

**KONCEPT SUNČEVA KRAJOLIKA:
PRILOG IKONOGRAFIJI I SIMBOLICI AUTOHTONOG GE-
OMETRIJSKOG SLIKARSTVA NA KERAMICI JUŽNE ITALI-
JE IZ 12./11. – 4./3. ST. PR. KR.¹**

**THE CONCEPT OF SOLAR LANDSCAPE: A CONTRIBUTION
TO ICONOGRAPHY AND SYMBOLICS OF AUTOCHTONOUS
GEOMETRIC PAINTING ON THE POTTERY OF SOUTHERN
ITALY FROM THE 12TH/11TH – 4TH/3RD CENTURIES BC¹**

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KLJUČNE RIJEČI:

*trokut a tenda,
simbolika, Sunčev uspon,
Nebo, solarni krajolik,
ikonografija*

U radu se dokazuje simbolična, solarna struktura likovnih kompozicija na keramičkim posudama: iz Sale Consiline (Kampanija) i iz groba III iz S. Marije d'Anglone (Basilikata). Obje su nastale u srednjem geometrijskom likovnom izrazu (Geometrico Medio, a tenda: zadnja desetljeća 9. st. pr. Kr. i prva polovina 8. st. pr. Kr.) u kompleksu geometrijski oslikane keramike (matt-painted) iz južne Italije. Kompozicije su nazvane solarnim krajolicima jer govorom „apstraktne naracije“, u smisljenoj kompozicijskoj igri (priči) simboličnih horizontala i vertikalna te u pratnji tipičnih solarnih simbola, oslikavaju ključne Sunčeve činove: uspon na obzoru, njegovo obožavanje/stovanje te djelovanje

¹ Godine 1972. prof. Šime Batović priredio je u Arheološkom muzeju u Zadru prvu veliku izložbu o apulskoj keramici na istočnom Jadranu. Mi, njegovi tadašnji studenti, pomažući pri postavi, prvi put smo izravno doživjeli ovu osebnju keramiku, uvelike prisutnu i u životu Liburna i Histra. Bilo je to povodom međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa o protopovijesti na Jadranu (Dubrovnik – Zadar, 1972), a u okviru Hrvatsko-talijanskog komiteta za arheološka istraživanja Jadrana te povodom IX. kongresa arheologa Jugoslavije u Zadru iste godine.

¹ In the year 1972 professor Šime Batović organized the first big exhibition of the Apulian pottery in the eastern Adriatic in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar. We as his students at the time participated in setting up the exhibition which was our first encounter with this unique pottery, so largely present in life of the Liburnians and Histrians. It was at the international scientific conference about protohistory on the Adriatic (Dubrovnik – Zadar, 1972), within the Croatian-Italian committee for the archaeological research of the Adriatic, on the occasion of the Ninth Congress of the Archaeologists of Yugoslavia in Zadar.

na donje sfere – zemne, podzemne (?). Pri tome, glavni motiv – konkavni trokut a tenda („u obliku šatora“) simbolizira podizanje iz nebeskih voda moćne Sunčeve energije na obzoru. To je semantičko izvoriste sveukupnog likovnog izraza a tenda s njegovim brojnim inačicama. Unatoč regionalnim posebnostima autohtonog slikarstva na keramici južne Italije, u kojemu se stoljećima izmjenjivalo simbolično i dekorativno, zaključuje se da je likovni koncept solarnog krajolika, s trokutom a tenda ili bez njega, bio njegova važna ikonografsko-stilska i semantička komponenta koja je ponikla u religiji.

KEY WORDS:

triangle a tenda, symbolism, the Sun's rise, the Sky, solar landscape, iconography

The paper offers a discussion on symbolical, solar structure of compositions on ceramic vessels from Sala Consilina (Campania) and from grave III from S. Maria d' Anglone (Basilicata). They were both made in the Middle Geometric expression (Geometrico Medio, a tenda: last decades of the 9th cent. BC and the first half of the 8th cent. BC) in the complex of matt-painted pottery with geometrical motifs from southern Italy. The compositions were named solar landscapes because in the language of "abstract narration" in a meaningful compositional game (story) of symbolical horizontals and verticals accompanied by typical solar symbols, they depict crucial movements of the Sun: rise on the horizon, its worship and impact on lower spheres: earthly, chthonic (?). Thereby the main motif – concave a tenda ("tent-shaped") triangle symbolizes rising of mighty Sun energy on the horizon from celestial waters. This is a semantical origin of the entire a tenda expression with its many variants. Despite regional particularities of autochthonous painting on pottery of southern Italy, where the symbolical and the decorative have alternated for years, we can conclude that artistic concept of solar landscape, with a tenda triangle or without it, was its important iconographic, stylistic and semantical component that was born from religion.

U središtu rada je ikonografsko-semantička interpretacija dviju likovnih kompozicija (Sl. 1, 25a). Ona počinje isključivo vizualnim (intuitivnim) „opisivanjem“: prepoznavanjem i definiranjem svih motiva i njihovih kompozicijskih međuodnosa (kombinacija), dakle, počinje postupkom „predikonografske deskripcije ili identifikacije“.² Nakon uočavanja formalnih elemenata koji spadaju u kategoriju „faktualnih“, tj. „primarnih ili prirodnih značenja“,³ slijedi prepoznavanje teme (priče), što je cilj „prave ikonografske analize“.⁴ Ona je pak preduvjet konačnog cilja – semantičke interpretacije tj. traženja smisla (ideja, poruka) u cjelini uočene priče.

Kako je očito da se dvije kompozicije (Sl. 1, 25a) u mnogo čemu podudaraju ne samo međusobno, već i s mnogim drugima, no likovno sažetijima i apstraktnijima u kompleksu geometrijski oslikane keramike iz južne Italije iz 12./11 – 4./3. st. pr. Kr. (dalje: keramika GOJI),⁵ neizbježne su bile i neke šire ikonografsko-semantičke usporedbe s ovim višestoljetnim izrađevinama te s ponekima iz drugih prapovijesnih europskih sredina. Usporedbe su ipak korištene u ograničenom broju. Ali, sveobuhvatna analiza, odnosno sinteza semantičkih vidova keramike GOJI, zahtijeva vrlo širok komparativni zahvat.

