

UDK 902  
ISSN 1330-0644  
Vol. 42/2  
ZAGREB, 2025.

# PRILOZI

Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu

Pril. Inst. arheol. Zagrebu  
Str./Pages 1-148, Zagreb, 2025.

PRILOZI INSTITUTA ZA ARHEOLOGIJU  
U ZAGREBU, 42/2/2025  
STR./PAGES 1–148, ZAGREB, 2025.

Izdavač/Publisher  
INSTITUT ZA ARHEOLOGIJU  
INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY

Adresa uredništva/  
Address of the editor's office  
Institut za arheologiju/Institute of archaeology  
HR-10000 Zagreb, Jurjevska ulica 15  
Hrvatska/Croatia  
Telefon/Phone ++385/(0)1 61 50 250  
Fax ++385(0)1 60 55 806  
e-mail: urednistvo.prilozi@iarh.hr  
<http://www.iarh.hr>

Glavni i odgovorni urednik/Editor in chief  
Marko DIZDAR

Tehnički urednici/Technical editors  
Marko DIZDAR  
Katarina BOTIĆ

Uredništvo/Editorial board  
Prapovijest/Prehistory:  
Marko DIZDAR, Institut za arheologiju, Zagreb,  
Hrvatska  
Snježana VRDOLJAK, Institut za arheologiju, Zagreb,  
Hrvatska  
Viktória KISS, ELTE RCH Institute of Archaeology,  
Budapest, Hungary  
Antika/Antiquities:  
Goranka LIPOVAC VRKLJAN, Institut za arheologiju,  
Zagreb, Hrvatska  
Ivan RADMAN-LIVAJA, Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu,  
Zagreb, Hrvatska  
Srednji vijek i novi vijek/Middle Ages and Modern era:  
Tajana SEKELJ IVANČAN, Institut za arheologiju,  
Zagreb, Hrvatska  
Katarina Katja PREDOVNIK, University of Ljubljana,  
Faculty of Arts, Ljubljana, Slovenia  
Natascha MEHLER, Eberhard Karls University of  
Tübingen, Tübingen, Germany  
Tatjana TKALČEC, Institut za arheologiju, Zagreb,  
Hrvatska  
Juraj BELAJ, Institut za arheologiju, Zagreb, Hrvatska  
Metodologija/Methodology  
Predrag NOVAKOVIĆ, University of Ljubljana, Faculty  
of Arts, Ljubljana, Slovenia

Izdavački savjet/Editorial advisory board  
Dunja GLOGOVIĆ, Zagreb, Hrvatska  
Ivor KARAVANIĆ, Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Filozofski  
fakultet, Odsjek za arheologiju, Zagreb, Hrvatska  
Kornelija MINICHREITER, Zagreb, Hrvatska  
Alexander T. RUTTKAY, Nitra, Slovakia  
Ivančica SCHRUNK, University of St. Thomas, St. Paul,  
Minnesota, USA  
Željko TOMIČIĆ, Hrvatska Akademija znanosti i  
umjetnosti, Zagreb, Hrvatska  
Ante UGLEŠIĆ, Sveučilište u Zadru, Odjel za  
arheologiju, Zadar, Hrvatska

Prijevod na engleski/English translation  
Pio DOMINES PETER, Mario GAVRANOVIĆ,  
Tamara LEVAK POTREBICA, Marko MARAS,  
Marina UGARKOVIĆ

Lektura/Language editor  
Marko DIZDAR, Katarina BOTIĆ (hrvatski jezik /  
Croatian)  
Tamara LEVAK POTREBICA, Marko MARAS (engleski  
jezik / English)

Korektura/Proofreads  
Katarina BOTIĆ

Grafičko oblikovanje/Graphic design  
Umjetnička organizacija OAZA

Računalni slog/Layout  
Hrvoje JAMBREK

Tisak/Printed by  
Tiskara Zelina d.d., Sveti Ivan Zelina

Naklada/Issued  
400 primjeraka/400 copies

Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu indeksirani su u/  
Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu are indexed by:  
DYABOLA – Sachkatalog der Bibliothek – Römisch-  
Germanische Kommission des Deutschen  
Archaeologischen Instituts, Frankfurt a. Main  
Clarivate Analytics services – Web of Science Core  
Collection  
CNRS/INIST – Centre National de la Recherche  
Scientifique/L'Institut de l'Information Scientifique et  
Technique, Vandoeuvre-lès-Nancy  
EBSCO – Information services, Ipswich  
ERIH PLUS – European Reference Index for the  
Humanities and Social Sciences, Norwegian  
Directorate for Higher Education and Skills, Bergen  
SciVerse Scopus – Elsevier, Amsterdam

E-izdanja. Publikacija je dostupna u digitalnom obliku i  
otvorenom pristupu na  
<https://hrcak.srce.hr/prilozi-iaz>  
E-edition. The publication is available in digital and  
open access form at  
<https://hrcak.srce.hr/prilozi-iaz?lang=en>

DOI 10.33254

Ovaj rad licenciran je pod Creative Commons  
Attribution By 4.0 međunarodnom licencom/  
This work is licenced under a Creative Commons  
attribution By 4.0 international licence  
<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>



# SADRŽAJ

## CONTENTS

Izvorni znanstveni radovi

Original scientific papers

- 5** MARIO GAVRANOVIĆ  
DŽENAN BRIGIĆ  
**Ostava metalnih predmeta  
s kraja brončanoga i  
početka željeznoga doba iz  
Markovišta, Husino kod Tuzle**

MARIO GAVRANOVIĆ  
DŽENAN BRIGIĆ  
Hoard of metal objects from  
the Late Bronze Age and the  
beginning of the Early Iron Age  
at Markovište, Husino near Tuzla

- 35** DARIA LOŽNJAK DIZDAR  
IVAN DRNIĆ  
PETRA RAJIĆ ŠIKANJIĆ  
**Prapovijesno groblje daljske  
grupe Vukovar Lijeva Bara –  
Paljevinski grobovi Ž27, Ž75,  
Ž79, Ž80 i Ž92**

DARIA LOŽNJAK DIZDAR  
IVAN DRNIĆ  
PETRA RAJIĆ ŠIKANJIĆ  
The Prehistoric cemetery of the  
Dalj Group at Vukovar Lijeva Bara  
– Cremation graves Ž27, Ž75,  
Ž79, Ž80, and Ž92

- 81** JANJA MAVROVIĆ MOKOS  
HRVOJE POTREBICA  
**Višeglave igle u nošnji istočnoga  
halštatskoga kruga**

JANJA MAVROVIĆ MOKOS  
HRVOJE POTREBICA  
Multi-headed pins in the Eastern  
Hallstatt attire

Prethodno priopćenje

Preliminary report

- 113** MARINA UGARKOVIĆ  
PIO DOMINES PETER  
**Novi oblici u isejskoj geometriji  
smrti: prvi podaci s istraživanja  
nekropole Vlaška njiva (2022. –  
2024.)**

MARINA UGARKOVIĆ  
PIO DOMINES PETER  
New shapes in Issa's geometry  
of death: first data from  
excavations at the Vlaška Njiva  
necropolis (2022–2024)

- 141** Upute autorima

Guidelines for contributors



# VIŠEGLAVE IGLE U NOŠNJI ISTOČNOGA HALŠTATSKOGA KRUGA

## MULTI-HEADED PINS IN THE EASTERN HALLSTATT ATTIRE

Izvorni znanstveni rad / prapovijesna arheologija

Original scientific paper / Prehistoric archaeology

UDK UDC 902:391.4''638''

Primljeno / Received: 09. 05. 2025. Prihvaćeno / Accepted: 10. 11. 2025..

[doi.org/10.33254/piaz.42.2.3](https://doi.org/10.33254/piaz.42.2.3)

### JANJA MAVROVIĆ MOKOS

Sveučilište u Zagrebu

Filozofski fakultet

Odsjek za arheologiju

Ivana Lučića 3

HR-10000 Zagreb

[jmavrovi@m.ffzg.hr](mailto:jmavrovi@m.ffzg.hr)

ORCID 0009-0003-8035-5935

### HRVOJE POTREBICA

Sveučilište u Zagrebu

Filozofski fakultet

Odsjek za arheologiju

Ivana Lučića 3

HR-10000 Zagreb

[hpotrebica@m.ffzg.hr](mailto:hpotrebica@m.ffzg.hr)

ORCID 0000-0002-5474-4254

U radu se donosi kronološki i tipološki pregled višeglavih igala koje su bile u uporabi tijekom cijelog razdoblja ranog halštata. Široko područje rasprostiranja govori u prilog činjenici da je ovakav tip igle bio prisutan u različitim halštatskim kulturnim skupinama, ali samo u muškim grobovima. Unutar prostora njihovog rasprostiranja, pojedini lokaliteti i kulturne skupine ističu se većom zastupljenošću tih igala u grobnim cjelinama. Svi autori koji su se bavili tipologijom zasnovali su svoje podjele na osnovi razvojnih oblika koji su postavljeni u određeni kronološki okvir temeljem ostalih grobnih priloga u zatvorenim cjelinama. Osim tipološke i kronološke podjele igala, u radu se razmatra i njihova funkcija. Osnovna funkcija igala je zatvaranje odjeće, ali u nekoliko slučajeva možemo naslutiti da su u grobnim kontekstima katkad imale i ulogu zatvaranja mrtvačkog pokrova kao i organskih omotača urni ili drugih vrlo važnih skupina nalaza. Bez obzira na kontekst, ostaje otvoreno pitanje je li ta mehanička funkcija zatvaranja tkanine ili kože bila i primarna funkcija višeglavih igala.

**KLJUČNE RIJEČI:** višeglava igla, starije željezno doba, istočni halštatski krug, muška nošnja

The paper presents a chronological and typological overview of multi-headed pins that were in use throughout the early Hallstatt period. The wide area of distribution supports the fact that this type of pin was present in various Hallstatt cultural groups, but only in male graves. Within the area of their distribution, certain sites and cultural groups stand out with large amounts of such pins in graves. All authors who have dealt with typology have based their divisions on the basis of developmental forms that are placed in a certain chronological framework on the basis of other grave goods in a closed context. In addition to the typological and chronological division of pins, the paper also considers their function. The main function of pins is to fasten clothing, but in a few cases we can infer that in grave contexts they sometimes played the role of binding the shroud as well as the organic wrappings of urns or other important groups of finds. Regardless of the context, the question remains open whether this mechanical function of fastening fabric or leather was also the primary function of multi-headed pins.

**KEY WORDS:** multi-headed pin, Early Iron Age, Eastern Halstatt Circle, men's costume



Copyright © Autori  
The Authors 2025

Open Access This work is distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>) which permits unrestricted re-use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited. Open Access Ovaj rad dijeli se prema odredbama i uvjetima licence Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>), koja dopušta neograničenu ponovnu upotrebu, dijeljenje i reprodukciju u bilo kojem mediju, pod uvjetom da je izvorno djelo ispravno citirano.

## UVOD

Višeglava igla je sastavni dio isključivo muške nošnje i nalazimo ju kao najčešći prilog u grobovima od kraja 9. do 7. st. pr. Kr. Krajem ranohalštatskog razdoblja, tj. početkom 6. st. pr. Kr. ona u potpunosti nestaje, a njeno mjesto u muškim grobovima zauzima fibula (Škoberne 2003: 207). Nalazimo ih u paljevinskim i kosturnim grobovima u kojima su najčešće ležale na desnom ramenu, rjeđe na lijevom (Teržan 1978: 58). Gornji dio ovih igala je karakterističan, a sastoji se od dva ili tri, rjeđe četiri zadebljanja u obliku kugle („glave“) koja mogu biti malo spljoštena ili bikonična (Řihovsky 1979: 229). Prostor između pojedinih glava može biti neukrašen/ravan, može imati jednostruka ili dvostruka zaobljenja ili naglašeno profilirana rebra (Řihovsky 1979: 229). Posebnu grupu čine višeglave igle s trubastim proširenjem koje se nalazi ispod najdonje glave, a smatra se da je služilo kao štitnik od nabiranja odjeće. Igle s diskoidnim rebrom, odnosno pločastim prstenom javljaju se kao prijelazni oblik prema iglama s trubastim završetkom (Řihovsky 1979: 229). Neke su višeglave igle imale i štitnike koji su šuplji kako bi se u njih mogao utaknuti vrh igle. Štitnici su oblikovani po istom principu kao i gornji dio igle, a sastoje se od tri dijela koja mogu biti okrugla, diskoidna ili rebrasto oblikovana, s time da srednji dio ima najveći promjer (Řihovsky 1979: 229). I ovdje međuprostor može biti neukrašen ili može imati bikonična rebra ili zaobljenja (Řihovsky 1979: 229). Postoje brončane, željezne i bimetalne višeglave igle.

## PODRUČJE RASPROSTIRANJA

Područje rasprostiranja višeglavih igala je prilično veliko, a nalazi ih se na širokom prostoru srednje i jugoistočne Europe te sjeverne Italije. S obzirom da višeglavu iglu nalazimo u gotovo svim skupinama istočnog halštatskog kruga i na samom Hallstattu, mnogi autori su pokušali kartirati njihovu distribuciju među kojima je za sada najdetaljniji bio T. Stöllner (2002: karta na predlistu; vidi i Gabrovec 1968: 175–177; Lunz 1974: T. 81A). Zapadnu granicu rasprostiranja zatvaraju sjeverni dijelovi Italije, s najvećom koncentracijom nalaza u pokrajini Veneto, ponajviše na teritoriju rasprostiranja Este kulture koja je ujedno bila i jedan od centara proizvodnje ovog tipa igala (Carancini 1975: T. 111E–112C, D, G; Guidi 1983: 30). Najzapad-

## INTRODUCTION

The multi-headed pin is an integral part of exclusively male costume and is found as the most common accessory in graves from the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC. At the end of the early Hallstatt period, i.e., at the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, it completely disappears, and its place in male graves is taken by the fibula (Škoberne 2003: 207). They are found in cremation and inhumation graves, where they most often lay on the right shoulder, less often on the left (Teržan 1978: 58). The upper part of these pins is characteristic, consisting of two or three, less often four, spherical thickenings ("heads") that can be slightly flattened or biconical (Řihovsky 1979: 229). The space between the individual heads can be undecorated/flat, can have single or double curves or pronounced profiled ribs (Řihovsky 1979: 229). A special group consists of multi-headed pins with a trumpet-shaped extension located under the lowest head, which is thought to have served as a protector against creasing of clothing. Pins with a discoid rib, or plate-shaped ring, appear as a transitional form to pins with a trumpet-shaped end (Řihovsky 1979: 229). Some multi-headed pins also had guards that are hollow in order to the tip of a pin could be inserted into them. The guards are shaped according to the same principle as the upper part of the pin, they consist of three parts that can be round, discoid or ribbed, with the fact that the middle part has the largest diameter (Řihovsky 1979: 229). Space between these parts can also be undecorated, or it may have biconical ribs or roundings (Řihovsky 1979: 229). There are bronze, iron and bimetallic multi-headed pins.

## AREA OF DISTRIBUTION

The distribution area of multi-headed pins is quite extensive, covering a broad region of Central and Southeastern Europe as well as Northern Italy. Since the multi-headed pin is found in almost all groups of the eastern Hallstatt circle and in Hallstatt itself, many authors have attempted to map their distribution, among which the most comprehensive work so far was done by T. Stöllner (2002: map in the preface; see also Gabrovec 1968: 175–177; Lunz 1974: Pl. 81A). The western border includes northern Italy, with the highest concentration of finds in the province of Veneto, mostly in the territory of the Este culture, which was also one of the centers of production and distribution of this type of pins (Carancini 1975: Pl. 111E–112 C, D, G; Guidi 1983: 30). The westernmost specimen comes from the Castello

niji primjerak potječe s lokaliteta Castello Valtravaglia koji se nalazi na području Golasecca kulture (Guidi 1983: 36). Sjeverozapadna granica je Bavarska, s time da sjeverno od Dunava nije zabilježen niti jedan nalaz igle s više glava (Škoberne 2003: 206). Na sjeveru se rasprostiru do doline Odre (Škoberne 2003: 207), dok najudaljeniju točku na sjeveroistoku predstavlja slovački lokalitet Nové Košariská (Pichlerová 1969: 179, T. XVII: 1; XXIV: 1; XLII: 3b; XLIX: 1). Istočni rub čine nalazi iz Batine (Nađ, Nađ 1964: 15) i Dalja (Vinski, Vinski-Gasparini 1962: 270). Napominjemo kako se nalaz iz Batine gotovo nigdje ne spominje u popisima nalaza i na kartama rasprostiranja višeglavih igala s trubastim završetkom. Južnu granicu obuhvaća područje istočnojadranske obale (Škoberne 2003: 207). Unutar ovih granica najviše igala s više glava pronađeno je na području Este kulture, svetolucijske grupe i u samom Hallstattu te ih zato A. Guidi navodi kao centre proizvodnje, ali i distribucije (Guidi 1983: 30).

## TIPOLOGIJA I KRONOLOGIJA

U tipološkom smislu svi autori koji su se bavili problematikom višeglavih igala naglašavaju kronološku razliku između igala bez i onih s trubastim završetkom. Izostanak trubastog završetka determinira ranije varijante višeglavih igala koje imaju prilično heterogene oblike (Gabrovec 1973: 343). Njihova rasprostranjenost nadilazi granice kulturnih krugova starijeg željeznog doba, što je rezultiralo s nekoliko različitih tipologija. U okviru sustavne analize višeglavih igala s trubastim završetkom, A. Guidi (1983) je razradio tipološku podjelu koja obuhvaća šest glavnih tipova, od kojih su pojedini dodatno razrađeni na podtipove. Ova klasifikacija temelji se na morfološkim razlikama između glava, broju i rasporedu prstenova te na regionalnoj rasprostranjenosti nalaza. Tip 1 obuhvaća igle s trubastim završetkom bez prstenova između glava. U podtipu 1a javljaju se primjerci s dvije glave, najčešće pronađeni u okviru Este kruga, Hallstatta i Fröga. Podtip 1b obuhvaća igle s tri glave čiji je središnji prostor rasprostranjenosti također vezan uz Este krug, ali se proteže i prema srednjem Podunavlju (Guidi 1983: 30). Tip 2 karakteriziraju višeglave igle s trubastim završetkom i prstenom smještenim ispod najdonje glave. U varijanti 2a s dvije glave, nalazi su najbrojniji u područjima Estea, Posočja i Hallstatta, dok se izolirani primjerci

Valtravaglia site in the Golasecca culture area (Guidi 1983: 36). The northwestern border is Bavaria, but there are no finds of multi-headed pins north of Danube (Škoberne 2003: 206). To the north they extend to the Odra valley (Škoberne 2003: 207), while the farthest point in the northeast represents the Slovak site of Nové Košariská (Pichlerová 1969: 179, Pl. XVII: 1; XXIV: 1; XLII: 3b; XLIX: 1). The eastern edge includes finds from Batina (Nađ, Nađ 1964: 15) and Dalj (Vinski, Vinski-Gasparini 1962: 270), with the Batina find rarely mentioned in distribution lists and maps of multi-headed pins with trumpet end. The southern border reaches the eastern Adriatic coast (Škoberne 2003: 207). Within these borders, the largest number of multi-headed pins was found in the Este culture area, the St. Lucia group, and in Hallstatt itself, which is why A. Guidi lists them as centres of production and distribution (Guidi 1983: 30).

