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Many shades of translucent:  
amphoriskos-shaped glass beads  
from Vičja luka

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Prehistoric graves from Vičja luka on the Island of Brač in Dalmatia, Croatia, were known for over 48 years in the scientific literature. They were recently revised and reinterpreted on several occasions, stressing that numerous grave goods bear witness to cultural or trading influences from different directions. Building upon the discussion presenting the re-examination of graves 3 and 4, this paper presents further arguments for the interpretation of the site as a redistribution centre mediating between Mediterranean civilisations and prehistoric Europe. On the basis of artefacts such as amphoriskos-shaped glass beads, glass seals, and finger rings it is possible to supplement the reconstruction

Mnogo nijansi prozirnog:  
staklene perle u obliku  
amforiska iz Vičje luke

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Prapovijesni grobovi iz Vičje luke na otoku Braču u Dalmaciji, Hrvatska, u znanstvenoj su literaturi poznati više od 48 godina. Nedavno su u nekoliko povoda revidirani i reinterpretirani, pri čemu su istaknuti brojni grobni prilozi koji svjedoče o kulturnim ili posredničkim utjecajima iz različitih smjerova. Temeljem rasprave o ponovnom vrednovanju grobova 3 i 4, u ovome radu predstavljaju se dodatni argumenti za tumačenje toga mjesta kao središta preraspodjele dobara između sredozemnih civilizacija i prapovijesne Europe. Na temelju predmeta, poput staklenih perli u obliku amforiska, staklenih pečatnjaka i prstenja, moguće je nadopuniti rekonstrukciju poveznica istoč-

of connections linking the eastern Adriatic social elites into the wider networks of economic and ideological currents of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.

*Keywords: Eastern Adriatic Coast, Vičja luka, Iron Age, grave goods, amphoriskos-shaped glass beads, glass seals, rings*

nojadranske društvene elite sa širim mrežama gospodarskih i ideoloških strujanja tijekom 5. i 4. st. pr. Kr.

*Ključne riječi: Istočna jadranska obala, Vičja luka, željezno doba, grobni prilozi, staklene perle u obliku amforiska, stakleni pečatnjaci, prstenje*

## The world in a small place

The eastern Adriatic coast, with its prehistoric centres of trade and production, where the flow of luxury goods from all the surrounding regions in the contact zone between the Mediterranean, the Alps and the Central Balkans, is one of the rare regions of the ancient world where finds of material culture can be used for the demonstration of the fluid creation of local identities negotiating their social and political status trapped in spheres of political and economic interests imposed by superpowers of that days.

Rare graves from the discussed territory enable us to demonstrate these global processes of economic and cultural integrations on one, and individual mechanism of negotiating identities, on the other side. Through the perspective of multiculturalism, these societies did not only acquire exotic items and ascribe to them a specific symbolic value but with the inclusion in to networks of trade and cultural mediations played an active role in the processes of cultural and economic exchange between the small places interlinked creating a global network.

These profound modifications of primary economies, present on the territory of the Adriatic basin from the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, were created by cultural traits influenced and transferred by the penetrations of Mediterranean economies and propaganda arriving with the establishment of colonies and emporia as well as military strongholds. New, considered precious, objects of material culture such as military equipment, luxurious ceramic and metal vessels were recognised as major factors in the transformation process of local communities and especially in the creation of local military and economic elites. Following the distance-decay principles imposed upon the economic end information value of imported items, the territory of the eastern Adriatic coast acted as a network of contact and crossing points mediating between different "Worlds".<sup>1</sup>

The presence of such an economic and cultural attractor, an contact point in to which influences flew together to become internalised on the spot and redistributed back, following the same routes, could be illustrated by a detail interpretation of grave goods present in several graves from Vičja luka on the island of Brač from the territory of central Dalmatia.<sup>2</sup> Although known for half a century,<sup>3</sup> they comprise items which,

## Svijet u malome mjestu

Istočna jadranska obala, kao područje doticaja Sredozemlja, Alpa i središnjeg Balkana, sa svojim je prapovijesnim trgovačkim i proizvodnim središtima, u kojima se odvijao optok luksuznih dobara iz svih navedenih prostora, jedno je od rijetkih krajeva antičkog svijeta gdje se nalazi materijalne kulture mogu koristiti za prikazivanje stvaranja mjesnih identiteta. Ujedno, ondje se obavljalo posredovanje različitih društvenih i političkih statusa obuhvaćenih u djelokrugu političkih i ekonomskih interesa nametnutih od velesila toga doba.

S predmetnog su područja poznati iznimno rijetki grobovi koji nam omogućuju predstavljanje takvih globalnih procesa - gospodarskih i kulturnih integracija, s jedne, te pojedinačnih mehanizama posredovanja identitetima, s druge strane. Kroz perspektivu multikulturalizma ta društva nisu samo stjecala egzotične predmete, već su im pripisivala i određenu simboličku vrijednost. Uključivanjem u mreže posredničkih i kulturnih medijacija, igrala su aktivnu ulogu u procesima kulturne i gospodarske razmjene između povezanih malih mjesta koja su izgrađivala globalnu mrežu.

Takvo korjenito preinačavanje primarnoga gospodarstva, zastupljenog na području jadranskog bazena od kraja 6. st. pr. Kr., stvoreno je pod utjecajem kulturnih obilježja prenošenih prodiranjem sredozemnih ekonomija i njihovih propagandi koje su pristizale s osnivanjem kolonija, emporija pa i vojnih uporišta. Novi predmeti materijalne kulture poput vojne opreme, raskošnih keramičkih i metalnih posuda uvažavani su kao dragocjeni predmeti, prepoznavani kao glavni čimbenici u procesu pretvorbe lokalnih zajednica, posebno u stvaranju mjesnih vojnih i gospodarskih elita. Slijedeći princip porasta vrijednosti predmeta uvjetovano s povećanjem udaljenosti, nametnuto ekonomskom i informacijskom vrijednošću samih uvezenih predmeta, područje istočne obale Jadrana djelovalo je kao mreža doticaja i tranzicije, posredujući pri tom između različitih "svjetova".<sup>1</sup>

Prisutnost takve kulturne i gospodarske doticajne točke, u kojoj su se slijevali utjecaji kako bi se na samom mjestu internalizirali i preraspodijeljeni vratili natrag prateći iste putove, moglo bi se ocrtavati detaljnom interpretacijom grobnih priloga iz nekoliko grobova u Vičjoj luci na otoku Braču, na području srednje Dalmacije.<sup>2</sup> Premda poznati već pola stoljeća<sup>3</sup>

1 Blečić Kavur 2012, pp. 158-164; Blečić Kavur 2015, pp. 43-47; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016.

2 Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016.

3 Marović, Nikolanci 1977; cf. Barbarić 2006; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016.

1 Blečić Kavur 2012, str. 158-164; Blečić Kavur 2015, str. 43-47; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016.

2 Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016.

