičnim floralnim elementima na licu. U metopi plastično je prikazano stablo sa listom. Rađeno je od mekanog kamena.

Dimenzije: visina: 34,5 cm.
Datacija: II – III st.

6. Inv. br. 1953 – Fragmentirani kameni žrvanj, kružnog oblika, rađen od kamena pješčara. Sa gornje strane ka sredini gdje je perforiran kamen se blago kupasto izdiže. Vidljivi su tragovi gorenja.

Dimenzije: R: 34,5 cm.
Datacija: II – III st.

4. Inv. no. 1790 – fragments of architectural moulding decorated with volutes to the sides and an acanthus leaf in bas relief on the face.

Measurements: H: 10 cm.
Date: 2nd to 3rd century

5. Inv. no. 1896 – fragment of stone furnishing with moulded floral elements on the face. A tree in leaf in relief on the metope. Worked in soft stone.

Measurements: H: 34.5 cm.
Date: 2nd to 3rd century

6. Inv. no. 1953 – broken stone quern, circular, made of sandstone, slightly conical in the middle, where the stone is perforated. Shows signs of being burnt.

Measurements: R: 34.5 cm.
Date: 2nd to 3rd century

Keramički tubulusi

7. Inv. br. 1727 – Keramička cijev – fragmentirana, elipsoidnog oblika, crvene boje, kanelovana sa više kanelura, sa tragovima maltera.

Dimenzije: H: 18 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

8. Inv. br. 1728 – Fragmentirana keramička cijev – tubulus sa jednom ravnom površinom, a drugom poluelipsoidnog oblika; crvene boje, grublje fature, horizontalno kanelovana.

Dimenzije: očuvana visina: 24 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

9. Inv. br. 1731 – Četiri fragmenta zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom trbuha – keramičke cijevi, svijetložute boje od dobro prečišćene zemlje, horizontalno kanelovan.

Dimenzije: 11 × 10/0,7 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

10. Inv. br. 1742 – Keramička cijev, svijetlocrvene boje, sa horizontalnim kanelurama – tubulus. (Dva komada).

Dimenzije: H: 25 cm; R otvora: 12 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

Earthenware tubuli

7. Inv. no. 1727 – earthenware pipe – broken, elliptical, red, with several grooves and traces of mortar.

Measurements: H: 18 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

8. Inv. no. 1728 – broken earthenware pipe – tubulus – with one flat surface and the other semi-elliptical; red, of coarse body, with horizontal grooving.

Measurements: surviving height: 24 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

9. Inv. no. 1731 – four fragments of the thick rim and part of the belly – earthenware pipe, light yellow, of purified clay, horizontal grooving.

Measurements: 11 × 10/0.7 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

10. Inv. no. 1742 – earthenware pipe, light red, with horizontal grooving – tubulus (two)

Measurements: H: 25 cm; R of opening: 12 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

Suspensure

11. Inv. br. 1698 – Opeka kvadratnog oblika, crvenkaste boje, dio suspensure.

Dimenzije: 15,5 × 15,5 cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

12. Inv. br. 1700 – Opeka kvadratnog oblika od crveno pečene zemlje sa tragovima maltera kao vezivnog materijala – hipokaustna opeka – suspensura.

Dimenzije: 15,5 × 15,5/4 cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

13. Inv. br. 1805 – Hipokaustna opeka kružnog oblika sa ljevkastim udubljenjem na jednoj strani koje je služilo za stavljanje vezivnog materijala – maltera.

Dimenzije: R:17 cm; H: 7,8 cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

Suspensurae

11. Inv. no. 1698 – square brick, reddish, part of suspensura.

Measurements: 15.5 × 15.5 cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

12. Inv. no. 1700 – square brick of red fired clay with traces of mortar as binder – hypocaust brick – suspensura.

Measurements: 15.5 × 15.5/4 cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

13. Inv. no. 1805 – hypocaust brick, round with funnel-shaped frog on one side to take the binder – mortar.

Measurements: R:17 cm; H: 7.8 cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

Freske

14. Inv. br. 1553 – Četrdeset fragmenata fresko-moleraja na ostacima bojnih geometrijskih ornamenata; polukrugovi, prave i kose linije, tamnocrvenom bojom.

Datacija: II – III st.

15. Inv. br. 1566 – Fragment maltera rađen u fresko tehnici. Na bijeloj osnovi izveden je ornament bojenjem – crvenkastobraon bojom u vidu šire trake.

Dimenzije: 5,2 × 4,6 cm.

Datacija: II – III st.

16. Inv. br. 1567 – Fragment maltera rađen u fresko tehnici. Ornament izveden bojenjem u vidu trake tamnocrvene boje na bijeloj osnovi.

Dimenzije: 5 × 5,5 cm.

Datacija: II – III st.

17. Inv. br. 1568 – Fragment maltera rađen u fresko tehnici. Na bijeloj osnovi izveden je ornament bojenjem svijetlobraon i tamnocrvenom bojom.

Dimenzije: 4,5 × 4 cm.

Datacija: II – III st.

Frescoes

14. Inv. no. 1553 – forty fragments of fresco with traces of painted geometric ornaments; semicircles, straight and diagonal lines, in dark red.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

15. Inv. no. 1566 – fragment of frescoed plaster, decorated with a wide reddish-brown band on a white ground.

Measurements: 5.2 × 4.6 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

16. Inv. no. 1567 – fragment of frescoed plaster decorated with a dark red band on a white ground.

Measurements: 5 × 5.5 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

17. Inv. no. 1568 – fragment of frescoed plaster, decorated in light brown and dark red on a white ground.

Measurements: 4.5 × 4 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

18. Inv. br. 1569 – Manji fragment fresko maltera sa bijelom osnovom na kojoj su izvedeni bojeni ornamenti u vidu linije i dijela polukruga, nijansom crvenožute boje.

Dimenzije: $6 \times 5,3$ cm.

Datacija: II – III st.

19. Inv. br. 1572 – Manji fragment zidnog maltera rađen u al-fresko tehnici. Na bijeloj osnovi, koja čini grund, izveden je ornament bojenjem tamnocrvenom bojom u vidu talasne linije.

Dimenzije: $4,5 \times 3,2$ cm.

Datacija: II – III st.

20. Inv. br. 1573 – Manji fragment zidnog maltera rađen u al-fresko tehnici. Na bijeloj osnovi, koja čini grund, izveden je bojeni ornament – tamnocrvenom bojom – u vidu niza kapljica.

Dimenzije: $6 \times 4,3$ cm.

Datacija: II – III st.

21. Inv. br. 1574 – Manji fragment zidnog maltera rađen u al-fresko tehnici. Na bijeloj osnovi, koja čini grund, izveden je tamnocrvenom bojom ornament u vidu poluluka.

Dimenzije: $4,3 \times 4$ cm.

Datacija: II – III st.

22. Inv. br. 1701 – Fragment zidnog maltera – fresko moleraž, rađen u al-fresko tehnici. Osnova je bijele boje, na kojoj su izvedeni ornamenti crvenom i mrkocrvenom bojom u vidu linija i niza karika.

Dimenzije: $8,2 \times 8,2$ cm.

Datacija: II – III st.

23. Inv. br. 1702 – Fragment zidnog maltera – fresko moleraž, rađen u al-fresko tehnici. Preko osnove bijele boje kao grund premazano je ciglacrvenom bojom kroz koju su tamnim tonovima izvučene linije. (T. VII, 7)

Dimenzije: $9,7 \times 6,5$ cm.

Datacija: II – III st.

24. Inv. br. 1704 – Fragment zidnog maltera – fresko moleraž, rađen u al-fresko tehnici. Osnova je bijele boje preko koje je premaz u vidu širokih

18. Inv. no. 1569 – small fragment of frescoed plaster, decorated with yellow-red ornament consisting of lines and part semicircles on a white ground.

Measurements: 6×5.3 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

19. Inv. no. 1572 – small fragment of frescoed wall plaster, decorated with dark red wavy lines on a white ground.

Measurements: 4.5×3.2 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

20. Inv. no. 1573 – small fragment of frescoed wall plaster, decorated with a row of dark red tear-drops on a white ground.

Measurements: 6×4.3 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

21. Inv. no. 1574 – small fragment of frescoed wall plaster decorated with dark red semi-arches on a white ground.

Measurements: 4.3×4 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

22. Inv. no. 1701 – fragment of frescoed wall plaster decorated with lines and a row of links in red and dark red on a white ground.

Measurements: 8.2×8.2 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

23. Inv. no. 1702 – fragment of frescoed wall plaster decorated with dark lines on brick red laid over the white ground. (T. VII, 7)

Measurements: 9.7×6.5 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

24. Inv. no. 1704 – fragment of frescoed wall plaster decorated with wide red to dark brown bands separated by a narrow white band, all on a white ground.

Measurements: 10.2×9.2 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

25. Inv. no. 1705 – fragment of frescoed wall plaster, white ground overlaid with light red,

traka od crvene do tamnokrke boje koje su odvojene jednom užom bijelom trakom.

Dimenzije: 10,2 × 9,2 cm.

Datacija: II – III st.

25. Inv. br. 1705 – Fragment zidnog maltera – fresko moleraž, rađen u al-fresko tehnici. Preko grunda – osnove bijele boje, premaz je izveden svijetlocrvenom bojom, a preko noge je bijelim trakama izvedeno kvadratno polje.

Dimenzije: 8,8 × 6,9 cm.

Datacija: II – III st.

26. Inv. br. 1706 – Fragment zidnog maltera – fresko moleraž, rađen u al-fresko tehnici. Ornament je izveden bojenjem narandžastom, mrkom, bijelom i tamnomrkom bojom, u vidu širih i užih traka koje se zrnasto šire od jedne tačke.

Dimenzije: 9,3 × 5,2 cm.

Datacija: II – III st.

27. Inv. br. 1707 – Fragment zidnog maltera – fresko moleraž, rađen u al-fresko tehnici. Preko osnove bijele boje izveden je ornament crvenom i tamnomrkom bojom u vidu linija koje ograničavaju kvadratni prostor i tačak u nizu.

Dimenzije: 9,3 × 9 cm.

Datacija: II – III st.

28. Inv. br. 1724 – Veći fragment fresko maltera, rađen u al-fresko tehnici, na bijeloj osnovi izvedeni su geometrijski ornament u vidu trouglova i širih traka crvenom, bijelom, mrkocrvenom i žutom bojom.

Dimenzije: 11,5 × 10,6 cm.

Datacija: II – III st.

29. Inv. br. 1725 – Fragment zidnog maltera – fresko moleraž, rađen u al-fresko tehnici, na bijeloj osnovi izvedena su tamnozelenom i bijelom bojom kvadratna polja. **(T. VII, 1)**

Dimenzije: 8 × 5,7 cm.

Datacija: II – III st.

30. Inv. br. 1726 – Fragment fresko maltera, rađen u al-fresko tehnici. Na bijeloj osnovi izvedene šire i uže trake bijelom, mrkocrvenom, svijetložutom i oker bojom.

Dimenzije: 7 × 5 cm.

Datacija: II – III st.

with white bands forming a square panel across the foot.

Measurements: 8.8 × 6.9 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

26. Inv. no. 1706 – fragment of frescoed wall plaster, decorated with orange, brown, white and dark brown wide and narrow granular bands extending from a single point.

Measurements: 9.3 × 5.2 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

27. Inv. no. 1707 fragment of frescoed wall plaster, white ground decorated with red and dark brown lines surrounding a square panel and a row of dots.

Measurements: 9.3 × 9 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

28. Inv. no. 1724 – larger fragment of frescoed plaster, white ground decorated with geometric designs of triangles and wide red, white, dark red and yellow bands.

Measurements: 11.5 × 10.6 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century.

29. Inv. no. 1725 – fragment of frescoed wall plaster, decorated with dark green and white square panels on a white ground. **(T. VII, 1)**

Measurements: 8 × 5.7 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

30. Inv. no. 1726 – fragment of frescoed plaster, decorated with wide and narrow bands of white, dark red, light yellow and ochre on a white ground.

Measurements: 7 × 5 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

31. Inv. no. 1736 – two fragments of a plaster ceiling cornice, white decorated with triple moulding, one fragment with traces of red and the other of dark green.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

32. Inv. no. 1737 – fragment of frescoed plaster, decorated with wide bands and semi-arches in dark red on a white ground.

Measurements: 7.3 × 5.3 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

31. Inv. br. 1736 – Dva fragmenta vijenca plafona od maltera, bijele boje ukrašen trostrukom profilacijom, na jednom fragmentu vidljivi tragovi crvene boje, a na drugom tamnozelene.

Datacija: II – III st.

32. Inv. br. 1737 – Fragment fresko maltera, rađen u al-fresko tehnici, osnove bijele boje na kojoj je izveden bojenjem tamnocrvenom bojom ornament širih traka i polulukova.

Dimenzije: 7,3 × 5,3 cm.

Datacija: II – III st.

33. Inv. br. 1748 – Veći fragment fresko maltera, rađen u tehnici al-fresko. Na osnovi bijele boje izveden je ornament bojenjem svjetlijom i tamnijom crvenom bojom u vidu šireg luka.

Dimenzije: 10,5 × 9,6 cm.

Datacija: II – III st.

34. Inv. br. 1749 – Manji fragment fresko maltera – rađen u al-fresko tehnici. Preko osnove bijele boje izveden je ornament tamnocrvenom bojom u vidu nekog cvijeta sa spiralnim lukovima.

Dimenzije: 4,2 × 2,2 cm.

Datacija: II – III st.

35. Inv. br. 1750 – Manji fragment fresko maltera – rađen u al-fresko tehnici. Vidljivi su tragovi crvene boje, a bijele i svijetlozeleno u vidu linije.

Dimenzije: 4,3 × 4 cm.

Datacija: II – III st.

36. Inv. br. 1751 – Veći fragment fresko maltera – fresko maleraž, rađen u al-fresko tehnici. Na svijetloj osnovi mrkozelenkastom, bijelom i plavozelenom bojom izvedeni su ornament u vidu širih i užih traka.

Dimenzije: 11,5 × 8,5 cm.

Datacija: II – III st.

37. Inv. br. 1753 – Fragment fresko maltera, rađen u al-fresko tehnici. Ornament izveden u vidu širih i užih traka crvenom, bijelom i svijetlozelenom bojom.

Dimenzije: 10 × 8,2 cm.

Datacija: II – III st.

33. Inv. no. 1748 – larger fragment of frescoed plaster, decorated with a wide arch in light and darker red on a white ground.

Measurements: 10.5 × 9.6 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

34. Inv. no. 1749 – small fragment of frescoed plaster, decorated in dark red with a flower with spiral arches on a white ground.

Measurements: 4.2 × 2.2 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

35. Inv. no. 1750 – small fragment of frescoed plaster with traces of red paint and white and light beige lines.

Measurements: 4.3 × 4 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

36. Inv. no. 1751 – larger fragment of frescoed plaster decorated with wide and narrow bands in dark green, white and blue-green on a pale ground.

Measurements: 11.5 × 8.5 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

37. Inv. no. 1753 – fragment of frescoed plaster decorated with wide and narrow bands in white and light green.

Measurements: 10 × 8.2 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

38. Inv. no. 1758 – larger fragment of frescoed plaster, white ground with a red frieze bordered by a white line; below the frieze it is painted dark red around an ornament.

Measurements: 12.5 × 12 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

39. Inv. no. 1759 – larger fragment of frescoed plaster; decorated with narrow and wide lines in red, yellow and brown bordered by the painted frieze.

Measurements: 12 × 10.5 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

40. Inv. no. 1760 – small fragment of frescoed wall plaster, pale yellow ground with red

38. Inv. br. 1758 – Veći fragment fresko maltera – rađen u al-fresko tehnici. Preko bijele osnove crvenom bojom obojen je friz razgraničen linijom bijele boje ispod koga je oko ornamenta bojen mrkocrvenom bojom.

Dimenzije: 12,5 × 12 cm.

Datacija: II – III st.

39. Inv. br. 1759 – Veći fragment fresko maltera – rađen u al-fresko tehnici; crvenom, žutom i mrkom bojom izveden je ornament u vidu užih i širih linija koje ograničavaju boje u frizovima.

Dimenzije: 12 × 10,5 cm.

Datacija: II – III st.

40. Inv. br. 1760 – Manji fragment zidnog maltera rađen u tehnici fresko moleraja. Osnova je svijetle boje – blijedožute, preko koje ide linija crvene boje i oko nekog neidentificiranog ornamenta crvenomrke boje.

Dimenzije: 9,5 × 6,8 cm.

Datacija: II – III st.

41. Inv. br. 1761 – Fragment fresko maltera bijele osnove preko koje je izveden ornament crvenom bojom u vidu linija koje ograničavaju crveno obojeno polje.

Dimenzije: 12 × 9 cm.

Datacija: II – III st.

42. Inv. br. 1801 – Veći fragment fresko maltera, rađen u al-fresko tehnici. Osnova je svijetložuta na kojoj je izveden bojeni linearni ornament – tamnocrvenom, sivom i braonkastom bojom u vidu širih i užih linija.

Dimenzije: 14,5 × 14,5 cm.

Datacija: II – III st.

43. Inv. br. 1802 – Veći fragment fresko maltera, grund je svijetle boje sa bojenim oker i crvenim linijama – kao široke trake i dijelom nedefinisanog linearnog ornamenta. **(T. VII, 8)**

Dimenzije: 12,5 × 8 cm.

Datacija: II – III st.

lines around an unidentified red-brown ornament.

Measurements: 9.5 × 6.8 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

41. Inv. no. 1761 – fragment of frescoed plaster, white ground decorated with red lines surrounding a red-painted panel.

Measurements: 12 × 9 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

42. Inv. no. 1801 – large fragment of frescoed plaster, decorated with dark red, grey and brownish wide and narrow lines on a light yellow ground.

Measurements: 14.5 × 14.5 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

43. Inv. no. 1802 – large fragment of frescoed plaster, decorated with ochre and red lines as wide bands and part of an undefined linear ornament on a pale ground. **(T. VII, 8)**

Measurements: 12.5 × 8 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

44. Inv. no. 1803 – small fragment of frescoed plaster, decorated with red semi-arches on a pale ground.

Measurements: 6 × 3.5 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

45. Inv. no. 1804 – fragment of frescoed plaster decorated with a corner design of lines meeting at a right angle in white and red on a white ground.

Measurements: 8.7 × 7 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

46. Inv. no. 1894 – larger fragment of frescoed plaster with the remains of narrow and wide lines in light green, light yellow, brown and white. The fragment has two coats of plaster – restoration of the ground and the painted layer.

Measurements: 14 × 11 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

44. Inv. br. 1803 – Manji fragment fresko maltera. Na grundu svijetle boje je izveden ornament crvenom bojom u vidu polulukova.

Dimenzije: $6 \times 3,5$ cm.
Datacija: II – III st.

45. Inv. br. 1804 – Fragment fresko maltera sa grundom bijele boje na kome je bijelom i crvenom bojom predstavljen ugaoni ornament od linija koje se pod pravim uglom sastavljaju.

Dimenzije: $8,7 \times 7$ cm.
Datacija: II – III st.

46. Inv. br. 1894 – Veći fragment fresko maltera sa ostacima svijetlozelene, svijetložute, braon i bijele boje u vidu užih i širih linija. Na istom fragmentu se vide dva sloja maltera.

Dimenzije: 14×11 cm.
Datacija: II – III st.

47. Inv. br. 1898 – Dva fragmenta fresko maltera. Na grubljem grundu prevučena je osnova sa crvenim premazom na kome je tamno-plavom bojom izveden ornament stiliziranog lista.

Datacija: II – III st.

Keramika

Bojena keramika

48. Inv. br. 1626 – Veći fragment trbuha posude, svijetlonarandžaste boje, finije fature, ukrašena mrkom bojom sa uzdužnim linijama. (T. VIII, 2)

Dimenzije: $11 \times 9,8/0,5$ cm.
Datacija: I – II st.

49. Inv. br. 2043 – Fragment trbuha suda svijetložute boje, finije fature. Na truhu svijetlomrkom bojom izvedeni su ornamenti u vidu pravih i talasastih linija i mrežastog ornamenta.

Dimenzije: $6,2 \times 5,8/0,5$ cm.
Datacija: I – II st.

47. Inv. no. 1898 – two fragments of frescoed plaster, coarse ground with a coat of red on which is a dark blue decoration of a stylized leaf.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

Pottery

Painted pottery

48. Inv. no. 1626 – large sherd from the belly of a pot, light orange in colour, fine body, decorated in brown with longitudinal lines. (T. VIII, 2)

Measurements: $11 \times 9.8/0.5$ cm.
Date: 1st to 2nd century

49. Inv. no. 2043 – sherd from the belly of a light yellow pot, fine body, decorated in light brown with straight and wavy lines and a reticulate design.

Measurements: $6.2 \times 5.8/0.5$ cm.
Date: 1st to 2nd century

Marbled pottery

50. Inv. no. 1564 – sherd from the thickened rim and part of the short neck and belly of a pot, coarse body with a considerable admixture of sand.

Measurements: $7.6 \times 3.3/1.4$ cm.
Date: 1st to 4th century

51. Inv. no. 1570 – small sherd from an annular base and part of the belly, light yellow in colour and fine body.

Measurements: $6.7 \times 4.5/0.5$ cm.
Date: 1st to 4th century

52. Inv. no. 1571 – four sherds from the thickened slanting rim and part of the belly of a smallish biconical vessel, of fairly fine body.

Measurements: 5.4×4 cm.
Date: 1st to 4th century

53. Inv. no. 1585 – sherd from the flat base of a wide, shallow dish of purified clay.

Measurements: $5.6 \times 5.2/0.5$ cm.
Date: 1st to 4th century

Mramorirana keramika

50. Inv. br. 1564 – Fragment zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom kraćeg vrata i trbuha posude, lošije fature sa dosta pijeska.

Dimenzije: 7,6 × 3,3/1,4 cm.

Datacija: I – IV st.

51. Inv. br. 1570 – Manji fragment prstenastog dna sa dijelom trbuha, svijetložute boje i finije fature.

Dimenzije: 6,7 × 4,5/0,5 cm.

Datacija: I – IV st.

52. Inv. br. 1571 – Četiri fragmenta zadebljalog kosog oboda, sa dijelom trbuha manje bikonične zdjele, finije fature.

Dimenzije: 5,4 × 4 cm.

Datacija: I – IV st.

53. Inv. br. 1585 – Fragment ravnog dna, šire pliče posude od dobro prečišćene zemlje.

Dimenzije: 5,6 × 5,2/0,5 cm.

Datacija: I – IV st.

54. Inv. br. 1599 – Veći fragment kosog oboda sa dijelom trbuha i vrata, šire trbušaste posude, grublje fature. Posuda je na prelazu iz trbuha u vrat ukrašena jednim plastičnim rebrom.

Dimenzije: 11,8 × 5/0,9 cm.

Datacija: I – IV st.

55. Inv. br. 1614 – Fragment prstenastog dna sa početkom trbuha manje posude.

Dimenzije: 4,5 × 4/0,7 cm.

Datacija: I – IV st.

56. Inv. br. 1622 – Manji fragment razgrnutog zaravnjenog oboda, sa dijelom trbuha, manje pliče zdjele, svijetložute mramorirane boje, finije fature.

Dimenzije: 6,2 × 3,1/0,5 cm.

Datacija: I – IV st.

57. Inv. br. 1625 – Četiri fragmenta oboda sa dijelom trbuha i prstenastog dna – plitke šire zdjele, finije fature, bojene crvenom bojom, mramorirane (**T. VIII, 3, 4**).

Dimenzije: 15 × 4,6 cm; 12,2 × 6,6/0,7 cm.

Datacija: I – IV st.

54. Inv. no. 1599 – large sherd from the slanting rim with part of the belly and neck of a wide, bellied pot of coarse body. The pot is decorated with a moulded rib at the junction of the belly and the neck.

Measurements: 11.8 × 5/0.9 cm.

Date: 1st to 4th century

55. Inv. no. 1614 – sherd from the annular base with the beginning of the belly of a small pot.

Measurements: 4.5 × 4/0.7 cm.

Date: 1st to 4th century

56. Inv. no. 1622 – small sherd from the flattened everted rim with part of the belly of a small, shallow bowl, light yellow marbled, fairly fine body.

Measurements: 6.2 × 3.1/0.5 cm.

Date: 1st to 4th century

57. Inv. no. 1625 – four sherds from the rim and part of the belly and annular base of a wide, shallow bowl of fairly fine body, painted red, marbled. (**T. VIII, 3, 4**).

Measurements: 15 × 4.6 cm; 12.2 × 6.6/0.7 cm.

Date: 1st to 4th century

58. Inv. no. 1656 – sherd from a thickened rim and part of the belly of a light red pot of purified clay.

Measurements: 4.8 × 3.4/1.2 cm.

Date: 1st to 4th century

59. Inv. no. 1686 – large sherd from a wide, shallow dish, light red in colour, of purified clay, showing signs of burning.

Measurements: 10 × 6/0.7 cm.

Date: 1st to 4th century

60. Inv. no. 1764 – two sherds from the moulded, thickened rim and part of the belly of a dish, base missing.

Measurements: 9 × 5.5/1.2 cm.

Date: 1st to 4th century

61. Inv. no. 1768 – three sherds from the thickened rim and part of the belly of a wide, shallow,

58. Inv. br. 1656 – Fragment zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom trbuha posude svijetlocrvene posude, koja je od dobro prečišćene zemlje.

Dimenzije: $4,8 \times 3,4/1,2$ cm.
Datacija: I – IV st.

59. Inv. br. 1686 – Veći fragment trbuha šire pliče zdjele, svijetlocrvene boje od dobro prečišćene zemlje. Vidljivi tragovi gorenja.

Dimenzije: $10 \times 6/0,7$ cm.
Datacija: I – IV st.

60. Inv. br. 1764 – Dva fragmenta profiliranog zadebljalog oboda, sa dijelom trbuha zdjele. Nedostaje dno.

Dimenzije: $9 \times 5,5/1,2$ cm.
Datacija: I – IV st.

61. Inv. br. 1768 – Tri fragmenta zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom trbuha šire plitke trbušaste zdjele i dijela prstenastog dna, finije fature.

Dimenzije: H: 5 cm.
Datacija: I – IV st.

62. Inv. br. 1776 – Dva fragmenta zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom trbuha i prstenastog dna pliče i šire zdjele, finije fature.

Dimenzije: $10 \times 7,5/0,7$ cm.
Datacija: I – IV st.

63. Inv. br. 1795 – Veći fragment profiliranog oboda sa dijelom cilindričnog vrata i trbuha suda većih dimenzija.

Dimenzije: $11 \times 9,5/0,5$ cm.
Datacija: I – IV st.

64. Inv. br. 1854 – Fragment blago razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom trbuha manje zdjele. Obod je sa spoljne strane ukrašen jednom dubljom kanelurom.

Dimenzije: $4,8 \times 2,7/0,7$ cm.
Datacija: I – IV st.

65. Inv. br. 1856 – Fragment zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom trbuha šire pliče zdjele od dobro prečišćene zemlje.

Dimenzije: $12,9 \times 4,5/1,2$ cm.
Datacija: I – IV st.

bellied pot and part of the annular base, fairly fine body.

Measurements: H: 5 cm.
Date: 1st to 4th century

62. Inv. no. 1776 – two sherds from the thickened rim and part of the belly and annular base of a wide, shallow dish, fairly fine body.

Measurements: $10 \times 7.5/0.7$ cm.
Date: 1st to 4th century

63. Inv. no. 1795 – large sherd from the moulded rim and part of the cylindrical neck and belly of a large pot.

Measurements: $11 \times 9.5/0.5$ cm.
Date: 1st to 4th century

64. Inv. no. 1854 – sherd from the somewhat everted rim and part of the belly of a small dish. The rim is decorated on the outside by a deep cannelure.

Measurements: $4.8 \times 2.7/0.7$ cm.
Date: 1st to 4th century

65. Inv. no. 1856 – sherd from the thickened rim and part of the belly of a wide, shallow dish of purified clay.

Measurements: $12.9 \times 4.5/1.2$ cm.
Date: 1st to 4th century

66. Inv. no. 1867 – sherd from the flat rim and part of the belly of a small dish, with traces of two concentric cannelures on the outside of the belly.

Measurements: $8.5 \times 4.2/0.8$ cm.
Date: 1st to 4th century

67. Inv. no. 1868 – sherd from the thickened rim of a small dish with two concentric cannelures on the outside.

Measurements: $5.7 \times 4.5/1$ cm.
Date: 1st to 4th century

68. Inv. no. 1872 – sherd from the belly of a marbled dish of fine body of purified clay, covered inside and out with orange slip.

Measurements: $8.3 \times 4.8/0.8$ cm.
Date: 1st to 4th century

66. Inv. br. 1867 – Fragment ravnog oboda sa dijelom trbuha manje zdjele. Sa spoljne strane na truhu vidljivi tragovi dvije koncentrično izvedene kanelure.

Dimenzije: 8,5 × 4,2/0,8 cm.

Datacija: I – IV st.

67. Inv. br. 1868 – Fragment zadebljalog oboda, manje zdjele, sa spoljne strane su izvedene dvije koncentrične kanelure.

Dimenzije: 5,7 × 4,5/1 cm.

Datacija: I – IV st.

68. Inv. br. 1872 – Fragment trbuha mramorirane zdjele, finije fature, od dobro prečišćene zemlje. I spoljna i unutarnja strana prekrivene su narandžastim premazom.

Dimenzije: 8,3 × 4,8/0,8 cm.

Datacija: I – IV st.

69. Inv. br. 1873 – Fragment zadebljalog ravnog oboda sa dijelom trbuha zdjele. Sa spoljne i unutarnje strane je crvenkastožuti premaz.

Dimenzije: 7 × 4/1,5 cm.

Datacija: I – IV st.

70. Inv. br. 1889 – Fragment trbuha posude od dobro prečišćene zemlje. Sa spoljne i unutarnje strane vidljivi tragovi gorenja.

Dimenzije: 8,8 × 5,7/0,6 cm.

Datacija: I – IV st.

71. Inv. br. 1904 – Fragment trbuha posude svjetlije boje od dobro prečišćene zemlje. Premaz je tamnooranž boje.

Dimenzije: 7,4 × 6/0,5 cm.

Datacija: I – IV st.

72. Inv. br. 1972 – Fragmentirano prstenasto dno sa dijelom trbuha šire, plitke posude, finije fature. Na dnu sa spoljne strane su vidljivi tragovi rada na vitlu.

Dimenzije: R dna: 10,3 cm.

Datacija: I – IV st.

73. Inv. br. 1994 – Fragment većeg prstenastog dna sa dijelom trbuha šire plitke zdjele, tankih zidova. Na dnu su vidljivi tragovi rada na vitlu.

Dimenzije: 14 × 13,8/0,4 cm.

Datacija: I – IV st.

69. Inv. no. 1873 – sherd from the thickened, flat rim and part of the belly of a dish, covered inside and out with reddish-yellow slip.

Measurements: 7 × 4/1.5 cm.

Date: 1st to 4th century

70. Inv. no. 1889 – sherd from the belly of a vessel of purified clay with signs of burning inside and out.

Measurements: 8.8 × 5.7/0.6 cm.

Date: 1st to 4th century

71. Inv. no. 1904 – sherd from the belly of a light-coloured vessel of purified clay with dark orange slip.

Measurements: 7.4 × 6/0.5 cm.

Date: 1st to 4th century

72. Inv. no. 1972 – fragmentary annular base and part of the belly of a wide, shallow dish of fine body, with traces of turning on the wheel on the outside of the base.

Measurements: R of base: 10.3 cm.

Date: 1st to 4th century

73. Inv. no. 1994 – sherd from the large annular base and part of the belly of a wide, shallow, thin-walled dish, with traces of turning on the wheel on the base.

Measurements: 14 × 13.8/0.4 cm.

Date: 1st to 4th century

74. Inv. no. 1995 – sherd from the slanting rim and part of the belly of a small, shallow dish with thick walls, of fine body.

Measurements: 5.5 × 5.2/0.7 cm.

Date: 1st to 4th century

75. Inv. no. 2002 – sherd from the flat, thickened rim and part of the belly of a wide, shallow dish of fine body.

Measurements: 10.6 × 4.2/1.4 cm.

Date: 1st to 4th century.

76. Inv. no. 2003 – the annular base and part of the belly of a small body of fine body.

Measurements: R of base: 4.4 cm.

Date: 1st to 4th century

74. Inv. br. 1995 – Fragment kosog oboda sa dijelom trbuha manje pliče zdjele, debljih zidova i finije fakture.

Dimenzije: $5,5 \times 5,2/0,7$ cm.
Datacija: I – IV st.

75. Inv. br. 2002 – Fragment ravnog zadebljalog oboda, sa dijelom trbuha pliče, šire zdjele, finije fakture.

Dimenzije: $10,6 \times 4,2/1,4$ cm.
Datacija: I – IV st.

76. Inv. br. 2003 – Prstenasto dno sa dijelom trbuha manje posude, finije fakture.

Dimenzije: R dna: 4,4 cm.
Datacija: I – IV st.

Terra sigillata

77. Inv. br. 1561 – Fragment ravnog dna sa dijelom trbuha manje posude. Na prelazu iz trbuha u dno izvedena je kanelura.

Dimenzije: $5,5 \times 3/0,5$ cm.
Datacija: I st.

78. Inv. br. 1579 – Dva fragmenta plitke posude, debljih zidova, imitacija terra sigillate. Tanjir sa blago uvučenim obodom i ravnim dnom. Ispod oboda se pruža plitka kanelura.

Dimenzije: $9 \times 3,8/0,8$ cm.
Datacija: I st.

79. Inv. br. 1611 – Fragment kosog oboda sa dijelom trbuha manje trbušaste zdjele. Na trbuhu je izvedena jedna plića kanelura.

Dimenzije: $5,5 \times 3/0,6$ cm.
Datacija: I st.

80. Inv. br. 1695 – Manji fragment koso zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom trbuha manje zdjele.

Dimenzije: $4 \times 2,1/0,9$ cm.
Datacija: I st.

81. Inv. br. 1738 – Fragment profiliranog oboda sa dijelom trbuha manje pliče zdjele.

Dimenzije: $5 \times 2,2/0,6$ cm.
Datacija: I st.

Terra sigillata

77. Inv. no. 1561 – sherd from the flat base and part of the belly of a small pot with a cannellure at the junction of the belly and the base.

Measurements: $5.5 \times 3/0.5$ cm.
Date: 1st century

78. Inv. no. 1579 – two sherds from a shallow vessel with thick walls, imitation terra sigillata. Plate with slightly inverted rim and flat base, with a shallow cannellure below the rim.

Measurements: $9 \times 3.8/0.8$ cm.
Date: 1st century

79. Inv. no. 1611 – sherd from the slanting rim and part of the belly of a small bellied dish with a shallow cannellure on the belly.

Measurements: $5.5 \times 3/0.6$ cm.
Date: 1st century

80. Inv. no. 1695 – small sherd from the slanting, thickened rim and part of the belly of a small dish.

Measurements: $4 \times 2.1/0.9$ cm.
Date: 1st century

81. Inv. no. 1738 – sherd from the moulded rim and part of the belly of a small, shallow dish.

Measurements: $5 \times 2.2/0.6$ cm.
Date: 1st century

82. Inv. no. 1785 – sherd from the damaged slanting rim and part of the belly and flat base of a small pot. Imitation terra sigillata.

Measurements: H: 4 cm.
Date: 1st century

83. Inv. no. 1812 – sherd from the flat rim and part of the neck and belly of a small, shallow pit, of fine body, light red in colour. Imitation terra sigillata (**T. IX, 1**).

Measurements: $6.5 \times 4/0.7$ cm.
Date: 1st century

82. Inv. br. 1785 – Fragment koso oštećenog oboda sa dijelom trbuha i ravnog dna manjeg suda. Imitacija terra sigillate.

Dimenzije: H: 4 cm.

Datacija: I st.

83. Inv. br. 1812 – Fragment ravnog oboda sa dijelom vrata i trbuha manjeg plitkog suda, fine fature i svijetlocrvene boje. Imitacija terra sigillate (T. IX, 1).

Dimenzije: 6,5 × 4/0,7 cm.

Datacija: I st.

84. Inv. br. 1859 – Fragment ravno razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom trbuha i prstenastog dna tanjira ciglastocrvene boje, glačano. (T. IX, 2)

Dimenzije: 7 × 5,6/0,8 cm.

Datacija: I st.

Siva keramika

85. Inv. br. 1556 – Manji fragment prstenastog dna posude sive boje sa tragovima pijeska u zemlji. Spoljna površina dna je izvedena u kanelurama – rad na vitlu.

Dimenzije: 6 × 5 cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

86. Inv. br. 1562 – Fragment zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom trbuha pliće zdjele, sive boje, finije fature.

Dimenzije: 5,5 × 3 /0,5 cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

87. Inv. br. 1577 – Fragmentirana manja trbušasta posuda sa prstenastom nogom, sive boje, finije fature, nedostaje obod. (T. IX, 3)

Dimenzije: H: 7 cm; R dna: 3,6 cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

88. Inv. br. 1592 – Fragment ravnog oboda sa dijelom trbuha manje posude, tankih zidova, svijetlosive boje, finije fature. Na trbuhu ukras u vidu jedne plitke široke horizontalne kanelure.

Dimenzije: 4,7 × 3,7 /0,2 cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

84. Inv. no. 1859 – sherd from the flat everted rim and part of the belly and annular base of a plate, brick-red in colour, burnished. (T. IX, 2)

Measurements: 7 × 5.6/0.8 cm.

Date: 1st century

Grey ware

85. Inv. no. 1556 – small sherd from the annular rim of a grey vessel with traces of sand in the clay. The outside of the base is grooved from being turned on the wheel.

Measurements: 6 × 5 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

86. Inv. no. 1562 – sherd from the thickened rim and part of the belly of a shallow dish, grey in colour, of fine body.

Measurements: 5.5 × 3 /0.5 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

87. Inv. no. 1577 – small, broken bellied pot with annular foot, grey in colour, of fine body, rim missing. (T. IX, 3)

Measurements: H: 7 cm; R of base: 3.6 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

88. Inv. no. 1592 – sherd from the flat rim and part of the belly of a small pot with thin walls, light grey in colour, of fine body. The belly is decorated with a wide, shallow horizontal canelure.

Measurements: 4.7 × 3.7 /0.2 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

89. Inv. no. 1600 – sherd from the annular base and part of the belly of a grey pot of fine body. The base is decorated at the bottom with several concentric canelures.

Measurements: 8 × 5/0.7 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

90. Inv. no. 1601 – sherd from the flat everted thickened rim and part of the belly of a bellied pot, light grey in colour, of purified clay.

Measurements: 9 × 5.6/1.5 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

89. Inv. br. 1600 – Fragment prstenastog dna sa dijelom trbuha posude sive boje, finije fature. Dno je sa donje strane ukrašeno sa više koncentričnih kanelura.

Dimenzije: $8 \times 5/0,7$ cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

90. Inv. br. 1601 – Fragment ravnog razgrnutog zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom trbuha trbušaste posude, svijetlosive boje, rađene od dobro prečišćene gline.

Dimenzije: $9 \times 5,6/1,5$ cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

91. Inv. br. 1603 – Manji fragment ravno razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom trbuha posude sive boje, od dobro prečišćene zemlje, glačane, premazane crnom bojom.

Dimenzije: $6,5 \times 3,2/1,5$ cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

92. Inv. br. 1610 – Fragmentirana šira drška, svijetlosive boje od dobro prečišćene gline.

Dimenzije: $9 \times 2,5$ cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

93. Inv. br. 1618 – Fragment zadebljalog razgrnutog oboda sa početkom trbuha posude većih dimenzija, svijetlosive boje od dobro prečišćene gline.

Dimenzije: $11,7 \times 3,1 / 1,2$ cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

94. Inv. br. 1619 – Fragment zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom trbuha većeg trbušastog suda, svijetlosive boje od dobro prečišćene gline.

Dimenzije: $14 \times 6,2 / 1,1$ cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

95. Inv. br. 1620 – Fragment razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom trbuha šire pliće zdjele, svijetlosive boje, finije fature.

Dimenzije: $7,9 \times 2,8/0,8$ cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

96. Inv. br. 1629 – Fragment zaravnjenog, zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom cilindričnog vrata, sive boje sa plastičnim rubom.

Dimenzije: $6,6 \times 7,8$ cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

91. Inv. no. 1603 – small sherd from the flat everted rim and part of the belly of a grey pot of purified clay, burnished, coated with black slip.

Measurements: $6.5 \times 3.2/1.5$ cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

92. Inv. no. 1610 – broken wide handle, light grey in colour, of purified clay.

Measurements: 9×2.5 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

93. Inv. no. 1618 – sherd from the thickened everted rim and beginning of the belly of a large pot, light grey in colour, of purified clay.

Measurements: $11.7 \times 3.1 / 1.2$ cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

94. Inv. no. 1619 – sherd from the thickened rim and part of the belly of a sizeable bellied pot, light grey in colour, of purified clay.

Measurements: $14 \times 6.2 / 1.1$ cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

95. Inv. no. 1620 – sherd from the everted rim and part of the belly of a wide, shallow dish, light grey in colour, of fine body.

Measurements: $7.9 \times 2.8/0.8$ cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century.

96. Inv. no. 1629 – sherd from a flattened, thickened rim and part of a cylindrical neck, grey in colour, with moulded rim.

Measurements: 6.6×7.8 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

97. Inv. no. 1634 – sherd from a thickened rim, dark grey, poor-quality body with signs of burning.

Measurements: 9×2.8 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

98. Inv. no. 1635 – sherd from the moulded rim and part of the belly of a pot, poor-quality body, dark grey in colour.

Measurements: 7.8×5.2 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

97. Inv. br. 1634 – Fragment zadebljalog oboda, tamnosive boje, lošije fature sa tragovima gorenja.

Dimenzije: $9 \times 2,8$ cm.
Datacija: I – II st.

98. Inv. br. 1635 – Fragment profiliranog oboda sa dijelom trbuha suda, lošije fature, tamnosive boje.

Dimenzije: $7,8 \times 5,2$ cm.
Datacija: I – II st.

99. Inv. br. 1637 – Fragment prstenastog dna sa dijelom, tj. početkom trbuha sive posude, tanjih zidova. Vidljivi tragovi rada na vitlu.

Dimenzije: $7,5 \times 6,2/0,2-0,3$ cm.
Datacija: I – II st.

100. Inv. br. 1644 – Fragment prstenastog dna sa dijelom trbuha šire dublje posude, svijetlosive boje, od dobro prečišćene gline, debljih zidova.

Dimenzije: H: 8 cm.
Datacija: I – II st.

101. Inv. br. 1645 – Fragment koso razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom vrata i dijelom lučne drške koja prelazi preko oboda posude svijetlosive boje, fine fature.

Dimenzije: $10 \times 4,2 / 0,9$ cm.
Datacija: I – II st.

102. Inv. br. 1646 – Fragmentirana lučna drška svijetlosive boje, finije fature.

Dimenzije: $11,3 \times 3,4$ cm.
Datacija: I – II st.

103. Inv. br. 1650 – Fragment profiliranog, blago posuvraćenog oboda sa dijelom trbuha manje, pliće zdjele, sive boje, finije fature. Sa spoljne strane ispod oboda ukras u vidu jedne horizontalne kanelure.

Dimenzije: $7,2 \times 2,6/0,8$ cm.
Datacija: I – II st.

104. Inv. br. 1654 – Fragment prstenastog dna sa dijelom trbuha posude svijetlosive boje, fine fature, debljih zidova.

Dimenzije: R dna: 8,2 cm.
Datacija: I – II st.

99. Inv. no. 1637 – sherd from the annular base and part (beginning) of the belly of a grey ware pot with thin walls, showing the marks of turning on the wheel.

Measurements: $7.5 \times 6.2/0.2-0.3$ cm.
Date: 1st to 2nd century

100. Inv. no. 1644 – sherd from the annular base and part of the belly of a wide, deep vessel, light grey in colour, of purified clay, with thick walls.

Measurements: H: 8 cm.
Date: 1st to 2nd century

101. Inv. no. 1645 – sherd from the slanting everted rim and part of the neck and arched handle standing proud of the rim of a light grey vessel of fine body.

Measurements: $10 \times 4.2 / 0.9$ cm.
Date: 1st to 2nd century

102. Inv. no. 1646 – broken arched handle, light grey in colour, of fine body.

Measurements: 11.3×3.4 cm.
Date: 1st to 2nd century

103. Inv. no. 1650 – sherd from a moulded rim, somewhat upturned, with part of the belly of a small, shallow bowl, grey in colour, of fine body. The outside is decorated below the rim with a horizontal cannelure.

Measurements: $7.2 \times 2.6/0.8$ cm.
Date: 1st to 2nd century

104. Inv. no. 1654 – sherd from the annular base and part of the belly of a light grey pot of fine body with thick walls.

Measurements: R of base: 8.2 cm.
Date: 1st to 2nd century

105. Inv. no. 1657 – sherd from the moulded rim and part of the belly of a small, wide, bellied dish, light grey in colour, of fine body, coated with black slip.

Measurements: $6 \times 4/0.8$ cm.
Date: 1st to 2nd century

105. Inv. br. 1657 – Fragment profiliranog oboda sa dijelom trbuha manje šire trbušaste zdjele, svijetlosive boje, finije fature, premazana crnom bojom.

Dimenzije: $6 \times 4/0,8$ cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

106. Inv. br. 1663 – Fragment koso razgrnutog, zadebljalog i povijenog oboda sa dijelom trbuha posude, sive boje finije fature, debljih zidova, većih dimenzija.

Dimenzije: $7,5 \times 7/1,1$ cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

107. Inv. br. 1664 – Fragment koso razgrnutog, profiliranog na gore izvučenog oboda sa dijelom trbuha sive boje, finije fature.

Dimenzije: $9,3 \times 5,7/0,6$ cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

108. Inv. br. 1666 – Fragmentirana, masivna šira drška, svijetlosive boje od dobro prečišćene gline. Po sredini uzduž dvostruko žljebljena.

