

Dvije liburnske fibule iz Trošenj-grada

Balen-Letunić, Dubravka

Source / Izvornik: **Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu, 2010, 27, 135 - 144**

Journal article, Published version

Rad u časopisu, Objavljena verzija rada (izdavačev PDF)

Permanent link / Trajna poveznica: <https://urn.nsk.hr/urn:nbn:hr:291:226361>

Rights / Prava: [Attribution 3.0 Unported/Imenovanje 3.0](#)

Download date / Datum preuzimanja: **2025-02-22**



INSTITUT ZA
ARHEOLOGIJU

Repository / Repozitorij:

[RIARH - Repository of the Institute of archaeology](#)

Dvije liburnske fibule iz Trošenj-grada

Two Liburnian fibulae from Trošenj-grad

Izvorni znanstveni rad
Prapovijesna arheologija

*Original scientific paper
Prehistoric archaeology*

DUBRAVKA BALEN-LETUNIĆ
Kušlanova 50
HR-10000 Zagreb
dbalen2@net.amis.hr

UDK/UDC UDK 903.25(497.5Trošenj grad) "638"

Primljeno/Received: 23. 06. 2010.

Prihvaćeno/Accepted: 13. 01. 2011.

U radu su obrađene dvije srebrne fibule s pozlaćenim ukrasima iz Trošenj-grada. Jedna pripada pločastim fibulama liburnskoga tipa; prema Š. Batoviću bila bi to inačica broj 1 stupnja V b, posljednjega u razvojnom slijedu liburnske kulture (2. – 1. st. pr. Kr.). Drugoj fibuli pločasti luk prekriven je oblogom, koja je pričvršćena zakovicom s još vidljivim tragovima rozete. Ovalni krajevi obloge završavaju dvostruko antitetično postavljenim ovnovskim glavama s raskošnim rogovima. I ona bi također bila jedna od do sada neregistriranih inačica pločastih fibula liburnskog tipa. Oblik luka, ornamentika i pozlata obloge elementi su za njezino datiranje u stupanj V b (2. – 1. st. pr. Kr.) liburnske kulture.

Ključne riječi: Trošenj-grad, pločaste fibule liburnskoga tipa, Liburni, Japodi

In this paper two silver fibulae with golden ornaments from Trošenj-grad have been elaborated. One belongs to the plate fibulae of the Liburnian type and according to Š. Batović it would be the version 1 of the period V b, the last in the developmental sequence of the Liburnian Culture (2nd – 1st century BC). On the second fibula the arc plate is covered with coating which is attached to it with a rivet with still visible traces of a rosette. Oval borders of the plate end with double antithetically set ram heads with elaborate horns. This fibula also represents one of the so far non-registered versions of plate shaped fibula of the Liburnian type. Shape of the arc, ornamentation and gilding of the coating are all elements for its dating to the period V b (2nd – 1st century BC) of the Liburnian culture.

Keywords: Trošenj-grad, plate shaped fibula of the Liburnian type, Liburnians, Iapodes

Pretpovijesni odjel zagrebačkoga Arheološkog muzeja u svojem fundusu čuva i dvije fibule pronađene u blizini Trošenj-grada na desnoj obali rijeke Krke.¹ Oba primjerka izrađena su od srebra s ukrasima od pozlaćenoga lima, koji je zadržao blistavost površine bez patine.² Takvu očuvanost imaju predmeti izvađeni iz vode ili stalno izloženi vlažnu tlu, kao što su to vjerojatno bile i naše fibule. Osim mjesta nalaženja, nemamo drugih podataka relevantnih za širu interpretaciju.³ No, bez obzira na oskudnost podataka, obje fibule zbog svoje luksuzne izradbe i zanimljivih tipoloških odlika zaslužuju punu pažnju.

1 Za lokalitet Trošenj cf., Brusić 1976: 119–120, 122, sl. 1; Budimir 1992: 24–25, karta 1, 2.

2 Batović navodi da su izrađivane od legure srebra i bakra (Batović 1959: 427). Analize srebra fibula iz Trošenj-grada, koje bi odredile kakvoću i sastav srebra, nisu napravljene.

3 Fibule su bile u posjedu gosp. Markice Rebića koji ih je 2004. darovao Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu, na čemu mu srdačno zahvaljujemo.

The History Department of the Zagreb Archaeological Museum keeps in its holding two fibulae found near Trošenj-grad on the right bank of the river Krka.¹ Both pieces are made of silver with ornaments of gilded plate, which remained brilliant and without patina.² Preserved in this way are artifacts extracted from water or constantly exposed to wet soil, as probably were our fibulae. Apart from the site of discovery we have no other information relevant to a broader interpretation.³ However, regardless of the scarcity of data, both the fibulae, due to their luxurious craftsmanship and interesting typological features, deserve our full attention.

1 For the site Trošenj see., Brusić 1976: 119–120, 122, sl. 1; Budimir 1992: 24–25, map 1, 2.

2 Batović suggests that they were made of an alloy of silver and copper (Batović 1959: 427). Analyses of silver fibula from Trošenj-grad, which would determine the quality and composition of silver, were not carried out.

3 The fibulae were in the possession of Mr. Markica Rebić who donated them to the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb in 2004.

Jedna od njih pripada općepoznatomu tipu srebrnih pločastih fibula⁴ (T. 1: 1–2; T. 2: 1–2), raskošnomu detalju liburnske nošnje. Na ovu vrstu fibula prvi je pažnju obratio Š. Batović, koji ih prema obliku luka svrstava u dva osnovna tipa, a oslanjajući se na detalje i način njihove izradbe razlikuje mnogobrojne inačice (Batović 1974: 194–205, sl. 4–5, karta 3). Po njegovu mišljenju nastale su pod utjecajem italskoga, etruščansko-grčkoga, za Liburne po mnogočemu inspirativna prostora. Nošene su tijekom V. faze (4. – 1. st. pr. Kr.), posljednje u razvojnom slijedu liburnske kulture, te su u kreativnom i izvedbenom smislu proizvod domaćih radionica, koje su ih radile po ukusu primjerenu domaćemu stanovništvu (Batović 1981: 22, sl. 7: 14–17, 8: 54–56; Batović 1987: 351, sl. 20: 21, T. 41: 11, 16, 26). Upravo se stoga na njima uočavaju znatne razlike u dekorativnoj razradbi luka i nožice pa starije primjerke zmijolikih svojstava luka datira u stupanj V a (4. – 2. st. pr. Kr.), a mlađe, s donekle sačuvanim zmijolikim odlikama luka, koji dodavanjem ukrasa postaje ravan, svrstava u stupanj V b (2. – 1. st. pr. Kr.). Naš primjerak ima obilježja pločastih fibula nošenih tijekom stupnja V b, a od deset za taj tip predloženih inačica, najbliži bi bio inačici broj 1 (Batović 1974: 196–197, sl. 5: 1). Tu dataciju potvrđuju i ukrasi od pozlaćenoga srebrnog lima, na liburnskom nakitu korištena tek od stupnja V b, posljednje ili V. faze njihove kulture (Batović 1974: 203).

