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Finds of the Cetina-type in the western Balkan hinterland and the issue of culture-historical interpretation in the prehistoric archaeology

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The work entirely presents both the pottery of the Cetina-type, and the pottery made under its influence; it is in the hinterland of western Balkan, that is, in the neighbourhood of Sarajevo (Kotorac), at the Glasinac area (Rusanovići, Borci-Vrlazije, Vrtanjak, Ferizovići, Živaljevići) and in the western Serbia (Anište-Ražana). Typological features of the finds are considered and cultural relations with the home area, the Cetina culture, are established. Based on these examples, the possibilities and limitations of archaeological typology and methodological procedures, which could facilitate a more exact interpretation of archaeological material, are further critically discussed.

Key words: Cetina culture, Kotorac, Glasinac, typology, culture-historical interpretation, Landschaftsarchäologie

1. Introduction

The Cetina culture is certainly the most significant heritage of the early Bronze Age in the eastern Adriatic area. Most sites of this culture are concentrated in Dalmatia and in Central Dalmatian hinterland therefore the area is rightfully considered its primary territory. Discovery and research the Cetina culture in the area is to a large extent connected to the name of Ivan Marović,¹ the outstanding and tireless researcher, to whom this article is dedicated as a sign of special respect.

According to recent researches, the primary Cetina area should also include the central Adriatic islands of Hvar, Korčula, and Palagruža, the peninsula of Pelješac and the area of south Adriatic, that is, the coast of Montenegro and north Albania with their close hinterland (Map 1).² Apart from the central area, there are Cetina type finds in the north Adriatic as well (Barbariga in Istria,³ Trieste karst caves⁴); however, according to the knowledge so far, these are single and relatively rare samples of the Cetina-type pottery in a somewhat vague cultural context.⁵ The typical Cetina-type pottery has long been known on the Italian Adriatic coast as well, where it is a more or less an isolated phenomenon within the proto-Apennine culture (Rodi Garganico on Monte Gargano⁶ and Laterza in Apulia⁷). The Cetina-type finds from the mentioned islands definitely indicate the direction of trans-Adriatic communication, which made these contacts possible: Central Dalmatia - Korčula - Lastovo (?) - Palagruža - Tremiti (?) - Monte Gargano. If we extend the list by adding the well-known finds of the Cetina type from Peloponnesus (Olympia, Lerna) that existed there simultaneously with the Early Helladic III-complex, or within its frame,⁸ it explains that the Cetina-type culture is not only a local phenomenon linked to the eastern Adriatic, but a much wider and stronger cultural phenomenon, rather significant for studying and understanding the cultural and historical development in a broad Adriatic and Mediterranean area in the 3rd millennium BC.

This paper does not deal with the primary area of the Cetina type culture nor with the aspects of its spread in the Adriatic and Aegean areas, but it focuses on the phenomenon of the finds of this type in the hinterland of the Balkans, a completely different area whose culture and geography do not belong to the sphere of the Cetina, i.e. the Adriatic and the Mediterranean. It is about the finds from the hill settlement of Kotorac near Sarajevo, about the pottery of the Cetina type characteristics from burial mounds in Vrtnjak, Rusanovići, Vrlazije, Živaljevići and Ferizovići in the

area of Glasinac, and about the finds from Anište near Ražana in western Serbia. The material is already contained in archaeological literature, however, it has mainly been partly published and typologically only superficially assessed. In the context of studying the appearance of the Cetina type culture in this region, a high level of typological similarity and close cultural and historical links, as a logical result, have only been stated. On the other hand, the nature of the relations, i.e. the causes, mechanisms, significance and consequences of the supposed contacts between the home Cetina area and this area, have remained absolutely vague. What does the occurrence of the Cetina material in the mountains of the west Balkans mean, in the area completely outside the geo-climatic and cultural context of the Cetina culture? How could such a step forward have happened, and what are the actual possibilities of research and evaluation of the phenomenon? We think that this and other questions regarding the cultural contacts and relations are of great significance for understanding the cultural and historical essence of the very Cetina culture, as well as for a more extensive research into social and cultural relationships in this part of Europe in the early Bronze Age. However, before we start considering these essential issues and observing the possibilities of solving them, it is necessary to present the available data of the mentioned finds and sites. These data, as we shall see, are neither complete nor methodologically uniform. This they cannot be, because these are incidental finds, and the material was found towards the end of the nineteenth or the beginning of the twentieth century and documented according to the then archaeological ideas and possibilities. We shall set forth the available data on these finds and the more extensive circumstances of their discovery in the chronological order as they were found which comprises a wide range of time of more than a hundred years.

2. Sites and finds

1. *Vrtnjak in Maravići near Rogatica* (Map 1, 1; Č. Truhelka excavations 1891). The earliest find, a small jug with a handle (Dim.: 7.5 x 8.8 cm), comes from one of the tumuli in the village of Vrtnjak. There are no closer data on the circumstances of the find, except that there were no other finds in the mound.⁹ The jug is of a rather good fabric with a reddish-brown surface. On the long neck that slightly narrows towards a sharply everted rim there is a strap x-shaped handle projecting from below rim to the flaring shoulder of the vessel. The jug is characterised by a rounded biconic-shaped body with a pronounced upper cone and a relatively small flat base. The ornament consists of deep incisions with a dotted stamped ornament. The motif contains an incised triple band, lined with dotted stamped ornament. The composition runs either smooth

1 See Marović 1991, p. 15 ff. and further listed literature.

2 Cfr: Forenbaher, Kaiser 1997, p. 15 ff.; Govedarica 1989, p. 189 ff.

3 Verbal information by A. Milošević.

4 Govedarica 1992, p. 319 ff.

5 Cfr: Govedarica 1989, p. 64 ff.

6 Nava 1990.

7 Čović 1980, Fig. 4.

