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O pogrebnim obredima u helenističkoj Isi – nalaz ranog piluma i njegovo kulturološko značenje

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Tijekom iskopavanja antičke nekropole koja su se 1983. godine odvijala na položaju Vlaška njiva u Visu, u jednom od grobova pronađen je željezni pilum, vrsta dugačke sulice, oružja za bacanje koje su rabili pješaci. Riječ je o trenutno jedinstvenom nalazu oružja koje se veže uz materijalne ostatke helenističkih pogrebnih rituala prakticiranih u Isi na otoku Visu, grčkom urbanom naselju na središnjem dijelu istočnog Jadrana. Njegov kontekst djelomično su narušene pogrebne cjeline, u kojima su uz skeletne ostatke tijela dvaju pokojnika dokumentirani i keramički prilozi datirani u kasno 4. st. te prvu polovicu 3. st. pr.

On funerary rites of Hellenistic Issa – an early pilum find and its cultural significance

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During excavations at the ancient necropolis which proceeded at the Vlaška njiva site in the town of Vis in 1983, an iron pilum (javelin), a throwing weapon used by infantry soldiers, was found in one of the graves. This is currently a unique weapon find which is associated with the physical remains of Hellenistic funerary rituals practiced in Issa on the island of Vis, a Greek urban settlement in the central part of the eastern Adriatic seaboard. Its context consists of partially devastated burial assemblages, in which the skeletal remains of two bodies and ceramic goods dated to the late 4th and first half of the 3rd century BC

Kr. Tipološke analogije samog piluma sugeriraju da se radi o njegovoj ranoj varijanti, koju valja datirati u 4. st. pr. Kr. i ukazuju da je u pitanju jedinstveni nalaz na prostoru središnjeg istočnog Jadrana i njegova zaleđa. Upotreba konceptualno bliskih tipova oružja dokumentirana je u etruščansko-italskom i keltsko-iberskom kulturnom krugu, a pilum je sastavni dio opreme rimske republikanske i carske vojske. U kontekstu navedenog važno je naglasiti da je rani pilum iz Ise stariji od dosad poznatih najstarijih rimskih piluma iz 3. st. pr. Kr. Najbliže analogije samog predmeta, kao i kulturološke prakse ritualnog polaganja sličnog tipa oružja tijekom pogreba u grobove s pokojnikom, evidentirane su kod različitih indigenih zajednica na Apeninskom poluotoku, najčešće u grobovima muških pokojnika različite starosne dobi, pa je stoga i sam nalaz najvjerojatnije odraz kontakata sa suprotnom jadranskom obalom i njezinim zaleđem. Asocijacija oružja i smrti pruža uvid u dosad nepoznati aspekt isejskog pogrebnog običaja te govori u prilog raznolikosti kulturoloških identiteta stanovnika grada Ise u sklopu dinamične interakcije na prostoru srednjeg Jadrana.

Ključne riječi: istočni Jadran, Isa, helenistička nekropola na Vlaškoj njivi, 4. i 3. st. pr. Kr., helenistička keramika, rani pilum, oružje i pogrebni ritual, kulturni identiteti i kontakti

were documented. Typological analyses of the actual pilum suggest that this was one of its early variants, which should be dated to the 4th century BC, and indicate that this is a unique find in the central part of the eastern Adriatic seaboard and its hinterland. The use of similar type of weapon has been documented in the Etruscan-Italic and Celtic-Iberian cultural spheres, and the pilum was an integral component of equipment in the Roman republican and imperial armies. In the latter context, it is important to stress that the early pilum from Issa is older than the thus far oldest known Roman pilum from the 3rd century BC. The closest analogy to the item itself, as well as the cultural practices of the ritual depositing of similar weapon type into a grave with the deceased during a funeral has been recorded among various indigenous communities on the Apennine Peninsula, most often in the graves of men of various ages, so this find is most likely a reflection of contacts with the opposite shore of the Adriatic and its hinterland. The association between weapon and death offers some insight into a thus far unknown aspect of Issaeian funerary customs and backs the view of a diversity of cultural identities of the residents of Issa as a component of dynamic interactions in the central Adriatic zone.

Key words: eastern Adriatic, Issa, Hellenistic necropolis at Vlaška njiva, 4th and 3rd centuries BC, Hellenistic pottery, early pilum, weapons and funerary ritual, cultural identity and contacts

Uvod

Značajan dio svog stručnog i znanstvenog rada Branko Kirigin posvetio je proučavanju grčkog grada Ise, posebice njegovih pogrebnih običaja.¹ Štoviše, sudjelovao je i u prvim stručnim iskopavanjima na Martvilu, jugozapadnoj nekropoli Ise, koja su se odvijala tijekom 1976., 1979. i 1980. godine,² a sljedećih nekoliko godina bio je samostalni voditelj tih istraživanja.³ Također, bio je voditelj i zaštitnih arheoloških iskopavanja na lokalitetu Vlaška njiva koja su rezultirala otkrićem istočne nekropole.⁴ Upravo zahvaljujući njegovim višegodišnjim terenskim istraživanjima, mnogobrojne grobne cjeline antičke Ise izašle su na vidjelo u današnjem gradu Visu. Proučavanje ovih materijalnih ostataka nekadašnjih pogrebnih aktivnosti omogućilo nam je uvid u različite aspekte života i običaja u samom gradu Isi, ali ujedno i upotpunilo jednu širu sliku dinamičnih regionalnih kulturoloških zbivanja.

Moje prvo terensko iskustvo, tijekom kojega sam kao studentica arheologije sudjelovala u iskopavanjima svetišta u Spili Nakovani na poluotoku Pelješcu, veže me uz Branka Kirigina. Od tog trenutka nadalje naši se profesionalni putovi često isprepleću, prilikom čega mi je Branko kontinuirano pružao razne oblike podrške. Velikodušno mi je ustupao na obradu i objavu značajan arheološki materijal, među kojim posebno valja istaknuti materijalne ostatke helenističke i rimske istočne nekropole Ise otkrivene na lokalitetu Vlaška njiva. Analiza i interpretacija ovog značajnog materijala bila je predmetom moje doktorske disertacije, na kojoj je službeni mentor bio upravo Branko. Neizmjerljivo sam mu zahvalna na iskazanom povjerenju, poticanju moje znanstvene znatiželje i pruženoj prilici koja mi je omogućila nastavak njegovog rada na problematici isejskih pogrebnih običaja.

U želji da i dalje uspješno nastavi svoj stručni i znanstveni rad, ali i u znak zahvalnosti na njegovim dosadašnjim postignućima, kao i neprocjenjivoj potpori koju mi je pružao, čast mi je i zadovoljstvo sudjelovati s prilogom u ovom posebnom broju VAHD-a koji je posvećen Branku Kiriginu. Smatrala sam prikladnim kao temu mog rada odabrati objavu grobova iz Ise koje je upravo Branko otkrio. Namjera mi je

Introduction

Branko Kirigin dedicated a considerable portion of his scholarly and research work to the study of the Greek city of Issa, especially its funerary customs.¹ Moreover, he participated in the first expertly conducted excavations at Martvilo, Issa's south-western necropolis, which proceeded during 1976, 1979 and 1980,² and over several subsequent years he was the independent leader of this research.³ He was also the leader of the rescue archaeological excavations at the Vlaška njiva site, which resulted in the discovery of the eastern necropolis.⁴ It is precisely thanks to his many years of field research that many grave assemblages of ancient Issa came to the light of day in the modern town of Vis. The study of these material remains of former funerary activities has given us an insight into various aspects of life and customs in the city of Issa itself, and simultaneously supplemented the broader picture of dynamic regional cultural trends.

I am linked to Branko Kirigin by my first experience in the field as an archaeology student, when I participated in excavations of a religious shrine in Nakovana Cave on the Pelješac Peninsula. From that moment onward, our professional paths often intertwined, during which Branko continually offered me various forms of support. He generously allowed me to analyze and publish significant archaeological materials, among which the material remains from the Hellenistic and Roman necropolis of Issa at the Vlaška njiva site are particularly noteworthy. The analysis and interpretation of this important material was the subject of my doctoral dissertation, for which my official mentor was in fact Branko. I am immeasurably grateful to him for his confidence, for encouraging my scholarly curiosity and for offering me an opportunity that made it possible for me to continue his work on questions pertaining to Issaeian funerary customs.

With the wish that he successfully continues his scholarship and research, but also as a gesture of gratitude for all of his previous accomplishments and the inestimable support that he gave me, I am honoured and pleased to participate in the special issue of VAHD dedicated to Branko Kirigin. I deemed it

1 Kirigin 1985; Kirigin 1986; Kirigin 1996.

2 Prva stručna arheološka iskopavanja u pravom smislu te riječi obavili su na nekropoli Martvilo 1976. godine Nenad Cambi, Branko Kirigin i Emilio Marin (Cambi *et al.* 1980; Cambi *et al.* 1981). Godine 1979. i 1980. iskopavanja nastavljaju B. Kirigin i E. Marin (Kirigin, Marin 1985; Kirigin, Marin 1988).

3 Kirigin 1981; Kirigin 1983; Kirigin 1984.

4 Kirigin 1983a.

1 Kirigin 1985; Kirigin 1986; Kirigin 1996.

2 The first expertise-based excavations in the true sense of the word were conducted at the Martvilo necropolis in 1976 by Nenad Cambi, Branko Kirigin and Emilio Marin (Cambi *et al.* 1980; Cambi *et al.* 1981). In 1979 and 1980, excavations were continued by B. Kirigin and E. Marin (Kirigin, Marin 1985; Kirigin, Marin 1988).

3 Kirigin 1981; Kirigin 1983; Kirigin 1984.

4 Kirigin 1983a.

predstaviti jedan netipični i prethodno nepoznati aspekt isejskoga helenističkog pogrebnog običaja, kao prilog poznavanju raznolikosti kulturnih identiteta stanovnika grada Ise.⁵

Kontekst nalaza

Isa je trenutno jedini grčki grad u Dalmaciji s otkrivenim i djelomično istraženim nekropolama. Osnovan je na otoku Visu u prvoj polovici 4. st. pr. Kr., a pružao se iznad današnje uvale sv. Jurja u gradu Visu, na padini brda Gradina.⁶ Na prostoru koji se smjestio jugozapadno i istočno od helenističkog bedema u antičko su doba smještene dvije nekropole. Prema modernim toponimima one su danas poznate kao Martvilo i Vlaška njiva.⁷ U neposrednoj blizini, iznad uvale Stonca te na suprotnoj strani, kod tzv. rasadnika palmi, otkriveno je nekoliko izoliranih grobova i grobnica datiranih u helenističko doba.⁸

Sudeći po dosadašnjim saznanjima o raznim aspektima isejskoga helenističkog pogrebnog običaja, oružje u njemu nije igralo ulogu.⁹ Stoga je zanimljiv nalaz željeznoga pješakačkog oružja, koje je otkriveno

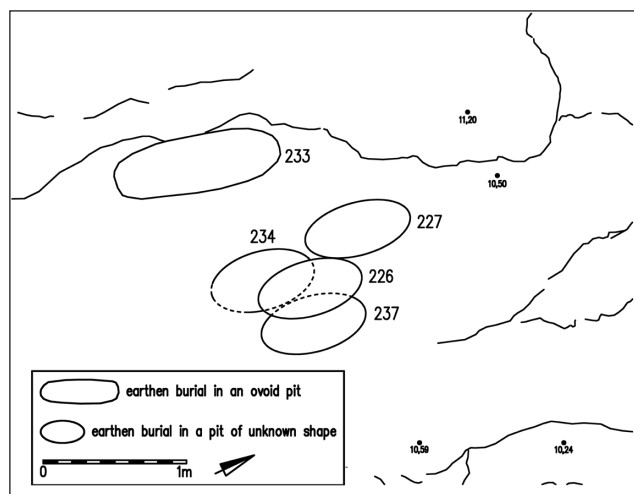
appropriate to choose the publication of some graves in Issa which had been discovered by Branko as the topic of my paper. It is my intention to present an atypical and previously unknown aspect of Issaean funerary customs as a contribution to knowledge of the cultural identity of Issa's populace.⁵

Find context

Issa is currently the only Greek polis in Dalmatia at which necropolises have been discovered and partially researched. It was established on the island of Vis in the first half of the 4th century BC, and it extended above today's Sveti Juraj Cove in the modern town of Vis over the slope of Gradina Hill.⁶ During Antiquity, two necropolises were situated to the south-west and east of the Hellenistic defensive walls. Their modern toponyms are Martvilo and Vlaška njiva.⁷ Several isolated graves and tombs dated to the Hellenistic era were discovered in the immediate vicinity, above Stonca Cove, at the so-called palm nursery.⁸

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- 5 Iskristila bih priliku najljepše zahvaliti kolegi Darku Periši, koji mi je pomogao mnogobrojnim savjetima i komentarima vezanim uz predmetno oružje. Također, svoje stručno mišljenje ljubavno su mi pružili i Jeremy Armstrong, Armando Cherici, Ross Cowan, Yvonne Inall, Thierry Lejars, Maurizio Martinelli, Alistair Small, Gianluca Tagliamonte i Paolo Visonà, te ovom prilikom svima zahvaljujem na pomoći. Najljepše zahvaljujem i kolegama koji su sudjelovali u radu na materijalu i dokumentaciji: konzervaciju keramičkih posuda obavila je viša preparatorica Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu Ika Prpa Stojanac; konzervaciju i restauraciju oružja napravio je Marko Rogošić, viši preparator Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika; Jasmina Beneta izradila je nacрте svih predmeta osim piluma, čiji je nacrt izradio Zoran Podrug iz Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu, fotografirao ih je Tonći Sesar, viši fotograf Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu, a terensku je dokumentaciju izradio Branko Pender, tadašnji voditelj Restauratorske radionice Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu. Također, zahvaljujem recenzentima na njihovim konstruktivnim komentarima.
- 6 Kirigin 1996 i ondje donesena ranija literatura.
- 7 O nekropoli na Martvilu vidi bibliografiju iz bilješki 1. do 3. te Čargo 2010, a o nekropoli na Vlaškoj njivi vidi Kirigin 1983a; Ugarković 2013; Ugarković 2015; Ugarković 2016.
- 8 O tri grobnice koje su 1952. godine otkrivene kod tzv. rasadnika palmi vidi Nikolanci 1952 te Čargo 2008; o dva groba iznad uvale Stonca vidi Rapanić 1960 te Miše, Touloumtzidou 2016.
- 9 Nikolanci 1969 te bibliografija navedena u bilješkama 1-4, 7-8.

- 5 I would like to take this opportunity to thank my colleague Darko Periša, who helped me with many suggestions and comments tied to this weapon. Additionally, Jeremy Armstrong, Armando Cherici, Ross Cowan, Yvonne Inall, Thierry Lejars, Maurizio Martinelli, Alistair Small, Gianluca Tagliamonte and Paolo Visonà all graciously shared their expert opinions, for which I thank them. I would also like to convey my sincerest gratitude to my colleagues who participated in work on the materials and documentation: the conservation of ceramic vessels was done by the senior preparator in the Archaeological Museum in Split, Ika Prpa Stojanac, conservation and restoration of the weapon were done by Marko Rogošić, the senior preparator in the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments; Jasmina Beneta drew the sketches of all items except the pilum, which was sketched by Zoran Podrug from the Archaeological Museum in Split; all items were photographed by Tonći Sesar, the senior photographer of the Archaeological Museum in Split, while the field documentation was compiled by Branko Pender, then the head of the Restoration Workshop in Archaeological Museum in Split. I would also like to thank the peer reviewers for their constructive comments.
- 6 Kirigin 1996 and the earlier literature cited therein.
- 7 On the necropolis at Martvilo, see the bibliographies from sources cited in notes 1 through 3, and Čargo 2010; on the necropolis at Vlaška njiva, see Kirigin 1983a; Ugarković 2013; Ugarković 2015; Ugarković 2016.
- 8 On the three tombs that were discovered in 1952 at the so-called palm nursery, see Nikolanci 1952 and Čargo 2008; on the two graves above Stonca Cove, see Rapanić 1960 and Miše, Touloumtzidou 2016.



Sl. 1. Dio nekropole na Vlaškoj njivi, nukleus s grobovima 234 i 237 (crtež: B. Penđer, digitalizacija: E. Profant)

Fig. 1. A part of the necropolis at Vlaška njiva, nucleus with graves 234 and 237 (sketch: B. Penđer, digitalization: E. Profant)

na istočnoj nekropoli na Vlaškoj njivi, u asocijaciji s djelomično narušenim pogrebnim cjelinama, grobovima 234 i 237.¹⁰ Navedeni grobovi prostorno su smješteni jedan do drugog, na otprilike 60 metara udaljenosti od helenističkog gradskog bedema, i sastavni su dio manjeg nukleusa od pet grobova (sl. 1).¹¹ Riječ je o običnim grobnim rakama, koje su se pružale u smjeru sjever-jug, a bile su ukopane u crveno-smeđoj zemlji. Nažalost, njihov oblik i konačne dimenzije ne mogu se potvrditi. Možemo pretpostaviti da je sam pokrov bio zemljani.¹² Dokumentirani osteološki ostaci indiciraju da su tijela pokojnika položena na leđima u prethodno pripremljenu raku. Očito je da je glava pokojnika okrenuta u pravcu sjevera, iako precizan položaj ruku i nogu kod groba 234, zbog lošije očuvanosti, nije bilo moguće jasno definirati (sl. 2, 3). Na planu groba 237 ucrtani su dijelovi donjeg dijela skeleta pokojnika (sl.

Judging by previous insights into various aspects of Issaeen Hellenistic funerary customs, weapons played no part in them.⁹ Therefore, the iron infantry weapon discovered in the eastern necropolis at Vlaška njiva in association with the partially devastated burial units, graves 234 and 237, is intriguing.¹⁰ These graves are spatially adjacent, at roughly 60 meters from the Hellenistic city wall, and they are an integral part of a smaller nucleus of five graves (Fig. 1).¹¹ These are ordinary grave pits that extended in a north-south direction, and they were buried in red-brown soil. Unfortunately, their shape and final dimensions cannot be ascertained. It may be assumed that only the cover was earthen.¹² The documented osteological remains indicate that the bodies of the deceased were laid on their backs in a previously prepared pit. It is obvious that the head of the deceased had been turned northward, although the exact position of the hands and legs in grave 234, due to its poorer state of preservation, could not be clearly defined (Fig. 2, 3). Parts of the lower section of the skeleton are sketched into layout schematic of grave 237 (Fig. 4). A black and white photograph, also of grave 237, documents the preserved skeleton of the deceased somewhat better, thereby offering higher quality insight into the position of his body, from which it is apparent that in this case the head of the deceased was set in a northerly direction and the legs were extended, while the arms were slightly bent at the elbows with hands crossed over the pelvis (Fig. 5).¹³ The results of an analysis of the osteological remains¹⁴ indicate that the deceased

10 Istočna isejska nekropola otkrivena je godine 1983., tijekom zaštitnih arheoloških iskopavanja koje je Arheološki muzej u Splitu (voditelj Branko Kirigin) proveo na prostoru predviđenom za gradnju hotela Issa (Kirigin 1983a). Tom je prilikom otkriveno i dokumentirano 249 grobnih cjelina iz helenističkog i rimskog perioda (Kirigin 1983a; Ugarković 2013, str. 77). Grobovi 234 i 237 otkriveni su 31. listopada. U pripremi je monografija o nekropoli na Vlaškoj njivi potpisnice ovog rada.

11 Prilikom istraživanja postavljena je koordinatna mreža, a sukladno tome ovi su grobovi dokumentirani na prostoru kvadrata C sonde 3.

