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Problem interpretacije ukrašenih brusova s Glasinačkog područja

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Razmatra se pitanje značenja i datacije kamenih brusova s ukrašenim usadnikom iz tzv. kneževskih grobova s Glasinačkog područja. Na osnovi opsežne analize konteksta nalaza na ovom području te na drugima pokazuje se da se prvi kameni brusovi kao grobni prilozima javljaju početkom 4. milenija pr. Kr., odnosno u vrijeme prve pojave bodeža i noževa od legiranog bakra koje je trebalo povremeno zaoštriti. Ta kombinacija brusova i bodeža predstavlja set vezanih nalaza koji upućuje na ratnika, simbolizirajući oštrinu i snagu njegovog oružja. Ta će simbolika doći do punog izražaja u željezno doba, s pojavom željeznih mačeva koji se u grobovima često nalaze zajedno s brusom.

The problem of interpretation of the decorated whetstones from the Glasinac area

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The question of the significance and dating of the whetstones with decorated sockets from the so-called princely graves in the Glasinac Plateau is considered. An extensive analysis of the find context in this and in other areas has shown that the first whetstones appeared as grave goods in the early fourth millennium BC, at a time when the first copper-alloy daggers and knives that required occasional sharpening also appeared. This combination of whetstones and daggers constitutes a set of linked finds that indicate a warrior, symbolizing the sharpness and power of his weapons. This symbolism came to its full expression in the Iron Age, with the appearance of iron swords

Tako se umjesto brončanodobne kombinacije brusa i bodeža sada može govoriti o kombinaciji mača i brusa, kao ratničkim simbolima koji nastavljaju staru tradiciju. U tom kontekstu treba promatrati i ukrašene brusove s Glasinačkog područja i drugih dijelova Euroazije gdje se oni javljaju. Dakle, malo je vjerojatno da se tu radi o “žezlu”, odnosno obilježju individualizirane vlasti, kako se to obično misli, već je u pitanju izraz stare ratničke tradicije koja je u punoj mjeri prisutna i u bogatim grobovima željeznodobne aristokracije.

Ključne riječi: brus, mač, ratnički simbol, kneževski grob, Glasinac, ratnička aristokracija

that were often accompanied in graves by whetstones. Thus, instead of the Bronze Age combination of whetstones and daggers, the combination of swords and whetstones appeared as warrior symbols that continued an older tradition. The decorated whetstones from the Glasinac area and other parts of Eurasia where they appeared should be considered in this same context. Thus, it is highly unlikely that these were “sceptres,” i.e., signs of individualized authority, as is often thought, but rather the expression of an old warrior tradition which was present to the fullest extent in the rich graves of the Iron Age aristocracy.

Key words: whetstone, sword, warrior symbol, princely grave, Glasinac, military aristocracy



Sl. 1. Reprezentativni (kneževski) grobovi na Glasinačkom području (1: Glasinac; 2: Glasinačko područje; ● Grob “svećenika” iz 1880.; ○ Kneževski grobovi; ● Kneževski grobovi s ukrašenim brusovima)
Fig. 1. Exemplary (“princely”) graves in the Glasinac area (1: Glasinac plateau; 2: Glasinac area; ● grave of “priest” from 1880.; ○ “princely” graves; ● “princely” graves with decorated whetstones)

1. Uvodne napomene o istraživanju Glasinačkog područja

Visoravan Glasinac (sl. 1. 1) i širi prostor jugoistočne Bosne koji je u arheologiji poznat kao Glasinačko područje (sl. 1. 2), već dugi niz godina predstavljaju ključne pojmove u arheologiji Balkana i Europe. To je svojevrstan arheološki fenomen, jer teško da igdje drugdje postoji područje koje je već u vrijeme nastanka europske arheologije tako intenzivno istraživano i koje je još u to vrijeme postalo arheološkom senzacijom, a o čijem se kulturnom razvoju još i danas sasvim malo zna. Slučajno otkriće humka s grobom željeznodobnog svećenika i glasovitim glasinačkim kolicima, do kog je došlo u južnom dijelu Glasinačke visoravni 1880. godine (sl. 1), odlučujuće je pobudilo znanstveno-političko zanimanje za ovo područje i ujedno označilo početak sustavnog arheološkog rada ne samo na Glasincu nego i na čitavom prostoru Bosne i Hercegovine. Sjajni nalazi iz spomenutoga groba¹ usmjerili su cjelokupna istraživanja na nekropole

1. Introductory remarks on research into the Glasinac area

The Glasinac plateau (Fig. 1.1) and the wider area of south-eastern Bosnia known in archaeology as the Glasinac area (Fig. 1.2) have been key concepts in the archaeology of the Balkans and Europe in general for many years now. This area is something of an archaeological phenomenon, because it is difficult to find another area anywhere else that has been so intensely researched already at the beginnings of European archaeology, and which in fact became something of archaeological sensation at the time, although very little is known about its cultural development now. The chance discovery of the grave mound of an Iron Age priest and the famed Glasinac chariot, which was found in the southern section of the Glasinac plateau in 1880 (Fig. 1), decisively sparked both scholarly and political interest in this area and simultaneously signified the beginning of systematic archaeological work not only at Glasinac but throughout the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The exquisite finds from this

1 Hochstetter 1881, str. 289 i dalje.

s tumulima, tako da su tokom opsežnih iskopavanja koja su na glasináčkom području s osobitim intenzitetom izvođena u razdoblju od 1888. do 1897. godine gotovo isključivo istraživani i nalaženi grobovi. Na 55 različitih lokacija iskopana su 1234 humka. Precizna računica o ukupnom broju otkrivenih grobova do sada nije izvedena, ali ako se uzme u obzir da u oko 250 humaka nije bilo tragova sahranjivanja, a da su ostali najčešće sadržavali tri do pet grobova, onda se dolazi do broja od oko 1000 tumula sa 3000 - 5000 iskopanih grobnih cjelina.

Stjecajem okolnosti kulturno-povijesno vrednovanje sakupljenog materijala nisu obavili sami istraživači, nego je to učinjeno mnogo kasnije, i to u dva navrata. Prva sistematizacija uslijedila je u katalozima *Glasinac I* i *II* A. Benca i B. Čovića, objavljenima godine 1956. i 1957., dakle šezdesetak godina nakon zadnjih velikih iskopavanja, a do druge je došlo u revizijskom katalogu materijala željeznog doba koji je 1981. godine objavila N. Lucentini.² Materijal koji je obrađan u navedenim katalozima je uz rijetke je iznimke³ i jedini koji je u daljnjem razmatranju kulturnog razvoja na Glasináčkom području uziman u obzir. Tu su bez sumnje odabrani indikativni nalazi koji obećavaju najbolje rezultate, ali je ostao veliki nerazmjer između broja iskopanih grobova i onih koji su do sada znanstveno vrednovani.⁴ Treba računati da će sustavna obrada cjelokupnog materijala s Glasinaca, do koje će, nadamo se, u dogledno vrijeme doći, umnogome upotpuniti dosadašnju sliku.

Prema dosadašnjim proučavanjima pokazalo se da je ovo područje bilo naseljeno od eneolitika, odnosno od kasnog neolitika do mlađega željeznog doba. Kontinuitet razvoja sa sigurnošću je potvrđen počevši od srednjeg brončanog doba koje je u katalogu *Glasinac I* zastupljeno s 18 različitih lokaliteta i arheološki dokumentirano materijalom iz 21 groba (faze Glasinac IIa i IIb).⁵ Razdoblje kasnog brončanog doba (faze

grave¹ dictated the overall research at the tumuli necropolis, so that during the extensive excavations that were conducted with particular intensity from 1888 to 1897, graves were almost exclusively found and examined. A total of 1,234 mounds were excavated at 55 separate locations. The precise balance of the total number of discovered graves has not thus far been compiled, but if one takes into account that approximately 250 mounds did not contain traces of burials, and that the remaining mounds contained three to five graves, then one obtains a figure of approximately 1,000 tumuli with 3,000-5,000 excavated grave units.

Circumstances, however, dictated that the cultural-historical evaluation of the gathered materials was not done by the researchers themselves, but rather much later, on two occasions. The first systematization ensued in the catalogues *Glasinac I* and *Glasinac II* by A. Benac and B. Čović, published in 1956 and 1957, thus about sixty years after major excavations, while the second followed in a revisionary catalogue of Iron Age materials published in 1981 by N. Lucentini.² The materials covered in the aforementioned catalogues are, with rare exceptions,³ the only materials taken into consideration when considering cultural development in the Glasinac area. The indicative finds which promise the best results were selected, but a vast discrepancy remains between the number of excavated graves and those thus far subjected to scholarly evaluation.⁴ It is to be expected that systematic analysis of the entirety of the Glasinac materials, which, we hope, will be done in the near future, shall greatly supplement our current picture thereof.

Previous study has ascertained that this area has been inhabited since the Eneolithic, or rather, from the late Neolithic to the younger Iron Age. Continuity of development has been confirmed with certainly,

2 Benac, Čović 1956; Benac, Čović 1957; Lucentini 1981, str. 67-171.

3 Revizijska iskopavanja B. Čovića 1957 (Čović 1959) i B. Govedarice 1974-1975 (Govedarica 1978).

4 U Katalozima *Glasinac I* i *II* obrađeno je ukupno 119 grobova. Ovome treba dodati još 31 grob s revizijskih iskopavanja iz 1957. godine (Čović 1959, str. 53 i dalje), te daljnja 192 željeznodobna groba koje je obradila N. Lucentini (u taj broj nije uključeno 12 grobova iz navedenih iskopavanja B. Čovića koje je Lucentini također obradila; Lucentini 1981, str. 112 i dalje), kao i deset grobova iz 1974.-1975. godine (Govedarica 1978, str. 15 i dalje), što znači da su obrađena 352 groba, odnosno 7-12% od ukupnog broja iskopanih grobnih cjelina. O tome još Čović 1963, str. 42.

5 Benac, Čović 1956, str. 26-28.

1 Hochstetter 1881, pp. 289 ff.

2 Benac, Čović 1956; Benac, Čović 1957; Lucentini 1981, pp. 67-171.

3 Revisionary excavations by B. Čović in 1957 (Čović 1959) and B. Govedarica in 1974-1975 (Govedarica 1978).

4 A total of 119 graves are covered in the catalogues *Glasinac I* and *Glasinac II*. The 31 graves from the revisionary excavations in 1957 (Čović 1959, pp. 53 ff.), the additional 192 Iron Age graves analysed by N. Lucentini (this figure does not include the 12 graves from Čović's aforementioned excavations which Lucentini also covered; Lucentini 1981, pp. 112 ff), and the ten graves from 1974-1975 (Govedarica 1978, pp. 15 ff.) should be added to this number, which means that 352 graves, or 7-12 % of the total number of excavated grave units, have been analysed. For more on this: Čović 1963, p. 42.

IIIa-IIIc) također je dokumentirano dosta malim brojem grobnih cjelina (32 groba),⁶ dok najveći broj arheološki determiniranih grobova pripada starijem željeznom dobu (faze Glasinac IVa-IVc - oko 230 grobova).⁷ Premda se ovdje radi samo o malom postotku od sveukupnog broja iskopanih grobova, on je, kako smo već napomenuli, izabran po načelu reprezentativnosti i čini se da je povećanje broja grobova koje se ovdje iskazuje u svakom od idućih razdoblja dosta realan odraz objektivnog stanja. To je nesumnjivo posljedica intenziviranja kuturnog razvoja koje je, prema svim parametrima, najviše izraženo u starijem željeznom dobu. Osim nespornog kulturnog kontinuiteta iskazanog u srodnostima inventara faza Glasinac IIIc i IVa, grobovi starijega željeznog doba sadrže čitav niz inovacija socijalnog i šireg kulturnog karaktera, te se, sudeći po grobnim nalazima, to vrijeme pokazuje kao razdoblje najvećega kulturnog procvata u prapovijesti Glasinačkog područja.

2. Pojava oružja i luksuznih brusova u grobovima željeznog doba

Jedna od najznačajnijih novina glasinačkoga željeznog doba jest pojava oružja kojeg u prethodnim fazama kontinuiranog razvoja uopće nije bilo. Naime, oružje je na Glasincu poznato u ranom brončanom dobu, koje nije povezano s kasnijim razvojem, ali ga nema u grobovima srednjega i kasnog brončanog doba, s kojima je kultura željeznog doba kulturno-genetski vezana.⁸ Činjenica da u grobovima srednjega i kasnog brončanog doba nema oružja, ne mora značiti da ga na Glasincu tada uopće nije bilo. No to u svakom slučaju pokazuje da polaganje oružja nije bilo obuhvaćeno ovdašnjim grobnim običajima, i to u razdoblju koje se proteže na punih sedam stotina godina. To je veoma neobična pojava u grobnom ritualu onog vremena. Glasinac i glasinačka kultura po tome se izdvajaju u odnosu na druge suvremene kulture Balkana i šireg područja, u kojima takav diskontinuitet nije poznat.

Oružje na Glasincu pojedinačno se pojavljuje već u grobovima faze IVa, a od faze IVb (Ha C1 - rani Ha C2: 800 - 700 BC)⁹ nastupilo je u širokom dijapazonu,

beginning in the middle Bronze Age, which is presented in the catalogue *Glasinac I* with 18 different sites and archeologically documented materials from 21 graves (Glasinac phases IIa and IIb).⁵ The late Bronze Age (phases IIIa-IIIc) has also been documented by a rather small number of grave units (32 graves),⁶ while the highest number of archeologically classified graves belongs to the older Iron Age (Glasinac phases IVa-IVc – ca. 230 graves).⁷ Although this is only a small percentage of the total number of graves, it was, as already noted, selected according to the principle of representation and it would seem that the increase in the number of graves in each subsequent period is truly a realistic reflection of the objective situation. This was undoubtedly a consequence of more intense cultural development which, based on all parameters, assumed its greatest extent in the older Iron Age. Besides the undisputed cultural continuity reflected in the similar goods from Glasinac phases IIIc and IVa, the graves of the older Iron Age contain an entire series of innovations of a social and broader cultural character and, judging by the grave goods, this period stands out as the period of the greatest cultural bloom in the Glasinac area's prehistory.

2. The appearance of weapons and luxurious whetstones in Iron Age graves

One of the most significant novelties of the Glasinac Iron Age was the appearance of weapons that did not exist at all in the preceding phases of continuous development. Weapons were known at Glasinac in the early Bronze Age, but they were not linked to later development and were absent in the graves of the middle and late Bronze Age, with which the Iron Age culture is culturally and genetically tied.⁸ The fact that there are no weapons in the middle and late Bronze Age graves need not mean that they did not exist at all at Glasinac at that time. But it certainly shows that the depositing of weapons was not encompassed in the local funerary rituals during a period that extended over a full seven centuries. This was a very unusual phenomenon in the funerary rituals of the time. Glasinac and the Glasinac culture thereby stand out in comparison to other contemporaneous cultures in the Balkans and the wider region, where no such discontinuity has been observed.

