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Raziskava je posvečena tropentljastim fibulam (sl. 1), ki so značilne za žensko nošo na področju Japodov (sl. 2). Analiza pridanega nakita v grobovih iz Kompolja in Prozorja je pokazala (sl. 3), da predstavljajo tovrstne fibule v primerjavi z drugimi vrstami fibul izredno tradicionalni in konservativni kos nakita, ki je ostal v rabi več stoletij in je zato moral imeti posebni označevalni pomen za identiteto njihovih nosilk. Iz kombinacij tropentljastih fibul s kapami tipov I, II in III po Drechsler-Bižič in z različnimi iglami (sl. 4, 5) ter iz njihove lege v grobovih sklepamo, da so rabile za spenjanje naglavnega pokrivala bodisi kape bodisi rute. S primerjavami z dekliško in žensko nošo dinarskega tipa, značilno za severno Dalmacijo vključno z jugovzhodnim delom Velebitskega pogorja in tudi za Bosno pa smo poskušali pokazati, na kakšen način so se nosile japodske tropentljaste fibule (sl. 6–8).

Ključne reči: Japodi, starejša železna doba, ženska nošnja, tropentljaste fibule

The discussion focuses on three-looped fibulae (Fig. 1), a significant element of the female attire in the lapodian territory (Fig. 2). The analysis of jewelry in the graves from Kompolje and Prozor has shown (Fig. 3) that this type of fibula is an exceptionally traditional and conservative piece of jewelry when compared with the other types. It remained in use through several centuries and must have been an important indicator of the identity of the women who wore them. We can conclude from the combinations of three-looped fibulae and caps of types I, II and III after Drechsler-Bižič and various pins (Fig. 4, 5), as well as from their position in graves that they were used for fastening the head covering, whether a cap or a kerchief. We attempted to demonstrate the way the lapodian three-looped fibulae were worn on the example of the girls' or women's attire of the Dinaric type, characteristic for northern Dalmatia including the southeastern part of the Velebit Mountain, as well as for Bosnia (Fig. 6–8).

Key words: lapodes, Early Iron Age, attire, three-looped fibulae

Raziskave, posvečene fibulam kot sestavini oblačilne kulture, zavzemajo v okviru arheoloških študij pomembno mesto. Namenjene so bile predvsem spenjanju oblačil in predstavljajo značilen element nošnje in hkrati tudi nakita. Tako kot dandanašnji je bila tudi v preteklosti nošnja podvržena modnim spremembam, zato sodijo fibule s svojim širokim oblikovnim spektrom med odlične kronološke indikatorje, in sicer od njihovega izuma dalje, t.j. od približno 13. stol. pr. n. št., ko se je njihova raba nenavadno hitro uveljavila na prostranih področjih od Egejskega do Baltiškega morja. Tako predstavljajo fibule eno izmed temeljnih tipoloških opor v kronoloških shemah pozne bronzne in železne dobe široko po Evropi¹.

Ker se je naša slavljenska Dunja Glogović rada ukvarjala s proučevanjem fibul, predvsem tistih na območju severnega Jadrana in njegovega zaledja, in je prispevala

The research dedicated to fibulae as a component part of the culture of attire occupies a special place in the framework of archaeological studies. They served primarily for fastening together clothing and represented a significant element of both attire and jewelry. Just like today, in the past attire was subject to changes in fashions, and hence fibulae, with their broad spectrum of forms, are considered excellent chronological indicators, this in a period extending from their invention onwards, i.e. from approximately the 13th century BC, when their use unexpectedly expanded rapidly throughout the extensive region from the Aegean to the Baltic Seas. Fibulae thus represent one of the fundamental typological mainstays for the chronological systems of the Late Bronze and Iron Ages throughout Europe.¹ As our colleague Dunja Glogović, to whom this volume is dedicated, was frequently involved in studying fibulae, and

¹ Strokovna literatura je izredno obsežna, zato naj tu opozorimo le na sestavek o fibulah v RGA 8, 5/6, 1994, 411 ff., in na novi razstavni katalog z naslovom "S fibulo v fabulo" cf. Cunja, Mlinar 2010.

¹ The scholarly literature is exceptionally extensive, hence here I will draw attention only to the article on fibulae in RGA 8, 5/6, 1994, 411 ff., and the new exhibition catalogue with the title "The Fable of Fibulae", cf. Cunja, Mlinar 2010.

zanje pomembne nove tipološke in kronološke aspekte², ji posvečam študijo o japonskih tropentljastih fibulah. A moj namen ni niti časovna niti prostorska opredelitev tovrstnih fibul, temveč želim osvetliti način njihove nošnje.

Prazgodovinska oblačila izdelana bodisi iz tkanine, polsti, kože oz. usnja v naših geografskih širinah povečini niso ohranjena³, zato je le redko možno razpoznati in rekonstruirati njihov kroj oz. obliko obleke. To je tudi glavni vzrok, zakaj ostaja detajlna raba fibul velikokrat nejasna in zato neopredeljena. Ker so likovne upodobitve, ki bi do podrobnosti prikazovale obleko in nakitne dodatke, zelo redke⁴, iz obravnavanega področja pa tako rekoč doslej neznane, so nam edini vir za rekonstruiranje oblačil grobovi. Le iz lege fibul v inhumiranih grobovih je možno sklepati na njihovo rabo in posledično eventualno na obliko oblačila, ki so ga fibule spenjale oz. krasile. Takšno možnost ponujajo tudi grobovi na področju Japodov, kjer je bil v pogrebnih običajih sicer uveljavljen biritualni način pokopavanja njihovih preminulih, sežiganje in inhumiranje⁵, a je bilo z arheološkimi izkopavanji odkrito dovolj veliko število skeletnih grobov, da si lahko ustvarimo sliko, na kakšen način so se nosile tropentljaste fibule.

Osnovno shemo tropentljastih fibul tvori žičnata konstrukcija dokaj pravokotne oblike s tremi pentljami oz. zankami, nameščenimi v treh vogalih loka, medtem ko je v četrtem vogalu majhna jaškasta noga, ki je rabila za ležišče za speto iglo. Pentlje imajo po enega ali pa po več zavojev, več kot jih je, bolj je bila fibula prožna in primernejša za spenjanje. Praviloma so bile na daljši stranici loka med dvema zankama nanizane jagode, ki so lahko različnih oblik in velikosti, najpogostejše so pisane steklene jagode z očesci, pa tudi jantarne jagode, na primerku fibule iz Vrebca pa je na loku fibule celo jantarna figurina konjička⁶ (sl. 1). Podrobneje sta se z njimi ukvarjali že Fulvia Lo Schiavo (1970) in Barbara Teßmann (2001), ki sta pokazali, da gre za zelo specifično obliko fibul, značilno za žensko nošo, lastno izključno najdiščem na osrednjem japonskem področju (sl. 2)⁷.

particularly those on the Adriatic coast and its hinterland, delineating important new typological and chronological aspects,² I dedicate this study of lapodian three-looped fibulae to her. My intention is neither the chronological nor spatial determination of such fibulae, rather I wish to illuminate the manner in which they were worn.

Prehistoric clothing made from fabric, felt, hide, or leather has mostly not been preserved in our geographical latitudes,³ so only rarely can it be recognized and its cut, or the fashion of the attire, be reconstructed. This is also the main reason why the details of the use of fibulae remain largely unclear and undetermined. As figural depictions that would show clothing and jewelry accessories in detail are very scarce,⁴ and indeed from the area under consideration so far unknown, the only sources available for the reconstruction of attire are the graves. Only from the position of fibulae in inhumation graves is it possible to make conclusions both about their use and, subsequently, the forms of clothing that the fibulae attached or decorated. Such a possibility is also offered by graves from the lapodian region, where common funerary customs included bi-ritual burials of the deceased, with both cremation and inhumation,⁵ and the sufficiently large number of skeleton graves discovered in archaeological excavations enable a reconstruction of how the three-looped fibulae may have been worn.