8 Maran 1987, pp. 77-85; Govedarica 1989, pp. 143-144.

9 Truhelka 1893, p. 61 ff; Čović 1980, Fig. 4.

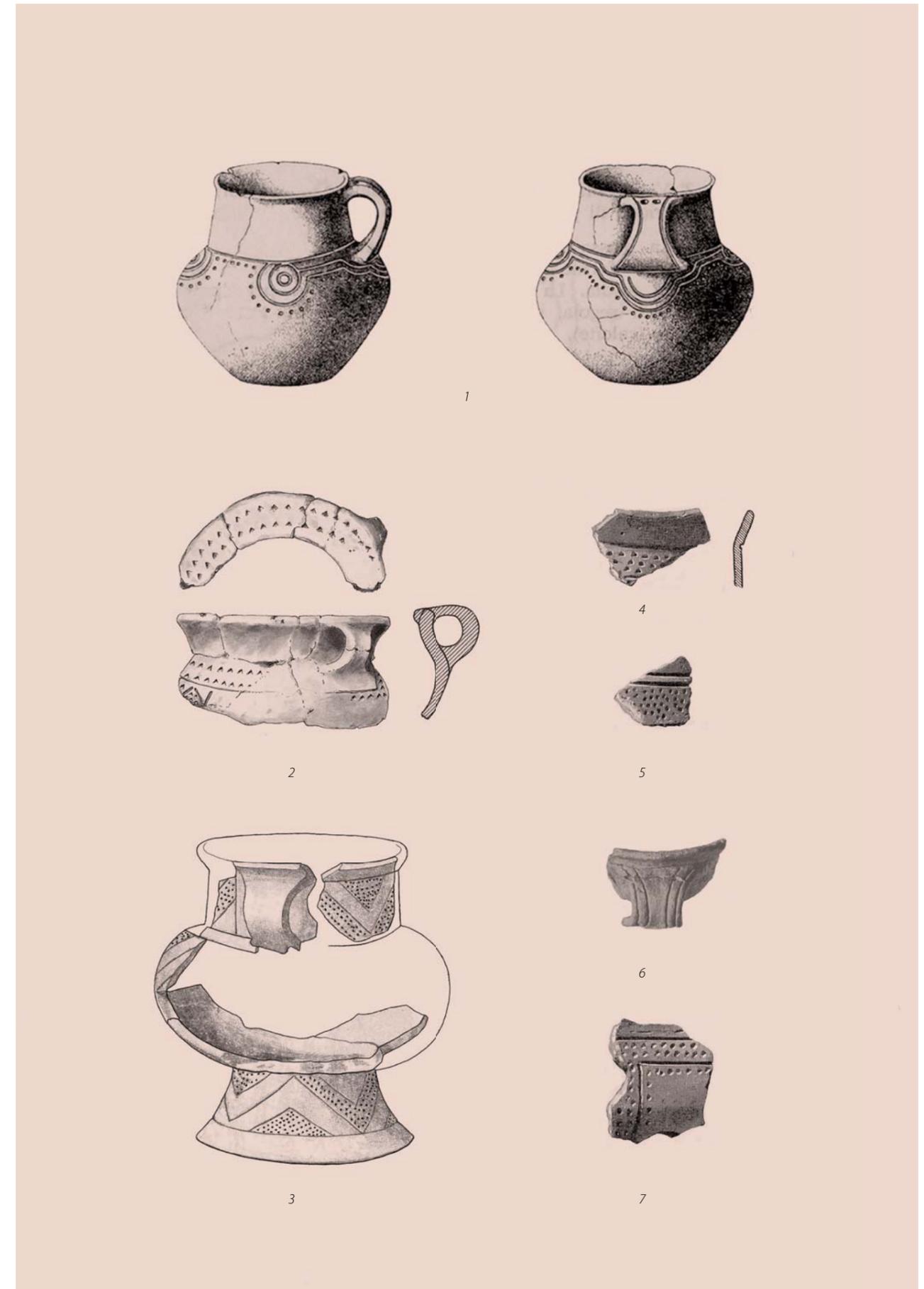


Map 1.
Cetina finds in the Adriatic area and finds of Cetina type in the inland of the Western Balkans: 1 Vrtnjak; 2 Rusanovići; 3 Borci in Vrlazije; 4 Živaljevici; 5 Kotorac; 6 Anište near Ražana; 7 Ferizovići, Opaljane Gomile

or in the shape of volute and volute with a curving linear ornament along the shoulder of the vessel. The handle is lined with a single incised line, and on its upper part two holes are made to thread a string so as to carry the vessel (T. 1. 1).

2. *Rusanovići near Rogatica, tumulus 26* (Map 1.2; F. Fiala excavation in 1894). According to the summary Fiala's report¹⁰ this mound was heaped with stone and earth, dia. 8.5 m, height about 1 metre. Seven bodies were found in it. Six skeletons belonging to the prehistoric period were laid in the central part of the mound. Five of them are west-east oriented, and one is east-west oriented. The seventh skeleton represents a later burial from a more recent time. In the context of prehistoric burials, 14 spiral *salteleons* made of bronze wire, one bracelet made of a spirally bent bronze wire

and five ceramic fragments were excavated. All five fragments belong to the upper part of one vessel with a tapering and flat rim and poorly differentiated neck that gradually turns into a rounded body. One strap x-shaped handle projects from the rim and runs in the body of vessel. The flat rims decorated with a double row of impressed triangles, and at the neck and body of the vessel such rows are lined with incised lines, thus forming strap and rhombic decorations (T. 1. 2). This vessel corresponds completely to the Cetina type pottery; although no documents have been preserved to enable identification of the body to which it was supplemented, it is clearly dated in the early Bronze Age, that is, the earliest period of burials in this mound. The other finds indicate late Bronze Age.¹¹



T. 1.
1 - Vrtnjak; 2 - Rusanovići; 3,6 - Kotorac; 4,5,7 - Borci in Vrlazije (1,6 according to Čović 1980, 1966; 2 according to Marović, Čović 1983; 3 according to Korošec 1940; 4,5,7 according to Fiala 1894; 1,2 R=1:2; 3-7 without scale)

10 Fiala 1894, p. 736, Figures 28 and 29.

11 Cfr. Ibid. Illustrations of the later material in Fiala's report are not given.

3. *Borci at Vrlazije near Rogatica, tumulus 2* (Map 1. 3; F. Fiala's excavations 1894).¹² Eight skeletons were excavated in the mound heaped with coarse masonry, size 17 x 12 m, height 0.75 m. Two skeletons were in the eastern half of the mound, and the remaining six in its western part. The bodies from the eastern part belong to prehistoric period, while the others are later burials from the Roman period and the Middle Ages. Without further precise stating Fiala says that both skeletons from the eastern part of the mound lied in a line and were orientated south-north. There was also material from the Iron Age and three fragments of the Cetina type pottery. One fragment is a part of everted rim of vessel with cylindrical neck decorated with triangular stamps lined with incised lines (T. 1. 4). The second fragment is a neck with a double line and circular stamps (T. 1. 5), and the third is a part of the upper cone of the vessel with biconical or rounded body and a double row of stamps lined with lines and with a border outside the band (T. 1. 7). Hence, the primary burial in this tumulus as well as in mound 26 from Rusanovići must have belonged to the Early Bronze Age, and the other prehistoric skeleton would represent a secondary burial from an earlier phase of the Iron Age. More precise dating within this range is impossible, as no further documents have been preserved.

