

My mother was a tailor...
**Women from the Middle La Tène culture cemetery
 Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje who made the spinning threads
 and clothes**

**Žene sa srednjolatenskoga groblja Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje
 koje su izrađivale niti za tkanje i odjeću**

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Izvlaček

[*Izdelovalke preje in oblačil s srednjelatenskoga grobišča Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje*] Grobišče Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje v srednji Podravini blizu Virovitice je edino sistematično raziskano grobišče latenske kulture v severni Hrvatski. Na osnovi najdb ga lahko datiramo v fazo LT C2. Poleg bojevniških grobov izstopajo pokopi žensk z značilno nošo in nakitom ter pridano hrano. V tem prispevku sta obravnavana ženska grobova LT 90 in LT 91 s posebnimi predmeti vsakdanje rabe, kot so železni noži, keramična vretenca in železne šivanke, ki kažejo na ženska opravila v gospodinjstvu. Izjemna najdba v grobu LT 91 je še železna igla z živalsko glavico. Podobna je bila odkrita na grobišču Kapiteljska njiva v Novem mestu, v prav tako v ženskem grobu, ki je datiran v LT C1. Železne in bronaste igle s povešeno glavico in gladkim ali tordiranim vratom so bile najdene na območju srednje in vzhodne Evrope v poznolatenskih naseljih. Konec 2. st. pr. n. št. se podobne igle pojavljajo tudi na grobiščih ob Baltiku. Prav tako so znane iz rimske dobe, predvsem iz naselij, redkeje iz ženskih grobov ter izjemoma iz moških. Iglo iz Zvonimirova, najdeno skupaj s keramičnim vretencem v groba LT 91, lahko povezujemo s predenjem oz. pripravo niti za tkanje in jo interpretiramo kot kavelj vretena. S pripravo preje in izdelavo oblačil povezani pridatki v ženskih grobovih v Zvonimirovem so značilni za določen spol in starost, na simbolni ravni pa prikazujejo različne vloge žensk v družini in skupnosti.

Ključne besede: Hrvatska, Zvonimirovo, latenska kultura, grobišče, ženske, tkanine, oblačila, noša, identitete, hišna gospodarstva

Abstract

The Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje cemetery, located in the Middle Drava valley, close to Virovitica, is the only systematically researched cemetery of the La Tène culture in northern Croatia. On the basis of its finds, it can be dated to LT C2 phase. Aside from the warrior's graves, there are notable female burials with distinctive costume and jewellery and food offerings. The article deals with the female graves LT 90 and LT 91 contained particular everyday objects such as iron knives, ceramic spindle-whorls and iron sewing needles. These items indicate everyday household work done by women. An exceptional find in the grave LT 91 is an iron pin with a zoomorphic head. Similar pin was found in the Kapiteljska njiva cemetery at Novo mesto, also in a female grave dated to LT C1. Iron and bronze pins with a curved head and smooth or twisted body are known from the Late La Tène settlements in Central and Eastern Europe. Similar pins appeared toward the end of the 2nd century BC in the cemeteries along the Baltic Sea. They are also known from the Roman period contexts, mostly from settlements and rarely from female graves, and only exceptionally in male graves. The pin from the grave LT 91 in Zvonimirovo, together with a spindle whorl, could be associated with spinning as a spindle-hook. The finds associated with the production of spinning threads and clothes in the female graves in Zvonimirovo are characteristic of a certain gender and age. At the symbolic level they show the roles of women in the family and the community.

Keywords: Croatia, Zvonimirovo, La Tène culture, cemetery, women, textiles, clothes, costume, identities, households

The La Tène culture cemetery of Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje, located in the Middle Drava valley, close to Virovitica, is the only systematically researched cemetery of the La Tène culture in north Croatia. More than twenty years of excavations (with short interruptions) have uncovered numerous cremation graves. On the basis of their finds, they can be dated to the end of the 3rd and the first half of the 2nd century BC, or to LT C2, indicating that the cemetery belongs to the eastern edge of the area of the Taurisci.¹ While there are many graves of men, equipped with weaponry, toiletries and costume items, an outstanding feature of Zvonimirovo cemetery is the discovery of graves of women with unique combinations of costume and jewellery items, which associate the cemetery with the Mokronog group, i.e. with the Taurisci. The characteristic functional/decorative costume items include iron and bronze belts, Brežice-type buckles, and different forms of bronze and (more rarely) iron fibulae, while jewellery items are represented by the finds of bracelets, finger rings, and beads.² Food offerings, indicated by pottery vessels and animal bones, have been found in graves of both sexes.

For the time being, the female costume items are the clearest testimony of the identity of the community that buried its dead in Veliko polje in Zvonimirovo and of its role in the communication network of the La Tène culture in the southern Carpathian Basin; on the other hand, the position and role of women in the community and family are indicated by the finds of everyday objects. Such grave goods include primarily iron knives, iron sewing needles, and ceramic spindle-whorls, which are also the most numerous finds.³ An exceptional find is the iron pin with a zoomorphic head in grave LT 91, which was probably a part of a spindle; just like the ceramic spindle-whorls and sewing needles, it can be associated with production of fabrics and clothes production and maintenance. Therefore, when researching these finds, which have often been neglected because of more attractive costume and jewellery items, it is crucial to try to identify the everyday work in the community and family that was performed by the women buried in Veliko polje in Zvonimirovo. Some of the finds from graves LT 90 and LT 91,

along with those known from earlier, are what makes such considerations possible – while keeping in mind that, of course, a part of everyday work which women have done has left no recognisable archaeological or physical-anthropological traces.

Graves LT 90 and LT 91 were found during the 2011 excavations in the central part of the cemetery, which also revealed a large number of graves with weaponry (*Fig. 1*).⁴ The grave pits were rectangular with rounded corners; at their bottom, there were compact little piles of cremated bones with finds indicating that they were laid in a textile, while the pottery with food offerings was added when the cremated remains were placed in the graves (*Figs. 2; 3*).⁵ The finds from graves LT 90 and LT 91 indicate that the dead women were cremated with their clothes and certain costume and jewellery items.⁶ Traces of burning together with the dead women in these two graves, like in other discovered graves, are shown by glass bracelets (*Pls. 1: 4, 2: 13*) and some bronze fibulae, two of which were worn as a pair (*Pl. 2: 4,7,8*), but this does not apply to iron belts and iron and some bronze fibulae with no visible traces of exposure to a pyre. These objects, especially the bronze fibulae worn as a pair (*Pls. 1: 2,3; 2: 5,6*) that showed no traces of cremation, were added to the grave during the burial. Since the cremation temperature was probably not high enough to leave traces on iron objects (belts, Brežice-type buckles, fibulae), it cannot be said with certainty whether these objects were cremated with the dead women or laid into the grave without being worn by the dead during the cremation process.⁷ According to the results of the anthropological analysis, grave LT 90 contained a woman older than 20, while grave LT 91 contained a woman aged between 30 and 50.⁸

Both of the graves, LT 90 (*Pl. 1*) and LT 91 (*Pl. 2*),⁹ included characteristic items of female

⁴ Dizdar 2012.

⁵ Dizdar 2013a, 32–35; -2016b.

⁶ Dizdar 2013a, 35–36; -2016b, 296–297. The temperature of the cremation of the dead at the Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje cemetery would be testified by the colour of the cremated bones and the objects damaged by the cremation.

⁷ For a similar funerary rite at the Brežice cemetery, see: Jovanović 2007, 21.

⁸ The anthropological analysis of the cremated remains of the dead from the Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje cemetery is done by Mario Novak from the Institute of Anthropological Research, who we thank for the data.

⁹ The finds from graves LT 90 and LT 91 have been restored and conserved by Mihael Golubić from the Croatian Restoration Institute, while the photos have been made by Jurica Škudar from the same institute.

¹ Dizdar 2013a. A total of 117 graves of the La Tène culture have been found in the Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje cemetery.

² *Ib.*, 211–213.

³ *Ib.*, 266, 363.

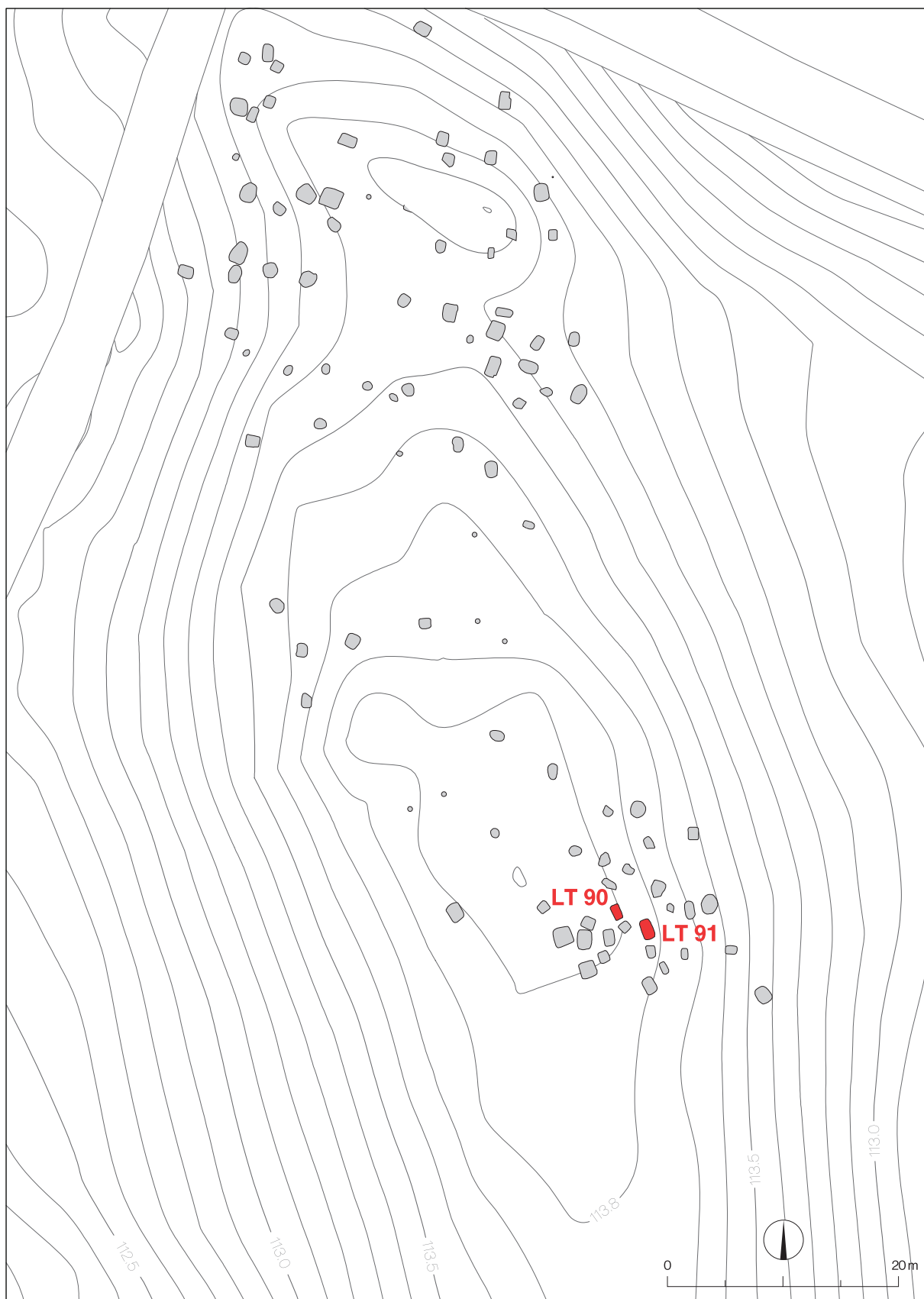


Fig. 1: Position of graves LT 90 and LT 91 in the Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje cemetery. Scale = 1:500.
Sl. 1: Položaj grobova LT 90 i LT 91 na groblju Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje. M. = 1:500.

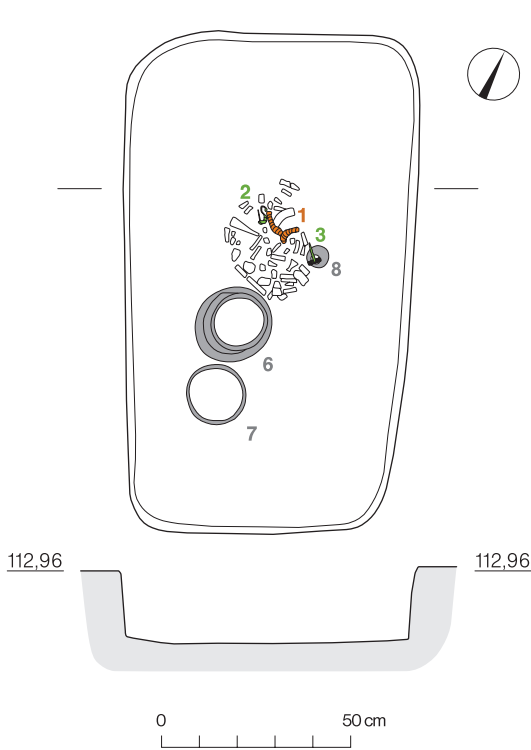


Fig. 2: Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje, grave LT 90. Scale = 1:20.
Sl. 2: Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje, grob LT 90. M. = 1:20.

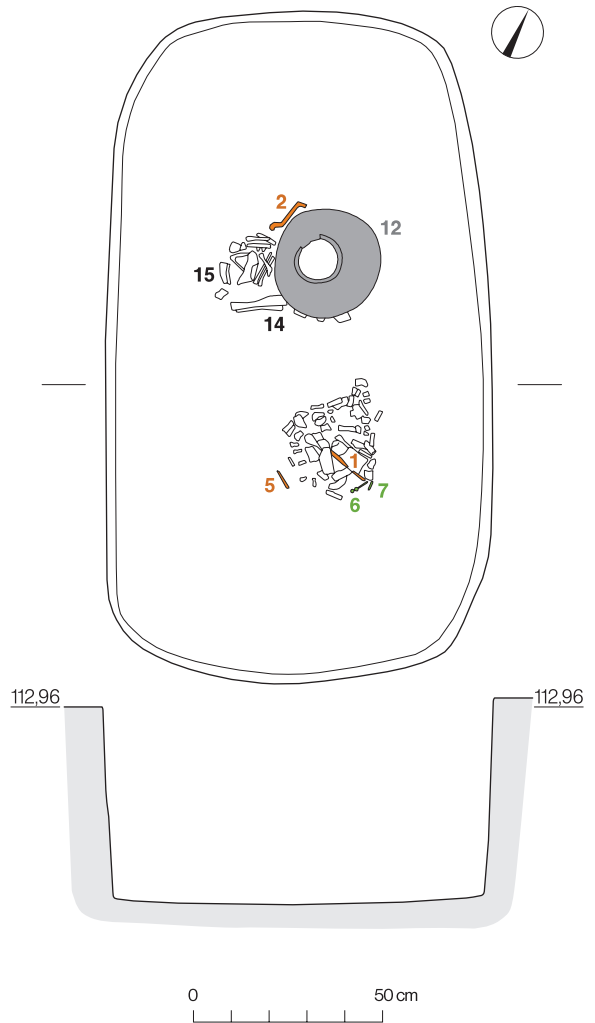


Fig. 3: Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje, grave LT 91. Scale = 1:20.
Sl. 3: Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje, grob LT 91. M. = 1:20.

costume and jewellery, everyday items, as well as food offerings in the form of pottery vessels and animal bones. Female costume finds include iron chain belts made of twisted and connected segments, parts of a Brežice-type buckle, and bronze fibulae of different shapes, which were usually worn in pairs. Grave LT 91 also included an iron fibula and a pair of bimetall fibulae. The jewellery includes melted fragments, probably from glass bracelets, and an iron finger ring in grave LT 91. Both graves contained ceramic spindle-whorls. Grave LT 90 included an iron sewing needle, while grave LT 91 included an iron pin with a zoomorphic head. Food offerings consist of a pot, bowl and cremated pig bones in grave LT 90, while LT 91 contained only a pot with animal bones laid alongside it.

COSTUME ITEMS

The characteristic items of female costume in the Zvonimirovo cemetery are represented by iron chain belts made of twisted and connected segments and a smaller number of bronze segmented belts. The Brežice-type iron shaft buckles, found together with iron and bronze belts, are among the most recognisable forms of the female costume of the La Tène culture of the areas of the south-east Alps and south-west Pannonia. Costume items in the graves of women in Zvonimirovo include one to five bronze fibulae and at most three iron fibulae, but usually just one.¹⁰

¹⁰ Dizdar 2013a, 212.

Iron chain belts

Graves LT 90 and LT 91 included iron chain belts made of doubly twisted and connected segments of the Zvonimirovo LT 6 variant. It is a variant of iron belts with a characteristic strap clasp between the two parts – the longer one with the buckle on one end and the loop on the other, and the shorter one with two loops on the ends (bigger and smaller) – connected by a strap clasp that joins the loop of the longer part with bigger loop of the shorter part. Considering the worse preservation of strap clasps on belts as opposed to buckles or twisted and linked segments which are more massive, strap clasps are usually preserved as fragments, most often those fragments that were pulled through and twisted around the loops. Still, the better preserved specimens of belts, such as the one from grave LT 91, show that the strap clasp was made of a narrow piece of iron tin with its ends pulled through the loops and twisted and then connected in the middle of the lower side by means of a rivet with a prong. On the head of the rivet, which is on the upper side of the clasp, there can be the incised motif of a cross, triangle, or a transverse groove, which may have been filled with enamel afterwards. The buckle has the shape of a long prong that is twisted on the end and topped by a hemispheric button which may also have the decorative motif of a cross that probably contained enamel. A shorter part of belts usually it consists of three double twisted segments, but also could be four.¹¹

Grave LT 90 contained a chain belt that has been preserved in fragments (*Pl. 1: 1*). It has a buckle with a rhombic cross-section, twisted on the end and topped by a hemispheric button with the decorative motif of a cross. The loop of the longer part of the belt has oblique grooves, while the part of the clasp folded around the loop has a triangle motif made with obliquely set grooves. The belt from grave LT 91 has been preserved in its entirety (*Pl. 2: 1*). It has a buckle with a round cross-section ending with a hemispheric button with oblique grooves. The rivet on the clasp is decorated with a triangle motif. The shorter part of both belts consists of three twisted and connected segments.

Aside from the mentioned graves LT 90 and LT 91, belts of this shape in the Zvonimirovo cemetery have been recorded in many graves, such as the

mentioned eponymous grave LT 6.¹² Parallels for the iron belt of this shape have been recorded on the sites of the south-east Alps and west Pannonia, with Osijek¹³ being the easternmost known site as of yet.¹⁴ On sites in Slovakia, this shape of belts has been singled out as the two-part belt of the Gk-C3 group.¹⁵ Belts of the Zvonimirovo LT 6 type have been dated to the Middle La Tène (LT C1–LT C2).¹⁶ On the other side, the graves of women in the Zvonimirovo cemetery, just like in the other cemeteries of the regions of the south-east Alps and the Carpathian Basin, contain more frequently the contemporary iron chain belts consisting of doubly twisted and connected segments which do not include a strap clasp in their structure, and which have been singled out as the Zvonimirovo LT 12 type.¹⁷ Belts of this shape have been singled out as the Brežice 2 type in the cemeteries of the Mokronog group, where they have been recorded in warrior graves from LT C1 and were used for hanging sheathed swords.¹⁸ However, the same belts have been found in contemporary graves of women, where they persist during LT C2.¹⁹

Iron chain belts consisting of twisted and connected segments of both variants are a characteristic functional/decorative item of female costume, primarily in the western Carpathian Basin during the Middle La Tène, while the belts of the Zvonimirovo LT 6 variant have been recorded only in female graves from the Middle La Tène.²⁰

Buckles of the Brežice type

Characteristic items of female costume in the Zvonimirovo cemetery are the numerous iron buckles of the Brežice type, which are believed to be a part of the female costume of the Mokronog group from the Middle La Tène, but their function is still completely unclear.²¹ The graves found in Zvonimirovo, just like the other cemeteries where they have been found, always had just one buckle

¹¹ *Ib.*, 213–221; -2016a, 82.

¹² *Ib.*, 218–221, Fig. 74: 1–2; Pls. 5: 6; 11: 1; 13: 1.

¹³ Spajić 1956, 52, Pl. 12: 4.

¹⁴ Dizdar 2013a, 220, Fig. 76: 3; -2016a, 82.

¹⁵ Bujna 2011, 81, Fig. 34: 5–7.

¹⁶ Dizdar 2013a, 221; -2016a, 82.

¹⁷ Dizdar 2010, 273–274; -2013a, 214–218, Fig. 74: 3; Pls. 25: 1; 31: 1; -2016a, 82.

¹⁸ Guštin 1977, 71; -1984, 330; Božič 1987, 874.

¹⁹ Guštin 1984, 333; Božič 1987, 876; -1999, 210.

²⁰ Dizdar 2013a, 218–221, Fig. 76, Map 20; -2016a, 82.

²¹ Guštin 2003; Dizdar 2013a, 221–227, Fig. 79.

per grave. Interestingly, all the graves containing the Brežice-type buckle also contained iron chain belts made of twisted segments or bronze segmented belts, which points to a connection between them and a possible function of the Brežice-type buckles. The basic part of a Brežice-type buckle is a shaft pin, measuring between a dozen and two dozen centimetres or more, topped by a hoop usually with a radius of 2.5 cm; there are also rare buckles where the pin has a trefoil perforated upper part.²² The buckle also includes a small chain consisting usually of a large hoop going through the pin hoop, and several smaller and linked strap hoops that could end with a hoop of a larger radius. Interestingly, grave LT 91 had only the fragments of a chain consisting of smaller strap hoops, but no remains of a buckle (*Pl. 2: 2*).

Aside from the Zvonimirovo cemetery, the Brežice-type buckles have been found in the greatest quantities in the female graves of the Mokronog group dated to LT C1–LT C2.²³ The finds of buckles in the Zvonimirovo cemetery are a good indicator that the cemetery belongs to the area of the Mokronog group; the Brežice-type buckles should perhaps be considered as an object with a symbolic meaning, which is partly supported by their absence from the cemeteries of the Scordisci, for example. This object might have been characteristic for a wider portion of the female population and thereby rooted in the visual identity of the entire community. Also, they might be considered a special mark of status for particular marriages. Aside from the cemeteries of the Mokronog group, Brežice-type buckles are known from some other sites in the areas of the south-east Alps and west Pannonia,²⁴ along with some new mentioned finds in north Hungary,²⁵ where they could have arrived through exogamy or trade and exchange.

Fibulae

Recognisable and numerous items of the Middle La Tène female costume in the Zvonimirovo cemetery are bronze fibulae, represented by a large number of different forms, while iron fibu-

lae are known in much lesser numbers.²⁶ There is a particularly recognisable diversity of forms of bronze fibulae, some of which belong to types with a wider distribution (e.g. fibulae with two spherical knobs, smooth wire fibulae); on the other hand, some forms are characteristic for the areas of south-east Alps and south-west Pannonia (e.g. the Zvonimirovo-type fibulae). The large number and diversity of separate forms certainly shows that bronze fibulae, along with belts, were an important part of the female costume and visual identity. Considering the method of linking the foot with the bow, and the form and segmentation of the foot, there are three basic forms of bronze fibulae, each represented by a different number of variants: fibulae with two spherical knobs; fibulae with a differently segmented foot or bow; smooth fibulae with a simple or profiled clasp.

Grave LT 91 contained three bimetal and two bronze fibulae, but also an iron fibula of the Middle La Tène scheme, with a long reverted foot that has a spherical knob on the spot where it connects with the trapezoidal bow (*Pl. 2: 3*). The bow has a round cross-section and turns into a spiral consisting of eight coils with an external chord. Iron fibulae with a single spherical knob belong to the scheme A1 fibulae according to the classification of A. Bieger, for which it is characteristic that the knob stands on the connection between the foot and the bow.²⁷

The described type of iron fibula with a single spherical knob was not a single find in the female graves in Zvonimirovo, as testified by some other finds – e.g. in grave LT 6.²⁸ It should be pointed out regarding the Zvonimirovo cemetery that iron fibulae of the same shape, and sometimes a little bigger, have been found more often in male graves dated to LT C2,²⁹ with parallels in contemporary cemeteries of the Mokronog group.³⁰ Similar basic construction features can be seen in iron fibulae with two spherical knobs, which are much more numerous. Interestingly, grave 195 in Kapiteljska njiva, with a pair of iron fibulae with bronze triangular and rectangular widenings above the bow, included an iron fibula with a higher bow and a long foot with a spherical knob linking it to the

²² Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje graves LT 61 and LT 71.

²³ Guštin 1984, 340; Božič 1987, 886; Guštin 2003, 327; Tomičić, Dizdar 2005, 97–101, Map 5; Dizdar 2013a, 223–227, Fig. 79.

²⁴ Dizdar 2013a, 226–227, Map 21.

²⁵ Tankó 2015, 265, Figs. 7a–8.

²⁶ Dizdar 2013a, 231.

²⁷ Bieger 2002, 55–58, Figs. 1–2; -2003, 4–16, Fig. 3.

²⁸ Dizdar 2013a, 193, Pl. 13: 2.

²⁹ Majnarić-Pandžić 2001, 86, Pl. 8: 2; Dizdar 2013a, 192–193, Pls. 17: 2; 18: 2; 26: 2.

³⁰ Dizdar 2013a, 193–194, Fig. 69.

