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THE EASTERN CELTS

THE COMMUNITIES BETWEEN THE ALPS AND THE BLACK SEA

Edited by

Mitja GUŠTIN, Miloš JEVTIĆ

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2011

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The La Tène culture in central Croatia

The problem of the Eastern border of the Taurisci in the Podravina region

MARKO DIZDAR

The understanding of the development of La Tène culture in the territory of central Croatia¹ has changed considerably in the last thirty or so years, when systematic field surveys began, which led to the discovery of a series of new sites, on which minor test or rescue excavations were subsequently carried out. The number of excavations has grown considerably in the last decade when large-scale rescue excavations of settlements were carried out, which will, once the analyses have been finalized, significantly enrich the cultural and chronological understanding of the Late Iron Age period in central Croatia. The results of the latest excavations with well-documented finds, in addition to those that have been collected and deposited in museum collections since the end of the 19th century, enable a typological-chronological analysis, which shows that central Croatia, for the most part, formed the eastern limit of distribution of the Tauriscan Mokronog group, today much better known on the basis of excavation results from central and eastern Slovenia. The mentioned excavations led to the group's classification in several basic developmental phases, which also included certain finds from the territory of Croatia. Recent investigation confirmed assumptions that the Mokronog group was distributed/present even further east, i.e. that the Taurisci also controlled a substantial part of central Croatia, where other ethnic groups also resided, but were subject to the political, economical and cultural domination of the Taurisci.

¹ The eastern border of central Croatia is defined by the western ridges of the Papuk and Psunj mountains and extends further south to the River Sava. The line of demarcation in the Podravina region (the Drava Basin) passes across the eastern spurs of the Bilogora mountain. Thus the eastern borderline in the central part is clearly defined on the basis of geographical conditions, while at the edges it traverses the lowland corridor of the Podravina and Posavina regions, which at the same time form a communication between the Danubian Basin in the east and the southeastern Alpine region in the west. The northern border lies on the Rivers Drava and Mura, while the western one is defined by the national border with Slovenia. Towards the south geographical conditions offer no clear dividing line that would separate central Croatia from highland Croatia, thus the Banovina and the Kordun regions are also included in central Croatia.

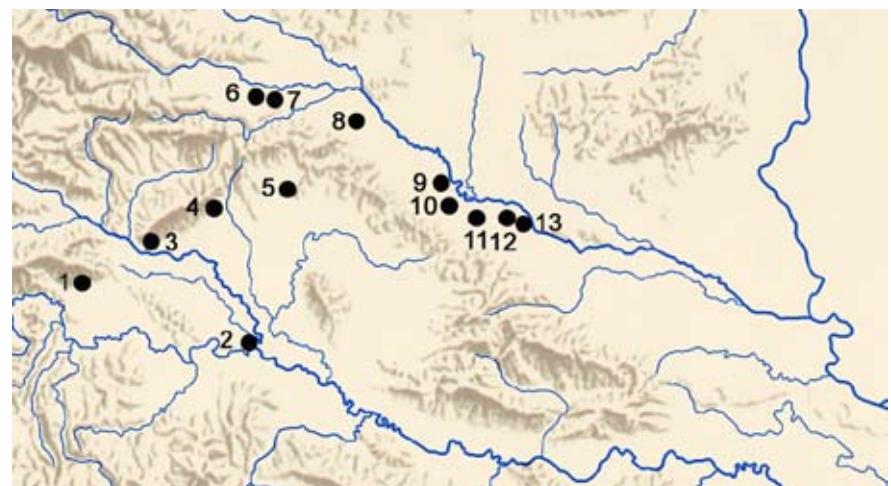


Figure 1
The sites of the Mokronog group in central Croatia: 1 Malunje, 2 Sisak, 3 Zagreb-Gornji grad, 4 Donja Glavnica-Kuzelin, 5 Vojakovac, 6 Blizna, 7 Bartolovec, 8 Delovi-Grede I, 9 Ferdinandovac, 10 Kloštar Podravski, 11 Virovitica-Kiškorija North, 12 Zvonimirovo-Veliko Polje, 13 Gačište.

The first detailed descriptions of the La Tène (culture)² finds from central Croatia, with a cultural and chronological determination, are the result of the scholarly work of N. Majnarić-Pandžić. Distinct assemblages from the destroyed graves in Malunje and Vojakovac were brought in connection with the finds from the territory of Lower Carniola, and were attributed to the material legacy of the Taurisci (Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 76; 1978, 153–155). Z. Marković's work in the Koprivnica area (1984), where he carried out a series of fieldwork surveys as well as small-scale test and rescue excavations, which greatly contributed to our knowledge about late La Tène lowland settlements, represents an exceptional contribution to our understanding of the protohistoric population of the Podravina region in central Croatia.

Even though excavation results from Slovenian sites of the Mokronog group formed the basis for the conclusions about Tauriscan everyday life and funerary practices, the situation in central Croatia changed profoundly with the latest rescue and systematic excavations of the settlements at the Upper Town in Zagreb, the one in Kuzelin (Sokol 2003), the lowland settlements around Varaždin (Bekić 2006), as well as the several-year-long excavations of the cemetery in Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje (**fig. 1**). The mentioned results were the basis for deepening our knowledge about the development of the Mokronog group in the eastern area of its distribution.

The chronological classification of the Mokronog group rests on the rich and diverse material collected in numerous excavations of the cemeteries as well as the settlements in Central and Eastern Slovenia. The classifications by Slovenian authors (Guštin 1977; 1984; 1984a; Božič 1987; 1999) also included certain finds from Croatia. That those assumptions were justified was confirmed by the results of excavations in the Podravina region, above all by the excavation of the cemetery in Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje, which yielded numerous finds with direct parallels to Slovenian cemeteries of the Mokronog group, proving the cultural unity of the Southeastern Alpine and southwestern

Pannonian areas, settled and controlled by the Taurisci in the Late Iron Age.

In D. Božič's latest classification of the Mokronog group, from 1999, finds from central Croatia will also be included.³ Most of these finds come from the mentioned excavations of the Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje cemetery, situated at the eastern edge of the distribution of the group (**fig. 1**), which is why they also contain certain other types, which represent influences of the neighbouring Scordisci or the Celtic communities settled north of the River Drava. Likewise, the autochthonous base played an important role in the development of La Tène culture groups in southern Pannonia, the Mokronog group in particular.

The chronological development of the Mokronog group in central Croatia, recognized in the excavations of cemeteries and settlements in the Slovenian territory, will be supplemented by understanding gained by the excavations of the sites in the Podravina region, and to a minor part by the finds documented in the remaining parts of central Croatia. This is why the proposed classification should not be considered final, but rather a reflection of the present state of research. Taking into consideration that the bulk of the finds comes from the excavation of the cemetery in Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje, the chronological classification is in fact an internal chronology of the cemetery itself, while the finds from other sites supplement the content of the other defined phases that have not been documented in Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje so far. The proposed periodization thus acquires additional value through the conclusions reached with regard to chronology, as each of the objects can be compared as a separate item, but can likewise be observed in the wider context of closed grave assemblages. The advantage of such periodization lies in diverse contents of each analyzed grave, which may have included characteristic pieces of weaponry, toilet accessories, functional-decorative items of costume and jewellery, as well as ceramic vessels whose mutual relationships eventually result in a relative chronology of use and deposition of separate

² The numerous finds of Celtic coins found in the territory of central Croatia are not analysed here.

³ The appellation of the chronological phases Mokronog I, II A, II B, III A and III B corresponds to the Central European phases LT B2, LT C1, LT C2, LT D1, LT D2, so we shall use the common European terminology for better understanding.

forms and types for the mentioned cemetery and, if they are found at other sites as well, the resulting relative-chronological relations can be applied to a wider area, in this case the Podravina region of central Croatia. In contrast to the finds from closed grave assemblages, the material legacy from contemporary settlements is documented by numerous pottery sherds, which are presently of less help in the creation of the described periodization, even though there are also noticeable steps forward here, with the excavations of closed assemblages at the open lowland settlements in Varaždin (Bekić 2006) and in Virovitica (Dizdar 2006a).

Certainly, it should once again be stressed that the proposed chronological classification of finds from the territory of central Croatia represents an integral part of the content of the Mokronog group, which is why we borrowed the names of the existing phases as well as the relative and absolute chronological relations according to the Central European periodization of the La Tène culture. The specific quality of the material legacy of La Tène sites in the Podravina region is accentuated, above all, by the content of individual phases with shapes that cannot be considered characteristic for the material legacy of the Mokronog group.

One of the most significant determinants in the definition of the Mokronog group content in the territory of central Croatia in culturological, as well as chronological terms, are the functional-decorative pieces of costume (belts and fibulae), which mostly come from excavations of the cemetery in Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje, while the remaining recorded forms only supplement the existing spectrum of finds. This makes the recognitions of the characteristic female costume of the Taurisci extremely important, as it is used to present the fashion and/or style of each developmental phase, which best mirror the many changes brought about by the internal development or external influences. The finds of weaponry equipment play an important role in the definition of developmental phases, more in the chronological than in the culturological sense. On account of that, the greatest attention in the description of the development of the Mokronog group in central Croatia is dedicated precisely to the items of costume and jewellery, in addition to the weaponry, while other types of objects, first of all the numerous

category of ceramic vessels, for the time being serve for strengthening the chronological conclusions that have been reached.

The typological-chronological analysis of the finds

The earliest finds of the La Tène culture, such as the bronze early La Tène zoomorphic fibulae from Sisak (Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 65, Pl. 21: 1; Burkowsky 2004, 58, Cat. 67), even though lacking information on discovery context, in all likelihood come from Late Hallstatt assemblages, where they arrived through trade and exchange from the already “latenized” northern parts of the Pannonian plain (Majnarić-Pandžić 1996).