4. *Živaljevići near Rogatica, tumulus 6* (Map 1.4; F. Fiala's excavations in 1897). Six skeletons were excavated in this mound, dimensions 9x9m, height 0.8m, heaped with stone and earth. Grave goods belonging to the Late Bronze Age were found with three skeletons. The remaining three skeletons had no grave goods according to Fiala's report.¹³ However, according to the inventory of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, *Sarajevo*, another not yet published conical vessel with incurving and *tapering rim* belongs to this mound as well. On the surface of the rim, on the edges, there is a row of stamped triangles, arranged in such a manner to form two parallel zigzag bands on borders. The find has not been published, and considering its condition in the mentioned mound, it could belong to one of the three skeletons that, according to Fiala, had no grave goods.¹⁴

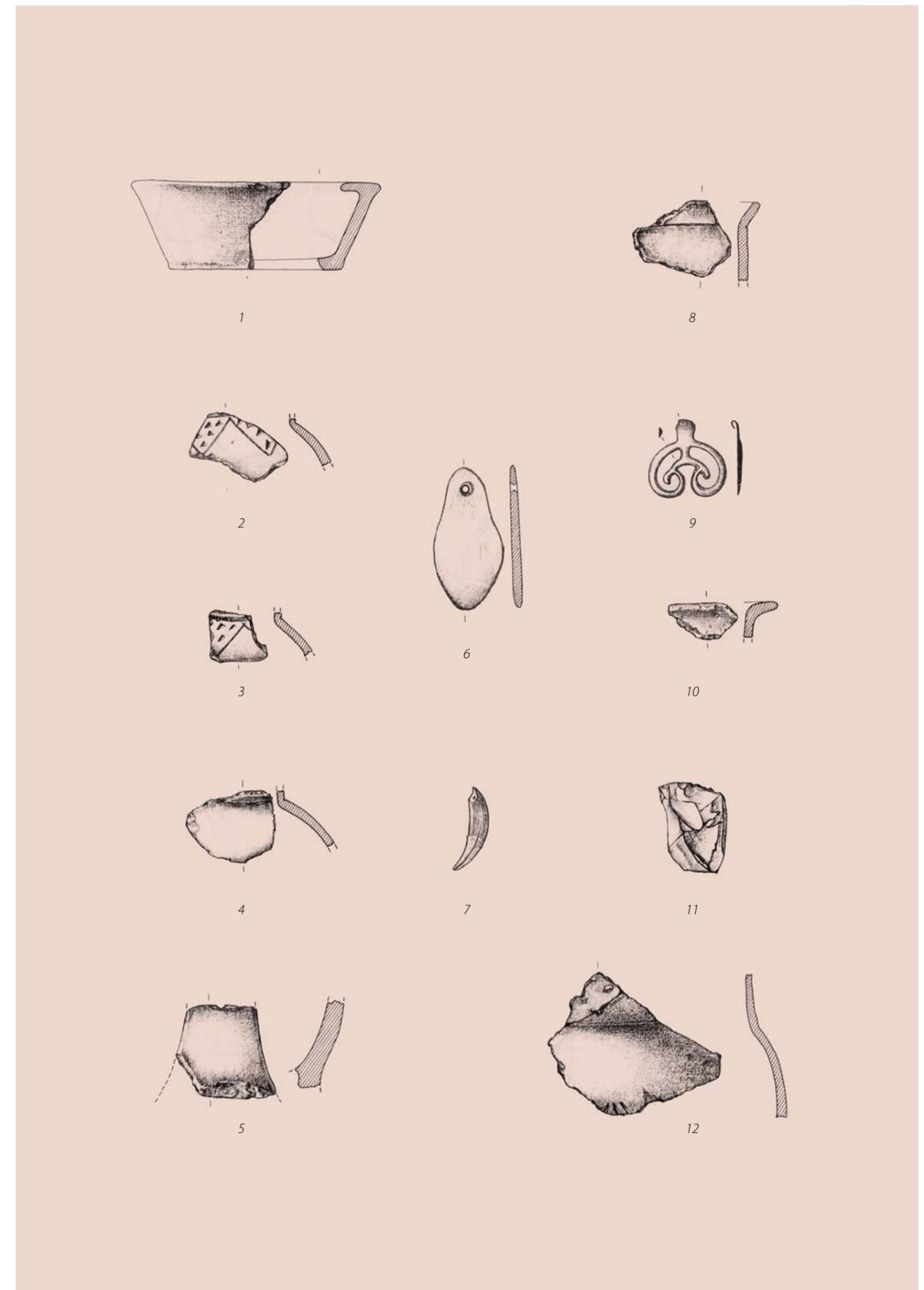
5. *Gradac hill settlement in Kotorac near Sarajevo* (Map 1. 5; V. Skarić's excavations in 1926) during Skarić's excavations, which have not been published, the material found at this hill settlement mainly belongs to the Late Bronze Age and early

phases of the Iron Age, Roman period and Early Middle Ages.¹⁵ Furthermore a small group of ceramic fragments was collected that shows distinctive features of pottery manufacture of the Cetina culture. A more precise site of the fragments has remained unknown. In the subsequent and rather extensive excavations done by L. Fekeža and B. Govedarica 1984-1986 all previously mentioned periods have been confirmed, except for the Early Bronze Age, whose material was not found anywhere in the hill settlement.¹⁶

Among the Cetina-type fragments it is possible to identify at least two vessels with typical x-shaped handles, one of which is lined with characteristic incised lines (T. 1. 6). Most of the fragments belong to a chalice on foot with two strap x-handles on a high cylindrical neck ending in a sharply everted and clearly distinct rim. The rounded, i.e. spherical body is only partly preserved and the funnel-shaped foot is approximately as high as the neck. The neck, body and foot are ornamented with incised lines and dotty stamped ornament. The motifs are zigzag bands and triangles densely decorated with stamps (T. 1. 3).