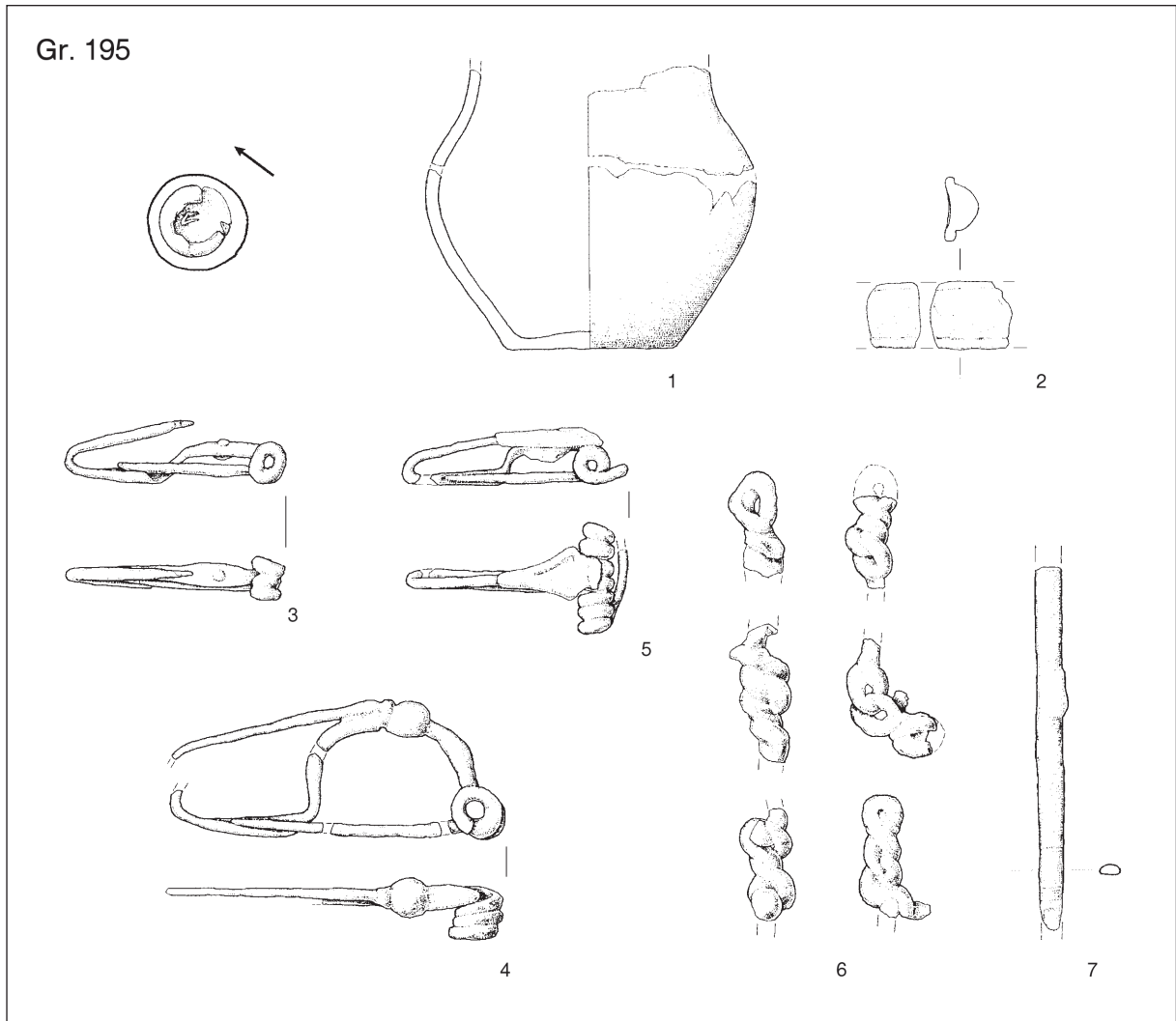


Fig. 4: Novo mesto – Kapiteljska njiva, grave 195 (from Križ 2005, Pl. 57).
 Sl. 4: Novo mesto – Kapiteljska njiva, grob 195 (prema Križ 2005, t. 57).

bow (Fig. 4).³¹ Therefore, the iron fibulae with a knob from the Zvonimirovo cemetery are one of the characteristic forms that are found more often in male graves, but they are also known from the contemporary female graves that are dated to LT C2 on the basis of other finds.

Grave LT 91 contained two bimetall fibulae, made of iron for the most part, with one largely damaged and showing intense cremation marks. Still, considering the preserved remains and the same typological characteristics in comparison with the other fibula, it can be assumed that the two fibulae were worn as a pair, indicating certain rules for the costume. The more preserved fibula (Pl. 2: 4), which also shows cremation marks, has a low

trapezoidal bow. On the end of the long reverted foot, above the bow, there is a bronze triangular widening with a depression containing bone insets. A rivet links the triangular widening with the bow. Behind the triangular widening, above a part of the spiral, there is a smaller rectangular widening with a depression with bone insets. The spiral consists of six coils with an external chord. It seems that the other fibula had the same shape (Pl. 2: 8), and what remains is the spiral with six coils with an external chord, the pin, and a part of the strap bow with a small hole. It was the hole for the rivet connecting the bow with the triangular widening.

It is the characteristic form of the bimetall fibulae that have already been identified in the Zvonimirovo cemetery. In fact, grave LT 12 also

³¹ Križ 2005, 82, Pl. 57: 4.

contained a pair of fibulae of the same shape that belonged to a woman buried in that triple grave.³² A parallel for the fibulae from graves LT 12 and LT 91 has been identified in Kapitelska njiva in Novo mesto (*Fig. 4: 3,5*), where the female grave 195 included a similar iron fibula with a bronze triangular widening with a depression, while the part slightly above the spiral has a smaller rectangular widening with a depression. The widenings used to contain enamel. The remains of the second fibula, which made a pair with the first, are the iron part of the low bow with a rivet and a part of the reverted foot. The cremated remains of the dead woman along with the finds were laid in a pot serving as urn. On the basis of other finds – an iron chain belt consisting of doubly twisted and connected segments, an iron fibula with a spherical knob on the link between the high bow and the long foot, similarly to grave LT 91, and a fragment of a glass bracelet of colourless glass with yellow foil of series 25 – the grave has been dated to LT C2. The grave probably also included an iron buckle of the Brežice type and a partly cremated blue glass bead decorated with an eye motif.³³ On the position of the Grabelsdorf cemetery south of the settlement of Gracarca, outside of a grave assemblage, was discovered an iron fibula with a bronze triangular widening on the bow with a depression for enamel. Above the spiral, there was another, smaller rectangular widening. The fibula has a low bow and a spiral made of six coils connected with an external chord.³⁴

The described fibulae can be singled out as Grabelsdorf-type fibulae. They have a triangular widening with a depression, which partially corresponds with the bronze fibula from cremation grave 741 in the Holiare cemetery. The Grabelsdorf-type fibulae are bimetal, their foot is connected to the strap bow by means of a rivet, and have a rectangular depression after the triangular one. The difference is also recognized in the fibula from the Holiare cemetery by the widening between two small spherical knobs on the foot, while the spiral consists of six coils connected with an external chord. The grave also includes the cremated

fragments of a bronze belt made of profiled shaft segments of the Middle German type, fragments of a small bronze chain, two iron fibulae with two knobs and a spiral with six coils connected with an external chord, a bigger and poorly preserved iron fibula, and the cremated remains of a glass bracelet. The grave was dated to LT C1.³⁵

Bimetal fibulae with triangular and rectangular widenings with depressions of the Grabelsdorf type, on the basis of the finds from funerary assemblages, can be considered a characteristic part of the Middle La Tène female costume (LT C2) in the areas of south-east Alps and west Pannonia.³⁶

The other pair of fibulae in grave LT 91 consists of bronze fibulae of the Middle La Tène scheme with a long reverted foot that has a single knob where it touches the bow, while the other is on the connection with the bow (*Pl. 2: 5,6*). The bow has a round cross-section and turns into a spiral consisting of six coils connected with an external chord. This form appears often in the female graves in Zvonimirovo and was worn as a pair. Considering the size, we can distinguish between smaller fibulae with a shorter foot and larger ones like those from grave LT 91 or grave LT 12, with the foot longer than the bow.³⁷

They are fibulae of the scheme A2, which characteristically have a spherical knob on the foot and another one on the connection with the bow, measuring between 4.0 and 6.0 cm (the Jüchsen variant),³⁸ known from several cemeteries in the Carpathian Basin, where they have been dated to LT C1b, while they also appear during LT C2 in the areas of south-east Alps³⁹ and south Pannonia, including the Zvonimirovo cemetery. The older forms have a shorter and sharply curved foot, a spiral made of fewer coils connected with an internal chord, and spherical knobs of a bigger radius, while the younger forms from LT C2 are characterised by a longer foot bent in a U-shape and a spiral made of more coils, which are always connected with an external chord.⁴⁰ The shape and size of the fibulae from grave LT 91 correspond with the pair of fibulae from female grave 35 in Brežice, dated to LT C2.⁴¹ Also, the female graves

³² Majnarić-Pandžić 2001, 86, Pl. 7: 1; Dizdar 2013a, 245–247, Pl. 27: 1–2; -2014, 105, Pl. 3: 10–11.

³³ Križ 2005, 22, 82, Pl. 57: 3,5.

³⁴ Gleirscher 2009, 152, Fig. 5: 10. The fibula was found near grave A21, which also included an iron fibula with a hemispheric bow and a spherical knob on the foot. Between the knob and the clasp on the end of the foot there are several small thickenings (Gleirscher 2009, 152, Fig. 5: 9).

³⁵ Benadik, Vlček, Ambros 1957, 96, Fig. 28: 3–4.

³⁶ Dizdar 2013a, 249.

³⁷ *Ib.*, 236, Pl. 27: 5–7.

³⁸ Bieger 2002, 55–58, Figs. 1–2; -2003, 32, 75–77, 126–127, Fig. 19, Map 22; Dizdar 2013a, 240–241, Map 22.

³⁹ Dizdar 2013a, 236–237, Fig. 83.

⁴⁰ *Ib.*, 236–241, Figs. 83–84.

⁴¹ Jovanović 2007, 35, Fig. on p. 34: D, 53, cat. no. 31.

in the Zvonimirovo cemetery have both variants of the fibulae with two spherical knobs which are different dimension and made of iron.⁴²

Grave LT 91 also contained a bronze fibula of the Middle La Tène scheme, which displayed intense traces of cremation (*Pl. 2: 7*). The fibula has a reverted foot that is connected with the trapezoid bow by means of a double-ringed clasp with a groove in the middle. The bow, with a round cross-section, slightly widens towards the spiral, which consists of a large number of coils connected with an external chord and an iron wire going through them. A similar fibula with a double clasp, but larger and made of iron, has been found in male warrior grave 32 in the Rospri Čuprija cemetery⁴³ that can probably be dated to LT C2.

The group of smooth bronze fibulae from the Zvonimirovo cemetery can include the two fibulae from grave LT 90, which were also a pair (*Pl. 1: 2,3*). They are Middle La Tène scheme small smooth fibulae with a long foot bent in a U-shape, connected with a trapezoid bow of an oval cross-section by means of a clasp that has a deeper oblique groove next to each end. The bow crosses into the spiral, which consists of twelve coils connected with an external chord.

Fibulae of the same form and size, also worn as a pair, have been found in grave LT 5,⁴⁴ while those from grave LT 12 are slightly larger with a longer foot.⁴⁵ The closest parallels for the fibulae from graves LT 5 and LT 90, considering their form and size, are represented by a pair of smaller bronze fibulae with a trapezoid bow from grave 12 in Brežice. The spirals consist of twelve coils connected with an external chord. The grave has been dated to the 2nd century BC.⁴⁶ Similar smaller bronze fibulae, but with a slightly widening low hemispherical bow, short foot and wide spiral, have been found in female graves in Bern with Mötschwil-type fibulae dating them to LT C2.⁴⁷

Jewellery items

The most numerous jewellery items in the Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje cemetery are the fragments of glass bracelets, which are often unrecognisably transformed because of their cremation with dead women. Sometimes, the small quantity of preserved melted fragments of glass makes it impossible to conclude with certainty whether those are the remains of glass finger rings, which were also recorded in the Zvonimirovo cemetery as characteristic ring jewellery,⁴⁸ but we should also consider the possibility that smaller fragments of glass were not even collected from the remains of the pyre. Still, glass bracelets and finger rings, together with costume items, are an important consideration when defining the chronology of the Zvonimirovo cemetery.⁴⁹ Aside from glass bracelets, the Zvonimirovo cemetery included bronze bracelets in a smaller number of female graves, while finger rings could also have been made of bronze and iron, as testified by the find of an iron finger ring in grave LT 91. Jewellery can also include the finds of glass beads.

Graves LT 90 and LT 91 included melted fragments of bracelets and/or finger rings made of colourless glass with yellow foil (*Pls. 1: 4; 2: 13*). It is the most frequent colour of glass recorded in the Zvonimirovo cemetery, where wholly preserved bracelets and the typologically identifiable fragments indicate that the most frequent bracelets were those with five ribs from series 27, but there are also those with three ribs from series 25, dated to LT C2.⁵⁰ A small number of graves also contained fragments of bracelets of cobalt blue glass with ornamental white or yellow zigzag lines that most probably belong to series 14.⁵¹ Considering the partial preservation of forms and decorations and the colour of the bracelets, it is believed that the Zvonimirovo cemetery is oriented towards the Alpine workshop sphere,⁵² which is also indicated by some other functional/decorative forms

⁴² Dizdar 2013a, 232–233, Pls. 1: 2; 18: 4; 26: 4–5.

⁴³ Todorović 1963, Y54: 7.

⁴⁴ Dizdar 2013a, 250–252, Fig. 88, Pl. 11: 2–3. On the end of the foot of fibulae from grave LT 5, before the clasp, there is one obliquely set groove, while the lower side of the needle bearing has three oblique transverse grooves.

⁴⁵ Majnarić-Pandžić 2001, 86, Pl. VII: 2; Dizdar 2013a, 250, Pl. 27: 3–4.

⁴⁶ Jovanović 2007, 35, Fig. 34: E, 54, cat. no. 32.

⁴⁷ Stähli 1977, 87, Pls. 2: 19–27; 20: 4–8; 25: 7–9; Suter 1984, 84, Fig. 9: 9–10.

⁴⁸ E.g. graves LT 31 and LT 103: Dizdar 2015, 44, Fig. 1.

⁴⁹ Dizdar 2013a, 213.

⁵⁰ Only two glass bracelets have been found without any traces of cremation: grave LT 70 contained a bracelet with three ribs of colourless glass with yellow foil from series 25: Dizdar 2009, 52, Fig. 1. Grave LT 86 contained a bracelet from series 27: Dizdar 2012, 49, Fig. 5.

⁵¹ Dizdar 2006, 86–92, Figs. 1–2; -2013a, 253–260, Figs. 8, 89.

⁵² Dizdar 2006, 114–117; -2013a, 258–260.

of female costume, especially belts or the pair of bimetal fibulae from grave LT 91.

Ring jewellery includes the find of an iron finger ring in the form of a hoop with an oval cross-section and obliquely set grooves from grave LT 91 (*Pl. 2: 9*).⁵³ In general, the Zvonimirovo cemetery includes the finds of glass and bronze finger rings,⁵⁴ while the mentioned iron finger ring is still the only such find. Generally speaking, female graves of the Middle La Tène most often contain items of bronze finger rings, frequently with other forms of ring jewellery, especially in richly furnished graves.⁵⁵ Finger rings, as a functional jewellery form, probably has a certain symbolic meaning, with a noticeable variety of forms – in fact, there is almost an individualisation of forms, which might indicate objects created in accordance with the taste of the wearer or client.

EVERYDAY ITEMS

Graves LT 90 and LT 91, as pointed out, included everyday items associated with the creation of spinning threads and clothes.⁵⁶ Both graves contained ceramic spindle-whorls (*Pls. 1: 6; 2: 11*), with the whorl from grave LT 90 showing traces of cremation on a pyre. Grave LT 90 also contained an iron sewing needle (*Pl. 1: 5*), while grave LT 91 included an iron pin with a twisted body and a zoomorphic head that could have been part of a spindle, i.e. a spindle-hook (*Pl. 2: 10*).

The sewing needle from grave LT 90 ends with a point on top and a long narrow eye below (*Pl. 1:*

5).⁵⁷ A part of the needle has a twisted body which is in that part of the rectangular cross-section. In the lower part of body the needle has a square cross-section. Iron sewing needles are exceptionally rare in female graves of the La Tène culture in the area of the south-east Alps, but also the Carpathian Basin. Female grave 196 in Kapiteljska njiva contained a curved iron sewing needle measuring 10.8 cm, with a pointed end and an elongated eye below, while the body has a round cross-section (*Fig. 5: 4*). The remains of a wooden coffin have been found at the bottom of the grave pit. The grave also contained the fragments of a ceramic vessel, a biconical ceramic spindle-whorl, four partly cremated blue glass beads with the decorative motif of a white garland, and a bronze fibula.⁵⁸ Two iron sewing needles are also known from Mokronog.⁵⁹ A bronze sewing needle with a round cross-section body and an eye after which the needle body ends with a point at the top,⁶⁰ has been found in the Late La Tène settlement of Štrbinci near Đakovo.⁶¹ In general, sewing needles of this form are known from La Tène sites such as Manching.⁶²

An exceptional find is the iron pin measuring 8.6 cm with a twisted body and a zoomorphic head from grave LT 91 (*Pl. 2: 10*). There is a known direct parallel, in Kapiteljska njiva in Novomesto, where grave 436 with a rectangular grave pit also contained a pin with a head in the shape of a horse's head measuring 8.9 cm (*Fig. 6: 1*). The pin head has a clearly visible muzzle, and eyes and ears in relief, while the neck includes the mane. Even though it is much smaller, the pin head has details similar to the buckles of the Middle La Tène

⁵³ It cannot be completely ruled out that it was a hoop from a belt or buckle of the Brežice type, even though the known finds and the typological characteristics of iron belts and buckles do not indicate this possibility.

⁵⁴ Dizdar 2013a, 260, Fig. 90, Pl. 18: 12; -2015, 44, Fig. 1.

⁵⁵ Bujna 2005, 71–77, Figs. 56–61; e.g. in Osijek: Spajić 1954, 10–11, Pl. 2: 15; Majnarić-Pandžić 2007, 114, Figs. 1; 2: 5; Brežice: Jovanović 2011, 55, Fig. 4; Novo mesto – Kapiteljska njiva: Križ 2001, 59; -2005, 22 etc.

⁵⁶ One of the primary individual aspects revealed through funerary rituals is gender affiliation. Tools for textile manufacture, spindle whorls in particular, have traditionally been considered indicators of female graves, just like weapons were connected with male graves. The majority of the graves containing spinning and weaving tools in the analysed sample from the Italian Early Iron Age are female. Iconographic sources also confirm a strong connection between women and textile manufacture (Gleba 2009, 69; -2013, 9; Lipkin 2013, 19–20; Grömer 2013, 33–34, 38–42).

⁵⁷ At the Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje cemetery, iron sewing needles have been found not only in grave LT 90, but also definitely in another three female graves. Since this is a very fragile item, it is possible that there were even more graves with iron sewing needles as grave goods, which is supported by the fact that the needles were recognised only after finishing the conservation of all the finds from these funerary complexes. Also, grave LT 28 – another female grave – contained a fragment of an iron needle with a twisted body, which cannot be identified with certainty as the remains of a sewing needle or a spindle-hook. Also, the finds of metal objects have not been conserved for all the found graves, which means that the number of needles could be even bigger.

⁵⁸ Križ 2001, 99, cat. no. 151; -2005, 82–83, Pl. 57: 4.

⁵⁹ Gabrovec 1966, Pl. 10: 5–6.

⁶⁰ Rahmstorf 2015, 2, 12. Definition of sewing needles.

⁶¹ Dizdar 2013b, 124, Fig. 1: 2.

⁶² Jacobi 1974, 57–59, Pl. 26; Endert 1991, 59, Pl. 14: 256–261.

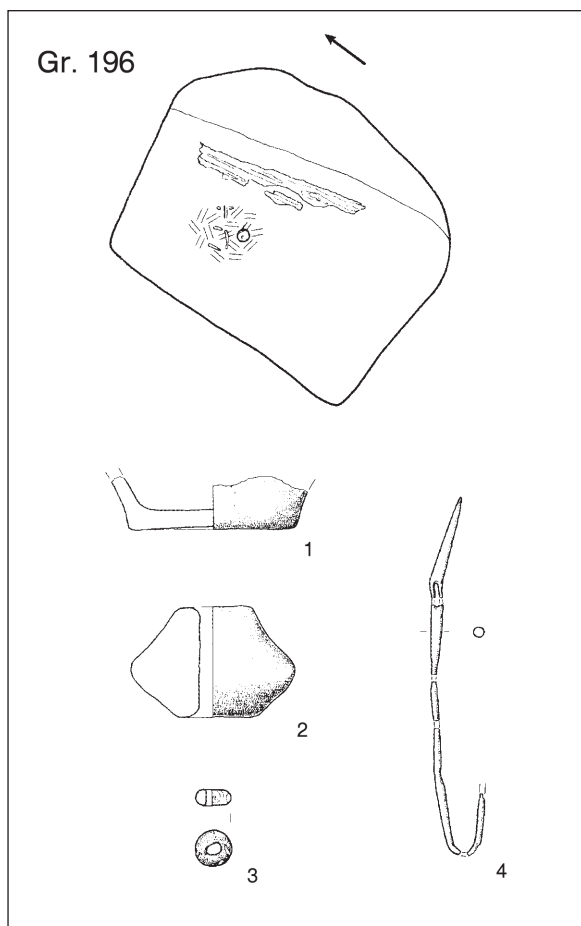


Fig. 5: Novo mesto – Kapiteljska njiva, grave 196 (from Križ 2005, Pl. 57).

Sl. 5: Novo mesto – Kapiteljska njiva, grob 196 (prema Križ 2005, t. 57).

bronze segmented belts. The same grave contained another iron pin with a twisted body and a round head. The grave included two pots, one of them made on a pottery wheel and the other modelled by hand, an iron chain belt, two bracelets (iron and bronze), and probably another bracelet, fragments of burnt glass bracelets and a silver saddle-shaped finger ring. The grave has been dated to the 3rd century BC or LT C1.⁶³

Similar iron and bronze pins with zoomorphic or curved heads,⁶⁴ with the exception of some

⁶³ Križ 1999: 16, Figs. 1–2; –2001: 59, 119, cat. no. 280. Interestingly, a spindle-whorl was not found in the grave.

⁶⁴ Perhaps a predecessor of the pins in Kapiteljska njiva and Zvonimirovo, an iron pin with rectangular cross-section and curved head, measuring 11.9 cm, was found in female inhumation grave 26 in the Rezi-Rezicseri cemetery. The grave, dated to LT B2, contained a richly equipped grown woman with ring jewellery. The pin has been found in the

specimens of approximately equal or even bigger length, but usually of a smaller size, have been recorded in the Central European sites of the La Tène culture, where they have been dated to LT C2–LT D1.⁶⁵ In the oppidum of Staré Hradisko, the pit-house 1/36 dated to LT D1 included an iron pin about 8 cm in length with a horse's head and slightly twisted lower body, while the upper body had a square cross-section (Fig. 6: 3).⁶⁶ The oppidum of Szentvid near Velem had several bronze pins with zoomorphic or curved heads 7 to 10 cm in length, most of them with a twisted body.⁶⁷ The oppidum of Oberleiserberg included a fragment of the upper part of pin which is 4 cm length and with a horse's head.⁶⁸ The settlement of Purgstall an der Erlauf, dated to LT C2–LT D1, included an iron pin with a horse's head that has the muzzle in relief, eyes and mane (Fig. 6: 2). The pin has a round cross-section and measures 7.9 cm and before the end the body is slightly twisted.⁶⁹ The Late La Tène pit-house in the settlement of Mušov contained an iron pin with a zoomorphic head, twisted middle body, and square cross-section in the upper part.⁷⁰

Still, bronze and iron pins with curved heads are more numerous. Bronze pins with curved heads and twisted bodies are known from the Late La Tène settlement of Vinkovci-Blato (Fig. 7: 2,3).⁷¹ Two bronze pins with a twisted body, measuring 10.2 and 8.2 cm, have been found on the shore of the Danube near Zemun (Fig. 7: 4,5). The longer pin, it seems under the zoomorphic head, has a decoration in the form of several transverse grooves, while shorter pin has a curved head.⁷²

area of the elbow of the left arm and recorded as having no known function (Horváth 1987, 108–110, Pl. 22: 10). It might have been a spindle-hook, even though the grave did not include a ceramic spindle-whorl and the needle does not have a twisted body. Pins of this shape and different measuring (6–13 cm) and rolled head, have also been found in several female cremation graves in the Sanislău cemetery, dated to the end of the Early Iron Age, so it is believed they were hair pins (Németi 1982, 123, Figs. 6: 20; 9: 5; 14: 3; 15: 12; Rustoiu, Berecki 2016, 290, Fig. 6: 3).

⁶⁵ Čižmář 2010, 383–384, Fig. 1A–B.

⁶⁶ *Ib.*, 383, Fig. 1B: 1.

⁶⁷ Miske 1908, Pls. 54: 6–9; 55: 10–12; Rausch 1995, 169; Gostenčnik 2001, 574.

⁶⁸ Kern 1987, Pl. 47: 2.

⁶⁹ Rausch 1995, 158, 168–169, Fig. 3; Pl. 1: 1.

⁷⁰ Čižmář 2010, 383, Fig. 1B: 2.

⁷¹ Dizdar 2016c, 39, Fig. 11: 6–7.