The first more numerous group of finds that bears testimony to the Celtic settlement of the Southeastern Alpine and southwestern Pannonian areas belongs to the end of the 4th cent. BC. These are early La Tène bronze Dux and Münsingen fibulae, which were found in large numbers again in Sisak (Burkowsky 2004, 57–58, Cat. 64–66,68). The LT B2 phase in central Croatia is presently represented also with a stray find of a bronze bracelet with a hinge clasp from Ferdinandovac, composed of twelve beads, every second one of which is decorated with an S-motif in relief (Božić 1987, 869–870, Fig. 43: 11). The bracelet is a representative of the plastic style, which is particularly often present at the sites in the Carpathian-Danubian basin, and most likely comes from a destroyed early La Tène female grave. This is a bracelet of the BR-F1-B type, dated to the end of early La Tène (Bujna 2005, 49). The mentioned direction of cultural and ethnic influences from the northern parts of the Carpathian basin is indicated also by lavishly decorated bronze middle La Tène bracelets and anklets from destroyed graves in Vukovar (Majnarić-Pandžić 2007).

That this is not the only early La Tène find in the Podravina region is proven by the discovery of a bronze Dux fibula in grave LT 58 at the Zvonimirovo-Veliko Polje cemetery, which also contained an iron belt consisting of strap hoops with a figure-eight clasp, fragments of deformed glass, as well as two bowls and two pots, one of which is richly decorated with concentric circles and with grooving (fig. 2). Grave LT 58 is at present the

oldest excavated assemblage in Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje and can most probably be dated to the end of the early La Tène period on the basis of the described finds. An iron Dux fibula was found also in grave 23 at the Slatina cemetery, where, similar to Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje, it also documents the beginning of burials in the younger phase of early La Tène (Pirkmajer 1991). The iron belt from grave LT 58, composed of a figure-eight clasp and smaller strap hoops is documented in early La Tène grave assemblages, as well as in those from the older phase of middle La Tène, and shows parallels to Celtic cemeteries in northern Transdanubia, northeastern Hungary, southwestern Slovakia and Moravia (Bujna 1982, 331, Fig. 4, Type 18), which would confirm the speculations about Celtic settlement of the areas of south Pannonia and the Southeastern Alpine zone from the northern parts of the Pannonian plain, which has already been documented previously by the analysis of the distribution of various forms of weaponry and functional-decorative items of costume and jewellery as well as the forms and decorations of ceramic vessels found at the Slovenian sites of the Mokronog group (Teržan 1975; Božič 1987).

The content of the LT C1 phase is likewise represented by a modest number of finds, nevertheless, in a somewhat larger number than in the previous early La Tène phase. When it comes to central Croatia, the warrior grave from Vojakovac and the sword from Malunje had already been dated to the LT C1 phase (Božič 1987, 872).

The warrior equipment of the grave from Vojakovac, which most comprehensively presents part of the forms characteristic for the LT C1 phase, included an upper part of a sword blade with a stamp, a battle knife, a spear, part of a shield boss and a belt chain made of flattened links decorated with punched dots, while an iron fibula of the middle La Tène scheme belongs to the attire (Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 49, Pl. 46: 1–3, 7, 47: 2–4). Malunje yielded a bent sword with part of a scabbard, a straight bridge and a fish bladder motif on the back of the scabbard chape, while round plaques of the scabbard fitting with an incised triskele motif are on the front (Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 34, Pl. 20: 1). Remains of a scabbard with a V-shaped chape comes from the River Kupa near Sisak (Majnarić-Pandžić

1970, 65, Pl. 56. 7). The sword found near Đelekovac on the River Drava, which has a pointed tip, belongs to the same period (Marković, Zvijerac 2000, 52).

The sword from Vojakovac probably fit into a scabbard of group 5 after Lejars (Lejars 1994, 35–36), documented through several finds from Slovenian sites, where they are dated to the LT C1 phase, when they can have two types of decoration on the upper part of the front: dragons of type III or a Hungarian-style decoration (Guštin 1982; 1984, 330; Božič 1987, 872–874; 1999, 209–210), none of which have been discovered so far on sites in central Croatia. The blade of the slashing knife (*Hiebmesser*) from Vojakovac runs into a handle that is profiled at the middle and ends in an oval knob. Similar slashing knives with a knob or a ring at the end of the handle are a form that is characteristic of the graves from the older phase, as well as those from the younger phase of middle La Tène (Božič 1987, 874–875). The battle knives discovered at the cemeteries of the Scordisci were similarly dated to the middle La Tène phase Belgrade 2 (Božič 1981, 319). Slashing knives often appear as grave goods in La Tène culture cemeteries of the Southeastern Alpine and Pannonian areas, where they are dated to LT B-LT C1, and it is thought to have been used for slicing meat (Osterhaus 1981, 13–16; Zeller 1980, 124; Stöllner 1998, 107, Fig. 24; Gaspari et al. 2004, 272–274, Fig. 1, Map 1). Taking into consideration their distribution, they are considered one of the markers of the direction of Celtic settlement into south Pannonia and the Southeastern Alpine area (Teržan 1975, 690–692, Map 3). The spears from the graves in Vojakovac and Malunje with a narrow leaf of oval outline and a pronounced central rib that runs into a long socket are considered characteristic of the LT C1 phase (Božič 1987, 874; 1999, 210) and belong to type Ia, dated to the 3rd cent. BC (Rapin 1988, 133). The shield boss from Vojakovac belongs to a type of strap shield bosses with a transverse rib on a semicircularly embossed central part with characteristic wings of various shape or carved design, which were not preserved. A shield boss of this type is considered a characteristic form of the LT C1 phase (Božič 1987, 874; 1999, 210) and it corresponds to type IVc, dated to the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd cent. BC (Rapin 1988, 80). The mentioned date is substantiated

by an iron belt chain made of flattened links decorated with punched dots, found as grave goods in male warrior graves of the LT C1 phase (Guštin 1984, 330; Božić 1987, 874; 1999, 210) and at the cemeteries of the Scordisci in graves of the Belgrade 2 phase (Božić 1981, 318; Guštin 1984, 324). When considering toilet accessories, the legacy of the LT C1 phase includes iron razors from Vojakovac and Malunje with a short straight or slightly curved handle ending in the shape of a small flat head of a bird or a duck, according to typological comparisons (Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, Pl. 47: 2, 36: 9; Dizdar 2007, 127).

Another object belonging to the LT C1 phase is the iron fibula of the middle La Tène scheme from Vojakovac. It belongs to group 15, with a low-arching bow and a foot with a biconical knob on it, while there is another knob on the joint of the foot and the bow. The spring of the fibula consists of four spirals connected on the outside (Božić 1987, 874; 1999, 210; Gebhard 1991, 80–81, Fig. 5).

The grave from Vojakovac together with part of the finds from Malunje, considering the analogies from cemeteries in Dobova, Brežice, Formin and elsewhere, belongs to the younger part of the LT C1 phase (Guštin 1984, 330; Božić 1987, 872–874), i.e. LT C1b from the end of the 3rd cent. BC (Lejars 2000, 243–245, Fig. 60). From the territory of the Scordisci there are contemporaneous warrior graves from Vučedol (Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 50, Pl. 48), Brestovik (Popović 1994, 53–54, Map 1), Karaburma (Todorović 1972, Pl. 10; 12; 41), as well as a good part of weaponry finds from destroyed graves in eastern Slavonia and Syrmia (e.g. Kupinovo, Sotin, Zemun). The mentioned finds herald the younger horizon, the LT C2 phase from the 2nd cent. BC, best known from excavations of the Zvonimirovo-Veliko Polje cemetery.

Of the female graves in Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje grave LT 22 could perhaps belong to the LT C1 phase, containing a bronze fibula of the middle La Tène scheme with a foot attached to the bow of a trapezoidal outline executed in the shape of three figure-eight spirals by means of a simple clamp. The bow extends into a spring consisting of six spirals with the spring cord passing on the inside. The fibula is of Danubian origin and is considered characteristic for the older, as well as the

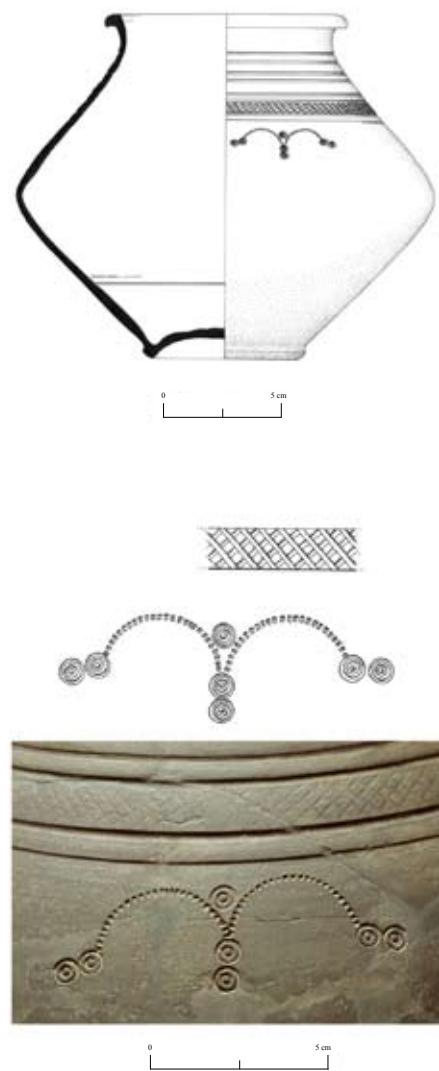


Figure 2
Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje, pot from grave LT 58.

younger phase of middle La Tène of the Scordiscan material culture (Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 36–37, 72; Božić 1981, 319; Guštin 1984, 340; Spajić 1954, 13; 1962; Jovanović-Jovanović 1988, 83–84; Popović 1990, 168). At the Celtic cemeteries in Hungary, Slovakia and Romania, the bronze fibulae with figure-eight spirals on the bow and a spring cord apssing on the inside were in most cases documented in graves of the LT C1 phase (Bujna 1982, Fig. 4, Type 27, 29; Horváth 1987, 121; Hellebrandt 1999, 189; Benadík 1962, 361; Pieta 1993, 51; Vizdal 1976, 162–164, 172; Zirra 1971, 189) continuing until LT C2, when the spring cord passes on the outside (Rustoiu 2002, 118–119), which does

not rule out the possibility that the mentioned fibula from Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje can be dated to the LT C2 phase. Even though it was not found on a site of the Mokronog group, a stray find of a bronze fibula fragment from Kiringrad in the Banovina region can be considered one of the characteristic middle La Tène forms. It has a pseudo-filigree rustically rendered plaque on the joint of the back-bent foot and bow (Balen-Letunić 1987, 10–12, Pl. 11: 6). Two fibulae with a round plaque with a pseudo-filigree decoration from Brežice were found in the grave of a woman, dated to the LT C2 phase (Guštin 1984, 333; Božič 1987, 874; 1999, 210).