## TIPOLOGY AND CHRONOLOGY

In a typological sense, all authors who have dealt with the issue of multi-headed pins emphasize the chronological difference between pins without and those with a trumpet end. The absence of a trumpet-shaped end determines the earlier variants of multi-headed pins, which have quite heterogeneous shapes (Gabrovec 1973: 343). Their distribution goes beyond the boundaries of the cultural circles of the Early Iron Age, resulting in several different typologies. A. Guidi (1983) developed a systematic typology of multi-headed pins with trumpet-shaped ends, distinguishing six main types, some with additional subtypes. This classification is based on morphological differences between the heads, the number and arrangement of rings, and their regional distribution. Type 1 encompasses pins with a trumpet-shaped terminal and without rings between the heads. Within subtype 1a, two-headed examples are recorded, most frequently found within the Este cultural sphere, at Hallstatt, and at Frög. Subtype 1b includes three-headed pins, whose principal distribution likewise centres on the Este group, although it also extends towards the Middle Danube region (Guidi 1983: 30). Type 2 is characterised by multi-headed pins with a trumpet-shaped end and a ring positioned beneath the lowest head. In subtype 2a, which comprises two-headed pins, the greatest concentration of finds occurs in the regions of Este, Posočje, and Hallstatt, while isolated examples are attested at Graz, Rifnik, and Dobova. Subtype 2b, defined by three heads, demonstrates the existence of three production centres – Este,

javljaju u Grazu, Rifniku i Dobovi. Podtip 2b s tri glave pokazuje postojanje triju središta proizvodnje – Este, Posočje i Hallstatt – što ukazuje na regionalnu specijalizaciju. Kod podtipa 2c, s četiri glave, dolazi do proširenja distribucije na područje međuriječja Save i Krke, posebice na lokalitet Novo Mesto (Guidi 1983: 31–32). Tip 3 obuhvaća igle s trubastim završetkom, jednim prstenom između glava te jednim ili više prstenova ispod najdonje glave. Podtip 3a ima tri glave i jedan prsten ispod najdonje glave, s najviše nalaza u Hallstattu, a zatim u Posočju, Esteu, Štajerskoj i Bologni. Podtip 3b se razlikuje po dvostrukim prstenovima ispod najdonje glave, od kojih je drugi širi i diskoidan. Podtip 3c pokazuje daljnji tipološki razvoj prethodnog oblika, s tri glave i trima prstenovima te označava širenje tipa prema jadranskom prostoru, osobito u Istri i Stični (Guidi 1983: 33–35). Tip 4 definiran je prisutnošću dvaju prstenova između glava. Podtipovi 4a (s jednim najdonjim rebrom) i 4b (s dvama najdonjim rebrima) nalaze se pretežito u zapadnim područjima, od Estea i Trentina do Štajerske i Hallstatta. Nasuprot tome, podtip 4c (s tri najdonja prstena) ima izrazitije jadransku distribuciju – Este, Picugi, istočna Austrija i Hallstatt (Guidi 1983: 35). Tip 5 čine igle s više narebrenih glava i trubastim završetkom. Podtip 5a nema prstenove između glava, dok 5b ima jednostruke prstenove između glava i dvostruke ispod najdonje glave (Guidi 1983: 36). Tip 6 predstavlja zasebnu morfološku skupinu igala s tri glave, pri čemu je manja glava smještena između dvaju donjih rebara, uz trubasti završetak kao zajedničko obilježje (Guidi 1983: 36). Ova tipološka razrada omogućuje praćenje morfološke evolucije višeglavih igala te njihovu prostornu i kulturnu povezanost unutar estenskog, halštatskog i jadranskog kulturnog kruga. Razlike među tipovima odražavaju šire procese kulturne razmjene te regionalne proizvodne tradicije, dok podtipovi ukazuju na postupne transformacije oblika i funkcionalnih elemenata uz širenje ili pomicanje prostora distribucije. Pri tome Guidijeva tipologija se uvijek temeljno referira na prostor sjeverne Italije.

F. R. Hodson (1990), baš kao i A. Guidi, donosi tipologiju koja se zasniva na razlikama u veličini i broju glava, kao i na razlikama u broju prstenova između njih. Razlike koje se pojavljuju u njihovim tipologijama ne proizlaze iz različitih mišljenja o razvojnom slijedu ili kronologiji, nego iz Hodsonove potrebe da modificira postojeće tipologije kako bi stvorio kategorije koje su

Posočje, and Hallstatt – indicating a degree of regional specialisation. Subtype 2c, consisting of four-headed examples, marks an expansion in the distribution area into the interfluvial zone of the Sava and Krka rivers, particularly at the site of Novo Mesto (Guidi 1983: 31–32). Type 3 comprises pins with a trumpet-shaped terminal, a single ring between the heads, and one or more rings below the lowest head. Subtype 3a features three heads and a single ring below the lowest head, with the highest concentration of finds at Hallstatt, followed by Posočje, Este, Styria, and Bologna. Subtype 3b differs in having double rings beneath the lowest head, the second of which is broader and discoid in form. Subtype 3c represents a further typological development of the preceding type, with three heads and three rings; it also signals the spread of this form toward the Adriatic region, particularly in Istria and Stična (Guidi 1983: 33–35). Type 4 is defined by the presence of two rings between the heads. Subtypes 4a (with a single lowest rib) and 4b (with two lowest ribs) are predominantly distributed across western areas, ranging from Este and Trentino to Styria and Hallstatt. In contrast, subtype 4c (with three lowest rings) displays a more pronounced Adriatic distribution, including Este, Picugi, eastern Austria, and Hallstatt (Guidi 1983: 35). Type 5 consists of pins with multiple ribbed heads and a trumpet-shaped terminal. Subtype 5a lacks rings between the heads, whereas subtype 5b features single rings between the heads and double rings below the lowest head (Guidi 1983: 36). Type 6 represents a distinct morphological category of pins with three heads, in which the smaller head is positioned between two lower ribs, while the trumpet-shaped terminal remains a defining characteristic (Guidi 1983: 36). This typological framework allows tracing the morphological evolution of multi-headed pins and their spatial and cultural interconnections within the Este, Hallstatt and Adriatic cultural spheres. The differences between these types reflect broader processes of cultural exchange and regional production traditions, while the subtypes indicate gradual transformations of form and function accompanied by shifts in expansion or distribution. A. Guidi's typology fundamentally refers to the area of northern Italy as its principal reference framework.

Like A. Guidi, F. R. Hodson (1990) presents a typology based on differences in the size and number of heads, as well as on the differences in the number of rings between them. The differences between Guidi's and Hodson's typologies do not arise from distinct views on chronological development

odgovarale njegovoj metodi korelacije i statističke obrade inventara (Hodson 1990: 23).

Ne treba zaboraviti niti da se njegova tipologija bazira isključivo na iglama nađenim u Hallstattu. Svi drugi autori koji se dotiču tipoloških karakteristika ovih igala u načelu više ili manje slijede opisane kategorije ili se na njih referiraju. T. Stöllner u načelu donosi istu tipologiju kao i F. R. Hodson (Stöllner 2002: 48, sl. 12), dok G. Tomedi dijeli igle na sljedeće razvojne stupnjeve: višeglave igle bez trubastog završetka, višeglave igle s pločastim prstenom koji je u funkciji trubastog završetka, višeglave igle s trubastim završetkom i višeglave igle s glavama od jantara (Tomedi 2002: 167–170). Najdetajniju podjelu višeglavih igala donosi M. Trachsel. Međutim, njegova podjela zasniva se na paralelama između grupe Este i zapadnog halštatskog kruga (Trachsel 2004: 266). Tako, prema njemu, višeglave igle obuhvaćaju relativnokronološki period od faze Este II B do faze Este III B2, s time da najraniju iglu s glavom u obliku gljive, datiranu u Este II B, zapadni halštatski krug ne poznaje (Trachsel 2004: sl. 165). Za Este II C stupanj, koji odgovara prijelazu Ha B3 na Ha C1 (oko 800. g. pr. Kr.), karakteristične su višeglave igle bez trubastog završetka (Trachsel 2004: 266). Stupanj Este III A (između 800. i 750. g. pr. Kr.) karakteriziraju igle s dvije ili tri glave i jednostavnim, koničnim trubastim završetkom, dok se u stupnju Este III B1 (između 750. i 700. g. pr. Kr.) javljaju igle s četiri glave i razvijenim, širim trubastim završetkom koje, zajedno s razvijenijim, baroknim formama, traju do u Este III B2 fazu, tj. do oko 650. g. pr. Kr. (Trachsel 2004: 266).

Većina autora se slaže da su najraniji oblici ovog tipa igala oni bez trubastog završetka. Njihovo porijeklo različiti autori različito tumače. J. Řihovsky smatra da su se razvile iz kasnobrončanodobnih čvorastih igala tipa Velemszentvid u području istočnih i jugoistočnih Alpa (Řihovsky 1979: 231). S druge pak strane S. Gabrovec njihov razvoj povezuje s iglama sa polukružno i stožastim glavama kao i s iglama s okruglim glavicama, koje datira u fazu Ljubljana II a (Gabrovec 1973: 343). S ovime se složio i Ž. Škoberne (2003: 207).

L. Nebelsick razmatra samo višeglave igle s trubastim završetkom (Nebelsick 1997: 95). Tako se, prema njemu, one ranije varijante javljaju u vrijeme starijeg halštata i traju do u srednji halštat (Nebelsick 1997: 95, sl. 40). Mlađe varijante, koje karakteriziraju plastična narebnja

but from Hodson's attempt to adapt the existing schemes to his method of statistical correlation and data processing (Hodson 1990: 23).

It should also be noted that his typology is based exclusively on pins from Hallstatt. All other authors who touch upon the typological characteristics of these pins in principle more or less follow the described categories or refer to them. T. Stöllner basically uses the same typology as F. R. Hodson (Stöllner 2002: 48, Fig. 12), while G. Tomedi divides the pins into the following developmental stages: multi-headed pins without a trumpet end, multi-headed pins with a plate ring that serves as a trumpet end, multi-headed pins with a trumpet end, and multi-headed pins with amber heads (Tomedi 2002: 167–170). The most detailed division of multi-headed pins is brought by M. Trachsel. However, his division is based on the parallels between the Este group and the Western Hallstatt circle (Trachsel 2004: 266). Thus, according to M. Trachsel, multi-headed pins appear from the Este II B phase to the Este III B2 phase, with the earliest mushroom-headed variant dating to Este II B, which has no parallels in the Western Hallstatt circle (Trachsel 2004: Fig. 165). For the Este II C stage, which corresponds to the transition from Ha B3 to Ha C1 (around 800 BC), multi-headed pins without a trumpet-shaped end are characteristic (Trachsel 2004: 266). The Este III A stage (between 800 and 750 BC) is characterized by pins with two or three heads and a simple, conical trumpet-shaped end, while the Este III B1 stage (between 750 and 700 BC) is characterized by pins with four heads and a developed, wider trumpet-shaped end, which, together with more developed, baroque forms, last until the Este III B2 phase, i.e., until around 650 BC (Trachsel 2004: 266).

Most of the authors agree that the earliest forms of this type of pin are those without a trumpet end. Their origin is interpreted differently by different authors. J. Řihovsky believes that they developed from Late Bronze Age knotted pins of the Velemszentvid type in the area of the eastern and southeastern Alps (Řihovsky 1979: 231). On the other hand, S. Gabrovec thinks that they developed from pins with semiglobular and conical heads, as well as those with round ones, which he dates to the Ljubljana II a phase (Gabrovec 1973: 343). Ž. Škoberne agreed with that (Škoberne 2003: 207).

L. Nebelsick considers only multi-headed pins with a trumpet end (Nebelsick 1997: 95). So according to him, those earlier variants appear during the Early Hallstatt period and last until the Middle Hallstatt (Nebelsick 1997: 95, Fig. 40). Later variants, characterized by plastic ribbing between the heads

između glava te središnje horizontalno rebro na glavama, javljaju se u srednjem halštatu i traju do u mlađi halštat (Nebelsick 1997: 95, sl. 40). Zanimljivo je napomenuti kako se ove mlađe varijante javljaju u izuzetno bogatim tumulima, s iznimkom lokaliteta Maiersch na kojem je takva igla nađena u grobu na ravnom terenu (Nebelsick 1997: 95–96).

U svojoj kronološkoj podjeli višeglavih igala baziranoj na nalazima iz Hallstatta, F. R. Hodson pojavu višeglavih igala smješta u svoj horizont H1A, u kojem su zastupljene one ranije varijante, točnije tipovi 4110 i 4120, koji se javljaju i u horizontu H1B (Hodson 1990: 58). Oba ova horizonta okvirno odgovaraju stupnju Ha C1 (Hodson 1990: T. 8). Pojava igle tipa 4130 karakteristična je za prijelaz ranog H1 horizonta u kasni H1, što odgovara prijelazu iz stupnja Ha C1 u Ha C2, s time da je ovaj tip igle zastupljen tijekom cijelog stupnja Ha C2 i jedan je od njegovih vodećih predstavnika (Hodson 1990: 59). Novost u horizontu H1C su igle tipa 4140 (Hodson 1990: 59), zadnji primjerci višeglavih igala pripadaju horizontu H1E, dok u ranom horizontu H2A (Ha D1) u potpunosti nestaju (Hodson 1990: 59). F. R. Hodson naglašava kako su igle bez prstenova između glava starije i datiraju se u rani H1 stupanj koji odgovara fazi Ha C1, dok su, analogno tome, igle s prstenovima između glava mlađe i karakteriziraju stupanj H1 kasni – Ha C2 (Hodson 1990: sl. 17).

## DISTRIBUCIJA I FUNKCIJA

Ako se podijele poznate višeglave igle na dvije osnovne tipološke i kronološke kategorije, može se primijetiti da višeglave igle bez trubastog završetka nalazimo na području Gornje i Donje Austrije, Štajerske, Koruške, sjeverozapadne Mađarske, sjeverne Italije, Slovenije i Hrvatske (Řihovsky 1979: 232–233). S druge strane, višeglave igle s trubastim završetkom mogu se smatrati glavnom odrednicom stupnja Ha C (Gabrovec 1968: 170). Prema S. Gabrovcu najveća koncentracija ovog tipa igala je u području Estea i Mosta na Soči, kojima se pridružuje i sam Hallstatt (Gabrovec 1968: 170). Njihovu brojnost u Koruškoj objašnjava uskom povezanošću Fröga s Mostom na Soči (Gabrovec 1968: 170). Ne treba zanemariti niti nalaz višeglave igle s tri glavice bez trubastog proširenja iz Mušje jame kod Škocjana koja se pripisuje tipu Minerba i na ovom prostoru vjerojatno datira u drugu polovicu 8. st. pr. Kr (Girelli 2016: 223).

and a central horizontal rib on the heads, appear in the Middle Hallstatt and persist into the Late Hallstatt (Nebelsick 1997: 95, Fig. 40). It is interesting to note that these later variants occur in exceptionally rich tumuli, with the exception of the Maiersch site where such a pin was found in a grave on flat terrain (Nebelsick 1997: 95–96).

In his chronological division of multi-headed pins based on finds from Hallstatt, F. R. Hodson places the occurrence of multi-headed pins in his H1A horizon, which contains the earlier variants, specifically types 4110 and 4120, which also occur in the H1B horizon (Hodson 1990: 58). Both of these horizons roughly correspond to the Ha C1 stage (Hodson 1990: Pl. 8). The appearance of the pin type 4130 is characteristic of the transition from the early H1 horizon to the late H1, which corresponds to the transition from the Ha C1 to the Ha C2 stage, with this type of pin being present throughout the entire Ha C2 stage and being one of its leading representatives (Hodson 1990: 59). A novelty in the H1C horizon are the pins type 4140 (Hodson 1990: 59), the last examples of multi-headed pins belong to the H1E horizon, while in the early H2A horizon (Ha D1) they completely disappear (Hodson 1990: 59). F. R. Hodson emphasizes that pins without rings between the heads are older and date to the early H1 stage corresponding to the Ha C1 phase, while, analogously, pins with rings between the heads are younger and characterize the late H1 stage – Ha C2 (Hodson 1990: Fig. 17).

## DISTRIBUTION AND FUNCTION

If we divide the known multi-headed pins into two basic typological and chronological categories, we can observe that pins without a trumpet-shaped end occur in Upper and Lower Austria, Styria, Carinthia, northwestern Hungary, northern Italy, Slovenia and Croatia (Řihovsky 1979: 232–233). On the other hand, multi-headed pins with a trumpet end can be considered one of the most prominent types of Ha C (Gabrovec 1968: 170). According to S. Gabrovec, the largest concentration of this type of pin is in the area of Este and Most na Soči, as well as Hallstatt itself (Gabrovec 1968: 170). According to S. Gabrovec, the abundance of these pins in Carinthia can be explained by the close connection between Frög and Most na Soči (Gabrovec 1968: 170). There is also the find of a three-headed pin without a trumpet-shaped extension from Mušja jama near Škocjan, attributed to the Minerba type and probably dating to the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC in this area (Girelli 2016: 223). On the contrary,

Suprotno tome, J. Řihovský smatra da najviše nalaza iz Slovenije dolazi iz međuriječja Save i Drave, od kuda se šire do Štajerske (Řihovský 1979: 235). U sjevernoj Italiji najveća koncentracija nalaza smještena je u pokrajini Veneto, južnom Tirolu i području oko jezera Como (Řihovský 1979: 235). Na istoku se pojedinačni nalazi mogu pratiti preko Hrvatske do Dunava i u zapadnu Mađarsku, dok na sjeveru dolaze do južne Moravske i zapadno preko Gornje Austrije, sve do Tirola i južne Bavorske (Řihovský 1979: 235).

## Hallstatt

Hallstatt nesumnjivo zauzima posebno mjesto kada je riječ o višeglavim iglama jer je to jedno od nalazišta s najvećim brojem višeglavih igala na kojem se ujedno nalazi i veći broj različitih varijanti. K. Kromer je objavio više od 130 primjeraka, s time da većinu čine višeglave igle s trubastim završetkom (preko stotinu komada), dok su one bez trubastog završetka zastupljene u znatno manjoj mjeri, samo 15 komada (Kromer 1959a: Tafelband).

Specifičnost halštatske nekropole jest da višeglave igle najčešće dolaze pojedinačno, a rjeđe u paru. Kada su u paru pretežno pripadaju istom tipu, što govori u prilog činjenici da pripadaju i istom horizontu. Kao primjer za to može poslužiti grob s oklopom 469 u kojem su pronađene igle tipa 4130, od kojih jedna pripada podtipu 4132, a druga podtipu 4131, zatim grob 14 s iglama tipa 4120, odnosno podtipovima 4121 i 4122, te naposljetku grob 912 čije obje igle pripadaju podtipu 4131 (Hodson 1990: T. 30: 1, 50). J. G. Ramsauer je tijekom sedamnaest godina iskopao sveukupno 980 grobova (Kromer 1959a: Tafelband). Od toga su u 99 grobova pronađene višeglave igle (Kromer 1959a: Tafelband), s time da iz samo sedam grobova potječu višeglave igle bez trubastog proširenja (Kromer 1959a: T. 78: 7; 133: 7; 139: 2; 141: 15; 180: 2; 182: 16; 187: 20). Od preostala 92 groba u kojima su pronađene višeglave igle s trubastim proširenjem, njih samo 13 bilježi nalaze igala u paru, a u 4 groba su nađene po tri igle. To znači da iz 75 grobova potječu pojedinačni nalazi višeglavih igala. T. Stöllner je napravio kronološko-tipološku podjelu iz koje je vidljivo da od ova već spomenuta 92 groba, njih 41 imaju nalaze starijih varijanti višeglavih igala s trubastim završetkom koje se datiraju u Ha C1 stupanj (Stöllner 2002: 453). Preostalih 51 ima-

J. Řihovský believes that most finds from Slovenia come from the confluence of the Sava and Drava, from where they spread to Styria (Řihovský 1979: 235). In northern Italy, the largest concentration of finds is located in the province of Veneto, South Tyrol and the area around the lake Como (Řihovský 1979: 235). In the east, individual finds can be traced across Croatia to Danube and into western Hungary, while in the north they reach southern Moravia and west across Upper Austria there are finds as far as Tyrol and southern Bavaria (Řihovský 1979: 235).