3 Marović, Nikolanci 1977; usp. Barbarić 2006; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016.

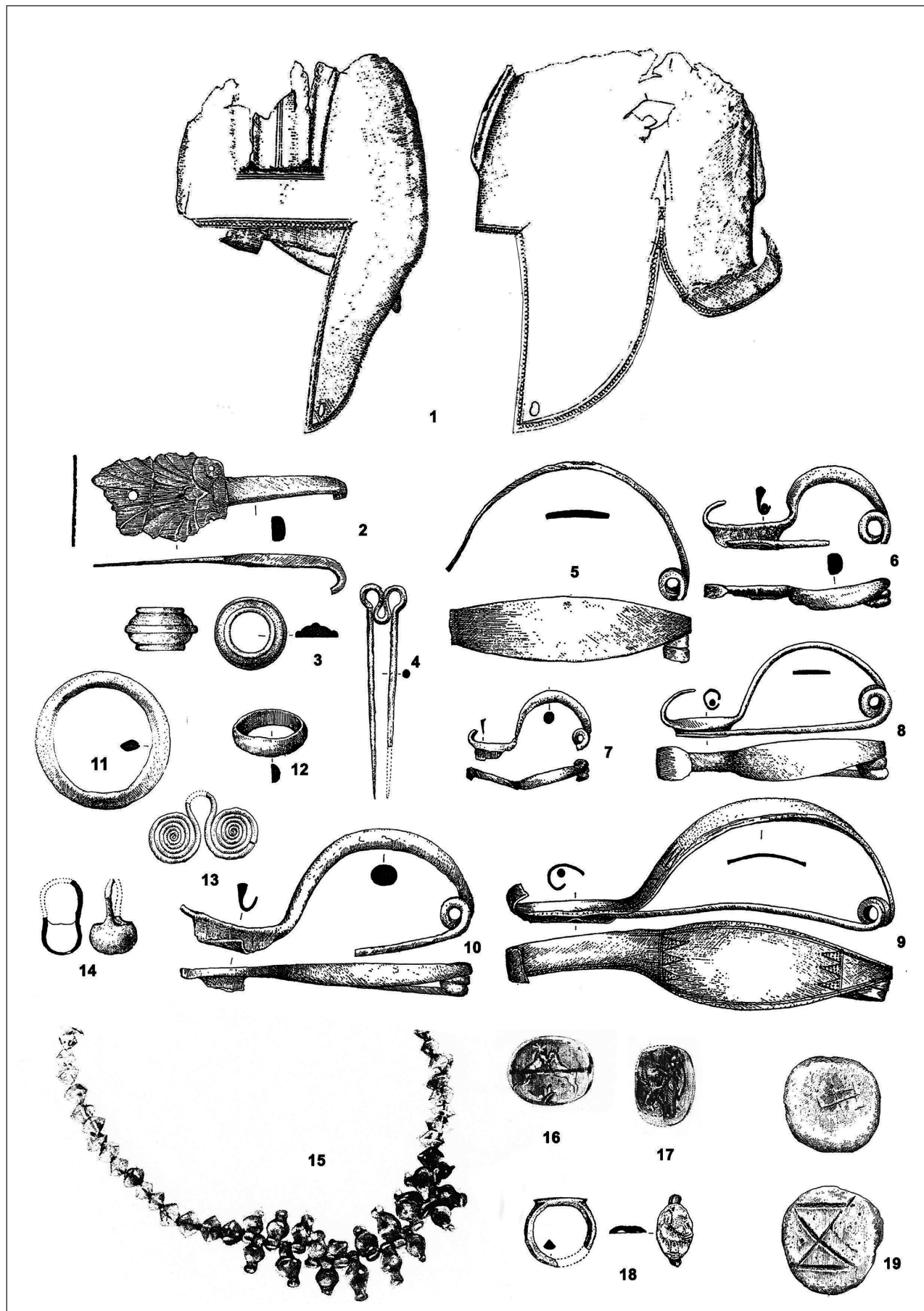


Fig. 1. Selection of finds from grave 4 of the necropolis in Vičja luka on the island of Brač (according to Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016)

Sl. 1. Izbor nalaza iz groba 4 nekropole u Vičjoj luci na otoku Braču (prema Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016)





Fig. 2. Two glass seals from grave 4. Courtesy of the Archaeological Museum of Split  
Sl. 2. Dva staklena pečatnjaka iz groba 4 (uz dopuštenje Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu)

interpreted in the cultural perspective of their time, can enable us today, moving from the observations and interpretations of individual items, to approach the formulation of new conclusions not only about the multicultural character of the buried societies and their intertwining into the economic currents of their time, but also about the wider processes based on political interests and agencies of ancient superpowers.

In a previous presentation, we attempted to present the today sometimes even hard to imagine amplex of different regions contributing to the creation of the preserved as well as to address the complexity of behaviour and practices involved in the creation of the discussed archaeological record.<sup>4</sup> Consequently, the present discussion will, although acknowledging several categories of finds, focus primarily on items interpreted as artisanal products deriving from the Macedonian or from the later influenced workshops in the Mediterranean.

Presenting the multicultural nature of the grave assemblage, we cannot evade the exceptional material legacy interpolating the attire in to the perspective of



Fig. 3. Glass necklace from grave 4. Courtesy of the Archaeological Museum of Split  
Sl. 3. Staklena ogrlica iz groba 4 (uz dopuštenje Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu)

sadrže predmete koji nam, interpretirani u kulturnom prostoru njihova doba, omogućuju oblikovanje novih zaključaka polazeći od promatranja i tumačenja upravo samih predmeta. Međutim, to se ne odnosi isključivo na multikulturni karakter ondje pokopanih zajednica i na njihovo povezivanje u ekonomskim strujanjima toga doba, već i na šire procese unutar političkih interesa i djelovanja antičkih velesila.

U prethodnoj smo raspravi nastojali predstaviti, ponekad i teško zamislivo, obilje iz različitih regija koje je pridonijelo uspostavljanju očuvanog arheološkog zapisa te naznačiti složenost ponašanja i praksi koje su bile uključene u njihovo tumačenje.<sup>4</sup> Premda se analizira samo nekoliko kategorija nalaza, usredotočiti ćemo se na one predmete koji se smatraju obrtničkim proizvodom makedonskog podrijetla ili potječu iz sredozemnih radionica koje su stvarale pod makedonskim utjecajem.

U predstavljanju multikulturnog značaja grobnih cjelina ne možemo izostaviti ni iznimnu materijalnu baštinu umetnutu u perspektivu jadranske kulturne

4 Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016.

4 Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016.

the Adriatic cultural *koiné*.<sup>5</sup> In the later perspective were interpreted items of attire as well as elements of armament. In the current discussion, we use the finds of two *glass seals* and light yellow *glass amphoriskos-shaped beads* to illustrate the position of Vičja luka in the networks of cultural and economic contacts ranging from ancient Macedonia to the Carpathian basin (Fig. 1).

Elements of attire, present in the graves, such as the fibula of the pseudocertosa type with a zoomorphic termination of the foot<sup>6</sup> were emblematic for the territory of the eastern Adriatic coast and its directly related hinterland as one of the guiding forms of fibulae of the Adriatic *koiné*.<sup>7</sup> In to the same cultural framework could be included the basket-shaped pendants with a rounded bottom (Fig. 1).<sup>8</sup> Arriving from the opposite direction, from the so-called Balkan cultural *koiné*, were numerous artefacts such as the double pins and the pins with the loop-shaped head which were most numerous represented on the territory of southern and western Balkans and on central and south-eastern Adriatic coast (Fig. 1).<sup>9</sup>

Another *iconic* Italic emblem, observable in the framework of the Adriatic cultural *koiné*, was a belt hook with a palmette discovered in grave 4 (Fig. 1).<sup>10</sup> Further, a massive bronze ring discovered in the same grave was interpreted as a part of a hoplite sauroter (Fig. 1).<sup>11</sup> Perhaps the most striking elements of defensive armament were helmets of the Illyrian type. In grave 3 was discovered a helmet of the III B type - characteristic for the territory of the south-western part of Balkan Peninsula,<sup>12</sup> while in grave 4 was unearthed a helmet of the III A2-b type particularly distinctive for the territory of Dalmatia (Fig. 1).<sup>13</sup> On the other

*koiné*,<sup>5</sup> kojom su tumačeni predmeti nošnje i pojedini dijelovi vojne opreme. Za ocrtavanje položaja Vičje luke u spletu tih kulturnih mreža i gospodarskih kontakata, od antičke Makedonije sve do Karpatske kotline, ovom raspravom usmjerit ćemo se na dva *staklena pečatnjaka* i svijetložute *staklene perle u obliku amforiska* (sl. 1).

Pojedini dijelovi nošnje zastupljeni u grobovima bili su obilježjem područja istočne obale Jadrana i njegovog izravno povezanog zaleđa, kao što je fibula tipa pseudocertosa s zoomorfnim zaključkom nožice,<sup>6</sup> jedan od vodećih oblika fibula jadranske *koiné*.<sup>7</sup> U isti kulturni okvir uključeni su i košarasti privjesci sa zaobljenim dnom (sl. 1).<sup>8</sup> Iz suprotnog smjera, iz tzv. balkanske kulturne *koiné* prispijevali su brojni predmeti poput dvojnih igala i igala s glavom u obliku petlje, najbrojnije zastupljenima na području južnoga i zapadnog Balkana te na središnjoj i južnoj obali istočnog Jadrana (sl. 1).<sup>9</sup>

Još jedan *kultni* italski znak, u sklopu jadranske kulturne *koiné*, bila je pojasna kopča s palmetom istražena u grobu 4 (sl. 1).<sup>10</sup> Nadalje, masivni brončani prsten iz istoga groba protumačen je kao dio hoplitskog saurotera (sl. 1).<sup>11</sup> Ipak, vjerojatno najzanimljiviji elementi obrambenog naoružanja bile su kacige ilirskog tipa. U grobu 3 istražena je kaciga III. B tipa, karakteristična za prostor jugozapadnog dijela balkanskog poluotoka,<sup>12</sup> dok je u grobu 4 iskopana kaciga III. A2-b tipa, osobito svojstvena području Dalmacije (sl. 1).<sup>13</sup> S druge strane, u grobu 2, istražen je i primjerek kacige ilirskog III. A2-a tipa tipičnog za područje

5 Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016.

6 Marović, Nikolanci 1977, p. 18, Fig. 9.5.

7 Peroni 1976, p. 97, Fig. 1.6; Blečić Kavur, Podrug 2014, pp. 64-65; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, pp. 240-241, Fig. 3.

8 Warneke 1999, pp. 126, 128-129, Fig. 63; Teßmann 2007; Blečić Kavur 2015, pp. 86-89; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, p. 241.

9 Marović, Nikolanci 1977, p. 21, Fig. 10.1; Barbarić 2006, pp. 50-51; Vasić 2003, pp. 100-101; Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011, pp. 34-40; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, p. 245.

10 Marović, Nikolanci 1977, pp. 29, 41-42, Fig. 15.2; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, pp. 241-244, Fig. 5.

11 Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, p. 248.

12 Marović, Nikolanci 1977, p. 21-22, Fig. 11; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, p. 245, Fig. 6; Blečić Kavur 2017, pp. 47, 50, Fig. 11.

13 Marović, Nikolanci 1977, p. 30, Fig. 16; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, pp. 73-82, Figs. 14, 17.1; Blečić Kavur,

5 Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016.

6 Marović, Nikolanci 1977, str. 18, sl. 9.5.

7 Peroni 1976, str. 97, sl. 1.6; Blečić Kavur, Podrug 2014, str. 64-65; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, str. 240-241, sl. 3.

8 Warneke 1999, str. 126, 128-129, sl. 63; Teßmann 2007; Blečić Kavur 2015, str. 86-89; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, str. 241.