The ceramic forms that belong to the LT C1 phase include the so-called bottle-shaped pots with an S-profile body, with the greatest width at the lower portion of the body and with a narrow cylindrical neck ending with an everted rim. Likewise, the LT C1 phase saw the appearance of decoration with stamped concentric circle motifs, as documented on a pot from grave LT 58 (**fig. 2**), as well as on several pots and kantharoi from younger graves at Zvonimirovo. Similar S-profile pots with a “bottle-shaped” body were documented at Celtic cemeteries in the Carpathian basin, where they are dated from the beginning of the 4th cent. BC (Meduna 1980, 79–82). At the same time there are numerous bowls with S-profile bodies that have horizontal parallel grooves on the neck or shoulder.

Owing to the results of the excavations of the Zvonimirovo-Veliko Polje cemetery, ongoing with intermissions since 1993, the best known material legacy in the territory of central Croatia is that of the LT C2 phase, which is further supplemented by the finds from the destroyed graves in Malunje, as well as individual and chance finds from other sites.

The funerary rituals and beliefs, the results of interdisciplinary analyses, as well as the social structure of the community whose members were buried at the Zvonimirovo-Veliko Polje cemetery, have been reported on extensively over the years (Dizdar 2004, 46–50; 2005; Tomičić, Dizdar 2005, 65–70; 2007, 123–124). The greatest part of the 74 graves discovered in Zvonimirovo (the state of research at the end of the 2008 excavation season) belongs to the LT C2 phase. These graves contained finds that have for the most

part already been known from the Slovenian sites of the Mokronog group, and similarly, it is also possible to recognize the material legacy characteristic for the Belgrade 2 phase of the culture of the Scordisci.

Male graves at Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje were marked by grave goods consisting of weaponry and pieces of men’s attire. Only a small part of the graves lacked pieces of weaponry as grave goods. The military equipment consisted of a sword in a scabbard and a spear as offensive weapons, and a shield boss as the defensive part of the weaponry equipment of the Celtic warrior, which appear in various combinations in the graves (Božič 1984). In addition to this, the male graves contained pieces of a toilet set grooming set, ceramic vessels as part of the goods for the afterlife and rarely finds with a symbolic-decorative function.

Most of the swords at the Zvonimirovo-Veliko Polje cemetery were found in scabbards of group 6 after Lejars (Lejars 1994, 36–38, 52–53). The sword from grave LT 2 had a crescent-stamp (Tomičić, Dizdar 2005, 74–78, Fig. 1, Map 2). Of the finds that have been conserved until now, the scabbards from graves LT 2 and LT 4 (**fig. 6**) are decorated with a triskele in the Swiss style and there is also a punctated decoration consisting of a series of small dots (*chagrination*). Likewise, the scabbards have bird-shaped fittings and a bird-shaped or straight bridge, T- or Y-shaped asymmetrical mechanisms for fitting a strap and a cordate chape-end (Majnarić-Pandžić 2001, 85–86, Pl. I; Tomičić, Dizdar 2005, 72–73, 78–79, Pl. 2). There is an additional horizontal reinforcement of type 15 (Lejars 1994, 30) on the upper part of the scabbard from grave LT 4 (**fig. 6**). Grave LT 8 contained only a symbolic deposition of a high campaniform hilt-end of the sword, as well as part of a chape with D-plaques and a straight bridge (Dizdar 2007, 125, Pl. 1. 7, 10). Swords in scabbards of group 6 are one of the main features of the LT C2 phase (Guštin 1984, 331; Božič 1987, 875, 892; 1999, 210). After conservation procedures have been completed we shall probably be able to follow the typological-chronological development of the scabbards, which will in turn lead to their more accurate classification. The swords in scabbards of group 6 have also been found in Bartolovec near Varaždin with a T-shaped mechanism for fitting a strap (Šimek 1981,

17–18, T. 5; 6: 1–2), in Malunje (Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 34, Pl. 21: 4–5) and at an unknown site in the surroundings of Virovitica.

A smaller part of the graves at Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje contained slashing knives (*Hiebmesser*) with a straight blade and a knob on the handle, which ends in another knob or a ring (Majnarić-Pandžić 2001, 86, Pl. 2: 2). The same typological features can also be observed on a slashing knife from Kuserbanj-Brijeg near Varaždin (Šimek 1981, 18, Pl. 7: 3–4). Considering that similar slashing knives also appear in graves from the earlier middle La Tène phasse, they are considered a form characteristic of the LT C1 phase, as much as of the LT C2 phase, as well as for the Belgrade 2 phase (Božić 1981, 319; 1987, 874–875).

Spears with various lengths and shapes of the leaf are one of the most numerous types of grave goods at the cemetery in Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje. Out of several documented types those that can be attributed to phase LT C2 at present are: long spears with a wider or narrower convex leaf and a short socket designed for close combat, such as those from graves LT 2 (Tomičić, Dizdar 2005, 82, Pl. 3: 1) or LT 4 (fig. 6), which belong to type II spears with a convex leaf (Rapin 1988, 133). The spear from grave LT 12 with a long laurel-shaped leaf and a pronounced central rib (Majnarić-Pandžić 2001, 86, Pl. 3: 1) has direct parallels with the spear from the Hart cemetery near Wildon, dated to LT C2 (Kramer 1994, 21, Pl. 39: 1), while approaching the type of spears with a classically shaped leaf and a shorter socket of type Ib (Rapin 1988, 133). Long spears with a convex willow-shaped leaf, a pronounced central rib and long socket were also found. These spears, to which a bent spear from Malunje represents a parallel in terms of shape, were determined as type IIc, dated to the end of the 2nd cent. BC (Rapin 1988, 133). Several grave assemblages contained shorter spears with a willow- or laurel-shaped leaf with a lenticular or rhombic cross-section and a longer socket, which served for throwing. Such spears are most often the only piece of weaponry in the graves and belong to burials of spearmen (Dizdar 2004, 51–52, Pl. 1, 10; 2007, 124–126, Pl. 2: 6). The finds of various types of spears are sometimes accompanied by spear butts/ ferrules (*Lanzenschuh*), found in two basic shapes, i.e.



Figure. 3
Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje: 1 bronze belt from grave LT 29;
2 comb from grave LT 46; 3 bronze fibula from grave LT 5.

shaped like a conical socket, appearing in the larger number of graves, and those with a tang and a massive conical base. The comparisons have shown that both types of fittings are found in warrior graves from the early to the late La Tène period (Tomičić, Dizdar 2005, 82–83).

The cemetery in Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje yielded various types of shield bosses. We believe that after the conservation procedure has been completed it will be possible to distinguish the earlier forms from the younger ones within the LT C2 phase. Several graves contained shield bosses with a slightly oval central part and with rectangular wings that had rivets with circular flat heads on them. The mentioned bosses correspond to those of type Ic, which are dated to the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd cent. BC (Rapin 1988,



Figure 4
Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje: 1 kantharoi from grave LT 24;
2 pot from grave LT 16.

79). The shield boss from grave LT 12 belongs to the same type. It has a rectangular central part and wings of the same shape with rivets that have flat heads with a larger cross-section and circular outline (Majnarić-Pandžić 2001, 86, Pl. II, 1). The shield boss from grave LT 4 with a slightly rounded edge of the wings and a slightly rounded central part (**fig. 6: 1**) is a combination of type V, which has characteristic trapezoidal wings, and type VII, characterized by curved wings, which is why such shield bosses were separated as belonging to type VIIa from the middle and the second half of the 2nd cent. BC (Rapin 1988, 82). The shield bosses of the Scorba type with an oval or ovoid central part and fan-shaped wings found in grave LT 2 at Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje (Tomičić, Dizdar 2005, 84–86, Pl. 3: 4) and in Malunje (Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 34–35, Pl. 20: 6–7) are considered one of the characteristic shapes of the LT C2 phase. It is proposed that the shield bosses of the Scorba type or type VIIb, which appear in large numbers in the territory of the upper courses of the Rivers Sava and Drava (Guštin 1991, 58, Fig. 30; Tomičić, Dizdar 2005, 87, Map 3), be dated to the middle and second half of the 2nd cent. BC (Rapin 1988, 82). The deposition of shield bosses in the graves at Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje is further indicated by pieces of shield grips and rivets, which symbolically represent the entire shield. Two basic rivet types have been documented on the bosses or as individual grave goods: straight ones with a circular and flat head and those with a hollow hemispherical head (**fig. 6: 2**), which are found on the wings of the shield bosses of types VI and VII (Tomičić, Dizdar 2005, 86). Handles were also deposited as parts of shields. With regard to the shape of lateral plaques used for attaching them to the wooden board of the shield, the handles can be divided into semicircular (Fig. 12,3), which are the most numerous; round, rectangular and fan-shaped handles (Dizdar 2004, 52–53, Pl. 1, 9; Tomičić, Dizdar 2005, 88, Pl. 3, 3). Finds of whetstones with or without a small hole were found in connection with weaponry items as grave goods (Majnarić-Pandžić 2001, Pl. 3: 2; Dizdar 2007, 128, Pl. 1: 9).

