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## “More to the West”: critical comments on the new versions of the “Yamnaya expansion” hypothesis<sup>1</sup>

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Chisinau

*Abstract:* The article considers recent versions of the proposed by geneticists hypothesis of “Yamnaya expansion”. The author demonstrates that the data of Y-chromosome analyses, as well as the data of physical anthropology obviously does not agree with the supposed model of “population replacement” of Europe (even partial) as a result of late migrations from the area of the Yamnaya culture, already in the Bronze Age. Thus, the author suggests that the area in which the formation of the autosomal “Yamnaya component” took place was significantly wider than the area of the Sredny Stog culture, and covered very vast areas of both Eastern Europe (both its steppe and forest parts), and Central and (partly) Western.

*Keywords:* genetic, physical anthropology, archeology, Y-chromosome haplogroups, Yamnaya culture

New publication (“The Genetic Origin of the Indo-Europeans”) of the team led by I. Lazaridis<sup>2</sup> proposes significant changes to the hypothesis of the “Yamnaya expansion” (and the “Indo-Europeanization” of Europe as its consequence). And first of all, it shifts the original locus of the formation of the Yamnaya culture to the Azov-Lower Dnieper region (as, incidentally, did the work published synchronously with it).<sup>3</sup>

As can be seen, these changes to the basic hypothesis are primarily a response to the significant increase in data that has occurred in the last few years, which are poorly consistent with previous versions of the hypothesis (a brief review of these data in the context of criticism of the “Yamnaya Expansion” hypothesis is presented in the recently published book<sup>4</sup>).

This work certainly represents a huge step forward in the development of the hypothesis of the “Yamnaya expansion” and is extremely

interesting. However, it seems that even in its new versions the hypothesis of the “Yamnaya expansion” was unable to offer an adequate answer to the objections that were raised against it.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, new data allow us to add new objections, and, apparently, no less significant ones. The text below tries to formulate precisely these objections.

Thus, the article<sup>6</sup> tried first of all to show that the authors and supporters of the hypothesis of the “Yamnaya expansion”, relying primarily on the results of the whole genome analysis, actually ignored those contradictions in their conclusions that are revealed when using data on Y-chromosome haplogroups.

In particular, “that the branches of the R1b haplogroup of the Y-chromosome that are dominant in Western Europe today are not at all connected with the Yamnaya culture: “The ancient Yamnaya samples are located on the ‘eastern’ R-GG400 branch of haplogroup R1b-L23, showing that the paternal descendants of the Yamnaya still live in the Pontic steppe and that the ancient Yamnaya population was not an important source of paternal lineages in present-day West

<sup>1</sup> This paper was written within the research project “Research and valorization of the built, ethnographic, archaeological and artistic cultural heritage of the Republic of Moldova in the context of European integration” (Code: 170101), funded by the State Program (2024–2027).

<sup>2</sup> Lazaridis et al. 2024; see also: Nikitin et al. 2024.

<sup>3</sup> Allentoft et al. 2024.

<sup>4</sup> Романчук 2024, 10–12, note 1.

<sup>5</sup> Романчук 2019, 56–57; 130–133; 2020.

<sup>6</sup> Романчук 2020.

Europeans ... Now I would add to this that in the Corded Ware cultures, which, according to... were the result of ‘steppe migration,’ haplogroup R1a ... almost completely dominates – and not R1b at all.”<sup>7</sup>

The last conclusion, about the “almost complete dominance of R1a in the Corded Ware cultures” today requires significant adjustment (I am very grateful to the reviewers of the article who drew my attention to the new data). Since, as follows from the data of *Harvard University laboratory website* ([https://reichdata.hms.harvard.edu/pub/datasets/amh\\_repo/curated\\_releases/V52/V52.2/SHARE/public.dir/v52.2\\_1240K\\_public.anno](https://reichdata.hms.harvard.edu/pub/datasets/amh_repo/curated_releases/V52/V52.2/SHARE/public.dir/v52.2_1240K_public.anno)), relevant as of October 2024, the ratio of R1a and R1b Y-chromosome haplogroups among the Corded Ware cultures was almost equal – 34 samples demonstrated haplogroup R1a, and 29 – R1b.<sup>8</sup>

Moreover, in one case (Mala Ohrada, Czech Republic) it is precisely R1b-Z2103,<sup>9</sup> a subclade characteristic of the Yamnaya culture.

That is, the picture today is significantly more complex than the one from which the conclusion cited above<sup>10</sup> was based.

Nevertheless, as we can see, R1b in the Corded Ware cultures is still represented (with a few exceptions, which are discussed below) by a purely European<sup>11</sup> and is practically absent (with four exceptions, which are also discussed below) in the Yamnaya culture by the R1b-L51 subclade (primarily its R1b-L151 branch – its origin is now usually localized in Central Europe,

possibly Bohemia<sup>12</sup>). Or, on the contrary, it is the more ancient R-M269.<sup>13</sup>

And the only manifestation of the R1b-Z2103 subclade is noted on the extreme southwestern periphery of the Corded Ware cultures in the Czech Republic.

Therefore, I believe that the conclusion formulated in<sup>14</sup> can still be considered correct: if we consider that the Corded Ware cultures arose as a result of the “Yamnaya expansion”, it is completely unclear how the Yamnaya people could bring to them something that they themselves did not possess.

In fact, in recent years this circumstance has been noted by an increasing number of researchers. For example: “Although it has been proposed that CW formed from a male-biased westward migration of genetically Yamnaya-like people, no overlap in Y-chromosomal lineages (with the exception of a few nondiagnostic I2) has been found between the predominantly R1a-carrying CW and mainly R1b-Z2103-carrying Yamnaya males. Steppe ancestry is also present in BB individuals; however, they predominantly carry R1b-P312, a Y-lineage not yet found among CW or Yamnaya males”;<sup>15</sup> “The paternal lineages found in the BAC/CWC individuals remain enigmatic. The majority of individuals from CWC contexts that have been genetically investigated this far for the Y-chromosome belong to Y-haplogroup R1a, while the majority of sequenced individuals of the presumed source population of Yamnaya steppe herders belong to R1b”;<sup>16</sup> “published Yamnaya Y-chromosomal haplogroups do not match those found in

<sup>7</sup> Романчук 2020, 246.

<sup>8</sup> It should be noted, however, that some of the data provided in the *Harvard University laboratory website* database are either not confirmed upon verification (as in the case of the alleged R1b1a1b1a from *Kunila 1*, which, according to the reference data, is characterized by R1a-Z645; Saag et al. 2017, 2187, tab. 1), or, there is duplication of information, as in the case of R1b1a1b1b3 (R1b-Z2103) from Malá Ohrada (references are given as: “PapaScienceAdvances2021”; “PattersonNature2021”). Since there is neither time nor need to verify all the source data at the moment, I will limit myself to this remark. But even if we only use the data presented in Papac et al. 2021; Linderholm et al. 2020, there are still 15 cases of R1b in the Corded Ware cultures. So the increase is quite significant.

<sup>9</sup> Papac et al. 2021, 7, fig. 4A.

<sup>10</sup> Романчук 2020.

<sup>11</sup> Myres et al. 2011, 97, 98, fig. 1: e. f. g.

<sup>12</sup> See also Papac et al. 2021, 6–7.

<sup>13</sup> It should also be noted that R1b finds are concentrated on the southwestern and western periphery of the Corded Ware cultures, primarily in the Czech Republic and southeastern Poland (Linderholm et al. 2020, 7) even notes that “The Y chromosome haplogroup lineage R1b-M269 or R-L11 are characteristic of Yamnaya and Bell Beaker individuals ... Curiously, the haplogroup is uncommon among other published Corded Ware Complex individuals from Europe (Germany, Poland, Bohemia, Estonia, Lithuania) and is associated with the later Bell Beaker communities”, as well as in Germany. And they are represented by finds from a limited number of sites.

<sup>14</sup> Романчук 2020, 246.

<sup>15</sup> Papac et al. 2021, 2.

<sup>16</sup> Malmström et al. 2019, 6.

Europeans after 5,000 bp, and the origin of this patrilineal lineage is also unresolved.”<sup>17</sup>

One could even say that this is already generally recognized, but, however, it still does not entail changes in the key provisions of the position of the supporters of the idea of the “Yamnaya expansion”.<sup>18</sup>

Based on the recently published works, we can add some more significant facts on this account. In particular, we will pay attention to the fact that “Sporadic instances of the steppe-associated Y chromosome haplogroup R-V1636 in West Asia occurred at Arslantepe in Eastern Anatolia and Kalavan in Armenia in the Early Bronze Age (~3300–2500 576 BCE) among individuals without detectible steppe ancestry and these could be remnants of the dilution process. This haplogroup was found in the male individual from Remontnoye, both individuals from Progress-25 and two of three males from Berezhnovka, in addition to its occurrence in eleven individuals of the Volga Cline and thus was a prominent lineage of the pre-Yamnaya steppe. Isolated instances have also been found beyond the steppe in Corded Ware individuals from Esperstedt in Germany and Gjerrild in Denmark. The expansive distribution of R-V1636 on the steppe and beyond contrasts with its disappearance on the steppe after the Yamnaya arrived on the scene:

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<sup>17</sup> Allentoft et al. 2024, 302. Unfortunately, I must also note that most of these works do not refer to the work of the discoverers, the work of Balanovsky / Chukhryaeva et al. 2017. Moreover, some of them (like Allentoft et al. 2024, 302) refer to other authors in this matter (whose works, with all due respect to them, appeared much later than the work of Balanovsky / Chukhryaeva et al. 2017). It seems to me that this is not a good way. The normal development of science is possible only if we respect and value each other's work. And, namely Balanovsky / Chukhryaeva et al. 2017 were the first to establish and demonstrate the fact that “the ancient Yamnaya population was not an important source of paternal lineages in present-day West Europeans”.

<sup>18</sup> At the same time, opponents of this hypothesis emphasize precisely the above fact, which prompts them to a characteristic conclusion: “...the absence of Y-chromosomal sharing between early CW and Yamnaya males, suggests a limited or indirect role of known Yamnaya in the origin and spread of CW to central Europe” (Papac et al. 2021, 6); “...the Y chromosome record of both groups indicates that Corded Ware cannot be derived directly from the Yamnaya...” (Kristiansen et al. 2023, 71).

a single individual (SA6010; 2886–2671 BCE) from Sharakhalsun has it, with a genetic profile consistent with CLV ancestry (Fig. 2), the last detected holdout of this once pervasive population (Fig. 3).”<sup>19</sup>

In other words, even the R1b subclade (R-V1636) that appeared (albeit sporadically) in the Corded Ware cultures dominated the steppe zone in the pre-Yamnaya period. But by the time when the Yamnaya culture itself emerged, it had almost completely disappeared from the steppe.

It is worth to note also that the R-V1636 finds from Transcaucasia “among individuals without detectible steppe ancestry and these could be remnants of the dilution process.”<sup>20</sup>

The model of “dilution” of the autosomal component was proposed earlier to explain cases where a certain population in Western Europe (Neolithic-Bronze Age) is characterized by a high presence of haplogroup R (or Q) – but the absence of the autosomal component ANE: “even in those cases where we see how modern or ancient carriers of the R haplogroup of the Y-chromosome in Western Eurasia are characterized by the absence of the autosomal component ANE ... – there is no doubt that initially their ancestors, having come to Europe, were characterized by a more or less significant level of the autosomal component ANE. They lost it in the process of crossbreeding with the aboriginal populations of Europe (in the case of the Basques – the Neolithic early farmers of the Atapuerca type).”<sup>21</sup>

It is encouraging that, albeit gradually (in the earlier published work its authors still considered the “dilution” model only as a possible “alternative scenario” that requires discussion): “an alternative scenario in which male migrants from the steppe introduced it into Southern Arc populations during the Chalcolithic, but their autosomal genetic legacy was diluted by the much more numerous locals”,<sup>22</sup> the supporters of the “Yamnaya Expansion” hypothesis agreed with this explanatory model.

Be that as it may, another important theoretical consequence follows from the above, which was previously formulated as follows: “another

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<sup>19</sup> Lazaridis et al. 2024, 20–21.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 20.

<sup>21</sup> Романчук 2020, 248.

<sup>22</sup> Lazaridis / Alpaslan-Roodenberg et al. 2022, 10.

important theoretical conclusion with regard to the data of the autosomal genome analysis in general is, apparently, that in comparison with the haplogroup of the Y-chromosome (or mitochondrial DNA) – the autosomal component is ‘unstable’. And, accordingly, less suitable for the reconstruction of historical processes. Namely, in the course of the processes of crossbreeding, the autosomal genome can change quite quickly (over the course of several generations?) – up to the complete loss of the original picture.”<sup>23</sup>

It seems important, and even necessary, to emphasize this once again. Since today geneticists in their historical interpretations tend to put the results of whole-genome analysis at the forefront. And not only geneticists but also representatives of other disciplines (primarily archaeologists and anthropologists) relying on their conclusions. For example, A. G. Kozintsev, who proposed his version of the East Eurasian hypothesis of the Dene-Caucasian ancestral homeland, emphasized that part of the conclusions,<sup>24</sup> which are based on the analysis of the ANE component (“A possible connection between the spread of the ANE component from Siberia to the west and the expansion of the languages of the Dene-Caucasian macrofamily was pointed out by A. A. Romanchuk”;<sup>25</sup> “Romanchuk’s observation that the westward migration from Siberia, marked by the ANE (Ancient North Eurasian) autosomal component ... deserves greater attention. Genome-wide components are more informative for tracing migrations than are haplogroups”<sup>26</sup>). And in fact, he completely ignored the results related to the analysis of Y-chromosome haplogroups.

Meanwhile, it seems that the only correct approach will be the one that implies equal consideration (and mutual verification) of both the data of the whole genome analysis and the data of the analysis of Y-chromosome haplogroups (as well as mtDNA).<sup>27</sup> And the emphasis (at least at this

stage of development of genetic research) is preferably, I believe, placed on the analysis of data on Y-chromosome haplogroups. For the early eras of human history, they are especially informative.

Turning from this position to the discussed issue, it should be noted that, in general, the authors of recent works, on the contrary, believe that the data on Y-chromosome haplogroups “is less informative for tracing the origins of the Core Yamnaya”. And at the same time, they believe that it “proves continuity of the Don Yamnaya with their Serednii Stih ancestors. Haplogroup I-L699 was an important lineage in the Dnipro area since the Neolithic hunter-gatherer period, continued to be prevalent among the Serdenii Stih, and in the Don Yamnaya was dominant (17/20 instances). The Core Yamnaya belonged primarily to haplogroup R-M269 (49/51 instances) most of which could be determined as belonging to the Z2103 sub-lineage (41/51). This lineage is unprecedented in our sampling of the steppe before the Yamnaya period; its closest relative is the L51 lineage which dominated the Beaker group and mainland Europe outside the steppe (Fig. 3), with a slightly more distant relative in the R-PF7563 lineage found in Pylos in Mycenaean Greece. With an estimated time of formation of ~4450 BCE (<https://www.yfull.com/tree/R668L23/>; v11.04.00), the R-L23 lineage unifies Beaker, Yamnaya, and Mycenaean Y-chromosomes within an Eneolithic timeframe, which is consistent with the ancestors of these three groups being part of a single population in the Yamnaya period itself since population divergences are always lower than the genetic divergences of specific haplotypes. It is a challenge for future ancient DNA studies to find the population in which the Eneolithic R-L23 founder lived and to trace his R-Z2103 descendants. Their absence from the Eneolithic record, together with the evidence (discussed below) for isolation in the formative period of the Yamnaya suggest that he might have been part of a small group not yet sampled.”<sup>28</sup>

Commenting on this quote, let’s start with the fact that, as one can see, the new data generally confirms the conclusions of O. P. Balanovsky’s team.<sup>29</sup> That is, the R1b subclades

<sup>23</sup> Романчук 2020, 248, note 11.

<sup>24</sup> Романчук 2019; 2020.

<sup>25</sup> Козинцев 2023, 69; 2023a, 55.

<sup>26</sup> Kozintsev 2023, 142.

<sup>27</sup> It is interesting to point out here: “Our results suggest that despite the discontinuity observed between British Mesolithic and Neolithic samples at the autosomal and mitochondrial level, Y-chromosome lineage composition remained stable at the time of the appearance of agriculture in the region” (Brace et al. 2019, Suppl. 15).

<sup>28</sup> Lazaridis et al. 2024, 23.

<sup>29</sup> Balanovsky / Chukhryaeva et al. 2017.

that characterize (and characterize precisely with their complete dominance – “41/51”, more than 80%) the Yamnaya culture (more precisely, the so-called “Core Yamnaya”) are radically different from those that characterize Western Europe (including the Bell Beaker culture, and not to mention the Corded Ware cultures).

Despite the fact that, according to these new data,<sup>30</sup> among the representatives of the Yamnaya culture (and related groups) the subclade R-L51 was found (four cases: one among the Yamnaya people of Kalmykia, another in the Volga region, the third on the Don, and the fourth in the territory of Romania (Smeeni-Movila Mare)), it does not change the situation in any fundamental way. And even more so does the discovery of three cases of haplogroup R1a in the Neolithic materials on the Middle Don (Golubaya Krinitisa (Rossoshansky district, Voronezh region), dated to around the middle of the 6th millennium BC).

These facts do not change the situation since all the above-mentioned finds of R-L51 in the steppe zone do not tell us anything about where exactly the split of the original lineage, R-L23, occurred.

Which (R-L23), it is worth emphasizing, is absent or almost absent in most Western European populations, but is quite noticeably represented in some modern populations of the Balkans and the Mediterranean – including Greece (8%), Kosovar Albanians (11%), southern (4.8%) and northern Italy (6.5%), southern France (2.6%), Crete (4%), Slovenia (3.9%) and Romania (4.5%).<sup>31</sup> And it also reaches extremely high values (27%) in the Upper Rhone Valley in the Swiss Alps.

Such territorial distribution hardly could be interpreted as the result of “Yamnaya expansion”.

And even more so, since the frequencies of R-L51 itself (that is, once again, a younger subclade derived from R-L23), including R-L151, in the Balkans (in all the populations mentioned above, and others considered in the cited study) are equal to zero.<sup>32</sup> In Crete, the overall frequency of R-L51 is 0.6%.

That is, R-L23 (as well as the even more ancient R-M269 (xL23), which is again completely

absent in the absolute majority of the Western and Central European populations (examined by N. Myres et al. in the cited paper), but in the Balkans, on the contrary, is quite noticeable (as in Serbia (4.4%), Macedonia (5.1%), Kosovo (7.9%), Romania (2.9%)<sup>33</sup>), penetrated the Balkans independently of R-L51, as part of completely different populations.

And, obviously, such a scenario is possible only with a very early penetration of both R-L23 and R-M269 (xL23) into the Balkans (and in the case of R-L23, into Central Europe) that occurred long before the emergence of R-L51, and certainly long before the emergence of the Yamnaya culture. It is even possible that this penetration should be dated to pre-Neolithic times, most likely the Mesolithic. As, in fact, was proposed earlier.<sup>34</sup>

That’s why, even on the contrary: the fact that in the Yamnaya culture, despite the already significant array of analyzed data, the “L51 lineage” of the R1b haplogroup is almost absent, serves as a weighty argument against assuming the penetration of R-L51 into Western Europe from the area of the Yamnaya culture.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., Suppl., Tab. S4.

<sup>34</sup> Романчук 2015; 2019; 2020.

<sup>35</sup> As for the statement that “with an estimated time of formation of ~4450 BCE (<https://www.yfull.com/tree/R668L23/>; v11.04.00), the R-L23 lineage unifies Beaker, Yamnaya, and Mycenaean Y-chromosomes within an Eneolithic timeframe, which is consistent with the ancestors of these three groups being part of a single population in the Yamnaya period itself since population divergences are always lower than the genetic divergences of specific haplotypes” (Lazaridis et al. 2024, 23), then, first of all, I would not consider the dating of “estimated time of formation of ~4450 BCE” as some kind of unconditional chronological reference point. We have very vivid examples of how actual datings obtained by genetic methods diverge extremely from the historical and archaeological data, and how geneticists ultimately come to the recognition of the need for a radical increase in the age of their datings in such situations (Романчук 2024, 55–64; 2024a).

The above data on the distribution of R-L23 and R-M269 (xL23) in the Balkans and Western Europe just encourage us to think that modern datings of the origin of R-L23 are considerably rejuvenated. But this, of course, should be the topic of a separate conversation.

However, even based on this dating of this event, the assertion that “which is consistent with the ancestors of these three groups being part of a single population in the Yamnaya period itself since population divergences are always lower than the genetic divergences of specific haplotypes” – obviously absolutizes as the only possible scenario. Meanwhile, there is no reason to assume that the separation of

<sup>30</sup> Lazaridis et al. 2024, Suppl., Tab. 1.

<sup>31</sup> Myres et al. 2011, 96, 97, 98, fig. 1e, Suppl., Tab. S4.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 97, fig. 1: f. g. h, Suppl., Tab. S4.

The logic of such a conclusion seems quite clear, but below it will be explained in more detail, by involving another haplogroup (I-L699) significant for the Yamnaya culture in the analysis of the situation.

Indeed, another important fact, and also not at all in favor of the hypothesis of “Yamnaya expansion,” is the situation with the sharp dominance of the I-L699 haplogroup in the Yamnaya culture of the Don (and, what is even more significant, in the population that was the source for the formation of the Yamnaya culture): “Haplogroup I-L699 was an important lineage in the Dnipro area since the Neolithic hunter-gatherer period, continued to be prevalent among the Serdenii Stih, and in the Don Yamnaya was dominant (17/20 instances).”<sup>36</sup> That is, since the formation of the so-called “Core Yamnaya” is associated by the I. Lazaridis’ team with the area of the Sredny Stog culture (“the population of the Serednii Stih culture from which the direct ancestors of the Yamnaya themselves were formed”;<sup>37</sup> “The Yamnaya themselves were thus the product of admixture between the Caucasus-Lower Volga easterners (for which Remontnoye is a genetic stand-in) with the Ukraine\_N-admixed Serednii Stih westerners...”;<sup>38</sup> “Therefore it is parsimonious to assume that the Core Yamnaya are descended from an unsampled Serednii Stih population...”<sup>39</sup>), we must conclude that it was I-L699 (according to its modern designation, I2a1b1a2a2a (generalizing: I2a1~); in 2019 it was still designated as I2a2~) that was initially the most important Y-chromosome haplogroup in the emerging Yamnaya culture. And, theoretically, along with R1b-Z2103, it was I-L699 that

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a new haplogroup must necessarily precede the division of the original population. In fact, it is obvious that both options are equally probable, and the division of the original population could have occurred in ancient times – while the formation of a new haplogroup occurred much later, in one of the separated populations. Therefore, on the contrary, the presence of R-L51 in the Yamnaya culture, taking into account the overall picture of the set of haplogroups characterizing its patrilineal gene pool (and, we emphasize once again, even based on the supposed dating of the separation of R-L51 today, “~4450 BCE”), can rather be regarded as substrate (or adstrate). Or, in general, simply the result of contacts.

<sup>36</sup> Lazaridis et al. 2024, 23.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, SI 2, 183.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, SI 2, 182.

should have characterized the “Yamnaya expansion” into Central and Western Europe – reflected in its corresponding high popularity in the Corded Ware and Bell Beaker cultures.

Meanwhile, this is again not observed at all. And although haplogroup I-L699, albeit rarely, is still represented in modern Western and Central Europe, this is obviously due to the fact that it actually originates in this region at the end of the Upper Paleolithic-Mesolithic. From where it penetrates (also in the Mesolithic) into the Lower Dnieper region.<sup>40</sup>

In the Corded Ware cultures, as well as in the Bell Beaker culture, according to data,<sup>41</sup> I2a (especially its branch L699), and in general haplogroup I, is very poorly represented.<sup>42</sup> However (including according to the same data), I2a1 (in various subclades) is extremely widely represented in the earlier (and substrate for a number of Corded Ware cultures) Globular Amphora culture of Ukraine and Poland.<sup>43</sup> And one of the two (along with R1b1a1a; Q1a2 is also represented in it) dominant haplogroups of the Y-chromosome in Zvejnieki (Mesolithic-Neolithic of Latvia, 6th millennium BC) was also I2a and its subclades.<sup>44</sup> I2a~ was also very popular in the Iron Gates Mesolithic on the Danube.<sup>45</sup> And also in the Mesolithic-Neolithic of Britain, where it characterized “the vast majority of Mesolithic and Neolithic individuals analysed.”<sup>46</sup> Finally, I2a1b1a2a2a is also noticeable in the Trypillian

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<sup>40</sup> A capacious generalization of the data accumulated to date from archeology, anthropology and genetics on the migration flows of the Mesolithic era from the northern part of Eastern Europe to the Lower Dnieper region, which served as the basis for the formation of the Neolithic Dnieper Napdorozhye, is contained in Lillie et al. 2012; Потехіна 2020; see also: Mattila et al. 2023; Гаскевич 2020; some considerations were exposed in Романчук 2013, 269–270.

<sup>41</sup> Mathieson et al. 2018, Suppl., Tab. 1; Narasimhan et al. 2019, Suppl., Tab. 1.

<sup>42</sup> Thus, I2a is still noted for individuals from Pikutkowo belonging to the Corded Ware culture in Poland; Fernandes et al. 2018, Suppl. Tab. 1. But, as is clear, this does not change the essence of the matter. This is a different, more ancient, and obviously substrate subclade, derived from local Neolithic cultures. Just as I2a is substrate in the Bell Beaker culture sites in the Iberian Peninsula and Britain; Olalde et al. 2019, 3, Suppl., Tab. S1, Tab. S4.

<sup>43</sup> Allentoft et al. 2024, Suppl. Data VII.

<sup>44</sup> Narasimhan et al. 2019, Suppl., Tab. 1.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> Brace et al. 2019, Suppl., 15.

culture<sup>47</sup> (which, as we will see below, is quite interesting).

Thus, from the above, it can be concluded that the work of I. Lazaridis' team has indeed confirmed the previous and added new counter-arguments against the idea of the "Yamnaya expansion" into Europe. Of course, they are trying to resolve the outlined contradictions (to the extent that they notice and acknowledge them) by resorting to the hypothesis of a small and not yet studied population ("an unsampled Sereidii Stih population"; "a small group not yet sampled"). However, this hypothesis, initially seeming completely far-fetched (and the larger the array of accumulated and studied data became, the more far-fetched), as it logically develops taking into account new data, it finally seems to lose its plausibility.

Indeed, now we must talk about this hypothetical micropopulation (let's emphasize: precisely a micropopulation, which is important, as I will try to show below) of the Yamnaya culture as a population in which not one, but two leading, absolutely dominant in the Yamnaya culture, Y-chromosome haplogroups are missing, R1b-Z2103 and I-L699. As well as (and this also looks extremely strange) not a single other R1b subclade from the extensive series presented (albeit in small quantities) in the Yamnaya culture materials,<sup>48</sup> or a single subclade of G and J haplogroups.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Nikitin et al. 2024, SI, 3, Tab. S1.

<sup>48</sup> Lazaridis et al. 2024, Suppl., Tab. 1.

<sup>49</sup> Note: as follows from the data (Lazaridis et al. 2024, Suppl., Tab. 1), many of these R1b subclades are quite evident in the Yamnaya culture monuments from the territory of Romania and the Republic of Moldova (in the origin of which, as a result of migrations from the Yamnaya culture area, none of the archaeologists ever doubted, even those who emphasized the role of local, Carpathian-Balkan, elements and roots in the emergence of these monuments ("While we assume the 'Yamnaya' being mostly covered by an intense wave of migrant people from the east, in a novel socio-economic-ideological atmosphere, it remains to be seen whether the first Pit-Graves under Kurgans at the Lower Danube from c. 3300 cal BC are also carried by steppe people related to those using the north-Pontic Nizhne-Mikhailovka and Kvityana burial traditions, or by local populations integrating new 'eastern' burial customs into their own rituals. Perhaps a combination of both is the most likely scenario"; Frînculeasa et al. 2015, 46–47).

Indeed, this is a striking contrast to the situation in the Corded Ware and Bell Beaker cultures.

Moreover, it is significant that, in relation to the supposed "Yamnaya expansion" into Central and Western Europe, we should speak not of one, but of two such "wonderful micropopulations", one of which should have become the ancestor of the Corded Ware cultures (that is, characterized by the dominance and, apparently, still a very sharp dominance, if not absolute) of the corresponding R1a subclades (still, we recall, not discovered in the Yamnaya culture despite the already very significant increase in data) and the complete absence of R1b-Z2103 and I-L699, and the other – for the Bell Beaker cultures (that is, characterized by the absolute dominance of R1b-L51 and the complete absence of R1b-Z2103 and I-L699).

The fact that we have to assume the existence of two such "miraculous populations" already reduces the mathematical probability of such a development of events not by half, but by significantly more.

A significant problem for the "non-attested micropopulation" hypothesis is that it must be precisely a micropopulation. That is, according to the logic of the supporters of this assumption, in the Early Bronze Age, two (if we are talking only about Europe) by definition small groups of people should have in the shortest possible time (in practice, we should be talking about a couple of centuries, if not less: "It has been estimated that admixture in diverse Corded Ware populations occurred in a narrow date of ~3000–2900 BCE"<sup>50</sup>) mastered the vast spaces of Central and Western Europe (as well as the forest zone of Eastern Europe), almost completely replacing and assimilating, since the huge substrate contribution is obvious both in the Corded Ware cultures and in the Bell Beaker culture; they, it seems, can rightfully be called "substrate cultures"<sup>51</sup> the masses of the autochthonous population that significantly outnumbered them.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Lazaridis et al. 2024, Suppl., 180.

<sup>51</sup> More details in Романчук 2020, 252–254.

<sup>52</sup> Apparently, the genesis of the Afanasievo culture was also much more complex than is implied by the hypothesis of the "Yamnaya expansion" in the version of I. Lazaridis et al. In any case, although I. Lazaridis et al. for including the analyzed individuals in the so-called "Core Yamnaya" proceeded primarily from "the following criteria: (i) labeled as either Yamnaya or Afanasievo based on archaeological considerations, ..." (Lazaridis et al. 2024, Suppl., 153), the set of Y-chromosome haplogroups in the carriers of the

Really, a completely implausible scenario.<sup>53</sup>

Afanasievo culture also differs significantly from that characteristic of the Yamnaya culture. Thus, according to Holard et al. 2018, 97, “most of the Afanasievo men submitted for analysis belonged to a single sub-haplogroup, R1b1a1a, which reveals the predominance of this haplogroup in these early Bronze Age populations”. The R1b1a1a branch, or R1b-M73 (another defining marker is M478), today is distributed mainly in the territories to the east of the Urals and further to Altai (Балановский 2015, 87). And it is an even more distant relative of the R1b-Z2103 subclade characteristic of the Yamnaya culture.

Let me note in passing that it is R1b1a1a (Narasimhan et al. 2019, Suppl., Tab. 1; Lazaridis et al. 2024, Suppl., Tab. 1) that is one of the two (along with I) dominant Y-chromosome haplogroups in the Zvejnieke burial ground (Mesolithic of Latvia, 6th millennium BC). In general, “Haplogroup R1b1a1a (R1b-M73) was frequent among Russian Neolithic individuals” (Allentoft et al. 2024, Suppl. Note 3b, 48).

In the Yamnaya culture, the R1b1a1a subclade is not attested (according to: Lazaridis et al. 2024, Suppl., Tab. 1), but in the Botai Eneolithic culture of Kazakhstan, it is represented by “the R1b1a1 haplogroup, restricted almost exclusively to Central Asian and Siberian populations. Neither of these Botai lineages has been observed among Yamnaya males” (de Barros Damgaard et al. 2018, 5).

According to Lazaridis et al. 2024, Suppl., Tab. 1, about 50% of the Afanasevo culture carriers analyzed by them are indeed characterized by haplogroup R1b-Z2103 (or, more precisely, R1b1a1b1b3, taking into account samples determined through other markers, but also included in R1b1a1b1b3). But the authors also note the presence of the same R-Y13200 (R1b1a1a), N-Y6503 (which is another analogy with the Botai culture), R-M269 (R1b1a1b) and Q-Y6826 (Q1b2a1a~).

According to Narasimhan et al. 2019: Suppl., Tab. 1, three cases of Q1a2 are also noted for the Afanasievo culture (obviously substrate; it later, in various subclades, completely dominates in the Okunev culture, as well as in the Shaman-ka II burial ground (South Baikal)).

The Yamnaya culture of Kazakhstan is characterized by haplogroups R-Y106006 (R1b1a2b), Q-L939 (Q1b2b1b2b~) and R-V1636 (R1b1a2); Lazaridis et al. 2024: Suppl., Tab. 1.

<sup>53</sup> In fact, Lazaridis et al. 2024 are forced to resort to the idea of “an unsampled Serednii Stih population” even to explain the emergence of “Core Yamnaya” itself. Since, if the derivation of the Yamnaya culture of the Don from the Sredny Stog culture looks relatively convincing, then for “Core Yamnaya” it turns out that the original population of the Sredny Stog culture (Lazaridis et al. 2024, Suppl., Tab. 1), characterized almost exclusively by haplogroup I (I-L699, I-Y3259), and if we add the Neolithic sites, then also R-V88, R-V2219, R-L754, R-M1214 (Deriivka), R1a (Golubaya Krinita), Q (Igren, Allentoft et al. 2024, Suppl. Data VII), suddenly turns into a population characterized almost exclusively by haplogroup R-Z2108 (R1b1a1b1b3). The same is true for Allentoft et al. 2024, 306, who try to derive the Yamnaya Culture from a population of the Golubaya Krinita type, characterized almost exclusively by R1a. Indeed, it seems more logical to me to assume that the area in which the formation of the autosomal “ancient Yamnaya

Moreover, it seems that the authors themselves apparently have some doubts about the plausibility of the scenario for the emergence of the Corded Ware cultures suggested by the hypothesis of the “Yamnaya expansion”. I believe this is evidenced by the reservations they made in the article (and repeatedly) such as “The Corded Ware population ... was formed indeed by ... or, at the very least, genetically Yamnaya ancestors that need not have been Yamnaya in the archaeological sense.”<sup>54</sup>

Alas, but if the ancestors of the Corded Ware culture “need not have been Yamnaya in the archaeological sense” – this de facto means the destruction of the basic postulate of the “Yamnaya expansion” hypothesis.

The implausibility of the scenario for the emergence of the Corded Ware and Bell Beaker cultures suggested by the “Yamnaya expansion” hypothesis (as well as the implausibility of the “Yamnaya expansion” hypothesis in general) becomes even more obvious if we involve physical anthropology data (more precisely, craniometry) in the analysis. Indeed, the authors of the “Yamnaya expansion” hypothesis (geneticists, first of all, but also archaeologists and anthropologists), having completely focused on the data of whole-genome analysis, actually neglected to compare the conclusions and interpretations they obtained not only with the data on the Y-chromosome haplogroups – but also with the data of physical anthropology. Which, in fact, in this case should have been a mandatory stage of the research procedure. Especially since the data of physical anthropology, as it seems, poorly agree with the key theses of the hypothesis of “Yamnaya expansion” even in its new incarnation.

Here we present some results of the latest work of A. A. Kazarnitsky, devoted to the problem of possible migrations from Western to Eastern Europe in the context of the formation of the Fatyanovo and Abashevskaya cultures.

Thus, characterizing the Western European series of the Neolithic-Eneolithic times, A. A. Kazarnitsky writes: “The most ancient of them ... have long, narrow or medium-wide

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component” took place was significantly wider than the area of the Sredny Stog culture, and covered very vast areas of Eastern Europe (both its steppe and forest parts).

<sup>54</sup> Lazaridis et al. 2024, 23–24.

dolichocranic skulls, as a rule, a narrow and low face ... Almost the same set of features, but with a greater length and width of the brain section and a greater width of the eye socket, is observed in the Neolithic and Eneolithic series ... among them, only one – from Ostorf, the Funnel Beaker culture – has an unexpectedly wide face.”<sup>55</sup>

Speaking about the Bronze Age of Western and Central Europe, he characterizes the anthropological appearance of the bearers of the Corded Ware cultures as follows: “a combination of features that is almost never found in the materials of the Neolithic era is characteristic of most samples of the Corded Ware culture ... very long, narrow, dolichocranic, high skulls. At the same time, among them, a small zygomatic diameter and an average height of the face are observed in the western groups, while in the eastern ones the facial skeleton is noticeably wider and higher. An exception is the sample from the Złota culture sites: close to the circle of Corded Ware cultures in archaeological features, craniologically it is closer to the Neolithic population.”<sup>56</sup>

Let us emphasize once again two key and characteristic features of the “very dolichomorphic skulls of the Corded Ware (f) and Unetice (g) cultures”:<sup>57</sup> a) very long and narrow skull; b) very narrow (“small zygomatic diameter”; the further west, the narrower) and medium-high face.

Meanwhile, “craniological samples of the Eneolithic Sredny Stog and Khvalynsk cultures (j), local series of the Yamnaya culture (l), as well as the Catacomb and Poltavka cultures (m), with all their regional diversity, have a number of common features... The long and very long brain sections vary greatly in absolute (and relative) width from narrow to wide (from dolichocranial to brachicranial), but the face, as a rule, is wide and medium-high with wide and low eye sockets.”<sup>58</sup>

That is, let us formulate it once again: the key feature of the local series of the Yamnaya culture (as well as the Eneolithic Sredny Stog and Khvalynskaya, ancestral to it), and in contrast (radical difference) from the bearers of the Corded Ware cultures, is precisely the large

width of the cranium (with pronounced brachycrania, or, at least, a tendency to brachycrania, in many local series) and, especially, a wide (and even very wide in many local series) face.

At the same time, even the most dolichocranic and less wide-faced samples of these cultures (Yamnaya, Sredny Stog, Khvalynskaya) turn out to be significantly far from the characteristics of the bearers of the Corded Ware cultures.<sup>59</sup> And it is obviously not possible to deduce the anthropological (craniological) type of the carriers of the Corded Ware cultures from any population of the Yamnaya culture.

The bearers of the Bell Beaker culture are the most distant (even more than the steppe series) from the Corded Ware culture in their craniological appearance.<sup>60</sup> Which also excludes the possibility of tracing the origin of the Bell Beaker culture to the Corded Ware culture (contrary to the assumptions made in the works of some supporters – from among geneticists – of the “Yamnaya expansion” hypothesis on this matter).

At the same time, the situation with the craniological portrait of the Bell Beaker culture bearers differs from the situation of the Corded Ware cultures. Since, “the skulls of the Bell Beaker culture bearers both in Central Europe and on the Iberian Peninsula (e) have different [different from other Western European ones of both the Neolithic-Eneolithic and the Bronze Age – A. R.] proportions: they are of medium length, wide, brachycranial, the face in these samples is also narrow, but higher than in the Neolithic.”<sup>61</sup>

However, despite their characteristic brachycrany (which brings them closer to the skulls of both the Yamnaya culture and the Eastern European Neolithic-Eneolithic cultures in general), the bearers of the Bell Beaker culture, based on the totality of the studied craniometric features, are almost as far (of the populations examined by A. A. Kazarnitsky) from both the Yamnaya culture (as well as the Khvalynsk and Sredny Stog) and the Eastern European Neolithic. And they are located in opposite corners of the graph.<sup>62</sup> Which, it seems, excludes for the bearers of the Bell Beaker culture the possibility of deriving their craniological type from

<sup>55</sup> Казарницкий 2024, 28.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 29.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 31.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 30.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 29, рис. 2: 6.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 29, рис. 2: 2. 5. 6.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 28.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 29, рис. 2: 5. 6.

the Yamnaya culture (as well as Sredny Stog and Khvalynskaya).

Moreover, craniological data allow us to outline a local Western European late Neolithic prototype (or analogue) of the craniological portrait of the bearers of the Bell Beaker culture. A. A. Kazarnitsky specifically draws attention in this regard to the Seine-Oise-Marne culture: “in the late Neolithic and Eneolithic of Western Europe, new craniological features appear that are characteristic only of the bearers of the Seine-Oise-Marne culture (c): shorter and wider mesocranial skulls of medium height with even smaller eye sockets than in the previous era.”<sup>63</sup> And he emphasizes that “the closest, albeit incomplete, morphological analogies to them [the skulls of the bearers of the Bell Beaker culture – A. R.] are in the materials of the Seine-Oise-Marne culture.”<sup>64</sup>

It seems that it is impossible to directly trace the craniological type of the Bell Beaker culture bearers to the type of the Seine-Oise-Marne culture bearers. But the brachycrany of the Bell Beaker culture bearers, as well as the mesocrany of the Seine-Oise-Marne culture bearers (which sharply distinguishes them from other Neolithic-Bronze Age populations of Western and Central Europe and brings them closer to the characteristic circle of populations of Eastern Europe) obviously correlates with the genetic portrait of the Bell Beaker culture bearers. And serves as confirmation of their Eastern European, ultimately, origin.<sup>65</sup>

However, it is also obvious that the genesis of these populations is connected with an impulse from Eastern Europe not in the Early Bronze Age (and not from the Yamnaya culture) but in times much earlier. At least in the Neolithic era. Or rather, as was suggested<sup>66</sup>, even in the Mesolithic.

Let me remind you that it was previously suggested that “large-scale early Neolithic migrations from the Middle East (from Anatolia, according to modern ideas) to Europe and their result (the formation of powerful Neolithic and Eneolithic cultures of Europe) hid an earlier

genetic landscape and, due to the above-mentioned reasons, made it invisible to us (or rather, almost invisible) until the beginning of the Bronze Age, when a kind of “renaissance” of this earlier genetic landscape took place.”<sup>67</sup> At the same time, attention was paid both to ethnographic evidence of the possibility of such a model (the ritual, and custom, recorded among some Indo-European peoples of the defeat of the defeated refusing to be buried in the ground in favor of the victors), and to the observations of geneticists themselves in connection with the so-called “resurgence of WHG ancestry during the European Middle Neolithic.”<sup>68</sup>

It is worth to note in this regard that the data of craniology for Eastern Europe also testify to the implementation of precisely this model. A. A. Kazarnitsky drew attention to this: “A similar model of the formation of ancient populations was proposed by us for an even earlier time [Казарницкий, 2014]: ‘The features of the Mesolithic population of Eastern Europe are not noticeable among the inhabitants of this territory in the Neolithic, but the features of the populations of both eras of the Stone Age are recorded in different local groups of the Early Bronze Age.’”<sup>69</sup>

In fact, the very recognition of the fact that different (or even the same) subclades of haplogroups R1a and R1b (and partly Q) are associated (dominating in the corresponding populations) already in the Bronze Age (and even in the Mesolithic-Neolithic) of Europe with different, and even very different from each other,

<sup>67</sup> Романчук 2020, 245.

<sup>68</sup> Recent research shows that in Poland and Romania this “Mesolithic renaissance” manifested itself to an even greater extent than in Western Europe: “In comparison with the early Neolithic LBK individual from Germany, a significant increase in allele sharing with the local hunter-gatherers were detected in 16 out of 30 investigated Neolithic/Eneolithic individuals from Poland and Romania” (Mattila et al. 2023, 7).

Moreover, it was established that in the Prut-Dniester interfluvium the influence of the “Mesolithic hunters” reappears even much later – in the Mnogorolikova Ceramics Culture (Babino) of the Middle Bronze Age: “3.5. Hunter-gatherer genetic ancestry resurgence in Babyne/Multi-Cordoned Ware. Modeling shows that both the Yamna of Ukraine of the EBA and the later Multi-Cordoned Ware of the MBA were largely descended from the Core Yamna but the latter experienced gene flow from a population that seems to have had more hunter-gatherer ancestry”; Nikitin et al. 2024, SI, 32.

<sup>69</sup> Казарницкий 2021, 133.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 28.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 29.

<sup>65</sup> See also in connection with this correlation: Романчук 2013; 2015; 2019; Романчук / Семенов 2014.

<sup>66</sup> starting from Романчук 2012; 2013; Романчук / Семенов 2014.

craniological types, which (craniological types) are recorded in the corresponding regions over the course of two to three millennia, requires us to also recognize that this connection between a certain craniological type and certain haplogroups could not have arisen in the blink of an eye and already at a late (or even sufficiently developed) stage of the evolution of these craniological types.<sup>70</sup>

No, this could only be the result of long-term processes of crossbreeding of various populations, which began very early, at the dawn of the formation of the corresponding craniological types (that is, back in the Mesolithic era), and which occurred (with different results, depending on the difference in the initial components and the conditions of their interaction) in different parts of Europe.

And this picture obviously does not agree with the supposed hypothesis of the “Yamnaya expansion” model of “population replacement” of Europe (even partial, in the newest versions of this hypothesis) as a result of late migrations from the area of the Yamnaya culture, already in the Bronze Age.

Moreover, the ideas of I. Lazaridis et al. on this account do not even agree with the picture of the development of the Yamnaya culture itself according to physical anthropology data. If I. Lazaridis et al. suggest that “the expansion of people of the Yamnaya culture ... totally displaced previous groups on the Volga and further east”,<sup>71</sup> then the data of craniology paint a different picture. Namely, “the greater morphological variability of the Yamnaya groups than the Eneolithic ones does not allow us to consider the bearers of the Khvalynskaya-Sredny Stog burial traditions as a substrate component for the entire steppe population of the Early Bronze Age .... The noticeable Khvalynskaya-Sredny Stog population influence is traced mainly in the western part of the Yamnaya area. The population of other origin prevails in the composition of the remaining Yamnaya groups, in which at least three regional communities are distinguished: the Don-Volga

<sup>70</sup> Meanwhile, this is precisely what the supporters of the “Yamnaya expansion” are actually proposing: “It has been estimated that admixture in diverse Corded Ware populations occurred in a narrow date of ~3000-2900BCE”; Lazaridis et al. 2024, Suppl., 180.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 1.

(including the Ural left-bank), the Caspian and the Ural right-bank.”<sup>72</sup>

Let me emphasize once again an important point: if according to the data of the whole genome analysis the Yamnaya culture looks extremely homogeneous (“The Core Yamnaya homogeneity is remarkable given that this cluster includes individuals sampled across 5,000 km from Hungary to southern Siberia, a vast slice of Eurasia”<sup>73</sup>), which is precisely what distinguishes it significantly from the preceding Eneolithic population of the steppe zone (“The genetic heterogeneity of the Srednii Stih contrasts with the homogeneity of the Core Yamnaya”<sup>74</sup>), then the data of physical anthropology also paint a directly opposite picture of “greater morphological variability of the Yamnaya groups than the Eneolithic ones”.

This obvious fact makes us think that the results of the whole-genome analysis used by supporters of the “ancient Yamnaya expansion” hypothesis to justify it (which depict, among other things, an “extremely homogeneous” Yamnaya culture from the Danube to the Altai) clearly require further understanding both at the level of the methodology used and the interpretation of the results obtained.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Казарницкий 2021, 130.

<sup>73</sup> Lazaridis et al. 2024, 12.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> In fact, the need for further understanding of the use of whole-genome analysis in historical reconstructions is also evidenced by the dynamics of changes in the “Yamnaya expansion” hypothesis itself over the past ten years. These changes, as is obvious, were caused not only (and not even so much) by the increase in data, but also by changes in both the method itself and the approach to interpreting the results of whole-genome analysis.

Without trying to outline all the twists and turns of these changes here, I will limit myself to reminding that almost simultaneously with Lazaridis et al. 2024 another work suggests the emergence of the Yamnaya culture in a significantly different way: “Although the broader effects of the steppe migrations around 5,000 cal. bp are well known, the origin of this ancestry has remained a mystery. Here we show that the steppe ancestry composition (Steppe\_5000BP\_4300BP) can be modelled as a mixture of around 65% ancestry related to herein-reported HG genomes from the Middle Don River region (MiddleDon\_7500BP) and around 35% ancestry related to HGs from Caucasus (Caucasus\_13000BP\_10000BP) (Extended Data Fig. 6 and Supplementary Data 9). Thus, Middle Don HGs, who already carried ancestry related to Caucasus HGs (Extended Data Fig. 4a), serve as a hitherto-unknown proximal source for the majority ancestry contribution into Yamnaya-related genomes.

In the context of the prerequisites for such an understanding, it is worth to draw attention to some key points.

First of all, if we raise the question of what is the key innovation in the hypothesis of “Yamnaya expansion” by the work by I. Lazaridis et al., then it seems that this is their conclusion about the decisive significance of the contribution of the gene pool of the carriers of the Neolithic traditions of the Dnieper-Don interfluvium (through the population of the already Eneolithic Sredny Stog culture) to the genesis of the Yamnaya culture: “We have traced the origins of the Yamnaya to the Dnipro Cline and the populations of the Serechnii Stih culture: the Yamnaya were formed as people of the CLV cline admixed with people of the Dnipro-Don area having UNHG ancestry.”<sup>76</sup>

However, what does this mean in a more general sense?

In fact, this means, first of all, the recognition of a sharp increase in the role of the gene pool of the so-called “Western Hunter-Gatherers”, WHG, in the genesis of the Yamnaya culture population.

Since the Neolithic population of the Lower Dnieper region, “UNHG”, obviously had a very complex genesis within which two factors constituting this population are particularly distinguished, associated with migrations to the Dnieper Nadporozhye region in the Mesolithic era of population groups from the northwest and southwest. That is, exactly WHG, but two quite different groups.

The first of these migrations, mentioned above, is the Mesolithic migration from the more northern areas of Eastern Europe, adjacent to the Baltic Sea coast. It has long been noted by archaeologists, anthropologists, and later by geneticists.<sup>77</sup> The second migration, from the southwest, was outlined relatively recently by D. L. Gaskevich,<sup>78</sup> and its original region was designated the Iron Gates area on the Danube.

It was these migrants (both from the northwest and the southwest) who brought with

them the anthropological types characteristic of the Mesolithic-Neolithic of the Dnieper Nadporozhye region, and haplogroup I of the Y chromosome (and also, apparently, R1-V88; which, in particular, dominates (along with I2a) in Dereivka on the Dnieper<sup>79</sup> and is widely represented in the Mesolithic of the Iron Gate region).

It is worth emphasizing the D. L. Gaskevich’s assumption that it was not a one-time migration, but a stable and long-term cultural continuum, within the framework of which regular contacts and population movements were realized (“long-term interaction between the inhabitants of the two regions, accompanied by multiple counterflows of population due to the exchange of marriage partners”). As he notes, “the assumption of closer ties than previously thought between the late Mesolithic populations of the Danube and Dnieper regions allows us not to contrast these two regions, but to consider them as extreme parts of a single cultural region, covering the entire steppe zone from the Azov region in the east to the Banat in the west.”<sup>80</sup>

Thus, the work of I. Lazaridis et al. in fact fundamentally changes the ideas of the supporters of the “Yamnaya expansion” hypothesis about the number and composition of the basic initial components that participated in the process that led to the genesis of the Yamnaya culture. If initially we were talking about two such components, the so-called “Eastern Hunter-Gatherers”, EHG (that is, ultimately ANE, “Ancient North Eurasians”) and “Caucasian Hunter-Gatherers”, CHG (“population mixture, specifically EHG and CHG/Iranian ancestry, a combination that forms the so-called ‘steppe-ancestry’”<sup>81</sup>), now a third one is added to them, and added in even decisive roles – “Western Hunter-Gatherers”, WHG.<sup>82</sup>

This fact, by the way, has not yet been clearly recognized by either Lazaridis et al. 2024 or their competitors Allentoft et al. 2024. Meanwhile, it is fundamentally important.

Thus, in other words, to the previously considered exclusively “eastern” and “southern” factors of the genesis of the Yamnaya culture, a new one is added – “western”. And it must be emphasized once again that in its origin, this “western”

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The individuals in question derive from the burial ground Golubaya Krinitza”; Allentoft et al. 2024, 306.

And although Lazaridis et al. 2024, 14 disagree with these results, the dispute itself is more than revealing.

<sup>76</sup> Lazaridis et al. 2024, 21.

<sup>77</sup> In particular Lillie et al. 2012; Потехіна 2020.

<sup>78</sup> Гаскевич 2020.

<sup>79</sup> Lazaridis et al. 2024, Suppl., Tab. 1.

<sup>80</sup> Гаскевич 2020, 176.

<sup>81</sup> Wang et al. 2019, 5, line 171.

<sup>82</sup> However, compare *Ibid.*, 10, lines 442–449.

factor is associated precisely with the region where the Corded Ware and Bell Beaker cultures later emerged – the territories of Europe to the west (and northwest) of the future locus of the emergence of the Yamnaya culture.

However, it is also very important to note that from the very beginning, from the Mesolithic, the “eastern” factor<sup>83</sup> played no less a significant role in the genesis of the Neolithic of the Lower Dnieper region, “UNHG” – associated with the influence of “Eastern Hunter-Gatherers”, EHG, and, ultimately, carriers of the autosomal component of ANE and Eastern Eurasia.

Moreover, today, we note, already according to the data of the whole genome analysis, and according to the data of Y-chromosome haplogroups (as well as mtDNA), it is quite clear that impulses from Eastern Eurasia to its western part, including Europe (including Central and even Western) begin to penetrate as early as the end of the Upper Paleolithic-Mesolithic – as was previously proposed.<sup>84</sup> That is, they played a certain role already in the genesis of the “Western Hunter-Gatherers”, WHG.

Thus, as far as the whole genome analysis is concerned, according to the results of a recent study, “one of the most striking findings was that before the dawn of the European Neolithic, Central and Eastern Europe was inhabited by a population that descends from a gradient admixture population between genetically distinct West European and Siberian hunter-gatherer groups. Such a pattern suggests long distance population genetic connectivity, likely via a stepping-stone admixture model.”<sup>85</sup>

Also, the presence of East Eurasian mtDNA haplogroups (C5a) is found in Mesolithic and Neolithic burial grounds of the Dnieper Nadporozhye.<sup>86</sup> There are already quite a lot of finds of haplogroups R1b, R1a and Q of the Y-chromosome (marking this early East Eurasian impulse) in the Mesolithic-Neolithic sites of Europe (primarily Eastern and Central).<sup>87</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Mattila et al. 2023, 8.

<sup>84</sup> Романчук 2019; 2020, 249.

<sup>85</sup> Mattila et al. 2023, 8

<sup>86</sup> Потехіна 2020, 242.

<sup>87</sup> See, in particular Lazaridis et al. 2024, Suppl., Tab. 1; Allentoft et al. 2024, Suppl. Data VII; also, a review of these finds with the corresponding commentary: Романчук 2024, 10–12, note 1.

Thus, the genesis of the Neolithic population of the Lower Dnieper region, and the “Western Hunter-Gatherers” (WHG) in general, was also even more complex than previously thought. And the interaction of “eastern” and “western” factors, which eventually led to the formation of the Yamnaya culture, took place over vast areas of Eastern Europe starting from the Mesolithic.

On the other (or third) hand, it is also obvious that already in the Mesolithic, a powerful influence on Eastern Europe from the Caucasus (and, further, Western Asia) began to manifest itself. This influence is also recorded by I. Lazaridis et al. within the framework of the “Volga Cline” they identified – arising primarily due to the meeting of the population of the “Eastern Hunter-Gatherers”, EHG, type and groups related by origin to the Caucasus (“CHG-related source”). Let me quote: “The ‘Volga Cline’ consists of sites on waterways that drain into the Caspian Sea and is suggestive of a zone of ongoing human contact within its region ... The decrease of hunter-gatherer affinity is counterbalanced by increased affinity towards populations of the Caucasus. ... Archaeological correlates for such south-north interactions do exist, and begin with the expansion of the Seroglazovo forager culture around the Lower Volga estuary ~6200 BCE.”<sup>88</sup>

They also believe that “The Golubaya Krinitisa individuals present an important data point for the early presence of populations of mixed Caucasus and steppe origins in the Middle Don.”<sup>89</sup> Golubaya Krinitisa dates back to the middle of the 6th millennium BC,<sup>90</sup> and, let me remind you, is characterized by the complete predominance (three samples) of the R1a haplogroup of the Y chromosome (in Allentoft et al. 2024<sup>91</sup> two cases of R1a, one of R1, and two more cases of I2a are indicated; in the Neolithic site of Ksizovo 6, located on the Middle Don (Lipetsk region), along with R1a and I2a, one case of R1b is also noted).

In fact, the influence from Western Asia begins much earlier, and reaches territories up to and including Karelia and the Arkhangelsk region, where we observe the Western Asian haplogroup J (of the Y-chromosome) in the burial

<sup>88</sup> Lazaridis et al. 2024, 8.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., Suppl., 171; comp.: Allentoft et al. 2024, 306.

<sup>90</sup> Lazaridis et al. 2024, Suppl., Tab. 1.

<sup>91</sup> Allentoft et al. 2024, Suppl. Data VII.

ground of Yuzhny Oleniy Ostrov (along with R1a) in Karelia (6773–5886 BC) and in Popovo 2 (7500–5000 BC) in the Arkhangelsk region.<sup>92</sup> These sites belong to the so-called “Sidelkino Cluster” (“Sidelkino Cluster based on its oldest representative”<sup>93</sup>), and are included by I. Lazaridis et al. in the above-mentioned “Volga Cline”. In which, as you move downstream of the Volga, the proportion of genetic participation of EHG decreases and the proportion of CHG increases: “The decrease of hunter gatherer affinity is counterbalanced by increased affinity towards populations of the Caucasus.”<sup>94</sup>

Sidelkino itself (Samara region) dates back to more than 9000 years BC.<sup>95</sup>

The picture that emerges as a result of taking into account the above facts makes us recall once again a remark by another team of researchers regarding the role of the “Yamnaya component” in the genesis of the Estonian Corded Ware culture, which was quoted earlier:<sup>96</sup> “It is interesting that Yamnaya, which in turn can be seen as a combination of CHG and EHG, is not directly needed for explaining the admixture pattern in Estonian CWC.”<sup>97</sup> As is the case that even today “in Europe, ‘steppe’ ancestry has hitherto been identified only in admixed form, but the origin of this admixture event and the mechanism by which the ancestry subsequently spread with the CWC have remained elusive.”<sup>98</sup>

If we turn further to the Eneolithic era, it seems critically important to pay attention to some facts related to the Sredny Stog culture. First of all, it is significant that, speaking about

the Sredny Stog culture, I. Lazaridis et al. proceed from its localization in the Dnieper-Don interfluvium. And although in principle this is true, it should be taken into account that in general we must proceed from the fact that “in the second half of the 5th millennium BC ... the Khvalynsk-Sredny Stog community was formed, stretching from the Volga basin to the Lower Danube.”<sup>99</sup>

It is within the framework of this community that large-scale movements of metal and raw materials take place from the Balkans all the way to the Volga: “on the territory of the Northern Black Sea region and the Lower Volga region, two relatively independent centers of copper processing are formed, the functioning of which was based on imported Balkan raw materials...”<sup>100</sup>

In fact, I. Lazaridis and his team also point to this, emphasizing (the key point!) that these archaeological realities are not captured in genetic data, since we are talking about a genetically related population involved in the exchange process: “Archaeological analysis has documented long-distance movement of Balkan copper to the Volga-Cline site of Khvalynsk and the Csongrád and Mayaky individuals were plausibly part of the cultural exchange that mediated this process—a process our results show has no evidence of being contributed to genetically by people with ancestry typical of the Dniipro and Don basins.”<sup>101</sup>

That is, as other researchers have put it, “there are no successive waves as claimed by Gimbutas ... But what we see can otherwise be best described in a long-term interaction model

<sup>92</sup> Narasimhan et al. 2019, Suppl., Tab. 1. See in this regard the considerations expressed earlier: Романчук 2020, 251, notes 16–17.

<sup>93</sup> Lazaridis et al. 2024, 8.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid. Note that according to the genome-wide analysis (Allentoft et al. 2024, 305), “In the eastern Baltic region, Ukraine and western Russia, local HG ancestry prevailed until around 5,000 bp without a noticeable input of Anatolian-related farmer ancestry”. However, the above-mentioned presence of Near Eastern patrilineal haplogroups serves as an obvious marker of the reality of the spread of influence from Near East to Eastern Europe up to Karelia and the Arkhangelsk region already in the Mesolithic. The fact that it is not yet captured in autosomal data is explained, in all likelihood, by the action of the same “dilution” model.

<sup>95</sup> Narasimhan et al. 2019, Suppl., Tab.1.

<sup>96</sup> Романчук 2020, 251.

<sup>97</sup> Saag et al. 2017, 2187.

<sup>98</sup> Allentoft et al. 2024, 302.

<sup>99</sup> Манзура 2024, 195.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 200.

<sup>101</sup> Lazaridis et al. 2024, 9–10.

The individual buried in Csongrád (“A genetically Volga Cline individual not from the Volga Basin is from Csongrád-Kettőshalom in Hungary, whose direct date is 4331–4073 cal BCE.”; Lazaridis et al. 2024, 9) is characterized by haplogroup Q1b (Q-Y6802); Lazaridis et al. 2024, Suppl., Tab. 1. We will discuss this in more detail below.

I will also mention in this regard that “The two groups from Golubaya Krinitsa (GK1 and GK2) are not cladal to each other ( $p=2.5e-12$ ), but GK2 is cladal to a single outlier individual of the Srednii Stih culture ( $p=0.997$ ) (Igren\_o, individual I27930) according to qpWave, and also clusters with it in PCA. ... The closest neighbors of these two individuals are the Upper Volga individuals: Igren\_o forms a clade with Upper Volga ( $p=0.197$ ), however, GK2 does not” (Lazaridis et al. 2024, Suppl., 155). Igren, it is worth to note, is also characterized by haplogroup Q (Allentoft et al. 2024, Suppl. Data VII).

between populations of similar steppe environments north and west of the Black Sea. This starts already in the mid-Vth millennium BC with the Suvorovo-Novodanilovka graves, continues throughout the Ivth...<sup>102</sup>

However (and especially taking into account the data of D. L. Gaskevich cited above), it can be said that the formation of this zone of “intensive contacts” (let’s call it that) from the Danube to the Volga began in the Mesolithic-Neolithic era. Archaeological data indicate large-scale influences from the agricultural cultures of the Balkan-Carpathian region on the Eneolithic steppe (up to the Volga and Ciscaucasia) and in other areas. They were previously considered by many researchers, among whom I would like to highlight I. V. Manzura first of all.<sup>103</sup>

At the same time, if we talk about genetic data, I. Lazaridis et al. also note the high heterogeneity of the population of the Srednii Stog culture (“The genetic heterogeneity of the Srednii Stih contrasts with the homogeneity of the Core Yamnaya”<sup>104</sup>) – and at least three genetic clusters are distinguished. The second of them, which is significant, apparently includes, in part, representatives of the Cucuteni-Trypillian people: “A female from Kopachiv (I7585), represented by a long bone found loose in a Trypillia phase BI-II settlement, is part of a second ‘SSmed’ cluster that is further along the Dnipro Cline; this group also includes three individuals from Oleksandria and three from Deriivka.”<sup>105</sup>

Data from physical anthropology (especially) and genetics indicate significant heterogeneity of the population of the Trypillian culture itself.<sup>106</sup>

Moreover, it is worth to emphasize that “When we attempt to model Trypillians as a mixture of two or three sources using qpAdm, we find no fitting model for them as a whole. We explored removing the Trypillian individual that is the strongest genetic outlier (I20069 from Dănceni, 3323–2935 calBCE). However, even after excluding I20069, we still were not able to model Trypillians successfully ( $p < 1e-5$  even for  $N=3$  models).”<sup>107</sup> Or, as A. Nikitin et al. note in

the Supplementum, “The Trypillian population is heterogeneous in PCA and cannot be modeled well with any 1, 2, 3 sources.”<sup>108</sup> The last point is of great importance, and we will dwell on it further below.

And at the same time, in general, the population of the Trypillian culture is obviously closest to the Neolithic farmers of Asia Minor, the Balkans, and Europe in general.<sup>109</sup> Demonstrating simultaneously (at the level of intergroup analysis) its intermediate position between the above-mentioned Neolithic populations and the population of the Mariupol culture of the late Neolithic-early Eneolithic of the Dnieper-Don interfluvium.<sup>110</sup> According to the results of modeling the data from whole genome analysis, “For the 23 Trypillia individuals modeled in our framework, we estimate that their genetic ancestry is, on average, 81% Balkan Eneolithic (such as in YUN\_CA), 14% BHG, and the remaining 5% comes from the CLV cline.”<sup>111</sup> By “BHG” here is meant the Mesolithic inhabitants of the Iron Gate region on the Danube.

The results of the cited work<sup>112</sup> are extremely noteworthy here.

And it seems appropriate to pay special attention to the data on the Usatovo culture, as well as the late Eneolithic burial ground of Giurgiulesti on the Lower Prut (and the above-mentioned Csongrad in Pötisye).

Namely, according to the mtDNA data we see that “Usatove mitochondrial haplogroup composition consisted of lineages of predominantly ANF/EEF origin ( $H^*$ ,  $K1b^*$ ,  $T2^*$ ,  $W1$ ,  $X2d$ ), as well as steppe and European hunter-gatherer-derived  $U4^*$  and  $U5a1^*$  lineages.”<sup>113</sup> Going into more detail, it turns out that even the last two lineages actually refer us to the Mesolithic Iron Gates on the Danube.

Thus, “the Mesolithic distribution of  $U5a1$  lineages is primarily confined to the Iron Gates area, as well as Norway and the Baltic region. In

<sup>102</sup> Frînculeasa et al. 2015, 84.

<sup>103</sup> Манзура 2000; 2006; 2024.

<sup>104</sup> Lazaridis et al. 2024, 12.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> Потехіна 2020, 243–244; Nikitin et al. 2024, SI, 26–30.

<sup>107</sup> Nikitin et al. 2024, 8.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., SI, 123.

<sup>109</sup> Of significant importance in the question of the genesis of the population of the Trypillian culture are also the data of odontology, to which, with reference to the results of A. V. Zubova (Зубова 2010, 94), attention was drawn earlier; Романчук 2020, 252.

<sup>110</sup> Потехіна 2020, 245.

<sup>111</sup> Nikitin et al. 2024, 8.

<sup>112</sup> Namely Ibid., SI, 26–30.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., SI, 26.

the Neolithic, U5a1 lineage distribution extends to the North Pontic, likely accompanying the migration of carriers of WHG ancestry to the Dnipro Valley.<sup>114</sup> Likewise, “Phylogeographic distribution of the U4 node and its derivatives in pre-Eneolithic Europe includes the Iron Gates area of the Danube, the Baltic region, and the Middle Dnipro Valley.”<sup>115</sup>

And “The chronologically earliest individual I12615 from the Mayaky archaeological site shared mtDNA lineage U4b1b2 with the individual of Serechnii Stih ancestry (SSmed) from Kolomyitsiv Yar Tract (KYT). It has been suggested that the U4b1b1~ lineage represents the pre-Neolithic mitochondrial lineage diversity, expanding from the Mesolithic Balkans and not being directly influenced by the steppe.”<sup>116</sup> Which leads the authors of the cited work to the fair conclusion: “The presence of a Balkan-derived mitochondrial lineage in an individual of steppe ancestry supports the existence of mating interactions between the steppe and their trade allies from the eastern Balkans.”<sup>117</sup> A conclusion, we note, that is quite consistent with the hypothesis of D. L. Gaskevich.

According to patrilineal data, representatives of the Usatovskaya culture are characterized<sup>118</sup> by haplogroups E1b1b1a1 and J1 (J-FT265222) – ultimately, of Middle Eastern origin, as well as the “forest” R1a – dominant already in the Mesolithic-Neolithic forest belt of Eastern Europe. But not represented, let us recall once again, in the steppe zone, either in the Yamnaya culture, or in the pre-Yamnaya period (as well as absent in the Neolithic of the Dnieper Nadporozhye).

That is, neither according to mtDNA data, nor according to Y-chromosome data, we can in no way deduce the representatives of the Usatovo culture from the steppe zone of the pre-Yamnaya period (as well as the Yamnaya), be it the Volga region or more western territories. On the contrary, everything points to their local, Carpathian-Danubian, origin, with the participation of the population from the forest belt of

Eastern Europe (which, naturally, is close to CLV in its autosomal genome).<sup>119</sup>

It should be noted that the individual from the late Eneolithic burial site of Durankulak in Bulgaria (3500–3000 BC) is also characterized by the “forest” R1a1a1 (R-M417).<sup>120</sup> And the approximately synchronous representative of the so-called “Zhivotilovsky horizon” from the Bursuceni burial ground in the Republic of Moldova is again of the Middle Eastern “J2b2b2~ (J-Z42942).”<sup>121</sup>

No less interesting is the situation with the Giurgiulesti burial ground. In which one of the mtDNA haplogroups is K1b2b (<2X) (that is, “ANF/EEF origin”, referring us to the “Neolithic farmers of the Balkans”, in fact, to the Cucuteni-Trypillia culture), the second is haplogroup H13.

Turning to the discussion of the second of these mtDNA haplogroups, H13, we see that “MtDNA lineage H13 of the Giurgiulesti individual I20072 matches that of the Mesolithic Iron Gate individuals from Lepenski Vir and Ostrovul Corbului, suggesting potential genetic admixture between the Serechnii Stih II/Skelya/Novodanylivka migrants from the Dnipro Valley and local populations of the Lower Danube. On the other hand, H13 could have arrived at the Dnipro Valley as part of the WHG Iron Gates ancestry in the Neolithic, thus becoming part of the Dnipro Cline ancestry from which Serechnii Stih was 1/5th derived. An H13-derived lineage H13a1 was recorded in a Lower Volga individual I22199 from Berezhnovka II, as well as in a Yamna individual from Ishkinovka in pre-Ural steppe.”<sup>122</sup>

That is, the second of the discussed mtDNA haplogroups of the Giurgiulesti group also

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., SI, 27.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., SI, 4, 29.

<sup>119</sup> Doesn't this mean that there is something to think about in relation to conclusions based on autosomal data? In any case (and what is clearly not in doubt), according to the autosomal genome data, the carriers of the Usatovo culture “are genetically varied”; Nikitin et al. 2024, 9. The authors of the cited study further believe that “CLV ancestry in Usatovo was not from the lower Volga-centered BPgroup, but had a significant proportion of southern Caucasus Neolithic-related ancestry”; Ibid. However, wouldn't this conclusion change if we assume that the “Caucasus Neolithic-related ancestry” of the Usatovo culture carriers is not at all related to the “CLV ancestry”, but represents a contribution from some third source?

<sup>120</sup> Nikitin et al. 2024, SI, 6.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., SI, 5.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., SI, 28.

directs us to the west, to the Mesolithic of the Iron Gates on the Danube, and not to the east.

In addition, it is significant that the mtDNA haplogroups characteristic of the Iron Gates on the Danube region are already found in the pre-Yamnaya time in the Volga region (and, further, even in the Urals, albeit a little later). This serves as a clear refutation of the thesis of I. Lazaridis et al. about the “elusiveness” of the genetic correlate of those ethnocultural interactions (and impulses from the Danube region to the east) within the Khvalynsk-Sredny Stog community, which are obvious from archaeological data.

Turning further to the patrilineal data, we see that one individual from Giurgiulesti is characterized by a very archaic haplogroup CF, which there is no reason to associate with the steppe (rather, with the Middle East). The second is represented by the Q1a2 haplogroup of the Y chromosome,<sup>123</sup> which is indeed quite noticeable<sup>124</sup> in the Khvalynsk 2 cemetery (Saratov region, forest-steppe, late 6th – mid-5th millennium BC).

However, does the presence of Q1a2 in the Khvalynsk 2 cemetery mean that it appears in Giurgiulesti as a result of an impulse from the Khvalynsk-Sredny Stog area?

There seem to be significant doubts about this. Since Q1a2 is not found in the burial grounds of the Khvalynsk-Sredny Stog community located to the south and west (including the Sredny Stog culture proper), as well as in the Yamnaya culture sites of the Volga-Urals, Don, or Ciscaucasia.<sup>125</sup> It is also not found in the Neolithic of the Dnieper Nadporozhye region.

However, we note that Q1a2 appears very close to Giurgiulesti (in the Targșorul Vechi burial ground, Prahova County, Romania, approximately three hundred kilometers west of Giurgiulesti), but already in the Yamnaya period.

At the same time, it seems clear that Q1a2 penetrates into the forest-steppe Volga region from the north, from the forest belt of Eastern Europe, where it is already represented in the Mesolithic-Neolithic in the Zvejnieki burial ground.<sup>126</sup> And all the buried men from the Eneolithic burial ground Murzikha 2 (the Kama

River at its confluence with the Volga, 5th millennium BC) were characterized exclusively by haplogroup Q1a.<sup>127</sup>

Taking into account these facts, as well as those stated above in relation to the Usatovo culture and the Durankulak burial in Bulgaria (in both places, let us recall, it is precisely the “forest” R1a that manifests itself; moreover, for Durankulak, according to the autosomal genome, modeling indicates an admixture from the Globular Amphora culture: “For this individual (I1456 / 3500–3000 BCE) from Durankulak only a single 2-way feasible model exists that involves a fairly even mix of Core Yamna (~45%) and Globular Amphora (~55%) ancestries”<sup>128</sup>) – which also refers us specifically to the forest belt of Eastern Europe; we will dwell on this below), it seems more correct to consider the appearance of Q1a2 in Giurgiulesti as an influence from the north, from the forest belt of Eastern Europe.<sup>129</sup>

I would venture to suggest, however, that it is unlikely that this influence from the forest belt of Eastern Europe manifested itself precisely at the time of the formation of the Giurgiulesti group. Rather, it should be attributed to an earlier time. And the genome of the representatives of the Giurgiulesti group, accordingly, should be interpreted as its more distant in time, and manifested significantly later, consequence.

Actually, the situation is similar with the haplogroup Q1b of the burial in Csongrad. Found in the early Eneolithic burial ground of Yekaterinovskiy Mys (Samara region (that is, much further north than Saratov), the second half of the 6th millennium BC), to the south and west (and later), in the monuments of the Khvalynsk culture and Sredny Stog, as well as Yamnaya, Q1b is not found. At the same time, it is also obvious that in this case the source of Q1b is the forest belt of Eastern Europe, where it is also well represented from the Mesolithic-Neolithic (in the Neolithic Lyalovskaya and Volosovskaya cultures on the Volga; in the Neolithic of Denmark; in the Mesolithic of Sweden).

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., SI, 3–8, Tab. S1.

<sup>124</sup> Lazaridis et al. 2024, Suppl., Tab. 1.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., Suppl., 10.

<sup>128</sup> Nikitin et al. 2024, SI, 113.

<sup>129</sup> For the autosomal genome of Zvejnieki and the Iron Gates Mesolithic, see also: Nikitin et al. 2024, SI, 113.

True, Q1b was also found<sup>130</sup> in the Neolithic of the Dnieper Nadporozhye (Igren, Yasinovatka), along with Q (Yasinovatka). However, one can hardly ignore the cultural and chronological gap between the Neolithic of the Dnieper Nadporozhye and the burial in Csongrad (last third of the 5th millennium BC). Rather, the fact of the presence of Q1b in the Neolithic of the Dnieper Nadporozhye allows us to assume that Q1b, again, gets to the Carpathian-Danubian region as part of the interactions between the Iron Gate region and the Dnieper-Azov region that occurred in the Mesolithic-Neolithic.

Moreover, in archaeological terms, according to the kind message of I. V. Manzura, the burial in Csongrad is characterized by a purely local, Carpathian-Balkan, archaeological complex, without any traces of eastern influences.

Thus, the outlined facts hardly allow us to agree with the assessment of these facts proposed by A. Nikitin et al. as evidence of “waves rolling in from the east” (“Our analysis suggests a history of three partially overlapping waves of CLV migrations into the NPR in the Eneolithic”;<sup>131</sup> completely in the spirit of the long-standing idea of M. Gimbutas). Before us is a picture of clearly much more complex and multifaceted interactions within Eastern Europe as a whole, and which started much earlier, back in the Mesolithic-Neolithic.

Moreover, what is significant is that the share of the “eastern component” (first “CLV”, later – “ancient Yamnaya”) gradually increases in the Balkan-Carpathian region of the Eneolithic era.<sup>132</sup> This is a kind of gradient, but not in space, but in time.

<sup>130</sup> Allentoft et al. 2024, Suppl. Data VII; Nikitin et al. 2024, SI, 3, tab. S1.

<sup>131</sup> Nikitin et al. 2024, 17.

<sup>132</sup> It is interesting to mention in this regard the research of A. Bulatovic (Bulatovic 2014), who showed the gradual, beginning with the early Eneolithic, spread of corded ceramic ornamentation in the Balkans. However, contrary to his intention to connect this with the idea of M. Gimbutas’s “three waves”, it seems obvious from his data that the idea of corded ornamentation, initially penetrating the Balkans from the steppe zone, quickly breaks away from its original carriers, and then spreads further in the Balkans and in Europe in general as a result of local ethnocultural processes.

<sup>133</sup> is significant that the manifestations of the first (according to A. Bulatovic), early Eneolithic, horizon of Corded Ware in the central and southern Balkans cover the territory mainly of the mountainous and foothill regions of the

In connection with the interpretation of the data of the whole genome analysis, it seems that special attention should once again be paid to the above-mentioned burial from Durankulak (by the way, it refers<sup>133</sup> to the “first Pit-Grave phase” (that is, arising in the pre-Pit-Grave period) on the Lower Danube identified by these researchers).

First of all, because, according to the assessment of the authors of the cited work, the analysis of the genome of the individual from Durankulak leads them to a conclusion that goes far beyond the private: “Thus, the Corded Ware represents a mixture of similar components as the Bulgarian ‘Proto-Yamna’ individual, albeit in different proportions.”<sup>134</sup>

At the same time, let us recall, they believe that “For this individual (I1456 / 3500–3000

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Eastern Balkans, and as far as Northern Greece (Bulatovic 2014, 107, map 1). A similar tendency characterizes the second horizon of the spread of corded ornamentation in the central and southern Balkans (Ibid., 117, map 2) – which, in addition, is firmly associated with influences from local, Carpathian-Balkan, cultures of the Kotsofeni-Kostolak circle. Finally, the third horizon of A. Bulatovic (Ibid., 123, map 3) can be considered the culmination, when the bulk of manifestations of corded ornamentation of ceramics in the Balkans is generally concentrated in the mountainous regions adjacent to the Adriatic Sea (that is, in the Dinaric Alps) and further on the territory of Greece (up to the Peloponnese).

Actually, A. Bulatovich himself notes this: “Significant is the fact that the sites with steppe elements of the 3rd millennium BC in the Balkans are concentrated mostly in the highland regions or in the mountainous massifs of Dinara, Stara planina, Suva planina, Rodopi, Pind...” (Ibid., 129). Likewise, he notes that “...do not necessarily imply the presence of a steppe population, especially keeping in mind the fact that pottery ornamented with cord is mainly on indigenous pottery characteristic for Balkan Eneolithic cultural complexes” (Ibid., 130).