The basic framework of the three-looped fibulae consists of a wire construction of somewhat rectangular shape with three loops or coils located at three corners of the bow, while the fourth corner consists of a small, upright triangular foot that served as the catch-plate for the pin. The loops had one or several coils – the more there were, the more flexible the fibula was and more suitable for fastening. As a rule, on the upper side of the bow between two loops beads were strung, which could be of various forms and dimensions, most commonly painted glass beads with 'eyes', and also amber beads, for example, the fibula from Vrebac even has an amber figurine of a horse on the bow (fig. 1).⁶ Such fibulae have already been discussed in detail by Fulvia Lo Schiavo (1970) and Barbara Teßmann (2001), who concluded that this is a very specific form of fibula, characteristic for female attire and exclusively sites in the central lapodian region (fig. 2).⁷

2 Članki izpod peresa Dunje Glogović o fibulah so tako številni, da naj na tem mestu omenim le nekatere: cf. Glogović 1982; ista 1987; ista 1988; ista 1989; ista 1997; ista 2003; ista 2006; Glogović, Mengušić 2008.

3 Le redke so izjeme kot na primer volneni plašč v gomili iz zgodnje bronzaste dobe na Kupreškem polju, glej Benac 1986: 60 ss., 92, sl. 10–11, T. 9–11.; omenim naj seveda ostanke tkanin iz Hallstatta, cf. Grömer 2010 ter dragocene tkanine iz slavnega knežjega groba v Hochdorfu, cf. Banck-Burgess 1999.

4 Detaljnije upodobitve oblačil s fibulami zasledimo le na daunjskih stelah, ki pretežno izvirajo iz sredine 1. tisočletja pr. n. št.: cf. Nava 1980: 15 ss., Fig. 13–17; in tudi n. pr. Cunja, Mlinar 2010: sl. 16, 19.

5 Vendar se zdi, da je bilo inhumiranje umrlih pogostejše, cf. Drechsler-Bižić 1987: 426 ss.; Balen-Letunić 2006: 33 ss.

6 Drechsler-Bižić 1958: 39, T. 6: 38; Balen-Letunić 2006: 59, sl. 55.

7 Lo Schiavo 1970: 439s., 505 ss., Tav. 28, 10–17; Carta IV; Teßmann 2001: 38 ss., Abb. 4–8. Za seznam h karti razprostranjenosti cf. Teßmann 2001: 120 ss.

2 Articles from the pen of Dunja Glogović about fibulae are so numerous, that I shall only mention a few here: cf. Glogović 1982; eadem 1987; eadem 1988; eadem 1989; eadem 1997; eadem 2003; eadem 2006; Glogović, Mengušić 2008.

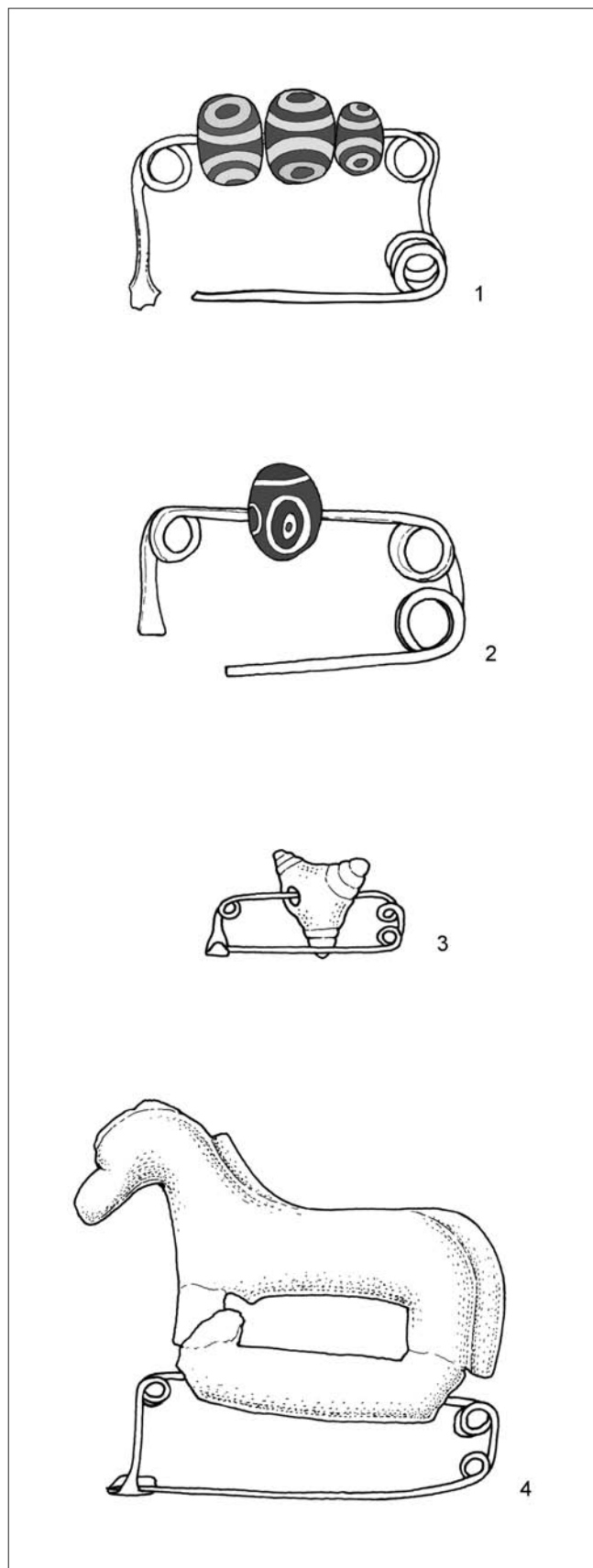
3 There are only rare exceptions, such as the wool cloak in a tumulus from the Early Bronze Age in Kupreško Polje (Kupres plain), see Benac 1986: 60 ff., 92, fig. 10–11, Pl. 9–11; others include remains of fabric from Hallstatt, cf. Grömer 2010, and the valuable fabric from the famous princely grave at Hochdorf, cf. Banck-Burgess 1999.

4 Detailed depictions of clothing with fibulae can be seen only on the Daunian stelae, which mostly come from the middle of the 1st millennium BC: cf. Nava 1980, 15 ff., Fig. 13–17; also see Cunja, Mlinar 2010 fig. 16, 19.

5 Nonetheless it seems that inhumation of the dead was somewhat more common, cf. Drechsler-Bižić 1987: 426 ff.; Balen-Letunić 2006: 33 ff.

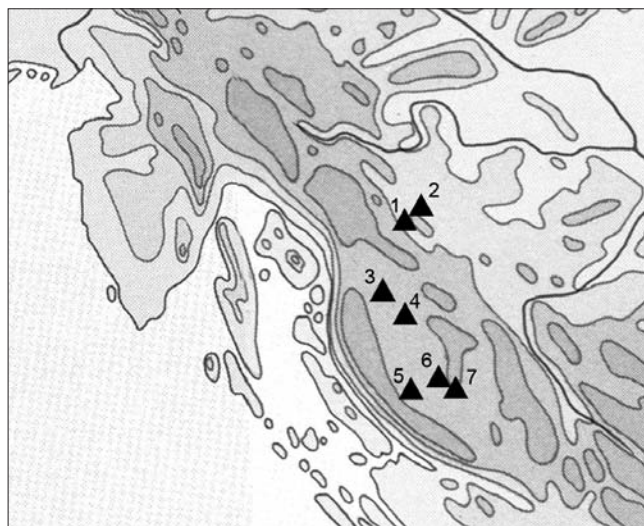
6 Drechsler-Bižić 1958: 39, Pl. 6: 38; Balen-Letunić 2006: 59, fig. 55.