⁷² Todorović 1971, 69, Pl. 37: 7–8. As they were chance finds, the pins cannot be dated with precision, but one pin

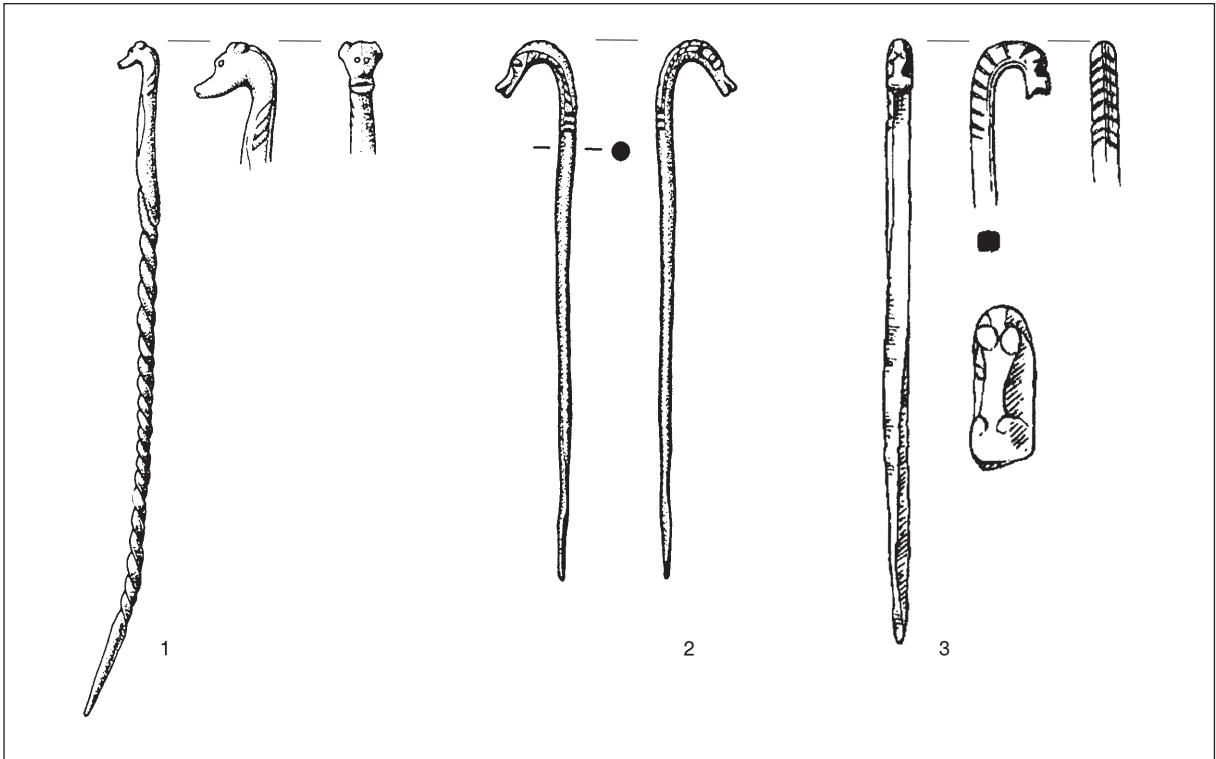


Fig. 6: Iron pins with zoomorphic head: 1 Novo mesto – Kapiteljska njiva, grave 436 (from Križ 1999, Figs. 1, 2); 2 Purgstall an der Erlauf (from Rausch 1995, Pl. 1: 1); 3 Staré Hradisko (from Čížmář 2010, Fig. 1A,B).

Sl. 6: Željezne igle sa zoomorfnom glavicom: 1 Novo mesto – Kapiteljska njiva grob 436 (prema Križ 1999, sl. 1, 2); 2 Purgstall an der Erlauf (prema Rausch 1995, t. 1: 1); 3 Staré Hradisko (prema Čížmář 2010, sl. 1A,B).

The oppidum of Bratislava contained a bronze pin measuring 6.2 cm with a twisted middle body and a curved head (Fig. 7: 1). The pin was found in the pit 3a/85 together with a fibula of the Middle La Tène scheme from LT D1.⁷³ The Late La Tène fortified settlement of Bükkszentlászló-Nagysánc near Miskolc included a pin with a curved head and twisted upper half of the body with a square cross-section and the lower half with a round cross-section. The pin measures 7.3 cm.⁷⁴ The Late La Tène settlement of Mistřín in the Moravia included an iron pin with a twisted body and curved head measuring 10.2 cm.⁷⁵ Pins with length 5–6 cm have also been found in the fortified settlements of the Púchov culture in east Slovakia. The Late La Tène settlement of Udiča-Klapy included two iron pins, while the Late La Tène structure 1/75 in

the Podtureň-Bašta settlement also included two pins with the twisted upper body.⁷⁶ Bronze pins with a twisted body and curved head, measuring 6.8 and 5.7 cm, have also been found in the prominent and long-lasting Poiana settlement,⁷⁷ while one has a smooth body and curved head, measuring 8.3 cm.⁷⁸ Interestingly, female grave 31 in the Dolinjany cemetery, which belongs to the area of the Poienești-Lukaševka culture, included an iron pin with a curved head and a twisted body, but only in the middle (Fig. 8: d). The pin measures 6.6 cm and the grave has been dated to the Late La Tène.⁷⁹

Magdalensberg has a large number of bronze pins – smaller (most often the length 2.8–3.8 cm), with a curved head that is rarely zoomorphic. The body can be smooth, or slightly or even strongly twisted,

has a highly stylized zoomorphic head and they are both large, so it is possible they come from the Middle La Tène.

⁷³ Zachar, Rexa 1988, 45, Fig. 14: 3.

⁷⁴ Hellebrandt 1992, 40, 44, Fig. 6: 13.

⁷⁵ Meduna 1980, 181, Pl. 80: 11; Čížmář 2010, 383.

⁷⁶ Pieta 1982, 82, Pl. 48: 12–13; -2006, 134, Fig. 2: 19–20; Čížmář 2010, 383.

⁷⁷ Teodor, Nicu, Țau 1997, 31, Figs. 20: 14; 22: 16.

⁷⁸ *Ib.*, 31, Fig. 21: 13.

⁷⁹ Smirnova, Megei 1995, 140, 156, Fig. 5d.

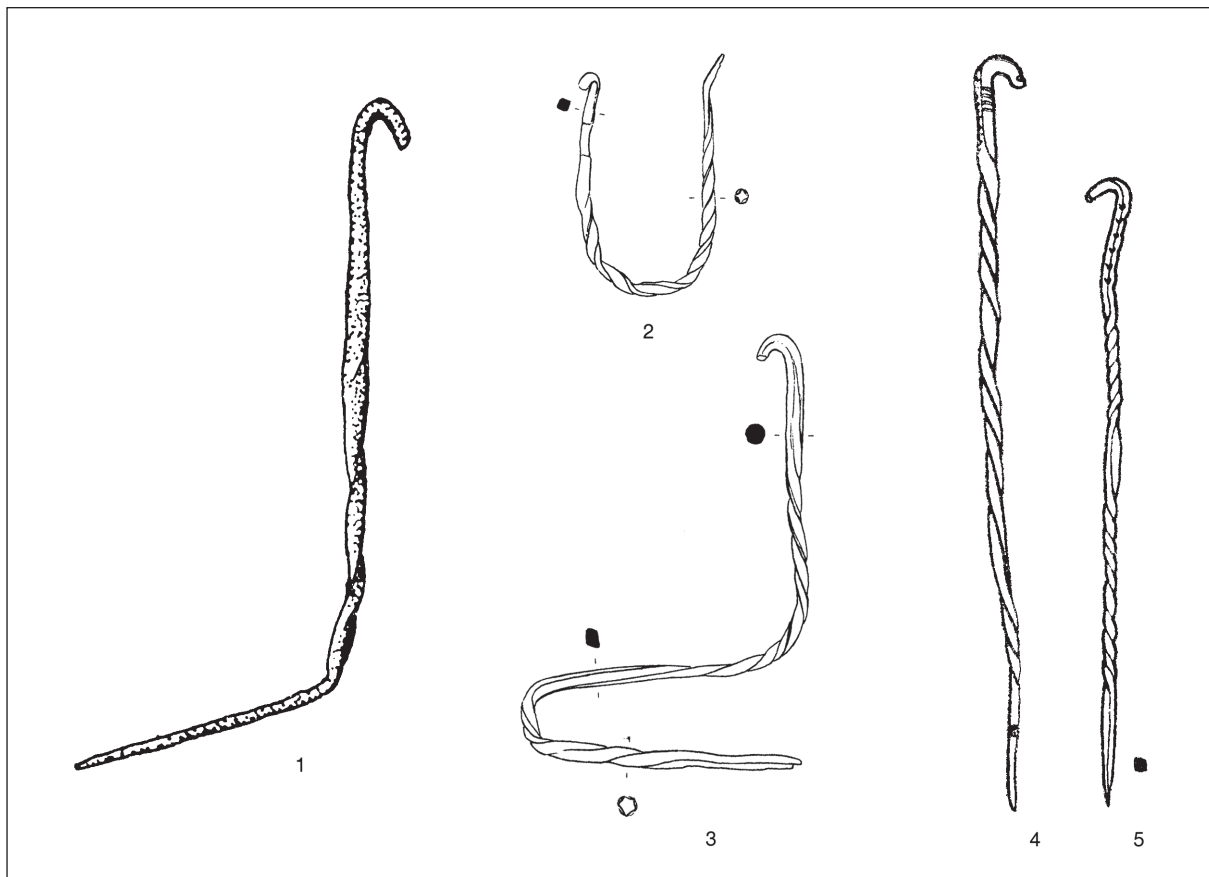


Fig. 7: Bronze pins with curved head: 1 Bratislava (from Zachar, Rexa 1988, Fig. 14: 3); 2,3 Vinkovci-Blato from Dizdar 2016c, Fig. 11: 6,7); 4,5 Danube near Zemun (from Todorović 1971, Pl. 37: 7,8).

Sl. 7: Brončane igle s povijesnom glavicom: 1 Bratislava (prema Zachar, Rexa 1988, sl. 14: 3); 2,3 Vinkovci-Blato (prema Dizdar 2016c, sl. 11: 6,7); 4,5 Dunav kod Zemuna (prema Todorović 1971, t. 37: 7,8).

either fully or partly.⁸⁰ The pins are associated with the production of spinning thread, i.e. they were a part of a spindle – spindle-hooks (*Spindelhaken*).⁸¹ The appearance of small bronze pins with twisted bodies and curved heads in antiquity⁸² is testified by the find from grave 21 in the Beletov vrt cemetery in Novo mesto (Fig. 9: 1), dated on the basis

⁸⁰ Deimel 1987, 50, Pl. 32: 6–18; Gostenčnik 2000, 9–10, Fig. 2; -2001, 574–576, Fig. 1; -2003, 9–10; -2009, 36–37, Fig. 5; -2010, 76–77, Fig. 14.7; -2011, 212–213, Fig. 3: 7; -2012, 70, Fig. 2.4b; -2013, 63, Fig. 4.3f; -2014a, 64–66, Fig. 40: 8; -2014b, 35, Fig. 5.

⁸¹ There are also the known finds of bronze spindle-hooks with twisted body or socket from the settlements of antiquity: *Virunum*, *Flavia Solva*, *Celeia*, Srejach, Kalsdorf et al.: Gostenčnik 2001, 572, Fig. 1; -2009, 36; -2012, 70, 72, 74–77, Figs. 2.4b; 2.9c; 2.10c; -2013, 68–73, Fig. 4.8d; -2014a, 64.

⁸² The finds of bronze spindle-hooks in early imperial cemeteries in Slovakia: Gostenčnik 2001, 574, fn. 31; -2003, 9.

of Emperor Hadrian's money.⁸³ Also, a bronze pin found at Gomolava, with a twisted body and curved head, was defined as a drill. The pin measures 6.0 cm, has a square cross-section in the upper part, and is curved at the end.⁸⁴

Pieta assumed that the bronze and iron pins with curved heads probably were used for making the nets, but they could also be used in the spinning, i.e. in the creation of threads, and have been dated to the Late La Tène, appearing more frequently in antiquity.⁸⁵ Currently, the oldest find of iron pins with zoomorphic heads is the find from Ka-

⁸³ Knez 1992, 28, Pl. 6: 9.

⁸⁴ Dautova-Ruševljan, Brukner 1992, 90, 109, Pl. 34: 178. A Late La Tène segment in Gomolava included 15 loom-weights *in situ* for a loom in a structure that is believed to be a weaver's workshop (Jovanović 2009, 118).

⁸⁵ Pieta 1982, 82. It is stated that such pins appear in the graves of the Przeworsk group together with spindle-whorls.

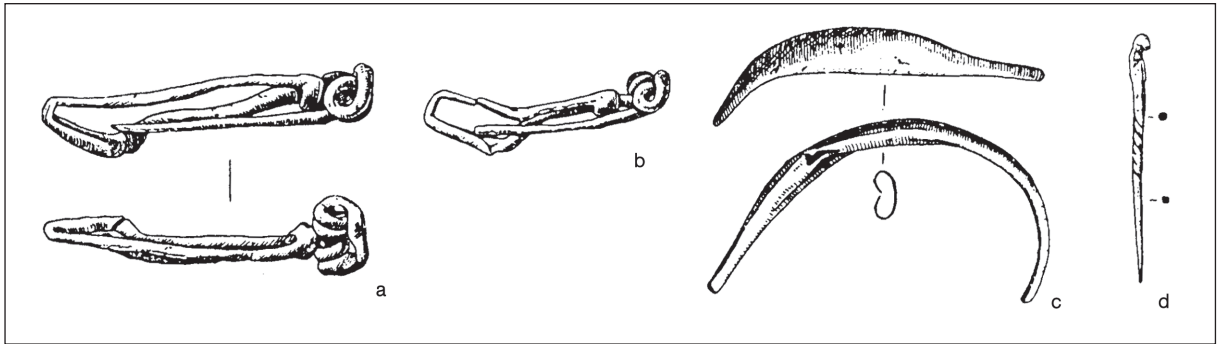


Fig. 8: Dolinjany, grave 31 (from Smirnova, Megei 1995, Fig. 5).

Sl. 8: Dolinjany, grob 31 (prema Smirnova, Megei 1995, sl. 5).

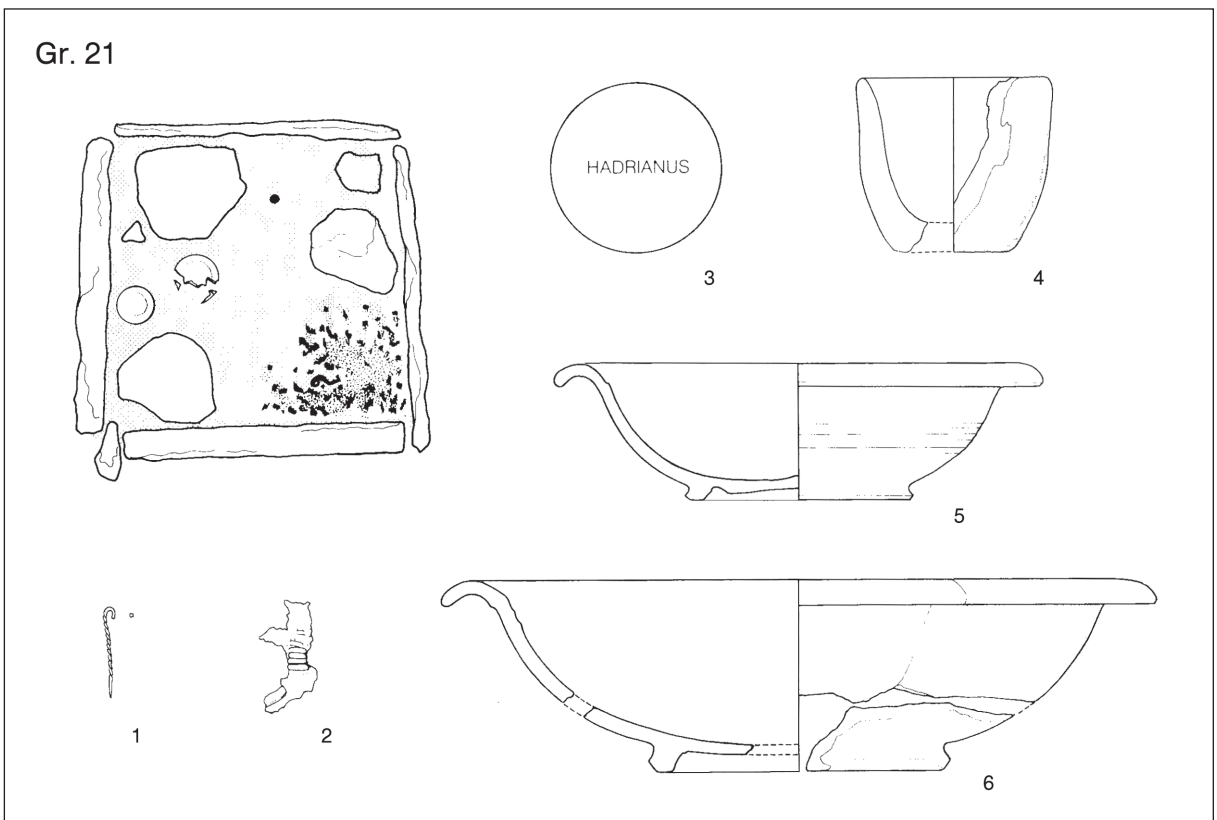


Fig. 9: Novo mesto - Beletov vrt, grave 21 (from Knez 1992, Pl. 6).

Sl. 9: Novo mesto - Beletov vrt, grob 21 (prema Knez 1992, t. 6).

piteljska njiva, with their function not being quite clear yet.⁸⁶ On the other side, the analysis of the finds from Magdalensberg thoroughly done by K. Gostenčnik, shows that they were probably used at mentioned site as spindle-hooks and singles out

two basic types - with a socket (the Greek type) and with a prong, which predominates.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Čižmář 2010, 383-384.

⁸⁷ Gostenčnik 2000, 9; -2001, 571-572, 575, Fig. 2; -2003, 9-10; -2009, 36-37, Figs. 5-6; -2010, 76-77, Fig. 14.7; -2011, 212-213; -2012, 70; -2013, 63; -2014a, 64-66, Fig. 40: 6-7; -2014b, 35, Fig. 5; Grömer 2010, 17-18, Fig. 4.

The finds of iron zoomorphic pins with twisted bodies and zoomorphic heads from Kapitelska njiva and Zvonimirovo, considering the analysis of younger and somewhat different forms from Magdalensberg, maybe can be associated with spinning, i.e. they were spindle-hooks where a spindle was made of an organic material. However, it is necessary to emphasize that the mentioned finds from the Middle La Tène are longer, while bronze specimens also appear in the Late La Tène, but they are shorter, usually with a curved head. Finds of pins with twisted bodies are known from the area of the south-east Alps, across Central Europe, all the way to the Baltic Sea. Interestingly, it has been attempted to associate their appearance with influences from the south, meaning the eastern Mediterranean,⁸⁸ even though the discovery of the finds in Late Iron Age contexts indicates a different possibility for the appearance of this characteristic form, which has also been recorded in great number at sites on the Baltic Sea since the Late La Tène.⁸⁹ Maybe the find from grave LT 91 in Zvonimirovo, in which an iron pin with zoomorphic head was with a spindle-whorl, indicate earlier appearance of the spindle-hooks and *ipso facto* earlier introduction of different spinning technique in the territory. Strikingly, for now known finds show how such iron pins (spindle-hooks?) always firstly appear in Middle La Tène female graves, to be subsequently known in Late La Tène settlements and endure through antiquity. Together with the spindle-whorls and sewing needles, spindle-hooks could also be a symbol of female identity, of women as heads of households, whose important everyday activities included the production of spinning threads and then clothes and their maintenance, which was probably the role of the sewing needles like the one found in grave LT 90.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ About eastern Mediterranean origin of a spindle with a spindle-hook: Grömer 2010, 17–19.

⁸⁹ Gostenčnik 2000, 9; -2001, 576; -2003, 9–10; -2009, 36; -2010, 77; -2011, 212–213; -2012, 78; -2013, 63, 65; -2014a, 64, 66; -2014b, 35. Regarding the group of the older finds from the Middle and Late La Tène, it should be pointed out that K. Gostenčnik assumed that such objects probably had some other function in relation to the significantly smaller spindle-hooks from Magdalensberg.

⁹⁰ M. C. Beaudry is among the authors in whose opinion needles are the most diagnostic and irrefutable proof of sewing and are the least likely of sewing tools to have been used often for purposes other than those for which they were intended. This does not mean that no one ever used

The everyday items in female graves of the Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje cemetery represent the ceramic spindle-whorls associated with the production of spinning threads.⁹¹ The graves contain single spindle-whorls, with grave LT 108 being the exception with three spindle-whorls.⁹² Two basic forms of whorls have been singled out: rounded spindle-whorls (e.g. grave LT 5)⁹³ and biconical spindle-whorls, such as the one from grave LT 91 (*Pl. 2: 11*). The spindle-whorl is brown and light grey and weighs 37 g. The similarly coloured spindle-whorl from grave LT 90, weighing 38 g,⁹⁴ is also biconical, but one half is taller than the other (*Pl. 1: 6*). Spindle-whorls are sometimes decorated with etched lines and motifs of concentric circles, showing they were not subjected to particular attention as in the Early Iron Age.⁹⁵

“the wrong needle” for sewing or embroidery, but that a needle in the archaeological record was likely used for stitching together pieces of fine or coarse textile, leather, or other materials. The social significance of needles was undoubtedly beyond their functionality. They were valuable and often personal items that had close associations with parts of the body (hands and fingers) and with particular postures and gestures. Right up through the 19th cent., the social pressure on women to keep their hands busy with their sewing at all times meant that much sewing was done in public (Beaudry 2006, 44–45).

⁹¹ Dizdar 2013a, 363. It is the most frequent find associated with the production of spinning threads in the Late Iron Age sites in the Carpathian Basin, regardless of whether they are cemeteries or settlements.

⁹² Dizdar 2016d, 83. Out of the 117 found graves, half of which are female, ceramic spindle-whorls were found in six graves

⁹³ Dizdar 2013a, 363, Fig. 146, *Pl. 12: 3*. It is a double grave with the cremated remains of a woman aged 20–35 and a child aged 5–8 (*ib.*, 399–400, Fig. 151). The spindle-whorl most probably belongs to the grave goods of the adult woman.

⁹⁴ The basic functional characteristic of a spindle-whorl is the weight (Rahmstorf 2015, 5). For the relations between the weight of the whorl and the thickness of the thread, as well as the shape of the spindle-whorl, see: Grömer 2004, 179–180; -2005, 109–111, Figs. 6–7; -2012, 41, 51; -2016, 85–88, Fig. 41; Belanová-Štolcová, Grömer 2010, 13; Andersson Strand et al. 2010, 163, Fig. 4; Belanová-Štolcová 2012, 311; Bender Jørgensen, Grömer 2013, 99, Fig. 5; Rahmstorf 2015, 5. On the other hand, for the dependence of thread thickness on the skill of the spinner, see: Kania 2010, 18; 2015, 120, 129.

⁹⁵ Belanová-Štolcová, Grömer 2010, 13, Fig. 3.4. For the Early Iron Age ceramic spindle-whorls, especially their rich decorations, in the area of west Pannonia, see: Preložnik 2014.

Parallels for the ceramic spindle-whorls as grave goods from the Zvonimirovo cemetery can be found in the cemeteries in the area of the south-east Alps and across the Carpathian Basin, where they are considered one of the characteristic goods in graves of women. Just like in Zvonimirovo, the whorls are found both in the graves of richly equipped dead women and in the graves of the general populace. Still, it can be noted that the finds of ceramic spindle-whorls are not as numerous as in Novo mesto.

The ceramic spindle-whorls in the cemeteries of the Mokronog group are also a characteristic good in graves of women, but there is an interesting absence of spindle-whorls in the cemetery Slatina pri Rožni dolini. They have been found in several graves in the Brežice cemetery, with the rich grave 56 from LT C1 with two costumes containing two spindle-whorls⁹⁶ of the same forms as in Zvonimirovo. A spindle-whorl has also been found in a double grave in Spodnja Slivnica.⁹⁷ In Kapiteljska njiva, Kandija and Beletov vrt, in all the development phases of the Mokronog group, female graves containing both large and small numbers of other finds included numerous ceramic spindle-whorls of round, biconical or conical shapes.⁹⁸ Some graves included two spindle-whorls, which are usually undecorated, but the spindle-whorl from grave 135 in Kapiteljska njiva had the etched motif of a meander.⁹⁹ The discovery of a large number of female graves with ceramic spindle-whorls in Novo mesto cemeteries probably indicates an Early Iron Age tradition in Dolenjska which persisted in early antiquity, as shown by the similarity in spindle-whorl shapes, which is not surprising since this was a utilitarian shape with function as the main consideration, as testified by the fact that they are rarely decorated.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Jovanović 2007, 32, Fig. 26, 53, cat. no. 27; -2011, 62. One spindle-whorl was found at the top of the grave together with a bronze fibula and a fingerring, and it is assumed that these objects were a gift for the dead woman or a mark of her prominent status.

⁹⁷ Šribar 1957, 144, Pl. 3: 4.

⁹⁸ Knez 1992; Križ 2001, 63; -2005, 17.

⁹⁹ Križ 2001, 63; -2005, 17, 57, Pl. 21: 7. Spindle-whorls could have been decorated with incised lines and impressed circles. Two ceramic spindle-whorls were found in e.g. graves 228, 402 and 581 from Kapiteljska njiva (Križ 2001, 103, cat. no. 174–175; 117, cat. no. 264–265; 138, cat. no. 383–384).

¹⁰⁰ Grömer 2010, 17.

The cemeteries of the Scordisci contain ceramic spindle-whorls only exceptionally. For instance, inhumation grave 26¹⁰¹ in the Osijek-Zeleno polje cemetery included a dark grey biconical spindle-whorl decorated with concentric circle motifs in three places. The grave contained an astragal belt and a fibula with figure-of-eight loops on the foot, as well as bronze hoops and pendants, glass beads, a bone object, and a small ceramic vessel. On the basis of the found fibula, the grave has been dated to LT C1.¹⁰² Outside of the funerary complex (Trench 21), the cemetery also included a biconical spindle-whorl decorated in the widest part with two horizontal grooves below vertical grooves on both sides.¹⁰³ In the Karaburma cemetery, spindle-whorls as goods in female graves are almost unknown. Only the Late La Tène grave 19 included a biconical spindle-whorl, which was in an S-profiled bowl together with a bronze bracelet.¹⁰⁴

A round spindle-whorl was also found in a richly furnished female grave in Vezensy together with a bronze belt with rectangular segments, a bronze bracelet, a bronze finger ring, and a graphite situla pot decorated with a vertical comb ornament. The grave has been dated to LT C1.¹⁰⁵ Interestingly, inhumation grave 9 in the Magyarszerdahely-Homoki dűlő cemetery, where a child was buried, contained the fragment of a biconical spindle-whorl. A biconical spindle-whorl, decorated with V-incisions on one side, has also been found in the damaged cremation grave 1 in the Zalaszentgrót-Aranyod cemetery. The grave belongs to a woman buried in LT B2.¹⁰⁶ On the other hand, the Ludas-Varjú-dűlő cemetery has a cremation grave 669B of a richly equipped adult woman dated to LT C1 on the basis of costume and jewellery items – which included an oval spindle-whorl decorated with narrow fluting on both halves, while the central part between single horizontal grooves is undecorated.¹⁰⁷ The cremation grave 1051 in the same cemetery – the

¹⁰¹ Spajić 1962, 37–39. For information on the find of the ceramic spindle-whorl in grave 26, we thank our colleague Domagoj Dujmić from the Archaeological Museum Osijek. E. Spajić does not mention the find of the spindle-whorl in his description of the grave (1962, 37).