Od petnaest do sada registriranih lokaliteta (Glogović 2006: 132, karta 1), Trošenj-grad, smješten uz desnu obalu rijeke Krke (antički *Titius*), pretpostavljene "granične" linije između Liburna i Delmata (Batović 1987: 339; Čović 1987: 443–444; Zaninović 2007: 38–40) bio bi za sada šesnaesti lokalitet s nalazom nakita te vrste. Osim primjeraka iz Nezakcija (Mihovilić, 1995: 87–88, T. 2: 1–3), Ličkoga Ribnika i Prozora (Klemenc 1935: 105–106, T. 2: 1–2; 114–115, sl. 1) s područja istarske i japodske kulture, sve ostale potječu s liburnskoga prostora, a liburnske provenijencije su i primjerci nađeni na italskome tlu, preneseni tamo trgovačkom razmjenom (Batović 1974: 193).

Za razliku od "klasičnih" pločastih srebrnih fibula, nakita o kojem je uglavnom sve poznato, druga fibula⁵ (T.

One of them belongs to the generally known silver plate fibula type ⁴(Pl. 1: 1–2; Pl. 2: 1–2), which was a luxurious detail of a Liburnian costume. Š. Batović was the first one to draw attention to this type of fibula; according to the form of the arc, he classified them into two basic types. Based on the details and method of their manufacture, he distinguishes many different varieties (Batović 1974: 194–205, sl. 4–5, Map 3). In his opinion, they were formed under the Italic and Etruscan–Greek influence, which, for the Liburnians, was in many ways inspiring. They were worn during phase V (4th – 1st century BC), the last in the developmental sequence of the Liburnian culture, and are, in the creative sense and construction process, the product of local workshops, which made them in style specific to the local population (Batović 1981: 22, sl. 7: 14–17, 8: 54–56; Batović 1987: 351, sl. 20: 21, T. 41: 11, 16, 26). Therefore, we can notice significant differences in decorative elaboration of the arch and the leg and hence date older examples with snake-like features of the arch to the period V a (4th – 2nd century BC), and younger examples with somewhat better preserved snake-like features of the arch which, with an added ornamentation, becomes even, to the period V b (2nd – 1st century BC). Our specimen has the characteristics of a plate fibula worn during period V b and hence, for this type of proposed varieties, it would be closest to the version 1 (Batović 1974: 196–197, sl. 5: 1). This dating is also confirmed by the decorations of gilded silver plate which had been used on the Liburnian jewelry only since the period V b of the last or the fifth phase of their culture (Batović 1974: 203).

Out of the fifteen sites registered so far (Glogović 2006: 132, map 1), Trošenj-grad, situated on the right bank of Krka River (ancient *Titius*), the presumed "border" between Liburnians and Dalmatians (Batović 1987: 339; Čović 1987: 443–444; Zaninović 2007: 38–40) would be the sixteenth site with findings of jewelry of that kind. In addition to specimens from Nesactium (Mihovilić, 1995: 87–88, T. 2: 1–3), Lički Ribnik and Prozor (Klemenc 1935: 105–106, T. 2: 1–2, 114–115, sl. 1) which are in the area of the Istrian and Iapodian culture, all other originate from the Liburnian area, including the specimens found in the Italic region where they were transmitted by way of trading (Batović 1974: 193).

Unlike the "classic" silver plate shaped fibula, jewelry well known, the second fibula⁵ (Pl. 1: 3–5, 3: 1–3) from this site is a

4 Opis: Osnovu fibule čini srebrni široki trakasti luk s dvama naborima, iz kojih sa strane izlaze četiri šiljasta izdanka s nataknutim kuglicama. Presavijeni trakasti luk s objiju strana znatno se sužava te dvama navojima prelazi u spiralu (glava fibule), a potom u iglu. S druge strane plitkim sedlastim uleknućem prelazi u dužu, lagano proširenu nožicu s dvama šiljastim izdancima s nataknutom kuglicom (jedna nedostaje). Čitava površina luka i noge prekrivena je ukrasima od pozlaćenoga srebrnog lima. Traka (od nekoč dvije) pričvršćena zakovicama spušta se od glave do sredine luka, gdje obavija štapičasti ukras (jedan nedostaje) kojega krajevi završavaju nataknutom kuglicom. Od sredine luka prema nozi smještena je i zakovicama pričvršćena rozeta ukrašena iskucanim "laticama", dok je dio luka s nogom fibule prekriven trakom ukrašenom urezanim vodoravnim linijama, a rubovi trake na nozi fibule sitnim punčiranim točkicama. Tragovi zakovice po sredini nožice upućuju na to da je i taj dio fibule bio urešen. Duž. 6,5 cm; šir. luka 1,5–1,7 cm; šir. nožice 1–1,4 cm; deb. 0,10 cm.; tež. 16,35 gr; Ø kuglica 0,3; 0,5; 0,7 cm.

5 Opis: Osnovu fibule čini srebrni široki trakasti luk s jedne strane blago zaobljen i presavijen te dosta stanjen, tako da dvama navojima prelazi u oprugu – spiralu (glava fibule), a s druge strane u nogu fibule. Preko luka zakovicama je pričvršćena obloga izrađena od jednoga komada srebrnoga

4 Description: The base of the fibula is made of a wide silver band-like arch with two folds, from which at the sides protrude four spikes with mounted beads. Folded band-like arch is considerably narrowed on both sides, and the two curves form a spiral coil (head of fibula), as well as the needle itself. On the other side, its shallow saddle dent forms longer, slightly expanded foot with two spikes with mounted beads (one is missing). The entire surface of the arch and the leg is covered with ornaments made of gilded silver plate. The band (formerly two of them) is riveted and descends from the head to the middle of the arch where it encircles an ornament resembling a stick (one is missing) with beads on its ends. From the centre of the arch, in the direction of the leg, there is a rosette fastened with rivets and embossed with "petals", while the part of the arch and the leg of the fibula is covered with a band decorated with incised horizontal lines while the edges of the band on the leg of the fibula are stamped with tiny dots. Traces of rivets in the middle of the leg indicate that that part of the fibula was decorated, too. Length: 6.5 cm; arch width: 1.5–1.7; leg width: 1.0–1.4 cm; thickness: 0.10 cm; weight: 16.35 g; Ø of the beads: 0.3, 0.5, 0.7 cm.

