

# Trgovina i razmjena u pretpovijesti

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TRGOVINA I RAZMJENA U  
PRETPOVIJESTI  
TRADE AND EXCHANGE IN  
PREHISTORY

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# TRGOVINA I RAZMJENA U PRETPOVIJESTI

## TRADE AND EXCHANGE IN PREHISTORY

IZLOŽBA – EXHIBITION

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Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu  
Arheološki muzej u Puli

Archaeological Museum in Zagreb  
Archaeological Museum of Istria



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## PROSLOV

Strateški položaj istarskog poluotoka, zemljopisno duboko uvučenog u europsko kopno, bitan je čimbenik gospodarske povijesti u svim razdobljima. Trgovina i trgovački putovi, pretežitom morem, ali i kopnom, uvjetovali su etničke, političke i kulturne promjene.

Konfiguracija terena stvorila je osnovu za dobro zaštićene luke i pristaništa, koji su odigrali osnovnu ulogu u gospodarstvu. Istra je u razdoblju histarske dominacije sjevernojadranskim prostorom bila područje tranzita, posredništva i pljačke. Upravo te aktivnosti uvjetovala su i razvoj prvih trgovačkih središta na obali ili u bliskom zaleđu, poput mjesta *Flanona*, *Nesactium*, *Pola*, Monkodonja, Picugi ili *Piquentum*.

Svojom otvorenošću ka posredništvu, trgovini ili gusarstvu Istra je, kao centralni dio sjevernojadranskog prostora, bila u bliskom doticaju sa sredozemnim svijetom kroz grčku i južnoitalsku kamenu plastiku i keramiku. Upravo je ta gospodarska transparentnost i strateška važnost prostora bila i motiv za rimsko osvajanje 177. g. pr. Kr. poradi nadzora plovidbenih ruta Jadranskim morem.

Istra u arheologiji, povijesti i gospodarstvu nije samo tranzitna zona već su i njezini proizvodi ponekad važan faktor globalnog tržišta na sjeveroistoku, sjeveru i zapadu europskog kopna.

Izložbom Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu "Trgovina i razmjena u pretpovijesti" nastavlja se dugogodišnji niz kvalitetne međumuzejske suradnje s Arheološkim muzejom Istre u Puli. Ovaj će projekt obogatiti izložbenu ponudu grada tijekom ljeta gdje će posjetitelji dobiti nova saznanja o najstarijoj povijesti naših prostora.

Ravnateljica  
mr. sc. Kristina Džin, viša kustosica

## PROLOGUE

Strategic position of the Istrian peninsula, geographically deeply recessed into the European land, plays an important part in economic history throughout all time periods. Trade and trading routes, most of which were shipping lanes, produced the ethnic, political and cultural changes.

Terrain configuration was perfect for well-protected docks and ports, which played the central role in the economy. During the Histrian domination over the north Adriatic area, Istria was a region of transit, mediatorship and plundering. It was precisely these activities that prompted the development of the first trade centers on the coast and the near hinterland, such as *Flanona*, *Nesactium*, *Pola*, Monkodonja, Picugi or *Piquentum*.

Due to its openness to mediation, trade and piracy, Istria as the central part of the north Adriatic area, was closely connected with the Mediterranean world through Greece and south Italic sculpture and pottery. Its economic transparency and strategic importance served as motive for Roman occupation in 177 BC, with the goal of obtaining control over sea routes in the Adriatic.

In archeology, history and economy, Istria serves not just as a transit-zone, but its products sometimes play a crucial role in the global trade of the northeastern, northern and western Europe.

The exhibition "Trade and Exchange in Prehistory", organized by the Archeological Museum in Zagreb, presents yet another step in its successful long-term cooperation with the Archeological Museum of Istria in Pula. This project will enrich the exhibition offer in the city during summer, and its visitors will obtain new knowledge of the earliest history of our region.

Manager  
M. A. Kristina Džin, senior curator  
(translation: Irena Kraljević)

*Ingoti iz ostave Ivanec Bistranski*  
*Ingots from the Ivanec Bistranski hoard*



## UVOD

Tko još broji stranice koje je čovjek ispisao o trgovini? Ta taj je posao već odavno izgubio smisao. No, kada uronimo u pretpovijesno doba, još uvijek susrećemo malo netaknutog prostora; još uvijek pronalazimo mjesta koja vrijedi pokazati drugima. Arheologija stremi priskrbiti nam razumijevanje onoga što smo bili, fenomena koji su nas i naša društva činili onime što jesmo. Da trgovina i razmjena čine dio te priče, vjerujemo da nikada nije bilo sporno.

Razmjena je, ako ne najvažniji, a ono jedan iz reda ključnih pojmova za razumijevanje čovjeka i ljudskih društava. Idemo li do apsurdna, doslovno je svaki oblik komunikacije među ljudima moguće promatrati kao čin razmjene: darivanje, ali i krađu; razgovor, no isto tako i svađu; raspravu ili tek izmjenu pozdrava ili pak uvreda; sve su to oblici u kojima se među sudionicima uspostavlja uzajamni odnos primanja i davanja, ma kako neznatni ili neravnopravni ti udjeli bili. Kad u ovu jednadžbu uvedemo pojam vrijednosti, a uz to i svjesne težnje za uravnoteženjem funkcija primatelja i davatelja, spremni smo početi razgovarati o trgovini.

Trgovinu možemo definirati na različite načine, primjerice, kao “uzajamni prijenos dobara u vlasništvo drugoga”, što na sasvim prihvatljiv način postavlja okvire za našu temu. Dobra, ili vrijednosti, pritom, mogu biti raznolika. To su i opipljive stvari poput kovina ili raznovrsnih ukrasa, ali i nematerijalni koncepti poput tehnologija ili raznih znanja; pretpovijesnim je zajednicama bilo podjednako zanimljivo doći u posjed sjajnog oružja kao i do načina kako da ga same proizvedu; a sakupljanje sredstava za nabavu nakita s magičnim svojstvima možda vam nije vrijedilo mnogo ako usput niste otkupili i prigodni ples za prizivanje kiše, bacanje uroka ili neku još opakiju vradžbinu. Trgovati se moglo i uslugama: umjesto da sami učite plesne korake, zašto ga ne biste naručili i riješili se muke? Nadalje, i živa bića ulaze u okvire ovako shvaćenog pojma “dobro”, ma kakve bile ljudske (ili životinjske) kvalifikacije u pojedinim slučajevima, te se i o rodu Homo može bez suviše sentimentalnosti raspravljati kao o punopravnom objektu trgovačkih transakcija. U pretpovijesti kao i danas, trgovina je vazda imala moć da mijenja svijet.

## INTRODUCTION

Who is still counting the pages man has written on trade? Hasn't this endeavour long lost all sense? But when we delve into prehistory, we still come across some virgin land; we still find places worth showing others. Archaeology strives to give us an understanding of what we once were, the phenomena that made us and our societies what they are, and there has never been any doubt that trade and exchange are indeed a part of that story.

Exchange is, if not the most important, then certainly one of the key concepts in understanding man and human society. Taken to the point of absurdity, literally every form of communication among people can be seen as an act of exchange: the giving of gifts, but also theft; conversation, but also quarrel; a discussion or a mere exchange of greetings or insults. All these are the forms in which a relationship of giving and taking is established between the participants, no matter how insignificant or unequal the stakes may be. If we then add the element of *value*, as well as a conscious desire for balancing the functions of giver and taker, we are ready to start talking about trade.