Dimenzije: $11 \times 4,7$ cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

109. Inv. br. 1669 – Fragment blago posuvraćenog oboda sa dijelom trbuha plće posude, svijetlosive boje, grublje fature sa dosta pijeska.

Dimenzije: $7 \times 4,7/0,5$ cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

110. Inv. br. 1673 – Manji fragment oboda – izlivanje (vjerovatno ojnoha) svijetlosive boje, finije fature.

Dimenzije: $5,2 \times 4$ cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

111. Inv. br. 1680 – Dva fragmenta zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom trbuha i manjim dijelom prstenastog dna trbušaste posude, sivomrke boje, finije fature od dobro prečišćene zemlje.

Dimenzije: a) $11,5 \times 4,4/0,4$ cm; b) $8 \times 4,5/0,6$ cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

112. Inv. br. 1682 – Četiri fragmenta oboda sa dijelom trbuha i ravnog dna bikoničnog suda, svijetlosive boje, finije fature. Na ramenu i vratu

106. Inv. no. 1663 – sherd from the slanting everted, thickened, curved rim and part of the belly of a pot, grey in colour, of fine body, with thick walls, large in size.

Measurements: $7.5 \times 7/1.1$ cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

107. Inv. no. 1664 – sherd from a slanting everted, moulded, flared rim and part of the belly, grey in colour, of fine body.

Measurements: $9.3 \times 5.7/0.6$ cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

108. Inv. no. 1666 – sherd from a substantial, wide handle, light grey in colour, of purified clay, with double grooving along the middle.

Measurements: 11×4.7 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

109. Inv. no. 1669 – sherd from the slightly upturned rim and part of the belly of a shallow pot, light grey in colour, of coarse body with a good deal of sand.

Measurements: $7 \times 4.7/0.5$ cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

110. Inv. no. 1673 – small sherd from the rim – the lip (probably of an oinochoe), light grey in colour, of fine body.

Measurements: 5.2×4 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

111. Inv. no. 1680 – two sherds from the thickened rim, part of the belly and a small section of the annular base of a bellied pot, grey-brown in colour, fine body of purified clay.

Measurements: a) $11.5 \times 4.4/0.4$ cm; b) $8 \times 4.5/0.6$ cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

112. Inv. no. 1682 – four sherds from the rim with part of the belly and flat base of a biconical vessel, light grey in colour, of fine body, decorated on the shoulder and neck with three horizontal rows of wavy lines. (T. IX, 4)

Measurements: H: 15 cm; R of base: 8.5 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

sud je ukrašen sa tri horizontalna reda talasnih linija. (T. IX, 4)

Dimenzije: H:15 cm; R dna: 8,5 cm.
Datacija: I – II st.

113. Inv. br. 1683 – Fragment zadebljalog oboda sa vratom, ramenom i dijelom trbuha suda sive boje od dobro prečišćene zemlje. Na vratu je izveden niz plitkih koncentričnih kanelura, a donja površina trbuha ispod jedne kanelure je perforirana (kao cjediljka).

Dimenzije : 7,7 × 7/0,5 cm.
Datacija: I – II st.

114. Inv. br. 1691 – Veći fragment razgrnutog zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom trbuha pliće šire zdjele od dobro prečišćene gline, mrkosive boje, finije fature.

Dimenzije: 11,7 × 4,3/1,4 cm.
Datacija: I – II st.

115. Inv. br. 1709 – Fragment zadebljalog profiliranog oboda sa dijelom trbuha manje pliće zdjele, svijetlosive boje od dobro prečišćene gline.

Dimenzije: 7,3 × 4/1,1 cm.
Datacija: I – II st.

116. Inv. br. 1734 – Fragment prstenastog dna sa dijelom trbuha posude svijetlosive boje od dobro prečišćene gline. Dno je sa donje strane ukrašeno jednom spiralom u vidu koncentričnih krugova.

Dimenzije: R dna: 5,5 cm.
Datacija: I – II st.

117. Inv. br. 1765 – Manje prstenasto dno trbušaste posude, sive boje. Na dnu je izvedena jedna kanelura koja prati ivicu dna. Vidljivi tragovi gorenja.

Dimenzije: R dna: 3,8 cm.
Datacija: I – II st.

118. Inv. br. 1769 – Dva fragmenta koso razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom vrata i trbuha suda većih dimenzija, mrkosive boje, finije fature.

Dimenzije: R otvora: 21 cm.
Datacija: I – II st.

113. Inv. no. 1683 – sherd from the thickened rim with the neck, shoulders and part of the body of a grey pot of purified clay. The neck is decorated with a series of shallow concentric cannelures, and the lower part of the body is perforated below one of the cannelures to form a strainer.

Measurements: 7.7 × 7/0.5 cm.
Date: 1st to 2nd century

114. Inv. no. 1691 – large sherd from the everted thickened rim and part of the belly of a wide, shallow dish of purified clay, dark grey in colour, of fine body.

Measurements: 11.7 × 4.3/1.4 cm.
Date: 1st to 2nd century

115. Inv. no. 1709 – sherd from the thickened, moulded rim and part of the belly of a small, shallow bowl, light grey in colour, of purified clay.

Measurements: 7.3 × 4/1.1 cm.
Date: 1st to 2nd century

116. Inv. no. 1734 – sherd from the annular base and part of the belly of a light grey pot of purified clay. The underside of the base is decorated with a spiral of concentric circles.

Measurements: R of base: 5.5 cm.
Date: 1st to 2nd century.

117. Inv. no. 1765 – small annular base of a bellied pot, grey in colour. The base bears a cannelure following the edge of the base. Signs of burning.

Measurements: R of base: 3.8 cm.
Date: 1st to 2nd century

118. Inv. no. 1769 – two sherds from the slanting everted rim and part of the neck and belly of a sizeable pot, dark grey in colour, fine body.

Measurements: R of opening: 21 cm.
Date: 1st to 2nd century

119. Inv. no. 1784 – sherd from the thickened rim and part of the neck and belly of a light grey pot of purified clay.

Measurements: 7.5 × 2.7/0.9 cm.
Date: 1st to 2nd century

119. Inv. br. 1784 – Fragment zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom vrata i trbuha suda svijetlosive boje od dobro prečišćene gline.

Dimenzije: $7,5 \times 2,7/0,9$ cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

120. Inv. br. 1798 – Prstenasto dno sa početkom trbuha suda mrkosive boje, finije fature. Dno je sa donje strane ukrašeno jednom kanelurom.

Dimenzije: R dna: 6,5 cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

121. Inv. br. 1807 – Manje prstenasto dno sa početkom trbuha manje trbušaste posude sive boje, od dobro prečišćene gline.

Dimenzije: R dna: 3 cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

122. Inv. br. 1818 – Fragment ravnog zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom trbuha šire plitke zdjele, mrkosive boje od dobro prečišćene gline.

Dimenzije: $10,5 \times 4,3/1$ cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

123. Inv. br. 1831 – Fragment prstenastog dna sa dijelom trbuha posude svijetlosive boje od dobro prečišćene gline.

Dimenzije: $10 \times 6,7/0,7$ cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

124. Inv. br. 1832 – Prstenasto dno sa dijelom trbuha posude mrkosive boje od dobro prečišćene gline.

Dimenzije: R dna: 6,6 cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

125. Inv. br. 1834 – Fragmentirano prstenasto dno sa dijelom trbuha posude mrkosive boje od dobro prečišćene gline.

Dimenzije: R dna: 6,7 cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

126. Inv. br. 1847 – Fragment zadebljalog koso razgrnutog oboda suda, sa dijelom vrata i početkom trbuha, loptastog suda, sivkastomrke boje sa primjesom pijeska.

Dimenzije: $9 \times 5/0,4-1$ cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

120. Inv. no. 1798 – annular base and beginning of the belly of a dark grey pot of fine body. The base is decorated on the underside with a cannellure.

Measurements: R of base: 6.5 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

121. Inv. no. 1807 – small annular base and beginning of the belly of a small bellied pot, grey in colour, of purified clay.

Measurements: R of base: 3 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

122. Inv. no. 1818 – sherd from the flat, thickened rim and part of the belly of a wide, shallow bowl, dark grey in colour, of purified clay.

Measurements: $10.5 \times 4.3/1$ cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

123. Inv. no. 1831 – sherd from the annular base and part of the belly of a light grey pot of purified clay.

Measurements: $10 \times 6.7/0.7$ cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

124. Inv. no. 1832 – annular base and part of the belly of a dark grey pot of purified clay.

Measurements: R of base: 6.6 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

125. Inv. no. 1834 – fragmentary annular base and part of the belly of a dark grey pot of purified clay.

Measurements: R of base: 6.7 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

126. Inv. no. 1847 – sherd from the thickened, slanting everted rim of a pot with part of the neck and beginning of the globular belly, greyish-brown in colour, with an admixture of sand.

Measurements: $9 \times 5/0.4-1$ cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

127. Inv. no. 1848 – sherd from the slightly everted, thickened rim and part of the cylindrical

127. Inv. br. 1848 – Fragment blago razgrnutog, zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom cilindričnog vrata posude sive boje, fine fature. Sa spoljne strane ispod oboda je izvedeno plastično profilisano rebro koje prelazi u vrat.

Dimenzije: $6 \times 4,5/0,3-0,9$ cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

128. Inv. br. 1855 – Sedam fragmenata šire plitke trbušaste zdjele sa zadebljalim obodom i prstenastim dnom, mrkosive boje od dobro prečišćene gline. Na dnu suda jasno su vidljivi tragovi rada na vitlu, a na truhu je ukras od dvije plitke koncentrične kanelure.

Dimenzije: R dna: 11 cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

129. Inv. br. 1874 – Fragment blago razgrnutog zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom trbuha posude svijetlosive boje od dobro prečišćene gline.

Dimenzije: $12 \times 5/0,9$ cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

130. Inv. br. 1875 – Fragment blago razgrnutog zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom vrata suda svijetlosive boje od dobro prečišćene gline.

Dimenzije: $8 \times 4,8/0,9$ cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

131. Inv. br. 1878 – Manje prstenasto dno sa dijelom trbuha manje posude, svijetlosive boje od dobro prečišćene gline.

Dimenzije: R dna: 3,5 cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

132. Inv. br. 1883 – Veći fragment oboda sa dijelom trbuha pliće, šire zdjele, svijetlosive boje sa crnim premazom od dobro prečišćene gline.

Dimenzije: $10,8 \times 5/1,2$ cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

133. Inv. br. 1884 – Fragment prstenastog dna sa dijelom trbuha posude svijetlosive boje od dobro prečišćene gline. Na dnu su vidljivi tragovi vitla.

Dimenzije: $8,5 \times 4,9$ cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

neck of a grey pot of fine body. Below the rim on the outside is a moulded rib merging into the neck.

Measurements: $6 \times 4.5/0.3-0.9$ cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

128. Inv. no. 1855 – Seven sherds from a wide, shallow, bellied bowl with rounded rim and annular base, dark grey in colour, of purified clay. Traces of turning on the wheel visible on the base of the vessel. The belly is decorated with two shallow concentric canelures.

Measurements: R of base: 11 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

129. Inv. no. 1874 – sherd from a slightly everted, thickened rim and part of the belly of a light grey pot of purified clay.

Measurements: $12 \times 5/0.9$ cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century.

130. Inv. no. 1875 – sherd from a slightly everted, thickened rim and part of the neck of a light grey pot of purified clay.

Measurements: $8 \times 4.8/0.9$ cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

131. Inv. no. 1878 – small annular base and part of the belly of a small pot, light grey in colour, of purified clay.

Measurements: R of base: 3.5 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd of base.

132. Inv. no. 1883 – large sherd from the rim and part of the belly of a shallow, wide dish, light grey in colour, coated with black slip of purified clay.

Measurements: $10.8 \times 5/1.2$ cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

133. Inv. no. 1884 – sherd from the annular base and part of the belly of a light grey pot of purified clay. Traces of turning on the wheel visible on the base.

Measurements: 8.5×4.9 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

134. Inv. br. 1885 – Fragment trbuha trbušaste zdjele, svijetlosive boje, tanjih zidova od dobro prečišćene gline.

Dimenzije: 9,8 × 6,7/0,4 cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

135. Inv. br. 1890 – Veći fragment zadebljalog blago razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom vrata i trbuha većeg suda, svijetlosive boje od prečišćene gline.

Dimenzije: 13 × 5,4/1,8 cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

136. Inv. br. 1902 – Prstenasto dno sa dijelom trbuha suda svijetlosive boje od dobro prečišćene gline. Sa unutrašnje strane vidljivi tragovi rada na vitlu.

Dimenzije: R dna: 6,5 cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

137. Inv. br. 1909 – Manje prstenasto dno sa dijelom trbuha loptaste posude sive boje od dobro prečišćene gline.

Dimenzije: R dna: 3,5 cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

138. Inv. br. 1916 – Veći fragment trbuha suda većih dimenzija mrkosive boje, finije fakture. Sa unutrašnje strane vidljivi su tragovi rada na vitlu.

Dimenzije: 12,3 × 7,5/0,9 cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

139. Inv. br. 1917 – Lučna drška sa dijelom blago razgrnutog oboda vrata i trbuha manjeg suda, svijetlosive boje, od dobro prečišćene gline. Na vratu sa spoljne strane izveden je tupim predmetom ukras u vidu cik-cak linije.

Dimenzije: 4,2 cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

140. Inv. br. 1919 – Lučna drška sa dijelom vrata i trbuha manje bikonične zdjele svijetlosive boje, tankih zidova, od dobro prečišćene gline.

Dimenzije: dužina: 3,6 cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

134. Inv. no. 1885 – sherd from the belly of a bellied dish, light grey in colour, with thin walls, of purified clay.

Measurements: 9.8 × 6.7/0.4 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

135. Inv. no. 1890 – large sherd from the thickened, slightly everted rim and part of the belly of a sizeable vessel, light grey in colour, of purified clay.

Measurements: 13 × 5.4/1.8 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

136. Inv. no. 1902 – annular base and part of the belly of a light grey vessel of purified clay. Traces of turning on the wheel visible on the inside.

Measurements: R of base: 6.5 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

137. Inv. no. 1909 – small annular base and part of the belly of a globular pot, grey in colour, of purified clay.

Measurements: R of base: 3.5 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

138. Inv. no. 1916 – large sherd from the belly of a sizeable, dark grey pot of fine body. Traces of turning on the wheel on the inside.

Measurements: 12.3 × 7.5/0.9 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

139. Inv. no. 1917 – arched handle with part of the slightly everted rim, neck and belly of a small pot, light grey in colour, of purified clay, decorated on the outside of the neck with a zigzag line formed with a blunt instrument.

Measurements: 4.2 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

140. Inv. no. 1919 – arched handle with part of the neck and belly of a small biconical vessel, light grey in colour, thin walled, of purified clay.

Measurements: L: 3.6 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

141. Inv. br. 1923 – Fragment lučne drške kružnog presjeka svijetlosive boje od dobro prečišćene zemlje.

Dimenzije: dužina: 8,6 cm.
Datacija: I – II st.

142. Inv. br. 1927 – Veći fragment trbuha i vrata većih dimenzija svijetlosive boje od dobro prečišćene gline. Na vratu je ostatak ukrasa u vidu urezanog W.

Dimenzije: 14,5 × 8/0,4 cm.
Datacija: I – II st.

143. Inv. br. 1835 – Fragment zadebljalog razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom vrata i trbuha loptaste posude, mrkosive boje, grublje fature.

Dimenzije: R dna: 6,7 cm.
Datacija: I – II st.

144. Inv. br. 1845 – Prstenasto dno sa dijelom trbuha posude, od fino prečišćene gline. Na dnu su vidljivi tragovi rada na vitlu.

Dimenzije: R dna: 4,3 cm.
Datacija: I – II st.

145. Inv. br. 1963 – Fragmentirana lučna drška sa dijelom blago razgrnutog oboda i vrata dubljeg suda svijetlosive boje, finije fature.

Dimenzije: dužina drške: 8,7 cm.
Datacija: I – II st.

146. Inv. br. 1965 – Fragmentirana šira lučna drška većeg suda, svijetlosive boje, finije fature.

Dimenzije drške: 10,3 × 5,2 cm.
Datacija: I – II st.

147. Inv. br. 1966 – Fragment blago razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom vrata i trbuha manje bikonične zdjele, svijetlosive boje, finije fature. Na trbuhu i vratu vidljivi su tragovi drške.

Dimenzije: 8,6 × 4,6/0,6 cm.
Datacija: I – II st.

148. Inv. br. 1969 – Fragment zadebljalog ravno razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom trbuha i prstenastog

141. Inv. no. 1923 – sherd from an arched handle, round in section, light grey in colour, of purified clay.

Measurements: L: 8.6 cm.
Date: 1st to 2nd century

142. Inv. no. 1927 – large sherd from the belly and neck of a sizeable pot, light grey in colour, of purified clay. Remains of decoration in the form of an incised W on the neck.

Measurements: 14.5 × 8/0.4 cm.
Date: 1st to 2nd century

143. Inv. no. 1835 – sherd from the thickened, everted rim and part of the neck and belly of a globular pot, dark grey in colour, coarse body.

Measurements: R of base: 6.7 cm.
Date: 1st to 2nd century

144. Inv. no. 1845 – annular base with part of the belly of a pot of purified clay. The base bears the traces of turning on the wheel.

Measurements: R of base: 4.3 cm.
Date: 1st to 2nd century

145. Inv. no. 1963 – broken arched handle with part of the slightly everted rim and neck of a deep vessel, light grey in colour, fine body.

Measurements: L of handle: 8.7 cm.
Date: 1st to 2nd century

146. Inv. no. 1965 – broken, wide arched handle of a sizeable vessel, light grey in colour, fine body.

Measurements of handle: 10.3 × 5.2 cm.
Date: 1st to 2nd century

147. Inv. no. 1966 – sherd from the slightly everted rim and part of the neck and belly of a small biconical dish, light grey in colour, fine body. Vestiges of the handle visible on the belly and neck.

Measurements: 8.6 × 4.6/0.6 cm.
Date: 1st to 2nd century

148. Inv. no. 1969 – sherd from the thickened, flat everted rim and part of the belly and annular

dna manje plitke posude, svijetlosive boje, finije fature. (Za rekonstrukciju).

Dimenzije: 7,9 × 5,8/1 cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

149. Inv. br. 1970 – Tri fragmenta zadebljalog, razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom trbuha i prstenastog dna šire plitke zdjele, svijetlosive boje, finije fature. Na trбуhu je izveden ornament u vidu dvije koncentrične kanelure.

Datacija: I – II st.

150. Inv. br. 1975 – Fragmentirana lučna drška suda, svijetlosive boje, finije fature. Na luku sa gornje strane izveden je ukras u vidu plastičnog jezičastog ispupčenja.

Dimenzije: 5,2 × 3,3 cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

151. Inv. br. 1989 – Fragment oboda sa dijelom trбуha manjeg suda, tankih zidova, svijetlosive boje, finije fature. Spoljna površina trбуha ukrašena je plastičnim ukrasom koji je dosta sličan "barbotinu".

Dimenzije: 4,9 × 4,5/0,3 cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

152. Inv. br. 1993 – Fragment zadebljalog, razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom trбуha kuglastog suda, mrkosive boje, finije fature.

Dimenzije: 9,6 × 5,5/0,9 cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

153. Inv. br. 1996 – Manje prstenasto dno sa dijelom trбуha suda manjih dimenzija, mrkosive boje, finije fature.

Dimenzije: R dna: 3,5 cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

154. Inv. br. 1998 – Fragmentirano prstenasto dno sa dijelom trбуha suda većih dimenzija, mrkosive boje, finije fature.

Dimenzije: R dna: 9 cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

155. Inv. br. 2018 – Izlivnik ojnohoe, mrkosive boje, finije fature.

Dimenzije: 8,8 × 7 cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

base of a small, shallow pot, light grey in colour, fine body (for reconstruction).

Measurements: 7.9 × 5.8/1 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

149. Inv. no. 1970 – three sherds from the thickened, everted rim and part of the belly and annular base of a wide, shallow bowl, light grey in colour, fine body. The belly is decorated with two concentric cannelures.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

150. Inv. no. 1975 – broken arched handle of a pot, light grey in colour, fine body. The top of the arch is decorated with moulded lugs.

Measurements: 5.2 × 3.3 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

151. Inv. no. 1989 – sherd from the rim and part of the belly of a small, thin-walled pot, light grey in colour, fine body. The belly is decorated on the outside with barbotine-like (slip) mouldings

Measurements: 4.9x 4.5/0.3 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

152. Inv. no. 1993 – sherd from the thickened, everted rim and part of the belly of a globular pot, dark grey in colour, fine body.

Measurements: 9.6 × 5.5/0.9 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

153. Inv. no. 1996 – small annular base and part of the belly of a small pot, dark grey in colour, fine body.

Measurements: R of base: 3.5 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

154. Inv. no. 1998 – sherd from the annular base and part of the belly of a sizeable pot, dark grey in colour, fine body.

Measurements: R of base: 9 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

155. Inv. no. 2018 – lip of an oinochoe, dark grey in colour, fine body.

Measurements: 8.8 × 7 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

156. Inv. br. 2019 – Manji fragmentirani izlivenik ojnohoe, svijetlosive boje finije fature.

Dimenzije: 6,5 × 3,4 cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

156. Inv. no. 2019 – small broken lip of an oinochoe, light grey in colour, fine body.

Measurements: 6.5 × 3.4 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

157. Inv. br. 2030 – Veći fragment zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom trbuha, šire, plitke zdjele, mrkosive boje, finije fature.

Dimenzije: 18 × 4,2/1,5 cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

157. Inv. no. 2030 – large sherd from the thickened rim and part of the belly of a wide, shallow dish, dark brown in colour, fine body.

Measurements: 18 × 4.2/1.5 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

158. Inv. br. 2031 – Fragment ravno razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom vrata dubljeg suda, mrkosive boje, finije fature. Obod je sa gornje strane ukrašen jednom plitkom kanelurom.

Dimenzije: 7,5 × 5,3/0,9 cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

158. Inv. no. 2031 – sherd of the flat everted rim and part of the neck of a deep pot, dark grey in colour, fine body. The upper surface of the rim is decorated with a shallow canelure.

Measurements: 7.5 × 5.3/0.9 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

159. Inv. br. 2055 – Dva fragmenta ravnog oboda sa dijelom cilindričnog vrata dubljeg suda, mrkosive boje, finije fature.

Dimenzije: 7,5 × 7,2/0,5 cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

159. Inv. no. 2055 – two sherds of the flat rim and part of the cylindrical neck of a deep pot, dark grey in colour, fine body.

Measurements: 7.5 × 7.2/0.5 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century.

160. Inv. br. 1817 – Fragment izlivenika sa dijelom vrata ojnohoe, svijetlosive boje, dobro prečišćena glina.

Dimenzije: 6,8 × 4,7/0,5 cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

160. Inv. no. 1817 – sherd from the lip and part of the neck of an oinochoe, light grey in colour, of purified clay.

Measurements: 6.8 × 4.7/0.5 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

161. Inv. br. 1617 – Fragment trbuha i vrata posude – cjediljke, sive boje od dobro prečišćene gline, bojene crnom bojom. Rupice za cijedenje postavljene su u nepravilnim nizovima na donjoj površini trbuha.

Dimenzije: 10 × 6,7/0,4 cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

161. Inv. no. 1617 – sherd from the belly and neck of a strainer, grey in colour, of purified clay, painted red. The strainer holes are in uneven rows on the bottom of the belly.

Measurements: 10 × 6.7/0.4 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century.

162. Inv. br. 1964 – Fragment trbuha posude koja je služila kao cjediljka. Cijela površina je perforirana sitnim otvorima. Sud je finije fature, mrkocrne boje.

Dimenzije: 7 × 6,6/0,5 cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

162. Inv. no. 1964 – sherd from the belly of a strainer, the entire surface perforated with small holes. The vessel is of fine body, brownish-black in colour.

Measurements: 7 × 6.6/0.5 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

163. Inv. br. 1844 – Fragment keramičke posude – sita, od fino prečišćene gline sa rešetkastim perforacijama po cijeloj površini.

Dimenzije: 6 × 4,5/0,4-0,6 cm.

Datacija: I – II st.

163. Inv. no. 1844 – sherd from a pottery sieve, of purified clay with reticulate perforations over the entire surface.

Measurements: 6 × 4.5/0.4-0.6 cm.

Date: 1st to 2nd century

164. Inv. br. 1636 – Fragmentirani poklopac sa zaravnjenom bradavičastom drškom, mrkosive boje, grublje fature sa dosta pijeska i tragovima gorenja. Obod nedostaje.

Dimenzije: 11,6 × 9,6/0,8 cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

165. Inv. br. 1667 – Fragmentirani poklopac sa tragom drške, mrkosive boje, grublje fature sa dosta pijeska i tragovima gorenja.

Dimenzije: 9,7 × 7,6/0,7 cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

166. Inv. br. 1839 – Fragment poklopca sa zaravnjenim obodom, mrke boje, grublje fature, sa tragovima gorenja na unutrašnjoj strani. Rađen rukom.

Dimenzije: 10 × 8/0,4 cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

Domaća kućna gruba keramika

167. Inv. br. 1560 – Ravno dno sa dijelom trbuha manje posude, mrkocrne boje, grublje fature sa dosta pijeska.

Dimenzije: R dna: 5,4 cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

168. Inv. br. 1580 – Veći fragment trbušastog suda zaravnjenog oboda, mrke boje, lošije fature sa tragovima pijeska. Sa spoljne strane vidljivi otisci tkanine. (T. X, 1)

Dimenzije: 11 × 9,5/0,7 cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

169. Inv. br. 1582 – Manji fragment ravnog oboda sa dijelom trbuha posude mrkosive boje, grublje fature. Rađeno rukom.

Dimenzije: 5 × 5 /0,8 cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

170. Inv. br. 1590 – Fragment blago posuvračenog oboda sa dijelom trbuha manje zdjele, mrkosive boje, lošije fature. Na truhu skoro po sredini posude izveden je ukras u vidu jedne dublje horizontalne kanelure.

Dimenzije: 7 × 6/0,6 cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

164. Inv. no. 1636 – broken lid with flattened warded handle, dark grey in colour, coarse body with a considerable admixture of sand and signs of burning. Rim missing.

Measurements: 11.6 × 9.6/0.8 cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

165. Inv. no. 1667 – broken lid with vestiges of handle, dark grey in colour, coarse body with a considerable admixture of sand and signs of burning.

Measurements: 9.7 × 7.6/0.7 cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

166. Inv. no. 1839 – sherd from a lid with flattened rim, brown in colour, coarse body, with signs of burning on the inside. Hand-moulded.

Measurements: 10 × 8/0.4 cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

Local coarse household pottery

167. Inv. no. 1560 – flat base and part of the belly of a small pot, blackish-brown in colour, coarse body with a considerable admixture of sand.

Measurements: R of base: 5.4 cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

168. Inv. no. 1580 – large sherd from a belied pot with flat rim, brown in colour, coarse body with traces of sand. Imprint of fabric on the outside. (T. X, 1)

Measurements: 11 × 9.5/0.7 cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

169. Inv. no. 1582 – small sherd from the flat rim and part of the belly of a dark grey pot, coarse body. Hand-moulded.

Measurements: 5 × 5 /0.8 cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

170. Inv. no. 1590 – sherd from a slightly upturned rim with part of the belly of a small bowl, dark grey in colour, coarse body. The belly is decorated near the midpoint with a single deep horizontal canelure.

Measurements: 7 × 6/0.6 cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

171. Inv. br. 1591 – Fragment posuvraćenog oboda sa dijelom trbuha, manje pliće zdjele, grublje fature sa primjesom pijeska, mrkosive boje.

Dimenzije: 6,5 × 5,1/0,7 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

172. Inv. br. 1602 – Fragment ravno razgrnutog oboda šire pliće zdjele, od dobro prečišćene gline, bojena crnom bojom i glačana.

Dimenzije: 8 × 3,7/0,5 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

173. Inv. br. 1612 – Fragment zadebljalog ravno razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom vrata i trbuha posude mrkosive boje, grublje fature sa dosta pijeska.

Dimenzije: 6,5 × 3,2 /1,2 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

174. Inv. br. 1627 – Fragment zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom trbuha posude, mrke boje, finije fature sa tragovima gorenja.

Dimenzije: 14 × 7,5 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

175. Inv. br. 1628 – Fragment zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom trbuha šire posude, mrke boje, finije fature.

Dimenzije: 9 × 3,5 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

176. Inv. br. 1630 – Fragment oboda sa dijelom trbuha posude mrke boje, finije fature. Ispod oboda suda pruža se jedna šira kanelura.

Dimenzije: 6,6 × 6,6 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

177. Inv. br. 1631 – Fragment zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom trbuha posude, mrke boje, finije fature.

Dimenzije: 6 × 7,6 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

178. Inv. br. 1632 – Fragment koso razgrnutog, zadebljalog oboda posude, mrkosive boje sa velikom primjesom pijeska, grube fature.

Dimenzije: 6,6 × 6,8 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

171. Inv. no. 1591 – sherd from the upturned rim and part of the belly of a small, shallow dish, coarse body with an admixture of sand, dark grey in colour.

Measurements: 6.5 × 5.1/0.7 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

172. Inv. no. 1602 – sherd from the flat, everted rim of a wide, shallow dish of purified clay, painted black and burnished.

Measurements: 8 × 3.7/0.5 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

173. Inv. no. 1612 – sherd from the thickened, flat, everted rim and part of the belly of a vessel, dark grey in colour, coarse body with a considerable admixture of sand.

Measurements: 6.5 × 3.2 /1.2 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

174. Inv. no. 1627 – sherd from the thickened rim and part of the belly of a pot, dark in colour, fine body with signs of burning.

Measurements: 14 × 7.5 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

175. Inv. no. 1628 – sherd from the thickened rim and part of the belly of a wide vessel, dark in colour, fine body.

Measurements: 9 × 3.5 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

176. Inv. no. 1630 – sherd from the rim and part of the belly of a dark-coloured pot, fine body, with a wide canelure below the rim.

Measurements: 6.6 × 6.6 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

177. Inv. no. 1631 – sherd from the thickened rim and part of the belly of a pot, dark in colour, fine body.

Measurements: 6 × 7.6 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

178. Inv. no. 1632 – sherd from the slanting, everted, thickened rim of a pot, dark grey in colour with a considerable admixture of sand, coarse body.

Measurements: 6.6 × 6.8 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

179. Inv. br. 1659 – Fragment ravnog oboda sa dijelom trbuha posude mrke boje, grublje fature, rađeno rukom.

Dimenzije: $7,6 \times 5,1/0,9$ cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

180. Inv. br. 1661 – Fragment koso razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom vrata i trbuha posude mrkocrne boje, grublje fature sa dosta pijeska.

Dimenzije: $7,8 \times 3,5/0,9$ cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

181. Inv. br. 1662 – Tri fragmenta koso razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom vrata i trbuha posude mrkocrne boje, grublje fature sa dosta pijeska.

Datacija: II – IV st.

182. Inv. br. 1694 – Dva fragmenta koso razgrnutog i zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom vrata i trbuha trbušaste posude, mrkocrne boje, grublje fature sa dosta pijeska.

Dimenzije: $12 \times 7,5/1$ cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

183. Inv. br. 1697 – Dva fragmenta koso razgrnutog i zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom vrata posude, mrkocrne boje, grublje fature sa dosta pijeska.

Dimenzije: $11,5 \times 2,6$ cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

184. Inv. br. 1741 – Fragment koso razgrnutog, profiliranog oboda sa dijelom trbuha posude mrke boje, grublje fature sa dosta pijeska. Na prelazu iz vrata u trbuh izvedena je urezana horizontalna kanelura.

Dimenzije: $8,2 \times 3,4/1,3$ cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

185. Inv. br. 1746 – Fragment koso razgrnutog profiliranog oboda sa dijelom vrata posude, mrkocrne boje, grublje fature sa dosta pijeska. Duž oboda sa spoljne strane pruža se jedna kanelura.

Dimenzije: $9 \times 2,8/1$ cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

179. Inv. no. 1659 – sherd from the flat rim and part of the belly of a dark-coloured pot, coarse body, hand-moulded.

Measurements: $7.6 \times 5.1/0.9$ cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century.

180. Inv. no. 1661 – sherd from the slanting, everted rim and part of the neck and belly of a brown-black pot, coarse body with a considerable admixture of sand.

Measurements: $7.8 \times 3.5/0.9$ cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

181. Inv. no. 1662 – three sherds from the slanting, everted rim and part of the neck and belly of a brown-black pot, coarse body with a considerable admixture of sand.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

182. Inv. no. 1694 – two sherds of the slanting, everted and thickened rim and part of the neck and belly of a bellied pot, black-brown in colour, coarse body with a considerable admixture of sand.

Measurements: $12 \times 7.5/1$ cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

183. Inv. no. 1697 – two sherds from the slanting, everted and thickened rim and part of the neck of a pot, black-brown in colour, coarse body with a considerable admixture of sand.

Measurements: 11.5×2.6 cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

184. Inv. no. 1741 – sherd from the slanting, everted, moulded rim and part of the belly of a brown pot, coarse body with a considerable admixture of sand; an incised horizontal cannellure at the junction of the neck and the belly.

Measurements: $8.2 \times 3.4/1.3$ cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

185. Inv. no. 1746 – sherd from the slanting, everted, moulded rim and part of the neck of a pot, black-brown in colour, coarse body with a considerable admixture of sand. A cannellure runs along the outside of the rim.

Measurements: $9 \times 2.8/1$ cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

186. Inv. br. 1747 – Ravno dno sa početkom trbuha suda, mrkosive boje, grublje fature sa dosta pijeska.

Dimenzije: R: 6 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

187. Inv. br. 1783 – Fragment profiliranog koso razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom vrata i trbuha suda mrkosive boje, grublje fature sa dosta pijeska.

Dimenzije: 9,5 × 4,5/1 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

188. Inv. br. 1806 – Fragment profiliranog koso razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom vrata i trbuha suda mrkosive boje, grublje fature sa dosta pijeska. Na prelazu iz vrata u trbuh ukrašena jednom oštrom kanelurom.

Dimenzije: 8 × 6,3/1,3 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

189. Inv. br. 1823 – Fragment zadebljalog, blago razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom vrata i trbuha trbušaste posude, mrkosive boje, grublje fature sa primjesom pijeska.

Dimenzije: 10,3 × 3,7/0,9 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

190. Inv. br. 1824 – Ravno dno sa dijelom trbuha suda grube fature, mrkosive boje, rađen rukom.

Dimenzije: R dna: 5,4 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

191. Inv. br. 1825 – Fragment zadebljalog, blago razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom vrata i trbuha trbušaste posude, grublje fature, mrkosive boje.

Dimenzije: 8,5 × 5,5/1 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

192. Inv. br. 1851 – Fragment koso razgrnutog zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom trbuha loptaste posude, mrke boje sa velikom primjesom pijeska i sitnog kamena. Ispod oboda se pruža jedan plitki, ali širi žlijeb.

Dimenzije: 9 × 6/0,5 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

186. Inv. no. 1747 – flat base and beginning of the belly of a pot, dark grey in colour, coarse body with a considerable admixture of sand.

Measurements: R: 6 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

187. Inv. no. 1783 – sherd from the moulded, slanting, everted rim and part of the neck and belly of a pot, dark grey in colour, coarse body with a considerable admixture of sand.

Measurements: 9.5 × 4.5/1 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

188. Inv. no. 1806 – sherd from the moulded, slanting, everted rim and part of the neck and belly of a pot, dark grey in colour, coarse body with a considerable admixture of sand. Decorated with a sharply-defined cannellure at the junction of the neck and the belly.

Measurements: 8 × 6.3/1.3 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

189. Inv. no. 1823 – sherd from the thickened, slightly everted rim and part of the neck and belly of a bellied pot, dark grey in colour, coarse body with an admixture of sand.

Measurements: 10.3 × 3.7/0.9 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

190. Inv. no. 1824 – flat base and part of the belly of a coarse-bodied pot, dark grey in colour, hand-moulded.

Measurements: R of base: 5.4 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

191. Inv. no. 1825 – sherd from the thickened, slightly everted rim and part of the neck and belly of a bellied pot, coarse body, dark grey in colour.

Measurements: 8.5 × 5.5/1 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

192. Inv. no. 1851 – sherd from the slanting, everted, thickened rim and part of the belly of a globular pot, dark in colour with a considerable admixture of sand and small stones. A wide, shallow groove runs below the rim.

Measurements: 9 × 6/0.5 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

193. Inv. br. 1857 – Fragment ravnog oboda sa dijelom trbuha zdjele mrkosive boje, grublje fature. Na trбуhu je ukras u vidu plastično nazubljenog rebra.

Dimenzije: $7 \times 4,7/0,7$ cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

194. Inv. br. 1860 – Fragment zadebljalog, razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom vrata i trбуha posude, mrkosive boje, grublje fature.

Dimenzije: $9,5 \times 4/1,4$ cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

195. Inv. br. 1869 – Fragment koso razgrnutog, zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom vrata i trбуha suda mrkosive boje, grublje fature.

Dimenzije: $8 \times 5,5/1,5$ cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

196. Inv. br. 1870 – Fragment koso razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom vrata i trбуha manje bikonične zdjele, mrkosive boje, grublje fature.

Dimenzije: $6,5 \times 4,2/0,9$ cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

197. Inv. br. 1903 – Ravno dno sa dijelom trбуha šire posude mrkosive boje, grublje fature.

Dimenzije: R dna: 7,5 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

198. Inv. br. 1910 – Lučna drška sa dijelom trбуha manje bikonične posude, mrkosive boje, grublje fature.

Dimenzije: dužina drške: 4 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

199. Inv. br. 1918 – Fragment ravnog oboda sa dijelom trбуha plićeg suda mrkosive boje, grublje fature. Sa unutrašnje strane vidljivi su tragovi gorenja.

Dimenzije: $7,8 \times 7/0,7$ cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

200. Inv. br. 1922 – Fragment zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom trбуha šire plitke zdjele, mrkosive boje, grublje fature sa dosta sitnog pijeska.

Dimenzije: $10,5 \times 7/1$ cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

193. Inv. no. 1857 – sherd from the flat rim and part of the belly of a dish, dark grey in colour, coarse body. The belly is decorated with a moulded, dentate rib.

Measurements: $7 \times 4.7/0.7$ cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

194. Inv. no. 1860 – sherd from the thickened, everted rim and part of the neck and belly of a pot, dark grey in colour, coarse body.

Measurements: $9.5 \times 4/1.4$ cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

195. Inv. no. 1869 – sherd from the slanting, everted, thickened rim and part of the neck and belly of a pot, dark grey in colour, coarse body.

Measurements: $8 \times 5.5/1.5$ cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

196. Inv. no. 1870 – sherd from the slanting, everted rim and part of the neck and belly of a small biconical bowl, dark grey in colour, coarse body.

Measurements: $6.5 \times 4.2/0.9$ cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

197. Inv. no. 1903 – flat base with part of the belly of a wide vessel, dark grey in colour, coarse body.

Measurements: R of base: 7.5 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

198. Inv. no. 1910 – arched handle with part of the belly of a small biconical pot, dark grey in colour, coarse body.

Measurements: L of handle: 4 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

199. Inv. no. 1918 – sherd from the flat rim and part of the belly of a shallow pot, dark grey in colour, coarse body. Signs of burning on the inside.

Measurements: $7.8 \times 7/0.7$ cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

200. Inv. no. 1922 – sherd from the thickened rim and part of the belly of a wide, shallow bowl, dark grey in colour, coarse body with a considerable admixture of fine sand.

Measurements: $10.5 \times 7/1$ cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

201. Inv. br. 1933 – Fragment ravnog oboda sa dijelom trbuha posude, mrkosive boje, grublje fature, sa dosta pijeska. Na trbuhu je izveden ornament štipanjem.

Dimenzije: $6 \times 5/0,7$ cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

202. Inv. br. 1961 – Fragment blago razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom trbuha suda mrkosive boje, grublje fature, ukrašen ornamentom štipanja u horizontalnom nizu.

Dimenzije: $6,8 \times 6,3/0,8$ cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

203. Inv. br. 1987 – Četiri fragmenta blago razgrnutog ravnog oboda sa dijelom trbuha suda mrkosive boje, grublje fature. Cijela površina trbuha suda ukrašena je dubokim pečatima kvadratnog i romboidnog oblika.

Datacija: II – IV st.

204. Inv. br. 1988 – Tri fragmenta dna i trbuha suda mrkosive boje, grublje fature. Cijela površina trbuha ukrašena je plastičnim zupcima nepravilno raspoređenim.

Datacija: II – IV st.

205. Inv. br. 1991 – Fragment ravnog oboda sa dijelom trbuha suda mrkosive boje, grublje fature. Sud je ispod oboda ukrašen nazubljenim plastičnim rebrom.

Dimenzije: $7,5 \times 5,5/1$ cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

206. Inv. br. 2001 – Veći fragment ravnog zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom trbuha pliće šire biko-nične zdjele, mrkosive boje, grublje fature.

Dimenzije: $17,1 \times 4,5/1$ cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

207. Inv. br. 2023 – Fragment trbuha suda mrkosive boje, grublje fature. Po cijeloj površini ukrašen pečatnim trouglovima.

Dimenzije: $5,5 \times 4,1/0,5$ cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

201. Inv. no. 1933 – sherd from the flat rim and part of the belly of a pot, dark grey in colour, coarse body, with a considerable admixture of sand. The belly bears a pinched decoration.

Measurements: $6 \times 5/0.7$ cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

202. Inv. no. 1961 – sherd from the slightly everted rim and part of the belly of a pot, dark grey in colour, coarse body, with a horizontal row of pinched decoration.

Measurements: $6.8 \times 6.3/0.8$ cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

203. Inv. no. 1987 – four sherds from the slightly everted flat rim and part of the belly of a pot, dark grey in colour, coarse body. The entire surface of the belly of the pot is covered with stamped decoration of deep squares and rhomboids.

Date: 2nd to 4th century.

204. Inv. no. 1988 – three sherds from the base and belly of a pot, dark grey in colour, coarse body. The entire surface of the belly is decorated with moulded dentils in an irregular pattern.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

205. Inv. no. 1991 – sherd from the flat rim and part of the belly of a pot, dark grey in colour, coarse body. The pot is decorated below the rim with a dentate moulded rib.

Measurements: $7.5 \times 5.5/1$ cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

206. Inv. no. 2001 – large sherd from the flat, thickened rim and part of the belly of a wide, shallow biconical bowl, dark grey in colour, coarse body.

Measurements: $17.1 \times 4.5/1$ cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

207. Inv. no. 2023 – sherd from the belly of a pot, dark grey in colour, coarse body. The entire surface is decorated with stamped triangles.

Measurements: $5.5 \times 4.1/0.5$ cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

208. Inv. br. 2032 – Viseća lučna aplicirana drška suda mrkosive boje, grublje fakture.

Dimenzije: 7,6 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

209. Inv. br. 2044 – Lučna drška sa dijelom ravnog oboda i dijelom trbuha posude mrkosive boje, grublje fakture. Sa unutrašnje strane vidljivi su tragovi gorenja.

Dimenzije: 9,4 × 8,3 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

210. Inv. br. 2056 – Lučna drška sa dijelom oboda i trbuha pliće zdjele mrkosive boje, grublje fakture.

Dimenzije: dužina drške: 5,2 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

211. Inv. br. 2057 – Tri noge sa špicastim završecima pehara (od kojih jednoj nedostaje vrh), mrkosive boje, grublje fakture.

Dimenzije: H noge: 6,6 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

212. Inv. br. 2058 – Fragment ravnog oboda sa dijelom trbuha suda mrkosive boje, grublje fakture. Na trbuhu je izveden ornament plastičnih polumjeseca noktom.

Dimenzije: 8,5 × 5,2/0,8 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

213. Inv. br. 1649 – Fragment ravnog oboda sa dijelom vrata i trbuha trbušaste posude, mrkosive boje, grublje fakture.

Dimenzije: 9,3 × 5,4/0,9 cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

Crvena i keramika sa crvenom prevlakom

214. Inv. br. 1565 – Fragment blago posuvraćenog oboda sa dijelom trbuha manje pliće zdjele, mrkocrvenkaste boje, finije fakture. Sa spoljne strane vidljivi tragovi mrkog bojenja.

Dimenzije: 7,5 × 4/0,5 cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

215. Inv. br. 1576 – Fragment ravnog oboda sa dijelom trbuha i početkom dna manje, dublje

208. Inv. no. 2032 – pendent arched applied handle of a pot, dark grey in colour, coarse body.

Measurements: 7.6 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

209. Inv. no. 2044 – arched handle with part of the flat rim and belly of a pot, dark grey in colour, coarse body. Signs of burning on the inside.

Measurements: 9.4 × 8.3 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

210. Inv. no. 2056 – arched handle with part of the rim and belly of a shallow bowl, dark grey in colour, coarse body.

Measurements: L of handle: 5.2 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

211. Inv. no. 2057 – three feet with spiked ends from a drinking cup (one missing the tip), dark grey in colour, coarse body.

Measurements: H of foot: 6.6 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

212. Inv. no. 2058 – sherd from the flat rim and part of the belly of a pot, dark grey in colour, coarse body. The belly bears a moulded half-moon (finger-nail) decoration.

Measurements: 8.5 × 5.2/0.8 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

213. Inv. no. 1649 – sherd from the flat rim and part of the neck and belly of a bellied pot, dark grey in colour, coarse body.

Measurements: 9.3 × 5.4/0.9 cm.
Date: 3rd to 4th century

Red-body and red-slipped pottery

214. Inv. no. 1565 – sherd from the slightly upturned rim and part of the belly of a shallow bowl, dark reddish in colour, fine body, with traces of brown paint on the outside.