Složena kompozicija na posudi (Sl. 1) iz Sale Consiline, velike nekropole *villanova* vrste u Salerno, u dolini rijeke Diane u Kampaniji, sigurno je jedna od ikonografski i semantički najizazovnijih u sveukupnom kompleksu keramike GOJI. Nacrtna je u srednje geometrijskom likovnom izrazu (*Geometrico Medio*,

Focus of the work is iconographic and semantical interpretation of two compositions (Fig. 1, 25A). It starts with purely visual (intuitive) “description”: recognition and definition of all motifs and their compositional interrelations (combinations), hence with a procedure of “pre-iconographic description or identification”.² After noticing formal elements that belong to the category of “factual”, or “primary or natural meanings”,³ subject (story) is recognized which is the aim of a proper iconographic analysis.⁴ On the other hand it is the precondition of the final aim – semantical interpretation: searching for meaning (ideas, messages) within the completeness of the recognized story.

Since it is evident that two compositions (Fig. 1, 25A) correspond in many ways not only mutually but also with many others, though visually more lapidary and more abstract in the complex of geometrically painted pottery of southern Italy from the 12th/11th – 4th/3rd centuries BC (henceforth GPSI),⁵ it was difficult to avoid some wider iconographical and semantical comparisons with these multi-centennial artifacts and also some from other pre-historical European environments. However we used a limited number of comparisons. Comprehensive analysis or synthesis of semantical aspects of the GPSI pottery demands a very wide-reaching comparative approach.

A complex composition on a vessel (Fig. 1) from Sala Consilina, a big *Villanovan* necropolis in Salerno, in the Diana river valley in Campania is definitely one of the most challenging examples in terms of iconography and semantics in the entire complex of the GPSI. It was drawn in the Middle Geometric artistic

² E. PANOFSKY, 1971, 21, 24-25.

³ E. PANOFSKY, 1971, 19-21.

⁴ E. PANOFSKY, 1971, 23-26.

⁵ U radu je korištena tradicionalna, a ne visoka apsolutna kronologija za željezno doba na Apeninskom poluotoku (R. PERONI, 1994; R. PERONI, 2004, 408 i drugi), koja je kod jednog dijela autora u upotrebi i za keramiku GOJI, i to ponajprije onu enotrijsku. O tome: M. KLEIBRINK, L. BARRESI, M. FASANELLA MASCI, 2012, 3, bilj. 3-4, 8; F. FERRANTI, 2009, 48, sl. 4 (kronološka tabla glavnih nalazišta geometrijski oslikane keramike južne Italije iz željeznog doba I).

² E. PANOFSKY, 1971, 21, 24-25.

³ E. PANOFSKY, 1971, 19-21.

⁴ E. PANOFSKY, 1971, 23-26.

⁵ In the paper we used traditional and not high chronology for the Iron Age on the Apennine Peninsula (R. PERONI, 1994; 2004, 408 and other), that is also used for the GPSI pottery, primarily Enotrian by some authors. More on this: M. KLEIBRINK, L. BARRESI, M. FASANELLA MASCI, 2012, 3, notes. 3-4, 8; F. FERRANTI, 2009, 48, fig. 4 (chronological table of the main sites of the geometrically painted pottery of southern Italy from the Iron Age I).

a tenda) koji se u i u novijoj literaturi različito datira i naziva, od *West-Lucanian Middle Geometric*, 775. – 725. g. pr. Kr.,⁶ do *Geometrico Enotrio: a tenda*⁷ te *Enotrio-Geometrico Medio (a tenda)*.⁸ Uz uvažavanje regionalnih kronoloških osobitosti keramike GOJI, u ovome radu⁹ njezina srednjegeometrijska faza (*Geometrico Medio*) globalno se datira između zadnjih desetljeća 9. st. pr. Kr. do, otprilike, sredine 8. st. pr. Kr., ili nešto kasnije.¹⁰ Rana pak geometrijska keramika (*Geometrico Antico*), dakako, pripada ranijim desetljećima 9.

expression (*Geometrico Medio, a tenda*) that is given different titles and dates in the recent literature, such as *West-Lucanian Middle Geometric*, 775-725 BC⁶ to *Geometrico Enotrio: a tenda*⁷ and *Enotrio-Geometrico Medio (a tenda)*.⁸ Acknowledging regional chronological particularities of the GPSI pottery, in this paper⁹ its Middle Geometric phase (*Geometrico Medio*) is dated globally between the last decades of the 9th century BC to roughly 8th cent. BC or somewhat later.¹⁰ The Early Geometric pottery

⁶ D. YNTEMA, 1985, 112, 116, 124, sl. 97.

⁷ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1997, 21.

⁸ F. FERRANTI, 2009, 51-53, sl. 2, 6.

⁹ Za označavanje slikarstva dviju velikih cjelina u kompleksu keramike GOJI ovdje se koristi termin „enotrijski“ (Kampanija, Basilikata, Kalabrija), a zatim „daunski“ za sjevernu Apuliju, odnosno, sintagma „sjevernoapulska keramika“, i napokon, „južnoapulska“ (mesapska, peucetska) za keramiku južne Apulije. I u ovome radu nije bilo moguće dosljedno se držati jednog jedinog kriterija u odabiru osnovnog nazivlja i time povremeno izbjeći neke termine i sintagme („japiški“, „salentinski“, Bradano područje i druge) odavno unijete u literaturu. Ona sadrži terminološka nesuglasja jer se još i danas ista regionalna/mjesna pojava u kompleksu keramike GOJI kod različitih autora različito označava, pa i shvaća: s recentnog administrativno-zemljopisnog aspekta, zatim kulturno-etničkog ili pak čisto likovnog (stilskog). Optimalni kriterij za označavanje odnosa dijelova/regija i cjeline ovoga keramičkog kompleksa sigurno je onaj likovni (kulturni, uključujući i sam proizvodni/radionički), ali tome ne pogoduju činjenice da ne postoji sustavna istraženost relevantnog kulturnog prostora i da, zbog objektivne prostorno-vremenske opsežnosti keramike GOJI, ni u najnovije doba ona nije ikonografsko-stilski (i semantički) integralno analizirana kao velika i složena, no istovremeno homogena, cjelina za sebe.