There are different ways of defining trade. We can say it is the “mutual transfer of goods into the ownership of another”, a definition which establishes a perfectly acceptable framework for our topic. Goods, or valuables, can be varied. They may be tangible things like metals or different ornaments, but also non-material concepts like technology or various kinds of knowledge. For prehistoric communities, acquiring the knowledge to make a shiny weapon could be just as interesting as coming into the possession of the weapon itself; collecting the means to purchase jewellery with magical features was perhaps of little use if you didn't also buy the appropriate dance, casting of spells or another even meaner form of witchcraft. One could also trade in services: Instead of learning the dance steps yourself, why not pay someone else to do it for you? Moreover, living beings also come within the scope of “goods” defined in this way, regardless of the human (or animal) traits in specific cases, so that, putting aside any sentimentality we may even discuss the species Homo as a valid object of trade transactions. In prehistory, just as today, trade always had the power to change the world.



*Spilja Vindija*  
*Vindija Cave*



## PALEOLITIK

O razmjeni tijekom starijega kamenog doba, napose njegovoga najranijeg dijela, na raspolaganju su nam vrlo oskudni podaci. Kameno oruđe i mijene u njegovim oblicima te sirovinski materijal koji je za izradu poslužio, gotovo su jedino što nam se za donošenje zaključaka pruža. Koristimo li današnja mjerila, razmjena tijekom paleolitika, kao i svaki drugi element života uostalom, svodila se na smiješno male stvari: razmjenu ideja ili raznih znanja, kao i razmjenu, ili češće možda otimanje stvari ili osoba. O malo čemu, uostalom, imamo neposrednih pokazatelja.

U to rano vrijeme godine su prolazile u stotinama tisuća prije no što bi čovjek dodao novi zarez na listu svojih izuma. No, i takav je ritam nekuda vodio: do vremena srednjeg paleolitika, kada neandertalci nastavaju europski kontinent, materijalna kultura već je uvelike napredovala, a sirovina za izradu kamenog oruđa dobivana je i iz ležišta koja su desetinama kilometara udaljena od mjesta nalaza.

Krajem srednjeg paleolitika te na prijelazu u gornji paleolitik, kada se neandertalcima pridružuje i anatomski moderni čovjek ove pojave dobivaju na intenzitetu, a pokazatelji populacijske mobilnosti postaju još izraženiji. Među brojnim pitanjima koja se tiču razmjene u ovome razdoblju možda bi se kao najzanimljivije moglo izdvojiti ono koje progovara o možebitnoj razmjeni između modernog čovjeka i neandertalca: u našim uvjetima, lijep primjer za takvu mogućnost pruža špilja Vindija u Hrvatskom zagorju.

## THE PALAEOOLITHIC

We have only very scarce information about exchange during the Early Stone Age, especially its earliest periods. Our conclusions about this age are practically based solely on stone tools, the changes in their form and the raw material used to produce them. By today's standards, exchange in the Palaeolithic, like other areas of life, was reduced to an incredibly small scale: the exchange of ideas or various kinds of knowledge, as well as the exchange – or rather more frequently – the snatching away of things and people. We have, after all, very few direct indicators.

In this early age, hundreds of thousands of years would go by before man added another notch to the list of his inventions. But even this pace led somewhere. By the time of the Middle Palaeolithic, when Neanderthals populate the European continent, material culture had already advanced significantly, while the raw material for the production of stone tools was acquired also from deposits located as far as tens of kilometres from the place they were found. At the end of the Middle Palaeolithic and during the transition to the Upper Palaeolithic, when Neanderthals are joined by anatomically modern man, these developments gain in momentum, and population mobility indicators become more pronounced. Perhaps the most interesting issues regarding exchange in this period are those concerning the possible exchange between modern man and Neanderthals. In these parts, a good example of this possibility is the Vindija Cave in Hrvatsko zagorje.

## MEZOLITIK

Nakon dva i pol milijuna godina, koliko je obuhvatilo starije kameno doba, nekoliko tisuća godina trajanja srednjega kamenog doba, mezolitika (10-6. tisućljeće pr. Kr.), može se doimati kratkim. Ipak, to je vrijeme velikih promjena, ponajprije u pogledu klime: mezolitik obilježava izlazak iz ledenodobnih uvjeta te posljedičnu prilagodbu ljudskih zajednica na jedan bitno drugačiji svijet. Razmjenski procesi u ovome razdoblju ne razlikuju se mnogo od paleolitičkih; u oba je slučaja riječ o razmjeni karakterističnoj za mobilne zajednice lovaca i sakupljača, skromnu opsegom te vršenu neposrednim kontaktom sudionika. U nekim su slučajevima određena dobra mogla prevaljivati i mnogo veće udaljenosti nego što je to ranije bilo uobičajeno. Posebice se to odnosi na ukrase

od ljuštura morskih puževa (*Columbella rustica*, *Cyclope neritea*) ili školjaka, na koje se nailazi i na više stotina kilometara udaljenosti od njihovih ležišta u Sredozemnom moru.

Krajem ovog razdoblja zajednice lovaca i sakupljača dolaze u dodir s ranim grupama neolitičkih ljudi. U razmjeni su im mogli ponuditi divljač, a k tome i vlastite proizvode, snagu, sposobnosti ili znanja. Zauzvrat, poljodjelci i stočari davali bi im žitarice, udomaćene životinje i keramičke izradvine, a valja pretpostaviti i određena kretanja pojedinaca između dviju populacija, primjerice s ciljem osiguravanja partnera, do čega nije uvijek moralo doći mirnim putem.



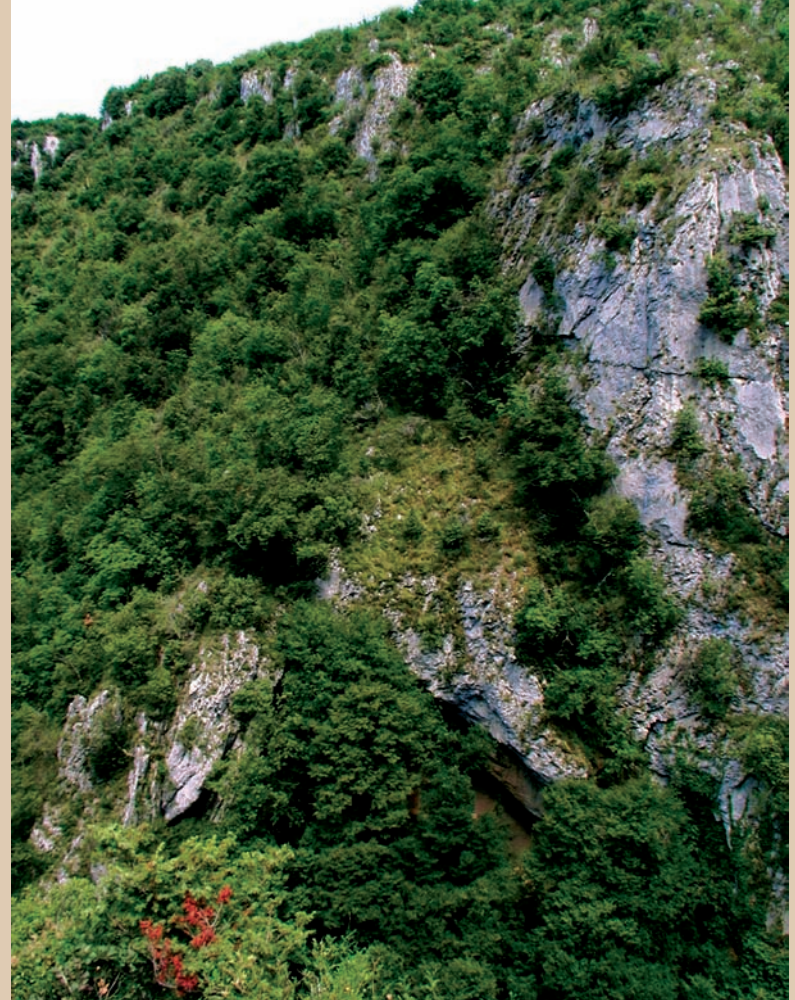
*Ljuštura morskih puževa vrste Columbella rustica*  
*Shells of marine snails of the Columbella rustica species*

# THE MESOLITHIC

After the two and a half million years of the Early Stone Age, the several thousands of years of the Middle Stone Age or the Mesolithic (10<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> millennium BC) may seem short. However, this was a time of great change, especially in the climate. It is during the Mesolithic that the Ice Age conditions come to an end and human communities adapt to a very different world. Processes of exchange in this period do not differ greatly from those in the Palaeolithic. In both cases, the process of exchange is one characteristic for mobile hunter-gatherer communities, modest in volume and carried out in direct contact of the participants.

