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## Nekropola gradine Velika Mrdakovica - grobovi starijega željeznog doba\*

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Predloženim istraživanjem obradeni su prapovijesni grobovi iz nekropole gradine Velike Mrdakovice iz okolice šibenskog Zatona. Riječ je o pet grobova iz najstarijeg razdoblja pokapanja iz vremena starijega željeznog doba. Njihova će analiza i sinteza poslužiti kao ishodište za potpunije poznavanje duge, bogate i promjenjive povijesne vertikale njezinih korisnika i baštinika. Grobovi su prema tipu pokapanja

## The Necropolis at the Velika Mrdakovica Hillfort - Early Iron Age Graves\*

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The research presented herein encompassed analysis of prehistoric graves from the necropolis of the Velika Mrdakovica Hillfort in the vicinity of Zaton, near Šibenik. These are five graves from the earliest period of burials, from the Early Iron Age. Their analysis and synthesis will serve as the point of departure for fuller insight into the long, rich and fluctuating history experienced by its inhabitants and inheritors. Based on

općenito uskladeni s ritualima svojstvenim prostoru šibenske regije i srednjega jadranskog priobalja. No zbog pokapanja u ispruženom položaju odstupaju od prevladavajućeg načina na matičnom području Liburna. Većinu prikupljene grade materijalne kulture čine predmeti osobne nošnje i nakita pokojnika koji su u širem smislu tipološke klasifikacije pripisani liburnskoj kulturi. Shodno njihovoj dosadašnjoj kulturnoj interpretaciji, razvrstani su u mušku i žensku nošnju, pri čemu se ističu nalazi igala i fibula te kolutastog nakita i jantarnih zrna. S kronološkog aspekta, nadjlje, njihovom se interpretacijom razlikuju dva okvirna razdoblja pokapanja. Starije grobove obilježavaju oni s velikom fibulom s jantarnim zrnom na luku, a mlade grobove oni s nadmoćnošću fibule tipa *proto-certosa* s kuglicom na kraju nožice. Unatoč dvojnom ili višekratnom pokapanju grada pokazuje određeniji vremenski okvir, što sugerira na istovremeno ili vrlo kratko naknadno pokapanje, interpretirano u smislu užih obiteljskih grobova. U sinkronizaciji s periodizacijom liburnske kulture, pokapanje u starijim grobovima odvijalo se u vremenu II. A i B stupnja, a ono mlade u vremenu kraja III. i IV. kulturnog stupnja prema klasičnoj periodizacijskoj shemi. Sukladno tipološko-kronološkoj analizi grade u odnosu na istovremene pojave u kulturama jadranskog bazena, sintezom se predlaže revidirana relativna i viša apsolutnokronološka shema za prostor Liburnije.

*Ključne riječi:* Dalmacija, nekropola gradine Velika Mrdakovica, liburnska kultura, nošnja, nakit, tipološko-kronološka analiza, kulturno-povijesna interpretacija

the types of burials, the graves generally comply with rites typical of the Šibenik region and the central Adriatic coastal belt. However, the placement of the bodies fully extended deviated from the overriding practices in this core territory of the Liburnians. Most of the gathered physical cultural materials consist of personal attire items and jewellery of the deceased, which have been ascribed to the Liburnian culture in the broader sense of typological classification. In line with their previous cultural interpretation, they have been separated into men's and women's attire, wherein the finds of pins and fibulae, as well as ring-shaped jewellery and amber beads, are the most prominent. From the chronological standpoint, two general burial periods have been distinguished in their interpretation. Typical of the older graves is the large fibula with amber bead on the bow, while the younger graves are characterized by the predominance of the *proto-Certosa* fibula with a small globule at the end of the foot. Despite double or multiple interments, the materials indicate a certain chronological framework, which suggests simultaneous or very brief subsequent interments, interpreted in the sense of narrower familial graves. Synchronized with the Liburnian culture periodization, interments in the older graves proceeded in the II. A and B phases, while the younger ones proceeded from the end of cultural phase III and in phase IV according to the classical periodization scheme. In compliance with the typological-chronological analysis of the materials in comparison to coterminous phenomena in the Adriatic basin cultures, a revised relative and higher absolute chronological scheme for the Liburnian sphere are proposed in the synthesis.

*Key words:* Dalmatia, necropolis at the Velika Mrdakovica Hillfort, Liburnian culture, attire, jewellery, typological-chronological analysis, cultural-historical interpretation

\* Posvećeno uspomeni na profesora Zdenka Brusića, istraživača Velike Mrdakovice.

\* Dedicated to the memory of Professor Zdenko Bursić, a researcher of Velika Mrdakovica.



Sl. 1. Zemljopisni položaj gradine Velike Mrdakovice na području šibenskog primorja  
Fig. 1. Geographic location of the Velika Mrdakovica Hillfort in the Šibenik littoral

## Pristup

Velika Mrdakovica uzvišenje je u zaleđu grada Vodica, oko 3 km sjeverozapadno od šibenskog Zatona (sl. 1). To je gradinsko naselje čiji podij unutar bedema ima relativno skromne dimenzije, oko 900 m<sup>2</sup> površine (sl. 2). Iz rezultata dosadašnjih istraživanja saznajemo kako je gradina bila kontinuirano nastanjena u znatnom vremenskom rasponu, pa je na tom mjestu pretpostavljen i položaj liburnsko-rimskе Arauzone (*Arausona* ili *Arausa*).<sup>1</sup> Uz južno podnožje gradine prostire se veća nekropolija (sl. 2), istraživana u nekoliko kampanja. Tako su arheološka istraživanja provedena 1969., 1971., 1972. i 1974. godine<sup>2</sup> bila usmjerena ponajprije na prostor nekropole. Ipak, sondaže su otvarane i na podiju gradine, gdje je istraženo

## Approach

Velika Mrdakovica is a rise in the hinterland beyond the town of Vodice, approximately 3 km north-west of the village of Zaton, near Šibenik (Fig. 1). This is a hillfort settlement with a relatively modestly sized podium inside its defensive walls, covering a surface of approximately 900 m<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 2). According to previous research, the hillfort was continually inhabited over a considerable period, such that some have presumed that was the location of the Liburnian-Roman settlement *Arausona* (or *Arausa*).<sup>1</sup> A rather large necropolis stretches along its southern foot (Fig. 2), which was examined in several campaigns. Thus, archaeological research conducted in 1969, 1971, 1972 and 1974<sup>2</sup> primarily concentrated on the necropolis. Even so, trenches were also excavated in the hillfort's podium,

1 Opće podatke o nalazištu, gradini i nekropoli te rezultatima istraživanja vidjeti kod: Brusić 1974; Brusić 1976, str. 116; Brusić 1978, str. 32, 33; Brusić 1980, str. 11-13; Brusić 1988, str. 28, 29; Brusić 1999, str. 9, 16; Brusić 2000b, str. 7-15; Brusić 2000c, str. 136-138.

2 Voditelj istraživanja bio je Zdenko Brusić, tadašnji kustos Muzeja grada Šibenika.

1 For general data on the site, hillfort and necropolis and the results of research, see: Brusić 1974; Brusić 1976, p. 116; Brusić 1978, pp. 32, 33; Brusić 1980, pp. 11-13; Brusić 1988, pp. 28, 29; Brusić 1999, pp. 9, 16; Brusić 2000b, pp. 7-15; Brusić 2000c, pp. 136-138.

2 The research leader was Zdenko Brusić, the curator at the time of the Šibenik City Museum.



Sl. 2. Gradinski podij (1) i položaj nekropole (2) u Velikoj Mrdakovici (foto: T. Šmider)

Fig. 2. The hillfort's podium (1) and the location of the necropolis (2) in Velika Mrdakovica (photo: T. Šmider)

nekoliko objekata, od stambenih, preko obrambenih (odsječak bedema na mjestu glavnog ulaza u naselje) do infrastrukturnih; istražena je cisterna itd.

Na položaju koji obilježava znatan dio nekropole Velike Mrdakovice, na zemljšnoj čestici 5414/35 k.o. Vodice, istraženo je oko 117 grobova (sl. 3).<sup>3</sup> Grobovi su u osnovi podijeljeni na prapovijesne i rimske. Za razliku od rimskih, gotovo svi prapovijesni grobovi kosturnog su tipa pokapanja u ispruženom položaju, a često su sadržavali i ukope nekoliko pokojnika. Na temelju grobne arhitekture, nalaza i pogrebnog rituala razvidno je da je prapovijesni dio nekropole bio korišten u dva vremenski veća razdoblja:

- Za prvog razdoblja pokojnici su polagani u četvrtastu udubinu u matičnoj stijeni, mjestimično obrubljenu nepravilnim komadima kamenja, a među nalazima materijalne kulture bili su zastupljeni elementi nošnje i nakita koji se, u širem smislu, mogu pripisati liburnskoj kulturi (sl. 3, 4).

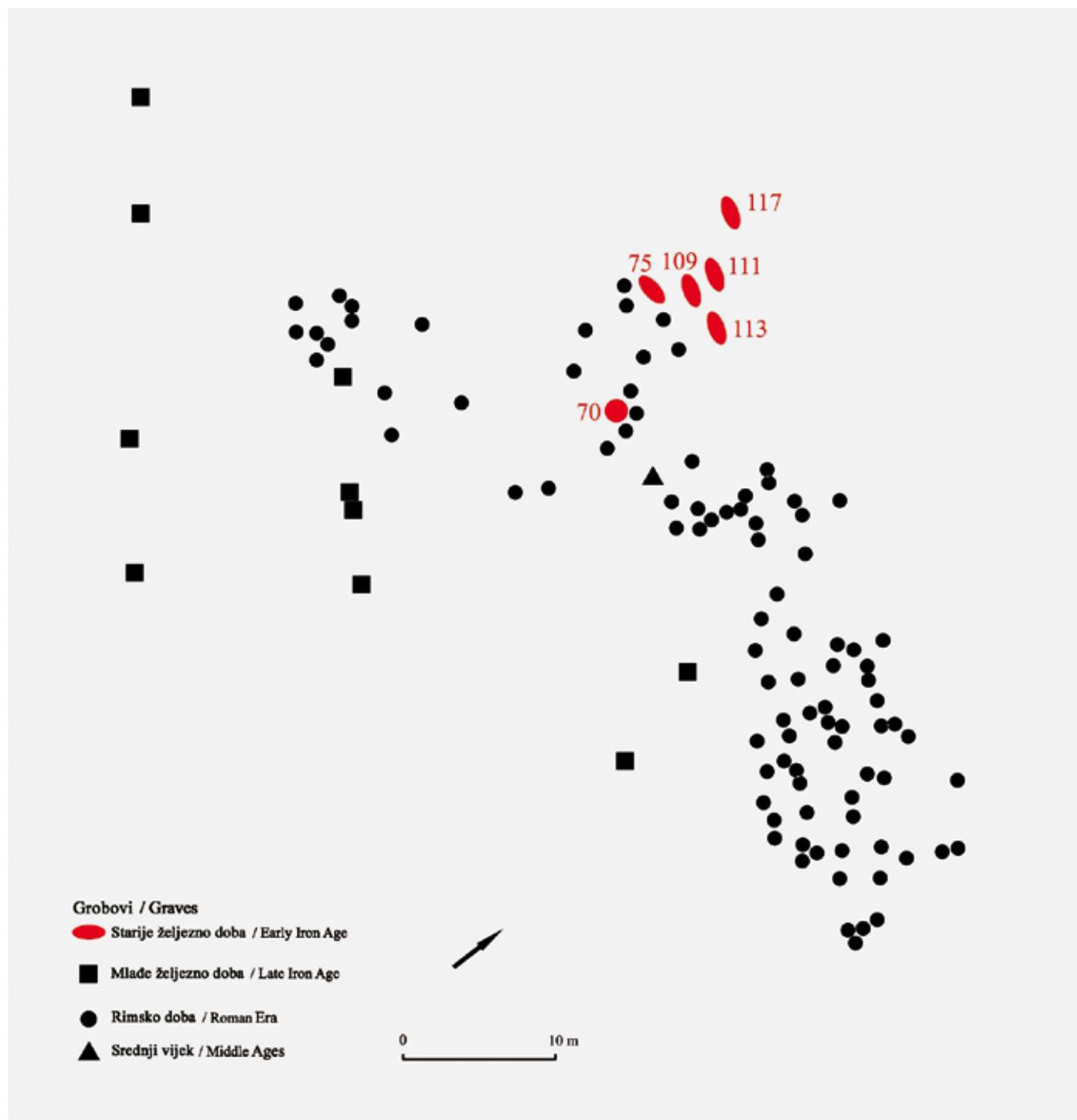
3 Istraživanjima sedamdesetih godina bio je zahvaćen tek segment nekropole, što je potvrđeno i novim istraživanjima na istoj zemlj. čestici 2011. i 2012. godine, nalazom novih rimskih grobova (Brajković 2011).

where several structures were examined, from residential, through defensive (a section of the ramparts at the settlement's main entrance) to infrastructure; a cistern was examined, etc.

Approximately 117 graves have been researched over a site that constitutes a considerable portion of the Velika Mrdakovica necropolis, on land plot 5414/35 in the Vodice cadastral municipality (Fig. 3).<sup>3</sup> The graves are basically sub-divided into prehistoric and Roman-era. As opposed to the Roman-era graves, almost all of the prehistoric graves contained skeletal burials with the bodies laid outstretched, and often several individuals were interred in them. Based on the grave architecture, the finds and burial rites, it is apparent that the prehistoric part of the necropolis was used during two different extensive chronological periods:

- In the first period, the deceased were laid in a rectangular cut into the bedrock, partially bordered by irregular pieces of stone, and the material culture finds

3 Research in the 1970s therefore encompassed only a segment of the necropolis, which was confirmed by more recent research on the same land plot in 2011 and 2012, with the discovery of new Roman graves (Brajković 2011).



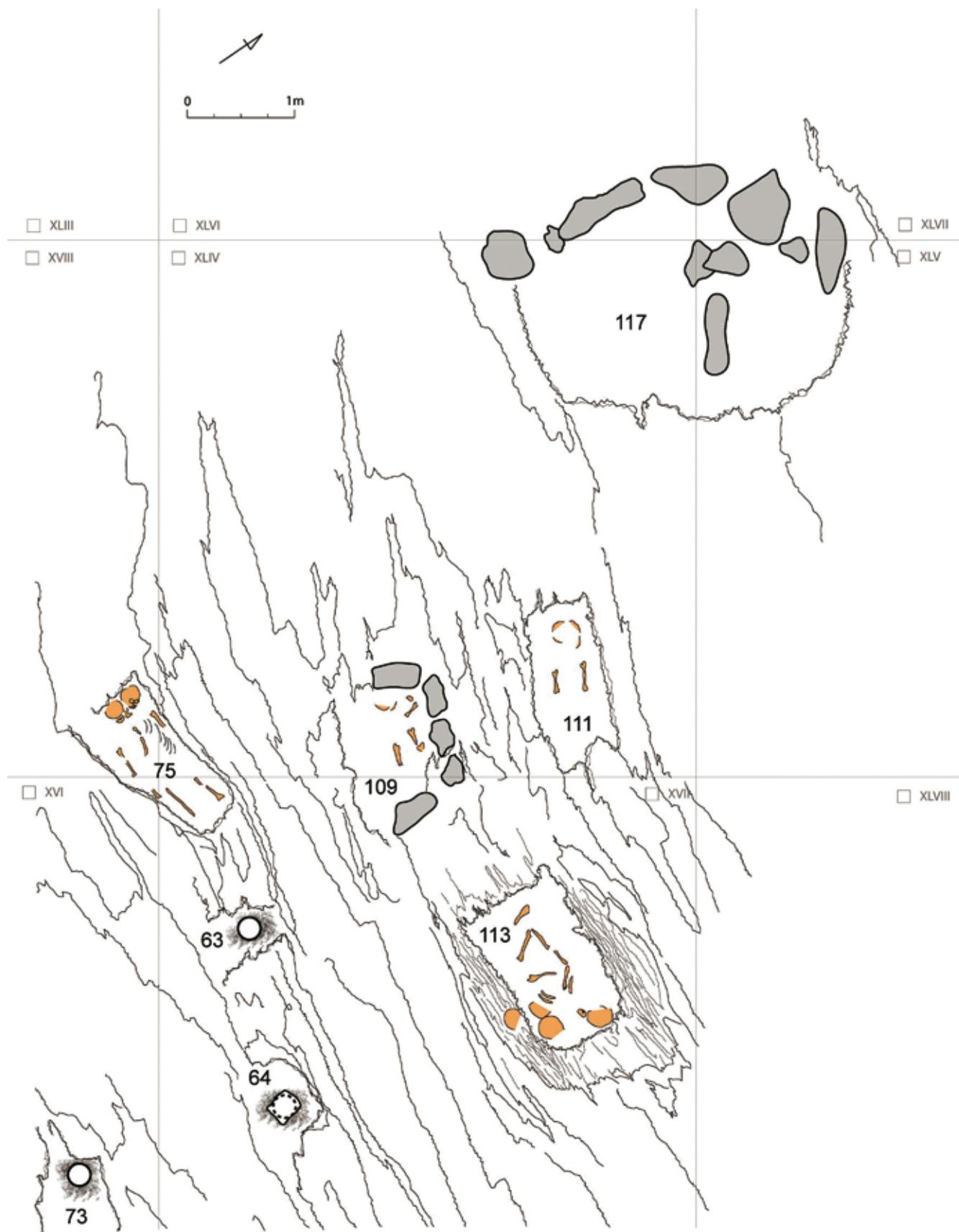
Sl. 3. Plan segmenta nekropole Velike Mrdakovice istraženog od 1969. do 1974. godine s izdvojenim starije-željeznodobnim grobovima

Fig. 3. Layout of the segment of the Velika Mrdakovica necropolis researched from 1969 to 1974 with Early Iron Age graves marked

- Drugo ili mlađe razdoblje korištenja organizira se vjerojatno pod helenističkim utjecajem, kada su grobovi građeni pravilnije: imaju pravokutni tlocrt, strane su im oblikovane od velikih, okomito postavljenih ploča ili, pak, od nekoliko redova klesanaca, bez upotrebe veziva. Većinu grobova obilježava prilaganje velike količine razlomljenih keramičkih posuda strane provenijencije – mahom helenističkih “servisa” za obredne ceremonije.

included elements of attire and jewellery which, in the broader sense, may be attributed to the Liburnian culture (Fig. 3, 4).

- The second or younger period of use was probably organized under Hellenistic influence, when the graves were made in much more orderly fashion: they had a rectangular layout, the sides were made of large, vertically set slabs or even several rows of dressed stone tiles, without the use of bonding agents. Most



Sl. 4. Položaj, odnos i tloris stariježeljeznodobnih grobova na planu nekropole u Velikoj Mrdakovici

Fig. 4. Position, arrangement and ground-plan of Early Iron Age graves in the map of the Velika Mrdakovica necropolis

Na nekropoli, međutim, prevladavaju, odnosno arheološkim su istraživanjima ponajviše zahvaćeni rimski ranocarski paljevinski grobovi. Urne i prilozi bili su smješteni u procijene matične stijene ili, rijede, unutar kamenjem ograđenih četvrtastih prostora. Valja, međutim, istaknuti kako su prapovijesni grobovi istraženi na rubovima obuhvaćenog prostora, i to sjeverno-sjeverozapadno (stariji grobovi) i zapadno-jugozapadno (mladi grobovi) od grobova iz rimskog razdoblja (sl. 3). Tako nam dosad istraženi dio nekropole podno Velike Mrdakovice pokazuje horizontalnu stratigrafiju s kontinuitetom od tri osnovne vremenske faze pokapanja, vrlo slično nekropoli obližnje Gradine kod Dragišića.<sup>4</sup>

Potom je uslijedilo napuštanje toga prostora, te je dugo razdoblje bez pokapanja prekinuto jedino usamlijenim grobom iz ranog srednjeg vijeka (sl. 3).

Rezultati svih poduzetih iskopavanja nekropole u Velikoj Mrdakovici djelomice su objavljeni. Pritom je u stručnoj literaturi veća pozornost bila usmjerena na keramičke nalaze iz grobova helenističke i rimske provenijencije.<sup>5</sup> Ovim istraživanjem obradeni su, za sada, grobovi najstarijeg razdoblja pokapanja na nekropoli, kao ishodištem za potpunije poznavanje duge, bogate i promjenjive povijesne vertikale njezinih baštinika.

### Prapovijesni grobovi starijega željeznog doba

Grobove koje možemo, prema sadašnjem stanju poznavanja nekropole, smatrati najstarijima, prapovijesni su grobovi opredijeljeni vremenu starijeg željeznog doba. U sjevernom kutu istraženog segmenta nekropole nađeno je pet grobova, koji nose brojčane oznake 75, 109, 111, 113 i 117 (sl. 3, 4). Njihove su opće značajke u nekoliko pokušaja ukratko opisane, a iz repertoara prikupljene građe tek su tri nalaza objavljena u pojedinim katalozima (kat. br. 1, 5, 10).<sup>6</sup>

4 Brusić 2000a.

5 Helenistički i rimski grobovi sadržavali su izuzetno velike količine finog posuđa – najprije helenističkog, a potom ranocarskoga rimskog posuđa. Temeljem toga, može se promišljati o osebujnom lokalnom pogrebnom ritualu na području južne Liburnije (kakav je dobro dokumentiran i na nekropoli Gradine kod Dragišića), pri kojem je sahranjivanje pokojnika nerijetko podrazumijevalo konzumiranje vina i razbijanje posuđa, koje bi potom bilo sakupljeno i položeno u grob (Brusić 1977, str. 86-95; Brusić 1985; Brusić 1988, str. 28-36; Brusić 1989, str. 96-111; Brusić 1990, str. 82-88; Brusić 1999, str. 7-49; Brusić 2000b, str. 16-41).

6 Brusić 1974, str. 61; Brusić 1976, str. 116; Brusić 1978, str. 32; Brusić 1980, str. 11; Brusić 1988, str. 34, 35; Brusić 1999, str. 16; Brusić 2000b, str. 8.

of the graves are characterized by placement of a high quantity of broken ceramic vessels of foreign origin, mostly Hellenistic “service sets” for ritual ceremonies.

However, Roman early imperial incineration graves predominate at the necropolis, or rather archaeological research mostly encompassed these. The urns and goods were placed in fissures in the bedrock or, more rarely, inside stone-partitioned squarish spaces. It is, however, worthwhile mentioning that prehistoric graves were examined at the peripheries of the area encompassed, to the north and north-west (older graves) and west and south-west (younger graves) of the Roman-era graves (Fig. 3). So the thus-far researched part of the necropolis below Velika Mrdakovica exhibits a horizontal stratigraphy with continuity consisting of three chronological interment phases, very similar to the necropolis in nearby Gradina at Dragišić.<sup>4</sup>

This was followed by the abandonment of this area, and an extended period without interments interrupted by a sole, isolated grave from the early Middle Ages (Fig. 3).

The results of all excavations undertaken at the necropolis in Velika Mrdakovica have been partially published. In the scholarly literature, greater attention was accorded to the pottery finds from the graves of Hellenistic and Roman provenance.<sup>5</sup> In this research, thus far the graves of the oldest period of interments in the necropolis have been analyzed, as the source for fuller knowledge into the long, rich and fluctuating historical course experienced by its inheritors.

### Prehistoric graves of the Early Iron Age

The graves which may be deemed oldest based on current knowledge of the necropolis are the prehistoric graves classified to the time of the Early Iron Age. Five graves were discovered in the northern corner of the excavated segment of the necropolis, and they bear the numerical designations 75, 109, 111, 113 and 117 (Fig. 3, 4). Their general features were briefly described in several attempts, while only three finds

4 Brusić 2000a.

5 The Hellenistic and Roman-era graves contained exceptionally high quantities of fine pottery – primarily Hellenistic, followed by early imperial Roman pottery. Pursuant thereto, one may think of the specific local funeral rites in southern Liburnia (as well documented also at the Gradina necropolis at Dragišić), wherein burial of the deceased often implied the consumption of wine and shattering of the vessels, which would then be gathered and deposited into the grave (Brusić 1977, pp. 86-95; Brusić 1985; Brusić 1988, pp. 28-36; Brusić 1989, pp. 96-111; Brusić 1990, pp. 82-88; Brusić 1999, pp. 7-49; Brusić 2000b, pp. 16-41).

Grobovi su bili smješteni, na dubini od 20 do 30 cm, u prirodne izdužene procjepe matične stijene. Ona se mjestimično prilagodavala otklesavanjem, pa su grobovi dobili gotovo pravilan izduženo četvrtast oblik. Naznake grobne arhitekture zabilježene su u primjericima grobova 109, 113 i 117, čiji su rubovi bili djelomično obrubljeni nepravilnim komadima kamenja (sl. 4). Moguće je, da se u pojedinim od tih primjera dio kamenja nalazio iznad groba, formirajući djelomični pokrov groba. Orientirani u pravcu istok-zapad, imali su tek pojedinačne blage otklone prema sjeveru. Značajka svih pet grobova bila je izuzetna premiješanost nalaza nakita i nošnje s osteološkom građom, što je najvjerojatnije posljedica aktivnosti prilikom naknadnih pokapanja. Isto vrijedi i za dislociranost te izrazito loš stupanj očuvanosti kostiju prilikom istraživanja, zbog čega nažalost nisu provedene osteološke analize. Antropološka saznanja o spolu i starosti pokojnika, kao i pouzdani podaci o broju pokojnika u svakom pojedinom grobu ostat će tako neizvjesnima. Jedino su se ulomci lubanja i duge kosti znale nalaziti *in situ*, po čemu je bilo moguće donijeti nekoliko prijedloga općih tumačenja o pokapanjima iz toga vremena:

1. U grobovima, gdje se to moglo ustanoviti, pokojnici su bili položeni na leđa s ispruženim nogama i rukama (sl. 4).

2. Sudeći prema zatečenom stanju, kosti pokojnika nalazile su se u osi istok-zapad, s glavama na zapadu, osim kod groba 113, u kojem su sve lubanje bile u istočnom dijelu groba (sl. 4).

3. U grobu 111 nalazile su se kosti jednog pokojnika, dok su u ostalim grobovima bila položena dva pokojnika ili možda nekoliko njih (sl. 4).<sup>7</sup>

Može se pretpostaviti da je ta, za sada najstarija razina pokapanja na nekropoli Velike Mrdakovice, dosadašnjim istraživanjima tek "načeta", te da bi se eventualnim novim sondiranjem prema sjeveru, odnosno prema ulazu u gradinu, naišlo na daljnje grobove iz tog razdoblja. Na planu je vidljivo kako u tom dijelu nekropole nema preklapanja grobova iz različitih vremena, već se rimski grobovi u prostoru nastavljaju neposredno jugoistočno od tih grobova (sl. 3, 4). Okolnost time sugerira da su prapovijesni

7 Navedeni podaci, kao i oni u kataloškom opisu grobova, preuzeti su iz terenske dokumentacije, zapisnika, te, u nedostatku osteološke analize predstavljaju tek djelomične prosudbe istraživača o situaciji zatečenoj u grobovima. Za grob 117 nije bilo moguće ni približno odrediti broj, položaj i orientaciju pokojnika. Budući da osteološka građa nije sačuvana, antropološke analize nije bilo moguće provesti. Interpretacije su stoga isključivo vezane na metodologiju arheoloških analiza.

from the gathered materials have been published in individual catalogues (cat. no. 1, 5, 10).<sup>6</sup>

The graves were situated in naturally oblong fissures in the bedrock at depths of 20 to 30 cm. At places they were adapted by additional stone-work, so the graves acquired an almost standard oblong squarish shape. Vestiges of sepulchral architecture were recorded in graves 109, 113 and 117, the edges of which were partially bordered with small pieces of stone (Fig. 4). It is possible that in individual examples here, a portion of the stones were above the graves, forming a partial cover for them. They were oriented east to west, with only a few having a slight northward inclination. A characteristic of all five graves is the dislocation and/or intermingling of jewellery and attire finds and bones, which was probably a result of activities during subsequent burials. The same applies to the dislocated character and exceptionally poor state of preservation of bones during research, which is why, unfortunately, osteological analysis was not conducted. Anthropological knowledge on the sex and age of the deceased, as well as reliable data on the number of deceased in each grave, will therefore remain uncertain. Only fragments of skulls and other bones were found *in situ*, making it possible to put forth several proposals for general interpretations of the burials of this period:

1. In graves, where this could be established, the deceased were laid on their backs with legs and arms extended (Fig. 4).

2. Judging by the state as found, the bones of the deceased were situated on an east-west axis, with heads toward the west, except for grave 113, in which all skulls were in the eastern part of the grave (Fig. 4).

3. The bones of one deceased individual were found in grave 111, while in the remaining graves two or perhaps even several deceased were interred (Fig. 4).<sup>7</sup>

It may be assumed that this, for now, oldest level of interments in the Velika Mrdakovica necropolis has only been "broached" by previous research, and any potential new test excavations in a northerly direction,

6 Brusić 1974, p. 61; Brusić 1976, p. 116; Brusić 1978, p. 32; Brusić 1980, p. 11; Brusić 1988, pp. 34, 35; Brusić 1999, p. 16; Brusić 2000b, p. 8.

7 These data, like those in the catalogue description of the graves, are cited from the field documentation (journals) and, in the absence of osteological analysis, they constitute an only partial assessment by the researchers on the situation found in the graves. In case of grave 117, it was not possible to determine the number, position and orientation of the deceased. Since the osteological materials have not been preserved, anthropological analysis could not even be done. Interpretation is thus tied exclusively to archaeological analytical methods.

grobovi najstarijeg vremena pokapanja čitavo vrijeme trajanja naselja i nekropole bili na određen način poznati ili prepoznatljivi u prostoru, zbog čega nisu bili negirani niti devastirani kasnijim intervencijama na nekropoli. Nije poznato jesu li oni izvorno bili na neki način označeni na površini. Od Z. Brusića doznamo da se položaje nekih od tih grobova prije istraživanja moglo uočiti u obliku plitkih udubljenja na površini terena. Na isti su način ubicirani i grobovi na nekropoli Gradine kod Dragišića, gdje su ovalne konkavne udubine grobova na površini bile dodatno prepoznatljive po jednostrukim kamenim vijencima kojima su bile obrubljene.<sup>8</sup>

### Tipološko-kronološka analiza

#### Nošnja i nakit

Većinu građe istražene na nekropoli Velike Mrdakovice obilježavaju predmeti osobne nošnje i nakita pokojnika koji su, shodno njihovoj dosadašnjoj kulturnoj interpretaciji, razmatrani u klasifikaciji muške i ženske nošnje, pri čemu se izdvajaju nalazi igala i fibula, te kolastog nakita i jantarnih zrna.

#### Igle

Muškoj se nošnji, u prvoj redu, pripisuje nalaz brončanih igala. Na nekropoli Velike Mrdakovice zaobilježeno je devet igala raspoređenih u čak četiri groba (grob 70, 75, 109, 117). Od toga se osam primjeraka može pripisati nošnji pokojnika, a jedan se primjerak može uvrstiti u skupinu alata, tj. osobnog pribora. U grobovima se nalaze u većem broju, od dva do pet primjerka, dok se u jednom slučaju, u grobu 109, pojavljuje samo jedna igla. Kao sekundarni nalaz izdvojena je i brončana igla s bikoničnom glavicom koja je nađena u grobu 70 rimske provenijencije.

Pet igala moguće je preciznije tipološki odrediti i njihov najveći broj pridružiti oblicima igala s raskovanom i uvijenom glavicom te iglama s kuglasto ili rebrasto profiliranim glavicama, koje, također, nisu sve tipološki istovjetne.

Kao iznimka predstavlja se brončana *igla s bikoničnom, na vrhu spljoštenom i kaneliranom glavicom*, koja je kao sekundarni nalaz poznata iz groba 70 (kat. br. 1, T. 1. 1; sl. 3). Gornji dio glavice manji je od donjeg, a oba su ukrašena s prilično nepravilno izvedene četiri usporedne kanelure. Dijeli ih najdeblja središnja neukrašena linija.

toward the hillfort's entrance, should uncover further graves from that period. The map clearly shows that there is no overlapping of graves from different periods in this part of the necropolis, rather the Roman-era graves continue to the immediate south of these graves (Fig. 3, 4). This circumstance suggests that the prehistoric graves from the earliest interment period were in some manner known or recognizable in this space for the entire duration of the settlement and necropolis, which is why they were neither ignored nor devastated in later use of the necropolis. Whether or not they were marked on the surface in some manner is not known. Z. Brusić reported that the positions of some of these graves could be seen prior to research in the form of shallow depressions on the surface of the terrain. The graves at the Gradina necropolis at Dragišić were located in the same manner; there the oval concave depressions of the graves on the surface were additionally recognizable by the single-line stone wreathes that bordered them.<sup>8</sup>

### Typological and chronological analysis

#### Attire and jewellery

Most of the materials examined at the Velika Mrdakovica necropolis were the personal attire items and jewellery of the deceased which, in line with previous cultural interpretations, were considered under the classification of men's and women's apparel, wherein the finds of pins and fibulae, as well as ring-shaped jewellery and amber beads, are most prominent.

#### Pins

The bronze pin finds are classified as men's attire. Nine pins distributed in four graves (graves 70, 75, 109, 117) were recorded in the Velika Mrdakovica necropolis. Out of this number, eight examples may be classified as components of the attire of the deceased, while one example may be classified into the tool group, i.e., personal accessories. They were found in graves in high numbers, from two to five examples, while in one case, in grave 109, only a single pin appeared. A bronze pin with a biconical head found in grave 70, of Roman origin, was set aside as a secondary find.

Five pins may be more precisely typologically classified and most may be placed among the forms of pins with hammered and twisted heads and pins with spherical or rib-moulded heads, which are also not all typologically identical.

8 Brusić 2000a, str. 6.

8 Brusić 2000a, p. 6.

Igra tih obilježja potpuno je neočekivan nalaz nošnje na prostoru ovoga nalazišta,<sup>9</sup> kao i Dalmacije općenito. Naime, takve igle nisu karakteristične za jadranske kasnobrončanodobne kulture, kako se ta igla kronološki smješta. No situacija se u ovome trenutku mijenja jer im se broj znatno povećao upravo na primorskom području Hrvatske, s još jednom iglom iz obližnjeg tumula na Crnom brdu kod Danilo Birnja<sup>10</sup> te s jednim primjerkom iz Kraljevice.<sup>11</sup>

Igle s bikoničnom, na vrhu spljoštenom i kaneliranom glavicom obilježavaju, u različitim inaćicama, vrijeme ostava II. faze kulture polja sa žarama sjeverne Hrvatske, odnosno dokazano su odlika horizonta BrD i HaA1 stupnjeva.<sup>12</sup> S njima su povezani i tako datirani nalazi iz prostora Srijema i Podunavlja,<sup>13</sup> kao i primjeri iz područja Posavine i Bosne.<sup>14</sup> S druge strane, broj im je u znatnijem porastu i na prostoru jugoistočnog alpskog prostora.<sup>15</sup> Ondje se povezuju i sa sjevernoitalskim kulturnim krugom, gdje su takve igle rasprostranjene na području Veneta i Lombardije, smještene također u vrijeme 12. stoljeća pr. Kr. faze *Bronzo Recente*.<sup>16</sup>

Neosporno jest kako se broj tih igala naglo povećao, sukladno čemu je i karta njihove rasprostranjenosti sada znatno potpunija.<sup>17</sup> U njezinoj će prostornoj distribuciji primjerici s područja istočnoga jadranskog priobalja i obližnjeg zaleda zasigurno dobiti posebno tumačenje. Smisao nalaza igle tog tipa na nekropoli Velike Mrdakovice ostaje za sada nepoznatog značenja, premda znakovitog u smislu shvaćanja korištenja tog prostora i znatno ranije, već od ranoga kasnog brončanog doba.

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- 9 Mendušić, Pedišić, Krnčević 1993, str. 10, kat. br. 25.  
 10 Mendušić, Pedišić, Krnčević 1993, str. 10, kat. br. 24, sl. 4; Krnčević, Mendušić, Pedišić 2000, str. 27.  
 11 Blečić Kavur 2011, str. 59, sl. 8. 1; Blečić Kavur 2014, str. 72, 75.  
 12 Vinski-Gasparini 1973, str. 74, 75; Perkić, Ložnjak Dizdar 2005, str. 69, 70.  
 13 Vasić 2003, str. 73, 74.  
 14 König 2004, str. 69, T. 90A; Gavranović 2011, str. 162, sl. 162. 9.  
 15 Općenito vidjeti kod Dular 2002, str. 218, 219, sl. 49. Noviji nalazi: Gorenji Suhadol (Stipančić 2009, str. 229, kat. br. 10b), Ptuj – Rabelčja vas-srednješolski center (Strmčnik-Gulič 1988, str. 159, T. 4. 25; Teržan 1999, str. 132, 133; Kavur 2007, str. 58), Zavrč (Lubšina Tušek, Kavur, Blečić Kavur 2014); Blečić Kavur 2014, sl. 38.  
 16 Carancini 1975, str. 239, T. 108E; Carancini, Peroni 1999, str. 18.  
 17 König 2004, T. 90A; Blečić Kavur 2014, sl. 38.

An exception is the bronze *pin with a biconical, flattened top and horizontally grooved head*, which is known as a secondary find from grave 70 (cat. no. 1, P. 1. 1; Fig. 3). The upper portion of the head is smaller than the lower section, and both are adorned with four, rather unevenly rendered parallel grooves. They are separated by the thickest central unadorned line.

Pins with these features are an entirely unexpected attire item in the area of this find-site,<sup>9</sup> and in Dalmatia as a whole. For such pins are not typical of Adriatic Late Bronze Age cultures, as this pin has been chronologically classified. But the situation is changing at this moment, because their number has increased considerably precisely in Croatia's coastal zone, with yet another pin from the nearby tumulus on the hill Crno brdo, near Danilo Biranj<sup>10</sup> and one example from Kraljevica.<sup>11</sup>

Pins with a biconical, on top flattened and horizontally grooved heads characterize, in different variants, the time of the hoards in the II<sup>nd</sup> phase of the Urnfield culture in northern Croatia, i.e., they are a proven feature of the BrD and HaA1 phases.<sup>12</sup> They are entirely organically connected to the finds so dated from the territories of Srijem and the Danube region,<sup>13</sup> as well as examples from the nearby Sava River Valley (Posavina) and Bosnia.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, their number is also rising considerably in the south-eastern Alpine zone.<sup>15</sup> There they have also been linked to the northern Italic cultural sphere, where such pins were widespread in the territories of Veneto and Lombardy, also dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> century BC in the *Bronzo Recente* phase.<sup>16</sup>

There can be no dispute that the number of these pins has risen drastically, whereby the map of their distribution is now considerably more complete.<sup>17</sup> In its spatial distribution, examples from the Eastern

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- 9 Mendušić, Pedišić, Krnčević 1993, p. 10, cat. no. 25.  
 10 Mendušić, Pedišić, Krnčević 1993, p. 10, cat. no. 24, Fig. 4; Krnčević, Mendušić, Pedišić 2000, p. 27.  
 11 Blečić Kavur 2011, p. 59, Fig. 8. 1; Blečić Kavur 2014, pp. 72, 75.  
 12 Vinski-Gasparini 1973, pp. 74, 75; Perkić, Ložnjak Dizdar 2005, pp. 69, 70.  
 13 Vasić 2003, pp. 73, 74.  
 14 König 2004, p. 69, P. 90A; Gavranović 2011, p. 162, Fig. 162. 9.  
 15 In general, see Dular 2002, pp. 218, 219, sl. 49. Newer finds: Gorenji Suhadol (Stipančić 2009, p. 229, cat. no. 10b), Ptuj-Rabelčja vas-srednješolski center (Strmčnik-Gulič 1988, p. 159, P. 4. 25; Teržan 1999, pp. 132, 133; Kavur 2007, p. 58), Zavrč (Lubšina Tušek, Kavur, Blečić Kavur 2014); Blečić Kavur 2014, Fig. 38.  
 16 Carancini 1975, p. 239, P. 108E; Carancini, Peroni 1999, p. 18.  
 17 König 2004, T. 90A; Blečić Kavur 2014, Fig. 38.

Veću pozornost zavrjeđuju igle iz željeznodobnih grobova, osobito one s raskovanom i uvijenom glavicom koje su sigurno zastupljene samo sa dva primjera, u grobovima 75 i 117 (T. 1, 2),<sup>18</sup> a razlikujemo ih u dvjema varijantama.

*Igla s raskovanom i uvijenom glavicom* iz groba 75 (kat. br. 3) pripada tipu igala koji je u kulturološkom, kao i u kronološkom, značenju posve neosjetljiva pojava. Rasprostirao se na širokom europskom prostoru od ranoga brončanog pa sve do kraja starijega željeznog doba.<sup>19</sup> Međutim, značajke naše igle, a u usporedbi s italskim, istarskim ili istočnoalpskim primjerima u sigurnije datiranim kontekstima, ipak će ih uže vremenski opredjeljivati nadregionalnoj modi 8. i eventualno 7. stoljeća pr. Kr., te ih tako tretirati u mlađoj ili željeznodobnoj varijanti igala navedenog tipa.<sup>20</sup> Dobro potvrđuju to i srodni grobovi iz picenske Novilare, gdje valja posebno istaknuti veliku iglu gotovo identične izradbe iz bogatoga muškog groba 47 nekropole Servici, zabilježenu zajedno sa zmijastim fibulama s roščićima/tučcima.<sup>21</sup> Isto vrijedi i za znatno bliže matično liburnsko područje, jer je takva igla, npr. iz ninskoga groba 20 i posebno ona iz groba 26, nađena uz fibulu tipa i varijante Osor, te uz jednodijelnu dvopetljastu zmijastu fibulu. Smještena je upravo u II.A fazu liburnske kulture 8. stoljeća pr. Kr.,<sup>22</sup> iako njezin početak mora biti primjeren i nešto višoj dataciji, odnosno već 9. stoljeću pr. Kr. Kako pokazuju grobovi iz Dragišića, 4C i 18,<sup>23</sup> ili Nadina, grob 13/9,<sup>24</sup> pa i Nin-Ždrijca,<sup>25</sup> njihovo je korištenje sezalo sve do III. i IV. liburnske faze, tj. 6. i 5. stoljeća

Adriatic seaboard and the immediate hinterland will certainly receive a separate interpretation. The significance of the find of this type of pin at the Velika Mrdakovica necropolis remains unknown for the present, although indicative in the sense of the use of this site even earlier, already since the early phase of the Late Bronze Age.

The pins from the Iron Age graves merit greater attention, particularly those with hammered and twisted heads, of which there are only two certain examples, in graves 75 and 117 (P. 1, 2),<sup>18</sup> and two variants have been distinguished.

The *pin with hammered and twisted head* from grave 75 (cat. no. 3) belongs to a pin type which is not at all sensitive in either the cultural or chronological sense. They were widespread over a broad swath of Europe from the Early Bronze to the end of the Early Iron Age.<sup>19</sup> However, the features of these pins, in comparison to the Italic, Istrian or eastern Alpine examples, nonetheless more closely place them chronologically within the supra-regional fashion of the 8<sup>th</sup> and possibly 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, and they may thus be treated as the younger or Iron Age variant of this pin type.<sup>20</sup> This is well confirmed by the similar graves from Picenian Novilara, wherein it is particularly worthwhile mentioning the large pin of identical rendering from a rich man's grave, no. 47, in the Servici necropolis, recorded together with serpentine fibulae with horn-shaped knobs.<sup>21</sup> The same applies to the nearer core Liburnian territory, because such a pin, for example, from grave 20 and particularly the one from grave 26 in Nin, were found together with a fibula of Osor variant and type, and a single-piece, two-looped serpentine fibula. It has in fact been placed precisely in phase II.A of the Liburnian culture of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC,<sup>22</sup> even though its beginning may also be suited to a somewhat higher dating, the 9<sup>th</sup> century

18 Identična igla navedena je i za inventar groba 109 (vidi katalog).

19 Carancini 1975, str. 110; Glogović 1989, str. 9; Vasić 2003, str. 20-22.

20 Carancini 1975, str. 113-116; Guštin 1975, sl. 2. 12, 16; Teržan, Trampuž 1975, str. 419; Gabrovec 1987a, str. 40; 1987c, str. 156, sl. 9. 3; Sakara Sučević 2004, str. 17, 18, kat. br. 10; Cestnik 2010, str. 152, T. 31. 1, sl. 65. S obzirom na nove kronološke redakcije te bi igle valjalo razmatrati već u vrijeme punog 9. stoljeća pr. Kr., kako se datiraju grobne cjeline u kojima su se predmetne igle, barem na italskom prostoru, definirale (usp. Trachsel 2004, str. 231).

21 Beinhauer 1985, T. 101. 1115, usp. Pare 1998, str. 325, 326, sl. 14, T. 2; Tecco Hvala 2012, str. 231-233.

22 Batović 1976, str. 65, sl. 13. 3; Glogović 2003, T. 46. 346, 350; Relativnokronološka shema liburnske kulture preuzeta je od Šime Batovića (1987), Nives Majnarić-Pandžić (1998) i Dunje Glogović (2003).

23 Brusić 2000a, T. VI. 9; T. XVI. 7.

24 Kukoč 2009, str. 47, sl. 22. 12.

25 Brusić 2002, sl. 16. 3, 4.

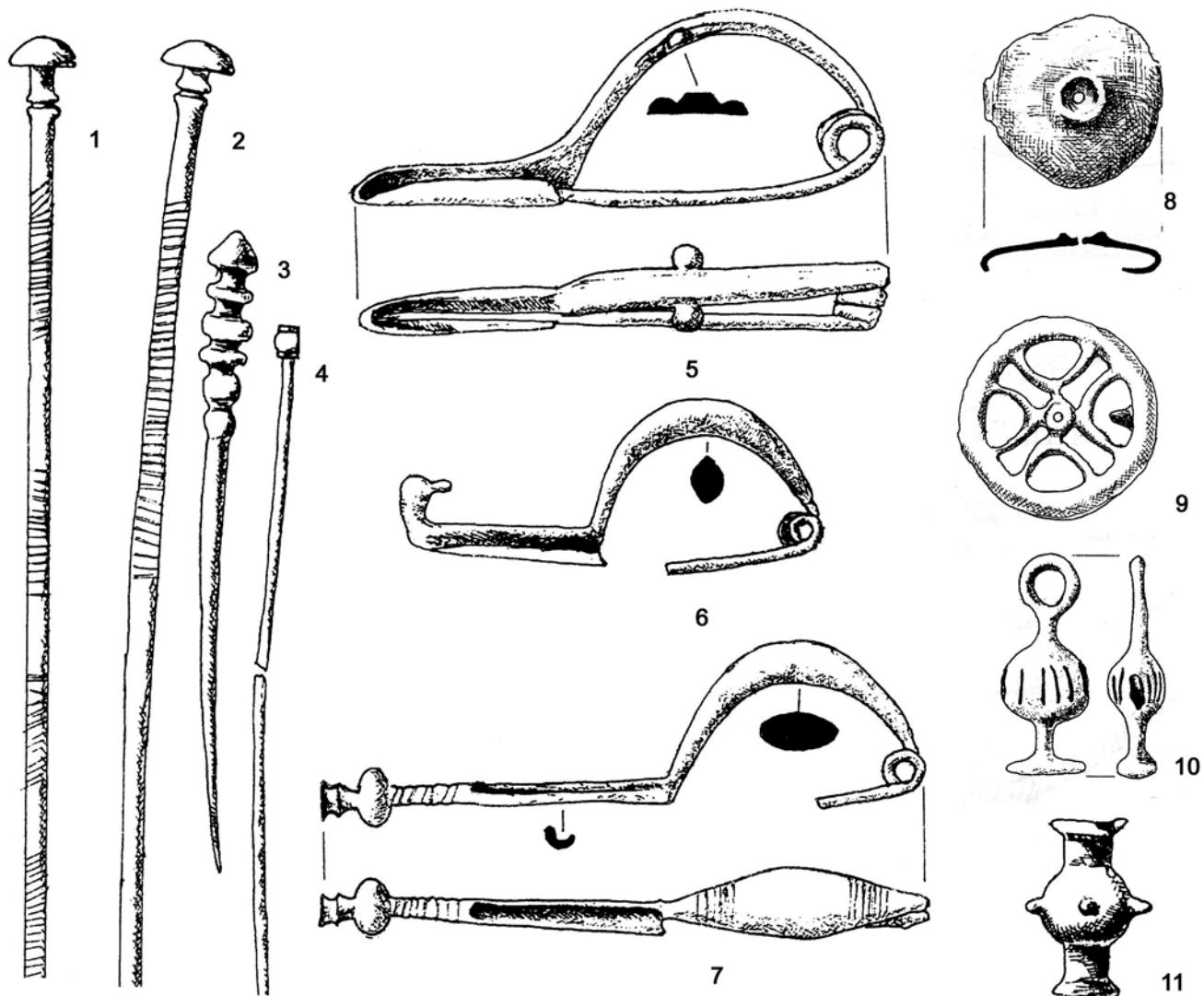
18 An identical pin was also cited for the inventory of grave 109 (see catalogue).