5 Description: The base of the fibula is made of a wide silver band-like arch which is slightly curved, bent and narrowed on one side so that two threads form a spring – spiral coil (head of the fibula), and on the other

1: 3–5, 3: 1–3) s ovoga lokaliteta rijedak je, ali ne i posve usamljen primjerak. Riječ je o fibuli posve ravna pločastog luka prekrivenoga oblogom od pozlaćenoga srebrnog lima, koja je po sredini pričvršćena zakovicom s još vidljivim tragovima ukrasa, najvjerojatnije rozete. Ovalni krajevi obloge završavaju dvostruko antitetično postavljenim čunasto oblikovanim ovnovskim glavama s raskošnim rogovima. Posebnost fibule je u iznimno maštovito korištenoj shemi antitetičnosti, koju majstor udvostručuje, postavljajući na krajeve ovalnoga luka po dvije na zatiljku spojene ovnovske glave. Na glave koje su okrenute prema van i malo veće pričvršćuje rogove, tako da su to ujedno i rogovi manjih, unatrag okrenutih glava. Premda su na prvi pogled posve iste, svaka od triju sačuvanih glava (četvrta zbog oštećenosti fibule nedostaje), ima sitne tehničke nespretnosti pri urezivanju očiju, linija između očiju te na potiljcima glava. Paralelu joj nalazimo u donekle sličnoj fibuli iz Kose kraj Ljupča (Brusić 2002: 229, 233, sl. 33: 5), kojoj krajevi luka, za razliku od našega primjerka, završavaju s po jednom nasuprotno postavljenom ovnovskom glavom (jedna je jako oštećena). Nemajući za nju adekvatnih paralela Z. Brusić stilizirane ovnovske glave slomljenih rogova, koji su i najfragilniji dio fibule, determinira kao zmijske glave. Međutim, da se radi o ovnovskim glavama, potvrđuju i "ožiljci" od nekoć zalemljenih rogova iznad očiju, a takvo oštećenje vidljivo je i na ovnovskoj glavi naše fibule kojoj rog također nedostaje. Glave obju fibula posve su identično, čunasto, oblikovane s očima u vidu kružića i točkom u sredini, a razlikuju se tek po urezanim linijama na čelu, gubici i zatiljku glave. Posve podudarno oblikovane glave sa sličnim detaljima nalaze se i na znatnom broju liburnskih pločastih fibula stupnja V b. Zbog minijature izvedbe one su gotovo neprimjetne pa ih u opisu fibula nazivaju čunolikim izbočenjima, oblučasto čunastim (*kahnförmige, a navicella*) izbočenjima, lađicama, lučnim čunolikim motivom, čunolikim motivom, brodolikim izbočenjem ili proširenjima.⁶ Neke od njih iznad očiju imaju malene kvržice koje podsjećaju na tek probijene rogove (Batović 1959: 428–429, T. 2, 1a–d; Klemenc 1935: T. 2: 2). Glavama naše fibule najbliže su glavice smještene na pločasti luk fibule iz Kose (Brusić 2002: 231, sl. 30), koje su ujedno i najuočljivije jer su nešto krupnije pa se na njima uočavaju detalji. Velike sličnosti i oblikom i dvostrukim motivom "Λ"

pozlaćenog lima. Krajevi luka završavaju s po dvije, na zatiljku spojene glave ovna (jedna nedostaje). Veća glava usmjerena je prema naprijed, a druga, neznatno manja, ima unatrag, prema luku okrenutu glavu. Na veće glave pričvršćeni su raskošni rogovi izrađeni od deblje kružno savijene žice, koji su ujedno i rogovi manje, prema luku okrenute ovnovske glave (jedan rog nedostaje, a jedan je zbog oštećenja deformiran). Na njuške i zatiljke glava urezane su po dvije paralelne linije, na čeonu dio dvostruki „Λ“ motiv, a oči su naznačene kružićem s točkom u sredini. Ovalni luk obloge obrubljen je nizom iskucanih kružića (bukla), a iznad njega ukucani su kružići s točkom u sredini. Na sredini luka vidljiva je zakovica s dijelom sačuvanoga ukrasa (možda rozeta) urezanih linija. Duž. 5,7 cm; sačuvana širina pločice luka 1,2 cm; deb. 0,11 cm : tež. 8,34 grama.

6 Batović 1959: 426–427, T. 2: 1a–d, 3: 3b, 8: 23a–c; sl. 2: 4a–c, 3: 8; Batović 1974: 198–201, 197 sl. 5: 3, 4, 6, 7, 9; Batović 1981: 117 (kat. 226, 227), sl. 8: 55, 56, T. 7: 3.

rare, but not entirely isolated specimen. This is a fibula with completely flat plate-shaped arch coated with gilded silver plate, which is attached in the middle, with a rivet featuring still visible traces of decoration, most probably rosettes. Oval borders of the plate end with double antithetically set and conically shaped ram heads with elaborate horns. The particularity of this fibula is in a very imaginative scheme of opposition, duplicated by a craftsman who set two ram heads connected at the back on the each end of the oval arch. The heads, which are turned outward and seemingly larger, were adorned with the horns in a way that they are also the horns of smaller heads facing backwards. Although, at first sight, entirely the same, each of the three preserved heads (the fourth is missing due to damage to the fibula), show small technical imperfections in craftsmanship when it comes to eyes, the lines between the eyes and the backs of the heads. The analogy is found in a somewhat similar fibula found in Kosa near Ljupča (Brusić 2002: 229, 233, sl. 33: 5), whose arch borders end, unlike in our specimen, with one oppositely set ram head (badly damaged). Having no adequate analogies, Z. Brusić defines stylized ram heads with broken horns, which are the most fragile part of the fibula, as the serpent heads. However, "scars" of the once soldered horns above the eyes confirm that it is a ram's head, and such damage is also evident on ram's head on our fibula where the horn is also missing. Heads of both fibulae are entirely identically conically formed, with eyes shaped in the form of circles with a dot in the middle, and differ only by incised lines on the forehead, muzzle and back of the head. Completely identically shaped heads with similar details can be found on a considerable number of Liburnian plate fibulae of the period V b. Due to their miniature design these heads are almost invisible; consequently, they are, when described, called conical prominences, oblong conical (*kahnförmige and navicella*) prominences, small boats, arched conical motives, conical motives, ship like prominences or extensions.⁶ Some of them have small bumps above the eyes that resemble barely protruding horns (Batović 1959: 428–429, T. 2, 1a–d; Klemenc 1935: T. 2: 2). Heads on our fibulae are most similar to the fibula heads on the plate of the arch fibula from Kosa (Brusić 2002: 231, sl. 30), and those are also the most noticeable because they are slightly bigger and the details are more recognizable. Similarities are visible in form and double-motive "Λ" on heads on the arch of the fibula from grave 82 at the necropolis in Nin