12 U prilog tome išla bi činjenica da u neposrednoj blizini nisu pronađeni značajni ostaci obrađenog kamena.

9 Nikolanci 1969 and the bibliography cited in notes 1-4 and 7-8.

10 The eastern Issaeen necropolis was discovered in 1983, during rescue archaeological research which the Archaeological Museum in Split (led by Branko Kirigin) conducted in the area foreseen for construction of the Hotel Issa (Kirigin 1983a). On this occasion, 249 grave units from the Hellenistic and Roman eras were discovered and documented (Kirigin 1983a; Ugarković 2013, p. 77). Graves 234 and 237 were discovered on 31 October. A monograph on the necropolis in Vlaška njiva by the writer of this paper is in preparation.

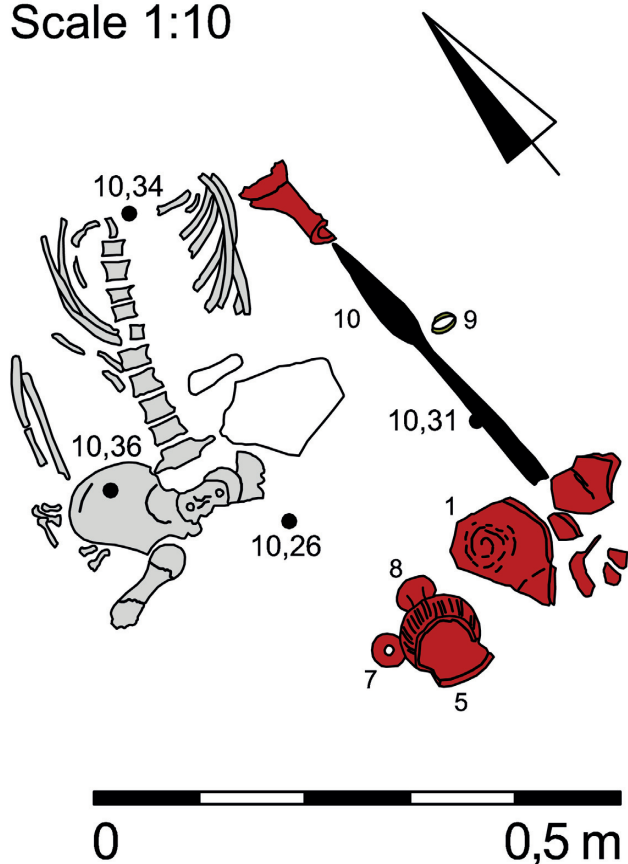
11 A coordinate grid was set up during research, and so these graves were documented in the space of quadrant C of test trench 3.

12 This would be supported by the fact that no remains of dressed stone were found in the vicinity.

13 By all indications, the remains on this photograph do not correspond to the remains sketched onto the aforementioned schematic and their relationship remains unknown, particularly because the level of the remains documented in the photograph are not known.

14 An anthropological analysis was conducted by Prof. Živko Mikić from the Archaeology Department at the

Grave 234
Scale 1:10



Sl. 2. Grob 234 (crtež: B. Pender, digitalizacija: E. Profant)

Fig. 2. Grave 234 (sketch: B. Pender, digitalization: E. Profant)

4). Crno-bijela fotografija, također G 237, dokumentirala je nešto bolje sačuvan skelet pokojnika pružajući time kvalitetniji uvid u položaj njegova tijela, iz čega je vidljivo da je i u ovom slučaju glava pokojnika položena u pravcu sjevera te da su noge u ispruženom položaju, a ruke lagano svijene u laktu i prekržene na zdjelici (sl. 5).¹³ Rezultati analize osteoloških ostataka¹⁴ indiciraju da je pokojnik iz groba 234 bio muškog spola, i to adolescent u dobi od oko 15 godina, dok su u grobu 237 sačuvani ostaci odrasle osobe, bez potvrđenih elemenata za utvrđivanje spola i dobi.¹⁵

13 Prema svemu sudeći, ostaci na ovoj fotografiji ne odgovaraju ostacima nacrtanim na spomenutom planu te njihov odnos ostaje nepoznat, posebice jer je visina ostataka dokumentiranih na fotografiji nepoznata.

14 Antropološku je analizu obavio prof. Živko Mikić iz Odeljenja za arheologiju Univerziteta u Beogradu.

15 S obzirom na nemogućnost utvrđivanja spola i dobi možemo pretpostaviti da je riječ o ostacima koji su nacrtani na planu groba 237. Ostaje nejasno jesu li



Sl. 3. Grob 234 (foto: B. Kirigin)

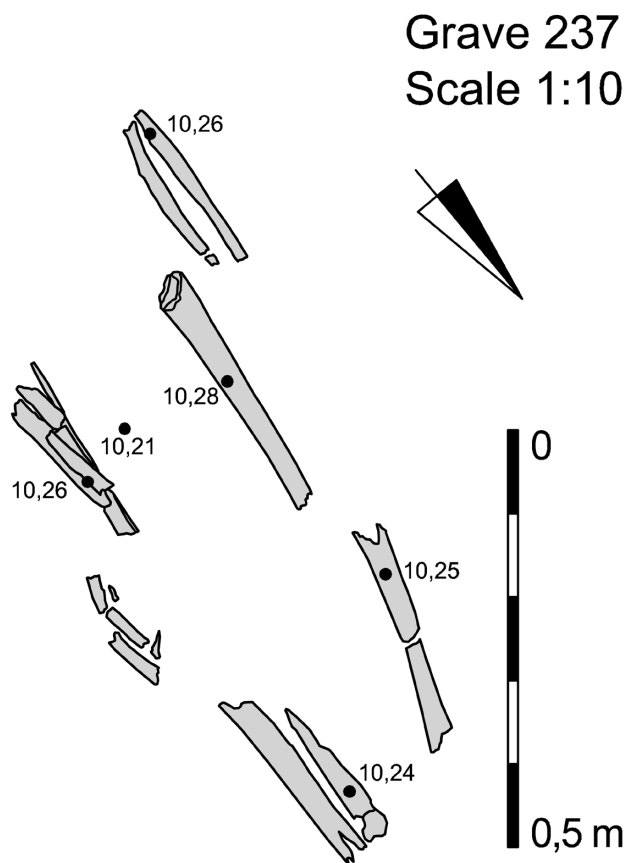
Fig. 3. Grave 234 (photo: B. Kirigin)

from grave 234 was male, an adolescent roughly 15 years of age, while the remains of an adult were preserved in grave 237, without any confirmed elements to determine sex or age.¹⁵

Since these are partially devastated units, which are spatially close, their original context, including the type and position of the grave goods remains, unfortunately, open to question. According to the documentation available to me, ten items were documented in association with these graves. These are, generally, ceramic vessels and the aforementioned find of an iron weapon. Also documented was a small bronze ringlet which may have been part of the attire of the deceased individual. These finds were sketched to the eastern side of the skeletal remains of the deceased

University of Belgrade.

15 Given the impossibility of ascertaining the sex and age, it may be surmised that these are the remains sketched onto the schematic of grave 237. It remains unclear as to whether the remains from the photograph of grave 237 (better preserved, according to the documented situation) were also analyzed; see note 13.



Sl. 4. Grob 237 (crtež: B. Penđer, digitalizacija: E. Profant)

Fig. 4. Grave 237 (sketch: B. Penđer, digitalization: E. Profant)

S obzirom da se radi o djelomično uništenim cjelinama, koje su prostorno blisko smještene, njihov originalni kontekst, uključujući tip i položaj grobnih nalaza, nažalost, ostaje upitan. Prema dostupnoj mi dokumentaciji, u asocijaciji s ovim grobovima pronađeno je deset predmeta. Riječ je, uglavnom, o keramičkim posudama te spomenutom nalazu željeznog oružja. Dokumentirana je, također, i brončana karičica čija funkcija možda predstavlja dio ostatka nošnje pokojnika. Ovi nalazi nacrtani su s istočne strane skeletnih ostataka pokojnika iz groba 234, dakle prema grobu 237, odnosno s njegove zapadne strane (sl. 1, 2). U dokumentaciji je ostavljena otvorena mogućnost da je dio nalaza (uključujući i oružje) zapravo pripadao grobu 237, koji bi prema stratigrafiji bio nešto stariji, a djelomično je uništen ukopavanjem groba

analizirani i ostaci s fotografije grobu 237, koji su prema dokumentiranom stanju bolje očuvani; vidi bilješku broj 13.



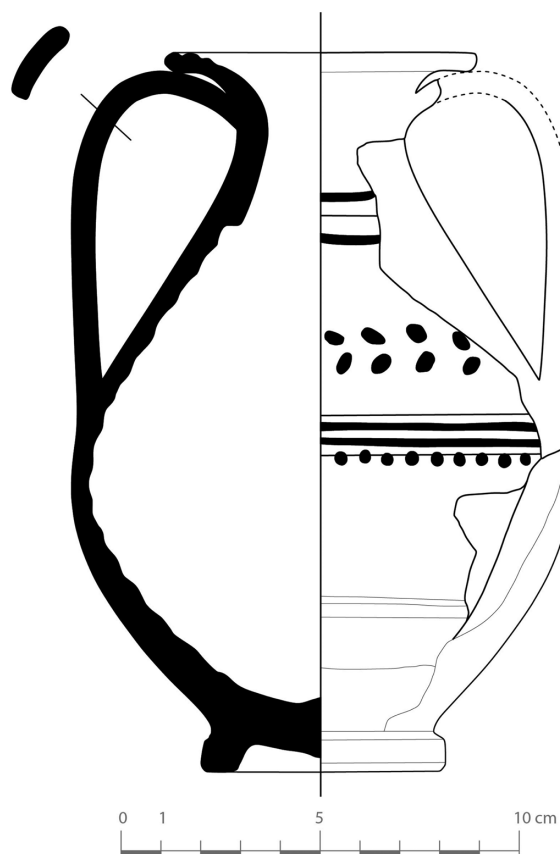
Sl. 5. Grob 237 (foto: B. Kirigin)

Fig. 5. Grave 237 (photo: B. Kirigin)

from grave 234, thus in the direction of grave 237, i.e., to its western side (Fig. 1, 2). In the documentation, the possibility has been left open that a part of the finds (including the weapon) actually belonged to grave 237, which is somewhat older according to the stratigraphy, and it was partially devastated by the digging of grave 234.¹⁶ The level at which some of the items were found is cited as evidence for this, as it is identical to the level of the osteological finds from grave 237,¹⁷ as well as the fact that the smaller, broken off piece of the iron weapon was documented at the leg of the deceased from grave 237. In this context, it is worthwhile asking whether a detailed analysis of the actual items may help shed light on this dilemma.

16 Notation in the data form for the graves, documentation of the Archaeological Museum in Split. See also note 13.

17 The osteological remains in the schematic of grave 237 were found at a somewhat lower level (10, 21-10, 28 m) than the same remains in grave 234 (10, 34-10, 36). Only the elevation of the javelin, 10.31 m, was documented on the schematic. See also note 13.



Sl. 6. *Gnathia pelika* (crtež: J. Beneta)
Fig. 6. *Gnathia pelike* (sketch: J. Beneta)

234.¹⁶ Kao prilog tome navodi se visina na kojoj su pronađeni neki od predmeta, koja je istovjetna visini osteoloških ostataka iz groba 237,¹⁷ kao i to da je kod nogu pokojnika iz groba 237 dokumentiran manji, odlomljeni dio željeznog oružja. U kontekstu navedenog možemo se zapitati može li nam detaljna analiza samih nalaza pomoći u rasvjetljavanju ove dileme.

Prema svemu sudeći, keramičke su posude položene kao grobni prilozi. Njihovi oblici ukazuju da je riječ o stolnom posuđu za serviranje tekućine (3x) i čašama za pice (2x).

Od niza ulomaka spojena je gotovo čitava pelika,¹⁸ koja pripada *Gnathia* keramičkoj vrsti (sl. 6 i 7). Nedostaju joj manji dijelovi tijela i oboda, a izrađena je



Sl. 7. *Gnathia pelika* (foto: T. Seser)
Fig. 7. *Gnathia pelike* (photo: T. Seser)

By all indications, the ceramic vessels were deposited as grave goods. Their shapes indicate that they consisted of tableware for serving beverages (3x) and drinking cups (2x).

Almost an entire pelike,¹⁸ which is an example of *Gnathia* ware (Fig. 6 and 7), was assembled from a series of potsherds. Minor parts of the body and rim are missing; it was made of carefully refined clay without any macroscopically visible temper, which became pink after firing (Munsell 7.5 YR 7/3, pink). The rounded body is prominent in the middle, and the short neck transitions into a spouted rim, articulated from the inside. The inwardly drawn base of the ringed foot protrudes in its middle section. The external surface, with the exception of the foot and the band above it, is coated by a matte slip which has been well preserved, and transitions from black to dark brown and, in some places, red-brown. The decoration was rendered in a combination of painting and engraving. Two horizontal lines with a groove between them can be seen at the transition from the neck to the shoulder. A small branch is depicted over the upper section of the body, while a triple horizontal line and a row of dots extend below it, together with several thin engraved lines.

16 Napomena u grobnim formularima, dokumentacija Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu. Vidi i bilješku broj 13.

17 Osteološki ostaci na planu groba 237 pronađeni su na nešto nižoj visini (10, 21-10, 28 m) od istih ostataka u grobu 234 (10, 34-10, 36). Na planu je dokumentirana samo visina koplja, koja iznosi 10,31 m. Vidi i bilješku broj 13.

18 Inv. br. AMS 71743. Dimenzije su: visina 17,9 cm, širina 12,3 cm, promjer oboda 7,8 cm te promjer dna 6 cm.

18 Inv. no. AMS 71743. Dimensions: height 17.9 cm, width 12.3 cm, dia. of rim 7.8 cm and dia. of base 6 cm.

od fino pročišćene gline, bez makroskopski vidljivih primjesa, koja je pečenjem poprimila ružičastu boju (*Munsell 7.5 YR 7/3, pink*). Zaobljeno tijelo naglašeno je po sredini, a kraći vrat prelazi u ljevčasti obod, profiliran s unutrašnje strane. Uvučeno dno prstenaste stope ispupčeno je u središnjem dijelu. Vanjsku površinu, s izuzetkom stope i pojasa iznad nje, prekriva mat premaz koji je dobro sačuvan te od crne boje prelazi u tamnosmeđu, a na nekim dijelovima i u crvenosmeđu boju. Ukrašen je izveden u kombinaciji slikanja i urezivanja. Na prijelazu iz vrata u rame uočavaju se dvije horizontalne linije sa žlijebom između njih. Preko gornjeg dijela trbuha prikazana je grančica, a ispod se proteže dvostruka horizontalna linija i točkasti niz, zajedno s nekoliko tanjih urezanih linija. Izvjesne analogije oblika mogu se pronaći u kasnokanuzijskim pelikama,¹⁹ iako je donekle sličan oblik prisutan i u Tarasu u razdoblju od 275. do 225. g. pr. Kr.²⁰ Jednostavni središnji motiv podsjeća na moguću razradu, ali i svojevrsnu “degeneraciju” tipičnoga kasnokanuzijskog motiva. Iz svega navedenog može se zaključiti da je pelika proizvod lokalne radionice, nastao pod snažnim utjecajem sjevernoapulske *Gnathia* keramike.²¹ Ipak, treba istaknuti da su motivi naslikani bijelom i crvenom bojom, što je značajka siciliske *Gnathia* proizvodnje.²² Za sada valja ostati samo na toj konstataciji, jer dosadašnja istraživanja isejske *Gnathia* keramike nisu utvrdila postojanje utjecaja siciliske proizvodnje.²³ Prema Maji Miše isejska proizvodnja *Gnathia* keramike započela je sredinom 3. st. pr. Kr.²⁴ Sukladno tome, te ako zbilja jest riječ o isejskom proizvodu, u tom bi ga slučaju valjalo datirati u sam početak ili prvu fazu lokalne proizvodnje, što ujedno odgovara i apulskim analogijama oblika.

Od drugog vrča²⁵ sačuvan je ulomak oboda s gornjim dijelom tijela i stopa s dijelom donjeg tijela (sl. 8). Riječ je o olpi, pelici ili stolnoj amfori koja je ukrašena u tradiciji keramike Zapadnog obronka (*West Slope*). Izrađena je od fino pročišćene gline, bez

Some analogies to the shape may be found in Late Canosan pelikai,¹⁹ although it is somewhat similar to the shape also present in Taras in the period from 275 to 225 BC.²⁰ The simple central motif recalls a possible refinement, but also something of a “degeneration” of a typical Late Canosan motif. Based on all of this, one may conclude that the pelike was a product of a local workshop, which was made under the powerful influence of northern Apulian Gnathia ware.²¹ Even so, it should be stressed that the motifs were painted in white and red, which is a feature of Sicilian Gnathian production.²² For now it would be worthwhile to maintain only this assertion, because all previous research into the Issaeen Gnathia ware has not ascertained the existence of any influence by Sicilian production.²³ According to Maja Miše, Issaeen production of Gnathia ware began in the mid-3rd century BC.²⁴ Consequently, and if this really is a case of Issaeen production, it would be worthwhile to date it to the very beginning or initial phase of local production, which also corresponds to the analogous Apulian shapes.

As to the other jug,²⁵ a fragment of the rim with the upper section of the body and part of the lower body have been preserved (Fig. 8). This is an olpe, pelike or table amphora decorated in the tradition of West Slope ware. It was crafted from carefully refined clay, without any macroscopically visible temper, which became pink after firing (*Munsell 7.5 YR 7/3, pink*). The vessel's body is pronounced at the shoulder, and the rim is horizontally drawn outward. The ribbon-like handle connects the neck to the shoulder. The low ringed foot has concave bottom. The slip has almost entirely disappeared, and the remains of black, brown or red are visible at places. The edge of the foot is coated, while the interior has been saved. The body is covered with shallow and densely arranged vertical flutes, while a branch ornament is engraved onto the neck; its leaves, which had been applied with

19 O sličnom obliku vidi Miše 2015, str. 90, cat. nos. 46.

20 Lippolis 1994, str. 245.

21 O posudama kasnokanoške proizvodnje kao i RPR skupine na Visu te o njihovom utjecaju na prvu fazu isejske lončarske proizvodnje vidi kod Miše 2015, str. 28, 35.

22 Lanza 2005, str. 94-95.

23 O značajkama isejske proizvodnje *Gnathia* keramike vidi Miše 2015. O mogućem utjecaju siciliske skupine *Lentini Manfria* na izvedbu komične scene na enohoji iz groba 168 s Vlaške njive vidi Ugarković 2016, str. 75, 76.

