

Mirsad Sijarić, *Hladno oružje iz Bosne i Hercegovine u arheologiji razvijenog i kasnog srednjeg vijeka [Cold-steel Weapons from Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Archaeology of the High and Late Mediaeval Periods]*, Sarajevo 2014. ISBN 978-9958-600-50-0 (Univerzitet u Sarajevu) i ISBN 978-9958-502-13-2 (Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine). Tvrdo ukoričeno: 433 str.; ilustr.; 25 cm; bibliografija: str. 420-433. Tiskano u 300 primjeraka.¹

Knjiga predstavlja ponešto dopunjenu doktorsku disertaciju, izrađenu pod mentorstvom dr. sc. Željka Deme i obranjenu početkom srpnja 2013. na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu. Tiskana je u sklopu Tempus projekta »Curricular Reform of Heritage Sciences of Bosnia and Herzegovina« koji je financirala Europska komisija i Ministarstvo obrazovanja i nauke Federacije Bosne i Hercegovine, a kao izdavači zajednički su nastupili Univerzitet u Sarajevu i Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine.

Knjigu sačinjava 431 stranica teksta s detaljno citiranom literaturom koja obuhvaća oko pet stotina naslova i sadrži velik broj djela vezanih uz temu kojom se autor

¹ Ova je knjiga promovirana u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu 4. lipnja 2014. godine, kao završna manifestacija Međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa *Groblja i pogrebni običaji u srednjem i ranom novom vijeku na prostoru sjeverne Hrvatske [Cemeteries and Funerary Customs in the Mediaeval and Early Modern Periods in Northern Croatia]* u organizaciji Instituta za arheologiju i Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu.

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This book in fact represents a somewhat supplemented doctoral dissertation, written under the mentorship of Željko Demo and successfully defended at the beginning of July 2013 at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Zagreb. It was printed as part of the Tempus project »Curricular Reform of Heritage Sciences in Bosnia and Herzegovina«, which was financed by the European Commission and the Ministry of Education and Science of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and it was published jointly by the University of Sarajevo and the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The book is composed of 431 pages of text with detailed cited literature that includes around five hundred titles and contains a large number of works relating to the theme

¹ This book was presented at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb on 4th June 2014, as the concluding session of the international scientific conference on *Cemeteries and Funerary Customs in the Mediaeval and Early Modern Periods in Northern Croatia* organized by the Institute of Archaeology and the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.

bavi. Tekst je popraćen iznimno velikim brojem od čak 1777 bilješki i podijeljen u šest poglavlja. U Predgovoru saznajemo da je autor tijekom višegodišnjeg rada na ovoj temi okupio i obradio, ne samo hladno oružje iz svoje matične kuće, Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu, već i iz svih ostalih muzeja s područja Bosne i Hercegovine što, nakon nemilih događaja na tome prostoru, ovom monografskom djelu daje posebnu važnost i težinu.

U Uvodu autor definira svoju temu i ciljeve, naglašavajući da će raspravljati o primjercima hladnog oružja koje okvirno datira od 10. do 15. stoljeća (str. 12-27). Predmeti potječu iz arheoloških istraživanja bosanskih i humskih utvrda te u manjoj mjeri iz grobalja i naselja. Iako ne pretjerano brojni, nalazi iz pouzdanoga arheološkog konteksta predstavljaju jedinu relevantnu pouzdanu referencu za datiranje i temeljitije analiziranje većine onih primjeraka koji su nađeni bez jasnoga arheološkog konteksta. U radu je predstavljeno oko 1500 predmeta nađenih na području Bosne i Hercegovine. Jedan od ciljeva rada bila je sistematizacija oružja razvijenoga i kasnog srednjeg vijeka, primjenjujući pri tomu suvremeni metodološki pristup njihove obrade. Pritom se nastojalo kroz prizmu stilskih i morfoloških značajki sagledati i analizirati kontekst njihove pripadnosti regionalnim ili europskim radioničkim tradicijama.