19 Carancini 1975, p. 110; Glogović 1989, p. 9; Vasić 2003, pp. 20-22.

20 Carancini 1975, pp. 113-116; Guštin 1975, Fig. 2. 12, 16; Teržan, Trampuž 1975, p. 419; Gabrovec 1987a, p. 40; 1987c, p. 156, Fig. 9. 3; Sakara Sučević 2004, pp. 17, 18, cat. no. 10; Cestnik 2010, p. 152, P. 31. 1, Fig. 65. Given the new revised chronology, these pins should already be considered fully within the 9<sup>th</sup> century BC, as the graves in which these pins were found have been defined, at least in Italic territory (cf. Trachsel 2004, p. 231).

21 Beinhauer 1985, P. 101. 1115, cf. Pare 1998, pp. 325, 326, Fig. 14, P. 2; Tecco Hvala 2012, pp. 231-233.

22 Batović 1976, p. 65, Fig. 13. 3; Glogović 2003, P. 46. 346, 350; the relative chronological scheme of the Liburnian culture has been taken from Šime Batović



Sl. 5. Izbor predmeta iz groba 12 nekropole u Dragišiću (prilagođeno prema Brusić 2000a)

Fig. 5. Selection of items from grave 12 in the necropolis in Dragišić (adapted according to Brusić 2000a)

pr. Kr. U krajnje podudarnom vremenskom rasponu nalaze se i južnije, na središnjem i južnom dalmatinskom prostoru, kao i u njihovu zaleđu.<sup>26</sup>

Premda su one izvorno smatrane obilježjem muške nošnje, njihovo nalaženje u repertoarima ženskih oprema također nije iznimka, zbog čega ne predstavljaju siguran oslonac određenja i interpretacije grobova, tj. grobnih priloga prema spolu ni na prostoru liburnske kulture. S obzirom na inventar groba 109 čini se da su se na Velikoj Mrdakovici više koristile u kolekcijama ženskih bogatijih, ili barem upotpunjениh, nošnji.

U tom smislu svjedoči dalje *igla s raskovanom i uvijenom glavicom te pseudotordiranim vratom* iz groba 117 (kat. br. 24). Tipološki pripada istoj skupini igala, ali varijante koja je rijedje prisutna od prethodne.

26 Marović 1984, str. 49, sl. 16. 5; Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011, str. 39, 40.

BC. As shown by the graves from Dragišić, 4C and 18,<sup>23</sup> or Nadin, grave 13/9,<sup>24</sup> and even Nin-Ždrijac,<sup>25</sup> their use persisted until Liburnian phases III and IV, i.e., the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. They appeared even farther south, in central and southern Dalmatia and the adjacent hinterlands, within a strikingly congruent chronological range.<sup>26</sup>

Although they were originally deemed components of male attire, their discovery in the repertoire of women's accessories is no exception, which is why they do not constitute a certain basis for the classification

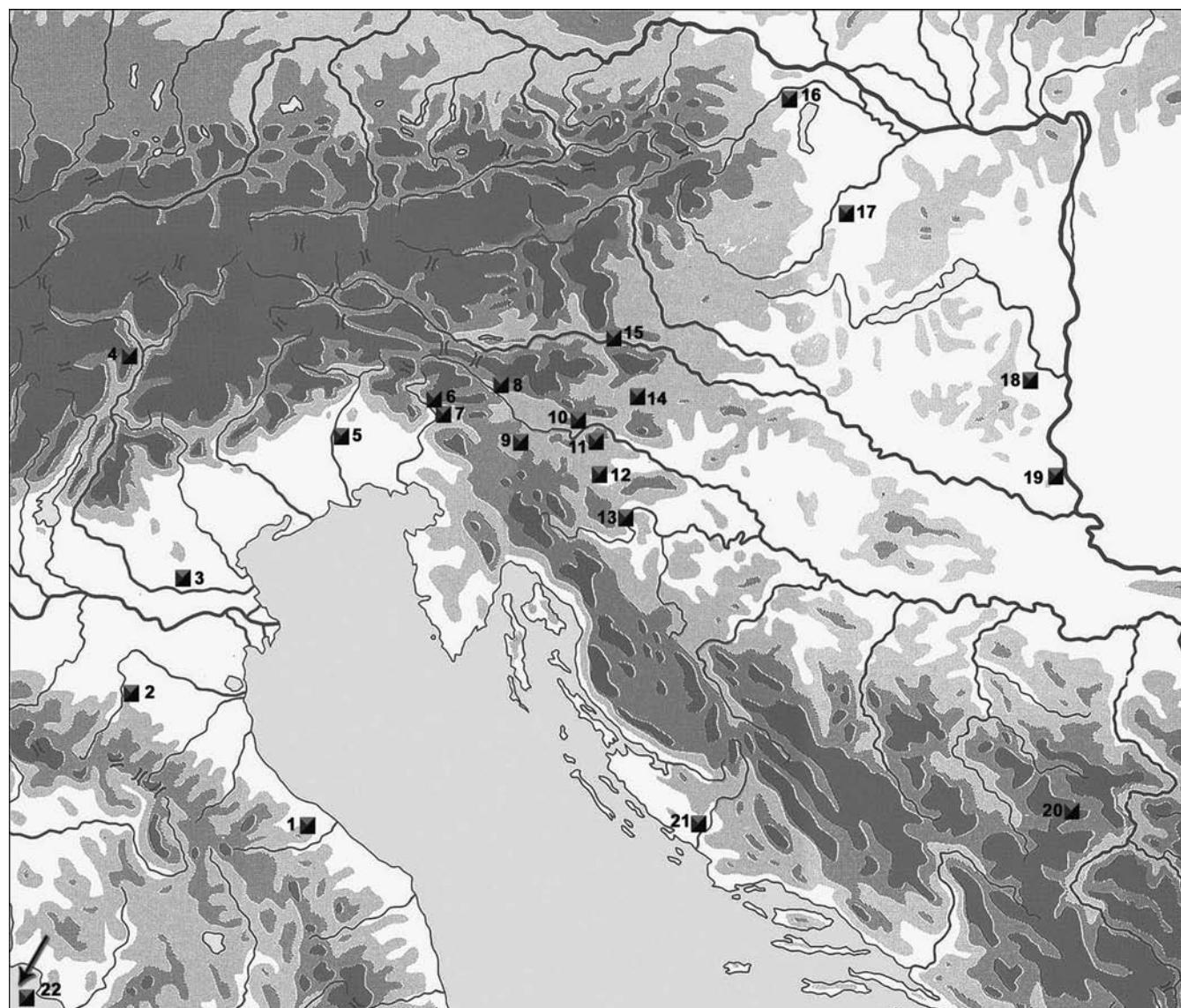
(1987), Nives Majnarić-Pandžić (1998) and Dunja Glogović (2003).

23 Brusić 2000a, P. VI. 9; P. XVI. 7.

24 Kukoč 2009, p. 47, Fig. 22. 12.

25 Brusić 2002, Fig. 16. 3, 4.

26 Marović 1984, p. 49, Fig. 16. 5; Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011, pp. 39, 40.



Sl. 6. Karta rasprostiranja igala s kalotastom glavicom i rebrastim vratom (nadopunjeno prema Teržan 1990; Lista 1)

Fig. 6. Distribution map of pins with calotte-shaped head and ribbed neck (supplemented according to Teržan 1990; List 1)

Vremenski okvir također joj je široko postavljen, od ranog brončanog do starijega željeznog doba na širem evropskom teritoriju.<sup>27</sup> Nešto su brojnije zastupljene na prostoru Banata i istočne Srbije,<sup>28</sup> dok ih zemljopisno osjetno bliže pratimo sa srebrnim primjerkom iz bogatoga ženskoga groba M. Petrovića Ml. VI iz Donje Doline, datiranog na kraj starijeg i sam početak mlađega željeznog doba.<sup>29</sup> No, najsrodnija i najbliža igla potječe naravno iz ninske nekropole, kao sporadičan nalaz, koja je svojski široko opredijeljena razdoblju

and interpretation of graves and grave goods based on sex in the territory of the Liburnian culture. Given the inventory of grave 109, it would appear that at Velika Mrdakovica they were used more in the collections of wealthier, or at least more complete, women's attire.

The *pin with hammered and twisted head and pseudo-spiral neck* from grave 117 (cat. no. 24) serves as further evidence in this sense. Typologically it belongs to the same group of pins, but it is a variant that is less present than the preceding example. The time framework has also been widely set, from the Early Bronze to Early Iron Age over a wider European

27 Carancini 1975, str. 113; Říhovský 1979, str. 143, 144; Vasić 2003, str. 24.

28 Vasić 2003, T. 52.

29 Truhelka 1902, str. 263, T. X. 28.

*željeznog doba.*<sup>30</sup> U našem slučaju kontekst groba 109 (T. 1. 2), sugerirao bi kako je ona također bila korištena negdje u vrijeme liburnske IIA-B faze, ali u ansamblu ženske nošnje.

Slijedi najbolje očuvan primjerak, odnosno igla iz bogatijega, najvjerojatnije dvojnoga groba 75 (kat. br. 5), gdje su ujedno zastupljena još tri, tipološki različita primjerka igala (T. 1. 3, 4, 6). Riječ je o velikoj igli, svijenoj u donjem dijelu, kalotasto profilirane glavice ispod koje se, na vratu, nalaze četiri ravnomjerno raspoređena tanka rebra. Na širem liburnskom i okolnom prostoru za sada ne postoje izravne paralele opisanoj igli. Srodne, po veličini te samo po obliku polukružne glavice, potječu iz groba 12 nekropole na Dragišiću.<sup>31</sup> Š. Batović ih je svojevremeno prikazao kao vodeće tipove igala liburnske kulture te ih datirao u 6. i 5. stoljeće pr. Kr., čime je njihova kronološka, ali i kulturna opredijeljenost ostala prilično nedorečena. Međutim, navedeni grob 12 iz Dragišića predstavlja pravu iznimku ne samo na toj nekropoli, već i na čitavom prostoru Dalmacije, čime ostvaruje brojne mogućnosti opširnijeg razmatranja (sl. 5). Naime, s obzirom na kontekst pridodanih nalaza osobito fibule s dvije kuglice na luku alpskoga tipa,<sup>32</sup> zatim fibule tipa *Kompolje* s ptičjom unatrag povijenom glavicom na kraju noge,<sup>33</sup> te s obzirom na male pijavičaste fibule s dugom nogom i vazastim zaključkom na njihovu kraju,<sup>34</sup> datacija te grobne cjeline, i tako posredno navedenih igala, valja biti argumentirano predviđena već za II.B stupanj liburnske kulture, koju možemo bliže kronološki povezati uz stupanj Este IIIB kraja 8. i ranog 7. stoljeća pr. Kr.<sup>35</sup> U smislu vrednovanja

territory.<sup>27</sup> They appeared in somewhat higher numbers in Banat and eastern Serbia,<sup>28</sup> while they can be substantially geographically followed more closely with the silver example from the rich woman's grave VI in Donja Dolina (on land designated as property of M. Petrović Jr.), dated to the end of the Early and very beginning of the Late Iron Age.<sup>29</sup> However, the most similar and closest pin naturally originated from the Nin necropolis as a sporadic find, which was specific to the broadly classified period of the *Iron Age*.<sup>30</sup> In this case, the context of gave 109 (P. 1. 2) would suggest that it was also used somewhere during the Liburnian phase IIA-B, but in a women's attire ensemble.

Next is the best preserved example, i.e., a pin from a richer, probable double grave, 75 (cat. no. 5), where three more typologically different examples of pins were also present (P. 1. 3, 4, 6). This is a large pin, curved in the lower section, with a calotte-moulded head below which, on the neck, has four uniformly arranged thin ribs. In the wider Liburnian and surrounding territory there are not as yet any direct parallels to this pin. Similar, in terms of size and only the semi-circular heads came from grave 12 of the necropolis at Dragišić.<sup>31</sup> Š. Batović portrayed them at one point as the leading Liburnian culture pin types and dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, whereby their cultural classification remained rather ambiguous. However, the aforementioned grave 12 in Dragišić represents a genuine exception not only at that necropolis, but also in Dalmatia as a whole, opening numerous possibilities for broader consideration (Fig. 5). Given the context of the added finds, particularly the fibula with two knobs on the bow of Alpine type,<sup>32</sup> and then the *Kompolje*-type bow fibulae with a backward-curving bird's head at the end of the foot,<sup>33</sup> and given the small leech-shaped fibula with long foot and vase-shaped tip at their end,<sup>34</sup> the dating of the grave unit, and thus

30 Batović 1981, str. 122, sl. 10. 46.

31 Brusić 2000a, T. XIII. 4-5; Batović 1981, str. 120, 121, sl. 10. 25.

32 Brusić 2000a, T. XIV. 4; Glogović 2003, str. 68, T. 53. 503; usp. Nascimbene 2009, str. 101-109.

33 Brusić 2000a, T. XIV. 5; Blečić Kavur 2009, str. 236-241, sl. 5. 11. Za iste fibule kartu rasprostiranja valja nadopuniti s još nekoliko primjeraka za prostor južne Italije, usp. kod Lo Schiavo 2010, T. 341. 4913-4917.

34 Brusić 2000a, T. XIV. 1, 2, 6; Glogović 2003, str. 56, 57, T. 49. 419, 420. Na italskom su prostoru estenskoga kruga klasificirane kao tip XIIIa fibula malog luka, prema A. M. Chieco Bianchi i suradnika (Chieco Bianchi et al. 1976, str. 18, 19, T. 13. 3-5). Nisu učestali nalaz na prostoru istočne obale Jadrana i za sada je poznat još samo jedan sporadičan primjerak iz Nina (Glogović 2003, T. 49. 421).

35 Trachsel 2004, str. 234, 235, sl. 141, sl. 156, sl. 195; usp. Pare 1998, T. 2. Pri relativnoj kronologiji Este koristi se periodizacijski sustav Renata Peronija (1975, sl. 116; Capuis, Chieco Bianchi 2006, str. 485) revidiran i

27 Carancini 1975, p. 113; Říhovský 1979, pp. 143, 144; Vasić 2003, p. 24.

28 Vasić 2003, P. 52.

29 Truhelka 1902, p. 263, P. X. 28.

30 Batović 1981, p. 122, Fig. 10. 46.

31 Brusić 2000a, P. XIII. 4-5; Batović 1981, pp. 120, 121, Fig. 10. 25.

32 Brusić 2000a, P. XIV. 4; Glogović 2003, p. 68, P. 53. 503; cf. Nascimbene 2009, pp. 101-109.

33 Brusić 2000a, P. XIV. 5; Blečić Kavur 2009, pp. 236-241, Fig. 5. 11. For the same fibula, the distribution map should be supplemented with several examples from the territory of southern Italy, cf. Lo Schiavo 2010, P. 341. 4913-4917.

34 Brusić 2000a, P. XIV. 1, 2, 6; Glogović 2003, pp. 56, 57, P. 49. 419, 420. In the Italic sphere of the Este culture it was classified as a type XIIIa fibula with a small bow, based on A. M. Chieco Bianchi et al.

prostornih i kulturnih odnosa, istaknute nam fibule ukazuju na određenu bliskost sa sjevernijim prostorima italskog kopna, od Bologne i Este, do šireg alpskog i istočnoalpskog područja, dakle na kontakte udaljenih razmjera.<sup>36</sup> Isto tako svjedoče i o tzv. unutarnjem optjecanju trendova i dobara, na kraćoj udaljenosti između japodskoga i liburnskog područja, s jedne, te s picenskim prostorom, s druge strane.<sup>37</sup> U tom su iznimnom inventaru groba zastupljeni i elementi nošnje koji pak izravno afirmiraju povezanost sa zapadnim i središnjim balkanskim područjem.<sup>38</sup>

Čini se, međutim, da takva situacija nije izolirana pojava ni slučajnost karakteristična za Dragišić, već i ako pomnije razmotrimo iglu iz našeg groba 75. Prema načinu i shemi stilskog ukrašavanja glavice srodnosti toj igli možemo pronaći kod igala tipa *Capodaglio* prema tipologiji Gian Luigi Carancinija. One su značajne za sjevernoitalski prostor, gotovo identičan onome rasprostiranju fibule s dva puceta na luku alpskog tipa; od Bologne i Este, pa do Trentina i Lombardije gdje su se smatrale obilježjem nošnje 8. stoljeća pr. Kr.<sup>39</sup> (sl. 6). Najuvjerljivije usporedbe omogućuju nam primjeri iz estenskog područja, npr. iz groba Rebato 207,<sup>40</sup> ali su, isto tako, slične igle poznate i s područja Furlanije.<sup>41</sup> Vrlo podoban primjerak, dakako pripisan muškom grobu 8. stoljeća pr. Kr., potječe i iz znatno južnije picenske nekropole Novilara-Servici, grob 20,<sup>42</sup> premda se može prepostaviti da ih je onđe u raznim varijantama nađeno i više, kao uostalom i na cijelom picenskom teritoriju.

Međutim, u komparativnoj raščlambi slične, iako ne identične paralele možemo vidjeti u jugoistočnom alpskom prostoru današnje Slovenije posebno iz nekropola u Ljubljani i u Posočju, gdje su zastupljene u nešto većem broju, u brojnijim varijantama i u zatvorenim kontekstima grobnih cjelina (sl. 6).<sup>43</sup> Neobično

usklađen s višom apsolutnom kronologijom željeznog doba Italije posebno Bologne i Veija (Pare 1998; Pacciarelli 2001; Trachsel 2004; Nijboer 2010).

36 Peroni 1973, str. 72, sl. 22. 24; Teržan 1990, str. 102, 142, kat. br. 18-1; Nascimbene 2009, sl. 22.

37 Blečić Kavur 2009, str. 238-241, sl. 6.

38 Brusić 2000a, T. XII, T. XIII. 1, 2.

39 Carancini 1975, str. 288, T. 111D.

40 Carancini 1975, T. 67. 2199, 2206, 2209.

41 Carancini 1975, T. 67. 2210, T. 68. 2218.

42 Beinhauer 1985, T. 69. 815.

43 Zemljopisno još bliži nalaz igle istoga tipa potjecao je iz groba 223 nekropole Brežec kod Škocjana (Steffé De Piero 1977, str. 103, T. XX. 223/1), što je predlagala Biba Teržan (2002, str. 89, bilj. 33). Međutim, rijеч je ipak samo o igli s okruglom glavicom i znatnim oštećenjima na vratu, koji su na crtežu tako prikazani

these pins, should be foreseen already in phase II.B of the Liburnian culture, which may be chronologically more closely tied to Este phase III.B at the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> and early 7<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>35</sup> In the sense of valuation of spatial and cultural relations, the highlighted fibulae point to a certain similarity to the northern territories of the Italic inland, from Bologna to Este, to the wider Alpine and eastern Alpine zone, thus to contacts with of distant proportions.<sup>36</sup> By the same token, they testify to the so-called internal circulation of trends and good, the shorter distance between the Japodian and Liburnian territories, on the one hand, and the Picene territory on the other.<sup>37</sup> In this exceptional inventory of graves, elements of attire are certainly present which directly affirm ties to the western and central Balkans.<sup>38</sup>

It would appear, however, that this is not an isolated phenomenon, nor a coincidence typical of Dragišić, simply based on a more thorough inspection of the pin in question from grave 75. Based on the stylistic ornamentation method and scheme of the head, similarities to this pin can be found among the *Capodaglio* pins based on Gian Luigi Carancini's typology. They were significant in the northern Italic zone, almost identical to the distribution of fibulae with two knobs on the bow of Alpine type; from Bologna and Este, to Trentino and Lombardy, where they were deemed a feature of attire in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>39</sup> (Fig. 6). The most convincing comparisons are afforded by the examples from Este territory, e.g. from Rebato grave 207,<sup>40</sup> although, by the same token, the pins known from Friuli are also similar.<sup>41</sup> A very suitable example, ascribed to a man's grave from the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, originated in the considerably more southerly Picenian necropolis of Novilara-Servici, grave 20,<sup>42</sup> although it may be

(Chieco Bianchi et al. 1976, pp. 18, 19, P. 13. 3-5). They were not a common find in the Eastern Adriatic seaboard, and for now only one other sporadic example from Nin is known (Glogović 2003, P. 49. 421).

35 Trachsel 2004, pp. 234, 235, Fig. 141, Fig. 156, Fig. 195; cf. Pare 1998, P. 2. In the relative chronology of the Este culture, the periodization system devised by Renato Peroni is used (1975, Fig. 116; Capuis, Chieco Bianchi 2006, p. 485) revised and aligned with the higher absolute chronology of Iron Age Italy, particularly Bologna and Veii (Pare 1998; Pacciarelli 2001; Trachsel 2004; Nijboer 2010).

36 Peroni 1973, p. 72, Fig. 22. 24; Teržan 1990, pp. 102, 142, cat. no. 18-1; Nascimbene 2009, Fig. 22.

37 Blečić Kavur 2009, pp. 238-241, Fig. 6.

38 Brusić 2000a, P. XII, P. XIII. 1, 2.

39 Carancini 1975, p. 288, P. 111D.

40 Carancini 1975, P. 67. 2199, 2206, 2209.

41 Carancini 1975, P. 67. 2210, P. 68. 2218.

42 Beinhauer 1985, P. 69. 815.

srodne igle poznate su iz Mokronoga-Božji grob pri Slepšku,<sup>44</sup> Mosta na Soči<sup>45</sup> te iz tolminske nekropole. Ondje su definirane kao varijanta IV/2a igala s polukružnom glavicom, iako su one vrlo bliske izdvojenoj varijanti IV/Ia prema Ani Pogačnik.<sup>46</sup> Nešto veći broj sličnih primjeraka nalazi se i na nekropoli Ljubljane,<sup>47</sup> a u znatnoj su mjeri raspoređene na čitavom prostoru Dolenjske<sup>48</sup> (sl. 6).

Kontekst njihova nalaženja i kombinaciju repertoara ostalih nalaza u grobovima, kronološki su ih smještali u tijek 8. stoljeća, te, izuzetno, u rano 7. stoljeće pr. Kr.,<sup>49</sup> što korespondira s relativnim Sv. Lucija Ia/b stupnjem, koji je upravo sinkron s ljubljanskim II. a/b fazom, odnosno s Este IIB/C iz vremena oko sredine 8. stoljeća pr. Kr.<sup>50</sup> Međutim, Martin Trachsel podiže te stupnjeve već u vrijeme sredine 9. stoljeća, oko 800. godine pr. Kr. i malo nakon nje, smatrajući igle tog

assumed that even more were found there in a number of variants, as in the entirety of Picenian territory.

However, in a comparative breakdown of similar, albeit not identical parallels, it can be seen in many variants even in the closed contexts of grave units in the south-eastern Alpine zone of today's Slovenia, particularly from the necropolises in Ljubljana and in the Soča River valley, where they are present in a somewhat higher number (Fig. 6).<sup>43</sup> Unusually similar pins are known from Mokronog-Božji grob at Slepšek,<sup>44</sup> Most na Soči<sup>45</sup> and from the Tolmin necropolis. There they were defined as variant IV/2a pins with semi-spherical heads, even though they are very similar to the separate IV/Ia variant according to Ana Pogačnik.<sup>46</sup> A somewhat higher number of similar examples can also be found at the Ljubljana necropolis,<sup>47</sup> and they are distributed over the entire territory of Dolenjska to a considerable degree (Fig. 6).<sup>48</sup>

The context of their discovery in combination with the repertoire of other grave goods has chronologically placed them in the 8<sup>th</sup> century and, exceptionally, in the early 7<sup>th</sup> century BC,<sup>49</sup> corresponding to the relative Sveta Lucija Ia/b phase, which is actually

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(iscrtavanjem) da uistinu asociraju na igle tipa *Capodaglio*. Eventualno bi se navedenoj skupini mogla pridružiti igla iz groba 241 iste nekropole (Steffé De Piero 1977, str. 105, T. XXI. 241/2), koja doista ima više rebara na vratu. Njoj pak nedostaje sama glavica da bi mogla sa sigurnošću biti pripisana nekom od poznatih tipova. Nepravilnosti se stoga javljaju i kod kartografije tih igala kod Lucije Grahek koja čak dva primjerka s te nekropole pripisuje predmetnom tipu (Grahek 2004, sl. 30).

44 Dular 2003, str. 117, T. 8. 2.

45 Marchesetti 1893, T. XXIII. 12.

46 Pogačnik 2002, str. 47, sl. 32b; Svoljšak, Pogačnik 2001, T. 28. 2, T. 40. 3, T. 68. 2, T. 76. 11. Različite (oblikovne i tehnološke) izvedbe igala tretirane su unutar istog tipa, ali različite varijante (Pogačnik 2002, sl. 32b). Posljedica toga je izjednačavanje pri kartiranju svih tih igala kod L. Grahek, iako se igle s polukružnom glavicom i rebrastim vratom moraju razlikovati od igala s glavicom gusto poredanih kuglastih zadebljanja, koje tako ukazuju i na drugačiju prostornu raspoređenosť, što je uostalom već i pokazano u referentnom radu G. L. Carancinija (1975, T. 111D usp. s T. 112F).

47 Puš 1971, T. 15. 7, T. 34. 2, T. 35. 1.

48 Grahek 2004, sl. 30.

49 Teržan 2002, str. 89; Grahek 2004, str. 138.

50 Pare 1998, str. 325, 326, sl. 12, T. 2, T. 4. R. Peroni približno i uopćeno preuzima podatke s prostora istočne obale Jadrana i njegova zaleđa, definirajući unutar jedne od inačica igala tipa *Capodaglio* primjerke iz Kompolja, Jezerina ili Gorice, svrstavajući ih tako u značajne elemente jadranske *koiné* (Peroni 1973, str. 76, sl. 24. 11). Činjenica je da pomnijom analizom tih igala one ne mogu biti pridružene niti približnoj varijanti igala tipa *Capodaglio*, već odražavaju regionalne, tj. lokalne izvedbe široko popularnih i rasprostranjenih modela igala.

43 Geographically, an even closer find of a pin of the same type originated in grave 223 at the necropolis in Brežec, near Škocjan (Steffé De Piero 1977, p. 103, P. XX. 223/1), which was proposed by Biba Teržan (2002, p. 89, note 33). However, this is just a pin with a round head and considerable damage on the neck, which was shown as such in the sketch so that it is truly associated with the *Capodaglio* pin. Possibly the pin from grave 241 in the same necropolis could be joined to this group (Steffé De Piero 1977, p. 105, P. XXI. 241/2), which truly has more ribs on the neck. The head itself is missing, preventing its certain attribution to one of the known types. Irregularities thus appear even in the cartography of these pins by Lucija Grahek, who attributed two examples from this necropolis to the type in question (Grahek 2004, Fig. 30).

44 Dular 2003, p. 117, P. 8. 2.

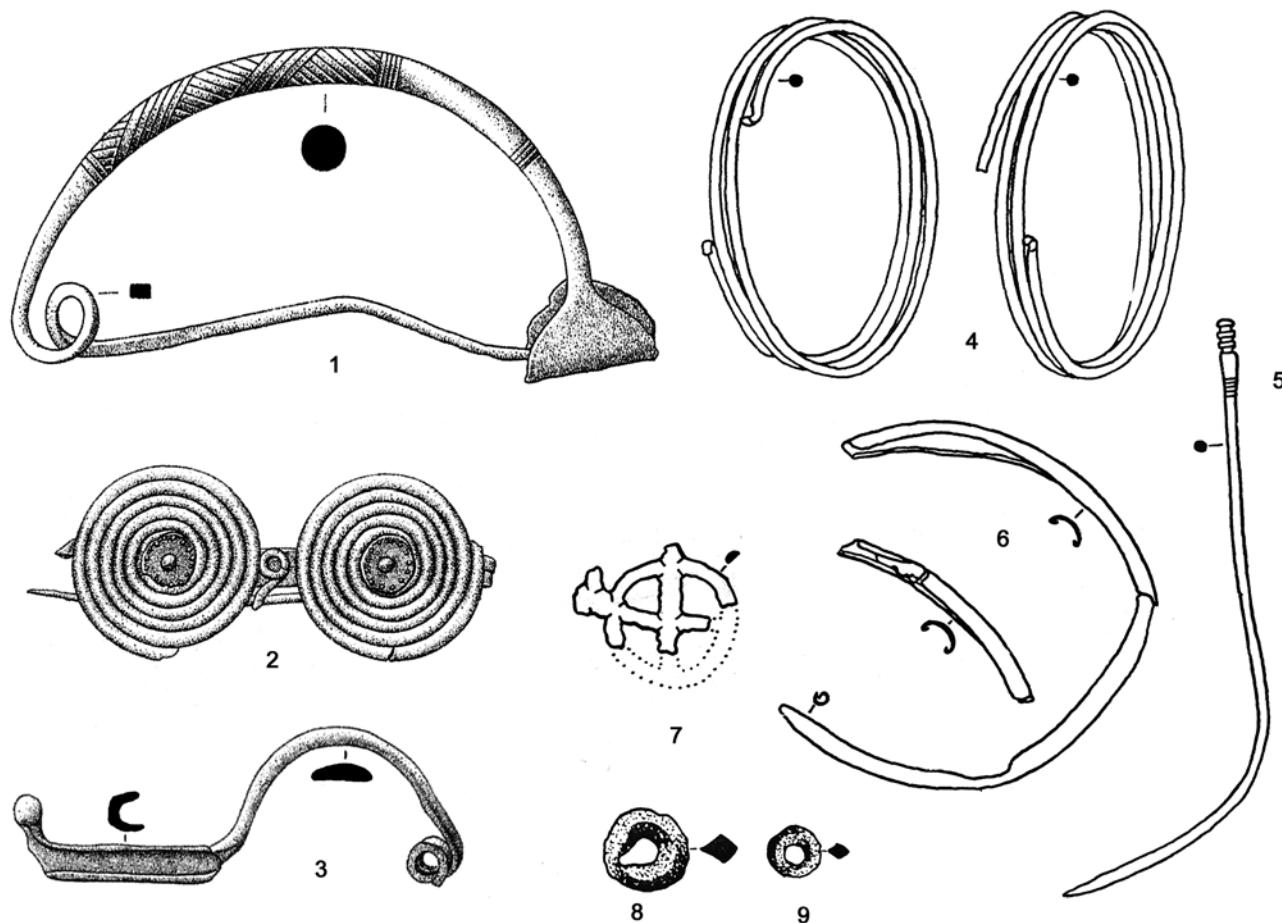
45 Marchesetti 1893, P. XXIII. 12.

46 Pogačnik 2002, p. 47, Fig. 32b; Svoljšak, Pogačnik 2001, P. 28. 2, P. 40. 3, P. 68. 2, P. 76. 11. Various (in the formal and technological sense) renderings of the pin were treated within the same type, but in several variants (Pogačnik 2002, Fig. 32b). A result of this is that all of these pins are equated in the mapping done by L. Grahek, even though the pins with semi-spherical heads and ribbed necks must differ from the pins with densely arranged spherical knobs, which thus indicate a different spatial layout, and this was in fact demonstrated in the baseline work by G. L. Carancini (1975, P. 111D cf. P. 112F).

47 Puš 1971, P. 15. 7, P. 34. 2, P. 35. 1.

48 Grahek 2004, Fig. 30.

49 Teržan 2002, p. 89; Grahek 2004, p. 138.



*Sl. 7. Inventar groba 30 iz nekropole u Ninu (prilagođeno prema Batović 1962; Glogović 2003)*  
*Fig 7. Goods from grave 30 in the necropolis in Nin (adapted according to Batović 1962; Glogović 2003)*

tipa upravo odlučujućim čimbenicima za kronološko i horološko vrednovanje, pored ostalih, i uz male lučne fibule s jantarnim zrnom na luku,<sup>51</sup> tipološki gotovo identične našem primjerku (T. 2. 13). Zbog toga nam izravno i izričito ukazuju na njihovu istovremenu prisutnost u modi širokog, kulturno heterogenog prostora od sjeverne Italije do prostranog područja Panonije, s jedne strane<sup>52</sup> (sl. 6). S druge strane, zastupljene su sve do južnoga italskog kopna te dalje do onih iz Sardinije i kulture Nuragi također 8. stoljeća pr. Kr., gdje se nerijetko javljaju i u zavjetnim kontekstima važnih svetišta<sup>53</sup> (sl. 6).

Na koncu, uvažavajući veličinu izvedbe glavice te broj rebara na vratu, našu iglu ipak najuže možemo povezati uz gotovo identične primjerke s estenskog prostora,<sup>54</sup> a zbog različitosti i brojnih varijacija na

synchronous with Ljubljana phase II a/b, and Este IIB/C from roughly the mid-8<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>50</sup> However, Martin Trachsel moved these phases back to the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century, to approximately the year 800 BC and slightly afterward, believing pins of this type were actually the decisive factors for chronological and horological evaluation of, among other things, the small bow fibula with amber bead on the bow,<sup>51</sup> typologically almost identical to this example (P. 2. 13). Because of this, they directly and explicitly indicate their simultaneous

50 Pare 1998, pp. 325, 326, Fig. 12, P. 2, P. 4. R. Peroni approximately and generally took the data from the eastern Adriatic coast and its hinterland, defining examples from Kompolje, Jezerine or Gorica with one of the *Capodaglio* pin variants, thereby classifying them with significant elements of the Adriatic *koiné* (Peroni 1973, p. 76, Fig. 24. 11). A more thorough analysis of these pins indeed shows that they cannot even be classified into a proximate variant of *Capodaglio* pins, rather they reflect regional, i.e., local renderings of a broadly popular and widespread pin model.

51 Trachsel 2004, pp. 231-234.

51 Trachsel 2004, str. 231-234.

52 Teržan 1990, str. 154, 155, sl. 38, kat. br. 23; Grahek 2004, str. 138, sl. 30.

53 Usai, Zucca 2011, str. 344, 345, sl. 43.

54 Carancini 1975, T. 67. 2199-2204.

temu izvedbe morali bismo pomisljati i na izdvajanje podtipova i varijanti koje se odražavaju u pojedinim regijama.

U toj povezanosti valja razumijevati i drugu iglu iz istoga groba 75, koju odlikuje *glavica gusto pore-danih kuglasto profiliranih zadebljanja* (kat. br. 6). Svojstveno joj je to da je i ona većih dimenzija i svijena u donjem dijelu, pa po svemu može svoje paralele dobiti kod primjeraka iz grobova 386 i 432 tolminske nekropole,<sup>55</sup> baš kao i kod igala iz Mosta na Soči.<sup>56</sup> Te su igle, kako smo vidjeli, neprikladno klasificirane varijantom IV/3a prema A. Pogačnik, a odredene isto u 8. stoljeće pr. Kr.<sup>57</sup>

Zanimljivo je navesti da jedan posebno sličan primjerak velike igle istog tipa glavice potječe kao pojedinačni nalaz iz Donje Doline,<sup>58</sup> koja je potvrđeno bila bliže povezana s jugoistočnim alpskim prostorom.

Na nasuprotnom, italskom prostoru relevantna je datacija uglavnom zatvorenih cjelina venetskog i emilijskog područja, s najsrodnijim primjercima igala u Sorgà ili u Este, Villa Benvenuti 64, 89.<sup>59</sup> Prema mišljenju Ch. Pare, taj je tip igala podesan za obilježavanje estenskog IIIA stupnja, koji je uskladio s posljednjom četvrtinom 8. stoljeća,<sup>60</sup> premda je njegova pozicija sada razmatrana već i u vremenu prve polovice 8. stoljeća pr. Kr.<sup>61</sup>

Nadalje, opisane su igle po mnogočemu srodne s iglama tipa *Molaroni* prema G. L. Caranciniju, koje obilježavaju sinkronu modnu i praktičnu primjenu na prostoru picenskog IIB/IIIA stupnja druge polovice 8. stoljeća, s trajanjem do u 7. stoljeće pr. Kr.<sup>62</sup> Takva

presence in the fashion of a broad, culturally heterogeneous swath of territory from northern Italy to the spacious Pannonian zone on the one hand (Fig. 6).<sup>52</sup> On the other hand, they are present up to the southern Italic mainland and beyond to those from Sardinia and the Nuragi culture, also of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, where they not infrequently appeared in the votive contexts of more important shrines (Fig. 6).<sup>53</sup>

Finally, bearing in mind the size of the head's rendering and the number of ribs on the neck, this pin may nonetheless be linked to the almost identical examples from Este territory,<sup>54</sup> but the diversity and numerous variations on the theme of rendering should prompt considerations of breaking it down into sub-types and variants which were retained in individual regions.

The other pin from the same grave, 75, should also be understood with this same connection; it is characterized by a *head of densely arranged spherically moulded knobs* (cat. no. 6). Another of its qualities is that it has larger dimensions and is curved in the lower section, so all this means it may have its parallels among the examples from graves 386 and 432 of the Tolmin necropolis,<sup>55</sup> just like the pins from Most na Soči.<sup>56</sup> These pins, as shown, were inappropriately classified to variant IV/3a according to A. Pogačnik, and also placed in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>57</sup>

It is interesting to note that a rather similar example of a large pin with the same type of head originated as an individual find from Donja Dolina,<sup>58</sup> which was verifiably more closely connected to the south-east Alpine zone.

In the opposite, Italic zone, the relevant dating of closed units of the Veneto and Aemilian territory, with the most similar examples of pins in Sorgà or Este, Villa Benvenuti 64, 89.<sup>59</sup> According to Ch. Pare, this pine type was set to mark Este phase IIIA, which he

55 Svoljšak, Pogačnik 2001, T. 74. 1, T. 84. 5.

56 Marchesetti 1893, T. XXIII. 10.

57 Pogačnik 2002, str. 47, sl. 32b.

58 Truhelka 1903, str. 550, T. LIII. 33; Marić 1964, T. I. 7; Gavranović 2011, str. 167, kat. br. 78, sl. 98. 9. Mario Gavranović pridružuje ju pak, unatoč izrazito kuglasto profiliranim zadebljanjima, *iglama s narebrenim gornjim dijelom*, glavice i vrata, te ih stoga uspoređuje s nešto različitijim varijantama, koje se, doduše također nalaze duž čitavog srednjoeuropskog prostora od kraja kasnog brončanog i tijekom početnog željeznog doba (Říhovský 1979, str. 220, 221).

59 Carancini 1975, str. 310-312, T. 78. 2504, 2522, T. 112F; Capuis, Chieco Bianchi 2006, T. 21. 23, T. 74. 15.

60 Pare 1998, str. 319-322, sl. 12. 21, T. 2.

61 Trachsel 2004, str. 234, sl. 156, sl. 195; Nijboer 2010, str. 14.

62 Carancini 1975, str. 322, T. 111F; Pare 1998, str. 325, 326, sl. 14, T. 2.

52 Teržan 1990, pp. 154, 55, Fig. 38, cat. no. 23; Grahek 2004, p. 138, Fig. 30.

53 Usai, Zucca 2011, pp. 344-345, Fig. 43.

54 Carancini 1975, P. 67. 2199-2204.

55 Svoljšak, Pogačnik 2001, P. 74. 1, P. 84. 5.

56 Marchesetti 1893, P. XXIII. 10.

57 Pogačnik 2002, p. 47, Fig. 32b.

58 Truhelka 1903, p. 550, P. LIII. 33; Marić 1964, P. I. 7; Gavranović 2011, p. 167, cat. no. 78, Fig. 98. 9. Mario Gavranović, despite the notable spherically moulded knobs, added it to the *pins with ribbed upper section*, head and neck, and thus compared them to the somewhat different variations which, certainly, can also be found all along the Central European zone from the end of the Late Bronze Age and during the initial Iron Age (Říhovský 1979, pp. 220, 221).

59 Carancini 1975, pp. 310-312, P. 78. 2504, 2522, P. 112F; Capuis, Chieco Bianchi 2006, P. 21. 23, P. 74. 15.

nam je igla poznata iz ninskoga groba 30<sup>63</sup> (sl. 7. 5) i vrijedna je za dataciju te grobne cjeline upravo u 7. stoljeće pr. Kr., konzervativno tretirane u nižoj kronološkoj shemi.<sup>64</sup>

### Fibule

U klasi modnog oblika nadregionalne osobitosti, nakon igala, možemo razmatrati i jedan od ukupno tri tipa fibula koja su zastupljena u grobovima Velike Mrdakovice. Riječ je o fibuli tipa *protocertosa* s kuglicom na kraju nožice koja je sa pet primjeraka bila zastupljena u grobu 113 (kat. br. 26-30, T. 3). Dvije su fibule klasične sheme izradbe, izdignutoga luka, duge noge snažno profiliranog C-presjeka, s malom ovoidnom i/ili nepravilnom kuglicom na njezinom kraju (kat. br. 28-29). S obzirom na značajke lećastog presjeka luka, dva navoja u spirali glave, i samo oblikovanje kuglice, mogu se svrstati u tip A, varijante A/B prema izdavna predloženoj klasifikaciji Fulvie Lo Schiavo.<sup>65</sup> Jedna od fibula klasične sheme izradbe ima međutim posve pločasto raskovan luk, pravokutno istanjenog presjeka (kat. br. 30), koji je zato udaljuje

63 Batović 1962, T. Y37. 4; Glogović 2003, str. 14, kat. br. 40; kat. br. 143; kat. br. 553.

64 Gundula Hiller predlagala je višu dataciju fibula tipa *protocertosa* i samim time smatrala je da predmetni grob valja smjestiti u kasno 7. stoljeće pr. Kr. (Hiller 1991, str. 115). D. Glogović se, međutim, nije odlučila za podrobniju analizu i dataciju grobne cjeline, smatrajući je neautentičnom zbog kronološki različito vrednovanih elemenata nošnje, odnosno datirajući lučnu fibulu u 9. stoljeće, iglu tipa *Molaroni* u 8./7. stoljeće te fibulu tipa *protocertosa* u 6./5. stoljeće pr. Kr. (Glogović 1989, str. 22), odnosno tretirajući je "diplomatski" u vrijeme "Hallstattzeit" (Glogović 2003, str. 15). Vrijedi međutim porazmisliti o tezi G. Hiller i prihvati mogućnost datiranja groba, kao zatvorene cjeline, u 7. stoljeće pr. Kr. zbog sljedećeg (sl. 7): spomenute lučne fibule s geometrijskim urezanim ukrasom na luku doista se pojavljuju u I. liburnskoj fazi, tj. HaB, kako je pisala D. Glogović, ali im je ondje bio tek početak i nedvojbeno ih nalazimo i u sljedećim fazama (Batović 1987, str. 349, 350). Uostalom, takav se predmet može tumačiti i kao naslijedena ili starija dragocjenost koja je nešto starija od većine priloženih predmeta. Budući da se naočalasta fibula s malom osmicom te ogrlice/narukvice od brončanog lima šupljeg C-presjeka smještaju, baš kao i igla tipa *Molaroni*, u 9./8. stoljeće, s trajanjem do u 7. stoljeće, čini se uvjerljivim tu dataciju prilagoditi fibuli tipa *protocertosa*, najstarije razvojne faze i stoga grob smjestiti u 7. stoljeće pr. Kr., kad se te fibule doista proizvode već i na prostoru istočne obale Jadrana (raspravu o tome vidjeti dalje u tekstu).

65 Lo Schiavo 1970, str. 446, T. XXXI. 3, 4.

aligned with the final quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC,<sup>66</sup> although its position is now considered also in the first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>61</sup>

Furthermore, the described pins are in many ways similar to the *Molaroni* pins according to G. L. Carancini, which marked a synchronous fashionable and practical application in the territory of Picenian phases IIB/IIIA in the latter half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, lasting into the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>62</sup> Such a pin is known from Nin grave 30 (Fig. 7. 5)<sup>63</sup> and is valuable in dating this grave unit to the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, conservatively considered in the lower chronological scheme.<sup>64</sup>

### Fibulae

One of the three types of fibulae present in the graves at Velika Mrdakovica may be considered, after pins, in the category of fashionable accessories with su-

60 Pare 1998, pp. 319-322, Fig. 12. 21, P. 2.

61 Trachsel 2004, pp. 234, Fig. 156, Fig. 195; Nijboer 2010, p. 14.

62 Carancini 1975, p. 322, P. 111F; Pare 1998, pp. 325, 326, Fig. 14, P. 2.

63 Batović 1962, P. Y37. 4; Glogović 2003, p. 14, cat. no. 40; cat. no. 143; cat. no. 553.

64 Gundula Hiller proposed several datings for *proto-Certosa* type fibulae and she thereby believed that this grave should be placed on the late 7<sup>th</sup> century BC (Hiller 1991, p. 115). D. Glogović, however, did not opt for a more thorough analysis and dating of the grave unit, deeming it inauthentic due to the chronologically differently evaluated attire elements, i.e., dating the fibula to the 9<sup>th</sup> century, the *Molaroni* type pin to the 8<sup>th</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> centuries and the *proto-Certosa* type fibula to the 6<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC (Glogović 1989, p. 22), and "diplomatically" treating it as something from the "Hallstattzeit" (Glogović 2003, p. 15). It is nonetheless worthwhile to consider G. Hiller's hypothesis and accept the possibility of dating the grave, as a closed unit, to the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, for the following reasons (Fig. 7): the aforementioned bow fibula with a geometrically engraved ornament on the bow truly appeared in the first Liburnian phase, i.e., HaB, as Glogović wrote, but that was only their start, and they were undeniably found in the later phases (Batović 1987, pp. 349, 350). Additionally, such an item may also be interpreted as an inherited or older heirloom which is somewhat older than the remaining grave goods. Since spectacle fibulae with a small figure eight and necklaces/bracelets made of sheet bronze with a thin C-shaped cross-section are dated, just like *Molaroni* pins, to the 9<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> centuries with a duration lasting to the 7<sup>th</sup> century, it would appear plausible to adapt this dating to the *proto-Certosa* fibula of the oldest developmental phase, and place the grave in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, when these fibulae were truly already produced in the Eastern Adriatic seaboard (see below for further discussion).

od navedenih varijanti i približava tipu B, varijante A prema tipologiji iste autorice.<sup>66</sup>

Veću pozornost zaokupljaju, međutim, preostale dvije fibule, koje pokazuju određene samosvojnosti i do sada ne toliko zapažene detalje na istim fibulama s ovih prostora. Prva fibula (kat. br. 26) ima potpuno pločasto raskovan luk usmjeren prema nožici fibule koji je ukrašen iskucanim ispučenjima sitnih točaka postavljenima u paru, uz rubove luka. Druga se pak fibula prema osnovnim odlikama može izravno povezati uz navedeni tip A fibula *protocertosa*, posve okruglog presjeka luka (kat. br. 27). Međutim, ona ima izveden dodatni ukras urezanih snopova od tri linije u cik-cak izduženom ornamentu na dugoj, gornjoj strani nožice fibule. To jest zanimljivost, no ne i posebnost fibule, budući da je rijetko, ali ipak već zapažena na predmetnim fibulama. Znatno je, međutim, rjede uočena izvedba zaključka kraja nožice, koji je uzdignut, raščlanjen s dvije kuglice i usmjeren prema naprijed. To je čini doista jedinstvenim primjerkom i izdvaja iz svih do sada poznatih skupina i klasifikacija fibula tipa *protocertosa*.

Urezani cik-cak motiv poznat je na nekoliko primjera fibula tipa *protocertosa* iz prozorske nekropole, gdje valja istaknuti siguran podatak za grob 35.<sup>67</sup> Međutim, nalazi se i u primjeni na fibulama tipa *Kompolje* s ptičjom unatrag povijenom glavicom na kraju noge, također iz japodskog Kompolja, grob 224,<sup>68</sup> koja se nerijetko nalazi upravo s fibulama tipa *protocertosa*. Nadalje, uzdignut i s više kuglica raščlanjen zaključak nožice na istom je tipu fibule poznat još jedino iz grobova ljubačke Kose, doduše bez preciznijeg konteksta nalaženja.<sup>69</sup> Srođan, iako ne i identičan primjerak potječe i iz nekropole japodskog Prozora,<sup>70</sup> dok se nešto udaljenije paralele nalaze i kod južnoitalских primjera iz Sale Consiliane i Calatije.<sup>71</sup> U svakom slučaju, već površnim pogledom na tu fibulu (T. 3. 27) ne možemo se oteti dojmu izrazito neuobičajene izradbe, čiji ukras neodoljivo podsjeća na ukras fibula s tri kuglice na luku (*a tre bottoni*). Iznimno asocijativno upućuje na najrasprostranjeniju varijantu fibula tipa *Grotazzolina*<sup>72</sup> ili tip II istih i srodnih

pra-regional specificity. This is a *proto-Certosa* fibula with a small globule at the end of the foot, 5 exemplars of which were present in grave 113 (cat. no. 26-30, P. 3). Two fibulae have a classical rendering scheme, with a raised bow, a long foot and strongly articulated C-shaped cross-section, and with a small ovoid and/or lopsided globule at its end (cat. no. 28-29). Given the features of the lentil-shaped cross-section of the bow, the two coils in the spiral of the head and the very shaping of the small globule, it may be described as type A, variant A/B according to the proposed typological classification made by Fulvia Lo Schiavo.<sup>65</sup> One of the classically-rendered fibulae, however, has a hammer-flattened bow, a rectangularly thinned cross-section (cat. no. 30), which therefore keeps it from the aforementioned variant and brings it closer to type B, variant A based on the same scholar's typology.<sup>66</sup>

More noteworthy, however, are the two remaining fibulae, which exhibit certain unique properties and until then not as frequently noted details on the same fibulae from this region. The first fibula (cat. no. 26) has an entirely hammer-flattened bow oriented toward the fibula's foot, which is adorned with embossed protrusions consisting of tiny points set in pairs along the bow's edge. The other fibula may, in line with its basic features, be directly linked with this aforementioned type A *proto-Certosa* fibula, with entirely round cross-section (cat. no. 27). However, it has an additionally rendered decoration of engraved knots consisting of three lines in an oblong zigzag ornament on the long, upper face of the fibula's foot. This is indeed interesting, albeit not specific to this fibula, for although rare it has already been noted on the fibulae in question. What is significant, however, is the more rarely observed rendering of the tip of the foot's end, which is raised, articulated into two small globules and oriented forward. This makes it a truly unique exponent and distinguishes it from all of the thus-far known groups and classifications of *proto-Certosa* type fibulae.