24 Miše 2015, str. 36.

25 Inv. br. AMS 72486. Dimenzije su: širina ramena: 12, 4 cm, promjer oboda: 10,5 cm, promjer dna: 7,6 cm.

19 On a similar shape, see Miše 2015, p. 90, cat. nos. 46.

20 Lippolis 1994, p. 245.

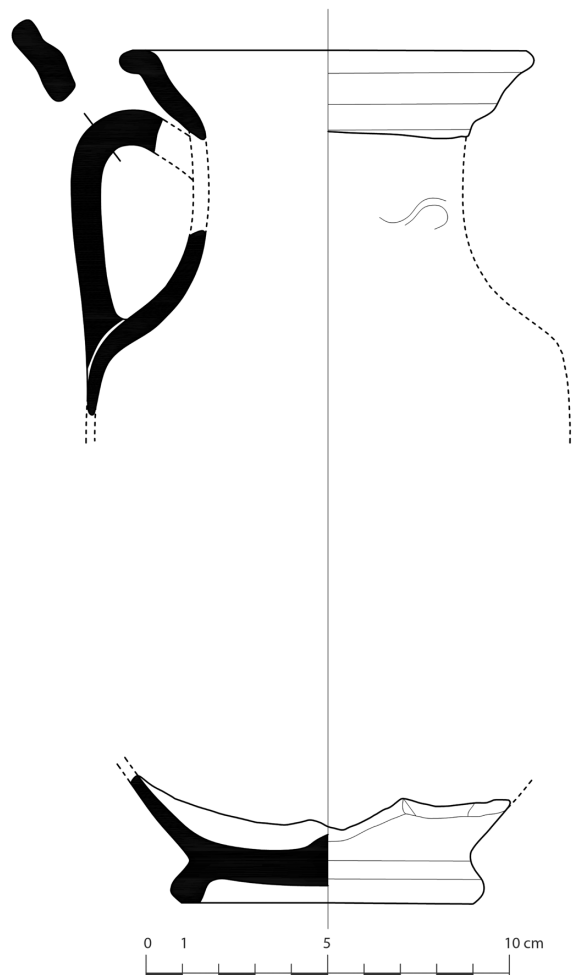
21 On vessels of Late Canosan production, as well as the RPR group on Vis and their influence on the first phase of Issaeen pottery production, see Miše 2015, pp. 28, 35.

22 Lanza 2005, pp. 94-95.

23 On the features of Issaeen production of Gnathia ware, see Miše 2015. On the possible influence of the Sicilian *Lentini Manfria* group on the rendering of comical scenes on the oenochoe from grave 168 in Vlaška njiva, see Ugarković 2016, pp. 75, 76.

24 Miše 2015, p. 36.

25 Inv. no. AMS 72486. Dimensions: width of shoulder: 12.4 cm, dia. of rim: 10.5 cm, dia. of base: 7.6 cm.



Sl. 8. Vrč u tradiciji Zapadnog obronka (crtež: J. Beneta)

Fig. 8. Jug in the West Slope tradition (sketch: J. Beneta)

makroskopski vidljivih primjesa, koja je pečenjem poprimila ružičastu boju (*Munsell 7.5 YR 7/3, pink*). Tijelo posude naglašeno je na ramenu, a obod je horizontalno izvučen. Trakasta ručka spaja rame s vratom. Niska prstenasta stopa ima udubljeno dno. Premaz je gotovo u potpunosti nestao, a mjestimično su sačuvani ostaci crne, smeđe ili crvene boje. Rub stope je premazan, dok je unutrašnjost pošteđena. Tijelo je prekriveno plitkim i gusto raspoređenim vertikalnim kanelurama, dok je na vratu urezan ukras grančice čiji su listovi otpali, a bili su nanaseni debljim slojem gline (sl. 8, 9). S obzirom na lošiju sačuvanost, nije moguće rekonstruirati potpuni oblik pa je teško sa sigurnošću govoriti o njegovim analogijama. Imajući to u vidu, može se eventualno spomenuti da se slično naglašeno tijelo javlja kod *Gnathia olpi* siciliske produkcije. Preciznije, riječ je o tzv. *olpai baccellate siceliote*, koje



Sl. 9. Vrč u tradiciji Zapadnog obronka, detalj urezanog ukrasa na vratu (foto: T. Seser)

Fig. 9. Jug in the West Slope tradition, detail of engraved ornament on neck (photo: T. Seser)

the thicker layer of clay, have fallen off (Fig. 8, 9). Given its poor state of preservation, it is impossible to reconstruct the full form, so it is difficult to speak with any certainty about its analogies. Keeping that in mind, it may be incidentally noted that a similarly pronounced body appears in the *Gnathia olpai* produced on Sicily. Specifically, these are so-called *olpai baccellate siceliote*, which were made from the end of the 4th to the beginning of the 2nd century BC.²⁶ The body is covered in dense flutes, and the branch motif with leaves is depicted on the neck.²⁷ Here as well, the branch is engraved, but the leaves are painted.²⁸ That this vessel type truly made its way to Dalmatia is demonstrated by two documented *olpai*, probably imported from Sicily, that were found in Stari Grad, on the neighbouring island of Hvar.²⁹ But it would be difficult to argue that the Sicilian *olpai* had a significant influence on the production of the vessels from Issa, since that the remaining diagnostic parts, such as the rim, handles and foot, clearly differ morphologically. Also, a similarly prominent body appeared in the products of other pottery industries, and an example thereof which may be cited is the oenochoe from Lavello dating to the late 4th century BC.³⁰ On the other hand, a similar decoration rendered in the same

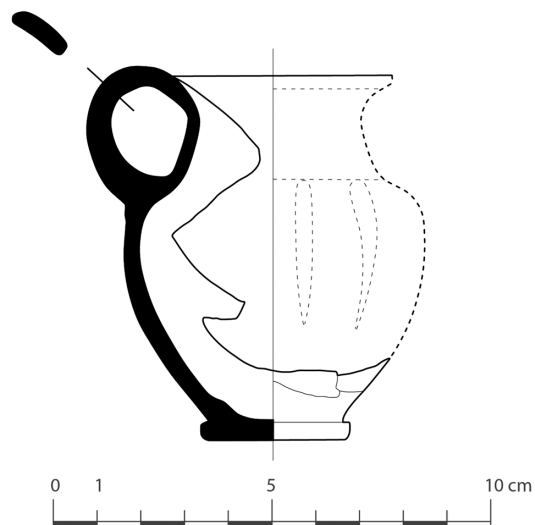
26 On the *olpai* of Sicilian production, see Lanza 2005, pp. 91-102.

27 Lanza 2005, pp. 94-102.

28 The painted decoration is rendered in white and red, and besides the neck it could also be found on the upper part of the body, above the band with fluting (Lanza 2005, pp. 94-95).

29 Lisičar 1973, pl. XI, 32, 33; Vikić, Damevski 1983, pp. 106, 123, cat. nos. 51, 52, p. 14.

30 See type 4.2 in Bottini, Fresa 1991, pp. 49, 72, CL XLI, P. 699, 8.



Sl. 10. Crnopremazani vrčić s jednom ručkom (crtež: J. Beneta)

Fig. 10. Black-glazed juglet with one handle (sketch: J. Beneta)

se izrađuju od kraja 4. do početka 2. st. pr. Kr.²⁶ Tijelo im je prekriveno gustim kanelurama, a motiv grančice s listovima prikazan je na vratu.²⁷ I ovdje je grančica urezana, no listovi su naslikani.²⁸ Da je ovaj tip posuda uistinu došao do Dalmacije, na to ukazuju dvije dokumentirane olpe, vjerojatno uvezene iz Sicilije, koje su pronađene u Starom Gradu, na susjednom otoku Hvaru.²⁹ No teško bi bilo argumentirati da su sicilske olpe imale znatan utjecaj na izradu naše posude, budući da se ostali dijagnostički dijelovi, poput oboda, ručke i stope, jasno morfološki razlikuju. Također, slično naglašeno tijelo javlja se i kod drugih produkcija, a kao primjer mogu se navesti enohoje kasnog 4. st. pr. Kr. iz Lavella.³⁰ S druge strane, sličan ukras izveden u istoj tehnici pojavljuje se na stolnoj amfori iz groba 90, također s Vlaške njive. Sukladno analogijama oblika, ta je posuda interpretirana kao uvoz s prostora SZ Grčke ili Albanije, a dokumentirana se pogrebna cjelina datira u zadnju trećinu 4. i početak 3. st. pr. Kr.

26 O olpama sicilske produkcije vidi Lanza 2005, str. 91-102.

27 Lanza 2005, str. 94-102.

28 Slikana je dekoracija izvedena bijelom i crvenom bojom, a osim na vratu mogla se naći i na gornjem dijelu tijela, iznad pojasa s kanelurama (Lanza 2005, str. 94-95).

29 Lisičar 1973, tab. XI, 32, 33; Vikić, Damevski 1983, str. 106, 123, kat. nos. 51, 52, tab. 14.

30 Vidi tip 4.2 kod Bottini, Fresa 1991, str. 49, 72, CL XLI, T. 699, 8.



Sl. 11. Crnopremazani vrčić s jednom ručkom (foto: T. Seser)

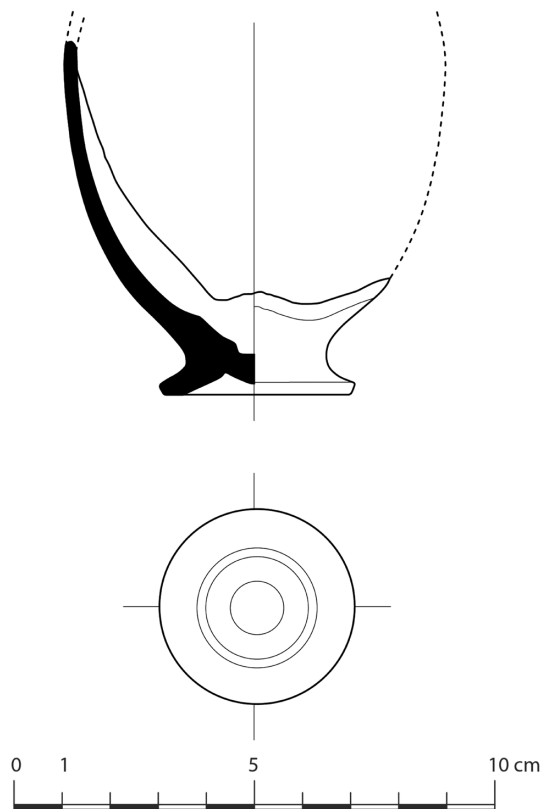
Fig. 11. Black-glazed juglet with one handle (photo: T. Seser)

technique appears on a table amphora from grave 90, also from Vlaška njiva. In line with the analogies to the shape, this vessel has been interpreted as an import from north-western Greece or Albania, while the documented grave unit has been dated to the final third of the 4th century or beginning of the 3rd century BC. The engraved ivy branch, with leaves rendered by a thicker application of clay, appeared on amphorae and pelikai of Epirot production in the latter half of the 4th century BC, which is an example of the early use of West Slope decorations on pottery produced in the territory of Epirus and in north-western Greece in general.³¹ Unfortunately, the branches have fallen off of both vessels from Vlaška njiva, so that no more detailed analogies can be ascertained. Given that, as well as the incompletely preserved shape, it may be concluded that in this case it was a jug from the late 4th or early 3rd century BC, of thus far unknown provenance.

Out of the remaining jugs, a small Black-glazed example with a single handle has been preserved; it was assembled into half of a vessel from several potsherds (Fig. 10, 11).³² It was made of carefully refined clay, without any macroscopically visible temper, which became pink after firing (Munsell 7.5 YR 7/3,

31 See, for example, Andréou 2009, p 144.

32 Inv. no. AMS 72483. Dimensions: height 8.4 cm, width 6.8 cm, diameter of rim 5 cm, diameter of base 3.2 cm.



Sl. 12. Crnopremazani skif (crtež: J. Beneta)

Fig. 12. Black-glazed skyphos (sketch: J. Beneta)

Urezana grančica bršljana, s listovima koji su izvedeni debljim nanosom gline, pojavljuje se na amforama i pelikama epirske produkcije druge polovice 4. st. pr. Kr., što je primjer rane upotreba *West Slope* dekoracije na keramici koja se proizvodila na prostoru Epira i općenito SZ Grčke.³¹ Nažalost, kod obiju posuda s Vlaške njive listovi na grančici su otpali, pa se njihov oblik, a samim time i detaljnije analogije, ne mogu utvrditi. S obzirom na to, kao i na nepotpuno sačuvan oblik, može se zaključiti da je u našem slučaju riječ o vrču kasnog 4. st. pr. Kr. ili ranog 3. st. pr. Kr., za sada neutvrđene provenijencije.

Od preostalih je vrčeva sačuvan i jedan mali crnopremazani primjerak, s jednom ručkom, koji je od više ulomaka spojen u polovicu posude (sl. 10, 11).³² Izrađen je od fino pročišćene gline, bez makroskopski vidljivih primjesa, koja je pečenjem poprimila ružičastu boju (*Munsell 7.5 YR 7/3, pink*). Tijelo je naglašeno u ramenu i postupno se sužava prema stopi. Široki vrat prelazi u ljevkastu obod, dok je presjek ručke izdužen. Niska prstenasta stopa ima ravno dno.

31 Vidi npr. kod Andréou 2009, str. 144.

32 Inv. br. AMS 72483. Dimenzije su: visina 8,4 cm, širina 6,8 cm, promjer oboda 5 cm, promjer dna 3,2 cm.



Sl. 13. Crnopremazani skif (foto: T. Seser)

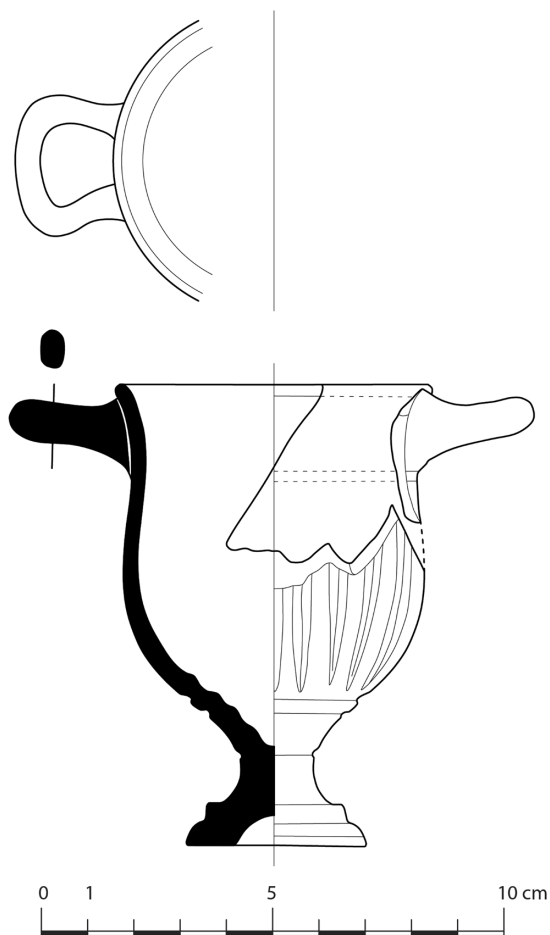
Fig. 13. Black-glazed skyphos (photo: T. Seser)

pink). The body is pronounced at the shoulder and it gradually narrows to the foot. The wide neck transitions into a spouted rim, while the cross-section of the handle is oblong. The narrow ringed foot has a flat bottom. The partially faded slip covers the vessel's entire surface. The belly is adorned with deep vertical grooves, which narrow toward the base, and they were set a distance of 1.7 cm from each other. The letter X is engraved below the handle. This example corresponds to the Apulian juglets of the latter half of the 4th century BC and was probably imported from that area.³³

Besides jugs, drinking cups, skyphoi, were also deposited. The lower part of a body, including the foot, were preserved on one, by all indications a Black-glazed example (Fig. 12).³⁴ It is made of carefully refined clay with a pale-brown colour (*Munsell 2.5 8.5/2, pale brown*), without macroscopically visible temper. The black glaze was applied over the entire

33 Morel 1981, p. 354, type 5335a1, pl. 164; for similar juglets from the graves in Taras, which date from 375 to 325 BC, see Graepler 1997, type 112/1; Hoffmann 2002, type 112/4; see also the example from grave LI from Ortona, dated to the latter half of the 4th century BC at De Juliis 1973, p. 382, fig. 128, no. 3.

34 Inv. no. AMS 72487, dimensions: preserved height 7.4 cm; width 7.9 cm; dia. of base 3.9 cm. A fragment of the upper part of the body with the rim, which may have belonged to the same cup, was found subsequently.



Sl. 14. Gnathia skif (crtež: J. Beneta)
 Fig. 14. Gnathia skyphos (sketch: J. Beneta)

Djelomično izbljedio premaz pokriva cijelu površinu posude. Trbuh je ukrašen dubokim vertikalnim žljebovima, koji se sužavaju prema dnu, a postavljeni su na međusobnoj udaljenosti od 1,7 cm. Ispod ručke urezano je slovo X. Opisani primjerak odgovara apulskim vrčićima druge polovice 4. st. pr. Kr. i najvjerojatnije je uvezen s tog područja.³³

Uz vrčeve priložene su i čaše za piće, odnosno skifi. Od jednog, po svemu sudeći, crnopremazanog primjerka sačuvan je donji dio tijela, uključujući i stopu (sl. 12).³⁴ Izrađen je od fino pročišćene gline,



Sl. 15. Gnathia skif (foto: T. Seser)
 Fig. 15. Gnathia skyphos (photo: T. Seser)

surface, and while the rim was coated, its inside and the band above it have not been preserved (Fig. 13). The slanted foot has a concave bottom with a central protrusion, while a finely engraved double circlet can be seen on the bottom.³⁵ Analogies to the shape are present in the territory of Albania, where a series of similar examples were documented in the graves in Apollonia³⁶ and Dyrrachium.³⁷ This was a so-called Corinthian-type skyphos, which appeared in graves in Apollonia already in the early 5th century BC,³⁸ while this example is closest to the shapes of the latter half of the 4th century BC, with ovoid body, a somewhat narrower foot and a horseshoe-shaped handle.³⁹ The same manner of applying the slip has also been documented on the aforementioned Albanian examples.⁴⁰ By all indications, this an import from that area.

The other skyphos was assembled from several pieces into almost an entire cup, and it has been

33 Morel 1981, str. 354, tip 5335a1, pl. 164; za slične vrčiče iz grobova u Tarasu, koji se datiraju od 375. do 325. god. pr. Kr., vidi Graepler 1997, *typ* 112/1; Hoffmann 2002, *typ* 112/4; također vidi primjer iz groba LI iz Ordone, datiran u drugu polovicu 4. st. pr. Kr. kod De Juliis 1973, str. 382, fig. 128, br. 3.

34 Inv. br. AMS 72487, dimenzije: sačuvana visina 7,4 cm; širina 7,9 cm; promjer dna 3,9 cm. Naknadno je pronađen i ulomak gornjeg dijela tijela s obodom, koji možda pripada istoj čaši.

35 I have been unable to find analogies to this phenomenon based on the sources available to me, but it is possible that this was an unintentional feature that emerged due to the technique for forming the base.

36 Mano 1971, pl. XXVIII.

37 Hidri 1983; Hidri 2006, V.3, 1; V.5, 2, p. I.

38 Amore, Dimo 2010, p. 415.

39 Amore, Dimo 2010, pp. 416, 420-422.

40 See, for example. Hidri 2006, pl. IV, V.18,1.

blijedosmeđe boje (*Munsell 2.5 8.5/2, pale brown*), bez makroskopski vidljivih primjesa. Crni je premaz apliciran na čitavu površinu, s tim da je rub stope premazan, dok su njezina unutrašnjost kao i pojas iznad nje pošteđeni (sl. 13). Zakošena stopa ima udubljeno dno sa središnjim ispupčenjem, dok se na dnu uočava fino urezana dvostruka kružnica.³⁵ Analogije oblika prisutne se na području Albanije, gdje je niz sličnih primjeraka dokumentirano u grobovima Apolonije³⁶ i Dirahija.³⁷ U pitanju je tzv. korintski tip skifa, koji se u grobovima Apolonije javlja već u ranom 5. st. pr. Kr.,³⁸ dok je naš primjerak najbliži oblicima druge polovice 4. st. pr. Kr., s ovoidnim tijelom, nešto užom stopom i ručkom u obliku konjske potkove.³⁹ Isti je način apliciranja premaza, također, dokumentiran na spomenutim albanskim primjercima.⁴⁰ Po svemu sudeći, riječ je o importu s tog prostora.