side of the fibula it forms its leg. On the arch there is a coating made from one piece of gilded silver plate attached with rivets. At each end of the arch there are two ram heads joined at the back (one is missing). Larger head faces forward, and another, slightly smaller, is turned backwards, facing the arch. Larger heads have luxurious horns made of thick circularly bent wires attached to them, which at the same time represent horns of smaller heads that face the arch (one horn is missing, and one is deformed). On each muzzle and on each back of the head there are two carved parallel lines and on the front of the head double "Λ" motif. The eyes are indicated by a circle with a dot in the middle. Oval arch of the coating is trimmed by a series of hammered circles (bukle), and above it there are incised circles with a dot in the middle. In the central part there is a visible rivet with a portion of the preserved decoration (perhaps a rosette) made of incised lines. Length 5.7 cm, preserved width of the plate of the arch 1.2 cm, thickness 0.11 cm, weight 8.34 grams.

6 Batović 1959: 426–427, T. 2: 1a–d, 3: 3b, 8: 23a–c; sl. 2: 4a–c, 3: 8; Batović 1974: 198–201, 197 sl. 5: 3, 4, 6, 7, 9; Batović 1981: 117 (cat. 226, 227), sl. 8: 55, 56, T. 7: 3.

imaju i s glavicama na luku fibule iz groba 82 nekropole u Ninu (Batović 1959: T. 5: 6a–b, sl. 2: 4a–c; Batović 1974: 197, sl. 5: 4). Naš primjerak s pločastim fibulama povezuje i ornamentika izvedena iskucanim i urezanim kružićima vidljivim uz ovalni rub obloge, tehnikom kojom su u raznim kombinacijama ukrašene i rozete. Sličnosti postoje i u načinu izvedbe luka kojem su krajevi presavijeni i suženi tako da s dva navoja prelaze u iglu na jednoj, a u široku nožicu presjeka "C" na drugoj strani. I korištenje pozlate još je jedna podudarnost s pločastim fibulama liburnškoga tipa. Navedeni detalji potvrđuju njezinu dataciju u stupanj V b (2. – 1. st. pr. Kr.) liburnške kulture i nedvojbeno pripadnost mlađemu tipu pločastih fibula. Nesumnjivo je riječ o jednoj do sada nepoznatoj inačici, nastaloj premještanjem povećanih ovnovskih glava sa središnjega na ovalne krajeve pločastoga luka. Prema sadašnjoj klasifikaciji može se uvrstiti, kao i primjerak iz Kose kraj Ljubča, u inačicu broj 9 stupnja V b, u koju Š. Batović svrstava pločaste fibule izmijenjenih tradicionalnih oblika, ali koje su još uvijek u bitnim elementima ostale s njima povezane (Batović 1974: 200, 197, sl. 5: 9)⁷.

Izvan liburnškoga prostora natruhe sličnosti s ovom fibulom ima nešto starija fibula iz groba 145 nekropole Jezerine u Pritoci. Ta, nedvojbeno najljepša od fibula kreiranih u japodskom radioničkom krugu, rađena je po shemi lučnih fibula s krupnim ovalnim zrnom jantara krajeva uglavljenih u brončana lijevana ležišta s glavom ovna na jednoj i glavom bika na drugoj strani. Slično im je, naime, osmišljena koncepcija luka jer su i kod ove fibule stilizirane glave životinja također postavljene antitetično, a sve ostalo – od vrste materijala, tehnike izradbe do spomenute datacije – nije usporedivo.⁸

S obzirom na stočarstvo, odnosno ovčarstvo, jednu od temeljnih grana liburnškoga gospodarstva, poglavito u zaleđu njihove zemlje, te na simboliku koja se ovnu u takvim sredinama pridavala, može se pretpostaviti postojanje puno većeg broja predmeta s njegovim prikazom od do sada nađenih (Marović 1970: 270, T. 3: 2–4, sl. 2: b–c; Batović 1981:

(Batović 1959: T. 5: 6a–b, sl. 2: 4a–c; Batović 1974: 197, sl. 5: 4). Our specimen of the fibula is associated with plate fibulae by ornaments made with hammered and incised circles visible along the edge of the oval coating in a technique also used, in various combinations, in decorating the rosettes. Similarities exist in the construction of arch, too – the ends are folded and reduced in width so that the two coils make a needle on one end and a wide leg with a C-shaped cross-section on the other end. Use of the gilding is another analogy with plate fibulae of the Liburnian type. These details confirm its dating in the period V b (2nd – 1st century BC) of the Liburnian culture and an unquestionable affiliation to the younger type of plate fibulae. Undoubtedly it is a version that has been unknown so far, i.e. a version that has been made by moving the enlarged ram heads from the central to the oval part of the plate shaped arch. According to the current classification, it may be included, as well as the specimen from Kosa near Ljupče, as the version 9 of the periods V b, in which Š. Batović ranks plate fibulae differing from the traditional forms, but still, in essential elements, associated with them (Batović 1974: 200, 197, sl. 5: 9).⁷

Aside from the Liburnian area, a hint of a resemblance with the fibula can be noticed on a slightly older fibula from grave 145 at the necropolis Jezerine in Pritoka. This fibula, which is certainly the most beautiful of the fibulae created in Iapodian workshop circuit, was made by following the scheme of the arched fibula with large oval amber grain whose ends have been wedged into cast bronze slots with ram's head on one and bull's head on the other side. The concept of the arch is similar, and this is noticeable on the heads of animals which are placed antithetically on both fibulae, but everything else – from the types of materials, craftsmanship to the above mentioned dates – is not comparable.⁸

Considering the livestock farming, or to be precise sheep farming, which was one of the main branches of the Liburnian economy, especially in the hinterland of their country, and the symbolism of the ram in those areas, we can assume the existence of a much larger number of artifacts which represent the ram than the case may be (Marović 1970: 270, T. 3: 2–4, sl. 2: b–c; Batović 1981: 29). There are many more case recorded in Iapodian area which adjoins the Liburnian