7 Lo Schiavo 1970: 439 f., 505 ff., Pl. 28, 10–17; Map IV; Teßmann 2001: 38 ff., fig. 4–8. For the list to the distribution map, see Teßmann 2001: 120 ff.



Sl. 1 Tropentljaste fibule: 1–2 Prozor, 3 Široka Kula, 4 Vrebac (po Teßmann 2001: Taf. 1, 6; Abb. 7, 5; 8, 9; Drechsler-Bižić 1958: T. 6, 38)

Fig. 1 Three-looped fibulae: 1–2 Prozor, 3 Široka Kula, 4 Vrebac (after Teßmann 2001: Taf. 1, 6; Abb. 7, 5; 8, 9; Drechsler-Bižić 1958: T. 6, 38)



Sl. 2 Karta razprostranjenosti tropentljastih fibul: 1 Josipdol, 2 Skradnik, 3 Kompolje, 4 Prozor, 5 Široka Kula, 6 Smiljan, 7 Vrebac (po Teßmann 2001: 38 ss., 120 ss, Liste 1, Abb. 5)

Fig. 2 Distribution map of three-looped fibulae: 1 Josipdol, 2 Skradnik, 3 Kompolje, 4 Prozor, 5 Široka Kula, 6 Smiljan, 7 Vrebac (after Teßmann 2001: 38 ss., 120 ss, Liste 1, Abb. 5)

Our analysis of the graves from Kompolje and Prozor (fig. 3),⁸ has shown the following characteristics for female attire, a composite part of which were the three-looped fibulae: in the Kompolje grave units, such fibulae mostly appear only singly, rarely with two or three examples, while it seems that at Prozor they were most often worn in pairs.⁹ In individual graves only exceptionally do they represent the only type of fibula, usually they are found in combination with at least one other, more frequently with two, and even with three varied fibulae of different types, whether with simple bow fibulae with a spiral band wrapped around the bow,¹⁰ with simple bow fibulae with a large amber bead on the bow, with spectacle fibulae,¹¹ proto-Certosa,¹² and also Certosa¹³ fibulae. As indicated by the enumerated types of fibulae, the three-looped fibulae were in use throughout a lengthy period of several centuries, while the fashions of the other fibulae changed, as the wire spectacle fibulae with a figure eight and the bow fibulae with amber coating can be dated as early as the early period of the Early Iron Age,¹⁴ the

8 Fig. 3 lists the graves from the following publications: Drechsler-Bižić 1961; eadem 1966; eadem 1968; eadem 1972-73; Težak-Gregl 1981.

9 It is probable that such an impression is somewhat distorted because of the small number of graves.

10 Fibulae with a wound spiral wire were utilized in several graves in place of three-looped fibulae. For their chronological and spatial position, see Teßmann 2001: 42 ff., fig. 5, 9–12.

11 For Iapodian attire with spectacle fibulae, see the most recent study by Pabst 2009: 8 ff., Pl. 2.

12 Extensive literature exists on proto-Certosa fibulae, cf. Teßmann 2001: 52 ff.

13 At Kompolje in grave 151 was a Certosa fibula of type II, in grave 90 a fibula of type VI, and in grave 72 a fibula of type XIIb, cf. Teržan 1976: 321, 325, 337 ff., fig. 16, 25, 41; Težak-Gregl 1981: 27 ff., Pl. 1: 1–3; 3: 8–9.

14 For the general chronological outline of the Iapodian group, see Drechsler-Bižić 1987, 399 ff., 905. For certain corrections in dating, cf. also Teßmann 2001; Pabst 2009.

Naša analiza grobov iz Kompolja in Prozorja (sl. 3)⁸ je pokazala naslednje značilnosti ženske nošnje, katere sestavni deli so bile tropentljaste fibule: V kompolskih grobnih sestavih se tovrstne fibule povečini pojavljajo le posamično, le redko v dveh ali treh primerkih, medtem ko se zdi, da so bile v Prozorju pogosteje nošene v paru⁹. V posameznih grobovih predstavljajo le izjemoma edino zvrst fibul, običajno so v kombinaciji vsaj še z eno, pogosteje z dvema ali pa celo s tremi različnimi fibulami drugih tipov, bodisi z žičnatimi ločnimi fibulami z lokom, spiralno ovitim z bronastim trakom¹⁰, z žičnatimi ločnimi fibulami z veliko jantarno jagodo na loku, z očalastimi fibulami¹¹, s protocertoškimi¹² ali pa s certoškimi¹³ fibulami. Kot kažejo našeti tipi fibul so bile tropentljaste fibule v rabi skozi daljše obdobje več stoletij, medtem ko se je moda ostalih fibul spreminjala, saj lahko žičnate očalaste fibule z osmico in žičnate fibule z jantarno oblogo datiramo že v čas zgodnje železne dobe¹⁴, protocertoške fibule v čas razvite starejše železne dobe, t.j. v pozno 7. in 6. stol. pr. n. št., medtem ko ploščičaste očalaste fibule (grob 137) in certoške fibule v mlajšo stopnjo starejše železne dobe, t.j. od poznega 6. do poznega 4. stol. pr. n. št. Dejstvo je, da tropentljaste fibule predstavljajo v primerjavi z drugimi fibulami izredno tradicionalni in konservativni kos nakita, ki je moral imeti poseben označevalni pomen za identiteto njihovih nosilk. Zato domnevam, da so jih morale nositi na vidnem mestu.

Če si poleg fibul ogledamo še ostale nakitne dodatke v obravnavanih grobovih (sl. 3), lahko ugotovimo, da sodijo praviloma h grobni opravi tudi bogati kompleti iz jantarnih in steklenih jagod ter različni bronasti obeski kot so očalasti, paličasti, košarasti, zvončasti, obročasti itd. Zanimivo je, da so bili ti obeski pogosto nanizani prav na lok ali iglo tropentljastih fibul¹⁵, kar je še poudarilo njihov simbolni apotropijski značaj, kot se izraža predvsem s steklenimi jagodami z očesci, ki so krasile lok fibul. Obročast nakit kot so ovratnice, zapestnice ali nanožnice v grobovih s tropentljastimi fibulami ni zastopan. Le v treh grobovih, dveh iz Kompolja (384 in 139) in enem iz Prozorja (68), so preminule posedo-

proto-Certosa fibulae to the period of the developed Early Iron Age, i.e. the late 7th and the 6th cent. BC, while the flat spectacle fibulae (grave 137) and Certosa fibulae belong to the late phase of the Early Iron Age, i.e. from the late 6th to the late 4th centuries BC. In fact, the three-looped fibulae represent an exceptionally traditional and conservative piece of jewelry in comparison with the other fibulae, which must have had a particularly marked meaning in terms of the identity of their bearer. Hence it is concluded that they must have been worn in a visible place.