## Hallstatt

Hallstatt undoubtedly occupies a special position with regard to multi-headed pins, as it represents one of the sites yielding the largest number of such objects, as well as the widest range of their variants. K. Kromer published more than 130 specimens, the majority of which are multi-headed pins with trumpet-shaped ends—over one hundred examples—while those without a trumpet-shaped end are represented to a significantly lesser extent, numbering only 15 (Kromer 1959a: Tafelband).

A specific characteristic of the Hallstatt necropolis is that multi-headed pins most frequently occur singly, and more rarely in pairs. When they do appear in pairs, they predominantly belong to the same type, which supports the conclusion that they also belong to the same chronological horizon. An illustrative example is the grave with armour no. 469, in which pins of type 4130 were found—one belonging to subtype 4132 and the other to subtype 4131. The same applies to grave 14, containing pins of type 4120, i.e., subtypes 4121 and 4122, and finally to grave 912, in which both pins belong to subtype 4131 (Hodson 1990: Pl. 30: 1, 50). J. G. Ramsauer excavated a total of 980 graves over the course of seventeen years (Kromer 1959a: Tafelband). Among these, multi-headed pins were found in 99 graves (Kromer 1959a: Tafelband), of which only seven yielded pins without a trumpet-shaped extension (Kromer 1959a: Pl. 78: 7; 133: 7; 139: 2; 141: 15; 180: 2; 182: 16; 187: 20). Of the remaining 92 graves containing multi-headed pins with trumpet-shaped extensions, only 13 contained pins in pairs, while four graves yielded three pins each. This means that single examples of multi-headed pins come from 75 graves. T. Stöllner established a chronological and typological classification showing that, of the aforementioned 92 graves, 41 contained earlier variants of multi-headed pins with trumpet-shaped ends, which can be dated to the Ha C1 sta-

ju mlađe varijante ovih igala koje determiniraju stupanj Ha C2 (Stöllner 2002: 454). F. R. Hodson je na osnovi materijala iz grobnih cjelina napravio podjelu grobova prema društvenom statusu pokojnika (Hodson 1990: 81–83). Iz te podjele vidljivo je da su višeglave igle nosili svi slojevi društva, od onih najniže rangiranih, preko srednjeg staleža, do elite (Hodson 1990: 83, sl. 20). Međutim, relativno velik broj višeglavih igala na ovoj nekropoli kao i činjenica da se u većini grobova ta igla pojavljuje kao pojedinačni nalaz, govori o nošnji koja se u tom segmentu razlikuje od suvremenih nošnji istočnog halštatskog kruga, gdje je višeglava igla statistički daleko rjeđa i pojavljuje se uglavnom u paru. Čini se da je u Hallstattu višeglava igla bar u nekoj mjeri bila standardni dio muške nošnje, a ne statusni simbol kao u nekim drugim područjima. To bi u neku ruku objasnilo i njezino kronološki duže trajanje na ovom području tijekom cijelog stupnja Ha C. Međutim, veći broj igala (dvije ili tri) koji se pojavljuje u manjem broju grobova mogao bi imati i funkciju odrednice statusa. Tu se ističu dva dvojna, izuzetno bogata groba elite, G299 i G504, s čak tri višeglave igle (Hodson 1990: 82, T. 18: 33). U grobu 299 pronađene su igle podtipa 4111, 4122 i 4112, dok su iz groba 504 sve tri igle podtipa 4111, ali su različitih veličina (Hodson 1990: T. 18: 33). Iz groba 496 također potječu tri višeglave igle, od kojih dvije pripadaju podtipu 4112, dok je treća višeglava igla s diskastim zadebljanjem. Grob 697 također bilježi nalaz triju igala, dvije pripadaju podtipu 4141, a treća podtipu 4132 (Kromer 1959a: T. 92: 7–9; 127: 1–3).

## Kalenderberška skupina

Višeglave igle su poznate i na nalazištima kalenderberške skupine. Dvije brončane igle s dvije glave, prstenastim proširenjem i trubastim završetkom pronađene su u grobu 73 na lokalitetu Sopron – Burgstall (Patek 1993: T. 1–5). Odgovaraju tipu 4113 prema Hodsonu (Hodson 1990: 114), na osnovi čega se datiraju na prijelaz stupnjeva Ha B3 na Ha C1 (Hodson 1990: sl. 17, T. 8). U izuzetno bogatom tumulu I lokaliteta Vaskeresztes pronađene su dvije brončane igle s četiri glave, plastičnim narebnjenjima između glava, trubastim završetkom i brončanim profiliranim štitnicima (Fekete 1985: sl. 11: 1–2) koje okvirno tipološki odgovaraju Hodsonovom tipu 4140 (Hodson 1990: 114). Grob se datira u vrijeme podstupnja Stična-Novo Mesto 1, od-

ge (Stöllner 2002: 453). The remaining 51 graves contained later variants, characteristic of the Ha C2 stage (Stöllner 2002: 454). F. R. Hodson, on the basis of material from the grave complexes, developed a classification of burials according to the social status of the deceased (Hodson 1990: 81–83). This analysis demonstrates that multi-headed pins were worn by all strata of society—from the lowest-ranked individuals, through the middle class, to the elite (Hodson 1990: 83, Fig. 20). However, the relatively large number of multi-headed pins in this necropolis, and the fact that in most graves they appear as single finds, points to a costume tradition that in this respect differs from that of the contemporary eastern Hallstatt circle, where multi-headed pins are statistically far rarer and generally appear in pairs. It seems that in Hallstatt the multi-headed pin was, at least to some extent, a standard element of male dress rather than a status symbol, as it was in some other regions. This would partly explain its longer chronological persistence in this area throughout the entire Ha C stage. Nevertheless, the occurrence of a greater number of pins (two or three) in a smaller number of graves could also have functioned as an indicator of social status. Two twin, exceptionally rich elite burials stand out in this respect—graves G299 and G504—each containing as many as three multi-headed pins (Hodson 1990: 82, Pl. 18: 33). In grave 299, pins of subtypes 4111, 4122, and 4112 were found, while grave 504 contained three pins of subtype 4111, differing only in size (Hodson 1990: Pl. 18: 33). Grave 496 also yielded three multi-headed pins, two belonging to subtype 4112 and one being a multi-headed pin with a disc-shaped thickening, and grave 697 likewise contained three pins—two of subtype 4141 and one of subtype 4132 (Kromer 1959a: Pl. 92: 7–9; 127: 1–3).

## The Kalenderberg Group

Multi-headed pins are also known from sites belonging to the Kalenderberg group. Two bronze pins with two heads, a ring-shaped expansion, and a trumpet-shaped end were discovered in grave 73 at the site of Sopron – Burgstall (Patek 1993: Pl. 1–5). These correspond to Hodson's type 4113 (Hodson 1990: 114), on the basis of which they are dated to the transition between the Ha B3 and Ha C1 stages (Hodson 1990: Fig. 17, Pl. 8). In the exceptionally rich tumulus I at the site of Vaskeresztes, two bronze pins with four heads, plastic ribbing between the heads, trumpet-shaped ends, and profiled bronze guards were found (Fekete 1985: Fig. 11: 1–2). Typologically, they approximately correspond to

nosno u horizont Ha C2 (Fekete 1985: 74–76). U poznatom grobu Hexenhügel kod Krensdorfa u monumentalnoj drvenoj komori je, među ostalim nalazima, pronađena i zanimljiva željezna višeglava igla s tri glave i prstenastim proširenjem umjesto trubastog završetka, bogato ukrašena brončanim tauširanjem (Kaus 1984: 69, sl. 9). I na groblju u Statzendorfu pronađene su tri brončane i dvije željezne višeglave igle. Sve tri brončane igle (iz grobova A027, A061 i B049) imaju tri glave, ali su različiti tipovi, dok se željezne igle (iz grobova A091 i C081) zbog loše očuvanosti ne mogu pobliže odrediti (Rebay 2006: 174). Na prostoru ove skupine višeglave su igle su rijetke, nalaze se u paru i očigledno imaju funkciju statusnog markera jer su najčešće u izuzetno bogatim grobovima. U tu kategoriju svakako treba u brojiti i nalaz tauširane željezne igle iz Hexenhügela koja nije u paru, ali je zato luksuzno izrađeni unikat. Izuzetak je groblje u Statzendorfu gdje se u grobovima pojavljuju pojedinačne višeglave igle. Međutim, u toj nekropoli nema izrazite društvene diferencijacije i istaknute elite, pa bi i ovih pet primjeraka, što ih čini relativno rijetkim nalazom unutar nekropole, mogle imati ulogu statusnog markera.

## Sulmtalska skupina

Zanimljivo je napomenuti kako su višeglave igle jedini do sada poznati oblici igala koji su nađeni u Kleinkleinu (Dobiat 1980: 147). Javlja se u fazi 1 koja kronološki odgovara prijelazu Podzemelj 1/2, odnosno Ha B3/C1 (Dobiat 1980: 168). Već se u fazi 2, koja je paralelna sa stupnjem Stična-Novo Mesto 1, polako gube, a kopljica postaju sve češći prilog u muškim grobovima (Dobiat 1980: 169). Sve višeglave igle s trubastim završetkom datiraju se u stupanj Podzemelj 2, dok se igla bez trubastog završetka, iz tumula Höschusterwald 47, datira u stupanj Podzemelj 1 (Dobiat 1980: 168). Tijekom devedesetih godina prošlog stoljeća, na nekropoli Masser – Kreuzbauer pronađena je još jedna višeglava igla u žarnom grobu Kaiserschneiderwald 123A (Bernhard, Weihs 2003: 15, 72). Riječ je o fragmentiranoj brončanoj igli čija je gornja glava izrazito spljoštena, a donja okrugla (Bernhard, Weihs 2003: T. 47: 2). Nađen je i konični koštani štitnik igle (Bernhard, Weihs 2003: T. 47: 4). Na obje glave su uočene precizno izrađene rupe, zbog čega je zaključeno da su iste bile nataknete na korpus igle, a ne izli-

Hodson's type 4140 (Hodson 1990: 114). The grave is dated to the Stična-Novo Mesto 1 subphase, that is, to the Ha C2 horizon (Fekete 1985: 74–76). In the well-known Hexenhügel grave near Krensdorf, within a monumental wooden chamber, among other finds there was an unusual iron multi-headed pin with three heads and a ring-shaped expansion instead of a trumpet-shaped end, richly decorated with bronze inlay (Kaus 1984: 69, Fig. 9). At the cemetery of Statzendorf, three bronze and two iron multi-headed pins were also found. The three bronze pins (from graves A027, A061, and B049) each have three heads, although they belong to different types, while the iron pins (from graves A091 and C081) cannot be precisely classified due to their poor state of preservation (Rebay 2006: 174). Within the area of this group, multi-headed pins are rare; they usually occur in pairs and evidently functioned as status markers, as they are most often found in exceptionally rich burials. Into this category one should certainly include the inlaid iron pin from Hexenhügel, which, although not found in a pair, is a luxuriously crafted unique piece. The cemetery at Statzendorf represents an exception, as in its graves multi-headed pins occur singly. However, since this necropolis lacks clear social stratification and a distinct elite, even these five examples—being relatively rare within the cemetery—may have served as indicators of social status.

## The Sulmtal Group

It is interesting to note that multi-headed pins are the only forms of pins discovered so far at Kleinklein (Dobiat 1980: 147). They appear in Phase 1, which chronologically corresponds to the transition Podzemelj 1/2, i.e., the Ha B3/C1 stage (Dobiat 1980: 168). Already in Phase 2, parallel to the Stična-Novo Mesto 1 stage, they gradually disappear, while spearheads become increasingly common as grave goods in male burials (Dobiat 1980: 169). All multi-headed pins with trumpet-shaped ends are dated to the Podzemelj 2 stage, whereas the pin without a trumpet-shaped end from tumulus Höschusterwald 47 is dated to Podzemelj 1 (Dobiat 1980: 168). During the 1990s, another multi-headed pin was discovered in the cremation grave Kaiserschneiderwald 123A at the Masser – Kreuzbauer necropolis (Bernhard, Weihs 2003: 15, 72). It is a fragmentary bronze pin with an upper head that is markedly flattened and a lower one that is rounded (Bernhard, Weihs 2003: Pl. 47: 2). A conical bone guard for the pin was also found (Bernhard, Weihs 2003: Pl. 47: 4). Precisely drilled holes were

vene u komadu (Bernhard, Weihs 2003: 72–73). U grobu su još pronađene dvije posude, keramička situla, brončana perla, te željezni prsten (Bernhard, Weihs 2003: 136). Grob je datiran u stupanj Ha C1 (Bernhard, Weihs 2003: 73). I u ovoj skupini igle se pojavljuju rijetko i to uvijek u istaknutim grobovima koji se prema nalazima mogu pripisati muškarcima. Pojavljuju se samo u najranijim fazama starijeg željeznog doba, dok ih kasnije nema.

### Koruška kupina

U Frögu su pronađene dvije višeglave igle bez trubastog završetka (Tomedi 2002: 167, T. 16B; 86B), s time da je igla iz tumula 202 izgubljena. G. Tomedi se slaže s Gabrovčevom datacijom spomenutih igala u vrijeme stupnja Ljubljana IIb (Tomedi 2002: 79, 168). Jedna višeglava igla s pločastim prstenom koji je u funkciji trubastog završetka potječe iz groba 1 tumula 181 (Tomedi 2002: 168). Dvije igle s trubastim završetkom pronađene su u grobu 2 tumula 170 i u grobu 1 tumula 88, dok je u grobu 1 tumula 272 pronađena višeglava igla s glavama od jantara (Tomedi 2002: 169–170, T. 82C; 63B; 91E1). I u ovoj skupini višeglave igle su rijetke i pronalaze se samo u elitnim grobovima, pa ih se može smatrati statusnim oznakama, što najbolje ilustrira pronalazak višeglave igle s jantarnim glavama. Zanimljivo je da se ovdje pojavljuju i rijetki raniji oblici kao pojedinačni nalaz unutar groba, dok standardna igla s trubastim završetkom dolazi u paru.

### Dolenjska skupina

Najraniji oblici višeglavih igala, troglave igle bez trubastog završetka, javljaju se u Dolenjskoj u podstupnju Podzemelj 1/Ljubljana IIb (Gabrovec 1973: 343). Podstupanj Podzemelj 2/Ljubljana IIIa već karakteriziraju višeglave igle s trubastim završetkom (Gabrovec 1973: 345). U stupnju Stična višeglava igla je i dalje sastavni dio muške nošnje, s time da se sada pojavljuju njezini razvijeniji oblici ili tip koji ima glavice od jantara, dok se u stupnju zmijolikih fibula umjesto igala počinju u muškim grobovima javljati fibule (Gabrovec 1987: 48). U Brezju je od ukupno šest iskopanih tumula, u kojima je ukupno pronađeno 196 grobova, višeglava igla pronađena u samo jednom grobu. Riječ je o grobu 5 iz tumula 6 (Kromer 1959b: 60). Višeglava igla je brončana, s trubastim završetkom (Kromer 1959b: T.

observed on both heads, leading to the conclusion that they had been fitted onto the pin's shaft rather than cast in one piece (Bernhard, Weihs 2003: 72–73). Additional grave goods included two vessels, a ceramic situla, a bronze bead, and an iron ring (Bernhard, Weihs 2003: 136). The grave is dated to the Ha C1 stage (Bernhard, Weihs 2003: 73). In this group as well, multi-headed pins occur rarely and only in prominent graves that, on the basis of accompanying finds, can be attributed to male individuals. They appear solely in the earliest phases of the Early Iron Age and disappear thereafter.

### The Carinthian Group

In Frög, two multi-headed pins without trumpet-shaped ends were discovered (Tomedi 2002: 167, Pl. 16B; 86B), although the pin from tumulus 202 has since been lost. G. Tomedi agrees with S. Gabrovec's dating of these pins to the Ljubljana IIb stage (Tomedi 2002: 79, 168). One multi-headed pin with a plate-like ring functioning as a trumpet-shaped end originates from grave 1 of tumulus 181 (Tomedi 2002: 168). Two pins with trumpet-shaped ends were found in grave 2 of tumulus 170 and in grave 1 of tumulus 88, while a multi-headed pin with amber heads was discovered in grave 1 of tumulus 272 (Tomedi 2002: 169–170, Pl. 82C; 63B; 91E1). In this group, too, multi-headed pins are rare and occur exclusively in elite graves, allowing them to be regarded as indicators of social status—the best example being the multi-headed pin with amber heads. It is noteworthy that in this area rare earlier forms appear as single finds within graves, whereas the standard pin with a trumpet-shaped end generally occurs in pairs.