<sup>134</sup> Central Europe, the spread of corded ornamentation on ceramics occurred within the framework of the Globular Amphora culture (Ibid., 133). Which, we recall, does not reveal any “steppe impulse” either according to the data of whole-genome analysis or according to the data of patrilineal and matrilineal markers.

<sup>133</sup> Frinculeasa et al. 2015, 80.

<sup>134</sup> Nikitin et al. 2024, SI, 113.

BCE) from Durankulak only a single 2-way feasible model exists that involves a fairly even mix of Core Yamna (~45%) and Globular Amphora (~55%) ancestries.”<sup>135</sup>

However, if this is so, then in this case we have an obvious anachronism for the hypothesis of the “Yamnaya expansion”, which has already been noted.<sup>136</sup>

Moreover, now the anachronism is double, not only in relation to the time of the emergence of the Yamnaya culture, but also to no lesser extent, in relation to the culture of the Globular Amphora. Indeed, the proposed appeal to the culture of the Globular Amphora, among other things, encounters obstacles of a chronological nature. Modern ideas on this account allow us to date the emergence of the culture of the Globular Amphora to the very end of the 4th millennium BC at the latest.

Accordingly, even if we proceed from the above-cited dating of the individual from Durankulak (“3500–3000 BCE”), this already does not agree well with the dating of the Globular Amphora culture. But the chronological gap is even more obvious if we proceed from the dating of the individual from Durankulak (“DUR1, Kurgan F, Burial 15 (main burial), male, adult, 3700–3300 BCE”) given in Nikitin et al. 2024<sup>137</sup> and, apparently, closer to the truth.

Apparently, the emergence of the genome of the individual from Durankulak requires a search for another explanation. And it is worth thinking that finding this explanation will significantly shed light on the formation of both the Yamnaya culture and the Corded Ware and Bell Beaker cultures.

And, in conclusion, I would like to draw attention to another circumstance, significantly ignored by the supporters of the “Yamnaya expansion”. It is extremely important precisely in connection with the fact that I. Lazaridis et al. deny the Trypillian culture the possibility of serving as a source (or even one of the sources) “Caucasus Neolithic-related ancestry”: “Trypillia is not resilient to the presence of a Caucasus Neolithic population.”<sup>138</sup> Although, other data<sup>139</sup>

allow us to assume that the role of the “Caucasus Neolithic-related ancestry” in Cucuteni-Trypillia was quite significant.

In this regard, it is worth emphasizing the above-presented fact of the extreme heterogeneity of the gene pool of Cucuteni-Trypillia carriers. Heterogeneity is of such a degree that it practically does not even allow them to be modeled as a single whole: “When we attempt to model Trypillians as a mixture of two or three sources using qpAdm, we find no fitting model for them as a whole.”<sup>140</sup>

Moreover, the conclusion about the extreme heterogeneity of Cucuteni-Trypillia based on autosomal data was de facto obtained based on the analysis of materials from only one site, the Verteba cave.<sup>141</sup>

And, accordingly, the question arises: to what extent does the sample of Cucuteni-Trypillia representatives used today reflect the genetic portrait of this population as a whole (given that the Cucuteni-Trypillia culture, let me remind you, occupied the territory from the Carpathians and the Danube to the Dnieper (and, in time, about two millennia)? Will the heterogeneity of Cucuteni-Trypillia turn out to be even higher if there is a proportional (including territorial) increase in this sample?

The question is, in principle, rhetorical.

Therefore, it seems that the Trypillian culture is a large-scale and critically important factor that the supporters of the “Yamnaya expansion” hypothesis (both geneticists and archaeologists) practically do not take into account in their reasoning. And in particular, they do not ask themselves the question: what happened to the huge demographic mass of the Trypillian culture population after its disappearance?

It is absolutely improbable that the disappearance of this culture in the archaeological sense would also mean the complete annihilation of the demographic potential it had accumulated. No, even if it is not captured by archaeology, this population obviously had to take part in further demographic processes in Eastern Europe.

Therefore, it can be assumed that it is the participation of the Trypillian population in subsequent demographic processes in Eastern Europe

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

<sup>136</sup> Романчук 2020, 252.

<sup>137</sup> Nikitin et al. 2024, SI, 38.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., SI, 146.

<sup>139</sup> Романчук 2020, 252.

<sup>140</sup> Nikitin et al. 2024, 8; SI, 123.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., SI, 5, Tab. S1.

that represents a critically important unaccounted factor for the hypothesis of the “Yamnaya expansion”.

Thus, the fact that, according to the genome-wide analysis, “the Corded Ware population ... had a balance of ancestral components from the Caucasus and eastern Europe indistinguishable from the Yamnaya”<sup>142</sup> may have, as was suggested earlier,<sup>143</sup> a fundamentally different explanation. Repeating what was said above, it seems more logical to assume that the area in which the formation of the autosomal “Yamnaya component” took place was significantly wider than the area of the Sredny Stog culture, and covered very vast areas of both Eastern Europe (both its steppe and forest parts), and Central and (partly) Western.

In any case, it seems clear that this whole story began long before the emergence of the Yamnaya culture.

## Rezime

### “Više prema zapadu”: kritički komentari na nove verzije hipoteze o “Yamnaya ekspanziji”

Članak razmatra nedavne verzije hipoteze o “Yamnaya ekspanziji” koju su predložili genetičari. Nova publikacija “Genetsko porijeklo Indo-Evropljana” tima pod vodstvom I. Lazaridis donosi značajne promjene u hipotezi o “Yamnaya ekspanziji” (i “Indoeuropeizaciji” Evrope kao njenoj posljedici). Prvo i osnovno, ona pomiče originalni lokus formiranja Yamnaya kulture na području Azovskog mora i Donjeg Dnjepra (što je, usput, isto učinio rad Allentoft et al. 2024 objavljen istovremeno s njom).

Kao što se može vidjeti, ove promjene osnovne hipoteze prvenstveno su odgovor na značajan porast podataka koji su iznešeni u posljednjih nekoliko godina, a koji se slabo slažu s prethodnim verzijama hipoteze.

Međutim, čini se da čak ni u svojim novim verzijama hipoteza o “Yamnaya ekspanziji” nije uspjela ponuditi adekvatan odgovor na prigovore koji su postavljeni protiv nje. Štaviše, novi podaci omogućavaju

dodavanje novih prigovora, i to očigledno, ne manje značajnih.

Stoga, članak pokušava prvenstveno pokazati da su autori i zagovornici hipoteze o “Yamnaya ekspanziji”, oslanjajući se prvenstveno na rezultate analize cijelog genoma, zapravo ignorirali te kontradikcije u svojim zaključcima koje se otkrivaju kada se koriste podaci o Y-hromosomskim haplogrupama.

Slijedeći logiku hipoteze o “Yamnaya ekspanziji”, sada moramo govoriti o hipotetičkoj mikropopulaciji Yamnaya kulture kao populaciji u kojoj nedostaju ne jedna, već dvije vodeće, apsolutno dominantne Y-hromosomske haplogrupe u Yamnaya kulturi, R1b-Z2103 i I-L699.

Štaviše, značajno je da, u odnosu na pretpostavljenu “Yamnaya ekspanziju” u Srednju i Zapadnu Europu, trebamo govoriti ne o jednoj, već o dvije takve “čudne mikropopulacije”, od kojih bi jedna trebala postati predek Kulture Šnur-Keramike (to jest, karakterizirana dominacijom i, očigledno, još uvijek vrlo oštrom, ako ne i apsolutnom dominacijom odgovarajućih podgrupa R1a (koje, ponovo podsjećamo, nisu otkrivene u Yamnaya kulturi uprkos već vrlo značajnom porastu podataka) i potpunom odsutnošću R1b-Z2103 i I-L699, dok bi druga bila predek Kultura zvonastih pehara (to jest, karakterizirana apsolutnom dominacijom R1b-L51 i potpunom odsutnošću R1b-Z2103 i I-L699).

Činjenica da moramo pretpostaviti postojanje dvije takve “čudne populacije” već smanjuje matematičku vjerovatnost takvog razvoja događaja ne za polovinu, već za značajno više.

Značajan problem za hipotezu o “nepriznatoj mikropopulaciji” je to što ona mora biti upravo mikropopulacija. To znači da, prema logici zagovornika ove pretpostavke, u ranom bronzanom dobu, dvije (ako govorimo samo o Evropi) po definiciji male grupe ljudi trebale su u najkraćem mogućem vremenu (u praksi, trebali bismo govoriti o nekoliko stoljeća, ako ne manje) gotovo potpuno zamijeniti i asimilirati, budući da je ogroman doprinos substrata očigledan i u kulturama Šnur keramike i Zvonastih pehara.

Nevjerojatnost scenarija za nastanak Šnur keramike i Zvonastih pehara prema hipotezi o “Yamnaya ekspanziji” (kao i nevjerojatnost same hipoteze o “Yamnaya ekspanziji”) postaje još očiglednija ako uključimo podatke iz fizičke antropologije (preciznije, kranimetriju) u analizu.

U stvari, samo priznanje činjenice da su različite (ili čak iste) podgrupe haplogrupa R1a i R1b (i dijelom Q) povezane (dominirajuće u odgovarajućim populacijama) već u bronzanom dobu (pa čak i u mezolitu-neolitu) Evrope s različitim, a čak i vrlo različitim kraniološkim tipovima, koji su zabilježeni u odgovarajućim regijama tokom dva do tri milenija, zahtijeva da također priznamo da ova povezanost

<sup>142</sup> Lazaridis et al. 2024, 23.

<sup>143</sup> Романчук 2020, 252–253.

između određenog kраниолошког типа i određenih haplogrupa nije mogla nastati u trenutku i već na kasnoj (ili čak dovoljno razvijenoj) fazi evolucije tih kраниолошких tipova.

Ne, ovo je mogao biti samo rezultat dugoročnih procesa ukrštanja različitih populacija, koji su započeli vrlo rano, na samom početku formiranja odgovarajućih kраниолошких tipova (to jest, još u mezolitu), a koji su se događali (s različitim rezultatima, ovisno o razlici u početnim komponentama i uvjetima njihove interakcije) u različitim dijelovima Evrope.

A ova slika očigledno se ne slaže s pretpostavljenom hipotezom o “Yamnaya ekspanziji” modela “zamjene populacije” Evrope (čak i djelomične, u najnovijim verzijama ove hipoteze) kao rezultat kasnih migracija s područja Yamnaya kulture u bronzanom dobu.

Stoga, autor pokazuje da se podaci o Y-hromosomu, kao i podaci o fizičkoj antropologiji očigledno ne slažu s pretpostavljenim modelom “zamjene populacije” Evrope (čak i djelomične) kao rezultat migracija Yamnaya kulture.

Izložene činjenice također teško omogućavaju slaganje s ocjenom tih činjenica koju su predložili A. Nikitin et al. kao dokaz “valova koji dolaze s istoka”, potpuno u duhu dugotrajnog mišljenja M. Gimbutas. Pred nama je slika očigledno mnogo složenijih i višeslojnih interakcija unutar Istočne Evrope u cjelini, koje su započele mnogo ranije, još u Mezolitu-neolitu.

Autor sugerira da je područje u kojem je nastao autosomalni “Yamnaya komponent” bilo znatno šire od područja Srednj-Stog kulture i pokrivalo je veoma velika područja istočne Evrope (i njenog stepskog i šumskog dijela), te srednje i (djelomično) zapadne Evrope.

U svakom slučaju, čini se jasno da je cijela ova priča počela mnogo prije nastanka Yamnaya kulture.

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## Izvor-špilja Ričina u brončanom dobu – prostor i uloga

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Mostar

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*Abstract:* The paper presents the results of archaeological excavations at the Izvor-Ričina Cave (entrance-2). The excavations documented a cultural layer that, based on its characteristics and content, is not associated with more intensive occupation activities. Instead, it formed as a result of occasional or shorter-term (seasonal) activities of human communities during the Bronze Age, on the plateau directly in front of entrance-2. This, along with certain documented physical characteristics of the deposit itself, suggests that even in the Bronze Age, the Izvor-Ričina Cave had hydrographic features similar to those of today, thus limiting the potential for more significant use of its space. The analysis of collected pottery fragments indicates that its space was most intensively used during the Late Bronze Age, although several collected fragments can be attributed to earlier Bronze Age periods. The Late Bronze Age period corresponds to the time of intensive development of most hillfort-type sites in the observed area of Tropolje, where we also find the best analogies for the materials from Ričina. Notably, two hillforts stand out: Veliki Gradac above Privala and the hillfort in Korita, which are located in close proximity to the cave, thereby positioning the cave within their actual territorial reach. This indicates that the Ričina was used by the same communities that gravitated towards these hillfort sites in different periods of the Bronze Age. Additionally, during speleological research of the cave complex, surface finds were collected from the area of entrance-1, the publication and analysis of which are also included in this work. The area of entrance-1 was similarly not used intensively in the past, while the analysis of ceramic fragments collected from its surface showed that they belong to the period from the Early Bronze Age to the Early Modern Age.

*Keywords:* Izvor-Ričina Cave, Bronze Age, Tropolje, hillforts, spatial pattern.

Izvor-špilja Ričina veći je speleološki kompleks smješten na jugoistočnom rubu Buškog blata u Općini Tomislavgrad (Karta 1; 2). U arheološku literaturu Ričina ulazi prije svega zahvaljujući relativno nedavno provedenim arheološkim iskopavanjima kojima su na platou ispred špilje dokumentirane zone izrade litičkih predmeta iz vremena epigravetijena.<sup>1</sup> S ciljem dobivanja konkretnijih kulturnih depozita koji bi se mogli povezati sa spomenutim epigravetijenskim zonama izrade, nešto kasnije je iskopavan i sam ulazni prostor špilje (ulaz-2). Inače, u okviru špiljskog kompleksa ukupno su dokumentirana tri ulaza, no jedino na prostoru ulaz-2 pronalazimo fizičke karakteristike koje su mogle pogodovati formiranju značajnijeg kulturnog depozita (Sl. 1.).

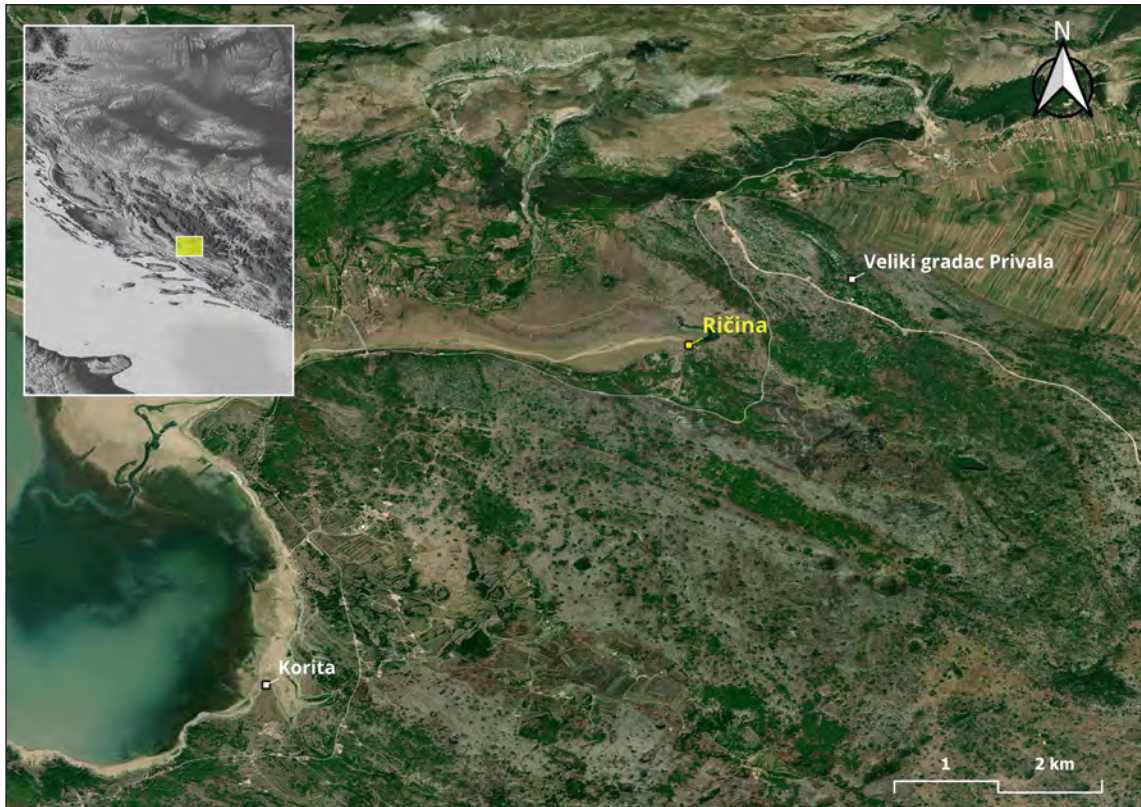
<sup>1</sup> Vujević / Dilber 2018, 5 i dalje.

### Tijek iskopavanja

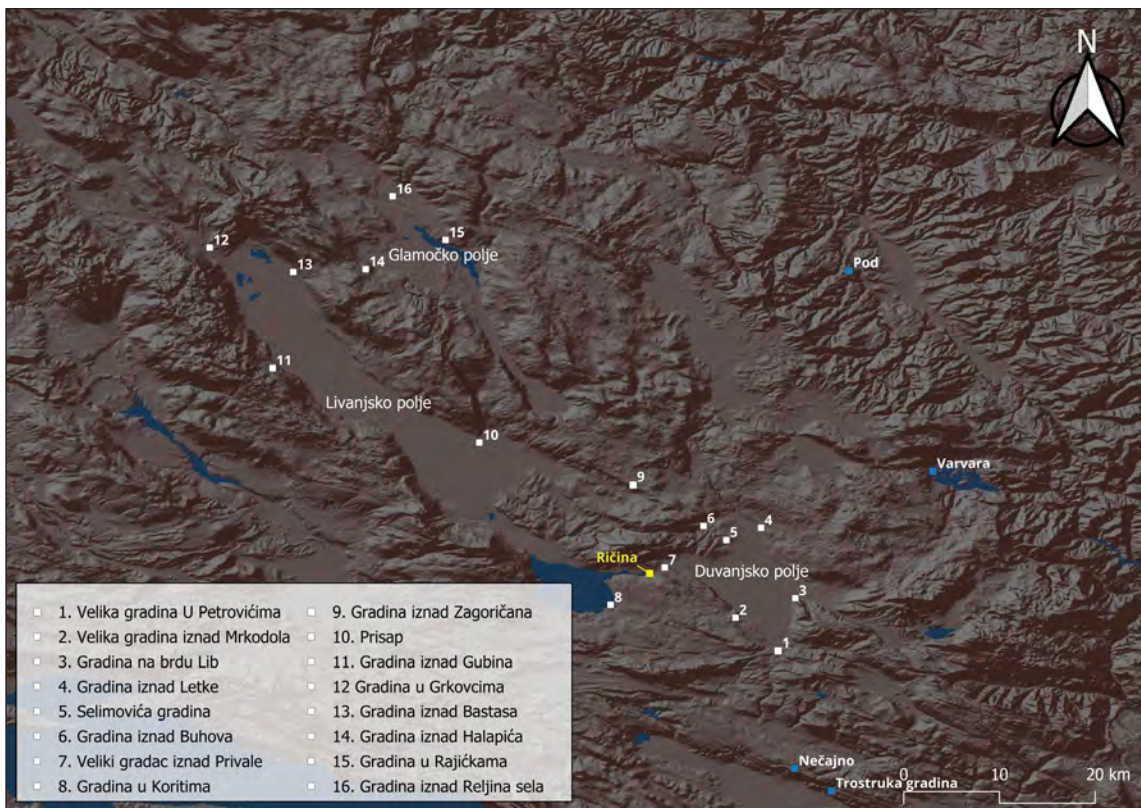
Tako je probna sonda postavljena na platou neposredno ispred spomenutog ulaza, odnosno na mjestu gdje su konfiguracija terena i ambijent špilje u trenutku iskopavanja to dozvoljavali.<sup>2</sup> Naime, sam prostor špilje, kako i sam naziv govori, aktivan je izvor vode, koji je prema zakonitostima krške hidrografije sklon redovitom sezonskom plavljenju (Karta 2; Sl. 2.).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Dimenzije probne sonde iznosile su 2,5 x 1,5 metar.

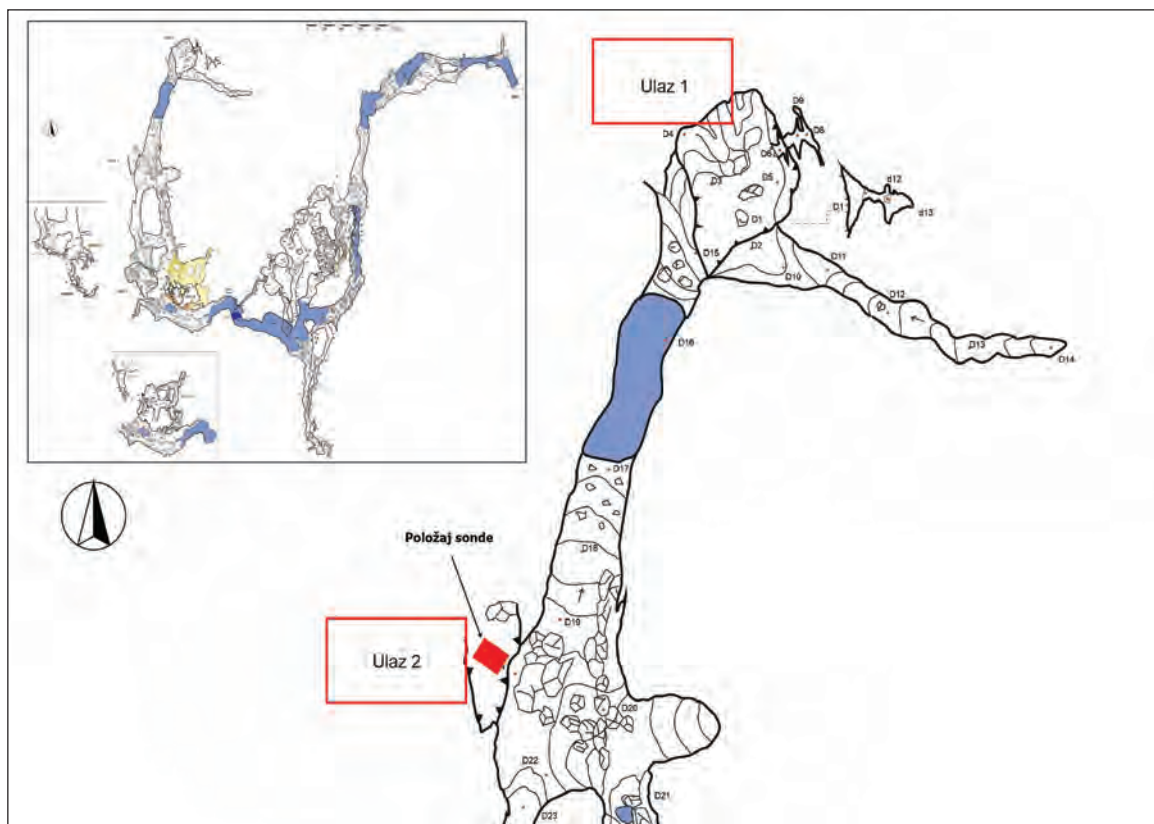
<sup>3</sup> Arheološka iskopavanja odvijala su se kroz dvije faze (kampanje). Prva faza iskopavanja izvedena je uz sudjelovanje članova Speleološkog društva Mijatovi dvori (Tomislavgrad), dok je druga faza, tj. nastavak iskopavanja, izveden u sklopu redovite terenske nastave studija Arheologije Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Mostaru. Arheološkim iskopavanjima rukovodili su arheolozi Dario Vujević (Sveučilište u Zadru), Stipan Dilber (Franjevački muzej Tomislavgrad) i Tino Tomas (Sveučilište u Mostaru), dok su ostatak ekipe



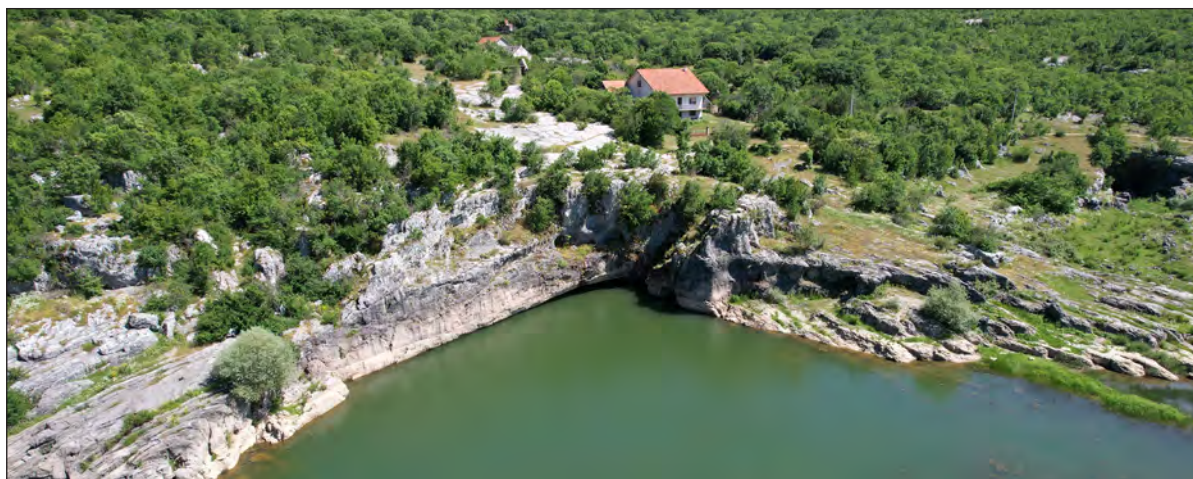
Karta 1. Položaj Ričine u odnosu na gradinu Veliki gradac iznad Privale i gradinu u Koritima



Karta 2. Položaj nalazišta referiranih u radu



Slika 1. Tlocrt kompleksa Izvor-špilje Ričina s naznačenim ulazima i položajem probne sonde



Slika 2. Zračna snimka Izvor-špilje Ričina u trenutku visokog vodostaja

Iskopavanje se vršilo kopanjem i uklanjanjem ujednačenih otkopnih slojeva uz uvažavanje za-tečenih stratigrafskih odnosa u sondi. Tako se pokazalo da je u okviru sonde moguće izdvojiti ukupno tri glavna stratigrafska sloja. Najmlađi

činili članovi Speleološkog društva: Ante Radoš, Domagoj Madunić, Marko Jakovljević, Ivana Dukić, Ante Braovac i Ivan Baković, te studenti Studija arheologije: Marija Magdalena Šutalo, Boris Rozić, Josipa Miloš i Dario Krešić.

dokumentirani činio je travnati, humusno-sup-humusni sloj rahlije konzistencije, debljine do 20 centimetara, sa sitnijim kamenim primjesama. U donjim zonama tog sloja prikupljeni su i nalazi u vidu atipičnih keramičkih ulomaka prapovijesne provenijencije te nekoliko ulomaka antičke rimske keramike, od kojih se izdvaja ulomak slikane keramike i jedan primjerak rimske numizmatike

(T. V. 1–2.).<sup>4</sup> Idući, dakle drugi stratigrafski sloj koji je dokumentiran u okviru probne sonde sastavljen je od izrazito kompaktno zemlje crvenkastosmeđe boje, s rjeđim kamenim primjesama. U okviru ovoga sloja dokumentirano je i više tanjih proslojaka sitnijeg kamena, sada vidljivih u profilima sonde. Takva situacija izravna je posljedica višekratnog, sezonskog djelovanja vode. Naime, u promatranom hidrografskom kontekstu sedimentacija se odvijala tako da se prilikom cikličkog sezonskog plavljenja, pri povlačenju vode s okolnih hipsometrijski viših dijelova terena, s vodom povlačio i kameni sitnozrnati materijal. Spomenuti je proces na prostoru spilje prisutan i danas. Također, u donjim zonama sloja, dokumentirano je više kamenih blokova koji očito stoje u vezi s geološkim procesima vezanima za formiranje današnjeg izgleda ulaza/stropa spilje (Sl. 5.).

Bitno je napomenuti kako je u okviru opisanog sloja prikupljena znatna količina keramičkih ulomaka te rijetki ulomci litike. Od litičkih nalaza izdvaja se ulomak granitnog rastirača te više kremenih jezgri (T. V. 5–8.). Prikupljeni keramički ulomci većinom su prapovijesne fature, u okviru kojih se ističe i određen broj izrazito tipičnih primjeraka. Pri tome je važno naglasiti kako uglavnom dominiraju ulomci koje možemo pripisati kasnobrončanodobnoj produkciji, s tim kako je u donjim zonama sloja, neposredno iznad geološke podloge, prikupljeno i nekoliko keramičkih ulomaka koje možemo pripisati starijim brončanodobnim periodima. Naposljetku, uklanjanjem druge stratigrafske jedinice, dokumentiran je i treći sloj, a riječ je o “čistom” geološkom sloju tzv. vučenog (vodenog nanosa), tj. šljunkovito-pjeskovitom vodonosnom horizontu s homogenim litološkim i hidrogeološkim značajkama bez kulturnih determinanti (Sl. 6.).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Radi se o ulomku oboda recipijenta tipa čaše, na kojemu su na svijetloj, blijedožutoj podlozi keramičke stijenke izvedeni crveno-smeđi slikani geometrijski motivi. Navedeni se ulomak može datirati u vrijeme 3. ili 4. stoljeća. Čremošnik 1984, 272. S druge strane, prikupljeni primjerak antičke rimske numizmatike još nije podvrgnut postupcima čišćenja i konzervacije, s tim kako je već vidljivo da mu je površina dobrim dijelom oštećena, tako da je njegova preciznija determinacija u ovom trenutku nemoguća.

<sup>5</sup> Također, kopanjem geološkog stratigrafskog depozita pokušala se ustanoviti njegova debljina, odnosno radi li se o izvjesnoj cezuri ispod koje bi se opet došlo do kulturnih depozita. Tako je spomenuti sloj uklonjen do dubine od pola

## Probna sonda – analiza prikupljene pokretne arheološke građe

Dakle, gotovo svi nalazi prikupljeni tijekom iskopavanja uglavnom su vezani za drugi stratigrafski sloj. Prije svega radi se o keramičkim ulomcima prapovijesne fature. Većina prikupljenih keramičkih ulomaka dosta je usitnjena ili pripada grubim keramičkim formama lišenim užih kulturnokronoloških atributa.<sup>6</sup> Od prikupljenih tipičnih dijagnostičkih keramičkih ulomaka posebice se izdvajaju gornji dijelovi keramičkih posuda, koji su često ukrašeni plastičnom ili urezanom ornamentikom i koji nam donekle i jedini mogu poslužiti kao kulturnokronološki orijentiri iskopanih slojeva.

U okviru promatranog sloja dominiraju ulomci koje možemo pripisati kasnom brončanom dobu. Pri tome izdvajamo dva ulomka oboda ukrašenih kosim kanelurama – tzv. turban oboda. Kod jednog ulomka obod je uvučen prema unutra i vidno zadebljan, a zadebljanje je ukrašeno finim širokim, u odnosu na glavnu os posude koso postavljenim kanelurama (T. I. 1.). Kod drugog ulomka, obod je također nešto zadebljan i nije toliko uvučen prema unutra, a same kanelure su postavljene na njegovom tjemenu i uže raspoređene u odnosu na prethodno opisani ulomak (T. I. 2.). Najbliže prostorne analogije opisanim nalazima iz Ričine pronalazimo u okviru gradinskih nalazišta Tropolja ili Završja (tj. prostora Livanjskog, Duvanjskog i Glamočkog polja, uključujući i prostor Buškog blata, gdje je smještena sama Ričina). Prije svega tu mislimo na obližnju gradinu Veliki gradac iznad Privale, gdje se u okviru faze Privala-C javljaju zdjele sa širokim kosim kanelurama na obodu kao jedna od novih pojava u keramografiji ovog brončanodobnog naselja.<sup>7</sup> I na drugim nalazištima s prostora Tropolja, prije svega onima gradinskog tipa, poznati su nam nalazi ovog tipa zdjela s kaneliranim obodima, poput Velike

metra, no od kopanja se uslijed nedostatka vremena odustalo, stoga nam je njegova točna debljina i dalje nepoznata.

<sup>6</sup> Ukupno je prikupljeno 149 keramičkih ulomaka, od kojih onoj tipičnoj, s izraženijim dijagnostičkim atributima, pripada njih 12, dakle približno 8%.

<sup>7</sup> Gradina na položaju Veliki Gradac iznad planinskog prijevoja Privala koji spaja Duvanjsko polje s Buškim blatom i udaljena je 1,5 kilometar u pravcu sjeveroistoka od Ričine. Govedarica 1982, 129, Tab. VII, 3. 5.



Slika 3. Pogled na ulaz-1

gradine iznad Petrovića, gradine iznad sela Letke, Velike gradine iznad Mrkodola, Selimovića gradine, gradine na brdu Lib (Duvanjsko polje)<sup>8</sup> te u okviru podgrađa Reljine gradine (Glamočko polje), dok su nam primjerci turban oboda s nešto užim kanelurama koso raspoređenima po tjemenu oboda poznati s Velike gradine iznad sela Grkovci<sup>9</sup> i naseobinskog nalazišta otvorenog tipa u Prisapu<sup>10</sup> (Livanjsko polje), gradine iznad Buhova (Duvanjsko polje) te gradine u Koritima (Buško blato).<sup>11</sup> Ukratko, zdjele s kaneliranim obodima dobro su dokumentirana pojava prije svega na širem panonskom prostoru, dok se njihova geneza konkretno veže za kulturu Čaka, odnosno današnji prostor jugozapadne Slovačke

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 150, Tab. XVI, 10; XIX, 7; XX, 3. 5–7; Benac 1985, 13, 31, 36, 56, Tab. III, 3. Dva ulomka zdjela s turban obodima prikupljena su i prilikom probnih iskopavanja gradine na brdu Lib 2021. godine. Tomas 2022, 11, Tab. IV, 3–4.

<sup>9</sup> Govedarica 1982, Tab. XVII, 6.

<sup>10</sup> Riječ je o objavljenim površinskim nalazima s jako zanimljivog nalazišta naseobinskog tipa na otvorenom, gdje većinu nalaza pripisujemo posuškoj kulturi. Među prikupljenim ulomcima izdvaja se i skupina nalaza mlađe brončanodobne provenijencije kojima paralele možemo povući i s nalazima iz Ričine. Marijan 1995, Tab. V, 2.

<sup>11</sup> Govedarica 1982, Tab. XI, 4; XXI, 3. Gradina u Koritima je za sada jedino sustavno istraženo nalazište gradinskog tipa s prostora Tropolja, a udaljena je od Ričine oko 6 kilometara u pravcu jugozapada.

i sjeverozapadne Mađarske.<sup>12</sup> Za našu problematiku bitan je prostor sjevernog (peripanonskog) dijela Hrvatske, gdje se pojava te vrste keramičke robe veže za direktan prodor ili pak snažan kulturni utjecaj grupe Baierdorf-Velatice iz južne Moravske i donje Austrije, odakle se kasnije ti utjecaji prenose na prostor sjeverozapadne i sjeverne Bosne (kao posljedica direktnih migracija), zatim posredno i na prostore srednje Bosne, sjeverne Hercegovine (Varvara) i Tropolja.<sup>13</sup> U okviru kulture polja sa žarama, zdjele s kaneliranim obodima predstavljaju snažnu kronološku determinantu, gdje je moguće razlikovati i nekoliko razvojnih varijanti. Tako, primjerice, zdjele sa širokim kosim kanelurama na obodu predstavljaju raniju varijantu, koja je tipična za vrijeme starije faze kulture polja sa žarama (tj. vrijeme kasnog BrD i ranog HaA perioda), dok nešto kasnije, tijekom perioda HaB, kanelure na obodima po pravilu postaju uže i kraće. U sintetskom osvrtu na kasno brončano i starije željezno doba Bosne M. Gavranović također pravi jasnu tipološku i kronološku distinkciju između pojedinih varijanti zdjela s kaneliranim obodima. Tako

<sup>12</sup> Bulatović 2009, 100.

<sup>13</sup> Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 64–76 i d.; 1983, 567–568; Bulatović 2009, 103; Jamaković 2011, 94, 101; Gavranović / Jašarević 2016, 92–93.



Slika 4. Pogled na ulaz-2

bi primjerak iz Ričine s finim širokim kosim kanelurama odgovarao njegovoj varijanti 10b koju autor datira u kronološki okvir vremena starije faze kulture polja sa žarama (Br D – Ha A<sub>1</sub>), dok primjerke zdjela s užim i kraćim kanelurama ograničenima na obod, varijanta 10c po autoru, datira pak kasnije.<sup>14</sup> Naposljetku, A. Bulatović za pojavu zdjela koje tipološki možemo usporediti s primjerkom iz Ričine, varijanta Ia<sub>1</sub> po autoru, nudi sličan kronološki okvir. Međutim autor njihovu prisutnost ne prepoznaje na prostoru virovitičke grupe, odnosno vrijeme perioda HaD, te posljedično tome ni prostora Bosne i Hercegovine.<sup>15</sup> Možemo li navedeni kronološki okvir pojave zdjela sa širokim kosim kanelurama na obodu primijeniti i na prostor Tropolja, gdje je takav manir ukrašavanja ipak preuzet posrednim kontaktima sa spomenutim sjevernijim arealima? Za promatranu problematiku, osobito prostora Tropolja, indikativna je situacija dokumentirana u Varvari, gdje pojavu zdjela s obodima ukrašenima širokim kosim kanelurama vežemo za fazu Varvara-C<sub>1</sub>, dok se u kasnijim stupnjevima faze Varvara-C (tj. Varvara-C<sub>2-3</sub>) na obodima zdjela javljaju uže i kraće kanelure u

više varijanti, a varijanta oboda sa širokim kosim kanelurama iščezava.<sup>16</sup> Varvara je značajna zbog toga jer su njeni odnosi prema prostoru Tropolja višestruko potvrđeni na više razina i ona stoga predstavlja glavnu točku širenja novih elementa prema jugu, kao što su između ostalog i zdjele s kaneliranim obodima.<sup>17</sup> Na koncu, i rezultati arheoloških iskopavanja (sondiranja) gradina s prostora Tropolja sugeriraju nam kako bismo sličan razvojni kronološki okvir mogli aplicirati i na kanelirane obode s tog prostora.<sup>18</sup>

Drugi kulturni element koji pronalazimo u Ričini, a koji možemo dovesti u vezu s posrednim utjecajima kulture polja sa žarama, jeste ulomak izvijenog višestruko facetiranog oboda zdjele ili

<sup>14</sup> Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 64–76, 125–131, Tab. 21, 9; 22, 14–15; 25, 6; Gavranović 2011, 47–48, Sl. 12–13.

<sup>15</sup> Bulatović 2009, 91, 93–95.

<sup>16</sup> Ćurčić 1900, Tab. VI, 8–9; Čović 1983c, 402, Sl. 25, 6; 26, 1–2, 4; Tab. LVII, 10; LVIII, 6–7. Također, upravo na temelju degenerativnih formi zdjela s kaneliranim obodima (mjesna imitacija), B. Čović revidira kronologiju mlađeg naselja na tom nalazištu, tj. Pod-B u Ha B<sub>1-2</sub> period. Čović 1965, 59–60, Tab. XII, 1–2; Čović 1983d, 435, 448.

<sup>17</sup> Tako B. Čović i B. Govedarica konstatiraju kako određene keramografske forme tipične za fazu Varvara-C predstavljaju keramografsku osnovu razvoja kasnog brončanog Tropolja. Govedarica 1982, 172; Čović 1983c, 411–412.

<sup>18</sup> Iako voditelj istraživanja i autor sam naglašava objektivne poteškoće s kojima se susretao prilikom iskopavanja, a to je česta nemogućnost uspostavljanja vertikalne "prave" stratigrafije u otkopanim sondama (djelomično, s izuzetkom Korita). Govedarica 1982, 138, 146, 150–153, 156, 159.

veće posude – lonca (T. I. 6.). Unutarnja strana oboda ukrašena je četirima paralelnim, u odnosu na glavnu os posude horizontalno postavljenim facetama. Upravo s te, unutarnje strane, površina ulomka je fino glačana, dok je njegova vanjska strana zaravnjena. Nadalje, i u ovom slučaju najbliže prostorne analogije pronalazimo na gradinskom nalazištu Veliki gradac iznad Privale (Privala-C).<sup>19</sup> Nalazi ove vrste poznati su nam i s drugih nalazišta gradinskog tipa s prostora Tropolja: Selimovića gradine (Duvanjsko polje), gradine iznad Grkovaca, gradine u Bastasima, gradine u Gubinu (Livanjsko polje), Reljine gradine, gradine u Raičkama i gradine Gradac u Rudićima (Glamočko polje).<sup>20</sup> Izvijeni i s unutarnje strane facetirani obodi su još jedna tipična forma koju pronalazimo u okviru kulture polja sa žarama zapadne Panonije. Pravce njihove rasprostranjenosti u dobroj mjeri možemo korelirati sa zdjelama s kaneliranim obodima, kao i vrijeme njihove pojave, s tim da su izvijeni facetirani obodi uglavnom ograničeni na vrijeme starije faze kulture polja sa žarama. Pri tome je važno naglasiti kako je brojnost ove keramičke vrste dosta dobro dokumentirana na prostoru sjeverne i sjeverozapadne Bosne, dok je južnije na prostoru Srednje Bosne njihova pojava izuzetna, a u Varvari obodi takve vrste nedostaju.<sup>21</sup> Situacija u iskopavanjima (sondiranim) gradinama prostora Tropolja i u ovom slučaju se više-manje poklapa s iznesenim kronološkim okvirom koji možemo aplicirati i na ulomak iz Ričine.<sup>22</sup>

Prilikom iskopavanja prikupljena su i dva ulomka izvijenih oboda ukrašenih tehnikom urezivanja. Jedan ulomak je na unutrašnjoj površini ukrašen dvama redovima nasuprot postavljenih urezanih višestrukih trokuta (T. I. 3.), dok je kod drugog ulomka, također na unutrašnjoj strani, vidljiv ukras u vidu urezanog šrafranog trokuta (T. I. 4.). Najbliže analogije ulomcima oboda iz Ričine pronalazimo na gradini u Koritima (Korita-A), gdje se javljaju pehari na kojima je s unutrašnje strane izvijenih oboda najčešće koncentriran urezani geometrijski

ukras.<sup>23</sup> Također, bliske analogije ulomcima iz Ričine pronalazimo i na drugim gradinskim nalazištima s prostora Tropolja: Mandinoj gradini, Velikoj gradini iznad Petrovića, Velikoj gradini iznad Mrkodola,<sup>24</sup> gradini iznad Buhova (Duvanjsko polje), gradini iznad Grkovaca i gradini Klačine iznad Zagoričana (Livanjsko polje).<sup>25</sup> Prvenstveno s obzirom na stratigrafsku situaciju dokumentiranu na gradini u Koritima, možemo determinirati i kronološku poziciju ulomaka iz Ričine. U donjim zonama kulturnih depozita naselja na Koritima (tj. Korita-A), urezivanje predstavlja najdominantniju ornamentalnu tehniku, gdje se geometrijska motivika često javlja na izvijenim obodima pehara. Kronološki okvir faze Korita-A sasvim je jasno pozicioniran u vrijeme HaB<sub>1-2</sub> perioda, odnosno mlađu fazu kasnog brončanog doba.<sup>26</sup> Spomenuti kronološki okvir primjenjiv je i na spomenute, sondirane gradine s promatranog prostora gdje su prikupljeni slični nalazi.<sup>27</sup> U tom kontekstu treba spomenuti i nalaz još jednog ulomka izvijenog oboda, koji po svoj prilici također pripada formi pehara, međutim, nije ukrašen (T. I. 5.). Analogni primjerci dobro su poznati i zastupljeni u kulturnom sloju u Koritima te po svoj prilici i ovaj ulomak možemo pozicionirati u širi vremenski okvir kasnog brončanog doba.<sup>28</sup> Također, slične nalaze na taj način formiranih, neukrašenih oboda imamo i na Reljinoj gradini (Glamočko polje) i gradini iznad Grkovaca (Livanjsko polje), koji se na temelju tipičnijih asociranih nalaza također datiraju u širi vremenski okvir kasnog brončanog doba, s tendencijom na njegov mlađi dio.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 138, Tab. VIII, 4. 6. 9; Tab. IX, 1. 8–9. 11.

<sup>24</sup> Benac 1985, 36, Tab. IV, 2.

<sup>25</sup> Govedarica 1982, Tab. IX, 8; XVII, 7, 10; XXI, 9; Benac 1985, 31, 36, Tab. III, 9; IV, 2.

<sup>26</sup> Govedarica 1982, 140. Pozicija kraja faze Korita-A i početka faze Korita-B određena je prema tipologiji metalnih nalaza u period HaB<sub>3</sub>. Također, osim metalnih nalaza, u determiniranju osnovnih keramičkih formi i na koncu, kulturnokronološke pozicije naselja i njegovih faza veliki značaj imala je i činjenica kako je veliki postotak keramičkih posuda pronađen cjelovit ili gotovo cjelovit. Ibid., 137, 174. Djelomično u prilog sinkroniziranju nalaza iz Ričine s fazom Korita-A ide i činjenica da se tek od Korita-B javlja i inkrustacija u sklopu urezane ornamentike, dok kod naših primjeraka inkrustacija izostaje. Ibid., 175.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 153, 156.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 137–138, 144.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 150, 153, Tab. XV, 1; XVII, 1.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 122, Tab. VII, 2.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., Tab. XVI, 5, 12; Benac 1985, 56, 123, 126, 160, 176.

<sup>21</sup> Marić 1964, 5 i d.; Govedarica 1982, 130, 149; Jamaković 2011, 101; Gavranović 2011, 84, 109–110.

<sup>22</sup> Pri tome je indikativno kako se izvijeni višestruko facetirani obodi na Reljinoj gradini javljaju u donjim (starijim) fazama sloja. Govedarica 1982, 149–151, 153.

Idući keramografski element iz Ričine koji primarno možemo povezati s gradinom u Koritima jest ulomak zadebljanog dvostruko facetiranog oboda (T. II. 1.). Sam obod je zadebljan i nešto uvučen prema unutra, trokutastog je presjeka, na tjemenu se sužava i pod oštrim kutom spušta s obadvije strane, s tim da mu je unutrašnja strana (faceta) nešto šira od vanjske. Obodi oblikovani na taj način pripadaju zdjelama koje pronalazimo u okviru Korita-A, dok je simptomatično da se tek od faze Korita-B takvi primjerci počinju masovno ukrašavati urezanim ornamentikom na facetama. Prema tome, i naš primjerak iz Ričine mogli bismo pozicionirati u Korita-A, tj. HaB<sub>1-2</sub> period.<sup>30</sup> Osim s gradine u Koritima, s prostora Tropolja, obodi ovakve vrste poznati su nam i s gradine iznad Buhova (Duvanjsko polje). Upravo na temelju stratigrafski relevantnijih nalaza iz Korita, kao i tipičnijeg materijala prikupljenog iz probne sonde, nalazi facetiranih oboda s gradine iznad Buhova datiraju se u mlađu fazu kasnog brončanog doba.<sup>31</sup>

Isto tako prikupljeno je više ulomaka oboda posuda grublje fature koji *prima facie* ne podliježu užoj kulturnokronološkoj atribuciji. Međutim, njihove analogije pronalazimo u okviru iskopavanih gradina Tropolja, osobito već često referirane gradine u Koritima. Tako primjerke ravnih oboda, od kojih neki mogu biti neznatno zadebljani, pronalazimo kod većih formi posuda (lonaca) u gotovom čitavom sadržaju sloja u Koritima (T. II. 3–5, T. III. 1–2, 5.).<sup>32</sup> Također, prikupljena su dva ulomka oboda koji su po vrhu ukrašeni nizovima utisnuća. Ovakav način ukrašavanja oboda često srećemo na primjercima s gradine u Koritima, ali i ostalih gradinskih nalazišta s promatranog prostora (T. III. 3–4.).<sup>33</sup> Riječ je o jednom široko rasprostranjenom načinu ukrašavanja grube keramike na prostoru šire brončanodobne kulturne makroregije, koji



Slika 5. Situacija u sondi nakon uklanjanja s. j.-2

je često zastupljen kako u okviru ranijih, tako i kasnijih faza razdoblja.<sup>34</sup>

Uz obode, prikupljeni su i različiti ulomci drške. U širem tipološkom smislu radi se o drškama trakastog i jezičastog tipa koje možemo smjestiti u širi brončanodobni kulturni i vremenski okvir. Mlađem, kasnobrončanodobnom vremenskom horizontu pripadao bi ulomak trakaste drške izduženog ovalnog presjeka. Pri donjem korijenu drške sačuvan je posebno oblikovan produžetak (trn), kojim se ona naknadno uglavljivala u stjenku pripadajuće posude (T. IV. 1.). Drška pripada tipu trakastih drški koje nadilaze obod pehara i česta su pojava u keramografiji kasnog brončanog doba promatranog prostora.<sup>35</sup> Istom vremenskom horizontu pripadali bi i primjerci robusnijih drški, kojima su dvije vanjske strane (gornja i donja) gotovo ravno oblikovane, stoga se presjek drške približava četverokutnoj formi (T. IV. 4.). Ovakav tip drški također je dokumentiran u okviru gradinskih naselja promatranog prostora i pripada većim formama posuda (lonaca) na koje je apliciran horizontalno u odnosu na glavnu os posude.<sup>36</sup>

S druge strane mlađem brončanodobnom vremenskom horizontu pripadao bi ulomak trakaste drške čiji je središnji dio blago naglašen, tako da se njen presjek približava trokutastoj formi, dok je na njenom gornjem dijelu formiran

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 138, 143, 146, 174.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 159–161, Tab. XXI, 14. Paralele ovom tipu oboda iz Ričine možemo povući i s odgovarajućim kasnobrončanodobnim depozitima s određenih nalazišta s prostora sjeverne i srednje Bosne (npr. Vis-B, Pod-B, Debelo brdo), kao i Varvara-C<sub>3</sub>, a s obzirom na već potvrđene veze između spomenutih areala u promatranom vremenu, i ove analogije su tim vjerodostojnije. Marić 1961, Sl. 6–7; Čović 1965, Tab. III; IX, 14; X, 12–13; 1983c, 402; 1983d, 444, Tab. LXI, 4.

<sup>32</sup> Govedarica 1982, 139.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 139–140, Tab. III, 2. 3. 6; VI, 11; VII, 8; X, 2; XI, 10; XX, 2.

<sup>34</sup> Usp. Čović 1965, 30, Sl. 12–13, Tab. XVI, 2; XXII, 2; XXIII, 9; XXIX, 1; 1983a, Tab. XVI, 1; 1983b, Tab. XXI, 2. 6–7; 1989, Tab. I, 1–4. 10; IX, 1; Govedarica 1982, 125, 166–167 i drugi.

<sup>35</sup> Govedarica 1982, 137–138, 144. Tako ih imamo u Privali C, Koritima, Reljinoj gradini, Velikoj gradini u Petrovićima. Ibid., Tab. VII, 6; VIII, 2–3. 5; XVI, 4; XVIII, 1; XIX, 2. 6.

<sup>36</sup> Primjerice, poznate su nam s gradine u Koritima i Velike gradine u Petrovićima. Ibid., 139, Tab. XIII, 2. 10. 14; XVIII, 5.

plastični produžetak tzv. jezičastog tipa (T. IV. 3.). Najbliže analogije drški iz Ričine pronalazimo u okviru Privala-B, Velike gradine iznad Petrovića (Duvanjsko polje) i naselja na otvorenom iz Prisapa (Livanjsko polje) (Karta 2), gdje se ovakvi tipovi drški javljaju kao sastavni dijelovi pehara.<sup>37</sup> Upravo na temelju nalaza drški ovog tipa B. Govedarica slojeve spomenutih nalazišta datira u vrijeme srednjeg brončanog doba, s naglaskom na njegove početne etape (osobito u slučaju karakteristične terenske situacije u Privala-B).<sup>38</sup> Pri tome treba naglasiti da slične tendencije u oblikovanju drški pronalazimo i u okviru Privala-A.<sup>39</sup> Dokumentirana situacija na nalazištima sa šireg prostora kulturne makroregije također nam daje sličnu sliku. Primjerice u Varvari, drške s jezičastim produžetcima pronalazimo u okviru faze Varvara-A<sub>3</sub>, koja se pozicionira u vrijeme završetka ranog i početnu fazu srednjeg brončanog doba, dok je za vrijeme Varvara-B<sub>1</sub>, tj. stariju fazu srednjeg brončanog doba, karakterističnija trokutasta profilacija drški.<sup>40</sup> Nadalje, u kontekstu naselja Pod-A (rano brončano doba i sam početak srednjeg brončanog doba), B. Čović također navodi pehare s drškama trokutastog presjeka koje su mogle imati plastične jezičasto oblikovane produžetke, međutim, njihova uža kronološka pozicija unutar okvira Pod-A ostaje otvorena.<sup>41</sup> Sličnu situaciju u pitanju uže određenosti ovog tipa drški pronalazimo i u okviru posuške kulture, gdje se jezičasto oblikovani produžetci mogu pronaći u svim njenim fazama.<sup>42</sup> Nešto kasnije, B. Govedarica u sintetskom osvrtu na rano brončano doba istočnojadranskog prostora izjednačava mlađi horizont Varvara-A<sub>3</sub> i Varvara-B<sub>1</sub>, kao i mlađi horizont Privala-A i Privala-B, kao i većinu nalaza s Trostruke gradine i mlađe horizonte gradine Nečajno. Prema svemu navedenom, to je u ovo me trenutku i najbolje rješenje pitanja određivanja kronološke pozicije drške iz Ričine.<sup>43</sup> Dakle, riječ je o široko rasprostranjenom načinu oblikovanja drški koje već od ranog brončanog doba



Slika 6. Geološki sloj tzv. vučenog nanosa

pronalazimo na nizu nalazišta kulturne makroregije, koji se sigurno kao jedna snažna tradicija vjerojatno zadržao i u vremenu nakon toga, osobito u vremenu prve polovice srednjeg brončanog doba.

Prikupljeno je i više komada jezičastih drški (T. IV. 5–6.). Sudeći prema dokumentiranoj situaciji na gradinama s prostora Tropolja, ovakvi tipovi drški javljaju se kod posuda grublje fature (tj. lonaca). Primjerice, njihova je pojava dokumentirana tijekom svih faza trajanja brončanodobnog naselja na Privali.<sup>44</sup> Isto tako, njihova ujednačena i duga prisutnost dokumentirana je i na gradini u Koritima, s tim da se, osim na posudama tipa lonaca, sada manje jezičaste drške javljaju i na određenim tipovima pehara.<sup>45</sup> Prema tome, u pitanju ove vrste nalaza, naročito vezano za njihovu užu kronološku determinaciju, sasvim je opravdano pozvati se na situaciju dokumentiranu na prostoru Tropolja, bez potrebe za ulaženjem u dublju raspravu, barem što se tiče trenutnog stanja istraženosti.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 121, 156, Tab. VI, 1; XVIII, 3; XIX, 3; Marijan 1995, Tab. I, 5.

<sup>38</sup> Govedarica 1982, 129, 156, 169–170.

<sup>39</sup> Govedarica 1989, 120, T. I, 2. 9; IV, 1

<sup>40</sup> Čović 1977, 58–60, 62–63, Sl. 17, Tab. XXIV, 3; XXVIII, 1; XXXIV, 9.

<sup>41</sup> Čović 1991, 19, Tab. 17, 2. 5–6; 18, 1.

<sup>42</sup> Čović 1989, 72–73, 75, 79.

<sup>43</sup> Govedarica 1989, 159–162.

<sup>44</sup> Govedarica 1982, 120–123, Tab. III, 8.

<sup>45</sup> Govedarica 1982, 138–139, Tab. X, 2. 9. 13; XIII, 7.

Sličnu konstataciju o pitanju širokog areala rasprostranjenosti i široke kronološke atribucije možemo primijeniti na još jedan keramički ulomak prikupljen iz probne sonde. Riječ je o dijelu trbuha s pravilnim kružnim perforacijama stijenke – keramička cjediljka (T. V. 3.).<sup>46</sup> Od spomenutih perforacija vidljive su ukupno četiri – jedna cjelovita na središnjem dijelu ulomka i tri djelomično sačuvane na njegovim rubnim dijelovima.

Iskopavanjem druge stratigrafske jedinice, u kontaktnoj zoni s geološkim slojem prikupljen je keramički ulomak donjeg dijela veće posude grublje fature. Riječ je o ulomku donjeg dijela trbuha i ravno odrezanog dna, s barbotiniranom površinom (T. V. 4.). Najbliže analogije ulomku iz Ričine pronalazimo na obližnjoj gradini Veliki gradac, i to u okviru faze A, gdje je pronađen gotovo identičan ulomak ravnog dna i dijela trbuha ukrašen barbotinom.<sup>47</sup> Ovaj način ukrašavanja keramičkog posuda označava jednu stariju tradiciju, koja se izuzetno zadržava i u vrijeme ranog brončanog doba, s tendencijom na njegov najstariji dio, bez bitnih kronoloških implikacija.<sup>48</sup>

## Površinski nalazi iz ulaz-1

Prilikom speleoloških istraživanja Ričine tijekom 2019. godine, s površine njenog najsjevernijeg ulaza (ulaz-1, Sl. 1; 3) prikupljeno je više keramičkih ulomaka.<sup>49</sup> Inače na tom prostoru špilje kulturni sloj nije dokumentiran, sačuvane su samo skromnije količine zemlje koje su zapunjavale prirodna udubljena u stjenovitom podu. Od prikupljenih ulomaka bilo je moguće izdvojiti i nekoliko tipičnih nalaza, stoga koristimo ovu priliku da ih na ovome mjestu i objavimo.

<sup>46</sup> Također, nalazi keramičkih cjediljki s promatranog prostora Tropolja za sada su nam poznati i s nalazišta Prisap. Marijan 1995, Tab. VI, 2. Ilustracije radi, slični nalazi keramičkih cjediljki poznati su iz svih faza brončanoga doba s nalazišta šire kulturne regije, tj. Pod-A, Nečajno, Trostruka gradina, Varvara-B<sub>1</sub> i Varvara-C<sub>1</sub>, Dugiš i dr. Čović 1977, 63, Tab. XXXIV, 11; 1983c, 400, Sl. 25, 2; 1989, 72, 75, Tab. II, 5; 1991, 17, Tab. 3. 9; 4, 1; Marović 2001, Tab. IX; XX, 1–2.

<sup>47</sup> Govedarica 1982, 121, Tab. II, 14.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 126–128. Primjerice u fazi Varvara-A<sub>1</sub> barbotino predstavlja jednu od najzastupljenijih ornamentalnih tehnika, a zastupljen je i u početnim etapama cetinske kulture. Čović 1977, 19–22; Marović / Čović 1983, 210.

<sup>49</sup> Tom prilikom s površine ulaz-1 prikupljeno je 40 keramičkih ulomaka.

Najviše pažnje je privuklo pet ulomaka iste posude, koji se mogu spojiti, tako da tvore jednu trećinu cijele posude. Riječ je o peharu s loptasto naglašenim trbuhom i cilindrično oblikovanim vratom koji se prema vrhu blago izvija prema van i prelazi u obod koji je diskretno zadebljan s vanjske strane (Sl. 7.). Vanjska i unutrašnja površina pehara solidno je glačana. Rame i trbuh pehara ukrašeni su nizovima finih ujednačenih kanelura, koje su koso postavljene u odnosu na glavnu os posude; s obzirom na to kako su postavljene u dva smjera, čine svojevrsan motiv prepleta.

Gledajući najbliže analogije peharu iz ulaz-1 iz Ričine, opet ih možemo pronaći na gradini Veliki gradac. Ulomci posuda ukrašenih kanelurama prikupljeni su iz mlađih sedimenta faze Privala-A te iz Privala-B.<sup>50</sup> Inače, kanelirana keramika je solidno dokumentirana u okviru kulturnih areala sjeverno od Tropolja, s kojima taj prostor ima već potvrđene veze, tj. prostorima sjeverne Hercegovine i srednje Bosne.<sup>51</sup> Tu prije svega mislimo na Varvara-A3 (s tim kako je jedan primjerak kanelirane keramike poznat i iz faze Varvara-A2),<sup>52</sup> Alihodže-B<sup>53</sup> te osobito Pod-A, gdje su primjerci posuda ukrašeni na taj način najbrojniji.<sup>54</sup> Kada promatramo uža tipološko-stilska obilježja kaneliranog pehara iz Ričine, najbliže mu analogije pronalazimo upravo u okviru Pod-A, gdje se javljaju kanelure koje prema tehničkoj izvedbi najviše podsjećaju na one iz Ričine, a isto tako se javlja i kanelirani motiv prepleta,<sup>55</sup> dok su primjerci kaneliranih posuda iz Varvara-A3 dosta drugačiji od onih iz Pod-A, a samim time i našeg primjerka iz Ričine.<sup>56</sup> To je bio i jedan od razloga da B. Čović

<sup>50</sup> Govedarica 1989, 120–121, Tab. II, 1–3.

<sup>51</sup> Dok se šire porijeklo kanelirane keramike s prostora sjeverne Hercegovine i srednje Bosne traži uglavnom na prostorima šireg Podunavlja, ali i dalje na istoku i jugoistoku. Usp. Čović 1977, 59; 1989, 95–96; 1991, 22, 24–25.

<sup>52</sup> Čović 1977, 37, 39, 58, Tab. XVIII, 7; XXIV, 4; XXV, 4; XXXI, 7–8.

<sup>53</sup> Čović 1965, Tab. XVIII, 3.

<sup>54</sup> Čović 1991, Tab. 18, 9–10; 19, 5–7; 20, 5; 21. Također, kao posljedica ostvarenih kontakata s tim prostorima, pojedini primjerci kanelirane keramike poznati su nam i s južnijih prostora – zapadna Hercegovina i srednja Dalmacija. Marović / Čović 1983, 214; Čović 1989, 77, Tab. XII, 5.

<sup>55</sup> Čović 1965, 49, Tab. VII, 7; 1991, 19.

<sup>56</sup> Usp. Čović 1977, 37, 39, 58, Tab. XVIII, 7; XXIV, 4; XXV, 4; XXXI, 7–8. Na razlike nalaza kanelirane keramike iz Pod-A i Varvara-A<sub>3</sub> upozorio je i B. Čović. Čović 1991, 22.



Slika 7. Kanelirana posuda (pehar) iz ulaza-1

predloži nešto raniju dataciju kanelirane keramike iz Poda, u drugu polovicu ranog brončanog doba, dok B. Govedarica pak predlaže nešto kasniji vremenski okvir pojave kanelirane keramike na prostoru kulturne regije – završna faza ranog i početak srednjeg brončanog doba.<sup>57</sup>

Iz ulaz-1 prikupljen je ulomak gornjeg dijela trbuha, ramena i vrata s obodom (T. VI. 1.). Riječ je o posudi tipa pehar, s naglašenim trbuhom. Prijelaz iz trbuha u rame je blago izveden, dok je prijelaz iz ramena u vrat naglašen linijom, koja više odaje dojam da je izvedena tehnikom žlijebljenja negoli urezivanja. Sam vrat je cilindrične forme i prema vrhu se ujednačeno izvija i prelazi u blago izvijeni neprofilirani obod. Riječ je o formama posuda dobro poznatima u okviru cetinskog kulturnog kompleksa.<sup>58</sup> Upravo u okviru rane faze cetinske kulture tipična je pojava pehara s oblikovnim i ukrasnim tendencijama koje pronalazimo i kod primjerka iz Ričine.<sup>59</sup> Rana faza cetinske kulture uobičajeno se datira na sam kraj razvijenog eneolitika i početnu etapu brončanog doba.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Govedarica 1989, 159–162, 170–172.

<sup>58</sup> U prostornom smislu, najbliže nalaze iz ove faze cetinske kulture pronalazimo u okviru grobne gomile iz Grabovice (oko 3 kilometra jugozapadno od Ričine). Marović 1980, 18–19.

<sup>59</sup> Usp. Marović / Čović 1983, Sl. 15, 1, Tab. XXX, 9–11; Govedarica 1989, 120–121; Olujčić 2012, 64–67, Sl. 11–12; Tomas 2017, 13–14 i dr.

<sup>60</sup> Marović / Čović 1983, 197. Dok je B. Govedarica skloniji nešto ranijoj dataciji – završna faza eneolitika. Govedarica 1989, 120. Možda nam u pitanju kronologije ovog tipa posuda određenu orijentaciju mogu dati i dva radiokarbonska kalibrirana sigma datuma iz grob-1 Jukića gomile u Zagvozdu. Usp. Olujčić 2012, 68.

Nadalje, iz ulaz-1 potječe i jedan ulomak tipične drške (T. VI. 2.). Radi se o tipu sjekiraste drške ukrašene jednim kružnim udubljenjem na prednjoj strani. Drške ovog tipa za sada nisu dokumentirane na prostoru Tropolja, no opet ih pronalazimo na prostoru brončanodobne kulturne regije kojoj ono gravitira. Radi se prije svega o Varvari, ali su nam poznate i iz južnije zone nalazišta – Trostruka gradina, Jasočka gradina i Dugiš.<sup>61</sup> S obzirom na pouzdanu stratigrafsku situaciju dokumentiranu u Varvari, gdje je takav tip drški karakterističan za fazu Varvara-B1, i primjerak iz Ričine mogli bismo okvirno datirati u početne etape srednjeg brončanog doba.

Prikupljen je i ulomak gornjeg dijela veće posude (T. VI. 4). Radi se o ulomku vrata s ravnim obodom. Sama površina ulomka dosta je grubo obrađena, s tim da su na vanjskoj površini ulomka vidljivi nepravilno raspoređeni tragovi koji podsjećaju na one urađene jednom vrstom češlja. Obod posude je ravan i na vrhu ukrašen nizom ureza. Na prvu, analogije ovom ulomku povukli bismo s degeneriranim formama tzv. turban oboda kakve su nam poznate iz Korita-A (Ha B1–2).<sup>62</sup> No, ipak smo skloniji pronađeni ulomak datirati ranije, tj. u okviru ranog brončanog doba, prije svega na temelju ostalih popratnih elemenata koje promatrani ulomak sadržava, poput tehnologije njegove izrade i češljastog ornamenta na njegovoj površini, te na koncu sličnu tendenciju ukrašavanja oboda pronalazimo u okviru Varvare (Varvara-A2) i Poda (Pod-A).<sup>63</sup>

Napokon, od tipičnijih ulomaka prikupljenih s površine ulaz-1 spomenut ćemo i jedan kasnijih tipološko-stilskih obilježja (T. VI. 3.). Naime, riječ je o ulomku trbuha posude rađene na lončarskom kolu. Ulomak je izrađen od glinene smjese s primjesama različite granulacije, dok mu je površina mrke, tamnosive boje i dobro zaravnjena. Na ulomku je sačuvan ukras u vidu jednostruke valovnice užlijebljene u stijenku posude nekim širim tupim instrumentom. Primjerke grube keramike ove vrste možemo datirati u širi kasnosrednjovjekovni ranonovovjekovni vremenski horizont.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Čović 1977, 65, Tab. XXXVI, 3; XXXVII, 6; 1989, 77, Tab. XIII, 1; XVI, 4; Marović 2001, Tab. XXI, 1.

<sup>62</sup> Govedarica 1982, 138, 146.

<sup>63</sup> Čović 1977, 32, Tab. XX, 5; 1991, T. 18, 4.

<sup>64</sup> Bikić 2003; Gusar / Visković 2012, 238.

## Zaključno

Arheološko iskopavanje ulaznog prostora (ulaz-2; Sl. 4) špilje Ričina pokazalo je kako na tom položaju ne postoji kulturni depozit koji bismo mogli staviti u kontekst intenzivnijih ljudskih aktivnosti koje su se u prošlosti tu mogle odvijati. Drugim riječima, dokumentirani depozit ne odlikuje bogata kulturna stratigrafija. Razlog takve situacije prije svega krije se u činjenici da su i u prošlosti (tj. vremenu brončanog doba) na prostoru špilje vladale slične hidrografske zakonitosti kao i danas, što je donekle i potvrđeno dokumentiranim fizičkim obilježjima iskopanih depozita. Ipak, u vrijeme smanjenog vodostaja prostor ulaz-2 sezonski su koristile brončano-dobne zajednice, o čemu nam svjedoči količina prikupljene keramičke građe na relativno ograničenom i malom iskopanom prostoru. S obzirom na uzorak dobiven iskopavanjem probne sonde 1, sličnu situaciju možemo očekivati i na preostaloj površini platoa ispred ulaz-2 špilje Ričina.

Također, iskopavanja u Ričini dodatno su potvrdila kulturni identitet prostora Tropolja u vrijeme brončanog doba. Pri tome uvjetno možemo izdvojiti i dva glavna kulturna horizonta – prvi vezan za vrijeme ranog i srednjeg brončanog doba, kada na prostoru Tropolja pronalazimo forme tipične za širi istočnojadranski kulturni areal i one tipične za prostore sjeverne Hercegovine i srednje Bosne, te drugi horizont, koji vežemo za vrijeme kasnog brončanog doba.

Analiza prikupljene keramičke građe pokazala je da dominiraju ulomci koji pripadaju upravo vremenu kasnog brončanog doba. Navedena situacija sasvim korespondira s dokumentiranom arheološkom slikom prostora Tropolja. Primjerice, upravo arheološkim iskopavanjima *a priori* gradinskih nalazišta Tropolja, vrijeme kasnog brončanog doba prepoznato je kao period unutar kojeg je najveći broj njih i podignut. Za našu problematiku osobito su bitna dva obližnja gradinska nalazišta, Veliki gradac iznad Privale i gradina u Koritima, unutar čijih kulturnih sustava pronalazimo najviše sličnosti s nalazima iz Ričine, promatrajući daljnje, sada i prostorne uzorke između tri nalazišta. Pri tome, polazeći od pretpostavke kako arheološki zapis iščitavan u krajoliku uvijek odražava raznolike obrasce življenja, što neizbježno ukazuje i na važnost raznolikih pojedinačnih položaja nekad funkcionalnih

u prostoru, na njihove međudnose, ali i na samu generalnu koncepciju uređenja šireg prostora, nailazimo na objektivne poteškoće. Prvo, nama je stvarni odnos čovjeka prema raznolikim prirodnim resursima, ponajprije stupnju njihove nekadašnje uspješne (ekonomske) iskoristivosti, na prostoru šire kulturne regije u osnovi još nepoznat. Drugo, proučavanje nalazišta gradinskog tipa često se svodilo na same gradine, koje su time tretirane kao izolirane točke u prostoru, a krajolik (prostor) između gradina često je zanemarivan. Promatrajući prostor kao jasnu i svrhovitu cjelinu s prirodnim i fizičkim kapacitetima (resursima) koji su imali mogućnost pokretanja interakcije s ljudskim zajednicama u prošlosti, sigurno je da su i različiti tragovi ljudskih aktivnosti koje pronalazimo u širim prostornim kontekstima nalazišta gradinskog tipa neizbježno nastali kao posljedica potrebe njegovog organiziranja i njegovog korištenja u različite svrhe, između ostalih i u privredne. Prema tome, gradine, osim što preoblikuju prostor, one ga i definiraju, a objekti i strukture uokolo njih u određenoj mjeri predstavljaju njihovu ekonomsku osnovicu, s tim kako su takvi položaji i znak određenog teritorijalnog doseg a utjecaja pojedinih gradina. Na koncu, uzimajući u obzir sinkronicitet između tri spomenuta nalazišta te njihov prostorni kontekst, već na toj razini moguće je donijeti pretpostavku kako Ričina predstavlja jednu od točaka u paleokolišu koju su u okviru svojih životnih aktivnosti koristile i ljudske zajednice koje su u određenim momentima gravitirale spomenutim gradinama (Karta 1; 2).

Dalje govoreći o vremenu kasnog brončanog doba Tropolja, evidentno je kako su u arheološkoj građi tog vremena i dalje prisutni elementi koje možemo povezati s prostorima srednje Bosne i sjeverne Hercegovine, s tim da su ti prostori sada odigrali "posredničku" ulogu u prihvaćanju novih, stranih formi. Pri tome mislimo prije svega na tipične elemente kompleksa kulture polja sa žarama zapadne Panonije, odakle se šire na prostore sjeverne i sjeverozapadne Bosne, za koji možemo kazati da postaje sekundarna žarišna točka njihova širenja dalje prema jugu. Tako na promatranom prostoru Tropolja ti elementi predstavljaju jednu od dominantnijih kulturnih komponenti kasnog brončanog doba i ujedno njihov najjužniji prostorni eksponent. Za razliku od prostora sjeverne i sjeverozapadne Bosne

gdje je širenje kulturnih elemenata kulture polja sa žarama direktna posljedica migracijskih procesa, za prostor Tropolja možemo kazati kako se radi isključivo o ornamentalnom stilu sa snažnom kronološkom dimenzijom, koji se posrednim kontaktima na taj prostor proširio i udomaćio i gdje se sada te strane forme izrađuju u tradicionalnoj mjesnoj tehnološkoj maniri. Po tome se prostor Tropolja u vrijeme kasnog brončanog doba donekle izdvaja od susjednih kulturnih areala. Drugim riječima, sasvim je vidljivo da se radi o vremenu unutar kojega su se odvijali bitni momenti koji će odigrati ključnu ulogu u formiranju nove kulturne slike promatranog prostora i začetka etnogenetskih procesa koji će punu manifestaciju ostvariti u vremenu nadolazećeg željeznog doba.

## Summary

### Izvor-Ričina Cave in the Bronze Age – space and function

The archaeological excavation of the entrance area of the Ričina cave (Entrance-2) has yielded significant results, shedding light on the utilization of the cave and the intensity of sedimentation processes involving cultural and natural layers. The absence of a rich cultural deposit that might suggest intensive human activities in the past is primarily attributed to hydrological conditions. These conditions limited the formation of a stratified cultural sequence, while the ceramic assemblage found at the site attests to its seasonal use during the Late Bronze Age. Notably, the site's connection with nearby hillforts, Veliki Gradac above Privala and Korita, reveals shared cultural and spatial patterns. Ričina can be interpreted as part of the functional and organized cultural landscape of Tropolje, where hillforts played a pivotal role in shaping the economic and territorial structures of Late Bronze Age communities.

The analysis of material culture identifies two cultural horizons: the first, associated with the Early and Middle Bronze Age, reflects elements characteristic of the broader East Adriatic region as well as northern Herzegovina and central Bosnia. The second horizon, from the Late Bronze Age, is marked by influences of the Urnfield culture of Western Pannonia. These elements, adapted to local technological traditions in

Tropolje, highlight intensive cultural interactions without direct migration. Tropolje thus emerges as a distinctive cultural zone where foreign influences were locally reinterpreted, becoming integral to the evolving cultural framework. This cultural dynamism of the Late Bronze Age reflects processes of social transformation and foreshadows the onset of ethnogenetic developments that would fully unfold in the Iron Age.

Overall, this research underscores the need for a comprehensive approach to studying hillforts together with other archaeological sites, moving beyond their treatment as isolated points in the landscape. Instead, they should be regarded as integral components of a cultural landscape whose functionality and interrelations reflect diverse patterns of spatial utilization. Within this context, the spatial setting of Ričina highlights its role in the network of interactions that shaped the social and economic life of Tropolje communities during the Late Bronze Age.

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T. I.