The engraved zigzag motif is known on several examples of *proto-Certosa* fibulae from the Prozor necropolis, where the verified data for grave 35 is noteworthy.<sup>67</sup> However, it can also be found applied to *Kompolje* type of bow fibulae with a backward-curved bird's head at the end of the foot, also from Japodian Kompolje, grave 224,<sup>68</sup> which are often found precisely with *proto-Certosa* fibulae. Furthermore, the only other raised foot end articulated by multiple globules is otherwise on the same fibula type known

66 Lo Schiavo 1970, str. 446, 447, T. XXXI. 8.

67 Drechsler-Bižić 1973, str. 33, T. XXI. 6.

68 Lo Schiavo 1970, str. 448, T. XXXII. 11; Blečić Kavur 2009, sl. 5. 4.

69 Brusić 2002, sl. 37. 3.

70 Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, neobjavljeno.

71 Lo Schiavo 2010, T. 338. 4854-4858.

72 Lo Schiavo 1970, str. 437, T. XXVIII. 1; usp. Percossi Serenelli 1989, str. 184, 185; Egg 1996, str. 187-189.

65 Lo Schiavo 1970, p. 446, P. XXXI. 3, 4.

66 Lo Schiavo 1970, pp. 446, 447, P. XXXI. 8.

67 Drechsler-Bižić 1973, p. 33, P. XXI. 6.

68 Lo Schiavo 1970, p. 448, P. XXXII. 11; Blečić Kavur 2009, Fig. 5. 4.

fibula na prostoru Slovenije.<sup>73</sup> Upravo je to razvidno kod fibule iz ninskoga groba 22 (sl. 17. 3), u kojem se nalazila i velika lučna fibula s jantarom na luku<sup>74</sup> ili pak kod fibule iz tumula u Skradniku, grob 2.<sup>75</sup>

Lokalna izradba obilježava i fibulu s raskovano pločastim i iskucanim lukom koja za sada nema pobliže paralele (kat. br. 26). Sukladno karakterističnom adoptiranju kod japodskog obrtništva, koje je uz izražajno specifične mjesne dorade obilježilo fibule s tri kuglice na luku ili fibule tipa *Certosa*, izgledno je da bi se i kod opisanih fibula iz Velike Mrdakovice moglo promišljati kao o mjesnim i/ili hibridnim inačicama, kao reakcijama na različito dominantne obrtničke i modne kapacitete namijenjene samo toj prilici, pri čemu je japodski obrtnički element/pokazatelj uvjernljivo bio neosporan.

Uopćeno, kronološka je slika glede fibula tipa *proto-certosa* prilično ustaljena, te se smatra kako je ona obilježila vrijeme sredine i druge polovice 7. stoljeća pr. Kr. na prostranom području čitavog italskog kopna, jadranskog bazena, i s njime povezanog jugoistočnog alpskog prostora. Što se tiče perspektive povezane uz jadranski bazen, njihovo je korištenje u nošnji srednjooitalskoga kulturnog kruga relativno sigurno definirano za područje Picena, jer su ondje izdvojene za vodeći tip ženske opreme tijekom IV. A/B faze istoimene kulture.<sup>76</sup> Sinkronizirano s njima određene su i za prostor Apulije i južne Italije,<sup>77</sup> a isto vrijedi i za njihovu distribuciju k sjevernijim predjelima estenskog III B2/C stupnja.<sup>78</sup> Tomu je sukladna i situacija na jugoistočnoalpskom prostoru, koji je bio izložen, i zato prilagođen, sjevernoitalskom kronološkom i kulturnom okviru.<sup>79</sup>

U ovoj raspravi iznimno je, međutim, zanimljiva okolnost koja je uz taj tip fibula vezana u središnjoj Liburniji. Ondje je njezino korištenje konvencionalno

from the graves in Kosa, at Ljubač, albeit without a more precise find context.<sup>69</sup> A similar but not identical example also came from the Japodian necropolis at Prozor,<sup>70</sup> while somewhat more remote parallels can also be found in the southern Italic examples from Sala Consilina and Calatia.<sup>71</sup> In any case, even after a superficial glance at this fibula (P. 3. 27), one cannot escape the impression of very unusual craftsmanship, with decoration that irresistibly recalls the fibula ornamentation with three small knobs on the bow (*a tre bottoni*). In an exceptionally associative manner, it points to the most widespread variant of the *Grotazzolina fibulae*<sup>72</sup> or type II of the same and similar fibulae in Slovenia's territory.<sup>73</sup> This is indeed apparent on the fibulae from Nin grave 22 (Fig. 17. 3), which contained a large bow fibula with an amber bead on the bow<sup>74</sup> or the fibula from the tumulus in Skradnik, grave 2.<sup>75</sup>

Local production also characterized the fibula with hammer-flattened and embossed bow which thus far has no close parallels (cat. no. 26). In line with the typical borrowing of Japodian artisanship, which, together with some expressively specific local refinements, characterized the fibulae with three small knobs on the bow or the *Certosa* fibulae, it is plausible to see the above-described fibulae from Velika Mrdakovica as local and/or hybrid variants, as a response to the differently dominant artisanal or fashionable capacity intended for just that occasion, wherein the Japodian artisanal element/indicator was rather convincingly beyond dispute.

Generally, the chronological picture pertaining to *proto-Certosa* fibulae is rather well-established, and it is deemed that its milieu was characterized by the period from the mid- and latter half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC in the extensive territory encompassing the entire Italian mainland, the Adriatic basin, and the connected southern Alpine zone. As to perspectives associated with the Adriatic basin, their use in the attire of the central Italic cultural sphere has been defined with relative certainty for Picenian territory, because there they were distinguished as the leading type of women's attire during phase IV A/B of the eponymous culture.<sup>76</sup> At the same time they were determined for

73 Ogrin 1998, str. 108, 109, sl. 10.

74 Hiller 1991, T. 31. 352; Glogović 2003, T. 52. 468.

75 Balen-Letunić 2000, str. 29, T. 9. 2.

76 Peroni 1973, str. 68, sl. 21. 1; Lollini 1976, str. 140, sl. 11; Percossi Serenelli 1989, str. 83, 187.

77 Papadopoulos 2003, str. 84; Lo Schiavo 2010, str. 529-553, T. 317. 4416, T. 338. 4853.

78 Frey 1969, str. 24, 40, 41, 96, T. 18. 6; Peroni 1973, str. 68, sl. 21. 1; Chieco Bianchi et al. 1976, str. 28, T. 20. 7; Chieco Bianchi, Calzavara Caupis 1985, str. 456; Eles Masi 1986, str. 207, T. 161. 2102, 2103, 2104-2015; usp. Trachsel 2004, str. 235, sl. 156, sl. 196.

79 Guštin, Knific 1975, str. 837, 838; Guštin 1975, str. 473, 474; Teržan, Trampuž 1975, str. 427; Gabrovec 1987b, str. 128. Ponešto detaljniji pregled tijeka tehnoško-kronološkog razvoja i tumačenja navedenih fibula vidjeti kod Teßmann 2001, str. 52-54.

69 Brusić 2002, Fig. 37. 3.

70 Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, unpublished.

71 Lo Schiavo 2010, P. 338. 4854-4858.

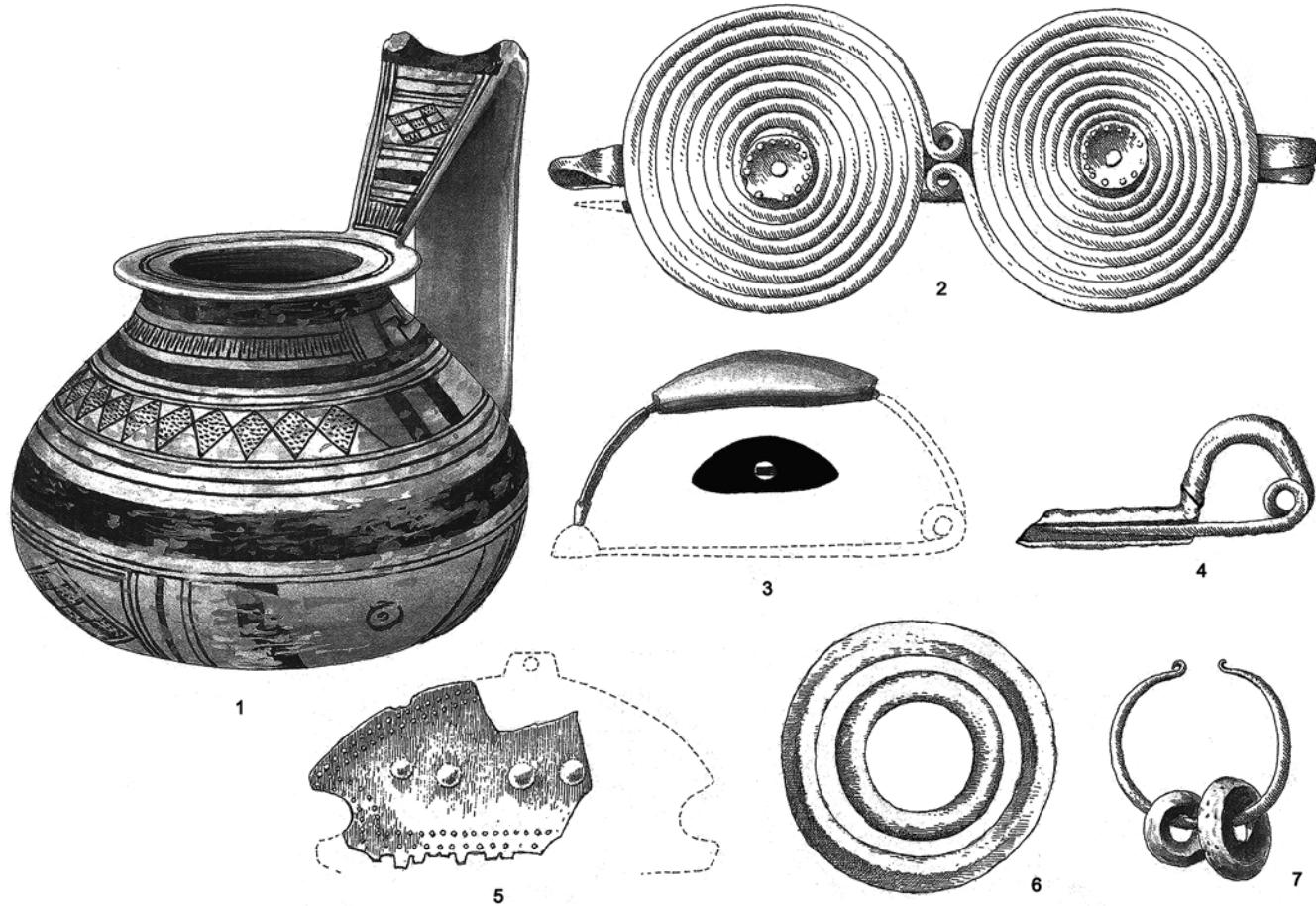
72 Lo Schiavo 1970, p. 437, P. XXVIII. 1; cf. Percossi Serenelli 1989, pp. 184, 185; Egg 1996, pp. 187-189.

73 Ogrin 1998, pp. 108, 109, Fig. 10.

74 Hiller 1991, P. 31. 352; Glogović 2003, P. 52. 468.

75 Balen-Letunić 2000, p. 29, P. 9. 2.

76 Peroni 1973, p. 68, Fig. 21. 1; Lollini 1976, p. 140, Fig. 11; Percossi Serenelli 1989, pp. 83, 187.



Sl. 8. Inventar groba 23 iz nekropole u Ninu (prilagođeno prema Batović 1968; Batović 1987)

Fig. 8. Goods from grave 23 in the Nin necropolis (adapted according to Batović 1968; Batović 1987)

smješteno u drugu polovinu 6. stoljeća s trajanjem do u 5. stoljeće pr. Kr. III. i IV. liburnske faze,<sup>80</sup> pri čemu je ključnu ulogu odigrala kombinacija nalaženja s fibulama tipa *Baška*, s keramikom daunijskog tipa i sl., u čiju su se svrhu učestalo isticali konteksti zatvorenih grobnih cjelina iz Nina i iz Zatona.<sup>81</sup> Tako postavljena kronološka sintagma ni u periodizacijskom, ni u semantičkom smislu gotovo da nikada nije bila doveđena u pitanje. No ona je sporna već pri primjeru nin-skoga groba 23 koji je korišten kao paradigma donje

the territory of Apulia and southern Italy,<sup>77</sup> and the same applies to their distribution toward the northern sections of the Este phase III B2/C.<sup>78</sup> The situation in the south-eastern Alpine zone also complies in this regard, for it was exposed, and thus adapted, to the northern Italic chronological and cultural framework.<sup>79</sup>

However, in this discussion a circumstance tied to this fibula in central Liburnia is exceptionally intriguing. In that area, its use has conventionally been placed in the latter half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century with a duration into

80 Batović 1976, str. 51, karta 8; Glogović 1989, str. 42; Glogović 2003, str. 77, 78.

81 Nin: grobovi 3, 23, 30, 53, 54...; Zaton: grob 3, 5 (Batović 1962, T. Y37; Batović 1965, T. 10. 7; Batović 1968, T. 15; Batović 1976, karta 8, sl. 23; Batović 1987, T. 40. 6; Lo Schiavo 1970, T. B; Starè 1970, T. 1. 8, T. 2. 6; Hiller 1991, T. 3. 31, 32, T. 16. 159, T. 47. 494, T. 49. 509, 512, 513; Glogović 2003, T. 55. 533, T. 56. 542-547, 549).

77 Papadopoulos 2003, p. 84; Lo Schiavo 2010, p. 529-553, P. 317. 4416, P. 338. 4853.

78 Frey 1969, pp. 24, 40-41, 96, P. 18. 6; Peroni 1973, p. 68, Fig. 21. 1; Chieco Bianchi et al. 1976, p. 28, P. 20. 7; Chieco Bianchi, Calzavara Caupis 1985, p. 456; Eles Masi 1986, p. 207, P. 161. 2102, 2103, 2104-2015; cf. Trachsel 2004, p. 235, Fig. 156, Fig. 196.

79 Guštin, Knific 1975, pp. 837, 838; Guštin 1975, pp. 473, 474; Teržan, Trampuž 1975, p. 427; Gabrovec 1987b, p. 128. For a somewhat more detailed overview of the course of technological/chronological development and interpretation of these fibulae, see Teßmann 2001, pp. 52-54.

granice uporabe naočalastih fibula, i to sredinom 6. stoljeća pr. Kr. za III. liburnske faze<sup>82</sup> (sl. 8).

Ponovnim pregledom predmetnoga groba ustanovljeno je kako, ponajprije, nije riječ o fibuli tipa *proto-certosa* s kuglicom na kraju noge, kako ju je odredila D. Glogović,<sup>83</sup> nego je tipološki riječ o italskom tipu pijavičaste fibule s dugom nogom (sl. 8. 4), na što je izdavna upozorila G. Hiller<sup>84</sup> i kako ju uostalom objavljuje sam Š. Batović.<sup>85</sup> D. Glogović je tom tipu pripisala samo fibule iz ninskih grobova 5 i 53<sup>86</sup> (sl. 11. 10). Pijavičaste fibule s dugom nogom izrađuju se i koriste već od početnog 7. stoljeća pr. Kr., pogotovo na italskom kopnu i, logički se, suvremeno i paralelno poglavito na estensko-padovanskom području, razvijaju s fibulama tipa *protocertosa*.<sup>87</sup> Nadalje, daunijski vrč spuštenog, vrećastog, trbuha ima sve morfološke, izvedbene i ukrasne tipične elemente koji ga svrstavaju u klasu južnodaunijiske I ili Ofanto I subgeometrijske keramike prema Douwe Yntemi (sl. 8. 1). Tako ga možemo pribrojiti njegovom tipu 2 – vrčeva s izdignutom, sedlastom ručkom, ravnog dna, ornamentalne sheme A, koju karakteriziraju horizontalne trake između gornjeg i donjeg dijela posude, na vratu, zatim koncentrični krugovi, flankiranje i sl., a posebno obilježje je točkast uzorak svih zatvorenih motiva, osobito rombova ili visecihi trokuta na rubnim i središnjim prizorima.<sup>88</sup> To su dakle sve odlike predmetnoga vrča, upravo kao i srodnih vrčeva iz zatonskoga groba 2<sup>89</sup> (sl. 16. 1) ili onog iz Zadra.<sup>90</sup> Pojava tzv. bikromnog slikanja, tj. uvodenje tankih crvenih linija bila je odlučujuća odrednica kojom se taj tip vrča pripisavao sredini 6. stoljeća pr. Kr.<sup>91</sup> Međutim, sada se pouzdano zna kako se takve tanke crvene linije upravo etabriraju u ovom keramografskom stilu daunijiske

the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, in Liburnian phases III and IV,<sup>80</sup> wherein a key role was played by the combination of their discovery with *Baška*-type fibulae, Daunian pottery and similar materials, for which purpose the context of closed grave units from Nin and Zaton have often been emphasized.<sup>81</sup> The chronological system set in this manner has never been questioned in the sense of either periodization or semantics. But it already becomes contestable when one considers the example of Nin grave 33, which was utilized as the paradigm for the lower boundary of use of spectacle fibulae, i.e., the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century BC for Liburnian phase III (Fig. 8).<sup>82</sup>

Upon a renewed examination of this grave, it was ascertained that, for example, this is not a *proto-Certosa* fibula with a small globule at the tip of the foot, as specified by D. Glogović,<sup>83</sup> rather typologically it is an Italic type of leech-shaped fibula with a long foot (Fig. 8. 4), which G. Hiller pointed out long before<sup>84</sup> as did Š. Batović himself.<sup>85</sup> Glogović only attributed the fibulae from Nin graves 5 and 53 to this type (Fig. 11. 10).<sup>86</sup> Leech-shaped fibulae with a long foot were made and used already since the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, especially in the Italic mainland and, logically, in Este/Paduan territory, they developed at the same time as and parallel to the *proto-Certosa* type.<sup>87</sup> Furthermore, a Daunian jug with a sagging, sack-shaped belly has all of the typical morphological, rendering and decorative elements that place it in the class of southern Daunian I or Ofanto I sub-geometric ware according to Douwe Yntema (Fig. 8. 1). Thus, it may be attributed to its type 2 – jugs with raised, saddle-shaped handles, flat bottoms and ornamental scheme A, which are characterized by horizontal bands

82 Batović 1968, T. XIII; Batović 1976, str. 77; Batović 1987, str. 350; Glogović 1979, str. 73; Glogović 1989, str. 22, 31; Glogović 2003, str. 28, 41.

83 Glogović 2003, T. 56. 542.

84 Hiller 1991, str. 366, T. 21. 226.

85 Batović 1968, T. XIII. 4. Izostavljujući neadekvatnu rekonstrukciju koja je bila ponuđena u prethodnoj objavi i sljedećim objavama istoga autora (Batović 1965, sl. 17. 7; Batović 1976, sl. 23. 3; Batović 1987, T. XXXIX. 3).

86 Glogović 2003, str. 65, T. 53. 483, 484.

87 Eles Masi 1986, str. 183, T. 140. 1774, 1785, 1786, T. 141. 1787, 1788.

88 Yntema 1990, str. 234-240.

89 Batović 1975, str. 344, T. 100. 2, 3; Glogović 2003, T. 41. 313, 314.

90 Lisičar 1973, str. 25, 26, T. XVIII. 67.

91 Glogović 1979, str. 73; Glogović 1989, str. 22, 31; Glogović 2003, str. 28, 41.

80 Batović 1976, p. 51, map 8; Glogović 1989, p. 42; Glogović 2003, pp. 77, 78.

81 Nin: graves 3, 23, 30, 53, 54...; Zaton: grave 3, 5 (Batović 1962, P. Y37; Batović 1965, P. 10. 7; Batović 1968, P. 15; Batović 1976, map 8, Fig. 23; Batović 1987, P. 40. 6; Lo Schiavo 1970, P. B; Starè 1970, P. 1. 8, P. 2. 6; Hiller 1991, P. 3. 31, 32, P. 16. 159, P. 47. 494, P. 49. 509, 512, 513; Glogović 2003, P. 55. 533, P. 56. 542-547, 549).

82 Batović 1968, P. XIII; Batović 1976, p. 77; Batović 1987, p. 350; Glogović 1979, p. 73; Glogović 1989, p. 22, 31; Glogović 2003, pp. 28, 41.

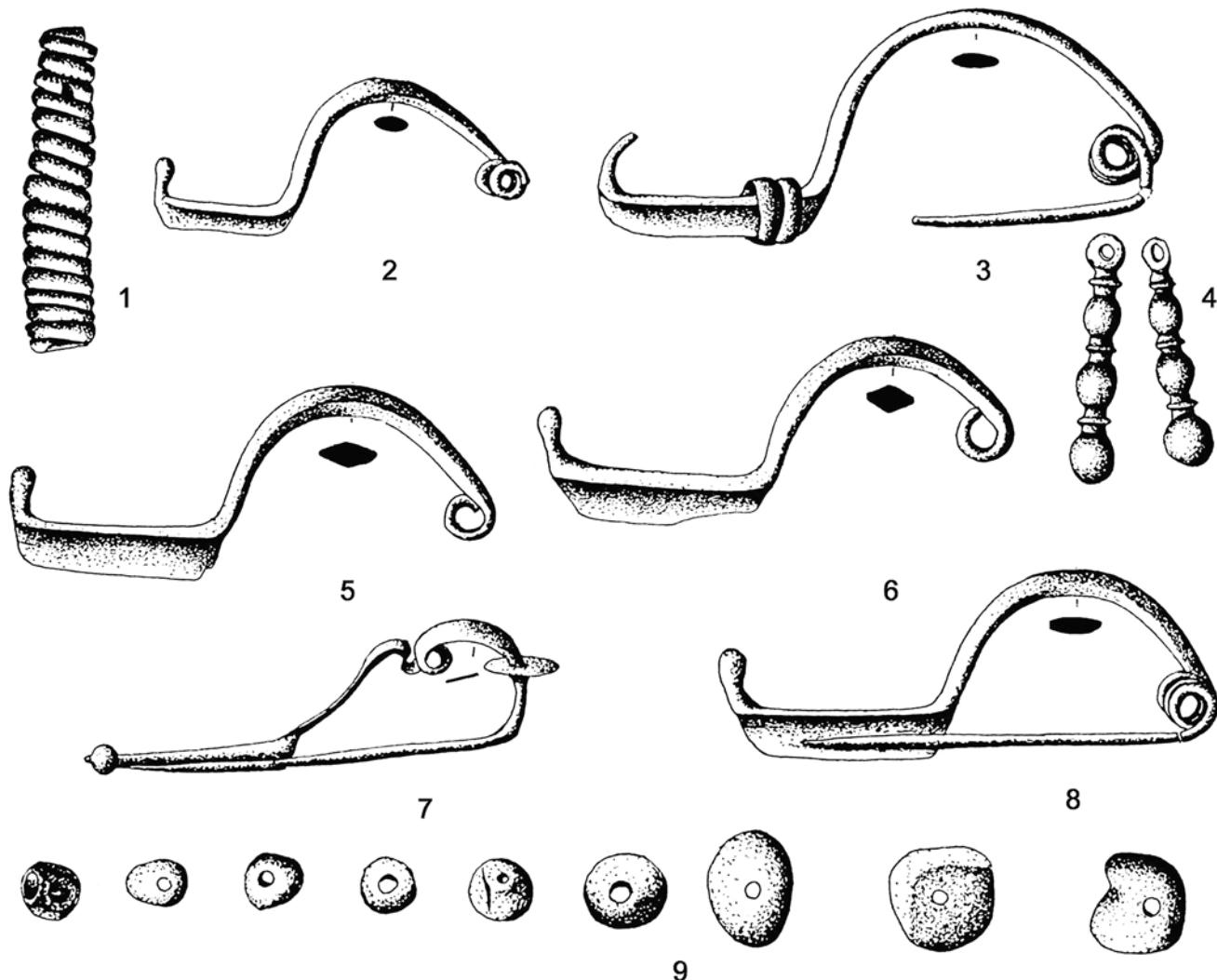
83 Glogović 2003, P. 56. 542.

84 Hiller 1991, p. 366, P. 21. 226.

85 Batović 1968, T. XIII. 4. Leaving out the inadequate reconstruction proffered in the preceding publication and the subsequent publications by the same scholar (Batović 1965, Fig. 17. 7; Batović 1976, Fig. 23. 3; Batović 1987, P. XXXIX. 3).

86 Glogović 2003, p. 65, P. 53. 483, 484.

87 Eles Masi 1986, p. 183, P. 140. 1774, 1785, 1786, P. 141. 1787, 1788.



Sl. 9. Inventar groba 6 iz nekropole u Prozoru (prema Drechsler-Bižić 1973)

Fig. 9. Goods from grave 6 in the necropolis in Prozor (according to Drechsler-Bižić 1973)

keramike, koja se, na koncu, i datira od sredine 7. pa do sredine 6. stoljeća pr. Kr.<sup>92</sup> Zbog toga valja prihvati višu dataciju ninskoga groba 23, a slijedom istog i zatonskoga groba 2, te ih razumijevati u kulturnom optjecaju već druge polovice 7. stoljeća pr. Kr., kako je to ranije predlagala i G. Hiller.<sup>93</sup>

Činjenica jest da su u gotovo svim liburnskim grobovima fibule tipa *protocertosa* bile u kombinaciji s

92 Yntema 1990, str. 236, 241.

93 Hiller 1991, str. 366. S time u vezi povlači se i reinterpretiranje donje datacijske granice naočalastih fibula na prostoru Liburnije i čitavom istočnojadranskom primorju. Izgledno je da će ona, shodno fibulama s jantarom na luku, ipak zaokružiti svoje modno korištenje tijekom 7. stoljeća pr. Kr., što će uostalom argumentirati i viša datacija groba 6 iz Gromačice na Rabu s fibulom tipa *Baška* najstarije ili prve generacije (Blečić Kavur 2010, str. 189-191).

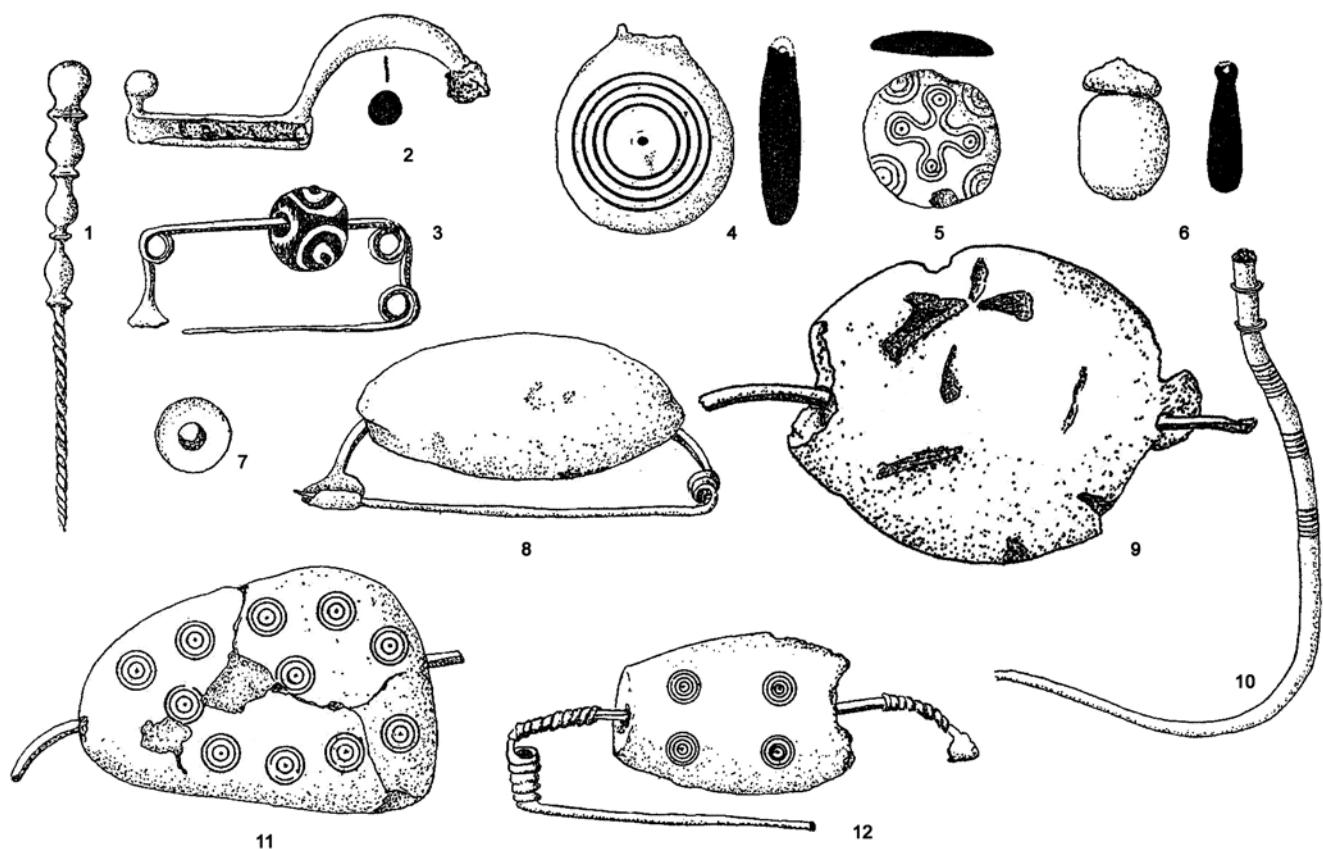
between the upper and lower sections of the vessel, on the neck, and then concentric circles, flanking, etc., while a particular feature is the dotted pattern of all closed motifs, particularly rhombuses or hanging triangles on the peripheral and central scenes.<sup>88</sup> These are thus all of the qualities of the jugs in question, just like those of the similar jugs from Zaton grave 2 (Fig. 16. 1)<sup>89</sup> or the one from Zadar.<sup>90</sup> The appearance of so-called bichrome painting, i.e., the introduction of thin red lines, was a decisive factor leading to the classification of this jug type to the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>91</sup> However, now it is known for certain that such thin

88 Yntema 1990, pp. 234-240.

89 Batović 1975, p. 344, P. 100. 2, 3; Glogović 2003, P. 41, 313, 314.

90 Lisičar 1973, pp. 25, 26, P. XVIII. 67.

91 Glogović 1979, p. 73; Glogović 1989, pp. 22, 31; Glogović 2003, pp. 28, 41.



Sl. 10. Inventar groba 63 iz nekropole u Kompolju (prema Drechsler-Bižić 1961)

Fig. 10. Goods from grave 63 in the Kompolje necropolis (according to Drechsler-Bižić 1961)

fibulama s dvije ili tri kuglice na luku, s fibulama tipa *Kompolje* s ptičjom unatrag povijenom nožicom, potom s fibulama tipa *Certosa* i tipa *Baška*, ali i s fibulama s jantarom na luku. Situacija iz južnjeg dijela Liburnije, odnosno iz nekropole u Dragišiću, već nas je upozoravala kako je i ondje njihovo korištenje moglo biti inauguirano u 7. stoljeću pr. Kr., pa bi grobovi 10 i 19<sup>94</sup> svakako podržavali tu višu dataciju. Okolnosti koje pak donju granicu tzv. *protocertoške mode* postavljaju sve do u 5. stoljeće pr. Kr., dobro su izražene i na području južne Dalmacije i njezina hercegovačkog zaleda,<sup>95</sup> čiji će pandan u ninskoj nekropoli biti svakako grob 3.<sup>96</sup>

Iz regije, korisno je još sagledati situaciju kod sjevernijih Japoda. Njihov bogat obrtnički opus ovdje predloženim fibulama iz Velike Mrdakovice pruža mnoštvo srodnih ili čak istih primjeraka, a nešto se konkretnije očituje i kronološki okvir njihove nošnje. Tako nam grob 6 iz nekropole Prozora nedvojbeno

red lines were actually established in this ceramographic style of Daunian ware which, ultimately, has been dated from the mid-7<sup>th</sup> to the mid-6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC.<sup>92</sup> It would thus be worthwhile to accept a higher date for Nin grave 23, and, by the same token, Zaton grave 2, and understand them within the cultural circulation already in the latter half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, as suggested earlier by G. Hiller.<sup>93</sup>

The fact is that in almost all Liburnian graves, *proto-Certosa* fibulae appeared in combination with fibulae having two or three small globules on the bow, *Kompolje* bow fibulae with a backward-curving bird's head at the end of the foot, and *Certosa* and *Baška* fibulae, as well as fibulae with amber beads on the bow.

92 Yntema 1990, pp. 236, 241.

93 Hiller 1991, p. 366. This also implies the reinterpretation of the lower dating threshold for spectacle fibulae from Liburnia and the entire Eastern Adriatic seaboard. It would appear likely that the fashionable use of these, like the fibulae with amber beads on the bows, may have concluded in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, which would also back the higher dating for grave 6 from Gromačica on the island of Rab with the oldest or first generation *Baška* fibula (Blečić Kavur 2010, pp. 189-191).

94 Brusić 2000a, T. XI, T. XVII.

95 Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011, str. 45.

96 Hiller 1991, str. 116, 356, T. 3. 31, 32.

dokazuje korištenje te fibule u 3. fazi japodske kulture, tj. u posljednjim desetljećima 7. stoljeća pr. Kr., zbog preciznijeg datiranja zmijaste fibule s petljom na luku i diskom na prijelazu u iglu (sl. 9).<sup>97</sup> To će dodatno argumentirati i grob 12,<sup>98</sup> a sukladno njemu i već spominjani grob 35 iz te nekropole.<sup>99</sup> Istome vremenu svjedočit će i grobovi iz Kompolja, npr. 34,<sup>100</sup> kojeg upravo zbog oblika i tipa fibule tipa *protocertosa* valja datirati u 7. stoljeće pr. Kr., što će ujedno poslužiti i za izvođenje sigurnije datacije dvojnih japodskih igala, kakva je nađena u istome grobu. Zbog toga se osobito zanimljivim ističe i inventar kompoljskoga groba 63 (sl. 10), jer je u njemu nađeno još nekoliko indikativnih elemenata nošnje koji afirmiraju višu dataciju, poglavito tropetljasta fibula i višeglava igla japodskog tipa s tordiranim vratom, ali i čak četiri lučne fibule s jantarom na luku.<sup>101</sup> Zapravo, time se potvrđuje stanje iz same središnje Liburnije, s inventarom niinskog groba 53 (sl. 11) i 54, gdje kombinacija ranih oblika fibula tipa *protocertosa* i tipa *Baška*<sup>102</sup> potkrepljuje tezu o njihovu korištenju već tijekom druge polovice i posebno tijekom posljednjih desetljeća 7. stoljeća pr. Kr., pa i ukoliko grobna cjelina 30 iz Nina nije uvažavana kao konceptualno vjerodostojna (sl. 7). S druge strane, grobovi iz Kompolja, uslijed združenog nalaženja s fibulom tipa *Certosa X* varijante prema B. Teržan, pr. u grobu 55,<sup>103</sup> i XIa varijante u grobu 64,<sup>104</sup> kao i naočalaste fibule kasne D varijante prema F. Lo Schiavo<sup>105</sup> obilježavaju donju granicu njihova korištenja, i to u 5. st., tj. početak 4. stoljeća pr. Kr.<sup>106</sup>

Kako su dakle te fibule sveprisutne na priobalnim jadranskim nalazištima, prihvaćene su kao obilježje širega jadranskoga kulturnog kruga, odnosno njegove

The situation from the southern section of Liburnia, meaning the necropolis in Dragišić, already indicates that even there its use may have been inaugurated in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, so that graves 10 and 19<sup>94</sup> would certainly uphold this higher dating. The circumstances which, however, push the lower threshold of the so-called *proto-Certosa fashion* down to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC are also quite marked in the territory of southern Dalmatia and its Herzegovinian hinterland,<sup>95</sup> which in the Nin necropolis certainly has its counterpart in grave 3.<sup>96</sup>

From within the region, it would be useful to also consider the situation with the more northerly Japodi. Their rich body of artisanal works offers many examples similar and even identical to the proposed fibulae from Velika Mrdakovica, while the chronological framework of their attire also manifests itself more concretely. Thus, grave 6 from the Prozor necropolis incontrovertibly proves the use of these fibulae in the Japodian culture's phase 3, i.e., in the last decades of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, due to the more precise dating of the serpentine fibula with a loop on the bow and a disk at the transition to the pin (Fig. 9).<sup>97</sup> This is additionally backed by grave 12,<sup>98</sup> and, in this vein, the aforementioned grave 35 from that necropolis.<sup>99</sup> The graves from Kompolje will testify to the same period, for example grave 34,<sup>100</sup> which should be dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC precisely due to the shape and type of the *proto-Certosa* fibula, and this will simultaneously serve to determine more certain dating of the double Japodian pins found in the same grave. The goods from Kompolje grave 63 (Fig. 10) are particularly interesting because of this, because several more indicative elements of attire were found in it which affirm the higher dating, particularly the three-looped fibula and Japodian type of multi-headed pin with spiral neck, but also the four bow fibulae with amber beads on the bows.<sup>101</sup> This in fact confirms the situation from central Liburnia itself, with – for

97 Drechsler-Bižić 1973, str. 15, T. IX; Drechsler-Bižić 1987, str. 406, sl. 24. 2; usp. Eles Masi 1986, str. 216-220, T. 167. Fibulu možemo pridružiti jednoj od izvedenica zmijaste fibule tipa 7a prema novopredloženoj klasifikaciji Sneže Tecco Hvala, a koja je značajna za južnopredalpski prostor od Pada do Save od 7. pa sve do 4. stoljeća pr. Kr. (Tecco Hvala 2012, str. 234, 236, 241, sl. 88. 15).

98 Drechsler-Bižić 1973, str. 15, T. XII. 1-5.

99 Drechsler-Bižić 1973, T. XXI. 5-8.

100 Drechsler-Bižić 1961, T. III. 10-13.

101 Drechsler-Bižić 1961, T. V. 1-12.

102 Staré 1970, T. I; Hiller 1991, T. 3. 29-34.

103 Drechsler-Bižić 1966, T. Y87.

104 Barbara Teßmann ju određuje tipom XII (Teßmann 2001, str. 54).

105 Drechsler-Bižić 1961, T. XV. 1-5; Lo Schiavo 1970, str. 444, 450, T. XXXI. 9, T. A; Težak-Gregl 1981, str. 30, 41, T. 4. 4.

106 Teßmann 2001, str. 54.

94 Brusić 2000a, P. XI, P. XVII.

95 Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011, p. 45.

96 Hiller 1991, pp. 116, 356, P. 3. 31, 32.

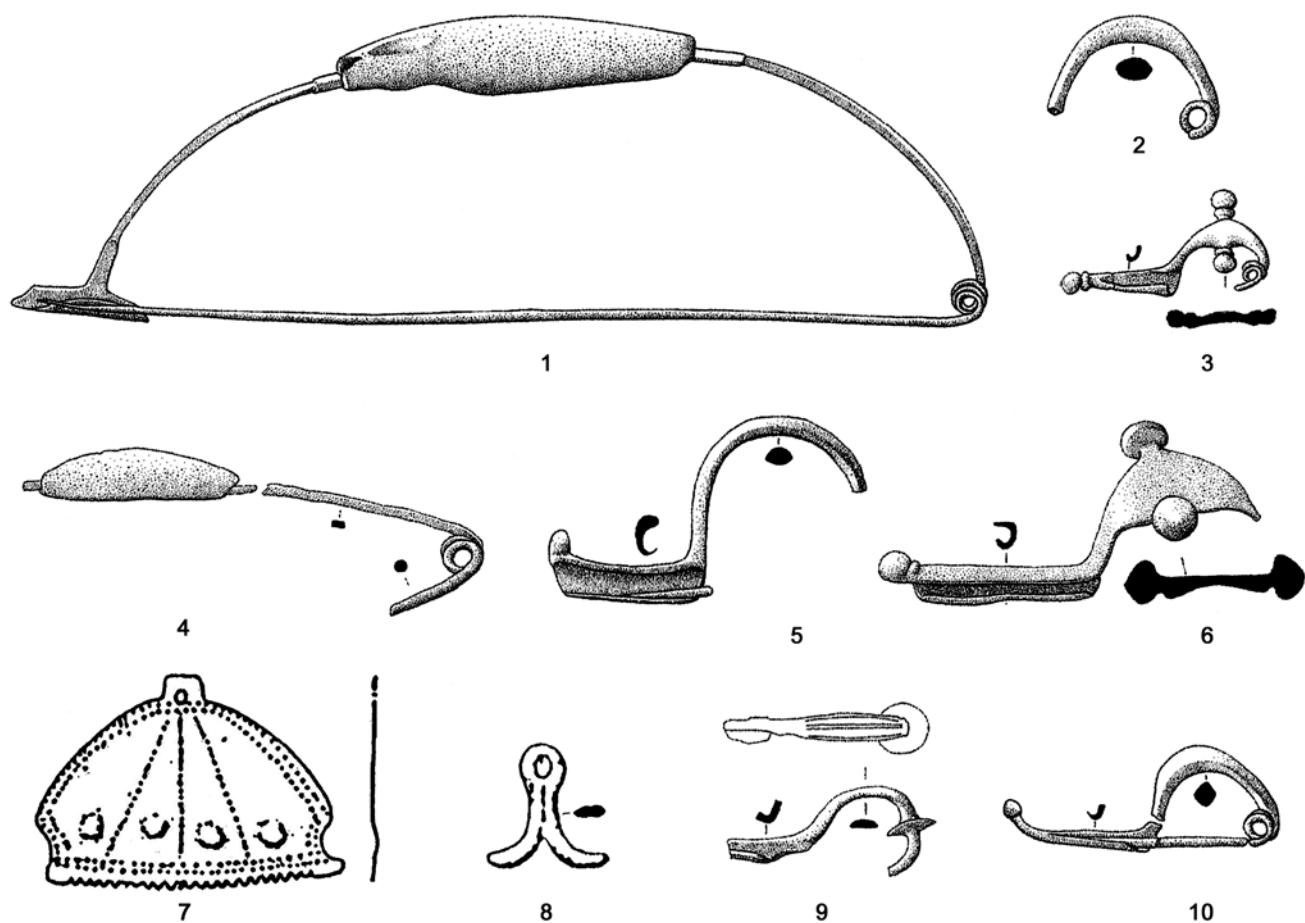
97 Drechsler-Bižić 1973, p. 15, P. IX; Drechsler-Bižić 1987, p. 406, Fig. 24. 2; cf. Eles Masi 1986, pp. 216-220, P. 167. The fibula may be added to one of the variations of a serpentine fibula of type 7a according to the newly-proposed classification by Sneža Tecco Hvala, which is significant to the southern pre-Alpine zone from the Po to Sava Rivers from the 7<sup>th</sup> up to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (Tecco Hvala 2012, pp. 234, 236, 241, Fig. 88. 15).

98 Drechsler-Bižić 1973, p. 15, P. XII. 1-5.

99 Drechsler-Bižić 1973, P. XXI. 5-8.

100 Drechsler-Bižić 1961, P. III. 10-13.

101 Drechsler-Bižić 1961, P. V. 1-12.



Sl. 11. Izbor predmeta iz groba 53 nekropole u Ninu (prilagođeno prema Hiller 1991; Glogović 2003)  
 Fig. 11. Selection of items from grave 53 in the Nin necropolis (adapted according to Hiller 1991; Glogović 2003)

*koiné* gdje su se prenosile ponajviše pomorskim komunikacijama<sup>107</sup> (sl. 12). Ali upravo se ta isprepletenost nesumnjivo odvijala i važnijim kopnenim komunikacijama, osobito sa sjevernoitalskim i predalpskim prostorom, tzv. istočnoalpskom *koiné*, kako ga predstavlja Alexia Nascimbene,<sup>108</sup> prenoseći se od njega dalje prema istočnim predjelima pružanja. Poznati nam grobovi ujedno svjedoče kako je opisana 1. varijanta naše fibule bila priljubljen oblik nošnje dugog trajanja ponajprije kod japodskih i liburnskih zajednica, čiju upotrebu valja stoga pratiti u kontinuitetu od sredine 7. pa do konačnog 5. stoljeća pr. Kr. Temeljem istog, konzervativno se niže datiranje, za područje jadranskih priobalnih kultura nikako ne može prihvati kao konačno rješenje.<sup>109</sup> Činjenica jest kako je

example – the goods from Nin graves 53 (Fig. 11) and 54, in which the combination of early forms of *proto-Certosa* and *Baška* fibulae<sup>102</sup> back the hypothesis on their use already during the latter half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, particularly its final decades, even if grave unit 30 from Nin is not considered as conceptually reliable (Fig. 7). On the other hand, the graves from Kompolje, due to their discovery together with the X-variant *Certosa* fibula according to B. Teržan, in grave 55 for example,<sup>103</sup> and the XIa-variant in grave 64,<sup>104</sup> as well as the spectacle fibulae of the late D variant according to F. Lo Schiavo,<sup>105</sup> characterize the

107 Blečić 2007, str. 116, 117; Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011, str. 45.

108 Nascimbene 2009, str. 255-265.

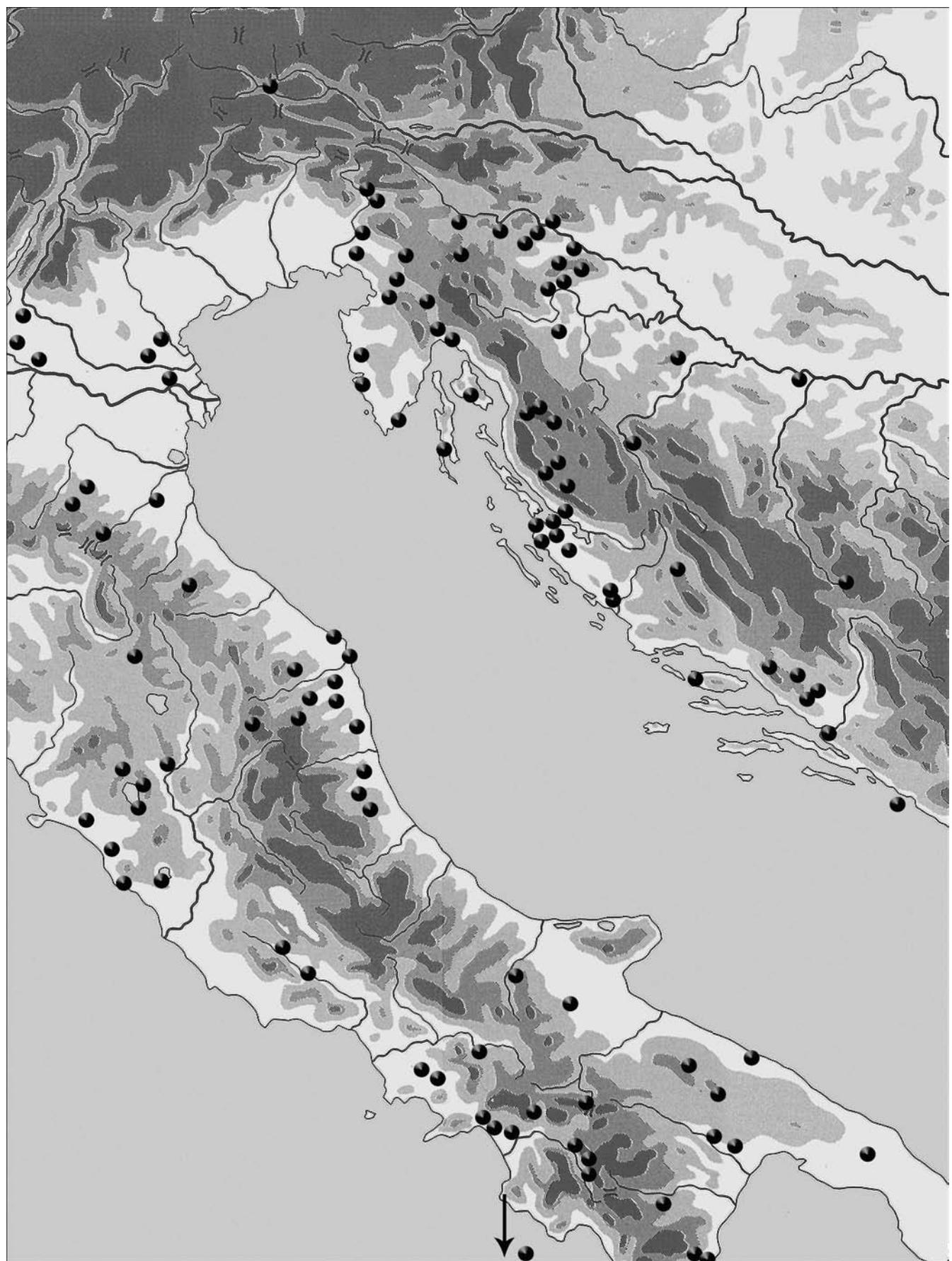
109 Blečić 2007, str. 117; Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011, str. 45.

