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Dizdar, Marko; Tonc, Asja

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MARKO DIZDAR, Institute of Archaeology, Zagreb
ASJA TONC, Institute of Archaeology, Zagreb

LATE LA TÈNE FIBULAE OF THE RAKITNO-TYPE. EVIDENCE OF CONTACTS BETWEEN THE WESTERN BALKANS AND THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE CARPATHIAN BASIN

e-mail: marko.dizdar@iarh.hr

Abstract. – Fibulae with a knob on a backward-bent foot, of which different variants of the Picugi type are probably best known, evolved in the eastern Adriatic and its hinterland, and the wider south-eastern Alps during the last two centuries BC. A similar but distinct type of fibula named the Rakitno type has been identified based on its morphological characteristics and distribution. Fibulae of this type have mainly been recorded at sites in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also in the Sava valley and eastern Slavonia. Similarities in the way they are decorated, with a series of knobs on the backward-bent foot, link fibulae of the Rakitno type with other contemporary forms recorded in the south-eastern part of the Carpathian Basin (fibulae of the Jarak type) and the south-eastern Alps (fibulae of the Mihovo type), indicating that designs were exchanged and then adapted to different communities in local workshops. On the other hand, finds of fibulae of the Rakitno type at sites in eastern Slavonia attest to contacts with communities settled in the western Balkans. Despite the absence of finds from closed associations, documented comparisons allow for fibulae of the Rakitno type to be dated to the latter half of the 2nd and the early 1st centuries BC, with the assumption that this design was typical of female costume.

Key words. – fibulae, western Balkans, Carpathian Basin, 2nd–1st centuries BCE, Late La Tène, contacts, workshops, female costume

One of the more readily recognisable types of fibula present along the eastern Adriatic coastline and hinterland in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC is the Picugi type. Its basic typological characteristics, distribution and dating were defined by Mitja Guštin, whose conclusions have remained essentially unchanged to this date. In addition, M. Guštin identified a recognisable variant of this type, that is a variant named after the type itself, and variants Aquileia and Vir, each with its own characteristic morphological features and basic distribution.¹ It appears that the Vir variant was represented in the eastern Adriatic hinterland, the region of particular interest to us in this instance.²

At first glance, some of the fibulae from this region display a great similarity with the Picugi type and its variants, but a more detailed analysis of their morphological characteristics and various distribution networks suggests the possibility of identifying certain

forms that may be regarded as distinct types. Such is the case with the fibulae that are the subject of this paper – fibulae of the Rakitno type – named after the site from which the first published fibula of this distinct type originated.³

TYPOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS

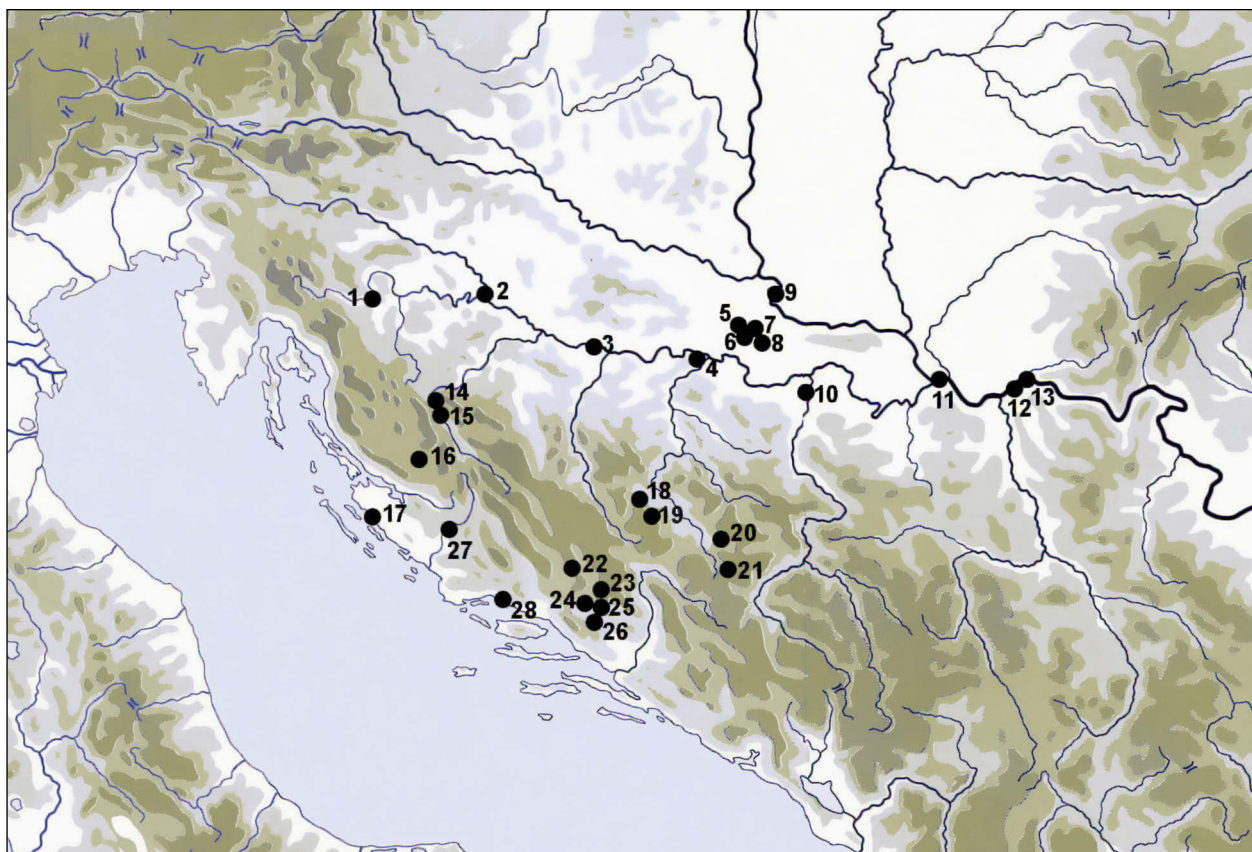
Fibulae of the Rakitno type were made of bronze,⁴ and only rarely of silver. The backward-bent foot, which is round in cross-section, is decorated with a spherical

¹ Guštin 1987, 51–53; 1991, 38.

² Guštin 1991, 38; Tonc 2015, 236–239.

³ Radimský 1891, 422, fig. 16.

⁴ No analysis of the composition of the alloy of Rakitno type fibulae has yet been conducted.



Map 1. Distribution of the Rakitno type fibulae:

1. Golek–Vinica; 2. Sisak; 3. Donja Dolina; 4. Prud; 5. Vinkovci–Lisičak; 6. Ivankovo–Dren; 7. Vinkovci–Blato; 8. Mirkovci–Malat; 9. Dalj; 10. Rapanović polje; 11. Beograd–Ada Huja; 12. Kostolac–Čair; 13. Kostolac – Nad Klepečkom; 14. Ribić; 15. Ripač; 16. Lički Ribnik; 17. Zadar; 18. Putičevo; 19. Alihodža kod Bile; 20. Kamenjača; 21. Sarajevo; 22. Crkvina – Livanjsko polje; 23. Rakitno–Zagradina; 24. Vir kod Posušja; 25. Gradac kod Posušja; 26. Gorica; 27. Burnum; 28. Solin

Карта 1. Распрострањеност фибула типa Ракитно:

1. Голек–Виница; 2. Сисак; 3. Доња Долина; 4. Пруд; 5. Винковци–Лисичак; 6. Иванково–Дрен; 7. Винковци–Блато; 8. Мирковци–Малај; 9. Далј; 10. Рајановић поље; 11. Београд – Ада Хуја; 12. Косилоц–Чаир; 13. Косилоц – Над Клејечком; 14. Рибич; 15. Рипач; 16. Лички Рибник; 17. Загар; 18. Путичево; 19. Алихоџа код Биле; 20. Камењача; 21. Сарајево; 22. Црквина – Ливанско поље; 23. Ракитно–Заградина; 24. Вир код Посушја; 25. Градац код Посушја; 26. Горица; 27. Бурнум; 28. Солин

knob that is set roughly level with the beginning of the bow, and has a narrow annular protuberance on each side. The foot of the fibula is set directly onto the bow and is usually attached to it just beyond the midway point of the bow, towards the spring. The joint has a groove along the edges, and immediately before it, at the very end of the foot, is another hemispherical knob, similar to the previous one, and like it in having a narrow protuberance on each side. The catch-plate itself may also be shaped like a spherical knob. The knobs on the foot may also be biconical in shape. The

bow is slightly bent into a knee shape towards the catch-plate, giving it a trapezoidal contour. The bow widens towards the spring, where it is oval or flat in cross-section, tapering gradually towards the other end, to become round in section before merging into the catch-plate, which is sometimes decorated in a V-shape or with shallow vertical and diagonal grooves; another short notch may also occur along the edge. The spring usually consists of four or five coils on each side, connected to the outer spring cord. The fibulae are usually about 9 or 10 cm long.

