

# Mala tijela u velikom svijetu: antropo-ornitomorfni privjesci željeznog doba Caput Adriae

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# Mala tijela u velikom svijetu: antro-po-ornitomorfni privjesci željeznog doba Caput Adriae

## *Small bodies in a big world: anthropo-ornithomorphic Iron Age pendants from Caput Adriae*

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*Privjesci su u čovjekovoj percepciji i estetici oduvijek imali iznimno važnu ulogu. Kao nositelji informacija, odnosno kao medij određene metaforičke poruke većinom se interpretiraju u tradiciji razvijenih komunikacijskih odnosa u sustavu vrijednosti različitih kulturnih i društvenih poredaka. Antro-po-ornitomorfni privjesci gornjojadranske kulturne regije (Caput Adriae) s pripadajućim zaleđem bili su tijekom kraja starijeg željeznog doba nesumnjivo pristupačan znak ali i simbol. U ovom radu podrobna pozornost posvećena im je glede tipološko-stilske i kronološke klasifikacije, pri čemu su vrednovani dostupni arheološki i kulturni konteksti na širem europskom prostoru. Sukladno okolnostima, pokatkad im je definirana i namjena, a njihovo korištenje pokazalo se u dinamičnim i ambivalentnim ideološko-semantičkim strukturama. S obzirom na likovni koncept znak-simbol, privjesci su ikonografski i simbolički interpretirani. Zaključeno je kako su ta „mala tijela“, kao metafora androgenog s idejom apotropejskog i profilaktičkog, bila u „velikom svijetu“ trenutačno vizualno (neverbalno) razumljiva, (kognitivno) priznavana i (kulturno) široko prihvaćena poput korespondenta u neposrednom ophođenju složenih i zapletenih međudnosa između ljudi i društava.*

*Cljučne riječi: Caput Adriae, starije željezno doba, antro-po-ornitomorfni privjesci, tipologija, kronologija, kulturni kontekst, interpretacija znak-simbol-metafora*

*Pendants have always had an exceptionally important role in man's perception and aesthetics. As carriers of information, i.e. as the mediums of a certain metaphoric messages, they are mostly interpreted in the tradition of developed communicational relations in the value systems of different cultural and social orders. At the end of the Early Iron Age, anthropo-ornithomorphic pendants from the upper Adriatic cultural region (Caput Adriae), and the attached hinterland, were undoubtedly accessible signs, as well as symbols. This paper discusses their typological, stylistic and chronological classification in detail, assessing available archaeological and cultural contexts from the wider European area. Depending on the circumstances, some of their roles are defined, and their use was presented in dynamic and ambivalent ideological-semantic structures. The pendants were iconographically and symbolically interpreted based on the artistic concept of sign-symbol. It was concluded that these "small bodies", as a metaphor for the androgynous with the idea of apotropaic and prophylactic, were momentarily visually (non-verbally) understandable, (cognitively) recognizable, and (culturally) widely accepted in the "big world" as correspondents in the indirect transfer of intricate and complex interrelationships between people and societies.*

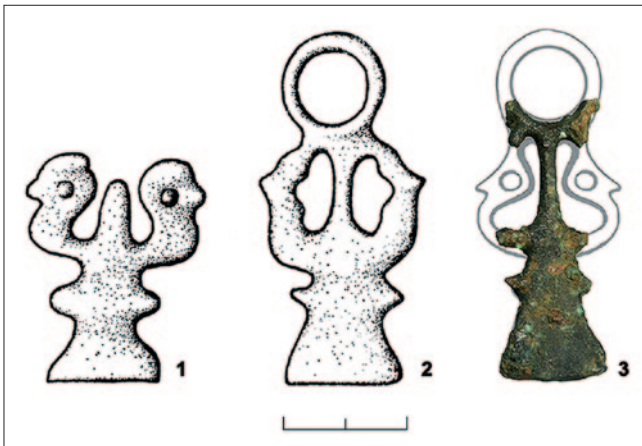
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### PRIVJESAK KAO ZNAK

Predmeti malih dimenzija, osobito privjesci, imali su u čovjekovoj percepciji i estetici oduvijek iznimno važnu ulogu. Kao nositelji informacija, odnosno kao medij određene metaforičke poruke specifičnog značenja, u arheologiji se brončanog i željeznog doba većinom interpretiraju u tradiciji razvijenih komunikacijskih odnosa u sustavu vrijednosti različitih kulturnih i društvenih poredaka (Kienlin 2005;

### THE PENDANT AS A SIGN

Small objects, especially pendants, have always had an extremely important role in man's perception and aesthetics. As carriers of information, that is, mediums of certain metaphoric messages with specific meaning, they have mostly been interpreted in Bronze and Iron Age archaeology within the tradition of developed communicational relations in the value systems of different cultural and social orders (Kienlin 2005; Preucel 2006; Eggert 2010). From



Sl. 1 Antropo-ornitomorfni privjesci iz Osora, Kavanela (1–2 prema Marchesetti 1924; 3 prema Blečić Kavur 2015)

Fig. 1 *Anthropo-ornithomorphic pendants from Osor, Kavanela (1–2 according to Marchesetti 1924; 3 according to Blečić Kavur 2015)*

Preucel 2006; Eggert 2010). S ikonološkog aspekta, osnovni koncept izrade privjesaka počiva na metodi redukcije, tj. na sažimanju prikazivanja zahtijevane teme, ali i na metodi simulacije, jer je privjesak počesto upućivao i na nešto mnogo vrijednije ili značajnije u sintaksi onodobnoga komunikacijskog (verbalnog i/ili neverbalnog) sudjelovanja i posredništva. Izrazita semiotička razina pojedinih privjesaka, kao korespondenta između znaka i njegova značenja, razvijala je i jačala kreiranje kodova kao kulturnih fenomena (Eco 1979; Braica 1998; Knappett 2012). Ukrašavanje privjescima, kao i semantičko određenje njihova narativnog zapisa, nerijetko je stoga interpretirano u smislu koncepta kozmološkog simbolizma koji je u pravilu služio za potenciju univerzalnog i metafizičkog, tj. za afirmaciju zaštite i vitalnosti. U tom smislu antropo-ornitomorfni privjesci gornjojadranske kulturne regije s pripadajućim zaleđem bili su tijekom duljega vremenskog raspona željeznog doba nesumnjivo pristupačan znak koji se može tumačiti (Eco 1979: 177–178, 216) i koji se nedvojbeno tumačio.

Antropomorfni privjesci s ornitomorfnim protomama u kulturno-povijesnom ambijentu smatraju se italском idejnom i obrtničkom baštinom obilježja kraja villanovskog i prijelaza na orijentalizirajuće razdoblje, najvećim dijelom rasprostranjenih na tirenskom prostoru onodobne Etrurije (Geiger 1994; De Marinis 2004; Iaia 2005). Njihova se prisutnost očituje međutim sve do Alpa, Karpatske kotline i istočnojadranskog prostora sa zaleđem. Premda stručna literatura o njima raspolaže već iz više različitih perspektiva, zavređuju nešto detaljniji osvrt i činjenicom što tri takva primjerka potječu iz starih istraživanja nekropole Kavanele na Osoru (Marchesetti 1924: 147, Fig. 26–27; Blečić Kavur 2015: 97–100, sl. 35c, 37g–38) (sl. 1).

Od temeljne studije privjesaka Georga Kossacka (1954) do novijih interpretiranja Freidrich-Wilhelma von Hasea (1992; 1993), Armgarta Geigera (1994), Brune Chaumea (2004), Raffaella De Marinisa (2004) ili Cristiana Iaie (2005) protekla je cijela polovina stoljeća, a pomak je ostvaren

the viewpoint of iconography, the basic concept of pendant production rests of the method of reduction, i.e. on the summarized display of a more complex topic, but also on the method of simulation, because pendants often pointed to something much more valuable or significant in the syntax of contemporary communication (verbal and/or non-verbal), participation, and mediation. The high semiotic level of specific pendants, as correspondents between the sign and its meaning, helped develop and strengthen the creation of codes as cultural phenomena (Eco 1979; Braica 1998; Knappett 2012). Decorating with pendants, as well as the semantic determination of their narrative code, is, therefore, commonly interpreted as the concept of cosmological symbolism that was, as a rule, used to enhance the universal and the metaphysical, i.e. for the affirmation of protection and vitality. In that sense, the anthropo-ornithomorphic pendants of the upper Adriatic cultural region, and its hinterland, were undeniably *accessible interpretants* (Eco 1979: 177–178, 216) during the long time span of the Iron Age, and were most certainly interpreted.

In the cultural and historical context, anthropomorphic pendants with ornithomorphic protomes are considered to have an Italian conceptual and entrepreneurial heritage dated to the end of the Villanova and the transition to the Orientalizing period, and are mostly distributed over the Tyrrhenian territory of the then Etruria (Geiger 1994; De Marinis 2004; Iaia 2005). Their presence was noted all the way to the Alps, the Carpathian basin and the eastern Adriatic area and its hinterland. Although scientific publications discuss them from several different perspectives, they deserve a somewhat more thorough discussion due to the fact that three examples were discovered in old excavations of the Kavanela necropolis on Osor (Marchesetti 1924: 147, Fig. 26–27; Blečić Kavur 2015: 97–100, Fig. 35c, 37g–38) (Fig. 1).

A half a century passed between the fundamental study of pendants done by Georg Kossack (1954) and the more recent interpretations presented by Freidrich-Wilhelm von Hase (1992; 1993), Armgart Geiger (1994), Bruno Chaume (2004), Raffaele De Marinis (2004) or Cristiano Iaia (2005), and advances have been made in both the typological-stylistic and the chronological sense. In interpretations, these pendants stayed more or less unknown, and limited to discussions about their distribution that is necessarily connected to cultural contacts and/or dating the wider, exclusively Italian, territory (Iaia 2005; De Marinis 2014; Marzatico 2012a; 2012b; 2014; 2015). Comparisons with pendants from other regions were mostly based on the finds presented in G. Kossack's or von Hase's publications, and were, even then, superficial and/or flat.

The purpose of the pendants is also insufficiently clarified. They were rarely, i.e. not at all, iconographically analysed, or semiotically interpreted in the syntax of a wider abstract system. However, it is believed that they were very wide-spread and diverse, seeing as they are found in closed contexts as individual elements, or as parts of more complex assemblages, and most often simply as amulets. In the interrelation with other "objects", they are seen as a mark of both female and male graves, whereby the attributions are extremely linearly done and are based on the analysis of material culture. Namely, so far it is clear, spatially and socially, that, in Etruria, they can be more closely related to the inventories interpreted as male graves, placed on

kako u tipološko-stilskom tako i u kronološkom aspektu. U interpretaciji ti su nam privjesci manje ili više ostali nepoznanica, ograničena na raspravu oko njihova rasprostiranja, posljedično povezanu uz kulturne kontakte i/ili datiranja šireg, ali isključivo italskog prostora (Iaia 2005; De Marinis 2014; Marzatico 2012a; 2012b; 2014; 2015). Usporedbe s privjescima iz drugih regija oslanjale su se isključivo na one predložene u djelu G. Kossacka ili Von Hasea, pa i tada površnog i/ili paušalnog pristupa.

Nedovoljno im je razjašnjena i sama namjena. Njihovoj se ikonološkoj analizi, odnosno semiotičkoj interpretaciji u sintaksi širega apstraktnog sustava, unatoč svemu, nije pridavala veća pozornost, odnosno uopće je nije bilo. Međutim, vjeruje se da su u primjeni bili vrlo rašireni i mnogovrsni, jer se nalaze u zatvorenim kontekstima kao samostalni elementi i kao dijelovi kompleksnijih garnitura, podrazumijevajući ih jednostavno amuletima. U tom međudonosu s drugim „predmetima“ pridobili su obilježje i ženskih i muških grobova, pri čemu su atribuiranja krajnje linearno izvedena analizom materijalne kulture. Za sada je naime izvjesno, prostorno i društveno, kako su u Etruriji uže povezani uz inventare interpretirane kao muški grobovi, postavljeni na ekskluzivno brončano posuđe, uz raskošne štitove, konjsku opremu itd. (Geiger 1994: 72–75; De Marinis 2004: 199; 2014: 98; Iaia 2005: 123–129), bez sigurnih antropoloških oslonaca. Naprotiv, na području kulturnih skupina Ligura, Golasecca i Veneta najčešće su nalaženi kao ukrasni elementi posebnih cjelina, povezani uz ogrlice, fibule, ali i ražnjeve, palete itd., obilježavajući pritom mahom ženske, ideološki obojene grobove (De Marinis 2004: 199; Marzatico 2012a: 316; 2015: 73–74).

## PRIVJESAK U ODNOSU NA SAMOG SEBE

Preciznije tipološko nijansiranje pojedinih privjesaka novijeg je datuma, jer su u starijim raspravama najčešće tretirani uniformno (Kossack 1954: 42, 52–53; von Hase 1992; 1993). Kako bi bili što temeljitije obrađeni, u odnosu na prijašnje pristupe, u ovoj se studiji predlaže razrada temeljem tehnologije izrade i temeljem stilsko-likovne izvedbe motiva u kruni privjesaka, a koja će pridonijeti jasnijoj biografiji predmeta, njegovoj semiotičkoj interpretaciji i posredno semantičkom potencijalu. Pristup njihovu klasificiranju općenito je bio zasnovan na oblikovnosti i različito obrađenom zaključku donjeg ruba, što je uvjetovalo izdvajanje dva osnovna tipa toga malog, ali kompleksnog, u jednom komadu lijevanog privjesaka. Oni izrađeni na proboj kojima je donji zaključak izveden spiralno, tj. srčasto, obilježavali bi tip 1, dok će lijevani privjesci s trokutastim/koničnim zaključkom ovdje obilježavati tip 2, čime se nadovezujem na već prije predloženu tipološku klasifikaciju A. Geigera (1994: 13–15) (sl. 2).

