

***YOU ARE MY SUNSHINE...***  
**A SINGLE GLASS BEAD FROM**  
**MOMIŠIĆI**

Boris Kavur  
University of Primorska  
Faculty of Humanities  
SI-6000 Koper, Titov trg 5  
boris.kavur@upr.si

***TI SI MOJE SUNCE...***  
**JEDNA STAKLENA PERLA IZ**  
**MOMIŠIĆA**

UDK 904:671.12(497.16 Momišići)

**Abstract:**

Prestige was a form of capital shaped by perceptions and representations in the Ancient World. Although it was largely found in people's minds – translated into attitudes and action, determined by the aforementioned perceptions and representations, it had in different periods and regions its material manifestations. One of them were also amphoriskos-shaped glass beads. Today is recognized that they were mostly the products of Macedonian workshops, a luxurious emblematic good, which was in the period of Macedonian cultural, economic and political expansion traded to the west and the north, creating an intensification of the contacts between Ancient Macedonia and the prehistoric communities of the central Balkans and eastern Adriatic coast. Observing their distributions, we can reconstruct connections linking the social and political elites into the wider networks of economic and ideological currents of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC.

Keywords: Eastern Adriatic Coast, Iron Age, grave goods, amphoriskos-shaped glass beads

**Apstrakt:**

U antičkom je svijetu prestiž bio kapital, oblikovan ponajprije percepcijama i predstavljajima. Iako se nalazio u ljudskim umovima – prenesen u stavove i akcije, određene prethodno pomenutim percepcijama i predstavljajima, prestiž je u različitim periodima i regionima imao svoje materijalne manifestacije. Jedna od njih bila je i staklena perla oblika amforiska. Danas je prihvaćeno da su te perle uglavnom bile proizvodi makedonskih radionica, odnosno luksuzno amblematično dobro kojim se u doba makedonske kulturne, ekonomske i političke ekspanzije trgovalo i sa zapadom i sa sjeverom, kreirajući pri tome jačanje kulturnih veza s praistorijskim zajednicama centralnog Balkana i istočne obale Jadrana. Posmatrajući njihovu distribuciju mogu se rekonstruisati poveznice društvenih i političkih elita u širim mrežama ekonomskih i ideoloških strujanja 5. i 4. vijeka p. n. e.

Ključne riječi: Istočna obala Jadrana, gvozdeno doba, grobni nalazi, staklene perle oblika amforiska.

Although trying for several decades to become accurately scientific, before evolving into being postmodern, archaeology was too often just the projection of modern world views into the past. This was mostly the case when we were focusing on the cultural and economic processes taking place on both sides of the big divide cutting pre-historic south-eastern Europe into two halves. Numerous authors, sustaining the rhetoric of core and periphery, claimed that in antiquity the Balkans and the eastern Adriatic coast were just the periphery of the more developed and wealthy Greek world and its Macedonian and Sicilian offspring. However, when looking at the archaeological record, we can state that the material foundation of these paradigms lack a common measure since they used different concepts and methods to address different problems, limiting communication across a series of narrative divides. The problem did not arise from the incomparability of the archaeological record, but from the incompatibility of the structural differences used to classify and explain the archaeological record in theories. This essay, not presenting any new discoveries, is just the aspiration to present a small argument, demonstrating the interlacement of economic and ideological systems in antiquity. By discussing a small find discovered and published a long time ago, we will attempt to present one of the processes ensuring political stability through complex economical processes in southeastern Europe. We will observe a single amphoriskos-shaped glass pendant discovered in Momišići near Podgorica in Montenegro, a small token of the prestige of the Ancient World.

Prestige was the main asset in the pre-modern world of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century BC – not only reduced to material manifestation in terms of artefacts but also, and even more intensively in the terms of symbolic capital which could have been converted easily in other forms of capital. The great imperial and economic-cultural superpowers of that period, the Macedonian state on one and the Sicilian Syracuse on the other side, were increasing their prestige on the peripheries through direct and indirect promotion. Political and even military presence, as well as inclusion into economical systems, resulted in a constant flow of artefacts, not only of the strictly economic value, but also such interpreted as symbolic, crossing the political boundaries of empires connecting societies into world

Iako se tokom nekoliko decenija trudila da postane egzaktno naučna, prije nego što se razvila i postala postmoderna, arheologija je veoma često bila samo projekcija pogleda savremenog svijeta na prošlost. Uglavnom je to bio slučaj kada smo se fokusirali na kulturne i ekonomske procese koji su se odvijali na obje strane velikog rascjepa, presijecajući praistorijsku jugoistočnu Evropu na dvije polovine. Brojni autori, podržavajući retoriku centra i periferije, tvrdili su da su u antici Balkan i istočna obala Jadrana bili samo periferija razvijenijeg i bogatijeg grčkog svijeta, te njegovih makedonskih i sicilijanskih potomaka. Međutim, gledajući arheološki zapis, možemo konstatovati da materijalnoj osnovi ovih paradigmi nedostaje zajednička mjera, jer su koristili različite koncepte i metode za rešavanje različitih problema, ograničavajući komunikaciju u nizu narativnih podjela. Problem nije nastao iz nemogućnosti poređenja arheološkog zapisa, već iz nekompatibilnih strukturnih razlika korišćenih za klasifikaciju i objašnjenje arheološkog zapisa kroz teoriju. Ovaj esej ne predstavlja nikakva nova otkrića, već težnju da se prezentuje manja diskusija, o preplitanju ekonomskog i ideološkog sistema u antici. Diskutujući o malom nalazu otkrivenom i objavljenom mnogo godina unazad, pokušaćemo da predstavimo jedan od procesa koji obezbjeđuje političku stabilnost kroz kompleks ekonomskih procesa u jugoistočnoj Evropi. Posmatraćemo staklenu perlu u obliku amforiska, pronađenu u Momišićima blizu Podgorice u Crnoj Gori, mali znak prestiža antičkog svijeta.

U predmodernom svijetu 5. i 4. vijeka prije nove ere, prestiž je bio glavno dobro, ne samo kao materijalna manifestacija u smislu artefakata već, još intenzivnije, u smislu simboličkog kapitala koji se mogao lako pretvoriti u druge oblike bogatstva. Velike imperijalne i ekonomsko-kulturne supersile tog razdoblja, makedonska država s jedne strane, i sicilijanska Sirakuza na drugoj strani, direktnom su i indirektnom promocijom povećavale ugled na svojim periferijama.