If in addition to the fibulae, we also consider the other jewelry in the analyzed graves (fig. 3), it can be established that as a rule the grave goods also consist of wealthy sets of amber and glass beads, as well as bronze pendants in various forms: spectacle-shaped, rod-shaped, basket-shaped, bell-shaped, circlet-shaped, and so forth. It is interesting that these pendants were frequently strung onto the bow or pin of three-looped fibulae,¹⁵ which further emphasizes their symbolic apotropaic significance, which is expressed primarily through the glass beads with 'eyes' that decorate the fibula bows. Circlet-shaped jewelry, such as torcs, bracelets, or anklets, is not present in graves with three-looped fibulae. Only in three graves, two from Kompolje (384 and 139) and one from Prozor (68), did the deceased also possess rich circlet-shaped jewelry for the head, in the form of hanging temple rings and/or earrings of the composite type, which represent a characteristic lapodian jewelry form of the Early Iron Age.¹⁶ It seems particularly significant that these fibulae appear relatively frequently together with lapodian caps and various pins (fig. 3). In grave I/17 at Smiljan, such a fibula was found together with amber beads and a large quantity of bronze buttons,¹⁷ which most probably belonged to a lapodian domed cap of type I according to Drechsler-Bižić. An identical head covering, with sewn bronze buttons, was also found in grave 48 at Prozor, where the jewelry also included a three-looped fibula, further decorated by a chain with a bell-shaped pendant.¹⁸ This combination of a type I cap and a three-looped fibula is significant both from the chronological point of view and in terms of attire. Caps with sewn bronze buttons of type I according to Drechsler-Bižić represent a type of early female head covering characteristic for the Ha B period, which were usually fastened on the head with two-part serpentine fibulae with a leaf-shaped saddle-like bow, and primarily with characteristic fibulae and pins of the Prozor type.¹⁹ As the examples from Smiljan and Prozor show, such caps were also used in a somewhat later period – Ha C – and at the same time offer indications for the use of three-looped fibulae as a clasp for fastening

8 Na tabeli sl. 3. so upoštevani grobovi iz naslednjih objav: Drechsler-Bižić 1961; ista 1966; ista 1968; ista 1972-73; Težak-Gregl 1981.

9 Verjetno je, da je takšen vtis zaradi majhnega števila grobov nekoliko zavajajoč.

10 Fibule z uvito spiralno žico so v nekaterih grobovih uporabljene namesto tropentljastih fibul. Za njihovo kronološko in prostorsko mesto cf. Teßmann 2001: 42 ss. Abb. 5, 9–12.

11 O japonski noši s očalastimi fibulami cf. najnovejšo študijo avtorice Pabst 2009: 8 ss., Tab. 2.

12 O protocertoških fibulah prav tako obstaja obsežna literatura, cf. Teßmann 2001: 52 ss.

13 V grobu 151 iz Kompolja gre za certoško fibulo II. vrste, v grobu 90 za fibulo VI. vrste in v grobu 72 za fibulo XII b vrste, cf. Teržan 1976: 321, 325, 337ss., Sl. 16, 25, 41; Težak-Gregl 1981: 27 ss., T. 1: 1–3; 8–9.

14 Za splošno kronološko shemo japonske skupine cf. Drechsler-Bižić 1987: 399 ss., 905. Za določene korekture pri datiranju cf. tudi Teßmann 2001; Pabst 2009.

15 Cf. n. pr. grobove 24, 33, 40, 47 iz Kompolja - Drechsler-Bižić 1961: 99, 100, 101, 102 s., T. 1: 9; 19: 2; 22:2; 23: 1; 32: 1–2; za grobove 36 in 48 iz Prozorja - Drechsler-Bižić 1972-73: 33, 36, T. 2: 2; 25: 2.

15 Cf. e.g. graves 24, 33, 40, 47 from Kompolje - Drechsler-Bižić 1961: 99, 100, 101, 102 f., Pl. 1: 9; 19: 2; 22:2; 23: 1; 32: 1–2; for graves 36 and 48 from Prozor - Drechsler-Bižić 1972-73: 33, 36, Pl. 22: 2; 25: 2.

16 Cf. Drechsler-Bižić 1968: 45 ff., Pl. 5; eadem 1972-73: 40, Pl. 32, 1–2; Teßmann 2001: 94 ff., fig. 66–69.

17 Hoffiler 1905: 198 f.; Drechsler-Bižić 1968: 32; Teßmann 2001: 41, 98 ff.

18 Cf. Drechsler-Bižić 1972-73: 36, Pl. 25–26.

19 For this subject, cf. Teržan 2009 (with previous literature cited).

GROB / GRAVE	JAGODE / BEADS		OBESKI / PENDANTS				FIBULE / FIBULAE						NAGLAVNI NAKIT / JEWELRY FOR HEAD			DRUGO / OTHERS
	jantarne / amber	steklene / glass	očalasti / spectacle	paličasti / rod-shaped	drugi obeski / others pendants	obročki / circlet-shaped	Certoške / Certosa	protocertoške / proto-Certosa	očalaste / spectacle	žičnate z jantarno jagodo / bow fibulae with amber coating	žičnate s spiralo in jagodo / with a spiral and bead	tropentljaste / three-looped	obsenčni obročki / hanging temple rings	igle / pins	kape / caps	
Kompolje 384											1	2	1	1		
Kompolje 139	x	x									1	2		1		
Kompolje 137	x	x	1								1			1	salteleoni / salteleoni	
Kompolje 274			1								1	1		1		
Kompolje 40	11	8									1					
Kompolje 59	6	1									1					
Kompolje 3	18			1	x	1					1		1		pasna spona / belt buckle	
Kompolje 62	6			1	1	2					1			1?	bronasta jagoda / bronze buttons	
Kompolje 63	648	2						1			3	1	1	2	bronasta jagoda, salteleoni / bronze buttons	
Kompolje 24	1+x	26+x			x						3+1		1	1	pektoral /	
Kompolje 33	24	8		1	x			1			1			2		
Kompolje 107					x	1					1			1	pinceta, pasna spona / tweezers, belt buckle	
Kompolje 47	225				x								2		jantarne opomorfne figure / amber anthropomorphic figures	
Kompolje 151								1					2			
Kompolje 90								1					1			
Kompolje 72		20						1			2		3		šivanka / needle	
Kompolje 20		5											1			
Prozor 68		4+										1	2	2	2 očalasti lasni sponi / 2 spiral hair clasp	
Prozor 31				1		1					1	1	2			
Prozor 36	21	3	2	1	x	1							2		pasna spona / belt buckle	
Prozor 41						1							2			
Prozor 48	108 +2 +4			x	x	14		1	1				1		1 salteleoni, skodelica / salteleoni, cup	

Sl. 3 Kombinacijska tabela grobnih pridatkov s tropentljastimi fibulami iz Kompolja in Prozorja

Fig. 3 Combination table of grave goods with three-looped fibulae from Kompolje and Prozor

vale tudi bogat naglavni obročast nakit, in sicer obsenčne obroče ali/ oz. uhanе sestavljenega tipa, ki predstavljajo značilni japonski nakit zgodnje železne dobe (sl. 3, 4, 5)¹⁶. Posebej pomenljivo pa se zdi, da se naše fibule razmeroma pogosto pojavljajo skupaj z japonskimi oglavji in različnimi iglami (sl. 3). V grobu I/17 iz Smiljana je bila takšna fibula najdena skupaj z jantarnimi jagodami ter večjim številom bronastih gumbkov¹⁷, ki so po vsej verjetnosti pripadali japonski kalotasti kapi tipa I po Drechsler-Bižić. Enako pokrivalo, pošito z bronastimi gumbki, je imela tudi preminula v grobu 48 iz Prozorja, med nakitom katere je bila prav tako tropentljasta fibula, okrašena še z verižico z zvončastim obeskom¹⁸. Ta kombinacija kape tipa I in tropentljaste fibule je pomenljiva tako s kronološkega stališča kot glede načina nošenja. Kape, pošite z bronastimi gumbki tipa I po Drechsler-Bižić, predstavljajo namreč tip starejših ženskih naglavnih pokrival, značilnih za čas Ha B, ki so bila običajno

the headgear. It is interesting that probably only in one case was a bronze conical cap of type II according to Drechsler-Bižić fastened to the head with a two-part serpentine fibula of the Prozor type, as can be seen from Ljubić's sketch.²⁰ At Kompolje the three-looped fibulae were primarily found together with sheet-metal conical caps of type II or with diadems of type III according to Drechsler-Bižić (fig. 3).²¹ Grave 384 contained a bronze cap, earrings, and a fibula, in addition to a skillfully worked bronze pin with three amber heads (fig. 4), which is considered to have also served for attaching the bronze head covering to the head (or actually the hair). Although for this hypothesis we have no concrete indications whatsoever, except perhaps in grave 68 from Prozor, where under the skull lay a coiled spiral with two pins as a clasp for the hair (fig. 5),²² it can be conjectured

16 Cf. Drechsler-Bižić 1968: 45 ss., T. 5; ista 1972-73: 40, T. 32, 1-2; Teßmann 2001: 94 ss., Abb. 66-69.

17 Hoffiler 1905: 198 s.; Drechsler-Bižić 1968: 32; Teßmann: 2001, 41, 98 ss.

18 Cf. Drechsler-Bižić 1972-73, 36, T. 25-26.

20 Ljubić 1889: Pl. 16, 6; Teßmann 2001, 69, fig. 37.

21 Drechsler-Bižić 1968: 30 ff., Pl. 3: 21-27; 5: 44-54; eadem 1961: 105, Pl. 6: 8 (probably fragments of a sheet-metal bronze cap).