102 Staré 1970, P. I; Hiller 1991, P. 3. 29-34.

103 Drechsler-Bižić 1966, P. Y87.

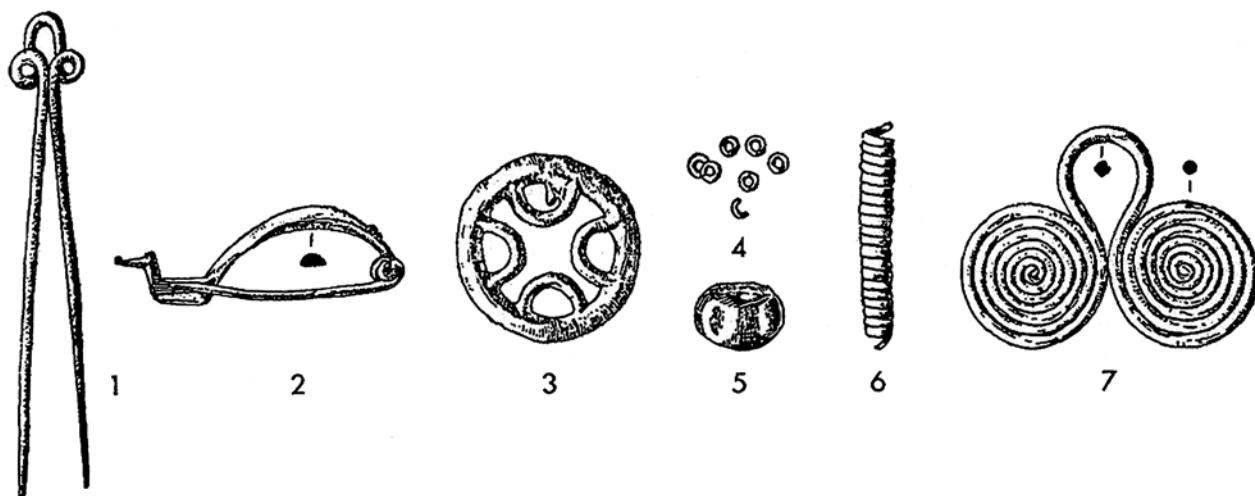
104 Barbara Teßmann specified it as type XII (Teßmann 2001, p. 54).

105 Drechsler-Bižić 1961, P. XV. 1-5; Lo Schiavo 1970, pp. 444, 450, P. XXXI. 9, T. A; Težak-Gregl 1981, p. 30, 41, P. 4. 4.



Sl. 12. Karta rasprostranjenosti fibula tipa protocertosa s kuglicom na kraju nožice, bez tipološke podjele (nado-punjeno prema Blečić Kavur 2010; Lo Schiavo 2010)

Fig 12. Distribution map of proto-Certosa fibulae with small globule at the end of the foot, without typological divisions (supplemented according to Blečić Kavur 2010; Lo Schiavo 2010)



Sl. 13. Grobna cjelina 60 iz nekropole u Kompolju (prema Vasić 1982)

Fig. 13. Grave unit 60 from the necropolis in Kompolje (according to Vasić 1982)

univerzalnost njezine modne pojave u znatnom povijesnom dometu, kada su njezina i morfološka i tehnološka obilježja bila podložna određenim mijenama i preobrazbama, umanjila vrijednost njezinog aduta kod kronološke primjene. Nižu dataciju u ovome slučaju fibula iz groba 113 potvrđivale bi tehnološki *barokizirane* i tipološki hibridne forme.

Skupinu posebno zanimljivih, a ne tako brojnih predmeta nošnje i nakita obilježava fibula *pseudocertosa* tipa sa zoomorfnim zaključkom nožice (kat. br. 31), zastupljene u istome grobu 113 (T. 3, 4). Fibula je manjih dimenzija, djelomično očuvana, ali je životinjska glavica sasvim postojana, masivno i prilično precizno izvedena. Istaknuta je izvučena njuška i bočno postavljene oči. Strukturom i oblikovnom shemom izvedena je iz fibule tipa *Certosa*, te podsjeća na inačice X-varijante prema B. Teržan, koja ima minijaturne dimenzije, izdignut i profilirano trokutasti presjek luka te puce često usmjereni unaprijed. Ona je, prostorno i izvorno, obilježila svetolucijski i dolenjski kulturni krug od sredine 5. stoljeća pr. Kr. upravo kao i područje zapadnog Balkana.<sup>110</sup>

Fibule tipa *pseudocertosa* uglavnom potječu iz nejasnih konteksta nalaženja na čitavom području istočnojadranskog primorja i njegova zaleđa (sl. 14, 15). Kvantitativno, možemo istaknuti kako su bile dobro poznate Delmatima, jer ih susrećemo na tri sigurno poznata nalazišta; u skupnom grobu u Vašarovinama

lower threshold of their use, in the 5<sup>th</sup> century and the early 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>106</sup>

Since these fibulae were universally present in the Adriatic coastal find sites, they have been accepted as features of the broader Adriatic cultural sphere, or rather its *koiné*, where they were mostly conveyed by maritime communications (Fig. 12).<sup>107</sup> But this intermingling undoubtedly also proceeded via major overland communication routes, particularly with the northern Italic and pre-Alpine zones, the so-called eastern Alpine *koiné*, as presented by Alexia Nascimbene,<sup>108</sup> moving from it toward the more easterly reaches. The known graves also testify to the fact that the above-described first variant of the fibula in question was a close-fitting form of attire of long duration first and foremost in the Japodian and Liburnian communities, and its use should thus be seen in continuity from the mid-7<sup>th</sup> until the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. In this regard, the conservative lower dating for the territory of the Adriatic coastal cultures, cannot be accepted as a final solution.<sup>109</sup> The fact is that the universality of its fashionable appearance over a considerable historical range, when its morphological and technological features were subject to certain modifications and transformations, reduced its value as a determinant for chronological applications. A lower dating in this case for the fibula from grave 113 would confirm a technologically “baroque” and typologically hybrid form.

106 Teßmann 2001, p. 54.

107 Blečić 2007, pp. 116, 117; Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011, p. 45.

108 Nascimbene 2009, pp. 255-265.

109 Blečić 2007, p. 117; Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011, p. 45.

110 Teržan 1976, str. 364-368, 381, 382, sl. 35, sl. 52.

II<sup>111</sup> (sl. 14. 15), u Otišiću<sup>112</sup> (sl. 14. 13, 14)<sup>113</sup> i u grobu 3 iz Vičje luke<sup>114</sup> (sl. 14. 17), s ukupno pet primjera ka. Međutim, znatne su i češće na japodskom, a ne na liburnskom prostoru, kako ih je recentnije tumaćio Vedran Barbarić,<sup>115</sup> gdje se kao jedina sigurnija grobna cijelina izdvaja grob 60 iz Kompolja<sup>116</sup> (sl. 13, sl. 14. 8). Dio njegova inventara (fibula sa zoomorfnim zaključkom nožice, okrugla ažurirana pojasa kopča i naočalasti privjesak, kao i dvojna igla IIIa tipa prema Rastku Vasiću) pokazuje zapanjujuću sličnost s dijelom nalaza iz Otišića. Ondje su zabilježene tri fibule istoga tipa, zbog čega možebitna pretpostavka o grobnoj cijelini (cijelinama!) s Otišića ne može biti isključena.<sup>117</sup> U prostornoj distribuciji, najjužniji primjerak potječe iz Banje kod Ošanića<sup>118</sup> (sl. 14. 18), dok ih sjeverno nalazimo na prostoru Kvarnera, Istre i jugoistočnoalpskog zaleda (sl. 14. 4-7, sl. 15).

S obzirom na okolnosti nalaženja, predmetnu fibulu teško možemo sa sigurnošću pripisati određenoj nošnji ili starosti njezinih nositelja/imatelja. No oni konteksti koji su nam za sada poznati nude opredijeljenost opremi ženskih pokojnica, možda adolescent-skog/dječjeg uzrasta. Ipak, poznato nam je da su se te fibule mogle nositi u paru. Na to upućuju nalaz iz Otišića, a svjedoči grob 79 iz Sanskog Mosta,<sup>119</sup> koji je uz, uvjetno prihvaćeno, grob 3 iz Vičje luke, jedina prihvatljiva cijelina za njihovo približno datiranje. Kako je fibula iz potonjega groba, sukladno kontekstu, datirana šire, na kraj 5. i početak 4. stoljeća pr. Kr.,<sup>120</sup> a grob iz Sanskog Mosta sadržavao je tipološki vrijedne samo te dvije fibule,<sup>121</sup> kronološki se ne

The *pseudo-Certosa fibula with a zoomorphic termination of the foot* (cat. no. 31) characterizes a group of particularly interesting, albeit not very numerous, items of attire and jewellery present in the same grave 113 (P. 3, 4). The fibula has smaller dimensions and is only partially preserved, but the animal's head is entirely solid, massively and rather precisely rendered. The outwardly drawn snout and the laterally set eyes are quite prominent. Based on its structure and formational scheme, it was rendered from the *Certosa* fibula, and recalls B. Teržan's X-variant, which has miniature dimensions, a raised and articulated triangular cross-section on the bow and an often frontally oriented button. Both territorially and originally it characterized the Sveta Lucija and Dolenjska cultural spheres from the mid 5<sup>th</sup> century BC just as it did the western Balkans.<sup>110</sup>

*Pseudo-Certosa* fibulae generally came from ambiguous find contexts throughout the Eastern Adriatic seaboard and its hinterland (Fig. 14, 15). Quantitatively, it may be stressed that they were well known to the Delmatae, because they were found at three well known find sites: in the group grave in Vašarovine II (Fig. 14. 15),<sup>111</sup> in Otišić<sup>112</sup> (Fig. 14. 13, 14),<sup>113</sup> and in grave 3 from Vičja luka (Fig. 14. 17),<sup>114</sup> for a total of five examples. However, they were more notable and frequent in Japodian rather than Liburnian territory, as recently interpreted by Vedran Barbarić,<sup>115</sup> where the sole certain grave unit that stands out is grave 60 from Kompolje (Fig. 14, Fig. 14. 8).<sup>116</sup> A part of its goods (a fibula with a zoomorphic termination of the foot, a round ajouré belt buckle and spectacle shaped pendant, and a double pin of type IIIa according to Rastko Vasić) exhibit a striking similarity with a part of the finds from Otišić. Fibulae of the same type were recorded there, which is why the possible hypothesis of a grave unit (units!) from Otišić cannot be excluded.<sup>117</sup> Considering their spatial distribution, the southernmost example came from Banja, at Ošanići

111 Marijan 1986, T. II. 2; Čović 1987b, T. XLIX. 11.

112 Marović 1984, str. 57, sl. 23. 11; Lo Schiavo 1970, str. 422, 423, 447, T. XX. 6, T. XXXVII. 7.

113 Fibula iz prostora sjeverne Dalmacije publicirana kod F. Lo Schiavo potječe iz Otišića (Marović, Nikolanci 1969, str. 44, bilj. 83).

114 Marović, Nikolanci 1969, str. 18, 44, sl. 9. 4, 5; foto 1908.

115 Barbarić 2006, str. 51.

116 Vasić 1982, str. 236, sl. 7; Hiller 1991, str. 117, 118, sl. 18J.

117 Marović 1984, sl. 23. 5, 8, 11. Predmetni tip fibule nije predstavljen u katalogu fibula *Prähistorische Bronzefunde* (Glogović 2003).

118 Marijan 2001, str. 87, T. 14. 8.

119 Fiala 1896, str. 248, 249, sl. 88; Čović 1987a, T. XXVIII. 7, 8; Hiller 1991, str. 117, sl. 30A; Gavranović 2011, str. 178, sl. 247.

120 Barbarić 2006, str. 51.

121 U grobu je nađeno još pet brončanih privjesaka, brončani kolut i dva plava staklena zrna (Fiala 1896, str. 248, 249; Gavranović 2011, Kat. str. 178).

110 Teržan 1976, pp. 364-368, 381, 382, Fig. 35, Fig. 52.

111 Marijan 1986, P. II. 2; Čović 1987b, P. XLIX. 11.

112 Marović 1984, p. 57, Fig. 23. 11; Lo Schiavo 1970, pp. 422, 423, 447, P. XX. 6, P. XXXVII. 7.

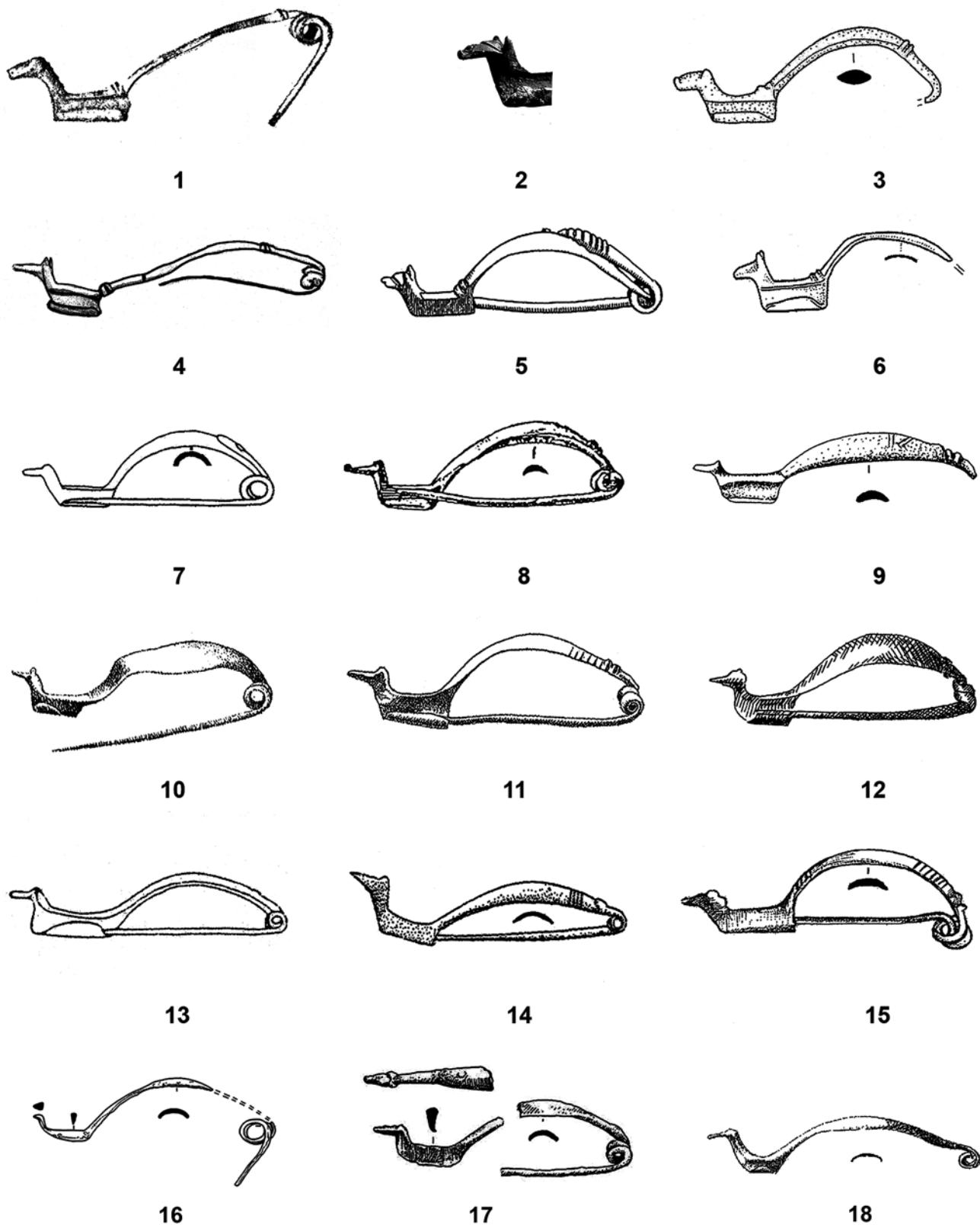
113 A fibula from northern Dalmatia published by F. Lo Schiavo originated in Otišić (Marović, Nikolanci 1969, p. 44, note. 83).

114 Marović, Nikolanci 1969, pp. 18, 44, Fig. 9. 4, 5; photo 1908.

115 Barbarić 2006, p. 51.

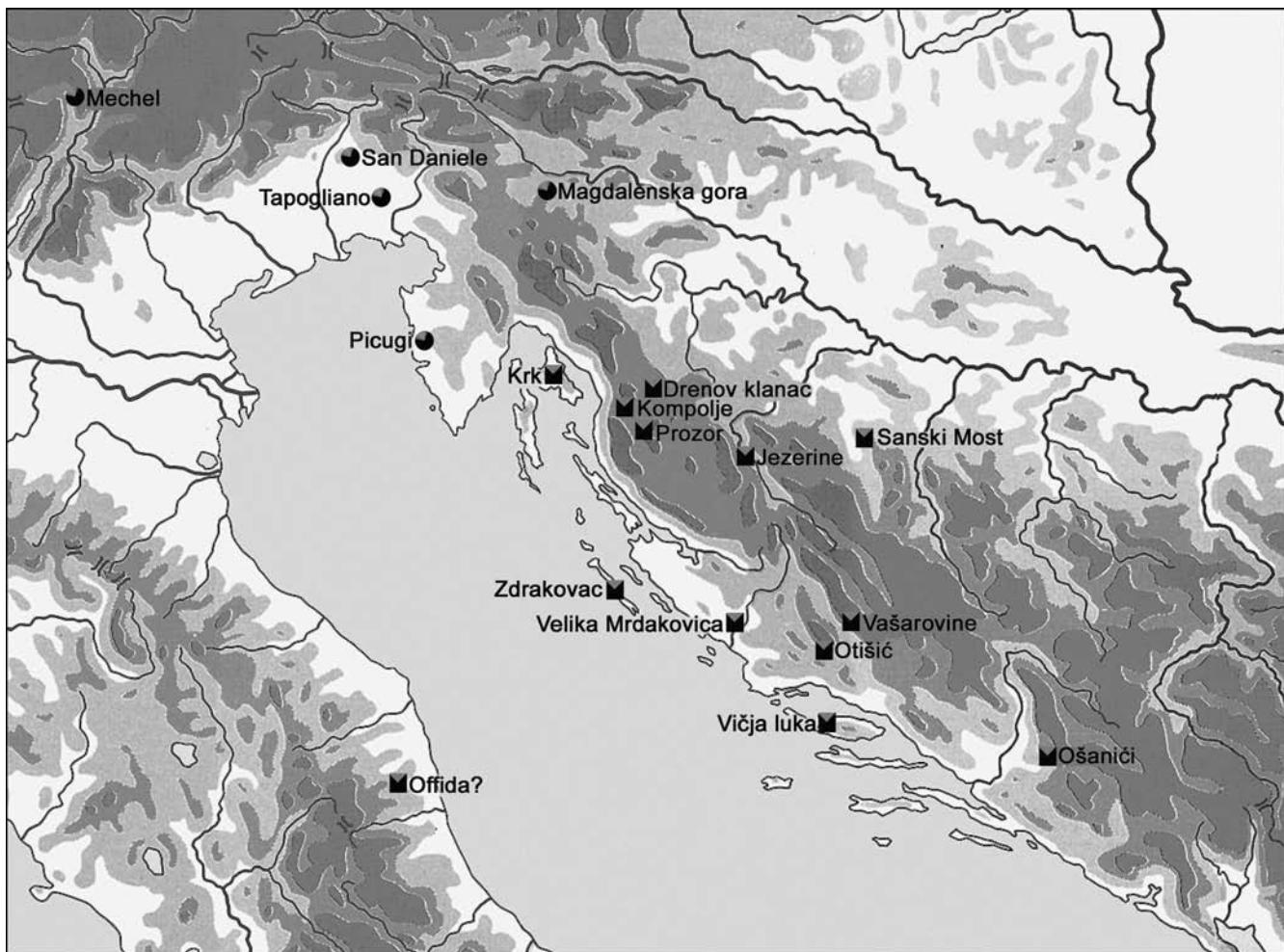
116 Vasić 1982, p. 236, Fig. 7; Hiller 1991, pp. 117, 118, Fig. 18J.

117 Marović 1984, Fig. 23. 5, 8, 11. This fibula type was not presented in the *Prähistorische Bronzefunde* fibula catalogue (Glogović 2003).



Sl. 14. Varijante fibula sa zoomorfnim zaključkom nožice: 1 Mechel, 2 San Daniele, 3 Tapogliano, 4 Picugi, 5-6 Magdalenska Gora, 7 Krk, 8 Kompolje, 9-10 Prozor, 11 Sanski Most, 12 Jezerine, 13-14 Otišić, 15 Vašarovine, 16 Zdrakovac, 17 Vičja luka, 18 Banja-Ošanići (različita mjerila; Lista 2)

Fig. 14. Variants of the fibula with zoomorphic foot end: 1 Mechel, 2 San Daniele, 3 Tapogliano, 4 Picugi, 5-6 Magdalenska Gora, 7 Krk, 8 Kompolje, 9-10 Prozor, 11 Sanski Most, 12 Jezerine, 13-14 Otišić, 15 Vašarovine, 16 Zdrakovac, 17 Vičja luka, 18 Banja-Ošanići (different scales; List 2)



Sl. 15. Karta rasprostranjenosti fibula tipa pseudocertosa sa zoomorfnim zaključkom nožice 1 – japodske varijante (■) i 2 – varijante Caput Adriae (●) (Lista 2)

Fig. 15. Distribution map of pseudo-Certosa type fibulae with a zoomorphic termination of the foot 1 – Japodian variant (■) and 2 – Caput Adriae variant (●) (List 2)

izdvaja ni jedna druga poznata cjelina, premda bi okvirno upravo inventar groba 113 iz Velike Mrdakovice mogao podržavati predloženu dataciju u rano 5. stoljeće pr. Kr.<sup>122</sup> No ukoliko fibulu istih obilježja, ali iznimno loše uščuvane životinjske glavice na kraju nožice, iz groba u Zdrakovcu na Dugom otoku<sup>123</sup> (sl. 14. 16), možemo pridružiti ovoj skupini fibula, tada će i njezin kontekst nalaženja samo dodatno potkrepljivati dataciju upravo u 5. stoljeće pr. Kr. bogatije ženske nošnje!

Sukladno tim nalazima može se promišljati o nošnji ženske pokojnice.

<sup>122</sup> Grobna cjelina X/50 iz Mecklenburške zbirke istraživanja Magdalenske Gore izgleda da nije posve sigurna (Tecco Hvala 2012, str. 262). Unatoč tomu, ako koji od predmeta i ne pripada toj cjelini, većinu ih ipak valja razumijevati u vremenu 5. stoljeća pr. Kr.

<sup>123</sup> Čelhar 2009, str. 92, T. 1. 7, T. 3. 1.

(Fig. 14. 18),<sup>118</sup> while in the north they can be found in the territory of Kvarner, Istria and south-eastern Alpine hinterland (Fig. 14. 4-7, Fig. 15).

Given the find circumstances, the fibula in question can hardly be ascribed to specific attire or the age of its wearer/owner with any certainty. But the contexts which are known to us thus far point to a preference for the attire of a deceased woman, perhaps an adolescent or child. Nonetheless, it is known that fibulae could have been worn in pairs. This is indicated by the find from Otišić, and grave 79 from Sanski Most testifies to this,<sup>119</sup> for together with – the provisionally accepted – grave 3 from Vičja luka, it is the sole acceptable unit for their approximate dating. Since the fibula from the latter grave has been dated, in line with

<sup>118</sup> Marijan 2001, p. 87, P. 14. 8.

<sup>119</sup> Fiala 1896, pp. 248, 249, Fig. 88; Čović 1987a, P. XXVIII. 7, 8; Hiller 1991, p. 117, Fig. 30A; Gavranović 2011, p. 178, Fig. 247.

Međutim, nešto višoj dataciji svjedočio bi ipak inventar groba 60 iz Kompolja. Naime, u njemu je zabilježena okrugla ažurirana kopča koja se u japoškim kontekstima ne javlja poslije 6. stoljeća pr. Kr., baš kao ni kod Liburna (npr. Nin, grob 88) (sl. 18. 6), zbog čega bismo početak izradbe i uporabe navedenih fibula mogli vidjeti već s koncem toga stoljeća, što jest bio prijedlog G. Hiller.<sup>124</sup>

Kao i mnogobrojni drugi tipovi i taj je tip fibule svojedobno bio uključen u vodeće tipove jadranske *koiné*, prenošen, naravno, pomorskim pravcima i komunikacijama<sup>125</sup> (sl. 15). Danas međutim pouzdano znamo kako se na italskom prostoru nalaze iznimno, i to u određenim hibridnim varijantama, kao npr. u Offidi na području Picena,<sup>126</sup> iako su baš u italskim kulturama životinske fibule bile omiljene, stoga tipološki vrlo razvijene, a kronološki prilično zastupljene.<sup>127</sup> Ostaje međutim i dalje potvrđen podatak kako je ta fibula bila zanimljiv predmet najvjerojatnije ženske nošnje istočnojadranskoga kulturnog ambijenta i njegova zapadnobalkanskog zaleđa. Njezinu početnu inovaciju ili kreaciju možda ćemo moći tražiti u japoškom i, s njime povezanom, umjetničkom obrtništvu, koje, čini se, nije bilo tako zatvoreno ili izričito konzervativno kako se o njemu učestalo promišljalo.

Sudeći prema zastupljenim primjercima, najzad možemo i te fibule rasporediti u dvije varijante: 1. tzv. japošku, koju obilježavaju manje dimenzije fibula polukružnog punog ili raskovanog luka, te posve shematski stilizirana glava životinjice koja je zašiljena i usmjerena prema naprijed, bez isticanja karakterizacija ili uz minimalno "izvučene" oči/uši. Zbog toga je i teže odrediva eventualna vrsta životinje koja se

its context, to the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> and early 4<sup>th</sup> century BC,<sup>120</sup> while the grave from Sanski Most contained only two typologically valuable fibulae,<sup>121</sup> neither one nor the other unit stand out chronologically, although generally the inventory of grave 113 from Velika Mrdakovica may maintain the proposed dating to early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>122</sup> However, if the fibula with identical features, but with an exceptionally poorly preserved animal head at the end of the foot, from a grave in Zdrakovac on the Dugi otok (Fig. 14. 16)<sup>123</sup> can be added to this fibula group, then its find context will only further confirm the dating to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC as a part of wealthier women's attire!

However, a somewhat higher dating would be indicated by the goods from grave 60 from Kompolje. For a round ajouré buckle was found in it, which did not appear in Japodian contexts after the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, nor among the Liburnians (e.g. Nin, grave 88) (Fig. 18. 6), which is why the beginning of production and use of these fibulae may be seen already from the end of that century, which is in fact G. Hiller's suggestion.<sup>124</sup>

As with numerous other types, this fibula was at one point encompassed among the leading types of the Adriatic *koiné*, conveyed, naturally, by maritime routes and communications (Fig. 15).<sup>125</sup> Today, however, we know for a fact that they were only the exception in Italic territory, and even then in certain hybrid variations, such as, for example, in Offida in Picene territory,<sup>126</sup> even though animal fibula were favoured precisely in Italic territory, so that they were typologi-

124 Hiller 1991, str. 117, 118, 290. Naime, autorica je argumentirano demantirala prenisku dataciju toga groba predloženu od R. Vasića (1982, str. 236), jasno istaknuvši neprimjerenost usporedbe predmetne fibule s istočnoalpskim tipovima životinskih fibula, koje se doista datiraju od 5. stoljeća pr. Kr. (usp. Nascimbene 2009, str. 178-186).

125 Peroni 1973, str. 68, sl. 21. 6; Peroni 1976, str. 97, sl. 1. 6.

126 Fibula je sačuvana djelomično, ostatkom nožice s ptičjom protomom, te tipološki nije pobliže odrediva.

127 Zanimljivo je napomenuti kako iz Verone, iz naselja Monte Loffa, potječe vrlo srodnna fibula, oblikovno i tehnološki, samo što je glavica životinje okrenuta unatrag, prema luku, a ne prema van, kao što je to kod svih ovdje obrađivanih fibula tipa *pseudocertosa* (Fogolari 1988, str. 121-123, sl. 150). Životinske fibule u srednjoj i sjevernoj Italiji razvijaju se već od 8. stoljeća pr. Kr. (Eles Masi 1986, str. 243, 244; usp. Guštin 1974, str. 95-97).

120 Barbarić 2006, p. 51.

121 Five additional bronze pendants, a bronze ring and two blue glass beads were also found in the grave (Fiala 1896, pp. 248, 249; Gavranović 2011, cat. p. 178). In line with these finds, one may assume a deceased woman's attire.

122 Grave unit X/50 from the Mecklenburg collection of the Magdalenska Gora research does not appear entirely certain (Tecco Hvala 2012, p. 262). Despite this, if any of the items do not belong to this unit, most should nonetheless be understood as belonging to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

123 Čelhar 2009, p. 92, P. 1. 7, P. 3. 1.

124 Hiller 1991, pp. 117, 118, 290. She used well-backed arguments to refute the excessively low dating proposed by R. Vasić (1982, p. 236), clearly delineating the unsuitable comparison of these fibulae to the eastern Alpine animal fibulae, which were truly dated from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC (cf. Nascimbene 2009, pp. 178-186).

125 Peroni 1973, p. 68, Fig. 21. 6; Peroni 1976, p. 97, Fig. 1. 6.

126 The fibula was partially preserved, with the remains of the foot having a bird protome, and typologically it cannot be more closely determined.

predstavljalala.<sup>128</sup> Ujedno, ta japodska varijanta pokazuje i najveću zastupljenost, kako na prostoru Japoda, tako i na čitavom potezu istočnojadranskog primorja sa zaledem (sl. 14. 7-18).

Varijanta *Caput Adriae* označavala bi tzv. 2. varijantu te fibule, koja je nešto masivnije izradbe od japodskih, vrlo bliske fibulama tipa *Certosa XIII* varijante prema B. Teržan, ali je životinjska glavica usmjerenata prema naprijed ravna, znatno preciznije oblikovana, s naglašenim anatomskim detaljima; izvučene uši, zaobljena i tupasta njuška s ukrasnim poprečnim ornamentom (sl. 14. 1-6). Razumljivo, obje varijante odražavaju i pojedine inačice, izvedenice, tj. različite radioničke i tehničke kvalitete, zbog čega odskaču samosvojinošću. Posljedično, pak, sve navedeno odražava se i na prostornom rasporedu. S razlikom od 1., japodske varijante, fibule 2., *Caput Adriae* varijante nalaze se sjevernije, na prostoru Dolenjske, Furlanije i Trenta.<sup>129</sup> Jedino se na području sjevernog Jadranu, Istre i Kvarnera logično nalaze zastupljene obje varijante (sl. 14. 4, 7, sl. 15).

Neosporno, naša fibula tipa *pseudocertosa* pokazuje više odlika japodske varijante kao nepobitna izvedenica fibule tipa *Certosa*, a profiliranost i konkretnost obrade glave životinje neodoljivo prisjećaju na samostrelne fibule sa životinjskim glavicama oblika ovnuske glave kako ih je predstavio Stane Gabrovec,<sup>130</sup> tj. na najbližu fibulu toga tipa iz Prozora, čiji su okruglo oblikovani rogovi doduše perforirani i izvučeni iz mase njuške, odnosno glave životinje.<sup>131</sup> No prihvatimo li kako je na kraju nožice naše fibule predstavljena glava ptice, tada tu fibulu doista moramo

cally rather well-developed, and chronologically rather well represented as well.<sup>127</sup> What remains, however, is the still confirmed fact that this fibula was an intriguing item of most likely women's attire in the eastern Adriatic cultural sphere and its western Balkan hinterland. Its initial innovation or creation can possibly be sought in Japodian territory and the related artistic crafts which, it would appear, were not as closed nor as explicitly conservative as frequently believed.

Based on the extant examples, these fibulae may ultimately be classified into two variants: the first is the so-called Japodian variant, characterized by smaller dimensions on a fibula with semi-circular full or hammer-flattened bow, and an entirely schematically stylized animal's head that was pointed and oriented forward, without any emphasis on characterization or with minimal "outwardly drawn" eyes/ears. This is why the species of animal represented is also more difficult to determine.<sup>128</sup> This Japodian variant is also the most present, both in Japodian territory and in the entire swath of the Eastern Adriatic seaboard with its hinterland (Fig. 14. 7-18).

*Caput Adriae* would be the second variant of this fibula, which exhibits somewhat more massive rendering than the Japodian variant, very similar to the *Certosa* fibulae of variant XIII according to B. Teržan, but the animal's head is oriented forward and straight, and is considerably more meticulously formed, with prominent anatomical details, drawn out ears, and rounded and blunted snouts with a decorative perpendicular ornament (Fig. 14. 1-6). Understandably, both variants also reflect certain derivatives, i.e., various workshop-related or technological traits, thus exhibiting individuality. As a result, all of these aspects were reflected in their spatial distribution. As opposed to the

128 Premda ne postoje usuglašena mišljenja glede prikaza glava životinja, nazivajući ih nepristrano *zoomorfnima*, Branka Raunig predlagala je za predmetne fibule iz Prozora prikazivanje glavica pasa, kao atributa nekog ktoničkog božanstva, smještajući ih okvirno u HaD stupanj (Raunig 2004, str. 98, 99). Što se pak samih fibula tiče, autorica prenosi netočne podatke o njihovom objavlјivanju, pogotovo za grob 60 iz Kompolja i za fibulu iz Picuga! S. Tecco Hvala također smatra, bez opširnijeg pojašnjenja, kako je riječ o prikazima psećih glavic (Tecco Hvala 2012, str. 262).

129 Iz prikupljenih podataka o životinjskim fibulama s glavom u obliku konja ili ovna, *certosoidne* forme i samostrelne konstrukcije (Gabrovec 1966, str. 31, 32, 34, karta 3), valja izdvojiti ovdje razvrstane fibule iz Mechla i Picuga (sl. 14. 1, 4). Isto vrijedi i za one iz Trentina, s oblikom glave ovna tipa X prema A. M. Adam (1996, T. II. 62, 63).

130 Gabrovec 1966, str. 31, 32.

131 Drechsler-Bižić 1987, str. 410, sl. 25. 1; T. XLV. 7; Raunig 2004, str. 93, 94, 97, 98, T. XVII. 2.

127 It is noteworthy that a formationally and technologically very similar fibula comes from Verona, from the Monte Loffa settlement, only the animal's head is turned backward, toward the bow, and not outward, as is the case with the *pseudo-Certosa* fibulae analyzed herein (Fogolari 1988, pp. 121-123, sl. 150). Animal fibulae in central and northern Italy began to develop already since the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC (Eles Masi 1986, pp. 243, 244; cf. Guštin 1974, pp. 95-97).

128 Although there is no uniform stance on the image of the animal's head, by impartially calling them *zoomorphic*, Branka Raunig proposed that the fibulae from Prozor depict a hound's head as an attribute of some chthonic deity, placing them generally within the HaD phase (Raunig 2004, pp. 98, 99). As to the fibulae themselves, she cited inaccurate data on their publication, particularly for grave 60 from Kompolje and for the fibula from Picugi! S. Tecco Hvala also believed, without a more extensive explanation, that these were images of hound's heads (Tecco Hvala 2012, p. 262).

tretirati kao posebnu inačicu fibula tipa *pseudocertosa* sa zoomorfnim zaključkom nožice koja će imati naj-srodniji primjerak kod fibule iz Vičje luke.

Smatra se kako su *lučne fibule s jantarom na luku* obilježe ženske i/ili dječje nošnje liburnske kulture tijekom starijega željeznog doba, odnosno da predstavljaju izrazit detalj nakinog ansambla II. liburnske faze<sup>132</sup> (sl. 22). Unatoč često nejasnim podatcima o njihovu nalaženju, u grobovima se nerijetko nalaze u većem broju, posebice u kombinaciji s drugim tipovima fibula. To je oznaka i grobova u Velikoj Mrdakovici. Ondje je istraženo ukupno šest primjeraka, koje razlikujemo u dvjema varijantama: manje lučne fibule s jantarnim zrnom na luku, kakva potječe iz groba 111 (T. 2. 13), te velike lučne fibule s jantarnim zrnom na luku, kakve su poznate iz grobova 75, 109, 111 i 117 (T. 1. 2, 10; T. 2. 12, 20, 21) (sl. 22, 23). Kod potonjih valja ispostaviti i njihove dvije inačice s obzirom na oblikovanje same fibule. Riječ je o tipovima jednostavnih, jednopetljastih lučnih fibula, pravokutnog presjeka istanjenog luka, sa simetrično postavljenom i trapezoidno raskovanom nožicom, koja često ima nagašen prijelaz u luk. Razlika između njih uvjetovana je dakle dimenzijama i samih fibula i jantarnih zrna, što dakako anticipira i nešto drugačiju ili različito složenu tehničku izvedbu.

*Mala lučna fibula s jantarnim zrnom na luku* iz groba 111 (kat. br. 13), ima brojne paralele na središnjem liburnskom teritoriju, posebno u Ninu i u Zatonu,<sup>133</sup> te kod susjednih japodskih nalazišta.<sup>134</sup> Prema Aleksandru Palavestri te se fibule mogu razlučiti u dvije varijante, od kojih većina pripada varijanti 63a, s krupnijim jantarnim zrnom.<sup>135</sup> Ovdje su vrijedni osvrta grobovi koji pokazuju srodnu

first, Japodian variant, fibulae of the second, *Caput Adriae* variant, were found farther north, in Dolenjska, Friuli and Trento.<sup>129</sup> Finds of both variants only, quite logically, appeared in the territory of the northern Adriatic, Istria and Kvarner (Fig. 14. 4, 7, Fig. 15).

This *pseudo-Certosa* fibula indisputably exhibits more traits of the Japodian variant as an indubitable derivative of the *Certosa* fibulae, and the articulation and specificity of rendering of the animal's head irresistibly recall the crossbow fibulae with small ram-shaped heads as presented by Stane Gabrovec,<sup>130</sup> i.e., the closest fibula of this type from Prozor, whose circularly formed horns are, to be sure, perforated and drawn out of the animal's snout and head.<sup>131</sup> However, if we accept that the end of the foot of this fibula features a bird's head, then this fibula must truly be treated as a separate variant of the *pseudo-Certosa* fibulae with zoomorphic ends on the foot, of which the most similar example can be found in the fibula from Vičja luka.

It is believed that the *bow fibula with amber bead on the bow* was a feature of women's and/or children's attire in the Liburnian culture during the Early Iron Age, and that it functioned as a notable detail in the jewellery ensemble of Liburnian phase II (Fig. 22).<sup>132</sup> Despite the often ambiguous data on their discovery, they are frequently found in graves in higher numbers, particularly in combination with other fibula types. This also characterizes the graves in Velika Mrdakovica. A total of six examples were examined there, which have been divided into two variants: smaller bow fibulae with an amber bead on the bow, like the one from grave 111 (P. 2. 13), and the large bow fibulae with an amber bead on the bow, such as those known from graves 75, 109, 111 and 117 (P. 1. 2, 10; P. 2. 12, 20, 21) (Fig. 22, 23). For the latter, it would be worthwhile to ascertain their two variants with regard to the formation of the actual fibulae. These are single-looped bow fibula types having a rectangular cross-section on the flattened bow, with a symmetrically set and trapezoidally hammered small foot, which often has a prominent transition to the bow. The difference

132 Batović 1987, str. 350; Glogović 2003, str. 41.

133 Nin: grobovi 1, 6, 8, 14, 19, 29, 36, 41, 71, 88 i dr; Zaton: grobovi 2 i 6 (Glogović 2003, T. 35. 242, T. 36. 253, 261, 262, T. 37. 265-269, T. 38. 277, 278). Nadalje, i dječji grob 1 iz nekropole Nin-Ždrijac sadržavao je lučnu fibulu s jantarom na luku te 15 kolutastih jantarnih zrna rombičnog presjeka, koji su vjerojatno pripadali ogrlici (Brusić 2002, str. 219, 220, sl. 13).

134 Između japodskih i liburnskih fibula postoji i znatna razlika, budući da su liburnske u pravilu jednopetljaste, poput italskih, a japodske su često upravo dvopetljaste, temeljem čega ih je A. Palavestra razlikovala u dva tipa; 63 i 66a (Palavestra 1993, str. 213, 216). Vidjeti npr. Kompolje, Prozor, Vrebac, Široka kula (Drechsler-Bižić 1958, str. 38, T. 3. 18, 29; Drechsler-Bižić 1961, T. III. 9, T. V. 8; Drechsler-Bižić 1966, T. Y83. 7; Hiller 1991, str. 94-97; Bakarić 2006, kat. br. 122-137; Teßmann 2001, str. 42-47, T. 2.12).

135 Palavestra 1993, str. 64, 213.

129 From the gathered data on animal fibulae with heads shaped like horses or rams, Certosoid forms and crossbow structures (Gabrovec 1966, pp. 31, 32, 34, map 3), it would be worthwhile here to highlight the fibulae classified herein from Meichel and Picugi (Fig. 14. 1, 4). The same applies to those from Trentino, with a ram's head shape of type X according to A. M. Adam (1996, P. II. 62, 63).

130 Gabrovec 1966, pp. 31, 32.

131 Drechsler-Bižić 1987, p. 410, Fig. 25. 1; P. XLV. 7; Raunig 2004, pp. 93, 94, 97, 98, P. XVII. 2.

132 Batović 1987, p. 350; Glogović 2003, p. 41.

situaciju s onom iz nekropole Velike Mrdakovice, kao što su to već spominjani ninski grobovi 15, 19 ili 53<sup>136</sup> (sl. 11, sl. 22), budući da se u njima nalaze zajedno s velikim lučnim fibulama s jantarom na luku. No, općenito, brojne paralele postoje u italskim nalazištima Este i Ca' Morte,<sup>137</sup> odnosno u grobovima Verucchia<sup>138</sup> i Bologne, pogotovo Benacci Caprare, gdje su, u različitim inaćicama, značajne za njezin IIB stupanj.<sup>139</sup> Situacija istog trenda zabilježena je i za područje Picena, pa stoga i ondje obilježavaju istovremeni (IIB) stupanj njihove kulture. Brojnošću su izuzetno zastupljene u grobovima Novilare,<sup>140</sup> gdje su također bile učestale u kombinaciji s većim fibulama s jantarom na luku. Budući da se ta okolnost ponavlja i u kulturama istočne obale Jadrana, osobito na području ninske nekropole, dakle od II. liburnske faze, sukladno tumačenjima mnogih autora, te su fibule također bile uvrštene u klasičan nakitni oblik prostora jadranske *koiné* starijega željeznog doba.<sup>141</sup>

Međutim, s tipološkog aspekta naša fibula iz groba 111 nije ni tako mala fibula jer prelazi dužinu od 8 cm, a veličina fibule s jantarnim zrnom u odnosu je oko 2:4. Tim se omjerima, kao i osnovnim morfološkim odlikama, može pribrojiti tipu 4 fibula s izduženim, elipsoidnim jantarnim zrnom na luku što ga je u najnovijem, cijelokupnom, istraživanju izdvojila Nunzia Laura Saldalamacchia.<sup>142</sup> Riječ je o tipu koji se profilirao kao obilježje područja liburnske i japodske kulture, a u određenim se varijantama nalazi raspoređen i na prostoru Picena, Este i Lombardije. Autorica je istaknula kronološku odrednicu rasprostiranja njezine mode u 8. i 7. stoljeće pr. Kr.<sup>143</sup>

136 Glogović 2003, T. 35. 246, T. 39. 299, T. 40. 308, 309.

137 Eles Masi 1986, str. 81, 82, T. 47. 686, 687, T. 48. 698.

138 Boiardi, von Eles 1994, str. 36, T. VIII. 16, 17; Gentili 1994, T. XVIII, itd.; Negroni Catacchio 2009, str. 201, sl. 4, sl. 6.

139 Tovoli 1989, T. 32. 19, T. 56. 29-32; Pare 1998, str. 307, 310, sl. 3. 60; Negroni Catacchio 2003, str. 465-467, sl. 6; Trachsel 2004, sl. 135. 18; usp. Saldalamacchia 2011, str. 118-120, 130.

140 Lollini 1976, str. 124; Pare 1998, str. 325, sl. 2. Usp. npr. Novilara: Beinhauer 1985, T. 18D, 19A; Naso 2003, str. 230; Gobbi 1999, str. 201, 202, kat. br. 111-113; za tipologiju vidjeti Saldalamacchia 2011, str. 47-50, 121-126, 130.

141 Peroni 1973, str. 76, sl. 23. 30; Peroni 1976, str. 110, sl. 3. 30; Batović 1976, str. 47, 63; Palavestra 1993, str. 255; Glogović 2003, str. 41; Negroni Catacchio 2003, str. 465, 466; Negroni Catacchio 2009, str. 200-204.

142 Saldalamacchia 2011, str. 50, 65, 66, 130, T. V.

143 Saldalamacchia 2011, str. 130, 136, 138, T. IV, V.

between them is therefore based on the dimensions of the actual fibulae and the amber beads, which certainly anticipated a somewhat different or differently arranged rendering technique.

The *small bow fibula with amber bead on the bow* from grave 111 (cat. no. 13) has numerous parallels in central Liburnian territory, particularly in Nin and Zaton,<sup>133</sup> and at the neighbouring Japodian sites.<sup>134</sup> According to Aleksandar Palavestra, these fibulae may be divided into two variants, of which most belong to variant 63a, with a larger amber bead.<sup>135</sup> Here it would be worthwhile to consider the graves which exhibit a similar situation to those from the Velika Mrdakovica necropolis, such as the already mentioned Nin graves 15, 19 or 53 (Fig. 11, Fig. 22),<sup>136</sup> since they were found in them together with large bow fibulae with amber beads. However, in general there are numerous parallels at the Italic sites of Este and Ca'Morte,<sup>137</sup> and in the graves of Verucchio<sup>138</sup> and Bologna, especially Benacci Caprara, where they were significant in different variants during its phase IIB.<sup>139</sup> A situation with the same trend was also recorded in Picenian territory, so even there a coterminous (IIB) phase of its culture was designated. By their number, they are exceptionally well-represented in the graves of Novilara,<sup>140</sup> where

133 Nin: graves 1, 6, 8, 14, 19, 29, 36, 41, 71, 88 and others;

Zaton: graves 2 and 6 (Glogović 2003, P. 35. 242, P. 36. 253, 261, 262, P. 37. 265-269, P. 38. 277, 278). Furthermore, the children's grave 1 from the Nin-Ždrija necropolis contained an bow fibula with an amber bead on the bow and 15 ring-shaped amber beads having rhomboid cross-section, which probably belonged to a necklace (Brusić 2002, pp. 219, 220, Fig. 13).

134 There is a considerable difference between the Japodian and Liburnian fibulae, since the Liburnian ones generally have a single loop, like the Italic ones, while the Japodian fibulae are often two-looped, which is why A. Palavestra distinguished two types; 63 and 66a (Palavestra 1993, pp. 213, 216). See, for example, Kompolje, Prozor, Vrebac, Široka kula (Drechsler-Bižić 1958, p. 38, P. 3. 18, 29; Drechsler-Bižić 1961, P. III. 9, P. V. 8; Drechsler-Bižić 1966, P. Y83. 7; Hiller 1991, pp. 94-97; Bakarić 2006, cat. no. 122-137; Teßmann 2001, pp. 42-47, P. 2.12).