¹⁰² Božič 1981, 318, Fig. 3.

¹⁰³ Spajić 1962, 44, Pl. 21: 26.

¹⁰⁴ Todorović 1972, 16, Pl. 7: 3.

¹⁰⁵ Stanczik, Vaday 1971, 12, Fig. 1: 5.

¹⁰⁶ The Magyarszerdahely-Homoki Dűlő cemetery: Horváth 1987, 87–88, Pl. 10: 13; the Zalaszentgrót-Aranyod cemetery: Horváth 1987, 131–132, Pl. 38: 14.

¹⁰⁷ Szabó, Tankó 2012, 24–25, Pl. 8: 10.

resting place of a one-year-old, probably a girl – included a biconical spindle-whorl decorated with wide vertical fluting set in the widest part. One side has a single place with three V-etchings nested one inside another, while the other side has a longer and a shorter undulating line. The grave, which is richly furnished with pottery, ring jewellery, and fibulae, has been dated to LT B2.¹⁰⁸ Another grave dated to LT B2 is the cremation female grave 20 in the Kistokaj-Kütelkek cemetery, which included a biconical ceramic spindle-whorl. The Muhi-Kocsmadomb cemetery included ceramic spindle-whorls in cremation female graves 39 and 41a, while grave 45 included two spindle-whorls one of which is decorated with two horizontal grooves. The spindle-whorl from grave 39 is decorated with double three circles made by fluting, while the spindle-whorl from grave 41a is made of clay mixed with graphite. None of the three graves have been completely preserved. Grave 7 in the Radostyán cemetery is similar; believed to be a cremation grave, it included a biconical spindle-whorl, while other finds belong to LT C1.¹⁰⁹

Ceramic spindle-whorls in inhumation and cremation graves of women, dated to LT B2–LT C1, in the cemeteries of Slovakia are also few. The richly furnished grave 129 in the Maňa cemetery from LT B2 included a biconical spindle-whorl next to the right hand of the dead woman aged 17–22.¹¹⁰ Cremation grave 477 in the Malé Kosihy cemetery, containing an adult dated to LT C1, included a large biconical spindle-whorl decorated with five vertical flutes. The grave also contained weaponry, with the whorl lying next to a whetstone, while there were no characteristic items of female costume and jewellery.¹¹¹ The richly furnished female grave 401 in the Horný Jatov-Trnovec nad Váhom cemetery, dated to LT B2 on the basis of costume and jewellery items, included a small spindle-whorl with a horizontal groove on the widest part and vertical grooves on each half. The grave was the resting place of a young woman and the spindle-whorl has been defined as a bead. The inhumation female grave 9 in the Hurbanovo-Bacherov majer cemetery, containing

an adult, included a conical spindle-whorl accompanied only by a ceramic bead and a bronze pendant. On the other hand, the cremation grave 1/55 in the Dvory nad Žitavou cemetery, dated to LT C1, included a round spindle-whorl found with the cremated remains of the dead person, probably a child, in a pot serving as urn, together with other items of costume and jewellery. A smaller spindle-whorl has been found in the cremation grave 15 with few other finds in the Kamenín cemetery, where no cremated remains of the dead have been found.¹¹² Interestingly, the Mannersdorf cemetery also had few female graves with spindle-whorls as grave goods – more precisely, there are only three such graves, one of them being a richly furnished resting place (grave 212) of a woman aged 19–25 from LT B2.¹¹³

FOOD OFFERINGS

Food offerings in graves LT 90 and LT 91 included the finds of pottery and animal bones. The pottery in the female graves in the Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje cemetery consisted of pots, bowls and kantharoi that were usually made on a pottery wheel. Exceptionally, some found bowls and kantharoi were modelled by hand.¹¹⁴

Grave LT 90 included a ceramic set of a pot and a bowl, which is the most frequent combination in the female graves in Zvonimirovo, while grave LT 91 contained only a pot. Both pots were made on a pottery wheel and have different shapes. The pot from grave LT 90 (*Pl. 1: 7*) has a biconical body, everted thickened rim, and prominent bottom. The upper part of the shoulder has two horizontal grooves. The outside surface is grey-brown and smoothed, while the inside surface is grey and smoothed. Grave LT 91 included a pot with a biconical body (*Pl. 2: 12*), everted rim, and prominent bottom. The lower part of the shoulder has a horizontal groove, while the joint of the neck and the shoulder has two horizontal relief ribs, the lower one which is wider and the upper one which is narrower. The outside surface

¹⁰⁸ *Ib.*, 65–67, Pl. 38: 19.

¹⁰⁹ Cemetery Kistokaj-Kütelkek: Hellebrandt 1999, 205, 211, Pl. 74: 13; the Muhi-Kocsmadomb cemetery: *ib.*, 233, Pls. 81: 6; 84: 6–7, 11; the Radostyán cemetery: *ib.*, 241, Pl. 87: 5.

¹¹⁰ Benadík 1983, 60, Pl. 52: 10.

¹¹¹ Bujna 1995, 96–97, Pl. 49B: 3.

¹¹² The Horný Jatov-Trnovec nad Váhom cemetery: Benadík, Vlček, Ambros 1957, 30–31, Pl. 9: 2; the Hurbanovo-Bacherov Majer cemetery: *ib.*, 65, Pl. 23: 11; the Dvory nad Žitavou cemetery: *ib.*, 83, Pl. 29: 11; the Kamenín cemetery: *ib.*, 110, Pl. 41: 13.

¹¹³ Ramsel 2011, 63, 95, 147, Pls. 103: 1; 202: 3.

¹¹⁴ Dizdar 2013a, 213.

is dark grey and partly polished, while the inside surface is dark grey and smoothed. Found among the cremated bones of the dead woman in grave LT 90, there was a fragment of the thickened rim of a pot, of ochre and light brown colour, modelled by hand (*Pl. 1: 9*).

The production method sets apart the bowl from grave LT 90 that was modelled by hand (*Pl. 1: 8*). The bowl has a rounded body, slightly inverted rim and slightly prominent bottom. The outside surface is dark brown and rough, while the inside surface is reddish-dark brown and rough. Parallels for this bowl have already been recorded in grave LT 11 in Zvonimirovo, which contained a bowl made of poorly purified sandy clay, with light brown outside and inside surfaces.¹¹⁵ In general, the cemetery has two recognisable variants of hand-modelled bowls – those with a flat rim and those with an inverted rim. The most numerous parallels for this form of hand-modelled bowls are known from the cemetery in Kapiteljska njiva, which contained similar smaller bowls of a simple conical or rounded shape, with a flat or slightly inverted rim. The bowls, like other hand-modelled pottery forms in the cemetery, are considered to be proof of the continuity of traditions of autochthonous Hallstatt pottery,¹¹⁶ which also applies to the finds from the Zvonimirovo cemetery that were produced in this way, and that can include kantharoi too. It is the tradition of autochthonous Pannonian pottery, where it can be noted that the hand-modelled bowls with rounded body are found exclusively with vessels made on a pottery wheel, so there could be certain usage reasons for the production of these vessels.

Both found pots have parallels in the Zvonimirovo cemetery itself, where graves most often contain a single pot as a grave good. Considering the results of excavations, the pots can be divided into three basic types based on their shape – S-profiled, biconical, and rounded body – which can further be divided into several variants on the basis of their shape and the modelling method for the rim and the bottom.¹¹⁷ The pot from grave LT 91 is similar to the pots from graves LT 4, LT 9 and others, which have the greatest body width in the lower half or in the middle, while the shoulder often has horizontal grooves and sometimes

a horizontal rib or groove under the rim.¹¹⁸ On the other hand, the lower pot from grave LT 90 shows certain similarities in form to the pots with a conical neck and deeper horizontal groove on the joint between the neck and the shoulder, like the one from grave LT 6.¹¹⁹ Therefore, these are characteristic Middle La Tène pottery shapes, already known from the Zvonimirovo cemetery.

Food offerings in grave LT 91 also include the finds of animal bones, where the recognisable ones are the bones of the right back leg of a young pig and the bones of a chicken, while pig bones were found among cremated human bones in the LT 90 grave,¹²⁰ which fits with the current knowledge on the food offerings in the Zvonimirovo cemetery.¹²¹

CONCLUSION

The excavations of the settlements and cemeteries of the La Tène culture in the southern Carpathian Basin have not unearthed textiles like in the contemporary sites in Central Europe, especially in the Alpine area.¹²² Still, this exceptionally important aspect of the economic picture of the Late Iron Age communities¹²³ is testified by the results of the excavations in the Zvonimirovo cemetery as well as other cemeteries in the area of south-east Alps (e.g. Kapiteljska njiva in Novo mesto), where

¹¹⁸ *Ib.*, 274, Pls. 10; 16: 2.

¹¹⁹ *Ib.*, 281, Fig. 99, Pl. 14: 1.

¹²⁰ The pot from grave LT 91 contained the bones of a mouse, which was probably a later intrusion, as already recorded in the Zvonimirovo cemetery (Radović 2013, 538). The archaeozoological analysis of the animal bones from the Zvonimirovo cemetery is made by dr. Siniša Radović from the Institute for Quaternary Paleontology and Geology of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (HAZU) in Zagreb.

¹²¹ Radović 2013, 538–543.

¹²² Belanová-Štolcová, Grömer 2010, 10, 18; Grömer 2010, 15; -2012, 27, 42; -2016, 22; Bender Jørgensen, Grömer 2013, 99.

¹²³ Textile production is one of the oldest specialised crafts, which included both amateurs and professionals. Testimonies of it, revealed through archaeological material, works of visual arts, and historical and ethnographic sources, indicate that spinning and weaving in many societies were primarily practised by women (Díaz-Andreu 2005, 33; Gleba, 2009, 69; Bender Jørgensen 2012, 129; Costin 2013, 183; Larsson Lovén 2013, 110; Grömer 2013, 43; -2016, 262–265). Still, we should not ignore the participation of men as well as other members of family and community, especially in the phases of preparing the necessary raw materials (Bender Jørgensen 2012, 129; Costin 2013, 188).

¹¹⁵ Dizdar 2013a, 351, Fig. 142, Pl. 19: 1.

¹¹⁶ Križ 2001, 65; -2005, 18.

¹¹⁷ Dizdar 2013a, 273.

remains of textiles have sometimes been preserved on metal objects, primarily those made of iron.¹²⁴ These are small mineralised textile remains that cannot be positively identified as clothes of the cremated dead¹²⁵ or as the remains of the cloth used to wrap the cremated remains of the dead, which were then laid on the bottom of the grave pits. Something similar has been recorded in the cremation graves of the La Tène culture all across the Carpathian Basin, while textile remains from inhumation graves,¹²⁶ primarily on costume items,¹²⁷ perhaps rather indicate those are parts of burial clothes for the dead. Still, regardless of whether finds come from inhumation or cremation graves of the La Tène culture, the preserved remains can show what material was used to make the textiles¹²⁸

¹²⁴ Dizdar 2013a, 33, Fig. 7. For the Dobova cemetery with the textile remains on tweezer from grave 5 and the razor from the grave 19: Jovanović 2007, 32, Figs. 24–25.

¹²⁵ There is the definitely interesting question of whether new textiles were made for the laying of the cremated remains of the dead in Zvonimirovo or existing textiles were used (see: Grömer 2015, 17, Fig. 1.3; -2016, 300; -2017, 78, 89; Belanová-Štolcová 2012, 314, 320). Also, since these are cremation graves, it is impossible to get to the bottom of the question whether the dead were clothed in special funerary clothes before the cremation or burned in their everyday clothes (for the mentioned possibilities during the Roman period see: Grömer, Hölbling-Steigberger 2011, 111). If they had been preserved, the remains of clothes with characteristic patterns from Zvonimirovo might also have testified about highlighting the regional identity recognised on the basis of the analysis of the items of female costume, primarily different forms of belts and fibulae.

¹²⁶ Textile remains have often been documented on weaponry, especially on sword scabbards, indicating that they were wrapped in a rougher material, probably for preservation (Grömer 2012, 49, Fig. 1.18; -2015, 20, Fig. 1.5; -2016, 297–298, Fig. 158; -2017, 89–90; Belanová-Štolcová 2012, 318–320).

¹²⁷ Belanová-Štolcová 2012, 318–320; Grömer 2015, 18. Also, textile remains have been found within the items of hoop jewellery made of bronze which can be found in Early and Middle La Tène female graves, probably for the preservation of items when they are produced and worn (Müllauer, Ramsel 2007; Grömer 2012, 42, 46, 51, Fig. 1.14; -2016, 311–312, 404, Fig. 167; -2017, 83–84, Fig. 9; Belanová-Štolcová 2012, 306, 319–322, Fig. 15.11–12).

¹²⁸ Analyses of textile remains from the Late Iron Age period have shown that plant materials (flax) were used for production more often, but woolen textiles have also been identified. Still, it should be pointed out that there are certain deviations in the frequency of use of plant materials and wool depending on specific areas (Belanová-Štolcová, Grömer 2010, 10–11; Grömer 2010, 15; -2012, 58; -2016, 46; Belanová-Štolcová 2012, 314, 319–320, 327). On the other hand, wool was the basic raw material in the

and what methods were used for their production – in other words, it can be identified which spinning and weaving techniques were used.¹²⁹ On the other hand, this is indicated by the finds of the items themselves which are associated with the mentioned processes.

Along with the knowledge of the attained know-how, one of the important questions is definitely the identification of the members of Late Iron Age communities who participated in the processes of producing textiles and clothes.¹³⁰ This is testified, before everything else, by the finds of various objects in graves that were associated with the mentioned processes showing specific production steps (*chaîne opératoire*).¹³¹ On the other hand, the finds of Late Iron Age workshops are still exceptions, which might indicate the use of a different weaving technique or just result from the status of research,¹³² as confirmed by the recent find of loom weights in a rectangular pit in the Middle La Tène settlement of Virje-Sušine near Koprivnica, which are believed to belong to the remains of a loom.¹³³ Still, the most numerous proofs of the production of textiles for now are the finds of ceramic

settlement of Kale-Krševica (Popović, Vranić 2006, 315). During the Roman period, traditional clothing in Pannonia was also mostly made of linen and wool (Madarassy, Oka, Szu 2002, 12).

¹²⁹ Grömer 2004; -2005; -2010, 15–17; -2012, 27, 42, 48; -2013, 31; Belanová-Štolcová, Grömer 2010; Andersson Strand et al. 2010, 161; Belanová-Štolcová 2012, 306; Bender Jørgensen 2012; Bender Jørgensen, Grömer 2013, 93; Kania 2010; -2014; -2015. About the process of spinning: Madarassy, Oka, Szu 2002, 12; Grömer 2004, 176–180, Figs. 9–11; -2005; -2016, 78–81; Belanová-Štolcová, Grömer 2010, 15; Bender Jørgensen 2012, 129.

¹³⁰ On the other hand, numerous other questions were asked about the significance of textiles in communities; see: Andersson Strand et al. 2010, 150.

¹³¹ The finds of ceramic spindle-whorl and pin with zoomorphic head (spindle-hook?) from grave LT 91 show the process of spinning, while the find of the sewing needle would apply to the final process of making and repairing clothes. Other parts of the process of making textile have not been shown through the addition of characteristic finds, neither in Zvonimirovo graves nor in other La Tène cemeteries. Some of them (e.g. the spindle rod) must have been made of organic materials, primarily wood, which is why they have not been preserved (Grömer 2004, 170; -2013, 31; -2016, 81). For particular phases of the process, see: Belanová-Štolcová, Grömer 2010, 9–10, Fig. 3.1; Grömer 2013, 34–35, Fig. 3.4; -2014, 1, Fig. 1; -2015, 14–15; -2016, 36–37, Fig. 15; Bender Jørgensen 2012, 129.

¹³² Belanová-Štolcová, Grömer 2010, 16–17; Grömer 2010, 17; -2013, 36; -2016, 245.

¹³³ Sekelj Ivančan, Karavidović 2016.

spindle-whorls of different sizes, which have been recorded in almost every excavated settlement of the La Tène culture in the southern Carpathian Basin. However, on-site finds cannot reply to the question about the identity of community members who actively participated in the processes of textile and clothes creation. This is at least partly testified by the finds from the graves, including the Zvonimirovo cemetery, where the most numerous grave goods are ceramic spindle-whorls of different forms, even though there were some other types of finds that can be linked with the production of spinning threads and clothes. Also, the laying of such objects in graves on a symbolic level could indicate that those were personal items, but we should not completely rule out the existence of ritual or religious explanations.¹³⁴

In the Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje cemetery, the finds that can be associated with the production of spinning threads and clothes have been found only in the graves of women, which is testified not only by the analysis of other finds in graves, but also by the results of the anthropological analysis. Something similar has also been documented in other La Tène culture cemeteries in the area of the Carpathian Basin and the south-east Alpine area where, with rare exceptions,¹³⁵ such objects have been found in graves of women, usually adult women.¹³⁶ Whorls rarely appear in children's

¹³⁴ Gleba 2009, 69; -2013, 9–11; Lipkin 2013, 19; Grömer 2013, 32, 39; -2016, 270.

¹³⁵ The finds of ceramic spindle-whorls have also been documented in some male graves, e.g. the cremation grave 477 with weaponry in the Malé Kosiň cemetery (Bujna 1995, 97, Pl. 49B: 3) and the inhumation grave 565 in the Pottenbrunn cemetery. The whorl was found next to the left foot of a man aged between 55 and 65, or 65 and 70 (Ramsl 2002, 48–49, 90, 145, Fig. 44, Pl. 67: 13; Grömer 2016, 273). Additionally, let us mention the warrior cremation grave 162 from the Novo mesto – Kapiteljska njiva cemetery, which also contained a spindle-whorl, but it was at a small distance from the other finds and was laid along the edge of the grave pit (Križ 2005, 63, 69, Pl. 40: 3). It is unknown if these are the graves of men who also participated in the process of production of textiles or if the finds of whorls can be considered a gift from someone among the bereaved community members.

¹³⁶ “Adult woman” applies to persons who could be married, which was probably possible after the age of 12–13 (Dizdar 2013a, 41), pointing out the difference between biological and sociological age. A similar concept of age has also been recorded in the cemeteries of Pannonia in antiquity, with the interesting conclusion that the graves of the previous period – the Late Iron Age – do not contain items associated with spinning, and that the phenomenon

graves such as grave 1051 in the Ludas-Varjú-dűlő cemetery, which is believed to be a female grave on the basis of other finds.¹³⁷

Women, who were actively included in the processes of the production of textiles and clothes, probably had to employ a large portion of their time – in other words, the production of textiles with such multi-functional potential also required a great amount of time.¹³⁸ The main explanation for the concept of textile production as mainly women's work seems to be that the easily interruptible work of spinning and weaving could be done at home, where women could continue to raise children at the same time.¹³⁹ Although it is believed that the Late Iron Age had workshops where such production took place not only for one's own needs, as indicated by the standardisation of the textiles and objects used,¹⁴⁰ smaller settlements such as the one in Zvonimirovo probably could produce textiles in each household. This conclusion is indicated by the finds of whorls in richer but also averagely furnished graves. Still, it should be pointed out that the Zvonimirovo cemetery, just like the other cemeteries of the La Tène culture, has a relatively small number of objects related to the production of textiles and clothes as well as other household chores done by women, while finds from settlements would paint a somewhat different picture. Could this mean that the carrying out of everyday household chores was not always completely reflected in the funerary rite? In that case, we are left with the question of why such objects have been found in the graves of certain deceased women. Was it because their skills and diligence stood out among other community members?

appeared with the Roman conquest and the settlement of new inhabitants (Paszttókaí-Szeőke 2011, 126–127). However, the knowledge gained earlier disproves this.

¹³⁷ Szabó, Tankó 2012, 65–67, Pl. 38: 19. For the beginning of learning the weaving and sewing technique in childhood, on the basis of ethnological analyses, see: Bender Jørgensen 2012, 129–130; Lipkin 2013, 25, which was probably passed on from mothers to daughters (Costin 2013, 195).

¹³⁸ Bender Jørgensen 2012, 129; Costin 2013, 181, 183, 189; Grömer 2016, 275. About secondary functions of fabric: Rahmstorf 2015, 1.

¹³⁹ Larsson Lovén 1998, 85–86; -2013, 111; Grömer 2004, 177–178, Fig. 11: 4; -2013, 53; Gleba 2009, 76; Kania 2010, 15; Bender Jørgensen 2012, 129; Costin 2013, 181, 190, 194; Lipkin 2013, 26–27; Rahmstorf 2015, 15.

¹⁴⁰ Kurzynski 1996, 36; Belanová-Štolcová, Grömer 2010, 13–15, 18; Grömer 2010, 17, 19; -2012, 44, 47, 58, 60–61; -2013, 38; -2014, 9; -2016, 247–248, 258, 260, Fig. 141.

On the other hand, the graves of women in Zvonimirovo and other cemeteries have preserved metal and glass items of costume and jewellery that can testify about the appearance of the costume and the ways in which they adorned their body, even though the funerary contexts of incinerated graves do not provide sufficient data to produce the image of the Celtic women in their lifetime. Still, much more information about the appearance of the costume can be found later, during antiquity, especially in the neighbouring area of west Hungary with a strong tradition from the Late Iron Age, where not only grave finds but also figural presentations have been preserved. Of course, we have to rely upon the idea that the Celtic communities shared more or less similar fashion preferences and that the local fashion did not significantly change during the last centuries BC.¹⁴¹

As already pointed out, the most frequent finds indicating the production of textiles in the Zvonimirovo cemetery, but also in other cemeteries of the La Tène culture, are ceramic spindle whorls, most often one per grave.¹⁴² Of course, this finding does not exclude the possibility of using whorls that were made of organic materials (bone, amber), but since these are cremation graves, such finds have not been

¹⁴¹ Stone sculptures from the Roman period, although sometimes damaged, are more likely to survive in their original form. In the neighbouring area of the Eravisci, on funerary steles and cemetery statues, it is possible to face both the personal images and the figures and costumes of the people who once inhabited this territory (Madarassy, Oka, Szu 2002, 26–31; Szu, Oka, Madarassy 2007, 6–8; Pásztókai-Szeöke 2011, 125, 129). Although they were products of the Romanised carvers' workshops, it is also possible to find portraits of the people confirmed to have been the Eraviscan Celts, based on the names and details of their dress (Madarassy, Oka, Szu 2002, 5; Pásztókai-Szeöke 2011, 130). Celtic women depicted on stone carvings are often portrayed holding a distaff in their left hand and a spindle in the right (Madarassy, Oka, Szu 2002, 13; Pásztókai-Szeöke 2011, 130, Figs. 4–5). Also, weaving tools have a particularly interesting role in the wedding ceremony or to display the status of a married woman (Gleba 2009, 71; Pásztókai-Szeöke 2011, 128, 132; Lipkin 2013, 20; Larsson Lovén 2013, 121).

¹⁴² Belanová-Štolcová, Grömer 2010, 11–15, Fig. 3.4. In general, spindle-whorls in the Late Iron Age were often pottery sherds that were circularly shaped and perforated in the middle (see: Grömer 2004, 172, Fig. 3: 19–21; -2010, 17; -2012, 54, Fig. 1.23: i,j; -2013, 38; -2016, 83, 258, Fig. 39; Belanová-Štolcová, Grömer 2010, 12–13, Fig. 3.4; Gostenčnik 2012, 68, Fig. 2.4: c), but none have been found in the Zvonimirovo cemetery yet. For the possibilities and some other of their functions, see: Rahmstorf 2015, 5.

preserved. The excavations in Zvonimirovo have indicated that ceramic spindle-whorls sometime can be found in richly furnished graves such as e.g. LT 91, which is confirmed by the find in the richly furnished grave 56 from Brežice. Still, the greatest number of graves with ceramic spindle-whorls in the Zvonimirovo cemetery does not stand out in relation to other graves, as shown by the example of grave LT 90. Interestingly, both mentioned graves in Zvonimirovo contained spindle-whorls of almost the same weight, indicating the production of a thread of the same thickness.

Ceramic spindle-whorls as grave goods have not been recorded in the contemporary Slatina v Rožni dolini cemetery, while they are more numerous in the cemetery of Novo mesto – Kapiteljska njiva – which is probably an Early Iron Age tradition, as testified by whorl shapes but also by some other documented findings (e.g. the domination of hand-modelled pottery). On the other hand, ceramic spindle-whorls as grave goods are almost an exception in the cemeteries of the Scordisci and not at all numerous in the cemeteries of the Carpathian Basin. The mentioned differences in the laying of ceramic spindle-whorls in graves primarily point to the differences between communities in the way of presenting various aspects of female identity in the funerary rite, since it can be supposed that women were probably the ones who produced textiles and clothes in all the Late Iron Age communities of the areas of the Carpathian Basin and south-east Alps, which they probably wore themselves and gave to other members of their family and the community they belonged to. Consequently, the presence of spindle-whorls in the graves is more likely to be indicative of the importance of textile production in shaping female identity and highlighting female virtue and womanhood, than of a higher social rank.¹⁴³

¹⁴³ Gleba, 2009, 69; -2013; Lipkin 2013, 26; Rahmstorf 2015, 4, 15. In the Early Iron Age, spinning and weaving tools were generally made of clay, wood or bone. The tools were of significance to the person who used them and consequently had symbolic value when placed into the grave. That's their symbolic value led to their manufacture in precious materials (glass, silver, amber, ivory), which supports the idea that spindle and distaff were not only gender indicators but also important status symbols for women in the highest social classes, in particular in the Eastern Mediterranean Bronze and Iron Ages. To use precious materials during the Roman period to make spinning items: Pásztókai-Szeöke 2011, 126–127; Gostenčnik 2012, 84; -2013, 65.

