

**GROB MLAĐEG  
ŽELJEZNOG DOBA SA  
DONJE DOLINE**

**LATE IRON AGE GRAVE  
FROM DONJA DOLINA**

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**Apstrakt:**

Arheološki materijal sa Donje Doline predstavlja jednu od najznačajnijih kategorija nalaza za istraživanje društvene kompleksnosti zajednica tokom željeznog doba. Metalurgija, stilsko-tehnološko eksperimentisanje u materijalima i oblicima, distribucija i posredništvo u trgovini gotovih proizvoda, uticalo je na pojavu prestižnih i bogatih grobova članica i članova donjodolinskih zajednica. Bogatstvo se odražavalo u formiranju raskošne, prije svega, ženske nošnje koja ukazuje na različite oblike materijalne kulture, često importovane i integrisane u lokalnu nošnju. Ovom korpusu građe pridružuje se i nepublikovana grobna cjelina iz mlađeg željeznog doba sa iskopavanja iz 1983. godine. Inventar groba sadržao je funkcionalne djelove nošnje; željeznu fibulu i pojas, te priloge; keramički pršljenak i željezni nož. Grob je datiran u period od kraja 3. do sredine 2. vijeka p. n. e.

*Ključne riječi:* Posavina, Donja Dolina, mlađe željezno doba, ženska nošnja, željezni pojas, mobilnost

**Abstract:**

Archaeological material from Donja Dolina is one of the most significant categories of finds for the understanding the social complexity of communities during the Iron Age. Metallurgy, stylistic-technological experimentation in materials and forms, distribution and mediation in the trade influenced the appearance of prestigious and rich graves of members of Donja Dolina communities. Wealth was reflected in the formation of a luxurious, above all, women's costumes that indicates various forms of material culture, often imported and integrated into the local costume. This corpus of material is accompanied by an unpublished Late Iron Age grave from the excavated in 1983. The grave inventory contained functional parts of the costume; iron fibula and belt, and grave offerings; ceramic spindle whorl and iron knife. The grave is dated to the period from the end of the 3rd to the middle of the 2nd century BC.

*Keywords:* Posavina, Donja Dolina, Late Iron Age, female costume, iron belt, mobility

## Uvod

Donja Dolina je jedno od najvažnijih arheoloških nalazišta u jugoistočnom dijelu Evrope. Ovaj moćan i važan trgovački centar lociran na plovnom putu rijeke Save kontrolisao je protok i promet robe, ljudi i znanja/vještina kroz nekoliko vijekova. Pozicija na važnom koridoru i u zaleđu rudonosnih planina uticala je na formiranje vlastite proizvodnje pojedinih elemenata autohtone materijalne kulture, s istovremenim fenomenom importovanja predmeta iz različitih kulturnih krugova, od Alpa do Mediterana i od središnjeg i istočnog Balkana, sve do Karpata i Transdanubije. Lociran je na desnoj obali rijeke Save, oko 17 kilometara nizvodno od Bosanske Gradiške. Praistorijsko nalazište, koje je dobilo ime prema istoimenom selu u kojem se nalazi, sastoji se od starijeg i mlađeg praistorijskog naselja, te nekropole iz starijeg i mlađeg željeznog doba (Marić 1964, 6; Čović 1987, 274; Potrebica 2003, 218; Jašarević 2017, 8).

Prve arheološke podatke o Donjoj Dolini donosi Franjo Fiala 1897. godine, prilikom publikovanja ilirske kacige iz neke od uništenih grobnih cjelina sa prostora donjodolinske nekropole (ФИАЛА 1897, 662; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 39). Opsežna istraživanja lokaliteta počela su na prelazu u 20. vijek. Ćiro Truhelka počeo je 1899. godine sa sistematskim iskopavanjima na lokalitetu, koja su trajala do 1904. godine (Truhelka 1904; Marić 1964, 6; Čović 1987, 233). Iskopavanja Mihovila Mandića iz 1928. godine rezultirala su s još nalaza iz sojeničarskog naselja, ali i iz otvorenog naselja mlađeg željeznog doba (Mandić 1929, 33; Marić 1964, 6). Iskopavanja manjeg zaštitnog karaktera izvršena su 1961. godine, pod vođstvom Zdravka Marića (Marić 1964, 6), potom tokom 1963-1964. godine, kada je istraživala Vera Nikolić-Mutavdžić iz Muzeja Bosanske Krajine u Banjoj Luci<sup>1</sup> (Nikolić-Mutavdžić 1964, 204). Važnost ovih iskopavanja bila je u otkriću ranijeg otvorenog naselja na području Gornje Doline, koje potiče iz finalnih faza kasnog bronzanog doba (Marić 1964, 8–10). Od 1974. godine Zdenko Žeravica, kustos u Muzeju Bosanske Krajine iz Banje Luke i kasnije istraživač u Republičkom

<sup>1</sup> Današnji Muzej Republike Srpske.

## Introduction

Donja Dolina is one of the most important archeological sites in this part of Europe. This mighty and important trade center, located along a route that primarily followed the Sava River, controlled the flow and traffic of goods, people and knowledge/skills for several centuries. The position on an important corridor and in the hinterland of the rich ore-bearing mountains influenced the formation of its own production with certain elements of autochthonous material culture, but at the same time associated with phenomenon of importing artefacts from different cultural circles, from the Alps to the Mediterranean and from the Central and Eastern Balkans to the Carpathians and Transdanubia. It is located on the right bank of the Sava River, about 17 kilometers downstream from Bosanska Gradiška. The prehistoric site, named after the village in which it is located, consists of an earlier and latter prehistoric settlement and a necropolis from the Early and Late Iron Age (Marić 1964, 6; Čović 1987, 274; Potrebica 2003, 218; Jašarević 2017, 8).