The male graves in Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje are further characterized by grooming items. Only grave LT 46 yielded a bone comb (**fig. 3: 2**) as a stray find safely



Figure 5
Virovitica-Kiškorija North, remains of a dugout and house



attributable to a female toilet set. Due to the limited and defined purpose, the toilet set pieces appear in a smaller number of forms, which did not undergo many changes allowing us to define their chronology with more precision. The most numerous pieces are scissors with a strap handle and a U-shaped cross-section (Majnarić-Pandžić 2001, 86, Pl. 3: 3), which already appear in graves of the LT C1 phase (Guštin 1981, 225, Pl. 48: 5; Božić 1987, 875, Fig. 44. 11), while scissors with a strap handle in the shape of a barely pronounced Ω-letter are younger. Likewise, another characteristic item to be found in grave contexts are razors with a wide blade that passes into a short, gently curved handle that sometimes has a smaller knob, while the handle ends in a ring or another knob (Majnarić-Pandžić 2001, 86, Pl. 9: 1–2; Dizdar 2007, 126–127, Pl. 1: 11; 2: 5). Tweezers were found in a somewhat smaller number of graves (Dizdar 2007, 127–128, Pl. 1: 3). Graves LT 4 (**fig. 6: 6**) and LT 12 (Majnarić-Pandžić 2001, 86, Pl. 9: 4) contained two hollow bronze pendants or sleigh-bells, which may have represented apotropaic objects. Even though they appear even earlier at Celtic cemeteries, iron clamps with a strap cross-section and short curved ends are also attributable to the LT C2 phase, for example clamps from graves LT 4 (**fig. 6: 7**) and LT 8 (Dizdar 2007, 131–132, Pl. 1: 6, 8). This type of iron clamp appears at the Celtic cemeteries in the Carpathian basin and north of the Alps already during the LT B2-LT C1 phases. They may have served for

closing a “bag” made from organic matter and used for burying the burnt remains of the deceased together with the smaller grave goods, while the ceramic vessels and larger pieces of weaponry would have been deposited next to the “bag” (Dizdar 2005, 87; 2007, 132).

One of the characteristic and recognizable forms of the LT C2 phase in male graves are belt assemblages composed of a ring-shaped belt buckle and a varying number of hoops of different diameters (Guštin 1984, 331; Božić 1987, 875; 1999, 210; Bataille 2001). The hoops are most often of a circular cross-section (**fig. 6: 4–5**), rarely rhombic. In several graves, often only with a spear as grave goods, the belt assemblages consisted of only a hoop, without the ring buckle (Dizdar 2004, 53–55, Pl. 1: 6–7; 2007, 129, Pl. 1: 4–5; 2: 3–4). Larger profiled hoops with a partly strap cross-section and small holes that probably contained enamel inlay were found in three graves with a buckle and smooth hoops. Such profiled hoops have been found at sites north of the Alps all the way to the eastern parts of the Carpathian basin, which, together with the same weaponry forms, bears testimony to the intense contacts between various Celtic communities during the 2nd cent. BC (Majnarić-Pandžić 2001, 86–87, Pl. 10: 4; Tomičić, Dizdar 2005, 89–93, Map 4, Pl. 4: 4–8).

Men’s attire at Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje consists of various forms of one to four iron fibulae of the middle La Tène scheme with variously shaped transitions of the foot into the bow, as well as of varying size.

Most of the found fibulae have a characteristic bow of trapezoidal outline, which passes into a long foot with a small round button on it, while another is situated on the joint of the foot and the bow of a circular cross-section, which runs into a spring composed of four to ten spirals that always have the spring cord passing on the outside (Majnarić-Pandžić 2001, 86, Pl. 7: 3–4; 8: 1; Dizdar 2004, 56–59, Pl. 1: 1). At cemeteries in Central and Eastern Slovenia iron fibulae with two small round buttons more often appear in graves of the LT C2 phase (Guštin 1977, 77; 1984, 330–331; Pirkmajer 1991; Novšak-Tica 1998, 27–29; Križ 2001, 98, 107), similar to the situation at Celtic cemeteries in southern Bavaria (Krämer 1985, 77). The same chronological position would correspond to both smaller and larger iron fibulae with one round button on the joint of the foot and the bow of a trapezoidal cross-section, which transforms into a spring with four to ten spirals with the spring cord passing on the outside (Majnarić-Pandžić 2001, 86, Pl. VIII,2; Dizdar 2007, 130, Pl. 2: 2). Such fibulae were distinguished as group 13c, whose more developed forms are dated to the LT C1/C2 transition (Gebhard 1991, 80–81, Fig. 5). The iron fibulae with a small button on the joint of the shorter foot with the bow of a semicircular outline and circular cross-section, which gently widens towards the spring consisting of four larger spirals connected on the outside, are likewise dated to the LT C2 phase (Dizdar 2007, 130–131, Pl. 1,1 2,1). The same is the case with similar fibulae, the small button of which is situated on the foot (**fig. 6: 1**). Smooth iron fibulae of the middle La Tène scheme form the third group of fibulae (Dizdar 2004, 56, Pl. 1,2; Tomičić, Dizdar 2005, 94, Pl. 4,1), whose characteristic is that the foot and the bow are joined by means of a simple or profiled clamp (Guštin 1984, 330–331). Such fibulae have a long foot bent in the shape of the letter U and a bow of a trapezoidal outline, which transforms into a spring composed of six to eight spirals that are always connected on the outside (Gebhard 1991, 81, Fig. 6). A distinct variant of smooth iron fibulae, itself one of the recognizable features of the LT C2 phase, is represented by fibulae from Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje and Malunje with a short foot which may have a small button on it and which is joined to the low bow by means of a clamp. The bow with a circular or strap

cross-section widens towards the spring, which consists of four or six spirals connected on the outside (Dizdar 2004, 60–62, Pl. 1,3; Tomičić, Dizdar 2005, 94–95, Pl. 4,2–3). The described fibulae are one of the recognizable determinants of graves of the LT C2 phase (Guštin 1984, 331; Božič 1987, 876; Pirkmajer 1991; Križ 2001, 130; 2005, Pl. 83: 6) at the Celtic cemeteries in Styria and southern Bavaria, where they are distinguished as group 17 and are considered a characteristic form of the LT C2 phase (Krämer 1985, 29; Kramer 1994, 29; Gebhard 1991, 81, Fig. 6).

As for the grave goods that can be considered jewellery, the male graves contained finds of iron and bronze bracelets. Two basic types of iron bracelets have been recognized: the spirally bent bracelets with tapering ends (Dizdar 2004, 63–65, T. 1,8) and hollow bracelets made of smooth iron sheet. The spirally bent iron bracelets with overlapping tapering ends have been documented already in the graves dated to the LT C1 phase (Guštin 1984, 330), while they appear at the sites of the Scordisci during middle La Tène. In a somewhat modified form they are present also during late La Tène (Božič 1981, 320; Popović 1994, 53; Vukmanović 1992, 328–329). Smooth and hollow iron bracelets have been recorded in male graves dated to the LT C2 phase (Pirkmajer 1991), while at the cemeteries of the Scordisci they have been known already from the earlier stage of the Belgrade 2 phase (Todorović 1972, 19, Pl. 11: 1), the date applicable also to similar bracelets from the Celtic cemeteries in Hungary and Slovakia (Horváth 1997, 79; Hellebrandt 1999; Bujna 1995, 87). At Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje the bronze bracelets have been documented in graves of men and women alike and they appear in two basic forms – with a circular or a strap cross-section (fig. 6: 2; Dizdar 2007, 131, Pl. 1: 2).

One of the essential determinants in the cultural and chronological attribution of the Zvonimirovo-Veliko Polje cemetery are female graves with characteristic functional-decorative pieces of attire, above all iron and bronze belts and fibulae as jewellery items (Tomičić, Dizdar 2005, 70, 95). In addition to that, the graves also contain iron knives, clay spindle-whorls and grave goods in the form of ceramic vessels and food.