135 Palavestra 1993, pp. 64, 213.

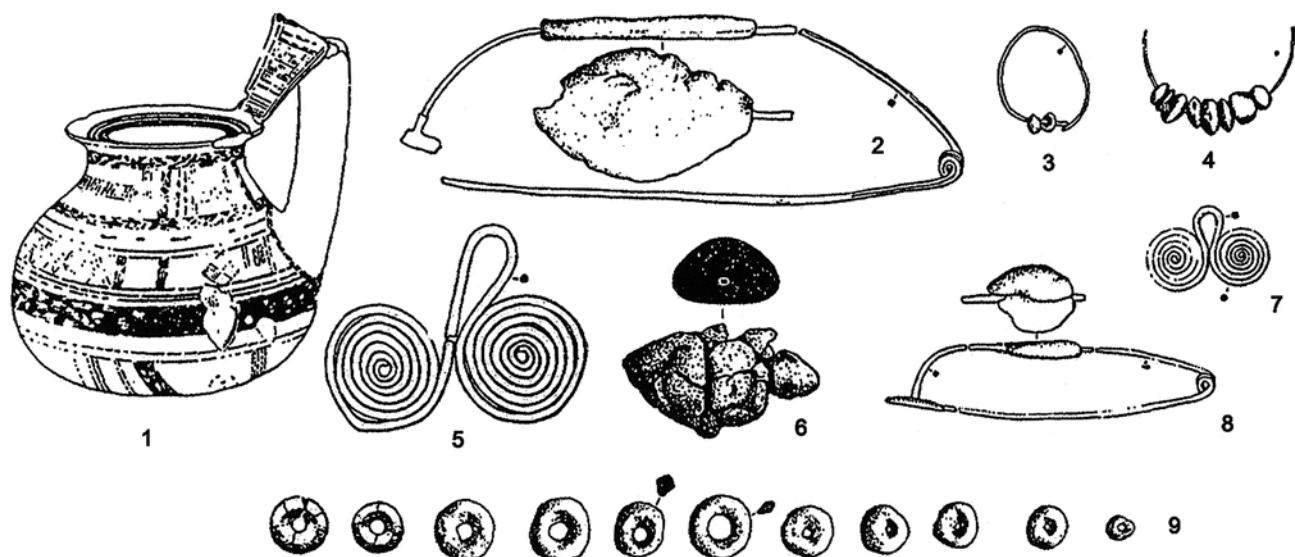
136 Glogović 2003, P. 35. 246, P. 39. 299, P. 40. 308, 309.

137 Eles Masi 1986, pp. 81, 82, P. 47. 686, 687, P. 48. 698.

138 Boiardi, von Eles 1994, p. 36, P. VIII. 16, 17; Gentili 1994, P. XVIII, etc.; Negroni Catacchio 2009, p. 201, Fig. 4, Fig. 6.

139 Tovoli 1989, P. 32. 19, P. 56. 29-32; Pare 1998, pp. 307, 310, Fig. 3. 60; Negroni Catacchio 2003, pp. 465-467, Fig. 6; Trachsel 2004, Fig. 135. 18; cf. Saldalamacchia 2011, pp. 118-120, 130.

140 Lollini 1976, p. 124; Pare 1998, p. 325, Fig. 2. Cf. for example, Novilara: Beinhauer 1985, P. 18D, 19A; Naso



Sl. 16. Grobna cjelina 2 iz nekropole u Zatonu (prema Batović 1975)

Fig. 16. Grave unit 2 from the necropolis in Zaton (according to Batović 1975)

No, u liburnskoj kulturi donja im je granica korištenja bila određivana daunijskom keramikom u već navedenom grobu 23 iz Nina (sl. 8, sl. 22) i grobu 2 iz Zatona (sl. 16, sl. 22), tj. s fibulama tipa *protocertosa*, u vrijeme 6. stoljeća pr. Kr.<sup>144</sup> Kako smo pokazali, dataciju tih grobova treba razumijevati već u 7. stoljeću pr. Kr.,<sup>145</sup> s čime povezano ti grobovi neće moći biti oslonac tako predloženoj kronološkoj poziciji. No inventar ninskoga groba 53 (sl. 11, sl. 22), s asocijacijom još šest fibula različitih tipoloških obilježja, solidno bi potvrdio dataciju vremenu 6. stoljeća pr. Kr., što argumentira nalaz fibula s dvije kuglice na luku, fibula tipa *protocertosa* te svakako mala trakasta fibula.<sup>146</sup>

Drugu varijantu predstavljaju *velike lučne fibule s jantarnim zrnom na luku*. One ne odudaraju značajnije od oblikovne sheme prethodno opisanih fibula, već su zapravo njihova glomaznija inačica: kod nekih je primjeraka nožica izdvojena trapezoidno, ali prilično široko, spljošteno ili čak ovalno oblikovana.

they were also frequent in combination with larger fibulae with amber beads on the bows. Since this circumstance was also repeated in the cultures of the Eastern Adriatic seaboard, particularly in the territory of the Nin necropolis, i.e., since Liburnian phase II, in line with the interpretations of many scholars these fibulae were also classified as a classical jewellery form of the Adriatic *koiné* in the Early Iron Age.<sup>141</sup>

However, from the typological standpoint, the fibula in question from grave 111 is not even very small, because it exceeds a length of 8 cm, while the size of the fibula with an amber bead is in a 2:4 ratio. With these ratios, and the basic morphological traits, it may be counted as a type 4 fibula with oblong, ellipsoid amber bead on the bow, which was distinguished in the most recent, comprehensive research by Nunzia Laura Saldalamacchia.<sup>142</sup> This was a type which emerged as a feature of the Liburnian and Japodian cultural territory, while in certain variants it can even be found distributed in the territory of Picenum, Este and Lombardy. She underscored the chronological determinant for the distribution of this fashion to the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC.<sup>143</sup>

144 Glogović 2003, str. 41.

145 To je uostalom već dobro argumentirano za italske nalaze čija je donja granica nalaženju u kontekstu bogatog groba Este, Villa Benvenuti 77, temeljem nalaza igle tipa *Minerbe* pouzdano smještena upravo u vrijeme 7. stoljeća pr. Kr. (Eles Masi 1986, str. 81; usp. Carrancini 1975, str. 289, 291, T. 68. 2238; Capuis, Chieco Bianchi 2006, T. 46. 17).

146 Hiller 1991, T. 16, 17; usp. Glogović 2003, str. 39, T. 40. 308, 309, T. 49. 423, T. 52. 461, 462, T. 53. 484, 497, T. 56. 546; Nascimbene 2009, str. 93-100, sl. 19, 20; Tecco Hvala 2012, str. 242, 243, sl. 91.

2003, p. 230; Gobbi 1999, pp. 201, 202, cat. no. 111-113; for typology, see Saldalamacchia 2011, pp. 47-50, 121-126, 130.

141 Peroni 1973, p. 76, Fig. 23. 30; Peroni 1976, p. 110, Fig. 3. 30; Batović 1976, pp. 47, 63; Palavestra 1993, p. 255; Glogović 2003, p. 41; Negroni Catacchio 2003, pp. 465, 466; Negroni Catacchio 2009, pp. 200-204.

142 Saldalamacchia 2011, pp. 50, 65, 66, 130, P. V.

143 Saldalamacchia 2011, pp. 130, 136, 138, P. IV, V.

Razlikuje ih, međutim, činjenica da su one višeput izrađene zapravo dvodijelno, sa sustavom za pričvršćivanje luka, zbog čega tu najčešće pucaju ili su polomljene, što je diktirala veličina, kako fibule, tako i jantarnog zrna.<sup>147</sup> Kao i za one manje varijante, tako se i za ove fibule mislilo da ih najvećim dijelom poznajemo iz grobova nekropola u Ninu, te s nekoliko primjeraka iz Zatona i iz Žaganj dolca na otoku Braču.<sup>148</sup> Raspravljujući o njima isključivo na temelju veličine fibule, tj. velikih fibula od 15 do 20 cm dužine, s različito oblikovanim jantarnim zrnima na luku, D. Glogović ih je tako prostorno i tretirala, izdvojenih od drugih.<sup>149</sup> Kronološki im je okvir, kao uostalom i za sve varijante fibula s jantarom na luku, predložila u rasponu od 8. do 6. stoljeća pr. Kr., dakle konvencionalno II. i III. liburnskoj fazi i njoj istovremenoj fazi susjedne kulture Delmata.<sup>150</sup>

U ovome su radu u red velikih fibula ubrojene sve one iznad 10 cm dužine, budući da klasična mala fibula toga tipa ne prelazi 5 ili 6 cm. Istim je promišljanjem znatno ranije A. Palavestra ukazao i na nalaz fibula iz Kompolja, grob 63,<sup>151</sup> i iz Vičje luke, grob 1,<sup>152</sup> interpretirajući ih kao fibule koji idu u red velikih fibula s jantarom na luku. Povrh svega eksplicitno im je pridružio i nalaze iz nekropole u Velikoj Mrdakovici,<sup>153</sup> što primjerice u radu D. Glogović nije vrednovano.<sup>154</sup> Autor je, naime, najintenzivnije korištenje većine predmetnih fibula razmatrao upravo u

<sup>147</sup> Nažalost, većina crteža predmetnih fibula u katalogu PBF-a nije dovoljno precizno prikazana, pa se navedeni detalji ne vide, poglavito ne na velikim fibulama, na što je upozorila već i G. Hiller, smatrajući ih popravcima fibule (Hiller 1991, str. 96). Na manjim fibulama prikazani su samo na onima iz ninskih grobova 71 i 36 (Glogović 2003, str. 35, 37, T. 35. 242, T. 38. 283).

<sup>148</sup> Glogović 2003, T. 39. 298, 301, T. 40. 303, 308, T. 41. 314, 317, 318, 320, T. 42. 323.

<sup>149</sup> Glogović 2003, T. 63.

<sup>150</sup> Glogović 2003, str. 38-41, T. 71.

<sup>151</sup> Drechsler-Bižić 1961, str. 105, T. V. 9. Fibule iz Kompolja imaju velika zrna jantara na luku, ali su tipovi fibula različitiji od liburnskih. Uz to, znakovito je za japodske primjerke da s unutarnje strane imaju urezane koncentrične kružnice, što ih također udaljuje od ovdje obraglih primjeraka.

<sup>152</sup> Marović, Nikolanci 1969, str. 10. Za navedeni je grob iz Vičje luke iznesena prilično niska datacija 4. stoljeća pr. Kr. (Palavestra 1993, str. 66), jer bi ga zbog fibule tipa *Baška* i igala valjalo razumijevati već na početku 5. stoljeća pr. Kr.

<sup>153</sup> Palavestra 1993, str. 60, 65-67, 76, 213; Palavestra 2006, str. 46, sl. 17.

<sup>154</sup> Dapače, autorica je fibulu iz našega groba 75 objavila pod nepoznato nalazište iz Muzeja grada Šibenika,

However, in the Liburnian culture the lower threshold of their use was determined by the Daunian ware in the already mentioned grave 23 from Nin (Fig. 8, Fig. 22) and grave 2 from Zaton (Fig. 16, Fig. 22), i.e., with *proto-Certosa* fibula, to the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>144</sup> As shown, the dating of these graves should be understood already in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC,<sup>145</sup> in which connection these graves cannot constitute the basis for the proposed chronological determination. However, the goods from Nin grave 53 (Fig. 11, Fig. 22), with the association of an additional six fibulae of varying typological features, would solidly confirm dating to the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, which is backed by the find of a fibula with two small knobs on the bow, a *proto-Certosa* fibula and certainly the small band-like fibula.<sup>146</sup>

The second variant is the *large bow fibula with amber bead on the bow*. They do not diverge significantly from the formation scheme of the previously-described fibulae, rather they are essentially a more massive variant thereof: on some examples the foot is separated trapezoidally, albeit formed rather widely, flatly or even ovaly. They differ, however, by the fact that they were not infrequently actually rendered in two pieces, with a system to fasten the bow, which is why they are often now fractured or broken, which was dictated by the size of both the fibula itself and the amber bead.<sup>147</sup> As in the case of the smaller variants, it was thought of these fibulae that they were mostly recognized from the graves in the necropolis in Nin, and several examples from Zaton and Žaganj dolac on the island of Brač.<sup>148</sup> Discussing them based exclusively on the size of the fibulae, i.e., the large fibulae with lengths of 15 to 20 cm, with differently formed

<sup>144</sup> Glogović 2003, p. 41.

<sup>145</sup> Indeed, this has already been well argued for the Italic finds that have their lower discovery threshold in the context of a rich grave, Este, Villa Benvenuti 77, based on the find of a *Minerbe* type pin it was reliably placed in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC (Eles Masi 1986, p. 81; cf. Carancini 1975, pp. 289, 291, P. 68. 2238; Capuis, Chieco Bianchi 2006, P. 46. 17).

<sup>146</sup> Hiller 1991, P. 16-17; cf. Glogović 2003, p. 39, P. 40. 308-309, P. 49. 423, P. 52. 461, 462, P. 53. 484, 497, P. 56. 546; Nascimbene 2009, pp. 93-100, Fig. 19, 20; Tecco Hvala 2012, pp. 242, 243, Fig. 91.

<sup>147</sup> Unfortunately, most sketches of these fibulae in the PBF catalogue are not sufficiently precise, so the aforementioned details cannot be seen, particularly not on the larger fibulae, which G. Hiller already pointed out, considering them repairs to fibulae (Hiller 1991, p. 96). On the smaller fibulae, they are only shown on those from the Nin graves 71 and 36 (Glogović 2003, pp. 35, 37, P. 35. 242, P. 38. 283).

<sup>148</sup> Glogović 2003, P. 39. 298, 301, P. 40. 303, 308, P. 41. 314, 317, 318, 320, P. 42. 323.

klasičnom horizontu IIB/III. faze kulture Liburna, tj. u 7. i 6. stoljeću pr. Kr., s mogućim dugim trajanjem sve do 5./4. stoljeća pr. Kr.<sup>155</sup> Grobovi iz Velike Mrdakovice sadrže dakle veći broj fibula, te su u grobovima 111 i 117 zastupljene sa po dva primjerka, dok se u grobovima 75 i 109 nalazi samo po jedan komad. Zbog nedovoljno jasno poznatih podataka o grobnom ritualu i samim pokopima nije nažalost moguće jasno razlučiti nošnju pokojnica i njihovu pripadnost, njihov značaj. Tipološki ih možemo razumijevati u sklopu tipa 5 takvih fibula prema N. L. Saldalamacchia,<sup>156</sup> koje označavaju veće dimenzije, simetrična noge i blago spljošten zakriviljeni luk oblika izdužene elipse. Jantarno zrno na luku odgovara tipološki onima s fibula tipa 4, tj. izduženog, elipsoidnog oblika. Prema analizi iste autorice one predstavljaju razvojnu izvedenicu iz fibula tipa 4, specifičnu za liburnski prostor i s njim udruživane kulturne prostore 7. stoljeća pr. Kr.<sup>157</sup> U svezi s vremenskim određenjem grobovi 75, 109 i 117, zbog analiziranih igala, dopuštaju dataciju već u 8. stoljeće pr. Kr. Ostali grobovi imaju manje osjetljivih elemenata za određenju dataciju grobnih cjelina, pa je tako situacija kronološke determinacije srodnja onoj koju smo vidjeli kod fibula tipa *protocer-tosa*, u čiju su se korist i navodili podudarni konteksti (sl. 22, 23). Grobovi iz Nina i Zatona iznova nam mogu pružiti nešto jasnije odnose njihove kronološke pozicije (sl. 22). Ako grob 10 iz Nina tumačimo kao upitan po vjerodostojnosti svoje povezanosti,<sup>158</sup> dok su grobovi 23 i 86 s keramikom daunijskog importa, kao i grobovi 53 (sl. 11, sl. 22)<sup>159</sup> i 54, već bili predmetom rasprave, uz grob 19 koji sadrži fibule s jantarom na luku, kronološki bi valjalo razmotriti još i grobove 15, 17, 22 i 88. Naime, bogati grob 15 nadgovara vremenskoj odrednici uvodenja tog osobitog dijela nošnje u modu liburnske kulture, dokazujući to i kombinacijom s malom fibulom s jantarnom na luku

smještajući ju u skupinu velikih fibula (Glogović 2003, str. 38, T. 40. 306).

155 Palavestra 1993, str. 54, 55, 58, 60, 65, 76.

156 Saldalamacchia 2011, str. 51, 130.

157 Saldalamacchia 2011, str. 115, 130, 136, 138.

158 U grobu, koji je kompleksan po inventaru i njegovoj autentičnosti, nalazile su se između ostalog i fibule s jantarom na luku, fibula tipa Osor, naočalasta fibula, fibule tipa *Baška* te igla tipa Vadena (Hiller 1991, str. 359, T. 8-10; Glogović 2003, str. 26, kat. br. 140, 169, 240, 276, 298, 332).

159 Treba napomenuti kako je u radu D. Glogović manja fibula s jantarnim zrnom na luku zamijenjena s fibulom istog tipa iz groba 23 (Glogović 2003, T. 40. 309 s T. 41. 312; usp. Batović 1968, T. XIII, T. XV; Hiller 1991, T. 16. 167, T. 21. 227).

amber beads on the bow, D. Glogović also treated them in this manner spatially, separate from others.<sup>149</sup> She proposed a chronological framework for them, as indeed for all variants of fibulae with amber beads on the bow, within a range from the 8<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, i.e., the conventional Liburnian phases II and III and the contemporary phase of the neighbouring Delmataean culture.<sup>150</sup>

In this work, all fibulae over 10 cm long are counted among the large fibulae, since the classic small fibula of this type does not exceed a length of 5 or 6 cm. Thinking along the same lines much earlier, Palavestra had also pointed out the fibula find from Kompolje, grave 63,<sup>151</sup> and from Vičja luka, grave 1,<sup>152</sup> interpreting them as fibulae that belong among the large fibulae with amber bead on the bow. On top of this, he explicitly added the finds from the necropolis in Velika Mrdakovica to them,<sup>153</sup> which, for example, was not taken into account in the work of D. Glogović.<sup>154</sup> Palavestra, namely, considered the most intensive use of most of these fibulae precisely in the classical horizon of phase IIB/III of the Liburnian culture, i.e., in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, with a possible longer duration until the 5<sup>th</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>155</sup> The graves from Velika Mrdakovica thus contain a higher number of fibulae, and in graves 111 and 117 there are two examples in each, while there was only one each in graves 75 and 109. Due to the insufficiently clear known data on grave rituals and interments themselves, it is unfortunately impossible to unambiguously distinguish between the attire of deceased women and their affiliation and their significance. Typologically, they may be understood as a component of type 5 of these fibula

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149 Glogović 2003, P. 63.

150 Glogović 2003, pp. 38-41, P. 71.

151 Drechsler-Bižić 1961, p. 105, P. V. 9. The fibulae from Kompolje have a large amber bead on the bow, but the fibula types are different from the Liburnian ones. Additionally, it is interesting that the Japodian examples have engraved concentric circlets from the inside, which also moves them farther away from the examples analyzed herein.

152 Marović, Nikolanci 1969, p. 10. A rather low dating of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC was cited for this grave from Vičja luka (Palavestra 1993, p. 66), because the *Baška* fibula and pins would indicate the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

153 Palavestra 1993, pp. 60, 65-67, 76, 213; Palavestra 2006, p. 46, Fig. 17.

154 Moreover, she published the fibula from grave 75 here-in under an unknown find site from the Šibenik City Museum, placing it in the large fibula group (Glogović 2003, p. 38, P. 40. 306).

155 Palavestra 1993, pp. 54, 55, 58, 60, 65, 76.

i naočalastom fibulom tipa B prema F. Lo Schiavo, zatim karakterističnim narukvicama od brončanog lima C-presjeka te s većim pucetima, od kojih jedna ima izrazito veliki trn<sup>160</sup> (sl. 22). Sukladno inventaru groba 24,<sup>161</sup> datacija bi im bila prihvatljiva već za 9./8. stoljeće pr. Kr.

Potom bi grob 22 (sl. 17), s fibulama s dvije i s tri kuglice na luku, te s naočalastom fibulom tipa C prema Lo Schiavo, svjedočio o raskošnoj i klasičnoj uporabi tijekom 7. stoljeća,<sup>162</sup> što bi dalje za 6. stoljeće pr. Kr. obilježavao bogati grob 88 (sl. 18, sl. 22) zajedno sa zmijastom fibulom s roščićima<sup>163</sup> te okruglom pojasmnom ažuriranom kopčom.<sup>164</sup> U prilog takvoj tezi ide i inventar čuvenoga groba 6 iz Zatona, s pektoralom tipa Zaton-Ancona i sedam fibula s jantarom na luku različitih veličina i tipoloških obilježja. Njemu se pripisivala ceremonijalna, odnosno ritualna vrijednost nositeljice koja je s njime bila sahranjena (sl.

160 Glogović 2003, str. 26.

161 Batović 1976, sl. 14; Batović 1987, T. XXXVII. 14-21.

162 Hiller 1991, str. 373, T. 31-32D. Glogović prenosi dataciju, samo temeljem fibule s dvije kuglice na luku, i to poprilično nisku, u 5. stoljeće pr. Kr. (Glogović 2003, str. 62, T. 50. 441), preuzimajući podatke od Š. Batovića (Batović 1981, str. 113, kat. br. 185). Svakako, u ovoj je grobnoj cjelini posebno vrijedan pozornosti veliki naočalasti privjesak koji je prema svemu sudeći najvjerojatnije nastao preradbom oštećene naočalaste fibule tipa C ili, manje vjerojatno, po uzoru na nju.

163 Te fibule obilježavaju pojavu u kulturnom stupnju Picena III, ali su značajne i za naredne stupnjeve, osobito IVA (Lollini 1976, str. 132, 133, T. VI. 2), što bi otprije činilo vremenski sklad s importiranim fibulom u grobu 88 iz Nina. Povrh toga, korištenje te fibule možda sugerira da se i na liburnskom području u muškoj nošnji otprije u vremenu 7. stoljeća pr. Kr. počinju koristiti fibule namjesto igala, što je potvrđena praksa u kulturama šireg jadranskog bazena. G. Hiller je upravo temeljem tog grobnog inventara smatrala kako se općenita pojava fibula tipa *Baška*, sukladno fibulama tipa *protocertosa*, u sjevernoj Dalmaciji datira već u 7. stoljeće pr. Kr. (Hiller 1991, str. 113). S obzirom na razvojni tijek fibule, te napokon tipološko i kronološko usklajenje, ta bi se teza morala prihvatići, što smo već dokazivali na primjeru groba 30 iz Nina.

164 Ažurirane, okrugle pojanske kopče toga tipa osebujan su, iako ne učestali, dio nošnje Liburna. Pored Nina, grobovi 88 i 78 (Hiller 1991, T. 19. 207), nalazimo ih još u Bribiru (Batović 1981, str. 124, sl. 11. 6; Pare 1987, str. 58, sl. 14. 12), Zatonu, grob 16 (Batović 1985, T. XX. 2), Kosi kod Ljupča (Brusić 2002, sl. 39) i na Dragišiću, grob 10 (Brusić 2000a, T. XI. 7). Usp. Jašarević 2012.

as determined by N. L. Saldalamacchia,<sup>156</sup> which are characterized by larger dimensions, a symmetric foot and a slightly flattened and curved bow with an oblong elliptical shape. The amber bead on the bow typologically corresponds to those from type 4 fibulae, i.e., the oblong, ellipsoid shape. According to an analysis by this same scholar, they constitute a developmental derivative of the type 4 fibula, specific to Liburnian territory and the cultural sphere associated with it in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>157</sup> With regard to the chronological determination of graves 75, 109 and 117, the analyzed pins allow for dating to the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC. The remaining graves have less sensitive elements for more specific dating of grave units, so the situation for chronological determination is similar to that seen for the *proto-Certosa* fibulae, to whose benefit corresponding contexts were cited (Fig. 22, 23). The graves from Nin and Zaton can once more offer a somewhat clearer relationship between their chronological positions (Fig. 22). If grave 10 from Nin is interpreted as dubious in terms of the credibility of its connection,<sup>158</sup> while graves 23 and 86 with imported Daunian ware, as well as graves 53 (Fig. 11, Fig. 22)<sup>159</sup> and 54, were already the topic of discussion, grave 19, which contained a fibula with an amber bead on the bow, should be chronologically considered together with graves 15, 17, 22 and 88. Namely, the rich grave 15 points to a chronological determinant for the introduction of this particular component of attire in the fashion of the Liburnian culture, additionally proving this by the combination with the small fibula with an amber bead on the bow and the type B spectacle fibula according to F. Lo Schiavo, followed by the characteristic bracelets made of sheet bronze with C-shaped cross-section and large buttons, of which one has an exceptionally large prong (Fig. 22).<sup>160</sup> In compliance with the goods from grave 24,<sup>161</sup> their dating would be acceptable already for the 9<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> century BC.

Then grave 22 (Fig. 17), with fibulae having two and three small knobs on the bow, and the spectacle

156 Saldalamacchia 2011, pp. 51, 130.

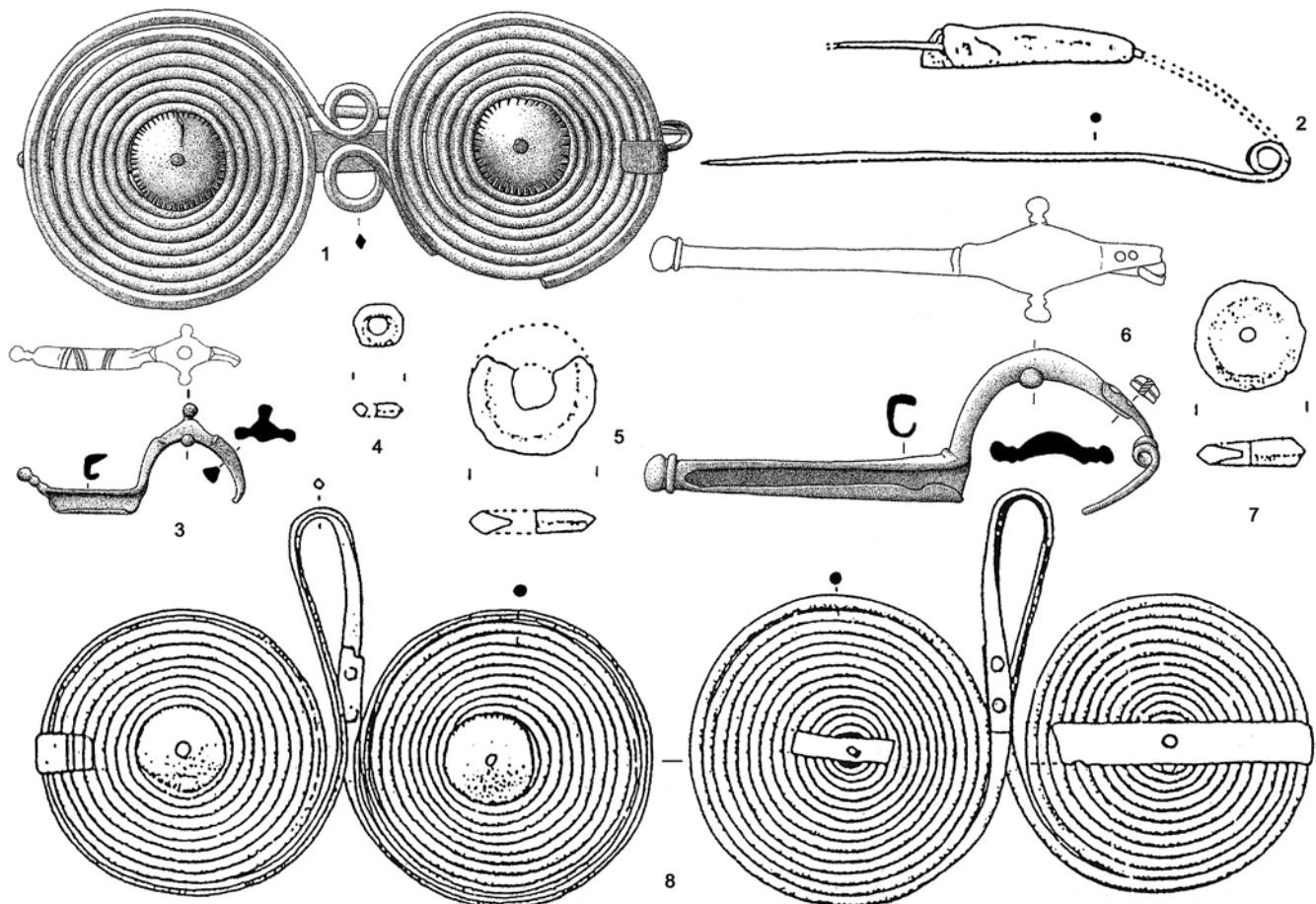
157 Saldalamacchia 2011, pp. 115, 130, 136, 138.

158 The grave, which is complex in terms of its goods and authenticity, contained, among other things, a fibula with an amber bead on the bow, an *Osor* fibula, a spectacle fibula, a *Baška* fibula, and a *Vadena* type of pin (Hiller 1991, p. 359, P. 8-10; Glogović 2003, p. 26, cat. no. 140, 169, 240, 276, 298, 332).

159 It should be noted that in D. Glogović's work the small fibula with amber bead on the bow was replaced with a fibula of the same type from grave 23 (Glogović 2003, P. 40. 309 s P. 41. 312; cf. Batović 1968, P. XIII, P. XV; Hiller 1991, P. 16. 167, P. 21. 227).

160 Glogović 2003, p. 26.

161 Batović 1976, Fig. 14; Batović 1987, P. XXXVII. 14-21.



Sl. 17. Izbor iz groba 22 nekropole u Ninu (prilagođeno prema Hiller 1991; Glogović 2003)

Fig. 17. Selection from grave 22 in the Nin necropolis (adapted according to Hiller 1991; Glogović 2003)

22),<sup>165</sup> iako u prvome redu na umu valja imati bogatstvo i prestiž takve nošnje, temeljene na gospodarsko-socijalnom statusu pokojnice. Naime, grob je smatran predstavnikom III. faze liburnske kulture, međutim i njega bismo mogli razumijevati već u vremenu tijeka 7. stoljeća pr. Kr., što je analizom jantarnih zrna bio zaključio i A. Palavestra.<sup>166</sup> Međutim, premda se jantar nije očuvao, A. Palavestra ispušta iz analize grob 5 iz Zatona (sl. 19, sl. 22), budući da je sačuvan samo dio velikog dvodijelnog luka i igla istog tipa fibule. Sukladno okolnostima, uz tri fibule tipa *protocertos* i dve fibule tipa *Baška*, odnosno uz rozetu/pločicu,

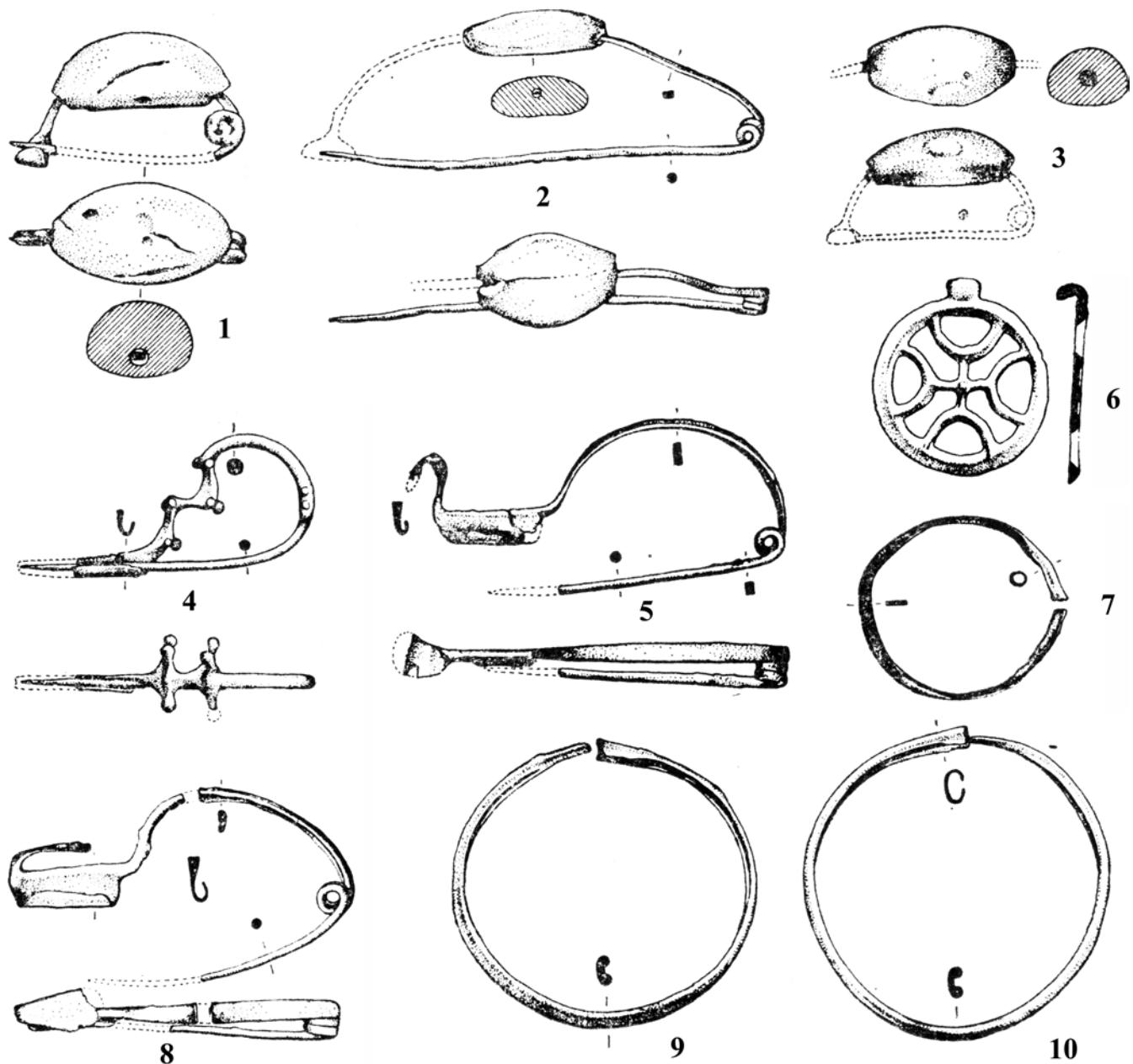
fibula of Lo Schiavo's type C would testify to luxurious and classical use during the 7<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>162</sup> which would in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC further characterize grave 88 (Fig. 18, Fig. 22) together with the serpentine fibula with horn-shaped knobs<sup>163</sup> and the round ajouré

<sup>162</sup> Hiller 1991, p. 373, P. 31-32D. Glogović conveys the dating, based solely on the fibula with two small bells on the bow, to a rather low 5<sup>th</sup> century BC (Glogović 2003, p. 62, P. 50. 441), assuming the data from Š. Batović (Batović 1981, p. 113, cat. no. 185). Certainly noteworthy in this grave unit is the large spectacle-shaped pendant which by all indications was probably the result of reworking of a damaged type C spectacle fibula or, less likely, modelled after it.

<sup>163</sup> These fibulae characterized the appearance of the Picenian III cultural phase, but they are significant to the subsequent phases, particularly IVA (Lollini 1976, pp. 132-133, P. VI. 2), which would create a rough chronological alignment with the imported fibula in grave 88 from Nin. Over and above this, the use of these fibulae may suggest that in Liburnian territory in about the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC fibula also began to be used in men's attire instead of pins, which practice has been confirmed in the cultures of the wider Adriatic basin. Based

<sup>165</sup> Batović 1965, str. 63, sl. 15; Glogović 2003, str. 36, 39, 40, T. 37. 265-268, T. 41. 315-317.

<sup>166</sup> Palavestra 1993, str. 58. Autor je naime analizirao svih sedam primjeraka lučnih fibula s jantarem na luku i pripisao ih svom tipu 63a, iako je posve jasno bilo vidljivo da primjerak pod br. 14, ali i još njih par (Batović 1965, str. 63, sl. 15. 14; Glogović 2003, T. 41. 315, 316) pripadaju velikoj lučnoj fibuli, tj. njegovom tipu 63c.



Sl. 18. Izbor predmeta iz groba 88 nekropole u Ninu (prema Batović 1976)

Fig. 18. Selection of items from grave 88 of the necropolis in Nin (according to Batović 1976)

s koljenom i rupicom za zakovicu zmijaste fibule,<sup>167</sup>

belt buckle.<sup>164</sup> Such a hypothesis is also backed by

167 Hiller 1991, T. 48. Ulomak fibule nije objavljen u PBF-u D. Glogović 2003. Prema tako karakterističnoj pločici može se uvrstiti u tip 6c prema S. Tecco Hvala (2012, str. 233, 236, 241, 242, sl. 88. 11), koji, kao i navedeni tip 7a, predstavlja utjecaj iz istočnoalpskog prostora, svetolucijskog ili dolenjskog kruga. A. Nasimbene smatra ga tipom I.3B koji je zastupljen i na području Istre s po nekoliko primjeraka (Nasimbene 2009, str. 87-89, sl. 17, 18).

precisely on these grave goods, Hiller believed that the general appearance of *Baška* fibula in northern Dalmatia, in line with *proto-Certosa* fibulae, may be dated already to the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC (Hiller 1991, p. 113). Given the developmental path of the fibulae, and, finally, their typological and chronological alignment, this hypothesis may be accepted, which has already been shown in the example of grave 30 from Nin.

164 Ajouré, round belt buckles of this type are a specific, albeit infrequent, component of Liburnian attire. Besides Nin, graves 88 and 78 (Hiller 1991, P. 19. 207), they can also be found in Bribir (Batović 1981, p. 124,

također lijepo svjedoči o dataciji u sredinu 6. stoljeća pr. Kr.<sup>168</sup>

Njima vremenski valja uskladiti, u novijim istraživanjima zabilježen, grob 52 iz zadarske nekropole Relja, gdje je istražena velika fibula predmetnog tipa zajedno s brončanim ogrlicama od šupljeg lima C-presjeka (sl. 22). Ivo Fadić datirao je taj grob, kao i cijeli horizont liburnskog dijela nekropole na Relji, u 7. stoljeće pr. Kr., što objašnjava i nalazima iz drugih grobova,<sup>169</sup> koji, međutim, upućuju i na moguće dulje trajanje pokapanja na tom dijelu nekropole, barem kroz 6. stoljeće pr. Kr.

Napokon, grob 17 iz Nina (sl. 22), ukoliko njegova cjelina može biti relevantna, s fibulom tipa *Certosa* varijante VIIe prema B. Teržan, s dvojnom iglom M oblikovane glavice tipa IV prema R. Vasiću, te s kampanskim crnopremazanim tanjurom<sup>170</sup> svjedočio bi donjoj granici njihove uporabe tijekom 4. stoljeća pr. Kr. (sl. 22).

U inventarima grobova novilarske nekropole nalazi se i drugoj inačici iste fibule iz groba 109 (kat.

the goods the famous grave 6 in Zaton, with a Zaton-Ancona type pectoral and seven fibulae with amber beads on the bows that have differing sizes and typological features. A ceremonial or ritual value to the bearer with whom it was interred has been ascribed to it (Fig. 22),<sup>165</sup> even though the opulence and prestige of such attire, rooted in the socio-economic status of the deceased woman, must be considered first and foremost. For the grave is deemed to represent the Liburnian culture's phase III, although even it may be understood as occurring already in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, which Palavestra also concluded based on an analysis of the amber beads.<sup>166</sup> However, although the amber has not been preserved, Palavestra excluded grave 5 in Zaton (Fig. 19, Fig. 22) from the analysis, since only a part of the large two-piece bow and pin from the same fibula have been preserved. In line with circumstances, together with three *proto-Certosa* fibulae and two *Baška* fibulae, and a rosette/plate, with a joint and small hole for the rivet of a serpentine fibula,<sup>167</sup> it also testifies nicely to dating in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>168</sup>

Grave 52 from the Zadar necropolis of Relja, recorded in more recent research, must be chronologically aligned with them. A large fibula of the type in

168 U istom smislu vrijedno je istaknuti i usporedbu s grobom 85 nekropole Novilara-Servici, gdje se pored karakterističnog pektoralata i antropomorfnih privjesaka nalazila i veća lučna, dvodijelna fibula, doduše bez jantara na luku, ali s istim principom pričvršćivanja luka, za koju se upravo ovakvo tipološko određenje diskutiranom tipu s pravom prepostavlja (Beinhauer 1985, T. 138. 1531; sl. 21).

169 Fadić 2006, str. 350; usp. Kukoč 2011, str. 207, sl. 42a.

170 Batović 1968, T. XVII; Hiller 1991, str. 116, 117, 369, T. 24. 261-270. U grobu se nalazila i mala pijavičasta fibula tzv. sniženog i spljoštenog luka (Glogović 2003, str. 55-59, T. 49. 408; Kukoč, Čelhar 2009, str. 92, sl. 9a, b) koja ima izravne paralele na estenskom, emilijsanskom i picenskom prostoru, gdje su bile obilježjem 8. i 7. stoljeća, iako se mogu naći i u kontekstima ranog 6. stoljeća pr. Kr. (Eles Masi 1986, str. 67, T. 37. 559-572; Hiller 1991, str. 101). Isto vrijedi i za kontekste nalaženja na prostoru istočne obale Jadrana (Glogović 2003, str. 56, 57). Svakako usamljeni primjerak iz ovoga groba, i općenito iz Nina, valja razumijevati kao predmet znatno stariji od okolnosti u kojima se zatekao, bilo namjerno, kao starija dragocjenost, bilo slučajno, naknadnim intervencijama na nekropoli?! Sukladno tomu ne možemo prihvati eventualno trajanje toga tipa fibule do 4. stoljeća pr. Kr. što je predlagala G. Hiller (1991, str. 117), kao što se ne možemo složiti gledajući tipološkog i funkcionalnog određenja, odnosno s datacijom groba 17 u 4./3. stoljeće pr. Kr., koju su ponudile Sineva Kukoč i Martina Čelhar (Kukoč, Čelhar 2009, str. 92). Vrlo sličan primjerak nalazi se i u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu (Lo Schiavo 1970, str. 435, T. XXVII. 7; Glogović 2003, str. 55, T. 49. 411).

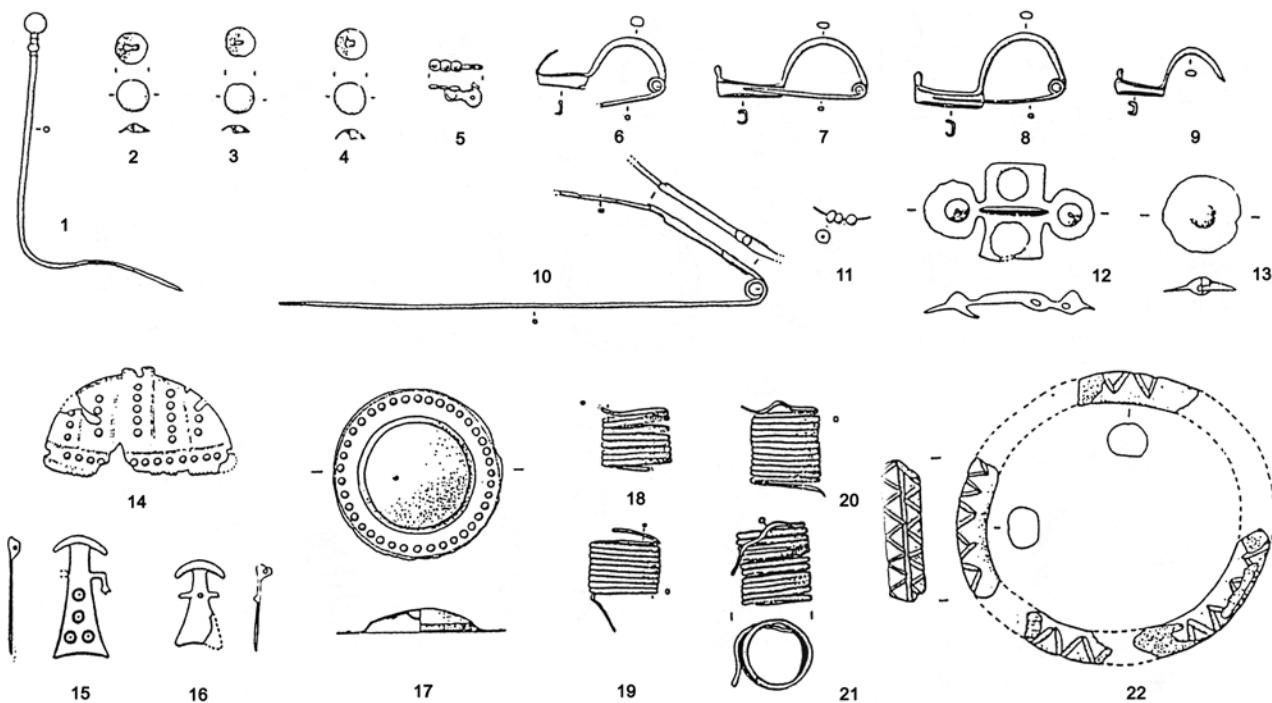
Fig. 11. 6; Pare 1987, p. 58, Fig. 14. 12), Zaton, grave 16 (Batović 1985, P. XX. 2), Kosa at Ljubač (Brusić 2002, Fig. 39) and at Dragišić, grave 10 (Brusić 2000a, P. XI. 7). Cf. Jašarević 2012.

165 Batović 1965, p. 63, Fig. 15; Glogović 2003, pp. 36, 39, 40, P. 37. 265-268, P. 41. 315-317.

166 Palavestra 1993, p. 58. He analyzed all seven examples of bow fibulae with amber beads on their bows and ascribed them to his type 63a, even though it was entirely apparent that the example under no. 14, as well as another pair (Batović 1965, p. 63, Fig. 15. 14; Glogović 2003, P. 41. 315, 316) belong to the large bow fibulae, his type 63c.

167 Hiller 1991, P. 48. The fibula fragment was not published D. Glogović's PBF 2003. Based on this characteristic plate, it may be classified into type 6c according to S. Tecco Hvala (2012, pp. 233, 236, 241, 242, Fig. 88. 11), which, like the aforementioned type 7a, represents the influence of the eastern Alpine zone, the Sveta Lucija or Dolenjska cultural circle. A. Nas-cimbene believed it to be type I.3B which was also present in Istria's territory in several examples (Nas-cimbene 2009, pp. 87-89, Fig. 17, 18).

168 In the same sense, it would be worthwhile to underline the comparison with grave 85 in the Novilara-Servici necropolis, where, besides the typical pectoral and anthropomorphic pendants, there was a large bow, two-piece fibula, without an amber bead on the bow to be sure, but employing the same principle to fasten the bow, which is why such a typological determination is rightfully assumed for the type under discussion (Beinhauer 1985, P. 138. 1531; Fig. 21).



Sl. 19. Izbor predmeta iz groba 5 nekropole u Zatonu (prema Hiller 1991)

Fig. 19. Selection of goods from grave 5 of the necropolis in Zaton (according to Hiller 1991)

br. 2), najviše paralela. Ona naime ima znatno snižen i razvučen luk, koji je zadobio formu okvira, a nožica nema dodatnog ojačanja na luku. Najbolji primjer vidi se kod bogatog ženskog groba 46 iz Novilare-Servici.<sup>171</sup> Razlika postoji ipak u oblikovanju jantarnih zrna, koje na našem primjeru pokazuje klasično oblikovanje polukružnog presjeka, dok su picenski primjeri u pravilu predimenzioniranih veličina okruglog ili ovalnog presjeka, vremenski smješteni u vrijeme 8. i ranog 7. stoljeća pr. Kr.<sup>172</sup> Nekoliko fibula iste konstrukcijske sheme i s velikim zrnom jantara na luku potječe i iz Hrvatskog Polja, koji počesto imaju urezane koncentrične kružnice sa zaravnjene strane jantarnoga zrna,<sup>173</sup> inače određenima tipom 64c, prema A. Palavestri karakterističnim ponajviše za 7. stoljeće pr. Kr. na japodskom kulturnom prostoru u užem smislu.<sup>174</sup>

<sup>171</sup> Beinhauer 1985, T. 97, 1075.

<sup>172</sup> Beinhauer 1985, str. 544, 553; Pare 1998, str. 322-325.

<sup>173</sup> Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu – neobjavljeno, usp. Palavestra 1993, str. 81. Prema tipološkoj klasifikaciji jantarna zrna tipa H specifična su za japodsku kulturu, ali se nalaze i u Etruriji, npr. u Veiju (Saldalamacchia 2011, str. 43, 51, 136, 149, 150), što definitivno nije pripisano slučajnosti!

<sup>174</sup> Palavestra 1993, str. 79, 81, 214.