9 Marović, Nikolanci 1977, str. 21, sl. 10.1; Barbarić 2006, str. 50-51; Vasić 2003, str. 100-101; Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011, str. 34-40; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, str. 245.

10 Marović, Nikolanci 1977, str. 29, 41-42, sl. 15.2; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, str. 241-244, sl. 5.

11 Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, str. 248.

12 Marović, Nikolanci 1977, str. 21-22, sl. 11; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, str. 245, sl. 6; Blečić Kavur 2017, str. 47, 50, sl. 11.

13 Marović, Nikolanci 1977, str. 30, sl. 16; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, str. 73-82, sl. 14, 17.1; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, str. 245-247, sl. 6; Blečić Kavur 2017, str. 46-48, sl. 11.

hand in grave 2, an example of an III A2-a type helmet was discovered, typical for the area of the western Balkan and Macedonia.<sup>14</sup> Perhaps the most important old discovery was mentioned in 1900 by Frane Bulić.<sup>15</sup> His description refers to the most luxurious type of Illyrian helmets of III A1-b type which were most probably produced in ancient Macedonia.<sup>16</sup>

Typological heterogeneity of the attire, demonstrating numerous areas of origins ranging from the "East" to the "West", follows exactly the same pattern observable in the origins of weaponry. The deceased buried in Vičja luka can be recognised as the reflection of a community that acted as a multicultural attractor on the eastern Adriatic coast, as a point of intersection between different cultural *koiné* and a confluence where most recognisable material elements from different cultural traditions joined creating a unique archaeological record. All the above shortly mentioned artefacts represent symbols of different traditions, of different communities from the Mediterranean, south-eastern and Central Europe. They are reflections of the pleasures people took in associations – both in terms of connections as well as rivalries.

### Many shades of glass light

Accentuating the geopolitical importance and multicultural role of these societies are special artefacts among which the two discovered glass seals could be described as carriers of peculiar symbolic information (Fig. 1).<sup>17</sup> They were of larger dimensions, cast from the light-yellow glass with greenish shade and horizontally perforated. On the more damaged seal is depicted an image of Herakles holding a winged lion/lioness (Fig. 1.17; 2), while the second, better preserved seal, is adorned with a depiction of two confronting standing goats (Fig. 1.16; 2).<sup>18</sup> Production of light coloured,

zapadnog Balkana i Makedonije.<sup>14</sup> Možda najznačajniji nalaz navodio je godine 1900. Frane Bulić.<sup>15</sup> Njegov se opis odnosio na ulomke najluksuznijeg III. A1-b tipa ilirskih kaciga, koje su, najvjerojatnije, također proizvođene u antičkoj Makedoniji.<sup>16</sup>

Tipološka heterogenost nošnje slijedi dakle isti obrazac koji je vidljiv i u podrijetlu oružja, jer ono također pokazuje različita obrtnička podrijetla. Pokojnici pokopani u nekropoli Vičje luke bili su dio zajednice koja je djelovala kao multikulturni atraktor istočne obale Jadrana, na točki križanja između različitih kulturnih *koiné*, gdje su predmeti prepoznati iz drugačijih kulturnih tradicija spojeni u jedinstveni arheološki zapis. Svi sažeto navedeni nalazi materijalne kulture reprezentacija su simbola različitih običaja od Sredozemlja do jugoistočne i srednje Europe. Oni su odraz užitaka koje su ljudi doživljavali u međusobnom privlačenju - kako u pogledu povezanosti tako i u pogledu suparništva.

### Mnogo nijansi staklene svjetlosti

Pri naglašavanju geopolitičke važnosti i multikulturne uloge tih društava posebni predmeti, poput dva staklena pečatnjaka, mogu biti dočarani kao nositelji osobitih simboličkih vrijednosti (sl. 1).<sup>17</sup> Većih su dimenzija, lijevani od svijetložutog stakla zelenkaste nijanse i vodoravno perforirani. Na oštećenijem pečatnjaku prikazan je Heraklo koji drži krilatog lava/lavicu (sl. 1.17; 2), dok je drugi, bolje očuvani pečatnjak ukrašen prikazom dvaju konfrontiranih stojećih koza (sl. 1.16; 2).<sup>18</sup> Izradba svijetlih ili tzv. bezbojnih, prozirnih staklenih pečatnjaka vrhunac popularnosti dosegla je u 4. st. pr. Kr. Tada su se masovno proizvodili u makedonskim radionicama koje su se, prema usporedbi ponajviše s gliptičkom umjetnošću,

Kavur 2016, pp. 245-247, Fig. 6; Blečić Kavur 2017, pp. 46-48, Fig. 11.

14 Marović, Nikolanci 1977, p. 11, Fig. 4; Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011, pp. 53-63, Fig. 15; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, p. 63-73, Figs. 12, 14; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, pp. 245-247, Fig. 6.

15 Bulić 1900, p. 27.

16 Blečić 2007, p. 82-87; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, p. 57-61; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, pp. 247-248, Fig. 6.

17 Marović, Nikolanci 1977, p. 29, Fig. 15.7, Pl. VII, IX; Nikolanci 1976, p. 276-277, Pl. III.6-7; Majnarić-Pandžić 1998, p. 322-324, Fig. 144; Kukoč 2011, Fig. 31a; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, p. 81-82, Figs. 17.16-18; Ignatiadou 2012; Ignatiadou 2013, p. 204-205, Fig. 168.1; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, 248-249.

18 Marović, Nikolanci 1977, p. 29, Fig. 15.7, Pl. VII, IX; Majnarić-Pandžić 1998, Fig. 144; Ignatiadou 2013, Fig. 168.1.

14 Marović, Nikolanci 1977, str. 11, sl. 4; Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011, str. 53-63, sl. 15; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, str. 63-73, sl. 12, 14; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, str. 245-247, sl. 6; Blečić Kavur, str. 36-38, sl. 4.

15 Bulić 1900, str. 27.

16 Blečić 2007, str. 82-87; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, str. 57-61; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, str. 247-248, sl. 6.

17 Marović, Nikolanci 1977, str. 29, sl. 15.7, T. VII, IX; Nikolanci 1976, str. 276-277, T. III.6-7; Majnarić-Pandžić 1998, str. 322-324, sl. 144; Kukoč 2011, sl. 31a; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, str. 81-82, sl. 17.16-18; Ignatiadou 2012; Ignatiadou 2013, str. 204-205, sl. 168.1; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, str. 248-249.

18 Marović, Nikolanci 1977, str. 29, sl. 15.7, T. VII, IX; Majnarić-Pandžić 1998, sl. 144; Ignatiadou 2013, sl. 168.1.



or so-called colourless transparent, glass seals reached its peak of popularity in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC when they were massively manufactured in Macedonian workshops which, according to comparisons from mainly glyptic art, small sculpture or representations on coins, could be located in the Pydna area.<sup>19</sup> The motive of two standing confronting goats, as observable on one of the seals, is emblem of Macedonian art, jewellery and depictions on coinage from the 4<sup>th</sup> century on - the most striking similarities could be found on the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC coins from Amphipolis.<sup>20</sup> While the heroic depiction of Herakles in the form of a bearded and naked male remained a favourite motive from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards - especially on elongated seals for the decoration of finger rings. Consequently, almost identical analogies could be observed on the territory of Halkidiki, e.g. at the seals from Olynthus.<sup>21</sup>

Seals from Vičja luka interpreted in different ways,<sup>22</sup> were imported items of formally and stylistically characterised superior artistic creations which could be closely linked to the late Classic Macedonian cultural environment and dated approximately earlier than the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>23</sup> They had in their essence a many-sided value since we know that their primary function in that period was that of stamping and with the later the warranty of presence, of direct connections and of means of identifications.<sup>24</sup> The decorative or apotropaic power of glass seals is recognisable in their use as jewellery, especially as pendants, as specific gifts (*doron*), dedicated votives and as recognisable gifts of Macedonian aristocracy and diplomacy.<sup>25</sup>

Second group of glass items discovered in graves 3 and 4 in Vičja luka were transparent yellow amphoriskos-shaped glass beads (Fig. 1.15; 3).<sup>26</sup> These special items were discussed in the last two decades on several occasions, and authors observed their regional

malom skulpturom ili s prikazima na kovanicama, mogle nalaziti na području Pidne (*Pydna*).<sup>19</sup> Motiv dviju stojećih konfrontiranih koza vidljiv na jednom od pečatnjaka poseban je simbol makedonske umjetnosti, nakita i prikaza na kovanicama od 4. stoljeća nadalje - s najzanimljivijim sličnostima kod novčića iz Amfipolisa iz 2. st. pr. Kr.<sup>20</sup> Herojski prikaz Herakla u liku bradatog i golog muškarca postao je pak omiljeni motiv tijekom 4. stoljeća i dalje, naročito na izduženim pečatima koji su ukrašavali prstenje. Posljedično, gotovo istovjetne analogije možemo naći i na području Halkidike, npr. na pečatnjacima iz Olinta.<sup>21</sup>

Pečatnjaci iz Vičje luke, interpretirani dosad na različite načine,<sup>22</sup> uvezeni su predmeti datirani otprilike u sredinu 4. st. pr. Kr. Formalno i stilski obilježavaju vrhunska umjetnička ostvarenja usko povezana s kasnoklasičnom makedonskom kulturnom sredinom.<sup>23</sup> Posjedovali su brojne vrijednosti - u to vrijeme njihova primarna namjena bila je žigosanje kojim se označavalo jamstvo prisutnosti, neposrednu vezu i prepoznavanje.<sup>24</sup> Dekorativna ili apotropejska moć staklenih pečatnjaka zapažena je i u njihovoj nakitnoj primjeni, osobito kao privjesaka, kao posebnih darova (*doron*), posvećenih votiva te prepoznatljivih darova makedonske aristokracije i diplomacije.<sup>25</sup>