1



2



3



4



5



6



0 5 cm

T. II.



1



2



3



4



5



T. III.



1



2



3



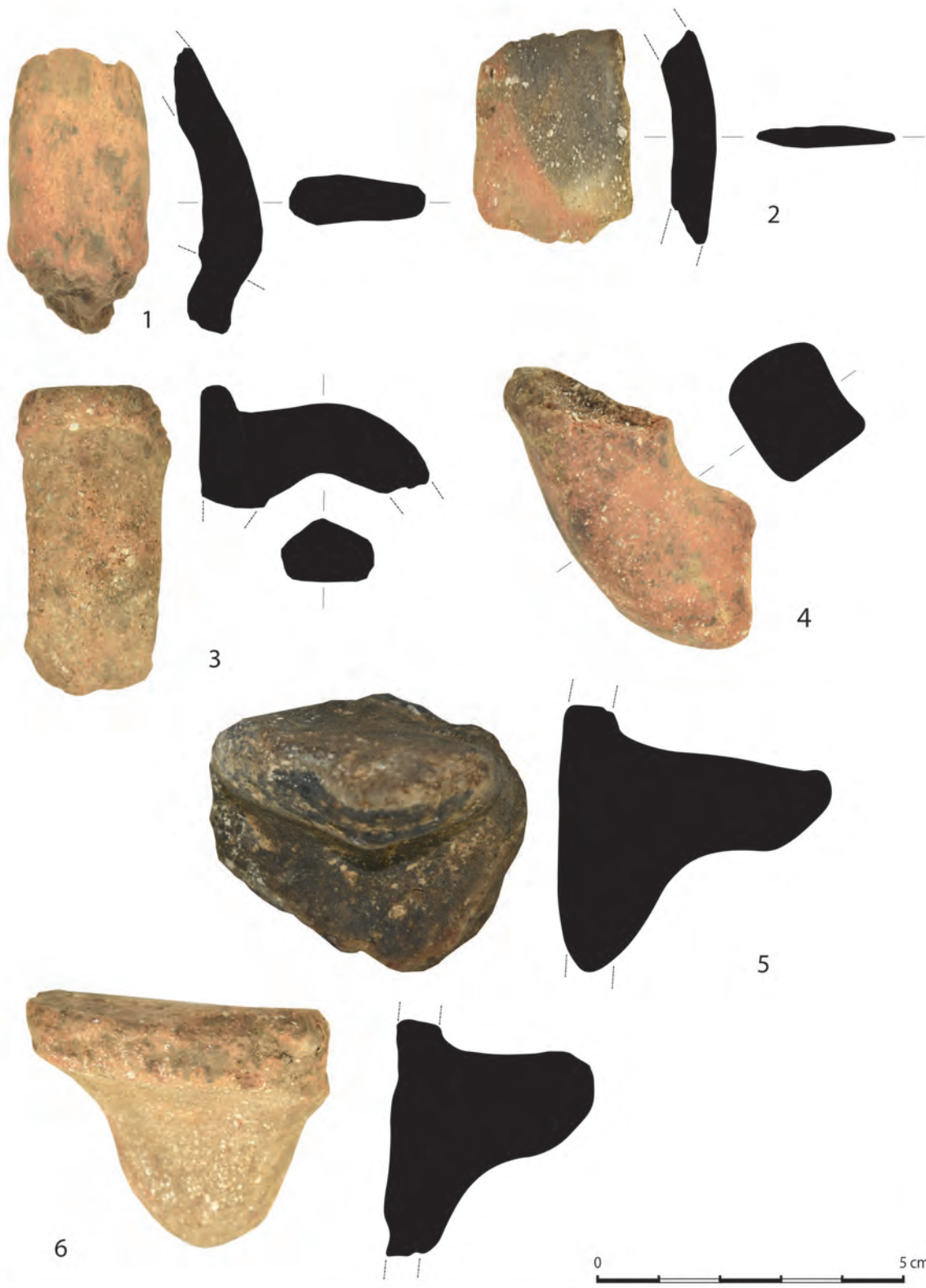
4



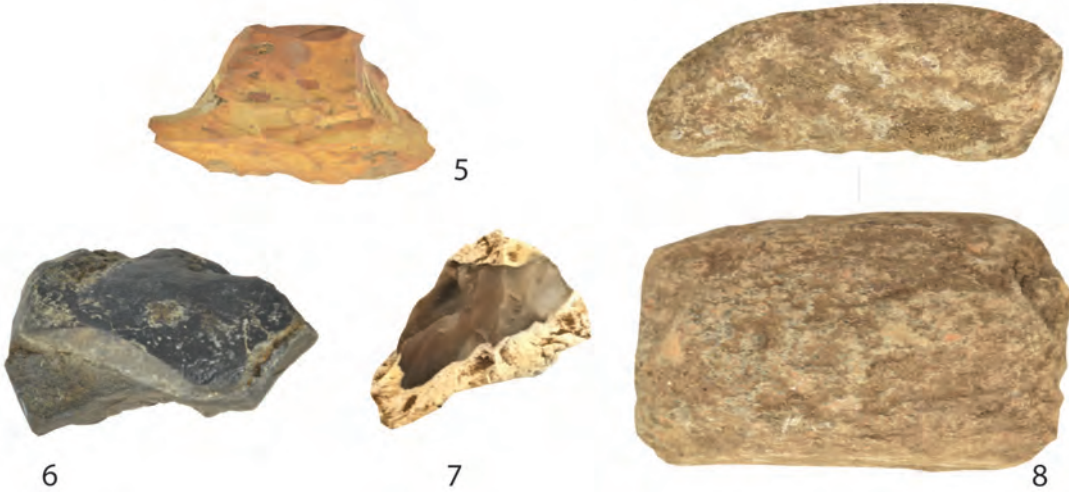
5



T. IV.



T. V.



0 5 cm

T. VI.



1



2



3



4



0 5 cm

## Subsistence in the Late Bronze Age of the northern Black Sea region: a case study of Taraclia-Gaidabul (Republic of Moldova)

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*Abstract:* The site of Taraclia-Gaidabul belongs to a type known as ash mounds, although it is now known that they do not in fact contain ash at all. The ash mounds represent settlement remains of the Noua-Sabatinovka-Coslogeni cultural complex, which is found in the northern Black Sea region. There is an ongoing debate about the subsistence of this Late Bronze Age society: were they mobile pastoralists or settled farmers?

Unfortunately, there is a lack of pollen diagrams for this region and period, so landscape reconstructions are difficult. Nevertheless, it seems that the landscape was characterised by forest steppe in the north and dry grass steppe in the south. Arable farming would have been challenging without artificial irrigation. Because archaeobotanical remains are scarce, it is hoped that the faunal analysis of Taraclia-Gaidabul can contribute to the question of subsistence and lifestyle: mobile or settled.

During four excavation campaigns (2016–2019), more than 15000 animal bones were recorded and studied. Results from the zooarchaeological analysis show a dominance of cattle, followed by sheep and goat and horse. Pig is rare and wild animals also played only a minor role in nutrition, although the variety among the small number of wild animal remains is considerable. It seems that cattle were exploited for both milk and labour, while sheep and goat provided meat, wool and milk. Horses were used for transport, an additional source of meat and perhaps also for milk. Animal remains provide some indications that the settlement was occupied all year round. This paper will place the results of the faunal analysis for Taraclia-Gaidabul in a wider context through a regional comparison of subsistence strategies.

*Keywords:* Late Bronze Age, Republic of Moldova, ash mound, subsistence, pastoralism

### Introduction

The region north of the Black Sea is characterised by two different types of steppes: grass steppe and forest steppe. The region is further characterised by a continental climate. According to Walter,<sup>1</sup> the climatic conditions in the Eastern European steppe zone change from north-west to south-east. The average temperatures rise and, as a consequence, evaporation increases. Precipitations, on the other hand, decreases. Another factor that

affects vegetation is the soil. Walter describes the forest steppe as a transitional area between forest in the north and steppe in the south. It forms a mosaic of deciduous forest and grass steppe. The geomorphological relief and soil type determine which vegetation predominates in particular micro regions. In the south, stipa-grass-steppe dominates on *chernozem* (black soil). It is uncertain whether the modern division in climate and vegetation between these two types of steppes would have been similar in the Late Bronze Age due to a lack of pollen diagrams for this region

<sup>1</sup>Walter 1977.

and period. While arable farming is normally challenging in this environment, differences from today's climate might have made this more feasible in the past. Today, arable farming is only possible with artificial irrigation. It has been repeatedly stated in scientific literature that in the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC the climatic conditions in steppe and forest steppe north of the Black Sea changed.<sup>2</sup> After a dry and warm phase, the climate would have become much more humid and probably colder. However, Bostonalieva<sup>3</sup> diachronically evaluated different paleoenvironmental archives for western Eurasia. One hundred proxy data for 66 sites from the steppe zone showed that after a warm and dry phase, which started around 3000 cal BC, the climatic conditions changed to "cold and humid" only after ca 1000 cal BC, so after the period this paper is concerned with.

There is an ongoing debate about the subsistence of Late Bronze Age societies in the western Eurasian steppe: was the life of Late Bronze Age people based exclusively on animal husbandry or did they also practise arable farming? A second, closely linked question about the subsistence economy is related to the degree of mobility: were Late Bronze Age people mobile pastoralists, settled farmers or something in between?

The reconstruction of the subsistence economy of inhabitants of the steppe zone in prehistory is a controversial theme. In Soviet times, the paradigm that animal husbandry was established early in these dry areas was developed. After all, it was believed that it was only through specialising in animal husbandry that an efficient economy was possible.<sup>4</sup> However, both in Soviet times and the following decades, there was a lack of settlement excavations with systematic sieving for macrobotanical remains. Archaeobotanical research was mostly based on analyses of impressions of cereal grains and seeds in ceramic and daub fragments.<sup>5</sup> Animal bones, on the other hand, were analysed systematically relatively often. Nevertheless, Morales Muñiz and Antipina<sup>6</sup> state that, for over 30 years, the same questions

have been discussed again and again. They used the example of faunal material from settlements of the Srubnaya cultural complex, which is found in the Late Bronze Age Eurasian forest steppe and steppe east of the river Dnieper, to demonstrate the limits of the potential of currently available zooarchaeological datasets. In general, it is only possible to say that the zooarchaeological evidence shows a large variability and some indicators for either sedentary or nomadic lifestyles, but no firm evidence either way. Despite a thorough and systematic discussion of the potential indicators for sedentism or nomadism, Morales Muñiz and Antipina concluded that the data for most was not available. Future research should be interdisciplinary and include sieving or flotation to investigate the presence of commensal birds, rodents and invertebrates, investigation of size and sex ratios of livestock, butchery practices, seasonality and stable isotope analyses.<sup>7</sup>

Analyses for the northern Black Sea region are hindered by similar obstacles as those encountered by Morales Muñiz and Antipina. While zooarchaeological analyses have been carried out for a good number of Late Bronze Age sites, what is lacking is a publication of information on mortality profiles, sex ratios, size and morphology of livestock, as well as the raw data on which such interpretations are based. The new dataset from Taraclia-Gaidabul – which is presented in this paper – can be used as a test case to see what conclusions on subsistence and lifestyle are possible with access to a more complete zooarchaeological dataset and help to formulate specific aims for further research in the northern Black Sea region.

## Subsistence in the Late Bronze Age northern Black Sea region

The research area that this paper will focus on is the northern Black Sea region, between the Carpathian Mountains and the river Dnieper (Fig. 1).<sup>8</sup> In the Late Bronze Age, this region coincided with the spreading of the Noua-Sabatinovka-Coslogeni cultural complex (NSCC).

<sup>2</sup>Gerasimenko 1997; Kremenetski 2003; Kotova / Makhortykh 2010.

<sup>3</sup>Bostonalieva 2014.

<sup>4</sup>Merpert 1974.

<sup>5</sup>Černych et al. 1998; Pashkevich 2003.

<sup>6</sup>Morales Muñiz / Antipina 2003.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 346–347.

<sup>8</sup>Although, geographically speaking, it would perhaps be more accurate to speak of the region north-west of the Black

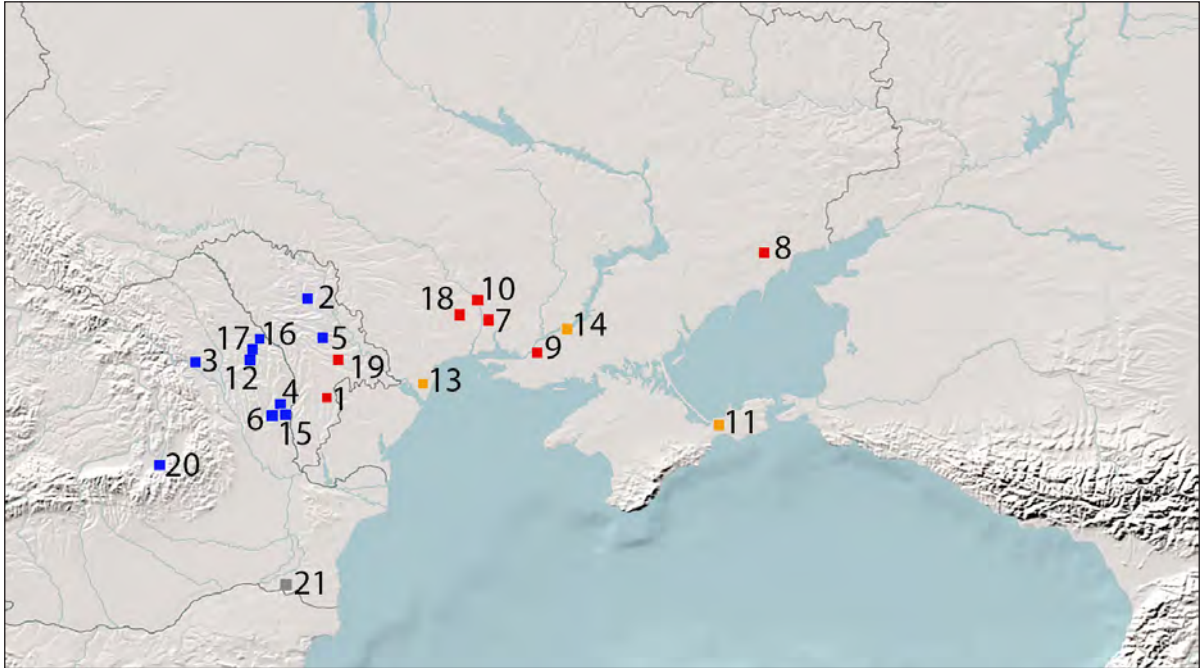


Figure 1. Map with sites mentioned in the text and NSCC settlements with zooarchaeological data. 1 – Taraclia-Gaidabul, 2 – Odaia-Miciurin, 3 – Piatra Neamț, 4 – Bîrlad, 5 – Mereni, 6 – Gîrbovăț, 7 – Peresadivka (Peresadovka),<sup>9</sup> 8 – Mykolaivka (Nikolaevka),<sup>10</sup> 9 – Novokyivka (Novokievka), 10 – Vinogradnyi Sad, 11 – Kirovo, 12 – Drăgești, 13 – Voronivka II (Voronovka II), 14 – Dremailovka, 15 – Cavadinești, 16 – Valea Lupului, 17 – Rateșu Cuzei, 18 – Shchut'ske (Shchutskoe), 19 – Tîrnăuța, 20 – Rotbav, 21 – Coslogeni. Red: Noua; Blue: Sabatinovka; Orange: Late Sabatinovka; Grey: Coslogeni

Material culture, which is associated with the Noua-Sabatinovka-Coslogeni cultural complex, is found over a large area, from the Lower Danube in the west to the Dnieper in the east. Although there are few radiocarbon dates, the culture is believed to be dated to the Late Bronze Age, i.e. between the 15<sup>th</sup> and the late 11<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>11</sup> Typical sites are the so-called “ash mounds”. These sites are believed to be the remains of settlements,<sup>12</sup> although it has also been argued that they represent feasting sites and that the settlements were located adjacent to the ash mounds.<sup>13</sup> Cemeteries are also known, where individuals

Sea, this area is commonly known among archaeologists working in this part of the world as the northern Black Sea region, and we will follow this convention to avoid confusion.

<sup>9</sup> Russian toponyms are given in brackets.

<sup>10</sup> 10 Mykolaivka (Nikolaevka) is a settlement of the Late Bronze Age, located in eastern Ukraine, a region which is usually not considered to be a part of the NSCC. It is included here because the excavator assigned it to the Sabatinovka culture. Privalova / Privalov 1987.

<sup>11</sup> Sava 2002; 2014.

<sup>12</sup> Sava / Kaiser 2011.

<sup>13</sup> Dietrich 2011.

were buried in a crouched position on their side in burial mounds and flat graves.<sup>14</sup> Several bronze hoards found east of the Carpathian Mountains were dated to the Late Bronze Age and were attributed to the NSCC.<sup>15</sup> Together with some significant bronze objects, the pottery is quite characteristic. Vessels are mostly undecorated, but if ornaments are present, they consist of one or two horizontal rolls, sometimes with incisions or finger imprints, on the upper part of the pots. So-called *kantharoi* are another typical ceramic type and are often found in graves.

At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, two synthetic papers on the subsistence of Late Bronze Age settlements in the northern Black Sea region appeared.<sup>16</sup> They presented somewhat different views that were partly based on the same body of evidence. Sava later revised his view after excavating an ash-mound settlement in Odaia-Micuirin.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Sava 2002.

<sup>15</sup> Dergačev 2002; Sava 2011.

<sup>16</sup> Gershkovich 2003; Sava 2005.

<sup>17</sup> Sava / Kaiser 2011.

Gershkovich<sup>18</sup> looked at archaeological, archaeozoological and archaeobotanical data and reconstructed subsistence for the NSCC. Archaeobotanical analysis was based on just a few settlements since very little archaeobotanical work has been done to date for this region and time period. For Coslogeni, carbonised plant remains are common (present in 16 out of 19 samples), but it is not clear what plants they represent (Fig. 1, 21).<sup>19</sup> For Novokievka, impressions of cereal grains in pottery indicate that cereals were present (Fig. 1, 9). Plant remains were also found in the organic temper of plaster, allowing the identification of four species of wheat, barley and millet. Additional species (two more species of wheat, including spelt wheat, another type of barley, pea and bitter vetch) were identified in Vinogradnyi Sad I (Fig. 1, 10). Pear-shaped household storage pits, metal sickles and sickle moulds provide further evidence for the harvesting and storage of cereals.

Archaeozoological data show a dominance of cattle. Most cattle reached ages older than one year, and the herds were dominated by females, suggesting exploitation aimed at meat and dairy. Oxen could have been used for traction.<sup>20</sup> Pigs are seen as an indicator of sedentism. Areas with more forest are more likely to have higher numbers of pigs. In the open steppe, pigs could have been fed refuse or food remains.<sup>21</sup> Small numbers of wild animals indicate that hunting was not an important activity, suggesting that animal husbandry was highly productive. No stables or enclosures are known from Sabatinovka sites. Near the river Bug, a ditched enclosure may have been used to hold livestock.

Gershkovich argues that the main settlements were inhabited permanently (i.e. throughout the year), but only for a few years. This conclusion was based on meat weight estimated for the Minimum Number of Individuals for each species for Novokievka and the fact that storage pits do not cut into each other.<sup>22</sup> With maximum use

of storage pits of 5 years, this indicates of the length of time that a settlement was in use.

Gershkovich reconstructs subsistence as follows. Animal husbandry was transhumant, with animals brought to seasonal pasture in summer (with temporary camps) and kept close to permanent settlements in winter for supplementary feeding. Part of the human population engaged in agricultural activities near their permanent settlements. A slash-and-burn or swidden type of agriculture was practised. A high settlement density would not have been possible with a shifting field cultivation system, but with a short lifespan per settlement, high densities for some regions are put into perspective. Both storage pits and pigs are indicators of a sedentary lifestyle. The ratio between arable farming and animal husbandry may have fluctuated over time and may have varied for different regions.<sup>23</sup> Such a mixed economy of transhumant animal husbandry and swidden agriculture is only known in this region for the Late Bronze Age and was possible due to a damper climate during the 15<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. Aridification after the 12<sup>th</sup> century BC was followed by the collapse of many Late Bronze Age cultures. The Early Iron Age is characterised by a subsistence economy based on nomadism, and this way of life persisted until the 18<sup>th</sup> century AD.

Sava<sup>24</sup> used a much larger archaeozoological dataset to explore the question of subsistence. The archaeobotanical data included in the study are all based on impressions in pottery and daub. Pastoralism is seen as the main economic factor regardless of the environment. This was characterised by seasonal movements of livestock to summer pastures. To maintain the herd through winter, animal feed had to be grown or collected in summer. The storage of animal feed meant a more settled way of life than in earlier periods when most younger animals were slaughtered before the winter. There are no indications that this occurred in the NSCC. The location of NSCC settlements in open landscapes confirms the pastoral nature of the economy. The forest steppe is better suited for settled pastoralism, which explains the higher proportions of cattle and pigs in this environment. In his analysis, Sava

<sup>18</sup> Gershkovich 2003.

<sup>19</sup> According to Černych et al. 1998, millet is dominant with 70% of cereal remains, followed by barley, emmer wheat and bread wheat, respectively.

<sup>20</sup> Gershkovich 2003, 311.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 311–312.

<sup>22</sup> To estimate how long the meat could feed eight families; a method which seems questionable.

<sup>23</sup> Gershkovich 2003, 309–310.

<sup>24</sup> Sava 2005.

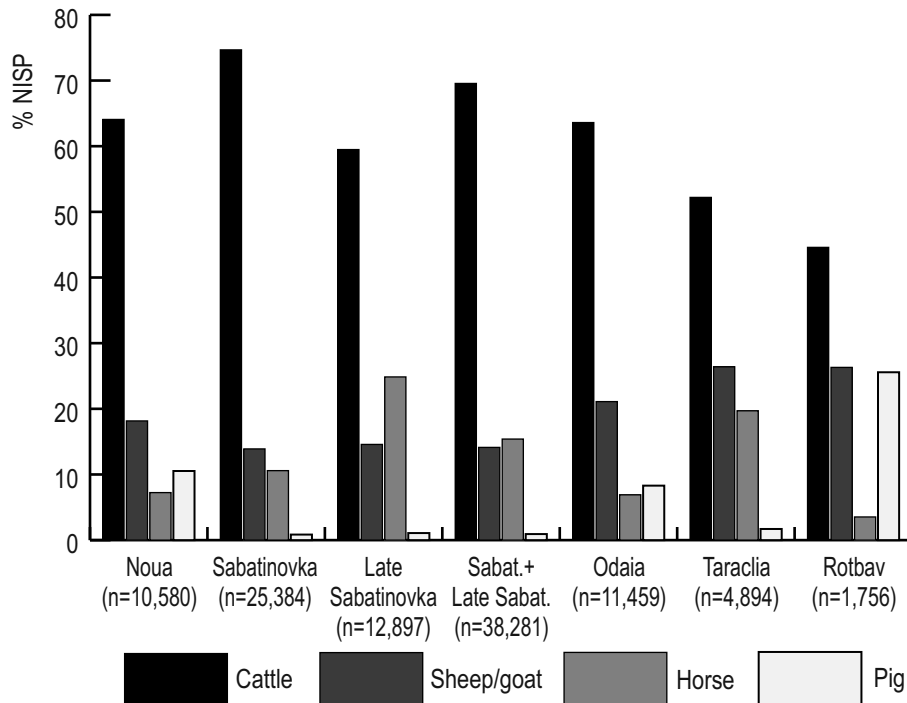


Figure 2. Species proportions for the main domestic animals for the north-western Black Sea region, % NISP. Data for Noua and Sabatinovka settlements are average proportions for all settlements (after Sava 2005) (Odaia: Hochmuth 2011. Rotbav: Dietrich 2014; for location of sites, see Figure 1)

distinguishes between the Noua and Sabatinovka cultures, which are believed to roughly coincide with forest steppe and grass steppe, respectively. Very low percentages of wild animals (< 5%) are typical. Cattle are the dominant species in both cultures (Fig. 2). Sheep and goats are either the second or third species. Horses are much less common in Noua sites than in Sabatinovka sites, where they were sometimes the second species. Pigs are more common in the Noua sites than in the Sabatinovka sites.

Sava concludes that the NSCC had a complex agrarian economy consisting of animal husbandry and, to a lesser extent, of arable farming. That arable farming was practised is suggested by the presence of different kinds of wheat, barley and millet, but how arable farming was practised still needs to be explained. Late Bronze Age settlements of the steppe, with a mixed agrarian economy, were made possible because of a damper climate. When the climate became drier at the end of the Late Bronze Age, mixed farming was no longer possible and new economic systems developed. This is reflected by a decrease in cattle and an increase in sheep/goats and horses. The

summer movement of livestock was replaced by total nomadism.

On the basis of new data obtained within a research project in which the settlement with ash mounds Odaia-Miciurin was excavated in the north of the Republic Moldova, Sava and Kaiser proposed a new model for the subsistence economy and mobility, at least for the group of NSCC inhabiting the forest steppe.<sup>25</sup> They consider ash mounds as places that were seasonally occupied by pastoralists and to which they returned regularly during cyclic movements. The radiocarbon dates suggest that the ash mound settlements were inhabited repeatedly by several generations. It was mainly sedimentological processes which caused the formation of the so-called ash mounds.<sup>26</sup> Thus, Sava and Kaiser assume a mobile form of pastoralism for the forest

<sup>25</sup> Sava / Kaiser 2011.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 430–433; Kaiser / Sava 2016.

The term “ash mound” is misleading since the light soil colour is not caused by ash, as was originally assumed. Unfortunately, pedological investigations did not give any clear answer about the formation of the light grey sediment. It seems that such sediments typical for the ash mound are enriched in carbonate. Sava / Kaiser 2011, 414, Tab. 28; Kaiser / Sava 2016, 440.

steppe in the Late Bronze Age in the region to the north-west from the Black Sea. Only a few charred macrobotanical remains were found in Odaia-Miciurin, even though sediments of the cultural layer were wet-sieved systematically. As millet was predominant, the authors concluded that this settlement was inhabited during early summer.<sup>27</sup>

This short review shows that three aspects of subsistence are and will always be discussed in close relation to the NSCC: the ratio between animal husbandry and arable farming, type of animal husbandry (herd composition in terms of species, age and sex) and degree of mobility of people and livestock.<sup>28</sup>

Gershkovich and Sava/Kaiser presented different basic models for subsistence in the Late Bronze Age of the northern Black Sea region. While Gershkovich assumes that main settlements were permanently inhabited but only for a short time, the latter proposed that ash mounds were the remains of seasonally settled camps. Both agree that NSCC groups relied heavily on animal husbandry but with some arable farming. Gershkovich hypothesises – for settlements excavated in the grass steppe – that livestock was moved away from the main settlement to pasture in summer and fed close to the settlement in winter, while Sava and Kaiser think the pastoralists of the NSCC in the forest steppe moved in cyclic migration routes from one camp to another (today's ash mounds). Since each model applies to a different environment (but within the same culture and time frame), it is possible that both models existed side by side. One problem is that both models rely on the assumption of a damper climatic phase in the Late Bronze Age, an assumption that is no longer tenable.<sup>29</sup>

Information on the exploitation of livestock (in the form of slaughter ages and sex distribution of herds) is limited. As a result, it is difficult to assess the importance of secondary products such as milk. Furthermore, archaeozoological

data on seasonality have not yet been utilised to investigate the question of seasonal or permanent occupation. The zooarchaeological dataset for the region has been expanded by research in two further settlements: Odaia-Miciurin and Taraclia-Gaidabul. The Odaia data have been published,<sup>30</sup> but this paper will be the first publication on the faunal remains from Taraclia-Gaidabul. This paper will investigate how these two new datasets fit into the existing pattern and whether they allow us to say more about the nature of subsistence. It is hoped that these new data will allow for a more detailed view of animal husbandry and better insight into mobility and seasonal patterns.

## Excavations in Taraclia-Gaidabul

The archaeological site of Gaidabul is located close to the town of Taraclia, in the southern part of the Republic of Moldova (Fig 1, 1). Excavations took place in 2016–2019 by E. Sava and E. Kaiser.<sup>31</sup> The site is situated on a flat plateau 18 m above the valley of the small river Gaidabul and represents an open settlement (Fig. 3). Ash mounds are usually discovered after ploughing, since they are characterised by light soil. Since the area where the site of Gaidabul is located is covered with grass steppe vegetation, ash mounds are not visible on the surface here. In the erosion gullies on the edge of the site, ceramic fragments belonging to the NSCC and animal bones were uncovered. A test trench along one erosion gully revealed a sediment with a very light colour, similar to the soil of an ash mound, and the first radiocarbon dating of a bone taken from this location confirmed an age of cal 14<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century BC. Since 2017, three excavation campaigns have taken place, during which a large area covered by an ash mound and its immediate surroundings were excavated. The grey sediment of the ash mound represents the cultural layer. In some areas, probably its periphery, it was 20 cm thick, and in its central part, up to 80 cm. This sediment was more or less homogenous; no layers

<sup>27</sup> Sava / Kaiser 2011, 365–367.

<sup>28</sup> This holds true for the entire Bronze Age. Reconstructions for particular archaeological cultural complexes are usually based on the number of settlements, their relation to the number of synchronous burial mounds in the steppe and forest steppe and the zooarchaeological and archaeobotanical evidence (i.e. Bunyatyan 2003).

<sup>29</sup> Bostonalieva 2014.

<sup>30</sup> Hochmuth 2011.

<sup>31</sup> Sava et al. 2018; Kaiser et al. 2020. We would like to thank Mariana Sirbu, Livia Ermurachi, Eugen Mistreanu and Valeriu Bubulici for their hard work during the excavations and post-excavation analysis.

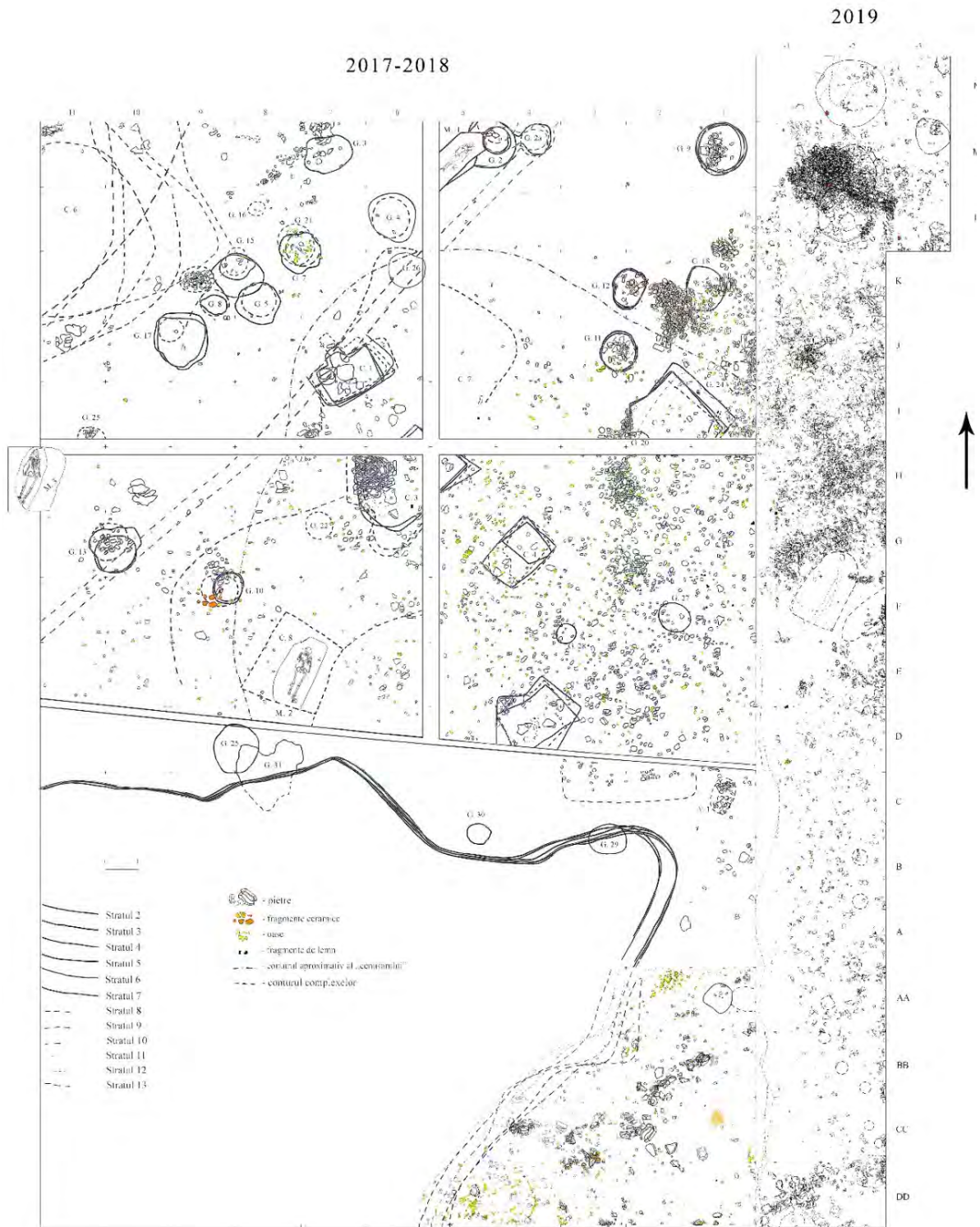


Figure 3. Excavation plan for Taraclia-Gaidabul

could be detected. In the northern part, the bottom of a rectangular dwelling with a hearth was found below the ash mound. Thirty-nine pits of various sizes and depths were found within and

under the ash mound. A total of 15835 ceramic fragments were found during the excavations and represent, together with a large number of animal bones, the bulk of the material that was

collected. Together with the much smaller numbers of bone, stone and bronze artefacts, they are typical settlement refuse. While there are a few burials from a later period and several shepherd huts from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, most finds are dated to the Late Bronze Age. Fourteen radiocarbon dates place the settlement in the Late Bronze Age (ca 1400–1100 BC; sample material: bones and charcoal). The archaeobotanical samples await analysis but, at first glance, they contain few cereals, although they are present (possibly millet and barley or wheat). Pits (possibly storage pits) and fragmented storage vessels (*pithoi*) further suggest the use of cereals. In the nearby Late Bronze Age site of Cazaclia, cereals (barley and millet) were found inside storage vessels in 2016, suggesting that such vessels were used to store cereals.

## Zooarchaeological results for Taraclia-Gaidabul

### Material and methods

A total of 22063 animal bone fragments were collected during the 2017–2019 excavations and then analysed. Nearly all material was hand-collected. During the excavations, extensive sieving and flotation for botanical remains was carried out, but this yielded only a few animal bones. The animal bones are generally very well preserved but highly fragmented: for 82%, less than 10% of the original element is present, and only 5% is complete (Fig. 4). Among the identified fragments, 36% is present with less than 10% of the element, and 20% is complete. Many of the complete fragments are teeth, carpals, tarsals and phalanges, all small compact bones.

Identifications were carried out on location in Moldova, with about half of the material being transported to Berlin and identified there using the reference collections of the Institute for Prehistoric Archaeology, Freie Universität and the German Archaeological Institute.<sup>32</sup> Where possible, fragments have been identified down to the species and skeletal elements. When the species could not be identified, fragments were

<sup>32</sup> We would like to thank Dr Norbert Benecke and Michael Hochmuth for their help.

assigned to different size categories: large mammal, medium mammal and small mammal. In some cases, even this was not possible and fragments were recorded as mammals, birds or fishes. The distinction between sheep and goat was only made for a small number of fragments.<sup>33</sup>

Quantification is based on the number of identified specimens (corrected for associated fragments), Minimum Number of Individuals and total bone weight. The Minimum Number of Individuals is based on the highest number of zones for either the left or right side of any element. Serjeantson's and Dobney and Rielly's zones were used to record the part of an element that was present.<sup>34</sup> Fragmentation was recorded through six categories (Fig. 4).

Slaughter ages were established by the eruption and wear of the teeth and by epiphyseal fusion. Tooth eruption and wear for cattle, sheep and goats, and pigs was recorded by using Grant's eruption and tooth wear stages.<sup>35</sup> For complete mandibles, these lead to mandible wear stages. The mandible wear stages were linked to absolute ages according to Hambleton's tables.<sup>36</sup> For incomplete mandibles, only a range of possible mandible wear stages can be given. For horses, the ratio between milk teeth and permanent teeth was established to provide a rough figure for the proportion of horses killed before adulthood. The crown height of complete horse premolars and molars was measured and translated into an absolute age according to Levine's method.<sup>37</sup> The state of closure of the epiphyses (unfused, fusing or fused) was recorded and linked to an absolute age using the tables by Silver and Habermehl.<sup>38</sup> This information was used to construct mortality profiles, showing the proportions of animals killed per age category.<sup>39</sup>

The sex of the animals could only be established infrequently. This was done on the basis of the shape of the pubic bone for cattle, sheep

<sup>33</sup> Using the criteria described by Zeder / Lapham 2010 and the reference collections.

<sup>34</sup> Serjeantson 1996, 195–200; Dobney / Rielly 1988.

<sup>35</sup> Grant 1982.

<sup>36</sup> Hambleton 1999, 64–65. Age categories according to Bull / Payne 1982; Halstead 1985; Higham 1967; Payne 1973.

<sup>37</sup> Levine 1982, 250, Tables 3b. 3c.

<sup>38</sup> Silver 1969, 285–286; Habermehl 1975, 48, 104–5, 121–2, 150, 166–7.

<sup>39</sup> According to Chaplin 1971, 128–131. Fusing epiphyses were added to the unfused epiphyses.

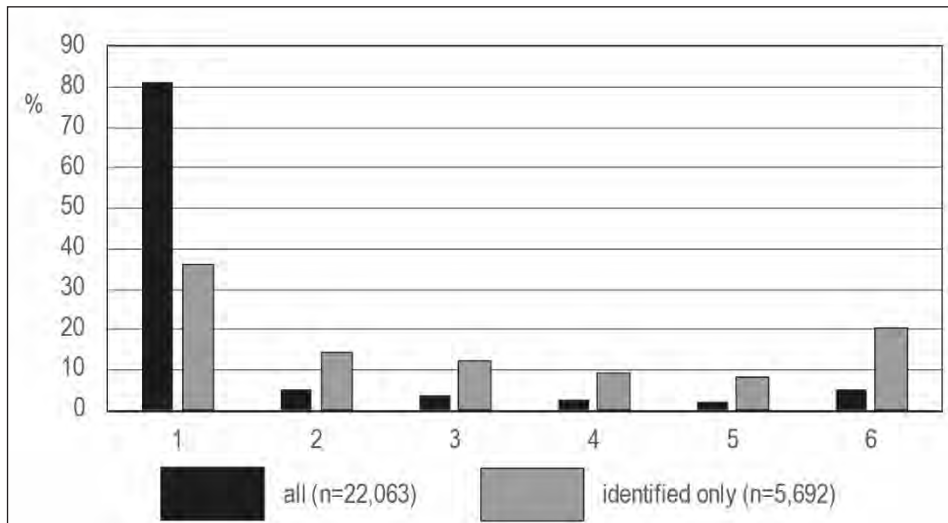


Figure 4. Fragmentation for all fragments and for identified fragments: 1 = less than 10% of the original element present, 2 = 10–25%, 3 = 25–50%, 4 = 50–75%, 5 = 75–95% and 6 = complete

or goats and horses, the shape of the canine teeth for pigs and the presence or absence of canine teeth for horses.

The presence of gnawing marks, butchery marks and burning was recorded. Gnawing was recorded as present or absent; all gnawing marks seem to be caused by dogs. Burning was recorded as partially charred, charred, partially calcined and calcined. Butchery marks were recorded as cut marks or chop marks. A note was made of bones showing signs of being worked or having use-wear traces. Measurements were recorded according to Von den Driesch.<sup>40</sup> Withers height was calculated by using different methods.<sup>41</sup>

To analyse the distribution of skeletal elements, a division of seven categories of the body was used: head and neck, rump, upper front leg, upper hind leg, lower limbs, phalanges and other elements. Most ribs and vertebrae were not identified down to the species but only to the size. Since these elements are common, they need to be considered in order to reach a representative idea about skeletal element distribution. Therefore, all fragments from large and medium-sized mammals for which the skeletal elements were recorded have been added to the

body parts of the main meat-providing domestic mammals by ratio.

#### Species and NISP

Out of the total of 22063 animal bones, 5692 fragments or 26% have been identified down to the species level. Out of the unidentified fragments, 7 are from birds, 4 from molluscs and 1 from fish; all remaining fragments are from mammals.

The identified bones can be divided into different groups. First, domestic animals: cattle, sheep and goats, horses, pigs and dogs. Domestic mammals dominate the material, making up 98% of all identified fragments (Table 1). Among the domestic species that were consumed, cattle are the main species in terms of the number of fragments at 52%, followed by sheep and goats at 26% and horses at 20%; the pig is a minor species in terms of the number of fragments with only 2% (Fig. 2).<sup>42</sup>

Among the sheep or goat remains, 14 fragments were identified as goat and 18 as sheep. In a biometrical analysis of astragalus measurements, most of the *Taralia* values fall within the values for modern sheep ( $n = 5$ ) or in the overlapping area for modern sheep or goats ( $n = 5$ ); only one value falls within the area for modern goats (Fig. 5).<sup>43</sup> When the Minimum Number of Individuals is taken, sheep and goats are the most numerous with 41 individuals, followed by cattle

<sup>40</sup> Driesch 1976.

<sup>41</sup> For cattle, according to Driesch / Boessneck 1974 and Matolcsi 1970; for sheep, according to Teichert 1975; for goats, according to Schramm 1967; for dogs, according to Harcourt 1974; for horses, according to May 1985.

<sup>42</sup> Corrected for associated bones.

<sup>43</sup> Salvagno / Albarella 2017, fig. 33.

Table 1. *Taracalia-Gaidabul. Number of fragments and weight per species*

species	n	n asso*	n – n asso	weight (g)	MNI
cattle	2647	92	2555	121180	41
sheep/goat	1299	7	1292	12984	37
horse	998	35	963	57895	14
pig	84		84	1870	3
dog	554	481	73	1576	5
red deer	12		11	240	
wild boar	15		11	503	
hare	42	32	8	51	
fox	7		7	20	
wolf?	4	1	3	54	
badger	1		1	7	
polecat	1			17	
<i>Otis tarda</i>	1			1	
<i>Cyprinus carpio</i>	1			2	
Tortoise/terrapin	3	2	1	2	
<i>Unio spec.</i>	8			31	
<i>Cardium spec.</i>	1			1	
hedgehog	5	4	1	7	
hamster	6		6	6	
snake	3	2	1	1	
bird	7		7	15	
fish	1		1	1	
mollusc	4		4	4	
small mammal	15		15	14	
medium mammal	3037		3037	7110	
large mammal	11883	1	11882	112943	
mammal	1424		1424	1642	
total	22063	657	21406	318177	

\*n asso is the number of bones that the total figure should be corrected for, i.e. each association is counted as one, the other fragments of the associated bones are counted as n asso.

with 37, horses with 14 individuals and pigs with 3 individuals (Table 1).<sup>44</sup>

<sup>44</sup> MNI based on the most common zone (left or right) as defined by Serjeantson 1996 and Dobney / Rielly 1988 for the mandible. For sheep/goats and cattle, zone 1 of the left or right mandibula is actually more common, with 56 and 42 fragments, respectively, than the zones used for the MNI

Next, there are the wild mammals with 82 fragments. Seven species are present: three game species (red deer, wild boar and hare) and four species of carnivores (badger, wolf, fox and (right humerus zone 6 for sheep/goats and left mandibula zone 2 for cattle), but this zone is quite large and may therefore not be as diagnostic as other zones.

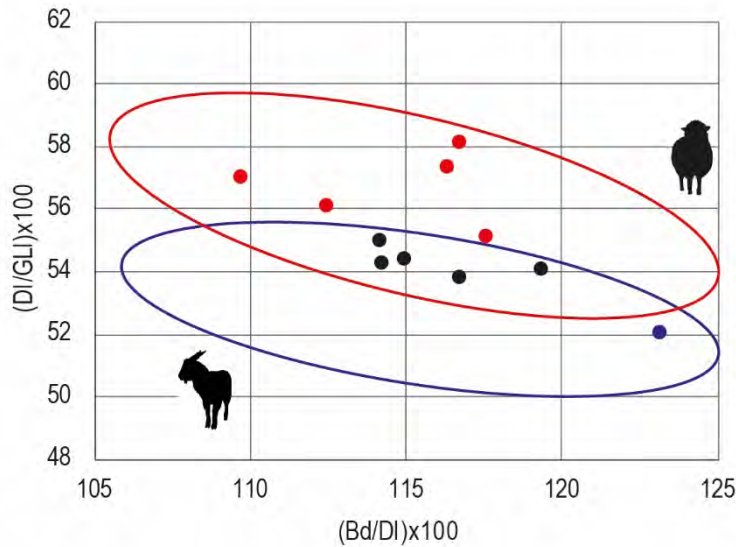


Figure 5. Shape indices for sheep/goat astragali. Red oval: range of values attributed to sheep, blue oval: range of values attributed to goats (according to Salvagno and Albarella 2017) (Bd: breadth of the distal end; Dl: greatest depth of the lateral half; GL: greatest length of the lateral half)

polecat). Red deer is represented by both antlers and bones, so it is certain that this species was hunted. Carnivores may have been hunted for their fur or seen as a danger to the livestock.

Only one bone from a wild bird was found, a scapula from a great bustard (*Otis tarda*). Fish is also represented by just one identified fragment, a vertebra from a European carp (*Cyprinus carpio*). Considering their large size, these animals are likely to have been hunted and caught for food. The near absence of birds and fish in this site is not due to a lack of sieving. Molluscs are represented by eight fragments from *Unio spec.* and one fragment from *Cardium spec.* Reptiles are also represented by just one species of tortoise or terrapin (3 fragments); this animal can be regarded either as food or as an intrusive species. Finally, there are intrusive species, which have become part of the archaeological site as a result of their behaviour rather than of human activity. Intrusive species include burrowing animals such as rodents (only hamster identified, but other species are present), hedgehogs and snakes.

Associated bones were encountered regularly. The larger associations come from pits or bone concentrations in layers. Smaller associations, in most cases, are those of two fragments; they indicate that the material was incorporated into the occupation layers in a relatively fresh state.

### Skeletal elements

The distribution of skeletal elements for cattle, horses, sheep/goats and pigs shows that all parts of the body are present. All species show low proportions of fragments from the rump, but when the fragments identified as large-sized or medium-sized mammals are added by ratio to the main livestock species, the rump is the most common body part for all species except for pigs. For sheep or goats and pigs the proportion of phalanges is much smaller than that of cattle and horses; this is perhaps explained by their small size.

### Butchery

Overall, 3.7% of the animal bones show traces of butchery or bone working; 65 fragments (0.3%) were worked or used as an artefact, leading to modifications of the bone surface. In selecting bones for bone working or use, horses and, to a lesser degree, sheep and goats are overrepresented compared to cattle.<sup>45</sup> Four fragments of red deer antlers show signs of being processed.

<sup>45</sup> This does not include 37 worked bone fragments, which were kept separate during the 2019 campaign, that were not seen by the first author and were not added to the database. Identifications from photographs are: cattle 2x, sheep/goats 6x, horses 2x, antler 1x, not identified down to the species 26x. Including the 2019 worked bone fragments, the percentage of worked bones is 0.5%.

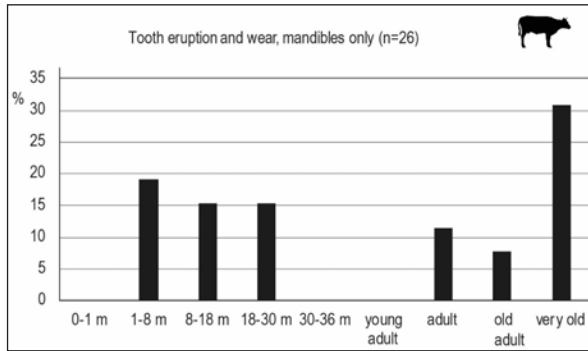


Figure 6. Slaughter ages for cattle, based on the eruption and tooth wear (excluding isolated teeth and incomplete mandibles)

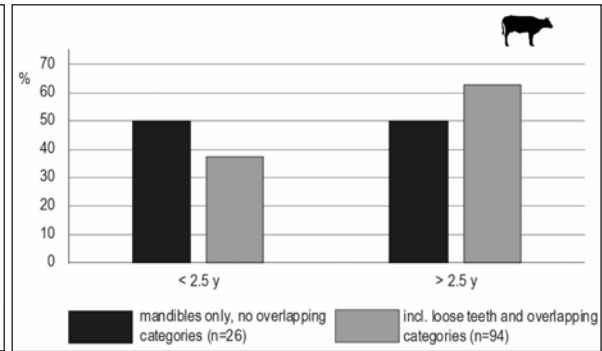


Figure 7. Slaughter ages for cattle, based on the eruption and tooth wear

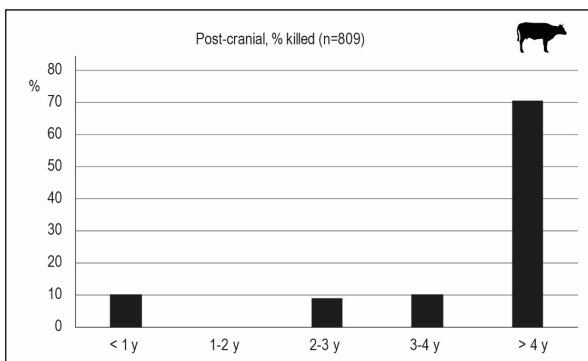


Figure 8. Slaughter ages for cattle, based on epiphyseal fusion

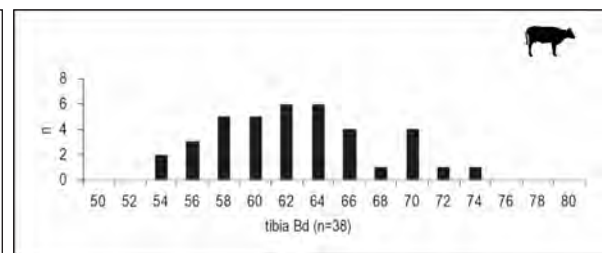


Figure 9. Distal breadth of the tibia for cattle

Bones of larger mammals (cattle and horses) show higher proportions of butchery than the smaller species (17% and 13% compared to 6% for both sheep/goats and pigs). This is explained by the greater degree of butchery required for larger mammals to obtain pieces of meat of a size suitable for cooking or roasting. Butchery marks are also found on fragments of red deer, dogs, wild boars and badgers. In the case of badgers, it is proof that this species did not become part of the archaeological site due to dying a natural death in its burrow. In the case of dogs, it suggests that the possibility that this species was consumed should be considered.

### Age and sex

For cattle, mandible wear stages and corresponding ages were established for 26 mandibles (Fig. 6). Isolated teeth and incomplete mandibles led to a further 68 age estimates. These have been included to provide a broad picture of the ratio of young to adult animals (Fig. 7). While including isolated teeth and incomplete mandibles increases

the sample size, there are two issues to consider. Firstly, many can only be assigned to a range of mandible wear stages rather than a single one. In cases when this leads to more than one age category, it adds a degree of uncertainty to the age profiles. Secondly, including isolated teeth introduces a potential bias to the dataset, both because all molars but only one deciduous tooth were included and because deciduous fourth premolars are smaller than molars and, therefore, less likely to be recovered. Indeed, slaughter profiles, including isolated teeth and incomplete mandibles, show a larger proportion of adult animals. This is observed for cattle and sheep/goats.

The more detailed analysis (based on complete mandibles only) shows some slaughter of cattle in the three categories, between 1 and 30 months (Fig. 6). The main slaughter peak is reached with elderly animals. Half of all cattle lived to adulthood (Fig. 7); when isolated teeth and incomplete mandibles are included, this proportion increases to 63%.

Epiphyseal fusion shows that a small proportion of cattle were killed in the first year of life (Fig. 8). Similarly, small proportions were killed in the third and fourth year. More than two-thirds of cattle were killed at ages beyond

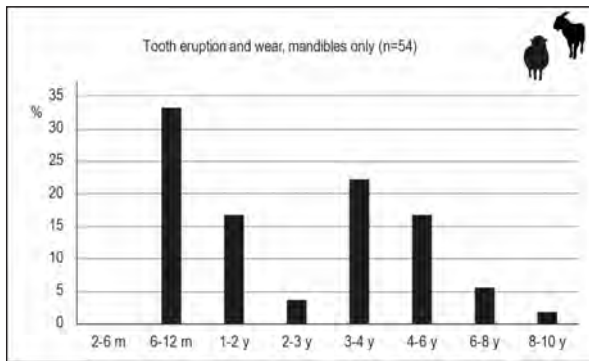


Figure 10. Slaughter ages for sheep and goats, based on the eruption and tooth wear (excluding isolated teeth and incomplete mandibles)

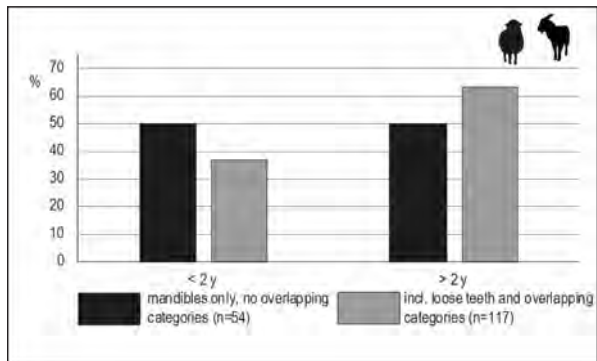


Figure 11. Slaughter ages for sheep and goats, based on the eruption and tooth wear

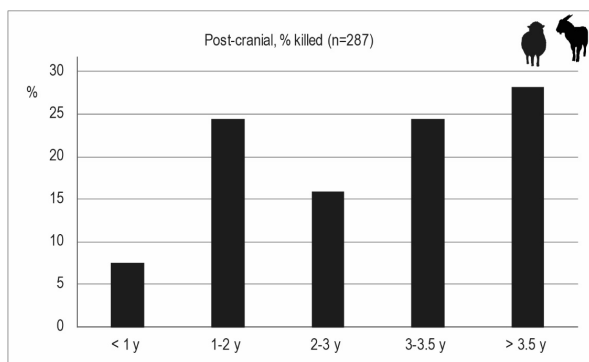


Figure 12. Slaughter ages for sheep or goats, based on epiphyseal fusion

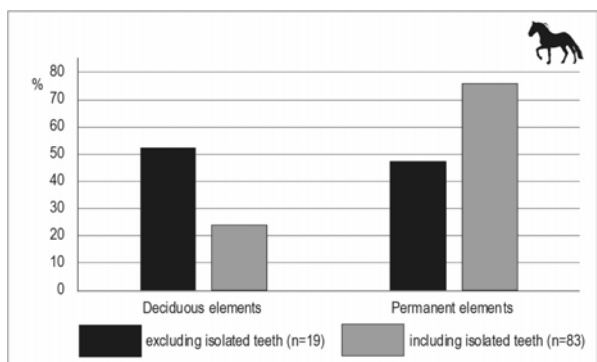


Figure 13. Horse mandibles and maxillae with deciduous or permanent elements, with or without isolated teeth

four years. A discrepancy in slaughter data for mandibles and epiphyseal fusion is not unusual and can be caused by a taphonomic bias against unfused bones from young animals, which are more fragile than fused bones. No bones from foetal or neonatal cattle were registered, but bones from juvenile animals (probably less than six months old) are present. In 15 cases, the sex of cattle could be established on the basis of the shape of the pubic bone: 3 male and 12 female animals. The distal breadth of the tibia shows a distribution that supports a population dominated by smaller female animals with a few larger males (Fig. 9).

As for cattle, sheep and goats, tooth eruption and wear were analysed both for complete mandibles only and then also including isolated teeth and incomplete mandibles with overlapping age categories. The complete mandibles show a slaughter peak of 33% between 6 and 12 months old (Fig. 10); 50% lived to adulthood (Fig. 11). When isolated teeth and incomplete mandibles are included, 63% lived to adulthood (Fig. 11).

As for cattle, including isolated teeth introduces a bias towards adult animals.

Epiphyseal fusion shows a low level of slaughter in the first year of life (Fig. 12). Around a quarter were killed in their second year. About 15% were slaughtered in their third year and a quarter between 3 and 3.5 years old; 28% survived beyond 3.5 years. This means that 68% survived the first two years of life, which fits in well with the picture provided by both complete and incomplete mandibles and isolated teeth, which shows 63% survival past the age of 2 years. The presence of foetal and neonatal sheep/goat remains indicates that animals were bred at the site and that they were present in late winter and early spring. Some bones could only be designated as juvenile, which means that they are clearly from very young animals (less than six months old). This age category is not represented among the mandibles. Out of 16 sheep or goat pelvic fragments for which the sex could be established, only two are from males; the other 14 are all from females.

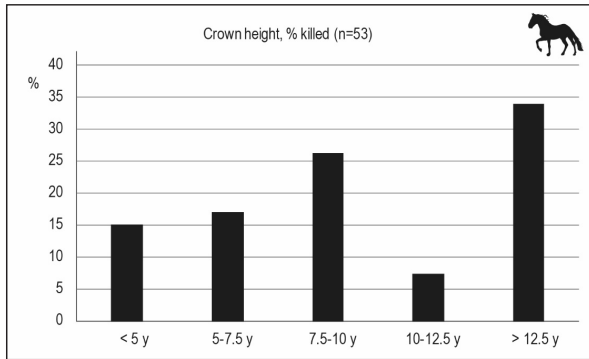


Figure 14. Slaughter ages for horses, based on the crown height of cheek teeth



Figure 15. Slaughter ages for horses, based on the epiphyseal fusion

For horses, the ratio of milk and permanent teeth was established by counting all loose teeth and mandibles and maxillae. The proportion of milk teeth is 24%. As for cattle and sheep/goats, including loose teeth may cause bias against younger animals. Indeed, when isolated teeth are excluded, the proportion of mandibles and maxillae with milk elements is 53% (Fig. 13). Age based on the crown height (adult animals only) shows that about a third of adult horses reached ages over 12.5 years (Fig. 14).

Epiphyseal fusion shows quite a high slaughter level of 23.5% in the first year of life, followed by a low slaughter level in the next years (Fig. 15); 61% survived to adulthood. No foetal, neonatal or juvenile horse bones were registered. One male and two female horses are present (based on the shape of the pubic bone and the presence/absence of canine teeth).

One juvenile pig bone was found. The numbers of epiphyses and mandibles are small but suggest the slaughter of pigs aged between 2 months and 3.5 years. Two males and four females are present (based on the shape of the canine teeth).

### Animal size and morphology

The mean withers height for 13 cattle bones is 120 cm, with a range of 108 to 134 cm. For seven horse bones, the mean withers height is 140 cm, with a range of 132 to 147 cm. Three sheep metapodials are from animals with withers heights between 66 and 72 cm, with an average of 69 cm. Two sheep or goat humeri are either from sheep with withers heights of 63 cm or goats with withers heights of 56–57 cm.

Only one horncore was observed for cattle. For sheep and goats, twelve horncores were

identified as goat, one as sheep or goat, and three sheep skulls were horned (out of which two only had very small horncores).

### Pathology

Pathological changes were noted on a total of 85 fragments. The prevalence of pathology is similar for most species, but lower for sheep and goats (Fig. 16). It is interesting to note that dogs do not really display a higher prevalence of pathology than other species, something that is found for other regions.<sup>46</sup> Among cattle, joint pathologies are by far the most common (Fig. 17). They consist of osteoarthritis in the hip joint and so-called 'lipping' of proximal first and second phalanges. Sheep and goats have mostly oral pathology, consisting of calculus and 'coral root'. Two cattle and one sheep/goat incisor show grooves below the crown, which are caused when long strands of grass are pulled through the teeth or when the gingiva has retracted, exposing the neck of the tooth to enzymes.<sup>47</sup> Oral pathology also affects horses the most. In this case, teeth show erosion lines, which can be caused by certain kinds of grazing or fodder. In general, livestock seems to have been healthy and treated well (as evidenced by a low number of fractures).

## Zooarchaeological results for Odaia-Miciurin: A summary

Odaia-Miciurin is a settlement with more than 25 ash mounds in the north of the Republic of Moldova (Fig. 1, 2). In 2003–2008, Sava and

<sup>46</sup> Murphy 2005; Grimm 2008; Groot 2016, table 1.

<sup>47</sup> Miles / Grigson 1990, 494; Müller 1997.

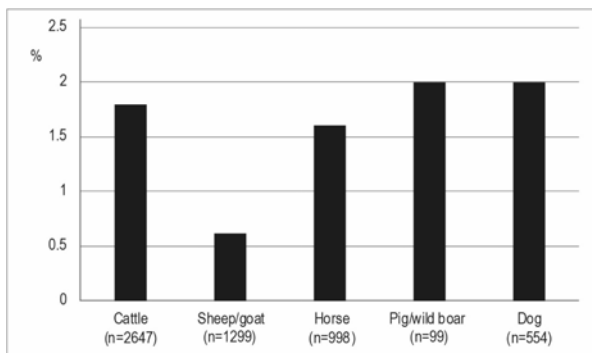


Figure 16. *Prevalence of pathology. Percentage of the number of bones with pathological changes out of the total number of fragments per species (uncorrected for associated fragments)*

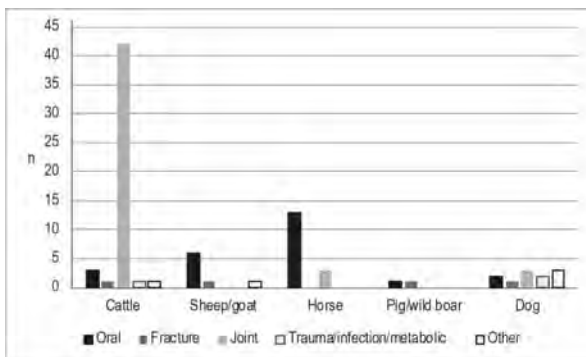


Figure 17. *Number of fragments with pathological changes per category per species*

Kaiser excavated three ash mounds completely and a fourth one partially. A series of radiocarbon dates shows that the site was in use from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 11<sup>th</sup> century BC. The excavations have yielded 11623 identified animal bones, which were very well preserved but highly fragmented.<sup>48</sup> Wild mammals are represented by less than 1% and only three species are present: wild boar, red deer and aurochs. Cattle is the dominant species with 64% of the main domestic animals (Fig. 2), followed by sheep/goats with 21%. Horses and pigs are roughly equal, with 7 and 8% respectively.

Most cattle were slaughtered when they were between 3 and 3.5 years old, with a small proportion (13%) reaching older ages and 22% killed before being 3 years old. All 37 sex determinations (based on pelvis and horncore) were female. Sheep and goats also show a slaughter peak of young adults, with 68% killed between 2 and 3 years old. Twelve females and one male were identified. Five partial skeletons of very young animals were found. For pigs, the majority was killed at ages younger than two years (67%), with equal proportions of males and females. Most horses seem to have reached adult ages. No cut marks were found on dog bones, and most dog remains are from adult dogs, which suggests that this species was not important for meat.

The animal bones were interpreted as settlement refuse. The large quantity of bones and the presence of pigs were seen as archaeozoological

indicators of a permanent settlement.<sup>49</sup> The dominance of cattle, sheep and goats, the small proportion of wild animals and the small proportion of pigs suggest an open landscape. Seasonal movement of herds was possible but not necessary. Cattle, sheep and goats were exploited, first and foremost, for meat, with milk and wool playing a secondary role. Some cattle were used for labour and kept to older ages.

Archaeobotanical analysis revealed carbonised and uncarbonised remains.<sup>50</sup> Some of the uncarbonised remains have been radiocarbon-dated to younger periods and will not be discussed further. Among the carbonised remains, millet stands out with 45 grains. The other cereals (emmer, einkorn, barley) and bitter vetch were represented by 1 or 2 grains only. The total of 207 samples of 5 litres only yielded 58 grains or seeds. The low number of remains and the dominance of millet are typical for this region. Millet provides an indication of the type of arable farming, which is likely to have been seasonal. Millet is perfectly suited for hot, dry summers. It grows very quickly and can be harvested 50–70 days after sowing. When sown in May, harvest can take place in July. No evidence was found for winter crops or accompanying weeds.

<sup>48</sup> Hochmuth 2011.

<sup>49</sup> The excavators of the site came to a different conclusion based on different sources of information. Repeated use of a seasonal camp over many years could also lead to a large quantity of refuse, including animal bones.

<sup>50</sup> Sava / Kaiser 2011, 355–367.

## Discussion

Subsistence in the site of Taraclia-Gaidabul was highly reliant on domestic mammals, with very little hunting and fishing. What little hunting there was may have been done for food, to get rid of competition for crops or predators threatening livestock, or for fur. The dominant livestock species was cattle, followed by sheep/goats and horses, with very few pigs. All body parts of the domestic species were present, suggesting that animals were butchered on site. The proportion of butchery marks is low, but fragmentation is high and probably results from processing body parts for food.

Out of the calves slaughtered when aged between 1 and 30 months, the younger ones could be related to milk use, whereas the older calves were slaughtered for meat. Cattle that survived to adulthood mostly reached old ages. The cattle population consisted mostly of females. Cattle were exploited for milk, meat, herd survival, and possibly traction or the value of living animals (as exchange objects). For sheep or goats, neonatal/foetal and juvenile animals are present. Slaughter occurred in all age categories, but mortality profiles show few older animals. The herd mostly consisted of female animals. Sheep and goats were mainly exploited for meat and perhaps also for milk. Wool or hair is likely to have been used, but exploitation was not specifically geared towards this. It is possible that different strategies were used for sheep and goat, but unfortunately, it is not possible to separate slaughter ages for the two species. Nearly a quarter of horses was slaughtered in their first year, which suggests that milk and meat were important products. Apart from this, exploitation was aimed at herd survival, and horses were likely to have been used for transport. There is little information on sex ratios. Due to the small number of pig bones, there is little information for this species, but what there is does not contradict pigs being kept locally.

Indications for seasonality in the settlement are scarce. Firstly, late foetal or neonatal remains of sheep or goat are present, suggesting occupation in early spring. The presence of possible juvenile wolf remains supports this. Remains of young, but almost grown hares could indicate presence in autumn.

Sheep and goat mandibles show a slaughter peak between 6 and 12 months, suggesting occupation in autumn and winter. There are only two mandibles aged 2 to 6 months, which would point to presence in summer. However, bones from juvenile sheep or goats are present. Furthermore, cattle aged 1 to 8 months are present (based on tooth eruption and wear). These calves appear to be at the low end of the age range, suggesting presence in late spring/summer. Bones that clearly belonged to juvenile cattle and one pig are likely to be younger than six months. Overall, it seems that the site was occupied in all seasons, although, of course, this may not have been the case every year.

We can compare the results of the archaeozoological analysis of Taraclia-Gaidabul with the parameters useful for detecting nomadism or sedentism discussed by Morales Muñoz and Antipina (2003).<sup>51</sup> Morales Muñoz and Antipina warn against relying on a single parameter and emphasise that different lifestyles may still result in convergent data. In Taraclia-Gaidabul, ten parameters seem to suggest sedentism:

- the faunal assemblage has a relatively high taxonomic diversity; although cattle are dominant, sheep/goats and horses make up a large proportion as well (1–2);
- the ages of cattle and sheep/goats fit mostly with the expectations for sedentary sites, and so does the dominance of females for both cattle and sheep/goats (3–4);
- the near absence of cattle horncores suggests that at least female animals were hornless, especially when contrasted with the frequent occurrence of sheep and goat horncores or horned skulls. Goats were horned, and sheep were horned, but in some cases with small horns (5);
- pathological changes are present, and, although the frequency cannot be compared with other sites in the research area, it does not seem particularly low (6);
- bone density is high, and all skeletal elements are present (7–8);
- butchery seems intensive, although again, this is difficult to assess without comparison (9);

<sup>51</sup> Morales Muñoz / Antipina 2003.

- bone tools are present and not uncommon, but there is no evidence for bone working on an industrial scale (10).

Five parameters suggest a nomadic lifestyle:

- the low proportion of pigs;
- the high proportion of horses;
- the horned goats;
- the absence of a bone working industry;
- the absence of commensals such as house sparrows, house mice and black rats may not be very significant, as not all rodent remains have been identified down to the species.

Overall, the data are more suggestive of permanent settlement.

Cattle size could only be compared with Odaia-Miciurin: cattle in Taraclia are similar in size to cattle in Odaia (Fig. 18 and Fig. 19); the few larger individuals observed according to their astragalus could be bulls. Horses are also similar in size, although some individuals from Odaia are smaller than the horses in Taraclia (Fig. 20).

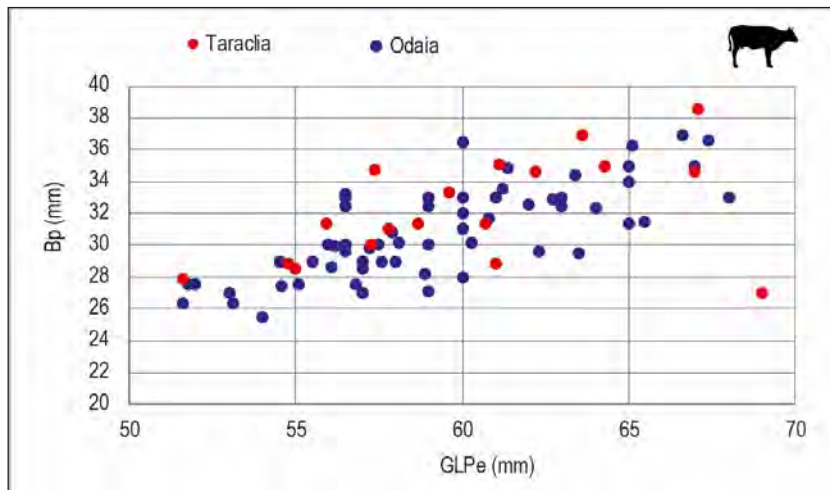


Figure 18. Scatterplot for the proximal breadth and greatest length of the anterior first phalanx for cattle from Odaia-Miciurin ( $n = 63$ ) and Taraclia-Gaidabul ( $n = 18$ )

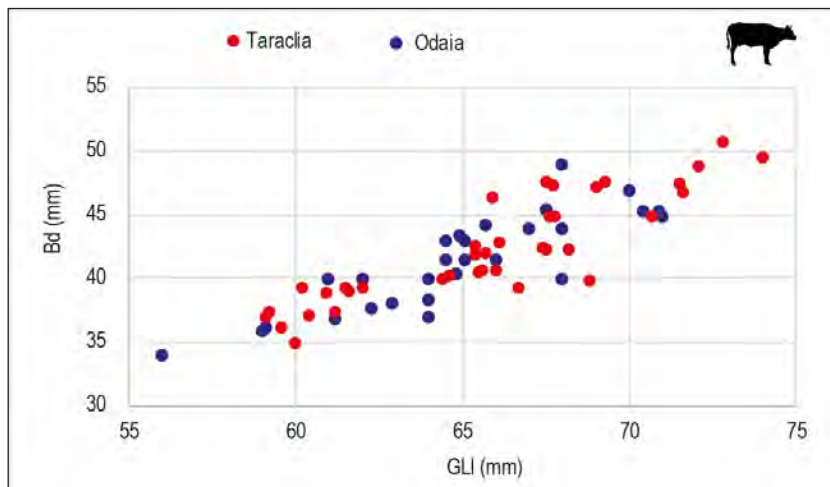


Figure 19. Scatterplot for the distal breadth and greatest lateral length of the astragalus for cattle from Odaia-Miciurin ( $n = 28$ ) and Taraclia-Gaidabul ( $n = 39$ )

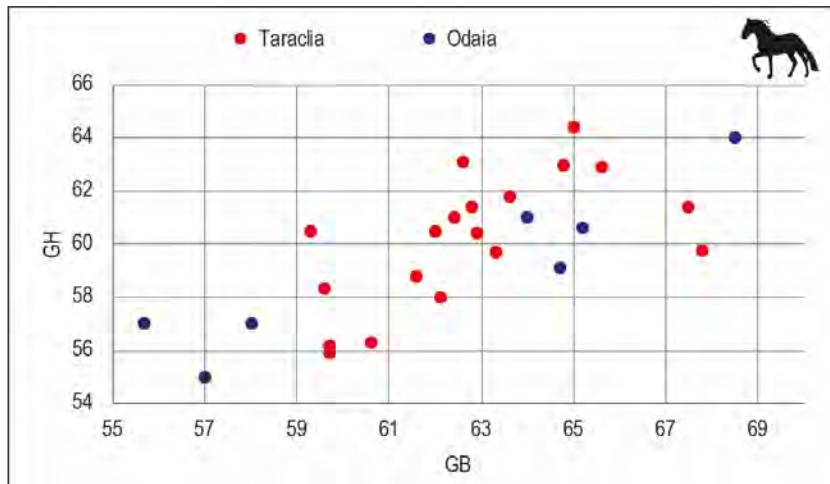


Figure 20. Scatterplot for the greatest breadth and greatest height of the astragalus for horses from Odaia-Micuirin ( $n = 7$ ) and Taraclia-Gaidabul ( $n = 19$ )

When we compare the species proportions for Taraclia and Odaia with those Sava published for Noua and Sabatinovka settlements, we see that the Odaia species proportions are very similar to those from Noua sites, while those from Taraclia are more similar to Sabatinovka sites (the low proportion of pigs) and have the high proportion of horses that is found in Late Sabatinovka sites (Fig. 2). What is different is that Taraclia shows a much higher proportion of sheep/goats than the average for Sabatinovka and Late Sabatinovka sites and a relatively low proportion of cattle. Most Sabatinovka and Late Sabatinovka sites have sheep/goat proportions between 11 and 17%, with one lower and one higher (Merani with 31%). The relatively low proportion of cattle, like the high proportion of horses, seems typical for/is more common in Late Sabatinovka sites.

Figure 2 also shows species proportions for Rotbav, a site belonging to the NSCC but located in a very different environment, to the west of the Carpathian Mountains (so not steppe). This site shows a very high proportion of pigs compared to all other sites. It also has a high proportion of sheep/goats and the lowest proportion of cattle of all sites (although cattle is still the dominant species).

Bendrey's study<sup>52</sup> shows a strong correlation between species proportions and climate in the steppe zone. Today, the southern part of Moldova is much drier than the northern part. This can

perhaps explain the higher proportion of sheep/goats in Taraclia since it is considered the southernmost of all sites. Merani shows an even higher proportion but has a relatively small assemblage, so it may be less reliable. The low proportion of pigs in Taraclia seems to have been determined more by the landscape/vegetation than by the lifestyle.

A systematic investigation of the parameters discussed by Morales Muñiz and Antipina may help determine the lifestyle – nomadic or sedentary – for individual sites. Two parameters for Novokievka, another Sabatinovka settlement, also suggest a sedentary lifestyle: hornless cattle and a dominance of female cattle. However, it would be dangerous to rely on just two parameters. When we consider the two basic models for NSCC subsistence from the perspective of Taraclia-Gaidabul, it seems that both models may have existed side by side. The tentative conclusion based on the archaeozoological remains from Taraclia-Gaidabul is that this was a permanently inhabited settlement. This stands in contrast to Odaia-Micuirin, which is believed to have been seasonally occupied. In this sense, each site fits the model that applies to the region and environment in which they are located: the north/forest steppe and the south/grass steppe. Clearly, high-quality data for more settlements are needed to test this.

<sup>52</sup> Bendrey 2011.

## Conclusion

The archaeozoological data from Taraclia-Gaidabul have provided further insight into the subsistence in the Late Bronze Age northern Black Sea region. It seems that the two models proposed by Gershkovich<sup>53</sup> and Sava<sup>54</sup> can exist side by side, with the first one suitable for the southern part of the region (grass steppe) and the second one suitable for the northern part of the region (forest steppe). Vegetation and climate in this region seem to be the main influence on species proportions for the main domestic livestock species. A systematic discussion of the parameters described by Morales Muñiz and Antipina can be useful in assessing the lifestyle for an individual settlement, but even for Taraclia, not all data were available.

Future research in this region could include analysis of those parameters that are currently unexploited, such as data on mites and beetles. This, of course, will only be possible when appropriate samples are collected during future excavations. A detailed analysis of measurements of existing faunal assemblages may be more feasible. A biometric analysis could also indicate whether and to what extent cattle were used for traction, providing further insight into subsistence and potentially highlighting differences between sedentary and mobile people. Analysis of strontium and stable isotopes could also provide information on mobility and management of livestock, while an organic residue analysis could confirm whether horse milk was used in this region, something that is suggested for Taraclia-Gaidabul.

Multidisciplinary research is clearly the way forward. Furthermore, each settlement should be analysed and interpreted in its own right. Modern systematic settlement archaeology in the northern Black Sea region has only just begun and new excavations can perhaps answer some of the many questions that currently remain unanswered.

## Rezime

### Način života u kasnom bronzanom dobu sjevernog crnomorskog regiona: studija slučaja Taraklija-Gajdabul (Republika Moldavija)

Arheozoološki podaci s lokaliteta Taraklija-Gajdabul pružili su dodatne uvide u način života u sjevernom crnomorskom regionu tokom kasnog bronzanog doba. Čini se da dva modela koja su predložili Geršković i Sava mogu postojati paralelno – prvi je primjeren južnom dijelu regije (travnata stepa), dok je drugi primjeren sjevernom dijelu regije (šumska stepa). Vegetacija i klima u ovom regionu izgleda da imaju ključan utjecaj na proporcije glavnih vrsta domaćih životinja. Sistematska rasprava o parametrima koje su opisali Morales Muniz i Antipina mogla bi biti korisna za procjenu načina života pojedinačnih naselja, ali čak i za Tarakliju nisu svi podaci bili dostupni.

Buduća istraživanja u ovom regionu mogla bi uključivati analizu trenutno neiskorištenih parametara, poput podataka o grinjama i bubama. Ovo će, naravno, biti moguće samo ako se prikupe odgovarajući uzorci tokom budućih iskopavanja. Detaljna analiza mjerenja postojećih životinjskih ostataka mogla bi biti ostvarivija. Biometrijska analiza također bi mogla pokazati u kojoj su mjeri goveda korištena za vuču, pružajući daljnje uvide u način života i potencijalno ukazujući na razlike između sedentarnog i mobilnog stanovništva. Analiza stroncijuma i stabilnih izotopa mogla bi dati informacije o mobilnosti i upravljanju stokom, dok bi analiza organskih ostataka mogla potvrditi da li je konjsko mlijeko korišteno u ovoj regiji, što se sugerira za Tarakliju-Gajdabul.

Multidisciplinarna istraživanja jasno predstavljaju pravac budućnosti. Pored toga, svako naselje treba analizirati i interpretirati kao jedinstven slučaj. Moderna sistematska arheologija naselja u sjevernom crnomorskom regionu tek je započela, i nova iskopavanja možda će moći odgovoriti na neka od mnogih pitanja koja trenutno ostaju neriješena.

<sup>53</sup> Gershkovich 2003.

<sup>54</sup> Sava 2005; Sava / Kaiser 2011.

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## Mysterious sceptre-“stiletto” of the Late Bronze Age (manufacturing technology, experimental works)

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*Abstract:* This article highlights and discusses the challenges associated with reconstructing the manufacture of a mysterious object from a woman’s burial in a Late Bronze Age (1400–1300 BC) mound in Ukraine. The deceased was buried with a number of jewellery items. These included bronze spiral bracelets on her arms and legs, two pins on her chest, four gold spiral pendants near her head and a rich amber necklace. At his side, in a wooden case, were two massive bronze objects originally called stiletto. Later most researchers came to the conclusion that these objects were hyperlong pins. The clothing reconstructors positioned them on the chest. The term “stiletto” is proposed by the author to refer to them, and the reason for this name is discussed. However, the most intriguing aspect of these products is their deep internal cavities. Remnants of wood and charred organic matter were discovered within. It is suggested that wooden cores were used to create the cavity in the casting. An experiment was conducted to investigate the use of wood in bronze production, a technique that is often viewed with scepticism. Experiments have confirmed that it is possible to cast hollow products using lost wax technology and a wooden core. To protect the wood from fire, it must be treated with a fire retardant. This technology is unique and unknown for the Bronze Age.

*Keywords:* Late Bronze Age, experiment, unique casting technologies.

### Introduction and Research Questions

Only two pairs of bronze items are currently known. One of these pairs was discovered in the burial of mound 16 at the Hordiivka kurgan burial ground and dates back to 1300–1100 BC.<sup>1</sup>

The origin of the other similar pair cannot be established. It is kept in the National Museum of History of Ukraine (hereinafter referred to as NMHU). It is assumed that these originated from the territory on the right bank of the Dnipro River.<sup>2</sup>

All items are adorned with engraved decorations (Fig. 1).

The product surface analysis showed that the objects were cast using individual wax models. There are glued seams on the projections of the cross-guard. They are duplicated in metal from the wax model (Fig. 2).