7 Prve tipološke odrednice pločastih fibula dao je Š. Batović u svojim ranim radovima (cf., Batović 1958: 361–372; Batović 1959: 425–452; Batović 1960: 393–425), a proširenu razradbu objavio je 1974. godine (cf., Batović 1974: 192–205). Od tada do danas pronađen je velik broj pločastih fibula koje se ne mogu uvrstiti u okvire njegove klasifikacije (cf., Brusić 2002: 232, sl. 31, 32, 233, sl. 33: 2, 5; Mihovilić 1995: 96, T. 2: 5), kao i primjerak iz Trošenj-grad, stoga bi nova tipološka razradba fibula ove vrste bila neophodna, tim više što je znatan broj objavljenih fibula popraćen lošim fotografijama, a mnoge od njih nisu dokumentirane crtežima.

8 Radmiský 1893: 225–256, T. 5: 1 a, b, c; Marić 1968: T. 3: 1; Čović 1976: 152, sl. 74; Drechsler-Bižić 1987: T. 47: 1; Raunig 2004: 93–94, T. 17: 1. S obzirom na oblik nožice, ova bi fibula bila istodobna s fibulama jugoistočnoalpskoga prostora, u kojih noga završava životinjskom, konjskom ili ovnovskom, prema naprijed okrenutom glavom. Nošene su za trajanja stupnjeva Ha D3 – Lt A i kreacija su navedenoga prostora (Gabrovec 1966: 31–32, 34, karta 3). Dvije fibule toga tipa, obje s ovnovskom glavom, pronađene su i na japodskome prostoru u Kompolju (Drechsler-Bižić 1987: T. 45: 7) i Prozoru (Raunig 2004: T. 17: 2). Za fibule ovog tipa cf., Fiala 1899: 125, sl. 185; Guštin 1974: 95; Teržan 1977: 390–391; Teržan 2004: 179, sl. 10: 1–2; Tecco Hvala et al. 2004: 105–106, T. 9: 1–2; Turk 2005: 51–52, sl. 77, kat. 33–35; Metzner-Nebelsick 2007: 718–719, 730–731.

7 First typological determinants of plate fibula were given by Š. Batović in his early writings (see: Batović 1958: 361–372; Batović 1959: 425–452; Batović 1960: 393–425), and he published an extended elaboration in 1974. (see., Batović 1974: 192–205). Since then, a large number of plate fibula were discovered which can not be included within his classification (see., Brusić 2002: 232, sl. 31, 32, 233, sl. 33: 2, 5; Mihovilić 1995: 96, T. 2: 5), as well as the copy from Trošenj-grad, so that a new typological elaboration of the fibulae of this kind is necessary, especially due to a fact that quite a number of published fibula have been illustrated by poor quality photographs, and many of them are not documented in drawings.

8 Radmiský 1893: 225–256, T. 5: 1 a, b, c; Marić 1968: T. 3: 1; Čović 1976: 152, fig. 74; Drechsler-Bižić 1987: T. 47: 1; Raunig 2004: 93–94, T. 17: 1. Given the shape of the foot, this fibula would be contemporary with the fibulae of the southeastern Alps, on which the leg ends with an animal, a horse or a ram head facing forward. They were worn during the grade Ha D3 - Lt A and produced in the above mentioned area (Gabrovec 1966: 31–32, 34, Map 3). Two fibulae of this type, both with ram's head, were found in the Iapodian area in Kompolje (Drechsler-Bižić 1987: T. 45: 7) and Prozor (Raunig 2004: T. 17: 2). For a fibulae of this type see: Fiala 1899: 125, sl. 185; Guštin 1974: 95; Teržan 1977: 390–391; Teržan 2004: 179, fig 10: 1–2; Tecco Hvala et al. 2004: 105–106, T. 9: 1–2; Turk 2005: 51–52, sl. 77, cat. 33–35; Metzner-Nebelsick 2007: 718–719, 730–731.

29). Mnogo ih je više registrirano u Japoda, s kojima Liburni u zaleđu graniče. U njih, osim konja i ptica, ovan je najčešće prikazivana životinja, na privjescima od jantara (Drechsler-Bižić 1987: T. 46: 5, 8; Marić 1968: T. 15: 73; Balen-Letunić 2006: 63, sl. 64; Bakarić 2006: 69, 79, 168 (kat. 167–168) ili, što je puno rjeđe, kao ukrasni dodatak na nozi fibula (Drechsler-Bižić 1987: T. 45: 7; 47: 1; Raunig 2004: T. 17: 1, 2, 4).

Prikazi životinja, pa tako i ovna, na različitim vrstama nakita nisu posebnost samo liburnske i japodske kulture; uvriježen su detalj na nakitu, ali i na različitim predmetima – primjerice posudama, prijekladima i sl. – mnogobrojnih kultura starijega željeznog doba mediteranskog, s odjekom i na jugoistočnoalpski prostor⁹. Odatle su se proširili na susjedna, ali i na udaljena područja, gdje su ih u domaćim radionicama prilagođavali autohtonoj nošnji pa stoga s izvornim predloškom katkada nemaju puno zajedničkoga. Najbolji su primjeri takve transformacije i fibule iz Jezerina, Trošenj-grad i Kose. No, gdje god da je nakit s prikazima životinja nošen, on je zacijelo sadržavao posve određenu simboličku poruku, koja u svim kulturama željeznoga doba nije morala biti i posve podudarnom.

U simbolici mnogih naroda pretkršćanske ere ovan simbolizira snagu, on je začetnik stada i simbol plodnosti. U Grčkoj su štovali Hermesa kao boga stada ovaca (Pinsent 1990: 31–32; Chevalier, Gheerbrant 1987: 469–470) te su ga, uz sve attribute koji mu pripadaju, prikazivali kako nosi ovna (Hermes *Kriofor*). Isto je tako i Apolon štovan kao *Ovnujski bog*, koji poprima obličje ovna te štiti stada od bolesti, divljih zvijeri, a pastire podučava uzgoju ovaca (Chevalier, Gheerbrant 1987: 470). U Egiptu je i Amon-Ra (sunce) ponekad prikazivan s četirima ovnovskim glavama, koje simboliziraju dušu svijeta, odnosno svaka od njih simbolom je jednoga od četiriju elementa: vode, zraka, vatre, zemlje (Chevalier, Gheerbrant 1987: 164; Ions 1990: 92–99). Glave ovna, antitetično prikazane, nalazimo i na prijekladima (*Feuerbock*) smještenim uz ognjišta, namijenjenima štovanju božanstva ognjišta, kojeg ovdje simbolizira ovan. Povezan s vatrom koja plamenom, kao i sunce zrakama, simbolizira oplodnju, on je zalag za plodnost ljudi, životinja i rodost bilja.¹⁰ O njegovu kulturnom značenju i simbolici dvojica uglednih stručnjaka – J. Chevalier i A. Gheerbrant – kažu: “od materije do duha, ognja i žrtvene krvi, ovan simbolizira plodnost na svim razinama postojanja” (Chevalier, Gheerbrant 1987: 470).

