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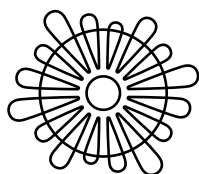
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B. Marijanović

Osamnaesti svezak časopisa *Archaeologia Adriatica* posvećen je profesoru emeritusu Brunislavu Marijanoviću u znak zahvalnosti za sve što je učinio za Odjel za arheologiju, Sveučilište u Zadru i arheologiju općenito.

The eighteenth volume of the journal *Archaeologia Adriatica* is dedicated to professor emeritus Brunislav Marijanović, as an expression of gratitude for everything he has done for the Department of Archaeology, University of Zadar and archaeology in general.

GROB IZ STARIJEG ŽELJEZNOG DOBA S GROBLJA NAKOVANA – ZMIJNA (POLUOTOK PELJEŠAC)

AN EARLY IRON GRAVE AT THE NAKOVANA – ZMIJNA CEMETERY (PELJEŠAC PENINSULA)

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Prapovijesno gradinsko naselje Grad u Nakovani jedno je od najistaknutijih naselja iz brončanog i željeznog doba na južnom dijelu istočnojadranske obale. O njegovoj važnosti kao i kompleksnom kulturnom krajoliku u kojem se nalazi, osim do sada pronađene materijalne ostavštine, svjedoče i brojne kamene gomile koje se nalaze u okolici Grada, posebno na brdu Zmijnoj. S obzirom na pretpostavljenu kontinuiranu naseljenost Grada sve do kraja željeznog doba, očekivalo se i postojanje ravnih grobova, što su istraživanja provedena 2020. godine i potvrdila. Na južnim padinama brda Zmijne otkrivena su dva groba na ravnom smještena u blizini mladih kamenih gomila. Grob smješten pri vrhu brda, na osnovi pronađenih nalaza, datiran je u starije željezno doba. Ostaci više pokojnika bili su položeni u prirodnu udubinu i pokriveni većim kamenim blokovima. U grobu su, osim keramičkih ulomaka, pronađeni predmeti nakita i nošnje koji upućuju na kulturne kontakte sa zaleđem te prostorom zapadnog Balkana na kojem je starije željezno doba obilježeno razvojem glasilačke kulture.

The prehistoric hillfort settlement of Grad in Nakovana is one of the most prominent Bronze and Iron Age settlements on the southern part of the eastern Adriatic coast. Its importance and the complex wider cultural landscape are reflected not only in the material legacy found so far, but also in the numerous stone mounds around Grad, especially on the hill of Zmijna. Since it was presumed that Grad was continuously inhabited until the end of the Iron Age, it was expected to find flat graves, which were in fact discovered during the excavations of 2020. On the southern slopes of Zmijna hill,

two flat graves were discovered near younger stone mounds. The grave located near the top of the hill was dated to the Early Iron Age based on the finds. The remains of several individuals were laid in a natural depression and covered with large stone blocks. The grave contained potsherds, but also jewellery and costume items indicating cultural contacts with the hinterland and the area of the western Balkans, where the Early Iron Age was characterized by the development of the Glasinac culture.

UVOD

Gradinsko naselje Grad kod Nakovane, smješteno u zapadnom dijelu poluotoka Pelješca, jedno je od najistaknutijih naselja na južnom dijelu istočnojadranske obale koje je vjerojatno bilo kontinuirano naseljeno od prijelaza s eneolitika na rano brončano doba pa sve do kraja željeznog doba.¹ Na Gradu do sada nisu bila provedena sustavna istraživanja, osim terenskih pregleda,² iako su nalazi prikupljeni od kraja 19. stoljeća upućivali na njegovu važnost tijekom brončanog i željeznog doba na južnom dijelu istočne obale Jadrana.³ U okolici Grada nalazi se više od 50 kamenih gomila koje su u najvećem broju dokumentirane na brdu Zmijnoj koje se nalazi oko 300 m sjeverno od Grada.⁴ Najbolje je do sada istražena pećina Spila koja se nalazi ispod vrha brda Kopinja, oko jedan km sjeveroistočno od Grada gdje je, uz neke starije nalaze datirane od ranog neolitika do u kasno brončano doba, u skrivenoj dvorani otkriveno ilirsko svetište datirano od kraja 4. st. pr. Kr. do oko 35. god. pr. Kr. i vremena Oktavijanova osvajanja južnog dijela istočnojadranske obale.⁵ Prikupljene spoznaje pokazuju kako je gradinsko naselje Grad s okolnim prostorom predstavljalo kompleksan kulturni krajolik čija istraživanja mogu rezultirati novim spoznajama o prapovijesti Pelješca i južnog dijela istočnojadranske obale. Zbog toga su 2020. godine na prostoru groblja na položaju Zmijna započela istraživanja kako bi se prikupili novi podatci i materijalna ostavština koji bi doprinijeli poznavanju pogrebnih običaja i tretmana pokojnika za vri-

INTRODUCTION

The hillfort settlement of Grad near Nakovana, located in the western part of the Pelješac Peninsula, is one of the most prominent settlements on the southern part of the eastern Adriatic coast; it was probably continuously inhabited from the transition from the Eneolithic to the Early Bronze Age until the end of the Iron Age.¹ No systematic excavations have been undertaken at Grad, apart from field surveys,² even though the finds collected since the late 19th century indicated its importance during the Bronze and Iron Ages on the southern part of the eastern Adriatic coast.³ In the vicinity of Grad, there are more than 50 stone mounds, most of them found on the hill of Zmijna, approximately 300 meters north of Grad.⁴ The best-explored site is the Spila cave, located under the peak of Kopinje hill, approximately one kilometre northeast of Grad. Alongside older finds dating from the early Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age, the cave included a hidden chamber with an Illyrian sanctuary dating from the end of the 4th century BC to around 35 BC, when Octavian conquered the southern part of the eastern Adriatic coast.⁵ The obtained insights indicate that the hillfort settlement of Grad and its surrounding area constitute a complex cultural landscape that could provide new knowledge about the prehistory of Pelješac and the southern part of the eastern Adriatic coast. Consequently, excavations began in the cemetery area of the Zmijna site in 2020 to gather new data and material remains that could contribute to understanding funerary practices and mortuary treatment during the Late Bronze and

¹ Na Gradu su pronađeni i kasnoantički nalazi te oni iz srednjeg vijeka.

² PETRIĆ 1977; 1978; FORENBAHER 2009: 690–692; RAJIĆ ŠIKANJIĆ, FORENBAHER 2010: 71–75.

³ PERKIĆ et al. 2021 s povijesti istraživanja i literaturom.

⁴ PETRIĆ 1981: 44–45; FORENBAHER, KAISER, VUJNOVIĆ 2001: 46–49.

⁵ Najvažnije: FORENBAHER, KAISER 1999: 75–77; 2001: 677–678; 2003; 2006: 571–582; 2011: 185–193; 2012: 263–274; FORENBAHER, KAISER, KIRIGIN 2003: 323–331; FORENBAHER, JONES 2011: 425–438; 2014: 7–28; MENALO 2005.

¹ The finds at Grad include those from Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages.

² PETRIĆ 1977; 1978; FORENBAHER 2009: 690–692; RAJIĆ ŠIKANJIĆ, FORENBAHER 2010: 71–75.

³ PERKIĆ et al. 2021 with history of research and literature.

⁴ PETRIĆ 1981: 44–45; FORENBAHER, KAISER, VUJNOVIĆ. 2001: 46–49.

⁵ The most important: FORENBAHER, KAISER 1999: 75–77; 2001: 677–678; 2003; 2006: 571–582; 2011: 185–193; 2012: 263–274; FORENBAHER, KAISER, KIRIGIN. 2003: 323–331; FORENBAHER, JONES 2011: 425–438; 2014: 7–28; MENALO 2005.

jeme kasnog brončanog i željeznog doba.

Rezultati terenskog pregleda, koji je prethodio iskopavanju, pokazali su kako se ispod hrpta brda na Zmijnoj i njegovim južnim padinama prepoznaju dva tipa kamenih gomila koje se nastavljaju prema sjeverozapadu i položaju brda Golubinici. Izdvojene su gomile tzv. klasičnog kupolastog izgleda za koje se pretpostavlja kako datiraju u razdoblje od kraja eneolitika do u kasno brončano doba, što će svakako biti potrebno provjeriti istraživanjima. Na Zmijnoj su uočene i gomile drukčijeg izgleda i konstrukcije, što se i prepoznaje kod onih koje su već odavno bile devastirane. Ove su gomile pravilnog kružnog tlocrta, a sastoje se od dvaju ili triju koncentričnih prstenova izgrađenih od većih kamenih blokova koji se stepenasto uzdižu prema središnjem ravnom dijelu gdje se nalazi četvrtasta suhozidna grobnica koja je bila zasuta sitnim kamenjem. Prostori između kamenih prstena također su ispunjeni sitnijim kamenjem. Na osnovi površinskih nalaza, gomile ovog oblika datirane su u kraj starijeg i mlađe željezno doba. Osim na Zmijnoj, devastirane gomile ovog tipa nalaze se i na Nakovaniću smještenom zapadno od Grada.⁶ Osim gomila, na Zmijnoj su uočene i određene površine na kojima se pretpostavljalo postojanje ravnih grobova, zbog čega su 2020. godine istražene dvije sonde. U sondi 1 otkriven je grob datiran u kraj kasnog brončanog doba, a u sondi 2 grob iz starijeg željeznog doba,⁷ koji se namjerava i detaljnije analizirati kako bi se proširile dosadašnje spoznaje o starijem željeznom dobu na Pelješcu.

GROB 2 KRAJ KAMENE GOMILE 3.02

Blizu hrpta brda na Zmijnoj i početku južne padine nalazi se skupina od oko desetak gomila mlađeg tipa čiji je središnji dio s grobom već odavno devastiran. Sa sjeverne strane ove skupine gomila nalazi se ravnija površina ko-

Iron Ages.

The field survey, which preceded the excavations, revealed the presence of two types of stone mounds under the ridge of Zmijna hill and on its southern slopes in the northwest direction towards the site of Golubinica hill. Some of them are mounds of the "classic domed" shape, which are presumed to date from the end of the Eneolithic to the Late Bronze Age, but this hypothesis will have to be verified through excavations. Also, Zmijna includes mounds of different appearance and structure, which is visible even in those that have long been destroyed. These mounds have a regular circular plan and consist of two or three concentric rings built of large stone blocks that rise like steps toward the central flat area with a square dry-wall tomb covered with small stones. The spaces between the stone rings are also filled with small stones. Based on surface finds, mounds of this type have been dated to the end of the Early Iron Age and to the Late Iron Age. Devastated mounds of this type are found not only on Zmijna, but also on Nakovanić hill, west of Grad.⁶ Along with the mounds, Zmijna included areas with presumed flat graves, which is why two trenches were excavated in 2020. Trench 1 uncovered a grave dating to the end of the Late Bronze Age, while Trench 2 uncovered a grave from the Early Iron Age,⁷ which is planned to be analysed in detail to expand current knowledge about the Early Iron Age on Pelješac.

GRAVE 2 NEAR STONE MOUND 3.02

Near the ridge of Zmijna hill and at the beginning of the southern slope, there is a group of a dozen mounds of the younger type; their central part with the grave has long been destroyed. North of this group of mounds, there is a flatter surface leading to the top of the hill where several large stone blocks have been observed. Two

⁶ PERKIĆ et al. 2021: 70, 72.

⁷ PERKIĆ et al. 2021.

⁶ PERKIĆ et al. 2021: 70, 72.

⁷ PERKIĆ et al. 2021.

jom se dolazi do vrha brda na kojoj je uočeno nekoliko većih kamenih blokova. Izdvajaju se dva veća izdužena pravokutna bloka smještena oko tri metra sjeveroistočno od ruba gomile 3.02 koja su na mjestu dodira bila blago uzdignuta, što je strukturi davalo krovasti presjek (sl. 1). S obje dulje strane, uz rubove kamenih blokova, uočavao se niz manjeg nepravilnog kamenja, posebno sa sjeverne strane, dok je površina prema istoku dijelom bila izložena eroziji. Zbog toga se sondom 2, dimenzija 2,5 x 1,5 m, namjeravalo provjeriti pokrivaju li kameni blokovi možda ostatke groba.⁸ Nakon dokumentiranja i uklanjanja kamenih blokova dužine oko 1 m, širine 0,30 do 0,40 m i debljine oko 0,20 m, pojavio se sloj smeđe zemlje sa sitnijim kamenjem u kojem su uočene ljudske kosti te metalni i keramički nalazi. Sa zapadne strane otkrivene su dvije tanke kamene ploče postavljene na rub koje su zatvarale strukturu, dok ploča s oštećene istočne strane nije bilo. U zapuni, između rubno posloženog kamenja, pronađena je veća količina ljudskih kostiju kao i 47 sitnih keramičkih ulomaka. Brončani predmeti pronađeni su u istočnom dijelu, dok se po jedan brončani obruč nalazio u uglovi-ma. Nakon čišćenja groba uočila se struktura dimenzija 1,30 x 1,10 m čije je dno iznosilo oko 0,40 m od vrha kamenih blokova.⁹ Čini se kako su pokojnici, možda orijentacije istok-zapad i obrnuto, bili položeni u prirodnu plitku udubinu u kamenu (sl. 2), zasuti zemljom sa sitnim kamenjem te su potom pokriveni dvama većim kamenim blokovima. Grob 2, s obzirom na nalaze, datiran je u 7. do početka 6. st. pr. Kr.¹⁰ Zub jednog od pokojnika radiokarbonski (¹⁴C) je datiran u rasponu od 1110. do 900. god. pr. Kr., što bi upućivalo na veću starost groba u odnosu na onu koja počiva na analizi pronađenih nalaza.¹¹ Moguće je objaš-

large elongated rectangular blocks are located approximately three metres northeast of the edge of mound 3.02; they were slightly elevated at the point of contact, giving the structure a roof-like cross-section (Fig. 1). On both longer sides, along the edges of the stone blocks, there was a visible series of small irregular stones, especially on the northern side, while the surface towards the east was partly exposed to erosion. Therefore, trench 2, measuring 2.5 x 1.5 metres, was made to verify if the stone blocks covered the remains of a grave.⁸ The stone blocks, measuring around 1 metre in length, 0.30 to 0.40 metres in width, and around 0.20 metres in thickness, were documented and removed, revealing a layer of brown soil with small stones containing human bones and metal and ceramic finds. The excavations on the western side uncovered two thin stone slabs placed at the edge, closing off the structure; there were no slabs on the damaged eastern side. In the fill, between the stones arranged on the edges, there was a large quantity of human bones along with 47 tiny potsherds. Bronze objects were discovered in the eastern part, with one bronze ring in each corner. The cleaning of the grave revealed a structure measuring 1.30 x 1.10 metres, with its bottom approximately 0.40 metres below the top of the stone blocks.⁹ It appears that the individuals, possibly lying in an east-west or west-east direction, were laid in a natural shallow depression in the stone (Fig. 2), filled with earth and small stones, and then covered with two large stone blocks. Based on the finds, grave 2 is dated from the 7th to the beginning of the 6th century BC.¹⁰ The tooth of one of the individuals was radiocarbon (¹⁴C) dated to 1110–900 BC, indicating a greater age for the grave compared to the one based on the analysis of the finds.¹¹ One possible explanation

⁸ PERKIĆ et al. 2021: 76, Karta 3.

⁹ PERKIĆ et al. 2021: 76, sl. 5–7.

¹⁰ PERKIĆ et al. 2021: 79.

¹¹ DeA-28726, I/2582/2, Nakovana, konvencionalna ¹⁴C vrijednost (god. BP) (1 sigma) 2828 ± 33, kalibrirana vrijednost (cal AD/BC) (2 sigma) 1110. – 900. god. pr. Kr.

⁸ PERKIĆ et al. 2021: 76, Map 3.

⁹ PERKIĆ et al. 2021: 76, Figs. 5–7.

¹⁰ PERKIĆ et al. 2021: 79.

¹¹ DeA-28726, I/2582/2, Nakovana, conventional ¹⁴C age (yrs BP) (1 sigma) 2828 ± 33, Calibrated calendar age (cal AD/BC) (2 sigma) BC 1110–900.



SLIKA 1. Kameni blokovi iznad groba 2 (snimio: M. Dizdar)

FIGURE 1 The stone lids above grave 2 (photo by M. Dizdar)

njenje kako se u grobu 2 pokopavalo tijekom duljeg razdoblja ili su u mlađi grob dospjeli i ostatci pokojnika iz nekog starijeg groba koji se nalazio na istom dijelu groblja, dok nalazi koji bi pripadali kasnom brončanom dobu u grobu nisu pronađeni. Za detaljnije objašnjenje svakako je potrebno provesti radiokarbonsko datiranje ostataka svih pokojnika iz groba 2 na Zmijnoj.

Ljudske su kosti vrlo fragmentirane, a antropološka analiza, na osnovi prisutnih koštanih elemenata, pokazala je kako je u grobu bilo pokopano najmanje deset pokojnika – četiri djeteta (fetus, dijete staro 1,5 - 3 godine, dijete staro 3 - 9 godina, dijete staro 15 - 18 godina) te šest odraslih pokojnika neodredivog spola (starosti 20 - 50 godina). Analizom su izdvojeni gotovo svi dijelovi tijela, no ni jedno u cjelosti. Tako su kosti lubanje pripisane najmanje dvjema osobama – djetetu i odrasloj

is that burials in grave 2 occurred over a long period, or that a younger grave incorporated the remains of individuals from an older grave located in the same part of the cemetery; however, the grave did not include anything from the Late Bronze Age. For a more detailed explanation, radiocarbon dating should be conducted for the remains of all individuals from grave 2 at Zmijna.

The human bones are highly fragmented. The anthropological analysis of the present bone elements revealed that the grave contained at least ten individuals: four children (a fetus, a child aged 1.5-3 years, a child aged 3-9 years and a child aged 15-18 years) and six adults of undetermined sex (aged 20-50 years). Analysis identified almost all parts of the body, but none in their entirety. The skull bones were attributed to at least two individuals – a child and an adult. Analysis of the teeth iden-



SLIKA 2. Grob 2 po završetku istraživanja (snimio: M. Dizdar)

FIGURE 2 Grave 2 after the excavations (photo by M. Dizdar)

osobi. Analizom zubi izdvojeno je osam setova koji pripadaju dvama djetetima i šestorici odraslih osoba. Dijafize dugih kostiju većinom pripadaju odraslim osobama, no izdvojene su i dijafize lisne kosti i sedam dijafiza dugih kostiju koje pripadaju djetetu starosti 3 – 9 godina. Prepoznati su i ulomak lijeve nadlaktične kosti i desne goljenične kosti fetusa. Na zubima odraslih pokojnika prisutni su karijesi te hipoplastični defekti koji se povezuju s pojavom jakih avitaminoza, neonatalne žutice, anemije, zaraznih bolesti ili kronične neishranjenosti.¹²

¹² BEDIĆ 2020; 2024. Antropološku analizu groba 2 provela je dr. Željka Bedić s Instituta za antropologiju.

tified eight sets belonging to two children and six adults. The diaphyses of long bones mostly belong to adults, but diaphyses of the fibula and seven diaphyses of long bones belonging to a child aged 3–9 years were also identified. Fragments of the left humerus and right tibia of the fetus were recognized. The adults' teeth show cavities and hypoplastic defects associated with severe vitamin deficiencies, neonatal jaundice, anemia, infectious diseases, or chronic malnutrition.¹²

¹² BEDIĆ 2020; 2024. The anthropological analysis of grave 2 was carried out by dr. Željka Bedić from the Institute for Anthropological Research.