The first archaeological data on Donja Dolina were brought by Franjo Fiala in 1897 during the publication of an Illyrian helmet from one of the destroyed graves from the area of the Donja Dolina necropolis (ФИАЛА 1897, 662; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 39). Extensive site research began at the turn of the 20th century. Ćiro Truhelka in 1899 began with systematic excavations at the site, which lasted until 1904 (Truhelka 1904; Marić 1964, 6; Čović 1987, 233). The excavations of Mihovil Mandić in 1928, yielded further material from the pile dwelling settlements, but also from a Late Iron Age open settlement at the site (Mandić 1929, 33; Marić 1964, 6). Small-scale excavations were conducted in 1961, by Zdravko Marić (Marić 1964, 6), and in 1963/64 by Vera Nikolić-Mutavdžić from Museum of Bosanska Krajina in Banja Luka<sup>1</sup> (Nikolić-Mutavdžić 1964, 204). The most significant aspect of these excavations was the discovery of an earlier open settlement in the area of Gornja Dolina,

<sup>1</sup> Today's Museum of Republika Srpska.

zavodu za zaštitu spomenika SRBiH u Sarajevu, počeo je svoj najobimniji arheološki projekat istraživanja na lokalitetu nakon Ć. Truhelke. U razdoblju od 1974. do 1986. godine Z. Žeravica je izvršio iskopavanja na velikoj površini na Gradini u Donjoj Dolini, ali i na nekropolama Timencu i Šokića bašti u Gornjoj Dolini. Iz svih ovih kampanja, autor je objavio samo nekoliko manjih izvještaja bez ilustracija, planova ili fotografija (Žeravica 1976a, 49; Žeravica 1976b, 50; Žeravica 1985, 29). Arheološki materijal s posljednjih istraživanja pohranjen je dijelom u Muzeju Republike Srpske u Banjoj Luci, dok je veći dio predmeta smješten u Zavičajnom muzeju u Bosanskoj Gradišci (Jašarević 2017, 8).

U skorije vrijeme izvršena je djelimična rekonstrukcija grobnih cjelina iz 1982. godine, istraženih na nekropoli Šokića bašta u Gornjoj Dolini. Budući da je dokumentacija s ovih iskopavanja uništena, osim stilsko-tipološke klasifikacije i kulturnog vrednovanja gradiva, detaljnija rasprava nije bila moguća (Jašarević 2017, 8-9). Ovoj grupi pridružuje se i predmetna grobna cjelina istražen tokom 1983. godine. Grob 1/83 pronađen je u sondi X, u zapadnom dijelu Gradine u Donjoj Dolini. No, osim cjelokupnog inventara i djelimične pozicije, više podataka o kontekstu pronalaska groba nije poznato. Stoga, cilj rada je prvenstveno na definisanju hronološke i tipološke pozicije upotrebe grobnog inventara u regionalnom i lokalnom kontekstu. Materijal sa ovih iskopavanja čuva se u Zavičajnom muzeju u Bosanskoj Gradišci<sup>2</sup>.

### Analiza grobnog inventara

Inventar groba 1/83 sadržao je funkcionalne djelove nošnje; željeznu fibulu i pojas, te keramički pršljenak i željezni nož (Sl. 1).

Željezni pojasni lanac sastavljen je od dvostruko upletenih i spojenih segmenata. Iznimno je fragmentovan i očuvan u devet dijelova (Sl. 1:1). Ovakvi pojasevi su sastavljeni od dva dijela – jednog kraćeg sa dvije petlje (većom i manjom) i dužeg sa manjom petljom i kukom.

dated to the Late Bronze Age (Marić 1964, 8–10). In 1975, Z. Žeravica curator at the Museum of Bosanska Krajina in Banja Luka and later researcher in Republic Institute for Heritage Protection, began the most extensive archaeological research project at the site since Ć. Truhelka. In the period from 1975 to 1983, Z. Žeravica excavated a large area at Gradina in Donja Dolina, but also cemeteries at Timenac and Šokića bašta. From all of these campaigns, the author published only a small number of brief reports, which lacked illustrations, plans or photographs (Žeravica 1976a, 49; Žeravica 1976b, 50; Žeravica 1985, 29). Archaeological material from of the latest archaeological excavation is stored partly in the Museum of Republika Srpska in Banja Luka, while most of the artefacts are located in the Zavičajni muzej in Bosanska Gradiška (Jašarević 2017, 8).