6 Benac, Čović 1956, str. 29-35.

7 Benac, Čović 1957, str. 26 i dalje (52 groba); Lucentini 1981, str. 112-162 (178 grobova).

8 Usp. Čović 1963, str. 46 i dalje.

9 Periodizacija Glasinačke kulture starijega željeznog doba i njena sinkronizacija s halštatskom kronologijom koju ovdje iznosimo, izvedena je prema zadnjoj studiji B. Čovića posvećenoj ovoj tematici (Čović 1987, str. 575 i dalje), uključujući Kossackovu reviziju sheme P. Reinecke (Kossack 1959, str. 1 i dalje) kojom se

5 Benac, Čović 1956, pp. 26-28.

6 Benac, Čović 1956, pp. 29-35.

7 Benac, Čović 1957, pp. 26 ff. (52 graves); Lucentini 1981, pp. 112-162 (178 graves).

8 Cf. Čović 1963, pp. 46 ff.

počevši od ubojitih željeznih mačeva, kopalja, sjekira i noževa, do knemida i štitova, te druge napadačke i obrambene opreme. Katkad se radi o bogatim sahranama koje uz oružje imaju i niz drugih luksuznih priloga, što ukazuje na visok rang pokojnika. Već su prvi istraživači glasi-načkih tumula pokojnike iz tih grobova smatrali plemenskim vođama.¹⁰ A. Benac i B. Čović su ih 1957. nazvali kneževima, što je kasnije široko prihvaćeno, a taj je naziv često upotrebljavan i za obilježavanje bogatih keltskih grobova iz okvira zapadnohalštatskog kruga.¹¹ Premda je sociološka implikacija ovog termina dosta kritizirana,¹² novijim istraživanjima i identifikacijom hijerarhijskih plemenskih zajednica na periferiji grčke kulturne koine, to je u dobroj mjeri razjašnjeno.¹³ Problematično je ostalo arheološko određenje pojma kneževskoga groba i determinacija nalaza koji bi izravno upućivali na status željeznodobnog kneza, odnosno plemenskog poglavara.

Uz opće bogatstvo priloga i prisutnost importiranih predmeta, najčešće se spominju luksuzno opremljeni kameni brusovi koji bi trebali biti žezla, odnosno vladarske insignije.¹⁴ Nas ovdje osobito zanimaju ti "paradni brusovi" te, posebno, pitanje njihove interpretacije. Oni su na Glasincu dosta dobro dokumentirani, što pruža široke mogućnosti za razmatranja te vrste. No prije nego prijedemo na studiranje značenja ovih zanimljivih nalaza potrebno je prezentirati glasi-načke grobove u čijem su kontekstu brusovi priloženi i razmotriti dataciju tih grobova, koja u dosadašnjoj literaturi nije bila u dovoljnoj mjeri usuglašena. Radi se o pet grobnih cjelina sa tri lokaliteta: Ilijak, Osovo i Brezje (sl.1).

Weapons at Glasinac appeared in graves already in phase IVa, and from phase IVb (Ha C1 – early Ha C2: 800-700 BC),⁹ they appeared in a broad range, beginning with lethal iron swords, spearheads, axes and knives, to greaves and shields and other offensive and defensive gear. Sometimes there were rich burials which also contained other luxury goods, which indicated the high rank of the deceased. The first researchers of the Glasinac tumuli already considered the deceased in these graves tribal leaders.¹⁰ In 1957, A. Benac and B. Čović called them princes (*kneževi*), which was later widely accepted, and this term is often used to denote the rich Celtic graves from the framework of the western Hallstatt circle.¹¹ Although the sociological implications of this term have been the subject of frequent criticism,¹² this has been clarified to a considerable degree by newer research and the identification of hierarchical tribal communities at the peripheries of the Greek cultural koine.¹³ A lingering problem is the archaeological designation of the term princely grave, as well as the determination of finds that would directly indicate the status of an Iron Age potentate (prince), or tribal chieftain.

Besides the general wealth of the goods and the presence of imported items, most often luxuriously appointed whetstones are mentioned, which are supposed to be sceptres, or the insignia of a ruler.¹⁴ Here I am particularly interested in these "ceremonial whetstones" and, in particular, the question of their interpretation. They have been quite well documented at Glasinac, which provides ample opportunity to

i Čović koristio. Jedina odstupanja u odnosu na raniju kronologiju odnose se na absolutnu dataciju koja je ovdje data prema dedrohronološki ažuriranoj shemi M. Trechselja i koja za razdoblje Ha C daje datume koji su oko 75 godina stariji u odnosu na Čovićeve podatke (Trechsel 2004, str. 151-152). U pogledu novih regionalnih kronologija, vidi Teržan, Črešnar 2014 i tamo navedenu literaturu.

10 Fiala 1892, str. 402-403; Fiala 1893, str. 723.

11 Benac, Čović 1957, str. 31; Čović 1979, str. 143-144; Palavestra 1984, str. 8 i dalje; Capelle u.a. 1998, str. 168 i dalje; Babić 2002, str. 70 i dalje; Babić 2004, str. 110 i dalje.

12 Benac, Čović 1957, bilj. 47; Schier 1998, str. 493 i dalje; Govedarica 2002, str. 317 i dalje; Babić 2002, str. 10 i dalje; Steuer 2003, str. 11 i dalje.

13 Babić 2004, str. 77 i dalje.

14 Čović 1987, str. 607 i ondje navedena daljnja literatura.

9 The periodization of the Glasinac culture in the older Iron Age and its synchronization with the Hallstatt chronology provided herein was done according to the last study by Čović dedicated to this topic (Čović 1987, pp. 575 ff.), including Kossack's revision of P. Reinecke's scheme (Kossack 1959, pp. 1 ff.) which Čović also used. The only deviation in relation to the earlier chronology pertains to the absolute dating, which is provided here according to the dendrochronologically updated scheme by M. Trechsel, whose dates for the Ha C period are approximately 75 years earlier in comparison to Čović's data (Trechsel 2004, pp. 151-152). In the sense of new regional chronologies, see also Teržan, Črešnar 2014 and the literature cited therein.

10 Fiala 1892, pp. 402-403; Fiala 1893, p. 723.

11 Benac, Čović 1957, p. 31; Čović 1979, pp. 143-144; Palavestra 1984, pp. 8 ff.; Capelle u.a. 1998, pp. 168 ff.; Babić 2002, pp. 70 ff.; Babić 2004, pp. 110 ff.

12 Benac, Čović 1957, nap. 47; Schier 1998, pp. 493 ff.; Govedarica 2002, pp. 317 ff.; Babić 2002, pp. 10 ff.; Steuer 2003, pp. 11 ff.

13 Babić 2004, pp. 77 ff.

14 Čović 1987, p. 607, and the further reading cited therein.

3. Glasinački grobovi s luksuznim brusovima i njihova datacija

3.1. Ilijak, tumul II, Grob 1 (Fiala 1893)

Ovaj grob predstavlja jedini ukop u tumulu II (sl. 1. Ilijak II,1) i ujedno je najreprezentativnija grobna cjelina u prvoj ilijačkoj nekropoli koja se nalazi u sjevernom podnožju gradine i sadrži pet gusto grupiranih tumula (T. I-V).¹⁵ Prema izvještaju s iskopavanja tumul II bio je načinjen od lomljenog i prikupljenog kamena, a imao je promjer od 15 m i visinu do 2m.¹⁶ Grob je ležao na kamenoj platformi visokoj 0,7 m, udaljenoj 4,5 m od zapadnog ruba humka. Kostur pokojnika, ispružen na leđima u smjeru sjeverozapad-ju-goistok, bio je bogato opremljen prilozima. Budući da se u ovom slučaju radi o jednom od rijetkih grobova za koje Fiala dosljedno daje podatke o položaju skeleta i grobnih priloga, što je Bencu i Čoviću poslužilo za čuvenu grafičku rekonstrukciju iz 1957. godine,¹⁷ u prilici smo da dosta detaljno prezentiramo nalaze iz ovoga groba (sl. 2. 1-13):

1. "Perlasti basen". Velika brončana zdjela s bobičasto ukrašenim obodom i zaobljenim dnom (R 34 cm; H 13 cm); ležao je uz desni bok pokojnika (sl. 2. 1).¹⁸

2. Brončani skif (*skifos*) (H 7 cm; R oboda 11,2 cm; R dna 4,2 cm) s korijenom od dvije željezne drške; nalazio se u posudi br. 1 (sl. 2. 2).

3. Brončana fijala s omfalos-dnom (R 16,9 cm; H 5,3 cm); ležala je uz desnu goljeničnu kost (sl. 2. 3).

consider this type. But before moving on to a consideration of the meaning of these intriguing finds, it will be necessary to present the Glasinac graves which formed the context for the deposited whetstones, and ponder the dating of these graves, as they have not been sufficiently aligned in previous works. These are five grave units at three sites: Ilijak, Osovo and Brezje (Fig. 1).

3. Glasinac graves with luxurious whetstones and their dating

3.1. Ilijak, tumulus II, Grave 1 (Fiala 1893)

This grave was the only burial in tumulus II (Fig. 1. Ilijak II.1) and also the most typical grave unit in the first Ilijak necropolis, which is situated at the northern foot of the hillfort and contains five densely grouped tumuli (Pl. I-V).¹⁵ According to the report from the excavations, tumulus II consisted of broken and gathered stones, and it had a diameter of 15 m and a height up to 2 m.¹⁶ The grave rested on a 0.7 m high stone platform, 4.5 m away from the western edge of the mound. The skeleton of the deceased, extended on its back in a north-west/south-east orientation, was abundantly accompanied by goods. Since this is one of the rare cases of graves for which Fiala consistently provided data on the position of the skeleton and grave goods, which helped Benac and Čović to draft their notable graphic construction in 1957,¹⁷ I have been able to present the finds from this grave in considerable detail (Fig. 2. 1-13):

1. Bossed-rim basin. Large bronze bowl with a beaded rim and rounded base (R 34 cm; H 13 cm); found next to right side of deceased (Fig. 2. 1).¹⁸

15 Uz područje gradine Ilijak istražene su četiri skupine tumula (Fiala 1893, str. 719-739; Fiala 1894, str. 750-751). Detaljnije o njihovu položaju i rasporedu Čović 1979, str. 146-147.

16 Fiala 1893, str. 720-723.

17 Benac, Čović 1957, str. 61, sl. 6.

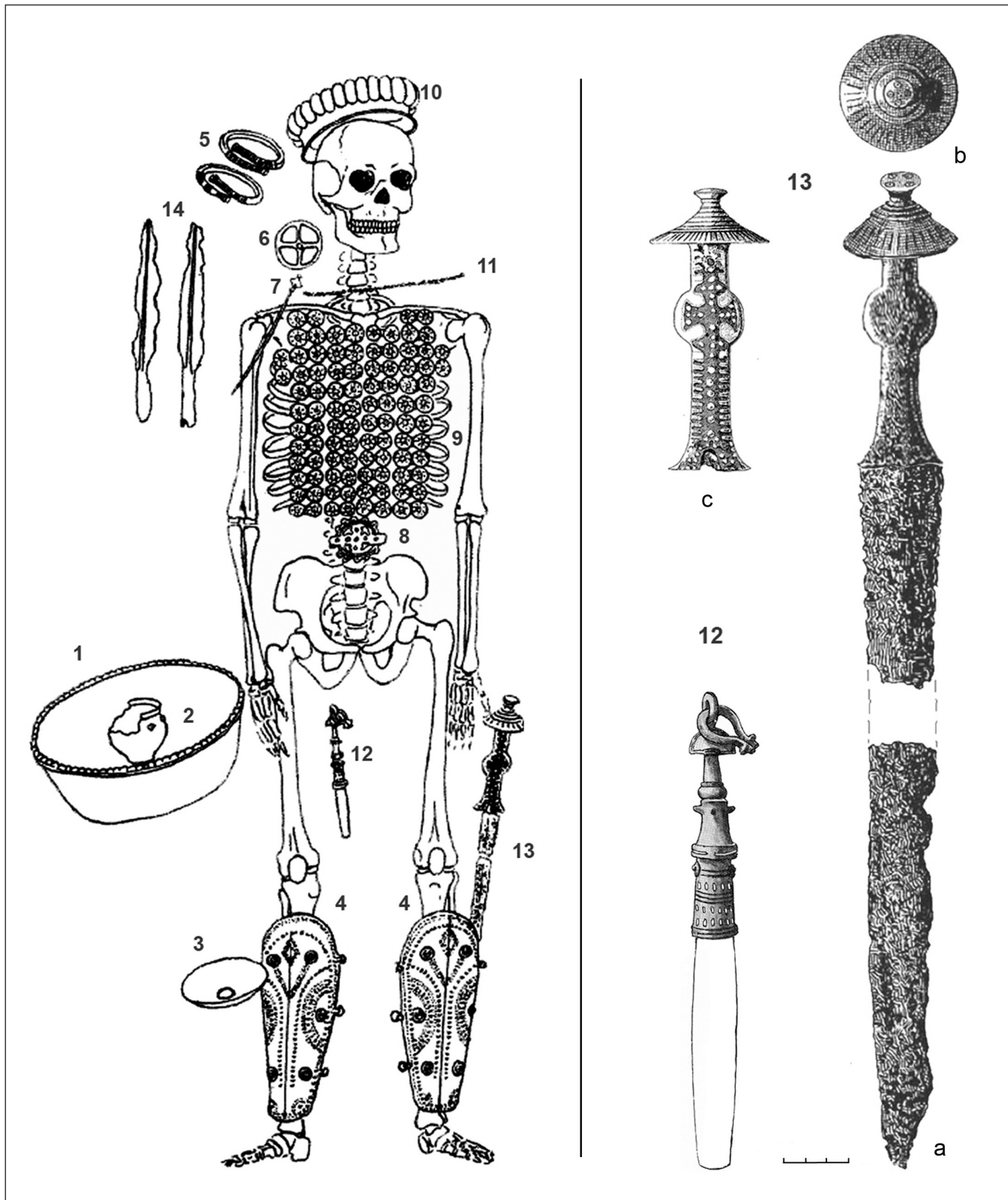
18 Numeracija nalaza odgovora rasporedu na slici 2 i dana je prema priloženoj rekonstrukciji Benca i Čovića. Međutim, položaji nalaza u tekstu navedeni su prema autentičnom izvještaju F. Fiale, koji nije u svim slučajevima precizan. Na primjer, nema podataka kod koje noge su nađeni mač, ili brus, a oni su u grafičkoj rekonstrukciji locirani kod lijeve, odnosno desne noge. Problematičan je i prvobitni položaj rebraste patere, za koju je jedino siguran Fialin izričit navod da je nađena "na mjestu glave", dok svi ostali zaključci, pa i položaj koji je dan u grafičkoj rekonstrukciji, mogu biti samo pretpostavke. Prema tome, grafička rekonstrukcija Benca i Čovića nije dokumentarna nego idealizirana prezentacija ovoga groba s manje ili više uvjerljivim pretpostavkama o položaju pojedinih grobnih priloga.

15 Four tumulus groups were researched next to the area of the Ilijak hillfort (Fiala 1893, pp. 719-739; Fiala 1894, pp. 750-751). For more details on their position and distribution, Čović 1979, pp. 146-147.

16 Fiala 1893, pp. 720-723.

17 Benac, Čović 1957, p. 61, Fig. 6.

18 The numbering of the finds corresponds to the order on figure 2 and was provided according to the proposed reconstruction by Benac and Čović. However, the position of the finds in the text are cited according to the authentic report by F. Fiala, which was not precise in all instances. For example, he did not specify the leg next to which the sword or whetstone were found, and in the graphic reconstruction they were placed next to the left and right leg respectively. The initial position of the ribbed patera is also problematic, for which only Fiala's explicit note that it was found "at the position of the head" is certain, while all other conclusions, including the position illustrated in the graphic reconstruction, can only be suppositions. Therefore,



Sl. 2. Ilijak Tumul II, grob 1 (prema: Benac, Čović 1957 /1-12/; Fiala 1893 /13a,b/; Čović 1987 /13c/)
 Fig. 2. Ilijak Tumulus II, grave 1 (according to: Benac, Čović 1957 /1-12/; Fiala 1893 /13a,b/; Čović 1987 /13c/)

4. Dvije knemide od brončanog lima ukrašene iskucanim ornamentima (dim.: 33 x 25 cm); ležale su na goljeničnim kostima (sl. 2. 4).

5. Dvije masivne grivne od lijevane bronce s krajevima koji prelaze jedan preko drugog (R 8 cm); ležale su desno od glave (sl. 2. 5).