22 So far this represents a quite unique find, and is a key factor for understanding the hairstyles involved, cf. Drechsler-Bižić 1972-73: 40, Pl. 32: 5-5a; Kukoč 2009: fig. 304-305.

pripeta na glavo z dvodelnimi kačastimi fibulami z listastim sedlastim lokom, predvsem z značilnimi fibulami in iglami tipa Prozor¹⁹. Tako primerka iz Smiljana in Prozorja kažeta, da so se tovrstne kape uporabljale tudi še v nekoliko mlajšem obdobju – Ha C – in hkrati dajeta indic za rabo tropentljastih fibul kot sponk za pritrditev pokrivala. Zanimivo pa je, da je bila verjetno le v enem primeru bronasta stožčasta kapa tipa II po Drechsler-Bižić pritrjena na glavo z dvodelno kačasto fibulo tipa Prozor, kot je razbrati iz Ljubićeve skice²⁰. V Kompolju pa so bile tropentljaste fibule povečini v sestavi skupaj s pločevinastimi stožčastimi kapami tipa II oz. z diademi tipa III po Drechsler-Bižić (sl. 3, 4)²¹. V grobu 384 je bila poleg bronaste kape, uhanov in fibule tudi umetelno oblikovana bronasta igla s tremi jantarnimi glavami (sl. 4), za katero domnevamo, da je tudi rabila za pritrditev bronaste oglavja na lase oz. glavo. Čeprav za to hipotezo nimamo nobenih konkretnih indicev, razen morda v grobu 68 iz Prozorja, kjer je pod lobanjo ležala očalasta spirala z dvema iglami kot spona za lase oz. frizuro (sl. 5)²², predpostavljam, da so igle bodisi enojne bodisi dvojne oz. dvokrake, kot npr. tiste v grobovih 33 in 107 v Kompolju²³, rabile za spenjanje frizure in/ ali pripenjanje naglavnega pokrivala.

Na kakšen način so se torej nosile tropentljaste fibule in kaj so spenjale? Če preverimo njihovo lego v grobovih v Kompolju in Prozorju, se nam kljub skromnim podatkom kaže zanimiv vzorec. V kompoljskem grobu 24 je ležala na levi rami, enako verjetno tudi v grobu 40, v grobovih 33 in 63 pa v predelu prsnega koša, medtem ko je bila v grobu 20 skupaj s steklenimi jagodami pod vratom preminule osebe. Tudi v grobu 68 iz Prozorja, ki smo ga posebej že omenili v zvezi z očalasto lasno spono, je ležala drobna tropentljasta fibula na desni rami (sl. 5)²⁴. Kot kažejo obeski na nekaterih fibulah, praviloma nataktnjeni med zanki na ožji stranici loka, s čimer je bila fibula v spodnjem delu dodatno obtežena, so bile pripete na oblačilo pokončno. Iz teh opisov lahko torej izluščimo, da so tropentljaste fibule spenjale tik pod brado – v predelu vratu, ramen oz. zgornjega dela prsnega koša – neke vrste naglavnega pokrivala, verjetno ruto. Tako so bile vidne že na prvi pogled in jih lahko razumemo kot poseben znak, na osnovi katerega je bilo prepoznavno družbeno mesto njenih nosilk.

Presenetljivo je namreč, da najdemo ustrezne primerjave za način nošnje naglavnega pokrivala, tako kape kot rute, v sedanji oz. polpretekli narodni nošnji dinarskega tipa,

19 Za to problematiko cf. Teržan 2009 (s citirano predhodno literaturo).

20 Ljubić 1889: T. 16, 6; Teßmann 2001: 69, Abb. 37.

21 Drechsler-Bižić 1968: 30 ss., T. 3: 21–27; 5: 44–54; ista 1961: 105, T. 6: 8 (verjetno fragmenti pločevinaste bronaste kape).

22 Doslej gre za precej enkratno najdbo, ki pa je ključna za razumevanje frizure, cf. Drechsler-Bižić 1972-73: 40, T. 32: 5–5a; Kukoč 2009: Sl. 304–305.

23 Cf. Drechsler-Bižić 1961: 100, T. 19: 5; ista 1966, Y 82:5; za japonske dvokrake igle cf. tudi Vejvoda 1961; Teßmann 2001: 72 ss. Abb. 41–43; za celoten pregled dvokrakih igel, tudi japonskih, ki so opredeljene kot tip VI a pa glej Vasić 1982: 252 ss., Abb. 13.

24 Drechsler-Bižić 1961: 98ss.; ista 1972-73: 40.

that the pins, whether single or double (two-pronged), like those from graves 33 and 107 at Kompolje,²³ served for arranging a hairstyle and/or for attaching a head covering.

In what manner, then, were three-looped fibulae worn and what did they fasten? If we consider their position in the graves at Kompolje and Prozor, despite the scarce data an interesting pattern appears. In Kompolje grave 24 the fibula lay on the left shoulder, the same was also probably true in grave 40, in graves 33 and 63 in the chest area, while in grave 20 together with glass beads it was found below the neck of the deceased individual. Grave 68 from Prozor, which was specifically mentioned previously in connection with the spiral hair clasp, also contained a tiny three-looped fibula on the right shoulder.²⁴ As is indicated by the pendants on several fibulae, as a rule strung between the loops on the narrower side of the bow, with which the fibula was additionally weighted in the lower section, they were pinned upright onto the clothing. From the above descriptions, it can thus be concluded that three-looped fibulae were fastened just beneath the chin – in the area of the neck, shoulder, or the upper part of the chest – on some kind of head covering, probably a kerchief. In this manner they would have been visible at first glance and they can be understood as a special symbol, on the basis of which the social status of its bearer could be recognized.

It is striking that corresponding analogies can be found in the manner of wearing head coverings, both caps and kerchiefs, in the current and past folk attire of the Dinaric type, characteristic for northern Dalmatia, including the southeastern part of the Velebit mountains, and also for part of Bosnia.