¹⁰ Na osnovi novih kalibriranih ¹⁴C podataka, no koji variraju, smatra se (uopćeno) da srednje geometrijsko razdoblje (*Geometrico Medio*) u enotrijskom slikarskom krugu (Kampanija, Basilikata, Kalabrija) traje od zadnjih desetljeća, dakle, od kraja 9. st. pr. Kr. i u prvoj polovini 8. st. pr. Kr. (M. KLEIBRINK, L. BARRESI, M. FASANELLA MASCI, 2012, 4, bilj. 8). To bitno ne odstupa od D. Yntema's kronologije za slikarstvo *Geometrico Medio* u južnoj Italiji između kasnog 9. st. pr. Kr. (ili oko 800. g. pr. Kr.) do 750./740. g. pr. Kr., odnosno, do zadnje četvrtine 8. st. pr. Kr.: D. YNTEMA, 1985, 320-321. U to se uglavnom uklapa i datiranje *Geometrico Medio* u Dauniji i *Geometrico Medio Messapico* u južnoj Apuliji tijekom prve polovine 8. st. pr. Kr.: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1997, 21, 29-30. No, u skladu s visokom apsolutnom kronologijom (R. PERONI, 1994; R. PERONI, 2004) za Apeninski poluotok, srednje geometrijsko razdoblje smješta se ranije: od početnih desetljeća 9. st. pr. Kr. do 800. g. pr. Kr., F. FERRANTI, 2009, 50, sl. 4.

⁶ D. YNTEMA, 1985, 112, 116, 124, fig. 97.

⁷ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1997, 21.

⁸ F. FERRANTI, 2009, 51-53, fig. 2, 6.

⁹ There are two big units within the GPSI pottery complex. We will use terms “Enotrian” (Campania, Basilicata, Calabria) and “Daunian” for northern Puglia, i.e. a syntagm “northern Apulian pottery” and finally “southern Apulian” (Messapian, Peucetian) for the pottery from southern Puglia. In this work it was impossible to stick to a single criterion in choosing the basic terms in order to avoid certain terms and syntagms (“Japigian”, “Salentine”, Bradano region, and other), that have taken roots in the literature that contains terminological incongruities as an identical regional/local phenomenon in the GPSI pottery complex is still referred to under different terms by different authors, or even interpreted differently, from the recent administrative and geographical aspect, then cultural and ethnical or purely stylistic aspects. Optimal criterion for marking relations of the parts/regions and the entirety of this pottery complex is definitely the visual one (cultural, including the production/workshop criterion), but this is not supported by the facts that the systematic exploration of the cultural area is missing and that owing to objective spatial and chronological comprehensiveness the GPSI pottery has not been integrally analyzed in iconographic and stylistic (and semantical) terms as a big and complex whole but at the same time homogenous and independent unit.

¹⁰ On the basis of new calibrated C 14 data that vary, the Middle Geometric period (*Geometrico Medio*) in the Enotrian painting circle (Campania, Calabria, Basilicata) lasts until the last decades, meaning to the end of the 9th century and the first half of the 8th century BC (M. KLEIBRINK, L. BARRESI, M. FASANELLA MASCI, 2012, 4, note 8). This corresponds for the most part to D. Yntema's chronology for the painting of *Geometrico Medio* in southern Italy from the late 9th cent. BC (or around 800 BC) to 750/740 BC, i.e. last quarter of the 8th century BC (D. YNTEMA, 1985, 320-321). This framework is supported by dating of *Geometrico Medio* in Daunia and *Geometrico Medio Messapico* in southern Apulia, in the first half of the 8th century BC. E. M. DE JULIIS, 1997, 21, 29-30. However in accordance with high absolute chronology (R. Peroni, 1994; 2004) for the Apennine Peninsula, Middle Geometric period is dated somewhat earlier: from the initial decades of the 9th century to 800 BC, F. FERRANTI, 2009, 50, fig. 4.

st. pr. Kr.¹¹

Kompozicija iz Sale Consiline ima dva horizontalna pojasa. Ispunjena je trokutima s vrhom prema gore, zatim motivom svastike, ljestava, antropomorfno lik i okomitog cik-cak elementa. Oblik trokuta isti je u oba pojasa i svojim prostornim položajem očito je glavni motiv cijele kompozicije. Dva manja trokuta iz donjeg pojasa prerastaju u jedan veliki u gornjem pojasu. Svi trokuti ovdje pripadaju likovno najuspješnijoj, „klasičnoj“ inačici slikanih konkavnih trokuta južne Italije tipa *a tenda*, koji pak ima više inačica.¹²

U svojoj „klasičnoj“ inačici (Sl. 1; 2a, c-d, f-g; 3b-c; 5-6) trokut *a tenda* ispunjen je usporednim konkavnim crtama koje, umnožavajući se, postupno rastu od malog trokuta u središtu prema rubu. Ponavljajući liniju vanjskih stranica, naglašavaju njegovu dinamičnu strukturu. Već sama konkavnost trokuta, „praznog“ ili ispunjenog različitim uzorcima, mrežastim (Sl. 8A, a-d) i drugima (Sl. 17c-d; 18b; 46 c, e), ponajprije ističe njemu imanentnu unutarnju okomicu. Tiče se to i trokuta s blago konveksnim stranicama iz geometrijskog do subgeometrijskog razdoblja enotrijske keramike¹³ (Sl. 2b, 3a, 20e, 26c). Unutarnju tenziju posebno dobro oslikavaju trokuti *a tenda* s praznom trokutastom jezgrom u svom središtu.¹⁴ Po tome je izuzetan

