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GROBNIČKI PEKTORALNI PRIVJESCI U KONTEKSTU ŽELJEZNODOBNE ESTETIKE SIMBOLA

PECTORAL PENDANTS FROM GROBNIK IN THE CONTEXT OF THE IRON AGE SYMBOL AESTHETICS

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Predmeti, osobito ukrasni, igraju središnju ulogu u posredovanju heterogenih društvenih identiteta i njihovih razmjera, a nakit i kićenje obilježavali su svojevrsnu simboličku reprezentaciju svijesti, mnijenja, postojanja. U (ne)verbalnoj komunikaciji željeznodobnih društvenih struktura estetika ukrašavanja simboličkim nakitom uvijek je bila posrednikom društvenih, ideoloških i vjerskih koncepata u obrascu njihove uže zajednice i šire prihvaćenih trendova. Grobnički pektoralni privjesci konceptom su dobro osmišljeni i likovno predstavljeni pa su kao medij određene metaforičke poruke specifičnog značenja atraktivni i pogodni za nova istraživanja i različite nove spoznaje. U članku je stoga razrađena tipološko-stilska analiza privjesaka, ikonografska sintaksa, komparacija i, gdje je moguće, arheološki kontekst u svrhu boljeg kronološkog pozicioniranja na kraju starijeg željeznog doba. Premda u osnovi posjeduju reducirani likovni izraz, sažet na znak/simbol, semantički su imali izrazito veliku moć. Kao amuleti, talismani ili amajlije, usprkos fragmentiranosti i nedorečenosti, posredovali su između sadašnjosti i prošlosti, oblikujući identitete svojim fizičkim i metafizičkim optokom pa je i njihova interpretacija ponuđena iz različitih aspekata i u širem shvaćanju željeznodobne estetike simbola.

Objects, especially decorative ones, play a central role in the mediation of heterogeneous social identities and their dimensions, and jewellery and adornment were, in a way, a symbolical representation of consciousness, thoughts, and form of existence. In the (non)verbal communication of the Iron Age social structures, the aesthetics of decorating oneself with symbolic jewellery has always served as a mediator of social, ideological, and religious concepts within their narrow community and within more widely accepted trends. The pectoral pendants from Grobnik are conceptually well-designed and artfully presented, and therefore, as a medium of a specific metaphorical message, they are interesting and suitable for new studies and various new understandings. This article, therefore, elaborates on the typological-stylistic analysis, iconographic syntax, comparison, and, where possible, the archaeological context of the pendants, for their better chronological positioning at the end of the Early Iron Age. Although their art expression is essentially reduced to a sign/symbol, semantically speaking, they were extremely powerful. As amulets, talismans, or good luck charms, despite often being rather sketchy and in a fragmented state, they mediated between the present and the past, shaping identities through their physical and metaphysical circulation, which is why their interpretation is presented from different aspects, and with a wider understanding of the Iron Age symbol aesthetics.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: Grobnik; željezno doba; tijelo; estetika; simbol; semiotika privjeska

KEY WORDS: Grobnik; Iron Age; body; aesthetics; symbol; pendant semiotics

ESTETIKA UKRASA

Arheološka nalazišta jedna su od rijetkih mjesta na kojima se kićenje/ukrašavanje ljudi može pratiti od najranijih dana čovjekove milenijske prošlosti. Premda su, zbog prirode materijala, mnogi predmeti povezani uz najrazličitija ukrašavanja tijela sačuvani u reduciranom opsegu, svi su oni ponajprije imali dekorativnu namjenu najrazličitijih konotacija fenomenološke vrijednosti, stvoreni isključivo čovjekovom kreativnošću. Raspon mogućih ukrasa nedvojbeno je bio mnogobrojniji i raskošniji u obilju onog izrađenog od organskog materijala, koji arheološki zapisi rijetko uspiju objektivirati.

Naime, nakit, nošnja, bojanje tijela, tetoviranje, sakaćenje i brojne tjelesne modifikacije samo su neke od mogućnosti kojima su ljudi oduvijek ukrašavali i na taj način dotjerivali svoja tijela. Estetizirano tijelo, kosa i frizura bili su usko povezani uz pripadnost, teritorijalnost i status te uz razna kozmološka i transcendentalna vjerovanja, posljedično i uz upravljanje i manipuliranje zajednicama ili društvom. U (ne)verbalnoj komunikaciji estetika ukrašavanja, posebice ekstravagantnim i efektivnim nakitom, uvijek je bila reprezentacijom društvenih, ideoloških i vjerskih koncepata u obrascu njihove uže zajednice i šire prihvaćenih trendova. Međutim, istinski je najviša vrijednost ukrašavanja tijela bila zapravo u senzualnom pokretaču erotskog, u seksualnosti i privlačenju suprotnog i/ili istog spola. Njime se brzo i jasno prenosila poruka vezana uz spol i dob pojedinca, uz zavođenje i privlačnost, ljubav i partnerstvo koje je u konačnici vodilo prema reprodukciji, tj. očuvanju naše vrste.

U studiji ću se usredotočiti na prikaz i analizu dvaju iznimno vrijednih brončanih privjesaka koji potječu iz najstarijih arheoloških istraživanja pretpovijesne, željeznodobne nekropole Grobišće, smještene podno grada Grobnika. Većina poznate materijalne ostavštine iz tog je nalazišta već bila predmetom brojnih znanstvenih objava domaćih i stranih autora (Blečić 2004; Glogović 2009; Kukoč 2009; Blečić Kavur 2010;¹ Chausidis 2017). Zbog svoje osebujnosti pojedini su simbolički predmeti i dalje vrlo atraktivni, pogodni za različita nova istraživanja i nove zaključke koje nam privjesci, nositelji informacija u malom, kao medij određene metaforičke poruke specifičnog značenja (usp. Blečić Kavur 2017), omogućuju u punom potencijalu. Jer, iako je arheologija simbola fragmentirana i sporna, ona je istovremeno bogata, raznovrsna i kreativna prožimajući gotovo svaki aspekt arheoloških zapisa (Robb 1998).

¹ S navedenom starijom literaturom.

AESTHETICS OF DECORATION

Archaeological sites are one of the rare places where the adorning of people can be traced from the earliest days of man's millennial past. Although due to the nature of the materials only a small number of many objects associated with various forms of body decoration were preserved, all of them primarily had decorative purpose, with most diverse phenomenological connotations, since they were created exclusively by man's creativity. The range of possible ornaments was undoubtedly larger and more abundant when expanded to objects made of organic material, which rarely manage to stay preserved long enough to find their place in the archaeological records.

Jewellery, attire, body painting, tattooing, mutilation, and numerous body modifications are only some of the possibilities that people have always used to decorate themselves and thus adorn their bodies. Aestheticised body, hair, and hairstyle were closely related to affiliation, territoriality, and status, to various cosmological and transcendental beliefs, as well as, consequently, to ruling over and manipulating with communities or society. In the (non)verbal communication, the aesthetics of decoration, especially in the form of extravagant and eye-catching jewellery, has always been the representation of social, ideological and religious concepts within their narrow community and within more widely accepted trends. However, the truly highest value of decorating one's body lied, in fact, in the sensual instigator of the erotic, in the sexuality and in attracting the opposite and/or same sex. It quickly and clearly transmitted the message about gender and age of an individual, along with seduction and attraction, love and partnership that ultimately led to reproduction, i.e. the preservation of our species.

In the study, I will focus on the presentation and analysis of two extremely valuable bronze pendants that were discovered during the earliest archaeological research of the prehistoric, Iron Age necropolis of Grobišće, situated at the feet of the castle of Grobnik. Most of the known material legacy from this site has already been the subject of numerous scientific publications by domestic and foreign authors (Blečić 2004; Glogović 2009; Kukoč 2009; Blečić Kavur 2010;¹ Chausidis 2017). Because of their peculiarity, some symbolic objects are still very interesting, suitable for various new studies and conclusions that we are fully allowed to explore through pendants, small carriers of information, i.e. mediums for transmitting a particular metaphorical message of specific meaning (cf.

¹ With the mentioned earlier literature.



Sl. 1 Polukružni rešetkasti privjesak iz nekropole Grobišće na Grobniku (prema Blečić 2004).

Fig. 1 Semi-circular lattice pendant from the necropolis of Grobišće at Grobnik (after Blečić 2004).

Oba se grobnička privjeska u osnovi razlikuju načinom izradbe, oblikom i ukrašavanjem. No primjenom su, zbog svojih dimenzija i kompozicije s drugim nakitnim predmetima, imali namjenu tjelesnog, tj. prsnog (pektoralnog) nakita, okačeni o fibule ili ogrlice, a možda i o pojaseve (sl. 1; 2, 1; 4, 1; 5, 5). U širem istovremenom kontekstu ukrasi takvih obilježja bili su krajnje rašireni u kulturama obiju jadranskih obala. Zato ih nalazimo od italskih Picena do Liburna i Japoda, na prostoru sjevernog Kvarnera i obližnjeg slovenskog zaleđa Notranjske te pokupske Vinice, u rasponu od 5. pa sve do 3. stoljeća stare ere (Egg 1986; Lucentini 2000; Kukoč 2009, 186-197; Blečić Kavur 2010, 317-327; Laharnar 2012, 180-181).

SINTAKSA ZNAKOVA ILI KULTURNA BIOGRAFIJA UMJETNIČKOG PREDMETA

Prvi, polukružni rešetkasti privjesak izrađen je tehnikom na proboj, tzv. tehnikom *izgubljenog voska*,

Blečić Kavur 2017). Even though the archaeology of symbols is fragmented and disputed, it is also rich, diverse, and at the same time creative, pervading almost every aspect of archaeological records (Robb 1998).

