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## Proizvodnja pticolikih fibula na kasnoantičkoj utvrđi Sokol u Konavlima

*Na utvrđi Sokol u Konavlima nađen je proizvodni škart plastično oblikovane pticolike fibule. Ona je bila raširena na istočnoj obali Jadrana, posebno u Hercegovini, gdje je stizala iz sokolske radionice šireći se starim antičkim komunikacijama. Izrađivala se u dvodijelnom kalupu sa širim ljevkastim otvorom za ulijevanje tekućeg metala. Osim brončanih proizvodile su se i srebrne fibule, što pokazuje nalaz iz Ljute u Konavlima. Autori upozoravaju na nalaze ljevkasto oblikovanih komada bronce nastalih kao otpad u procesu proizvodnje nakita u kalupima. Oni su siguran dokaz radioničke aktivnosti. Plastično oblikovane pticolike fibule bile su popularne među kršćanskim stanovništvom i često se nalaze u kontekstu ranokršćanskih nekropola u razdoblju od 5. do 7. st.*

Ključne riječi: Konavle, utvrđi Sokol, pticolike fibule

## Manufacture of bird-shaped fibulae in the late-antique fortification of Sokol in Konavle

*Manufacturing rejects in the form of plastically rendered bird-shaped fibula were found in the Sokol fortification in Konavle. Such fibulae used to be widespread on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, especially in Herzegovina, where they were brought from the Sokol workshop by way of ancient roads. They were made in two-piece moulds with wider funnel opening for pouring of liquid metal. In addition to bronze fibulae, silver ones were also produced, as demonstrated by the find from Ljuta in Konavle. The authors would like to point out the unearthed funnel-shaped bronze pieces rejected during the manufacture of jewellery in moulds. They are a sure proof of workshop activities. Plastically rendered bird-shaped fibulae were popular among the Christian population. They were often part of the context of early-Christian necropolises in the period from the fifth to the seventh century.*

Keywords: Konavle, Sokol fortress, bird-shaped fibulae

Utvrdna Sokol nalazi se na sjeveroistočnom dijelu Konavoskog polja, u naselju Dunave, podno brda Sokoline. Smještena je na velikoj kupolastoj stijeni visokoj oko 25 m koja dominira okolnim krajolikom. Na njoj je dobro očuvana tvrđava iz vremena dubrovačke vladavine Konavlima. Počeci korištenja stijene Sokola sežu duboko u prapovijest. Utvrdu nije određivao samo kvalitetan defenzivni položaj nego i nadzor nad putovima koji su iz primorja vodili u unutrašnjost. Jedan pravac, nezabilježen u rimskim itinerarima, vodio je iz Konavala preko Prapatna dalje prema sjeveru na dionicu rimske ceste koja je od zaselka Necvjeća u Hercegovini vodila na Trnovsku dolinu i Ravno i dalje prema Moskom. Trasa je obilježena nalazima rimskih miljozaka.<sup>1</sup> Cesta preko Prapatna bila je značajna za Konavle i za područje Boke kotorske, odakle se ovim dužim, ali kvalitetnijim pravcem lakše povezivalo primorje s unutrašnjošću Ilirika. Poznato je da su rimske ceste uglavnom pokrivale pravce korištene u prapovijesti. Široki klanac u Prapatnom prirodan je put flankiran gradinama i velikim prapovijesnim gomilama raspoređenim uz staru komunikaciju prema istočnoj Hercegovini.

Nalazi keramičkih posuda cetinske kulture u podnožju utvrde Sokol otkrivaju brončanodobne početke gradinskog naselja. Prapovijesna gradina razvijala se tijekom željeznog doba, kada je postala središnje naselje u Konavlima. Njezini stanovnici bili su uključeni u Ilirsko Kraljevstvo. U podgrađu Sokola nađeno je oko osamdeset primjeraka novca ilirskog kralja Baleja, što je odraz blizine Rizona, gdje se kovao Balejev novac. Ulomci grčkih amfora i finijeg posuđa sa Sokola pokazatelj su trgovine ili gusarenja Plereja koji su u željezno doba nastanjivali Konavosko polje.<sup>2</sup> Gusarenje Teutinih Ilira uzrokovalo je prve intervencije Rimljana na našoj obali. Plereji, saveznici Ardijejaca, pokoreni su tijekom 2. – 1. st. pr. Kr., kada Rimljani postupno i korjenito mijenjaju vojne i političke okolnosti u Iliriku. Na mjestu današnjeg Cavtata osnovana je rimska kolonija *Epidaurum*, a Konavle postaju dio njezinog agera. *Pax Romana*, nastala nakon zadnjeg Delmatskog rata 6. – 9. godine, omogućila je mir i prosperitet. Život u Konavlima odvijao se unutar gospodarskih posjeda (*villae rusticae*) rasutih po rubu polja, na mjestima sigurnim od plavljenja.

The Sokol fortification is located in the northeast of Konavle Field, in the village of Dunave, at the foot of the Sokolina hill. It lies on a large 25 metres high dome-shaped rock dominating the landscape. Its well-preserved fortress dates from the era of the Dubrovnik rule over Konavle. The Sokol rock was first utilised way back in prehistoric times. The fortification not only had an optimum defensive position, but also provided control of the roads from the littoral to the hinterland. One route, not recorded in Roman itineraries, ran from Konavle via Prapatno northward to the section of the Roman road from the hamlet of Necvjeće in Herzegovina to Trnovska dolina and Ravno, all the way to Mosko. The route is marked with found Roman milestones.<sup>1</sup> The road via Prapatno was significant for Konavle and the Boka kotorska area, from where this longer, but superior, communication provided easier connection between the littoral and the Illyricum hinterland. We know that Roman roads mostly covered the routes used in prehistoric times. The wide gorge in Prapatno is a natural course flanked with hill-forts and large prehistoric mounds along the old road to east Herzegovina.

The unearthed ceramic vessels of the Cetina culture at the foot of the Sokol fortification reveal Bronze-Age origins of a hill-fort settlement. The prehistoric hill-fort was developing during the Iron Age, when it became the central settlement in Konavle. Its inhabitants were part of the Illyrian Kingdom. Some eighty coins of the Illyrian king Ballaios have been found in the Sokol suburbium, thus reflecting the proximity of their mint in Rhizon. Fragments of Greek amphorae and finer vessels from Sokol are suggesting of trade or piracy by the Plereai, who inhabited Konavle Field during the Iron Age.<sup>2</sup> Piratical deeds by Teuta's Illyrians were the catalyst for the first Roman interventions on our coast. The Plereai, who were allies of the Ardiaei, were subdued during the second and the first centuries BC, when the Romans were gradually and radically changing the military and political circumstances in Illyricum. The Roman colony of *Epidaurum* was established on the location of today's Cavtat, and Konavle became part of its ager. The *Pax Romana*, commencing after the final Dalmatian war in the years 6–9, brought peace and prosperity. The Konavle people lived in country estates (*villae rusticae*) scattered on the edge of the field, in places safe from flooding.