(*Geometrico Antico*) belongs to earlier decades of the 9th century BC.¹¹

Composition from Sala Consilina has two horizontal bands. It is filled with triangles with the tips pointed up, then motifs of swastika, ladder, anthropomorphous figure and vertical zig-zag element. The triangle form is identical in both bands and it is evidently the main motif of the entire composition owing to its position. Two smaller triangles from the lower band grow into one big triangle in the upper band. All triangles here belong to the visually most successful “classical” variant of painted concave triangles in southern Italy of *a tenda* type that come in several variants.¹²

In its “classical” variant (Fig. 1; 2 a, c-d, f-g; 3b-c; 5-6) *a tenda* triangle is filled with parallel concave lines that grow gradually multiplying from the small triangle in the middle to the edge. They emphasize its dynamic structure by repeating the line of outer sides. Already the concavity of the triangle, “empty” or filled with different patterns such as reticular (Fig. 8A, a-d) and other (Fig. 17c-d; 18 b; 46 c, e) emphasizes its immanent inner vertical. It also has to do with the triangle with slightly convex sides from the Geometric to Subgeometric period of Enotrian pottery¹³ (Fig. 2b, 3a, 20e, 26c). Inner tension is particularly well illustrated by *a tenda* triangles with an empty core in their center.¹⁴

¹¹ Početak i trajanje još i danas po mnogo čemu problematičnog ranog geometrijskog razdoblja (*Geometrico Antico*), koje je u novije doba i sustavno istraživano, različito se datira, konkretno, u enotrijskim nalazištima u širokom vremenskom rasponu od 11./10. do 9. st. pr. Kr., ovisno o tome da li se za *Geometrico Antico* koristi visoka apsolutna kronologija R. Peronija (I FE 1A - I FE 1B, 1020. – 880. g. pr. Kr.; F. FERRANTI, 2009, 48-49, sl. 4) ili pak tradicionalna (C. COLELLI, 2012, 231-236, 257). D. Yntema je nekad početak rano geometrijskog izraza u cijeloj južnoj Italiji globalno datirao nešto ranije od sredine 9. st. pr. Kr., točnije, u rano 9. st. pr. Kr. ili čak krajem 10. st. pr. Kr., s trajanjem tijekom prve polovine 9. st. pr. Kr.: D. YNTEMA, 1985, 35. Isto razdoblje u Apuliji, od nekih nazvano i *Geometrico Enotrio-Iapigio (Antico)*, ipak je datirano nešto kasnije, oko sredine 9. st. pr. Kr.: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1997, 7, 18-20, bilj 7.

¹² Šire o tome: M. CASTOLDI, 1984, 26; F. GALEANDRO, 1998, 179-205; F. FERANTI, 2009, 45-49.

¹³ D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 89/2, 91, 95, 100/17.

¹⁴ F. GALEANDRO, 1998, T LXVIII.

¹¹ The beginning and duration of still in many ways problematic Early Geometric period (*Geometrico Antico*), that has been systematically explored recently, has been dated differently, specifically at the Enotrian sites to a broad chronological range from the 11th/10th to the 9th century BC, depending if high chronology by R. Peroni is applied for *Geometrico Antico* (I FE 1A - I FE 1B, 1020 – 880 BC; F. FERRANTI, 2009, 48-49, fig. 4) or traditional chronology (C. COLELLI, 2012, 231- 236, 257). D. Yntema once globally dated the beginning of the Early Geometric expression in entire southern Italy somewhat earlier than the mid-9th century BC or even to the end of the 10th century BC, lasting throughout the first half of the 9th century BC, D. YNTEMA, 1985, 35. The same period in Puglia, called *Geometrico Enotrio-Iapigio (Antico)* by some authors, was dated to somewhat later period, around the mid-9th century BC, E. M. DE JULIIS, 1997, 7, 18-20, note 7.

¹² More extensively on this: M. CASTOLDI, 1984, 26; F. GALEANDRO, 1998, 179-205; F. FERANTI, 2009, 45-49.

¹³ D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 89/2, 91, 95, 100/17.

¹⁴ F. GALEANDRO, 1998, T LXVIII.

oblik kasnoga trokuta *a tenda (tarda)*¹⁵ ili možda *pseudo tenda*, iz groba iz Montescagliosa¹⁶ (Sl. 8B, b). On je ravnih stranica, a njegovo prazno središte posebno naglašeno tendira prema vrhu. Uz to je nadograđen velikim polukrugom, a sve je položeno na horizontali iz koje vise resaste/zrakaste okomice. Vizualno, ključna osobina „klasične“, također, samo nešto slabije, i svih drugih inačica trokuta tipa *a tenda*, (Sl. 46 a-c, e), isticanje je uspona po vertikali. To su sigurno bili i razlozi njihova oblikovanja. No, pitanje je naravi, smisla i cilja čina koji oslikavaju. Što ili tko se uzdiže u obliku i danas zagonetnog trokuta *a tenda*?

Nikad nije definirano mjesto¹⁷ i širi kulturni kontekst nastanka kao i zasigurno vrlo konkretna izvorna simbolika¹⁸ toga motiva te smisao cijele likovnosti *a tenda*, kojoj je on bio zaštitni znak, posebno u njezinim počecima, tijekom *Geometrico Medio* izraza. Bez obzira na kulturnu sredinu iz koje je potekao (Kampanija?, Basilicata?), u različitim inačicama crtao se i u drugim regijama (Apulija, Kalabrija). Njegova moguća simbolika sigurno je bila utkana te odražena bar u jednom dijelu sveukupnog (starijeg) slikarstva na keramici GOJI. Odavno u literaturi nazvan *a tenda*¹⁹ („u obliku šatora“), trokut je dobio ime upravo s obzirom na svoj „šatorast“ izgled. Unatoč tome, nije povezivan sa slojevitim značenjem šatora – simbola. Ovaj se pak, između ostaloga, tiče Neba. I ne ulazeći u smisao kompozicije, odmah je vidljivo da prikaz iz Sala Consiline nije dekorativna

Form of late *a tenda (tarda)*¹⁵ triangle or possibly *pseudo tenda*, from grave from Montescaglioso¹⁶ is exceptional in that regard (Fig. 8B, b). It has flat sides, and its empty center tends distinctly to the top. It is complemented with a big semicircle and it is all laid on a horizontal with hanging fringe-like/ray-like verticals. Emphasis of vertical rise is the crucial visual characteristic of the “classical” and, though less strongly pronounced, all other variants of *a tenda* triangle (Fig. 46 a-c, e). These were definitely the reasons of their shaping. Of course the question is what was the character, meaning and aim of the act that is depicted. Who or what is exalted in form of still mysterious *a tenda* triangle?