Measurements: 7.5 × 4/0.5 cm.
Date: 3rd to 4th century

215. Inv. no. 1576 – sherd from the flat rim and part of the belly and beginning of the base of

zdjele, finije fature, bojene crvenom bojom po spoljnoj površini. Ispod oboda ukrašena je horizontalnom kanelurom.

Dimenzije: H: 5,7 cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

216. Inv. br. 1595 – Manji fragment zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom trbuha male posude, svijetlocrvenkaste boje, finije fature sa tragovima bojenja crvenom bojom.

Dimenzije: 3,5 × 3,2 /0,9 cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

217. Inv. br. 1605 – Manji fragment ravno razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom trbuha manje zdjele, svijetlocrvenkaste boje, od dobro prečišćene zemlje, bojena crveno i firnisovana.

Dimenzije: 4,5 × 1,7 /0,4 cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

218. Inv. br. 1621 – Fragment razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom trbuha očuvanog skoro do dna šire pliče zdjele, svijetlocrvenkaste boje, finije fature, glačana i bojena narandžastocrvenkastim premazom.

Dimenzije: 7,7 × 7,1/0,6 cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

219. Inv. br. 1642 – Veći fragment zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom trbuha šire pliče zdjele, svijetlocrvenkaste boje, finije fature, bojene crvenom bojom. Posuda je sa spoljne strane na prelazu iz trbuha u dno ukrašena dvjema koncentričnim kanelurama.

Dimenzije: 10,5 × 6,3/1,5 cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

220. Inv. br. 1668 – Fragment ravnog oboda sa dijelom trbuha pliče zdjele, mrkocrvenkaste boje, grublje fature sa dosta pijeska.

Dimenzije: 7,6 × 5,4/0,7 cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

221. Inv. br. 1696 – Fragment prstenastog dna sa dijelom trbuha šire, plitke zdjele, svijetlocrvenkaste boje, od dobro prečišćene zemlje bojene crvenom bojom. Vidljivi tragovi gorenja.

Dimenzije: 9,7 × 6,4/0,6 cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

a small, deep bowl, fine body, painted red on the outside and decorated with a horizontal cannelure below the rim.

Measurements: H: 5.7 cm.
Date: 3rd to 4th century

216. Inv. no. 1595 – small sherd from the thickened rim and part of the belly of a small pot, light reddish in colour, fine body with traces of red paint.

Measurements: 3.5 × 3.2 /0.9 cm.
Date: 3rd to 4th century

217. Inv. no. 1605 – small sherd from the flat everted rim and part of the belly of a small bowl, light reddish in colour, of purified clay, painted red and varnished.

Measurements: 4.5 × 1.7 /0.4 cm.
Date: 3rd to 4th century

218. Inv. no. 1621 – sherd from the everted rim and part of the belly of a shallow bowl, preserved almost to the base, light reddish in colour, fine body, burnished and coated with orange-red slip.

Measurements: 7.7 × 7.1/0.6 cm.
Date: 3rd to 4th century

219. Inv. no. 1642 – large sherd from the thickened rim and part of the belly of a wide, shallow bowl, light reddish in colour, fine body, painted red and decorated on the outside with two concentric cannelures at the junction of the belly and base.

Measurements: 10.5 × 6.3/1.5 cm.
Date: 3rd to 4th century

220. Inv. no. 1668 – sherd from the flat rim and part of the belly of a shallow bowl, dark reddish in colour, dark reddish in colour, coarse body with a considerable admixture of sand.

Measurements: 7.6 × 5.4/0.7 cm.
Date: 3rd to 4th century

221. Inv. no. 1696 – sherd from the annular base and part of the belly of a wide, shallow bowl, light reddish in colour, of purified clay, painted red. Signs of burning.

Measurements: 9.7 × 6.4/0.6 cm.
Date: 3rd to 4th century

222. Inv. br. 1719 – Fragment ravno razgrnutog profiliranog oboda sa dijelom trbuha pliće biko-nične zdjele, mrkocrvenkaste boje, grublje fature sa dosta pijeska.

Dimenzije: $9,3 \times 4,2/0,7$ cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

223. Inv. br. 1762 – Veći fragment profiliranog oboda sa dijelom trbuha pliće zdjele, svijetlocrvenkaste boje, finije fature, bojene sa spoljnje i unutrašnje strane crvenom bojom.

Dimenzije: $10,5 \times 5,3$ cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

224. Inv. br. 1866 – Fragment blago posuvračenog oboda sa dijelom trbuha manje, plitke zdjele, svijetlocrvenkaste boje, finije fature.

Dimenzije: $7,5 \times 5,5/0,5$ cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

225. Inv. br. 1907 – Fragment blago posuvračenog oboda sa dijelom trbuha manje, pliće posude, svijetlocrvene boje, od dobro prečišćene zemlje.

Dimenzije: $6,5 \times 4,3/0,6$ cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

226. Inv. br. 1920 – Fragment ravnog oboda sa dijelom trbuha šire pliće zdjele, mrkocrvenkaste boje, grublje fature.

Dimenzije: $6,5 \times 5,4/0,6$ cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

227. Inv. br. 1932 – Fragment oboda i trbuha sa dijelom dna manje pliće zdjele, mrkocrvenkaste boje, grublje fature, rukom rađeno.

Dimenzije: H: 3,4 cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

228. Inv. br. 1973 – Fragment prstenastog dna sa dijelom trbuha pliće zdjele, svijetlocrvene boje, grublje fature.

Dimenzije: R dna: 6,7 cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

229. Inv. br. 2047 – Bikonična posuda sa manjom prstenastom nogom, zaravnjenog oboda, od

222. Inv. no. 1719 – sherd from the flat, everted, moulded rim and part of the belly of a shallow biconical bowl, dark reddish in colour, coarse body with a considerable admixture of sand.

Measurements: $9.3 \times 4.2/0.7$ cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

223. Inv. no. 1762 – large sherd from the moulded rim and part of the belly of a shallow bowl, light reddish in colour, fine body, painted red inside and out.

Measurements: 10.5×5.3 cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

224. Inv. no. 1866 – sherd from the slightly upturned rim and part of the belly of a small, shallow bowl, light reddish in colour, fine body.

Measurements: $7.5 \times 5.5/0.5$ cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

225. Inv. no. 1907 – sherd from the slightly upturned rim and part of the belly of a small, shallow pot, light red in colour, of purified clay.

Measurements: $6.5 \times 4.3/0.6$ cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

226. Inv. no. 1920 – sherd from the flat rim and part of the belly of a wide, shallow bowl, dark reddish in colour, coarse body.

Measurements: $6.5 \times 5.4/0.6$ cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

227. Inv. no. 1932 – sherd from the rim and belly with part of the base of a small, shallow bowl, dark reddish in colour, coarse body, hand-moulded.

Measurements: H: 3.4 cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

228. Inv. no. 1973 – sherd from the annular base and part of the belly of a shallow bowl, light red in colour, coarse body.

Measurements: R of base: 6.7 cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

fino prečišćene zemlje, bojena crvenkastom bojom. (T. X, 2)

Dimenzije: H: 6,5 cm; otvor: 6,7; dno: 3,7 cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

230. Inv. br. 1613 – Fragment zadebljalog završenog oboda sa dijelom trbuha manje zdjele, svijetlocrvene boje od fino prečišćene zemlje, bojeno crvenom bojom.

Dimenzije: 4,9 × 3,6/0,8 cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

231. Inv. br. 1638 – Cijelo blago naglašeno dno sa dijelom trbuha manjeg suda, svijetlocrvenkaste boje, finije fature sa tragovima bojenja narandžastom bojom.

Dimenzije: R dna: 4,5 cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

232. Inv. br. 1865 – Fragment šireg ravno razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom trbuha manjeg suda, svijetlocrvenkaste boje, finije fature. Obod je sa gornje strane ukrašen jednom širom kanelurom.

Dimenzije: 6 × 3,5/1,4 cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

233. Inv. br. 1616 – Manji fragment zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom ramena, vjerovatno trbušastog suda, crvenkastomrke boje, tanjih zidova.

Dimenzije: 5,8 × 2,5/0,3 cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

234. Inv. br. 1639 – Fragment razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom trbuha manje trbušaste zdjele, svijetlocrvenkaste boje, finije fature bojene sa obje strane narandžastocrvenom bojom.

Dimenzije: 7,1 × 4,7/0,4 cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

235. Inv. br. 1962 – Fragment trbuha suda svijetlocrvenkaste boje, grublje fature. Cijela spoljna površina ukrašena je nizom koncentričnih kanelura.

Dimenzije: 4,7 × 4,2/0,6 cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

229. Inv. no. 2047 – biconical pot with small annular foot, flattened rim, of purified clay, painted reddish. (T. X, 2)

Measurements: H: 6.5 cm; opening: 6.7; base: 3.7 cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

230. Inv. no. 1613 – sherd from the thickened, flattened rim and part of the belly of a small bowl, light red in colour, of purified clay, painted red.

Measurements: 4.9 × 3.6/0.8 cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

231. Inv. no. 1638 – intact, faintly indicated base and part of the belly of a small pot, light reddish in colour, fine body with traces of orange paint.

Measurements: R of base: 4.5 cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

232. Inv. no. 1865 – sherd from the wide, flat, everted rim and part of the belly of a small pot, light reddish in colour, fine body. The upper surface of the rim is decorated with a wide canelure.

Measurements: 6 × 3.5/1.4 cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

233. Inv. no. 1616 – small sherd from the thickened rim and part of the shoulder of a (probably) bellied pot, reddish-brown in colour, thin-walled.

Measurements: 5.8 × 2.5/0.3 cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

234. Inv. no. 1639 – sherd from the everted rim and part of the belly of a small bellied bowl, light reddish in colour, fine body, painted orange-red inside and out.

Measurements: 7.1 × 4.7/0.4 cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

235. Inv. no. 1962 – sherd from the belly of a pot, light reddish in colour, coarse body. The entire outside is decorated with a series of concentric canelures.

Measurements: 4.7 × 4.2/0.6 cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century.

236. Inv. br. 1583 – Fragment dvojne lučne drške od lošije prečišćene zemlje sa dosta sitnijeg pijeska, svijetlocrvenkaste boje.

Dimenzije: dužina: 8,6 cm; širina: 5 cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

237. Inv. br. 1674 – Mala lučna drška suda mrkocrvenkaste boje, grublje fature sa dosta pijeska.

Dimenzije: 3,9 × 1,8 cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

238. Inv. br. 1722 – Bradavičasta zaravnjena drška sa dijelom tijela poklopca, kome nedostaje obod, svijetlocrvenkaste boje od loše prečišćene zemlje.

Dimenzije: R: 4,8 cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

239. Inv. br. 1733 – Manja lučna drška sa početkom trbuha i dijelom oboda posude mrkocrvenkaste boje, grublja fature sa tragovima gorenja. Drška prelazi visoko iznad oboda.

Dimenzije drške: 6,3 × 2 cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

240. Inv. br. 1796 – Fragment lučne drške svijetlocrvenkaste boje od dobro prečišćene zemlje – crveno bojena. Drška je po sredini ukrašena sa 4 plastična rebra. Bočne strane nejednako profilisane.

Dimenzije: dužina: 4,1 cm, širina: 2,4 cm.
Datacija: III st.

241. Inv. br. 1858 – Fragment šire drške, svijetlocrvenkaste boje, grublje fature. Sa spoljne strane drška je ukrašena sa tri šire uzdužne kanelure.

Dimenzije: 7,6 × 4,5/1,2 cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

242. Inv. br. 1977 – Lučna drška sa dijelom ravnog oboda i dijelom vrata dubljeg suda, svijetlocrvenkaste boje, grublje fature.

Dimenzije: 9,2 × 3,3 cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

236. Inv. no. 1583 – fragment of a double arched handle of poorly purified clay with a quantity of fine sand, light reddish in colour.

Measurements: L: 8.6 cm; W: 5 cm.
Date: 3rd to 4th century

237. Inv. no. 1674 – small arched handle of a pot, dark reddish in colour, coarse body with a considerable admixture of sand.

Measurements: 3.9 × 1.8 cm.
Date: 3rd to 4th century

238. Inv. no. 1722 – warty flattened handle with part of a lid, rim missing, light reddish in colour, of poorly purified clay.

Measurements: R: 4.8 cm.
Date: 3rd to 4th century

239. Inv. no. 1733 – small arched handle with the beginning of the belly and part of the rim of a pot, dark reddish in colour, coarse body, with signs of burning. The handle rises high above the rim.

Measurements of handle: 6.3 × 2 cm.
Date: 3rd to 4th century

240. Inv. no. 1796 – sherd from an arched handle, light reddish in colour, of purified clay, painted red. The handle is decorated along the middle with four moulded ribs. The sides are unevenly moulded.

Measurements: L: 4.1 cm, W: 2.4 cm.
Date: 3rd century

241. Inv. no. 1858 – sherd from a wide handle, light reddish in colour, coarse body. The outer surface of the handle is decorated with three wide longitudinal canelures.

Measurements: 7.6 × 4.5/1.2 cm.
Date: 3rd to 4th century

242. Inv. no. 1977 – arched handle with part of the flat rim and neck of a deep pot, light reddish in colour, coarse body.

Measurements: 9.2 × 3.3 cm.
Date: 3rd to 4th century

243. Inv. br. 1999 – Lučna drška sa dijelom blago razgrnutog oboda i dijelom trbuha dubljeg suda, mrkocrvenkaste boje, grublje fature.

Dimenzije drške: $8,6 \times 2,6$ cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

244. Inv. br. 1604 – Manji fragment koso razgrnutog zadebljalog oboda kuglaste posude, crvenkastomrke boje, lošije fature sa primjesom pijeska. Vidljivi tragovi gorenja.

Dimenzije: $6,8 \times 3/1$ cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

245. Inv. br. 1833 – Fragment zadebljalog blago razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom vrata i trbuha lop-tastog suda, mrkocrvenkaste boje, grublje fature.

Dimenzije: $8,5 \times 3/0,8$ cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

246. Inv. br. 1660 – Fragment ravnog oboda sa dijelom trbuha posude – oblika čaše, svijetlo-crvene boje od dobro prečišćene zemlje, tamnih zidova. Bojene sve spoljne i unutrašnje strane crvenom bojom.

Dimenzije: $5,1 \times 5/0,3$ cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

247. Inv. br. 1708 – Fragment ravnog dna posude mrkocrvene boje, grublje fature sa dosta pijeska.

Dimenzije: R dna: 9,2 cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

248. Inv. br. 1744 – Fragment prstenastog dna sa dijelom trbuha posude svijetlocrvene boje od dobro prečišćene zemlje, fine fature, bojena naranđastim premazom.

Dimenzije: $6,8 \times 6/0,5$ cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

249. Inv. br. 1836 – Fragment ravnog dna sa početkom trbuha suda crvenkastomrke boje, grublje fature sa primjesom pijeska i istucanog kamena; tanjih zidova.

Dimenzije: $5,5 \times 2,2/0,3$ cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

243. Inv. no. 1999 – arched handle with part of the slightly everted rim and belly of a deep pot, dark reddish in colour, coarse body.

Measurements of handle: 8.6×2.6 cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

244. Inv. no. 1604 – small sherd from the slanting, everted, thickened rim of a globular pot, reddish-brown in colour, coarse body with an admixture of sand. Signs of burning.

Measurements: $6.8 \times 3/1$ cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

245. Inv. no. 1833 – sherd from the thickened, slightly everted rim and part of the neck and belly of a globular pot, dark reddish in colour, coarse body.

Measurements: $8.5 \times 3/0.8$ cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

246. Inv. no. 1660 – sherd from the flat rim and part of the belly of a beaker-shaped vessel, light red in colour, of purified clay, with thin walls. Painted red all over, inside and out.

Measurements: $5.1 \times 5/0.3$ cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

247. Inv. no. 1708 – sherd from the flat base of a dark red pot, coarse body with a considerable admixture of sand.

Measurements: R of base: 9.2 cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

248. Inv. no. 1744 – sherd from the annular base and part of the belly of a pot, light red in colour, of purified clay, fine body, coated with orange slip.

Measurements: $6.8 \times 6/0.5$ cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

249. Inv. no. 1836 – sherd from the flat base and beginning of the bellow of a reddish-brown pot, coarse body with an admixture of sand and crushed stone; thin walls.

Measurements: $5.5 \times 2.2/0.3$ cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

250. Inv. br. 1877 – Veći fragment ravnog dna sa dijelom trbuha grublje zdjele, mrkocrvenkaste boje.

Dimenzije: $9,5 \times 8,5/1$ cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

251. Inv. br. 2041 – Prstenasto dno sa dijelom trbuha posude svijetlocrvenkaste boje, grublje fature. Na dnu sa spoljne strane nalazi se šira plića kanelura.

Dimenzije: R dna: 7,8 cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

252. Inv. br. 2042 – Fragment prstenastog dna sa dijelom trbuha pliće posude, finije fature. Sa spoljne i unutrašnje strane vidljivi su tragovi crvenog bojenja.

Dimenzije: $5,5 \times 5/2$ cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

253. Inv. br. 1992 – Manja lučna drška sa dijelom oboda, vrata i trbuha suda svijetložute boje, finije fature, sa spoljne strane bojen crvenim premazom. Obod je sa gornje strane ukrašen sa dvije plitke koncentrične kanelure. **(T. X, 3)**

Dimenzije: $7 \times 5,8/0,5$ cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

254. Inv. br. 1906 – Fragment blago razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom trbuha plićeg tanjira, svijetlocrvenkaste boje, finije fature sa primjesom sitnog pijeska. Trbuh je sa spoljne strane ukrašen sa dvije plitke koncentrične kanelure.

Dimenzije: $8,3 \times 5,4/1,5$ cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

255. Inv. br. 1950 – Fragment ravno razgrnutog zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom trbuha plićeg šireg tanjira, svijetlocrvenkaste boje, grublje fature.

Dimenzije: $8,3 \times 5,6/1,9$ cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

256. Inv. br. 1891 – Fragment blago razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom vrata većeg suda mrkoerene boje, grublje fature sa vidljivim tragovima gorenja. Obod je sa spoljne strane ukrašen širom plitkom kanelurom.

Dimenzije: $12,3 \times 4,5/1$ cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

250. Inv. no. 1877 – large sherd from the flat base and part of the belly of a coarse bowl, dark reddish in colour.

Measurements: $9.5 \times 8.5/1$ cm.
Date: 3rd to 4th century

251. Inv. no. 2041 – annular base and part of the belly of a pot, light reddish in colour, coarse body, with a wide, shallow cannellure at the base on the outside.

Measurements: R of base: 7.8 cm.
Date: 3rd to 4th century

252. Inv. no. 2042 – sherd from the annular base and part of the belly of a shallow pot, fine body. Traces of red paint inside and out.

Measurements: $5.5 \times 5/2$ cm.
Date: 3rd to 4th century

253. Inv. no. 1992 – small arched handle with part of the rim, neck and belly of a pot, light yellow in colour, fine body, outside coated with red slip. The upper surface of the rim is decorated with two shallow concentric cannellures **(T. X, 3)**

Measurements: $7 \times 5.8/0.5$ cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

254. Inv. no. 1906 – sherd from the slightly everted rim and part of the belly of a shallow dish, light reddish in colour, fine body with an admixture of fine sand. The belly is decorated on the outside with two shallow concentric cannellures.

Measurements: $8.3 \times 5.4/1.5$ cm.
Date: 3rd to 4th century

255. Inv. no. 1950 – sherd from the flat, everted, thickened rim and part of the belly of a wide, shallow dish, light reddish in colour, coarse body.

Measurements: $8.3 \times 5.6/1.9$ cm.
Date: 3rd to 4th century

256. Inv. no. 1891 – sherd from the slightly everted rim and part of the neck of a large vessel, dark red in colour, coarse body with signs of burning. The rim is decorated on the outside with a wide, shallow cannellure.

Measurements: $12.3 \times 4.5/1$ cm.
Date: 3rd to 4th century

257. Inv. br. 1905 – Veći fragment ravnog dna sa početkom trbuha posude većih dimenzija mrkocrvenkaste boje, grublje fature sa dosta pijeska.

Dimenzije: 13 × 11,5/1,9 cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

258. Inv. br. 1990 – Fragment trbuha suda većih dimenzija, grublje fature, mrkocrvenkaste boje, ukrašen jednim plastičnim rebrom u vidu pletenice.

Dimenzije: 10,7 × 8/0,6 cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

259. Inv. br. 1563 – Masivnija lučna drška amfore, svijetlocrvenkaste boje, lošije fature, uzduž žlijebljena sa tri plitka žlijeba.

Dimenzije: 10 × 4,5/2 cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

260. Inv. br. 1678 – Fragmentirana dvojna drška veće amfore, svijetlocrvene boje.

Dimenzije: dužina: 30 cm; širina: 5,5 cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

261. Inv. br. 1729 – Lučna drška amfore, žuto-crvenkaste boje, grublje fature sa dosta sitnog pijeska, po sredini se pruža jedno plastično rebro.

Dimenzije: 13,5 cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

262. Inv. br. 1789 – Fragmentirani vrh – špic amfore – crvenkaste boje.

Dimenzije: dužina: 8,5 cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

263. Inv. br. 1971 – Veći fragment trbuha amfore žuto-crvenkaste boje, grublje fature.

Dimenzije: 19,5 × 11/0,9 cm

Datacija: III – IV st.

264. Inv. br. 1810 – Tri fragmenta ravno razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom vrata pitosa većih dimenzija, grublje fature, svijetlocrvenkaste boje.

Dimenzije: 20 × 12/3,2 cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

257. Inv. no. 1905 – large sherd from the flat bottom and beginning of the belly of a large vessel, dark reddish in colour, coarse body with a considerable admixture of sand.

Measurements: 13 × 11.5/1.9 cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

258. Inv. no. 1990 – sherd from the belly of a large vessel, coarse body, dark reddish in colour, decorated with a moulded interlace rib.

Measurements: 10.7 × 8/0.6 cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

259. Inv. no. 1563 – substantial arched handle of an amphora, light reddish in colour, poor quality body, with three shallow longitudinal grooves.

Measurements: 10 × 4.5/2 cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

260. Inv. no. 1678 – broken double handle of a large amphora, light red in colour.

Measurements: L: 30 cm; W: 5.5 cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

261. Inv. no. 1729 – arched handle of an amphora, reddish-yellow in colour, coarse body with a considerable admixture of fine sand, with a moulded rib along the middle.

Measurements: 13.5 cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

262. Inv. no. 1789 – broken pointed end of an amphora, reddish in colour.

Measurements: L: 8.5 cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

263. Inv. no. 1971 – large sherd from the belly of an amphora, reddish-yellow in colour, coarse body.

Measurements: 19.5 × 11/0.9 cm

Date: 3rd to 4th century

264. Inv. no. 1810 – three sherds from the flat, everted rim and part of the neck of a large pithos, coarse body, light reddish in colour.

Measurements: 20 × 12/3.2 cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century.

265. Inv. br. 1777 – Fragmentirani poklopac sa prstenastom, širom, zaravnjenom drškom, mrkocruvenkaste boje, grublje fature sa velikom primjesom pijeska.

Dimenzije: R drške: 5,3 cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

266. Inv. br. 1830 – Fragmentiran poklopac sa širom dugmetastom drškom, mrkocruvenkaste boje, grublje fature.

Dimenzije: R drške: 5 cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

267. Inv. br. 1942 – Fragmentirani poklopac sa prstenastom drškom po sredini ljevasto udubljenom, mrkocruvenkaste boje, grublje fature, sa dosta pijeska.

Dimenzije: 11,6 × 7,5 cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

268. Inv. br. 1615 – Fragment poklopca, masivniji. Očuvana je samo drška cilindričnog oblika sa gornjom zaravnjenom površinom, crvenkastomrke boje sa tragovima gorenja.

Dimenzije: R: 5 cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

269. Inv. br. 1623 – Fragment zadebljalog oboda profiliranog poklopca suda, svijetlocruvenkaste boje, finije fature, bojen crvenom bojom.

Dimenzije: 9,3 × 5,6/0,5 cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

270. Inv. br. 1943 – Ravno dno sa dijelom trbuha suda mrkocruvenkaste boje, grublje fature sa dosta pijeska.

Dimenzije: R dna: 7 cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

Svijetla keramika

271. Inv. br. 1559 – Fragment oboda sa dijelom trbuha posude svijetložute boje, grublje fature, spolja ukrašen sa više horizontalnih kanelura.

Dimenzije: 7,8 × 6/1,3 cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

265. Inv. no. 1777 – broken lid with wide, flat, annular handle, dark reddish in colour, coarse body with a high proportion of sand.

Measurements: R of handle: 5.3 cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

266. Inv. no. 1830 – broken lid with wide, knob-like handle, dark reddish in colour, coarse body.

Measurements: R of handle: 5 cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century.

267. Inv. no. 1942 – broken lid with annular handle with a funnel-shaped central depression, dark reddish in colour, coarse body, with a considerable admixture of sand.

Measurements: 11.6 × 7.5 cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

268. Inv. no. 1615 – sherd from a substantial lid, of which only the cylindrical handle, with flattened top surface, survives; reddish brown in colour with signs of burning.

Measurements: R: 5 cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

269. Inv. no. 1623 – sherd from the thickened rim of a moulded pot lid, light reddish in colour, fine body, painted red.

Measurements: 9.3 × 5.6/0.5 cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

270. Inv. no. 1943 – flat base and part of the belly of a pot, dark reddish in colour, coarse body with a considerable admixture of sand.

Measurements: R of base: 7 cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

Light-coloured pottery

271. Inv. no. 1559 – sherd from the rim and part of the belly of a light yellow vessel, coarse body, decorated on the outside with several horizontal canelures.

Measurements: 7.8 × 6/1.3 cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

272. Inv. br. 1609 – Dva fragmenta blago posuvraćenog oboda sa dijelom trbuha posude svijetložute boje, finije fature. Posuda je na ramenu suda ukrašena većim horizontalnim plastičnim rebrom, vidljivi tragovi bojenja.

Datacija: II – IV st.

273. Inv. br. 1720 – Fragment razgrnutog zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom trbuha dubljeg suda svijetložute boje, finije fature.

Dimenzije: 6,5 × 4,4/1 cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

274. Inv. br. 1721 – Dva fragmenta ravno razgrnutog zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom trbuha posude svijetložute boje od dobro prečišćene zemlje, tanjih zidova.

Dimenzije: 11 × 4,6/0,9 cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

275. Inv. br. 1745 – Fragment profiliranog oboda sa dijelom trbuha bikonične posude svijetložute boje, finije fature. Na prelazu iz ramena u trbuh ukras u vidu jednog naglašenog rebra.

Dimenzije: 6 × 3,5 cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

276. Inv. br. 1755 – Manji fragment trbuha sa tragom drške manje bikonične zdjele svijetložute boje, finije fature, bojene mrkom bojom.

Dimenzije: 3,7 × 3,5 cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

277. Inv. br. 1778 – Fragment koso razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom trbuha posude svijetložute boje, finije fature, po obodu i spoljne strane bojene svijetlocrvenom bojom. Na prelazu iz oboda u trbuh ukrašena manjim plastičnim rebrom.

Dimenzije: 5,5 × 5,4/0,5 cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

278. Inv. br. 1821 – Fragment blago posuvraćenog oboda sa dijelom trbuha posude svijetložute boje, finije fature. Sa spoljne strane ispod oboda posuda je ukrašena širim plastičnim rebrom.

Dimenzije: 9,8 × 4,5/5 cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

272. Inv. no. 1609 – two sherds from the slightly upturned rim and part of the belly of a light yellow vessel, fine body. The shoulders of the vessel are decorated with a pronounced horizontal moulded rib. Signs of burning.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

273. Inv. no. 1720 – sherd from the everted, thickened rim and part of the belly of a light yellow pot, fine body.

Measurements: 6.5 × 4.4/1 cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

274. Inv. no. 1721 – two sherds from the flat, everted, thickened rim and part of the belly of a light yellow pot of purified clay with thin walls.

Measurements: 11 × 4.6/0.9 cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

275. Inv. no. 1745 – sherd from the moulded rim and part of the belly of a light yellow biconical pot, fine body. The junction of the shoulder and belly is decorated with a pronounced rib.

Measurements: 6 × 3.5 cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

276. Inv. no. 1755 – small sherd with vestiges of a handle from the belly of a small light yellow biconical bowl, fine body, painted brown.

Measurements: 3.7 × 3.5 cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

277. Inv. no. 1778 – sherd from the slanting, everted rim and part of the belly of a light yellow vessel, fine body, painted light red on the rim and outside, and with a small moulded rib at the junction of the rim and belly.

Measurements: 5.5 × 5.4/0.5 cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

278. Inv. no. 1821 – sherd from the slightly upturned rim and part of the belly of a light yellow vessel, fine body, decorated below the rim on the outside with a wide moulded rib.

Measurements: 9.8 × 4.5/5 cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

279. Inv. br. 1849 – Fragment zaravnjenog i zadeljalog oboda suda sa početkom trbuha. Ispod zadeljalog oboda je izvedena plitka šira kanelura. Posuda je svijetložute boje od dobro prečišćene zemlje.

Dimenzije: $4,3 \times 4,2/0,3$ cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

280. Inv. br. 1863 – Fragment ravnog oboda sa dijelom trbuha manje posude, svijetložute boje od dobro prečišćene gline. Ispod oboda je izveden ukras u vidu plastičnog rebra.

Dimenzije: $8,5 \times 3,2/0,5$ cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

281. Inv. br. 1915 – Veći fragment blago razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom trbuha suda svijetložute boje od dobro prečišćene gline. Trbuh je ispod oboda ukrašen jednim širim plastičnim rebrom.

Dimenzije: $11,6 \times 4/0,4$ cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

282. Inv. br. 1934 – Veći fragment razgrnutog zadeljalog oboda sa dijelom trbuha pliće šire zdjele, svijetložute boje, finije fature sa tragovima crvenog premaza. Na trbuhu sa spoljne strane izveden je ornament u vidu dvije koncentrične linije.

Dimenzije: $10 \times 6,8/1,3$ cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

283. Inv. br. 1911 – Fragment trbuha suda svijetložute boje, finije fature. Sud je ukrašen jednom apliciranom plastičnom trakom.

Dimenzije: dužina: 8,2 cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

284. Inv. br. 1871 – Fragment koso razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom vrata posude svijetložute boje od dobro prečišćene gline. Na prelazu iz oboda u vrat izvedena je plitka kanelura.

Dimenzije: $8,5 \times 4,9/0,7$ cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

285. Inv. br. 1594 – Fragment prstenastog dna sa dijelom trbuha posude svijetložute boje, finije fature sa tragovima intenzivnog gorenja.

Dimenzije: $8,8 \times 5,3/0,7$ cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

279. Inv. no. 1849 – sherd from the flattened, thickened rim of a pot, with the beginning of the belly, with a wide, shallow cannellure below the thickened rim. The vessel is light yellow, and of purified clay.

Measurements: $4.3 \times 4.2/0.3$ cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

280. Inv. no. 1863 – sherd from the flat rim and part of the belly of a small, light yellow vessel, of purified clay, decorated with a moulded rib below the rim.

Measurements: $8.5 \times 3.2/0.5$ cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

281. Inv. no. 1915 – large sherd from the slightly everted rim and part of the belly of a light yellow pot of purified clay, the belly decorated below the rim with a wide moulded rib.

Measurements: $11.6 \times 4/0.4$ cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

282. Inv. no. 1934 – large sherd from the everted, thickened rim and part of the belly of a wide, shallow, light yellow bowl, fine body with traces of red slip. The belly is decorated on the outside with two concentric lines.

Measurements: $10 \times 6.8/1.3$ cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

283. Inv. no. 1911 – sherd from the belly of a light yellow pot, fine body, decorated with an applied moulded band.

Measurements: L: 8.2 cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

284. Inv. no. 1871 – sherd from the slanting, everted rim and part of the neck of a light yellow vessel of purified clay with a shallow cannellure at the junction of the rim and neck.

Measurements: $8.5 \times 4.9/0.7$ cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

285. Inv. no. 1594 – sherd from the annular base and part of the belly of a light yellow vessel, fine body with signs of intensive burning.

Measurements: $8.8 \times 5.3/0.7$ cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

286. Inv. br. 1679 – Fragment prstenastog dna sa početkom trbuha posude svijetložute boje od fino prečišćene zemlje, debljih zidova sa tragovima bojenja na truhu narandžastom bojom. Na dnu tragovi vitla.

Dimenzije: $9,4 \times 9,7/0,5$ cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

287. Inv. br. 1732 – Veći fragment prstenastog dna sa dijelom trbuha suda svijetložute boje, finije fature.

Dimenzije: $10 \times 7,2$ cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

288. Inv. br. 1853 – Četiri fragmenta trbušaste zdjelice sa prstenastim dnom, ravnim obodom i truhom od fino pročišćene svijetložute zemlja (gline) sa neznatnom primjesom sitnog pijeska.

Dimenzije: R dna: 4 cm; H: 4,6 cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

289. Inv. br. 1779 – Fragment masivnog prstenastog dna sa dijelom trbuha suda debljih zidova svijetložute boje od lošije prečišćene zemlje.

Dimenzije: $11,7 \times 9/1,6$ cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

290. Inv. br. 1763 – Dva veća fragmenta razgrnutog oštećenog oboda sa dijelom trbuha pliće šire zdjele svijetložute boje, finije fature sa tragovima svijetlocrvenog bojenja.

Dimenzije: $20 \times 7,4/1,1$ cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

291. Inv. br. 1799 – Fragment oboda sa dijelom trbuha plitke bikonične zdjele svijetložute boje, finije fature sa tragovima crvenog bojenja.

Dimenzije: $7 \times 3,5$ cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

292. Inv. br. 1949 – Fragment ravnog oboda sa dijelom trbuha i prstenastog dna šire pliće posude, svijetložute boje, finije fature sa tragovima crvenog premaza i sa spoljne i unutrašnje strane. Na truhu sa spoljne strane je ukras u vidu dvije pliće koncentrične kanelure.

Dimenzije: $13 \times 9/0,5$ cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

286. Inv. no. 1679 – sherd from the annular base and beginning of the belly of a light yellow vessel of purified clay, thick walls with traces of orange paint on the belly and the marks of the wheel on the base.

Measurements: $9.4 \times 9.7/0.5$ cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

287. Inv. no. 1732 – large sherd from the annular base and part of the belly of a light yellow pot, fine body.

Measurements: 10×7.2 cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

288. Inv. no. 1853 – four sherds from a bellied bowl with an annular base, flat rim and belly of purified, light yellow clay with a small proportion of fine sand.

Measurements: R of base: 4 cm; H: 4.6 cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

289. Inv. no. 1779 – sherd from the substantial annular base and part of the belly of a thick-walled pot, light yellow in colour, of poorly purified clay.

Measurements: $11.7 \times 9/1.6$ cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

290. Inv. no. 1763 – two sizeable sherds from the damaged everted rim and part of the belly of a wide, shallow, light yellow bowl, fine body with traces of light red paint.

Measurements: $20 \times 7.4/1.1$ cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

291. Inv. no. 1799 – sherd from the rim and part of the belly of a shallow biconical bowl, light yellow in colour, fine body with traces of red paint.

Measurements: 7×3.5 cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

292. Inv. no. 1949 – sherd from the flat rim and part of the belly and annular base of a wide, shallow vessel, light yellow in colour, fine body with traces of red slip inside and out. The belly is decorated on the outside with two shallow concentric canelures.

Measurements: $13 \times 9/0.5$ cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

293. Inv. br. 1908 – Fragment ravnog dna sa dijelom trbuha i dijelom ravnog oboda plićeg tanjira svijetložute boje od dobro prečišćene zemlje sa svijetlo-crvenim premazom po spoljnoj i unutrašnjoj strani.

Dimenzije: H: 3 cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

294. Inv. br. 1864 – Fragmentirana lučna drška sa dijelom trbuha posude svijetložute boje od dobro prečišćene gline.

Dimenzije drške: 7,2 × 3,6/0,8 cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

295. Inv. br. 2004 – Fragment loptastog suda sa jednom cijelom lučnom drškom, blago razgrnutim obodom i truhom svijetložute boje, finije fature. **(T. X, 4)**

Dimenzije: 7,3 × 6,5/0,3 cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

296. Inv. br. 2000 – Veći fragment trbuha i vrata suda većih dimenzija, svijetložute boje, grublje fature.

Dimenzije: 13,6 × 11/0,5 cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

297. Inv. br. 1651 – Fragmentirana lučna drška amfore svijetložute boje, od dobro prečišćene zemlje uzduž trostruko žlijebljena.

Dimenzije: dužina: 5,1 cm, širina: 3,8 cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

298. Inv. br. 1827 – Tri fragmenta veće amfore, grube fature, svijetložute boje. Drška je dvojna po sredini uzduž žlijebljena.

Datacija: II – IV st.

299. Inv. br. 1974 – Fragment masivnije lučne drške amfore, svijetložute boje, grublje fature.

Dimenzije: 13 × 4,4 cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

Prahistorijska keramika

300. Inv. br. 1781 – Manji fragment trbuha prahistorijskog barbotiniranog suda, mrkosive boje, lošije fature. **(T. XI, 1)**

Dimenzije: 3,3 × 2,5 cm.

293. Inv. no. 1908 – sherd from the flat base and part of the belly and flat rim of a shallow, light yellow dish of purified clay coated with light red slip inside and out.

Measurements: H: 3 cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

294. Inv. no. 1864 – sherd from the arched handle and part of the belly of a light yellow pot of purified clay.

Measurements of handle: 7.2 × 3.6/0.8 cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

295. Inv. no. 2004 – sherd from a globular pot with one intact arched handle, slightly everted rim and light yellow belly, fine body. **(T. X, 4)**

Measurements: 7.3 × 6.5/0.3 cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

296. Inv. no. 2000 – large sherd from the belly and neck of a large pot, light yellow in colour, coarse body.

Measurements: 13.6 × 11/0.5 cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

297. Inv. no. 1651 – broken arched handle of an amphora, light yellow in colour, of purified clay, with triple longitudinal grooves.

Measurements: L: 5.1 cm, W: 3.8 cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

298. Inv. no. 1827 – three sherds from a large amphora, coarse body, light yellow in colour. The double handle has a groove along the middle.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

299. Inv. no. 1974 – sherd from the substantial arched handle of an amphora, light yellow in colour, coarse body.

Measurements: 13 × 4.4 cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

Prehistoric pottery

300. Inv. no. 1781 – small sherd from the belly of a prehistoric barbotine-decorated pot, dark grey in colour, coarse body. **(T. XI, 1)**

Measurements: 3.3 × 2.5 cm.

Metal

301. Inv. br. 1792 – Fragmentirani željezni nož, dosta oštećen korozijom, sa oštricom na jednoj strani i drškom pravougaonog presjeka tijela.

Dimenzije: dužina 12 cm.

Datacija: I – IV st.

302. Inv. br. 1899 – Željezni nož sa oštricom na jednoj strani i dužom drškom pravougaonog presjeka. Oštećen korozijom.

Dimenzije: dužine lista sa drškom 21,5 cm.

Datacija: I – IV st.

303. Inv. br. 2021 – Fragmentirani list sa dijelom drške manjeg noža sa oštricom na jednoj strani. Dosta uništen korozijom.

Dimenzije: dužina 9,3 cm.

Datacija: I – IV st.

304. Inv. br. 2034 – Fragmentirani, manji željezni nož sa dijelom drške, dosta oštećen korozijom. Vrh nedostaje.

Dimenzije: dužina 7,4 cm.

Datacija: I – IV st.

305. Inv. br. 2038 – Fragmentirani željezni nož sa dijelom lučne drške. Nedostaje vrh. Dosta uništen korozijom.

Dimenzije: dužina 11,7 cm.

Datacija: I – IV st.

306. Inv. br. 2059 – Fragmentirani željezni nož sa drškom, nedostaje vrh, dosta oštećen korozijom.

Dimenzije: dužina 9,3 cm.

Datacija: I – IV st.

307. Inv. br. 2035 – List sa dijelom drške većeg bodeža sa oštricom na jednoj strani. Gornja strana je lučna povijena, dosta je uništen korozijom.

Dimenzije: 21,5 × 4,5 cm.

Datacija: I – IV st.

308. Inv. br. 1936 – Željezna strelica, oštećenog vrha, dosta oštećena korozijom.

Dimenzije: dužina 8,5 cm.

Datacija: I st.

Metal

301. Inv. no. 1792 – broken iron knife, quite badly corroded, with a single cutting edge and a handle that is rectangular in section.

Measurements: L 12 cm.

Date: 1st to 4th century

302. Inv. no. 1899 – iron knife with a single cutting edge and a long handle, rectangular in section. Damaged by corrosion.

Measurements: L of blade with handle 21.5 cm.

Date: 1st to 4th century

303. Inv. no. 2021 – broken blade with part of the handle of a small knife with a single cutting edge, quite badly corroded.

Measurements: L 9.3 cm.

Date: 1st to 4th century

304. Inv. no. 2034 – small, broken iron knife with part of handle, quite badly corroded, tip missing.

Measurements: L 7.4 cm.

Date: 1st to 4th century

305. Inv. no. 2038 – broken iron knife with part of an arched handle. Tip missing, Quite badly corroded.

Measurements: L 11.7 cm.

Date: 1st to 4th century

306. Inv. no. 2059 – broken iron knife with handle, tip missing, quite badly corroded.

Measurements: L 9.3 cm.

Date: 1st to 4th century

307. Inv. no. 2035 – blade and part of the handle of a large dagger with a single cutting edge, the top curved, quite badly corroded.

Measurements: 21.5 × 4.5 cm.

Date: 1st to 4th century

308. Inv. no. 1936 – iron arrow-head, damaged tip, quite badly corroded.

Measurements: L 8.5 cm.

Date: 1st century

309. Inv. br. 1951 – Željezna strelica oštećena korozijom.
Dimenzije: dužina 10,7 cm.
Datacija: I st.
309. Inv. no. 1951 – iron arrow-head, corroded.
Measurements: L 10.7 cm.
Date: 1st century
310. Inv. br. 1774 – Fragmentirana vrlo korodirana željezna strelica sa punim tuljcem, nedostaje vrh, listastog oblika.
Dimenzije: dužina 8,6 cm.
Datacija: I st.
310. Inv. no. 1774 – broken, very badly corroded iron arrow-head with solid shaft, tip missing, leaf-shaped.
Measurements: L 8.6 cm.
Date: 1st century
311. Inv. br. 1692 – Dva fragmenta željeznog klina, pravougaonog presjeka tijela, pločaste glave, dosta oštećen korozijom. Vrh nedostaje.
Dimenzije: dužina 9 cm.
Datacija: I st.
311. Inv. no. 1692 – two pieces of an iron nail, rectangular in section with flattened head, quite badly damaged, point missing.
Measurements: L 9 cm.
Date: 1st century
312. Inv. br. 1693 – Manji željezni korodirani klin pravougaonog presjeka tijela sa pločastom glavom.
Dimenzije: dužina 6 cm.
Datacija: I st.
312. Inv. no. 1693 – small, corroded iron nail, rectangular in section with flattened head.
Measurements: L 6 cm.
Date: 1st century
313. Inv. br. 1703 – Vrlo korodirani manji željezni klin, pravougaonog presjeka tijela sa pločastom glavom.
Dimenzije: dužina 7 cm.
Datacija: I st.
313. Inv. no. 1703 – small, badly corroded iron nail, rectangular in section with flattened head.
Measurements: L 7 cm.
Date: 1st century
314. Inv. br. 1714 – Željezni klin pravougaonog presjeka tijela i pločaste glave sa manjim naslagama korozije.
Dimenzije: dužina 10,6 cm.
Datacija: I st.
314. Inv. no. 1714 – iron nail, rectangular in section with flattened head and some corrosion.
Measurements: L 10.6 cm.
Date: 1st century
315. Inv. br. 1772 – Željezni klin pravougaonog presjeka tijela sa pločastom glavom i sa malo podvijenim špicem na vrhu. Korodiran.
Dimenzije: dužina 13,7 cm.
Datacija: I st.
315. Inv. no. 1772 – iron nail, rectangular in section with flattened head and slightly curved point. Corroded.
Measurements: L 13.7 cm.
Date: 1st century
316. Inv. br. 1886 – Željezni klin sa većom pravougaonom pločastom glavom i oštećenim vrhom. Dosta uništen korozijom.
Dimenzije: dužina 6,5 cm.
Datacija: I st.
316. Inv. no. 1886 – iron nail, rectangular in section with large, flattened head and damaged point, quite badly corroded.
Measurements: L 6.5 cm.
Date: 1st century

317. Inv. br. 2052 – Veći željezni klin kvadratnog presjeka tijela sa pločastom glavom, kojem nedostaje vrh. Dosta uništen korozijom.

Dimenzije: dužina 14 cm.
Datacija: I st.

318. Inv. br. 2011 – Vrlo korodirano, fragmentirano željezno zvono, loptastog tijela sa lučno savijenom drškom.

Datacija: I – IV st.

319. Inv. br. 1773 – Željezna kuka pravougao- nog presjeka tijela sa pločastim dijelom za pričvršćivanje, dosta oštećen korozijom.

Dimenzije: dužina 5,7 cm.
Datacija: I – IV st.

320. Inv. br. 2037 – Bronzana udica, patinirana divljom patinom. Pri vrhu je listasto proširena i perforirana radi pričvršćivanja.

Dimenzije: dužina 6 cm.
Datacija: I – IV st.

321. Inv. br. 1876 – Željezni teg elipsoidnog oblika sa donjim širim i gornjim užim krajem, dosta oštećen korozijom.

Dimenzije: dužina 12,5 cm.
Datacija: I – IV st.

322. Inv. br. 1554 – Željezni ključ, korodiran, urađen u tehnici prolamanja.

Dimenzije: $8,5 \times 1,7$ cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

323. Inv. br. 1589 – Tri fragmenta željeznog okova i brave koja se zatvarala pomoću reze, znatno uništeni korozijom. Veći fragment je u obliku slova "Г"

Dimenzije: dužina 19 cm, širina 9 cm.
Datacija: II – III st.