6. Brončani nakit u obliku koluta s križem (R 5,9 cm); ležao je desno od glave (sl. 2. 6).

7. Brončana igla s trostruko profiliranom glavom i plastičnim ispupčenjima; ležala je u predjelu desnog ramena (sl. 2. 7).¹⁹

8. Brončana pojasna kopča s laticama i križno probijenim središnjim dijelom, ukrašena urezanim i punciranim ornamentima (R 5 cm); ležala je u predjelu pojasa (sl. 2. 8).

9. 46 brončanih dvostrukih dugmeta (toka), u obliku kalote s probijenim ornamentom, i četiri takva jednostruka dugmeta; rasuti u predjelu grudi (sl. 2. 9).²⁰

10. Brončana zdjela, patera, s lijepo izvedenim rebrastim ispupčenjima na truhu i s prstenastim dnom (H 6 cm; R dna 8 cm; R oboda 18 cm); ležala je "na mjestu glave" (sl. 2. 10). Prema Fiali zdjela je morala pokrivati glavu pokojnika jer su u njoj nađeni zubi i dijelovi lubanje.²¹

11. Ogrlica od sitnih okruglih jantarnih zrna rasutih u predjelu grudi (sl. 2. 11).

12. Duguljast brus od bijeloga vapnenačkog lapora, s brončanim usadnikom bogato ukrašenim urezima, probojima i plastičnim ispupčenjima. Na vrhu je također ukrašen polukružni završetak s alkom i karikom za vješanje (L 24 cm). Nađen je u predjelu nogu (sl. 2. 12).

13. Drška i dijelovi sječiva željeznog mača glasi-načkog tipa; ležali su u predjelu nogu (sl. 2. 13). Na dršci su brončane oplate sa željeznom intarzijom (sl.

2. Bronze skyphos (H 7 cm; R of rim 11.2 cm; R of base 4.2 cm) with roots of two iron handles; held in vessel no. 1 (Fig. 2. 2).

3. Bronze phiale with omphalos-base (R 16.9 cm; H 5.3 cm); next to right tibia (Fig. 2. 3).

4. Two greaves made of sheet bronze adorned by embossed ornaments (dim.: 33 x 25 cm); found next to tibial bones (Fig. 2. 4).

5. Two massive reinforcing rings made of cast bronze with overlapping ends (R 8 cm); found to the right of the head (Fig. 2. 5).

6. Bronze jewellery shaped like hoop with a cross (R 5.9 cm); found to the right of the head (Fig. 2. 6).

7. Bronze pin with triply articulated head and sculpted protuberances; found at the right shoulder (Fig. 2. 7).¹⁹

8. Bronze belt buckle with petals and cross-pierced middle section, adorned with engraved and punched-dot ornaments (R 5 cm); found at the belt area (Fig. 2. 8).

9. 46 bronze double buttons shaped like calottes with pierced ornaments, and four single buttons of the same type; scattered at the chest area (Fig. 2. 9).²⁰

10. Bronze bowl, patera, with nicely rendered ribbed protrusions on the belly and with ringed base (H 6 cm; R of bottom 8 cm; R of rim 18 cm); found "at the position of the head" (Fig. 2. 10). According to Fiala, the bowl must have covered the head of the deceased, because teeth and parts of the skull were found in it.²¹

11. Necklace made of tiny round amber beads scattered in the chest area (Fig. 2. 11).

the graphic reconstruction by Benac and Čović was not a documented, but rather an idealized presentation of this grave with more or less convincing assumptions about the position of individual grave goods.

19 Prema sl. 11 iz Fialina izvještaja ta igla je imala na oba kraja istovjetne glave, odnosno završetke (Fiala 1893, str. 722). Benac, Čović (1957, str. 12, T. 20. 9) to su previdjeli, pa navode da drugu glavu Fiala uopće ne spominje, "ali je u inventar unesena i bez sumnje pripada ovom grobu", što ostavlja mogućnost da su u grobu bile dvije istovjetne igle. Čini se da je Fiala u pravu, te da se kod ove druge glave prije radi o pokretnom završetku iste igle koji se nalazio s njezine donje strane i služio kao neka vrsta osigurača, npr. da se igla nakon što je provučena kroz tkaninu ne bi nekontrolirano izvlačila iz nje. Takvih završetaka istovjetnih glava igle ima još na području Glasinca, npr. u grobu 1 iz Arareve gromile. Usp. Benac, Čović 1957, str. 20, T. XXXXI. 5, 6.

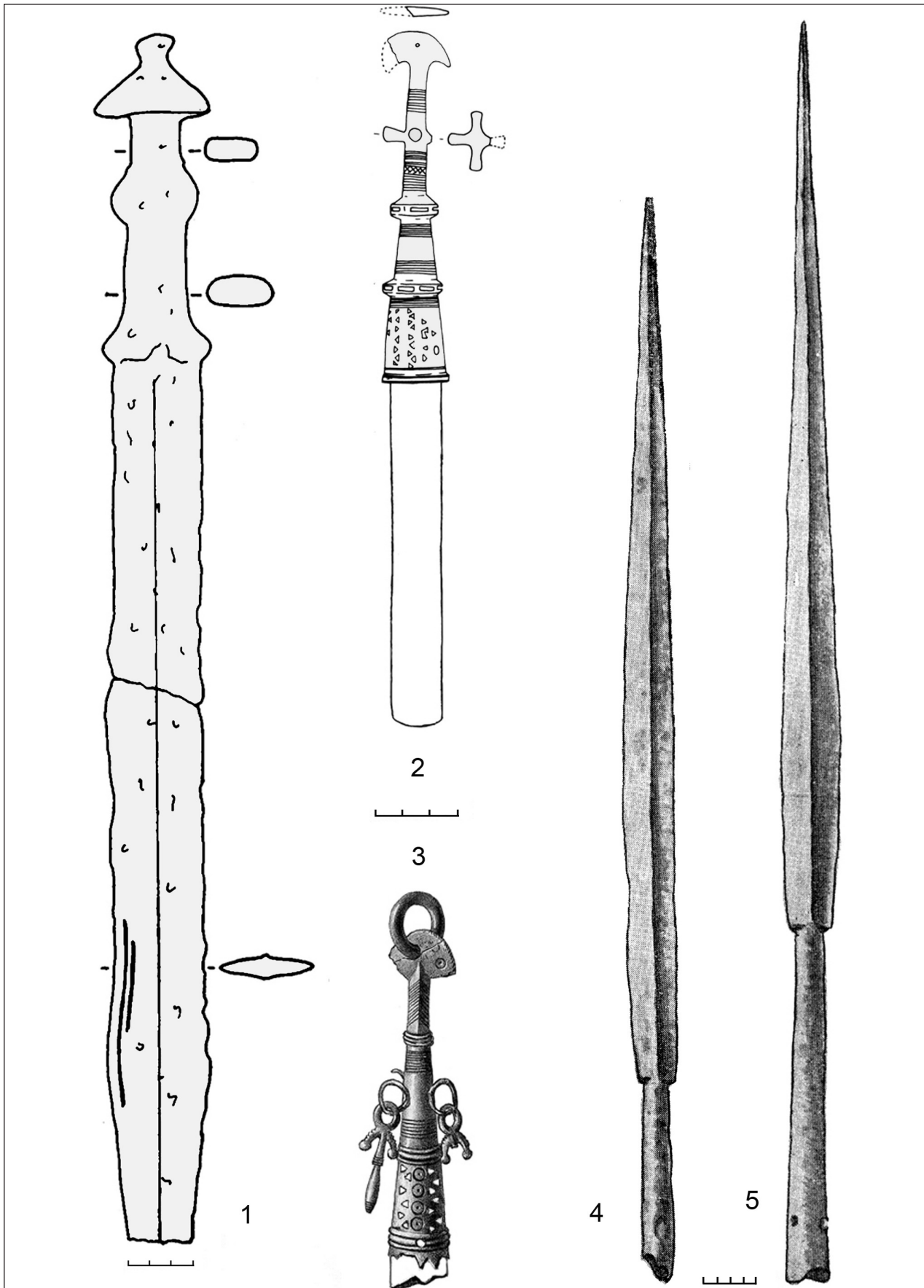
20 Prema Benac, Čović 1957, str. 12, u inventaru ovoga groba postoje 44 dvostruka dugmeta ovog tipa i osam jednostrukih.

21 Fiala 1893, str. 723.

19 According to Fig. 11 from Fiala's report, this pin had identical heads, or ends, on both sides (Fiala 1893, p. 722). Benac, Čović (1957, p. 12, Pl. 20. 9) overlooked this, so they asserted that Fiala did not even mention the other head, "but it was recorded in the inventory and certainly belonged to this grave," which left open the possibility that two identical pins were in the grave. It would appear that Fiala was correct, and that the other head was a movable end of the same pin which was on the lower side and served as a sort of safety, .e.g., so that after it was pulled through fabric, the pin would not slip out of it unwanted. Such identical heads on pins were found elsewhere in the Glasinac area, e.g. in grave 1 from the Arareva mound. Cf. Benac, Čović 1957, p. 20, Pl. XXXXI. 5, 6.

20 According to Benac, Čović 1957, p. 12, there are 44 double buttons of this type and 8 single buttons in the grave's inventory.

21 Fiala 1893, p. 723.



Sl. 3. 1-2: Ilijak Tumul XIII, grob 1; 3-5: Osovo, Tumul II, Grob 1 (prema: Lucentini 1981 /1,2/; Fiala 1895 /3/; Čović, Benac 1957 /4,5/)

Fig. 3. 1-2: Ilijak Tumulus XIII, grave 1; 3-5: Osovo, Tumulus II, Grave 1 (according to: Lucentini 1981 /1,2/; Fiala 1895 /3/; Čović, Benac 1957 /4,5/)

2. 13c). Jabučica drške u obliku stožera ukrašena je urezanim krugovima i crticama (sl. 2. 13,b).

- Fragmenti spiralne naočalaste fibule od željeza.²²
- U materijalu kojim je nasuta gomila bilo je mnoštvo ulomaka keramičkih posuda.²³

U pogledu kronološkog određenja ovoga groba postoji dosta nesuglasica, kao i kod većine gasinačkih kneževskih grobova.²⁴ No, čini se da je najprihvatljivija datacija u okviru faze Glasinac IVb koju predlažu B. Čović i B. Teržan.²⁵ Masivne narukvice i mač glasinačkog tipa karakteristični su za razvijenu fazu IVb, ali kako nedostaju mač s trnom, kelt i križna sjekira, koji su inače zastupljeni u fazi IVb i koji vuku na stariju tradiciju, mora se isključiti ranije razdoblje ove faze. To kronološko određenje može se dodatno precizirati na osnovi stratigrafije i tipologije nalaza iz tumula C u Podilijaku kod Sjeverskog koji je istražen 1975. godine. U grobu 7 tog tumula nađena je pojasna kopča istovjetna onoj iz groba koji ovdje obrađujemo.²⁶ Obje kopče imaju vijenac latica na rubu, ali je modeliranje središnjeg dijela još u potpunosti u maniri faze IVb, te bi one odgovarale starijim primjercima kopči s laticama koje se javljaju već u ovoj fazi.²⁷ Uz to je indikativno da keramika iz groba 7 u Podilijaku u potpunosti odgovara fazi IVb, a na to razdoblje još jasnije upućuju alke od kositra iz toga groba koje su karakteristične za fazu IVb i koje potpuno nedostaju u idućoj fazi IVc.²⁸ Imajući to u vidu, čini se sasvim opravdanim datiranje kneževskog groba iz tumula II u Ilijaku u doba kasne faze Glasinac IVb, odnosno na kraj Ha C1, što bi odgovaralo vremenu oko 725 BC. Takvom opredjeljenju ne protive se ni uvozne knemide i posude koje se u grčko-etrurskom i grčko-frigijskom krugu proizvode u razdoblju od 8. do 7., odnosno 6. stoljeća, a ovamo su najvjerojatnije pristigle preko Jadrana i Albanije.²⁹

3.2. Ilijak, Tumul XIII, Grob 1 (Fiala 1893)

Ovaj grob predstavlja najbogatiju sahranu u trećoj ilijačkoj nekropoli, koju je činilo 13 tumula (T. XIII-XXV) smještenih na lokaciji Rajino brdo, oko jedan

12. Oblong whetstone made of white limestone-marl, with bronze socket richly decorated by nocks, perforations and sculpted protrusions. Also adorned with semi-circular end at tip with a ring and hook for hanging (L 24 cm). Found in the leg area (Fig. 2. 12).

13. Handle and parts of blade of an iron Glasinac-type sword; rested at the leg area (Fig. 2. 13). Bronze grip covers on hilt with iron intarsia (Fig. 2. 13c). Stump-shaped pommel adorned by engraved circles and dashes (Fig. 2. 13b).

- Fragments of spiral spectacle fibula made of iron.²²
- Material filling the mound included many ceramic potsherds.²³

There are a number of discrepancies concerning the chronological classification of this grave, as with most of the Glasinac princely graves.²⁴ But it would appear that the most acceptable dating is in the framework of Glasinac phase IVb, which was proposed by Čović and B. Teržan.²⁵ The massive Glasinac type bracelets and sword were typical of the high phase IVb, but since a sword with a tang, a celt and a cross-bladed axe, otherwise present in phase IVb and suggesting an older tradition, were absent, an earlier period of this phase must be excluded. This chronological determination may be additionally narrowed on the basis of the stratigraphy and typology of the finds from tumulus C at Podilijak at Sjeversko, which was researched in 1975. A belt buckle was found in grave 7 of this tumulus, which is identical to the one from the grave under consideration herein.²⁶ Both buckles have a wreath of petals on the edge, but the modelling of the central part still entirely complies with the manner of phase IVb, and they would thus correspond to examples of buckles with petals which had already appeared in this phase.²⁷ It is additionally indicative that the ceramics from grave 7 in Podilijak entirely correspond to phase IVb, and this period is even more clearly indicated by the tin ring from that grave which were typical of phase IVb and which were entirely absent in the next phase, IVc.²⁸ Keeping this in mind, it would appear entirely justifiable to date the princely graves from tumulus II in Ilijak to the late Glasinac phase IVb, i.e., the end of Ha C1, which would

22 Po evidenciji Benca i Čovića ove fibule nema ni u inventaru groba, niti u depou Zemaljskog Muzeja u Sarajevu, usp. Benac, Čović 1957, str. 12.

23 Ibid.

24 O tome Jašarević 2014, str. 60.

25 Čović 1987, 590 i dalje; Teržan 1987, str. 15.

26 Govedarica 1978, T. IV. 8.

27 O razvoju pojasnih kopči sa laticama usp. Čović 1987, 596; Vasić 2010, str. 110.

28 Govedarica 1978, str. 27.

29 Vidi Kilian 1973, str. 535; Čović 1987, str. 591-592; Jašarević 2014, str. 53 i dalje.

22 According to the records of Benac and Čović, this fibula was not in the grave's inventory nor in the depot of the National Museum in Sarajevo. Cf. Benac, Čović 1957, p. 12.

23 Ibid.

24 On this see Jašarević 2014, p. 60.

25 Čović 1987, pp. 590 ff.; Teržan 1987, p. 15.