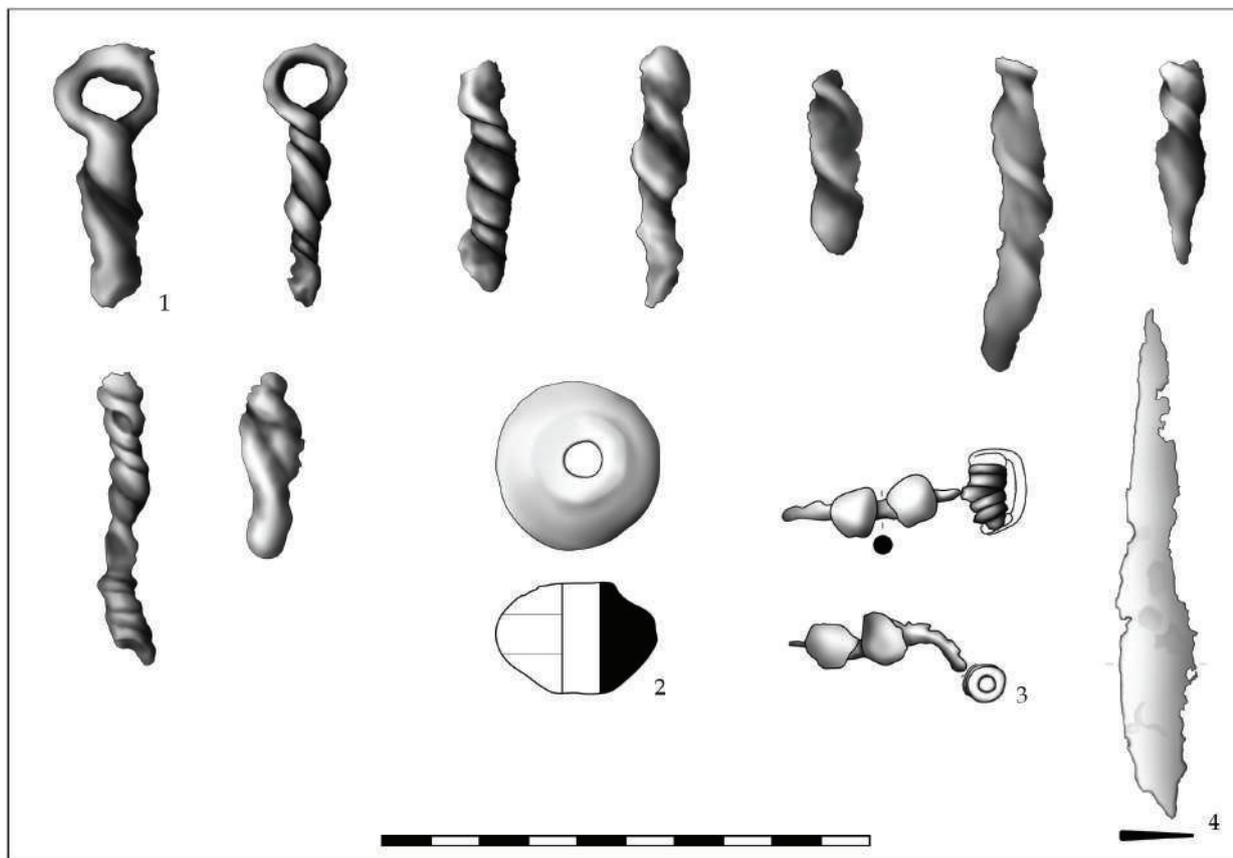
Recently, a partial reconstruction of grave units from 1982, excavated at the necropolis of Šokić Bašta in Donja Dolina, was carried out. Since the documentation from these excavations was destroyed, except for the stylistic-typological classification and cultural evaluation of the material, a more detailed discussion was not possible (Jašarević 2017, 8–9). This group is joined by the grave, which was excavated during 1983. Grave 1/83 was found in trench X in the western part of Gradina in Donja Dolina. Apart from inventory and partial position of grave, more information about the context of the grave's discovery is unknown. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is primarily to define the chronological and typological use of grave inventory in the regional and local context. The material from these excavations is preserved in the Zavičajni muzej in Bosanska Gradiška<sup>2</sup>.

### Grave inventory analysis

The inventory of grave 1/83 contained functional parts of the costume; iron fibula and belt, and grave offerings; ceramic spindle whorl and iron knife (Fig. 1).

<sup>2</sup> Želim da se zahvalim kustosu/direktoru Bojanu Vujinoviću iz Muzeja u Bosanskoj Gradišci za pristup materijalu i svim neophodnim podacima za ovo publikovanje.

<sup>2</sup> I would like to thank the curator / director Bojan Vujinović from the Museum in Bosanska Gradiška for access to the material and information necessary for this publication.



Sl.1. Grob 1/83, Donja Dolina

Fig. 1. Grave 1/83, Donja Dolina

Na žalost, zbog korozije i činjenice da željezni predmeti nisu restaurirani i konzervirani i ne možemo odrediti koji djelovi pojasa su prisutni ili u koji tip možemo pojas uvrstiti. Nedostaju neki od karakterističnih elemenata, značajni za poblje tipološko određenje, poput kukice kopče. No, uprkos tome mogu se svrstati u široku grupu srednjolatenskih pletenih pojaseva koji se pojavljuju podjednako kao dio ženske nošnje, ali i u ratničkim grobovima gdje su korišteni za suspendiranje mača u koricama (Jovanović 2011, 61; Dizdar 2016, 82). No, izuzev njihove funkcionalne uloge, veoma rano postaju i statusni simbol jasno vidljiv i prepoznatljiv u onovremenoj modi, posebno među zajednicama na području Panonije. Kao dio mlađe željeznodobne donjodolinske materijalne kulture, željezni pojasevi nisu bili ranije poznati, a primjerak iz groba 1/83 prvi je dokaz njihove upotrebe, što naposljetku i

The iron chain is composed of double twisted and joined segments. It is extremely fragmented and preserved in nine parts (Fig. 1: 1). These belts are composed of two parts – one shorter with two loops (larger and shorter) and a longer one with a shorter loop and hook. Unfortunately, due to corrosion and the fact that iron objects have not been restored and preserved, we cannot determine which parts of the belt are present or in which type we can include the belt. Some of the characteristic elements, important for a closer typological definition, are missing, such as the thorn of the buckle. Despite this, they can be classified into a wide group of Middle La Tène chaine belts that appear equally as part of women's costumes, but also in warrior graves where they were used to suspend the sword in scabbard (Jovanović 2011, 61; Dizdar 2016, 82). In addition to their

predstavlja onaj prepoznatljiv kulturni fenomen Donje Doline, kao zajednice koja je rado prihvatila nadregionalne elemente.