324. Inv. br. 1715 – Dio željezne brave sa jednim krajem polukružnog oblika po sredini perforiran i drugim suženim pravougao- nog presjeka. Oštećen korozijom.

Dimenzije: $9,5 \times 2$ cm.
Datacija: II – III st.

317. Inv. no. 2052 – large iron nail, square in section with flattened head, point missing, quite badly corroded.

Measurements: L 14 cm.
Date: 1st century

318. Inv. no. 2011 – badly corroded, broken iron bell, globular body with arched handle.

Date: 1st to 4th century

319. Inv. no. 1773 – iron hook, rectangular in section with flattened attachment section, quite badly damaged.

Measurements: L 5.7 cm.
Date: 1st to 4th century

320. Inv. no. 2037 – bronze fish-hook, rough patina, widening and perforated at one end where it was attached to the line.

Measurements: L 6 cm.
Date: 1st to 4th century

321. Inv. no. 1876 – elliptical iron weight, wider at the bottom than the top, quite badly corroded.

Measurements: L 12.5 cm.
Date: 1st to 4th century

322. Inv. no. 1554 – iron key, corroded, made by piercing.

Measurements: 8.5×1.7 cm.
Date: 1st to 4th century

323. Inv. no. 1589 – three fragments of iron casings or facings and a lock closing by means of a latch, largely destroyed by corrosion. The large fragment is Г-shaped

Measurements: L 19 cm, W 9 cm.
Date: 2nd to 3rd century

324. Inv. no. 1715 – part of an iron latch, semi-circular at one end with central perforation, and narrow and rectangular in section at the other, damaged by corrosion.

Measurements: 9.5×2 cm.
Date: 2nd to 3rd century

325. Inv. br. 1735 – Fragmentirana željezna testera sa perforacijom na jednoj strani za učvršćivanje oplate drške, oštećena korozijom.

Dužina: 16,8 cm.
Datacija: II – III st.

326. Inv. br. 1711 – Vrlo korodirana željezna alatka sa tuljcem na jednom kraju, a na drugom kraju dva račvasta kraka koji se špicasto završavaju.

Dimenzije: dužina 14,2 cm.
Datacija: nepoznata.

327. Inv. br. 1775 – Željezna, dosta korodirana alatka sa savijenom drškom i listasto proširenim tijelom sa povijenim bočnim stranama – služila vjerovatno za čišćenje kopita.

Dimenzije: dužina 7,1 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

328. Inv. br. 1892 – Fragmentirana željezna alatka u vidu sjekire sa tuljcem, dosta oštećena korozijom.

Dimenzije: dužina 10,5 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

329. Inv. br. 2054 – Fragmentirana željezna alatka u vidu lopatice sa tragom drške. Vrh nedostaje. Dosta uništena korozijom.

Dimenzije: 7 × 6,8 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

330. Inv. br. 1997 – Željezna alatka sa jednim širim posuvraćenim, a drugim špicastim krajem. Dosta oštećena korozijom.

Dimenzije: dužina: 17,4 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

331. Inv. br. 1767 – Fragment željezne oplate pravougaonog oblika, korodiran.

Dimenzije: 7,3 × 2,6 cm.
Datacija: nepoznato.

332. Inv. br. 1716 – Fragment željezne oplate pravougaonog oblika sa perforiranim rupom na jednoj strani za pričvršćivanje.

Dimenzije: 8,8 × 3,4 cm.
Datacija: nepoznato.

325. Inv. no. 1735 – broken iron saw with a perforation on one side where the casing was attached, damaged by corrosion.

L: 16.8 cm.
Date: 2nd to 3rd century

326. Inv. no. 1711 – badly corroded iron tool with a socket at one end and a fork with two sharp prongs at the other.

Measurements: L 14.2 cm.
Date: not known.

327. Inv. no. 1775 – quite badly corroded iron tool with curved handle and wider leaf-shaped body hooked at the sides, probably a hoof pick.

Measurements: L 7.1 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

328. Inv. no. 1892 – broken iron tool: axe with a socket, quite badly corroded.

Measurements: L 10.5 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

329. Inv. no. 2054 – broken iron tool: shovel with vestiges of a handle, top missing, quite badly corroded.

Measurements: 7 × 6.8 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

330. Inv. no. 1997 – iron tool with one wide, curved end and one pointed, quite badly corroded.

Measurements: L: 17.4 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

331. Inv. no. 1767 – part of an iron casing or facing, rectangular, corroded.

Measurements: 7.3 × 2.6 cm.
Date: not known

332. Inv. no. 1716 – part of an iron casing or facing, rectangular, with a hole for attachment on one side.

Measurements: 8.8 × 3.4 cm.
Date: not known

333. Inv. br. 1689 – Bronzani trn pojasne kopče pravougaonog presjeka tijela sa spiralnim završetkom za pričvršćivanje za kopču. Patinirano divljom patinom.

Dimenzije: dužina: 3,9 cm.
Datacija: nepoznato.

334. Inv. br. 1840 – Fragment drške bronzanog suda, kružnog presjeka tijela na sredini, dok je na krajevima dobijen kvadratni presjek iskucavanjem. Patinirano plemenitom patinom.

Dimenzije: dužina 13,1 cm.
Datacija: doba Carstva.

335. Inv. br. 1841 – Fragment drške bronzanog suda, kružnog presjeka tijela, savijena skoro u halku.

Datacija: doba Carstva.

336. Inv. br. 1555 – Fragmentirani bronzani zasun, pravougaonog oblika tijela i drške pravougaonog presjeka, rađen u tehnici prolamanja. Patiniran plemenitom patinom. **(T. XVI, 1)**

Dimenzije: 4,7 × 1,6 cm.
Datacija: doba Carstva.

337. Inv. br. 2025 – Bronzani zasun – pravougaonog tijela sa 8 perforiranih rupa i drškom kvadratnog presjeka tijela. **(T. XVI, 2)**

Dimenzije: 4,2 × 1,1/0,3; dužina drške: 2,5 cm.
Datacija: doba Carstva.

338. Inv. br. 1677 – Dva fragmenta tamnog bronzanog lima, patiniran, sa ostacima 4 perforirane rupe i dva mala bronzana zakivka – (vjerovatno dijelovi neke bronzane oplate).

Dimenzije: 2 × 2,5 cm.
Datacija: nepoznato.

339. Inv. br. 1809 – Bronzana pinceta urađena iz jednog komada tanjeg bronzanog lima, patinirana divljom patinom. **(T. XV, 4)**

Dimenzije: dužina 5,9 cm.
Datacija: doba Carstva.

340. Inv. br. 1882 – Bronzana igla za šivanje sa očuvanom ušicom elipsoidnog oblika. Patinirana plemenitom patinom.

Dimenzije: dužina: 8 cm.
Datacija: doba Carstva.

333. Inv. no. 1689 – bronze prong from a belt buckle, rectangular in section with a spiral at the end where it was attached to the buckle. Rough patina.

Measurements: L: 3.9 cm.
Date: not known

334. Inv. no. 1840 – part of the handle of a bronze vessel, round in section at the middle and hammered square in section at the ends, fine patina.

Measurements: L 13.1 cm.
Date: Empire

335. Inv. no. 1841 – part of the handle of a bronze vessel, round in section, bent almost into a circle.

Date: Empire

336. Inv. no. 1555 – broken bronze latch, both shaft and head rectangular in section, made by piercing. Fine patina. **(T. XVI, 1)**

Measurements: 4.7 × 1.6 cm.
Date: Empire

337. Inv. no. 2025 – bronze latch, rectangular shaft with eight holes and handle square in section. **(T. XVI, 2)**

Measurements: 4.2 × 1.1/0.3; L of handle: 2.5 cm.
Date: Empire

338. Inv. no. 1677 – two pieces of dark bronze sheet, patinated, with remains of four holes and two small bronze rivets (probably part of a bronze casing or facing of some kind).

Measurements: 2 × 2.5 cm.
Date: not known.

339. Inv. no. 1809 – bronze pincers made of a single thin piece of bronze sheet, rough patina **(T. XV, 4)**

Measurements: L 5.9 cm.
Date: Empire

340. Inv. no. 1882 – bronze needle still with its elliptical eye, fine patina.

Measurements: L: 8 cm.
Date: Empire

341. Inv. br. 1689 – Bronzane tri pojasne kopče pravougaonog presjeka tijela sa spiralnim završetkom za pričvršćivanje za kopču. Patinirano divljom patinom.

Dimenzije: dužina: 3,9 cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

342. Inv. br. 1840 – Fragment drške bronzanog suda, kružnog presjeka tijela na sredini, dok je na krajevima dobijen kvadratni presjek iskucavanjem. Patinirano plemenitom patinom.

Dužina: 13,1 cm.

Datacija: doba Carstva.

343. Inv. br. 1841 – Fragment drške bronzanog suda, kružnog presjeka tijela, savijena skoro u halku.

Datacija: doba Carstva.

344. Inv. br. 1820 – Fragmentirani željezni lučni predmet, nepoznate namjene. Noga je kvadratno perforirana. Dosta je uništen korozijom. (T. XIII, 1).

Dimenzije: dužina: 7, 9 cm.

341. Inv. no. 1689 – three bronze belt buckles, rectangular in section with spiral end where the prong was fixed to the buckle. Rough patina.

Measurements: L: 3.9 cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

342. Inv. no. 1840 – part of the handle of a bronze vessel, round in section in the middle and hammered to square section at the ends. Fine patina.

L: 13.1 cm.

Date: Empire

343. Inv. no. 1841 – part of the handle of a bronze vessel, round in section, bent almost into a circle.

Date: Empire

344. Inv. no. 1820 – broken arched iron object, purpose unknown, the foot with a square hole. Quite badly corroded (T. XIII, 1).

Measurements: L: 7.9 cm.

Staklo

345. Inv. br. 1586 – Manji fragment stakla, svijetlozelenkaste boje sa tragovima iridacije.

Dimenzije: 4,2 × 3,7/0,2 cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

346. Inv. br. 1597 – Fragment stakla svijetlozelenkaste boje, debljih zidova sa tragovima iridacije. Vidljivi sitni mjehurići.

Dimenzije: 7 × 3,7/0,2 cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

347. Inv. br. 1653 – Fragment oboda staklene čaše, plave boje sa bordurom od bijele šire staklene niti.

Dimenzije: 2,6 × 2,5 cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

348. Inv. br. 1658 – Fragment debljeg stakla, svijetlozelenkaste boje, grublje izrade. Vidljivi

Glass

345. Inv. no. 1586 – small glass sherd, light greenish in colour with some iridescence.

Measurements: 4.2 × 3.7/0.2 cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

346. Inv. no. 1597 – glass sherd, thick-walled, light greenish in colour with some iridescence, with small air bubbles.

Measurements: 7 × 3.7/0.2 cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

347. Inv. no. 1653 – sherd from the rim of a glass goblet, blue with a border of wide white glass threads.

Measurements: 2.6 × 2.5 cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

348. Inv. no. 1658 – thick glass sherd, light greenish in colour, of crude workmanship; air

mjhurići sa tragovima iridacije. Jedna strana ivice je obrađena.

Dimenzije: 4,7 × 4,5/0,3 cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

349. Inv. br. 1665 – Fragment stakla debljih zidova, žutozelene boje. Jedna strana hrapava, a druga obrađena. Najvjerovatnije prozorsko staklo.

Dimenzije: 5,6 × 3,5/0,2 cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

350. Inv. br. 1687 – Dva fragmenta staklene posude debljih zidova i vrlo zadebljalog oboda. Svijetlozelenkaste boje. Trbuh je ukrašen sa više dubokih kanelura.

Dimenzije: a) 4,4 × 1,8/1,1 cm;

b) 3,5 × 2,8/0,7 cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

351. Inv. br. 1713 – Fragment stakla svijetlozelenkaste boje sa tragovima iridacije.

Dimenzije: 3,9 × 3,7/0,2 cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

352. Inv. br. 1743 – Tri fragmenta oboda i trbuha staklene posude, mliječnobijele mat boje sa tragovima iridacije. Debljih zidova.

Datacija: II – III st.

353. Inv. br. 1771 – Fragment stakla sa jednom obrađenom ivicom. Vidljivi tragovi zelenoljubičaste iridacije.

Dimenzije: 6,3 × 4,3/0,2 cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

354. Inv. br. 1780 – Fragment profiliranog koso razgrnutog oboda staklenog suda, žutozelenkaste boje sa tragovima iridacije. Obod je sa unutarnje strane ukrašen plastičnim rebrom.

Dimenzije: dužina 5,5 cm.

Datacija: II – IV st.

355. Inv. br. 1793 – Fragmentirana šira lučna drška od staklene paste, svijetlozelenkaste boje. Drška je ukrašena sa niz uzdužnih plitkih

bubbles and some iridescence. One side of the edge has been finished.

Measurements: 4.7 × 4.5/0.3 cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

349. Inv. no. 1665 – glass sherd, thick walls, yellow-green in colour, one side rough, the other finished. Probably window glass.

Measurements: 5.6 × 3.5/0.2 cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

350. Inv. no. 1687 – two sherds from a thick-walled glass vessel with very thick rim, light greenish in colour. The belly is decorated with several deep cannelures.

Measurements: a) 4.4 × 1.8/1.1 cm;

b) 3.5 × 2.8/0.7 cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

351. Inv. no. 1713 – glass sherd, light greenish in colour with some iridescence.

Measurements: 3.9 × 3.7/0.2 cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

352. Inv. no. 1743 – three sherds from the rim and belly of a thick-walled glass vessel, mat milk-white in colour with some iridescence.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

353. Inv. no. 1771 – glass sherd with one finished edge and signs of green to violet iridescence.

Measurements: 6.3 × 4.3/0.2 cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

354. Inv. no. 1780 – sherd from the moulded, slanting, everted rim of a yellow-green glass vessel with some iridescence. The inside of the rim is decorated with a moulded rib.

Measurements: L 5.5 cm.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

355. Inv. no. 1793 – broken wide arched glass-paste handle, light greenish in colour, decorated with a series of shallow longitudinal

- kanelura, svijetlozelenkaste boje sa tragovima iridacije. Measurements: 4.2 × 3.6/0.5 cm. Date: 3rd to 4th century.
356. Inv. br. 1794 – Fragment stakla svijetlozelenkaste boje, tanjih zidova sa tragovima svijetlozelene i ljubičaste iridacije. Measurements: 6.5 × 5.6/0.2 cm. Date: 3rd to 4th century.
357. Inv. br. 1797 – Fragmentirano prstenasto dno sa dijelom trbuha staklene posude, mat boje sa tragovima iridacije. Measurements: R dna: 5.3 cm. Date: II – IV st.
358. Inv. br. 1800 – Fragment stakla svijetlozelene boje debljih zidova sa tragovima iridacije. Measurements: 5.6 × 4.5/0.3 cm. Date: III – IV st.
359. Inv. br. 1814 – Fragment ravno razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom vrata staklene posude, svijetlozelene boje. Measurements: R otvora: 2.5 cm. Date: III – IV st.
360. Inv. br. 1815 – Fragment ravnog komada stakla, svijetlozelenkaste boje sa jedne strane hrpavo od kalupa. Prozorsko staklo. Measurements: 5.2 × 2.7/0.3 cm. Date: III – IV st.
361. Inv. br. 1842 – Fragment stakla svijetloplave boje, zadebljalog oboda sa dijelom trbuha. Na trbuhu je izveden ornament u vidu vertikalnog plastično ispupčenog rebra. Unutarnja strana je hrapava. Measurements: 4.7 × 4.6/0.2 – 0.5 cm. Date: II – IV st.
362. Inv. br. 1893 – Fragment prstenastog dna staklene posude, svijetlozelenkaste boje. Measurements: 5 × 1.2 cm. Date: III – IV st.
- cannelures, light greenish in colour with some iridescence. Measurements: 4.2 × 3.6/0.5 cm. Date: 3rd to 4th century.
356. Inv. no. 1794 – glass sherd, light greenish in colour, thin walls with some light green and violet iridescence. Measurements: 6.5 × 5.6/0.2 cm. Date: 3rd to 4th century.
357. Inv. no. 1797 – broken annular base and part of the belly of a glass vessel, mat colour with some iridescence. Measurements: R of base: 5.3 cm. Date: 2nd to 4th century.
358. Inv. no. 1800 – glass sherd, light green in colour, with thick walls and some iridescence. Measurements: 5.6 × 4.5/0.3 cm. Date: 3rd to 4th century.
359. Inv. no. 1814 – sherd from the flat everted rim and part of the neck of a glass vessel, light green in colour. Measurements: R of opening: 2.5 cm. Date: 3rd to 4th century.
360. Inv. no. 1815 – sherd from a piece of flat glass, light greenish in colour, with one side rough from the mould. Window glass. Measurements: 5.2 × 2.7/0.3 cm. Date: 3rd to 4th century.
361. Inv. no. 1842 – glass sherd, light blue in colour, thickened rim with part of the belly. The belly is decorated with a vertical moulded protruding rib. The inside is rough. Measurements: 4.7 × 4.6/0.2 – 0.5 cm. Date: 2nd to 4th century.
362. Inv. no. 1893 – sherd from the annular base of a glass vessel, light greenish in colour. Measurements: 5 × 1.2 cm. Date: 3rd to 4th century.

363. Inv. br. 1897 – Manji fragment zadebljalog, blago razgrnutog oboda staklene čaše, tamnoplave boje i tanjih zidova.

Dimenzije: $2,9 \times 1,7/0,2$ cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

364. Inv. br. 1900 – Fragment svijetlozelenog stakla sa zadebljalim zaobljenim obodom. Donja površina je hrpava od kalupa. Prozorsko staklo.

Dimenzije: $4,8 \times 4,3/0,2$ cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

365. Inv. br. 1914 – Manje prstenasto dno sa početkom trbuha staklene posude, svijetlozelenkaste boje.

Dimenzije: $3,5 \times 3/0,1$ cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

366. Inv. br. 1926 – Manji fragment staklenog suda, tamnoplave boje.

Dimenzije: $5,7 \times 2,9/0,2$ cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

367. Inv. br. 1941 – Veći fragment dvostruke, masivne drške od staklene paste, petrolej boje. Na pojedinim mjestima vidljivi su tragovi iridacije.

Dimenzije: $5,8 \times 4/1,3$ cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

368. Inv. br. 1948 – Fragment stakla zelenkaste boje, ukrašen rebrastim paralelno izvedenim ispupčenjima.

Dimenzije: dužina: 4,7 cm, širina: 0,8 – 2,2 cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

369. Inv. br. 1954 – Fragment staklenog dna sa početkom trbuha šireg loptastog suda. Dno prelazi u trbuh bez nekih naglašenja. Zelenkaste je boje i debljih zidova.

Dimenzije: $6,7 \times 4,1/0,3$ cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

370. Inv. br. 1978 – Manji fragment zadebljalog oboda staklene posude, tamnoplave boje, tanjih zidova. Obod je blago razgrnut.

Dimenzije: $4,5 \times 1,7/0,1 - 0,4$ cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

363. Inv. no. 1897 – small sherd from the thickened, slightly everted rim of a glass goblet, dark blue in colour with thin walls.

Measurements: $2.9 \times 1.7/0.2$ cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

364. Inv. no. 1900 – sherd of light green glass with thickened, rounded rim. The underside is rough from the mould. Window glass.

Measurements: $4.8 \times 4.3/0.2$ cm.
Date: 3rd to 4th century

365. Inv. no. 1914 – Small annular base and beginning of the belly of a glass vessel, light greenish in colour.

Measurements: $3.5 \times 3/0.1$ cm.
Date: 3rd to 4th century

366. Inv. no. 1926 – small sherd from a glass vessel, dark blue in colour.

Measurements: $5.7 \times 2.9/0.2$ cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

367. Inv. no. 1941 – large sherd from a substantial double glass-paste handle, petroleum-blue in colour, with some iridescence in places.

Measurements: $5.8 \times 4/1.3$ cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

368. Inv. no. 1948 – glass sherd, greenish in colour, decorated with parallel protruding ribs.

Measurements: L: 4.7 cm, W: 0.8 – 2.2 cm.
Date: 3rd to 4th century

369. Inv. no. 1954 – sherd from the glass base and beginning of the belly of a wide globular vessel, the base merging into the belly without accentuation. Greenish in colour, with thick walls.

Measurements: $6.7 \times 4.1/0.3$ cm.
Date: 3rd to 4th century

370. Inv. no. 1978 – small sherd from the thickened rim of a glass vessel, dark blue in colour, with thick walls. The rim is slightly everted.

Measurements: $4.5 \times 1.7/0.1 - 0.4$ cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

371. Inv. br. 1979 – Manji fragment staklene posude, tanjih zidova, žutozelenkaste boje. Vidljivi tragovi iridacije.

Dimenzije: $4 \times 2/0,1$ cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

372. Inv. br. 1980 – Fragment dna staklene flaše, kvadratnog presjeka, svijetlozelenkaste boje i nejednake debljine zidova.

Dimenzije: $7 \times 5,5/0,2 - 0,4$ cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

373. Inv. br. 1981 – Manji fragment stakla, zelenkaste neprozirne boje.

Dimenzije: $3,2 \times 2,9/0,2$ cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

374. Inv. br. 2013 – Prstenasto dno sa dijelom trbuha staklene čaše, svijetlozelenkaste boje, sa tragovima iridacije.

Dimenzije: R dna: 4,5 cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

375. Inv. br. 2014 – Fragment masivnije staklene drške, svijetloplave boje. Drška je sa spoljne strane ukrašena plićim kanelurama.

Datacija: II – IV st.

376. Inv. br. 2036 – Manji fragment staklene čaše, zelenkaste boje, tanjih zidova sa ostatkom ornamenta u vidu plastično izvedene kapljice.

Dimenzije: $3,5 \times 1,7/0,1$ cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

377. Inv. br. 2053 – Fragment zadebljalog ravno razgrnutog oboda sa dijelom cilindričnog vrata, staklene posude, svijetloplave boje.

Dimenzije: $4,5 \times 3,3/0,3$ cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

378. Inv. br. 2060 – Fragmentirana staklena masivnija drška, svijetlozelenkaste boje sa tragovima iridacije.

Dimenzije: 5×4 cm.
Datacija: III – IV st.

371. Inv. no. 1979 – small sherd from a thin-walled glass vessel, yellow-greenish in colour with some iridescence.

Measurements: $4 \times 2/0.1$ cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

372. Inv. no. 1980 – sherd from the base of a glass flask, square in section, light greenish in colour and with walls of uneven thickness.

Measurements: $7 \times 5.5/0.2 - 0.4$ cm.
Date: 3rd to 4th century

373. Inv. no. 1981 – small glass sherd, opaque greenish in colour.

Measurements: $3.2 \times 2.9/0.2$ cm.
Date: 3rd to 4th century

374. Inv. no. 2013 – annular base and part of the body of a glass goblet, light greenish in colour, with some iridescence.

Measurements: R of base: 4.5 cm.
Date: 3rd to 4th century

375. Inv. no. 2014 – sherd from a substantial glass handle, light blue in colour, decorated on the outside with shallow canelures.

Date: 2nd to 4th century

376. Inv. no. 2036 – small sherd from a glass goblet, greenish in colour, thin-walled, with the remains of moulded tear-drop decoration.

Measurements: $3.5 \times 1.7/0.1$ cm.
Date: 3rd to 4th century

377. Inv. no. 2053 – sherd from the thickened, flat, everted rim and part of the cylindrical neck of a glass vessel, light blue in colour.

Measurements: $4.5 \times 3.3/0.3$ cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

378. Inv. no. 2060 – substantial broken glass handle, light greenish in colour with some iridescence.

Measurements: 5×4 cm.
Date: 3rd to 4th century

Novac

Coins

Bronzani primjerci

379. Inv. br. 1551 – Manji komad novca, sa oštećenim natpisom. Na aversu predstava vladara sa desnim profilom i vijencem.

Dimenzija: R: 1,8 cm.

380. Inv. br. 1552 – Novac sa oštećenim reversom. Na aversu predstava vladara sa desnim profilom. Primjerak oštećen.

Dimenzija: R: 2,2 cm.

381. Inv. br. 1557 – Manji teško oštećeni primjerak novca. Nečitljiv.

Dimenzija: R: 1,5 cm.

382. Inv. br. 1558 – Novac dobro očuvan. Na aversu. CONSTANTINUS IVN NOBC. Desni profil vladara. Na reversu PROVIDENTIAE CAES...

Dimenzija: R: 1,8 cm.

Datacija: IV st.

383. Inv. br. 1575 – Manji komad novca. Avers potpuno uništen i nečitljiv. Revers teško vidljiv.

Dimenzija: R: 1,5 cm.

384. Inv. br. 1587 – Komad novca, oštećen, patiniran divljom patinom. Na aversu MAXIMIANUS HERCUL. Na reversu GENIO POPULI ROMANI.

Dimenzija: R: 1,8 cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

385. Inv. br. 1685 – Primjerak novca malo oštećenog. Na aversu desni profil vladara sa zrakastom krunom na glavi. Natpis nečitljiv. Na reversu u sredini lane, okolo natpis DIANA C...

Dimenzija: R: 1,9 cm.

386. Inv. br. 1717 – Veći masivniji komad novca, patiniran divljom patinom, oštećenog aversa i reversa.

Dimenzija: R: 3 cm.

Bronze coins

379. Inv. no. 1551 – small coin with damaged inscription. The obverse bears the effigy of the ruler in right profile with a garland.

Measurements: R: 1.8 cm.

380. Inv. no. 1552 – coin with damaged reverse. The obverse bears the effigy of the ruler in right profile. Damaged specimen.

Measurements: R: 2.2 cm.

381. Inv. no. 1557 – small, badly damaged coin, undecipherable.

Measurements: R: 1.5 cm.

382. Inv. no. 1558 – well preserved coin. On the obverse: CONSTANTINUS IVN NOBC. Ruler in right profile. On the reverse: PROVIDENTIAE CAES...

Measurements: R: 1.8 cm.

Date: 4th century

383. Inv. no. 1575 – small coin, obverse badly damaged and undecipherable, reverse little better.

Measurements: R: 1.5 cm.

384. Inv. no. 1587 – coin, damaged, rough patina. On the obverse: MAXIMIANUS HERCUL. On the reverse: GENIO POPULI ROMANI.

Measurements: R: 1.8 cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

385. Inv. no. 1685 – slightly damaged coin, the obverse with the effigy of the ruler in right profile wearing a radial crown; inscription illegible. The reverse bears a fawn in the centre with the inscription DIANA C... around the edge.

Measurements: R: 1.9 cm.

386. Inv. no. 1717 – sizeable, solid coin, rough patina, damaged obverse and reverse.

Measurements: R: 3 cm.

387. Inv. br. 1752 – Manji novac dosta oštećen. Patiniran divljom patinom.

Dimenzija: 1,6 cm.

388. Inv. br. 1786 – Manji komad novca, oštećen i patiniran divljom patinom.

Dimenzija: R: 1,8 cm.

389. Inv. br. 1808 – Manji primjerak novca, dosta loše očuvan. Patiniran divljom patinom.

Dimenzija: R: 1,9 cm.

390. Inv. br. 1819 – Manji novac, oštećen. Na aversu vidljivi samo obrisi glave.

Dimenzija: R: 1,5 cm.

391. Inv. br. 1828 – Novac sa predstavom vladara u desnom profilu. Na aversu IMP CONSTANTINUS PF AUG.

Dimenzija: R : 2 cm.

Datacija: IV st.

392. Inv. br. 1829 – Novac sa desnim profilom vladara. Na aversu IMP CONSTANTINUS PF AUG. Na reversu SOLI INVICTO COMITI, predstava nejasna.

Dimenzija: R: 2 cm.

Datacija: IV st.

393. Inv. br. 1887 – Novac vrlo oštećen. Patiniran divljom patinom. Na aversu IMP GALLIENUS ...

Dimenzija: R: 1,9 cm.

Datacija: III st.

394. Inv. br. 1901 – Novac sa oštećenim prikazom vladara sa dvostrukom krunom. Na reversu SECURITAS... Naziv kovanice nečitljiv.

Dimenzija: R: 2,3 cm.

395. Inv. br. 1925 – Manji novac. Na aversu CONSTANTINUS AUG... sa desnim profilom vladara sa krunom. Na reversu DNCONSTANTINI... AUG u vijencu VOT XX, SIS.

Datacija: IV st.

387. Inv. no. 1752 – small, quite badly damaged coin with rough patina.

Measurements: 1.6 cm.

388. Inv. no. 1786 – small, damaged coin with rough patina.

Measurements: R: 1.8 cm.

389. Inv. no. 1808 – small coin in a poor state of preservation, with rough patina.

Measurements: R: 1.9 cm.

390. Inv. no. 1819 – small coin, damaged; all that can be made out on the obverse is the outline of a head.

Measurements: R: 1.5 cm.

391. Inv. no. 1828 – coin with the effigy of the ruler in right profile. The obverse bears the inscription IMP CONSTANTINUS PF AUG.

Measurements: R : 2 cm.

Date: 4th century

392. Inv. no. 1829 – coin with the effigy of the ruler in right profile. On the obverse IMP CONSTANTINUS PF AUG. On the reverse SOLI INVICTO COMITI, image unclear.

Measurements: R: 2 cm.

Date: 4th century

393. Inv. no. 1887 – badly damaged coin with rough patina. On the obverse IMP GALLIENUS...

Measurements: R: 1.9 cm.

Date: 3rd century

394. Inv. no. 1901 – coin with damaged effigy of the ruler wearing a double crown. On the reverse SECURITAS... name of the coin illegible.

Measurements: R: 2.3 cm.

395. Inv. no. 1925 – small coin. On the obverse CONSTANTINUS AUG... with effigy of the ruler in right profile, with crown. On the reverse DNCONSTANTINI... AUG in a garland VOT XX, SIS.

Date: 4th century

396. Inv. br. 1930 – Oštećeni novac sa očuvanim reversom IOVI CONSERVATORI, SIS.

Dimenzija: R: 2 cm.

397. Inv. br. 1939 – Novac sa aversom IMPLIC LICINIUS PF AUG. Na reversu IOVI CONSERVATORI AUG... u egzeltu TS.

Dimenzija: R: 2,3 cm.

Datacija: IV st.

398. Inv. br. 1940 – Komad manjeg novca, dosta uništen i nečitljiv. U sredini figura koja stoji.

Dimenzija: R: 1,6 cm.

399. Inv. br. 1956 – Uništeni novac. Na aversu IMPLIC LICIN... AVG. Na reversu IOVI CONSERVATORI, SIS.

Dimenzija: R: 2,2 cm.

Datacija: IV st.

400. Inv. br. 1957 – Manji komad novca, vrlo oštećen. Na aversu lijevi profil i natpis COS...

Dimenzija: R: 1,8 cm.

401. Inv. br. 2009 – Novac uništen i izlizan. Nazire se profil na aversu.

Dimenzija: R: 2,8 cm.

402. Inv. br. 2027 – Novac uništen i izlizan. Na aversu se nazire ženski profil.

Dimenzija: R: 2,2 cm.

403. Inv. br. 2061 – Novac oštećen. Na aversu IMP CONSTANTINUS... i prikaz vladara u desnom profilu. Na reversu IOVI CONSERVATORI...

Dimenzija: R: 2 cm.

Datacija: IV st.

Posrebreni primjerci

404. Inv. br. 1888 – Primjerak prelomljenog novca. Na aversu prikaz desnog profila vladara sa zrakastom krunom i natpisom IMP C... TREB GALLUS. Revers nečitljiv.

Dimenzija: R: 2,2 cm.

Datacija: III st.

396. Inv. no. 1930 – damaged coin with reverse preserved IOVI CONSERVATORI, SIS.

Measurements: R: 2 cm.

397. Inv. no. 1939 – coin with on the obverse IMPLIC LICINIUS PF AUG. On the reverse IOVI CONSERVATORI AUG... in the exergue TS.

Measurements: R: 2.3 cm.

Date: 4th century

398. Inv. no. 1940 – small coin, quite badly damaged and undecipherable, with a standing figure in the middle.

Measurements: R: 1.6 cm.

399. Inv. no. 1956 – damaged coin. On the obverse IMPLIC LICIN... AVG. On the reverse IOVI CONSERVATORI, SIS.

Measurements: R: 2.2 cm.

Date: 4th century

400. Inv. no. 1957 – small, badly damaged coin. On the obverse left profile and inscription COS...

Measurements: R: 1.8 cm.

401. Inv. no. 2009 – damaged, worn coin. The profile can be made out on the obverse.

Measurements: R: 2.8 cm.

402. Inv. no. 2027 – damaged, worn. A woman's profile can be made out on the obverse.

Measurements: R: 2.2 cm.

403. Inv. no. 2061 – damaged coin. On the obverse IMP CONSTANTINUS... and effigy of the ruler in right profile. On the reverse IOVI CONSERVATORI...

Measurements: R: 2 cm.

Date: 4th century

Silver-plated coins

404. Inv. no. 1888 – broken coin. On the obverse the effigy in right profile of the ruler with a radial crown and the inscription IMP C... TREB GALLUS. Reverse illegible.

Measurements: R: 2.2 cm.

Date: 3rd century

405. Inv. br. 2026 – Posrebreni komad novca. Na aversu MAUR NUMERIANUS, sa prikazom vladara u desnom profilu koji ima zrakastu krunu. Na reversu PRINCIPI ...sa stojećom figurom ispred XXI.

Dimenzija: R: 2,3 cm.

Datacija: III st.

Srebreni primjerci

406. Inv. br. 1584 – Novac dobro očuvan. Na aversu desni profil vladara sa zrakastom krunom. Oko njega ide natpis IMPCMCL TACITUS AUG. Na reversu natpis PROVIDENTIA AUG, sa predstavom stojeće boginje.¹⁶⁶

Dimenzija: R: 2,1 cm.

Datacija: III st.

407. Inv. br. 1787 – Novac dobro očuvan. Na aversu predstavljeno poprsje i lijevi profil vladara sa šljemom. Na reversu prikaz ratnika sa štitom i kopljem. Novac PROBA.¹⁶⁷

Dimenzija: R: 2,3 cm.

Datacija: III st.

408. Inv. br. 1985 – Novac sa desnim profilom vladara sa zrakastom krunom i natpisom na reversu IMP GORDIANUS... FEL AUG. Na reversu PAX AUGUSTI.

Dimenzija: R: 2 cm.

Datacija: III st.

Fibule

409. Inv. br. 1598 – Bronzana fibula, nedostaje igla. Fibula je u obliku cvrčka – tipa “cikaden fibule”.

Dimenzije: dužina: 2, 9 cm.¹⁶⁸

Datacija: I – VI st.

¹⁶⁶ Novac je pronađen na dubini od 0,63 cm, pored objekta A kod apside.

¹⁶⁷ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 25. Primjerak je pronađen u objektu B.

¹⁶⁸ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1969, 15.

405. Inv. no. 2026 – silver-plated coin. On the obverse MAUR NUMERIANUS, with effigy of the ruler in right profile wearing a radial crown. On the reverse PRINCIPI... with a standing figure facing XXI.

Measurements: R: 2.3 cm.

Date: 3rd century

Silver coins

406. Inv. no. 1584 – well-preserved coin. On the obverse effigy of the ruler in right profile with radial crown, surrounded by the inscription IMPCMCL TACITUS AUG. On the reverse the inscription PROVIDENTIA AUG, with the figure of a standing goddess.¹⁶⁶

Measurements: R: 2.1 cm.

Date: 3rd century

407. Inv. no. 1787 – well-preserved coin. On the obverse the effigy of the ruler – bust and left profile, with helmet. On the reverse the figure of a warrior with shield and spear. Coin of PROBUS.¹⁶⁷

Measurements: R: 2.3 cm.

Date: 3rd century

408. Inv. no. 1985 – coin with effigy of the ruler in right profile with radial crown and inscription on the obverse IMP GORDIANUS... FEL AUG. On the reverse PAX AUGUSTI.

Measurements: R: 2 cm.

Date: 3rd century

Fibulae

409. Inv. no. 1598 – bronze fibula, pin missing. The fibula is cicada-shaped.

Measurements: L: 2, 9 cm.¹⁶⁸

Date: 1st to 6th century

¹⁶⁶ The coin was found at a depth of 0.63 cm, next to building A, near the apse.

¹⁶⁷ Excavation log 1969, 25. The coin was found in building B.

¹⁶⁸ Excavation log 1969, 15.

410. Inv. br. 1881 – Bronzana pločasta fibula, elipsoidnog oblika, dosta oštećena. Vidljivi su tragovi plave staklene paste. Igla nedostaje.

Dimenzije: 3,2 × 2,4 cm.¹⁶⁹

Datacija: I st.

411. Inv. br. 1931 – Željezna fibula u obliku ptice, dosta uništena korozijom. Po sredini perforirana radi pričvršćivanja. Sastoji se od kljuna, glave, tijela i repa lepezasto raširenog.

Dimenzije: dužina: 7, 2 cm.

Datacija: I – VI st.

412. Inv. br. 1946 – Očuvana fibula. Opruga sa vanjskom tetivom i sa po pet spiralnih navoja sa svake strane. Iznad potporne grede trapezasta glava. Na sredini luka profiliran greben. Puni držač igle. Na kraju stope okruglo zadebljanje sa trnom na vrhu. (T. XIII, 2).

Dimenzije: dužina: 6 cm.

Datacija: I – III st.

413. Inv. br. 1947 – Bronzana fibula izrazito profiliranog tipa. Patinirana plemenitom patinom. Noga se završava dvostruko profiliranim dugmetastim ispupčenjem sa trnom na vrhu. Na luku su izvedena tri rebra. Glava opruge je spiralno izvedena i savijena.

Dimenzije: dužina: 5, 7 cm.

Datacija: II – III st.

414. Inv. br. 1955 – Fragmentirana bronzana fibula. Glava je oštećena, nedostaje igla. Na luku koji je kolutasto izvijen ima trostruko rebro, ispod koga je polukružno – listasto proširenje. Pripada tipu sidrastih fibula.

Dimenzije: dužina: 3, 9 cm.

Datacija: I – III st.

415. Inv. br. 1982 – Fragmentirana bronzana lučna fibula. Nedostaju igla i glava. Noga je proširena i završena sa plastičnim ispupčenjem.

Dimenzije: dužina: 5, 8 cm.

416. Inv. br. 1983 – Fragmentirana bronzana fibula, dosta oštećena. Nedostaju igla i noga. Na

410. Inv. no. 1881 – bronze plate fibula, elliptical, quite badly damaged, vestiges of blue glass paste. Pin missing.

Measurements: 3.2 × 2.4 cm.¹⁶⁹

Date: 1st century

411. Inv. no. 1931 – iron fibula in the shape of a bird, quite badly corroded. Perforated in the middle for attaching. Consists of the beak, head, body and fan-shaped tail.

Measurements: L: 7, 2 cm.

Date: 1st to 6th century

412. Inv. no. 1946 – well-preserved fibula. Spring with outer chord and five spirals on each side. Trapezoid head above the spring cover. Moulded ridge midway along the bow. Solid catch plate. Foot ends in a rounded knob topped by a spike. (T. XIII, 2).

Measurements: L: 6 cm.

Date: 1st to 3rd century

413. Inv. no. 1947 – bronze fibula of strongly profiled type. Fine patina. Foot ends in a double knob-like projection topped by a spike. Three ribs on the bow. The head of the spring is wound in a spiral and bent.

Measurements: L: 5.7 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

414. Inv. no. 1955 – broken bronze fibula. Head damaged, pin missing. The bow, bent almost into a circle, has a triple rib with a wider semi-circular leaf-like piece below. Anchor fibula in type.

Measurements: L: 3.9 cm.

Date: 1st to 3rd century

415. Inv. no. 1982 – broken bronze bow fibula. Head and pin missing. Foot widens and ends in a protuberance.

Measurements: L: 5.8 cm.

416. Inv. no. 1983 – broken bronze fibula, quite badly damaged. Pin and foot missing. The

¹⁶⁹ Dnevnik iskopavanja 1971, 9.

¹⁶⁹ Excavation log 1971, 9.

luku je plastično prstenasto proširenje odakle se prema glavi luk širi. Po sredini je žlijeb. Glava je u obliku trostruke spirale.

Dimenzije: dužina: 4, 6 cm.

417. Inv. br. 2007 – Fragmentirana bronzana fibula sa dugmetastim ispupčenjem na nozi. Profilirana je na vrhu luka. Glava je oštećena, a igla nedostaje. Pripada tipu sidrastih fibula.

Dimenzije: dužina: 6 cm.

Datacija: I – III st.

418. Inv. br. 2015 – Bronzana prstenasta fibula kružnog oblika sa spiralno savijenim krajevima i pokretnom iglom. (T. XIII, 3).

Dimenzije: R: 4 × 3,5 cm.

Datacija: III – IV st.

bow has a wider moulded annular section from which it widens towards the head, and a groove in the middle. The head is in the form of a triple spiral.

Measurements: L: 4.6 cm.

417. Inv. no. 2007 – broken bronze fibula with knob-like projection on the foot. Profiled at the top of the bow. Head damaged, pin missing. Anchor fibula in type.

Measurements: L: 6 cm.

Date: 1st to 3rd century

418. Inv. no. 2015 – bronze penannular fibula, round with spiral-wound ends and hinged pin. (T. XIII, 3).

Measurements: R: 4 × 3.5 cm.

Date: 3rd to 4th century

Nakit

Narukvice

419. Inv. br. 1607 – Fragment narukvice od staklene paste crne boje, polukružnog presjeka tijela, bez ukrasa. (T. XIII, 4)

Dimenzije: 3,2 × 0,9 cm.

Datacija: II – III st.

420. Inv. br. 1895 – Manji fragment narukvice od staklene paste crne boje i elipsoidnog presjeka.

Dimenzije: 3,3/0,6 cm.

Datacija: II – III st.

421. Inv. br. 1684 – Sasvim mali fragment narukvice od staklene paste sa nitima bijeložute, drap i tamnobraon boje u crnoj osnovi.

Datacija: II – III st.

422. Inv. br. 1924 – Bronzana narukvica trougaonog presjeka tijela, ukrašena na tri mjesta trostrukim urezanim linijama, ornament riblja kost. Patinirana plemenitom patinom.

Dimenzije: R: 7 cm, širina: 0,6 cm.

Datacija: IV st.

Jewellery

Bracelets

419. Inv. no. 1607 – fragment of a black glass-paste bracelet, semicircular in section, undecorated. (T. XIII, 4)

Measurements: 3.2 × 0.9 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

420. Inv. no. 1895 – small fragment of a black glass-paste bracelet, elliptical in section.

Measurements: 3.3/0.6 cm.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

421. Inv. no. 1684 – very small fragment of a glass-paste bracelet with whitish-yellow, beige and dark brown threads on a black ground.

Date: 2nd to 3rd century

422. Inv. no. 1924 – bronze bracelet, triangular in section, decorated in three places with triple incised lines in a herringbone pattern. Fine patina.

Measurements: R: 7 cm, W: 0.6 cm.

Date: 4th century.

Prsten, naušnica, privjesak i dugme

423. Inv. br. 1952 – Bronzani prsten sa kružnom glavom, pločastog oblika. Patinirano divljom patinom. Na ploči nema nikakvog ornamentalnog ukrasa.

Dimenzije: R: 2,3 cm; R: ploče plave 1,4 × 1,5 cm.
Datacija: II st.

424. Inv. br. 1578 – Bronzana naušnica oblika proste kružne halke oko koje je spiralno uvijena tanja bronzana žica. **(T. XIV, 1)**

Dimenzije: R: 1,5 cm.
Datacija: II st.

425. Inv. br. 2008 – Bronzani privjesak srcolikog oblika sa dvije polukružne perforacije – oblik polumjeseca ispod kojih je na sredini kružni udubljeni prostor uokviren dvostrukom koncentričnom kanelurom. Gornji dio privjeska je profiliran i razvijen u halku.

Dimenzije: 3,8 × 3,8 cm.
Datacija: I – II st.

426. Inv. br. 1938 – Bronzano veće dugme, konkavnog oblika.

Dimenzije: R: 2,6 cm.
Datacija: II st.

427. Inv. br. 2005 – Kameja od staklene paste, crne boje – medaljon. Uzduž je perforirana na dva mjesta, da bi se mogla objesiti o lanac ili drugi predmet. Prikazan je desni profil muškarca sa bujnom bradom i kovrčavom kosom. **(T. XIV, 2)**

Dimenzije: 1,7 × 1,7 cm.
Datacija: doba Antonina.

Sitni predmeti od kosti, kamena i keramike

428. Inv. br. 1593 – Fragmentirana ukrašena koštana igla, valjkastog presjeka tijela i glave u obliku turbana ukrašena urezanim rombovima. **(T. XIV, 4)**

Dimenzije: dužina: 5,7 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

429. Inv. br. 2012 – Glava sa dijelom tijela koštane igle. Glava je urađena u obliku turbana. **(T. XIV, 3)**

Datacija: II – IV st.

Ring, earring, pendant and button

423. Inv. no. 1952 – bronze ring with round, flat head. Rough patina. No decoration on the head.

Measurements: R: 2.3 cm; R: blue head
1.4 × 1.5 cm.
Date: 2nd century

424. Inv. no. 1578 – bronze earring in the form of a simple ring around which thin bronze wire has been wound in a spiral. **(T. XIV, 1)**

Measurements: R: 1.5 cm.
Date: 2nd century

425. Inv. no. 2008 – bronze heart-shaped pendant with two semicircular perforations in the shape of a crescent moon below which is a central round depression surrounded by a double concentric cannellure. The top part of the pendant is profiled and forms a ring,

Measurements: 3.8 × 3.8 cm.
Date: 1st to 2nd century

426. Inv. no. 1938 – large bronze concave button.

Measurements: R: 2.6 cm.
Date: 2nd century

427. Inv. no. 2005 – black glass-paste cameo medallion, perforated longitudinally in two places to be hung from a chain. Figure of a man in right profile with a luxuriant beard and curly hair. **(T. XIV, 2)**

Measurements: 1.7 × 1.7 cm.
Date: Antonine period.