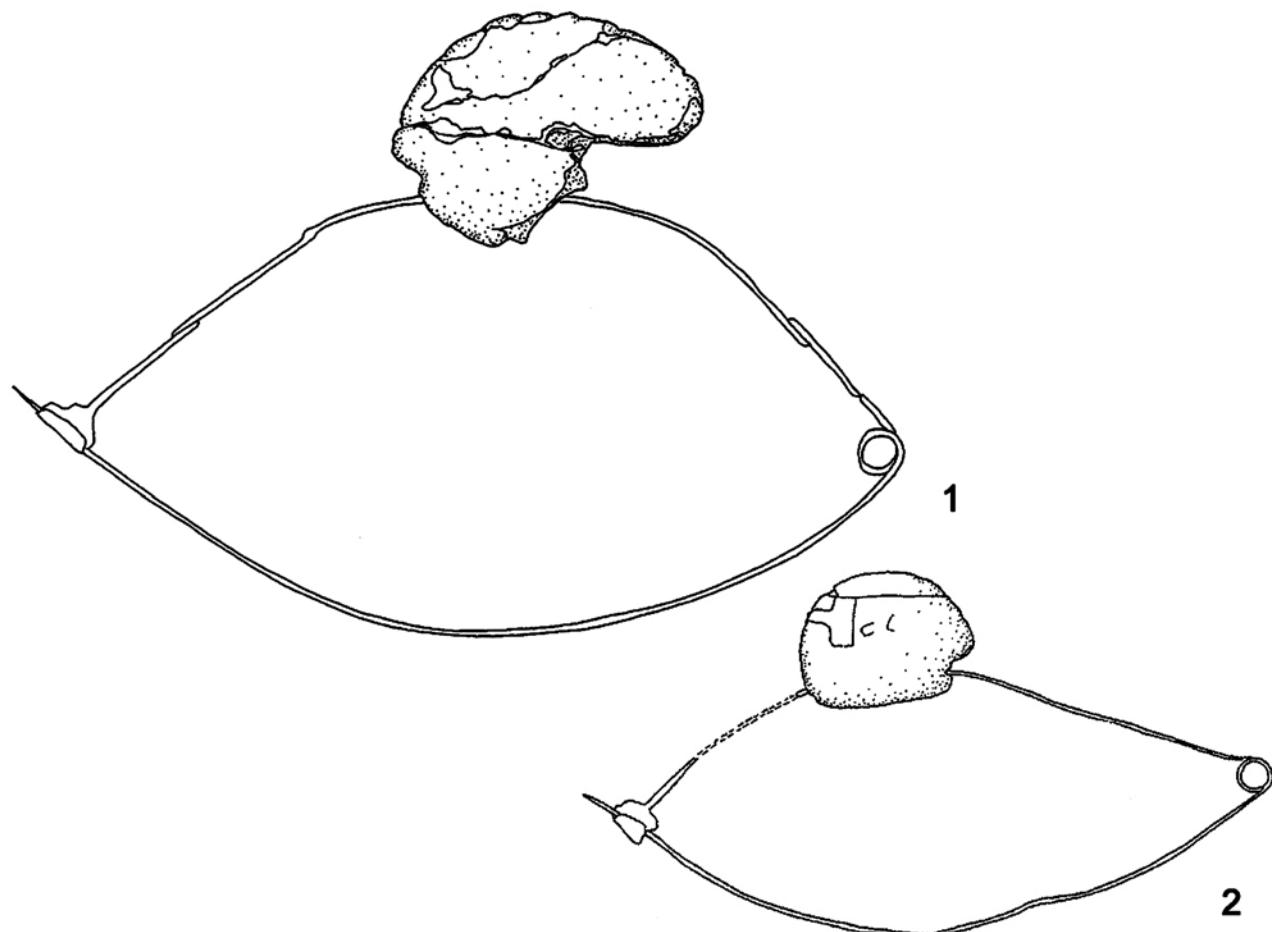
question was examined there together with a bronze necklace made of hollow sheet metal with C-shaped cross-section (Fig. 22). Ivo Fadić dated this grave, like the entire horizon of the Liburnian component of the necropolis at Relja, to the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, which he explained with the finds from other graves,<sup>169</sup> which, however, point to a possible longer duration of burials in this part of the necropolis, at least through the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.

Finally, grave 17 from Nin (Fig. 22), insofar as this unit may be relevant, with a *Certosa* fibula of B. Teržan's variant VIIe, a dual pin with M-shaped head of R. Vasić's type IV, and a Campanian Black-glazed plate,<sup>170</sup> would testify to the lower threshold of their use during the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (Fig. 22).

<sup>169</sup> Fadić 2006, p. 350; cf. Kukoč 2011, p. 207, Fig. 42a.

<sup>170</sup> Batović 1968, P. XVII; Hiller 1991, pp. 116, 117, 369,

P. 24. 261-270. The grave also contained a small leech-shaped fibula with so-called low and flattened bow (Glogović 2003, pp. 55-59, P. 49. 408; Kukoč, Čelhar 2009, p. 92, Fig. 9a, b) which has direct parallels to the Este, Aemilian and Picenian territories, where they were recorded in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, even though they may also be found in the contexts of the early 6<sup>th</sup> century BC (Eles Masi 1986, p. 67, P. 37. 559-572; Hiller 1991, p. 101). The same applies to the find contexts in the Eastern Adriatic seaboard (Glogović 2003, pp. 56, 57). The lone example from this grave, and from Nin in general, should certainly be understood as an item that



Sl. 20. Italske divovske fibule s jantarnim zrnom na luku tipa Numana: 1 Sirolo, Casino di Faggioli, 2 Numana, Campodonico 8 (prema Negroni Catacchio 2003; Saldalamacchia 2011)

Fig. 20. Italic giant fibulae with amber beads on the bow of Numana type: 1 Sirolo, Casino di Faggioli, 2 Numana, Campodonico 8 (according to Negroni Catacchio 2003; Saldalamacchia 2011)

Velike, tzv. gigantske ili kompozitne fibule s jantarnim zrnom na luku poznate su i na italskoj obali Jadrana (sl. 20, sl. 21). Sve potječu s picenskog teritorija, koji se smatra "domovinom" fibula s monolitnim zrnom jantara na luku. Fibule su raspoređene uokolo današnje Ancone, tj. potječu iz Numane, Colle di Montalbano, grob 54, i Campodonica, grob 8,<sup>175</sup> jedan primjerak poznat je iz Sirola, Casino di Faggioli<sup>176</sup> te jedan iz Belmonte Picena, Colle Ete, grob 94.<sup>177</sup> Zbog njihovih je dimenzija, koje su pak dvostruko ili trostruko veće od liburnskih, i načina izvedbe, funkcionalna uporaba bila isključena, te su smatrane ritualnim

Among the goods from the graves of the Novilara necropolis, there is a variant of the same fibula from grave 109 (cat. no. 2), mostly parallel. It has a considerably lower and drawn out bow, which has assumed the form of a frame, while the foot has no additional reinforcement at the bow. The best example can be seen among the rich woman's grave 46 at Novilara-

175 Lollini 1976, str. 144, sl. 16. 6; Baldelli 1999, str. 84, 85, 219, kat. br. 269; Negroni Catacchio 2003, str. 466, 467, sl. 7. 1.

176 Negroni Catacchio 2003, str. 467, sl. 6B; Magnani 2003, str. 294, T. IVa; Magnani 2007, str. 179, kat. br. III.137.

177 Saldalamacchia 2011, str. 181, T. XVI.

is considerably older than the circumstances in which it was found, either intentionally, as a so-called older heirloom, either coincidentally during subsequent interventions in the necropolis?! In this vein, we cannot accept the potential duration of this fibula type until the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, as proposed by Hiller (1991, p. 117), just as we cannot agree with her typological and functional determination, or the dating of grave 17 to the 4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, as suggested by Sineva Kukoč and Martina Čelhar (Kukoč, Čelhar 2009, p. 92). A very similar example is held in the Archaeological Museum in Split (Lo Schiavo 1970, p. 435, P. XXVII. 7; Glogović 2003, p. 55, P. 49. 411).

fibulama, s posebnom obrednom namjenom, izuzetno značajnih i većinom bogatih pokojnica, koje su tako bile pokazatelji njihova statusa i/ili luksuza.<sup>178</sup> N. L. Saldalamacchia ih tretira kao tip 14 ili tip *Numana*, za koji smatra da je isključivo picenski produkt istoga radioničkog središta, kojima ritualna funkcija *ad hoc* interpretacije ne mora biti nužna.<sup>179</sup> Vremenski su određene prilično prostrano, ali grobovi iz Numane ih i dalje omeđuju fazama IV. A i B stupnja, tj. u 6. stoljeće pr. Kr., iako ih valja očekivati već i znatno ranije, s početkom u 8. ili 7. stoljeću pr. Kr.,<sup>180</sup> upravo kada su lučne fibule s jantarom na luku značajne za II. stupanj picenske kulture<sup>181</sup> (sl. 21).

Budući da je donja granica korištenja fibula s jantarem na luku u Liburniji bila smještena u 6. stoljeće pr. Kr., kako sugeriraju i drugi grobovi iz Nina i Zatonu, njezino trajanje ipak valja vidjeti znatno duže i tako se složiti s tezom koju su predlagali A. Palavestra i G. Hiller.<sup>182</sup> Veliku fibulu toga tipa možemo smatrati doista izuzetnim trendom, koji kulturološki izvjesno predstavlja fenomen liburnske kulture, tzv. liburnskog tipa (sl. 21, 22). U obilježju tako specifičnog nakita vjerojatno je, funkcionalno, tradicionalno ili baštijenjem, korištena tijekom starijega željeznog doba, dugotrajno od kraja 9. pa sve do 4. stoljeća pr. Kr., zbog čega kronološki, kao i prije opisana fibula tipa *protocertosa*, neće moći imati istaknutiju poziciju.

#### Kolutasti nakit

U kategoriji kolutastog nakita razmatrane su ogrlice, narukvice i naušnice te privjesci/karičice.

*Ogrlice* su zastupljene u najvećem broju, čak s pet primjeraka, a mogu se razlikovati dva tipa. Većina ih pripada ogrlicama od brončanog lima, s krajevima presavijenim prema unutra, otvorenog C ili bubrežastog presjeka, iz grobova 75, 109, 111 (kat. br. 7, 14). Riječ je o ogrlicama prisutnima u liburnskoj kulturi matičnog prostora od II. stupnja, ali su oblik dugog trajanja zbog čega ih je Š. Batović vremenski smještao u raspon od 8. do 5. stoljeća pr. Kr.<sup>183</sup>

178 Negroni Catacchio 2003, str. 466, 467.

179 Saldalamacchia 2011, str. 60, 61, 147, 148, 181-183.

180 Magnani 2007, str. 179; Saldalamacchia 2011, str. 61, 131.

181 Lollini 1976, str. 124; usp Pare 1998, str. 322-325, sl. 14.

182 Hiller 1991, str. 96, 97.

183 Batović 1987, str. 366, sl. 20. 22, T. XXXVIII: 18; Hiller 1991, str. 148

Servici.<sup>171</sup> There is, however, a difference in the formation of the amber bead, which in this example exhibits the classical formation of a semi-circular cross-section, while the Picenian examples are, as a rule, outsized with round or oval cross-section, chronologically placed in the 8<sup>th</sup> and early 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC.<sup>172</sup> Several fibulae with the same structural scheme and with a large amber bead on the bow came from Hrvatsko Polje, and they often have engraved concentric circlets on the flattened side of the amber bead,<sup>173</sup> otherwise designated as type 64c. According to A. Palavestra they are mostly typical of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC in the Japodian cultural sphere in the narrower sense.<sup>174</sup>

The large, so-called gigantic or composite fibulae with amber bead on the bow are also known on the Italic shore of the Adriatic (Fig. 20, Fig. 21). All of them originated in Picenian territory, which is deemed the “homeland” of fibulae with monolithic amber beads on the bows. The fibulae are distributed around today’s Ancona, i.e., they come from Numana, Colle di Montalbano, grave 54, and Campodonico, grave 8,<sup>175</sup> one known example is from Sirolo, Casino di Faggioli<sup>176</sup> and one is from Belmonte Piceno, Colle Ete, grave 94.<sup>177</sup> Because of their dimensions, which are nonetheless twice or three times larger than the Liburnian fibulae, and their rendering technique, functional use was excluded, and they are deemed ritual fibulae, with a specific ritual purpose for exceptionally important and wealthy deceased women, which thus served as indicators of their status and/or luxury.<sup>178</sup> N. L. Saldalamacchia treated them as *Numana* type 14, and she deemed them an exclusively Picenian product of the same workshop centre, for which the ritual function need not be a mandatory *ad hoc* interpretation.<sup>179</sup> Chronologically they were defined rather sparsely, but the graves from Numana still restrict them

171 Beinhauer 1985, P. 97. 1075.

172 Beinhauer 1985, pp. 544, 553; Pare 1998, pp. 322-325.

173 Archaeological Museum in Zagreb – unpublished, cf. Palavestra 1993, p. 81. Based on typological classification, the type H amber bead is specific to Japodian culture, but they were also found in Etruria, e.g., in Veii (Saldalamacchia 2011, pp. 43, 51, 136, 149, 150), which has definitely not been attributed to chance!

174 Palavestra 1993, pp. 79, 81, 214.

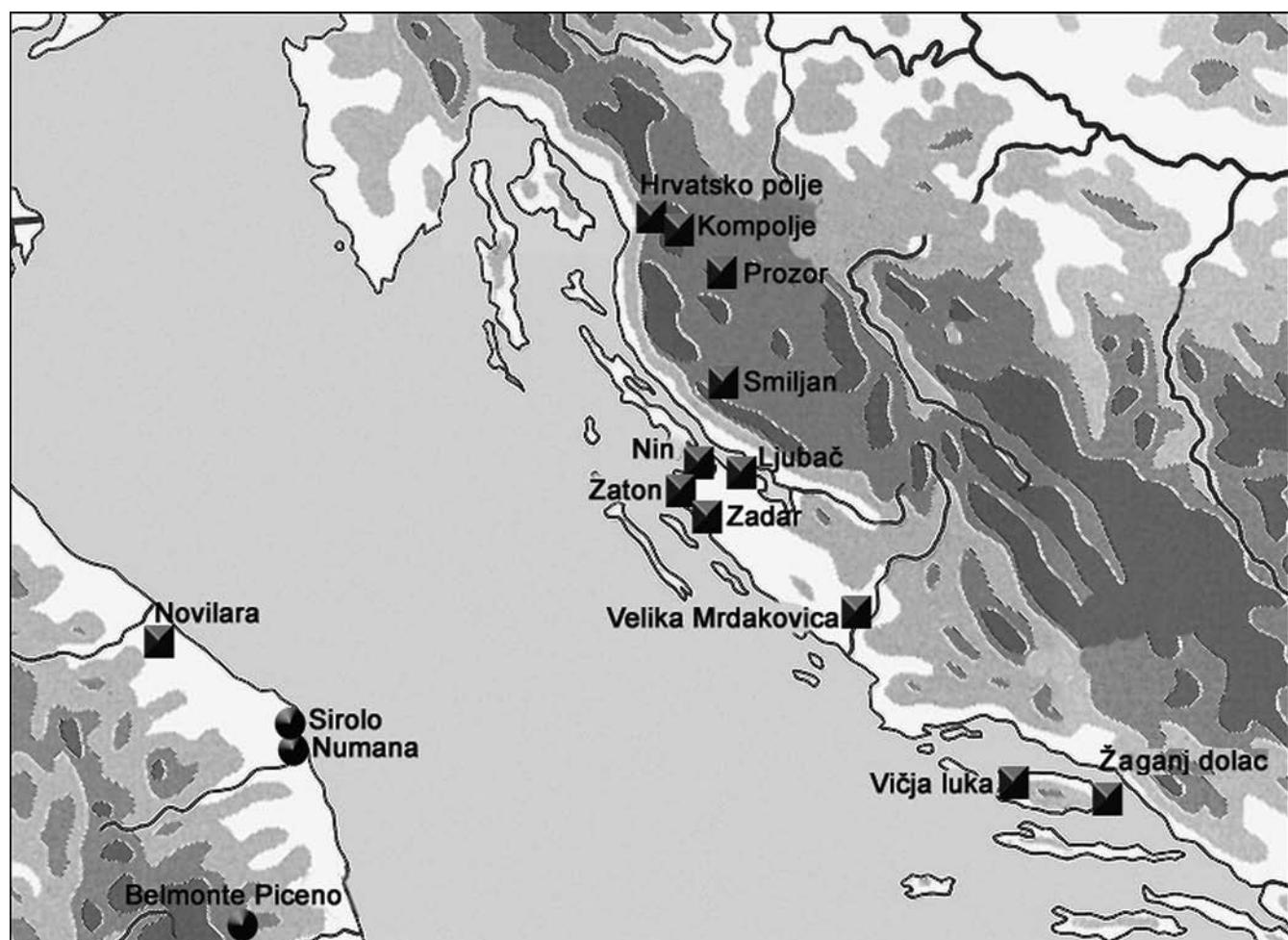
175 Lollini 1976, p. 144, Fig. 16. 6; Baldelli 1999, pp. 84, 85, 219, cat. no. 269; Negroni Catacchio 2003, pp. 466, 467, Fig. 7. 1.

176 Negroni Catacchio 2003, p. 467, Fig. 6B; Magnani 2003, p. 294, P. IVa; Magnani 2007, p. 179, cat. no. III.137.

177 Saldalamacchia 2011, p. 181, P. XVI.

178 Negroni Catacchio 2003, pp. 466, 467.

179 Saldalamacchia 2011, pp. 60, 61, 147, 148, 181-183.



Sl. 21. Karta rasprostranjenosti velikih fibula s jantarnim zrnom na luku tzv. liburnskog tipa (■) i tipa Numana (●) (nadopunjeno prema Palavestra 1993; Saldalamacchia 2011; Lista 3)

Fig. 21. Distribution map of large fibulae with amber beads on the bow of the so-called Liburnian type (■) and Numana type (●) (supplemented according to Palavestra 1993; Saldalamacchia 2011; List 3)

U nošnji su se uglavnom nosile samostalno,<sup>184</sup> u paru<sup>185</sup> ili kompozitno s drugim oblicima ogrlica i ukrašnih, pogotovo jantarnih zrna.<sup>186</sup> Budući da su već podrobnije obrazlagane cjeline 75 i 111, gdje su se nalazile i predmetne ogrlice, i njih valja tretirati u istom kontekstu II. faze, tj. u 9./8. st. i eventualno rano 7. stoljeće pr. Kr. Takav je argument to prihvatljivi usporedimo li ih s uporabom narukvica istog tipa i načina izradbe, koje su nešto brojnije zastupljene i prostorno

to phases IV. A and B, i.e., in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, even though they should be expected considerably earlier, with their appearance in the 8<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> century BC,<sup>180</sup> precisely when the bow fibulae with amber beads on the bows were significant to phase II of the Picenian culture (Fig. 22).<sup>181</sup>

Since the lower boundary of use of the fibulae with amber beads on the bows in Liburnia has been placed in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, as suggested by the graves from Nin and Zaton, their duration should nonetheless be seen as longer, thus complying with the hypothesis proposed by A. Palavestra and G. Hiller.<sup>182</sup> The large fibula of this type may be deemed a genuinely exceptional trend, which culturally certainly represents a phenomenon of the Liburnian culture, the so-called

<sup>184</sup> Nin, grobovi: 16, 21, 30, 53, 78; Zaton, grob 55; Nadin, grob 9 (Batović 1981, str. 146, kat. br. 452, 457; Hiller 1991, str. 148, T. 17. 181; Kukoč 2009, str. 47, bilj. 80, sl. 22. 19).

<sup>185</sup> Primjeri iz novijih istraživanja: Zadar – Relja (Fadić 2006, str. 350), Zadar – Forum (Čondić 2010, str. 43, T. 3, T. 4. 1-3), te iz Dragišića, grob 16 (Brusić 2000a, T. XV. 23, 24).

<sup>186</sup> Batović 1987, str. 366.

<sup>180</sup> Magnani 2007, p. 179; Saldalamacchia 2011, pp. 61, 131.

<sup>181</sup> Lollini 1976, p. 124; cf. Pare 1998, pp. 322-325, Fig. 14.

<sup>182</sup> Hiller 1991, pp. 96, 97.

Grob / Grave	Nošnja i nakit / Attire and jewellery												Prilozi / Grave goods			
	Igla / Pin	Oko - Kopča / Belt Buckle	Dugme / Button	Falera / Phalerata	Lučna fibula s jantarom / Bow fibula with amber	Fibula tipa Proto-cortosca / proto-Cortosca type fibula	Fibula tipa Baška / Baška type fibula	Druge tipove fibula / Other types of fibulae	Ogrlica / Necklace	Naušnice / Earrings	Narukvice / Bracelets	Prsten / Ring	Pektoral / Pectoral	Žičice - kohotovi / Wires - Rings	Jantar / Amber	Staklo - skočjaka / Glass - Searchall
I	Nin 10	x	x		2	3	4	x		4	7		17		2	
	Nin 19	x	x	x	2	2		x		x	x	x	3		2	
	Nin 85	3			2		x	x?		x	x	x	x		x	
	Nin 88		x	x	3	2	2	2	x	6	x	x	x	10		
	Zaton 5	x	x	x	2	x	3	x	x	x	x	3	4	x		
	VM 75	4	x	x		x			x			x				
	VM 117	x	x		2							x		x	x	
	ŽD 1	x	x	x	2				3		x		x			
	ŽD 3	2		x	2				4		x	x				
II	VL 1	5		x		x	x			x	3	10	x	4		
	Nin 15		3	x					4	x	x	3			x	
	Nin 17	x	x	x			3			x	x	3	x		x	
	Zaton 6	2		x		6	2	x		2	x	4	4		x	
	Nin 22			x		3	x			2	x	3				
	Nin 23			x		2		x	2	x	x				x	
	Nin 52		x	x			2					x				
	Nin 53			2	x	5	2	2	2	2	7		29	x	2	
	Nin 54	x	x	x		2			2	x	x					
III	Nin 70		x			x			x			6				
	Nin 86		x						2	x	2					
	Zaton 2		2				2		1	2		x			x	
	ZD-Relja 52		x				2					x				
	VM 111	x		2			2			x	x			x		
	VM 109	x		x		x				x				x		

Sl. 22. Struktura priloga u grobovima s lučnim fibulama s jantarom na luku liburnskog tipa u odnosu željeznodobnih grobova na području Dalmacije (skupine: I: dvojni i II: pojedinačni grobovi)  
Fig. 22. Structure of goods in graves with Liburnian type fibulae with amber bead on the bow in relation to the Iron Age graves in the territory of Dalmatia (groups: I: double and II: individual graves)

šire rasprostranjene,<sup>187</sup> a, poput srodnih ogrlica, bile su priljubljen element ženske nošnje liburnske mode kroz razdoblje od 9. pa do 5. stoljeća pr. Kr.<sup>188</sup>

Sljedeći oblik ogrlica izrađen je od deblike i glatke brončane žice s raskovanim i prema van uvijenim krajevima (*torques*), kakva dva, odnosno tri primjeka, potječe iz groba 113 (kat. br. 32, 33). Okolnosti njihova nalaženja te pridodano veće jantarno zrno bikoničnog presjeka na jednoj od njih (kat. br. 33),<sup>189</sup> mogu ih datirati u sam kraj 6. i u rano 5. stoljeće pr. Kr. Obilježavat će međutim utjecaj iz sjevernijega japodskog prostora, budući da nisu bile karakteristične za prostor Liburna ni u užem ni u širem smislu pojmanja. Dapače, u japodskoj se kulturnoj baštini koriste u dugom razdoblju i u različitim varijantama, s time da ogrlice ovakvog tipa traju upravo do 5. stoljeća pr. Kr.<sup>190</sup> S druge strane, takve ogrlice, posebice s pridodanim jantarnim zrnom ili više njih, uglavnom bikoničnog presjeka, značajne su za područje picenske kulture, gdje se smješta i njihova proizvodnja, tj. prepostavlja se da su se odonuda i izvozile na istočnu obalu Jadrana?!<sup>191</sup>

U istoj je maniri izrađena manja brončana naručica iz istoga groba na kojoj je pridodano plavo stakleno zrno (kat. br. 35). Ono je manjih dimenzija i ima tri bočno postavljene bijele točke; brojne paralele postoje u nakitu japodskoga kulturnog kruga, dok se u nakitu Liburna nalaze tek u mlađim fazama željeznoga doba.<sup>192</sup>

Dokaz više o dominantnosti japodske kulturne tradicije u inventaru toga groba pružit će i manja *naušnica* preklopnih krajeva s malim okruglim jantarnim zrnom (kat. br. 37), a u istome tonu, afirmaciju podupiru i brojnija jantarna dekorativna zrna u obliku *bule* (kat. br. 59, 61). Od donekle sačuvanih zrna najveći dio možemo pribrojiti tipu 48a i, nešto manje, varijanti 48j prema A. Palavestri, koje, naravno,

Liburnian type (Fig. 21, 22). In its features, such specific jewellery was probably – functionally, traditionally, or by inheritance – used during the Early Iron Age over a longer duration from the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, which is why it, like the previously described *proto-Certosa* fibula, cannot have a distinguished chronological position.

### Ring-shaped jewellery

Necklaces, bracelets and earrings and pendants/rings are considered under in the ring-shaped jewellery category.

*Necklaces* are present in the highest number, with as many as five examples, and two types may be distinguished. Most of them are necklaces made of sheet bronze, with ends curved inward and open C- or kidney-shaped cross-section, from graves 75, 109 and 111 (cat. no. 7, 14). These necklaces were present in Liburnian culture's core territory since phase II, but they were a form of long duration, which is why Š. Batović chronologically placed them over a range from the 8<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC.<sup>183</sup> On attire, they were generally worn independently,<sup>184</sup> in pairs<sup>185</sup> or compositionally with other types of necklaces and decorative, especially amber beads.<sup>186</sup> Since units 75 and 111, where the necklaces in question were found, have already been thoroughly analyzed, they should also be treated in the context of phase II, i.e., in the 9<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> century and possibly the early 7<sup>th</sup> century BC. Such an argument is all the more acceptable if they are compared to the use of bracelets of the same type and make that were present in somewhat higher numbers and more widely spatially distributed,<sup>187</sup> but, like the similar necklaces, were a close-fitting element of women's attire in Liburnian fashion over the period from the 9<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC.<sup>188</sup>

The following necklace shape was made of thicker and smoother bronze wire with hammered and outwardly spiralled ends (*torques*), of which two and three examples originated in grave 113 (cat. no. 32,

187 Glogović 1989, str. 34; Hiller 1991, str. 134-136; Čondić 2010, str. 43.

188 Hiller 1991, str. 136.

189 Takvo zrno potječe i iz groba 41 u Ninu (Batović 1962, T. Y36) ili npr. više njih iz groba 1 u Nin-Ždrijcu (Brusić 2002, sl. 13. 2). Bikonična zrna tipa 10 prema A. Palavestri znatno su rasprostranjena na prostoru Liburnije (Palavestra 1993, str. 252, 253), ali ujedno predstavljaju dugotrajni element široko rasprostranjene nadregionalne mode od 5. stoljeća nadalje.

190 Drechsler-Bižić 1987, str. 400; Hiller 1991, str. 147, 148. Npr. Kompolje, grobovi 2, 21, 22 (Drechsler Bižić 1961, T. IV. 7, T. XVI. 1, 2).

191 Negroni Catacchio 2003, str. 462; Negroni Catacchio 2009, str. 203, 204.

192 Batović 1987, str. 366.

183 Batović 1987, p. 366, Fig. 20: 22, P. XXXVIII. 18; Hiller 1991, p. 148

184 Nin, graves: 16, 21, 30, 53, 78; Zaton, grave 55; Nadin, grave 9 (Batović 1981, p. 146, cat. no. 452, 457; Hiller 1991, p. 148, P. 17. 181; Kukoč 2009, p. 47, note 80, Fig. 22. 19).

185 Examples from more recent research: Zadar – Relja (Fadić 2006, p. 350), Zadar – Forum (Čondić 2010, p. 43, P. 3, T. 4. 1-3), and from Dragišić, grave 16 (Brusić 2000a, P. XV. 23, 24).

186 Batović 1987, p. 366.

187 Glogović 1989, p. 34; Hiller 1991, pp. 134-136; Čondić 2010, p. 43.

188 Hiller 1991, p. 136.

nisu uopće prisutne na prostoru Liburna, ali su zato apotropejsko-magijsko obilježje grobova japodskih nekropola.<sup>193</sup> Ovdje je zanimljivo to da su zastupljene, tj. očuvane u velikom broju, i to u dvije veličine, većoj i minijaturnoj, što je tradicionalna moda vrlo lijepih i raskošnih ogrlica japodskih žena. No ni one nisu toliko čest nalaz, budući da je zrno u obliku bule najčešće nošeno samostojno kao amulet zaštitnik izuzetnih apotropejskih i profilaktičkih svojstava.<sup>194</sup> To je uostalom poznato i kod prekomorskih Picena, ali i u kulturama čitavog prostora srednje i južne Italije tijekom 7. i 6./5. stoljeća pr. Kr.<sup>195</sup>

Ostala zrna jantara iz groba 113, kao i ona iz groba 111, pripadaju okruglim i/ili ovalnim malim, spljoštenim zrnima, bikoničnog ili zaobljenog presjeka, zbog čega se mogu pridružiti varijantama široko rasprostranjenih zrna tipa 10 i 8a/b prema A. Palavestri,<sup>196</sup> koja su također univerzalno korištena tijekom starijega željeznog doba na nasuprotnoj strani jadranskog bazena.<sup>197</sup> S obzirom na asocijaciju tako ukomponiranih zrna, dragocjenih samih po sebi, najvjerojatnije su pripadali jednoj raskošnoj ogrlici od jantara koja se dodatno obogaćivala načinom njezina nošenja, bilo samostalno, bilo u paru s većim brojem brončanih ogrlica, odnosno u bogatom kompletu nakitnog ansambla kakav vidimo u grobu 111, možda i u 113. Ali, mogle su biti nanizane i na *torques* i na naušnice/narukvice; pogotovo to vrijedi za zrna varijanti 10. tipa, što je također bila njihova značajka u širem smislu.<sup>198</sup>

Veće ovalno zrno jantara iz groba 117 (kat. br. 22) ima dvije perforacije, po dužini i po širini, što mu svakako omogućuje višenamjensku primjenu; kao ukrašnog zrna, kao puceta ili, zbog samog oblika, možda i funkciju razdjelnika, prema tipološkim odrednicama N. Negroni Catacchio i suradnika.<sup>199</sup> Osnovnom formom valjkastog tijela to zrno možemo bliže povezati uz skupinu 6c tipa prema A. Palavestri koja su usto češće zastupljena na području japodskih zajednica, gdje se javljaju tijekom čitavog željeznog doba.<sup>200</sup>

193 Palavestra 1993, str. 35, 209, 254; Balen-Letunić 2000, str. 29.

194 Balen-Letunić 2000, str. 29; Balen-Letunić 2009.

195 Negroni Catacchio 2003, str. 459, sl. 1B.

196 Palavestra 1993, str. 33, 187, 189.

197 Negroni Catacchio, Massari, Raposso 2006, str. 1444-1449, 1453, 1454, sl. 1; Negroni Catacchio 2003, str. 456, sl. 1A.

198 Negroni Catacchio 2003, str. 456, 462, sl. 3.

199 Negroni Catacchio, Massari, Raposso 2006, str. 1450, 1452, 1458, 1459, sl. 5.

200 Palavestra 1993, str. 185.

33). Their discovery circumstances and the large amber bead with biconical cross-section added to one of them (cat. no. 33),<sup>189</sup> may date them to the very end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century and early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. They will nevertheless be marked by the influence of the more northerly Japodian sphere, since they were not typical of Liburnian territory in either the narrower or broader sense. To be sure, in the Japodian cultural heritage, they were used over a long period and in different variants, although it should be noted that necklaces of this type in fact lasted until the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>190</sup> On the other hand, such necklaces, particularly with one or more amber beads with generally biconical cross-section added to them, were significant to the territory of the Picenian culture, where their production was also placed, i.e., it is assumed that they were imported from there to the Eastern Adriatic seaboard?!<sup>191</sup>

A small bronze bracelet from the same grave with an additionally affixed blue glass bead (cat. no. 35) was made in the same manner. Its dimensions are smaller and it has three laterally placed white dots, there are numerous parallels in the jewellery of the Japodian cultural sphere, while it is only present in the Liburnian jewellery of the later phases of the Iron Age.<sup>192</sup>

Proof of the greater dominance of Japodian cultural traditions in this grave's goods may also be provided by a small *earring* with ends folded over and a small amber bead (cat. no. 37), while in the same vein, this affirmation is upheld by the more numerous amber *bulla*-shaped decorative beads (cat. no. 59, 61). Among the somewhat preserved beads, most may be counted among type 48a and, somewhat less, to variant 48j according to A. Palavestra, which, to be sure, where not present at all in the territory of the Liburnians, but they were thus an apotropaic/magical feature of graves in Japodian necropolises.<sup>193</sup> Here it is interesting that they are present, meaning preserved, in a higher number and in two sizes, large and miniature, which was the traditional fashion of very lovely and

189 There is a bead like this from grave 41 in Nin (Batović 1962, P. Y36) or, for example, several from grave 1 in Nin-Ždrijac (Brusić 2002, Fig. 13. 2). Biconical beads of type 10 according to A. Palavestra are considerably widespread in Liburnian territory (Palavestra 1993, pp. 252, 253), but they also constitute a long-term element in broadly-distributed supra-regional fashion from the 5<sup>th</sup> century onward.

190 Drechsler-Bižić 1987, p. 400; Hiller 1991, pp. 147, 148. E.g. Kompolje, graves 2, 21, 22 (Drechsler Bižić 1961, P. IV. 7, P. XVI. 1, 2).

191 Negroni Catacchio 2003, p. 462; Negroni Catacchio 2009, pp. 203, 204.

192 Batović 1987, p. 366.

193 Palavestra 1993, pp. 35, 209, 254; Balen-Letunić 2000, p. 29.

U kolutasti nakit ubrajaju se i *karičice/privjesci* koje poznajemo samo iz grobova 111 i 113 (kat. br. 16-17, 38-47). U varijanti *karičica* navodimo 7 primjera od obične brončane žice, okruglog presjeka prekloppljenih ili spojenih krajeva (kat. br. 16, 17, 38, 45-47) koji su mogli imati razne namjene. U tipološkom smislu *privjesaka* razlikuju se u dva tipa; jednostavne karičice lećastog ili bikoničnog presjeka, koje su uobičajeni i najbrojniji nalaz grobova liburnske kulture. Drugi tip je karičica s jednim zupcem, također bikoničnog ili lećastog presjeka, koja je zastupljena s tri primjera u grobu 113 (kat. br. 39-41). Privjesci tog tipa nisu karakteristični za liburnsko područje, niti za priobalne kulture uopće, te ih osim iz Zatona, grob 6,<sup>201</sup> s po jednim primjerkom, poznajemo još samo iz Osora.<sup>202</sup> U raznim varijacijama i inačicama potječu iz kompoljske nekropole, grob 228<sup>203</sup> i grob 3.<sup>204</sup> Njihova osjetna brojnost u grobu iz Velike Mrdakoviće dobiva time na važnosti.

#### Puceta

Veća količina puceta rjeđe se javlja u nošnji pokojnika, osobito pokojnica liburnskog prostora. Ona je ponajviše specifična za nošnju Japoda gdje se obilato koristi u različitim formama i namjenama. Kalotasta puceta najčešće su se prišivala na dijelove odjeće, ali i kape i pokrivala za glavu, gdje je dodavano pokoje tulutasto puce, tj. ono s većim trnom (kat. br. 49), kao u ovom slučaju, pa čak i *torques* koji bi čitavu kompoziciju na glavi dodatno učvršćivao.<sup>205</sup> Međutim, od 30 primjera manjih i većih kalotastih puceta (kat. br. 11, 15, 48-53) posebno su zanimljiva ona s malom istakom, određena tipom *Vinica* (kat. br. 50). Za ta je puceta Dragan Božić domnjevao kako su bila obilježjem ženskih grobova na prostoru od Istre do Une, i od Kvarnera sve do viničkog prostora u vrijeme "kasnoga latena" tj. u Lt D1 stupnju,<sup>206</sup> što je u svakom slučaju preniska i isključiva datacija neadekvatno primijenjene srednjoeuropske periodizacije, tj. razdoblja kada je na prostorima sjevernog Jadrana već dominantna Rimska Republika.

Kalotasta puceta bila su omiljenim dekorativnim elementom nošnje Japoda, gdje se nalaze u većim

201 Batović 1965, sl. 15. 5.

202 Blečić Kavur 2010, T. 51. 871.

203 Drechsler-Bižić 1966, T. Y84. 2; Batović 1983, T. XXIX. 2.

204 Drechsler-Bižić 1961, T. V. 19.

205 Drechsler-Bižić 1969, T. I. 5-9, T. II. 13-16.

206 Božić 2009, str. 90, 91, sl. 13.

luxurious necklaces worn by Japodian women. But these were not a frequent find, since the bulla-shaped bead was most often worn independently as an amulet charm with exceptional apotropaic and prophylactic properties.<sup>194</sup> This was in fact known among the Piceni across the sea, but also in cultures throughout central and southern Italy during the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC.<sup>195</sup>

The remaining amber beads from grave 113, like the one from grave 111, belong to the round and/or oval, small flattened beads with biconical or rounded cross-section, which is why they may be added to the variants of widespread beads of type 10 and 8a/b according to A. Palavestra,<sup>196</sup> which were also universally used during the older Iron Age on the opposite side of the Adriatic basin.<sup>197</sup> Given the association with beads so composed, which were valuable in and of themselves, they probably belonged to a luxurious amber necklace which was additionally enriched by the manner of its wear, either alone or paired with a higher number of bronze necklaces or in a rich jewellery ensemble as seen in grave 111 and perhaps also in grave 113. But they may have been set on a *torques* and on earrings/bracelets; this is particularly valid for beads of type 10, which was also their feature in a broader sense.<sup>198</sup>

The large oval amber bead from grave 117 (cat. no. 22) has two perforations, lengthwise and widthwise, which allows for multiple uses, as a decorative bead, as a button or, based on its shape alone, perhaps even as a divider, based on the typological determinants put forth by N. Negroni Catacchio et al.<sup>199</sup> By the basic form of its cylindrical body, this bead may be more closely associated with the type 6c group according to A. Palavestra, which are also more frequently present in the territory of Japodian communities, where they appeared throughout the Iron Age.<sup>200</sup>

The ring-shaped jewellery also includes *rings/pendants* that were recognized only in graves 111 and 113 (cat. no. 16, 17, 38-47). The *small ring* variant includes 7 examples made of ordinary bronze wire, with round cross-section and ends folded over or connected (cat. no. 16, 17, 38, 45-47) which may have had various uses. In the typological sense, *pendants* can be

194 Balen-Letunić 2000, p. 29; Balen-Letunić 2009.

195 Negroni Catacchio 2003, p. 459, Fig. 1B.

196 Palavestra 1993, pp. 33, 187, 189.

197 Negroni Catacchio, Massari, Raposso 2006, pp. 1444-1449, 1453, 1454, Fig. 1; Negroni Catacchio 2003, p. 456, Fig. 1A.

198 Negroni Catacchio 2003, pp. 456, 462, Fig. 3.

199 Negroni Catacchio, Massari, Raposso 2006, pp. 1450, 1452, 1458, 1459, Fig. 5.

200 Palavestra 1993, p. 185.

količinama i u različitim okolnostima.<sup>207</sup> Početke uporabe razumijevati možemo već pri kraju starijega željeznog doba,<sup>208</sup> smatrajući je oblikom dugog trajanja nepodesnog za preciznije kronološko uporište.

### Pribor

U skupini osobnog pribora ili alata razmatra se jedan primjerak šivaće igle zabilježen u grobu 117 (kat. br. 25), koji je sadržavao, već predstavljene, iglu s raskovanom i uvijenom glavicom i dvije veće fibule s jantarom na luku (T. 2. 20-25).

Brončana, djelomično očuvana šivaća igla pripada skupini igala s jednom ušicom na vratu,<sup>209</sup> koja je onđe raširena i stanjena, a glavica završava nastavkom igle u produžetku. Takav oblik igala nije podesan za uže kronološko ili kulturološko određenje, budući da se, sukladno igli s raskovanom i uvijenom glavicom nađenoj u istome grobu, učestalo koristio već od srednjega i kasnoga brončanog doba na prostranom dijelu srednje i jugoistočne Europe.<sup>210</sup> Na okolnom prostoru od tog se vremena pojavljuje u istarskom i u japoškom kulturnom krugu.<sup>211</sup> Premda će se njezino korištenje pratiti kroz čitavo željezno doba, u sjevernijim prostorima, od estenskog i venetskog, preko istočno-alpskog i istarskog, koncentracija tih igala zabilježena je u okolnostima kronološki vrednovanih konteksta 8. i 7. stoljeća, s mogućim trajanjem do u 6. stoljeće pr. Kr.<sup>212</sup> Srodnu situaciju možemo pratiti i na području japoških nekropola, gdje ih je kvantitativno i tipološki distinkтивno zabilježen znatan broj.<sup>213</sup>

207 Blečić Kavur 2010, str. 350-351, sl. 267, 268.

208 Guštin 1987, str. 47-50; Sakara Sučević 2004, str. 35.

209 Podjelu na moguće inačice šivačih igala s jednom ušicom vidjeti kod R. Vasića (2003, str. 130-133), po kojoj bi naš primjerak spadao u grupu II; s ušicom na vratu.

210 Vasić 2003, str. 133.

211 Grobovi 22, 24 i 46 nekropole Limske gradine (Mihovilić 1972, str. 17-25, T 12. 12, 28, T. 21. 18; Cestnik 2010, str. 115, sl. 38), te, grobovi 3 i 5 iz Bezdanjače (Drechsler-Bižić 1980, str. 36, 37, 62, 63, T. XXIII. 2, T. XXVI. 7, 8).

212 Pogačnik 2002, str. 73, 74, sl. 68; Sakara Sučević 2004, str. 35; Cestnik 2010, str. 114, 115. Te igle ne poznajemo iz konteksta ostava kasnoga brončanog doba sjevernog Jadrana iz njegova prilapskog zaleđa, a i u grobovima su prilično rijetka pojava, pa se s jednim primjerkom predstavljaju iz nekropole u Ljubljani SAZU, te navodno iz groba 123 nekropole Brežec. Nešto ih veći broj potječe iz svetolucijske skupine (usp. Turk 1994, str. 137, 138).

213 Usp. Široka Kula (Brunšmid 1901, T. III. 5), Kompolje, grobovi II/72, I/102 (Drechsler-Bižić 1961, T. X. 3-11...), Prozor, grob 12 i sporadični nalazi (Drechsler-

distinguished into two types; simple rings with lentil or biconical cross-section, which were customary and the most numerous finds in Liburnian culture graves. The other type is the ring with a small tine, which is present in three examples in grave 113 (cat. no. 39-41). Pendants of this type are not typical of Liburnian territory, nor of the seaboard cultures in general, and besides Zaton, grave 6,<sup>201</sup> with one example each, they are only known in Osor as well.<sup>202</sup> They came from the Kompolje necropolis grave 228<sup>203</sup> and grave 3<sup>204</sup> in different variants. Their notably high numbers in the grave in Velika Mrdakovica thus gains in importance.

### Buttons

A high quantity of buttons appears more rarely on the attire of the deceased, particularly deceased individuals from Liburnian territory. They are mostly specific to the apparel of the Japodi, where they were abundantly used in various forms and purposes. Calotte-shaped buttons were mostly sewn on the clothing items, but also caps and other headgear, where the occasional tutulus-shaped button, i.e., one with a large prong (cat. no. 49), was added, as in this case, even the *torques* which would additionally fasten the entire composition to the head.<sup>205</sup> However, out of the 30 examples of small and large calotte-shaped buttons (cat. no. 11, 15, 48-53) the one with a small protrusion is particularly interesting, and designated as *Vinica* type (cat. no. 50). Dragan Božić considered this button to be a feature of women's graves in the territory from Istria to the Una River, and from Kvarner to the Vinica area to the "late La Tène" period, i.e. to the Lt D1 phase,<sup>206</sup> which is in any case an excessively low and exclusive dating inappropriately applied Central European periodization, i.e., a period when the Roman republic was absolutely dominant on the territory of the northern Adriatic. Calotte-shaped buttons were a favoured decorative element on the attire of the Japodi, where they were found in higher quantities and under differing circumstances.<sup>207</sup> The beginnings of its use can be understood already at the end of the Early Iron Age,<sup>208</sup> and considered a form of long duration unsuited for more precise chronological classifications.

201 Batović 1965, Fig. 15. 5.

202 Blečić Kavur 2010, P. 51. 871.

203 Drechsler-Bižić 1966, P. Y84. 2; Batović 1983, P. XXIX. 2.

204 Drechsler-Bižić 1961, P. V. 19.

205 Drechsler-Bižić 1969, P. I. 5-9, P. II. 13-16.

206 Božić 2009, pp. 90, 91, Fig. 13.

207 Blečić Kavur 2010, pp. 350, 351, Fig. 267, 268.

208 Guštin 1987, pp. 47-50; Sakara Sučević 2004, p. 35.

Liburnska kultura, međutim, ne poznaje osjetan broj toga tipa priloga i na matičnom prostoru poznato je samo par primjeraka iz bogatije opremljenih grobova Nina, grob 6, te Zatona, grob 6/5.<sup>214</sup> Izgledno je kako je i u pogledu te vrste nalaza južniji prostor, iako slabije istražen, bolje zastupljen. Tako su iz nekropole Dragišića do sada bila poznata dva primjerka, iz grobova 15 i 18.<sup>215</sup> Inventar potonjega groba sadržavao je još i iglu s raskovanom i uvijenom glavicom te košarasti privjesak zaobljenog dna koji se datira shodno fibulama tipa *protocertosa*, a ta je upravo istražena fibula u grobu 15, gdje se nalazila još i fibula tipa *Baška*.<sup>216</sup>

Rezimiramo li navedene podatke, okvir korištenja brončanih šivačih igala bit će smješten u starije željezno doba, što će argumentirati i nalaz iz Velike Mrdakovice, ali i nalaz iz groba 2 delmatske nekropole u Vičkoj luci.<sup>217</sup> Kombinacija priloga iz groba 117 (sl. 22, sl. 23) realno dopušta da tu jedinu šivaču iglu iz Velike Mrdakovice smijemo smjestiti u 8./7. stoljeće pr. Kr. i po tome je sinkronizirati s istovremenim prilikama u bogatim ženskim grobovima picenske Novilare, npr. Molaroni 11, 73, 129, gdje se učestalo nalaze upravo s lučnim fibulama s jantarom na luku<sup>218</sup> kakve su jasno zabilježene i u našem grobu 117 (T. 2. 20-25).

## Raspis

Arheološka analiza predstavljene građe pokazala je koliko naoko ujednačena ili jednostavna struktura grobnih priloga nošnje i nakita, može imati zapravo složenu i izražajniju pozadinu. U pobližem određenju grobova, odnosno pokojnika prema njihovu broju ili spolu ispostavilo se više prepreka; zatečeno stanje na terenu, dvojno i/ili višekratno pokapanje, nedostatak i nemogućnost provedbe antropoloških analiza, zatim građa koja je nadregionalne mode ili ona koja je kronološki manje osjetljiva i sl., što su samo neki od

## Accessories

In the group of personal accessories and implements, an example of a sewing needle is being examined; it was recorded in grave 117 (cat. no. 25), which contained, as already presented, a pin with hammered and twisted head and two large fibulae with amber beads on the bows (P. 2. 20-25).

The bronze, partially preserved sewing needle belongs to the group of pins with a single eyehole on the neck,<sup>209</sup> which is here expanded and thinned, while the head ends with the continuation of the needle. This needle form is not suited to chronological nor cultural classification, since, like the pin with hammered and twisted head found in the same grave, it was frequently used already since the Middle and Late Bronze Age over a broad swath of central and south-eastern Europe.<sup>210</sup> In the surrounding areas of this time, it appeared in the Istrian and Japodian cultural sphere.<sup>211</sup> Although its use can be followed throughout the Iron Age in the more northerly zones, from Este and Veneto, through the eastern Alpine and Istrian zones, the concentration of these needles was registered under circumstances of the chronologically evaluated contexts of the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, with possible duration into the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>212</sup> A similar situation can also be followed in the area of the Japodian necropolises, where a considerable number were qualitatively and typologically distinctively registered.<sup>213</sup>

209 For a division into possible variants of sewing needles with a single eyehole, see R. Vasić (2003, pp. 130-133), whereby this example would belong to group II; with eyehole on the neck.

210 Vasić 2003, p. 133.

211 Graves 22, 24 and 46 of the Limska gradina necropolis (Mihovilić 1972, pp. 17-25, P. 12. 12, 28, P. 21. 18; Cestnik 2010, p. 115, Fig. 38), and graves 3 and 5 from Bezdanjača (Drechsler-Bižić 1980, pp. 36, 37, 62, 63, P. XXIII. 2, P. XXVI. 7, 8).

212 Pogačnik 2002, pp. 73, 74, Fig. 68; Sakara Sučević 2004, p. 35; Cestnik 2010, pp. 114, 115. These pins are not known from the context of the Late Bronze Age hoards of the northern Adriatic from its pre-Alpine hinterland, and they appear rather rarely in graves, so there is one example from the necropolis in Ljubljana SAZU, and allegedly from grave 123 of the Brežec necropolis. A somewhat higher number originated in the Sveta Lucija group (cf. Turk 1994, pp. 137, 138).

213 Cf. Široka Kula (Brunšmid 1901, P. III. 5), Kompolje, graves II/72, I/102 (Drechsler-Bižić 1961, P. X. 3-11...), Prozor, grave 12 and sporadic finds (Drechsler-Bižić 1973, P. XII. 4; Lo Schiavo 1970, P. VIII. 13), Jezerine (Radimsky 1893, P. III. 17-20), Ribić (Marić 1968, P. X. 39, P. XII. 25...) and numerous others.

Bižić 1973, T. XII. 4; Lo Schiavo 1970, T. VIII. 13), Jezerine (Radimsky 1893, T. III. 17-20), Ribić (Marić 1968, T. X. 39, T. XII. 25...) i brojni drugi.

214 Batović 1968, T. XI. 1; Batović 1976, sl. 12. 6; Batović 1985, T. XX. 1; Batović 1987, str. 363, T. XXXVIII. 10; Hiller 1991, str. 221, 222, 357, 389, T. 6.