Dio je uvoda posvećen i pregledu ikonografskih i pisanih izvora temeljenih većinom na dubrovačkoj arhivskoj građi, u kojoj se često spominje upravo hladno oružje. Kroz cijeli rad opaža se vrlo dobro poznavanje pisanih izvora kojima se autor obilato služi, naročito pri rasvjetljavanju tema važnih za raspravu. Prije svega, to je spomen radioničke djelatnosti, naziva oružja i njihove vrijednosti ili regionalnih tipova. Ikonografski pak prikazi, kojima se autor služi u pravilu kod tumačenja

discussed by the author. The text is accompanied by an exceptionally large number of footnotes (1777), and is divided into six chapters. In the Preface we learn that the author, during many years of work on this topic, has gathered and analysed weapons not merely from his own institution, the National Museum in Sarajevo, but also from all other museums in Bosnia and Herzegovina – which, given the dreadful events that have occurred in the area, gives this monograph a special importance and weight.

The author defines his subjects and aims in the Introduction, emphasizing that the discussion will involve examples of weaponry dated approximately from the 10th to the 15th centuries (pp. 12-27). The objects come mostly from the archaeological excavations of the Bosnian and Hum fortresses, and to a lesser extent from cemeteries and settlements. Although they are not particularly numerous, the finds from dependable archaeological contexts represent the only relevant reliable reference for dating and thorough analysis of the majority of artefacts that were discovered without a clear archaeological context. Around 1500 objects found in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina are presented in the work. One of the aims was the systematization of weapons from the high and late Middle Ages, while applying a modern methodological approach to their analysis. An attempt was made to identify and analyse the context of their affiliation with regional or European workshop traditions through the prism of stylistic and morphological features.

Part of the introduction is devoted to a survey of iconographic and written sources based mostly on archival material from Dubrovnik, where steel weapons are often mentioned. Throughout the work, a very good knowledge of the written sources can be noted, which the author uses extensively, particularly in illuminating subjects important to the discussion. This refers primarily to mentions of workshop activities, names of weapons, and their values

svakog primjerka oružja, nadopunjuju naša saznanja o vrstama i pokazuju koji je tip oružja bio češći. Autor je uz analizu domaćih prikaza na iluminiranim srednjovjekovnim rukopisima i spomenicima, obradio i velik broj europskih, pokazujući i na taj način kako su tipovi oružja koji se pojavljuju na teritoriju današnje Bosne i Hercegovine samo slika europskih trendova uz, naravno, domaće inačice.

Potom slijede poglavlja koja obrađuju pojedine vrste oružja, svako podijeljeno na dva dijela – uvodna razmatranja i analizu. U poglavlju »Mačevi« obrazlažu se ciljevi i metode istraživanja te se ističe važnost tipološke i kronološke analize svih mačeva koji se mogu pripisati razdoblju od 10. do 15. stoljeća (str. 28-165/engl. 33). Sva 33 bosansko-hercegovačka mača, prema morfološkim karakteristikama sastavnih dijelova, autor uklapa u već postojeću sistematizaciju koju je načinio R. E. Oakeshott, a u manjoj je mjeri korištena i ona koju je načinio A. Geibig. Svoju analizu počinje mačevima tipa X prema Oakeshottu, koji pripadaju grupi *INGELRII*, vrlo često prikazivanima na iluminacijama Otonskog vremena. Uz mačeve ovog tipa s nepoznatih lokaliteta, koji su vjerojatno bili zgotovljeni već sredinom 10. stoljeća, spominje se jedan iz Glamoča, koji je navodno iskopan ispod jednog stećka, kao primjer mača kojem su pojedini dijelovi mogli biti dodani i naknadno. Nakon mačeva tipa X, navode se i drugi tipovi koji većinom svoje analogije imaju u šire europskom prostoru, kao što je primjerice mač s nepoznatog nalazišta s natpisom *SIETRUS* koji je zgotovljen oko sredine 12. st. Provedena tipološka analiza je i osnova za dataciju mačeva o kojima najčešće podaci o okolnostima nalaza, odnosno arheološkom kontekstu, nedostaju. Gotovo svi obrađeni mačevi tipološki se vezuju uz primjerke iz zapadne i srednje Europe, te uz Ita-

or regional types. The iconographic images that the author utilizes as a rule when interpreting each example of weaponry supplement our knowledge about variants and show which types of weapons were more common. The author also includes, along with an analysis of local images in illuminated mediaeval manuscripts and monuments, a large number of images from elsewhere in Europe, proving in this manner that the types of weapons that appeared in the territory of present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina were merely a reflection of European trends, along with, naturally, local variants.