The place¹⁷ and wider cultural context of formation of this motif has never been defined nor its definitely very concrete original symbolics¹⁸ and the meaning of the entire *a tenda* visual expression as it became its trademark, particularly in its initial stage, during *Geometrico Medio*. Regardless of the cultural environment it originated from (Campania?, Basilicata?), it was painted in different variants in other regions as well (Puglia, Calabria). Its possible symbolics was definitely incorporated and reflected at least in one part of the entire (earlier) painting on the GPSI pottery. It has been known in the literature as *a tenda*¹⁹ (“tent-shaped”) for a while, the triangle was named after its tent-like appearance. Despite that, it was not associated with complex meaning of tent as a symbol that relates to Sky, among other things. Without dealing with the meaning of the composition, it is clear that the depiction from Sala Consili-

¹⁵ F. GALEANDRO, 1998, 185, LXIX.

¹⁶ P. ORLANDINI, 1972, T XXII/1. U određenom proizvodnom trenutku keramika iz Montescagliosa i niza drugih nalazišta naziva se peucetskom, a označava je povezanost, dolinom Bradana, s enotrijskim središtima: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1997, 7, 75.

¹⁷ O tome, sa starijom literaturom: F. GALEANDRO, 1998, 187-193.

¹⁸ Motiv *a tenda* interpretiran je kao simbol u kultu vode: M. CASTOLDI, 1984; F. GALEANDRO, 1999, 202; M. CASTOLDI, 2006, 100-101. No, te vode nisu dovodene u vezu s Nebom i sa Suncem.

¹⁹ Termin dolazi od tal. glagola *tendere*: napinjati, težiti, stremiti i dr.

¹⁵ F. GALEANDRO, 1998, 185, LXIX.

¹⁶ P. ORLANDINI, 1972, T XXII/1. In a certain moment of production pottery from Montescaglioso and a number of other sites is called Peucetian, and it is characterized by association with the Enotrian centers, through the Bradano valley, E. M. DE JULIIS, 1997, 7, 75.

¹⁷ On that, with older literature: F. GALEANDRO, 1998, 187-193.

¹⁸ *A tenda* motif is interpreted as a symbol in the cult of water. M. CASTOLDI, 1984; F. GALEANDRO, 1999, 202; M. CASTOLDI, 2006, 100-101. However these waters were not related to the Sky and the Sun.

¹⁹ The term derives from the Italian verb *tendere*: stretch, strain, be inclined, etc.

cjelina, značenjima „prazna“. Jer, forme i njihov raspored oko trokuta također nedvosmisleno oslikavaju čin vertikalnog uzdizanja neke energije. Veliki trokut u gornjem pojasu, s obje svoje bočne strane („istočne“ i „zapadne“), uokviren je i ograničen okomicom sastavljenom od dvije usporedne crte. Ona je pak vidni nastavak okomitih ljestava iz donjeg pojasa, gdje ljestve također bočno uokviruju donje događanje. U cjelini ove kompozicije, gdje sve stremlje u vis, ljestve su ponajprije „u službi“ uspona. Misao o njemu dodatno potvrđuju dvije bočno postavljene svastike, ispod kojih teče crta sastavljena od točkica. Crta jasno ponavlja pravac uzdizanja koji je naznačen upravo stranicama konkavnih trokuta. U samom središtu prizora, okomiti snop cik-cak crta je poveznica svega prikazanoga u oba pojasa.

Svi motivi u prizoru iz Sala Consiline su dobro poznati znakovi i simboli u dugotrajnom prostorno-vremenskom oslikavanju Sunčevih moći u najrazličitijim kulturama, likovno dobro čitljivi na europskim prostorima tijekom kovinskih razdoblja, osobito na razmeđu 2. i 1. tis. pr. Kr. Predočeni pojedinačno ili pak kombinirani na način srodan prizoru iz Sala Consiline, svi su posebno dobro zastupljeni u mnogim prostornim i vremenskim isječcima keramike GOJI, najočitije ipak od njezinih (srednje) geometrijskih razdoblja iz 9./8. st. pr. Kr. Kako snažno dizanje energije ovdje prate drevni solarni znakovi (Sl. 1), vrlo promišljeno ukomponirani između istaknutih vertikalnih i horizontalnih pravaca, cijeli prizor treba shvatiti kao oslikavanje konkretnih epizoda iz Sunčeva života. Ikonografski, u prvom planu je ključna solarna epizoda: čin Sunčeva uspona na obzoru. Ono se, točnije njegova moćna snaga u vidu trokuta, uzdiže do samog vrha prizora, svojevrsnog kompozicijskog zenita, nakon što se ljestvama, iz donje točke (nadira) uspelo u gornju sferu. „Klasičan“ oblik trokuta *a tenda*, kao i druge inačice tipa *a tenda*, dakle, u odgovarajućim kontekstima, simboliziraju

na is not a decorative unit “empty” of meaning because forms and their distribution around the triangle also undoubtedly illustrate the act of vertical elevation of some energy. The big triangle in the upper band, on both its lateral sides (“eastern” and “western”) was framed and bounded by a vertical consisting of two parallel lines. It is a visible continuation of vertical ladder from the lower band where the ladder laterally frames lower events. In the completeness of this composition where everything strives upwards, ladder’s primary function is ascent. This idea is additionally supported by two laterally placed swastikas underlined by a line made of dots. The line clearly repeats the direction of rising that is denoted by the sides of concave triangles. In the very center of the scene, vertical bundle of zig-zag lines is a link of all that is depicted in both bands.