The spherical knob on the foot, the hemispherical knob just before the joint, and the slight bend in the bow towards the catch-plate, associate these fibulae with those of the Picugi variant of the eponymous type. However, Picugi-type fibulae have a somewhat shallower bow, a smaller spherical knob on the foot, and fewer ribs before the joint. The spring cord is usually wound around the bow (Fig. 1). These fibulae are usually longer, and hence of finer, daintier workmanship.⁵ Fibulae of the distinct Rakitno type differ from the Picugi variant in their more substantial knobs on the foot and before the joint, in the outer spring cord, which usually has four or five coils on each side, and in the widened, sometimes slightly conically rounded section of the bow between the joint and the spring. The fibulae identified as those of the Rakitno type thus appear somewhat more robust, and may be regarded as a distinct type on account of both their morphological characteristics and their distribution.

DISTRIBUTION OF RAKITNO TYPE FIBULAE

Fibulae of the Rakitno type from Bosnia and Herzegovina

Numbers of Rakitno-type fibulae have been found in Bosnia and Herzegovina, including the first published fibula of this type, from Rakitno, for which reason this site was proposed as its eponym. Furthermore, this is one of several sites with a marked concentration of fibulae displaying the morphological characteristics outlined above: significant numbers of Rakitno-type fibulae have been found in the wider Posušje area in southern Herzegovina (Map 1). The catch-plate of the eponymous bronze fibula from Zagradina near Rakitno (Fig. 2/1) is decorated with a zigzag line probably executed by shallow grooving, while the spring has five coils on each side.⁶ Two fibulae of this type are said to have come from Gorica. One of these, which is 9.5 cm in length, also has a spring with five coils on each side (Fig. 2/2), while the other has a spring with three coils on each side joined by a high-set spring cord (Fig. 2/3).⁷ The spring on a fibula from Gradac near Posušje has not remained intact, with only three coils on one side remaining (Fig. 2/4).⁸ Two similar bronze fibulae of this type have also been found at Vir near Posušje. One, which has been published, is 9.9 cm in length, and has a V-shaped decoration on the catch-plate, consisting of double diagonal parallel grooves (Fig. 2/5). The knob

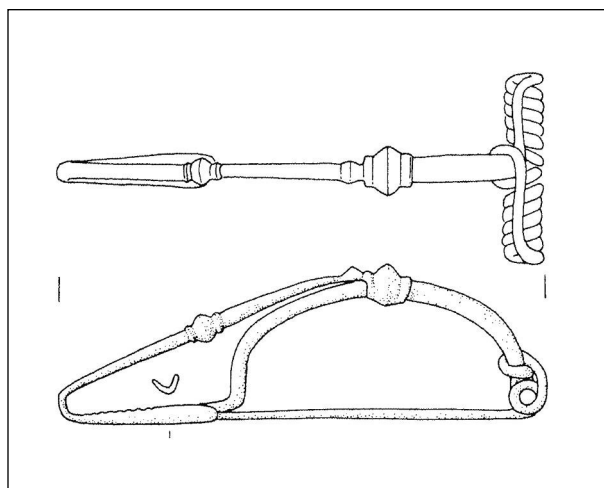


Fig. 1. Fibula of the Picugi type from Rim, near Roč in Istria (after Guštin 1987)

Сл. 1. Фибула типуса Пичуџи из Рима код Роча у Истрији (према Гуштин 1987)

on the foot is somewhat smaller than that on the other specimens, more closely resembling those on fibulae of the Picugi variant and one from Ribić.⁹ A damaged fibula, or part thereof, from Crkvina in the Livno polje, consisting of the bow and spring with five coils on each side, without the backward-bent foot, could also be included in this group of fibulae.¹⁰ A fibula of 11.1 cm in length, found at the Ribić burial ground in the Una valley, albeit outside the area of the graves, has a narrow protuberance on the foot and slight ribbing before the joint (Fig. 2/6).¹¹ A similar bronze fibula found at the nearby site of Ripač, 8.8 cm in length, of which

⁵ Guštin 1987, 45–46, fig. 3/1, 4; 4/10; San Servolo 2002, 71, no. 32; Cunja, Mlinar 2010, 110–111, cat. no. 102, 109.

⁶ Radimský 1891, 422, fig. 16.

⁷ Radimský 1893, 494, fig. 29; Truhelka 1899, 360, fig. 27. This has two narrow protuberances between the hemispherical knob and the joint at the end of the foot.

⁸ Fiala 1893, T. V/9.

⁹ Marić 1962, T. II/9; 1963, T. II/3; Marić 2017, 359, cat. no. 734–735.

¹⁰ Marić 2017, 358–359, cat. no. 730, T. CXV/730.

¹¹ Marić 1968, T. VIII/19. The fibula from grave no. 100 at Ribić, which A. Marić places in this group, differs in the number of spring coils (more than the other specimens), and it appears, though it is damaged, that it lacks the knee-bend of the bow towards the catch-plate (Marić 2017, 140, cat. no. 723, T. CXIII/723). As a result, this fibula should be excluded from the list of fibulae of Rakitno type.