26 Govedarica 1978, P. IV. 8.

27 On the development of belt buckles with petals, cf. Čović 1987, p. 596; Vasić 2010, p. 110.

28 Govedarica 1978, p. 27.

kilometar sjeverozapadno od gradine (sl. 1. Ilijak XIII, 1). Grob do sada nije sistematski obrađen, mada je u više navrata djelomično publiciran. U Fialinu izvještaju dan je opis grobnih nalaza, ali su samo pojedini od njih ilustrirani.³⁰ Taj izvještaj se međutim dosta razlikuje od onoga koji je nakon revizije glasinacičkih nalaza 1974. godine objavila N. Lucentini, kao i od popisa nalaza koji je B. Čović prezentirao 1979. godine.³¹ Osim odvojenog prikaza knemide s prikazom jelena,³² ovaj grob uopće nije razmatran u katalogu *Glasinac II* iz 1957. godine, što je teško razumljivo s obzirom da se radi o jednoj od najznačajnijih grobnih cjelina na Glasincu. Ovakvo stanje izazvalo je dosta nesuglasica oko sadržaja groba i tipoloških značajki nalaza. U našoj prezentaciji držat ćemo se prvobitnog izvještaja, prema kojem su u ovom humku, dimenzija 13 x 10 m, visine 1 m, nasutom od zemlje te lomljenog i prikupljenog kamena, nađena četiri skeletna groba. Od toga je samo grob koji je ležao 2 m od sjevernog ruba humka, mogao sa sigurnošću biti opredijeljen u prapovijesno razdoblje.³³ Prema tom prvobitnom izvještaju pokojnik je imao sljedeće priloge:

- dvije brončane ukrašene knemide (33,4 cm x 25 cm);³⁴
- brončana importirana posuda (fijala s visokim omfalos-dnom R 15,5 cm; H 3,2 cm);³⁵
- pinceta od brončanog lima;
- masivna brončana pojasna kopča s rudimentarnim laticama i kalotasto zadebljanim središnjim dijelom;³⁶

30 Fiala 1893, str. 730-732.

31 Lucentini 1981, str. 132; Čović 1979, str. 149-150.

32 Benac, Čović 1957, str. 36-37.

33 Numeracija ovoga groba nije ujednačena. F. Fiala po svojem običaju ne daje nikakvu numeraciju, a kod K. Kiliana i N. Lucentini grob je označen brojem 2 (Kilian 1973, str. 535; Lucentini 1981, str. 132). Teržan (1987, str. 17) i Jašarević (2014, str. 60) obilježavaju ga brojem 1. Kod Čovića je to jednom grob 1 (1979, str. 149), a drugi put grob 2 (1987, str. 605). Budući da se oči-to radi o najstarijem, odnosno jedinom prapovijesnom grobu u ovom tumulu, smatramo ispravnim da se vodi pod brojem 1.

34 Knemida s naknadno ugraviranim prikazom jelena ilustrirana je u Fialinu izvještaju: Fiala 1893, str. 731, sl. 33-34, što je zatim više puta reproducirano, npr. Benac, Čović 1957, str. 37, sl. 1; Čović 1987, str. 597, sl. 35. 28. U popisu nalaza iz ovoga groba koji donosi N. Lucentini knemide se uopće ne spominju (Lucentini 1981, str. 132).

35 Ilustriran: Fiala 1895, str. 16, sl. 41. U inventaru ovoga groba N. Lucentini nije našla ni ovu posudu (Lucentini 1981, str. 132).

36 Ilustrirano: Lucentini 1981, T. VII. 15; Čović 1987, sl. 35. 23.

correspond to roughly 725 BC. Such a classification is not even contradicted by the imported greaves and vessels that were produced in Graeco-Etruscan and Graeco-Phrygian circles from the 8th to 7th, and also 6th, centuries, and they most likely made their way here via the Adriatic and Albania.²⁹

3.2. Ilijak, Tumulus XIII, Grave 1 (Fiala 1893)

This grave constitutes the richest interment in the Ilijak necropolis, which consisted of 13 tumuli (Pl. XIII-XXV) situated at the Rajino brdo site, approximately 1 kilometre north-west of the hillfort (Fig. 1. Ilijak XIII, 1). The grave has not been systematically analysed thus far, although it has been partially published on several occasions. Fiala's report provides a description of the grave finds, but only individual items were illustrated.³⁰ This report, however, differs significantly from the one published by N. Lucentini after the revision of the Glasinac finds in 1974, and from the inventory of finds presented by Čović in 1979.³¹ Besides the separate illustration of the greaves bearing an image of a deer,³² this grave was not at all considered in the catalogue *Glasinac II* from 1957, which is difficult to comprehend given that was one of the most significant grave units at Glasinac. This situation led to considerable disagreement over the content of the grave and the typological features of the finds. In this presentation, I shall adhere to the original report, according to which four skeletal burials were found in this mound, with dimensions of 13 x 10 m and a height of 1 m, covered with soil and broken and gathered stones. Out of these, only the grave that had lain 2 m from the mound's northern edge could be placed in the prehistoric era with any certainty.³³ According to that original report, the deceased was accompanied by the following goods:

29 See Kilian 1973, p. 535; Čović 1987, pp. 591-592; Jašarević 2014, pp. 53 ff.

30 Fiala 1893, pp. 730-732.

31 Lucentini 1981, p. 132; Čović 1979, pp. 149-150.

32 Benac, Čović 1957, pp. 36-37.

33 The numbering of this grave is not uniform. F. Fiala, as per his custom, did not provide any numbering, while K. Kilian and N. Lucentini designated the grave with the number 2 (Kilian 1973, p. 535; Lucentini 1981, p. 132). Teržan (1987, p. 17) and Jašarević (2014, p. 60) designated it with number 1. Čović initially designated it as grave 1 (1979, p. 149), but then later as grave 2 (1987, p. 605). Since this was obviously the oldest, i.e., the only prehistoric grave in the tumulus, I deem it proper to give it the number 1.

- tri perle od bronce;
- dvije igle od tanke brončane žice;
- jedna brončana igla s kupastom glavom i gustim rebrastim urezima na vratu;³⁷
- dvije spiralne željezne naočalaste fibule i jedna željezna pločasta fibula;
- brus od bijelog vapnenačkog škriljevca s brončanim usadnikom (L 26 cm; sl. 3. 2) koji ima gotovo istovjetan oblik, motive i tehniku ukrašavanja kao i primjerak iz tumula 2 prve ilijačke nekropole;³⁸
- željezni mač sa željeznom drškom glasinačkog tipa (L 54,5 cm; sl. 3. 1);³⁹
- željezno koplje (L 41,5 cm);
- veći broj ulomaka željeznih noževa i fragmenti keramike.

B. Čović ovaj grob smatra tipičnim predstavnikom njegove faze Glasinac IVc1. Na to bi upućivala pojasna kopča s laticama koja je već dobila kalotasti srednji dio, kao i fijala s omfalosom koju on smješta u to razdoblje.⁴⁰ Međutim, B. Teržan inzistira na povezivanju ove fijale s primjerkom iz Gordija (*Gordion*) i predlaže dataciju groba u fazu Glasinac IVb.⁴¹ Istovjetnu dataciju knemida iz ovog groba još je ranije predložio Kilian.⁴² Uz to treba reći da masivna kopča iz ovog groba ne odgovara razvijenim formama faze IVc1, a rudimentarne latice poput ovih susreću se već na kopčama iz glasinačke faze IVb.⁴³ Dosta drugih arhaičnih elemenata iz ovoga groba također govori u prilog ranijoj dataciji. Tu prije svega mislimo na najstariji tipološki element u grobu, iglu s rebrasto ukrašenim vratom i kupastom glavom koja je dosta slična primjerku iz prve ilijačke nekropole (Ilijak, T. III, grob 2),⁴⁴ i drugim primjercima iz okvira glasinačkoga kulturnog kruga koji pripadaju fazi IVa.⁴⁵ No kako nema drugih elemenata koji bi grob 1 iz tumula XIII povezivali s tom ranom etapom, to bi i navedena igla mogla biti samo retardacija iz faze Glasinac IVa. Prema tome, ovaj grob ne bi mogao pripadati Čovićevoj fazi IVc1, već bi morao ići u ranije razdoblje faze Glasinac IVb. To ujedno znači da je stariji od predhodno navedenoga "kneževskog" groba iz prve

- two decorated bronze greaves (33.4 x 25 cm);³⁴
- imported bronze vessel (shallow bowl with high omphalos-base R 15.5 cm; H 3.2 cm);³⁵
- pincers made of sheet bronze;
- massive bronze belt buckle with rudimentary petals and calotte-shaped knob in the middle section;³⁶
- three bronze beads;
- two pins made of thin bronze wire;
- bronze pin with cup-shaped head and dense ribbed incisions on neck;³⁷
- two spiral iron spectacle fibulae and one iron plate fibula;
- whetstone made of limestone shale with bronze socket (L 26 cm; Fig. 3. 2) which has a virtually identical shape, motif and decoration style as the example from tumulus 2 in the first Ilijak necropolis;³⁸
- Glasinac-type iron sword with iron hilt (L 54.5 cm; Fig. 3. 1);³⁹
- iron spearhead (L 41.5 cm);
- large number of pieces of iron knives and potsherds.

B. Čović considered this grave a typical representative of his Glasinac phase IVc1. This would be indicated by the belt buckle with petals, which had already acquired the calotte-shaped middle section, as well as the dish with omphalos which he dated to this period.⁴⁰ B. Teržan, however, insisted on linking this dish to the example from Gordion and proposed that the grave be dated to Glasinac phase IVb.⁴¹ The same dating for the greaves from this grave had been suggested earlier by Kilian.⁴² It additionally needs to be said that the massive buckle from this grave does not correspond to the developed forms of phase IVc1, while

37 Lucentini 1981, T. VII. 16.

38 Ilustrirano: Fiala 1893, str. 731, sl. 35, kao i u katalogu N. Lucentini (1981, T. VII. 15).

39 Fiala 1893, str. 763, T. 1, sl. 5; Lucentini 1981, str. 132, T. VII. 19. Čović 1987, str. 606 spominje dva ovakva mača u ovom grobu.

40 Čović 1987, str. 604-605.

41 Teržan 1987, str. 17.

42 Kilian 1973, str. 535.

43 Usp. Čović 1987, sl. 35. 7, 23, 24.

44 Fiala 1893, str. 723; Lucentini 1981, T. VII. 4.

45 Usp. Fiala 1893, str. 723-724, sl. 18; Čović 1987, sl. 33. 12, 13.

34 The greaves with the subsequently engraved image of a deer were illustrated in Fiala's report: Fiala 1893, p. 731, Fig. 33-34, which was then reproduced many times, e.g. Benac, Čović 1957, p. 37, Fig. 1; Čović 1987, p. 597, Fig. 35. 28. In the inventory of finds from this grave compiled N. Lucentini, the greaves are not even mentioned (Lucentini 1981, p. 132).

35 Illustrated: Fiala 1895, p. 16, Fig. 41. In the inventory of this grave, Lucentini also did not find this vessel (Lucentini 1981, p. 132).

36 Illustrated: Lucentini 1981, Pl. VII. 15; Čović 1987, Fig. 35, 23.

37 Lucentini 1981, Pl. VII. 16.

38 Illustrated: Fiala 1893, p. 731, Fig. 35, as in N. Lucentini's catalogue (1981, Pl. VII. 15).

39 Fiala 1893, p. 763, Pl. 1, Fig. 5; Lucentini 1981, p. 132, Pl. VII, 19. Čović 1987, p. 606, mentioned two such swords in this grave.

40 Čović 1987, pp. 604-605.

41 Teržan 1987, p. 17.

42 Kilian 1973, p. 535.

ilijačke nekropole (Ilijak II, 1). Bitnu kronološku odrednicu predstavljaju ukrašeni brusovi iz ova dva groba (sl. 2. 12; 3. 2), pri čemu izrazita srodnost oblikovanja i ukrašavanja njihovih brončanih usadnika upućuje na to da ovdje ne može biti veće vremenske distance. Iz tih bi razloga u ovom slučaju najprihvatljivija datacija bila sredina faze Glasinac IVb, odnosno doba kasnog HaC1, što bi odgovaralo sredini osmog stoljeća (oko 750 BC).

3.3. Osovo, Tumul II, Grob 1 (Fiala 1897)

Tumul II je najveći u skupini od tri humka koja su bila smještena na lokalitetu Papratnice, između selâ Osovo i Brankovići (sl. 1, Osovo II, 1). Nasut je lomljenim kamenom, šljunkom i zemljom, a imao je kružni oblik promjera 17 m, s visinom koja je pri krajevima iznosila 1,15 m i u sredini 0,55 m.⁴⁶ F. Fiala ovakve tumule izdvaja kao poseban tip "oblika gradca", jer uzvišeni obruč na periferiji podsjeća na bedem gradine.⁴⁷ Prema izvještaju s iskopavanja ovdje su nađena četiri skeletna groba.⁴⁸ Skelet groba 1 ("kneževski") bio je položen u smjeru zapad-istok u jugoistočnom segmentu, oko 4 m od ruba humka i na dubini od 0,9 m od površine nasipa. Grob 2 sa dva skeleta ležao je u središnjem dijelu humka; grob 3 je bio u sjeverozapadnom dijelu, a grob 4 u sjeveroistočnom dijelu humka.⁴⁹

U grobu 1 nađeni su sljedeći prilozi:

- dva duga željezna koplja od kvalitetnog i dobro kovanog željeza (L 95 cm i 80 cm); položena s desne strane skeleta (sl. 3. 4, 5);
- na nogama je bila velika zdjela od brončanog lima s bobičasto iskucanim obodom "perlasti basen", veoma sličan onome iz groba Ilijak 2,1 (R 40 cm; H 14,5 cm);
- ispod zdjele ležala je rebrasto ukrašena posuda od brončanog lima, tzv. "lotos fijala" (R oboda 13,3 cm; H 3,5 cm);
- s lijeve strane u visini prsa bile su dvije keramičke posude;
- u predjelu pojasa nađen je korijen kamenog brusa cilindričnog presjeka s bogato ukrašenim brončanim usadnikom koji, poput primjeraka iz Ilijaka II, 1 i

rudimentary petals such as these could already be seen on the buckles of Glasinac phase IVb.⁴³ Many other archaic elements from this grave also support an earlier dating. Here I am first and foremost referring to the oldest typological element in the grave, the pin with rib decorations on the neck and cup-shaped head, which is rather similar to the example from the first Ilijak necropolis (Ilijak, Pl. III, grave 2)⁴⁴ and other examples from the framework of the Glasinac cultural sphere which belonged to phase IVa.⁴⁵ But since there are no other elements that could link grave 1 from tumulus XIII to this early phase, this could simply mean that the aforementioned pin is only a holdover from Glasinac phase IVa. So this grave could not have therefore fallen into Čović's phase IVc1, rather it would have to be placed in an earlier period of Glasinac phase IVb. This also means that it is older than the previously discussed "princely" grave from the first Ilijak necropolis (Ilijak II, 1). The decorated whetstones from these two graves (Fig. 2. 12; 3. 2) constitute an essential chronological determinant, wherein the exceptional similarity in the formation and adornment of their bronze sockets indicates that there cannot be a greater chronological distance here. For these reasons, the most acceptable dating in this case would be the middle of Glasinac phase IVb, meaning the time of the late HaC1, which would correspond to the mid-8th century (roughly 750 BC).

3. 3. Osovo, tumulus II, grave 1 (Fiala 1897)

Tumulus II is the largest in the group of three mounds which were situated at the Papratnice site, between the villages of Osovo and Brankovići (Fig. 1, Osovo II, 1). It was filled with broken stones, gravel and dirt, and it had a circular shape with a diameter of 17 m, and a height which at its ends was 1.15 m and 0.55 m.⁴⁶ F. Fiala distinguished such tumuli as a separate type, "fort shaped," because the higher ring around the periphery resembled the outer wall of a hillfort.⁴⁷ According to the excavation report, four skeletal graves were found here.⁴⁸ The skeleton in grave 1 ("potentate") was laid in a west-east orientation in the south-eastern segment, approximately 4 m from the edge of the mound and at a depth of 0.9 m from the surface of the fill. Grave 2, with two

46 Fiala 1897, str. 593-597.

47 Fiala 1892, str. 418, 421.

48 Fiala 1897, str. 593. Usp. Čović 1963, str. 51.

49 Fiala po svom običaju nije numerirao ni grobove iz ovog tumula, već su to učinili Benac, Čović 1957, str. 14-15, brojkama od 1 do 4. U jednom idućem tekstu Čović se odlučio za opredjeljenje svakog skeleta kao posebnog groba, te je tako dobio pet grobova u ovom tumulu; Čović 1979, str. 155. Mi se ovdje držimo prve numeracije, koja se temelji na Fialinim podacima.