Privjesci tipa 1 zapravo su varijanta *Sanzeno* prema B. Chaumeu (2004: 85, Fig. 7), datirana prilično sigurno u vrijeme 8. i 7. st. pr. Kr. (Iaia 2005: 128–129). Oni su obilno zastupljeni na području Trenta i Bologne, reprezentativno i višestruko u Verucchio i najdalje možda u Bregu/Frögu (Kossack 1954: T. 12: 12–15, 18; Warneke 1999: 171; Gentili 2003: T. 118: 1; 120: 14; De Marinis 2004: 199, Fig. 5; Marzatico 2012a: 316,

luxurious bronze vessels, along with elaborate shields, horse gear and the like (Geiger 1994: 72–75; De Marinis 2004: 199; 2014: 98; Iaia 2005: 123–129), without definitive anthropological conclusions. On the other hand, on the territory of the cultural groups of the Ligures, the Golasecca and the Veneti, they are most often found as decorative elements of special units, and are connected to necklaces, fibulas, but also spits, pallets etc., denoting generally ideologically colored female graves (De Marinis 2004: 199; Marzatico 2012a: 316; 2015: 73–74).

## THE PENDANT IN RELATION TO ITSELF

A more precise typological elaboration of individual pendants is of a more recent date, seeing as they were most commonly treated uniformly in older discussion (Kossack 1954: 42, 52–53; von Hase 1992; 1993). In order to bring forth a more thorough discussion, in comparison to previous approaches, this paper suggests studying them based on the technology of production and the stylistic and aesthetic features of the motifs on the crown of the pendant, thereby contributing to a clearer biography of the find, its semiotic interpretation and, indirectly, its semantic potential. The approach to their classification was, generally, based on the differently processed lower part, conditioning the establishment of two basic types of that small, but complex, pendants cast in one piece. The ones made in the perforated technique with a spiral, i.e. heart-shaped, bottom part, constitute type 1, while cast pendant with triangular/conical ends constitute type 2, according to the typology previously suggested by A. Geiger (1994: 13–15) (Fig. 2).

Type 1 pendants are actually a variant of the *Sanzeno* type according to B. Chaume (2004: 85, Fig. 7), that has been quite definitively dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> and the 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC (Iaia 2005: 128–129). They appear frequently on the area of Trento and Bologna, representatively even more in Verucchio, and, possibly the farthest, in Bregu/Frög (Kossack 1954: Pl. 12: 12–15, 18; Warneke 1999: 171; Gentili 2003: Pl. 118: 1; 120: 14; De Marinis 2004: 199, Fig. 5; Marzatico 2012a: 316, Fig. 7–8; 2015: Fig. 2) (Fig. 2: 1). In the analysis of the artistic (technical) description of finds, already a superficial inspection reveals their differences in several variants, that is, variants with local characteristics, as noticed and pointed out by C. Iaia, who interpreted them within different types (type 2, 3 and 4) (Geiger 1994: 48–52, 61–63; Iaia 2005: 127–129, Fig. 51: 12–25, Fig. 110). However, the main focus of this paper will not be on them, but, instead, on the other type of anthropo-ornithomorphic pendants with a triangular, straight end of the bottom edge (Fig. 2: 2). Precisely type 2 pendants are notably more numerous, and are spatially well represented in the eastern part of the Adriatic and its hinterland (Fig. 3–4). Examples of type 2 pendants, although of a more standardized form than type 1, can be classified into three basic variants regarding their differently produced, shaped and decorated pendant bodies. These variants also have local derivatives and variants, made richer by the conceptual and artistic production of their cultural regions.

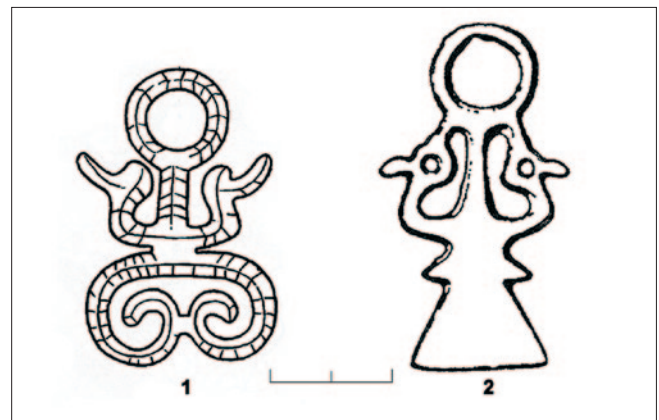
The 2a variant pendants are marked, therefore, by plastic profiled triangular bodies, elongated elliptical perforations on the upper part with antithetically positioned abstracted ornithomorphic protomes. These are displayed as having notably emphasized lowered elongated beaks and an



Fig. 7–8; 2015: Fig. 2) (sl. 2: 1). U analizi likovnog (tehničkog) opisa predmeta, već se površnim pregledom može uočiti njihova razlikovnost u više varijanti, odnosno inačica koje će imati mjesna obilježja, na što je lijepo upozorio C. Iaia, doduše, interpretirajući ih u različitim tipovima (tip 2, 3 i 4) (Geiger 1994: 48–52, 61–63; Iaia 2005: 127–129, Fig. 51: 12–25, Fig. 110). Međutim, težište ove studije neće biti posvećeno njima, jer će pozornost biti usmjerena na onaj drugi tip antropo-ornitomorfne privjeske s trokutastim, ravnim zaključkom donjeg ruba (sl. 2: 2). Upravo taj 2. tip privjeska osjetno je brojniji, a prostornom raširenošću dobro je zastupljen i na istočnom pružanju sjevernog Jadrana i njegova gravitirajućeg zaleđa (sl. 3–4). Primjerci 2. tipa, premda standardiziranije forme od onih 1. tipa, mogu se klasificirati u tri osnovne varijante koje se odnose na drugačije izrađena, oblikovana i dekorirana tijela privjesaka. I te će varijante imati svoje lokalne izvedenice i inačice, oplemenjene idejnim i umjetničkim stvaralaštvom svoje kulturne regije.

Varijantu 2a određuju, prema tome, plastično profilirana trokutasta tijela, izdužene elipsaste perforacije u gornjem dijelu s antitetično postavljenim apstrahiranim ornitomornim protomama. Prikazane su naglašeno spuštenoga duguljastog kljuna i izduženog S-vrata, te uzdignutih donjih istaka (sl. 3: 1–9). Riječ je o ikonografskoj predodžbi ptice močvarice/guščarice koju, s obzirom na likovno prikazana svojstva, možemo približiti prikazu labuda (i/ili divlje guske). Njihova rasprostranjenost obilježila je prostor Etrurije, premda ih nalazimo i u Liguriji i Bologni (sl. 4). Prema opisanom, ta bi 2a varijanta odgovarala tipu 2 Geigerove klasifikacije (Geiger 1994: 72–75), odnosno varijanti *Bisenzio* sukladno tipološkom prijedlogu B. Chaumea (2004: 85, Fig. 7) kojeg je značajnije nadopunio i razvio R. De Marinis (2004: 199, Fig. 5; 2014: 96–99, Fig. 1: 1–3). Istovjetna je i tipu 1 prema podjeli C. Iaie (2005: 128–129, Fig. 51: 1–11, Fig. 110). Možda bi toj grupi privjesaka mogli pribrojiti i ulomak privjesaka iz Tolmina, kvadrant 36 (Svoljšak, Pogačnik 2001: 197, T. 97: 13)? No on je fragmentiran upravo na mjestu krunice, čime tipološka pripadnost a time i semiotička identifikacija samoga koda privjeska ostaje nerazjašnjenom. Izuzev reprezentativnih i likovno prilagođenih primjeraka i u ovoj će se varijanti moći izdvojiti lokalne inačice npr. s obzirom na profilacije tijela u matičnom prostoru ili poput privjesaka iz Magny-Lamberta (sl. 3: 10), dok će neki njoj pripisani, kao onaj iz Ca' Morte (De Marinis 2014: Fig. 1: 4–5), morati biti izlučeni jer su izrađeni drugačijom tehnikom (na proboj) i s drugačijim likovnim rješenjima, ma koliko oni asociirali jedni na druge. Sve u svemu, u kulturnoj su regiji Etrurije i Lazija privjesci 2a varijante vremenski dobro usklađeni u treću četvrtinu 8., s trajanjem do u 7. st. pr. Kr. (Geiger 1994: 74–75; Iaia 2005: 128–129; Marzatico 2012a: 316; De Marinis 2014: 97).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mnogi se privjesci varijante 2a mogu naći predstavljeni i u različitim muzejima, bez preciznog konteksta nalaženja, kao primjerice ukrasni dijelovi konjske opreme u Dallas Museum of Art (<https://www.dma.org/collection/artwork/ancient-mediterranean/horse-bit> – 29. 9. 2009.), ili na različitim antikvarskim internacionalnim aukcijama (Hermann Historica oHG, München, LiveAuctioneers, New York: <http://www.hermann-historica.de/de/votivschild/1/55353?aid=52&Lstatus=0&currentpos=38> – 12. 12. 2016.; <https://new.liveauctioneers.com/item/7514701> – 21. 1. 2017.).

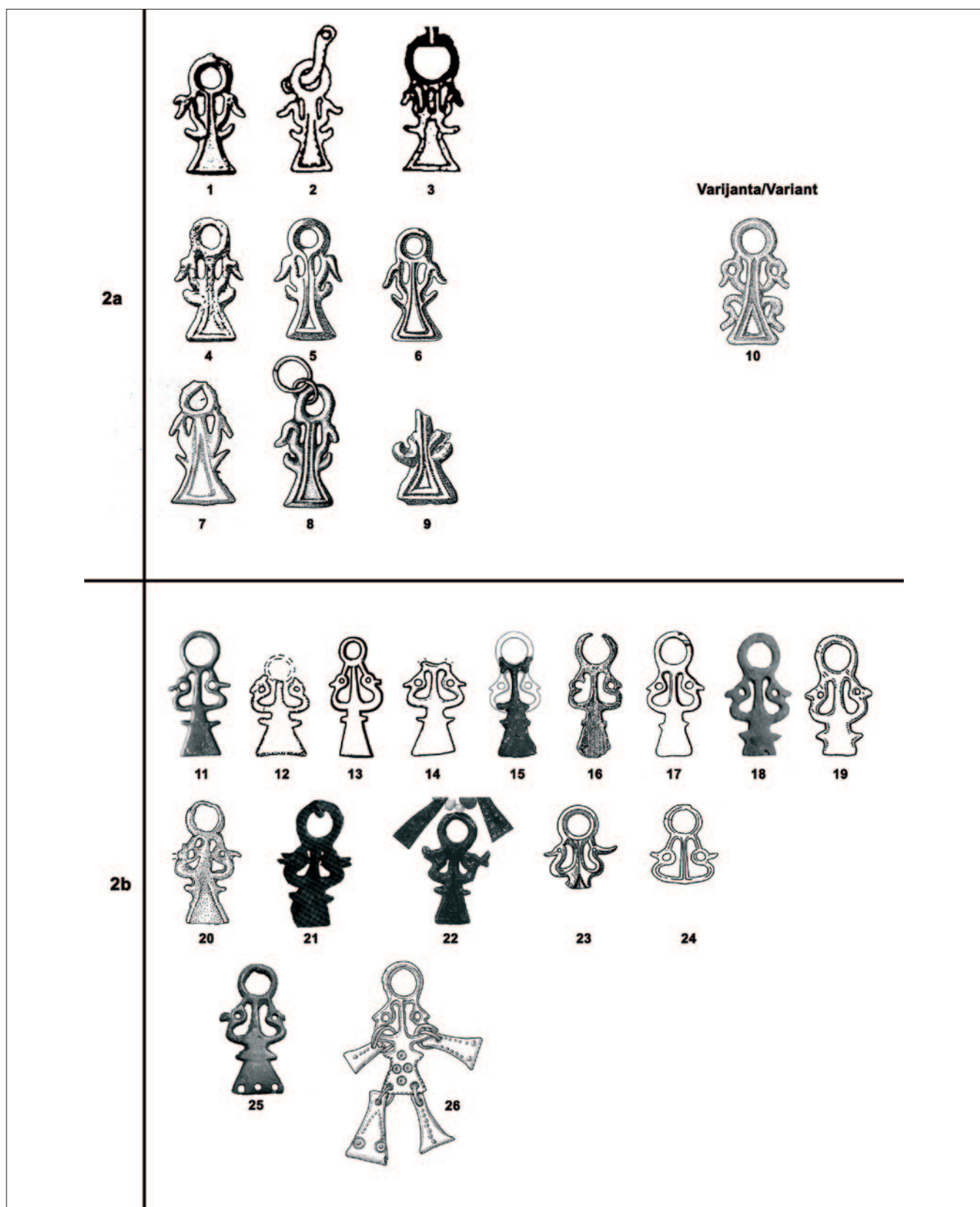


Sl. 2 Antropo-ornitomorfni privjesci tipa 1 i tipa 2 (1 Sanzeno prema Kossack 1954; 2 Vinica prema Vogt 1934)

Fig. 2 Type 1 and type 2 anthropo-ornithomorphic pendants (1 Sanzeno, according to Kossack 1954; 2 Vinica, according to Vogt 1934)