U liburnskoj su sredini različiti dekorativni elementi za

hinterland. Among the lapodians, alongside the horses and birds, the ram is the most commonly depicted animal on the pendants made of amber (Drechsler-Bižić 1987: T. 46: 5, 8; Marić 1968: T. 15: 73; Balen-Letunić 2006: 63, sl. 64; Bakarić 2006: 69, 79, 168 (Cat. 167–168) or, which is much less common, as a decorative addition to the leg of the fibula (Drechsler-Bižić 1987: T. 45: 7; 47: 1; Raunig 2004: T. 17: 1, 2, 4).

Depiction of animals, including rams, on different types of jewelry is not unique to the Liburnian and the lapodian culture; it is common as a detail on the jewelry and also on different objects – such as containers, andirons etc. among many cultures of the Early Iron Age on the Mediterranean and in the southeastern area of the Alps.⁹ From there, they spread to both adjacent and remote areas, where, in the local workshops, they were adapted to fit the authentic costumes, so that sometimes the result does not have much in common with the original template. The best examples of such transformations are the fibulae from Jezerina, Trošenj-grad and Kosa. But wherever the jewelry with depictions of animals was worn, it was supposed to carry a very specific symbolic message, which in all cultures of the Iron Age did not have to be entirely congruous.

In many populations of the pre-Christian era, ram symbolizes strength; it is the leader of a herd, and a symbol of fertility. In Greece, Hermes was worshiped as the god of flocks (Pinsent 1990: 31–32; Chevalier, Gheerbrant 1987: 469–470) and was, together with all the other attributes assigned to him, shown carrying a ram (Hermes *Kriofor*). Apollo was also worshiped as the ram-god who assumes the shape of a ram and protects flocks from disease and wild beasts, teaching the shepherds how to farm the land (Chevalier, Gheerbrant 1987: 470). In Egypt, the Amon-Ra (the sun) is sometimes depicted with four ram heads symbolizing the soul of the world; each of them representing one of four elements: water, air, fire, earth (Chevalier, Gheerbrant 1987: 164; Ions 1990: 92–99). Ram heads, antithetically shown, can also be found on the andirons (*Feuerbock*) placed close to the hearth, intended for worshiping the deity of hearths which is, in this case, symbolized by the ram. Associated with the fire which, with its flames, like the sun with its rays, symbolizes fertility, the ram is the pledge for the fertility of humans, animals and plant productivity.¹⁰ Speaking about its iconic meaning and symbolism, the two distinguished experts – J. Chevalier and A. Gheerbrant – underline the following: “From the matter to the spirit, fire and the sacrificial blood, the ram symbolizes fertility at all levels of existence” (Chevalier, Gheerbrant 1987: 470).

In the Liburnian area, a variety of decorative elements of metal costumes, belts, buckles and jewelry are mostly taken over from the Etruscan and Hellenistic Italy and skillfully in-

⁹ U ovom, opsegom limitiranom radu, uz spomenute primjerke iz kruga liburnske i japodske kulture donosimo svega nekoliko primjeraka nakita, poglavito fibula i privjesaka, s prikazom ovna kako bi se barem donekle dobio uvid u vrste materijala i maštovitost prikaza ove, u simboličkom smislu, intrigantne životinje. Fiala 1899: 125, sl. 185; Merhart 1934: 34; Vogt 1934: 91 (kat. 66), T. 14: 66; Vinski 1950: T. 7: A; Marić 1964: T. 10: 13; Frey 1969: T. 7: 27; Križ 2006: 103, 125, 127, kat. 205, 235, 151, 269, 278, 287, 289; Cianfarani 1969: 53–54, T. 27: 39, 44; T. 28: 40, 41; Cianfarani 1976: 87–88, T. 75; T. 76: 1; T. 77; Adam 1996: 94–95, T. 2: 62–63; Mlinar 2001: 23–24, sl. 5, T. 1: 1.

¹⁰ Stipčević 1981: 29; Mihovilić 1986: T. 1: 1–3; T. 2: 2–4; Balen-Letunić 1987: 9, T. 8: 5; Dular 1999: 110.

⁹ In this paper, alongside the above mentioned specimens from the circle of the Liburnian and the lapodian culture, we bring only few items of jewelry, especially fibulae and pendants, depicting a ram, in order to provide an essential insight into types of materials and imaginative portraits of this, in a symbolic sense, intriguing animal. Fiala 1899: 125, sl. 185; Merhart 1934: 34; Vogt 1934: 91 (cat. 66), T. 14: 66; Vinski 1950: T. 7: A.; Marić 1964: T. 10: 13; Frey 1969: T. 7: 27; Križ 2006: 103, 125, 127, cat. 205, 235, 151, 269, 278, 287, 289; Cianfarani 1969: 53–54, T. 27: 39, 44; T. 28: 40, 41; Cianfarani 1976: 87–88, T. 75; T. 76: 1, T. 77; Adam 1996: 94–95, T. 2: 62–63; Miller 2001: 23–24, sl. 5, T. 1: 1.