43 Cf. Čović 1987, Fig. 35. 7, 23, 24.

44 Fiala 1893, p. 723; Lucentini 1981, Pl. VII. 4.

45 Cf. Fiala 1893, pp. 723-724, Fig. 18; Čović 1987, Fig. 33. 12, 13.

46 Fiala 1897, pp. 593-597.

47 Fiala 1892, pp. 418, 421.

48 Fiala 1897, p. 593. Cf. Čović 1963, p. 51.

XIII, 1, ima polukružni završetak s alkom za vješanje (očuvana dužina 12,7 cm). Ukrašavanje usadnika tehnikom ureza i proboja također je gotovo istovjetno prethodno navedenim brusovima. Veoma zanimljiv detalj predstavljaju privjesci na usadniku koji također imaju oblik brusa (sl. 3. 3);

- desno od skeleta ležali su fragmenti dvaju željeznih noževa i devet komada koštanih korica noža;
- među kostima skeleta nađeni su sljedeći predmeti: brončana pinceta, spirala od brončanog lima s iskućanim ornamentom, velika brončana igla i 15 trodijelnih dugmeta - okova pojasa;
- na jednoj hrpi uz skelet naslagan je velik broj dijelova bogate konjske opreme.

Ovaj grob predstavlja najraniju konjaničku sahranu na Glasincu, premda njegovo datiranje nije sasvim usuglašeno. M. Trachsel smatra rebrastu zdjelu, odnosno lotos fijalu, najznačajnijim nalazom iz ovoga groba i povezuje ju s ranim proizvodima ovog tipa iz Gordiona i sa vremenom kasnog HaC1. Po njegovu mišljenju konjska oprema bi odgovarala kasnom HaC1 i ranom HaC2,⁵⁰ što bi se poklapalo sa završnim razdobljem glasinačke faze IVb. Obje keramičke posude iz ovoga groba također predstavljaju tipične forme ove glasinačke faze.⁵¹ B. Čović se ipak odlučio za nešto kasnije datiranje - u okviru faze Glasinac IVc1, a i prema B. Teržan ovaj bi grob išao na početak glasinačke faze IVc.⁵² Tako nam se prilično dugotrajno razdoblje, od razvijene faze Glasinac IVb do kraja faze IVc1, pokazuje kao mogući raspon datacije ovoga groba. No ako se uzme u obzir velika srodnost nalaza iz ovoga groba s kneževskim grobovima iz Ilijaka, što nesumnjivo predstavlja bitnu odrednicu, onda se otvara mogućnost preciznije kronološke determinacije. Osovski perlasti basen gotovo je istovjetan onome iz Ilijaka II, 1, a i brusovi pripadaju istome tipu, što jasno upućuje na vremensku bliskost ovih grobnih cjelina. Posebno je izražena sličnost s Ilijakom II, 1, te bi grob iz Osova mogao biti istovremen tom grobu ili nešto mlađi od njega, što upućuje na doba završetka faze Glasinac IVb. Slično ukrašen brus s okovom nađen je u grobu 2 iz tumula IX u Kaptolu u Slavoniji (sl. 5. 9); također ima krstaste razvodnike poput onih iz konjske opreme u Osovu. Ovaj grob iz Kapitola, kao i grob 1 iz tumula X u kojem je također nađen dio kamenog brusa s ukrašenim usadnikom (T. 5. 8), datirani su u horizont 2 grupe Martijanec-Kaptol, odnosno u vrijeme ranog HaC2.⁵³ Prema svemu tome

skeletons, lay in the middle section of the mound; grave 3 was in the north-western area, while grave 4 was in the north-eastern part of the mound.⁴⁹

The following goods were found in grave 1:

- two long iron spearheads made of high-quality and finely-wrought iron (L 95 cm and 80 cm) laid to right side of skeleton (Fig. 3. 4, 5);
- large bowl made of sheet bronze with bossed rim, "bossed-rim basin," very similar to the one from Ilijak grave 2.1 (R 40 cm; H 14.5 cm) was on legs;
- ribbed vessel made of sheet bronze below bowl, a so-called "lotus dish" (R of rim 13.3 cm; H 3.5 cm);
- two ceramic vessels to left at level of chest;
- at belt section, root of whetstone with cylindrical cross-section and richly adorned bronze socket which, like the examples from Ilijak II, 1 and XIII, 1, has semi-circular end with ring for hanging (preserved length 12.7 cm). Decoration of socket by nock and perforation technique also virtually identical to previously cited whetstones. Pendants on socket, also shaped liked whetstone, constitute a very interesting detail (Fig. 3. 3);
- fragments of two iron knives and nine pieces of bone knife sheaths laid to right of skeleton;
- following items found among the skeletal bones: bronze pincers, spiral made of sheet bronze with embossed ornament, large bronze pin and 15 three-part buttons – belt mounts;
- high number of components of richly-appointed riding harness laid in pile next to skeleton.

This grave constitutes the earliest cavalryman's burial at Glasinac, although its dating has not been entirely settled. M. Trachsel considered the ribbed bowl, i.e., the lotus phiale, the most significant find from this grave and linked it to the products of this type from Gordion and to the time of the late HaC1. In his opinion, the riding harness components would have corresponded to the late HaC1 and early HaC2,⁵⁰ which would have corresponded to the late Glasinac phase faze IVb. Both ceramic vessels from this grave are also typical forms of this Glasinac phase.⁵¹ Čović nonetheless opted for a somewhat later dating: within the framework of Glasinac phase IVc1, while according to Teržan this grave belongs at the beginning of

50 Trachsel 2004, str. 299.

51 Usp. Čović 1987 sl. 33. 14-15.

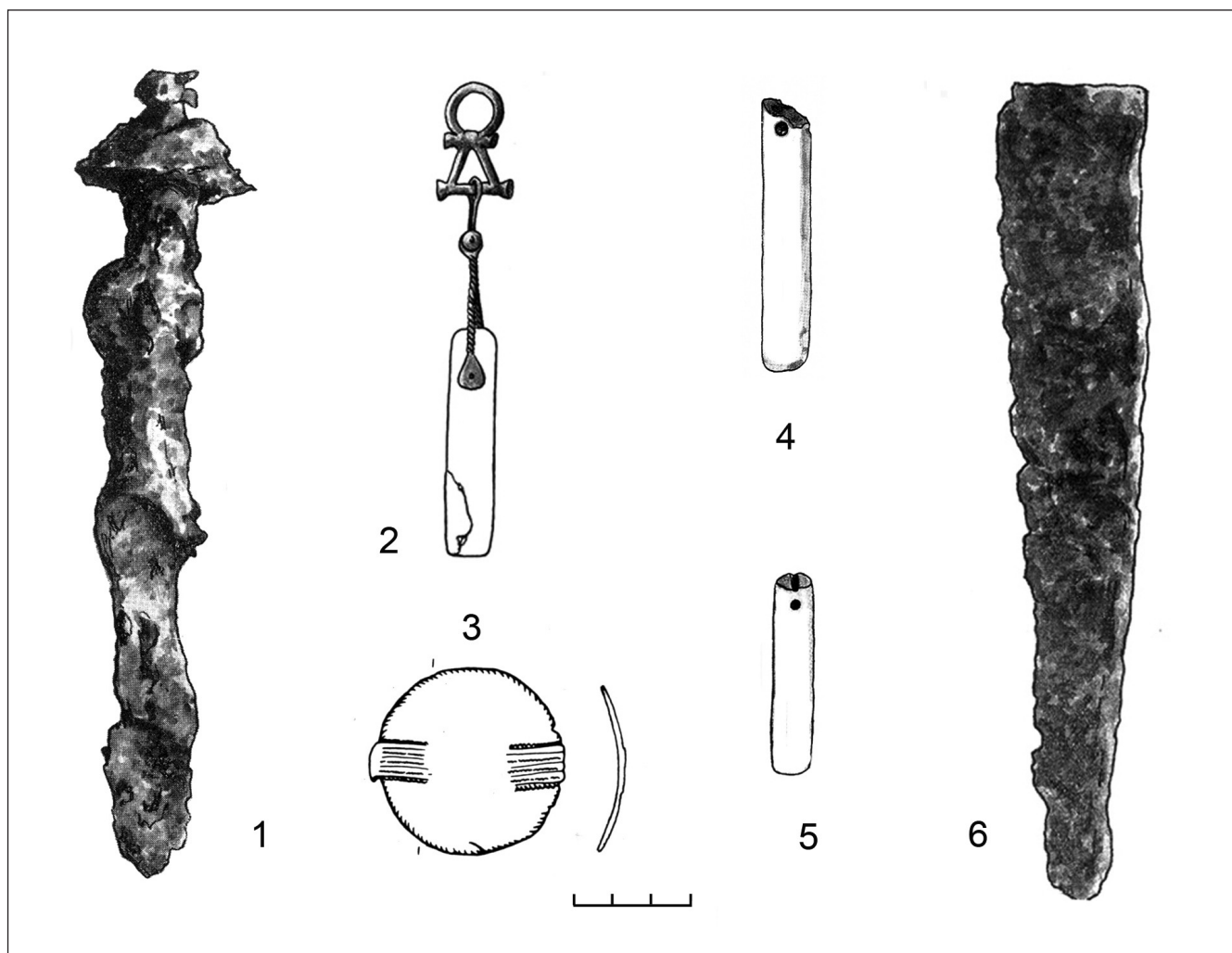
52 Čović 1987, str. 605; Teržan 1987, str. 17.

53 Vejvoda, Mirmik 1972, str. 198, 200, T. 13. 2; Vejvoda, Mirmik 1975, str. 595-596, T. 7. 1, 8; Vinski-Gasparini

49 Fiala, as per his custom, did not number the graves from this tumulus, either, and this was done by Benac, Čović 1957, pp. 14-15, numbering them 1 through 4. In a subsequent text, Čović decided to classify each skeleton as a separate grave, and thus came to five graves in this tumulus; Čović 1979, p. 155. Here I am maintaining the initial numbering based on Fiala's data.

50 Trachsel 2004, p. 299.

51 Cf. Čović 1987, Fig. 33. 14-15.



Sl. 4. Tumul u Brezju, 1,4,5: grob 1; 2,3,6: grob 3 (prema: Čović, Benac 1957 /1,4-6/; Lucentini 1981 /2,3)
 Fig. 4. Tumulus in Brezje, 1,4,5: grave 1; 2,3,6: grave 3 (according to: Čović, Benac 1957 /1,4-6/; Lucentini 1981 /2,3)

grob 1 iz tumula II u Osovu može se dosta precizno opredijeliti u završetak faze Glasinac IVb, vrijeme početnog Ha C2, odnosno u zadnju četvrtinu 8. st. pr. Kr. (725-700 BC).

3.4. Tumul Brezje (Fiala 1895)

Ovaj tumul dimenzija 18 m i visine 1,5 m predstavlja jedan od najvećih grobnih humaka na čitavom Glasinačkom području. Radi se o pojedinačnom humku nasutom od lomljenoga i prikupljenog kamena na jednom proplanku između selâ Brezje i Planje (sl. 1, Brezje).⁵⁴ U njemu su otkrivena tri “kneževska” groba, od kojih su dva (broj 1 i 3) uz ostale priloge imali i karakteristične kamene brusove, te ćemo ih ovdje prezentirati.

Glasinac phase IVc.⁵² Thus, a rather extensive period, from the developed Glasinac phase IVb until the end of phase IVc1, has emerged as the possible span for the dating of this grave. But if the striking similarity between the finds from this grave and those from the princely graves, undoubtedly an essential determinant, is taken into consideration, this opens the possibility for a more precise chronological determination. The Osovo bossed-rim basin is almost identical to the one from Ilijak II, 1, while the whetstone belongs to the same type, which clearly indicates the chronological proximity of these grave units. The similarity to Ilijak II is particularly striking, and the grave from Osovo could be contemporaneous with this grave, or slightly later than it, which points to the close of Glasinac phase IVb. A similarly decorated whetstone with a mount was found in grave 2 from tumulus IX in Kaptol, in Slavonia (Fig. 5. 9); it also has a crossed

1987, str. 197-198, sl. 12. 25, 26.

54 Fiala 1895, str. 546-547.

52 Čović 1987, p. 605; Teržan 1987, p. 17.

Grob 1 bio je smješten u sjeveroistočnom kvadrantu. Uz ostatke kostura nađeni su sljedeći prilozi:

- brončana patera (R 12,8 cm; H 5,3 cm);
- dvije brončane pojasne kopče s laticama (L 5,5 i 5,7 cm);
- dugački kameni brus četverokutnog presjeka s oštećenim dijelom iznad perforacije (L 14,6; sl. 4. 4);
- kameni brus cilindričnog presjeka s ostacima željeza u perforaciji (L 9 cm; sl. 4. 5);
- jako korodirani vrh željeznog koplja (L 29,2 cm);
- jako korodirani gornji dio mača glasinackog tipa (L 24 cm; sl. 4. 1).

Grob 3 se nalazio u središnjem dijelu tumula.⁵⁵ Uz ostatke skeleta bili su sljedeći nalazi:

- mali kameni brus cilindričnog presjeka (L 5,5 cm), koji je bio obješen na dvodijelni držač načinjen od dvije tordirane brončane žice spojene s masivnom dvodijelnom alkom (ukupna dužina brusa i držača 11,5 cm; sl. 4. 2);
- brončana pojasna kopča arhaične forme s urezanim ornamentima (L 5,2; sl. 4. 3);
- donji dio jednosjeklog mača od željeza (L 24,5 cm; sl. 4. 6).

Datiranje groba 1 iz Brezja mora se razmatrati u kontekstu s grobom 2 iz ovog tumula, jer inventari oba groba upućuju na vremensku bliskost. Izravno ih povezuju importirane brončane omfalos-fijale koje su gotovo istovjetne i po obliku i po dimenzijama i koje su dosta čest proizvod grčko-frigijskog kruga iz razdoblja od 8. do 6. stoljeća.⁵⁶ Dakle, radi se o kronološki slabo osjetljivim formama, a, kako smo već vidjeli, najbliže paralele ovim fijalama iz kneževskih grobova u Ilijaku odgovaraju starijim proizvodima ovog tipa, odnosno razvijenoj i kasnoj fazi Glasinac IVb. U grobu 1 su osim oružja - koplja i mača - nađena i dva kamena brusa koji, doduše, nemaju brončanih usadnika, ali svojom formom i dimenzijama upućuju na primjerke iz Ilijaka i na fazu Glasinac IVb (sl. 2. 12; 3. 2; 4. 2). Ravno profilirane pojasne kopče iz ova dva groba gotovo su istovjetne, dok veliko dugmetasto ispupčenje na kopči iz groba 1 upućuje na formu koja bi mogla prethoditi primjercima s kalotastim ispupčenjem tipičnima za fazu IVc1.⁵⁷

Karakteristično je da u grobu 2 uopće nema oružja, a u nakitu se ističu starije forme lučne fibule s beotskim štitom, kao i kolutaste fibule koje se smatraju sigurnim elementima faze Glasinac IVc1.⁵⁸ Na to razdoblje ukazuje i pojasna kopča s kalotastim

bridle strap like those from the riding gear in Osovo. This grave from Kaptol, like grave 1 from tumulus X in which part of a whetstone with a decorated socket was found (Pl. 5. 8), has been dated to horizon 2 of the Martijanec-Kaptol group, i.e., the time of the early HaC2.⁵³ Based on all of these aspects, grave 1 from tumulus II in Osovo may be dated with considerable precision to the end of Glasinac phase IVb, the time of the early Ha C2, i.e., the final quarter of the 8th century BC (725-700 BC).