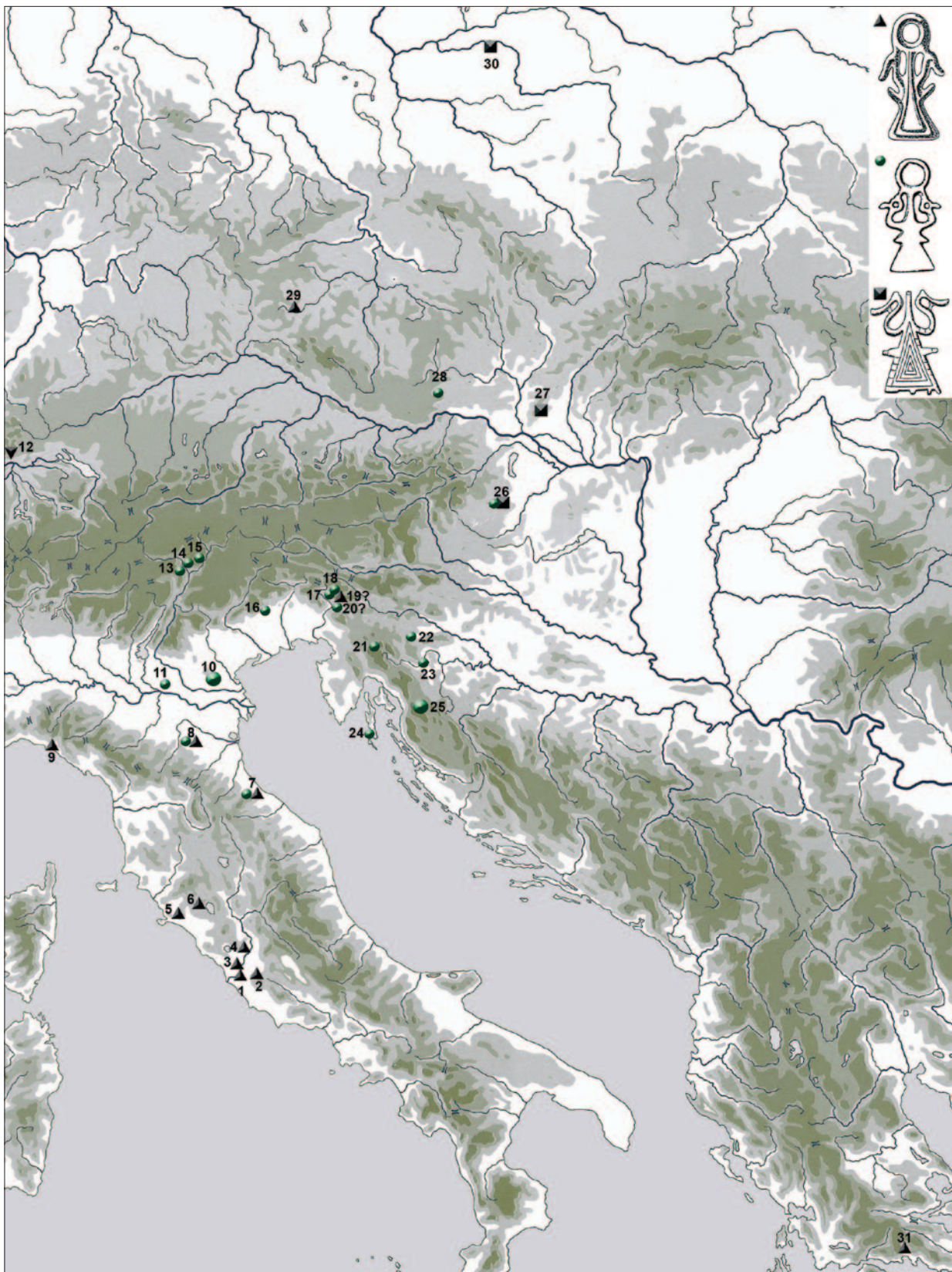
elongated S-neck, as well as raised lower projections (Fig. 3: 1–9). This is an iconographic display of water birds/*Anseriformes* that can, based on the artistically displayed features, be connected to the representation of swans (and/or wild geese). Their distribution marked the territory of Etruria, although they are also found in Liguria and Bologna (Fig. 4). Based on this description, the 2a variant matches type 2 in Geiger's classification (Geiger 1994: 72–75), that is, the *Bisenzio* variant based on the typology suggested by B. Chaume (2004: 85, Fig. 7) that was more significantly widened and developed by R. De Marinis (2004: 199, Fig. 5; 2014: 96–99, Fig. 1: 1–3). It also matches type 1 according to C. Iaia's division (2005: 128–129, Fig. 51: 1–11, Fig. 110). Perhaps the pendant fragments from Tolmin could also be added to this group, quadrant 36 (Svoljšak, Pogačnik 2001: 197, Pl. 97: 13)? However, the find is fragmented precisely on the crown, making its typological ascription, and, subsequently, the semiotic identification of the code of the pendant, impossible. Apart from the representative and artistically adapted examples, this variant also displays local derivatives, e.g. considering the profilations of the body in the originating area, or like on the pendants from Magny Lambert (Fig. 3: 10), while some of the finds that were ascribed to it, like the one from Ca' Morte (De Marinis 2014: Fig. 1: 4–5), will have to be excluded because they were made using a different technique (the perforated technique), and with different artistic solutions, regardless of how much they resemble each other. All in all, variant 2a pendants are temporally well dated in the cultural regions of Etruria and Lazio into the third quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> and into the 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC (Geiger 1994: 74–75; Iaia 2005: 128–129; Marzatico 2012a: 316; De Marinis 2014: 97).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Numerous variant 2a pendants are on display in different museums without precise contexts, like the decorative parts of horse gear displayed at the Dallas Museum of Art (<https://www.dma.org/collection/artwork/ancient-mediterranean/horse-bit> – 29<sup>th</sup> Sep 2009), or on different international auctions of antiquities (Hermann Historica oHG, München, LiveAuctioneers, New York: <http://www.hermann-historica.de/de/votivschild/1/55353?aid=52&Lstatus=0&currentpos=38> – 12<sup>th</sup> Dec 2016; <https://new.liveauctioneers.com/item/7514701> – 21<sup>st</sup> Jan 2017).



Sl. 3 Antropo-ornitomorfni privjesci raščlanjeni u varijante 2a i 2b s inačicama: 1 Narce; 2 Bisenzio; 3 Vulci; 4 Veio; 5 Bisenzio; 6 Roma; 7 Gabii; Osteria dell'Osa; 8 Chiavari; 9 Delfi; 10 Magny-Lambert; 11 Vadena/Pfaten; 12 Mechel; 13 Bologna; 14 Este; 15 Osor; 16 Kompolje; 17 Vinica; 18 Kuban (?); 19 Velem-Szentvid; 20 Sanzeno; 21 Gazzo Veronese; 22 Este; 23 Bologna; 24 Maiersch; 25 Vinica; 26 Berlotov rob; Šentviška planota

Fig. 3 Anthropo-ornithomorphic pendants divided into 2a and 2b variants with their derivatives: 1 Narce; 2 Bisenzio; 3 Vulci; 4 Veio; 5 Bisenzio; 6 Roma; 7 Gabii; Osteria dell'Osa; 8 Chiavari; 9 Delphi; 10 Magny Lambert; 11 Vadena/Pfaten; 12 Mechel; 13 Bologna; 14 Este; 15 Osor; 16 Kompolje; 17 Vinica; 18 Koban (?); 19 Velem-Szentvid; 20 Sanzeno; 21 Gazzo Veronese; 22 Este; 23 Bologna; 24 Maiersch; 25 Vinica; 26 Berlotov rob; Šentviška planota



Sl. 4 Rasprostranjenost 2. tipa antropo-ornitomorfnih privjesaka: varijanta 2a ▲ i njezina inačica ▼; varijanta 2b ●; varijanta 2c ■ (nadopunjeno prema Iaia 2005; Marzatico 2015). Brojevi nalazišta na karti odgovaraju rednom broju u tablici

Fig. 4 The distribution of type 2 anthropo-ornithomorphich pendants: variant 2a ▲ and its derivative ▼; variant 2b ●; variant 2c ■ (modified based on Iaia 2005; Marzatico 2015). The site number on the map matches the number in this table

Br/ No	Nalazište/ Site	Okolnosti/ Context	Kom./ Pcs.	Tip/ Type	Literatura/ Bibliography
1	Roma, Esquilino	Grob/grave 94	1	2a	Müller-Karpe 1962: Pl. 20: 10; von Hase 1992: Abb. 13: 5; Iaia 2005: Fig. 51: 2; De Marinis 2014: Fig. 1: 1
2	Gabii, Osteria dell'Osa	Grob/grave 600	10	2a	Bietti Sestieri 1992: Pl. 48: tipo 88j; Iaia 2005: Fig. 51: 1
3	Veio, Quattro Fontanili	Grob/grave LL 12–13	7	2a	Bianco Peroni 1979: Pl. 106: D4; von Hase 1992: Abb. 13: 3; Geiger 1994: Pl. 53: 43a-f, h; Iaia 2005: Fig. 52: 3
4	Narce, Dohan	Grob/grave 19M	6	2a	Geiger 1994: Pl. 53: 46a-f; Iaia 2005: Fig. 53: 4
5	Vulci, La Cantina		1	2a	Iaia 2005: Fig. 53: 7; De Marinis 2014: Fig. 1: 2
6	Bisenzio	Bucacce grob/grave 10; Olmo Bello grob/grave 10	5+8	2a	Kossack 1954: Pl. 12: 7; von Hase 1992: Abb. 13: 4; Geiger 1994: Pl. 53: 45d-h; Pl. 46: 39; Iaia 2005: Fig. 53: 5–6
7	Verucchio		1	2b	Neobjavljeno/unpublished, <i>Museo civico archeologico di Verucchio</i>
8	Bologna, San Francesco; Certosa	Ostava/hoard	8	2a; 2b	Kossack 1954: Pl. 12: 10, 17; Iaia 2005: Fig. 53: 8; Marzatico 2012b: Fig. 5: 7; Stjerquist 1967: Pl. IX: 1
9	Chiavari	Grob/grave 5A	2	2a	Lamboglia 1960: Fig. 72: Pl. 5A; De Marinis 2004: Fig. 4; 2014: Fig. 1: 3
10	Este, Meggiaro	Nekropola/necropolis (?); svetište/sanctuary	4	2b	Kossack 1954: Pl. 12: 4; Salerno 2002: 152, 160–161, k. 65; Capuis, Chieco Bianchi 2004: Fig. 5.36; Marzatico 2012b: Fig. 5: 5
11	Gazzo Veronese		1	2b	Salzani 1984: 789; 1987: Fig. 4
12	Magny Lambert	Tumul/tumulus Monceau-Laurent	1	Varijanta / Variant	Chaume 2004: Fig. 4–5; De Marinis 2014: Fig. 1: 5
13	Mechel	Svetište/sanctuary	1	2b	Marzatico 2002a: Fig. 1: 39; 2012a: Fig. 7: 8; 2012b: Fig. 5: 2; 2015: Fig. 1: 2
14	Sanzeno		1	2b	Fogolari 1959: 272, Pl. III: 7; Marzatico 2012b: Fig. 5: 1; 2014: Fig. 4c–d; 2015: Fig. 1: 1
15	Vadena/Pfatten	Grob/grave 199	2	2b	Marzatico 2012b: Fig. 5: 3–4; 2015: Fig. 1: 3–4
16	Monteale Valcellina	Kuća/house <i>Casa dei dolii</i>	1	2b	Vitri, Corazza 2000: Fig. 6: 9; Vitri 2002: Fig. 2: 2; Marzatico 2012b: Fig. 5: 6; 2014: Fig. 7: 9; De Marinis 2014: Fig. 1: 6
17	Gradič nad Kobari-dom	Svetište/sanctuary	1	2b	Neobjavljeno/unpublished, <i>Tolminski muzej</i> , Tolmin
18	Berlotov rob	Svetište/sanctuary	1	2b	Laharnar 2017: Fig. 3: 2
19	Tolmin	Nekropola/necropolis, kv. 36	1	2b	Svoljšak, Pogačnik 2001: Pl. 97: 13
20	Most na Soči	Naselje/settlement, sonda/trench 36	1	2b	Laharnar 2018: Fig. 12: 4
21	Gradec pri Danah	Naselje/settlement	1	2b	Neobjavljeno/unpublished, privatna zbirka/private collection
22	Kunkel nad Vrhtrebnjem	Naselje/settlement	1	2b	Neobjavljeno/unpublished, privatna zbirka/private collection
23	Vinica	Grobovi/graves	3	2b	Vogt 1934: Pl. XVI: 88; Dobiat 1982: 43, Pl. 9: 19; <i>The Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University</i> – <a href="http://pmem.univ.fas.harvard.edu:8080/peabody/media/view/Objects/100832/162035?t:state=flow=fc9f54d6-61da-4890-9426-3ea0008318c3">http://pmem.univ.fas.harvard.edu:8080/peabody/media/view/Objects/100832/162035?t:state=flow=fc9f54d6-61da-4890-9426-3ea0008318c3</a> (08.01.2017.)
24	Osor, Kavanela	Nekropola/necropolis	3	2b	Marchesetti 1924: Fig. 26–27; Kossack 1954: Pl. 12: 1, 6; Blečić Kavur 2015: Fig. 35c, 37q–38
25	Kompolje	Grob/grave 161; 144; sporadični/sporadic	4	2b	Drechsler-Bižić 1973: 153, Fig. 7–8; Raunig 2004: Pl. XXVI: 5; <i>Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu</i>
26	Velem-Szentvid	Naselje/settlement; ostava/hoard	2	2b; 2c	Miske 1907: Pl. LIV: 5; Kossack 1954: Pl. 12: 2; Foltyni 1958: Pl. 2: 1; von Hase 1992: Abb. 13: 2; Jankovits 2011: Fig. 5: 15–16; Marzatico 2012b: Fig. 5: 8
27	Smolenice-Molpir	Naselje/settlement <i>Tor IV</i>	1	2c	Dušek, Dušek 1995: 39, Pl. 89: 8
28	Maersch	Grob/grave 32	1	2b	Berg 1962: Pl. 11: 8
29	Würzburg		1	2b	De Marinis 2004: Fig. 5
30	Gorszewice	Grob/grave 15	1	2c	Kossack 1954: Pl. 12: 3; von Hase 1992: Abb. 13: 1
31	Delphi	Svetište/sanctuary <i>Atena Pronaia</i>	1	2a	von Hase 1992: Abb. 13: 6; Geiger 1994: Pl. 53: 47
32	Koban (?)		1	2b	Gerlach 1971: Pl. 22: 23

