

*Hrvoje POTREBICA & Daria LOŽNJAK DIZDAR*

## METALNI NALAZI KASNOGA BRONČANOG DOBA NA PROSTORU POŽEŠKE KOTLINE

### LATE BRONZE AGE METAL FINDS IN THE POŽEGA VALLEY

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*Požeška kotlina izdvojena je zemljopisna cjelina u središnjem dijelu sjeverne Hrvatske. Strateški položaj između važnih riječnih tokova Save i Drave davao je tom kraju značaj izuzetno važnog komunikacijskog područja što se očituje u brojnim arheološkim nalazima od prapovijesti do srednjega vijeka. Stoga ni značajni nalazi iz vremena kasnoga brončanog doba ne predstavljaju iznenađenje. Kako se u to vrijeme sve više razvija metalurgija bronce, u Požeškoj su kotlini veoma brojni nalazi metala. Najčešće se pojavljuju kao ostave ili pojedinačni nalazi, a rjeđe su pronađeni u kontekstu naselja ili grobova. Skupina metalnih nalaza kasnoga brončanog doba s prostora Požeštine sastoji se od oružja, oruđa i nakita koji su u jednom trenutku dospjeli pod zemlju pojedinačno ili skupno kao ostave, a mogu se datirati u razdoblje od Ha A do Ha B.*

*Ključne riječi: kasno brončano doba, Požeška kotlina, ostave, slučajni nalazi, gorski prijelazi*

Požeška kotlina zauzima središnji položaj u među-riječju Drave, Save i Dunava. Zbog toga taj prostor prožimaju svi utjecaji koji su strujali spomenutim riječnim komunikacijama. Zatvorena cjelina koju omeđuju Papuk, Psunj, Požeška gora, Krndija i Dilj predstavlja dobar strateški i lako branjiv prostor koji obiluje vlastitim prirodnim bogatstvima.

*The Požega Valley is a distinct geographic unit in the central portion of northern Croatia. Its strategic location between the vital courses of the Sava and Drava rivers accords this region with exceptional importance as a communications zone, which is confirmed by the numerous archaeological finds dating from prehistory to the Middle Ages. Therefore, the important finds dating to the Late Bronze Age are not surprising. Since bronze metallurgy expanded considerably during that era, metal finds are very numerous in the Požega Valley. Most often they appear as hoards or individual finds, while more rarely they are found within the context of settlements or graves. The category of Late Bronze Age metal finds from the Požega Valley consists of weapons, tools and jewelry which at some point were buried either individually or jointly as hoards, and they can be dated to periods from Ha A to Ha B.*

*Key words: Late Bronze Age, Požega Valley, hoard, chance finds, mountain passes*

The Požega Valley occupies a central position in the Drava, Sava and Danube interfluvium. This area was therefore permeated by all influences associated with the aforementioned rivers as channels of transport and communications. This enclosed unit bordered by Papuk, Psunj, the Požega Hills, Krndija

U starijoj fazi kasnoga brončanog doba postojalo je, sudeći prema sadašnjem stanju istraživanja, nekoliko metalurških radionica na prostoru Brodskog Posavlja. Prema njemu je prostor Požeške kotline otvoren tokom rijeke Orljave tzv. Pleterničkim vratima koja su na istočnom dijelu omeđena Diljem, a na zapadu Požeškom gorom. Stoga ne iznenađuju nalazi brončanih predmeta oružja, oruđa i nakita koji su bili u upotrebi gotovo čitavo kasno brončano doba. Dosad poznati nalazi s prostora Požeštine dvije su ostave, Londice i Ciglenik (Vinski & Vinski-Gasparini 1956: 84–86; Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 100, 181, T. 74 B, T. 126 A), te nekoliko slučajnih nalaza sjekira i narukvica (Potrebica & Balen 1999).

Od većih skupnih nalaza poznata je već u literaturi prezentirana ostava Londica koja je datirana u fazu II kulture polja sa žarama (Vinski & Vinski-Gasparini 1956: 84; Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 100, 181, T. 74 B). Ostava je sadržavala koplje plamenastog oblika s dugačkim tuljcem, ulomke drugih koplja, mač slavonskog tipa po Cowenu, ulomke mačeva, tuljastu sjekiru s ušicom, V-ukrasom i kružnicom iznad njih te ulomak srpa s dugmetastim nastavkom. Ostavi pripada još nekoliko ulomaka srpa, ulomak sjekire i ulomak drške noža sa zadebljanjem i trnom te amorfni komadi bronce (Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 100, 181, T. 74 B).

Kod Vučjaka Kamenskog pronađene su dvije brončane narukvice, tri ulomka jednog torkvesa i ulomci oštrica mačeva (T. 2, 1–5). Kako su svi predmeti pronađeni u usjeku šumskog puta uz potok Velinac, a u Gradski muzej Požega dospjeli su podsredstvom istoga darovatelja (Sokač 1969: 58–59, T. II; III, 1–2), moguće je da se radi o nalazu ostave. Torkves se sastoji od triju ulomaka od kojih je jedan dio, savijen u spiralu završnog dijela, ukrašen motivom jelove grančice (T. 2, 1). Torkves ukrašen motivom jelove grančice sa spiralnim zavšecima pronađen je u ostavi Poljanci I koja se prema nalazima bodeža datira u kasno Br D i rano Ha A razdoblje odnosno u II. fazu ostava (Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 88, T. 49, 3). Narukvice imaju otvorene krajeve i polukružni presjek, a jedna od narukvica ukrašena je urezima (T. 2, 2).

U Dragi kod Velike<sup>1</sup> pronađena je ostava koja je većim dijelom raznesena i izgubljena. Poznate su nam tri šuplje sjekire te jedna sjekira sa zaliscima. Jedna šuplja sjekira ima zadebljali rub i vodoravno rebro ispod ruba. Iz njega izlaze dvostruke kose linije koje se ne zatvaraju u V-ukras. Druga šuplja sjekira ima

and Dilj constitutes a sound strategic and easily defensible area that abounds in natural wealth.

All current research indicates that there were several metallurgical workshops in the Sava River zone around today's town of Brod during the early phase of the Late Bronze Age. The Požega Valley has an opening toward this zone along the Orljava River through the so-called Pleternica Gate, with the highlands of Dilj forming an eastern boundary and the Požega Hills forming its western boundary. Thus, finds of bronze weapons, tools and jewelry in use throughout the entire Late Bronze Age are not surprising. So far the best known finds from the wider Požega region are two hoards known as Londica and Ciglenik (Vinski & Vinski-Gasparini 1956: 84–86; Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 100, 181, T. 74 B, T. 126 A), and several chance finds encompassing axes and bracelets (Potrebica & Balen 1999).

Among the larger group finds, the Londica hoard has already been presented in the relevant literature. It has been dated to phase II of the Urnfield culture (Vinski & Vinski-Gasparini 1956: 84; Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 100, 181, T. 74 B). The hoard contained a spearhead with a flame-like form and a long socket, the fragments of another spearhead, a Slavonian-type sword based on Cowen's description, sword fragments, a conical axe with a small hole, a V-decoration and a circle above them, and a fragment of a sickle with a button-like extension. Several more fragments of a sickle, an axe fragment, a fragment of a widened knife handle with a tang and bronze amphorae fragments also belong to this hoard (Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 100, 181, T. 74 B).

Two bronze bracelets, three fragments of a torque and fragments of a sword blade (T. 2, 1–5) were found at Vučjak Kamenski. Since all of these items were found in a depression of a forest trail along Velinac Creek, and they were donated to the Požega Town Museum by the same patron (Sokač 1969: 58–59, T. II; III, 1–2), it is possible that they constitute the remains of a hoard. The torque consists of three fragments, of which one part, twisted into a spiral at the end, is decorated with a fir branch (T. 2, 1). A torque decorated with a fir-branch motif and with spiral ends was found in the Poljanci I hoard, which based on a dagger has been dated to the late Br D and the early Ha A period, i.e. phase II of the hoards (Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 88, T. 49, 3). The bracelets have open ends and a semi-circular cross-section, and one of them is decorated with engravings (T. 2, 2).

A hoard that has been largely dispersed and lost was found in Draga, near Velika.<sup>1</sup> Three socketed axes and one winged axe have also been registered. One of the socketed axes has an enhanced edge and a

<sup>1</sup> Nalazi iz ostave danas se čuvaju u Gradskom muzeju u Požegi i u Dijecezanskom muzeju u Velikoj. Podaci o porijeklu pojedinih nalaza nepouzdati su jer je za neke predmete jasno istaknuto kako potječu iz Drage u Velikoj, dok se za druge navodi kako dolaze iz Velike, a vrlo je vjerojatno da se radi o predmetima iz iste ostave iz Drage.

ušicu sa strane i zadebljali rub ispod kojeg je ukras od triju vodoravnih rebara. Ispod njih nalazi se ukras od triju okomitih rebara: središnje izlazi iz četvrtog vodoravnog rebra, a dva pokrajnja rebra naglo skreću iz naznačenih vodoravnih rebara (T. 1, 4). Šuplja sjekira s vodoravnim rebrom i dvostrukim V-ukrasom koji se ne zatvara potpuno, gotovo identična sjekiri iz Velike, pronađena je u ostavi Otok-Privlaka te u ostavi Bizovac, a karakteristične su za stupanj Ha A (Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 84, T. 27, 11; T. 36, 6). Šuplja sjekira s ušicom sa strane i kombiniranim ukrasom vodoravnih i okomitih rebara pronađena je u ostavi Kapelna koja je datirana u vrijeme Ha B1 i pripisana IV. fazi ostava (Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 166–167, T. 110, 13). Taj ukras nagoviješten je još u II. fazi ostava sjeverne Hrvatske. O tome svjedoči nalaz jedne sjekire iz ostave Budinščina. Njegov razvoj počinje u III. fazi ostava, odnosno u vremenu Ha A2, te postaje karakterističan za mlađe oblike Ha B1-2 (Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 104, T. 78, 7). Treća šuplja sjekira sa zadebljalim rubom, trima okomitim kanelurama ispod njega i ušicom sa strane ima manje dimenzije nego druge dvije sjekire iz Drage (T. 1, 5). Sjekira sa zaobljenim zaliscima italskog tipa, zabilježena među ostacima nalaza iz Drage (T. 1, 1), ima analogije u ostavi iz Brodskog Varoša i Bizovca, a datira se u vrijeme Ha A (Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 93, T. 38, 4; T. 60, 8). U ostavi su pronađena i tri srpa od kojih jedan ima jezičasti izdanak. Od drugih dvaju srpova jedan ima jezičasto produženje i dva rebra na ručki koja završava u obliku lastavičjeg repa. Između rebara nalaze se dvije vodoravne linije povezane jednom kosom linijom (T. 1, 2). Drugi srp s dugmetastim izdanakom na dršci ima tri okomita rebra (T. 1, 3). Ovakvi srpovi pronađeni su u ostavi Tenja i mogu se datirati u vrijeme Ha A (Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 84, T. 33, 4, 6).<sup>2</sup>

Ostava iz Ciglenika pripada V. fazi ostava i većim je dijelom raznesena. Sačuvane su samo narukvice: jedna ima okrugli presjek i obručasti oblik s okomitim ukrasima jelove grančice; druga narukvica ima D-presjek, otvorene krajeve i naizmjenice je ukrašena cik-cak, okomitim, vodoravnim i kosim urezima te motivom jelove grančice. U ostavi je pronađena i šuplja sjekira malih dimenzija s ušicom sa strane (Vinski & Vinski-Gasparini 1956: 82; Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 152, 178, T. 126 A).