In some cases, certain goods could travel across far wider distances than was usual earlier on. This is especially true of the shells of sea-snails (*Columbella rustica*, *Cyclope neritea*) or shells, found several hundred kilometers away from their beds in the Mediterranean Sea.

Toward the end of this period, hunter-gatherer communities come into contact with Neolithic human groups. They could offer them game, as well as their own products, strength, skills or knowledge. In return, farmers and cattle-breeders would give them grains, domesticized animals and ceramic products. We can also assume that there were certain movements of individuals between the two populations, for instance in order to find a partner, which was not necessarily a peaceful affair.



*Pupičina peč*

## NEOLITIK

U odnosu na svoje predšasnike, čovjek neolitičkoga doba svijet je gledao drugačijim očima. Raniju ovisnost o lovu i sakupljanju plodova radi prehranjivanja, što je kao posljedicu nosilo izrazitu pokretljivost ljudskih grupa, zamijenila je sada organizirana proizvodnja hrane, te njoj svojstvena vezanost uz mjesto proizvodnje. Ljudski je rod tako postupno većim dijelom prešao na sjedilački način života, a među novitete koji novo razdoblje čine arheološki prepoznatljivim mogu se dodati i proizvodnja i uporaba keramičkih predmeta te usvajanje tehnike glačanja pri izradi oruđa i oružja od kamena.

No, sjedilaštvu usprkos, ljudska društva, gledana u cjelini, nisu posve izgubila na mobilnosti. I dalje je bilo neophodno kretati se prostorima udaljenima od matične sredine. Da je takvih kretanja doista i bilo, najlakše je uočljivo po predmetima kojima je, osim mjesta nalaza, moguće odrediti i podrijetlo, na

## THE NEOLITHIC

Neolithic man saw the world with eyes quite different to those of his predecessors. The earlier dependence on hunting and gathering for food, resulting in marked mobility of human groups, was now replaced by organized food production and consequent ties to the place of production. Thus, for the most part, the human race gradually adopted the sedentary way of life and some of the novelties that make this period archaeologically recognizable are the production and use of ceramic items and the adoption of the technique of polishing in the production of stone tools and weapons.

Despite the sedentary way of life, on the whole human society did not entirely lose its mobility. There was still a need to travel to areas distant from one's home. Such movement is most readily visible on objects for which we can determine not only the location at which they were discovered but also



*Jezgre od opsidijana  
Obsidian cores*

temelju specifičnosti ležišta sirovinskog materijala korištenog za njihovu izradu. Tijekom neolitika, najzahvalniji primjeri za to su predmeti izrađeni od školjke *Spondylus gaederopus* (kvrzgavi kopitnjak), od opsidijana (ili vulkanskog stakla) te od jadeita i nefrita. Navedeni predmeti nalaženi su na brojnim lokalitetima širom Hrvatske i Europe, a njihova rasprostranjenost pruža vrijedne podatke i o smjerovima kolanja raznovrsnih materijala te putovima kojima je tekla razmjena između neolitičkih zajednica.

their place of origin, based on the specific characteristics of the deposits of the raw material used for their production. In the case of the Neolithic, the best examples are objects made of *Spondylus gaederopus* shell, obsidian (or volcanic glass), and of jadeite and nephrite. Such objects have been found at numerous sites throughout Croatia and Europe, and their distribution provides us with valuable information on the directions in which various materials circulated and on the routes of exchange between Neolithic communities.



*Nakit od školjke Spondylus gaederopus*  
*Ornaments of Spondylus gaederopus shell*

## ENEOLITIK

Sve do eneolitika, ili bakrenog doba, čovjek se kroz svijet kretao među sebi ravnima; u novom se razdoblju ovaj odnos mijenja. Ovo je vrijeme u kojem su svladavane prve prepreke u razumijevanju i korištenju metala i metalnih izrađevina - sirovine i proizvoda koji će i u sljedećim periodima mijenjati svijet. Spoznavanjem vrijednosti i važnosti ovog materijala, pojavila se i zbiljska potreba za njegovim posjedovanjem kod velikog broja ljudi, a to je, razumljivo, imalo za ishod povećanje količine i opsega razmjenjivanih dobara.

U ovu jednadžbu ulaze, dakako, i drugi elementi osim metala. Odličnu početnu poziciju za razmjenu imali su pojedinci i zajednice koji su se posvetili uzgoju stoke, kao privredne grane koju odlikuje razmjerno brzo stvaranje viškova, a time i raspoloživih sredstava za razmjenu. Pritom, za razliku od neolitika, značaj stoke ne ogleda se više isključivo u tome što predstavlja lako dostupni izvor mesa, a uz to i kože ili rogova. Ovim, primarnim, proizvodima sada se pridodaju i sekundarni – mlijeko i vuna, kao i korištenje životinja za prijevoz i vuču. S tim je vezana i pojava i razvoj prijevoznih sredstava, pa tako najraniji nalazi kotača i prikaza kola potječu upravo iz tog vremena.

*Ostava bakrenih sjekira iz Brekinjske  
Hoard of bronze axes from Brekinjska*



## THE ENEOLITHIC

Up until the Eneolithic, or the Copper Age, man moved through the world among equals. In the new age, this relationship changes. Man begins to overcome the first obstacles to understanding and using metal and metal products – the raw materials and products that will change the world in the ages to come. Once the value and significance of this material became known, there was a real and widespread need to possess it. This, understandably, led to an increased exchange.

Other elements, besides metal, played a role in this. Individuals and communities that engaged in cattle raising had an excellent starting position for exchange. In this economic branch, surplus is created relatively quickly, providing available means for exchange. In addition to this and unlike the situation in the Neolithic, cattle is no longer significant only as an easily accessible source of meat, skins and horns. Besides these primary products there are now also secondary products – milk and wool. Animals also start to be used for transport and traction. This is connected to the appearance and development of means of transport, and it is from this time that the earliest finds of wheels and representations of wagons date.



*Zračni snimak nalazišta Vučedol*  
*Aerial view of the site of Vučedol*



## BRONČANO DOBA

Procesi začeti u bakrenom dobu tijekom brončanoga sveudilj dobivaju na zamahu. Odnosi se to kako na promjene u pogledu materijalne kulture, tako i na preinake u društvenoj strukturi onodobnih populacija. Najizrazitiji čimbenik ovih novih okolnosti je metal, i to prije svega legura bakra i kositra – bronca.

Uporaba metala tijekom brončanoga doba odvija se u posve drugačijim okolnostima nego ranije. Nekad rijetka i prestižna roba, rezervirana za uski krug onodobnog društva, metal sada postaje sveprisutna i, nadasve, neophodna tvar. Dobrim je dijelom to vezano uz višestruko poboljšane osobine novog metala u odnosu na stari. Naime, krhki, nesavitljivi i meki bakar, pretvara se dodatkom kositra u mnogo čvršću, trajniju i tvrđu broncu, podatnu za izradu mnogo većeg broja predmeta, primjerice oružja ili nakita.