<sup>1</sup> Sergejevski 1962, str. 78–81.

<sup>2</sup> Batović 1988, str. 27–28.

<sup>1</sup> Sergejevski 1962, pp. 78–81.

<sup>2</sup> Batović 1988, pp. 27–28.



Sl. 1. Pogled na utvrdu Sokol s jugozapada

Fig. 1 View of the Sokol fortification from the south-west

Nemirno vrijeme seobe naroda potaknulo je izgradnju utvrda zbog zaštite lokalnog stanovništva. Stare gradine ponovno su postale aktualne zbog svojih strateških položaja i obilja kamena potrebnog za gradnju bedema i nastamba. Sokol naposljetku dobiva izgled koji će ga pratiti i u srednjem vijeku: na kamenom kuku podignuta je utvrda, a u njezinoj podnožju podgrađe koje se prstenasto pružalo oko stijene prilagođujući se konfiguraciji terena. U isto vrijeme podiže se i kasnoantički *Ragusium* (Dubrovnik), izravno okrenut prema moru i pomorskim putovima. Tijekom Justinijanove rekonkviste u 6. st. podižu se brojne utvrde duž istočnojadranskoga pomorskog puta. Dubrovnik i njegova luka dobivaju na značenju, no Justinijanova rekonkvista nije bila presudna za formiranje svih kasnoantičkih

The turbulent times of the Migration Period triggered construction of fortifications to protect the local population. Ancient hill-forts came into limelight again due to their strategic positions and the abundance of stone required for building of ramparts and dwellings. Sokol had eventually been moulded into a shape which was retained in the middle ages. Its fortification was erected on a crest, with a suburbium at its foot, stretching around the rock adjusting to the lie of the land. At the same time, the late-antique *Ragusium* (Dubrovnik) was under development, directly facing the sea and maritime routes. During Justinian's Reconquista in the sixth century, a number of fortifications were constructed along the east Adriatic shipping lanes. Dubrovnik and its port gained in importance, but Justinian's reconquest was not crucial for the formation of all

utvrda na našoj obali.<sup>3</sup> Zadnja istraživanja godine 2018. na Sokolu pokazala su da u 5. st., prije Justinijanova doba, već postoji podgrađa utvrde.

Srednjovjekovna utvrda Sokol grad nije daleko odmakla od kasnoantičke osnove. Tek su u vrijeme uprave Dubrovačke Republike na Sokolu načinjeni znatniji fortifikacijski zahvati. Nakon godine 1482. Sokol grad je postao kaštel Sokol, „tvrđava neosvojiva bez dugotrajne opsade“ (sl. 1).<sup>4</sup> Kraj egzistiranja utvrde nazire se u 17. st., nakon Kandijskog rata (1645.–1669.). Tijekom ratnih opasnosti početkom 18. st. kao sigurno mjesto otpora više se ne spominje Sokol, nego selo Mrcine, koje se nalazilo na raskrižju putova prema Hecegovini i Crnoj Gori.<sup>5</sup>

Dinamičan povijesni razvoj lokaliteta, nažalost, nije pogodovao formiranju stabilnijih arheoloških slojeva. Krška podloga i tisućljetna građevinska aktivnost negirali su starije povijesne faze. U vrijeme dubrovačke uprave nije se smjelo u podnožju Sokola graditi nastambe jer bi se smanjila defenzivnost utvrde. Tako je sačuvano kasnoantičko i ranosrednjovjekovno podgrađe. Uz same litice stisnule su se stambene i zanatske prostorije otkrivene tijekom arheoloških istraživanja 2012. – 2013. i 2015. godine.<sup>6</sup>

Prisutnost brojnih ulomaka sjevernoafričkih i istočnomediteranskih amfora na Sokolu potvrđuje njegovu uključenost u kasnoantičku pomorsku trgovinu između Istoka i Zapada.<sup>7</sup> U kasnoj antici ponovno dolazi do izražaja trgovačka dimenzija mjesta, a mogućnost trgovine morskim i kopnenim putovima poticala je zanatsku proizvodnju. Ne možemo govoriti samo o vojnom karakteru Sokola; trgovina i zanatska proizvodnja naglašavaju civilnu dimenziju naselja.

U ovom članku bavit ćemo se jednim malim, ali vrlo značajnim nalazom radioničkog škarta plastično oblikovane pticolike fibule nađene u istočnom dijelu podgrađa Sokola 2013. godine. U depo Arheološke zbirke u Konavlima dospio je neprepoznat kao radionički otpad (sl. 2, T. 1, 2a). To nije neo-

late-antique fortifications on our coast.<sup>3</sup> The latest investigations of Sokol in 2018 have shown that the fortification suburbium had already existed in the fifth century, before the era of Justinian.

The mediaeval town fortification of Sokol was not far removed from its late-antique foundation. Major fortification activities in Sokol occurred only during the Dubrovnik Republic administration. After 1482, the town of Sokol became the castle of Sokol, “a fort impregnable without a lengthy siege” (Fig. 1).<sup>4</sup> The end of existence for the fortification was looming in the 17th century, following the Candian War (1645–1669). In the midst of the dangers of war in the early 18th century, Sokol was no longer regarded as a safe place of resistance. Its spot was taken by the village of Mrcine at the crossroads to Herzegovina and Montenegro.<sup>5</sup>

Unfortunately, such dynamic historical development of the site has not resulted in the forming of more stable archaeological layers. The karst substrate and millennial construction activities have negated earlier historical phases. It was not allowed to build dwellings at the foot of Sokol during the Dubrovnik administration, since that would have diminished the defensive capabilities of the fortification. Consequently, the late antique/early mediaeval suburbium has been preserved. Residential and workshop structures discovered during the 2012–2013 and 2015 investigations are tightly packed by the very cliffs.<sup>6</sup> A number of fragments of North African and East Mediterranean amphorae at Sokol confirms its involvement in late antique maritime East-West trade.<sup>7</sup> In late antique times, the mercantile dimension of the location was renewed, while the possibilities for trade by sea and land routes encouraged artisanal production. The character of Sokol was not of military nature only, since trade and crafts production emphasised the civilian dimension of the settlement.

This paper is about a small, but quite significant artefact, a workshop reject of a plastically rendered bird-shaped fibula found in 2013 in the eastern part

<sup>3</sup> Katić 2003, str. 523–526.

<sup>4</sup> Kapetanić 2016, str. 11.

<sup>5</sup> Beritić 1966, str. 132.