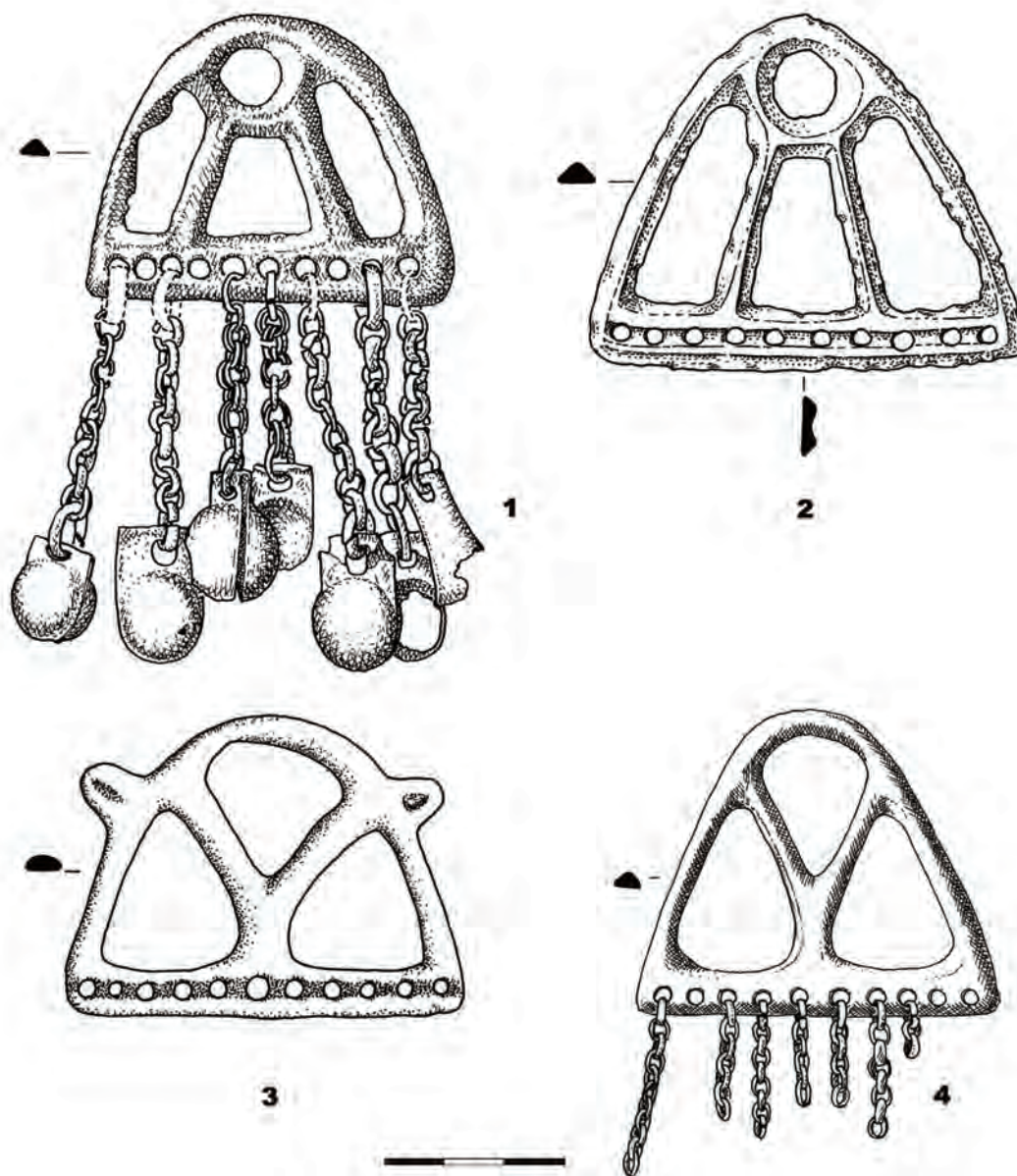
Two pendants from Grobnik differ in the way they were made, their shape, and decoration. However, due to their dimensions and combination with other jewellery items, they were used as body i.e. chest (pectoral) jewellery, suspended on fibulae or necklaces, and maybe even belts (Figs. 1; 2, 1; 4, 1; 5, 5). In the wider context of that period, decorations with such characteristics were extremely widespread among the cultures of both Adriatic coasts. That is why they can be found within a range that encompasses cultures starting from the Italic Piceni to Liburnians and Iapodes, in the area of north Kvarner and the nearby Slovenian hinterland of Notranjska and Vinica of the Kupa/Kolpa region in the period from the 5th to the 3rd century BC (Egg 1986; Lucentini 2000; Kukoč 2009, 186-197; Blečić Kavur 2010, 317-327; Laharnar 2012, 180-181).

SYNTAX OF SIGNS OR CULTURAL BIOGRAPHY OF AN ART OBJECT

The first, semi-circular lattice pendant was made with the perforation technique, i.e. the *lost-wax casting* technique, which was often used in the production of valuable jewellery. It features a circular suspension hole in its upper part and two unevenly distributed elongated perforations on each of its lateral sides. In the centre, there is a trapeze opening. The lower edge features 10 holes with little shackle chains attached to them. The chains are made of bronze wire, with pendants shaped as bells (or *bulae*), and one damaged trapezium-shaped piece (Figs. 1; 2, 1)².

The pendant is geometrically schematized, its expression is reduced and its decoration is modest, and the typological-stylistic analysis includes it among the anthropo-zoomorphic pectoral pendants. It is an extravagant item, a work of high artistic quality and outstanding craftsmanship of that period. This type of decorations was not widely represented in the general use, but instead their aesthetics represented both artistic and symbolic progress. Considering the number of the finds, they were recognised as an original contribution of the Kastav Iron Age community, i.e. of their craftsmen circle (Fig. 6). The distinctive technological and stylistic

² Size: length 5.68 cm; width 4.35 cm; thickness 0.63 cm; total length 10.72 cm. Inv. no.: AMZ 5527 (Blečić 2004, 72, T. 6; Blečić Kavur 2010, 433, T. 12, 189 - with earlier literature).



Sl. 2 Polukružni rešetkasti privjesci tipa Kastav, varijante Ib: 1 Grobnik (prema Blečić 2004), 2 Ulaka (?) (prema Laharnar 2012), 3 Istra (?) (prema Marušić 1981), 4 Kastav (prema Blečić Kavur 2010), M. 1 : 1.

Fig. 2 Semi-circular lattice pendants, type Kastav, variants Ib: 1 Grobnik (after Blečić 2004), 2 Ulaka (?) (after Laharnar 2012), 3 Istra (?) (after Marušić 1981), 4 Kastav (after Blečić Kavur 2010), M. 1 : 1.

koja se često upotrebljavala pri izradi vrijednog nakita. U gornjem dijelu ima kružni otvor za ovis, a sa strane po dvije nejednako i neravnomjerno raspoređene izdužene perforacije. U sredini je otvor trapezastog oblika. Na donjem rubu nalazi se 10 rupica za koje su pričvršćeni karičasti lančići od brončane žice s privjescima oblika praporca (ili bula) i jedan primjerak oštećenog trapezastog oblika (sl. 1; 2, 1)².

² Veličina: duž. 5,68 cm; šir. 4,35 cm; deb. 0,63 cm; ukupna duž. 10,72 cm. Inv. br: AMZ 5527 (Blečić 2004, 72, T. 6; Blečić Kavur 2010, 433, T. 12, 189 - sa svom ranijom literaturom).

concept has therefore allowed them to be separated into a specific group of *type I* (or type *Kastav*) pectoral pendants. This group is spatially limited which is why, except for their eponymous site and Grobnik, they appear only in Istria and on several sites in Notranjska (Blečić Kavur 2010, 318-320, Figs. 216, 219) (Figs. 2-3, 6).

They are all individual finds, or they lack more detailed information on circumstances of their discovery, which poses additional difficulties for the attempt at more precise chronological positioning, as well as for a more extensive

Likovno, privjesak je geometrijski shematiziran, reduciranog izraza i skromne dekoracije, a u tipološko-stilskoj analizi pridružen je pektoralnim antropo-zoomornim privjescima. Riječ je o ekstravagantnom nakitu, uratku koji je bio za ono vrijeme visoke umjetničko-obrtničke kvalitete. Naime, ukrasi takvog tipa nisu bili široko zastupljeni u općoj primjeni, već su u estetici predstavljali i umjetnički i simbolički progres. S obzirom na zastupljenost nalaza, smatrani su izvornim doprinosom kastavske željeznodobne zajednice odnosno njihova obrtničkog kruga (sl. 6). Svojestven tehnološki i stilski koncept omogućio je stoga njihovo izdvajanje u zasebnu skupinu pektoralnih privjesaka *tipa I* (ili *tipa Kastav*), prostorno ograničenih pa ih, izuzev na eponimnom nalazištu i na Grobniku, nalazimo još u Istri i na nekoliko notranjskih lokaliteta (Blečić Kavur 2010, 318-320, Fig. 216; 219) (sl. 2-3, 6).

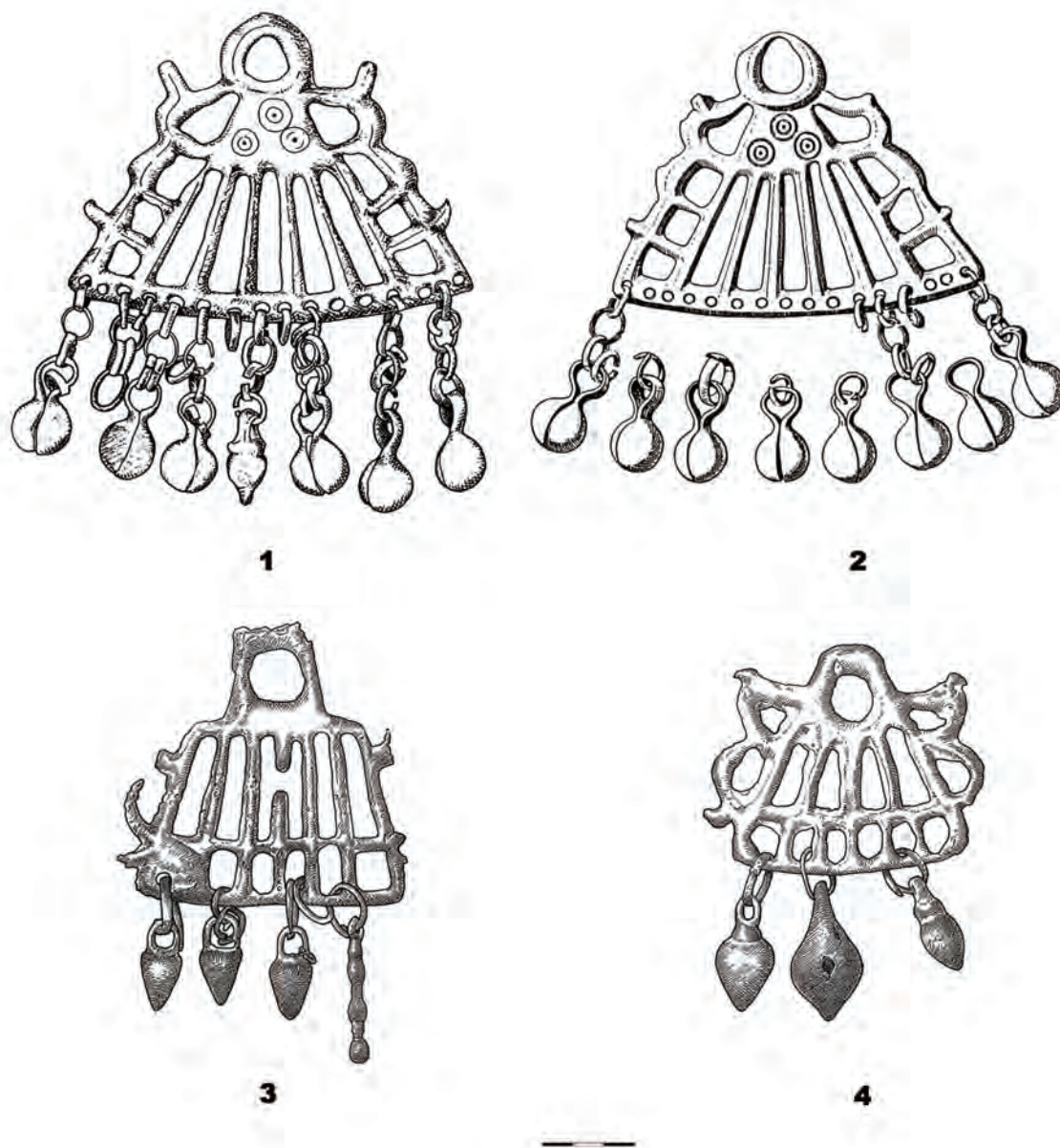
Svi su oni pojedinačni nalazi ili bez detaljnijih okolnosti nalaženja, što dodatno otežava njihovo preciznije kronološko određenje, kao i opsežnije poznavanje kulturne biografije predmeta, od same primjene i rituala pa do manipulacija i uopće kontekstualne vrijednosti, ponajprije vezane uz pojedinca koji ih je nosio (spol/rod, dob, status, ritual itd.). Nadalje, morfološki su opredijeljeni dvjema varijantama, od kojih varijantu Ia predstavljaju trapezasti privjesci s apstrahiranim životinjskim motivima na bočnim stranicama (sl. 3). Varijantu Ib određuje polukružni oblik privjeska bez dodatnih aplikacija pa načinom ukrašavanja obilježavaju stilski nešto skromniju varijantu (sl. 2). Toj je skupini pridružen i naš prvi grobnički privjesak (sl. 1; 2, 1).