Aside from ceramic spindle-whorls, other objects associated with the process of creating textiles and clothes in female graves, including Zvonimirovo, have been recorded in a slightly smaller number. The grave LT 91 contained an iron pin with a curved body and zoomorphic head, which are features that have direct parallels in the mentioned cemetery at Kapiteljska njiva (grave 436 dated to LT C1). These are exceptional finds, for which probably it can be assumed that they were a spindle-hooks. Similar pins (spindle-hooks?), which were however most often made of bronze and smaller, appeared in a somewhat larger number during the LT C2–LT D1 – what is more, in settlements – indicating the possible use of a spinning technique, where the spindle-whorl is placed at the top of the spindle.¹⁴⁴ A rare find in the graves of women in the Late Iron Age is the iron sewing needle in grave LT 90 in Zvonimirovo,¹⁴⁵ showing that the dead woman during her life time participated not only in spinning, but also in at least one phase of the process of producing or repairing clothes. The fact fits perfectly into the remark by M. C. Beaudry that a survey of the archaeological literature for finds of needles is almost as frustrating as the proverbial quest for a needle in a haystack.¹⁴⁶

The finds of items associated with the production of textiles and clothes in the graves of women in Zvonimirovo, but also in other cemeteries in the Carpathian Basin and south-east Alps, clearly show that these are characteristic gender and age goods that symbolically present different (economic, social) roles of women in family and community, or different aspects of female identities. The clothes that were made and worn in life by women, together with the items of costume (belts, fibulae) and jewellery (bracelets, beads), were the most visible aspect of their personal identity that was later emphasised as such by the bereaved members of their family and community who put characteristic objects into their graves.¹⁴⁷

Moreover, the Zvonimirovo cemetery shows – just like the other cemeteries of the La Tène culture in the Carpathian Basin and the south-east Alps – that the production of textiles and clothes mostly took place in each household for their own needs, as an important part of the household economy, or as their contribution to the economy of the communities they belonged to. Most women probably had enough necessary technological knowledge for phases of the spinning and production of clothes. Some women in the communities could have acquired the mentioned knowledge more quickly and become very skilful in some parts of the process, which could have been emphasised by putting special objects in their graves – like the zoomorphic pins (spindle-hooks?) from grave LT 91 in Zvonimirovo or grave 436 in Kapiteljska njiva. The continuity of this extraordinary item could represent the finds of bronze and iron pins with twisted bodies and curved heads on numerous Late La Tène settlements. This shows that the technological progress achieved during the Late Iron Age was not exclusively associated with weaponry items and various tools belonging to the male gender sphere, but that the process included women, whose everyday activities such as the production of textiles and clothes ensured the existence and prosperity of their communities and enabled them to express their personality, creativity, and acquired skills, making them clearly visible in the Late Iron Age. These insights were enabled by the discovery of the female graves in Zvonimirovo, but also in other cemeteries of the La Tène culture in the Carpathian Basin and the south-east Alps, with recognizable finds that clearly point to the connection between gender and age affiliation and the production of textiles and clothes.

¹⁴⁴ Grömer 2010, 17–18, Fig. 4; Gostenčnik 2012, 70; -2014a, 64, 66, n. 118. Still, the finds of graves dating from the Late La Tène in the area along the Baltic Sea show that the spindle-whorl could also have been located on the bottom. For this very important information and other useful advice we thank Dragan Božič from the Institute of Archaeology of ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana.

¹⁴⁵ For sewing techniques, see: Grömer 2012, 55, Fig. 1.26: b,c; -2016, 218–222, Fig. 129.

¹⁴⁶ Beaudry 2006, 44–45.

¹⁴⁷ Fahlander, Oestigaard 2008, 7–9.

GRAVE LT 90 (Fig. 2; Pl. 1)

A cremation burial in quadrant E-2, in a rectangular grave pit with rounded angles. The pit, with a north-south orientation, had a length of 1.33 m and maximum width of 0.79 m. The top of the pit was at the depth of 112.97 m and the bottom was at 112.77 m. Cremated bones were laid in a pile in the middle of the grave, at the depth of 112.80 m, together with an iron chain belt (1), and a bronze fibula (2). On the eastern edge of the pile of cremated bones, there is another bronze fibula (3) and a spindle-whorl under it (8). Among the cremated bones there is also a pottery shard (9), fragments of an iron needle (4), and burned glass (5). On the southern side of the cremated bones there is a pot (6) and a bowl next to it (7).

The anthropological analysis of the cremated bones showed that the grave contained the remains of an adult woman above twenty years of age (> 20).

Among the cremated human bones, there were the remains of a cremated pig – fragments of the skull and the lower jaw as well as rare teeth, probably belonging to a grown-up male pig.

1. Chain belt; iron (*Pl. 1: 1*). A chain belt made of twisted and connected segments. It is the belt variant characterised by a strap clasp between two parts – a longer one with a buckle on one end and a loop on the other, and a shorter one made of three segments and with two loops on the ends (one larger, the other smaller). The strap clasp connects the loop of the longer part, covered by shallow transverse grooves, with the larger loop of the shorter part. The strap clasp is made of a narrow piece of iron tin with its ends pulled through the loops and twisted and then connected in the middle of the lower side by means of a rivet with a prong. The part of the clasp twisted around the loop has a triangle motif made with oblique grooves. The other end of the longer part of the belt has a prong-shaped buckle with a rhombic cross-section ending with a smaller hemispheric knob with the motif of a cross. Length of the longer part: / cm; width of the longer part: 1.2 cm; radius of the loop of the longer part: 2.4 cm; length of the prong: 5.0 cm; width of the prong: 0.5 cm; radius of the small hemisphere: 0.8 cm; length of the shorter part: 8.3 cm; width of the shorter part: 1.2 cm; radius of the loops of the shorter part: 1.6 and 2.4 cm; length of the clasp: / cm; width of the clasp: 1.2 cm; radius of the rivet on the clasp: 1.2 cm.

2. Fibula; bronze (*Pl. 1: 2*). A small and smooth wire fibula of the Middle La Tène scheme. The foot is connected with the bow by a profiled clasp that has a deep transversal groove along each end. The trapezoid bow with oval cross-section crosses into the spiral, which consists of twelve coils connected with an external chord. Length: 4.4 cm; length of the spiral: 2.6 cm.

3. Fibula; bronze (*Pl. 1: 3*). Same as the fibula under no. 2. Length: 4.2 cm; length of the spiral: 2.6 cm.

4. Needle; iron (*Pl. 1: 5*). A sewing needle ending with a point at the top, with a narrow elongated eye below where the needle has a band cross-section. A part of the needle has a twisted body which is in that part of the rectangular cross-section. In the lower part of body the needle has a

square cross-section. Length: 11.3 cm; thickness in the middle: 0.2 cm.

5. Bracelet; glass (*Pl. 1: 4*). A fragment of deformed colourless glass with traces of yellow foil. Probably the remains of a bracelet.

6. Pot; ceramics (*Pl. 1: 7*). A pot made on a pottery wheel, with a biconical body, everted thickened rim, and prominent bottom. The upper part of the shoulder has two horizontal grooves. The outside surface is brown-grey and smoothed, while the inside surface is grey and smoothed. Diameter of the rim: 14.6 cm; diameter of the bottom: 9.0 cm; height: 12.4 cm; diameter of the greatest width: 20.1 cm; thickness of the wall: 0.6–0.8 cm.

7. Bowl; ceramics (*Pl. 1: 8*). A hand-made bowl with a round body, slightly inverted rim, and slightly prominent bottom. The outside surface is dark brown and roughly worked, while the inside surface is reddish/dark brown and roughly worked. Diameter of the rim: 15.2 cm; diameter of the bottom: 12.0 cm; height: 7.5 cm; thickness of the wall: 0.3–0.6 cm.

8. Spindle-whorl; ceramics (*Pl. 1: 6*). A biconical spindle-whorl with a hole in the middle, brown to light grey. The whorl shows traces of burning. Radius: 4.3 cm; radius of the hole: 0.6 cm; weight: 38 g.

9. Pottery shard; ceramics (*Pl. 1: 9*). A shard of the thickened rim of the pot. Size: 5.00 x 3.1 cm; thickness of the wall: 0.6 cm.

GRAVE LT 91 (Fig. 3; Pl. 2)

A cremation burial in quadrant E-2, in a rectangular grave pit with rounded angles. The pit, with a north-south orientation, had a length of 1.79 m and maximum width of 1.03 m. The top of the pit was at the depth of 113.02 m and the bottom was at 112.48 m. At the top of the fill, in the north-west corner, poorly preserve animal bones have been found. Cremated bones were laid in a pile in the middle of the grave, at the depth of 112.66 m. Among them, on the south-east edge, there are two bronze fibulae (6–7). In the middle of the cremated bones there is an iron chain belt (1). The south-west edge has an iron fibula with a bone inset (5). North of the pile of cremated bones there is a pot (12) and, west of it, the bones of a pig (14) and chicken (15). To the north-west under the pot there is the little iron chain of the belt pendant (2). Cremated bones are together with fragments of burned glass (11). A few cremated bones were also under the southern side of the pot. In the lower part of the pile of cremated bones there are the spindle-whorl (13), a part of the small iron chain of the belt pendant (2), a burned bronze fibula (8) with a bronze spiral pierced by an iron prong, an iron pin with a horse's head (9), an iron fingering (10), an iron fibula (3), and a fibula combining bronze and iron (4). Animal bones have been found in the pot (16).

The anthropological analysis of the cremated bones has shown that the grave contained the buried remains of a woman between thirty and fifty years of age (30–50).

The archaeozoological analysis separated the remains of a young pig: the bones of the right hind leg (tibia, fibula, astragalus, calcaneus). The remains of the chicken have

also been singled out – almost the entire skeleton (all the larger bones of legs and wings, skulls, a few vertebrae). The bones of the mouse were found in the pot, while at the top of the fill were also found animal bones.

1. Chain belt; iron (*Pl. 2: 1*). A chain belt consisting of twisted and connected segments. It is the belt variant characterised by a strap clasp between two parts – a longer one with a buckle on one end and a loop on the other, and a shorter one made of three segments and with two loops on the ends (one larger, the other smaller). The strap clasp connects the loop of the longer part, covered by shallow transverse grooves, with the larger loop of the shorter part. The strap clasp is made of a narrow piece of iron tin with its ends pulled through the loops and twisted and then connected in the middle of the lower side by means of a rivet with a prong. The head of the rivet, on the upper side of the clasp, is decorated with a triangle motif. On the other end of the longer part of the belt, there is a prong-shaped buckle with a round cross-section ending with a smaller oval hemispheric knob with oblique grooves. Length of the longer part: 38.5 cm; width of the longer part: 0.9 cm; radius of the loop of the longer part: 1.7 cm; length of the prong: 4.9 cm; with of the prong: 0.5 cm; radius of the hemisphere: 0.7 cm; length of the shorter part: 7.2 cm; width of the shorter part: 0.9 cm; radius of the loops of the shorter part: 1.6 and 2.3 cm; length of the clasp: 4.9 cm; width of the clasp: 1.0 cm; radius of the rivet on the clasp: 1.0 cm.

2. Buckle; iron (*Pl. 2: 2*). A small buckle chain of the Brežice type, consisting of smaller strap hoops. Length of the chain: / cm; radius of the chain hoop: 0.7 cm; width of the chain hoop: 0.3 cm.

3. Fibula; iron (*Pl. 2: 3*). A larger fibula of the Middle La Tène scheme with a reverted foot that has a spherical knob on the spot where it connects with the bow. The bow has a round cross-section and turns into a spiral consisting of eight loops connected with an external chord. Length: 9.0 cm; length of the spiral: 3.6 cm; radius of the knob on the place of connection with the bow: 1.3 cm.

4. Fibula; iron, bronze (*Pl. 2: 8*). A fibula of the Middle La Tène scheme with a bow that has a strap cross-section and a small hole. The spiral consists of six loops connected with an external chord. The fibula has traces of burning, i.e. the remains of the burnt bronze cell. Preserved length: 4.8 cm; length of the spiral: 2.3 cm.

5. Fibula; iron, bronze, bone (*Pl. 2: 4*). A fibula of the Middle La Tène scheme with a low trapezoid bow. The other reverted foot at the spot of connection with the bow has a triangular base for a bone inset. Behind the triangular widening there is a smaller one with a rectangular shape. The spiral consists of six loops connected with an external chord. The fibula has traces of burning. Part of the bow that goes over to the needle holder is not preserved. Length: 6.4 cm; length of the spiral: 2.3 cm; length of the

triangular base: 1.4 cm; width of the triangular base: 0.9 cm; length of the rectangular setting: 0.9 cm; width of the rectangular setting: 0.3 cm.

6. Fibula; bronze (*Pl. 2: 5*). A fibula of the Middle La Tène scheme with a reverted foot that has a spherical knob in the place where it touches the bow and another one in the place where it joins the bow. The bow has a round cross-section and turns into a spiral consisting of six coils connected with an external chord. Length: 4.7 cm; length of the spiral: 1.4 cm; radius of the spherical knob in the place it touches the onion: 0.6 cm; radius of the knob where it touches the bow: 0.5 cm.

7. Fibula; bronze (*Pl. 2: 6*). Same as the fibula under no. 6. Length: 4.9 cm; length of the spiral: 1.3 cm; radius of the spherical knob in the place it connects with the bow: 0.6 cm; radius of the knob where it touches the bow: 0.5 cm.

8. Fibula; bronze, iron (*Pl. 2: 7*). A fibula of the Middle La Tène scheme with a reverted foot that has a double ring clasp in the place where it touches the bow. The bow has a round cross-section and very slightly widens towards the spiral consisting of a large number of coils connected with an external chord and having an iron wire going through them. The fibula has traces of burning. Length: / cm; preserved length of the spiral: 4.8 cm.

9. Pin; iron (*Pl. 2: 10*). A pin with a zoomorphic head and twisted body. Length: 8.6 cm; thickness: 0.2 cm.

10. Fingering; iron (*Pl. 2: 9*). A fingering in the shape of a hoop with an oval cross-section with transverse narrow grooves. Radius: 2.0 cm; thickness: 0.2 cm;

11. Bracelet; glass (*Pl. 2: 13*). Fragments of a deformed colourless glass with the remains of yellow foil. They are probably the remains of a bracelet.

12. Pot; ceramics (*Pl. 2: 12*). A pot made on the pottery wheel, with a biconical body, everted rim, and prominent bottom. On the lower part of the shoulder there is a horizontal groove, while the joint between the neck and the shoulder have two horizontal relief ribs, the lower one which is wider and the upper one which is narrower. The outside surface is dark grey and partly glossy, while the inside surface is dark grey and smoothed. Diameter of the rim: 11.8 cm; diameter of the bottom: 10.6 cm; height: 27.1 cm; diameter of the greatest width: 28.2 cm; the thickness of the wall: 0.5–0.7 cm.

13. Spindle-whorl; ceramics (*Pl. 2: 11*). A biconical spindle-whorl with a hole in the middle, between brown and light grey. Radius: 4.5 cm; radius of the hole: 1.4 cm; weight: 37 g.

14. Pig bones. The archaeozoological analysis separated the bones of the right hind leg of a young pig.

15. Chicken bones. The archaeozoological analysis separated almost the entire skeleton of the chicken.

16. Mouse bones. The archaeozoological analysis separated single mouse remains in the fill in the pot.

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Žene sa srednjolatenskoga groblja Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje koje su izrađivale niti za tkanje i odjeću

Sažetak

Groblje latenske kulture Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje, koje je smješteno u srednjoj Podravini nedaleko od Virovitice, jedino je sustavno istraživano groblje latenske kulture na prostoru sjeverne Hrvatske. U dosadašnjim istraživanjima, koja s kraćim prekidima traju više od dvadeset godina, pronađeni su brojni paljevinski grobovi koji se, na osnovi pronađenih nalaza, mogu datirati u kraj 3. i tijekom prve polovice 2. st. pr. Kr., odnosno u LT C2 stupanj te ukazuju na pripadnost groblja istočnom rubu rasprostiranja Tauriska.¹ Iako su brojni grobovi muškaraca koji su opremljeni s naoružanjem, toaletnim priborom i predmetima nošnje, groblje u Zvonimirovu izdvaja se otkrićem grobova žena s jedinstvenim kombinacijama predmeta nošnje i nakita koji i povezuju groblje s mokronoškom skupinom, odnosno Tauriscima. Karakterističnim funkcionalno-dekorativnim predmetima nošnje pripadaju željezni i brončani pojasi, zatim kopče tipa Brežice kao i različiti oblici brončanih i rjeđe željeznih fibula, dok predmete nakita predstavljaju nalazi narukvica, prstenja i perli. Popudbina, kojoj pripadaju nalazi keramičkih posuda i životinjskih kostiju, zabilježena je u grobovima oba spola.

I dok predmeti ženske nošnje za sada najjasnije svjedoče o identitetu zajednice koja je svoje pokojnice pokopavala na Velikom polju u Zvonimirovu kao i njezinom položaju u komunikacijskoj mreži latenske kulture u južnom dijelu Karpatske kotline, na položaj i ulogu žena u zajednici i obitelji ukazivali bi nalazi predmeta za svakodnevnu upotrebu. Njima, prije svega, pripadaju prilozi željeznih noževa, zatim željezne šivaće igle te keramički pršljeni koji su ujedno i najbrojniji nalazi. Izniman nalaz predstavlja željezna igla sa zoomorfnom glavicom u grobu LT 91 koja je vjerojatno bila dio vretena te se, uz keramičke pršljene i šivaće igle, može povezati s produkcijom niti kao i izradom te održavanjem odjeće. Zbog toga je proučavanjem ove vrste nalaza, koja je često zapostavljena u odnosu na atraktivnije predmete nošnje i nakita, iznimno važno pokušati odgonetnuti koje su sve to svakodnevne poslove u zajednici i obitelji obavljale žene pokopane u Zvonimirovu. Neki od nalaza iz

grobova LT 90 i LT 91 upravo omogućavaju takvu vrstu razmatranja, naravno uz spoznaju kako najveći dio svakodnevnih poslova koje su žene obavljale nije niti ostavio nikakav prepoznatljiv arheološki ili fizičkoantropološki trag.

Grobovi LT 90 i LT 91 pronađeni su tijekom istraživanja 2011. godine na središnjem dijelu groblja (*sl. 1*). Grobne su rake pravokutnog oblika i zaobljenih uglova na čijem su dnu pronađene hrpice spaljenih kostiju s nalazima koje ukazuju kako su bile položene u tkaninu, dok je keramička popudbina dodana pri polaganju spaljenih ostataka u grobove (*sl. 2–3*). Nalazi u grobovima LT 90 i LT 91 pokazuju kako su pokojnice bile spaljene u odjeći, zajedno s pojedinim predmetima nošnje i nakita.² Tragove spaljivanja s pokojnicama u spomenuta dva groba pokazuju staklene narukvice (*t. 1: 4; 2: 13*) kao i pojedine brončane fibule od kojih su dvije nošene u paru (*t. 2: 4,7,8*), dok to nije slučaj sa željeznim pojascima te željeznim i pojedinim brončanim fibulama na kojima se tragovi izlaganja vatrenoj stihiji ne prepoznaju. Vjerojatno su spomenuti predmeti, posebno brončane fibule nošene u paru (*t. 1: 2,3; 2: 5,6*) koje ne pokazuju tragove spaljivanja, pridodani u grob tijekom pokopa. Za predmete izrađene od željeza (pojasi, kopče tipa Brežice, fibule), budući da vjerojatno nije bila dosegnuta temperatura spaljivanja koja bi ostavila tragove na njima, sa sigurnošću nije moguće reći jesu li bili spaljeni s pokojnicama ili su također mogli biti u grob položeni a da ih pokojnice nisu imale na sebi tijekom procesa spaljivanja.³ Prema rezultatima antropološke analize, u grobu LT 90 pokopana je žena stara više od 20 godina, dok je u grobu LT 91 pokopana žena stara 30–50 godina.

U oba groba, LT 90 (*t. 1*) i LT 91 (*t. 2*), pronađeni su karakteristični predmeti ženske nošnje i nakita, zatim predmeti svakodnevne upotrebe kao i popudbina s keramičkim posudama i životinjskim kostima. Ženskoj nošnji pripadaju nalazi željeznih pojasa sastavljenih od uvijenih i spojenih članaka,

¹ Dizdar 2013a. Ukupno je do sada u istraživanjima groblja Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje polje pronađeno 117 grobova latenske kulture.

² *Ib.*, 35–36; -2016b, 296–297. O postignutoj temperaturi spaljivanja pokojnika na groblju Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje svjedočili bi boja spaljenih kostiju kao i spaljivanjem oštećeni predmeti.

³ Za sličan pogrebni ritual na groblju Brežice: Jovanović 2007, 21.

zatim dijelovi kopče tipa Brežice kao i brončane fibule različitih oblika koje su najčešće bile nošene u paru. U grobu LT 91 pronađena je i jedna željezna fibula te par bimetalnih fibula. Nakitu pripadaju rastaljeni ulomci vjerojatno od staklenih narukvica te željezni prsten iz groba LT 91. U oba su groba pronađeni keramički pršljeni. U grobu LT 90 otkrivena je željezna šivaća igla, dok je u grobu LT 91 pronađena željezna igla sa zoomorfnom glavicom. Popudbini pripadaju prilozi lonca, zdjele te spaljene kosti svinje u grobu LT 90, dok je u grobu LT 91 bio samo lonac i uz njega su položene životinjske kosti.

PREDMETI NOŠNJE

Karakteristične dijelove ženske nošnje na groblju u Zvonimirovu predstavljaju željezni pojasi koji su sastavljeni od uvijenih i spojenih članaka, dok su u manjem broju zabilježeni brončani člankoviti pojasi. Sa željeznim i brončanim pojasiima nalaze se i željezne štapičaste kopče tipa Brežice koje su jedan od najprepoznatljivijih oblika ženske nošnje latenske kulture jugoistočnoalpskog i jugozapadnapanonskog prostora. U grobovima žena u Zvonimirovu nalaze se i prilozi od jedne do pet brončanih te najviše do tri željezne fibule, no najčešće samo jedna.

Željezni lančani pojasi

U grobovima LT 90 i LT 91 pronađeni su željezni pojasi sastavljeni od dvostruko uvijenih i spojenih članaka varijante Zvonimirovo LT 6. Radi se o varijanti željeznih pojasa za koju je karakteristično postojanje trakaste spojnice između dva dijela – duljeg s kopčom na jednom i petljom na drugom kraju te kraćeg dijela s dvije petlje na krajevima (većom i manjom) – koji su spojeni trakastom spojnicom koja povezuje petlju duljeg dijela s većom petljom kraćeg dijela. S obzirom na slabiju sačuvanost trakastih spojnica na pojasiima u odnosu na kopče ili uvijene i spojene članke koji su masivniji, trakasta spojnica najčešće je sačuvana u ulomcima, pri čemu se najčešće sačuvaju dijelovi koji su bili provučeni te ovijeni oko petlji. Ipak, sačuvaniji primjerci pojasa, poput onoga iz groba LT 91, pokazuju kako je trakasta spojnica izrađena od uskog komada željeznog lima čiji su krajevi provučeni kroz petlje te su presavijeni i potom su spojeni na sredini s donje strane pomoću zakovice s trnom. Na glavici zakovice, koja se nalazi s gornje strane spojnice, može se nalaziti urezani motiv križa, trokuta ili

poprečni žljeb koji su potom vjerojatno mogli biti ispunjeni s emajlom. Kopča ima oblik duljeg trna koji je na kraju savijen i na čijem se vrhu nalazi polukuglica na kojoj se također može nalaziti ukras motiva križa u kojem se vjerojatno nalazio emajl. Kraći dio pojasa najčešće se sastoji od tri dvostruko uvijena članka, no može ih biti i četiri.⁴

U grobu LT 90 nalazio se pojas (*t. 1: 1*) s kopčom rombičnog presjeka koja je na kraju savijena i na čijem se vrhu nalazi polukuglica s ukrasom motiva križa. Na petlji dužeg dijela pojasa nalaze se plitki poprečni žljebovi, dok se na dijelu spojnice koji je savijen oko petlje nalazi motiv trokuta izveden koso postavljenim žljebovima. Pojas iz groba LT 91 sačuvan je u cijelosti (*t. 2: 1*), s kopčom okruglog presjeka koja završava s polukuglicom na kojoj su kosi žljebovi. Zakovica na spojnici ukrašena je s motivom trokuta. Kraći dio pojasa u oba groba sastoji se od tri uvijena i spojena članka.

Pored spomenutih grobova LT 90 i LT 91, pojasi ovog oblika na groblju u Zvonimirovu zabilježeni su u većem broju grobova kao što je spomenuti eponimni grob LT 6.⁵ Usporedbe za ovaj oblik željeznog pojasa zabilježene su na nalazištima na jugoistočnoalpskom i zapadnapanonskom prostoru, s Osijekom⁶ kao najistočnijim poznatim nalazištem do sada. Na nalazištima u Slovačkoj ovaj oblik pojasa izdvojen je kao dvodijelni pojas skupine Gk-C3.⁷ Pojasi tipa Zvonimirovo LT 6 isključivo su zabilježeni u ženskim srednjolatenskim grobovima i datirani su u srednji laten (LT C1–LT C2).⁸

Kopče tipa Brežice

Karakterističan predmet ženske nošnje na groblju u Zvonimirovu predstavljaju brojne željezne kopče tipa Brežice za koje se smatra kako su dio ženske srednjolatenske nošnje mokronoške skupine zasad, ipak, sasvim nejasne funkcije.⁹ U dosad pronađenim grobovima u Zvonimirovu, kao i na drugim grobljima na kojima su zabilježene, uvijek je u grobu pronađena po jedna kopča. Osnovni dio kopče tipa Brežice predstavlja štapičasta igla čija je dužina iznosila od desetak do dvadeset i više centimetara i na čijem se vrhu nalazi obruč najčešće promjera

⁴ Dizdar 2013a, 213–221; -2016a, 82.

⁵ Dizdar 2013a, 218–221, sl. 74: 1–2; t. 5: 6; 11: 1; 13: 1.

⁶ Spajić 1956, 52, t. 12: 4.

⁷ Bujna 2011, 81, Obr. 34: 5–7.

⁸ Dizdar 2013a, 218–221, sl. 76, karta 20; -2016a, 82.