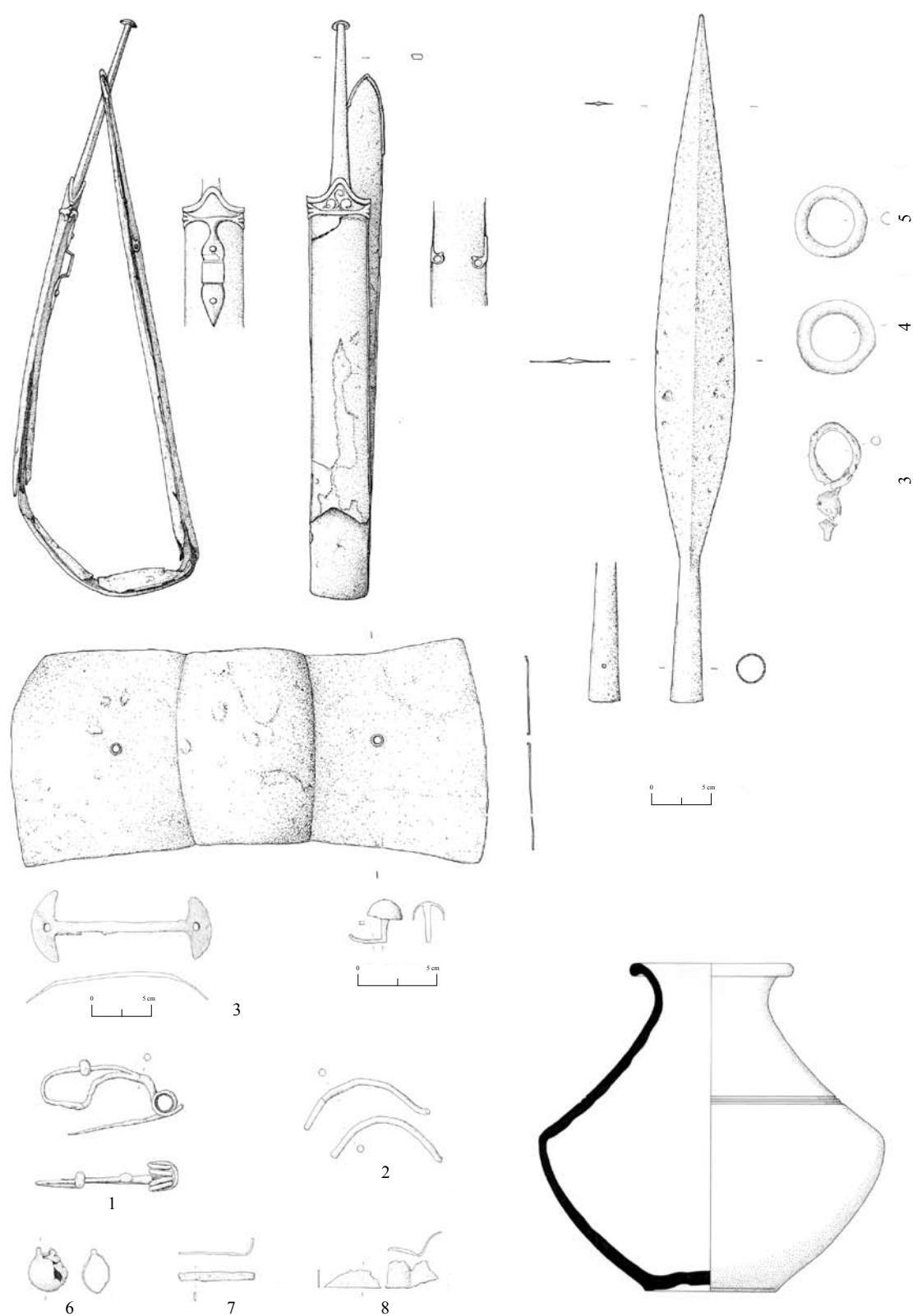


Figure 6
Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje, grave LT 4.

At the cemetery in Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje the iron chain belts appear in various forms composed of twisted links. The first variant is characterized by belts consisting of two parts, a shorter one with two loops at its ends, and a longer one with a loop at one end and a hook-like thickening on the other. The mentioned two-piece iron chain belts were distinguished as belts of the Mokronog type, dated to the LT B2 phase and considered a characteristic find in the graves of men that contained pieces of weaponry, i.e. served for hanging a sword in a scabbard (Guštin 1984, 327; Božič 1987, 869; 1999, 209). The possibility that two-piece chain belts also appear during middle La Tène in graves, which contained female burials, is indicated by recent excavations at Kapiteljska njiva in Novo Mesto (Križ 2001, 98–99; 2005, Pl. 56: 2,5; 79: 6). Most of the finds were of one-piece chain belts composed of twisted links with a buckle at one end and a loop at the other, which appear in two variants. The simpler one consists of belts composed only of twisted links (Majnarić-Pandžić 2001, 86, Pl. 2: 3), while in the case of the other variant, in addition to twisted links, a strap piece composed of two plaques joined by a rivet with an incised cross on its head also appears, which was probably filled with enamel (**fig. 7: 1; 8: 1**) (Tomičić, Dizdar 2005, 96–97, Pl. 5,6; Križ 2005, Pl. 55,4). Similar iron chain belts made of twisted links were documented as grave goods in male warrior graves, where they were used for fastening the sword, but also in female graves, and they were distinguished as the Brežice 2 type, dated to the LT C1 phase (Guštin 1977, 71; 1984, 330; Božič 1987, 874). In contrast to this, the finds from Zvonimirovo have shown that in the LT C2 phase they appear only in female graves (Guštin 1984, 333; Božič 1987, 876; 1999, 210), while the contemporaneous male graves contain the already mentioned belt sets composed of ring-shaped buckles and hoops.

One of the characteristic pieces of female costume at the Zvonimirovo-Veliko Polje cemetery are bronze belts composed of variously shaped segments. The typological analysis of the forms of the segments led to a distinction of two variants, whose origins also differ. The belts composed of rod-shaped profiled and/or rectangular segments come, in all likelihood, from southeastern Alpine workshops, whereas the belts

composed of rectangular and lyre-shaped segments, lavishly inlaid with enamel of various colours (**fig. 3: 1**), are considered the Danubian type. Both variants are contemporaneous and their shared feature is the method of joining the segments by means of hoops of a circular cross-section and buckling by means of characteristic zoomorphic buckles. Amphora-shaped pendants can sometimes be found at the end of the belt.

At the Slovenian cemeteries of the Mokronog group the bronze chain belts composed of profiled rod-shaped segments have been found in graves dated to the LT C1 phase (Božič 1987, 874–875; 1999, 210). Only the bronze belts from Kapiteljska njiva are considered to be of a somewhat later date, from the transition from the 3rd to the 2nd cent. BC, i.e. the beginning of the LT C2 phase (Križ 2001, 57–59, 126, 146). The bronze chain belt with rod-shaped segments from the cemetery in the Lower Town in Osijek was dated to LT C1 (Spajić 1962, 42–43; Popović 2002, 350). At the Celtic cemeteries in Bavaria and Württemberg the bronze chain belts with rod-shaped segments and zoomorphic buckles were documented in female graves throughout the entire middle La Tène period (Polenz 1982, 68; Krämer 1985, 27). The bronze chain belts composed of rod-shaped segments and zoomorphic buckles from the cemetery in Münsingen, where they were distinguished in the graves of horizons U and V, have been similarly dated (Hodson 1968, 20, 40) and the case is the same with the belts from the Vevey cemetery (Martin-Kilcher 1981, 118–119). The bronze chain belts with profiled zoomorphic buckles and narrow rod-shaped segments from the skeletal graves of women at the cemeteries in the canton of Bern were dated to LT C1 (Suter 1984, 85–86) and the belts from the Celtic cemeteries in the Czech Republic, Moravia and Slovakia were dated in the same way (Benadík 1957, 89; Venclová 1980, 66, 74; Čizmář 1993, 400).

The belts composed of lyre- and rectangular segments, lavishly inlaid with enamel, find the largest number of analogies in the territory of the Scordisci, as well as in Transdanubia and in the Tisza basin. The bronze segmented chain belts from the territory of the Scordisci, most of which are composed of rectangular and lyre-shaped segments, belong to the characteristic form of middle La Tène female attire, worn from the

end of the 3rd cent. to the beginning of the 1st cent. BC (Jovanović 1982–1983, 31–32; 1991, 31; Guštin 1984, 340; Popović 2002, 351). The skeletal and cremation graves from the Pannonian-Danubian area contained belts of rectangular and lyre-shaped segments, dated throughout the entire middle La Tène period, although most of the belts date from LT C1 (Stanczik-Vaday 1971; Szabó 1971, 55; Hellebrandt 1999; Zirra 1971, 182; Rustiou 2002, 30; 2004–2005, 54–55, Fig. 3), which would be in accord with the results of the typological-chronological analyses carried out for the Celtic cemeteries in the Carpathian basin, where the belts have been dated to LT C1b (Bujna 1982, 337, Fig. 4, Type 36). The mentioned dating might correspond to the appearance of bronze chain belts at the cemetery in Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje, as well as at other cemeteries of the Mokronog group. Therefore, based on numerous parallels in the wider Southeastern Alpine and south Pannonian areas, it could be concluded that the bronze chain segmented belts appeared during LT C1 and lasted until LT C2, i.e. they were worn in the second half of the 3rd and the first half of the 2nd cent. BC. Likewise, the Zvonimirovo-Veliko Polje cemetery will be among the few that will allow a comparison of two different kinds of bronze chain belts as well as their relationship with other grave goods.

One of the features of female graves in Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje are the numerous pieces of iron buckles of the Brežice type (Majnarić-Pandžić 2001, 86, Pl. 8: 3), a characteristic piece of the middle La Tène female attire of the Mokronog group (Guštin 2003). The buckles were found in richly furnished graves, as well as in those that are only average and they confirm the attribution of the cemetery in Zvonimirovo to the distribution area of the Mokronog group (Tomičić, Dizdar 2005, 97–101, Map 5, Pl. 1: 3–4, 5, 7).

A characteristic part of female middle La Tène attire in Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje are various forms of bronze fibulae, present in a large number of different shapes, some of which are typical for the Southeastern Alpine region, while certain types find closest analogies at the sites in the Danubian basin. Iron fibulae of similar shapes and dimensions were found in a smaller number of graves (fig. 8: 2). Those belonging to the LT C2 phase with a continuity from the previous