This is followed by chapters dealing with individual types of weapons, each divided into two sections – introductory discussion and analysis. The chapter on “Swords” explains the aims and methods of research and emphasizes the typological and chronological analyses of all the swords that can be attributed to the period from the 10th to the 15th centuries (pp. 28-165/Eng. 33). All 33 swords from Bosnia and Herzegovina are placed by the author, according to the morphological characteristics of their component parts, in the pre-existing classification system created by R. E. Oakeshott, and to a lesser extent the system of A. Geibig is also utilized. He begins his analysis with swords of type X according to Oakeshott, which belong to the *INGELRII* group, very often depicted on illuminated manuscripts of the Ottonian period. Along with swords of this type from unknown sites, which were probably produced as early as the middle of the 10th century, one example from Glamoč is mentioned, which was supposedly excavated beneath a *stećak* (mediaeval tombstone), as an example of a sword where individual parts could have been added later. After swords of type X, other types are noted, most of which have analogies throughout the broader European area, as is the case with a sword from an unknown site, with the legend *SIETRUS*, that was manufactured around the middle of the 12th century. The typological

liju. Velik broj zasigurno potječe iz stranih europskih radionica, o čemu svjedoče radionički natpisi i znakovi na sječivima i trnovima mačeva te različiti natpisi, križevi, heraldički znakovi ili životinjski motivi, primjerice urezan prikaz vuka ili jednoroga. Kod jednog djela riječ je o njihovoj kopiji. U Humu, Bosni, Hrvatskoj i Ugarskoj djelovali su i domaći mačari i kovači, a neke od njih spominju povijesni izvori. Stoga bi se poneke od ovdje objavljenih komada možda moglo povezati i s nekim od tih povijesnih izvora. Obradjeni mačevi ukazuju da je i na području koje danas zauzima Bosna, koja je kroz čitavo srednjovjekovno razdoblje bila dio različitih regija i kraljevstava, kolala različita roba. Zbog toga se datacija, uz iznimke, veže uz europske sustave i standarde. U tome pogledu autor je pokazao zavidno poznavanje svjetske literature. Svojom objavom također je pokazao da pojedini predmeti nemaju uže nacionalno ili državno obilježje, bez obzira na to što se često u srednjovjekovnim izvorima regionalno obilježavaju.

U poglavlju »Vrhovi kopalja« analiziraju se vrhovi kopalja, stopice za koplja i bojne kose (ukupno 46 komada). Nađeni su različiti tipovi koji su u rijetkoj arheološkoj literaturi do sada vrlo šturo opisivani (str. 166-251/engl. 170). Vrlo su zanimljiva autorova razmišljanja o vrhu koplja iz Junuzovaca koje je, za razliku od drugih, bio predmetom različitih interpretacija i datacija. Taj je vrh koplja važan za razmatranje prilika u srednjovjekovnoj Slavoniji, o kojoj imamo poprilično malo podataka. Autor s velikom sigurnošću, pozivajući se na druga ugarska nalazišta ali i na okolnosti nalaza, vrh koplja iz Junuzovaca datira u 11. i 12. stoljeće. Vrlo je značajno uvrštavanje pojedinih tipova vrhova koplja i kosa koja su u dosadašnjoj domaćoj arheološkoj literaturi bili zanemarivani. Na osnovu jasno preciziranih

analysis undertaken represents the basis for dating swords where most often information about the circumstances of discovery, i.e. the archaeological context, is missing. Almost all of the swords analysed are typologically related to examples from western and central Europe, and from Italy. A large number certainly come from European workshops, as is shown by the workshop signs and marks on the blades and hilts of the swords, with various legends, crosses, heraldic symbols or animal motifs, such as the incised depictions of a wolf or a unicorn. One part is certainly represented by copies. Local swordmakers and smiths were active in Hum, Bosnia, Croatia and Hungary, some of them mentioned in historical sources. Hence some of the items published here could perhaps be connected to some of these historical sources. The swords analysed show that a variety of goods circulated in the region now constituting Bosnia, which throughout the entire mediaeval period was part of various regions and kingdoms. Hence the dates, with exceptions, are connected to the European system and standards. In this regard the author has exhibited an enviable knowledge of the international literature. He has also shown in this publication that individual objects have no narrow national or state characteristics, despite the fact that they are often regionally identified in mediaeval sources.