There is no doubt that these wares are very similar in appearance to the pins of the Noua culture, but they are much more massive. However, these objects have hilt. As the name suggests, the hilt is the part of the sword that is held in the hand. It is the part of a sword, rapier, dagger or stiletto that is comfortable to hold in your hand. The hilt consists of the pommel, grip and cross-guard. The pommel was located at the end of the handle. It counterbalanced the blade and allowed the weapon to be held comfortably. Cross-guard prevents the opponent’s sword from slipping off the blade and injuring the owner’s hand, hence the term “hilt”. The cross-guard helps prevent the wearer’s hand from getting injured. Our product’s hand guard has four protrusions, two of which are mushroom-shaped and two are tubular. A through hole passes through the tubular protrusions.

Today, a group of researchers believe that these objects combine power and sacred functions.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Beresanskaja / Kločhko 1998, taf. 27, 1–2.

<sup>2</sup> Hoshko 2005; Lysenko / Lysenko / Yakubenko 2006.

<sup>3</sup> Kločhko 1998, 335; 2008, 149–150; Hoshko 2005, 237; Lysenko / Lysenko / Yakubenko 2006.



Fig. 1. Sceptre-“stiletto”: 1-2 – Hordiivka; 3-4 – National Museum of History of Ukraine.

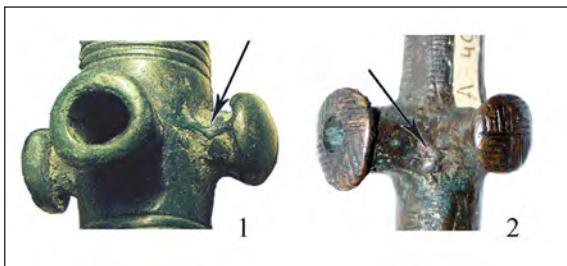


Fig. 2. Macro photographs of the cross-guard of a sceptre-“stiletto”, showing traces of wax modelling which was duplicated in bronze: 1 – NMHU; 2 – Hordiivka.

However, some colleagues argue that these are hyper-long pins, citing evidence of similar decorations found in Western Europe.<sup>4</sup> However, hyper-long pins have been discovered in female burials in Germany. These pins were placed on the shoulders of the deceased, with the point facing up or down.<sup>5</sup> Slightly shorter ones could be placed across the chest. And what is important, regardless of the shape of the head, all stems are straight, without any protruding parts. That is, such pins were intended to secure clothes on the shoulders (Fig. 3). The “pins”, referred to as sceptre-“stiletto” in this context, were discovered in a wooden case near the hands of the deceased (due to the poor preservation of the skeleton, the sex was determined solely by the large number of amber beads scattered on and around the skeleton, as well as two long pins). They have a well-defined hilt with a cross-guard (Fig. 4). Pins were also found in the burial, positioned on the chest of the deceased.<sup>6</sup>

This suggests that our items were not merely accessories like pins in a costume. So these objects were designed to be held in the hands, and hilts were made for that purpose. Why else would one refer to it as “stiletto”? Because they were deliberately sharpened by forging.

It is important to note that objects found in burials or treasures are always paired. For instance, a pair (Fig. 5, 1-2) from a hoard found during excavations near the village of Öpalyi in eastern Hungary in 1952.<sup>7</sup>

They have a hilt: pommel in the form of spherical heads with a wide disc underneath, a cross-guard in the form of four protuberances with spherical ends. There are three rollers with ribs around the grip. One of them has a small loop on the rollers (perhaps for a belt?). The length of the pieces is 908 and 895 mm.<sup>8</sup> The hilt is 147.42 mm long and 16.75 mm thick. The tips are probably broken. No doubt, the items were manufactured using disposable moulds. These products cannot be referred to as “stiletto” due to their size; they are more akin to rapiers. It is interesting to note that the treasure included items of military equipment: a spear, battle axes and a celt.

<sup>4</sup>Berezanska et al. 2011, 56.

<sup>5</sup>Matthews 2004, 6, fig. 1.

<sup>6</sup>Berezanska et al. 2011, 18.

<sup>7</sup>Mozsolics 1963, 65.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 67, taf. V, 6

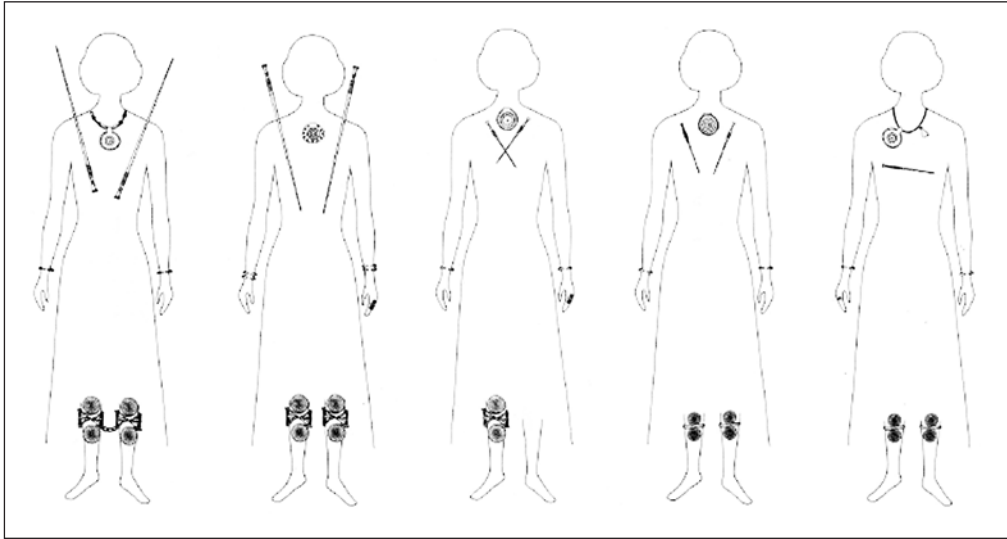


Fig. 3. Examples of women's jewellery from southern Germany of the Middle Bronze Age (from Wels-Weyrauch 1989, cited in Matthews 2004, 6, fig. 1).



Fig. 4. The location of the sceptres in the grave of barrow No. 16 in Hordiivka.

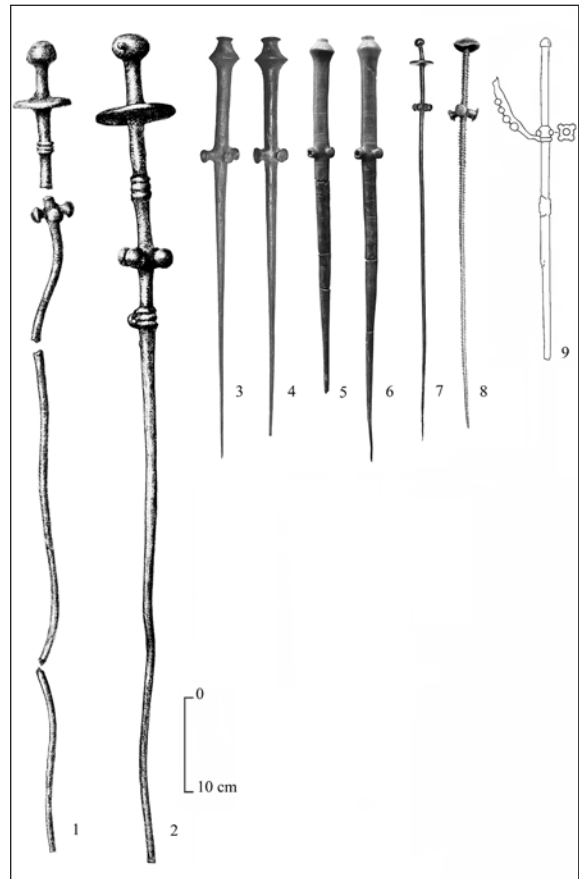


Fig. 5. Findings of similar products. 1-2 – Öpalyi treasure; 3-4 – Hordiivka; 5-6 – NMHU; 7 – one of the four pins from the Hudlow treasure; 8 – one of the two pins of the Lubny treasure; 9 – a stiletto-dagger from burial 500 of the Senior Akhmyliv cemetery.

Four “pins” of a similar shape to the artefacts from the Öpalyi hoard, but smaller in size, were found in a hoard found near the village of Khudlov, Uzhhorod district, Transcarpathian region (Fig. 5, 7). Pins like these are frequently found in the area inhabited by the Noua culture. The hoard not only contained pins but also

weapons such as swords, battle axes, and armour spirals.<sup>9</sup> J. Kopal dated the treasure to the older phase of the BD period.

The latest pair of stiletto-like objects comes from the Lubny treasure.<sup>10</sup> The treasure was found near the village of Matskivtsi in the Lubny district of the Poltava region (Fig. 5, 8). Lost wax technology was also used to cast them. The hoard also included weapons. According to the latest updated data, the treasure is dated to the turn of the 9th–8th centuries BC.<sup>11</sup>

As a more distant analogy, we can cite a stiletto-dagger from the burial of a male warrior in the Senior Akhmirov cemetery of the Early Iron Age Ananyin culture.<sup>12</sup> It has a handle decorated with a mushroom-shaped top and a guard. The stiletto is 32 cm long and has a shoulder strap. It has a grip decorated with a mushroom pommel and a guard. The stiletto is 32 cm long and has a sword-belt (fig. 5.9).

According to the size of the hilt, only the Öpalyi, the Hordiivka and the NMHU can be classified as cult objects to be held in the hand. The stiletto dagger from the Akhmyliv cemetery is undoubtedly a weapon. Hudlov and Lubny are jewellery that imitate iconic objects.

## Methods

To begin planning and carrying out the experiment, the first step was to study and analyse all the data on the artefacts that could be used to find out how they were made and used. Only on the basis of such knowledge can tasks be set. The more information you have about the object, the faster you can find a solution to the problem. A visual observation of the object under the microscope, a metallographic and spectral analysis and, finally, an experiment were carried out. Because it is only through experimentation that we can not only confirm or refute our assumptions, but also get answers to many questions. During the experimental work, our aim was to use methods and materials similar to those that an ancient master might have used.

<sup>9</sup> Kopal 1999, fig. 1–3.

<sup>10</sup> Klochko 2003.

<sup>11</sup> Skoryi / Suprunenko / Sydorenko 2016.

<sup>12</sup> Khalikov 1977, fig. 66.

A detailed study of the surface of the objects allowed us to conclude that both objects were cast from individual wax models. This technology makes it possible to manufacture a product of complex configuration. The cross section of parts larger than 180° (on a guard) is the main characteristic of the lost wax process. Traces of soldering or gluing of model parts are clearly visible.

This type of casting can be defined as hollow core casting. In their initial publication describing the sceptre-“stiletto”, the authors did not give sufficient attention to a crucial technological detail: the depth of the internal cavity.<sup>13</sup>

Since then, all subsequent articles have only depicted the prominences, despite one of them reaching a depth of 23 cm, and in the other, approximately 21.5 cm (Fig. 6, 1). Wood remnants were found within the cavity of one of the sceptre-“stiletto”.

How were these artefacts cast? Most of the information about the manufacturing technology has come from artefacts from the NMHU. One of these was broken into 3 fragments, the other into 4. This made it possible to see that their internal cavities are not solid, but in some places completely filled with metal. In addition, it can be seen that the cavities do not run in the centre of the casting, but are slightly offset from the central axis (Fig 6, 2–3). And all the internal surfaces are uneven and bumpy.

In one sceptre, the cavity at the edge of the tip widens sharply and forms a shallow niche along the perimeter (Fig. 6, 2a). It was here that the remains of burnt organic material were found.

I have expressed my hypothesis about their casting technology repeatedly. Based on the findings of wood (Hordiivka) and charred organic matter (NMHU), it strongly suggests the use of cores made of organic material, specifically wood. The core had to function in harsh temperature conditions and its surface was washed with molten metal, causing it to burn out. A. S. Savrasov's experimental work confirmed the feasibility of using a wooden core. He encountered difficulty removing clay cores from the casting, despite being covered with chalky mortar and not sticking to the metal. To address this issue, A. S. Savrasov attempted to use a wooden core. Although the wooden cores were easier to

<sup>13</sup> Beresanskaja / Kločhko 1998, taf. 27, 1–2

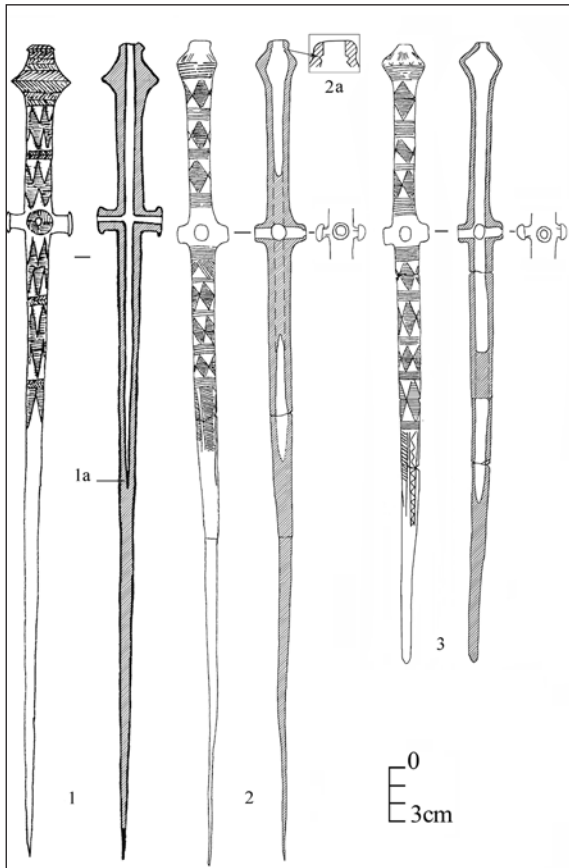


Fig. 6. Schematic of the location of internal holes in the sceptre-“stiletto’s”. 1 – one of Hordiivka’s sceptres (1a – the site of the burnt wood); 2–3 – NMHU (2a – a niche with the remains of burnt organic matter).

remove, they emitted a significant amount of gas during casting.<sup>14</sup>

Metallographic studies were conducted on the sharpened point of the sceptre-“stiletto” from Hordiivka and in the middle of the blade on one of the sceptre-“stiletto’s” from NMHU. The microstructure of the Hordiivka sceptre reveals fully recrystallised grains with twins and a small number of shear bands. The Cu<sub>31</sub>Sn<sub>8</sub> eutectoid is highly elongated in the longitudinal direction. The microstructure suggests that the baton was forged to lengthen and sharpen its point. Shear bands may have formed due to the end of forging on cooled metal or during use, such as piercing hard materials.<sup>15</sup>

The middle section of the NMHU sceptre has a dendritic, undeformed microstructure with a large amount of Cu<sub>2</sub>O and pores (Fig. 7.1). This

<sup>14</sup> Savrasov 1996, 150.

<sup>15</sup> Hoshko 2011, 233, fig. 22, 7.

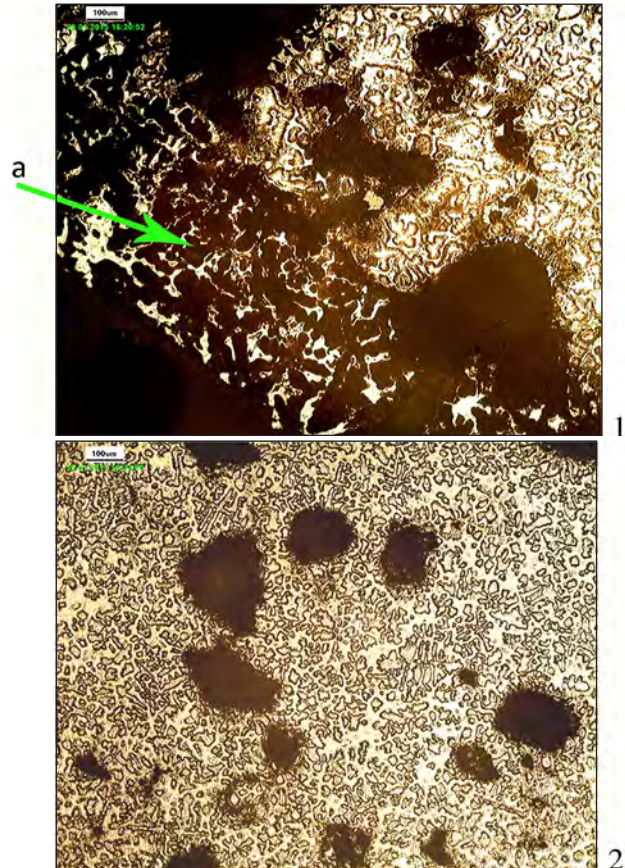


Fig. 7. Microstructures. 1 – NMHU (a – oxidised metal layer); 2 – high porosity experimental microstructure.

confirms the assumption that a wooden core was used, as wood reacts to molten metal by charring and releasing oxygen, which dissolves in the metal during solidification. The presence of oxygen also explains the poor preservation of NMHU products, as the metal’s sensitivity to cold brittleness increases. Cu<sub>2</sub>O particles are located at the grain boundaries, causing brittleness.

Confirmation that a wooden core was used led to further research in this direction. A sprue is an element of a casting mould that creates a cavity in the casting. However, it was unclear whether wood could withstand the temperature of molten bronze, as the core must endure high temperatures and mechanical stresses while inside the molten metal. Therefore, an experiment was necessary.

The experiment aimed to address specific questions about the material used to make the core, including why wood was chosen and whether other materials could have been used.

Additionally, the experiment investigated techniques for safeguarding wood against fire. The procedure for securing a core in the mould to prevent movement during the pouring of molten metal was also examined. Furthermore, the optimal location for pouring the metal into the mould was determined. How should the bulges be positioned on the model? Can a hollow product be cast using a wooden core?

Why was wood chosen as the material for the core? We considered several options for the core material, including clay and organic laces, but ultimately chose wood. Clay was not suitable due to its inability to mould a core with a thickness of 5 mm and a length of 215 to 263 mm with a complex configuration. Additionally, pouring molten metal into the clay mould would cause it to break. Further experiments were conducted only with wooden core, as the use of organic materials such as leather straps or ropes impregnated with some kind of refractory solution is unlikely to solve the problem of core stiffness. It should be noted that the use of wood in bronze casting is heavily criticised.<sup>16</sup>

During the experiment, pouring metal into the mould caused the wood to catch fire, resulting in significant misruns in the casting (Fig. 8, 1–3). This raised the question of how ancient people protected wood from high temperatures. One possible method was to coat it with liquid clay or impregnate it with a natural fire retardant. Efforts to cover the core with chalk slurry or liquid clay were unsuccessful, as they cracked and crumbled when wax was applied.

What flame retardants were available to ancient craftsmen? Soda and ash were among the most suitable natural flame retardants. Ancient Egypt used soda extracted from soda lakes to make glass long before Christ. In Europe, there are such lakes in Hungary, while in Ukraine, the largest raw material base for soda is Lake Sivash. Another source of soda production for many centuries until the early 19th century was the ash of certain seaweeds and coastal plants. The most common of these is *Salsola Soda*, which grows on saline soils on the Black Sea coast.

Wood ash is of interest because it removes heat and displaces oxygen from the burning site. When hot water is poured over the ash, it

produces a solution of potash, also known as potassium carbonate. Firefighters previously used this substance to treat wooden structures.

Potash was chosen as the best fire retardant. A pine tree rod (Fig. 9, 1) was soaked in a water-ash solution for a week at a rate of 250 ml of ash per 1000 ml of water, resulting in noticeably stronger wood. After drying the rod, a mixture of wax, oleoresin, and linseed oil was used to create a model of the scepter to come. (Fig. 9, 2). This mixture is commonly used by Ukrainian anthropologists to reconstruct skulls. The material is plastic, allowing for precise work on small details of the model. The metal is poured from the tip into the pouring cup located here (Fig. 9, d).

The next step was to consider how to secure the core in the mould, as this is a crucial aspect that affects the quality of the casting. The core must remain stationary during the melting of the wax and the pouring of the metal. Chaplets are used to support the core in the mould cavity. To keep the core in a vertical position while casting, a chaplet was inserted on the side of the future pommel (Fig. 9, a). Additionally, two lateral horizontal chaplets were inserted into the two projections on the cross-guard, and their free ends were spirally bent to prevent any lateral movement (Fig. 9, b).

Vents are essential for removing gases from the mould cavity and controlling the filling of the mould with molten metal. The correct placement of vents in a mould is critical to ensuring high quality castings. To create vents, wire is used and then removed from the finished mould. In this case, vents were positioned on mushroom-shaped protrusions on the cross-guard and near the bottom chaplet to facilitate better filling of the mould cavity with metal (Fig. 9, c). However, the proposal to add additional vents above the cross-guard was rejected due to the higher risk of igniting the wooden core.

The experiment resulted in hollow castings (Fig. 8, 4), which are similar in quality to NMHU sceptre-“stiletto”. These castings have high porosity due to oxygen saturation, especially in the upper part of the mould (Fig. 7, 2).

<sup>16</sup> Minasyan 2014, 187.



Fig. 8. *Experimental castings. 1-3 – misruns in the casting; 4 – the final hollow casting.*

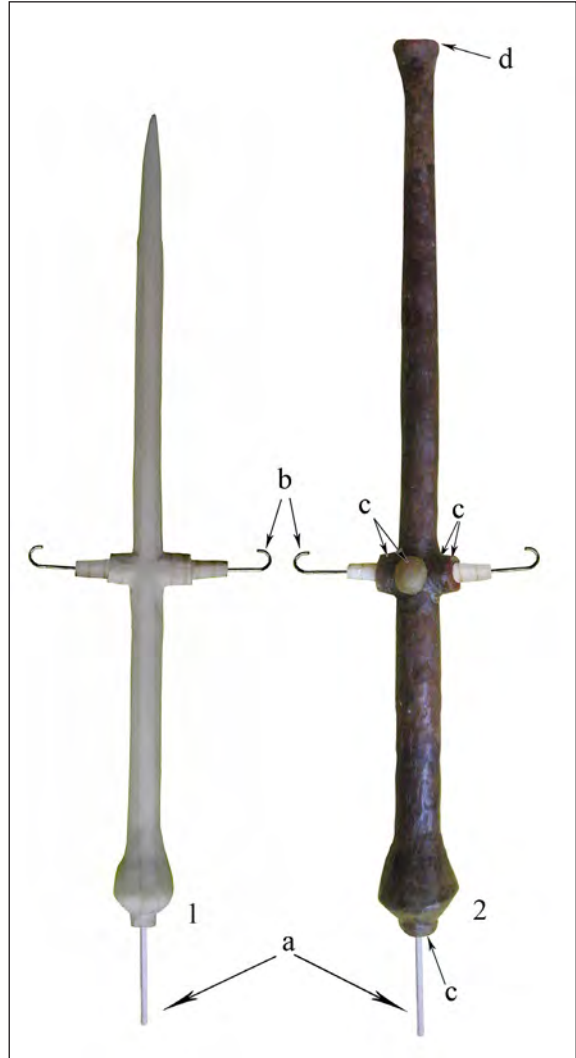


Fig. 9. *Creating a wax model. 1 – wooden rod; 2 – wax model; a – chaplets location; b – horizontal chaplets location; c – vents location; d – pouring cup location.*

## Conclusions

The experiment produced hollow castings (Fig. 9), which are of similar quality to NMHU sceptre-“stiletts”. These castings have high porosity and are highly oxygenated (Fig. 7, 2).

Unfortunately, the clay composition for the mould was not given enough attention, especially when applied to the model. This led to non-compliance with the conditions, causing the vents on one of the protrusions on the cross-guard to shift, resulting in underpouring. Moreover, the

casting mould collapsed during the metal pouring, most likely due to its fragile nature. Despite our mistakes, we completed the task. The ability to cast bronze objects using a wooden core has been demonstrated. This technology may have been invented during the Bronze Age. However, it was not widely adopted due to its complexity and the difficulty of producing high-quality castings. The quality of sceptre-“stiletto” castings from Hordiivka is higher than that of the NMHU. It remains a mystery how the craftsmen managed to achieve this quality.

## Misteriozni skiptri “stileti” iz kasnog bronzanog doba (eksperimentalna provjera tehnike izrade)

U članku se razmatraju izazovi i nedoumice povezane sa rekonstrukcijom načina izrade misterioznih predmeta pronađenih u ženskom grobu iz tumula 16 u Hordiivci u Ukrajini koji je datiran u kasno bronzano doba (1400–1300. p.n.e.). Pokojnica iz ovog groba je bila opremljena raznovrsnim nakitom. Na rukama i nogama je imala spiralne bronzane narukvice i nanogvice, na grudima su bile dvije ukrasne igle, a pored glave su nađena četiri zlatna spiralna privjeska i bogata ogrlica od ćilibara. U drvenom kovčegu pored pokojnice nalazila su se dva masivna bronzana predmeta koja su prvobitno onačena kao stileti. Većina istraživača je kasnije došla do zaključka da su ovi predmeti zapravo bile izuzetno dugačke igle. Rekonstruktori odjeće su smatrali da su te igle bile na grudima. Autorica smatra prvobitni termin “stileti” ispravnim, dajući u tekstu obrazloženje za takvu interpretaciju.

Najintrigantniji aspekt ovih predmeta su njihove duboke unutrašnje šupljine u kojima su otkriveni ostaci drveta i ugljenisane organske materije. Pretpostavlja se da su to bila drvena jezgra koja su korišteni za stvaranje šupljina tokom livenja. Tehnike upotrebe drveta u proizvodnji bronzne se često posmatra sa skepticizmom, pa je u izveden proizvodni eksperiment koji je potvrdio ovu mogućnost. Naime, pokazalo se da je moguće izliti šuplje proizvode koristeći tehnologiju izgubljenog voska, uz upotrebu drvenog jezgra. Da bi se drvo pri tome zaštitilo od vatre, neophodna je zaštita nekim protivpožarnim sredstvom. Prema tome, nalazi iz Hordiivke su se pokazali kao prva potvrda postojanja ova jedinstvena tehnologije u vrijeme bronzano doba.

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## Novo ruho za novo doba: Grob iz finalnog bronzanog doba sa Greblja u Mravićima, sjeverna Bosna

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Doboj

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Tešanj

*Abstract:* This paper presents a set of grave finds from the site Greblje in Mravići, near Doboj in northern Bosnia, dated to the final stages of the Bronze Age (Ha B3). The assemblage consists of a considerable number of body ornaments; belt buckles, bracelets, pendants, fibulae and gold spiral wire. The primary focus of the study is the morphological, typological and stylistic analysis of the artifacts in relation to other similar known objects, in order to offer a possible solution to the issue of their chronological positioning and a potential place of manufacture or, at the very least, a cultural context. Ultimately, the grave inventory from Mravići provides us with an assemblage that was undoubtedly part of the inventory of a wealthy person. The selection of these items for deposition evidences careful curation related to representation of the deceased, and stands as a testament to the complex cultural connections present in the form of a wider local/regional network at the beginning of the 8th century BC. Furthermore, the interpretation of the funerary set enables us to better understand human actions in the past, particularly so for an area where the archaeological heritage of this period has to date been very poorly recorded. In the same context, a group of chance finds from the vicinity of the site was also analyzed.

*Keywords:* Northern Bosnia, Final Bronze Age, female grave, status, chance finds, bronze costume jewelry

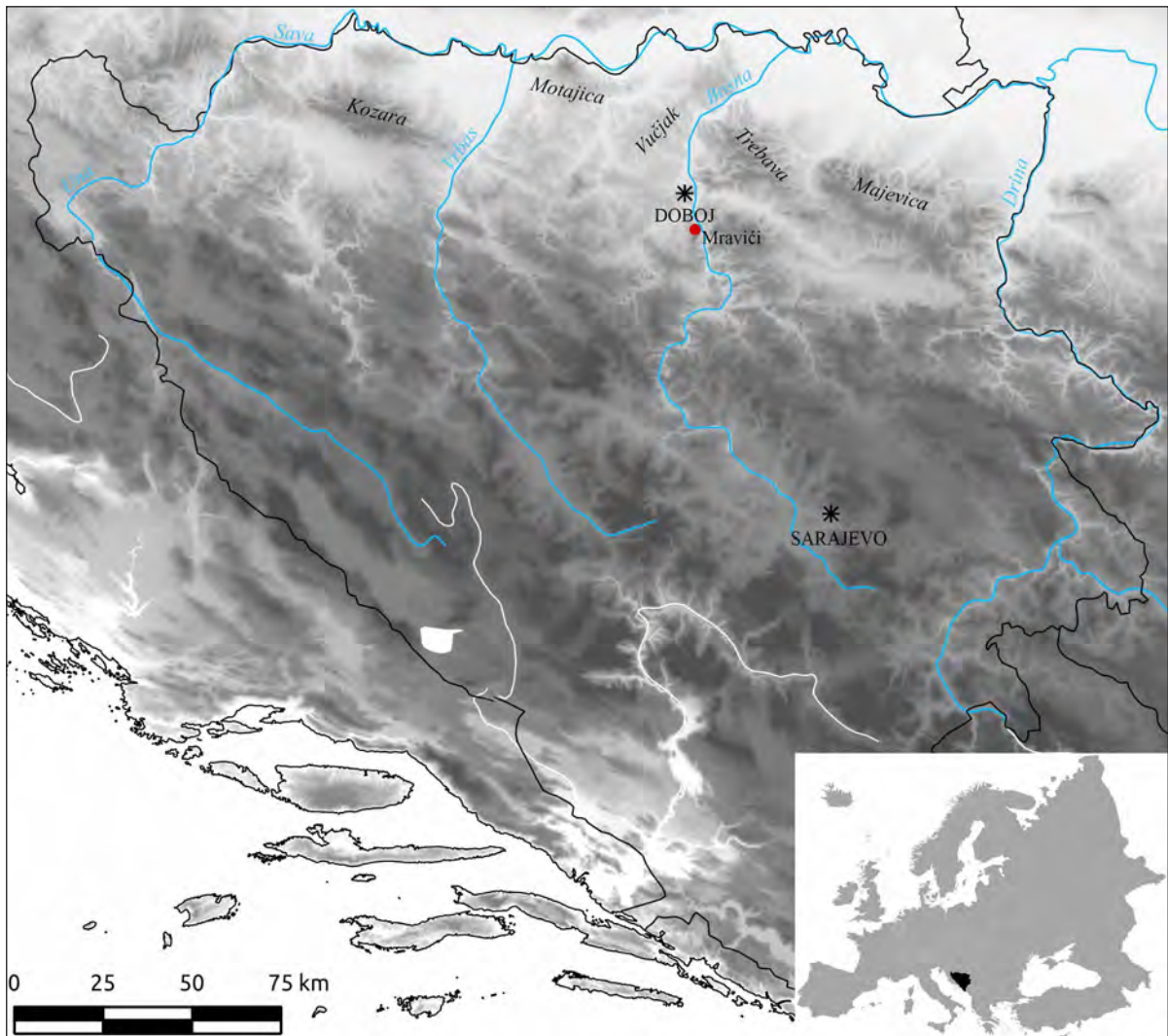
### Uvod

Period finalnog bronzanog doba (Ha B period) može se smatrati izrazito dinamičnim razdobljem, s raznolikim interakcijama i intenzivnim komunikacijama između zajednica prisutnih u regiji. Materijalna zaostavština ovog perioda poprima osobene forme kroz najrazličitije tehnologije i materijale koji su proizvod ljudske inventivnosti, mobilnosti, ekonomskih i društvenih odnosa te, konačno, ekoloških uslova koje nudi krajolik sjeverne Bosne. Po prvi put u grobovima imamo jasno prepoznatu socijalnu stratifikaciju i izdvajanje bogatih, prvenstveno ženskih, grobova u cjelokupnoj pogrebnoj praksi.<sup>1</sup> U posljednjih par decenija napravljen je znatan iskorak u publikovanju i interpretaciji arheološke baštine iz ovog

razdoblja.<sup>2</sup> U prilog tome ide i prezentacija novopublikovanog groba iz Mravića (sl. 3). Okolnosti pronalaska diktiraju i arheološku interpretaciju. Grob je evidentiran na prostoru koji je u lokalnoj toponimiji poznat pod nazivom Greblje nadomak sela Mravići oko 6 km južno od Doboja, nizvodno uz rijeku Bosnu (sl. 1). To je široki plato koji je sa južne strane strmo odsječen od ostatka terena, ostale strane su pristupačne sa blagim padom terena prema sjeveru i istoku. Prilikom izvođenja radova na nivelaciji terena 2022. godine za potrebe poljoprivrednih radova skinut je znatan dio površinskog sloja. Radovi su oštetili veći dio skeleta i grobnu konstrukciju, a sakupljeni materijal predat je nadležnom Muzeju u Tešnju. Zaštitna iskopavanja obavljena su na manjem preostalom dijelu groba. Na

<sup>1</sup> Jašarević 2020, 60.

<sup>2</sup> König 2004; Gavranović 2011; Jamaković 2011; Gavranović / Mehofer 2016; Gavranović / Jašarević 2016; Blečić Kavur et al. 2019; Jašarević 2018; 2020; 2022.



Slika 1. Topografska pozicija lokaliteta (priređio: A. Jašarević)

svoga 10 cm ispod površine otkriveni su ostaci funerarnog odra od lomljenog kamena, širine 60 cm i očuvane dužine do 80 cm. Od skeleta evidentirane su samo porozne duge kosti krajnjih donjih ekstremiteta. Skelet je ležao u opruženom položaju orijentisan istok–zapad sa glavom na zapadu. Ostatak grobne konstrukcije je uništen i nije moguće utvrditi tačan raspored grobnog inventara. Mikropozicija na kojoj je grob otkriven nesumnjivo je povezana sa obližnjom Gradinom u Mravićima i arheološkim slojevima koji su zabilježeni na ovoj lokaciji (sl. 2).<sup>3</sup> Od ovog naseobinskog kompleksa udaljen je 300 m na zapad i dijeli ga samo široka udolina. Gradina u Mravićima locirana je na dominantnom uzvišenju, koje se okomito uzdiže iznad lijeve obale rijeke Bosne. Prostrani plato sa strmim stranama

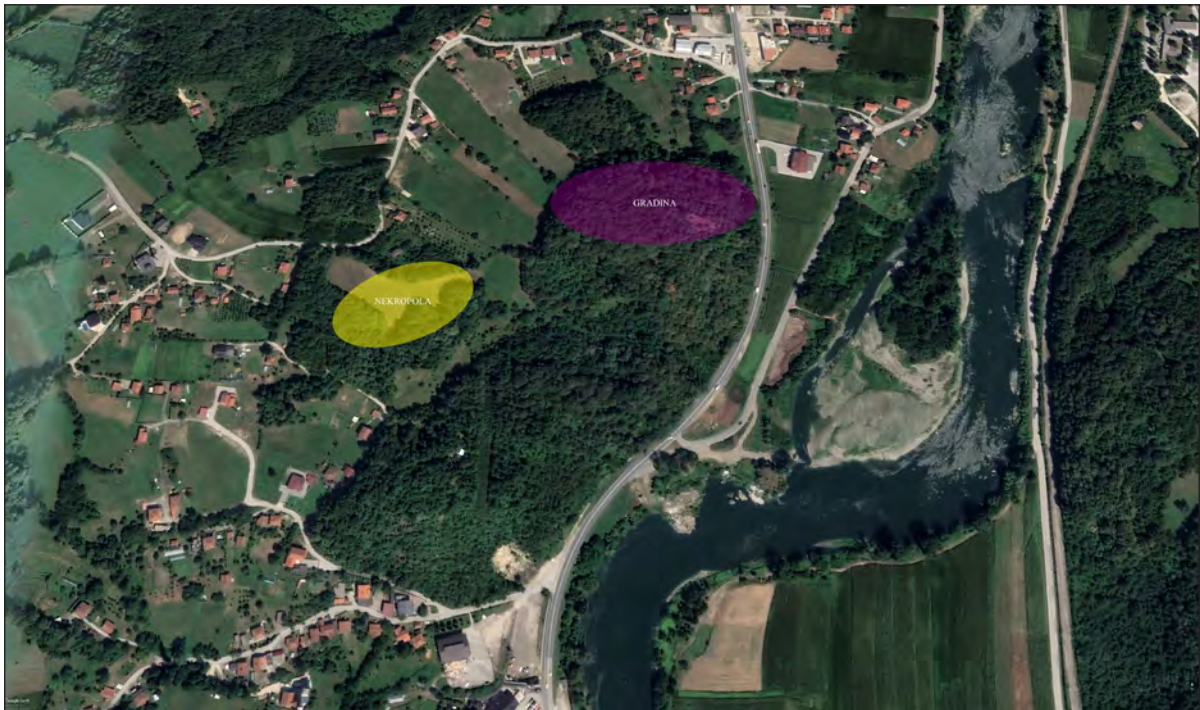
<sup>3</sup> Jašarević 2018, 33.

imao je odličnu stratešku poziciju i vizuelnu poveznicu sa ostalim gradinskim naseljima, poput onoga na Crkvini pri ušću Usore u Bosnu. Također, prelaz preko rijeke omogućavao je i prirodni gaz. Dosadašnja arheološka istraživanja pokazala su da je Gradina naseljena u znatnom vremenskom periodu od kasnog neolita do rano-vizantijskog perioda, dok je u srednjem vijeku formirana velika nekropola.<sup>4</sup>

### Tipološka, stilska i hronološka interpretacija pogrebnog inventara

Grob iz Mravića u arheološkoj interpretaciji je označen kao devastirana grobna cjelina. Uprkos tome, zabilježeni su neki ključni podaci

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 33–40.



Slika 2. Položaj Gradine i nekropole u Mravićima (priredeno prema: Google Maps 2024)

koji pomažu u opštoj rekonstrukciji grobnog inventara. U nedostatku adekvatnog arheološkog konteksta, primarna analiza takvog sklopa usredotočuje se na morfološku, tipološku i stilsku analizu u odnosu na druge poznate artefakte, ako bi se ponudilo moguće rješenje njegovog hronološkog pozicioniranja i potencijalnog mjesta proizvodnje, te određeni kulturni kontekst u kome su ti predmeti cirkulisali. Obradi materijalne kulture predmetnog groba priključeni su i slučajni nalazi sa prostora nekropole u Mravićima.

## Narukvice

U skupinu najreprezentativnijeg obručastog nakita svakako se mogu pribrojati narukvice. Evidentirano je ukupno sedam komada, tipološki različitih i različitog stepena očuvanosti/fragmentacije. U prvu kategoriju spadaju masivne punolivene narukvice, elipsoidnog presjeka, sa krajevima koji su blago rastavljeni i postavljeni jedan iznad drugog (T. I, 11–12). Dekoracija je izvedena urezivanjem kružnih linija i poprečnih crtica, koje su metopno raspoređene po tijelu, dok se krajevi završavaju nizom šrafiranih trouglova. Identična dekoracija je

poznata kod narukvica tipa Lučica.<sup>5</sup> No, oblik i tehnička izvedba je nešto drugačija. Tip Lučica ima ravno postavljene krajeve i izvedene su tehnikom šupljeg livenja.<sup>6</sup> Narukvice su otkrivene krajem 19. stoljeća u ostavi Lučica u Hrgama kod Zavidovića. Od većeg broja predmeta iz ostave samo su tri dospjela u Zemaljski muzej u Sarajevu, uključujući bronzanu narukvicu, koplje i tuljastu sjekiru.<sup>7</sup> Naknadno je objavljen još jedan identičan primjerak iz Stoga također kod Zavidovića.<sup>8</sup> Nadalje, skupini se priključuje i narukvica iz groba 2 sa nekropole u Jablanici kod Lopara.<sup>9</sup> Hronološki ostava iz Lučica u Hrgama vezuje se uz fazu Ha B3 srednjoevropske periodizacije, odnosno u V horizont ostava međuriječja Drave i Save (faza Matijevići).<sup>10</sup> P. König predlaže nešto starije datiranje u period Ha B1/2, preciznije od druge polovine 11. do kraja 10. stoljeća, odnosno smješta je hronološki u fazu 4 kasno-bronzanodopskih ostava Bosne i Hercegovine.<sup>11</sup> Za grob iz Jablanice M. Gavranović određuje

<sup>5</sup> Gavranović 2011, 209.

<sup>6</sup> König 2004, T. 59A.

<sup>7</sup> Dragičević 1897, 479–480, sl. 1–3.

<sup>8</sup> Gavranović 2011, 209, T. 23: 5. Nije isključena mogućnost da se radi o predmetu iz ostave Lučica u Hrgama.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., T. 13: 10.

<sup>10</sup> Vinski-Gasparini 1983b, 665–666; König 2004, 116.

<sup>11</sup> König 2004, 27, T. 3.



Slika 3. Grobni inventar, grob 1, Greblje-Mravići (fotografija: A. Jašarević)

datiranje u period od 10. do ranog 9. stoljeća, temeljem fibula tipa Golinjevo.<sup>12</sup> B. Teržan klasifikuje iste fibule kao zapadnobalkanski tip fibula Golinjevo, varijanta Drenov do, te ih vremenski smješta u 9. stoljeće,<sup>13</sup> što se čini prikladnijom datacijom. Sljedećoj grupi pripadaju punoličene narukvice, elipsoidnog presjeka i otvorenih krajeva (T. I, 13–16). Tri primjerka su u cijelosti očuvana, dok je od četvrtog sačuvana samo polovina. Dekoracija je identična kao kod narukvica iz prve kategorije. Slični oblici poznati su iz naknadno rekonstruisanog groba u Gornjoj Tuzli, datovanog u sam kraj 9. ili početak 8. stoljeća.<sup>14</sup> Također, tu je i veći broj sličnih narukvica/nanogvica kružnog presjeka iz bogato opremljenog groba u Ostrošću kod Cazina.<sup>15</sup> Hronološki

grob je opredijeljen u 9. stoljeće, odnosno Ha B2/3 period.<sup>16</sup> Manje specifičan oblik predstavlja narukvica lećastog presjeka (T. I, 10). Očuvana je samo polovina sa naspramno urezanim trouglovima i poprečnim linijama. Izravne analogije za ovaj tip nisu poznate. Prostorna distribucija prve dvije kategorije narukvica potvrđuje optičaj predmeta u zajednicama koje su bile povezane istim sistemima kulturnih vrijednosti u prezentaciji statusa i prestiža, ali prije svega sa zanatskim radionicama koje imaju iste tehnološke i kulturne tradicije. Nadalje, isti spektar motiva daje jasnu naznaku simboličkog narativa na širem prostoru koji ima svoju bogatu kulturnu pozadinu u smislu društvene, ekonomske ili vjerske identifikacije.<sup>17</sup> Neznatno preoblikovanje u lokalnim radionicama proizvod je određenih

<sup>12</sup> Gavranović 2011, 179, 209.

<sup>13</sup> Teržan 2016a, 245–246.

<sup>14</sup> Čović 1957, 252, T. I, 10; Vinski-Gasparini 1983a, 620; Jašarević 2022, 73, sl. 3.

<sup>15</sup> Raunig 1982, 5–6. T. II, 7–10.

<sup>16</sup> Teržan 1987, 8; Gavranović 2016, 99.

<sup>17</sup> Jašarević 2022, 76.

estetskih kriterijuma i umješnosti pojedinaca da kreiraju nove oblike.

### Pojasne kopče

Period finalnog bronzanog doba (9–8. stoljeće) obilježen je i upotrebom pojasnih kopči, koje postaju svojevrsan statusni simbol u bogato opremljenim nošnjama žena, a u izuzetnim slučajevima i muškaraca.<sup>18</sup> Kružne, krstolike i ažurirane pojasne kopče na teritoriji sjeverne Bosne ističu se ne toliko svojom brojnošću koliko lokalnom zanatskom intervencijom, tj. tipološkom varijabilnošću. Uprkos nekim manjim stilskim razlikama, dvije pojasne kopče iz Mravića, grob 1, mogu se pribrojati u grupu koju je B. Tešmann izdvojila kao tip 3, varijanta 1. Primarna karakteristika je krstolike ažurirani motiv sa centralnim dugmetom i profilisanim obrubom.<sup>19</sup> Prvi primjerak znatno je izlizan i dekoracija je izvedena urezivanjem sitnih trouglova u dva naspramna reda (T. I, 5). Na centralnom dugmetu urezan je motiv krsta, dok su na ravnim krakovima punktirane sitne nepravilne tačke. Na rubovima kopče izdvojena su dva lučno povijena trna za fiksiranje na podlogu. Drugi primjerak pripada istom tipu, no znatno je fragmentiran i naknadno spojen prilikom konzervatorskih radova (T. I, 6). Dekoracija je izvedena urezivanjem duple cik-cak linije, dok je prostor između njih ukrašen kosim linijama. Također, na centralnom dugmetu urezan je motiv krsta. Izravne paralele vidimo u pojasnoj kopči iz bogato opremljenog ratničkog groba 1 sa nekropole Paklenica u Tešnju, datiran s kraja 9. i početka 8. stoljeća.<sup>20</sup> Kopče sa raskošnijom dekoracijom i neznatno drugačijim dizajnom evidentirane su na nekropolama Petkovo Brdo u Radosavskoj<sup>21</sup> i Lipac kod Doboja<sup>22</sup> i datirane u isto razdoblje. Nešto svedeniji oblici poznati su iz skeletnih grobova u Jablanici iz perioda od 8. do početka 7. stoljeća.<sup>23</sup> Ovoj grupi se priključuju i slučajni nalazi sa prostora nekropole u Mravićima. Prvi primjerak ima krstoliku formu sa centralnim dugmetom i ravnim, dvoslivnim kracima sa urezanim kratkim crticama (T. II, 5). Čitava kružna površina

je ukrašena nizom šrafiranih trouglova, koja je sa obje strane omeđena plitkim kanalom sa po dva reda punktiranih tački. Na tijelu, nasuprot su postavljeni ostaci od trna za fiksiranje kopče. Jedan kraj ima trouglastu formu, dok je drugi kraj modelovan u obliku osam plitkih vertikalnih prečki. Primjerak je najbližiji pojasnoj kopči iz Paklenice.<sup>24</sup> Sljedeći primjerak ima iste karakteristike, ali dekoracija je znatno izlizana i svedenija (T. II, 8). Zatim slijedi kopča ukrašena u istom maniru s vertikalnim crticama na krakovima i naspramno postavljenim redom trouglova na dvoslivnom kružnom tijelu (T. II, 4). Posljednje dvije kopče spadaju u kategoriju jednostavnih, kružno perforiranih primjeraka sa naglašenim zavojima od trna (T. II, 7, 9). Prema klasifikaciji B. Tešmann pripadaju tipu 2, čije približne varijante vidimo u kopčama iz Gornje Tuzle, Drvara i Donje Doline.<sup>25</sup>

### Fibula

Lučne dvopetljaste fibule s trouglastom stopom su izuzetno raširena pojava i zastupljene su u brojnim varijantama. Datuju se često u odnosu na kontekst nalaženja. Trouglasta stopa je jedan od najranijih oblika, koji postaje uzor u modelovanju i preoblikovanju kasnijih fibula i stvaranju novih modnih trendova. Uprkos tome, njihova koncentracija, kvantitet, kao i tipološka varijabilnost značajna je za panbalkansko područje.<sup>26</sup> Među grobnim inventarom pronađena je jedna djelimično oštećena dvopetljasta lučna fibula sa tordiranim lukom, romboičnog presjeka petlje i trouglastom stopom (T. I, 1). Posebno je dekorisana stopa sa urezanim linijama, okomitim cik-cak crticama i punktiranim linijama i trouglom. Fibule ovog tipa S. Gabrovec definisao je kao tip 7a.<sup>27</sup> Varijanta sa tordiranim lukom relativno je rijetko zastupljena, za razliku od onih sa urezanim linijama na luku.<sup>28</sup> Jedine odgovarajuće uporedbe potiču iz uništenih grobova iz Sotina u istočnoj Slavoniji,<sup>29</sup> zatim je tu slučajni primjerak iz Donje Doline<sup>30</sup>, nešto zapadnije

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 68.

<sup>19</sup> Tešmann 2004, 143.

<sup>20</sup> Truhelka 1907, 62; Jašarević 2022, 69.

<sup>21</sup> Čović 1966, 164.

<sup>22</sup> Jašarević 2022, 68–69, T. I, 2.

<sup>23</sup> Gavranović 2011, 221.

<sup>24</sup> Truhelka 1907, 65.

<sup>25</sup> Tešmann 2004, 147, sl. 4: 1–3.

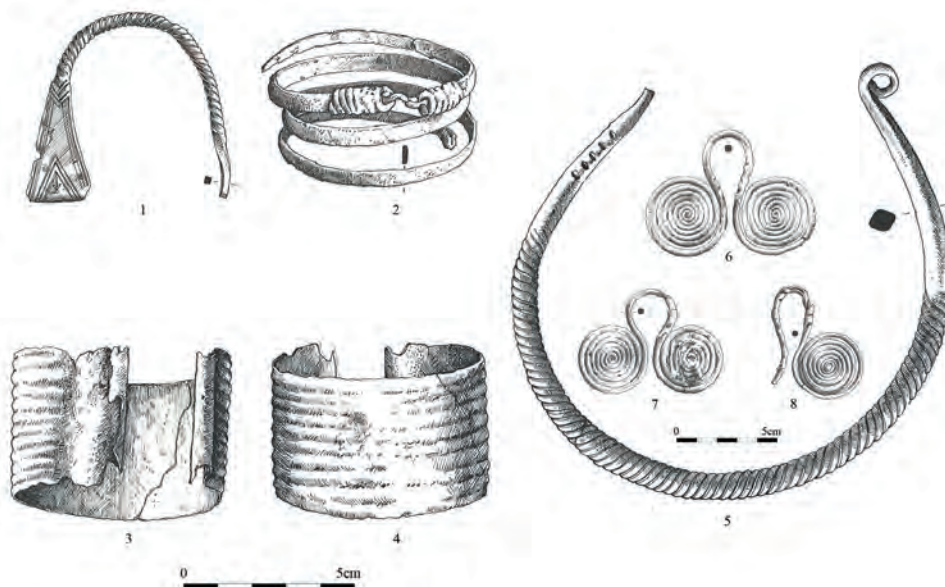
<sup>26</sup> Teržan 1990; Vasić 1999, 50; Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 413; Gavranović 2011, 185–186; 2016, 101.

<sup>27</sup> Gabrovec 1970, 20, karta 10.

<sup>28</sup> Gavranović 2011, 185.

<sup>29</sup> Vinski / Vinski-Gasparini 1962, 280; Gavranović 2007, 159.

<sup>30</sup> Gavranović 2011, 185.



Slika 4. *Gradac-Sokolac* (modifikovano prema Čović 1965a)

fibule iz Stapara i Trnjana u Srbiji<sup>31</sup> te fibula iz Bačke.<sup>32</sup> Ukrašeni primjerak iz Mravića bi se na osnovu motiva mogao donekle uporediti sa dvopetljastim fibulama sa narebrenim lukom iz Bara kod Tuzle.<sup>33</sup> Datiranje je mahom uslovljeno nalazima dvopetljastih fibula sa narebrenim lukom i trougaonom stopom sa glasinačkog područja, gdje se smještaju u fazu Glasinac IVa, tj. u 8. stoljeće prema studiji R. Vasića.<sup>34</sup> M. Gavranović se s obzirom na dosadašnje kontekste nalaženja oslonio na starije datiranje B. Čovića u kraj 8. i početak 7. stoljeća, odnosno glasinačku fazu IVa i početak faze IVb.<sup>35</sup> Hronološki interesantna je i pozicija male dvopetljaste fibule s narebrenim lukom iz groba 9 u Jablanici, pronađena zajedno sa dvije manje narukvice od spiralno namotane žice i datirana u 8. stoljeće.<sup>36</sup> Konačno, fibula iz Mravića u kontekstu ostalog izbora pogrebnog ruha daje nam relativni hronološki okvir, i to početak 8. stoljeća.

Ovoj kategoriji funkcionalnih ornamenata priključuju se i dva slučajna nalaza fibula sa prostora nekropole. Prvi je fragment neukrašene trouglaste stope, najvjerovatnije varijanta

dvopetljaste fibule (T. II, 2). Drugi primjerak pripada posebno rijetkoj varijanti jednopetljaste fibule sa tordiranim lukom i trouglastom stopom (T. II, 1). Početak stope je ukrašen visećim trouglovima koji prelaze u kratke vertikalne crte, istim crtama ukrašene su i bočne ivice stope. Zanimljivo je navesti sličnosti sa fibulama ovoga tipa sa Glasinca; Taline XXXIV/1<sup>37</sup> i Gradac-Sokolac<sup>38</sup> (sl. 4). Međutim, u komparativnoj podjeli slične, iako ne identične paralele možemo vidjeti u fibulama iz starijeg naselja sa Donje Doline<sup>39</sup> i slučajnom nalazom iz Pritoke kod Bihaća.<sup>40</sup> U raštrkanoj prostornoj distribuciji njima se priključuje i fibula znatno manjih dimenzija iz Travnika.<sup>41</sup> Njihovo datiranje je otežano jer ne postoji zatvorena arheološka cjelina. Ipak će ih morfološke karakteristike opredijeliti nadregionalnoj modi od 10. do kraja 9. stoljeća.<sup>42</sup> Po obliku i veličini slične su dvopetljastim fibulama sa tordiranim lukom te se stoga može smatrati da su prethodile ovoj varijanti ili su donekle istovremeno kombinovane u nošnjama.

<sup>31</sup> Vasić 1999, 52, T. 27: 327–328.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., T. 27: 319; Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, T. 119: 3.

<sup>33</sup> Gavranović 2007, 160.

<sup>34</sup> Vasić 1999, 52.

<sup>35</sup> Čović 1987, 588; Gavranović 2007, 157, 164.

<sup>36</sup> Gavranović 2011, 185; 2016, 101.

<sup>37</sup> Benac / Čović 1957, II, 5.

<sup>38</sup> Čović 1965a, 65, T. II, 4.

<sup>39</sup> Gavranović 2011, 182, sl. 171: 1.

<sup>40</sup> Nikolić 1962, T. VI, 34.

<sup>41</sup> Gavranović / Sejfuli 2015, 83, sl. 5.

<sup>42</sup> Gavranović 2011, 183; usp. Pare 1998, 333–334.

## Opruge

Nije neobična u arheologiji pojava predmeta čija je upotreba nepoznata. Zasigurno toj kategoriji pripadaju i ostaci masivnih bronzanih opruga izrađenih od žice oblog presjeka s dva uvinuća i dugim, prema van izvrnutim krajevima (T. I, 17–18). Tačna pozicija u grobu nije poznata, što bi eventualno dalo indicije da li se radi o funkcionalnom dijelu nošnje ili predmetu specifične namjene, od one utilitarne do ritualne. Najvjerovatnije da se radi o kompozitnim predmetima čiji su organski dijelovi iščezli zbog propadljivosti materijala. Pored masivnih primjeraka, evidentirani su i oni manjih dimenzija i sa više navoja (T. I, 8). Dodatnu konfuziju unose i slučajni nalazi masivnih opruga sa prostora nekropole koje su bile spojene (T. III, 3). Sa istog prostora potiče još par opruga (T. III, 5–7). Direktna analogije nisu brojne. U grobu 3 sa susjedne nekropole u Paklenici kod Tešnja evidentiran je identičan primjerak u ženskom grobu. Za razliku od onih iz Mravića, ovaj je bio ukrašen linijama i poprečnim crtama, metopno raspoređenim po žici u maniru geometrijskog stila s kraja bronzanog doba.<sup>43</sup> U kontekstu sa dekorisanom stožastom kopčom, grob je hronološki smješten u Ha B3 period, odnosno kraj 9. i početak 8. stoljeća.<sup>44</sup> Jedan vrlo sličan predmet pronađen je na Gradini u Vrelima kod Bosanskog Broda i datiran je u isto razdoblje.<sup>45</sup> Na osnovu ovog malog korpusa nalaza, možemo pretpostaviti da se radi o specifičnom obliku koji se pojavljuje u ženskim grobovima, no funkcija mu i dalje ostaje nepoznata. Predmetima sa višestrukom namjenom pripada i manji komad bronzanih navoja sa žicom skoro trouglastog presjeka. Najvjerovatnije je da se radi o fragmentu spirale, dijelovima kompozitnog nakita kakav je evidentiran i među grobovima u Putičevu i Jablanici.<sup>46</sup>

## Zlatni privjesak

Ekskluzivnost grobnog inventara upotpunjuje i predmet izrađen od zlata u obliku spiralno namotane žice oblog presjeka (T. I, 9). Debljina žice

nije ujednačena i stanjuje se prema jednom kraju. Završeci su formirani u obliku svinute petlje, od kojih je deblji kraj blago raskucan. Težina iznosi 8 g. Najvjerovatnije da se radi o predmetu koji je korišten u oblikovanju frizure ili kao dio nošnje okačen o neki drugi predmet utilitarno-dekorativne namjene. No čini se da je specifičan dizajn ipak lokalna karakteristika. Približne analogije vidimo u manjim spiralnim navojima od bronzane žice sa ušicama iz humke u Putičevu,<sup>47</sup> kao i u jednom primjerku sa naselja Pod kod Bugojna iz horizonta kasnog bronzanog doba (Pod B).<sup>48</sup> Rekonstruisana grobna cjelina iz Putičeva datirana je u razdoblje od kraja 11. do početka 9. stoljeća, na osnovu fibule tipa Kakanj.<sup>49</sup>

Predmeti od zlata oduvijek su igrali važnu ulogu kao nemjerljiva vrijednost koja materijalizira društveni i ekonomski prestiž/status. Nijedan drugi materijal nije postigao tako visoku emocionalnost kod ljudi kao zlato. Očito je tome presudila ljepota i sjaj ovog metala. Činjenica da je rijedak i da ga je teško pronaći u prirodi doprinijela je i njegovoj mitskoj vrijednosti. Osim toga, otporan je na oksidaciju i ne gubi svoja svojstva.<sup>50</sup> No, uprkos tome, predmeti od zlata su rijetko evidentirani u arheološkom kontekstu bronzanog doba na području Bosne i Hercegovine. Na nekropoli spaljenih pokojnika kasnog bronzanog doba Barice kod Gračanice kao prilog i/ili dio nošnje pojavljuju se u svega dva groba; grob 3 u obliku manjeg spiralnog navoja od tanke žice oblog presjeka i u grobu 5 kao fragment deblje narebrene žice, zajedno sa cjevčicama od presovanog zlatnog lima sa uskim rebrima.<sup>51</sup> Periodu finalnog bronzanog doba pripadaju i dva zlatna spiralnaočarasta privjeska sa visokim preklopljenim lukom iz Sitneža kod Prnjavora.<sup>52</sup> Nalazi iz Kulina brda kod Gradačca sadržali su 745 grama zlatne žice savijene u različit spiralni nakit. Nažalost, ova najvjerovatnije votivna ostava izgubljena je prije više od jednog stoljeća.<sup>53</sup> S obzirom na to da su sve kasnobronzanodopske ostave sa područja Bosne i Hercegovine manje-više

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 205, sl. 196: 2–5.

<sup>48</sup> Čović 1965, 59, T. IX, 1.

<sup>49</sup> Gavranović 2011, 205.

<sup>50</sup> Betz 1995, 19

<sup>51</sup> Čović 1958, 80–81, 91–92, sl. 2b–c, sl. 5.

<sup>52</sup> Čović 1957, 253–254, T. II, 2–3; usp. Blečić Kavur et al. 2019, 110.

<sup>53</sup> Truhelka 1914, 75; Vinski 1958, 20

<sup>43</sup> Truhelka 1907, 66.

<sup>44</sup> Vinski-Gasparini 1983a, 618; Gavranović 2011, 219; Jašarević 2022, 73.

<sup>45</sup> Gavranović / Jašarević 2016, 107, sl. 1: 3.

<sup>46</sup> Gavranović 2011, T. 22: 8–9; T. 14: 5; T. 20: 20.

nepoznatog arheološkog konteksta, valja pretpostaviti s velikom vjerovatnoćom kako je njihov sastav reduciran konačnim kvantitetom prispjelih predmeta. Tako je za ostavu iz Cvrtkovaca kod Doboja zabilježen i podatak o postojanju dvije zlatne žice koje u muzej ipak nisu pristigle.<sup>54</sup> Nadalje, s područja Hercegovine, od zlata je izrađen par spirala od dvostruko namotane žice zabilježene u devastiranom grobu 1 u tumulu na lokalitetu Drinovci – Otok i okvirno datirane u period od srednjeg bronzanog doba do kraja kasnog bronzanog doba.<sup>55</sup> U razdoblje kasnog bronzanog doba datiran je i zlatni spiralonočarasti privjesak sa cilindričnim navojem u sredini iz Korita u Duvanjskom polju, koji ima svoje paralele u istovremenim bronzanim primjercima.<sup>56</sup> Hercegovačkom zlatu priključuje se i par vitica od jednostruke zlatne žice pronađen u mjestu Sovići kod Gruda, danas u Muzeju Cetinske krajine u Sinju.<sup>57</sup> Na kraju se može zaključiti kako su predmeti od zlata hronološki i tipološki izrazito divergentna skupina. Pojedini nalazi imitiraju ili imaju svoje verzije izrađene od bronzne, što im daje izvjestan karakter prestiža i posebne simbolične funkcije. Zlato u bronzanodobnom društvu vjerovatno nikada nije imalo čisto ukrasno ili predmonetarno obilježje materijalnog karaktera; prije svega, imalo je ritualnu i društvenu funkciju, kao simbol statusa i prestiža za njihove vlasnike.<sup>58</sup> Eliti su zlatni predmeti služili za predstavljanje, legitimiranje i očuvanje svojih moći, autoriteta i identiteta.<sup>59</sup> Činjenica da predmete od zlata ne pronalazimo među grobnim inventarima može biti posljedica toga što se radi o posebnim komadima nakita koji nisu bili namijenjeni za pogrebno ruho, već su ostajali da cirkuliraju među živim pripadnicima zajednice kao vidljivi i materijalizovani simboli statusa i tradicijske vrijednosti. Što se tiče porijekla sirovine, može se samo pretpostaviti da se radi o lokalnim ležištima rudonosnog gorja središnje Bosne ili pak o importu iz nekih drugih krajeva.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Blečić Kavur et al. 2019, 106.

<sup>55</sup> Tomas 2023, 51, 61.

<sup>56</sup> Čović 1957, 253, T. II, 1.

<sup>57</sup> Tomas 2023, 59.

<sup>58</sup> Armbruster 2013, 454, 461; Pernicka 2014, 153.

<sup>59</sup> Armbruster 2013, 461; usp. Meller 2014, 611.

<sup>60</sup> Ramović 1999, 10–11; Lehrberger 1995, 134.

## Spiralonočarasti privjesci

Svakom novom objavom, ali i revizijom starijih grobnih cjelina s kraja bronzanog doba, primjetan je veći broj spiralonočarastih privjesaka, koji sada već čine normativ u pogledu formiranja bogato opremljenih ženskih kostima.<sup>61</sup> Iz Mravića, većina privjesaka je fragmentovana i naknadno spojena prilikom konzervatorskih zahvata, no sakupljeni fragmenti potiču od najmanje 6 komada (T. I, 3–4). Tipološki, riječ je o varijantama manjih dimenzija sa jednostavnom koljenastom vezom između dvije bronzane spirale. Varijabilna regionalna pogrebna praksa tokom 9–8. stoljeća uticala je i na različit odabir i kombinovanje u okviru nošnje. Javljaju se u inhumacijskim grobovima i mogu imati višestruku namjenu: nošeni kao samostalni privjesci / amuleti ili kombinovano, prikačeni o neki drugi predmet utilitarno-dekorativne namjene. U bogato opremljenom ženskom grobu iz Gornje Tuzle evidentirano je 11 fragmenata spiralonočarastih privjesaka sa promjerom od 2,8 cm do 4,6 cm.<sup>62</sup> Odgovarajući privjesci pronađeni su i u nekropoli Lipac kod Doboja, također datiranoj u vrijeme Ha B3 perioda,<sup>63</sup> kao i oni na nekropoli u Jablanici, gdje dominiraju krupniji komadi, što svakako može biti karakteristika i lokalne zanatske produkcije ovog tipa nakita.<sup>64</sup>

## Slučajni nalazi

Ovoj grupi pridružili smo i ostale slučajne nalaze iz bliže okoline. Kroz proteklu deceniju Muzej u Tešnju prikupio je, kroz rekognosciranje, otkup ili donaciju, manju, ali značajnu kolekciju pristorijskih bronzanih artefakata. Većina njih potiče s prostora Mravića i obližnje Gradine. Također, tu je nekoliko predmeta iz neposredne okoline Tešnja.

## Tuljaste sjekire

Karakteristična pojava za finalne faze kasnog bronzanog doba (Ha B1–Ha B3) na području između rijeke Save i Jadranskog mora je pojava novih bronzanih predmeta s ograničenom lokalnom ili regionalnom rasprostranjenošću.<sup>65</sup> To je

<sup>61</sup> Jašarević 2022, 67; usp. Gavranović 2016, 99.

<sup>62</sup> Čović 1957, 252, T. I, 5–6, 10.

<sup>63</sup> Jašarević 2022, 67. T. II, 10.

<sup>64</sup> Gavranović 2011, 229.

<sup>65</sup> Gavranović 2021, 385.

najbolje ilustrovano pojavom malih neukrašenih tuljastih sjekira.<sup>66</sup> Ovom prilikom prezentujemo dva nova nalaza iz neposredne okoline Tešnja. Prva sjekira pronađena je ispred potkapinskog nalazišta Grič u Hrvatinićima nedaleko od Tešnja (T. IV, 2), dok je drugi primjerak slučajni nalaz sa padina Starog grada – Gradine u Tešnju (T. IV, 1). Pripadaju istim tipovima šupljih tuljastih sjekira trapezastog oblika s blago zadebljanim rubom tuljca. Prijelaz između prednjih i bočnih strana naglašen je rebrastim pojačanjima koja počinju odmah ispod zadebljanja na rubu i pružaju se okomito niz sječivo. Sama oštrica je ravna i oblikovana nešto šira nego otvor, što sjekiri daje trapezasti oblik. Zajedničke karakteristike su i približno ista dužina – 8,5 cm, odnosno 9 cm – kao i pozicija ušica. Male neukrašene tuljaste sjekire hronološki su jasno opredijeljene u razdoblje finalnog bronzanog doba. Dosadašnji primjerci koncentrisani su uglavnom na sjevernobosanskoj teritoriji te se vjerovatno mogu interpretirati kao jedna od lokalnih varijanti zapadnobalkanskih tuljastih sjekira iz vremena Ha B3. Direktne paralele vidimo u slučajnom nalazu sjekire iz Tešnja<sup>67</sup> i ostave Srpska Varoš 2 u Modriči.<sup>68</sup> Ovoj grupi mogu se pridodati i slične sjekire s vertikalnim rebrima, no bez ušice, koje su zastupljene u ostavi Pašalići kod Gračanice.<sup>69</sup> Iz ostave Osredak potiče serija malih tuljastih sjekira,<sup>70</sup> kao i primjerci iz susjednih krajeva; Gajina pećina i Matijevići u Lici ili Cigleniku i Adaševci u slavonsko-srijemskoj regiji.<sup>71</sup> Sličnost je primjetna i sa neukrašenim sjekirama sa tordiranim/facetiranim obodom tuljca poput onih iz Grapske<sup>72</sup> i ostave Tešanj 1,<sup>73</sup> što je svakako produkt lokalnih radionica. Većina malih sjekira su slučajni nalazi ili iz ostava datiranih u fazu 5 kasnobronzanodopskih ostava Bosne i Hercegovine (9. stoljeće),<sup>74</sup> ili iz V horizonta ostava međuriječja Drave i Save (faza Matijevići).<sup>75</sup> Ovo datiranje potvrđuju i nalazi

<sup>66</sup> Žeravica 1993, 75.

<sup>67</sup> Žeravica 1993, T. 21: 274; König 2004, T. 59C.

<sup>68</sup> Gavranović / Jašarević 2016, 115, sl. 6.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 116.

<sup>70</sup> König 2004, T. 59D: 2–4; T. 60: 5–12; T. 61: 13

<sup>71</sup> Vinski-Gasparini 1973, T. 126A, 4; T. 128, 11; T. 129, 5; 130, 1–2.

<sup>72</sup> König 2004, T. 77: 7–8.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., T. 59: B, 3.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>75</sup> Vinski-Gasparini 1973, 169.

keramike tipični za period Ha B3 iz potkapine Grič, neposredno gdje je sjekira i pronađena.<sup>76</sup>

### *Torkves*

Riječ je o tipu širokog areala rasprostranjenosti, koji se u gotovo nepromijenjenom obliku pojavljuje kao dio nakitnog asortimana na prostoru središnjeg i zapadnog Balkana još od kasnog bronzanog doba.<sup>77</sup> U sjevernoj Bosni, torkvesi su uobičajeni predmeti u ostavama kulture polja s urnama. Najčešće su vremenski neosjetljivi, uobičajeno datovani na osnovu ostalih predmeta.<sup>78</sup> Svakako torkvesi čine značajan dio repertoara predmeta ženske nošnje iz finalnih faza bronzanog doba.<sup>79</sup> Sa prostora nekropole u Mravićima potiče primjerak manjeg deformisanog torkvesa s tordiranim središnjim dijelom, gornji dijelovi su romboično profilisani, te s raskucanim i sviutim završecima (T. II, 6). Usporedne analogije vidimo s primjercima iz ostava Monj,<sup>80</sup> Drenov do<sup>81</sup> i Otoka.<sup>82</sup> Većina analogija za tordirane ogrlice sa krajevima kružnog presjeka na prostoru južno od Save datuje se u razdoblje Ha B1–B3 (11–9. stoljeće).<sup>83</sup> Međutim, kao efektne komade nakita, statusnih odlika, karakteristični su i za raskošnu žensku nošnju kasnijih razdoblja sve do 6. stoljeća, no njih svakako karakteriše masivnost i izraženija dekorativnost.<sup>84</sup>

### *Britva*

Kao poseban i rijedak primjerak izdvaja se nalaz bronzane britve pronađen na lokaciji Orlović, između Hrvatinića i Trepča, uz Trebačku rijeku, nedaleko od Tešnja (T. III, 2). Spada u kategoriju polumjesečastih jednosjeklih britvi sa ručicom kružnog presjeka koja se završava prstenom sa manjom prečkom (sl. 5.). Sa unutrašnje strane od vrha sječiva do početka ručke modelovan je kanal sa naglašenim obostranim ivicama i ukrašenim gustim kosim linijama. Ručka je oblog presjeka te je detaljno ornamentisana kružnim

<sup>76</sup> Jašarević 2018, 25.

<sup>77</sup> Vasić 2010, 6–7.

<sup>78</sup> König 2004, 82; Gavranović 2011, 213.

<sup>79</sup> Raunig 1982, 8–10; Ložnjak Dizdar 2009, 161; Gavranović 2011, 213.

<sup>80</sup> König 2004, T. 51: 7.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., T. 56: 11–12.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., T. 68: 12–13; T. 69: 14–16.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 27; Gavranović 2011, 213.

<sup>84</sup> Gavranović / Sejfuli 2015, 77.

linijama i vertikalnim crticama, metopno raspoređenim po površini. Također, spoljašnjost prstena i prečka su ukrašenim istim crticama. Sličnost je primjetna sa britvom iz Grapske, posebno po modelovanom kanalu.<sup>85</sup> Međutim, oblik drške, širina sječiva, a posebno dekoracija su znatno različite. Geografski najbliže paralele su sa britvom sa nekropole Paklenica u Tešnju, koja je isto tako pripisana tipu Grapska.<sup>86</sup> U grobu 1 sa ove nekropole, britva je bila dio muške ratničke opreme, uključujući kratki mač, koplje i tuljastu sjekiru sa sličnom dekoracijom kao i britva iz Grapske. Ista ornamentika tipična je za brojne domaće bronzane predmete iz razdoblja finalnog bronzanog doba, uključujući bronzane kanije mača iz Velikog Mošunja u srednjoj Bosni i stožaste kopče/falere iz ostave Ometala i Krehin Gradac u Hercegovini. Ornamentalni ansambl ima svoje paralele i u keramičkoj produkciji iz istog perioda u okviru tzv. srednjobosanske kulturne skupine, ali i onih na sjeveru Bosne.<sup>87</sup> Ovom tipu priključuje se i britva iz Poda otkrivena u posljednjem horizontu naselja iz faze Pod B, datirana u 9. i početak 8. stoljeća.<sup>88</sup> Na osnovu dosadašnjeg korpusa nalaza možemo pretpostaviti njihov lokalni dizajn i produkciju, no modeli po kojima su nastali nedvojbeno ukazuju na prostor Italije i na brojne polumjesečaste, jednosjekle britve sa bogatom dekoracijom.<sup>89</sup> Dokaz da su strani modeli lokalno izrađivani posvjedočen je i kalupom za izlivanje britve tipa Určice iz Donje Doline, karakteristične za matično područje između Štajerske i Češke tokom Ha B3 perioda.<sup>90</sup>

Predmeti su u početku tumačeni kao čisto funkcionalne prirode u kontekstu muške higijene. Međutim, britve se uglavnom nalaze u grobovima i ostavama i njihova pojava u takvim kontekstima sugerira da su, pored funkcionalne, imali i simboličku/ritualnu ulogu. Lična higijena i modifikacija tijela igrala je važnu ulogu u izgradnji i izražavanju ritualno značajnih faza

životnog ciklusa pojedinaca u bronzanom dobu.<sup>91</sup> P. Treherne sugerira da bi ukrašena bronzana britva predstavljala dar mladoj osobi visokog ranga/statusa povodom njegovog prvog brijanja, nakon čega ga je pratila kroz njegov život, predstavljajući tako znak muškosti. To je bio i svojevrstan oblik inicijacije u svijet odraslih. Sve se to odnosi na označavanje identiteta konkretnih ljudi, onih kojima je bilo važno i bitno da ih njihov izgled predstavlja na poseban način.<sup>92</sup> Ratnički identitet je kategorija o kojoj se najviše raspravljalo u studijama bronzanog doba. Pored oružja, on je bio definisan i ličnim predmetima za uljepšavanje i prezentiranje tijela, poput britvi i pinceta.<sup>93</sup> Može se pretpostaviti da su toaletni predmeti zapravo korišteni i/ili u pripremi tijela od strane sudionika pogrebne ceremonije. Prema modelu "ideologije prestiža", pogrebni obredi uključuju stvaranje i manipulaciju idealiziranih slika pokojnika, u svrhu legitimizacije društvenog poretka.<sup>94</sup>



Slika 5. Bronzana britva, Orlović  
(fotografija: A. Jašarević)

<sup>85</sup> Benac 1954, 163; Stare 1957, 206; Weber 1996, 249; König 2004, T. 78: 10; Gavranović 2011, 148; Gavranović / Mehoffer 2016, 96;

<sup>86</sup> Truhelka 1907, 67; Stare 1957, 211–212; Weber 1996, 249; Gavranović 2011, 148.

<sup>87</sup> Gavranović / Mehoffer 2016, 96.

<sup>88</sup> Gavranović 2011, 149.

<sup>89</sup> Bianco Peroni 1979.

<sup>90</sup> Gavranović 2011, 149.

<sup>91</sup> Harding 2008, 191, 193.

<sup>92</sup> Treherne 1995, 114.

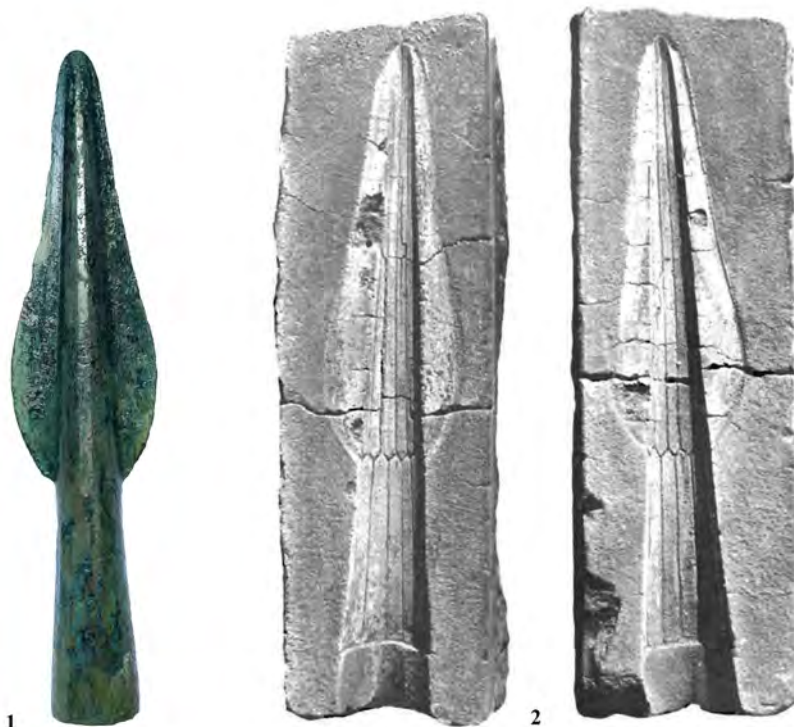
<sup>93</sup> Harding 2008, 194.

<sup>94</sup> Treherne 1995, 121.

## Koplje

Specifičnost u izradi predmeta koja ukazuje na zapadnobalkansko stvaralaštvo jeste pojava bronzanih facetiranih kopalja. Izrađena u lokalnim zanatskim radionicama, dokaz su visokih estetskih i tehnoloških kriterijuma koji su pretočeni u kreiranje jednog od najprepoznatljivijih elemenata navalnog naoružanja s kraja bronzanog doba. Njihovo korištenje dokaz je statusa, tj. posebnog društvenog položaja koji su posjedovali pojedini članovi zajednice. O porijeklu, rasprostranjenosti i vremenskom smještaju koplja dosta se pisalo, posebno u pogledu tipoloških karakteristika i odrednica.<sup>95</sup>

Ovoj grupi pridružuje se i novi nalaz koplja iz Mravića (T. III, 4, sl. 6: 1). Pronađen je na platou zapadno od Gradine u Mravićima, kao slučajni nalaz. Bronzano koplje ima list plamenaste forme sa okomito facetiranim središnjim rebrom i tuljcem. Karakteristika ovoga primjerka je cik-cak motiv oblikovan na visini baze lista. Ovaj tip oružja se na prostoru zapadnog Balkana pojavljuje u periodu između 11. i 9. stoljeća. U pogledu oblika i ukrasa, slični vrhovi koplja poznati su iz ostave Tešanj sa facetiranim središnjim rebrom i datiranim u 9. stoljeće.<sup>96</sup> Koplje iz ostave Lučica/Hrge ima facetiran tulac, sličan kopljima iz Grapske, s tim da je razlika u cik-cak ukrasu na visini baze lista kod posljednjih. Koplje iz ostave Ometlo u Hercegovini je u potpunosti facetirano, uključujući list, srednje rebro i tulac,<sup>97</sup> jednako koplju iz korita Cetine.<sup>98</sup> Primjerak iz Donje Doline sa facetiranim tulcem i srednjim rebrom ima svoje paralele u koplju iz ostave Matijevići.<sup>99</sup> Nadalje, koplje iz ostave Ranković u dolini Lašve ima facetirano srednje rebro i hronološki je smješteno u vrijeme između 11. i 10



Slika 6. – 1. Bronzano facetirano koplje iz Mravića (fotografija: A. Jašarević), 2. Kalupi za facetirana koplja sa Pivnice kod Odžaka (prema Benac 1967)

stoljeća.<sup>100</sup> Važno je naglasiti da svaki pojedinačan primjerak sadrži lokalne, individualne, karakteristike. Koplje iz Mravića nema analogije u poznatim primjercima, ali ima sve metričke i tipološke karakteristike koje ga izravno dovode u vezu sa kalupima za livanje kopalja iz Pivnice kod Odžaka (sl. 6: 2),<sup>101</sup> što je direktna poveznica za datiranje u razdoblje kasnog 9. stoljeća.