Small bone, stone and pottery artefacts

428. Inv. no. 1593 – broken, decorated bone pin, cylindrical shaft and head in the form of a turban decorated with incised rhombs. **(T. XIV, 4)**

Measurements: L: 5.7 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

429. Inv. no. 2012 – head and part of the shaft of a bone pin, the head in the form of a turban. **(T. XIV, 3)**

Date: 2nd to 4th century

430. Inv. br. 1690 – Cijela koštana igla valjkastog presjeka tijela, prelomljena pri vrhu.

Dimenzije: dužina: 10,9 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

431. Inv. br. 1912 – Cijela koštana igla sa kružno izvedenom glavom, bez ornamentike. (T. XV, 1)

Dimenzije: dužina: 9,3 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

432. Inv. br. 1913 – Fragmentirana koštana igla sa glavom kružnog oblika, nedostaje vrh. (T. XV, 2)

Dimenzije: dužina: 7 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

433. Inv. br. 1984 – Koštani predmet elipsoidnog oblika, perforiran po sredini i ukrašen koncentričnim krugovima – šest krugova. Gornja površina je fino obrađena i uglačana, dok je donja površina neobrađena. (T. XV, 3)

Dimenzije: dužina: 8,5 cm; širina: 2,4 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

434. Inv. br. 1710 – Fragment jelenjeg roga – obrađen, po sredini perforiran, nedostaje vrh.

Dimenzije: dužina: 3,8 cm.
Datacija: II – IV st.

435. Inv. br. 1588 – Kameni pršljen kružnog pločastog oblika. Po sredini perforiran. Jedna strana ukrašena sa pet zrakasto izvedenih krakova koji polaze od perforirane rupe ka obodu. (T. XI, 4)

Dimenzije: R: 3, 7 cm.

436. Inv. br. 2051 – Dva keramička pršljena kružnog presjeka po sredini perforirana, mrkosive boje, grublje fature. (T. XI, 2, 3)

R1: 2,9 cm; R2: 3 cm.
Datacija: I – II st.

430. Inv. no. 1690 – complete bone pin, cylindrical shaft, broken near the tip.

Measurements: L: 10.9 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

431. Inv. no. 1912 – complete bone pin with round head, undecorated. (T. XV, 1)

Measurements: L: 9.3 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

432. Inv. no. 1913 – broken bone pin with round head, tip missing. (T. XV, 2)

Measurements: L: 7 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

433. Inv. no. 1984 – bone object, elliptical with central perforation and decoration of six concentric circles, the upper surface finely worked and polished, the lower left unfinished. (T. XV, 3)

Measurements: L: 8.5 cm; W: 2.4 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

434. Inv. no. 1710 – part of a deer antler, worked, perforated in the middle, tip missing.

Measurements: L: 3.8 cm.
Date: 2nd to 4th century

435. Inv. no. 1588 – round, flattish stone whorl with central hole, one side decorated with five rays extending from the hole towards the edge. (T. XI, 4)

Measurements: R: 3, 7 cm.

436. Inv. no. 2051 – two round pottery whorls with central hole, dark grey in colour, coarse body. (T. XI, 2, 3)

R1: 2.9 cm; R2: 3 cm.
Date: 1st to 2nd century

Skraćenice / Abbreviations

A.P.	– Arheološki pregled, Beograd.
BSAA.	– Boletín del seminario de estudios de arte y arqueología. Valladolid.
CBI.	– Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja Akademije nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine. Sarajevo.
ČGT.	– Članci i građa za kulturnu istoriju Istočne Bosne. Tuzla.
Hist. Ant.	– Histria Antiqua. Pula.
GZM.	– Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo.
GGMS.	– Godišnjak Gradskog muzeja Sisak. Sisak.
IMGZ.	– Izdanja Muzeja grada Zenice. Zenica.
Izdanja HAD.	– Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva.
JoGS.	– Journal of Glass studies. New York.
MaA.	– Macedoniae acta Archaeologica. Skopje.
O. Z.	– Osječki zbornik. Osijek.
VAMZ.	– Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu.
VAHD.	– Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku. Split.
WMBH.	– Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina. Wien.

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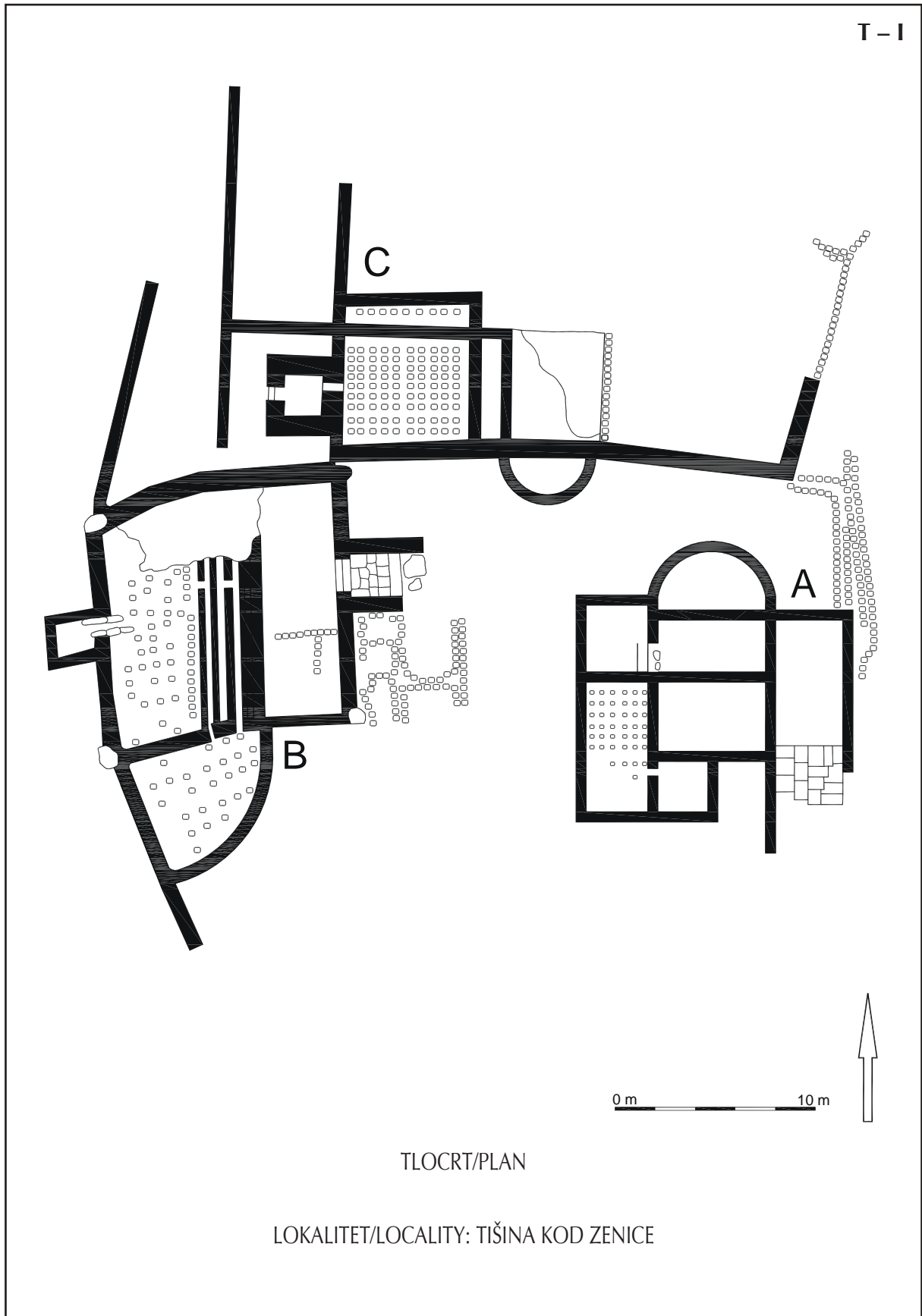
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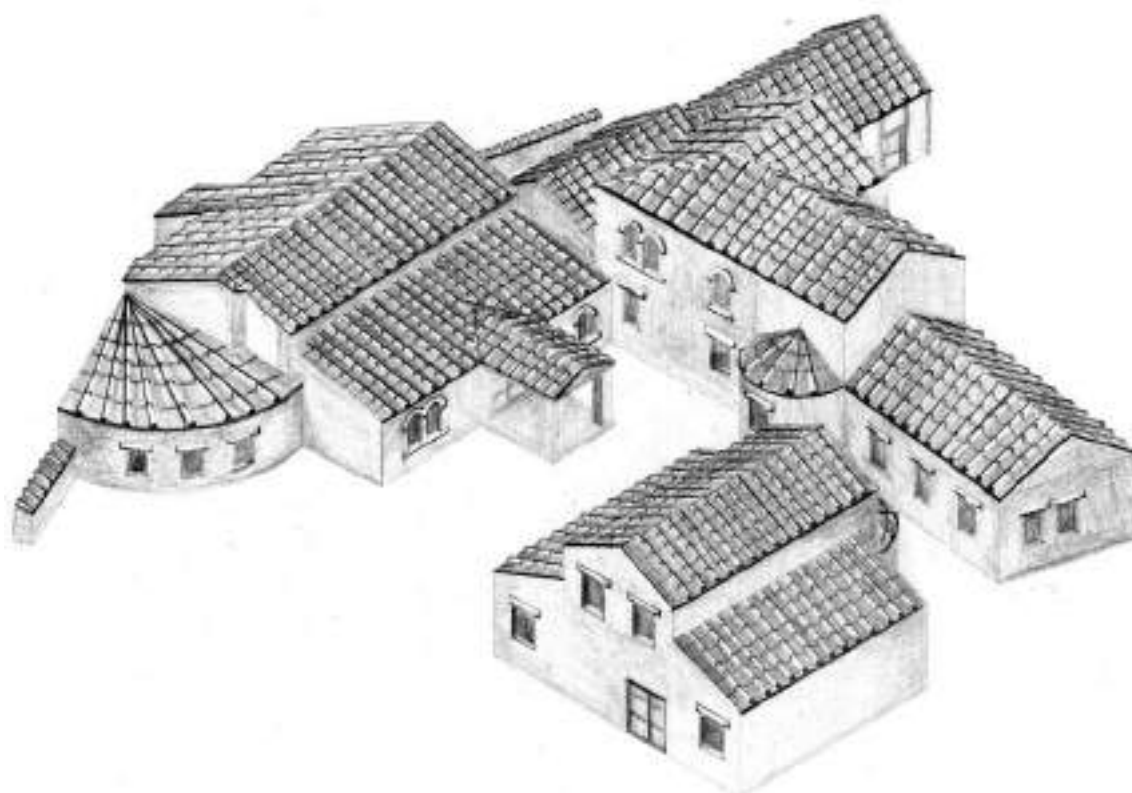
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T – II



MOGUĆA REKONSTRUKCIJA / POSSIBLE RECONSTRUCTION

LOKALITET/LOCALITY: TIŠINA KOD ZENICE

T – III



01. Pejzaž



02. Lokalitet – detalj



03. Apsida – objekt "a"



04. Profil zida – objekt "a"

T – IV



01. Stup



02. Suspensurae hipokausta



03. Pogled na cijeli lokalitet

T – V



01. Detalj podnice sa bazom stupa

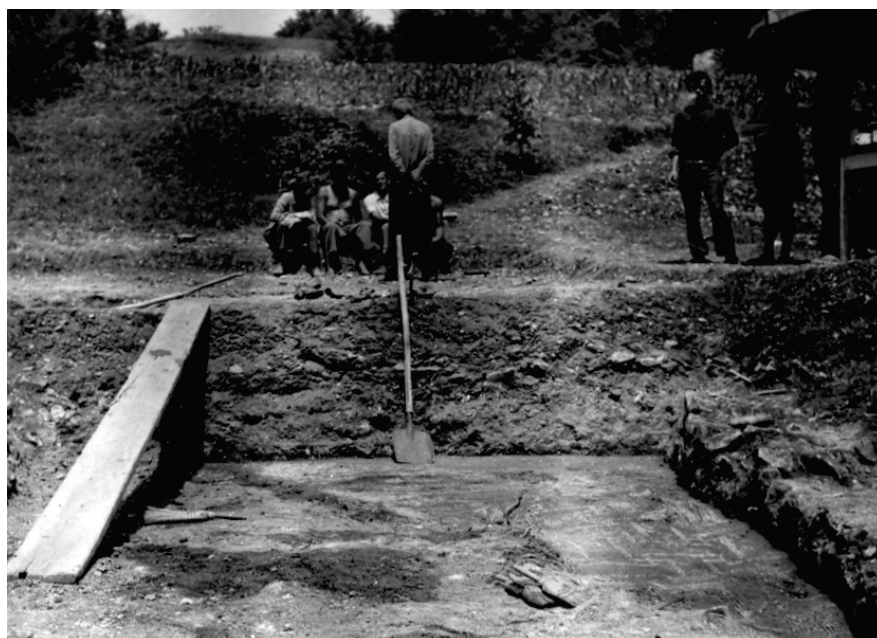


02. Ploče



03. Objekat "a"

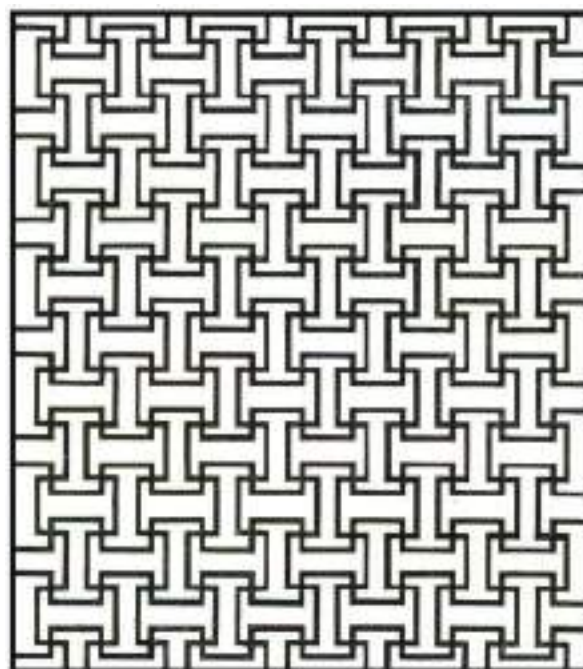
T – VI



01. Prostorija sa mozaikom



02. Mozaik



03. Rekonstrukcija mozaika

T – VII



01



02



03



04



05



06



07



09



08



10



11



12



13

T – VIII



01

40



02

1627



03

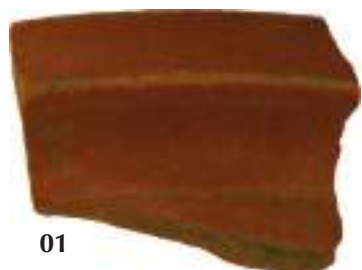
1626/1



04

1626/2

T – IX



1812



1859



1577



T – X



03



T – XI



01

1781



02



03

2051



04

T – XII



01



02



03



04

T – XIII



T – XIV

01



1578

02



2005

03



2012

04



1593

T – XV



01

1912



02

1913



03

1984



04

1809

T – XVI



1555

01



2025

02

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Novootkriveni antički epigrafski spomenik iz Ljusine kod Bosanske Krupe

The newly-discovered Antique epigraphic monument from Ljusina near Bosanska Krupa

Originalni naučni / znanstveni rad
UDK: 903.2 (497.6 Ljusina) " 639/00 "

Original scientific paper
UDK: 903.2 (497.6 Ljusina) " 639/00 "

Rad se bavi epigrafskim spomenikom pronađenim na lokalitetu Ljusina u blizini Bosanske Krupe. Sam spomenik se nalazi u vrlo teškom stanju. Na očuvanom lijevom dijelu spomenika je vidljiv dio natpisa u tri reda teksta, pisan latinskom kapitalom i uokviren ramom. Sudeći po sačuvanom dijelu teksta, epigrafski spomenik se podiže supružniku. Moguće je pretpostaviti da se na lokalitetu nalaze i drugi veći fragmenti epigrafskog spomenika.

Ključne riječi: epigrafski spomenik, antičko doba, Mezeji, Japodi.

The paper deals with the epigraphic monument found at the locality of Ljusina near Bosanska Krupa. The monument is in a very bad condition. The left side of the monument is preserved, with a visible part of an inscription in three lines of text, written in Latin capitals, bordered. According to the preserved part of the text, the monument was built for a spouse. It is possible that some more larger fragments of the epigraphic monument could be found at this locality.

Key words: epigraphic monument, Antiquity, the Moesi, the Iapodes

Početak 2011. god. u posjed Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine u Sarajevu je došao epigrafski spomenik otkriven na lokalitetu Ljusina, na putu od Bosanske Krupe prema Bosanskoj Otoci (bliže drugospomenutom lokalitetu), a sa lijeve strane rijeke Une. Zanimljivo je da se do ovog natpisa došlo zahvaljujući tome što su studenti Katedre za arheologiju u Sarajevu na jednom portalu (www.pik.ba; riječ je o aukcijsko – kupoprodajnom oglasniku) pronašli informaciju po kojoj se nudi na prodaju epigrafski spomenik i reljef iz antičkog perioda. Nakon određenog vremena, zahvaljujući brznoj reakciji Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine, epigrafski spomenik i reljef su spašeni eventualnog izuzeća van teritorija Bosne i Hercegovine i preneseni u depo Muzeja.

Već nakon letimičnog uvida jasno se može razaznati da je riječ o donjem desnom fragmentu stele sa epitafom. Nažalost, veći dio epigrafskog

In early 2001 an epigraphic monument discovered at Ljusina, on the Bosanska Krupa to Bosanska Otaka road, close to the latter, on the left bank of the River Una, came into the possession of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo. This was thanks to students of the Archaeology Division in Sarajevo found an auction announcement on a web site (www.pik.ba) with sale details of an epigraphic monument and relief dating from Roman times. Thanks to the prompt reaction of the National Museum, the epigraphic monument and relief were eventually acquired for the country and taken to the Museum.

Even a cursory examination reveals that the piece consists of the lower right-hand part of a stele with an epitaph. Unfortunately, much of both the epigraphic monument and the epitaph itself are missing. The fragment is 11 cm thick and 83 cm long, broken along the left-hand side and top, with

spomenika i teksta je izgubljen. Pronađeni fragment stele je debljine 11 cm i dužine 83 cm, sa lijeve strane i u gornjem dijelu odlomljen. Sa desne strane je očuvan rub spomenika do visine od 35 cm, dok je lijevi, odlomljeni rub nešto viši i iznosi 45 cm. Desno od okvira natpisa nalazi se pravougaono polje izvedeno uklesavanjem trouglova, od kojih svaki u sredini sadrži po jedan krug. Dva naspramna trougla čine manji prvougaonik, dok kroz cijelo polje prolazi dijagonalna greda koja ga ponovo dijeli na dva trougla kao dvije dijagonalne polovine polja. Natpisni dio i polje sa ornamentima su oivičeni trakom u vidu konopca. Na desnom kraju spomenika je uočljiv i dio u vidu stuba. Na očuvanom desnom dijelu spomenika je vidljiv dio natpisa u tri reda teksta, pisan latinskom kapitalom i uokviren ramom:

1. red = ANI • AN?•V ? S možda (sa ligaturama) VIVVS. Slova u prvom redu su najmanje prepoznatljiva. Kod pojedinih slova su vidljivi samo donji dijelovi.
2. red = VS•CONI (nejasno je da li se između N i I nailazi na ligature)•CA/.
3. red = P? • S I T

Sudeći po sačuvanom dijelu teksta, epigrafski spomenik se podiže supružniku. Zanimljiva je i moguće značajna prisutnost ligatura koje su vjerovatno korištene radi uštede prostora.

I pored toga što je riječ samo o većem fragmentu epigrafskog spomenika, njegova vrijednost je iznimna zbog toga što potiče sa područja koje je, na osnovu dosadašnjeg znanja i istraživanja, siromašno ne samo epigrafskim spomenicima nego općenito nalazima koji bi se datirali u antičko doba. Po Arheološkom leksikonu Bosne i Hercegovine, u zoni Ljusine i u bližoj okolici (koja pripada krupskoj i cazinskoj općini) poznati su naredni lokaliteti na kojima su evidentirani nalazi iz antičkog perioda: na lokalitetu Gromile u Ljusini¹ evidentirani su ostaci građevinske djelatnosti i (na osnovu arheoloških istraživanja iz augusta 1957. god.) sigurno postojanje najmanje jedne veće antičke građevine sa prostorijama od kojih su neke imale i hipokauste. Oko 500 do 600 metara jugoistočno od ove impozantne građevine otkriveno je i ložište ciglarske peći.² Prostor na

the right-hand edge surviving to a height of 35 cm and the left-hand, broken edge slightly higher, at 45 cm. To the right of the frame of the epitaph is a rectangular panel of carved triangles, each with a circle in the middle; each pair of facing triangles composes a small rectangle, while across the entire panel runs a diagonal band dividing the panel into two triangular halves. The epitaph area and the decorated panel are surrounded by a cable twist. Part of a column can also be seen on the right-hand end of the monument. The epitaph on the surviving right-hand part of the monument consists of three lines of text in Roman capitals, set in a frame:

- Line 1: ANI • AN?•V ? S perhaps (with ligatures) VIVVS. The letters on the first line are hard to decipher, with only the lower half of some of the letters visible.
- Line 2: VS•CONI (it is not clear whether there is a ligature between the N and the I)•CA/.
- Line 3: P? • S I T

The surviving text suggests that the epigraphic monument was that of a husband and wife. The presence of ligatures, probably used to save space, is interesting and perhaps significant.

Even though the piece consists only of a sizeable fragment of an epigraphic monument, it is of outstanding importance in that it comes from an area that research to date has shown to be very poor not only in epigraphic monuments but in artefacts of any kind dating from the Roman period. According to the *Archaeological Lexicon of Bosnia and Herzegovina*, the following sites with Roman finds have been identified in and around Ljusina (in Krupa and Cazin municipalities). The remains of building activity have been recorded at Gromile in Ljusina¹, and (on the basis of archaeological excavations in August 1957) there was undoubtedly at least one sizeable Roman building in which some of the rooms had hypocausts. A brick kiln was discovered about 500 or 600 m south-east of this imposing building.² The place where the Ljusina

¹ AL BiH, 01.116.

² Radimsky 1892, 222-223: "On the left bank of the Ljusina brook, there are numerous foundations of Roman buildings in Ljusina at Gromila, not far from Pero Mihić's house, while in the surrounding thickets are the scattered pieces of Roman bricks, and particularly of

¹ AL BiH, 01.116.

² Radimsky 1892, 222-223: "Na lijevoj obali potoka Ljusine, viggaju se naime u Ljusini, i to na zemljištu Gromili, nedaleko kuće Pere Mihića, često temelji rimskih zgrada,

utoku potoka Ljusine u rijeku Unu se i danas naziva Ciglana. Na lokalitetu Ivanjska³ je evidentirana antička nekropola iz IV st. n. e.,⁴ a na lokalitetu Rajinovača⁵ nađeni su tragovi građevinske djelatnosti i grob sa priložima (koji se datira u IV st. n. e.).⁶ Nešto dalje prema zapadu, na lokalitetu Gredina, Stijena – Podgredina⁷ evidentiran je skeletni antički grob.⁸ Po svemu sudeći velika je vjerovatnoća da je fragment epigrafskog spomenika na neki način povezan sa lokalitetom Gromile u Ljusini, odnosno sa antičkom naseobinskom aglomeracijom koja se tamo nalazila i ljudima koji su u njoj prebivali. Ako fragment epigrafskog spomenika potiče sa Gromile, onda je njegov pronalazak od velike važnosti jer se na njemu mogu detektirati najmanje dvije osobnosti koje su prebivale u antičkoj Ljusini.

Krupsko područje se nalazi između većih koncentracija epigrafskih natpisa u sanskoj zoni (Japra – Ljubija) na sjeveroistoku i bišćanske zone na jugozapadu. Koncentracija epigrafskih spomenika u Japri i sanskom području je vrlo često povezana sa rudarskom aktivnošću na ovom prostoru, kao i sa narodnosnom zajednicom Mezeja.⁹ Bišćansko područje je opet uvezano sa teritorijem Japoda, odnosno sa jednim od bitnijih središta (političkog, društvenog i kulturnog značenja) japodske narodnosne zajednice.¹⁰ Po svemu sudeći, krupsko područje je bilo granična zona između Japoda (koji su pripadali skardonitanskom konventu provincije Dalmacije) i Mezeja (koji su pripadali salonitanskom

brook joins the River Una is still called Ciglana (brickworks). An Antique necropolis of the 4th century CE³ was discovered at Ivanjska⁴ and evidence of building works and a grave with grave goods, also dating from the 4th century CE,⁵ was found at Rajinovača⁶. Somewhat further to the west, a Roman grave⁷ with inhumation was found at Gredina, Stijena – Podgredina⁸. It seems very likely that the fragment of the epigraphic monument is somehow associated with Gromile in Ljusina – with the Roman settlement and the people who lived there. If it did indeed come from Gromile, it is of great importance, since it provides evidence of at least two people living in Roman Ljusina.

The Krupa area lies between a major concentration of epigraphic inscriptions in the Sana region (Japra – Ljubija) to the north-east and the Bišćani region to the south-west. The concentration of epigraphic monuments in Japra and the Sana region is often associated with mining activity, and with the Maezaei ethnic group.⁹ The Bišćani area is associated with Iapod territory, or to be precise with one of the major political, social and religious centres of the Iapodes tribe.¹⁰ The Krupa area seems to have been a border zone between the Iapodes (who belonged to the Scardonitan conventus of the province of Dalmatia) and the Maezaei (who belonged to the Salonitan conventus), which may explain why there

a njive i šikare uokolo u duljini od 300 m i širini od 80 m po prilici sasvim su zasute komadima rimske opeke, naročito žurnjaka. Tu mora dakle da je stajala čitava rimska naseobina...”; Patsch 1898, 496 : “Najbliža su rimskih podorišta prema zapadu u selima Buševiću na desnoj, i Ljusini na lijevoj obali Une, oba su već u kotaru krupskom...”; Čremošnik 1959, 137-147: “Nalazi keramike, zatim brojni nalazi alatki i poljoprivrednog oruđa upućuju na to da su otkopane prostorije dio velikog imanja, koje je služilo i za eksploataciju okolnog zemljišta. Zgrada, koliko se po sadašnjim nalazima može suditi, potiče iz kasne antike.”; Raunig 1974, 203-214; Arheološki leksikon BiH, tom II, 1988, 20 (natuknica B. Raunig).

³ AL BiH 01.121.

⁴ AL BiH, tom II, 1988, 21 (natuknica I. Čremošnik).

⁵ AL BiH 01.180.

⁶ AL BiH, tom II, 1988, 24 (natuknica I. Marijanović).

⁷ AL BiH 01.113.

⁸ Raunig 1974a, 295-300 + Tbl. I.

⁹ O epigrafskim spomenicima sa područja Japre, Sane i Plive v. Mesihović 2011, 293-361

¹⁰ O epigrafskim spomenicima sa bišćanskog područja v. Mesihović 2011, 362-450

grooved tiles, over a length of 300 m and a width of 80 cm. There must therefore have been an entire Roman settlement there...”; Patsch 1898, 496: “They are closest to the Roman ruins to the West, in the villages of Bušević on the right bank and Ljusina on the left bank of the Una, both in the Krupa district...”; Čremošnik 1959, 137-147: “The pottery finds, and the many finds of tools and agricultural implements, suggest that the excavated areas were part of a large estate, which also farmed the surrounding land. As far as can be judged from the finds to date, the building dates from Late Antiquity.”; Raunig 1974, 203-214; Arheološki leksikon BiH, tom II, 1988, 20 (entry by B. Raunig).

³ AL BiH, tom II, 1988, 21 (entry by I. Čremošnik).

⁴ AL BiH 01.121.

⁵ AL BiH, tom II, 1988, 24 (entry by I. Marijanović).

⁶ AL BiH 01.180.

⁷ Raunig 1974a, 295-300 + Tbl. I.

⁸ AL BiH 01.113.

⁹ For the epigraphic monuments from the Japra, Sana and Pliva region, see Mesihović 2011, 293-361

¹⁰ For the epigraphic monuments from the Bišćani area, see Mesihović 2011, 362-450

konventu), što bi možda objašnjavalo da nema značajne koncentracije antičkih nalaza.

Nažalost, zbog specifičnosti nalaza za sada je teško utvrditi ne samo kontekst nalaza nego i precizno mjesto samoga nalaza. Međutim, čisto logički se može pretpostaviti da nije riječ o izoliranom dijelu epigrafskog spomenika, nego da se u neposrednoj blizini nalaze i drugi nalazi antičke provenijencije. Moguće je pretpostaviti da se na lokalitetu nalaze i drugi veći fragmenti epigrafskog spomenika.

is no significant concentration of Roman remains there.

Unfortunately, given the circumstances in which this artefact was found, it is hard to identify not only its context, but also the exact spot where it was discovered. The logical conclusion, however, is that it was not an isolated example of an epigraphic monument, but that there are other remains of Roman provenance nearby, perhaps including other sizeable fragments of epigraphic monuments.

Skraćenice / Abbreviations

AL BiH	– Arheološki leksikon BiH
GZM	– Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja, Sarajevo
GZM N.S.	– Nova serija GZM od 1945 sv. I – VIII; od sv. IX (1954 god.) naziva se N.S. Arheologija (izdanje Glasnika Zemaljskog muzeja posvećeno arheologiji), Sarajevo
ZKM	– Zbornik krajiških muzeja, Banja Luka

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ARHEOLOŠKI LEKSIKON BIH	1988 – <i>Arheološki leksikon Bosne i Hercegovine</i> , tom I- III; mape 1-4; Sarajevo Zemaljski muzej
I. ČREMOŠNIK	1959 – Iskopavanje u Ljusini, <i>GZM, N.S. Arheologija, XIV</i> , 137-147+Tbl. I – IV.
S. MESIHOVIĆ	2011 – ANTIQVI HOMINES BOSNAE, Filozofski fakultet, Sarajevo
C. PATSCH	1898 – Rimski nalazišta u kotaru novljanskom, <i>GZM, god. X, sv. 3</i> , 493-501
V. RADIMSKY	1892 – Arheološke crtice, <i>GZM god. IV, sv. 2 – 3</i> . 117-127; 221-230
B. RAUNIG	1974 – Rimski ciglarski peč u selu Ljusina kod Bosanske Krupe, <i>ZKM VI</i> , 203-214
	1974a – Antički skeletni dječji grob iz Podgradine kod Cazina, <i>GZM, N.S. Arheologija, XXIX</i> , 295-301 + Tbl. I.



Sl. 1. *Vertikalni pogled na gornju stranu spomenika*
Fig. 1. *View of the monument from above*



Sl. 2. *Prednja strana spomenika*
Fig. 2. *Front of the monument*



Sl. 3. *Epigrafski tekst*
Fig. 3. *Epigraphic text*

Rezultati arheoloških iskopavanja vjerskog i obrazovnog kompleksa Kalin hadži-Alije u Sarajevu

Results of archaeological excavations of the Kalin hajji-Alija religious and educational complex in Sarajevo

Originalni naučni / znanstveni rad

UDK: 904:726.2+726.8 (497.6 Sarajevo) " 15/17 "

Arheološko istraživanje kompleksa Kalin hadži-Alije u centru Sarajeva još je jedan prilog boljem upoznavanju sa građevinskom i urbanom tradicijom osmanskog doba. Kompleks je sagrađen oko sredine XVI, a obnovljen je početkom XVIII stoljeća. Uz džamiju sa kamenim minaretom nalazilo se prostrano groblje, česma i mekteb. Kompleks je srušen 1947. godine skoro do samih temelja objekata, groblje je ekshumirano, a površina smanjena i devastirana gradnjom novih zgrada i polaganjem potrebne infrastrukture. U ovom radu su dati svi relevantni podaci dobijeni iskopavanjem, uz prikupljeni dokumentacioni materijal. Težište su rada arheološki podaci kombinirani sa dokumentacijom o izgledu građevina. Historijski podaci koji su objavljeni na više mjesta dati su samo za potrebe obrade nadenih objekata.

Gljučne riječi: Džamija, mekteb, urbanizacija dijela Sarajeva u XV i XVI stoljeću

Original scientific paper

UDK: 904:726.2+726.8 (497.6 Sarajevo) " 15/17 "

The archaeological investigation of the Kalin Hajji Alija complex in central Sarajevo is yet another contribution to increasing our knowledge of the architectural and urban tradition of the Ottoman period. The complex was built about the middle of the 16th century, and restored in the early 18th. Alongside the mosque, with a stone minaret, were a large burial ground, a fountain and a mekteb. The complex was razed almost to the foundations in 1947, the burial ground was exhumed, and the area was reduced and devastated by the construction of new buildings and the installation of the necessary infrastructure. This paper provides all relevant data obtained from the excavations, together with the assembled documentation. The focus of the paper is on the archaeological data combined with documentation on the appearance of the building. The historical details that have been published in several places are given purely for the purpose of describing the structures that were uncovered.

Key words: mosque, mekteb, urbanization of part of Sarajevo in the 15th and 16th centuries

Uvod

Početak uređenja parkovskog prostora pod tadašnjim nazivom "Prešernov park" od strane slovenačkih donatora u jesen 2004. u površinskom iskopu nađen je gornji dio jednog nišana. Radovi na sređivanju lokacije su obustavljeni. Usljedila su arheološka iskopavanja u cilju pronalazanja lokacije ostataka džamije, mekteba i eventualnih ostataka mezarja na lokaciji, koju

Introduction

When work began on laying out the park area then known as "Prešernov park," financed by Slovenian donors, in the autumn of 2004, the top part of a nišan tombstone was found in a surface trench. The works were suspended, and archaeological excavations were conducted with a view to discovering the remains of a mosque, mekteb and

sa juga i zapada omeđuju dvije stambene zgrade izgrađene poslije rušenja kompleksa 1947. godine, a sa sjevera i istoka ulice – Branilaca Sarajeva i Kulovićeve. (Plan 1). Terenska iskopavanja izvršena su u dvije faze (2005. i 2007. godine). U međuvremenu je preimenovan lokalitet u "Harem Kalin hadži-Alijine džamije".¹ U prvoj fazi otkriveni su temelji džamije, a u drugoj mekteba. Iako su na geodetskim planovima iz 1882. i 1901. godine označene lokacije džamije i mekteba, gradnjom dvije velike zgrade prostor na kojem se nalazio nekadašnji vakuf Kalin hadži-Alije je donekle izmijenjen, djelomično uništen i smanjen, što je otežalo ubiciranje objekata (Prilog 1).

U radu su izneseni opisi otkrivenih dijelova objekata i rezultati do kojih se došlo tokom arheoloških istraživanja te osnovni historijski podaci u cilju upotpunjavanja predodžbe o ovom kompleksu.²

Vjerski i obrazovni kompleks Kalin hadži-Alijine džamije nalazi se na južnoj strani ulice Branilaca Sarajeva, na raskršću ove i Kulovićeve ulice. Prema planovima iz 1882. do II svjetskog rata, između istočnog ruba kompleksa i Kulovićeve ulice bile su kuće i bašte (Plan 1). Na jugu je kompleks također graničio s privatnim posjedima koji su se protezali do ulice Čajirdžik (u austrougarsko vrijeme Krzmanova ulica), a po kojoj se ova mahala

possible burial ground on the site, which is bounded to the south and west by two blocks of flats built after the demolition of the complex in 1947, and to the north and east by Branilaca Sarajeva and Kulovićeve Streets (Plan 1). The excavations were carried out in two phases (2005 and 2007), and in the meantime, the site was renamed "Harem of the Kalin Hajji Alija Mosque."¹ The foundations of the mosque were uncovered in phase I, and those of the mekteb in phase II. Though the positions of the mosque and mekteb are marked on the geodetic plans of 1882 and 1901, the construction of two large buildings altered the site where the vakuf of Kalin Hajji Alija once stood, destroying part of it and reducing the remainder in size, making it harder to locate the buildings (Drawing 1).

This paper describes the parts of the buildings that were uncovered and the findings of the archaeological investigations, along with basic historical details, with a view to providing a fuller picture of the complex.²

The religious and educational complex of the Kalin Hajji Alija Mosque is on the south side of Branilaca Sarajeva Street, at its junction with Kulovićeve Street. According to plans ranging in date from 1882 to World War II, there were houses and gardens between the eastern edge of the complex and Kulovićeve Street (Plan 1). To the south, the complex was also bounded by private properties, which extended to

¹ Prvu fazu istraživanja je izvela od 1. do 17. 9. 2005. godine ekipa Zemaljskog muzeja BiH pod rukovodstvom dipl. arheologa Margite Gavrilović, muzejskog savjetnika, uz asistenciju mr. Adnana Busuladžića, arheologa, Slobodana Kudre, višeg arhitektonskog tehničara, koji je izradio i tehničku dokumentaciju, i Hame Karkelje, preparatora i konzervatora. Fotografije Margita Gavrilović.

Druga faza istraživanja, koja je trajala je od 21. 09. do 02. 10. 2007. godine, povjerena je stručnjacima Muzeja Sarajeva, arheolozima istraživačima Adnanu Muftareviću i Mirsadu Avdiću sa ekipom: historičar Moamer Šehović, kustos Hamdija Dizdar, Aida Sulejmanagić, dipl. ing. arh. i konzervator Taib Kešmer. Zahvaljujemo se arheolozima A. Muftareviću i M. Avdiću na ustupljenom materijalu i pomoći pri objavi. Fotografije su svih članova ekipe.

² Pri izradi rada autorica se služila "Završnim elaboratom sondažnih arheoloških iskopavanja na lokalitetu Harem Kalin hadži-Alijine džamije", Sarajevo, april 2006. godine koji je izradila odgovorni istraživač Margita Gavrilović i Elaboratom sondažnih arheoloških istraživanja "Harem Kalin hadži-Alijine džamije", 16. stoljeće, autori stručnjaci Muzeja Sarajeva, na čelu sa Adnanom Muftarevićem, Sarajevo 2007.

¹ The first phase of the investigations was conducted from 1 to 17 September 2005 by a team from the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, led by archaeologist Margita Gavrilović BSc., museum consultant, with the assistance of archaeologist Adnan Busuladžić MSc., senior architectural technician Slobodan Kudra, who also compiled the technical documentation, and Hamo Karkelja, preparator and conservator. Photographs by Margita Gavrilović.

The second phase of the investigations was conducted from 21 September to 2 October 2007 by experts from the Sarajevo Museum, archaeologists Adnan Muftarević and Mirsad Avdić with their team: historian Moamer Šehović, curator Hamdija Dizdar, architect Aida Sulejmanagić BSc, and conservator Taib Kešmer. Our thanks to archaeologists A. Muftarević and M. Avdić for making material available and assisting in its publication. Photographs by all members of the team.

² The author of this paper drew on the Final Report on Test Archaeological Excavations on the site of the Harem of the Kalin Hajji Alija Mosque, Sarajevo, April 2007, compiled by the lead researcher, Margita Gavrilović, and the Report on Test Archaeological Excavations of the Harem of the Kalin Hajji Alija Mosque, 16th Century, by experts from the Sarajevo Museum, led by Adnan Muftarević, Sarajevo 2007.

među stanovništvom zvala Čajirdžik.³ Ova je mala transverzalna saobraćajnica između Šenoine i Kulovićeve ulice ukinuta iza II svjetskog rata pri gradnji spomenutih stambenih zgrada, koje su zahvatile južne i zapadne rubove kompleksa. Manji dio sjevernog ruba kompleksa je prekriven pločnikom pri proširenju ulice Branilaca Sarajeva (Prilog 1). Za pripremu gradnje spomenutih zgrada, objekti (džamija, mekteb, groblje, česme i ogradni zidovi), srušeni su skoro do temelja, a preko nekadašnjeg vakufskog zemljišta provedena je infrastrukturna mreža i prilazne staze uz zgrade u širini od 3 m. Sve to je još više oštetilo ostatke džamije i mekteba.

Tok i metoda iskopavanja

Nakon proučavanja planova iz 1882., 1901. i 1937. godine i plana ovog dijela grada poslije gradnje zgrada, uz pomoć Borislava Spasojevića, dipl. ing. arh., u prvoj kampanji postavljene su u okviru arheološke mreže tri sonde (veličine 5 × 5 m) na mjestima za koja se pretpostavljalo da se nalaze krajnji ostaci zidova džamije, tj. u zapadnom dijelu slobodnog prostora. Cijeli kompleks je bio zatrpan skoro do nivoa temelja oba objekta nasipanom smeđom zemljom u kojoj su bili ulomci cigle i lomljenog kamena, te pokretnih nalaza. Nasip je bio, u zavisnosti od visine očuvanosti zidova i podnica objekata, debljine u prosjeku od oko 0,50 do 0,80 m, pa i više.⁴

Na mjestima na kojima se pretpostavljalo da se nalaze ostaci džamije postavljene su međusobno paralelne sonde br. 1 i 2 na udaljenosti od oko 15 m, dok je sonda br. 3 postavljena za oko 10 m istočno od sonde 2. Ustanovljeno je da su na pojedinim dijelovima terena ispod kojih se nalazila džamija, tokom početnih radova uređenja parka 2004. godine izlivena betonske ploče, debljine do 0,20 m, koje su uklonjene uz pomoć mehanizacije. Otkrivanjem dijela jugozapadnog zida džamije u sondi br. 2 nastavljeni

Čajirdžik Street (Krzmanova Street, in the Austro-Hungarian period), after which the mahala was also known by local residents as Čajirdžik.³ This small side road between Šenoina and Kulovićeva Street disappeared after World War II when the blocks of flats were built on the southern and western edges of the complex. Part of the northern edge of the complex was covered over by the pavement when Branilaca Sarajeva Street was widened (Drawing 1). To make way for the blocks of flats, the structures (the mosque, mekteb, burial ground, fountain and boundary walls) were razed almost to the foundations, and an infrastructure network and three-metre-wide access paths to the new buildings were laid over the former vakuf site, all of which inflicted further damage on the remains of the mosque and mekteb.

Course and method of the excavations

After studying the 1882, 1901 and 1937 plans and the plan of this part of the city after the erection of the blocks of flats, with the assistance of architect Borislav Spasojević BSc., the first campaign began with the laying out of an archaeological grid within which three 5 × 5 m trenches were dug where it was assumed that the remains of the mosque walls would be found, in the western part of the open space. The entire complex was buried almost level with the foundations under a deposit of brown soil with brickbats and broken stone, together with movable finds. The soil deposit varied in thickness from about 0.50 to 0.80 m or more, according to the height of the surviving walls and floor of the building.⁴

The trenches were sunk where it was assumed the remains of the mosque would be found: trenches 1 and 2 were sunk about 15 m apart, with trench 3 about 10 m east of trench 2. During initial layout works on the park in 2004, concrete slabs up to 0.20 m thick were found to have been cast on parts of the site where the mosque had stood; these were removed with the help of machinery. Once part of the south-west wall of the mosque had been discovered in trench 2, work continued

³ Mala livada, turski çayrdıcık, a u literaturi se, pored Čajirdžik različito pisala: Čairdžik, Čeirdžik, Čejirdžik (Kemura 1911, 193; Kreševljaković 1939, 99; Šabanović 1965, 49; Bejtić 1973, 422; Mujezinović, 1974, 505).

⁴ Tačni podaci se ne mogu dobiti jer je teren bio devastiran i ugažen.

³ A small meadow, Turkish çayrdıcık, variously spelled Čajirdžik, Čairdžik, Čeirdžik, Čejirdžik in the literature (Kemura 1911, 193; Kreševljaković 1939, 99; Šabanović 1965, 49; Bejtić 1973, 422; Mujezinović, 1974, 505).

⁴ The site had been devastated and trodden down, making it impossible to obtain accurate data.

su radovi na praćenju temeljnih zidova objekta i prilazne kaldrmisane staze, bez striktnog uklanjanja u kvadratnu mrežu (Prilog 2). Primijenjen je sistem ručnog iskopa izveden širokim frontalnim iskopom po slojevima dubine 0,15 m. Uz vanjske strane zidova objekta, gdje je to bilo moguće, iskopani su uski rovovi po mehaničkim slojevima do dubine zdravice. Sa unutrašnje strane iskopan je rov uz očuvani dio jugozapadnog zida, uz mali dio sjeveroistočnog zida, te uz sjeverozapadni zid prostora za vjernike. Iznad kaldrmisanog prilaza džamiji, trijema i u sjeveroistočnom dijelu uz zidove prostora za vjernike skinuta je zemlja do pojave kaldrme, ostataka zidova i podnica, dok je u većem dijelu tog prostora ostala nasuta zemlja (sl. 01, 02.)

U drugoj kampanji u okviru arheološke mreže iskopane su još tri sonde, br. 4, br. 5 i br. 6 (veličine 5 × 5 m) na sjeveroistočnom dijelu lokaliteta u kojem se nalazio mekteb, također u cilju pronalaženja njegove lokacije. Prvo je otkopana sonda 4, locirana oko 2,70 m zapadno od prvih nalaza vezanih za mekteb, a zatim se nastavilo u sondama 5 i 6 sa iskopavanjem primjenjujući metodu kao i u prethodnoj kampanji. Kopalo se redom od zapada ka istoku. Otkriveni su zidovi C (vjerovatno pregradni zid mekteba), zid A (istočni vanjski zid), A1 (vanjski južni zid), zid B (ogradni istočni zid), kao i prostor između zidova A i B (Prilog 3). Kopalo se samo do dna nadzemnog dijela zida jer se očekivao nastavak istraživanja ionako slabo očuvanih ostataka, zbog čega iskopine nisu zatrpane. Iz tog razloga je samo uz jugoistočni ugao mekteba iskopan mali rov čija je dubina sezala do kraja temelja. Na fragmente pokretnih nalaza nailazilo se uglavnom u površinskim kopovima.