Na groblju Zvonimirovo – Veliko polje pojasevi ovog oblika izdvojeni su u dvije zasebne varijante LT12 i tip LT6, te datirani u Lt C2 period. Pojas tipa LT12 ima na jednom kraju zapetljanu kopču, a na drugom petlju (Dizdar 2009, 273; Dizdar 2013, 214). Na grobljima mokronoške skupine definisani su kao tip Brežice 2, a pronađeni su u grobovima ratnika iz faze Mokronog IIa (Lt C1). Međutim, istovremeno se pojavljuju i u ženskim grobovima i dalje se nose tokom faze Mokronog IIb (Lt C2) (Guštin 1977, 71; Guštin 1984, 330, 333; Božič 1987, 874, 876; Dizdar 2009, 274-276; Dizdar 2016, 82). Datovanje u Lt C1 fazu potvrđeno je inventarom ženskih grobova iz Mokronoga, grob 6, i Brežice, grob 49 i 56, dok su u Lt C2 fazu datovani grobovi iz Slatine, grob 11, 21 i 25; Kapiteljske njive – Novo mesto, grobovi 193, 195 i 200, te Dobova, grob 26 i brojni ženski grobovi iz Brežica (Dizdar 2009, 274; Jovanović 2011, 61). Paralele za željezni pojas ovog oblika zabilježene su i na prostoru Skordiska. U grobu 6 u Osijeku pronađen je željezni lanac, sastavljen od dvostruko upletenih segmenata, a datiran je cjelokupnim inventarom groba u Lt C1 fazu (Dizdar 2009, 274; Dizdar 2016, 82). Isti pojasevi pojavljuju se u ženskim grobovima iz Lt C1 faze u Karpatskoj kotlini (Rustoiu 2013, 90).

U inventaru groba 1/83 zabilježen je i rijedak nalaz željezne fibule srednjolatenske sheme s dvije kuglice na luku (Kugelfibel) (Sl. 1: 3). Fibula je iznimno oštećena od korozije i fragmentovana, što je, pak, i karakteristika za većinu fibula ovoga tipa. Sferične kuglice nalaze se na spoju noge i luka i na visokom luku polukružnog oblika koji prelazi u spiralu od šest navoja i s vanjskom tetivom. Noga u potpunosti nedostaje. S obzirom na opisane karakteristike, može se pripisati tipu A2, prema tipologiji Annette Bieger (Bieger 2003, 55-58; Dizdar 2009, 278; Dizdar 2013, 192; Marić 2017, 103). Fibule su datirane u LT C1b–C2 period (Bieger 2003, 32–33; Dizdar 2009, 279), a najbolje analogije imaju na nalazištima mokronoške skupine. U većem broju dobro su poznate sa nekropola u Brežicama, u Dobovi, Mokronogu i s Kapiteljskih njiva u Novom mestu (Cestnik 2014, 381).

functional role, they very early became a status symbol clearly visible and recognizable in the fashion of the time, especially among the communities in the area of Pannonia. Iron belts were not known as part of the Late Iron Age material culture from Donja Dolina and a find from grave 1/83 is the first proof of their use, which, in the end, represents that recognizable cultural phenomenon of the Donja Dolina as a community that gladly accepts supraregional elements and combines them into a local costume.

At the Zvonimirovo – Veliko polje cemetery, the belts of this form are separated into two particular variants LT12 and type LT6, and dated to the Lt C2 period. The LT12 type belt has a tangled buckle at one end and a loop at the other (Dizdar 2009, 273; Dizdar 2013, 214). In the cemeteries of the Mokronog Group, they were defined as type Brežice 2, and were found in the graves of warriors from the Mokronog IIa phase (Lt C1). However, they also appear in women's graves at the same time and are still worn during the Mokronog IIb phase (Lt C2) (Guštin 1977, 71; Guštin 1984, 330, 333; Božič 1987, 874, 876; Dizdar 2009, 274–276; Dizdar 2016, 82). The dating in the Lt C1 period is confirmed by the inventory of female graves from Mokronog, grave 6 and Brežice, graves 49 and 56, while in Lt C2 period are dated graves from Slatina; graves 11, 21 and 25; Kapiteljske njive - Novo mesto, graves 193, 195 and 200, and Dobova; grave 26 and numerous women's graves from Brežice (Dizdar 2009, 274; Jovanović 2011, 61). Parallels for the iron belt of this shape were also recorded in the area of Scordisci. An iron chain, composed of doubly twisted segments, was found in grave 6 in Osijek, and is dated by the entire inventory to the Lt C1 period (Dizdar 2009, 274; Dizdar 2016, 82). The same belts appear in female graves from the Lt C1 period in the Carpathian Basin (Rustoiu 2013, 90).