Političko, pa čak i vojno prisustvo, kao i uključivanje u ekonomske sisteme, rezultiralo je stalnim protokom artefakata. Oni nisu imali strogo ekonomske, već i simboličke vrijednosti kojima se prelazilo političke granice i povezivalo društva u svjetsku ekonomiju definisanu tržišnom trgovinom. Ujedno, te su mreže protoka artefakata povezivale marginalne oblasti (gde je došlo do redistribucije)

economies defined by market trade. Besides, their marginal areas where the redistribution took place, these networks, linked the later with the territories embedded into subsistence economies lacking the mechanisms of wider integration.

It was traditionally considered, that the so-called barbarian communities did not have many commodities to provide to the economies of the Late Classical and Hellenistic world in exchange for the great quantities of goods that flowed in and boosted their prestige in the Adriatic and its hinterland. The Greek historians were a discourse about tin and amber and we can be sure that on the territory of the northern Adriatic existed redistribution centres, sustaining their function as such operating since the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age. However, the only way we can address this apparent commercial imbalance in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, in terms of reciprocity exchange and market trade, is considering that besides the common commodities the communities were important from the political perspective and that the sustaining of contacts with local social elites ensured stability in the region. Stability preventing on the fringes of the Late Classical/Hellenistic world any strategic decision that could result into minor military campaigns or major unwanted alliances, and stability ensuring the flux of skilled professional labour – artisans and most important skilful warriors employed as mercenaries. Ever since human communities organized into larger and socially complex groups, hierarchical structures developed akin to ever-going potential or violent conflicts. Moreover, the circulation of prestige goods became a major process of keeping these conflicts as low as possible.

The superpowers executed conscious and effective management of prestige through gifts and dedications to contract debt by the local aristocracy and to attract mercenaries to join their undertakings. Besides, attempts of quantitative research, demonstrating the distribution of individual items traded from the Mediterranean (such as luxurious bronze vessels or elements of attire as, e.g. example amphoriskos-shaped glass pendants) were evaluated as successful (Iancu 2014; Iancu 2016, 15-16).

Profound modifications of primary economies, changing the aesthetic and cultural perceptions of prehistoric societies on the territory of the Adriatic basin from the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC,

sa slabije razvijenim teritorijama kojima su nedostajali mehanizmi za širu integraciju.

Tradicionalno se smatralo, da takozvane varvarske zajednice nisu imale mnogo robe koju bi mogle pružiti privredi kasnog klasičnog i helenističkog svijeta, u zamjenu za velike količine robe koja im je dotjecala i na taj im način povećavala ugled na Jadranu i u njegovom zaleđu. Grčki historičari govorili su o kalaju i ćilibaru te možemo biti sigurni da su na teritoriji sjevernog Jadrana postojali redistributivni centri, koji su kao takvi funkcionisali od kasnog bronzanog/ranog gvozdеног doba. Međutim, jedini način na koji možemo da se pozabavimo ovom prividnom komercijalnom neravnotežom 5. i 4. vijeka prije nove ere, a u smislu uzajamne razmjene i tržišne trgovine, je da su pored zajedničkih roba bile važne i zajednice iz političke perspektive te da je održavanje kontakata sa lokalnim društvenim elitama osiguralo stabilnost u regionu. Na rubu kasno klasičnog/helenističkog svijeta ta je stabilnost sprečavala svaku stratešku odluku koja bi mogla rezultirati manjim vojnim kampanjama ili velikim neželjenim savezništva obezbeđujući tako protok kvalifikovane profesionalne radne snage – poput zanatlija i, još važnije, vještih ratnika, zaposlenim kao plaćenicima. Otkako su se zajednice organizovale u veće i društveno složenije grupe, hijerarhijske su se strukture razvijale sličnim neprekidnim potencijalnim ili nasilnim sukobima. Štaviše, promet prestižne robe postao je glavni proces održavanja tih sukoba na što je moguće nižem nivou.

Supersile su upravljanje prestižom vršile svjesno i efikasno kroz sistem poklanjanja te posvećenjima ugovornog duga od strane lokalne aristokratije, a sve da bi privukle plaćenike koji bi se pridruživali njihovim poduhvatima. Povrh toga, kvantitativna istraživanja, koja nam pokazuju distribuciju pojedinih predmeta iz trgovine sa Sredozemljem, poput luksuznih bronzanih posuda ili elemenata nošnje kao što su, na primjer, stakleni privjesci u obliku amforiskosa, ocijenjeni su kao uspješni (Iancu 2014; Iancu 2016, 15-16).

Temeljne promjene primarnih privreda, mijenjajući estetsku i kulturnu percepciju praistorijskih društava na teritoriji jadranskog basena od kraja 6. vijeka prije nove ere, podstaknute su uticajima makedonske političke ekonomije i propagande koja je stizala sa jugoistoka. Prestižni predmeti materijalne kulture prepoznati su kao glavni fakto-

were stimulated by influences of Macedonian political economies and propaganda arriving from the southeast. Prestigious items of material culture were recognized as major factors in the transformation process of local communities and especially in the creation of new intercultural local social elites. The later, striving for power and prestige, influence and wealth – rooted in a ritual or profane entanglements, left their traces in the archaeological record, especially in lavishly equipped graves.

The territory of the eastern Adriatic coast acted as a network of contact and crossing points mediating between production and consumption centres defining and sustaining the flow of artefacts. However, not only high-status imports but also trinkets such as amphoriskos-shaped glass beads. It is beyond any doubt that the later, being a part of jewellery, functioning as body adornment had a rank defining of the status-enhancing role. In addition, due to the materiality of their production, they were not of a major material or intrinsic value but still functioned as elements of prestige. In several previous presentations addressing the lavishly equipped graves from Adriatic redistribution centres, we attempted to present the today sometimes even hard to imagine, amplexity of different regions contributing to the creation of the preserved as well as to address the complexity of behaviour and practices involved in the creation of the discussed archaeological record (Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2017).