Drugu skupinu staklenih predmeta nađenih u grobovima 3 i 4 u Vičjoj luci čine prozirne žučkaste staklene perle u obliku amforiska (sl. 1.15; 3).<sup>26</sup> O tim se posebnim predmetima tijekom posljednja dva desetljeća raspravljalo u nekoliko prigoda. Pojedini su autori razmatrali regionalne ili kulturno specifične pojave njihove prisutnosti i rasprostranjenosti. Prvi važniji prikaz objavio je Petar Popović, detaljno obrađujući nalaze iz jadranske i osobito srednjobalkanske regije, nadopunjujući ih nalazima iz Karpatske kotline (sl. 4).<sup>27</sup> Raspravljajući o njihovu podrijetlu,

19 Boardman 1970, pp. 210-211; Ignatiadou 2012; Ignatiadou 2013, pp. 328-330, 334-336.

20 Ignatiadou 2013, pp. 204-205, Fig. 168.2; Ignatiadou 2014, p. 49, Pl. VIII.1.

21 Ignatiadou 2013, p. 204, Figs. 167.1-3; cf. Marović, Nikolanci 1977, p. 48, fn. 113.

22 Marović, Nikolanci 1977, pp. 47-48; Batović 1974, p. 218; Majnarić-Pandžić 1998, pp. 322-324; Barbarić 2006, pp. 55-56.

23 Ignatiadou 2013, pp. 204-205; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, p. 249.

24 Boardman 1970, pp. 13-15; Nestorović 2005, p. 13.

25 Plantzos 1999; cf. Ignatiadou 2013; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, p. 249.

26 Marović, Nikolanci 1977, Pl. VII, IX.1; Kukoč 2011, Fig. 31; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, Fig. 17.15; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, p. 248.

19 Boardman 1970, str. 210-211; Ignatiadou 2012; Ignatiadou 2013, str. 328-330, 334-336.

20 Ignatiadou 2013, str. 204-205, sl. 168.2; Ignatiadou 2014, str. 49, T. VIII.1.

21 Ignatiadou 2013, str. 204, sl. 167.1-3; usp. Marović, Nikolanci 1977, str. 48, bilj. 113.

22 Marović, Nikolanci 1977, str. 47-48; Batović 1974, str. 218; Majnarić-Pandžić 1998, str. 322-324; Barbarić 2006, str. 55-56.

23 Ignatiadou 2013, str. 204-205; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, str. 249.

24 Boardman 1970, str. 13-15; Nestorović 2005, str. 13.

25 Plantzos 1999; usp. Ignatiadou 2013; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, str. 249.

26 Marović, Nikolanci 1977, T. VII, IX.1; Kukoč 2011, sl. 31; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, sl. 17.15; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, str. 248.

27 Popović 1997; Popović 2000.



or cultural specific perspectives of their presence and distribution. A first major presentation was authored by Petar Popović which presented in detail finds from the Adriatic and especially Central Balkan region and supplemented the information with discoveries in the Carpathian basin (Fig. 4).<sup>27</sup> Discussing their origins, he noted their initial appearance in female burials in Macedonia, and then a spread along the eastern Adriatic littoral in to the western Balkans and the Carpathian basin. Those necklaces with multiple beads exhibited, according to his opinion clearly, the Celtic interest for the Mediterranean products – an interest which ceased after the failure of the Celtic campaign to the southern Balkans.<sup>28</sup>

In the year 2000, in the same volume in which P. Popović published his Italian translation of the initial 1997 paper, Stefania Vellani presented an overview of the presence of amphoriskos-shaped transparent glass beads on the western Adriatic coast and its hinterland (Fig. 4). She demonstrated that a modest amount of such finds from the Italic territory was coming in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC mostly from the northern territory, where they were discovered in small numbers in female and children's graves in multicultural trade centres on the Adriatic coast such as Adria and Spina and in the Celtic settlement of Monte Bibele. The most southern and most opulent find from Italy came from a female burial in the hypogeum in Via Molise in Canosa di Puglia where, amongst others, 99 beads were discovered.<sup>29</sup>

A few years later Martin Schönfelder included their presence in to a broader picture and tried to explain them in to the spectrum of finds following the Celtic unsuccessful raid towards Delphi (Fig. 4). Although mapping them, he assumed that their distribution from "... northern Greece, Illyria and along the Danube..." could explain their origins in mainly Greece but perhaps even Italy!<sup>30</sup>

Building upon the critique of his approach and data presented, Aurel Rustoiu published an excursus, demonstrating a much more complex situation with several finds newly discovered in eastern Balkans along the course of the Danube close to the Black Sea. In his discussion, he stressed the importance of finds discovered on the territory of today's Slovenia and used them to create a spatial bridge from the Adriatic basin across the south-eastern Pre-alpine region, following the ancient authors, and in to the Carpathian basin

zabilježio je kako se ponajprije nalaze u ženskim grobovima Makedonije, da se potom šire duž istočne jadranske obale, zatim prema zapadnom Balkanu i sjevernije po Karpatskom bazenu. Prema njegovu mišljenju, ogrlice s višestrukim perlama jasno su odražavale keltsko zanimanje za sredozemne proizvode - interes koji je nakon neuspješnih keltskih kampanja prema južnom Balkanu značajno oslabio.<sup>28</sup>

U isto vrijeme kada je P. Popović objavio talijanski prijevod izvornog članka iz 1997. godine, Stefania Vellani predstavila je 2000. godine pregled zastupljenosti prozirnih staklenih perli u obliku amforiska na zapadnoj jadranskoj obali i u njezinu zaleđu (sl. 4). Za italski prostor 4. st. pr. Kr. pokazala je skromnu količinu takvih nalaza koji su mahom potjecali iz sjevernijih područja. Ondje su malobrojno istraženi u ženskim i dječjim grobovima, i to u multikulturalnim trgovačkim središtima na jadranskoj obali - u Adriji i Spini, te u keltskom naselju Monte Bibele. Najjužniji i najbogatiji nalaz iz Italije potjecao je iz ženskog groba u hipogeju Via Molise u Canosi di Puglia gdje je, uz ostalo, nađeno čak 99 perli.<sup>29</sup>

Nekoliko godina kasnije njihovu je prisutnost u širu kulturnu sliku uključio i Martin Schönfelder, nastojeći ih objasniti u spektru nalaza povezanih uz posljedice keltskog neuspješnog napada na Delfe (sl. 4). Premda ih je kartirao, pretpostavljao je kako se rasprostranjenosti od "... sjeverne Grčke, Ilirije i duž Podunavlja ..." njihovo porijeklo može tražiti ponajprije u Grčkoj, a možda čak i u Italiji!<sup>30</sup>

Oslanjajući se na kritiku njegova pristupa i predstavljenih podataka, Aurel Rustoiu objavio je raspravu s nekoliko novonadenih nalaza na području istočnog Balkana, duž Podunavlja u blizini Crnog mora, ukazujući time na mnogo složeniju situaciju. U raspravi je naglasio i važnost nalaza istraženih na području današnje Slovenije, iskoristivši ih, slijedeći antičke izvore, za stvaranje prostornog mosta od jadranskog priobalja preko jugoistočnog predalpskog područja prema Karpatskoj kotlini (sl. 4).<sup>31</sup> Nekoliko godina kasnije dodatno je razradio svoju tvrdnju dijeleći njihovu rasprostranjenost na zapadno i istočno područje, pri čemu je zapadno područje, prema koncentraciji nalaza, podijelio u četiri zone.<sup>32</sup> Za zapadnu je zonu rasprostiranja, uključujući sjeverozapadni Balkan i Karpatsku kotlinu, pretpostavio opskrbu iz radionica jadranskog bazena i iz Grčke, gdje su zajedno sa

27 Popović 1997; Popović 2000.

28 Popović 1997; Popović 2000, pp. 274-275.

29 Vellani 2000, pp. 42-45, Fig. 1; cf. Ciampoltrini 1993, pp. 49-50, Fig. 18.5; Tori 2006, pp. 167-168.

30 Schönfelder 2007, pp. 308-309.

28 Popović 1997; Popović 2000, str. 274-275.

29 Vellani 2000, str. 42-45, sl. 1; usp. Ciampoltrini 1993, str. 49-50, sl. 18.5; Tori 2006, str. 167-168.

30 Schönfelder 2007, str. 308-309.

31 Rustoiu 2008, str. 52-57.

32 Rustoiu 2015, str. 367, sl. 3.

(Fig. 4).<sup>31</sup> A few years later he further elaborated his position by dividing their distribution into a western and eastern area, where the western one was further divided according to the concentration of finds into four zones.<sup>32</sup> He assumed that the western distribution zone including the north-western Balkans and the Carpathian basin was supplied by workshops from the Adriatic basin and Greece where the glass beads were traded together with coral beads.<sup>33</sup> The presence of amber beads made him link their trade also to the old routes colloquially known as the *Amber route* from which, crossing the territory of today's Slovenia, the beads were traded into the Carpathian basin and following the course of Drava and Sava rivers down the Danube. On the other hand the recent discovery of Kale Krševica in Serbia made him reflect again the Vardar - Morava corridor from Macedonia to the North.<sup>34</sup> In an innovative approach to interpretation he concluded that the distribution of amphoriskos-shaped glass beads, being the reflection of circulation of the later between societies in the Carpathian basin, should be observed in the perspective of economic and inter-community connections across wide areas. Although listing diplomatic agreements and gift exchanges he finally, due to the fact that these beads were elements of female attire, concluded that it could be assumed that the practice of exogamy played an important role in their circulation.<sup>35</sup>