All motifs in the scene from Sala Consilina are all well known signs and symbols in lengthy/long-lasting spatial and chronological illustration of the power of the Sun in very different cultures, visually easily readable in the European regions during the metal ages, at the turn from the 2nd to 1st century BC. They can be depicted individually or combined in a way similar to the depiction from Sala Consilina, they are all particularly well represented in a number of spatial and chronological segments of the GPSI pottery, most evidently from its (middle) geometric periods from the 9th/8th cent. BC. Since strong rise in energy is accompanied by ancient solar signs (Fig. 1), carefully incorporated between the pronounced vertical and horizontal lines, the entire scene should be interpreted as a depiction of specific episodes from the life of the Sun. In terms of iconography solar episode is crucial: act of the Sun rising on the horizon. More precisely, it rises as a mighty power in shape of a triangle, reaching the very top of the scene, a sort of compositional zenith after it had climbed the ladder from the lower sphere (nadir). “Classical” form of *a tenda* triangle, as well as other variants of *a tenda* type, in corresponding contexts, symbolize

Sunčevu bit: energiju koja se, poput velikog vala, izdiže iz donjeg u gornji prostor. To potencira i činjenica da različiti trokuti *a tenda*, od „klasičnih“ do mnogobrojnih *pseudo-tenda* oblika iz različitih vremenskih dijelova keramike GOJI, na svom vrhu osebujno završavaju. U spoju s gornjom horizontalom oni se proširuju i rastvaraju (Sl. 2 a-b, d, f-g) ili/i bivaju obogaćeni određenim dodacima: dvjema ili trima crticama (Sl. 2c; 46 c, e) te stablom/granom (Sl. 46a-b). Tri crtice (Sl. 2c) asociiraju (izokrenut) solarni znak *triprsta* (Sl. 13d; 16 a, c; 26d). Dvije pak uzdignute crtice (Sl. 46c) ponekad se izjednačuju s antropomorfnom orantskom pozom koja svoj vrhunac predočavanja u kompleksu GOJI doživljava u plastičnim likovima-ručama na daunskim subgeometrijskim posudama iz 6. – 5./4. st. pr. Kr. (Sl. 29, 30A, 31 a-c). Pojava rastvaranja vrha trokuta, koji se time organski spaja s gornjom (nebeskom) horizontalom, također prati pojedine „obične“ kao i konkavne mrežaste trokute tijekom enotrijskog *Geometrico Medio* izraza u Kalabriji (Sl. 8A, a-b, d-e). U kompoziciji s figurom tipa skarabeja (Sl. 8B, a) oni neizbježno asociiraju na solarnu atmosferu.

Ako se u „narativnom“ prikazu iz Sala Consiline (Sl. 1), ali i nekim drugima njemu sličnim primjerima (Sl. 2 a, g; 3a-d; 4b-d; 5-6; 8B b; 26 a, c-e) ili čak ikonografski znatno sažetijima (Sl. 2 b-d, f; 8A c-e; 11e; 16a; 20f; 21a), apstrahira sve a da se ne poništi bitnost kompozicije (priče), ostaje gotovo isti ogoljeli spoj vertikale i horizontale. To je polazište i kostur svakog solarnog simbolizma iskazanog ikoničnim simbolima. To je kompozicijska i semantička okosnica svakog *solarnog krajolika* s trokutom ili bez njega. Prizor iz Sala Consiline može se nazvati *solarnim krajolikom*.²⁰ Isto vrijedi i za druge prizore, dakle, *solarne krajolike* (Sl. 2 a-d, f-g; 3a-d; 4b-c; 5; 6; 11d-e; 16a-b; 19a-b; 20f; 26 a, c-f; 46a) iz različitih mjesnih/regionalnih likovnih izraza

the essence of the Sun: energy that rises like a big wave from lower to upper sphere. This is potentiated by the fact that different triangles *a tenda*, from the “classical” to many *pseudo-tenda* forms from different chronological segments of the GPSI pottery, have peculiar ending of their tips. In their connection with the upper horizontal they expand and open (Fig. 2 a-b, d, f-g,) and/or get enriched with certain elements: two or three lines (Fig. 2c; 46 c, e) and a tree/branch (Fig. 46a-b). Three lines (Fig. 2c) are associative of (inverted) solar sign of *three-finger* (Fig. 13 d; 16 a, c; 26d). Two upright lines are occasionally (Fig. 46c) identified with anthropomorphic orant pose that reaches its peak in the GPSI complex in sculptural figures-handles on the Daunian subgeometric vessels from the 6th-5th/4th cent. BC (Fig. 29, 30a, 31 a, c). The phenomenon of opening of the triangle tip that organically connects with the upper (celestial) horizontal, also accompanies individual “regular” and concave reticular triangles during the Enotrian *Geometrico Medio* expression in Calabria (Fig. 8A, a-b, d-e). In the composition with an figure of the scarab type (Fig. 8B, a) they inevitably suggest solar atmosphere.

If we consider what is important in the “narrative” depiction from Sala Consilina (Fig. 1), but also in some other similar examples (Fig. 2 a, g; 3a-d; 4b-d; 5-6; 8B b; 26 a, c-e), or even much more concise in terms of iconography (Fig. 2 b-d, f; 8A c-e; 11e; 16a; 20f; 21a), without invalidating the entirety of the composition (story), almost identical bare connection of vertical and horizontal is left. This is the starting point and a basis of every solar symbolics expressed in iconic symbols. It is the compositional and semantical outline of every *solar landscape* with or without a triangle. The scene from Sala Consilina might be referred to as *solar landscape*²⁰ as well as other scenes, thence, *solar landscapes* (Fig. 2 a-d, f-g; 3a-d; 4b-c; 5-6; 11d-e; 16a-b; 19 a-b; 20f; 26 a, c-f; 46a) from different local/regional expressions of the GPSI

²⁰ S. KUKOČ, 2012, 82, sl. 36/a-c.