Consequently, the present discussion will focus primarily on a single find discovered in Momišići near Podgorica. A find belonging to a major and widely distributed group of finds – the amphoriskos shaped glass beads. It was several times presented, that these small items interpreted as artisanal products deriving from the Macedonian or the later influenced workshops in the Mediterranean, flowing across the cultural borders and linking central and south-eastern Europe into a network connected with similar symbolic perceptions and desires for translucent prestigious jewellery – for Macedonian trinkets. Trinkets should be defined as small objects of clearly foreign origin produced from relatively inexpensive materials. They were not locally produced, and not even imitated, small enough to be worn around the neck but its details were only discernible from up close. Its' form and the material used reinforced its otherness and ren-

ri u procesu transformacije lokalnih zajednica, a posebno u stvaranju novih interkulturalnih lokalnih društvenih elita. Potnje su, težeći moći i prestižu, uticaju i bogatstvu – ukorijenjenim u obrednim ili profanim zapletima, ostavile brojne tragove u arheološkim zapisima, naročito u raskošno opremljenim grobovima.

Teritorija istočne obale Jadrana djelovala je kao mreža kontaktnih i prelaznih mjesta, posredujući između proizvodnih i potrošačkih centara, definišući i održavajući protok artefakata ne samo predmeta visokog statusa, već i tričarija poput staklenih perli u obliku amforiskosa. One su nesumnjivo imale poziciju kojom su, kao dio nakita koji je imao funkciju ukrasa tijela, definisale uloge i u unapređivanju statusa. Osim toga, zbog značajnosti njihove proizvodnje, nisu bile od velike materijalne ili svojstvene vrijednosti, ali su i dalje djelovale kao elementi prestiža. U prethodnim raspravama o raskošno opremljenim grobovima iz jadranskih redistributivnih centara, pokušali smo prikazati danas teško zamislivu količinu različitih regiona koji su doprinosili nastanku očuvanih grobova. Isto tako, pokušali smo usmjeriti pozornost na složena ponašanja i prakse uključenih u stvaranje već pomenutog arheološkog zapisa (Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2017).

Rasprave će se stoga prvenstveno fokusirati na jedan nalaz otkriven u Momišićima kod Podgorice, koji pripada velikoj i široko rasprostranjenoj grupi nalaza staklenih perli u obliku amforiskosa. Nekoliko puta je predstavljeno da su ti mali predmeti interpretirani kao zanatski proizvodi koji potiču iz makedonskih radionica ili mediteranskih radionica koje su radile pod njihovim uticajem. Prelazeći kulturne granice, potreba za tim prozirnim prestižnim nakitom – za makedonskim tričarijama, povezivala je centralnu i jugoistočnu Evropu u mrežu sličnih simboličkih shvatanja. Tričarije treba definisati kao male predmete stranog porijekla proizvedene od relativno jeftinih materijala. Nisu se proizvodili lokalno, čak se nisu pravile ni kopije, a bili su dovoljno mali da se mogu nositi oko vrata i da se njihovi detalji primjećuju samo izbliza. Forma i korišćeni materijal učvrstili su njihovu posebnost i učinili je očigledno ne-lokalnom - udaljeno porijeklo predmeta bilo je od presudnog značaja za njegov ontološki status i značenje u društvu. Bila je to dakle mala egzotika pomalo čudesna i neobična, i pomalo jeftina, sitna, ali i dalje prestižna (Arrington 2016, 2-3).

dered it manifestly non-local – the object's distant origin was essential to its ontological status and meaning within the society. It was minor exotica somewhat wondrous and unusual but somewhat cheap, small but still considered prestigious (Arrington 2016, 2-3).

These beads were discussed in the last two decades in several papers and different authors focused on their regional or cultural-specific perspectives. The first major presentation was presented by Petar Popović, focusing on finds from the Adriatic and especially Central Balkan region (Popović 1997; Popović 2000). Discussing their origins, he ascribed their appearance to workshops in ancient Macedonia and according to their distribution proposed their distribution routes along the eastern Adriatic littoral into the western Balkans and the Carpathian basin. Observing the difference between individual and multiple finds in burials, he proposed that necklaces with multiple beads exhibited the Celtic interest for the Mediterranean products. Strongly manifested in the periods before and ceasing after the Celtic campaign to southern Balkans (Popović 1997; Popović 2000, 274-275).

In the year 2000, in the same volume in which P. Popović published his Italian translation of the initial 1997 paper, Stefania Vellani presented an overview of the presence of amphoriskos-shaped transparent glass beads on the western Adriatic coast and its hinterland. She demonstrated that a modest amount of such finds was known in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC mostly in northern Italy, where they were discovered in small numbers in female and children's graves in multicultural trade centres on the Adriatic coast, such as Adria and Spina, and in the Celtic settlement of Monte Bibele. The most southern and most opulent find from Italy came from a female burial in the hypogeum in Via Molise in Canosa di Puglia where, amongst others, 99 beads were discovered (Ciampoltrini 1993, 49-50, Fig. 18.5; Vellani 2000, 42-45, Fig. 1; cf. Tori 2006, 167-168). A few years later Martin Schönfelder included them into a broader picture and tried to explain their distribution as a result following the Celtic unsuccessful raid towards Delphi. He assumed that their distribution could explain their origins in mainly Greece but perhaps even Italy (Schönfelder 2007, 308-309)!