Poznavanjem arheoloških izvora donedavno su rešetkasti privjesci tipa I kvantitetom zastupljenosti bili reprezentacija upravo kastavske produkcije željeznodobnog umjetničkog obrta. Grobnički je primjerak u svemu tome, osobito izvedbom, bio zapravo usamljen, bez izravnijih paralela. Konvencionalnim arheološkim modelom analogije predmeta formalno mu je srodan privjesak iz Kastva, polukružnog oblika s tri nepravilne trokutaste perforacije i s rupicama za ovjes lančića (sl. 2, 4). Međutim, znatno prikladnija paralela tom kastavskom privjesku poznata je iz Istre (Marušić 1981, T. VIII, 2) (sl. 2, 3), odakle potječe primjerak koji pak na bočnim stranicama ima izvučene manje istake. One kao da interpretiraju životinjske uši, u smislu reduciranja i/ili asocijacije na životinjske protome, toliko karakteristične za privjeske Ia varijante (sl. 3). Ipak, novijim je istraživanjima grobnički, u cijelosti održan privjesak dobio neposredne paralele i to s ulomkom prilično oštećenog privjeska iz Gradišća nad Knežakom,

knowledge of the object's cultural biography – from the ritual and the use itself to the manipulations and their general contextual value, primarily related to the individual who wore them (sex/gender, age, status, ritual, etc.). Furthermore, they are morphologically divided into two variants: the variant Ia is represented by trapeze pendants with abstract animal motifs on the lateral sides (Fig. 3), and the variant Ib is defined by the pendant's semi-circular shape, without any additionally applied elements, which is why their decoration style represents a slightly more modest variant (Fig. 2). Our first pendant from Grobnik also belongs to this group (Fig. 1; 2, 1).

According to archaeological sources, in terms of quantity, the type I lattice pendants until recently represented precisely the Kastav production of the Iron Age artistic craftsmanship. The Grobnik piece, especially in terms of the way it was made, was actually singular in all of this, with no direct analogy. When observed through the lens of the conventional archaeological model of the analogy of an object, it is similar in form to the pendant from Kastav, which is semi-circular in shape, with three irregular triangular perforations and with chain-suspension holes (Fig. 2, 4). However, a much more appropriate analogy to the Kastav pendant comes from Istria (Marušić 1981, T. VIII, 2) (Fig. 2, 3). It is a piece with small protrusions on its lateral sides. They seem to represent animal ears if we take into the account the possibility of reduction and/or association with animal protomes, so characteristic of the Ia variant pendants (Fig. 3). However, recent studies have provided the entirely preserved Grobnik pendant with direct analogies in the form of a fragment of a rather damaged pendant from Gradišće nad Knežakom, and three pendants that most likely originate from "Ulaka?" (Laharnar 2012, 125, 181, T. 41, 13-15)³. The pieces from "Ulaka?" are well-preserved, they feature three different sizes, and in terms of manufacture they are almost identical to the Grobnik pendant, which thus got its "circle" in the syntax of the object, the so-called typological *affiliation* (Fig. 2, 2). As a group formed of as many as 4 pieces, they should be perceived as a separate version of the semi-circular, variant Ib lattice pendants. When considered from the position of a symbolically constructed act, all type I pendants, except for the decorative jewellery ensemble dotted with distinct stylistic impression, were essentially a medium (Stevens 2007; Robb 2015). They represented a concise iconographic concept of an explicit metaphorical message that needed to be clearly legible in the momentary (non) verbal communication of characters and symbols (Blečić

³ See different in Gleirscher 2014, 87-92.



Sl. 3 Trapezasti rešetkasti privjesci tipa Kastav, varijante Ia: 1 Kastav (prema Blečić 2002), 2 Vinica (prema PMAEH), 3 - 4 Kastav (prema Blečić 2002), M. 1 : 2.

Fig. 3 Trapeze lattice pendants of the Kastav type, variants Ia: 1 Kastav (after Blečić 2002), 2 Vinica (after PMAEH), 3 - 4 Kastav (after Blečić 2002), M. 1 : 2.

kao i s trima privjescima koji potječu najvjerojatnije iz “Ulake?” (Laharnar 2012, 125, 181, T. 41,13-15)³. Primjerci iz “Ulake?” dobro su očuvani, predstavljeni u čak tri različite veličine, a izvedbeno su gotovo identični grobničkom privjesku, koji je tako dobio svoj “krug” u sintaksi predmeta, tzv. tipološku *pripadnost* (sl. 2, 2). Formirajući ujedno skupinu od čak 4 primjeraka, valjalo bi ih razumijevati u zasebnoj inačici polukružnih rešetkastih privjesaka Ib varijante. Sagledani iz pozicije simbolički izgrađenog čina, svi privjesci tipa I izuzev

³ Vidi drugačije kod Gleirscher 2014, 87-92.

Kavur 2017). They are therefore, justly considered as compressed anthropomorphic figures.

This is rather important if we are analysing the visual elements, signs and symbols at each level of their interpretation. The variant Ia pendants will be of more help to us here because their lateral sides feature abstract animal depictions that most authors interpreted as horses (Fig. 3)⁴. The zoomorphic motif is not entirely recognisable, so it is also possible to interpret it as a representation

⁴ Blečić 2002, 110-111; Kukoč 2009, 187-189; Blečić Kavur 2010, 318 (and the already mentioned earlier literature).

dekorativnog, nakitnog ansambla koji je imao upečatljivu stilsku impresiju, u osnovi su bili medij (Stevens 2007; Robb 2015). Repräsentirali su sažet ikonografski koncept izričite metaforičke poruke koja je morala biti jasno čitljiva u trenutačnoj (ne)verbalnoj komunikaciji znakova i simbola (Blečić Kavur 2017). Zbog toga se opravdano smatraju komprimiranim antropomorfnim *figurama*.

To je prilično bitno ako raščlanjujemo likovne elemente, znakove i simbole na svakoj razini njihove interpretacije. U tome će nam više pomoći privjesci varijante Ia, jer na bočnim stranicama imaju apstrahirane životinjske prikaze u kojima je većina autora prepoznavala konja (sl. 3)⁴. Zoomorfni motiv ipak nije toliko decidan pa bi se u njemu mogao vidjeti i prikaz psa, koji u pravilu uprizorenja, a za razliku od konja, ima podignute male zašiljene uši i manje repove (Blečić Kavur 2010, 318–320). Koncept je najkonkretnije dočaran kod primjeraka iz Kastva i Vinice (sl. 3, 1–2, 4), dok preostali privjesak ili zaostaje zanatskom umješnošću ili jednostavno ima tendenciju reduciranja ionako jasno prepoznatljive sintakse znakova (sl. 3, 3). U donjem, mobilnijem dijelu pričvršćeni su manji privjesci u obliku ili imitacijama košarica, astragala, kauri pužića i praporaca, koji su posezali za auditivnim učinkom. Umjetnički tako ostvaren ukrasni predmet imao je prilikom nošenja oblikom, bojom, teksturom, zvukom i u kombinaciji s drugim predmetima snažnu recepciju u onodobnom vizualnom i komunikacijskom okruženju, a čitava je kompozicija pridonosila potpunoj estetsko-emotivnoj senzaciji (Blečić 2002, 111; cf. Rebay-Salisbury 2016, 123–124).

Drugi, lijepo očuvan pektoralni privjesak iz Grobnika vrlo je sličan nakitni predmet. Izrađen je tehnikom lijevanja bronce, sa zdepastom trapezastom pločicom koja na vrhu završava hipertrofirano profiliranim krugom. Krug je omeđen sa svake strane stilizirano izvučenim konjskim glavicama, kojima su izražene uši i njuška. Pločica na donjem kraju završava s 9 rupica za ovjes lančića. Na lančićima su očuvani jedan trapezasti i dva konična privjeska. Privjesak je nađen okačen o zoomorfnu, dobro očuvanu fibulu ranolatenske sheme, izuzetne dekoracije (sl. 4, 1; 5, 5)⁵. Fibulom dominira glava životinje, koja je iznimno realistično i zanatski profinjeno izrađena, toliko da su pored očiju, ušiju i gubice sa zubima doručeni i linearni motivi na stražnjoj

of a dog, which when it comes to its rule of depiction, unlike the horse, has little pointy raised ears and a smaller tail (Blečić Kavur 2010, 318–320). The examples from Kastav and Vinica (Figs. 3, 1–2, 4) reflect this concept most explicitly, while the remaining pendant is either lagging in craftsmanship or simply features the tendency to reduce an already recognizable syntax of symbols (Fig. 3, 3). In the lower, more mobile part, small pendants shaped like baskets, astragals, cowrie (kauri) shells and jingles are attached, which were aiming for the auditory effect. The ornamental object characterised by this kind of artistic expression (shape, colour, texture, sound), and in combination with other objects, had a strong reception in the visual and communication environment of that period, and the entire composition contributed to a complete aesthetical and emotional sensation (Blečić 2002, 111; cf. Rebay-Salisbury 2016, 123–124).