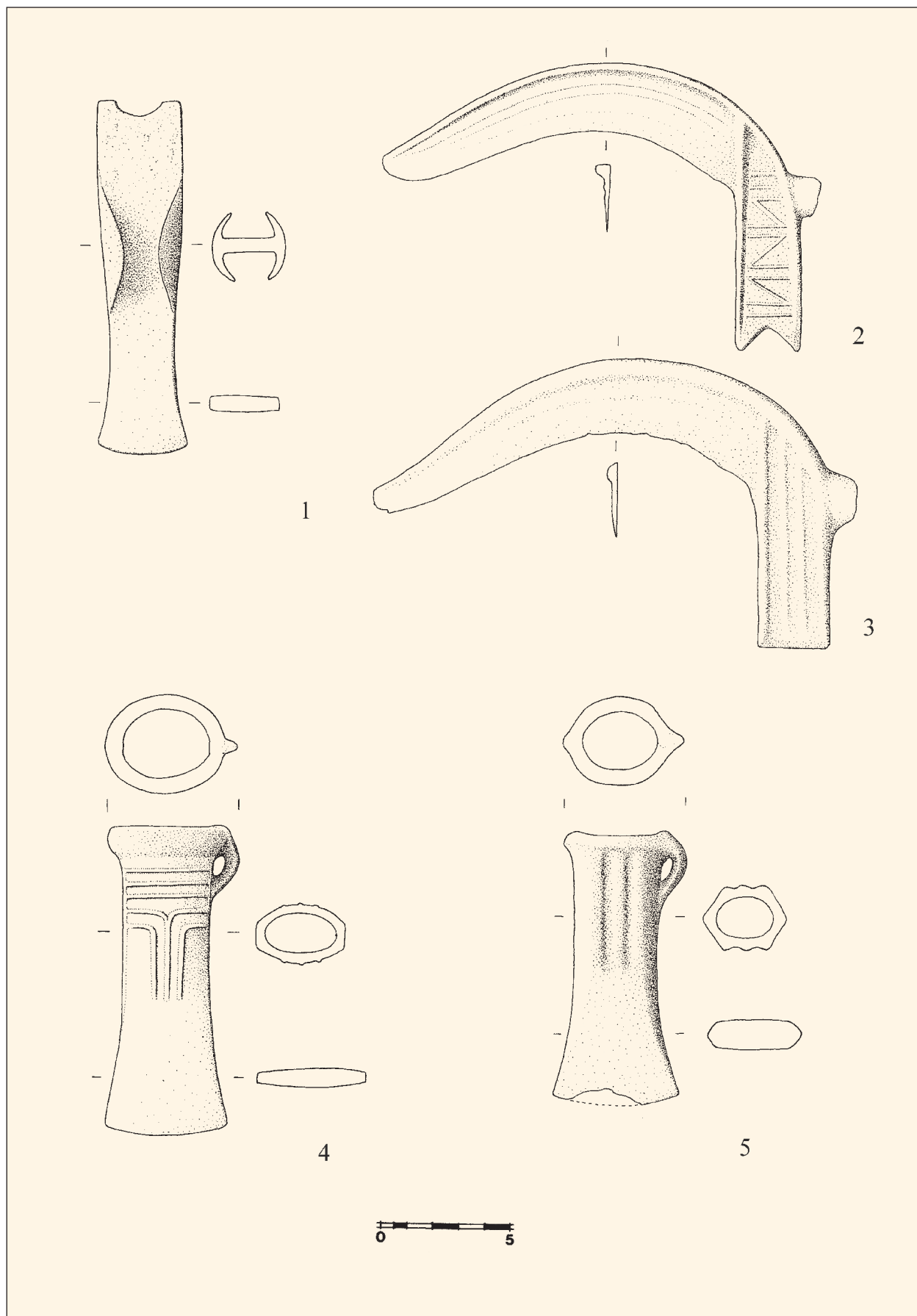
Osim nalaza fragmentarnih ostava na prostoru Požeške kotline zabilježeno je nekoliko slučajnih nala-

horizontal rib under the edge. Two double slanted lines extend from it and then close in a V-decoration. Another socketed axe has a small hole to the side and an enhanced edge, under which there is a decoration consisting of three horizontal ribs. Under them there is a decoration consisting of three vertical ribs: the central one extends from the fourth horizontal rib, while the two outer ribs sharply turn from the horizontal ribs (T. 1, 4). The socketed axe with a horizontal rib and a double V-decoration that fully closes is almost identical to the axe from Velika, found in the Otok-Privlaka hoard and in the Bizovac hoard, and they are characteristic of the Ha A phase (Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 84, T. 27, 11; T. 36, 6). The socketed axe with a small hole to the side and combined decorations of horizontal and vertical ribs was found in the Kapelna hoard, dated to the Ha B1 period and ascribed to phase IV of the hoards (Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 166–167, T. 110, 13). This type of decoration was already heralded in phase II of the hoards of northern Croatia. The axe find from the Budinščina hoard testifies to this. Its development began in phase III of the hoards, during the Ha A2 period, and it became characteristic of the earlier forms of Ha B1-2 (Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 104, T. 78, 7). The third socketed axe with an enhanced edge, three vertical cannelures under it and a small hole on the side is smaller than the other two axes from Draga (T. 1, 5). An axe with rounded Italic-type wings has been registered among the finds from Draga (T. 1, 1), and it has its analogies in the hoards from Brodska Varoš and Bizovac, dated to the Ha A period (Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 93, T. 38, 4; T. 60, 8). Three sickles were also found in the hoard, one of which has a tongue-like offshoot. Another one of these sickles has a tongue-like extension and two ribs on the handle that end in the form of a swallowtail. Between the ribs there are two horizontal lines linked with a single slanted line (T. 1, 2). The other sickle, with a button-like offshoot on its handle, has three vertical ribs (T. 1, 3). These types of sickles were found in the Tenja hoard and they can be dated to the Ha A period (Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 84, T. 33, 4, 6).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Finds from the hoard are today kept at the Požega Town Museum and in the Diocesan Museum in Velika. Data on the origins of the find are unreliable because certain items are clearly denoted as coming from Draga in Velika, while others are denoted as coming from Velika, although it is very likely that the latter are items from the same hoard from Draga.

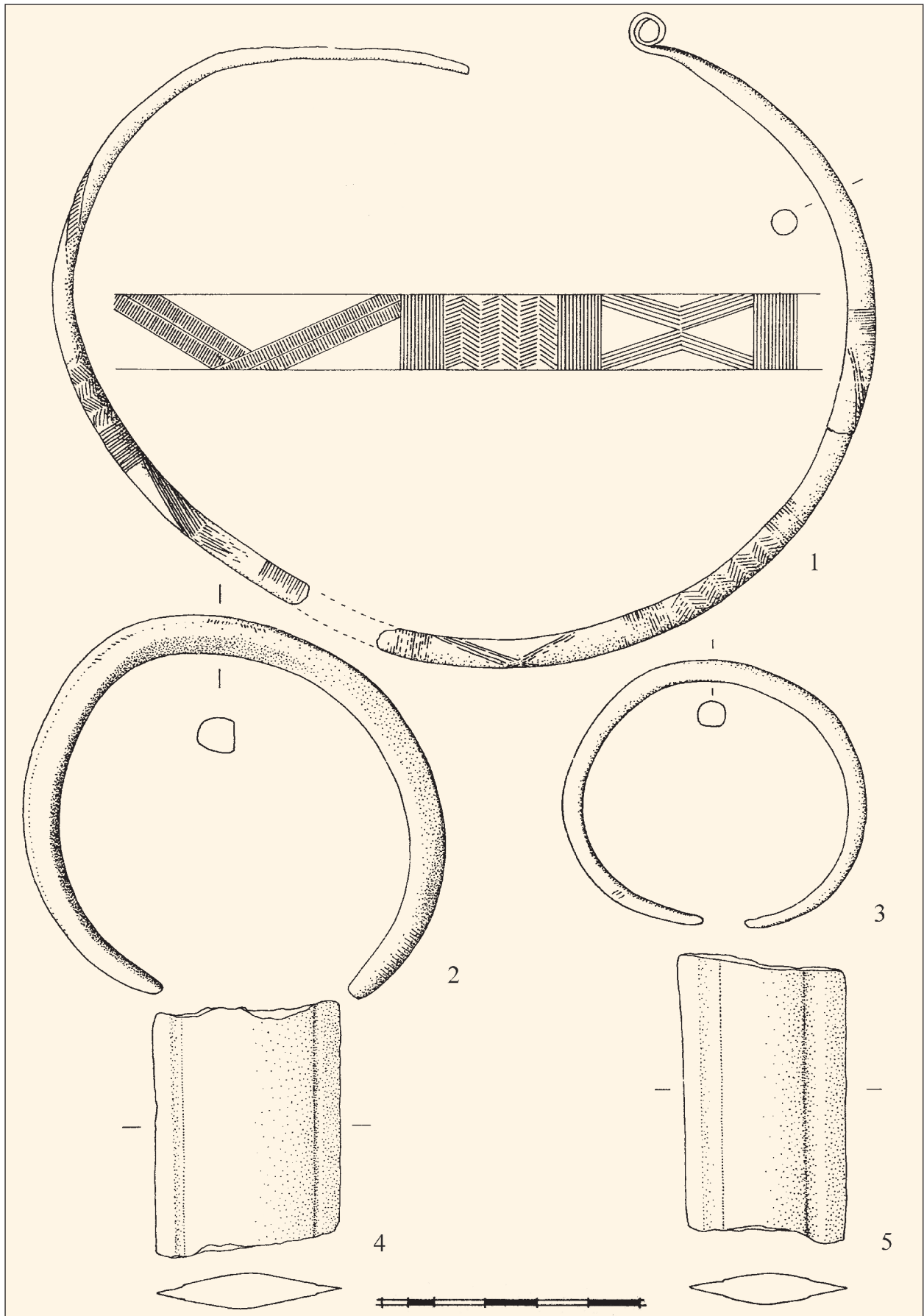
<sup>2</sup> While most finds from the Draga hoard, the two sickles and socketed axe with V-decoration and the Italic-type axe bear the features of phase II of the Urnfield culture, the two other socketed axes already exhibit the characteristics of the earlier phase: a decoration with vertical ribs and smaller dimensions. It is precisely due to the ambiguous circumstances of finds from this hoard that we have attempted to date each item separately.

<sup>2</sup> Dok većina nalaza iz ostave u Dragi, dva srpa i šuplja sjekira s V-ukrasom te sjekira italskog tipa, imaju karakteristike II. faze kulture polja sa žarama, druge dvije šuplje sjekire posjeduju već karakteristike mladih faza: ukras okomitim rebrima te manje dimenzije. Upravo zbog nejasnih okolnosti nalaza ove ostave pokušali smo pojedinačno datirati svaki predmet.



T. 1. 1–5: Nalaz iz Drage (crtež: Marta Perkić).

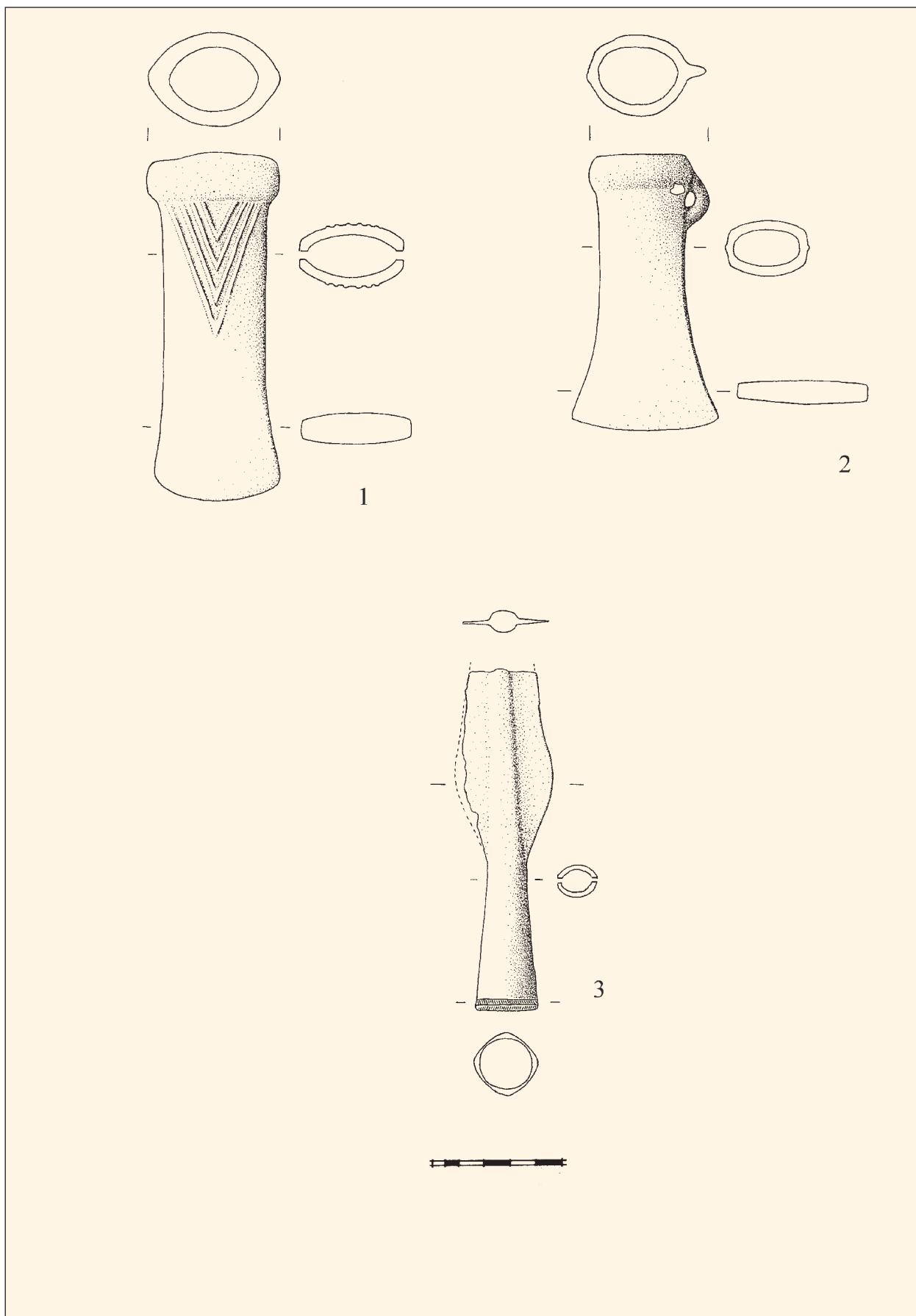
T. 1. 1–5: Find from Drage (drawing by Marta Perkić).