NALAZI IZ GROBA 2

Najbrojnije nalaze u grobu 2 predstavljaju keramički ulomci koji, s obzirom na fakturu i boju, pripadaju neukrašenim dijelovima trbuha od najmanje četiriju različitih posuda. Ulomci su pronađeni u cijelom grobu, a s obzirom na izrazitu fragmentiranost, nije moguće odrediti o kojim je oblicima riječ. Na Gradu su u terenskom pregledu prikupljeni brojni keramički ulomci, posebno oni datirani u brončano i željezno doba.¹³

Brončani predmeti, koji pripadaju nakitu i nošnji, u najvećem su broju pronađeni u istočnom dijelu groba te su također izrazito fragmentirani.

1. Dijadema/poramenica (T. 1/1–15)

Bakrena slitina; ukupna sačuvana dužina: 43,8 cm; širina: 0,8–1,0 cm; debljina: 0,05 cm.

Sačuvano je 15 ulomaka dijademe/poramenice izrađene u obliku uske limene trake. Veći dio ulomaka ukrašen je sa šest vodoravno urezanih linija, dok je dio ulomaka ukrašen složenije organiziranim ukrasom. Ti su ulomci uz oba ruba, između po jedne vodoravne linije, ukrašeni nizom kosih urezanih linija. U središnjem dijelu nalazi se šira traka od onih rubnih koja je ukrašena motivom mreže. Između triju ukrašenih vodoravnih zona, dviju rubnih i one središnje, nalaze se dvije vodoravne neukrašene zone. Na jednom ulomku ukrašenom samo vodoravnim linijama sačuvan je ukras s motivom dviju kružnica s točkom. Dva ulomka ukrašena različito organiziranim vodoravnim linijama, koja dijelom prelaze jedan ispod drugog, spojena su kroz okrugle rupice s dvjema zakovicama. Krajevi obaju spojenih dijelova blago su zaobljeni. Na većem ulomku ukrašenom složenijim ukrasom nalaze se dvije rupice za zakovice, a na još trima kraćim također se sačuvala po jedna rupica za zakovicu. Čini

FINDS FROM GRAVE 2

The most numerous finds in grave 2 are potsherds, which, considering their texture and colour, belong to the unadorned portions of the belly of at least four different vessels. The potsherds were found throughout the grave, but their extreme fragmentation makes it impossible to determine the specific shapes. The field surveys at Grad collected numerous potsherds, especially those dating to the Bronze and Iron Ages.¹³

Bronze items of jewellery and costume were mostly found in the eastern part of the grave and are also highly fragmented.

1. Diadem/sash (Pl. 1/1–15)

Copper alloy; total surviving length: 43.8 cm; width: 0.8–1.0 cm; thickness: 0.05 cm.

There are fifteen preserved fragments of the diadem/sash made in the form of a narrow metal strip. Most of the fragments are decorated with six horizontally incised lines, while some are adorned with a more complex ornament. Along both edges, these fragments are decorated with a series of oblique incised lines between single horizontal lines. In the central part, there is a strip that is wider than the edge strips and decorated with a mesh motif. Between the three decorated horizontal zones (two edge zones and a central zone) there are two horizontal undecorated zones. One fragment, decorated with horizontal lines only, has a preserved double-ring-and-dot motif decoration. Two fragments decorated with differently arranged horizontal lines, one partly placed under the other, are joined with two rivets through circular holes. The ends of both joined parts are slightly rounded. A large fragment, decorated with a more complex pattern, has two rivet holes; three shorter fragments have one rivet hole each. The end of the longer perforated part

¹³ FORENBAHER, RAJIĆ ŠIKANJIĆ 2006: 471; FORENBAHER 2009: 691; RAJIĆ ŠIKANJIĆ, FORENBAHER 2010: 72.

¹³ FORENBAHER, RAJIĆ ŠIKANJIĆ 2006: 471; FORENBAHER 2009: 691; RAJIĆ ŠIKANJIĆ, FORENBAHER 2010: 72.

se kako je završetak duljeg perforiranog dijela blago zaobljen, odnosno vjerojatno je riječ o završetku. Sačuvan je i mali ulomak, izgleda neukrašen, s jednom zakovicom.

2. Narukvica ili sljepoočničarka (T. 2/1)

Bakrena slitina; promjer: 4.5 cm; debljina: 0,1–0,3 cm

Cjelovito sačuvana spiralno savijena narukvica ili sljepoočničarka s trima navojima i okruglog presjeka. U sredini je blago zadebljana, dok su krajevi suženi i završavaju u šiljak.

3. Praporac (T. 2/2)

Bakrena slitina; visina: 3,8 cm; promjer: 1,5 cm; promjer kuglica: 0,2 cm

Praporac sačuvan u ulomcima, s okruglom ušicom na vrhu koja se nastavlja u produžetak rombičnog presjeka iz kojeg izlazi košarica jajolikog oblika s deset rešetki i devet proreza. Unutar košarice nalazila su se najmanje četiri kuglasta zrna. S donje strane košarice nalazi se kraće cilindrično izbočenje ili nožica kružnog presjeka.¹⁴

4. Dugme (T. 2/3)

Bakrena slitina; promjer glavice: 1,6 cm; visina ušice: 0,3 cm

Slabo sačuvano dugme vjerojatno s niskom kalotastom glavicom i ušicom s donje strane.

5. Saltaleon (T. 2/4)

Bakrena slitina, sačuvana dužina: 0,8 cm; promjer: 0,6 cm; debljina žice: 0,1 cm

Saltaleon sa sačuvanih šest navoja od tanke žice.

6. Obruči (T. 2/5–10)

Bakrena slitina; promjer: 1,3–1,4 cm; debljina: 0,1 cm

Devet obruča okruglog presjeka, od kojih osam cijelih i jedan u ulomcima. Jedan obruč spojen je s još trima, a na njemu se primjećuje mjesto spajanja dviju strana.

seems to be gently rounded, so it is probably a terminal. There is also a small fragment, seemingly undecorated, with a single rivet.

2. Bracelet or temple ring (Pl. 2/1)

Copper alloy; diameter: 4.5 cm; thickness: 0.1–0.3 cm

A fully preserved spiral twisted bracelet or temple ring with three coils and a circular cross-section. It is slightly expanded in the middle, while the ends taper to a point.

3. Bell-shaped pendant (Pl. 2/2)

Copper alloy; height: 3.8 cm; radius: 1.5 cm; bead radius: 0.2 cm

A bell-shaped pendant preserved in fragments, topped by a round loop transitioning into a diamond-sectioned extension from which emerges an egg-shaped basket with ten lattices and nine slots. The basket contained at least four spherical beads. On the underside of the basket, there is a short cylindrical protrusion or foot of circular cross-section.¹⁴

4. Button (Pl. 2/3)

Copper alloy; head diameter: 1.6 cm; hoop height: 0.3 cm

A poorly preserved button, probably with a low domed head and a hoop on the underside.

5. Saltaleone (Pl. 2/4)

Copper alloy, surviving length: 0.8 cm; radius: 0.6 cm; wire thickness: 0.1 cm

Saltaleone with preserved six coils of thin wire.

6. Rings (Pl. 2/5–10)

Copper alloy; diameter: 1.3–1.4 cm; thickness: 0.1 cm

Nine round-sectioned rings: eight intact and one in fragments. One ring is linked to three others and has a visible point where the two sides are connected.

¹⁴ PERKIĆ et al. 2021: 78, sl. 8.

¹⁴ PERKIĆ et al. 2021: 78, Fig. 8.

DIJADEMA/PORAMENICA

Za datiranje groba 2 na Zmijnoj u starije željezno doba najvažniji predmet, uz praporac, predstavljaju ulomci dijademe/poramenice (T. 1/1–15). S obzirom na veći broj slabo sačuvanih ulomaka, kao i dva različita načina ukrašavanja, nije isključeno kako je riječ o ulomcima dvaju predmeta. No, može biti riječ i o ulomcima istog predmeta s različito ukrašenim zonama, pri čemu sačuvane širine ulomaka također ne omogućavaju njegovo definiranje. Također, kontekst otkrića u grobu 2 ne upućuje na funkcionalnu poziciju predmeta, odnosno je li riječ o dijademi/ama ili poramenici/ama. Ulomci su bili pripisani dijademama/poramenicama glasinackog tipa te za sada predstavljaju najjužniji nalaz ovog tipa predmeta na istočnom dijelu jadranske obale.¹⁵

O nastanku dijadema/poramenica, kao jednom od prepoznatljivih oblika glasinacke kulture tijekom starijeg željeznog doba, detaljno je pisao B. Čović koji ističe kako su najčešće bogato ukrašene ugraviranim geometrijskim motivima. Njihovu pojavu datira od faze Glasinac IVb te se još pojavljuju tijekom faze IVc-1.¹⁶ Za njihov nastanak B. Čović uzore je potražio u nalazima dijadema s prostora srednje Bosne gdje se pojavljuju krajem kasnog brončanog doba. Međutim, riječ je o drukčijim oblicima u odnosu na one glasinacke iz starijeg željeznog doba – šire su, dužina im je od 40 do 60 cm, imaju uvijene i razmaknute krajeve, a ukrašene su različito organiziranim iskucanim ornamentom (*punktbuckel*).¹⁷ Dijademe ovog oblika na istom se prostoru pojavljuju i na početku starijeg željeznog doba,¹⁸ kako pokazuju

DIADEM/SASH

The fragments of the diadem/sash (Pl. 1/1–15), alongside the bell-shaped pendant, are the most significant artefacts for dating grave 2 at Zmijna to the Early Iron Age. Considering the large number of poorly preserved fragments, and the two different decorative styles, it is not excluded that these are fragments of two artefacts. However, they may also be fragments of the same artefact with differently decorated zones, as the preserved widths of the fragments do not point to a definition. Also, the discovery context in grave 2 does not indicate the functional position of the artefact – whether it was a diadem(s) or sash(es). The fragments were associated with diadems/sashes of the Glasinac type and currently represent the southernmost find of this type of artefact on the eastern part of the Adriatic coast.¹⁵

The first appearance of diadems/sashes as a recognizable form of the Glasinac culture in the Early Iron Age was extensively described by B. Čović, who pointed out that they were often richly decorated with engraved geometric motifs. According to him, they appeared in the Glasinac IVb phase and existed in the IVc-1 phase.¹⁶ B. Čović found models for their origin in the diadems found in central Bosnia, where they appeared towards the end of the Late Bronze Age. However, these forms are different from those of the Glasinac culture from the Early Iron Age – they are wider, ranging in length from 40 to 60 cm, with twisted and separated terminals, and are decorated with punched ornamentation (*Punktbuckel*) arranged in different ways.¹⁷ Also, diadems of this form appear in the same area at the beginning of the Early Iron Age,¹⁸ as indicated by

¹⁵ PERKIĆ et al. 2021: 78.

¹⁶ BENAC, ČOVIĆ 1957: 33; ČOVIĆ 1959: 73; 1987a: 596, 609, Fig. 35/5, Pl. LXI/9. Dijademe u grobovima faze IVc-1: Ilijak XIX/1, Osovo I/1, Rusanovići XXIV (1895): ČOVIĆ 1987a: 609.

¹⁷ ČOVIĆ 1979: 47–48; GAVRANOVIĆ 2011a: 226–227, sl. 227.

¹⁸ ČOVIĆ 1979: 47–48. Nalazi ovog tipa dijademe npr. s

¹⁵ PERKIĆ et al. 2021: 78.

¹⁶ BENAC, ČOVIĆ 1957: 33; ČOVIĆ 1959: 73; 1987a: 596, 609, Fig. 35/5, Pl. LXI/9. Diadems in phase IVc-1 graves: Ilijak XIX/1, Osovo I/1, Rusanovići XXIV (1895): ČOVIĆ 1987a: 609.

¹⁷ ČOVIĆ 1979: 47–48; GAVRANOVIĆ 2011a: 226–227, Fig. 227.

¹⁸ ČOVIĆ 1979: 47–48. There are finds of this diadem type

ulomci iz uništenih grobova iz Gračanice kod Visokog koji su, na osnovi nalaza dvopetljuste fibule s visokom trokutastom nožicom i igle s vratom četvrtastog presjeka, datirani u kasno 8. i rano 7. st. pr. Kr.¹⁹ Ovom se obliku može pripisati i dijadema iz kosturnog groba 3a s grede N. Čegrlja u Donjoj Dolini koji je datiran u drugu polovicu 7. st. pr. Kr. Dijadema je u grobu pronađena u funkcionalnoj poziciji na glavi pokojnice.²⁰ Dijadema ovog oblika ukrašena iskucavanjem potječe iz Gorice u zapadnoj Hercegovini te se pretpostavlja kako također pripada starijem željeznom dobu.²¹

Istovremeno s dijademama ukrašenim iskucavanjem, početkom starijeg željeznog doba pojavljuju se i dijademe/poramenice glasinačkog tipa koje se od prethodne skupine razlikuju u širini, zatim načinu i motivima ukrašavanja kao i načinu spajanja krajeva pomoću zakovica, iako i kod njih krajevi mogu biti uvijeni i razdvojeni. S obzirom na to da često nedostaju podatci o kontekstu njihovih nalaza, nije uvijek moguće razlikovati dijademe od poramenica, čemu u prilog ide i isti način ukrašavanja. Zbog toga su A. Benac i B. Čović za oba predmeta rabili pojam dijademe.²² Tom su prilikom istaknuli kako glasinačke dijademe nemaju lokalnih prethodnika iz ranijih faza na Glasincu,²³ zbog čega je B. Čović i pretpostavio kako su mogle nastati pod utjecajem s prostora

fragments from destroyed graves in Gračanica near Visoko, dated to the late 8th and early 7th centuries BC based on the grave finds: a double-looped fibula with a high triangular foot and a pin with a square-sectioned neck.¹⁹ This form can also be associated with the diadem from inhumation grave 3a at the ridge of N. Čegrlja in Donja Dolina, dated to the second half of the 7th century BC. In the grave, the diadem was found in its functional position on the head of the dead woman.²⁰ A diadem of this form, decorated with punching, comes from Gorica in western Herzegovina and is also assumed to belong to the Early Iron Age.²¹

The diadems decorated with punching appeared at the same time – at the beginning of the Early Iron Age – as the diadems/sashes of the Glasinac type, which differ from them in width, in the decoration method and motifs, and in the way the terminals are joined using rivets, although their terminals can also be twisted and separated. Since data on the context of their finds are often missing, it is not always possible to distinguish between diadems and sashes, especially considering their similar decoration methods. Therefore, A. Benac and B. Čović used the term “diadem” for both of them.²² They also emphasized that Glasinac diadems had no local predecessors from earlier phases at Glasinac,²³ which led

Gradine kod Semizovca (MANDIĆ 1933: 3–4, Pl. I/10–11; KOROŠEC 1943: 59, sl. 21–22; ČOVIĆ 1979: 47, bilj. 10).

¹⁹ ČOVIĆ 1979: 47, bilj. 12; GAVRANOVIĆ 2011a: 226; 2011b: 59–60, kat. sl. 70/11.

²⁰ TRUHELKA 1904: 85, T. XL/1; GAVRANOVIĆ 2011a: 226, sl. 227/4. S druge strane, na prostoru Podunavlja na početku starijeg željeznog doba zabilježene su višedijelne dijademe sasvim drugog oblika. O načinu njihova nošenja svjedočio bi nalaz ovog tipa dijademe u kosturnom grobu 202 na groblju Vukovar – Lijeva bara iz 8. st. pr. Kr., dok se u grupnoj grobnici 2 na Gomolavi nalazila na glavi djeteta starog 12 godina. Za ove se dijademe smatra kako predstavljaju statusni simbol, pri čemu se idejno povezuju s istovremenim krugom Michalkow-Fokoru (LOŽNJAK DIZDAR 2010: 165–167, sl. 3, Karta 3).

²¹ TRUHELKA 1902: 12, sl. 11; GAVRANOVIĆ 2011a: 226.

²² BENAC, ČOVIĆ 1957: 33.

²³ BENAC, ČOVIĆ 1957: 33.

e.g. from Gradina near Semizovac (MANDIĆ 1933: 3–4, Pl. I/10–11; KOROŠEC 1943: 59, Figs. 21–22; ČOVIĆ 1979: 47, fn. 10).

¹⁹ ČOVIĆ 1979: 47, fn. 12; GAVRANOVIĆ 2011a: 226; 2011b: 59–60, cat. fig. 70/11.

²⁰ TRUHELKA 1904: 85, Pl. XL/1; GAVRANOVIĆ 2011a: 226, Fig. 227/4. On the other hand, multi-part diadems of a completely different shape from the beginning of the Early Iron Age have been recorded in the Danube basin. The manner of their wear seems to be evidenced by the discovery of this type of diadem in inhumation grave 202 at the cemetery of Vukovar – Lijeva Bara, from the 8th century BC, while the collective tomb 2 at Gomolava included such diadem on the head of a 12-year-old child. These diadems are considered to be a status symbol, conceptually linked to the contemporary sphere of Michalkow-Fokoru (LOŽNJAK DIZDAR 2010: 165–167, Fig. 3, Map 3).

²¹ TRUHELKA 1902: 12, Fig. 11; GAVRANOVIĆ 2011a: 226.

²² BENAC, ČOVIĆ 1957: 33.

²³ BENAC, ČOVIĆ 1957: 33.

srednje Bosne. Razlika je, dakle, primjetna u tehnici i motivima ukrašavanja, odnosno glasinačke dijadame ukrašene su različitim urezanim motivima (npr. šrafirane trake, trokuti i rombovi, malteški križ, kružnica s točkom itd.) organiziranim u složene kompozicije najmlađe faze lokalnog zapadnobalkanskog geometrijskog stila.²⁴ Bogato ukrašene dijadame/poramenice postaju tako rado nošen predmet koji se izrađivao u lokalnim radionicama. Ipak, ističe se kako za provjeru navedene pretpostavke o njihovoj podrijetlu nedostaju nalazi iz grobova datiranih u kraj kasnog brončanog doba na prostoru srednje Bosne.²⁵ S druge strane, M. Gavranović smatra kako povezanost ovih starijih dijadama s nalazišta u srednjoj Bosni s onima glasinačkog tipa ukrašenima urezanim geometrijskim motivima još nije sasvim jasna.²⁶ Važno je istaknuti kako se dijadame, ali drukčijih oblika, na Glasincu pojavljuju još tijekom kasnog brončanog doba u fazama IIIa i IIIb,²⁷ što bi pokazivalo kako je na ovom prostoru postojala duga tradicija nošenja ovog oblika nakita za glavu.