Building upon the critique of his approach and new data presented, Aurel Rustoiu published

O tim se perlama posljednje dvije decenije raspravljalo u nekoliko radova, a različiti su se autori fokusirali na njihove regionalne ili kulturološki specifične perspektive. Prvo veliko predstavljano pružio je Petar Popović, usredsređujući se na nalaze iz jadranskog i posebno srednjobalkanskog regiona (Popović 1997; Popović 2000). Raspravljajući o njihovom porijeklu, pripisao ih je radionicama antičke Makedonije, a prema njihovoj rasprostranjenosti predložio im je distributivne rute duž istočnog jadranskog primorja, sve do zapadnog Balkana i Karpatske kotline. Primjećujući razliku između pojedinačnih i višestrukih nalaza u grobovima, predložio je da ogrlice s višestrukim perlicama odražavaju zapravo keltski interes za mediteranske proizvode, koji se manifestuje u periodima prije i prestaje poslije keltskog pohoda na južni Balkan (Popović 1997; Popović 2000, 274-275). U istoj knjizi, u kojoj je P. Popović 2000. godine objavio italijanski prevod prvobitnog teksta iz 1997., Stefania Vellani je iznijela pregled zastupljenosti prozirnih staklenih perli oblika amforiskosa na zapadnoj obali Jadrana i u njegovom zaleđu. Pokazala je da skromna količina takvih nalaza iz 4. vijeka prije nove ere poznata uglavnom u sjevernoj Italiji, gdje su u manjem broju otkriveni ženski i dječji grobovi u multikulturalnim trgovačkim centrima na jadranskoj obali, kao što su Adria i Spina, te u keltskom naselju Monte Bibele. Najjužniji i najbogatiji nalaz iz Italije potiče iz ženskog groba u hipogeumu, Via Molise u mjestu Canosa di Puglia, gdje je, između ostalog, otkriveno 99 perlica (Ciampoltrini 1993, 49-50, sl. 18.5; Vellani 2000, 42-45, sl. 1; up. Tori 2006, 167-168). Nekoliko godina kasnije, uvršćujući ih u širu sliku, Martin Schönfelder pokušao je da objasni njihovu distribuciju kao posljedicu neuspješnog keltskog napada na Delfe. Pretpostavio je da im distribucija može pojasniti njihovo uglavnom grčko ili možda čak i italsko porijeklo (Schönfelder 2007, 308-309).

Oslanjajući se na kritiku njegovog pristupa i predstavljene nove podatke, Aurel Rustoiu je objavio pregled koji je pokazao mnogo složeniju situaciju s nekoliko novootkrivenih nalaza na istočnom Balkanu, duž toka Dunava pri Crnom moru i na teritoriji današnje Slovenije (Rustoiu 2008, 52-57). Nekoliko godina kasnije, razvio je svoj pristup, podijelivši njihovu distribuciju na zapadno i istočno područje, pri čemu je zapadno područje podijeljeno prema koncentraciji nalaza u četiri zone



an overview, demonstrating a much more complex situation with several finds newly discovered in eastern Balkans, along the course of the Danube close to the Black Sea and on the territory of today's Slovenia (Rustoiu 2008, 52-57). A few years later, he further elaborated his position by dividing their distribution into a western and eastern area, where the western one was further sub-divided according to the concentration of finds into four zones (Rustoiu 2015, 367, Fig. 3). He assumed that the western distribution zone including the north-western Balkans and the Carpathian basin was supplied by workshops from the Adriatic basin and Greece where the glass beads were traded together with coral beads (Rustoiu 2015, 367-368). On the other hand, the recent discovery of Kale Krševica in Serbia made him reflect again the Vardar – Morava corridor from Macedonia to the North (Rustoiu 2015, 368-269). In an innovative approach to interpretation, he concluded that the distribution of amphoriskos-shaped glass beads, being the reflection of circulation of the later between societies in the Carpathian basin, should be observed in the perspective of economic and inter-community connections across wide areas. Although listing diplomatic agreements and gift exchanges he concluded that, since they were mostly discovered in female burials, it could be assumed that the practice of exogamy played an important role in their circulation (Rustoiu 2015, 370-373).

Vera Bitrakova Grozdanova, although focusing primarily on the most southern distribution of amphoriskos-shaped glass beads, presented another major contribution. Discussing the necklace from grave 150 from the necropolis Golem Grad on Prespa Lake, she listed several sites in Macedonia where such finds were discovered (Golem Grad, Delagožda, and Ždanec). Since the Macedonian workshops developed the art of production of light transparent glass in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, she concluded that later were the producer of amphoriskos-shaped glass beads. As most of the authors before her, she noted that these beads were a link in the chain of production ranging from the archaic period since golden amphoriskos-shaped beads were a part of the elite attire in ancient Macedonian cemeteries such as Derveni, Sedas, Pydna, Katerini, Lithi, and Sindos and Thessalian Homolion as well (Bitrakova Grozdanova 2011, 171).

In the latest discussion of the distribution of

(Rustoiu 2015, 367, sl. 3). Pretpostavio je da je zapadna distributivna zona, uključujući sjeverozapadni Balkan i Karpatski basen, snabdijevana radionicama iz jadranskog basena i Grčke, gdje se trgovalo staklenim i koralnim perlama (Rustoiu 2015, 367-368). S druge strane, nedavno otkriće Kale Krševice u Srbiji natjeralo ga je da ponovo razmotri vardarsko-moravski koridor od Makedonije prema "Sjeveru" (Rustoiu 2015, 368-269). U inovativnom pristupu interpretaciji, zaključio je da distribuciju staklenih perli u obliku amforiskosa, između društava u Karpatskom bazenu, treba posmatrati u perspektivi ekonomskih i veza unutar zajednica na širokom prostoru. Premda je navodio i diplomatske ugovore i razmjenu poklona, zaključio je, s obzirom na to da su većinom otkrivene u ženskim grobovima, kako je praksa egzogamije igrala važnu ulogu u njihovom optičaju (Rustoiu 2015, 370-373).

Iako se prvenstveno fokusirala na najjužniju rasprostranjenost staklenih perli u obliku amforiskosa, Vera Bitrakova Grozdanova pružila je još jedan veliki doprinos. Raspravljajući o ogrlici iz groba 150 iz nekropole Golem Grad na Prespanskom jezeru, navela je nekoliko lokaliteta u Makedoniji gdje su takvi nalazi otkriveni (Golem Grad, Delagožda i Ždanec). Pošto su makedonske radionice razvile umjetnost izrade lakog prozirnog stakla u 4. vijeku prije nove ere, zaključila je da su one bile i proizvođači staklenih perli u obliku amforiskosa. Kao i većina autora prije nje, primijetila je da su te perle bile karika u proizvodnom lancu još od arhajskog doba, pošto su zlatne perle u obliku amforiskosa bile dio elitne odjeće na antičkim makedonskim nekropolama kao što su Derveni, Sedas, Pidna, Katerini, Liti i Sindos te tesalski Homolion (Bitrakova Grozdanova 2011, 171).