T. 2. 1-5: Nalaz iz Vučjaka Kamenskog (crtež: Marta Perkić).

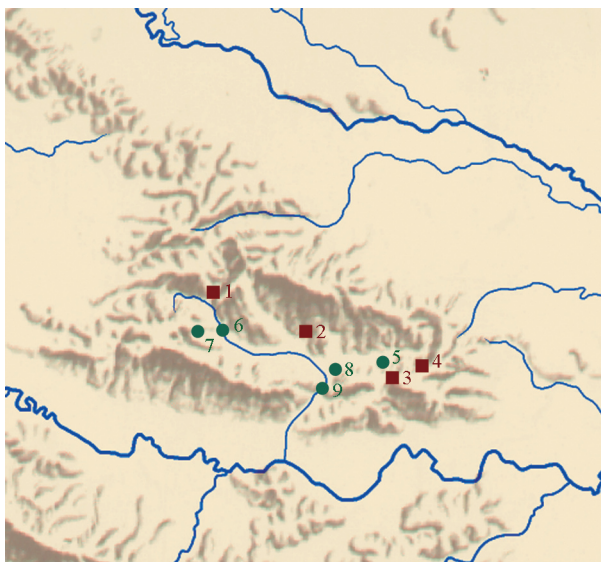
T. 2. 1-5: Find from Vučjak Kamenski (drawing by Marta Perkić).





T. 3. 1: Pasikovci, 2 nepoznato nalazište, 3 Šnjegavič (crtež: Marta Perkić).

T. 3. 1: Pasikovci, 2 unidentified site, 3 Šnjegavič (drawing by Marta Perkić).



Slika 1. Metalni nalazi kasnog brončanog doba na prostoru Požeške kotline (Potrebica & Ložnjak).

Figure 1. Late Bronze Age metal finds in the Požega Valley (by Potrebica & Ložnjak).

- OSTAVE ILI SKUPNI NALAZI / HOARDS OR GROUPS OF FINDS (1. Vučjak Kamenski; 2. Draga kod Velike; 3. Londica; 4. Ciglenik)
- POJEDINAČNI NALAZI / INDIVIDUAL FINDS (5. Mali Bilač, 6. Pasikovci, 7. Šnjegavić; 8. Gradac; 9. Pleternica)

za brončanog oružja, oruđa i nakita. Iz šume Klenovac kod Velike poznate su dvije brončane narukvice okruglog presjeka. Jedna je ukrašena motivom jelove grančice, a druga ima niz okomitih ureza. Mogu se usporediti s narukvicama II. faze kulture polja sa žarama (Potrebica & Balen 1999: 19, T. 25; Vinski-Gasparini 1973: T. 55, 29, 34; T. 59, 3; T. 71, 22, 29, 32, 36; T. 74, D 4).

Iz Šnjegavića potječe ulomak koplja koji je pri dnu tuljca ukrašen urezanim motivom jelove grančice (Sokač 1969: 59, T. III, 3). Koplje ispod lista ima dvije rupice sa strane za pričvršćivanje drvenog nasada. Čak tri primjerka ovakvog koplja, od kojih na dvama također nedostaje vršak, pronađeni su u ostavi Otok – Privlaka (Holste 1951: T. 6, 1–2, 5) i mogu se datirati u čitav stupanj Ha A1 (Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 81).

U Pasikovcima je pronađena šuplja sjekira zadeljalog ruba ispod kojeg je ukrašena četverostrukim V-motivom (Sokač 1969: 56, T. I, 1). Na tijelu sjekira ima dvije rupice na strani za pričvršćivanje drvene drške (T. 3, 1). Takve sjekire pronađene su i u ostavi Podcrkavlje (Holste 1951: T. 7, 4–5) i datiraju se u vrijeme Ha A (Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 93). U novije

The hoard from Ciglenik dates to phase V of the hoards and most of its artifacts have been taken away. Only bracelets have been preserved: one has a round cross-section and a ring-like form with vertical fir branch decorations; the other has a D cross-section, open ends and is decorated with an alternating zigzag of vertical, horizontal and slanted incisions and a fir-branch motif. A small socketed axe with a hole on the side was also found in the hoard (Vinski & Vinski-Gasparini 1956: 82; Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 152, 178, T. 126 A).

Besides the finds from fragmentary hoards, several chance finds of bronze weapons, tools and jewelry have also been registered in the Požega Valley. Two bronze bracelets with a round cross-section are known from Klenovac Forest near Velika. One is decorated with fir branch motifs, while the other has a series of vertical incisions. They are comparable to the bracelets from phase II of the Urnfield culture (Potrebica & Balen 1999: 19, T. 25; Vinski-Gasparini 1973: T. 55, 29, 34; T. 59, 3; T. 71, 22, 29, 32, 36; T. 74, D 4).

The fragment of a spearhead with a fir branch motif engraved at the bottom of the socket comes from Šnjegavić (Sokač 1969: 59, T. III, 3). There are two small holes to one side under the spearhead blade that were used to fasten the wooden pole. There are three examples of such spearheads, of which one has a missing tip, found in the Otok-Privlaka hoard (Holste 1951: T. 6, 1–2, 5) and they can be dated to the entire Ha A1 phase (Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 81).

An axe was found in Pasikovci which has an enhanced edge with a four-fold V-motif decoration under it (Sokač 1969: 56, T. I, 1). The body of the axe has two holes on the side used for fastening the wooden handle (T. 3, 1). Such axes have also been found in the Podcrkavlje hoard (Holste 1951: T. 7, 4–5) and dated to the Ha A period (Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 93). More recently, this type of axe has been registered in the Poljane hoard in the Drava valley, dated to the same period, which was found within a settlement (Kulenović & Alečković 2003: 157, T. 1, 1). At the site Babišnjača at the village of Gradac, the tip of a sword blade was found which has been difficult to ascribe to any type (Potrebica & Balen 1999: 11–12, 24, T. 6, 1). The same case applies to the fragments of a sword with a tang from Bilač whose type, due to the damage it sustained, is difficult to specify (Potrebica & Balen 1999: 10, 24, T. 1, 1). This is the reason why these finds cannot be dated. A chance find of bracelet fragments and two buttons come from Pleternica; they are not chronologically sensitive within the duration of Urnfield culture (Potrebica & Balen 1999: 18, 24, T. 24, 1, 4–5).

vrijeme takva sjekira zabilježena je i u istovremenoj ostavi Poljane na prostoru Podravine koja je pronađena u naselju (Kulenović & Alečković 2003: 157, T. 1, 1). Na položaju Babišnjača kod sela Gradac pronađen je vrh sječiva mača koji je teško pripisati bilo kojem tipu (Potrebica & Balen 1999: 11–12, 24, T. 6, 1). Isti je slučaj s ulomcima mača s jezičcem iz Bilača kojem je uslijed oštećenosti dosta teško odrediti tip (Potrebica & Balen 1999: 10, 24, T. 1, 1). Iz tih razloga nije moguće točnije datirati ove nalaze. Iz Pleternice potječe slučajni nalaz ulomka narukvice i dva dugmeta koji nisu kronološki osjetljivi unutar trajanja kulture polja sa žarama (Potrebica & Balen 1999: 18, 24, T. 24, 1, 4–5).

Na prostoru Požeške kotline pronađene su još tri šuplje sjekire: jedna iz Gradca i dvije s nepoznatih nalazišta (Potrebica 2000: 44). Mala šuplja sjekira sa zadebljalim rubom i ušicom sa strane potječe s nepoznatog nalazišta (T. 3, 2).

U fazu V ostava ubraja se i neukrašena šuplja sjekira iz Gradišta malih dimenzija s ušicom sa strane. Taj tip karakterističan je za sam kraj kasnoga brončanog doba na prostoru Slavonije (Potrebica & Balen 1999: 24, T. 13, 1).

Pokušamo li ove metalne nalaze promatrati u kontekstu naseljenosti Požeške kotline u kasnom brončanom dobu, možemo iščitati zanimljive kvantitativne i geografske odnose između ostava i slučajnih nalaza s jedne strane te poznatih naselja i grobalja s druge strane.

Prema sadašnjem stanju istraživanja iz vremena starije faze kulture polja sa žarama poznato je na prostoru Požeške kotline pet grobalja (Vetovo, Zarilac, Grabarje, Požega, Vlatkovac). U slučaju Vetova (Vinski-Gasparini 1973: T. 17, 13), Grabarja (Sokač-Štimac 1984: 129) i Požege (Sokač-Štimac 1976: 45) riječ je o slučajnim nalazima. U selu Vlatkovcu u istočnom dijelu Požeške kotline slučajno su otkriveni 1987. godine ostaci groblja grupe Barice-Gređani (Minichreiter & Sokač-Štimac 1998). Jedino sustavno istraživano groblje ono je u Zarilcu gdje je otkriveno 28 grobova iz vremena virovitičke grupe (Sokač-Štimac 1977: 38). U otkrivenim grobovima, kao ni među zabilježenim nalazima iz naselja, nema metalnih predmeta.

Ova se groblja pripisuju dijelom virovitičkoj grupi (Zarilac, Vetovo), a dijelom grupi Barice-Gređani koja je u starijoj fazi kasnog brončanog doba bila rasprostranjena na području Posavine (od Okučana prema istoku) te na prostoru Bosanske Posavine (Čović 1958: 93–94; Minichreiter 1982/1983) pa ne iznenađuje izostanak metalnih predmeta u grobovima. Takvi nalazi općenito su veoma rijetki u grobovima ove grupe (Minichreiter 1984a: 99). Jedino groblje grupe Barice-Gređani u čijim grob-

Three more hollow axes have been found in the Požega Valley: one from Gradac and two from unknown sites (Potrebica 2000: 44). The small socketed axe with an enhanced edge and small hole on the side comes from an unidentified site (T. 3, 2).

A small, undecorated socketed axe with a small hole on the side from Gradište has also been ascribed to phase V of the hoards. This type is characteristic of the very end of the Late Bronze Age in Slavonia (Potrebica & Balen 1999: 24, T. 13, 1).

If an attempt is made to observe these metal finds in the context of habitation of the Požega Valley during the Late Bronze Age, interesting quantitative and geographic relations can be discerned between the hoard and the chance finds on the one hand and known settlements and cemeteries on the other.

Based on the current level of research into the earlier phase of the Urnfield culture, five cemeteries are known to exist in the Požega Valley (Vetovo, Zarilac, Grabarje, Požega, Vlatkovac). The finds from Vetovo (Vinski-Gasparini 1973: T. 17, 13), Grabarje (Sokač-Štimac 1984: 129) and Požega (Sokač-Štimac 1976: 45) are chance finds. The remains of a cemetery of the Barice-Gređani group were found in the village of Vlatkovac in the eastern section of the Požega Valley in 1987 (Minichreiter & Sokač-Štimac 1998). The only systematically researched cemetery is the one in Zarilac, where 28 graves from the time of the Virovitica group were discovered (Sokač-Štimac 1977: 38). There are no metal items, neither in the discovered graves nor in the finds from the settlement.