Na osnovi motiva ukrašavanja, N. Lucentini izdvaja tri osnovna tipa dijadama glasi-načke kulture iz starijeg željeznog doba te još jedan poseban tip predstavljen samo jednim primjerkom. Prvi tip predstavljaju malobrojne neukrašene dijadame (npr. Ilijak XIX/1; Gosinja XXXVI/5); u drugi tip svrstane su dijadame ukrašene različitim motivima, pri čemu osnovni ukras predstavlja vodoravan niz šrafiranih rombova u središnjoj traci; trećem tipu pripadaju dijadame ukrašene različitim motivima, a osnovni je motiv različito šrafirana traka (npr. motiv niza rombova u negativu); u okviru ovog tipa izdvojena je i varijanta s trakom šrafiranih motiva vučjih zubi. Poseban tip, poznat s jednim primje-

B. Čović to speculate that they may have appeared under the influence of central Bosnia. Therefore, there is a noticeable difference in decorating technique and motifs: the Glasinac diadems are decorated with various engraved motifs (such as hatched bands, triangles and diamonds, Maltese cross, ring-and-dot, etc.) arranged into the complex compositions of the youngest phase of the local West Balkan geometric style.²⁴ Richly decorated diadems/sashes thus became highly sought-after items that were produced in local workshops. However, it is emphasized that this assumption about their origin cannot be verified because there are no finds from Late Bronze Age graves in central Bosnia.²⁵ On the other hand, M. Gavranović believes that it is not yet entirely clear how these older diadems from sites in central Bosnia are related to those of the Glasinac type, decorated with engraved geometric motifs.²⁶ It is important to note that diadems, albeit of different forms, appeared at Glasinac during the Late Bronze Age, in phases IIIa and IIIb,²⁷ indicating a long tradition of wearing this type of head jewellery in this area.

Based on decoration motifs, N. Lucentini distinguishes three main types of Glasinac culture diadems from the Early Iron Age, as well as one special type with a single representative. The first type consists of a few undecorated diadems (e.g. Ilijak XIX/1, Gosinja XXXVI/5); the second type includes diadems decorated with various motifs, where the basic decoration is a horizontal row of hatched diamonds in the central band; the third type comprises diadems decorated with various motifs, and the main motif is a differently hatched band (e.g. the motif of a row of diamonds in negative); this last type includes the variant with a band of hatched motifs resembling wolf teeth. The special type, having only one represent-

²⁴ ČOVIĆ 1987a: 640.

²⁵ ČOVIĆ 1979: 48.

²⁶ GAVRANOVIĆ 2011a: 226–227.

²⁷ ČOVIĆ 1981: 115, 121, sl. 1/9, T. IV/10; 1983: 424–425, sl. 28/5.

²⁴ ČOVIĆ 1987a: 640.

²⁵ ČOVIĆ 1979: 48.

²⁶ GAVRANOVIĆ 2011a: 226–227.

²⁷ ČOVIĆ 1981: 115, 121, Fig. 1/9, Pl. IV/10; 1983: 424–425, Fig. 28/5.

rom, predstavlja dijadema koja uz rubove ima po jednu koso šrafiranu traku (Ilijak III/9).²⁸ Također, N. Lucentini navodi poznate nalaze s Glasinca, a pojavu dijadema datira od faze I (neukrašena dijadema iz groba Ilijak XIX/1), no smatra ih karakterističnim za fazu II.²⁹

Kompleksnije ukrašeni ulomci dijademe/poramenice iz groba 2 na Zmijnoj pripadali bi trećem tipu, dok se ulomci ukrašeni samo vodoravnim linijama ne mogu pripisati ni jednom od izdvojenih tipova prema N. Lucentini. Ovi nalazi, uz mnoge druge sačuvane u cijelosti, pokazuju koliko se podjela na osnovi motiva ukrašavanja čini kompleksnom. Osnovni motiv vodoravnih ukrašenih traka zajednički je velikom broju nalaza, dok se razlike najčešće prepoznaju u ukrašavanju središnje i krajnjih zona. Naime, gotovo svaka cjelovito sačuvana dijadema ukrašena je jedinstvenom kompozicijom, odnosno kao da nema dva ista primjerka. Kako to pokazuju nalazi iz groba 2, od dijadema/poramenica često su sačuvani samo ulomci na osnovi kojih nije moguće pretpostaviti izvoran izgled cjelovitog predmeta. Zbog toga se u osnovi može zadržati podjela N. Lucentini prema osnovnom motivu kojim je ukrašen najveći dio dijademe.

Kako je istaknuto, najveći broj dijadema/poramenica ukrašenih u zapadnobalkanskom geometrijskom stilu zabilježen je na glasinackom području³⁰ (sl. 5) te su datirane u faze IVb (725. – 625. pr. Kr.) i IVc-1 (625. – 550. pr. Kr.).³¹ Nakovani najbliži nalazi za sada su poznati iz istraživanja tumula iz Gubavice – Vulića ograde kod Mostara, gdje je pronađeno nekoliko ulomaka brončanih dijadema. Nalazište se, na osnovi načina pokopavanja i pronađenih nalaza, pripisuje glasinackoj kulturi, a nalazi su datirani u faze IVb i IVc-1.³² U grobu 2 tumula IV, u kojem

active, is a diadem with a diagonally hatched band along each edge (Ilijak III/9).²⁸ Also, N. Lucentini mentions the well-known finds from Glasinac, dating the appearance of diadems to phase I (the undecorated diadem from grave Ilijak XIX/1), but considers them characteristic of phase II.²⁹

The more intricately decorated fragments of the diadem/sash from grave 2 at Zmijna seem to belong to the third type, while the fragments decorated only with horizontal lines cannot be associated with any of the types identified by N. Lucentini. These finds, along with many others preserved in their entirety, demonstrate how the classification based on decoration motifs appears complex. The basic motif of horizontal decorated bands is common to a large number of finds, while differences are most often recognized in the decoration of the central zone and the end zones. In fact, almost every fully preserved diadem is adorned with a unique composition, and it seems that no two specimens are alike. As shown by the finds from grave 2, diadems/sashes are often preserved only as fragments, making it impossible to speculate about the original appearance of the complete item. Therefore, in general, we can retain Lucentini's classification according to the basic motif that is present on most of the diadem.

As noted, the largest number of diadems/sashes that are decorated in the West Balkan geometric style were found in the Glasinac area³⁰ (Fig. 5) and dated to phases IVb (725–625 BC) and IVc-1 (625–550 BC).³¹ The finds that are most similar to Nakovana are known from the excavations of tumuli at Gubavica – Vulića Ograde near Mostar, where several fragments of bronze diadems were found. The site, based on funerary practices and recovered artefacts, is attributed to the Glasinac culture, and the finds are dated to phases IVb and IVc-

²⁸ LUCENTINI 1981: 87, sl. 5/16–18.

²⁹ LUCENTINI 1981: 103.

³⁰ BENAC, ČOVIĆ 1957: 33; ČOVIĆ 1959: 73.

³¹ ČOVIĆ 1987a: 596, 609, sl. 35/5, Pl. LXI/9.

³² ČOVIĆ 1982: 24–26; 1987a: 579, 592, bilj. 91, 609.

²⁸ LUCENTINI 1981: 87, Fig. 5/16–18.

²⁹ LUCENTINI 1981: 103.

³⁰ BENAC, ČOVIĆ 1957: 33; ČOVIĆ 1959: 73.

³¹ ČOVIĆ 1987a: 596, 609, Fig. 35/5, Pl. LXI/9.

su bila pokopana najmanje dva pokojnika, pronađena su tri ulomka dijademe (sl. 3/1). Dva su po sredini ukrašena nizom šrafiranih rombova, dok je treći ulomak ukrašen sa šest urezanih vodoravnih linija, pri čemu je središnja traka najšira.³³ Ovaj ulomak tako odgovara onima iz groba 2 na Zmijnoj. U tumulu IV, u sloju humusa, još su pronađena četiri ulomka dijademe (sl. 3/2), od kojih su tri ukrašena vodoravnim nizom šrafiranih rombova, a na jednom se sačuvala i rupica za zakovicu. Četvrti ulomak ukrašen je okomitim urezanim linijama i na njemu se također nalazi rupica za zakovicu. Za ove se ulomke navodi kako možda potječu iz groba 1 ili 2 tumula IV,³⁴ s obzirom na to da se i u grobu 1 tumula IV također navodi nalaz malog ulomka dijademe.³⁵ Još je na površini tumula I pronađen manji neukrašeni ulomak dijademe s dvjema rupicama za zakovice na jednoj i jednom rupicom na drugoj strani (sl. 3/3).³⁶ Ulomci dijadema iz Gubavice datirani su u fazu 2 starijeg željeznog doba na južnoadranskom području, odnosno u prvu polovicu 7. st. pr. Kr. Za ove se nalaze smatra kako su nastali pod izravnim utjecajem s Glasinca.³⁷ Ulomak ukrašene dijademe još potječe iz uništene kamene gomile u Glogoviku kod Herceg Novog. Sačuvan je završetak dijademe s uvijenim krajem koja je uz oba ruba ukrašena koso šrafiranom trakom između kojih su okomite trake ili one u obliku znaka X koje su također šrafirane.³⁸ Prikupljeni nalazi iz ove uništene gomile mogu se pripisati različitim fazama razvoja glasinacke kulture.³⁹

B. Čović ističe kako se dijademe na Glasincu nalaze u grobovima s naoružanjem i bez njega,⁴⁰ dok su poramenice pronađene samo u grobovima bez naoružanja, odnosno dio

1.³² Grave 2 of tumulus IV, where at least two individuals were buried, included three fragments of a diadem (Fig. 3/1). Two of them are decorated with a series of hatched diamonds along the middle, while the third fragment is decorated with six engraved horizontal lines, with the central strip being the widest.³³ This fragment thus corresponds to those from grave 2 at Zmijna. In tumulus IV, in the layer of humus, four more fragments of a diadem were found (Fig. 3/2), three of which are decorated with a horizontal series of hatched diamonds, and one has a preserved rivet hole. The fourth fragment is decorated with vertical engraved lines and also features a rivet hole. These fragments are described as perhaps originating from grave 1 or 2 of tumulus IV,³⁴ since a small fragment of a diadem is also mentioned as a find from grave 1 of tumulus IV.³⁵ Also, a smaller undecorated fragment of a diadem with two rivet holes on one side and one hole on the other side (Fig. 3/3) was found on the surface of tumulus I.³⁶ Fragments of diadems from Gubavica are dated to phase 2 of the Early Iron Age in the southern Adriatic region, i.e. to the first half of the 7th century BC. These finds are considered to have been directly influenced by Glasinac.³⁷ Another fragment of a decorated diadem originates from the destroyed stone mound in Glogovik near Herceg Novi. It has a preserved terminal with a twisted end, decorated with a diagonally hatched strip along both edges; between them are vertical or X-shaped strips, which are also hatched.³⁸ The collected finds from this destroyed mound can be attributed to different development phases of the Glasinac culture.³⁹

B. Čović emphasizes that diadems at Glasinac are found in graves with weaponry

³³ ČOVIĆ 1982: 18, T. II/6-8.

³⁴ ČOVIĆ 1982: 19-20, T. IV/4-7.

³⁵ ČOVIĆ 1982: 18.

³⁶ ČOVIĆ 1982: 14, T. I/3.

³⁷ ČOVIĆ 1982: 17-20; MARIJAN 2001: 31-32, 60, sl. 12/12.

³⁸ PUŠIĆ 1962: 79, T. XI/19; MARIJAN 2001: 33, 60.

³⁹ ČOVIĆ 1987a: 623.

⁴⁰ ČOVIĆ 1987a: 596.

³² ČOVIĆ 1982: 24-26; 1987a: 579, 592, fn. 91, 609.

³³ ČOVIĆ 1982: 18, Pl. II/6-8.

³⁴ ČOVIĆ 1982: 19-20, Pl. IV/4-7.

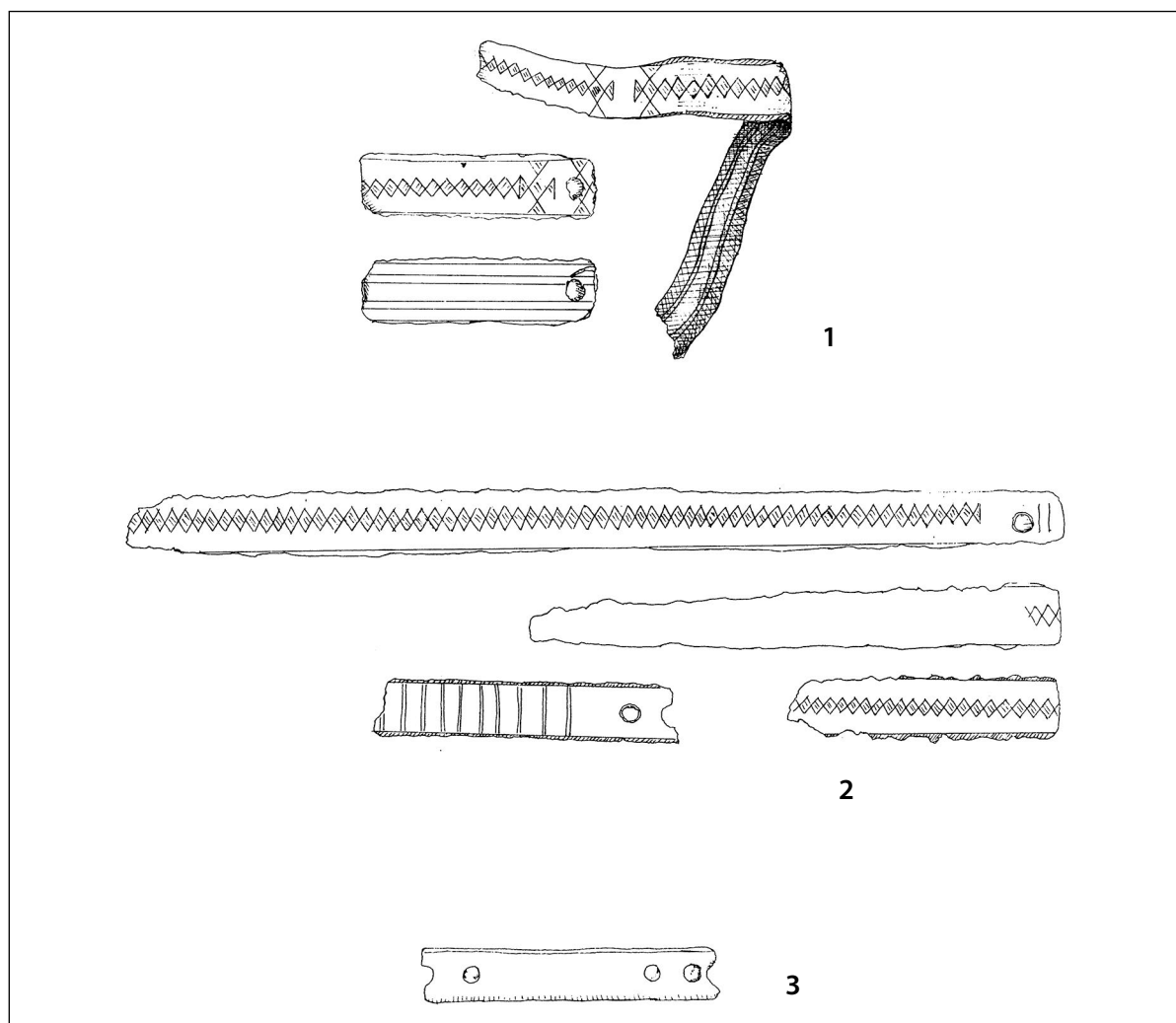
³⁵ ČOVIĆ 1982: 18.

³⁶ ČOVIĆ 1982: 14, Pl. I/3.

³⁷ ČOVIĆ 1982: 17-20; MARIJAN 2001: 31-32, 60, Fig. 12/12.

³⁸ PUŠIĆ 1962: 79, Pl. XI/19; MARIJAN 2001: 33, 60.

³⁹ ČOVIĆ 1987a: 623.



SLIKA 3. Ulomci brončanih dijadema iz tumula IV i I u Gubavici (prema: Čović 1982)

FIGURE 3 Fragments of the bronze diadems from tumuli IV and I in Gubavica (after Čović 1982)

su ženske nošnje. Također, ovi se predmeti nalaze u bogato, ali i skromnije opremljenim grobovima. Zaključak počiva na osnovi nalaza s Glasinca prikupljenih krajem 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća,⁴¹ no u tadašnjim istraživanjima manja je pozornost bila posvećena kontekstima i položaju nalaza u grobovima, pa se objavljene grobne cjeline moraju uzeti s oprezom,⁴² uostalom, kako to pokazuju i rezultati posljednje analize.⁴³ Najveći broj dijadema pripisuje se drugom tipu prema podjeli N. Lucentini za koji je kao osnovni motiv karakterističan vodoravan niz šrafira-

and without it,⁴⁰ while sashes are found only in graves without weaponry, indicating they are women's costume items. Also, these items are found in both rich and modest graves. This conclusion is based on the finds from Glasinac collected at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century,⁴¹ but the excavations at that time paid little attention to contexts and positions of finds in graves, so the published grave complexes should be considered with caution,⁴² as demonstrated by the results of the latest analysis.⁴³ The majority of the diadems are associated with Lucentini's second

⁴¹ Npr. FIALA 1893: 152, sl. 58 itd.

⁴² BENAC, ČOVIĆ 1956; 1957.

⁴³ Npr. grob Ilijak III/9: TERŽAN 2021: 48, bilj. 35.

⁴⁰ ČOVIĆ 1987a: 596.

⁴¹ E.g. FIALA 1893: 152, Fig. 58 etc.

⁴² BENAC, ČOVIĆ 1956; 1957.