### The Dolenjska Group

The earliest forms of multi-headed pins—three-headed pins without a trumpet-shaped end—appear in Dolenjska during the subphase Podzemelj 1/Ljubljana IIb (Gabrovec 1973: 343). The subsequent subphase Podzemelj 2/Ljubljana IIIa is already characterized by multi-headed pins with a trumpet-shaped end (Gabrovec 1973: 345). In the Stična phase, the multi-headed pin remains an integral part of male attire, although more developed forms now appear, including variants with amber heads. In the phase of serpent-shaped fibulae, however, fibulae begin to replace pins in male graves (Gabrovec 1987: 48). At Brezje, among six excavated tumuli containing a total of 196 graves, a multi-headed pin was found in only one grave—grave 5 from

18: 2) i pripada tipu 2c prema A. Guidiu. Međutim, u slučaju groba 5 vjerojatno je riječ o poremećenoj grobnoj cjelini, odnosno o drugom grobu koji prilikom iskopavanja nije zapažen, na što upućuju grobni prilozi koji pripadaju različitim kronološkim horizontima (Kromer 1959b: 60). To je razlog zbog čega je K. Kromer zdjelastu kacigu iz groba 5 pripisao mlađem horizontu grobova (Kromer 1959b: 76). Zdjelaste kacige grupe Brezje datiraju se u stupanj Podzemelj 2, a uz njih se nalaze koplja (jedno do tri), jednostavne višeglave igle s trubastim završetkom i keramičke posude (Škoberne 1999: 92). Ako pogledamo nalaze koji pripadali 'starijem' grobu 5 na Brezju (višeglava igla, brončani i željezni vršak koplja, dijelovi zdjelaste kacige i tri keramičke posude), može se zaključiti da se radi o bogatom grobu pripadnika „elite ratnika s kacigama“ (Škoberne 1999: 99) u Dolenjskoj. I u Dragatušu je od 60 grobova iskopanih na lokalitetu Veliki Narejac višeglava igla pronađena u samo jednom – grobu 56 (Spitzer 1973: T. 15: 3). Radi se o brončanoj višeglavoj igli s trubastim završetkom koja pripada tipu 4113 prema F. R. Hodsonu te se zbog toga datira u stupanj H1A, što odgovara početku horizonta Ha C1 (Hodson 1990: 58, T. 8). Isti je slučaj u Magdalenskoj gori. Jedina višeglava igla pronađena je u grobu 3 tumula 6 (Hencken 1978: 42). Riječ je o višeglavoj igli s trubastim završetkom (Hencken 1978: sl. 176) koja pripada tipu 2c prema A. Guidiu. U ovom su grobu, osim igle, pronađeni još i kameni brus, brončana perla ukrašena kružnim ornamentom te crvena posuda na nozi (Hencken 1978: 42), no S. Tecco Hvala navodi kako je riječ o samo djelomično pouzdanoj grobnoj cjelini (Tecco Hvala 2012: 427). Na osnovi grobnih priloga H. Hencken grob datira u prijelaz stupnja Stična 1 u Stična 2, tj. oko 600. g. pr. Kr. (Hencken 1978: 42), što je, prema sadašnjem stupnju istraživanja, izuzetno niska i neprihvatljiva kronologija. Ovaj tip igle se prema M. Trachselu javlja na prijelazu stupnjeva Ha C1/C2, odnosno između 750. i 700. g. pr. Kr. (Trachsel 2004: sl. 165). S. Tecco Hvala napominje kako se ovakvi oblici najčešće pojavljuju u izuzetno bogatim grobovima, a datiraju se u vrijeme stupnja Ha C (Tecco Hvala 2012: 194). S lokaliteta Kandija, iz poznatog groba s tronošcem, potječe brončana višeglava igla s trubastim završetkom i četiri jantarne glave (Gabrovec 1968: 160). Prema ostalim grobnim priložima razvidno je da se radi o izuzetno bogatom grobu koji se datira u horizont kneževskih grobova iz stupnja Stična–Novo Mesto, odnosno

tumulus 6 (Kromer 1959b: 60). The pin is bronze with a trumpet-shaped end (Kromer 1959b: Pl. 18: 2) and belongs to type 2c according to A. Guidi. However, in the case of grave 5, it is likely that the burial assemblage was disturbed, or that another grave, unrecognized during excavation, was present—this is suggested by the grave goods, which belong to different chronological horizons (Kromer 1959b: 60). This is also the reason why K. Kromer attributed the bowl-shaped helmet from grave 5 to a later group of burials (Kromer 1959b: 76). The bowl-shaped helmets of the Brezje group are dated to the Podzemelj 2 stage, and are accompanied by one to three spears, simple multi-headed pins with trumpet-shaped ends, and ceramic vessels (Škoberne 1999: 92). If we examine the finds belonging to the “older” grave 5 at Brezje (the multi-headed pin, bronze and iron spearheads, parts of a bowl-shaped helmet, and three ceramic vessels), we can conclude that this was a rich grave of a member of the “helmeted warrior elite” (Škoberne 1999: 99) in Dolenjska. At Dragatuš, among 60 excavated graves at the site of Veliki Narejac, a multi-headed pin was likewise found in only one case—grave 56 (Spitzer 1973: Pl. 15: 3). It is a bronze multi-headed pin with a trumpet-shaped end belonging to type 4113 according to F. R. Hodson, and therefore dated to stage H1A, corresponding to the beginning of the Ha C1 horizon (Hodson 1990: 58, Pl. 8). The same situation is observed at Magdalenska gora. A single multi-headed pin was found in grave 3 of tumulus 6 (Hencken 1978: 42). This is a multi-headed pin with a trumpet-shaped end (Hencken 1978: Fig. 176) corresponding to A. Guidi's type 2c. In addition to the pin, this grave contained a whetstone, a bronze bead decorated with circular ornamentation, and a red-footed vessel (Hencken 1978: 42). However, S. Tecco Hvala notes that the grave assemblage is only partially reliable (Tecco Hvala 2012: 427). Based on the accompanying grave goods, H. Hencken dated the burial to the transition between the Stična 1 and Stična 2 phases, around 600 BC (Hencken 1978: 42), which, according to the current state of research, represents an excessively low and unacceptable chronology. According to M. Trachsel, this type of pin appears at the transition between the Ha C1 and Ha C2 stages, i.e., between 750 and 700 BC (Trachsel 2004: Fig. 165). S. Tecco Hvala emphasizes that such forms most frequently occur in exceptionally rich graves and are dated to the Ha C stage (Tecco Hvala 2012: 194). From the site of Kandija, a bronze multi-headed pin with a trumpet-shaped end and four amber heads originates from the well-known grave with a tripod (Gabrovec 1968:

u stupanj Ha C2 (Gabrovec 1968: 160, 174). Druge dvije brončane višeglave igle potječu s lokaliteta Kapiteljska njiva (Knez 1993: 42). Višeglave igle nađene su grobu 16 tumula 1 na Kapiteljskoj njivi (Knez 1993: 42). Prva je izuzetno dugačka brončana igla s četiri glave i trubastim završetkom (Knez 1993: T. 17: 1), odgovara tipu 2c prema A. Guidiu. Druga igla pripada istom tipu, također je brončana, s razlikom u tome što je ona nešto manja i znatno kraća (Knez 1993: T. 17: 2). I ovdje se radi o iznimno bogatom kneževskom grobu koji je relativno-kronološki datiran u horizont Podzemelj 2 (Ha C1) (Božič 2015: 48–50) te apsolutno-kronološki u prvu polovicu 7. st. pr. Kr. (Križ et al. 2014: 480, sl. 27.2.9). Osim igala, u grobu su pronađeni keramički lonac i šalica, zdjelasta kaciga, željezna sjekira s ručicama i brončana sjekira sa zaliscima ukrašena numeričkim simbolom, konjska oprema, povijeni nožić, brončane perle, dva željezna koplja i mahaira s brončanom drškom i željeznom sječivom. U još nekoliko elitnih grobova iz istog kronološkog horizonta (Podzemelj 2) nalazimo višeglave igle jednostavne konstrukcije s trubastim završetkom. U grobu 1 u tumulu 18 u Frögu, uz jednu višeglavu iglu s četiri glavice, nalazimo također istu kombinaciju sjekira (s time da je sjekira sa zaliscima željezna) i željeznu mahairu (Tomedi 2002: 536–540, T. 82–84). Posebno je zanimljiv paljevinski grob 6 u gomili 17 u Molniku. U tom paljevinskom grobu pronađeni su niz keramičkih i jedna brončana posuda, konjska oprema, željezno koplje, ostaci zdjelaste kacige i dvije igle od kojih je jedna višeglava (Tecco Hvala 2017: 145, T. 24: 1). Radikarbonska analiza spaljene kosti konja iz spomenutog groba ukazuje na vremenski raspon od 800. do 760. g. pr. Kr. (Tecco Hvala 2017: 225–226, tab. 1–2).

J. Dular iz Podzemlja navodi četiri višeglave igle za koje se ne znaju grobne cjeline (Dular 1978: 26). Prva je brončana fragmentirana višeglava igla s tri glave kojoj nedostaje donji dio te se zbog toga ne može tipološki odrediti (Dular 1978: T. 15: 15). Druga je brončana višeglava igla s četiri okrugle glave i jednostrukim prstenom između glava te narebrenim trubastim završetkom (Dular 1978: T. 15: 22). Okvirno bi se možda mogla svrstati u Hodsonov tip 4150, s razlikom što tip 4150 ima dvostruke prstenove između glava (Hodson 1990: 113). Drugim dvjema iglama atribucija je upitna zato jer je sačuvan samo dio s trubastim proširenjem (Dular 1978: T. 15: 17–18). Zbog nedostatka grobnih cjelina, ove bi se igle okvir-

160). Based on the accompanying grave goods, it is evident that this was an exceptionally rich burial, dated to the horizon of princely graves from the Stična–Novo Mesto stage, corresponding to the Ha C2 period (Gabrovec 1968: 160, 174). Two additional bronze multi-headed pins come from the site of Kapiteljska njiva (Knez 1993: 42). They were found in grave 16 of tumulus 1 at Kapiteljska njiva (Knez 1993: 42). The first is an exceptionally long bronze pin with four heads and a trumpet-shaped end (Knez 1993: Pl. 17: 1), corresponding to Guidi's type 2c. The second pin belongs to the same type and is also bronze, differing only in that it is somewhat smaller and significantly shorter (Knez 1993: Pl. 17: 2). This, too, is an exceptionally rich princely grave, relatively dated to the horizon Podzemelj 2 (Ha C1) (Božič 2015: 48–50) and absolutely dated to the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC (Križ et al. 2014: 480, Fig. 27.2.9). In addition to the pins, the grave contained a ceramic pot and cup, a bowl-shaped helmet, an iron axe with a handle, a winged bronze axe decorated with a numerical symbol, horse gear, a curved knife, bronze beads, two iron spears, and a *machaira* with a bronze handle and iron blade. In several other elite graves of the same chronological horizon (Podzemelj 2), multi-headed pins of simple construction with trumpet-shaped ends are also found. In grave 1 of tumulus 18 at Frög, alongside a multi-headed pin with four heads, the same combination of axes (the winged axe being iron) and an iron *machaira* occurs (Tomedi 2002: 536–540, Pls. 82–84). Of particular interest is cremation grave 6 from mound 17 at Molnik. This cremation burial contained a number of ceramic and one bronze vessel, horse gear, an iron spear, remains of a bowl-shaped helmet, and two pins, one of which was multi-headed (Tecco Hvala 2017: 145, Pl. 24: 1). Radiocarbon analysis of the burned horse bone from this grave indicates a date range between 800 and 760 BC (Tecco Hvala 2017: 225, 226, Tab. 1–2).

J. Dular write about four multi-headed pins from Podzemelj for which the grave assemblages are unknown (Dular 1978: 26). The first is a fragmented bronze multi-headed pin with three heads, lacking the lower part, and therefore cannot be typologically classified (Dular 1978: Pl. 15: 15). The second is a bronze multi-headed pin with four round heads and a single ring between the heads, as well as a ribbed trumpet-shaped end (Dular 1978: Pl. 15: 22). It could perhaps be roughly assigned to Hodson's type 4150, except that type 4150 has double rings between the heads (Hodson 1990: 113). The attribution of the remaining two pins is uncertain, as only the parts with trumpet-shaped expansions are

no mogle datirati u stupanj Podzemelj 2 (Dular 1978: 12). F. E. Barth navodi tri višeglave igle za koje se znaju grobne cjeline (Barth 1969: 42). Tako iz Podzemelja, grob 5 tumula XXX, potječe nalaz igle s dvije glave (gornja glava je bikonična), prstenovima između glava i trubastim završetkom (Barth 1969: T. 9: 5). Tipoloških paralela nema niti kod F. R. Hodsona niti A. Guidia. Druga igla dolazi iz Podzemelja, grob 11 tumula XV (Barth 1969: 97). Riječ je o brončanoj igli s tri glave, a gornja glava je naglašeno bikonična (Barth 1969: T. 7: 8). U Grmu, grob 3 tumula II, nađena je fragmentirana brončana igla s četiri glave na kojoj su nađeni ostaci željezne korozije (Barth 1969: 117, T. 17: 13). Nije potpuno sigurno je li ovdje riječ o brončanoj ili bimetalnoj igli. Igle su datirane u kraj faze 1, što bi odgovaralo prijelazu stupnja Podzemelj 1/2 (Barth 1969: 42, 66–72). U grobu 16 tumula 6 iz Pustog Gradca pronađena je fragmentirana željezna višeglava igla na kojoj su pronađeni ostaci tekstila (Dular 2003: 216, T. 48: 5). Zbog fragmentiranosti nije moguće odrediti njenu tipološku pripadnost. Druga brončana višeglava igla s trubastim završetkom, koja pripada tipu 4111 po F. R. Hodsonu i datira se u Ha C1 stupanj (Hodson 1990: sl. 17), potječe iz tumula 6, grob 18 (Dular 2003: 216, T. 49: 2). Zanimljive su i dvije igle s više glava iz Slepšeka pri Mokronogu koje spominje S. Gabrovec (Gabrovec 1973: T. 8: 9–10). Od jedne se sačuvao samo dio s trubastim završetkom te se zbog toga ne može tipološki determinirati. Druga je sačuvana u cijelosti i predstavlja kuriozum jer ima tri glave i samo jedno prstenasto proširenje ispod najgornje glave, dok trubasti završetak nije jako izražen. Ovakvu tipološku varijantu, sa samo jednim prstenastim proširenjem, ne donose niti A. Guidi niti F. R. Hodson. Prstenasta proširenja između glava najčešće karakteriziraju mlađe varijante višeglavih igala. No, u ovom slučaju smatramo da bi iglu okvirno trebalo datirati u početak stupnja Ha C1 (Trachsel 2004: sl. 165) zbog slabije izraženog trubastog završetka. U Stični iz samo četiri groba potječu nalazi igala s više glava. Prvi je grob 15 tumula II u kojem je pronađena brončana fragmentirana igla s tri glave, prstenovima iznad i ispod druge i treće glave i trubastim završetkom (Wells 1981: 52, sl. 44a). Paralela nema niti u jednoj gore navedenoj tipologiji. Okvirno bi se mogla datirati u Ha C1 stupanj (Trachsel 2004: sl. 165). Druga je igla nađena u grobu 9 tumula VI (Wells 1981: 74). Riječ je o fragmentu brončane igle od koje

preserved (Dular 1978: Pl. 15: 17–18). Due to the lack of grave assemblages, these pins can be roughly dated to the Podzemelj 2 stage (Dular 1978: 12). F. E. Barth lists three multi-headed pins for which the grave assemblages are known (Barth 1969: 42). From Podzemelj, grave 5 – tumulus XXX yielded a pin with two heads (the upper head being biconical), with rings between the heads and a trumpet-shaped end (Barth 1969: Pl. 9: 5). Typological parallels for this form do not exist in either Hodson's or Guidi's classification systems. The second pin comes from Podzemelj, grave 11 – tumulus XV (Barth 1969: 97). It is a bronze pin with three heads, the upper one being distinctly biconical (Barth 1969: Pl. 7: 8). In Grm, grave 3 – tumulus II, a fragmented bronze pin with four heads was found, bearing traces of iron corrosion (Barth 1969: 117, Pl. 17: 13). It is not entirely certain whether this is a bronze or a bimetallic pin. These pins are dated to the end of Phase 1, corresponding to the transition between Podzemelj 1 and Podzemelj 2 (Barth 1969: 42, 66–72). In grave 16 of tumulus 6 from Pusti Gradec, a fragmented iron multi-headed pin was found, bearing textile remains (Dular 2003: 216, Pl. 48: 5). Due to its fragmentary state, its typological affiliation cannot be determined. Another bronze multi-headed pin with a trumpet-shaped end, belonging to type 4111 according to F. R. Hodson and dated to the Ha C1 stage (Hodson 1990: Fig. 17), comes from tumulus 6, grave 18 (Dular 2003: 216, Pl. 49: 2). Also of interest are two multi-headed pins from Slepšek near Mokronog mentioned by S. Gabrovec (Gabrovec 1973: Pl. 8: 9–10). From one, only the part with the trumpet-shaped end is preserved, which makes typological determination impossible. The second pin is preserved in its entirety and represents a curiosity, as it has three heads and only one ring-shaped expansion below the uppermost head, while the trumpet-shaped end is not pronounced. Neither A. Guidi nor F. R. Hodson include this typological variant with only one ring-shaped expansion. Ring-shaped expansions between the heads are most commonly characteristic of the later variants of multi-headed pins. However, in this case, it is believed that the pin should roughly be dated to the beginning of the Ha C1 stage (Trachsel 2004: Fig. 165), owing to its less pronounced trumpet-shaped end. From Stična, finds of multi-headed pins come from only four graves. The first is grave 15 in tumulus II, in which a fragmented bronze pin with three heads, rings above and below the second and third heads, and a trumpet-shaped end was found (Wells 1981: 52, Fig. 44a). It has no parallels in any of the aforementioned typologies. It can be rou-

se sačuvala gornja glava i prsten ispod nje te donja, manja glava s narebnjenima (Wells 1981: sl. 139a). Iz groba s oklopom potječe najrepresentativnija brončana igla s četiri glave, jednostrukim prstenovima između glava, trostrukim prstenovima ispod najdonje glave i trubastim završetkom (Gabrovec 1966: sl. 5: 3). Odgovara Guidievom tipu 3c. Vidljivo je da je riječ o izuzetno bogatom, kneževskom grobu koji se datira u horizont Stična–Novo Mesto 1, što odgovara stupnju Ha C2 (Gabrovec 1966: 26, 28). Iz groba 101 tumula 48 potječu dvije višeglave igle bez trubastog završetka (Gabrovec et al. 2006: 77). Prva je fragmentirana brončana igla s četiri glave (Gabrovec et al. 2006: T. 59: 2), dok je druga bimetalna i sastoji se od željeznog korpusa i četiri brončane glave (Gabrovec et al. 2006: T. 59: 1). Zbog nepostojanja trubastog završetka ove igle okvirno treba datirati u prijelaz Ha B3/C1 (Trachsel 2004: sl. 165). Iz Stične potječu još dvije višeglave igle čije grobne cjeline nisu poznate (Gabrovec et al. 2006: T. 175: 66–67). Prva je brončana igla s četiri glave i trubastim završetkom (Gabrovec et al. 2006: 201, T. 175: 66) koja bi se okvirno mogla datirati u Ha C1 stupanj (Trachsel 2004: sl. 165). Druga igla je također brončana, sačuvan je samo donji dio koji se sastoji od prstenastog proširenja i trubastog završetka (Gabrovec et al. 2006: 201, T. 175: 67). Iz Šmarjete potječe jedna višeglava igla (Stare 1973: 30). To je fragmentirana brončana igla s pet glava i jednostrukim prstenovima između glava (Stare 1973: T. 24: 5) koja bi se zbog svoje razvijenije forme mogla datirati u početak stupnja Ha C2 (Trachsel 2004: sl. 165). S lokaliteta Družinska vas također potječe fragment brončane igle s tri glave (Stare 1973: 46, T. 59: 13) koja bi se zbog nedostatka prstenova između glava okvirno mogla datirati u Ha C1 stupanj (Trachsel 2004: sl. 165). U Vaču je sveukupno pronađeno šest višeglavih igala, s time da se za samo jednu zna grobna cjelina. Riječ je o fragmentu izrazito profilirane brončane višeglave igle koja je nađena u paljevinskom grobu 9 (Starè 1955: 14, T. 38: 13). Ž. Škoberne navodi kako su sve višeglave igle s ovog lokaliteta bez trubastog završetka (Škoberne 2003: 202). Mišljenja smo kako to nije slučaj s ovom, gore navedenom, iglom. Radi se o igli koja ima prstenove između i ispod glava, što je samim time svrstava u mlađe tipološke varijante i zato bi se ovdje možda moglo pretpostaviti po-

ghly dated to the Ha C1 stage (Trachsel 2004: Fig. 165). The second pin was found in grave 9 of tumulus VI (Wells 1981: 74). It is a fragment of a bronze pin from which the upper head and ring below it, as well as the lower, smaller ribbed head, are preserved (Wells 1981: Fig. 139a). From the grave with armour comes the most representative bronze pin with four heads, single rings between the heads, triple rings below the lowest head, and a trumpet-shaped end (Gabrovec 1966: Fig. 5: 3). It corresponds to Guidi's type 3c. This was evidently an exceptionally rich princely grave, dated to the Stična–Novo Mesto 1 horizon, corresponding to the Ha C2 stage (Gabrovec 1966: 26, 28). From grave 101 in tumulus 48 come two multi-headed pins without trumpet-shaped ends (Gabrovec et al. 2006: 77). The first is a fragmented bronze pin with four heads (Gabrovec et al. 2006: Pl. 59: 2), while the second is bimetallic, consisting of an iron shaft and four bronze heads (Gabrovec et al. 2006: Pl. 59: 1). Due to the absence of a trumpet-shaped end, these pins should roughly be dated to the transition Ha B3/C1 (Trachsel 2004: Fig. 165). Two additional multi-headed pins from Stična have unknown grave contexts (Gabrovec et al. 2006: Pl. 175: 66–67). The first is a bronze pin with four heads and a trumpet-shaped end (Gabrovec et al. 2006: 201, Pl. 175: 66), which can be roughly dated to the Ha C1 stage (Trachsel 2004: Fig. 165). The second pin is also bronze; only the lower part is preserved, consisting of a ring-shaped expansion and a trumpet-shaped end (Gabrovec et al. 2006: 201, Pl. 175: 67). A single multi-headed pin originates from Šmarjeta (Stare 1973: 30). It is a fragmented bronze pin with five heads and single rings between them (Stare 1973: Pl. 24: 5), which, due to its more developed form, may be dated to the beginning of the Ha C2 stage (Trachsel 2004: Fig. 165). From the site of Družinska vas comes a fragment of a bronze pin with three heads (Stare 1973: 46, Pl. 59: 13), which, owing to the absence of rings between the heads, can be roughly dated to the Ha C1 stage (Trachsel 2004: Fig. 165). At Vače, a total of six multi-headed pins have been found, although the grave context is known for only one. This is a fragment of a distinctly profiled bronze multi-headed pin discovered in cremation grave 9 (Starè 1955: 14, Pl. 38: 13). Ž. Škoberne states that all multi-headed pins from this site lack trumpet-shaped ends (Škoberne 2003: 202). However, it is our opinion that this is not the case with the aforementioned specimen. The pin in question bears rings between and below the heads, which places it among the later typological variants and thus