This cemetery is partially ascribed to the Virovitica group (Zarilac, Vetovo), and partially to the Barice-Gređani group which was widespread in the territory of Sava River valley in both Croatia (from Okučani to the east) and Bosnia (Čović 1958: 93–94; Minichreiter 1982/1983) during the earlier phase of the Late Bronze, so the lack of metal items in the graves is therefore not surprising. Such finds are generally very rare in graves of this group (Minichreiter 1984a: 99). The only cemetery of the Barice-Gređani group in which the grave units contain metal items is the one in Perkovci, near Brod. Eleven metal items were found there in five graves, generally components of attire: needles, bracelets, a ring ... (Minichreiter 1984a: 99). Virovitica group graves from the same period, widespread in the Drava valley, also very rarely contained metal items (Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 42). Known metal items from the Požega Valley appear from the Ha A period, while the registered grave finds from Požega, Grabarje, Zarilac, Vetovo and Vlatkovac have generally been dated to the Br D, possibly to the Ha A1 period.



nim cjelinama ima metalnih predmeta groblje je u Perkovcima kod Broda. Tu je u pet grobova pronađeno jedanaest brončanih predmeta, uglavnom dijelova nošnje: igle, narukvice, prsten... (Minichreiter 1984a: 99). Grobovi virovitičke grupe iz istog razdoblja, rasprostranjene u Podravini, također vrlo rijetko sadrže metalne predmete (Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 42). Poznati metalni predmeti s prostora Požeške kotline pojavljuju se od vremena Ha A, dok se zabilježeni grobni nalazi iz Požege, Grabarja, Zaričca, Vetova i Vlatkovca uglavnom datiraju u razdoblje Br D s mogućim trajanjem u razdoblju Ha A1.

Time je još jače naglašen fenomen deponiranja predmeta koji je bio vrlo uobičajen u II. fazi ostava (horizont Veliko Nabrđe), odnosno u razdobljima Br D i Ha A1 (Vinski-Gasparini 1983a: 655). Ovakav odnos metalnih predmeta u grobovima i istovremenim ostavama vidljiv je na puno širem prostoru. Govoreći o značenju ostava K. Vinski-Gasparini ističe prije svega njihovu značajnu materijalnu vrijednost, osobito u II. stupnju kada su one najveće, i ističe kako mogući razlog deponiranja takve vrijednosti nije mogao biti trivijalne prirode: mirnodopsko napuštanje naselja, seoba i sl. (Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 78.). Malen broj grobova iz toga vremena, osim nedostatkom istraživanja, K. Vinski-Gasparini tumači i uništenošću brojnih groblja iz toga vremena (Martijanec, Bošnjaci) (Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 68).

O značenju brončanodobnih ostava i povijesti tumačenja toga fenomena iscrpan pregled dao je v. Brunn (v. Brunn 1968: 230–239). Nastanak tzv. votivne teorije u devetnaestom stoljeću plod je ideje J. J. A. Worsaaea u Danskoj zbog okolnosti nalaza ostava u močvarama koje su bile svojevrsna svetišta brončanodobnih ljudi. Ostave u močvarama češće su u sjevernoj nego u srednjoj Europi. Stoga su njemački istraživači izražavali sumnju u takvo jednoznačno objašnjenje fenomena ostava (Sprockhoff) i ostavama srednje Europe otvoreno pripisivali profano značenje, odnosno smatrali su da su ti predmeti skrivani pred nadolazećom katastrofom (Reinecke, Holste). Autor upozorava kako su novu interpretaciju ostava prihvatili i istraživači ostava u Karpatskoj kotlini i Poljskoj (v. Brunn 1968: 232). Usporedivši profanu interpretaciju podunavskih ostava sa sakralnom interpretacijom u sjevernom dijelu srednje Europe može se zaključiti kako se radi o istim fenomenima koji su promatrani sa različitih regionalnih stajališta. Zaokret u tumačenju dao je H. Müller-Karpe koji je pokazao kako se ostave kulture polja sa žarama u južnoj Njemačkoj mogu tumačiti i kao žrtvene ostave, pri čemu su uključeni močvarni nalazi, nalazi u spiljama te

This thereby emphasizes even more the phenomenon of depositing items that was very customary in phase II of the hoards (Veliko Nabrđe horizon), i.e. during the Br D and Ha A1 period (Vinski-Gasparini 1983a: 655). This relationship toward metal items in graves and the simultaneous hoards is visible across a geographically much wider area. Speaking of the significance of the hoard, K. Vinski-Gasparini first and foremost emphasized their considerable material value, particularly in phase II, when they are quantitatively the greatest, and stressed that a possible reason for depositing such valuables could not be trivial in nature: peacetime departure from settlements, migrations, etc. (Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 78.). Besides the lack of research, K. Vinski-Gasparini explains the small number of graves from this period with the general level of devastation of numerous cemeteries from that time (Martijanec, Bošnjaci) (Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 68.).

V. Brunn provided an exhaustive overview of the significance of Bronze Age hoards and the history of interpretations of this phenomenon (v. Brunn 1968: 230–239). The emergence of the so-called votive theory in the nineteenth century is the result of an idea by J. J. A. Worsaae in Denmark, based on the hoard finds in swamps which served as kind of sanctuaries to Bronze Age people. Hoards in swamps are more frequent in Northern than in Central Europe. German researchers thus expressed doubt in such a uniform explanation for the hoard phenomenon (Sprockhoff), so a profane import was ascribed to hoards in Central Europe, i.e. they were deemed items hidden in expectation of impending disaster (Reinecke, Holste). This author points out that the new interpretation of hoards was also accepted by researchers into hoards in the Carpathian Valley and Poland (v. Brunn 1968: 232). A comparison of the profane interpretation of Danubian hoards with the sacral interpretation in the northern part of Central Europe leads to the possible conclusion that this is the same phenomenon observed from different regional standpoints. A departure from standard interpretations was made by H. Müller-Karpe, who showed that Urnfield culture hoards in southern Germany can also be interpreted as sacrificial hoards, and this encompassed finds in swamps, caves and under and among rocks (v. Brunn 1968: 232–233). If the votive meaning is ascribed to the hoards of the northern and Danubian sphere, then the regional differences between them can be interpreted by different ways of making sacrifices (v. Brunn 1968: 237). The paucity of metal items in Urnfield culture graves in the northeastern section of Central Europe casts some doubt on the synchronization of cemeteries and hoards in this

nalazi ispod kamena i među stijenama (v. Brunn 1968: 232–233). Ako se votivno značenje pripiše ostavama sjevernog i podunavskog kruga, tada se regionalne razlike među njima mogu tumačiti različitim načinima žrtvovanja (v. Brunn 1968: 237). Siromaštvo metalnih priloga u grobovima kulture polja sa žarama u sjeveroistočnom dijelu srednje Europe dovodi u pitanje sinkroniziranje groblja i ostava na tom području (v. Brunn 1968: 15–16) koje je bilo moguće u zapadnom dijelu srednje Europe (južni dio alpskog kruga, Austrija, Tirol, južna Njemačka i Švicarska). Tu su u grobove češće prilagani metalni predmeti na temelju čega su se mogli iščitati i relativnokronološki odnosi (Müller-Karpe 1959). Jedno od intrigantnijih objašnjenja ovakve pojave ponudila je B. Teržan koja smatra kako se velik broj ostava pojavljuje u vrijeme Br D i Ha A, odnosno prije 1100. godine i pojave velikih grobalja kulture polja sa žarama (Dobova, Ruše). U razdoblju Ha B javljaju se puno rjeđe pa se njihova pojava može povezati s pogrebnim kultom i vjerovanjem u život poslije smrti (Teržan 1987: 73).

Prostorno je taj fenomen odnosa brojnih ostava i grobova siromašnih metalnim priložima promatrao i S. Hansen. On je zaključio kako su u vrijeme starije faze kulture polja sa žarama na području sjeverno od Balatona u zapadnoj Mađarskoj i sjeverno od Dunava u Slovačkoj brojni prilozi u grobovima istaknutih pojedinaca dok ostave nisu tako brojne kao u međuriječju Drave i Save te u Transilvaniji (Hansen 1994: 311). Pri proučavanju šireg prostora na kojem su se deponirali metalni predmeti tijekom starije faze kulture polja sa žarama između doline Rhône i Karpatske kotline Sven Hansen je zaključio kako se radi o tri fenomena: u prostoru gdje su poznati grobovi s priložima oružja nema ostava; tamo gdje nedostaju ovakvi grobovi, mnogobrojne su ostave koje sadrže oružje; malobrojne ostave na područjima gdje su zabilježeni grobovi s oružjem ne sadrže oružje (Hansen 1994: 317–318).

Prema tome izostanak metalnih priloga u istraženim grobovima starije faze kulture polja sa žarama u Požeškoj kotlini uklapa se u opću sliku međuriječja Drave i Save pa i šireg geografskog prostora istočnog dijela Karpatske kotline gdje su ti predmeti češće prilagani u velike ostave.

Mali broj metalnih predmeta u naseljima na prostoru Požeštine može se tumačiti trenutnim stanjem istraživanja naselja iz vremena starije faze kulture polja sa žarama. O tome svjedoče rezultati istraživanja visinskog naselja na Kalniku gdje je istražen onaj dio naselja u kojem se, sudeći prema nalazima brojnih brončanih predmeta i kalupa za njihovu izradu, odvijala bogata metalurška djelatnost (Majnarić-Pandžić 1992: 63; Vrdoljak 1992).

region (v. Brunn 1968: 15–16), which would have been possible in the western part of Central Europe (the southern part of the Alpine circle, Austria, Tyrol, southern Germany and Switzerland) where metal items were more often deposited in graves, whereby relative chronological relations could also be discerned (Müller-Karpe 1959). One of the most intriguing explanations of such phenomena was offered by B. Teržan, who believes that a large number of hoards appeared during the Br D and Ha A, i.e. prior to 1100 BC and the appearance of large Urnfield culture cemeteries (Dobova, Ruše). During the Ha B period they appear much less frequently, so their emergence can be associated with burial cults and belief in an afterlife (Teržan 1987: 73).

Spatially this phenomenon of the relationship between numerous hoards and graves with meager metal goods was examined by S. Hansen. He concluded that during the earlier phase of the Urnfield culture in the territory north of Balaton in western Hungary and north of the Danube in Slovakia the goods in the graves of distinguished individuals are numerous while hoards are not as numerous as in the territory of the Drava and Sava interfluvium and Transylvania (Hansen 1994: 311). Upon examination of the wider area in which metal items were deposited during the earlier phase of the Urnfield culture between the Rhône basin and the Carpathian Valley, Sven Hansen concluded that it was a matter of three phenomena: in areas where graves with weaponry goods are known to exist, there are no hoards. Where such graves are lacking, there are many hoards containing weaponry. The few hoards that exist in areas where graves with weapons were registered contain no weaponry themselves (Hansen 1994: 317–318). Therefore, the lack of metal items in researched graves from the earlier phase of the Urnfield culture in the Požega Valley fit into the general picture of the Drava and Sava interfluvium and even the wider geographic zone of the eastern part of the Carpathian Valley, where these items were often deposited in large hoards.

The small number of metal items in settlements in the wider Požega area can be interpreted by the current level of research into settlements from the earlier phase of the Urnfield culture. This point is proven by the results of research into the highland settlement on Kalnik, where a part of the settlement was examined which, judging by the finds of numerous bronze items and molds for making them, extensive metallurgical activity occurred (Majnarić-Pandžić 1992: 63; Vrdoljak 1992). Metallurgy in settlements of that time is also confirmed by finds from systematic research into the settlement of Novigrad on the Sava River, which existed from the Br D to

Metalušku djelatnost u onovremenim naseljima potvrđuju i nalazi sustavnih istraživanja naselja Novigrad na Savi koje je postojalo od vremena Br D do vremena Ha B s težištem u razdoblju Ha A1 (Majnarić-Pandžić 1993: 157). Nalazi brončanih predmeta i kamenih kalupa za njihovo lijevanje svjedoči o djelatnosti radionica za izradu brončanog oruđa i nakita, a vjerojatno i oružja u ovom naselju (Majnarić-Pandžić 1993: 152, sl. 11–12). O velikom intenzitetu metalurgije svjedoče brojne ostave na prostoru Brodskog Posavlja od kojih su neke zabilježene u naseljima (Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 78; Majnarić-Pandžić 2000: 106). Poznata je i ostava Mačkovac koja je slučajno pronađena u naselju Crišnjevi u Mačkovcu kod Nove Gradiške, a datirana je u II. fazu ostava kulture polja sa žarama u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj (Karavanić & Mihaljević 2001). Naselje se sustavno istražuje od 1997. godine i prema keramičkim nalazima pripisano je grupi Barice-Gređani, a prema velikom broju brončanih predmeta datirano je od vremena Br C/D do početka stupnja Ha A (Karavanić, Mihaljević & Kalafatić 2002: 55). Osim ostava koje su pronađene u naseljima postoji veći broj ostava koje su otkrivene u široj okolici naselja iz istog vremena. Takva je ostava iz Drage kod Velike<sup>3</sup> dok su ostale ostave pohranjene izvan dosad poznatog kulturnog konteksta (Londica, Ciglenik, Vučjak Kamenski). Sadržaj ostava iz vremena Ha A iz Požeške kotline ne razlikuje se mnogo od ostava s geografski bliskog prostora Brodskog Posavlja, osim što se radi o mnogo manje predmeta. Razlog tomu prvenstveno leži u okolnostima pod kojim su ostave pronađene i dopremljene u muzeje jer nijedna nije sačuvana u cjelosti.