<sup>6</sup> Arheološke radove izvodila je tvrtka *Omega engineering* d. o. o. iz Dubrovnika.

<sup>7</sup> Arheološki materijal sa Sokola čuva se u Odjelu za arheologiju i spomeničku baštinu Konavala (Pridvorje). Na pomoći pri radu na materijalu zahvaljujemo kustosici Zbirke Jeleni Bezelj; crteže nalaza izradila je dokumentaristica Sanja Pujo, a kartu Ante Šundov, viši preparator iz MHAS-a, kojima također zahvaljujemo.

<sup>3</sup> Katić 2003, pp. 523–526.

<sup>4</sup> Kapetanić 2016, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> Beritić 1966, p. 132.

<sup>6</sup> The archaeological works were performed by the *Omega engineering* d.o.o. company from Dubrovnik.

<sup>7</sup> The archaeological material from Sokol is kept in the Konavle (Pridvorje) Department of Archaeology. We would like to thank the following for their aid in our work with this material: Jelena Bezelj, the Collection curator; Sanja Pujo, documentalist, who made the drawings of the finds; Ante Šundov, MHAS senior preparator, the author of the map.

bično jer je u relativno malom amorfnom komadu bronce „utopljen“ i skriven prikaz ptice. Ovaj nam komad pomaže prepoznati kompletan izgled dvodijelnog kalupa. On je na jednom užem dijelu imao ljevkašti recipijent u koji se ulijevao tekući metal. Njegov otisak vidimo iznad repa ptice (**T. I, 2a**). Krupniji ostaci lijevanja metala u kalup otkidali su se kliještima i njih nalazimo tijekom arheoloških istraživanja. Jedan takav komad nađen je i na Sokolu (**T. I, sl. 4**) te predstavlja siguran dokaz radioničke aktivnosti. Rjeđe ćemo naći kalupe ili proizvodni škart poput našega, dok će specifičan ljevkašti radionički otpad biti brojniji tijekom arheoloških istraživanja. Zbog toga pri obradi arheološkog materijala treba više pozornosti posvetiti naizgled nevažnim komadima bronce.

Proizvodnja fibula na Sokolu najvjerojatnije nije bila ograničena samo na jedan tip. Nameće se pitanje izrade vrlo sličnih pločastih pticolikih fibula brojnijih na području Slovenije i jugoistočnog alpskog prostora.<sup>8</sup> Također su raširene na našoj obali, no na Sokolu nije nađen ni jedan primjerak pločaste pticolike fibule; to nas navodi na oprez, te ih stoga nećemo uzeti u šire razmatranje. Na području Crne Gore nađene su na Prevlaci kod Tivta,<sup>9</sup> a ima ih još u Budvi i Svaču.<sup>10</sup>

Nedavno su plastično oblikovane pticolike fibule obrađivali Tomislav Fabijanić i Marinko Tomasović. Prvi je objavio dvije fibule iz Danila i Podumaca, dok je drugi obrađio jedan primjerak iz Baćine kod Ploča.<sup>11</sup> Katica Simoni objavila je četiri fibule ovog tipa koje se čuvaju u Arheološkome muzeju u Zagrebu, ali ne zna se odakle potječu.<sup>12</sup> Postoji nesuglasje oko datacije pticolikih fibula. M. Tomasović napravio je detaljniju analizu njihove pojave, te ih datira u razdoblje od 5. do 7. st.<sup>13</sup> Mi ćemo skupini do sada poznatih nalaza pticolikih fibula dodati još jednu srebrnu, nađenu na kilometar i pol zračne linije jugozapadno od Sokola, u naselju Ljuta (**sl. 3, T. I, 3a**).

Nađena je 2017. godine, tijekom istraživanja crkve sv. Ivana smještene na uzvisini između Gornje

of the Sokol suburbium. It arrived in the Konavle Archaeological Collection depot unrecognized for what it is, viz. a workshop reject (**Fig. 2, Pl. 1, 2a**). This is not unusual, since there is a hidden depiction of a bird “immersed” in this relatively small amorphous piece of bronze. This piece can help us recognise the complete shape of the two-piece mould. On its narrow part it had a funnel-shaped recipient for pouring of liquid metal. Its imprint is visible above the tail of the bird (**Pl. 1, 2a**). Larger remains of metal poured into the mould, which we found during our archaeological investigations, had been removed with pliers. One such piece was also found at Sokol (**Pl. 1, Fig. 4**). It is a solid evidence of workshop activities. Moulds and/or manufacturing rejects such as ours are rare to be found, whereas specific funnel-shaped workshop rejects are more frequently discovered during archaeological investigations. Therefore, more attention should be devoted to seemingly unimportant pieces of bronze when processing archaeological material.

Most likely, the production of fibulae at Sokol was not limited to a single type. This imposes the question of a number of very similar plate bird-shaped fibulae in Slovenia and the south-east Alpine areas.<sup>8</sup> They are also widespread on our coast, but not a single plate bird-shaped fibula specimen has been found at Sokol. This calls for caution, and therefore we will not discuss them in detail. In Montenegrin areas, they have been found in Prevlaka near Tivat,<sup>9</sup> with some more in Budva and Svač.<sup>10</sup>

Plastically rendered bird-shaped fibulae have been recently discussed by Tomislav Fabijanić and Marinko Tomasović. Fabijanić has published a paper on two fibulae from Danilo and Podumci, while Tomasović has focused on a piece from Baćina near Ploče.<sup>11</sup> Katica Simoni’s published work concerned four fibulae of this type which are kept in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, but their origin remains unknown.<sup>12</sup> There is a discrepancy in the dating of bird-shaped fibulae. M. Tomasović analysed their occurrence in detail, and dated them to the period from the fifth to the seventh centuries.<sup>13</sup> We will add another bird-shaped fibula to the group

<sup>8</sup> Bierbrauer 1987, str. 145–146.

<sup>9</sup> Garašanin 1967, str. 275, sl. 25.

<sup>10</sup> Milinković 2005, str. 307, 9/II-6, fibula iz Svača: Sl. 5, 6. Zahvaljujemo kolegi Milinkoviću na korisnim podacima za pločaste pticolike fibule.

<sup>11</sup> Fabijanić 2007, str. 263–271; M. Tomasović 2010, str. 477–487.

<sup>12</sup> Simoni 1989, str. 109–110, T. 2, 6, 7, 8, 10.

<sup>13</sup> Tomasović 2010, str. 484.

<sup>8</sup> Bierbrauer 1987, pp. 145–146.

<sup>9</sup> Garašanin 1967, p. 275, Fig. 25.

<sup>10</sup> Milinković 2005, p. 307, 9/II-6, the fibula from Svač: Figs. 5, 6. We would like to thank our colleague Milinković for useful information on plate bird-shaped fibulae.