6. *Anište Necropolis in Ražana near Kosjerić, western Serbia* (Map 1. 6; M. Garašanin's excavations in 1953).¹⁷ Tumulus No.1 from Anište, within its stone core, contained an intensively burnt layer with numerous bones and pottery. Two relatively finely preserved vessels were excavated there that belong to the Early Bronze Age and are rather similar to the material of the Cetina culture. One of them is a jug of S-profile with asymmetrical bulbous body that gradually turns into a high, slightly everted neck ending in a flat rim. The base is small and flat. A large strap x-shaped handle extends from the rim almost to the central part of the rounded body. It is lined with triple incised lines. Moreover, the neck and body of vessel are ornamented with incised lines and dotty stamped ornament, which form alignments of lines and groups of rhombi and squares densely decorated with stamps (T. 3. 1).

The other vessel from this fired layer is a biconical vessel with the small flat base, short upper cone and outwards everted rim. Two small strap handles connect the rim and shoulder. The shoulder and lower cone are ornamented with incised lines and stamping. The motifs are a horizontal band with alignment of dots lined with a line, under which there is a zigzag band in the form of zigzag double line (T. 3. 2).



T. 2.
1-12 Ferizovići, Opaljane Gomile (according to Cerović 1990; 1-12 R 1:2)

12 Fiala 1894, p. 723-724, Figures 5-7.

13 Fiala 1899, p. 599 ff.

14 Cfr. Cerović 1990, p. 17 and note 6. Unfortunately we have not been able to publish this find and present it in more detail. According to an earlier performed autopsy, the basic shape of this dish indicates Cetina-type samples, while decoration on the rim with its technique and motifs rather indicates the south-Bosnian Vučedol culture of Debelo Brdo type.

15 Korošec 1940, p. 77 ff. Fig. 1a-1b; Benac 1963, p.25 ff; Čović 1966, pp. 9-13, Figures 3 and 4.

16 Topolovac, Fekeža 1988, p. 44.

17 Garašanin, Garašanin 1956, Fig. 14; Garašanin 1967, p. 8 and 9; Čović 1970, pp. 17-18, T. 3, Figures 5 and 6.

7. *Ferizovići, Opaljene gomile, near Rogatica* (Map 1.7; an accidental find from the late 1980s).¹⁸ In one of the ruined tumuli near the village of Ferizovići (Dim. 11x1.5 m) there were remains of one or more cremated bodies lying there, scattered in the base of a stone dike in the central part of mound. Some hundred fragments of pottery, a stone pendant, a flint scraper and several flint flakes two boar teeth and a cast bronze pendant (T. 2) were also found there. Ceramic fragments originate from about fifteen vessels. Strap x-shaped handles, ornaments in the form of stamped triangles, sharply everted rims on the cylindrical neck, and ornaments with incised lines are all typical. A conical vessel, mainly finely preserved, with the incurved and flat rim and a broad flat base is particularly interesting (T. 2. 1). The stone pendant of irregular rhombic shape with dots in the upper part is made of gray and soft marl (T. 2. 6). The flint and both boar eye-teeth (T. 2. 7, 11) could belong to this group of finds as well. The cast bronze pendant (T. 2. 9) corresponds typologically to a somewhat later period and indicates existence of another burial in the mound, which would belong to the Middle Bronze Age.

3. Typological determinants

Although there are relatively few finds, most of them are finely preserved, therefore their shape can be completely or mostly reconstructed. Thus their typological and culturological determination has rather increased in value and in authenticity, and their relationship to pottery production of the Cetina culture can very well be determined. Chalices on foot, like the one from Kotorac (T. 1. 3) represent the most typical shapes in the repertoire of the Cetina-type ceramics. They are characterised by a cylindrical neck and biconical or rounded body and a high funnel-shaped or cylindrical foot. Interestingly, the foot ends in the same way as the neck of the vessel, which means that its rim is also everted and clearly distinct. An additional feature of chalice is ornamentation of complete exterior surface including the foot. Thus there are three clearly different zones of ornamentation: the neck with the rim and handle, the body and the foot. Ornamenting is done in the technique of deep incision and stamping, and the motifs vary ranging from sheaves of slanting lines, bands densely decorated with stamps, meanders, triangles, volutes and alike. The vessel from Kotorac contains all the elements; therefore it almost certainly belongs to the context of the authentic Cetina-type pottery that was made in a workshop from the home Cetina area. This is indicated by numerous analogies from the area, particularly the samples from Lukovača, (T. 67), and from Čitluk, Gomile above Ogradice, (T. 3), to which the find from Kotorac is almost

identical.¹⁹ Due to all these similarities, and to the fact that the Bosnian sample was excavated much earlier than the ones from the Cetina source, these chalices are in the Cetina culture classified as vessels of the *Kotorac* type.²⁰

Here, attention should be paid to another essential typological and functional feature indicating the need to further differentiate vessels of this type. Namely, with all rather well preserved biconical samples of the Kotorac type chalice, on the upper cone there is a single or double alignment of relatively large triangular perforation (Ogradice T. 3; Lad T. 3),²¹ while such dots are not noticed with the ones having rounded bodies (Lukovača T. 67; Lad T. 4).²² Chalices with dotted body certainly could not have been used as vessels in a classical sense; however, they must have been used in funerary ritual, most probably like a kind of a censer. This is at the same time quite a serious flaw in the typological determinant of the *Kotorac* type vessels - because this, not at all insignificant typological and functional determinant, imposes an additional division of these chalices in two variants: the biconic ones with dotted ornament and the ones with rounded i.e. bulbous body that were not dotted. Determination of the very find from Kotorac is not absolutely clear in this sense, because the upper part of body where dots usually occur is not preserved well enough. Judging by the rounded shape of body this chalice would belong to the variant with no dots.²³