Varijantu 2b privjesaka obilježava, naprotiv, trokutasto tijelo plosnato ili s blagom profilacijom. Perforacije u gornjem dijelu s antitetično postavljenim realističnim ornitomorfni protomama nepravilne su, oblika slova B. Ptice močvarice/guščarice jednolično su likovno predstavljene s naglašenim ili perforiranim očima, kratkoga uvijenog vrata, potpuno ravnih trokutasto proširenih istaka ispod protomate u pravilu uzdignutog kljuna koje tako neodoljivo aludiraju na manju guščaricu, odnosno patku (sl. 2: 2; 3: 11–26). Izvedbeno, likovno rješenje izravno povezanih tijela ptica s većim, superiorno postavljenim krugom, odnosno s alkom za ovjes, postalo je tehnička ali i metaforička konvencija koja je privjesak mogla definirati (dekodirati) u svakom trenutku. Razlika je u tome što su privjesci varijante 2b mnogo bolje doručeni i time vizualno čitkiji. Samo kod iznimnih primjeraka uz donji se rub nalaze rupice za pričvršćivanje dodatnih privjesaka, karika ili lančića (sl. 3: 25–26). Privjesci iz Este i Gazzo Veronese blago su i profilirani, no konceptom ne odudaraju od zadanoga oblikovnog i ikonografskog modela (Capuis, Chieco Bianchi 2004: 628, Fig. 5.36; Salzani 1984: 789) (sl. 3: 21–22). Budući da se ta varijanta najviše rasprostire na estenskom području, prikladno su određeni i varijantom *Este* (Blečić Kavur 2015: 97, Fig. 38). Trenutačno stanje njihova rasprostiranja definira širi prostor sjeverne Italije, posebno Veneta, Verone i Trentina – Alto Adige (Marzatico 2012b: 96–97, Fig. 5; 2015: Fig. 2) (sl. 4).

Međutim, u dinamičnom optoku estetike i standarda sjevernojadranske *koiné* privjesci varijante 2b znakoviti su i za prostor istočne obale Jadrana i njegova neposredno povezanog zaleđa (sl. 4). Ondje ih nalazimo u većem broju, odnosno prema postojećem stanju raspoložemo sa 16 primjeraka, drugim riječima, s većim omjerom od sjevernoitalskog prostora. Samo tri od njih, tj. dva osorska i jedan vinički primjerak, već je G. Kossack odredio lokalnoj varijanti nastaloj pod utjecajem italskih tipova (Kossack 1954: 107). Pri istoj je tezi, i nakon pola stoljeća, ostao i R. De Marinis ne upuštajući se u detaljnije analize primjeraka izvan Italije (De Marinis 2004: Fig. 5; 2014: Fig. 2). Unatoč tomu što znatno nadopunjava rasprostranjenost na zemljopisu njihova korištenja, baš kao i kontekst poblizjega vremenskog određenja, i Franco Marzatico shematski prenosi sintagmu o „lokalnim tipovima” (Marzatico 2015: 75–76, Fig. 2). Međutim, trenutačna situacija znatno mijenja odnos snaga, a samim time morala bi mijenjati i naš odnos prema njihovoj interpretaciji kao i spoznaji da se i prostori izvan italskog kopna moraju u takvim studijama temeljito vrednovati.

Pridruživši im i novonađeni ulomak (sl. 1: 3),<sup>2</sup> preglednom sam analizom ponovno vrednovala dva starija osorska privjeska (sl. 1: 1–2) (Marchesetti 1924: Fig. 26–27; Blečić Kavur 2015: sl. 35c, 37g–38), pri čemu im je tipološko-stilska pripadnost varijanti 2b postala zajamčena i opravdana (sl. 3: 15). Izuzev činjenice da potječu iz starijih iskopavanja osorske nekropole na Kavaneli, gdje se pokopavalo tijekom čitavoga željeznog doba, osorski privjesci nemaju pouzdanih nalazišnih podataka. Vremenski raspon korištenja time je i dalje nedorečen, ali sukladno datacijama najslbližijih primje-

The 2b variant pendants are marked by, contrarily, triangular flat bodies or a slight profilation. The perforations on the upper part with antithetically positioned realistic ornithomorphic protomes are irregular, in the shape of the letter B. The water birds/*Anseriformes*, are uniformly artistically represented as having accentuated or perforated eyes, a short twisted neck, completely straight triangular widened projections under the protomes, and as generally having a raised beak that irresistibly alludes to smaller water birds, i.e. ducks (Fig. 2: 2; 3: 11–26). The implementation of the visual design of directly connected bird bodies with larger, superiorly placed circles, i.e. suspension loops, became a technical, but also a metaphorical convention that could define (decode) the pendant in each moment. The difference lies in the fact that variant 2b pendants were processed significantly better and are, therefore, visually more legible. Only exceptions from the rule have holes for attaching additional pendants, loops, or chains, along the lower edge (Fig. 3: 25–26). Pendants from Este and Gazzo Veronese also have slight profilations, but they do not conceptually diverge from the given formative and iconographic models (Capuis, Chieco Bianchi 2004: 628, Fig. 5.36; Salzani 1984: 789) (Fig. 3: 21–22). Seeing as this variant is mostly distributed over the Este territory, they were, appropriately, denoted as the *Este* variant (Blečić Kavur 2015: 97, Fig. 38). Their currently known distribution area is defined as the wider area of northern Italy, especially Veneto, Verona and Trentino – Alto Adige (Marzatico 2012b: 96–97, Fig. 5; 2015: Fig. 2) (Fig. 4).

However, in the dynamic flow of aesthetics and the standards of the northern Adriatic *koiné* pendants of variant 2b are also significant for the area of the eastern Adriatic coast and its immediate hinterland (Fig. 4). They are found here in larger numbers, that is, based on the existing state of research, there are 16 recorded finds; in other words, in larger ratios than in the northern Italian territory. Only three of them, two from Osor and one from Vinica, were already defined as a local variant created under the influence of Italian types by G. Kossack (1954: 107). The same hypothesis, even after half a century, was also accepted by R. De Marinis, who did further analyse finds discovered outside Italy (De Marinis 2004: Fig. 5; 2014: Fig. 2). Despite the fact that they greatly contribute to the distribution over the territory where they were used, as well as the context of a more precise chronological definition, Franco Marzatico also schematically accepts the phrase “local types” (Marzatico 2015: 75–76, Fig. 2). However, the current insight significantly changes the power ratio, and should, accordingly, change the approach to their interpretation, as well as cognition, meaning that the areas outside Italian soil should also be thoroughly evaluated in such studies.

After adding the newly discovered fragment (Fig. 1: 3),<sup>2</sup> the two older finds from Osor were reanalysed (Fig. 1: 1–2) (Marchesetti 1924: Fig. 26–27; Blečić Kavur 2015: Fig. 35c, 37g–38), making their typological and stylistic ascription to the 2b variant guaranteed and justified (Fig. 3: 15). Apart from the fact that they were found in older excavations of the Osor necropolis at Kavanela, where they were buried during the entire Iron Age, the pendants from Osor do not provide reliable data about the context of the finds.

2 Veličina: dužina 4,4 cm; širina 1,4–1,7 cm; debljina 0,1 cm. Inv. br.: Arheološka zbirka Osor 280.

2 Size: length 4.4 cm; width 1.4–1.7 cm; thickness 0.1 cm. Inv. no.: Archaeological collection Osor 280.

raka mogu biti razmatrani u razdoblju od kraja starijeg do mlađe željezno doba (Blečić Kavur 2015: 97–100). U taj široko određen kronološki okvir sinkroniziraju se i svi ostali nalazi s istočnog pružanja *Caput Adriae*. Naime, spletom prilika njihovu sudbinu zapečatila su stara ili nestručna iskopavanja pa ni kod ijednog privjeska ne raspoložemo s preciznijim okolnostima nalaženja. Većina njih, kako vidimo, odležali su desetljeća pa čak i više od stoljeća u muzejima ili zbirkama, što čini njihov *drugi životni ciklus* nakon nalaženja mnogo pasivnijim od onoga što je morao biti za njihove vlasnike, nositelje ili posrednike.

Identične primjerke privjescima iz Veneta ili iz Osora nalazimo dakle u obližnjem zaleđu, npr. sa sigurno dva, a vjerojatno i s tri primjerka zastupljeni su na nekropoli Vinice u Pokuplju (Vogt 1934: T. XVI: 88; Dobiati 1982: 43, T. 9: 19). Grobne cjeline i te vrlo bogate nekropole u većoj su mjeri izmiješane, znanstveno izgubljene (sl. 3: 17, 25). Stoga referentnost privjeska ovješene o fibulu srednjolatenske sheme iz groba 204 (sl. 3: 17) koji je poslužio za određivanje donje vremenske granice njihove šire primjene, može ali i ne mora biti bezuvjetna!<sup>3</sup> Pokaže li se kako je privjesak doista bio u uporabi još do u mlađe željezno doba 3. st. pr. Kr., kada su brončane fibule srednjolatenskih shema bile odlikom ženske nošnje, tada ćemo moći pretpostaviti kako je izgledao jedan od mogućih načina nošenja privjesaka varijante 2b, po svemu sudeći u posebnoj ženskoj odjevnoj garnituri. Nažalost, iako obrađen u studiji G. Kossacka (1954: 111), opisani vinički primjerak u svim je novijim radovima na tu temu krajnje ignoriran. Iznimku predstavlja studija Thila Warneckea u kojoj su pod nazivom privjesci u obliku ptice (*Vogelanhänger*) izgledno svi, njemu poznati, privjesci varijante 2b, tj. iz Vinice, Sanzena i Velem-Szentvida, smješteni u srednjolatensko razdoblje srednjoeuropske periodizacije (Warnecke 1999: 171). Ovdje treba istaknuti da iz Velem-Szentvida potječu zapravo dva privjeska. Jedan je od njih identičan varijanti 2b (Foltyni 1958: 61, T. 2: 1; Jankovits 2011: 257, Fig. 5: 16) i u analizama je gotovo prošao nezapaženo (sl. 3: 19), a drugi pripada varijanti 2c (*Gorszewice*) o kojem se mnogo raspravljalo (Jankovits 2011: 257, Fig. 5: 15) (sl. 7: 1). Slična se situacija ponavlja i s nalazima iz nekropole u ličkom Kopolju, gdje je zabilježeno više od četiri komada (sl. 3: 16), nažalost, bez detaljnije dokumentacije i terenskih podataka, premda su objavljeni uz gradivo iz mlađega željeznog doba (Drechsler-Bižić 1973: 152–153, sl. 7–8; Raunig 2004: T. XXVI: 5).<sup>4</sup>

Poseban osvrt zavređuju privjesci varijante 2b iz Posočja; jedan je istražen u željeznodobno-rimskom svetištu na Gradiču nad Kobaridom (Osmuk 1998; usp. Laharnar et al 2015), drugi također u željeznodobnom svetištu Berlotov rob na Šentviškoj planoti (Laharnar 2017: sl. 3: 2) (sl. 3: 26). To su jedini primjerci koji se ističu izvedbom ukrašavanja tijela urezanim linijama i koncentričnim kružnicama, s pri-

The temporal span of their use is, therefore, still undefined. However, in line with the datation of the most similar finds, they can be considered in the span from the end of the Early, and into the Late Iron Age (Blečić Kavur 2015: 97–100). This widely defined chronological framework also includes all other finds from the eastern part of *Caput Adriae*. Namely, their fate was sealed by either old or non-expert excavations, so there is no precise data available about the context of discovery for any of the pendants. Most of them, as demonstrated, “rested” in museums or collections for decades, even over a century, making their post-discovery *second life-cycle* a lot more passive than they must have had for their owners, wearers or mediators.

Finds identical to those from Veneto or Osora are, therefore, found in the nearby hinterland, e.g. two, and probably additional three finds were recovered from the Vinica necropolis in the Kolpa Valley region (Vogt 1934: Pl. XVI: 88; Dobiati 1982: 43, Pl. 9: 19). Grave units from this very rich necropolis are mostly mixed, i.e. scientifically lost (Fig. 3: 17, 25). Therefore, the references for the pendant hung from a fibula of the middle La Tène scheme from grave 204 (Fig. 3: 17) that were used to determine the lower chronological border of their use, can, but do not have to be unconditional!<sup>3</sup> If determined that the pendant was really in use in the Late Iron Age of the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC, when bronze fibulas of the middle La Tène scheme were a feature of female attire, then it will be possible to assume what one of the possible ways of wearing variant 2b pendants in, based on everything, female attire. Unfortunately, although presented in G. Kossack’s study (1954: 111), the described find from Vinica was ignored in all more recent discussions of the issue. Thilo Warnecke’s study is an exception, which, in the group of bird-like pendants (*Vogelanhänger*), provides a list of all known variant 2b pendants known to the author, i.e. the finds from Vinica, Sanzeno and Velem-Szentvid dated to the middle La Tène period (Warnecke 1999: 171). It should be pointed out that Velem-Szentvid actually yielded two pendants. One of them is identical to the 2b variant (Foltyni 1958: 61, Pl. 2: 1; Jankovits 2011: 257, Fig. 5: 16), it almost went unnoticed in analyses (Fig. 3: 19), and the second is ascribed to the 2c variant (*Gorszewice*) that has been discussed on many occasions (Jankovits 2011: 257, Fig. 5: 15) (Fig. 7: 1). A similar situation is repeated with the finds from the necropolis in Kopolje in Lika, where over four pieces were recorded (Fig. 3: 16), unfortunately without thorough documentation and field data, although they were published alongside Late Iron Age material (Drechsler-Bižić 1973: 152–153, Fig. 7–8; Raunig 2004: Pl. XXVI: 5).<sup>4</sup>

Pendants of the 2b variant from the Soča Valley region deserve special attention; one was found in the Iron Age-Roman sanctuary of Gradič nad Kobaridom (Osmuk 1998; cf. Laharnar et al 2015), another at the Iron Age sanctuary of

3 O problematici zbirke Mecklenburg vidjeti detaljnije kod Božić 2009.

4 Privjesci iz grobova 161 i 144 neobjavljeni su, a preostale je R. Drechsler-Bižić (1973: 153) predstavila kao „lijevane brončane latenske kopče za pojas”! B. Raunig ih je pak odredila kao figure s ptičjim protomama, ne pruživši im ni približne interpretacije ni okvirne datacije (Raunig 2004: 129).