⁹ Guštin 2003; Dizdar 2013a, 221–227, sl. 79.

oko 2,5 cm. Sastavni dio kopče predstavlja i lančić koji je najčešće sastavljen od jednog većeg obruča koji je provučen kroz obruč igle te od niza manjih i međusobno povezanih trakastih obruča koji su mogli završavati s jednim obručem nešto većeg promjera. Zanimljivo, u grobu LT 91 pronađeni su samo ulomci lančića sastavljenog od trakastih obruča manjih dimenzija, pri čemu ostaci kopče nisu pronađeni (*t. 2: 2*).

Kopče tipa Brežice, osim na groblju u Zvonimirovu, u najvećem broju pronalaze se u ženskim grobovima mokronoške skupine datiranim u LT C1–LT C2.¹⁰ Nalazi kopči na groblju u Zvonimirovu dobro prikazuju pripadnost groblja području rasprostiranja mokronoške skupine, odnosno kopče tipa Brežice možda treba promatrati i kao predmet s određenim simboličkim značenjem, što dijelom podupire njihov nedostatak npr. na grobljima Skordiska. Osim na grobljima mokronoške skupine, kopče tipa Brežice poznate su s još nekih nalazišta na jugoistočnoalpskom i zapadnopanonskom prostoru,¹¹ uz neke nove nalaze u sjevernoj Mađarskoj.¹²

Fibule

Prepoznatljiv i brojna dio ženske srednjolatske nošnje na groblju u Zvonimirovu predstavljaju brončane fibule koje su zastupljene s većim brojem različitih oblika, dok su one željezne poznate u znatno manjem broju. Posebno je prepoznatljiva raznolikost oblika brončanih fibula od kojih dio pripada šire rasprostranjenim tipovima (npr. fibule s dvije kuglice, glatke žičane fibule), dok su s druge strane neki oblici karakteristični upravo za jugoistočnoalpski i jugozapadnopanonski prostor (npr. fibule tipa Zvonimirovo). Brojnost i raznolikost izdvojenih oblika svakako svjedoči kako su brončane fibule, pored pojasa, predstavljale važan dio ženske nošnje i vizualnog identiteta. S obzirom na način spajanja nožice s lukom te oblik i raščlanjenost nožice, izdvojena su tri osnovna oblika brončanih fibula od kojih je svaki predstavljen s različitim brojem inačica: fibule s dvije kuglice; fibule s različito plastično raščlanjenom nožicom ili lukom; glatke fibule s jednostavnom ili profiliranom spojnicom.

U grobu LT 91 pronađena je i jedna željezna fibula srednjolatske sheme s dugom prebačenom nožicom koje na mjestu spajanja s lukom trapezoidnog obrisa ima kuglicu (*t. 2: 3*). Luk je okruglog presjeka i prelazi u spiralu koja se sastoji od osam navoja povezanih izvana. Željezne fibule s jednom kuglicom pripadaju fibulama sheme A1 prema podjeli A. Bieger za koju je karakteristično da se kuglica nalazi na spoju nožice s lukom.¹³

Da se ne radi o usamljenom nalazu opisanog tipa željezne fibule u ženskim grobovima u Zvonimirovu svjedoče još neki nalazi – npr. u grobu LT 6.¹⁴ Svakako je potrebno istaknuti kako se na groblju u Zvonimirovu željezne fibule istog oblika, ponekad i nešto većih dimenzija, češće pojavljuju u grobovima muškaraca koji su datirani u LT C2.¹⁵ Osnovnim konstrukcijskim karakteristikama slične su daleko brojnije željezne fibule s dvije kuglice. Zanimljivo, u grobu 195 na Kapiteljskoj njivi, s parom željeznih fibula s brončanim trokutastim i pravokutnim proširenjima iznad luka, pronađena je i jedna željezna fibula s višim lukom te dugom nožicom koja se za luk spaja s kuglicom (*sl. 4*).¹⁶

U grobu LT 91 pronađene su dvije bimetalne fibule koje su najvećim dijelom izrađene od željeza, od kojih jedna pokazuje intenzivne tragove spaljivanja te je najvećim dijelom oštećena. Ipak, s obzirom na sačuvane ostatke kao i na iste tipološke karakteristike u usporedbi s drugom fibulom, može se pretpostaviti kako se radilo o fibulama koje su bile nošene u paru. Sačuvanija fibula (*t. 2: 4*), koja također pokazuje tragove spaljivanja, ima niski luk trapezoidnog obrisa. Na kraju duge prebačene nožice, iznad luka, nalazi se brončano trokutasto oblikovano proširenje s udubljenjem u kojem se nalaze koštani umetci. Trokutasto je proširenje za luk spojeno sa zakovicom. Iza trokutastog proširenja, iznad dijela spirale, još je jedno manje pravokutno proširenje s udubljenjem s koštanim umetcima. Spirala se sastoji od šest navoja koji su povezani izvana. Druga je fibula izgleda bila istoga oblika (*t. 2: 8*), a sačuvala se spirala od šest izvana povezanih navoja, zatim igla te dio trakastog luka s rupicom. Kroz rupicu je prolazila zakovica koja je spajala luk s trokutastim proširenjem.

Radi se o karakterističnom obliku bimetalnih fibula koje su već zabilježene na groblju u Zvonimirovu.

¹⁰ Guštin 1984, 340; Božić 1987, 886; Guštin 2003, 327; Tomičić, Dizdar 2005, 97–101, karta 5; Dizdar 2013a, 223–227, sl. 79.

¹¹ Dizdar 2013a, 226–227, karta 21.

¹² Tankó 2015, 265, sl. 7a–8.

¹³ Bieger 2002, 55–58, sl. 1–2; -2003, 4–16, sl. 3.

¹⁴ Dizdar 2013a, 193, t. 13: 2.

¹⁵ Majnarić-Pandžić 2001, 86, t. 8: 2; Dizdar 2013a, 192–193, t. 17: 2; 18: 2; 26: 2.

¹⁶ Križ 2005, 82, t. 57: 4.

Naime, u grobu LT 12 također je pronađen par fibula istog oblika koje pripadaju pokopu ženske osobe u ovome trojnom grobu.¹⁷ Usporedba za fibule iz grobova LT 12 i LT 91 zabilježena je na Kapitelskoj njivi u Novom mestu gdje je u ženskom grobu 195 (*sl. 4: 3,5*) pronađena slična željezna fibula s brončanim trokutastim proširenjem s udubljenjem, dok se dijelom iznad spirale nalazi manje pravokutno proširenje s udubljenjem. U proširenjima se nalazio emajl. Od druge fibule, koja je s prvom predstavljala par, sačuvan je željezni dio niskoga luka sa zakovicom te dio prebačene nožice. Spaljani ostaci pokojnice s nalazima bili su položeni u lonac u funkciji urne. Grob je ostalim nalazima datiran u LT C2.¹⁸ S položaja groblja Grabelsdorf južno od naselja Gracarca, izvan grobne cjeline, potječe željezna fibula s brončanim trokutastim proširenjem na luku s udubljenjem s emajlom. Iznad spirale nalazi se još jedno manje pravokutno proširenje. Fibula ima niski luk i spiralnu sastavljenu od šest izvana povezanih navoja.¹⁹

Opisanim fibulama, koje se mogu izdvojiti kao fibule tipa Grabelsdorf, oblikom trokutastog proširenja s udubljenjem donekle bi odgovarala brončana fibula iz paljevinskog groba 741 na groblju Holiare. Ipak, fibule tipa Grabelsdorf su bimetalne, nožica je kod njih zakovicom pričvršćena za trakasti luk te iza trokutastog još imaju pravokutno udubljenje. Razlika se prepoznaje i u tome što se kod fibule s groblja Holiare proširenje nalazi između dvije male kuglice na nožici, a spirala se sastoji od šest izvana povezanih navoja. Grob je datiran u LT C1.²⁰

Bimetalne fibule s trokutastim i pravokutnim proširenjima s udubljenjima tipa Grabelsdorf, na osnovi nalaza u grobnim cjelinama, mogu se smatrati karakterističnim dijelom ženske srednjolatenske nošnje (LT C2) na jugoistočnoalpskom i zapadnopanonskom prostoru.

Drugi par fibula u grobu LT 91 predstavljaju brončane fibule srednjolatenske sheme s dugom prebačenom nožicom koje na mjestu dodira s lukom ima jednu kuglicu, dok se druga nalazi na mjestu spajanja s lukom (*t. 2: 5,6*). Luk je okruglog presjeka i prelazi u spiralnu koja se sastoji od šest navoja povezanih izvana. Radi se o obliku koji se često

pojavljuje u ženskim grobovima u Zvonimirovu te su nošene u paru. S obzirom na dimenzije, mogu se razlikovati one manje s kraćom nožicom te nešto veće fibule poput ovih u grobu LT 91 ili grobu LT 12 koje imaju nožicu koja je dulja od luka.

Radi se o fibulama sheme A2 za koju je karakteristično da se jedna kuglica nalazi na nožici, dok je druga na njezinom spoju s lukom te su veličine između 4,0 i 6,0 cm (varijanta Jüchsen)²¹ koje su poznate s niza groblja u Karpatskoj kotlini gdje su datirane u LT C1b, dok se na jugoistočnoalpskom i južnopanonskom prostoru, pa tako i na groblju u Zvonimirovu, pojavljuju i tijekom LT C2. Stariji oblici imaju kraće i oštro savijene nožice, zatim spiralnu sastavljenu od manjeg broja navoja povezanih iznutra te kuglice većeg promjera, dok su za mlađe oblike iz LT C2 karakteristične dulje nožice savijene u obliku slova U te spirale koje su sastavljene od većeg broja navoja koji su uvijek povezani izvana. Fibulama iz groba LT 91 oblikom i dimenzijama odgovara također par fibula iz ženskoga groba 35 u Brežicama koji je datiran u LT C2.²²

U grobu LT 91 pronađena je i jedna brončana fibula srednjolatenske sheme koja pokazuje intenzivne tragove spaljivanja (*t. 2: 7*). Fibula ima prebačenu nožicu koja je s lukom trapezoidnog obrisa spojena s dvostrukom prstenastom spojnicom sa žljebom po sredini. Luk je okruglog presjeka i neznatno se širi prema spirali koja se sastoji od velikog broja navoja povezanih izvana kroz koje je provučena željezna žica. Slična je fibula s dvostrukom spojnicom, samo željezna i veća, pronađena u muškom ratničkom grobu 32 na groblju Rospri Čuprija²³ koji se vjerojatno može datirati u LT C2.

Skupini glatkih brončanih fibula s groblja u Zvonimirovu mogu se pripisati dvije fibule koje su također predstavljale par iz groba LT 90 (*t. 1: 2,3*). Radi se o malim glatkim fibulama srednjolatenske sheme koje imaju dugu nožicu savijenu u obliku slova U koja se spaja s lukom trapezoidnog obrisa i ovalnog presjeka pomoću spojnice koja uz svaki kraj ima po jedan poprečno postavljeni dublji žljeb. Luk prelazi u spiralnu koja se sastoji od dvanaest izvana povezanih navoja.

Fibule istog oblika i dimenzija, također nošene u paru, pronađene su u grobu LT 5, dok su one iz

¹⁷ Majnarić-Pandžić 2001, 86, t. 7: 1; Dizdar 2013a, 245–247, t. 27: 1–2; -2014, 105, t. 3: 10–11.

¹⁸ Križ 2005, 22, 82, t. 57: 3,5.

¹⁹ Gleirscher 2009, 152, sl. 5: 10. Fibula je pronađena u blizini groba A21, gdje je također još pronađena željezna fibula s polukružnim lukom i kuglicom na nožici (Gleirscher 2009, 152, sl. 5: 9).

²⁰ Benadić, Vlček, Ambros 1957, 96, sl. 28: 3–4.

²¹ Bieger 2002, 55–58, sl. 1–2; -2003, 32, 75–77, 126–127, sl. 19, karta 22; Dizdar 2013a, 240–241, karta 22.

²² Jovanović 2007, 35, sl. na str. 34; D, 53, kat. br. 31.

²³ Todorović 1963, Y54: 7.

groba LT 12 nešto veće s duljom nožicom.²⁴ Najbliže usporedbe predstavlja par manjih brončanih fibula s lukom trapezoidnog obrisa iz groba 12 u Brežicama. Spirale se sastoje od dvanaest izvana povezanih navoja. Grob je datiran u 2. st. pr. Kr.²⁵

Predmeti nakita

Najbrojniji prilog nakita na groblju Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje predstavljaju ulomci staklenih narukvica koje su često, zbog spaljivanja s pokojnicama, do neprepoznatljivosti izgubile svoj izvoran oblik. Ponekad, zbog male količine sačuvanih rastaljenih ulomaka stakla, nije moguće sa sigurnošću zaključiti radi li se možda o ostacima staklenog prstenja koje je također, kao karakterističan obručasti nakit, zabilježen na groblju u Zvonimirovu. Ipak, staklene narukvice i prstenje, zajedno s predmetima nošnje, predstavljaju bitnu odrednicu u kronološkom definiranju groblja u Zvonimirovu. Osim staklenih narukvica, na groblju u Zvonimirovu u manjem su broju ženskih grobova pronađene i brončane narukvice, dok je prstenje također moglo biti izrađeno od bronce i željeza, o čemu i svjedoči nalaz željeznoga prstena u grobu LT 91. Nakitu se još mogu pripisati i nalazi staklenih perli.

U grobovima LT 90 i LT 91 pronađeni su rastaljeni ulomci narukvica i/ili prstenja izrađeni od prozirnoga stakla sa žutom folijom (*t. 1: 4; 2: 13*). Radi se o najčešćoj boji stakla koja je zabilježena na groblju u Zvonimirovu, gdje u cjelosti sačuvane narukvice kao i tipološki određivi ulomci pokazuju kako su najčešće bile narukvice s pet rebra serije 27, no poznate su i one s tri rebra serije 25 koje se datiraju u LT C2.²⁶ U malom broju grobova pronađeni su i ulomci narukvica od kobaltnoplavog stakla s ukrasima bijelih ili žutih cik-cak linija koje najvjerojatnije pripadaju seriji 14. S obzirom na djelomičnu sačuvanost oblika i ukrasa te boju narukvica, pretpostavljena je usmjerenost groblja u Zvonimirovu alpskom radioničkom krugu, na što ukazuju i neki drugi funkcionalno-dekorativni oblici ženske nošnje, posebno pojasi ili par bimetalnih fibula iz groba LT 91.

Obručastom nakitu može se pripisati i nalaz željeznoga prstena u obliku obruča ovalnog presjeka s poprečno postavljenim žljebovima iz groba LT 91 (*t. 2: 9*). Inače, na groblju u Zvonimirovu zabilježeni su nalazi staklenog i brončanog prstenja te je opisani prsten izrađen od željeza zasad usamljeni nalaz. Inače, u ženskim se grobovima tijekom srednjeg latena najčešće pojavljuju prilozi brončanog prstenja, često s drugim oblicima obručastog nakita, posebno u grobovima koji su bogatije opremljeni.²⁷ Prstenje, kao funkcionalni nakitni oblik, vjerojatno ima i određeno simboličko značenje, pri čemu se primjećuje raznovrsnost oblika, odnosno gotovo da se radi o individualizaciji oblika, što bi možda ukazivalo da se radi o predmetima izrađenima prema ukusu nositelja ili naručitelja.

PREDMETI SVAKODNEVNE UPOTREBE

U grobovima LT 90 i LT 91 pronađeni su i predmeti svakodnevne upotrebe koji se povezuju s izradom niti za tkanje i odjeće.²⁸ U oba se groba nalaze keramički pršljeni (*t. 1: 6; 2: 11*), pri čemu pršljen iz groba LT 90 pokazuje tragove spaljivanja na lomači. U grobu LT 90 još je pronađena željezna šivaća igla (*t. 1: 5*), dok je u grobu LT 91 pronađena željezna igla s uvijenim tijelom i zoomorfnom glavicom koja je mogla biti dio vretena, odnosno kukica vretena (*t. 2: 10*).

Šivaća igla iz groba LT 90 na vrhu završava u šiljak, dok se ispod nalazi uska izdužena ušica.²⁹ Dio igle

²⁷ Bujna 2005, 71–77, sl. 56–61; npr. u Osijeku: Spajčić 1954, 10–11, t. 2: 15; Majnarić-Pandžić 2007, 114, sl. 1; 2: 5; Brežice: Jovanović 2011, 55, sl. 4; Novo mesto – Kapiteljska njiva: Križ 2001, 59; -2005, 22 i dr.

²⁸ Jedan od primarnih aspekata otkrivenih kroz pogrebne rituale je rodna pripadnost. Predmeti za proizvodnju tekstila, osobito pršljeni, tradicionalno se smatraju pokazateljima ženskih grobova, baš kao što se naoružanje povezuje s muškim. Većina grobova koji sadrže predmete za pređenje i tkanje u analiziranom uzorku iz italskoga starijeg željeznog doba su ženski. Ikonografski izvori također potvrđuju snažnu povezanost između žena i proizvodnje tekstila (Gleba 2009, 69; -2013, 9; Lipkin 2013, 19–20; Grömer 2013, 33–34, 38–42).

²⁹ Na groblju Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje, osim u grobu LT 90, željezne šivaće igle pronađene su sigurno u još tri groba koji također pripadaju pokopima žena. Kako se radi o vrlo krhkom predmetu, moguće je kako je broj grobova s prilogom željezne šivaće igle bio i veći, u prilog čemu bi svjedočila i spoznaja kako su šivaće igle prepoznate tek nakon završetka konzervacije svih nalaza iz spomenutih grobnih cjelina. Još je u grobu LT 28, koji također pripada pokopu žene, pronađen ulomak željezne igle s uvijenim

²⁴ Majnarić-Pandžić 2001, 86, t. VII: 2; Dizdar 2013a, 250–252, sl. 88, t. 11: 2–3; 27: 3–4.

²⁵ Jovanović 2007, 35, sl. 34: E, 54, kat. br. 32.

²⁶ Dosad su pronađene samo dvije staklene narukvice koje ne pokazuju tragove spaljivanja: iz groba LT 70 narukvica serije 25: Dizdar 2009, 52, sl. 1. U grobu LT 86 pronađena je narukvica serije 27: Dizdar 2012, 49, sl. 5.

ima uvijeno tijelo koje je u tom dijelu pravokutnog presjeka. U donjem dijelu tijela igla je kvadratnog presjeka. Željezne šivaće igle iznimno se rijetko pojavljuju u ženskim grobovima latenske kulture na jugoistočnoalpskom prostoru, ali i u Karpatskoj kotlini. Tako s Kapitelske njive iz ženskog groba 196 potječe savijena željezna šivaća igla duljine 10,8 cm sa šiljastim vrhom ispod kojega je izdužena ušica, dok je tijelo okruglog presjeka (sl. 5: 4).³⁰ Dvije željezne šivaće igle poznate su još iz Mokronoga.³¹

Izniman je nalaz željezne igle duljine 8,6 cm s uvijenim tijelom i zoomorfnom glavicom u grobu LT 91 (t. 2: 10). Izravna je usporedba poznata s Kapitelske njive u Novom mestu gdje je u grobu 436, s pravokutnom grobnom rakom, također pronađena igla s glavicom oblikovanom u obliku glavice konja duljine 8,9 cm (sl. 6: 1). Na glavici se jasno prepoznaju njuškica te plastično istaknute oči i uši, dok je na vratu prikazana griva. Glavica, iako znatno manja, u detaljima nalikuje kopčama srednjolatskih brončanih člankovitih pojasa. U istom grobu pronađena je još jedna željezna igla s uvijenim tijelom i okruglom glavicom. U grobu su pronađena i dva lonca – jedan izrađen na lončarskom kolu, drugi modeliran rukom, zatim željezni pojas, dvije narukvice, željezna i brončana, te vjerojatno još jedna narukvica, ulomci spaljene staklene narukvice kao i srebrni sedlasto oblikovani prsten. Grob je datiran u 3. st. pr. Kr., odnosno u LT C1.³²

Slične željezne i brončane igle sa zoomorfnom ili povijenom glavicom, s iznimkom nekih podjednako dugih ili čak duljih primjeraka, no ipak najčešće manjih dimenzija, zabilježene su na srednjoeuropskim nalazištima latenske kulture gdje su datirane u LT C2–LT D1.³³ Tako s oppiduma Staré Hradiško, iz zemunice 1/36 datirane u LT D1, potječe željezna igla duljine oko 8 cm s glavicom konja te blago uvijenim donjim dijelom tijela, dok je gornji dio kvadratnog presjeka (sl. 6: 3).³⁴ S oppiduma Szentvid pri Velemu poznat je veći broj brončanih igli sa zoomorfnom ili povijenom glavicom duljine 7 do 10 cm, od kojih veći dio ima uvijeno tijelo.³⁵

tijelom. Također, nalazi metalnih predmeta iz svih do sada pronađenih grobova nisu konzervirani, pa bi broj igli mogao biti i veći.

³⁰ Križ 2001, 99, kat. br. 151; -2005, 82–83, t. 57: 4.

³¹ Gabrovec 1966, t. 10: 5–6.

³² Križ 1999: 16, sl. 1–2; -2001: 59, 119, kat. br. 280.

U grobu nije pronađen pršljen.

³³ Čižmář 2010, 383–384, sl. 1A,B.

³⁴ Čižmář 2010, 383, sl. 1B: 1.

³⁵ Miske 1908, t. 54: 6–9; 55: 10–12; Rausch 1995, 169; Gostenčnik 2001, 574.

S oppiduma Oberleiserberg potječe ulomak gornjeg dijela igle duljine 4 cm sa sačuvanom glavicom konja.³⁶ Na naselju Purgstall an der Erlauf, datiranom u LT C2–LT D1, pronađena je željezna igla s glavicom konja s plastično naznačenom njuškicom i očima te grivom (sl. 6: 2). Iгла je okruglog presjeka i duljine 7,9 cm te je pri vrhu blago uvijenog tijela.³⁷ S naselja Mušov iz kasnolatske zemunice potječe željezna igla sa zoomorfnom glavicom i uvijenim središnjim tijelom tijela te kvadratnog presjeka u gornjem dijelu.³⁸

Ipak, u većem se broju pojavljuju brončane i željezne igle s povijenom glavicom. Brončane igle s povijenom glavicom i uvijenim tijelom tako su poznate s kasnolatskog naselja Vinkovci-Blato (sl. 7: 2,3).³⁹ Dvije brončane igle uvijenog tijela, duljine 10,2 i 8,2 cm, pronađene su na obali Dunava kod Zemuna (sl. 7: 4,5). Dulja igla, čini se ispod zoomorfnog oblikovane glavice, ima ukras izveden u obliku nekoliko poprečnih žljebova, dok manja igla ima povijenu glavicu.⁴⁰ Na oppidumu u Bratislavi pronađena je brončana igla duljine 6,2 cm s uvijenim tijelom u središnjem dijelu te povijenom glavicom (sl. 7: 1). Iгла potječe iz jame 3a/85 u kojoj je pronađena s fibulom srednjolatske sheme iz LT D1.⁴¹ S kasnolatskog utvrđenog naselja Bükkszentlászló-Nagysánc kod Miskolca potječe igla s povijenom glavicom te uvijenim tijelom samo u gornjoj polovici koja je kvadratnog presjeka, dok je u donjem dijelu okruglog presjeka. Iгла je duljine 7,3 cm.⁴² S kasnolatskog naselja Mistřín u Moravskoj poznata je željezna igla s uvijenim tijelom i povijenom glavicom duljine 10,2 cm.⁴³ Igle duljine 5–6 cm poznate su i s utvrđenih naselja Púchov kulture u istočnoj Slovačkoj. S kasnolatskog naselja Udiča-Klapy potječu dvije željezne igle, dok su na naselju Podtureň-Bašta u kasnolatskom objektu 1/75 također pronađene dvije igle s uvijenim gornjim dijelom tijela.⁴⁴ Brončane igle s uvijenim tijelom i

³⁶ Kern 1987, t. 47: 2.

³⁷ Rausch 1995, 158, 168–169, sl. 3, t. 1: 1.

³⁸ Čižmář 2010, 383, sl. 1B: 2.

³⁹ Dizdar 2016c, 39, sl. 11: 6–7.

⁴⁰ Todorović 1971, 69, t. 37: 7–8. S obzirom da se radi o slučajnim nalazima, igle nije moguće precizno datirati, no budući da jedna igla ima vrlo stiliziranu zoomorfnu glavicu, a i većih su dimenzija, moguće je kako su igle iz srednjeg latena.

⁴¹ Zachar, Rexa 1988, 45, sl. 14: 3.

⁴² Hellebrandt 1992, 40, 44, sl. 6: 13.

⁴³ Meduna 1980, 181, t. 80: 11; Čižmář 2010, 383.