The other well-preserved pectoral pendant from Grobnik is a very similar jewellery item. It was made with the bronze casting technique, with a bulky trapeze plate ending with a circle moulded in a hypertrophic manner at the top. Stylized horse heads, with accentuated ears and muzzle, flank the circle on each of its lateral sides. At its lower end, the plate ends with 9 chain-suspension holes. One trapeze and two conical pendants are preserved on the chains. The pendant was found suspended on a zoomorphic, well-preserved and exceptionally decorated Early La Tène fibula (Figs. 4, 1; 5, 5)⁵. The fibula is dominated by the animal head, made in an exceptionally realistic and refined manner which, in addition to the eyes, ears, and muzzle with teeth, includes linear motifs on the back that imitate hair or mane, and a line of three more concentric circles on the inner part of the bow of the fibula, close to its foot (Blečić 2004, 68, T. 6; Blečić Kavur 2010, 430, T. 12, 170).

In the canonized art scheme of the geometric trapeze pendants with perforated lower edge where chains were hanging from, the piece from Grobnik will have more analogies in the adjacent cultural environments, especially among Iapodes and in Vinica (Fig. 5, 6). Since the largest number of them was recorded on Grobnik, including the possibly unfinished work or the so-called *second-class* pendant (Blečić 2004, 72, 13, T. 6; Kukoč 2009, Fig. 286, 4; Glogović 2009, Fig. 1) (Figs. 4, 2; 5, 6), they are explained in a separate group of pectoral pendants, classified as *type II* (or type *Grobnik*). In the terminological approach, they would correspond to the type *Kastav - Grobnik*, in

⁴ Blečić 2002, 110–111; Kukoč 2009, 187–189; Blečić Kavur 2010, 318 (s navedenom ranijom literaturom).

⁵ Veličina: duž. 3,72 cm; šir. 3,66 cm; duž. lančića 5,83 cm. Inv. br.: AMZ 5525 (Blečić 2004, 73, T. 6; Blečić Kavur 2010, 433, T. 12, 170).

⁵ Size: length 3.72 cm; width 3.66 cm; length of the chain 5.83 cm. Inv. no.: AMZ 5525 (Blečić 2004, 73, T. 6; Blečić Kavur 2010, 433, T. 12, 170).



Sl. 4 Trapezasti pektoralni privjesci iz Grobišta na Grobniku (prema Blečić 2004).
Fig. 4 Trapeze pectoral pendants from Grobišće at Grobnik (after Blečić 2004).

strani, koji imitiraju dlaku ili grivu, odnosno red od još tri koncentrične kružnice na unutarnjem dijelu luka fibule prema njezinoj nožici (Blečić 2004, 68, T. 6; Blečić Kavur 2010, 430, T. 12, 170).

U kanoniziranoj likovnoj shemi privjesaka geometrizirano-trapezastog oblika s perforiranim donjim rubom na kojima su visjeli lančići, ovom grobničkom primjerku naći će se više paralela u susjednim kulturnim ambijentima, osobito kod Japoda i u Vinici (sl. 5, 6). Budući da je na Grobniku zabilježen njihov najveći broj, kao i moguće nedovršen rad ili privjesak tzv. *druge klase* (Blečić 2004, 72, sl. 13, T. 6; Kukoč 2009, sl. 286, 4; Glogović 2009, sl. 1) (sl. 4, 2; 5, 6), oni su objašnjeni u zasebnoj grupi pektoralnih privjesaka određenih kao *tip II* (ili tip *Grobnik*). U terminološkom pristupu odgovarali bi tipu *Kastav - Grobnik* prema tipološkom prijedlogu D. Glogović (2009, 261-262). Slično rešetkastim privjescima tipa I, i trapezasti privjesci tipa II imaju ograničenu prostornu disperziju, obilježavajući zapravo u oba primjera snažan umjetničko-obrtnički lokalizam (sl. 6).

accordance with the typological proposal by D. Glogović (2009, 261-262). Similar to the type I lattice pendants; the spatial dispersion of the type II trapeze pendants is also limited. In both cases, this is actually a mark of a strong localism in the domain of artistic craftsmanship (Fig. 6).

This group also includes pieces from Kastav (Blečić 2002, 94, 111-112, Fig. 8, T. 10; Glogović 2009, Fig. 5) (Fig. 5, 2), Kringa (Mihovilić 1998, 5-6; Glogović 2009, Fig. 4) (Fig. 5, 1) and Vinica (Figs. 5, 4, 7) (Glogović 2009, Fig. 6). The piece from Kringa is almost identical to the one from Kastav, and the one from Vinica slightly differs in form and in the details of the final finishing, which are processed in a rather bulky manner⁶. However, one more individual find, from Aquileia, should be added to the group (Vitri 2004, 49, 56-57, Fig. 8, 4) (Fig. 5, 3). The upper part of the pendant is damaged, which

⁶ Pectorals from Vinica were also considered as a local product, because a large number of various pieces were found there (Gabrovec 1966, 185-186; Božić 1999, 176).

Pridružuju im se zato primjerci iz Kastva (Blečić 2002, 94, 111-112, sl. 8, T. 10; Glogović 2009, sl. 5) (sl. 5, 2), Kringe (Mihovilić 1998, 5-6; Glogović 2009, sl. 4) (sl. 5, 1) i iz Vinice (sl. 5, 4, 7) (Glogović 2009, sl. 6). Primjerak iz Kringe gotovo je identičan kastavskom, a onaj iz Vinice neznatno odudara formom i zdepastije obrađenim detaljima završnog dotjerivanja⁶. Međutim, skupini valja pridodati još jedan pojedinačni nalaz iz Aquileije (Vitri 2004, 49, 56-57, Fig. 8, 4) (sl. 5, 3). Privjesak je oštećen u gornjem dijelu pa je očuvana samo jedna konjska glavica, znatno jednostavnije izvedbe od ostalih poznatih primjeraka, koja ipak u potpunosti oblikovno i stilski odgovara našim primjercima. Navedena grupa privjesaka ima na trokutastom tijelu urezane koncentrične kružnice, što ih udaljava od grobničkih primjeraka posve neukrašene površine.

Međutim, grobnički trapezasti privjesak (sl. 5, 5) razlikuje se od tog tipičnog formalnog koncepta privjesaka tipa II i u usporedbi s drugima za sada nema dvojnika. Takva tipološko-stilska izolacija podsjeća na situaciju koja je godinama vrijedila za grobnički rešetkasti privjesak Ib varijante, kako je već obrazloženo. Ne isključujući mogućnost nalaženja neke adekvatnije paralele, u ovome trenutku shvaćen je doista kao unikatni primjerak u opsežnijoj tipološkoj skupini trapezastih pektoralnih privjesaka.

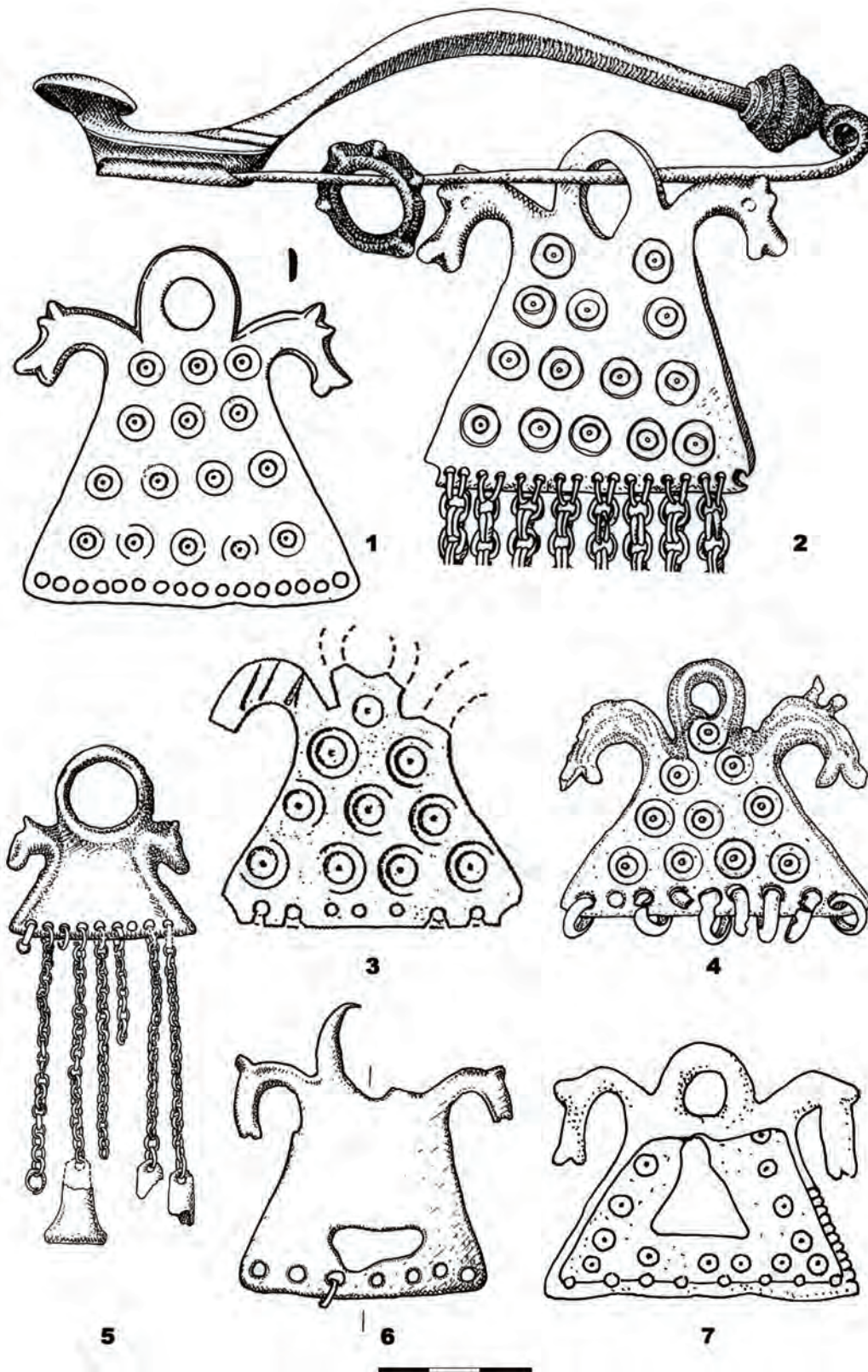
Vremenska sinkronizacija predstavljenih predmeta vrlo je važna, i za nju, za razliku od privjesaka tipa I, imamo nešto više dostupnih podataka. Pritom će nam pomoći drugi ukrasni predmeti s nošnje, nađeni upravo u njihovoj kombinaciji; zoomorfna fibula ranolatenske sheme (sl. 4, 1) (Blečić Kavur 2010, 323-326), o koju je bio okačen naš pektoralni privjesak iz Grobnika, i fibula tipa Certosa Xh varijante prema tipološko-stilskoj klasifikaciji Bibe Teržan (sl. 5, 2), na koju je bio ovješten privjesak iz Kastva (Teržan 1976, 365, 368, 331-332; Blečić 2002, 82, 94, T. 10; Blečić Kavur 2010, 404, 415, T. 6, 75; Blečić Kavur 2015, 67-71). Obje fibule neosporno svjedoče o krajnjem određenju njihova korištenja: *životni* im se *ciklus* okončao deponiranjem u grobove grobničke i kastavske nekropole kao *post quem non* njihove kronološke pozicije. Zoomorfna fibula ranolatenske sheme ukazuje na izravnu povezanost s područjem Posočja u vrijeme razvoja idrijske skupine 4. st. pr. Kr. Tehnološkim i stilskim rješenjem najsrodnije paralele nalazimo kod fibula iz Idrije pri Bači (Guštin 1991, 36, T. 24, 7) i Mosta na Soči - Repelc (Mlinar 2008, 31, T. 29,