Povećanje raznolikosti i količine raspoloživih predmeta, razumljivo, utječe i na povećanje opsega trgovine i razmjene. No, u čitavoj priči oko bronce gotovi proizvodi ne predstavljaju ključni element; on se krije u sirovinama koje broncu tvore. Već i do bakra, razmjerno rijetko zastupljenog u zemljinoj kori, nije bilo jednostavno doći, ali zato se nabava kositra, prisutnog u mnogo manjoj mjeri i u osjetno manjem broju ležišta, teško može opisati drugačije nego kao pothvat.

## THE BRONZE AGE

The processes that began during the Copper Age gather momentum in the Bronze Age. This is true not only of changes in the material culture, but also of those in the social organization. The most prominent factor of these new circumstances is metal, above all the alloy of copper and tin – bronze.

In the Bronze Age, metal was used in circumstances very different to those of earlier periods. Once a prestigious and rare commodity, reserved for a small circle of society, metal now becomes a widespread and above all, necessary substance. This has largely to do with the much improved characteristics of the new metal in relation to the old: the addition of tin transforms the fragile, inflexible and soft copper into the much tougher, durable and harder bronze, pliable for the production of a far larger number of objects, such as weapons or jewellery.

The greater variety and amount of available goods naturally resulted in increased trade and exchange. However, in the story of bronze, it is not the finished products that are the key element. Rather, it is the raw materials that constitute bronze. Even copper, relatively scarce in the Earth's crust was not easy to come by. Tin was even more scarce and present in far fewer deposits, and acquiring it could only be described as a real feat.



*Rekonstrukcija ulaza na akropolu Monkodonje  
Reconstruction of the entrance to the acropolis of Monkodonja*



*Ostava bronzanih predmeta iz Gornje Vrbe*  
*Hoard of bronze objects from Gornja Vrba*

Za stotine i tisuće pretpovijesnih brončanih predmeta pronalazanih diljem Hrvatske valjalo je tijekom brončanog doba nabaviti odgovarajuće količine kositra – nimalo lak zadatak, znade li se da do najbližih zajamčeno iskorištavanih ležišta ovog minerala valja potegnuti do Britanije ili Iberije. Može ga se, doduše, naći i u nama bližim krajevima, primjerice u zapadnoj Srbiji te nešto dalje, u središnjoj Italiji, na Sardiniji te u Rudogorju, na granici Češke i Njemačke. No, barem za sada, još nema tragova koji bi progovorili o korištenju tih izvora tijekom brončanoga doba. Bez obzira na to gdje su se nalazila ležišta kositra, sa sigurnošću se može ustvrditi kako se metal, u prirodnom ili u prerađenom obliku, ili pak sadržan u već izrađenim brončanim predmetima, zasigurno dopremao sa znatnih udaljenosti. S tim u vezi, međudjelovanje pitanja potražnje, nabave, prijenosa, prerade i distribucije kositra i predmeta od bronce s vremenom je postalo dominantnim čimbenikom brončanodobne razmjene, sredstvom koje je na sebe vezalo i niz drugih aspekata u kojima su pojedinci i čitava društva dolazili u kontakt, razmjenjujući ideje, tehnologiju, hranu, predmete, životinje ili ljude u jednom neprestano rastućem sustavu razmjene.

The many thousands of prehistoric bronze objects found throughout Croatia required adequate amounts of tin during the Bronze Age. This was by no means an easy task if we bear in mind that the closest exploited deposits of this mineral lay as far off as Britain or Iberia. Although tin can be found in areas closer to us, for example in Serbia and central Italy, on Sardinia and in the Ore Mountains, on the border between the Czech Republic and Germany, there are as yet no traces that would indicate that these sources were in fact used during the Bronze Age. Regardless of the location of tin deposits, it can be stated with certainty that the metal, whether in natural or processed form, or contained in finished bronze objects, was transported from great distances. The interplay of the demand, procurement, transport, processing and distribution of tin and bronze objects became in time the dominant factor in Bronze Age exchange. It became a means that was linked to several other aspects that brought together individuals and even entire communities, exchanging ideas, technology, food, objects, animals or people in a continuously growing system of exchange.



## STARIJE ŽELJEZNO DOBA

Pojave koje su bile na djelu tijekom bronzanoga doba u ovome razdoblju dodatno dobivaju na složenosti, a trgovina i razmjena u tome nipošto nisu iznimka. Stoljeća su se redala, a robe je bilo sve više. Pojavljivale su se nove vrste materijala i proizvoda. Uloga vodećeg sloja društva, nadziratelja prirodnih i proizvedenih dobara zajednice, postala je još izrazitija nego prije. Agenti trgovine i razmjene, pojedinci i grupe koji su organizirali i provodili dobavu, prijenos i razmjenu roba jednako su tako koristili iskustvenu baštinu nataloženu protjecom vremena, a onima izraslim u okrilju starosjedićkih grupa pridružili su se gdje gdje i trgovci iz naprednijih sredina sredozemnih civilizacija.

Kao i u slučaju ostalih promatranih razdoblja, sačuvani arheološki inventar dozvoljava nam naslutiti tek dio razmjenjivanih dobara. Uz običnu, svakodnevnu robu, u oči odmah upadaju i skupocjene izrađevine ili proizvodi izrađeni od neuobičajenog, rijetkog ili teško dostupnog materijala: jantar s dalekog Baltika ili bronzano obrambeno oružje grčkog podrijetla dobro se uklapaju u tu sliku.



*Zdjelasta kaciga iz Budinjaka*  
*Bowl-shaped helmet from Budinjaka*

## THE EARLY IRON AGE

In this period, certain phenomena that were present in the Bronze Age gain in complexity, with trade and exchange being no exception. Centuries went by and goods became more abundant. New kinds of material and products appeared. The role of the leading social groups, meaning those who controlled the natural and man-made riches of the community, became even more prominent than before. The agents of trade and exchange, individuals and groups that organized and carried out the acquisition, transport and exchange of goods made use of the heritage of experience gathered over the ages, and those that developed within indigenous groups were sometimes joined by tradesmen from the more advanced societies of the Mediterranean civilization.

Just as in the case of the other periods under examination, the preserved archaeological inventory enables us to glimpse only a part of the exchanged goods. In addition to ordinary, everyday goods, we can immediately notice also expensive artefacts or products made of unusual, rare or not readily available material: amber from the shores of the distant Baltic or bronze defensive weapons of Greek origin fit well into this picture.



*Askos i tronošci iz Kaptola*  
*Askos and tripods from Kaptola*

## MLAĐE ŽELJEZNO DOBA



Dugo vremena tkana mreža kontakata i puteva dobila je tijekom mlađega željeznog doba dodatno na čvrstini. Posljednje pretpovijesno razdoblje pred uklapanje naših prostora u prostore Rimske države predstavlja vrhunac organiziranosti trgovine i razmjene te povezanosti bliskih i dalekih zemalja i krajeva. Starosjedilačko stanovništvo, keltski došljaci, a naposljetku i rimski trgovci, spajaju se u kolopletu odnosa u kojima se trguje predmetima, životinjama i ljudima te razmjenjuju ideje, znanja i tehnologije. Uz to, ovo je i doba kada se ovdašnja društva navikavaju na novac.

Mijenjalo se štošta: sirovine poput grafitu i raznih metala te gotove proizvode poput oružja ili ukrasnih predmeta. Stoka, kao i ljudi, također tvore bitan dio trgovačke ponude Tauriska i Skordiska, kako su se nazivale keltske zajednice nastanjene na sjevernim hrvatskim prostorima u posljednjim stoljećima prvog tisućljeća prije Krista. A među stvarima koje su oni dobivali zauzvrat, staklu, keramici, ulju ili koraljima nipošto ne valja odreći važnost; no, pravu sreću i slast osiguravalo je tek – vino. O uživanju Kelta u tome napitku svjedoče bogate cjeline brončanog posuđa uvezenog iz italjskih radionica, pronađene u više grobova lokalne elite.