Drugi je skif spojen od više ulomaka u gotovo cijelu čašu, i atribuirao se keramičkoj vrsti *Gnathia* (sl. 14-16).⁴¹ Izrađen je od fino pročišćene gline, bez makroskopski vidljivih primjesa, koja je pečenjem poprimila ružičastu boju (*Munsell 7.5 YR 7/3, pink*). Crni je premaz izbljedio i djelomično otpao. Tijelo skifa zabljenog je S-profila i prelazi u visoku nogu koja završava profiliranom stopom s udubljenim dnom. Prekriveno je pojasom izražajnih vertikalnih kanelura, a ispod ručki dvije kanelure formiraju slovo *V* (sl. 16). Slikani ukras gotovo je u potpunosti otpao, a ispod oboda naziru se ostaci crvene i bijele boje. Sukladno tipologiji oblika lokalno proizvedene keramike tipa *Gnathia*, ovaj skif pokazuje velike sličnosti s isejskim skifima tipa A, koji su karakteristični u prvoj fazi spomenute proizvodnje.⁴² Ipak, može se zamijetiti da je naš primjerak nešto kraći te da su same kanelure izrađene na drugačiji način, odnosno da je riječ o dublje urezanim i rjeđe postavljenim dvostrukim kanelurama sa šiljastim završetkom. Iako valja imati na umu da je izgled kanelura znatno ovisio o izboru instrumenata s kojim su urezivane, analogije prema dostupnoj mi



Sl. 16. *Gnathia* skif (foto: T. Seser)

Fig. 16. *Gnathia skyphos* (photo: T. Seser)

classified as *Gnathia* ware (Fig. 14-16).⁴¹ It was crafted from carefully refined clay, without any macroscopically visible temper, which became pink after firing (*Munsell 7.5 YR 7/3, pink*). The black glaze has faded and partially fallen off. The body of the skyphos has a rounded S-profile and transitions to a high stem which ends in an articulated foot with a concave bottom. It is covered with a band of expressive vertical flutes, while below the handle, two flutes form the letter *V* (Fig. 16). The painted decoration has almost entirely fallen off, and the remains of red and white paint can be discerned below the rim. In line with the shape typology of locally produced *Gnathia* ware, this skyphos exhibits considerable similarity to the Issaeon type A skyphos that was typical in the first phase of the aforementioned production industry.⁴² Even so, it may be noted that this example is slightly shorter and that the actual fluting is rendered differently, i.e., these are more deeply engraved and more sparsely placed double flutes with tapered ends. Even though it is worth bearing in mind that the appearance of the fluting depended considerably on the choice of

35 Za opisanu pojavu temeljem dostupne mi literature nisam uspjela naći analogije, moguće je i da je riječ o nenamjernoj pojavi koja je nastala prilikom tehničkog oblikovanja dna.

36 Mano 1971, tab. XXVIII.

37 Hidri 1983; Hidri 2006, V.3, 1; V.5, 2, tab I.

38 Amore, Dimo 2010, str. 415.

39 Amore, Dimo 2010, str. 416, 420-422.

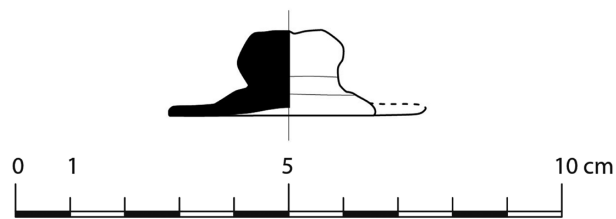
40 Vidi npr. Hidri 2006, tab. IV, V.18,1.

41 Inv. br. AMS 72488; dimenzije: visina 9, 9 cm, širina 6, 3 cm, promjer oboda 6,8 cm te promjer dna 3,9 cm; nedostaju ulomci tijela i oboda.

42 Miše 2015, posebno str. 34, 158.

41 Inv. no. AMS 72488; Dimensions: height 9.9 cm, width 6.3 cm, dia. of rim 6.8 cm and dia. of base 3.9 cm; pieces of body and rim missing.

42 Miše 2015, esp. pp. 34, 158.



Sl. 17. Poklopac (crtež: J. Beneta)

Fig. 17. Lid (sketch: J. Beneta)

literaturi pronalazim jedino na prostoru Albanije.⁴³ Naime, slična izvedba i grupiranje kanelura može se zamijetiti na nizu posuda iz *Dirahiona* ili *Phoinike* za koje se pretpostavlja lokalna proizvodnja.⁴⁴ Stječe se dojam da bi mogla biti riječ o jednom od najranijih lokalno proizvedenih skifa, s mogućom datacijom tijekom prve polovice 3. st. pr. Kr. Ovaj vjerojatni isejski proizvod izrađen je pod utjecajem apulskih skifa kanoške proizvodnje, dok su neki drugi prepoznatljiviji elementi poput kanelura izvedeni po uzoru na albansku tradiciju.⁴⁵

Ipak valja naglasiti da određene morfološke značajke, posebice visoka noga i oblikovanje stope, ukazuju na mogući utjecaj iz Epira, gdje su slične značajke zamijećene na lokalnim varijacijama tzv. korinskog skifa.⁴⁶ Slično oblikovana stopa javlja se na kantarima iz *Phoinike* u Albaniji.⁴⁷

Od preostalih keramičkih predmeta pronađena su i dva manja poklopca. Jedan primjerak sačuvan je gotovo u potpunosti, a prema svojim dimenzijama mogao je zatvarati bolje sačuvani crnopremazani vrčić. Izrađen je od fino pročišćene ružičaste gline, bez makroskopski vidljivih primjesa (sl. 17). Drugi je evidentiran na nacrtu groba i u grobnim formularima, ali nije pronađen među sačuvanim materijalnim ostacima.

Uz keramičke posude otkrivena su i dva metalna artefakta. U prvom slučaju radi se o željeznom oružju, varijanti ranog piluma, čiji je vrh dobro očuvan,

implements used to engrave them, the only analogies I could find based on the sources available to me are from the territory of Albania.⁴³ Similar renderings and groupings of flutes can be seen on a series of vessels from Dyrachion or Phoinika which are assumed to have been locally produced.⁴⁴ One gains the impression that could have been one of the earliest locally produced skyphoi, with possible dating to the first half of the 3rd century BC. This probable Issaeon product was made under the influence of Apulian skyphoi of Canosan production, while some other recognizable elements, such as the fluting, were modelled after the Albanian tradition.⁴⁵ It should nonetheless be stressed that certain morphological features, particularly the high stem and the formation of the foot, indicate a possible influence from Epirus, where similar features have been noted on local variants of the so-called Corinthian skyphos.⁴⁶ A similarly shaped foot appeared on the kantharoi from Phoinika in Albania.⁴⁷

Among the other ceramic items, two small lids were also found. One has been almost entirely preserved, and based on its dimensions it may have closed the better preserved Black-glazed juglet. It is made of carefully refined pinkish clay, without macroscopically visible admixtures (Fig. 17). The other is recorded on the sketch of the grave in and the paperwork drafted for the grave, but it has not been found among the preserved physical remains.

Two metal artefacts were discovered besides the ceramic vessels. The first is an iron weapon, a variant of an early pilum, with a well-preserved tip, even though a smaller section has been reconstructed, and a part of the shaft socket is missing (Fig. 18-20).⁴⁸ The entire preserved length is 33.3 cm. The top of the pilum is foliate, with a prominent central spine, while the oblong socket has a rectangular cross-section. The face, with a width of 2.8 cm, accounts for a third of

43 Željela bih zahvaliti kolegi Eduardu Shehiju na korisnim savjetima koje mi je pružio.

44 Za *Dirahion* Shehi, osobna komunikacija; također vidi Hidri 2006, tab. IV, V. 26, 1, tab. V, V 23, 3. Vidi slično u Apoloniji kod Vreka 1994; za *Phoinike* vidi Gamberini 2016, str. 55.

45 S obzirom na veliku sličnost kanelura na našem skifu i albanskim posudama vrlo je vjerojatno da je za izvedbu ovih kanelura korišten isti tip instrumenta.

46 Za skif iz Epira vidi primjer iz Ambrakije, datiran u zadnju trećinu 4. st. pr. Kr., ilustriran kod Andreou, Andreou 1997, II 9.81, Pl. 67a; Pl. 64a. Želim zahvaliti Alexandrosu Laftidisu, koji me je upozorio na ove nalaze.

47 Gamberini 2016.

43 I would like to thank my colleague Eduard Shehi for the useful advice he gave me.

44 For Dyrachion, Shehi, personal communication; see also Hidri 2006, pl. IV, V. 26, 1, pl. V, V 23, 3. See similar items in Apollonia in Vreka 1994; for Phoinika, see Gamberini 2016, p. 55.

45 Given the considerable similarity between the flutes on this skyphos and the Albanian vessels, it is very likely that the same type of implement was used to make of these flutes.

46 For the skyphos from Epirus, see the example from Ambracia, dated to the final third of the 4th cent. BC, illustrated in Andreou, Andreou 1997, II 9.81, Pl. 67a; Pl. 64a. I would like to thank Alexandros Laftidis, who brought these finds to my attention.

47 Gamberini 2016.

48 Inv. no. AMS 72402.



Sl. 18. Željezno oružje - rani pilum prije konzervacije (foto: M. Rogošić)

Fig. 18. Iron weapon - early pilum prior to conservation (photo: M. Rogošić)

iako je manji dio rekonstruiran, a nedostaje mu dio tuljca za nasad (sl. 18-20).⁴⁸ Cjelokupna sačuvana dužina iznosi 33,3 cm. Vrh piluma listolikog je oblika, s izraženim središnjim rebrom, a izduženi tuljac za nasad je četvrtastog presjeka. Trećina sačuvane dužine odnosi se na list, širine 2,8 cm, dok je širina tuljca 1 cm. Dokumentiran je horizontalno položen, zajedno s ostalim nalazima na planu groba 234, s tim da je, kako je već prethodno spomenuto, manji odlomljeni ulomak tuljca za nasad pronađen kod nogu pokojnika iz groba 237.

Drugi metalni predmet jednostavna je brončana karičica kvadratnog presjeka, promjera 1,8 cm te sa



Sl. 19. Željezno oružje - rani pilum nakon konzervacije (foto: T. Seser)

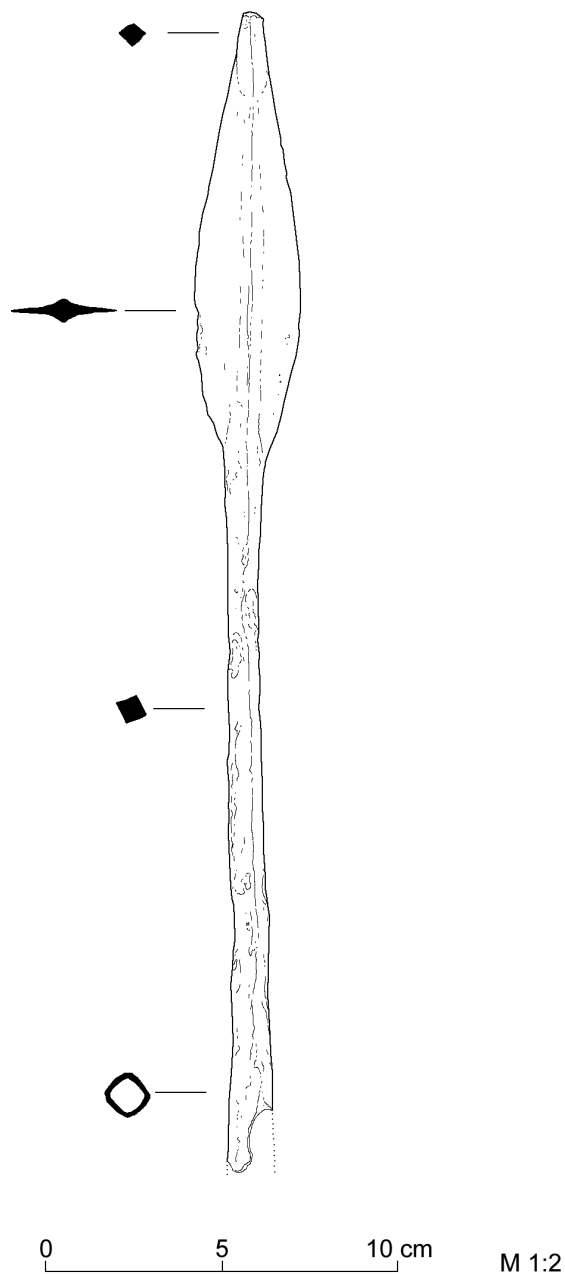
Fig. 19. Iron weapon - early pilum after conservation (photo: T. Seser)

the preserved length, while the width of the socket is 1 cm. It was documented as being horizontally deposited together with the remaining goods in the schematic of grave 234, although, as already noted above, a smaller fragment broken off of the socket was found next to the foot of the deceased individual from grave 237.

The other metal item is a simple, small bronze ringlet with square cross-section, a diameter of 1.8 cm and a 0.2 cm thick wall (Fig. 21).⁴⁹ Similar small ringlets with different dimensions and cross-sections appeared in graves at a series of locations during the

48 Inv. br. AMS 72402.

49 Inv. no. AMS 71557.

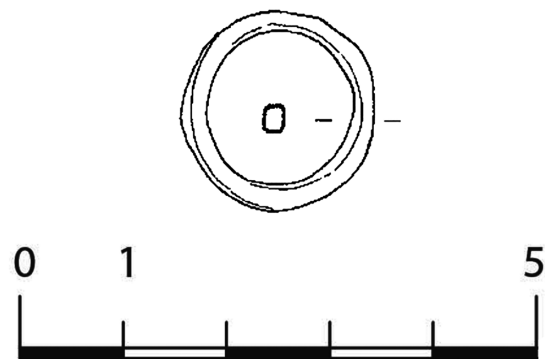


Sl. 20. Željezno oružje - rani pilum (crtež: Z. Podrug)
 Fig. 20. Iron weapon - early pilum (sketch: Z. Podrug)

stijenkom debljine 0,2 cm (sl. 21).⁴⁹ Slične karičice, raznih dimenzija i presjeka, javljaju se u grobovima na nizu lokaliteta tijekom čitavog željeznog doba.⁵⁰ U nekim slučajevima radi se o ostacima pokojnikove nošnje, odnosno prstenju kao dijelu nakita ili ukra-

49 Inv. br. AMS 71557.

50 Neki primjerci s Jadrana pronađeni su u grobovima Numane (Landolfi 1997, str. 90, 02.24), Adrije (Bonomi *et al.* 1993, str. 156, br. 95-99, Bolognesi 1998/99, str. 304, fig. 13, 6, 7; Bonimi *et al.* 2000, tav. XII, 47, 48), Ankone (Colivicchi 2002, str. 176) ili Apolonije (Amore 2010, str. 669, br. 13.79-13.82).



Sl. 21. Brončana karičica (crtež: J. Beneta)
 Fig. 21. Bronze ringlet (sketch: J. Beneta)

entire Iron Age.⁵⁰ In some cases these are the remains of the deceased individual's attire, i.e., rings as a part of jewellery or decorative items on their clothing.⁵¹ Even so, ringlets could also have had a series of different functions.⁵² The purpose of this example thus remains open to question, even though it may have been a part of the attire of the deceased.

Given the recorded situation, it is impossible to ascertain a more detailed original context for the described finds. In line with the proposed dating and in the light of existing documentation, it is worthwhile asking whether they may be linked to two separate burials. In this case, the jug with decorations from the West Slope tradition, the Black-glazed Apulian juglet and the Corinthian-type skyphos may have been goods from the older assemblage from the late 4th century BC, or grave 237, to which the described example of a javelin may have belonged. Then grave 234 would have been the later burial, from the mid-3rd century

50 Some examples from the Adriatic were found in graves in Numana (Landolfi 1997, p. 90, 02.24), Adria (Bonomi *et al.* 1993, p. 156, no. 95-99, Bolognesi 1998/99, p. 304, fig. 13, 6, 7; Bonimi *et al.* 2000, Pl. XII, 47, 48;), Ancona (Colivicchi 2002, p. 176) or Apollonia (Amore 2010, p. 669, no. 13.79-13.82).

51 Several bronze hoops, with somewhat larger dimensions to be sure (diameter from 2.7 to 5 cm), were documented in tombs III and IV in Vičja Luka on the island of Brač, and they have been interpreted as a part of the funerary attire of the deceased, part of a belt, while the larger examples may have been fastened to the clothing by organic materials as a type of decorative armour with a symbolic/status function (Marović, Nikolanci 1977, pp. 13, 14, Fig. 5, 1-4; Barbarić 2006, pp. 51, 55).

52 As an example, I will note that they may have played a role in the suspension of items made of materials that disappeared with the passage of time, see, for example, De Benedittis 2006, pp. 56, 6-8.

snom predmetu na nošnji pokojnika.⁵¹ Ipak, karičice su, također, mogle imati i niz drugih funkcija.⁵² Stoga nam namjena ovog primjerka ostaje upitna, iako je možda bila povezana uz nošnju pokojnika.

S obzirom na zabilježeno stanje, nije moguće sa sigurnošću utvrditi detaljniji originalni kontekst opisanih nalaza. Sukladno predloženoj dataciji te u svjetlu postojeće dokumentacije možemo se zapitati je li ih moguće vezati i uz dva pokopa. U tom bi slučaju vrč s ukrasom *West Slope* tradicije, crnopremazni apulski vrčić te skif korintskog tipa mogli biti prilozi starije cjeline iz kasnog 4. st. pr. Kr., odnosno groba 237, kojoj bi pripadao i opisani primjerak piluma. Tada bi grob 234 bio mlađi ukop, iz sredine 3. st. pr. Kr., s *Gnathia* pelikom i skifom. Iako, nažalost, ne možemo ponuditi odgovor na to pitanje, ipak je važno naglasiti značenje isejskoga groba s oružjem jer se radi o prvom dokumentiranom, a time ujedno i jedinstvenom nalazu oružja u kontekstu grada Ise. Stoga sâm predmet kao i dokumentirana kulturološka praksa zaslužuju detaljniji osvrt.

Rasprava

Koplje i sulica tipični su primjeri željeznodobnog pješackog oružja, odnosno ratničke opreme. O njihovoj namjeni najviše govore njihove značajke, koje uključuju dužinu tuljca, presjek oštrice vrha s prisutnošću, odnosno odsutnošću središnjeg rebra te materijal od kojeg su izrađeni.⁵³ Koplje je masivno oružje koje u osnovi služi za bodenje, dok se znatno lakša sulica koristila za bacanje, i to posebno s višeg položaja. S druge strane, dužina cijelog oružja, presjek tuljca ili eventualna prisutnost dekoracije i/ili perforacije nisu imale značajniji utjecaj na osnovnu funkciju.⁵⁴ Ipak, detaljnija tipološka determinacija nije uvijek jednostavna. Rezultat je to u prvom redu neujednačenosti objava i samih tipologija, potom loše sačuvanosti

BC, with a *Gnathia* pelike and skyphos. Even though this question cannot, unfortunately, be answered, it is nonetheless important to stress the significance of the Issaeian grave containing a weapon, because this is the first documented, and thus unique weapon find within the context of the city of Issa. So the actual item and the documented cultural practice merit a more detailed consideration.