The vessel with incurving rim from Ferizovići (T. 2. 1) also represents a typical Cetina-type shape known in the Dalmatian area in many variants (Lukovača T. 69, Škarin Samograd).²⁴ It is a vessel with extremely unusual and in functionally inconvenient rim shape, particularly inconvenient for pouring liquid. Vessels with such rim shape are inherited in the Cetina area from the repertoire of the Central Adriatic type of Ljubljana culture (Otišič-Vlake),²⁵ and shapes with such rim are known in the classical area of Ljubljana culture (Ig).²⁶ Like the dotted chalices of *Kotorac* type, these vessels were not appropriate as recipients; however, they must have had another function, possibly in the cult field as well, or as a postamentum for other vessels. Close connection between the material from Ferizovići and the Cetina-type pottery production is also indicated by other fragments found in this mound (T. 2. 2-5, 8, 10, 12). Moreover, there is also a stone pendant of an irregular heart-shape, more exactly, of a rhombic shape (T. 2. 6) that irresistibly reminds of the Cetina *pseudobrassards*.

19 Cfr. Marović 1991, Fig. 42. 6; 64. 1.

20 Marović, Čović 1983, p. 211.

21 Marović 1991, Fig. 64. 1; 73. 1.

22 Ibid. Fig. 42. 6; 76. 1.

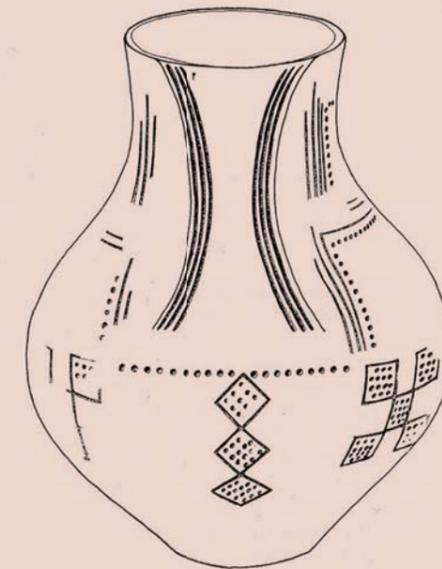
23 The same ascertainment can be applied to a number of vessels of Kotorac type as well, from the home Cetina area, whose rounded body is not well enough preserved, ie it is only partly preserved. Cfr. Marović 1991, Fig. 46. 4; 71. 1; Čović 1976, Fig. 51.

24 Marović 1991, Fig. 46. 1; Marović, Čović 1983, T. 29. 3.

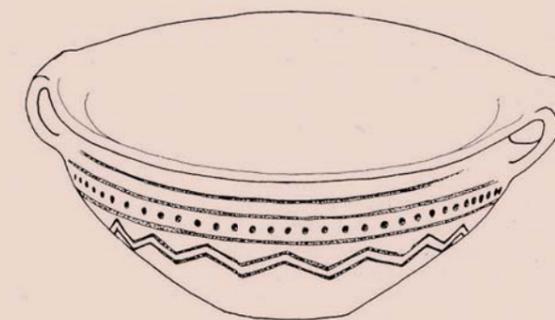
25 Govedarica 1989, T. 21. 1.

26 Ibid. T. 1. 5.

18 The material was excavated and collected by Mirsad Čolić, and published by Momir Cerović 1990. Cerović 1990, pp. 15-22.



1



2

T. 3.
1.2 Anište near Ražana (according to Čović 1970; without scale)

It can therefore be assumed that this is a secondarily dressed *Armschutzplatte* of this type.

The vessel from Rusanovići abounds in the Cetina-type elements although it is only its upper part that was preserved. The elements are the tapering and flat rim, the x-shaped handle, and the complete system of decoration. In the general form as well, the evenly rounded i.e. spherical body, so typical of the repertoire of the Cetina-type pottery (T. 1. 2), can be presumed based on the preserved part. The neglect of the functionality of the vessel, which shows in the thickened and tapering rim, should not be ignored here. It makes it rather more difficult to pour liquid, like with the vessel from Ferizovići.

Three fragments from the mound in Borci from Vrlazije, in their shape and type of decoration, completely correspond to the vessels with cylindrical neck and everted rim from the range of typical Cetina repertoire. This is obviously a chalice of Kotorac type, or relevant vessels without foot.²⁷

The situation with the small jug from Vrtanjak is slightly different. The shape and handle decoration, cylindrical neck, and a decorative motif of a triple band lined with deeply incised dots, which evenly or in the form of volutes and volutes with a curving linear ornament runs below the neck, are undoubtedly of the Cetina origin (T. 1. 1). Such ornamentation can be seen in Dalmatia on various vessels, such as the chalices from Lad T. 3 and T. 4,²⁸ from Rudine T. 13 and T. 52²⁹ and the vessel from Lukovača T. 68.³⁰ However, the shape of body, particularly the disproportionately large upper cone, forms in the whole a bulbous shape with a very pronounced shoulder - the shape unknown in the Cetina production. According to this, the vessel is more indicative of Central Balkans and Pannonian cultures of the types Belotić-Bela Crkva, Somogyvar and Bubanj-Hum III.³¹ The complete impression this vessel gives is a mixture of styles where the Cetina component appears with some other elements unknown in this culture.

The jug from Anište in western Serbia (T. 3. 1) can be connected to the Cetina production based on the handle and its ornaments, and decoration technique and some motifs. The basic shape is, however, unknown to the Cetina culture and indicates to the shapes of the Mokrin group and other Pannonian cultures. A vessel from this mound shows even less similarity to the Cetina material (T. 3. 2). There are only common elements in decoration technique while the motifs and the very shape of vessel correspond more to the so called Danube Region - Balkans complex of the Early Bronze Age.³²

4. Cultural and historical aspects

When trying to explain the occurrence of ceramic material of the Cetina-type characteristics in the western Balkans inland, so far, the starting point has mainly been the assumption that the bearers of the Cetina culture lived in the Bosnian mountains. Typological coincidence was and has remained the essential element of all the considerations and the only factor that was considered in more detail. There was an attempt to include this area into the integral range of the Cetina culture under a strong impact of the finds from Kotorac, with the area round Sarajevo representing the Balkans inland component in the Cetina culture.³³