<sup>11</sup> Fabijanić 2007, pp. 263–271; M. Tomasović 2010, pp. 477–487.

<sup>12</sup> Simoni 1989, pp. 109–110, T. 2, 6, 7, 8, 10.

<sup>13</sup> Tomasović 2010, p. 484.



Sl. 2. Škart pticolike fibule sa Sokola  
Fig. 2 Rejected bird-shaped fibula from Sokol

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i Donje Ljute. Tomasovićeve široka datacija pticolikih fibula je prihvatljiva. Taj popularni kršćanski simbol dugo je korišten u kasnoantičkoj i ranosrednjovjekovnoj umjetnosti. Pri njegovoj ikonografskoj determinaciji ne možemo se samo ograničiti na simboličku deskripciju predmeta. Naime, poruku i značenje ne određuje samo prikaz nego i kontekst nalaza. Simboliku dviju golubica prikazanih na mozaiku iz 6. st. iskopanom u Starom Gradu na otoku Hvaru određuje njihov smještaj u apsidi crkve. Zato se starogradske golubice koje piju vodu iz kantara vezuju za euharistiju.<sup>14</sup> Na ranokršćanskoj luneti iz Gata dominiraju antitetički postavljene golubice koje predstavljaju apostole.<sup>15</sup> Ikonografija oltarne lunete jasno naglašava simboliku uskrsnuća. Pticolike fibule u više su slučajeva nađene u kasnoantičkim grobovima (Škornica, Baćina, Doničko brdo kod Kragujevca, Ljuta). Može se govoriti da su u grob dospjele kao omiljeni predmet vlasnika, no u odabiru fibule snažne simbolike prepoznajemo kršćansku nadu u uskrsnuće pokojnika.

Škart je dimenzija 4,8 x 3,5 cm. U brončanoj masi jednoličnoga zelenog tona i tragova razlijevanja bronce na mjestu spoja dvodijelnog kalupa prepoznaje se trodimenzionalno izvedena golubica istaknutih prsa, glave s manjim kljunom i repom u obliku slova *V*. Prikaz ptice dužine je 3,2 cm, u prsima je širine 0,8 cm. Tijelo od repa odvajaju dva rebra, a na vratu se također zamjećuje jedno pliće horizontalno rebro. Od donjeg dijela tijela ptice na-

found to date, a silver one discovered a mile to the south-west of Sokol, in the village of Ljuta (**Fig. 3, Pl. 1, 3a**). It was unearthed in 2017, during the investigation of the church of St. John, located at the rise of the hill between Gornja and Donja Ljuta. Tomasović's wide dating range of bird-shaped fibulae is acceptable. This popular Christian symbol was in use for a long while in late antique and early mediæval art. For the purpose of its iconographic determination, one cannot solely consider the symbolic description of a given artefact. Namely, the message and meaning are not determined by the representation only, but also by the context of the artefact. The symbolism of the two doves from the sixth-century mosaic unearthed in Stari Grad on the island of Hvar is determined by the location in the apse of the church. This is why the doves, drinking water from a kantharos, are connected to the Eucharist.<sup>14</sup> The early-Christian lunette from Gata is dominated by antithetically positioned doves representing the apostles.<sup>15</sup> The iconography of the altar lunette clearly emphasises the symbolism of resurrection. A number of bird-shaped fibulae have been found in late antique graves (Škornica, Baćina, Doničko brdo near Kragujevac, Ljuta). They can be regarded as favourite objects buried with their owners, and the choice of fibulae as potent symbols indicates the Christian hope of resurrection.

The dimensions of the reject are 4.8 x 3.5 cm. In a bronze mass of uniform green tone and traces of bronze spillage at the point of connection of the two-part mould, a three-dimensional dove is discernible, with prominent chest, the head with a small beak, and a *V*-shaped tail. The bird is 3.2 cm long, and its chest is 0.8 cm wide. The body is divided from the tail by two ribs, and another shallow horizontal rib can be seen on the neck. Two square small plates extend from the lower part of the bird's body. The one closer to the tail was supposed to be perforated subsequently to peg the axis of the iron pin spiral support. Another flat small plate extends from the chest downwards. When bent in the shape of the letter *U*, it serves to hold the top of the iron pin. A thin diffused bronze imprint of the two-part mould connection runs along the middle part of the bird, particularly around its head (**Pl. 1, 2a**). It would have been removed during the final processing, and the bird's body superfinished. A funnel-shaped bronze mass extends from the tail. It is an imprint of the orifice for pouring hot liquid

<sup>14</sup> Jeličić – Radonić, 1984, str. 32.

<sup>15</sup> Jeličić – Radonić, 1985, str. 12–13.

<sup>14</sup> Jeličić – Radonić 1984, p. 32.

<sup>15</sup> Jeličić – Radonić 1985, pp. 12–13.



Sl. 3. Srebrna pticolika fibula iz Ljute  
Fig. 3 Silver bird-shaped fibula from Ljuta

stavljaju se dvije četvrtaste pločice. Na onoj bliže repu naknadno se trebala probušiti rupa zbog fiksiranja osovine spiralnog nosača željezne igle. Od prsa se prema dolje nastavlja druga ravna pločica. Nakon što bi se savila u obliku slova *U*, služila bi za zapinjanje vrha željezne igle. Po sredini tijela ptice, naročito oko glave, pruža se tanak razliveni brončani otisak spoja dvodijelnog kalupa (**T. I, 2a**). Pri konačnom oblikovanju fibule on bi se uklonio, a tijelo ptice finije obradilo. Od repa se nastavlja ljevka brončana masa koja je otisak mjesta za ulijevanje vrele tekuće bronce u kalup. Krila i oči ptice urezivali su se naknadno, pri ukrašavanju i definiranju izgleda fibule. Na kraju se umetao mehanizam za kopčanje čija bi se osovina provukla kroz rupu na pločici smještenoj bliže repu. Tetiva spirale zakvačila bi se s unutarnje strane pločice. Osim brončanih fibula na Sokolu su se izrađivali i srebrni primjerci pticolikih fibula, kako pokazuje nalaz iz Ljute u Konavlima.

Nađena je na iskopanoj površini zemlje kod crkve sv. Ivana u Ljutu koja je legla na ostatke rimske *villa rustica*. Oko crkve ima dosta grobova, vjerojatno je i fibula izvorno bila u grobišnom kontekstu. Dužine je 3,4 cm, širine u prsima 0,7 cm. Nedostaje svijena noga fibule gdje se kopčao vrh igle. Tijelo ptice je izduženo, s istaknutim prsima, dno trupa je ravno, a gornji dio trokutno oblikovan. Sklopljena krila naznačena su sa tri urezane linije na lijevom krilu i 4 na desnom. Na vratu ptice plitko je izvedeno prstenasto zadebljanje. Iz pravilno oblikovane glave blago se spušta kljun. Na tjemenu glave

bronze into the mould. The bird's wings and eyes would be engraved subsequently, while the fibula was being decorated and its final appearance defined. Finally, the fastening mechanism would be inserted, with its axis fed through the hole in the plate closer to the tail. The spiral string would be fastened from the inside of the plate. In addition to bronze fibulae, silver bird-shaped pieces were also made at Sokol, as revealed by the find from Ljuta in Konavle.