3 The problem of the Mecklenburg collection is discussed in more detail in Božić 2009.

4 The pendants from graves 161 and 144 are unpublished, and the rest were presented by R. Drechsler-Bižić (1973: 153) as “cast bronze La Tène belt buckles”! B. Raunig defined them as figures with bird-like protomes, without providing either approximate interpretations or indicative data-tions (Raunig 2004: 129).

dodana još četiri limena trokutasta privjeska.<sup>5</sup> Nedvojbeno, obilježavat će mjesni izričaj lokalne proizvodnje u odnosu na njihov šire rasprostranjen trend vremena 5. i 4. st. pr. Kr. što datiraju trokutasti privjesci, ali i ostali nalazi u kontekstu (Laharnar 2017; usp. Mlinar 2016: 99–100). Kao pojedinačni nalaz valja im pribrojiti privjesak iz Kubana, koji vjerojatno potječe negdje s prostora *Caput Adriae* (Gerlach 1971: Pl. 22: 23)<sup>6</sup> (sl. 3: 18).

Kronološki podaci za privjeske naše 2b varijante u italiskim su cjelinama nešto boljih okolnosti. Već je predložena linearna, i horološka i kronološka, evolucija, po kojoj su oni jednostavno kasnije preuređenje varijante 2a u sjevernijim italiskim ili udaljenim područjima (De Marinis 2014: 97–98; Marzatico 2015: 75–76). Privjesak iz Montereale Valcelline potječe iz tzv. *kuće dolija* koja je bila razrušena u drugoj polovini 5. st. pr. Kr., iako se u njoj našlo i predmeta starijeg datuma (Vitri 2002: 470; De Marinis 2014: 98; Marzatico 2015: 76) (sl. 5: 10). Estenski primjerak iz svetišta Meggiaro smješten je rastezljivo u fazu od 5. do 4. st. pr. Kr. (Salerno 2002: 152, 160–161) (sl. 3: 14), dok je privjesak iz Gazzo Veronese, zahvaljujući ražnju, datiran u 5. st. pr. Kr. (Capuis, Chieco Bianchi 2004: 628) (sl. 3: 21). Jedina cjelina koja pruža kronološko uporište zapravo je ona iz Vadene/Pfatten. Naime, u grobu 199 nađena su dva identična primjerka koja se, s obzirom na kontekst, smještaju u 4. st. pr. Kr. (Marzatico 2012b: 97, Fig. 5: 3–4; 2015: 76, Fig. 1: 3–4) (sl. 3: 11). Rezimiramo li podatke, datacije sjevernoitaljskih primjeraka varijante 2b mogu se razmatrati u okviru 5. i 4. st. pr. Kr.<sup>7</sup>

G. Kossack nije se upuštao u raspravu oko kronologije pojedine varijante privjesaka smjestivši ih generalno u *halštatsko razdoblje*, ali to nije učinio ni von Hase, rastumačivši ih, bez pobliže tipološke i kontekstualne opredijeljenosti, jednostavno u funkciji amuleta srednje i gornje Italije 8. i 7. st. pr. Kr. kojima se, posredno, preko lokalnih varijanti<sup>8</sup> može pratiti italjski utjecaj sve do područja sjevernog dijela srednje Europe (von Hase 1992: 249–250). Nedostatke tog von Haseovog interpretacije koju on ponavlja i u sljedećoj objavi (von Hase 1993: 192, 194), a i mnogi nakon njega, iako se nije podrobnije bavila tom problematikom, uočila je već i Carola Metzner-Nebelsick obrađujući grob 15 iz Gorszewica u Velikoj Poljskoj (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002: 431). Pritom je izričito upozorila na sustavno izostavljanje jednog vrlo sličnog privjeska iz groba 32 nekropole Maiersch u Donjoj Austriji (sl. 6). Riječ je o bogatom repertoaru nalaza ženskog groba s mnoštvom keramičkih posuda, tri vretenca i željeznim nožem, vremenski opredjeljivim u Ha D horizont 5./4. st. pr. Kr. (Berg 1962: T. 11: 8; usp. Stegmann-Rajtár 1992: 79; Broseder 2004: 114). Taj djelomično sačuvani privjesak (sl. 6: 8) autorica je naime pripisala lokalnoj varijanti u smislu von

Berlotov rob on Šentviška planota (Laharnar 2017: Fig. 3: 2) (Fig. 3: 26). These are the only finds that stand out due to the mode of decorating the body with incised lines and concentric circles, with the addition of four triangular pendants made of metal sheet.<sup>5</sup> Undoubtedly, these finds mark the expression of local traditions in relation to the wider trend of their distribution during the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC as dated by triangular pendants, but so do other finds from the same context (Laharnar 2017; cf. Mlinar 2016: 99–100). An additional individual find from Koban should be considered with these pendants as well, and it probably originated from the territory of the *Caput Adriae* (Gerlach 1971: Pl. 22: 23)<sup>6</sup> (Fig. 3: 18).

The chronological data for the herein described variant 2b in Italian contexts is somewhat more known. The linear, chorological and chronological evolution has already been presented, wherein they were simply a later refurbishment of variant 2a in northern Italian, or even more distant areas (De Marinis 2014: 97–98; Marzatico 2015: 75–76). The pendant from Montereale Valcellina was found in the, so called, *house of dolii* that was destroyed in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, although it also yielded some older finds (Vitri 2002: 470; De Marinis 2014: 98; Marzatico 2015: 76) (Fig. 5: 10). The Este find from the Meggiaro sanctuary was loosely dated to between the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC (Salerno 2002: 152, 160–161) (Fig. 3: 14), while the pendant from Gazzo Veronese was dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC based on the find of a spit (Capuis, Chieco Bianchi 2004: 628) (Fig. 3: 21). The only unit that provides chronological foundations is the one from Vadene/Pfatten. Namely, grave 199 yielded two identical finds that were, based on the context, dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC (Marzatico 2012b: 97, Fig. 5: 3–4; 2015: 76, Fig. 1: 3–4) (Fig. 3: 11). In summary, the datations of the northern Italian finds of the 2b variant can be considered both in the context of the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC.<sup>7</sup>

G. Kossack did not get into a discussion about the chronology of individual variants of the pendants, placing them generally into the *Hallstatt period*, but the same was also done by von Hase, who interpreted them, without more precise typological and contextual determinations, simply as pendants from central and northern Italy of the 8<sup>th</sup> and the 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC that can be used, in relation to local variants,<sup>8</sup> to trace Italian influences all the way to the northern part of central Europe (von Hase 1992: 249–250). The shortages of von Hase's interpretations, which he repeats in the following publication as well (von Hase 1993: 192, 194), as do many authors after him, were noticed by Carola Metzner-Nebelsick who studied grave 15 from Gorszewice in Greater

5 Primjerak iz Gradiča nad Kobaridom nije objavljen, a čuva se u Tolminskom muzeju. Ostali nalazi iz Slovenije (Gradec u Notranjskoj i Kunkel nad Vrhtrebnjem u Dolenjskoj) posljedica su detektorskih pretraga i također nisu objavljeni, a čuvaju se u privatnim zbirnama.

6 Kod objave M. Gerlacha vjerojatno je zabunom kao mjesto podrijetla naveden Kuban!

7 U prilog dataciji svjedočio bi i privjesak iz Verucchia koji je prezentiran s nalazima upravo iz 5./4. st. pr. Kr. (*Museo civico archeologico di Verucchio*).

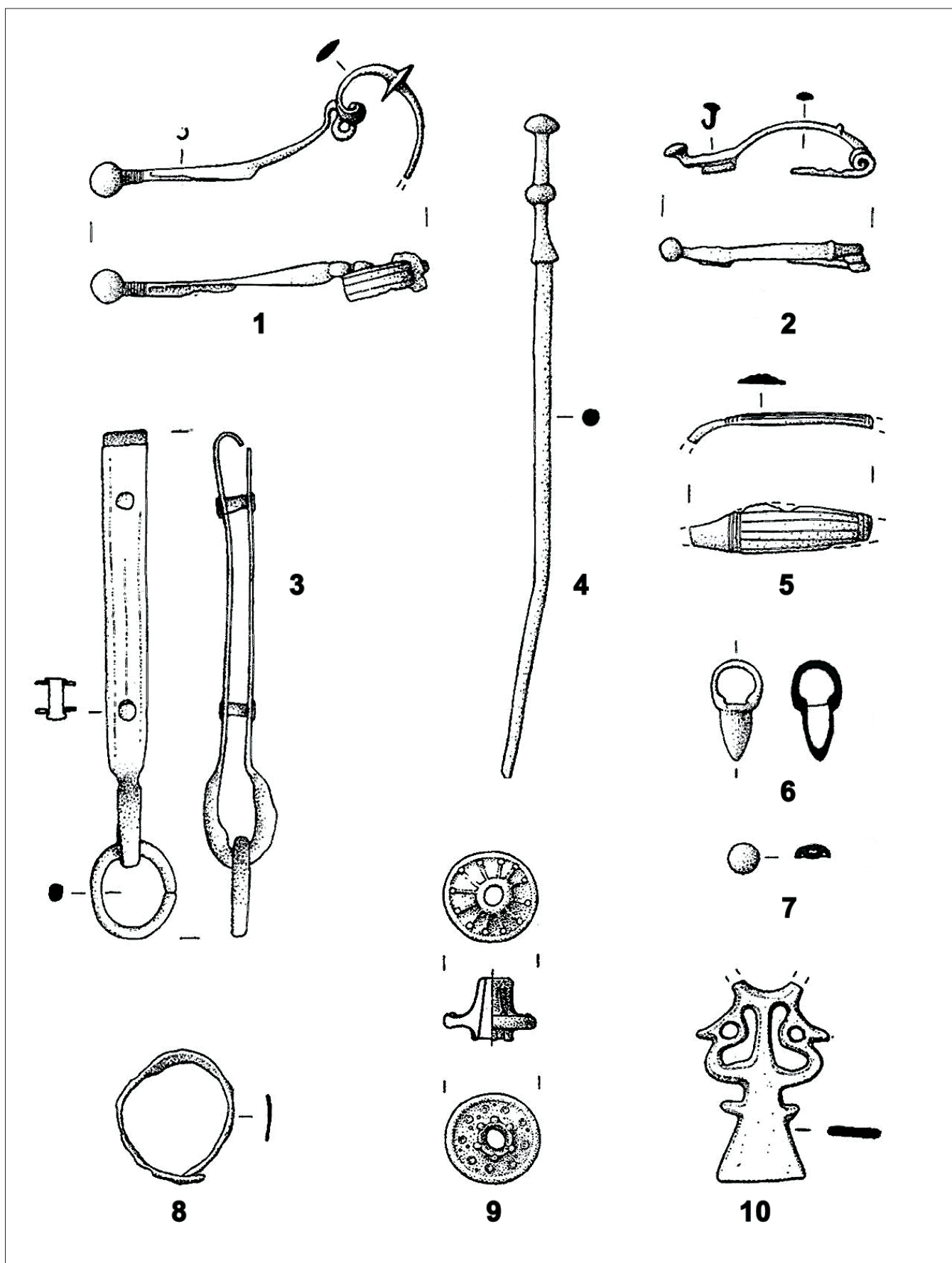
8 Usp. ovdje varijanta 2c.

5 The find from Gradič nad Kobaridom is unpublished, and is kept at the Museum in Tolmin. The rest of the finds from Slovenia (Gradec in Notranjska and Kunkel nad Vrhtrebnjem in Dolenjska) are the result of metal-detector surveys, also remain unpublished, and are kept in private collections.

6 In M. Gerlach's publication, probably by mistake, the place of origin is listed as Koban!

7 The pendant from Verucchio could also speak in favour of the datation, and was presented precisely with 5<sup>th</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC finds (*Museo civico archeologico di Verucchio*).