is why only one horsehead is preserved. This one was made in a much simpler manner than the other known pieces and yet, it completely fits in with our pieces in terms of its shape and style. This group of pendants features incised concentric circles on their triangular bodies, which separates them from the Grobnik pieces, whose surface is entirely without decorations.

However, the trapeze pendant from Grobnik (Fig. 5, 5) differs from this typical formal concept of type II pendants and, in comparison with others, has no counterpart at the moment. Such typological and stylistic isolation reminds of the years-long situation with the Grobnik lattice pendant of the variant Ib, which was already explained. While not excluding the possibility of finding a more adequate analogy, at this moment it is considered as a truly unique piece in a more extensive typological group of trapeze pectoral pendants.

Chronological synchronization of the presented objects is very important, and unlike type I pendants, there is a little more data available for this one. Other decorative items, which were found together with the attire, will help us with this - the Early La Tène zoomorphic fibula (Fig. 4, 1) (Blečić Kavur 2010, 323-326) that had our pectoral pendant from Grobnik hanging from it. In addition, the Certosa type Xh variant fibula, according to the typological-stylistic classification by Biba Teržan (Fig. 5, 2), that had the pendant from Kastav hanging from it (Teržan 1976, 365, 368, 331-332; Blečić 2002, 82, 94, T. 10; Blečić Kavur 2010, 404, 415, T. 6, 75; Blečić Kavur 2015, 67-71). Both fibulae are an indisputable testimony of the ultimate determination of their use: their *life cycle* ended when they were deposited into the graves of the Grobnik and Kastav necropolises, which is a *terminus post quem non* in their chronological positioning. The Early La Tène zoomorphic fibula points to a direct connection with the area of Posočje at the time of development of the Idrija group in the 4th century BC. The most similar analogies (in technological and stylistic terms) can be found in the fibulae from Idrija pri Bači (Guštin 1991, 36, T. 24, 7) and Most na Soči - Repelc (Mlinar 2008, 31, T. 29, 23). A great number of them was found there, pointing to the fact that there was probably a local artisan workshop that operated there, under direct Celtic influences (Guštin 1987, 45; Guštin 1991, 36). The Certosa type X variant fibula is specific to the end of the Early Iron Age and the beginning of the Late Iron Age, and represents the framework for datation of numerous material cultures of the entire Upper Adriatic cultural *koiné* of that period (Teržan 1976, 331-332; Blečić Kavur 2010, 313-317).

⁶ Vinički su se pektoralni također smatrali lokalnim proizvodom, jer je ondje nađeno mnoštvo različitih primjeraka (Gabrovec 1966, 185-186; Božić 1999, 176).



Sl. 5 Trapezasti pektoralni privjesci tipa Grobnik, varijante IIa i IIb: 1 Kringa (prema Mihovilić 1998), 2 Kastav (prema Blečić 2002), 3 Aquileia (prema Vitri 2004), 4 Vinica (prema Glogović 2009), 5 - 6 Grobnik (prema Blečić 2004), 7 Vinica (prema Raunig 2004), M. 1 : 1.
 Fig. 5 Trapeze pectoral pendants of the Grobnik type, variants IIa and IIb: 1 Kringa (after Mihovilić 1998), 2 Kastav (after Blečić 2002), 3 Aquileia (after Vitri 2004), 4 Vinica (after Glogović 2009), 5 - 6 Grobnik (after Blečić 2004), 7 Vinica (after Raunig 2004), M. 1 : 1.

23). Ondje im je zabilježena koncentracija nalaženja, što implicira vjerojatnost smještaja jedne od mjesnih obrtničkih radionica koje su stvarale pod neposrednim keltskim utjecajima (Guštin 1987, 45; Guštin 1991, 36). Fibula tipa Certosa X varijante specifična je za kraj starijeg i početak mlađeg željeznog doba te čini okosnicu datiranja brojne materijalne kulture čitave gornjojadranske kulturne *koiné* toga razdoblja (Teržan 1976, 331-332; Blečić Kavur 2010, 313-317).

Izuzev kastavskog, i vinički je pektoralni privjesak nađen u grobu s fibulom toga tipa pa će time još jednom potvrditi njihovu užu fizičku i semantičku povezanost (grob 74)⁷. Drugim riječima, pektoralni privjesci tipa II bili su u uporabi u vrijeme trenda fibula tipa Certosa X varijante i, nešto određenije, barem prostorno, ranolatenske zoomorfne fibule u 5./4. st. pr. Kr., s eventualnim trajanjem do u 3. st. pr. Kr., što je uostalom već bila argumentirano predložena datacija (Majnarić-Pandžić 1998, 312; Blečić 2002, 110-112; Kukoč 2009, 187-189). Unatoč tomu, trapezasti privjesci tipa II često su uspoređivani s primjercima iz japodskog Kompolja, Prozora te s onima iz nekropola Pounja, s uvjerenjem da svi slijede uopćenu likovno-ikonografsku shemu. Ali, njihovi nam arheološki konteksti svjedoče o mlađim datacijama, jer su nađeni s fibulama srednjolatenskih shema, kronološki određenima u 4. i 5a. fazu⁸. Na isti su način bila referirana oba istarska privjeska, smještena u stupanj Istra VIa, tj. u 3. st. pr. Kr., i povezana uz *jačanje japodskog utjecaja na Histre* (Mihovilić 1991, 161-162, Fig. 1, 14; Mihovilić 2013, 280). Kombinacija ovdje predloženih fibula ipak potvrđuje višu dataciju privjesaka tipa II kvarnerske, notranjske i viničke regije pa će okolnosti te uže povezanost biti primjerene i za istarske privjeske.

⁷ Građa iz nekropole Vinice čuva se u Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts: za grob 74 vidi: [https://pmem.unix.fas.harvard.edu:8443/peabody/view/objects/aslist/search\\$0040?t:state:flow=78423824-2bbb-4fac-9069-584a6a7006c9-24.09.2017](https://pmem.unix.fas.harvard.edu:8443/peabody/view/objects/aslist/search$0040?t:state:flow=78423824-2bbb-4fac-9069-584a6a7006c9-24.09.2017)). Za pektoralni zoomorfni privjesak vidi: <https://pmem.unix.fas.harvard.edu:8443/peabody/media/view/Objects/98948/161129?t:state:flow=335127e8-4fef-444b-ad5a-0936098ea506-24.09.2017>).

⁸ Drechsler-Bižić 1987, 410, sl. 25, 5; T. XLVII, 8; Marić 1968, 43-45, T. 3, 5, 20-21; T. 4, 2, 5, T. 5, 4; Raunig 2004; Balen-Letunić 2006; Kukoč 2009, 187-189 (s navedenom starijom literaturom). Brončani trokutasto-rešetkasti pektoralni privjesci, poput rešetkastih okova, s vazastim privjescima na lančićima, asocirani s iglama pastirskog tipa, s mlađim fibulama tipa Certosa 12 varijante, orašastim fibulama itd. predstavljaju mlađe varijante pektoralnih privjesaka koje se vremenski mogu uskladiti s 3. - 1. st. pr. Kr. te nisu adekvatne usporedbe s ovdje analiziranim privjescima (Kukoč 2009, sl. 218, 2, sl. 218a, 2, sl. 254, sl. 296; Raunig 2004, T. XX, 7-10).

Apart from the one from Kastav, the pectoral pendant from Vinica was also found in a grave with a fibula of this type, which will once again confirm their close physical and semantic connections (grave 74)⁷. In other words, the type II pectoral pendants were in use at the time of the Certosa X variant fibula fashion, and little more specific, at least in the spatial sense, the Early La Tène zoomorphic fibula in the 5th and 4th centuries BC, possibly even in the 3rd century BC, which was an already proposed dating (Majnarić-Pandžić 1998, 312; Blečić 2002, 110-112; Kukoč 2009, 187-189). Despite this, the type II trapeze pendants were often compared with pieces from the Iapodian Kompolje, Prozor and those from the necropolis of Pounje, with the conviction that they all follow a generic iconographic art scheme. However, their archaeological contexts testify of younger dates as they are found with Middle La Tène fibulae, chronologically set in phases 4 and 5a⁸. Both Istrian pendants were dated in the same way, set in the phase Istra VIa, i.e. in the 3rd century BC, and related to the *strengthening of the Iapodian influence on Histri* (Mihovilić 1991, 161-162, Fig. 1, 14; Mihovilić 2013, 280). Nevertheless, the combination of the fibulae presented here confirms the higher dating for the type II pendants from the Kvarner, Notranjska and Vinica regions, which is why the circumstances of this close connection will be relevant to the Istrian pendants as well.