3.4. Brezje tumulus (Fiala 1895)

This tumulus, with a diameter 18 m and height 1.5 m, is one of the largest grave mounds in the entire Glasinac area. This is an individual mound composed of broken and gathered stones on a knoll between the villages of Brezje and Planje (Fig. 1, Brezje).⁵⁴ Three "princely" graves were discovered in it, of which two (numbers 1 and 3) contained, in addition to other goods, the typical whetstones, and these shall be presented herein.

Grave 1 was situated in the north-eastern quadrant. Besides skeletal remains, the following goods were found:

- bronze patera (R 12.8 cm; H 5.3 cm);
- two bronze belt buckles with petals (L 5.5 and 5.7 cm);
- long whetstone with rectangular cross-section with damaged section above perforation (L 14.6; Fig. 4. 4);
- whetstone with cylindrical cross-section and iron remains in the perforation (L 9 cm; Fig. 4. 5);
- very corroded tip of iron spearhead (L 29.2 cm);
- very corroded upper section of Glasinac-type sword (L 24 cm; Fig. 4. 1).

Grave 3 was situated in the middle of the tumulus.⁵⁵ Besides skeletal remains, the following goods were present:

- small whetstone with cylindrical cross-section (L 5.5 cm), which was hung on two-piece holder made of two twisted bronze wires connected by massive two-piece ring (total length of whetstone and holder is 11.5 cm; Fig. 4. 2);
- bronze belt buckle of archaic form with engraved ornaments (L 5.2 cm; Fig. 4. 3);
- lower section of single-blade iron sword (L 24.5 cm; Fig. 4. 6).

55 Fiala 1895, str. 547.

56 Usp. Čović 1987, str. 591-592; Jašarević 2014, str. 59-61.

57 Usp. Benac, Čović 1957, T. XXIII. 2, 3, 16.

58 Čović 1987, str. 603, 608.

53 Vejvoda, Mirnik 1972, pp. 198, 200, Pl. 13, 2; Vejvoda, Mirnik 1975, pp. 595-596, Pl. 7. 1, 8; Vinski-Gasparini 1987, pp. 197-198, Fig. 12. 25, 26.

54 Fiala 1895, pp. 546-547.

55 Fiala 1895, p. 547.

središnjim dijelom iz tog groba koja već pripada razvijenim formama, također tipičnima za fazu IVc1.⁵⁹ S druge strane, u grobu 1 ima elemenata koji upućuju na prethodnu razvojnu fazu. Osim oružja (željezno koplje i mač glasićkog tipa od istog materijala) tu su nađena i dva kamena brusa, koji, kako smo već konstatali, upućuju na primjerke s ukrašenim usadnikom iz kneževskih grobova u Ilijaku i na fazu Glasinac IVb. Ravno profilirane pojasne kopče iz ova dva groba gotovo su istovjetne, dok veliko dugmetasto ispupčenje na kopči iz groba 1 ima rudimentarnu formu koja bi mogla prethoditi razvijenim kalotastim primjercima faze IVc1 (usp. sl. 2 i 3). Sve to pokazuje da su ova dva groba kronološki veoma bliska, ali ne i istovremena. U grobu 1, koji je očito muški i ratnički, nedostaju izraziti elementi faze Glasinac IVc. To bi značilo da taj grob spada u završnu etapu faze IVb i u doba početnog Ha C2, odnosno u zadnju četvrtinu 8. st. pr. Kr. (725-700 BC). Shodno tome, grob 2 koji je po svemu sudeći ženski ukop i koji mu je kronološki veoma blizak, izravno slijedi tom razdoblju i odgovara prijelazu faza Glasinac IVb-IVc1, ranom HaC2, odnosno vremenu oko 700 BC. Takvu dataciju za ova dva groba, premda bez daljnje argumentacije, svojedobno su predložili i Čović i Kilian.⁶⁰

Daleko veći problem predstavlja opredjeljenje groba 3 iz ovog tumula koji je, kako se čini, neopravdano nisko datiran. Kilian i Čović taj grob smatraju najmlađim u ovom tumulu.⁶¹ Kao glavni argument za to Čović navodi neke prostorno dosta udaljene analogije za pojasnu kopču iz ovoga groba, koje upućuju na vrijeme Glasinac IVc1-2.⁶² To je teško prihvatljivo s obzirom da ova kopča ima arhaičnu formu s ravnim rubom (sl. 4. 3), koji bi morao prethoditi primjercima s laticama iz kasne faze Glasinac IVb i IVc1. Ovakav slijed grobova iz tumula u Brezju već je zbog stratigrafske situacije malo vjerojatan. Iako Fiala ne daje gotovo nikakve informacije o stratigrafiji tumula, činjenica je da je ovo jedini humak na Glasincu u kojem su tri groba kneževskog ranga, od kojih je jedan smješten u središnjem dijelu tumula. Sva tri groba iz starijega su željeznog doba, a u tumulu nema nikakvih naknadnih sahrana iz prapovijesnog razdoblja. U glasićkoj kulturi željeznog doba središnji grob u tumulu uvijek predstavlja najstariji ukop, te nema razloga za sumnju da je tako moralo biti i u slučaju "kneževskog" tumula

The dating of grave 1 from Brezje must be considered in the context of grave 2 from this tumulus, because the inventories of both graves indicate a chronological proximity. They are directly linked by imported bronze omphalos-phialai which are virtually identical in terms of both shape and dimensions, and which were a rather common product of the Graeco-Phrygian circle from the period spanning the 8th to 6th centuries.⁵⁶ These are thus forms that are not very sensitive to time and, as already seen, the closest parallels to these phialai from the princely graves in Ilijak correspond to the older products of this type, i.e., the high and late Glasinac phase IVb. Besides weapons – a spearhead and sword, grave 1 also contained two whetstones which, as already stated point to the examples from Ilijak and Glasinac phase IVb (Fig. 2. 12; 3. 2; 4. 2). The flat-moulded belt buckles from these two graves are almost identical, while the large button-shaped knob on the buckle from grave 1 indicates a form that may have preceded the examples with calotte-shaped knobs typical of phase IVc1.⁵⁷

It is typical that there were no weapons at all in grave 2, while among the jewellery the older forms of arc fibulae with a Boeotian shield stand out, as do the ring fibulae which are considered certain elements of Glasinac phase IVc1.⁵⁸ This period is further indicated by the belt buckle with calotte-shaped middle section from this grave, which had already belonged to the more highly developed forms, also typical of phase IVc1.⁵⁹ On the other hand, there are elements in grave 1 which point to the preceding developmental phase. Besides weapons (iron spearhead and Glasinac-type sword also made of iron), two whetstones were found here, which, truth be told, lacked bronze sockets, but with their form and dimensions they recall the examples with decorated sockets from the princely graves in Ilijak and Glasinac phase IVb. The flat moulded belt buckles from the two graves are virtually identical, while the large button-shaped knob on the buckle from grave 1 has a rudimentary form which may have preceded the more developed calotte-shaped examples of phase IVc1 (cf. Fig. 2 and 3). All of this indicates that these two graves were chronologically very close, but not contemporaneous. Grave 1, in which a man and warrior was interred, lacks the notable elements of Glasinac phase IVc. This would mean that this grave belonged to the final stage of phase IVb and in the time of the initial Ha C2, i.e., in the final quarter

59 Čović 1987, str. 610.

60 Kilian 1975, str. 59; Čović 1987, str. 606 nap. 152.

61 Ibid.

62 Čović 1987 l.c. Radi se o središnjem grobu tumula II nekropole Urakë u dolini rijeke Mati.

56 Cf. Čović 1987, pp. 591-592; Jašarević 2014, pp. 59-61.

57 Cf. Benac, Čović 1957, Pl. XXIII. 2, 3, 16.

58 Čović 1987, pp. 603, 608.

59 Benac, Čović 1957, Pl. XXIII. 17; Čović 1987, p. 610.

iz Brezja.⁶³ Tipološke značajke grobnih priloga samo potvrđuju tu logičnu konstataciju. Premda pojasnu kopču iz groba 3 Čović smatra unikatnim nalazom na Glasincu,⁶⁴ treba reći da ona ima dosta blisku analogiju u grobu IV,1 iz Brankovića,⁶⁵ koji zbog nedovoljne očuvanosti ostalih nalaza može biti samo šire opredijeljen u okviru faza IVb i IVc. Istovjetne zarezne rupe kao i primjerak iz Brezja posjeduje pojasna kopča iz groba Potpećine II,1, koja je tipična forma faze IVb,⁶⁶ a sličan oblik ima i kopča iz groba Ilijak III,4, koja također pripada razdoblju Glasinac IVb.⁶⁷ Važne analogije ovim arhaičnim oblicima su pojasne kopče tipa Mülhau u Austriji i one iz faze Ib Donje Doline. U oba slučaja radi se o vremenu kasnog HaB, što bi odgovaralo glasinačkoj fazi IVa.⁶⁸ Te kopče imaju isti oblik i ornamentiku kao Brezje, jedino što su im kuke za kvačenje asimetrične, te se zbog toga ne mogu smatrati izravnom paralelom, nego prototipom primjerku iz Brezja i ostalim pojasnim kopčama sa simetričnim kukama koje, kako pokazuju njihovi konteksti nalaza, nikako ne mogu biti starije od faze IVb.

Od jednosjeklog mača iz Brezja sačuvan je samo donji dio, što otežava tipološko opredjeljenje, ali on u osnovi odgovara formama sa T-drškom, kakve se na Glasincu pojavljuju već u fazi IVb.⁶⁹ Na kraju, bitna kronološka referenca je i brus iz ovoga groba koji i po dimenzijama i po načinu vezivanja znatno odskače od ostalih s Glasinca. Najbližu i jedinu analogiju tom brusu nalazimo u grobu 269 iz nekropole Vukovar - Lijeva bara u Slavoniji, koji je datiran u rani HaC1 (sl. 5. 10).⁷⁰ To bi odgovaralo početku faze Glasinac IVb, odnosno vremenu oko 800-750 BC, što bi, prema svemu iznesenom, bila i najvjerojatnija datacija groba 3 iz Brezja. Prema tome, ovaj grob se pokazuje ne samo kao najstariji ukop u tumulu iz Brezja nego i kao prva grobna cjelina na Glasinačkom području u kojoj se pojavljuju ukrašeni kameni brusovi.

Prema iznesenim kronološkim pokazateljima, glasinački grobovi s luksuznim brusovima mogu se svrstati u tri stupnja, uglavnom u okvirima faze Glasinac IVb, i to s najvećom koncentracijom na njezino mlađe razdoblje, odnosno na drugu polovinu 8. st. pr. Kr.:

I. Brezje, grob 3: rana faza Glasinac IVb - rani HaC1 - 800-750 BC;

of the 8th century BC (725-700 BC). Consequently, grave 2, which is by all indications a woman's burial and which is chronologically very close to it, directly followed this period and correspond to the transitional Glasinac phase IVb-IVc1, the early HaC2, or roughly 700 BC. Such dating for these two graves, although without further backing arguments, was at one time suggested by both Čović and Kilian.⁶⁰

By far the greatest problem is the specification of grave 3 from this tumulus, which, it would appear, has an unjustifiably low dating. Kilian and Čović considered this grave the youngest in this tumulus.⁶¹ Čović cited as the main argument for this certain spatially rather distant analogies for the belt buckle from this grave, which indicate the time of Glasinac IVc1-2.⁶² This is difficult to accept, given that this buckle has an archaic form with a flat edge (Fig. 4. 3), which would have to have had preceded the examples with petals from the late Glasinac phases IVb and IVc1. Such a sequence of graves from the tumulus in Brezje is somewhat unlikely due to the stratigraphic situation, if nothing else. Even though Fiala did not provide any information on the stratigraphy of the tumulus, the fact is that this is the only mound at Glasinac containing three graves of potentate rank, of which one was situated in the middle of the tumulus. All three graves are from the older Iron Age, and there were no subsequent burials in the tumulus during the prehistoric era. In the Iron Age Glasinac culture, the middle grave in a tumulus is always the oldest burial, and there is no reason to doubt that this was also the case in the "princely grave" from Brezje.⁶³ The typological features of the grave goods only confirm this logical assertion. Even though the belt buckle from grave 3 is considered by Čović a find unique to Glasinac,⁶⁴ it should be noted that it has a considerably close analogy in grave IV.1 from Brankovići,⁶⁵ which due to the insufficient preservation of the remaining finds can only be more broadly placed within the framework of phases IVb and IVc. Notches on the edge identical to those on the example from Brezje can be seen on the belt buckle from Potpećine grave II.1, which is a typical form for phase IVb,⁶⁶ and the buckle from Ilijak grave III.4 has a similar shape, which also belongs to the period of

63 Usp. Govedarica 1978, str. 28; Govedarica 2010, str. 6.

64 Čović 1987, str. 610.

65 Usp. Lucentini 1981, T. II. 7.

66 Lucentini 1981, T. XII. 5.

67 Benac, Čović 1957, str. 39, T. XV. 1.

68 Kilian-Dirlmeier 1975, str. 49-51, T. 10. 94, 95; Marić 1964, T. 5. 3.

69 Čović 1959, str. 77, T. VIII. 1; Čović 1987, str. 591.

70 Vinski-Gasparini 1973, str. 163-164, T. 125. 3.

60 Kilian 1975, p. 59; Čović 1987, p. 606, nap. 152.

61 Ibid.

62 Čović 1987 I. c. This is the central grave of tumulus II in the Urakë necropolis in the valley of the Mat River.

63 Cf. Govedarica 1978, p. 28; Govedarica 2010, p. 6.

64 Čović 1987, p. 610.

65 Cf. Lucentini 1981, Pl. II. 7.

66 Lucentini 1981, Pl. XII. 5.

II. Ilijak, grob XIII,1: sredina faze Glasinac IVb - razvijeni Ha C1 - oko 750 BC;

III. Ilijak II,1; Osovo II,1; Brezje 1: kasna faza Glasinac IVb - početak HaC2 - 725-700 BC.

4. O funkciji luksuznih brusova u “kneževskim” grobovima na Glasincu

Kako proizilazi iz dosadašnjeg izlaganja analiza karakterističnih elemenata, a dobrim dijelom i tipološke odlike ukrašenih kamenih brusova koje do sada u kronološkim razmatranjima uglavnom nisu uzimane u obzir, rezultirala je novom i preciznijom slikom vremenskog slijeda glasinačkih “kneževskih” grobova koji sadrže takve, paradne brusove. Posebno je značajna nova datacija groba 3 iz Brezja, koja pokazuje da se ovdje radi o najranijem ukopu iz okvira skupine grobova s ukrašenim brusovima. Time se pokazalo da je ovaj grob vremenski paralelan, ako ne i stariji od groba Ilijak III, 9, koji je do sada smatran najranijim od svih “kneževskih” grobova s Glasinca.⁷¹ Tumul iz Brezja se i inače izdvaja u odnosu na ostale humke koji su sadržavali ovakve bogate ukope. To je jedini humak koji nije u skupini, nego čini izdvojenu cjelinu, moglo bi se reći zasebnu nekropolu koja sadrži samo “kneževske” grobove, od kojih je jedan bio u središnjem dijelu. U svim ostalim slučajevima za koje postoje podaci (Ilijak II, Osovo II), uključujući i one kasnije “kneževske” grobove koji nisu imali brusove (Čitluci I,5 i Arareva gromila 1), radi se o humcima koji su bili sastavni dio veće ili manje skupine tumula, s grobovima koji su položeni na širem prostoru humka.⁷²

Pozicioniranje najvažnijih ukopa na periferiji tumula svakako je neobična pojava, jer se takvi grobovi u brončanom i željeznom dobu zapadnog Balkana redovno nalaze u središnjem dijelu, osim u slučajevima kad je središte humka imalo neku posebnu kulturnu namjenu.⁷³ Premda je zbog slabe dokumentacije situacija na Glasincu prilično nejasna, prema postojećim podacima može se pretpostaviti da su tokom željeznog doba postojala tri tipa tumula u kojima su sahranjivani pokojnici višeg ranga. Jedno su klasični kupasti tumuli poput onog iz Brezja, koji su i inače u najširoj upotrebi, pri čemu se oni s kneževskim ukopima izdvajaju jedino po dimenzijama. Drugi tip su humci s kamenim platformama, kao Ilijak II ili Arareva gromila, a treći tip bili bi oni koje Fiala obilježava kao “gomile na oblik gradca”, zbog toga što po obliku

Glasinac IVb.⁶⁷ An important analogy to these archaic forms are the belt buckles of Mülhau type in Austria and those from phase Ib at Donja Dolina. Both cases fall into the time of the late HaB, which would correspond to Glasinac phase IVa.⁶⁸ These buckles have the same shape and ornamentation as in Brezje, only their fastening hooks are asymmetric, and because of this they cannot be considered direct parallels, but rather a prototype for the example from Brezje and other belt buckles with symmetric hooks which, as demonstrated by their find contexts, cannot be older than phase IVb.