Discussion

The spear and javelin are typical examples of Iron Age infantry weapons, i.e., military equipment. Their features, including the length of the shaft socket, the cross-section of the blade edge on the head with the presence or absence of a central spine and the material from which they were made tell the most about their purpose.⁵³ The spear is a massive weapon basically intended for piercing, while the considerably lighter javelin was used for throwing, particularly from an elevated position. On the other hand, the length of the entire weapon, the cross-section of the socket or the possible presence of decorations and/or perforations did not have a greater influence on their basic function.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, a more detailed typological determination is not always a simple matter. This is primarily the result of the non-uniformity of publications and the typologies themselves, followed by the poor state of preservation of many published examples, and also the fact that there may have in fact been a dual function.⁵⁵

The example of a weapon from Vis is made of iron, and the ratio between the length of the blade and the socket is 1:2. In other words, a third of the preserved length pertained to the blade, and two thirds to the socket. The face has a foliate shape with a prominent central rib. Its morphological/functional features indicate that this was a pilum, a throwing weapon with a long socket and a tip. The pilum was actually a type of long javelin, but essentially it was longer and heavier than an ordinary javelin. Within the context of armed conflict, its purpose was to strike an opponent, and according to Pliny it was designed so that after impact it became disabled for further use.

There are differing opinions on the emergence and development of the pilum, often contradictory, which are based on historical sources, philology and

51 Više brončanih koluta, doduše nešto većih dimenzija (promjera od 2,7 do 5 cm) dokumentirano je u grobnicama III i IV u Vičjoj Luci na otoku Braču, a interpretirani su kao dio pogrebne nošnje pokojnika; dijelom pojasa, dok su veći primjeri mogli biti organskim materijalom pričvršćeni na odjeću, kao vrsta dekorativnog oklopa simboličko-statusne funkcije (Marović, Nikolanci 1977, str. 13, 14, 1-4; Barbarić 2006, str. 51, 55).

52 Kao primjer navodim da su mogli imati ulogu u suspenziji predmeta izrađenih od materijala koji su iščeznuli pod zubom vremena, vidi npr. kod De Benedittis 2006, str. 56, 6-8.

53 Inall 2009, str. 19-21; Inall 2014, str. 245-247.

54 Inall 2009, str. 21-22; Inall 2014, str. 245-247.

53 Inall 2009, pp. 19-21; Inall 2014, pp. 245-247.

54 Inall 2009, pp. 21-22; Inall 2014, pp. 245-247.

55 This was noticed in a series of examples from central and southern Italy, see Small 2000, p. 222.

mnogih objavljenih primjeraka, ali i činjenice da je i sama funkcija mogla biti dvojaka.⁵⁵

Primjerak oružja s Visa izrađen je od željeza, a odnos dužine lista i tuljca je 1:2. Drugim riječima, trećina sačuvane dužine odnosila se na list, a dvije trećine na tuljac. Vrh mu je listolikog oblika s naglašenim središnjim rebrom. Njegove morfološko-funkcionalne značajke ukazuju da je riječ o pilumu, bacačkom oružju s dugom metalnom drškom i vrhom. Pilum je zapravo vrsta duge sulice, ali je u osnovi duži i teži od obične sulice. U kontekstu oružanog sukoba svrha mu je bila pogoditi protivnika, a prema Pliniju dizajniran je na način da se prilikom udara onesposobi za daljnju upotrebu.

O pojavi i razvitku piluma postoje različita mišljenja, često i kontradiktorna, koja se temelje na povijesnim izvorima, filologiji i arheološkim nalazima.⁵⁶ Ipak, u novijoj literaturi zauzima se kompromisni stav po kojem porijeklo i razvoj koncepta te vrste sulice treba tražiti na širem mediteranskom prostoru, gdje se sličan tip oružja razvijao neovisno, na prostorima različitih zajednica.⁵⁷ Preciznije, u tradicijama naoružanja etruščansko-italskog i keltsko-iberskog kulturnog kruga arheološki je potvrđeno postojanje sličnih vrsta bacačkog metalno-drvenog oružja od 5. st. pr. Kr., koje se mogu smatrati pretečama piluma.⁵⁸

Razvitak te vrste sulice može se pratiti na prostoru Apeninskog poluotoka, gdje ju upotrebljava većina naroda. Tako u literaturi možemo pronaći podatak da se jedan od najstarijih primjeraka sulice konceptualno bliske pilumu, pronađene u etruščanskoj grobnici u Vulciju iz 5. st. pr. Kr., danas čuva u Vatikanskom muzeju.⁵⁹ Daljnju potvrdu o tome da su Etruščani tijekom 5. i 4. st. pr. Kr. upotrebljavali izrazito slične sulice nalazimo na prikazima na posudama i freskama. Primjerice, etruščansku Giglioni grobnicu u Tarkviniji ukrašavala je freska čiji sačuvani prikazi uključuju i motiv piluma.⁶⁰ Arheološki nalazi potvrđuju da su

archaeological finds.⁵⁶ Even so, in the more recent scholarly literature a compromise stance has been adopted, according to which the origin and development of the concept for this type of javelin should be sought over the wider Mediterranean zone, where a similar weapon type developed independently in the territories of different communities.⁵⁷ More precisely, in the armament traditions of the Etruscan-Italic and Celtic-Iberian cultural spheres, the existence of similar types of metal and wooden throwing weapons has been archeologically confirmed as of the 5th century BC, which may be deemed the predecessors to the pilum.⁵⁸

The development of this javelin type may be followed in the territory of the Apennine Peninsula, where it was used by most peoples. Thus, in the relevant literature we can find that one of the oldest examples of a javelin conceptually similar to the pilum was found in an Etruscan tomb in Vulci and dated to the 5th century BC; today it is held in the Vatican Museum.⁵⁹ Further confirmation that the Etruscans used a remarkably similar javelin during the 5th and 4th centuries BC can be found in portrayals on vessels and frescoes. For example, the Etruscan Giglioni tomb in Tarquinia was decorated by frescoes on which the preserved images include a pilum motif.⁶⁰ Archaeological finds confirm that the Samnites had already used a similar weapon during the 6th and 5th centuries BC.⁶¹ Jeremy Armstrong believed that the use of weapons which may uniformly be called the pilum in Italy was evident already as of the beginning of the 4th century BC onward,⁶² while Alistair Small stated that the effective use of the pilum appeared already as of the middle of that century.⁶³ By all indications, the Romans became familiar with and adopted the pilum rather early, and most likely by the end of the 4th

55 Ovo je primijećeno na nizu primjeraka iz srednje i južne Italije, vidi kod Small 2000, str. 222.

56 Različite pisane tradicije te pregled hipoteza o podrijetlu piluma i vremenu kada ga Rimljani preuzimaju prelazi mogući opseg ovog rada pa se zainteresirani čitatelji upućuju na sljedeću literaturu: Dahm 1895; Reinach 1907; Reinach 1917; Schulten 1911; Schulten 1960; Bishop 2017; Connolly 2000; Connolly 2001/2002; Luik 2000; Quesada Sanz 2007, str. 382-387; Borrini *et al.* 2011, str. 106 i ondje navedena bibliografija; Bongartz 2015; Periša 2015, str. 67-76; Armstrong 2016, str. 260-261 i ondje citirana bibliografija.

57 Quesada Sanz 2007, str. 382-387.

58 Quesada Sanz 2007, str. 386.

59 Cowan 2013, str. 755, fig. 39.19, gore.

60 Bishop, Coulston 2006, str. 52; Cowan 2013, str. 755.

56 Different written traditions and an overview of the hypotheses on the origin of the pilum and the time when the Romans assumed it surpass the extent of this work, so interested readers are instructed to consult the following sources: Dahm 1895; Reinach 1907; Reinach 1917; Schulten 1911; Schulten 1960; Bishop 2017; Connolly 2000; Connolly 2001/2002; Luik 2000; Quesada Sanz 2007, pp. 382-387; Borrini *et al.* 2011, pp. 106 and the bibliography contained therein; Bongartz 2015; Periša 2015, pp. 67-76; Armstrong 2016, pp. 260-261 and the bibliography cited therein.

57 Quesada Sanz 2007, pp. 382-387.

58 Quesada Sanz 2007, p. 386.

59 Cowan 2013, p. 755, fig. 39.19, top.

60 Bishop, Coulston 2006, p. 52; Cowan 2013, p. 755.

61 Cowan 2012.

62 Armstrong 2016, p. 263.

63 Small 2000.

Samniti već tijekom 6. i 5. st. pr. Kr. koristili slično oružje.⁶¹ Jeremy Armstrong smatra da je upotreba oružja koje se jednoznačno može nazvati pilumom u Italiji evidentna od početka 4. st. pr. Kr. pa nadalje,⁶² dok Alistair Small navodi kako se efektivna upotreba piluma javlja od sredine spomenutog stoljeća.⁶³ Po svemu sudeći, Rimljani su pilum spoznali i usvojili dosta rano, i to najvjerojatnije najkasnije krajem 4. st. pr. Kr.⁶⁴ a to je oružje nesumnjivo tijekom 3. st. pr. Kr. postalo standardnim dijelom opreme rimskih legionara. Bishop i Coulston navode da su zasada najstariji arheološki nalazi rimskog piluma pronađeni na lokalitetima Castellrufo u Španjolskoj te Talamonaccio u Italiji te ih datiraju u zadnju trećinu 3. st. pr. Kr.⁶⁵ Upravo s obzirom na različite tradicije pripisane podrijetlu piluma, kao i činjenice da se njegove značajke mogu usporediti sa značajkama naoružanja različitih zajednica, može se pretpostaviti da su njegov nastanak i modifikacija tekli postupno, pod utjecajem različitih kulturnih krugova s kojima su Rimljani dolazili u kontakt,⁶⁶ uz moguću uloga plaćenika u transferu tih elemenata.⁶⁷ Sukladno tome, tijekom željeznog doba niz sulica koje predstavljaju razvojne faze prema pilumu, tzv. proto-pilume kao i rane pilume, na Apeninskom poluotoku pronalazimo kod različitih etrusko-italskih zajednica. Također, slična se oružja javljaju i kod Kelta u Italiji i Alpama tijekom 4. i 3. st. pr. Kr.⁶⁸ Štoviše, novija istraživanja sve više ukazuju na mogućnost postojanja značajnog utjecaja koju je latenska (*La Tène*) kultura imala na razvitak vojnih inovacija u središnjoj i južnoj Italiji, uključujući i popularnost, odnosno razvitak samog piluma.⁶⁹ Prema svemu sudeći, u kasnorepublikansko i carsko doba točno podrijetlo ovog oružja, koje je imalo značajnu ulogu u rimskoj vojnoj taktici, posebice u prvom srazu

century BC at the latest,⁶⁴ and this weapon undoubtedly became a standard component of the equipment of Roman legionnaires during the 3rd century BC. Bishop and Coulston alleged that the oldest archaeological finds of the Roman pilum thus far were discovered at the Castellrufo site in Spain and at the Talamonaccio site in Italy and they dated them to the final third of the 3rd century BC.⁶⁵ Indeed, given the differing traditions ascribed to the origin of the pilum and the fact that its features may be compared to the features of the armaments of different communities, it may be assumed that its emergence and modifications proceeded gradually, under the influence of different cultural spheres with which the Romans came into contact,⁶⁶ with mercenaries possibly playing a role in the transfer of these elements.⁶⁷ In this vein, during the Iron Age a series of javelins representing developmental phases toward the pilum, the so-called proto-pila and the early pila on the Apennine Peninsula can be found among different Etruscan-Italic communities. Similar weapons also appeared among the Celts in Italy and the Alps during the 4th and 3rd centuries BC.⁶⁸ Moreover, more recent research is increasingly showing the possibility of the existence of the considerable influence which the La Tène culture had on the development of military innovations in central and southern Italy, including the popularity and development of the pilum itself.⁶⁹ By all indications, during the late republican and imperial era, the exact origin of this weapon, which played a major role in Roman military tactics, particularly in the first battle waged by legionary combat troops, had already been forgotten by the Romans themselves.

Based on available analogies, I have been unable to find an example identical to the type of weapon from the Vis grave. This, however, should not be puzzling, because research into different variants of Iron Age javelins in the territory of the central and southern Apennine Peninsula has demonstrated that their morphological variability is considerable, and the weights

61 Cowan 2012.

62 Armstrong 2016, str. 263.

63 Small 2000.

64 Periša 2015, str. 69.

65 Bishop, Coulston 2006, str. 52-53.

66 Quesada Sanza 2007, str. 386; Armstrong 2016, str. 261.

67 Cherici 2006, str. 372; Cherici 2007, str. 238, bilj. 85; Tagliamonte 2013.

68 Horvat 1999, str. 113; Connolly 1997, str. 44-49; Sievers 2001, str. 163-164.

69 Armstrong 2016. Isti autor smatra da upotreba ovog oružja može biti povezana i s upadom Gala početkom 4. st. pr. Kr., te da su neke značajke piluma vjerojatno galskog podrijetla (Armstrong 2016, str. 261, fusnota 165), na što upućuje i A. Small, koji navodi da efektivna upotreba ovog tipa oružja započinje tijekom galskih ratova (Small 2000).

64 Periša 2015, p. 69.

65 Bishop, Coulston 2006, pp. 52-53.

66 Quesada Sanza 2007, p. 386; Armstrong 2016, p. 261.

67 Cherici 2006, p. 372; Cherici 2007, p. 238, note 85; Tagliamonte 2013.

68 Horvat 1999, p. 113; Connolly 1997, pp. 44-49; Sievers 2001, pp. 163-164.

69 Armstrong 2016. This same scholar believed that the use of this weapon may also be tied to the incursion of the Gauls in the 4th cent. BC and that certain features of the pilum were probably of Gallic origin (Armstrong 2016, p. 261, footnote 165), to which A. Small also refers, as he noted that the effective use of this type of weapon began during the Gallic wars (Small 2000).

legionarskih bojnih redova, već je i za sama Rimljane bilo izglubljeno.

Prema dostupnim analogijama, isti primjerak oružja kao iz viškog groba nisam pronašla. To međutim nimalo ne čudi, jer je istraživanje različitih varijanti željeznodobnih sulica na prostoru srednjega i južnog Apeninskog poluotoka pokazalo da je njihova morfološka varijabilnost znatna, a težina i dimenzije su vrlo vjerojatno bili rezultat individualne odluke pojedinca u dogovoru s kovačem.⁷⁰ Drugim riječima, konačni izgled uvelike je ovisio o predviđenoj tehnici ratovanja i umijeću kovačke izrade koja je predmet prilagođavala određenom pojedincu. Iako su dugačke bacačke sulice s tankim vrhovima različitih dužina prisutne u više regija, čini se da je varijanta s listolikim vrhom bila nešto popularnija kod italskih zajednica u južnoj Italiji.⁷¹ Usporedbom značajki 'viškog' piluma s tipologijom koju je za južnoitalska koplja i sulice izradila Yvonne Inall, mogu se uočiti određene analogije s tipom 9, odnosno podtipom 9.2. Riječ je o tipu željezne sulice s dugim tuljcem i uskim presjekom oštrice, koja se javlja na prostoru Daunije, Bazilikate i Kampanije u razdoblju od 7. do 4. st. pr. Kr. Ovaj tip oružja posebnu popularnost stječe tijekom 5. i 4. st. pr. Kr., kada, prema Y. Inall, dolazi do sve veće upotrebe bacačkog koplja tijekom borbi, što je pokazatelj promjena u tehnikama ratovanja.⁷² Analogije između italskog podtipa 9.2 i primjerka s Visa uočavaju se u slično oblikovanoj listolikoj oštrici te odnosu duljine oštrice i tuljca 1 : 2.⁷³ Ipak, valja istaknuti da isejski primjerak ne odgovara u potpunosti prethodno opisanom apulskom tipu. Glavna je razlika prisutnost središnjeg rebra, koje je izraženo na primjerku s Visa, ali izostaje kod tipa 9.2. Naglašeno središnje rebro evidentno je kod nekih drugih italskih primjeraka, npr. tipološki nedeterminiranog koplja iz Satrianuma u Bazilikati.⁷⁴ Potom, slične primjerke, na kojima je prisutno i središnje rebro, nalazimo u grobovima u Umbriji,⁷⁵ dok se kvadratni presjek gornjeg dijela metalne drške javlja na samnitskim ili iberkim primjercima.⁷⁶ Sukladno pronađenim analogijama izvjesno je da se primjerak pilum iz Ise valja datirati u 4. st. pr. Kr. Time je ovaj nalaz ranog piluma tipološki

and dimensions were very likely the result of individual decisions in agreement with a weapon smith.⁷⁰ In other words, the ultimate appearance depended on the projected combat technique and the skill of the smith who adapted the item for a specific individual. Even though long throwing javelins with narrow tips of varying lengths were present in many regions, it would appear that the variant with the foliate tip was somewhat more popular among the Italic community in southern Italy.⁷¹ Based on a comparison between the features of the 'Vis' pilum and the typology for southern Italic spears and javelins compiled by Yvonne Inall, certain analogies can be seen with type 9, specifically sub-type 9.2. This is a type of iron javelin with a long socket and a narrow blade cross-section, which appeared in the territory Daunia, Basilicata and Campania in the period from the 7th through 4th centuries BC. This type of weapon gained particular popularity during the 5th and 4th centuries BC, when, according to Y. Inall, the use of throwing weapons during combat increased, which was an indicator of changes in warfare techniques.⁷² Analogies between Italic sub-type 9.2 and the example from Vis can be observed in the similarly formed foliate blade and the ratio between the length of the blade edge and the socket of 1:2.⁷³ Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that the Issaeen example does not fully correspond to the previously described Apulian type. The primary difference is the presence of the central spine, which is notable on the example from Vis, but is absent on type 9.2. The prominent central spine is evident among certain other Italic examples, for example the typologically indeterminate spear from Satrianum in Basilicata.⁷⁴ Similar examples, on which a central spine is also present, can then be found in the graves in Umbria,⁷⁵ while the square cross-section on the upper part of the metal handle appears on Samnite and Iberian examples.⁷⁶ In line with the discovered analogies, it is certain that the example of the pilum from Issa should be dated to the 4th century BC. This find of an early pilum would therefore be typologically older than the thus far oldest known Roman pilum from the 3rd century BC.

All previous finds of pila in the central and northern Adriatic seaboard and its hinterland were tied

70 Small 2000, str. 221.

71 Armstrong, osobna informacija.

72 Inall 2014, str. 251.

73 Inall 2009, str. 23, fig. 2, 9; str. 51.

74 Inall 2009, str. 59.

75 Cherici 2014, str. 250, fig. 5, l, m.

76 Di Niro 1989, str. 33, 39-41; Macchiarola 1989, str. 42, grob 2; 71, grob 23, 79; Quesada-Sanz 2007, str. 382, fig. 1, 4.

70 Small 2000, p. 221.

71 Armstrong, personal communication.

72 Inall 2014, p. 251.

73 Inall 2009, pp. 23, fig. 2, 9; p. 51.

74 Inall 2009, p. 59.

75 Cherici 2014, p. 250, fig. 5, l, m.

76 Di Niro 1989, pp. 33, 39-41; Macchiarola 1989, p. 42, grave 2; 71, grave 23, 79; Quesada-Sanz 2007, p. 382, fig. 1, 4.

stariji od dosad poznatih najstarijih rimskih piluma iz 3. st. pr. Kr.

Dosadašnji nalazi piluma na središnjem i sjevernom dijelu Jadranske obale i u njezinom zaleđu vezali su se isključivo uz fizičku prisutnost rimske vojske. Najstariji nalaz piluma, koji je ujedno i najbliža analogija ovom iz Ise na spomenutom prostoru, otkriven je u ostavi kod Šmihela u slovenskoj pokrajini Štajerskoj, u zaleđu sjevernog Jadrana.⁷⁷ Nažalost, on je danas izgubljen. Ostava se datira u republikansko doba, odnosno kraj 3. i prvu polovicu 2. st. pr. Kr. No jedan je primjerak piluma na tuljac s listolikim vrhom tipološki stariji od ostatka dokumentiranog oružja te odgovara nalazima ranih piluma.⁷⁸ Nakon poraza od strane Rimljana italici su narodi s njima sklopili nejednako savezništvo, ali je moguće da su pojedinci u rimskim pohodima i dalje koristili svoj tip piluma, kao i da je riječi o plaćeniku.