Ostave s prostora Posavine sadrže velik broj i različite vrste predmeta: oružje, oruđe, nakit, dijelove nošnje, posude, konjsku opremu, ali i brončanu sirovinu. Takve ostave u svom sastavu imaju određeni udio slomljenih i/ili nedovršenih predmeta i interpretiraju se kao ljevačke ostave. Velik broj takvih ostava sugerira postojanje metalurških centara na tom prostoru, što potvrđuju i brojni tipovi predmeta u kojima se može prepoznati lokalni karakter (Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 78; Majnarić-Pandžić 2000: 106). Nije isključena ni mogućnost da su ostave imale platežni karakter, odnosno neku vrstu monetarne vrijednosti (Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 78). Takvom objašnjenju u prilog ide nalaz utega u jednoj od brojnih ostava iz Slavonskog Broda (Clausing 2004: 126, Abb. 36, 125). Analizom utega iz Slavonskog Broda uočeno je da se uklapa u težinski sustav

the Ha B period, with emphasis on the Ha A1 period (Majnarić-Pandžić 1993: 157). Finds of bronze items and the stone molds used to cast them testify to the activity of workshops to produce bronze implements and jewelry, and probably also weapons, in this settlement (Majnarić-Pandžić 1993: 152, Fig. 11–12). Numerous hoards, some of them found in settlements, in the Sava Valley area around Brod testify to the intensity of metallurgy (Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 78; Majnarić-Pandžić 2000: 106). There is also the Mačkovac hoard, which was found by chance in the settlement of Crišnjevi in Mačkovac, near Nova Gradiška, and dated to phase II of the Urnfield culture in northern Croatia (Karavanić & Mihaljević 2001). The settlement has been systematically researched since 1997, and based on the pottery finds, it has been classified as belonging to the Barice-Gređani group, while based on the large number of bronze items, it has been dated from the Br C/D to the beginning of the Ha A phase (Karavanić, Mihaljević & Kalafatić 2002: 55). Besides hoards found in settlements, there is a large number of hoards discovered in the wider environs of settlements from the same period. The hoard from Draga, near Velika<sup>3</sup> is one of these, while the remaining hoards were deposited outside of the so-far known cultural context (Londica, Ciglenik, Vučjak Kamenski). The content of the hoard from the Ha A period from the Požega Valley does not differ much from hoards from the geographically close Sava Valley at Brod, except there are far fewer items. The reason for this primarily lies in the circumstances under which the hoards were found and delivered to museums, because none have been preserved in their entirety.

The hoards from the Sava River valley contain a large number and different types of items: weapons, implements, jewelry, parts of attire, vessels, horse-riding gear and even unprocessed bronze. Such hoards contain a certain share of broken and/or unfinished items that have been interpreted as foundry hoards. The large number of such hoards suggests the existence of metallurgical centers in this area, which is also confirmed by numerous types of items in which a local character can be recognized (Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 78; Majnarić-Pandžić 2000: 106). One cannot exclude the possibility that these hoards had a currency character, i.e. that they had some sort of monetary value (Vinski-Gasparini 1973: 78). Such an explanation is confirmed by the weights found in numerous hoards from Slavonski Brod (Clausing 2004: 126., Abb. 36, 125). An analysis

<sup>3</sup> Ostava iz Drage pronađena je nedaleko od kasnobrončanodobnog naselja Pliš koje je otkriveno na temelju slučajno pronađenih površinskih nalaza keramike.

<sup>3</sup> The hoard from Draga was found not far from the Late Bronze Age settlement of Pliš, which was discovered on the basis of chance pottery finds on the surface.



kasnobrončanodobne Europe (Clausing 2004: 127) čime se ističe vjerojatnost mjerenja vrijednosti u ostavama. Na taj način povoljan riječni prijelaz preko Save daje ostavama pohranjenim u Brodskoj Posavini i drugu dimenziju. Putujući trgovci i majstori brončanim su predmetima možda plaćali vozarinu ili su jednostavno ostavljali određeni namet u robi na mitnicama. Brodska Posavina je u neposrednoj blizini Požeške kotline s kojim je geografski povezana prirodnim prolazom preko Pleterničkih vrata. Međutim, u vrijeme Ha A ostave nisu brojne samo na tom prostoru, nego u čitavom međuriječju Save i Drave (Vinski-Gasparini 1973). Slična situacija zapaža se i u cijeloj Karpatskoj kotlini koja već dugi niz godina plijeni pažnju istraživača i predstavlja osnovu podjela kasnoga brončanog doba na relativno-kronološke horizonte prema karakterističnom inventaru ostava u pojedinom razdoblju (Holste 1951; v. Brunn 1968; Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977; Mozsolics 1985; Turk 1996).

O razlozima deponiranja ostava i osobito o njihovom rastućem broju u razdoblju Ha A1 na prostoru Karpatske kotline govori A. Harding. Iznosi nekoliko razloga: opskrba metalom bila je neujednačena, načini deponiranja mijenjali su se u vezi s metalurškim operacijama (taljenjem, kovanjem), a s vremenom na vrijeme varirala je i dostupnost sirovina koje su pokrivala proizvodnju (Harding 2000: 358–360). Zato porast broja ostava i predmeta deponiranih u njima u razdoblju Ha A treba promatrati kao rezultat ogromne količine nove sirovine koja je prije toga uključena u tehnologiju (Forenbaher 1995: 271). A. Harding promatra ostave prije svega kao rezultat psihološkog poriva ljudi koji su ih deponirali, a manje kao utilitarni princip koji je dominirao životom kasnobrončanodobnih populacija (Harding 2000: 368). Unatoč tomu, u ovom je trenutku teško sa sigurnošću utvrditi pravi razlog deponiranja brončanih predmeta.

Osim tumačenja kako se radi o ljevačkim ostavama zakopanima zbog opasnosti, nemira ili jednostavno odloženim u neku jamu u naselju, postoje i tumačenja kako su takve ostave rezultat religiozne prakse, a ne političke organizacije, privrede ili razmjene u prapovijesnim društvima (Hänsel 1997: 13; Hansen 1994: 3). S. Hansen smatra da se akumulacija ekonomskog kapitala očitava samo u simboličnoj formi prestižnih dobara u kojoj materijalno bogatstvo nije bilo roba u modernom smislu, nego je riječ o darovima. Oni su u isto vrijeme uzdizali darovatelja i obvezivali darovanog, odnosno pokretali su društvene veze i bili su odraz društvenih dužnosti (Hansen 1994: 3). B. Teržan također vidi ostave kao odraz duhovnog života populacija kasnog brončanog doba. Ona je kvantitativno podijelila ostave

of the weight from Slavonski Brod has shown that they correspond to the weight system of Late Bronze Age Europe (Clausing 2004: 127) which highlights the probability of measuring values in hoards. In this manner, the convenient river crossing across the Sava gives the hoards deposited in the Sava River valley in the Brod area another dimension. Traveling merchants and master craftsmen used bronze items to pay cartage or they simply left a certain levy in goods at toll-gates. The Sava valley around Brod is in the immediate vicinity of the Požega Valley, with which it is geographically linked by the natural pass through the Pleternica Gate. However, during the Ha A period, hoards are no longer just numerous in this area, but throughout the Sava and Drava interfluvium (Vinski-Gasparini 1973). A similar situation can be observed in the entire Carpathian Valley, which has for many years attracted the attention of researchers and which represents the basis for dividing the Late Bronze Age into relative chronological horizons based on the characteristic inventory of hoards in an individual period (Holste 1951; v. Brunn 1968; Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977; Mozsolics 1985; Turk 1996).

The reasons for depositing hoards and especially for their growing numbers during the Ha A1 period in the Carpathian Valley were discussed by A. Harding. He cited several reasons: the supply of metal was unequal, depositing methods changed in relation to metallurgical operations (smelting, forging), while from time to time the availability of raw materials to cover production varied (Harding 2000: 358–360). This is why growth in the number of hoards and the items deposited in them during the Ha A period must be viewed as the result of enormous quantities of new raw materials that were encompassed in technology prior to this (Forenbaher 1995: 271). A. Harding views hoards first and foremost as the result of the psychological urge of the people who deposited them, and less as a utilitarian principle that dominated the lives of Late Bronze Age populations (Harding 2000: 368). Despite this, at the moment it is difficult to state with certainty the actual reasons for depositing bronze items.

Besides interpretations to the effect that foundry hoards were buried due to imminent threat, unrest or simply deposited in some pit in a settlement, there are also interpretations that such hoards are the result of religious practices, rather than political organization, economy or exchange in prehistoric societies (Hänsel 1997: 13; Hansen 1994: 3). S. Hansen believes that the accumulation of economic capital is only reflected in the symbolic form of prestige goods, in which material wealth did not consist of goods in the modern sense, but rather of gifts. This simultaneously elevated the giver and bound



i smatra da se prema broju i vrsti predmeta može raspoznati i simbolički karakter ostava. Ostave s manjim brojem predmeta obično sadrže nekoliko sjekira, poneko dlijeto ili srp te ih B. Teržan tumači kao osobnu svojinu pojedinca. Ostave s velikim brojem različitih predmeta interpretira kao kolektivnu svojinu, odnosno kao žrtvene darove skupine ljudi (Teržan 1987: 72). Ovakvi tipovi ostava pojavljuju se u vrijeme Br D i Ha A, odnosno prije 1100. godine i prije pojave velikih grobalja kulture polja sa žarama (Dobova, Ruše, Ljubljana) kada su metalni predmeti u grobovima pokojnika mnogo češći. Stoga pojavu ostava Teržanova povezuje s pogrebnim običajima i vjerovanjima u zagrobni život (Teržan 1987: 73). Prekretnicu koju je B. Teržan zamijetila u duhovnom životu ne oslikava se u strukturi, nego u kvaliteti ostava: one više nisu tako brojne. Pored oružja i oruđa ove ostave sadrže elemente nošnje i ingote. Mijenjaju se samo neki tipovi predmeta ili varijante tipova, a novost su ingoti koničnog oblika jer su u ranijim razdobljima bile uobičajene ovalne pogače brončane sirovine (Turk 1996: 112–114). Promjena starije u mlađu fazu kulture polja sa žarama na prijelazu iz 2. u 1. tisućljeće prije Krista vidi se u opadanju broja ostava i u metalurgiji bronce. Na to ukazuju rezultati analize metala. U mlađim predmetima nalazi se veći udio olova koji se pojavljuje u kombinaciji s bakrom ili s bakrom i kositrom. Takva se ležišta nalaze u srednjoj i sjevernoj Italiji te u Švicarskoj (Trampuž Orel 1999: 428). U vremenu Ha A u metalurgiji bronce zamijećena je upotreba bakra s malom količinom nečistoća te dodavanje kositra u slitine bronce u različitim omjerima, sukladno namjeni predmeta (Trampuž Orel 1996: 210). Tako se manji udio kositra u srpovima povezuje prije svega s karpatskim obrtničkim krugom jer su se u zapadnoeuropskome krugu dodavale veće količine kositra bez obzira na vrstu predmeta. Pri tome je dokazano kako su se srpovi iz ostava upotrebljavali i kao oruđe za žetvu, što je u suprotnosti s uobičajenim mišljenjem da je njihova uloga u ostavama bila votivnog ili predmonetarnog karaktera (Trampuž Orel 1999: 427). S obzirom na tehnološke postupke i tipološke oblike nalaza pronađenih na prostoru Slovenije metalurgija bronce u vremenu Ha A toga prostora može se povezati s tzv. karpatskim obrtničkim krugom, što svjedoči o razgranatoj mreži proizvodnje, trgovine i razmjene (Trampuž Orel 1996: 210).