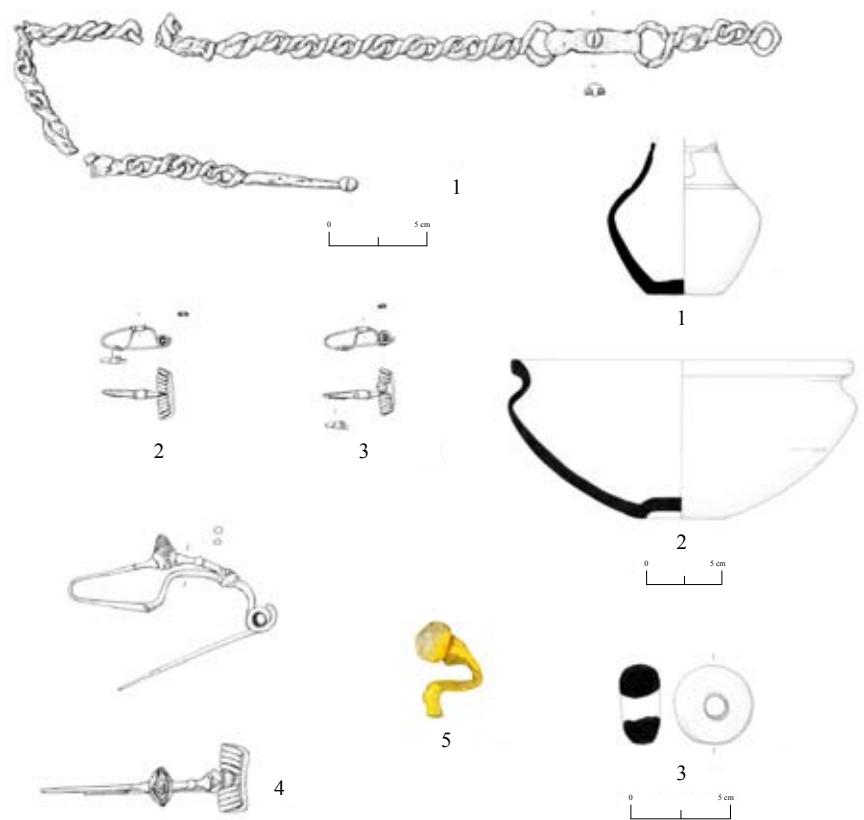


Figure 7
Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje, grave LT 5

phase include smaller and larger bronze fibulae of the middle La Tène scheme with two small buttons, one on the foot and the other at the joint of the foot and the trapezoidal bow, which transforms into the spring that most often consists of six spirals connected on the outside (Majnarić-Pandžić 2001, 86, Pl. 7: 5–6). A smaller bronze fibula with two small buttons was found in Sisak (Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 65, Fig. 3: 1). Fibulae of identical shape, but made of iron, were found in graves LT 12, LT 11 and LT 1 (Majnarić-Pandžić 2001, 86, Pl. 7: 4; Dizdar 2004, 57, Pl. 1,4; Tomičić, Dizdar 2005, 104, Pl. 1,2). Bronze fibulae with two small buttons were documented at the cemeteries of the Mokronog group in graves of the LT C1-C2 phases (Guštin 1984, 330–331; Božić 1987, 874, 876; 1999, 210), to which we can also date the fibulae discovered at German cemeteries (Polenz 1982, 122–123; Krämer 1985, 77, 85; Bieger 2002; Bieger 2003). Grave LT 3 yielded two iron fibulae with a small button at the joint of the foot and the bow of the kind found also

in the graves of men, only larger (Tomičić, Dizdar 2005, 105, Pl. 5,2,5). The next group is made up of smooth bronze and iron wire fibulae of the middle La Tène scheme that differ with regard to their size and are attached to the semicircular or trapezoidal bow by means of a profiled or simple clamp. The first variant has a bow of a circular or polygonal cross-section that can grow thicker towards the spring, which consists of only two larger spirals. The second variant of smooth bronze or iron fibulae is represented by the fibulae with a foot attached to the low trapezoidal bow by means of a profiled (Majnarić-Pandžić 2001, 86, Pl. VII,2) or simple clamp (Tomičić, Dizdar 2005, 105, Pl. 5,1,4). The bow can have a circular or a strap cross-section (**fig. 7: 2–3**) and it also sometimes becomes thicker towards the spring, which can consist of a larger number of spirals connected on the outside. The smooth wire iron or bronze fibulae with springs consisting of a larger number of spirals from the sites of the Mokronog group are dated to the transition from middle to late La Tène (Guštin 1977, 72; Božič 1999, 210), but their earlier appearance during the LT C2 phase is attested by the finds in Slatina (Pirkmajer 1991).

A characteristic piece of the female attire at Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje are various forms of bronze fibulae with profilations on their feet and their variously rendered joints with bows, which undeniably show that the cemetery belonged to the Mokronog group. Such are the fibulae which represent a variant of the Valična Vas type with short, triangularly bent feet, with two profilations on them, with a flattened base and a trapezoidal bow that grows thicker towards the spring consisting of four spirals connected on the outside. A stray find of a Valična Vas type fibula is known from Kloštar Podravski (Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 62, Pl. 22: 7). Numerous analogies for the fibulae from Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje and Kloštar were found at Slovenian sites, where they are dated to the LT C2 phase (Teržan 1975, 688; Guštin 1984, 333; Božič 1987, 876; 1999, 210; Lazar 1996, 279–280, Pl. 1,1–4). A bronze fibula of the Mötschwil type is also dated to the LT C2 phase (Guštin 1984, 333; Božič 1987, 875–876; 1993a, 196–197; 1999, 210; Gebhard 1991, 87, Fig. 1). At the Hungarian and Slovakian sites these fibulae are likewise dated to LT C2 (Márton 2004; Pieta

1993), as are also the finds of classical fibulae of the Mötschwil type from the Swiss sites (Hodson 1968, 38; Berger 1974, 63).

Characteristic for the Zvonimirovo-Veliko Polje cemetery are bronze fibulae that have a larger palmette-shaped profilation with a flat lower part near the end of the foot (**fig. 3: 3; 7: 4; 8: 3**). The foot of the fibula is attached by means of a profiled clamp, whose top is decorated with a plastically executed V-motif or grooves, while the higher bow of a circular or strap cross-section grows thicker or wider towards the spring with spirals connected on the outside. Considering that the described fibulae have been found in the greatest numbers at the cemetery in Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje, they were named precisely the fibulae of the Zvonimirovo type, with a solitary proper analogy in the grave from Brstje, dated to the LT C1 phase (Pahič 1966, 288, Pl. 1,7; Božič 1987, 874). The finds in closed associations in Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje show that they appear during the LT C2 phase and that they are characteristic for the Podravina region (Dizdar 2007a, 36, Fig. 3). The Zvonimirovo-Veliko Polje cemetery also yielded similar fibulae of the middle La Tène scheme with a smooth or decorated larger button on the foot and with a smooth or decorated bow beaten into the shape of a rhomb or trapezium. Such fibulae have been documented at the sites of the Mokronog group in Valična Vas, at Kapiteljska njiva and Kandija in Novo Mesto, in Bela Cerkev (Gabrovec 1966, Pl. 25,9; Teržan 1975, 687, Pl. 5,5; Knez 1966, 399, Pl. 7,1; Križ 2001, No. 372 and 429; Stare 1973, Pl. 54,3), as well as at the cemetery in Vinica, where they are dated to the middle La Tène period (Gabrovec 1966, Pl. 16,3,5–6, 31,7–8; Frey-Gabrovec 1969, 18, Pl. 4,1; Dobiat 1982, 40, Pl. 7,3–4). A direct analogy is a fibula of the same type from Klagenfurt (Dolenz 1957, 46–47, 56, Fig. 3.). The described fibulae with a decorated bow beaten into a rhombic, triangular or oval shape are considered a characteristic form of the Vinica group, under whose influence they appear at sites in Lower Carniola, as well as over a wider area, as shown by the fibula from Klagenfurt. Two variants have been distinguished: the first one, documented only in Vinica, is characterized by a back-bent foot that is not attached to the bow, while the second, younger

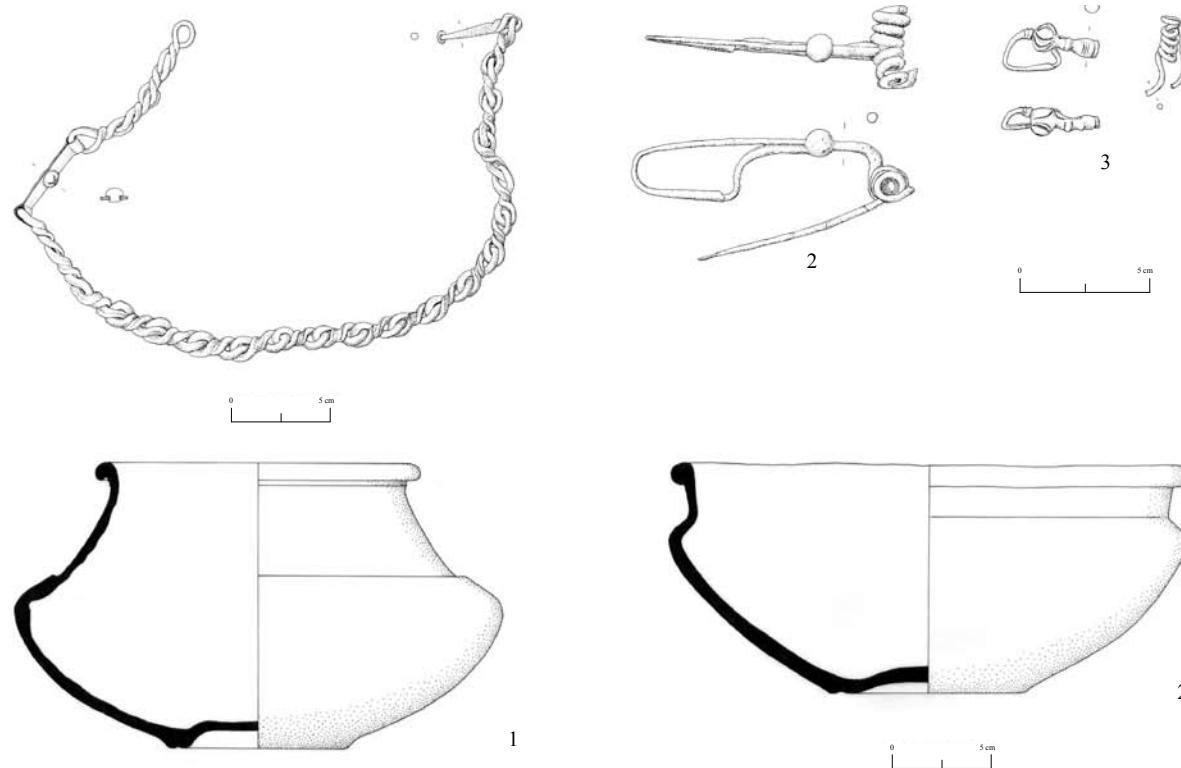


Figure 8
Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje, grave LT 6

one, refers to the fibulae of the middle La Tène scheme that have the foot joined to the bow (Teržan 1975, 687, Map 2). Taking into consideration the finds from Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje and Kapiteljska njiva we can assume that this is a characteristic form of female middle La Tène attire, not only of the Vinica group, which is connected to the Colapiani, but also part of the Mokronog group attire of the Taurisci. Even though the largest number of the discovered fibulae comes from the eponymous cemetery in Vinica, recent finds show that it would be difficult to explain them all as influences of the Vinica group towards the north and which have already been documented by similar forms of the Vinica and the Mokronog groups. The custom of wearing similar fibulae, the place of origin of which cannot be ascertained at the moment, should therefore not come as a surprise.