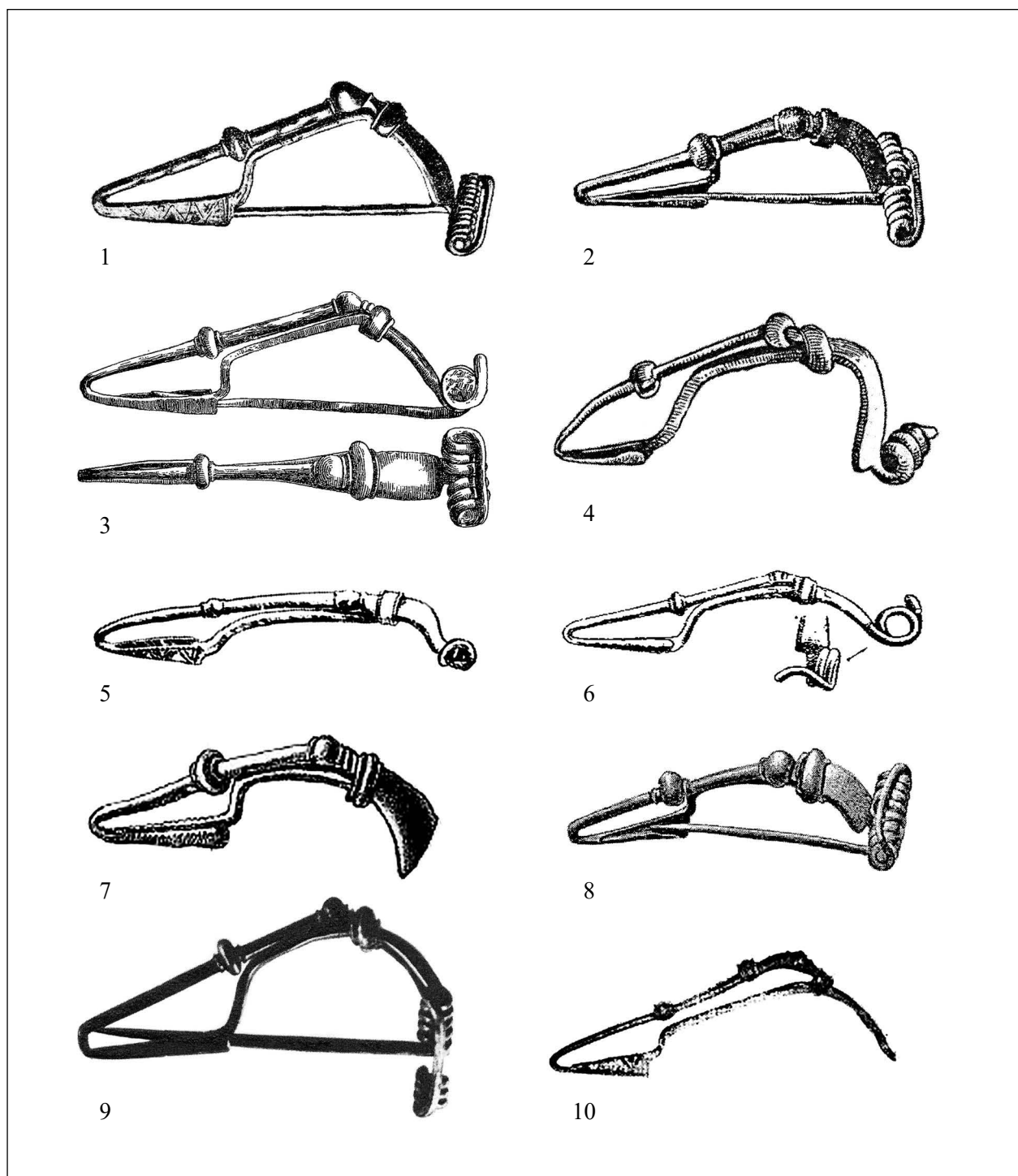


Fig. 2. Fibulae of the Rakitno type: 1. Rakitno–Zagradina (after Radimský 1891); 2–3. Gorica (after Truhelka 1899; Radimský 1893); 4. Gradac kod Posušja (after Fiala 1893); 5. Vir (after Marić 1962); 6. Ribić (after Marić 1968); 7. Ripač (after Čurčić 1908a); 8. Putičevo (after Truhelka 1893); 9. Lički Ribnik (after Klemenc 1935); 10. Sisak (after Majnarić-Pandžić 1970)

Сл. 2. Фибуле типа Ракитно: 1. Ракитно–Заградина (према Radimský 1891); 2–3. Горица (према Truhelka 1899; Radimský 1893); 4. Градац код Посушја (према Fiala 1893); 5. Вир (према Marić 1962); 6. Рибич (према Marić 1968); 7. Рипач (према Čurčić 1908a); 8. Путичево (према Truhelka 1893); 9. Лички Рибник (према Klemenc 1935); 10. Сисак (према Majnarić-Pandžić 1970)

the spring has not survived, has a series of small incisions on the upper edge of the catch-plate (Fig. 2/7).¹²

Several specimens of Rakitno-type fibula have also been found at sites in central Bosnia. Putičevo near Travnik yielded a fibula of 9.5 cm in length with a spring consisting of four coils on each side joined by a high-set outer spring cord (Fig. 2/8). The knob on the foot and the one before the joint are quite substantial.¹³ A similar fibula from Sarajevo, with four coils on each side of the spring, has grooves on the catch-plate.¹⁴ A fibula from Kamenjača, which is 11.3 cm long, has a ribbon-like bow, a spherical knob on the foot and a hemispherical knob just before the joint, and a spring composed of five coils on each side joined to the outer spring cord.¹⁵ A damaged fibula from Alihodže near Bila, 7.2 cm in length, differs from those described above, having a spherical knob on the foot and another before the joint, which has three ribs. One side of the spring remains, with no fewer than ten coils, on which traces of iron corrosion can be seen, probably from the axle of the spring.¹⁶ A fibula from the settlement at Rapanović polje, in Semberija in north-eastern Bosnia, of which the spring has not survived, has three hemispherical knobs on the foot, one before the point where it meets the bow, and two at the end of the foot, before the joint.¹⁷

Rakitno-type fibulae from the Sava valley, eastern Slavonia and the Danube Basin

Several fibulae that may be ascribed to the Rakitno type are also known from sites in the Sava river valley. One is a silver fibula found in Sisak, distinguished by the bow, which is widened into a trapezoid next to the spring; the spring itself consists of 8 + 7 coils joined by an outer spring cord. It has a spherical knob on the foot and before the joint, which is hemispherical.¹⁸ A bronze fibula 9.3 cm in length, of which the spring has not survived, was found in the bed of the river Kupa, also in Sisak (Fig. 2/10). Like the fibula from Rapanović Polje, it has three knobs, one spherical on the foot and two hemispherical at the end of the foot before the joint.¹⁹ A similar fibula from Donja Dolina, of which a length of 6.6 cm remains, with a spherical knob on the foot, has a smaller hemispherical knob before the joint. The spring has eight remaining coils on one side.²⁰ Another silver fibula, 8.1 cm in length with knobs on the foot and before the joint, was found in the Sava river-bed in Prud near Bosanski Šamac. The spring has three coils on each side.²¹

The next group of Rakitno-type fibulae is from eastern Slavonia, from a number of Late La Tène settle-

ments in and around Vinkovci.²² Fibulae from the Vinkovci – Blato site (Fig. 3/1; Fig. 4) and the Ivankovo – Dren site (Fig. 3/4), both with a preserved length of about 7 cm, have quite large spherical or biconical knobs respectively, with a narrow annular protuberance on each side on the foot, and a hemispherical knob before the joint. The bow, with a slight knee-bend towards the foot, is round in section before the joint, beyond which it widens towards the spring. Three coils of the spring, through which runs an iron wire, remain on one side of the fibula from Blato; the spring is missing from the fibula from Dren. A similarly-shaped fibula, also from the Blato settlement, has eight remaining spring coils on one side, showing traces of iron oxide, probably from the wire that ran through the spring. The next fibulae to be considered are larger, about 9 to 10 cm in length, and are of rather more elegant execution as regards the size of the spherical knobs, which barely exceed in diameter the wire foot. The hemispherical knobs at the end of the foot are also smaller. One of the fibulae from the Blato settlement (Fig. 3/2), has a decoration on the outside of the catch-plate, consisting of a series of V-shaped grooves; only three coils remain on one side of the spring, which also probably had an iron wire running through it.²³ A fourth

¹² Čurčić 1908a, T. III/10; Marić 2017, 358, cat. no. 725, T. CXIV/725.

¹³ Truhelka 1893, 692, fig. 12; Marić 2017, 358, cat. no. 729, T. CXV/729.

¹⁴ Čurčić 1908b, 380, fig. 16; Keltoi 1984, fig. 73, where the fibula is incorrectly listed under Debelo Brdo, corrected by Marić 2017, 358, cat. no. 727.

¹⁵ Marić 2017, 358, cat. no. 726, T. CXIV/726.

¹⁶ Marić 2017, 358, cat. no. 728, T. CXIV/728.

¹⁷ Kosorić 1982, 125, T. IV/33.

¹⁸ Archaeological Museum Zagreb, inv. no. P-17193; Tonc 2015, 240, cat. no. 6.45.5, T. 17/8. We are grateful to I. Drnić of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb for the information made available for a doctoral dissertation (Tonc 2015), for the study and definition of Rakitno type fibulae in the said paper.

¹⁹ Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 102, T. LV/1.

²⁰ Marić 1964, 120–121, T. XX/12; Marić 2017, 357, cat. no. 721, T. CXIII/721.

²¹ Marić 2017, 140, 357, cat. no. 722, Fig. 90.

²² Previously only one fibula from the Vinkovci – Blato settlement has been published, see Dizdar 2016, 36–37, fig. 7/3.

²³ The fibula has a rather larger knob, similar to the previous specimens, but of larger size. We are grateful to our colleagues Hrvoje Vulić and Boris Kratofil of the Vinkovci Municipal Museum for details of the finds from the Late La Tène settlements in and around Vinkovci.