U posljednjoj diskusiji o distribuciji staklenih perli u obliku amforiska, Martina Blečić Kavur i Boris Kavur prihvatili su prethodna izlaganja o dunavskom koridoru, ali su se fokusirali na važnost istočnih jadranskih trgovačkih puteva i regionalnih distributivnih centara. Tumačeći ih u direktnoj povezanosti sa makedonskom proizvodnjom, distribucija takvih vrsta nalaza na teritoriji Slovenije i njihova koncentracija u centralnom Podunavlju, pokazali su da su staklene perle u obliku amforiskosa bile najbrojnije, ali ipak samo jedan od elemenata distribuiran tim putevima (Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2017). To je stajalište prihvatio i Attila Horvat, koji je otkrio više od 500 primjera takvih perli na kelts-

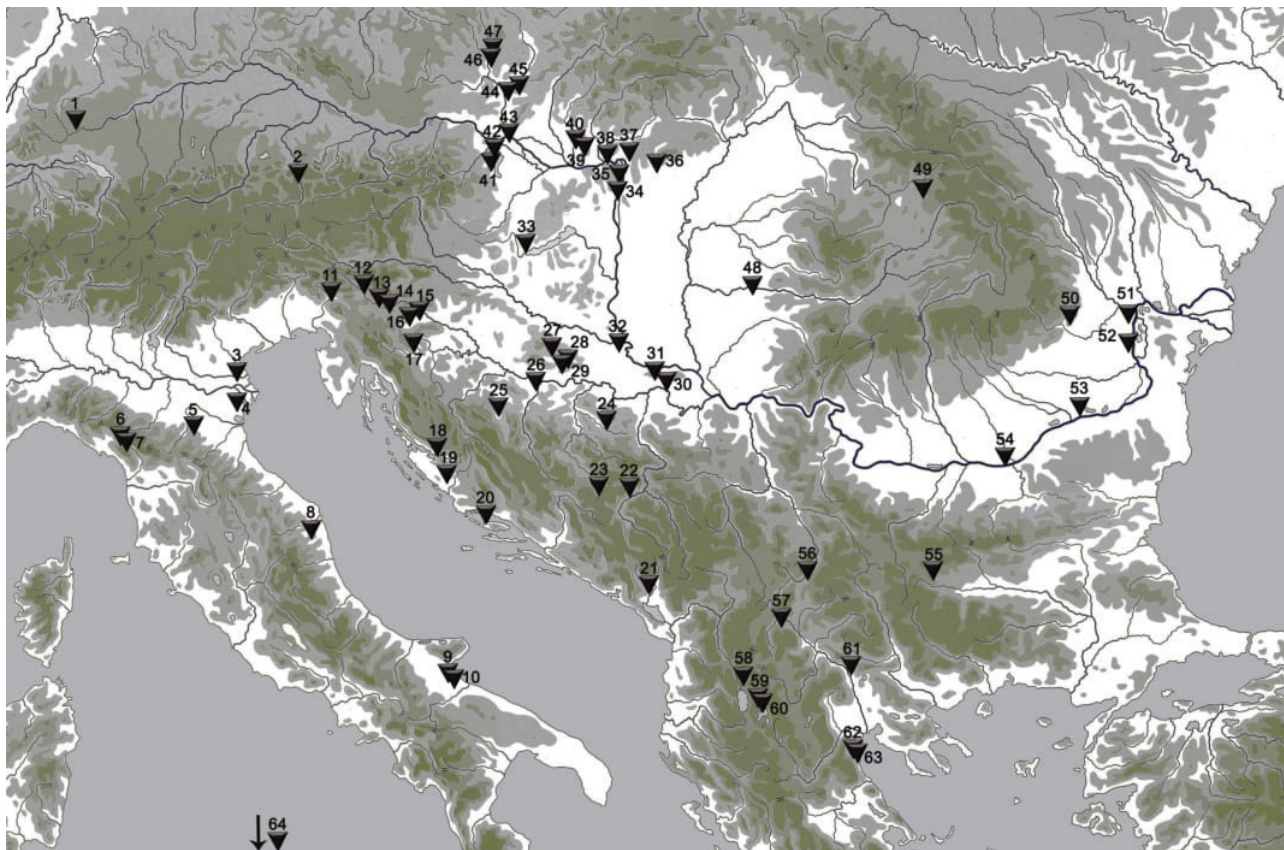


Fig. 1. Distribution map of amporiskos-shaped glass beads (after Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2017, 107, Fig.4).  
Sl. 1. Karta distribucije staklenih perli u obliku amforiskosa (po Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2017, 107, Sl.4).

amporiskos-shaped glass beads, Martina Blečić Kavur and Boris Kavur acknowledged the previous discussions about the Danubian corridor but focused on the importance of eastern Adriatic trade routes and regional distribution centres. Interpreting them as the direct link between the Macedonian production, distribution of such kind of finds on the territory of Slovenia and the large concentration discovered in central Transdanubia they demonstrated that the amporiskos-shaped glass beads were just the most numerous, but still only one of the elements distributed along these pathways (Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2017). It was a position accepted also by Attila Horváth who discovered more than 500 examples on the Celtic cemetery at Csepel Island in Budapest. For him most important was the fact that the not only different forms of glass beads, but also corals and finger rings, coming from the Mediterranean were discovered in female graves (Horváth 2017).

At this point, we have to return to the initial presentations published by P. Popović – he started his discussion by listing the finds from Delagož-

kom groblju na ostrvu Čepel u Budimpešti. Za njega je najvažnija činjenica da su u ženskim grobovima otkriveni ne samo različiti oblici staklenih perli, već i korali i prstenje koje je pristizalo sa Sredozemlja (Horvath 2017).

U ovom trenutku moramo se vratiti na početnu raspravu P. Popovića, koji je popisao nalaze iz Delagožde i Ždaneca u Makedoniji, te nastavio s Momišićima, Vičjom lukom i Dračevcem (Popović 1997; Popović 2000). Dodajući tom nizu i nalaze iz Isar - Marvinci (Mitrevski, Temov 1996-1997, 141, Pl. II. 2-3) te Golem Grad - Prespa (Bitrakova Grozdanova 2011, 168: H-58, 171), posmatramo zapravo putanju koja prelazi teritoriju današnje Makedonije prateći drevnu komunikaciju koja će, vjekovima kasnije, u istoriji postati poznata kao *Via Egnatia* (Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2017, 103).