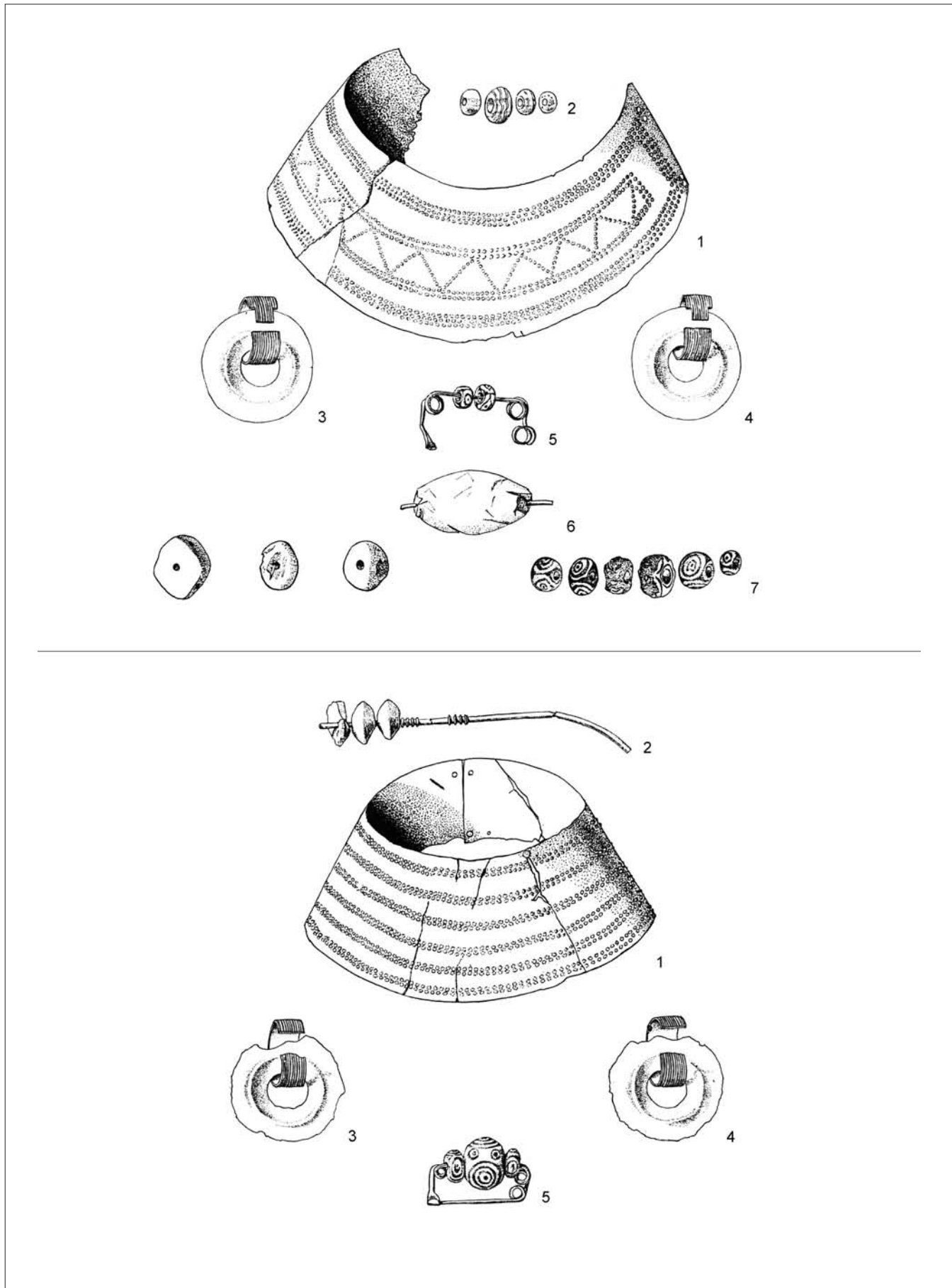
As was shown by Olga Oštrić,²⁵ the folk attire of young girls differs in certain details from the attire of married women, which refers both to the hairstyle and the head covering. It is interesting that the cap is characteristic for young women, just like the male attire, only is it better decorated with embroidery, and often also with coins, particularly among young women ready for marriage. The hair of the girls was braided, often bound and hidden under the cap, which could also be covered by a kerchief, tied under the chin (fig. 7, 1–3). An excellent analogy and simultaneously a great surprise was the wealthy attire of the Bosnian girl depicted in the film by Bakir Tanović "The Name of a Man" (1969). The girl wore a cap, richly decorated with coins, and covered by an embroidered kerchief, which was fastened to the cap by a fibula with glass beads (fig. 6), a clasp almost identical to the Iapodian three-looped fibulae!²⁶

23 Cf. Drechsler-Bižić 1961: 100, Pl. 19: 5; eadem 1966: Y 82:5; for Iapodian two-pronged pins, also see Vejvoda 1961; Teßmann 2001: 72 ff., fig. 41–43; for a complete overview of two-pronged pins, also Iapodian, which were classified as type VIa, see Vasić 1982: 252 ff., fig. 13.

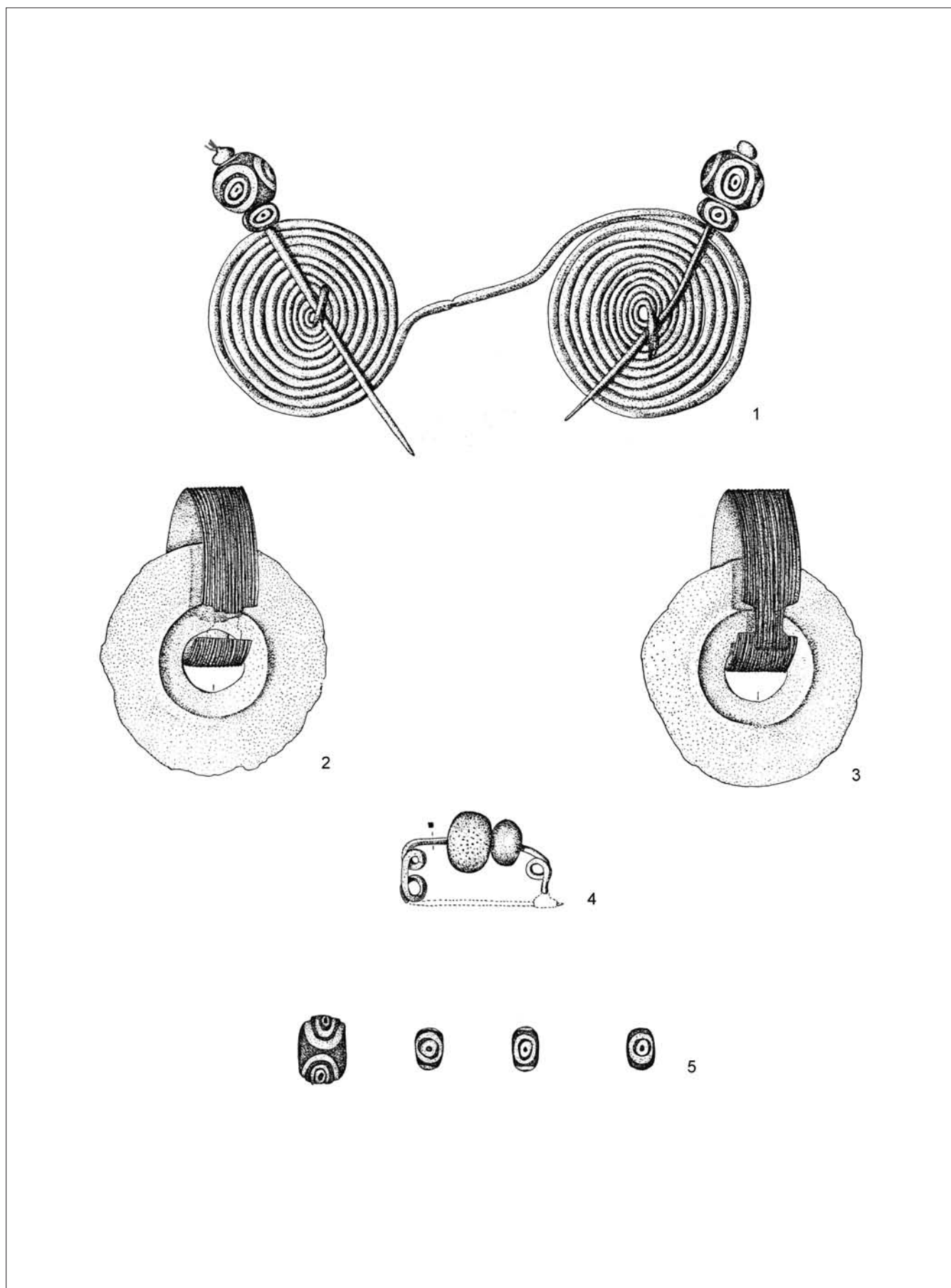
24 Drechsler-Bižić 1961: 98 ff.; eadem 1972-73: 40.