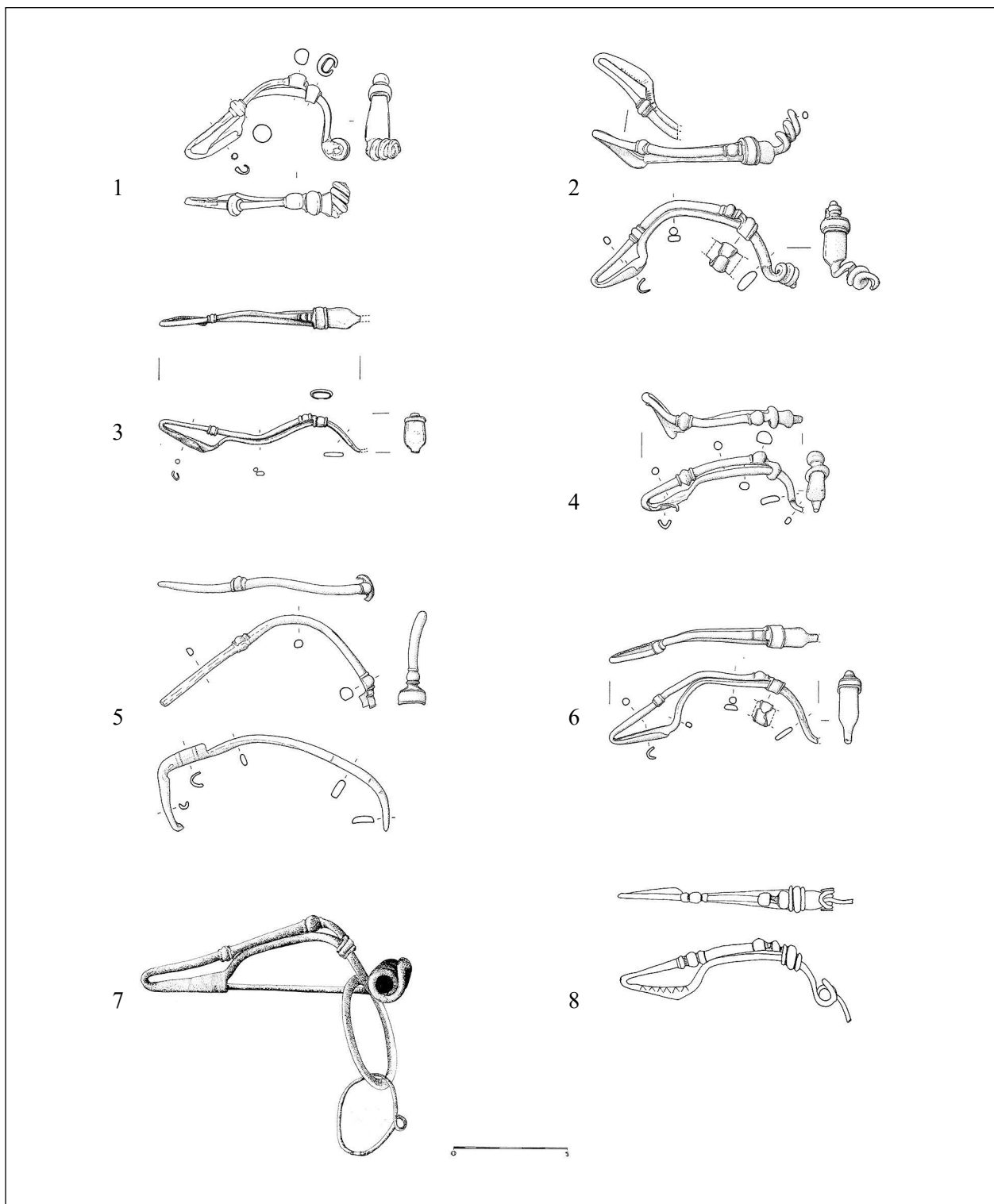


Fig. 3. Fibulae of the Rakitno type from the Scordiscan area: 1–3. Vinkovci–Blato; 4. Ivankovo–Dren; 5. Vinkovci–Lisičak; 6. Mirkovci–Malat; 7. unknown site (after Todorović 1974); 8. Kostolac–Čaire (after Jacanović 1987)

Сл. 3. Фибуле типа Ракићно с подручја Скордиска: 1–3. Винковци–Блато; 4. Иванково–Дрен; 5. Винковци–Лисичак; 6. Мирковци–Малаћ; 7. Нејознајно налазиште (према Тодоровић 1974); 8. Косилоац–Чауре (према Јасановић 1987)



Fig. 4. Fibula from Vinkovci-Blato
(photo by H. Jambreč)

Сл. 4. Фибула с налазишћиа Винковци-Блајто
(фото: Х. Јамбрек)

fibula from the Blato settlement (Fig. 3/3) closely resembles Picugi type fibulae in the shape of the knobs on the foot and before the joint. The bow is narrow, oval in section in the middle, becoming strap-like towards the spring, which has not survived. One of the Late La Tène sites rich in finds – Mirkovci – Malat – yielded a fibula (Fig. 3/6) similar to the one from Blato described above. The Malat fibula has a decoration of short transverse incisions on the edges of the catch-plate; the spring is missing. Yet another Late La Tène settlement discovered not far from Blato, Vinkovci – Lisičak, yielded a Rakitno-type fibula (Fig. 3/5) on which the bow widens towards the spring, becoming ribbon-like. The foot bears a small round knob with an annular protuberance on each side; on each side of the hemispherical knob at the end of the foot, before the joint, is a single annular protuberance, flattened on the underside. The catch-plate is decorated with vertical grooves.

Along with these Rakitno-type fibulae from the Late La Tène settlements in the area of Vinkovci, other sites to the east, i.e., in the Danube Basin, should be mentioned. One fibula of this type was found in Dalj. The foot has a biconical knob with an annular protuberance on each side, while the knob before the joint is hemispherical.²⁴ A fibula of this type from an unknown site in Syrmia has a short spring and a small hemispherical knob on the foot, flanked on each side by a narrow knob (Fig. 3/7). In comparison with other Rakitno-type fibulae, the second knob on the foot is also spherical, with a single annular protuberance on

each side. This latter is somewhat further from the joint compared with comparable knobs on other fibulae. The bow, which is trapezoid in contour, has a knee-bend towards the foot. The catch-plate is decorated with diagonal and V-shaped grooves. Two rings hang from the pin, one quite substantial, from which is suspended the second looped wire ring.²⁵ A 5.2 cm long bronze fibula from Ada Huja in Belgrade can be also mentioned as most probably belonging to this type, although it has three hemispherical knobs on the bent foot.²⁶ However, as already mentioned, three knobs appear on fibulae from Rapanović Polje and Sisak, so this feature does not exclude the proposed typological attribution. The easternmost Rakitno-type fibulae found to date come from the area of Kostolac – ancient *Viminacium*. The first comes from the Čair site. It has a rather wide lateral protuberance around the knob on the foot, and another two hemispherical knobs before the joint (Fig. 3/8). The catch-plate has a V-shaped decoration, and the spring probably had four coils joined by a high-set spring cord.²⁷ The second specimen comes from a pit (feature 5) on the Nad Klepečkom site. The bronze fibula is partially preserved to a length of about 6.7 cm. The backward-bent foot carries hemispherical knobs on the foot and before the joint. The pin and spring are missing.²⁸

Rakitno-type fibulae from other areas

Other fibulae recorded beyond the main area of distribution may also be ascribed to the Rakitno type (Map 1). The finds from grave 131 at Golek in Vinica included a bronze fibula, 6.6 cm in length, with a wire bow, widened at the head. The foot has a slightly flattened spherical knob; the hemispherical knob is set just before the joint. The pin has not survived, and neither has most of the spring, of which only three coils remain.²⁹ The inventory of a hoard of jewellery and coins from Lički Ribnik includes a silver fibula, 6 cm in length, with a damaged spring that probably had four coils on each side (Fig. 2/9). The extension of the

²⁴ Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 80, T. VI/2. The fibula is said to be 19.5 cm in length, which is probably a printing error.

²⁵ Todorović 1974, fig. 97.

²⁶ Todorović 1968, 148, T. XXXIV/1.

²⁷ Jacanović 1987, 13, T. III/1.

²⁸ Mladenović et al. 2019, 199–201, T. 2/19.