The chapter on "Spearheads" analyzes spearheads, spear butts, and war scythes (a total of 46 items). Rare types were found that have been very tersely described to date in the sparse archaeological literature on this topic (pp. 166-251/Eng. 170). The author makes very interesting reflections on a spearhead from Junuzovac which, in contrast to other examples, was the subject of various interpretations and datings. This spearhead is important for evaluating the situation in mediaeval Slavonia, on which relatively few data are available. With great certainty, the author dated the spearhead from Junuzovac to the

konstrukcijskih karakteristika, proizašlih iz specifične namjene i specifične vojne taktike, izdvojio je više tipova kopalja koji se uklapaju u zadano vrijeme i koji nam također pružaju sliku vrsta oružja koje je korišteno na spomenutim prostovima. Kao i kod mačeva, veliki problem kod datacije predstavljala su nepoznata nalazišta ili nalazi izvan arheološkog konteksta, što je ozbiljan problem koji autor nastoji riješiti iznova se pozivajući na bliže i dalje objavljene komade, kao i na iluminirane rukopise te prikaze sa stećaka. Opet dolazi do izražaja zavidno autorovo poznavanje literature i umijeće da iz poprilično zanemarivanog materijala izvuče maksimalno.

U poglavlju »Topuzi« ili buzdovani razmatrano je devet komada toga tipa oružja koje se udomaćilo na ovim prostorima od 12. stoljeća (str. 252-287/engl. 255). Nađeni su željezni i brončani primjerci, većina opet bez jasnog konteksta. Iznimku predstavlja primjerak iz Čipuljića koji je nađen zajedno s kronološki osjetljivom ostrugom i kopčom, što upućuje na to da se ovaj nalaz treba datirati u prvu polovinu 13. stoljeća. Vrlo su zanimljiva zapazanja autora o tome kako se često materijal opredjeljuje vremenski preširoko, i to na temelju kategorije stilskih opažanja, bez znanstvene argumentacije, te su se tako u literaturi vrlo slični buzdovani često krivo povezivali s vremenom turskih osvajača i utjecaja.

U poglavlju »Vršci strelica« razmatra se ukupno 1434 vršaka strelica iz muzejskih zbirki u Bosni i Hercegovini (str. 288-405/engl. 291). Kao polazna osnova za prezentiranu tipologiju poslužio je, zbog karakterističnih materijala, dijelom prilagođeni metodološki model B. Zimmermanna. Većina analiziranih primjeraka potječe s arheološki istraženih lokaliteta, uglavnom utvrda i u manjem broju groblja, i stoga vrijeme njihova funkcionira-

11th and 12th centuries, on the basis of another Hungarian site as well as the circumstances of the find. The classification is very important of individual types of spearheads and scythes that have been neglected in the local archaeological literature to the present. On the basis of precise constructional characteristics, which evolved from specific purposes and specific military tactics, several types of spears are distinguished that fit into the given period, and that also offer us an image of the type of weapons that were utilized in the area in question. As for swords, unknown sites or discoveries made outside an archaeological context represent major problems in dating, which is a serious problem that the author attempts to solve by depending on nearby and more distant examples, as well as illuminated manuscripts, and depictions on *stećci* (monumental mediaeval tombstones). Once again, the author's excellent knowledge of the relevant literature is emphasized, along with the skill to extract the maximum from considerably neglected material.