The fibula was found on the surface of excavated earth near the church of St. John in Ljuta, located on the remnants of a Roman *villa rustica*. There is a number of graves around the church, and the fibula was originally most likely part of a grave context. It is 3.4 cm long, and its chest is 0.7 cm wide. The bent leg of the fibula, used to peg the top of the pin, is missing. The bird's body is elongated, with prominent chest, while the bottom of the body is flat, and the upper part triangular. The folded wings are marked with three engraved lines on the left wing and four on the right one. The bird's neck has a shallow annular thickening. The beak gently slopes from the regular-shaped head. On top of the head there are shallow incisions. The eyes are made by an imprinted dot in a shallow engraved circle. The fibula was repaired at a later date: the tail had been damaged, and a new one was affixed to the broken one with a silver band. On the elongated vertical small plate closer to the tail there was an iron spiral pin mechanism. Its axis was fed through the hole, and the spiral string was probably pinned from the inside. Only a corroded spiral-shaped mass has remained of the mechanism. In contrast to the bronze or silver bodies of fibulae, pins were regularly made from iron, since it is a more elastic and stronger material, suitable for continuous use, i.e. pinning the fibulae onto clothes.

The manufacturing reject that is the Sokol fibula and the specimen from Ljuta undoubtedly originate from the Sokol workshop, whose activities still remain to be studied. There are other examples of plastically rendered bird-shaped fibulae in Herzegovina, which help us recognise the array of products and a more direct trading sphere of the Sokol workshop.

The closest, almost identical specimen of a bronze fibula of this type was found in Rotimlja near Stolac.<sup>16</sup> Its construction is similar to that of the

<sup>16</sup> Miletić 1963, p. 44; Busuladžić 2010, No. 243, pp. 81–82, 186. N. Miletić pointed out that the Rotimlja fibula was made from silver, whereas A. Busuladžić noted it was from bronze.

urezani su plitki zarezi. Oči su prikazane utisnutom točkom u plitko urezanoj kružnici. Fibula je naknadno popravljena nakon što se oštetio rep; dodan je novi, pričvršćen na puknuti srebrnom vrpcom. Na izduženoj vertikalnoj pločici smještenoj bliže repu stajao je željezni spiralni mehanizam igle. Osovina mu je bila provučena kroz rupu, a tetiva spirale bila je zapeta najvjerojatnije s unutarnje strane. Od mehanizma je ostala sačuvana samo korodirana masa spiralnog oblika. Za razliku od brončanog ili srebrnog tijela fibula, igle su redovno izrađivane od željeza, jer je elastičniji i čvršći materijal pogodan za stalnu upotrebu, odnosno kvačenje fibule na odjeću.

Proizvodni škart fibule sa Sokola i primjerak iz Ljute nedvojbeno pripadaju sokolskoj radionici čiju djelatnost tek treba proučiti. Na prostoru Hercegovine nalazimo druge primjerke plastično oblikovanih pticolikih fibula, koji nam pomažu u prepoznavanju spektra proizvoda i izravnijega trgovačkog dosega sokolske radionice.

Najbliži, gotovo istovjetan primjerak brončane fibule ovog tipa nađen je u Rotimlji kod Stoca.<sup>16</sup> Slične je izvedbe kao sokolski primjerci. Na utvrđi Koštur u selu Dabrici kod Stoca, na zapadnoj strani Dabarskog polja, nađen je još jedan primjerak plastično oblikovane pticolike fibule.<sup>17</sup> Koštur se može povezati s Dobriskikom (Δοβρισκίκ) iz djela *De administrando imperio* cara Konstantina Porfirogeneta.<sup>18</sup> Riječ je o važnoj utvrđi koja je imala vojne i gospodarske kontakte sa Sokolom.

U zapadnoj Hercegovini nađene su u Grudama kod Ljubuškoga i Mogorjelu kod Čapljine.<sup>19</sup> U Grudama je fibula nađena na lokalitetu Gradina. F. Fiala navodi da tamo ima ostataka zidova, a za kišnog razdoblja na površini zemlje može se pronaći rimski novac i drugi arheološki predmeti.<sup>20</sup> Neretvanskom krugu pticolikih fibula pridružuje se i ona iz Baćine kod Ploča. Ima znakovito zaobljen kljun poput ptice grabljivice. M. Tomasović najbližu analogiju baćinskoj fibuli traži u primjerku iz Rotimlje, ističući generalne sličnosti fibule, poput neukrašenosti.<sup>21</sup>

Sokol pieces. One more specimen of a plastically rendered bird-shaped fibula was found in the Koštur fortification in the village of Dabrici near Stolac, in the western part of Dabarsko polje.<sup>17</sup> Koštur can be related to Dobriskik (Δοβρισκίκ) from the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus's work *De Administrando Imperio*.<sup>18</sup> It was an important fortification, with military and economic contacts with Sokol.

In western Herzegovina, fibulae have been found in Grude near Ljubuški and Mogorjelo near Čapljina.<sup>19</sup> The Grude fibula was discovered at the Gradina site. F. Fiala noted the remains of walls there, and Roman coins and other archaeological finds appearing on the surface of the earth during the wet season.<sup>20</sup> The Neretvan cluster of bird-shaped fibulae also comprises the one from Baćina near Ploče. Its beak is conspicuously rounded, like in the birds of prey. M. Tomasović believed that the closest analogy to the Baćina fibula was the specimen from Rotimlja, pointing out general similarities, such as a lack of decoration.<sup>21</sup> The Baćina specimen originates from the Sladinac site, where an early Christian church was discovered.<sup>22</sup> Even though this was a surface find, it can be assumed that the fibula had belonged to the surrounding graveyard, partly devastated by the construction of the Adriatic Trunk Road.

The map of distribution of bird-shaped fibulae shows their higher concentration in the area from the right bank of the Neretva to Konavle. This was a more direct trading sphere of the Sokol workshop and its products. The frequency of found bird-shaped fibulae diminishes northward along the Adriatic coast, but they were nevertheless also brought there by sea.