U prvoj kampanji obuhvaćen je prostor 27 m dug i 20 m širok, tj. od oko 540 m², a u drugoj kampanji od oko 200 m². Ukupno je istraženo oko 740 m² (Prilog 1). Arheološkim istraživanjima, uz već poznate podatke iz literature (planova i malobrojnih fotografija), otkrivene su pojedinosti oblika objekata, načina gradnje, te materijala od kojih su izgrađeni.

Za dalja iskopavanja ostalo je da se skine nasipana zemlja u unutrašnjosti prostora za vjernike u džamiji, te da se otkrije zapadni i možda djelomično sjeverni dio mekteba, koji se vjerovatno nalazi ispod pločnika.

on uncovering the foundations walls of the building and the cobbled access path, without strictly following the quadrant grid (Drawing 2). The method used was excavation by hand along a wide front by strata with a depth of 0.15 m. Along the outside walls of the building, wherever possible, narrow trenches were dug by mechanical means, layer by layer, down to the subsoil. On the inside, a trench was dug along the surviving part of the south-west wall, by part of the north-east wall, and by the north-west wall of the prayer hall. The soil deposit was removed from above the cobbled path to the mosque, the portico and by the north-east wall of the prayer hall down to the cobbles and the remains of walls and flooring, but was left over most of the remaining area (Fig. 01, 02).

In the second campaign, another three 5 × 5 m trenches were dug within the archaeological grid, nos. 4, 5 and 6 in the north-eastern part of the site where the mekteb once stood, again with a view to identifying its location. Trench 4 was the first to be dug, about 2.70 m west of the first finds associated with the mekteb, followed by trenches 5 and 6, using the same method as in the previous campaign, excavating from east to west. Walls C (probably a partition wall of the mekteb), A (east outside wall), A1 (south outside wall) and B (east boundary wall) were uncovered, along with the area between walls A and B (Drawing 3). They were uncovered only down to the base of the above-ground walls, since it was expected that the excavation of these poorly-preserved remains would continue, and the trenches were therefore left open. For the same reason, only a small trench down to the end of the foundations was dug by the north-east corner of the mekteb. Fragments of movable artefacts were found mainly in the surface excavations.

The first campaign covered an area 26 m long and 20 m wide, or about 540 m², and the second an area of about 200 m², a total of about 740 m² (Drawing 1). The archaeological investigations supplemented the details already known from the literature (plans and a few photographs) to reveal details of the shape of the buildings, and the construction and materials of which they were built.

The removal of the soil deposits within the prayer hall was left for later excavations, as was the task of uncovering the western and perhaps some of the northern part of the mekteb, which is probably below the pavement.

Opis arheoloških istraživanja

Prva kampanja 2005. godine – istraživanje džamije

Skidanjem sloja nasipane zemlje, debljine od 0,85 do 0,50 m, ustanovljeno je da je objekat džamije razoren do krajnjih nadzemnih dijelova što se poklapa sa nivoom površinom pristupne staze, ulaza u trijem i u molitveni prostor, tj. do poda džamije (sl. 01). U sloju nasute zemlje, pored razbacanih ulomaka keramičkog i porculanskog posuda, pećnjaka i stakla, te komada željeznih predmeta, na dubini od 0,30 m u sondama br. 1 i 2 nađeni su dijelovi nišana, dok je jedan fragment spomenika nađen uz vanjsko platno sjeveroistočnog zida džamije. Kopajući dublje, ispod podnice do dna temelja ustanovljen je intaktan sloj šljunka pomiješan sa crvenom zemljom (Prilog 2).

Arheološkim iskopavanjima zapadnog dijela lokaliteta nađeni su arhitektonski elementi: pristupna staza džamiji i osnova džamije sa osnovom minareta. Do ulaza u džamiju vodila je kaldrimisana staza dužine oko 19, širine 2 m. Istraženi dio staze je oko 11,50 m. Staza je formirana od lijepih većih oblutaka, obrubljena većim priklesanim kamenim pločama. U odnosu na ulaz u trijem postavljena je pod uglom od 45°. Ispred ulaza u trijem nađeni su tragovi popločanog prilaza u širini oko 0,90 m i dužini od oko 5,50 m (sl. 03).

Preklapajući plan iz 1901. godine sa situacijom na terenu poslije iskopavanja, ustanovljena su mala odstupanja u dimenzijama koja se odnose na džamiju, dok se podaci za pristupnu stazu, istočni ogradni zid i mekteb poklapaju (Prilog 1). Vanjske dimenzije džamije su 16,70 × 10,68 m. Prostor džamije je raščlanjen na trijem i prostor za vjernike. Trijem je dugačak 10,53 m, za 0,15 m uži od jugoistočnog zida džamije. Širina trijema zajedno sa sjeveroistočnim zidom je 5,05 m. Trijem je podijeljen na ulazni dio (prolaz kroz trijem), dimenzija 4,3 × 2 m u sredini, i na sofe. Ispred vrata, tj. ulaza u prostor za vjernike, je kameni prag isklesan od sivkastog krečnjaka (1,98 × 0,5 m) i viši 0,20 m od drugog, unutrašnjeg praga izrađenog od hreše, koji se nalazio u zidnoj masi sjeverozapadnog zida ovog prostora. Na unutrašnjem pragu su vidljivi utori za vrata od lijevanog olova, kao i luk koji je stvorila reza od desne vratnice (sl. 03 i 04). Sofe

Description of the archaeological investigations

First campaign, 2005 – excavation of the mosque

After removing the soil deposit, ranging in thickness from 0.85 to 0.50 m, it was found that the mosque had been demolished down to the base of the above-ground walls, level with the surface of the access path and the entrances to the portico and prayer hall, down to the mosque floor (Fig. 03). The soil that was removed contained scattered sherds of pottery and porcelain, stove tiles and glass, and pieces of iron objects; in addition, pieces of nišan were found at a depth of 0.30 m in trenches 1 and 2, with another fragment of tombstone found by the outer north-east facing of the mosque wall. Excavating deeper below the floor to the base of the foundations revealed an intact layer of gravel mixed with red subsoil deposited by the Miljacka (Drawing 2).

The archaeological excavations of the western part of the site uncovered architectural elements: the access path to the mosque and the footprint of the mosque and minaret. A cobbled path about 19 m long and 2 m wide led to the mosque entrance. The path, which was made of fine, large pebbles, with an edging of sizeable cut flagstones, was at an angle of 45° to the entrance to the portico. Vestiges of paving about 0.90 m wide and 5.50 m long were found outside the entrance to the portico (Fig. 03).

Comparing the 1901 plan with the findings on site after excavation revealed minor differences in the footprint of the mosque, whereas the data match for the access path, east boundary wall and mekteb (Drawing 1). The mosque, which measured 16.70 × 10.68 m on the outside, consisted of a portico and prayer hall. The portico was 10.53 m long, 0.15 m narrower than the south-east wall of the mosque, and 5.50 m wide together with the north-east wall. It consisted of the entrance area (the central passageway through the portico), measuring 4.3 × 2 m, and the flanking sofas. At the entrance to the prayer hall was a stone threshold of greyish limestone measuring 1.98 × 0.5 m, higher by 0.20 m than the second, inner threshold, which was of *hreša* stone and was set into the north-west wall. The grooves of cast lead for the door could be seen on inner threshold, along with the arc formed by the bolt of the right-hand wing of the door (Figs. 03 and

su uokvirene zidovima debljine od 0,60 do 0,78 m, koji su nemarnije građeni u odnosu na zidove prostora za vjernike. Dimenzije jugozapadne sofe su $4,30 \times 3,40$ m, a sjeveroistočne $4,30 \times 3,90$ m

Unutrašnjost prostora za molitvu je dimenzija $10,25 \times 9,10$ m, 93.275 m². Temeljni dijelovi zidova su duboki 0,60 m ispod podnice, i širi za 0,10 m na obje strane od nadzemnih dijelova zida (sl. 05). Debljina nadzemnih dijelova vanjskih zidova džamije je 0,70 m. Visina nadzemnih zidova se kreće od 0,30 do 0,70 m. Vanjsko i unutrašnje platno zidova je dobro obrađeno, a sredina je ispunjena krupnije lomljenim kamenom. Kao vezivno sredstvo upotrijebljen je kvalitetan krečni malter.

Na otkrivenim dijelovima unutrašnjosti džamije, tj. u rovovima uz unutrašnju stranu sjeverozapadnog, sjeveroistočnog, te uz veći dio jugoistočnog zida je podnica od keramičkih ploča dužine stranica 0,33 m, vezanih finim krečnim malterom (sl. 06). U sjevernom uglu džamije pločice su bile zamijenjene kamenim pločama. Podnica je ležala na drvenim nosačima čiji su tragovi nađeni u rovu uz unutrašnju stranu sjeveroistočnog zida (sl. 07). Na sredini jugoistočnog zida, prema situaciji na podnici je ustanovljeno mjesto mihraba, čiji okvir izlazi iz zidne mase. Promjer okvira mihraba je 3,10 m, dok se precizna širina niše nije mogla utvrditi (sl. 06). Na osnovu sitnih ulomaka maltera sa tragovima boje pretpostavlja se da su pojedini dijelovi prostora za molitvu bili ukrašeni.

Na jugozapadni zid džamije nalijegao je jugoistočni zid najnižeg temeljnog dijela minareta. Prema planovima i nađenim ostacima, minaret je u supstrukciji bio pravougaonog oblika veličine $2,40 \times 1,70$ m. Temeljni dijelovi zidova bili su dosta široki, ali se njihova debljina ne može odrediti jer zalaze ispod pješačkog prilaza uz zapadni stambeni objekat. Jedino je u cjelini očuvan jugoistočni temeljni zid. Na vrhu iskopa su dva lijepo obrađena kamena bloka vezana klamfom od najdonjeg dijela njegovog kubusa (sl. 05, 08).

Postavljanjem infrastrukture za stambene objekte uništeni su spoj jugoistočnog i jugozapadnog zida, temeljni dijelovi minareta i dva vanjska zida jugozapadne sofe (sl. 03, 05, 09, 10).

Prema nalazu gara na otkrivenim dijelovima podnice džamije i na kaldrimi ispred sofa, pretpostavlja se da je drvena građa iz ovog objekta zapaljena prilikom rušenja džamije.

04). The sofas were enclosed by walls 0.60 to 0.78 m thick, less neatly built than the walls of the prayer hall. The south-west sofa measured 4.30×3.40 m and the north-west sofa 4.30×3.90 m.

The prayer hall measured 10.25×9.10 m on the inside, an area of 93.275 m². The foundation walls were 0.60 m deep below the floor, and wider than the above-ground walls by 10 cm on each side (Fig. 05). The above-ground walls of the mosque are 0.70 m thick, and vary in height from 0.30 to 0.70 m. The outer and inner facing of the walls was of good workmanship; the infill was of coarse rubble stone. Good quality lime mortar was used as binder.

The floor of the part of the mosque that was uncovered, in the trenches along the inside of the north-west, north-east and much of the south-east wall, consisted of 33×33 cm ceramic tiles set in fine lime mortar (Fig. 06). In the north corner the tiles had been replaced by flagstones. The floor was laid on wooden girders, vestiges of which were found in the trench on the inside of the north-east wall (Fig. 07). The position of the mihrab was identified on the floor, midway along the south-east wall. The mihrab frame, which stood proud of the wall, had a diameter of 3.10 m, but its exact width could not be determined (Fig. 6). Fragments of plaster with traces of pigment suggested that parts of the prayer hall were decorated.

The south-east wall of the lowest foundation section of the minaret abutted against the south-west wall of the mosque. Judging from the plans and the remains that were uncovered, the base of the minaret was rectangular, measuring 2.40×1.70 m. The foundations were quite wide, but their thickness could not be determined as they lay under the footpath by the block of flats to the west. The only part still complete is the south-east foundation wall. At the top of the trench are two finely-dressed stone blocks joined by cramps, from the lowest part of the minaret (Figs. 05, 08).

The installation of the infrastructure for the blocks of flats destroyed the junction of the south-east and south-west walls, the foundations of the minaret and the two outside walls of the south-west sofa (Figs. 03, 05, 09, 10).

Judging from the soot on the parts of the mosque floor that were uncovered and on the cobbles outside the sofas, the timbers of the mosque were burned when it was demolished.

Druga kampanja 2007. godine – istraživanje mekteba

Arheološkim iskopavanjem 2007. godine nije obuhvaćen cijeli objekat (Prilog 3, sl. 12). Nađeni dijelovi zidova mekteba su se pojavili ukopani u sloj žute glinovite zemlje koji se nalazio ispod nasipa čija visina varira od 0,30 m do 0,60 m u zavisnosti od raznih intervencija na terenu od 1947. godine nadalje (sl. 11). Pod mekteba i džamije, kao i pristupna staza bili su u istoj horizontali oko 538.40 m nadmorske visine, što znači da je ovo bio prvobitni nivo nadzemnih dijelova oba objekta. Za sada ostaje nepoznata dubina sloja žute zemlje koji se nalazi između nasipa i zdravice.

Istraženi su istočni zid mekteba (Prilog 3, Zid A) u dužini od 7,50 m i visini od 0,65 m, njegov spoj sa vanjskim južnim zidom (zid A1), koji je iskopan u dužini od oko 3,70 m, i vjerovatno dio pregradnog zida unutar mekteba u dužini 5,10 m (C). Nadzemni dijelovi zidova su debeli 0,60 m, a pregradnog zida (zid C) 0,50 m. Zidovi su građeni od lomljenog, naslaganog kamena na redove. Na vanjskim dijelovima kamen je priklesan da se donekle izravnavaju vertikalne zidne površine, a u sredini je bio trpanac. Obrada vanjskih ivica kamena na ogradnom zidu (B) i na zidovima mekteba nije dotjerana kao kod zidova prostora za vjernike u džamiji. Na spoju zidova A i A1 iskopan je mali rov uz njihov temeljni dio (sl. 13).⁵ Ustanovljeno je da su temeljni dijelovi zidova građeni od sitnijeg lomljenog kamena vezanog sa dosta kreča, ali bez proširene osnove u odnosu na nadzemne dijelove zida, kao što je to bilo uobičajeno kod gradnje većih objekata. Kao vezivo upotrijebljen je krečni malter sa dodatkom krupnijeg majdanskog pijeska. Na unutrašnjoj zapadnoj strani očuvanih dijelova zida A otkrivene su po cijeloj dužini plohe maltera, što znači da je unutrašnjost mekteba bila omalterisana i krečena. Iznad ostatka maltera, pri vrhu ostatka zida je dio drvene grede. Nije poznato da li je to sastavni konstrukcioni dio zida, ili je tu upao prilikom rušenja. (Prilog 4; sl. 14). Spoj između pregradnog zida (C) i istočnog vanjskog zida (A) je prekinut nizom naslaganih crvenih pločica, vjerovatno iz vremena posljednjih intervencija unutar mekteba i džamije.⁶

⁵ Osim ovog malog rova, uz ostale zidove temeljni dijelovi namjerno nisu iskopani da ne bi došlo do urušavanja nadzemnih dijelova.

⁶ Uporediti sa stanjem poda u džamiji.

Second campaign, 2007 – excavation of the mekteb

The archaeological excavations in 2007 did not cover the entire building (Drawing 3, Fig. 12). The parts of the mekteb that were uncovered were buried in a layer of yellow clay soil below the soil deposit varying in depth from 0.30 to 0.60 m in depth, depending on various works on the site since 1947 (Fig. 11). The floors of the mekteb and mosque and the access path were all at the same level of approx. 538.40 above sea level, indicating that this was the original level of the above-ground parts of both buildings. The depth of the yellow soil between the upper soil deposit and the subsoil remains unknown.

The east wall of the mekteb was excavated (Drawing 3, wall A) over a length of 6.50 m and a height of 0.65 m, along with its junction with the south wall (wall A1), which was excavated over a length of about 3.70 m, and probably part of an interior partition wall of the mekteb, over a length of 5.10 m (C). The walls were of rubble stone laid in courses; the outer faces of the stone were worked to make a more or less level vertical surface, and the infill was of rubble. The finish of the outer edges of the stone on the boundary wall (B) and the mekteb walls was not as fine as that of the walls of the mosque prayer hall. A small trench was dug along the foundations of the junction of walls A and A1 (Fig. 13).⁵ The foundations were found to be built of small rubble stone set in a quantity of mortar; unlike the norm for larger buildings, they were no wider than the above-ground walls. Lime mortar with an admixture of coarse quarry sand was used as binder. Areas of plaster were found along the full length of the inside (west) of the surviving parts of wall A, indicating that the interior of the mekteb was plastered and whitewashed. Part of a wooden beam was found above the remains of plaster, near the top of the remains of the wall. It is not clear whether this was an integral part of the wall structure, or had come to rest there during demolition (Drawing 4; Fig. 14). The junction between the partition wall (C) and the outer east wall (A) was broken by a row of red tiles, probably from the time of the last interventions to the interior of the mekteb and mosque.⁶ Judging

⁵ Other than this small trench, no excavations were carried out by the rest of the foundation walls, to avoid the above-ground parts of the walls from collapsing.

⁶ Cf. condition of the floor in the mosque.

Prema crtežu mekteba sa dimnjakom, peć se nalazila u sjeverozapadnom uglu učionice. Od istočnog ogradnog zida kompleksa (zid B) otkopan je samo jedan red nadzemnog dijela (sl. 15). Na njega se, u južnom dijelu iskopa, sa vanjske strane pod pravim uglom naslanja mali dio zida B1, na mjestu gdje se prema planu iz 1901. godine nalazio južni zid obližnje kuće (sl. 15). Između ogradnog zida (B) i istočnog zida mekteba (A) bio je slobodan prostor na sjeveru širine 1.70 m, koji se prema jugu širio od 3,5 m. Na sjevernom dijelu, uz ulaz za djecu koja su pohađala mekteb, sačuvani su dijelovi kaldrme (Prilog 1, sl. 12). Uz vanjsku stranu istočnog zida mekteba, u neko kasnije doba, prigraden je kanal od cigala, za dovod vode u toalet. Dužina očuvanog dijela kanala je oko 4 m, a iskopan je samo dio od jugoistočnog ugla mekteba do ploče toaleta. Širina kanala sa ogradom je 0,40 m, od toga su cigle debele oko 0,10 m, a kanal je širok 0,20 m. Čučavac od livenog betona je serijske proizvodnje. Dužina stranica betonske ploče je 0,85 m, visina 0,20 m. Oko njega su nađeni ostaci omalterisanog kamenog zida na istočnoj i na zapadnoj strani, što upućuje na pretpostavku da je uz ostatke istočnog zida mekteba prigraden prostor sa toaletom (sl. 16).⁷ U blizini su također nađeni drveni dijelovi ostataka zidova, koji su mogli biti i od obližnjeg hamamdžika, koji je otkriven u vidu kamene ploče dužine stranica 1,30 m sa rupama za grede (debljine 0,20 m) na uglovima. Pored južne strane ploče nađeni su drveni ostaci za koje se pretpostavlja da su pripadali ograđenom prostoru za gusulhanu, ili manjeg hamamdžika koji je služio za kupanje (sl. 12, br. 6).

U južnom dijelu ovog prostora preko istočnog zida mekteba (A) i istočnog ogradnog zida (B), van prostora kompleksa, nađena je izolacija od cigala, koja je također naknadno postavljena, a čija namjena nije u ovoj fazi istražena. Sjeverno od nje nađen je dio kamene ploče sa metalnim držačima prema čemu se pretpostavlja da je ovdje bila česma (Prilog 3). Očito je da je u ovom krajnjem istočnom dijelu, između mekteba i zida B, poslije rušenja mekteba došlo do različitih pregradnji.

⁷ Mekteb je srušen nešto prije 1911. godine. Uz južnu stranu toaleta dio zida A je oštećen (Prilog 4).

from the drawing of the mekteb with its chimney, the stove was in the north-west corner of the classroom. Only one course of the above-ground part of the east boundary wall of the complex (wall B) was uncovered (Fig. 15). A small section of wall B1 abutted against the outside of the boundary wall at a right-angle in the southern part of the trench, at the point where, according to the 1901 plan, the south wall of the next-door house would have been (Fig. 15). Between the boundary wall (B) and the east wall of the mekteb (A) was an open space to the north, 1.70 m in width widening to the south to 3.5 m. Part of the cobbles had survived in the northern part, by the entrance used by children attending the mekteb (Drawing 1, Fig. 12). At some later stage a brick conduit was built onto the outside of the east wall of the mekteb, to supply water to the toilet. The surviving length of the conduit was about 4 m, but only the part from the south-east corner of the mekteb to the toilet platform was uncovered. The conduit and its sides were 0.40 m wide: the bricks were about 0.10 m thick and the conduit was 0.20 m wide. The squat toilet was a mass-produced cast concrete model. The sides of the concrete platform were 0.85 m long and 0.20 m high. The remains of a plastered stone wall were found around it to east and west, suggesting that the toilet was built onto the remains of the east wall of the mekteb (Fig. 16).⁷ The remains of wall timbers were also found nearby, which could have come from the nearby *hamamdžik* (washroom) found in the form of a stone slab with sides of 1.30 m with holes for the timbers (0.20 m thick) at the corners. The remains of timbers probably belonging to the enclosed *gusulhana* (premises for washing and laying out the dead) or of a small hamamdžik were found by the south side of the slab (Fig. 12, marked 6).

Brick insulation was found outside the complex, over the east wall of the mekteb (A) and the east boundary wall (B) in the southern part of the site, also a later addition, the purpose of which was not investigated during this phase. To the north of this, part of a stone slab with metal handles was found, suggesting that the fountain stood there (Drawing 3). It is evident that various building works were carried out in this easternmost area, between the mekteb and wall B, after the demolition of the mekteb.

⁷ The mekteb was demolished sometime before 1911. Part of wall A was damaged by the south side of the toilet (Graphic 4).

Pokretni nalazi

Pokretni arheološki materijal nije brojao. Na svim iskopanim dijelovima u sondama i objektima sitan arheološki materijal nalazio se najvećim dijelom razasut u gornja dva sloja: na nasipu i na nivou podova objekata. Pri iskopu džamije nađeni su ostaci glaziranih keramičkih posuda kao što su obodi zdjela, dijelovi krčaga, svjećnjaka i dijelovi pećnjaka. Najviše fragmenata pećnjaka i krčaga je preliveno caklinom uobičajene zelene boje, ali ima i komada raznih zelenih nijansi (T. I; T. II) Komadi keramičkih zdjela su najčešće smeđe boje raznih nijansi, a ima i pokoji komad pocakljen samo po rubovima. Vrlo malo je neglaziranih komada, među kojima je bilo i malo dijelova pećnjaka (T. II, 2; T. III). Sva keramika je rađena na brzom vitlu osim obične, neglazirane kuhinjske keramike. Ukrašene su veće posude, poput zdjela i trbuha posuda, raznim ornamentima kao što su kanelure, snopovi plastičnih horizontalnih traka, a u manjem broju snopovi češljastih urezanih valovnica. Na komadima trbuha neke posude nepoznatog oblika u trakama su raspoređeni urezani kružići razne veličine, koji kao da su rađeni po nekom šablonu (T. I, 2). U iskopinama je nađeno i malo fragmenata posuda sa razgnutim obodima i dna neglaziranih lonaca (T. III, 1-6 i 8). Prema fakturi i obliku vrlo su slični komadima kućne kasnosrednjovjekovne keramike, čije se trajanje zadržalo donedavno. Pored toga, nađeno je ostataka porcelanskog i staklenog posuđa. Od ovih potonjih izdvajaju se fragmenti plavog obojenog stakla (T. IV). Od metalnih predmeta iskopano je nekoliko eksera, poveći ključ (dužine 13 cm, od toga na kariku otpada 3 cm) i jedna sjekira, te razni čavli i klamfe T. VI, 03.

Značajan nalaz, koji upotpunjuje predstavu o džamiji, su obojeni komadići izlomljenog krečnog maltera za koje se pretpostavlja da su pripadali dekoraciji džamije. Tri sloja boje su nanosena na istu malternu osnovu koja u sebi sadrži vjerovatno kudeljna vlakna. Na jednom odlomku je dio prikaza ploda trešnje sa listom, čije je uobičajeno mjesto unutar lučnog završetka gornjih prozora, ali može biti i dio ornamentalnog prikaza trešnjevog stabla sa plodovima. Ovaj prikaz je uočen još u sarajevskim džamijama Čekrekči Muslihidina (Čekrekčinići), Sarač Alije (Vrbanjuša) i Mimar-zade Davud čelebije (Nateguša). Na jednom oslikanom komadu ističe se traka oslikana ultramarin plavom

Movable artefacts

There was not much movable archaeological material. In every trench and in the buildings, minor archaeological material was found mainly scattered in the upper two strata: in the soil deposit and on the floors of the buildings. During the excavation of the mosque, sherds from glazed pottery vessels were found – the rims of bowls, parts of jugs, candle sticks and pieces of stove tile. Most of the sherds from the stove tiles and jugs were glazed with the customary green glaze, but there were some of different shades of green (Plate T. I, T. II). The sherds from pottery bowls were usually in various shades of brown; some were glazed only on the rim. There were very few unglazed pottery sherds, including a few pieces of stove tile (Plates T. II, 2; T. III). All the pottery artefacts had been made on a fast potter's wheel, with the exception of the ordinary, unglazed kitchenware. Larger vessels, such as the bowls and bellies of pots, were decorated in a variety of ways – with cannelures, combinations of moulded horizontal bands and, in a few cases, combinations of comb-like incised wavy lines. The sherds from a vessel of unknown form were decorated with incised circles of various sizes in bands, as if made from a stencil of some kind (Plate T. I, 2). A few sherds from vessels with everted rims and the bases of unglazed pots were also found in the trenches (Plate T. III, 1-6 and 8). The body and form were very similar to sherds of late mediaeval household pottery, which was still being made until quite recently. Sherds of pottery and glass vessels were also found. Among the latter, fragments of blue glass (Plate T. IV) were of particular note. Metal artefacts included a number of nails, a sizeable key (13 cm long, of which 3 cm consisted of the handle), an axe, and various other nails and cramps (Plate T. VI, 03).

Painted fragments of lime mortar, probably forming part of the decoration of the mosque, constituted an important find, adding to the image being formed of the mosque. Three coats of pigment had been applied to the same plaster ground, which probably contained hemp fibres. One fragment showed part of a cherry with a leaf, a decoration usually found in the arch of the upper windows, but could also have been part of a cherry tree in fruit, such as is found in a number of mosques in Sarajevo: those of Čekrekči Muslihidin

bojom. Izgleda da je navedene džamije negdje polovinom XIX stoljeća ili nešto malo prije 1878. godine ukrašavao isti lokalni slikar (T. V).⁸

U sondi 2 nađene su dvije kovanice, austrijska krajcara iz 1851. i pola engleskog penija iz 1931. godine, koje nisu bile relevantne za upotpunjavanje saznanja o kompleksu.

Na prostoru iskopa mekteba nađen je vrlo sličan materijal od porcelana, stakla, željeza, s napomenom da su nalazi stakla i porcelanskog posuđa mnogobrojniji nego u iskupu džamije (T. IV, 1-3). Na kaldrmi uz ulazni dio u mekteb nađeni su pećnjaci pločastog oblika, koji pripadaju zidanim kaljevim pećima, za razliku od tradicionalnih zelenogledosanih pećnjaka u obliku posudica koji su nađeni pri iskupu džamije. Također je nađen dio keramičkog čunka za dovod vode, te razbacani komadi dijelova drvene građe. Od željeznih predmeta su nalaženi ekseri raznih veličina, klamfe i reza za vrata (T. VI, 1, 2). Kao i kod džamije, nađeni su komadi obojenog krečnog maltera za koje se smatra da također potječu od dekorativnih elemenata džamije (T. V, 1, 2, 4, 5).

Na cijeloj iskopanoj površini nailazilo se na kamenje, bilo u nasipu ili u drugom sloju žute, glinovite zemlje. Kamenje je očito dio građevinskog materijala džamije, mekteba i ogradnog zida, ali vjerovatno i okolnih kuća. Među tim kamenjem nađeno je i nekoliko donjih i gornjih dijelova nišana. Od gornjih dijelova nađena su tri fragmenta sa aginskim turbanom, izvedenim u nekoliko varijanti i pravokutnim presjekom stuba, jedan nišan okruglog presjeka sa polukružnim završetkom. Jedan od nišana nađen je uz ostatak sjeveroistočnog zida džamije, što znači da je tamo dospio pri zatrpavanju terena. Među ostalim kamenjem nađena je betonska ukrasna amfora ukrašena plastičnim girlandama sa jedne od kuća izgrađene u austrougarskom periodu (sl. 17).

Prema uslovima i njihovim karakteristikama, pretpostavlja se da je materijal ovdje dospio prilikom rušenja džamije i harema te okolnih zgrada. Do vanjskih zidova kompleksa, osim sa sjeverne strane na kojoj je bila ulica, bile su

(Čekrekčinica), Sarač Alija (Vrbanjuša) and Mirmar-zade Davud Čelebija (Nateguša). One painted fragment bore a band of ultramarine blue pigment. It would appear that the mosques were decorated by the same local painter around the mid 19th century or shortly before 1878 (Plate T. V).⁸

Two coins – an 1851 Austrian kreuzer and a 1931 English halfpenny, of no relevance to supplementing our knowledge of the complex – were found in trench 2.

Very similar porcelain, glass and iron material was found in the excavations of the mekteb, where sherds of glass and porcelain vessels were much more numerous than in the mosque (Plate T. IV, 1-3). Flat stove tiles from faience stoves were found on the cobbles by the entrance to the mekteb, unlike the traditional green-glazed, cup-shaped stove tiles found in the mosque excavations. Part of an earthenware water pipe and scattered pieces of timber were also found. Iron objects included nails of various sizes, cramps and a door latch (Plate T. VI, 1, 2). As in the mosque, here too fragments of painted lime plaster were found, probably from the mosque decorations (Plate T. V, 1, 2, 4, 5).

Stone was found all over the excavated area, both in the soil deposit and in the second layer of yellow clay soil. This was clearly part of the building material from the mosque, mekteb and boundary wall, and probably from the nearby houses as well. The stone included a few top and bottom parts of nišan tombstones. The top parts included three fragments with an aga's turban of different variants on a rectangular pillar, and one circular-section pillar with a semicircular top. One of the nišans was found by the remains of the north-east wall of the mosque, meaning that it was there before the site was earthed up. Other stone included a concrete decorative amphora with a moulded swag decoration, from one of the houses built in the Austro-Hungarian period (Fig. 17).

Judging from their features and where they were found, these artefacts were probably here before the mosque, harem and surrounding buildings were demolished. Except to the north, where there was a street, there were several rows of houses along the boundary walls of the complex (Plan 1). These were

⁸ Navedene podatke o oslikanim malternim nalazima dao je mr. Esad Vesković, konzervator i restaurator iz Zemaljskog muzeja BiH, na čemu se zahvaljujemo.

⁸ Details of the painted plaster were provided by Esad Vesković MSc, conservator and restorer of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, for which we are grateful.

nanizane kuće u nekoliko redova (Plan 1). Sve je to srušeno 1947. godine pri izgradnji dva stambena objekta. Nalazi razbijenog porcelanskog posuđa, stakla i pločastih pećnjaka kod mekteba su izgleda skorijeg datuma (kraj XIX i prva polovina XX stoljeća). Nalaz obojenog maltera, razvučenog na obje lokacije, i razbacani dijelovi nišana na terenu, sve u oba gornja sloja iskopa, ukazuju na silinu rušenja i razvlačenja ostataka pri ravnanju terena od nivoa podova džamije i mekteba do površine zatečenog stanja neposredno prije iskopavanja. Zanimljivo je da čvrsti građevinski materijal džamije i mekteba, čerpič, za razliku od nalaza industrijski rađenih cigala, nije nađen u iskopima, što znači da je odvezen prije nasipanja lokaliteta.

Opis kompleksa Kalin hadži-Alije

Iz malobrojnih sačuvanih izvora donekle se može opisati izgled džamije i mekteba u okviru cijelog kompleksa, uz napomenu da je obnovljena početkom XVIII stoljeća, kao i mnogi drugi vjerski objekti, nakon provale Eugena Savojskog 1697. godine. Na sjevernoj strani kompleksa bio je ogradni zid, dugačak sveukupno 35 m, u koji se uklapala i sjeverna fasada mekteba. U zidu su bili otvori sa rešetkama. Ulaz u harem bio je istaknut posebnom konstrukcijom, koja je bila viša od ogradnog zida, pokrivena nadstrešnicom (sl. 19). Desno od ulaza dobrotvor Sulejman Ruždi Kulović dao je 1848. godine sazidati česmu od kamena na kojoj je na klesaniku iznad pipe bio isklesan natpis. Česma je dobivala vodu sa izvora Kneginjac koji se nalazi na nadmorskoj visini preko 960 m na Trebeviću. Već u XVI stoljeću, voda sa Kneginjca je dovedena preko mosta Ćumurije do Kalin hadži-Alijine džamije, a drugi ogranak je vodio preko Zelenog majdana i Miljacke ka Kemaludinovoj mahali i džamiji koja se nalazila na uglu ulica Ćemaluša i Ferhadija. To su jedine dvije česme koje su se na desnoj obali snabdijevale sa ovog izvora, a poznate su i pod nazivom Slatke česme.⁹ Istočni rub kompleksa bio je dugačak 37,5 m, zapadni 39,70 m, a južni oko 40,00 m. Sveukupna površina kompleksa iznosila je nešto

all demolished in 1947 to make way for the erection of two blocks of flats. The finds of broken porcelain vessels, glass and flat stove tiles near the mekteb appeared to be of recent date (late 19th and first half of the 20th century). The discovery of painted plaster in both locations, and of pieces of nišan scattered around the site, all in both upper excavated layers, indicate that the buildings were knocked down and the remains dragged around the site when it was levelled from floor level of the mosque and mekteb to the surface immediately before the excavations began. Interestingly, unlike industrial fired brick, no unfired brick from the mosque and mekteb was found, indicating that it was removed before soil was spread over the site.

Description of the Kalin Hajji Alija complex

A description of the appearance of the mosque and mekteb in the complex as a whole may be derived from the few surviving sources, recalling that it was rebuilt in the early 18th century, as were many other religious buildings, after the invasion by Eugene of Savoy in 1697. To the north of the complex was a boundary wall, 35 m in overall length, which incorporated the north façade of the mekteb. The windows in the boundary wall were fitted with iron grilles. The entrance to the harem was marked by a separate structure, standing higher than the boundary wall, with a canopy roof (Fig. 19). To the right of the entrance was a stone fountain with a carved inscription on a block of stone above the spigot, the gift of a benefactor, Sulejman Ruždi Kulović, in 1848. The water for the fountain came from the Kneginjac spring on Mt. Trebević, at an altitude of more than 960 m. The Kneginjac spring was already providing water for the Kalin Hajji Alija Mosque in the 16th century, via the Ćumurija Bridge, with another branch leading across Zeleni majdan and the Miljacka to the Kemaludin mahala and the mosque at the corner of Ćemaluša and Ferhadija Streets. These, the only two fountains on the right bank of the river supplied by this spring, were also known as Slatke česme (Sweet [water] fountains).⁹ The eastern edge of the complex was 37.5 m long, the western 39.70 m, and the southern about 40.00 m. The overall area of the complex

⁹ Kemura 1911, 203, sl. 103; Kreševljaković 1939, 21-23, 37, 96-99, sl. 39; Mujezinović 1974, 505.

⁹ Kemura 1911, 203, fig. 103; Kreševljaković 1939, 21-23, 37, 96-99, fig. 39; Mujezinović 1974, 505.

manje od 1400 m² (Prilog 1, Plan 1). Od glavnog ulaza u harem vodila je do ulaza u trijem džamije dobro urađena kaldrmisana staza dužine oko 19 m, širine 2 m. Džamija se nalazila u jugozapadnom dijelu kompleksa. Okolo džamije je posvuda bilo mezarje (sl. 19 i 20). Ispred ulaza u džamiju na sjeverozapadnoj strani bio je trijem sa drvenom ogradom i pet lukova. U trijem se ulazilo kroz srednji luk do kojeg je vodila opisana staza, a sa strana su bile sofe. Lijevo i desno od ulaznih vrata u molitveni prostor bio je po jedan prozor, te tri manja prozora na gornjem nivou (sl. 20, 21). Na ostala tri zida bila su na svakom od njih po četiri prozora, dva na donjem nivou, koji su bili pravougaonog oblika, a dva prozora na gornjem nivou su bila lučno zasvedena. Na sredini jugoistočnog zida, u zidnoj masi, nalazio se mihrab. Minber je bio prislonjen uz unutrašnju stranu jugozapadnog zida i uz južni ugao. Taj dio je devastiran postavljanjem vodovodnih cijevi. Prema Kemuri, džamija je zidana ćerpičem. Četverovodni krov bio je pokriven ćeremitom, a nadstrešnice su bile od šindre. Kameni minaret bio je uz jugozapadni zid, uz zapadni ugao džamije, koristeći krajnji jugozapadni dio zida džamije kao osnovu (sl. 21). Pravokutna baza minareta bila je visoka do donjeg ruba krova (sl. 22). Završavala se prstenom iznad kojeg prelazi u oblik zarubljene piramide (kaca minareta) na čijem je gornjem rubu prsten ukrašen sa donje i gornje strane stilizovanim ljiljanima. Ispod šerefe je također bio prsten, iznad kojeg su pojednostavljeni stalaktitni ukrasi. Ispod limenog pokrova kameni vrh minatera je ukrašen nizom prelomljenih lukova (sl. 23 i 24).

O izgledu mekteba možemo suditi samo na osnovu crteža i tlocrta (Prilog 1, sl. 19).¹⁰ Kao i mnogi mektebi, i ovaj je građen po osnovnoj urbanističkoj i arhitektonskoj koncepciji.¹¹ Sjeverni čeon, kraći zid mekteba, male prizemne zgrade, graničio je sa ulicom i bio je u ravni sa ogradnim zidom harema. Sa ulice su đaci ulazili u dvorište džamije, u mali prostor istočno od mekteba, koji je bio kaldrmisan i ograđen sa sjevera i istoka. Taj dvorišni ulaz se nalazio u odvojenom dijelu sjevernog ogradnog zida dugog 1,60 m.

Prema arheološkom iskopu izgleda da je mekteb bio dvoprostorni, orijentacije u osnovnom

was slightly less than 1400 m² (Drawing 1, Plan 1). A well-made cobbled path about 19 m long and 2 m wide led from the main harem entrance to the entrance to the mosque portico. The mosque, which was in the south-western part of the complex, was surrounded by graves (Figs. 19 and 20). The entrance to the mosque, which was from the north-west, was preceded by a portico with a wooden railing and five arches. The entrance to the portico was through the central arch, to which the cobbled path led, and was flanked by sofas. The entrance door to the prayer hall was flanked by a window on each side, with three smaller windows above (Figs. 20, 21). The other three walls each had four windows, two rectangular below and two arched above. The mihrab was set into the south-east wall, midway along. The minber abutted against the inside of the south-west wall by the south corner. This part of the mosque was devastated when water mains were laid. According to Kemura, the mosque was built of unfired brick. The hipped roof was clad with hollow tiles, and the canopy roofs with shingles. The stone minaret stood by the south-west wall, by the west corner of the mosque, using the south-westernmost end of the mosque wall as a base (Fig. 21). The rectangular base of the minaret rose to the lower edge of the roof (Fig. 22), ending in a ring above which it merged into the rounded pyramidal barrel of the minaret, itself surmounted by a ring decorated above and below with stylized lilies. There was another ring below the šerefe (balcony), with above it a simple muqarnas decoration. The top of the stone shaft of the minaret, below the sheet-metal-clad spire, was decorated with a series of pointed arches (Figs. 22 and 23).

The appearance of the mekteb can be judged only from a drawing and ground plan (Drawing 1, Fig. 19).¹⁰ Like many mektebs, it was built to a basic urban planning and architectural design.¹¹ The shorter north front wall of the mekteb, a small single-storey building, faced the street and was level with the boundary wall of the harem. From the street, pupils entered a small corner of the mosque courtyard east of the mekteb, which was cobbled and enclosed to the north and east, through an entrance in a separate part of the north boundary wall, 1.60 m in length.

¹⁰ Kemura 1911, 193, sl.102.

¹¹ Bećirbegović 1974, 255-257.

¹⁰ Kemura 1911, 193, fig. 102.

¹¹ Bećirbegović 1974, 255-257.

smjeru sjever-jug sa manjim otklonom, prilagođenom smjeru ulice. Na planu iz 1901. godine mekteb je bio dimenzija oko $8,30 \times 5,50$ m, što je potvrđeno iskopavanjem, a što ide u prilog pretpostavci o postojanju dviju prostorija (Prilog 1). Donji dijelovi zidova su građeni od priklesanog kamenja, za razliku od vještije obrađenih donjih dijelova vertikalnih zidova džamije. Iako nisu nađeni tragovi maltera, vanjska fasada je bila omalterisana, što se vidi na crtežu (sl. 19). Pretpostavlja se da je, kao i džamija, mekteb bio građen od ćerpiča. Krov je bio dvoslivni, pokriven ćeremitom. Prema crtežu izgleda da su na rubovima krova bile nadstrešnice od šindre kao i kod džamije. Na užem, južnom zidu, prema dvorištu, bila su dva prozora, dok za podužne zidove nije dovoljno poznat raspored. Na crtežu se vidi samo jedan prozor na južnom dijelu zapadnog zida, a ostali dio prekriven je stablom, dok o istočnoj fasadi nema podataka. Ulaz u mekteb bio je u istočnom zidu, ali njegova pozicija nije dovoljno poznata. Južna prostorija – vjerovatno učionica, bila je veličine oko $4,50 \times 4,20$ m, a sjeverna manja prostorija ($1,50 \times 4,20$ m) je služila kao hajat.¹² Pretpostavlja se da je ulaz iz hajata u učionicu bio uz istočni zid (A), jer su iskopavanjem nađene crvene podne pločice u produžetku pregradnog zida (C). Na sjeverozapadnom dijelu krova nalazio se dimnjak.

Kratak historijat i urbani razvoj

Autori koji su pisali o urbanističkom razvoju grada, te o vjerskim i prosvjetnim spomenicima osmanskog doba u Sarajevu u XV i XVI stoljeću naveli su par potencijalnih datuma nastanka gradnje džamije i osnivanja mahale od 1535.-1565. godine ili pred kraj stoljeća.¹³ Do datiranja u kraj XVI stoljeća je došlo radi nespominjanja ove mahale u defterima iz 1570. i 1604. godine, nego se

¹² Nejasna je pozicija ulaza u istočnom zidu. Prema planu iz 1901. godine u mekteb bi se ulazilo iz dvorišta ravno u učionicu, što nije bilo uobičajeno. Svaki mekteb je imao hajat u koji se ulazilo spolja i ostavljala se obuća (Bećirbegović 1974, 252). Pitanje je da li je to posljedica raznih preinačavanja tokom vremena.

¹³ Kemura 1911, 193; Šabanović 1965, 34; Mujezinović 1974, 504; Zlatar 1996, 68.

Judging from the archaeological excavations, it seems the mekteb had two rooms, and that it lay more or less north-south, in line with the street. The 1901 plan shows that the mekteb had a footprint of about 8.30×5.50 m, which was confirmed by excavation, and also accords with the assumption that it had two rooms (Drawing 1). The lower part of the walls were of hewn stone, unlike the more finely-dressed lower parts of the mosque walls. Though no vestiges of plaster were found, it is clear from the drawing (Fig. 19) that the façades were rendered. Like the mosque, the mekteb was probably built of unfired brick. The gabled roof was clad with hollow tiles. It seems from the drawing that the roof panes were edged by eaves clad with shingles, as in the case of the mosque. The narrower south wall, facing onto the courtyard, had two windows, but the fenestration of the longer walls is not fully known: the drawing shows just one window at the south end of the west wall, with the rest concealed by a tree, and nothing is known of the east façade. The entrance to the mekteb was in the east wall, but it is not certain exactly where. The south room – probably the classroom – was about 4.50×4.20 m, while the smaller north room (1.50×4.20 m) served as a hajat (porch).¹² The entrance from the hajat to the classroom was probably in the east wall (A), judging from the red floor tiles uncovered in the continuation of partition wall (C) during excavation. There was a chimney on the north-west part of the roof.

Brief historical background and urban development

Authors who have written about the urban development of the city and about Ottoman-period religious and educational buildings in Sarajevo in the 15th and 16th centuries have suggested some possible dates for the mosque and the development of the mahala of 1535-1565 or towards the end of the century.¹³ The late 16th century date is based on the absence of any reference to the mahala in

¹² The position of the entrance in the east wall is not clear. The 1901 plan suggests that the entrance to the mekteb was from the courtyard straight into the classroom, which was unusual; every mekteb had a hajat entered from the outside, where shoes were left (Bećirbegović 1974, 252). Possibly this was the result of various alterations.

¹³ Kemura 1911, 193; Šabanović 1965, 34; Mujezinović 1974, 504; Zlatar 1996, 68.

na temelju godine 1608/9., kada je umrla Umija, kćerka Kalin hadži-Alijina, samo navodi da je mahala morala nastati prije tog datuma, što znači da u tom slučaju nisu uzeta u obzir dva dokumenta iz 1565. godine.¹⁴

Tko je bio Kalin hadži-Alija nije poznato, osim što ga je Kemura okarakterizirao da je bio hanedan (gostoljubiv, darežljiv čovjek).¹⁵ Poznato je da je imao sina Huseina koji je bio 1565. godine mutevelija džamije i kćer Umiju koja je umrla 1608/9. godine. Ostalih podataka o Kalin hadži-Alijinoj porodici nema.