In the inventory of grave 1/83, a rare find of an iron fibula with two pellets (Kugelfibel) of the Middle La Tène scheme was recorded (Fig. 1: 3). The fibula is extremely damaged by corrosion and fragmented, which is a characteristic of most fibulae of this type. The spherical pellets were located on a long arc with round cross-section,

Bronzane i željezne fibule s dvije kuglice na luku, na teritoriji Podunavlja označene su kao jedan od vodećih tipova faze Beograd 2, što odgovara cijeloj fazi Lt C (Božić 1981, 319, 324). Željezne fibule tipa A2 na Zvonimirovu karakteristične su za period Lt C2 (Dizdar 2013, 191). Na temelju detaljne analize prepoznate su kao dijelovi muške nošnje dok su bronzane fibule karakteristične za ženski kostim, s nekoliko izuzetaka (Majnarić Pandžić 2001, 86; Dizdar 2009, 285; Dizdar 2013, 192-195). Željezne fibule karakteristične su prvenstveno za mlađe željeznodobne zajednice jugoistočnoalpskog i južnapanonskog prostora, dok se južno od Save uglavnom rijetko pojavljuju. Kulturno i geografski najbliže paralele vidimo kod fibule iz Siska. Takođe, riječ je o oštećenoj fibuli sa spiralom od šest navoja spojenih vanjskom tetivom i jednom očuvanom kuglicom (Drnić 2018, 152. T. 77: 9). Daleko brojniju i raznovrsniju grupu čine različiti oblici bronzanih fibula s kuglicama na luku, zabilježeni i na rubnim područjima, kao i izvan teritorija rasprostiranja latenske kulture. Tako su iz Donje Doline poznati nalazi bronzanih fibula s dvije kuglice većih dimenzija i s jednom kuglicom na produžetku noge (Truhelka 1904, 145, T. LXXXI, 14; Marić 1964, T. XX, 4-5). Ove primjerke, zbog nedostatka arheološkog konteksta, nije moguće precizno datirati, osim na temelju usporedbe sa srodnim primjercima iz drugih poznatih grobnih cjelina, ponajprije s prostora Pounja gdje su hronološki pozicionirane krajem faze IV (250 - 110. g. p. n. e.) i tokom Va faze (110 - 35. g. p. n. e.) (Marić 1968, 27, 74; Tonc 2015, 161; Marić, Jašarević 2019). Pojedini oblici fibula iz Jezerina i Ribića imaju osobene tipološke karakteristike (većih dimenzija, veći broj spiralnih navoja, vezivanje tetive spirale oko donjeg dijela luka), što svjedoči o lokalnim radionicama koje ne samo da slijede nadregionalnu modu i oblike karakteristične za žensku nošnju, već dodavanjem nekih specifičnih elemenata kreiraju lokalni stilu formiranju kostima (Dizdar 2009, 280), što je naposljetku i potvrđeno posebnom varijantom – Ključ (Marić, Jašarević 2019, T. 2: 1). U užem sjeverobosanskom kulturno-istorijskom kontekstu datiraju se u kraj druge i početak treće faze tzv. keltskih uticaja u Bosni i Hercegovini, odnosno u donjodolinsku fazu 3c, koja odgovara kraju 2. i 1. vijeka p. n. e. prema hronologiji Z. Marića, iako je već autor napominjao da im se porijeklo

while spirals consist of six coils connected from an external chord. The leg is completely missing. Given the described characteristics, it can be attributed to type A2 according to the typology of Annette Bieger (Bieger 2003, 55-58; Dizdar 2009, 278; Dizdar 2013, 192; Marić 2017, 103). The fibulae are dated to the LT C1b - C2 period (Bieger 2003, 32-33; Dizdar 2009, 279). Analogies for iron fibulae with two pellets are documented at other cemeteries of the Mokronog Group. In large numbers, they are well known from the cemetery in Brežice, Dobova, Mokronog and from Kapiteljske njive in Novo mesto (Cestnik 2014, 381).

Bronze and iron fibulae with two pellets on the territory of the Danube basin are marked as one of the leading types of the Belgrade 2 phase, which corresponds to the entire Lt C phase (Božić 1981, 319, 324). Iron fibulae with a low arch and a short leg, type A1 and A2 at Zvonimirovo, are characteristic of the period Lt C2 (Dizdar 2013, 191). Based on a detailed analysis, they are recognized as parts of men's costumes, while bronze fibulae are characteristic of women's costumes, with a few exceptions (Majnarić Pandžić 2001, 86; Dizdar 2009, 285; Dizdar 2013, 192-195). Iron fibulae are characteristic primarily of the Late Iron Age communities of the southeastern Alps and southern Pannonia, while south of the Sava they mostly occur rarely and sporadically. Culturally and geographically, we see the closest parallels with the find from Sisak. Also, it's a damaged fibula with a spiral of six coils connected by an external chord and one preserved pellet (Drnić 2018, 152. T. 77: 9). The far more numerous and diverse group, recorded both in the marginal areas and outside the territories of the La Tène culture. So far, the findings of bronze fibulae with two larger pellets and one pellet on the leg are known from Donja Dolina (Truhelka 1904, 145, T. LXXXI, 14; Marić 1964, T. XX, 4-5). Due to the lack of an archaeological context, these finds cannot be accurately dated, except on the basis of comparisons with related fibulae from other known graves, primarily from the Pounje area where they are chronologically positioned at the end of Phase IV (250-110 BC) and during the Va phase (110-35 BC) (Marić

mora tražiti u prethodnoj fazi iz srednjeg latena (Marić 1963, 78, T. I, 24; Marić 1964, 49, T. XX, 4–5; Dizdar 2009, 280). Na temelju bliskih analogija sa susjednih područja, fibula iz groba 1/83 sa Donje Doline može se smatrati proizvodom neke od latenskih radionica sa šireg jugoistočnoalpskog prostora koje su djelovale od kraja 3. do sredine 2. vijeka p. n. e.