It is worth noting that not many plastically rendered bird-shaped fibulae have been found in Salona, despite its numerous investigated necropolises. So far only one specimen without annular thickening on the neck and the junction of the body and tail has been recorded.<sup>23</sup> One bird-shaped fibula was found in the territory of ancient Rider, i.e. Danilo. It is kept in the Archaeological Collection of the Franciscan monastery on Visovac. It was a gift to the

<sup>16</sup> Miletić 1963, str. 44; Busuladžić 2010, red. br. 243, str. 81–82, 186. Za fibulu iz Rotimlje N. Miletić navodi da je izrađena od srebra, dok A. Busuladžić bilježi da je od bronce.

<sup>17</sup> Janković 2010, str. 65, sl. 2, 5.

<sup>18</sup> Basler 1972, str. 50–51.

<sup>19</sup> Busuladžić 2010, str. 186, red. br. 242 i 244.

<sup>20</sup> Fiala 1895, str. 369–370. Za pticoliku fibulu iz Gruda F. Fiala i N. Miletić drže da je izrađena od srebra, Busuladžić, pak, da je od bronce.

<sup>21</sup> M. Tomasović 2010, str. 479.

<sup>17</sup> Janković 2010, p. 65, Figs. 2, 5.

<sup>18</sup> Basler 1972, pp. 50–51.

<sup>19</sup> Busuladžić 2010, p. 186, Nos. 242 and 244.

<sup>20</sup> Fiala 1895, pp. 369–370. F. Fiala and N. Miletić believed that the Grude bird-shaped fibula was made from silver, while Busuladžić thought it was from bronze.

<sup>21</sup> M. Tomasović 2010, p. 479.

<sup>22</sup> Fisković 1980, pp. 214–217; Vučić 2009, pp. 131–176.

<sup>23</sup> Ivčević 2002, p. 242, Pl. XXIV, 232.





Karta rasprostranjenosti pticolikih fibula

*Map of distribution of bird-shaped fibulae*

1. Ljuta - Konavle; 2. Rotimlja kod Stooa; 3. Koštur - Dabarsko polje; 4. Mazlumi - Gatačko polje; 5. Bačina; 6. Mogorjelo kod Čapljine; 7. Grude kod Ljubuškog; 8. Salona; 9. Rider-Danilo; 10. Podumci  
11. Škornica - Privlaka kod Nina; 12. Novalja; 13. Doničko brdo kod Kragujevca; 14. Castel Trosino

Bačinski primjerak pripadao je lokalitetu Sladinac, na kojem je nađena ranokršćanska crkva.<sup>22</sup> Iako se radi o površinskom nalazu, može se pretpostaviti da je fibula pripadala okolnom groblju djelomice uništenom izgradnjom Jadranske magistrale.

Karta rasprostranjenosti pticolikih fibula pokazuje njihovu gušću koncentraciju od desne obale Neretve do Konavala. To je bio izravniји trgovački doseg sokolske radionice i njezinih proizvoda. Dalje prema sjeveru jadranske obale nalazi pticolikih fibula se smanjuju, no morskim putem dopiru i tamo.

Znakovito je da Salona, unatoč brojnim istraženim nekropolama, nije dala veći broj plastično oblikovanih pticolikih fibula. Za sada je evidentiran samo jedan primjerak bez prstenastih zadebljanja

Visovac Collection from D. Maretić, who is in possession of another similar piece from the Podumci – Maretića umac site.<sup>24</sup> These fibulae have the annular thickening around the neck and three or four thickened ribs separating the body from the tail.

During the investigations of a prehistoric tumulus at the Škornica site in Privlaka in the northern Adriatic, one silver bird-shaped fibula was found by the skeleton of a very young person. The fibula was in its original location, on the upper third of the left side of the chest.<sup>25</sup> Another piece was found during the underwater investigation in Novalja on the island of Pag.<sup>26</sup> Both specimens have the annular thickening on the neck and on the junction of the body and tail. The silver specimen from Škornica is similar in material and construction to the one from

<sup>22</sup> Fisković 1980, str. 214–217; Vučić 2009, str. 131–176.

<sup>24</sup> Fabijanić 2007, pp. 264–265.

<sup>25</sup> Marjanović 2006, pp. 343–344.

<sup>26</sup> Ilkić, Parica 2009, p. 115.

na vratu i prijelazu tijela u rep.<sup>23</sup> Na području starog Ridera, odnosno Danila nađen je jedan primjerak pticolike fibule koja se danas čuva u Arheološkoj zbirci franjevačkog samostana na Visovcu. Nju je visovačkoj Zbirci poklonio D. Maretić, koji je u posjedu drugoga sličnog primjerka s lokaliteta Podumci – Maretića umac.<sup>24</sup> Ove fibule imaju prstenasto zadebljanje oko vrata i po tri ili četiri zadebljana rebra koja odvajaju tijelo od repa.

Na sjevernom Jadranu je prilikom istraživanja prapovijesnog tumula na lokalitetu Škornica u Privlaci nađena jedna srebrna pticolika fibula uz kostur vrlo mlade osobe. Fibula je ostala na izvornome mjestu, na gornjoj trećini lijeve strane prsnog koša.<sup>25</sup> Još jedan primjerak nađen je prilikom podmorskih istraživanja u Novalji na otoku Pagu.<sup>26</sup> Oba primjerka imaju prstenasto zadebljanje na vratu i prijelazu iz tijela u rep. Srebrni primjerak iz Škornice sličan je po materijalu i izvedbi primjerku iz Ljute. Male pticolike fibule rado su se nabavljale za djecu.

U Novalju i Škornicu sokolske su fibule stigle morskim putem. No njihovo znatnije širenje iz Sokola išlo je kopnenom cestom koja je vodila od Epidaura i Sokola preko Trebinja (*Asamum*), Stoca (*Diluntum*) i Mogorjela (*Ad Turres*) do Vida kod Metkovića (*Narona*).<sup>27</sup> Do Baćine je fibula mogla doći morskim putem preko pristaništa u Pločama. Indikativan je nalaz fibule iz Mazluma ispod gradine Gat u Gackom polju, jer se i ona nalazi na trasi ceste od Epidaura, odnosno Sokola, preko Trebinja, Bilečkoga i Gatačkog polja prema Gornjem Podrinju, a odatle se moglo dalje prema Nišu (*Naissus*). Tuda je vodio i stari dubrovački karavanski put prema Nišu i Carigradu.<sup>28</sup> Karavanski put koji je vodio preko Gackog Dubrovčani su zvali „via Drine“ ili, rjeđe, „via Bosne“.<sup>29</sup> Pticolika fibula s lokaliteta Doničko brdo kod Kragujevca u Srbiji<sup>30</sup> mogla je stići iz Sokola nekim od navedenih antičkih pravaca. To je najsjeverniji nalaz plastično oblikovanih pticolikih fibula.