SOCIAL CONCEPT AND PRAGMATICS OF SYMBOLIC ACTION

Objects, especially decorative ones, play a central role in the mediation of heterogeneous social identities and their

⁷ The material from the necropolis of Vinica is kept in the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts: for grave 74 see: [https://pmem.unix.fas.harvard.edu:8443/peabody/view/objects/aslist/search\\$0040?t:state:flow=78423824-2bbb-4fac-9069-584a6a7006c9-24.09.2017](https://pmem.unix.fas.harvard.edu:8443/peabody/view/objects/aslist/search$0040?t:state:flow=78423824-2bbb-4fac-9069-584a6a7006c9-24.09.2017)). For the pectoral zoomorphic pendant, see:

<https://pmem.unix.fas.harvard.edu:8443/peabody/media/view/Objects/98948/161129?t:state:flow=335127e8-4fef-444b-ad5a-0936098ea506-24.09.2017>).

⁸ Drechsler-Bižić 1987, 410, Fig. 25, 5, T. XLVII, 8; Marić 1968, 43-45, T. 3, 5, 20-21; T. 4, 2, 5, T. 5, 4; Raunig 2004; Balen-Letunić 2006; Kukoč 2009, 187-189 (with the mentioned earlier literature). Bronze triangular lattice pectoral pendants, such as lattice shackles, with vase-like pendants on chains, associated with pastoral-type pins, with younger Certosa type variant 12 fibulae, walnut-shaped fibulae, etc., represent younger variants of pectoral pendants that can be dated to the period from 3rd to 1st century BC, and are not adequate for comparisons with the pendants that are analysed here (Kukoč 2009, Figs. 218, 2; 218a, 2; 254; 296; Raunig 2004, T. XX, 7-10).

DRUŠTVENI KONCEPT I PRAGMATIKA SIMBOLIČKOG DJELOVANJA

Predmeti, pogotovo ukrasni, igraju središnju ulogu u posredovanju heterogenih društvenih identiteta i njihovih razmjera (Robb 2015), a nakit i kićenje, osobito efektnim privjescima, bili su svojevrsna simbolička reprezentacija svijesti, mnijenja, postojanja. Kao mahom luksuzni (i/ili prestižni) predmeti, bili su obilježjem standarda sukladnog vrijednostima društvenog koncepta šireg kulturnog kruga (Stevens 2007; Rebay-Salisbury 2016). Oslikavajući pojedine zajednice ljudi koje su primale te prilagođavale trendove svojim potrebama, shodno vlastitom prepoznatljivom ukusu, obogaćivali su na taj način društvene međuodnose i “projekciju” života koja se realizirala u materijalnoj ostavštini kraja starijeg željeznog doba čitavog prostora *Caput Adriae*.

Pektoralni privjesci u svakom su smislu dobro osmišljeni i umjetnički predstavljeni ukrasni predmeti nošnje. Njihov reducirani likovni izraz, sažet najčešće na znak/symbol, imao je međutim semantički izrazito veliku moć. Trapez, tj. trokut kao antropomorfni simbol, simbol tijela, plošno je ili profilirano predstavljen. Trokut je ili integralni dio ili je izravno povezan s nadmoćnim položajem zatvorenog kruga, koji kao alka za ovjes simbolizira glavu. Razvedenost tijela privjeska rešetkastim ornamentom ili koncentričnim kružnicama uobičajeno se interpretira kao oznaka odjeće. Na bočnim stranama u izravnoj povezanosti s krugom antitetično su postavljene konjske protome u primjeru privjesaka tipa II (sl. 4, 5), tj. životinjske siluete u profilu u primjeru privjesaka tipa Ia (sl. 3). Unatoč tomu što privjescima Ib tipa manjka zoomorfni motiv, zaštićena im je osnovna konkretno povezana semiotička cjelina znakova trokut-krug, tijelo-glava (sl. 2). Tako komprimirani podaci pružali su narativni kôd u čijem je središtu “svijesti” neosporno bio čovjek. Mada im je spol teže odrediti, trapezasto rašireni trokuti interpretirani su kao haljine, čime je stvoren ikoničan amblem žene okružene životinjama (npr. Majnarić-Pandžić 1998, 311-313; Blečić 2002; Blečić 2004; Glogović 2009). Okolnosti nalaženja većine privjesaka iz šireg stilskog ostvarenja navode na pretpostavku da su bili dijelom nošnje u pravilu pripisivane ženskim pokojnicama, što je u odnosu čovjek – predmet samo dodatno učvrstilo postavljenu tezu njihova spolnog tumačenja. Kulturno, rasprostranjenost na užem prostoru sjevernog Jadrana i s njima nedjeljivo povezanog notranjskog, pokupskog i japodskog zaleđa svjedoči o, s jedne strane, njihovoj regionalnoj modi i s druge strane o njihovom mogućem



Sl. 6 Karta rasprostranjenosti rešetkastih privjesaka tipa I ili tipa Kastav (▲) i trapezastih privjesaka s antitetičnim konjskim protomama tipa Grobnik ili tipa II (●).

Fig. 6 Distribution map of the type I (or Kastav type) lattice pendants (▲) and of the type II (or Grobnik type) trapeze pendants with antithetic horse protomes (●).

dimensions (Robb 2015), and jewellery and adornment, especially the eye-catching pendants, were a form of symbolic representation of consciousness, thoughts, and form of existence. As predominantly luxurious (and/or prestigious) items, they marked a standard correspondent to the values of the social concept of a wider cultural circle (Stevens 2007; Rebay-Salisbury 2016). By illustrating the individual communities that took on and adapted trends according to their needs and their own distinctive tastes, they enriched the social interrelations and the “projection” of life that was being realised in the material legacy of the end of the Early Iron Age of the entire *Caput Adriae* area.

Pectoral pendants are, in every sense, well-designed and artistically presented decorative attire items. Their concise artistic expression, usually reduced to a sign/symbol, was, however, extremely powerful in the semantic sense. Trapeze, i.e. triangle as an anthropomorphic symbol, symbol of a body, is presented either as an entirely flat or as a slightly moulded element. The triangle is either an integral part or it is directly connected to the superior position of the closed circle, which is a suspension ring that symbolises the head. Patterns on the pendant body such as the lattice ornament or concentric circles are commonly interpreted as a representation of clothing. On the lateral sides, directly connected to the circle, there are antithetically placed horse protomes (the example

optoku kao korespondentu između pojedinih društava čija je kognitivna, apstraktna i simbolička komunikacija bila ista ili vrlo slična, u svakom primjeru razumljiva (Stevens 2007) (sl. 6). No, materijalna kultura, za razliku od izgovorene riječi, posjeduje attribute poput trajnosti i rijetkosti, koji mogu biti manipulirani za određene društvene prednosti (Preucel 2006).

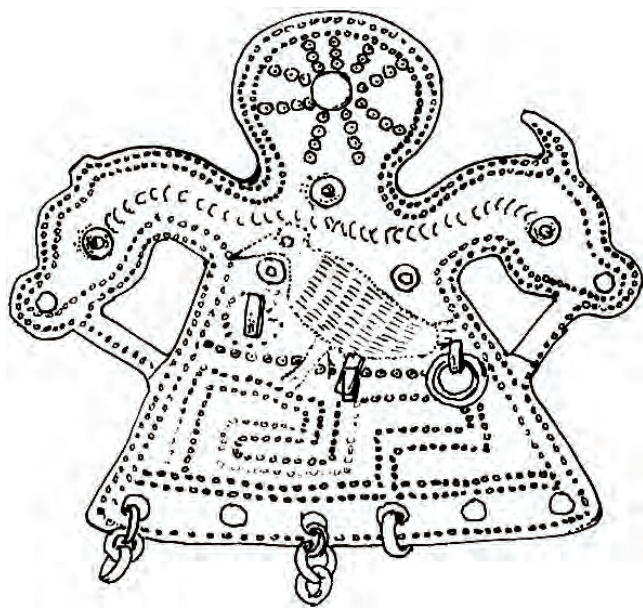
Optjecanje dobara i ideja, vrlo živo i postojano kod željeznodobnog stanovništva, nije stoga bilo isključivo materijalnog karaktera. Uz njega se povezuje i značajan optok ljudi, ponajprije u prenošenju određenih znanja i vještina, tradicija i svjetonazora, no još i više u uređivanju međusobnih prijateljskih i diplomatskih odnosa, u konačnici uobičajeno okrunjenih savezništvima i time prednostima. U tim je procesima značajnu ulogu imala upravo žena (Teržan 2004; Rebay-Salisbury 2016). Priženjena u drugu zajednicu, bila je jamcem uspostavljenog vojno-političkog i kulturnog mira, prosperiteta, pa grobnički privjesak tipa II s reprezentativnom zoomorfnom fibulom (sl. 4, 1; 5, 5) može sugerirati na odabranu i/ili možda pridošlu ženu, ali svakako na onu s istaknutom ulogom u svom društvenom okruženju. U takav se *scenarij* može uklopiti i privjesak iz Aquileije, koji je mogao obilježavati pridošlu, tj. ženu s prostora sjevernog Kvarnera i/ili Pokuplja koja se udala u Furlaniju, gdje takvi amblemi nisu bili uobičajeni u ženskoj nošnji. Ujedno, važni i izuzetni predmeti bili su podložni obiteljskom ili društvenom baštinjenju pa su, simbolički i ritualno, deponirani u kontekst kojim je njihova kulturna i društvena biografija bila još više apostrofirana.

Nemali broj istraživača koji su se u znanstvenom diskursu, posredno ili neposredno, bavili ovom tematikom smatra da su oni nastali pod izrazitim utjecajem japodske umjetnosti ili obrtništva, s obzirom da su antitetično postavljene konjske glavice imale posebno značenje u njihovoj zoomorfnoj umjetnosti (Gabrovec 1966, 185-186; Stipčević 1981, 59-65; Glogović 1989, 44-45; Božić 1999, 176; Glogović 2009; Kukoč 2009, 189, 192). Na kastavskom, grobničkom i viničkom, kao i na pektoralnim privjescima iz Kringe i Aquileije (sl. 5, 1-4, 6-7) očituje se, međutim, samosvojna komponenta i prepoznatljiv lokalni način izradbe. Semantički, antropomorfizam se razvija na tradicijama, ali je potpuno nov u konceptualnoj ikonografiji (Majnarić-Pandžić 1998, 311-313) pa prikazivanje žene koja se posredno ističe kao *potnia theon* doživljava apstraktnu stiliziranu predstavu svojstvenu tom širem kulturno-zemljopisnom prostoru (Blečić Kavur 2010, 324).