Opisani nalazi iz tog vremena s prostora Požeške kotline odnose se na nepotpunu ostavu Lonđicu te na dva nalaza iz Drage i Vučjaka Kamenskog koje prema okolnostima nalaza i strukturi možemo vrlo vjerojatno pripisati ostavama. Ostavu iz Lonđice i nalaz iz Vučjaka Kamenskog može se s obzi-

the receiver, i.e. it fomented social ties and reflected social duties (Hansen 1994: 3). B. Teržan also sees hoards as a reflection of the spiritual life of Late Bronze Age populations. She categorizes hoards quantitatively and believes that the symbolic character of the hoard can be recognized based on the number and types of items. Hoards with a smaller number of items normally contain several axes, and perhaps a chisel or sickle, which B. Teržan interprets as the personal property of an individual. She interprets hoards with a large number of items as collective property, as the sacrificial gifts of a group of people (Teržan 1987: 72). This type of hoard appears during the Br D and Ha A period, i.e. prior to 1100 BC and prior to the appearance of large Urnfield culture cemeteries (Dobova, Ruše, Ljubljana), when metal items in graves of the deceased were much more frequent. Thus Teržan ties the phenomenon of hoards with burial customs and beliefs in an afterlife (Teržan 1987: 73). The watershed that B. Teržan noticed in spiritual life is not reflected in the structure, but rather in the quality of hoards: they are no longer as numerous. Besides weapons and tools, these hoards contain elements of attire and ingots. Only certain types of items or variants of types change, while conical ingots are a novelty, since in earlier periods oval cakes of unprocessed bronze were customary (Turk 1996: 112–114). The transition from the earlier to the later phase of the Urnfield culture at the turn of the second into the first millennium BC can be seen in the decline in the number of hoards and in bronze metallurgy. This is backed by the results of metal analysis. More recent items contain a larger share of lead, which appears in combination with copper or with copper and tin. Such casings are found in central and northern Italy and in Switzerland (Trampuž Orel 1999: 428). The use of copper with a small quantity of impurities and the addition of tin to bronze alloys in various ratios, corresponding to the purpose of the item, has been noted in bronze metallurgy during the Ha A period (Trampuž Orel 1996: 210). Thus, the smaller share of tin in sickles is above all associated with the Carpathian artisan circle, because in Western European circles larger quantities of tin were added regardless of the type of item. It has also been proven that the sickles from hoards were used as harvesting implements, which runs contrary to the standard view that their role in hoards was votive or pre-monetary (Trampuž Orel 1999: 427). Given the technological procedures and typological forms of finds from Slovenia, bronze metallurgy during the Ha A period from this area can be associated with the so-called Carpathian artisan circle, which is proven by the well developed network of production, trade and

rom na strukturu promatrati i kao ostave ljevača i kao žrtvene darove. Naime fragmentarnost predmeta ne mora označavati ostavu ljevača ili imati monetarnu vrijednost, nego može biti i posljedica kulturnog uništavanja predmeta (Bader 1999: 139). Lomljena bronca pojavljuje se u ostavama od rano brončanog doba u sjevernoeuropskom krugu, a ima je vrlo mnogo u zoni južno od Alpa i Karpat pa se nekada pojava lomljenja bronce tumačila utjecajem koji se širio od juga prema sjeveru, iako sada postoje i drukčije indicije (v. Brunn 1981: 127). Stoga ulomci oštrice mača iz Vučjaka Kamenskog (T. 2, 4–5) i Londice mogu ukazivati i na ritualno uništavanje predmeta radi žrtve (Teržan 1996: 255).

Oba značenja koja se pripisuju ostavama, i profano i duhovno, mogu biti točna. Naime ako je i neka skupina vrijednih predmeta zakopana u zemlju u vrijeme opasnosti, vrlo je vjerojatno tamo odložena zbog zaštite nekog božanstva kojem su se njihovi posjednici utjecali (Bouzek 1996: 421). J. Bouzek drži kako su ostave kasnog brončanog doba posljednji stupanj ritualnog čina povezanog sa žrtvovanjem koje se odvijalo kraj rijeka, na planinskim prijevojima, u pećinama i sl. Međutim on smatra da ostave istovremeno odražavaju i sliku distribucijskog sustava između «kraljevstva» u europskoj kulturi polja sa žarama na čijem su čelu bili «kraljevi-svećenici» (Bouzek 1996: 422). Pomirbeno objašnjenje o značenju ostava pokušao je iznijeti R. Bradley koji je zaključio kako nije lako razlikovati ostave profanog od onih votivnog značenja. On ističe kako brončanodobni sustav prikuplja i ujedinjuje kapital i možda se čak njihova razmjena odvija u standardnim jedinicama. Tijekom vremena prikupljeni predmeti mogu biti posvećeni nadnaravnom ili sahranjeni s mrtvim, dok metalni predmeti koji ne pripadaju lokalnom sustavu mogu biti akumulirani i reciklirani (Bradley 1987: 360).

Važan podatak o značenju ostava ima i mjesto na kojem su deponirane (voda, gorski prijevoj, kame-nolom i sl.). Ostave iz Požeške kotline pronađene su ili blizu naselja iz istog vremena (npr. Draga) ili u šumskom usjeku uz potok, odnosno uz prirodan gorski put (Vučjak Kamenski). U vremenu Ha A ostave se, osim uz naselja ili njihovu bližu okolicu vežu i za onodobne prometne komunikacije. One su dobro popraćene nalazima s gorskih prijevoja, što je vrlo dobro istraženo na primjeru Alpa (Mayer 1979; Stöllner 1997: 20), a slično bi značenje mogli imati i nalazi na prijelazima preko Karpat s obzirom na važne metalurške centre u Transilvaniji (Soroceanu 1995: 29–30, bilj. 59). Na temelju tih podataka T. Bader iznio je teoriju o nalazima na važnim prometnim i strateškim prijelazima preko Karpat.

exchange (Trampuž Orel 1996: 210).

The described finds of this period from the Požega Valley pertain to the incomplete Londica hoard and two finds from Draga and Vučjak Kamenski, which, based on the circumstances of the finds and their structure, can be classified as hoards. Given their structure, the hoard from Londica and the find from Vučjak Kamenski can very likely be classified as foundry hoards or as sacrificial gifts. Namely, the fragmentary nature of the items does not have to denote a foundry hoard or have monetary value, but it may be the result of cultic destruction of items (Bader 1999: 139). Fractured bronze appears in hoards from the Early Bronze Age in the northern European circle, and there are very many such hoards in the zone south of the Alps and Carpathians, so that formerly the phenomenon of fractured bronze was interpreted as an influence that spread from south to north, although currently there are different indications (v. Brunn 1981: 127). Therefore, the fragments of sword blades from Vučjak Kamenski (T. 2, 4–5) and Londica may indicate the ritual destruction of items as sacrifices (Teržan 1996: 255).

Both meanings ascribed to the hoards, profane and spiritual, may be accurate. Namely, if some group of valuable items was buried in the ground during a time of danger, it is very likely that it was put there to protect some deity that accorded their holders with some influence (Bouzek 1996: 421). J. Bouzek believes that Late Bronze Age hoards are the final stage of a ritual tied to sacrifices that was conducted next to rivers, on mountain passes, in caves, etc. However, he believes that hoards simultaneously reflect the picture of the distribution system between the “kingdoms” in European Urnfield culture that were headed by “priest-kings” (Bouzek 1996: 422). R. Bradley attempted to make a compromise explanation, concluding that it is not a simple matter to distinguish between profane and votive hoards. He stresses that under the Bronze Age system capital was collected and consolidated and its exchange perhaps proceeded in standard units. Over time, the collected items may be dedicated as supernatural or interred with the dead, while metal items not belonging to the local system may be accumulated and recycled (Bradley 1987: 360).

The place at which a hoard is deposited (water, mountain pass, quarry, etc.) is also an important indicator of its meaning. The hoards from the Požega Valley were found either near a settlement dated to the same period (e.g. Draga) or in forest clearings next to creeks, or next to natural mountain passes (Vučjak Kamenski). During the Ha A period, besides settlements and their immediate vicinity, hoards are also tied to the transport communications of

Povezao ih je s visinskim naseljima i obližnjim nalazima naselja i globalja te ih protumačio kao dokaze postojanja prapovijesnog prometa. Nalaze ostava i slučajne nalaze uz putove protumačio je kao putne žrtve, odnosno kao žrtvene darove trgovaca, a visinske je nalaze interpretirao u vezi s transhumantnim stočarstvom te žrtvom stočara bogovima planina (Bader 2001: 26). Uzrok pohranjivanju predmeta na području Alpa valja tražiti u topografskim, prometnim, vremenskim i osobito stresnim situacijama, kada je putnik na taj način komunicirao s planinskim božanstvom. Manje je vjerojatno da su uzrok bile opće ratne ili slične opasnosti jer nisu dopirale do teško prohodnih Alpa (Neubauer & Stöllner 1996: 124). U alpskom je prostoru najviše nalaza pronađeno na nadmorskoj visini od 1000 do 1500 metara, a najbrojniji su u kasnom brončanom dobu kada su koplja najčešći prilog (Neubauer & Stöllner 1996: 106, Abb. 5–6).

Nalaz koji se s velikom vjerojatnošću može tumačiti kao žrtveni dar nalaz je brončanog koplja u Šnjegaviću iz vremena Ha A. Koplju je oštećen vrh, a kako je pronađeno na teško prohodnim obroncima Pšunja, može se pretpostaviti kako ga je lovac u nevolji ili kakav putnik namjernik žrtvovao svom božanstvu za sretan ishod prijelaza preko planine (Teržan 1987: 76–77). Nalazi ostava (Vučjak Kamenski) ili pojedinačnih brončanih predmeta (Šnjegavić) u gorskim predjelima Pšunja ne iznenađuju nakon nedavnih otkrića visinskih naselja na Papuku. Tragovi visinskih naselja otkriveni su na Rastovoj kosi, Papuku (istoimeni vrh Papuka), Plišu iznad Velike i Gradcu iznad Lukača, a prema nalazima keramike mogu se datirati od razdoblja Ha A do razdoblja Ha C (Potrebica & Ložnjak 2003: 11, 16). Ne čudi što su obronci veće nadmorske visine bili naseljeni jer su imali važan strateški položaj s kojeg se mogao kontrolirati širi prostor Požeške kotline ili nizine prema Dravi i važni prijevoji preko Papuka. No, postavlja se pitanje o tipu naselja i privredi njihovih stanovnika. U Moravskoj su pronađeni tragovi metalurške djelatnosti i u nizinskim i u visinskim naseljima (Salaš 1995: 576). Zato se može pretpostaviti da se metalurška aktivnost vjerojatno odvijala i u visinskim naseljima u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj, za što zasad imamo potvrde u istraživanom naselju na Kalniku (Majnarić-Pandžić 1992). Možda će buduća istraživanja otkriti tragove takve djelatnosti i u naseljima na Papuku zbog resursa koje nudi okoliš. Bez obzira na to je li riječ o privremenim sezonskim boravištima ili o stalnim naseljima i neovisno o tome kojom su se djelatnošću bavili stanovnici, zasigurno su i oni sudjelovali u komunikacijama i razmjeni koja se nedvojbeno odvijala i u tim gorskim područjima.

the time. They are extensively accompanied by finds from mountain passes, which has been very well researched in the example of the Alps (Mayer 1979; Stöllner 1997: 20), while finds at passes crossing the Carpathians may have a similar meaning, given the important metallurgical centers in Transylvania (Soroceanu 1995: 29–30, note 59). Based on these data, T. Bader proposed a theory on finds at important transit and strategic passes over the Carpathians. He associated them with highland settlements and nearby settlement and cemetery finds, and interpreted them as evidence of the existence of prehistoric transportation. He interpreted hoard finds and chance finds next to thoroughfares as travel sacrifices, i.e. as sacrificial gifts of merchants, while he interpreted the highland finds as being associated with transhumant livestock herders and the sacrifices they made to the mountain deities (Bader 2001: 26). The reason for deposition of objects in the Alpine area is probably more connected with topography, communications, weather, and personal stressful situations in which traveler in such manner communicated with mountain deities. It is less probable that such phenomena were caused by war or similar dangers which did not reach hardly passable Alps. (Neubauer & Stöllner 1996: 124). The highest concentration of finds in the Alpine area was established in the zone between 1000 and 1500 meters above sea level, and the largest number of those belong to the Late Bronze Age with spears as the most frequent finds (Neubauer, Stöllner 1996: 106, Abb. 5–6).