Rani pilum s Visa još je jedan od primjeraka ovog oružja koji se može promatrati u kontekstu razvoja ovog tipa oružja, ne sugerirajući, naravno, da je ovaj specifični primjerak imao izravan utjecaj na razvitak rimskog piluma.⁷⁹ Nesumnjivo je riječ, za sada, o jedinstvenom nalazu na prostoru središnjeg istočnog Jadrana te njegovog zaleđa, koji ne treba dovoditi u kontekst kontakta s Rimljanima, nego njegove analogije ukazuju na sličnosti s varijantama proto-piluma i ranim pilumima etrušćansko-italskih zajednica na Apeninskom poluotoku. Stoga je vjerojatno da je odande i uvezen te da je pripadao pojedincu koji se u Isu naselio s tih prostora. Ipak, s obzirom da je Isa grad s uspješnom keramičkom proizvodnjom, kovnicom novca, a zasigurno i s razvijenim drugim ekonomskim granama, nameće se pitanje i mogućnosti lokalne proizvodnje. Kao što je prethodno navedeno, komparativni arheološki materijal s istočne obale Jadrana nije poznat, dok istraživanja isejske naseobine, za sada, nisu donijela materijalne nalaze koji bi mogli osnažiti tu ideju. Ipak, valja spomenuti da su površinski pregled i skromna iskopavanja željeznodobne gradine Talež, naseobine indigenog stanovništva za koju se pretpostavlja da je dominirala Visom prije osnutka Ise, iznjedrila veće količine keramičkih ulomaka (željeznodobne keramike lokalnog karaktera te finije keramike 6. do 4. st. pr. Kr. uvezene iz Apulije i Grčke), zajedno s ulomcima željezne troske, za koje se smatra da ukazuju na mogućnost postojanja

exclusively to the physical presence of the Roman army. The oldest pilum find, which was also the closest analogy to this one from Issa in the aforementioned area, was discovered in a hoard at Šmihel in the Slovenian province of Steiermark, in the northern Adriatic hinterland.⁷⁷ Unfortunately, it has since been lost. The hoard has been dated to the Republic era, specifically the end of the 3rd and the first half of the 2nd century BC. But one example of a socketed pilum with foliate top is typologically older than the remains of the documented weapon and corresponds to the finds of early pila.⁷⁸ After defeat by the Romans, the Italic peoples formed an unequal alliance with them, but it is possible that in the course of further Roman advances individuals continued to use their own pilum type, and this may also have been a case of a mercenary.

The early pilum from Vis is yet another example of this weapon which may be observed in the context of development of this weapon type, naturally without suggesting that this specific example had a direct influence on the development of the Roman pilum.⁷⁹ Thus far it is undoubtedly a case of a unique find in the central part of the eastern Adriatic and its hinterland, which need not be put into the context of contacts with the Romans, rather its analogies point to the similarity to variants of proto-pila and early pila of the Etruscan-Italic communities on the Apennine Peninsula. It is therefore probable that it was imported from there and that it had belonged to an individual from that territory who had settled in Issa. Even so, given that Issa was a city with successful pottery production, a mint to issue coins, and certainly other developed economic branches, the question arises as to the possibility of local production. As already specified previously, comparable archaeological materials from the eastern shore of the Adriatic are not known, while research into the Issaeian settlements have not thus far yielded physical evidence that could reinforce this idea. However, it is noteworthy that a surface inspection and modest excavations at the Iron Age hillfort of Talež, a settlement of the indigenous population which is assumed to have dominated Vis prior to the establishment of Issa, yielded a high quantity of potsherds (Iron Age pottery of a local character and finer potter of the 6th to 4th centuries BC imported from Apulia and Greece), together with pieces of iron

77 Horvat 2002.

78 Horvat 2002, str. 123, fig. 6. 1.

79 Npr. preceptivno se sužava nekoliko centimetara ispod njegova vrha, što se doima kao namjerno slabljenje strukture kako bi se koplje savilo pri udaru, što je jedna od poznatih odlika rimskog piluma.

77 Horvat 2002.

78 Horvat 2002, p. 123, fig. 6. 1.

79 E.g. it perceptibly narrows several centimetres below its tip, which seems like an intentional weakening of its structure so that the spearhead would bend upon impact, one of the better known qualities of the Roman pilum.

metalurškijske aktivnosti na otoku Visu.⁸⁰ Željezne rude, barem u ekonomskim količinama, nema na otoku Visu. Brusnik i Jabuka su dijelom izgrađeni od Mg-Fe piroksena, kao i dio Visa oko Komiže, ali to je željezo u formi silikata, pa zbog toga nije iskoristivo za potrebe metalurgije. Eventualna prisutnost lokalnih pojava željezne rude i njihova iskoristivost u metalurškijske svrhe mogla bi se dokazati jedino detaljnim kartiranjem otoka Visa. Sirovina je, naravno, mogla biti i iscrpljena, ali za sada nisu dokumentirani tragovi u pejzažu koji bi upućivali na takvu aktivnost. Sirovina se također mogla i uvoziti. U tom kontekstu Miroslav Katić iznosi mišljenje da se uvozila iz unutrašnjosti, odnosno s teritorija današnje Bosne i Hercegovine.⁸¹ Valja zaključiti da eventualnu lokalnu proizvodnju isejskog piluma trenutno ne možemo potkrijepiti konkretnim dokazima, ali ju svakako ne možemo sasvim ni isključiti. Ipak, sukladno trenutno dostupnim materijalnim dokazima ovaj nalaz vjerojatnije valja interpretirati kao odraz kontakata sa zapadnom jadranskom obalom i njezinim zaleđem. Viški pilum svakako nije jedini metalni predmet uvezen s Apeninskog poluotoka, koji je pronađen u pogrebnom kontekstu srednjeg istočnog Jadrana, pa se u tom smislu mogu spomenuti i četiri primjerka pojase kopče s palmetom, koje se vezuje uz mušku nošnju i statusni simbol pokojnika. Riječ je o različitim inačicama tzv. samnitskih kopči *a foglia*, italjskog podrijetla, koje su nošene na metalnim neukrašenim pojasevima.⁸² Pronađene su u kontekstu grobova indigenih zajednica 5. i 4. st. pr. Kr. u Dragičiću, Vičjoj luci na otoku Braču, Otišiću i Aseriji.⁸³ U Italiji su korištene isključivo u paru, za zatvaranje pojaseva lokalnog tipa, dok je u grobovima na srednjem Jadranu pronađena samo po jedna, što bi moglo ukazivati na promijenjenu praksu, prilagođenu lokalnim kulturološkim odabirima.⁸⁴ Prema Vedranu Barbariću primjerak iz Otišića je uvezen, dok bi primjerci iz Vičje luke i Dragičića mogli biti i lokalne izrade.⁸⁵

U vezi s navedenim valja se osvrnuti i na kulturološku praksu polaganja oružja u grobove tijekom

slag, which is considered evidence of the possibility of metallurgical activities on the island of Vis.⁸⁰ Iron ore, at least in economically usable quantities, do not exist on the island of Vis. The nearby islets of Brusnik and Jabuka are composed partially of Mg-Fe pyroxene, as is a part of Vis around the town of Komiža, but this is iron in the form of a silicate, and therefore not usable for metallurgical needs. The possible presence of local iron ore deposits and their usefulness for metallurgical purposes could only be ascertained by detailed mapping of the island of Vis. The raw materials, naturally, may have been entirely exhausted, but at this point there are no documented traces in the landscape that would indicate such activity. The raw materials may have also been imported. In this context, Miroslav Katić put forth the view that it was imported from the interior, i.e., from the territory of today's Bosnia-Herzegovina.⁸¹ A worthwhile conclusion is that there is no way to back the possible local production of the Issaeian pilum with concrete evidence, but this possibility certainly cannot be entirely discounted. Even so, in line with the currently available physical evidence, this find should be interpreted as a reflection of contacts with the western Adriatic coast and its hinterland. The Vis pilum is certainly not the sole metal item that was imported from the Apennine Peninsula, which was found in a funerary context in the central part of the eastern Adriatic, so in this sense we may mention four examples of belt buckles with palmettes, which have been linked to men's attire and status symbols of the deceased. These are variants of the so-called Samnite *a foglia* buckles of Italic origin, which were worn on unadorned metal belts.⁸² They were found in the context of graves of 5th and 4th century indigenous communities in Dragičić, Vičja luka on the island of Brač, Otišić and Asseria.⁸³ In Italy they were used exclusively in pairs, to fasten belts of a local type, while in graves in the central Adriatic area they were found singly, which may indicate an altered practice, adjusted to local cultural choices.⁸⁴ According to Vedran Barbarić, the example from Otišić was imported, while the examples from

80 Forenbahe *et al.* 1994, str. 28-34; Kirigin 1999, str. 158; Gaffney *et al.* 1997, str. 38, 49.

81 Katić 2002.

82 Kukoč 2011; Tagliamonte 2013, str. 219-220.

83 Kukoč 2011 i ondje citirana ranija bibliografija; Barbarić 2006.

84 Barbarić 2006, str. 54; Tagliamonte 2013, str. 220. Ostaci ornamentiranoga metalnog lima koji su pronađeni u grobnicama II i III u Vičjoj luci bili su možebitno dio nepoznatog tipa pojasa (Marović, Nikolanci 1977, str. 11-12, sl. 3, 6-7; 16-17, sl. 7, 1-2; 40-42; Barbarić 2006, str. 48-50).

85 Barbarić 2006, str. 54-55.

80 Forenbahe *et al.* 1994, pp. 28-34; Kirigin 1999, p. 158; Gaffney *et al.* 1997, pp. 38, 49.

81 Katić 2002.

82 Kukoč 2011; Tagliamonte 2013, pp. 219-220.

83 Kukoč 2011 and the earlier bibliography cited therein; Barbarić 2006.

84 Barbarić 2006, p. 54; Tagliamonte 2013, p. 220. The remains of sheet metal found in tombs II and III in Vičja luka may have been part of an unknown belt type (Marović, Nikolanci 1977, pp. 11-12, Fig. 3, 6-7; 16-17, Fig. 7, 1-2; 40-42; Barbarić 2006, pp. 48-50).

pogreba, odnosno znane analogije te prakse. Različite vrste koplja i sulica, uključujući primjerke koji ilustriraju razvitak prema ranim pilumima, kao i sami pilumi, pronađeni su na lokalitetima koji se vezuju s indigenim zajednicama na Apeninskom poluotoku. Manji broj ulomaka otkriven je tijekom istraživanja naseobina i svetišta,⁸⁶ no daleko ih je više pronađeno u pogrebnom kontekstu, gdje su kao grobni nalazi dokumentirani na nizu lokaliteta u Apuliji (Dauniji,⁸⁷ Peuceziji⁸⁸), Lukaniji,⁸⁹ Kampaniji,⁹⁰ Samniju,⁹¹ Umbriji,⁹² itd. Ovo jasno indicira da je polaganje tog tipa oružja na tim prostorima integralni dio pogrebnog rituala u kontekstu sahrane muških pokojnika. Ti pokojnici često se interpretiraju kao pripadnici ratničke klase, i u tom se slučaju pretpostavlja da je oružje njima pripadalo i za života. Ipak, to sasvim sigurno nije uvijek slučaj. Grobni nalazi često uključuju jedno ili dva koplja,⁹³ no ponekad i daleko veći broj, koja

Vičja luka and Dragišić may also have been locally made.⁸⁵

In this vein, it would be worthwhile to also consider the cultural practice of placing weapons in graves during funerals, and the known analogies to this practice. Different types of spears and javelins, including examples which illustrated the development leading to earlier pila, as well as pila themselves, were found at sites tied to the indigenous communities on the Apennine Peninsula. A smaller number of fragments were discovered during research into settlements and religious shrines,⁸⁶ but far more were found in a funerary context, where they were documented as grave goods at a number of sites in Apulia (Daunia,⁸⁷ Peucetia⁸⁸), Lucania,⁸⁹ Campania,⁹⁰ Samnium,⁹¹ Umbria,⁹² etc. This clearly indicates that this type of weapon in these areas was an integral component of funerary rituals in the context of interring deceased men. These deceased are often interpreted as members of the warrior class, and in this case it assumed that the

86 Small 2000.

87 Za primjere ove prakse u Dauniji, u vremenu od 5. do 3. st. pr. Kr., vidi grobne cjeline iz Arpija (Bertocchi 1985, str. 241, 276), Ascolija (Bertocchi 1985, str. 131), Kanoze (De Juliis 1990, str. 55, nos. 60; D'Amicis *et al.* 1997, str. 340), Ordona (De Juliis 1973) i San Severa (De Juliis 1996, str. 103-104).

88 Za starije primjere ove prakse u Peuceziji vidi primjer s nekropole Castiglione u Conversanu. Riječ je o pokopu muškarca u jami isklesanoj u stijeni te pod kamenom gomilom, s punom ratničkom opremom (sulica, koplje, kaciga, dijelovi konjske opreme) te keramičkim posudama, koji se datira u 6. st. pr. Kr. (D'Amicis *et al.* 1997, str. 327-330). Za nešto kasniji primjer polaganja oružja u grobove, s kraja 4. i početka 3. st. pr. Kr., vidi nekropolu Barletto, Tomba C (D' Ercole 1990, str. 97, tav. 12, 73).

89 Kao primjer se može navesti niz grobova na nekropoli na lokalitetu Lavello, gdje se sulica kao grobni nalaz pojavljuje već od 8. st. pr. Kr. (Giorgi *et al.* 1988, str. 249; str. 261, tav. 49), ili grobova iz 5. st. pr. Kr. u Cancellara.

90 Kao primjer se može navesti Kuma, gdje se pješačko oružje u grobovima pojavljuje do početka 3. st. pr. Kr. ili Pontecagnano (Small 2000, str. 224 i ondje citirana bibliografija).

91 Vidi primjerke iz Alfedena (antička Aufidena), iz kasnog 6. i 5. st. pr. Kr. (Lucio 1901, str. 360, fig. 79), potom u grobovima nekropole 4. i 3. st. pr. Kr. u Gildoneu (Di Niro 1989, str. 33, 39-41; Macchiarola 1989, str. 42, grob 2; 71, grob 23, 79) ili na nekropoli S. Venditti-Carlantino (De Benedittis 2006, str. 50, 3; 76, 4).

92 Cherici 2014.

93 Npr. polaganje jednog koplja s pokojnikom tipično je na nekropoli u Gildoneu u Samniju, dok su se u Pontecagnanu u Kampaniji tipično polagala dva primjerka koplja (Small 2000, str. 224 i ondje citirana bibliografija).

85 Barbarić 2006, pp. 54-55.

86 Small 2000.

87 For examples of this practice in Daunia from the 5th to 3rd centuries BC, see the grave units from Arpi (Bertocchi 1985, pp. 241, 276), Ascoli (Bertocchi 1985, p. 131), Canosa (De Juliis 1990, p. 55, nos. 60; D'Amicis *et al.* 1997, p. 340), Ordona (De Juliis 1973) and San Severa (De Juliis 1996, pp. 103-104).

88 For older instances of this practice in Peucetia, see the example from the Castiglione necropolis in Conversano. This was the burial of a man in a pit cut into solid rock under a stone mound, with full military gear (javelin, spear, helmet, parts of a riding harness) and ceramic vessels, which has been dated to the 6th cent. BC (D'Amicis *et al.* 1997, pp. 327-330). For a slightly later example of depositing weapons in graves, from the end of the 4th and early 3rd cent. BC, see the Barletto necropolis, Tomba C (D'Ercole 1990, p. 97, tav. 12, 73).

89 Possible examples are a series of graves at the Lavello necropolis, where javelins appeared as grave goods already as of the 8th cent. BC (Giorgi *et al.* 1988, p. 249; p. 261, tav. 49), or the graves in Cancellara from the 5th cent. BC.

90 Possible examples may include Cuma, where infantry weapons appeared in graves until the beginning of the 3rd cent. BC, or Pontecagnano (Small 2000, p. 224 and the bibliography cited therein).

91 See the examples from Alfedena (ancient Aufidena), from the late 6th and 5th cent. BC (Lucio 1901, p. 360, fig. 79), and then in the graves from the necropolis in Gildone dating to the 4th and 3rd cent. BC (Di Niro 1989, pp. 33, 39-41; Macchiarola 1989, p. 42, grave 2; 71, grave 23, 79) or at the S. Venditti-Carlantino necropolis (De Benedittis 2006, pp. 50, 3; 76, 4).

92 Cherici 2014.

teško da su pripadala samom pokojniku.⁹⁴ Tijekom starijeg željeznog doba uz koplje se može javiti i puna ratnička oprema.⁹⁵ S druge strane, tijekom 4. st. pr. Kr. najčešći su nalazi jednog ili dva koplja/sulice, u asocijaciji s brončanim pojasom ili nožem.⁹⁶ No, nije neuobičajeno, posebno tijekom spomenutog doba, kao što je i slučaj s primjerkom s Visa, da je sulica jedino oružje položeno u grob.⁹⁷ Iako je najčešća praksa da se ovi artefakti polažu u grobove odraslih muških pokojnika, oni se javljaju i s muškom djecom (čak i novorođenčadi), što je interpretirano u kontekstu aspiracijskog naslijeđa, kao simbolični prikaz značenja 'ratničkog' identiteta koji taj pokojnik zbog prerane smrti nikada nije uspio doživjeti.⁹⁸ Osim kod domorodačkih zajednica na Apeninskom poluotoku, istu vrstu oružja nalazimo i u keltskim grobovima u središnjoj Italiji.⁹⁹ Iako proto-pilumi ili rani pilumi do sada nisu bili poznati u kontekstu istočnoga srednjeg Jadrana, ovdje valja spomenuti da je oružje, posebice koplje, sastavni dio željeznodobnih grobnih nalaza indigenih zajednica na prostoru srednjeg i južnog Jadrana i zaleđa, a cjeline se tumače kao ratnički grobovi.¹⁰⁰

Nalaz koplja u kontekstu grčkih gradova u južnoj Italiji daleko je rjeđi.¹⁰¹ To je zbog toga što tipična pogrebna praksa nije uključivala polaganja ovih

weapons had belonged to them in life. Even so, this certainly was not always the case. Grave finds often include one or two spears,⁹³ but sometimes also a far higher number, which could have hardly all belonged to that single deceased person.⁹⁴ During the earlier Iron Age, a spear was often also accompanied by full military gear.⁹⁵ On the other hand, during the 4th century BC, the most common finds were one or two spears/javelins, in association with a bronze belt or knife.⁹⁶ But it was not unusual, particularly during the aforementioned period, that - as in the case of the example from Vis - that the javelin was the sole weapon deposited in a grave.⁹⁷ Even though the most common practice was to deposit these artefacts in the graves of deceased men, they also appeared with male children (and even newborns), which has been interpreted within the context of aspirational heritage, as a symbolic portrayal of the meaning of a 'warrior' identity which this deceased person never managed to experience due to a premature death.⁹⁸ Besides the indigenous communities on the Apennine Peninsula, the same type of weapon could also be found in Celtic graves in central Italy.⁹⁹ Even though proto-pila or early pila are thus far not known in the context of the east central Adriatic, here it should be noted that weapons, especially spears, were an integral component of grave goods in indigenous communities in the central and southern Adriatic and its hinterland, and the units have been interpreted as warrior graves.¹⁰⁰

94 Small 2000, str. 222.

95 Kao primjer vidi grob pod gomilom u bilješki 83.

96 Npr. na lokalitetu Arpi u Dauniji sulica se u grobovima 4. i 3. st. pr. Kr. pojavljuje samostalno ili u kombinaciji s još jednim kopljem i pojasnom kopčom (Bertocchi 1985, str. 241, 276).