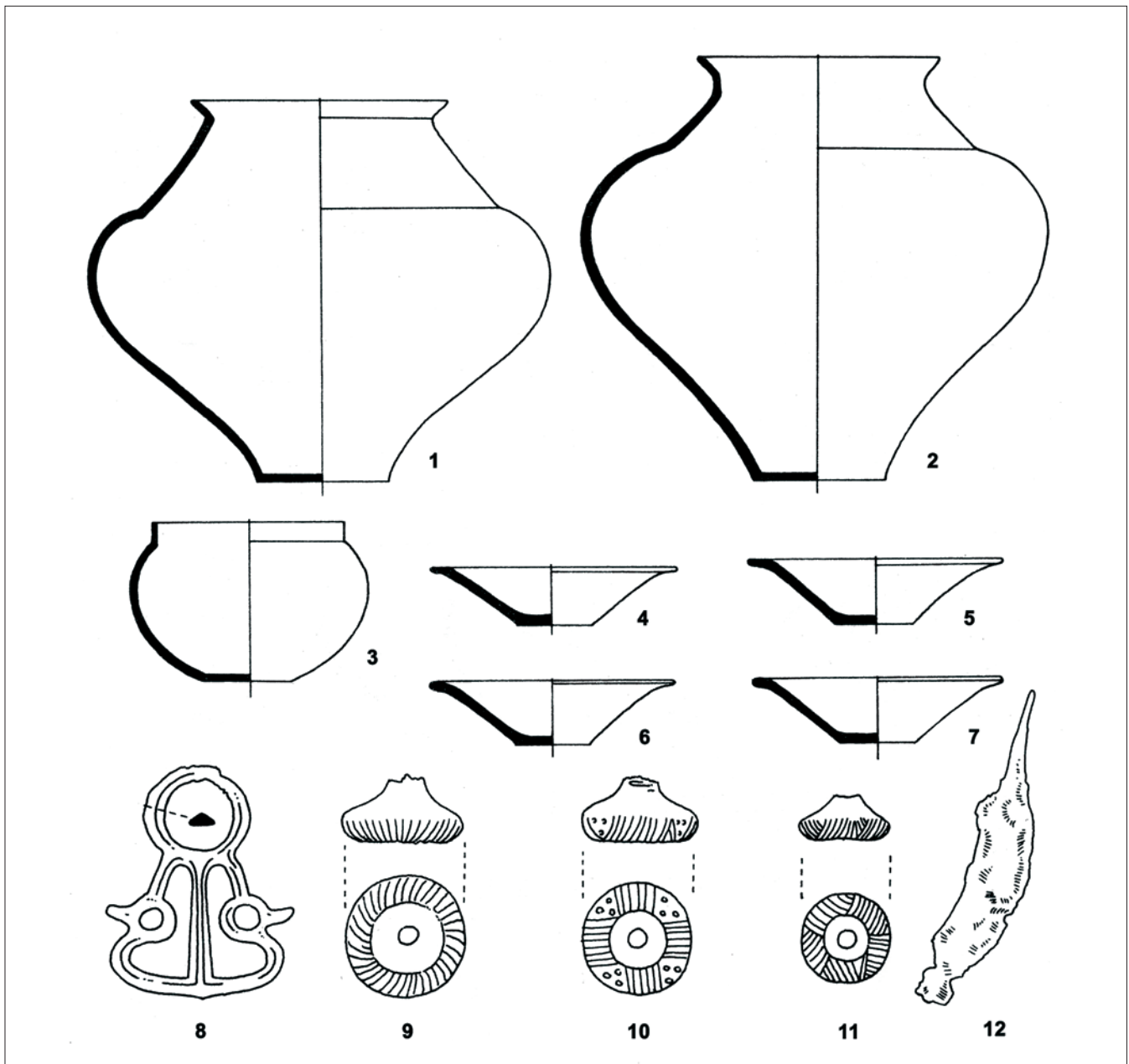
8 Comparisons with the herein described variant 2c.



Sl. 5 Izbor predmeta iz kuće dolija u Montereale Valcellini (različita mjerila, prema Vitri 2002)

Fig. 5 A selection of finds from the house of dolii in Montereale Valcellina (different scales, according to Vitri 2002)



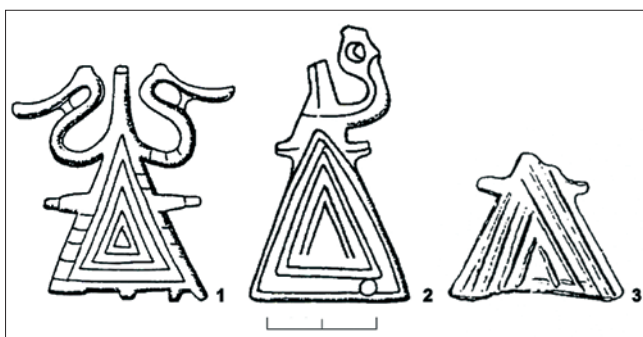


Sl. 6 Maiersch, inventar groba 32 (različita mjerila, prema Berg 1962)  
 Fig. 6 Maiersch, inventory of grave 32 (different scales, according to Berg 1962)

Haseova prijedloga. Pa iako je tijelo profilirano, osnovnim se karakteristikama i likovnom ikonografskom shemom, dvije antitetično postavljene pačje glave, može neposredno dovesti u vezu s privjescima naše varijante 2b i tako poslužiti kao čvrsti oslonac za uspostavljanje kronološke pozicije korištenja toga privjeska i na još širem zemljopisnom okruženju i u posve drugačijem društvenom kontekstu, ali sinkroniziranim sa 5./4. st. pr. Kr.

Najzad, na tipološko-kronološke prijedloge B. Chaumea, R. De Marinisa, F. Marzatica i sama sam se nadovezala objavljujući osorske primjerke, nadopunjujući italsku perspektivu s istočnojadranskom, u kvantitativnom, tipološkom i interpretativnom odnosu (Blečić Kavur 2015: 97–100, sl. 38). U dijakronijskom aspektu pokazala sam da se najmlađi pri-

Poland in detail (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002: 431). In her study, she explicitly warns the reader about the systematic exclusion of a very similar pendant from grave 32 from the Maiersch necropolis in Lower Austria (Fig. 6). It comes from a rich repertoire of finds from a female grave with a lot of pottery vessels, three spindles and an iron knife, dated to the Ha D phase of the 5<sup>th</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC (Berg 1962: T. 11: 8; cf. Stegmann-Rajtár 1992: 79; Brosseder 2004: 114). Namely, the author ascribed this partially preserved pendant (Fig. 6: 8) to a local variant in the sense of von Hase's suggestion. So, even though the body has a profilation, the basic characteristics and the artistic iconographic scheme of the two antithetically positioned duck heads can be directly connected to the pendants of the herein described variant 2b, and



Sl. 7 Antropo-ornitomorfni privjesci varijante 2c (1 Gorszewice; 2 Velem-Szentvid prema von Hase 1992; 3 Smolenice-Molpír prema Dušek, Dušek 1995 – M. 1: 1)

Fig. 7 Variant 2c anthropo-ornithomorphic pendants (1 Gorszewice; 2 Velem-Szentvid according to von Hase 1992, 3 Smolenice-Molpír according to Dušek, Dušek 1995 – M 1: 1)

mjerici tih privjesaka mogu eventualno koristiti do u 3. st. pr. Kr., ne samo primjerkom iz Sanzena (Fogolari 1959: 272; Marzatico 2012b: Fig. 5: 1; 2014: Fig. 4c–d, ) (sl. 3: 20) nego možda i privjeskom iz Vinice (sl. 3: 17). U vrijeme 5./4. st. pr. Kr. najvjerojatnije će se moći pridružiti i raskošni privjesci iz Berlotova roba i iz Gradiča nad Kobaridom, a dataciju će možda moći bolje podržati ulomak takvog privjeska iz naselja Most na Soči, sonda 36, koja je određiva upravo 5./4. st. pr. Kr. (Laharnar 2017b: Fig. 12: 4).<sup>9</sup>

Varijanta 2c treća je i posljednja u ovoj raspodjeli. Tehnički i stilski odgovara varijanti *Gorszewice*, određenoj kao *lokalnoj varijanti italskih tipova!* Obilježava je također ravni zaključak tijela, ali je ono geometrijski linearno ukrašeno ravnim kratkim istakama i naglašeno stiliziranim ptičjim protomama sa strana tijela. Alka za ovjes nije sačuvana kod ni jednog poznatog privjeska (sl. 7). Pored primjeraka iz groba 15 u Gorszewicama gdje se u grobu našao i par igala i ogrlica (Pieczyński 1954: 108–109, Ryc. 9; Metzner-Nebelsick 2002: 431, Abb. 192) (sl. 8) i iz Velem-Szentvida (Miske 1907: T. LIV: 5; Kossack 1954: T. 12: 2–3; Jankovits 2011: 257, Fig. 5: 15) (sl. 7: 2), u toj su se skupini tretirali i privjesci iz Osora (De Marinis 2004: Fig. 5; 2014: Fig. 2; Marzatico 2015: Fig. 2)! No, kako su oni izdvojeni, mnogo uvjerljivijim čini se pribrojiti im primjerak iz Smolenice-Molpíra, Tor IV (Dušek, Dušek 1995: 39, T. 89: 8) (sl. 7: 3; 4) kojem, nažalost, također nedostaje ključni dio s ornitomorfim protomama. Primjerak iz Velem-Szentvida od prve je objave bio uspoređen s italskima iz Este, Verone ili Bologne (Miske 1907: 80), datiran u srednjolatensko doba. Datacije su im, u odnosu na druge varijante, kompliciranije ponajprije zbog toga što je privjesak iz Gorszewica datiran u Ha C1, a onaj iz Velem-Szentvida u srednjolatensko razdoblje (Warneke 1999: 171). Primjerak iz smoleničkog Molpíra podupirao bi stariju dataciju kasnog 7. st. pr. Kr. (usp. Hellmuth 2007).

<sup>9</sup> Mali trokutasti privjesci koji su mogli visjeti na antropo-ornitomorfim privjescima istraženi su i u kući 6 koji, skladno sa zastupljenim gradivom te zatvorene cjeline, potvrđuju njihovo korištenje ili dataciju u kasno halštatsko razdoblje (usp. Svoljšak, Dular 2016: T. 26: 11–15; Laharnar 2018).

can, as such, be used as a firm basis for the determination of the chronological position of the pendant on an even wider geographical area and in completely different social contexts that are synchronized with the 5<sup>th</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC.

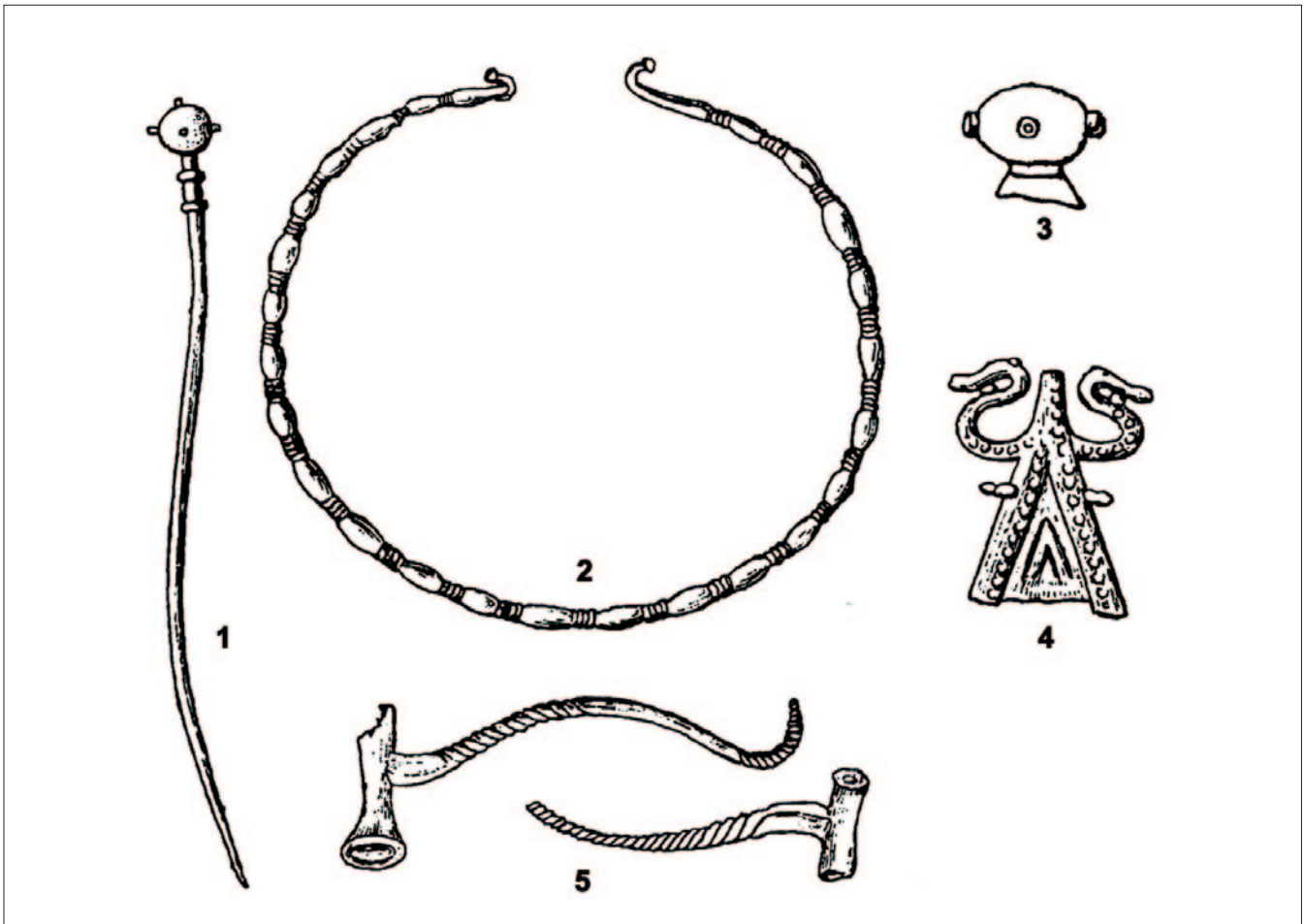
Finally, the author added to the typological and chronological suggestions of B. Chaume, R. De Marinis, and F. Marzatico by publishing the finds from Osor, thereby adding to the Italian perspective with the eastern Adriatic one in a quantitative, typological and interpretational relation (Blečić Kavur 2015: 97–100, Fig. 38). In the diachronic aspect, the author showed that the youngest finds of these pendants could have potentially been used until the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC, and not only based on the find from Sanzeno (Fogolari 1959: 272; Marzatico 2012b: Fig. 5: 1; 2014: Fig. 4c–d) (Fig. 3: 20), but also possibly by the pendant from Vinica (Fig. 3: 17). The period of the 5<sup>th</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC can probably also be added to by the luxurious pendants from Berlotov rob and Gradič nad Kobaridom, and the datation will likely be even more supported by such a pendant from the settlement of Most na Soči, trench 36, that can be dated precisely to the 5<sup>th</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC (Laharnar 2018: Fig. 12: 4).<sup>9</sup>