At the Zvonimirovo-Veliko Polje cemetery the iron and bronze fibulae with variously shaped depressions for enamel or glass paste inlay were dated to the LT C2 phase. Grave LT 12 contained a pair of iron fibulae

with triangular and rectangular setting for enamel at the end of their feet (Majnarić-Pandžić 2001, 86, Pl. 7: 1). Likewise, Malunje yielded a similar iron fibula with three profiled settings at the end of the foot, of which the central one contained an oval bronze gilded bead (Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 34, Pl. 22: 8). Iron fibulae with enamel inlays were documented at Kapiteljska njiva and in Slatina in graves of the LT C2 phase (Križ 2001; Križ 2005; Pirkmajer 1991). A larger number of iron fibulae with variously shaped settings for enamel were found at the sites of the Scordisci, where most are dated to LT C2, even though finds from LT C1 were also present. The bronze fibulae with rectangular plaques with variously shaped settings on them, which were filled with polychrome enamel, have been distinguished as fibulae of the Boljevci or Zemun type and dated, perhaps a bit too early / late, up until the beginning of the 1st cent. BC (Popović 1990, 166; 2002, 352–354). In this way the objects of the female attire from the Zvonimirovo-Veliko Polje cemetery allow its attribution to the distribution area of the Mokronog group with

noticeable influences of the neighbouring Scordisci, which is certainly not surprising given the location of Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje at the eastern edge of the distribution of the Mokronog group.

The orientation of the Zvonimirovo-Veliko Polje cemetery to the southeastern Alpine circle is indicated also by the finds of melted fragments of glass bracelets (**fig. 7: 5**) documented in many female graves (Dizdar 2004, 46; 2006). Nevertheless, only in the case of the fragment from grave LT 53 with five ribs and remains of yellow foil can we claim that it belongs to type 7a or series 27, dated to the LT C2 phase (Dizdar 2006, 86–90, Fig. 1, Map 5). Based on the finds of melted glass we can say that the most frequently worn type of bracelets were those of transparent glass with traces of yellow foil (Tomičić, Dizdar 2005, 106–108, Fig. 5; Dizdar 2006, 107, Map 5), while there were fewer finds of bracelet fragments of cobalt-blue glass decorated with white or yellow zig-zag lines, which most probably belong to the contemporaneous type 7b and which, it seems, appears somewhat earlier than type 7a or 27, at the LT C1/LT C2 transition (Dizdar 2006, 90–92, Fig. 2). Another find from the LT C2 phase is the only preserved glass finger-ring from the richly furnished grave LT 31. The ring is made of transparent glass with traces of yellow foil and with slanting ribs on the exterior. The double grave LT 11 yielded a bronze ring of a strap cross-section decorated with concentric circles, which can be attributed to the burial of a woman in that grave (Dizdar 2004, 65, Pl. 1: 12). Likewise, female or childrens' graves are characterized by goods consisting of glass-paste beads of various colours (Majnarić-Pandžić 2001, Pl. 10: 7–8; Dizdar 2004, 65–70, Pl. 1: 11).

The female graves also yielded pieces of iron knives, of which the one from grave LT 12 stands out with a preserved bone casing of the tang attached with several iron rivets and decorated with incised concentric circles (Majnarić-Pandžić 2001, Pl. 9: 3). Likewise, clay spindle-whorls are also common finds in female graves (**Fig. 7: 3**).

The largest group of grave goods at the Zvonimirovo-Veliko Polje cemetery consists of various forms of ceramic vessels, which can be divided into four basic shapes: pots, bowls, kantharoi and cups. Only a small

number of graves lacked any ceramic objects. Certain rules in the deposition of vessels were also noticed by composing ceramic sets depending on the sex and position of the grave. Most vessels were made on a potter's wheel from well-refined clay and were well fired in pottery kilns. Only smaller kantharoi and cups were hand-modeled (Dizdar 2004, 70; 2007, 132–134). Of the basic ceramic shapes at the Zvonimirovo-Veliko Polje cemetery the largest number of finds were those of S-profile pots with a rounded lower part and a narrower or wider neck. Most of the pots with an S-profile body have the greatest width at the middle and due to the fact that many pieces have been preserved, we can distinguish several variants. The described pots have a rounded lower part of the body and a conical shoulder, which is sometimes decorated with horizontal grooves, plastic ribs or with compositions consisting of concentric circles. In some cases there is a horizontal groove or a plastic rib on the neck of the pot below the everted rim. The pots with a biconical transition from the lower part to the shoulder belong to the same group of pots (**fig. 6**). The LT C2 phase includes various pots with a biconical body and with a flaring rim divided into several variants, the most numerous one of which has a wider and shorter cylindrical neck and horizontal grooves that can be present on the shoulder (Tomičić, Dizdar 2005, 109, Pl. 5: 8). Another variant are pots with a biconical body and a pronounced transition of the shoulder to the conical neck executed in the form of a single horizontal deeper groove, which sometimes has concentric circles above it (**fig. 8: 1**) (Dizdar 2007, 136, Fig. 5, Pl. 2,7). A characteristic form of the LT C2 phase are pots with a biconical body and a wider neck, with horizontal grooves on the shoulder, between which are plastic and stepped ribs (**fig. 4: 2**). The mentioned pots continue in a modified form also during the LT D1 phase, when they have narrow cylindrical necks and more everted rims, and bear testimony to the continuity of the ceramic forms in the development of the Mokronog group (Dizdar 2007, 134–136, Fig. 4, Pl. 1: 12). The third group of pots from Zvonimirovo consists of a small number of globular pots with a rounded body (Dizdar 2004, 74, Pl. 2: 3).

The most numerous form of wheel thrown vessels in Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje are bowls with an

S-profile body and an everted rim (**fig. 7: 2**), which appear from the beginning of the development of the La Tène culture and last until its end. The shoulders or neck can be decorated with horizontal grooves, which is characteristic for middle La Tène vessel forms (Tomanić-Jevremov, Guštin 1996, 273–277, Fig. 5–7). Likewise, there were fewer finds of deeper bowls with a rounded body and a cylindrical neck (**fig. 8: 2**), as well as of hand-made cups or smaller bowls with a rounded body (Dizdar 2004, 75, Pl. 2: 1).

Both basic groups of kantharoi are dated to the LT C2 phase; one represented by larger wheel thrown kantharoi and the other corresponding to smaller kantharoi modeled by hand. Larger kantharoi (**fig. 4: 1**) on a higher or shorter cylindrical foot can be decorated with various compositions of stamped concentric circles and garlands executed by impressing a series of tiny dots (Majnarić-Pandžić 2001, 87, Pl. 5). Analogies for the mentioned kantharoi can mostly be found at Scordiscan cemeteries, where they appear in graves of the Belgrade 2 phase (Spajić 1954; 1962; Todorović 1972; Božić 1981, 319, Pl. 2,29; Guštin 1984, 324; Sladić 1986, 24), even though recent excavations have shown that they can be found in early La Tène graves, as well. The autochthonous hand-modeled kantharoi of smaller dimensions can be found from early until the late La Tène period (Dizdar 2004, 75–77, Fig. 6–7; 2007a, 36).

Decoration in the form of stamped concentric circles at the Zvonimirovo-Veliko Polje cemetery is always documented on pots (**fig. 2**) and kantharoi (**fig. 4: 1**) made on a potter's wheel, and they are mostly positioned on three or four oppositely placed spots on the shoulder of the vessels. Analogies for the stamped decoration of concentric circles at the sites of the Mokronog group have been found on a pot from Valična Vas, dated to the LT B2 phase (Frey-Gabrovec 1969, 16; Schwappach 1970–1971, 237, 240–242, Fig. 2,1–2, Pl. 4, 5,1; Teržan 1975, 692, Pl. 26,3, 27,15; Božić 1987, 870, Pl. 85: 10), while the settlement in Stična yielded several fragments with stamped decoration, of which those distinguished as the second group belong to the ceramics of La Tène features, which is dated to middle La Tène (Frey-Gabrovec 1969, 16; Schwappach 1970–1971, 242–246, 246–248, Fig. 4). Fragments of

pots and kantharoi decorated with stamped concentric circles from Scordiscan settlements and cemeteries were dated to early and middle La Tène (Jovanović 1984, 76, Fig. 7,1, Pl. 2: 2; Jovanović 1987, 829–830; Dizdar 2001, 71, Pl. 1,6, 35,6).

The LT D1 phase, which according to Central European absolute chronology of the La Tène culture corresponds to the last third of the 2nd and the first half of the 1st cent. BC, comprises the largest number of lowland settlements in the Podravina region, as well as the elevated settlements, as shown by the excavations at the Upper Town in Zagreb and in Kuzelin near Sesvete. No cemeteries from the LT D1 phase are presently known apart from the information about a stray find of a warrior's grave from the area around Križevci with a spear and a shield boss as grave goods.