## Tubasti predmet

Zajedno u kontekstu sa kopljem, pronađen je i cilindrični, prošupljeni, bronzani predmet sa malim diskastim gornjim proširenjem (T. III, 1). Isto tako možemo ga klasifikovati i kao djelimično neuspjeli ljevački derivat na osnovu poroznih struktura i šupljina na površini. Dekoracija je izvedena urezivanjem linija i visećih trouglova u maniru geometrijskog stila finalnog bronzanog doba. Predmet pripada posebnoj skupini artefakata čija tačna funkcija nije posve razjašnjena. Opisivani su kao dijelovi privjesaka, kaciga ili kao funkcionalni dijelovi kola.<sup>102</sup> Međutim,

<sup>95</sup> König 2004, 96; Gavranović 2011, 125; Gavranović / Sejfuli 2015, 81–82; Leshtakov 2015, 87; Pabst 2020, 82–83.

<sup>96</sup> König 2004, 96.

<sup>97</sup> Čović 1974, 284, sl. 10; Gavranović 2011, 125.

<sup>98</sup> Milošević 2017, 5.

<sup>99</sup> Marić 1964, 27, T. III, 11.

<sup>100</sup> Gavranović / Sejfuli 2015, 81–82.

<sup>101</sup> Benac 1967, 155–156, T. 1–3; usp. Gavranović 2011, 125; Gavranović / Sejfuli 2015, 81–82.

<sup>102</sup> Tarbay 2014, 220.

prema C. Pare, su to najvjerojatnije bile zapreke za točkove kola.<sup>103</sup> Ove male bronzane cijevi s diskastim ili stepenastim rubom rasprostranjene su od Karpatskog bazena do Sjeverne Evrope.<sup>104</sup> U određenim slučajevima, kroz njihovo tijelo provučena je bronzana šipka, što bi moglo potkrijepiti teoriju o barijeri za točkove kola. Neki od njih ukrašeni su snopovima linija (npr. Přestavlký)<sup>105</sup> ili s uzorcima poput borovih iglica (npr. Lengyeltóti).<sup>106</sup> Ove cjevčice datirane su između faza Br D i Ha A1, ali poznati su i kasniji primjeri iz Ha B3 i starijeg željeznog doba.<sup>107</sup> Sličan primjerak evidentiran je kao prilog u grobu 1 sa nekropole NaMa u Vinkovcima, također ukrašen snopovima šrafiranih rombova i visećih trouglova. Interpretiran je kao bronzani skiptar i datiran u kraj 5. stoljeća.<sup>108</sup> Na ovo tumačenje zasigurno su uticale analogije skiptara ili kulturnih palica iz istočnoalpskog kulturnog kruga starijeg željeznog doba.<sup>109</sup>

### *Kalotasta dugmad*

Među sitnim ornamentima nalaze se i dva primjerka jednostavnih kalotastih bronzanih dugmadi sa ušicom za prišivanje sa unutrašnje strane (T. II, 10). Riječ je o vrlo raširenim predmetima, hronološki neznatno osjetljivim.<sup>110</sup> Najčešće su bila prišivana na odjevne predmete, pojaseve, pregače, ali i na kape i drugu vrstu oglavlja. Distribucija ukazuje na širi prostor Balkana od Podunavlja do istočnoalpskog prostora.<sup>111</sup> Na teritoriji bosanske Posavine i južnije sasvim se rijetko pojavljuju sve do početka starijeg željeznog doba. Izuzetak predstavljaju nalazi iz ostave Otok kod Vitine u zapadnoj Hercegovini, također pripisani bogatom ženskom ruhu,<sup>112</sup> i više komada iz kasnobronzanodopske ostave Gornji Zalukovik u istočnoj Bosni.<sup>113</sup> Masovna produkcija i kombiniranje u nošnje započinje tokom starijeg željeznog doba. Na donjodolinskoj

nekropoli najučestalija su tokom faze 2a–b, odnosno iz 7–6. stoljeća. Nadalje, na Glasincu se pojavljuju od faze IVb i traju do faze Va, tj. kroz čitav horizont starijeg željeznog doba.<sup>114</sup>

### *Falera*

Kreativan potencijal u obradi bronzave doveo je do pojave artefakata koji često nemaju svoje direktne i pouzdane paralele u lokalnoj/regionalnoj materijalnoj kulturi i za sada predstavljaju izuzetke i predmete vrijedne pažnje. Na cjelokupnu problematiku lijepo se nadovezuje bronzana falera s prostora nekropole u Mravićima (T. II, 3). Izrađena je u obliku pločice sa ispupčenim i djelimično uvučenim omfalosom i ukrašena urezivanjem kratkih crtica i motivom u obliku riblje kosti. Dimenzije su približno 5 cm i na očuvanim dijelovima nema tragova od sistema kopčanja ili fiksiranja.

### *Zaključna razmatranja*

Kao i u većini slučajeva, naša spoznaja o nalazima/prilozima iz grobova i pogrebnoj praksi iz finalnih faza bronzanog doba sjeverne Bosne dolazi u posebno fragmentiranom arheološkom zapisu. Najveći broj informacija poznat je iz naknadno rekonstruisanih grobnih cjelina poput onih iz Paklenice kod Tešnja,<sup>115</sup> Lipca kod Doboja<sup>116</sup> i Gornje Tuzle.<sup>117</sup> No, uprkos tome, artefakti iz ovog perioda odraz su vidljive transformacije nadregionalne distribucijske mreže i pokazatelji promjena u produkciji i konzumaciji, tj. postojanju novih ekonomskih i društvenih strategija lokalnih zajednica.<sup>118</sup> Njihova pojava ukazuje i na smanjenu povezanost s kompleksom kulture polja sa urnama. Većina ovih novih bronzanih artefakata, kao što su lučne jednopetljaste/dvopetljaste fibule s trougaonom stopom, male tuljaste sjekire, kratki mačevi tipa Tešanj/Veliki Mošunj i stožaste kopče, evidentirani su ili u inhumacijskim grobovima ili u manjim ostavama koje sadrže predmete koji bi se mogli tumačiti kao oprema jedne ili dvije osobe. Još jedan pokazatelj nove regionalne dinamike, ili

<sup>103</sup> Pare 2004, 360.

<sup>104</sup> Tarbay 2014, 220, sl. 41; Pankau 2024, 208, Tip 96; karta 23.

<sup>105</sup> Salaš 2005, T. 265: 162.

<sup>106</sup> Wanzek 1992, 263, T. 1: 16; T. 10: 14.

<sup>107</sup> Tarbay 2014, 220.

<sup>108</sup> Dizdar 2002, 40, kat. 142.

<sup>109</sup> Stare 1973; Tecco Hvala 2012, 334.

<sup>110</sup> Gavranović / Jašarević 2016, 107.

<sup>111</sup> Teržan 2016b, 295.

<sup>112</sup> König 2004, T. 68: 4–11; Gavranović 2016, 100, sl. 6.

<sup>113</sup> König 2004, T. 22: 233–439.

<sup>114</sup> Jašarević 2017, 9–10.

<sup>115</sup> Truhelka 1907, 63–65.

<sup>116</sup> Jašarević 2022, 65.

<sup>117</sup> Čović 1957, 252.

<sup>118</sup> Gavranović 2016, 95; 2021, 385.

pak novog demografskog potencijala, tokom Ha B razdoblja je razgranata mreža visinskih gradinskih naselja sa specifičnim keramičkim repertoarom obilježenim snažnom prisutnošću urezanih geometrijskih ornamenata.<sup>119</sup> Sličnosti u keramičkoj produkciji, oblicima te motivima ukrašavanja ukazuju na daleko neposredniju prirodu kontakata između pojedinih zajednica. Analiza pogrebnog inventara groba iz Mravića upućuje na to da se radi o predmetima koji su krasili raskošnu žensku nošnju. Odabir efektivnih komada nakita ukazuje na statusnu poziciju žene/žena u ovoj lokalnoj zajednici. Bilo da se radi o posebno odabranom pogrebnom ruhu ili dijelu standardne nošnje, njihovo pokapanje predstavlja posljednji čin cirkulacije predmeta unutar svijeta živih. Deponovanje predmeta u grobu ne predstavlja uništavanje luksuznih artefakata s ekonomskom i simboličkom vrijednošću, već metaforičku demonstraciju prestanka statusa pokojnika na ovome svijetu i njegov novi status u zagrobnom životu.

Nadalje, predmeti od bronzne svjedoče o specijaliziranom zanatstvu s visokim tehničkim i estetskim standardima. Vrijedno je istaknuti da metalurške analize pokazuju da je za izradu dekorisanih ornamenata korištena ruda bakra bogata olovom sa također visokim udjelom kalaja.<sup>120</sup> Namjerno dodavanje kalaja imalo je za cilj stvaranje zlatne boje predmeta, čime je naglašena njegova ekskluzivnost. Lokalna elita davala je podstrek zanatlijama da razvijaju složene geometrijske dizajne u stvaranju bogatih ukrasa, čiji je cilj promovisanje prestiža i statusnih ideologija.<sup>121</sup> Niti u jednom razdoblju nije ostvaren tako kreativan potencijal u izradi bronzanih predmeta kao u Ha B periodu. Pored predmeta od bronzne, atraktivnost u nošnji naglašena je i zlatnim privjeskom koji pruža nove informacije o umjetničkom i tehničkom nivou društva koje ih je proizvelo. Ako je suditi prema ostalim sakupljenim nalazima iz Mravića, čini se da je grob 1 samo dio veće nekropole koja je direktno povezana sa obližnjim naseljem na Gradini. Dosadašnja arheološka istraživanja na Gradini u Mravićima potvrdila su postojanje značajnog naselja datiranog

u razdoblje Ha B3.<sup>122</sup> Odnos naselja i nekropole, živih i mrtvih pripadnika zajednice dolazi po standardnom obrascu, gdje su nekropole smještene u bližem vidokrugu naselja na dominantnim brdskim terasama ili gredama. U kulturnom miljeu sjeverne Bosne pogrebni inventar iz Mravića uklapa se u već jasnu matricu distribucije artefakata iz lokalnih mikrocentara, po jasnim regionalnim modelima i utvrđenim pravcem komunikacije dolinom rijeke Bosne i pritoka.

## Summary

### New clothes for a new era: Grave from Final Bronze Age from Greblje in Mravići, northern Bosnia

This paper presents a set of grave finds from Greblje in Mravići, near Doboj in northern Bosnia. The assemblage consists of a considerable number of body ornaments; belt buckles, bracelets, pendants, fibulae, etc. The primary focus of the study is the morphological, typological and stylistic analysis of the artifacts in relation to other similar known objects, in order to offer a possible solution to the issue of their chronological positioning and a potential place of manufacture or, at the very least, a cultural context. Ultimately, the grave from Mravići provides us with an assemblage that was undoubtedly part of the inventory of a wealthy woman of high social status. The selection of these items for deposition evidences careful curation related to representation of the deceased, and stands as a testament to the complex cultural connections present in the form of a wider regional network at the beginning of the 8th century BC. Furthermore, the interpretation of the "funerary set" enables us to better understand human actions in the past, particularly so for an area where the archaeological heritage of this period has to date been very poorly recorded. To this group we also added other chance finds from the surrounding area. Over the past decade, the Museum in Tešanj has collected, through purchase or donation, a small but significant collection of prehistoric bronze artifacts. Most of them come from the area of the necropolis in Mravići and nearby Gradina. There are also several items from the immediate vicinity of Tešanj. Metal finds consist of a small open-work

<sup>119</sup> Gavranović / Jašarević 2016.

<sup>120</sup> Gavranović / Mehoffer 2016, 104; Gavranović et al. 2022, 28.

<sup>121</sup> Jašarević 2020, 60; usp. Gavranović 2017, 117.

<sup>122</sup> Sistematska arheološka istraživanja na Gradini u Mravićima sprovode se od 2023. godine.

belt buckles, fibulae, bronze spear, small conical buttons, torque, bronze razor, etc. In addition to basic information on the distribution and chronological framework of certain pieces of ornaments themselves provide us with exceptional insight into possible local technological innovations and adaptations based on local traditions, models and aesthetic criteria established among communities from this period.

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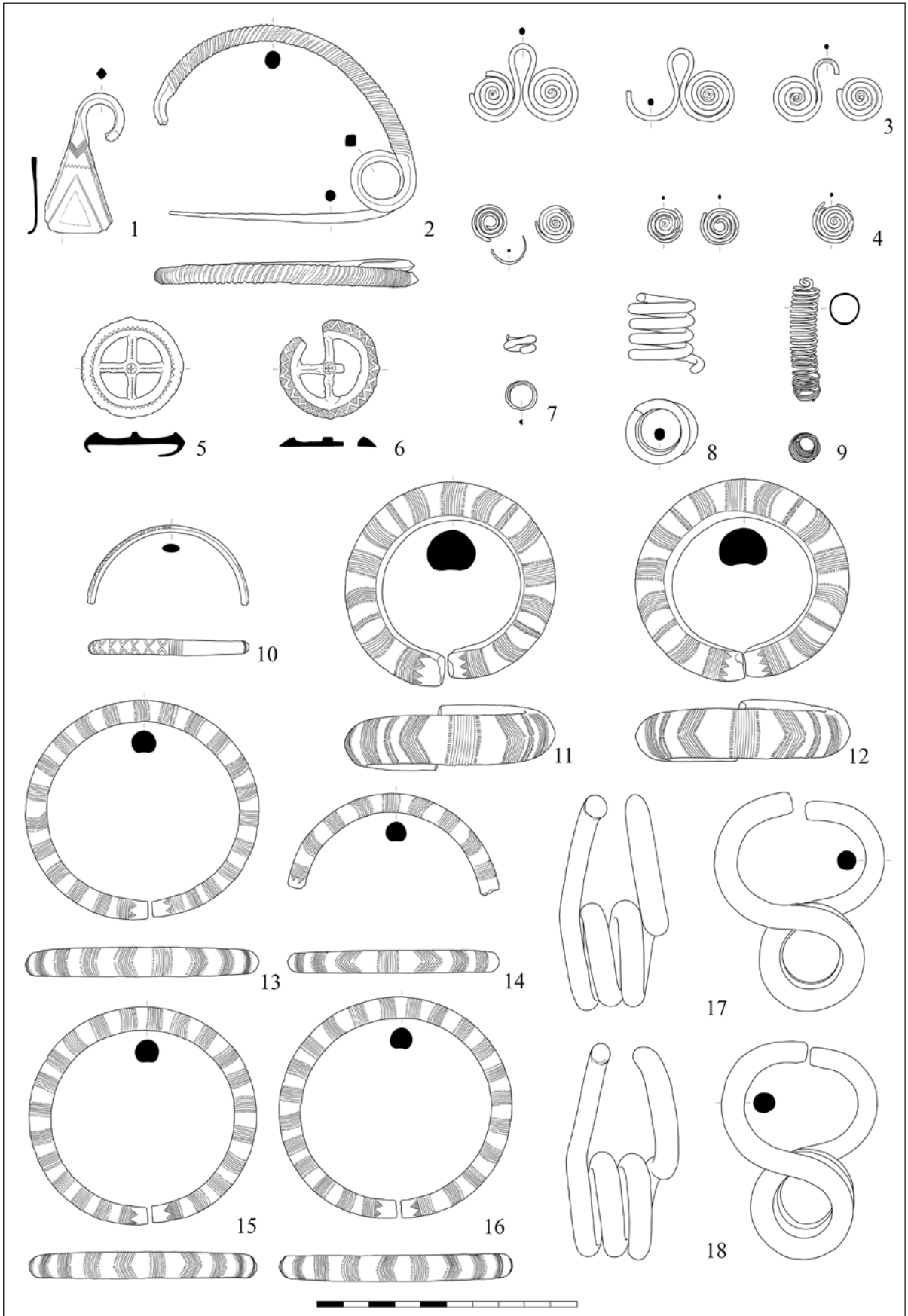


Tabla I

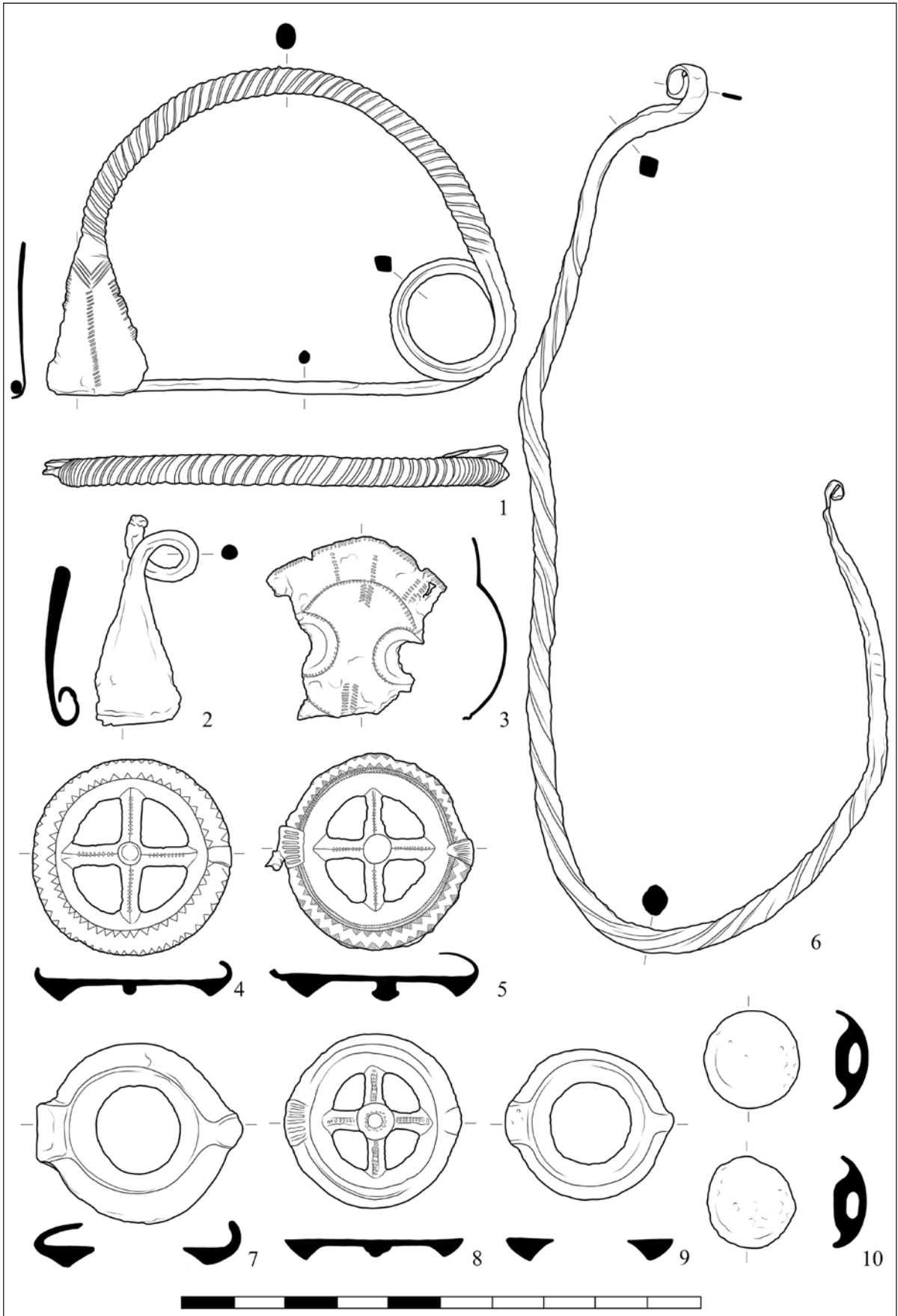


Tabla II

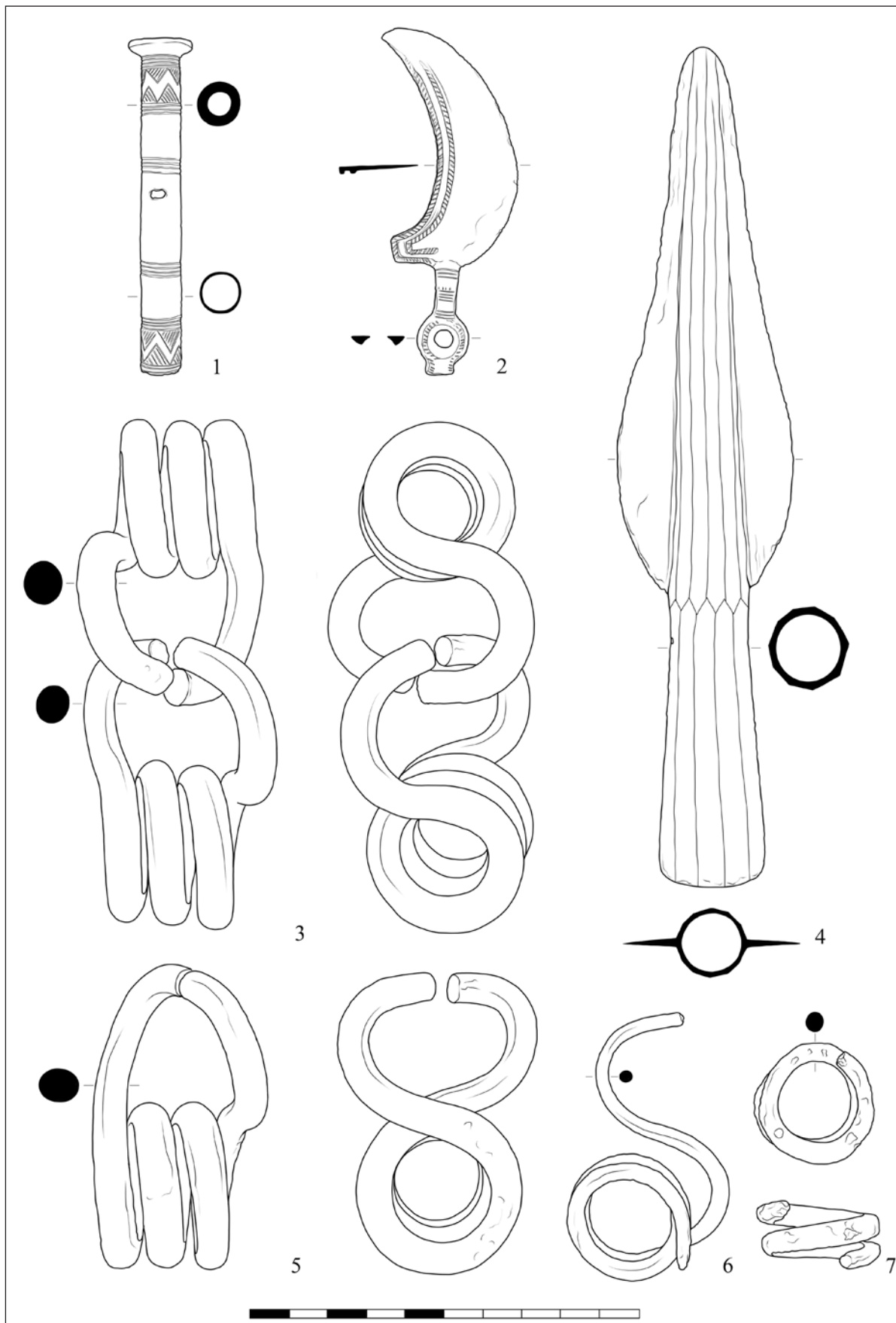


Tabla III

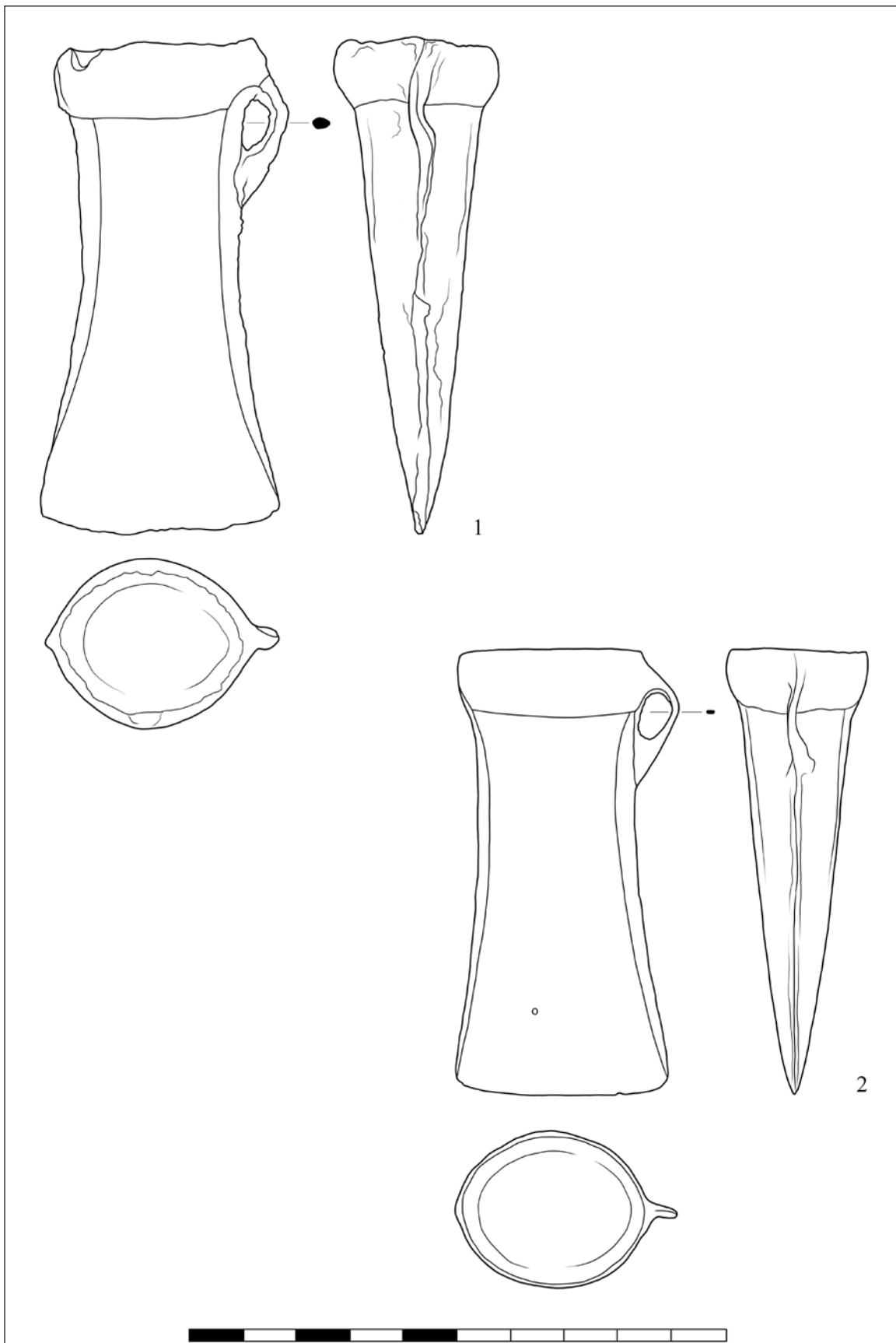


Tabla IV

## Trgovina ili razmjena na Glasinačkom polju u prahistoriji

Azra Sarić  
Sarajevo

*Iako su nijemi svjedoci prošlosti, tumuli su postali trajne, usidrene veze između ljudi i zemlje, između sadašnjosti i prošlosti.*  
(Johnson)

*Abstract:* The discovery of tumuli on the Glasinac Plateau at the end of the 19th century marked the beginning of archaeological interpretations of the burial goods within a cultural-historical framework in the discipline of archaeology. Ciro Truhelka, the first archaeologist in Bosnia and Herzegovina, recognized the continuity of trade during the Bronze and Iron Ages and linked it to the network of goods exchange. Although his reports remained within the cultural-historical paradigm, they laid the groundwork for the development of Bosnian archaeology, which relied on his ideas for several decades thereafter. Truhelka's perspective on trade, based on unpublished archival material, highlighted interactions between local communities and Greek colonists, emphasizing that these contacts were not solely driven by economic interests, but often had social and ritual dimensions.

*Keywords:* Trade, exchange, Glasinac Plateau, Ciro Truhelka, tumuli, imports, Bronze and Iron Ages

### Uvod

Otkrićem tumula na Glasinačkom polju krajem XIX vijeka, počelo je naučno tumačenje sadržaja i porijekla pohranjenih predmeta uz pokojnika u kulturnohistorijskom ključu, a u XX vijeku tumačenje importovanih grčkih, etruskih i baltičkih predmeta, koji su ukazali na to da kulturne interakcije imaju značajnu ulogu u razumijevanju društvenih odnosa unutar jedne zajednice.<sup>1</sup> Prvi arheolog u Bosni i Hercegovini, Ciro Truhelka, imao je svoje viđenje kontinuirane trgovine u bronzanom i željeznom periodu u Evropi i na Glasincu kao jedinstvenog sistema u mreži razmjene dobara. Njegovi izvještaji su ostali u domenu kulturnohistorijskog kruga, ali je u tom periodu postavljen temelj bosansko-hercegovačkoj arheologiji na koji se skoro cijeli jedan vijek oslanjao razvoj arheološke discipline, sve do prvih procesnih istraživača. Metodološki postupci arheologa nove ili procesne arheologije su se bazirali na egzaktnim i mjerljivim

podacima, a postprocesna metodologija je donijela niz novih ideja udružujući znanje sa srodnim društvenim disciplinama.

Cilj ovog rada je predstaviti Truhelkino viđenje trgovine u kontinuitetu bronzanog i željeznog doba i prikazati kako je arheološka disciplina kroz vrijeme i sa promjenom metodološkog pristupa, od samog otkrića grobnih priloga pod tumulima na Glasinačkoj visoravni i nedovoljno istraženih zidina devastiranih drevnih gradina, tumačila način razmjene dobara u željeznom periodu između domaćih stanovnika i stanovnika udaljenih grčkih kolonija, te da se kontakti i razmjena nisu uvijek zasnivali na ekonomskom interesu.

### Počeci iskopavanja na Glasincu i rađanje arheološke discipline

Nakon antikvara i lovaca na zakopano blago, prvi trag prahistorijskog lokaliteta na Glasinačkom polju i značajnih nalaza na njemu iz starijeg

<sup>1</sup> Jašarević 2014, 51.

željeznog doba otkrili su austrougarski graditelji ceste 1880. godine, a zatim su iskopavanja vršili službenici Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu nakon njegovog osnivanja 1888. godine. Naime, prilikom izgradnje puta Han Podromanija – Rogatica 1880. godine, otkriveni su prvi tumuli na visoravni Glasinac i upravo tom prilikom su u tumulu u blizini mosta na rijeci Rešetnici, među ostalim nalazima, otkrivena i čuvena glasinačka bronzana kolica,<sup>2</sup> što je bio značajan podstrek i motiv da se pokrenu sistematska istraživanja na Glasincu.<sup>3</sup> Iako je poznato mjesto ovog nalaza, nije primijenjen adekvatan arheološki postupak i nije zabilježen kontekst nalaza te Blagoje Govedarica konstatuje dvojak odnos nauke prema ovom nalazu, koji ide od velike fasciniranosti otkrićem, koje je bilo pokretač razvoja arheološke discipline u Bosni i Hercegovini, do zapostavljanja i upitnosti naučne upotrebljivosti zbog nedostatka adekvatne arheološke dokumentacije.<sup>4</sup>

Porijeklo jedinog nalaza ovog tipa kolica na Glasincu još uvijek nije utvrđeno, ali nalazi ptičijih kolica poznati su i prisutni na velikom dijelu evropskog kontinenta od Karpata, sjeverne Evrope do Apeninskog poluostrva te je analoški utvrđena sličnost glasinačkih i etrurskih kolica iz Este (provincija Padova) iz IX vijeka pr. n. e. te kolica iz Bujora (Rumunija), koja po klasifikaciji Eugena Woytowitscha spadaju u ptičija kolica tipa “Kasselwagen” sjevernoevropske grupe,<sup>5</sup> što bi moglo navesti na zaključak da su na Glasinac mogla stići u procesu razmjene kao i jantar i drugi uvezeni predmeti.

Šest godina kasnije austrijski oficiri J. Glossauer i F. Brudl izvršili su iskopavanje izvjesnog broja tumula na Glasincu, a njihove nalaze objavio je M. Hoernes i ujedno iznio mišljenje da ovi tumuli pripadaju halštatskom periodu.<sup>6</sup> Za razliku od početnih amaterskih otkopavanja tumula, dr. Ćiro Truhelka je 1888. godine

<sup>2</sup> Govedarica 2020, 60–62. Kolica imaju četiri točka na kojima su dvije barske ptice, jedna veća i jedna manja na njenim leđima koja je služila kao poklopac. Recipijent u okviru tijela veće ptice služio je za prenos duše pokojnika na nebo. Datirana su u drugu polovinu VIII vijeka pr. n. e. i napravljena su od bronzne i željeza. Nalaze se u Naturhistorisches Museum u Beču.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 61.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 53.

<sup>6</sup> Čović / Benac 1956, 5.

otpočeo sistematska iskopavanja na Glasincu i tako tadašnjoj naučnoj javnosti Evrope ponudio prve informacije o tragovima života na tom području u bronzanom i ranom željeznom dobu. Ali, samo je Fiala u publikovanom materijalu dao broj iskopanih tumula i humki na svakom lokalitetu, dok su Truhelka i Stratimirović svoja iskopavanja u periodu od 1889. do 1891. godine prikazali sumarno, navodeći najzanimljivije nalaze, ali ne sve lokalitete i broj istraženih humki.<sup>7</sup>

Truhelkine izvještaji sa terena, objavljivani u *Glasniku Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu*, bili su deskriptivni i ukazivali su na njegov veliki trud da zabilježi i narodna predanja lokalnog stanovništva o tumulima:

Narod je tim predhistorijskim spomenicima nadio ime gromile, gomile ili metatezom mogile (...) Narod o njima priča pokoju priču. (...) pričaju da se pod njima krije blago, a mnogi, kojim oči više vide, nego je za gledanje, ugledaše uoči Ilindana, kako se iz njih iskre krijesnice – najbolji dokaz da onud ima ukopana zlata. Našlo se i ljudi, koji onuda pokušavahu kopati, ne bi li se blaga dokopali, a kad im se kod Kusača ukaza golema prikaza, duh, koji je ustao iz gromile, te uzrastao toliki da mu se glava neba dotaknula. Kopači, prestrašeni sa ove prikaze onesvijestiše se, a kad se osvijestiše, nestalo je duha. Odonda svak se plaši raskopavati gromila.<sup>8</sup>

Možda posljednja rečenica u ovom Truhelkinom odlomku otkriva razlog zašto su tumuli vijekovima ostali nerazrušeni, jer je primitivno vjerovanje u natprirodne pojave budilo strah i respekt prema upokojenim precima ili se tradicija kulta vječnog počivališta predaka još od bronzanog doba doživljavala kao snažno obilježje božanskog na zemaljskom prostoru.

Ipak, bilo je i onih “hrabrih” koji su tragali za vrijednostima te je bilo 250 praznih tumula,<sup>9</sup> a šta je u njima pronađeno, to će ostati zauvijek nepoznato.

Na mnoga pitanja bez odgovora Truhelka je pokušao dobiti pomoć od vodećih evropskih arheologa prateći ih na izlet na Glasincu u toku Kongresa arheologa i antropologa u Sarajevu 1894. godine. Organizujući ovaj kongres, ministar Kalaj je želio predstaviti impresivna arheološka otkrića Austro-Ugarske monarhije u Bosni,

<sup>7</sup> Vasić 2003, 19.

<sup>8</sup> Truhelka 1889, 25.

<sup>9</sup> Fiala 1892, 402–403.

u toj egzotičnoj proksimalnoj koloniji, ali je želio i da evropski arheolozi i antropolozi svojim savjetima usmjere dalja istraživanja.<sup>10</sup> Neka pitanja, koja je Kalaj unaprijed u anketi poslao učesnicima Kongresa, bila su sugestivna i indikativna, vjerovatno preporučena od nekog tadašnjeg autoriteta u arheologiji. Međutim, iako je prvobitna namjera okupljanja evropskih stručnjaka bila dobra, ova anketa je ukalupila njihova mišljenja tragajući za etnicitetom glasinackog prahistorijskog stanovništva, karakterističnim pitanjem za taj period kulturnohistorijske faze razvoja arheološke discipline. Učesnici Kongresa su imali vrlo disonantna mišljenja o svemu što su vidjeli u Bosni, ali su se složili da je na Glasincu dugo trajala halštatska kultura, a ipak nisu objašnjavali italske i grčke uticaje, koje su zabilježili Montelijus i Firhov.<sup>11</sup> Ni oni sami nisu mogli da objasne kojim putevima su došli uticaji, konstatujući da Glasinac nije bio na direktnom putu između Italije i Grčke. Bogatstvo Glasinca je po Montelijusovom mišljenju posljedica intenzivnog rudarstva domaćeg porijekla za što nije bilo direktnih dokaza, a tom mišljenju se usprotivio Radimski, dobro upućen inženjer rudarstva i uposlenik Zemaljskog muzeja. Mnogo različitih mišljenja je bilo i o hronologiji (od kamenog do metalnog doba) i o porijeklu neolitskog Butmira, čije osnivanje su i Montelijus, Firhov i Hoernes pripisivali Feničanima, u skladu sa njihovim podržavanjem ideje kulturnog difuzionizma sa Bliskog Istoka prema Evropi.<sup>12</sup>

Truhelka je profesora na bečkoj katedri za arheologiju Hoernesa očito smatrao autoritetom i uvažio je njegove stavove o hronologiji Glasinca i o stočarstvu kao osnovnoj privrednoj grani prahistorijskih stanovnika Glasinca te da je geografska pozicija ovog područja važna kao strateško i komunikacijsko čvorište, a sve to je Truhelka i sam zaključio prilikom iskopavanja boraveći na Glasincu. Informaciju o Hoernesovim stavovima iznijeli su u svojim osvrtima na Kongres Szombathy, Virchow i Munro.<sup>13</sup>

## Truhelkino viđenje trgovine u prahistoriji

Boraveći na Glasincu Truhelka je vodio Dnevnik, koji je pohranjen u Hrvatskom državnom arhivu u Zagrebu, a u Dnevniku se nalazi i neobjavljen tekst pod naslovom "Trgovina", u kojem je pisao o trgovini u prahistorijskom, bronzanom i željeznom dobu, sumarno. U tom tekstu je naglasio da je bronza postala platežno sredstvo u Evropi bronzanog, kao i u velikom dijelu perioda željeznog doba, kao što je jantar bio sredstvo razmjene prahistorijskim baltičkim narodima, koji su morskim obalnim putevima, a dalje riječnim tokovima Rone, Sene, Dunava... vozili jantar i druge proizvode, koje su mijenjali za ono što oni nisu imali.

Ako je išta bilo kadro da primitivnu trgovinu, kako ju je razvilo neolitsko doba oživi i proširi upravo u neslućenom opsegu, bio je to kadar izum bronce, koji je za ljudsku kulturu imao kud i kamo veću vrijednost nego zlato, jantar, skupocjeni jadeiti i školjke južnih mora (...). Dunav i Rajna, koji u svom gornjem toku nisu mnogo udaljeni, predstavljaju tako glavnu transverzalu, koja spaja egejski jugoistok sa sjevernim morem i koja već u bronzano doba igra veliku ulogu. I u Francuskoj riječni tokovi predstavljaju vezu koja spaja Ocean sa Sredozemnim morem.<sup>14</sup>

Pišući o bronzi kao univerzalnoj vrijednosti u dugom periodu evropske historije i o trgovačkim putevima u Evropi bronzanog i željeznog doba, Truhelka iznosi saznanja kulturnohistorijske arheologije tog vremena da se trgovina kontinuirano i veoma intenzivno odvijala na evropskom prostoru pozivajući se na Homerove epove i Strabonove zapise. Tako razmjena i trgovina imaju inicijalni nukleus još u prahistoriji, a u antropološkom smislu imaju odraz i u savremenom shvatanju eksportne i importne trgovine.

Truhelka uočava u ovom tekstu "paradoks da su ljepši i u većem broju pronađeni bronzani predmeti u depoima zemalja Skandinavije i Baltika, koje nisu onda još znale za bakarne rudnike nego u zemljama koje obiluju bakrom i kositarom te da baltičkog jantara iz prahistorijskog doba ima vrlo malo u depoima tih zemalja", dok

<sup>10</sup> Palavestra 2014, 677–678.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 686.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 687.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> HR HDA-835-6, 4/11.

su “u Bosni sve grobnice halštatske i latenske dobi pune baš baltičkog jantara”.<sup>15</sup>

Ovaj paradoks, kako sam naziva ovu pojavu, Truhelka tumači intenzivnom trgovinom motivisanom razmjenom onoga što ima za ono čega nema, kao i ljudskom potrebom za posjedovanjem onoga što nema, uz očitu komparaciju sa savremenim psihološkim i antropološkim tumačenjem potrošačkog društva, i kaže: “Svijet je već u ono doba bio isti kao danas: što ima u izobilju, to baca od sebe, a što nema – za tim žudi i gramzi da ga ima, makar mu i ne trebalo.”<sup>16</sup>

Tragajući za onim vrijednostima koje su mogle biti ponuđene u razmjeni za bronzu i zbog kojih su “putujući poklisari prevaljivali velike udaljenosti na moru i na kopnu”, Truhelka ističe jantar, so i aluvijalno zlato. Kada govori o tržišnoj vrijednosti soli, Truhelka smatra da

Hallstatt nikada ne bi postao ono glasovito kulturno središte, bogato broncanim blagom, da nema svojih slanih vrela, čija se so razvozila odande na sve strane srednje Evrope i gdje su još u doba Strabonovih “Sekvenci” od te soli upotrebljavali suvišak ne samo za trgovinu, nego su njome nasoljavali i meso, koje se na trgovima Rima veoma skupo prodavalo.<sup>17</sup>

Važnost trgovine solju i njene valorizacije Truhelka opravdano ističe s obzirom na njenu neophodnost u ljudskoj ishrani, ali vremenska distanca između Strabonovog (64. g. pr. n. e. – 24. g. n. e.) zapisa i Truhelkinog čitanja tog zapisa je skoro dva milenija te treba oprezno primati tvrdnje koje prolaze kroz “mnogo ogledala”<sup>18</sup> i izražavaju subjektivni stav stranca koji govori o Hallstattu uz veliki vremenski otklon. Ne razmatrajući istinitost ili neistinitost tvrdnje o *skupom soljenom mesu na rimskim trgovima*, koja je u ovom razmatranju irelevantna, uočava se manir kulturnohistorijskog ključa u arheološkoj disciplini po kojem se autori pozivaju na stare pisane izvore, a oni opet na usmena predanja. U njima se često izražavaju tvrdnje o dalekoj prošlosti, ponekad isprepletene sa mitskim slikama, a ponekad imaju interesnu pozadinu autora koja nosi vrijednosni sud svog vremena ili pozicije, a i izvjesnu ideološku obojenost, odnosno izvjesnu dozu subjektivnosti. Koliko god Homerovi

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> HR HDA-835-6, 4/11.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Babić 2004, 31.

epovi, npr., upečatljivo oslikavaju ljude i događaje, njihova umjetnička slika podrazumijeva subjektivnost i herodotsku predstavu “nas i njih”.

Truhelka je u Homerovim epovima našao izvor informacija, gdje se razmjenjuje željezo za bronzu, a vino i za bronzu i za željezo.

Tako nam Homer već u Odiseji priča kako brodar sa družbom plovi preko mora ka ljudima tuđeg jezika da iz Temze dobavi broncu u zamjenu za blistavo željezo. Istina broncu onda još nije imao stalnu vrijednost, nego je tek služio kao i druga roba objektom zamjene, a da je u tu kategoriju išlo i vino, vidimo iz Ilijade, jer lemurijski trgovci, koji su krcali vino dođoše do pristaništa Ahajaca pred Trojom, a ovi im za vino donesoše broncu, željezo, goveđe kože, živa goveda, pa i ratne zarobljenike, da kupe za to vino kojim će se pogostiti.<sup>19</sup>

Sobzirom na to da o periodu prahistorije nema drugih pisanih izvora osim historijskih antičkih tekstova i književnih djela, njihovo korištenje postalo je dominantno, a prve generacije arheologa, među kojima je i Truhelka, bile su obrazovane po modelu njemačke *Alttertumswissenschafts*, discipline o drevnoj prošlosti koja se zasnivala na pisanim izvorima.

Dokument pred historičarem često je mješavina istine i laži, mašte i stvarnih događaja, historije i pripovijetke.<sup>20</sup>

Zanimljiv, ali ničim dokazan je kontekst u kojem Truhelka spominje Bosnu govoreći o aluvijalnom zlatu kao adekvatnoj robi u razmjeni za bronzu.

Važna roba u ovom prometu bilo je aluvijalno zlato, koga je bilo naći skoro svuda u pijesku evropskih rijeka, ali je nažalost iscrpljeno veoma brzo. Gdje god bi se ono pojavilo u većoj mjeri, dolazili bi strani trgovci da ga kupe za svoju broncu i drugu robu. I u Bosni ne bi ni glasićke ni krajiške grobnice bile onako bogate broncom i jantarnim nakitom, da u aluvijalnom pijesku gorskih rijeka nije bilo zlata. Brza iscrpivost zlatnih slojeva opet nam tumači jednu, inače nerazumljivu činjenicu, da se u nekim krajevima u neko doba pojavljuju vrlo obilno broncani objekti iako je prije i poslije toga, moguće naći samo malo bronce. Dok su se zlatni slojevi iskorištavali, sticalo se tamo izobilje bronce, a kada su presahnuli, prestaje to i narod postaje opet siromašan kako je i prije bio.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> HR HDA-835-6, 4/11.

<sup>20</sup> Klaić 1970, 208.

<sup>21</sup> HR HDA-835-6, 4/11.

Trgovina. Ako je ista bilo Radno, da primitivnu trgovinu  
 kako ju je razvilo neolitsko doba okivi i proširi upravo  
 u neslućenom opsegu, bio je to Radar izum bronca,  
 koji je za ljudsku kulturu imao kud i kamo već  
 vjerojatnost nego zlato, jantar, skrupozijeni jadrski i  
 stoliske jadrski mora. O ekstenzivnosti te nove trgovine  
 najbolje nam svjedoče nbrojeni pokladi bronca, nađeni  
 u svim stranama Europe. Trgovci, pomorci i kupci,  
 vodili su sobom novo i staro broncano oruđe i bronca-  
 no opremenje, koje im je služilo glavnim kupovnim  
 sredstvom kao današnjem novcu. Kud god su došli  
 zili, dobivali su za to, što god im je bilo potrebno a naro-  
 čito u krajevima, gdje je bronca još bio slabo poznat.  
 Tako nam već Homer u Odiseji čita kako brodar sa  
 družicom putuje preko mora ljudima tudeg  
 jezika da iz Fenecije dohvati bronce u zamjenu za blistavo  
 željezo. Istina bronca onda još nije imao stalnu vrijed-  
 nost, nego je tek služilo kao druga roba objektom zamje-  
 ne a da je u tu kategoriju isto i vino vidimo iz Ilijade  
 jer leninjski trgovci, koji su Karali vino dovoze do  
 prisaništa Ahajaca met Trojom a oni im za vino donose



Slika 1. Dio faksimila rukopisa o trgovini Ćire Truhelke iz osobnog dnevnika "Brončano doba"  
 (HR - DAZG, Osobni fond Ćiro Truhelka, HR HDA-835-6, kut. 4)

Truhelkino mišljenje o postojanju aluvijal-  
 nog zlata na Glasinačkoj visoravni, sa ograniče-  
 nim vremenom pojavljivanja na dva vijeka, malo  
 je vjerovatno iz više razloga: u tumulima nema ni  
 tragova zlatnih predmeta iz domaćih radionica, a  
 glasinačka oblast ima vrlo malo vodenih tokova,  
 sa malom količinom vode, koji ljeti skoro presu-  
 še. Zlato u kneževskim grobovima u okviru gla-  
 sinačke kulture željeznog doba pojavljuje se tek  
 u humkama u Atenici i Novom Pazaru, daleko  
 od Glasinačkog polja, ali ne kao domaći, već kao  
 produkt grčkih arhajskih majstora, pa se postavl-  
 ja pitanje, u okviru Truhelkine teorije o aluvijal-  
 nom zlatu: šta su to stanovnici u Atenici i Novom  
 Pazaru mijenjali za arhajske zlatne predmete. Na  
 to i mnoga druga pitanja ponudili su odgovore  
 kasniji istraživači rukovodeći se novim metodo-  
 loškim pristupima u razvoju arheološke discipli-  
 ne, kada je Glasinac stavljen u kontekst njego-  
 vog okruženja i kontakata sa drugim nosiocima

kultura, kao kultura na obodu razvijenog grč-  
 kog svijeta i odnosa koji su uspostavljeni među  
 njima, naročito nakon osnivanja grčkih koloni-  
 ja izvan matične oblasti na obalama Jadranskog  
 mora. Te aktivnosti korinskog polisa počinju u  
 drugoj polovini VIII vijeka pr. n. e. prvenstveno  
 sa ciljem dobijanja novih obradivih površina. To  
 su: Korkira (današnji Krf), Ambrakija (u VII vi-  
 jeku), Epidamnos (današnji Drač u Albaniji) i u  
 VI vijeku pr. n. e. Apolonija, nešto južnije na ja-  
 dranskoj obali.<sup>22</sup> Ne tumačeći u ovom radu osta-  
 le odlike grčke kolonizacije, koja nije obuhvata-  
 la više od petnaestak kilometara u dubinu teri-  
 torije nosilaca kulture starijeg željeznog doba  
 na Balkanu, bitno je napomenuti da su razvijani  
 različiti oblici obznane dobrih namjera u cilju  
 prevencije konflikata, a to je prije svega *keimeli-*  
*on* ili dar, grčki kulturni princip, koji prestavlja

<sup>22</sup> Babić 2004, 57.

darivanje dragocjenosti u znak prijateljske namjere. Istraživanja su pokazala da su prvi simbolički darovi bile bronzane posude sa vinom, čije je ispijanje skoro uvijek socijalna aktivnost,<sup>23</sup> koja podrazumijeva ceremonijalno stvaranje i održavanje prijateljskih odnosa te obznane da je poruka shvaćena, a ugovor sklopljen.<sup>24</sup>

## Pogled na pejzaž i na nalaze okom lucidnog arheologa

Truhelka je već u prvom Izvještaju (1889) objavljenom u *Glasniku Zemaljskog muzeja* pretpostavio da je osnovna djelatnost drevnih stanovnika Glasinca bila stočarstvo, i to nomadsko, na osnovu vizuelnog doživljaja Glasinca kao "pitomog pašnjaka (...) sa lijepom travom i obilnim sijenom" i da im je "stoka bila i hrana i odijelo".<sup>25</sup> Nomadsko kretanje sa stokom u toplije predjele i riječne doline već ukazuje na uslove sezonskih migracija, koje su mogle podrazumijevati i potrebu za razmjenom dobara. To Truhelkino zaključivanje na osnovu prospekcije terena i njegovih geografskih osobina govori o istraživaču koji je pomno bilježio sva zapažanja i iz njih crpio zaključke te se u naznakama kao preteča dotakao *landschaftsarheologie* (pejzažne arheologije), odnosno posmatrao je prirodne činioce i antropološku strukturu prostora. Veliku pomoć pri iskopavanju i tumačenju pružili su mu Hempel, konzervator u peštanskom Narodnom muzeju, i dr. Hoernes, asistent u bečkom Dvorskom muzeju, koji su deset dana boravili na Glasincu i čije je smjernice Truhelka veoma cijenio i uvažavao.<sup>26</sup> Tada su otkrili Ararevu gromilu kraj Čavarina, "jednu od najvećih i najsadržajnijih na Glasincu", a u njoj, između mnoštva bronzanih predmeta i

(...) bronzanu kacigu korintskog tipa, kako je nošahu na starim grčkim slikama junaci, koji su se oko Troje borili ili kako je na kipovima nosi Pallas-Athena (...) Grčka ta radnja došla je ili trgovinom ili za čestih provala ilirskih naroda u Grčku, kao plijen u ove strane, te se s njom ponosio vojnik, sahranjen u Ararevoj gromili.<sup>27</sup>

Ova vrsta ratničke defanzivne opreme je jedinstven primjer na Glasinačkom polju pa se ne može pretpostaviti da je bila predmet trgovine, iako Truhelka piše "da bi se kod odličnih junaka i knezova našla i pokoja korintska kaciga dobavljena iz Grčke".<sup>28</sup> Postavlja se pitanje da li je prilikom prvih iskopavanja na Glasinačkom polju pronađeno više primjeraka kaciga korintskog tipa. Alojz Benac i Borivoj Čović također smatraju<sup>29</sup> da je korintska kaciga jedini predmet strane proizvodnje u Ararevoj gromili, koji ujedno ukazuje na ratnički karakter groba, dok Čović 1987. godine konstatuje da se grčki import na Glasincu pojavljuje od faze IV c-2 (druga polovina VI vijeka pr. n. e.) i u humkama koje se ne smatraju kneževskim kao što su Brankovići V/1, Potpećine XVIII/1, Zgrade I/3.<sup>30</sup>

Neophodno je istaći da je Truhelka pod nazivom *Arareva gromila* objavio tri tumula, ali je i zabilježio podatak da je pod tim imenom nazvana skupina od više tumula bez navođenja tačnog broja. Međutim, Čović je Ararevu gromilu u *Leksikonu Bosne i Hercegovine* naveo kao *jedan usamljeni tumul*. Na Truhelkin opis Arareve gromile niko od arheologa generacijama nije obraćao pažnju osim Adnana Kaljanca, koji je ovu činjenicu istakao u svojoj knjizi *U stranoj zemlji: Ćiro Truhelka u Bosni i Hercegovini*.<sup>31</sup>

Potvrdu za trgovačke kontakte stanovnika Glasinca u prahistoriji sa drugim narodima Benac i Čović nalaze i u sličnosti narukvica sa potpuno kružnim presjekom i sa prebačenim krajevima iz bronzanog perioda iz ostave u Hamburgu, o kojima piše Hundt, i autohtonih narukvica sa Glasinca iz željeznog doba, te zaključuju da su postojale određene ekonomske veze stanovnika Glasinca sa drugim evropskim oblastima.<sup>32</sup>

Pored stočarstva, koje i Čović apostrofira, on ukazuje i na druge privredne djelatnosti kao što su zemljoradnja, prerada željezne rude – uvezene iz centralne Bosne i zapadne Srbije, te njena obrada i obrada drugih metala u glasinačkim kovačkim, lijevačkim i kujundžijskim radionicama za izradu oružja, nakita i predmeta za

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 60; Dietler 1989.

<sup>24</sup> Babić 2004, 60.

<sup>25</sup> Truhelka 1889, 25.

<sup>26</sup> Babić 2004, 70.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 70–71.

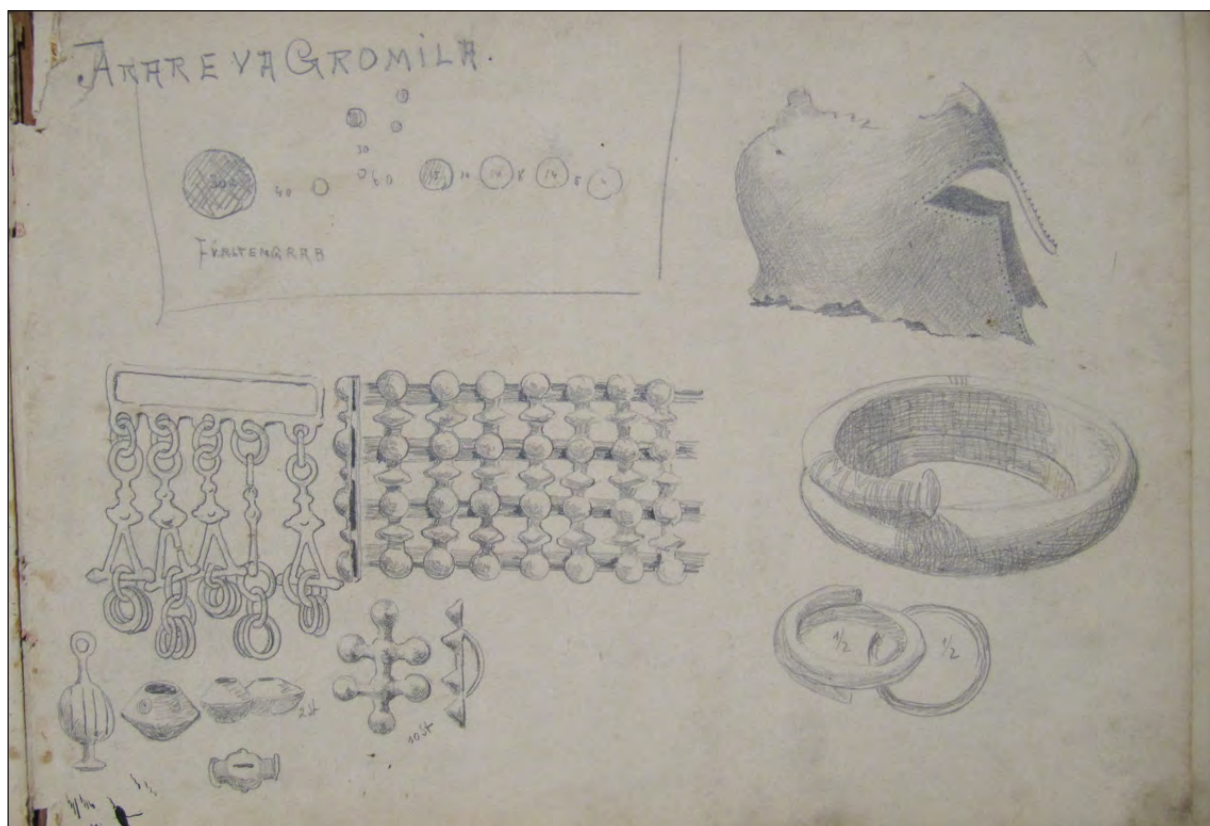
<sup>28</sup> Truhelka 1942, 61.

<sup>29</sup> Čović / Benac 1957, 20, 21.

<sup>30</sup> Čović 1987, 616; Babić 2004, 88.

<sup>31</sup> Kaljanac 2024, 199.

<sup>32</sup> Čović / Benac 1957, 30.



Slika 2. Crtež Čire Truhelke iz osobnog dnevnika sa prikazom pronađenih nalaza iz gromila među kojima je i korintski tip kacige iz Arareve gromile (Arhiv BiH – Sarajevo, NKHZ – 17, Ostavština Čire Truhelke)

svakodnevnu upotrebu.<sup>33</sup> Pored prehrambenih proizvoda dobijenih uzgojem stoke, ovi zanatski proizvodi su predstavljali osnov razmjene duž stočarskih polunomadskih karavanskih puteva. Primjer eksportne razmjene je fibula kao dio nakita proizvedenog na Glasincu, fibula s nogom u obliku beotskog štita, nastala polovinom VII vijeka na centralnobalkanskom prostoru, a koja se već nakon 20-ak godina (druga polovina VII vijeka) pojavljuje kao strani materijal u riznicama nekih starijih grčkih svetišta.<sup>34</sup>

Potreba da se razumije život na Glasinačkoj visoravni podrazumijevala je i otkrivanje arhitekture nastambi, odnosno gradina, čiji ostaci zbog devastiranosti nisu dali mnogo podataka, a o kojima je već 1891. godine pisao Đ. Stratimirović kao o mjestima sa pažljivo odabranim strateškim položajem.<sup>35</sup> H. Potrebica smatra da su gradine sjedišta vladara ili sjedišta zajednica, kao karakteristika halštatske zajednice da

ima centralno utvrđeno naselje i da se nalazi na dominantnoj tački u krajoliku.<sup>36</sup>

Već pred kraj VIII vijeka u gradinama živi sloj ljudi koji nije direktno vezan uz proizvodnju hrane, a ni društvena diferencijacija još nije bila izrazita. U tim gradinama, u kojima žive majstori za izradu metalnih, keramičkih i kamenih predmeta, vračevi, profesionalni vojnici i “tanak” sloj plemenske aristokratije, stvaraju se s vremenom uslovi koji će dovesti do slabljenja stare rodovske društvene organizacije. Vidljivi simptomi tog slabljenja i ujedno jačanja novog, privilegovanog društvenog sloja vojnika i plemenskih starješina, počinju se primjećivati već u VIII na VII vijek pr. n. e. U glasinačkim nekropolama tog vremena pojavljuju se vidljive razlike u vrijednosti grobnih priloga. Osim toga, u grobovima se sve češće pojavljuje oružje, što je ukazivalo na moguće ratove i na to da profesionalni vojnički sloj postaje sve neophodniji.<sup>37</sup> Istražujući ostatke gradina: Gradac kod Sokoca, Marinkov-grad

<sup>33</sup> Čović 1987, 637.

<sup>34</sup> Vasić 1977, 33; Čović 1987, 612.

<sup>35</sup> Stratimirović 1891, 323–334.

<sup>36</sup> Potrebica 2013, 100.

<sup>37</sup> Knez 1978, 143–147; Stipčević 1991, 27.

(Košutica) i Gujin-grad (Kusače), Stratimirović konstatuje da je Gradac polukružnog oblika “prirodno odmorište za promet”. Gujin-grad kod Kusača je izgrađen na brežuljku i ima oblik kruga, dok Marinkov-grad kod Košutice ima oblik trapeza. U unutarnjim dvorištima ovih gradina otkopani su predmeti za svakodnevnu upotrebu od kamena, keramike, metala i životinjskih kostiju.<sup>38</sup> Značajan doprinos rekonstrukciji nastambi na Glasinačkom polju dao je arheolog B. Govedarica, koji je sa timom arheologa nakon sistematskog rekognosciranja gradinskih naselja na Glasincu među prvima po ključu procesne arheologije istraživao gradinu Klisura kod Kadića Brda iznad doline rijeke Bioštica. Sondiranjem je konstatovan kontinuitet nastambe od eneolita, bronzanog i željeznog doba. I ova gradina ima polukružni oblik, a otkriva sklonost prastarih stanovnika Glasinca da svoje “gradine prilagode prirodnom ambijentu, jer su visoke stijene na istočnoj strani činile izvanrednu prirodnu zaštitu, tako da sa te strane nije bila potrebna nikakva fortifikacija”. U unutrašnjosti gradine “konstatovani su ostaci zidova kuća sa kamenom osnovom, dok je nadgradnja najvjerojatnije bila od drveta”.<sup>39</sup> Govedarica zaključuje da je ovdje veoma snažan i razvijen sistem fortifikacije, što ukazuje na potrebu vojne odbrane od neprijatelja. Jedan broj gradina ima karakter trajnih utvrđenih naselja, dok se za izvjestan broj gradina može reći da su imale prvenstveno strateški karakter. Gradina Ilijak je najveća glasinačka gradina, koja ima površinu od 16.000 metara kvadratnih, također je bila zaštićena prirodnim položajem i bila je centar velikog naseobinskog kompleksa sa dugim kontinuitetom naseljavanja. Njeno postojanje i artefakti pronađeni u njenoj okolini, u nekropoli Ilijak, do danas su najvredniji i najstariji izvorni materijal glasinačke kulture starijeg željeznog doba. Da je bila sjedište jednog od snažnijih rodova na Glasincu dokazuju kneževske nekropole Rajino brdo i Ilijak, u okviru kojeg su najstariji grčki importi datovani u period pred kraj VIII vijeka pr. n. e.<sup>40</sup> Na ovom području su krajem XIX vijeka pronađeni grobni prilozi koji su ukazivali na značajnu promjenu ekonomskog statusa pokojnika, pa su ih

<sup>38</sup> Stratimirović 1891a, 340.

<sup>39</sup> Govedarica 1990, 95.

<sup>40</sup> Čović 1987, 601.

Benac i Čović nazvali *kneževskim*. Na to ukazuje grčki arhaiski proizvodi u glasinačkim nekropolama Ilijak II/1 i XIII/1, Brezje I/1 i I/2, Osovo II/1, Čitluci I/5, Brankovići V/1, Arareva gromila, Potpećine XVIII/1 i Zagrađe I/3.<sup>41</sup> Pored ratničke opreme, ofanzivnog i defanzivnog oružja, uz pokojnika su priložene bronzane posude, nakit od jantara i fibule. Ovi i mnogi drugi glasinački tumuli pokazuju snažnu diferencijaciju u odnosu na prethodno razdoblje bronzanog doba. Luksuzna roba stranog porijekla rezultat je živih i neposrednih kontakata mnogobrojnih ljudskih zajednica koje su bile nosioci glasinačke kulture. Prisustvo velikog broja i oblika jantarnih perli, čije su prisustvo i porijeklo na Glasinačkom polju konstatovali i prvi istraživači, A. Palavestra je, slijedeći ključ procesne arheologije, koja zahtijeva dokaze o naučno utemeljenoj tvrdnji, istakao da je infracrvena spektralna analiza geološkog porijekla ćilibara sa glasinačkog područja, vršena na manjem statističkom uzorku, pokazala da ćilibar u svim ispitanim slučajevima potiče sa sjevera Evrope, sa Baltika.<sup>42</sup> S obzirom na to da je prije 725. godine pr. n. e. zanemarljivo mali broj ćilibara u glasinačkim tumulima, a u narednom periodu od 625. do 500. godine je prisutan mnogo veći broj ovih vrijednih perli, ćilibar postaje još jedan pokazatelj znatno višeg standarda stanovnika glasinačke visoravni i izraženijeg socijalnog raslojavanja zahvaljujući razvijenijim kontaktima sa drugima i njihovom robom. Smatra se da je *ćilibarski put* od Baltika vodio do radionica u južnoj Italiji, da je tu dopreman u neobrađenom obliku, a da je odatle putem trgovine, razmjene ili dara dospijevao na Glasinačko polje.<sup>43</sup>

## Tumačenje razmjene u postprocesnom ključu

Interdisciplinarni pristup proučavanju importovanih grčkih predmeta pronađenih u tumulima na glasinačkom platou omogućio je šire razumijevanje evidentnih kontakata među različitim kulturnim zajednicama i društveni značaj razmjene kao praoblika prvobitne trgovine.

Ceremonijalna razmjena darova je bitna karakteristika ranih društava. Uočeno je da je već

<sup>41</sup> Babić 2004, 166–167.

<sup>42</sup> Palavestra 1993, 129.

<sup>43</sup> Palavestra 2019, 167; Bianco 2005, 92–99; Tagliente 2005.

početkom VII vijeka na Glasincu završen proces formiranja složene hijerarhijske moći, koncentrisan oko lokalnih kneževa. Svojom političkom i ekonomskom moći držali su monopol nad regionalnom trgovinom, ali i najvjerovatnije karavanskim putevima, kojima je roba iz kolonijalnih centara stizala do Glasinca i dalje.

Razmatranja o načinu razmjene uglavnom su posmatrana kroz *Mosov model* (Marcel Mauss) razmjene darova, u kojem jedna strana isporučuje robu drugoj bez obaveze da druga strana odmah uzvratiti.<sup>44</sup> S obzirom na to da u konačnici darivanja nijedna strana ne ostvaruje ekonomsku dobit, Mos je istakao da je značaj darivanja u tome što izražava, potvrđuje ili stvara društvenu vezu između partnera u razmjeni.<sup>45</sup> Razmjena darova zasnovana je na uzajamnom povjerenju, ali ne bez apsolutnog odsustva koristi u toj razmjeni, jer je njen najveći rezultat postizanje ekonomskog uticaja, tj. monopola nad određenim prostorom.<sup>46</sup>

Pojedini autori navode da se porijeklo importovanih predmeta na Glasincu primarno može razumjeti kroz ekonomsku aktivnost, pri čemu snažan grčki, ekonomski i društveni uticaj doprinosi promjenama unutar barbarskog zaleđa,<sup>47</sup> međutim ove tvrdnje su naišle na kritiku kod kasnijih autora.<sup>48</sup>

Bez obzira što su uvezeni predmeti bili značajni u određivanju društvenog prestiža, nisu imali uticaj na promjenu ili oblikovanje već postojećeg društvenog sistema.<sup>49</sup> L. Baray smatra da pojava novih predmeta ne proizvodi nove ni kulturne niti političke navike.<sup>50</sup> S. Babić ističe da uvezeni predmeti predstavljaju simboličku moć poglavara, njegovu statusnu i ekonomsku poziciju, ali ne i porijeklo te moći i statusa.<sup>51</sup> Također naglašava da su glasinački poglavari morali stvoriti objekte koji su simbolički predstavljali njihovu socijalnu, vojnu i ekonomsku moć, npr. raskošno ornamentisane bruseve ili dijelove naoružanja, prije nego što su stupili u kontakt sa grčkim susjedima.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Sciaccia 2006/2007, 281.

<sup>45</sup> Babić 2004, 40.

<sup>46</sup> Kuzmanović 2017, 736.

<sup>47</sup> Wells 1980, 259; Potrebeca 2013, 83; Jašarević 2014, 78.

<sup>48</sup> Jašarević 2014, 78.

<sup>49</sup> Gosden 1985, 487; Jašarević 2014, 78.

<sup>50</sup> Baray 2008.

<sup>51</sup> Babić 2002, 80; Baray 2008; Jašarević 2014, 78.

<sup>52</sup> Babić 2001, 85.

Z. Kuzmanović ističe da su S. Babić i A. Palavestra u svakom slučaju negirali tezu o postojanju mreže redistributivne trgovine, a kao izvjesnije objašnjenje porijekla skupocjenih predmeta u kneževskim grobovima A. Palavestra obrazlaže mogućnost postojanja karavanske, ne-centralizovane trgovine duž putnih komunikacija.<sup>53</sup> Još više razloga za odbacivanje teze da je tržišna ekonomija imala presudnu ulogu u procesu društvene stratifikacije obrazložila je Staša Babić u djelu *Poglavarstvo i polis* (2004). Nalazi importovanih predmeta u zaleđu grčkih kolonija su veoma malobrojni u odnosu na relativno dug vremenski period, pronađeni su u samo nekim grobovima i veoma su specifični po funkciji. Ti nalazi ne mogu biti pokazatelj intenzivne trgovačke razmjene sa mediteranskim centrima, a samim tim nisu mogli imati ni presudnu ulogu u procesu društvene stratifikacije.<sup>54</sup> S obzirom na funkcionalnu uniformnost importovanih predmeta, a to su uglavnom bronzane posude za ispijanje vina i ratnička oprema luksuzne izrade, Babić ukazuje na ritualnu, a ne ekonomsku razmjenu. Kako su etnološka i antropološka istraživanja već potvrdila, praksa ritualnog darivanja ima za cilj uspostavljanje društvenih veza između različitih pojedinaca i grupa, tako što se kroz razmjenu darova obje strane obavezuju na određenu vrstu društvene saradnje.<sup>55</sup>

Još jedno važno pitanje je mjesto ritualne razmjene, koju je, vjerovatno, pratila i razmjena onim materijalima koji se ne mogu arheološki pratiti kao što su robovi, prehrambeni i poljoprivredni proizvodi, drvo. Whitehouse i Wilkins (1989) iznose mišljenje da Grci nisu putovali duboko u zaleđe svojih novonastalih kolonija, već da je razmjena vršena u blizini zaleđa kolonija, na neutralnom terenu.<sup>56</sup> Način na koji se dalje vršila distribucija govori o postojanju jedinstvenog simboličkog sistema, kojim je kodifikovana vlast, kao i o poštovanju pripadnosti visokom statusu na jedinstvenom prostoru socijalne organizacije, što ukazuje na isti ili sličan etnički element nosilaca glasinačke kulture. Difuzionistički stav da je u ovoj komunikaciji između balkanskih plemena željeznog doba i stanovnika grčkih kolonija na jadranskoj obali dominantnu ulogu

<sup>53</sup> Kuzmanović 2017, 737.

<sup>54</sup> Babić 2004, 62.

<sup>55</sup> Gosden 1985, 475.

<sup>56</sup> Whitehouse / Wilkins 1989, 115–116.

imao grčki element, dok je balkanski bio inferioran, ublažio je i pojasnio *model centra i periferije*,<sup>57</sup> koji ovaj odnos tumači kao endogeni odnos, uslovljen specifičnostima unutar svake zajednice. Tako je i odnos grčkih doseljenika i nosilaca glasinačke kulture baziran na odnosu dominacije i eksploatacije, odnosno centra kao konzumenta resursa i periferije na kojoj se eksploatišu resursi potrebni centru. Međutim, zbog mnogo šematizma i difuzionizma, predložen je i model *parne interakcije*, koji zapaža razvijanje određenog stepena bliskosti među susjednim zajednicama različitog porijekla, odnosno generiše odlučujuće promjene u ravnopravnim autonomnim zajednicama na regionalnom nivou prije nego egzogeni uticaj iz radikalno drugačije sredine.<sup>58</sup> Model parne interakcije značajno pomaže u tumačenju odnosa različitih plemenskih saveza nosilaca glasinačke kulture i upliva grčkog importa u ovu varvarsku sredinu, koji se prethodno stvorenom mrežom odnosa i puteva distribuira do poglavlara i na udaljenim destinacijama.

*Uloga starijih kneževskih humki nije prestala – one sada postaju dio kulturnog pejzaža.* (S. Babić)

## Zaključak

Mjesto rađanja bh. arheologije je Glasinačko polje na kojem je prvi arheolog u Bosni i Hercegovini, dr. Ćiro Truhelka, ispod brojnih tumula, prahistorijskih nadgrobničkih spomenika, otkrio i tumačio nalaze pohranjene uz pokojnika.

Od Glasinačkog polja pa sve do sliva rijeke Mati u Albaniji, uočeno je u poglavlarskim grobovima vrednovanje istih ili sličnih rituala i artefakata, koji su u udaljene planinske dijelove kontinentalnog dijela Balkana dospijevali uglavnom iz italjskih gradova i grčkih kolonija na jadranskoj obali, ali i iz domaćih radionica.

Truhelkino viđenje trgovine na evropskom tlu oslikava prije svega kontinuitet od neolita do željeznog doba i dalje i pokušaj je da se definiše ona roba koja je bila vrijedna i interesantna svakome, te je istakao da su bronzi parirali samo so, jantar, zlato, željezo i vino, ali izvori tog saznanja su spisi antičkih pisaca i grčkih epova.

Importi iz mediteranskih radionica su ukazivali na neposredne kontakte i izvjestan uticaj

razvijene grčke civilizacije na nosioce glasinačke kulture na Balkanu u starijem željeznom dobu, ali ne i na socijalnu stratifikaciju. Luksuzni proizvodi su bili prestižna roba, koju su novonastali poglavari koristili u mreži ritualne razmjene uvećavajući svoju ekonomsku i političku moć, ali i koji su posredno utjecali i na filozofsko-religioznu koncepciju biritualnosti u procesu komunikacije sa običajima arhajske Grčke, ili se to dešavalo samo zbog utilitarnosti.

Neosporan je ogroman trud mnogih istraživača, koji su u svojim radovima govorili o sadržaju glasinačkih tumula i tumačili prisustvo grčko-italjskih predmeta i njihov uticaj na domaću proizvodnju u periodu halštata. U interdisciplinarnom pristupu arheolozi su u drugoj polovini XX i početkom XXI vijeka ponudili nova konstruktivna objašnjenja smatrajući da o arheologu treba da piše arheolog i da njegove ideje treba izdvojiti i smjestiti u historiju discipline te tako odrediti njegov doprinos nauci. Da bi se prodrlo do izvora i mapiranja Truhelkinih ideja, potrebno je u okviru naučne biografije smjestiti individuu u društvo, odnosno u okvir strukture koja ga uslovljava, tumačeći njegovu praksu, motivaciju i ideje. To je moguće postići kombinovanjem internalističkog i eksternalističkog pristupa, jer su obje ove pozicije neophodne da bi se definisale arheološke ideje u kontekstu i vremenu svog nastanka. Njihova prevaziđenost je neminovnost, posebno onda kada se uklone poštovana opšta mjesta i hiperbolisani atributi na osnovu pažljivog uvida u arhivsku građu, izvještaje, dnevnike, priznanice, knjiški fond, tadašnja štampana izdanja i svjedočenja savremenika.

## Summary

### Trade or exchange on the Glasinac Plateau in prehistory

The birthplace of Bosnian archeology is the Glasina field, where the first archaeologist in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dr. Ćiro Truhelka, discovered and interpreted the findings stored with the deceased, under numerous tumuli, prehistoric tombstones.

<sup>57</sup> Champion 1989, 1; Rowlands 1987, 2.

<sup>58</sup> Renfrew 1986, 5–10; Babić 2004, 44.

From the Glasinac field to the Mati River basin in Albania, the same or similar rituals and artifacts have been valued in the chieftains' graves, which arrived in the remote mountainous parts of the continental part of the Balkans mainly from Italian cities and Greek colonies on the Adriatic coast, but also from the local workshop.

Truhelka's view of trade on European soil depicts, first of all, the continuity from the Neolithic to the Iron Age and beyond, and is an attempt to define those goods that were valuable and interesting to everyone. He pointed out that bronzes were rivaled only by salt, amber, gold, iron, and wine, but the sources of this knowledge are the writings of ancient writers and Greek epics.

Imports from Mediterranean workshops indicated direct contacts and a certain influence of the developed Greek civilization on the bearers of the heraldic culture in the Balkans in the Early Iron Age, but not on social stratification. Luxury products were prestigious goods, which the newly created chieftains used in the network of ritual exchange, increasing their economic and political power, but which also indirectly influenced the philosophical-religious conception of birituality in the process of communication with the customs of archaic Greece, or it happened only because of utilitarianism.