⁴³ E.g. grave Ilijak III/9: TERŽAN 2021: 48, fn. 35.

nih rombova, dok se na krajevima ili u sredini pojavljuju i složenije kompozicije, npr. sastavljene od motiva šrafiranog malteškog križa.⁴⁴ Trećem tipu pripadaju dijademe kod kojih osnovni motiv predstavlja različito šrafirana traka,⁴⁵ poput niza šrafiranih rombova u sredini koji se na vrhu spajaju s po jednim šrafiranim trokutom.⁴⁶ Dijademe ovog tipa također su na krajevima i sredini ukrašene kompleksnijim ornamentima. Kao dijademe ukrašene motivom vučjih zubi navode se nalazi obiju dijadema iz groba 5 tumula B na Podilijaku,⁴⁷ no samo se jedna od njih može pripisati ovoj varijanti. Kao posebnost navodi se dijadema koja uz rubove ima po jednu koso šrafiranu traku.⁴⁸

Tumuli istraženi tijekom druge polovice 20. stoljeća na Glasincu,⁴⁹ s dobro dokumentiranim grobnim cjelinama i položajem nalaza, omogućili su prepoznavanje funkcionalnog položaja dijadema i poramenica koje su bile ukrašene na isti način kao i kombinacija predmeta nošnje i nakita u grobovima.⁵⁰ U grobu 2 tumula A na Podilijaku, u kojem je bila pokopana odrasla osoba, na desnom ramenu i s desne strane prsa pronađeni su ulomci definirani kao dijelovi poramenice koja je ukrašena vodoravnim nizom šrafiranih rombova, dok se uz oba ruba nalazi šrafirana traka.⁵¹ U grobu je još pronađena željezna naočalasta fibula. S druge strane, u grobu 3, u kojem je bilo pokopano dijete staro oko 10 godina, oko glave se nalazila dijadema ukrašena na isti način s razmaknutim i uvijenim krajevima koji su izgleda bili spo-

type, characterized by a horizontal series of hatched diamonds as the basic motif, while the ends or the middle can have more complex compositions, such as those composed of hatched Maltese cross motifs.⁴⁴ The third type includes diadems where the basic motif is a differently hatched strip,⁴⁵ such as a series of hatched diamonds in the middle, each of them merging at the top with a hatched triangle.⁴⁶ Diadems of this type also feature more complex ornaments at the ends and in the middle. Both diadems from grave 5 of tumulus B at Podilijak⁴⁷ are provided as examples of diadems decorated with motifs of wolf teeth, but only one of them can be associated with this variant. A diadem with a single diagonally hatched strip along each edge is mentioned as a special case.⁴⁸

The tumuli excavated during the second half of the 20th century at Glasinac,⁴⁹ with well-documented burial assemblages and the position of the finds, made it possible to identify the functional position of diadems and sashes, which were decorated in the same manner as the combination of the items of clothing and jewellery in the graves.⁵⁰ The adult buried in grave 2 of tumulus A at Podilijak had fragments on the right shoulder and the right side of the chest which were defined as parts of a sash decorated with a horizontal row of hatched diamonds, and a hatched strip along both edges.⁵¹ The grave also included an iron spectacle fibula. On the other hand, grave 3, the burial of a child aged around 10 years, included a diadem around the child's head; it was decorated in the same manner, with di-

⁴⁴ TRUHELKA 1893: 92, sl. 107–108; BENAC, ČOVIĆ 1956: T. III/3; XXIX/4; 1957: T. VI/12; X/11; XIV/13; LUCENTINI 1981: 87; TERŽAN 2021: 48, T. 4/25.

⁴⁵ BENAC, ČOVIĆ 1956: T. XI/8; 1957: T. XIII/7; LUCENTINI 1981: 87, T. XI/9; ČOVIĆ 1987a: 596, T. LXI/9; TERŽAN 2021: 48, T. 4/13, 33.

⁴⁶ LUCENTINI 1981: 87, T. VIII/31.

⁴⁷ LUCENTINI 1981: 87.

⁴⁸ BENAC, ČOVIĆ 1957: T. XV/14.

⁴⁹ ČOVIĆ 1979; GOVEDARICA 1978.

⁵⁰ TERŽAN 2021: 45, sl. 1.

⁵¹ ČOVIĆ 1959: 57; TERŽAN 2021: 45, sl. 1, T. 1/22.

⁴⁴ TRUHELKA 1893: 92, Figs. 107–108; BENAC, ČOVIĆ 1956: Pl. III/3; XXIX/4; 1957: Pl. VI/12; X/11; XIV/13; LUCENTINI 1981: 87; TERŽAN 2021: 48, Pl. 4/25.

⁴⁵ BENAC, ČOVIĆ 1956: Pl. XI/8; 1957: Pl. XIII/7; LUCENTINI 1981: 87, Pl. XI/9; ČOVIĆ 1987a: 596, Pl. LXI/9; TERŽAN 2021: 48, Pl. 4/13, 33.

⁴⁶ LUCENTINI 1981: 87, Pl. VIII/31.

⁴⁷ LUCENTINI 1981: 87.

⁴⁸ BENAC, ČOVIĆ 1957: Pl. XV/14.

⁴⁹ ČOVIĆ 1979; GOVEDARICA 1978.

⁵⁰ TERŽAN 2021: 45, Fig. 1.

⁵¹ ČOVIĆ 1959: 57; TERŽAN 2021: 45, Fig. 1, Pl. 1/22.

jeni nekim organskim materijalom (sl. 4/1).⁵² Riječ je o bogato opremljenom grobu iz faze IVb. U grobu 4/5 s dvama pokojnicima, na glavi odraslog pokojnika (grob 5) nalazila se dijadema s uvijenim krajevima koja je također ukrašena središnjim nizom šrafiranih rombova, a uz svaki rub i koso šrafiranom trakom (sl. 4/2). Sačuvana je i jedna zakovica koja spaja dva veća dijela dijademe.⁵³ Također je riječ o bogato opremljenom grobu faze IVb. Ovi grobovi bili su ukopani u središnji dio tumula oko središnje grobnice. U grobu 5 tumula B bila su pokopana dva djeteta stara 10 – 12 godina koja su oko glave imala dijademu. Obje su dijademe uz rubove ukrašene uskom koso šrafiranom trakom, dok je središnja šira traka ukrašena naizmjenično postavljenim kosim linijama koje čine motiv mreže (sl. 4/3). Na ulomcima slabije sačuvane dijademe, između rubnih i središnje trake, još se nalazi niz šrafiranih trokuta s vrhom usmjerenim prema središnjoj traci (motiv vučjih zubi). Kod bolje sačuvane dijademe dva su dijela spojena zakovicom.⁵⁴ Oba su djeteta bila bogatije opremljena, a na osnovi ostalih nalaza grob je datiran u fazu IVb te je bio smješten u središnji dio tumula, u blizini središnje grobnice. Još su u grobu 7 tumula na Crkvini, u kojem su bila pokopana tri odrasla pokojnika, na glavi najdonjeg pokojnika pronađeni ulomci dijademe sa središnjom trakom ukrašenom nizom šrafiranih rombova te uz rubove koso šrafiranom trakom.⁵⁵ Ovi nalazi pokazuju kako kombinacije predmeta ženske nošnje i nakita nisu bile uniformne u glasinackoj kulturi tijekom starijeg željeznog doba, odnosno one su karakteristične prema društvenom statusu žena

verging and twisted terminals that were apparently connected by some organic material (Fig. 4/1).⁵² It is a richly equipped grave from phase IVb. In grave 4/5 containing two individuals, the head of one adult (grave 5) had a diadem with twisted ends, also decorated with a central row of hatched diamonds and with an obliquely hatched strip along each edge (Fig. 4/2). There is also a preserved rivet connecting two larger parts of the diadem.⁵³ Again, it is a richly equipped grave from phase IVb. These graves were buried in the central part of the tumulus around the central tomb. Grave 5 of tumulus B contained two children aged 10–12 years, each wearing a diadem around their heads. Both diadems were decorated with a narrow obliquely hatched strip along the edges, while the central wider strip was decorated with alternately arranged oblique lines forming a mesh motif (Fig. 4/3). The fragments of the more poorly preserved diadem, between the edge strips and the central strip, still feature a series of hatched triangles with the apexes pointing towards the central strip (wolf teeth motif). In the better-preserved diadem, two parts are connected by a rivet.⁵⁴ Both children were richly equipped; based on other finds, the grave is dated to phase IVb; it was located in the central part of the tumulus, near the central grave. Also, in grave 7 of a tumulus at Crkvina, which was the burial of three adults, the head of the bottom individual had fragments of a diadem with a central strip decorated with a series of hatched diamonds and an oblique hatched strip along the edges.⁵⁵ These finds show that combinations of women's costume and jewellery items were not uni-

⁵² ČOVIĆ 1959: 57, T. I/2; TERŽAN 2021: 45, T. 1/1.

⁵³ ČOVIĆ 1959: 58, T. II/13; TERŽAN 2021: 45, T. 1/17.

⁵⁴ ČOVIĆ 1959: 64, T. VII/3, 8; TERŽAN 2021: 45, T. 2/1, 8.

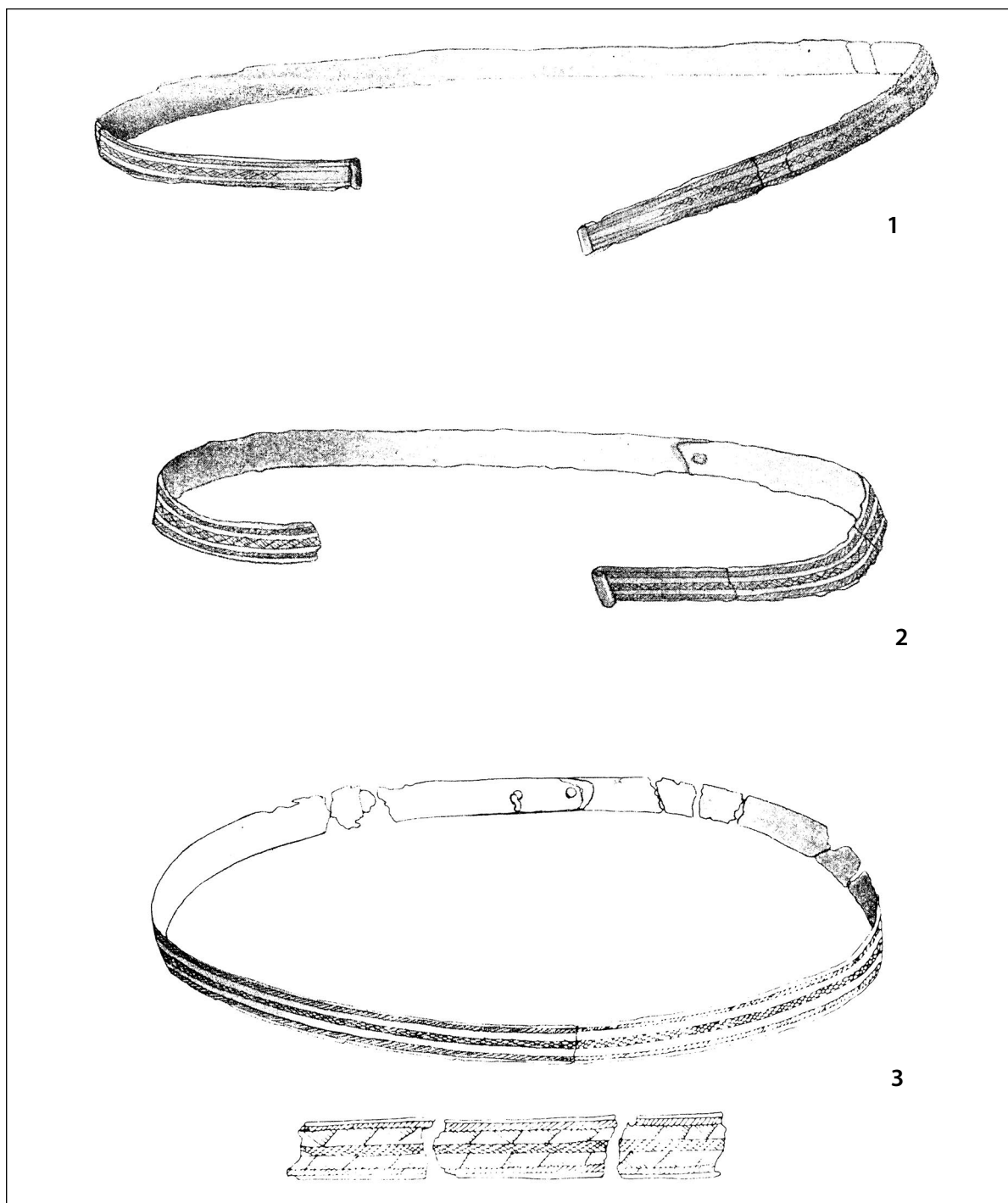
⁵⁵ ČOVIĆ 1959: 71. Spominje se i nalaz brončane dijademe u uništenom grobu iz tumula u dvorištu M. Šuke (GOVEDARICA 1978: 20, bilj. 10) u kojem su pronađeni nalazi iz faze Glasinac IIIa (GOVEDARICA 1978: 26). Pitanje jest je li riječ o glasinackom tipu dijademe ili onom starijem iz kasnog brončanog doba.

⁵² ČOVIĆ 1959: 57, Pl. I/2; TERŽAN 2021: 45, Pl. 1/1.

⁵³ ČOVIĆ 1959: 58; Pl. II/13; TERŽAN 2021: 45, Pl. 1/17.

⁵⁴ ČOVIĆ 1959: 64, Pl. VII/3, 8; TERŽAN 2021: 45, Pl. 2/1, 8.

⁵⁵ ČOVIĆ 1959: 71. It is also mentioned that a bronze diadem was found in a destroyed grave from a tumulus in the courtyard of M. Šuka (GOVEDARICA 1978: 20, fn. 10), which contained finds from the Glasinac IIIa phase (GOVEDARICA 1978: 26). It is doubtful whether it is a diadem of the Glasinac type or of the older type from the Late Bronze Age.



SLIKA 4. Brončane dijademe iz grobova 3 i 5 tumula A i groba 5 tumula B u Podilijaku (prema: Čović 1959)

FIGURE 4 Bronze diadems from graves 3 and 5 in tumulus A and grave 5 in tumulus B in Podilijak (after Čović 1959)

kao odraz njihove društvene uloge.⁵⁶

Nalazi brončanih dijadema/poramenica poznati su i s Glasincu bliskih područja. Tako je brončana poramenica pronađena na nekropoli pod tumulima Borak brdo – Ždrijelo

form in the Glasinac culture during the Early Iron Age, but were specific to the social status of females as a reflection of their social role.⁵⁶

Finds of bronze diadems/sashes are also known from areas close to Glasinac. For in-

⁵⁶ TERŽAN 2021: 44, sl. 1–2.

⁵⁶ TERŽAN 2021: 44, Figs. 1-2.

kod Goražda. U kosturnom grobu 1 tumula II pronađeni su ulomci poramenice čiji su dijelovi bili spojeni zakovicama. Uz rubove se nalaze koso šrafirana trake, a u sredini niz šrafiranih rombova. U grobu su još pronađene dvije bronzane ukrašene narukvice kao i željezna naočalasta fibula. Grob je datiran u fazu Glasinac IVb.⁵⁷ O načinu nošenja poramenice svjedočio bi nalaz iz groba 7 tumula 2 na groblju Kaluđersko polje kod Priboja u kojem je bila pokopana bogato opremljena mlađa žena s brojnim predmetima nošnje i nakita. Čini se kako je poramenica ukrašena uz oba ruba uskom i koso šrafiranom trakom, dok se između njih nalaze motivi šrafiranih malteških križeva ili je cijela površina između rubnih traka ispunjena motivom mreže, odnosno kao niza spojenih rombova od kojih je svaki drugi šrafiran. Grob je datiran u završetak faze Glasinac IVc-1 i početak faze IVc-2, odnosno oko 550. god. pr. Kr.,⁵⁸ no vjerojatno ipak na kraj 7. i početak 6. st. pr. Kr. (kraj faze Glasinac IVc-1).

Osim na glasinackom području te pojedinim nalazištima na južnom dijelu istočnojadranske obale i zaleđa, dijademe glasinackog tipa pronađene su i na grobljima u sjeverozapadnoj Albaniji (sl. 5).⁵⁹ Na groblju Shtoj ulomci dijademe nalazili su se u bogato opremljenom grobu 3 tumula 6. Dijadema je ukrašena trim redovima rombova, središnjim te po jednim uz rubove, dok su krajevi složenije ukrašeni. Grob je datiran u drugu polovicu 8. st. pr. Kr.⁶⁰ U oštećenom grobu 5 također su pronađeni ulomci dijademe širine 1,5 cm, čiji su krajevi spojeni zakovicama. Ukrašena je raznolikim motivima raspoređenim u simetrične zone – vodoravni niz šrafiranih rombova, složeno organizirani ukrasi šrafiranih malteških križeva te kružnica s točkom od kojih su neke povezane tan-

stance, a bronzne sash was found at the necropolis under the tumuli of Borak Brdo – Ždrijelo near Goražde. Inhumation grave 1 in tumulus II contained fragments of a sash, parts of which were connected by rivets. Along the edges, there are obliquely hatched strips, and in the middle, a series of hatched diamonds. That grave also included two bronze decorated bracelets and an iron spectacle fibula. The grave is dated to the Glasinac IVb phase.⁵⁷ How the sash was worn seems to be indicated by the find from grave 7 of tumulus 2 at the Kaluđersko Polje cemetery near Priboj, where a richly equipped young woman with numerous items of costume and jewellery was buried. The sash seems to be decorated with a narrow and obliquely hatched strip along both edges, while there are motifs of hatched Maltese crosses between them, or the entire surface between the edge strips is filled with a mesh pattern, i.e. a series of connected diamonds where empty ones alternate with hatched ones. The grave is dated to the end of the Glasinac IVc-1 phase and the beginning of the IVc-2 phase, around 550 BC,⁵⁸ but more probably to the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 6th century BC (the end of the Glasinac IVc-1 phase).

Diadems of the Glasinac type have been found not only in the Glasinac area and certain sites on the southern part of the eastern Adriatic coast and hinterland, but also in cemeteries in northwestern Albania (Fig. 5).⁵⁹ On the Shtoj cemetery, fragments of a diadem were found in the richly equipped grave 3 of tumulus 6. The diadem is decorated with three rows of diamonds, one in the centre and one along each edge, while the terminals have more elaborate decorations. The grave is dated to the second half of the 8th century BC.⁶⁰ The damaged grave 5 also included fragments of a diadem, 1.5 cm wide, with terminals joined

⁵⁷ KOSORIĆ 1989: 137, 139, 144, T. IV/2.

⁵⁸ DERIKONJIĆ 2010: sl. na str. 12.

⁵⁹ KURTI 2020: 229, bilj. 40.