Na nedavnoj izložbi pod nazivom *Dodir vatre*, koju je priredio JU Muzeji i galerije Podgorice, čiji su autori Dragan Radović i Miloš Živanović, pregled staklenih nalaza iz muzeja Crne Gore, započet je predstavljanjem četiri staklene perle otkrivene u okolini Podgorice u Momišićima. Među njima je

da and Ždanec in Macedonia and continued with Momišići, Vičja luka, and Dračevac (Popović 1997; Popović 2000). Adding to this sequence also the finds from Isar – Marvinci (Mitrevski, Temov 1996-1997, 141, Pl. II. 2-3) and Golem Grad – Prespa (Bitrakova Grozdanova 2011, 168: H-58, 171) we are observing a trajectory, crossing the territory of today's Macedonia following the ancient communication which, centuries later, will become known in history as the *Via Egnatia* (Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2017, 103).

In a recent exhibition entitled *Touch of Fire*, produced by JU Muzeji i galerije Podgorica and authored by Dragan Radović and Miloš Živanović, the overview of glass finds from the museums of Montenegro started with the presentation of 4 glass beads discovered in the vicinity of Podgorica in Momišići. Among them was, on the first photo in the published catalogue, an amphoriskos-shaped glass bead made from transparent, lightly yellowish glass (Živanović 2016).

In Momišići in 1959, after the discovery of archaeological finds during construction works, archaeological excavations were conducted and the finds were presented 7 years later by Olivera Velimirović-Žižić (Velimirović-Žižić 1966). Taking into consideration the quantity, quality and composition of finds and as well as the single note by the author mentioning that the local population remembered the presence of a tumulus at the location, we can positively support the conclusion that we are observing remains of several destroyed graves. Revising the position stated in the initial publication, we can assume that burials, at least according to the finds, were performed at least in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. Using the rhetoric and interpretation of early sixties, the author recognised multiple origins of different groups of finds. Translated into modern interpretations we can, although lacking the contexts of individual finds, stress the intercultural character of the community burying their deceased in Momišići. Local and imported pottery (Miše 2015, 42), fibulae and pins and most important jewellery indicate that the community was a center of trade and consumption in to which cultural influences and trade converged from adjacent regions. With the presence of a single amphoriskos-shaped glass bead the site stands at the beginning of cemeteries along the eastern Adriatic coast used for the interpretation of ancient trade



Fig. 2. Glass beads from Momišići (after Živanović 2016, Slika 1).  
Sl. 2. Staklene perle iz Momišića (po Živanović 2016, slika 1).

bila, na prvoj fotografiji u objavljenom katalogu, i staklena perla u obliku amforiskosa izrađena od prozirnog, svjetlo-žučkastog stakla (Živanović 2016).

U Momišićima su 1959. godine, nakon otkrića arheoloških nalaza tokom građevinskih radova, izvršena arheološka iskopavanja, a nalaze je sedam godina kasnije publikovala Olivera Velimirović-Žižić (Velimirović-Žižić 1966). Uzimajući u obzir količinu, kvalitet i sastav nalaza, kao i jedinstvenu bilješku autorice koja navodi da se lokalno stanovništvo sjećalo prisustva tumula na lokalitetu, možemo pozitivno podržati zaključak da zapravo posmatramo ostatke iz nekoliko uništenih grobova. Revidirajući vremensku poziciju navedenu u prvobitnoj publikaciji, sahranjivanje je, barem prema nalazima predmeta, vršeno najkasnije u 4. i 3. vijeku prije nove ere. Koristeći retoriku i interpretaciju ranih šezdesetih godina, autorica je prepoznala višestruko porijeklo različitih grupa nalaza. Iako kontekst pojedinih nalaza nedostaje, modernom interpretacijom možemo naglasiti interkulturalni karakter zajednice koja je svoje pokojnike sahranjivala u Momišićima. Lokalna i uvezena keramika (Miše 2015, 42), fibule i igle te najvažniji nakit, ukazuju na to da je zajednica bila centar trgovine i potrošnje u koji su kulturni uticaji pritjecali iz susjednih regiona. Uz prisustvo samo jedne staklene perle u obliku amforiskosa, lokalitet se nalazi na početku niza nekropola duž istočne obale Jadrana korištenih za



routes supporting the flow of luxurious artefacts and luminescent trinkets from the south to the north.

Further, up along the Adriatic coast, such beads, prestigious trinkets, were discovered for example in Vičja luka on island Brač in Dalmatia - a point of confluence for cultural influences from the surrounding regions. Analyzing the archaeological record, we demonstrated that the site was just another major redistribution centre on the trade routes from Macedonia across the southern Balkans and up the eastern Adriatic coast as well as from central Balkans to the coast and across the Adriatic (Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, 248-249; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2017). Interpreting the wider distribution of amphoriskos-shaped glass beads, especially on the Adriatic coast, we can conclude that most of them were discovered in regional settlement centres functioning not only as regional cores of power and production but as important links in chains of long-distance trade and cultural connections, acting as distribution and redistribution centres of prestigious items. They were points in a network of interlinked centres of power and trade in which the circulation of exotic prestigious goods created individuals accentuating their status and position with the constitution of an international fashion in which the Macedonian products played an important role.

In the necropolises of the Celtic World, those beads were discovered in female graves demonstrating a higher status of the deceased. Such assemblages were created to clearly exhibit the economic abilities of their owners to enter and perform a crucial role in the long-distance trade with prestigious items. In graves from Slovenia to Hungary and beyond, glass amphoriskos-shaped glass beads were discovered in graves not only displaying opulent grave inventories, such as grave number 247 from Csepel Island (Horváth 2017), but graves which displayed multiple cultural origins of the grave goods. Perhaps the best example was the grave number 37 from tumulus VII on Kapiteljska njiva in Novo mesto where in a modestly equipped female grave an amphoriskos-shaped glass bead was discovered together with a fibula of Eastern Celtic origin and regional bracelets and ankle ring as well as other type of glass beads (Križ, Stipančić, Škedelj-Petrič 2009, 318, 8.5.5, 320, 8.5.27). By creating such inventories, they substi-

interpretiranje antičkih trgovačkih puteva, koji su podržavali protok luksuznih artefakata i svjetlucavih tričarija od juga prema sjeveru.