²⁰ S. KUKOČ, 2012, 82, fig. 36 /a-c.

keramike GOJI, od Kampanije, Basilikate, Kalabrije do Apulije. Uporno naglašavanje dodira, i presijecanja vertikalnih i horizontalnih pravaca u ovom apeninskom slikarstvu, dakle, nije bilo samo posljedica njegove dosljedno geometrijske likovne naravi, već je imalo dublje korijene.

Solarni krajolici su likovna i religijska tema koja dočarava određene trenutke Sunčeva postojanja: gibanje Nebom na ptičjim i konjskim kolima/lađi ili na neki drugi način, zatim čin njegovog uspona/silaska te djelovanje na zemaljski (i onozemaljski) život i, napokon, njegovo štovanje. U jednom likovnom prikazu često se predočava tek jedna od ovih epizoda. Jer, *solarni krajolici* uglavnom su apstraktni, lišeni figuracije i narativnog slijeda, priče koja likovno teče, a što je u skladu s dobrim dijelom europskih likovnosti izvan civilizacijskih središta egejskoga kruga 4./3. – 1. tis. pr. Kr. Takvi, neupitni *solarni krajolici*, raspršeni po prapovijesnoj Europi, posebno su uočljivi, gotovo u kontinuitetu, u podunavsko-karpatском svijetu od eneolitika²¹ (Vučedol: Sl. 39) i ranog brončanog doba (Nagyrev²²: Sl. 40; Mokrin²³), tijekom kultura srednjeg brončanog doba, posebno u Dubovcu – Žutom brdu, do (starijeg) Belegiša²⁴ i brojnih donjepodunavskih solarnih prikaza poput onog iz Lapuš humka ili pak posude Fundeni-Govora iz Cârcea²⁵ te iz Basarabi svijeta,²⁶ uglavnom do 9./8 – 7. st. pr. Kr. Snažno reduciranom formom svi oni predočavanju samo bitno, ono temeljno u određivanju *solarnih krajolika*, dakako, ukoliko nisu obični ukrasi.

Mada u njima nema „stvarnosti“, a samo Nebo neizbježno se slika (mitski) naivno, svaki *solarni krajolik* ima duboku „unutarnju“ vezu s Prirodom (kozmosom) koja je božan-

pottery, from Campania, Basilicata, Calabria to Puglia. Persistent emphasis on contact, and intersecting of vertical and horizontal directions in this Apennine painting could not have been only a consequence of its consistently geometric visual character, but it had deeper roots.

Solar landscape is a religious and visual arts theme that illustrates certain moments of the Sun's existence: movement in the Sky on a bird or horse chariot/boat or in some other way, then the act of its rising/setting and its effect on worldly (and otherworldly) life, and finally its honoring. Often only one of these episodes is represented in one depiction. *Solar landscapes* are usually abstract, bereft of figuration and narrative order, a story that develops in visual arts terms, which is in accordance with a fair share of European visual representations outside the civilization centers of the Aegean circle of the period of 4th/3rd – 1st millennium BC. These definite *solar landscapes* are scattered across prehistoric Europe, and they are especially distinct, almost in continuity, in the Danube-Carpathian region from the Eneolithic²¹ (Vučedol: Fig. 39) and the Early Bronze Age (Nagyrev²²: Fig. 40; Mokrin²³), during the cultures of the Middle Bronze Age, particularly in Dubovac – Žuto brdo, to (earlier) Belegiš²⁴ and numerous lower Danube solar depictions such as the one from the Lapuš mound or the Fundeni – Govora vessel from Cârcea²⁵, or from the Basarabi world,²⁶ mostly until the 9th/8th – 7th cent. BC. Their pronouncedly reduced form represents only what is important, fundamental in determining *solar landscapes*, if they are not mere decorations.

Although there is no “reality” in them and the Sky is inevitably painted naively (mythically), every *solar landscape* has a deep “inner” relation with Nature (cosmos) that has divine

²¹ A. DURMAN, 2000, 63, sl. 27.

²² T. KOVÁCS, T., 1977, T 4; R. SCHREIBNER-KALICZ, 1984, T XLIV/1a-b, XLV/14, XLVI//2, XLVII.

²³ N. TASIĆ, 1983, 53, sl. 12 a-b.

²⁴ N. TASIĆ, 1983, 94, sl. 55 c.

²⁵ N. PALINCAȘ, 2007, T LX/1, 4a-b.

²⁶ N. TASIĆ, 1983, sl. 82, 77/b, 78/a-b.

²¹ A. DURMAN, 2000, 63, fig. 27.

²² T. KOVÁCS, T., 1977, T 4; R. SCHREIBNER-KALICZ, 1984, T XLIV/1a-b, XLV/14, XLVI//2, XLVII.

²³ N. TASIĆ, 1983, 53, fig. 12 a-b.

²⁴ N. TASIĆ, 1983, 94, fig. 55 c.

²⁵ N. PALINCAȘ, 2007, T LX/1, 4a-b.

²⁶ N. TASIĆ, 1983, fig. 82, 77/b, 78/a-b.

ske naravi. *Solarni krajolik* odraz je tadašnjih (religijskih) svjetonazora i same slike svijeta, nastale (i) opažanjem nebeskog prostora, u kojoj je Sunce/Nebo, u svojoj vrtnji/putovanju oko Zemlje, odrednica svega životnoga, često i prekogrobnoga. U *solarnom krajoliku* nema likovno „konkretne“ prirode, pogotovo njezine deskripcije, tek neka životinja (ptica, konj) ili grana, stablo. Isto doduše vrijedi i za tadašnji *paysage*, likovno mahom također rudimentaran i, kao *genre* u osnovi nepostojeći u glavnini europskih kultura iz kovinskih razdoblja, s izuzetkom nekih egejskih primjera. Bilo da je arhaični *paysage* religijske ili *genre* vrste, u njemu je stablo ipak najčešći motiv. Obično snažno stilizirano, stablo-simbol uklapa se „bez ostatka“ u bit semantičke strukture *solarnog krajolika*. O sličnim vjervanjima jasno govore nordijski prapovijesni jantarni i kameni obredni predmeti te slike obreda s brodovima koji nose solarne disko-ve i sveto Stablo pri obožavanju Sunca (Sl. 36b).²⁷ Istu simboličnu ulogu stabla sadrže i pojedini prikazi na apeninskim kovinskim izradevinama (fibule *a disco*, pektoral).²⁸

Osobito na starijoj keramici GOJI stablo (biljka) izuzetno je rijetko. Vjerojatno su u ovom slikarskom kompleksu i različito oblikovane okomice, bar u pojedinim kompozicijama (Sl. 2d; 14B, c-e; 22i), isto što i Stablo, no shvaćeno u svom iskonskom značenju koje ga jednači s osi svijeta ili kozmičkom vertikalom i kozmičkim središtem, točnije, sa samim Suncem.