Položaj i uloga žene u donjodolinskoj zajednici bio je naglašen prilaganjem predmeta iz svakodnevne upotrebe. Takav grobni inventar uključuje, prije svega, željezne noževe i keramičke pršljenke, koji su ujedno i najbrojniji nalazi (Dizdar, Ljuština 2019, 50), a što je potvrđeno inventarom iz donjodolinskog groba (Sl. 1 : 2). Blago bikonički pršljenak izrađen je od dobro prečišćene gline i kvalitetno pečen u tamnosivom tonu. Pripada tipu koji je bio dugo u upotrebi, s neznatnim promjenama u oblikovanju. U centralnoj Evropi, dijelovima Slovenije i u Hrvatskoj, tkalački predmeti pojavljuju se u grobovima iz kasnog bronzanog doba, s tim da se njihov broj dalje sve više povećava. Ukazuju na specifičnu društvenu ulogu žena ali, kada se pronađu u grobu, imaju i simboličke konotacije (Primas 2007, 306-307). Na groblju u Donjoj Dolini pojava keramičkih pršljenaka ima dugu tradiciju i često su evidentirani u pravilu kao dio ženskih grobova starijeg željeznog doba (Jašarević 2017, 11). Paralele za keramičke pršljenke, kao dio grobnog inventara, pronalazimo u Zvonimirovu, gdje su evidentirani podjednako u bogatim, ali i skromnije opremljenim grobovima žena (Dizdar, Ljuština 2019, 64). Pršljenovi su predloženi i u inventar ženskih grobova u okviru mokronoške skupine, uglavnom po jedan, dok je rjeđa pojava dva ili više (Jovanović 2011, 61). Slijedom navedenog, njihova prisutnost u grobovima je najvjerojatnije pokazatelj važnosti proizvodnje tekstila u oblikovanju ženskog identiteta i diferencijacije žena u pogrebnom ritualu (Dizdar, Ljuština 2019, 69).

Ne tako česta je i pojava željeznih noževa u grobovima žena. Spadaju u univerzalne alatke, namijenjene prevashodno kućnoj radinosti ali, prema potrebi, i mnogim drugim aktivnostima, u svojstvu alatki za finiju obradu predmeta od drveta, kosti i roga ili kao dio toaletnog pribora (Drnić 2015, 75). Primjerak iz donjodolinskog groba

1968, 27, 74; Tonc 2015, 161; Marić, Jašarević 2019). Some forms of fibulae from Jezerin and Ribić have special typological characteristics (larger dimensions, larger number of spiral coils, binding of the spiral chord around the lower part of the arch), which testifies to local workshops that not only copy the supraregional fashion and forms characteristic of women's costumes, but by adding some specific elements create a local taste in the formation of costumes (Dizdar 2009, 280), which is finally confirmed by a special variant – Ključ (Marić, Jašarević). 2019, T. 2: 1). In the close north Bosnian cultural-historical context, they date to the end of the second and the beginning of the third phase of the so-called Celtic influences in Bosnia and Herzegovina, i.e. in the Donja Dolina phase 3c, which corresponds to the end of the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, according to the chronology of Z. Marić, although he noted that they originated in the previous phase from the Middle La Tène (Marić 1963, 78, T. I, 24; Marić 1964, 49, T. XX, 4–5; Dizdar 2009, 280). Based on close analogies from neighboring areas, the fibula from grave 1/83 from Donja Dolina can be considered the product of some of the La Tène workshops from the wider southeastern Alps that operated from the end of the 3rd to the middle of the 2nd century BC. As there are no iron fibulae in our area, we can only assume that they were parts of women's costume, which is supported by the rest of the grave inventory.

The position and role of women in the Donja Dolina community is emphasized by contribution items from everyday use. Such grave inventory includes primarily iron knives and ceramic spindle whorl which are also the most numerous finds (Dizdar, Ljuština 2019, 50), which was finally confirmed by the inventory from the Donja Dolina grave (Fig. 1: 2). The slightly biconical spindle whorl is made of well-refined clay and baked in a dark gray tone. It belongs to a type that has been in use for a long time with slight changes in design. In Central Europe, parts of Slovenia and Croatia, weaving equipment appear in Late Bronze Age graves, but their numbers are increasing in a later period. They indicate the specific social role of women, but, when found in the grave, they

spada u tip jednosjeklih noževa sa izduženom trouglastom, blago zakrivljenom, oštricom, ravnim hrptom i trnom za nasađivanje drške (Sl. 1 : 4). Bez bitnih izmjena oblika, javlja se tokom čitavog željeznog doba, što bez jasnog konteksta otežava njihovo datiranje.

### **Grob 1/83 u kontekstu mlađeg željeznog doba Donje Doline**

Poznato je da je ne samo donjodolinsko naselje, već i čitav sjeverni dio Bosanske Posavine bliže rijeci Savi, bio izložen veoma snažnom uticaju iz latenskog svijeta (Marić 1963; Čović 1987, 285; Majnarić Pandžić 1996, 35-36; Popović 1996, 118-119). Prvi predmeti latenskog porijekla pojavljuju se na prostoru jugoistočne Panonije, na samom završetku starijega željeznog doba, odnosno u fazi Čurug (Božić 1981, 315; Popović 1996, 116; Drnić 2015, 10). Uglavnom je riječ o djelovima nošnje i ženskim osobnim ornamentima; zoomorfnim fibulama i ranim fibulama tipa Duchcov (Ljuština, Spasić 2011, 371; Drnić 2015, 103; Dizdar 2018, 25). Ovaj period je većim dijelom istovremen sa fazom 3b kulturnog kompleksa Donja Dolina – Sanski Most (Čović 1987, 266). Naselje na Gradini u Donjoj Dolini, najvjerovatnije već sredinom 5. vijeka, prestalo je biti sojeničarsko i na starijim kulturnim slojevima razvilo se ravničarsko, dobro organizovano i uređeno naselje (Žeravica 1985, 35; Čović 1987, 268). Sahranjivanje na nekropolama iz ovoga perioda je bilo biritualno. Od istraženih 33 groba ove faze 4 su spaljena s urnom, 2 spaljena bez urne, 1 djelimično spaljen, a 26 je inhumiranih. Što se tiče nošnje, nema bitnijih promjena u odnosu na prethodnu fazu, promjene su uglavnom tipološke. U ženskim grobovima dominiraju fibule, višeglave igle kao ukosnice, sljepoočničarke, ogrlice od staklenih perli, narukvice. Muški, ratnički, grobovi su opremljeni sa dva koplja i kratkim mačem i/ili bojnim nožem (Čović 1987, 264). Kraj faze 3b hronološki je opredijeljen s kraja 4. i početka 3. vijeka p. n. e., s tim da je sahranjivanje na nekropoli u Sanskom Mostu prestalo nešto ranije u odnosu na Donju Dolinu (Čović 1987, 266; Marić 2017, 154). Na naselju je evidentiran paljevinski horizont oko sredine 4. vijeka, koji je povezivan sa prodorom Kelta (Marić 1964,