A testimony to the infrastructure of late La Tène settlements has been gained from the rescue excavations at the site of Virovitica-Kiškorija North, where part of a settlement was excavated at a surface of around 2 hectares with remains of houses and semi-pit-houses arranged in fenced enclosures – courtyards (**fig. 5**). Finds such as fragments of purple and cobalt-blue glass bracelet with a D-shaped cross-section of type 3a or series 36 and 38, cylindrical amber beads (**fig. 9**) and bronze fibulae of the Magdalenska Gora or Beletov Vrt types date part of the excavated portion of the settlement to the LT D1 phase (Dizdar 2006, 76–69; 2006a). The preliminary analysis of ceramic finds, which is under way, likewise indicated attribution to the Mokronog group, such as the already published finds from the settlements around Koprivnica. There are recognizable fragments of the so-called situla-shaped pots with vertical combed decoration, some of which show traces of graphiting. Using the described form as a model there were hand-made undecorated pots with the same body outline with a wider horizontal groove below the rim, which had a narrow rectangular cross-section. Also hand-modeled were the pots with a rounded body, which were sometimes additionally decorated with horizontal plastic stripes with fingertip impressions. As for the wheel-thrown forms, which are far more numerous, we distinguished the S-profile bowls with a gentle or pronounced transition from the lower part of the body to the shoulder of the vessel, as well as bowls with a

rounded body and inverted rim. The interior wall of the mentioned bowl form was sometimes decorated with a grooved waveline or a horizontal line. The pots include those with an S-profile body with a horizontal rib or a groove on the shoulder and the neck; pots with a rounded body and thickened rim and larger storage pots with a rounded body and a horizontal, profiled rim (*dolium*). The wheel-thrown kantharoi with a rounded body and a conical neck and with two profiled strap handles are also dated to the LT D1 phase.

The weaponry belonging to the LT D1 phase includes a stray find of an iron sword from Gačište near Suhopolje, which in all probability comes from a destroyed grave considering that traces of bending are visible on the blade of the sword. The sword probably lay in a late La Tène scabbard that had a clamp in the shape of two horizontally positioned letters S on the front, which are considered one of the characteristic forms of the LT D1 phase (Božić 1987, 876; 1999, 210). The swords in scabbards from late La Tène warrior graves of the Scordisci are dated in the same way (Božić 1981, 319, 322; 1984, 80; Guštin 1984, 327), as well as those from other Central European and northern Alpine sites of the La Tène culture (Zachar 1976; Pernet 2006, 40). The Celtic horse harness of the LT D1 phase is represented by a bronze button from Kuzelin in the shape of a circular plaque with a gentle central boss, on which a motif of unclear outline is incised. There are two loops grommets/eyelets on the back of the button, below which a wide shallow groove runs from one edge of the button to the other (Božić 1993, 139–141; 1999, 211; 2001, 184–185). The finds of iron tools known from the excavations of the Grede I settlement near Koprivnica, as well as the stray finds from the surroundings of Torčec, are dated according to the remaining finds to the LT D1 phase. The objects that could be recognized among the collected finds include a socketed axe, a knife, a sickle with a longer tang for attaching the handle, a ploughshare fragment and a scraper (Marković 1984, 298, Pl. 5: 1, 5; 6: 1–4). Also attributable to the LT D1 phase are two palmette-shaped bronze belt buckles from Sisak (Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 65, Pl. 30: 7–8), which belong to the Vinji Vrh type (Božić 1998, 148–149; 1999, 211; 2001, 183–184, Fig. 4), as well as stray finds of buck-

les of the Laminci type, which in all likelihood come from Pogorelec (Majnarić-Pandžić 1990; Burkowsky 2004, 62, Cat. 84).

The fibulae from the lowland settlement of Grede I are dated to the LT D1 phase. Fragments of three fibulae were found there, only one of which was entirely preserved. It has a short foot with a series of small plastic profilations on it and a low bow that widens in the shape of a triangle towards the spring, which is composed of a large number of spirals connected by spring cord on the outside. The second fibula has a thickened bow of a triangular cross-section with two transverse ribs, which runs into the spring composed of four spirals connected on the outside (Marković 1984, 298, Pl. 5: 3–4). Kuzelin yielded a bronze fibula with two thickenings on the flattened lower part with shallow transverse grooves between them on the foot. The bow widens in the shape of a triangle towards the spring that consisted of a large number of spirals (Sokol 1986, 85–87, Fig. 30). Late La Tène forms include a large number of bronze fibulae of the middle La Tène scheme from Sisak, which have short, smooth or variously segmented back-bent feet, which are attached by means of simple clamps to the bow, which widens towards the spring composed of a larger number of spirals. The fibulae of the Podzemelj type are particularly characteristic for Sisak and the Pokuplje region (the Kupa basin) (Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 65, Fig. 3: 2; 4: 1–2, Pl. 1–3, 5–6; Božić 2001, 190, Fig. 25; Burkowsky 2004, 58, Cat. 69). A silver hoop with groups of three wart-shaped bulges/nodes found at Kuzelin belongs to the LT D1 phase (Sokol 1986, 85–87, Fig. 30). The wart-hoops of smaller diameter could be worn on a necklace around the neck as amulets together with beads, while larger wart-hoops were used as bracelets (Božić 1993a, 190–193; 1999, 211).

A stray find of an iron slashing knife of the Pritoka-Bela Cerkev type from Zagreb has already earlier been dated to the youngest, LT D2 phase. It has a curved blade, which has a transverse cross-guard at the transition of the blade to the wide plate-shaped handle, while there is an oval plaque at the end of the handle (Božić 1999, 211; Balen-Letunić 2006). Another find dated to the LT D2 phase is a fragment of a neck-guard of a bronze eastern Celtic helmet of the Novo Mesto type,

found during gravel extraction on the River Sava south of Sesvete. The neck guard has a punctated decoration in the shape of a waveline, around which are rivets with heads inlaid with red enamel. The helmets of the Novo Mesto type have been found in late La Tène graves of the Mokronog group in Novo Mesto, Mihovo and Bela Cerkev, at the Idrija cemetery near Bača and in the bed of the River Ljubljanica (Schaaff 1980, 397–413; 1988, 304; Božič 1987, 876–878; 1999, 210–211; Guštin 1990; 1991, 53–54;). The guard with rivets from the River Sava near Sesvete bears most similarity with regard to the shape and decoration to the bronze helmet found in grave 1 at the plot Košak B at Strmec above Bela Cerkev, which represents one of the most important grave assemblages of the LT D2 phase from the second half of the 1st cent. BC (Guštin 1984, 333; Božič 1987, 876–878; 1999, 211), as well as to the helmet found in the River Sava near Stara Gradiška (Mihaljević, Dizdar 2007).

A find of a horse harness from Orešac near Suhopolje likewise belongs to this phase. Corresponding to the end of a wooden yoke of a wagon are two bronze perforated fittings in the shape of a stylized vegetable decoration with curved ends (*Jochendbeschläge*), while the rein hoops (*Zügelringe*) consist of an oval hoop eyelet/grommet of a rhombic cross-section, which is set on a wider central part, below which is a lower rectangular part with an arched cross-section and on which is a rhomb motif in relief (Menke 1968, 63–64; Müller-Karpe 1977, 48–49; Schönfelder 2002, 236, 245, Fig. 145; 155; Rustoiu, Vasile Ferencz 2002, 231–232).

One of the characteristic forms of the LT D2 phase is a chance find of a bronze ring-shaped buckle from Sisak (Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 65, Pl. 30: 2). The buckle has a tongue-shaped extension that ends with a raised hemisphere, while two joined wings are placed at the sides (Božič 1999, 211–212). When it comes to fibulae, the youngest forms include widely distributed bronze fibulae of the Jezerine type from Sisak, considered one of the characteristic forms of the LT D2 phase from the end of the 1st cent. BC (Guštin 1977, 74; 1984, 338; Božič 1987, 878).

Conclusion

The presented periodization of the collected material of the Mokronog group from the sites in central Croatia (fig. 1), which is entirely based on D. Božič's 1999 classification, shows a great imbalance in the knowledge of certain phases of development of the material legacy. While in the case of middle La Tène periods – the LT C2 phase in particular – based on the results of the excavation of the cemetery in Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje, we know of a wide spectrum of finds of weaponry, grooming accessories, functional-decorative objects from the attire and jewellery, as well as ceramic vessels, our understanding of the early and late La Tène phases is mostly based on individual and chance finds or at best on the results of rescue excavations of settlements. In order to change the described situation, we should



Figure 9
Virovitica-Kiškorija North, cylindrical amber bead

carry out target-oriented excavations of distinctive sites that would provide better results in the collection of the material that would represent the basis not only for understanding the chronology and content of the other phases of development of the material culture, but also for following the cultural characteristics of the sites of the Mokronog group in central Croatia, which could subsequently be compared with the knowledge about the content of the Central European La Tène culture, as well as with the material expressions of the neighbouring Scordisci. To what degree such a picture can be changed by a single excavation is best demonstrated by the results of the excavation of the cemetery in Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje, which in the best way provides insight into the middle La Tène material and spiritual culture achieved by the members of a smaller rural community settled at the eastern edge of distribution of the Mokronog group, which has considerably broadened its borders precisely due to the mentioned

excavations. Even though the content of the middle La Tène phase of development in the case of central Croatia is in fact represented by the Zvonimirovo-Veliko polje material, the remaining finds likewise confirm the assumptions about belonging to the same cultural base, which certainly has its internal differences conditioned by the geographic position of each site. Thus, for instance, at the cemetery in Zvonimirovo, as well as in the settlements around Virovitica, we have recognized the legacy that could be connected with the material culture of the Scordisci, which certainly will not be encountered at the more western sites, particularly those in the Žumberak and Plešivica hills, where one could expect a development more like the one in Lower Carniola, where a strong autochthonous tradi-

tion has been documented within the material culture of the Mokronog group. Likewise, the question of the cultural and ethnic affiliation of Segestica remains to be solved, with its numerous finds with direct parallels to the sites of the Mokronog group, if it is possible at all in the case of what is probably a cosmopolitan centre with a strong commercial base.

The proposed chronological division of the finds of the Mokronog group from the territory of Central Croatia should in no way be considered final, but only as a present-day picture of the understanding and state of research, which will be supplemented with each new excavation, which will, we believe, be much more numerous.

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