stojanje trubastog završetka.<sup>1</sup> Ostali primjerci su: brončana troglava igla bez trubastog završetka (Starè 1955: T. 38: 8), brončana igla s tri uglate glave kvadratnog presjeka, također bez trubastog proširenja (Starè 1955: 28, T. 38: 9), brončana igla s tri okrugle, malo spljoštene glave bez trubastog proširenja (Starè 1955: T. 39: 2), željezna igla s četiri brončane glave (Starè 1955: T. 39: 3) te željezna igla s tri okrugle glave (Starè 1955: T. 39: 5). Ovih pet igala bez trubastog završetka trebalo bi datirati u prijelaz Ha B3/C1 (Trachsel 2004: sl. 165). U Velikim Malencama je u starijim, Pečnikovim istraživanjima, pronađena jedna igla za koju se nije poznata grobna cjelina. Riječ je o brončanoj igli s četiri glave, prstenom ispod najdonje glave i trubastim završetkom (Stare 1961: T. 10: 1) koja odgovara Guidievom tipu 2c. Na kraju ima brončani profilirani štitnik (Stare 1961: 62). Ovaj tip igle karakterističan je za Ha C1 stupanj (Trachsel 2004: sl. 165). Tumul 10 iskopan je tek 1980. godine od strane Posavskog muzeja iz Brežica (Guštin 1996: 119). U njemu je nađeno pet grobova (Guštin 1996: 121–125). Iz groba 3 potječe sigurno jedna, a možda i dvije višeglave igle (Guštin 1996: sl. 6: 2–3). Prva je fragmentirana igla s dvije glave i prstenom ispod najdonje glave (Guštin 1996: sl. 6: 2). Za fragment druge igle, koju je M. Guštin odredio kao višeglavu, Ž. Škoberne smatra da pripada igli s profiliranom glavom (Škoberne 2003: 202). Datira se u podstupanj Podzemelj 2, odnosno Ha C1 (Guštin 1996: 119). Iz Vinice, grob 2 tumula 1 (autor u tekstu navodi podatak o grobu 1 tumula 2, dok nešto dalje u T. 7: 1–5 navodi obrnuti podatak o grobu 2 iz tumula 1) potječe nalaz jedne fragmentirane brončane igle s tri glave i prstenovima između (Dular 1973: 550, T. 7: 4) koja je datirana se u Ha C1 stupanj (Dular 1973: 550).

Višeglave igle pronađene u Ormožu na položaju Havlasov vrt vrlo su zanimljive pošto je riječ o nalazima iz naselja (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: 78, T. 136: 2), a ne kao na svim ostalim primjerima iz grobova. J. Dular ovakve oblike bez trubastog završetka datira u stupanj Ha C0 – Ha C1 (Dular 2013: 71). Iako je vjerojatno da neki od ovih primjeraka kronološki prethode Ha C1, upitno je koliko je kronološki stupanj po svojoj definiciji Ha C0 primjenjiv na ovaj prostor, posebno u slučaju nasebinskih nalaza.

suggests the possible existence of a trumpet-shaped end.<sup>1</sup> The remaining examples are: a bronze three-headed pin without a trumpet-shaped end (Starè 1955: Pl. 38: 8); a bronze pin with three angular, square-section heads, also without a trumpet-shaped expansion (Starè 1955: 28, Pl. 38: 9); a bronze pin with three round, slightly flattened heads without a trumpet-shaped expansion (Starè 1955: Pl. 39: 2); an iron pin with four bronze heads (Starè 1955: T. 39: 3); and an iron pin with three round heads (Starè 1955: Pl. 39: 5). These five pins without trumpet-shaped ends should be dated to the transition Ha B3/C1 (Trachsel 2004: Fig. 165). In Velike Malence, during earlier excavations conducted by J. Pečnik, a single pin was found whose grave context is unknown. It is a bronze pin with four heads, a ring below the lowest head, and a trumpet-shaped end (Stare 1961: Pl. 10: 1), corresponding to Guidi's type 2c. It terminates with a bronze profiled pin guard (Stare 1961: 62). This type of pin is characteristic of the Ha C1 stage (Trachsel 2004: Fig. 165). Tumulus 10 was excavated only in 1980 by the Posavje Museum in Brežice (Guštin 1996: 119). Five graves were uncovered (Guštin 1996: 121–125). From grave 3 certainly comes one, and possibly two, multi-headed pins (Guštin 1996: Ffig. 6: 2–3). The first is a fragmented pin with two heads and a ring below the lowest head (Guštin 1996: Fig. 6: 2). Regarding the fragment of the second pin, which M. Guštin identified as multi-headed, Ž. Škoberne believes it to belong to a pin with a profiled head (Škoberne 2003: 202). It is dated to the Podzemelj 2 substage, that is, to Ha C1 (Guštin 1996: 119). From Vinica, grave 2 of tumulus 1 (the author in the text states grave 1 of tumulus 2, but later in Pl. 7: 1–5 provides the reversed information for grave 2 of tumulus 1) comes a fragmented bronze pin with three heads and rings between them (Dular 1973: 550, Pl. 7: 4), dated to the Ha C1 stage (Dular 1973: 550).

The multi-headed pins discovered at Ormož, in the Havlasov vrt locality, are particularly interesting, as these are settlement finds (Dular, Tomanič Jevremov 2010: 78, Pl. 136: 2), unlike all the other examples, which come from graves. J. Dular dates such forms without trumpet-shaped ends to the Ha C0–Ha C1 stages (Dular 2013: 71). Although it is likely that some of these examples chronologically precede Ha C1, it remains questionable to what extent the chronological stage Ha C0, by its definition, is applicable to this area, especially in the case of settlement finds.

1 Dosadašnja saznanja o višeglavim iglama ne bilježe niti jedan nalaz tako razvijenog oblika koji nije imao trubasto proširenje, a i kronološko/tipološki markeri govore tomu u prilog.

1 Previous knowledge of multi-headed pins does not record a single find of such a developed form that did not have a trumpet-shaped extension, and chronological/typological markers also support this.

Na nekropoli u Budinjaku pronađene su dvije višeglave igle u izuzetno zanimljivim kontekstima. Prva je pronađena u dvojnog kneževskom grobu 6 tumula 139 (Škoberne 1999: 66). Radi se o željeznoj igli s dvije glavice i plosnatom završnom glavicom na vrhu te trubastim završetkom (Škoberne 1999: 66–67) koja odgovara Hodsonovom tipu 4111 (Hodson 1990: 114). Grob je datiran u horizont Podzemelj 2, koji odgovara stupnju Ha C1 (Škoberne 1999: 107), a u njemu su, uz brojne druge nalaze, također pronađeni konjska oprema, koplje i zdjelasta kaciga. Druga višeglava igla nađena je u skeletnom grobu na ravnom terenu koji se nalazio između tumula 40, 29 i 37 (Škoberne 2003: 199). Igla ima tri glavice ispod kojih su dva prstena (Škoberne 2003: 200). Bimetalna je, korpus i donji prsten su željezni, dok su gornji prsten i tri glavice brončani (Škoberne 2003: 200). Zbog loše očuvanosti igle nije sigurno ima li ona trubasto proširenje ili ne, no autor se na osnovi proučavanja tehnologije izrade igle odlučio za varijantu bez trubastog proširenja (Škoberne 2003: 200). Zanimljivo je i to da brončane glavice i prvi prsten nisu bili izliveni na željezni korpus igle, nego nagurani i nabijeni (Škoberne 2003: 200). Dvije glavice i prsten nagurani su odozgo i nabijeni, dok je najgornja glavica samo natakuta na kraj igle i jednim udarcem pričvršćena (Škoberne 2003: 200). Za drugi željezni prsten, zbog jakog oštećenja, ne može se sa sigurnošću reći je li izliven zajedno s ostalim željeznim korpusom igle ili je, kao i brončani dijelovi, naknadno pričvršćen (Škoberne 2003: 201). Igla je bila jedini grobni prilog i datirana je u početak stupnja Ha C1, odnosno u 8. st. pr. Kr. (Škoberne 2003: 200–201).

U Dolenjskoj nalazimo zanimljivu tipološku sliku koja, uz poznate tipove iz standardnih tipologija, donosi i čitav niz jedinstvenih primjera karakterističnog oblika i načina izrade. Kronološki se pojavljuju uglavnom u početnim fazama starijeg željeznog doba, odnosno tijekom Ha C1, iako rijetki primjerci možda dosežu i početak Ha C2. Niti na jednoj nekropoli ih nema mnogo. Tamo gdje su iz poznatog konteksta nalaze se i pojedinačno i u paru, a pripadaju istaknutim grobnim cjelinama koje i kada nisu izuzetno bogate uvijek sadrže jasno naglašenu ratničku komponentu. Izuzetak je možda grob na ravnom na nekropoli u Budinjaku koji je sadržavao samo višeglavu iglu jedinstvenog oblika i načina izrade.

At the necropolis of Budinjak, two multi-headed pins were discovered in exceptionally interesting contexts. The first was found in the double princely grave 6 of tumulus 139 (Škoberne 1999: 66). It is an iron pin with two small heads and a flat terminal head at the top, as well as a trumpet-shaped end (Škoberne 1999: 66–67), corresponding to Hodson's type 4111 (Hodson 1990: 114). The grave is dated to the Podzemelj 2 horizon, which corresponds to the Ha C1 stage (Škoberne 1999: 107), and, alongside numerous other finds, also contained horse gear, a spear, and a bowl-shaped helmet. The second multi-headed pin was found in an inhumation grave on flat terrain located between tumuli 40, 29, and 37 (Škoberne 2003: 199). The pin has three small heads with two rings below them (Škoberne 2003: 200). It is bimetallic: the shaft and the lower ring are iron, while the upper ring and the three heads are bronze (Škoberne 2003: 200). Due to the poor preservation of the pin, it is uncertain whether it had a trumpet-shaped expansion or not; however, the author of the cited study, based on an examination of the pin's manufacturing technology, concluded that it was a variant without a trumpet-shaped expansion (Škoberne 2003: 200). It is also noteworthy that the bronze heads and the first ring were not cast onto the iron shaft but rather fitted and hammered onto it (Škoberne 2003: 200). Two of the heads and the ring were hammered from above, while the uppermost head was merely placed on the end of the pin and fixed with a single strike (Škoberne 2003: 200). Due to severe corrosion, it is uncertain whether the second iron ring was cast together with the rest of the iron shaft or, like the bronze parts, attached later (Škoberne 2003: 201). The pin was the sole grave good and has been dated to the beginning of the Ha C1 stage, that is, to the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC (Škoberne 2003: 200–201).

In Dolenjska, we find an intriguing typological picture that, alongside well-known types from standard typologies, also includes a whole series of unique specimens distinguished by their characteristic forms and manufacturing techniques. Chronologically, they appear mainly in the earliest phases of the Early Iron Age, that is, during Ha C1, although a few rare examples may reach the beginning of Ha C2. None of the necropolises yield them in great numbers. Where the context is known, they occur both individually and in pairs, and they belong to prominent grave assemblages which, even when not particularly rich, invariably include a distinctly martial component. The possible exception is the flat grave at the Budinjak necropolis, which contained only a multi-headed pin of unique form and craftsmanship.

## Kaptolska skupina

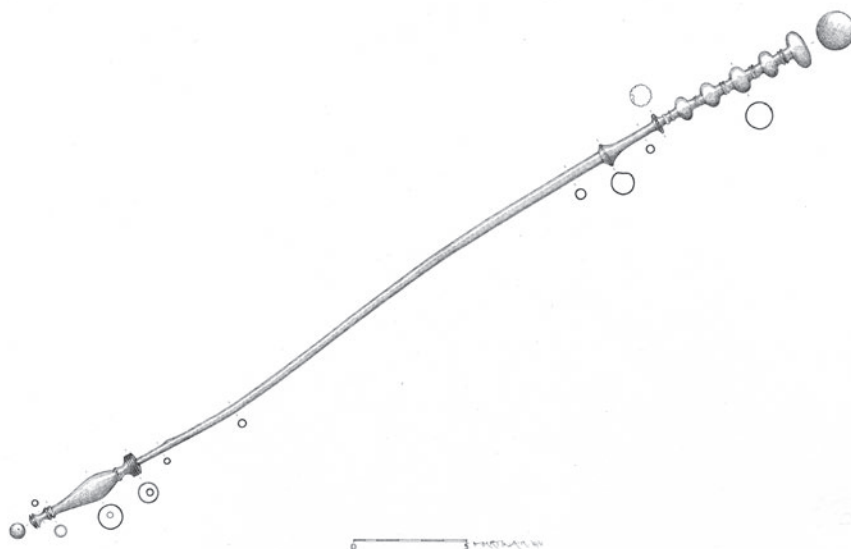
U Kaptolu, na nekropoli Čemernica u tumulu IV pronađene su dvije višeglave igle (Vejvoda, Mirnik 1971: 192). Prva je veća brončana igla s tri okrugle glave, prstenovima između njih te prstenastim proširenjem koji je u službi trubastog završetka (Potrebica, Rakvin 2019: T. 6: 1). Ova igla predstavlja prijelazni oblik između igala bez i s trubastim proširenjem. Druga je fragmentirana igla s četiri glave i dva razmaknuta prstena ispod najdonje glave (Potrebica, Rakvin 2019: T. 6: 2). Zbog nedostatka donjeg dijela, ispod drugog prstena, nije moguće reći je li imala trubasto proširenje ili ne. Riječ je o jednom od dva kneževska groba s ove nekropole koji je sadržavao i grčko-ilirsku kacigu druge faze, brončane knemide grčkog tipa, brončanu prsnu ploču, pojas tipa Libna, željezna koplja, konjsku opremu, bimetalnu sjekiru s tuljcem za nasad, keramičke posude s bikovskim glavama te brojne druge nalaze.

Tijekom 2007. godine sustavna arheološka istraživanja na kaptolskim nekropolama donijela su na svjetlo dana još tri primjerka višeglavih igala. Jedna igla barokne, razvijene forme nađena je u tumulu XI također s nekropole Čemernica (poznat i pod imenom Volarska glavica). Riječ je o brončanoj igli s pet glava, trubastim završetkom i profiliranim štitnikom, dužine oko 40 cm (sl. 1) (Potrebica 2013: 71).

## Kaptol Group

At Kaptol, within the Čemernica necropolis, two multi-headed pins were discovered in tumulus IV (Vejvoda, Mirnik 1971: 192). The first is a large bronze pin with three round heads, rings between them, and a ring-shaped expansion serving as a trumpet-shaped termination (Potrebica, Rakvin 2019: Pl. 6: 1). This pin represents a transitional form between pins without and those with a trumpet-shaped expansion. The second is a fragmentary pin with four heads and two spaced rings below the lowest head (Potrebica, Rakvin 2019: Pl. 6: 2). Due to the absence of the lower part, below the second ring, it cannot be determined whether it had a trumpet-shaped expansion or not. It derives from one of the two princely graves from this necropolis, which also contained a Greek-Illyrian helmet of the second phase, bronze greaves of the Greek type, a bronze breastplate, a belt of the Libna type, iron spears, horse gear, a bimetal socketed axe, ceramic vessels with bull-head protomes, and numerous other items.

During the systematic archaeological excavations conducted in 2007 at the Kaptol necropolises, three additional examples of multi-headed pins were brought to light. One pin of baroque, highly developed form was found in tumulus XI, also belonging to the Čemernica necropolis (also known as Volarska glavica). This is a bronze pin with five heads, a trumpet-shaped termination, and a profiled pin guard, measuring approximately 40 cm in length (Fig. 1) (Potrebica 2013: 71).



Sl. 1 – Višeglava igla iz tumula XI Kaptol – Čemernica – Volarska glavica (crtež: M. Rončević, 2016.)