*Brončano posuđe iz Sotina  
Bronze vessels from Sotin*

## THE LATE IRON AGE



The web of contacts and routes, developed over the ages, becomes even more firmly established during the Late Iron Age. In this last prehistoric period before the inclusion of our areas into the Roman state, the organisation of trade and exchange reached its peak, as did the links between closer and more distant lands and territories. The indigenous population, Celtic settlers and finally also Roman tradesmen come together in a medley of relationships where goods, animals and people are traded and ideas, knowledge and technology exchanged. In addition, this is a time when societies in these areas become accustomed to money.

All kinds of things were exchanged: raw materials like graphite and various metals and finished products like weapons or ornamental items. Cattle and humans also make up a significant part of the offer of the Taurisci and Scordisci, as the Celtic communities inhabiting the North of Croatia in the last centuries of the first millennium before Christ were called. Among the items they received in return, glass, ceramics, oil or corals were by no means insignificant. But there was only one guarantee of genuine joy and delight – wine. The Celts' enjoyment of this beverage is evidenced by the many rich sets of bronze vessels imported from Italic workshops and found in several graves belonging to the local elite.

*Srebrne narukvice iz Bogdanovaca*  
*Silver bracelets from Bogdanovci*

## SREDSTVA PRIJEVOZA

Načelno, putevi prijenosa dobara mogu se podijeliti na kopnene i vodene, a shodno tome dijele se i prijevozna sredstva. Kada je o kopnenom prometu riječ, tijekom velikog dijela pretpovijesti čovjek se morao oslanjati prije svega na vlastitu snagu i izdržljivost, jer drugih sredstava nije imao. Domestifikacija životinja, do koje je došlo tijekom neolitičkog razdoblja, predstavljala je značajan dodatak, utoliko što je bilo moguće prvo natovariti teret životinji na leđa, a kasnije, po izumu kotača, iskoristiti je i za vuču kola. U početku je za taj zadatak korišteno govedo, a naknadno je u iste svrhe uveden i konj.

Na najranije dokaze o postojanju kotača, kao i vozila na kotačima, nailazimo od sredine 4. tisućljeća prije Krista. Urezani piktogrami kola na mezopotamskim glinenim pločicama ili na peharima iz srednje Europe, rani primjerci malih glinenih diskova s raznih lokaliteta od Bliskog Istoka do srca europskog kontinenta, tragovi kotača u tlu ispod pretpovijesnih grobnih gomila u sjevernim predjelima, redom progovaraju o pojavi ovih prinova na popisu čovjekovih izuma.

Prvi kotači rađeni su od punog drveta, bez ikakvih otvora, osim onog u koji je uglavljivana osovina. Masivnost takvih kotača postupno je smanjivana otvaranjem sve većih proreza, a konstrukciji su od vremena kasnog brončanog doba dodavani i metalni dijelovi. Najraniji sačuvani primjer drvenog kotača potječe sa Starih Gmajni na Ljubljanskom barju, a datiran je analizom radioaktivnog ugljika u vrijeme između 3350. i 3100. godine prije Krista. Izrađen od jasenovine i promjera 72 cm, kotač se pri vožnji okretao zajedno s osovinom od hrastova drveta, pronađenom uz njega tijekom istog istraživanja. Ranije spomenuti dokazima o počecima uporabe kola treba pridodati i male glinene modele, poput onih iz mađarskih lokaliteta Szigetszentmárton i Budakalász. Ovi modeli na shematiziran način prikazuju rane oblike prijevoznih sredstava, vučene volovima upregnutima u jaram.

## MEANS OF TRANSPORT

In principle, the routes for the transportation of goods can be divided into road and water routes, and means of transport are also divided along these lines. In road transport, for a great part of prehistory, man had to depend primarily on his own strength and endurance as he had no other means. The domestication of animals during the Neolithic was a considerable advancement because the load could first be mounted on the back of an animal, and later, after the wheel was invented, animals could be used for pulling wagons. Oxen were first used for this purpose, and later also horses.

The earliest evidence of the existence of the wheel, as well as wheeled vehicles, comes from the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BC. Incised pictograms of wagons on Mesopotamian clay tiles or on beakers from central Europe, early specimens of small clay discs from various sites ranging from the Middle East to the heart of the European continent, and traces of wheels in the ground under prehistoric tumuli all speak of these new additions on the list of man's inventions.

The first wheels were made of solid wood and had no openings except the one into which the axle was placed. The addition of openings that became larger and larger made the wheels less massive, and various metal parts were also added beginning with the late Bronze Age. The earliest preserved specimen of a wooden wheel comes from Stare Gmajne at the Ljubljana Moor, dated by radiocarbon to the period between 3350 and 3100 BC. Made of ash-wood with a 72 cm diameter, the wheel turned together with the oak-wood axle found next to it during the same excavation.

When speaking of the evidence on the beginnings of the use of wagons, we should also mention small clay models such as those from the Hungarian sites Szigetszentmárton and Budakalász. These models bear a schematised representation of early forms of vehicles drawn by yoked oxen.





*Kotač i osovina sa Starih Gmajni, Slovenija*  
*Wheel and axle from Stare Gmajne, Slovenia*



*Model kola s lokaliteta Szigetszentmarton, Madarska*  
*Model of a wagon from Szigetszentmárton, Hungary*



## RIJEKAMA I MORIMA

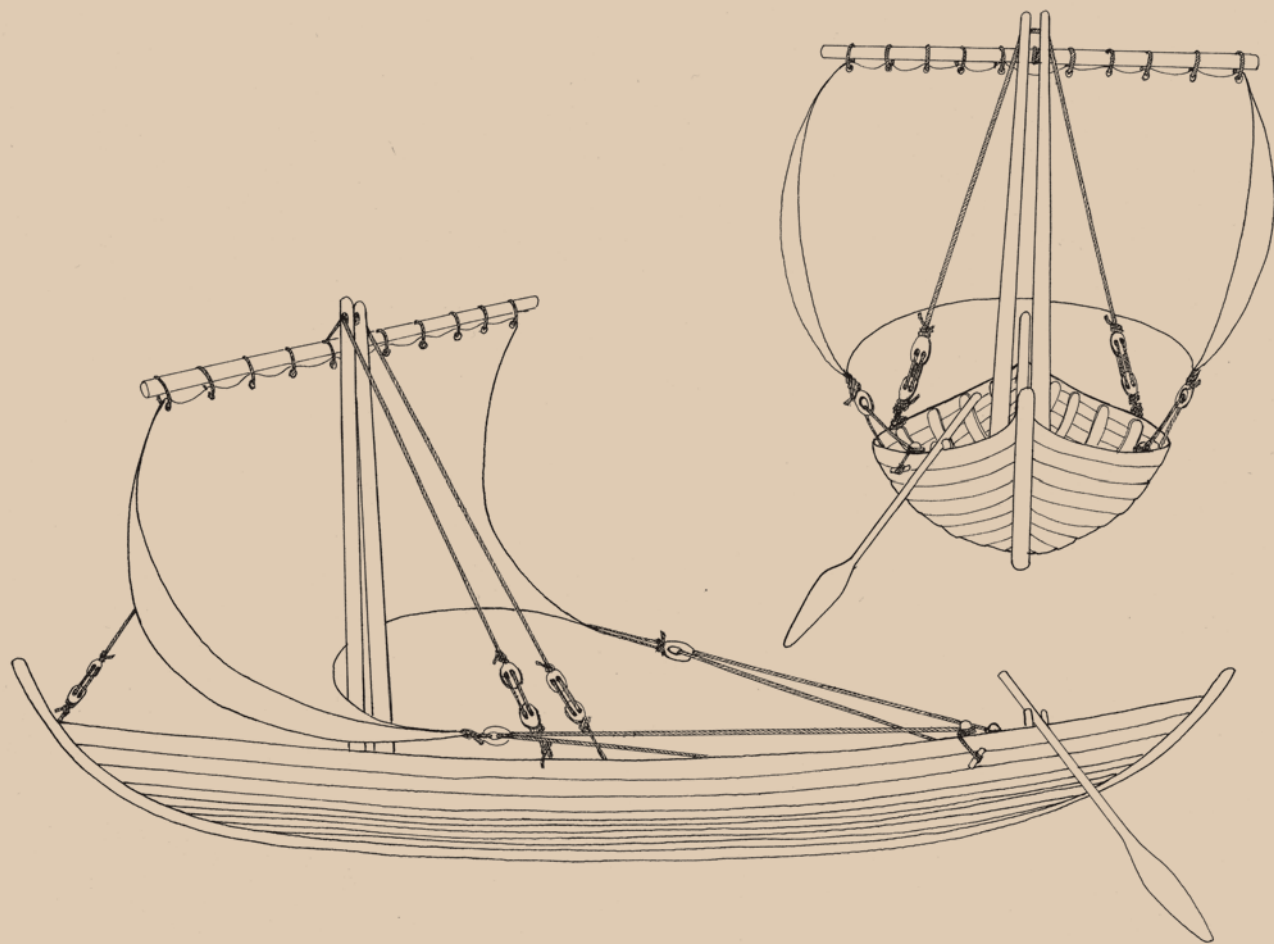
Tokovi velikih rijeka od najranijeg su doba korišteni kao pogodni pravci za kretanje ljudi i roba, a zajedno sa svojim pritokama predstavljale su otvorene sustave kojima se odvijao aktivni prijenos dobara na širokim prostorima. Sava, Drava ili Dunav imali su svoje mjesto u međuregionalnom prijenosu dobara, no ne treba zanemariti niti manje tokove, jezera ili izrazito močvarne predjele, u kojima su za lokalne potrebe također korištena sredstva vodenog prijevoza. U okviru pretpovijesnih kultura mahom su manjih dimenzija i skromnije izvedbe, tako da su tijekom većeg dijela pretpovijesti, počevši još od mezolitičkog doba, dominantni tip plovila predstavljali *monoksili* – jednodijelni drveni čamci izdubljeni u deblu.