It is undeniable the enormous effort of many researchers, who in their works spoke about the content of the Glasinac tumuli and interpreted the presence of Greco-Italian objects and their influence on domestic production in the Hallstatt period. In the interdisciplinary approach, archaeologists in the second half of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century offered new constructive explanations, considering that the archaeologist should write about the archaeologist and that his ideas should be separated and placed in the history of the discipline, thus determining his contribution to science. To penetrate the source and mapping of Truhelka's ideas, it is necessary to place the individual within the framework of the scientific biography, i.e. within the framework of the structure that conditions him, interpreting his practice, motivation, and ideas. This can be achieved by combining internalist and externalist approaches because both positions are necessary to define archaeological ideas in the context and time of their origin. Their transcendence is inevitable, especially when respected commonplaces and hyperbolized attributes are removed based on careful insight into archival material, reports, diaries, receipts, book collections, printed editions of the time, and testimonies of contemporaries.

## Izvori

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## The state of research: Traces of Ancient Rome in Nevesinjsko Polje (‘Nevesinje Field’)

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*Abstract:* Nevesinjsko Polje (‘Nevesinje Field’) is one of the least explored microregions in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This region belonged administratively to the province of Dalmatia during the Roman period. Numerous sites have produced finds from that period (Udrežnje, Biograd, Zovi Do, Lukavac, Kifino Selo – Drenovik, Postoljani, Presjeka, Luka, Zaborani, Bratač, Džinova Mahala, etc.). This paper presents the four phases of research carried out at Nevesinjsko Polje. The archaeological research of this region began at the end of the 19th century. The first phase of exploration conducted in Nevesinjsko Polje focused on the publication of inscriptions from monuments and establishing the route of the Roman road that passed through the region. The second phase of research covered the period 1918–1950. In this phase, Dimitrije Sergejevski conducted preliminary archaeological research in Nevesinjsko Polje. His first significant find dates back to 1926 when he found the remains of a Roman settlement at the site of Drenovik. He revisited the region of Nevesinjsko Polje in 1946 and continued his explorations. The same year, Sergejevski meticulously analyzed the situation in the central and southern parts of the Polje. The following year, 1947, he did the same with the remaining northern part. The next phase of research was carried out by the scholar who made the biggest single contribution, Ivo Bojanovski. He made a significant contribution to the study of local ethnography and the ancient topography of this part of Herzegovina. Ethnographic research is analyzed in the last part of the paper. The fourth phase of research has involved the study of the identity of the indigenous population living in the Nevesinjsko Polje region.

*Keywords:* Nevesinje field, Roman Empire, Roman Provinces, historiography, research, archaeological site, Roman Dalmatia, indigenous communities

### Introduction (general notes)

Nevesinjsko Polje is part of a karst field in south-east Bosnia-Herzegovina between Crvanj mountain in the east and Velež mountain in the west. The subterranean river Zalomka flows through this field, and the entire area gravitates towards the valleys of the Neretva and Bregava rivers. Karst fields represent a kind of a geomorphological phenomenon which have an influence on flora and fauna, as well as its anthropological characteristics. In this case, the area is the only large, fertile and easily habitable oasis in the landscape of eastern Herzegovina. The oldest archaeological remains from this area can be dated to the Bronze Age (the remains of graves and

numerous hillfort settlements). The continued habitation in this region can be traced through other cultural and historic periods (the Iron Age, Roman period, the Middle Ages, the Ottoman period, etc.).<sup>1</sup> Two key factors influenced the cultural and historical development of this region: its geographic position in the Nevesinje Polje where there is an intersection of roads connecting the inland with the coast; and the very good conditions for agriculture and animal husbandry due to the geomorphological characteristics of this microregion.

<sup>1</sup> Čović 1988, 141–154.

## An overview of archaeological exploration in Nevesinjsko Polje since Antiquity – the first phase

During the Roman period, the region administratively belonged to the province of Dalmatia. Numerous sites have produced finds from that period (Udrežnje, Biograd, Zovi Do, Lukavac, Kifino Selo – Drenovik, Postoljani, Presjeka, Luka, Zaborani, Bratač, Džinova Mahala, etc.).<sup>2</sup> Archaeological research in the region began at the end of the 19th century, primarily influenced by the foundation of the National Museum of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Sarajevo in 1888.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, we should keep in mind that during their research of Roman archaeological sites, experts from the National Museum were not primarily focused on the region of eastern Herzegovina where Nevesinjsko Polje is located. The focus was more on other regions: eastern Bosnia due to the discovery of Roman mines, western Herzegovina due to the exploration of a Roman camp at Humac near Ljubuški, and a *villa rustica* in Mogorjelo near Čapljina, as well as the remains of municipal centers in central Bosnia.

When it comes to the first phase of research in Nevesinjsko Polje, the focus was on the publication of inscriptions from monuments and establishing the route of the Roman road that passed through the region. The first such publication was published in 1893 by Carl Patsch in the journal *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn*.<sup>4</sup> It focused on a sepulchral monument from the site of Zalom.<sup>5</sup> In the same year, in the work *Römische strassen in Bosnien und der Hercegovina*, Ballif determined that the road between Narona and Sarajevo Polje (*Aquae*) went through Nevesinjsko Polje. Due to the scarcity of information at his disposal, Ballif was unable to form a complete understanding of this Roman road and did not recognize the full relevance of Nevesinjsko Polje to the road system during the Roman period.<sup>6</sup> Patsch accepted Ballif's thesis that the road that connected Narona with the

inland went through the Neretva valley, much like the present-day road section. The discovery of four milestones in the upper course of the river Neretva, in present-day Konjic municipality, prompted him to make such a conclusion.<sup>7</sup> Such an approach to the issue can be clearly observed in the 1902 article titled *Roman places in the Konjic district*.<sup>8</sup> During his research, Patsch neglected the possibility that this important road, that connected the inland with the coast, did not entirely pass through the Neretva valley: i.e. he did not recognize the value of the Nevesinjsko Polje in this context. This is not surprising since there was no information about this road in Roman *itineraria*. Ivo Bojanovski suggested that the absence of this road in the Antonine Itinerary (*Itinerarium Antonini Augusti*) and the Peutinger Table (*Tabula Peutingeriana*) could be attributed to the lack of an organized state courier and transport service (*cursus publicus*) including traffic police (*stationarius*). However, the newly discovered inscription to a *beneficiarius consularis* represents the first corroboration of the presence of provincial authorities in this region.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, the lack of this road in the Ravenna Cosmography (*Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia*) suggests that this author had not found the names of settlements (*civitates*) in his sources, which is why he omitted this road in his depiction of Dalmatia.<sup>10</sup>

## The second phase of research

Following the “Patsch era”, archaeological research on the Roman period in Bosnia-Herzegovina stagnated, with no research conducted in Nevesinjsko Polje and, consequently,

<sup>2</sup> Bojanovski 1978a, 78–95; 1988, 106.

<sup>3</sup> Dautbegović 1988, 13.

<sup>4</sup> Patsch 1893, 81.

<sup>5</sup> *CIL* 03, 02766c. = *CIL* 03, 02766c + p. 2256. = *CIL* 03, 08386. (B) = *CIL* 03, 12775. (B) = EHD 042468 = EDCS-28300095 = TM 184090 = lupa 23729.

<sup>6</sup> Ballif 1893, 36–37.

<sup>7</sup> [I]mp(erator) Caes(ar) / M(arcus) Iul(ius) Philip-/[pus Pius Fel(ix) Au]g(ustus) et / [M(arcus)] Iul(ius) Phil[i]p[us]/[p]us nob(ilissimus) C[ae]s(ar)] (*CIL* 17, 04, 00426 = EHD 065587 = EDCS-54900278 = TM 189254); Divo / Aug(usto) (*CIL* 03, 10164. = *CIL* 03, 10164 + p. 217 = EHD 014448 = EDCS-31400594 = TM 181897 = lupa 3035); Imp(eratori) C(aio) Iul(io) / M[aximino] / Pio Felici et C(aio) Iu[l(io)] / Vero Maximo <sup>5/</sup> nobilissimi(!) / Caes(ari) Augg(ustis) (*CIL* 03, 10165 = *CIL* 03, 10165 + p. 2174; EDH-HD057970); Imp(eratori) Cae-/s(ari) M(arco) Iuli-/o Philipp/o P(io) F(elici) Aug(usto) (*CIL* 03, 10166. (B) = *CIL* 03, 10166 + p. 2174 = EHD 057971 = EDCS-31400596 = TM 185411 = lupa 23697)

<sup>8</sup> Patsch 1902, 311, 332.

<sup>9</sup> Vujović 2020.

<sup>10</sup> Bojanovski 1978a, 52.

no new research results. The situation only improved in the 1920s when Sergejevski focused his research on the study of eastern Herzegovina as well as Nevesinjsko Polje. In the last decade of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Sergejevski focused his academic studies on publishing monument inscriptions held in the depots of the National Museum in Sarajevo, as well as from monuments that were already known to archaeologists, but had not yet been published.<sup>11</sup> Among the ancient inscriptions on monuments from Bosnia-Herzegovina, analyzed by Sergejevski in the publications of the Serbian Royal Academy from 1934 and 1938, seven inscriptions were from eastern Herzegovina.<sup>12</sup> Regarding the Roman road passing through Nevesinjsko Polje, it was highly significant that Sergejevski published details from a milestone of Emperor Tacitus (275–276), which was discovered in the village of Polje Bijela near Konjic.<sup>13</sup> This milestone helped determine the route of the road that went from Narona, passed through the Nevesinjsko Polje, and led inland through the province of Dalmatia.

It is worth noting that Sergejevski made preliminary archaeological research in Nevesinjsko Polje with his first significant find dating back to 1926 when he uncovered the remains of a Roman settlement at the site of Drevnovik during his stay in nearby Kifino Selo.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, Sergejevski did not manage to do systematic research of this site because he was, at that time, the only classical archaeologist in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. He revisited Nevesinjsko Polje in 1946 and continued his research. That same year, he meticulously analyzed the central and southern parts of the polje. The following year, 1947, he did the same with the remaining northern part. He published the results of his research in an extensive article *Roman Road in the Nevesinje*

*Field in the Herald of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina* in 1948.

Sergejevski's research was crucial as it led to the discovery of a significant number of finds dating to the Roman period. It is important to note that Sergejevski also took a critical approach to the previous research of Ballif and Patsch, stating that they had not recognized the importance of the Roman road that passed through the Nevesinjsko Polje.<sup>15</sup> Unlike some of his earlier papers, here he manifests a critical opinion. The most important result of his two-year research was the discovery of 30 kilometers of Roman road. By discovering a series of milestones, mostly anepigraphic, and following the route of the road, he confirmed a very important fact – not only did a Roman road pass through the Nevesinjsko Polje, but it was one of the most significant intersections in the province of Dalmatia. Subsequent research showed that Sergejevski was wrong about some of the sections<sup>16</sup> but this did not lessen his valuable contribution to this important academic matter.

In the territory of the Nevesinjsko Polje, Sergejevski discovered the remains of four Roman settlements at the sites of Bojište, Drevnovik, Kruševljani, and Presjeka. He also established the existence of smaller Roman sites at other sites in Nevesinjsko Polje. At these sites, Sergejevski found the remains of Roman building materials (primarily roofing tiles), the remains of anepigraphic milestones, profiled plates, a mausoleum, a *cippus* whose text has been ruined, a late antique vaulted tomb and a Roman bridge over the subterranean river Zalomka, etc.<sup>17</sup> Sergejevski rightly concluded that we cannot form a realistic image of the size of the Roman settlements in this region based on the materials discovered because the local population had re-purposed a significant amount of the remaining Roman period materials for construction since houses and public sites in this part of Herzegovina were traditionally made of stone. There are several examples that prove this. In the walls of an Orthodox Church in Luka,

<sup>11</sup> Examples of such monuments are tombstones discovered in Korita near Gacko in 1888 which archaeologists were familiar with, but its epigraphic text had not been published until 1938.

<sup>12</sup> The inscriptions originated from the wider region of the following municipalities: Konjic – three inscriptions (1934 and 1938), Stolac – two inscriptions (1934), Bileća – one inscription (1938), and Gacko – one inscription (1938).

<sup>13</sup> *ILJug* 03, 2973 = *CIL* 17, 04, 00419; Fig. A; Fig. B = EHD-035339 = EDCS-10101979 = TM 183765 = lupa 30627; Sergejevski 1934, 25–26.

<sup>14</sup> Sergejevski 1948, 44.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 44–46.

<sup>16</sup> The main cause of incorrect tracing of part of the Roman road towards the east was the wrong assumption that certain milestones were found *in situ*. Bojanovski revised Sergejevski's research during the 1970s (Bojanovski 1978a, 58–59).

<sup>17</sup> Sergejevski 1948, 52–60; Čović 1988, 143–154.



Fig 1. Depiction of a nymph built in as spolia in an Orthodox Church in Luka (Photo by: J. Radmilović)

Sergejevski found two stone slabs with relief carvings. The slab used as a *spolia* in the northern church wall depicts a nymph (Fig. 1), whereas the stone slab built on the southern side of the church contains a relief of five persons (Fig. 2).<sup>18</sup> Whilst analyzing the depiction of carved images on the slab, Sergejevski concluded that this was a late Christian relief. Through conversations with the local population, he discovered that a large number of epigraphic monuments and other types of archaeological materials had been destroyed

through anthropogenic activities. The newly-discovered inscription of a decurion, found in the Church of the Holy Trinity in Drenovik, illustrated the secondary usage of Roman material in Nevesinjsko Polje.

### The third phase (1950–1992)

In the mid-20th century, Esad Pašalić addressed the issue of the Roman road section between Narona and Sarajevsko Polje that passed through Nevesinjsko Polje. In his monograph *Ancient Settlements and Roads in Bosnia and Herzegovina* (1960), Pašalić summarized the results of his research. In the chapter *Narona–Nevesinje Field Road and Settlements Along this Road*, he gives preference to Sergejevski's results compared to those of Patsch and Ballif.<sup>19</sup> Interestingly, Pašalić notes that no numismatic evidence had been found in the territory of Nevesinjsko Polje, which is common in territories associated with important roads. The same information appears in other literature.<sup>20</sup>

The scholar who made the biggest contribution to the research of Nevesinjsko Polje is,



Fig 2. Late antique relief built in as spolia in an Orthodox Church in Luka (Photo by: J. Radmilović)

<sup>18</sup> We would like to thank colleague Jelena Radmilović for the provided photos.

<sup>19</sup> Pašalić 1960, 61.

<sup>20</sup> Bojanovski 1988, 107; Samardžić 2017, 29–35.

undoubtedly, Ivo Bojanovski. Unlike the previously mentioned archaeologists, Bojanovski did not study Nevesinjsko Polje only from the aspect of Roman roads. He also made a significant contribution to the study of local ethnography and ancient topography of this part of Herzegovina. He began his research of Roman archaeology sites in eastern Herzegovina in the 1970s intending to eliminate prejudice that existed in the archaeology of Bosnia-Herzegovina regarding the cultural and historical development of this territory in the Roman period. He rightly concluded that his predecessors observed this area through contemporary views, meaning that they identified the rural lifestyle that dominated the first half of the 20th century with ancient times. Such a perception of Roman heritage of this karst field placed this region on the margins of archaeologists' interests who believed this microregion did not contain any urban units. Bojanovski determined that modern construction practices largely destroyed archaeological material from the Roman period.<sup>21</sup> For him, there was no doubt that this region developed in line with the legacy of Roman civilization and culture in the period between the 1st and the 5th centuries.

The first paper that deals in-depth with the issue of the cultural and historic development of Nevesinjsko Polje during the Roman period was published by Bojanovski in 1976 in the *Tribunia* journal and titled *Gatačko Polje in the Classical Period*. Although the topic of the paper was not focused on analyzing the archaeological material from neighboring Gatačko Polje, the author nevertheless addressed several key issues regarding Nevesinjsko Polje. In the context of Romanization, he highlights the importance of inscriptions found in the northern part of Nevesinjsko Polje (Zalon) where, according to him, the first Romanized members of the indigenous population from this region appear. He based his conclusion on the fact that the cognomen *Tatta*, typical of the indigenous population, appears on the monument next to

<sup>21</sup> These building activities include the construction of religious facilities, modern roads, a shift to building houses with solid materials. This destroyed old Roman roads and settlements in eastern Herzegovina (Bojanovski 1976, 17–18).

the nomen *Aelius*.<sup>22</sup> According to this comparison, Bojanovski established that the process of division of the Roman population in the territory of Gatačko Polje field and Nevesinjsko Polje began in the first half of the 2nd century during the reign of Hadrian (117–138) or Antoninus Pius (138–161).<sup>23</sup> It should be noted that no evidence has been found to refute Bojanovski's conclusions.

In the above article, Bojanovski published the results of his research of the Roman road Nevesinjsko Polje – Gatačko Polje – Nikšić (*Anderba*). Through a hodological approach, Bojanovski determined the remains of the Roman road in Nevesinjsko Polje and, in its eastern part, he found a fragment of an anepigraphic milestone. At the same site, Sergejevski also found an anepigraphic milestone. This road, in present-day Nikšić (*Anderba*), connected with an important provincial road *Narona – Skodra*.<sup>24</sup> Bojanovski concluded that his milestone additionally corroborated the thesis of the importance of the Roman road in this part of the Roman Dalmatia, previously set forth by Sergejevski.

In 1978, in honor and memory of Sergejevski, Bojanovski published a study *Prehistoric and Roman Road Narona – Sarajevo Polje with Limitrophic Settlements* in the Annual of the Center for Balkan Studies of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In this paper, Bojanovski focused especially on defining the route of the Roman road through Nevesinjsko Polje. In the introductory part, he made a critical overview of the previous research, specifying the omissions of his predecessors who dealt with this topic (Ballif, Patsch, Sergejevski, and Pašalić). Bojanovski determined that, although the road passed through karst fields, most of its route was supplied with running water and springs, while cisterns and wells were built at locations where there was no spring water.<sup>25</sup>

It is important to note that Bojanovski located watchtowers (*speculae, burgusi*) at several

<sup>22</sup> [D(is)] M(anibus) s(acrum) / [A]el(ius) Maximus / et Ael(ia) Tatta p(arentes) / Ael(iae) Marcellae 5/ f(iliae) def(unctae) an(norum) XX / vivi sepulcr(um) / fecerunt et sibi / et suis (CIL 03, 02766c. = CIL 03, 02766c + p. 2256. = CIL 03, 08386. (B) = CIL 03, 12775. (B) = EHD 042468 = EDCS-28300095 = TM 184090 = lupa 23729).

<sup>23</sup> Bojanovski 1976, 36.

<sup>24</sup> Samardžić 2016, 308–311.

<sup>25</sup> Bojanovski 1978a, 63.



Fig. 3. New beneficiary altar from Nevesinje, Drenovik  
(Photo by: M. Marić)

sites in Nevesinjsko Polje (Udrežnje, Drenovik, Postoljani, Luka, and Lješće) during his research. He rightfully believed that the only place in Nevesinjsko Polje where one should look for stations of *beneficarii consularis* was Drenovik,<sup>26</sup> making the discovery of a votive monument at this site in 2018 very important (Fig. 3).<sup>27</sup> This is an inscription to a *beneficiarius consularis* from *Legio I Adiutrix*, which is evidence that Bojanovski was not wrong in his estimate that there was a station of *beneficarii consularis* at Drenovik monitoring traffic safety.

In his 1978 paper, Bojanovski paid special attention to milestones and concluded that the majority of them can be dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>28</sup> It is obviously a period of increased us-

<sup>26</sup> Bojanovski 1978a, 64; Vujović 2020, 64–66.

<sup>27</sup> It should be noted that the monument has been preserved today with the help of the personal engagement of Mr. Radoš Buha and Mr. Miroslav Marić. We would like to use this opportunity to thank them for the selfless help offered during the preparation of this paper. We also thank our colleague, Dr Adnan Kaljanac for helping us to make maps with archaeological sites.

<sup>28</sup> In the Nevesinje field, Sergejevski distinguished two types of milestones: round and ellipse-shaped. This scholar believed that round milestones originated from the reign of Maximinus Thrax (229–236), whereas ellipse-shaped

age of this road due to the intensive exploitation of mines in the interior of Dalmatia. The origin of the road from Narona via Nevesinjsko Polje can be dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century, i.e., the reign of Emperor Tiberius (14–37).<sup>29</sup> Bojanovski was also the first to note another type of monument in Nevesinjsko Polje that served to organize traffic. These were large, ellipse-shaped stone columns, standing on elevations along the road,<sup>30</sup> whose purpose was to mark communication in case of a large snowdrift. It is worth noting that this region has a quite colder climate compared to the Mediterranean part of Herzegovina.

### Research relating to the identity of the indigenous population – fourth phase.

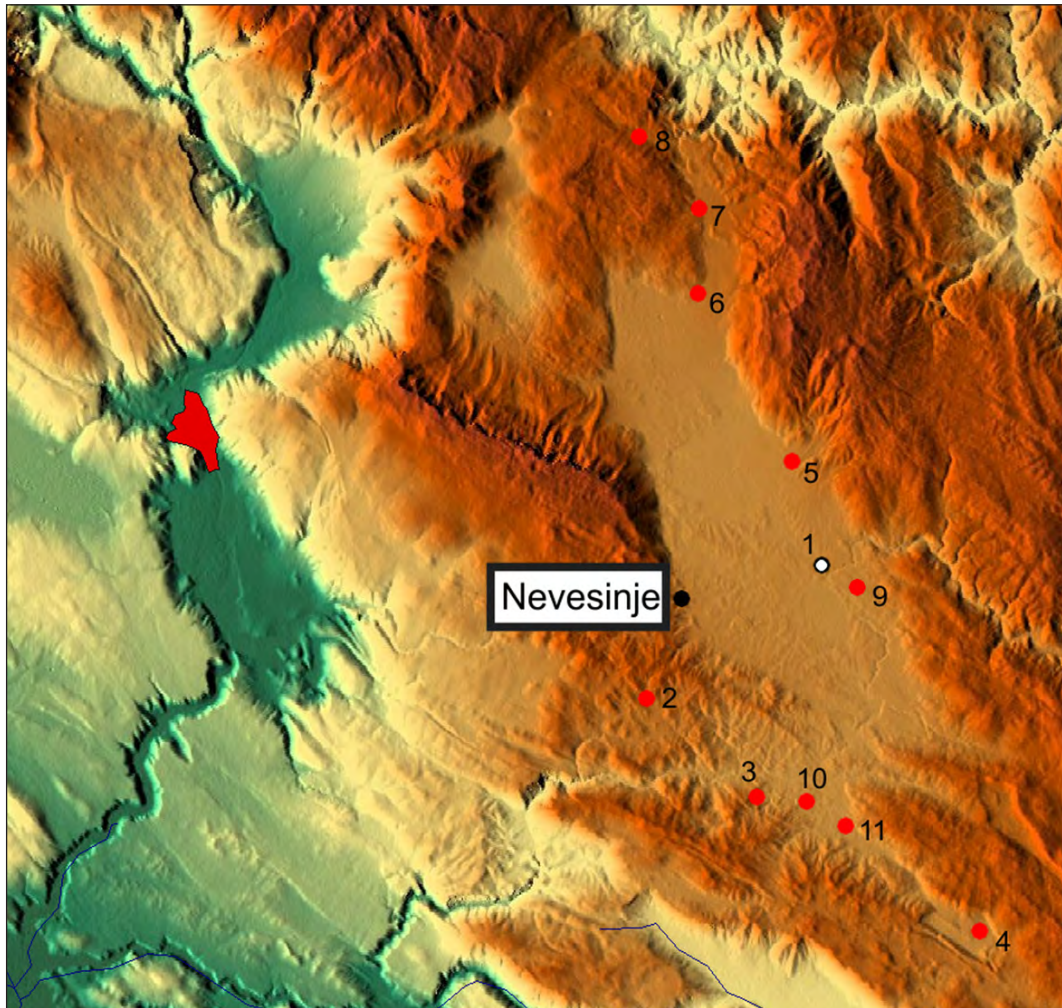
In the context of historical topography, Bojanovski thoroughly documented all visible archaeological remains along the road in Nevesinjsko Polje. He particularly emphasized the importance of the site of Drenovik, which he determined was, in essence, a crossroads where where local paths intersected with the main road. Among his research findings, he confirmed the existence of a fort at this site which was apparently the station of *beneficarii consularis*. After inspecting the archaeological material found in *spolia* in nearby medieval necropolis, he concluded that the settlement of Drenovik, during Roman times, also contained several monumental buildings.<sup>31</sup> Bojanovski was also the author of a part of the text for this site in the important work of Bosnian and Herzegovinian science the *Archaeological Lexicon of Bosnia and Herzegovina* (1988). Regarding the site of Drenovik (named after a spring of the same name), this publication notes that it was the location where remains of a larger Roman settlement were discovered (processed stone, remains of brick, tiles, tombs, and

milestones can be dated to the reign of Emperor Philip the Arab (244–249) (Sergejevski 1948, 56). Bojanovski, on the other hand, proved that such a distinction is not based on facts because there are ellipse-shaped milestones discovered mentioning emperor Maximinus Thrax and vice versa (Bojanovski 1978a, 64).

<sup>29</sup> Bojanovski 1974, 246; Samardžić 2018a, 181.

<sup>30</sup> Bojanovski 1978a, 64–65.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 85.



Map 1. Locations in the Nevesinje field with marked archaeological sites

1. Kifino selo (Drenovik); 2. Udrežanj; 3. Biograd; 4. Lukavac; 5. Postoljina; 6. Presjeka; 7. Luka; 8. Zaborani; 9. Bratač; 10. Zovi Do; 11. Džinova Mahala. (©Google Maps. Illustration source A. Kaljanac)

small archaeological material). This settlement developed on both banks of the Zalotka river where the remains of a Roman bridge had been found.<sup>32</sup> At this site, Bojanovski found the remains of a Roman wall with diced ceramics in mortar, as well as larger ceramic fragments and remains of a Roman road 3.5 meters wide.<sup>33</sup>

Bojanovski examined the ethnogenesis and ancient ethnography of Nevesinjsko Polje in two papers – the article *Illyrian Tribes in Eastern Herzegovina and their territory*, published in 1985 in *Tribunia Journal*, and the chapter of the book *Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Classical Period* (published in 1988) titled *Other civitates in Eastern Herzegovina (Glinditiones, Melcumani,*

<sup>32</sup> Sergejevski 1948, 58.

<sup>33</sup> Bojanovski 1976, 39–44.

*and Daraemistae*) (map. 2). He approaches the study of this academic issue using traditional archaeological methods, and on the basis of analysis of narratives, onomastics, and archaeological materials, he concluded that the population of this territory in the Early Empire period was homogenous in the context of culture.<sup>34</sup> Bojanovski acknowledged that he used the elimination method from Pliny's list to locate the Glinditiones in Nevesinjsko Polje.<sup>35</sup> Namely, Bojanovski underlined that Pliny the Elder listed the *civitates* in the *Narona conventus* alphabetically (Latin alphabet), so we cannot with certainty determine which community inhabited Nevesinjsko Polje in the Early Empire. However,

<sup>34</sup> Bojanovski 1985, 8.

<sup>35</sup> Pliny, *HN* 3. 143; Bojanovski 1985, 13; 1988, 107.



Map 2. Illyrian communities in Eastern Herzegovina according to I. Bojanovski (Edited by A. Šaćić Beća)

he further states that these could only be the Melcumani with 24 *decuriae* and Glinditiones with 44 *decuriae*. Following the analysis of the data recorded by Appian and Claudius Ptolemy and comparison of these data with Pliny's text, Bojanovski nevertheless rejected the possibility that this territory belonged to the Melcumani. He located this *peregrine civitas* in the neighboring Gatačko Polje based on Ptolemy's data that the Melcumani and Ardiaei lived near the Daorsi.<sup>36</sup> Since the Ardiaei had been located in the lower course of the Neretva River, he believes that it is reasonable to locate the Melcumani to the northeast of the Daorsi, i.e. in Gatačko Polje. On the other hand, he believes that Appian's data about how Octavian had a hard time defeating the Glinditiones is possible proof that this indigenous community lived in inaccessible parts

– matching the description of Nevesinjsko Polje.<sup>37</sup> In the Early Empire, Nevesinjsko Polje represented an inaccessible field due to mountain ranges that separated this karst field from the Neretva valley. In terms of surface area, the Nevesinje field is also larger than Gatačko Polje, which is another argument supporting Bojanovski's location the Glinditiones in Nevesinjsko Polje. Some scholars disagree with the thesis of Ivo Bojanovski that Nevesinjsko Polje was part of the Glinditiones' territory. Scholars such as Géza Alföldy, John J. Wilkes, Svetlana Lome, and Dragana Grbić associated the Nevesinjsko Polje with the Melcumani.<sup>38</sup> Grbić believes that a little-known boundary stone on the border of Gatačko Polje represents the final western

<sup>36</sup> Ptol. *Geog.* 2. 16. 8.

<sup>37</sup> App. *Ill.* 16. 46–48; Bojanovski 1985, 13; 1988, 107; Marić 2015, 59.

<sup>38</sup> Alföldy 1965, 49; Wilkes 1969, 166; Loma 2004, 40; Grbić 2014, 159–161.

frontier of the Melcumani territory before the Narensi.<sup>39</sup> This means that the position of the Melcumani should be sought to the southeast of the Narensi not to the south as before, which proves that the Nevesinjsko Polje should be territorially linked with the Melcumani and not with the Glinditiones.

However, Marjeta Šašel Kos and Alka Domić Kunić believe that we should not dismiss the thesis that the Glinditiones were the community which in the Early Empire inhabited the Nevesinjsko Polje. Both of these scholars presented different theses regarding their territory, and then specify why we should not dismiss Bojanovski's conclusions.<sup>40</sup> Domić Kunić is careful to accept the location of Pliny's Glinditiones in Nevesinjsko Polje. She believes that this thesis is supported by the fact that they are mentioned

<sup>39</sup> --] et inte(r) Mel(cumanos)? or in(ter) te(rritorium) Mel(cumanorum) (ILJug 03, 1739 = HD034020 = EDCS-10100709 = TM 182614). This inscription was found in the 1920s and in the earlier literature, it was believed that it served to mark the delimitation of two pastures. However, Grbić's analysis shows that this inscription delimits two *peregrine civitates* (Grbić 2014, 159–162).

<sup>40</sup> There are different theses about the territory of the Glinditiones. The first theses represented by Patsch, Swoboda, Mayer associate the Glinditiones with the Ditiones based on the similarities in their names (Patsch 1899, 165; Swoboda 1932, 70; Mayer 1957, 151). This thesis was dismissed in contemporary scholarship because the Ditiones belonged to the Salona *conventus*. Based on Dolabella's inscription from Salona, this *peregrine civitas* can be located in the northwest Bosnia (CIL 03, 3198b (p. 2275, 2328, 19) = CIL 03, 10156b = CIL 17/4 (p. 130–122) = EDH 018013). On the other hand, the Glinditiones belonged to the Narona *conventus* (Pliny, HN 3. 142–143). Although the names of both *peregrine civitates* have the root *dit*, it does not indicate a significant connection, because *dit* appears in Dalmatian and Pannonian names *Ditus*, *Ditius*, *Diteius*, *Ditueius*, *Dito*, *Tuditanus* (Šašel Kos 2005, 415; Domić Kunić 2006, 84; Mesihović 2011, 61; Grbić 2014, 157). The second thesis on the location of the Glinditiones is present in the works of Alföldy, Wilkes, Zotović, Grbić who believe that the territory of this indigenous community should be searched for in the valleys of the rivers Tara and Piva, i.e., the territory of the upper course of the Drina River, near present-day Foča in southeast Bosnia (Alföldy 1964, 93; 1965, 59–60, Wilkes 1969, 176; 1992, 217; 1996, 578; Zotović 2002, 5; Grbić 2014, 157). This area most certainly belonged to the imperial *fiscus* as part of the mining area. It should be noted that southeast Bosnia and northern Montenegro are the least explored territory in the context of indigenous communities. The third thesis is the already mentioned thesis of Ivo Bojanovski regarding the Nevesinje field in the context of the territory where we should locate the Glinditiones (Bojanovski 1985, 13; 1988, 107).

as one of the communities that Augustus had to defeat again, and who had to pay him the due taxes after their defeat.<sup>41</sup> Domić Kunić also finds important the fact that Pliny lists the Glinditiones in the Narona *conventus* whose western border could, according to him, be at the Vrbas River.<sup>42</sup> This scholar also introduced an interesting thesis regarding how Strabo listed the Pannonian communities, stating that there was a possibility that they were part of the Daesitiatian alliance during Strabo's time. Given the large territory of the Daesitiates, by analyzing Strabo's text, Domić Kunić concluded that the number of *decuriae* mentioned by Pliny the Elder is disproportionately small compared to the Delmatae, Ditiones, and Maezaei. She assumed that the Glinditiones were one of the communities that comprised the Daesitiatian alliance and later seceded as a separate *peregrine civitas* after the Great Illyrian Revolt in AD 9. This was part of the measure implemented by the Roman authorities to prevent the formation of new hostile local groups.<sup>43</sup> Contemporary scholarship tends to see indigenous communities through the prism of the needs of Roman provincial politics.<sup>44</sup> Roman authorities certainly influenced the creation of *peregrine civitates* in Pannonia and Dalmatia through their military and political needs. If the Glinditiones were part of the Daesitiatian alliance during the Great Illyrian Revolt, which is a possible scenario, their location in eastern Herzegovina would be entirely reasonable.

Šašel Kos also accepted the possibility that the territory of the Nevesinjsko Polje belonged to the Glinditiones and suggests that their territory should be searched for between the Nare(n)sii and Pirustae in the area rich in livestock pastures.<sup>45</sup> Unlike Bojanovski, Šašel Kos pointed out that the issue of the territorial distribution of the Glinditiones should be left open.

Considering the above analyses, we can assume that Nevesinjsko Polje in the Early Empire period was probably part of the Melcumani and Glinditiones territories. If we compare the

<sup>41</sup> App III. 16. 46–48.

<sup>42</sup> Domić Kunić 2006, 84.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 83–84.

<sup>44</sup> Džino 2009, 82; 2010, 177–184; 2012, 84–85; Džino / Domić Kunić 2012, 103–104; 2013, 63, 129; Šačić Beća 2017, 112.

<sup>45</sup> Šašel Kos 2005, 415–416.

number of *peregrine civitates* specified by Pliny the Elder in his *Naturalis Historia*, it seems that Bojanovski's thesis is the most acceptable on i.e. the territory of Nevesinjsko Polje should be linked with the Glinditiones. This narrative source states that the Melcumani had only 24 *decuriae* indicating that they could only control two big karst fields in eastern Herzegovina due to their small numbers. Their presence in Gatačko Polje is corroborated in terms of epigraphy and thus can be located in this field, whereas Nevesinjsko Polje contains no traces of their existence. On the other hand, the territory of northern Montenegro and the Drina valley is associated with the Sicels (*Siculi*), Ozuae, Partheni, and Pirustae, according to certain epigraphic and narrative sources, so we should dismiss the possibility of it being part of the Glinditiones territory.<sup>46</sup> Bearing this in mind, we can conclude that the Nevesinjsko Polje territory can be seen as the assumed territory of the Glinditiones – although the issue remains open.

We can finally conclude that the archaeological research from the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries corroborated the existence of Roman settlements at the borders of Nevesinjsko Polje. Unlike pre-Roman settlements, founded on elevated locations, Roman settlements were formed on flat fields. This is certainly no exception because there are many examples throughout the former Roman province of Dalmatia. Sergejevski's and Bojanovski's archaeological research corroborated the fact that Roman roads that passed through this part of eastern Herzegovina played a vital role in the development of settlements. The remains of epigraphic and anepigraphic milestones confirmed that two roads passed through the Nevesinjsko Polje: Naronā – Sarajevo Polje (*Aquae S*) and Nevesinjsko Polje – Gatačko Polje – Nikšić (*Anderba*). Today, the remains of the Roman road have been preserved at the borders of the Nevesinjsko Polje at Kifino Selo, Bratač and Stupi pod Stopotom.<sup>47</sup> Numerous archaeological finds were corroborated in Udrežnje, Biograd, Zovi Do, Lukavac, Kifino Selo (Drenovik), Postoljani, Presjeka, Luka, Zaborani, Bratač,

Džinova Mahala, etc.<sup>48</sup> Based on the material discovered, the largest Roman settlement was at Drenovik near Kifino Selo.

There have been no systematic explorations in classical archaeology in this region during the past 30 years. The archaeological material that has been discovered has been purely on an accidental basis. This also applies to the finds that are published in this paper as well.

## Rezime

### Stanje istraženosti: tragovi starog Rima na Nevesinjskom polju

Nevesinjsko polje je jedna od najmanje istraženih mikroregija u Bosni i Hercegovini. Kako bi se ukazalo na potrebu za novim arheološkim istraživanjima, u ovom radu su predstavljeni rezultati ranijih istraživanja iz rimske provincijalne arheologije i historije. U rimskom periodu ovaj prostor je administrativno pripadao rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji. Na više lokaliteta na Nevesinjskom polju potvrđeni su nalazi iz rimskog perioda (Udrežnju, Biogradu, Zovom Dolu, Lukavcu, Kifinom Selu – Drenoviku, Postoljinama, Presjeci, Luci, Zaboranima, Brataču, Džinovoj Mahali itd.). Kombiniranjem hronološke i tematske metode prepoznate su četiri faze istraživanja Nevesinjskog polja. Prva faza započinje istraživanjima Karla Pača (Carl Patsch) i Filipa Balifa (Philipp Ballif) krajem 19. stoljeća. U početnoj fazi istraživanja naglasak je bio na objavljivanju epigrafskih spomenika i određivanju trase rimske ceste koja je prolazila kroz ovo polje. Tako je prvi epigrafski nalaz sa prostora Nevesinjskog polja objavio 1893. godine Karl Pač u časopisu *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn*. S druge strane Balif je u djelu *Römische Strassen in Bosnien und der Hercegovina* utvrdio da je trasa rimske ceste Naronā–Sarajevsko polje (*Aquae*) išla do Nevesinjskog polja. Ipak, prilikom svojih istraživanja u Hercegovini Pač uopće nije razmatrao mogućnost da važna komunikacija koja je povezivala unutrašnjost s primorjem nije cijelom svojom dužinom išla dolinom Neretve, odnosno nije prepoznao važnost Nevesinjskog polja u tom kontekstu. To ne iznenađuje, jer o ovoj komunikaciji koja je išla preko Nevesinjskog polja nema nikakvih podataka

<sup>46</sup> Bojanovski 1988, 204–213; Mesihović 2009, 56; Mirković 2013, 26–30, 65–67; Šačić Beća 2018, 113.

<sup>47</sup> Samardžić 2018b, 152.

<sup>48</sup> Sergejevski 1948, 58; Bojanovski 1978a, 84; 1978b, 183; 1988, 106; Samardžić 2018b, 148.

u rimskim itinerarima. Međutim, kasnija istraživanja i novootkriveni natpis konzularnog beneficijara Drenovik dokazuju da je Nevesinjsko polje bilo važno komunikacijsko čvorište.

Nakon, uslovno rečeno, "Pačove ere" dolazi do stagnacije arheoloških istraživanja rimskog perioda na prostoru cijele Bosne i Hercegovine. U tom razdoblju nije bilo istraživanja na prostoru Nevesinjskog polja, pa samim tim ni objavljivanja njihovih rezultata. Tek dvadesetih godina prošlog stoljeća situacija se u ovom kontekstu popravlja zahvaljujući radu Dimitrija Sergejevskog. Treba naglasiti da je Sergejevski izvršio preliminarna arheološka istraživanja na Nevesinjskom polju. Prvi njegov značajan nalaz potječe iz 1926. godine, kada je boraveći u Kifinom Selu na lokalitetu Drenovik pronašao ostatke rimskog naselja. Ipak, Sergejevski nije uspio izvršiti sistematsko istraživanje tog lokaliteta iz razloga što je u periodu Kraljevine SHS/Jugoslavije bio jedini klasični arheolog u Bosni i Hercegovini. Tek 1946. godine ovaj naučnik je ponovno došao na prostor Nevesinjskog polja i nastavio svoja istraživanja. Iste godine je u svrhu istraživanja studiozno obišao središnji i južni dio polja. Naredne, 1947. godine isto je učinio i s preostalim sjevernim dijelom. Važno je naglasiti da Sergejevski kritički pristupa ranijim istraživanjima Balifa i Pača navodeći kako nisu prepoznali važnost rimske komunikacije koja je prolazila kroz Nevesinjsko polje. Za razliku od nekih njegovih ranijih radova, ovdje se jasno očituje kritički stav i oslobađanje od zaključaka do tada neprikosnovenih autoriteta. Kao najznačajniji rezultat svog dvogodišnjeg istraživanja Sergejevski je s pravom označio otkriće 30 kilometara rimske ceste. Pored toga, Sergejevski je na prostoru Nevesinjskog polja otkrio ostatke četiri rimska naselja na lokalitetima Bojište, Drenovik, Kruševljani i Presjek, kao i značajan broj sitnih arheoloških nalaza.

Treće istraživanje ovog prostora poduzeli su Esad Pašalić i Ivo Bojanovski. Pašalić se primarno sredinom pedesetih godina bavio rimskom cestom *Narona – Aquae S(...?)* koja je prolazila kroz Nevesinjsko polje. U monografiji *Antička naselja i komunikacije u Bosni i Hercegovini* (1960) Pašalić je sumirao svoja istraživanja. Ipak, najveći doprinos istraživanju Nevesinjskog polja u rimsko doba dao je bez sumnje Ivo Bojanovski. Pored cesta, Bojanovski je dao nemjerljiv doprinos izučavanju lokalne etnografije i antičke topografije ovog dijela Hercegovine. Svoja istraživanja arheoloških lokaliteta iz rimskog perioda u istočnoj Hercegovini Bojanovski je započeo sedamdesetih godina dvadesetog stoljeća s ciljem da ukloni ranije predrasude koje su postojale u bosanskohercegovačkoj arheologiji u vezi s kulturnohistorijskim razvojem ovog prostora u rimskom periodu. S pravom je zaključio da su njegovi prethodnici ovu oblast promatrali iz savremene vizure, što znači da su na neki

način poistovjetili ruralni način života koji je tu dominirao u prvoj polovini dvadesetog stoljeća s antičkim vremenom. Rezultate svojih istraživanja Nevesinjskog polja Bojanovski je objavljivao u časopisu Zavičajnog muzeja Trebinje (danas Muzej Hercegovine) *Tribunia* i *Godišnjaku Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja Akademije nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine*. Koristeći se horološkom metodom, analizom rimskih itinerara i arheološkog materijala, ovaj je arheolog definisao trase rimskih puteva koje su prolazile kroz Nevesinjsko polje. Važno je napomenuti da je Bojanovski prilikom svojih istraživanja locirao stražarnice (*speculae*, *burgusi*) na nekoliko lokaliteta na Nevesinjskom polju (Udrežnju, Drenoviku, Postoljanima, Luki i Lješću). S pravom je smatrao da je jedino mjesto na Nevesinjskom polju gdje bi trebalo tražiti stanicu konzularnih beneficijara Drenovik. Stoga je posebno važno otkriće votivnog spomenika na tom lokalitetu 2018. godine. To je krunski dokaz da Bojanovski nije pogriješio u svojoj procjeni da se na prostoru Drenovika nalazila stanica konzularnih beneficijara koji su nadzirali sigurnost prometa.

Bojanovski je pionir etnografskih istraživanja Nevesinjskog polja i začetnik posljednje faze koju smo definisali prema tematskom kriteriju. Izučavanju ovog naučnog problema on pristupa u skladu s tadašnjim metodološkim postavkama tradicionalne arheologije, te na osnovu analize narativnih izvora, onomastike i arheološkog materijala zaključuje da je stanovništvo ovog prostora u ranocarsko doba bilo u kulturološkom smislu homogeno. Bojanovski priznaje da je metodom eliminacije iz Plinijevog popisa locirao *Glinditiones* na Nevesinjskom polju. Dio naučnika se ne slaže s tezom Ive Bojanovskog kako je prostor Nevesinjskog polja bio dio teritorija *Glinditiones*. Odgovor na pitanje teritoriji kojoj indigenoj zajednici je pripadalo Nevesinjsko polje bavili su se još Géza Alföldy, J. J. Wilkes, Svetlana Loma, Alka Domić Kunić i Dragana Grbić (Nikolić).

## Abbreviations

- AE* *L'année épigraphique* published in *Revue Archéologique* and separately (1888–).
- CIL 03* *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum III* (ed. Th. Mommsen), Berlin 1873: Supplementa 1889–1902.
- CIL 17* *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum XVII, Miliaria Imperii Romani / Pars quarta, Illyricum et provinciae Europae Graecae. Fasciculus primus, Miliaria provinciarum Raetiae et Norici* (eds. A. Kolb, G. Walser; Gerhard Winkler, Manfred Gerhard Schmidt; Ulrich Jansen), Berlin 2005.

- EHD Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg (Service provider: Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften). <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/home?&lang=de>.
- EDSC Epigraphik Datenbank Clauss/Slaby (Frankfurt). [http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/epi\\_de.php](http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/epi_de.php).
- ILJug *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL e MCMLX repertae et editae sunt* (ed. A. et J. Šašel), Situla 5, Ljubljana 1963 (št. 1–451); *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX e MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt* (ed. A. et J. Šašel), Situla 19, Ljubljana 1978 (št. 452–1222); *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt* (ed. A. et J. Šašel), Situla 25, Ljubljana 1986 (št. 1223–3128).
- LCL Loeb Classical Library (Harvard University Press)
- lupa UBI ERAT LUPA – Roman Stone Monuments (Friederike und Ortolof Harl, Bild-datenbank zu antiken Steindenkmälern). <http://lupa.at>.
- TM *Trismegistos: An Interdisciplinary Portal of the Ancient World*.
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## Neobjavljeni kameni spomenik Atisa s područja Nevesinja

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*Abstract:* The cult of God Attis was documented in several locations in the inland of the province of Dalmatia, more specifically in present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina. The monument addressed in this paper is one of the so far unknown examples. This find was discovered in the territory of the Nevesinje municipality. The circumstances of its discovery are unfortunately unknown but the preserved relief and iconography analysis suggest that it was the cult of Attis. The monument is damaged to a large degree and contains very few elements that can be considered determinant. The primary determinant refers to the position of the body, more specifically the legs, and leaning on a cane.

*Keywords:* cult, Roman religion, Attis, Roman period, Nevesinje, Bosnia and Herzegovina

### Uvod

Prostor današnje općine Nevesinje razmjerno je slabo istražen kada je rimski period u pitanju. Stoga je svaki novi nalaz s ovog područja značajna novina u proučavanju tema koje potvrđuju rimsko prisustvo. Okolnosti vezane za ovaj spomenik su nepoznate. Jedini dokaz koji potvrđuje postojanje je fotografija spomenika s napisanim podacima na leđnoj strani fotografije. Iz nje saznajemo da je predmet nađen u Nevesinju, te su date dimenzije spomenika. Detaljnom analizom objavljene građe, sa sigurnošću se može istaći činjenica da je riječ o neobjavljenom materijalu, koji upotpunjuje sliku prisutnosti kulta Atisa u unutrašnjosti rimske provincije Dalmacije.

Kao rezultat terenskih istraživanja, kontakata sa stanovnicima iz različitih mjesta te pohrane fotografija iz prethodnih razdoblja nastao je ovaj rad. Naime, u arhivskoj privatnoj građi pronađena je fotografija spomenika s napisanim podacima na leđnoj strani fotografije. Navedeni podaci ukazuju na to da je predmet nađen u Nevesinju, te su date dimenzije spomenika. Poblje okolnosti, nažalost, nisu poznate.

### Geografska obilježja Nevesinjskog polja

Općina Nevesinje nalazi se u jugoistočnom dijelu Bosne i Hercegovine, karakterističnom po hercegovačkom visokom kršu.<sup>1</sup> U prostor jugoistoka spada i općina Nevesinje. Prostor granica današnje općine Nevesinje posebno je poznat po Nevesinjskom polju,<sup>2</sup> čija ukupna površina iznosi 189 kvadratnih kilometara.<sup>3</sup> Nevesinjsko polje karakterizira oštra klima, a omeđeno je visokim planinama. Ne oskudijeva ni izvorima vode,<sup>4</sup> što je uticalo na raznovrstan biljni i životinjski svijet.

### Područje Nevesinja u prethistoriji i antici

Na području Nevesinja, na obroncima planina registrirane su prethistorijske gradine i

<sup>1</sup> Drešković / Mirić 2017, 42.

<sup>2</sup> Prostor Bosne i Hercegovine je bogat poljima poput Gatačkog, Glamočkog, Kupreškog, Livanjskog, Duvanjskog i drugih. Na njima su često konstatirane i gradine. Benac 1985; Bojanovski 1976 i drugi.

<sup>3</sup> Gekić et al. 2022, 32, 36; Lepirica, 2013, 157–158.

<sup>4</sup> Redžić et al. 2009, 128; Ržehak 1958, 110, 119–120; Služba zaštite Zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture, prirodnih znamenitosti i rijetkosti Bosne i Hercegovine 1962, 247, 254.



Karta 1: Pozicija Nevesinja u Bosni i Hercegovini (kartu izradio A. Busuladžić)

grobnice humke.<sup>5</sup> Geološke, strukturno-morfološke te hidrogeološke karakteristike igrale su svakako važnu ulogu i pri odabiru mjesta za podizanje gradinskih naselja.<sup>6</sup> Na više lokaliteta na području Nevesinja zabilježeno je ljudsko prisustvo u brončanom<sup>7</sup> i željeznom dobu.<sup>8</sup>

U predrimskom periodu najdominantnija naselja tog, kao i kasnijeg razdoblja čine gradine. Neka od gradinskih naselja u Nevesinju su: Gradina (Bobanova gradina), Gradina (Rabina), Gradina (Udrežnje), Vujadinska gradina koje pripadaju brončanom i željeznom dobu, dok su prethistorijske gradine: Gradac (Dramiševo), Veliki Gradac (Presjeka – Mahinići), Gradina (Crni vrh) korištene kao i rimske utvrde.<sup>9</sup> Čini se da se na većini prethistorijskih gradinskih naselja život postepeno gasio u rimsko doba. Vjerovatno je to bilo zbog rimske politike raseljavanja ili

slobodnog napuštanja gradina i naseljavanja u polja i kotline.

Prostor današnjeg Nevesinja konačno ulazi u sastav provincije Dalmacije nakon Batonovog ustanka, te ostaje u sastavu provincije sve do konačne disolucije države. Ne može se sa sigurnošću reći koja autohtona zajednica je živjela u Nevesinju. Ali ipak postoje neke indicije. I. Bojanovski mišljenja je da su Nevesinjsko polje naseljavali Glindicioni.<sup>10</sup> Prema Plinijevom popisu peregrinskih *civitates*, Glindicioni su imali 44 dekurije. Njihovi južni susjedi bili su Melkumani (24 dekurije), a zapadni Naresi (102).<sup>11</sup> Svi su pripadali naronitanskom sudbenom konventu. D. Grbić smatra da je Nevesinje pripadalo Melkumanima i Naresima, a da su Glindicioni mogli živjeti zapadnije od Goražda.<sup>12</sup> Svakako je teško odrediti tačan položaj i granice *civitates* Glindiciona i Melkumana jer njihove ubikacije

<sup>5</sup> Čović 1983, 138–158, 161–170; 1999, 32.

<sup>6</sup> Glamuzina 2020.

<sup>7</sup> ALBiH 1988, Tom 3, 150.

<sup>8</sup> Anđelić 1969; Čović 1987; 1987a, 289–290; 1999, 19; Tasić et al. 1979, 459–460.

<sup>9</sup> ALBiH 1988, Tom 3, 145, 153, 154.

<sup>10</sup> Bojanovski 1985, 13.

<sup>11</sup> Plin. *NH* III. 143. Osim Plinija, Glindicione i Naresi spominje i Apijan: *App. III*. 16.

<sup>12</sup> Grbić 2014, 157–160.

nisu potvrdili epigrafski spomenici. Također, ne znamo ništa ni o prvacima (*princeps*) koji su bili na čelu njihovih *civitates*. Ali je sasvim sigurno da im je, kao i Deremistima pripadao prostor istočne Hercegovine.

Nevesinjsko polje predstavljalo je važnu komunikaciju koja je od Jadrana išla prema Sarajevskom polju. Na to ukazuje više od 20 pronađenih miljokaza na Nevesinjskom polju.<sup>13</sup> Cesta je od Narone išla prema Čapljini, Bijelom polju i Nevesinjskom polju. Od Nevesinja je dalje nastavljala pravcem Boračko jezero – Konjic – Ivan planina – Sarajevsko polje – Romanija – Drinjača – Drina – Sava.<sup>14</sup> Ovaj pravac korišten je u prehistoriji, antici, ali i kasnije.<sup>15</sup>

Značajan položaj u komunikacijskom pogledu Nevesinje je imalo zbog izuzetno teškog terena između Prenja i Čvrsnice. Komunikacije su bile preduslov za izgradnju rimskih naselja, ali i utvrda koje su kontrolisale ceste i naselja na spomenutom području. Zahvaljujući probnim arheološkim iskopavanjima u Bratačkom Gracu, 1979. godine, utvrđeno je da je tu postojalo prehistorijsko i rimsko naselje. Rimsko naselje s fortifikacijama prostiralo se s obje strane rijeke Zalomke.<sup>16</sup> Rimsko naselje konstatovana su i u Udrežnju, Biogradu, Zovora Dolu, Lukavcu, Kifinu Selu (Drenovik), Postoljanima, Presjeci, Zaboranima i Umčanima. Kao najveće naselje u Nevesinjskom polju I. Bojanovski navodi lokalitet Drenovik, dok su značajnija naselja bila i u Bojištu, Presjecima, Kruševljanima (Luci) i Bratačkom Gracu.<sup>17</sup> Na Bratačkom Gracu, od kojeg je nedaleko i Drenovik, vjerovatno se nalazilo utvrđenje za zaštitu naselja ili kasnoantički refugij.<sup>18</sup> Kifino Selo u Drenoviku bilo je raskrsnica puteva; tu se spajao priključak ceste za Sarajevo, zatim prema Gatačkom polju, te prema Morinama i Trusini.<sup>19</sup> Južno od Drenovika vjerovatno je bio rimski most preko rijeke Zalomke, čije temelje stubova spominje Sergejevski u koritu ove rijeke 1926. godine, ali ističe da ih već 1946. godine tu nije bilo.<sup>20</sup> Nažalost, kako za

istočnu Hercegovinu (Nevesinjsko i Gatačko polje) nedostaju veća arheološka istraživanja za prehistorijski period, isto tako nedostaju i za antičko razdoblje.

O privredi Nevesinjskog polja skoro ništa i ne znamo. S obzirom na sam kraj, može se reći da zemljoradnja ni u rimsko doba nije mogla biti naročito zastupljena. Jedna vila bila je u Udrežnju.<sup>21</sup> Opravdano je pretpostaviti njihovo postojanje i na drugim lokalitetima, ali ne u većem broju. Razlog za to treba tražiti u oskudnosti obradivog zemljišta. Samo 1/3 je obradivog zemljišta i to po ivicama polja.<sup>22</sup> Jedno pronađeno ralo na lokalitetu Selište, datirano u period od 1. do 6. stoljeća, ukazuje na obradu zemlje.<sup>23</sup> O trgovini, također nedostaju podaci. Novčani sistem bio je dio rimske ekonomske politike, ali zanimljivo je da u Nevesinju nema numizmatičkih nalaza. Sigurno je i sama trgovina bila lokalnog karaktera. Kao i u prehistoriji, čini se da je privreda i u rimsko doba bila uglavnom ograničena na stočarstvo, jer su to diktirali opći prirodni uslovi.

Nedostaju epigrafski, arheološki i numizmatički nalazi koji bi dali odgovore na neka pitanja, kao što su: administrativno ustrojstvo, autohtono društvo i njegovo inkorporiranje u rimsku civilizaciju, etničko porijeklo doseljenika i njihov utjecaj na domaće stanovništvo, brojnije sticanje rimskog civiteta itd. No, ipak neki spomenici ukazuju da je romanizacija ovdje bila prisutna. Cipus koji odgovara 2. stoljeću, pronađen je na lokalitetu Grabovica kod Nevesinja. Dedicanti spomenika su roditelji *Aelius Maximus* i *Aelia Tatta*. Oni su kćerki *Aeliae Marcellae* koja je preminula u 20. godini života izgradili grobnicu.<sup>24</sup> Tata i Maksim su domaća imena, dok je ime Marcela moglo biti prihvaćeno među domaćim stanovništvom.<sup>25</sup> Rimsko građanstvo su dobili za vrijeme cara Hadrijana. Iako oskudni spomenicima, i drugi dijelovi istočne Hercegovine sticanje civiteta ostvarili su za vrijeme ovog cara ili kasnije.<sup>26</sup>

Jedan mauzolej možda je bio u Pustoljanima, gdje je D. Sergejevski konstatovao ostatke neke

<sup>13</sup> Bojanovski 1988, 107, bilj. 19.

<sup>14</sup> Busuladžić 2011, 104–105, s pratećom literaturom.

<sup>15</sup> Usp: Bojanovski 1978a; Čović 1999, 14.

<sup>16</sup> Anđelić 1983.

<sup>17</sup> Usp: Pašalić 1960, 61; Bojanovski 1985, 12; 1988, 106.

<sup>18</sup> Anđelić 1983, 14.

<sup>19</sup> Bojanovski 1976, 39–43; 1985, 12.

<sup>20</sup> Sergejevski 1948, 58.

<sup>21</sup> Bojanovski 1978, 183.

<sup>22</sup> Bešlagić 1972, 97.

<sup>23</sup> Busuladžić 2014, 170, 279.

<sup>24</sup> CIL III, 8386; Bojanovski 1976, 41.

<sup>25</sup> Paškvalin 2012, 311.

<sup>26</sup> CIL III 14620; Sergejevski 1938, 21.

manje četvrtaste zgrade.<sup>27</sup> On u njenoj blizini spominje i jednu nedovršenu stelu od krečnjaka.<sup>28</sup> Na lokalitetu Klačine (Udrežnje – Zubače), otkopana je jedna kasnoantička grobnica.<sup>29</sup> Kao i u drugim krajevima Bosne i Hercegovine, rimski spomenici u Nevesinjskom polju su korišteni kao spolije u kasnijem periodu. Tako je jedan spomenik s prikazima ljudskih figura uzidan u crkvu u Luci, dok su neki nadgrobnici i arhitektonski ulomci iskorišteni za stećke.<sup>30</sup> Također, miljokazi su korišteni kao dovratnici vrata za groblje u Luci.<sup>31</sup>

Međutim, naše poznavanje cjelokupne antičke prošlosti Nevesinja je oskudno i ne dozvoljava veću rekonstrukciju samog izgleda naselja, ekonomije, religije i općenito rimske kulture. Nedostatak epigrafskih spomenika mogao bi ukazivati na to da ovo područje nije ni bilo u većoj mjeri naseljeno strancima. Na taj način se mogla duže i više očuvati predrimska tradicija i etnička specifičnost. Također, nije isključen ni određeni otpor prema romanizaciji na prostoru Nevesinjskog polja, jer nedostaju žrtvenici, počasne baze i veći broj nadgrobnih spomenika.

O daljem kontinuitetu života u srednjem vijeku najbolje svjedoče stećci kojih je evidentirano 4109 i 117 nekropola u općini Nevesinje.<sup>32</sup> Brojnošću ovih nadgrobnika Nevesinje zauzima prvo mjesto u Bosni i Hercegovini.

## O Atisu

Orijentalno<sup>33</sup> frigijsko<sup>34</sup> božanstvo Atis bilo je u zajednici s božicom Kibelom.<sup>35</sup> Kult Velike majke<sup>36</sup> se posebno štovao na prostoru Frigije.<sup>37</sup> U kasnijem razdoblju postupno se kult s istoka širi prema zapadu. Dokaz masovnog štovanja potvrđen je i mnogobrojnim nalazima.<sup>38</sup> Potvrda učestalosti štovanja zajednice Atisa i Kibele

potvrđuju i materijalni ostaci iz grčkog<sup>39</sup> i kasnije rimskog razdoblja.<sup>40</sup> Božanski par Kibele i Atisa<sup>41</sup> predstavlja najstarije orijentalne kultove koji su zabilježeni u Rimu.<sup>42</sup> Božica Kibela predstavljala simbol majčinstva, cjelokupnog života, te često i zaštitnica gradova.<sup>43</sup> Atis<sup>44</sup> je bio njen miljenik<sup>45</sup> i pratilac.<sup>46</sup> Priča o Atisu je poznata posebno po činu samokastracije.<sup>47</sup> Pošto je Atis postao lijepi mladić, zaljubio se u nimfu Sagaritidu. Agdistis ili Kibela zbog ljubomore mu pomućuju um, te se Atis ispod drveta bora kastrirao.<sup>48</sup> Nakon ovog čina Atis umire, a iz njegove krvi niče cvijeće – ljubičice. Prema tradiciji, ovaj tužni čin se desio 24. marta, te se obilježavao u sklopu Megalezija. U znak sjećanja na ovaj događaj zabilježeni su i ekstremni slučajevi da su se svećenici Velike majke u ekstazi i sami kastrirali.<sup>49</sup> Događaj samokastracije u različitim formama i kontekstima prisutni su bili u mnogobrojnim mitovima i kultovima kod različitih zajednica. Tako znamo o samokastraciji i u mitovima o Orfeju,<sup>50</sup> Tamuzu,<sup>51</sup> Zagreju i Adonisu.<sup>52</sup> Tokom martovskih svečanosti zabilježeni su periodi tugovanja i radovanja, koji su bili povezani s interpretacijama ovog događaja. Neke od tih interpretacija idu u prilog tvrdnji da se na taj način slavilo Atisovo uskrsnuće ili novo rođenje.<sup>53</sup> Neki izvori ukazuju na to da je Atis nakon smrti na mističan način opstao u formi drveta bora ispod kojeg se kastrirao, što je bio i jedan od njegovih simbola.<sup>54</sup> Na temelju događaja kastracije koji se zbio kod bora šišarke – plodovi bora postaju simbol vječnog života.<sup>55</sup> I druge sačuvane mitološke tradicije potvrđuju nastavak njegovog života i nakon smrti. Atis i

<sup>27</sup> Sergejevski 1948, 56.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> ALBiH 1988, Tom 3, 147; Bojanovski 1978a, 83.

<sup>30</sup> ALBiH 1988, Tom 3, 141–154.

<sup>31</sup> Bešlagić 1972, 97, 102–103, 106.

<sup>32</sup> Lovrenović 2008, 172–174.

<sup>33</sup> Frazer 1907.

<sup>34</sup> Roller 1994.

<sup>35</sup> Cumont 1959.

<sup>36</sup> Miletić et al. 2014, 129.

<sup>37</sup> Vassileva 2001.

<sup>38</sup> Vermaseren 1977–1989.

<sup>39</sup> Sfameni Gasparro 1985, 49–56.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 56–64.

<sup>41</sup> O njihovoj rasprostranjenosti na Balkanu vidi: Marić 1933, 73.

<sup>42</sup> Sanader 2008, 181–182. O orijentalnim kultovima u Rimskom carstvu vidi: Vermaseren 1981.

<sup>43</sup> Paulys Wissowa 1922, 2250–2297.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. 1896, 2247–2251.

<sup>45</sup> Osvalt 1980, 181–183; Miletić et al. 2014, 129.

<sup>46</sup> Ciglencečki 1999.

<sup>47</sup> Miletić et al. 2014, 132; Karković-Takalić 2012, 93; Vermaseren 1977, 96–101.

<sup>48</sup> Vermaseren 1977.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 113–125.

<sup>50</sup> Roscher 1897–1902, 1058–1206.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid. 1915, 46–71.

<sup>52</sup> Uranić 2005, 12, 24.

<sup>53</sup> Miletić et al. 2014, 132.

<sup>54</sup> Sfameni Gasparro 1985, 125.

<sup>55</sup> Colin 2004, 43.

Zeus su također bili povezani. Ova konekcija je zabilježena na način da je Zeus ostavio Atisovu kosu da raste i njegov mali prst koji se neprestano micao.<sup>56</sup> Prema nekim tradicijama, Atisov neprijatelj je bio sam Zeus. Prema ovoj mitološkoj priči, Atis je na području Lidije raširio kult Kibebe, zbog čega je bio jako popularan. Ovo je bio razlog otvorenog neprijateljstva Zeusa, koji je iskoristio trenutak lova da na Atisa pošalje vepra koji ga ubija. Kult Atisa je bio prisutan u Bitiniji, Lidiji, Frigiji i na otoku Rodu. Ono što je u velikoj mjeri ograničavalo širenje kulta bio je surovi običaj kastracije, što je izazivalo odbojnost velikog broja ljudi i potencijalnih sljedbenika. Ovo je primarni uzrok slabije zastupljenosti na grčkom kopnu.<sup>57</sup> Protokom vremena u kasnijem helenističkom i rimskom razdoblju Atis postaje široko prihvaćen. Dešava se standardizacija prikazivanja u rimskoj ikonografiji. Atis je predstavljan u determinirajućoj pozi s nogom preko noge u stajaćem položaju s pedumom, naslonjen na njega, često s instrumentom timpanonom ili siringom.<sup>58</sup> Od ostalih karakterističnih prikaza u pitanju su bile predstave frigijske kape, tunike sa rukavima i duge hlače.<sup>59</sup> Atis na nadgrobnim spomenicima predstavljao je simbol nade u vječni život.<sup>60</sup> Ovu tvrdnju potkrepljuju dokazane činjenice da je Atis imao funerarnu ulogu, prvenstveno kao čuvar grobova, zbog čega je i predočavan na njima.<sup>61</sup> Treba naglasiti da je na području Liburnije i Dalmacije kult Atisa zabilježio i proces sinkretizma sa domaćim kultovima.<sup>62</sup> Sinkretizam se posebno odnosio na Silvana, koji je zamijenjen Atisom, u slučaju dendrofora koji su štovali kult boga – stabla.<sup>63</sup> Kao rezultat složenih procesa kult Atisa i Magne Mater<sup>64</sup> je bio zastupljen na istočnoj obali Jadrana,<sup>65</sup> odakle se širio ka unutrašnjosti.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Miletic et al. 2014, 132.

<sup>57</sup> O zastupljenosti na području Atike vidi: Frapiccini 1987; Fontana 2001.

<sup>58</sup> O ikonografiji vidi: Vermaseren 1966; 1976.

<sup>59</sup> Srejšović / Cermanović 2004, 64.

<sup>60</sup> Graillot 1912, 412; Sfameni Gasparro 1985, 92–98; Sergejevski 1934, 30.

<sup>61</sup> Nikoloska 2013, 523.

<sup>62</sup> Turković 2006, 7.

<sup>63</sup> Vilogorac-Brčić 2012, 135–136.

<sup>64</sup> Cambi 1993.

<sup>65</sup> Karković-Takalić 2015; Vilogorac-Brčić 2014.

<sup>66</sup> Medini 1993; Nikoloska / Vilogorac-Brčić 2014.

## Analiza spomenika

Na prostoru današnje općine Nevesinje kao slučajni nalaz do danas je ostao jedini materijalni dokaz fotografija, koja ukazuje na prisustvo kulta Atisa. Poblži podaci, tačna lokacija i okolnosti nalaza nažalost nisu sačuvani, tako da je objava ovog spomenika, odnosno fotografija jedini dokaz prisustva Atisa na prostoru Nevesinja. Spomenik je znatno oštećen te je vrlo teško utvrditi o čemu je riječ. Iako oštećen, vidljiv je kameni reljef koji prikazuje Atisa u karakterističnoj pozi s nogom preko noge, koji se oslanja na pedum. Reljef je prema podacima na poledini fotografije dimenzija 120 cm visine, a širok je oko 55 cm (Slika 1). Na reljefu je vidljiva silueta vjerovatno muške osobe koja drži desnu nogu preko lijeve savijenu u koljenu, te s lijevom rukom koja je na prsima i desnom rukom se naslanja na štap – pedum. Ovaj podatak ga u najvećoj mjeri i determinira kao Atisa. Božanstvo je predočeno na postamentu. Na osnovu vizuelne analize može se ustvrditi da je reljef prema svim elementima izrade provincijalni rustični lokalni rad. Prikaz je uokviren s lijeve i desne strane dok je gornji dio oštećen, te je nemoguće pretpostaviti sadržaj nedostajućeg dijela. Step en očuvanosti prikaza ne ostavlja mogućnost sigurne pretpostavke da li je riječ o nagoj ili osobi koja je odjevena. Intenzivnijim promatranjem skloniji smo tumačenju da je riječ o nagoj osobi.

Komparativnim analizama s drugim prikazima Atisa može se konstatirati obilje nedostajućih ili oštećenih dijelova koji ne daju mogućnost za interpretacije. Naime, step en očuvanosti ne daje mogućnost prepoznavanja frigijske kape,<sup>67</sup> krila,<sup>68</sup> roga obilja, voća i žita koji su zabilježeni na rimskim prikazima ovog božanstva,<sup>69</sup> kao ni siringe,<sup>70</sup> ili postojanje plašta.<sup>71</sup> Ikonografski, zabilježeni su i prikazi zvijezde na frigijskoj kapi, koja se također u ovom slučaju ne vidi. Ovaj detalj zvijezde posebno je zabilježen kod metalnih kipića Atisa.<sup>72</sup> Postojanje haljetka, plašta ili drugog odjevnog elementa daje sličnost s Mitrinim

<sup>67</sup> O detaljima frigijske kape: Medini 1976/77, 197; 1986, 116–117.

<sup>68</sup> Medini 1984, 117.

<sup>69</sup> LIMC 1986, III/1, no. 132–140, 151–153, 291–296.

<sup>70</sup> Tadin 1979, 31.

<sup>71</sup> Paulys-Wissowa 1896, 2247–2251.

<sup>72</sup> Medini 1986, 116.



Slika 1. *Atis iz Nevesinja* (Foto: Adnan Busuladžić)

dadoforum<sup>73</sup> ili samim Mitrom.<sup>74</sup> Treba napomenuti da su prikazi plašta zabilježeni i na bronzanim figurinama Atisa.<sup>75</sup> Na nevesinjskom primjerku se ne može nazrijeti postojanje odjeće. Zbog svega toga ključni elementi za determinaciju Atisa odnose se na karakterističnu pozu nogu i oslanjanje na štap.

U stručnoj literaturi postoje različite interpretacije ove vrste prikaza.<sup>76</sup> Veći broj priklanja se mišljenju da je u pitanju frigijski bog Atis.<sup>77</sup> Izvjestan broj stručnjaka smatra da je riječ o prikazu dekorativne naravi ili predstavi pokojnika.<sup>78</sup> Činjenice koje ukazuju na mogućnost interpretacije da je riječ o prikazu pokojnika primarno se odnose na melanholični, tužni, sjetni, meditativni izgled, koji se može staviti u direktnu korelaciju sa životom i smrću osobe koja je prikazana<sup>79</sup> i koji se naziva funerarni Atis, Attis

funerarius, Attis tristis.<sup>80</sup> Neki autori smatraju da je riječ o pogrebnoj gozbi.<sup>81</sup> Jedna od mogućih kompromisnih interpretacija između tumačenja da je riječ o pokojniku ili Atisu jest hipotetička mogućnost da reljef predstavlja tužnog Atisa – Istočnjaka koji je bio simbol umrlih daleko od rodnog kraja.<sup>82</sup> Prema zasebnoj grupi autora ovi prikazi su rezultat složenih i dugotrajnih procesa, koji su se primarno odnosili na vjerovanje, ikonografiju i interpretaciju. Prema ovim tumačenjima riječ je o metroačkim, a u kasnijem razdoblju dekorativnim naravima spomenika.<sup>83</sup> Zanimljivo rješenje ogleda se i u tvrdnji da ovi reljefi nisu prvobitno imali namjeru prikazati Atisa, ali su se u naknadnim okolnostima počeli poistovjećivati s ovim frigijskim božanstvom.<sup>84</sup> Mnogobrojni nalazi ovakvih ili vrlo sličnih prikaza, često i u vrlo konkretnom arheološkom kontekstu interpretiraju se kao vojničke stele, rimska vojnička trijumfalna ikonografija, pastir ili tužni erot.<sup>85</sup> Komparativne analize ukazuju na vrlo raznoliku ikonografiju ovog kulta.<sup>86</sup> Za razliku od prikaza koji imaju nešto obliki trbuh<sup>87</sup> kakav je prikaz Atisa s Ilidže kod Sarajeva,<sup>88</sup> a koji ukazuju na mogućnost da je u pitanju Eros<sup>89</sup> s prekrštenim nogama (Slika 2; 3).<sup>90</sup> Odsustvo odjeće na silueti ostavlja mogućnost da je u pitanju prikaz samokastracije. Tim prije, jer čak ni u stiliziranom obliku nema prikaza ni genitalija, što ovaj spomenik čini sličnim reljefu s lokaliteta Blažuj kod Sarajeva.<sup>91</sup> Iako malobrojni, nagi prikazi Atisa ipak su zabilježeni.<sup>92</sup> Među njima treba komparativno spomenuti prikaz nagog Atisa s genitalijama s cipusa iz Komina kod Pljevalja u Crnoj Gori.<sup>93</sup> Naša bi pak scena mogla predstavljati i Atisa koji odmara nakon kastracije. Često

<sup>73</sup> Paškvalin 2001, 35, sl. 3 i 4.

<sup>74</sup> O mitraizmu: Kosorić 1965; Miletić 1996; Medini 1985; Selem 1986; 2008; Gabričević 1987, 161–215, Rendić-Miočević 2015. i drugi.

<sup>75</sup> Tadin 1979, T. XXVIII, sl. 62 i 63, T. XXXIX, sl. 97.

<sup>76</sup> Gavrilović Vitas 2021, 65–69.

<sup>77</sup> Nikoloska 2007, s ostalom literaturom; 2010 s ostalom literaturom; 2013, s ostalom literaturom.

<sup>78</sup> Cambi 1960; 2003.

<sup>79</sup> Schröder 1902, 75.

<sup>80</sup> Gavrilović Vitas 2021, 54.

<sup>81</sup> Miletić et al. 2014, 134.

<sup>82</sup> Landskron 2005.

<sup>83</sup> Hepding 1903, 212.

<sup>84</sup> Struveras 1968, 39.

<sup>85</sup> Cambi 1991, 473; 2002, 158; 2005, 102–105 i 188–189.

<sup>86</sup> LIMC 1986, III/1, 23–44; III/2, 15–45.

<sup>87</sup> Osvalt 1980, 133–134.

<sup>88</sup> Busuladžić 2020.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid. 2016, 142.

<sup>90</sup> Paškvalin 2001, 39.

<sup>91</sup> Busuladžić 2020, 56.

<sup>92</sup> Medini 1981, 118; Paškvalin 2001, 33, T. I; Tadin 1979, T. XXVIII, sl. 62; T. XXXIX, sl. 97.

<sup>93</sup> Gavrilović Vitas 2021, 71.



Slika 2. *Atis Ilidža/Blažuj, spolija u ogradi tzv. rimskog mosta na rijeci Bosni* (Foto: Adnan Busuladžić)



Slika 3. *Atis Ilidža/Blažuj, detalj spolije*  
(Foto: Adnan Busuladžić)



Slika 4. *Atis iz Ilijaša* (Foto: Adnan Busuladžić)

se, primarno kod bronzanih figurina Atisa prikazuje razmaknuta odjeća s nagim Atisom.<sup>94</sup>

Pored prekriženih nogu, specifična ikonografija koja se odnosi na Atisa je i štap – pedum.<sup>95</sup> Ovaj štap se prikazuje u ruci uzdignuto ili spuštenu ili je Atis oslonjen na njega, kakav je upravo slučaj u ovom nevesinjskom primjerku. S prostora Bosne i Hercegovine imamo tako primjerak Atisa iz Fojnice koji drži spušten štap,<sup>96</sup> ili primjerak iz Blažuja kod Sarajeva koji se upravo naslanja na njega.<sup>97</sup> Radi se o tzv. naslonjenom tugujućem zamišljenom Atisu, što potvrđuju i mnogi analogni primjeri širom provincije Dalmacije.<sup>98</sup> Treba istaći primjerak cipusa pronađen kod Rogatice, s prikazom Atisa naslonjenog na štap.<sup>99</sup> Uvjetno komparativan primjer je i kameni spomenik Atisa s lokaliteta Ilijaš kod Sarajeva (Slika 4). I na ilijaškom spomeniku nedostaje odjeća i prikaz genitalija, s karakterističnim prekriženim nogama.<sup>100</sup> Ono što primjerak iz Nevesinja povezuje s primjercima iz Blažuja i Ilijaša kod Sarajeva je i rustična provincijalna izrada s mnogobrojnim nedostacima u izradi, vjerovatno produkt lokalnog skulptora, koji je u kontekstu rimske mitologije radio na njihovoj izradi. Nevješt rad sva tri spomenika stavlja ih u blisku korelaciju. Kada govorimo o datacijskom okviru, a na temelju komparacija s primjercima Atisa pronađenim na drugim lokalitetima u Bosni i Hercegovini, primarno skulpturi iz Ilijaša i reljefu iz Blažuja, i primjerak iz Nevesinja se može hronološki odrediti u II i III stoljeće.<sup>101</sup> Radi se o periodu najintenzivnije romanizacije, odnosno prihvatanja rimske kulture i načina života. Kada govorimo o počecima štovanja Kibebe i Atisa u provinciji Dalmaciji, oni se javljaju već od I stoljeća nove ere.<sup>102</sup>

Kada govorimo o raširenosti kulta Atisa na prostorima današnje Bosne i Hercegovine, odnosno unutrašnjosti rimske provincije Dalmacije može se ustvrditi da je naročito bio zastupljen u

regiji Podrinja, ali i u području središnje Bosne. Tako su, pored više puta spomenutih primjera iz Blažuja i Ilijaša kod Sarajeva, različiti spomenici Atisa zabilježeni i u Fojnici, Crvici<sup>103</sup> te na više lokaliteta u okolini Srebrenice i Višegrada te Rogatice.<sup>104</sup> Značajan broj ovih spomenika pronađen je na lokalitetima koji su gravitirali velikim urbanim mjestima poput Col. Ris..., Domavije, Aqua S..., što Atisa dovodi u blizak odnos sa stranim doseljenicima, koji su mogli imati uticaj na domicilnu populaciju. Šire analogije i dokazano prisustvo kulta Atisa potvrđeno je različitim nalazima u Sisciji u provinciji Panoniji,<sup>105</sup> ali i u drugim područjima provincija Dalmacije, kao što su Gardun, Enona, Burnum, Salona, Blandona,<sup>106</sup> Arilje, Užice, Požega, Pljevlja,<sup>107</sup> i Istre, poput Pule.<sup>108</sup>

Ostaju dvojbe vezane za sam ulomak iz Nevesinja i njegov karakter. Stepennost oštećenosti ne ostavlja prostor za sigurne interpretacije. Analogije ukazuju na to da su prikazi tužnog Atisa<sup>109</sup> mogli biti dio spomenika, stela, žrtvenika, ali i arhitektonskih dijelova hrama ili namještaja u njemu.<sup>110</sup> Također, prikazi Atisa konstatirani su na sarkofazima<sup>111</sup> i nadgrobnim oltarima.<sup>112</sup> Vrlo uvjetno, moguće je nevesinjski primjerak klasificirati kao dio nadgrobnog spomenika, odnosno cipusa, što ga povezuje s primjerkom iz Blažuja. Vrlo često se ovakvi prikazi javljaju na nadgrobnim cibusima, i to na bočnim stranama, gdje zauzimaju čitavo polje, kakav je upravo slučaj i na ovom primjerku.