¹⁰ Stipčević 1981: 29; Mihovilić 1986: T. 1: 1–3; T. 2: 2–4; Balen-Letunić 1987: 9, T. 8: 5; Dular 1999: 110.

metalne dijelove nošnje, pojaseve, kopče i nakit uvelike preuzimani iz etrurske i helenističke Italije te vješto interpolirani na domaće vrste nakita. Kroz trgovačke kontakte sa susjednim prostorima, koji su se kroz stoljeća odvijali različitim intenzitetom, osim robâ nesumnjivo su kolale i informacije iz različitih domena pa im sigurno nisu bile nepoznate i simboličke poruke helenističkoga religijskog sklopa. Ostaje, međutim, upitno u kolikoj su mjeri bile podudarne ili donekle slične sa simbolikom nama nedovoljno poznate liburnske religije. Prikaz ovnovskih glava smještenih na luk fibule u dvostruko antitetičnosti zacijelo je i na razini simbolike brojeva sadržavao neku, za njih važnu poruku, to prije što je motiv antitetičnosti, bilo da su na njemu ptice ili konji, prisutan na različitim pektoralnim ukrasima i kod Liburna, a još češće kod Japoda (Kukoč 2009: 155–197). Prema mišljenju mnogih autora prikazi životinja na predmetima ukrasne namjene imaju apotropejsko značenje, a kad je u pitanju ovan, simboličko značenje plodnosti i snage. (Stipčević 1981: 106–108). Dekorativnost i dragocjenost fibule iz Trošenj-grada su neupitne, no pri odabiru fibule i simbolika koja se pridavala ovnu imala je za vlasnika znatan, a možda i odlučujući udio. Kako religijski svijet Liburna nije dovoljno poznat, a i fibula je pronađena izvan arheološkog konteksta, o njoj se pouzdano malo što može više reći, a da to ne budu tek pretpostavke.

Tekst su crtežima i fotografijama opremili K. Rončević i D. Doračić, na čemu im srdačno zahvaljujem.¹¹

interpolated to local types of jewelry. Commercial contacts with neighboring areas, which were occurring with different intensity over the centuries, must have contributed to exchange of both goods and information pertaining to different domains, including symbolic messages of the Hellenistic rites which certainly did not go unnoticed. Nevertheless, it remains questionable to what extent they were congruous or, to certain extent, similar to the symbolism the Liburnian religion, which is still insufficiently known to us. Representation of a twofold antithetical ram heads on the arch of the fibula probably contains some sort of a numeric symbolism as well; for the Liburnians, it obviously bore an important message, especially because the motif, be it the pair of birds or horses, was present on various pictorial ornaments in the Liburnian and, even more so, in the lapodian culture (Kukoč 2009: 155–197). According to the beliefs of many authors on the subject of the decorative purposes of the portrayal of animals, these also have certain magic meaning, but when it comes to the ram, the symbolic meaning is that of fertility and strength. (Stipčević 1981: 106–108). The fibula from Trošenj-grad is undoubtedly both highly decorative and valuable; however, when the owner had to choose between the fibulae, the symbolism of the ram attached to it was perhaps significant if not decisive. Since the Liburnian religious domain is yet fairly unknown, and as the fibula was found outside the archaeological context, there is not much more for us to say about the subject with certainty, unless it is our intent to deal with the mere assumptions.

The text is illustrated with the drawings and photographs provided by K. Rončević and D. Doračić to whom I owe my sincere gratitude.¹¹

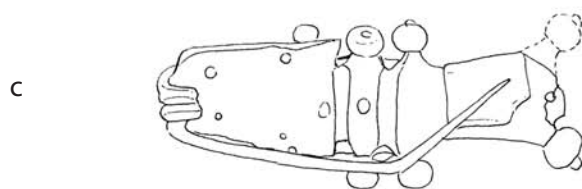
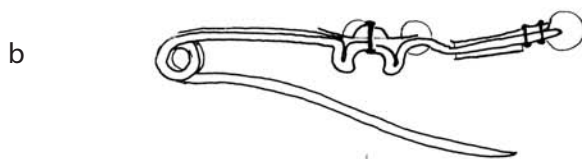
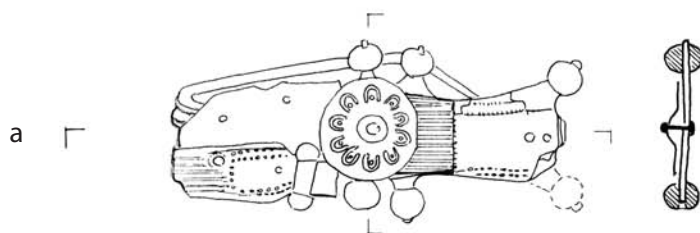
¹¹ Radom o liburnskim fibulama, temom koja je kolegici Dunji Glogović bliska, pridružujemo se čestitkama sa željom da joj se ostvare svi njezini zacrtani planovi.

¹¹ With this work on the Liburnian fibulae, a topic so dear to our colleague Dunja Glogović, we join in congratulations, wishing her to realize all her plans.