⁴⁴ Pieta 1982, 82, t. 48: 12–13; -2006, 134, sl. 2: 19–20; Čižmář 2010, 383.

povijenom glavicom duljine 6,8 i 5,7 cm pronađene su i na istaknutom te dugotrajnom naselju Poiana,⁴⁵ dok je jedna glatkog tijela i povijene glavice duljine 8,3 cm.⁴⁶ Zanimljivo, na groblju Dolinjany, koje pripada prostoru Poienești-Lukaševka kulture, u ženskom grobu 31 pronađena je željezna igla s povijenom glavicom i uvijenim tijelom samo na središnjem dijelu (sl. 8: d). Iгла je duljine 6,6 cm, a grob je iz kasnog latena.⁴⁷

S Magdalensberga je poznat veliki broj brončanih igli, samo manjih dimenzija (najčešće duljine 2,8–3,8 cm), s povijenom, rijetko zoomorfnom glavicom. Tijelo može biti glatko ili je blago do jako uvijeno, ponekad samo dio, a ponekad u cijelosti.⁴⁸ Igle se povezuju s izradom niti za tkanje, odnosno to su kukice vretena (*Spindelhaken*).⁴⁹ O pojavi malih brončanih igli s uvijenim tijelom i povijenom glavicom tijekom antike⁵⁰ svjedoči nalaz iz groba 21 na groblju Beletov vrt u Novom mestu (sl. 9: 1) koji je datiran novcem cara Hadrijana.⁵¹ Isto tako, na Gomolavi je pronađena brončana igla s uvijenim tijelom i povijenom glavicom koja je definirana kao svrdlo. Iгла je duljine 6,0 cm te je u gornjem dijelu kvadratnog presjeka, dok je na kraju savijena.⁵²

Za brončane i željezne igle povijene glavice K. Pieta je pretpostavio kako su vjerojatno služile u izradi mreža, ali su se mogle koristiti i u predenju, odnosno za izradu niti te su datirane u kasni latena, da bi češće postale u antici.⁵³ Najstariji nalaz željeznih igli sa zoomorfnom glavicom zasad predstavlja nalaz s Kapiteljske njive, pri čemu se smatra kako njihova funkcija još uvijek nije sasvim jasna.⁵⁴ S druge strane, analiza nalaza s Magdalensberga, koju je detaljno provela K. Gostenčnik, pokazuje kako

se na tom nalazištu vjerojatno radilo o kukicama vretena, pri čemu su izdvojena dva osnovna tipa – s tuljcem (grčki tip) i s trnom koji prevladava.⁵⁵

Nalazi željeznih zoomorfnih igli s uvijenim tijelom i zoomorfnom glavicom s Kapiteljske njive i Zvonimirova, s obzirom na analizu mlađih i nešto drugačijih oblika s Magdalensberga, možda se mogu povezati s predenjem, odnosno kako su to bile kukice vretena koje je bilo izrađeno od organskog materijala. Ipak, potrebno je istaknuti kako su spomenuti nalazi iz srednjeg latena veće duljine, dok se u kasnom latenu pojavljuju i brončani primjerci koji su nešto kraći te je glavica obično povijena. Nalazi igli s uvijenim tijelom poznati su, dakle, od jugoistočnoalpskog prostora, preko srednje Europe sve do Baltika. Zanimljivo, njihova se pojava pokušavala povezati s utjecajima s juga, odnosno istočnog Mediterana,⁵⁶ iako otkriće nalaza u mlađeželjeznodobnim kontekstima ukazuje i na nešto drugačiju mogućnost nastanka ovog karakterističnog oblika koji je također u većem broju zabilježen na nalazištima uz Baltik već od kasnog latena.⁵⁷ Možda upravo nalaz iz groba LT 91 iz Zvonimirova, u kojem je željezna zoomorfna igla pronađena s pršljenom, ukazuje na raniju pojavu kukica vretena. Zanimljivo, za sada poznati nalazi pokazuju kako se takve željezne igle (kukice vretena?) uvijek prvo pojavljuju u ženskim srednjolatskim grobovima, da bi kasnije bile poznate i na kasnolatskim naseljima te se zadržavaju tijekom antike. Zajedno s pršljenima i šivaćim iglama, kukice vretena također su mogle predstavljati simbol ženskoga identiteta, odnosno žene kao voditeljice kućanstva kojoj je važan dio u obavljanju svakodnevnih aktivnosti predstavljala izrada niti za tkanje te poslije odjeće kao i njezino održavanje, u čemu su vjerojatno služile šivaće igle poput one pronađene u grobu LT 90.

Na groblju Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje predmete za svakodnevnu upotrebu u ženskim grobovima predstavljaju i keramički pršljeni koji se povezuju s

⁴⁵ Teodor et al. 1997, 31, sl. 20: 14; 22: 16.

⁴⁶ Teodor et al. 1997, 31, sl. 21: 13.

⁴⁷ Smirnova, Megei 1995, 140, 156, sl. 5d.

⁴⁸ Deimel 1987, 50, t. 32: 6–18; Gostenčnik 2000, 9–10, sl. 2; -2001, 574–576, sl. 1; -2003, 9–10; -2009, 36–37, sl. 5; -2010, 76–77, sl. 14.7; -2011, 212–213, sl. 3: 7; -2012, 70, sl. 2.4b; -2013, 63, sl. 4.3f; -2014a, 64–66, sl. 40: 8; -2014b, 35, sl. 5.

⁴⁹ Još su poznati nalazi brončanih kukica vretena s uvijenim tijelom ili tuljcem s antičkih naselja: *Virunum*, *Flavia Solva*, *Celeia*, Srejach, Kalsdorf i dr.: Gostenčnik 2001, 572, sl. 1; -2009, 36; -2012, 70, 72, 74–77, sl. 2.4b; 2.9c; 2.10c; -2013, 68–73, sl. 4.8d; -2014a, 64.

⁵⁰ O nalazima brončanih kukica vretena i na ranocarskim grobljima u Slovačkoj: Gostenčnik 2001, 574, op. 31; -2003, 9.

⁵¹ Knez 1992, 28, t. 6: 9.

⁵² Dautova-Ruševljan, Brukner 1992, 90, 109, t. 34: 178.

⁵³ Pieta 1982, 82. Navodi se kako se takve igle pojavljuju u grobovima Przeworsko grupe zajedno s pršljenima.

⁵⁴ Čizmář 2010, 383–384.

⁵⁵ Gostenčnik 2000, 9; -2001, 571–572, 575, sl. 2; -2003, 9–10; -2009, 36–37, sl. 5–6; -2010, 76–77, sl. 14.7; -2011, 212–213; -2012, 70; -2013, 63; -2014a, 64–66, sl. 40: 6–7; -2014b, 35, sl. 5; Grömer 2010, 17–18, sl. 4.

⁵⁶ O istočnosredozemnom porijeklu vretena s kukicom: Grömer 2010, 17–19.

⁵⁷ Gostenčnik 2000, 9; -2001, 576; -2003, 9–10; -2009, 36; -2010, 77; -2011, 212–213; -2012, 78; -2013, 63, 65; -2014a, 64, 66; -2014b, 35. Svakako je potrebno istaknuti kako je K. Gostenčnik za gore spomenutu skupinu starijih nalaza iz srednjeg i kasnog latena pretpostavila kako su takvi predmeti vjerojatno imali neku drugu funkciju u odnosu na znatno manje kukice vretena s Magdalensberga.

izradom niti za tkanje.⁵⁸ U grobovima se pojavljuje prilog po jednog pršljena, iznimno su u grobu LT 108 pronađena čak tri pršljena.⁵⁹ Izdvojena su dva osnovna oblika pršljena – zaobljenog (npr. grob LT 5) i bikoničnog oblika kakav je pronađen u grobu LT 91 (*t.* 2: 11). Pršljen je težine 37 g i smeđe do svijetlosive boje. I pršljen slične boje iz groba LT 90, težine 38 g,⁶⁰ ima bikoničan oblik, jedino je jedna polovica viša od druge (*t.* 1: 6). Pršljeni ponekad mogu biti i ukrašeni s urezanim linijama te motivima koncentričnih kružnica, što svjedoči kako im nije pridavana neka posebna pažnja kao što je to bio slučaj tijekom starijeg željeznog doba.⁶¹

Usporedbe za priloge keramičkih pršljena na groblju u Zvonimirovu mogu se pronaći na grobljima na jugoistočnoalpskom prostoru kao i diljem Karpatske kotline gdje se smatraju jednim od karakterističnih priloga u grobovima žena. Pršljeni se, kao i u Zvonimirovu, pronalaze kako u grobovima bogatije opremljenih pokojnica, tako i u onima koji bi pripadali najširem sloju stanovništva.

Na grobljima mokronoške skupine keramički pršljeni također predstavljaju karakterističan prilog u grobovima žena, pri čemu je zanimljivo kako nedostaju na groblju Slatina v Rožni dolini. Na groblju u Brežicama zabilježeni su u nekoliko grobova, u bogatom grobu 56 iz LT C1 pronađena su dva⁶² istih oblika kao u Zvonimirovu. Pršljen je pronađen i u dvojnog grobu iz Spodnje Slivnice.⁶³ Na Kapiteljskoj njivi, Kandiji i Beletovom vrtu, iz svih faza razvoja mokronoške skupine, u ženskim su grobovima s većim, ali i manjim brojem ostalih

nalaza, pronađeni brojni keramički pršljeni koji su zaobljenog, bikoničnog ili koničnoga oblika.⁶⁴ U pojedinim su grobovima zabilježena i po dva pršljena koji su najčešće bili neukrašeni, no na pršljenu iz groba 135 s Kapiteljske njive nalazio se urezivanjem izveden motiv meandra.⁶⁵ Otkriće većeg broja ženskih grobova s prilogima keramičkih pršljena na grobljima u Novom mestu vjerojatno predstavlja tradiciju iz starijeg željeznog doba u Dolenjskoj koja se nastavlja do u ranu antiku na što ukazuje i sličnost oblika pršljena, što ne iznenađuju, budući da se radi o utilitarnom obliku kojemu je primarna bila svrsishodnost, o čemu svjedoči i spoznaja kako su rijetko bili ukrašeni.⁶⁶

Na grobljima Skordiska keramički su pršljeni zabilježeni tek iznimno. Tako je na groblju Osijek-Zeleno polje u kosturnom grobu 26, datiranom u LT C1, pronađen pršljen bikoničnog oblika tamnosive boje koji je na tri mjesta ukrašen s motivima koncentričnih kružnica.⁶⁷ Na groblju na Karaburmi prilozi pršljena u ženskim su grobovima gotovo nepoznati. Samo je u kasnolatskom grobu 19 pronađen pršljen bikoničnog oblika, a nalazio se u zdjeli S-profilacije, zajedno s brončanom narukvicom.⁶⁸

Pršljen zaobljenog oblika zabilježen je i u bogato opremljenom ženskom grobu iz Vezenya iz LT C1.⁶⁹ U kosturnom grobu 9 na groblju Magyarszerdahely-Homoki dűlő, u kojem je pokopano dijete, pronađen je ulomak bikoničnog pršljena. Bikonični pršljen, koji je s jedne strane ukrašen V-urezima, pronađen je i u oštećenom paljevinskom grobu 1 iz LT B2 na groblju Zalaszentgrót-Aranyod.⁷⁰ S druge strane, na groblju Ludas-Varjú-dűlő u paljevinskom grobu 669B bogato opremljene odrasle žene datiranom u LT C1, pronađen je pršljen ovalnog oblika koji je ukrašen s uskim kanelurama na obje polovice, dok je središnji dio između po jednog vodoravnog žljeba neukrašen.⁷¹ U paljevinskom grobu 1051 na istom groblju, u kojem je pokopano dijete starosti

⁵⁸ Dizdar 2013a, 363. Radi se o najčešćem nalazu koji se povezuje s izradom niti za tkanje na nalazištima iz mlađeg željeznog doba u Karpatskoj kotlini, bez obzira radi li se o grobljima ili naseljima.

⁵⁹ Dizdar 2016d, 83. Od 117 otkrivenih grobova, od kojih polovica pripada pokopima žena, keramički pršljeni pronađeni su u šest grobova.

⁶⁰ Osnovna funkcionalna karakteristika pršljena je težina (Rahmstorf 2015, 5). O povezanosti težine pršljena i debljine niti, kao i oblika pršljena vidjeti: Grömer 2004, 179–180; -2005, 109–111, sl. 6–7; -2012, 41, 51; -2016, 85–88, sl. 41; Belanová-Štolcová, Grömer 2010, 13; Andersson Strand et al. 2010, 163, sl. 4; Belanová-Štolcová 2012, 311; Bender Jørgensen, Grömer 2013, 99, sl. 5; Rahmstorf 2015, 5. S druge strane, na ovisnost debljine niti i o vještini osobe koja prede vidjeti: Kania 2010, 18; -2015, 120, 129.

⁶¹ Belanová-Štolcová, Grömer 2010, 13, sl. 3.4. Za keramičke pršljene iz starijeg željeznog doba, posebno kako su bogato ukrašeni, na području zapadne Panonije vidjeti: Preložnik 2014.

⁶² Jovanović 2007, 32, sl. 26, 53, kat. br. 27; -2011, 62.

⁶³ Šribar 1957, 144, t. 3: 4.

⁶⁴ Knez 1992; Križ 2001, 63; -2005, 17.

⁶⁵ Križ 2001, 63; -2005, 17, 57, t. 21: 7. Pršljeni su mogli biti ukrašeni urezanim linijama i otisnutim kružićima. Dva su keramička pršljena pronađena npr. u grobovima 228, 402 i 581s Kapiteljske njive (Križ 2001, 103, kat. br. 174–175; 117, kat. br. 264–265; 138, kat. br. 383–384).

⁶⁶ Grömer 2010, 17.

⁶⁷ Spajić 1962, 37–39; Božić 1981, 318, sl. 3.

⁶⁸ Todorović 1972, 16, t. 7: 3.

⁶⁹ Stanczik, Vaday 1971, 12, sl. 1: 5.

⁷⁰ Groblje Magyarszerdahely-Homoki dűlő: Horváth 1987, 87–88, t. 10: 13; groblje Zalaszentgrót-Aranyod: Horváth 1987, 131–132, t. 38: 14.

⁷¹ Szabó, Tankó 2012, 24–25, t. 8: 10.

oko 1 godine, vjerojatno žensko, pronađen je pršljen bikoničnog oblika koji je ukrašen sa širokim okomitim kanelurama postavljenim na najširem dijelu. S jedne se strane na jednom mjestu nalaze tri V-ureza smještena jedan u drugi, dok su s druge strane jedna dulja i jedna kraća valovita linija. Grob je bogato opremljen s keramičkim posudama, obručastim nakitom te fibulama, a datiran je u LT B2.⁷² Keramički pršljeni pronađeni su u još nekoliko grobova iz LT B2–LT C1 u istočnoj Mađarskoj.⁷³ Na grobljima u Slovačkoj keramički pršljeni u kosturnim i paljevinskim grobovima žena, datiranim u LT B2–LT C1, također nisu brojni.⁷⁴ Niti na groblju Mannersdorf nije pronađen veći broj grobova žena s prilogom pršljena, odnosno poznata su svega tri groba, od kojih se kod jednog radilo o bogato opremljenom pokopu (grob 212) ženske osobe stare 19–25 godina iz LT B2.⁷⁵

POPUDBINA

U grobovima LT 90 i LT 91 popudbini pripadaju nalazi keramičkih posuda i životinjskih kostiju. Na groblju Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje u grobovima žena od keramičkih se posuda pronalaze lonci, zdjele i kantharosi koji su najčešće izrađeni na lončarskom kolu. Iznimno se pronalaze zdjele i kantharosi koji su modelirani rukom.

U grobu LT 90 nalazio se keramički servis sastavljen od lonca i zdjele, što je i najčešća kombinacija u ženskim grobovima u Zvonimirovu, dok je u grobu LT 91 pronađen samo lonac. Oba su lonca izrađena na lončarskom kolu te su različitih oblika. Lonac iz groba LT 90 (*t. 1: 7*) ima bikonično tijelo, izvučeni zadebljani rub te istaknuto dno. Na gornjem dijelu ramena nalaze se dva vodoravna žlijeba. Vanjska površina je sivosmeđe boje i glatke obrade, dok je unutarnja sive boje i glatke obrade. U grobu LT 91 nalazio se lonac bikoničnog tijela (*t. 2: 12*), izvučenog ruba i istaknutog dna. Na donjem dijelu ramena nalazi se vodoravan žlijeb, dok su

na prijelazu vrata u rame dva vodoravna plastična rebra, donje šire te gornje uže. Vanjska površina je tamnosive boje i djelomično uglačane površine, dok je unutarnja površina tamnosive boje i glatke obrade. Još je među spaljenim kostima pokojnice u grobu LT 90 pronađen ulomak zadebljanog ruba lonca oker do svjetlosmeđe boje koji je modeliran rukom (*t. 1: 9*).

Načinom izrade izdvaja se zdjela iz groba LT 90 koja je modelirana rukom (*t. 1: 8*). Zdjela ima zaobljeno tijelo, blago uvučeni rub i blago istaknuto dno. Vanjska površina je tamnosmeđe boje i grube obrade, dok je unutarnja crvenkasto-tamnosmeđe boje i grube obrade. Usporedbe za opisanu zdjelu već su zabilježene u Zvonimirovu u grobu LT 11.⁷⁶ Inače, na groblju se prepoznaju dvije varijante zdjela modeliranih rukom – zdjele s ravnim i zdjele s uvučenim rubom. Najbrojnije su usporedbe za opisani oblik zdjela modeliranih rukom poznate s groblja na Kapiteljskoj njivi gdje su pronađene slične manje zdjele jednostavnog koničnog ili zaobljenog oblika, s ravnim ili blago uvučenim rubom. Zdjele, poput ostalih keramičkih oblika s groblja koji su izrađeni rukom, smatraju se dokazom kontinuiteta tradicija autohtonog halštatskog lončarstva,⁷⁷ što bi vrijedilo i za nalaze s groblja u Zvonimirovu koji su izrađeni na ovaj način, a u koje se mogu uvrstiti i kantharosi. Radi se o tradiciji autohtonog panonskog lončarstva, pri čemu se primjećuje kako se rukom izrađene zdjele zaobljenog tijela isključivo nalaze s posudama koje su izrađene na lončarskom kolu, pa se može raditi i o određenim uporabnim razlozima produkcije opisanih posuda.

Oba pronađena lonca usporedbe imaju na samom groblju u Zvonimirovu, gdje se u grobovima najčešće nalazi prilog po jednog lonca. S obzirom na rezultate dosadašnjih istraživanja, lonci se, s obzirom na oblik, mogu podijeliti na tri osnovna tipa – lonci S-profiliranog, bikoničnog i zaobljenog tijela – koji se potom još mogu, na osnovi obrisa te načina oblikovanja ruba i dna, podijeliti na više inačica. Lonac iz groba LT 91 sličan je onima iz grobova LT 4, LT 9 i dr. koji najveću širinu tijela imaju u donjoj polovici ili na sredini, dok se na ramenu često nalaze vodoravni žljebovi te ponekad ispod ruba vodoravno rebro ili žlijeb.⁷⁸ S druge strane, niži lonac iz groba LT 90 pokazuje određene oblikovne sličnosti s loncima s koničnim vratom i dubljim vodoravnim žljebom na prijelazu vrata u

⁷² Szabó, Tankó 2012, 65–67, t. 38: 19.

⁷³ Groblje Kistokaj-Kütelkek: Hellebrandt 1999, 205, 211, t. 74: 13; groblje Muhi-Kocsmadomb: ib., 233, t. 81: 6; 84: 6–7, 11; groblje Radostyán: ib., 241, t. 87: 5.

⁷⁴ Groblje Horný Jatov-Trnovec nad Váhom: Benadík, Vlček, Ambros 1957, 30–31, t. 9: 2; groblje Hurbanovo-Bacherov majer: ib., 65, t. 23: 11; groblje Dvory nad Žitavou: ib., 83, t. 29: 11; groblje Kamenín: ib., 110, t. 41: 13; groblje Maňa: Benadík 1983, 60, t. 52: 10; groblje Male Kosihy: Bujna 1995, 96–97, t. 49B: 3.

⁷⁵ Ramsl 2011, 63, 95, 147, t. 103: 1; t. 202: 3.

⁷⁶ Dizdar 2013a, 351, sl. 142, t. 19: 1.

⁷⁷ Križ 2001, 65; -2005, 18.

⁷⁸ Dizdar 2013a, 274, t. 10; 16: 2.

rame poput onog iz groba LT 6.⁷⁹ Radi se, dakle, o karakterističnim srednjolatskim keramičkim oblicima koji su već poznati s groblja u Zvonimirovu.

Popudbini u grobu LT 91 još pripadaju nalazi životinjskih kostiju od kojih se prepoznaju kosti desne stražnje noge mlade svinje te kosti kokoši, dok su među spaljenim ljudskim kostima u grobu LT 90 pronađene i kosti svinje,⁸⁰ što odgovara dosadašnjim spoznajama.⁸¹

ZAKLJUČAK

U dosadašnjim istraživanjima naselja i groblja latenske kulture u južnom dijelu Karpatske kotline nalazi tkanina zasad nisu poznati kao što je to slučaj s istovremenim nalazištima u srednjoj Europi, a posebno na alpskom prostoru.⁸² Ipak, o ovom iznimno važnom dijelu ekonomske slike zajednica mlađeg željeznog doba,⁸³ svjedoče rezultati istraživanja groblja u Zvonimirovu kao i drugih na jugoistočnoalpskom prostoru gdje su ostaci tkanina ponekad sačuvani na metalnim predmetima, prije svega na onima izrađenim od željeza.⁸⁴ Radi se o manjim mineraliziranim ostacima tkanina za koje sa sigurnošću nije moguće utvrditi predstavljaju li dijelove odjeće spaljenog pokojnika⁸⁵ ili se radi o ostacima tkanine u koju su spaljeni ostaci pokojnika

bili zamotani te potom položeni na dno grobnih raka. Slično je zabilježeno i u paljevinskim grobovima latenske kulture diljem Karpatske kotline, dok bi ostaci tkanina iz kosturnih grobova,⁸⁶ prije svega na predmetima nošnje,⁸⁷ možda prije ukazivali kako se radi o dijelovima odjeće u kojoj su pokojnici bili pokopani. Ipak, bez obzira radi li se o nalazima iz kosturnih ili paljevinskih grobova latenske kulture, sačuvani ostaci mogu posvjedočiti od kojeg su materijala tkanine bile izrađene⁸⁸ kao i o načinima njihove izrade, odnosno moguće je utvrditi koje su se tehnike pređenja i tkanja koristile.⁸⁹ S druge strane, na to ukazuju i nalazi samih predmeta koji se povezuju sa spomenutim procesima.

Pored poznavanja dosegnutih tehnoloških znanja (*know-how*), svakako jedno od važnih pitanja odnosi se na prepoznavanje onih pripadnika zajednica mlađeg željeznog doba koji su bili uključeni u procese izrade tkanina i odjeće.⁹⁰ O tome svjedoče,

⁸⁶ Ostaci tkanina tako su često dokumentirani na naoružanju, posebno na koricama mačeva, što ukazuje kako su one bile zamotane u grublji materijal, vjerojatno radi njihovog očuvanja (Grömer 2012, 49, sl. 1.18; -2015, 20, sl. 1.5; -2016, 297–298, sl. 158; -2017, 89–90; Belanová-Štolcová 2012, 318–320).

⁸⁷ Belanová-Štolcová 2012, 318–320; Grömer 2015, 18. Isto tako, ostaci tkanina pronađeni su i unutar predmeta obručastog nakita izrađenog od bronce koji se nalazi u rano- i srednjolatskim ženskim grobovima, vjerojatno rado očuvanja predmeta tijekom izrade i nošenja (Müllauer, Ramsl 2007; Grömer 2012, 42, 46, 51, sl. 1.14; -2016, 311–312, 404, sl. 167; -2017, 83–84, sl. 9; Belanová-Štolcová 2012, 306, 319–322, sl. 15.11–12).

⁸⁸ Analize tekstilnih ostataka iz razdoblja mlađeg željeznog doba pokazale su kako su se za izradu češće koristili biljni materijali (lan), iako su zabilježene i tkanine izrađene od vune. Ipak, svakako je potrebno istaknuti kako postoje određena odstupanja u učestalosti korištenja biljnih materijala i vune prema pojedinim područjima (Belanová-Štolcová, Grömer 2010, 10–11; Grömer 2010, 15; -2012, 58; -2016, 46; Belanová-Štolcová 2012, 314, 319–320, 327). S druge strane, vuna kao osnovna sirovina na naselju Kale-Krševica (Popović, Vranić 2006, 315). Tijekom rimskoga razdoblja tradicionalna odjeća u Panoniji također je uglavnom bila od lana i vune (Madarassy, Oka, Szu 2002, 12).

⁸⁹ Grömer 2004; -2005; -2010, 15–17; -2012, 27, 42, 48; -2013, 31; Belanová-Štolcová, Grömer 2010; Andersson Strand et al. 2010, 161; Belanová-Štolcová 2012, 306; Bender Jørgensen 2012; Bender Jørgensen, Grömer 2013, 93; Kania 2010; -2014; -2015. O postupku pređenja: Madarassy, Oka, Szu 2002, 12; Grömer 2004, 176–180, sl. 9–11; -2005; -2016, 78–81; Belanová-Štolcová, Grömer 2010, 15; Bender Jørgensen 2012, 129.

⁹⁰ S druge strane postavljena su i druga brojna pitanja koja se odnose na značenje tekstila u zajednicama vidjeti: Andersson Strand et al. 2010, 150.

⁷⁹ Dizdar 2013a, 281, sl. 99, t. 14: 1.

⁸⁰ U loncu u grobu LT 91 pronađene su kosti miša, vjerojatno kao naknadna intruzija, što je već zabilježeno na groblju u Zvonimirovu (Radović 2013, 538).

⁸¹ Radović 2013, 538–543.

⁸² Belanová-Štolcová, Grömer 2010, 10, 18; Grömer 2010, 15; -2012, 27, 42; -2016, 22; Bender Jørgensen, Grömer 2013, 99.

⁸³ Proizvodnja tekstila jedan je od najstarijih specijaliziranih obrta koji uključuje i amatere i profesionalce. Svjedočanstva o tome, otkrivena kroz arheološke nalaze, likovna djela te povijesne i etnografske izvore, ukazuju kako su u mnogim društvima pređenje i tkanje prvenstveno prakticirale žene (Díaz-Andreu 2005, 33; Gleba, 2009, 69; Bender Jørgensen 2012, 129; Costin 2013, 183; Larsson Lovén 2013, 110; Grömer 2013, 43; -2016, 262–265). Ipak, ne treba zanemariti niti uključenost muškaraca kao niti drugih članova obitelji i zajednice, posebno u fazama pripreme potrebnih sirovina (Bender Jørgensen 2012, 129; Costin 2013, 188).

⁸⁴ Dizdar 2013a, 33, sl. 7. Za groblje Dobova s ostacima tkanine na pinceti iz groba 5 i britvi iz groba 19: Jovanović 2007, 32, sl. 24–25.