Only the lower part of the single-edged sword from Brezje has been preserved, which renders a typological classification difficult, but it basically corresponds to the forms with a cross-hilt, which already appeared in Glasinac in phase IVb.⁶⁹ Finally, an essential chronological reference is also the whetstone from this grave, which in terms of dimensions and binding method deviates considerably from the rest from Glasinac. The closest, and sole, analogy to this whetstone can be found in grave 269 from the Vukovar-Lijeva bara necropolis in Slavonia, which has been dated to the early HaC1 (Fig. 5. 10).⁷⁰ This would correspond to the beginning of Glasinac phase IVb, i.e. roughly 800-850 BC, which would, based on everything stated thus far, be the most likely dating for grave 3 from Brezje. Therefore, this grave not only appears to be the oldest burial in the tumulus from Brezje but also the first grave unit in the Glasinac area in which whetstones have appeared.

Based on the presented chronological indicators, the Glasinac grave with their luxury whetstones may be classified into three stages, generally within the framework of Glasinac phase IVb, with the highest concentration in its younger period, i.e., the latter half of the 8th century BC:

Brezje, grave 3: early Glasinac phase IVb - early HaC1 - 800-750 BC;

Ilijak, grave XIII.1: middle of Glasinac phase IVb - high Ha C1 - ca. 750 BC;

Ilijak II.1; Osovo II.1; Brezje 1: late Glasinac phase IVb - beginning of HaC2 - 725-700 BC.

71 Benac, Čović 1957, str. 31, 36; Čović 1979, str. 149; Govedarica 2002, str. 318, T. 3.

72 Čović 1979, str. 143 i dalje.

73 Usp. Govedarica 2010, str. 6.

67 Benac, Čović 1957, p. 39, Pl. XV. 1.

68 Kilian-Dirlmeier 1975, pp. 49-51, Pl. 10. 94, 95; Marić 1964, Pl. 5. 3.

69 Čović 1959, p. 77, Pl. VIII. 1; Čović 1987, p. 591.

70 Vinski-Gasparini 1973, pp. 163-164, Pl. 125. 3.

podsjećaju na minijaturnu gradinu (Osovo II).⁷⁴ Tumuli s platformom javljaju se i u kasnom brončanom dobu, ali veoma rijetko, dok je onaj tipa "gradca" potpuno nepoznat u ranijim razdobljima.⁷⁵ Šira zastupljenost humki s platformom očigledno je vezana s razvojem plemenske hijerarhije i poglavarskog sustava, do čega je došlo u u starijem željeznom dobu.⁷⁶

Pri pokušajima interpretacije luksuznih brusova kao žezla, tj. simbola poglavarske vlasti otežavajuća je okolnost činjenica da na Glasincu postoje i "kneževski" grobovi koji nemaju takve brusove (Ilijak III, 9, Čitluci I, 5, Arareva gromila 1). B. Čović taj nedostatak objašnjava kronološkim razlikama, navodeći da su najstariji i najmlađi kneževski grobovi kao oznaku vlasti imali bojnu sjekiru umjesto brusa.⁷⁷ Međutim, ta smjena simbola na relaciji oružje - oruđe - oružje teško je prihvatljiva bez dodatnih argumenata socijalnoga i kulturnog karaktera, kojih barem za sad nema. Osim toga, već smo pokazali da se u slučaju groba 3 iz Brezja koji je imao brus i groba III, 9 iz Ilijaka koji nema brus, ne radi o dijakroničnim, nego o približno sinkroničnim grobovima. To otvara mogućnosti za dijametralno različite zaključke u pogledu karaktera luksuznih brusova i samih grobova u kojima su nalaženi: bogati grobovi uopće nisu poglavarski; bogati grobovi su poglavarski ali bez pravih oznaka individualne vlasti (bez žezla); bogati grobovi su poglavarski, s različitim oznakama individualne vlasti (različita žezla).

Kad su u pitanju brusovi, treba reći da su oni prije svega alatke koje se u raznim oblicima koriste još od paleolitika za finu obradu koštanih, drvenih, a kasnije i kamenih proizvoda. Kao grobni prilozni na europskom su prostoru prisutni od 4. milenija prije Krista, odnosno od vremena prve pojave dugih metalnih sječiva koja je povremeno trebalo zaoštriti. Od tada su poznati duguljasti primjerci s perforacijom za uzicu kojom su se kvačili za pojas. Ovakvi brusovi često su prilagani u kombinaciji s bodežima, što već

74 Ovakvi humci krajnje su neobična pojava, koja izvan Glasinca uopće nije poznata. Nisam u potpunosti uvjeren da se ovdje radi o autentičnom spomeniku, jer nije isključeno da su u pitanju gomile čiji je središnji dio neko prethodno pokušavao nestručno iskopavati. Pri tome je nasip iz sredine prebacivan uokrug na periferiju humka, koji je time dobio na visini na račun središnjeg dijela. No to je zasad samo moguća pretpostavka, čija potvrda zahtijeva opsežnija istraživanja. F. Fiala navodi više primjera ovakvih gomila na "oblik gradca" (Fiala 1892, str. 418, 421), pa za sada tu njegovu definiciji, uz navedeni oprez, prihvaćamo.

75 Čović 1963, str. 49.

76 O ovome Babić 2004, str. 77 i dalje.

77 Čović 1987, str. 623.

4. On the function of luxury whetstones in the "princely" graves at Glasinac

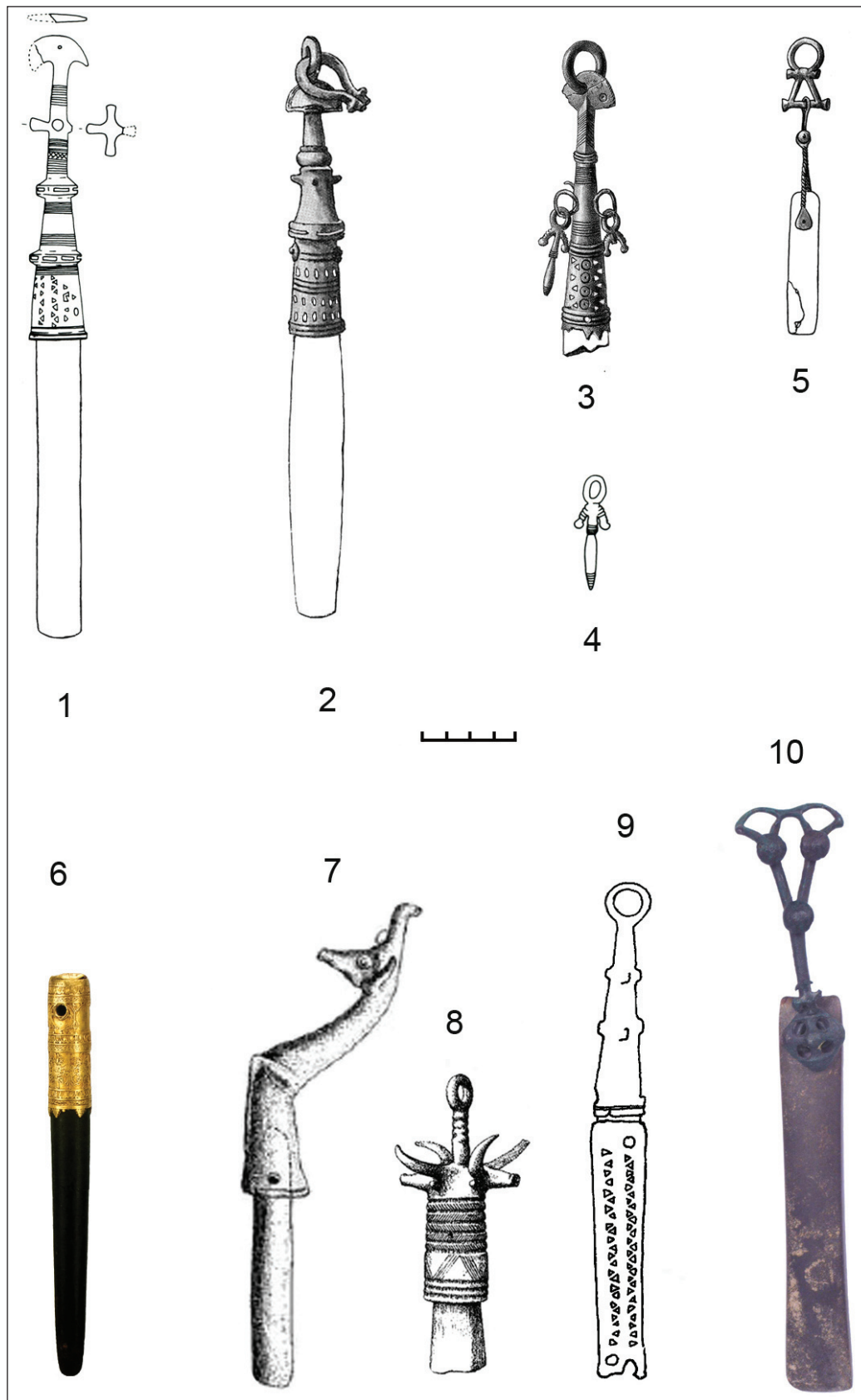
The preceding presentation of the analysis of typical elements and, to a great degree, the typological qualities of decorated whetstones thus far not taken into account in chronological considerations has resulted in a new and more precise picture of the chronological sequence of the Glasinac "princely" graves that contained such ceremonial whetstones. The new dating of grave 3 from Brezje is particularly significant, as it shows that this was the earliest burial within the framework of the group of graves containing whetstones. This has shown that this grave was chronologically parallel, if not older than, Ilijak grave III, 9, which has thus far been considered the oldest of all "princely" graves at Glasinac.⁷¹ The tumulus from Brezje otherwise stands out in relation to the remaining mounds that contained such rich burials. This was the only mound not in a group, rather it constitutes a separate unit, and possibly even a separate necropolis that contains only "princely" graves, of which one was in the middle section. In all other cases for which there are data (Ilijak II, Osovo II), including those from the later "princely" graves that did not contain whetstones (Čitluci I, 5 and Arareva gromila 1), these are mounds which were components of larger or smaller tumulus groups, with graves arranged in the wider space of the mound.⁷²

The positioning of the most important burials in the periphery of the tumulus was certainly an unusual phenomenon, because such graves in the western Balkans during the Bronze and Iron Ages were situated in the central section, except in cases when the middle of the mound had some separate cult purpose.⁷³ Although the situation at Glasinac is rather ambiguous due to poor documentation, based on existing data one may assume that during the Iron Age there were three tumulus types in which persons of higher rank were buried. One consists of the classic dome tumuli such as those from Brezje, which were otherwise the most commonly used, wherein those with "princely" burials differed only by their dimensions. The second type consisted of mounds with stone platforms, such as Ilijak II or Arareva gromila, while the third type consisted of those which Fiala characterised as "fort mounds," as their shape recalled miniature hillforts

71 Benac, Čović 1957, pp. 31, 36; Čović 1979, p. 149; Govedarica 2002, p. 318; Abb. 3.

72 Čović 1979, pp. 143 ff.

73 Cf. Govedarica 2010, p. 6.



Sl. 5. Ukrašeni kameni brusovi, 1: Ilijak XIII,1; 2: Ilijak II,1; 3-4: Osovo II,1; 5: Brezje 3; 6: Tumul Kul` Oba, Krim; 7: grob Bard-i Bal, Luristan; 8: Kaptol, Tumul X, grob 1; 9: Kaptol Tumul IX, grob 2; 10: Vukovar, Lijeva Bara, grob 269

Fig. 5. Decorated whetstones, 1: Ilijak XIII,1; 2: Ilijak II,1; 3-4: Osovo II,1; 5: Brezje 3; 6: Tumul Kul` Oba, Krim; 7: Bard-i Bal grave, Luristan; 8: Kaptol, Tumulus X, grave 1; 9: Kaptol Tumulus IX, grave 2; 10: Vukovar, Lijeva bara, grave 269

predstavlja set vezanih nalaza koji upućuje na ratnika, simbolizirajući oštrinu i snagu njegova oružja. No izuzme li se luksuzno obrađeni brus iz bogatog groba u Majkopu koji se datira na početak brončanog doba sjevernog Kavkaza,⁷⁸ kod brusova iz grobova tog razdoblja redovito se radi o jednostavnim alatima bez ikakvih ukrasnih detalja.

Bronca je još uvijek previše mek materijal, koji se lako tupi i brzo troši, tako da brusovi do punog izražaja dolaze tek s pojavom željeznih mačeva, noževa i drugih oštrica, čiji je materijal čvršći, manje podložan oštećenjima, i može se bolje oštriti. U željeznodobnim grobovima brusovi se osobito često prilažu uz željezne mačeve. Tako se umjesto brončanodobne kombinacije brusa i bodeža sada može govoriti o kombinaciji brusa i mača, kao ratničkim simbolima koji se naslanjaju na staru tradiciju.

Kameni brusovi dosta su česti u kimerijskim grobovima od sjevernog Kavkaza pa do Panonije, ali među njima uopće nema ukrašenih primjeraka.⁷⁹ Najstariji primjerci s ukrašenim usadnikom susreću se u grobovima faze Ib-IIa željeznog doba Luristana u zapadnom Iranu. Ta faza je datirana u razdoblje između 1150 i 900 BC.⁸⁰ Završetci drške, odnosno usadnika ovih brusova izvedeni su u obliku životinjskih glava u tipičnom stilu "luristanske bronce" (sl. 5. 7). Sljedeća pojava, koja započinje otprilike 100 do 150 godina nakon nestanka luristanske faze, su glasinački luksuzni brusovi i njihove paralele u Slavoniji i iz okvira skupine Martijanec - Kaptol koji, kako smo naveli, pokrivaju 8. stoljeće (sl. 5. 1 - 5. 8, 9). U ovu grupu bi spadao i nedavno otkriveni brus sa brončanim okovom sa delmatskog područja.⁸¹ Gotovo 200 godina nakon te glasinačke etape paradni brusovi još će jednom stupiti na povijesnu scenu. Ovaj put radi se o grobovima iz skitskih kurgana na području istočne Europe i sjevernog Ponta iz vremena od kraja 6. do kraja 4. st. pr. Kr. (Vettersfelde, Čertomyk, Borodjanski kurgan, Vladimirovka i dr.).⁸² Skitski brusovi su od škrljeveca, sa zlatnom, rjeđe srebrnom, oplatom na gornjem perforiranom dijelu, koja je često bogato ukrašena u maniri grčke toreutike (sl. 5. 6).⁸³

Važno je napomenuti da se ukrašeni brusovi na svim područjima njihove pojave redovito prilažu zajedno s oružjem, što upućuje na široku rasprostranjenost

(Osovo II).⁷⁴ Tumuli with platforms albeit very rarely, also appeared in the late Bronze Age, while the "fort" type was entirely unknown in earlier periods.⁷⁵ The wider presence tumuli with platforms was obviously tied to the development of tribal hierarchies and the chieftain system, which emerged in the older Iron Age.⁷⁶

Attempts at interpretation of the luxury whetstones as sceptres, i.e., symbols of chiefly authority, were made tenuous by the fact that there are "princely" graves at Glasinac which did not contain such whetstones (Ilijak III, 9, Čitluci I, 5, Arareva gromila 1). B. Čović explained this absence by chronological differences, stating that the oldest and youngest princely graves contained battle-axes rather than whetstones as symbols of authority.⁷⁷ However, this substitution of symbols, from a weapon to an implement, is difficult to accept without additional arguments of a social and cult character, which are thus far lacking. Furthermore, it has already been shown that in the case of grave 3 from Brezje, which contained a whetstone, and grave III, 9 from Ilijak, which had no whetstone, they were not diachronous but rather roughly synchronous graves. This opens the possibility for diametrically opposed conclusions with regard to the character of luxury whetstones and the actual graves in which they were found: the rich graves were not those of rulers; the rich graves were those of rulers, but without genuine designations of individual authority (without sceptres; the rich graves were those of rulers, with different symbols of individual authority (different sceptres).