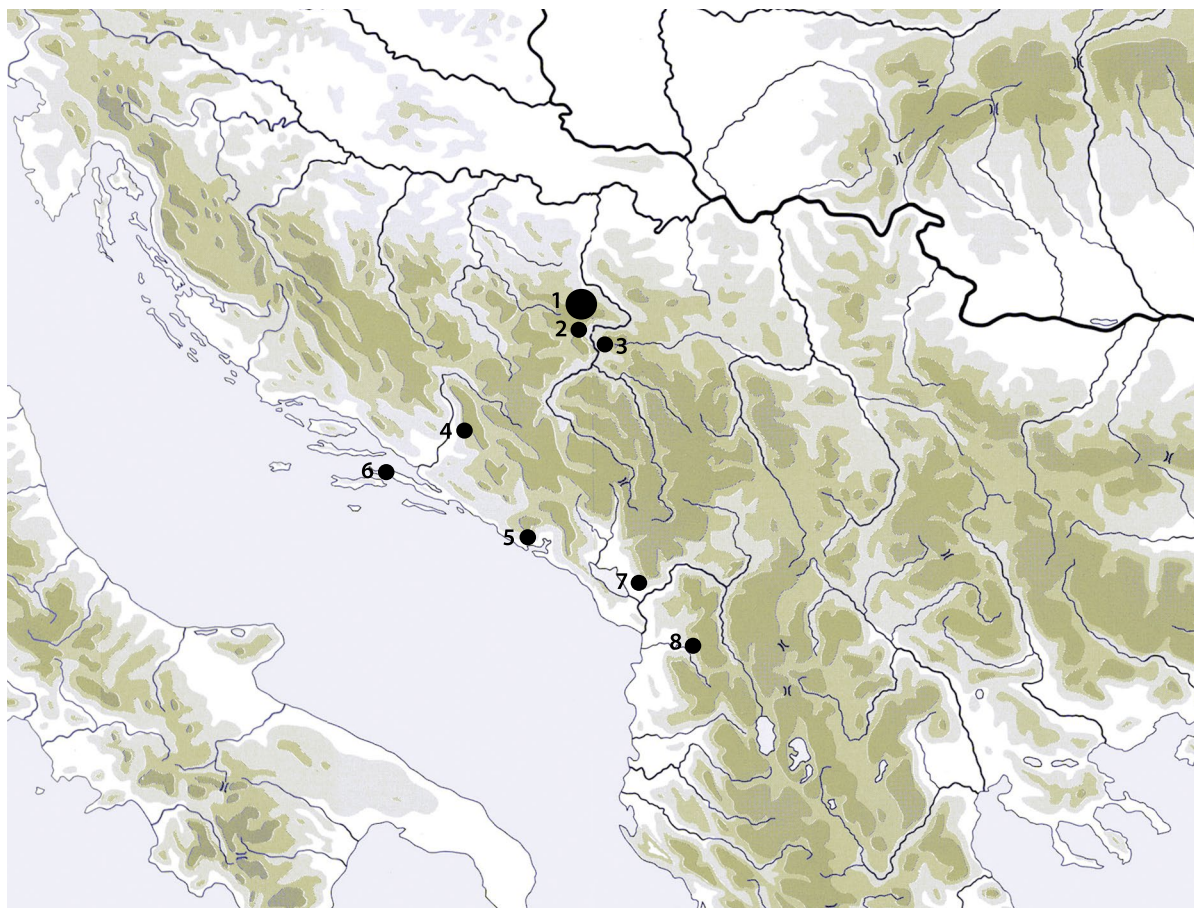
⁶⁰ KOKA 1990: 34, T. II/8; KURTI 2020: 222, 229, 231, sl. 5c.

⁵⁷ KOSORIĆ 1989: 137, 139, 144, Pl. IV/2.

⁵⁸ DERIKONJIĆ 2010: Fig. on p. 12.

⁵⁹ KURTI 2020: 229, fn. 40.

⁶⁰ KOKA 1990: 34, Pl. II/8; KURTI 2020: 222, 229, 231, Fig. 5c.



SLIKA 5. *Rasprostranjenost dijadema/poramenica glasinackog tipa; 1 područje Glasinca; 2 Borak brdo – Ždrijelo; 3 Kaluđersko polje kod Priboja; 4 Gubavica – Vulića ograde; 5 Glogovik; 6 Nakovana – Zmijna; 7 Shtoj; 8 Burrel (autor: M. Dizdar)*

FIGURE 5 *Distribution of diadems/sashes of the Glasinac type: 1 Glasinac area; 2 Borak Brdo – Ždrijelo; 3 Kaluđersko Polje near Priboj; 4 Gubavica – Vulića Ograde; 5 Glogovik; 6 Nakovana – Zmijna; 7 Shtoj; 8 Burrel (made by M. Dizdar)*

gentama.⁶¹ Još su u grobu 8 tumula 2, koji nije sadržavao kosturne ostatke, pronađeni ulomci dijademe s krajevima koji se sužavaju. Uz rubove se nalazi uska traka s kosim šrafitiranjem, a između su različito ukrašene zone – motivom mreže, kružnica s točkom spojenim tangentama ili spojenim šrafitiranim rombovima i trokutima. Nalaz je datiran na kraj faze IVc-1.⁶² Na groblju Burrel, u bogato opremljenom grobu 4 koji se nalazio u sredini tumula III, nalazila se dijadema čiji su krajevi spojeni zakovicom. Rubne trake ukrašene su kosim šrafitiranjem, dok je središnja traka ukrašena motivom mreže. U središ-

by rivets. It is decorated with various motifs arranged in symmetrical zones – a horizontal series of hatched diamonds, complexly organized decorations of hatched Maltese crosses, and ring-and-dot motifs, some of them connected by tangents.⁶¹ Also, grave 8 of tumulus 2, which did not contain bone remains, included fragments of a diadem with tapering terminals. Along the edges, there is a narrow strip with oblique hatching; inside, there are differently decorated zones: mesh motifs, rings-and-dots connected by tangents, or interconnected hatched diamonds and triangles. The find is dated to the end of phase IVc-1.⁶²

⁶¹ KOKA 1990: 34–35, sl. 7, Pl. IV/53.

⁶² JUBANI 1992: 27, 39, T. II/3.

⁶¹ KOKA 1990: 34–35, Fig. 7, Pl. IV/53.

⁶² JUBANI 1992: 27, 39, Pl. II/3.

njoj zoni dijademe nalaze se metopno organizirani složeni motivi.⁶³ Grob se fibulama s nožicom u obliku beotskog štita datira u fazu Glasinac IVc-1. Kako ovi nalazi pokazuju, ovi su predmeti nošeni češće oko glave kao dijademe, no ima i onih u funkciji poramenice, a razlikuju se na osnovi promjera. Na grobljima u sjeverozapadnoj Albaniji dijademe/poramenice datirane su u 8. – 7. st. pr. Kr.,⁶⁴ odnosno primjećuje se kako nedostaju u grobovima datiranim od druge četvrtine 6. st. pr. Kr.⁶⁵

Nalazi dijadema poznati su i na nekim drugim grobljima u južnoj Albaniji, no one su ukrašene iskucavanjem raznolikih i kompleksno organiziranih motiva. Na groblju Barç ovako ukrašene dijademe pronađene su u tumulu I u grobovima 19, 34 i 78,⁶⁶ dok su na groblju Patos pronađene u grobovima 63 i 68 i datirane su u kasno brončano doba.⁶⁷ U grobu 9 tumula s groblja Dukat, u kojem su bila pokopana dva pokojnika, od kojih jedan s kopljem, pronađena je dijadema ukrašena iskucavanjem. Na jednom dijelu spojenom zakovicama nalaze se i tri motiva urezane koncentrične kružnice.⁶⁸ I s groblja Shtikës potječe dijadema ukrašena iskucanim motivima – uz rubove se nalaze dva niza sitnih iskucanih ukrasa, a u sredini su složeno organizirane kompozicije koje se ponavljaju.⁶⁹

Za proučavanje dijadema važni su rezultati istraživanja tumula Lofkënd u južnoj Albaniji koji je datiran u kasno brončano i starije željezno doba. Dijademe su pronađene u četirima grobovima koji su bili među najbogatije opremljenim, a u njima su bili pokopani mlada žena ili djeca. One su se nalazile na glavama pokojnika, pri čemu su tri groba datirana u kasno 12. – 11. st. pr. Kr., a jedan u

At the Burrel cemetery, the richly equipped grave 4 in the centre of tumulus III included a diadem with terminals connected by a rivet. The edge strips are decorated with oblique hatching, while the central strip is decorated with a mesh motif. In the central zone of the diadem, there are complex motifs arranged in metopes.⁶³ Based on fibulae with a foot in the shape of a Boeotian shield, the grave is dated to phase Glasinac IVc-1. As these finds show, these items were more commonly worn around the head as diadems, but there are also those serving as sashes, which are distinguished by their diameter. Diadems/sashes from northwest Albanian cemeteries are dated to the 8th–7th centuries BC;⁶⁴ they are notably absent from graves dated from the second quarter of the 6th century BC.⁶⁵

Diadems were also found at other cemeteries in southern Albania, but they are decorated with a variety of hammered and intricately arranged motifs. At the Barç cemetery, diadems decorated in this way were found in tumulus I in graves 19, 34, and 78;⁶⁶ at the Patos cemetery, they were found in graves 63 and 68 and dated to the Late Bronze Age.⁶⁷ Grave 9 of the tumulus from the Dukat cemetery – the burial of two individuals, one of them with a spear – included a diadem decorated with hammering. One part, connected by rivets, has three motifs of engraved concentric circles.⁶⁸ Also, a diadem from the Shtikës cemetery is decorated with hammered motifs: two rows of tiny hammered ornaments along the edges and intricately arranged compositions that repeat in the middle.⁶⁹

The results of the excavations of tumuli in Lofkënd in southern Albania, dated to the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age, are

⁶³ KURTI 1983: 91, 96, 103, T. I/19; 2020: 222, 230, sl. 4a.

⁶⁴ KURTI 1983: 96; KOKA 1990: 49.

⁶⁵ Vidjeti: KURTI 2020: sl. 8–10.

⁶⁶ ANDREA 1985: 91, 23, T. IV/2; 25–26, T. V/2; 32–33, T. IX/1.

⁶⁷ KORKUTI 1981: 44, T. VII.

⁶⁸ CEKA 1974: 143, T. VI.

⁶⁹ ALIU 1996: 63, 76, T. IV/1.

⁶³ KURTI 1983: 91, 96, 103, Pl. I/19; 2020: 222, 230, Fig. 4a.

⁶⁴ KURTI 1983: 96; KOKA 1990: 49.

⁶⁵ See: KURTI 2020: Figs. 8–10.

⁶⁶ ANDREA 1985: 91, 23, Pl. IV/2; 25–26, Pl. V/2; 32–33, Pl. IX/1.

⁶⁷ KORKUTI 1981: 44, Pl. VII.

⁶⁸ CEKA 1974: 143, Pl. VI.

⁶⁹ ALIU 1996: 63, 76, Pl. IV/1.

9. st. pr. Kr.⁷⁰ U grobu XVII, s pokopom dva djeteta, dijadema se nalazila na glavi starijeg djeteta (7 ± 2 godine). Uz rubove je ukrašena urezanim linijama, dok se u središnjem dijelu nalaze još dvije vodoravne urezane linije. Na sredini je ukras dviju okomitih linija koje čine metopu s urezanim ukrasom motiva riblje kosti s dodatnim šrafiranjem. Čini se da postoje dodatne urezane vertikale i dijagonale linije kod jednog kraja dijademe, pri čemu su krajevi, izgleda, bili spojeni tekstilom.⁷¹ U grobu XVIII bilo je pokopano troje djece. Dijete (4 ± 1 godine) na glavi je imalo neukrašnu dijademu sačuvanu u ulomcima, dok su krajevi bili spojeni dvjema zakovicama.⁷² U grobu XXI bila su pokopana dva pokojnika – muškarac star 20 – 25 godina i žena starosti od 15 ± 3 godine koja je na glavi imala dijademu. Dijadema je sačuvana u ulomcima, no bila je veće širine od prethodno spomenutih te je ukrašena urezanim ukrasom.⁷³ U najmlađem grobu LXX bila je pokopana bogato opremljena žena adolescentske dobi stara 17 – 20 godina, uz raniji ukop u isti grob muškarca u dobi > 45 godina. Dijadema je bila na glavi pokojnice, široka je te bogato ukrašena različitim urezanim motivima. Uz svaki rub nalazi se niz sitnih iskucanih ukrasa, a prepoznaju se i okomito postavljeni nizovi koji razdvajaju zone. Osnovni ukras predstavljaju tri vodoravna niza višestrukih cik-cak linija, zatim slijedi zona s cik-cak višestrukim linijama u sredini, dok su u rubnim zonama cik-cak trake u negativu (s obiju strana motivi šrafiranih trokuta, odnosno motiv vučjih zubi). Dijadema je ukrašena i složeno organiziranim kompozicijama s već spomenutim motivima, uz pojavu motiva kružnica izvedenih sitnim iskucanim kružnicama koje su još dodatno iznutra šrafirane. Za dijademu su bila pričvršćena dva potkovičasta okova s uvijenim

important for the study of diadems. Diadems were found in four of the most richly equipped graves; a young woman or children were buried in those graves. The diadems were on their heads, with three graves dated to the late 12th and the 11th century BC, and one to the 9th century BC.⁷⁰ In grave XVII, which was the burial of two children, the diadem was found on the head of the older child (7 ± 2 years old). Along the edges, it is decorated with engraved lines, while the central part has two more horizontal engraved lines. In the middle, there is a decoration of two vertical lines forming a metope with an engraved ornament – a fish bone motif with additional hatching. There appear to be additional engraved vertical and diagonal lines at one terminal of the diadem, and the terminals seem to have been connected by textile.⁷¹ In grave XVIII, three children were buried. One child (4 ± 1 years old) had the fragments of an undecorated diadem on its head, with the terminals connected by two rivets.⁷² Grave XXI contained two individuals – a man aged 20–25 years and a woman aged 15 ± 3 years, who wore a diadem on her head. The diadem, preserved in fragments, was wider than the ones we already mentioned; it was decorated with an engraved ornament.⁷³ The youngest grave, LXX, contained a richly equipped adolescent woman aged 17–20 years alongside an earlier burial of a man aged >45 years in the same grave. The woman had a diadem on her head; it is wide and elaborately decorated with various engraved motifs. Along each edge, there is a row of small punched decorations, and there are traces of vertically arranged rows separating the zones. The basic decoration consists of three horizontal series of multiple zigzag lines, followed by a zone with multiple zigzag lines in the centre; in the edge zones, there are negative zigzag bands (with motifs of hatched triangles or wolf tooth motifs on both sides). The diadem is also dec-

⁷⁰ PAPADOPOULOS 2010: 33–35.

⁷¹ PAPADOPOULOS 2010: 37, sl. 4.

⁷² PAPADOPOULOS 2010: 37, sl. 7.

⁷³ PAPADOPOULOS 2010: 40–41, sl. 10.

⁷⁰ PAPADOPOULOS 2010: 33–35.

⁷¹ PAPADOPOULOS 2010: 37, Fig. 4.

⁷² PAPADOPOULOS 2010: 37, Fig. 7.

⁷³ PAPADOPOULOS 2010: 40–41, Fig. 10.

krajevima, dok su krajevi dijademe spojeni dvjema zakovicama.⁷⁴

Nalazi iz tumula u Lofkëndi potvrđuju pretpostavke kako se bronzane dijademe na grobljima u Albaniji pojavljuju tijekom kasnog bronzanog i starijeg željeznog doba, a ukrašene su iskucavanjem ili urezivanjem.⁷⁵ Slične dijademe pronađene su i na grobljima u Epiru te grčkom dijelu Makedoniji gdje se datiraju u 9. st. pr. Kr. Također, poznate su s drugih nalazišta u Grčkoj kao npr. u svetištu u Olimpiji gdje su možda bile posvećene Heri, a gdje su pronađene i figurice od terakote s prikazom trake (dijademe) za glavu.⁷⁶ Do sada su najdetaljnije analizirane dijademe pronađene na groblju Vergina gdje se u grobovima žena i djece pojavljuju dva tipa dijadema – šire dijademe ukrašene iskucavanjem, dok drugi tip predstavljaju one uže koje su većinom bile neukrašene, a koje su i najbrojnije; za drugu varijantu užih dijadema karakteristični su jednostavni redovi iskucanih ukrasa. Nalazile su se na glavama pokojnica, no katkad su mogle biti položene i pokraj tijela. Za ove se dijademe smatra, osim da su bile nakit, da imaju i oznaku insignije.⁷⁷ Šire dijademe ukrašene iskucavanjem na groblju Vergina kao i na ostalim grobljima datirane su u 900. – 850. god. pr. Kr., dok su one uže mlađe i pripadaju arhajskom razdoblju, odnosno 7. st. pr. Kr. Tom se prilikom ovom tipu pripisuju, osim dijadema s grčkih i albanskih nalazišta, i one s Glasinca.⁷⁸ Glasinačke su dijademe, ipak, drukčije i pripadaju posebnom tipu s prepoznatljivim ukrašavanjem u zapadnobalkanskom geometrijskom stilu. Bliske spomenutim dijadema-

orated with complex compositions featuring the aforementioned motifs, along with circular motifs made of small punched circles which are hatched on the inside. The diadem had two attached horseshoe-shaped fittings with twisted ends, and its terminals were connected by two rivets.⁷⁴

The finds from the tumuli in Lofkënd confirm the assumptions that bronze diadems, decorated by punching or engraving, appeared in Albanian cemeteries during the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age.⁷⁵ Similar diadems, dated to the 9th century BC, have been found in cemeteries in Epirus and the Greek region of Macedonia. They are also known from other sites in Greece, such as the sanctuary in Olympia, where they may have been dedicated to Hera; the sanctuary included terracotta figurines depicting headbands (diadems).⁷⁶ The best-analysed diadems have been found in the cemetery of Vergina, where two types of diadems appear in the graves of women and children: broad diadems decorated by punching, and narrower diadems which are the most numerous and mostly undecorated. The narrower diadems are characterised by simple series of punched decorations. They were found on female heads, but sometimes they were placed beside the body. These diadems are believed to have been not only jewellery, but also insignia.⁷⁷ Broader diadems decorated by punching, in Vergina and other cemeteries, are dated to 900–850 BC, while the narrower ones are younger and belong to the Archaic period (the 7th century BC). This type is associated with the diadems from Glasinac along with diadems from Greek and Albanian sites.⁷⁸ However, the

⁷⁴ PAPADOPOULOS 2010: 41–43, sl. 13.

⁷⁵ PAPADOPOULOS 2010: 45, bilj. 15. O grčkoj riječi koja se vjerojatno upotrebljavala za ove predmete koji su se nosili oko glave, pri čemu je διάδημα malo vjerojatna, a najvjerojatniji izraz je στεφάνη koji je povezan i s pojmom *marriage wreaths*: PAPADOPOULOS 2010: 50–51.

⁷⁶ PAPADOPOULOS 2010: 33, 45–46.

⁷⁷ RADT 1974: 132–133, T. 40/1; BRÄUNING, KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 2013: 65–66, Tab. 33, sl. 167/200–201.

⁷⁸ RADT 1974: 133; BRÄUNING, KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 2013: 66–67, 325, sl. 13, Popis 14.

⁷⁴ PAPADOPOULOS 2010: 41–43, Fig. 13.