97 Giorgi *et al.* 1988, str. 249 (za Basilikatu); Armstrong, osobna komunikacija. Ponekad je sulica položena na grob, a ne u grob, kao na primjeru kasnog 4. st. pr. Kr. na nekropoli San Severo u Dauniji (De Juliis 1996, str. 103-104).

98 Parker Pearson 1999, str. 102-104; Small 2000, str. 222, npr. na lokalitetu Gildone, u Samniju. Parker Pearson 1999, str. 102-104.

99 Kao primjer mogu se navesti grobovi s kraja 4. st. i iz prve polovice 3. st. pr. Kr. na lokalitetu Monte Bibebe (Lejars 2008).

100 Blečić Kavur, Capek 2011, str. 63-64, 71 i ondje citirana bibliografija. Od geografski najbližih nalaza valja istaknuti one u grobnicama u Vičoj luci na otoku Braču te nedavno otkrivenu nekropolu gradine na Kopili na otoku Korčuli gdje je pronađena veća količina dijelova oružja (koplja i sulice) s listoliko izduženim vrhom, naglašenim središnjim rebrom i tuljcem za nasad, koji su položeni u grobnicama od kasnog 4. do 1. st. pr. Kr. (Radić 2017, str. 96).

101 Za mogući ulomak sulice pronađene u grčkoj fortifikaciji Monte Palazzi vidi Visonà 2010, str. 16, fig. 34; Visonà 2013, str. 5, fig. 9.

93 E.g. the depositing of a spear with the deceased was typical in the necropolis in Gildone in Samnium, while in Pontecagnano and Campania two examples of spears were typically deposited (Small 2000, p. 224 and the bibliography cited therein).

94 Small 2000, p. 222.

95 As an example, see the grave under the mound specified in note 83.

96 E.g., at the Arpi site in Daunia, a javelin appeared in graves of the 4th and 3rd cent. BC independently or in combination with another spear and belt buckle (Bertocchi 1985, pp. 241, 276).

97 Giorgi *et al.* 1988, p. 249 (for Basilicata); Armstrong, personal communication. Sometimes the javelin was deposited on rather than in the grave, as in an example from the 4th cent. BC in the San Severo necropolis in Daunia (De Juliis 1996, pp. 103-104).

98 Parker Pearson 1999, pp. 102-104; Small 2000, p. 222, e.g. at the Gildone site in Samnium. Parker Pearson 1999, pp. 102-104.

99 An example may be the graves from the end of the 4th and first half of the 3rd cent. BC at the Monte Bibebe site (Lejars 2008).

100 Blečić Kavur, Capek 2011, pp. 63-64, 71 and the bibliography cited therein. Among the geographically closest finds, noteworthy are those in the tombs in

predmeta u grobove s pokojnicima.¹⁰² Ipak, postoji nekoliko izoliranih primjera gdje je i to dokumentirano. Tako je, na primjer, zanimljiv grob iz 5. st. pr. Kr., koji je nađen u grčkom gradu Tarantu. Riječ je o jednojstavnj jami, ukopanoj u stijeni vulkanskog podrijetla, kojoj su dvije kamene ploče služile kao pokrov, a od nalaza su dokumentirani vrh sulice, zajedno sa strigilom i utezima.¹⁰³ Ovaj se grob ne vezuje uz ratnički kao ni uz viši sloj tarentinskog društva, već se smatra da je riječ o grobu u kojem je sahranjeni pokojnik bio atlet. Nešto kasniji grob, datiran nakon 132. g. pr. Kr., također iz Taranta, sadržavao je dva vrha koplja.¹⁰⁴ Potom, jedan je grob s kopljem dokumentiran i u Kalabriji.¹⁰⁵ U kontekstu Lokri Epizeri navodi se jedan grob u kojem je nađena sulica, zajedno s dijelovima konjske opreme, sauroterom i brončanim vrčem.¹⁰⁶ L. Cerchiai povezuje ovaj nalaz s lovom u kojemu se koristila sulica, kao klasičnom sportu aristokracije.¹⁰⁷ Sulica je nalaz i u jednom grobu iz Metaponta, a smatra se da je u pitanju pokop ratnika i konjanika, plaćenika Metapontinaca, iz sredine 5. st. pr. Kr.¹⁰⁸

Iz svega izrečenog nameće se zaključak da polaganje oružja nije bio običaj tipičan za pogrebni ritual u grčkim gradovima u južnoj Italiji, iako se uočavaju pojedinačni slučajevi takve prakse. Oni se najčešće interpretiraju kao pokopi negrčkih plaćenika ili se pak bacačko oružje ne povezuje s ratničkom klasom, nego se dovodi u kontekst lova ili sporta. Bacanje koplja poznata je grčka atletska disciplina, koja je prakticirana tijekom raznih sportskih natjecanja u Ateni, ali i u mnogobrojnim drugim grčkim gradovima u Grčkoj i Velikoj Grčkoj, a posebno je poznata kao dio pentatlon na Olimpijskim igrama.¹⁰⁹ Sulice su korištene i u raznim svakodnevnim sportskim aktivnostima; u gimnazijama su se primjerice koristile u vježbama koje su uključivale gađanje meta, često s konja, tehniku poznatu u razdoblju od 4. do 2. st. pr. Kr.¹¹⁰

The finds of spears in the context of the Greek cities in southern Italy are far rarer.¹⁰¹ This is because the typical funerary practice did not include the depositing of these items with the deceased.¹⁰² Even so, there are several isolated examples where this has also been documented. Thus, for example, a grave from the 5th century BC, found in the Greek city of Taras, is interesting. This is a simple pit, dug into solid volcanic rock, on which two stone slabs were used as a cover, and among the goods the tip of a javelin, together with a strigil and weights, were documented.¹⁰³ This grave was not linked to the warrior nor higher class of Tarentine society, rather it is believed that the deceased buried in the grave was an athlete. A somewhat later grave, dated to after 132 BC, also from Taras, contained two spearheads.¹⁰⁴ A grave containing a spear was documented in Calabria as well.¹⁰⁵ Within the context of Locri Epizefiri, a grave was mentioned in which a javelin was found together with components of equestrian gear, a sauroter and a bronze jug.¹⁰⁶ L. Cerchiai tied this find to hunting, as the classic sport of the aristocracy, in which a javelin was used.¹⁰⁷ A javelin was also found in a grave from Metapontum, and it is believed that this was the burial of a warrior and equestrian, a mercenary hired by the Metapontians, dated to the mid-5th century BC.¹⁰⁸

All of this imposes the conclusion that the depositing of weapons was not a custom typical of funerary rituals in the Greek cities in southern Italy, even though individual cases of such practices may be observed. They have most often been interpreted as burials of non-Greek mercenaries or even throwing

Vičja luka on the island of Brač and the recently discovered necropolis at the Kopila hillfort on the island of Korčula, where a higher quantity of weapon parts (spears and javelins) with foliate oblong heads, a central spine and socket were found, deposited in graves from the late 4th to the 1st centuries BC (Radić 2017, p. 96).

102 Prohászka 1998, str. 824.

103 Grob je objavljen u Lo Porto 1967, str. 92, tomba E, tavv. 8, 43a. Vidi također i D'Amicis *et al.* 1997, str. 230-232.

104 Hempel, Mattioli 1994, str. 359, 362, 368, fig. 316; Tomb from Taranto, Via Ramellini, tomb 2 of 27. IV.1931.

105 Za grob u Reggio Calabria vidi Andronico 2006, str. 72, 79, sl. 84.

106 Cerchiai 1982, str. 295, tomb 634, datirana od 450. do 35. pr. Kr.

107 Cerchiai 1982, str. 295.

108 Guzzo str. 134-135.

109 O ovom običaju kod Grka vidi kod Murray *et al.* 2014 i ondje citiranu raniju bibliografiju.

110 Giboni *et al.* 1997, str. 104-105.

101 For a possible piece of a javelin found in the Greek fortification of Monte Palazzi, see Visonà 2010, p. 16, fig. 34; Visonà 2013, p. 5, fig. 9.

102 Prohászka 1998, p. 824.

103 The grave was published in Lo Porto 1967, p. 92, tomba E, tavv. 8, 43a. See also D'Amicis *et al.* 1997, pp.230-232.

104 Hempel, Mattioli 1994, pp. 359, 362, 368, fig. 316; Tomb from Taranto, Via Ramellini, tomb 2 of 27. IV.1931.

105 For the grave in Reggio Calabria see Andronico 2006, pp. 72, 79, Fig. 84.

106 Cerchiai 1982, p. 295, tomb 634, dated from 450 to 35 BC.

107 Cerchiai 1982, p. 295.

108 Guzzo pp. 134-135.

Opisane grobove s Vlaške njive i asocirane nalaze u prvom redu treba sagledati u okviru nekropole na Vlaškoj njivi i općenito isejskih pogrebnih običaja kasnog 4. st. i 3. st. pr. Kr., pa potom i kao dijelove šire cjeline koju čine lokalno/regionalni kulturološki običaji i prilike. Prema horizontalnoj stratigrafiji, spomenuti grobovi dio su manjeg nukleusa od sveukupno pet grobova (G 234, 237, 226, 227 i 233, sl. 1).¹¹¹ U svim slučajevima radi se o jednostavnim grobnim jamama, koje su ukopane u zemlju ili djelomično u živoj stijeni. Najbolje je sačuvan grob 233, intaktna jama ovalnog oblika, koja je s jedne strane djelomično priklesana uz živu stijenu, a s druge ukopana u zemlju. Pokojnik je bio pokriven s nekoliko ulomaka imbreksa. Po svemu sudeći, ostale cjeline imale su zemljani pokrov. Pokop u običnu zemljanu raku, najjednostavniji je oblik groba, koji je pružao najmanju zaštitu tijelu pokojnika i grobnim nalazima te je, stoga, bio i najviše podložan uništenju. Ako nije riječ o standardnoj značajki lokalnog pogrebnog običaja, što znamo da nije u slučaju Ise jer se istovremeno javljaju i drugi oblici grobne arhitekture uključujući i kamene grobnice, radi se o vrsti groba koja se smatra ekonomičnim izborom, jer je u njegovu izgradnju uložen minimum truda i ona nije zahtijevala poznavanje nekih posebnih vještina.¹¹² U istom je razdoblju na nekropoli na Vlaškoj njivi zabilježena upotreba ovalne ili pravokutne rake, često s komadom bolje ili lošije obrađenog kamena na kraćim stranama te različitim tipom pokrova, koji je sastavljen od tegula ili nekoliko kamenih ploča.¹¹³ Grobne rake ukopane u zemlju, sa ili bez djelomične grobne arhitekture, koje su korištene za pokapanje odraslih osoba, nisu do sada dokumentirane na nekropoli na Martvilu. Moguće je da ih je i bilo, ali su s vremenom i nizom znanih devastacija uništene, na što može ukazivati pismo G. Lučića Rokija koji spominje nalaz tri kostura u zemlji s keramičkim vazama.¹¹⁴

Ipak, s obzirom da se svi grobovi mogu datirati u razdoblje od kojih pedesetak godina ili nešto više, a grobna arhitektura četiri groba (234, 237, 226 i 227) nije jasno definirana te su neki grobovi, prema dostupnoj dokumentaciji, ukopani jedan iznad drugog, nije isključeno da je na toj mikrolokaciji mogla biti riječ i o višestrukom pokopavanju na istoj lokaciji. Ta je

weapons not associated with the warrior class, but rather placed in the context of hunting or sports. Javelin-throwing was a well known Greek athletic discipline, which was practiced during various sporting competitions in Athens, but also in numerous Greek cities in Greece and Magna Graecia. It was particularly known as part of the pentathlon in the Olympic Games.¹⁰⁹ Javelins were also used in various everyday sporting activities; in gymnasia, for example, they were used in exercises that included target practice, often with a horse, a technique known in the period from the 4th to 2nd centuries BC.¹¹⁰

The described graves from Vlaška njiva and the associated finds should first and foremost be viewed within the framework of the necropolis at Vlaška njiva and the Issaeen funerary customs of the late 4th and 3rd centuries BC in general, and then as parts of a broader whole which consisted of local/regional cultural customs and circumstances. Based on the horizontal stratigraphy, the aforementioned graves were part of a smaller nucleus of a total of five graves (G 234, 237, 226, 227 and 233, Fig. 1).¹¹¹ In all cases these were simple grave pits, which were dug into the soil or partially in bedrock. The best preserved was grave 233, an intact, oval pit which was partially carved into solid rock on one side and dug into the soil on the other. The deceased was covered in imbrex fragments. By all indications, the remaining units had an earthen cover. A burial in an ordinary earthen pit was the simplest type of grave which provided the least protection for the body of the deceased and the grave goods, and was therefore most subject to devastation. If it is not a standard feature of a local funerary custom, which we know it is not in the case of Issa because other forms of grave architecture appeared simultaneously, including stone tombs, this is a type of grave that is considered an economical choice, because a minimum of effort was invested into its construction and it did not require knowledge of any special skills.¹¹² The use of oval or rectangular cuts in the same period was recorded at the necropolis in Vlaška njiva, often with pieces of better or more poorly dressed stone on the

111 U neposrednoj blizini dokumentiran je još jedan grob u jami, ali ostaje nejasno treba li ga vezati uz ovaj nukleus ili je riječ o kasnijem ukopu. Ostaci su pronađeni na nešto višoj visini, a lubanja je drugačije orijentacije.

112 Istodobno je zabilježeno i nekoliko slučajeva običnih jama isklesanih u stijeni, ali detaljan opis svih grobnih arhitekture koje su dokumentirane u Isi bit će prikazan na drugome mjestu.

113 Ugarković 2016, str. 67, 69, 84-85.

114 Nikolanci 1969, str. 63.

109 On this custom among the Greeks, see Murray *et al.* 2014, and the bibliography cited therein.

110 Giboni *et al.* 1997, pp. 104-105.

111 Another grave in a pit was documented in the immediate vicinity, but it remains unclear as to whether it should be linked to this nucleus or a later burial. The remains were found at a slightly higher level, and the skull was oriented differently.

112 At the same time, several cases of ordinary graves carved into solid rock were also recorded, but a detailed description of all grave architecture documented in Issa will be presented elsewhere.



Sl. 22. Grob 233, s pokojnikom položenim u poluzgrčenom položaju na lijevom boku (foto: B. Kirigin)
 Fig. 22. Grave 233, with deceased individual laid in semi-foetal position on left side (photo: B. Kirigin)

pojava već prethodno znana kao odlika isejskog pogrebnog običaja, iako do sada samo kao dio grobnice ili jame koje su sukladno svojim dimenzijama dizajnirane za pokop jedne osobe, u kojoj su se kosti prethodno pokopanih micale sa strane kako bi se oslobodilo mjesto za novog pokojnika.¹¹⁵

Tijela pokojnika položena su na prirodno dno grobne arhitekture, zemlju ili uz dijelove žive stijene, uz iznimku groba 227, gdje su skeleti dvoje djece pronađeni na tanjim kamenim pločama. Ovo posljednje možda je rezultat posebnog rituala prakticiranog za djecu, a ujedno se može spomenuti kako se u ovom slučaju uočava i nedostatak grobnih nalaza. Valja se ukratko osvrnuti na položaj samog tijela. U grobovima 234 i 237 tijela pokojnika položena su na leđima. Međutim, prema grobnoj dokumentaciji, tijelo odraslog pokojnika u grobu 226 te djece u grobu

shorter sides and with different types of covers, which was composed of tegulae or several stone slabs.¹¹³ The grave cuts dug into the soil, with or without partial grave architecture, which were used to inter adults, have not been documented thus far at the necropolis at Martvilo. It is possible that they were there, but were devastated over time and by a series of known destructive events, which may be indicated by a letter from G. Lučić Roki, who mentioned the find of three skeletons in the ground accompanied by ceramic vessels.¹¹⁴

Nonetheless, given that all of the graves can be dated to a period of roughly fifty years or more, and the grave architecture in four graves (234, 237, 226 and 227), it is not clearly defined, and the possibility of multiple burials at the same spot in that micro-location cannot be discounted. This phenomenon had already been known earlier as feature of Issaeen funerary customs, even though thus far only as a part of a tomb or pit which, based on the dimensions, was designed for the burial of a single person, in which the bones of the previously interred were moved aside in order to make space for the newly deceased.¹¹⁵

The bodies were laid on the natural bottom of the grave architecture, either soil or soil with parts of the bedrock, with the exception of grave 227, where the skeletons of two children were found on thin stone slabs. The latter may have been the result of a special ritual practiced for children, and it may be simultaneously noted that in this case the absence of grave goods was noted. It would be worthwhile to consider the position of the actual bodies. In graves 234 and 237, the bodies of the deceased were laid on their backs. However, according to the documentation from the graves, the body of a deceased adult in grave 226 and the children in grave 277 were laid in foetal position, on their side. This was particularly nicely documented in the example of grave 233, where the remains of a deceased adult man were documented in a semi-foetal position on his left side (Fig. 22). Besides these graves, adult bodies laid in foetal or semi-foetal position has also been documented in several other examples at the necropolis in Vlaška njiva, which have been dated to the late 4th or 3rd centuries BC. In cases in which it was possible to ascertain the sex of the deceased, the man was laid on his left and the woman on her right side. This is a matter of the rather late appearance of “curled” bodies in the context of graves, a cultural choice which, in line with the rare prehistoric

¹¹⁵ Općenito o pojavi višestrukog pokapanja u Isi vidi kod Ugarković 2016, str. 85-88 i ondje citiranu bibliografiju.

¹¹³ Ugarković 2016, pp. 67, 69, 84-85.

¹¹⁴ Nikolanci 1969, p. 63.

¹¹⁵ On multiple burials in Issa in general, see Ugarković 2016, pp. 85-88 and the bibliography cited therein.

277 položena su u zgrčenom položaju, na boku. Ovo je posebno lijepo dokumentirano na primjeru groba 233, gdje su ostaci odraslog pokojnika muškog spola dokumentirani u poluzgrčenom položaju na lijevom boku (sl. 22). Osim u tim grobovima zgrčeni ili poluzgrčeni položaj tijela odraslih pokojnika dokumentiran je na još nekoliko primjera na nekropoli na Vlaškoj njivi, koji se datiraju u kasno 4. i 3. st. pr. Kr. U slučajevima kada je bilo moguće evidentirati spol pokojnika, muškarac je položen na lijevi, a žena na desni bok. Radi se o relativno kasnoj pojavi “zgrčenaca” u kontekstu pogreba, kulturološkom odabiru koji sukladno rijetkim prapovijesnim nalazima s Visa, ali i povijesti ove prakse na istočnom srednjem Jadranu, valja povezati s običajima indigenih zajednica.¹¹⁶ Sličan slučaj iz 3. st. pr. Kr., dokumentiran je i u Metapontu, grčkom polisu u južnoj Italiji.¹¹⁷ Moguće je, a uistinu i vrlo vjerojatno, da bi se spomenuti nalazi “zgrčenaca” trebali interpretirati kao pokazatelji prisutnosti lokalnog stanovništva u Isi, kao i da je pojavnost te prakse sačuvana tako kasno upravo kako bi se zadržali dijelovi tradicije i identiteta nekih od kulturoloških skupina koje su nastanjivale Isu.