Dalje, uz jadransku obalu, takve perle, prestižne tričarije, otkrivene su npr. u Vičjoj luci na otoku Braču u Dalmaciji - tački spajanja kulturnih uticaja iz okolnih regija. Tumačeći arheološki zapis, pokazali smo da je mjesto bilo još jedan veliki centar preraspodjele na trgovinskim putevima od Makedonije preko južnog Balkana i uz istočnu obalu Jadrana, kao i od centralnog Balkana do obale, te dalje preko Jadrana (Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, 248-249; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2017). Rasprostranjenost staklenih perli u obliku amforiska, posebno na jadranskoj obali, svjedoči da je većina njih otkrivena u regionalnim naseljima koji su funkcionisali ne samo kao regionalne jezgre snage i proizvodnje, već i kao važne karike u trgovačkim lancima i kulturnim poveznicama na velikim udaljenostima, djelujući ujedno kao distributivni i redistributivni centri s prestižnim predmetima. Bile su to tačke u mreži međusobno povezanih centara moći i trgovine u kojima je promet egzotičnih prestižnih dobara stvorio pojedince naglašavajući njihov status i stvaranjem međunarodne mode, u kojoj su makedonski proizvodi igrali važnu ulogu.

U nekropolama keltskog svijeta te su perle otkrivene u ženskim grobovima pokazujući viši status pokojnica. Takvo je sklapanje stvoreno da jasno pokaže ekonomske sposobnosti njihovih vlasnika kako bi ušli i izvršili presudnu ulogu u trgovini na velikim udaljenostima s prestižnim predmetima. U grobovima od Slovenije do Mađarske i šire, otkrivene staklene perle u obliku amforiskosa, ne prikazuju samo bogat inventar groba, kao što je slučaj sa grobom 247 sa ostrva Čepel (Horvath 2017), već pokazuju višestruko kulturno porijeklo grobnih priloga. Možda najbolji primjer toga je grob 37 iz tumula VII na Kapiteljskoj njivi u Novom Mestu gdje je, u skromno opremljenom ženskom grobu, otkrivena staklena perla u obliku amforiskosa zajedno sa fibulom istočnog keltskog porijekla, regionalnim narukvicama i nanogvicama, te drugim staklenim perlama (Križ, Stipančić, Škedelj-Petrič 2009, 318, 8.5.5, 320, 8.5.27). Stvarajući takve inventare, izraze identiteta zamijenili su simbolima svoga statusa, a prestižni predmeti djelovali su kao interkulturalna kompozicija njihovog kostima. Ovaj grob sadržao je predmete koji potiču sa različitih izvora i kulturnih pozadina, što ukazuje da

tuted their expressions of identity with symbols of their status, with prestigious items acting as an intercultural composition of their attire. These burials included items originating from different sources and cultural backgrounds indicating that these glass beads were one of the important elements of "international fashion" consumed by individuals desiring to accentuate their social status.

A diffused distribution pattern was most probably the result of a system of gift exchanges that accelerated the flow between the vaguely geographically defined areas from which one was considered as a source of prestige and power. Peer-polity interaction and competition stimulated the elites to emulate the consumption and display creating several archaeological records. Although trinkets—hardly recognizable outside of close personal interactions, with their visual idioms they were perceived as exotic, their iconography and raw materials were dramatically different. Small and worn on the body they were not as dramatically exotic as bronze vessels – their semantic message was not directed to a broad audience present on feasting and/or burial rites, but limited, individual and personal. They were prestigious although they were not on public display – their recognition required personal closeness, admittance into a restricted social circle. Only members of social elites were able to understand activities involving the procurement and redistribution of them as well as the symbolically codified identity of the possessor and his or her role within the society. They mediated this information's through culturally constructed activities that included the formation of obligational relations between participants in the long-distance trade networks (Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, 250-252). These beads were holders of information about the social connections of the owner, their relational identities and their social status or statuses in the region. Moreover, it is through the known biography of the artefacts owned, their history of circulation that they became links between people, objects and places creating the enchainment between them (Tilley 1999; Knappett 2011). Elevated into cultural icons enabling people to identify strongly with them and to rely on these symbols as carriers of information in their everyday lives.

Amphoriskos-shaped glass beads served as society's foundational compass points – as anchors of meaning continually referenced in the

su te staklene perle bile jedan od važnih elemenata „međunarodne mode“ koju su koristili pojedinci u želji da istaknu svoj društveni status.

Difuzni obrazac distribucije najvjerojatnije je bio rezultat sistema razmjene poklona koji je ubrzao protok između nejasno geografski definisanih područja od kojih su neka smatrana izvorom prestiža i moći. Međusobna interakcija i konkurencija podstakle su elite da oponašaju potrošnju stvarajući tako različite arheološke zapise. Iako su tričarije teško prepoznatljive izvan bliskih, zatvorenih interakcija, prema svojim vizuelnim idiomima spoznavane su kao egzotične, no njihove su se ikonografije i sirovine dramatično razlikovale. Maleni i nošeni na tijelu, nisu bili tako očigledno egzotični kao bronzane posude - njihova semantička poruka nije bila usmjerena ka široj publici prisutnoj na obredima gozbe i/ili sahrane, već ograničena, pojedinačna i lična. Bili su prestižni iako nisu bili javno izloženi - njihovo priznanje zahtijevalo je ličnu bliskost, prijem u ograničeni društveni krug. Samo članovi društvenih elita bili su u stanju da razumiju aktivnosti koje uključuju nabavku i redistribuciju, kao i simbolično kodifikovan identitet vlasnika i njegovu ili njenu ulogu u društvu. Oni su posredovali te informacije kroz kulturno izgrađene aktivnosti koje su uključivale formiranje obvezujućih odnosa između učesnika u trgovačkim mrežama na velike udaljenosti (Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, 250-252). Te su perle bile nosioci informacija o društvenim vezama vlasnika, njihovim identitetima i socijalnom statusu ili statusima u regionu. Štaviše, kroz poznatu biografiju artefakata i istoriju njihova optičaja, postali su poveznica između ljudi, predmeta i mjesta, kreirajući ujedno sjedinjavanja između njih (Tilley, 1999; Knappett, 2011). Uzvišene tako u kulturne ikone, omogućavale su ljudima da se snažno poistovjete sa njima i da se oslanjaju na te simbole kao nosioce informacija u svom svakodnevnom životu.