⁷⁵ PAPADOPOULOS 2010: 45, fn. 15. For the Greek word that was probably used for these objects worn around the head, with διάδημα being unlikely and the most probable term being στεφάνη, which is also related to the notion of marriage wreaths, see: PAPADOPOULOS 2010: 50–51.

⁷⁶ PAPADOPOULOS 2010: 33, 45–46.

⁷⁷ RADT 1974: 132–133, Pl. 40/1; BRÄUNING, KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 2013: 65–66, Tab. 33, Fig. 167/200–201.

⁷⁸ RADT 1974: 133; BRÄUNING, KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 2013: 66–67, 325, Fig. 13, List 14.

ma ukrašenim iskucavanjem jesu i nalazi s prostora Sjeverne Makedonije. U grobu 34 na groblju Dedeli, na glavi bogato opremljene pokojnice, pronađena je dijadema koja po sredini ima vodoravno izbočeno rebro. Grob je datiran u rano 6. st. pr. Kr.⁷⁹ Još je u bogatom grobu 9 na groblju Marvinci – Lisičin dol bila pokopana pokojnica s dijademom na glavi koja je ukrašena dvama nizovima sitnih iskucanih izbočenja. Grob se na osnovi fibula datira u kraj 7. i početak 6. st. pr. Kr.⁸⁰ Dakle, ovi su nalazi mlađi od onih s nalazišta u Albaniji i Grčkoj.

Ovi nalazi s juga Balkana, u Albaniji i Grčkoj, otvaraju i zanimljivo pitanje nastanka dijadema glasinackog tipa. Već je M. Gavranović izrazio sumnju o utjecaju dijadema kasnog brončanog doba s prostora srednje Bosne ukrašenih iskucanim motivima,⁸¹ kako je to predlagao B. Čović.⁸² Razlike se, osim u načinu ukrašavanja, mogu prepoznati i u oblicima ovih dvaju tipova dijadema. Glasinackom tipu oblikom su mnogo sličnije one uske kakve se pojavljuju na groblju Vergina gdje su također ukrašene iskucavanjem. Zbog toga se glasinacki tip dijademe možda može promatrati kao hibridni u kojem je združen oblik s juga s lokalnim dekorativnim stilom. Na utjecaje s juga upućivalo bi i spajanje dijelova pomoću zakovica. U svakom slučaju, dijademe se mogu smatrati važnim dijelom vizualnog identiteta djevojčica i žena koje su ih nosile te su vjerojatno bile i oznaka statusa u zajednici, kako to pokazuju nalazi iz bogatije opremljenih grobova iz tumula s Podilijaka. Sličan zaključak iznesen je i za dijademe različitih oblika kakve su poznate na velikom prostoru od Podunavlja pa sve do juga Balkana.

Jednu od prepoznatljivosti dijadema glasinackog tipa predstavlja i njihovo ukrašavanje

Glasinac diadems are different: they belong to a distinct type with recognizable decoration in the Western Balkan geometric style. Finds from the area of North Macedonia are similar to the mentioned diadems decorated by punching. In grave 34 at the Dedeli cemetery, a diadem on the head of a richly equipped female had a protruding horizontal rib in the middle. The grave is dated to the early 6th century BC.⁷⁹ Also, in the rich grave 9 at the cemetery of Marvinci – Lisičin Dol, the diadem found on a female head was decorated with two rows of tiny punched protrusions. Based on fibulae, the grave is dated to the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 6th century BC.⁸⁰ Therefore, these finds are younger than those from sites in Albania and Greece.

These finds from the southern Balkans, in Albania and Greece, also raise the interesting question of the origin of Glasinac-type diadems. M. Gavranović expressed early doubts about the influence of Late Bronze Age diadems decorated with punched motifs from central Bosnia,⁸¹ as had been suggested by B. Čović.⁸² These two types of diadems differ in shapes and decoration methods. The shape of the Glasinac type is much more similar to the narrow punch-decorated diadems found at the Vergina cemetery. Therefore, the Glasinac-type diadems might be considered as hybrids combining the southern shape with the local decorative style. Another possible southern influence is the use of rivets to join parts. In any case, diadems can be seen as an important part of the visual identity of girls and women who wore them, and were likely a status symbol in the community, as indicated by the finds from richly equipped graves in tumuli at Podilijak. A similar conclusion has been drawn for diadems of various shapes known across the vast area from the Danube basin to the southern Balkans.

One of the distinctive features of Glasinac-

⁷⁹ MITREVSKI 1991: 26, 65, sl. 33, T. X/4.

⁸⁰ VIDESKI 1999: 93–94, T. II/20.

⁸¹ GAVRANOVIĆ 2011a: 226–227.

⁸² ČOVIĆ 1979: 47–48.

⁷⁹ MITREVSKI 1991: 26, 65, Fig. 33, Pl. X/4.

⁸⁰ VIDESKI 1999: 93–94, Pl. II/20.

⁸¹ GAVRANOVIĆ 2011a: 226–227.

⁸² ČOVIĆ 1979: 47–48.

u zapadnobalkanskom geometrijskom stilu,⁸³ a u odnosu na one s nalazišta na jugu Balkana koje su ukrašene iskucavanjem, uostalom kao i već spomenute dijademe iz kasnog brončanog doba u sjevernoj Bosni. Ukrašavanje u ovom stilu pojavljuje se na predmetima iz grobova na Glasincu koji su datirani u 14. i 13. st. pr. Kr., pri čemu je najvažniji motiv spirale.⁸⁴ Slično se ukrašavanje različitim geometrijskim motivima pojavljuje na keramičkim oblicima u srednjoj Bosni od kraja 12. i tijekom 11. st. pr. Kr. te se smatra kako je riječ o stilu koji na ovom prostoru nema prethodnika. Urezivanje različitih motiva nalazi se i na brončanim predmetima lokalne i regionalne rasprostranjenosti koji su većinom datirani u 10. i 9. st. pr. Kr., a mogu se podijeliti na tri osnovne grupe. Najmlađa faza stila odgovara početku starijeg željeznog doba i traje u 8. – 7. st. pr. Kr., kada se datiraju i dijademe ukrašene na ovaj način. Ovaj prepoznatljiv dekorativni stil nestaje u kasnom 7. st. pr. Kr. te se prije toga pojavljuju shematizirani prikazi kao i motivi jednostavnih linija, šrafiranih trokuta i rombova.⁸⁵ Upravo su na ovakav način ukrašene i dijademe iz Nakovane, Gubavice ili Glogovika.

S obzirom na to da nije poznato tko je nosio dijademe pronađene na ovim nalazištima, odgovore možda mogu ponuditi posljednje analize grobova na Glasincu u kojima su pronađene. B. Teržan iznosi zanimljivu ideju kako su u bogatije opremljenim grobovima s raznovrsnim setovima predmeta nošnje i nakita, koji također uključuju dijademe, bile pokopane djevojke pripremljene za udaju, zatim mladenke i tek udane žene. Smatra se kako se u grobovima udanih žena i udovica, odnosno starijih pokojnica, pojavljuju skromnije kombinacije. Antropološka analiza pokojnika iz grobova iz tumula A i B na Podilijaku pokazuje kako se dijademe nalaze

type diadems is their decoration in the West Balkan geometric style,⁸³ in contrast to those from sites in the southern Balkans decorated with punching, as well as the aforementioned Late Bronze Age diadems from northern Bosnia. This decorating style appears on objects from Glasinac graves dated to the 14th and 13th centuries BC, with the spiral motif being the most important.⁸⁴ Similar decoration with various geometric motifs appears on ceramic forms in central Bosnia from the end of the 12th and in the 11th century BC; it is considered a style with no predecessors in this area. Engraving of various motifs is also found on bronze objects of local and regional distribution, mostly dated to the 10th and 9th centuries BC, which can be divided into three main groups. The youngest phase of the style corresponds to the beginning of the Early Iron Age, the 8th and 7th centuries BC, which is also the dating of diadems decorated in this way. This distinctive decorative style disappears in the late 7th century BC, after the appearance of schematic depictions and motifs of simple lines, hatched triangles, and diamonds.⁸⁵ Diadems from Nakovana, Gubavica, or Glogovik are also decorated in this way.

It is unknown who wore the diadems found at these sites, but this may be answered by the latest analyses of the graves at Glasinac that contained the diadems. B. Teržan puts forward an interesting idea: richer graves with diverse costume and jewellery sets, which also include diadems, were the burials of girls prepared for marriage, brides, and recently married women. It is believed that the graves of married women and widows, or older deceased women, contain more modest combinations. Anthropological analysis of the individuals from graves in tumuli A and B at Podilijak shows that diadems are found in graves where children or adults were buried. A possible explanation proposed for the

⁸³ ČOVIĆ 1984.

⁸⁴ GAVRANOVIĆ 2020: 432–434, sl. 2.

⁸⁵ GAVRANOVIĆ 2020: 437–444, sl. 7; 9–10.

⁸³ ČOVIĆ 1984.

⁸⁴ GAVRANOVIĆ 2020: 432–434, Fig. 2.

⁸⁵ GAVRANOVIĆ 2020: 437–444, Figs. 7; 9–10.

u grobovima u kojima su bila pokopana djeca ili odrasle osobe. Nalazi iz dječjih grobova pokušavaju se objasniti tako da je možda riječ o djevojkama obećanim za udaju već pri rođenju ili u ranom djetinjstvu koje su dijademu skidale nekoliko dana nakon vjenčanja, za što se pronalaze etnološke poveznice na dinarskom prostoru.⁸⁶ Zanimljivo, slična ideja predložena je i za nalaze dijadema na groblju Lofkëndi, odnosno dijademe su nosile djevojke koje još nisu stupile u brak te su položene u grob opremljene kao mladenke vjenčane za smrt.⁸⁷ Ovakav zaključak, s obzirom na kontekst otkrića, nije moguć za nalaz iz Nakovane, međutim nošenje dijademe, uz rodno, vjerojatno je imalo i određeno simboličko značenje.

OSTALI NALAZI IZ GROBA 2

U grobu 2 na Zmijnoj pronađen je spiralno savijeni predmet s trima navojima okruglog presjeka. U sredini je blago zadebljan, dok su krajevi suženi i završavaju u šiljak (T. 2/1). S obzirom na promjer, može biti riječ o narukvici koja je mogla pripadati djetetu ili sljepoočnicičarki kao ukrasu za kosu.

Usporedba je poznata iz Rakitnog u Hercegovini odakle potječu spiralno savijeni predmeti sličnog oblika s trima navojima i šiljastim krajevima koji su promjera 4 do 5 cm. Ovi su nalazi definirani kao ukrasi za kosu.⁸⁸ Sličnih je dimenzija, samo s nešto većim brojem navoja, i nekoliko predmeta iz Gruda za koje se navodi kako može biti riječ o nakit ili narukvicama.⁸⁹ U uništenom tumulu na nalazištu Potočani kod Livna pronađeni su ulomci sličnih predmeta. Kod jednog su se sačuvala dva spiralna navoja, a smatra se kako je riječ, s obzirom na promjer, o dječjim

finds from children's graves is that those children may have been girls given in marriage at birth or in early childhood, who would remove the diadem a few days after the wedding, as this has ethnological parallels in the Dinaric region.⁸⁶ Interestingly, a similar idea has been proposed for the finds of diadems at the Lofkënd cemetery: that the diadems were worn by girls and children who had not yet entered into marriage and were laid in the grave equipped as brides married to death.⁸⁷ Such a conclusion, given the context of the discovery, is not applicable to the find from Nakovana; however, wearing the diadem probably had both symbolic and gender significance.

OTHER FINDS IN GRAVE 2

Grave 2 at Zmijno contained a spirally twisted object with three round-sectioned coils. It slightly expands in the middle, while the terminals taper to a point (Pl. 2/1). Given its diameter, it could have been a bracelet belonging to a child or a temple ring as hair ornament.

There is a parallel from Rakitno in Herzegovina: spiral-twisted objects of similar shape with three coils and pointed terminals measuring 4 to 5 cm in diameter. These finds are defined as hair ornaments.⁸⁸ Several objects from Grude, of similar dimensions but with more coils, are mentioned as possibly being jewellery or bracelets.⁸⁹ Fragments of similar objects were found in a destroyed tumulus at the Potočani site near Livno. One fragment includes two preserved spiral coils; based on the diameter, they are believed to be children's bracelets.⁹⁰ A grave with several individuals at the Vašarovine site near Livno, dated to the second half of the 5th and the first half of the 4th century BC, included an object com-

⁸⁶ TERŽAN 2021: 51-53, sl. 3/1-2.

⁸⁷ PAPADOPOULOS 2010: 33, 47-49, Tab. 1.

⁸⁸ RADIMSKÝ 1893: 175, sl. 9.

⁸⁹ FIALA 1899: 149, sl. 9-10.

⁸⁶ TERŽAN 2021: 51-53, Fig. 3/1-2.

⁸⁷ PAPADOPOULOS 2010: 33, 47-49, Tab. 1.

⁸⁸ RADIMSKÝ 1893: 175, Fig. 9.

⁸⁹ FIALA 1899: 149, Figs. 9-10.

⁹⁰ MANDIĆ 1937: 5, Pl. I/2, 15; II/3.

narukvicama.⁹⁰ Iz grobnice s više pokojnika na nalazištu Vašarovine kod Livna, koja je datirana u drugu polovicu 5. i prvu polovicu 4. st. pr. Kr., nakitu je pripisan predmet sastavljen od dvaju brončanih spiralnih svitaka i masivnog brončanog obruča. Pretpostavlja se kako je riječ o nakitu za kosu.⁹¹ Spiralnom savijenom predmetu iz groba 2 na Zmijnoj dijelom bi odgovarale tanje narukvice s blago prebačenim krajevima koje se smatraju oblikom duljeg trajanja, od faze Glasinac IVa pa sve do IVc-2.⁹² N. Lucentini narukvice s blago prebačenim krajevima izdvaja kao tip A koje mogu biti ukrašene skupinama poprečnih žljebova, dok im je presjek konveksan ili ovalan. One sa šiljastim krajevima izdvaja kao varijantu 1.⁹³ Ove se narukvice jasno razlikuju od različitih oblika spiralnih narukvica koje su sastavljene od mnogo većeg broja navoja.⁹⁴

S obzirom na promjer spiralno savijenog predmeta iz groba 2 kao i navedene usporedbe, nije moguće zaključiti je li riječ o dječjoj narukvici ili o nakitu za kosu.

Iz groba 2 potječe praporac koji je sačuvan u ulomcima. Na vrhu se nalazi okrugla ušica koja se nastavlja u produžetak rombičnog presjeka iz kojeg izlazi košarica jajolikog oblika s deset rešetki i devet proreza. Unutar košarice nalazila su se najmanje četiri kuglasta zrna. S donje strane košarice nalazi se kraće cilindrično izbočenje ili nožica kružnog presjeka (T. 2/2).

S obzirom na broj okomitih rešetki koji može biti različit (od pet do dvanaest), N. Lucentini izdvaja tri varijante praporaca tipa B čija nožica, za razliku od praporca iz groba 2, završava stožastim zadebljanjem te ima oblik obrnutog slova T. Praporac iz groba 2 može se pripisati varijanti 3 za koju je karak-

posed of two bronze spiral coils and a massive bronze ring, described as a piece of jewellery. It is assumed to be a hair ornament.⁹¹ The spiral-twisted object from grave 2 at Zmijna partially corresponds to thin bracelets with slightly overlapping terminals, which are considered a long-period form existing in the Glasinac phases from IVa to IVc-2.⁹² N. Lucentini distinguishes bracelets with slightly overlapping terminals as type A; they have a convex or oval cross-section and may be decorated with groups of transverse grooves. He classifies those with pointed terminals as variant 1.⁹³ These bracelets clearly differ from various forms of spiral bracelets composed of a much larger number of coils.⁹⁴

Considering the diameter of the spiral-twisted object from grave 2, as well as the mentioned parallels, it is impossible to conclude whether it is a child's bracelet or a hair ornament.

From grave 2 comes a fragmentarily preserved bell-shaped pendant. It is topped by a round hoop transitioning into a diamond-sectioned extension from which emerges an egg-shaped basket with ten lattices and nine slots. The basket contained at least four spherical beads. On the underside of the basket, there is a short cylindrical protrusion or foot of circular cross-section (Pl. 2/2).

Considering the varying number of vertical lattices (ranging from five to twelve), N. Lucentini distinguishes three variants of the type B bell-shaped pendants; their foot, unlike the bell from grave 2, terminates in a conical extension and has the shape of an inverted letter T. The pendant from grave 2 can be associated with variant 3, which is characterized by having nine to twelve lattices.⁹⁵ Pendants with slots and a foot are dated to the Glasinac phases IVc-1 and IVc-2, and most commonly

⁹⁰ MANDIĆ 1937: 5, T. I/2, 15; II/3.

⁹¹ ČOVIĆ, NIKIĆ 1983: 89–90, T. II/11.

⁹² ČOVIĆ 1987a: 598, sl. 35/2. Npr. BENAC, ČOVIĆ 1956: T. IX/14; XXXIV/1–2; 1957: T. III/3–4.

⁹³ LUCENTINI 1981: 84, sl. 4/20.

⁹⁴ LUCENTINI 1981: 85–85, sl. 5/1–2.

⁹¹ ČOVIĆ, NIKIĆ 1983: 89–90, Pl. II/11.

⁹² ČOVIĆ 1987a: 598, Fig. 35/2. E.g. BENAC, ČOVIĆ 1956: Pl. IX/14; XXXIV/1–2; 1957: Pl. III/3–4.

⁹³ LUCENTINI 1981: 84, Fig. 4/20.

⁹⁴ LUCENTINI 1981: 85–85, Fig. 5/1–2.