Fig. 1 – Multi-headed pin from tumulus XI at Kaptol – Čemernica – Volarska glavica (drawing by: M. Rončević, 2016)

Između pravilno raspoređenih glava, od kojih je najgornja nešto veća i na vrhu malo spljoštena, nalaze se dvostruka plića prstenasta zadebljanja te prstenasto proširenje iznad trubastog završetka ukrašeno koso urezanim linijama. Cilindrični vrh profiliranog štitnika ukrašen je četverostrukim narebnjenjima ispod kojeg se nalazi jednostruko prstenasto zadebljanje ukrašeno koso urezanim linijama. Na donjem dijelu se nalaze dva neukrašena prstenasta zadebljanja, dok je kraj štitnika oblikovan s dva dvostruka narebnjenja, od kojih je donje dvostruko narebnjenje nešto šire i oblog završetka. Iгла bi se, na osnovi svoje razvijenije forme, mogla prema M. Trachselu okvirno datirati u prijelaz Ha C1/C2 (Trachsel 2004: sl. 165). Adekvatne paralele za ovakvu iglu s pet glava za sada nismo pronašli u literaturi, kao niti u gore navedenim tipologijama. Iгла je pronađena na drvenom krovu grobne komore i savršeno je sačuvana. U grobnoj komori ovog tumula pronađen je bogati keramički inventar (kernos sličan onima iz Novog Mesta, dva manja askosa bez drški, tri situle, tri crna lonca na nozi, tri zdjele na nozi, lonci ukrašeni kositrenim lamelama i crnim slikanjem i sl.), povijeni nožić i kameni brus s proširenim krajevima te pet željeznih ražnjeva spojenih s alkom.<sup>2</sup>

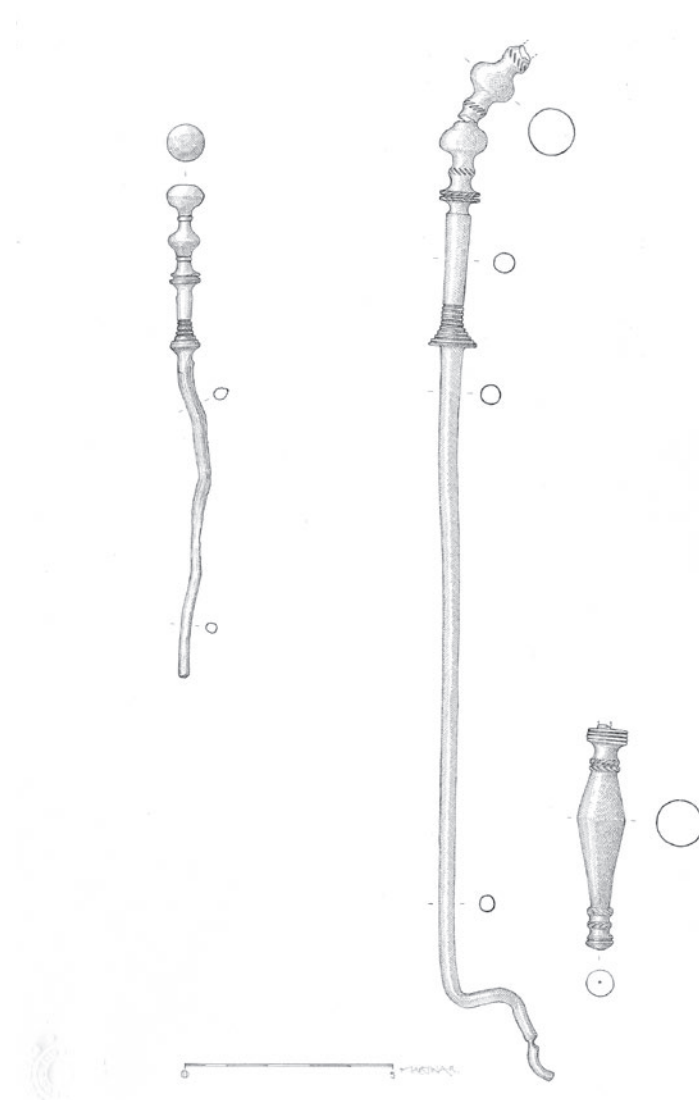
Drugi par igala iz Kaptola potječe iz tumula 10 na sjevernoj kaptolskoj nekropoli Gradca. Prva je brončana igla s dvije glave i višestruko narebnjenim trubastim završetkom (sl. 2). Ispod svake glave se nalaze plitka prstenasta zadebljanja koja su smještena između dva plitka žljeba. Ispod svega se nalaze dva veća i dublja prstenasta zadebljanja koja slijede višestruko narebnjeni trubasti završetak. Druga igla ima dvije očuvane glave, no s gornje se strane može pretpostaviti barem još jedna glava. Između glava nalaze se šira, prstenasta zadebljanja ukrašena koso urezanim linijama. Ispod trećeg takvog zadebljanja nalaze se dva veća, uža i dublja prstenasta zadebljanja ukrašena kratkim koso urezanim linijama. Koso urezane linije su naizmjenično položene u desnu, odnosno lijevu stranu. Trubasti završetak je višestruko narebnjen. Ovoj igli pripada i profilirani štitnik koji je vrlo sličan onome iz tumula Volarska glavica. Cilindrični vrh profiliranog štitnika ukrašen je četverostrukim narebnjenjima ispod kojih se nalaze dva prstenasta zadebljanja ukrašena koso

Between the regularly arranged heads—of which the uppermost is slightly larger and flattened at the top—are double shallow ring-like thickenings, as well as a ring-shaped expansion above the trumpet-shaped termination decorated with obliquely incised lines. The cylindrical tip of the profiled pin guard is adorned with fourfold ribbing, below which lies a single ring-shaped thickening decorated with obliquely incised lines. The lower part features two undecorated ring-shaped thickenings, while the end of the guard is formed by two double ribbings, the lower of which is somewhat broader and rounded. Based on its developed form, the pin may be dated, according to M. Trachsel, to the transition Ha C1/C2 (Trachsel 2004: Fig. 165). Suitable parallels for such a five-headed pin have not yet been identified in the consulted literature or in the typologies mentioned above. The pin was discovered on the wooden roof of the grave chamber and is perfectly preserved. The grave chamber of this tumulus contained a rich ceramic assemblage (a kernos similar to those from Novo Mesto, two small askoi without handles, three situlae, three black pedestal cups, three pedestal bowls, pots decorated with tin lamellae and black-painted motifs, among others), a curved knife, and a stone whetstone with expanded ends, as well as five iron spits joined by a ring.<sup>2</sup>

Another pair of pins from Kaptol originates from tumulus 10 on the northern Kaptol necropolis at Gradca. The first is a bronze pin with two heads and a deeply ribbed trumpet-shaped termination (Fig. 2). Below each head are shallow ring-like thickenings set between two narrow grooves. Beneath these are two larger, deeper rings, followed by the multiply ribbed trumpet-shaped termination. The second pin has two preserved heads, though a third may be assumed from the upper part. Between the heads are wider ring-like thickenings decorated with obliquely incised lines. Below the third such thickening are two larger, narrower, and deeper ring-like thickenings also decorated with short obliquely incised lines arranged alternately to the right and left. The trumpet-shaped termination is multiply ribbed. This pin also possesses a profiled pin guard very similar to that from the tumulus at Volarska glavica. The cylindrical tip of the profiled guard is ornamented with fourfold ribbing, below which are two ring-like thickenings with obliquely incised decoration. On the lower part are two further ring-like thickenings with oblique incisions, while the end of the guard is shaped with two do-

2 Ovaj grob je u fazi objave unutar monografije o nekropoli Čemernica koja je u pripremi.

2 This grave is currently in the publication phase, as part of the forthcoming monograph on the Čemernica necropolis, which is in preparation.



Sl. 2 – Višeglave igle iz tumula 10 Kaptol – Gradca (crtež: M. Rončević, 2016.)  
 Fig. 2 – Multi-headed pins from tumulus 10 at Kaptol – Gradca (drawing by: M. Rončević, 2016)

urezanim linijama. Na donjem dijelu se također nalaze dva prstenasta zadebljanja ukrašena koso urezanim linijama, dok je kraj štitnika oblikovan s dva dvostruka narebrenja, od kojih je donje narebrenje nešto šire i oblog završetka. U tumulu 10 bio je i niz keramičkih posuda među kojima se ističe lonac s tri bikovske protome i komplet oružja vrlo sličan onome iz groba 16 tumula 1 na Kapiteljskoj njivi (željezna sjekira s ručicama, brončana sjekira sa zaliscima ukrašena numeričkim simbolom, željezna perla, dva nožića i dva željezna koplja). Vjerojatno se i ova cjelina može datirati u stupanj Podzemelj 2.

Na poklopcu komore tumula 6 na istoj nekropoli Gradca bila je skupina nalaza koju su činili globularni lonac ukrašen urezivanjem i

uble ribbings, the lower being somewhat wider and rounded. Within tumulus 10, a series of ceramic vessels was discovered, among which a pot with three bull protomes stands out, together with a complete weapon assemblage very similar to that from grave 16, tumulus 1, at Kapiteljska njiva (an iron socketed axe, a bronze winged axe decorated with a numerical symbol, an iron bead, two knives, and two iron spears). This assemblage may likewise be dated to the Podzemelj 2 stage.

On the cover of the chamber of tumulus 6, on the same Gradca necropolis, a group of finds was discovered consisting of a globular pot with incised decoration, an iron bead, and probably other objects destroyed and dispersed by the roots of an oak that had grown there. Among the

željezna perla i vjerojatno drugi nalazi uništeni i razvučeni korijenjem hrasta koji je tu izrastao. Među fragmentima koji su tu pronađeni ima i ulomak bronce koji bi mogao biti izuzetno oštećeni brončani štitnik igle. Tumul 6 je inače najbogatiji do sada otkriveni halštatski grob na prostoru međuriječja Save Drave i Dunava. Među preko 25 keramičkih posuda ističu se nekoliko lonaca ukrašenih brončanim i kositrenim lamelama i jedna posuda ukrašena crnim slikanjem na crvenoj pozadini. Od metalnih nalaza pronađeni su bogati kompleti konjske opreme i oružja (pet željeznih kopalja, četiri željezne sjekire, dvije željezne perle, željezni i brončani mač, pojasna garnitura s kamenim brusom i željeznim nožićem). Uz to su u brončanoj situli bez ukrasa pronađeni dijelovi vjerojatno dvije zdjelaste kacige, dva željezna perforirana diska (dijelovi kola?), brončane pravokutne pločice s rupicama na rubu (možda dijelovi oklopa?) i niz drugih nedefiniranih spaljenih brončanih i željeznih predmeta (Šošćarić et al. 2025).

Samo šest kilometara istočno od Kaptola smjestio se Kagovac, još jedno halštatsko središte u Požeškoj kotlini. Nalazi se na približno istoj visini (450–500 m n.v.) na južnim obroncima Papuka te se kao i Kaptol sastoji od utvrđenog naselja i dvije nekropole. Južna nekropola smještena odmah ispod naselja sastoji se od tumula malih dimenzija čija visina ne prelazi metar, ali jedan do sada istraženi tumul pokazuje da imaju jednako bogate nalaze poput velikih kaptolskih tumula ili tumula na drugoj nekropoli Kagovca. Zapadna nekro-

fragments found, there is also a piece of bronze that could represent a severely damaged bronze pin guard. Tumulus 6 is, in fact, the richest Hallstatt grave discovered to date in the interfluvium of the Sava, Drava, and Danube rivers. Among more than 25 ceramic vessels, several pots decorated with bronze and tin lamellae and one vessel decorated with black painting on a red background stand out. The metal finds include rich sets of horse gear and weaponry (five iron spears, four iron axes, two iron beads, an iron and a bronze sword, a belt set with a stone whetstone and an iron knife). In addition, a bronze situla without decoration contained fragments probably belonging to two bowl-shaped helmets, two perforated iron discs (possibly parts of wheels?), rectangular bronze plates with small holes along the edges (perhaps parts of armor?), and a number of other undefined burnt bronze and iron objects (Šošćarić et al. 2025).

Only six kilometers east of Kaptol lies Kagovac, another Hallstatt center in the Požega Basin. It is situated at approximately the same altitude (450–500 m a.s.l.) on the southern slopes of Papuk and, like Kaptol, consists of a fortified settlement and two necropolises. The southern necropolis, located immediately below the settlement, comprises small tumuli whose height does not exceed one meter; however, one of the investigated tumuli has yielded finds as rich as those from the large Kaptol tumuli or from the other Kagovac necropolis. The western necropolis of Kagovac contains around fifteen tumuli, all larger than those of the southern necropolis but varying in size from approximately six to



Sl. 3 – Višeglava igla iz tumula 2 Kagovac (snimio: M. Vuković, 2020.)

Fig. 3 – Multi-headed pin from tumulus 2 at Kagovac (photo by: M. Vuković, 2020)

pola Kagovac ima petnaestak tumula, od kojih su svi veći od tumula južne nekropole, ali među sobom variraju u veličini (od oko šest do dvadesetak metara promjera). Na toj nekropoli su istražena četiri tumula. Tumul 1 je bio čini se ženski grob i nije sadržavao igle. Tumul 2 je bio jedan od najvećih tumula na nekropoli i uz dvadesetak posuda sadržavao je izuzetno vrijedan i zanimljiv komplet naoružanja: dugo željezno koplje, željezna sjekira s ručicama i brončana sjekira sa zaliscima ukrašena koncentričnim krugovima spojenim tangencijalnim linijama. Na vrhu velike posude koja je imala funkciju urne pronađena je vrlo je zanimljiva višeglava igla koja ima samo dvije glave. Ispod druge glave se nalazi samo jedno prstenasto proširenje, nakon kojega ide trubasti završetak (sl. 3). Slična, već spomenuta, igla s tri glave pronađena je u Slepšeku. Smatramo kako bi i iglu iz tumula 2 na Kagovcu okvirno trebalo datirati u početak stupnja Ha C1 (Trachsel 2004: sl. 165). U tumulu 3 također na zapadnoj nekropoli Kagovac pronađena je jedna (ili dvije vrlo oštećene) željezna višeglava igla s brončanim štitnikom za iglu (sl. 4). Ostali nalazi iz groba uključuju: željeznu sjekiru sa zaliscima i željeznu sjekiru s ručicama, dva savijena željezna koplja i savijenu mahairu, što sve po inventaru i savijanju oružja izuzetno podsjeća na Kramarškov grob iz Legna (Djura Jelenko, Božić 2015).

Najstarija grobna cjelina s višeglavim iglama trebao bi bitiumul 2 s Kagovca s jednom iglom jednostavnog tipa u naglašenoj ratničkoj cjelini. Par igala iz tumula 10 na nekropoli Gradca pripada jednoj od najjačih ratničkih cjelina na kaptolskim nekropolama i, kao što je već rečeno, podsjeća na kneževski grob iz tumula 1 na Kapiteljskoj njivi te se također može datirati u Podzemelj 2, odnosno Ha C1 stupanj. Ista datacija se vjerojatno može primijeniti i na tumul 3 s Kagovca koji oružjem u

twenty meters in diameter. Four tumuli have been excavated at this necropolis. Tumulus 1 appears to have been a female grave and did not contain any pins. Tumulus 2, one of the largest on the necropolis, contained, in addition to about twenty vessels, an exceptionally valuable and interesting set of weaponry: a long iron spear, an iron socketed axe, and a bronze winged axe decorated with concentric circles connected by tangential lines. On the top of the large vessel serving as an urn was found a very interesting multi-headed pin with only two heads. Below the second head is a single ring-shaped expansion followed by a trumpet-shaped termination (Fig. 3). A similar, already mentioned, three-headed pin was found at Slepšek. It seems that the pin from tumulus 2 at Kagovac should likewise be approximately dated to the beginning of the Ha C1 stage (Trachsel 2004: Fig. 165). In tumulus 3, also on the western necropolis of Kagovac, one (or possibly two severely damaged) iron multi-headed pin(s) with a bronze pin guard was found (Fig. 4). Other grave goods include an iron winged axe and an iron socketed axe, two bent iron spears, and a bent *machaira* — an assemblage strongly reminiscent, both in inventory and weapon-bending ritual, of the Kramaršek grave from Legen (Djura Jelenko, Božić 2015).

The earliest grave assemblage containing multi-headed pins should therefore be tumulus 2 from Kagovac, with a single, simple-type pin found within a clearly defined warrior assemblage. The pair of pins from tumulus 10 on the Gradca necropolis belongs to one of the strongest martial contexts among the Kaptol necropolises and, as previously noted, recalls the princely grave from tumulus 1 at Kapiteljska njiva; it can also be dated to Podzemelj 2, that is, to the Ha C1 stage. The same dating can probably be applied to tumulus 3 from Kagovac, whose weapon assemblage, both in number and ritual, corresponds to the Kramaršek grave from Legen, while the *machaira* also links it to the aforementioned princely grave from Kapiteljska nji-



Sl. 4 – Željezna višeglava igla iz tumula 3 Kagovac (snimila: A. Jozić, 2023.)

Fig. 4 – Iron multi-headed pin from tumulus 3 at Kagovac (photo by: A. Jozić, 2023)

broju i ritualu kako je rečeno odgovara Kra-marškovom grobu iz Legna, a mahaira ga povezuje i s prethodno spomenutim kneževskim grobom s Kapiteljske njive. Najmlađi je kneževski ratnički grob pod tumulom IV na kaptolskoj nekropoli Čemernica koji ima vrlo široki dijakronijski raspon nalaza, od Ha B3 do Ha C2 kada se datira sam grob. U ovom grobu par višeglavih igala nalazi se u kontekstu najvišeg društvenog statusa, ali i najjače ratničke cjeline, što ga čini sličnim tumulu 10 na nekropoli Gradca s kojim ima zajedničke i posude s bikovskim glavama. U kaptolskoj skupini možemo reći da su višeglave igle bile izraziti statusni simbol unutar nošnje jer se pojavljuju samo u grobovima istaknutih muških pripadnika pojedinih zajednica s vrlo naglašenom ratničkom komponentom. U slučaju Volarske glavice (tumul XI na nekropoli Čemernica), iako upada u oči nedostatak oružja, čini se da je riječ o muškom pripadniku vodećeg sloja ove zajednice, pa se višeglava igla na poklopcu komore svakako može tumačiti kao ultimativni statusni simbol.

## Daljska skupina

S područja daljske skupine nalazi višeglavih igala potječu iz Batine i Dalja, no u oba slučaja grobne cjeline na žalost nisu sačuvane. U Batini je pronađena brončana igla koja ima četiri glave, između kojih su dvostruka i trostruka plastična narebrenja te trubasti završetak (Nađ, Nađ 1964: T. XV: 5), na osnovi čega je datirana u prijelaz stupnja Ha C1 na Ha C2 (Trachsel 2004: sl. 165). U Dalju su pronađene dvije brončane igle od kojih prva ima tri glave, između kojih su dvostruka i trostruka plastična narebrenja, zatim prstenasto proširenje iznad trubastog završetka i profilirani štitnik, dok druga ima četiri glave s jednostrukim i dvostrukim plastičnim narebrenjima i trubastim završetkom (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002: T. 73: 1–2). Isto kao i primjerak iz Batine, datiraju se na prijelaz stupnja Ha C1 na Ha C2 (Trachsel 2004: sl. 165). S obzirom da nema sačuvanih grobnih cjelina teško je reći bilo što o funkciji ovih igala, ali za pretpostaviti je da su i na ovom prostoru imale funkciju statusnog simbola (posebno ako pretpostavimo da su igle iz Dalja činile par).

va. The latest princely warrior grave is that under tumulus IV at the Čemernica necropolis in Kaptol, which contains an unusually broad diachronic range of finds, from Ha B3 to Ha C2, when the grave itself is dated. In this grave, the pair of multi-headed pins appears in the context of the highest social status as well as the strongest martial assemblage, making it comparable to tumulus 10 at the Gradca necropolis, with which it also shares the motif of vessels with bull protomes. In the Kaptol group, it can thus be stated that multi-headed pins represented a distinct status symbol within the costume, appearing exclusively in the graves of prominent male members of the community with a strongly emphasized warrior component. In the case of Volarska glavica (tumulus XI at the Čemernica necropolis), despite the notable absence of weaponry, it appears to concern a male member of the leading stratum of this community; consequently, the multi-headed pin placed on the cover of the chamber may certainly be interpreted as the ultimate status symbol.

## Dalj Group

From the area of the Dalj group, finds of multi-headed pins originate from Batina and Dalj; however, in both cases, the grave assemblages have unfortunately not been preserved. At Batina, a bronze pin was discovered featuring four heads, between which are double and triple plastic ribs, as well as a trumpet-shaped termination (Nađ, Nađ 1964: Pl. XV: 5). On this basis, it has been dated to the transition between stages Ha C1 and Ha C2 (Trachsel 2004: Fig. 165). In Dalj, two bronze pins were found. The first has three heads with double and triple plastic ribs between them, a ring-shaped expansion above the trumpet-shaped termination, and a profiled pin guard. The second pin has four heads with single and double plastic ribs and a trumpet-shaped termination (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002: Pl. 73: 1–2). Like the specimen from Batina, these too are dated to the transition between stages Ha C1 and Ha C2 (Trachsel 2004: Fig. 165). Since no grave assemblages have been preserved, it is difficult to make definitive statements regarding the function of these pins; however, it can be assumed that in this region as well, they served as status symbols – particularly if we presume that the two pins from Dalj originally have formed a pair.