These ideas are nowadays mainly abandoned, because it has turned out that it is about different sphere not only in *geoclimatic*, but in cultural sense as well. However the procedures exclusively based on typological similarities of ceramic finds, applied in getting conclusions of historical character, in this case about the presence of the Cetina culture bearers in the Balkans inland, are still present and of current interest. Thus, M. Cerović in one of his latest works dedicated to this matter is of the opinion that here we deal with the original Cetina pottery brought by the very bearers of the culture. On the basis of this it is further ascertained that ceramic finds "indicate the expansiveness and vitality of the Cetina culture, the culture of typical nomadic people who moved about in a vast area of western Balkans and at least occasionally stayed in the Glasinac area, for good pasturage".³⁴ Thus, based on typology, an attitude is formed on the causes and way of development of some historical events related to the assumed Cetina population. This is about nomadic cattle breeding, expansiveness and vitality, however neglecting the fact that we do not have a single material index to objectively indicate the way of making a living and the social organisation of the culture in question. The mentioned assertion is therefore speculative, however the attitude is rather explicit and expressed in an unquestionable way, although the word "indicate" was used to express a reserve.

However, as mentioned above, a more detailed analysis of the material indicates a need for further general, culture-historical as well as typological gradation. It turned out that here we do have the typical Cetina pottery (Kotorac, Rusanovići, Borci, and Ferizovići); however, together with the one that has both the Cetina elements and the elements of other pottery traditions (Vrtanjak, Anište, Živaljevići). This means that the typological factors show that apart from the Cetina goods there are also non-Cetina goods there, produced under the Cetina impact, and are therefore not the Cetina product, but the local one. The Glasinac area, where the elements of the Cetina and Central Balkans meet, obviously had an intermediary role in spreading the Cetina elements to the area of western Serbia. This opens up a possibility

of other mechanisms of arrival and spread of the Cetina goods to the western Balkans inland. Typology clearly indicates it, but at the same time it exhausts the domain. Thus typology appears to be a significant starting indicator for identification of some real events, however, it can neither explain the cause nor the manner in which they occurred. Each attempt of a direct transfer from this purely cultural sphere to the domain of historical interpretations is a direct breakthrough into the gray zone of speculation. Even if such an anticipated conclusion proves to be right one day, it cannot at the moment have a scientific value, because it has not been formed in a relevant way, nor is it supported by essential facts. The practice of drawing conclusions based, not on scientific facts but on sensible assumptions and speculations, does not in any way contribute to the methodological clarity of science, but it only creates the insecurity, and should not therefore be taken into consideration.

When material of foreign origin appears in an area as it is partly the case here, it is only logical to have two possibilities regarding the arrival of the material: it was either imported, or it arrived with the migration of new inhabitants. This unavoidably generates a series of other issues: if it was the import, was it direct or indirect? If it was direct, was it brought by the local population, by the merchants from the local area, or by travelling merchants? If the import was indirect, what were the factors that could participate in its transfer? In case of migration, it may have been a transient phase on the way to another area, a periodical stay, or a permanent settlement. None of these questions can be answered based only on typology, which means that on the archaeological way leading from cultural to culture-historical sphere, a whole series of essential factors are missing that partly can and partly cannot be identified by classical methods of this, in fact cultural discipline.

Drawing far-reaching conclusions of culture-historical character exclusively or mainly based on typological evidence is a typical manner belonging to impressionist and intuitive repertoire of the pre-processing archaeology whose peak here in the area of former Yugoslavia was in the 1960s and 1970s. For all the attempts to historically interpret archaeological material from that period, presenting certain possibilities without developing them further is typical as well as imposing exact solutions, without considering all the necessary and relevant aspects. Each advance towards historical interpretation of archaeological material, and such moves have always attracted archaeologists; in fact, it depended more on intuition of the researcher than on the capability of the very science and its methods. Then, these more or less lucid but essentially subjectivistic conclusions and interpretations were being taken over from other, often less inventive researchers, so that in further works they were treated as firm and indisputable theories. As those were yet hypotheses mainly lacking sufficient arguing points, their validity did not last long. Namely, each significant discovery on the field, asked for restructuring, and often for a complete revision of the existing attitudes. As objective scientific criticism was not developed (which it is not nowadays either), respecting the new situation and doing the necessary

revisions again depended on the dignity and scientific conscience of the very creators of these hypotheses and on the scientific courage of their followers.

At that time, the time of monodiscipline, while archaeology in this area was still limited to typological and stratigraphic methods functioning by nature only within the cultural scope, such situation of science can be understood but not justified from the current viewpoint. A much more serious problem is that the roots of contemporary archaeology are not easily accepted in the south Slavic area therefore the old practice is still dominant in certain scientific milieux today, although this has become totally inappropriate after the introduction of interdisciplinary methods and enormous theoretical development in about the recent score of years.³⁵

The way leading from typology and stratigraphy to historical interpretation of archaeological material is long, uncertain and obviously still poorly marked. A number of scientists consider that this archaeological step-out towards historical relation, in fact is not possible, because archaeological cultures cannot equalise with culture-historical, that is, ethno-cultural communities.³⁶ In our opinion this limitation objectively exists when dealing with archaeology understood as cultural discipline in a classical sense. However, this should not apply to modern interdisciplinary archaeology, which acts as a part of several sciences united in the broad field of archaeological work, whose primary task is to maximally bring this discipline closer to more exact historical sciences and possibly to introduce it among them. At the very beginning of that way there are two unavoidable tasks: the first one is establishment of a reliable chronology, and the second is reconstruction of the natural ambiance in the given time, because the space and time, as it is known, are fundamental

27 Cfr. Govedarica 1989, T. 27. 2, 4; 28. 2.

28 Marović 1991, Fig. 74. 1, 2; 76. 3.

29 Ibid. Fig. 11. 1; 30. 3.

30 Ibid. Fig. 43. 2.

31 Cfr. Garašanin, Garašanin 1956, p. 11 ff.

32 Ibid.; Garašanin 1983, p. 463 ff., Fig. 33. 4.

33 Benac 1962, pp. 140-141; Idem 1963, pp. 26-28.

34 Cerović 1990, p. 18.

35 As a typical example of lagging behind the contemporary science of archaeology we can mention the texts by B. Marijanović where fundamental starting points are not developed based on his own analysis, but on non-critical and selective take-over of attitudes of certain authorities (for example fascination of this author with the attitudes of B. Čović and ignoring other opinions, not seriously consulting the existing literature. Cfr. Marijanović 1991, p. 221 and passim.). The same author, in spirit of the outgrown typologic impressionism leaves the domain of ceramic typology absolutely easily, that is, leaves one category of style and typology, i.e. cultural category, with the aim, exclusively on these bases in an extremely anachronistic and not at all inventive manner, to jump into historical relations and speak about the "movement of populations", "social rearrangement", "expert expeditions", "cult of Neolithic communities" and alike. The scope of science understood this way will naturally end in speculative conclusions such as "it might be, and then it might not". See Marijanović 1991, pp. 217-218; Idem 1994, pp. 55, 57, 60; Idem 2002, p. 127 ff.