Figura konjske glavice definitivno je postignuta na pektoralnim privjescima tipa II, shvaćena i kao *potnia*

of the type II pendants (Fig. 4, 5), i.e. animal silhouettes in profile (the example of the type Ia pendants) (Fig. 3). Despite the fact that the type Ib pendants do not feature a zoomorphic motif, their fundamental, specifically connected semiotic unit of symbols (triangle-circle and body-head) remains intact. Data compressed in this manner provided a narrative code with human being in the centre of its "consciousness". Although it is difficult to determine their gender, the triangles laid out in a trapeze form are interpreted as dresses, which creates the iconic emblem of a woman surrounded by animals (e.g. Majnarić-Pandžić 1998, 311-313; Blečić 2002; Blečić 2004; Glogović 2009). Circumstances of the discovery of the majority of pendants from the wider stylistic circle point to the presumption that they formed part of the attire generally attributed to female deceased, which has, within the relationship man - object, only further reinforced the established thesis on the interpretation of their gender. Culturally speaking, their distribution in the intrinsically connected areas of north Adriatic region and the hinterland of Notranjska, Kupa/Kolpa region, and Iapodes testifies of their regional fashion as well as of the possibility of them circulating as a correspondent between individual societies whose cognitive, abstract and symbolic communication was the same or very similar, in every example understandable (Stevens 2007) (Fig. 6). However, the material culture, unlike the spoken word, possesses attributes such as durability and rarity, which can be manipulated for certain social benefits (Preucel 2006).

The circulation of goods and ideas, very lively and persistent within the Iron Age population, was not exclusively material in character. A significant circulation of people is linked to it, primarily in terms of transferring certain knowledge and skills, traditions and worldviews, but even more in the regulation of mutual friendly and diplomatic relations, which ultimately usually resulted in alliances and benefits. Significant role in these processes belonged precisely to women (Teržan 2004; Rebay-Salisbury 2016). Married into another community, they were a guarantee of the established military-political and cultural peace and prosperity, which is why the type II Grobnik pendant, with the representative zoomorphic fibula (Figs. 4, 1; 5, 5), may refer to a chosen and/or perhaps a newly arrived woman, but definitely one with a prominent role in her social environment. Such *scenario* may as well include the pendant from Aquileia, which might have referred to a newcomer, i.e. a woman from the area of north Kvarner and/or Kupa/Kolpa region who married into Furlania, where such emblems were not common in the women's attire. In addition, the important and exquisite objects were subject to family or



Sl. 7 Trapezasti privjesak iz Sanzena (prema Marzatico 2011).
Fig. 7 Trapeze pendant from Sanzeno (after Marzatico 2011).

hippon (Glogović 2009; usp. Kukoč 2009, 195–197) (sl. 4, 6), dok je na privjescima I tipa zapravo upitna i najvjerojatnije ju u istome znaku zamjenjuje figura psa (Blečić Kavur 2010, 326–327) (sl. 3). Ikonografski, konj se najčešće tumači kao ktoničko božanstvo iz univerzalnog podzemnog svijeta mrtvih, povezano uz lunarnu simboliku (Werness 2006, 220–222). U nebeskom i astralnom miljeu asociiran je sa Suncem, u umjetnosti tretiran kao Apolonov atribut (Stipčević 1981, 63; Bevan 1986, 194–215; Chevalier, Gheerbrant 1994, 270–277; Kukoč 2009, 189–192). Naši privjesci tipa II mogu se povezati uz ovaj zemaljski, tj. nebeski svijet gdje vlada Sunce i Apolon, budući da su na njima u čak pet primjeraka konkretno dočarani i solarni anagramski znakovi poput koncentričnih kružnica (sl. 5, 1–4, 6–7).

Simbolički tako konj interpretira, kao što i sublimira, oba pola kozmosa po principima solarne simbolike specifičnog kulturnog individualizma autohtonih i posebno sredozemnih tradicija (Kukoč 2003, 244–246). Taj se utjecaj, pogotovo egejske i italske umjetnosti, artikulira nakon osnivanja grčkih kolonija na Jadranu te jačanjem posredničkog povezivanja (Kukoč 2003, 248–249; Kukoč 2009, 157–158). Prikladno je zato povezati i značenje samih fibula u obliku konjića, koje se iz Italije prenose prema *Sjeveru*, u direktnoj povezanosti Sicilija – Este. Obilježavajući istaknute ženske ili djevojačke

social inheritance and therefore they were, symbolically and ritually deposited in a context where their cultural and social biography was emphasised even more.

Considerable number of scholars who have dealt with this theme in the scientific discourse, whether directly or indirectly, consider that they were produced under strong influence of Iapodian art or crafts, since the antithetic horseheads had particular significance in their zoomorphic art (Gabrovec 1966, 185–186; Stipčević 1981, 59–65; Glogović 1989, 44–45; Božić 1999, 176; Glogović 2009; Kukoč 2009, 189, 192). The pendants from Kastav, Grobnik, and Vinica, as well as the pectoral pendants from Kringa and Aquileia (Figs. 5, 1–4, 6–7), contain a distinctive component and reveal themselves as products of a recognisable local manufacturing method. Semantically speaking, the anthropomorphism develops through traditions but it is an entirely new concept in the conceptual iconography (Majnarić-Pandžić 1998, 311–313), which is why the representation of a woman that indirectly reveals herself as *potnia theon* results in an abstract stylized depiction, inherent to this wider cultural-geographical area (Blečić Kavur 2010, 324).

The type II pectoral pendants definitely feature the horsehead figure that can also be understood as *potnia hippon* (Glogović 2009; cf. Kukoč 2009, 195–197) (Fig. 4, 6), while on the type I pendants it is in fact questionable, and it is most likely that it is replaced, in the same symbol, by a figure of a dog (Blečić Kavur 2010, 326–327) (Fig. 3). Iconographically speaking, the horse is most often interpreted as a chthonic deity from the universal underground world of the dead, associated with lunar symbolism (Werness 2006, 220–222). In the heavenly and astral setting, it is associated with the Sun, and in art it is considered as Apollo's attribute (Stipčević 1981, 63; Bevan 1986, 194–215; Chevalier, Gheerbrant 1994, 270–277; Kukoč 2009, 189–192). Our type II pendants can be linked to this earthly, i.e. celestial world ruled by the Sun and Apollo, since as many as five pieces feature solar anagrams in the form of concentric circles (Figs. 5, 1–4, 6–7).

The horse symbolically interprets and sublimates both halves of the cosmos, following the principles of solar symbolism inherent to specific cultural individualism of the autochthonous and, especially Mediterranean traditions (Kukoč 2003, 244–246). This influence (of Aegean and Italic art especially) articulates itself after the founding of Greek colonies in the Adriatic and the strengthening of trading connections (Kukoč 2003, 248–249; Kukoč 2009, 157–158). The meaning of the horse-shaped fibulae which were transported from Italy to the



Sl. 8 Brončani disk iz Montebellune s prikazom božice Reitije između psa i ptice (prema Gambacurta, Capuis 1998).

Fig. 8 Bronze disc from Montebelluna with a depiction of the goddess Reitia between a dog and a bird (after Gambacurta, Capuis 1998).

grobove, u koje su položene žene iz jasno privilegiranih, vladajućih ili najviših slojeva njihovih zajednica ili klanova, neizostavna je i česta njihova povezanost s religioznim (Metzner–Nebelsick 2007, 725). Time bi i pektoralne privjeske i zoomorfnu fibulu iz Grobnika, izrazitog likovnog koncepta mogli povezati uz tzv. *Penelopin princip* C. Metzner–Nebelsick (2007, 708–710), odnosno njihove nositeljice asociirati uz gospodarice doma i tkanja, posredno oblasti ne samo u kući, već i u zajednici, bilo profanog, bilo spiritualnog karaktera. Ali, može li se u semiotičkom poimanju doista u prikazu grobničke fibule spoznavati konja, morskog konjića, kako se često interpretiraju, ili neku drugu životinju, poput psa? To ostaje zagonetkom, kao što zagonetkom ostaje i spolno određenje samog privjeska, koji nas u poblizjoj interpretaciji njihove simboličke vrijednosti, upravo kao i pri analiziranju pojedinih podataka o njihovim nositeljima, i nadalje čini prikraćenima.

Privjescima tipa II (sl. 5) dijelom su formom, dijelom ikonografski slični, iako ne i istovjetni, antropomorfni pektoralni privjesci iz alpskog prostora Reta. Poznati u većem broju, uglavnom potječu iz svetišta npr. iz Sanzena i Mechla (sl. 7). Znanstvenici koji su se posvetili njihovoj analizi, premda različitih interpretacija, suglasni su oko simboličko-semantičke poruke; riječ je o *potnii theron* neosporno sredozemnog podrijetla (npr. Egg 1986; Burkert 1990: 120–121; Gleirscher 2002, 616; Marzatico

North in the direct connection between Sicily and Este is also relevant here. The marking of important women's or girls' graves, belonging to the women from clearly privileged, ruling, or highest layers of their communities or clans, reveals their inevitable and frequent connection with the religious (Metzner–Nebelsick 2007, 725). With this in mind, the pectoral pendants as well as the zoomorphic fibula from Grobnik could be linked to the so-called *Penelope's Principle*, as introduced by C. Metzner–Nebelsick (2007, 708–710), i.e. their carriers could be associated with mistresses of house and weaving, not only in the home environment but in the community as well – profane or spiritual. However, when looking through the lens of semiotic understanding, could the depiction on the Grobnik fibula represent a horse or a sea horse, as it is often interpreted, or some other animal, such as a dog? This, as well as the gender determination of the pendant itself, remains a mystery whose solution is still denied to us – both in terms of more detailed interpretation of their symbolic value and analysing the individual information on their carriers.