## ZAKLJUČAK

Svi autori (F. R. Hodson, A. Guidi, G. Tomedi, Th. Stöllner) koji su se bavili tipologijom višeglavih igala, uspostavljali su vezu između razvojnih oblika i kronoloških odrednica. Za sada ostali grobni prilozi u kontekstima u kojima se nalaze višeglave igle na prostoru istočnog halštatskog kruga potvrđuju predloženi kronološki okvir koji govori da su višeglave igle bile u uporabi kroz cijelo razdoblje Ha C, iako velika većina pripada samom početku tog razdoblja. Univerzalna karakteristika na čitavom velikom području rasprostiranja jest da je uvijek dio muškog grobnog konteksta. U literaturi se često spominje kako su u ranijim razdobljima žene odjeću zatvarale fibulama, a muškarci iglama, da bi u Ha D tu ulogu i kod muškaraca preuzele fibule. Slijedom toga i višeglave igle su smatrane standardnim dijelom muške nošnje. Međutim, u slučaju višeglavih igala koje su često i jedine igle koje nalazimo u grobnim kontekstima istočnog halštatskog kruga, situacija je morala biti složenija. Jasno je da te igle nisu pronađene u svim grobovima za koje znamo da su muški, pa su sasvim sigurno morale imati i neko značenje osim praktične namjene zatvaranja odjeće. Unutar širokog prostora rasprostiranja ovih igala mogu se uočiti pojedini lokaliteti i kulturne grupe koji bilježe njihovu veću zastupljenost u grobnim cjelinama. Riječ je o Hallstattu, Mostu na Soči i skupini Este koji svakako predstavljaju središta iz kojih su se širile ideje vezane uz upotrebu ovog tipa igle, ali još ne možemo sa sigurnošću reći da su ta mjesta bila i središta proizvodnje, kao što je to predložio A. Guidi (Guidi 1983: 30). F. R. Hodson je analizirao grobne cjeline iz Hallstatta kako bi utvrdio kategorije društvenog položaja i zaključio kako su ove igle nosili svi slojevi društva (Hodson 1990: 83, sl. 20). U slučaju Hallstatta težinu ovakvim zaključcima dodatno daje relativno velik broj grobova u kojima su nađene višeglave igle. Međutim, u drugim zajednicama ili kulturnim skupinama situacija je različita. Dolenjski lokaliteti, kao što su Brezje i Novo Mesto bilježe nalaze višeglavih igala samo u bogatim grobovima, dok se kod lokaliteta Dragatuš, Magdalenska gora, Podzemelj, Pusti Gradac i Vinica ovaj tip igle javlja samo u siromašnijim grobovima. Iznimka je lokalitet Stična u kojem je nađena igla s više glava u bogatom grobu s oklopom (Gabrovec 1966: sl. 4–7), ali i u tri siromašnija groba: gro-

## CONCLUSION

All authors (F. R. Hodson, A. Guidi, G. Tomedi, Th. Stöllner) who have dealt with the typology of multi-headed pins have established a connection between developmental forms and chronological determinations. So far, other grave goods found in contexts containing multi-headed pins within the Eastern Hallstatt Circle confirm the proposed chronological framework, which indicates that these pins were in use throughout the entire Ha C period, although the great majority belong to its very beginning. A universal characteristic across this wide area of distribution is that such pins always appear as part of the male grave context. In the literature, it is often mentioned that in earlier periods women fastened their clothing with fibulae, while men used pins, and that in Ha D fibulae took over this role among men as well. Consequently, multi-headed pins were considered a standard element of male attire. However, in the case of multi-headed pins — which are often the only type of pins found in the funerary contexts of the Eastern Hallstatt Circle — the situation must have been more complex. It is clear that these pins are not found in all graves known to be male, which certainly suggests that they carried meanings beyond their practical role in fastening garments. Within the wide distribution of these pins, certain sites and cultural groups can be identified where they appear more frequently in graves. These include Hallstatt, Most na Soči, and the Este group — centers from which ideas related to the use of this pin type likely spread, although it cannot yet be stated with certainty that these sites were also centers of production, as suggested by A. Guidi (Guidi 1983: 30). F. R. Hodson analyzed grave assemblages from Hallstatt in order to determine categories of social status and concluded that these pins were worn by all layers of society (Hodson 1990: 83, Fig. 20). In Hallstatt's case, this conclusion gains additional weight from the relatively large number of graves in which multi-headed pins were found. In other communities or cultural groups, however, the situation differs. Dolenjska sites such as Brezje and Novo Mesto record finds of multi-headed pins only in rich graves, while at Dragatuš, Magdalenska Gora, Podzemelj, Pusti Gradac, and Vinica this type of pin appears only in poorer graves. The exception is Stična, where multi-headed pins were found both in a rich grave containing armor (Gabrovec 1966: Figs. 4–7) and in three poorer graves — grave 15 of Tumulus II, grave 9 of Tumulus VI (Wells 1981:

bu 15 tumula II, grobu 9 tumula VI (Wells 1981: 52, 74) te u grobu 101 tumula 48 (Gabrovec et al. 2006: 77). Preciznije konstatacije u pitanju Dolenjske otežava nedostatak grobnih cijelina kod značajnih lokaliteta, kao što su Šmarjeta, Vače te kod ranije iskopanih grobova s lokaliteta Velike Malence. Isto tako su ranije iskopane grobne cijeline s nalazišta Magdalenska Gora i Stična dokazano nesigurne (Božič 2009). Kleinklein je specifičan jer su višeglave igle za sada jedini poznati oblik igala koji je pronađen na nekropolama oko ovog naselja (Dobiat 1980: 147), a grobovi u kojima su pronađeni se pripisuju sredini društvene strukture. S druge strane Th. Stöllner smatra da su višeglave igle možda bile i statusni simboli u istočnoalpskom i sjevernoitalskom području (Stöllner 2002: 48). U mnogim slučajevima, razvidno je da su višeglave igle isključivo nosili pripadnici najvišeg sloja koji su u većini slučajeva i istaknuti ratnici. Ne treba zanemariti mogućnost da je višeglava igla barem u nekim zajednicama bila prvenstveno oznaka izuzetnog ratničkog statusa i da je kao takva bila standardni dio elitnih muških grobova, ali i istaknutih ratničkih grobova koji nisu pripadali najvišem društvenom statusu. To bi moglo bar djelomično razjasniti ulogu višeglave igle iz tumula Volarska glavica za koju pretpostavljamo da je bila položena na vrhu drvenog poklopca grobne komore. Teško je reći koja je bila njezina funkcija tehnički iznad samog groba. Uz to, riječ je o izuzetno dobro sačuvanom i kvalitetno izrađenom primjerku koji je sa svojih pet glavica i dužinom od gotovo 40 cm među najvećima, ako ne i najveći poznati primjerak ovog tipa. Moglo bi biti da je ovaj izuzetni predmet stajao na vrhu komore kao oznaka posebnog statusa osobe pokopane u grobnoj komori. Moguće je da je riječ o muškom pripadniku zajednice visokog statusa (pribor za gozbe – keramičke posude i ražnjevi) koji je možda već zbog svoje dobi ili društvene uloge prestao biti operativni ratnik što se odražava u nedostatku navalnog naoružanja. Međutim zadržava neke komponente ratničke odore kao što je pojas s brusom i nožićem i možda golema višeglava igla na poklopcu komore. Ukoliko je brončani ulomak s poklopca komore tumula 6 na kaptolskoj nekropoli Gradca doista štitnik višeglave igle, to bi značilo da je i u slučaju najbogatijeg halštatskog groba na ovom području položaj višeglave igle bio također na poklopcu komore.

52, 74), and grave 101 of Tumulus 48 (Gabrovec et al. 2006: 77). More precise conclusions for Dolenjska are hindered by the lack of complete grave assemblages from important sites such as Šmarjeta, Vače, and the earlier excavated graves from Velike Malence. Likewise, previously excavated grave contexts from Magdalenska Gora and Stična have been proven unreliable (Božič 2009). Kleinklein is specific in that multi-headed pins are, for now, the only known form of pin found in the necropolises surrounding this settlement (Dobiat 1980: 147), and the graves in which they were discovered are attributed to the middle tier of the social structure. On the other hand, Th. Stöllner believes that multi-headed pins may have served as status symbols in the Eastern Alpine and Northern Italian regions (Stöllner 2002: 48). In many cases, it is evident that multi-headed pins were worn exclusively by members of the highest social stratum — who were, in most cases, distinguished warriors. One should not disregard the possibility that in at least some communities, the multi-headed pin primarily functioned as a marker of exceptional warrior status, making it a standard feature of elite male graves as well as of distinguished warrior graves that did not belong to the highest social rank. This may help to clarify the role of the multi-headed pin from the Volarska Glavica tumulus, which is believed to have been placed on the top of the wooden cover of the grave chamber. It is difficult to determine its function above the grave structure itself. Moreover, this is an exceptionally well-preserved and finely crafted specimen — with its five heads and a length of nearly 40 cm, it is among the largest, if not the largest, known examples of this type. It is possible that this extraordinary object stood atop the chamber as a marker of the special status of the individual buried within. It may have belonged to a high-status male member of the community (as suggested by the feasting equipment — ceramic vessels and roasting spits), who, perhaps due to his age or social role, had ceased to be an active warrior — a fact reflected in the absence of offensive weapons. Nonetheless, he retained certain elements of warrior dress, such as a belt with a whetstone and knife — and perhaps the large multi-headed pin on the chamber cover. If the bronze fragment from the cover of Tumulus 6 at the Gradca necropolis in Kaptol is indeed part of a pin guard, this would mean that in the richest Hallstatt grave of this region, the multi-headed pin was likewise positioned on top of the chamber cover.

Igle su kao dio nošnje imale ukrasnu, ali i funkcionalnu ulogu jer su služile za zatvaranje odjeće. Međutim, u grobovima su te igle preuzimale i neke druge funkcije. Zanimljivo je spomenuti Knezovu opasku o namjeni igala iz groba 16 u tumulu 1 na Kapiteljskoj njivi. On navodi kako je manja igla služila za zatvaranje odjeće, dok se veća igla upravo zbog dužine koristila za pričvršćivanje mrtvačkog pokrova (Knez 1993: 23), ali nažalost ne spominje kontekst, odnosno položaj te igle u tom skeletnom grobu. S druge strane bimetalna višeglava igla (brončane glavice i željezna igla) iz skeletnog groba 1 iz sonde A otkopane 1999. na Budinjaku u potpunosti je omotana tekstilom i bila je jedini nalaz iz tog groba, pa se savršeno uklapa u teoriju o zatvaranju mrtvačkog pokrova jer grobovi tipa 10 (ravni skeletni grobovi) u pravilu sadrže vrlo malo nalaza (Škoberne 2003). Paljevinski grobovi s višeglavim iglama također pokazuju zanimljivu pojavu. Višeglava igla iz groba 17 u tumulu 6 na Grmadi u Molniku bila je neoštećena i postavljena na rub urne. Isto tako bila je veća od druge igle u tom grobu koja je bila oštećena i položena u urnu. Isti položaj višeglave igle je zabilježen i u grobu 1 na Mengešu (Škvor Jernejčič 2017: 145). Slična situacija, odnosno jedna neoštećena igla na rubu urne, a druga oštećena vatrom u urni, pojavljuje se i sa dvije brončane višeglave igle u grobu 101 tumula 48 u Stični, kao i s brončanom i željeznom višeglavom iglom u tumulu 10 u Bad Fischau (Gabrovec et al. 2006: 77–78). S. Tecco Hvala smatra da je riječ o specifičnom običaju koji bi potvrdio slučaj s brončanom i željeznom iglom iz paljevinskog groba na nalazištu Mestne njive (Križ 1995: 35; Tecco Hvala 2017: 145). Specifična brončana igla iz tumula 2 s lokaliteta Kagovac bila je savijena i taj dio se nalazio na samom rubu lonca u kojem su bili spaljeni ostatci pokojnika. Takav položaj igala, činjenica da su savijene i neoštećene vatrom, za razliku od eventualno druge igle koja se nalazi u urni, sugerira da je zatvarala neki organski materijal kojim je lonac bio omotan, najvjerojatnije tekstil sudeći po tragovima koji su se zadržali na nekima od tih igala. Ovo bi se hipotetički moglo povezati s običajem 'oblačenja' urni kakav nalazimo na prostoru Estea i Etruščana, ali možda je riječ samo o običaju omatanja urni i drugih važnih

Pins, as elements of attire, served both decorative and functional purposes, being used to fasten garments. However, in graves, these pins also took on additional functions. It is worth mentioning T. Knez's note on the purpose of the pins from grave 16 in Tumulus 1 at Kapiteljska Njiva. He states that the smaller pin served to fasten clothing, while the larger, due to its length, was used to secure the funerary shroud (Knez 1993: 23), though unfortunately, he does not specify the context or position of the pin within the skeletal grave. On the other hand, the bimetallic multi-headed pin (bronze heads and an iron shaft) from skeletal grave 1 of trench A, excavated in 1999 at Budinjak, was entirely wrapped in textile and was the only find in the grave. It fits perfectly with the theory of fastening the funerary shroud, since graves of type 10 (flat inhumation graves) generally contain very few artifacts (Škoberne 2003). Cremation graves containing multi-headed pins also exhibit an interesting pattern. The multi-headed pin from grave 17 in Tumulus 6 at Grmada in Molnik was undamaged and placed on the edge of the urn. It was also larger than the second, damaged pin found inside the urn. The same positioning of a multi-headed pin was recorded in grave 1 at Mengeš (Škvor Jernejčič 2017: 145). A similar situation — one intact pin placed on the edge of the urn and another, fire-damaged, inside — occurs with the two bronze multi-headed pins from grave 101 in Tumulus 48 at Stična, as well as with the bronze and iron multi-headed pins from Tumulus 10 at Bad Fischau (Gabrovec et al. 2006: 77–78). S. Tecco Hvala believes that this represents a specific custom, supported by the case of the bronze and iron pin from the cremation grave at the site of Mestne Njive (Križ 1995: 35; Tecco Hvala 2017: 145). The specific bronze pin from Tumulus 2 at Kagovac was bent, with that bent portion placed on the very edge of the vessel containing the cremated remains of the deceased. Such positioning, the fact that the pins are bent and unburnt, unlike any other pin placed inside the urn, suggests that they fastened some organic material wrapping the vessel — most likely textile, judging by the traces preserved on some of these pins. This could hypothetically be connected with the custom of "clothing" urns known from the Este and Etruscan areas, though it may also reflect a local practice of wrapping urns and other significant groups of grave goods in textile. Thus, in Tumulus 1 at Kagovac, the bowl functioning as an urn was wrapped in fabric fastened with several fibulae.

skupina grobnih priloga tekstilom. Tako je i u tumulu 1 na Kagovcu zdjela koja je imala funkciju urne bila omotana tkaninom koju je u ovom slučaju držalo nekoliko fibula. S druge strane, u tumulu 10 na nekropoli Gradca u Kaptolu dvije su višeglave igle bile omotane oko kompleta oružja od dva koplja i dvije sjekire koji se nalazio zbijen na jednom mjestu. Vjerojatno je oružje bilo omotano nekim organskim materijalom koje su držale višeglave igle. Sličnu situaciju s višeglavom iglom uviđenom u željeznu sjekiru sa zaliscima nalazimo u grobu 600 iz Hallstatta (Hodson 1990: 151, T. 45: 2). Višeglava igla iz kneževskog groba 6 tumula 139 na Budinjaku pronađena je prilijepljena uz kacigu, što sugerira da je kaciga bila omotana nekim organskim materijalom kroz koji je bila provučena igla. U slučaju kneževskog groba u tumulu IV na nekropoli Kaptol – Čemernica igle su također pronađene uz kacigu, ali nije zabilježen točan položaj, pa nije sigurno jesu li poput drugih metalnih nalaza bile u kacigi ili su zatvarale neki materijal u koji je kaciga sa sadržajem bila omotana (Potrebica, Rakvin 2019: 34). Isto tako je željezna igla u tumulu 3 na Kagovcu pronađena u blizini konjske opreme, pa možemo pretpostaviti da je zatvarala tkaninu omotanu oko tih predmeta jer su na njima pronađeni tragovi tekstila.

U tom smislu se treba osvrnuti i na još dvije skupine višeglavih igala koje ne pripadaju istočnom halštatskom krugu, nego zajednicama u neposrednoj blizini i koje zahtijevaju posebne i detaljne analize. Zanimljivo je napomenuti da se obje, ovdje navedene, lokalne varijante javljaju u vrijeme kasnog halštata, tj. u vrijeme kada klasični oblici višeglavih igala nestaju sa scene u područjima srednje i jugoistočne Europe.

Na japodskom prostoru se razvila lokalna varijanta s karakterističnim rebrima između kuglica i tordiranim vratom (Glogović 1989: 12). F. Lo Schiavo donosi podjelu na tip A s četiri kuglice i na tip B s dvije kuglice (Lo Schiavo 1970: 461, T. 36: 8–9). Datiraju se u Ha D1 stupanj (Drechsler-Bižić 1987: 404–405), a osim u japodskom, ovaj tip rasprostranjen je i u području Liburna. Južna granica rasprostiranja ovih igala na prostoru Liburna mogla bi biti sjeverna Dalmacija, jer za sada nisu pronađene južnije od toga (Škoberne 2003: 203).

Conversely, in Tumulus 10 at the Gradca necropolis in Kaptol, two multi-headed pins were wrapped around a set of weapons — two spears and two axes — which were placed tightly together. The weapons were likely wrapped in some organic material held in place by the multi-headed pins. A similar situation, with a multi-headed pin entwined around an iron winged axe, is found in grave 600 from Hallstatt (Hodson 1990: 151, Pl. 45: 2). The multi-headed pin from the princely grave 6 of Tumulus 139 at Budinjak was found adhering to a helmet, suggesting that the helmet had been wrapped in some organic material through which the pin had been inserted. In the case of the princely grave under Tumulus IV at the Kaptol – Čemernica necropolis, the pins were also found next to a helmet, though their exact position was not recorded, making it uncertain whether they were inside the helmet or fastened some material in which the helmet and its contents were wrapped (Potrebica, Rakvin 2019: 34). Similarly, the iron pin from Tumulus 3 at Kagovac was found near horse equipment, suggesting that it closed the fabric wrapping these items, as textile traces were observed on them.

In this regard, attention should also be drawn to two further groups of multi-headed pins that do not belong to the Eastern Hallstatt Circle but to communities in its immediate vicinity, and which require separate and detailed analyses. It is interesting to note that both of these locally developed variants appear during the Late Hallstatt period — that is, precisely when the classical forms of multi-headed pins disappear from the regions of Central and Southeastern Europe.

In the Japodian area, a local variant developed, characterized by ribs between the spherical heads and a twisted neck (Glogović 1989: 12). F. Lo Schiavo distinguishes two types: type A, with four globular heads, and type B, with two (Lo Schiavo 1970: 461, Pl. 36: 8–9). These are dated to phase Ha D1 (Drechsler-Bižić 1987: 404–405), and apart from the Japodian territory, this type is also distributed within the Liburnian region. The southernmost boundary of the distribution of these pins in Liburnian territory may have been northern Dalmatia, as none have so far been found further south (Škoberne 2003: 203).