Staklene perle u obliku amforiskosa služile su kao bitne tačke kompasa društva – kao sidra značenja koja se neprestano navode u obnavljanju društvenih odnosa i društvenih uloga. Bili su kapitalni simboli dostojni divljenja koje su ljudi prihvatili kao skraćenicu za reprezentaciju važnih ideja koje su se, inače, postupno širile tradicijom usmenog pripovijedanja, uobičajenim ritualima i drugim sredstvima ideološke reprodukcije. Suština njihove ikoničnosti bila je u tome što su ih smatrali naju-

reproduction of social relations and social roles. They were representative symbols considered worthy admirations that people accept as a shorthand to represent important ideas that were otherwise gradually diffused through oral storytelling traditions, common rituals and other means of ideological reproduction. The crux of their iconicity was that they were widely regarded as the most compelling symbol of a set of ideas or values that the societies deemed important (Holt 2004, 1-20).

bedljivijim simbolom niza ideja ili vrijednosti koje su društva smatrala važnim (Holt 2004, 1-20).

**Arrington 2016** - N. T. Arrington, Talismanic practice at Lefkandi: trinkets, burials and belief in the Early Iron Age, *The Cambridge Classical Journal* 62, 1–30.

**Bitrakova Grozdanova 2011** - V. Bitrakova Grozdanova, Golem Grad, Prespa I, Skopje.

**Bitrakova Grozdanova 2015** - V. Bitrakova Grozdanova, Golem Grad, Prespa II, Skopje.

**Blečić Kavur, Kavur, 2016** – M. Blečić Kavur, B. Kavur, Pars pro toto. A World in a small place – The example of Iron Age grave goods from Vičja luka, in: V. Sirbu, M. Jevtić, K. Dmitrović, M. Ljuština (eds.), *Funerary practices during the Bronze and Iron Ages in Central and Southeast Europe, Proceedings of the 14th International Colloquium of Funerary Archaeology in Čačak, Serbia, 24th– 27th September 2015*. International Union for Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences (UISPP) – 30th Commission, Prehistoric and Protohistoric Mortuary Practices Association for Studies of Funerary Archaeology, Beograd – Čačak, 237–256.

**Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2017** - M. Blečić Kavur, B. Kavur, Many shades of translucent: amphoriskos-shaped glass beads from Vičja luka, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 110/1, 93–112.

**Ciampoltrini, G. 1993** - Ricerche sugli insediamenti liguri dell'Alta Valle del Serchio, *Bollettino di Archeologia*, 19-20-21, 39–70.

**Horváth 2017** - A. M. Horváth, Beads and Birds. Special finds from the La Tène cemetery at Csepel island. *Budapest Régiségei* L, 53-67.

**Holt 2004** – D. B. Holt, *How brands become icons: the principles of cultural branding*, Boston.

**Iancu 2014** - L. M. Iancu, World-systems based on reciprocity. Eastern empires, Aegean politics and Greek mercenaries in the Archaic age, *Romanian Journal of History and International Studies* 1/1, 53–70.

**Iancu 2016** - L. M. Iancu, Greek and other Aegean Mercenaries in the Archaic Age: aristocrats, common people, or both? *Studia Hercynia* XX/2, 9–29.

**Knappett 2011** - C. Knappett, *An Archaeology of Interaction. Network Perspectives on Material Culture & Society*, Oxford.

**Križ, Stipančić, Škedelj-Petrič 2009** - B. Križ, P. Stipančić, A. Škedelj-Petrič, *Arheološka podoba Dolenjske, Novo Mesto*.

**Miše 2015** - M. Miše, *Gnathia and Related Hellenistic Ware on the Eastern Adriatic Coast*, Oxford.

**Mitrevski, Temov 1996–1997** - D. Mitrevski, S. Temov, Нови наоди од Исар-Марвинци – Истражувањата во 1997 година, Сонда I, *Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica* 15, 135–156.

**Popović 1997** - P. Popović, Les perles de verre en forme de vase ou d'amphore sur l'espace entre la mer Adriatique et le Danube, *Starinar* 48, 165–171.

**Popović 2000** - P. Popović, Le perle di vetro a forma di vaso o di anfora nella regione compresa tra l'Adriatico e il Danubio, *Ocnus* 8, 269–276.

**Rustoiu 2008** - A. Rustoiu, Războinici și societate în aria celtică transilvăneană: studii pe marginea mormântului cu coif de la Ciumești, *Interferențe etnice și culturale în Mileniile I a. Chr. – I p. Chr.* 13, Cluj – Nepeca.



**Rustoiu 2015** - A. Rustoiu, Amphora-shaped glass and coral beads. Distant cultural connections in the Carpathian Basin at the beginning of the Late Iron Age, *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 45, 365–377.

**Schönfelder 2007** - M. Schönfelder, Zurück aus Griechenland – Spur keltischer Söldner in Mitteleuropa, *Germania* 85, 307-328.

**Tilley 1999** - Ch. Tilley, *Metaphor and Material Culture*, Oxford.

**Tori 2006** - L. Tori, I Celti tra Rimini e Spina. Per un bilancio critico, in: F. Lenzi (ed.), *Rimini e l'Adriatico nell'età delle guerre puniche*, *Atti del Convegno, Rimini 25-27. 03. 2004*, *Archeologia dell'Adriatico* 2, 159–189.

**Velimirović-Žižić 1966** – O. Velimirović-Žižić, Nalaz u Momišićima, *Starinar* 15–16, 193–207.

**Vellani 2000** - S. Vellani, Perle in vetro anforiforme della penisola Italiana, in: *Annales, du 14 Congrès del AIHV, Venezia-Milano 1998*, Milano, 42–45.

**Živanović 2016** - M. Živanović, *Dodir vatre. Priča o staklu iz muzejskih zbirki Crne Gore*, Podgorica.