## Zaključak

Područje današnje općine Nevesinje bilo je naseљeno još u prahistorijsko doba. Svjedok tome su mnogobrojni lokaliteti, tumuli i gradine iz perioda neolita, brončanog i željeznog doba. I

<sup>94</sup> Tadin 1979, 31, 39.

<sup>95</sup> Prikazi Atisa su podijeljeni u četiri tipa. Prema navedenoj podjeli naš spomenik s pedumom definira se u drugi tip. Gavrilović Vitas 2021, 69–74.

<sup>96</sup> Paškvalin 2001, 37, sl. 1.

<sup>97</sup> Busuladžić 2020, 56–58.

<sup>98</sup> Miletić et al. 2014.

<sup>99</sup> Paškvalin 2001, 35, sl. 1.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 33, sl. 1.

<sup>101</sup> Busuladžić 2020, 59.

<sup>102</sup> Sanader 2008, 181–182.

<sup>103</sup> Bojanovski 1967, 43.

<sup>104</sup> Imamović 1977, 442–444.

<sup>105</sup> Tadin 1979, T. XXVIII, sl. 62 i 63; T. XXXIX, sl. 97.

<sup>106</sup> Medini 1968; 1984; 1986; 1989; Cambi 1968; 1991, 472–473; 2005, 102–105.

<sup>107</sup> Gavrilović Vitas 2021, 217–228; Zotović 1995.

<sup>108</sup> Girardi-Jurkić 1972; 1976; 1978; 2005, 57–70.

<sup>109</sup> Druge forme Atisa mogle su biti i u obliku skulptura. Vidi: Nikoloska / Burmaz 2007/2008, 212.

<sup>110</sup> Miletić et al. 2014, 135.

<sup>111</sup> Turković 2006, 7.

<sup>112</sup> Dautova-Ruševljan 1983, 72–73.

kasnije, dolaskom Rimljana, na ovom prostoru život nije zamro.

Mora se ipak naglasiti da stepen dosadašnje istraženosti ne ukazuje na intenzivno rimsko prisustvo. Čini se da je ovaj prostor bio korišten kao komunikacijsko čvorište, na što ukazuje veći broj miljokaza. Prema dosadašnjoj literaturi zabilježeni su objekti rimske provenijencije poput mogućeg mauzoleja, objekata nedefinirane namjene, građevinskog materijala, kasnoantičke grobnice, te naglašeno odsustvo nadgrobničkih spomenika, baza, žrtvenika i slično.

S tim u vezi i ovaj nalaz predstave Atisa dobija na značaju. Atis kao kult zabilježen je u nekoliko slučajeva u unutrašnjosti provincije Dalmacije, odnosno današnje Bosne i Hercegovine, a na prostoru Nevesinja ovo je jedini nalaz ne samo ovog kulta nego bilo kakvog do sada zabilježenog kulta. Može se pretpostaviti da je sljedbenik Atisa u ovom slučaju mogao biti neki orijentalac, koji se, spletom službenih okolnosti, vojne, administrativne ili upravne uloge, našao na ovom negostoljubivom prostoru, donoseći dašak rodnog podneblja kroz kultnu zajednicu kojoj je pripadao i koju je štovao. Analiza natpisa sa spomenika koji posjeduju prikaz Atisa iz istočne Dalmacije ukazuje na činjenicu da se spominju u značajnom procentu imena grčkog, ali i domorodačkog porijekla. Često je riječ o dekurionima, koji su očito imali društvenu ulogu u širenju ovog kulta, posebno među romaniziranom elitom.<sup>113</sup>

Pronađeni primjerci Atisa u Rogatici, Ilijašu, kao i u mjestu Blažuj u općini Ilidža, potvrđuju značaj i ukorijenjenost ovog kulta vjerovatno i među lokalnom populacijom, a posebno među doseljenim stranim elementom. Takav Atis je predstavljao ktoničko, soteriološko-esthatološko<sup>114</sup> i mistično,<sup>115</sup> božanstvo. S ovakvim svojstvima Atis je predstavljao i čuvara grobova i pokojnika.<sup>116</sup> Slične okolnosti egzistiranja organiziranih metroačko-kulturnih zajednica zabilježeni su u drugim provincijama.<sup>117</sup> Ova činjenica ostavlja, iako na razini hipotetičkog, realnu mogućnost da je slična postojala i na prostoru današnje Bosne i Hercegovine. Ovaj nalaz jedan je od potencijalnih dokaza.

<sup>113</sup> Gavrilović Vitas 2021, 74.

<sup>114</sup> Sfameni Gasparro 1985, 107–119.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., 26–43.

<sup>116</sup> Paškvalin 1994, 35.

<sup>117</sup> Karković-Takalić 2012.

## Summary

### Unpublished stone monument of Atis from the area of Nevesinje

The territory of present-day Nevesinje municipality has been inhabited since the prehistoric period. Numerous sites, tumuli, and hillforts from the Neolithic, Bronze and Iron Ages bear witness. Later, with the arrival of the Romans, life continued to exist in this region.

Nevertheless, we must point out that the level of research conducted so far does not suggest an intense Roman presence. It seems that this territory was used as a communication hub as suggested by numerous milestones. Previous literature documented objects of Roman origin, such as a possible mausoleum, facilities of undefined purpose, construction materials, Late and Antique graves, as well as the prominent lack of tombstones, bases, altars, and similar items.

Having this in mind, the find of an image of Attis gains importance. The cult of Attis was noted in several cases in the inland of the province of Dalmatia, i.e., present-day Bosnia in Herzegovina, while in the territory of Nevesinje, this is the only find of not only this cult but of any cult documented so far. We can assume that the follower of Attis could have been an Oriental who was found in an inhospitable territory due to a combination of official circumstances, military, or administrative roles, and brought with him a piece of homeland through the cult community he belonged to and revered.

The discovered examples of Attis in Rogatica, Ilijaš, and Blažuj in the Ilidža municipality confirm the importance and rootedness of this cult probably even among the local population and especially among foreign settlers. Attis represented a chthonic, soteriologischeschatological, and mystical deity. With such properties, Attis represented the protector of graves and the deceased. Similar circumstances of the existence of the Metroon cult communities were documented in other provinces. Although hypothetical, this fact creates a possibility that a similar one existed in present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina. This find is one of the potential pieces of evidence.

In the territory of present-day Nevesinje municipality, as an accidental find, a photograph has remained the only material evidence suggesting the presence of the cult of Attis. Detailed information, precise location, and conditions of the find have unfortunately not been preserved, so the publication of this monument, or the photograph, is the only evidence of the presence of Attis in the territory of Nevesinje. The monument has been considerably

damaged and it is very difficult to determine what it is about. Although damaged, visible stone relief shows Attis in his typical position with crossed legs leaning onto a pedom. The back of the photo shows that the relief is 120 cm high and 55 cm wide. A silhouette of perhaps a man is visible on the relief. He is holding his right leg over the left one, bent in the knee, and his left arm is on his chest and his right arm is leaned on a stick – pedom. The deity is portrayed in a typical pose with one leg over another. This information largely determines the deity as Attis. The deity is put on a pedestal. Visual analysis shows that the relief is the result of a rustic local work according to all of the elements of production. The depiction is framed on the left and right, whereas the upper part is damaged and it is impossible to guess the content of the damaged part. The degree of preservation does not allow us to make a safe assumption of whether this person was naked or dressed. After more intensive observation, we are more prone to interpreting this person as being naked.

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## O ranosrednjovjekovnim proizvodima zoomorfne umjetnosti u zaleđu istočnojadranske obale

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*Abstract:* The text discusses various artifacts from the early Middle Ages with zoomorphic motifs that have been found so far on the eastern Adriatic coast, its hinterland and in the deeper interior, especially in the area of today's Bosnia and Herzegovina. It aims to explain their cultural origin and chronological framework, as well as the historical circumstances that could have contributed to their emergence and spreading in this area, at the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century, originally from the Germanic area. Among these finds, the double-sided decorated belt tongue from the castrum in Gornji Vrbljani is one of the finest such products in Europe, and the only one among them with the name of the master who crafted it (*Tetgis faber me fecit*). Based on this important information, it is suggested that all similarly decorated metal objects, particularly from the Carolingian Empire territory, be labeled as products of the *Tetgis style*, instead of the hitherto usual phrase *Tassilos chalice style*.

*Keywords:* Eastern Adriatic coast, Bosnia and Herzegovina, early Middle Ages, Germanic zoomorphic art, Tetgis style, Tassilo chalice style, Carolingian Empire

### Uvod

U posljednjih dvadesetak godina više sam puta pokušao raspravljati o problematici datiranja i porijekla nekoliko novopronađenih i tipološki vrlo ujednačenih ranosrednjovjekovnih mačeva *K-tipa* iz Dalmacije.<sup>1</sup> Tada sam se također trudio dokazivati da su ti mačevi proizvodi iz posljednjih desetljeća 8. ili početka 9. stoljeća, a prema njihovim izravnim tipološkim usporedbama s vrlo sličnim mačevima iz nordijskih zemalja zaključio sam da su radionice koje su ih proizvele djelovale na sjeveru Europe.<sup>2</sup> Na uvjerljiv način to pokazuje mač iz Zadvarja kojemu je na nakrsnici drške ispisano ime majstora koji ga je radio i koje završava na ....ERTUS, što je čest german-ski imenski dočetak. Neobična je pojava križa na tome maču, kao i na primjerku iz Koljana te na još nekim istovremenim proizvodima jer u to vrijeme on nije bio svojstven sjevernoeuropskim prostorima u koje je kršćanstvo dugo i

sporo prodiralo.<sup>3</sup> Taj detalj ne mora imati presudnu ulogu kada razmišljamo o kronološkoj i radioničkoj pripadnosti tih mačeva jer je dobro poznato da su različite radionice u drugim središtima Europe toga doba proizvodile predmete koji nisu nosili značajke svojstvene kulturi područja na kojemu su djelovale, nego su bili izrađeni po ukusu naručitelja koji su često bili u vrlo udaljenim krajevima. Tako su primjerice u samostanskim radionicama u Rimu izrađivane tzv. "slavenske fibule",<sup>4</sup> a artefakti ranokarolinških osobina, pronađeni u S. Vincenzu u Voltornu u Italiji, karakteristični su za prostore zapadne Europe.<sup>5</sup> Ove spoznaje mogu biti važne za buduća istraživanja ranosrednjovjekovnih mačeva u Hrvatskoj jer se do sada uobičajeno tumačilo da je takvo oružje proizvedeno i potom importirano iz Porajnja, koje je bilo gospodarsko i političko središte Franačkoga Carstva. Danas takvo odlučeno mišljenje, koje je bez rasprave prihvaćala i većina hrvatskih istraživača koji su se bavili tim

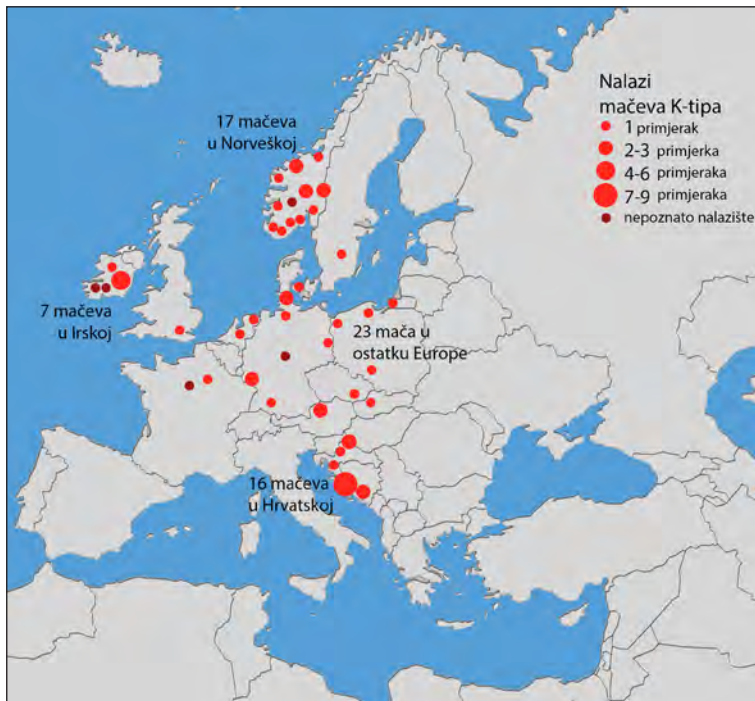
<sup>1</sup> Ovaj rad je djelomično promijenjen i dopunjen tekst koji je prethodno objavljen u: Milošević 2018.

<sup>2</sup> Milošević 2016; 2016a.

<sup>3</sup> Carver 2005; Berend 2007, 73–213.

<sup>4</sup> Arena et al. 2001, 175.

<sup>5</sup> Mitchel 1994.



Slika 1. Rasprostranjenost nalaza ranosrednjovjekovnih mačeva K-tipa

problemom, ipak, čini se, ne može biti prihvatljivo i primjenjivo za sve nalaze mačeva *K-tipa* iz naših krajeva, a na takav zaključak ne upućuje niti prostorna disperzija njihovih nalaza u Europi (sl. 1).<sup>6</sup>

Zanimljivo je i pitanje na koji način su ti, pretpostavljam nordijski proizvodi, mogli dospjeti u srednjojadransko zaleđe. Zanimajući više spekulativnih mogućnosti, jedan od načina može biti trgovinska praksa kojoj su, koristeći zabranu Karla Velikoga o izvozu oružja nepokorenim istočnim susjednim narodima, mogli doprinijeti Vikinzi, koji su u to doba, posebno od 795. godine, svojim dugačkim i brzim brodovima (koristeći i plovidbu velikim rijekama euroazijskoga kopna) krstarili i trgovali vrlo širokim prostorima. Druga mogućnost može se dovesti u vezu s migracijskim gibanjima slavenskih ratničkih skupina na samome kraju 8. stoljeća. Ta se mogućnost u ovom trenutku čini povijesno više opravdanom, odnosno uvjerljivijom. Naime, spomenuti mačevi *K-tipa* na područje današnje zagorske Dalmacije mogli su dospjeti u vrijeme doseljenja novih ratničkih skupina, među kojima su bili i oni koji su se nazivali Hrvatima i koji su preuzeli glavnu ulogu u oblikovanju nove političke organizacije na jugoistoku Europe, pa

<sup>6</sup> Vinski 1981; Bilogrivić 2009.

je njihov etnonim nadjačao druge i ostao oznakom novonastale Kneževine, odnosno kasnijega Kraljevstva. Cjeloviti je povijesni prikaz ovako postavljene sheme dostupan u materijalima s izložbe “Hrvati i Karolinzi”.<sup>7</sup> Za ovu prigodu dostatno je podsjetiti kako su, prema interpretaciji suvremenih vrela koju je za tu prigodu priredio i publicirao M. Ančić, ratničke skupine, što su sudjelovale u tome migracijskom valu, dolazile sa širokoga prostora u međuriječju Labe i Visle i iz pribaltičkih krajeva koji su tada bili u neposrednom susjedstvu Germana i nordijskih Vikinga (sl. 2).<sup>8</sup> Uz to valja naznačiti kako je i u djelu *De administrando imperio* zabilježeno da je jedan dio Hrvata ostao i dalje živjeti u svojoj staroj postojbini, u susjedstvu Sasa, koji su tada obitavali u današnjem sjeverozapadnom dijelu Njemačke. Povijesni kontekst migracijskih gibanja tih ratničkih skupina uvjerljivo se može povezati i s vikinškim prodorima na europsko kopno koji se intenzivira oko 795. godine i napose s dugotrajnim ratom što ga je Karlo Veliki iste godine pokrenuo protiv Avara u Panoniji.<sup>9</sup>

Imajući u vidu ove povijesne okolnosti, sasvim uvjerljivom i realnom čini se pretpostavka da su novopronađeni mačevi iz Koljana i Vaćana, jednako kao i onaj ....ERTUS-ov iz Zadvarja, dospjeli upravo u to vrijeme i u takvim okolnostima, tj. posredstvom različitih novodoseljenih ratničkih skupina (“plemena”) među kojima su bili i najvjerojatnije već tada pokršteni Hrvati jer su na nekim njihovim mačevima i ratničkoj opremi izvedeni i znakovi križa.<sup>10</sup> Pravac takvih kretanja

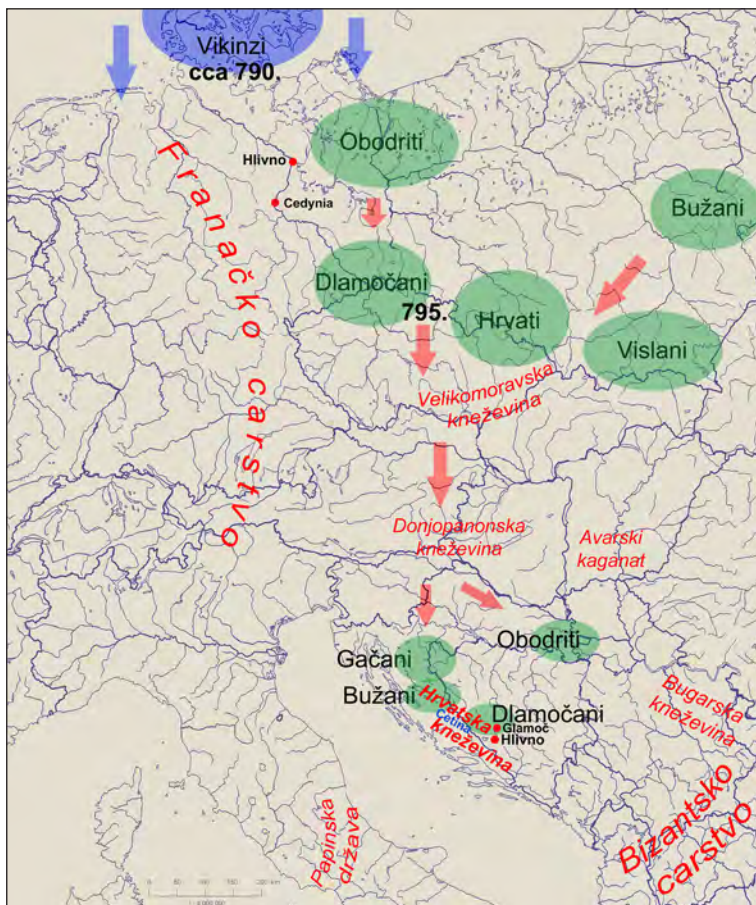
je njihov etnonim nadjačao druge i ostao oznakom novonastale Kneževine, odnosno kasnijega Kraljevstva. Cjeloviti je povijesni prikaz ovako postavljene sheme dostupan u materijalima s izložbe “Hrvati i Karolinzi”.<sup>7</sup> Za ovu prigodu dostatno je podsjetiti kako su, prema interpretaciji suvremenih vrela koju je za tu prigodu priredio i publicirao M. Ančić, ratničke skupine, što su sudjelovale u tome migracijskom valu, dolazile sa širokoga prostora u međuriječju Labe i Visle i iz pribaltičkih krajeva koji su tada bili u neposrednom susjedstvu Germana i nordijskih Vikinga (sl. 2).<sup>8</sup> Uz to valja naznačiti kako je i u djelu *De administrando imperio* zabilježeno da je jedan dio Hrvata ostao i dalje živjeti u svojoj staroj postojbini, u susjedstvu Sasa, koji su tada obitavali u današnjem sjeverozapadnom dijelu Njemačke. Povijesni kontekst migracijskih gibanja tih ratničkih skupina uvjerljivo se može povezati i s vikinškim prodorima na europsko kopno koji se intenzivira oko 795. godine i napose s dugotrajnim ratom što ga je Karlo Veliki iste godine pokrenuo protiv Avara u Panoniji.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Milošević 2000.

<sup>8</sup> Ančić 2000. Također u: Bertelli et al. 2001, 61–96.

<sup>9</sup> Ančić 2000, 73–76; 2016.

<sup>10</sup> Ovdje svakako treba podsjetiti i na podatak iz 13. stoljeća koji prenosi splitski kroničar Toma Arhiđakon koji na nekoliko mjesta u svojoj “Historiji Salonitani” dosljedno ponavlja kako su se Hrvati u Dalmaciju doselili kao kršćani – arijanci. (Usp. Toma Arhiđakon 2003, gl. VII/4, 36–39, gl. XI/1, 58–59). Neki hrvatski povjesničari, kao primjerice Barada 1940, 415–417, držali su da je to vjerodostojan povijesni podatak, no uz tumačenje prema kojemu je do “seobe Hrvata” došlo u drugoj polovini 7. stoljeća, a ne kako se to



Slika 2. Pretpostavljeni pravci seoba Hrvata krajem 8. stoljeća prema rezultatima izložbe "Hrvati i Karolinzi"

možda potvrđuju gotovo identični nalazi mačeva iz Mikulčica u Češkoj<sup>11</sup> i iz korita rijeke Mure (sl. 3),<sup>12</sup> a kartiranje nalaza K-mačeva s područja današnje Hrvatske u toj nas pretpostavci definitivno učvršćuje. Njihova se prostorna disperzija, naime, u potpunosti poklapa s trasama rimskih cesta koje su takvim etničkim premještanjima nudile optimalne pravce i mogućnosti. Ako, pak, tim primjercima oružja dodamo i vrlo važne i istovremene primjerke umjetničkog obrta

ovdje zastupa u posljednjem desetljeću 8. stoljeća. Rasprave o poganstvu kod Slavena (i Hrvata?) u Dalmaciji te njihovo pokrštenje, odnosno povratak kršćanstvu kao ideološkoj i vjerskoj sili krajem 8. i početkom 9. stoljeća, u hrvatskoj historiografiji iznjedrile su opsežnu literaturu. Kako ovdje nije mjesto da se ta pitanja šire elaboriraju, a nisu niti od presudne važnosti za ovu raspravu, upućujemo na nedavno iznijeto takvo mišljenje temeljeno na arheološkim artefaktima u: Džino 2023, 181–183.

<sup>11</sup> Košta 2005, 160–162, 172, sl. 2, 9.

<sup>12</sup> Podatak s portala ZOAL – Zala vármegyei hárpörtál od 3. listopada 2021. godine (<https://www.zaol.hu/helyi-kozelet/2021/01/egy-karoling-korabeli-kard-kerult-elo-murakereszturon>).



Slika 3. Mač K-tipa iz korita rijeke Mure kod Murakeresztúra (Županija Zala) u Mađarskoj (Thúry György Múzeum, Nagykanisza)

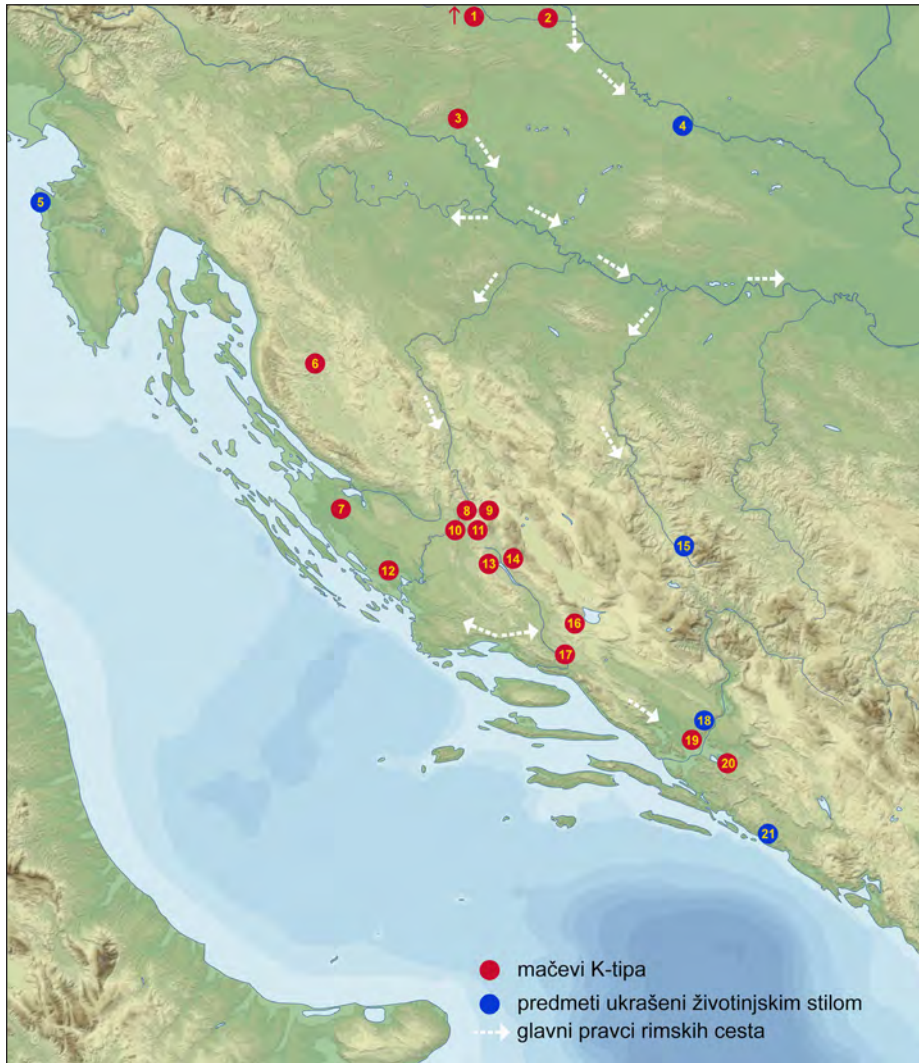
koji očituju zoomorfnu umjetnost kontinentalnih karakteristika, ukupnost tih seobi pokazuje se u jasnijem svjetlu (sl. 4).<sup>13</sup> Na izvjestan način na to upućuje i ornamentika drške mača iz Haithabua na kojoj se miješaju kršćanski i životinjski motivi, koji odražavaju likovnost i ikonografiju u kojoj se još uvijek slobodno iskazivao

poganski animalistički realizam izmiješan s nadolazećim kršćanstvom (sl. 5). Isto se daje razumjeti i iz obostrano ukrašenog jezičca iz Gornjih Vrbljana na kojemu s jedne strane životinjski motivi uokviruju starozavjetnu formulu "zazivanja pomoći nebeskih četa", a s druge podatak da ga je napravio "kovač" *Tetgis*, što je ime germanskoga porijekla.

## Artefakti germanske zoomorfne umjetnosti u jadranskom zaleđu

Danas još uvijek nije pouzdano utvrđeno od kuda, u koje vrijeme i na koji način su se spomenuti artefakti sa zoomorfnom ornamentikom pojavili na nalazištima zapadnoga Balkana. Joachim Werner i Zdenko Vinski pretpostavljaju im zapadnoeuropsko / germansko porijeklo,

<sup>13</sup> Milošević 2016a, 212–215, sl. 10.



Slika 4. Rasprostranjenost nalaza mačeva K-tipa i artefakata sa zoomorfnim motivima



Sl. 5. Kršćanski i germanski zoomorfni motivi na maču iz Haithabua na sjeveru Njemačke

i to u radionicama sjeverno od Alpa, dovodeći ih u vezu s intenziviranjem kontakata s ranim Karolinzima.<sup>14</sup> Datiraju ih u drugu polovinu

8. stoljeća. Zbog rijetkog primjera ranosred-njovjekovnog dvodijelnog jezičca s pomičnim vrhom Mechthild Schulze Dörrlamm pretpostavlja da je specifični tip pojasne garniture iz Mogorjela mogao utjecati i na neke slične oblike

<sup>14</sup> Werner 1959; 1961; Vinski 1979, 144–157.



Slika 6. Pojasna garnitura iz Mogorjela u Hercegovini, Zemaljski muzej, Sarajevo (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

u bizantskoj kulturnoj sferi uspoređujući je s pojasnom garniturom iz jednoga groba iskapanog u bazilici kastruma Tigani na otoku Samosu, vjerojatno iz druge polovine 10. ili ranoga 11. stoljeća. Pretpostavlja da je luksuzna garnitura iz Mogorjela nastala u nekoj zlatarskoj radionici u langobardskoj Italiji 8. stoljeća.<sup>15</sup> Za sva ova pitanja stanje istraživosti i noviji nalazi ni danas ne pružaju više mogućnosti za pouzdane odgovore.

Među tim nalazima brončana pozlaćena pojasna garnitura iz Mogorjela (sl. 6), koja se sastoji od kopče s pločicom i dvodijelnoga jezičca i koja je nađena u okrugloj kuli mogorjelskog kastruma, jedan je od najluksuznijih do danas pronađenih proizvoda ukrašenih *germanskim životinjskim stilom*. Analogije njenim zoomorfnim motivima

<sup>15</sup> Schulze Dörrlamm 2009, 241–245, sl. 88. Ista je autorica prethodno iznijela mišljenje da bi pojasnu garnituru iz Mogorjela trebalo datirati nešto ranije, u kasno 7. stoljeće. Usp. Schulze Dörrlamm 1998, 139, sl. 8.



Slika 7. Pojasni jezičac iz Mogorjela u Hercegovini, Zemaljski muzej, Sarajevo (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

su brojne s koncentracijom u Friziji i saksonskoj oblasti te u Tiringiji i Rajnskoj oblasti. Izvan toga područja slični nalazi su sporadični. Prema J. Werneru proizvod je srednjoeuropskih radionica iz druge polovine 8. stoljeća, a u posjed južnoslavenskog velikodostojnika, koji je imao sjedište u Mogorjelu, mogla je dospjeti krajem 8. stoljeća na pouzdano neutvrđen način.<sup>16</sup> U Mogorjelu je u kastrumu nedaleko okrugle kule otkopan grob u drvenom sanduku u kojemu je bio još jedan veći brončani pozlaćeni jezičac, mač *K-tipa*, željezna sjekira i nekoliko vršaka strelica.<sup>17</sup> Ovaj drugi jezičac u konturi oslikava oblik slova “U” što je čest slučaj u karolinškom umjetničkom obrtu 9. stoljeća (sl. 7), no, tamošnji primjerci su uglavnom bez pupoljka u nastavku. S obzirom na to da je riječ o ne osobito kvalitetnom proizvodu s ukočenim geometrijskim ornamentima i da su “U” jezičci s pupoljkom u nastavku češći u južnoslavenskim oblastima,<sup>18</sup> J. Werner pretpostavlja da je ovdje riječ o lokalnom ili talijanskom proizvodu 9. stoljeća prema karolinškim uzorima.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Werner 1961, 239–241.

<sup>17</sup> Džino 2023, 135.

<sup>18</sup> Nesumnjivo ranokarolinškim pojasnim jezičcima iz naših krajeva, koje navodi J. Werner, treba dodati par brončanih, ukrašenih primjeraka s tragovima pozlate i bez pupoljka na vrhu koji su nedavno pronađeni u kneževskom grobu na Brekinjinoj kosi kod Gline (Madiraca et al. 2017, 171–173, sl. 12). Još jedan obostrano ukrašeni srebrni jezičac izduženog “U” oblika i s pupoljkom na vrhu izvađen je prije dvadesetak godina iz Peručkog jezera u Koljanima (usp. Milošević 2016a, 217–218, sl. 14; 2016, 257, sl. 15).

<sup>19</sup> Werner 1961, 237–238.



Slika 8. Dvostrano ukrašeni pojasni jezičac iz Medvedičke u Slavoniji, Arheološki muzej, Zagreb

Jezičac sa životinjskim ornamentima iz Medvedičke (sl. 8) osobit je nalaz jer je jedan od malobrojnih koji potječe iz kakvog-takvog arheološkog konteksta. Dio je grobne cjeline koju su još činili željezni nož, sjekira i mač.<sup>20</sup> U osnovi mač pripada *H-tipu* prema Petersenovoj podjeli, a i prema preciznijem tipološkom razvrstavanju koje je napravio Alfred Giebeg.<sup>21</sup> Karakterizira ga usko sječivo i uska nakrsnica te ukrašavanje ukucanom mesinganom žicom na jabučici i nakrsnici. Pretpostavlja se da je proizvod vikinških radionica druge polovine 8. stoljeća, a prisustvo nesumnjivo slavenske sjekire u grobu cijeli nalaz dovodi u vrlo vjerojatni kontekst s već spo-

menutim migracijama s kraja 8. stoljeća. Jezičac je u to vrijeme bio nesumnjivo prestižan predmet pa je opravdano pretpostaviti da je u tome grobu sahranjen neki slavenski plemenski prvak koji je možda bio i sudionik Karlovog ratnog pohoda protiv Avara, a da je takvih bilo, potvrđeno je i povijesnim izvorima.<sup>22</sup> Sam jezičac nije osobito kvalitetan proizvod, pogotovu ako ga usporedimo s luksuznim primjercima iz Gornjih Vrbljana (sl. 12) i Mogorjela (sl. 6). Na prednjoj strani su dva polja s kvalitetnijim životinjskim motivima, a na stražnjoj životinjski preplet je gušći, podijeljen u četiri polja, i gotovo je neprepoznatljiv. Zanimljivi su i geometrijski motivi trokutića koji su na primjerku iz Medvedičke svi šrafirani. Tako je uređeno i nekoliko jezičaca iz Nizozemske i primjerak iz Ingelheima,<sup>23</sup> dok većina drugih europskih nalaza ima naizmjenično šrafirane trokute, jednako kao i primjerak iz Gornjih Vrbljana. Moguće analogije pojasnom okovu iz Medvedičke su uglavnom na nalazištima sjeverne Europe. Osnovnom formom, rasporedom i načinom obrade ornamenta na obje strane sasvim je blizak jezičcima iz Ingelheima i Rossuma.<sup>24</sup> Prednjica mu je usporediva i s peharom iz Danske (Fejō),<sup>25</sup> a životinjski ukrasi na stražnjoj strani bliski su motivima s pehara iz Pettstadta (D) za koji se pretpostavlja da je proizvod sjevernoeuropskih radionica 8. stoljeća.<sup>26</sup>

Zemljopisno izdvojen nalaz brončanog pozlaćenog pojasnog jezičca sa životinjskim motivima (sl. 9.1) pronađen je i u ruševinama prostranog kastruma *Sipparis* (Sipar kod Novigrada istarskoga) koji se danas najvećim dijelom nalazi ispod morske površine.<sup>27</sup> Jezičac je štitastog oblika s pupoljkom na vrhu. Prednju stranu ispunjava mu elegantna izvijenja i isprepletana životinja zabačene glave koja u znatnoj mjeri podsjeća na nekolicinu jezičaca s vrlo sličnim životinjama

<sup>22</sup> Vinski 1979, 184–185; Ančić 2018.

<sup>23</sup> Wamers 1994, lista 2, br. 4 (Belgija nepoznato nalazište), br. 18 (Dorestad), br. 83 (Fredericks); Stiegemann / Wemhoff, 1999, 466, kat. jed. VII.26 (Ingelheim).

<sup>24</sup> Za Rossum vidi Wamers 1994, lista 2, br. 66, a za Ingelheim u: Stiegemann / Wemhoff (ur.) 1999, 466, kat. jed. VII.26.

<sup>25</sup> Wamers 1994, lista 2, br. 25; 2005, 88, sl. 31.

<sup>26</sup> Wamers 1994, lista 2, br. 58; 2005, 88, sl. 32.

<sup>27</sup> Marušić 1995, 113, kat. br. 489; Milošević (ur.) 2000, vol 2, 71, kat. br. I. 61.

<sup>20</sup> Vinski 1979, 177–185, T. 10–11, 16–17.

<sup>21</sup> Geibig 1991, 18.



Slika 9. Mali pojasni jezičac i četvrtasta aplika iz Sipara, Arheološki muzej Istre, Pula

iz srednje i sjeverne Europe.<sup>28</sup> Na istome lokalitetu nađen je još jedan ukrašeni kvadratni okov pojasa, ukrašen dijagonalno postavljenom čeverolatičnom rozetom (na sličan način kao na "U" pojasnom jezičku iz Mogorjela) koji je jasnije moguće povezati s ranokarolinškim utjecajima u Istri (sl. 9.2).<sup>29</sup>

Za temu o kojoj ovdje raspravljamo pozornosti je vrijedna i jedna kružna lijevana brončana fibula, također iz Sipara. Zbog prisutnog saliniteta, slabije je sačuvana.

U sredini je životinja zabačene glave, a uokolo se izmjenjuju kasete s vitičastim i geometrijskim ukrasima s djelomično sačuvanim plavim, zelenim i crvenim emajlom izvedenim tehnikom *Champlevé* (sl. 10).<sup>30</sup> Analizirajući tri fibule sličnoga sadržaja iz Mainza, većinu takvih europskih nalaza obradio je Egon Wamers, donoseći i stariju literaturu o tome pitanju. Pretpostavlja da su većinom iz 10. stoljeća.<sup>31</sup> Na fibuli iz Sipara središnji motiv je elegantna životinja, konturno ocrtanoga tijela, zabačene glave i visoko podignutog izvijenog repa. Takvim svojstvima ta se izvedba približava starijim germanskim uzorima i primjercima s ranosrednjovjekovnih skulptura (usp. sl. 23).<sup>32</sup> Zbog toga, ali i zbog bisernoga niza kojim je optočen vanjski obod fibule, moguće je da je i nešto starija od većine usporedivih

<sup>28</sup> Lošija kvaliteta izrade (?) i slabija sačuvanost naveli su M. Schulze Dörrlamm da ovaj nalaz uvrsti među petnaestak europskih nalaza za koje navodi da manifestiraju degenerirani stil Tassilovog kaleža. Uz to pogrešno navodi da se Sipar nalazi u Sloveniji. Usp. Schulze Dörrlamm 1998, 146.

<sup>29</sup> Marušić 1962, 168, T. 6/10; Milošević (ur.) 2000, vol. 2, 71, kat. br. I. 62.

<sup>30</sup> Marušić 1995, 114, kat. br. 496.

<sup>31</sup> Wamers 1994, 77–81, karta na str. 78.

<sup>32</sup> Milošević 2003.



Slika 10. Diskoidna fibula ukrašena emajlom i životinjskom figurom u sredini iz Sipara, Arheološki muzej Istre, Pula

europskih nalaza. Pretpostavljam da bi ju okvirno trebalo datirati u 9. stoljeće.

Siparski kastrum<sup>33</sup> su u prvoj polovini 9. stoljeća dva puta ugrozili Saraceni (819. i 842.), a u drugoj polovini 9. stoljeća još dva puta nerektivanski gusari (864. i 887.) i u međuvremenu knez Domagoj (876.).<sup>34</sup> Spomenuti vrijedni ranokarolinški nalazi i nekoliko ratnih devastacija tijekom 9. stoljeća svjedoče da je Sipar, kao i još neki kastrumi u zapadnoj Istri, a također onaj na Velikom Brijunu gdje je pronađen novac Karla Velikog, značajna tadašnja središta. Osim Sipara, u Domagojevoj provali postradali su još i Novigrad i Umag, pa nije isključeno da su poneki od stilski i kronološki srodnih nalaza koji su pronađeni na jugu, pa tako i onaj iz Mogorjela, mogli tamo dospjeti i kao ratni plijen iz spomenutih pljačkaških pohoda.

Za temu o kojoj ovdje raspravljam zanimljiv je i pojasni jezičac iz Dubrovnika (sl. 11).<sup>35</sup> Spojen je od dva dijela, iznutra je šupalj, izliven je od bronce, doraden je rovašenjem i graviranjem te potom pozlaćen u vatri. Izduženog je pravokutnog oblika s trokutasto oblikovanim i konturno profiliranim užim krajevima. Potpuno

<sup>33</sup> O novijim istraživanjima Sipara u: Milošević 2019; Milošević Zakić 2017; Milošević Zakić / Mijanović 2017.

<sup>34</sup> Monticolo 1890, 122–123. O Siparu (Siparis, Sipparis) u antičkim izvorima vidi u: Križman 1997, 366, 368, 370.

<sup>35</sup> Milošević 2021.



Slika 11. Dvostruko ukrašeni pojasni jezičac iz Dubrovnika (foto: Z. Alajbeg)



Slika 12. Obostrano ukrašeni pojasni jezičac iz Gornjih Vrbljana u Bosni, Zemaljski muzej, Sarajevo (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

je ukrašen s obje strane. Prednja mu je sačuvana u cijelosti, a od stražnje strane ostala je tek jedna trećina. Riječ je o unikatnom nalazu koji nema izravnih analogija među sličnim proizvodima toga vremena ni u Europi, a niti na Istoku. Nema, dakle, jasnih tipoloških i stilskih karakteristika, no, pojedini elementi koji su na njemu

prisutni ipak se nalaze u dvjema velikim kulturnim sferama toga vremena: u mediteransko-bizantskoj i u europsko-germanskoj. Takva njegova koncepcija i ikonografski sadržaj u velikoj mjeri odgovaraju društvenim, političkim, gospodarskim i vojnim prilikama na istočnojadranskoj obali i njenom širem zaleđu jer je nastao u vrijeme kada se na tome prostoru sukobljavaju interesi Franačkoga i Bizantskoga Carstva. Vjerojatno iz toga razloga na dubrovačkom jezičku nalazimo izvedene i motive koji su svojstveni germanskoj poganskoj životinjskoj ornamentici (životinjski motivi na sačuvanom dijelu poledine, sl. 11.1 i 1a) usporedno s jasnim scenama koje imaju kršćansku simboliku (nasuprotne ptice između kaleža na prednjoj strani, sl. 11.3 i 3a). S grupom sličnih germanskih proizvoda povezuje ga i motiv nasuprotnih šrafiranih trokuta i rubna vitica kakvi su izvedeni na jezičku iz Medvedičke (sl. 8) te koncept s izduženim pravokutnim poljem na prednjoj strani kakav se nalazi i na pojasnom jezičku iz Gornjih Vrbljana (sl. 12).

U arealu rasprostiranja predmeta ukrašenih životinjskom ornamentikom, jezičac iz Dubrovnika je za sada najjužniji takav primjerak, no njegova pojava na tom prostoru ne bi trebala biti neobična jer je udaljen manje od stotinjak kilometara od Mogorjela gdje je pronađena poznata pojasna garnitura sa sličnim ukrasima (sl. 6).

Stilskim i kulturnim prožimanjima koja pokazuje dubrovački jezičac vjerojatno su doprinijeli položaj i uloga Dubrovnika koji se nalazio na

važnoj i frekventnoj pomorskoj ruti koju su koristili onovremeni trgovci i diplomacija, a onda i hodočasnici koji su u to doba, na putu u Svetu Zemlju, intenzivno koristili upravo pomorske pravce jer takva putovanja kopnenim komunikacijama nisu bila sigurna.

Pretpostavljam da je jezičac nastao u 8., ili preciznije u drugoj polovini 8. stoljeća, te da je izrađen u nekoj od lokalnih istočnojadranskih radionica, vjerojatno u dalmatinskim gradovima (možda i u ranosrednjovjekovnoj *Ragusi*), ili u nekoj samostanskoj sredini na obali gdje se još uvijek mogla održavati zanatska proizvodnja temeljena na starijoj tradiciji.

### Tetgisov jezičac i artefakti sa životinjskom ornamentikom u dubljem jadranskom zaleđu

Tetgisov jezičac iz kastruma nad izvorom Sane u Bosni odličan je proizvod ukrašen životinjskim motivima s jugoistoka Europe, a također jedan od najkvalitetnijih u Europi uopće, posebno što se tiče tehnologije njegove izrade (sl. 12). Izliven je u bronci, pozlaćen u vatri, s intarziranim srebrnim pločicama na kojima su natpisi. Na prednjoj strani je sadržaj kršćanskog karaktera: S(an)C(tu)S S(an)C(tu)S S(an)C(tu)S D(omi)N(u)S S(a)B(aoth), a na poledini podatci o majstoru koji ga je radio: TETGIS FABER ME FECIT.<sup>36</sup>

U Europi je pronađeno više od stotinu predmeta s ornamentima koji su stilski bliski Tetgisovom jezičcu. Među njima su i izvrsni proizvodi poput Tasilovog kaleža i stražnja, starija korica evanđelistara iz Lindaua s ponešto drugačijim životinjskim motivima.<sup>37</sup> Najveća koncentracija tih artefakata je na germanskim područjima, osobito u međuriječju donjih tokova Rajne i Elbe, pa se ondje pretpostavljaju i radionički centri koji su ih proizvodili.<sup>38</sup> U povijesno-umjetničkom određenju literatura ih je u prošlosti različito definirala, a najčešće kao izrađevine u *inzularnom stilu kontinentalnih karakteristika* ili pak kao predmete s motivima *germanskog životinjskog stila*. Tumači se da se njegova ponovna

pojava polovinom 8. stoljeća razvila kao rezultat nastojanja "germanskoga" dijela tadašnje europske populacije na formiranju samosvojnog političkog bloka kao opozicije franačko-romanskom kršćanskom bloku, svojevrsni *germanski renovatio*.

Naime, pojedini elementi odjeće i nakitni predmeti za to su osobito prikladni, naročito u vrijeme fluidnih društvenih i političkih previranja jer takve okolnosti potiču različite skupine i pojedince da upravo tako naglase svoj društveni i pojedinačni identitet. Predmeti osobnog ukrašavanja, a osobito oni koji se nose na istaknutim mjestima na odjeći i tijelu, za taj su zadatak osobito prikladni, više od bilo čega drugoga. Učestalom i prepoznatljivom upotrebom i naglim širenjem vrlo brzo postaju prepoznatljiv stil kojemu je svrha i glavna zadaća identitetsko izjašnjavanje unutar određenog društvenog konstrukta i sredstvo kojim se pojačava svijest o kulturnom identitetu unutar određene zajednice, a isto tako i kao sredstvo za prepoznavanje te zajednice prema drugima koji joj ne pripadaju.<sup>39</sup> Takav stil, dakle, postaje odraz društva koje ga je proizvelo, a njegov umjetnički izraz djeluje kao prepoznatljivi vizualni medij strukture toga društva te njegovo vjersko i ideologijsko opredjeljenje. Pretpostavlja se da najaktivniju ulogu u nastajanju i razvoju stila imaju društvene elite jer njime, u zajednici kojoj pripadaju, legitimiraju svoju moć, a prenošenjem i širenjem stila, kroz materijalnu kulturu, mogu manipulirati tim procesima i kontrolirati ih.<sup>40</sup>

Tako, životinjska ornamentika svoje porijeklo ima u Skandinaviji 5. stoljeća i odatle se, tijekom 6. i u prvoj polovini 7. stoljeća, proširila na britanske otoke i europski kontinent. Na europskom kopnu nakon sredine 7. stoljeća gubi svoje značenje, a razvoj nastavlja u Skandinaviji kao izraz antagonizma tamošnjih nekršćanskih naroda prema kršćanskom feudalnom sistemu koji se širio Europom. Ponovna pojava *germanskoga životinjskoga stila* u 8. stoljeću na kontinentu može, dakle, ukazivati na težnju da takvi motivi u umjetnosti ideološki i politički obilježe i identificiraju njihove nositelje, konkretno

<sup>36</sup> Bojanovski 1979; Vinski 1979, 144–157.

<sup>37</sup> Schulze Dörrlamm 1998, 133 donosi kartu s nalazima metalnih predmeta i kamenih skulptura sa životinjskim ornamentima u stilu Tasilovog kaleža. Popis lokaliteta koji prati kartu je na str. 143–146.

<sup>38</sup> Wamers 1994, 159–174.

<sup>39</sup> Više je relevantnih tekstova koji raspravljaju o ovome problemu. Ovdje osobito upozoravam na: Wiessner 1991; Suzuki 2000; Swift 2004; Jenkins 2004; Curta 2005; Hunter 2007; Galvin 2014.

<sup>40</sup> Usp. Wells 2001; Hedeager 2011.



Slika 13. Rasprostranjenost nalaza Tetgisovog stila

germansku populaciju ili njihovu elitu kao novi relevantni politički faktor. Te procese u kojima se postupno od različitih naroda formirala tadašnja Europa na razvalinama rimske civilizacije, vidjeli smo, pokazuju i neki predmeti čija ornamentika simbolički iskazuje poganski animalistički realizam izmiješan s novoprihvaćenim kršćanstvom, a takvu situaciju imamo i na jezičcu iz Vrbljana. U takvome kontekstu, životinjsku ornamentiku druge polovine 8. stoljeća, kako je već

uočio Egon Wamers, ne treba povezivati s djelovanjem anglosaksonskih misionara na kontinentu, nego ju treba povezivati s duhovnim, kulturnim i političkim ozračjem područja na kojem se upotrebljavala.<sup>41</sup> Slijedom takvih zaključaka tadašnji životinjski stil ne može se niti povezivati s karolinškim utjecajima, kako se to često čini, jer se umjetnost toga doba, kroz *renovatio imperii*, u cjelini ugledala na rimske modele. Stoga je

<sup>41</sup> Wamers 1999, 460–464.

i razumljivo da se taj stil u proizvodima zapadno od Rajne nikada nije udomaćio, a i pojedinačni nalazi s takvom simbolikom na tome prostoru sasvim su sporadični (sl. 13).<sup>42</sup>

Svakako je zanimljiv i “datum” ponovne pojave *germanskoga životinjskoga stila* u europskoj umjetnosti jer se on poklapa s činjenicom da je upravo u to vrijeme Karlo osvajao istočne dijelove svoga budućeg carstva. Taj ranosrednjovjekovni umjetnički stil svoju je punu afirmaciju postigao u izrađevinama u tzv. *stilu Tasilovog kaleža* tijekom druge polovine 8. stoljeća<sup>43</sup> pa se njegova pojava može objašnjavati i kao izraz protivljenja franačkoj političkoj i kulturnoj dominaciji.<sup>44</sup> Iz toga razloga je i razumljivo njegovo brzo širenje u kratkom roku, kao i činjenica da se takvi motivi izvode uglavnom na profanim predmetima i luksuznijim metalnim dijelovima odjeće.

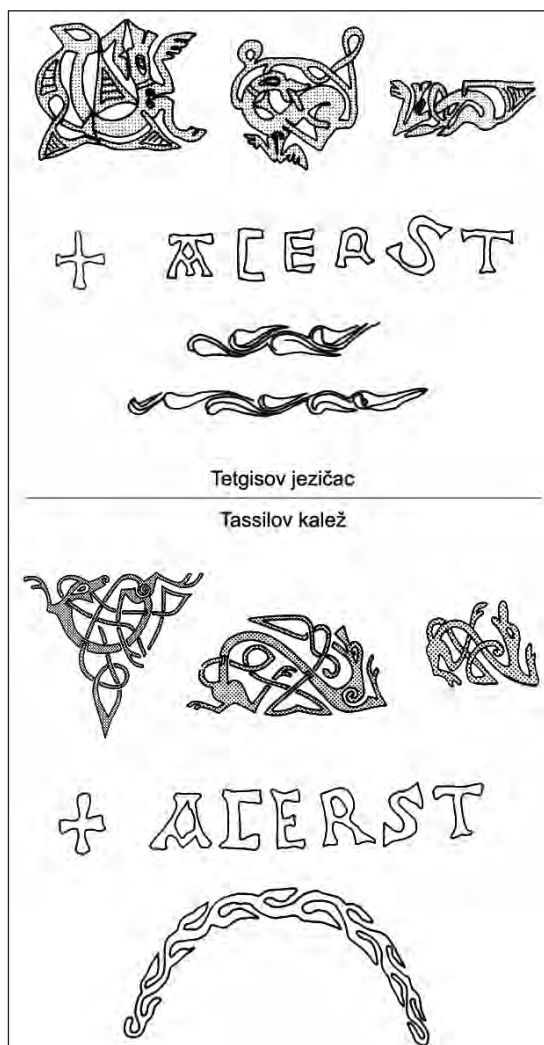
Karlova osvajanja prema istoku i prodor Vikinga sa sjevera krajem 8. stoljeća stvorili su nesigurnu situaciju na istočnom rubu Carstva, što je također moglo biti poticaj značajnijim migracijama. Društvene i političke elite naroda uz istočni rub Carstva, kao nositelji takvih vrijednih i “etnički” prepoznatljivih proizvoda, naglim i opsežnim migracijama, mogle su doprinijeti njihovom brzom širenju na velikom području. Na isti način je objašnjivo i naglo nestajanje takvih izrađevina jer se, ili asimilacijom ili teritorijalnom integracijom u franačku državu, naglo promijenilo političko, društveno, vjersko i kulturno okruženje, u kojemu za *germanski životinjski stil* više nije bilo mjesta, a niti se za njim osjećala potreba.

Tako su proizvodi sa životinjskom ornamentikom u kratkom vremenu mogli postati i postali su propagandno sredstvo, oruđe političke vlasti i njen prepoznatljiv simbol, a nositelji tako ukrašenih artefakata deklarirani pripadnici tadašnjih društvenih elita. Stoga su u pravu oni koji u međuovisnost stavljaju arheološke i povijesne izvore jer se pokazalo da je simbolička moć svakog stila osobito važna u vremenima drastičnijih društvenih i političkih promjena, posebno u

<sup>42</sup> Žvanut 2002, 280–281.

<sup>43</sup> O takvim nalazima kod zapadnih Slavena, pa tako i u našim krejevima, vidi u: Robak 2015; 2018. Kao i kod većine autora, u popisu pronađenih artefakata s odlikama ovog stila, i u tim radovima mjesta su našli predmeti koji mu ne pripadaju, osim možda po tehnici izrade kojoj su korišteni u kasnoantičkom dobu i koja nije svojstvena samo toj grupi nalaza.

<sup>44</sup> Žvanut 2002, 281–283.



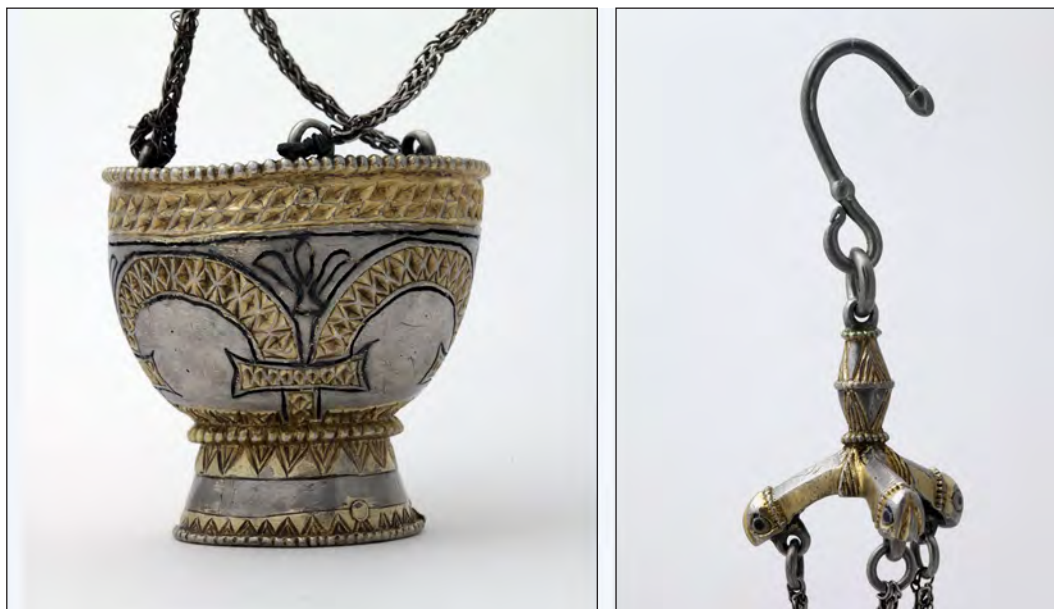
Slika 14. Usporedba životinjskih motiva i pojedinih slova na Tetgisovom jezičcu i Tasilovom kaležu

pograničnim područjima, u kojima je tim načinom učvršćivanje novih društvenih odnosa bilo najnužnije. Prostorna disperzija proizvoda *germanskoga životinjskoga stila* to jasno pokazuje.

Već na izložbi “Hrvati i Karolinzi” upozorio sam na mogućnost da se u Tetgisu s jezička iz Vrbljana može prepoznati i majstora glasovitoga Tasilovog kaleža i za to ponudio likovnu argumentaciju koju i danas podržavam (sl. 14).<sup>45</sup> U povijesnoumjetničkom i kronološkom smislu *stil Tasilovog kaleža* definirao je Gunter Haseloff, a nazvao ga je prema najvažnijem predmetu iz te umjetničke produkcije.<sup>46</sup> Kasniji istraživači usmjeravali su se uglavnom na pronalaženje analogija koje bi omogućile njihovo smještanje u širi

<sup>45</sup> Milošević (ur.) 2000, vol. 1, 113–114; Milošević 2005, 255–256, sl. 13.

<sup>46</sup> Haseloff 1951.



Slika 15. Ranosrednjovjekovna kadionica iz Vrlike u Hrvatskoj, Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, Split (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

europski umjetnički kontekst ranoga srednjeg vijeka, u čemu je najviše rezultata postigao Egon Wamers.<sup>47</sup> On je znatno raširio repertoar stila pa mu je pribrojio i neke proizvode koji mu ne bi trebali pripadati, makar kad je riječ o repertoaru ornamentalnih motiva koji ga karakteriziraju. Tako se među proizvodima u *stilu Tasilovog kaleža* našla i cetinska kadionica (sl. 15.1–2)<sup>48</sup> na kojoj, osim šrafranih trokuta koji ne pripadaju samo tome stilu, nema uobičajene životinjske i biljne ornamentike.<sup>49</sup> Također sam mišljenja da je grupu predmeta ukrašenih *germanskim životinjskim stilom* druge polovine 8. stoljeća

primjerenije nazivati proizvodima *Tetgisovog stila*, jer je riječ o zanatski i tehnološki vrlo zahtjevnom proizvodu, koji je uz to jedini iz te skupine na kojemu je ostalo zabilježeno i ime majstora koji ga je izradio.

Jezičac iz Gornjih Vrbljana slučajni je nalaz, no nije i jedini predmet s toga kastruma jer je s njim pronađena i jedna istovremena brončana ostruga.<sup>50</sup>

Mogući historijski kontekst ovim nalazima, a i ranosrednjovjekovnu sliku zapadnoga Balkana, ocrta još nekoliko značajnih nalaza kao što su dijelovi konjske orme iz Rusanovića kod Rogatice (sl. 16)<sup>51</sup> i gotovo unikatni nalaz brončanog umba okruglog štita iz Breze kod Sarajeva koji nema prihvatljivih analogija u europskoj ostavštini toga doba (sl. 17).<sup>52</sup> Izvorni izgled možemo mu spoznati tek prema prikazima na minijaturama

<sup>47</sup> Wamers 1993; 1994; 1994a, 116–117; 1999; 2013; (ur.) 2019, 377–449.

<sup>48</sup> Takav prijedlog koji je najprije iznijet u: Vinski Gasparini 1958, 100–101, podržao je Vinski 1979, 164–165, i potom preuzeo Wamers 1999, 463; 2005, 90–91; 2019, 467–468.

<sup>49</sup> Moje je mišljenje da cetinska (vrlička) kadionica ne pruža dovoljno pouzdanih pokazatelja da ju se može precizno smjestiti u vrijeme i među proizvode stila Tasilovog kaleža. Potpuni nedostatak životinjskih ornamenata bitan je detalj, a za to nisu dovoljni ni arhitektonska kompozicija ukrasa, polihromija izazvana upotrebom različitih metala niti tehnike dubokog rovašenja s pozlatom u vatri jer je riječ zlatarskim umijećima koja su u znatnoj mjeri bila razvijena još u kasnoantičko doba na vrlo širokom prostoru, poglavito među Alemanima, Gotima i Langobardima. Elemente za daljnju raspravu pruža i "S" kuka za vješanje, trokrako hvatište koje završava stiliziranim ptičijim glavama i karakteristično ispleteni srebrni lančići. O vrličkoj kadionici pripremam posebnu raspravu koja će uskoro biti završena.

<sup>50</sup> Milošević 2006.

<sup>51</sup> Milošević 2012, 101–103, sl. 104.

<sup>52</sup> Basler 1972, 60. Prije četrdesetak godina iznijeto je mišljenje da taj umbo nalikuje ranobizantskim takvim proizvodima, a zbog približnih analogija sa sličnim primjercima iz langobardskih grobova Nocera Umbre pretpostavljalo se da pripada proizvodima iz italo-bizantskoga kruga. O tome vidi "Ekskurs" u: Vinski 1982, 28–29. Treba ipak primijetiti da se umbo iz Breze oblikom znatno razlikuje od takvih nalaza s Apeninskog poluotoka, a bitno mu je različit i način ukrašavanja, o čemu vidi u: Milošević 2011, 127–128, sl. 142. Također: Džino 2023, na više mjesta, osobito na str. 150–156.



Slika 16. Aplike s konjske orme iz Rusanovića kod Sarajeva, Zemaljski muzej, Sarajevo (foto: Z. Alajbeg)



Slika 17. Umbo ranosrednjovjekovnog štita iz Breze kod Sarajeva, Zemaljski muzej, Sarajevo (foto: Z. Alajbeg, crtež prema: Đ. Basler 1972)



Slika 18. Karolinški konjanik s velikim okruglim štitom na minijaturi iz Štutgartskom psaltiru. Umbo na manjem štitu ratnika koji leži dolje lijevo više je nalik primjerku iz Breze.

(npr. u psaltirima iz Stuttgarta, Utrechta i St. Gallena) te skulpturama i reljefima iz druge polovine 8. i početka 9. stoljeća. Tridesetak sličnih primjera na minijaturama u Štutgartskom psaltiru za nas su posebno zanimljivi, prvenstveno zbog tankog i naglašenog istaknutog središnjeg vrha koji završava kuglicom i tzv. "bisernog niza" kojim su ukrašeni (sl. 18).<sup>53</sup> Dominantan ornament na umbu iz Breze je i rubni niz ukucanih trokuta, složen i izveden na način kako je to bilo učestalo na proizvodima ranoga srednjeg vijeka u drugim dijelovima Europe (usp. ovdje i sl. 15).

Umbo je iskopan u ruševinama zanimljive građevine koja je dio većeg kompleksa, a čiji temeljni ostatci ocrtavaju zgradu s trostranim trijemom sa svodovima unutar kojega je dvodijelna pravokutna prostorija s polukružnom apsidom na južnom zidu (sl. 19.1). Vanjski uglovi trijema na sjevernom pročelnome dijelu trijema su zidanjem zatvoreni, a stubište sa zapadne

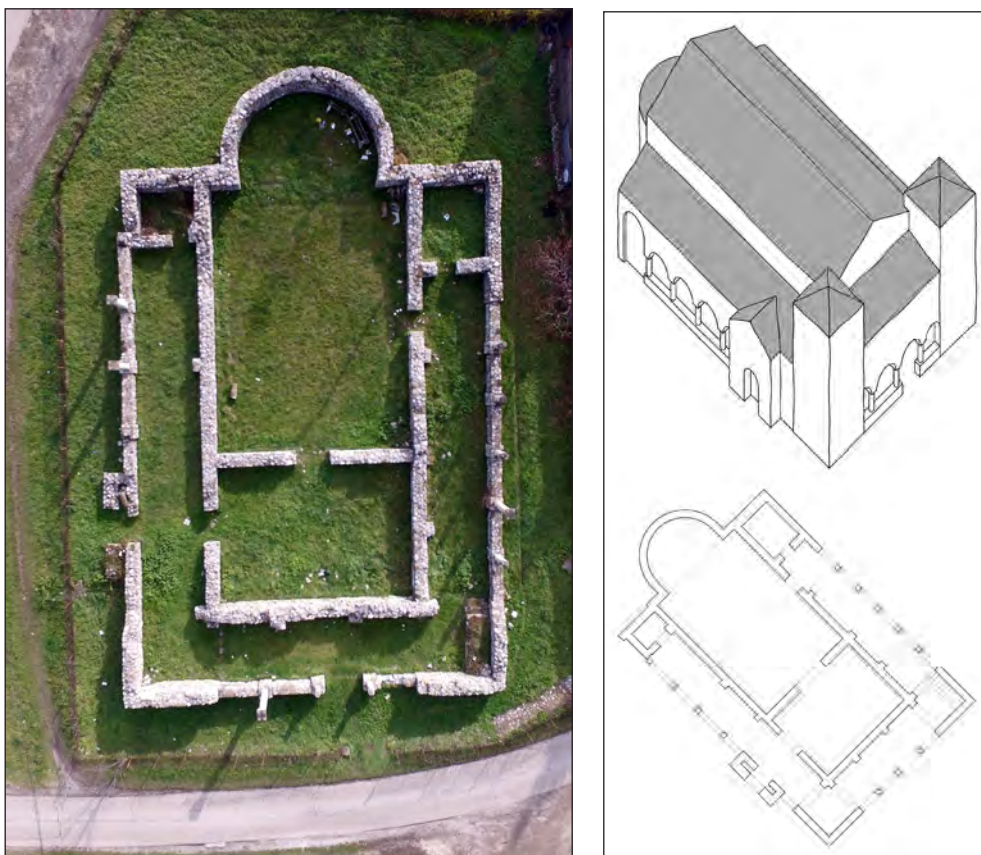
strane upućuje na to da su se nad tim ugaonim konstrukcijama uzdizale povišene bočne kule ili tornjevi s međugalerijom, kroz koju je onda bio omogućen pristup gornjem katu građevine (sl. 19.2).<sup>54</sup> Slična rješenja zgrada s apsidom i višestranim trijemom u ranosrednjovjekovnoj arhitekturi zapadne Europe objašnjavaju se kao lovačke kuće ili plemićke dvorane (njem. *Halle* ili *Hof*) koje su bile sagrađene u sklopu tadašnjih dvorova ili većih gospodarskih imanja (*curtis*). Takav karakter građevine, osim spomenutoga umba, pretpostavljaju i brojne skulpture sa životinjskim glavama, pri čemu je veliki reljef s prikazom lova na vepra vjerojatno resio njenu unutrašnjost (sl. 20.4),<sup>55</sup> a protome s veprovim i medvjedićim glavama vanjsku oblinu apside (sl. 20.1-3). Na svjetovni karakter građevine u Brezi 2 upućuje i fragment muške figure odjevene u svećanu vojnu odoru.<sup>56</sup> Isklesana je u visokom reljefu, a izvorno je vjerojatno bila aplicirana na neki zid u njejoj unutrašnjosti.

<sup>53</sup> Wamers / Brandt (ur.) 2005, 53. Za minijature iz Štutgartskog psaltira, iz 820. – 830. godine, vidi još i u: [https://dfg-viewer.de/show/?set\[mets\]=https://digital.wlbstuttgart.de/mets/urn:nbn:de:bsz:24-digibib-bsz3070470598.xml](https://dfg-viewer.de/show/?set[mets]=https://digital.wlbstuttgart.de/mets/urn:nbn:de:bsz:24-digibib-bsz3070470598.xml).

<sup>54</sup> Milošević 2011, 125–132.

<sup>55</sup> Milošević 2012a.

<sup>56</sup> Sergejevski 1943, 17–18, sl. 13.



Slika 19. Ostaci ranosrednjovjekovne zgrade u Brezi (tzv. Breza 2) kod Sarajeva: 1. Orto-fotografija (foto: Z. Alajbeg); 2. Pretpostavljeni izvorni izgled (prema: A. Milošević 2011)

Za spoznaje o lokalitetu indikativni su još i detalji koji su bili ugrebani na velikim tokarenim stupovima<sup>57</sup> na kojima su različiti zapisi u formi grafita. Ti su stupovi činili trijem oko glavne dvorane u prizemlju i specifikum su u graditeljstvu 7. i 8. stoljeća na širokom prostoru (sl. 21). Grafiti su ponekad nečitljivi, no na jednome ulomku stupa vidljivo je vjerojatno galsko muško ime VERANVS,<sup>58</sup> a na ulomku drugoga vjerojatno staro germansko, tj. nordijsko-germansko žensko ime UTA (ili Ute, izvorni oblik je Oda ili Uota, što dolazi od Oðinn ili Vōtan, tj. Vuotan).<sup>59</sup> Na ulomku još jednoga stupa urezan je dvopruti križ kojemu haste završavaju volutama, što je uobičajeno u 8. stoljeću, a na drugome je ostatak

grafita u formi pleternog ornamenta, što također može biti zanimljivo za vremensko određenje građevine.<sup>60</sup> Osobito je zanimljiv i jedan grafit na kojemu se nalazi futhark (dvadeset znakova runске abecede), a najnovija proučavanja pokazuju da je riječ o južnogermanskom (kontinentalnom) podtipu starijega runskoga futharka koji se koristio između 150. i 700. godine (sl. 22).<sup>61</sup>

Životinjski stil u umjetnosti zapadnoga Balkana našao je odraza i u kamenoj skulpturi sakralnih građevina. Osobiti su nalazi kapitela s takvim motivima te ulomci pilastara i pluteja na kojima životinje sasvim nalikuju onima s utilitarnih metalnih predmeta o kojima je već bilo riječi (sl. 23).<sup>62</sup>

<sup>57</sup> O tokarenim stupovima u našem i europskom graditeljstvu u Milošević 2011, 135–139, sl. 155–159.

<sup>58</sup> Dva su Sv. Verana iz Provanse (fr. Veran, Vrain; tal. Verano). Jedan (sin sv. Eucheriusa iz Lyona) bio je biskup u Venceu (451. – 492.), a drugi u Cavaillonu, gdje mu je posvećena katedrala. Umro je u Orléansu 590. godine. Nedaleko talijansko-francuske granice i danas egzistira mjesto Saint-Véran (Prov. Alpes-Côte d'Azur).

<sup>59</sup> Orel 2003, 437.

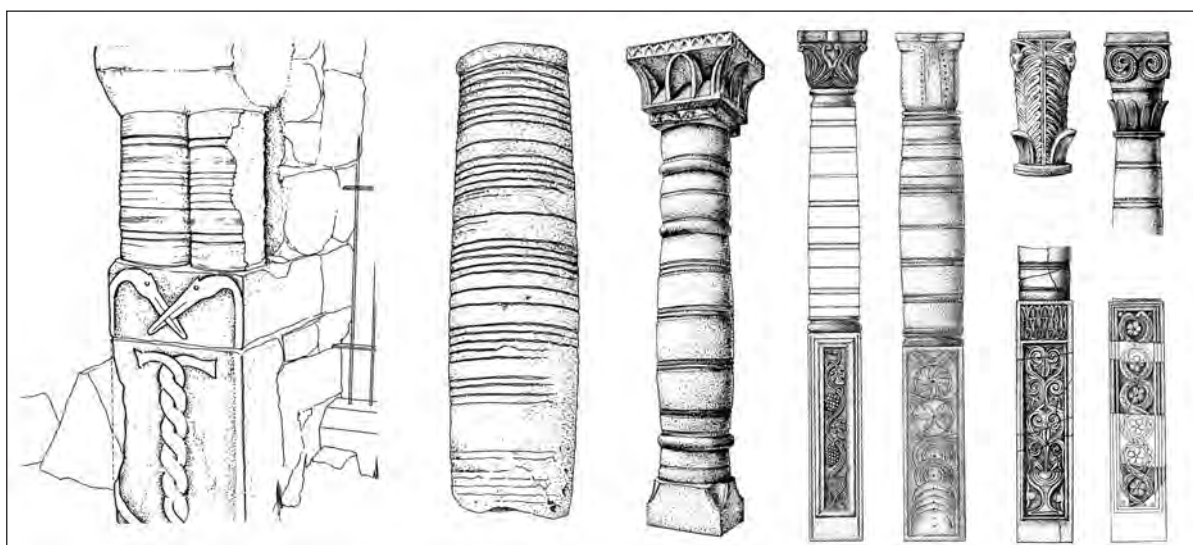
<sup>60</sup> Milošević 2011, 131, sl. 148.

<sup>61</sup> Looijenga 1999, 272–275; 2003, 231–234, Pl. 17c s datacijom u 6. stoljeće; Fischer 2005, 66–67, 173–174 s orijentacionom datacijom 450. – 650. godine; Düwel et al. 2020, 114–212 s datacijom u sredinu 6. stoljeća.

<sup>62</sup> Milošević (ur.) 2000, vol. 2, 205–206, kat. jed. IV.31 (ulomak stupića sa životinjom s Crkvine iz Biskupije kod Knina); 2003; 2004.



Slika 20. Skulpture i reljefi iz ranosrednjovjekovne građevine u Brezi, Zemaljski muzej, Sarajevo (foto: Z. Alajbeg)



Slika 21. Tokareni stupovi ranoga srednjeg vijeka: 1. Crkve Sv. Petra u Monkvearmouthu u Engleskoj; 2. Opatija Nouaillé nedaleko Poitiersa u Francuskoj; 3. Breza 2 kod Visokog; 4. Žitomislići kod Mostara; 5. Klobuk kod Ljubuškog; 6–7. Bilimišće kod Zenice (prema: A. Milošević 2011)



Slika 22. Grafiti na tokarenim stupovima u Brezi 2, prema knjizi inventara u Zemaljskom muzeju u Sarajevu (prema: A. Milošević 2011)



Slika 23. Ulomci pilastara, kapitel i dio pluteja sa životinjskim motivima: 1. Biskupija kod Knina, Muzej Hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, Split; 2-4. Bilimišće kod Zenice, Zemaljski muzej, Sarajevo (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

Količina i kvaliteta različitih umjetničkih artefakata 8. stoljeća u zaleđu istočnojadranske obale i na prostoru današnje Bosne i Hercegovine je impresivna, no teško je objasniti njen povijesni kontekst jer za taj prostor nedostaju suvremeni pisani izvori. Rješenja mogu biti različita, a jedno od njih su i već spomenute migracije krajem 8. stoljeća u kojima su mogla sudjelovati i neka germanska plemena ili su, pak, bila dovedena (na langobardsku podlogu) i pridružena Karlovoj vojsci u vrijeme rata s Avarima zatvarajući tako južnu frontu ratišta. Za kakvo-takvo razumijevanje tih pitanja potrebna su daljnja arheološka istraživanja novih nalazišta ili bolje organizirana revizijska iskopavanja poznatih lokaliteta, a i reinterpretacija poznatih izrazito fragmentarnih pisanih povijesnih podataka.

## Summary

### On Early Medieval Zoomorphic Artifacts in the Hinterland of the Eastern Adriatic Coast

This article examines early medieval artifacts with zoomorphic motifs found along the Adriatic coast and its western Balkan hinterland, originating from Germanic cultural spheres. The quantity and quality of such artifacts in the hinterland of the eastern Adriatic coast and in the territory of present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina at the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century are remarkable. However, explaining the historical context of their emergence is challenging due to the absence of contemporary written sources for this region. Among these finds, a double-sided decorated belt tongue from the castrum in Gornji Vrbljani stands out. It is one of the finest artifacts of its type in Europe and the only one bearing the name of its maker: *Tetgis faber me fecit*. Based on this crucial piece of information, it is proposed that all similarly decorated metal artifacts, particularly those from the Carolingian Empire, should be classified under the “Tetgis style” rather than the traditionally used term “Tassilo Chalice style.”

One possible explanation for the presence of such artifacts in the western Balkans is migration at the end of the 8th century, which may have involved Germanic tribes either as independent participants or as groups integrated into Charlemagne’s army on

a Lombardic basis, mobilized to secure the southern front against the Avars. However, a more comprehensive understanding of these issues requires further archaeological investigations of new sites, more systematically organized re-excavations of known localities, and a reinterpretation of the highly fragmented historical records available for this period.

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# Razvoj pogodbenih zavisnih rečenica u bosanskim srednjovjekovnim poveljama

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*Abstract:* The conditional sentences in bosnian medieval charters can be found with the conjunctions *ako (li), da, eda, što, kto/tko, koji, (nu) li*. The presumed development of conditional sentences is that they originate from two formally unconnected clauses, in which the first contains some fact, and the second brings some emotive reaction on it, but in charters there can't be found the verification of this development. On the other hand, there can be found the confirmation for the development of the conjunction *ako* from *\*a + \*k<sup>o</sup>* and conjunctions *da* and *eda*. The conjunctions *što* and *koji* were probably included in the conditional sentences by analogy, and *li* would become the conjunction of the conditional sentences in future.

*Keywords:* conditional sentences, Bosnian medieval charters, Bosnian language, syntaxis, compound sentence

## Uvod

Proučavanje historijske sintakse podrazumijeva proučavanje sintakse starijih perioda razvoja jezika, opis sintaksičkih promjena u pojedinim periodima razvoja jezika i objašnjenje tih pojava.<sup>1</sup> Općenito se smatra da se zavisna rečenica razvila ili širenjem proste, tj. zamjenom rečeničnih dijelova klauzama, ili čvršćim povezivanjem dviju ili više nekad supostavljenih klauza bez formalne veze, bilo po značenju – ako je jedna izražavala činjenicu, a druga neko modalno značenje (pitanje, želju, naredbu i sl.), bilo formalno – kada su nekadašnje riječce i prilozi, kao i zamjenice, postajali veznici.<sup>2</sup> Van Valin uvodi međustepen kosubordinacije, kao prijelazni tip iz koordinacije ka subordinaciji.<sup>3</sup> Istina je vjerovatno negdje na sredini, odnosno moguće je da je više mehanizama istovremeno utjecalo na nastanak zavisne rečenice.