Keramičke posude daleko su najčešći grobni nalazi u Isi, a polagale su se kao prilozima uz pokojnika tijekom sahrane, što je i ovdje slučaj. Prema definiranom tipu posude, s obzirom na njezinu funkciju, ali i keramičku vrstu, riječ je o uobičajenom isejskom pogrebnom repertoaru, koji se uglavnom odnosio na stolno posude (vrčevi, čaše za piće) tipičnih keramičkih vrsta (*Gnathia*, crnopremazana keramika te nešto rjeđe prisutnu keramiku izrađenu u tradiciji *West Slope*, koja je na nekropoli na Vlaškoj njivi dokumentirana u tri helenistička groba).¹¹⁸ Grobni prilozima vežu se u ovom nukleusu isključivo uz pokope odraslih, ali zbog lošije sačuvanosti osteološkog materijala i djelomično narušenog konteksta grobnih cjelina nismo uvijek u mogućnosti povezati specifičan prilog uz dob i spol

finds from Vis as well as the history of this practice in the east central Adriatic, should be associated with the customs of indigenous communities.¹¹⁶ A similar case from the 3rd century BC was documented at Metapontum, a Greek polis in southern Italy.¹¹⁷ It is possible, and indeed quite probable, that these finds of “curled” bodies should be interpreted as indicators of the presence of local populations in Issa, and that the appearance of this practice was preserved at such a late date in order to retain components of the traditions and identities of certain cultural groups that had settled in Issa.

Ceramic vessels are by far the most common grave goods in Issa, and they were deposited as goods accompanying the deceased during interment, which was the case here as well. According to the defined vessel type, given its function as well as the pottery type, this was the customary Issaeian funerary repertoire, which generally included tableware (jugs, drinking cups) of typical pottery types (*Gnathian*, Black-glazed ware and some more rarely present ware made in the West Slope tradition, which was documented at the Vlaška njiva necropolis in three Hellenistic graves).¹¹⁸ Grave goods in this nucleus are associated exclusively with the burials of adults, but because of the poorer preservation of osteological materials and the partially devastated context of grave units, it is not always possible to link a specific good to the age and sex of a deceased person. Even so, adult men were buried in graves 226 and 233. Two pelikai and the bottom of a jug were documented on the southern side of grave 233, and a pelike and jug (a pelike or oenochoe) in grave 226. The assumed origin of this “funerary” pottery complies with the picture of previously known cultural contacts which the Issaeians maintained with the Adriatic-Ionian space, and with Albania and north-western Greece.

116 Za prostorno najbliže (iako vremenski starije) analogije polaganja pokojnika u zgrčenom položaju vidi kamene škrinje otkrivene u prapovijesnim gomilama iznad Visa, na brdu sv. Andrije i na Bratosavcu kod Kirigin *et al.* 2006, str. 53-54, 73 i ondje citiranu stariju bibliografiju, ili na lokalitetu Žaganj dolac na otoku Braču (Marović 1971). O prakticanju ovog običaja u liburnskoj pogrebnoj praksi vidi Kukoč 2009 i ondje citiranu stariju bibliografiju.

117 Coleman Carter 1998, str. 65.

118 Osim vrča iz grobu 234/237 riječ je o već spomenutoj stolnoj amfori iz grobu 90, sa sličnim ukrasom na vratu te nešto kasnijoj grobnici 150, iz kasnog 2. i 1. st. pr. Kr., gdje je pronađen ulomak zdjele ukrašen u tehnici Zapadnog obronka s urezanim ukrasom nestajućih kvadrata.

116 For the spatially nearest (although chronologically older) analogies to the laying of the deceased in foetal position, see the stone chest discovered in the prehistoric mounds above Vis, on Sveti Andrija Hill and Bratosavac in Kirigin *et al.* 2006, pp. 53-54, 73 and the older bibliography therein, or at the Žaganj dolac site on the island of Brač (Marović 1971). On this custom in Liburnian funerary practices see Kukoč 2009 and the bibliography therein.

117 Coleman Carter 1998, p. 65.

118 Besides the jug from grave 234/237, this is the already mentioned table amphora from grave 90, with a similar ornament on the neck, and the somewhat later tomb 150, from the late 2nd and 1st cent. BC, where a piece of a bowl decorated in the West Slope style and an engraved disappearing square motif was found.

pokojnika. Ipak, u grobovima 226 i 233 pokopan je odrastao muškarac. Dvije pelike i dno jednog vrča dokumentirani su s južne strane groba 233, a pelika i jedan vrč (pelika ili enohoja) u grobu 226. Pretpostavljena provenijencija ovog "pogrebnog" posuda uklapa se u sliku prethodno poznatih kulturnih kontakata koje su Isejci održavali s jadransko-jonskim prostorom, posebice s Apulijom, ali i Albanijom te SZ Grčkom.

Na početku je naglašeno da polaganje oružja u grobove nije karakteristično za isejski pogrebni običaj te da je sukladno tome grob 234/237 prvi, odnosno za sada i jedini arheološki istražen grob u Isi u kojem je dokumentiran takav tip predmeta. Ipak, čini se da nije i jedini otkriveni. Naime, u pisanoj ostavštini iz 19. stoljeća Caramaneo bilježi da je 1710. godine na Visu "in Gradina" pronađen jedan grob "con la lancia e con la spada appresso, le quali al toccamento si ridussero in polvere, dalla ruggine consumate".¹¹⁹ Sudeći po iznesenom, taj viški grob sadržavao je nalaze oružja, i to koplje i mač, koji su se, nažalost, prilikom otkrivanja samoga groba raspali, o čemu su tada svjedočila dva viška stanovnika. Iako je sam podatak o tome sačuvan, a ovom prilikom i istaknut, u nedostatku bilo kakve detaljnije dokumentacije ostajemo ukraćeni za njegovu detaljniju dataciju i interpretaciju.

S obzirom na djelomično narušenu grobnu cjelinu groba 234 i 237, ne možemo biti sasvim sigurni u povezanost pokojnika i piluma te ostaje otvorenim pitanje je li pilum položen uz petnaestogodišnjeg dječaka ili uz odraslu osobu nepoznatog spola i dobi. Praksa koja je zabilježena kod italjskih zajednica na Apeninskom poluotoku pokazuje da su sličan tip oružja polagao u grobove odraslih muškarca, ali i djece.¹²⁰ Na primjer, dječje grobne cjeline iz Pontecagnana u Kampaniji po inventaru se uopće ne razlikuju od grobova odraslih.¹²¹ U Dauniji su razlike zabilježene, ali se isti tipovi oružja pojavljuju u grobovima i djece i odraslih. Na nekropoli u Lavellu u dječjim su grobovima polagana minijatura oružja, koja prema tipologiji u potpunosti odgovaraju znanom funkcionalnom oružju.¹²² Svi ti primjerci, bilo da su dokumentirani u odraslim ili dječjim grobovima te neovisno o njihovu konkretnom tipu, imaju zajedničku značajku, a to je da su lokalno izrađeni. Drugim riječima, ne adaptiraju se grčki ili fenički tipovi, što kazuje da su lokalni identiteti jasno "nametnuti" putem ovih predmeta.¹²³

It was stressed at the outset that the depositing of weapons in graves was not typical of Issaeon funerary customs and that, in this vein, grave 234/237 was the first and thus far only archeologically researched grave in Issa in which such an item has been documented. However, it would appear that it was not the only one discovered. For in his papers from the 19th century, Caramaneo recorded that a grave "*con la lancia e con la spada appresso, le quali al toccamento si ridussero in polvere, dalla ruggine consumate*" was found on Vis "in Gradina" in 1710.¹¹⁹ Judging by this, the Vis grave contained weapon finds, a spear and a sword, which, unfortunately, fell apart during the discovery of the grave itself, to which two Vis residents testified at the time. Even though the data on this has been preserved, and underscored herein, without any more detailed documentation we remain deprived of any detailed dating and interpretation.

Given the partially devastated space of graves 234 and 237, we cannot be entirely certain in the connection between the deceased individuals and the pilum, and the question as to whether the pilum was laid next to a fifteen year-old boy or an adult of indeterminate sex and age remains open. The practice recorded among Italic communities on the Apennine Peninsula show that a similar weapon type was deposited in the graves of adult men, but also of children.¹²⁰ For example, in terms of their inventory, the children's grave units from Pontecagnano in Campania do not differ in any way from the graves of adults.¹²¹ Differences were recorded in Daunia, but the same types of weapons appeared in the graves of both children and adults. Miniature weapons were deposited in the children's graves at the necropolis in Lavello, which according to the relevant typology entirely correspond to the known functional weapons.¹²² All of these examples, whether documented in adult or children's graves and regardless of their specific type, have a common feature, and that is that they were locally made. In other words, Greek or Phoenician types were not adapted, which shows that local identities were clearly "imposed" through these items.¹²³ Research in central and southern Italy has shown that javelins and protopila/early pila, particularly during the 4th century BC, were placed in the graves of individuals with differing social and economic status, including those who did not even have a considerable warrior role during their

119 Caramaneo 1858, str. 108. Zahvaljujem kolegi Paolu Visonà koji me uputio na ovaj podatak.

120 Inall 2014, str. 249 i ondje donesena starija bibliografija.

121 Inall 2014.

122 Vidi bilješku 120.

123 Snodgrass 1964; Anglim *et al.* 2002; Inall 2014.

119 Caramaneo 1858, p. 108. I thank my colleague Paolo Visonà who brought this fact to my attention.

120 Inall 2014, p. 249 and the bibliography cited therein.

121 Inall 2014.

122 See note 120.

123 Snodgrass 1964; Anglim *et al.* 2002; Inall 2014.

Istraživanja u središnjoj i južnoj Italiji pokazala su da se sulice i proto-pilumi/rani pilumi, posebice tijekom 4. st. pr. Kr., polažu u grobove pojedinaca raznolikoga društvenog i ekonomskog statusa, pa i onih koji za života nisu imali značajnu ratničku ulogu.¹²⁴ Stoga se nameće moguća interpretacija da se kroz ove predmete simbolički izražavaju arhetipski simboli u kontekstu razumijevanja života i smrti. Prema Inall, potrebna je nešto slobodnija interpretacija ovih nalaza, posebice u kontekstu asocijacije oružja u grobovima i ratnika za života.¹²⁵

U slučaju Ise djelomično narušen arheološki kontekst otežava uvid u aspekte identiteta pokojnika. Nije nam poznato je li se ova vrsta oružja proizvodila lokalno niti je li to oružje pokojnik koristio za života, a ako jest, u koju svrhu. Asocijacija oružja u grobu i ratnika ne mora biti nužno primjenjiva u svakom slučaju, pa tako ni u ovom. Ipak, s obzirom na znane povijesne prilike, u kojima su Isejci tijekom promatranog razdoblja vjerojatno aktivno sudjelovali u ratnim sukobima, ne može se ni isključiti. Ono što se u smislu interpretacije ovog nalaza na primjeru groba iz Ise može reći, jest da je kontekst ovog koplja očito ritualiziran tijekom pogreba na način da sadržava kompleksne i simbolične izjave o statusu i identitetu pokojnika, kao i težnje ožalošćenih koji su organizirali tu sahranu.

Zaključak

Željezni pilum pronađen u grobu s Vlaške njive na Visu jedinstven je primjerak oružja otkrivenog u isejskom grobu tijekom arheoloških istraživanja. Sukladno tome, asocijacija oružja i smrti pruža uvid u rijedak i prethodno u kontekstu ove zajednice potpuno nepoznat aspekt pogrebnog rituala. Valja naglasiti da je riječ o ranom tipu piluma, vrsti sulice koja je nastala i razvijala se na Apeninskom poluotoku, a koristila ju je većina ondje naseljenih naroda. Upravo se na srednjem i južnom dijelu tog prostora, u okviru indigenih italjskih zajednica, uočavaju najbliže analogije primjerka iz Ise, čije morfološko-funkcionalne značajke indiciraju da ga valja datirati u 4. st. pr. Kr. Time je ujedno i tipološki stariji od dosad poznatih najstarijih rimskih piluma iz 3. st. pr. Kr. Stoga je riječ o trenutno jedinstvenom nalazu takvog tipa oružja na prostoru središnjeg istočnog Jadrana te njegova zaleđa, čija se pojava inače na tim prostorima povezuje uz dolazak rimske vojske.

S obzirom da se radi o lokalno netipičnoj pogrebnoj praksi ostaje dvojba u kolikoj mjeri ovaj grobni

lifetimes.¹²⁴ Therefore a possible interpretation that imposes itself is that archetypal symbols in the context of understanding life and death were expressed through these items. According to Inall, something of a freer interpretation of these finds is necessary, particularly in the context of the association of weapons in graves with people who were warriors during their lives.¹²⁵

In the case of Issa, the partially devastated archaeological context makes it difficult to gain insight into aspects of the identity of the deceased. We do not know whether this type of weapon was made locally nor whether the deceased individual used this weapon when alive, and, if so, for what purpose. The association of a weapon in a grave with a warrior need not necessarily be applied in every case, including this one. Even so, given the known historical circumstances, in which the Issaeans conceivably actively participated in wartime conflicts during the period under observation, it cannot be excluded, either. What may be said in the sense of interpretation of this find in the example of the grave from Issa is that the context of this spear was obviously ritualized during the funeral in a manner that entailed complex and symbolic declarations of the status and identity of the deceased, as well as the aspirations of the bereaved who organized this interment.

Conclusion

The iron pilum found in the grave at Vlaška njiva on the island of Vis is a unique example of a weapon discovered in an Issaeian grave during archaeological research. Consequently, the association between weapons and death offers insight into a rare and previously entirely unknown (within the context of this community) aspect of funerary rituals. It should be noted that this is an early type of pilum, a variety of javelin which emerged and developed on the Apennine Peninsula, and it was used by most of the people residing there. It is precisely in the central and southern parts of this territory, within the framework of indigenous Italic communities, that the closest analogies to the weapon from Issa can be found, and its morphological and functional features indicate that it should be dated to the 4th century BC. It is thereby typologically older than the thus far oldest known Roman pilum from the 3rd century BC. For the time being, it is a unique find of this weapon type in the east central Adriatic seaboard and its hinterland, whose appearance in this

124 Small 2000, str. 225; Armstrong 2016, str. 264.

125 Inall 2014.

124 Small 2000, p. 225; Armstrong 2016, p. 264.

125 Inall 2014.

nalaz asocira na ono što je “ratničko” simboliziralo u kontekstu arhetipskih shvaćanja o zagrobnom životu, kako izravnih aktera vezanih uz ovaj specifični pogreb, tako i cijele zajednice. Njegov je pogrebni kontekst nesumnjivo ritualiziran na način da sadržava simbolične izjave i težnje ožalošćenih o identitetu pokojnika, ali svakako ne možemo potvrditi da se valja vezati isključivo uz pokojnika koji je bio ratnik. Analiza grobne arhitekture koja je sagledana u kontekstu istovremenog isejskog pogrebnog rituala sugerira ekonomičan izbor koji se ne može dovesti u vezu s višim slojevima isejskog društva. Iako ovaj jedinstveni nalaz oružja u isejskom grobu, koji prema sačuvanim podacima iz 19. st. ipak nije i jedini, ne može pružiti uvid u etnički identitet pokojnika, ipak jasno sugerira kulturološke analogije s jadranskim domorodačkim krugom. Analogija kulturološke prakse ritualnog polaganja sličnog tipa bacačkog oružja u grobove s muškim pokojnicima raznih dobnih skupina veže se uz indigene zajednice Apeninskog poluotoka, posebice njegovog srednjeg i južnog dijela. Inače se polaganje oružja, uključujući koplja nešto drugačijeg tipa, pojavljuje kao odlika pogrebne prakse indigenih zajednica srednje i južne Dalmacije, dok se ona u kontekstu grčkih gradova u južnoj Italiji javlja rijetko, i dovodi isključivo u kontekst plaćenika ili sportsko-lovačkih aktivnosti. Stoga, uzimajući u obzir analogije tipa oružja i same prakse njegova polaganja u grobove, ovaj nalaz valja interpretirati kao odraz kontakata s indigenim zajednicama suprotne jadranske obale i/ili njezinog zaleđa. U prilog kulturološkim analogijama s indigenim stanovništvom govore i neke druge odlike promatranoga grobnog nukleusa, kao što je položaj tijela pokojnika, gdje je barem u jednom, a možda i u dva slučaja, riječ o poluzgrčenom položaju na boku. Ostatak grobnih nalaza, keramičke posude, na lijep način ilustriraju kulturne kontakte s jadransko-jonskim prostorom u kontekstu kontinuirane i dinamične regionalne isprepletenosti, u vidu importa, ali i utjecaja koji su oni imali na razvitak lokalne proizvodnje. Promatrani materijalni ostaci kao i niz drugih nalaza isejskih nekropola koji će uskoro biti detaljnije predstavljeni, snažan su pokazatelj postojanja više kulturnih grupacija u Isi koje su svoje identitete potvrđivale i kroz različite aspekte pogrebnog običaja, a analogije prakticiranog rituala nalazimo i u domorodačkom kulturnom krugu. Upravo su različite kulturno-etničke grupacije svojim suživotom na otoku Visu i dinamičnom lokalno/regionalnom interakcijom aktivno pridonosile stvaranju i razvitku jedinstvene i hibridne isejske kulture, u jednoj od najmlađih grčkih naseobina na Zapadu.

territory is otherwise associated with the arrival of the Roman army.

Given that this is a locally atypical funerary practice, there is some doubt as to the extent to which this grave find may be associated with what is deemed “warrior” symbolism in the context of archetypal understandings of the afterlife, either for the direct participants in this specific funeral or for the entire community. Its funerary context was undoubtedly ritualized in a manner that encapsulated the symbolic avowal and aspirations of the bereaved concerning the identity of the deceased, but whether this should be tied exclusively to a deceased person who was a warrior certainly cannot be confirmed. An analysis of the grave architecture which was viewed in the context of contemporary Issaeian funerary rituals suggests an economical choice which cannot be associated with the higher classes of Issaeian society. Even though this unique find of a weapon in an Issaeian grave, which according to preserved data from the 19th century was not, in fact, the only one, cannot provide any insight into the ethnic identity of the deceased, it nevertheless clearly suggests cultural analogies to the Adriatic indigenous sphere. An analogous cultural practice of the ritual placement of similar throwing weapons in graves with deceased men of various ages is associated with the indigenous communities of the Apenine Peninsula, particularly its central and southern sections. The depositing of weapons, including spears of a slightly different type, otherwise appeared as a feature of funerary practices of the indigenous communities of central and southern Dalmatia, while it appeared rarely in the context of the Greek cities in southern Italy, and has been placed exclusively in the context of mercenaries or sporting/hunting activities. Therefore, taking into consideration the analogies to the weapon type and the actual practice of its placement in graves, this find should be interpreted as a reflection of contacts with indigenous communities from the opposite shore of the Adriatic and/or its hinterland. Cultural analogies to the indigenous populace are further backed by certain other qualities of the grave nucleus in question, such as the position of the body of the deceased person, where at least in one and perhaps two instances, it was in semi-foetal position on one side. The remainder of the grave goods, ceramic vessels, nicely illustrate cultural contacts with the Adriatic-Ionian area in the context of continuous and dynamic regional intermingling in the sense of imports but also the influence this had on the development of local production. The physical remains under consideration, as well as a series of other finds from the Issaeian necropolises that will soon be presented in greater detail, are potent indicators of the existence of several cultural groups in Issa which reinforced

their identities through, among other things, different aspects of funerary customs, and analogies to certain aspects of practiced rituals can be found also in the indigenous cultural sphere. It was in fact different cultural-ethnic groups coexisting on the island of Vis and dynamic local/regional interaction which actively contributed to the creation and development of the unique, hybrid Issaeon culture in one of the youngest Greek settlements in the West.

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