Kako smo istaknuli, zona izravnije distribucije sokolskih fibula prema zapadu doseže desnu obalu

Ljuta. Small-sized bird-shaped fibulae were popular acquisitions for children.

The Sokol fibulae were brought to Novalja and Škornica by sea. However, they were widely distributed from Sokol by a land route from Epidaurus and Sokol via Trebinje (*Asamum*), Stolac (*Diluntum*) and Mogorjelo (*Ad Turres*) to Vid near Metković (*Narona*).<sup>27</sup> Baćina was accessible by sea via a harbour in Ploče. The fibula found in Mazlumi by the Gat hill-fort in Gacko polje is indicative, since this location also lies on the route of the road from Epidaurus, viz. Sokol, via Trebinje, Bilečko polje and Gatačko polje to Gornje Podrinje, where another road led to Niš (*Naissus*). This is also the route of the old Dubrovnik caravan road to Niš and Constantinople.<sup>28</sup> The caravan road via Gacko was called “via Drine” or, more rarely, “via Bosne”.<sup>29</sup> The bird-shaped fibula from the Doničko brdo site near Kragujevac in Serbia<sup>30</sup> could have been brought there from Sokol by one of the mentioned ancient routes. This has been the northernmost unearthed plastically rendered bird-shaped fibula.

As we have already pointed out, the zone of a more direct distribution of Sokol fibulae to the west stretched to the right bank of the Neretva River. In the north it reached the Gatačko polje valley. To the east, i.e. Montenegro, there have been plate bird-shaped fibulae discoveries, but no plastically rendered bird-shaped fibulae have been found.

It seems that the radius of the workshop’s direct influence was about 150 km (as measured on land). The occurrences of bird-shaped fibulae in the late antique fortification of Koštur in Dabarsko polje, and by the hill-fort of Gat in Gatačko polje, suggest of connections with Sokol, i.e. among the fortifications during the sixth and seventh centuries.

Now that we know where the production centre used to be, it is easier to identify the pertinent methods and scopes of distribution of products. Decorations were more diverse, and customisations based on individual requests were possible, as noted in the case of the Baćina fibula.<sup>31</sup>

The significance of late antique Sokol as a production and trade centre reveals its regional role. Its

<sup>23</sup> Ivčević 2002, str. 242, T. XXIV, 232.

<sup>24</sup> Fabijanić 2007, str. 264–265.

<sup>25</sup> Marjanović 2006, str. 343–344.

<sup>26</sup> Ilkić, Parica 2009, str. 115.

<sup>27</sup> Bojanovski 1983, str. 7–36.

<sup>28</sup> Jireček 1951, str. 117–118; Bojanovski 1988, str. 108–109.

<sup>29</sup> Škrivanić 1974, str. 43.

<sup>30</sup> Petrović 1965, str. 288–289, sl. 40, 1.

<sup>27</sup> Bojanovski 1983, pp. 7–36.

<sup>28</sup> Jireček 1951, pp. 117–118; Bojanovski 1988, pp. 108–109.

<sup>29</sup> Škrivanić 1974, p. 43.

<sup>30</sup> Petrović 1965, pp. 288–289, Fig. 40, 1.

<sup>31</sup> Tomasović 2010, p. 484. The author pointed out the following: “The indubitable Romance origin of the fibula could also be regarded, at least in some design versions, as influenced by the requirements of the Germanic sphere.”

rijeke Neretve. Na sjeveru doseže dolinu Gatačkog polja. Prema istoku, odnosno prostoru Crne Gore, ima pločastih pticolikih fibula, no izostaju nalazi plastično izrađenih pticolikih fibula.

Čini se da je izravan utjecaj radionice bio oko 150 km (mjeren je kopneni put). Pojava pticolike fibule na kasnoantičkoj utvrdi Koštur u Dabarskom polju, zatim podno gradine Gat u Gatačkom polju pokazuje veze sa Sokolom, tj. veze između utvrda tijekom 6. – 7. st.

Sada kada znamo gdje je bilo proizvodno središte, lakše možemo prepoznati načine i dosege distribucije proizvoda pojedinog radioničkog središta. Ti su se proizvodi šarolikije ukrašavali, a mogli su se prilagođavati pojedinim ukusima, kako je primijećeno u slučaju fibule iz Baćine.<sup>31</sup>

Značenje kasnoantičkog Sokola kao proizvodnoga i trgovačkog središta otkriva njegovu regionalnu ulogu. Ima duži kontinuitet naseljavanja od Raguzija i koristi se neizravnom vezom s pristaništima u Herceg Novom i Epidauru. Roba njegovih zanatskih radionica distribuirala se i kopnom i morem. Nismo se usudili više zahvatiti u prostor Italije, gdje je u Castel Trosinu, unutar groba, nađena jedna srebrna plastično oblikovana fibula.<sup>32</sup>

S juga Hrvatske u talijanske Marke stigla je prekojadranskom rutom. Langobardski kontekst nalaza i raširenost ovog tipa fibula u Italiji prepuštamo kompetentnijem stručnom pogledu sa suprotne strane Jadrana. Za nas je indikativno da je nađena u Markama, prostoru koji od prapovijesti do danas održava pomorsku vezu između dviju jadranskih obala. Također je važno primijetiti da je izrađena od srebra, kao i primjerci iz Ljute, Škornice, Gruda i Rotimlje.<sup>33</sup> Izrada fibula od srebra bila je zaštitni znak sokolske radionice. Stanovnici Sokola su s prostora donjega Podrinja i Srebrenice u istočnoj Bosni, gdje se srebro eksploatiralo od rimskog doba,<sup>34</sup> nabavljali plemenite metale za potrebe

continuity of settlement was longer than that of Ragusium and it used indirect links with the harbours in Herceg Novi and Epidaurus. The goods from its artisanal workshops were distributed both by land and sea. We dare not delve deeper in the regions of Italy, where one silver plastically rendered fibula was found in a grave in Castel Trosino.<sup>32</sup>

It was brought from the Croatian south to the Marche in Italy via a trans-Adriatic route. We will leave the Langobardic context of the find and the distribution of this type of fibula to more competent experts on the other side of the Adriatic. It is indicative from our point of view that it was found in the Marche, an area which has maintained the maritime link between the two Adriatic coasts since prehistoric times. It is also important to note that it is made from silver, like the specimens from Ljuta, Škornica, Grude and Rotimlje.<sup>33</sup> Silver fibulae were a trademark of the Sokol workshop. The inhabitants of Sokol procured noble metals for their artisanal production from the region of lower Podrinje and Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia, where silver had been mined since the Roman era<sup>34</sup>. We can assume that oil, wine and other Mediterranean produce were imported to hinterland from coastal areas. Procurement of metal ores was even more relevant in the Middle Ages. The Dubrovnikans supplied the hinterland with meat, flour and wine, and bartered their goods for metal ores.<sup>35</sup>

In late antique times, fortifications took the economic initiative and control of land routes. With their suburbia and churches, they assumed the role of ancient stopover posts. Gone were the long journeys like in the Roman era, but there remained active and tenacious traditional economic links based on barter and trade between the littoral zone and the hinterland. Sokol can be regarded as an important market town due to its position on a road junction. Namely, the trading climate encouraged artisanal production, which was gradually shifting from old ancient towns to fortifications and their settlements. Following the crisis in the third century, the emergence of artisanal colleges and corporations intensi-

<sup>31</sup> Tomasović 2010, str. 484. Autor ističe: „Nesumnjivo romansko podrijetlo fibule možda bi se moglo sagledati, barem u nekim oblikovnim inačicama, i dodirom prohtjeva germanskog kruga.“

<sup>32</sup> Peroni 1990, sl. 127.