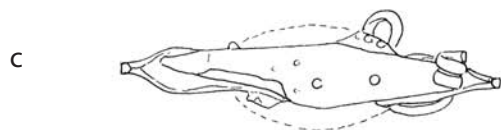
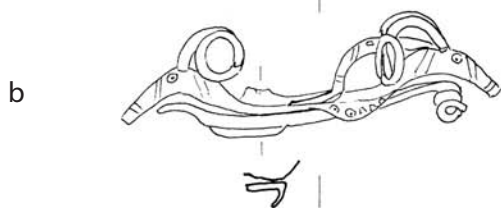
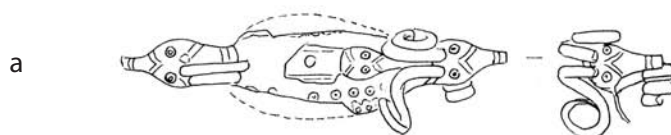
LITERATURA / BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adam, A. M. 1996, *Le fibule di tipo celtico nel Trentino*, Patrimonio storico e artistico del Trentino, 19, Trento.
- Bakarić, L. 2006, Pretpovijesni Prozor /Prehistoric Prozor, in: *Pretpovijesni jantar i staklo iz Prozora u Lici i Novog Mesta u Dolenjskoj /Prehistoric amber and glass from Prozor in Lika and Novo Mesto in Dolenjska*, katalog izložbe, Zagreb, 48–81, 151–171 (kat. 62-186).
- Balen-Letunić, D. 1987, Prethistorijski nalazi s gradine Kiringras, *Vjesnik arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 3. s. 20, 1–30.
- Balen-Letunić, D. 2006, *Japodi – Arheološka svjedočanstva o japodskoj kulturi u posljednjem pretpovijesnom tisućljeću*, Ogulin.
- Batović, Š. 1958, Plattenfibeln aus Kroatien (Hrvatska), *Germania*, 36/3 – 4, 361–372.
- Batović, Š. 1959, Predmeti osobitih oblika s područja Liburna, *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru*, 4 – 5, 425–452.
- Batović, Š. 1960, Predmeti osobitih oblika s područja Liburna, *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru*, 6 – 7, 393–425.
- Batović, Š. 1974, Ostava iz Jagodnje Gornje u okviru zadnje faze liburnske kulture, *Diadora*, 7, 159–245.
- Batović, Š. 1981, Nakit u prapovijesti sjeverne Dalmacije, in: *Nakit na tlu sjeverne Dalmacije od prapovijesti do danas*, katalog izložbe, Zadar, 7–39, 89–150 (kat. 1–497).
- Batović, Š. 1987, Liburnska grupa, in: *Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja, V, Željezno doba*, Sarajevo, 339–390.
- Brusić, Z. 1976, Gradinska utvrđenja u šibenskom kraju, *Materijali XII, Zadar*, 113–126.
- Brusić, Z. 2002, Nekropole liburnskih naselja Nina i Kose kod Ljupča, *Histria antiqua*, 8, 213–242.
- Budimir, M. 1992, Arheološka topografija kninske općine, *Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, 15 (1990), Zagreb, 23–32.
- Chevalier, J., Gheerbrant, A. 1987, *Rječnik simbola*, Zagreb.
- Cianfarani, V. 1969, *Antiche civiltà d' Abruzzo*, Roma.
- Cianfarani, V. 1976, Culture arcaiche dell'Italia medio-adriatica, *Popoli e civiltà dell'Italia antica*, 5, Roma, 11–106.
- Čović, B. 1976, *Od Butmira do Ilira*, Sarajevo.
- Čović, B. 1987, Srednjodalmatinska grupa, in: *Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja, V, Željezno doba*, Sarajevo, 442–480.
- Drechsler-Bižić, R. 1987, Japodska grupa, in: *Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja, V, Željezno doba*, Sarajevo, 391–441.
- Dular, J. 1999, Mogočno gradišće nad Virom pri Stični, in: *Zakladi tisočletij – Zgodovina Slovenije od neandertalcev do Slovanov*, Ljubljana, 109–112.
- Fiala, F. 1899, Das Flachgräberfeld und die prähistorische Ansiedlung in Sanskimost, *Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina*, 6, 62–128.
- Frey, O. H. 1969, *Die Entstehung der Situlenkunst*, Römisch-Germanische Forschungen, 31, Berlin.
- Gabrovec, S. 1966, Zagorje v prazgodovini /Zagorje in der Vorgeschichte, *Arheološki vestnik*, 17, 19–48.
- Glogović, D. 2006, Novi nalazi liburnskih pločastih fibula iz Dragišića kod Šibenika /New finds of Liburnian plate fibulae from Dragišić near Šibenik, *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu*, 23, 129–140.
- Guštin, M. 1974, Gomile stareše železne dobe iz okolice Boštanja, in: *Varia archaeologica*, 1, Brežice, 87–119.
- Ions, V. 1990, *Egipatska mitologija*, Opatija.
- Klemenc, J. 1935, Ostava u Ličkom Ribniku, *Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, n. s. 16, 83–125.
- Križ, B. 2006, Jantarni i stakleni nakit Novog Mesta /The Amber and Glass Jewellery of Novo Mesto, in: *Pretpovijesni jantar i staklo iz Prozora u Lici i Novog Mesta u Dolenjskoj /Prehistoric amber and glass from Prozor in Lika and Novo Mesto in Dolenjska*, katalog izložbe, Zagreb, 94–137.
- Kukoč, S. 2009, Japodi – fragmenta symbolica, Split.
- Marić, Z. 1964, Donja Dolina, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja*, n. s. 19, 5–129.
- Marić, Z. 1968, Japodske nekropole u dolini Une, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja*, n. s. 23, 5–80.
- Marović, I. 1970, Nekoliko neobjelodanih srebrnih predmeta s liburnskog područja u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu, *Adriatica praeistorica et antiqua – Miscellanea G. Novak dicata*, Zagreb, 265–284.
- Merhart, v. G. 1934, Figural Art in the Mecklenburg Collection, in: *Treasures of Carniola – Prehistoric Grave Material from Carniola*, New York, 29–37.
- Metzner-Nebelsick, C. 2007, Pferdchenfibeln – Zur Deutung einer frauenpezifischen Schmuckform der Hallstatt- und Frühlatènezeit, *Situla*, 44, 707–735.
- Mihovilić, K. 1986, Životinjske glave s istarskih prahistorijskih prijelada, *Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, 11/2, Pula, 15–20.
- Mihovilić, K. 1995, Srebrni nakit iz Nezakcija (Podaci za VI. stupanj razvoja istarske grupe), *Diadora*, 16–17, 81–100.
- Mlinar, M. 2001, La tomba tardohallstattiana della necropoli di Most na Soči (Santa Lucia), in località Repelc, *Quaderni Friulani di archeologia*, 11, 19–34.
- Pinsent, J. 1990, *Grčka mitologija (Greek Mythology)*, Opatija 1990.
- Radmiský, V. 1893, Nekropola na Jezerinama u Pritoci kod Bišća, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja*, 5, 37–92, 237–308, 363–466, 575–636.
- Raunig, B. 2004, *Umjetnost i religija prahistorijskih Japoda*, Djela Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja, 82 (8), Sarajevo.
- Stipčević, A. 1981, *Kulni simboli kod Ilira*, Posebna izdanja Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja, 54/10, Sarajevo.
- Tecco Hvala, S. – Dular, J. – Kocuvan, E. 2004, *Željeznodobne gomile na Magdalenski gori /Grabhügel auf Magdalenska gora*, Katalogi in monografije, 36, Ljubljana.
- Teržan, B. 1977, Certoška fibula /Die Certosafibel, *Arheološki vestnik*, 27, 317–443.
- Teržan, B. 2004, Obolos – mediterrane Vorbilder einer prämonetären „Währung“ der Hallstattzeit?, *Universität Forschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie*, 100, Bonn, 161–202.
- Turk, P. 2005, *Podobe življenja in mita*, katalog izložbe, Ljubljana.
- Vinski, Z. 1950, Zoomorphe Kleinplastik aus dem südpannonischen Donaunraum, *Symbolae ad studia orientis pertinentes Frederico Hrozný dedicatae, Archiv orientáln*, 17–18, Praha, 331–342.
- Vogt, E. 1934, The Cemetery of Vinca (Weinitz), Carniola, in: *Treasures of Carniola – Prehistoric Grave Material from Carniola*, New York, 47–56, 85–109 (kat. 49–121).
- Zaninović, M. 2007, *Ilirsko pleme Delmati*, Šibenik.

T. 1



1



2



REKONSTRUKCIJA 10/II

T. 2



1



2



T. 3



1



2



3