A find that can be interpreted with great probability as a sacrifice is the bronze spear in Šnjegavić from the Ha A period. The tip of the spear is damaged, and since it was found on the rugged terrain of the Pšunj foothills, it can be assumed that a hunter in peril or a chance traveler sacrificed it to a deity for safe passage over the mountain (Teržan 1987: 76–77). Hoard finds (Vučjak Kamenski) or individual bronze items (Šnjegavić) at the higher elevations of Pšunj are not surprising given the recent discovery of highland settlements on Papuk mountain. Traces of highland settlements were discovered at Rastova kosa, Papuk (the eponymous peak of Papuk), Pliš, above Velika, and Gradac, over Lukač; based on pottery finds that can be dated from the Ha A to Ha C periods (Potrebica & Ložnjak 2003: 11, 16). It is not unusual that slopes of higher altitude were inhabited, because they had a major strategic location, from which the wider territory of the Požega Valley or the lowlands toward the Drava River, and the important passes over Papuk, could be overseen. However, the question arises as to the type of settlements and the economies of their inhabitants. Remains of metallurgical activity were discovered



Nalazi brončanih predmeta iz Požeške kotline koji se datiraju u vrijeme Ha B jesu ostava iz Ciglenika i tuljasta sjekira iz Gradišta. U vrijeme Ha B pojavljuje se manji broj ostava i drukčijeg su sastava nego ostave iz starije faze kulture polja sa žarama. Nakon 10. stoljeća prije Krista pojavljuju se ostave drukčijeg sastava u kojima je naglašen osobni karakter različitih priloženih predmeta (nakit, oružje, oruđe). Prilozi tako mnogobrojni ni raznovrsni kao što su bili u ranijim razdobljima (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002: 56–57). Ostava iz Ciglenika i pojedinačni nalazi sjekira koji se datiraju u vrijeme Ha B svjedoče o naseljenosti ovoga prostora i u mlađoj fazi kulture polja sa žarama. Iako su zasad podaci o istovremenim naseljima i grobljima na području Požeške kotline vrlo oskudni, uskoro se s pravom mogu očekivati novi brojni nalazi. Naime razdoblje starijeg željeznog doba, odnosno Ha C koje slijedi, posvjedočeno je iznimnim nalazima naselja, groblja pod tumulima i raznovrsnom materijalnom kulturom upravo na ovom prostoru. Sve to upućuje na vrlo važan strateški položaj Požeške kotline u širem kontekstu međuriječja Save i Drave, pa i srednje i jugoistočne Europe.

Ovakvom je procvatu svakako prethodilo vrijeme intenzivnog razvoja ovog kraja, a odražava se u bogatim nalazima iz starije faze kulture polja sa žarama. U to vrijeme Požeška je kotlina, sudeći prema dosadašnjim nalazima, bila uklopljena u komunikacijsku mrežu s važnim metalurškim centrima na prostoru Brodske Posavine. Preko tog je prostora bila povezana i s pretpostavljenim ležištima kositra na Motajici i Prosari u Bosni i u zapadnoj Srbiji na planini Bukulja (Durman 1997: 9; 2004: 57). Sirovine bakra potječu vjerojatno s prostora središnje Bosne ili iz istočnih Alpa (Forenbaher 1995: 271), a mogući je izvor bakra i planina Rudnik u zapadnoj Srbiji (Durman 2004: 57). Veze između brončanih predmeta pronađenih na prostoru Požeške kotline i mogućih ležišta sirovina od kojih su izrađeni možda će se moći utvrditi nakon arheometrijskih analiza predmeta. Uspostava takvih veza uklopila bi i ovu zatvorenu mikrocjelinu u distributivnu metaluršku mrežu kasnoga brončanog doba u južnoj Panoniji, ali i na širem prostoru Karpatske kotline. Razmjena jednostavnih brončanih predmeta zasigurno se odvijala na lokalnoj razini, između susjednih naselja ili područja, a tako je vjerojatno bilo i na prostoru Požeške kotline i Brodske Posavine. Mnoštvo široko rasprostranjenih tipova predmeta u vrijeme kasnoga brončanog doba ukazuje prije na dobru razmjenu znanja i iskustva ljevača, nego na centraliziranu proizvodnju i široku distribucijsku mrežu (Forenbaher 1995: 272). S druge strane, izrada nekih tipova brončanih predmeta (brončanih posuda,

both on lowland and highland settlement in Moravia (Salaš 1995: 576). Accordingly we may presume that similar metallurgical activity was also present in highland settlements in northern Croatia which was confirmed in excavated settlement on Kalnik (Majnarić-Pandžić 1992). Considering the environmental resources, perhaps such activity will also be established in future research of the settlements on Papuk. Regardless of whether they are seasonal residences or permanent abodes, and regardless of the occupation of the inhabitants, they also participated in communications and exchange that certainly proceeded in these highland zones.

The bronze finds from the Požega Valley dated to the Ha B period constitute the hoard from Ciglenik and the socketed axe from Gradište. During the Ha B a smaller number of hoards appear and they have a different composition from the hoards of the earlier phase of the Urnfield culture. After the tenth century BC, differently composed hoards appear in which the personal character of the various deposited items is marked (jewelry, weapons, implements), and these items are deposited in smaller numbers and types than previously (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002: 56–57). The Ciglenik hoard and individual axe finds dated to the Ha B period testify to the habitation of this area even in the later phase of the Urnfield culture. Although the data on the concurrent settlements and cemeteries in the Požega Valley are still very meager, numerous new finds can rightfully be expected in the near future. There are exceptional finds of settlements, grave-mound cemeteries and a diverse material culture precisely in this area testifying to the earlier Iron Age, Ha C, which follows. All of this indicates the very important strategic location of the Požega Valley in the broader context of the Sava and Drava interfluvium, and of Central and Southeastern Europe. Such a blossoming certainly preceded a period of intense development in this region, and it is reflected in rich finds from the earlier phase of the Urnfield culture. At that time the Požega Valley, judging by previous finds, was incorporated into the communications network with important metallurgical centers in the Sava River valley around Brod. By this means, the area was linked to the assumed tin deposits at Motajica and Prosara in Bosnia and in western Serbia, on Bukulja mountain (Durman 1997: 9; 2004: 57). The copper ore probably comes from central Bosnia or the eastern Alps (Forenbaher 1995: 271), and a possible source of copper was also Rudnik mountain in western Serbia (Durman 2004: 57). The ties between bronze items found in Požega Valley and the possible deposits of the ore from which they were made may perhaps be ascertained after the items undergo archeometric analysis. The



mačeva ili pojasa) zahtijevaju složeniji tehnološki proces koji je morao biti organiziran u nekoj većoj metalurškoj radionici, a ona je vrlo vjerojatno bila pod ingerencijom lokalne elite (Forenbaher 1995: 272). Primjer takvog ekskluzivnog predmeta ostaci su pojasa iz ostave Livadićeva ulica u Brodu (Miškiv 1982: 177, T. VIII). Pojas je bogato ukrašen i zasigurno je bio dio nošnje nekog kasnobrončanodobnog odličnika ili odličnice (Majnarić-Pandžić 2000: 107). Zasad nema sigurne potvrde da je taj predmet izrađen na brodskom području, ali nije isključeno postojanje i radionice koja je mogla proizvesti takav umjetnički predmet (Majnarić-Pandžić 2000: 108). Nalaz ovog pojasa bez sumnje dokazuje postojanje mreže proizvodnje, trgovine i razmjene u koju je bio uključen i prostor Brodske Posavine. Prema dosadašnjim spoznajama na prostoru Požeške kotline nema tako ekskluzivnih predmeta iz vremena kasnog brončanog doba. Na tom prostoru repertoar poznatih brončanih predmeta ima uobičajenu utilitarnu funkciju. Izuzetni predmeti, poput spomenutog pojasa, bili su prestižna dobra moćnika, odnosno ljudi koji su kontrolirali resurse ili komunikacije. Takvim predmetima bile su plaćane njihove usluge, a darovi su osiguravali i dobre odnose. U tu skupinu ubrajaju se oružje (mačevi, koplja, strelice), brončane posude i predmeti od zlata, brončani dijelovi kola koji svjedoče o eliti koja ih je u tom vremenu posjedovala (Clausing 1999: 320). Tako je odličnik iz Slavonskog Broda mogao pojas dobiti kao dar. Možda mu je time plaćena vozarina preko Save ili jednostavno naknada za prolaz kroz njegovo područje, a možda je predmet dio ratnog ili pljačkaškog plijena. Sudeći prema nalazima brončanih predmeta na prostoru Brodske Posavine očito je kako se radi o strateški vrlo važnom položaju za privredu. Možemo zaključiti da je takvu važnost u sljedećem razdoblju starijega željeznog doba imao upravo prostor koji je predmet ovoga rada. O tome svjedoče brojni ekskluzivni nalazi iz grobova pod tumulima u Kaptolu (Potrebica 2001: 68). Važno je uočiti da su u razdoblju starijeg željeznog doba takve izuzetne dragocjenosti priložene u grob odličnika jer ih je vjerojatno posjedovao za života, iako ne nužno i koristio. U kasnom brončanom dobu prilagani su u velike skupne nalaze, i to vjerojatno kao žrtva koju su ondašnji odličnici prinostili božanstvima štovanima u svakodnevnom životu. Ovo je samo jedna u nizu promjena koje su se zbivale tijekom kasnog brončanog doba i na prijelazu u starije željezno doba. Treba naglasiti kako su tijekom kasnoga brončanog doba postojale mreže proizvodnje, trgovine i razmjene; komunikacijski procesi odvijali su se i na lokalnoj razini i na širem prostoru. Na temelju naselja, grobalja, ostava

determination of such ties would connect even this closed micro-unit into a distributive metallurgical network of the Late Bronze Age in southern Pannonia, but also into the wider region of the Carpathian Valley. The exchange of simple bronze items certainly occurred at the local level, between neighboring settlements or areas, and this was probably the case between the Požega Valley and the Sava River valley around Brod. A multitude of broadly dispersed types of items during the Late Bronze Age more likely indicates extensive exchanges of knowledge and experience by smelters rather than centralized production and a broad distribution network (Forenbaher 1995: 272). On the other hand, the production of certain types of bronze items (bronze vessels, swords or belts) requires a more complex technological process that had to be organized in a larger metallurgy workshop, and it was very likely under the influence of the local elite (Forenbaher 1995: 272). An example of such an exclusive item is the remains of a bronze sheet belt from the hoard found in Livadićeva street in Brod (Miškiv 1982: 177, T. VIII). The belt was richly decorated and was certainly part of the attire of some distinguished Late Bronze Age man or woman (Majnarić-Pandžić 2000: 107). So far there is no unambiguous evidence that this item was crafted in the Brod area, but the existence of a workshop that could have produced such an artistic item cannot be discounted (Majnarić-Pandžić 2000: 108). This belt certainly proves the existence of a production, trade and exchange network that encompassed the Sava valley in vicinity of Brod. No such exclusive items from the Late Bronze Age were discovered in the Požega Valley so far. In this area, the repertoire of known bronze items has a customary utilitarian function. Exceptional items, such as the aforementioned belt, were the prestige items of powerful individuals – people who controlled resources or communications. Such items were used to pay for their services, while gifts helped insure good relations. This group includes weapons (swords, spears, arrows), bronze vessels and gold items, and bronze wagon parts, which testify to an elite that possessed them at the time (Clausing 1999: 320). Thus a man or woman of power from Slavonski Brod could have received the belt as a gift. Perhaps it was means to pay for transport across the Sava River or simply a fee for safe passage through his territory, or even a component of wartime booty or brigandry plunder. Judging by the finds of bronze items in the Sava River valley around Brod, it is obvious that this was a strategically very important economic location. We can conclude that such importance was accorded to the area examined in this work during the subsequent period of the earlier Iron Age. This is shown by the

i slučajnih nalaza možemo zaključiti kako je područje Požeške kotline u starijoj fazi kasnog brončanog doba bilo gusto naseljeno, unatoč tome što se, prema sadašnjem stanju istraživanja, nalazilo na periferiji bogatih metalurških centara u Brodskoj Posavini kojoj, sudeći prema grobnom ritualu, i kulturološki pripada. Međutim, u sjevernom dijelu Požeške kotline zamijećeni su nalazi koji se mogu pripisati virovitičkoj grupi (Vinski-Gasparini 1983: 554). Ove dvije kulturne grupe obilježile su stariju fazu kasnoga brončanog doba na prostoru sjeverne Hrvatske i moguće je da su se ispreplitale upravo na ovom prostoru, zahvaljujući središnjem položaju kotline između Posavine i Podravine. Prema sadašnjem se stanju istraživanja oskudni metalni predmeti virovitičke grupe ne razlikuju od grupe Barice-Gređani. Isto tako vještinu ljevača bronce treba promatrati kao vještinu koja je široko rasprostranjena i zahtijeva konstantnu razmjenu ideja. Podaci o naseljenosti tijekom mlade faze kasnoga brončanog doba malobrojni su, ali nisu izostali nalazi brončanih predmeta koji se mogu datirati u vrijeme Ha B. Može se pretpostaviti da je postojala gušća naseljenost tijekom razdoblja Ha B upravo zbog činjenice da kasnije postoji jak halštatski centar u Požeškoj kotlini. U to vrijeme nestaju ostave i pojedinačni nalazi brončanih predmeta koji su karakterizirali čitavo razdoblje kasnoga brončanog doba, a osobito su brojni u vrijeme Ha A.