The 2c variant is the third and last presented in this division. Technically and stylistically, it matches the *Gorszewice* variant, defined as a *local variant of Italian types!* It is also marked by a straight ending on the body with linear decorations, short straight projections, and significantly stylized bird-like protomes on the side of the body. The suspension loop is not preserved on any of the known finds (Fig. 7). Apart from the find from grave 15 in Gorszewice, which also included a pair of needles and a necklace (Pieczyński 1954: 108–109, Ryc. 9; Metzner-Nebelsick 2002: 431, Abb. 192) (Fig. 8), and the one from Velem-Szentvid (Miske 1907: Pl. LIV: 5; Kossack 1954: Pl. 12: 2–3; Jankovits 2011: 257, Fig. 5: 15) (Fig. 7: 2), this group also includes pendants from Osor (De Marinis 2004: Fig. 5; 2014: Fig. 2; Marzatico 2015: Fig. 2)! However, as they were excluded, it seems more plausible that the finds from Smolenice-Molpír, Tor IV, should also be added (Dušek, Dušek 1995: 39, Pl. 89: 8) (Fig. 7: 3; 4). Unfortunately, the key element with ornithomorphic protomes is missing. The find from Velem-Szentvid has been compared to Italian ones since the beginning, primarily ones from Este, Verona or Bologna (Miske 1907: 80) that was dated to the middle La Tène period. Their datation, in relation to other variants, is more complex because the pendant from Gorszewice was dated to Ha C1, and the one from Velem-Szentvid to the middle La Tène period (Warneke 1999: 171). The find from Molpír in Smolenice speaks in favor of an older datation to the late 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC (cf. Hellmuth 2007).

## THE PENDANT IN RELATION TO OTHERS

All of the described anthropo-ornithomorphic pendants display a visual concept uniformly achieved by the syncretism between a triangle, a circle, and an antithetically

<sup>9</sup> The small triangular pendants that could have hung from anthropo-ornithomorphic pendants were also discovered in house 6 and would, in accordance with the rest of the material in the closed unit, confirm their use or datation into the late Hallstatt period (cf. Svoljšak, Dular 2016: Pl. 26: 11–15; Laharnar 2018).



Sl. 8 Inventar groba 15 iz Gorszewice (prema Metzner-Nebelsick 2002)  
 Fig. 8 Inventory of grave 15 from Gorszewice (according to Metzner-Nebelsick 2002)

### PRIVJESAK U ODNOSU NA DRUGE

Kod svih je opisanih antropo-ornitomorfnih privjesaka vizualni koncept dosljedno ostvaren sinkretizmom trokuta, kruga i antitetično postavljenih ptičjih protoma (sl. 2–3). Od te ikonografske strukture nema odstupanja ni u različitim varijantama ni u raznim likovnim izvedbama. Trokut kao antropomorfni simbol, simbol tijela, plošno je ili profilirano predstavljen. Profiliranost tijela ili geometrijski ukrasi na njemu uobičajeno asociraju na prikaz odjeće ili nošnje, osobito kod varijante 2c, no dekorativno se postizala i svojevrsna realističnost inače plošnog, dvodimenzionalnog lika. Vrlo rijetko, samo na primjerima iz Berlotova roba, Gradiča nad Kobaridom, Vinice, Gorszewica i Velem-Szentvida (sl. 3: 25–26; 7: 1–2), donji je rub probušen s rupicama o kojima su mogli visjeti ukrasi ili privjesci, što dokazuje primjerak iz Berlotova roba (sl. 3: 26) (i Kobarida), na kojem su trokutasti limeni privjesci bili ovješeni i o vratove ptica, pridonijevši tako potpunom apotropijskom užitku svih „osjetila“.

Trokut je nadopunjen krugom koji simbolizira glavu, funkcionalno alku za ovjes. Upravo krug može posredno objavljivati solarni karakter ikonološke naracije koju su privjesci prenosili. Jer, krug je temeljni znak solarnog kotača u

positioned set of bird-shaped protomes (Fig. 2–3). No deviation from this iconographic structure is seen in the different variants or the different artistic expressions. The triangle, as an anthropomorphic symbol, a symbol of the body, is represented as flat or profiled. The profilation of the body, or geometric decorations on it, commonly suggest the representation of clothes or attire, especially in variant 2c, but the decorations were also used to achieve a kind of realism on the, usually flat, two-dimensional character. Very seldom, only on examples from Berlotov rob, Gradič nad Kobaridom, Vinica, Gorszewice, and Velem-Szentvid (Fig. 3: 25–26; 7: 1–2), the lower edge is perforated with holes that could have been used to suspend other decorations or pendants, as attested to by the find from Berlotov rob (Fig. 3: 26) (and Kobarid) that also had triangular sheets of metal hanging from the birds' necks, thereby adding to the completely apotropaic enjoyment of all the “senses”.

The triangle is added to by a circle denoting the head, a functional suspension loop. Precisely the circle could indirectly denote the solar character of the iconographic narration ascribed to the pendants. Notably, the circle is the basic sign of the solar wheel in the sense of cosmic energy,

smislu kozmičke energije, kružnog kretanja, stalnih promjena i ponavljanja. Podsjeća na univerzalno središte, pupak (*omphalos*) ili os (*axis mundi*) svijeta (Chevalier, Gheerbrant 2006: 271, 280–282, 295, 570; Lawlor 2003: 90–95; Kukoč 2009: 167–168). Antitetično postavljene ptice močvarice u pravilu su povezane uz simbolizam ptičje i/ili sunčeve lađe izravno povezane s nadmoćnim položajem zatvorenog i predimenzioniranog kruga.

U kruni je dakle privjesaka smješten razrađen sustav znakova; čovjek – ptica – krug kao konvencija konkretno povezane semiotičke cjeline. Riječ je o progresivnoj retorici u odnosu na onu konzervativniju astralnu koja izvire iz obrednih tradicija i vjerovanja kasnoga brončanog doba, a kao takva održala se i u željeznom dobu (Nebelsick 1992: 405–406; Jockenhövel 2003; Müller-Karpe 2003; Lenerz-de Wilde 2009; usp. Kukoč 1995: 70–71; 2009: 155–159; Marzatico 2011: 330). Pretpostavlja se, argumentirano, kako je svoju pretvorbu, iz različitih razloga, izvela i standardizirala tijekom starijega željeznog doba u italjskim kulturama, u čiji sinkronijski i dijakronijski model možemo smjestiti privjeske 2a varijante. No takvi primjeri nisu nimalo rijetkost i s obje strane Jadrana, osobito omiljeni u likovnoj recepciji Japoda (Teßmann 2001: 82–91; 2007: 185–187; Kukoč 2003; 2009: 155–197; Blečić Kavur 2009: 241–245) gdje je, kako smo vidjeli u Kompolju, drugo najbrojnije nalaženje privjesaka 2b varijante (sl. 4).

Međutim, takvo tumačenje i za privjeske varijante 2b nije više dovoljno, odnosno u njima ne možemo vidjeti isključivo idiom ptičje, tj. sunčeve lađe. Jer, tijekom posljednjeg tisućljeća stare ere antropomorfnu prikaz s pticama (močvaricama), s bočnih strana, simbolički se najčešće identificirao s predodžbom sintetiziranoga ženskog božanstva kakvo je npr. bila *Potnia theron*, držeći za vrat dvije gušćarice. Njezino podrijetlo tražilo se u nizu mogućih egejskih utjecaja na kulture kasnoga brončanog i ranoga željeznog doba Europe i u tom su diskursu bili tumačeni mnogi antropomorfnu privjesci (usp. Müller-Karpe 2003; Marzatico 2002a; Dal Ri 2012; Kukoč 2009: 155–197). Raspolagati ipak valja s vremenski mnogo bližim okolnostima prema kojima je ta stara, brončanodobna *Potnia theron* (Barclay 2001) u geometrijskoj i arhaijskoj grčkoj umjetnosti smisljeno preuređena. Tada mnoga olimpska božanstva baštine njezine karakteristike, posebice attribute različitih životinja, pri čemu svakako dominiraju ptice, a među njima napose ptice močvarice. Ideološki, programi ptica močvarica konkretizirani su u klasičnoj umjetnosti mnogim subjektima (od Apolona, Afrodite i Artemide do Zeusa i Atene) (Bevan 1986: 35–41, 53, 57; usp. Turner 2005; Villing 2008; Chabot Aslan 2009). Njihova nam šira sinkrona perspektiva možda ipak može biti od koristi: naime, tijekom arhaike *Potnia theron*, zajedno s pticama močvaricama kao atributima, personifikacija je vlažnosti i s njome povezane plodnosti, što dokazuju nalazi kostiju žrtvovanih ptica i sitne ornitomorfnu plastike u hramovima posvećenih ženskim božanstvima, ponajviše Afroditi i Artemidi, Homerovi *Potnii theron* (Burkert 1977: 231–235). Ptice močvarice bile su, upravo stoga, reprezentacijom ženske božanske moći – erotizma, prokreacije i rađanja – u potpunosti oblikovane u 5. st. pr. Kr. (Pollard 1977;

circular motion, permanent changes and repetitions. It suggests a universal centre, a belly button (*omphalos*) or axis (*axis mundi*) of the world (Chevalier, Gheerbrant 2006: 271, 280–282, 295, 570; Lawlor 2003: 90–95; Kukoč 2009: 167–168). The antithetically positioned water birds are, as a rule, connected with the symbolism of the bird and/or solar boat that is directly connected to the superior positioning of the closed and over-emphasized circle.

Therefore, the crown of the pendant is where the developed system of signs is placed; man – bird – circle as the convention of the specifically related semiotic unit. This is a progressive rhetoric in comparison to the more conservative astral one that originates from ritualistic traditions and beliefs of the Late Bronze Age, and which was, as such, also preserved in the Iron Age (Nebelsick 1992: 405–406; Jockenhövel 2003; Müller-Karpe 2003; Lenerz-de Wilde 2009; cf. Kukoč 1995: 70–71; 2009: 155–159; Marzatico 2011: 330). It is assumed, justifiably, that its form, for different reasons, was created and standardized during the Early Iron Age in Italian cultures, and its synchronic and diachronic models can be sought in pendants of variant 2a. However, such examples are not rare on either side of the Adriatic, especially in the artistic receptions of the lapodes (Teßmann 2001: 82–91; 2007: 185–187; Kukoč 2003; 2009: 155–197; Blečić Kavur 2009: 241–245), where, as visible in Kompolje, the second most numerous group of 2b variant pendants was found (Fig. 4).

However, such an interpretation is no longer enough for variant 2b pendants, that is, they cannot be seen exclusively as the bird = solar boat idiom. Namely, during the last millennium BC, anthropomorphic representations, with birds (water birds) on the sides, are symbolically most often identified with the idea of a synthesized female deity such as, e.g., *Potnia theron*, holding two water birds by the neck. Her origin was described through a series of possible Aegean influences into the cultures of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age Europe, and many anthropomorphic pendants have been interpreted within this discourse (cf. Müller-Karpe 2003; Marzatico 2002a; Dal Ri 2012; Kukoč 2009: 155–197). However, chronologically closer circumstances should be considered, making this old, Bronze Age *Potnia theron* (Barclay 2001) conceptually reconstructed in geometric and archaic Greek art. In that sense, many Olympic deities inherit her characteristics, especially the attributes of various animals, notably dominated by birds, especially water birds. Ideologically, the programs of water birds are actualized in classical art through many subjects (from Apollo, Aphrodite and Artemis, to Zeus and Athena) (Bevan 1986: 35–41, 53, 57; cf. Turner 2005; Villing 2008; Chabot Aslan 2009). Their wide synchronic perspective can possibly be of use: namely, in the Archaic period, *Potnia theron*, accompanied by water birds as attributes, is a personification of moisture and thereby connected fertility, as attested to by finds of bones of sacrificed birds, as well as small ornithomorphic figurines discovered in temples dedicated to female deities, especially Aphrodite and Artemis, Homer's *Potniai theron* (Burkert 1977: 231–235). Water birds were, precisely for that reason, a representation of female divine power: eroticism, pro-

Bevan 1986: 31–33, 40–45, 56–57; Turner 2005: 71–73; Villing 2008: 176; Chabot Aslan 2009: 56–57). Ambivalentno, u simbolizmu umjetnosti različitih struktura, pa tako i helenske, labud je općenito povezan i uz inkarnaciju muškarca koji uvijek figurira kao oploditelj života i reprodukcije (Chevalier, Gheerbrant 2006: 301; Werness 2006: 95–96). Vrhunac takvog sustava dramatično je uprizoren i u klasičnom mitu o Zeusu i Ledi (Ahl 1982: 383–386; Skalsky 1997: 57–59). Međutim, u pozadini prikaza vrhovnika u muškom liku, tj. labuda Zeusa i guske Lede spojenih u jedno, formulirana je konkretna bipolarizacija simbola kako bi se u cijelosti okrunila epifanija božanske svjetlosti, sunčeve – muške i lunarne – ženske (Chevalier, Gheerbrant 2006: 301), kao metafore koja uvijek govori o životu, prisutnosti onostranog i uskrsnuću/ponovnom rođenju (Chevalier, Gheerbrant 2006: 590–592; Villing 2008: 174–175).