215 Brusić 2000a, T. X. 9, T. XVI. 6. Iako nisu objavljene, šivače igle nalaze se još i u grobovima 10 i 24 iste nekropole. Građa se nalazi u fundusu Prapovijesne zbirke MGŠ.

216 Brusić 2000a, T. X. 6-14.

217 Marović, Nikolanci 1969, str. 11.

218 Beinhauer 1985, T. 5. 67, T. 20. 299, T. 33. 484.

Velika Mrdakovica		Igla / Pin	Okov / Buckle	Dugmad / Buttons	Lučna fibulas jantarom / Bow fibula with amber	Protocertosa / proto-Certosa Fibula	Pseudocertosa / pseudo-Certosa Fibula	Ogrlica / Necklace	Naušnice / Earrings	Narukviče / Bracelets	Privjesak / Pendant	Žičice / Wires	Kolutovi / Rings	Šivaca igla / Sewing needle	Jantar / Amber	Staklo / Glass	Željezo / Iron
Grob / Grave																	
1	75	4	x	x	x			x			x						
	117	x	x		2						x	x		x	x		
	109	x			x			x			x	x				x	
	111			x	2			2			x		x	x		x	

Sl. 23. Struktura priloga u grobovima Velike Mrdakovice u kronološkom slijedu grobova

Fig. 23. Structure of grave goods from Velike Mrdakovica in the chronological sequence of the graves

čimbenika koji otežavaju ili umanjuju postavljanje konkretnih zaključaka koji bi mogli postati paradigmom ocjenjivanja i drugih sličnih nalaza iz regije.

Međutim, arheološka nam interpretacija omogućuje da iz sačuvane građe iščitamo i razumijevamo nekoliko vrijednih kulturno-povijesnih i kronoloških odrednica koje se do sada nisu takvima predstavljale. Iako uzorak iz nekropole Velike Mrdakovice nije obilan (sl. 23), ispostavilo se da induktivnom metodom slaganja s usporednom građom i onom drugih tipoloških obilježja iz grobova Dragišića, Nina i Zatona (sl. 22), te japodskih nekropola, pruža upotpunjenu, sinkroniziranu i sigurniju bazu za kritičko vrednovanje njihova užega i širega kulturnog konteksta.

Tip pokapanja svojstven je za prostor šibenske regije i srednjega jadranskog priobalja općenito. Već je od prije poznato, kako načinom pokapanja u ispruženom položaju, zajedno s pokopima na nakropoli Gradine kod Dragišića,<sup>219</sup> nekropola Velike Mrdakovice odstupa od prevladavajućeg načina u zgrčenom položaju na matičnom području Liburna, iako se i o tom pitanju spoznaje znatnije mijenjaju.<sup>220</sup> Dvojni grobovi, uobičajeno muškarca i žene, te majki s djecom/adolescentima, učestali su u kulturi Liburna i u susjednih Delmata,<sup>221</sup> pa ni po tomu nekropola

Liburnian culture, however, does not recognize a palpable number of this type of accessory, and in its core territory only a pair of examples is known from the better furnished graves in Nin, grave 6, and in Zaton, grave 6/5.<sup>214</sup> It is likely that even with regard to this type of find, the more southerly zone, although less researched, was better represented. Thus, two examples are thus far known from the necropolis in Dragišić, from graves 15 and 18.<sup>215</sup> The goods of the latter grave also included a pin with a hammered and twisted head and a basket-shaped pendant with rounded base that was dated on the basis of *proto-Certosa* fibulae, and this examined fibula was in grave 15, which also included a *Baška* type fibula.<sup>216</sup>

Summing up the above data, the framework for the use of bronze sewing needles may be placed in the Early Iron Age, which is backed by the find from Velika Mrdakovica, but also the find from grave 2 of the Delmataean necropolis in Vičja luka.<sup>217</sup> The combination of goods from grave 117 (Fig. 22, Fig. 23) realistically allows for the possibility of placing this sole

<sup>214</sup> Batović 1968, P. XI. 1; Batović 1976, Fig. 12. 6; Batović 1985, P. XX. 1; Batović 1987, p. 363, P. XXXVIII. 10; Hiller 1991, pp. 221, 222, 357, 389, P. 6.

<sup>215</sup> Brusić 2000a, P. X. 9, T. XVI. 6. Although they were not published, sewing needles were also found in graves 10 and 24 in the same necropolis. The materials are held in the inventory of the Prehistoric Collection of the Šibenik City Museum.

<sup>216</sup> Brusić 2000a, P. X. 6-14.

<sup>217</sup> Marović, Nikolanci 1969, p. 11.

<sup>219</sup> Brusić 2000, str. 1, 12, 13; Kukoč 2011, str. 202.

<sup>220</sup> Usp. Kukoč 2009, str. 37-44; Kukoč 2011, str. 202, 203; usp. Batović, Batović 2013, str. 14, 15.

<sup>221</sup> Kukoč 2009; Kukoč 2010; Kukoč 2011.

Velike Mrdakovice nije iznimka. Ako nalazišne podatke možemo projicirati u realne situacije, tada nam ostaje sigurnim da je u grobu 111 pokopana jedna osoba, i da je grob 75 bio dvojni/obiteljski (sl. 4, sl. 22, sl. 23). Sukladno analizi arheološke građe repertoar nošnje i nakita iz groba 111 (T. 2. 12-19) s podosta sigurnosti možemo pripisati osobi ženskog spola – odrasloj/starijoj, budući da je obilježava komplet karakteristične bogate nakitne garniture (sl. 23). U grobu 75 (T. 1. 3-11) bili su sahranjeni muškarac i žena, najvjerojatnije istovremeno (sl. 23), također sa znatnjim brojem predmeta koji nam posredno svjedoče i o njihovoj starosti i društveno-ekonomskom statusu. Inventari grobova u Velikoj Mrdakovici, kao i na ostalom dijelu Liburnije, pokazuju određena ponavljanja, pa nam i binarne serijacije dočaravaju u pravilu skromniji ansambl predmeta nošnje ili nakita kod grobova muškaraca, i znatno bogatiji u grobovima žena, gdje se ističe nošnja više i različitih fibula, ogrlica, privjesaka i jantara (sl. 22, sl. 23). Povrh toga, u grobovima žena nalaze se i svojstveni prilozi, poput pršljenaka, kalemova ili šivačih igala, koji nedvojbeno definiraju spolnu opredijeljenost pokojnika. U tom smislu, dvojnim grobovima s većom dozom sigurnosti mogli bi pripisati i grob 117 (T. 2. 20-25; sl. 23). Grob 109 (T. 1. 2; sl. 23) problematičniji je u mogućem određenju prvenstveno zbog nesačuvanosti građe. Ipak, ženska nošnja gotovo je podudarna onoj u grobu 111, a pitanje igle neće u tome imati odlučujuću ulogu, s obzirom da je riječ o tipu koji se nalazi u muškim, jednakim kao i u ženskim grobovima. Stoga bismo u tom grobu mogli vidjeti sahranjenog pojedinka, tj. najvjerojatnije žensku pokojnicu. Najzad, pouzdano je i podatak da je u grobu 113 bilo sahranjeno više osoba kod kojih se upadljivo ističu obilježja ženske i/ili dječje nošnje (sl. 23).

S kronološkog aspekta predstavljene građe, možemo razlikovati grobove iz dva šira razdoblja pokapanja. Starije grobove obilježavaju oni s velikom fibulom s jantarnim zrnom na luku, dok mlađe označavaju oni s nadmoćnošću fibule tipa *protocertosa* s kuglicom na kraju nožice (sl. 23). Unatoč dvojnom ili višekratnom pokapanju građa pokazuje određeniji vremenski okvir, što sugerira na istovremeno ili vrlo kratko naknadno pokapanje, interpretirano u smislu užih obiteljskih grobova. Činjenica tako potkrjepljuje postavljenu tezu Š. Batovića kako je višekratno pokapanje u jednome grobu rijetkost na prostoru Liburnije, jer se ondje, poglavito u starijim fazama, počalo pojedinačno ili u manjem broju (dvojni-trojni

sewing needle from Velika Mrdakovica to the 8<sup>th</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> century BC and thereby synchronize it with the contemporary circumstances in the rich women's graves of Picenian Novilara, e.g. Molaroni 11, 73, 129, where they were often found precisely with bow fibula with amber beads on their bows,<sup>218</sup> of the type clearly registered in grave 117 itself (P. 2. 20-25).

## Discussion

Archaeological analysis of the materials presented herein has shown how the apparently uniform and simple structure of grave goods consisting of attire and jewellery can actually have a more complex and expressive background. Several obstacles were encountered in attempts to more closely classify the graves and the deceased based on their number or gender; the situation found in the field, double and/or multiple burials, the absence and impossibility of conducting anthropological analysis, then the materials which constitute supra-regional fashion or are chronologically less sensitive, etc., are just some of the factors that render difficult or diminish the possibility of reaching specific conclusions which could then become a paradigm for the evaluation of other, similar finds in the region.

However, archaeological interpretation of the preserved materials allows for an interpretation and understanding of several valuable cultural/historical determinants which had not been presented in this manner up to this point. Even though the sampling from the Velika Mrdakovica necropolis is not abundant (Fig. 23), the inductive method was employed; alignment with comparative materials and those with other typological features from the graves in Dragišić, Nin and Zaton (Fig. 22) and the Japodian necropolises offers a fuller, synchronized and firmer foundation for the critical evaluation of their narrower and broader cultural context.

The burial type is specific to the Šibenik region and the central Adriatic coast in general. It was already known previously that the interment method with outstretched body, together with the Gradina necropolis at Dragišić,<sup>219</sup> the Velika Mrdakovica necropolis deviates from the method in crouched position that prevailed in Liburnian territory, even though knowledge on this matter is changing considerably.<sup>220</sup> Double graves, usually containing a man and a woman, and mothers with children/adolescents, were frequent in the culture of

218 Beinhauer 1985, P. 5. 67, P. 20. 299, P. 33. 484.

219 Brusić 2000, pp. 1, 12, 13; Kukoč 2011, p. 202.

220 Cf. Kukoč 2009, pp. 37-44; Kukoč 2011, pp. 202, 203; cf. Batović, Batović 2013, pp. 14, 15.

grobovi), a višekratni ukop postaje "trend" tek u posljednjoj fazi njezine kulture.<sup>222</sup>

U sinkronizaciji s periodizacijom liburnske kulture to bi značilo da se pokapanje sa starijim grobovima odvijalo u vremenu II. A i B stupnja prema klasičnoj periodizacijskoj shemi. U to su vrijeme bogati dvojni grobovi iz kraćeg vremenskog razdoblja česti na liburnskom području, što dokazuju i ovdje analizirani grobovi iz Nina i iz Zatona. Situacija se s grobom 113 morala događati također u kraćem razdoblju, koji bi odgovarao kraju III. i IV. kulturnom stupnju.

Nalazi nošnje i nakita pokazuju nam, isto tako, određene razlike s uspoređenim nekropolama Liburna i Delmata. Ponajprije, repertoar nalaza iz Velike Mrdakovice vrlo je sužen i u starijoj generaciji, mogli bismo reći, skromniji, siromašniji u odnosu na usporedene (sl. 23). Rasporod grobova s velikim fibulama s jantarnim zrnom na luku liburnskog tipa izričito dijeli dvojne od pojedinačnih grobova u Ninu i Zatonu, pa i kod onih iz Žaganj dolca i Vičje luke (sl. 22). Ti su grobovi izuzetno bogati, što ukazuje ne samo na ekonomski status već i na društveni položaj i istaknutije značenje tih pokojnica (žena/djevojaka) koji je, naravno, afirmiran i stanjem u pojedinačnim ženskim grobovima. Velike fibule s jantarom na luku etabliraju se tako kao fenomen mode matičnoga liburnskog prostora, a kao reakcija na iznimno raširen trend u heterogenim evropskim kulturama. U Liburniji se u pravilu nalaze s većim brojem drugih tipova fibula, ali i s njima sestrinskom, malom lučnom fibulom s jantarom na luku. Naprotiv, na području Velike Mrdakovice i delmatskih nekropola gotovo da nema takvih asocijacija, osim jednog primjerka iz Vičje luke. Tu je naime slagana kombinacija velikih fibula u paru ili, eventualno, malih i velikih fibula s jantarnim zrnom na luku. Velike fibule se na svim ostalim područjima, uključujući i italsku, pojavljuju uvek jedinstveno. Štoviše, na Velikoj Mrdakovici poznajemo čak tri varijante fibula tog tipa, što također nije poznato iz ostalog dijela Liburnije, dapače, na obližnjem Dragišiću u potpunosti izostaju. Dodavani nakit najvećma je obilježen ogrlicama, tj. njihovim većim brojem, od čega nerijetko, kao i u grobovima Velike Mrdakovice, barem jedna ogrlica pripada jantarnoj niski. A, jantar se, uz staklo, posebno izdvaja kao indikator luksusa i prestiža. I dok je staklo prisutno samo s jednim primjerkom, jantarna zrna čine većinu nalaza materijalne kulture tako reduciranog broja grobova, nesumnjivo nepotpune sačuvanosti. Riječ je o klasi nakita

the Liburnians and the neighbouring Delmataeans,<sup>221</sup> so in this the Velika Mrdakovica necropolis is no exception. If the find data can be projected into real situations, then it remains certain that one person was buried in grave 111, and grave 75 was a double/family grave (Fig. 4, Fig. 22, Fig. 23). Pursuant to the analysis of the archaeological materials, the repertoire of attire and jewellery from grave 111 (P. 2. 12-19) may be attributed to a woman with considerable certainty: an adult/older woman, since it is characterized by a full set typical of rich jewellery ensembles (Fig. 23). A man and a woman were buried in grave 75 (P. 1. 3-11), probably at the same time (Fig. 23), also with a higher number items that indirectly testify to their age and their socio-economic status. The grave goods at Velika Mrdakovica, as in other parts of Liburnia, exhibit a certain repetition, so that even the binary seriation generally evokes a more modest ensemble of attire or jewellery in men's graves, and a richer one in women's graves, in which the wearing of several different fibulae, necklaces, pendants and amber (Fig. 22, Fig. 23) stands out. Additionally, women's graves often also contain specific items, such as spindle whorls, spools or sewing needles, which unambiguously define the sex of the deceased. In this sense, grave 117 (P. 2. 20-25; Fig. 23) may also be ascribed to the double graves with a considerable measure of certainty. Grave 109 (P. 1. 2; Fig. 23) is more problematic in terms of possible determination, primarily due to the non-preservation of the materials. Nonetheless, the women's attire is almost identical to that in grave 111, while the matter of the pin will not play a decisive role here, given that this is a type which was found equally in men's and in women's graves. Thus, a buried individual can be seen in this grave, most likely a deceased woman. Finally, grave 113, in which the traits of women's and/or children's attire (Fig. 23) stand out markedly, may reliably be said to contain several burials.

Considering the presented materials from the chronological standpoint, graves from two broader interment periods may be distinguished. The older graves are characterized by those containing a large fibula with amber bead on the bow, while the younger ones are typified by those with a predominance of the *proto-Certosa* fibula with a small globule at the end of the foot (Fig. 23). Despite the double or multiple burials, the materials exhibit a more fixed chronological framework, which suggests simultaneous or subsequent burials a very short time afterward, interpreted in the sense of narrower familial graves. This fact thus backs the hypothesis proffered by Š. Batović that multiple burials in a single grave were rare in Liburnian territory, because burials were individual or smaller

222 Batović 1987, str. 357; Kukoč 2009, str. 44, 45; Kukoč 2011, str. 202-205; Batović, Batović 2013, str. 14, 15.

221 Kukoč 2009; Kukoč 2010; Kukoč 2011.

egzotičnog podrijetla koja je povezivala krajeve i zajednice velikih razdaljina, obilježavajući tako statusne simbole, prestiž i određene privilegije. S time u vezi, razumljivo, dolaze i različiti privjesci, poglavito pekторali koji na Velikoj Mrdakovici posve izostaju, što zasigurno mora imati svojevrsno objašnjenje, suprotno onome poznatom iz nekropole u Dragišiću, gdje su privjesci neizostavan dio nošnje pokojnika. U kulturno vrlo prostranom optjecanju izdvojenih predmeta nošnje sa šireg šibenskog prostora posebno bismo istaknuli određenu bližu ili intenzivniju povezanost sa sjevernoitalskim prostorom i putem njega s tzv. istočnoalpskom *koiné* širega kulturnog areala. Veza je po svemu sudeći ostvarivana izravno, prekomorskim komunikacijama preko *Caput Adriae*, na razmeđu onih ustaljenih i posve uhodanih s nasuprotnom picenskom stranom Jadrana (sl. 6, sl. 12, sl. 15, sl. 21). U procesu komunikacija te tzv. jadranske *koiné* uistinu se brojni odnosi ostvaruju s estenskim i bolonjskim kulturnim krugom. Iz znatno bližeg okruženja, povezanost sa zapadnobalkanskim zaledjem je neupitna, što također vrijedi i za osobite, obostrane, odnose s japodskom kulturom skupinom. U tom kontekstu ističe se ansambl nošnje i nakita iz groba 113, koji bi ne samo po odabranim tipovima nošnje i nakita, već i prema načinu njihova kombiniranja mogao upućivati da je riječ o osobi/osobama japodske kulturne pripadnosti.

Sukladno tipološko-kronološkoj klasifikaciji građe, a u odnosu na istovremene pojave u kulturama jadranskog bazena, revidirana relativna i viša apsolutnokronološka shema morala bi biti prihvaćena i za prostor Liburnije. U tom pravcu već su bili ponuđeni određeni prijedlozi koji, zbog različitih razloga, nisu šire primjenjivani u stručnoj literaturi (sl. 24).<sup>223</sup>

Svakako, ti su se revidirani prijedlozi oslanjali i na najstariju i na noviju shemu kulturne periodizacije Š. Batovića,<sup>224</sup> zbog čega nisu ni bili usklađeni s obzirom na kontinuirani razvoj kulture od kasnoga brončanog doba do u starije željezno doba. Premda i talijanski istraživači u novijim radovima počesto slijede starije kronološke sheme,<sup>225</sup> korigirana kronologija estenskog, bolonjskog i picenskoga kulturnog kruga imat će ključnu ulogu u razmatranju više kronologije i prostora istočnojadranskih priobalnih kultura. Na primjeru Liburnije, ne samo argumentacijom sinkronizacije igala već pogotovo mode izradbe i razmjene

(double/triple graves) there in the older phases, while multiple burials became the “fashion” only in the final phase of this culture.<sup>222</sup>

In synchronization with the periodization of the Liburnian culture, this would mean that burials in the older graves proceeded in the time of phases II A and B according to the classical periodization scheme. In this time, rich double graves over a shorter period were frequent in Liburnian territory, which is also indicated by the graves from Nin and Zaton analyzed herein. The situation with grave 113 must have also happened over a shorter period, which would correspond to the end of cultural phases III and IV.

By the same token, the finds of attire and jewellery also demonstrate certain differences between the comparative necropolises of the Liburnians and Delmataeans. Firstly, the repertoire of finds from Velika Mrdakovica is very narrow even in the older generation, one might even say more modest or poorer with respect to those compared (Fig. 23). The arrangement of graves containing Liburnian type large fibulae with amber beads on the bows expressly divide the double from individual graves in Nin and Zaton, and in those from Žaganj dolac and Vičja luka (Fig. 22). These graves are exceptionally rich, which indicates not only economic status but also social station and the high significance of these deceased (women/girls) which, naturally was affirmed by the content in individual woman’s grave. The large fibulae with amber beads on the bows were therefore established as a fashionable phenomenon in the core Liburnian territory, and as a response to the exceptionally widespread trend in heterogeneous European cultures. As a rule, they were found in Liburnia with a high number of other types of fibulae, but also with their smaller sister fibulae with amber beads on the bows. On the contrary, in the area of Velika Mrdakovica and the Delmataean necropolises, there are virtually no such associations, except for one example from Vičja luka. Here they were set in combinations of large fibulae in pairs, or, possibly, small and large fibulae with amber beads on the bows. Large fibulae in all other regions, including the Italic zone, always appeared alone. Moreover, at Velika Mrdakovica there are as many as three variants of this fibula type, which is also unknown in the rest of Liburnia, and they are completely absent at nearby Dragišić. The added jewellery is mostly characterized by necklaces, i.e., their highest number, of which often at least one necklace, as in the graves in Velika Mrdakovica, is a series of amber beads. And amber, together with glass, was particularly notable as an indicator of luxury and prestige. And while glass was present in only

223 Hiller 1991, str. 313-333, sl. 95; Pare 1998, str. 327-323, T. 3.

224 Batović 1965; Batović 1987.

225 Npr. za Este: Capuis, Chieco Bianchi 2006; Bondini 2008 prema Peroni 1975.

222 Batović 1987, p. 357; Kukoč 2009, pp. 44, 45; Kukoč 2011, pp. 202-205; Batović, Batović 2013, pp. 14, 15.

pr. Kr. BC	EUROPE Rychner 1996 Trachsel 2004	DALMACIJA = LIBURNIJA Pare 1998	LIBURNIJA		
			Batović 1987	Hiller 1991	Batović 1985
1200	Ha A1				
1150	Ha A2				
1100	Ha A2			Kasno brončano doba Late Bronze Age	
1000	Ha B1	Kraj kasnog brončanog doba End of the Late Bronze Age		Rano željezno doba Early Iron Age IA	I
950	Ha B1			IB	
900	Ha B2		I		
800	Ha B3		I	II A	II
700	Ha C1a		II	II A	III A
600	Ha C1b		III	II B	III B
500	Ha C2			III	IV
400	Ha D1			IV	V
	Ha D2-3			Srednje željezno doba Middle Iron Age	

Sl. 24. Pregled relativnokronoloških periodizacija za područje Liburnije, u odnosu na revidiranu srednjoeuropsku periodizaciju

Fig. 24. Overview of relative chronological periodization for the territory of Liburnia in comparison to the revised Central European periodization

karakterističnih fibula, početak željeznog doba valja shvaćati već u drugoj polovici 10. stoljeća, tj. njegov I. željeznobni stupanj.<sup>226</sup> Slijedi II. stupanj, podignut na godine prije 800., odnosno u prvu polovicu 9. stoljeća pr. Kr., kada u modu upravo ulaze fibule s jantarom na luku. One će opstati u korištenju tijekom dugog razdoblja, ali naši grobovi 75 i 117, s ostalim predmetima nošnje, svjedočili bi njihovo nešto višoj dataciji, tj. 8. stoljeću pr. Kr. Faza III. počela bi tako već sredinom 7. stoljeća, kada se situacija mijenja i u

a single example, amber beads accounted for most of the material culture finds of such a reduced number of graves, undoubtedly not preserved in their entirety. This is a class of jewellery of exotic origin which was tied to far distant regions and communities, thus connoting status symbols, prestige and certain privileges. In this regard, various pendants understandably belong here, particularly pectorals, which are entirely absent at Velika Mrdakovica, and certainly must have some explanation, contrary to the situation known in the necropolis at Dragišić, where pendants are a constant component of the attire of the deceased. In the culturally very spacious circulation of attire items from the wider Šibenik area, a certain closer or more intensive link to the northern Italic area and, through it, the so-called eastern Alpine *koiné* of the wider cultural sphere may be underscored. This link was by all indications effected directly, via maritime communications through the *Caput Adriae*, at the crossroads of those steady and entirely well-established ties with the opposite Picenian side of the Adriatic (Fig. 6, Fig. 12, Fig. 15, Fig. 21). In the process of communication in this so-called *koiné*, numerous relations were truly established with the Este and Bologna cultural sphere. Within the considerably nearer environs, ties with the western Balkan hinterland went without saying, which also applied to the notable, mutual ties with the Japodian cultural group. The ensemble of attire and jewellery from grave 113 stands out in this context, which may indicate a person(s) with a Japodian cultural background not only in terms of the selected types of attire and jewellery but also their combination.

In line with the typological/chronological classification of the materials, and in relation to the simultaneous phenomena in the cultures of the Adriatic basin, the revised relative and higher absolute chronological schemes should be accepted for the territory of Liburnia as well. In this regard, certain proposals were put forward which, for various reasons, were not more broadly applied in the professional literature (Fig. 24).<sup>223</sup>

Certainly, these revised proposals also depended upon the oldest and most recent scheme of cultural periodization by Š. Batović,<sup>224</sup> which is why they were not aligned with regard to the continued development of culture from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age. Although in more recent works Italian researchers often follow the older chronological schemes,<sup>225</sup> the corrected chronology of the Este,

223 Hiller 1991, pp. 313-333, Fig. 95; Pare 1998, pp. 327-323, P. 3.

224 Batović 1965; Batović 1987.

225 E.g. for Este: Capuis, Chieco Bianchi 2006; Bondini 2008 according to Peroni 1975.

pogledu izradbe fibula, osobito regionalnih značajki, i u pogledu strukture nošnje, i u pogledu importirane keramike. Upotreba fibule tipa *protocertosa* slijedit će već od sredine 7. stoljeća pr. Kr., ali će biti značajna i za sljedeća razdoblja, kada se formiraju i drugi oblici, poput naše fibule tipa *pseudocertosa* sa zoomorfnim zaključkom nožice koja nastupa koncem 6. i u 5. stoljeću pr. Kr. Stoga bi IV. stupanj bio uskladen s tzv. horizontom fibula tipa *Certosa* širega kulturnog područja, razmatran već od kraja 6. stoljeća pr. Kr. U svakom pogledu novi pristup, absolutnom i relativnom, kulturno-kronološkom vrednovanju kulture Liburna, ali i ostalih kulturnih skupina u regiji,<sup>227</sup> prijeko je potreban kao aktivnan izazov koji nudi mnoštvo novosti i rješenja za kritičko propitivanje pasivno prihvaćenih modela.

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Bologna and Picenian cultural sphere will thus play a crucial role in consideration of the higher chronology and the area of the eastern Adriatic seaboard cultures. Using the example of Liburnia, not just the argument concerning the synchronization of pins but rather the fashion of crafting and exchanging typical fibulae in particular, the beginning of the Iron Age should be understood already in the latter half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, i.e., its Iron Age phase I.<sup>226</sup> This is followed by phase II, raised to the years preceding 800, or rather the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century BC, just at the time when fibulae with amber bead on the bow became fashionable. Their use would persist over a considerable period, but graves 75 and 117 considered herein with the items of attire would testify to a somewhat higher dating for them, i.e., the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC. Phase III would thus begin already in the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century, when the situation changed both with regard to the rendering of fibulae, particularly regional features, and the structure of attire, as well as imported pottery. The use of *proto-Certosa* fibulae would therefore follow from the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century BC, but it would also be significant to the subsequent period, when other shapes were formed, such as the *pseudo-Certosa* fibula a zoomorphic termination of the foot considered herein which emerged at the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> and in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. Thus, phase IV would be aligned with the so-called *Certosa* fibula horizon of the wider cultural zone, considered already from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. In any case, a new approach, absolute and relative, to the cultural of the Liburnians and the remaining cultural groups in the region,<sup>227</sup> is absolutely essential as an active challenge that will bring a multitude of novelties and solutions to the critical scrutiny of passively accepted models.

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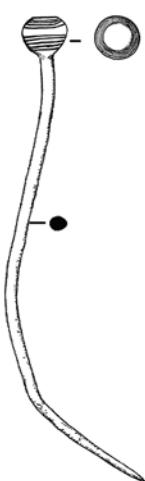
227 Usp. Blečić Kavur 2014, str. 150-165.

226 Blečić Kavur 2014, pp. 162-165, Fig. 90.

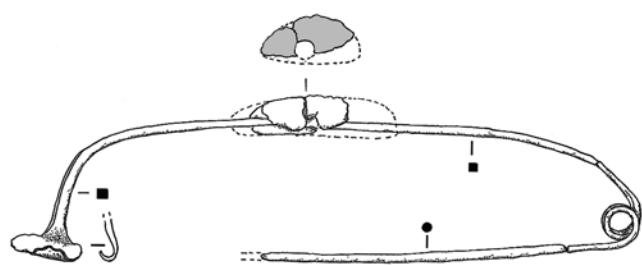
227 Cf. Blečić Kavur 2014, pp. 150-165.

## T. 1 / P. 1

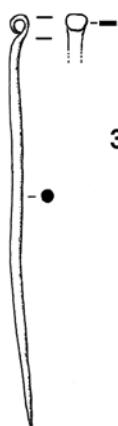
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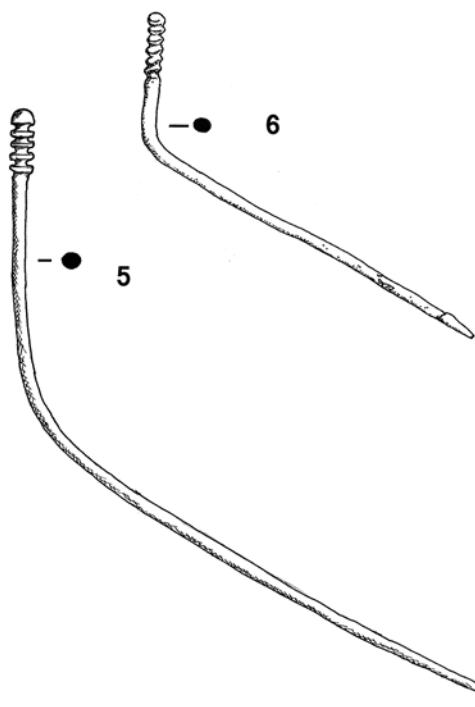
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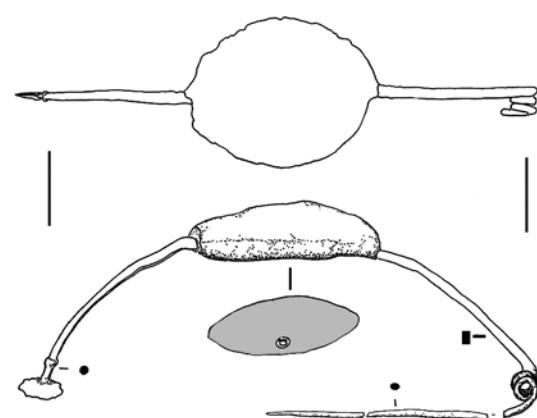


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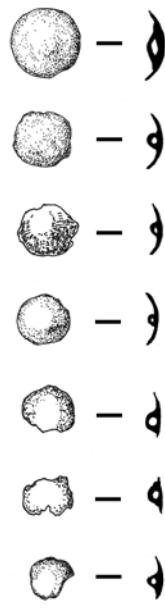


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6



10



11

## Katalog<sup>228</sup>

### T. 1

#### GROB 70

**Iz zapisnika:** Grob, paljevinskog načina ukopa, nalazio se u nepravilnoj udubini matične stijene, relativne dubine 25 cm. Zbog ulomaka urne grube fakture i tegula te tri željezna čavla grob je definiran kao rimski ukop. U njemu je, međutim, kao pojedinačni nalaz nađena kasnobrončanodobna igla koja je onamo dospjela vjerojatno onodobnim intervencijama na nekropoli.

1. Brončana igla s bikoničnom, na vrhu spljoštenom i kaneliranim glavicom. Gornji dio glavice manji je od donjeg, a dijeli ih najdeblja središnja kanelura. Obje su polovice ukrašene s četiri plitko urezane kanelure. Igla je blago savijena S-profilacije, okruglog presjeka i zašiljenog kraja. Veličina: duž. 11,9 cm; pr. glavice 1,2 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 2998.

Literatura: Mendušić, Pedišić, Krnčević 1993, str. 10, kat. br. 25.

#### GROB 109

**Iz zapisnika:** Grob je bio ovalnog oblika. Dno je činila djelomično klesana matična stijena. Uzglavnicu, donožnicu i jednu bočnu stranu groba bile su omeđene s nekoliko većih komada kamenja. U grobu se nalazilo više ostataka kostiju, dislociranih i istrunulih. Zabilježena je sljedeća struktura nalaza nošnje pokojnika:

- izrazito fragmentirana ogrlica od tankog brončanog lima presavijenih rubova (tipološki identična ogrlicama kat. br. 7 i 14 iz grobova 75 i 111)
- velika brončana fibula sa zrnom jantara na luku (kat. br. 2)
- kolut od deblje brončane žice
- mala brončana igla s raskovanom i uvijenom glavicom
- ulomak željeznog predmeta
- ulomak brončane igle.<sup>229</sup>

## Catalogue<sup>228</sup>

### P. 1

#### GRAVE 70

**From the field notes:** Grave, incineration burial method, situated in irregular depression in bedrock, relative depth 25 cm. Grave defined as Roman burial due to fragment of urn with coarse fature and tegulae and three iron nails. However, late Bronze Age pin found in it as individual find which probably made its way there as a result of interventions at the time in the hillfort necropolis.

1. Bronze pin with a biconical, on top flattened and horizontally grooved head. Upper portion of head is smaller than lower, divided by thickest middle groove. Both halves adorned with four shallowly engraved grooves. Head has slightly bent S-profile, with round cross-section and pointed tip. Size: lng. 11.9 cm; dia. of head 1.2 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 2998.

References: Mendušić, Pedišić, Krnčević 1993, p. 10, cat. no. 25.

#### GRAVE 109

**From the field notes:** Grave was oval. Bottom consisted of partially carved bedrock. Head, foot and one side of grave were lined with several large pieces of stone. Considerable bone remains, dislocated and rotted, were in grave. Following structure of attire of deceased recorded:

- considerably fragmented necklace made of thin sheet bronze curved at the edges (typologically identical to necklaces under cat. no. 7 and 14 from graves 75 and 111)
- large bronze fibula with amber bead on bow (cat. no. 2)
- hoop made of thick bronze wire
- small bronze pin with hammered and twisted head
- fragment of iron item
- fragment of bronze pin.<sup>229</sup>

228 Kataloške jedinice odgovaraju brojevima predmeta na tablama, koji su dani u mjerilu 1: 2. U katalogu su korištene uobičajene kratice za veličine predmeta; duž. = dužina, šir. = širina, vis. = visina, pr. = promjer, inv. br. = inventarni broj u fundusu Muzeja grada Šibenika (MGŠ).

Crtče su izradili R. Žunić, M. Blečić Kavur, fotografije E. Podrug, grafiku, dizajn i table M. Blečić Kavur.

229 Nalaze iz groba 109 navodimo u opisu jer je veći dio te grobne cjeline iz nepoznatih razloga zagubljen. U fundusu Prapovijesne zbirke MGŠ nalazi se jedino spomenuta fibula (kat. br. 2).

228 The catalogue units correspond to the item numbers on the plates, which are shown in a 1:2 scale. The customary abbreviations are used for sizes; lng. = length, wid. = width, ht. = height, dia. = diameter, inv. no. = number in the inventory of the Šibenik City Museum (MGŠ). The sketches were done by R. Žunić and M. Blečić Kavur, the photographs by E. Podrug, the graphics, designs and plates by M. Blečić Kavur.

229 The finds from grave 109 are cited in the description because most of this grave unit was lost for reasons unknown. Only the aforementioned fibula (cat. no. 2) is in the inventory of the Šibenik City Museum's Prehistoric Collection.

Ulomci ogrlice nađeni su ispod kostiju jedne od lubanja (koja se vjerojatno jedina, iako dosta istrunula, sačuvala *in situ*, na sjeverozapadnoj strani groba). Orientacija groba: sjeverozapad-jugoistok (glava na sjeverozapadu). Dimenzije groba: duž. 160-170 cm; šir. 100 cm; dubina grobne rake 20 cm (apsolutna dubina 46 cm).

**2.** Velika brončana lučna fibula s jantarom na luku. Luk je naglašeno spušten, raskovanog četvrtastog prešjeka, završava oprugom od dva navoja koji prelaze u iglu, okruglog presjeka. Igla je djelomično očuvana. Nožica je raskovana, trapezastog oblika, izduženog *J*-presjeka. Na luku se nalazi veliko ovalno jantarno zrno sačuvano također djelomično. Veličina: duž. 16,5 cm; vis. 3,7 cm; duž. jantarnog zrna 2,5 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10581.

## GROB 75

**Iz zapisnika:** Grob se nalazio u prirodnom izduženom procjepu matične stijene koji je mjestimično (na mjestu uzglavnice i na dnu groba) bio priklesan. Obložnice groba također je činila matična stijena. Većina kostiju bila je dislocirana, osim kostiju lubanja koje su se nedirnute nalazile uz uzglavnicu. Po njima se moglo zaključiti da je vjerojatno riječ o grobu dvoje pokojnika. S obzirom na poremećenost kostiju, nema podataka o položaju pokojnika, već je (vjerojatno na temelju položaja lubanja) istraživač zaključio da su kosturi bili položeni "paralelno". Većina sitnih nalaza bila je dislocirana i pomiješana s kostima. Jedino su u predjelu lubanja nalazi bili na svojim izvornim mjestima: fragmenti ogrlice (kat. br. 7) i igla (kat. br. 5) nalazili su se ispod jedne od lubanja, a fibula (kat. br. 10) kod donje čeljusti. Orientacija groba: istok-zapad (glave na zapadu). Dimenzije groba: duž. 170 cm; šir. 60-70 cm; dubina grobne rake 30 cm (apsolutna dubina 40 cm).

**3.** Brončana igla s raskovanom i uvijenom glavicom, ima lagano zabačen vrat, raskovanu glavicu pravokutnog presjeka, prilično stisnutog navoja. Igla je ravna, masivna, zašiljena na kraju, okruglog presjeka. Veličina: duž. 11,1 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 5348.

**4.** Ulomak brončane igle, od koje je sačuvan dio sa dva ukrašena polja od po šest kuglasto profiliranih zadebljanja. Igla je vrlo loše očuvana. Veličina: duž. 11,1 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 5346.

**5.** Brončana velika igla, povijena u donjem dijelu. Glavica igle polukružno je oblikovana, a ispod nje, na vratu, su četiri jednakih rebara. Igla je okruglog presjeka. Veličina: duž. 16 cm; pr. glavice 0,4 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 5345.

Necklace fragments were found below bones of a skull (probably the only bone, albeit quite rotted, preserved *in situ*, on north-west side of grave). Orientation of grave: northwest-southeast (head at northwest). Dimensions of grave: lng. 160-170 cm; wid. 100 cm; depth of grave cut 20 cm (absolute depth 46 cm).

**2.** Large bronze fibula with amber bead on bow. Bow notably lowered, with hammered rectangular cross-section, ending in spring consisting of two coils that cross pin, with round cross-section. Pin partially preserved. Foot hammered, trapezoidal shape and oblong *J*-cross-section. Large oval amber bead, only partially preserved, on bow. Size: lng. 16.5 cm; ht. 3.7 cm; lng. amber bead 2.5 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10581.

## GRAVE 75

**From the field notes:** Grave situated in natural oblong fissure in bedrock that was additionally worked at places (at head and base of grave). Bedrock also formed lining of grave. Most bones were dislocated, except skull bones that were untouched along grave's head. Based on these, it may be concluded that the grave probably held two deceased individuals. Given the damage to the bones, there is no data on the positions of the deceased, rather (probably based on position of skull) the researcher concluded that the skeletons were laid "parallel". Most of the sundry finds were dislocated and mixed with the bones. Only at the location of skulls were finds in their original places: pieces of necklace (cat. no. 7) and pin (cat. no. 5) were below one of skulls, while fibula (cat. no. 10) was at lower jaw. Orientation of grave: east-west (heads at west). Dimensions of grave: lng. 170 cm; wid. 60-70 cm; depth of grave cut 30 cm (absolute depth 40 cm).

**3.** Bronze pin with hammered and twisted head, has slightly disjointed neck, hammered head with rectangular cross-section, and rather pressed coil. Pin is straight, massive, pointed at tip, with round cross-section. Size: lng. 11.1 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 5348.

**4.** Fragment of bronze pin, of which part with two adorned fields consisting of six spherically moulded knobs. Pin is very poorly preserved. Size: lng. 11.1 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 5346.

**5.** Large bronze pin, bent in lower section. Pin's head semi-circularly formed, and four ribs are below it on neck. Pin has round cross-section. Size: lng. 16 cm; dia. of head 0.4 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 5345.

References: Mendušić, Pedišić, Krnčević 1993, p. 11, cat. no. 51.<sup>230</sup>

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230 Erroneous data on find site specified, Gradina at Dragišić!

Literatura: Mendušić, Pedišić, Krnčević 1993, str. 11, kat. br. 51.<sup>230</sup>

**6.** Brončana velika igla, djelomično očuvana i izrazito korodirana. Glavica igle polukružno je oblikovana, a na vratu se nalazi pet jednakomjerno postavljenih kuglastih zadebljanja, svi tanjeg profila od glavice. Igra je okruglog presjeka. Veličina: duž. 9,2 cm; pr. glavice 0,3 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 5347.

**7.** Velika ogrlica od raskovanog, tankog brončanog lima, izrazito oštećena i korodirana. Sačuvana je u sedam ulomaka, s vidljivim šupljim profilom te raskovanim i prema unutra presavijenim rubovima. Na jednom ulomku vidljiv je način "kopčanja" ogrlice (vjerojatno na stražnjem dijelu vrata): jedan kraj ogrlice bio je zašiljen i umetnut u kružno presavijeni drugi kraj. Nije konzervirana ni restaurirana. Veličina: pr. prema crtežu moguće rekonstrukcije 12,5 cm; pr. najvećeg ulomka 8,3 cm; duž. najmanjeg ulomka 3,7 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 5344.

**8.** Ulomak deblje brončane žice presavijen u jednu petlju. Veličina: duž. 3 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 5335.

**9.** Ulomak tanje, presavijene brončane žice, okruglog presjeka i s dvije petlje na kraju. Veličina: duž. 3,8 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 5336.

**10.** Velika brončana lučna fibula s jantarom na luku. Luk je raskovanog četvrtastog presjeka, završava oprugom od dva navoja koji prelaze u iglu, okruglog presjeka. Veći dio igle nedostaje. Nožica je raskovana, trapezastog oblika, znatno oštećena. Iznad nožice je četvrtasto zadebljanje. Na luku se nalazi veliko ovalno jantarno zrno sačuvano u cijelosti. Dva ulomka brončane žice okruglog presjeka dio su igle fibule. Veličina: duž. 13,6 cm; duž. jantarnog zrna 5,1 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 5334; duž. igle 6 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 5349.

Literatura: Mendušić, Pedišić, Krnčević 1993, str. 11, kat. br. 35; Glogović 2003, str. 38, T. 40: 306<sup>231</sup>; Podrug, Brajković, Krnčević 2008, str. 189, kat. br. 89.

**11.** Brončana kalotasta, loše očuvana i oštećena puceta s malim petljama za prišivanje s unutrašnje strane. Sačuvano je ukupno sedam komada, od toga su samo tri cjelovitije očuvana. Veličina: pr. najvećeg 1,7 cm; pr. najmanjeg 1 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 5337-5343.

**6.** Large bronze pin, partially preserved and exceptionally corroded. Pin's head is semi-circularly formed, and five uniformly set spherical knobs on neck, all with thinner profile than head. Pin has round cross-section. Size: lng. 9.2 cm; dia. of head 0.3 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 5347.

**7.** Large necklace made of hammered, thin bronze sheet, exceptionally damaged and corroded. Preserved in seven pieces, with visible hollow profile and hammered and inwardly drawn edges. Manner of "fastening" visible on one piece (probably at back of neck): one end of necklace was pointed and inserted into circularly twisted other piece. Neither conserved nor restored. Size: dia. based on sketch of possible reconstruction 12.5 cm; pr. of largest piece 8.3 cm; lng. of smallest piece 3.7 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 5344.

**8.** Piece of thick bronze wire bent into loop. Size: lng. 3 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 5335.

**9.** Piece of thin, bent bronze wire, round cross-section with two loops at end. Size: lng. 3.8 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 5336.

**10.** Large bronze bow fibula with amber on bow. Bow is hammered with rectangular cross-section, ending in spring with two coils that transition to pin with round cross-section. Most of pin missing. Foot is hammered, trapezoidally shaped, considerably damaged. Rectangular knob above foot. Bow has large oval entirely preserved amber bead. Two pieces of bronze pin with round cross-section are part of fibula's pin. Size: lng. 13.6 cm; lng. amber bead 5.1 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 5334; lng. of pin 6 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 5349.

References: Mendušić, Pedišić, Krnčević 1993, p. 11, cat. no. 35; Glogović 2003, p. 38, P. 40: 306<sup>231</sup>; Podrug, Brajković, Krnčević 2008, p. 189, cat. no. 89.

**11.** Bronze calotte-shaped, poorly preserved and damaged buttons with small shanks on internal side. Seven pieces preserved in total, of these only three entirely preserved. Size: dia. of largest 1.7 cm; dia. of smallest 1 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 5337-5343.

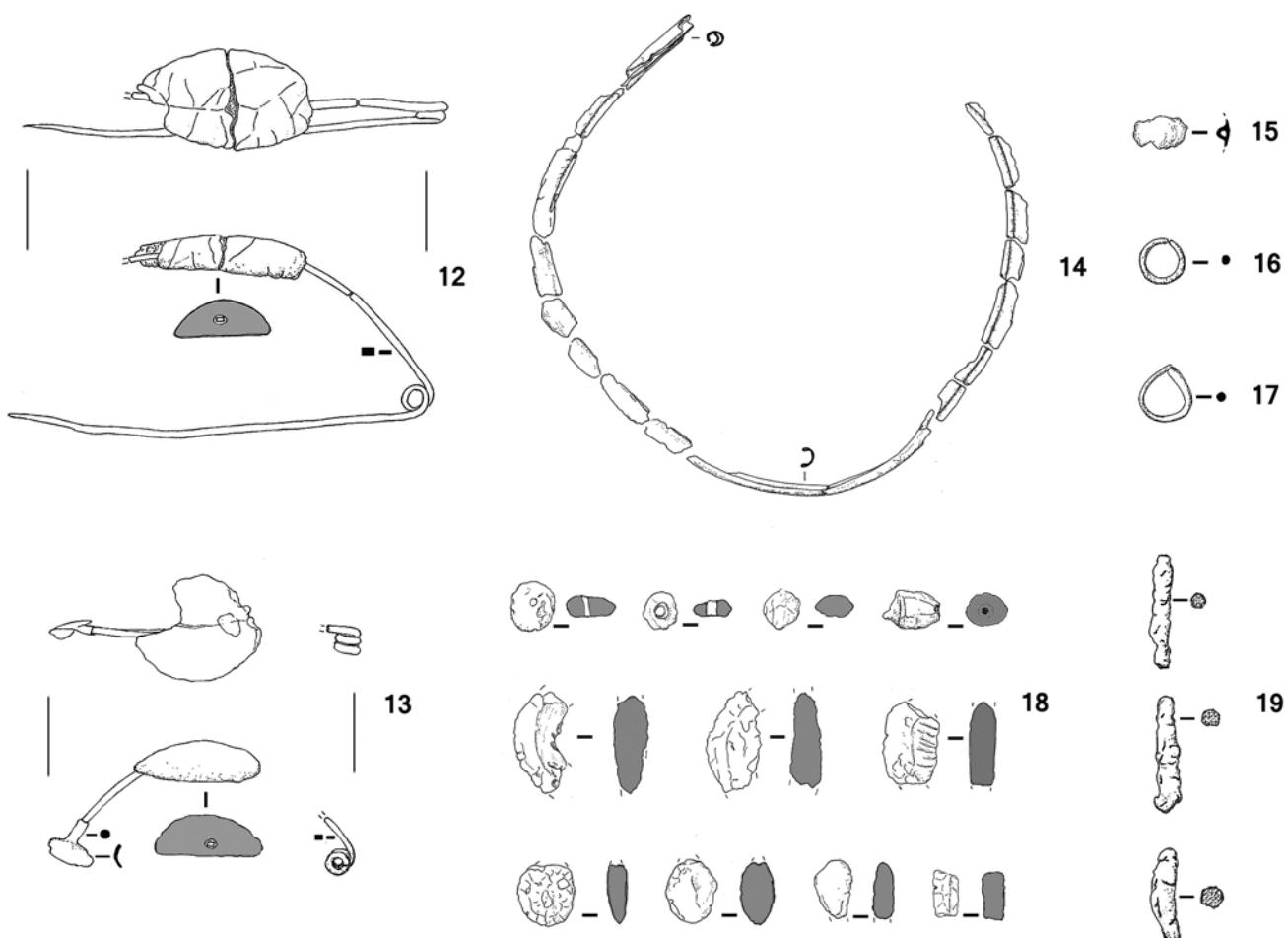
<sup>230</sup> Naveden je pogrešan podatak o mjestu nalaženja, Gradiška kod Dragišića!

<sup>231</sup> Naveden je pogrešan podatak uz nalazišne podatke "Fundort unbekannt"!