Ono što je posvjedočeno u dosta jezika jest da se sintaksa uopće, pa tako i zavisna rečenica, počela razvijati relativno kasno, nastankom

i razvojem pismenosti,<sup>4</sup> što se može potvrditi i u bosanskom jeziku, čiji prvi pisani spomenici zatiču različite tipove zavisnosloženih i nezavisnosloženih rečenica na različitom stepenu razvitka – dok su neke, kao npr. atributske, očito razvijene još u periodu prije pisanih spomenika, druge se pred kraj perioda povelja tek počinju razvijati, kao npr. objekatske i namjerne. Ipak, na kojem god stepenu da su zatečene, zbog kasnijeg utjecaja arhaičnijih pisarskih kancelarija<sup>5</sup> u poveljama se mogu naći potvrde nekadašnjeg stanja za gotovo sve vrste složenih rečenica, a svakako se može pratiti i razvoj dosta tipova složenih rečenica.

## Pogodbene rečenice

O pogodbenim rečenicama (i) u bosanskim srednjovjekovnim poveljama najviše je pisao Slobodan Pavlović.<sup>6</sup> On ih je klasificirao na one eventualnorealnog i irealnog tipa te ih

<sup>1</sup> Fanego 1994, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Иванов 1990, 387–388; Грковић-Мејдор 2004, 188, 192–193.

<sup>3</sup> Павловић 2014, 8.

<sup>4</sup> Грковић-Мејдор 2004, 191; Davison 2009, 531; Павловић 2009a, 109.

<sup>5</sup> Utjecaj crkvenoslavenskog nakon dolaska logofeta Vlad(oj)a iz Srbije u pisarsku kancelariju kralja Tvrtka (cf. Čremošnik 1950, 119–120)

<sup>6</sup> Павловић 2009, 301–331.

onda iscrpno opisao, naročitu pažnju posvećujući veznicima i odabiru oblika glagola, uz informacije o specifičnoj semantici pojedinih konstrukcija, rasprostranjenosti veznika te njihovom porijeklu. Ovaj opis napravljen je sinhronijski, što znači da se ne obraća pažnja na dijahroniju razvoja pojava, o čemu će isti autor više govoriti u radu o razvoju hipotakse,<sup>7</sup> u kojem daje iscrpan pregled razvoja veznika. Rezultati oba ova rada obilato su korišteni i u ovom tekstu, u kojem se pažnja posvećuje potvrdama za neke od mogućih teorija o razvoju pojedinih veznika, uz dijahronijske napomene o razvoju klauza s pojedinim veznicima.

Pogodbene klauze u bosanskim poveljama sreću se s veznicima *ako* (*li*), *da*, *eda*, *što*, *kto/tko*, *koji*, (*nu*) *li*. Raznovrsnost veznika pogodbenih klauza može se posmatrati kao razvojna faza, ali i kao posljedica činjenice da je pogodbenost, kao kategorija koja se na neki način i gramatikalizirala, naslijeđena iz starijeg jezika, naročito vezana za kondicional, pa se u ovom periodu isprepliću različiti načini izražavanja pogodbenosti.

Smatra se da je pogodbeni klauza nastala od nekadašnjih supostavljenih, ali formalno nepovezanih dviju klauza, u kojoj je u prvoj iznošena neka činjenica, a druga je predstavljala neku emotivnu reakciju na to. Ostatkom takvog stanja smatra se pojava koreferentnog *a*, *to* i *tda* u glavnoj klauzi,<sup>8</sup> ali se one u bosanskim poveljama sreću samo u jednoj rečenici koja se ponavlja u tri povelje u 1240-im godinama:

*i ako vi ja pravinu ne činu | to to ja krivъ* (Matej Stjepan 1249),

što je još jedan pokazatelj da su pogodbene klauze uvedene veznikom *ako* već prije pisanih spomenika postale zavisne.

S obzirom na tematiku povelja, ne čudi da se u njima nalazi veliki broj pogodbenih rečenica (170). Ipak, tipovi pogodbenih rečenica nisu ravnomjerno raspoređeni – najviše je potencijalnih (158), znatno manje realnih (11), dok je od irealnih zabilježen samo jedan primjer.

Najčešći **veznik** je *ako*, koji se u potencijalnim pogodbenim rečenicama sreće u 72 primjera, i još 30 primjera s riječcom *li*, sve s prezentom svršenih glagola, potencijalom i u jednom

<sup>7</sup> Павловић 2009a.

<sup>8</sup> Павловић 2009, 313.

primjeru i futurum, dakle, kao i danas, što je još jedan argument za tezu o njihovom ranom uspostavljanju:

*ako bihъ hotio govoriti ali ispisati* | što si ti mnogo kratъ učinio protivъ menêe | togai bi govorenija i pisma mnogoo biloo (Vlatko iza 1466).

Jedna od pretpostavki o porijeklu veznika *ako* je da se razvio od \**a* i \**k<sup>u</sup>*o u upitnim rečenicama<sup>9</sup> (druge su vezane za fonetsko izvođenje od starijeg *ašte*<sup>10</sup> ili *jako*).<sup>11</sup> Potvrde za ovu teoriju mogle bi se naći u primjerima iz bosanskih povelja, u kojima je zabilježeno osam primjera pogodbenih klauza uvedenih s *kto/tko*, od kojih najranija ispred sebe ima adjunktivno *a*, zatim *i*, a poslije se adjunktivne riječce više ne javljaju (jer su se već pretvorile u veznike). Primjer s adjunktivnim *a* i veznikom *kto*, štaviše, strukturiran je tako da bi se *a kto* moglo bez ikakvih problema zamijeniti s *ako*:

*a kto dubrovčaninъ ubije alli poseče u bosni illi bošnaninъ dubrovčanina* | tai pravda da je prêdъ gospodinomъ banomъ | a osudъ da grede banu na nihъ (Stjepan Kotromanić 1332),

kao i hronološki sljedeći primjer:

*tko bi našъ nevêrnikъ došao u dubrovnikъ maali ili bi veliki* | da ga ne imaju primati k sebê u dubrovnikъ ni u svoi kotarъ ni u sebe drъžati (Radosav 31. 12. 1427),

dok bi se ostali mogli zamijeniti s *ako tko*:

*i tko bi godi imao liste protiva ovomu pisanju* | mi e umaramo ovimъ našimъ listomъ i zapisomъ (Radosav 19. 8. 1439),

što bi se moglo smatrati rezultatom izjednačavanja *ako* i *tko*, zbog čega se jedan od njih izostavlja. Tome u prilog idu i primjeri u kojima je navedeno i *ako* i *tko*, ali ili su razdvojeni nekom riječju:

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Skok I 1972, 20–21.

<sup>10</sup> Zabilježen je samo jedan primjer s bosanskom fonetskom verzijom stsl. *ašte*: i ošte se obećavamo | *aće* bi koi našъ človêkъ vola odъ naše zemъle odašalъ tere pošalъ vola prise-liv se stat u konavalъski župu ali u vitalinu | da e volan poiti | a mi našъ človêkъ da ne branimo | ni zlo učinimo tomui človêku (Radić 1391), što pokazuje da se razvoj pogodbenih klauza u bosanskom jeziku ne naslanja na staroslavensku tradiciju u ovom smislu.

<sup>11</sup> Šire u: Павловић 2009, 303; Ivšić 1970, 321.

*ako vi tьko učini krivinu moiьh kmeti | da se pri prědь mnomь* (Ninoslav 1240),

ili je umjesto *tko/tko*, koje očito i u ovom periodu ima i značenje neodređene zamjenice, naveden puni oblik neodređene zamjenice:

*i ako nekьto odь moiьh kmeti ili odь moiьh ljudije čine vi krivinu | da se pri predь mnovь | i ja da imь sudu pravi sudь* (Matej Ninoslav 1240).

Istina, u jednom primjeru nalazi se jedno do drugog *ako* i *kto*:

*i ješte se obětuje kraljevьstvo mi | ako kto ime što govoriti ili nasilovati gradu dubrovniku za sizi dohodьkь | koi imaju davati kraljevьstvu mi | da ima kraljevьstvo mi ot toga nihь braniti i pomagati im | da im se nēkoē čteta u vladaniju ili u trьgovcu ne učini za to* (Tvrtko 1378),

ali to bi se moglo objasniti time da je *ako* već uspostavljen kao pogodbeni veznik (nalazi se od prvih spomenika) i veza s *tko* je izgubljena u svijesti onog ko piše, iz čega bi slijedilo i da su i primjeri s pogodbenim *tko* zapravo arhaični. Tome u prilog, pored njihove malobrojnosti, ide i većina primjera svrstanih u atributske klauze koji pripadaju završnoj formuli, a početne i završne formule su inače, naročito u kasnijim periodima, arhaičnije u odnosu na sredinu teksta:

*tko li bi nasь inako učinio ili za lakomostь ili za strahь ili za čiju volju | tere tei više pisane rote koom godě hitrostiju razbio ili prětvorio | hoćemo i ljubimo | da su vse kletvi i rote i prokletьstva pala svrьhu nasь i našega natraška i našega plemena i vsěhь našihь poslědněhь | i da smo prokleti i zavezani živěmь bogomь i prěčistomь i vsěmi više pisanimi svetěmi | i da smo otpadnici prave vєre | i da smo pričteni k ijudi | koi proda sina bžja na raspetyje | i da se nevěr(ь)nici nazovemo prědь vsakoga gdna zemььnoga | i vь d(ь)нь smьrьti i prěminutja našega i vь sudni d(ь)нь da ne imamo pomilovanija prědь licem bžimь* (Sandalj 30. 5. 1420).

Ovdje se postavlja pitanje gdje je zapravo granica između „slobodnih“ prepozitivnih atributskih klauza uvedenih veznikom *tko/kto* i

pogodbenih klauza uvedenih istim veznikom, naročito kad u potonjim nakon *tko/kto* slijedi *li*. Dopuštajući mogućnost čak da je većina ovakvih atributskih klauza zapravo pogodbeni, s obzirom na njihovu strukturu koja je identična strukturi pogodbenih klauza – predikat je u prezentu svršenog oblika glagola, kondicionalu ili futuru, dok glavna klauza koja slijedi najčešće počinje s *da*, kao i kod pogodbenih rečenica s *ako*, up.:

*a tko će sije pretvoriti ali poreći a ili našь poslid(ь)ni ali tko inopemennikь | da e prokletь* (Tvrtko 1380) i

*ako vi tьko učini krivinu moiьh kmeti | da se pri prědь mnomь* (Ninoslav 1240),

kao sigurno pogodbene izdvojene su samo one klauze s *tko* kod kojih se subjekat glavne razlikuje od subjekta zavisne klauze, što ih jasno određuje kao neatributske.

U ovoj funkciji javlja se i **veznik da**:

*a da se nēkoē krivina meću ni čini | da ta krivina sě sь pravinovь isьpravi* (Matej Ninoslav 1240),

što se u XIII st. smatra romanskim utjecajem preko dubrovačkog notara Paskala,<sup>12</sup> a kasnije, kad se javlja u drugoj pogodbenoj klauzi vezanoj za istu glavnu (prva je s *ako*), značenjski uvjetovanom restrikcijom prvog uslova:<sup>13</sup>

*ako mi svrьši knezь vladisavь višerčene oběte za mooga života ugodctvomь i praviem posluhomь | kako se više imenuje | kakonoo sinь svomu roditelju | i da bude miranь i edinanь za mene (s) sinomь s moijem a svojem bratomь knezomь vlatkomь | takoće da bude i knezь vladisavь zaedno i edinno buduće s knezomь vladisavomь meću sobom m(i)lostivo i pravoo | kako to dva brata a pođь moju volju i pođь moi posluhь | pođь tei i takove višerčene sredbe i načine | kako se i štoo više u sijem listu imenuje | jaa hercegь stěpan obětovah se i rekoh vєrom i rěčьju moomь gspockomь sinovomь mi knezu vladisavu i knezu vlatku | da imь hoću za mooga života raspraviti i razrediti pravoo na poli gspoctvo moje vlasteli sluge komoru gradove vsake vrьste ljudi ca-*

<sup>12</sup> Павловић 2009, 322–323.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 324.

rine prihodišta | da držita i imata svaki svoju pravu polovinu z dobrijem načinom znajuće vsaki svoju pravu polovinu (Stjepan Kosača 19. 7. 1453).

Pored ovih, s veznikom *da* zabilježena su još dva primjera, oba s potencijalom:

i ja se zgovorihъ vele dobrovolno i milostivo s poklisari dubrovačcêmi | da bihъ hotanъ miru | i primaamъ za mir | a oni rekoše | tomui mi niesmo volni | da dobro bi | *da biste doslali svoje dobre ljudi u dubrovnikъ* (Radosav 1432) i

jere to vête vlastele | što imate dobitiê odъ mene i odъ moiъ ljudi na moju vêru | *da bi mi davali 5 perъperъ na godište* | jedva bi mi plaćali (Sanko 1391).

U ovim primjerima moglo bi biti da je *da* zapravo „skraćeno *kda*“<sup>14</sup> što, pored nijanse vremenskog značenja koju imaju, podupire i jedan zabilježen primjer s *a kda*:

razvê a kda bi (i)тъ godê višerečênêhъ ratъ branila ne vldati višerečênêтъ grdaomъ sokolom i poo konavli | što je pavlovo bilo i poslê mu sina petra | da za onoliko vrêmena | koliko bi ratъ trъpêla rečenoga kralja bosъnъskoga i ugrъskoga i pra turъskoga i naša i našega natraška | da za toliko vrêmena nêsu dužni davati višerečênêhъ pet stъ perper | dokle bi ona ratъ trъpêla (Sandalj 30. 5. 1420).

**Veznik *eda***<sup>15</sup> se javlja u 11 primjera, od kojih su svi osim jednog verzija završne formule s *ako* ili *tko* i imaju *tada* u glavnoj klauzi:

*e da li bismo (...) ovo zgora rčенno i pisannoo i obetovanoo potvorili (...) | ali na mane pri-nesli (...) | tada da smo (...) prokleti...* (Ivaniš 29. 9. 1442),

što bi moglo značiti i nijansu temporalnosti. Kako bilo, *eda* je veznik koji je opstao i kasnije i u drugim slovenskim jezicima,<sup>16</sup> o čemu svjedoči i jedan primjer bez saodnosnog *tada* (ali s pogodbenim *li*):

*eda li bi knezъ vladisavъ posegnuo nakonъ mene u dio brata svooga kneza vlatka | jaa molju smêreno gospodara velikoga | da uzam dio knezu vlatku | i poda knezu vladisavu* (Stjepan Kosača 19. 7. 1453).

I **veznik *što*** se javlja u 11 primjera, od čega su 3 u postpoziciji, za razliku od svih drugih pogodbenih klauza, i predikat im je u odričnom obliku, što je konstrukcija koja se i danas čuva u bosanskim govorima:

i ê banъ stipanъ s brъtomъ moiъ s knezemъ s vъdêsavomъ tai selъ naju dasvъ knezu grъguru stipaniću u vike vikomъ nemu i negovu ostъlomu | da mo se to ne poreče nikadare ni nemu ni negovu ostalomu | *što bi gvъ ne opitъlbъ crkvbъ bosanъskъ sa vsimi dohoci i sa vъsimi kupno* (Stjepan Kotromanić oko 1326).

Ostali primjeri sa *što* kompatibilni su primjerima s *tko* jer je u svima *što* zamjenjivo s *ako*, što može biti rezultat analogije ili čak veze sa sličnim starim *ašte*:

*a što bi ga koja škoda našla u našemъ rusagu | da e na našъ razlogъ izamъ turske sile* (Tomaš 3. 2. 1449).

Argument za analogiju bio bi jedan ovakav zabilježen primjer s **veznikom *koi***:

*i koi bi se godê našao meću nimi takovi zao i neistinanъ čl(o)v(ê)kъ | koi bi stvarъ i nepravdu snosio | kako se i više piše | ili bi plem(e)nitъ | a ili bi koje godê vгъste čl(o)v(ê)kъ | da je višerčênnoi gspodê do svoje smгъti za nevêrna | a da mu e baština vieku vêkoma u porabu | a da mu glavu gspoda pedepsaju | što je dostoinoo učiniti nevêrnu čl(o)v(ê)ku* (Stjepan Kosača 19. 7. 1453).

Iako se u ovom periodu kao indikator pogodbenosti očekuje i partikula ***li***,<sup>17</sup> u bosanskim poveljama zabilježen je samo jedan primjer u kome bi se moglo pretpostaviti da je *li* u funkciji veznika pogodbene klauze, ali i to u sklopu vezničkog izraza ***nu li***:

*nu li bi se zgodilo | tere bi koi od njihъ toliko sagrišio | da mu se ima glava odsići onomu | koi e sagrišio | a ostali da živu i prebivaju*

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 323.

<sup>15</sup> Od stsl. *jeda* koje je moglo imati značenje i funkciju upitne čestice (v. Трубочев 1979: 7) i veznika (ССЯ 2006, 564).

<sup>16</sup> Павловић 2009, 325.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 319.

u vsihъ tihъ zgora imenovanihъ plemenъšti-  
nahъ (Juraj Vojsalić 12. 8. 1434).

Zabilježeni su primjeri, koji potiču iz Dubrovnika, a koji kao jedini indikator pogodbenosti imaju glagol *zgoditi se* u kondicionalu,<sup>18</sup> ali bi u ovom slučaju to prije bio *nu li*, s obzirom na to da je *li* i u to vrijeme, a i danas, mogao imati funkciju pogodbenosti.

Pogodbene realne klauze zabilježene su u samo 11 slučajeva, svi s veznikom *ako*:

i sê ošte *ako veruje serblinъ vlaha* | da se pri  
predъ knezem dubrovъčъkimъ | *i jako vêru-  
je vlahъ serblina* | da se pri predъ banomъ |  
i inomu vlahu i inomu serblinu da ne isъma  
(Matej Stjepan 1249),

a irealna samo jedna, na samom kraju ovog perioda, što može biti signal njihovog kasnijeg razvoja:

ako bihъ rekaoo | da ti menê vse napravišъ |  
što si mi učinioo jaa tebê | ja bihъ o tome kon-  
tenatъ bio | *da ne viemъ* | koliko bi ti o tome  
miranъ ostao (Vlatko iza 1466).

## Zaključak

Pogodbene klauze kao zavisne klauze najvjerojatnije su naslijeđene iz jezika prije pisanih spomenika i u većini slučajeva javljaju se s veznikom *ako*. Iako se ne mogu pronaći potvrde za pretpostavku da su nastale od supostavljenih nezavisnih klauza u kojima se u prvoj iznosi neka činjenica, a u drugoj emotivni odgovor na to, primjeri nude materijal za pretpostavku da je veznik *ako* nastao od *\*a + \*k<sup>u</sup>o*, što baca novo svjetlo i na formalno atributske klauze uvedene veznikom *kto/tko* u prepoziciji i bez odnosne imenice u glavnoj klauzi koje, pored toga što su strukturno često identične pogodbenim klauzama, vrlo često imaju pogodbeno značenje i *kto/tko* im je zamjenjivo s *ako* ili *ako (ne)kto/tko*.

Isto tako, pronađene su potvrde za pretpostavku da je pogodbeno *da* moglo nastati (i) od *kda*, s obzirom na vremensku nijansu u značenju pronađenih primjera te formalnu nepravilnu upotrebu oblika glagola uz *da*, uza što bi se onda značenjski možda mogao pripojiti i veznik *eda*.

Veznik *što* uveden je vjerovatno analogijom s veznikom *kto/tko* kao primarno atributskim veznikom, što onda objašnjava i veznik *koji*.

Za očekivanu upotrebu veznika *li* nalazimo potvrdu u samo jednom primjeru, u kojem se *li* nalazi uz *nu*, koje se javlja samo u ovom primjeru, pa se ne može izvesti nikakav širi zaključak. Inače se *li* javlja uz ostale veznike kao pojačivač pogodbenog značenja, ali u ovom periodu u Bosni očito nije razvijeno kao samostalan veznik pogodbenih rečenica.

## Summary

### Development of conditional sentences in Bosnian medieval charters

Conditional clauses as dependent clauses are most likely inherited from pre-literate language and in most cases occur with a conjunction *ako*. Although no evidence can be found to support the assumption that they are formed from juxtaposed independent clauses in which the first states a fact and the second an emotional response to it, examples offer material for the assumption that the conjunction *ako* is formed from *\*a + \*k<sup>u</sup>o*, which sheds new light on formally attributive clauses introduced by the conjunction *kto/tko* in the preposition and without a relative noun in the main clause, which, in addition to being structurally often identical to conditional clauses, very often have a conditional meaning and *kto/tko* is interchangeable with *ako* or *ako (ne)kto/tko*.

In the same way, confirmations were found for the assumption that the conditional *da* could have been formed (also) from *kda*, considering the temporal nuance in the meaning of the found examples and the formal incorrect use of the verb form with *da*, to which the conjunction *eda* then could be semantically added. The conjunction *što* was probably introduced by analogy with the conjunction *kto/tko* as a primarily attributive conjunction, which then explains the conjunction *koji*.

For the expected use of the conjunction *li* we find confirmation in only one example, in which *li* is next to *nu*, which occurs only in this example, so no wider conclusion can be drawn. Otherwise, *li* occurs with other conjunctions as an intensifier of conditional meaning, but in this period in Bosnia it was clearly

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 329.

not developed as an independent conjunction of conditional sentences.

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## Prikazi / Besprechungen

### What to do when one is confronted with a malicious subpar review? An answer to Darko Periša's review of Tomislav Bilić's *Coins of the Roman Republic in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb*

Upon reading Periša's somewhat belated review of my book *Coins of the Roman Republic in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb*,<sup>1</sup> I was faced with a truly unenviable task: on one side, I felt the need to offer a response to the readers of *Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja*, but on the other, in doing so, I would have to react to an unprecedentedly illiterate text. The reader of this response will soon have the chance to estimate whether my characterisation of the text in these harsh terms is warranted. I must add, however, that the reputation of the *Godišnjak* has not been advanced with the publication of a text written in English on the level of a third-grade primary-school pupil (and one that has not been proof-read or corrected by a teacher). As a final preliminary remark, I would like to invite the readers to compare Periša's review with one authored by two respectable numismatists in a respectable numismatic journal.<sup>2</sup> Pegan and Barth's review (in excellent German) is a thorough analysis of my *Coins of the Roman Republic*, which, on the whole, represents a positive endorsement of the book, but at the same time does not refrain from pointing out the mistakes or other inadequacies of the work.

Unfortunately, the same cannot be said for Periša's piece, which will become immediately clear. Already the first sentence might raise an eyebrow of an unwary reader: "The collection of Roman Republican coins curated in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb have been published in..." (when I copy-pasted this text in MS Word, it was immediately underlined – and it remains so). Periša continues with comparing the book he is reviewing with another book I have written in 2010,<sup>3</sup> adding that "[b]oth books were published separately within the same museum serial regardless their methodological similarity". What does this mean? They were published by the same publisher, *even though* they apply similar methodology – so, must the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb publish books only if they differ in their methodological approach? In the remainder of my response, I will not highlight every occasion on which such blunders appear, but only those I feel are most representative for understanding the reviewer's incompetence.

What follows is often incomprehensible, but at the same time unequivocally malicious. When summarizing the part of my text that briefly recounts the growth of the Zagreb collection of Republican coins, he seems to imply that the Museum curators at some point lost interest in acquiring new coins: "He [i.e., the author] openly brings to light that all samples of Republican coins have been gathered into the museum up until 1938" (*sic*).<sup>4</sup> I do indeed "bring this fact to light", in a tone that finds it regrettable, although this has not apparently been recognised by Periša. If he was not unduly malicious, he could have consulted my more overt remark "brought to light" in one of my exhibition catalogues:

"Even today we look back melancholically and somewhat enviously at the Museum's Golden Age [when Josip Brunšmid was the Museum director], at the fact that the Museum was at the time an important participant in the international numismatic market, that it could compete with the actors on the illegal market (now completely

<sup>1</sup> Bilić 2015; Periša 2021. In light of this delayed review, Periša's comment made only a year later resonates in its hypocrisy: "In the penultimate volume of *Bosna franciscana*, Tomislav Bilić published his response, after procrastinating for six years" (my translation of Periša 2022, 217).

<sup>2</sup> Pegan / Barth 2018.

<sup>3</sup> Bilić 2010.

<sup>4</sup> I will use "sic" extensively, not because I am particularly fond of this phrase, but because Periša seems to fetishize it.

dominant), as well as at the fact that in those days the attitude of the citizens towards the museums and national culture was significantly different in comparison with their behaviour today.”<sup>5</sup>

I will return to this question at the end of this text, commenting on another similar remark by Periša. What follows immediately in Periša’s review, is not readily comprehensible:

“According to the author’s opinion the importance of published collection has been displayed through at least two categories: exceptional importance to researching Republican coins circulation at the area of south Pannonia in particular [*sic*], and also the importance for numismatic-wise study [*sic*] of Republican coins, emphasizing that both categories have been sublimed into golden coin [*sic*] (aureus) of Quintus Cornuficius from Sisak (which have been unique specimen for long period of time [*sic*]). Coloured [*sic*] photographs of this aureus have been published enlarged.”

This is truly appalling English and I fail to see how a respected journal can publish such nonsense. Periša has scornfully commented on the fact that the publisher of my book has commissioned a translation agency and “not a person” for proof-reading my book – I am pretty sure that the agency employs humans for the actual proof-reading – and I do highly recommend some such service both to Periša and the editors of the *Godišnjak*. Nevertheless, I did emphasize this twofold importance of the Roman Republican coin collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, and did offer the example of Quintus Cornuficius’ aureus as an illustration of this claim. What is important to Periša here, however, is not this observation, but rather the fact that I subtly exonerated the authors of the definite study of the coin<sup>6</sup> from a blunder for which they are not to blame. Thus, the fact that “the author decided to assort [*sic*] this anecdote into the history of research of this collection” was motivated by the wish to resolve a bibliographical juncture, but in a way obviously too subtle for Periša. Also, Hoffiller’s primary publication of the coin was naturally included in and superseded by Dukat and Mirnik’s paper in question, and the fact that the funds for its purchase were provided by Hoffiller’s wife – adduced by Periša – is truly anecdotal and without any value for a numismatic discussion (as opposed to the replacement of Cornuficius with Confucius – unexplainably called “Konfucie” by Periša – in the definite publication of the coin).

The reviewer continues with a discussion of the hoards of Republican coins kept in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb:

“Therefore, they [the hoards] need re-evaluation and republishing, for the most part due to latest cognitions [*sic*] regarding dating newest types and sets [*sic*] of Republican coins. That has already been done for some hoards, namely Cesarica near Karlobag, so that the author brings nothing new for this hoard.”

Indeed, Periša is correct in that many of the hoards in question are in need of a re-evaluation. This is exactly why I have re-evaluated many of them (Vukovar, Stara Pazova, Lički Ribnik, Valpovo/Osijek, Sisak-Kupa), while several others were revisited by other authors. Periša fails to acknowledge any of this, although I have provided copious bibliographical references to all works of a more recent date that readdress the hoards in question.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, the Cesarica hoard, published in the 1980s, was not re-evaluated – neither by me nor any other scholar – so Periša’s comment is unnecessary (“the author brings nothing new for this hoard”).

Periša continues with what he believes is a serious methodological issue. I must cite his comment in full, both because it shows his complete lack of understanding of the modern study of numismatics and for the abysmal English:

“The evidence that Bilić in his book arguably uses museology and informatically formed organization [*sic*] rather than scholarly numismatic or archaeological criteria is detected in the fact that coin’s samples [*sic*] have been published by actual age [*sic*] instead by content of hoards or sites of single finds. However, the author himself tabulated according to the sites [*sic*] as a substitute. Also, the hoards containing, both Republican and early Roman Imperial coins, have artificially been divided in this book.”

Now, one must wonder why Periša does not cite any work that conforms to his criteria for the publication of the collections of Roman Republican coins. At the same time, I am happy to cite many scholarly works that have applied exactly the same method as I have used in the *Coins of the Roman Republic*.<sup>8</sup> Naturally, this is simply because I have followed the standard scholarly practice in publishing an important museum collection. No amount of hardly comprehensible English can mask this plain fact. It would be unprecedented if I ventured to publish Roman Imperial coins in a book unequivocally restricted to Republican coinage; also, it would be remarkable if I structured the systematic collection of Republican coins according to site finds or hoards. With that said, I have

<sup>5</sup> Bilić et al. 2014, 11 (the text in question is mine, as is the translation).

<sup>6</sup> Dukat / Mirnik 1984.

<sup>7</sup> Bilić 2015, 13–14.

<sup>8</sup> Berger 1989; Borić-Brešković / Popović 2006; Ghey et al. 2010; Gruber 1910; Kos / Šemrov 1990; Militký / Vacinová 2018; Wiercińska 1996.

provided, as Periša clumsily noted (“the author himself tabulated according to the sites”), an index of site finds (pp. 18–19) and hoards (pp. 20–22), while my introductory discussion focuses almost exclusively on the provenanced stray finds and hoards (pp. 9–15 with subheadings “Individual finds”, “Hoards” and “Coinage of the Mazin type”). Thus, this is another example of Periša’s selective and malicious reading of the book he is reviewing.

Elsewhere, i.e., where appropriate, I have applied a more analytic approach to Roman Republican coins circulating in the region: both before<sup>9</sup> and after<sup>10</sup> the *Coins of the Roman Republic* was published; some of these works, if not all, are known to Periša. Similar remarks also apply to many of Periša’s following comments on the Mazin-type coinage. He opens his discussion on the subject by quoting extensively from my brief exposition on the subject, which is followed by a number of incomprehensible English sentences, such as “[h]e [I. Mirnik] was motivated to conclude it was about circulated coinage”, “[e]ven though the way and time of coins arrival to Iapod territory remained secret” and “the presence of African and Italic coins already more than a century old, existing at relatively limited area and period cannot prove Iapod utilised those coins as mean of payment”. Periša continues with what he believes is a key point in his criticism: “Despite the fact Bilić, in his book, has quoted notably significant [*sic*] Popović’s [the author’s surname is actually “Popović”] work, the section where Popović plausibly explain [*sic*] the hoards of the Mazin type Bilić obviously hasn’t even read.”

If ever there was a malicious comment, this is it. Throughout my work I have cited Popović’s seminal *Novac Skordiska* on multiple occasions (where appropriate), literally dozens of times, which is not hard to check. As an avid reader of my oeuvre, Periša is well-aware of this fact, but he intentionally criticises what is clearly a brief overview where I have noted several – specifically selecting the most recent – among many conjectures on the nature of the Mazin-type coinage, as if this was an in-depth study of the problem. He would have done better if he had consulted my later and more comprehensive analytic work on the coinage of the Mazin type,<sup>11</sup> but from all the recent studies on the subject in question it transpires that Popović’s 1987 book is – perhaps regrettably – not part of the “canon” of works on the Mazin-type coinage, as it certainly is with respect to the Late Iron Age coins of the Pannonian Basin and the Central Balkan area.

Without noticing that Livy’s account of the 2000 asses received by the Iapodic envoys from the Romans in 170 BC was not introduced in the discussions of the Mazin-type coinage prior to the publication of my *Coins of the Roman Republic*, Periša elaborates on this passage thus:

“[Livy’s account] consequently, goes in favour to [*sic*] Popović’s thesis whatsoever [*sic*], interesting curiosity here is that the amount received was coper [*sic*] not silver coins. If this is Roman present... had been [*sic*] significant amount for Iapods’s opinion, then the owners of those hoards containing heavy casted coins would have surely been wealthy people (given the fact those coins had been used as a mean [*sic*] of payment rather than raw material).”

This is a truly baffling passage, and I simply fail to decipher it. Periša seems to attempt to say that the amount of coinage received by the Iapodic envoys was large, but how the use of these asses as means of payment favours Popović’s thesis, which, in contrast, postulates that the Mazin-type coinage was utilized as raw material by the Iapodes, must remain a mystery.

Next, Periša discusses the attribution of a small group of coins kept in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb to one of the two hoards found in the area of Livno in 1930. Following Mirnik, I have associated these coins with the Tribić hoard.<sup>12</sup> What follows is the reviewer’s idiosyncratic description of the hoard in question:

“Furthermore, the Tribić hoard was found in 1930 containing 112 samples [*sic*] of Roman coins, of which largest part belonged to Republican denarii while only fewer portions [*sic*] were Augustinian [*sic*] coins. Eight denarii as well eight specimens of bronze and copper coins (sestertii, dupondii, asses) [*sic*]... The large number of Roman silver coins had been listed inside the collections [*sic*]. Numismatic collection [*sic*], all packed up had been allocated [*sic*] to the Land (National) Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo, but however, had never been registered to [*sic*] inventory catalogues of classical antique and medieval coins pertaining the collection [*sic*] hasn’t even been unpacked. For all those reasons one should keep hoping the Tribić hoard is awaiting to be scholarly reanalyse [*sic*] following modern numismatic catalogues.”

Now, I wonder whether the translation agency I have commissioned for the proof-reading of the book Periša is reviewing would be of any help with this passage. It is completely unacceptable for a scholarly journal to publish such nonsense in 2021, in what is presented as a serious – moreover, as a highly critical – review of a scholarly book, clearly intended for international readership. If, as the author of the book being reviewed, I am

<sup>9</sup> Bilić 2012; 2014.

<sup>10</sup> Bilić 2017a; 2017b; 2018; 2021a.

<sup>11</sup> Bilić 2019. Cf. Visonà 2018 and Bertol Stipetić 2022 for the most recent comprehensive studies of the problem.

<sup>12</sup> Mirnik 1981, 45, no. 69 = 48 no. 90.

placed in a position to offer contrary arguments to malicious defamations, I would prefer that these are at least formulated in comprehensible language. I will limit my comments to two observations: one, if Periša manages to prove that the five coins in question indeed belonged to the Bastasi hoard, as he announces in the present review, I will gladly accept his correction and treat it as an advancement in our knowledge on both hoards from the area of Livno, an advancement that was facilitated – perhaps even motivated – by my publication of the pieces kept in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. Two, Periša's observation that "it was him [Franciscan Fr. Lujo Marun] who donated five denarii to the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb" and which consequently belong to the Bastasi hoard, is not based on any evidence, since in the Zagreb inventory books the name of the person who donated these particular coins is not recorded. I expect this is another example of Periša's special insight at work, his uncanny ability to communicate directly with historical actors and to witness historical events unhindered by alternative interpretations, which is the basis of his idiosyncratic approach to studying history and archaeology.<sup>13</sup>

Periša finishes his review with two bizarre observations. First, he notices I have published, following the catalogue, a list of Roman Republican coins no longer in the holdings of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (not, in Periša's words, "the largest number of Republican coins are not in the numismatic collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb anymore", whatever this means). To the best of my knowledge, museums are not usually inclined to publish such lists. The turbulent history of the museums in Central Europe is certainly the primary reason why some material is missing, but these cataclysmic events do not tend to leave much trace in written records, for one reason or another.<sup>14</sup> I sincerely believe that museums should nevertheless publish such lists, even if they are misinterpreted or simply misread by incompetent readers. Thus, Periša claims that the loss "refers [*sic*] to the coin hoards from Mazin, Lički Ribnik and Salona", which is nonsense since the phantom hoard from Salona was never kept in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. Furthermore, when he claims that J. Brunšmid "endeavour[ed] to have this hoard [the Mazin hoard] content integral [*sic*]", he is clearly unaware that Brunšmid, along with trying to "return" the part of the Mazin hoard that was kept in the National Museum in Belgrade during the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Serbia (which is commended by Periša), also donated eleven pieces from this same hoard to the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna and never attempted to claim the 47 pieces from the hoard actually kept in this Austrian museum in order for them to be "returned" to the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, one should be careful to judge a scholar on curated information, especially those curated by someone who has an axe to grind.

Finally, the most bizarre observation is kept until the very end:

"There are namely two European leading numismatists authorities [*sic*] linked to the reviewed book – directly Peter Kos as the recension writer [*sic*] prior to book publication and indirectly M. Crawford whose book has been maximally exploited by Bilić to make his own book. Whereas P. Kos has been able to see the character of Bilić's book prior to publication but apparently agreed to be recension writer [*sic*] for some reason, Crawford could have seen it only after its publishing. The latter knows the best whether it flatters to [*sic*] him, the fact that, someone based on his book, completely made his own [*sic*]."

Periša seems to imply here, although this is not completely clear from his poor English, that I have somehow insidiously misappropriated Crawford's *RRC*. What I have done – and what is a norm in publications of Roman Republican coins – is to classify the coins from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb according to this standard reference catalogue for this type of coins. This is literally what *everybody* does in comparable scholarly projects (see above the references in note 8). What is more, a work of this kind would never have received a positive peer review from anybody, let alone from Peter Kos and Ivan Mirnik (who peer reviewed my *Coins of the Roman Republic*, as noted in the copyright page of the book) if the *RRC* was not used. I can only imagine what Pegan and Barth's review would look like if I somehow failed to use the *RRC* in 2015 (together with the updated version of the catalogue of Roman Republican coins in the British Museum, Ghey et al. 2010, itself following Crawford).<sup>16</sup> Here the malevolence of Periša is truly brought to the fore.

As a conclusion, I have to express my bewilderment over the fact that such a subpar review, both in terms of argumentation and quality of language, could appear in an otherwise respected scholarly journal. I strongly believe it is time to abandon, once and for all, the favouritism of one's protégés in all registers of scholarship, especially in scholarly publishing that desires to be taken seriously.

<sup>13</sup> Bilić 2021b, 284–285.

<sup>14</sup> For the history of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb see Balen / Dukat 1996; Solter 2016; for the history of its numismatic collection see Bauer 1963, 8–11; Dukat 1996, 137–140; Mirnik 1977, 47–50; Mirnik 1989, 40–44; Solter 2016, 13, 22–23, 64–66, 159, 229, 244–245.

<sup>15</sup> Bertol Stipetić 2022, 11.

<sup>16</sup> See, for example, the review of Carson 1978 in Mattingly 1980.

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Tomislav Bilić

Adis Zulić / Faruk Taslidža / Sedad Bešlija / Haris Dervišević / Ahmed Kurt, *Sinan-paša Borovinić, Društveni status, porijeklo, porodični uspon, početak urbanizacije Mostara*, Mostar 2023, 198 str.

U milenijskoj prošlosti Bosne i Hercegovine, vremenski je najduži osmanski period. Tokom višestoljetne osmanske vladavine na prostorima Bosne i Hercegovine, kao i dijelovima susjednih zemalja koji su bili u sastavu sandžaka i od 1580. godine Bosanskog ejaleta/vilajeta, dešavali su se brojni historijski događaji. Dio tih historijskih događaja poznat je u osmanistici, kao i dijelu čitalačke publike. Međutim, ni do danas se, osim fragmentarno, ne zna dovoljno o brojnim značajnim historijskim događajima. Pogotovo se pogrešno interpretiraju znamenite ličnosti i istaknutije porodice. Do toga dolazi kako usljed mitologije i neznanja, tako i nedovoljnog interesovanja. Tek u novije vrijeme historičari – osmanisti i orijentalisti temeljitijim istraživanjima pristupaju pisanju o brojnim dešavanjima, porodicama i ličnostima na tlu Bosanskog ejaleta/vilajeta. U bosanskohercegovačkoj historiografiji do sada publikovane knjige i članci obogaćuju dosadašnja saznanja te koriguju izvjesna ranija pisanja realnije prikazujući stanje i prilike Bosne i Hercegovine osmanskog perioda. Novija knjiga Adisa Zulića, Faruka Taslidže, Sedada Bešlije i Ahmeda Kurta *Sinan-paša Borovinić, Društveni status, porijeklo, politički uspon, početak urbanizacije Mostara* upoznaje nas s ovom znamenitom ličnosti. Rukopis se sastoji od predgovora, tri poglavlja, pogovora, sažetka na engleskom jeziku, popisa slikovnog materijala, izvora i literature, registra imena i toponima te recenzija.

Mostar je jedan od najpoznatijih i najvećih gradova Bosne i Hercegovine. Zbog značaja i bogate i interesantne prošlosti i izaziva pažnju historičara te njihova istraživanja sežu od najstarijih antičkih vremena do savremenog doba. Posebnu pažnju poklanjaju osmanskome periodu, kada početkom 16. stoljeća započinje urbani razvoj grada. Među brojnim događajima i ličnostima Mostara, nezaobilazno je ime Sinan-paše, potomka srednjovjekovne plemićke porodice Borovinić. Bio je jedan od najpoznatijih osmanskih velikodostojnika i veliki dobrotvor – vakif. Svojim vakufskim dobrima prvih godina 16. stoljeća udario je temelje grada Mostara.

U *Predgovoru* saznajemo da je Sinan-paša dio ličnog bogatstva potrošio na izgradnju više sakralnih i profanih objekata u Mostaru na prijelazu iz 15. u 16. stoljeće. Oni su predstavljali nukleus urbanog jezgra grada. Koristeći izvore i literaturu, hronološki i tematski pisali su o Sinan-paši i Mostaru.

U prvom poglavlju “Bosanska vlastela u srednjem vijeku i tranziciji u osmanski politički sistem sa osvrtom na Boroviniće” s više podnaslova dati su osnovni podaci o srednjovjekovnoj bosanskoj vlasteli. Prikazana je gradacija vladajuće strukture te su doneseni podaci o *plemenitoj baštini* kao zemljišnom posjedu i ponosu plemićkih porodica. Dalje se čitalac upoznaje s konfesionalnom pripadnošću bosanske vlastele te mjestom i ulogom koju je imala u vrijeme posljednjih bosanskih kraljeva. Na ovom mjestu lijepo je prikazano stanje u Bosanskoj kraljevini u posljednjim decenijama samostalnosti, njen pad (1463), uspostava i učvršćenje sultanove vlasti, kao i integracija dijela bosanskih plemićkih porodica u osmanski politički sistem. Pri kraju poglavlja konkretnije se piše o političkom i društvenom značaju plemićke porodice Borovinića.

U Drugom poglavlju “Karijerni uspon Sinan-paše Borovinića i njegov vakuf u Mostaru” prikazano je kako su Osmanlije osvajale srednjovjekovnu Bosansku kraljevinu i koje su prve teritorije došle pod sultanovu vlast između 1463. i 1465. godine. Navode se podaci o hercegu Stjepanu Vukčiću Kosači i njegovim sinovima, o najznačajnijim historijskim dešavanjima u Hercegovini do 1481. godine, o sultanu Bajazidu II (1481–1512), ratovanju Osmanlija sa susjednim državama i osvajanju dijelova Dalmacije posljednjih godina 15. i početkom 16. stoljeća.

Detaljno i pregledno čitalac se upoznaje sa životnim putem, ulogom i značajem Sinan-paše, sina Ivana Borovinića, koji je na Osmanski dvor doveden je 1463. godine. U školi je stekao potrebno obrazovanje za visoke političke i vojne dužnosti. Poslije obrazovanja, brzo je napredovao u osmanskoj administraciji. Zbog iskazanih sposobnosti 1496. godine postavljen je za hercegovačkog sandžakbega, a ubrzo ga sultan Bajazid II imenuje i za rumelijskog beglerbega, čime dobiva zvanje paše. Po drugi put Visoka porta je Sinan-paši koncem 1503. godine ponovo povjerila na upravu Hercegovački sandžak, tako da on u proljeće naredne godine dolazi u Foču. Kao hercegovački sandžakbeg djelovao je uspješno i pritom održavao dobre odnose sa susjedima. S ove dužnosti, iz Hercegovine je 1506. godine premješten za sandžakbega Smedereva.

Boraveći u Hercegovini, odlučio je da dio svojih prihoda uvakufi podizanjem sakralnih i profanih objekata na prostoru Mostara. Na mjestu gdje gradi džamiju (1505/6) nalazio se viseći most koji je povezivao obale rijeke Neretve. Pored džamije gradi hamam, tj. prvo mostarsko javno kupatilo, i dućane od čijih zakupa su se plaćali uposlenici vakufa.

U daljem tekstu govori se o usponu Sinan-pašine karijere te doprinosu pobjedi Osmanlija nad Perzijancima kod Čaldirana (23. 8. 1514) i osvajanju znatnih teritorija na jugoistoku Anadolije. Na osnovu stečenih zasluga sultan Selim I Yildirim (1514–1520) 1515. godine imenuje Selim-pašu za velikog vezira, no ubrzo je taj položaj preuzeo Ahmed-paša Hercegović. Na čelo Visoke porte Sinan-paša je ponovo imenovan 1516. godine. On će u narednom periodu na jugoistoku Anadolije biti predvodnik novog rata protiv Memeluka. Nakon osmanskog prodora u Siriju i pobjede nad Memelucima kod Merdžidabika (24. 8. 1516) sultan Selim I nastavlja pohod Osmanlija na Egipat (Misir). U bici kod Ridvanije (23. 1. 1517) osmanska vojska izvojevala je pobjedu nad Memelucima. Tokom te završne bitke veliki vezir Sinan-paša bio je teško ranjen i od posljedica ranjavanja ubrzo je umro.

Vrlo interesantno je i treće poglavlje pod naslovom “Sinan-pašina džamija i mahala u Mostaru”. U ovom dijelu se navodi da je prije podizanja Sinan-pašine džamije u mostarskoj tvrđavi bio mesdžid za potrebe stacionirane vojne posade. Pojašnjen je izbor lokacije Sinan-pašine džamije oko koje je ubrzo po izgradnji počelo naseljavanje i formiranje prve mostarske mahale. Ime je dobila po osnivaču džamije. Kasnije je bila poznata kao Atik (Stara) mahala. Donose se podaci o njenoj veličini i izgledu te uloji u daljem urbanom razvoju Mostara. Interesantne su i korisne informacije i o drugim mostarskim mahalama, njihovoj veličini i broju stanovnika. U ovom poglavlju na više mjesta su donese kopije katastarskog plana te različite karte koje prikazuju razvoj Sinan-pašine mahale od samog početka do savremenog doba.

Na kraju je “Pogovor” s podnaslovima: “Prvi pisani podaci o Mostaru”, “Vakufnama Sinan-pašine džamije u Mostaru”, “Prijevod vakufname i dimenzije obnovljene Sinan-pašine džamije” s nekoliko fotografija. Posebno je donesen “Popis slikovnog materijala”, “Izvori i literatura”, “Registar imena i toponima” te “Recenzije”.

Ovom monografijom bosanskohercegovačka historiografija postala je bogatija u potpunijem prikazivanju jedne znamenite ličnosti ne samo Mostara i Bosne i Hercegovine nego i prostora jugoistočne Evrope.

Enes Pelidija

Mairesse François (ur.), *Dictionary of Museology*, International Council of Museums / Routledge, Oxon / New York 2023.

Međunarodno fokusirani Muzeološki rječnik, koji je uredila François Mairesse, opsežno je referentno djelo koje odražava raznolikost kulturnih i disciplinarnih pristupa teoriji i praksi u današnjoj muzeologiji. Pored glavne urednice, sastavljanju ovog rječnika pomogli su i urednici Yves Bergeron, Bruno Brulon Soares, Peter Davis, John H. Falk, J. Pedro Lorente, Sharon Macdonald, Eiji Mizushima i Markus Walz. Rječnik od 602 stranice je na engleskom jeziku i dostupan je kao printani tvrdi uvez i kao e-knjiga od izdavača *Taylor & Francis*.

Muzejski svijet brzo se mijenja, a karakteristike i društvene uloge oko 100.000 postojećih muzeja u svijetu neprestano se razvijaju. Osim svojih tradicionalnih funkcija očuvanja, istraživanja i komunikacije, muzeji se sve

više bave pitanjima koja se odnose na društvenu uključenost, ljudska prava, održivi razvoj i financije, a sve to istražuje ovaj rječnik. Oslanjajući se na potporu međunarodnog uredničkog odbora, uključujući utjecajne osobe iz SAD-a, Kanade, Brazila, Japana, Španjolske, Njemačke, Francuske i Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva, ovaj zajednički rad koji je izradilo više od 100 istraživača iz cijelog svijeta daje pregled ovog jedinstvenog rječnika definirajući više od 1000 pojmova koji se odnose na muzeologiju.

Dana 16. novembra 1946, tokom prve Generalne konferencije UNESCO-a, održana je konstitutivna skupština ICOM-a u Musée du Louvre u Parizu, okupljajući direktore muzeja iz 15 zemalja. Razvoj muzeja i rastuća raznolikost u muzejskoj zajednici zahtijevali su novi jezik za opisivanje inovacija. ICOM-ov Međunarodni odbor za muzeologiju (ICOFOM) odgovorio je na ovaj izazov kroz istraživanja i rasprave, koji su 2011. rezultirali izradom *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de muséologie*, vrijednog doprinosa muzeologiji. Skraćeno izdanje, *Key Concepts of Museology*, postalo je standard ICOM-a, dostupno na 13 jezika. Potraga za revidiranom definicijom muzeja započela je 2016. godine, a ICOM Define, osnovan 2020, usvojio je participativan pristup za razvoj nove definicije muzeja, predstavljene na Generalnoj konferenciji ICOM-a u Pragu 2022. Novi Rječnik muzeologije, koordiniran od strane François Mairessea, predstavlja značajan doprinos profesionalizaciji i modernizaciji muzejskog područja, pružajući čvrstu osnovu za buduća razmišljanja o jeziku muzeologije.

Muzeološki rječnik namijenjen je širokom krugu muzejskih djelatnika, akademika, istraživača i studenata. Knjiga će biti posebno korisna onima koji rade s međunarodnim partnerima, budući da je zajednički leksikon koji prenosi složenu stvarnost trenutnih društvenih i kulturnih vrijednosti od posebnog značaja za one koji rade preko granica.

Muzeološki rječnik posebno je značajan za one koje zanima primjena umjetne inteligencije i strojnog učenja u očuvanju kulturne baštine. Pruža temeljno znanje koje se može iskoristiti za razumijevanje kako se ove tehnologije mogu integrirati u muzejske prakse. Na primjer, pojmovi koji se odnose na digitalizaciju, preventivnu konzervaciju i restauraciju ključni su za razvoj rješenja za očuvanje kulturne baštine vođenog umjetnom inteligencijom. Također, ovaj rječnik predstavlja pomoćno sredstvo za svakoga ko radi u muzeologiji i sektoru zaštite kulturne baštine. Njegov opsežan i međunarodno usmjeren sadržaj čini ga prvorazrednim djelom za razumijevanje evoluirajućih uloga i funkcija muzeja u današnjem društvu.

Rječnik muzeologije preporučuje se svim profesionalcima u muzejskoj struci, istraživačima i studentima. Link za online čitanje: <https://bookshelf.vitalsource.com/#/>.

Sarajevo, 6. 10. 2024.

Madžida Smajkić, MA, viši konzervator

## Hronika / Chronik

### Izvještaj o radu Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja u 2024. godini

Tokom 2024. godine, Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja ANUBiH obavljao je svoju aktivnost shodno aktuelnim mogućnostima, uz maksimalno angažovanje direktora Centra dopisnog člana ANUBiH Blagoja Govedarice i saradnice Sabine Vejzagić i uz podršku saradnika Centra i matične Akademije. Najobimniji zadatak je bilo blagovremeno pribavljanje priloga za aktuelnu svesku časopisa *Godišnjak/Jahrbuch* (broj 53 za 2024. godinu), redaktorska obrada tih priloga i priprema za štampu kompletnog broja. To je i ovoga puta uspješno obavljeno zahvaljujući finansijskoj podršci Federalnog ministarstva obrazovanja i nauke Bosne i Hercegovine, Ministarstva kulture i sporta Kantona Sarajevo te Fondacije za izdavaštvo Federalnog ministarstva kulture i sporta Bosne i Hercegovine. Sveska sadrži priloge naučnika iz Ukrajine, Moldavije, Austrije, Njemačke, Hrvatske i Bosne i Hercegovine. Objavljeno je ukupno deset naučnih i stručnih radova, tri prikaza, jedan tekst *In memoriam* te hronika Centra za 2024. godinu. Radovi se odnose na prahistoriju, klasičnu antiku, srednji vijek i lingvistiku.

Uz ažurno izdavanje časopisa, Centar je u okviru edicije Vanserijska izdanja objavio i monografiju prof. dr. Adnana Kaljanca pod naslovom *U stranoj zemlji – Ćiro Truhelka u Bosni i Hercegovini*. Urednik monografije je Blagoje Govedarica, a u njoj su izneseni brojni autentični dokumenti iz Truhelkine lične zaostavštine, kao i kritička analiza početaka arheološke nauke u Bosni i Hercegovini. Navedena monografija, kao i aktuelna sveska časopisa *Godišnjak/Jahrbuch* (broj 52/2023) promovisani su 2. oktobra 2024. godine u prostorijama ANUBiH. Promociju je moderirao direktor Centra dopisni član Blagoje Govedarica, a promotori su bili članovi Centra prof. dr. Lejla Nakaš (za časopis) i prof. dr. Adnan Busuladžić (za monografiju). Promociji koju je otvorio akademik Mirko Pejanović (potpredsjednik ANUBiH), prisustvovao je veliki broj članova i saradnika ANUBiH, brojni saradnici srodnih institucija i drugi ljubitelji nauke.

U okviru projekta digitalizacije kartoteke *Grobovi prastanovnika sjeverozapadnog Balkana* radilo se na otklanjanju tehničkih i drugih nedostataka koji su došli do izražaja tokom eksperimentalnog puštanja ove kartoteke u elektronski opticaj. Uz neke tehničke propuste, koji su već dobrim dijelom ispravljani, pokazalo se da je neophodno i ažuriranje, odnosno aktuelizacija arheoloških parametara kartoteke, što se prije svega odnosi na tipologiju grobnih nalaza i na sisteme apsolutne i relativne hronologije. Radi se o obimnim zahvatima za koje je potrebno dugoročno angažovanje odgovarajućeg saradnika. Vanjska saradnica Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja Melita Halilović, BA, koja je već osposobljena da obavlja ove zahtjevne poslove, izrazila je spremnost da se prihvati tih zadataka. Nadamo se da će naš Centar, uz pomoć matične Akademije i državnih fondova, osigurati potrebna sredstva za nastavak i dovršenje rada na ovom veoma važnom i perspektivnom projektu.

Početkom oktobra 2024. godine Centar je posjetila prof. dr. Elke Kaiser iz Instituta za prahistorijsku arheologiju Slobodnog univerziteta u Berlinu. Cilj posjete bio je nastavak arheoloških iskopavanja na gradini Klisura u Kadića brdu (Glasinac) koja su prekinuta 1992. godine. U planirani istraživački projekt uključeni su Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja, Institut za prahistorijsku arheologiju iz Berlina, kao i Institut za arheologiju Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Sarajevu. Ukoliko se na vrijeme obave potrebne organizacione pripreme, trebalo bi da ova istraživanja otpočnu 2025. godine.

Za 2025. godinu Centar je planirao organizovanje međunarodne naučne konferencije pod radnim nazivom *Zaštita baštine Bosne i Hercegovine*. Do sada je u tu svrhu prikupljeno oko 6.000 KM, dok je za realizaciju konferencije potrebno još najmanje 5.000 KM. Osim Konferencije, planirano je i izdavanje narednog broja časopisa *Godišnjak/Jahrbuch*, kao i objava treće monografije iz okvira trilogije prof. dr. Adnana Kaljanca koja je posvećena počecima arheološke nauke u Bosni i Hercegovini. Ova završna knjiga nosiće naslov *Vejsil Ćurčić, prvi bosanskohercegovački arheolog*.

Na kraju treba reći da je polovinom 2024. godine Centar ostao bez saradnice Sabine Vejzagić, MA, čiji je radni ugovor jednostrano izmijenjen, tako da je prešla u Službu izdavačke djelatnosti ANUBiH. Time je po prvi put od osnivanja Centra 1963. godine ova institucija ostala bez stručnih i administrativnih saradnika. Nadamo se da će Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja ipak i dalje imati neophodnu radnu podršku, u suprotnom će dalja aktivnost ove najstarije naučne jedinice ANUBiH biti ozbiljno dovedena u pitanje.

Sabina Vejzagić

## In memoriam

### Dževad Juzbašić (1929–2024)



Dana 27. juna 2024. godine, poslije dugotrajne borbe sa teškom bolešću, napustio nas je dugogodišnji direktor našeg Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja i redovni član Akademije nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, akademik Dževad Juzbašić. Za njim je ostalo njegovo veliko djelo i oreol naučnog dostojanstva i istrajnosti, nepokolebljivog istinoljublja i neiscrpane čovječnosti. Dževad Juzbašić je rođen 1929. godine u Sarajevu, gradu koji je volio i kojem je ostao vjeran do kraja života. Tu je završio osnovnu školu i gimnaziju i stekao univerzitetsko obrazovanje. Diplomirao je opštu i nacionalnu istoriju na Filozofskom fakultetu Sarajevskog univerziteta 1955. godine. Od tada pa do 1962. godine predavao je istoriju u ovdašnjoj Prvoj klasičnoj gimnaziji. Nakon izbora za asistenta na Institutu za istoriju (1962) orijentisao se na izučavanje perioda austro-ugarske uprave u Bosni i Hercegovini. Njegova velika erudicija i humanizam došli su do izražaja već u tom ranom dobu njegove aktivnosti, pa ga tadašnji učenici i studenti još i danas pamte kao vrsnog predavača i pedagoga.

Od 1965. do 1967. godine Dževad Juzbašić je boravio na Bečkom univerzitetu kao stipendista vlade Republike Austrije, gdje se specijalizovao za noviju istoriju podunavskih zemalja. Uporedo je pohađao doktorski kolokvij i u bečkim arhivama prikupljao građu za disertaciju i druge naučne radove. Gradu Beču i bečkim naučnim institucijama uvijek se rado vraćao, pa se može reći da je, poslije Sarajeva, Beč bio drugo važno odredište u njegovom životu i radu. U tim bečkim studijama Dževad Juzbašić je razvio sklonost bavljenju strateškim istorijskim temama i poduhvatima. Jedna od takvih tema je i njegova doktorska disertacija *Izgradnja željeznica u BiH u svjetlu austrougarske politike od okupacije do kraja Kallayeve ere* koju je odbranio 1972. godine na Filozofskom fakultetu u Sarajevu i koja je publikovana u izdanju ANUBiH 1974. godine.

U prethodno spomenutom sarajevskom Institutu za istoriju prošao je sva naučna zvanja, od naučnog saradnika do naučnog savjetnika, da bi početkom 1993. godine na Filozofskom fakultetu Univerziteta u Sarajevu bio izabran za redovnog profesora opšte istorije novog vijeka sa savremenom istorijom. U svojim daljim radovima razmatrao je različite probleme iz političke, ekonomske, državnopravne, socijalne i kulturne istorije Bosne i Hercegovine, u sklopu odnosa u Habsburškoj monarhiji i u vezi s austrougarskom balkanskom politikom. Bio je glavni urednik časopisa Instituta za istoriju u Sarajevu *Prilozi*, kao i član redakcije *Godišnjaka Društva istoričara BiH* te redakcije *Acta historico-oeconomica Yugoslaviae* za sve vrijeme izlaženja ovog časopisa. Pored obimne samostalne djelatnosti, njegov naučni rad karakteriše i njegovanje timskog rada i saradnje, kao i organizaciona djelatnost. O tome svjedoče brojni naučni skupovi koje je uspješno organizovao, kao i zbornici radova koje je priređivao i publikovao. Pored toga, on je rezultate svojih istraživanja prezentirao i na drugim naučnim skupovima u zemlji i inostranstvu. Kao gostujući profesor držao je predavanja na univerzitetima u Grazu, Beogradu, Beču i Münchenu, a svoje naučne radove je objavljivao u uglednim domaćim i stranim publikacijama.

Za svoju naučnu djelatnost Dževad Juzbašić je dobio niz značajnih priznanja. Godine 1976. dodijeljena mu je Republička nagrada za nauku Veselin Masleša, a 1994. godine postao je dobitnik Herderove nagrade koju dodjeljuje Univerzitet u Beču. Ovu prestižnu nagradu dobio je za doprinos objektivnoj obradi istorije Bosne i Hercegovine u 19. i 20. vijeku, a posebno za doprinos boljem razumijevanju društvenih odnosa u okviru multinacionalne Podunavske monarhije. Dževad Juzbašić je prvi naučnik iz Bosne i Hercegovine koji je dobio ovo izuzetno

priznanje, a krunu njegovog naučnog rada označila je Šestoaprilaska nagrada grada Sarajeva kojom je ovjenčan pred odlazak u penziju 2000. godine.

No, formalni odlazak u penziju nije označio i umirovljenje njegove univerzitetske i naučne djelatnosti. On sve do kraja 2002. godine aktivno radi na diplomskoj i postdiplomskoj nastavi na Filozofskom fakultetu u Sarajevu. Senat Univerziteta u Sarajevu dodijelio mu je 2004. godine počasno zvanje profesor emeritus. Od 1997. djeluje kao član Komisije za istoriju jugoistočne Evrope Fondacije *Pro Oriente* u Beču, a bio je i aktivan član Komisije za izučavanje istorije Slovena koja je donedavno djelovala pri Internacionalnom komitetu za istorijske nauke ove fondacije.

Dževad Juzbašić je 1995. godine izabran za dopisnog člana Akademije nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine u Odjeljenje društvenih nauka (kasnije Odjeljenje humanističkih nauka), a redovni član ove Akademije postao je 2002. godine. Godine 1998. postao je vršilac dužnosti direktora Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja, a od 2008. do 2021. bio je i direktor ove najstarije naučne jedinice ANUBiH. Od 2002. pa do sve do pred kraj života, bio je predsjednik Odbora za istorijske nauke u Odjeljenju humanističkih nauka ANUBiH.

Od posebnog značaja je djelatnost akademika Dževada Juzbašića u okviru našeg Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja. Prihvatanje vođenja ove institucije, dobrim dijelom devastirane tokom ratnih događaja, bio je veoma težak i neizvjestan poduhvat, ali se upravo njegov angažman pokazao presudnim za reaktiviranje i opstanak Centra. U periodu od više od dvadeset godina, koliko je akademik Juzbašić vodio naš Centar, uspostavljeno je dalje redovno objavljivanje časopisa *Godišnjak* (od 2002. godine *Godišnjak/Jahrbuch*), povećan je broj članova i saradnika i intenziviran rad na istraživačkim projektima u mjeri u kojoj je to bilo moguće. Odlaskom Dževada Juzbašića naš Centar i naša Akademija ostali su bez velikog naučnika i upornog borca za opšti društveni prosperitet. Ipak, on neće otići u zaborav, jer takvi ljudi ne mogu potpuno nestati. Za to se brine njegovo djelo, koje i dalje živi za našu i za buduće generacije.

Blagoje Govedarica

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## Uputstva / Richtlinien / Guidelines

### Uputstva za pripremu materijala za Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja ANUBiH

#### Forma priloga

Tekst (na njemačkom, engleskom, srpskom, hrvatskom, bosanskom jeziku...) uključuje apstrakt s ključnim riječima na engleskom jeziku, kao i obuhvatan rezime na stranim jezicima, ilustracije s potpisima, napomene i potpunu bibliografiju.

Tekst predati u digitalnom obliku uz primjerak odštampanog teksta u formatu "Din-A4" sa marginom od 2,5 cm. Molimo vas da tekst bude u programu Microsoft Word ili Corel Word Perfect. Nemojte unositi paginaciju, zaglavlje ili na drugi način formatirati tekst. Poželjno je da tekst bude u fontu Times New Roman, Courier ili Arial veličine 12 pt kao i proreda od 1,5.

Ilustracije bi takođe trebalo da budu predate u digitalnom obliku, ili dobrog kvaliteta pogodne za skeniranje.

Veličina ca. 19 x 13cm ili "Din-B5" format. Prihvatamo slijedeće formate \*.gif, \*.jpg, \*.psd, \*.tif ili \*.bmp.

Strane izraze navesti u kurzivu (*italic*).

Tekst ne hifenirati.

#### Napomene i citiranje

Napomene bi trebalo navoditi kao "fus note" u formi kratkog citata, prema važećim bibliografskim pravilima. Detaljno alfabetsko navođenje literature na kraju priloga treba da sadrži sve relevantne bibliografske podatke.

U tekstu, u fusnotama i u literaturi kod članaka na našem jeziku table se navode skraćenicom Tab. (a ne T.). Kod tekstova na njemačkom jeziku Taf.). Rimski brojevi se u principu ne upotrebljavaju, nego se u cjelini sve citirane numeracije pišu arapskim brojevima.

#### Redoslijed navođenja citata

Pri navođenju citata preporučuje se pridržavanje sljedećeg redoslijeda: 1) ime autora, 2) godina izdanja, 3) br. strane, 4) navedena ilustracija, 5) br. table sa brojem ilustracije.

Primjer:

Childe 1926, 120-122.

Milojčić 1949, 267 f.; Sl. 8, 2; 14, 3. 5. 7.

Renfrew 1974 Tab. 4, 2-6.

Naumann 1968, 12. 34; 50-72, Sl. 7, Tab. 19, 1. 7. 8; 20, 3. 4a-c.

Kod citiranja radova istog autora koji su objavljeni u jednoj godini, pored godine se unosi slovo.

Primjer:

Lüning 1996a, 12-56. Lüning 1996b, 45 f.

Molimo Vas da šaljete samo kompletirani materijal.

#### Znaci interpunkcije kod citiranja

Kod navedenih primjera obratiti posebnu pažnju na to gdje dolaze znaci interpunkcije, a gdje ne (između slovnih i brojčanih navoda nema interpunkcije- autor/godina; slika/broj i sl.

Primjer:

Naumann 1968, 12. 34; 50-72, Sl. 7 Tab. 19, 1. 7. 8; i sl.

Zarez dolazi iza godine kao i između broja pojedinačne slike i broja ilustracije na toj slici: Milošević 1949, 267 f.; Sl. 8, 2; itd.

Brojevi ilustracija se međutim razdvajaju tačkom: Sl. 14, 3. 5. 7.

Navođenje odvojenih stranica takođe se razdvaja tačkom: Naumann 1968, 12.34.

Ukoliko se radi o dva autora imena se razdvajaju kosom linijom “/”. Kod više od dva autora navodi se samo prvi autor, a na ostale se ukazuje sa “i dr.”

Primjer:

Marinov / Jordanov 1978, 60-67; Agapov i dr. 1990, 48 f.

Pojedinačni citati u okviru jedne fus note mogu se razdvajati tačka-zarezom (semikolon) “;”

Primjer:

Nehaev 1992, 76; Hančar 1937, 251, 333.

## Literatura

Kod monografija navodi se kompletan naslov bez skraćivanja. Navodi se takođe i podnaslov.

Ukoliko je knjiga izdata u okviru serije navesti i naziv serije kao i broj sveske-izdanja. Između imena autora i naslova citiranog rada navesti godinu izdanja. Broj sveske izdanja se navodi neposredno poslije naslova.

Primjer:

Martin-Kilcher, S. 1976, Das romische Graberfeld von Corraux im Berner Jura. Basler Beitrage zur Ur- und Fruhgeschichte 2, Derendingen 1976.

Naslov časopisa se u principu ne skraćuje. Godina izdavanja se navodi između broja časopisa i broja stranice, od kojih je odvojena zarezima.

Primjer:

Anthony, D. W. / Brown, D. R. 1991, The Origin of Horseback Riding, Antiquity 65, 1991, 22-38.

Ukoliko se radi o zborniku radova (spomenica, akti kongresa, katalog i sl.) navedeni rad se navodi u neskrćenom obliku. Prije naslova citiranog zbornika treba da stoji “u:”. Ime izdavača koje slijedi treba odvojiti sa “ed.” i staviti ga prije naslova zbornika.

Primjer:

Henrickson, E. F. 1994, The Outer Limits: Settlement and Economic strategies in the Central Zagros Highlands During the Uruk Era, In: Stein, G. / Rothman, M. S (ed.), Chiefdoms and Early States in the Near East, Monographs in world Archaeology, Madison 1994, 85-102.

Ukoliko se navode dva ili više autora imena se odvajaju sa “/”.

Primjer:

Anthony, D. W. / Brown, D. R. 1991, The Origin of Horseback Riding, Antiquity 65, 1991, 22-38.

Ako imate dodatnih pitanja molimo Vas da konsultujete redakciju.

# Richtlinien zur Veröffentlichung im Jahrbuch des Zentrums für Balkanforschungen der AWKBH

## Form der Vorlage

Der Text (deutsch, englisch, serbisch, kroatisch, bosnisch...) sollte ein Abstrakt mit Schlüsselwörter in englisch, sowie eine Zusammenfassung in Fremdsprachen, Abbildungen mit Unterschriften, Anmerkungen und vollständiger Literaturliste umfassen.

Text bitte in digitaler Form (als Textdatei) und als Din A4-Ausdruck mit 2,5 cm umlaufenden Seitenrand einsenden. Bitte verwenden Sie möglichst ein gängiges Textverarbeitungsprogramm, wie Microsoft Word oder Corel Word Perfect. Fügen Sie keine Seitenzahlen, Kopf- oder Fußzeilen ein und verwenden Sie ausschließlich die Schriftarten Times New Roman, Courier oder Arial der Größe 12pt sowie einen Zeilabstand von 1,5 Zeilen. Ungewöhnliche Sonderzeichen (Č, č, Ć, ć, Š, š, Ž, ž usw.) unbedingt im Probeausdruck speziell markieren!

Auch die gewünschten Abbildungen möglichst in digitaler Form oder als scanfähige Druckvorlage einsenden. Folgende Dateiformate sollten ausschließlich Verwendung finden: \*.GIF, \*.JPG, \*.TIF oder \*.BMP (Größe ca. 19 x 13 cm oder Din A5).

Fremdsprachliche Begriffe durch Kursivdruck hervorzuheben (signifier).

Der Text sollte fortlaufend, d.h. ohne Silbertrennung, und ohne Einzüge verfasst sein. Bitte nur das komplette Druckmaterial abgeben.

## Anmerkungen und Zitierrichtlinien

Anmerkungen sind grundsätzlich als Fußnoten in Form von Kurzzitaten in das Dokument einzufügen. Ein ausführliches alphabetisches Literaturverzeichnis am Ende des Dokuments enthält alle wesentlichen bibliographischen Angaben (s. u.).

## Gliederung innerhalb der Fußnoten

Folgende Reihenfolge innerhalb der Kurzzitate ist generell einzuhalten: 1. Autorname, 2. Erscheinungsjahr, 3. Seitenzahlen, 4. Abbildungsverweis und 5. Tafelnummer mit Abbildungsziffer.

Bsp.:

Childe 1926, 120-122.

Milojčić 1949, 267 f.; Abb. 8, 2; 14, 3. 5. 7.

Renfrew 1974, Taf. 4, 2-6.

Naumann 1968, 12. 34; 50-72, Abb. 7, Taf. 19, 1. 7. 8; 20, 3. 4a-c.

Bei gleich lautenden Kurzzitaten wird an das Erscheinungsjahr ein Buchstab angehängt.

Bsp.:

Lüning 1996a, 12-56; Lüning 1996b, 45 f.

## Interpunktion beim Zitieren

Keine Interpunktion zwischen Buchstaben und Nummern (Autorenname und Jahr: Nauman 1968; Abbildung und Nummer: Abb. 7 Taf. 19).

Das Komma erscheint nach dem Jahr und zwischen der Abbildungsnummer und Einzelbildnummer.

Bsp.

Milojčić 1949, 267 f.; Abb. 8, 2.

Nummerierung der Einzelbildern innerhalb einer Abbildung wird mit einem Punkt getrennt: Abb. 14, 3. 5. 7.

Zitieren der Einzelseiten wird ebenso mit einem Punkt getrennt: Naumann 1968, 12.34.

Sind zwei Verfasser beteiligt, werden die Namen im Kurzzitat der Fußnote durch Schrägstrich “/“ getrennt. Bei mehr als zwei Autoren wird lediglich der erstgenannte Autor aufgeführt und auf die übrigen mit “u. a.“ verwiesen.

Bsp.:

Marinov/Yordanov 1978, 60-67; Agapov u.a. 1990, 48 f.

Einzelne Zitate innerhalb einer Fußnote können durch das Semikolon “;“ getrennt werden.

Bsp.:

Nechaev 1992, 76; Hancar 1937, 251.333.

## Literaturverzeichnis

Bei Monographien Katalogen, Festschriften u. ä wird der Titel vollständig und ohne Abkürzungen aufgeführt. Der Untertitel, Herausgeber und Verlag ist ebenfalls mit aufzuführen. Ist das Buch innerhalb einer Publikationsserie erschienen, ist der Serientitel anzugeben sowie die Serien- und Bandzahlen. In Klammern steht das Erscheinungsjahr, dem zitierten Titel vorangestellt wird.

Bsp.:

Martin-Kilcher, S. 1976, Das romische Graberfeld von Corraux im Berner Jura. Basler Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte 2, Derendingen 1976.

Zeitschriftentitel sind generell nicht abzukürzen. Die Jahrgangszahl wird dabei in Kommata eingeschlossen.

Bsp.:

Anthony, D. W. / Brown, D. R. 1991, The Origin of Horseback Riding, *Antiquity* 65, 1991, 22-38.

In einem Sammelband (Festschrift, Kongressbericht, Katalog o.ä.) erschienene Arbeiten werden mit dessen ungekürztem Titel zitiert. Vor dem Titel des zitierten Aufsatzes steht “In:”. Der darauf folgende Name des Herausgebers wird durch “(Hrsg.)” oder “(ed.)” gekennzeichnet und steht vor dem Titel des Sammelwerkes.

Bsp.:

Henrickson, E. F. 1994, The Outer Limits: Settlement and Economic strategies in the Central Zagros Highlands During the Uruk Era, In: Stein, G. / Rothman, M. S (ed.), *Chiefdoms and Early States in the Near East*, Monographs in world Archaeology, Madison 1994, 85-102.

Wenn zwei oder mehrere Autoren zitiert sind wird mit “/“ getrennt.

Bsp.:

Anthony, D. W. / Brown, D. R. 1991, The Origin of Horseback Riding, *Antiquity* 65, 1991, 22-38.

Bitte wenden Sie sich bei offenen Fragen an die Redaktion.

# Guidelines for the article preparation for Godišnjak CBI ANUBiH

## Form of article

Text (in German, English, Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian ...) should contain an abstract with Key words in english with a comprehensive summary in foreign language, illustrations with signature, references and bibliography.

Text should be given in a digital form accompanied printed version format both "Din- A4" with margins 2,5 cm each. You are kindly asked to send text in a Microsoft Word Program or in Corel Word Perfect. Do not insert paging, headers or different kinds of text formatting. It is recommended that you use fonts: Times New Roman, Courier or Arial, size 12 pt, and the line spacing 1,5. Special characters and symbols (Č,ć,Ć,ć,Š,š,Ž,ž etc.) have to be marked in a print version.

Illustrations should be prepared also in a digital form or with a good scanning quality - size cca. 19 x 13 cm or "Din-B5" format. We accept following formats: \*.gif, \*.jpg, \*.psd, \*.tif or \*.bmp. Foreign expressions should be cited in italic Text should not be hyphenated.

## Notes and citations

Notes should be in form of footnotes as short quotes according the bibliographic rules.

Detail alphabetic list of bibliography in the end of the article should contain all relevant bibliographical data. In text, footnotes and bibliography in Bosnian and English, Tables are given with a short Tab. (not T.). In German text (Taf.). Roman numbers are basically not in use, all numbering is principally in Arabic numerals.

## Citation order

Citation is recommended by the following order: 1) Name of author, 2) Year of publication 3) Page number, 4) Quoted illustration 5) Table number with a number of illustrations.

Example:

Childe 1926, 120-122.

Milojčić 1949, 267 f.; Fig. 8, 2; 14, 3. 5. 7.

Renfrew 1974, Tab. 4, 2-6.

Naumann 1968, 12. 34; 50-72 Fig. 7, Tab. 19, 1. 7. 8; 20, 3. 4a-c.

Citation of the same author's articles published in the one year has to have letter mark following the year of publication.

Example:

Lüning 1996a, 12-56; Lüning 1996b, 45 f.

We kindly ask you to send only the completed material.

## Punctuation marks in quoting

In following examples see where the punctuation marks are (between letter and number characters in quote there are no punctuation marks, author/year; illustration / number and picture number).

Example:

Naumann 1968, 12.34; 50-72, Fig. 7, Tab. 19, 1. 7. 8;

Comma comes after year, as between the number of a single picture or the number of the illustration in that picture (table) :

Example:

Milojčić 1949, 267f.; Sl. 8, 2; itd.

Numbers of illustrations are separated by periods: Fig. 14, 3. 5. 7.  
Different pages quoting should also be separated by period mark: Naumann 1968, 12.34.

If there are two authors their names are separated by slash line “/”. In case of more authors only the name of the first one is quoted and other are just mentioned as “et al.”

Example:

Marinov / Yordanov 1978, 60-67; Agapov et al. 1990, 48 f.  
Individual quotations in one footnote can be separated by semicolon “;”

Example:

Nehaev 1992, 76; Hancar 1937, 251, 333.

## Bibliography

Monographs, catalogues, proceedings and other special publications are given with whole title without abbreviation. Subtitles, editor and publisher should also be included. If the book is published in a serial publication, serial number and number of the volume should be introduced as well. A year of publication should be given between the name of the author and the title of the quoted article or the book, there. Number of the volume should be right after the title.

Example:

Martin-Kilcher, S. 1976, Das romische Graberfeld von Corraux im Berner Jura. Basler Beitrage zur Ur- und Fruhgeschichte 2, Derendingen 1976.

Principally title of the journal should not be reduced. Year of publication should be given, between the number of the journal's volume and page numbers, separated by comma.

Example:

Anthony, D. W. / Brown, D. R. 1991, The Origin of Horseback Riding, *Antiquity* 65, 1991, 22-38.

In case of a proceedings (commemorative volume, congress articles, catalogue), whole title should be given, without abbreviation. It should be introduced “in” before the title of quoted Proceedings. Name of the editor that follows should be also separated with “ed.”, and given before the title of the Proceedings.

Example:

Henrickson, E. F. 1994, The Outer Limits: Settlement and Economic strategies in the Central Zagros Highlands during the Uruk Era. In: Stein, G. / Rothman, M. S. (ed.), *Chiefdoms and Early States in the Near East*, Monographs in world Archaeology, Madison 1994, 85-102.

In a case of two or more authors, their names are separated with “/”.

Anthony, D. W. / Brown, D. R. 1991, The Origin of Horseback Riding, *Antiquity* 65, 1991, 22-38.

For any further questions please contact the editorial board.

Godišnjak izlazi od 1957. g. Prva i druga sveska (I-1957; II-1961) štampane su u izdanju Balkanološkog instituta Naučnog društva Bosne i Hercegovine. Od 1965. g. (III/1) časopis se izdaje redovno godišnje (izuzev prekida prouzrokovanog ratnim zbivanjima iz 90tih godina 20. vijeka) u okviru Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja Akademije nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine. Od sveske XXXII/30 (2002) časopis nosi naslov Godišnjak/Jahrbuch, a počev od 2010. g. numeracija je svedena na prvu cifru koja je izražena arapskim brojem.

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