Partly in form and partly iconographically, the type II pendants (Fig. 5) are similar, though not identical, to the anthropomorphic pectoral pendants from the Alpine Rhaetian area. A large number of them is known, and they mostly originate from sanctuaries, e.g. from Sanzeno and Mechl (Fig. 7). Scientists who devoted themselves to their analysis, although they offer different interpretations, agree on the symbolic-semantic message; it is a *potnia theron* of, indisputably, Mediterranean origin (e.g. Egg 1986; Burkert 1990, 120–121; Gleirscher 2002, 616; Marzatico 2002, 151, Abb. 20; Marzatico 2004; Metzner–Nebelsick 2007, 724–725; Marzatico 2012; Glogović 2009; Kukoč 2009; Chausidis 2017). Made exclusively of bronze sheet, with a triangular body and small pendants attached to it, they also have applied human heads or incised bird-like ornaments on the body. It is important to point out that their arms would end in the form of a bird, a horse, but also a dog (Fig. 7)! That is why they are attributed with trimorphic character, probably dedicated to the goddess Reitia, who is compared to Hecate, the keymistress of death and resurrection, fertility, etc. (Ciurletti 1992, 32; Gambacurta, Capuis 1998, 113–118; Teržan 2004, 225–226; cf. Koch 2012, 12–13; Marzatico 2012, 320–322) (Fig. 8). It was considered that the inspiration for this came from a distant iconological concept that originated in Asia Minor, and transferred to the Apennine area during the 7th century BC (Egg 1986, 74; Barclay 2001, 373–378; Marzatico 2011, 330–331), and was impressively popular in the art expression of Etruria and Piceni. From there it was imported to north Italy and south-alpine area,

2002, 151, Abb. 20; Marzatico 2004; Metzner-Nebelsick 2007, 724-725; Marzatico 2012; usp. Glogović 2009; Kukoč 2009; Chausidis 2017). Izrađeni isključivo od brončanog lima, trokutastog tijela s pridodanim manjim privjescima, imaju međutim i aplicirane ljudske glave na tijelu ili urezane ukrase nalik ptici. Relevantno je istaknuti da su na njima izvučene ruke završavale u obliku ptice, konja, ali i psa (sl. 7)! Zato im se pridaje trimorfni značaj, vjerojatno posvećen božici Reitiji, koja se uspoređuje s Hekatom, ključaricom smrti i ponovnog rađanja, plodnosti, itd. (Ciurletti 1992, 32; Gambacurta, Capuis 1998, 113-118; Teržan 2004, 225-226; usp. Koch 2012, 12-13; Marzatico 2012, 320-322) (sl. 8). Inspiracija im je objašnjavana dalekim ikonološkim konceptom maloazijskog podrijetla koji se tijekom 7. st. pr. Kr. prenio na prostor Apenina (Egg 1986, 74; Barclay 2001, 373-378; Marzatico 2011, 330-331) dojmljivo popularan u umjetničkom izričaju Etrurije i Picena. Odatle je importiran do sjeverne Italije i južnoalpskog prostora, gdje je adaptiran i omiljen od 6. pa do 4. st. pr. Kr. (Guggisberg, Stöllner 1996, 141-144; von Hase 2002, 171-181; Gleirscher 2002, 616-617; Marzatico 2002, 151).

U istom kulturnom i vremenski podudarnom miljeu moglo bi se slijediti i usvajanje simboličkog obrasca na sjevernome Jadranu, gdje je etruščanski i posebno picenski utjecaj bio trajan i izrazit. Prikazivanje združenih pasa na privjescima varijante Ia (sl. 3) bit će stoga uvjerljiva interpretacija, koja neće ni oblikovno niti semantički odudarati od kanona uvriježenog kod prikazivanja konja, odnosno od preuzimanja kodificirane institucije ktoničkog atributa Artemide - Hekate (Bevan 1986, 116-117, 119-126; Lefkowitz 2007, 19-22). Već sasvim skladno apstrahirani prikazi psa i/ili pasa svjedočit će o onoj zaštitničkoj ulozi božanskog rađanja i ponovnog rođenja, kurotrofa, koja je ambivalentno pripisivana Hekati, i poput konja bit će obilježjem statusa ili pratioca aristokracije u različitim manifestacijama navedenog razdoblja (Gambari, Tecchiati 2004, 235-239; Kmeťová 2005 usp. Metzner-Nebelsick, Nebelsick 1999, 95-98; Rebay-Salisbury 2016, 186, 208). Zoomorfna fibula nadovezat će nas nadalje i na keltsku umjetnost, u čijem je ikonografskom bestijariju konj, baš kao i pas, vrlo uobičajen tijekom svih razdoblja. Kao životinje iz svakodnevnog života imale su i izuzetno mitski status koji je, poput delfina ili sfingi, preuzet upravo iz klasičnog svijeta (Megaw, Megaw 2001, 21).

U mnogim kognitivnim projekcijama žensko tijelo i njegova reprezentacija bili su privlačni kao medij individualnog (osobnog) i/ili kolektivnog značenja, u

where it was adapted and remained popular from the 6th to the 4th century BC (Guggisberg, Stöllner 1996, 141-144; von Hase 2002, 171-181; Gleirscher 2002, 616-617; Marzatico 2002, 151).

In the same period and cultural environment, the adoption of the symbolic pattern could be followed throughout the north Adriatic, where the Etruscan and especially Picenian influences were persistent and strong. Therefore, the depiction of conjoint dogs on variant Ia pendants (Fig. 3) will be a believable interpretation, which will, neither in form nor semantically, differ from the usual canon used in horse depictions, or from the assumption of the codified institution of the chthonic attribute of Artemis - Hecate (Bevan 1986, 116-117, 119-126; Lefkowitz 2007, 19-22). The harmoniously abstract depictions of the dog and/or dogs will testify of that protective role of divine birth and re-birth, the role of kurotrophos, which was ambivalently attributed to Hecate, and, just like the horse, represent a status mark or an accompaniment of the aristocracy during various events of that period (Gambari, Tecchiati 2004, 235-239; Kmeťová 2005, cf. Metzner-Nebelsick, Nebelsick 1999, 95-98; Rebay-Salisbury 2016, 186, 208). The zoomorphic fibula also points towards Celtic art where, within its iconographic bestiary, both horse and dog are very common throughout all periods. As animals from everyday life, they also enjoyed an exceptional mythical status that, like that of dolphins or sphinxes, comes from the classical world (Megaw, Megaw 2001, 21).

Within many cognitive projections, the female body and its representation were attractive as a medium of individual (personal) and/or collective meaning, in the dynamics of this and the otherworldly life cycles alike. The form of reduced body schematism, within the canon of unified corporality, was interpreted for the purpose of emphasising key symbols (Robb 2009). Therefore, if we agree that the jewellery with such features had an objective status in social relations, and that its symbolic activity in pragmatic use represented a woman, then the woman (in terms of gender, i.e. the cultural phenomenon) who was in possession of and/or wore the respective decoration had a superior position within the social structure. Pectoral jewellery, the anthropomorphic and the hybridized, was generally regarded as a symbol of wealth, and within the Hellenic mythological symbolism it was worn by the classic *potniae theon* (Hera, Artemis, or Aphrodite) (Bevan 1986, 206-209, 214-215; Lefkowitz 2007, 19-21, 178; Kukoč 2009, 161; cf. Teržan 2004). As amulets, talismans, or good luck charms, they mediated between the present and the past, shaping identities with their physical and metaphysical circulation. However, signs

dinamici ovog, baš kao i onostranog životnog ciklusa. Forma reduciranog shematizma tijela, u kanonu ujednačenja tjelesnosti, interpretirana je u svrhu isticanja ključnih simbola (Robb 2009). Složimo li se stoga da je nakit takvih obilježja u društvenim odnosima imao objektivni status, a da je njegovo simboličko djelovanje u pragmatičkoj uporabi predstavljalo ženu, tada je žena u smislu roda, tj. kulturnog fenomena posjedujući i/ili noseći dotičan ukras imala superioran položaj unutar društvene strukture. Pektoralni nakit, antropomorfn i hibridizirani, i inače je smatran simbolom obilja, a u helenskoj mitološkoj simbolici nosile su ga klasične *potnie theron* (Hera, Artemida ili Afrodita) (Bevan 1986, 206-209; 214-215; Lefkowitz 2007, 19-21, 178; Kukoč 2009, 161; usp. Teržan 2004). Kao amuleti, talismani ili amajlije posredovali su između sadašnjosti i prošlosti, oblikujući identitete svojim fizičkim i metafizičkim optokom. Međutim, znakovi i simboli imaju sposobnost generiranja drugih znakova i ne djeluju samo u predstavljanju društvene stvarnosti, već u njoj stvaraju promjene (Robb 1998; Preucel 2006). Alternacijom znakova, tj. zoomorfnih motiva upravo privjesci tipa I tomu neposredno svjedoče, ne odričući se pritom simboličke metafore koja teži isticanju, značenju ili zaštiti, ciklusu obnavljanja, inkarnacije, vitalnosti. Svojim tjelesnim identitetom, bez obzira što se spol ne može decidirano potvrditi, privjesci su mogli simbolizirati žene kao gospodarice doma, obiteljskog ognjišta, ali i djevojke koje su inicirane u krug odraslih žena u najrazličitijem repertoaru ritualno-magijskog (šamanskog) ili svakodnevnog, stvarnog (hijerarhičnog) uvjerenja. A, fatalna uloga željeznodobnih žena, obiteljski u užem smislu i zajednici u širem smislu, bila je upravo kreiranje i učenje generacija ne bi li osigurala opstanak obitelji, klana, statusa, zajednice, društva – nas!⁹

and symbols have the ability to generate other symbols, and do not only act in the representation of social reality, but they create changes in it (Robb 1998; Preucel 2006). The type I pendants directly testify of this by altering the symbols, i.e. zoomorphic motifs, without renouncing the symbolic metaphor that aims for importance, meaning, or protection, the cycle of renewal, incarnation, vitality. With their physical identity, regardless of the fact that the gender cannot be definitely determined, the pendants could have symbolised women as mistresses of the house and family home, but also girls who were initiated into the circle of adult women within the most diverse repertoire of ritual-magical (shamanic) or the everyday, real (hierarchical) beliefs. And, the fatal role of the Iron Age women, in the family in a narrow sense and in the community in a wider sense, was precisely to create and teach new generations in order to ensure the survival of the family, the clan, the status, the community, the society – us!⁹

⁹ Studija je nastala u sklopu nacionalnog projekta "Skupnosti mrtvih, družbe živih. Pozna bronasta doba vzhodne Slovenije (J6-9363)" koji je sufinancirala Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije iz državnog proračuna. Crteže su izradili Miljenko Gregl i Miljenka Galić, fotografije Filip Beusan i autorica, koja ujedno potpisuje grafiku i kartografiju.

⁹ The study was carried out as a part of the national project "Communities of the Dead, Societies of the Living. Late Bronze Age of Eastern Slovenia (J6-9363)", co-funded by the Slovenian Research Agency from the state budget. The drawings were made by Miljenko Gregl and Miljenka Galić, and photographs were made by Filip Beusan and the author, who also produced the graphics and the cartography.

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