Within the Donja Dolina-Sanski Most cultural group, two kinds of objects have been found that resemble Hallstatt multi-headed pins. The first, which is morphologically closer to the Hallstatt forms, is characteristic of the Sanski Most necro-

Na području skupine Donja Dolina-Sanski Most nalazimo dva predmeta koja su slična halštatskim višeglavim iglama. Prvi, koji je oblikom sličniji halštatskim iglama, karakterističan je za nekropolu Sanski Most i vjerojatno je imao funkciju ukrasa za kosu prema položajima u grobu i pretpostavljenoj rodnoj pripadnosti cjelina, pa se njime nećemo baviti. Drugi su višeglave igle tipa Donja Dolina koje su distribucijski vrlo koncentrirane na prostor istoimene kulturne skupine (Čović 1987: 241). Riječ je o igli čija je željezna jezgra omotana brončanom oblogom na kojoj se nalaze jednaki ili naizmjenično veći i manji diskovi (Čović 1987: 241). I ove igle nalazimo u muškim grobovima u kojima se najčešće javljaju u paru (Majnarić-Pandžić 2002: 284). No, njihova je pojava potvrđena i u tri ženska groba, od čega dva groba bilježe pojedinačne primjerke igala, a u samo su jednom grobu nađene u paru (Majnarić-Pandžić 2002: 286). Prema B. Čoviću ovaj se tip igle javlja u fazi 2a koja okvirno odgovara stupnju Stična 1, i to samo u jednom grobu koji je, prema svemu sudeći, najmlađi u toj fazi (Čović 1987: 241). U fazi 2b one postaju jedan od najznačajnijih oblika, ali zato već u fazi 2c, koja odgovara horizontu zmijolikih fibula, potpuno nestaju (Čović 1987: 241, 251–253). Uz nalaze s područja Glasinca, jedni od rijetkih nalaza izvan kulturne skupine Donja Dolina je par tih igala iz tumula VII na nekropoli Kaptol – Čemernica (Potrebica, Mavrović Mokos 2016: sl. 11). Nekoliko primjeraka zabilježeno je i na nekropoli Ferigile (Majnarić-Pandžić 2002), a u posljednje vrijeme potvrđeni su i nalazi iz Banoštora (Vasić 1989: 103, 108) i mađarskih nalazišta poput Dédestapolcsány-Várerdő (Szabó et al. 2024), što obuhvaća kulturnu zonu fenomena koji povezujemo sa srijemskom skupinom. Kada sredinom 6. st. pr. Kr. korjenite promjene zahvaćaju istočni halštatski krug, višeglave igle se ne koriste već gotovo cijelo stoljeće. Plod tih promjena je kulturni kompleks koji zahvaća Posavinu i Podunavlje, od Donje Doline do dunavskog koljena. Osnovni markeri te nove kulturne koine su bogati ženski skeletni grobovi, pa su višeglave igle tipa Donja Dolina jedan od rijetkih elemenata visokog statusa muškaraca s početka tog razdoblja. O univerzalnosti značenja i daleko složenijoj komunikacijskoj dinamici srijemske skupine

polis and most likely served as a hair ornament, based on its position within the grave and the presumed gender of the interments; therefore, it will not be considered further here. The second type comprises the so-called Donja Dolina multi-headed pins, which have a very concentrated distribution limited to the territory of the eponymous cultural group (Čović 1987: 241). These pins consist of an iron core encased in a bronze sheath, bearing identical or alternating larger and smaller disks (Čović 1987: 241). These pins are also found in male graves, most often occurring in pairs (Majnarić-Pandžić 2002: 284). However, their presence has also been recorded in three female graves, of which two contained single pins, while only one included a pair (Majnarić-Pandžić 2002: 286). According to B. Čović, this type first appears in phase 2a, corresponding approximately to stage Stična 1, and only in a single grave which seems to be the latest of that phase (Čović 1987: 241). In phase 2b, they become one of the most significant forms, but by phase 2c — which corresponds to the horizon of serpent fibulae — they disappear completely (Čović 1987: 241, 251–253). Alongside finds from the Glasinac area, one of the few occurrences outside the Donja Dolina cultural group is a pair of such pins from Tumulus VII at the Kaptol – Čemernica necropolis (Potrebica, Mavrović Mokos 2016: Fig. 11). Several examples have also been recorded at the Ferigile necropolis (Majnarić-Pandžić 2002), and more recently at Banoštor (Vasić 1989: 103, 108) and at Hungarian sites such as Dédestapolcsány-Várerdő (Szabó et al. 2024), covering the cultural zone associated with the Syrmian group phenomenon. By the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century BC, when profound transformations reshaped the Eastern Hallstatt Circle, multi-headed pins had already been out of use for nearly a century. The outcome of these changes was a new cultural complex that extended through the Sava and Danube regions, from Donja Dolina to the Danube Bend. The principal markers of this new cultural koine are rich female inhumation graves, so that the Donja Dolina-type multi-headed pins stand out as one of the few high-status male attributes from the beginning of this period. The universality of their symbolic meaning and the more complex communicative dynamics within the Syrmian group are further demonstrated by the fact that, in addition to inhumation burials such as those at the core site of Donja Dolina, these pins also appear in cremation graves (Kaptol) and in hoards (Dédestapolcsány-Várerdő).

govori i činjenica da se, osim skeletnih grobova poput matične Donje Doline, nalaze i u paljevinskim grobovima (Kaptol) i u ostavama (Dédestapolcsány-Várerdő). Upravo grob iz tumula VII iz Kaptola ukazuje na mogućnost da halštatske zajednice koje su u vrijeme kada se susreću s ovim tipovima odavno prestale koristiti klasični halštatski tip višeglavih igala još uvijek prepoznaju taj koncept i stavljaju ih u sličan kontekst.

The grave from Tumulus VII at Kaptol, in particular, indicates the possibility that Hallstatt communities — which, by the time they encountered this type, had long since ceased using the classical Hallstatt form of multi-headed pins — still recognized the underlying concept and placed them in a comparable symbolic context.

**Translation** Prijevod / **Proofreading** Lektura  
**TAMARA LEVAK POTREBICA**

## LITERATURA BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Barth, F. E.** 1969, *Die hallstattzeitlichen Grabhügel im Beriech des Kutscher bei Podsemel (Slowenien)*, Antiquitas 3, Verlag Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn.
- Bernhard, A., Weihs, A.** 2003, *Neuerforschte Gräber der frühen Eisenzeit in Kleinklein (Weststeiermark)*, Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie 93, Verlag Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn.
- Božič, D.** 2009, A Hallstatt grave containing a cuirass, excavated near Stična by the Duchess of Mecklenburg in 1913. The reliability of grave groups from the Mecklenburg Collection, *Arheološki vestnik*, Vol. 60, 63–95.
- Božič, D.** 2015, Stopnja Podzemelj 2 – orožje iz brona in železa, igle, konjska oprema, fibule in pestro okrašena lončenina / The Podzemelj 2 phase – weapons of bronze and iron, pins, horse gear, ibulae and diversely decorated pottery, in: *Sokličeva zbirka. »Tu mam pa ilirskega poglavarja«*. *Arheologija in numizmatika / The Soklič collection. »Here's the Illyrian chief«*. *Archaeology and numismatics*, catalogue of the permanent exhibition, Djura Jelenko S. (ed.), Koroški pokrajinski muzej, Slovenj Gradec, 42–61.
- Carancini, G. L.** 1975, *Die Nadeln in Italien. Gli spilloni nell'Italia continentale*. Prähistorische Bronzefunde XI-II(2), C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, München.
- Čović, B.** 1987, Grupa Donja Dolina – Sanski Most, in: *Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja. V: Željezno doba*, Benac A. (ed.), Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja, Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo, 232–288.
- Dobiat, C.** 1980, *Das hallstattzeitliche Gräberfeld von Kleinklein und seine Keramik*, Schild von Steier Beiheft 1, Abteilung für Vor- und Frühgeschichte und Münzensammlung am Landesmuseum Joanneum, Graz.
- Drechsler-Bižić, R.** 1987, Japodska grupa, in: *Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja. V: Željezno doba*, Benac A. (ed.), Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja, Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo, 391–441.
- Dular, J.** 1973, Bela krajina v starohalštatskem obdobju. Bela Krajina in der Hallstattzeit, *Arheološki vestnik*, Vol. XXIV, 544–591.
- Dular, J.** 1978, *Podzemelj*, Katalogi in monografije 16, Narodni muzej Slovenije, Ljubljana.
- Dular, J.** 2003, *Halštatske nekropole Dolenjske / Die hallstattzeitlichen Nekropolen in Dolenjsko*, Opera Instituti archaeologici Sloveniae 6, Inštitut za arheologijo, Znanstvenoraziskovalni center Slovenske Akademije znanosti in umetnosti, Ljubljana. <https://doi.org/10.3986/9789610502944>
- Dular, J., Tomanič Jevremov, M.** 2010, Ormož. *Utrjeno naselje iz pozne bronaste in starejše železne dobe / Ormož. Befestigte Siedlung aus der späten Bronze- und der älteren Eisenzeit*, Opera Instituti archaeologici Sloveniae 18, Inštitut za arheologijo, Znanstvenoraziskovalni center Slovenske Akademije znanosti in umetnosti, Ljubljana. <https://doi.org/10.3986/9789612545659>
- Dular, J.** 2013, *Severovzhodna Slovenija v pozni bronasti dobi / Nordostslowenien in der späten Bronzezeit*, Opera Instituti archaeologici Sloveniae 27, Inštitut za arheologijo, Znanstvenoraziskovalni center Slovenske Akademije znanosti in umetnosti, Ljubljana. <https://doi.org/10.3986/9789612546038>
- Djura Jelenko, S., Božič D.** 2015, Kramarškov grob z Legna / The Kramaršek grave from Legen, in: *Sokličeva zbirka. »Tu mam pa ilirskega poglavarja«*. *Arheologija in numizmatika / The Soklič collection. »Here's the Illyrian chief«*. *Archaeology and numismatics*, Djura Jelenko S. (ed.), catalogue of the permanent exhibition, Koroški pokrajinski muzej, Slovenj Gradec, 19–30.
- Fekete, M.** 1985, Rettungsgrabung früheisenzeitlicher Hügelgräber in Vaskersztes, *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Vol. XXXVII, 33–78.
- Gabrovec, S.** 1966, Zur Hallstattzeit in Slowenien, *Germania*, Vol. 44, 1–48.
- Gabrovec, S.** 1968, Grob s trinožnikom iz Novega mesta, *Arheološki vestnik*, Vol. XIX, 157–180.
- Gabrovec, S.** 1973, Začetek halštatskega obdobja v Sloveniji, *Arheološki vestnik*, Vol. XXIV, 338–385.
- Gabrovec, S.** 1987, Dolenjska grupa, in: *Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja. V: Željezno doba*, Benac A. (ed.), Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja, Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo, 29–120.
- Gabrovec, S., Kruh, A., Murgelj, I., Teržan, B.** 2006, *Stična II/1. Gomile starejše železne dobe. Katalog / Grabhügel aus der älteren Eisenzeit. Katalog*, Katalogi in monografije 37, Narodni muzej Slovenije, Ljubljana.
- Girelli, D.** 2016, Igle / Spilloni, in: *Depo iz Mušje jame pri Škocjanu na Krasu / Il ripostiglio dalla Grotta delle Mosche presso San Canziano del Carso*, Teržan B., Borgna E., Turk P. (eds.), Katalogi in monografije 42, Narodni muzej Slovenije, Ljubljana, 217–232.
- Glogović, D.** 1989, *Prilozi poznavanju željeznog doba na sjevernom Jadranu. Hrvatsko primorje i Kvarnerski otoci*, Monografije 1, Zavod za arheologiju Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, Zagreb.
- Guidi, S.** 1983, *Scambi tra la cerchia Hallstattiana orientale e il mondo a sud delle Alpi nel VII secolo a.C.*, Kleine Schriften aus dem Vorgeschichtlichen Seminar Marburg 13, Universität Marburg, Marburg. <https://doi.org/10.17192/eb2015.0155>
- Guštin, M.** 1996, Der Grabhügel der älteren Hallstattzeit aus Velike Malence, in: *Die Osthallstattkultur. Akten des internationalen Symposiums*, Sopron, 10.–14. Mai 1994, Lippert A., Jerem E. (eds.), *Archaeolingua* 7, Budapest, 115–126.
- Hencken, H.** 1978, *The Iron Age Cemetery of Magdalena gora in Slovenia. Mecklenburg Collection, Part II*, Bulletin 32, American School of Prehistoric Research 32, Peabody Museum Press, Cambridge (MA).
- Hodson, F. R.** 1990, *Hallstatt. The Ramsauer Graves. Quantification and Analysis*, Romisch-Germanische Zentralmuseum Monographien 16, Romisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz.
- Kaus K.** 1984, Zum Hexenhügel von Krensdorf, *Wissenschaftliche Arbeiten aus dem Burgenland*, Vol. 69, 60–72.

- Knez, T.** 1993, *Novo Mesto III. Knežja gomila / Fürstengrabhügel. Kapiteljska njiva*, Carniola archaeologica 3, Dolenjski muzej, Novo mesto.
- Križ, B.** 1995, *Novo mesto pred Iliri*, katalog izložbe, Dolenjski muzej, Novo mesto.
- Križ, B., Jereb, M., Teržan, B.** 2014, Kapiteljska njiva, in: *Absolutno datiranje bronaste in železne dobe na Slovenskem / Absolute dating of the Bronze and Iron Ages of Slovenia full content*, Teržan B., Črešnar M. (eds.), Katalogi in monografije 40, Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete, Narodni muzej Slovenije, Ljubljana, 473–485.
- Kromer, K.** 1959a, *Das Gräberfeld von Hallstatt*, Association internationale d'archéologie classique Monographie 1, Sansoni Editore, Firenze.
- Kromer, K.** 1959b, *Brezje – Hallstättsche Hügelgräber aus Brezje bei Trebelno*, Arheološki katalogi Slovenije 2, Narodni muzej Slovenije, Ljubljana.
- Lo Schiavo, F.** 1970, *Il gruppo liburnico–japodico per una definizione nell'ambito della protostoria balcanica*, Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Memorie Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche Ser. VIII Vol. XIV(6), Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei Roma.
- Lunz, R.** 1974, *Studien zur End-Bronzezeit und älteren Eisenzeit in Südalpenraum*, Origines, Sansoni Editore, Firenze.
- Majnarić-Pandžić, N.** 2002, Multi-headed "Pins" of the Donja Dolina Type Revisited, *Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja*, Vol. XXXII(30), 283–293.
- Metzner-Nebelsick, C.** 2002, *Der „Thrako-Kimmerische“ Formenkreis aus der Sicht der Urnenfelder- und Hallstattzeit im südöstlichen Pannonien*, Vorgeschichtliche Forschungen 23, Verlag Marie Leidorf GmbH, Rahden/Westfalen.
- Nađ, I., Nađ, P.** 1964, *Katalog arheološke zbirke dr. Imre Frey-a*, Gradski muzej Sombor, Sombor.
- Nebelsick, L. D.** 1997, Die Kalenderberggruppe der Hallstattzeit am Nordostalpenrand, in: *Hallstattkultur im Osten Österreichs*, Nebelsick L. D., Eibner A., Lauermaier E., Neugebauer J.-W. (eds.), Niederösterreichisches Pressehaus, St. Pölten, 9–128.
- Patek, E.** 1993, *Westungarn in der Hallstattzeit*, Acta humaniora, Wiley-VCH, Weinheim.
- Pichlerová M.** 1969, *Nové Košariská. Knežacie mohyly zo staršej doby železnej / (Nové Košariská. Die fürstlichen Hügelgräber aus der frühen Eisenzeit)*, Slovenské Národné múzeum, Bratislava.
- Potrebica, H.** 2013, *Kneževi željeznoga doba*, Meridijani, Samobor.
- Potrebica, H., Mavrović Mokos, J.** 2016, Encounters on borders of worlds: The Kaptol group in the Early Iron Age communication network, in: *Cultural Encounters in Iron Age Europe*. Armit I., Potrebica H., Črešnar M., Mason P., Büster L. (eds.), Archaeolingua, Budapest, 39–65.
- Potrebica, H., Rakvin, M.** 2019, Tumulus IV na groblju Kaptol-Čemernica – revizijsko istraživanje / Tumulus IV on the Kaptol-Čemernica cemetery – revision excavation, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 3. s. Vol. LII, 31–81.
- Rebay, K.** 2006, *Das hallstattzeitliche Gräberfeld von Statendorf in Niederösterreich. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Interpretation von Sozialindexberechnungen 1*, Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorischen Archäologie 135, Verlag Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn.
- Řihovský, J.** 1979, *Die Nadeln in Mähren und im Ostalpengebiet*, Prähistorische Bronzefunde XIII(5), C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, München.
- Spitzer, G.** 1973, Ein hallstattzeitlicher Grabhügel von Dragatus, *Arheološki vestnik*, Vol. XXIV, 780–830.
- Starè, F.** 1955, *Vače*, Arheološki katalogi Slovenije 1, Narodni muzej Slovenije, Ljubljana.
- Stare, V.** 1961, Prazgodovinske Malence, *Arheološki vestnik*, Vol. XI–XII (1960–1961), 50–68.
- Stare, V.** 1973, *Prazgodovina Šmarjeta*, Katalogi in monografije 10, Narodni muzej Slovenije, Ljubljana.
- Stöllner, Th.** 2002, *Die Hallstattzeit und der Beginn der Latenezeit im Inn-Salzach-Raum*, Archäologie in Salzburg 3(I), Philipps-Universität Marburg, Salzburg.
- Szabó, G. V., Mogyorós, P., Bíró, P., Kovács, A., Tankó, K., Tóth, F. M., Urbán, D., Barcsi, M.** 2024, Investigations of an Early Iron Age Siege 2: Preliminary report on the archaeological research carried out at Dédestapolcsány-Verebce-bérc and Dédestapolcsány-Várerdő between September 2022 and the end of 2023, *Dissertationes Archaeologicae ex Instituto Archaeologico Universitatis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae*, Vol. 3(11), 603–624. <https://doi.org/10.17204/dissarch.2023.603>
- Škvor Jernejčič, B.** 2017, Starejšeželeznodobne gomile na Gorenjskem. Žgani grobovi pri Vili Prah in na Koroški cesti v Kranju, *Arheološki vestnik*, Vol. 68, 117–196.
- Škoberne, Ž.** 1999, *Budinjak. Kneževski tumul*, Muzej grada Zagreba, Zagreb.
- Škoberne, Ž.** 2003, Nalaz neuobičajene višeglave igle s budinjačke nekropole, *Opvscula archaeologica*, Vol. 27, 199–210.
- Šošarić, R., Grbin, J., Potrebica, H.** 2025, Smrt i slava: halštatski pogrebni običaji iz arheobotaničke perspektive nekropola u Kaptolu (Hrvatska) / Death and glory: customs from the archaeobotanical perspective of the necropolises at Kaptol (Croatia), *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu*, Vol. 42(1), 5–52. <https://doi.org/10.33254/piaz.42.1.1>
- Tecco Hvala, S.** 2012, *Magdalenska gora. Družbena struktura in grobni rituali železnodobne skupnosti / Social structure and burial rites of the Iron Age community*, Opera Instituti archaeologici Sloveniae 26, Institut za arheologiju, Znanstvenoraziskovalni center Slovenske Akademije znanosti in umetnosti, Ljubljana. <https://doi.org/10.3986/9789612546007>
- Tecco Hvala, S.** 2017, *Molnik pri Ljubljani v železni dobi / The Iron Age site at Molnik near Ljubljana*, Opera Instituti archaeologici Sloveniae 36, Institut za arheologiju, Znanstvenoraziskovalni center Slovenske Akademije znanosti in umetnosti, Ljubljana. <https://doi.org/10.3986/9789610503750>
- Teržan, B.** 1978, O halštatski noši na Križni gori, *Arheološki vestnik*, Vol. XXIX, 55–63.

**Tomedi, G.** 2002, *Das hallstattzeitliche Gräberfeld von Frög. Die Altgrabungen von 1883 bis 1892*, Archaeolingua, Budapest.

**Trachsel, M.** 2004, *Untersuchungen zur relativen und absoluten Chronologie der Hallstattzeit*, Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie 104(1), Verlag Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn.

**Vasić, R.** 1989, Jedan prilog proučavanju Sremske grupe, *Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja*, Vol. XXVII(25), 103–113.

**Vejvoda, V., Mirnik, I.** 1971, Istraživanja prahistorijskih tumula u Kaptolu kraj Slavonske Požege, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 3. s. Vol. V, 183–210.

**Vinski, Z., Vinski-Gasparini, K.** 1962, O utjecajima istočno-alpske halštatske kulture i balkanske ilirske kulture na slavonsko-srijemsko Podunavlje, *Arheološki radovi i rasprave*, Vol. II, 263–293.

**Wells, P. S.** 1981, *The Emergence of an Iron Age Economy. The Mecklenburg Grave Groups from Hallstatt and Stična*, Mecklenburg collection, Part III, Bulletin 33, American School of Prehistoric Research 32, Peabody Museum Press, Cambridge (MA).