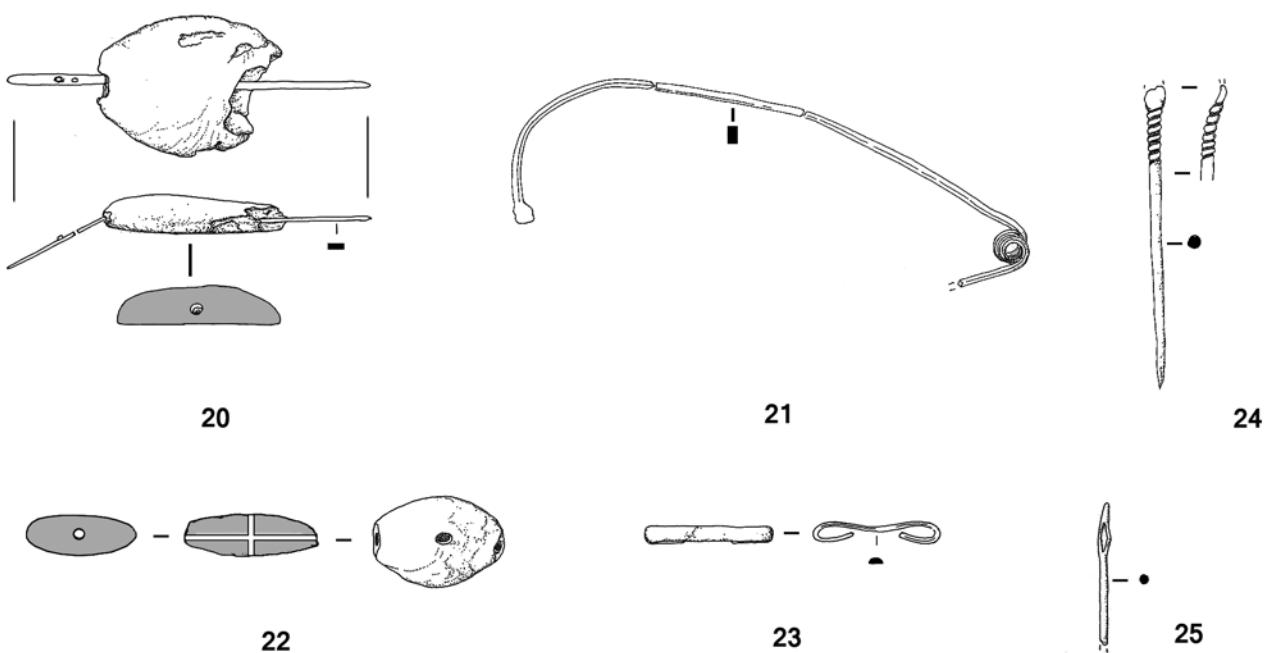
231 Erroneous data cited accompanying site information, "Fundort unbekannt"!

## T 2. / P. 2.

111



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## T. 2

### GROB 111

**Iz zapisnika:** Grob je bio smješten u procjep matične stijene koji je klesanjem oblikovan u četvrtasto udubljenje. Od kostiju su *in situ* bile sačuvane samo kosti lubanje te dio kostiju ruku, po čemu je zaključeno da se u grobu nalazio jedan pokojnik, te da su ruke bile ispružene uz tijelo. Jedino su ulomci ogrlice (kat. br. 14) bili na očekivanome mjestu (uglavnom ispod kostiju lubanje), dok su ostali sitni nalazi bili ispremiješani s kostima duž čitavog groba. Orientacija groba: sjeverozapad-jugoistok (glava na sjeverozapadu). Dimenzije groba: duž. 140-160 cm; šir. 60-70-60 cm; dubina grobne rake 30 cm (apsolutna dubina 52 cm).

12. Velika brončana lučna fibula s jantarom na luku, djelomično očuvana. Luk je raskovanoga četvrtastog presjeka, sačuvan u dva dijela. Završava oprugom od dva navoja koji prelaze u iglu okruglog presjeka, sačuvanu u cijelosti. Na luku se nalazi veće ovalno jantarno zrno polukružnog presjeka, koje je izrazito oštećeno i napuklo. Veličina: duž. 11,4 cm; duž. jantarnog zrna 4,7 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10260.

13. Manja brončana lučna fibula s jantarom na luku, djelomično očuvana. Luk je raskovanoga četvrtastog presjeka, sačuvan u dva dijela. Završava oprugom od dva navoja koja je prelazila u iglu, ali se ona nije sačuvala. Nožica je raskovana, trapezastog oblika i blago povijena prema unutra. Na luku se nalazi manje ovalno jantarno zrno, polukružnog presjeka, koje je oštećeno i djelomično očuvano. Veličina: duž. 8,2 cm; duž. jantarnog zrna 3,3 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10261.

14. Ulomci velike ogrlice od raskovanoga, tankog brončanog lima, izrazito oštećeni i korodirani. Sačuvana je u 21 ulomku. Ogrlica ima C-profil s rubovima presavijenima prema unutra. Na jednom kraju (stranji strani?) presjek ogrlice je kružan i konusan, jer je raskovani lim potpuno presavijen. Nije konzervirana ni restaurirana. Veličina: pr. najvećeg ulomka 8,7 cm; duž. najmanjeg ulomka 1,1 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10266.

15. Ulomak većeg brončanog kalotastog puceta s malom unutrašnjom petljom za prišivanje. Veličina: duž. 1,5 cm; šir. 0,9 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10264.

16. Manja brončana karika od tanje žice okruglog presjeka, otvorenih, ali spojenih krajeva. Veličina: pr. 1,1 cm. Inv. br. 10263.

17. Manja brončana karika od tanje žice okruglog presjeka, otvorenih, ali spojenih krajeva. Veličina: pr. 1,4 cm. Inv. br. 10262.

18. Jantarna zrna, različite profilacije, i njihovi ulomci. Ukupno 11 komada. Veličina: duž. najvećeg 2,8 cm; duž. najmanjeg 1 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10267.

## P. 2

### GRAVE 111

**From the field notes:** Grave was situated in a fissure in bedrock carved into the shape of a rectangular depression. Of bones *in situ*, only the skull bones and some hand bones preserved, whereby it was concluded that the grave contained a single deceased individual and that the hands were extended alongside the body. Only the necklace fragments (cat. no. 14) were at the expected place (generally beneath the skull bones), while the remaining small goods were mixed with the bones down the entire grave. Orientation of grave: northwest-southeast (head at northwest). Dimensions of grave: lng. 140-160 cm; wid. 60-70-60 cm; depth of grave cut 30 cm (absolute depth 52 cm).

12. Large bronze arched fibula with amber on bow, partially preserved. Bow has hammered rectangular cross-section, preserved in two pieces. Ends with spring consisting of two coils that transition to pin with round cross-section, preserved entirely. Large oval amber bead on bow with semi-circular cross-section that is considerably damaged and cracked. Size: lng. 11.4 cm; lng. of amber bead 4.7 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10260.

13. Small bronze bow fibula with amber on bow, partially preserved. Bow has hammered rectangular cross-section, preserved in two pieces. Ends in spring consisting of two coils that transition to pin, but latter not preserved. Foot is hammered, with trapezoidal shape, slightly curved inward. Small oval amber bead on bow has semi-circular cross-section, damaged and partially preserved. Size: lng. 8.2 cm; lng. of amber bead 3.3 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10261.

14. Pieces of large necklace made of hammered, thin sheet bronze, exceptionally damaged and corroded. Preserved in 21 pieces. Necklace has C-profile with edges inwardly drawn. At one end (back side?) the cross-section of the necklace is circular and conical, because hammered sheet is entirely bent. Neither conserved nor restored. Size: dia. of largest piece 8.7 cm; lng. of smallest piece 1.1 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10266.

15. Piece of large bronze calotte-shaped button with small internal shank. Size: lng. 1.5 cm; wid. 0.9 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10264.

16. Small bronze ring made of thin wire with round cross-section, open but connected ends. Size: dia. 1.1 cm. Inv. no. 10263.

17. Small bronze ring made of thin wire with round cross-section, open but connected ends. Size: dia. 1.4 cm. Inv. no. 10262.

18. Amber beads, different moulding, and their pieces. Total of 11 pieces. Size: lng. of largest 2.8 cm; lng. of smallest 1 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10267.

**19.** Tri manja ulomka od željezne korodirane žice, okruglog presjeka. Veličina: duž. najvećeg 3,1 cm; duž. najmanjeg 2,5 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10265.

### GROB 117

**Iz zapisnika:** Grob je bio smješten u izduženi projekcije matične stijene, te obrubljen i dijelom pokriven s nekoliko većih kamenova. U grobu je bilo kostiju više pokojnika (neodredivog broja), a sve su bile dislocirane i uglavnom uništene. Sitni nalazi bili su ispremiješani s kostima na dnu groba. Nema podataka o orijentaciji, ni o osnovnim dimenzijama groba, osim: dubina grobne rake 25 cm (apsolutna dubina 57 cm). Dužina ogradijenog prostora iznosi oko 320 cm.

**20.** Velika brončana lučna fibula s jantarom na luku, sačuvana djelomično. Luk je raskovanoga četvrtastog presjeka, s vidljivim ostatkom zakovice i rupice za pričvršćivanje dijelova luka. Na luku se nalazi veće ovalno jantarno zrno, polukružnog presjeka, djelomično očuvano. Veličina: duž. 9,6 cm; duž. jantarnog zrna 4,8 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10300.

**21.** Velika brončana lučna fibula s jantarom na luku, sačuvana djelomično u tri komada. Luk je raskovanog četvrtastog presjeka, završava oprugom od dva navoja, koja prelaze u djelomično očuvanu iglu. Opruga i početak igle također su četvrtastog presjeka. Nožica je bila raskovana, a sačuvao se samo njezin najuži gornji dio. Jantarno zrno nije očuvano. Veličina: duž. 13,7 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10301.

**22.** Veće ovalno jantarno zrno, polukružnog presjeka, koje je, zbog popravaka ili prenamjene, perforirano u dva smjera: po dužini i do debljini. Veličina: duž. 3,5 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10302.

**23.** Raskovana brončana traka, polukružnog presjeka, prema unutra svijenih krajeva. Veličina: duž. 3,4 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10305.

**24.** Manja brončana igla s raskovanom, djelomično očuvanom, glavicom i pseudotordiranim vratom. Veličina: duž. 7,9 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10303.

**25.** Djelomično očuvana šivača igla, od brončane žice okruglog presjeka. Glava igle proširena je i stanjena okomitom lećastom perforacijom, a završava nastavkom igle u produžetku. Veličina: duž. 3,7 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10304.

**19.** Three small pieces of corroded iron wire, round cross-section. Size: lng. of largest 3.1 cm; lng. of smallest 2.5 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10265.

### GRAVE 117

**From the field notes:** Grave situated in oblong fissure in bedrock and bordered and partially covered by several large stones. Grave contained bones of several deceased individuals (indeterminate number), and all were dislocated and mostly destroyed. Small miscellaneous goods were mixed with bones at bottom of grave. No data on orientation, nor on basic dimensions of grave, except: depth of grave cut 25 cm (absolute depth 57 cm). Length of fenced space is roughly 320 cm.

**20.** Large bronze bow fibula with amber on bow, partially preserved. Bow has hammered rectangular cross-section, with visible remains of rivet and small holes for fastening parts of bow. Large partially preserved oval amber bead with semi-circular cross-section on bow. Size: lng. 9.6 cm; lng. of amber bead 4.8 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10300.

**21.** Large bronze bow fibula with amber on bow, preserved partially in three pieces. Bow has hammered rectangular cross-section, ending in spring with two coils that transition to partially preserved pin. Spring and beginning of pin also have rectangular cross-section. Foot was hammered, but only its narrowest upper section preserved. Amber bead not preserved. Size: lng. 13.7 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10301.

**22.** Large oval amber bead, semi-circular cross-section, which, due to repair or repurposing, perforated in two directions: down length and across width. Size: lng. 3.5 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10302.

**23.** Hammered bronze band, semi-circular cross-section, inwardly drawn ends. Size: lng. 3.4 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10305.

**24.** Small bronze pin with hammered, partially preserved head and pseudo-spiral neck. Size: lng. 7.9 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10303.

**25.** Partially preserved sewing needle made of bronze wire with round cross-section. Head of pin widened and thinned by vertical lentil-shaped perforation, ending at continuation of needle in extension. Size: lng. 3.7 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10304.

## T. 3-4

### GROB 113

**Iz zapisnika:** Grob je bio smješten u pritesanu pravokutnu udubinu u matičnoj stijeni. Nad grobom, neposredno ispod današnje površine, nalazio se pokrov(?) od većeg broja nepravilnih kamenova. U grobu je bilo kostiju više pokojnika. Gotovo sve kosti bile su dislocirane, a sitni nalazi ispremiješani s njima. Jedino je ispod kostiju jedne od lubanja nađena (vje-rojatno *in situ*) naušnica s jantarnim zrnom (kat. br. 37). Brojna brončana puceta (kat. br. 48-53) nalazila su se u južnom dijelu groba, na samom dnu grobne rake. Sve kosti lubanja nađene su također na istočnoj i jugoistočnoj strani groba (što je obrnuti položaj u odnosu na grobove 75, 109 i 111). Orientacija groba: istok-zapad (glave na istoku). Dimenzije groba: duž. 190 cm; šir. 90-90-85 cm; dubina grobne rake 26 cm (apsolutna dubina 80 cm).

**26.** Brončana fibula tipa *protocertosa* s malom kuglicom na kraju noge, djelomično očuvana. Luk je polukružno svijen, usmjeren prema nozi i pločasto raskovan. Na tom je dijelu ukrašen sa 22 puncirana ispuštenja, po dvije točke u paralelnom nizu, cijelom dužinom luka. Glava je raskovana s oprugom od dva navoja, koji se produžavaju u djelomično očuvanu iglu, okruglog presjeka. Noga je kratka i žljebasto zatvorenog C-presjeka, oštećenog nosača igle, a završava manjom ovalnom kuglicom. Veličina: duž. 9,2 cm; vis. 3,1 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10273.

**27.** Brončana fibula tipa *protocertosa* s malom kuglicom na kraju noge, djelomično očuvana. Luk je polukružno svijen, usmjeren prema nozi, okruglog presjeka. Pri kraju je pločasto raskovan za oprugu od dva navoja, koja se produžava u iglu okruglog presjeka. Noga je kratka i žljebasto zatvorenog C-presjeka, a završava glavicom nagnutom prema van, raščlanjenom s dvije ovalne kuglice. Na njezinoj se gornjoj, vidljivoj, strani nalazi urezan ukras od po tri usporedne linije u nepravilnom cik-cak nizu. Veličina: duž. 8 cm; vis. 2,9 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10269.

**28.** Brončana fibula tipa *protocertosa* s malom kuglicom na kraju noge, sačuvana u cijelosti. Luk je polukružno svijen, lećastog presjeka i pri kraju pločasto raskovan za oprugu. Glava je raskovana s oprugom od dva navoja, koji se produžavaju u iglu, okruglog presjeka. Noga je kratka i žljebasto zatvorenog C-presjeka, a završava manjom ovalnom, prema luku povijenom, kuglicom. Veličina: duž. 7,1 cm; vis. 3,7 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10268.

**29.** Brončana fibula tipa *protocertosa* s malom kuglicom na kraju noge, djelomično očuvana. Luk je polukružno svijen, lećastog presjeka i pri kraju pločasto raskovan za oprugu. Glava je raskovana, s oprugom od dva navoja, koji se produžavaju u

## P. 3-4

### GRAVE 113

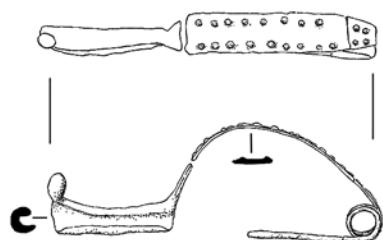
**From the field notes:** Grave was situated in additionally worked rectangular depression in bedrock. Above grave, immediately beneath present-day surface, there was cover(?) made of large number of irregular stones. Grave contained bones of several deceased individuals. Almost all bones were dislocated, with small goods mixed in. Only below one of skull bones (probably *in situ*) was an earring with amber bead (cat. no. 37) found. Numerous bronze buttons (cat. no. 48-53) were found in southern part of grave, at very bottom of grave cut. All skull bones were also found on eastern and south-eastern side of grave (which was opposite to position found in graves 75, 109 and 111). Orientation of grave: east-west (head on east). Dimensions of grave: lng. 190 cm; wid. 90-90-85 cm; depth of grave cut 26 cm (absolute depth 80 cm).

**26.** Bronze *proto-Certosa* fibula with small globule at the end of the foot, partially preserved. Bow is semi-circularly curved, oriented toward foot and hammered to plated shape. At this place it is adorned with 22 outwardly punched dots, two parallel rows of dots down entire length of bow. Head hammered with double-coil spring that extends to partially preserved pin, which has round cross-section. Foot is short with grooved and closed C-shaped cross-section, damaged pin rest, ending in small oval globule. Size: lng. 9.2 cm; ht. 3.1 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10273.

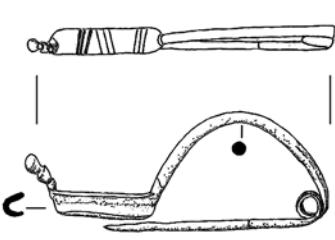
**27.** Bronze *proto-Certosa* fibula with small globule at end of foot, partially preserved. Bow curves in semi-circle, oriented toward foot, with round cross-section. Hammered to plate at end for double-coil spring that extends to pin with round cross-section. Foot is short with grooved and closed C-shaped cross-section, ending in small outwardly curved with two oval globules. On upper, visible side there is engraved ornament consisting of groups of three parallel lines in an irregular zigzag row. Size: lng. 8 cm; ht. 2.9 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10269.

**28.** Bronze *proto-Certosa* fibula with small globule at end of foot, entirely preserved. Bow curves in semi-circle with lentil-shaped cross-section and hammered to plate at end for spring. Head is hammered, with double-coil spring that holds pin that has round cross-section. Foot is short with grooved and closed C-shaped cross-section, and ends in small oval globule bent towards the bow. Size: lng. 7.1 cm; ht. 3.7 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10268.

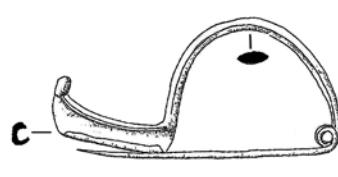
**29.** Bronze *proto-Certosa* fibula with small globule at end of foot, partially preserved. Bow curves in semi-circle with lentil-shaped cross-section and hammered to plate at end for spring. Head is hammered, with double-coil spring that extends to partially pre-



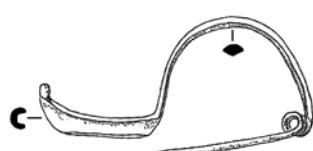
26



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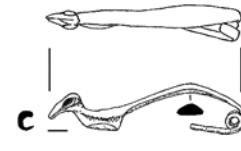
28



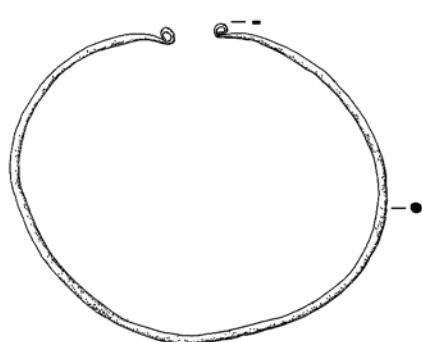
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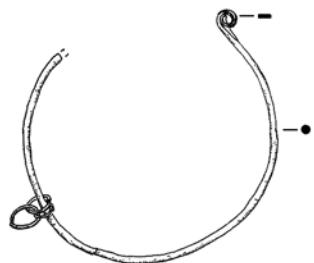
31



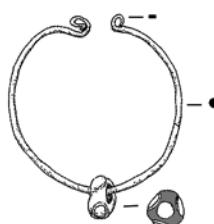
32



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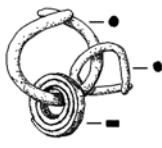
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djelomično očuvanu iglu, okruglog presjeka. Noga je kratka i žljebasto zatvorenog C-presjeka, a završava malom ovalnom kuglicom. Veličina: duž. 7,2 cm; vis. 3,3 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10270.

**30.** Brončana fibula tipa *protocertosa* s malom kuglicom na kraju noge, djelomično očuvana. Luk je polukružno svijen, usmjeren prema glavi i pločasto raskovan. Glava je raskovana, s oprugom od dva navoja, koji se produžavaju u djelomično očuvanu iglu, okruglog presjeka. Noga je kratka i žljebasto zatvorenog C-presjeka, a završava lijepo profiliranom ovalnom kuglicom. Veličina: duž. 6,9 cm; vis. 2,5 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10271.

**31.** Mala brončana fibula tipa *pseudocertosa*, djelomično očuvana. Luk je usmjeren prema glavi, delto-idiognostic presjeka i na najvišoj točki rombično proširen. Glava je raskovana, s oprugom od dva navoja, koji se produžavaju u djelomično očuvanu iglu, okruglog presjeka. Nožica je kratka, zatvorenog C-presjeka i završava životinjskom, dobro profiliranom glavicom, usmjerena prema naprijed. Veličina: duž. 5,2 cm; vis. 1,2 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10272.

**32.** Velika ogrlica od brončane žice okruglog presjeka, s raskovanim i prema van uvijenim krajevima pločastog presjeka. Veličina: pr. 9,8 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10280.

**33.** Velika, djelomično očuvana ogrlica, od brončane žice, okruglog presjeka, s velikim jantarnim zrnom, djelomično očuvanim, romboidnog presjeka. Veličina: pr. ogrlice 10,2 cm; pr. zrna 1,8 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10281.

**34.** Manja narukvica od brončane žice okruglog presjeka, djelomično očuvana. Završava sa samo jednim, raskovanim i prema van uvijenim krajem. Pridodan je ukras od dvije brončane karičice okruglog presjeka žica, na koje je prikvačena treća karičica snažnije profilacije i spojenih krajeva. Veličina: pr. narukvice 6,7 cm; pr. karičica 0,6 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10277.

**35.** Manja narukvica (ili sljepoočničarka?) od brončane žice okruglog presjeka. Završava raskovanim i prema van uvijenim krajevima. Pridodano je malo stakleno zrno plavo-modre boje, ukrašeno s tri bijele točkice. Veličina: pr. narukvice 4,4 cm; pr. zrna 1 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10278.

**36.** Djelomično očuvana brončana žica okruglog presjeka, s jednim uvijenim krajem, vjerojatno ostatak narukvice(?). Veličina: pr. 5,3 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10282.

**37.** Manja naušnica od jednostavne brončane žice, okruglog presjeka, prebačenih krajeva. Na naušnici je sačuvano malo jantarno zrno ovalnog presjeka. Veličina: pr. naušnice 3,1 cm; pr. zrna 0,3 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10279.

served pin that has round cross-section. Foot is short with grooved and closed C-shaped cross-section, and ends in small oval globule. Size: lng. 7.2 cm; ht. 3.3 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10270.

**30.** Bronze *proto-Certosa* fibula with small globule at end of foot, partially preserved. Bow curves in semi-circle, oriented toward head and hammered to plate. Head is hammered, with double-coil spring that extends to partially preserved pin that has round cross-section. Foot is short with grooved and closed C-shaped cross-section, and ends in nicely articulated oval small globule. Size: lng. 6.9 cm; ht. 2.5 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10271.

**31.** Small bronze *pseudo-Certosa* fibula, partially preserved. Bow oriented toward head, with deltoid cross-section and expanded rhomboidally at the highest point. Head is hammered, with double-coil spring that extends to partially preserved pin that has round cross-section. Foot is short with grooved and closed C-shaped cross-section, ends in animal, well-moulded head, oriented frontward. Size: lng. 5.2 cm; ht. 1.2 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10272.

**32.** Large necklace made of bronze wire with round cross-section, with hammered and outwardly curved ends that have plate-like cross-section. Size: dia. 9.8 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10280.

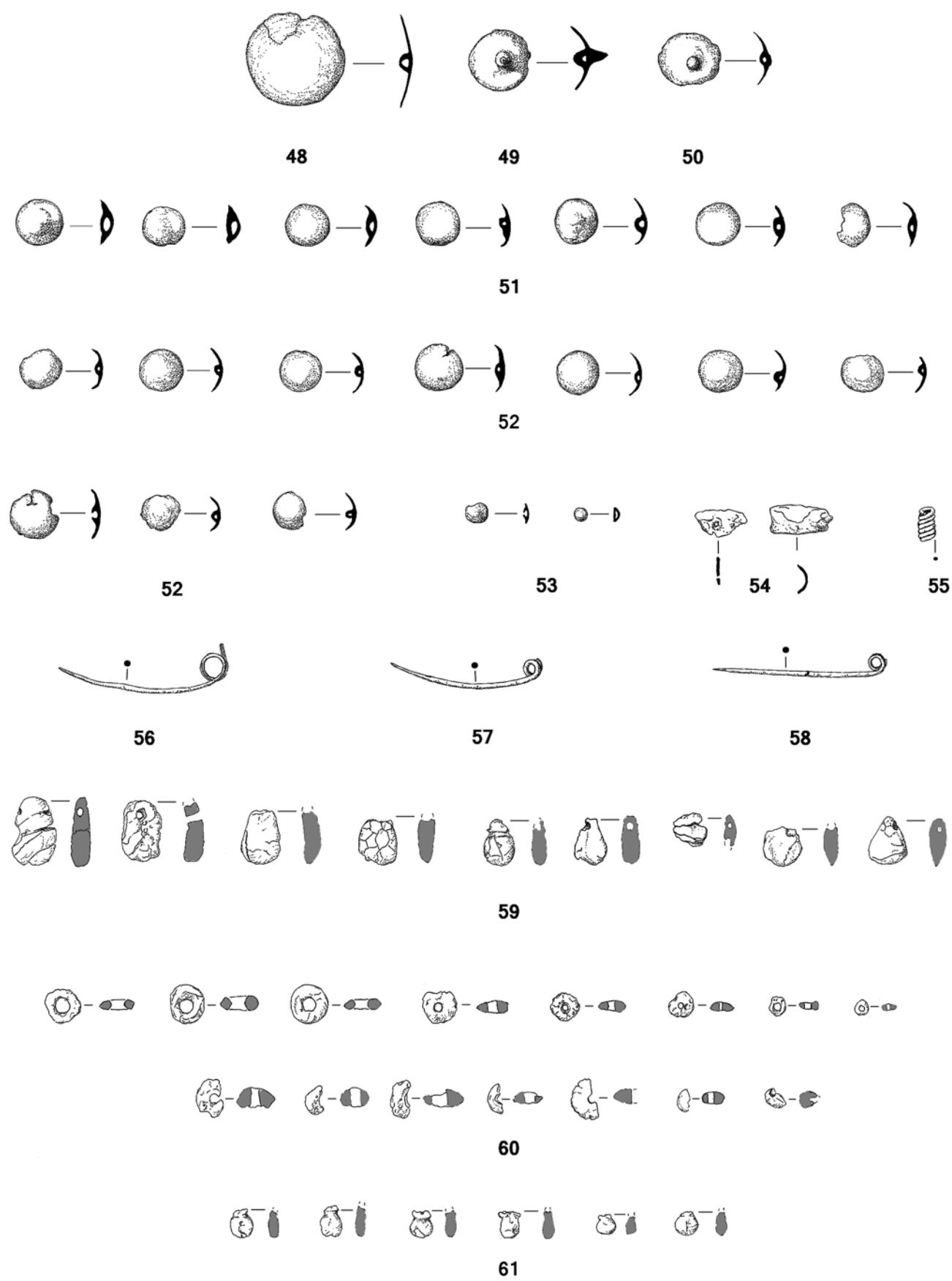
**33.** Large, partially preserved necklace, made of bronze wire with round cross-section with large amber bead, partially preserved with rhomboid cross-section. Size: dia. of necklace 10.2 cm; dia. of bead 1.8 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10281.

**34.** Small bracelet made of bronze wire with round cross-section, partially preserved. Terminates in only a single, hammered and outwardly curved end. Ornament added consisting of two bronze rings made of wire with round cross-section, to which a third ring is fastened with stronger moulding and connected ends. Size: dia. of bracelet 6.7 cm; dia. of rings 0.6 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10277.

**35.** Small bracelet (or temple ornament?) made of bronze wire with round cross-section. Terminates in hammered and outwardly curved ends. Small blue-azure glass bead added, adorned with three white dots. Size: dia. of bracelet 4.4 cm; dia. of bead 1 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10278.

**36.** Partially preserved bronze wire with round cross-section with single bend end, probably remainder of bracelet(?). Size: dia. 5.3 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10282.

**37.** Small earring made of simple bronze wire with round cross-section and overlapping ends. Small amber bead with oval cross-section preserved on earring. Size: dia. of earring 3.1 cm; dia. of bead 0.3 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10279.



**38.** Brončana karika, okruglog presjeka žice i prebačenih krajeva. Prikvačena je brončana karičica okruglog presjeka žice s prebačenim krajevima, te namotana brončana traka u spiralu od tri navoja, pločastog presjeka žice. Veličina: pr. karike 2,4 cm; pr. karičica 1,4 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10284.

**39.** Manja brončana karika s jednim profiliranim vanjskim zupcem, lećastog presjeka. Veličina: pr. 1,4 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10291.

**40.** Manja brončana, masivna karika lećastog presjeka s ostatkom profiliranog vanjskog zupca. Veličina: pr. 1,7 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10285.

**41.** Manja brončana, djelomično očuvana, karika lećastog presjeka s ostatkom profiliranog vanjskog zupca. Veličina: pr. 1,2 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10290.

**42.** Mala brončana karika, profiliranoga lećastog presjeka. Veličina: pr. 1,4 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10288.

**43.** Mala brončana karika, profiliranoga lećastog presjeka. Veličina: pr. 1,4 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10287.

**44.** Mala brončana karika, profiliranoga lećastog presjeka. Veličina: pr. 1,4 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10286.

**45.** Mala brončana karika, profiliranoga lećastog presjeka i prekopljenih krajeva. Veličina: pr. 1,4 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10289.

**46.** Manja brončana karika, ovalnog presjeka žice i približenih krajeva. Veličina: pr. 1,2 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10292.

**47.** Manja brončana karika, okruglog presjeka žice i otvorenih krajeva. Veličina: pr. 1,1 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10293.

**48.** Veliko brončano blago konveksno puce, s malom petljom za prišivanje s unutarnje strane. Veličina: pr. 3,5 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10295.

**49.** Veće brončano kalotasto puce, s izrazito zašijenim vanjskim trnom na kaloti i s malom petljom za prišivanje s unutarnje strane. Veličina: pr. 2,2 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10298.

**50.** Veće brončano kalotasto puce, s malom zaoobljenom istakom na kaloti i s malom petljom za prišivanje s unutarnje strane. Veličina: pr. 2,3 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10297/17.

**51.** Veća brončana kalotasta puceta, s većom i nepravilnom petljom za prišivanje s unutarnje strane. Ukupno 7 komada. Veličina: pr. 1,6 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10297/10-16.

**52.** Veća brončana kalotasta puceta, s malom petljom za prišivanje s unutarnje strane. Ukupno 10 komada. Veličina: pr. 1,6 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10297/1-9, 18.

**53.** Mala brončana kalotasta puceta, s većom petljom za prišivanje s unutarnje strane. Ukupno 2 komada. Veličina: pr. 0,5 i 0,8 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10296.

**54.** Dvije tanje brončane trakice od raskovanog lima. Na jednoj je očuvana probušena rupica. Veličina: duž. 1 : 2,3 cm; duž. 2: 1,9 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10294.

**38.** Bronze ring, wire with round cross-section and overlapping ends. Another small bronze ring made of wire with round cross-section and with overlapping ends attached to it, and wound bronze band in triple-coil spiral, wire having plate-like cross-section. Size: dia. of ring 2.4 cm; dia. of small ring 1.4 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10284.

**39.** Small bronze ring with single moulded external prong, with lentil-shaped cross-section. Size: dia. 1.4 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10291.

**40.** Small bronze, massive ring having round cross-section with remainder of moulded external prong. Size: dia. 1.7 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10285.

**41.** Small bronze, partially preserved, ring has lentil-shaped cross-section with remainder of moulded external prong. Size: pr. 1.2 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10290.

**42.** Small bronze ring, moulded lentil-shaped cross-section. Size: dia. 1.4 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10288.

**43.** Small bronze ring, moulded lentil-shaped cross-section. Size: dia. 1.4 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10287.

**44.** Small bronze ring, moulded lentil-shaped cross-section. Size: dia. 1.4 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10286.

**45.** Small bronze ring, moulded lentil-shaped cross-section and overlapping ends. Size: dia. 1.4 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10289.

**46.** Small bronze ring, oval cross-section and close ends. Size: dia. 1.2 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10292.

**47.** Small bronze ring, wire has round cross-section and open ends. Size: dia. 1.1 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10293.

**48.** Large bronze slightly convex button, with small shank on inside. Size: dia. 3.5 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10295.

**49.** Large bronze calotte-shaped button, with exceptionally pointed external tine on calotte and small shank on inside. Size: dia. 2.2 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10298.

**50.** Large bronze button with small rounded knob on calotte with small shank on inside. Size: dia. 2.3 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10297/17.

**51.** Large bronze calotte-shaped buttons, with large and irregular shank on inside. Total of 7 examples. Size: dia. 1.6 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10297/10-16.

**52.** Large bronze calotte-shaped buttons, with small shank on inside. Total of 10. Size: dia. 1.6 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10297/1-9, 18.

**53.** Small bronze calotte-shaped buttons, with large shank on inside. Total of 2. Size: dia. 0.5 and 0.8 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10296.

**54.** Two thin bronze bands made of hammered sheet. Pierced hole preserved on one. Size: lng. 1: 2.3 cm; lng. 2: 1.9 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10294.

**55.** Small bronze wire, round cross-section, wound into seven coils. Size: lng. 1.2 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10283.

**55.** Manja brončana žica, okruglog presjeka, namotana u sedam navoja. Veličina: duž. 1,2 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10283.

**56.** Veća brončana igla s velikim navojem, okruglog presjeka žice. Veličina: duž. 6,1 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10274.

**57.** Brončana igla s manjim navojem, od opruge, okruglog presjeka žice. Veličina: duž. 5,5 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10275.

**58.** Brončana igla s manjim navojem od opruge, okruglog presjeka žice, sačuvana u dva dijela. Veličina: duž. 6,3 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10276.

**59.** Veća jantarna zrna u obliku vreće, s perforiranim gornjim dijelom za privezivanje. Ukupno 9 komada. Veličina: duž. 1,4-2,4 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10299/1-9.

**60.** Manja jantarna zrna, okruglog, deltoidnog ili romboidnog presjeka. Ukupno 15 komada, vjerovatno dio ogrlice, sudeći po ostacima oksidirane bronce na stijenkama pojedinih zrna. Veličina: pr. 0,5-1,5 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10299/10-24.

**61.** Manja jantarna zrna, vrećastog i nepravilnog oblika. Ukupno 6 komada. Veličina: duž. 0,7-1,1 cm. Inv. br. MGŠ 10299/25-30.

## Popis nalazišta uz kartografiju<sup>232</sup>

**Lista 1. Slika 6.** Karta rasprostiranja igala s kalotastom glavicom i rebrastim vratom (nadopunjeno prema Teržan 1990).

1. Novilara
2. Bologna
3. Este
4. Vadena-Pfatten (Marzatico 1997, str. 513, T. 112. 1234-1235, 1237)
5. Udine
6. Tolmin (Svoljšak, Pogačnik 2001, T. 28. 2, T. 40.3, T. 68. 2, T. 76. 11)
7. Most na Soči
8. Kranj
9. Ljubljana
10. Vače
11. Mokronog–Božji grob pri Slepšku (Dular 2003, str. 171, T. 8. 2)
12. Novo Mesto (Križ 1995, sl. 95)
13. Metlika–Špitalska Gora - Hrib (Grahek 2004, str. 138, 166, T. 4. 13)
14. Rifnik
15. Rabenstein–Labot
16. Donnerskirchen

232 Redni brojevi u listama odgovaraju broju nalazišta na kartama.

**56.** Large bronze pin with large coil, wire has round cross-section. Size: lng. 6.1 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10274.

**57.** Bronze pin with small coil, of spring, wire with round cross-section. Size: lng. 5.5 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10275.

**58.** Bronze pin with small coil of spring, wire with round cross-section, preserved in two pieces. Size: lng. 6.3 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10276.

**59.** Large amber sack-shaped beads, with perforated upper section for fastening. Total of 9. Size: lng. 1.4-2.4 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10299/1-9.

**60.** Small amber beads, with round, deltoid and rhomboid cross-section. Total of 15, probably part of necklace, judging by remains by oxidated bronze sides of individual beads. Size: dia. 0.5-1.5 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10299/10-24.

**61.** Small amber bead, sack-shaped and irregular. Total of 6. Size: lng. 0.7-1.1 cm. Inv. no. MGŠ 10299/25-30.

## List of find-sites with cartography<sup>232</sup>

**List 1. Fig. 6.** Distribution map of pins with calotte-shaped heads and ribbed necks (supplemented according to Teržan 1990).

1. Novilara
2. Bologna
3. Este
4. Vadena-Pfatten (Marzatico 1997, p. 513, P. 112. 1234-1235, 1237)
5. Udine
6. Tolmin (Svoljšak, Pogačnik 2001, P. 28. 2, P. 40. 3, P. 68. 2, P. 76. 11)
7. Most na Soči
8. Kranj
9. Ljubljana
10. Vače
11. Mokronog–Božji grob pri Slepšku (Dular 2003, p. 171, P. 8. 2)
12. Novo Mesto (Križ 1995, Fig. 95)
13. Metlika–Špitalska Gora - Hrib (Grahek 2004, p. 138, 166, P. 4. 13)
14. Rifnik
15. Rabenstein-Labot
16. Donnerskirchen

232 Numbers in sheets correspond to site numbers on map.

- 17.** Janoshaza
- 18.** Kakasd
- 19.** Batina
- 20.** Glasinac–Ilijak
- 21.** Velika Mrdakovica (T. 1. 5)
- 22.** Sardinija–Oristano, Sinis (Usai, Zucca 2011, str. 344-345).

**Lista 2. Slika 15.** Karta rasprostranjenosti fibula tipa *pseudocertosa* sa zoomorfnim zaključkom nožice 1 – japodske varijante (■) i 2 – varijante *Caput Adriae* (●).

- 1.** Mechel (Merhart 1969, str. 418-419, T. 59. 16) (sl. 14. 1)
- 2.** San Daniele (Cividini 2006, str. 40, sl. 36) (sl. 14. 2)
- 3.** Tapogliano (Seidel 2008, str. 86-87, kat. br. 36) (sl. 14. 3)
- 4.** Magdalenska gora (Hencken 1978, str. 284, sl. 339a; Tecco Hvala, Dular, Kocuvan 2004, T. 126. 6; Tecco Hvala 2011, str. 192, sl. 99. 4) (sl. 14. 5, 6)
- 5.** Picugi (Amoroso 1889, str. 242, T. VII. 2; Mladin 1980, str. 178, sl. 3. 18) (sl. 14. 4)
- 6.** Krk? (Lo Schiavo 1970, str. 424, T. XXII. 7; Batović 2003, sl. 7. 3; Blečić Kavur 2010, T. 34. 465) (sl. 14. 7)
- 7.** Drenov Klanac (AMZ, neobjavljen)
- 8.** Kompolje (Vasić 1982, str. 236, sl. 7. 2; Hiller 1991, str. 117, 118, sl. 18J) (sl. 13. 2; sl. 14. 8)
- 9.** Prozor (Drechsler-Bižić 1973, T. XIV. 8; Drechsler-Bižić 1987, T. XLIV. 21) + bez konteksta (AMZ-neobjavljen) (sl. 14. 9, 10)
- 10.** Jezerine (Bižić 1951, str. 291, T. II. 29) (sl. 14. 12)
- 11.** Sanski Most (Fiala 1896, str. 248-249, sl. 88; Čović 1987a, T. XXVIII. 7, 8; Hiller 1991, str. 117, sl. 30A; Gavranović 2011, str. 178, sl. 247) (sl. 14. 11)
- 12.** Dugi otok – Zdrakovac (Čelhar 2009, str. 92, 96, T. 1. 7) (sl. 14. 16)
- 13.** Velika Mrdakovica (T. 3. 31)
- 14.** Otišić (Lo Schiavo 1970, str. 422, 423, T. XX. 6, T. XXXVII. 7; Marović 1984, str. 57, sl. 23. 11; Batović 1986, sl. 6. 4) (sl. 14. 13, 14)
- 15.** Vašarovine II (Marijan 1986, T. II. 2; Čović 1987b, T. XLIX. 11) (sl. 14. 15)
- 16.** Brač–Vičja luka (Marović, Nikolanci 1969, str. 18, 44, sl. 9. 4, 5; foto 1908) (sl. 14. 17)
- 17.** Ošanići–Banja (Marijan 2001, str. 87, T. 14. 8) (sl. 14. 18)
- 18.** Offida (D'Ercole 1977, T. 37. B188)?

- 17.** Janoshaza
- 18.** Kakasd
- 19.** Batina
- 20.** Glasinac–Ilijak
- 21.** Velika Mrdakovica (P. 1. 5)
- 22.** Sardinija–Oristano, Sinis (Usai, Zucca 2011, pp. 344-345).

**List 2. Fig. 15.** Distribution map of *pseudo-Certosa* type fibulae with a zoomorphic termination of the foot 1 – Japodian variants (■) and 2 – *Caput Adriae* variants (●).

- 1.** Mechel (Merhart 1969, pp. 418-419, P. 59. 16) (Fig. 14. 1)
- 2.** San Daniele (Cividini 2006, pp. 40, Fig. 36) (Fig. 14. 2)
- 3.** Tapogliano (Seidel 2008, pp. 86-87, cat. no. 36) (Fig. 14. 3)
- 4.** Magdalenska gora (Hencken 1978, p. 284, Fig. 339a; Tecco Hvala, Dular, Kocuvan 2004, P. 126. 6; Tecco Hvala 2011, pp. 192, Fig. 99. 4) (Fig. 14. 5, 6)
- 5.** Picugi (Amoroso 1889, p. 242, P. VII. 2; Mladin 1980, p. 178, Fig. 3. 18) (Fig. 14. 4)
- 6.** Krk? (Lo Schiavo 1970, p. 424, P. XXII. 7; Batović 2003, Fig. 7. 3; Blečić Kavur 2010, P. 34. 465) (Fig. 14. 7)
- 7.** Drenov Klanac (AMZ, unpublished)
- 8.** Kompolje (Vasić 1982, p. 236, Fig. 7. 2; Hiller 1991, pp. 117, 118, Fig. 18J) (Fig. 13. 2; Fig. 14. 8)
- 9.** Prozor (Drechsler-Bižić 1973, P. XIV. 8; Drechsler-Bižić 1987, P. XLIV. 21) + without context (AMZ-unpublished) (Fig. 14. 9, 10)
- 10.** Jezerine (Bižić 1951, p. 291, P. II. 29) (Fig. 14. 12)
- 11.** Sanski Most (Fiala 1896, pp. 248-249, Fig. 88; Čović 1987a, P. XXVIII. 7, 8; Hiller 1991, p. 117, Fig. 30A; Gavranović 2011, p. 178, Fig. 247) (Fig. 14. 11)
- 12.** Dugi otok-Zdrakovac (Čelhar 2009, pp. 92, 96, P. 1. 7) (Fig. 14. 16)
- 13.** Velika Mrdakovica (P. 3. 31)
- 14.** Otišić (Lo Schiavo 1970, pp. 422, 423, P. XX. 6, P. XXXVII. 7; Marović 1984, p. 57, Fig. 23. 11; Batović 1986, Fig. 6. 4) (Fig. 14. 13, 14)
- 15.** Vašarovine II (Marijan 1986, P. II. 2; Čović 1987b, P. XLIX. 11) (Fig. 14. 15)
- 16.** Brač–Vičja luka (Marović, Nikolanci 1969, pp. 18, 44, Fig. 9. 4, 5; photo 1908) (Fig. 14. 17)
- 17.** Ošanići–Banja (Marijan 2001, p. 87, P. 14. 8) (Fig. 14. 18)
- 18.** Offida (D'Ercole 1977, P. 37. B188)?

**Lista 3. Slika 21.** Karta rasprostranjenosti velikih fibula s jantarnim zrnom na luku tzv. liburnskog tipa (■) i tipa Numana (●) (nadopunjeno prema Palavestra 1993; Saldalamacchia 2011).

1. Hrvatsko Polje (AMZ-neobjavljeno)
2. Kompolje (Drechsler-Bižić 1961, T. V. 9) (sl. 10. 9)
3. Prozor (Ljubić 1889, T. XXIII; Bakarić 2006, str. 75, kat. br. 138)
4. Smiljan (Hoffiller 1905, sl. 27. 1, 2)
5. Ljubač-Kosa (Brusić 2002, sl. 38. 2)
6. Nin (Batović 1965, sl. 13. 8, sl. 17. 8; Batović 1968, T. XII, T. XIII, T. XV, T. XVII; Batović 1976, sl. 23. 2, sl. 32. 2; Batović 1987, T. XXXVIII. 4, T. XXXIX. 2; Staré 1970, T. I. 2; Hiller 1991, T. 9. 99, T. 16. 168, T. 19. 213, T. 21. 227, T. 23. 252, T. 24. 270, T. 25. 281, T. 27. 304, T. 31. 347; Glogović 2003, T. 38. 277, T. 39. 290, 298-301, T. 40. 302-304, 307-311, T. 41. 312, 319-322, T. 42. 323) (sl. 11. 1, sl. 17. 2, sl. 18. 2)
7. Zaton (Batović 1965, sl. 15. 9, 12, 14; Batović 1975, T. 100. 3; Hiller 1991, T. 49. 515; Glogović 2003, T. 40. 305, T. 41. 313-317) (sl. 16. 2, sl. 19. 10)
8. Zadar-Relja (Fadić 2006, str. 350)
9. Velika Mrdakovica (Glogović 2003, T. 40. 306) (T. 1. 2, 10, T. 2. 12, 13, 20, 21)
10. Brač-Vičja luka (Marović, Nikolanci 1969, str. 10)
11. Brač-Žaganj dolac (Marović 1965, sl. 5. 3; Batović 1986, sl. 4. 10; Glogović 2003, T. 41. 318)
12. Novilara-Servici (Beinhauer 1985, T. 97. 1075)
13. Sirolo-Casino di Faggioli (Negroni Catacchio 2003, sl. 6B; Magnani 2003, str. 294, T. IVa; Magnani 2007, str. 179, kat. br. III.137) (sl. 20. 1)
14. Numana-Colle di Montalbano-Campodonico (Lollini 1976, sl. 16. 6; Baldelli 1999, str. 219, kat. br. 269; Negroni Catacchio 2003, sl. 7. 1) (sl. 20. 2)
15. Belmonte Piceno-Colle Ete (Saldalamacchia 2011, str. 181, T. XVI)

**List 3. Fig. 21.** Distribution map of large fibulae with amber beads on bow, so-called Liburnian type (■) and Numana type (●) (supplemented according to Palavestra 1993; Saldalamacchia 2011).

1. Hrvatsko Polje (AMZ-unpublished)
2. Kompolje (Drechsler-Bižić 1961, P. V. 9) (Fig. 10. 9)
3. Prozor (Ljubić 1889, P. XXIII; Bakarić 2006, p. 75, cat. no. 138)
4. Smiljan (Hoffiller 1905, Fig. 27. 1, 2)
5. Ljubač-Kosa (Brusić 2002, Fig. 38. 2)
6. Nin (Batović 1965, Fig. 13. 8, Fig. 17. 8; Batović 1968, P. XII, T. XIII, P. XV, P. XVII; Batović 1976, Fig. 23. 2, Fig. 32. 2; Batović 1987, P. XXXVIII. 4, P. XXXIX. 2; Staré 1970, P. I. 2; Hiller 1991, P. 9. 99, P. 16. 168, P. 19. 213, P. 21. 227, P. 23. 252, P. 24. 270, P. 25. 281, P. 27. 304, P. 31. 347; Glogović 2003, P. 38. 277, P. 39. 290, 298-301, P. 40. 302-304, 307-311, P. 41. 312, 319-322, P. 42. 323) (Fig. 11. 1, Fig. 17. 2, Fig. 18. 2)
7. Zaton (Batović 1965, Fig. 15. 9, 12, 14; Batović 1975, P. 100. 3; Hiller 1991, P. 49. 515; Glogović 2003, P. 40. 305, P. 41. 313-317) (Fig. 16. 2, Fig. 19. 10)
8. Zadar-Relja (Fadić 2006, p. 350)
9. Velika Mrdakovica (Glogović 2003, P. 40. 306) (P. 1. 2, 10, P. 2. 12, 13, 20, 21)
10. Brač-Vičja luka (Marović, Nikolanci 1969, p. 10)
11. Brač-Žaganj dolac (Marović 1965, Fig. 5. 3; Batović 1986, Fig. 4. 10; Glogović 2003, P. 41. 318)
12. Novilara-Servici (Beinhauer 1985, P. 97. 1075)
13. Sirolo-Casino di Faggioli (Negroni Catacchio 2003, Fig. 6B; Magnani 2003, p. 294, P. IVa; Magnani 2007, p. 179, cat. no. III.137) (Fig. 20. 1)
14. Numana-Colle di Montalbano-Campodonico (Lollini 1976, Fig. 16. 6; Baldelli 1999, p. 219, cat. no. 269; Negroni Catacchio 2003, Fig. 7. 1) (Fig. 20. 2)
15. Belmonte Piceno-Colle Ete (Saldalamacchia 2011, p. 181, P. XVI)

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