In the chapter on "Maces", nine examples of this type of weaponry are analysed, which were present in these regions from the 12th century onwards (pp. 252-287/Eng. 255). Iron and bronze examples, most with no clear context, were found. The example from Čipuljić is an exception, found together with a chronologically sensitive spur and a buckle, indicating that this find should be dated to the first half of the 13th century. The observations of the author are very interesting about how often the material is too broadly assigned chronologically, on the basis of stylistic characteristics and without scientific argument, so that very similar maces are often wrongly related to the period of the Turkish conquest and influence.

The chapter on "Projectile points" analyses a total of 1434 arrowheads from museum collections in Bosnia and Herzegovina (pp. 288-405/Eng. 291). The partially adapted methodological model of B. Zimmermann

nja ima prioritet pri datiranju. Jednako kao i vrhovi koplja i topuza, svi tipovi vršaka strelica nađeni unutar granica Bosne i Hercegovine kartirani su zajedno sa srodnim nalazima iz Hrvatske, Srbije i Slovenije. Autor smatra da se na temelju tako postavljenih stvari mogu dati relativno pouzdane smjernice za kronološko determiniranje pojedinih tipova vršaka strelica, ali ne u većoj mjeri nego što to određuje kontekst njihova nalaza. Neki od tipova nađeni su samo u Bosni i Hercegovini. Ponekad se neki tipovi s ovoga područja datiraju i nekoliko stotina godina iza njihove pojave u zapadnoj Europi, možda je to – smatra autor – posljedica slabog poznavanja starijeg doba. Poznato je iz povijesnih izvora da je na to područje uvezena velika količina strelica za samostrele, a samim time treba očekivati da se nešto od toga i pronašlo.

Nakon svega iznesenog u »Zaključnim razmatranjima«, posljednjem poglavlju ove značajne monografske publikacije (str. 408-417/engl. 402-416), autor smatra kako je i nakon detaljne morfološke, tipološke i stilske analize hladnog oružja nađenog unutar današnjih granica Bosne i Hercegovine, pogotovo unutar širokog vremenskog datiranja od početka 10. do kraja 15. stoljeća, veoma teško ili nemoguće iznijeti koncizan i konkretan zaključak. I dok je pojedine primjerke različitih vrsta oružja moguće smjestiti u određeni kontekst, u otprije poznate radioničke tradicije, i barem približno precizne kronološke i geografske okvire, s dobrim dijelom njih, kako navodi, to ipak nije slučaj. Autor smatra da je na neki način to ograničeno stvarnim nalaskom hladnog oružja iz srednjeg vijeka na navedenom području koje, prema njegovoj slobodnoj procjeni, ne iznosi niti 1% onoga što je zaista bilo u upotrebi. Ovdje prove-

erves, on account of the characteristic materials, as the starting point for the typology presented. Most of the examples analysed come from archaeologically investigated sites, primarily fortresses and, to a lesser extent, cemeteries, and hence the period of their functioning takes priority in the dating. As for the spearheads and maces, all the types of arrowheads discovered within the borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina were mapped together with similar finds from Croatia, Serbia and Slovenia. The author considers that, on the basis of such things, a relatively reliable guideline can be given for individual types of arrowheads, but not to a greater extent than is determined by the context of their discovery. Some of the types were discovered only in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Sometimes some types from this region are dated several hundred years later than their appearance in Western Europe, which might represent – according to the author – poor knowledge in an earlier period. It is known from historical sources that a large quantity of crossbow bolts had been imported into this area, and it is to be expected that some of them would be discovered.

After all that is noted in the “Concluding remarks”, the last chapter in this monograph (pp. 408-417/Eng. 402-416), the author considers that, after the detailed morphological, typological, and stylistic analyses of the weapons discovered within the present boundaries of Bosnia and Herzegovina, particularly within the broad chronological dating from the beginning of the 10th to the end of the 15th centuries, it is very difficult, or indeed impossible, to present a concise and concrete conclusion. While individual examples of various types of weapons can be placed in certain contexts, in previously known workshop traditions, and at least approximately in precise chronological and geographic frameworks, it is noted that this is not the case for a good proportion of them. The author considers that, in a certain manner, this is limited by the actual