On the topic of whetstones, it should be noted that they were above all implements used in various forms since the Palaeolithic for the fine finishing of bone, wooden and later stone products. As grave goods in Europe, they were present as of the fourth millennium

78 Piotrovskij 1998, str. 242, sl. 291; Govedarica 2002a, str. 781 i dalje; Korenevskij 2012, str. 24.

79 Vgl. Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, str. 398 i dalje; Ivantchik 2001, T. 59. 8; 61. 3; 62. 12.

80 Overlaet 2005, str. 12, T. 6. 13.

81 Marijan 1995, str. 56-57, T. 1. 5; 2. 5.

82 Polin 2014, str. 124.

83 Eremitage 1997, str. 71.

74 Such mounds were extremely unusual phenomena, which are unknown outside of Glasinac. I am not entirely convinced that it is in fact a genuine monument here, as the possibility that somebody had attempted to unprofessionally excavate the central part previously cannot be discounted. In such a process, the filler material from the middle would have been deposited on the circumference of the mound's edges, thus making it higher at the expense of the central part. But so far this is only a plausible hypothesis, and its confirmation would require far more extensive research. F. Fiala cited several examples of such mounds "shaped like forts" (Fiala 1892, pp. 418, 421), so his definition, with the aforementioned caution, will be accepted.

75 Čović 1963, p. 49.

76 On this see Babić 2004, pp. 77 ff.

77 Čović 1979, p. 165; Čović 1987, p. 623.

nost i dugo trajanje tradicije ratničkih obilježja koja je u Europi uspostavljena u prvoj polovini 4. milenija pr. Kr. (početak brončanog doba na sjevernom Kavkazu) i koja neposredno proistječe iz njihove utilitarne funkcije. Luksuzna izvedba primjeraka iz bogatih grobova ratničke aristokratije željeznog doba svakako potencira simbolično značenje ovih alatki, ali ne isključuje njihovu upotrebnu funkciju, niti staru ratničku simboliku, već je dodatno naglašava, i to, čini se, u većoj mjeri nego što upućuje na određenog nositelja vlasti. S druge strane, postojanje tri prethodno navedena, međusobno izolirana razdoblja egzistencije luksuznih brusova tokom prvog milenija pr. Kr., i to na različitim i udaljenim prostorima, pokazuje da ti paradni brusovi nisu mogli biti osnovni nositelji ratničke simbolike i njezine tradicije. Tu su ulogu imali obični utilitarni primjerci, koji se manje-više kontinuirano javljaju zajedno s oružjem u grobovima brončanog i željeznog doba. Ukrašeni primjerci se, nasuprot tome, mogu više promatrati kao jedan od elemenata demonstracije raspoloživog luksuza, a time i moći, ali ne kao izraz individualnog bogatstva, kojeg u plemensko-poglavarskom sustavu nije moglo ni biti,⁸⁴ nego kao sastavni dio statusa članova visoko rangiranog društvenog sloja u zajednicama željeznog doba.

Pojava paradnih brusova na Glasinačkom području koja, kako smo vidjeli, započinje u prvoj polovici 8. st. pr. Kr., sa središnjim grobom iz Brezja, u potpunosti se uklapa u prethodno navedenu shemu, s tim što je zbog specifične lokalne situacije to ovdje jasnije izraženo negoli na drugim područjima. Ta pojava koincidira s masovnim prilaganjem oružja počevši od faze IVb, što bi moralo biti odraz dramatičnih socijalnih zbivanja i uspona ratničkog sloja koji je s tim povezan. S druge strane, nedostatak oružja u grobovima srednjega i kasnog brončanog doba jasno upućuje da na Glasincu nema kontinuiteta ratničke tradicije, te će običaj polaganja oružja i općenito jačanje uloge ratnika biti uvjetovani nekim širim procesima koji su zahvatili ovaj dio Europe. Jedan od bitnih impulsa mogao je biti prodor Kimerijaca na prostor Panonije, čiji se prvi tragovi datiraju u 9. st. pr. Kr. (Ha B3), ali se u punoj mjeri osjećaju i početkom idućeg razdoblja.⁸⁵ U tom pravcu govore i veze sa Slavonijom, gdje se kimerijski i zapadnobalkanski (vjerojatno glasinački) elementi međusobno prožimaju.⁸⁶ Imajući u vidu naglašenu dramatiku događanja, nije isključeno da je na toj relaciji bilo i oružanih sukoba. Preko Kimerijaca je do Glasinca stigla i ratnička simbolika brusova i

BC, i.e., since the time of the first appearance of long metal blades which required occasional sharpening. Since that time, longish examples were known, with perforations for a string to hang them from belts. Such whetstones were often deposited together with daggers, which constituted sets of related finds which indicated a warrior, symbolizing the sharpness and power of his weapons. But if one excludes the luxuriously worked whetstone from the rich grave in Majkop, which has been dated to the beginning of the Bronze Age in the northern Caucasus,⁷⁸ the whetstones from the graves of this era were regularly simple implements without any decorative details.

Bronze is an excessively soft material, which dulls easily and wears rapidly, so that whetstones only came into their own with the appearance of iron swords, knives and other blades, as this material is sturdier and less prone to damage, and can be more easily sharpened. In Iron Age graves, whetstones were often deposited together with swords. Thus, in place of Bronze Age combination of whetstones and daggers, now one can speak of a combination of whetstones and swords, as warrior symbols with roots in an old tradition.

Whetstones were quite frequent in graves from the northern Caucasus to Pannonia, but there are no decorated examples among them.⁷⁹ The oldest examples with decorated sockets can be found in the graves of Iron Age phase Ib-IIa at Luristan in western Iran. This phase has been dated to the period between 1150 and 900 BC.⁸⁰ The ends of the handle, or rather socket, on these whetstones were rendered in the shape of animal heads in the style typical of the "Luristan bronzes" (Fig. 5. 7). The subsequent phenomenon, which began roughly 100 to 150 years after the disappearance of the Luristan phase, consisted of the Glasinac luxury whetstones and their parallels in Slavonia and from the framework of the Martijanec-Kaptol group which, as stated, covered the 8th century (Fig. 5. 1 - 5. 8, 9). The recently discovered whetstone with mount from Delmataean territory would also belong in this group.⁸¹ Almost 200 years after this Glasinac stage, ceremonial whetstones appeared on the historical stage one more time. This time it was in the graves of the Scythian kurgans in Eastern Europe and northern Pontus from the end of the 6th to the end of the 4th

84 Vidi Babić 2004, str. 38 i dalje.

85 Ivantchik 2001, str. 122; Potrebica 2002, str. 195 i dalje.

86 Vinski-Gasparini 1987, str. 197 i dalje.

78 Piotrovskij 1998, p. 242, Fig. 291; Govedarica 2002a, pp. 781 ff.; Korenevsky 2012, p. 24.

79 Vgl. Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, pp. 398 ff.; Ivantchik 2001, Abb. 59. 8; 61. 3; 62. 12. A good typological overview of whetstones from the Cimmerian territory was also provided by Burghardt 2012.

80 Overlaet 2005, p. 12, Pl. 6. 13.

81 Marijan 1995, pp. 56-57, Pl. 1. 5; 2. 5.

mačeva, kao i običaj njihova prilaganja u grobovima. Ali kako luksuznih primjeraka kod Kimerijaca uopće nema, to će paradni brusovi iz ovoga, glasinačkog razdoblja njihove egzistencije, biti autohtona nadgradnja tog na ovom području potpuno novog običaja. Luksuzna izrada ovdje dakle ne znači i promjenu tradicionalne simbolike, nego je samo jedan od skupa elemenata koji potenciraju izobilje, i to ne kao izraz bogatstva samog pokojnika, nego prije svega kao pokazatelj statusa i moći novonastale glasinačke “aristokracije” i kao odraz snage društvene zajednice na čijem čelu ona stoji.

Da je ta ratnička simbolika bila novina na Glasincu, pokazuje i nedosljednost njezine primjene, jer u isto vrijeme postoje reprezentativni grobovi s ovim obilježjima i bez njih. Ta nedosljednost je čini se i jedno od osnovnih obilježja glasinačkih “kneževskih” grobova. Ona pokazuje da ta nova ratnička elita još nije bila uspjela uspostaviti jasne simbole koji bi u sebi sadržavali specifičan kôd vlasti. Tu nije postojalo nikakvo žezlo, nego je sveukupno bogatstvo grobnih priloga, a posebno luksuzni import, uključujući i predmete kulturnog značenja, bilo glavno obilježje statusa velikaša. Ratna simbolika izražena u kombinaciji mača i brusa, koja je prisutna u nekim od ovakvih grobova, također nije bila obilježje individualizirane vlasti, nego oznaka pripadnosti sloju ratnika koji su postali vladajuća klasa. Navedena nedosljednost u primjeni ratničke simbolike mogla bi upućivati i na druge vrste socijalnog raslojavanja u glasinačkom starijem željeznom dobu, kao što je postojanje ratničke, civilne i duhovne aristokracije, no u tu tematiku ovdje ne možemo dublje zalaziti.

Na ovome je mjestu bitno naglasiti da u reprezentativnim i bogatim grobovima koje nazivamo kneževskima prije možemo prepoznati lokalnu elitu u čijoj su vlasti bile rodbinske zajednice iz brojnih mikroregija glasinačke oblasti, negoli neke vrhovne vođe koji vladaju čitavim područjem. Jednog ustoličenog poglavara čija bi se vlast prostirala na čitavo Glasinačko područje u to doba vjerojatno nije ni bilo, nego je u slučaju potrebe, i samo tada, takvu funkciju dobivao neki od lokalnih glavara, jedan od onih čijim smo se grobovima ovdje bavili.

centuries BC (Vettersfelde, Chertomlyk, Borodino kurgan, Vladimirovka, etc.).⁸² The Scythian whetstones are made of shale, with gold, and more rarely, silver lining in the upper articulated section, which is often opulently decorated in the manner of the Greek toreutics (Fig. 5. 6).⁸³

It is vital to note that decorated whetstones in all areas in which they appeared were regularly deposited in graves together with weapons, which points to the wide distribution and long duration of the tradition of warrior features which was established in Europe in the first half of the fourth millennium BC (beginning of the Bronze Age in the northern Caucasus) and which directly ensued from their utilitarian function. The luxury rendering of the examples from the rich graves of the Iron Age warrior aristocracy certainly underscores the symbolic significance of these tools, but does not exclude their practical use nor older warrior symbolism, rather it reinforces the latter – to a greater degree, it would appear, than indicating a specific power-holder. On the other hand, the existence of the three previously cited, mutually discrete periods of the existence of luxury whetstones during the first millennium BC in different and mutually distant locales, shows that ceremonial whetstones could not be the core carriers of military symbolism and its traditions. This role was played by ordinary utilitarian examples, which more or less appeared in continuity with weapons in Bronze and Iron Age graves. The decorated examples, on the other hand, may be viewed more as an element which demonstrated available luxury, and thereby power, but not as an expression of individual wealth, which could not even have existed in a tribal-chieftain system,⁸⁴ but rather as an integral component of the status of members of a high-ranking class in Iron Age communities.

The appearance of ceremonial whetstones in the Glasinac area which, as shown, began in the first half of the 8th century BC in the central grave in Brezje, entirely corresponds to the previously-cited scheme, although because of the specific local situation it was more clearly delineated here than in other areas. This phenomenon coincided with the mass depositing of weapons, beginning in phase IVb, which would have to have been a reflection of dramatic social events and the ascent of the warrior class related thereto. On the other hand, the absence of weapons in the graves of the middle and late Bronze Age clearly indicate that there was no continuity of the warrior tradition at Glasinac, and that the custom of depositing weapons and the

82 Polin 2014, p. 124.

83 Eremitage 1997, p. 71; Burghardt 2012, p. 16.

84 See Babić 2004, pp. 38 ff.

general enhancement of the role of warriors would be conditioned by certain broader processes which took hold in this part of Europe. One of the essential impulses may have been the incursion of the Cimmerians into Pannonia, as the first traces of this have been dated to the 9th century BC (Ha B3), although it was felt to the fullest measure at the onset of the subsequent period.⁸⁵ Ties with Slavonia also point in this direction, as the Cimmerian and western Balkan (probably Glasinac) elements intermingled there.⁸⁶ Keeping in mind the notably dramatic nature of events, the possibility of armed conflicts in this direction cannot be excluded, either. The warrior symbolism of whetstones and swords, and the custom of laying them in graves, arrived in Glasinac via the Cimmerians. But since there were no luxury items at all among the Cimmerians, the ceremonial whetstones from this, Glasinac period of their existence must have then been an indigenous adaptation of this entirely new custom in the area. The luxury craftsmanship here therefore need not mean a change in traditional symbolism as well, but rather just one of a group of elements which emphasized abundance, and not as an expression of the wealth of the deceased individual, but rather above all as an indicator of the status and power of the newly-emergent Glasinac "aristocracy" and as a result of the strength of the community which this individual headed.

That this warrior symbolism was a novelty at Glasinac is shown by the inconsistency in its application, because there were at the same time typical graves with and without these features. This inconsistency was, it would appear, one of the basic features of the Glasinac "princely" graves. It shows that this new warrior elite had still not managed to establish clear symbols that would contain a specific code of authority. There were no sceptres here, but rather an overall wealth of grave goods, and particularly luxury imports, and including items with cult significance, were the primary markers of the status of magnate. Warrior symbolism expressed in the combination of a sword and whetstone, which was present in some of such graves, was also not a reflection of individualized authority, but rather a sign of belonging to the warrior caste which became the ruling class. The aforementioned inconsistency in the application of warrior symbolism may also indicate other types of social stratification in older Iron Age Glasinac, such as the existence of a warrior, civilian and spiritual aristocracy, but this topic cannot be examined here with any greater depth.

Here it is important to stress that in the typical and wealthy graves which we call princely, we may first

85 Ivantchik 2001, p. 122; Potrebica 2002, p. 195 ff.

86 Vinski-Gasparini 1987, p. 197 ff.

and foremost recognize a local elite who held authority over kinship communities from the numerous micro-regions of the Glasinac district, rather than some supreme leaders who ruled the entire area. There was very likely not a single enthroned chieftain whose reign extended over the entire Glasinac area in that era, but rather in cases of need, and only then, such a function was probably accorded to one of the local headmen, one of those whose grave has been considered herein.

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