²⁹ See Peabody Museum Collections Online, entered as inv. no. under Quick Search: 40-77-40/11069 (<https://pmem.unix.fas.harvard.edu:8443/peabody/>, last accessed on 13. 04. 2018).

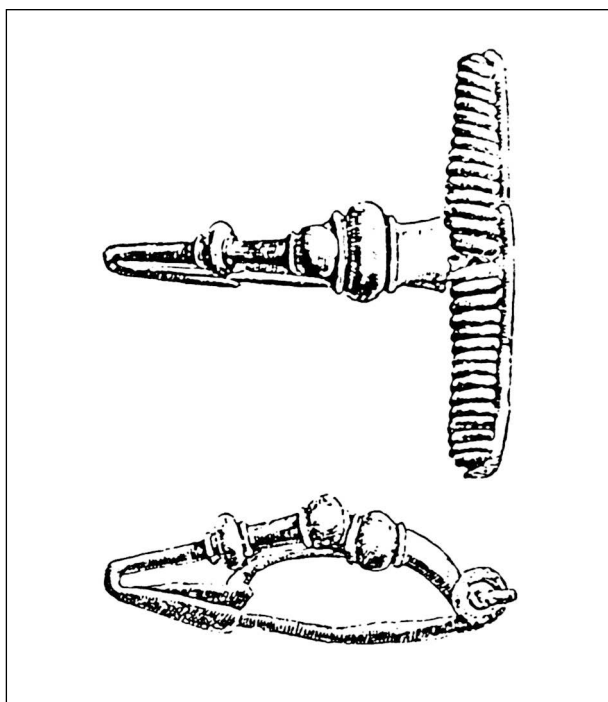


Fig. 5. A fibula comparable to the Rakitno type, from the site Szárazd–Regöly (after *Archaeologiai Értésítő* 1891, 280: 4a–b)

Сл. 5. Фибула сродна типу Ракићно с налазишта Саразд–Ређел (према *Archaeologiai Értésítő* 1891, 280: 4a–b)

foot bears a larger, narrower knob; the hemispherical knob is set before the joint. The outer edge of the catch-plate is decorated with a series of small vertical incisions.³⁰ The spherical knob on the foot of a fibula 13.1 cm in length, from Zadar, is set above the knee-bend of the bow, while the hemispherical knob is set before the joint. The bow is wider at the head. The catch-plate has a series of shallow vertical grooves on the front, and pairs of diagonal and vertical lines on the back.³¹ A 7.6 cm long bronze fibula has been found at the amphitheatre location in Burnum, in the layers dated to the first half of the 1st century AD. The knob on the foot has a flattened round shape, while the one before the joint is hemispherical. Four spring coils are preserved.³² Two bronze fibulae have been found in Solin, unfortunately without a known context, and published alongside fibulae of the Picugi type due to their similarity.³³ The first one is 8.3 cm long, with a round knob closer to the foot and a hemispherical one before the joint. The spring has five coils on each side. The catch-plate is decorated with a zig-zag incised

line.³⁴ A similarly decorated fibula with a preserved length of 8.8 cm has a biconical knob on the foot and a hemispherical one before the joint. The entire spring is missing.³⁵

Comparable fibulae that deserve mention, in addition to those of the Rakitno type described above, have been found further north, in Szárazd–Regöly³⁶ in Transdanubia (Fig. 5) and at the oppidum of Staré Hradisko in Moravia.³⁷ The large knobs and the widened bow correspond to the features of the Rakitno type, as I. Hunyadi already observed, citing fibulae from the Posušje region and Lički Ribnik as the best analogies,³⁸ though in this case the fibulae have very long springs.³⁹

Concluding observations on distribution

The above-described fibulae of the Rakitno type reveal that almost all fibulae found in Bosnia and Herzegovina (except those from Prud) are of bronze, and have large spherical knobs and a bow that is, in part, slightly rounded and widened. As a result, they were probably made in nearby workshops. Certain differences of form are seen in the fibulae from Ribić and Vir, on which the knobs are somewhat smaller and the bow somewhat shallower in contour. The fibulae from Late La Tène settlements from the area around Vinkovci that display somewhat different typological characteristics may also most likely be attributed to a local workshop or workshops, where their basic design was given new form. Despite the possible minor differences⁴⁰ that would be the expected result of non-standardised pro-

³⁰ Klemenc 1935, 107, T. II/5.

³¹ Nedved 1981, 166, fig. 5/198.

³² Jadrić-Kučan, Zaninović 2015, 125, cat. no. 155. The fibula has been published as a variant of the so-called Noric-pannonian fibulae with two knobs on the bow.

³³ Marović 1967, 23–24, Fig. 10/1–5. We are grateful to D. Kliškić from the Archaeological Museum in Split.

³⁴ Marović 1967, 21, Fig. 10/2.

³⁵ Marović 1967, 21, Fig. 10/4.

³⁶ Szárazd is stated as the site in *Archaeologiai Értésítő* 1891, 280, while in Hunyadi 1944, Fig. 2 (= T. II) it is referred to as Regöly in the list of illustrations. The site is commonly referred to as Szárazd – Regöly, by linking two neighbouring toponyms from the area where the finds originated.

³⁷ Čižmar 2002, 214, fig. 12/3. The fibula is ascribed to the Šmarjeta type.

³⁸ Hunyadi 1944, 39–41.

³⁹ *Archaeologiai Értésítő* 1891, 280/2, 4, 5.

⁴⁰ E.g., the feature of three knobs on the foot before the joint on fibulae from Sisak, Rapanović Polje and Kostolac.

duction in local workshops at the end of the Iron Age, thus far Rakitno-type fibulae display a regional distribution centred primarily on central Bosnia and western Herzegovina, with another noticeable concentration of finds in eastern Slavonia (Map 1).⁴¹ Between these are the finds in the Sava river valley, from Sisak in the west to Rapanović Polje in the east, with finds from the area of Kostolac, at present, as the easternmost point of their distribution.

It is important to note that Rakitno-type fibulae were made not only of bronze but also of silver (Sisak, Prud on the Sava river, and Lički Ribnik). It is probably not by chance that the use of silver has been recorded on the periphery of their area of distribution, though the reasons can be a matter of conjecture only: were these fibulae specifically chosen as an object of barter because they were made of silver, or were they worn by high-status individuals who could move around more freely? In any event, each community found and created its own design using the popular model with knobs on a backward-bent foot, which underwent numerous transformations in different areas, giving rise to many local types and variants.

DATING OF THE RAKITNO-TYPE FIBULAE

Distinguishing Rakitno-type fibulae from the similar but not identical fibulae of the Picugi type with their own variants raises the question of dating. Since Rakitno-type fibulae do not come from closed associations, with the exception of the hoard from Lički Ribnik, comparisons with similar, dated types of fibulae distributed from the south-east Alps region to the Danube valley form a good basis for attempting to define them chronologically.

A pair of silver fibulae with decoration very similar to that on Rakitno-type fibulae was found in grave 22 in Metlika. These fibulae have long springs with eight coils on each side, differing noticeably in their wire bow and in the form of the knob on the foot.⁴² A similar form, but with a widened bow, occurs in a fragment of a silver fibula from the site of Stari grad above Unac in Notranjska.⁴³ A pair of relatively small silver fibulae (6.8 and 6.1 cm in length) found at Strmac near Bela Cerkev have spherical knobs on the foot, a substantial spherical joint and a bow that widens into a trapezoid, while the spring has an exceptionally large number of coils, 18 to 19 on each side.⁴⁴ A small bronze fibula (5.4 cm in length) from the same site is of iden-

tical shape, with a spring of 15 coils on each side.⁴⁵ Silver fibulae with markedly long springs and a trapezoid bow are very common in graves at Mihovo, where they probably occurred in pairs.⁴⁶ A pair of silver fibulae from grave 1656/71 has a rather shorter spring, with nine coils on each side, and as such they resemble the pair of fibulae from Metlika.⁴⁷ Wearing a pair of silver fibulae with an unusually long spring was typical of female costume from the Mokronog IIIa phase, i.e. during LT D1.⁴⁸ A fibula from Sisak with its widened trapezoid bow and the choice of silver is very similar to these fibulae that, given the significant number of specimens from this burial ground, may be called the Mihovo type. In light of this, the occurrence of silver fibulae with a long spring in the Sava valley may indicate that the design was adopted from the region of the Mokronog group, suggesting contacts following the Sava river valley eastwards. On the other hand, the use of silver and the modelling of the fibulae, particularly their more robust appearance in comparison with those from sites in the south-east Alps region, could equally reflect influences that also spread along the Sava river valley, but in the opposite direction. During this same period, LT D1 (Beograd 3a), silver or bronze fibulae of the Jarak type were made in the region of the Scordisci, to be worn as part of female costume.⁴⁹ They are markedly more substantial, with large spherical knobs and a wide bow, along with a long spring; they also differ from Rakitno-type fibulae in the position of the hemispherical knob, here set slightly apart from the joint. However, in graves 102 and 110 at Karaburma, fibulae of the Jarak type occur individually, revealing that they were

⁴¹ The map is confined to the stated area, beyond which this type of fibula has also been recorded at the sites of Százard – Regöly and Staré Hradisko.