Several arguments supplementing the detailed illustration of the phenomenon were contributed by Vera Bitrakova Grozdanova. When presenting the necklace from grave 150 from the necropolis Golem Grad on Prespa Lake, she listed several sites in Macedonia where such finds were discovered (Golem Grad, Delagožda, and Ždanec). As most of the authors before her, she noted that these beads were a link in the chain of production ranging from the archaic period in ancient Macedonia. As P. Popović before, she demonstrated that amphoriskos-shaped beads, elaborated in gold were a part of the elite attire in Ancient Macedonia (cemeteries of Derveni, Sedas, Pydna, Katerini, Lithi, and Sindos) and Thessaly (cemetery of Homolion).<sup>36</sup> Since the Macedonian workshops developed the art of production of light transparent glass in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, she concluded that later were the producer of amphoriskos-shaped glass beads. But their distribution was, according to her opinion following the route from

staklenim perlama prodavane i koraljne perle.<sup>33</sup> Na-  
zočnost jantarnih perli omogućila mu je pak povezi-  
vanje njihove trgovine sa starim rutama, kolokvijalno  
poznatim pod nazivom *jantarni put*. Njime su perle,  
prelazeći područje današnje Slovenije, slijedeći prav-  
ce niz rijeke Dravu i Savu sve do Dunava, posredova-  
ne dalje u prostranu Karpatsku kotlinu. S druge strane,  
noviji nalaz perli iz Kale Krševice u Srbiji potaknuo  
ga je da se ponovno osvrne na vardarsko-moravski  
koridor, koji je iz Makedonije vodio prema sjeveru.<sup>34</sup> U inovativnom pristupu interpretaciji, zaključuje  
kako se rasprostranjenost staklenih perli u obliku  
amforiska, kao odraz njihova kruženja među društvi-  
ma Panonskog bazena, treba promatrati u perspektivi  
gospodarskih i uzajamnih poveznica na prostranim  
područjima. Premda ih uvrštava u diplomatske daro-  
ve i razmjenu darova, konačno je, zbog činjenice što  
su te perle bile elementima ženske nošnje, zaključio  
s pretpostavkom po kojoj je važnu ulogu u njihovu  
optjecaju igrala upravo praksa egzogamije.<sup>35</sup>

Određene dokaze koji su nadopunili detaljan prikaz tog fenomena podastrla je i Vera Bitrakova Grozdanova. Prilikom predstavljanja ogrlice iz gro-  
ba 150 nekropole Golem Grad na Prespanskom jeze-  
ru, pribrojila im je druga nalazišta s istim nalazima  
u Makedoniji (Golem Grad, Delagožda i Ždanec).  
Poput većine autora prije nje, istaknula je kako su te  
perle bile poveznica u proizvodnom lancu u raspo-  
nu od arhaičnog razdoblja antičke Makedonije. Kao  
i P. Popović ranije, pokazala je da su perle u obliku  
amforiska izrađene od zlata bile dijelom elitne noš-  
nje antičke Makedonije (nekropole Derveni, Sedas,  
Pidna, Katerini, Lithi i Sindos) i Tesalije (nekropo-  
la Homolion).<sup>36</sup> Budući da su makedonske radioni-  
ce razvile umjetnost proizvodnje svijetloga, gotovo  
prozirnog stakla tijekom 4. st. pr. Kr., zaključila je da  
su te radionice bile proizvođačima i staklenih perli u  
obliku amforiska. Međutim, prema njezinu mišljenju,  
rasprostranjenost od Ždanca u skopskoj regiji preko  
Krševice kod Vranja, indikativna je za njihovo šire-  
nje iz Makedonije preko doline Morave sve do Srije-  
ma.<sup>37</sup> Nedavni nalazi, poput staklenih perli u obliku  
amforiska iz kuće 69 na Gradini na Bosutu,<sup>38</sup> samo  
dodaju još jednu točku među nalazima od juga Sr-  
bije (Kale Krševica)<sup>39</sup> do onih nađenih u požeškom

31 Rustoiu 2008, pp. 52-57.

32 Rustoiu 2015, p. 367, Fig. 3.

33 Rustoiu 2015, pp. 367-368.

34 Rustoiu 2015, pp. 368-269.

35 Rustoiu 2015, pp. 370-373.

36 Bitrakova Grozdanova 2011, pp. 168-171.

33 Rustoiu 2015, str. 367-368.

34 Rustoiu 2015, str. 368-269.

35 Rustoiu 2015, str. 370-373.

36 Bitrakova Grozdanova 2011, str. 168-171.

37 Bitrakova Grozdanova 2015, str. 78-81.

38 Medović, Medović 2011, str. 254, sl. 241.1.

39 Popović 2007, str. 817, sl. 3.13.

Ždanec in Skopje Region and Krševica near Vranje, indicative of the spread from Macedonia through Morava Valley to Srem.<sup>37</sup> Recent discoveries, such as the amphoriskos-shaped glass bead from house 69 in Gradina na Bosutu<sup>38</sup> only add another point between the finds in southern Serbia such as Kale Krševica<sup>39</sup> and the ones discovered in Požega basin.<sup>40</sup> There the discovered grave from Velika with its original assemblage as well as the additionally discovered finds demonstrate strong connections to the northern Carpathian basin as well as to the territory of Bosnia,<sup>41</sup> while the discoveries from Klasje near Gradac indicate with a great number of glass beads of different forms their connection to the north-east, this is the territory of late Early Iron Age Dolenjska region.<sup>42</sup>

When reading in detail the original report of Josip Brunšmid about the discovery in Sremska Mitrovica, most authors focused only on the glass and amber beads as well as the corals. Only rarely were the southern origins of the discovered fibulae drawn into attention, not to mention a mostly overlooked fact that the original report contained also the description of fragments belonging to a badly preserved bronze cup with everted rim, massive low foot and a handle reaching above the rim.<sup>43</sup> An observation, which could fit to a cup of *kylix* or *kantharos* type, a luxurious drinking cup produced massively in Macedonian workshops, but only rarely transcending the area of the Central Balkans into the Pannonian basin.<sup>44</sup>

At this point we have to return to the initial presentations published by P. Popović - he started his discussion by listing the finds from Delagožda and Ždanec in Macedonia and continued with Momišići, Vičja luka, and Dračevac.<sup>45</sup> Adding to this sequence also the finds from Isar - Marvinci (child burial 211),<sup>46</sup> and Golem Grad - Prespa (grave 150)<sup>47</sup> we are observing a trajectory, crossing the territory of today's Macedonia following the ancient communication which, centuries later, will become known in history as the *Via Egnatia* (Fig.4). Consequently, today it is recognized that the amphoriskos-shaped glass beads were mostly the

bazenu.<sup>40</sup> Ondje istražen grob u Velikoj, u svojoj izvornoj skupini i s dodatno otkrivenim nalazima, pokazuje snažne veze sa sjevernom Karpatskom kotlinom kao i s područjem Bosne,<sup>41</sup> a otkrića iz Klasja u blizini Gradca upućuju na velik broj staklenih perli različitih oblika, na njihovu povezanost sa sjeveroistokom i s područjem kasnoga starijeg željeznog doba Dolenjske.<sup>42</sup>

Većina autora, čitajući detaljno izvorno izvješće Josipa Brunšmida o nalazu iz Srijemske Mitrovice, usredotočila se isključivo na staklene, jantarne i koraljne perle. Rijetkima je pozornost privukla fibula južnog podrijetla. Izvorno izvješće sadržavalo je uglavnom i zanemarenu činjenicu opisa ulomaka koji pripadaju slabo očuvanoj brončanoj čaši s izvnutim obodom, masivnom niskom stopom i s visoko izdignutom ručkom.<sup>43</sup> Podrobnijim razmatranjem može se pridružiti čašama tipa *kylix* ili *kantharos*, raskošnim čašama koje su se masovno proizvodile upravo u makedonskim radionicama, ali koje su vrlo rijetko prelazile područje središnjeg Balkana u Panonsku nizinu.<sup>44</sup>

U ovome trenutku valja se stoga vratiti na početna izlaganja koja je objavio P. Popović - raspravu je započeo navodeći nalaze iz Delagožde i Ždanca u Makedoniji, a nastavio je s nalazima iz Momišića, Vičje luke i Dračevca.<sup>45</sup> Dodajući tom slijedu i nalaze iz Isar - Marvinaca (dječji ukop 211)<sup>46</sup> i iz Golem Grada - Prespa (grob 150),<sup>47</sup> promatramo putanju koja prelazi područje današnje Makedonije slijedom starije komunikacije koja će stoljećima kasnije postati poznata kao povijesna *Via Egnatia* (sl. 4).