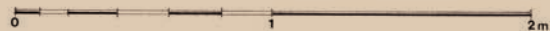
O brazdanju Jadranskoga mora pretpovijesnim plovilima najviše nam kazuju predmeti i naseobinski pokazatelji pronađeni duž obala i otoka, te navodi antičkih pisaca koji su se bavili našim krajevima. Morski kontakti s obalama Grčke ili Italije posvjedočeni su arheološkim nalazima još od neolitičkog doba, otkada datira i pomorski put koji je povezivao zapadnu i istočnu obalu Jadrana od poluotoka Gargana i Tremita preko Palagruže, Lastova i Visa te Korčule i Hvara. Važnost ovog “mosta” postaje jasnija znade li se da su pretpovijesni moreplovci zazirali od otvorenog mora, uglavnom se držeći obale i otoka vidljivih na horizontu. Razmjerno su rijetki tragovi koji ukazuju da su u Jadran zalazili Grci mikenskog doba, no onima iz arhajske epohe napredovanje u unutrašnjost Jadranskog mora onemogućavalo je brodovlje željeznodobnih stanovnika otoka i priobalja – Liburna te Histra.

## ON RIVERS AND SEAS

Since earliest times, the courses of great rivers have been used as favourable routes for the movement of people and goods. Together with their tributaries, they formed open systems that carried goods over wide areas. The Sava, Drava and the Danube all had their place in the transport of goods between different regions, but one must not forget also the smaller streams, the lakes or extremely marshy areas where water vessels were also used to serve local needs. In prehistoric cultures, they are mostly relatively small and of simple make. An example is the monoxyle boat, carved out from a single tree trunk, that was the dominant type of water vessel used throughout the larger part of prehistory.

The most eloquent evidence of the furrowing of the Adriatic Sea by prehistoric vessels can be found in items and settlement indicators found along the coasts and islands, and in the writings of classical authors who dealt with our areas. Contacts via the sea with Greece and Italy find testimony in archaeological finds dating as far back as the Neolithic. It is to this period that we date the sea route linking the western and eastern Adriatic coasts, from the Gargano Peninsula and the Tremiti Islands via Palagruža, Lastovo and Vis to Korčula and Hvar. The importance of this bridge becomes all the clearer if we keep in mind that prehistoric seafarers were quite uncomfortable with open seas, mostly staying close to the coast and the islands visible on the horizon. There are relatively few traces indicating that Greeks of the Mycenaean age ventured into the Adriatic. Those that did so in the archaic period were blocked from advancing deeper into the Adriatic by the ships of the Iron Age inhabitants of the islands and coastal area – the Liburnians and the Histri.





*Monoxil iz Vinkovaca*  
*Monoxile from Vinkovci*

## SIROVINE U PRETPOVIJESTI

Sve što nam priroda pruža u čistom stanju možemo smatrati sirovinom. Voda i blato, šiblje i kamenje, minerali, rude, smola, tlo i sol, ne zahvaljuju čovjeku svoje postojanje, no odlično mu služe za zadovoljavanje njegovih potreba. Zapravo, razina tehnološkog razvoja ljudske vrste može se mjeriti i s obzirom na postotak u kojem su prirodne tvari u sirovom stanju zastupljene kao konačni proizvod. Jednako tako, u istu svrhu može poslužiti i procjena stupnja preinake sirovinskog materijala. U vrijeme kad je *Homo sapiens* stjecao novi-stari atribut malo što se uopće i koristilo u prerađenom obliku, izuzmemo li drvo, kamen ili kosti i kožu preostale od ulovljene divljači. Najvećim dijelom, prirodne su tvari trpile tek neznatne ili nikakve promjene: minerali poput hematita mrvljeni su za izradu boja, smola se rabila za uglavljivanje kamenog oružja u drvene drške, a granje i šiblje služilo je za izradu skrovišta. Do civilizacije je još bio dalek put.

U takozvanim metalnim razdobljima pretpovijesti – bakrenom, brončanom i željeznom dobu, na vrh zanimanja arheologa došle su spoznaje i procesi koji se tiču čovjekova upoznavanja metalnih ruda i minerala, njihovog iskorištavanja i prerade te naposljetku gotovih proizvoda. Nisku najvažnijih metala za pretpovijesnog čovjeka predvodile su bakar, kositar i željezo te uz njih zlato i srebro.

*Ingoti u obliku čekića, ostava Miljana  
Pick-ingots, the Miljana hoard*

## RAW MATERIALS IN PREHISTORY

All that nature offers in crude form can be seen as a raw material. Water and mud, brushwood and stone, minerals, ore, resin, earth and salt do not owe their existence to man, but they do serve him extremely well. In fact, the extent to which unprocessed natural materials are present as final products is an indication of the state of technological development of the human race. In the same way, the extent to which raw materials have been transformed can also serve the same purpose. At the time when the *Homo sapiens* was acquiring its new-old attribute, there was very little that was used in processed form apart from wood, stone or bones and skins left over from hunted game. For the most part, natural materials underwent little or no transformation: minerals like hematite were ground to produce colours, resins were used to fix stone weapons in wooden handles, while branches and brushwood were used to build shelters. Civilization was yet a long way ahead.