⁴² Šribar 1976, 343, T. III/3,4; Keltoi 1984, fig. 37.

⁴³ Gaspari 2009, 321–322, fig. 6/2.

⁴⁴ Stare 1973, 41, T. 47/2–3.

⁴⁵ Stare 1973, 41, T. 46/22.

⁴⁶ Windl 1975, grave 1656/19: 28, T. XIII/9; grave 1656/24: 31, XIV/8; grave 1656/28: 34, XVI/2; grave 1657/58: 94, XLII/20; plot 1663, beyond the site: 180, LXXVIII/5–6. Though the fibulae were very likely indeed worn in pairs, it should be said that the burial complex from Mihovo is not wholly reliable (Karwowski 2017, 259).

⁴⁷ Windl 1975, 52, T. XXII/11.

⁴⁸ Božič 1999, 198; 2009, 75–76.

⁴⁹ Božič 1981, 320, T. 4/43; Guštin 1984, 327, fig. 14/6; Sladić 1991; Jevtić 2006, 94–104, map 3.

not worn in pairs as fibulae in the south-east Alps region were.⁵⁰ On the other hand, two silver fibulae of the Jarak type, which differ only slightly in size, have been recorded from the site at Jarak, which is assumed to have been a burial ground.⁵¹ The emergence of Jarak-type fibulae is often associated with the penetration of Dacian influences from the east, where large local silver fibulae with a series of sizeable knobs were also very popular.⁵² Mention should also be made of a pair of silver fibulae from Hrtkovci in the Syrmia region. These are much smaller than those of the Jarak type, being a mere 4.5 cm or so in length, and have a markedly long spring with 14 coils on each side. The spherical knobs on the foot are quite small, and the joint has a groove along each edge. Curiously, there is no hemispherical knob at the end of the foot, next to the joint. The bow is wire-like, round in section, and widens only slightly towards the spring. The catch-plate is decorated with incisions.⁵³ A third, fragmentary fibula, also of silver, has a shorter spring of six coils on each side, and a wire bow, round in section.⁵⁴ The fibulae from Hrtkovci more closely resemble in shape and size those from the south-east Alps region than those of the Jarak type.⁵⁵

To the above groups of Late La Tène fibulae may be added those from Transdanubia, which display a similar decorative concept.⁵⁶ These are cast fibulae with a long spring, hemispherical knob and a bow that widens towards the head. Fibulae of this type have been classified as the Oberleiserberg type.⁵⁷ A similar specimen has been recorded in Celje.⁵⁸ A cast fibula from Novi Banovci is comparable with the Rakitno type in the decoration of the hemispherical knob and the spherical imitation joint.⁵⁹ These may be associated with other forms of cast fibulae from LT D1 that occur in the region extending from Dolenjska and northern Croatia to Lower Austria,⁶⁰ on which the execution of the decorative knobs is somewhat different and which are of a smaller size. Their long spring, however, associates them with the fibulae from Százard – Regöly, which are analogous to the Rakitno type. Naturally, given the differences in the way they were made, the Transdanubian fibulae are not really analogous to those classed as the Rakitno type. Even so, along with their other features of similar execution and decoration, they serve to indicate the possibility of local interpretation of a given decorative motif adapted to suit the taste and needs of each community.

In the case of communities settled in southern Herzegovina and central Bosnia, via those occupying

the Una and Kupa valleys, to those living in the region between the Sava and Danube rivers, thus in the areas where fibulae classified as the Rakitno type are most common, the inspiration for their emergence could have come from the wider northern Adriatic and/or south-eastern Alps region, that is the same region where Picugi-type fibulae are found. The same origin, in which the tradition of decoration with knobs goes back to earlier times, is assumed to have inspired the cast fibulae of the Oberleiserberg type.⁶¹ Further support for this conclusion lies in the fact that the contemporary fibulae of a more easterly distribution, those of the Jarak type, differ noticeably in their markedly larger size, and are a kind of hybrid form of the decoration with triple knobs that links all these types with the Dacian taste for the over-sized, as well as the frequent use of precious metals for the manufacture of fibulae.⁶² The “gigantic” proportions of some fibulae attributed to the Corlate – Gura Padinii type have also been linked to the local aesthetic concepts of the Lower Danube area where this type was produced, while the inspiration for its creation seems to have arrived from the same source as proposed for the Rakitno type.⁶³ The production of silver fibulae and other objects in the south-eastern Alps region, referred to above, would also form a link with the workshops active in the eastern and south-eastern areas of the Carpathian Basin.⁶⁴

⁵⁰ Todorović 1972, 33–34, T. XXXI/1, T. XXXII/5.

⁵¹ Brunšmid 1902, 84–85, fig. 43–44.

⁵² Rustoiu 1997, 31–33, 167–173, Fig. 11–17; for Dacian influences, v. Majnarić-Pandžić 2008.

⁵³ Dautova Ruševljan, Jevtić 2006, 293, 297, no. 2–3, fig. 2.

⁵⁴ Dautova Ruševljan, Jevtić 2006, 293, no. 4, fig. 3.

⁵⁵ Dautova Ruševljan, Jevtić 2006, 296–297.

⁵⁶ Szarazd-Regöly: *Archaeologiai Értesítő* XI, 1891, 280; Hunyadi 1942, T. XXIII/2; Velem-Szentvid: Miske 1908, 50–51, T. XL/21–22, 25–26, T. XLII/50; Szalacska: Darnay 1906, 430, fig. 5; Hunyadi 1942, T. XXIII/5–6.

⁵⁷ Karwowski, Militký 2011, 133–135; Drnić 2016.

⁵⁸ Lazar 1996, 280, T. 1/8.

⁵⁹ Drnić 2016, 50, fig. 1/2.

⁶⁰ Tip Magdalenska gora: Dizdar, Božič 2010, 147–153.

⁶¹ Karwowski, Militký 2011, 135. Fibulae of the Kastav type, as a kind previous to the Picugi type both in decorative style and in distribution, indicate a tradition dating from the Middle La Tène period; see Guštin 1987, 50–51; 1991, 36–38; Blečić Kavr 2009.

⁶² Cf. fibulae of type 1, also often made of silver: Rustoiu 1997, 168–173, fig. 12–17.

⁶³ Spănu 2020, 103–108.

⁶⁴ Laharnar et al. 2017, 126.

Though bronze and silver fibulae of the Rakitno type do not originate from closed contexts, their similarities to other types of fibulae, such as those of the Picugi type, and those of the Jarak or Mihovo type, points to a likely date of the latter half of the 2nd and the early 1st century BC, i.e., the earlier phase of the Late La Tène (LT D1). The hoard from Lički Ribnik constitutes a distinct context, consisting of a large quantity of coins as well as items associated with clothing (fibulae, and silver and amber pendants),⁶⁵ which were probably buried in the early 1st century AD.⁶⁶ Along with a Rakitno-type fibula, the hoard also included a jointed fibula of the Alesia type, two of the Almgren 18a2 type, a conical fibula with a decorative plate on the looped-back foot, one wire fibula, a very badly damaged fibula, and two Liburnian plate fibulae – all forms that may be dated to the 1st century BC. The objects and coins deposited as a hoard were probably assembled over a long period,⁶⁷ especially given the value of the objects themselves and the material from which they were made, which of course does not allow for a firm date for Rakitno-type fibulae based on this hoard, but certainly does not exclude their proposed date in the context of the LT D1 phase.