Prema tomu, danas je prihvaćeno kako su te staklene perle u obliku amforiska bile proizvodima makedonskih radionica - kao raskošno simboličko dobro s kojim se u razdoblju makedonske kulturne, gospodarske i političke ekspanzije trgovalo i na Zapadu i na Sjeveru, pojačavajući time kontakte između keltskih zajednica i sredozemnih kultura u drugoj polovici 4. st. pr. Kr. A Vičja luka, stjecište kulturnih utjecaja iz okolnih regija, bila je još jedno središte za preraspodjelu na tom trgovačkom putu iz Makedonije preko istočne obale Jadrana. Tvrdnja se može dodatno potkrijepiti novim nalazima istraženima u grobu 34 u Dragišiću, gdje je nađena staklena perla u obliku

37 Bitrakova Grozdanova 2015, pp. 78-81.

38 Medović, Medović 2011, p. 254, Fig. 241.1.

39 Popović 2007, p. 817, Fig. 3.13.

40 Dizdar, Potrebica 2002.

41 Dizdar, Potrebica 2002, pp. 113, 125-128, Pl. 1-Pl. 4.

42 Dizdar, Potrebica 2002, pp. 114, 129, Pl. 5.

43 Brunšmid 1902, p. 80, Fig. 30; cf. Majnarić-Pandžić 2008, p. 96, Fig. 1.

44 Szabó 2000; cf. Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2010, pp. 73-76; Blečić Kavur 2015, pp. 191-195, Fig. 69.

45 Popović 1997; Popović 2000.

46 Mitrevski, Temov 1997, p. 141, Pl. II. 2-3, Fig. ж.

47 Bitrakova Grozdanova 2011, pp. 168-171.

40 Dizdar, Potrebica 2002.

41 Dizdar, Potrebica 2002, str. 113, 125-128, T. 1-T. 4.

42 Dizdar, Potrebica 2002, str. 114, 129, T. 5.

43 Brunšmid 1902, str. 80, sl. 30; usp. Majnarić-Pandžić 2008, str. 96, sl. 1.

44 Szabó 2000; usp. Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2010, str. 73-76; Blečić Kavur 2015, str. 191-195, sl. 69.

45 Popović 1997; Popović 2000.

46 Mitrevski, Temov 1997, str. 141, T. II. 2-3, sl. ж.

47 Bitrakova Grozdanova 2011, str. 168-171.



products of Macedonian workshops, a luxurious emblematic good, which was in the period of Macedonian cultural, economic and political expansion traded to the west and to the north, creating an intensification of the contacts between the Celtic community and the Mediterranean cultures in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. And Vičja luka, a point of confluence for cultural influences from the surrounding regions, was just another redistribution centre on the trade route from Macedonia across the eastern Adriatic coast. This claim could be further supported by new finds discovered in the grave 34 in Dragišić where an amphoriskos-shaped glass bead was discovered together with other glass and amber beads and a massive bronze ring, similar to the one we interpreted in Vičja luka as being an element of a sauroter (Fig. 4).<sup>48</sup>

When observing the wider distribution of amphoriskos-shaped glass beads, we can conclude that the majority of them was discovered in regional settlement centres which were interpreted not only as regional centres of power and production but as important links in chains of long-distance trade and cultural connections acting as redistribution centres. On the other hand in adjacent necropoles, they were discovered in female graves demonstrating a higher status of the deceased. Most of these burials included items originating from different sources and cultural backgrounds indicating that these glass beads were one of the important elements of “international fashion” consumed by individuals desiring to accentuate their social status. Such assemblages were created to clearly demonstrate the economic abilities of their owners to enter and perform a crucial role in the long-distance trade. By doing so they substituted their expressions of identity with symbols of their status, with the intercultural composition of their attire.

Although direct contacts following trade routes through the river-dissected Balkans were preferred in interpretations before, the old discoveries such as Sremska Mitrovica and new ones from Csepel Island might suggest that the trajectories were following a different spatial and strategic logic. In the last decade were discovered several female burials containing amphoriskos-shaped glass beads on the Csepel Island in Budapest in Hungary.<sup>49</sup> For several graves, such as 274, 444 and 538, included besides the amphoriskos-shaped glass beads also pendants made from Mediterranean corals and amber.<sup>50</sup> Observing their quantity and composition we can assume that the amphoriskos-

amforiska zajedno s drugim staklenim i jantarnim perlama i s masivnim brončanim prstenom, sličnom onome koji smo u Vičjoj luci interpretirali kao element saurotera (sl. 4).<sup>48</sup>

Promatrajući širu rasprostranjenost staklenih perli u obliku amforiska zaključujemo kako je većina njih istražena u naseljima koja su interpretirana ne samo kao regionalna središta moći i proizvodnje već i kao važne poveznice u trgovini na velikim udaljenostima i u kulturnim kontaktima, djelujući i kao središta za preraspodjelu. S druge strane, u nekropolama su nalažene u ženskim grobovima kojima se pripisivao viši status pokojnica. Većina tih ukopa uključivala je predmete različitih kulturnih izvora, pa su tako i staklene perle bile jedan od važnijih elemenata “međunarodne mode” kod pojedinaca ističući pritom njihov društveni status. Takvi su predmeti stvoreni kako bi jasno ukazivali na gospodarske sposobnosti njihovih vlasnika koji su igrali ključnu ulogu u trgovini na velikim udaljenostima. Na taj su način izričaj svog identiteta zamijenili statusnim simbolima, tj. s interkulturalnom kompozicijom svoje nošnje.

Iako su u prijašnjim raspravama bili preferirani neposredni doticaji trgovačkim putovima koji su slijedili balkanske rijeke, stari nalaz poput onog iz Srijemske Mitrovice i novi nalaz s otoka Csepel uvjeravaju da su putanje pratile nešto drugačiju prostornu i stratešku logiku. Naime, u posljednjem su desetljeću istraženi ženski grobovi sa staklenim perlama u obliku amforiska na otoku Csepel u Budimpešti u Mađarskoj.<sup>49</sup> Nekoliko je grobova, kao što su 274, 444 i 538, osim perli sadržavalo i privjeske od sredozemnih koralja i jantara.<sup>50</sup> Promatrajući njihovu količinu i sastav, možemo pretpostaviti da se trgovina s perlama u obliku amforiska, polazeći iz Makedonije i slijedeći pravce prema sjeveru i zapadu, ponovno potom spajala u komunikacijsku mrežu istočne i zapadne obale Jadrana, sjevernog Jadrana i njegova zaleđa, kao i zapadnog Balkana te jugoistočne predalpske regije s Karpatском kotlinom. U takvoj mreži međusobno povezanih središta moći i trgovine, u kojima je preraspodjela i optjecaj egzotičnih dobara stvorio pojedince koji su svoj status i položaj naglašavali stvaranjem međunarodne mode, makedonski su proizvodi odigrali relevantnu ulogu (sl. 4).

Nadalje, grob 274 s otoka Csepel sadržavao je osim dviju fibula te brojnih staklenih, jantarnih i koraljnih perli s ogrlica i perle u obliku amforiska, te još dva prstena od bronce. Izrađeni su lijevanjem s

48 Glogović 2014, p. 31, Pl. 24; cf. Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, p. 248.

49 Horváth 2016.

50 Horváth 2016, pp. 155-156, Pl. 4, 2, Pl. 5.1, 2.

48 Glogović 2014, str. 31, T. 24; usp. Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, str. 248.

49 Horváth 2016.

50 Horváth 2016, str. 155-156, T. 4, 2, T. 5.1, 2.



shaped beads trade departed from Macedonia following a route to the north and to the west which later again merged in to a communication network linking the eastern and western Adriatic coast; the northern Adriatic and its hinterland as well as the western Balkans and south-eastern Pre-alpine region with the Carpathian basin. A network of interlinked centres of power and trade in which the redistribution and circulation of exotic goods created individuals accentuating their status and position with the creation of an international fashion in which the Macedonian products played an important role (Fig. 4).

Further, the grave 274 from Csepe Island included, besides two fibulae and numerous glass, amber and coral necklace beads, as well as amphoriskos-shaped beads two bronze finger rings consisting from a hoop with an oval bezel cast in one piece and subsequently engraved with an image of a bird.<sup>51</sup> Due to their formal characteristics it could be ascribed to rings of Type VI according to the typology of John Boardman - items with an oval surface which were used mostly during the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>52</sup> Such examples made from bronze were, especially with depictions of domestic animals, particularly cocks, made less carefully than the golden and silver finger rings.<sup>53</sup>

Similar rings, attributed to Mediterranean production centres, appear also in Celtic cemeteries in northern Italy such as for instance Monte Bibele<sup>54</sup> and eastern Adriatic, where an example was discovered in grave 4 from Vičja luka (Fig. 1.18).<sup>55</sup> Not to mention that two such rings are known from grave 150 from Golem Grad - Prespa<sup>56</sup> - their distribution follows the circulation of amphoriskos-shaped beads and further supports the connection between Ancient Macedonia and the eastern Adriatic coast. *A world in a small place* as we called Vičja luka,<sup>57</sup> was not only one of the main redistribution centres of long-distance trade on the southern-eastern Adriatic trafficking items of Macedonian origin, spreading towards the continental Europe, but an locus demonstrating a long-lasting identificational connection with the territories of the central and southern Balkan as well as the Adriatic basin.

ovalnim okvirom koji je naknadno ukrašen urezivanjem s prikazom ptice.<sup>51</sup> Svojim se formalnim obilježjima mogu pripisati prstenju tipa VI prema tipologiji Johna Boardmana - predmetima koji su se uglavnom koristili tijekom 4. st. pr. Kr.<sup>52</sup> Takvi primjerci od bronce, osobito s prikazima domaćih životinja i pogotovo pijetla, izrađivani su s manje pognje u odnosu na zlatno i srebrno prstenje.<sup>53</sup> Slično prstenje, pripisano sredoziemnim proizvodnim središtima, pojavljuju se također u keltskim nekropolama sjeverne Italije, primjerice u Monte Bibele<sup>54</sup> i na istočnom Jadranu, gdje je jedan primjerak nađen i u grobu 4 Vičje luke (sl. 1.18).<sup>55</sup> Dva takva prstena poznata su i iz groba 150 iz Golem Grada - Prespa.<sup>56</sup> Njihova rasprostranjenost slijedi dakle optjecaj perli u obliku amforiska i dodatno podupire vezu između antičke Makedonije i istočne obale Jadrana. *Svijet u malom mjestu*,<sup>57</sup> kao smo imenovali Vičju luku, nije bio samo jedan od glavnih središta jugoistočnog Jadrana za preraspodjelu trgovine na velikim udaljenostima, trgujući predmetima makedonskog podrijetla prema kontinentalnoj Europi, već je to bilo mjesto koje je pokazivalo dugotrajnu identifikacijsku povezanost s područjima središnjega i južnog Balkana te zapadne jadranske obale.