Prvi poznati dokument koji se odnosi na džamiju je iz 1565. godine. Iz njega se saznaje da je osnivač džamije i mahale Kalin hadži-Alija, koji je uvakufio određenu sumu novca prema pravilima uvakufljenja, tako da su džamija i mekteb objekti njegova vakufa. Sin Kalin hadži-Alije, kao mutevelija vakufa, traži novce za popravak džamije koja je ruševna "iznutra, tako i krov od sofa... te se kad pada kiša mahaljani ne mogu moliti".¹⁶ S obzirom na materijal kojim je građen krov džamije, koji spomenute godine prokišnjava, teško je ustanoviti za koje vrijeme je propao, za pet, petnaest ili više godina. Jedino je sigurno da je mahala osnovana oko 1565. ili prije te godine. Iste godine spominje se prazan neobrađivan prostor od južne granice zemljišta džamije do Miljacke, koji je pripadao mahali. U dokumentu se navodi da je sa jedne strane ovo zemljište graničilo sa "općim putem". Taj put koji je vodio od centra mahale do Miljacke (danas od raskršća ulica Kulovićeve i Branilaca Sarajeva na sjeveru do Miljacke na jugu) se vjerovatno nalazio na istočnoj strani džamijskog zemljišta (južni dio današnje Kulovićeve ulica), jer je na lijevoj obali Miljacke u prvoj polovini XVI stoljeća formirana Čoban-Hasanova mahala koja se spominje prvi put u jednom dokumentu iz 1562. godine.¹⁷ Između te dvije mahale sagrađen je drveni most u osi današnje Kulovićeve ulice, vjerovatno u vrijeme kada su mahale na obje obale, Kalin hadži-Alijina na desnoj i Hasan-Čobanova na lijevoj obali, formirane negdje krajem prve polovine ili početkom dru-

the 1570 and 1604, but the date of death of Umija, Kalin Hajji Alija's daughter, who died in 1608/9, suggests that the mahala must have come into being before then, meaning that in this case the two documents of 1565 are not taken into account.¹⁴

It is not known who Kalin Hajji Alija was, except that Kemura describes him as *hanedan* (a hospitable, generous man).¹⁵ He is known to have had a son, Husein, who was mutevelija (manager) of the mosque in 1565, and a daughter, Umija, who died in 1608/9. Nothing else is known of Kalin Hajji Alija's family.

The first known document relating to the mosque, which dates from 1565, relates that the founder of the mosque and mahala was Kalin Hajji Alija, who endowed a certain sum of money according to vakuf (pious endowment) principles, so that the mosque and mekteb were buildings belonging to his vakuf. Kalin Hajji Alija's son, when mutevelija, asked for money to repair the mosque, which was in a ruinous state "inside, as is the roof of the sofas, so that when it rains the mahala residents cannot pray."¹⁶ Given the material of which the mosque roof was built, which was leaking in 1565, it is hard to say how long it had been deteriorating, five years, fifteen, or longer. The only certain fact is that the mahala was founded before or about 1565, when there is reference to a vacant, uncultivated plot belonging to the mahala, extending from the southern border of the mosque plot to the Miljacka. The document states that one side of this plot was bounded by a "general road." This road, which led from the centre of the mahala to the Miljacka (in today's terms, between the intersection of Kulovićeve and Branilaca Sarajeva Streets to the north and the Miljacka to the south) was probably on the east side of the mosque site (the southern part of what is now Kulovićeve Street), since the Čoban Hasan mahala was formed on the left bank of the Miljacka in the first half of the 16th century and is first mentioned in a document of 1562.¹⁷ A wooden bridge was built between the two mahalas in the axis of Kulovićeve Street, probably when the mahalas on each bank, Kalin Hajji Alija's on the right bank and Hasan Čoban's

¹⁴ Šabanović 1965, 34; Zlatar 1996, 68.

¹⁵ Škaljić 1957, Tom I, 322.

¹⁶ Kemura 1911, 194, 195.

¹⁷ Mujezinović 1974, 437; Šabanović 1965, 48.

¹⁴ Šabanović 1965, 34; Zlatar 1996, 68.

¹⁵ Škaljić 1957, Tom I, 322.

¹⁶ Kemura 1911, 194, 195.

¹⁷ Mujezinović 1974, 437; Šabanović 1965, 48.

ge polovine XVI stoljeća.¹⁸ Sljedeći dokument koji se odnosi na ovaj vakuf je tek 1732, kada je džamija već bila obnovljena pa sve do 1867. godine.¹⁹ Među 25 nabrojanih džamija koje su iza 1878. postale austrijska vojna skladišta nalazi se i ova džamija.²⁰

U popisu mekteba iz 1706. godine koji su stradali u navali Eugena Savojskog 1697. g. upisan je i mekteb uz džamiju Kalin hadži-Alije.²¹ Uvakufio ga je Kalin hadži-Alija zajedno sa džamijom, kao hajrati mekteb.²² Te godine Ibrahim Zergeri (Zlatar) bio je muallim (nastavnik u mektebu). Prema slikama i ostacima na terenu izgleda da je mekteb bio građen od istog materijala kao i džamija. Po kronološkom redu drugi podatak o obnavljanju "ovog lijepog mekteba" nalazi se na tarihu Hadži Muhamedage, nadzornika Gazi Husrev-begova vakufa koji je umro 1782. godine.²³ U popisu sačinjenom prije 1899. godine, piše da je ovo ženski mekteb.²⁴ Srušen je prije 1911. godine.²⁵

Mahala Kalin hadži-Alije zauzimala je teritoriju nešto istočnije od ugla ulica Radićeve i Branilaca Sarajeva do Kulovićeve ulice na istoku (Plan 1). Na zapadu je graničila sa Mahalom Mahmuda Bali Sahtijandži (protezala se otprilike od Musale do Radićeve ulice), a na istoku sa mahalom Ajas-paše (od istočnog dijela Pozorišnog trga do Latinluka). Na sjeveru je granica bila ulica Branilaca Sarajeva, tj. južni dio mahale Hadži Idrisa, a na jugu rijeka Miljacka. Centar mahale Kalin hadži-Alije nalazio se u sjeveroistočnom dijelu područja njenog prostiranja uz staru saobraćajnicu koja je vodila od potoka Koševo na zapadu do Latinske ćuprije na istoku (današnje

on the left bank, came into being some time at the end of the first half of early years of the latter half of the 16th century.¹⁸ The next document relating to this vakuf is dated 1732, when the mosque had already been renovated, after which we skip to 1867.¹⁹ This mosque is one of the 25 that were turned into Austrian military depots after 1878.²⁰

The list drawn up in 1706 of mektebs destroyed during Eugene of Savoy's invasion in 1697 includes the mekteb by the Kalin Hajji Alija Mosque,²¹ endowed by Kalin Hajji Alija along with the mosque as a hajrati (charity) mekteb.²² That year Ibrahim Zergeri (goldsmith) was muallim (mekteb teacher). Photographs and the remains on site suggest that the mekteb was built of the same materials as the mosque. In chronological order, the next detail relating to the renovation "of this fine mekteb" is in the tarih (inscription, chronogram) of Hajji Muhamedaga, supervisor of the Gazi Husrev Bey vakuf, who died in 1782.²³ An inventory drawn up before 1899 lists this as a girls' mekteb.²⁴ It was demolished before 1911.²⁵

The Kalin Hajji Alija mahala was somewhat to the east of the intersection of Radićeva and Branilaca Sarajeva Streets, extending eastwards to Kulovićeve Street (Plan 1). To the west, it marched with the mahala of Mahmud Bali Sahtijandži (which extended roughly from Musalla to Radićeva Street), and to the east with the Ajas Pasha mahala (from the eastern part of the square outside the Theatre to Latinluk). To the north, the boundary was formed by Branilaca Sarajeva Street, i.e. the southern part of the Hajji Idris mahala, and to the south by the River Miljacka. The centre of the Kalin Hajji Alija mahala was in the north-eastern part of the mahala, by the old road from

¹⁸ Bejtić 1973, 401, Mujezinović-Čelić 1970, 108). U popisu iz 1604. godine u mahali Čoban-Hasana bila je 101 kuća, dok za mahalu Kalin hadži-Alije nema podataka (Zlatar 1996, 63). Okolne mahale, prema istom popisu, imale su: najveća u kraju, Ali-pašina mahala sa 95 kuća, Hadži Mahmuda Bali Sahtijandži (Sahtijanuša) 47 kuća, Ajas-pašina (Klkčije) 67 kuća, i Hadži Idrisova (Žabljak) 50 kuća (Zlatar 1996, 69-70).

¹⁹ Izostali historijski podaci nalaze se kod autora navedenih u popisu literature.

²⁰ Hadžijahić 1934.

²¹ Handžić 1943, 120.

²² Mulić 1939, 95

²³ Kemura 1911, 207).

²⁴ Handžić 1943, 121-122.

²⁵ Izostavljeni historijski podaci. Kemura 1911, 198-204; Mujezinović 1974, 405; Koštović 1998.

¹⁸ Bejtić 1973, 401, Mujezinović-Čelić 1970, 108). The 1604 census listed the Čoban Hasan mahala with 101 houses, but gives no details of the Kalin Hajji Alija mahala (Zlatar 1996, 63). It lists the surrounding mahalas as the Ali Pasha mahala, the largest in the quarter, with 95 houses, the Hajji Mahmud Bali Sahtijandži (Sahtijanuša) mahala with 47 houses, the Ajas Pasha (Klkčije) mahala with 67, and the Hajji Idris (Žabljak) mahala with 50 (Zlatar 1996, 69-70).

¹⁹ The historical details omitted are to be found in the works listed in the bibliography.

²⁰ Hadžijahić 1934.

²¹ Handžić 1943, 120.

²² Mulić 1939, 95

²³ Kemura 1911, 207).

²⁴ Handžić 1943, 121-122.

²⁵ Historical details omitted. Kemura 1911, 198- 204; Mujezinović 1974, 405; Koštović 1998.

ulice Mis Irbina, Branilaca Sarajeva i Zelenih beretki). To je bila druga važna saobraćajnica paralelna sa današnjom Titovom ulicom. Po pravilu urbanizacije ondašnjeg vremena, džamije, kao centar mahale sa popratnim objektima, građene su najvećim dijelom uz veće saobraćajnice, a često i na njihovim raskršćima, tj. unutar šireg prostora.²⁶ Za primjer praćenja urbanizacije zapadnog dijela grada uzete su dvije najvažnije saobraćajnice u dolini: Ferhadija i Titova ulica, od Ferhadije džamije na istoku do potoka Koševo na razdaljini od oko 1600 m, i već spomenuta južna paralelna saobraćajnica (jedna ulica sa tri imena Zelenih beretki, Branilaca Sarajeva i Mis Irbina) od Latinske ćuprije do istog potoka na zapadu, u dužini od oko 1400 m. Dok je sjeverna glavna saobraćajnica u dolini postojala sigurno već u antičko doba, dotle je zapadni krak južnije saobraćajnice popunjen mahalama do kraja XVI stoljeća. Od istoka ka zapadu prva je kamena potkupolna Ferhad-begova džamija sagrađena 1561/62. godine. Na uglu ulica Ćemaluše i Ferhadije sagrađen je prije 1515. godine, kada se prvi puta spominje, mesdžid Havadže Kemaludina. Uz sjeverni krak ulice Branilaca Sarajeva i ugao Titove sagrađen je prije 1540. godine, kada se prvi put spominje, mesdžid Hadži Idrisa blizu južnog ruba njegove mahale (Žabljak). Uz potok Koševo, na raskrsnici Titove i Alipašine ulice, sagrađena je potkupolna kamena džamija 1560. godine. U južnoj paralelnoj ulici sa Titovom sagrađen je na uglu istočnog kraka ulice Zelenih beretki i Kundurdžiluka mesdžid Mehmed-bega Minetovića 1463-1464. godine. Na uglu ulica Štrosmajerove i Zelenih beretki, na mjestu hotela Central bio je Ajas-begov mesdžid (Klkčije-sabljarska mahala) sagrađen između 1470 i 1476. godine, Kalin hadži-Alijina džamija (prije 1565.) i Hadži Mahmuta Bali Sahtijandži mesdžid, koji se prvi put spominje 1602. godine, u Mis Irbinoj ulici, a nalazio se u bloku kuća između ulica Branislava Đurđeva i jugozapadnog ruba Trga djece Sarajeva. Isti princip osnivanja mahala i gradnje vjerskih objekata kao njihovog centra može se pratiti i na lijevoj obali Miljacke na istom potezu od Latinske ćuprije do mosta Skenderije, što je ubrzalo i gradnju mostova i spajanja prostora lijeve i

the Koševo brook in the west to the Latin Bridge in the east (present-day Mis Irbina, Branilaca Sarajeva and Zelenih beretki Streets). This was another major road parallel with present-day Tito Street. In line with the principles of urbanization of the day, mosques, as the centre of a mahala with their appurtenances, were usually built alongside main roads, often at crossroads, on a larger site.²⁶ The two main roads in the valley are taken as examples when tracing the urbanization of the western part of the city: Ferhadija and Tito Streets, from the Ferhadija Mosque in the east to the Koševo brook, a distance of about 1600 m, and the road running parallel with it to the south (a single street now with three names: Zelenih beretki, Branilaca Sarajeva and Mis Irbina) from the Latin Bridge in the east to the brook in the west, a distance of about 1400 m. While the northern main road in the valley was indubitably already in existence in Antiquity, the western end of the southern road was built up with mahalas by the late 16th century. From east to west, first comes the domed, stone-built Ferhad Bey Mosque, dating from 1561/2. The neighbourhood mosque of Havadža Kemaludin was built at the corner of Ćemaluša and Ferhadija Streets before 1515, the earliest reference to it. The neighbourhood mosque of Hajji Idris, near the southern edge of his mahala (Žabljak), was built by the northern end of Branilaca Sarajeva St. and the corner of Tito Street before 1540, when it was first mentioned. A stone-built, domed mosque was erected by the Koševo brook at the intersection of Tito and Alipašina Streets in 1560. On the street running parallel to and south of Tito Street, the neighbourhood mosque of Mehmed Bey Minetović was built on the corner of the eastern end of Zelenih beretki and Kundurdžiluk Streets in 1463-4. The Ajas Bey neighbourhood mosque (Klkčije-sabljarska [sabre-makers' mahala) was built between 1470 and 1476 on the corner of Štrosmajerova and Zelenih beretki Streets, where the Central Hotel now stands. The Kalin Hajji Alija Mosque (before 1565) and the Hajji Mahmut Bali Sahtijandži neighbourhood mosque, the earliest reference to which is in 1602, were built on Mis Irbina Street, in the block of houses between Branislava Đurđeva Street and the south-western edge of Trg djece Sarajeva. The same principle of founding mahalas and building religious edifices as their centre can be traced on the left bank of the Miljacka along the same stretch from the Latin Bridge to Skenderija Bridge, accelerated by the

²⁶ Bećirbegović 1990, 22-23.

²⁶ Bećirbegović 1990, 22-23.

desne obale Miljacke. Centri mahala su ravnomjerno raspoređeni uz glavnu saobraćajnicu od Ferhad-pašine džamije do Ali-pašine džamije na otprilike svakih 500 m, a na južnijoj saobraćajnici su popunjavani međuprostori na istoj ujednačenoj razdaljini, ali pomjereni za 200-250 m ka istoku, u zavisnosti od javnih prostora kao što je su musala i ponegdje interpolirana javna groblja i Latinluk (Plan 2). Prolazeći danas većim saobraćajnicama kroz grad savremeni prolaznik teško može zamisliti takav način urbanizacije koji je završen krajem XVI stoljeća i trajao je sve do prvih godina austrougarske vladavine. Shodno ondašnjim uslovima saobraćaja, privređivanja, urbane infrastrukture i stanovanja to je bio vrlo organiziran način urbanizacije tako da su i stanovnici iz najudaljenijih kuća u mahali svoje najosnovnije svakodnevne potrebe mogli bez većeg napora zadovoljiti na razdaljini od 150 do 200 m.

Zaključak

Dok su historičari, osmanisti i urbanisti istražili u većem obimu osmansku historiju i razvoj urbane jezgre Sarajeva u rano osmansko doba, u tom pogledu arheološka djelatnost u Bosni i Hercegovini dosta zaostaje u odnosu na okolne balkanske zemlje koje su duže vremena bile pod osmanskim vlašću. Iskopavanja temelja srušenih džamija tokom posljednjeg rata širom Bosne i Hercegovine su rađena uglavnom u svrhu podizanja istih na tim mjestima, ali bez objavljenih arheoloških rezultata. Do danas su na području užeg dijela Sarajeva djelimično ili u cijelosti arheološki istražena dva vjersko-prosvjetna kompleksa iz osmanskog doba (u Bakrbabinoj mahali na Atmejdani i Kalin hadži-Alije) i dvije džamije – Tabil el hadži Mustafe u Donjoj Hiseti, (danas Kotromanićeva ulica) i mala vojnička džamija unutar zidova Bijele tabije na Vratniku. Od toga djelimično su objavljeni rezultati izuzetno značajnih istraživanja Bakrbabinog kompleksa i kataloški objavljeni podaci o džamiji u Bijeloj tabiji.²⁷

Namjera ovog rada je nastojanje da se sačuva još jedan djelić bogate historije grada Sarajeva. Kao što se vidi iz iznijetih podataka, iako

erection of bridges linking the left and right banks of the Miljacka. The mahala centres were arrayed more or less equidistantly along the main road from the Ferhad Pasha Mosque to the Ali Pasha Mosque, roughly every 500 m, while along the street to the south, they were about the same distance apart, but shifted 200 to 250 m eastwards, on account of public spaces such as the musalla and the occasional public burial ground and Latinluk (Plan 2). As one walks or drives along the city's major roads, it is hard for today's passer-by to imagine the kind of urbanization that was completed in the late 16th century and endured until the early years of Austro-Hungarian rule. It was a highly organized kind of urbanization, in line with the traffic, way of doing business, urban infrastructure and home lifestyle of its time, and ensured that the residents of even the most remote houses in the mahala could meet their everyday needs with no great effort within a distance of 150 to 200 m.

Conclusion

Whereas historians, Ottoman scholars and urbanists have made extensive studies of Ottoman history and the development of the urban centre of Sarajevo in the early Ottoman period, in this regard archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina lags well behind the other Balkan countries that were also under Ottoman rule for long periods. The excavation of the foundations of mosques destroyed during the last war in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been carried out mainly with a view to erecting new mosques on the same sites, without publishing the archaeological findings. Thus far two religious and educational complexes of the Ottoman period have been investigated archaeologically in part or as a whole in inner Sarajevo (in the Bakrbabina mahala in Atmejdan and the Kalin Hajji Alija complex), along with two mosques – the Tabil el hajji Mustafa mosque on Donja Hisea (now Kotromanićeva Street), and the small military mosque within the walls of the White Bastion in Vratnik. The results of the extremely important investigation of the Bakrbabina complex have been published in part, as has a catalogue-style report on the mosque in the White Bastion.²⁷

The purpose of this paper is to preserve, if possible, another scrap of the rich history of the city of Sarajevo. As the data set out above reveals,

²⁷ Fekeža-Martinović 2011, 363-424; Muftarević *et al.* 2010.

²⁷ Fekeža-Martinović 2011, 363-424; Muftarević *et al.* 2010.

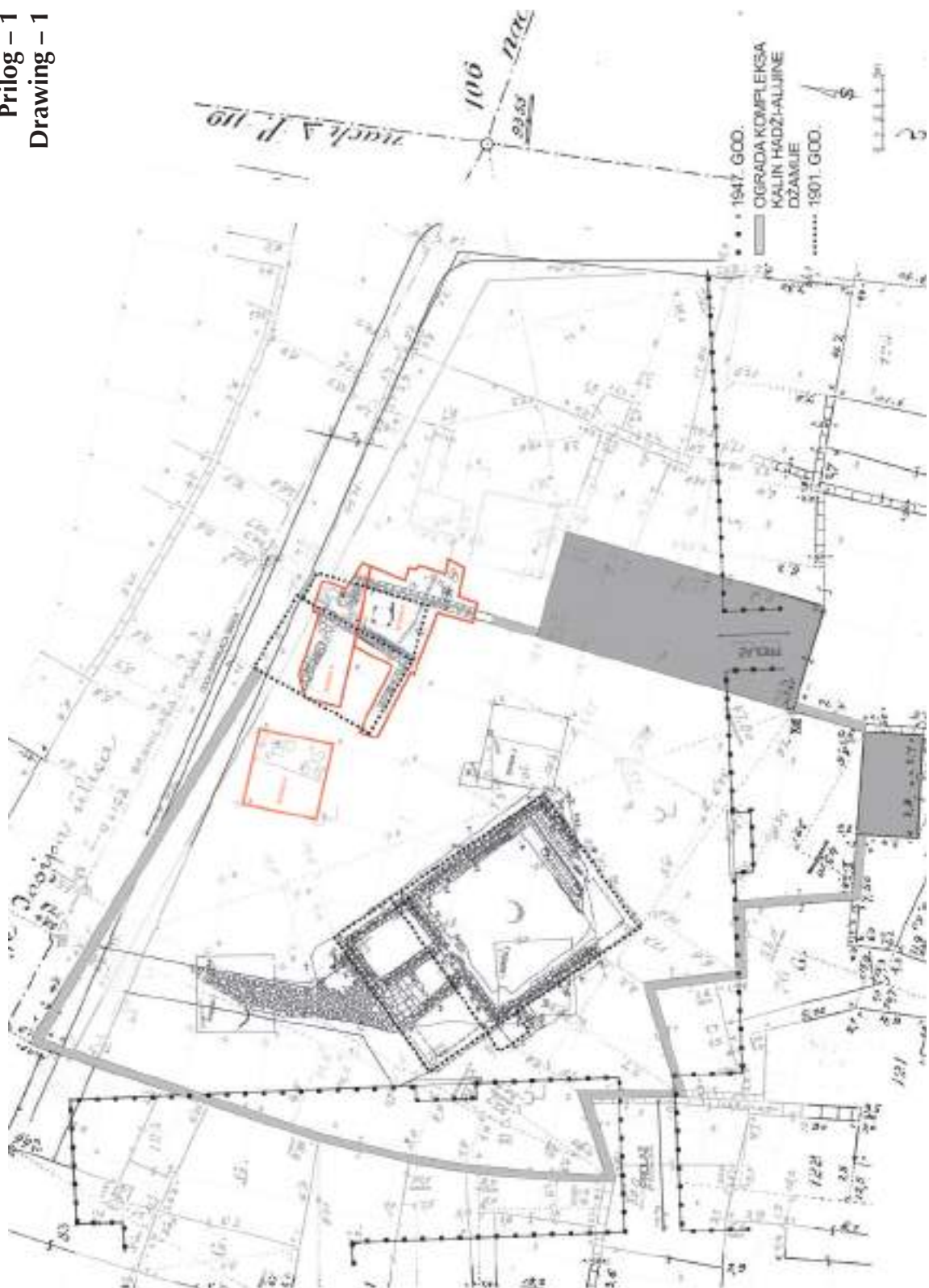
još predstoje radovi manjeg obima na dovršenju ovog posla, veći dijelovi oba objekata su istraženi. Oba objekta nisu do kraja istražena usljed nedostatka vremena, odnosno finansijskih sredstava. Vjerojatno će spomenutom destrukcijom terena ostati neriješen problem sagledavanja prvobitnog izgleda mekteba i kasnijih faza preuređenja oba objekta koji su obnovljeni početkom XVIII pa sve do njihovog rušenja u 20. stoljeću. Od 2005., kada su počela istraživanja džamije i 2007. godine kada je istražen dio mekteba, do danas nije uslijedio njihov nastavak. Istraživači su se morali ograničiti na otkrivanje samo nadzemnih ostataka zidova u iščekivanju daljeg nastavka radova. U protivnom bi za ovih nekoliko godina na objektima uslijedila još veća urušavanja arheoloških ostataka.

though there are still some minor works to be done to complete this particular task, the greater part of both buildings has been investigated. They were not fully excavated for lack of both time and funds. The destruction of the site means that the original appearance of the mekteb and the later stages in the adaptation of both buildings that restored in the early 18th century between then and their final demolition in the 20th century will probably never be known. Since 2005, when investigations began on the mosque, and 2007, when part of the mekteb was excavated, no further work has been done. The investigating team was obliged to confine itself to uncovering only the above-ground remains of the walls, in the hope of continuing the work later. If this is not done, there will be still greater damage to the archaeological remains in the years to come.

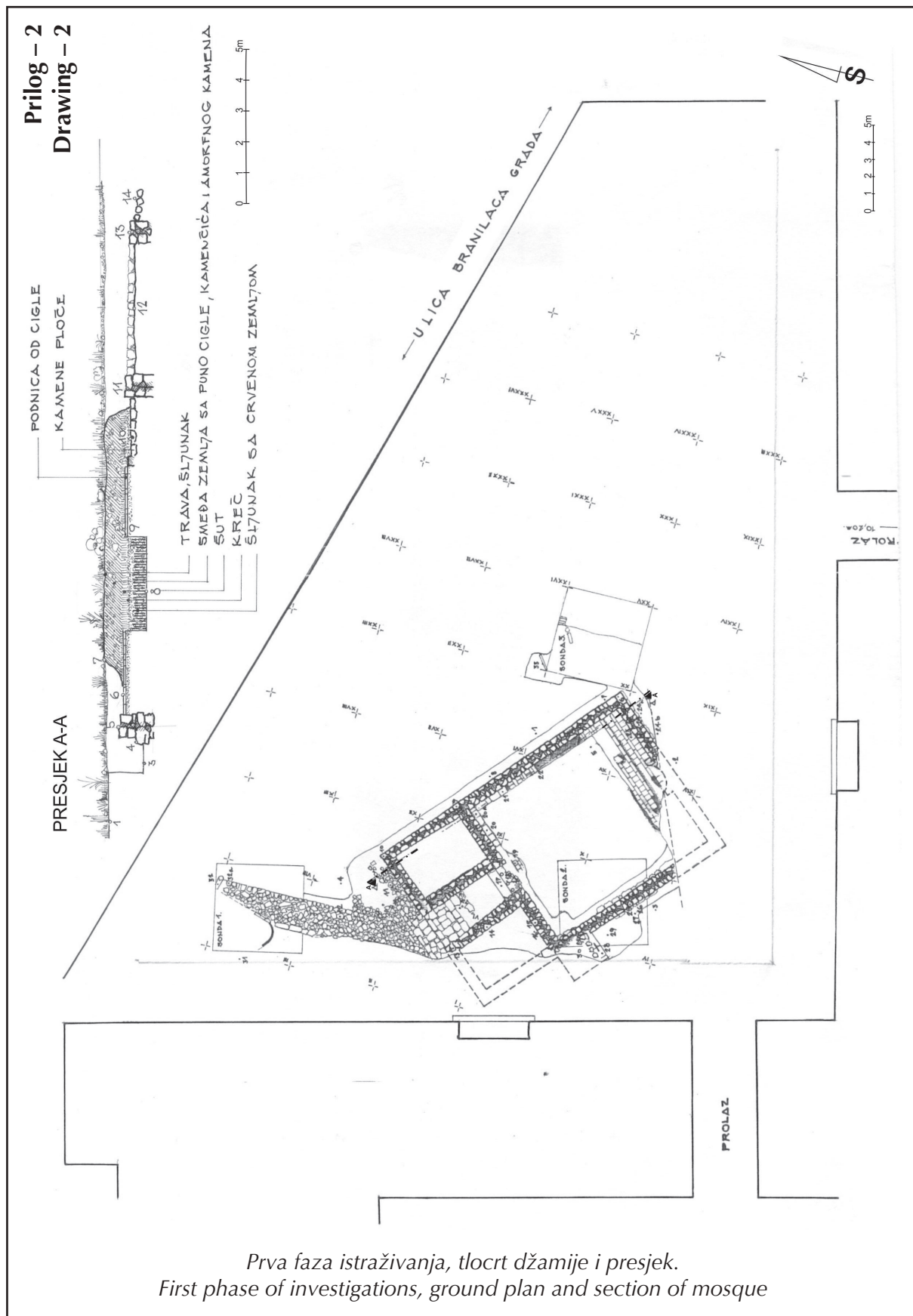
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Prilog – 1
Drawing – 1

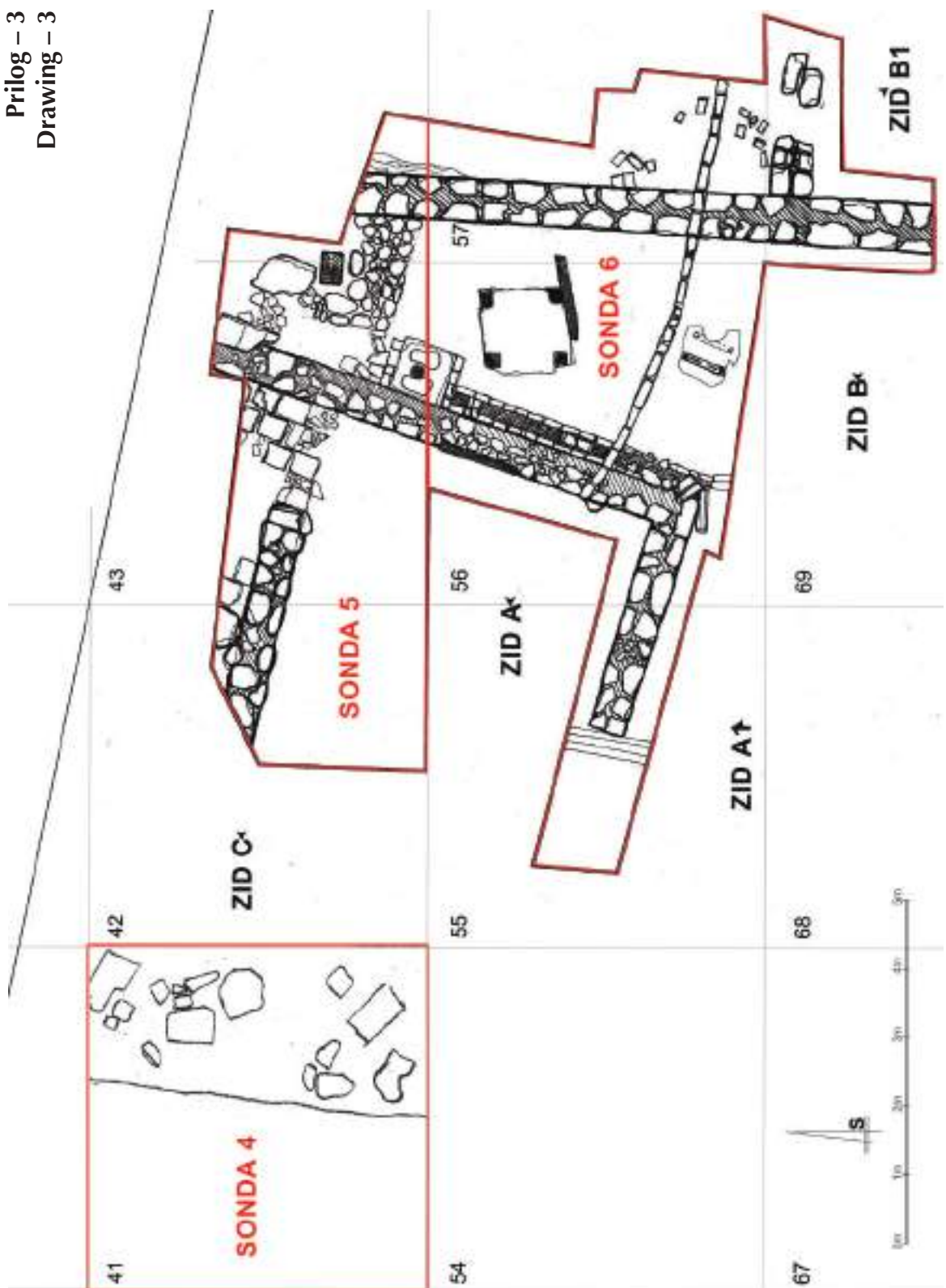


*Geodetska podloga sa umetnutim planom iz 1901. godine i rezultatima arheoloških istraživanja.
Geodetic survey superimposed with 1901 plan and results of archaeological investigations*



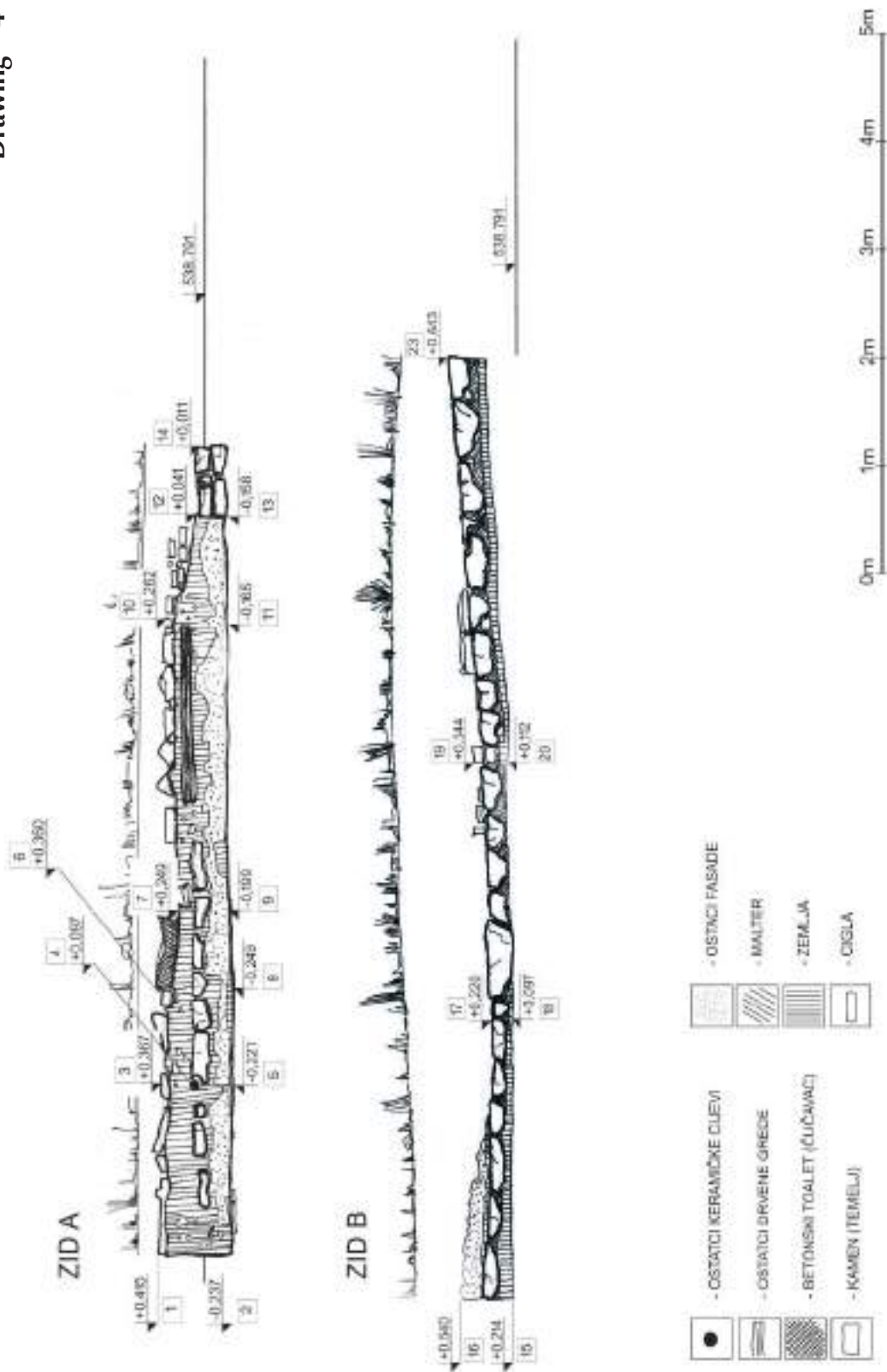
Prva faza istraživanja, tlocrt džamije i presjek.
First phase of investigations, ground plan and section of mosque

Prilog – 3
Drawing – 3



*Druga faza istraživanja, tlocrt
Second phase of investigations, ground plan*

Prilog – 4
Drawing – 4



Druga faza istraživanja, presjeci
Second phase of investigations, sections

Plan – 1

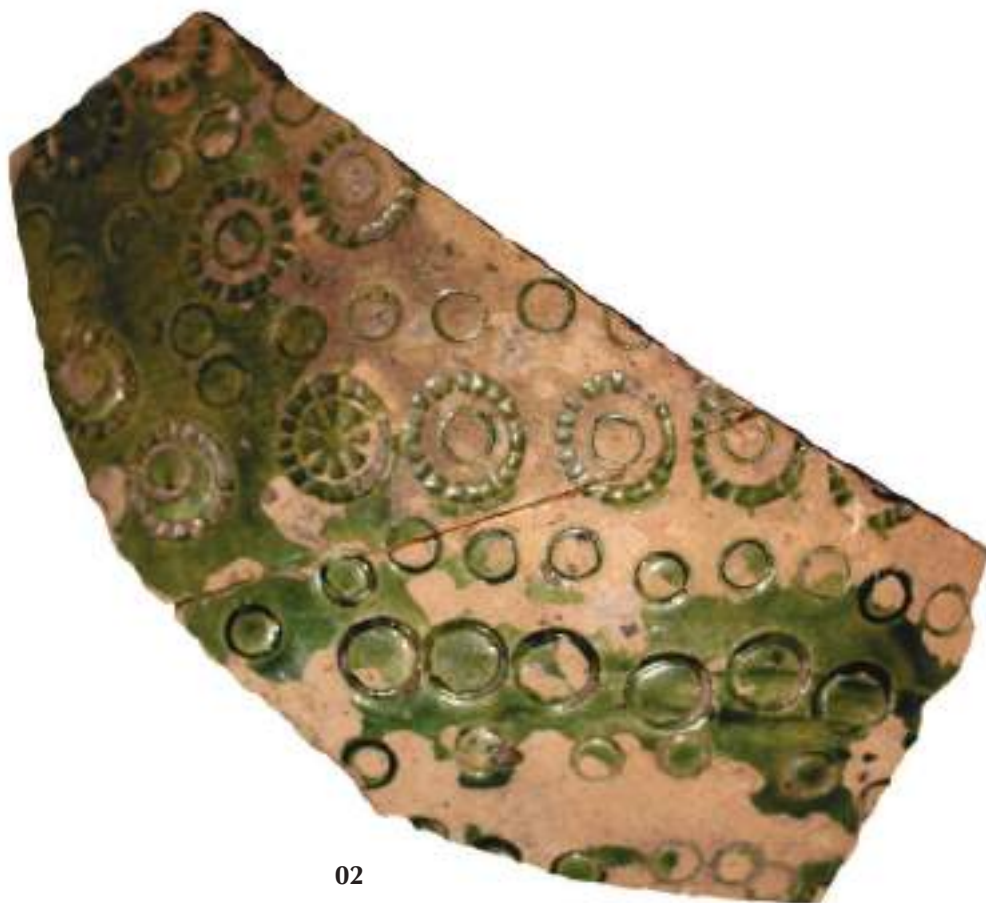


Plan iz 1882. godine, područje mahale Kalin hadži-Alije
1882 plan, site of Kalin Hajji Alija mahala

T - I

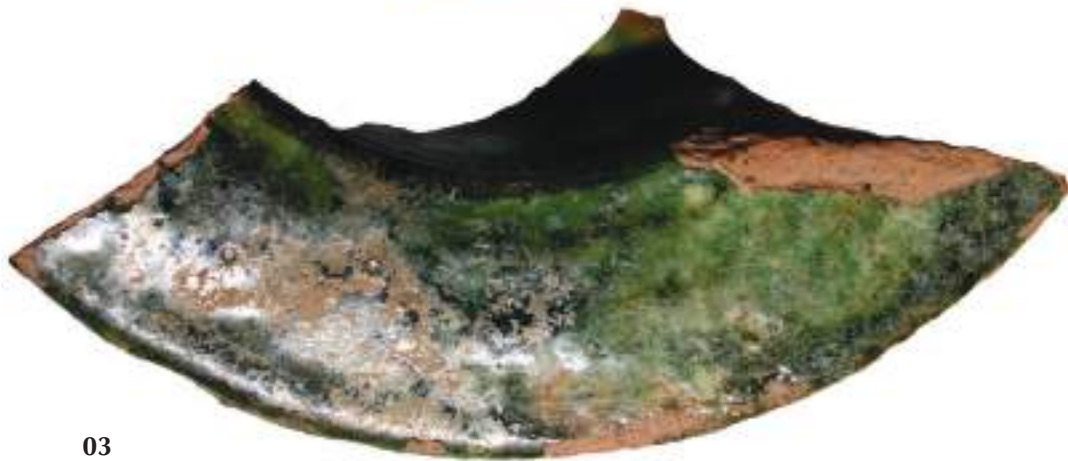


01



02

T – II



T – III



01



02



03



04



06



05



07



08

T – IV



01



02



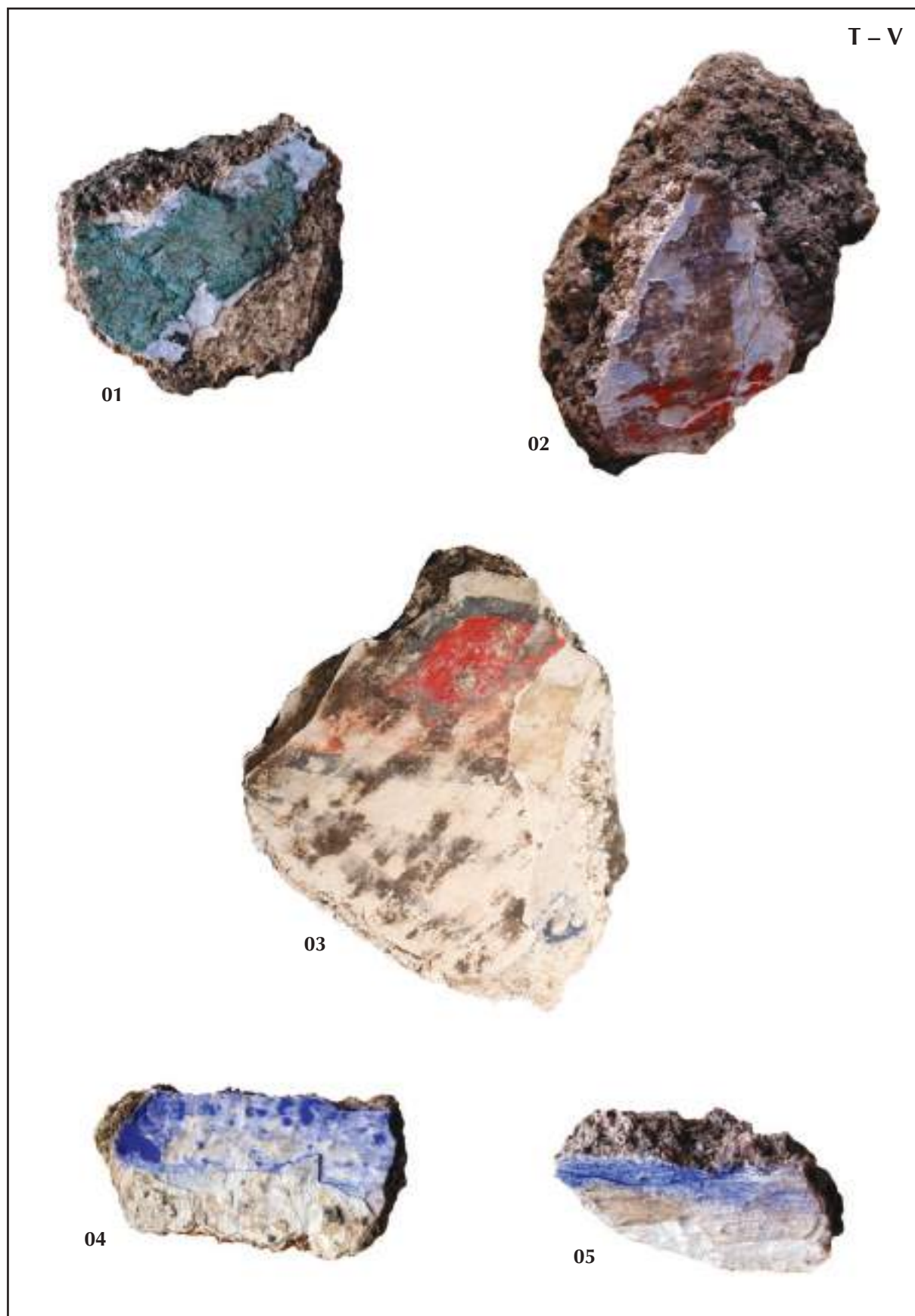
03



04



05



T – VI



01



02



03



Sl. 01 *Pogled na lokalitet sa jugoistoka*
Fig. 01 *View of the site from the south-east*



Sl. 02 *Pogled na lokalitet sa sjeverozapada*
Fig. 02 *View of the site from the north-west*



Sl. 03 *Pristupna staza, ulaz u trijem i prostor za vjernike*
Fig. 03 *Access path, entrance to portico and prayer hall*



Sl. 04 *Unutrašnji prag sa tragovima trenja desne vratnice*
Fig. 04 *Inner threshold with traces of bolt of right-hand door wing*



Sl. 05 *Temeljni dijelovi jugozapadnog zida i minareta*
Fig. 05 *Foundations of the south-west wall and minaret*



Sl. 06 *Ugao sjeveroistočnog i jugoistočnog zida sa ostacima podnih pločica*
Fig. 06 *Junction of the north-east and south-east walls with remains of floor tiles*



Sl. 07 *Drvena podloga ispod popođenog poda uz sjeveroistočni zid*
Fig. 07 *Wooden beams under paved floor by the north-east wall*



Sl. 08 *Dio jugozapadnog zida i plato kubusa minareta*
Fig. 08 *Part of the south-west wall and platform of the minaret base*



Sl. 09 *Vodovodna cijev uz mihrab koja vodi do spoja jugoistočnog i jugozapadnog zida*
Fig. 09 *Water pipe by the mihrab leading to the junction of the south-east and south-west walls*



Sl. 10 *Instalacije na uništenom spoju jugoistočnog i jugozapadnog zida*
Fig. 10 *Installation on the destroyed junction of the south-east and south-west walls*



Sl. 11 Unutrašnja strana sjevernog dijela zida A u mektebu
Fig. 11 Inner side of the northern part of wall A in the mekteb



Sl. 12 Mekteb, slikan sa jugoistoka ka sjeverozapadu. Br. 1- Zid A; Br. 2-Zid B; Br. 3-Zid-C; Br. 4-toalet; Br. 5-kamena ploča (banjica); Br. 6-kaldrma na ulaznom dijelu između ogradnog zida na sjeveru, mekteba i Zida B; Br.7- kanal
Fig. 12 Mekteb, photographed from the south-east to the north-west. 1 – Wall A; 2 – Wall B; 3 – Wall C; 4 – toilet; 5 – stone slab (wash-house); 6 – cobblestones at the entrance area between the boundary wall to the north, the mekteb and Wall B; 7 – conduit



Sl. 13 *Sjeveroistočni ugao mekteba, spoj zidova A i A1*
Fig. 13 *North-east corner of the mekteb, junction of walls A and A1*



Sl. 14 *Zid A mekteba, unutrašnja strana s ostacima grede i malternom oblogom pri dnu*
Fig. 14 *Wall A of the mekteb, inner side with remains of beam and plaster near the base*



Sl. 15 Zib B, snimljeno sa juga ka sjeveru
Fig. 15 Wall B, photographed from north to south



Sl. 16 Toalet i ostaci maltera na zidovima
Fig. 16 Squat toilet and remains of plastered stone wall



Sl. 17 Kameni nalazi
Fig. 17 Stone finds



Sl. 18 Ugao ulica Kulovićeve i Branilaca Sarajeva iza 1890. godine (oko te godine izgrađen je hotel Carska kruna, kasnije hotel Pošta). Pogled na hotel i džamiju sa istoka (danas Pozorišni trg)

Fig. 18 Corner of Kulovićeve and Branilaca Sarajeva Streets after 1890 (the approximate date when the Carska kruna Hotel, later the Pošta Hotel, was built).
View of the hotel and mosque from the east (now Pozorišni trg)



Sl. 19 *Crtež džamije i mekteba prije rušenja oko 1911. godine*
Fig. 19 *Drawing of the mosque and mekteb prior to demolition c. 1911*



Sl. 20 *Sjeveroistočni zid džamije, u pozadini zgrada suda*
Fig. 20 *North-east mosque wall; courthouse in the background*



Sl. 21 Slikano sa sjeverozapada, trijem i minaret; u pozadini krov Narodnog pozorišta i Brdo džamija
Fig. 21 Photographed from the north-west, portico and minaret; in the background, the roof of the National Theatre and Brdo Mosque



Sl. 22 Detalj – šerefa i ukras na kamenom vrhu minareta
Fig. 22 Detail – šerefa and decoration at the top of the shaft of the minaret



Sl. 23 *Grafika Milana Vasiljevića, rušenje džamije 1947. godine*
Fig. 23 *Drawing by Milan Vasiljević, demolition of the mosque in 1947*

Anthropological examination of skeletal remains from Bobovac

Completing and Refitting Skeletal Remains. A report

Review article

UDK: 572:94 (497.6 Bobovac) " 19 "

According to written historical sources the town Bobovac built in the first half of 14th century by the Governor Stjepan II Kotromanić was probably used as a residence by several Bosnian kings until 1463 when Bosnia became occupied by the Ottoman Empire. Hypothetically four kings and one queen could be buried in the royal chapel in Bobovac – Ostoja, Stjepan Ostojić, Tvrtko II and his wife Doroteja Gorjanska and Tomaš (Stjepan Tomaš).