Ptice močvarice, osobito labud, već su od villanovskog razdoblja Etrurije upravo bile simbolom onostranog i u pogrebnim su ritualima, kao i umjetnosti, imale ulogu psihopompa pri prijelazu u „drugi život“ (Skalsky 1997: 133–145). Kao što je labud često s guskom ikonografski i simbolički virtualno izmjenjiv, tako je i guska izmjenjiva s patkom (Chevalier, Gheerbrant 2006: 301–302; Skalsky 1997: 114–117; Werness 2006: 199–200; Villing 2008: 171, 174). A, sve su te ptice močvarice od početka asociirane uz obnavljanja (dnevne, sezonske, godišnje i životne mijene), uz selidbu i transport (povezivanje udaljenih krajeva, Sjevera i Juga) i s jantarnim putovima (labud i jantar simboli su „sjevernog sunca“) što je retorički i literarno manifestirano u mitološkoj priči o Faetontu, Kiknu i Apolonu (Ahl 1982: 394–398; Bakarić 2008: 40–44). Sjeverno je italjsko područje, od Verucchia do Este i dalje u zaleđe, baš kao i sjevernojadransko, od Kvarnera pa do Like i Dolenjske, bogato nalazima jantarnih ukrasnih predmeta i možda bi se, ako kartu rasprostiranja privjesaka 2. tipa čitamo doslovno i plošno i u njihovu razmještaju, moglo slijediti neke od jantarnih pravaca?

## **ZNAK KAO SIMBOL – SIMBOL KAO KORESPONDENT**

I što sad: ili je labud/guska ili je patka – ili je sve i jedna ptica močvarica iz porodice guščarica (*Anatidae*) i kako ih možemo povezati uz dostupne nam kontekste nalaza koji se tumače u metamorfozi primjene, površ svega i „spolno“ određene? Na italjskim je primjercima R. De Marinis uputio na konkretnu transformaciju privjesaka u uporabnoj vrijednosti (De Marinis 2004: 199; 2014: 98). Konkretan odgovor na pitanje kako i zašto je do toga došlo, odnosno kakva je simboličko-semantička slika tih privjesaka i njihove preobrazbe ipak nije pružio. Promatramo li te dvije varijante zasebno, tj. ako u njima ne tražimo nužno proces preuređenja iz jednog kulturnog ambijenta u drugi a time i kronološkog veziva, tada im dopuštamo *biografski* različiti put. Istoznačno, ako su ti privjesci svi nama tipološko-stilski srodni ili nalik, kompletna analiza pokazuje da njihovim imateljima to očito nisu bili. I zato privjeske varijante 2a treba promatrati odvojeno od znatno mlađe varijante 2b, dok privjeske varijante 2c također treba promatrati u sasvim drugim okolnostima, ne nužno povezanim uz italjske.

creation and birth, and were finally shaped in the 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC (Pollard 1977; Bevan 1986: 31–33, 40–45, 56–57; Turner 2005: 71–73; Villing 2008: 176; Chabot Aslan 2009: 56–57). Ambivalently, in the symbolism of art of different structures, including the Hellenic, the swan is generally connected to the incarnation of man who always takes the role of the fertilizer of life and reproduction (Chevalier, Gheerbrant 2006: 301; Werness 2006: 95–96). The peak of this system is dramatically brought forth in the myth of Zeus and Leto (Ahl 1982: 383–386; Skalsky 1997: 57–59). However, in the background of the story of the leader in a male body, i.e. the swan Zeus and the goose Leto merged into one, there is a formulation of the true bipolarization of symbols made in order to fully crown the epiphany of divine light, the solar – male, and the lunar – female (Chevalier, Gheerbrant 2006: 301), as a metaphor that always speaks of life, the presence of the celestial and the resurrection/rebirth (Chevalier, Gheerbrant 2006: 590–592; Villing 2008: 174–175).

Water birds, especially the swan, were, since the Villanova period in Etruria, considered exactly as a symbol of the transcendental, and had the role of psychopompos in the transition to the “other world” in burial rituals, as well as art (Skalsky 1997: 133–145). As the swan is often iconographically and symbolically interchangeable with the goose, so the goose is interchangeable with the duck (Chevalier, Gheerbrant 2006: 301–302; Skalsky 1997: 114–117; Werness 2006: 199–200; Villing 2008: 171, 174). Notably, all of these birds were, since the beginning, associated with renewal (daily, seasonal, yearly, and changes in life), moving and transportation (connecting distant areas, the North and the South), as well as amber roads (the swan and amber are symbols of the “northern sun”), as is rhetorically and literarily manifested in the myth of Phaeton, Cycnus and Apollo (Ahl 1982: 394–398; Bakarić 2008: 40–44). The northern Italian territory, from Verucchio to Este and into the hinterland, just like the northern Adriatic one, from Kvarner to Lika and Dolenjska, is full of amber decorative objects, and, if the map of type 2 pendant dispersal is taken literally, possibly some of the amber routes could also be considered?

## **THE SIGN AS THE SYMBOL – THE SYMBOL AS THE CORRESPONDENT**

And, what now: either it is a swan/goose, or it is a duck – or it is all of them, or one kind of water bird from the *Anatidae* family, and how can it be connected to the available contexts of finds that are interpreted within the metamorphosis of application, and that are, additionally, defined by “gender”? For the Italian finds, R. De Marinis suggests an actual transformation of pendants in their value of application (De Marinis 2004: 199; 2014: 98). The author did not, however, provide a definitive answer to the question of how and why this was achieved, i.e. what the symbolic and semantic image of these pendants and their transformation was. If the two variants are studied together, and if they are not studied only in the sense of the process of transforming from one cultural framework into another, or as chronological links, then they could be seen as having different *biographical* paths. Synonymously, if these pendants are seen

Ornitološki, činjenica je da su mužjaci i ženke gušcarica fizički vrlo slični, bez naglašenoga spolnog dimorfizma. To bi značilo da je jednom koncipiran simbol antropo-ornitomorfno privjeska, u određenom okruženju, mogao bez većih poteškoća biti prikazan s različitim gušcaricama, u ovom slučaju labud/guska – patka, uvjetovan njihovom zastupljenošću, tj. anatomske poznavanjem tijela ptica prostora na kojem je virtualno i komunikacijski simbol aktivan. Drugim riječima, fizički/ikonografski (vrlo srodna) ptica jest izmjenjivana, ali je znak kao simbol i njihovo značenje u biti nepromijenjeno, tj. ambivalentno i također spolno nedjeljivo.

Nadalje, što utjelovljuje antropomorfni znak: muškarca ili ženu ili oboje i je li njihovo „spolno“ određenje povezano sa „spolno“ određenim kontekstima? Vidjeli smo da je varijanta 2a najtješnje povezana uz štitove i raskošno brončano posuđe interpretirane u korist muških grobova (Iaia 2005). Iščitavanje podataka o nalaženjima toliko je fragmentarno za varijante 2b i 2c da je skoro onemogućeno, ali nam zato privjesak sam može mnogo toga reći ako se usredotočimo na predmet kao kreaciju od čovjeka i na predmet kao kreaciju za čovjeka (Tilley 1999), pažljivo iščitavajući znakove, slijedeći simbole i povezujući nevidljive poruke. U tom smislu, antropomorfno je zapravo plošno, ili lišeno konkretne oznake ili jedno te isto, hermafroditско. Vrednujemo li antropomorfno ornitomorfne atributima i to bipolarnu simboliku života/smrti – dana/noći – muškarca/žene, tada je sasvim argumentirano ovo drugo: riječ je o androginom simbolu punom tajni, spolno neodredivom, o malom tijelu univerzalne božanske svjetlosti koja je vitalna i koja obnavlja. Predstavlja nam se privjesak kao amulet-talisman, nositelj iste vrijednosti i posrednik iste metafore (života, prisutnosti onostranog i ponovnog rođenja), čime je postignuta ravnopravna konzumacija kao korespondenta i u muškim i u ženskim arheološkim kontekstima, u heterogenim kategorijama od grobova do naselja, od svakodnevnih interijera do božanskih svetišta, od naoko običnog do naoko luksuznog.

Naposlijetku, formalno se pri 2. tipu antropo-ornitomorfni privjesaka razlikuju tri osnovne varijante – 2a (*Bisenzio*), 2b (*Este*) i 2c (*Gorszewice*) (sl. 3; 4; 7) – koje će, kako je pokazano, imati i svoje mjesne inačice čiji će se klasifikacijski put i dalje nužno razvijati. U vremenskoj vertikali njihovo stvaranje i uporabu slijedimo od 8. pa do 7. st. za varijantu 2a i od 5. do 4. (možda do 3.) st. pr. Kr. za varijantu 2b, ali ne u istim nego u dinamičnim i dvoznačnim ideološko-semantičkim strukturama kako je detaljno, ondje gdje je to bilo moguće, predstavljeno. Mnogo dokaza upućuje na vremensku distancu između tih dviju varijanti koje su se razvijale iz posve drugačijih ishodišta. Prostorna raširenost i kvantitativna zastupljenost, dugo vremena marginaliziranih a ovdje najzanimljivijih primjeraka varijante 2b, formira njihovu značenjsku sliku kao jednog od karakterističnih elemenata gornjojadranske *koiné* koja se primjenjivala oko 200 godina (sl. 3–4). S obzirom na to da ih na području od Kvarnera do Like, Pokuplja i Notranjske imamo tako mnogo, mjesna im je proizvodnja, negdje na istočnom području sjeverno-jadranskog prostora sa zaleđem, vjerojatna. U regionalnom je optoku uspostavljenih komunikacijskih sustava morala

as typologically and stylistically comparable or similar, an overall analysis suggests that they were not seen as such by their wearers. This is precisely why variant 2a pendants should be studied separately from the significantly younger variant 2b, while 2c pendants should be studied within a completely different framework that is not necessarily linked to Italian finds.

Ornithologically, it is a fact that male and female water birds are physically very similar, without pronounced sexual dimorphism. This means that, once the anthropo-ornithomorphic symbol has been established in a certain context, it could have been easily connected to different water birds, in this case swan/goose – duck, conditioned by their representation, in line with anatomical knowledge of the bodies of birds that were present on the territory where the symbol was virtually and communicatively active. In other words, the (very similar) bird was physically/iconographically interchangeable, but the sign as a symbol and their meaning remained unchanged, was ambivalent, and also sexually non-exclusive.

Furthermore, what constitutes the anthropomorphic sign: a man or a woman, or both, and is their “gender” definition connected to contexts pertaining to “gender”? As demonstrated, the 2a variant is most closely linked to shields and luxurious bronze ware interpreted as belonging to male graves (Iaia 2005). The acquisition of data about variants 2b and 2c is so fragmented that it is almost impossible, but the pendants can say a lot if seen as objects created by man, and objects created for man (Tilley 1999), by studying their signs, following their symbols and connecting invisible messages. In that sense, the anthropomorphic is actually flat, lacking specific marks, making it hermaphroditical. If the anthropomorphic is evaluated through ornithomorphic attributes of the bipolar symbolism of life/death – day/night – man/woman, the following conclusion can be drawn: these are androgynous symbols full of secrets, of indefinable gender, i.e. a small body with universal divine light that is life-bearing, and which revives. The pendant stands out as an amulet-talisman, the carrier of the same value, and a mediator of the same metaphor (life, the presence of the transcendental, and rebirth), thereby achieving an equal level of consumption as a correspondent in both male and female archaeological contexts, in heterogeneous categories like graves and settlements, in profane interiors and divine sanctuaries, and in the seemingly regular and the seemingly luxurious.

Finally, type 2 anthropo-ornithomorphic pendants appear in three basic variants: 2a (*Bisenzio*), 2b (*Este*) and 2c (*Gorszewice*) (Fig. 3; 4; 7) which, as demonstrated above, have their local derivatives that continue to develop their classification. Chronologically, their production and use can be traced from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC for variant 2a, and from the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> (possibly until the 3<sup>rd</sup>) cent. BC for variant 2b, and not in the same, but in double semantic structures as was, when possible, presented here. A lot of evidence points to a temporal difference between these two variants that developed from completely different points. The spatial distribution and quantitative represen-

biti ravnopravna i ideološki usklađena sa sposobnostima i obrtničkim središtima njihove kreacije na sjevernoitalijskom teritoriju te povezana u širu mrežu gospodarskih i trgovačkih razmjera. Apotropejska i magijska, tj. profilaktička uloga takve likovne i simboličke interpretacije antropomorfne, predvidljiva je i stalna u repertoaru nalaza iz željeznog doba. Taj predmet kao metafora androgenog s očitom idejom kozmičkog imao je poruku koja je bila trenutačno vizualno (neverbalno) razumljiva, (kognitivno) priznavana i (kulturalno) široko prihvaćena poput „verbalnog“ korespondenta u neposrednom ophođenju složenih i zapletenih međudodosa između ljudi i društava (Stevens 2007).

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tation of, for a long time marginalized, and herein the most interesting finds of variant 2b, forms the semantic image of these pendants as one of the characteristic elements of the upper Adriatic *koiné* that was applied for about 200 years (Fig. 3–4). Considering that so many have been found on the territory of Kvarner, Lika, Kolpa Valley and Notranjska, local production seems probable, occurring somewhere in the eastern part of the northern Adriatic territory and its hinterland. In the regional flow of established communication systems, it must have been equal and ideologically in line with the abilities and the production centres where they were created in the northern Italian territory, and was connected to a wider network of economy and trade. The apotropaic, and magical, i.e. the prophylactic role of such an artistic and symbolic interpretation of the anthropomorphic, is predictable and constant in the repertoire of Iron Age finds. This object, as a metaphor of the androgynous with an obvious idea of the cosmic, had a message that was momentarily visually (non-verbally) understandable, (cognitively) recognized, and (culturally) widely accepted as the “verbal” correspondent in the indirect transfer of the intricate and complex relations between people and societies (Stevens 2007).

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