25 Cf. Lulić Štori, Oštrić, Vojnović Traživuk 2005: 14 ff., illustrations on pp. 39–45, 53–57.

26 This folk attire was brought to my attention by the doctoral candidate Brina Škvor-Jernejčič, whom I would like to thank for this information.



Sl. 4 Kompolje, grob 139 (zgoraj) in grob 384 (spodaj) (po Drechsler-Bižić 1968: T. 5)
Fig. 4 Kompolje, grave 139 (above) and grave 384 (below) (after Drechsler-Bižić 1968: T. 5)



Sl. 5 Prozor, grob 68 (po Drechsler-Bižić 1972-73: T. 32)
Fig. 5 Prozor, grave 68 (after Drechsler-Bižić 1972-73: T. 32)

značilni za severno Dalmacijo vključno z jugovzhodnim delom Velebitskega pogorja, pa tudi za Bosno.

Kot je pokazala Olga Oštrič²⁵, se narodna noša deklet v določenih detajlih razlikuje od noše poročenih žena, kar velja tudi za frizuro in naglavno pokrivalo. Zanimivo je, da je za mladenke značilna kapa, enaka kot pri moški noši, le da je lepše okrašena z vezeno, pogosto tudi z novci, zlasti pri mladenkah godnih za možitev. Dekleta so imele lase spletene v kite, pogosto spete in skrite pod kapo, ki pa so jo lahko prekrile tudi z ruto, speto pod brado (sl. 7, 1–3). Odlično analogijo in hkrati veliko presenečenje pa predstavlja bogata nošnja bosanskega dekleta, prikazana v dokumentarnem filmu Bakirja Tanovića "Čovekovo ime" (1969). Dekle je nosilo kapo, prav tako bogato okrašeno z novci ter prekrito z vezeno ruto, ki pa je bila pripeta na kapo s fibulo s steklenimi jagodami (sl. 6), torej s skoraj enako fibulo kot so japonske tropentljaste fibule!²⁶

Drugačna je bila frizura poročenih žena, ki so imele lase spletene v kiti, lahko tudi okrašeni z vpletjenimi trakovi (ukošnjak ali upletnjak) in nanje prišitimi novci. Kiti sta bili spuščeni na prsi, na glavi pa so imele z vezom okrašeno ruto (jašmak, okruga, povezača), prav tako speto pod brado (sl. 8, 1–3)²⁷

Lastnosti in način nošnje naglavnih pokrival pri dinarskem tipu ženske noše nas nehote spominjajo na prej opisane elemente japonske ženske noše, saj lahko na eni strani potegnemo vzporednice med japonskimi bronastimi kapami (sl. 7, 4) in dekliškimi kapami severno dalmatinske in bosanske narodne noše (sl. 7, 1-3; 8), na drugi strani pa lahko za tropentljaste fibule domnevamo, da so rabile za spenjanje naglavne rute (sl. 8, 4), ki je bila verjetno podobnega kroja in se je nosila na podoben način kot pri recentni ženski noši severne Dalmacije in Bosne (sl. 8, 1-3).

Seveda ostaja odprto vprašanje, ali lahko v japonskih grobovih, v katerih so bile preminule odete v nošo z bronastimi pločevinastimi kapami, iglami in tropentljastimi fibulami, vidimo tudi mladenke (sl. 3-4; 7), v grobovih brez kap, a z naglavno ruto – speto s tropentljastimi fibulami – pa poročene žene (sl. 3; 8). Če bi bodoče arheološke, predvsem pa antropološke oz. osteološke raziskave japonskih nekropol potrdile takšno povezavo med nošnjo in stanom oseb, bi prišli na sled izredno dolgoživemu zgodovinskemu spominu, ki je v teh krajih ohranjal davne kulturne tradicije vse do polpretekle dobe.

Čeprav morda naša razlaga načina nošnje tropentljastih fibul slavljenke ne bo povsem prepričala, pa naj sklenem z naslednjo ugotovitvijo: tropentljaste fibule predstavljajo razpoznavno sestavino tradicionalne japonske ženske

25 Cf. Lulić Štorić, Oštrić, Vojnović Traživuk 2005: 14 ss., slike na str. 39–45, 53–57.

26 Na to nošo me je opozorila mlada raziskovalka Brina Škvor-Jernejčič, za kar se ji želim tudi na tem mestu zahvaliti.

27 Za pomoč pri izdelavi slik se zahvaljujem Idi Murgelj (sl. 1, 4–8) in Matiji Črešnarju (sl. 2–3), za lekturo Dušanu Merharju in za angleški prevod Barbari Smith-Demo.



Sl. 6 Bosansko dekle (po B. Tanović 1969).

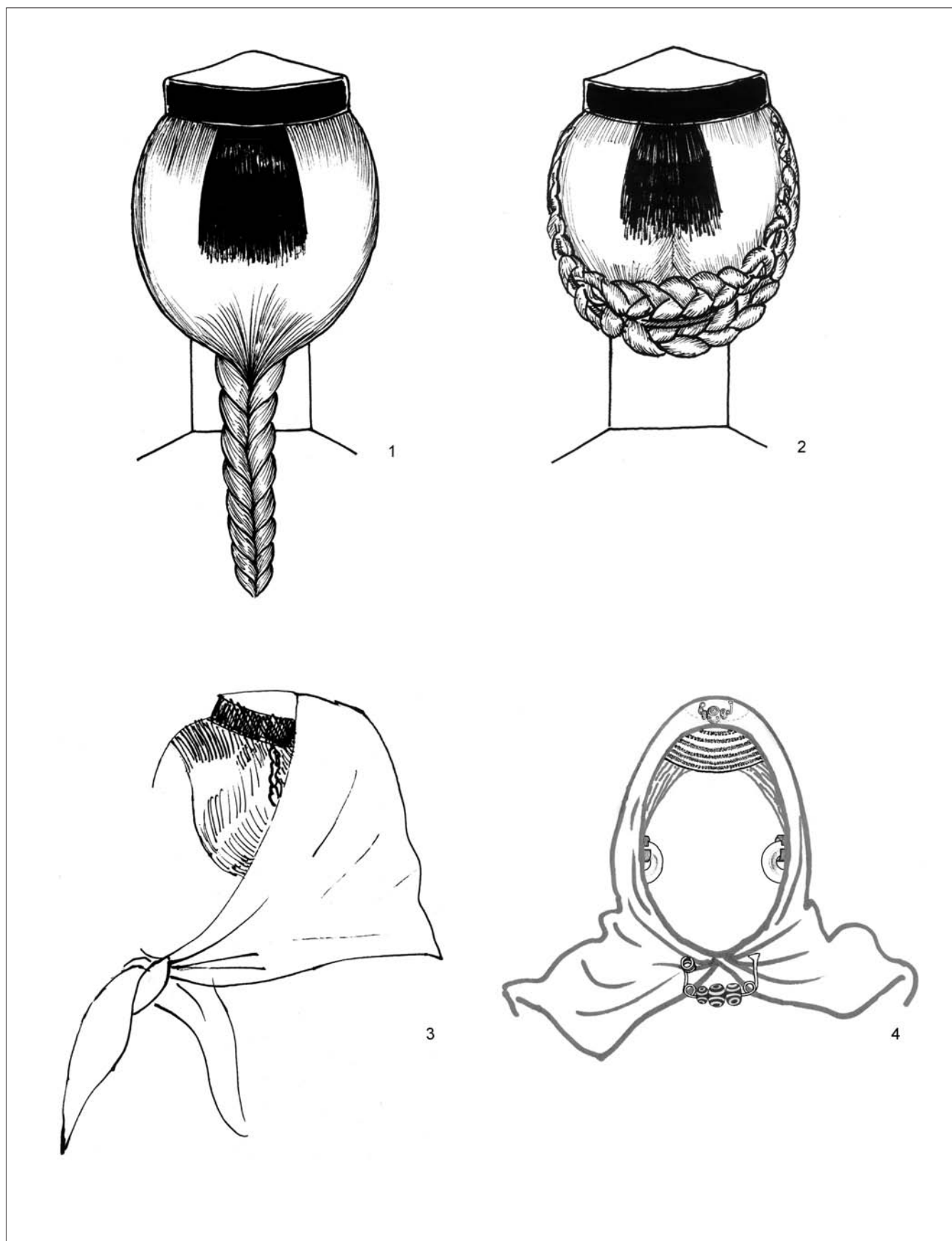
Fig. 6 A Bosnian girl (after B. Tanović 1969).