⁹⁵ LUCENTINI 1981: 90, Fig. 6/12.

teristično da ima devet do dvanaest rešetki.⁹⁵ Praporci s prorezima i nožicom datirani su u faze Glasinac IVc-1 i IVc-2 te najčešće imaju T-proširenje na kraju nožice,⁹⁶ odnosno u fazu 4 srednjodalmatinske grupe.⁹⁷ Praporci ovog oblika, kao dio ženskog nakita, najčešći su na Glasincu, zatim na prostoru zapadne Srbije i sjeverne Albanije, a nalaze se sve do Like na zapadu i Grčke na jugu.⁹⁸ Praporci s nožicom T-oblika zabilježeni su i na većem broju nalazišta na južnom Jadranu i zaleđu gdje su datirani u faze 2 i 3, odnosno u 7. i prvu polovicu 6. st. pr. Kr.⁹⁹ Nakovani najbliži poznati nalazi potječu iz Stona, od kojih jedan na kraju nožice ima veće diskoidno proširenje.¹⁰⁰ S Graca kod Neuma potječu dva praporca od kojih jedan ima slabo naglašeno proširenje na kraju nožice.¹⁰¹ Veći broj privjesaka pohranjen je i u zbirci na Humcu kod Ljubuškog.¹⁰² U grobovima se pojavljuje od jednog do više praporaca. O mogućem načinu nošenja svjedoče nalazi iz groba 7 tumula 2 na već spomenutom groblju Kaluđersko polje kod Priboja u kojem je bila pokopana bogato opremljena mlađa žena. Dvanaest praporaca s T-završetkom nosilo se obješeno o pojas s nizom saltaleona i dvjema bačvastim perlama.¹⁰³ Na groblju Lisijevo polje pronađeno je 29 praporaca s T-završetkom koji su bili obješeni na krajevima lančića te se smatra kako je riječ o pektoralu.¹⁰⁴

U grobu 2 još su pronađeni dugme s ni-

have a T-shaped extension at the end of the foot,⁹⁶ or to phase 4 of the Central Dalmatian group.⁹⁷ Bell-shaped pendants of this type, as women's jewellery items, are most common in Glasinac, followed by western Serbia and northern Albania, but have been found as far as Lika to the west and Greece to the south.⁹⁸ Pendants with a T-shaped foot have also been found at many sites in the southern Adriatic and hinterland, where they are dated to phases 2 and 3, or the 7th and the first half of the 6th century BC.⁹⁹ The closest known finds to those from Nakovana originate from Ston; one of them has a large discoid extension at the end of the foot.¹⁰⁰ Gradac near Neum is the site of two pendants, one of which has a weakly emphasized extension at the end of the foot.¹⁰¹ A large number of bell-shaped pendants are also stored in the collection at Humac near Ljubuški.¹⁰² Graves contain from one to several these pendants. How they were possibly worn is evidenced by the finds from grave 7 of tumulus 2 at the Kaluđersko Polje cemetery near Priboj, which was the burial of a richly equipped young woman. Twelve bell-shaped pendants with T-ends were suspended from a belt with a series of saltaleones and two barrel-shaped beads.¹⁰³ The Lisijevo Polje cemetery included 29 pendants with T-ends hanging from the terminals of chains, indicating they might have been a pectoral.¹⁰⁴

Grave 2 also included a button with a low domed head and hoop (Pl. 2/3) and a frag-

⁹⁵ LUCENTINI 1981: 90, sl. 6/12.

⁹⁶ ČOVIĆ 1987a: 611, 622, sl. 35/27, T. LXII/27. Npr. BENAC, ČOVIĆ 1957, T. IX/2; XXXIV/11; XXXVI/14.

⁹⁷ ČOVIĆ 1987b: 455, T. L/14.

⁹⁸ KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 1979: 94-96, T. 102B; 29/551-552; 108/8-9, 15, 17; TEBMANN 2001: 76-79, sl. 46, Popis 19; GAVRANOVIĆ 2011a: 236, sl. 238/5-7; KURTI 2020: 227, 229, sl. 7/5-7.

⁹⁹ MARIJAN 2001: 69, sl. 13/10; T. 14/4; 16/4; 17/15.

¹⁰⁰ POSEDEL 1909: 102, T. XXI/12, 18.

¹⁰¹ MARIJAN 1989: 40, T. II/9.

¹⁰² ČOVIĆ 1985: 56, T. IV/5; ODŽA 2010: 180, T. 2/7.

¹⁰³ DERIKONJIĆ 2010: sl. na str. 12. Sličan položaj praporaca kod pojasa npr. na groblju Burrel u grobu 4 tumula III (KURTI 2020: 223, sl. 4a) ili u grobu 76 tumula I (KURTI 2020: 236, sl. 9g).

¹⁰⁴ SREJOVIĆ, MARKOVIĆ 1981: 71, T. III; IV/1-6.

⁹⁶ ČOVIĆ 1987a: 611, 622, Fig. 35/27, Pl. LXII/27. E.g. BENAC, ČOVIĆ 1957, Pl. IX/2; XXXIV/11; XXXVI/14.

⁹⁷ ČOVIĆ 1987b: 455, Pl. L/14.

⁹⁸ KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 1979: 94-96, Pl. 102B; 29/551-552; 108/8-9, 15, 17; TEBMANN 2001: 76-79, Fig. 46, List 19; GAVRANOVIĆ 2011a: 236, Fig. 238/5-7; KURTI 2020: 227, 229, Fig. 7/5-7.

⁹⁹ MARIJAN 2001: 69, Fig. 13/10; Pl. 14/4; 16/4; 17/15.

¹⁰⁰ POSEDEL 1909: 102, Pl. XXI/12, 18.

¹⁰¹ MARIJAN 1989: 40, Pl. II/9.

¹⁰² ČOVIĆ 1985: 56, Pl. IV/5; ODŽA 2010: 180, Pl. 2/7.

¹⁰³ DERIKONJIĆ 2010: Fig. on p. 12. For a similar position of the bell-shaped pendants at the belt see e.g. the Burrel cemetery: grave 4 of tumulus III (KURTI 2020: 223, Fig. 4a) or grave 76 of tumulus I (KURTI 2020: 236, Fig. 9g).

¹⁰⁴ SREJOVIĆ, MARKOVIĆ 1981: 71, Pl. III; IV/1-6.

skom kalotastom glavicom i ušicom (T. 2/3) te ulomak saltaleona (T. 2/4).

Brončano dugme s ušicom pronađeno je i u kasnobrončanodobnom grobu 1 na groblju Zmijna.¹⁰⁵ S obzirom na promjer, dugme se može pripisati varijanti 2 za koju su karakteristična dugmad čiji je promjer minimalno 1,5 cm.¹⁰⁶ Dugmad s kalotastom glavicom i ušicom pojavljuje se u grobovima datiranim u kasno brončano doba duž istočne obale Jadrana, o čemu svjedoče nalazi čak 30 dugmadi s Babina polja na Mljetu, od toga sedam većih i 23 koja su promjera 1,1 cm.¹⁰⁷ Kalotasta dugmad pojavljuje se i dalje tijekom starijeg željeznog doba. Na Glasincu ih je moglo biti i više u jednom grobu,¹⁰⁸ a katkad se nalaze i s ulomcima saltaleona.¹⁰⁹ Iz Gorice potječu nalazi četiriju kalotastih dugmeta s ušicom,¹¹⁰ u grobnici s nalazišta Crvenica – Ritke Liske pronađena su dva kalotasta dugmeta promjera 1,5 cm,¹¹¹ a u grobnici iz Vašarovina kod Livna nalazilo se malo dugme promjera 0,8 cm.¹¹²

Ulomak saltaleona vjerojatno je predstavljao dio ogrlice ili je mogao biti dio složenog ukrasa koji je visio s pojasa kako to pokazuje primjer groba 7 tumula 2 na groblju Kaluđersko polje.¹¹³ Svakako je riječ o čestom i rasprostranjenom nalazu iz kasnog brončanog i starijeg željeznog doba na području istočne obale Jadrana i zaleđa.

U grobu 2 na Zmijnoj pronađeno je i devet obruča okruglog presjeka, od toga osam cijelih i jedan u ulomcima. Jedan obruč spojen je s još drugim trima (T. 2/5–10). Lančić od raznoliko povezanih obruča manjeg promjera, vjerojatno dio nekog predmeta,

ment of a saltaleone (Pl. 2/4).

A bronze button with a hoop was also found in Late Bronze Age grave 1 at the Zmijna cemetery.¹⁰⁵ Given its diameter, the button can be associated with variant 2, which is characterized by buttons with a minimum diameter of 1.5 cm.¹⁰⁶ Buttons with a domed head and hoop appear in graves dated to the Late Bronze Age along the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea, as evidenced by as many as 30 buttons found at Babino Polje on Mljet: seven larger ones and 23 with a diameter of 1.1 cm.¹⁰⁷ Domed buttons continue to appear throughout the Early Iron Age. There could have been several of them per grave at Glasinac,¹⁰⁸ and sometimes they are found together with fragments of saltaleones.¹⁰⁹ The finds from Gorica include four domed buttons with hoops;¹¹⁰ a tomb at the Crvenica – Ritke Liske site included two domed buttons with a diameter of 1.5 cm;¹¹¹ a tomb from Vašarovina near Livno included a small button with a diameter of 0.8 cm.¹¹²

The fragment of the saltaleone was probably part of a necklace or of a complex ornament that hung from a belt, as shown by the example of grave 7 in tumulus 2 at the Kaluđersko Polje cemetery.¹¹³ In any case, it is a common and widespread find from the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age at the eastern Adriatic coast and the hinterland.

Grave 2 at Zmijna included nine round-sectioned rings: eight complete and one fragmented. One ring was connected to three others (Pl. 2/5–10). Also, a chain made of variously connected small-diameter rings, likely part of an object, was found in a stone mound

¹⁰⁵ PERKIĆ et al. 2021: 76.

¹⁰⁶ LUCENTINI 1981: 81. sl. 3/26.

¹⁰⁷ MAROVIĆ 1969: 18–20, sl. 8/5; BATOVIĆ 1983: 315, 345, 362, sl. 24/5, T. XLIII/13–16; LI/3–4, 8; PERKIĆ 2010: 67, sl. na str. 71.

¹⁰⁸ Npr. BENAC, ČOVIĆ 1957: T. XXXIX/5.

¹⁰⁹ BENAC, ČOVIĆ 1957: T. II/8–10.

¹¹⁰ TRUHELKA 1902: 38, sl. 90.

¹¹¹ ČOVIĆ 1969: 35, sl. 11/8.

¹¹² MARIJAN 1986: 26, T. II/9.

¹¹³ DERIKONJIĆ 2010: sl. na str. 12.

¹⁰⁵ PERKIĆ et al. 2021: 76.

¹⁰⁶ LUCENTINI 1981: 81. Fig. 3/26.

¹⁰⁷ MAROVIĆ 1969: 18–20, Fig. 8/5; BATOVIĆ 1983: 315, 345, 362, Fig. 24/5, Pl. XLIII/13–16; LI/3–4, 8; PERKIĆ 2010: 67, Fig. on p. 71.

¹⁰⁸ E.g. BENAC, ČOVIĆ 1957: Pl. XXXIX/5.

¹⁰⁹ BENAC, ČOVIĆ 1957: Pl. II/8–10.

¹¹⁰ TRUHELKA 1902: 38, Fig. 90.

¹¹¹ ČOVIĆ 1969: 35, Fig. 11/8.

¹¹² MARIJAN 1986: 26, Pl. II/9.

¹¹³ DERIKONJIĆ 2010: Fig. on p. 12.

pronađen je i u kamenoj gomili iz Glogovika kod Herceg Novog.¹¹⁴ Na Glasincu su nizovi spojenih obruča izdvojeni kao privjesci tipa B.¹¹⁵ Lančić od spojenih manjih obruča pronađen je u grobu 1 tumula I iz Hrastovače koji se datira u fazu Glasinac IVc-2.¹¹⁶ Na groblju pod tumulima Borak brdo – Ždrijelo u grobu 2 tumula III pokraj glave pokojnice pronađen je lančić sastavljen od četiriju spojenih manjih obruča koji su okruglog ili D-presjeka. Na obručima se vidi kako su im krajevi bili spojeni. Grob je datiran u kasno brončano doba, u fazu Glasinac IIIb.¹¹⁷ U grobu iz Borajne nalazio se privjesak u obliku dvaju spojenih obruča. Kroz donji prolazi obruč s kojeg još vise četiri druga obruča. Pretpostavlja se kako je mogla biti riječ o privjesku koji je visio s neke od fibula.¹¹⁸ Spojeni obruči manjeg promjera mogu se nalaziti i kao privjesci na fibulama, posebno onima tipa Rusanovići čija nožica završava malim obručem kroz koji je provučen obruč koji je potom spojen s još nekoliko obruča.¹¹⁹ Lančići sastavljeni od manjih obruča mogu se pojavljivati i na fibulama drugih oblika.¹²⁰ Ovi nalazi pokazuju kako su obruči spojeni u lančić najčešće bili dio nekog predmeta, vjerojatno u funkciji privjeska ili na koje je neki drugi privjesak bio obješen te se mogu smatrati rasprostranjenim i kronološki manje osjetljivim nalazom.

ZAKLJUČAK

Na prostoru Nakovane, na padini brda Zmijne, pronađeni su ostatci groba koji se, na osnovi pronađenih nalaza, može datirati

at Glogovik near Herceg Novi.¹¹⁴ Rows of connected rings at Glasinac are classified as type B pendants.¹¹⁵ A chain made of connected small rings was found in grave 1 of tumulus I at Hrastovača, dating to the Glasinac IVc-2 phase.¹¹⁶ Grave 2 of tumulus III at the cemetery of Borak Brdo – Ždrijelo included a chain near the head of the buried female; it was composed of four connected small rings, which were circular or D-shaped in cross-section. The rings show evidence of their terminals being connected. The grave is dated to the Late Bronze Age, to the Glasinac IIIb phase.¹¹⁷ A grave in Borajna included a pendant in the form of two connected rings. The lower one is traversed by a ring that still has four other rings hanging from it. It is assumed that this could have been a pendant hanging from one of the fibulae.¹¹⁸ Connected small-diameter rings can also be found as pendants on fibulae, especially on those of the Rusanovići type, which have the foot ending with a small ring traversed by another ring, which is then connected to several other rings.¹¹⁹ Chains made of small rings can also appear on fibulae of other shapes.¹²⁰ These finds indicate that rings connected into chains were most commonly part of an object, likely serving as a pendant or on which another pendant was hung; they can be considered widespread and less chronologically sensitive finds.

CONCLUSION

The remains of a grave found on the slope of Zmijna hill in the Nakovana area can be dated to the Early Iron Age based on the finds.

¹¹⁴ PUŠIĆ 1962: 79, T. XI/18.

¹¹⁵ LUCENTINI 1981: 88, sl. 5/21.

¹¹⁶ BENAC, ČOVIĆ 1957: 19, T. XXXVII/16.

¹¹⁷ KOSORIĆ 1989: 136, 139, T. III/3.

¹¹⁸ ČOVIĆ 1980: 119, T. II/12.

¹¹⁹ Npr. BENAC, ČOVIĆ 1957: T. XXXV/1-2; XXXVIII/9; JEVTIĆ 1997: 306, sl. 12/1-2 itd.

¹²⁰ Npr. BENAC, ČOVIĆ 1957: T. XXXVII/7; MARKOVIĆ 1997: 326-327, T. II/5; III/1, 4 itd.

¹¹⁴ PUŠIĆ 1962: 79, Pl. XI/18.

¹¹⁵ LUCENTINI 1981: 88, Fig. 5/21.

¹¹⁶ BENAC, ČOVIĆ 1957: 19, Pl. XXXVII/16.

¹¹⁷ KOSORIĆ 1989: 136, 139, Pl. III/3.

¹¹⁸ ČOVIĆ 1980: 119, Pl. II/12.

¹¹⁹ E.g. BENAC, ČOVIĆ 1957: Pl. XXXV/1-2; XXXVIII/9; JEVTIĆ 1997: 306, Fig. 12/1-2 etc.

¹²⁰ E.g. BENAC, ČOVIĆ 1957: Pl. XXXVII/7; MARKOVIĆ 1997: 326-327, Pl. II/5; III/1, 4 etc.

u starije željezno doba. Ostaci pokojnika – četiri djeteta i šest odraslih neodredivog spola – nalazili su se u prirodnoj udubini koja je uz dulje rubove bila omeđena kamenjem, dok su se na kraćim stanama nalazile okomito postavljene kamene ploče. Središnji dio pokrivala su dva veća kamena bloka koja su označavala grob u prostoru, zbog čega je bio i jasno vidljiv. Ispod blokova su, osim ostataka pokojnika, pronađeni predmeti nakita i nošnje kao i keramički ulomci koji pripadaju najmanje četirima različitim posudama. Grob se nalazi u blizini mlađih kamenih gomila, dok je nešto južnije otkriven i ravni grob iz kasnog brončanog doba, što bi pokazivalo kako je prostor Zmijne bio nekropola stanovnika Grada tijekom dugog razdoblja.

Dosadašnje spoznaje upućivale su na to kako se tijekom starijeg željeznog doba na prostoru južnog Jadrana sa zaleđem grobovi na ravnom pojavljuju od 6. st. pr. Kr., odnosno predstavljaju mlađi način pokopavanja u odnosu na onaj pod gomilama. Također, smatra se kako se ovakav način pokopavanja pojavljuje pod utjecajem s područja Dalmacije i jugozapadne Bosne ili iz, možda, grčko-sredozemnog kruga.¹²¹ Na području Hercegovine prelazak na pokopavanje u ravnim grobovima datirao se od faze Glasinac Va.¹²² Otkriće u Nakovani pokazuje kako se grobovi na ravnom pojavljuju i mnogo prije.

U grobu 2 pronađeni su ostatci više pokojnika svih dobnih skupina. Ovakav način pokopavanja na južnom dijelu istočne obale Jadrana i zaleđa prakticirao se još od srednjeg brončanog doba,¹²³ što se nastavilo i tijekom kasnog brončanog i starijeg željeznog doba, kako to svjedoče grobovi pronađeni na ravnom na Zmijnoj.¹²⁴ Pretpostavlja se kako se pokopavanje više pokojnika u grob provodilo vjerojatno tijekom iste ili možda više

Human remains – four children and six adults of undetermined gender – were situated in a natural depression, bordered by stones along the longer edges, with erected stone slabs at the shorter edges. The central part was covered by two large stone blocks, which spatially marked the grave, making it clearly visible. Beneath the blocks, human remains were found together with jewellery and costume items and potsherds belonging to at least four different vessels. The grave is located near younger stone mounds; also, a flat grave from the Late Bronze Age was discovered more to the south, suggesting that the Zmijna area served as a necropolis for the inhabitants of Grad over a long period.

Current research indicates that, during the Early Iron Age, flat graves began to appear in the southern Adriatic region and its hinterland from the 6th century BC, meaning that they represent a younger funerary practice compared to mound burials. It is also believed that this funerary practice emerged under the influence from Dalmatia and southwest Bosnia or possibly the Greek-Mediterranean sphere.¹²¹ In Herzegovina, the transition to burial in flat graves is dated from the Glasinac Va phase.¹²² The discovery in Nakovana shows that flat graves appeared much earlier.

Grave 2 contained the remains of multiple individuals from all age groups. This funerary practice on the southern part of the eastern Adriatic coast and its hinterland was practised since the Middle Bronze Age,¹²³ continuing into the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages, as evidenced by flat graves found in Zmijna.¹²⁴ It is assumed that the burial of multiple individuals in one grave was probably conducted over the same or possibly several generations¹²⁵ and indicates ancestor worship.¹²⁶ Similar mortu-

¹²¹ MARIJAN 2001: 119–121, 134–135, 161.

¹²² ČOVIĆ 1987a: 639, fn. 304.

¹²³ DELLA CASA 1996: 87–88.

¹²⁴ PERKIĆ et al. 2021.

¹²¹ MARIJAN 2001: 119–121, 134–135, 161.

¹²² ČOVIĆ 1987a: 639, fn. 304.

¹²³ DELLA CASA 1996: 87–88.