dena analiza, ali prije svega kartiranje nalaza oružja iz šire regije, trebaju se smatrati osnovom za buduća istraživanja, odnosno slikom trenutnog stanja istraženosti cijelog problema. Unatoč tome i upravo zbog toga ovom knjigom napravljen je veliki pomak u proučavanju, ali i veliki doprinos poznavanju ukupne problematike hladnog oružja, kako na regionalnom tako i na širem srednjoeuropskom planu. Zahvaljujući uvjerljivoj interpretaciji te vrlo lijepim crtežima i kartama, ova će monografija nesumnjivo biti okosnica svim budućim radovima o toj temi i nezaobilazno štivo svakomu tko se bavi navedenom problematikom. Također, autor je istraživanjem pisane arhivske građe dao detaljan uvid u pitanja proizvodnih, kao i tržišnih cijena oružja, pogotovo pojedinih tipova mačeva i topuza. Pregledom tih arhivskih podataka dobivena je jasna slika o kvalitativnom dijapazonu proizvoda ondašnjih oružara, odnosno visokom stupnju prilagodbe zahtjevima tržišta koje je pratilo svjetske trendove i ponašanja. Kartiranjem analiziranoga arheološkog materijala, u kontekstu sa srodnim i identičnim nalazima iz šire regije, oslikan je prostor njegova teritorijalnog rasprostiranja koje kod nekih tipova predstavlja jasnu refleksiju promjena historijskih okolnosti na analiziranom području tijekom srednjeg vijeka. Uspostavljanjem tipološke sistematizacije i kartiranjem dostupnih nalaza hladnog oružja dobivena je slika koja predstavlja solidnu polaznu osnovu za nastavak istraživanja na tome području. Njome će uvelike biti olakšan posao onima koji će se nastaviti baviti tom problematikom u kojoj ostaje prostora za razrade pojedinih u radu naznačenih problema.

finds of weaponry from the Middle Ages in the region – which, according to his estimate, does not correspond to even 1% of what was truly in use. The analysis performed here, and particularly the mapping of finds of weapons from the broader region, should be considered a basis for future research, in fact as a picture of the current state of research into the entire problem. Despite this, and in fact just because of this, this book marks a major advance in studying, and also a major contribution to knowledge of, the entire problem of weaponry, in both the regional and also broader central-European senses. Thanks to the convincing interpretations and extremely good drawings and maps, this monograph will undoubtedly be the foundation for all future works on this theme and essential reading for anyone dealing with the above topic. The author has also provided, through his research into written archival material, detailed insight into the question of production of weapons, as well as their market prices, particularly for individual types of swords and maces. The review of these archival data has provided a clear image of the qualitative range of products of the weapon producers of the time, or rather the high degree of adaptation to the demands of the market that followed world trends and behaviour. The mapping of the archaeological material analysed, in the context of similar and identical finds from the broader region, has delineated the area of its territorial distribution, which for certain types represents a clear reflection of changes in the historical circumstances of the region during the mediaeval period. The establishment of typological systematization and the mapping of available finds of weapons have resulted in an image that represents a solid starting point for the continuation of research in this area. This will greatly facilitate the work of those who continue to deal with this problem, where room remains for elaboration of some of the issues noted in the work.

Na kraju, valja istaknuti da knjiga Mirsada Sijarića, kako po važnosti teme tako i po načinu prezentacije, predstavlja iznimno vrijedan doprinos arheološkoj znanosti, posebice proučavanju kasnoga srednjeg vijeka. Mogli bismo zaključiti da se ona, ne samo svojim izgledom već i brojnošću podataka koje donosi o hladnom oružju, prvenstveno bosanskohercegovačkog prostora i njegova užeg ali i šireg okruženja, predstavlja kao kvalitetno oblikovana publikacija gotovo enciklopedijskih dosega i značaja.

Krešimir Filipec, Tajana Sekelj-Ivančan,
Željko Demo

Finally, it should be noted that this book by Mirsad Sijarić, in terms of both the relevance of the subject and the manner of presentation, represents an extremely valuable contribution to archaeological science, and particularly the study of the Late Middle Ages. It can be concluded that this book, not merely in its appearance but also the abundance of data it offers about weapons, primarily from the region of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also from its immediate and broader vicinity, represents a well-designed publication of almost encyclopaedic range and significance.

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