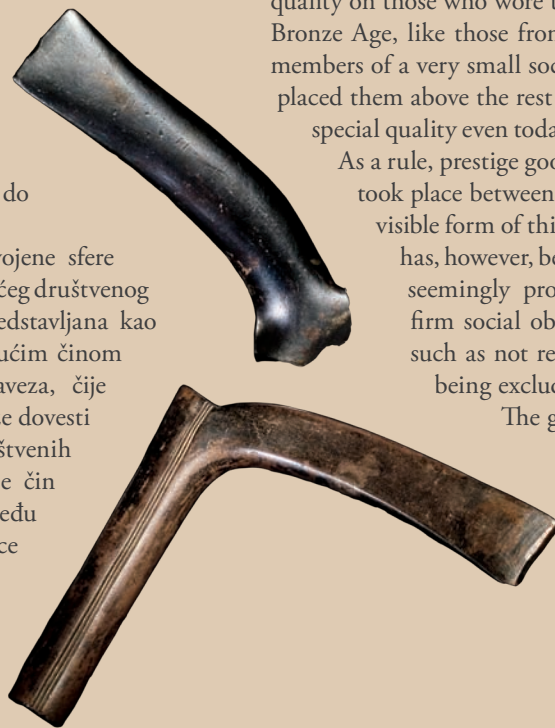
In the so-called metal periods of prehistory, the Copper, Bronze and Iron Ages, the focus of archaeological interest has been the knowledge and processes through which man became acquainted with metal ores and minerals, their exploitation and processing, and final products. At the top of the list of metals, the most important for prehistoric man are copper, tin and iron, followed by gold and silver.



## PRESTIŽNA DOBRA I ELITE

Karakter prestižnih dobara mijenjao se kako se širilo poznavanje i razumijevanje svijeta koji nas okružuje, kao i materijala od kojih je sazdan. Ovladavanjem obrade metala ljudima se otvorio čitav jedan novi svijet. Već u ranoj fazi uporabe metala, kovanjem minerala zlata ili bakra, u uporabu su ušli predmeti koji su svojom ljepotom i privlačnošću, a ujedno i razmjernom rijetkošću, jamčili posebnost njihovim nosiocima. Garniture zlatnog nakita iz bakrenog i brončanog doba, poput onih iz Privlake, Popinaca, ili Orolika pripadale su članovima jednog uskog sloja tadašnjeg društva, koji je imutkom, položajem i ugledom nadilazio preostale dijelove populacije. Kada je o zlatu riječ, ono, uostalom, nije izgubilo svoju posebnost niti do današnjeg dana.

Prestižna dobra u pravilu su bila dijelom jedne izdvojene sfere razmjene, koja se odvijala među pripadnicima istog, vodećeg društvenog sloja. U svom vidljivom obliku takva je razmjena predstavljena kao darivanje, no ustanovljeno je da se naizgled neobvezujućim činom darivanja zapravo stvara vrlo snažna društvena obaveza, čije eventualno nepoštivanje, u vidu neuzvratanja dara, može dovesti do isključivanja prekršitelja iz fino istkane mreže društvenih odnosa. Dar jednog poglavara drugome simboličan je čin kojim se utemeljuju, učvršćuju ili produbljuju odnosi između dviju zajednica, utirući put i ostalim članovima zajednice za razmjenu proizvoda, ideja ili ljudi.



## PRESTIGE GOODS AND ELITES

The character of prestige goods changed with the growing knowledge and understanding of the world around us and the materials it is made of. Once man had mastered metal working, a whole new world opened up to him. Already in the early phases of metal use, the forging of gold or copper minerals produced items whose beauty and appeal, as well as their relative rarity bestowed a special quality on those who wore them. Golden jewellery sets from the Copper and Bronze Age, like those from Privlaka, Popinci and Orolik, belonged to the members of a very small social group, whose wealth, position and reputation placed them above the rest of the population. Gold, after all, has not lost its special quality even today.

As a rule, prestige goods were part of a separate sphere of exchange that took place between members of the same, leading social groups. The visible form of this type of exchange was the presentation of gifts. It has, however, been established that the act of giving gifts, although seemingly producing no commitments, actually creates very firm social obligations and any disregard of those obligations, such as not reciprocating with a gift, may lead to the offender being excluded from the finely woven web of social relations.

The gift of one leader to another is a symbolic act that establishes, strengthens or deepens the relations between two communities, paving the way for the other members of that community to start exchanging products, ideas or people.

*Srebrne sjekire iz Starih Jankovaca  
Silver axes from Stari Jankovci*

## KAMEN KOJI GORI

Kamen doduše nije, no podvrgnemo li jantaru vatri, on će uistinu gorjeti. Nije ni zlato, premda ga se i tako ponekad naziva. Riječ je o pradávnoj tvari organskog podrijetla, fosilnoj smoli crnogoričnog drveća, koja je bila na visokoj cijeni među brojnim zajednicama pretpovijesnog doba. Jedinstveni kolorit jantara bio je iznimno privlačan oku, a dodaju li se tome i neka druga svojstva, poput elektriciteta, jasno je odakle ovoj tvari tolika moć da nagna ljude da joj pripišu izvanredna svojstva, ljekovitost te magijsku snagu.

U arheološkom kontekstu, na jantar najčešće nailazimo u obliku ukrasnih predmeta razmjerno skromne veličine, poput zrna za ogrlice, fibule ili igle, no nalazi ponekad uključuju i mnogo sofisticiranije primjerke nakita, primjerice, ljudske ili životinjske figurice. U hrvatskim krajevima jantar je bio na naročitoj cijeni u Istri, Dalmaciji, Lici te dublje u unutrašnjosti, u okviru materijalne kulture Histra, Liburna, Delmata te Japoda. Kao i drugdje na Sredozemlju, najveći dio sirovine za izradu proizvoda od jantara dolazio je sa sjevera Europe, s Baltičkog mora, gdje se nalaze najveća ležišta "sunčeva kamena", odnosno "zlata Sjevera", da spomenemo još pokoji naziv. Odatle prema jugu trgovina se odvijala takozvanim "jantarnim putem", ili preciznije rečeno putevima - najpogodnijim i najsigurnijim pravcima, prateći doline velikih rijeka i birajući prohodne prijevoje za prelazak planinskih masiva.

*Zrno jantara s geometrijskim ukrasima*  
*Amber bead with geometric decoration*

## THE BURNING STONE

It is not, in fact, a stone, but if we subject amber to fire, it will indeed start burning. And it is not gold either, although it has been called that as well. It is an ancient substance, a coniferous fossil resin highly valued among numerous prehistoric communities. The unique colouring of amber was extremely pleasant to the eye, and this, aligned with some of its other qualities, such as electricity, makes it no surprise that it had the power to make people assign to it extraordinary features, a healing power and magical force.

In the context of archaeology, amber most often appears in the form of ornamental items, relatively small in size, such as the beads on a necklace, a fibula or needle.

However, there are also occasional finds of more sophisticated forms of jewellery such as human or animal-shaped figurines. In Croatian lands, amber was especially valued in Istria, Dalmatia, Lika and further inland within the material culture of the Histri, Liburnians, Delmatae and Iapodes. As elsewhere in the Mediterranean, most of the raw material for the production of amber items came from the North of Europe, from the Baltic Sea, the location of most of the deposits of the "stone of the Sun" or the "gold of the North", to mention a few other names. From there trade with the South ran along the Amber Road, or roads to be more precise: the best and safest routes along the valleys of large rivers and through negotiable passes to cross mountain masses.



## PREDMONETARNA TRGOVINA

Pretežni dio vremena koje su ljudska društva provela na Zemlji, nikome za razmjenu nije bio potreban novac. Dobrima se vrijednost određivala prema neposrednoj poredbi – mjerilima onoliko egzaktnim koliko je takav bio i opći duh vremena. No, čovjek je već zarana uveo u odnose razmjene neke pomoćne poredbene veličine, kojima je osnovno svojstvo bilo da su predstavljale čvrstu vrijednost prihvaćenu od sviju. U vrijeme prije pojave metala, a istini za volju i mnogo nakon toga, pače sve donedavna, u te svrhe korištena stoka, odnosno seljakovo "blago".