CONCLUSION

The absence of closed associations with finds of Rakitno-type fibulae makes it more difficult to consider how they were worn – individually, with a fibula of another type, or in pairs, like similar Late La Tène fibulae (e.g. Mihovo type). In the case of the latter, it may be that not only the design concept, but also the way they were used, was adopted. Yet, given that fibulae of the Jarak and Mihovo types were a typical feature of female costume in the regions of their distribution, it may be assumed that similar fibulae, those of the Rakitno type, were also part of female costume. Clearly, until burial contexts are found to confirm this, one should be cautious about defining the Rakitno-type fibulae as belonging to female costume. Furthermore, one should take into account their occurrence over a very wide area, from the hinterland of the eastern Adriatic littoral all the way to the southern part of the Carpathian Basin, areas settled in the Late Iron Age by various communities, which did not necessarily imply the same gender affiliation to this particular element of costume.

On the other hand, the distribution of the Rakitno-type fibulae adjoins that of the other similar types of fibula referred to above, from the Picugi type, cast fib-

ulae with similar decoration, to the Jarak or Corlate – Gura Padinii types. This indicates that the model of decorating fibulae with knobs on a backward-bent foot was widely acceptable, and achieved great popularity in the Carpathian Basin, where the greatest number of different types has been recorded. This diversity also points to the existence of several workshops supplying the various regions with characteristic products adapted to local taste. Of particular interest is the concentration of the Rakitno-type fibulae in two widely separated areas – the environs of Posušje in the eastern Adriatic hinterland and in eastern Slavonia, more precisely in the Vinkovci area. Published finds of coins, in the form of drachmas of Apollonia and Dyrrachium, have already demonstrated that there were contacts between the eastern Adriatic and its hinterland and the eastern Slavonia and Sarmatia regions, in regard to which the Late La Tène settlement of Vinkovci – Blato should again be highlighted as one of the centres of communication on which routes converged from different directions.⁶⁸ We also note that the shape of the long wire fibula from Sotin, with a low bow of trapezoidal contour and a short backward-bent foot,⁶⁹ has best analogies in the finds from the Vele Ledine necropolis in Gostilj, in the hinterland of Lake Skadar.⁷⁰ The isolated example of the fibula from Sotin prompts one to think that it may have reached the Danube in the hands of an individual rather than by the usual trade contacts that undoubtedly existed. The valleys of the Bosna, Vrbas and Drina rivers stand out as key routes of communication linking the western Balkans with the southern part of the Carpathian Basin, while the Neretva river further south was doubtless the key connection route towards the eastern Adriatic littoral. The presence and importance of these routes of communication are attested by Rakitno-type fibulae recorded at sites close to the mouths of the Vrbas (Donja Dolina), the Bosna (Prud) and the Drina (Rapanović Polje) which flow towards the Sava river (map 1).

On the other hand, the Sava river valley played an important part in the creation of contacts and the transmission of ideas and goods northwards, all the way to

⁶⁵ Klemenc 1935.

⁶⁶ Bilić 2012, 118–120, 135–136.

⁶⁷ Tonc 2012, 66–67; Drnić, Tonc 2014, 184.

⁶⁸ Dizdar 2016, 42.

⁶⁹ Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 42, T. XXXVIII/1.

⁷⁰ Basler 1969, 31–32, T. IX. 37/5, T. X: 39/1, 39/2, T. XI: 45/1.

Central Europe, given that it formed the shortest route to the Danube region. The Sava river valley also formed a link between the south-eastern Alps and the Danube region, and beyond to the area along the Black Sea. The distribution of Rakitno-type fibulae would also attest to a complex, organised network of contacts during the latter half of the 2nd and the early 1st century BC (Map 1). The northernmost finds of Rakitno-type fibulae, recorded in Transdanubia and Moravia, were probably made in local workshops where craftsmen tried to follow a certain design that had originated far to the south.

Archaeological evidence of transcultural links between the western Balkans and eastern Adriatic hinterland and the Danube region needs to be investigated in greater detail, to which end further investigations at each end of this extremely busy line of communication would undoubtedly contribute. Further finds would confirm the presence of two-way contacts, also observable in earlier stages of development: finds such as the rectangular section of a bronze belt from Mahreviči that was used as a pendant,⁷¹ fibulae from the skeletal grave of a woman in the Kamenjača burial ground near Breza, particularly one decorated with enamel,⁷² and local fibulae with figure-of-eight shaped loops from Bosnia and Herzegovina, based on one of the common

forms of Middle La Tène female costume widespread in the Carpathian Basin.⁷³

In light of the minor morphological differences among fibulae of the Rakitno type, thus far three designs can be identified, which could correspond to areas where the workshops in which they were made were located. Transdanubian specimens are characterised by a long spring, comparable in form to contemporary cast fibulae; next come fibulae of rather more delicate workmanship, which appear in the environs of Vinkovci; while specimens from Bosnia and Herzegovina are of the form described here as the standard Rakitno-type fibula. This is undoubtedly a type belonging to the local, probably female, costume of communities living in this area, as demonstrated by finds at such settlements as Vinkovci – Blato, Ripač, and Rapanović Polje, as well as to the sites of worship of the local population (Gorica and Kamenjača). The many similarities in the appearance of Rakitno-type fibulae undoubtedly point to the use or sharing of the same design concept, in line with which their distribution provides evidence of contacts between communities in the western Balkans and the hinterland of the eastern Adriatic littoral and those living in the southern part of the Carpathian Basin in the latter half of the 2nd and the early 1st century BC.⁷⁴

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⁷¹ Truhelka 1912, 21, fig. 12

⁷² Marić 2015a, 152.

⁷³ Marić 2015b, 319, fig. 8. On this type of fibulae in general see Dizdar 2020.

⁷⁴ This paper was funded by the Croatian Science Foundation project *Female identity in the Iron Age in the southern Carpathian Basin* (FEMINE, IP-06-2016-1749).

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Резиме: МАРКО ДИЗДАР, Археолошки институт, Загреб
АСЈА ТОНЦ, Археолошки институт, Загреб

КАСНОЛАТЕНСКЕ ФИБУЛЕ ТИПА РАКИТНО. СВЕДОЧАНСТВО КОНТАКАТА ЗАПАДНОГА БАЛКАНА И ЈУЖНОГА ДЕЛА КАРПАТСКЕ КОТЛИНЕ

Кључне речи. – фибуле, западни Балкан, Карпатска котлина, 2–1. век п. н. е., касни латен, контакти, радионице, женска ношња

Приликом разматрања различитих типова фибула распрострањених дуж источне обале Јадрана и њеног залеђа током 2–1. века п. н. е. уочене су фибуле које показују велику сличност с типом Пицуги и припадајућим варијантама, но показују специфичне морфолошке карактеристике и дистрибуцију које подупиру њихово издвајање у засебан тип, назван тип Ракитно према налазишту с којег потиче прва таква објављена фибула. Фибуле типа Ракитно израђене су од бронзе, само изузетно од сребра. Уназад пребачена ножица округлог пресека украшена је једним кугластим задебљањем постављеним отприлике у равни с почетком лука, при чему куглица са сваке стране има још по једно уско прстенасто задебљање. Ножица фибуле се потом директно наслана на лук те се најчешће спаја с њим одмах након половине лука према спирали. Спојница уз рубове има по један жлеб те се непосредно испред ње, при самом крају ножице, налази још једно полулоптасто задебљање слично претходном, које такође са сваке стране може имати по једно уско задебљање. Сама спојница такође може бити обликована попут лоптастог задебљања. Задебљање на ножици може имати и биконични облик. Лук има благо коленасти прелаз према држачу игле, што му даје трапезоидан обрис. Према спирали лук се проширује те је овалног или тракастог пресека, док се према другом крају постепено сужава попримајући округли пресек испред прелаза у држач игле, који је понекад украшен у облику латиничног слова V или усправно те косо постављеним плитким жлебовима, при чему се на рубу још могу налазити кратки урези. Спирала се најчешће састоји од четири до пет навоја са сваке стране, који су повезани с спољном тетивом. Дужина фибула у просеку најчешће износи 9–10 cm. Лоптасто задебљање на ножици, односно полулоптасто постављено непосредно испред спојнице, те благо коленасто обликован прелаз лука према држачу за иглу, повезују ове фибуле с варијантом Пицуги истоименог типа, од које се, међутим, разликују по масивнијим задебљањима на ножици и испред спојнице, затим по спољној тетиви спирале која по правилу има четири до пет навоја са сваке стране те по проширеном, понекад благо чунасто заобљеном луку на делу између спојнице и спирале. Због тога фибуле издвојене као тип Ракитно делују нешто масивније, па се управо због наведених морфолошких карактеристика као и дистрибуције могу сматрати посебним типом.