The hairstyle of married women was different, although their hair was also braided, but decorated with plaited ribbons onto which coins were sewn. The braids hung down onto the chest, while the head was covered by any of various types of embroidered kerchiefs, also tied under the chin (fig. 8, 1–3).

The specific features in the manner of wearing head coverings in the Dinaric type of female attire are reminiscent of the elements of Iapodian female attire described above, and on the one hand we can draw comparisons between the Iapodian bronze caps (fig. 7, 4) and the girls' caps of the northern Dalmatian and Bosnian folk clothing (fig. 7, 1–3; 8), while on the other hand it can be suggested that the three-looped fibulae served for fastening kerchiefs (fig. 8, 4), which were probably of a similar style and were worn in a similar manner as the recent female attire in northern Dalmatia and Bosnia (fig. 8, 1–3).

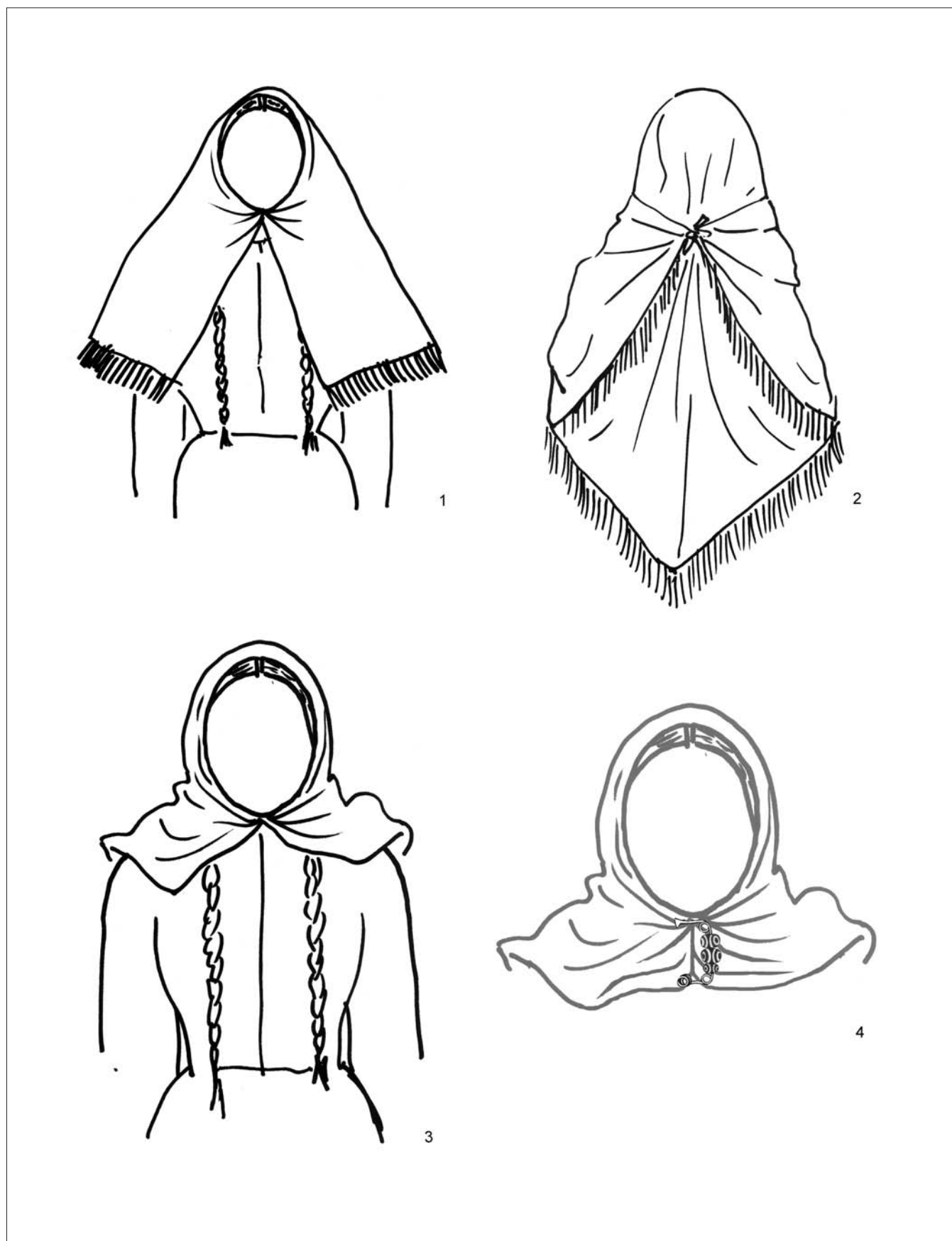
The question remains open as to whether the Iapodian graves where the deceased were placed in the grave with bronze sheet-metal caps, pins, and three-looped fibulae could be identified as those of young girls (fig. 3-4; 7), while the graves without a cap but with a kerchief – fastened with three-looped fibulae – would represent those of married women (fig. 3; 8). If future archaeological, and especially anthropological, investigations of the Iapodian cemeteries were to confirm such a connection between the attire and status of the deceased individuals, this would uncover an exceptionally long-lived historical memory, where ancient cultural traditions were retained in these regions all the way to the period of the recent past.

Although perhaps this explanation of the manner in which three-looped fibulae were worn may not be entirely convincing, in conclusion the following statement can nonetheless be made: three-looped fibulae represent a recognizable component of the traditional Iapodian female at-



Sl. 7 Narodna noša dinarskega tipa, 1-3 oglavje mladenke (po Oštrić 2005: 39 ss., T. I-II, IV), 4 poskus risarske rekonstrukcije japodske noše z bronasto pločevinasto stožčasto kapo, pokrito z ruto, speto oz. pripeto s tropentljastima fibulama

Fig. 7 Folk attire of the Dinaric type, 1-3 bridal head covering (after Oštrić 2005: 39 ss., T. I-II, IV), 4 ideal reconstruction of the lapodian attire with a conical cap of sheet bronze, covered with a kerchief and fastened with three-looped fibulae



Sl. 8 Narodna noša dinarskega tipa, 1-3 oglavje poročene žene (po Oštrić 2005: 43 ss.T. I-III), 4 poskus risarske rekonstrukcije japonske noše z ruto, pod brado speto s tropentljasto fibulo

Fig. 8 Folk attire of the Dinaric type, 1-3 head covering of a married woman (after Oštrić 2005: 43 ss.T. I-III), 4 ideal reconstruction of the lapodian attire with a kerchief, fastened under the chin with a three-looped fibula

noše, ki niso bile podvržene zunanjim vplivom in modnim spremembam, obdržale so se namreč skozi več stoletij, kar nedvomno kaže na to, da so te fibule sodile med pomembne znake identitete njenih nosilk znotraj pripadajočega sociokulturnega sistema.

tire, which was not subject to external influences and changes in fashions, being retained throughout several centuries, definitely indicating that these fibulae were among the significant symbols of the identity of their bearers within the corresponding socio-cultural system.

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