Pojavom metala otvara se novo poglavlje. O općeprihvaćenoj vrijednosti bakra, bronce, srebra ili zlata suviše je i raspravljati; to su bila iznimno tražena dobra, koja je i te kako imalo smisla koristiti za iskazivanje vrijednosti drugih dobara. Što je preciznije bila određena količina metala, napose težina, to je lakše bilo trgovati njime. Ako je pri ruci postojala vaga, čitav je posao bivao znatno pojednostavljen, no nije baš svatko uvijek nosio sa sobom vagu i utege. Stoga se uobičajilo lijevati metal u standardiziranom obliku, kojemu je (barem približna) težina, a prema tome i vrijednost, bila poznata svima. Primjeri tome su različite vrste brončanodobnih ingota, lijevanih u obliku sjekira, ogrlica, narukvica ili čekića, a ome se mogu dodati i drugi oblici koji su također funkcionirali kao nositelji standardne vrijednosti, poput primjerice spiralnog zlatnog nakita iz ostave iz Lovasa.



*Izbor iz ostave Mazin  
Selection from the Mazin hoard*



## PREMONETARY TRADE



For the largest portion of the time human communities have inhabited the Earth, nobody needed money for exchange. The value of goods was decided based on the needs at hand, by standards that were as precise as the general spirit of the age. But very early on, man started introducing certain auxiliary measures whose value was firmly established and accepted by all. Before the appearance of metal, as well as after it – and indeed all until recently – this purpose was fulfilled by cattle.

The appearance of metal opens a new chapter. The universally accepted value of copper, bronze or silver and gold requires no special discussion. These were goods in very high demand and it certainly made sense to use them to convey the value of other goods. The more precisely measured the amount, especially the weight of the metal, the easier it was to trade in it. Having a scale nearby made the whole transaction a lot easier, but not everybody walked around with a scale and weights. This led to the practice of casting metal in a standardized shape, whose (approximate) weight, and thus also value, was known to all. Examples of this are various types of Bronze Age ingots, cast in the form of axes, necklaces, bracelets or hammers, as well as other shapes that also functioned as indicators of standard value. An example here is the spiral gold jewellery from a hoard in Lovas.

*Bakrene lepezaste sjekire, Borinci*  
*Fan-shaped copper axes, Borinci*

## BIJELA TVAR ŽIVOTA

Malo je tvari koje su čovjeku potrebne kao sol. Za početak, neophodna je našem tijelu za normalno funkcioniranje, a pomanjkanje soli dovodi do bolesti pa čak i smrti. Tijekom pretpovijesti, populacije koje su se prehranjivale pretežno mesnom hranom zadovoljavale su tako svoje potrebe za soli, no pripadnicima onih čija se prehrana temeljila na tvarima biljnog porijekla valjalo je manjak soli nadoknaditi na drugi način. K tome, sol je neophodna za konzerviranje hrane ili štavljenje kože te za niz drugih radnji. A pritom da i ne spominjemo koliko može pomoći da hrana postane ukusnija.

Povećanje opsega korištenja soli dovelo je, razumljivo, i do povećanja trgovine njome, jer je i u ovom slučaju riječ o sirovini koja je vrlo nejednako raspoređena u prirodi. Zajednice koje su nastavale obale mora ili pak nadzirale izvore slane vode ili rudnike soli, ne samo da nisu imale problema s nabavom soli, već su u određenim slučajevima uspjele upravo na trgovini soli steći znatna bogatstva. Za ilustraciju nema vjerojatno nema boljeg primjera od stariježeljeznodobnog nalazišta Hallstatt u Gornjoj Austriji. Naime, populacija koja je pod svojim nadzorom imala obližnji rudnik soli, kao i trgovinu izvađenim sadržajem, toliko je od toga profitirala da je bogatstvo njihove materijalne ostavštine nagnalo arheologe da čitavo razdoblje starijeg željeznog doba imenuju prema ovome lokalitetu.

## THE WHITE STUFF OF LIFE

There are few things that man needs as much as salt. First of all, our body requires it in order to function normally, and a lack of salt can lead to illness or even death. In prehistoric times, populations subsisting mostly on meat satisfied their need for salt through their diet, but those who were mainly vegetarian had to compensate for the lack of salt in other ways. Salt is also necessary in the conservation of food or the tanning of skins, and for several other activities. Not to mention how it can enhance the taste of food.

The increase in the use of salt understandably led to increased trade in salt, because, it, too, is a raw material unequally distributed in nature. Communities that lived in coastal areas or that controlled salt water sources or salt mines not only had no problem with acquiring salt, but in some cases trading in salt brought them great wealth. There is perhaps no better illustration for this than the early Iron Age site of Hallstatt in Upper Austria. The population that controlled the nearby salt mine, as well as the trade of its contents, profited so much that the wealth of their material legacy prompted archaeologists to name the entire period of the early Iron Age after this site.



*Ruksaci za prijenos soli, Hallstatt, Austrija*  
*Backpacks for salt transportation, Hallstatt, Austria*

## GRCI I RIMLJANI

Živjeti na našim prostorima u željeznom dobu značilo je živjeti u predvorju civilizacije, u prostornom, vremenskom i kulturološkom smislu. Tragove ovog višeslojnog odnosa moguće je očitati u arheološkoj ostavštini, koja u nizu slučajeva iskazuje posudbu predodžbi ili pak fizičko prisustvo stranih proizvoda, primjerice onih iz okrilja arhajske, a potom i klasične Grčke, te naposljetku civilizacije antičkog Rima.

Poblježe upoznavanje lokalnih zajednica istočne obale Jadrana te zaleđa sa stranim trgovcima počinje negdje od 6. st. pr. Kr. u slučaju Grka, te od 4. ili 3. st. pr. Kr. kada je riječ o Rimu. Načelno uzevši, karakter ove razmjene predstavljao je klasični primjer kolonijalnih odnosa centra i periferije pri kojem se robna ponuda ovih potonjih sastoji prije svega u sirovinskom materijalu - drvu, žitu, koži, rudama, pa čak i ljudima (robovima), dok centar zauzvrat nudi gotove proizvode, poput vina, ulja, keramičkog i brončanog posuđa, stakla ili oružja.

Kada bi trebalo odabrati neki predmet da posluži kao zaštitni znak antičke trgovine ne treba sumnjati da bi se mnogi odlučili za amforu. Tih se posuda, koje su vjekovima služile za prijevoz raznovrsnih proizvoda poput vina, ulja, meda, voća, maslina, ribe te brojnih drugih, i u našim krajevima našao ogroman broj.

## THE GREEKS AND THE ROMANS



Living in these areas in the Iron Age meant living on the frontier of civilization in the geographical, historical and cultural sense. Traces of this complex relationship can be found in the archaeological heritage that will often reveal borrowed concepts or the physical presence of foreign products, such as those from archaic and then also classical Greece, and finally from the civilisation of ancient Rome.

The local communities of the eastern Adriatic coast and its hinterland started to become more acquainted with foreign traders around the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC in the case of the Greeks, and the 4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC in the case of the Romans. In principle, the character of this exchange was a classical example of the colonial relationship between the centre and the periphery. The periphery supplies primarily the raw materials - wood, grains, skins, ore and even people (slaves), while the centre offers finished products like wine, oil, ceramic and bronze vessels, glass and weapons.

If we would have to choose an object to serve as the trademark of trade in antiquity, many of us would undoubtedly decide in favour of the amphora. For centuries, these vessels served to transport various products like wine, oil, honey, fruit, olives, fish and many others. Large numbers were found also in our areas.

*Grčka amfora s Visa*  
*Greek amphora from Vis*

*Rekonstrukcija rimskog brodoloma kod Paga*  
*Reconstruction of a Roman shipwreck near Pag*



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