¹²⁴ PERKIĆ et al. 2021.

¹²⁵ ČOVIĆ 1987b: 448, 469–470, 477; MARIJAN 2001: 43, 56, 122–124, fn. 410.

¹²⁶ MARIJAN 2001: 136–137.

generacija¹²⁵ te da svjedoči o kultu predaka.¹²⁶ Sličan je pogrebni tretman često dokumentiran i na glasiuačkom području, o čemu svjedoče rezultati istraživanja za koje su poznati rezultati antropoloških analiza. Smatra se da ovakav način pokopavanja vjerojatno upućuje na bliski odnos pokojnika.¹²⁷ Grobovi u kojima su pokopana dva ili više pokojnika upućuju na različite vrste društvenih veza između pokojnika, zbog čega je zajednica imala razloge za ovakav način pokopa, odnosno bilo je važno u pogrebnom tretmanu iskazati socijalnu povezanost između pokojnika, možda čak onu osobnu i emocionalnu.¹²⁸ Kroz danas dostupne interdisciplinarne analize bit će važno provjeriti postoji li i neka biološka povezanost između pokojnika čiji su ostatci pronađeni u grobu 2 na Zmijnoj.

U grobu 2, osim keramičkih ulomaka, pronađeni su samo predmeti ženskog nakita i nošnje koji bi se mogli datirati u kraj 7. i početak 6. st. pr. Kr., što bi odgovaralo kraju faze Glasinac IVc-1. Iako nedostaju podatci o funkcionalnoj poziciji nalaza, s obzirom na pokopavanje više pokojnika u grobu, usporedbe s drugim istovremenim nalazima upućuju na kulturni identitet za vrijeme starijeg željeznog doba na južnom dijelu istočne obale Jadrana sa zaleđem. Izdvaja se veći broj ulomaka dijademe/poramenice glasiuačkog tipa za koju se najbrojnije usporedbe pronalaze na eponimnom području, no poznate su i iz istočne Hercegovine (Gubavica) i Boke kotorske (Glogovik) te sjeverozapadne Albanije (sl. 5). Riječ je o predmetu koji je predstavljao dio ukrasa za glavu, s pretpostavkom kako su ga možda nosile djevojke koje su bile pred udaju ili su se tek udale,¹²⁹ dok je katkad riječ o poramenicama. Oba su predmeta

any treatment was often documented in the Glasinac area, as evidenced by excavation results that include anthropological analyses.

It is believed that such funerary practices probably point to a close relationship among the buried individuals.¹²⁷ Graves containing two or more individuals suggest various kinds of social relations between them, indicating that the community had its reasons for such funerary practices; it was important for the mortuary treatment to express social closeness of the deceased, and possibly even personal and emotional ties.¹²⁸ By using interdisciplinary analyses available today, it will be important to investigate whether there is any biological connection between the individuals whose remains were found in grave 2 at Zmijna.

Aside from potsherds, grave 2 contained only items of women's jewellery and costume, which could be dated to the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 6th century BC, corresponding to the end of the Glasinac IVc-1 phase. Although there is no data on the functional position of the finds, considering the burial of multiple individuals in the grave, comparisons with other contemporaneous finds point to a cultural identity during the Early Iron Age on the southern part of the eastern Adriatic coast and hinterland. There is a large number of fragments of a Glasinac-type diadem/sash, which has most parallels in the eponymous area, but there are also known parallels in eastern Herzegovina (Gubavica) and the Bay of Kotor (Glogovik), as well as northwestern Albania (Fig. 5). This object was part of a head ornament, with the assumption that it may have been worn by girls who were about to be married or had recently married,¹²⁹ and sometimes it functioned as a sash. Both objects were adorned with various

¹²⁵ ČOVIĆ 1987b: 448, 469–470, 477; MARIJAN 2001: 43, 56, 122–124, bilj. 410.

¹²⁶ MARIJAN 2001: 136–137.

¹²⁷ ČOVIĆ 1959: 78; GOVEDARICA 1978: 29–30.

¹²⁸ Npr. BOULESTIN, DUDAY 2006: 160–164; WENDLING 2020: 64–65; BOULESTIN 2022; BOULESTIN, COURTAUD 2022: 63–67 itd.

¹²⁹ TERŽAN 2021: 51–53.

¹²⁷ ČOVIĆ 1959: 78; GOVEDARICA 1978: 29–30.

¹²⁸ E.g. BOULESTIN, DUDAY 2006: 160–164; WENDLING 2020: 64–65; BOULESTIN 2022; BOULESTIN, COURTAUD 2022: 63–67 etc.

¹²⁹ TERŽAN 2021: 51–53.

bila ukrašena raznovrsnim motivima najmlađe faze lokalnog zapadobalkanskog geometrijskog stila.¹³⁰ S obzirom na kompozicije motiva, gotovo da i nema dva ista primjerka, pa se tako i ukrašeni ulomci iz groba 2 čine jedinstvenim. Motivi kojim su ulomci ukrašeni također upućuju na najmlađu fazu geometrijskog stila. Ostali su nalazi malobrojni, od kojih se može izdvojiti brončani praporac koji, poput dijademe/poramenice, upućuje na kulturnu povezanost s područjem istočne Hercegovine i dalje sve do Glasinca. Područje istočne Hercegovine tijekom starijeg željeznog doba, s obzirom na pronađene nalaze, smatralo se dijelom prostora rasprostriranja glasinacke kulture,¹³¹ dok su s druge strane nalazišta na ovom prostoru, kao i ona južno od Neretve, pripisana posebnoj južnojadranskoj skupini.¹³² Na osnovi posljednje analize zaključuje se kako su glasinacki utjecaji primjetni na prostoru sjevernog dijela istočne Hercegovine tijekom 7. i prve polovice 6. st. pr. Kr. (faze 2 i 3),¹³³ odnosno na područjima južne Dalmacije i istočne Hercegovine gdje se od početka 6. st. pr. Kr. razvijala zasebna kulturna pojavnost.¹³⁴ Tijekom faze 5 (5. – 4. st. pr. Kr.) počinje prevladavati materijalna ostavština sredozemnog podrijetla, dok lokalni oblici postaju sve slabije primjetni.¹³⁵ Usporedbe za nalaze dijademe/poramenice i praporca iz groba 2 potvrđuju kulturnu povezanost Pelješca tijekom početka starijeg željeznog doba sa širokim prostorom od Glasinca preko istočne Hercegovine, pa sve do Crne Gore i sjeverozapadne Albanije, što se prije isticalo izdvajanjem Glasinac-Mati kulturnog kompleksa.¹³⁶ Zaista se na ovom velikom prostoru mogu primijetiti mnoge sličnosti u pogrebnim običajima i materijalnoj ostavštini, no sasvim jasno prepoznaju

motifs characteristic of the youngest phase of the local West Balkan geometric style.¹³⁰ Regarding the compositions of the motifs, there are almost no two identical pieces, and the decorated fragments from grave 2 seem to be unique too. The motifs decorating the fragments also point to the youngest phase of the geometric style. Other finds are scarce but include a bronze bell-shaped pendant, which, like the diadem/sash, suggests cultural connections with eastern Herzegovina and further to Glasinac. During the Early Iron Age, the area of eastern Herzegovina, based on the discovered finds, was considered part of the territory of the Glasinac culture;¹³¹ on the other hand, sites in this area, as well as those south of the River Neretva, were associated with a distinct South Adriatic group.¹³² Based on the latest analysis, it has been concluded that Glasinac influences are noticeable in the northern part of eastern Herzegovina during the 7th and the first half of the 6th century BC (phases 2 and 3),¹³³ and that a separate cultural phenomenon developed in southern Dalmatia and eastern Herzegovina from the beginning of the 6th century BC.¹³⁴ During phase 5 (the 5th–4th century BC), material heritage of Mediterranean origin began to prevail, while local forms became less and less prominent.¹³⁵ Parallels for the finds of diadems/sashes and the bell-shaped pendant from grave 2 confirm that in the beginning of the Early Iron Age there was cultural connectivity between the Pelješac Peninsula and a wide area from Glasinac through eastern Herzegovina all the way to Montenegro and northwest Albania, as emphasized earlier by singling out the Glasinac-Mati cultural complex.¹³⁶ Indeed, this vast territory has many similarities in burial customs and material

¹³⁰ GAVRANOVIĆ 2020: 439.

¹³¹ ČOVIĆ 1982: 26; 1987a: 575–576, 633–634.

¹³² BATOVIĆ 1983: 357; 1986: 6; MARIJAN 2001.

¹³³ MARIJAN 2001: 44, 54, 64, 66, 71, 84, 146–151.

¹³⁴ MARIJAN 2001: 72, 84, 148, 150–151.

¹³⁵ MARIJAN 2001: 100–103, 149, 152.

¹³⁶ ČOVIĆ 1987a: 575, 642–643.

¹³⁰ GAVRANOVIĆ 2020: 439.

¹³¹ ČOVIĆ 1982: 26; 1987a: 575–576, 633–634.

¹³² BATOVIĆ 1983: 357; 1986: 6; MARIJAN 2001.

¹³³ MARIJAN 2001: 44, 54, 64, 66, 71, 84, 146–151.

¹³⁴ MARIJAN 2001: 72, 84, 148, 150–151.

¹³⁵ MARIJAN 2001: 100–103, 149, 152.

¹³⁶ ČOVIĆ 1987a: 575, 642–643.

se i lokalne posebnosti koje pokazuju kako je riječ o različitim zajednicama koje su intenzivno komunicirale te razmjenjivale svoja znanja i materijalnu ostavštinu te dijelile sličan kôd nošnje.¹³⁷

Rezultati budućih istraživanja groblja na Zmijnoj svakako mogu doprinijeti boljem poznavanju starijeg željeznog doba na južnom dijelu istočne obale Jadrana na kojem se mogu pratiti složeni pogrebni običaji i tretman pokojnika, dok materijalna ostavština svjedoči o dinamičnim društvenim komunikacijama i kulturnoj povezanosti među različitim zajednicama.¹³⁸

heritage, but there are also obvious local peculiarities, indicating that different communities communicated intensively, exchanged knowledge and material legacies, and shared a similar dress code.¹³⁷

The results of future research on the Zmijna cemetery can certainly contribute to a better understanding of the Early Iron Age on the southern part of the eastern Adriatic coast, where we can observe complex funerary practices and mortuary treatments, while the material legacy bears witness to dynamic social communication and cultural connectivity between different communities.¹³⁸

*Translation and proof-reading:
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¹³⁷ GAVRANOVIĆ 2018: 429–431, sl. 1.

¹³⁸ Ovaj je rad dijelom nastao u okviru projekta *Transformacije identiteta kroz prošlost* (TIPS) koji financira Europska unija – NextGenerationEU.

¹³⁷ GAVRANOVIĆ 2018: 429–431, Fig. 1.

¹³⁸ This paper was partly supported by the project *Transformation of identities through the past* (TIPS) funded by the European Union - NextGenerationEU.

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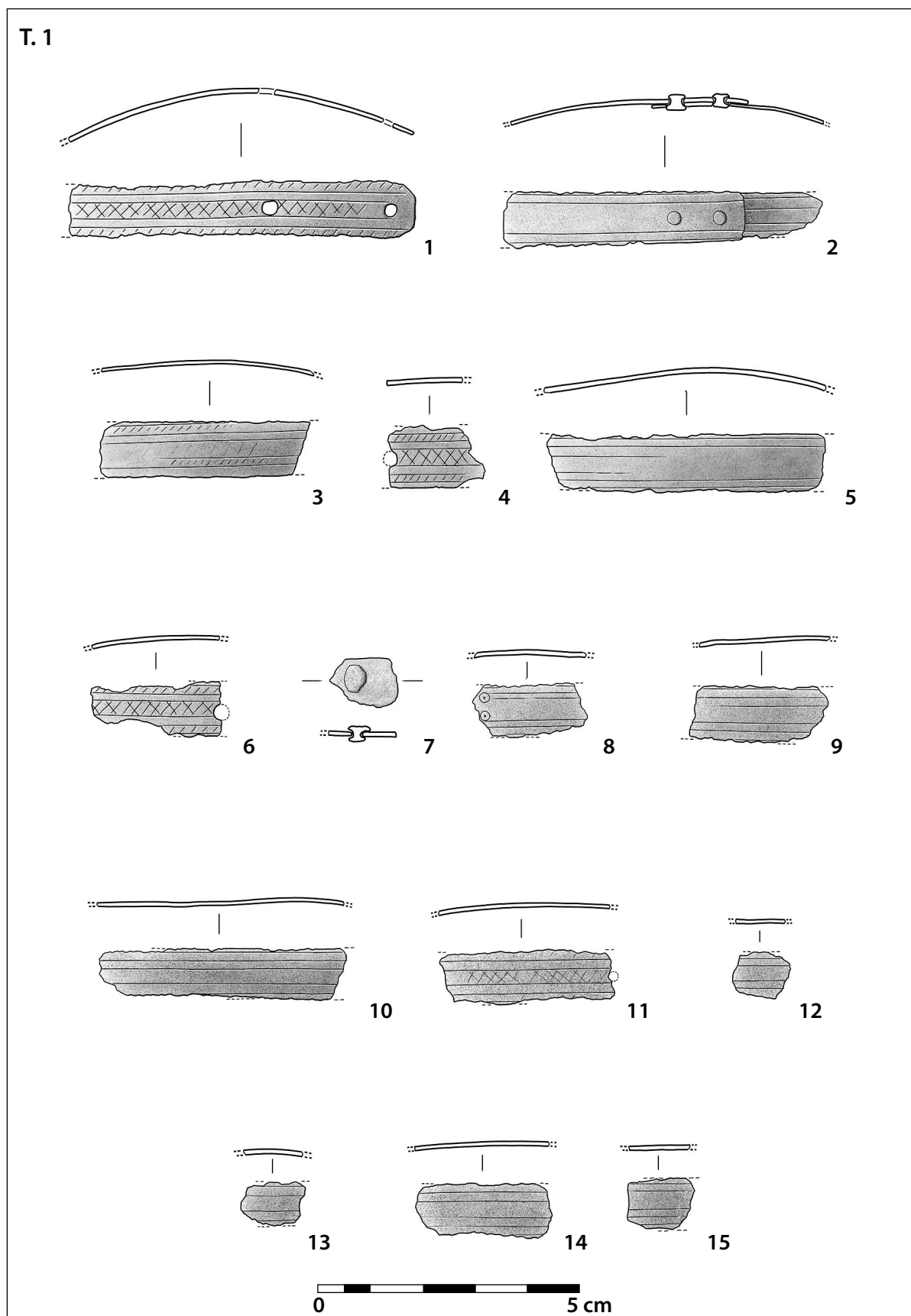


TABLA 1. *Ulomci brončane dijademe/poramenice iz groba 2 (crtež: M. Perkić; izradio: D. Perkić)*

PLATE 1 *Fragments of the bronze diadem/sash from grave 2 (drawing by M. Perkić; made by D. Perkić)*

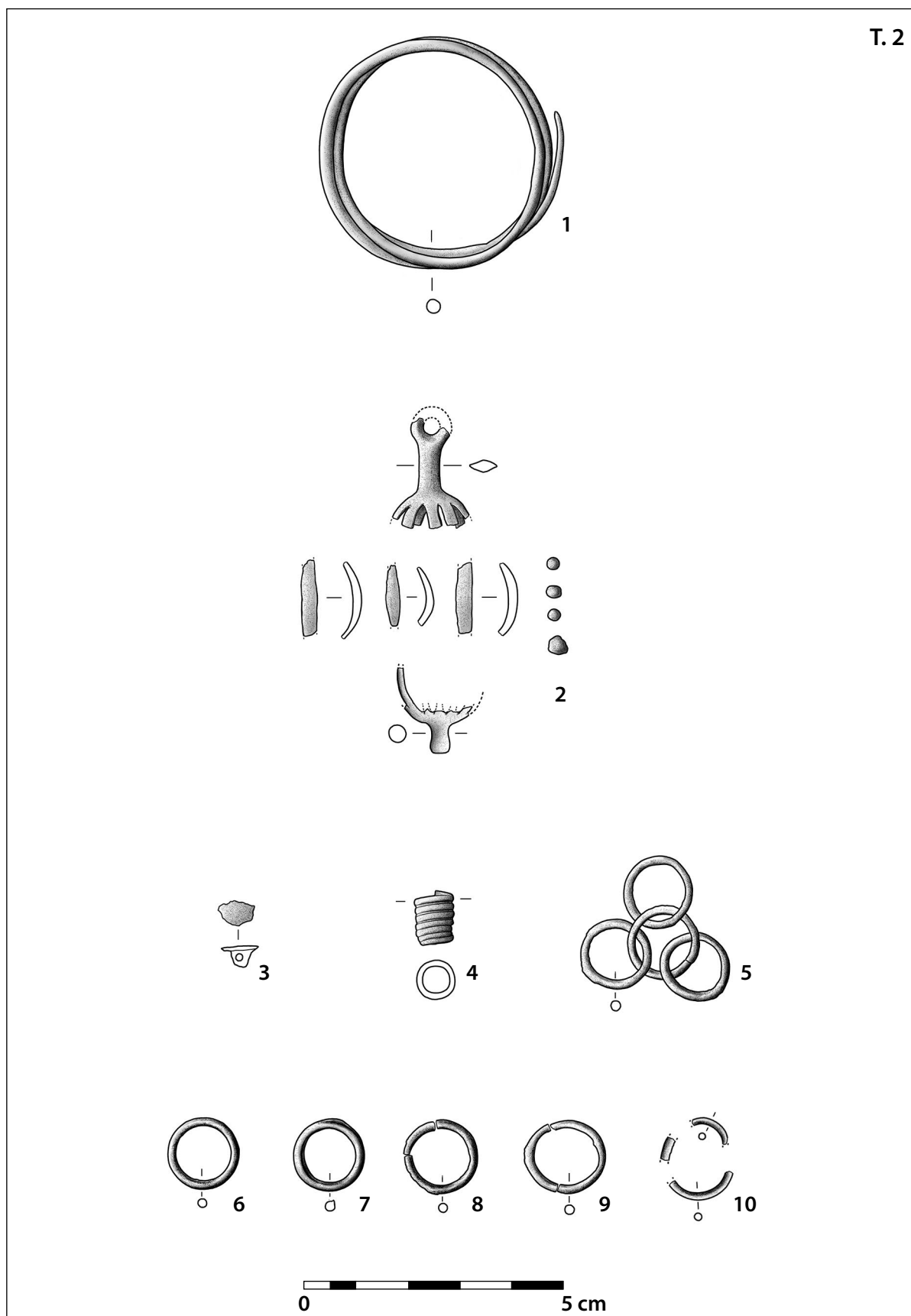


TABLA 2. *Drugi brončani predmeti iz groba 2* (crtež: M. Perkić; izradio: D. Perkić)

PLATE 2 *Other bronze objects from grave 2* (drawing by: M. Perkić made by D. Perkić)