### Prozirne mreže

Kako bismo mogli primjereno tumačiti predmete istražene u grobovima, razmotriti ih kao simbole koji dolaze izdaleka i djeluju unutar lokalnog društva koji ih dalje raspodjeljuje, cijeli kontekst groba, u smislu statusa pokojnika, valja promatrati semiotički.<sup>58</sup> Svaka društvena praksa, posebni ukop i prateći obredi, prepuni su simbolike, baš kao i odabrani predmeti pohranjeni u grobovima. Oni su simboli heterogenih društvenih i gospodarskih odnosa prapovijesnih društava koja su nastanjivala istočnu obalu Jadrana. Njihovo sagledavanje je jednostavan proces u kojem percepcija nalaza materijalne kulture aktivira različite kognitivne procese, ponajviše prethodno stečena znanja o specifičnom predmetu.<sup>59</sup> Prepoznavanjem skupa obilježja i atributa koji određuju biografiju predmeta, članovi društvenih elita mogli su razumjeti aktivnosti koje uključuju nabavu i preraspodjelu nalaza, kao i

51 Horváth 2016, p. 155, Pl. 4.3-3a-b.

52 Boardman 1970, pp. 212-214.

53 Boardman 1970, pp. 230-233.

54 Vitali 2008, pp. 25-26.

55 Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, p. 239, Fig. 2.18.

56 Bitrakova Grozdanova 2011, pp. 173-174, 277.

57 Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016.

51 Horváth 2016, str. 155, T. 4.3-3a-b.

52 Boardman 1970, str. 212-214.

53 Boardman 1970, str. 230-233.

54 Vitali 2008, str. 25-26.

55 Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, str. 239, sl. 2.18.

56 Bitrakova Grozdanova 2011, str. 173-174, 277.

57 Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016.

58 Preucel 2006.

59 Martin 1998, str. 72; usp. Robb 2015.

### Translucent networks

To be able to adequately interpret the finds discovered in the graves, to consider them as symbols coming from afar and functioning within the local society which further redistributed them, the whole context of the grave well as the status of the deceased should be observed semiotically.<sup>58</sup> Every social practice, especially burial and the accompanying rites, is laden with symbolism, as well as the artefacts deposited in the graves. They are the symbols of social and economic relations of prehistoric societies inhabiting the eastern Adriatic coast. Their recognition is a simple process in which the perception of artefacts triggers the activation of different cognitive processes mainly the previously acquired knowledge about the specific artefact.<sup>59</sup> Through the recognition of the assemblage of characteristics and attributes determining the artefact past, members of social elites were able to understand activities involving the procurement and redistribution of finds as well as the symbolically codified identity of the possessor and his or hers role within the society. They mediated this information's through culturally constructed activities which included the formation of obligational relations between participants in the long-distance trade networks.<sup>60</sup>

Objects with their mnemonic, metaphorical and metonymic references were transformed into holders of information about the social connections of the owner, their relational identities and their social status or statuses in the region. And it is through the known biography of the artefacts owned, their history of circulation and fragmentation that they became links between people, objects and places creating the enchainment between them.<sup>61</sup> The status of the deceased from Vičja luka was not reflected through a quantity of grave goods but through their diversity - selection - clearly signalling that they were not members of a society which accumulated capital but a society which created networks of information and relation through redistribution of items of surplus value. By controlling and stimulating long-distance trade this intercultural community became one of the principal cultural mediators between the Mediterranean civilisations on one and European prehistoric cultures on the other side (Fig. 4).

simbolički kodificiran identitet posjednika i njegovu ili njezinu ulogu unutar društva. Te su informacije posredovali kroz kulturno izgrađene djelatnosti koje su uključivale i oblikovanje obvezujućih odnosa između različitih sudionika u trgovinskim mrežama na velikim udaljenostima.<sup>60</sup>

S mnemoničkim, metaforičkim i metonimijskim referencama predmeti su pretvoreni u nositelje informacija o društvenim vezama vlasnika, o njihovim relacijskim identitetima i o njihovim društvenim statusima ili statusima u regiji. Kroz poznatu su povijest optjecaja i fragmentacije postali veza između ljudi, objekata i mjesta, međusobno ih povezujući.<sup>61</sup> Status pokojnika iz Vičje luke nije se odrazio kroz količinu grobnih priloga, nego upravo kroz njihovu raznolikost - izbor - jasno upozoravajući kako oni nisu bili članovi društva koje je gomilalo materijalna sredstva, već društva koje je stvorilo mrežu informacija i relacija preraspodjelom predmeta iznimne vrijednost. Kontrolirajući i potičući trgovinu velikih udaljenosti, ta interkulturalna zajednica postala je jedan od glavnih posrednika između sredozemnih civilizacija s jedne strane i europskih prapovijesnih kultura s druge strane (sl. 4).

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58 Preucel 2006.

59 Martin 1998, p. 72; cf. Robb 2015.

60 Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, pp. 250-252.

61 Cf. Tilley 1999; Knappett 2011.

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60 Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, str. 250-252.

61 Usp. Tilley 1999; Knappett 2011.



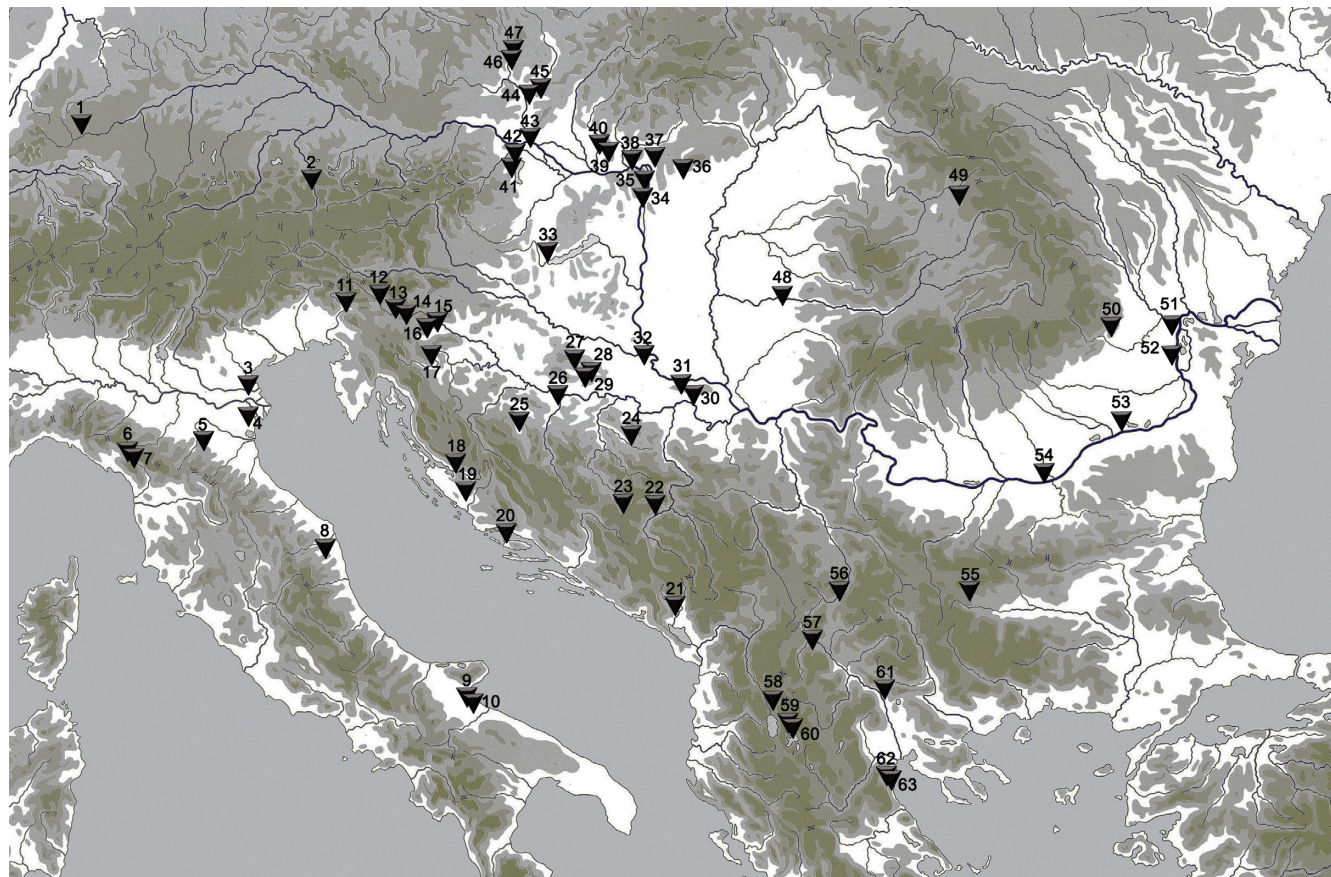


Fig. 4. Distribution map of amphoriskos-shaped glass beads (corrected and supplemented according to Popović 2000, Vellani 2000, Schönfelder 2007, Rustoiu 2015)