<sup>33</sup> Za posljednje dvije fibule postoje zbunjujuće informacije; prvi istraživači navode da su od srebra, dok Adnan Busuladžić navodi da su od bronce. Mislim da je Busuladžićeva kataloška obrada površnja utoliko što se ne osvrće na primarne opise i eventualnu opisnu pogrešku svojih prethodnika iz Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu.

<sup>34</sup> Škegro 1999, str. 60–68.

<sup>32</sup> Peroni 1990, Fig. 127.

<sup>33</sup> There is some confusing information regarding the latter two fibulae; the initial researchers claimed they were from silver, while Adnan Busuladžić stated they were from bronze. I think that Busuladžić's cataloguing is more cursory since it does not regard the primary descriptions and the possible descriptive error made by his precursors from the National Museum in Sarajevo.

<sup>34</sup> Škegro 1999, pp. 60–68.

<sup>35</sup> Jireček 1951, p. 74.

svoje zanatske proizvodnje. Možemo pretpostaviti da su se s priobalnog dijela u unutrašnjost izvozili ulje, vino i drugi mediteranski proizvodi. Nabava metalnih sirovina bila je još aktualnija u srednjem vijeku. Dubrovčani su unutrašnjost opskrbljivali mesom, brašnom i vinom, svoju robu su prodavali za metalne sirovine.<sup>35</sup>

U kasnoj antici utvrde preuzimaju gospodarsku inicijativu i nadzor nad kopnenim putovima. One su sa svojim podgrađima i crkvama zamijenile antičke putne postaje. Ne putuje se više daleko kao u rimsko doba, ali ostaju aktivne i žilave tradicionalne gospodarske veze temeljene na razmjeni i trgovini između priobalja i kopnene unutrašnjosti. Zbog smještaja na križištu cesta Sokol se može promatrati kao važno trgovište. Naime, mogućnost trgovanja poticala je zanatsku proizvodnju koja se iz starih antičkih gradova postupno premještala prema utvrdama i njihovim naseljima. Zanatski kolegiji i korporacije, nakon krize u 3. st., intenzivnije se pojavljuju od kraja 4. st., kad u Saloni zatječemo neke posve nove.<sup>36</sup> Sokolski zanatlije održavali su trgovačke odnose sa stanovništvom drugih utvrda, poput Mogorjela, Koštura, Mazluma (utvrda Gat). Ta je „mreža“ omogućavala sigurniju nabavu i protok sirovina i robe. Unutar nje bio je Raguzij i druge utvrde epidaurskoga kraja. Na koncu će se od njih jedino Dubrovnik razviti u srednjovjekovni grad. Razvio se na gospodarskoj matrici koju počinjemo iščitavati kod kasnoantičkog Sokola.

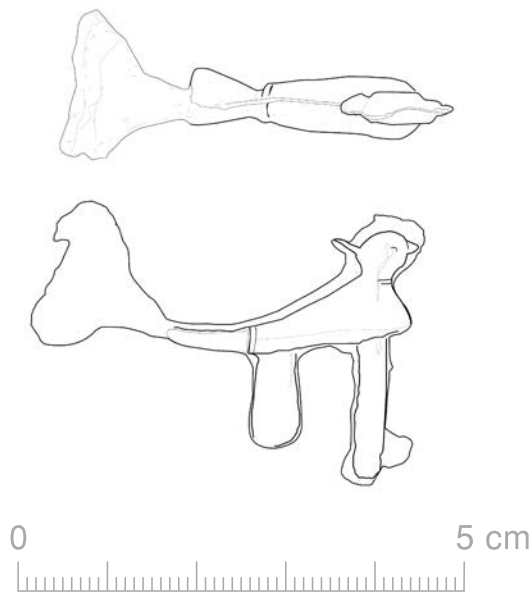
fied from the end of the fourth century, when some brand new ones were established in Salona.<sup>36</sup> The Sokol artisans maintained commercial relations with the inhabitants of other fortifications, such as Mogorjelo, Koštur, Mazlumi (the Gat fortification). This network of sorts facilitated safer procurement and flow of raw material and goods. It comprised Ragusium and other fortifications in the Epidaurus region. Eventually, Dubrovnik was the only one that developed into a mediaeval town. It evolved on an economic matrix sprouting in late antique Sokol.

<sup>35</sup> Jireček 1951, str. 74.

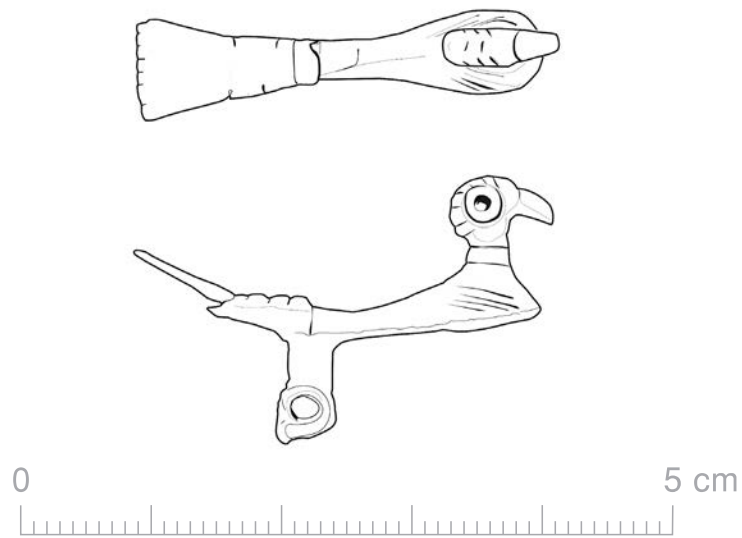
<sup>36</sup> Migotti 1986, str. 179.

<sup>36</sup> Migotti 1986, p. 179.

Tabla 1 / Plate 1



sl. 2 a



sl. 3 a



sl. 4

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