36 Such, in essence, blocking opinion was particularly present in the after-war German archaeology even until 1990s, which was mainly caused by negative experience from the time of national socialism ("Kossina-sindrom" of German archaeology). Cfr Smolla 1979, 1980, p. 1 ff.; Veit 2000, p. 40 ff.

starting points of every archaeological analysis. Naturally, since the very beginning of archaeology there has been a tendency to meet the preconditions, yet there was too much wandering. The conditions could objectively be met only recently, mainly thanks to an already established repertoire of interdisciplinary methods, and first of all to radiocarbon and dendro dating, *archaeobotanics*, *archaeozoology* and *paleoclimatology*.

Except for maximally using these interdisciplinary possibilities, it is necessary to direct the very archaeological researches to a far broader field of work, that is, to the diachronic study of a complete area of one culture, or one cultural area, by the *Landschaftsarchäologie* method. This means encompassing all natural factors (vegetation, ground, fauna, relief, and micro-climate) and the complete anthropogenetic space structure (settlements, economic resources, necropolises, shrines, roads, in other words, communications and borders).³⁷ Based only on the knowledge of such a complete picture of diachronic development of the given area, is it possible to come to the conclusions on economic, political, spiritual, ecological and other important aspects and in this way interpret archaeological material, not only as typological categories, but as a constructive element of the study of culture-historical process and event. Such extensive and diachronic researches have already given good results in Switzerland, Germany, Denmark and England, and as far as we know in Dalmatia they have been conducted on the islands of Hvar, Brač and other Central Adriatic islands.³⁸

If we now return to the issue of how the Cetina-type material arrived in the western Balkans inland, and, with it, the issue of the relationship of this area and the home Cetina area, we shall see that there is no elementary reason for making any conclusions of culture-historical character. In the Glasinac area and in the surroundings of Sarajevo we do not know the main archaeological frame of the Early Bronze Age culture; although it can be felt that here, except for the Cetina culture group we should also count on significant participation of some other culture groups, and on the mediating role of this area in the context of further flow of the Cetina elements towards the area to the east of the Drina river. Even the knowledge of the Cetina culture is rather one-sided and mainly reduces to the objects from the domain of the burial cult and typology of the finds, while the structure of settlements is not well known. The function of cave settlements is particularly vague, as well as their relationship to, presently, poorly documented hill settlements and open settlements of this culture.³⁹ The use of burial mounds and the existence of *birital*

burial in both areas could be another indicator of connections in this relation; however, it should be kept in mind that this habit was quite common practice at the time, not only in this area but in a far larger area.⁴⁰

The issue of a possible cattle breeding economy in the Cetina culture and its contemporary western Balkans cultures has already been considered many times before, mainly indirectly and based on material from other areas.⁴¹ Yet this issue cannot be discussed involving different points of view before an analysis has been performed of at least already excavated *archaeozoological* material. Taking it all into consideration, in this phase of research into the whole matter, it is still more appropriate and useful to ask questions and develop methods that would contribute to the possibilities of a more exact interpretation of archaeological material, than to present nonargumentative and urged answers and conclusions. In addition, formulating the methodology, which would lead towards development of archaeological cultural entirety from an abstract, cultural category to a concrete, social and historical category, should be one of the leading aims of contemporary interdisciplinary archaeology.

Translation: Danica Šantić

³⁷ Recently a significant theoretical advance occurred in German area that is particularly reflected in the formulation of comprehensive and perspective "Landschaftsarchäologie". On the theoretical concept of the innovative and, in relation to Anglo-Saxon "Landscape Archaeology", mainly supplementing research method see Lüning 1997, pp. 277-285; Schade 2000, pp. 135-225; Gramsch 2003, pp. 35-54.

³⁸ Ibid. Della Casa 1999; Ashmore, Knapp 1999; Kirigin 1998.

³⁹ Cfr. Oreč 1978, p. 181 ff.

⁴⁰ Cfr. Govedarica 1987, p. 54 ff; Primas 1996, p. 121 ff.

⁴¹ See Govedarica 1989, p. 231 ff.

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Sažetak

Nalazi cetinskog tipa u unutrašnjosti zapadnog Balkana i problem kulturno-povijesne interpretacije u pretpovijesnoj arheologiji

Ključne riječi: Cetinska kultura, Kotorac, Glasinac, tipologija, kulturno-povijesna interpretacija, Landschaftsarchäologie