also have symbolic connotations (Primas 2007, 306–307). At the cemetery in Donja Dolina, the appearance of ceramic spindle whorl has a long tradition and they are often recorded as a regular part of the richly equipped female graves of the Early Iron Age (Jašarević 2017, 11). Parallels for ceramic spindle whorl as part of the grave inventory can be found in Zvonimirovo, where they are recorded equally in the rich, but also less equipped graves of women (Dizdar, Ljuština 2019, 64). The spindle whorl are also presented in the inventory of women's graves within the Mokronog Group, mostly as one, while the occurrence of two or more is less common (Jovanović 2011, 61). Consequently, their presence in graves is most likely an indicator of the importance of textile production in shaping female identity and differentiation of women in the funeral ritual (Dizdar, Ljuština 2019, 69).

The appearance of iron knives in women's graves is not so common. They belong to the universal tools, intended primarily for household work, but, if necessary, for many other activities, as tools for finer processing of wood, bone and horn items or as part of toiletries (Drnić 2015, 75). The find from the Donja Dolina grave belongs to the type of single-edged knives with an elongated triangular slightly curved blade, flat ridge and a thorn for planting the handle (Fig. 1: 4). Without significant changes in shape, it occurs during all periods of the Iron Age, which without a clear context makes it difficult to date them.

### **Grave 1/83 in the context of the Late Iron Age of the Donja Dolina**

It is obvious that not only the Donja Dolina settlement, but also the entire northern part of Bosanska Posavina closer to the Sava River were exposed to a very strong influence from the La Tène world (Marić 1963; Čović 1987, 285; Majnarić Pandžić 1996, 35–36; Popović 1996, 118–119). The first items of La Tène origin appear in the area of southeastern Pannonia at the very end of the Early Iron Age, i.e. in the Čurug phase (Božić 1981, 315; Popović 1996, 116; Drnić 2015, 10). These are

44; Žeravica 1985, 29), no kako je već B. Čović isticao, ti su požari mogli imati različite uzroke, te ih je bilo u različitim fazama života ovog naselja (Čović 1987, 285). Nadalje, požar nije prekinuo kontinuitet naseljavanja. U razdoblju srednjeg latena, odnosno u većem dijelu 3. i prvoj polovini 2. vijeka p. n. e. evidentirani su sporadični predmeti, poput pojaseva, oružja i fibula, što ukazuje da su naselje, ali i nekropola bili još u upotrebi (Truhelka 1904, 145, 153, T. XXVII, 8; T. LXXXI, 13-14; Marić 1964, 49, T. XVIII, 17, 21-22; T. XX, 3-6, 18; Dizdar 2018, 20). Najverovatnije da je površina naselja znatno reducirana u odnosu na prijašnji period, a produktivnost smanjena i prilagođena novim potrebama i mogućnostima zajednice (Marić 1964, 49). U prilog tome ide i lokacija groba 1/83, koji je lociran u zapadnom dijelu Gradine, na prostoru koji je ranije bio urbanizovan, a sada je postao dio sakralne topografije. No, može se pretpostaviti i mogućnost pokopavanja unutar naselja, što nije neobičajan pogrebni ritual u željeznom dobu i u samoj Donjoj Dolini, gdje umrli usljed posebnih okolnosti života ili uzroka smrti ostaju dio zajednice živih (Gavranović 2007, 416–417).

Analiza pojedinih funkcionalno-dekorativnih elemenata materijalne kulture u inventaru groba 1/83 sa Donje Doline, posebno željezne fibule i pojasa, upućuje na faktore mobilnosti koji uključuju žene koje su se udavale u druge zajednice (egzogamija), a koje su svojim kretanjima i interakcijom s drugim zajednicama prenosile određene kulturne obrasce (Hauschild 2010, 178; Drnić 2015, 9). Osim što su siguran dokaz uspješnih kontakata i komunikacijskih mreža, nošnje i pojedini elementi u njemu postaju važan dio karakterističnog vizuelnog kôda i identiteta žena koje su ih nosile i koristile za isticanje društvenih osobnosti (Dizdar 2018, 27).