Požeška kotlina u kasnom je brončanom dobu promatrana na temelju dosad zabilježenih i istraženih naselja, grobalja i ostava. Kako su nalazi češće dolazili do muzeja kao slučajno otkriće, a rjeđe kao rezultat stručnog iskopavanja, još uvijek smo prikraćeni za mnoge podatke o ovom vremenskom razdoblju u zatvorenoj mikrocjelini u središtu međuriječja Drave i Save. Upravo radi geografskog položaja promatranog prostora život u vrijeme kasnoga brončanog doba može se prema nekim naznakama, zasad još oskudnih istraživanja, promatrati kroz nekoliko hipoteza. *Prva hipoteza:* U vrijeme starije faze kasnoga brončanog doba na ovom su prostoru mogle postojati dvije kulturne grupe – virovitička, koja je rasprostranjena u Podravini, i grupa Barice-Gređani rasprostranjena u Posavini prema kojoj je reljefno i orijentirana Požeška kotlina. Prožimanje ovih dviju grupa biti će moguće pratiti prije svega prema različitim grobnim ritualima i prema nekim karakterističnim keramičkim oblicima. *Druga hipoteza:* Treba istovremeno proučavati odnos naselja, grobalja i ostava kako bi se dobila cjelovitija slika o naseljenosti ovoga prostora. Rezultati novijih terenskih pregleda svjedoče o brojnim naseljima iz vremena kasnoga brončanog doba na uzvisinama Papuka koji je prirodna razdjelnica prostora Pože-

numerous exclusive finds from grave mounds in Kaptol (Potrebica 2001: 68). It is important to note that during the Early Iron Age, such exceptional valuables were deposited in the grave of a powerful man or woman because he or she probably possessed them – although not necessarily used them – during his/her lifetime. Large group finds were deposited during the Late Bronze Age, probably as sacrifices which the potentates of the time offered to deities revered in everyday life. This is only one in a series of changes that occurred during the Late Bronze Age and during the transition to the earlier Iron Age. It should be noted that during the Late Bronze Age there were production, trade and exchange networks; communications proceeded at the local level and over a broader area. Based on settlements, cemeteries and chance finds, we can conclude that the Požega Valley was densely populated during the earlier phase of the Late Bronze Age, despite being located at the periphery of rich metallurgy centers (an assumption based on the current level of research) in Sava River valley around Brod, to which, if grave rituals are any indication, it belonged in terms of culture. However, finds were noted in the northern part of the Požega Valley that can be ascribed to the Virovitica group (Vinski-Gasparini 1983: 554). These two cultural groups marked the earlier phase of the Late Bronze Age in northern Croatia, and it is possible that they intermingled in precisely this area, thanks to the central location of the valleys between the Sava and Drava Rivers. At the current level of research, no differences were discerned between the metal items from the Virovitica group and the Barice-Gređani group. By the same token, the skill of bronze smelters should be viewed as a widespread craft that required a constant exchange of ideas. Data on settlements during the earlier phase of the Late Bronze Age are few in number, but there is no lack of bronze items that can be dated to the Ha B period. It is plausible to assume greater population density during the Ha B period, precisely due to the fact of the later existence of a strong Hallstatt center in the Požega Valley. At this time, hoards and individual finds of bronze items which characterized the entire period of the Late Bronze Age, and particularly numerous during the Ha A period, began to disappear. The Požega Valley in the Late Bronze Age has been observed on the basis of settlements, cemeteries and hoards registered and researched so far. Since the finds often came to museums as chance discoveries, and more rarely as the result of professional excavations, there is still much missing data on this period in the closed micro-region in the center of the Drava and Sava interfluvium. It is precisely due to the geographic location of this area that life during the Late

ške kotline i Podravine. Prisutnost kasnobrončanodobnih populacija na Papuku i Pšunju na temelju slučajnih nalaza metalnih predmeta svjedoči o resursima ovih područja koje su stanovnici koristili u privredi ili pak o komunikacijama koje su se nedvojbeno odvijale na tom području. S obzirom na dosad zabilježena i istražena groblja i naselja u Požeškoj kotlini ne trebamo biti iznenađeni ni brojem ostava i slučajnih nalaza na ovome području koje prema dosadašnjem stanju istraživanja valja promatrati kao periferiju važnog i nalazima bogatog metalurškog centra u Brodskom Posavlju. Značenje ostava i slučajnih nalaza metalnih predmeta kojima se bavi ovaj rad treba tražiti prvenstveno u užem regionalnom krugu, a zatim u širem kulturnom krugu kojem pripada ovaj prostor. To je prije svega međuriječje Drave i Save s velikim brojem ostava iz istog razdoblja, a zatim prostor Karpatske kotline koji se prema novijim istraživanjima može uklopiti u širu komunikacijsku i trgovačku mrežu Europe (Hansen 1994; Pare 1996: 119). Značenja ostava i pojedinačnih nalaza metalnih predmeta dvojako su interpretirana. S jedne strane njihovo se značenje tumači profanim razlozima kao što su skrivanje vrijednosti pred nemirima ili pohranjivanje dragocjenosti; s druge se strane povezuje s duhovnom praksom kasnoga brončanog doba kada su se na taj način čistila, podmićivala ili udobrovoljavala božanstva. Postoje i pomirbena tumačenja o više razina značenja istoga predmeta u različitim zajednicama iz čega proizlaze različiti načini prilaganja ili odlaganja metalnih predmeta koji su nedvojbeno bili važni kasnobrončanodobnim populacijama. Većina tumačenja pri pojedinim nalazima ostaje na razini pretpostavki jer značenje se može odrediti samo na temelju vrlo preciznih okolnosti nalaza koje obično izostanu pri slučajnim nalazima ili nalazima izvan naselja, groblja i sl. *Treća hipoteza:* Pretpostavlja se da je Požeška kotlina u mlađoj fazi kasnog brončanog doba (Ha B) bila gusto naseljena. Smatra se da je tada postojao velik broj naselja, groblja i razvijena mreža komunikacija. O tome svjedoče podaci sa sustavnih istraživanja koji se odnose na razdoblje starijega željeznog doba kada je na ovome prostoru bilo središte utjecajne zajednice. U novijim istraživanjima otkrivena je grobna cjelina koja se datira u početak starijega željeznog doba (Potrebica & Bezić 2002: 49) koje je svoje ishodište imalo u zasad slabo poznatoj mlađoj fazi kasnoga brončanog doba na ovom prostoru.

Odgovore na ove hipoteze dat će buduća istraživanja ovoga nadasve zanimljivog prostora na sjecištu komunikacijskih pravaca i u središtu šire regije koja je u kasnom brončanom dobu pripadala različitim grupama istoga kulturnog kruga. Reljefna specifi-

Bronze Age can, based on certain indications of (at this time) still meager research, be observed through the prism of several hypotheses. *First:* during the earlier phase of the Late Bronze Age it is possible that two cultural groups existed here: the Virovitica, widespread in Drava valley; and the Barice-Gređani, widespread in the Sava River valley, oriented toward the Požega Valley by its relief features. The intermingling of these two groups can above all be followed on the basis of burial rituals, which are different, and on the basis of certain characteristic pottery forms. *Second:* the relationship between settlements, cemeteries and hoards should be examined simultaneously to obtain a comprehensive picture of this area's population density. The results of more recent field examinations testify to numerous settlements from the Late Bronze Age at the higher elevations of Papuk, which is a natural partition between the Požega Valley and the Drava River valley. The presence of Late Bronze Age populations on Papuk, based on chance metal finds on Pšunj, testify to the resources of this area, which these inhabitants used in their economy or to the communications that undoubtedly occurred in this area. Given the so far registered and researched graves in the Požega Valley and the number of registered settlements, the number of hoards and chance finds in this area are not surprising; based on the current level of research, these should be viewed as the periphery of the important metallurgy center, rich in finds, in the territory of the Sava River valley around Brod. The significance of the hoards and chance finds examined in this work should first be sought in the narrower regional circle given the content of the finds, and then in the broader cultural sphere to which this area belonged. Above all this is the Drava and Sava interfluvium with a large number of concurrent hoards, and then the Carpathian Valley, which based on newer research can be included in the wider communications and trade network of Europe (Hansen 1994; Pare 1996: 119). The importance of hoards and individual finds of metal items have been doubly illuminated. On one hand their significance has been interpreted on profane grounds, such as concealment of valuables during times of unrest or for storage; on the other hand they are associated with spiritual practices of the Late Bronze Age, when deities were honored, received tribute or implored in this manner. There are also compromise interpretations to the effect of multi-layered meanings for the same item to different communities, which then implies different methods for placing or depositing metal items which were undoubtedly valuable to Late Bronze Age populations. Most interpretations of individual finds remain at the level of assumptions, because their meaning can only be ascertained based on the very precise



čnost i zatvorenost ovoga prostora ocrtavaju i strateški značaj koji je bio zanimljiv za naseljavanje ne samo u vrijeme kulture polja sa žarama nego i u duljem tisućljetnom razdoblju.

circumstances of the finds, which are normally lacking for chance finds or finds outside of the context of settlements, cemeteries, etc. *Third*: the assumption of high population density in the Požega Valley during the earlier phase of the Late Bronze Age (Ha B), when one could expect based on the so far meager finds of a large number of settlements, cemeteries and a developed network of communications. This is confirmed by data from systematic research pertaining to the earlier Iron Age, when the center of a powerful community in the wider geographic context was recorded in this area. In more recent research, a grave unit was found that was dated to the beginning of the earlier Iron Age (Potrebica & Bezić 2002: 49), which had its origins in the so far lesser known earlier phase of the Late Bronze Age in this area. The answer to these hypotheses will be illuminated by future research into this entirely interesting area that lay at the hub of communications routes and in the center of a wider region that belonged to different groups of the same cultural sphere during the Late Bronze Age. The specific relief and insularity of this area also highlights its strategic importance, which made it a destination for immigration not only during the Urnfield culture but over an entire millennium.

## KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

AnaliOs	Anali Zavoda za znanstveni rad u Osijeku Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti (Osijek)
AP	Arheološki pregled, Beograd
AV	Arheološki vestnik. Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, Ljubljana
BRGK	Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission, Frankfurt am Main
GZMS	Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu, Sarajevo
IzdanjaHAD	Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva, Zagreb
JbRGZM	Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz
KatMon	Katalogi in monografije, Narodni muzej Ljubljana
Monographien RGZM	Monographien des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz
ObavijestiHAD	Obavijesti Hrvatskog arheološkog društva, Zagreb
OA	Opuscula archaeologica, Radovi Arheološkog zavoda Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu
PAS	Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa, München-Berlin
PJZ	Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja, Sarajevo
PIAZ	Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu
RGF	Römisch-Germanische Forschungen, Berlin
UPA	Universitätforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie, Berlin/Bonn
VAMZ	Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, 3. serija, Zagreb
VijestiMBP	Vijesti, Godišnjak Muzeja Brodskog Posavlja, Slavonski Brod
ZborSlavBrod	Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa o Slavonskom Brodu u povodu 750. obljetnice prvog pisanog spomena imena Broda (Slavonski Brod)



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