U radu je cjelovito prezentirana keramika cetinskog tipa koja je nađena u unutrašnjosti zapadnog Balkana, odnosno u okolici Sarajeva (Kotorac), na glasinračkom području (Rusanovići, Borci-Vrlazije, Vrtanjak, Ferizovići, Živaljevići) i u zapadnoj Srbiji (Anište-Ražana). Na osnovi detaljne tipološke analize tvrdi se da pehar iz Kotorca (T. 1,6), zdjela iz Rusanovića (T. 1,2), fragmenti iz Borci-Vrlazije (T. 1,4.5.7) i nalazi iz Ferizovića (T. 2) predstavljaju autentičnu cetinsku robu koja je proizvedena u nekoj od radionica na matičnome cetinskom području. Za razliku od toga vrč iz Vrtanjka (T. 1,1), te vrč i zdjela iz Aništa (T. 3,1.2) uz nesumnjive cetinska elemente, ponajprije u načinu ukrašavanja, posjeduju i elemente keramičke tradicije tipa Belotič-Bela Crkva, Somogyvar i Bujanj-Hum III. To pokazuje da se ovdje ne radi samo o cetinskom materijalu koji su donijeli nositelji te kulture - kako se dosad uglavnom smatralo - nego i o keramici koja je samo rađena pod cetinskim utjecajima i koja, shodno tome, nije cetinski, nego lokalni proizvod. Dalje se na osnovi tih tipoloških pokazatelja zaključuje da je glasinračko područje, na kojem se susreću cetinski i srednjobalkanski elementi, imalo posredničku ulogu u širenju cetinskih elemenata na prostor zapadne Srbije. Na to tipologija jasno ukazuje, ali se time, prema autorovu mišljenju, iscrpljuju njezine mogućnosti u pogledu kulturno-povijesne intepretacije. Prema tome, tipologija mora ostati u okvirima stilsko-kulturološke kategorije. Ona, dakako, ostaje važan polazni čimbenik u arheološkim analizama i indikator nekih realnih procesa i događanja, ali ne može pružiti objašnjenje njihova uzroka, kao ni načina na koji je do njih došlo. Svaki pokušaj neposrednog prijelaza iz te čisto kulturološke sfere u domenu povijesnih interpretacija je, prema autorovu mišljenju, izravan iskorak u zonu spekulacije. Pa ako se na taj način naslućeni zaključak jednom pokaže i kao točan, on u ovom trenutku ne može imati znanstvenu vrijednost, jer nije dobiven odgovarajućim postupkom, niti potkrijepljen prijeko potrebnim činjenicama.

Put koji vodi od tipologije i stratigrafije do povijesne interpretacije arheološkog materijala je dug, nesiguran i očito još uvijek slabo trasiran. Jedan broj znanstvenika smatra kako taj arheološki iskorak u povijesne relacije zapravo i nije ni moguć, jer se arheološke kulture ne mogu izjednačiti s kulturno-povijesnim, odnosno etnokulturnim zajednicama (bilj. 36). To ograničenje prema autorovu mišljenju objektivno postoji kad je u pitanju arheologija shvaćena kao kulturološka disciplina u klasičnom smislu. Ali, to ne bi smjelo vrijediti i za modernu interdisciplinarnu arheologiju, koja djeluje kao sklop nekoliko znanosti udruženih na širokom polju arheološkog rada, čija je primarna zadaća da ovu disciplinu što više približe egzaktnim povijesnim znanostima i po mogućnosti je uvedu u njihov red. Na samom početku tog puta stoje dvije nezaobilazne zadaće: prva je uspostavljanje pouzdane apsolutne kronologije, a druga rekonstrukcija prirodnog ambijenta u danom vremenu, jer su prostor i vrijeme, kao što je poznato, fundamentalna polazišta svake arheološke analize. Naravno, ispunjenju tih preduvjeta teži se od samih početaka arheologije, ali je u tom bilo previše lutanja. Njihovo objektivno ispunjenje postalo je moguće tek u novije vrijeme, i to ponajprije zahvaljujući već ustaljenom repertoaru interdisciplinarnih metoda, prije svega radiokarbonskom i dendro datiranju, arheobotanici, arheozoologiji i paleoklimatologiji.

Osim što je potrebno u najvećoj mogućoj mjeri iskoristiti te interdisciplinarne mogućnosti, i sama arheološka istraživanja treba usmjeriti na jedno daleko šire polje rada, odnosno na dijakronijsko proučavanje cjelokupnoga prostora jedne kulture ili jednoga kulturnog područja po metodi *Landschaftsarchäologie*. To znači obuhvaćanje svih prirodnih čimbenika (vegetacija, tlo, fauna, reljef, mikroklima) i cjelokupne antropogene prostorne strukture (naselja, privredni resursi, nekropole, svetišta, putovi, odnosno komunikacije i granice, bilj. 37). Tek na osnovi poznavanja takve cjelokupne slike dijakronijskog razvoja danog područja moguće je donositi zaključke o gospodarskim, političkim, duhovnim, ekološkim i drugim bitnim aspektima i na taj način izvoditi interpretaciju arheološkog materijala, ne samo kao tipološke kategorije nego i kao konstruktivnog elementa u proučavanju kulturno-povijesnih procesa i događaja.

Vraćajući se problematici pojave cetinskog materijala u unutrašnjosti zapadnog Balkana i time nametnutog pitanja odnosa ovoga i matičnog cetinskog područja, autor zaključuje da tu još uvijek ne postoje elementarne osnove za donošenje bilo kakvih zaključaka kulturno-povijesnoga karaktera. Na glasinračkom prostoru i u okolici Sarajeva nije poznat osnovni arheološki okvir kulture ranog brončanog doba, premda se može naslutiti da, osim sa cetinskom, tu treba računati i sa značajnim sudjelovanjem nekih drugih kulturnih skupina, kao i s posredničkom ulogom ovog prostora u kontekstu daljeg protoka cetinskih elemenata prema području koje leži istočno od Drine. Pa i poznavanje cetinske kulture poprilično je jednostrano i svodi se uglavnom na objekte iz domene kulta pokapanja i tipologiju tih nalaza, dok je struktura naselja slabo poznata. Osobito je nejasna funkcija pećinskih staništa i njihov odnos prema zasad slabo dokumentiranim gradinama i otvorenim naseljima ove kulture. Upotreba grobnih humaka i postojanje biritualnog pokapanja u oba ova područja mogli bi biti još jedan indikator veza na toj relaciji, no treba imati u vidu da je taj običaj bio prilično uobičajen u ono vrijeme, ne samo na ovom nego i na mnogo širem prostoru (bilj. 40).

Iz svega proizlazi da je u ovoj fazi istraživanja cjelokupne problematike još uvijek svrsishodnije postavljati pitanja i razvijati metode koje bi pridonijele mogućnosti egzaktne interpretacije arheološkog materijala negoli iznositi neargumentirane i ishitrene odgovore i zaključke. Pritom bi formuliranje metodologije koja bi vodila prerastanju arheoloških kulturnih cjelina iz apstraktne, kulturološke, u konkretnu, socijalno-povijesnu, kategoriju i približavanje pretpovijesne arheologije povijesnoj znanosti, trebalo biti jedan od vodećih ciljeva suvremene interdisciplinarne arheologije.