⁸⁵ Svakako je zanimljivo pitanje jesu li za polaganje spaljenih ostataka pokojnika u Zvonimirovu bile izrađivane tkanine ili se radilo o uporabi već korištenih (see: Grömer 2015, 17, sl. 1.3; -2016, 300; -2017, 78, 89; Belanová-Štolcová 2012, 314, 320).

prije svega, nalazi različitih predmeta u grobovima koji su vezani uz spomenute procese koji prikazuju pojedine korake u produkciji (*chaîne opératoire*).⁹¹ S druge strane, nalazi radionica tijekom mlađeg željeznog doba zasad predstavljaju izuzetak, što možda svjedoči o korištenju drugačije tehnike tkanja ili je to prije rezultat stanja istraživanja,⁹² a što bi potvrđivao i nedavni nalaz utega za tkalački stan u pravokutnoj jami sa srednjolatskog naselja Virje-Sušine kod Koprivnice za koje se pretpostavlja kako pripadaju ostacima tkalačkog stana.⁹³ Ipak, najbrojnije dokaze o izradi tkanina za sada predstavljaju nalazi keramičkih pršljena različitih oblika koji su zabilježeni gotovo na svakom istraživanom naselju latenske kulture u južnom dijelu Karpatske kotline. Međutim, nalazi s naselja ne mogu odgovoriti na pitanje tko su bili članovi zajednica koji su aktivno sudjelovali u procesima izrade tkanina, a potom i odjeće. O tome nam, barem dijelom, mogu posvjedočiti nalazi koji su pronađeni u grobovima, pa tako i na groblju u Zvonimirovu, gdje najbrojniji prilog predstavljaju keramički pršljeni različitih oblika, iako su zabilježeni još neki tipovi nalaza koji se mogu povezati s izradom niti za tkanje te odjeće. Isto tako, polaganje takvih predmeta u grobove na simboličkoj razini može pokazivati kako se radi o osobnim predmetima, no nije posve isključeno kako postoje i neka ritualna ili religiozna objašnjenja.⁹⁴

Na groblju Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje nalazi koji se mogu povezati s izradom niti za tkanje i odjeće zasad su isključivo pronađeni u grobovima žena o čemu, pored analize ostalih nalaza u grobovima, svjedoče i rezultati antropološke analize. Slično je dokumentirano i na ostalim grobljima latenske kulture na prostoru Karpatske kotline i jugoistočnoalpskom

području gdje se, uz rijetke iznimke,⁹⁵ takvi predmeti nalaze u grobovima žena i to najčešće odrasle dobi.⁹⁶ Rijetko se pršljeni pojavljuju u grobovima djece poput groba 1051 na groblju Ludas-Varjú-dűlő za kojeg se, na osnovi ostalih nalaza, pretpostavlja kako predstavlja pokop ženske osobe.⁹⁷

Žene, koje su aktivno bile uključene u procese izrade tkanina i odjeće, vjerojatno su za to morale izdvojiti znatan dio svog vremena, odnosno proizvodnja tekstila s takvim multifunkcionalnim potencijalom zahtijevala je i veliku količinu vremena.⁹⁸ Osnovno objašnjenje za koncept tekstilne proizvodnje kao uglavnom ženskoga posla pronalazi se u tome kako se radi o lako prekinutim poslovima pređenja i tkanja koji žene mogu obaviti kod kuće, gdje i dalje istodobno mogu podizati djecu.⁹⁹ Iako se za razdoblje mlađeg željeznog doba pretpostavlja postojanje radionica u kojima se takva produkcija odvijala ne samo za vlastite potrebe, a na što ukazuju standardizacija tkanina kao i predmeta koji su se koristili,¹⁰⁰ na manjim naseljima, kakvo je bilo ono u Zvonimirovu, proizvodnja tkanina mogla se odvijati u svakom domaćinstvu. Na takvu spoznaju

⁹⁵ Nalazi keramičkih pršljena dokumentirani su i u nekim muškim grobovima, npr. u paljevinskom grobu 477 s naoružanjem na groblju Malé Kosihy (Bujna 1995, 97, t. 49B: 3) te kosturnom grobu 565 na groblju Pottenbrunn. Pršljen je pronađen uz lijevo stopalo muškarca starog 55–65, odnosno 65–70 godina (Ramsl 2002, 48–49, 90, 145, sl. 44; t. 67: 13; Grömer 2016, 273). Spomenimo još paljevinski ratnički grob 162 s groblja Novo mesto – Kapiteljska njiva u kojem je također pronađen pršljen, no on se nalazio malo dalje od ostalih nalaza te je položen uz rub grobne rake (Križ 2005, 63, 69, t. 40: 3). Pitanje je radi li se o grobovima muškaraca koji su također sudjelovali u procesu izrade tkanina ili se nalazi pršljena mogu smatrati darom nekoga od ožalošćenih članova zajednice.

⁹⁶ Pod pojmom odrasle žene misli se na osobe koje su mogle stupiti u bračnu zajednicu, što je vjerojatno bilo moguće nakon 12–13 godine (Dizdar 2013a, 41), čime se ističe razlika između biološke i sociološke dobi.

⁹⁷ Szabó, Tankó 2012, 65–67, t. 38: 19. O početku učenja tehnike pređenja i tkanja još tijekom djetinstva, na osnovi etnoloških analiza, vidjeti: Bender Jørgensen 2012, 129–130; Lipkin 2013, 25, što se vjerojatno prenosilo s majke na kćer (Costin 2013, 195).

⁹⁸ Bender Jørgensen 2012, 129; Costin 2013, 181, 183, 189; Grömer 2016, 275. O sekundarnim funkcijama tkanine: Rahmstorf 2015, 1.

⁹⁹ Larsson Lovén 1998, 85–86; -2013, 111; Grömer 2004, 177–178, sl. 11: 4; -2013, 53; Gleba 2009, 76; Kania 2010, 15; Bender Jørgensen 2012, 129; Costin 2013, 181, 190, 194; Lipkin 2013, 26–27; Rahmstorf 2015, 15.

¹⁰⁰ Kurzynski 1996, 36; Belanová-Štolcová, Grömer 2010, 13–15, 18; Grömer 2010, 17, 19; -2012, 44, 47, 58, 60–61; -2013, 38; -2014, 9; -2016, 247–248, 258, 260, sl. 141.

⁹¹ Keramičkih pršljen te igla sa zoomorfnom glavicom (kukica vretena?) iz groba LT 91 prikazuju proces pređenja, dok bi se nalaz šivaće igle odnosio na završni proces izrade i popravaka odjeće. Ostali dijelovi procesa izrade tkanina zasad nisu prikazani kroz prilaganje karakterističnih nalaza u grobove u Zvonimirovu, ali niti na drugim latenskim grobljima. Dio njih zasigurno je bio izrađen od organskih materijala, prije svega drveta, zbog čega niti nisu sačuvani (Grömer 2004, 170; -2013, 31; -2016, 81). Za izdvojene faze procesa vidjeti: Belanová-Štolcová, Grömer 2010, 9–10, sl. 3.1; Grömer 2013, 34–35, sl. 3.4; -2014, 1, sl. 1; -2015, 14–15; -2016, 36–37, sl. 15; Bender Jørgensen 2012, 129.

⁹² Belanová-Štolcová, Grömer 2010, 16–17; Grömer 2010, 17; -2013, 36; -2016, 245.

⁹³ Sekelj Ivančan, Karavidović 2016.

⁹⁴ Gleba 2009, 69; -2013, 9–11; Lipkin 2013, 19; Grömer 2013, 32, 39; -2016, 270.

ukazivali bi nalazi pršljena u bogatije, ali i prosječno opremljenim grobovima. Ipak, potrebno je još za istaknuti kako na groblju u Zvonimirovu, uostalom kao i na ostalim grobljima latenske kulture, broj predmeta koji se povezuje s izradom tkanina i odjeće kao i ostalim kućanskim poslovima koje su obavljale žene i nije posebno brojan, dok bi nalazi s naselja pokazivali nešto drugačiju sliku. Znači li to možda da se obavljanje svakodnevnih poslova u domaćinstvu nije u potpunosti uvijek zrcalilo u grobnome ritualu, odnosno preostaje nam pitanje zašto su određenim pokojnicama takvi predmeti bili prilagani u grobove? Zato što su se posebno isticale svojim vještinama i marljivošću u odnosu na ostale članice zajednice?

S druge strane, u grobovima žena u Zvonimirovu kao i na drugim grobljima sačuvani su metalni i stakleni predmeti nošnje i nakita koji mogu posvjedočiti o izgledu nošnje i načinima kako su ukrašavale svoje tijelo, iako pogrebni kontekst paljevinskih grobova ne daje dovoljno podataka za stvaranje slike o keltskim ženama u životu. Ipak, znatno više podataka o izgledu nošnje može se pronaći kasnije tijekom antike, posebno na susjednom području zapadne Mađarske sa snažnom tradicijom iz mlađeg željeznog doba gdje su, osim nalaza iz grobova, sačuvani i figuralni prikazi. Naravno, moramo se osloniti na ideju kako keltske zajednice dijele više ili manje slične modne sklonosti i kako se lokalna moda nije značajno promijenila tijekom posljednjih stoljeća prije Krista.¹⁰¹

Kako je istaknuto, na groblju u Zvonimirovu, ali i na ostalim grobljima latenske kulture, najbrojnije nalaze koji ukazuju na produkciju tkanina predstavljaju keramički pršljeni, najčešće po jedan u grobu.¹⁰² Naravno da takva spoznaja ne isključuje

¹⁰¹ Na susjednom području Eraviska, na nadgrobni stelama i grobnim statuama, mogu se pronaći prikazi nošnje ljudi koji su nekad naseljavali taj prostor (Madarassy, Oka, Szu 2002, 26–31; Szu, Oka, Madarassy 2007, 6–8; Pásztókai-Szeőke 2011, 125, 129). Iako su bili proizvođači romaniziranih skulptorskih radionica, moguće je pronaći portrete ljudi za koje se može potvrditi kako su bili eravišćanski Kelti, na osnovi imena i detalja njihove odjeće (Madarassy, Oka, Szu 2002, 5; Pásztókai-Szeőke 2011, 130). Keltske žene prikazane na kamenim spomenicima često drže preslicu u svojoj lijevoj ruci i vreteno na desnoj strani (Madarassy, Oka, Szu 2002, 13; Pásztókai-Szeőke 2011, 130, sl. 4–5). Također, posebno je zanimljiva uloga predmeta za pređenje u ceremoniji vjenčanja, odnosno kao prikaz statusa udane žene (Gleba 2009, 71; Pásztókai-Szeőke 2011, 128, 132; Lipkin 2013, 20; Larsson Lovén 2013, 121).

¹⁰² Belanová-Štolcová, Grömer 2010, 11–15, sl. 3.4. Tijekom mlađeg željeznog doba kao pršljeni se često koriste

mogućnost kako su se koristili i pršljeni koji su bili izrađeni od nekih organskih materijala (kost, jantar), no kako se radi o paljevinskim grobovima, takvi nalazi nisu sačuvani. Dosadašnja istraživanja u Zvonimirovu pokazuju kako se keramički pršljeni ponekad nalaze u bogatije opremljenim grobovima kakav je npr. LT 91, što bi potvrđivao i nalaz u bogato opremljenom grobu 56 iz Brežica. Ipak, najveći broj grobova s prilogom keramičkog pršljena na groblju u Zvonimirovu ne izdvaja se u odnosu na ostale grobove, o čemu svjedoči i primjer groba LT 90. Zanimljivo, u oba su spomenuta groba u Zvonimirovu pronađeni pršljeni gotovo iste težine što ukazuje na izradu niti iste debljine.

Prilozi keramičkih pršljena nisu zabilježeni na istovremenom groblju Slatina v Rožni dolini, dok se u većem broju pronalaze na groblju Novo mesto – Kapiteljska njiva – što vjerojatno predstavlja tradiciju iz starijeg željeznog doba. S druge strane, prilozi keramičkih pršljena na grobljima Skordiska gotovo pa su iznimka, a nisu niti brojni na grobljima u Karpatskoj kotlini. Spomenute razlike u prilagaju keramičkih pršljena u grobove ukazuju na razlike između zajednica u načinu prikazivanja različitih aspekata ženskog identiteta u pogrebnom ritualu, budući da se može pretpostaviti kako su vjerojatno žene bile te koje su izrađivale tkanine i odjeću u svim mlađeželjeznodobnim zajednicama na prostoru Karpatske kotline i jugoistočnih Alpi. Slijedom toga, prisutnost pršljena u grobovima vjerojatno će biti indikativna za važnost tekstilne proizvodnje u oblikovanju ženskoga identiteta te isticanju ženskih vrлина i ženstvenosti, a zatim i višega društvenog položaja.¹⁰³

Osim keramičkih pršljena, ostali predmeti koji se povezuju s procesom izrade tkanina i odjeće u grobovima žena, pa tako i u Zvonimirovu, zabilježeni su u nešto manjem broju. Tako je u grobu LT 91 pronađena željezna igla s uvijenim tijelom i zoomorfom glavicom za koju se izravne usporedbe pronalaze na spomenutom groblju Kapiteljska njiva (grob 436 datiran u LT C1). Radi se o iznimnim

i ulomci keramičkih posuda koji su kružno oblikovani te probušeni u sredini (vidi: Grömer 2004, 172, sl. 3: 19–21; -2010, 17; -2012, 54, sl. 1.23: i,j; -2013, 38; -2016, 83, 258, sl. 39; Belanová-Štolcová, Grömer 2010, 12–13, sl. 3.4; Gostenčnik 2012, 68, sl. 2.4: c), što zasad na groblju u Zvonimirovu nije zabilježeno. Za mogućnost i neke njihove druge funkcije see: Rahmstorf 2015, 5.

¹⁰³ Gleba, 2009, 69; 2013; Lipkin 2013, 26; Rahmstorf 2015, 4, 15. Za korištenje dragocjenih materijala tijekom rimskog razdoblja u izradi predmeta za pređenje: Pásztókai-Szeőke 2011, 126–127, Gostenčnik 2012, 84; -2013, 65.

nalazima za koje se možda može pretpostaviti kako su bile kukice vretena. Slične se igle (kukice vretena?), samo najčešće izrađene od bronce te manjih dimenzija, u nešto većem broju pojavljuju tijekom LT C2–LT D1 i to na naseljima te ukazuju na mogućnost korištenja tehnike pređenja gdje je pršljen postavljen na vrh vretena.¹⁰⁴ Rijedak nalaz u grobovima žena tijekom mlađeg željeznog doba predstavlja i prilog željezne šivaće igle u grobu LT 90 u Zvonimirovu,¹⁰⁵ što pokazuje kako je pokojnica, osim u pređenju, sudjelovala barem u još jednoj fazi procesa koji se odnosio na izradu ili popravke odjeće. Ova činjenica savršeno se uklapa u opasku M. C. Beaudry da je pretraga arheološke literature u potrazi za nalazima igala gotovo jednako frustrirajuća kao poslovična potraga za iglom u stogu sijena.¹⁰⁶

Nalazi predmeta koji se povezuju s izradom tkanina i odjeće u grobovima žena u Zvonimirovu, ali i na drugim grobljima na prostoru Karpatske kotline i jugoistočnih Alpi, tako nedvojbeno svjedoče kako se radi o karakterističnim rodnim i dobnim priložima koji na simboličkoj razini prikazuju različite uloge – ekonomske, društvene – žena u obitelji i zajednici, odnosno različite aspekte ženskih identiteta. Odjeću koju su žene izradile i nosile za života, zajedno s predmetima nošnje (pojasi, fibule) i nakita (narukvice, perle), predstavljali su najvidljiviji aspekt njihovog osobnog identiteta kojeg su potom ožalošćeni članovi obitelji i zajednice kao takve istaknuli polaganjem karakterističnih predmeta u grobove.¹⁰⁷

Isto tako, groblje u Zvonimirovu pokazuje, uostalom kao i druga groblja latenske kulture na prostoru Karpatske kotline i jugoistočnih Alpi, kako se izrada tkanina i odjeće vjerojatno najvećim dijelom odvijala u svakome kućanstvu za vlastite potrebe kao važan

dio ekonomije domaćinstva, odnosno kao njihov doprinos ekonomiji zajednica kojima su pripadala. Većina žena vjerojatno je posjedovala dovoljno potrebnih tehnoloških znanja za faze procesa pređenja te izrade odjeće. Poneke su žene unutar zajednica spomenuta znanja mogle brže usvajati te postati vrlo vješte u nekim dijelovima procesa, što se potom moglo istaknuti prilaganjem u njihove grobove nekih posebnih predmeta – poput zoomorfnih igli (kukice vretena?) iz groba LT 91 u Zvonimirovu ili groba 436 s Kapiteljske njive. Kontinuitet ovog iznimnog oblika mogli bi predstavljati nalazi brončanih i željeznih igli s uvijenim tijelom i povijenom glavicom na nizu kasnolatskih naselja. To pokazuje kako ostvareni tehnološki napredak dosegnut tijekom mlađeg željeznog doba nije bilo isključivo povezan s predmetima naoružanja i različitim oruđima koji pripadaju rodnoj sferi muškaraca, već su dijelom tog procesa bile i žene čije su svakodnevne aktivnosti, poput izrade tkanina i odjeće, osiguravale opstojnost i prosperitet zajednica u kojima su živjele i kroz što su mogle izraziti svoju osobnost, kreativnost i stečene vještine te tako postati jasno vidljive tijekom mlađeg željeznog doba. Ove spoznaje omogućilo je otkriće grobova žena u Zvonimirovu, ali i na drugim grobljima latenske kulture u Karpatskoj kotlini i na jugoistočnoalpskom prostoru, s prepoznatljivim nalazima koji jasno ukazuju na povezanost rodne i dobne pripadnosti te izrade tkanina i odjeće.

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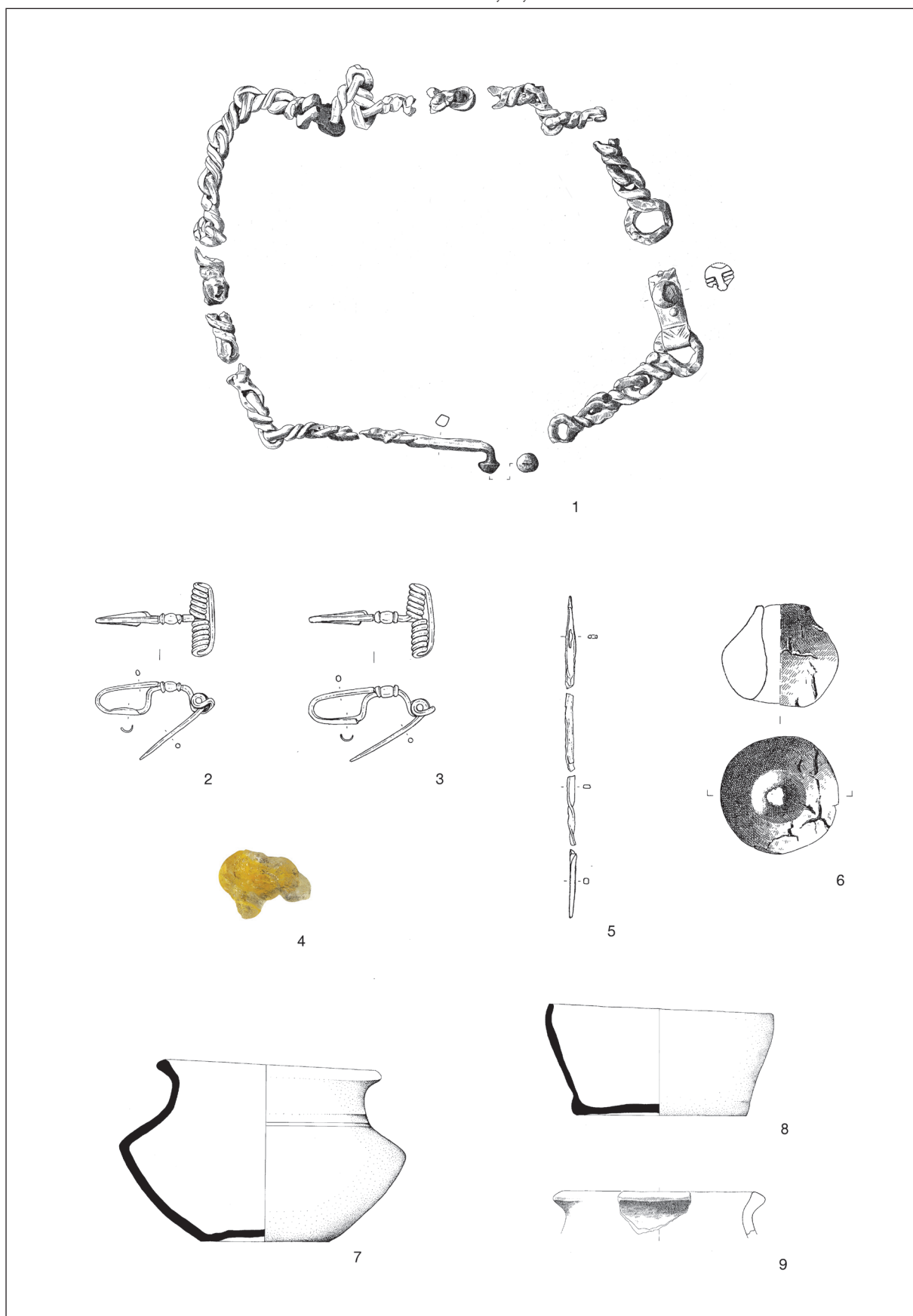
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¹⁰⁴ Grömer 2010, 17–18, sl. 4; Gostenčnik 2012, 70; -2014a, 64, 66, n. 118. Nalazi grobova iz kasnog latena na prostoru uz Baltik pokazuju kako se pršljen mogao nalaziti i s donje strane. Za ovaj važan podatak zahvaljujemo Draganu Božiću s Inštituta za arheologiju ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana.

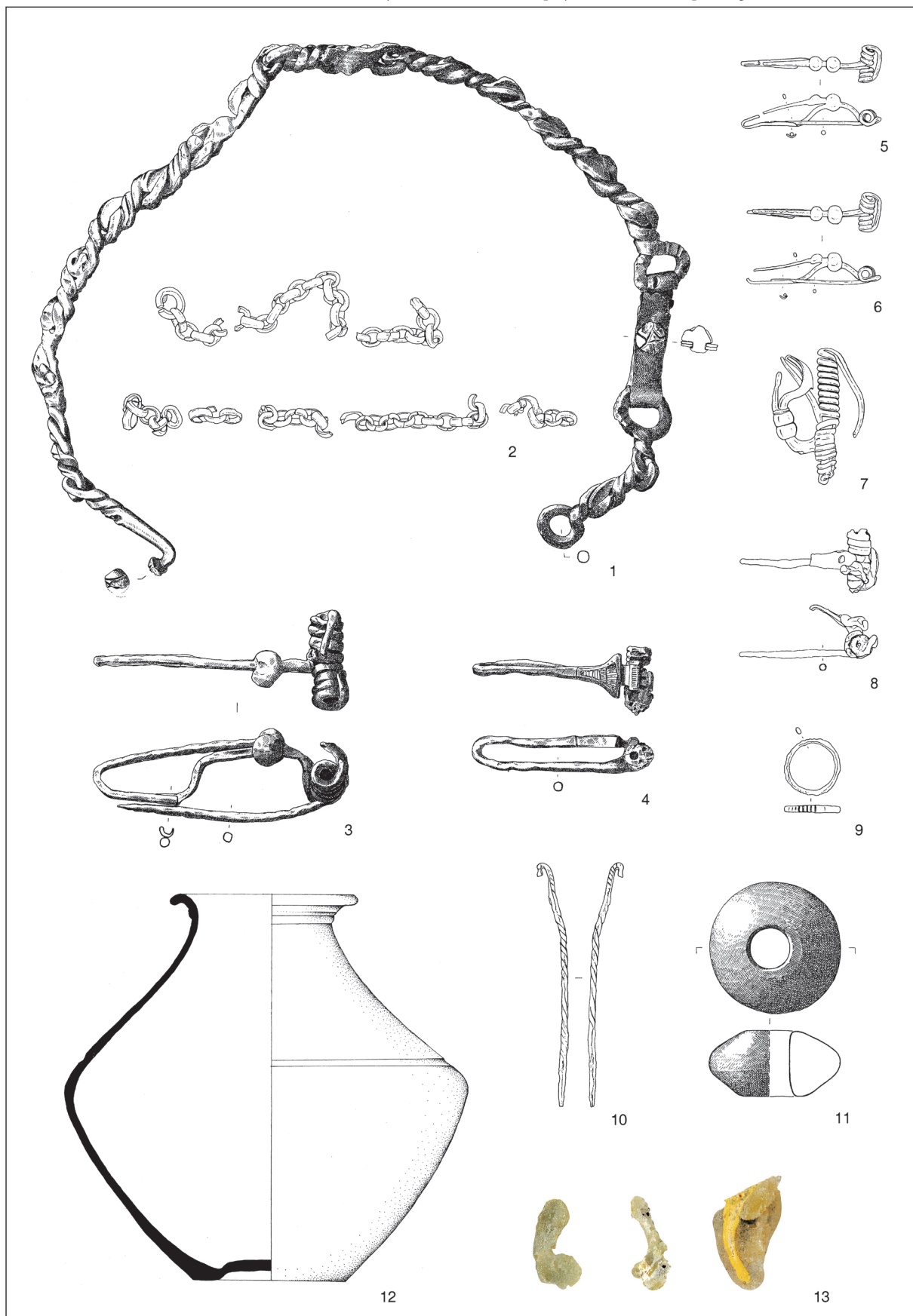
¹⁰⁵ O tehnikama šivanja vidjeti: Grömer 2012, 55, sl. 1.26: b,c; -2016, 218–222, sl. 129.

¹⁰⁶ Beaudry 2006, 44–45.

¹⁰⁷ Fahlander, Oestgaard 2008, 7–9.



Pl. 1: Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje. Grave LT 90. 1,5 iron; 2,3 bronze; 4 glass; 6-9 ceramics. Scale 1-6 = 1:2; 7-9 = 1:4.
 T. 1: Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje. Grob LT 90. 1,5 željezo; 2,3 bronza; 4 staklo; 6-9 keramika. M. 1-6 = 1:2; 7-9 = 1:4.



Pl. 2: Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje. Grave LT 91. 1–3,9,10 iron; 4 iron, bronze and bone; 5,6 bronze; 7,8 iron and bronze; 11,12 ceramics; 13 glass. Scale 1–11,13 = 1:2; 12 = 1:4.

T. 2: Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje. Grob LT 91. 1–3,9,10 željezo; 4 željezo, bronza i kost; 5,6 bronza; 7,8 željezo i bronza; 11,12 keramika; 13 staklo. M. 1–11,13 = 1:2; 12 = 1:4.