Prema dosadašnjoj publikovanoj građi sa Donje Doline, primjetna je iznimno mala količina predmeta koji se mogu povezati sa periodom od 3. do 1. vijeka stare ere ili donjodolinske faze 3c (Čović 1987, 266). U pravilu, riječ je o sporadičnim nalazima, bilo da potječu sa naselja na Gradini ili sa prostora nekropola na gredama. Arheološka iskopavanja Z. Žeravice potvrdila su postojanje naselja, ali njegova površina, fortifikacije, organizacija objekata i materijalna kultura nisu prezentovane na odgovarajući način,

mainly parts of costumes and female personal ornaments; zoomorphic fibulae and early fibulae of the Duchcov type (Ljuština, Spasić 2011, 371; Drnić 2015, 103; 101–105; Dizdar 2018, 25). This period is largely simultaneous with phase 3b of the cultural complex Donja Dolina – Sanski Most (Čović 1987, 266). The settlement on Gradina in Donja Dolina, most probably already in the middle of the 5th century, ceased to be a pile dwelling settlement and a open, well-organized and arranged settlement developed on the older cultural layers (Žeravica 1985, 35; Čović 1987, 268). Burial in cemetery from this period is biritual. Of the 33 graves excavated at this stage; 4 were burned with an urn, 2 burned without an urn, 1 partially burned, and 26 were inhumed. As for the costume, there are no significant changes compared to the previous phase, the changes are mostly typological. Women's graves are dominated by fibulae, multi-headed pins, temporal rings, necklaces made of glass beads and bracelets. Male warrior graves are equipped with two spears and a short sword and / or battle knife (Čović 1987, 264). The end of phase 3b is chronologically determined from the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 3rd century. However, burial in the cemetery Sanski Most stopped a bit earlier relative to Donja Dolina (Čović 1987, 266; Marić 2017, 154). A burning horizon was discovered in the settlement around the middle of the 4th century, which was connected with the Celtic invasion (Marić 1964, 44; Žeravica 1985, 29), but as B. Čović has already pointed out, these fires could have had different causes, and that they existed at different stages of the life of this settlement (Čović 1987, 285). Furthermore, the fire did not interrupt the continuity of settlement. In the Middle La Tène period, i.e. in the greater part of the 3rd and the first half of the 2nd century BC, sporadic finds were recorded, such as belts, weapons and fibulae, which indicates that the settlement, but also the necropolis were still in use (Truhelka 1904, 145, 153, T. XXVII, 8; T. LXXXI, 13–14; Marić 1964, 49, T. XVIII, 17, 21–22; T. XX, 3–6, 18; Dizdar 2018, 20). It is most likely that the area of the settlement has been significantly reduced in relation to the previous period, and productivity has been reduced and adjusted to the new needs and possibilities of the

osim podataka da se radi o obnovljenom naselju autohtone populacije (Žeravica 1985, 36-40). Takođe, nisu bili otkriveni grobovi iz ovoga perioda (Marić 1964, 49), pa je publikovanje groba 1/83 posebno važno i daje sigurne naznake o održavanju ekonomskih, kulturnih i političkih veza sa udaljenim regijama. Ako pogledamo rasprostranjenost materijalne kulture u sjevernoj Bosni iz srednjelatenskog perioda i nadalje, evidentno je grupisanje u drugim kulturnim i geografskim oblastima, ponajprije u Pounju koje postaje novo ekonomsko i kulturno žarište. Stoga je važan krak tzv. Posavskog koridora, dolinom Une, okrenut ka ovoj regiji, na područje gdje se sada dodiruju i međusobno isprepliću dva potpuno različita kulturološka kompleksa. Jedan sa sjevera, povezan sa posavsko-podunavskim kulturama, drugi s juga i jugozapada, povezan s protoistorijskim zajednicama jadranske obale i zaleđa (Marić, Jašarević 2019).

community (Marić 1964, 49). This is supported by the location of grave 1/83, which is located in the western part of Gradina, in an area that was previously urbanized, and has now become part of the sacral topography. We can also assume the possibility of burial within the settlement, which is not an unusual funeral ritual in the Iron Age and the Donja Dolina itself, where the dead due to special life circumstances or causes of death remain part of the living community (Gavranović 2007, 416-417).

The analysis of certain functional-decorative elements of material culture in the inventory of grave 1/83 from Donja Dolina, especially the iron fibula and belt, reflects the system of transregional contacts which includes women, who, through exogamous marriages, became visible in the processes of cultural and social interaction (Hauschild 2010, 178; Drnić 2015, 9). In addition to being a proof of successful contacts and communication networks, costumes and individual elements in it become an important part of the characteristic visual code and identity of women who wore them and used them to highlight social uniqueness (Dizdar 2018, 27).

According to the published material from Donja Dolina so far, it is noticeable an extremely small amount of finds that can be connected with the period from the 3rd to the 1st century AD or the Donja Dolina phase 3c (Čović 1987, 266). Generally, these are chance finds, whether they are from the settlement on Gradina or from the area of the cemeteries on the beams. Archaeological excavations of Z.Žeravica confirmed the existence of the settlement, but its surface, fortifications, organization of buildings and material culture were not presented in an appropriate manner, except for the data that it is a renewed settlement of autochthonous population (Žeravica 1985, 36-40). Also, graves from this period were not discovered (Marić 1964, 49), so the publication of grave 1/83 is especially important and gives certain indications of maintaining economic, cultural and political ties with remote regions. It is also a continuation of the tradition of combining different elements of imported items in a local

costume. If we look at the prevalence of material culture in northern Bosnia from the Middle La Tène period onwards, grouping in other cultural and geographical areas is evident, primarily in Pounje, which becomes a new economic and cultural focus. Very important is the so-called branch of Posavina Corridor, along the Una Valley, facing this region, to an area where two completely different cultural complexes now connected and intertwine. One from the north, connected with the Posavina-Danube cultures, the other from the south and southwest, connected with the protohistoric communities of the Adriatic coast and hinterland (Marić, Jašarević 2019).

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