Under Turkish occupation Bobovac was reduced to rubble and the royal chapel demolished. Later, the place became a goal of thefts and amateur archaeologists who looted and plundered graves. During the first systematic archaeological excavations in 1963, conducted under auspices of the National Museum in Sarajevo, nine graves within and outside the royal chapel were opened and excavated. In compliance with original records from the excavation incomplete skeletal remains of 14 individuals (13 adults and one child) were found. Majority of found skeletal remains were badly preserved and many bones were missing.

The remains from Bobovac housed in the National Museum were examined in 2007 by the author, who is a forensic anthropologist. The remains represent 13 individuals.

Key words: anthropological examination, skeletal remains, Bosnian kings, Bobovac

Introduction

In February 2007 the author of this report was asked to conduct an anthropological examination and an eventual re-association of skeletal remains excavated in August 1963 from in and around the royal chapel in the town of Bobovac and housed since then in the National Museum in Sarajevo.

All the remains supposedly excavated from nine graves were stored in three long coffin-like boxes in the basement of the National Museum, where the author viewed them initially.

The boxes containing skeletal remains from Bobovac were brought to the main Museum building where the examination was conducted. The only available original documentation concerned the remains were copies of the notes taken by Pavao Anđelić during the period of archaeological excavations carried out in August 1963. Anđelić, who was responsible for conducting these excavations, made report for each grave separately. These hand-written notes (as well as its typed form) named "Grave record" ("Grobni zapisnik") were made available to the author. The full information on the excavations was published in a book written by Pavao Anđelić.¹ Additionally, the author of this report was provided with copies of two scientific articles written by Antun Lovrinčević and Maid Hadžiomerađić.²

According to the original documentation there were 9 graves in Bobovac. Five of them, Grave No. 1 thru 5, were placed inside the chapel, while the other four were outside. Three of the outside graves, named as north, middle and south grave were situated in front of the entrance to the chapel. The fourth grave, named as north grave outside the chapel, was found close to the north wall of the chapel. All graves were opened between the 2nd and the 28th of August 1963. In compliance with original records from the excavation³ only the incomplete skeletal remains of 14 individuals (13 adults and one child) were found in these 9 graves.

Since the graves were opened and robbed before archeological excavation took place in 1963 therefore majority of found skeletal remains were badly preserved and many bones were missing.

Historical background

According to written historical sources, the royal fortress Bobovac was built in the first half of 14th Century by the Governor (Ban) Stjepan II Kotromanić. In the second half of 14th Century the

¹ Anđelić 1973.

² Lovrinčević 1973; Hadžiomerađić 1990.

³ Anđelić 1963.

place became a residence of the Bosnian kings.⁴ The kingdom in Bosnia lasted for 85 years, from 1378 until year 1463 when the last Bosnian king was killed and Bosnia became occupied by the Ottoman Empire. In the period of the kingdom, Bobovac was probably used as a residence by several Bosnian kings such as Ostoja, Tvrtko II, Stjepan Ostojić, Tomaš also called Stjepan Tomaš or Tomaš Ostojić and Stjepan Tomašević.⁵

Hypothetically four kings and one queen could be buried in the royal chapel in Bobovac – Ostoja, Stjepan Ostojić, Tvrtko II and his wife Doroteja Gorjanska and Tomaš.⁶

During Turkish occupation, the importance of Bobovac rapidly declined, the chapel was demolished and all other buildings were slowly reduced to rubble. After the rules of Ottoman Empire were replaced by the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the place became a goal of thieves and amateur archaeologists who, in search of any valuables, looted and plundered everything, including graves.

The first systematic archaeological excavations were conducted from 1959 thru 1967 under auspices of the National Museum in Sarajevo and the Republic Foundation for Scientific Research of the Socialistic Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina. In the fourth year of the project the ruins of the royal chapel were searched and graves within and outside the chapel were excavated.

Since then the recovered artifacts and human remains have been stored in the National Museum in Sarajevo. Over the past 44 years these skeletal remains were examined by several different researchers.

General description of remains stored in three coffin-like boxes (*sanduk*)

As already stated above, the author, who is a forensic anthropologist, examined skeletal remains from Bobovac upon the request of Mr. Ferid Sokolović, the author of the research project “Bosna i vrijeme” sponsored by Allmanah Production. All the remains originally recovered from the 9 separate graves, were stored in three coffin-

like boxes (later called “*sanduk*”) in the basement of one of the buildings belonging to the National Museum. They were brought to the main building where the examination took place.

Sanduk 1 – contained bones from different individuals mixed together onto one heap. Between bones was one small handwritten paper label – “*Grob 1*”. Apart from the loose bones in Sanduk 1, there were two cardboard boxes. The smaller cardboard box, labeled (by pen on top as “*Bobovac Grob 1*”) contained two small green plastic shopping bags and two paper bags – each with a mandible inside; two loose pieces of left maxillae (with teeth) and a left zygomatic bone (all three pieces from same individual); vertebrae (Th11 till L5), right and left clavicles, corpus sternum, sacrum, coccyx, two degenerated ribs, fragment of ossified thyroid cartilage and two loose teeth. This cardboard box contained also four small handwritten paper labels:

- “Bobovac Crkvice – crkva Grob 1; 7. VIII. 1963”
- “Bobovac Grob 1 – mandibula; 27. XI. 87 Zj. Stojić”
- ”Grob 1 – 2 mandibule i 1 maxila u 2 dijela”
- ”mandibula”

One of the plastic bags contained a complete mandible and a small handwritten paper label: “*Grob 1, 1 mandibula iz kutije*”. A second plastic bag contained another mandible (without the left ramus). There was no label. A third mandible, small and very well preserved, without right ramus, was in a white paper bag with a handwritten label: “*Dorotea? Grob 3*”. The fourth and last mandible, robust and without right ramus, was in a brown paper bag marked with the handwritten label: “*Bobovac Crkvice – Crkva, Grob 1, 2/VIII-1963, mandibula*”.

The bigger cardboard box was not labeled at all and contained several long bones from two different individuals. There was a right femur, a right and left tibia and left fibula, all with partially fused epiphyses representing one young individual. The remaining bones, a right and left femur and a left tibia and fibula belonged to another, older individual. In the midst of the bones lay an old envelope marked with the handwriting: “*Grobница uz severni zid kapele (izvana)*”.

⁴ Nilević 1994, 41.

⁵ Anđelić 1973, 88, 142; Ćirković, 1964, 276, 387.

⁶ Anđelić 1973a, 377-395.

This means that most of the bones stored in the Sanduk 1 belonged to the individuals recovered from the Grave No.1, while some of the long bones are from the grave situated outside the north wall of the chapel. One mandible belongs to the remains recovered from Grave No. 3.

Sanduk 2 – contained two piles of mixed bones representing two different individuals. The bones of a more robust male individual were placed on Styrofoam and between them were two small handwritten paper labels with identical wording:

- “*Bobovac Crkvice – Crkva Grob 2; 7. VIII. 1963g*”

Another heap of bones lay directly on the bottom of Sanduk 2; and here too, there were two small handwritten paper labels among the bones, one reading: “*Bobovac, 26.VIII.63, Grobnica 3, u kapelici*” and the other: “*Bobovac 1963, 31.VIII.63, Kapelica, Grob 3*”.

Sanduk 3 – was filled with loose bones representing several individuals and two cardboard boxes. Among the loose bones were three handwritten paper labels, all with the same wording: “*Bobovac – sjeverni grob u trijemu*”. The fourth label had different wording: “*Bobovac – 2 IX 63, Grobnica uz sjeverni zid kapelice (izvana)*”.

One cardboard box marked on top as “*Bobovac severni grob u trijemu*” contained thoracic and lumbar vertebrae from different individuals, one sacrum, two clavicles, a fragment of a corpus sternum, a right radius fused together with carpals, second and third metacarpals and phalanges of second finger; and right and left taluses and calcaneuses fused together.

Another cardboard box marked on the lid as “*Severni grob u trijemu*” contained four complete skulls (one with a mandible); one incomplete and partially broken skull without a mandible; fragments of one more skull [represented by occipital bone, parietal bones (both in fragments) and fragments of the temporal and frontal bones]; two loose premolars that did not fit with any of the skulls or mandibles present in the box; a tiny fragment of mandibular ramus; and a paper bag, marked: “*Bobovac, Crkvice-Crkva, Maksila, Sjeverni grob u trijemu*” that contained a left maxilla fused with a left zygomatic bone.

The content of each Sanduk was placed on

marked sheets of paper. First, all the bones were separated into groups, and then they were either paired or associated together. Separate skeletal inventories and anthropological examination sheets were produced for all associated skeletons as well as for skulls and the paired bones.

Description of remains from sanduk 1

According to the labels, the bones stored in Sanduk 1 were recovered from the Grave No.1, which was situated in the royal chapel along the north wall. They represent the remains of four individuals judging from the bones such as innominates and skulls.

It was possible to reconstruct two skeletons (incomplete) from the loose bones – one representing a very young and the other older individual. There were also two complete and one incomplete skull, left maxillae representing fourth skull, and three mandibles. Due to the lack of vertebrae, none of the skulls could be associated with the skeletons. Similarly, none of the mandibles could be positively associated with any of the skulls. It was possible to pair two of the femora for which sex and stature could be estimated and two innominates for which sex and age at death could be assessed.

It was also possible to match (pair) incomplete the long bones such as humeruses, radiuses, ulnae and tibiae, but it was not possible to estimate either sex, age or the stature of the individuals they came from, due to the poor state of preservation of these bones. Other loose bones present in Sanduk 1 were two scapulae, a corpus sternum, several cervical and thoracic vertebrae, an incomplete femur as well as bones of hands and feet. Unfortunately it was impossible to pair any of those bones or to associate them with any of the skeletons (Fig. 1).

The following descriptions therefore relate only the completed skeletons, skulls or paired bones. Standard anthropological methods were used for the sex and age assessment according Klonowski and White.⁷ Stature was estimated with help of Trotter and Sarajlić formulae.⁸

⁷ Klonowski 1997; White, 2000

⁸ Trotter 1970; Sarajlić 2006.



Fig. 1 *Unassociated bones recovered from Grave No. 1 and stored in Sanduk 1*

The majority of bones stored in Sanduk 1 were recovered from Grave No 1; a few were from Graves No. 2 and No. 3 and several from the grave outside the chapel, named “*Grobница uz severni zid kapele (izvana)*”.

Skeleton 1 (remains recovered from Grave No. 1)

These well preserved bones of young individual – the vertebra from Th8 thru L5, the ribs from both sides, the right innominate and most of long bones were present. Leg bones were found in the cardboard box and they were placed together with leg bones of the older individual recovered from the grave situated outside the chapel. All epiphyses are either not fused at all (rib heads, vertebrae rings, iliac crest) or partially fused (long bones). There is no skull.

Sex: male

Estimated stature: 177-183 cm

Age at death: 17-19 years old

Pathological/congenital changes/ante-mortem injuries: not found

Skeleton 2 (remains recovered from Grave No. 1)

These were quite well preserved thorax bones from an older individual – clavicles, corpus sternum, vertebrae T1, Th2 and Th8 till L5, all ribs, a sacrum, a coccyx and both innominate. Some bones of this individual were placed in the cardboard box while others were loose in Sanduk 1 mixed with all the other bones.

Sex: male

Age at death: 50-60 years old

Stature: undetermined



Fig. 2 Skeleton 1 (Grave No. 1)



Fig. 3 Skeleton 2 (Grave No. 1)

Pathological/congenital changes/ante-mortem injuries:

- Visible old injury to sternal end of right clavicle that turned into huge inflammation which deformed the bone.
- Thoracic vertebrae, Th1 and Th2 are fused together. This could be either result of illness that caused compression of first thoracic vertebral body, congenital deformation or perhaps old injury.
- All vertebrae show advanced osteophytation on edges of vertebral bodies as a result of osteoarthritis process. These pathological changes in these skeletal remains were already described by Lovrinčević and Anđelić.⁹

The round perforation, properly called a “sternal foramen”,¹⁰ was visible on corpus of the sternum presents a rare but normal variation of this bone. McCormick found that sternal foramen were formed in pre-ossification stage of sternum development in almost 8% of cadavers¹¹.

⁹ Lovrinčević 1973,54; Anđelić 1973, 82.

¹⁰ Schwartz 1995.

¹¹ McCormick 1981.

Sternal foramen should be not confused with a gunshot or other violently inflicted wound.¹²

The perforation in sternal bone in Skeleton 2 is not a result of any injury to the bone as it was presented by Lovrinčević and it was not a cause of death of this individual.¹³

Skull 1 (recovered from Grave No. 1)

Skull without a mandible – only part of the occipital bone is missing. Also present is the first cervical vertebra (C1) matching the base of the skull.

Sex: male

Age at death: probably about 30 years old

Pathological/congenital changes/ante-mortem injuries: none found

Skull 2 (recovered from Grave No. 1)

Skull without mandible. Only small part of right temporal bone is missing.

Sex: male

Age at death: about 40 years old

Pathological/congenital changes/ante-mortem injuries: none found

¹² Bass 1995.

¹³ Lovrinčević 1973,54.



Fig. 4 Skull 1 (Grave No. 1)



Fig. 5 Skull 2 (Grave No. 1)

Skull 3 (recovered from Grave No. 1)

The skull was in fragments – only the left side of the cranium was present. The right part of the frontal bone, the right parietal, temporal and occipital bones as well as the mandible are missing.

Sex: probably male

Age at death: probably less than 30 years old

Pathological/congenital changes/ante-mortem injuries:

- Visible pathological changes to part of the frontal and left parietal bones in the form of a wide inflammation on the endocranial surface (Fig. 6a).
- There is also a round perforation with sharp edges in the parietal bone showing a kind of “beveling”. A specialist in paleopathology should be contacted for the correct explanation of this particular perforation (Fig. 6b).



Fig. 6 Skull 3 (Grave No. 1)



Fig. 6a Skull 3 (Grave No. 1)



Fig. 6b Skull 3 (Grave No. 1)

Skull 4 (recovered from Grave No. 1)

This consists of only a fragment of the facial part of the skull – both maxillae and the left zygomatic bone are present. The left maxillae (in two pieces) with the zygomatic bone was found in the cardboard box marked “Bobovac-Grob 1” which was placed in Sanduk 1 containing remains from the Grave No. 1. The right maxilla was found in Sanduk 2 among the bones of the individual from

the Grave No. 2. Both maxillae belong to the same individual. Since in the original report of the remains excavated from Grave No. 2 (*Grobni zapisnik, 1963*), the presence of maxillae was not mentioned, therefore it was refitted with a matching left maxillae found in Sanduk 1 in which the bones recovered from Grave No.1 were stored.

Sex: unknown

Age at death: possible 30-35 years old (according to the tooth translucency)

Pathological/congenital changes/ante-mortem injuries: none found



Fig. 7 Skull 4 (Grave No. 1)

Mandible 1 (recovered from Grave No. 1)

The mandible is in two pieces with the fragment of the upper part of the right ramus missing. Some teeth are present. The molars on the left side show more advanced dental wear than those on the right side. Due to deterioration of the bone and the lack of the right mandibular condyle, it was not possible to match with certainty this mandible with either Skull 1 or with Skull 2.

Sex: male

Age at death: adult (according to dental wear – older than 30)

Pathological/congenital changes/ante-mortem injuries: none found



Fig. 8 Mandible 1 (Grave No. 1)

Mandible 2 (recovered from Grave No. 1)

A complete mandible with most of teeth was present. This mandible was placed inside a green plastic shopping bag which was in the cardboard box marked "Bobovac – Grob 1" found inside Sanduk 1. The bag also contained a handwritten note: "Grob 1, 1 mandibula iz kutije". It is not possible to match this mandible with certainty with Skull 1 or 2 due to deterioration of either the mandibular fossae or the mandibular condyles.

Sex: male

Age at death: adult (according to dental translucency and wear – probably younger then 30)

Pathological/congenital changes/ante-mortem injuries: none found

Mandible 3 (recovered from Grave No. 1)

This was a very robust mandible with the upper part of the right ramus missing. Premolar and molar teeth are present. This mandible was in a brown paper bag labeled "Bobovac – Crkva Grob 1, 2/VIII-1963, mandibula".



Fig. 9 Mandible 2 (Grave No. 1)



Fig. 10 Mandible 3 (Grave No. 1)

Sex: male

Age at death: adult (according to dental wear and translucency of roots – probably older then 30)

Pathological/congenital changes/ante-mortem injuries: none found



Fig. 11 *Pair of femora (Grave No. 1)*

Pair of femora (recovered from Grave No. 1)

Sex: male

Age at death: adult

Estimated stature: 179-185 cm

Pathological/congenital changes/ante-mortem injuries: none found

However, the upright shape of femoral neck could suggest that this individual had knock-kneed legs (coxa valga).

Pair of innominate (recovered from Grave No. 1)

Sex: undetermined (however looking more female than male)

Age at death: probably 35-40 years old

Pathological/congenital changes/ante-mortem injuries: none found



Fig. 12 *Pair of innominate (Grave No. 1)*

Left innominate (recovered from Grave No. 1)

Sex: male

Age at death: probably 40-50 years old

Pathological/congenital changes/ante-mortem injuries: none found



Fig. 13 *Left innominate (Grave No. 1)*

Description of remains from Sanduk 2

The bones found in **sanduk 2** represent remains of two individuals recovered from two single graves situated inside the royal chapel: from Grave No.2 and Grave No.3.

Individual from Grave No. 2

The skeletal remains represent an incomplete skeleton. Skull and most of long bones are missing (Fig. 14).

Sex: male

Age at death: over 50 years old

Estimated stature: 178-184 cm

Pathological/congenital changes/ante-mortem injuries:

- No visible ante-mortem injuries or congenital changes.
- All vertebrae show advanced osteophytation and two cervical vertebrae (C3 and C4) are fused.
- Pathological osteoarthritic changes are present on most of the bones.

Osteoarthritis in vertebral column of this individual was described earlier by Lovrinčević.¹⁴



Fig. 14 Individual from Grave No. 2

Individual from Grave No. 3

The well-preserved bones represent an incomplete female-like skeleton without a skull. All the bones, except for the mandible, were in Sanduk 2, together with bones from Grave 2. The mandible was in a paper bag marked "Dorotea ? Grob 3" and placed inside the smaller cardboard box marked "Bobovac – Grob 1" that was found in Sanduk 1 that contained remains from the Grave No.1.

Sex: female

Age at death: probably 28-32 years old

Estimated stature: 163-169 cm

Pathological/congenital changes/ante-mortem injuries: none found

Description of remains from Sanduk 3

The bones that were stored in Sanduk 3 hypothetically should represent the remains of the individuals originally recovered from all the other graves:



Fig. 15 Individual from Grave No. 3

¹⁴ Lovrinčević 1973.

graves numbers 4 and 5 situated in the chapel; three graves found in the entrance to the royal chapel, called north, middle and south (“*sjeverna grobnica u trijemu crkve*”, “*srednja grobnica grobnica u trijemu crkve*”, “*južna grobnica u trijemu crkve*”) and from one grave situated outside the north wall of the chapel, named either as north grave outside the chapel or north grave outside the wall of chapel (“*sjeverna grobnica izvan crkve*” or “*sjeverna grobnica uz zid kapele*”).

According to the original notes from the period of the excavation (*Grobni zapisnik, 1963*), the remains of seven individuals – six adults and one child – were recovered from those six graves. Fragments of the child’s remains were found in Grave No.4, two individuals were recovered from Grave No.5, two were in the grave situated outside the north wall of the chapel and three in the graves in front of the chapel (one individual was found in each grave).

On the other hand, the true number of individuals found in the north grave at the entrance is unclear. In the original report on excavation (*Grobni zapisnik, 1963*), Anđelić mentions the presence of skeletal remains situated in three layers in this grave. However, in the report he describes the presence of one skeleton and only one skull. Ten years later Anđelić writes in his book that the remains of 8 individuals (four female and four male) were found in the north grave at the entrance.¹⁵

Due to the lack of any documentation, it was not possible to decide from which graves the bones stored in Sanduk 3 in fact came. The only available information came from handwritten paper labels lying amongst the loose bones of all types. Three of these notes were identical – “*Bobovac – sjeverni grob u trijemu*”. The fourth handwritten label was different, reading – “*Bobovac – 2 IX 63 Grobnica uz sjeverni zid kapelice (izvana)*”. Two cardboard boxes placed inside Sanduk 3 were labeled “*Bobovac severni grob u trijemu*” on the lids. One of these boxes contained mainly thoracic and lumbar vertebrae from several individuals; radius fused with carpal bones, 4th metacarpal and phalanges of 4th finger; fragment of sternum (corpus) and two calcaneus and taluses fused together. The second cardboard box contained three complete skulls; one incomplete and one fragmented skull; two mandibles, left maxillae and zygomatic bones placed in

brown envelope handwritten “*Bobovac, Crkvice – Crkva, Maksila, sjeverni grob u trijemu*”.

There is no reference to the remains from Graves No.4 and No.5 in the chapel and from the middle and south graves in the entrance. The bones stored in Sanduk 3 represent the remains of a minimum of 6 adult individuals judging from present skulls. There are no child’s bones present.

All the bones were first separated into groups and then either paired or associated into skeletons. Sex, probable age at death and stature were estimated for the completed skeletons, skulls and paired bones.

Individual 1 (possible remains recovered from “Sjeverni grob u trijemu”)

These remains represent an almost complete skeleton (Fig. 16). The bones are well preserved.

Sex: female

Age at death: probably 45-55 years old

Estimated stature: 164-171 cm

Pathological/congenital changes/ante-mortem injuries:

- Osteoarthritis process on the vertebral bodies (osteophytes).
- Perforation of the left parietal bone on the skull – cause was not determined (Fig. 16a).
- Old, healed fracture of the distal left radius and the processus styloideus on the left ulna.

These skeletal remains appear to be those that Anđelić described in his book as a female skeleton found in northern grave in the entrance of the chapel (“*na dubini 60 – 70 cm pojavio se potpuno očuvan skelet ženske osobe, srednjih godina, dugačak svega 156 cm*”).¹⁶

Individual 2 (possible remains from “Grobica uz sjeverni zid kapelice (izvana)”)

This case consists of badly deteriorated bones of the thorax (vertebrae, fragments of ribs and pelvis bones) without a skull or limbs.

Sex: undetermined (very possible female)

Age at death: over 50 years old

¹⁵ Anđelić 1973, 107.

¹⁶ Anđelić 1973, 107.



Fig. 16 Individual 1 (Sjeverni grob u trijemu)



Fig. 16a Individual 1 (Sjeverni grob u trijemu)

Pathological/congenital changes/ante-mortem injuries:

There are no visible pathological or congenital changes on the bones except for distortion of the articular surfaces of the acetabulum in both in-

nominate. It is difficult to explain or describe this triangular shaped cut-like deformation of the articular surface in the right acetabulum (Fig. 17a) and a round one in the left acetabulum (Fig. 17b) as an injury, given their position. On the other hand, this deformation hardly looks like a normal variation of this bone. The opinion of an experienced paleopathologist should be sought for a possible explanation of this phenomenon

Nevertheless, since such a bone mark to the innominate of one of the skeletons examined by Lovrinčević is described in his paper (where it was described as the result of “probable traumatic injury” to “the area of one hip joint”), this could provide valuable information on the origin of this particular skeleton.¹⁷ It is probably the same skeleton that Lovrinčević describes as one of two female skeletons originally recovered from the grave situated outside the north wall of the chapel (“sjeverna grobnica izvan crkve” or “sjeverna grobnica uz zid kapele”).



Fig. 17 Individual 2 (Sjeverna grobnica uz zid kapele)

¹⁷ Lovrinčević 1973, 55.



Fig. 17a Individual 2 (*Sjeverna grobnica uz zid kapele*) – indentation in right acetabulum



Fig. 17b Individual 2 (*Sjeverna grobnica uz zid kapele*) – indentation on left acetabulum

Individual 3 (remains from the cardboard box marked “Bobovac severni grob u trijemu”)

This case consists of several bones showing pathological changes caused by highly advanced arthritis.

Sex: undetermined – however, since bones are rather delicate (feminine), it cannot be excluded that they might represent a female

Age at death: possible 40-50

Estimated stature: not possible to determine

Pathological/congenital changes/ante-mortem injuries:

- All vertebral bodies show advanced osteoarthritic changes (osteophytes).

- There is an old injury to right clavicle, with inflammation developed during the process of healing resulting in deformation of almost half of the bone .
- The bodies of thoracic vertebrae Th4 and Th12 are compressed.
- All carpal bones show degenerative changes and are all fused together.
- The mass of carpals is also fused to distal radius and to metacarpals (3rd and 4th).
- Phalanges of 4th finger are also fused together.
- Both taluses and calcanei are fused together and highly degenerated. The right calcaneus is also fused with a navicular bone .

These remains were also described by Lovrinčević as coming from “North Grave A in the entrance to the chapel” (“*Sjeverna grobnica A u trijemu*”).

Unfortunately, this information on the origin of these remains raises some questions, since according to the original excavation documentation there were three graves in the entrance to the chapel, named as north, middle and south grave, whereas Lovrinčević mentions presence two north graves: “North Grave A in the entrance” (“*Sjeverni grob A u trijemu*”) and “North Grave B in the entrance” (“*Sjeverni grob B u trijemu*”).¹⁸



Fig. 18 Individual 3 (*Bobovac sjeverni grob u trijemu*)

¹⁸ Lovrinčević 1973, 55-56

Individual 4 (remains from the cardboard box marked "Bobovac sjeverni grob u trijemu")

This individual is represented by only three thoracic vertebrae (Th10 – Th12).

Sex: undetermined

Age at death: older than 50 years

Estimated stature: not possible to determine

Pathological/congenital changes/ante-mortem injuries:

- osteoarthritic changes to vertebral bodies (osteophytes)



Fig. 19 Individual 4
(Bobovac sjeverni grob u trijemu)

Individual 5 (remains from the cardboard box marked "Bobovac sjeverni grob u trijemu")

This individual is also represented by three last thoracic vertebrae (Th10 – Th12) and a last right rib (R12).

Sex: undetermined

Age at death: older than 50 years

Estimated stature: impossible to determine

Pathological/congenital changes/ante-mortem injuries:

- osteoarthritic changes to vertebral bodies (osteophytes)
- R12 fused to the vertebral body



Fig. 20 Individual 5
(Bobovac sjeverni grob u trijemu)

Skull 1 (From the cardboard box marked as "Bobovac sjeverni grob u trijemu")

This is a complete and very brachicephalic (short and round) skull without a mandible. The frontal bone, left zygomatic and left maxillae are deteriorated.

Sex: undetermined (some traits are more female-like, others more male-like)

Age at death: probably older than 35 years (judging only from the endocranial sutures)

Pathological/congenital changes/ante-mortem injuries: not found

Skull 2 (From the cardboard box marked "Bobovac sjeverni grob u trijemu")

This is a complete and very short skull without a mandible.

Sex: undetermined (shows mixture of female and male-like traits)

Age at death: possibly 25-35 years (judging from the endocranial sutures, the tooth translucency and the dental wear)

Pathological/congenital changes/ante-mortem injuries:

- There is an additional incisor growing at the midline between both maxillae, above the alveolar arch (congenital abnormality)



Fig. 21 Skull 1 (Bobovac severni grob u trijemu)



Fig. 22 Skull 2 (Bobovac sjeverni grob u trijemu)

**Skull 3 (From cardboard box marked as
“Bobovac sjeverni grob u trijemu”**

This is an incomplete skull – bones in fragments. Part of the right parietal, the frontal and some facial bones as well as the mandible are missing. The left maxillae and zygomatic bone were kept separately in a brown envelope with a handwritten label: “Bobovac, Crkvice-Crkva, Maksila, sjeverni grob u trijemu”. The zygomatic bone is a good match with the left frontal bone.

Sex: undetermined (probably male)

Age at death: probably older than 35 years
(judging only from the endocranial sutures)

Pathological/congenital changes/ante-mortem injuries: none found



Fig. 23 Skull 3
(Bobovac sjeverni grob u trijemu)

Skull 4 (From the cardboard box marked "Bobovac sjeverni grob u trijemu")

This is a complete skull with a mandible. The bones are very well preserved.

Sex: male

Age at death: probably 40-45 years (judging from the endocranial sutures, the tooth translucency and the dental wear)

Pathological/congenital changes/ante-mortem injuries: none found



Fig. 24 Skull 4 (Bobovac sjeverni grob u trijemu)

Skull 5 (From the cardboard box marked "Bobovac sjeverni grob u trijemu")

This is a skull without mandible. The basis of occipital bone, the right processus mastoideus and the left squama temporalis are missing.

Sex: male

Age at death: probably over 35 years (judging from the endocranial sutures and the dental wear).

Pathological/congenital changes/ante-mortem injuries: none found



Fig. 25 Skull 5 (Bobovac sjeverni grob u trijemu)

Mandible 1 (From the cardboard box marked "Bobovac sjeverni grob u trijemu")

This is a robust mandible with a very square chin. Part of the left upper ramus is missing.

Sex: possible male

Age at death: adult (probably over 30 judging from the dental wear).

Pathological/congenital changes/ante-mortem injuries: none found

Mandible 2 (From the cardboard box marked "Bobovac sjeverni grob u trijemu")

This is a tiny fragment of a mandible with one tooth intact.

Sex: undetermined

Age at death: adult (over 30 judging from the dental wear).

Pathological/congenital changes/ante-mortem injuries: none found



Fig. 26 Mandible 1 (Bobovac sjeverni grob u trijemu)

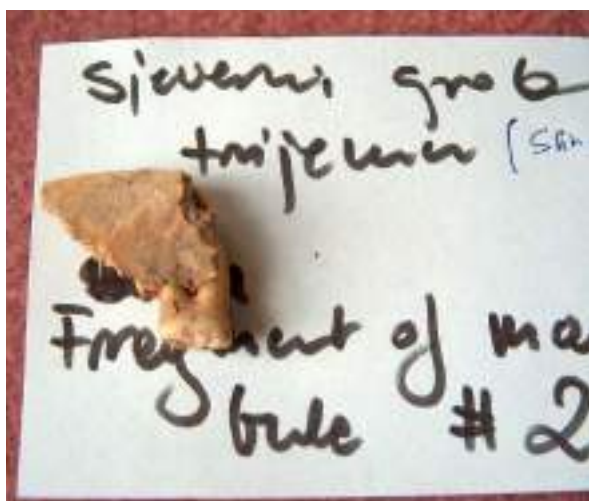


Fig. 27 Mandible 2 (Bobovac sjeverni grob u trijemu)

Mandible 3 (From the cardboard box marked "Bobovac sjeverni grob u trijemu")

This is a fragment of the left side of a mandible.

Sex: undetermined

Age at death: impossible to determine

Pathological/congenital changes/ante-mortem injuries: none found

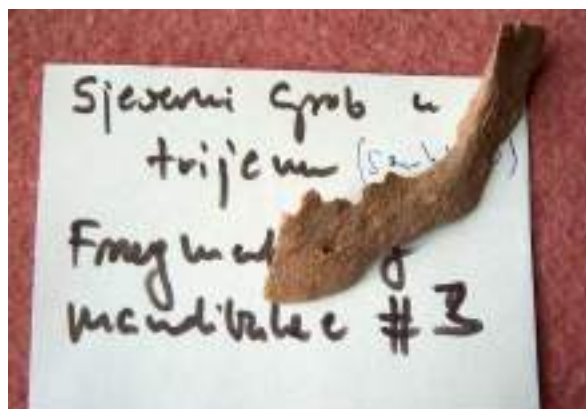


Fig. 28 Mandible 3 (Bobovac sjeverni grob u trijemu)

Legs 1 (Bobovac sjeverni grob u trijemu)

Both femora are complete and the bones are reasonably well preserved. The tibias are in fragments and there is only part of a right fibula present.

Sex: undetermined (possible male)

Age at death: adult

Estimated stature: if female 165-172 cm, if male 168-174 cm

Pathological/congenital changes/ante-mortem injuries: none found



Fig. 29 Legs 1 (Bobovac sjeverni grob u trijemu)

Legs 2 (Bobovac sjeverni grob u trijemu)

Both femora and tibiae are present. The bones are deteriorated on the proximal and distal ends.

Sex: undetermined

Age at death: adult

Estimated stature: if female 159-166 cm, if male 162-169 cm

Pathological/congenital changes/ante-mortem injuries: none found



Fig. 30 Legs 2 (Bobovac sjeverni grob u trijemu)

Pelvis 1 (Bobovac sjeverni grob u trijemu)

This is very badly preserved pelvis. Both innominates are fragmented and sacrum deteriorated.

Sex: male

Age at death: possibly 30-40 years old

Pathological/congenital changes/ante-mortem injuries:

- Degenerative arthritic changes to the acetabulum.
- Massive osteophytes on the promontorium (sacrum).



Fig. 31 Pelvis 1 (Bobovac sjeverni grob u trijemu)

The remaining bones from Sanduk 3 which could be neither paired nor associated into skeletons are as follows: fragments of several scapulae, fragments of three sternum corpuses and one manubrium, a pair of humeruses (the bones have no ends), a lower half of a right humerus and one deteriorated left humerus; a right ulna and a radius with no ends, two left ulnae; a pair of radiuses (no ends); five patellae (4 right and 1 left); four fibulae – one pair with both ends missing, one right fibula in three pieces (35,4 cm long) and one left fibula with no proximal end; three pairs of taluses and calcaneuses; several tarsals, metatarsals and phalange bones. There are also fragments of vertebrae and long bones and tiny fragments of two mandibles (see Fig. 32).

Description of remains from grave situated outside the chapel – ‘Grobница uz sjeverni zid kapele (izvana)’

Legs (from unmarked cardboard box in Sanduk 1)

These bones, representing both femora and fibulae, and left tibia were found in a larger unmarked cardboard box in Sanduk1 containing bones from the Grave No.1. In the box was an old envelope labeled by hand: “Grobница uz sjeverni zid kapele (izvana)”. These legs were placed in the cardboard box together with bones of legs of the young individual recovered from Grave 1. The right fibula was found between loose bones stored in Sanduk 1.

Sex: male

Age at death: adult

Stature: 178-184 cm

Pathological/congenital changes/ante-mortem injuries: none found



Fig. 32 Unassociated bones from Sanduk 3 from "Sjeverni grob u trijemu" and "Grobna uz sjeverni zid (izvan crkve)"



Fig. 33 Legs (Grobna uz sjeverni zid kapele (izvana)?)

Discussion

There is a discrepancy between the number of remains stored in the National Museum which the author received for examination and the number of remains originally recovered. According to the original grave records (*Grobni zapisnik, 1963*) made by Pavao Anđelić during archaeological excavations in 1963, the remains of 14 individuals (13 adults and one child) were found. In the book written by the same author,¹⁹ the number of excavated remains rises to 21 individuals. However, the number of remains currently stored in the National Museum is 13.

According to the original grave records (*Grobni zapisnik, 1963*) status quo of skeletal remains found in the graves was as described:

- 4 individuals were recovered from Grave No. 1. The grave was robbed before the excavation took place; bones were commingled and mixed with rubble.
- 1 individual was recovered from Grave No. 2. The grave was robbed earlier; the bones mixed with rubble represent an incomplete skeleton.

¹⁹ Anđelić 1973; second edition, 2004

- 1 individual was recovered from Grave No. 3. The grave was robbed before the excavation; all the bones were mixed with rubble.
- 1 individual (**child**) was recovered from Grave No. 4. The grave was robbed earlier and there were only a few fragments of “hand bones and ribs” mixed with rubble.
- 2 individuals were recovered from Grave No. 5. The grave was robbed earlier. The skeletal remains were mixed with fragments of coffins.
- 1 individual was recovered from the north grave in the entrance to chapel. There was a well-preserved complete skeleton found at a depth of 60-70 cm, and then some mixed skeletal fragments 20-30 cm beneath the skeleton. Some more bones were found at a depth of 170 cm. However, in the description of the recovered remains there is only one female skeleton mentioned as well as the presence of one skull.
- 1 individual was recovered from the middle grave in the entrance to the chapel. Skeletal remains were mixed with coffin fragments. Both were very badly preserved.
- 1 individual was recovered from the south grave in the entrance to the chapel. The grave was robbed before the excavation took place and bones were mixed with rubble.
- 2 individuals were recovered from the north grave outside the chapel. The bones were in disorder. There were fragments of a wooden casket present. The grave had not been robbed.
- Sanduk 3 contained bones representing 6 individuals recovered from graves described as the north grave in the entrance – “*sjeverni grob u trijemu*” and the grave outside the chapel – “*grobna iz sjeverni zid (izvan crkve)*”. All the bones were stored together.

The stored remains that the author examined represent 13 individuals – 12 adults and one juvenile. There is not a single bone that could have come from a child 10-12 years of age.²⁰

There is already a discrepancy in the number of recovered individuals recorded in the original grave reports and those described in the book both by the same author.²¹

According to the original grave records of Andelić in the north grave, situated in front of the chapel, was one complete skeleton found at a depth of 60-70 cm, bone fragments some 20-30 cm beneath that and some more mixed bones at the bottom of the grave at a depth of 170 cm (“*Na dubini od 60-70 cm pojavio se kostur položen u šut, potpuno sačuvan. Kojih 20-30 cm dublje ležali su razbacani brojni ulomci nadgrobne ploče, a odmah ispod njih dijelovi drugog /added by handwriting/ skeleta u potpunome neredu... Po dnu grobnice takođe su bile razbacane kosti.*” In the 1973 book, the number of individuals found in this grave rises to eight – 4 female and 4 males but the description of the remains found is almost the same: “*Na dubini 60-70 cm skelet ženske osobe srednjih godina, dugačak svega 156 cm. Kojih 20-30 cm dublje ležali su razbacani brojni ulomci nadgrobne ploče,...; odmah ispod njih dolazili su ispreturani dijelovi drugog skeleta. Do dna grobnice (na 170 cm dubine) također je u iskopu bio šut sa fragmentima fresaka, ulomcima obrađene muljike i dijelovima ljudskih skeleta.*”²²

In the original grave report Andelić mentions the presence of only one skull (with visible, but fused sutures), gives the length of the skeleton as 156 cm and estimated the sex as female. In the book, however, Andelić writes about the remains of four females, giving sex and age estimations from the skulls (“*orijentacija prema lubanjama*”) and four males giving sex and age assessments on the basis of the mandibles, innominates and femo-

All the bones excavated in 1963 in Bobovac were placed in three wooden coffin-like boxes (Sanduk) and were stored in the National Museum in Sarajevo. According to the author of this report who examined the bones, the minimum number of individuals (MNI) stored in these boxes is 13:

- Sanduk 1 contained bones representing 4 individuals recovered from Grave No. 1 and leg bones from 1 individual recovered from north grave outside the chapel (“*Grobna iz sjeverni zid (izvan crkve)*”).
- Sanduk 2 contained the remains of 2 individuals: one individual recovered from Grave No. 2 and another individual from Grave No. 3.

²⁰ Andelić 1963; 1973, 82-86, 106-107.

²¹ Andelić 1963; 1973, 82-86, 106-107.

²² Andelić 1973, 107; 2004, 124.

ras (“*orijentacija prema karlici, veličini glave femura i mandibulama koje su imale i pojedinačno sačuvane zube*”).

Lovrinčević gives the same number of eight individuals referring to the presence of four female skulls (two short, or “brachicephalic,” and two long, or “dolichocephalic”) with “fragments of a postcranial skeleton” and 4 male mandibles with “many fragments of postcranial skeleton”.²³ However, according to Lovrinčević those remains were recovered from the two north graves: “North Grave A in the entrance” (“*Sjeverni grob A u trijemu*”) and “North Grave B in the entrance” (“*Sjeverni grob B u trijemu*”).²⁴

The number of remains from Bobovac examined by Hadžiomerađić is even more confusing. Hadžiomerađić states that he examined teeth in 13 mandibles and in 7 maxillae, while the remains stored in the National Museum include only nine mandibles. Seven mandibles are more or less complete while the other two mandibles are represented by small fragments.²⁵

Taking into consideration the lack of basic documentation from the excavation, such as photographs of the remains *in situ* (in graves) and from earlier anthropological examination, such as skeletal inventory sheets and a biological profile for each case, it is not possible to determine which bones stored in Sanduk 3 are recovered from which grave. However, it is still quite possible that the commingled bones stored in Sanduk 3 represent the remains of individuals recovered from all 5 graves: from the Grave No. 5; from the north, middle and south graves in the entrance to the chapel; and from the north grave outside the chapel.

According to the grave reports (Grobni zapisnik, 1963) seven skulls (some in fragments) and three mandibles were recovered from the above mentioned graves while Sanduk 3 contained six skulls and five mandibles (three complete and two represented by tiny fragments).

The discrepancy in number of recovered individuals and examined by the author affects merely the north grave in the entrance (“*Sjeverni grob u trijemu*”).

The above mentioned discrepancies are impossible to explain. However, the author does not be-

lieve that the skeletal remains of between one and eight individuals are missing in the material stored in the National Museum in Sarajevo.

Conclusion

The bones excavated in 1963 in Bobovac and housed in the National Museum in Sarajevo represent remains of a minimum of 13 individuals (MNI=13). Since the graves in Bobovac were looted and robbed before an organized archaeological excavation took place in 1963 and that the majority of the bones are missing, it was not possible to complete or reassemble skeletons of all the individuals. Only six of these individuals are represented by more or less complete skeletons. The bones stored in Sanduk 1 represent the remains of four individuals excavated from the Grave No. 1 and one individual excavated from the grave situated outside the north wall of the royal chapel. Sanduk 2 contains the remains of two individuals recovered from Grave No. 2 and Grave No. 3. Sanduk 3 contains commingled bones representing six individuals. Those remains were probably recovered from five graves – the Grave No. 5 from the chapel, three graves situated in front of the entrance to the chapel and one grave located outside the chapel. No child’s bones were found in any of the three Sanduk.

Since Bobovac remains have been repeatedly examined by different people over the past 44 years, it is possible that after these examinations, the bones were replaced in one of three Sanduk without concern for which grave they originally came from.

Taking into account the state of preservation of bones, varying from well preserved to very degraded, there is good reason to conduct the DNA tests mentioned by the authors of the project “Bosna i vrijeme”. However, the expected results should be clearly indicated. The collection of the samples (bones and teeth) for DNA analysis must be discussed with scientists working with ancient bones.

At the moment, there are several DNA laboratories working on ancient DNA that could be recommended, in Innsbruck (Austria), Leipzig (Germany), Cambridge (UK) and Oxford (UK).

²³ Lovrinčević 1973, 54.

²⁴ Lovrinčević 1973, 53-54.

²⁵ Hadžiomerađić 1990.

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