Sl. 4. Rasprostranjenost staklenih perli u obliku amforiska (ispravljeno i nadopunjeno prema Popović 2000, Vellani 2000, Schönfelder 2007, Rustoiu 2015)

List of find-sites - Fig. 4. Distribution map of amphoriskos-shaped glass beads (corrected and supplemented according to Popović 2000, Vellani 2000, Schönfelder 2007, Rustoiu 2015)

1. Egesheim, Heidentor (Schönfelder 2007)
2. Dürrnberg, Ramsaukopf (Schönfelder 2007)
3. Adria (Vellani 2000)
4. Spina (Vellani 2000)
5. Monte Bibele (Vellani 2000)
6. Garfagnana, San Romano - Monte Pisone (Schönfelder 2007)
7. Garfagnana, Filicaia (Schönfelder 2007)
8. Capovalano di Campli (Schönfelder 2007)
9. Canosa di Puglia, Via Molise (Vellani 2000)
10. Canosa di Puglia, Vico san Martino (Vellani 2000)
11. Most na Soči (Svoljšak, Dular 2016, Pl. 97.14).
12. Kranj, Lajh (Schönfelder 2007; Rustoiu 2015)
13. Magdalenska gora (Schönfelder 2007; Rustoiu 2015)
14. Stična (Schönfelder 2007; Rustoiu 2015; cf. Polizzotti Greis 2006, pp. 92-93, Pl. 18)

Popis nalazišta - sl. 4. Rasprostranjenost staklenih perli u obliku amforiska (ispravljeno i nadopunjeno prema Popović 2000, Vellani 2000, Schönfelder 2007, Rustoiu 2015)

1. Egesheim, Heidentor (Schönfelder 2007)
2. Dürrnberg, Ramsaukopf (Schönfelder 2007)
3. Adria (Vellani 2000)
4. Spina (Vellani 2000)
5. Monte Bibele (Vellani 2000)
6. Garfagnana, San Romano - Monte Pisone (Schönfelder 2007)
7. Garfagnana, Filicaia (Schönfelder 2007)
8. Capovalano di Campli (Schönfelder 2007)
9. Canosa di Puglia, Via Molise (Vellani 2000)
10. Canosa di Puglia, Vico san Martino (Vellani 2000)
11. Most na Soči (Svoljšak, Dular 2016, T. 97.14).
12. Kranj, Lajh (Schönfelder 2007; Rustoiu 2015)
13. Magdalenska gora (Schönfelder 2007; Rustoiu 2015)
14. Stična (Schönfelder 2007; Rustoiu 2015; cf. Polizzotti Greis 2006, str. 92-93, T. 18)

15. Strmec nad Belo cerkvijo (Dular 1991, Pl. 51.9)
16. Novo mesto, Kapiteljska njiva (Schönfelder 2007; Rustoiu 2015)
17. Vinica (Peabody Museum, Harvard University: [http://pmem.unix.fas.harvard.edu:8080/peabody/view/objects/asitem/search\\$0040/2/title-desc?t:state:flow=0dffc4b5-d9a7-4524-868e-d6f22f8105a2](http://pmem.unix.fas.harvard.edu:8080/peabody/view/objects/asitem/search$0040/2/title-desc?t:state:flow=0dffc4b5-d9a7-4524-868e-d6f22f8105a2), 19.06.2017).
18. Dračevac (Popović 2000; Rustoiu 2015)
19. Dragišić (Glogović 2014, p. 31, Pl. 24)
20. Brač, Vičja luka (Popović 2000; Schönfelder 2007; Rustoiu 2015)
21. Momišići (Popović 2000; Rustoiu 2015)
22. Rusanovići (Popović 2000; Rustoiu 2015)
23. Vratnica (Popović 2000; Rustoiu 2015)
24. Tuzla (Popović 2000; Rustoiu 2015)
25. Sanski most (Popović 2000; Schönfelder 2007; Rustoiu 2015)
26. Donja Dolina (Popović 2000; Rustoiu 2015)
27. Velika (Popović 2000; Rustoiu 2015)
28. Gradac (Rustoiu 2015)
29. Pleternica (Popović 2000; Rustoiu 2015)
30. Sremska Mitrovica (Popović 2000; Schönfelder 2007; Rustoiu 2015)
31. Gradina na Bosutu (Medović, Medović 2011, p. 254, Fig. 241.1)
32. Osijek (Popović 2000; Rustoiu 2015)
33. Keszthely (Popović 2000; Schönfelder 2007; Rustoiu 2015)
34. Budapest, Csepel Island (Horváth 2016, Pl. 2. 1, 6; Pl. 4.2; Pl. 5.2)
35. Budapest, Gellérthegy - Tabán (Popović 2000; Schönfelder 2007; Rustoiu 2015)
36. Hatvan, Boldog (Popović 2000; Schönfelder 2007; Rustoiu 2015)
37. Kosd (Schönfelder 2007; Rustoiu 2015)
38. Pilismarót (Popović 2000; Schönfelder 2007; Rustoiu 2015)
39. Dubnik (Popović 2000; Schönfelder 2007; Rustoiu 2015)
40. Michal nad Žitavou (Popović 2000; Schönfelder 2007; Rustoiu 2015)
41. Au am Leithaberge (Schönfelder 2007; Rustoiu 2015)
42. Mannersdorf am Leithagebirge (Rustoiu 2015)
43. Bad Deutsch-Aletnburg / Carnuntum (Popović 2000; Schönfelder 2007; Rustoiu 2015)
44. Přitluky (Popović 2000; Schönfelder 2007; Rustoiu 2015)
45. Mutěnice (Schönfelder 2007; Rustoiu 2015)
46. Blučina, Hřbitovni ulice (Schönfelder 2007; Rustoiu 2015)



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|---|---|
| 47. Brno, Horni Heršpice (Popović 2000; Schönfelder 2007; Rustoiu 2015) | 47. Brno, Horni Heršpice (Popović 2000; Schönfelder 2007; Rustoiu 2015) |
| 48. Aradu Nou (Rustoiu 2015)  | 48. Aradu Nou (Rustoiu 2015)  |
| 49. Fântânele-Dealul Popii (Rustoiu 2015)                               | 49. Fântânele-Dealul Popii (Rustoiu 2015)                               |
| 50. Pietroasele-Gruui Dării (Rustoiu 2015)                              | 50. Pietroasele-Gruui Dării (Rustoiu 2015)                              |
| 51. Chișcani (Rustoiu 2015)   | 51. Chișcani (Rustoiu 2015)   |
| 52. Berteștii de Jos (Rustoiu 2015)                                     | 52. Berteștii de Jos (Rustoiu 2015)                                     |
| 53. Radovanu (Rustoiu 2015)   | 53. Radovanu (Rustoiu 2015)   |
| 54. Zimnicea (Schönfelder 2007; Rustoiu 2015)                           | 54. Zimnicea (Schönfelder 2007; Rustoiu 2015)                           |
| 55. Pistiros (Rustoiu 2015)   | 55. Pistiros (Rustoiu 2015)   |
| 56. Kale Krševica (Rustoiu 2015)  | 56. Kale Krševica (Rustoiu 2015)  |
| 57. Ždanec (Popović 2000; Rustoiu 2015)                                 | 57. Ždanec (Popović 2000; Rustoiu 2015)                                 |
| 58. Delagodža (Popović 2000; Rustoiu 2015)                              | 58. Delagodža (Popović 2000; Rustoiu 2015)                              |
| 59. Prespa, Golem Grad, kuća (Bitrakova Grozdanova 2011, pp. 168-171)   | 59. Prespa, Golem Grad (Bitrakova Grozdanova 2011, str. 168-171)        |
| 60. Prespa, Golem Grad, nekrpola (Bitrakova Grozdanova 2015, pp. 78-81) | 60. Prespa, Golem Grad (Bitrakova Grozdanova 2015, str. 78-81)          |
| 61. Isar, Marvinci (Mitrevski, Temov 1997, Pl. II. 2-3, Fig. Ж)         | 61. Isar, Marvinci (Mitrevski, Temov 1997, T. II. 2-3, sl. Ж)           |
| 62. Pydna, (Ignatiadou 2012, Fig. 2.7)                                  | 62. Pydna (Ignatiadou 2012, sl. 2.7)                                    |
| 63. Pydna (Ignatiadou 2012, Fig. 2.8)                                   | 63. Pydna (Ignatiadou 2012, sl. 2.8)                                    |

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