С простора данашње Босне и Херцеговине потиче већи број фибула типа Ракитно, укључујући и прву објављену фибулу с епонимног налазишта које се уједно налази на подручју знатне концентрације фибула овог типа – шире околине Посушја у јужној Херцеговини (Карта 1, Сл. 2/1–5). Фибуле су пронађене и у Поуњу (Сл. 2/6, 7), на налазишћима у средњој Босни (Карта 1; Сл. 2/8), затим у Сиску, Доњој Долини, Пруду (Сл. 2/10). Следећу групу фибула типа Ракитно налазимо на простору источне Славоније, односно фибуле потичу с неколико каснолатенских насеља из Винковаца и околине: Винковци–Блато (Сл. 3/1–3; Сл. 4), Иванково–Дрен (Сл. 3/4), Мирковци–Малат (Сл. 3/6), Винковци–Лисичак (Сл. 3/5). Поједини налази пронађени су на локалитетима смештеним на дунавској обали, у Даљу, непознатом налазишту у Срему (Сл. 3/7), потом на положају Београд – Ада Хуја те на два положаја код Костолца – Чаир и Над Клепечком, која уједно за сада представљају најисточнију тачку распрострањања. Фибулама типа Ракитно могу се приписати и поједини налази забележени изван основног подручја распрострањања, односно фибуле из гроба 131 с Голека у Виноци, сребрна фибула из оставе накита и новца из Личког Рибника (Сл. 2/9), из Задра те два примерка из Солина. Треба споменути и сличне налазе фибула које се појављују северније, тачније у Саразд–Регељу (Százard–Regöly) у Прекодунавској Мађарској – *Transdanubia* (Сл. 5) те на опидуму Старе Храдиско у Моравској, иако се ту појављују фибуле с врло дугим спиралама. Готово су све фибуле с подручја данашње Босне и Херцеговине (осим с налазишта Пруд) бронзане те имају крупна лоптаста задебљања као и благо заобљени проширени део лука, због чега би се вероватно могле сматрати производима блиских радионица. Фибуле нешто грацилније израде које потичу с каснолатенских насеља из околине Винковаца врло вероватно се могу приписати другој, локалној радионици/радионицама где је основни идејни образац доживео нову израду. Као трећа могућа радионичка група истичу се примерци из области Прекодунавске Мађарске – *Transdanubia* које одликује појава дуге спирале.

Иако бронзане и сребрне фибуле типа Ракитно не долазе из затворених целина, постојеће сличности с другим типовима фибула, како онима типа Пицуги, тако и фибулама типа Јарак или Михово, упућују на њихово вероватно датирање у раздобље друге половине 2. и почетка 1. века п. н. е., односно у старију фазу касног латена (LT D1). Сребрне фи-

буле типа Михово одликују се изразито дугом спиралом као и трапезоидним проширењем лука. Врло су честе у гробовима на епонимном налазишту Михову, где се вероватно појављују у пару. Током LT D1 (степен Београд 3а) на подручју Скордиска као део женске ношње јављају се сребрне или бронзане фибуле типа Јарак. Оне су изразито масивне, с крупним кугластим задебљањима и широким раскованим луком те дугачком спиралом, при чему се разлика у односу на фибуле типа Ракитно такође може препознати и у положају полулоптастог задебљања, овде мало удаљенијег од спојнице. Набројаним групама каснолатенских фибула могу се придодати и оне из области Прекодунавске Мађарске које показују сличну концепцију украса, односно ливене фибуле дугачке спирале, с полулоптастим задебљањима и проширењем лука испред главе које су издвојене као тип Оберлајсерберг.

Инспирација за настанак фибула типа Ракитно могла је доћи са ширег севернојадранског и/или југоисточноалпског простора, односно истог оног на којем налазимо фибуле типа Пицуги. Исто је исходиште, у којем традиција украшавања путем задебљања сеже у претходна раздобља, претпостављено као подстицај за настанак ливених фибула типа Оберлајсерберг. На такав закључак указује и спознаја како се истовремене фибуле источније распрострањености, односно фибуле типа Јарак знатније разликују по изразитој масивности те представљају својеврсну мешавину украса троструких задебљања који повезује све наведене типове те споменутог дачког укуса за предимензионирање као и честу употребу драгоценог метала за њихову израду.

Одсутност затворених целина с налазима фибула типа Ракитно отежава тумачења о начину њиховог ношења, односно јесу ли биле ношене појединачно, уз неку фибулу другог типа или пак у пару попут сличних каснолатенских фибула (нпр. типа Михово). У случају овог последњег, могло би се говорити не само о преузимању идејног обрасца већ и начина његовога кориштења. Ипак, с обзиром на то да су фибуле типа Јарак и Михово биле карактеристичан део женске ношње на просторима њиховог распрострањања, могуће је претпоставити како су и њима сличне фибуле, оне типа Ракитно, представљале део ношње жена. Наравно, пре проналаска гробних целина које би тако нешто и потврдиле, нужан је опрез у дефинисању фибула типа Ракитно као дела женске ношње. Надаље, свакако треба узети у обзир њихову појаву на врло широком простору, од залеђа источ-

нојадранске обале све до јужних делова Карпатске котлине, односно на подручјима која су током млађег гвозденог доба насељавале различите заједнице које нису нужно истом елементу ношње, у овоме случају фибулама типа Ракитно, придавале истозначну родну припадност.

Распрострањеност фибула типа Ракитно надовезује се на распрострањеност других споменутих слично обликованих типова фибула. То указује на прихваћеност модела украшавања фибула путем задебљања на уназад пребаченој ножици, који је велику популарност стекао управо на простору Карпатске котлине, где је и забележен највећи број различитих сродних типова и варијанти. Таква разноврсност уједно указује на постојање више радионица које су снабдевале поједина подручја карактеристичним, локалном укусу прилагођеним производима.

Посебно је занимљива концентрација фибула типа Ракитно на два удаљена подручја – у околини Посушја у залеђу источног Јадрана те у источној Славонији, односно у околини Винковаца. На постојање контаката источног Јадрана са залеђем с просторима источне Славоније и Срема већ су указали објављени налази новца, тачније драхми Аполоније и Дирахмија, при чему се још једном мора истакнути каснолатенско насеље Винковци–Блато као једно од комуникацијских средишта у којем се сусрећу комуникацијски правци из различитих смерова. Долине река Босне, Врбаса и Дрине могу се издвојити као кључни комуникацијски правци којима се остваривала повезаност западнога Балкана с јужним делом Карпатске котлине, при чему је ток реке Неретве даље према југу вероватно био кључан правац за повезаност с источном обалом Јадрана. Долина реке Саве имала је и важну улогу у остварењу контаката те даљем преношењу идеја и добара према северу, све до простора средње Европе, будући да је представљала најкраћу комуникацију према Подунављу. Исто тако, долином реке Саве остваривала се повезаност између југоисточноалпског простора с Подунављем и даље подручјем уз Црно море. О постојању тако организоване комплексне мреже контаката током друге половине 2. и почетак 1. века п. н. е. сведочила би тако и распрострањеност фибула типа Ракитно. Управо најсевернији налази фибула типа Ракитно, забележени на подручју Прекодунавске Мађарске и Моравске, вероватно указују на производе локалних радионица које су у изради покушале да следе одређени идејни образац настао далеко на југу.

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