U keramičkom kompleksu GOJI motiv stabla najzastupljeniji je, gotovo u određenom kontinuitetu, u sjevernom apulskom svijetu, na daunskoj subgeometrijski oslikanoj keramici 7. – 6./5. st. pr. Kr. (Sl. 46a-b). Ono je središnji motiv novih *solarnih krajolika* (Sl. 33 a, c, d)²⁹ koji se formom neznatno približavaju „realističnom“ *paysage*-u, ali

nature. *Solar landscape* is a reflection of (religious) worldviews of the time and the image of the world created also after observing celestial space in which the Sun/Sky, in its spin/journey around the Earth, is the determinant of everything that is life, and often also afterlife. In *solar landscape* there is no visually “concrete” nature, particularly its description, only an animal (bird, horse) here and there, or a branch, tree. The same goes for the *paysage*, also rudimentary in visual terms, and as *genre* basically non-existent in the majority of the European cultures from the metal periods, with an exception of some Aegean examples. An archaic *paysage* might be of religious or *genre* type, but tree is the most common motif. Usually strongly stylized, tree-symbol fits perfectly the essence of the semantical structure of *solar landscape*. Similar beliefs are well illustrated by the Nordic prehistoric amber and stone ritual objects, and images of the rituals with boats carrying solar discs and holy Tree in the Sun worship (Fig. 36b).²⁷ Tree has the same symbolical role in certain depictions on the Apennine metal artifacts (fibulae *a disco*, pectoral).²⁸

Particularly on the older GPSI pottery tree (plant) is exceptionally rare. But probably in this painting complex differently shaped verticals, at least in some compositions (Fig. 2d; 14B, c-e; 22i), are identical to the Tree, but understood in its primordial meaning that identifies it with the axis of the world or cosmic vertical and cosmic center, more precisely, with the Sun itself.

In the GPSI ceramic complex the tree motif is most frequent, almost in a certain continuity, in northern Apulian world, on Daunian subgeometric painted pottery from the 7th-6th/5th century BC (Fig. 46 a-b). It is the central motif of new *solar landscapes* (Fig. 33 a, c, d)²⁹ that come close in their form to the “realistic” *paysage*. However they are combined in the old way. In the Daunian *solar landscape* with a row

²⁷ S. KUKOČ, 2012, sl. 27/f-g.

²⁸ S. KUKOČ, 2012, 55, 70, sl. 20/e, 29/a-b.

²⁹ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1984, 157-158, T XXV/a; E. M. DE JULIIS, 1997, 46, 48, sl. 43, 45.

²⁷ S. KUKOČ, 2012, fig. 27/f-g.

²⁸ S. KUKOČ, 2012, 55, 70, fig. 20/e, 29/a-b.

²⁹ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1984, 157-158, T XXV/a; 1997, 46, 48, fig. 43, 45.

su u osnovi ipak komponirani na stari način. Tako je u daunskom *solarnom krajoliku* s nizom stabala (Sl. 33c) prostor razdijeljen cik-cak horizontalom na dvije sfere, gornju i donju. Obje su, kao nekad (Sl. 16a), ispunjene motivom poput *triprsta* ili kratkih zraka/strijela, koji djeluju u suprotnim smjerovima, a sve započinje snopom okomica poput nekadašnjih ljestava (Sl. 1, 3c, 6). Stablo, okruženo pticama, nosi i solarna „ptičja lađa“ (Sl. 33b). No, ptice na lađama (Sl. 31a, 33b) više nisu antitetično postavljene, a plovila (Sl. 31a, 33a-b) imaju oblik domaćih brodova naslikanih na daunskim stelama. Stabla se crtaju i između brodova (Sl. 31a-b) koji gotovo dekorativno, u nizu plove i na sebi nose Sunce prikazano svojevrsnom rozetom (Sl. 31b). Ono, ali i grana i štap u rukama mnogih likova postaje ključan element prvih složenih figuralnih i narativnih prizora na daunskoj dvobojnoj keramici (Sl. 33e-f),³⁰ također, i na keramici *listata* vrste³¹ (Sl. 34A d) iz 4./3. st. pr. Kr., određenoj nasljednici i završnici stare geometrijski oslikane keramike. Nije, međutim, definirano koja su, za Daune sigurno ključna religijska vjerovanja, stajala iza slika obreda sa stablom i granama/štapovima (Sl. 33e-f; 34A, d).

U *listata* slikarstvu, namijenjenom isključivo kultu mrtvih, koje svojim helenističkim biljnim oblicima stilski prekida s okoštalom

of trees (Fig. 33c) the space is divided with a zig-zag horizontal into two spheres, upper and lower. They are both, as they used to be (Fig. 16a), filled with motifs like *three-finger* or short rays/arrows, but aimed in different directions, and it all starts with a bundle of verticals just like ladder once did (Fig. 1, 3c, 6). Tree, surrounded with birds, is also carried by a solar “bird boat” (Fig. 33b). However birds on boats (Fig. 31a, 33b) are no longer in antithetical position, and vessels (Fig. 31a, 33a-b) have a shape of local boats painted on Daunian stelae. Trees are also drawn between the boats (Fig. 31a-b) that sail in a row almost decoratively, bearing the Sun depicted by a kind of rosette (Fig. 31b). The tree as well as a branch or stick in hands of many figures becomes a crucial element of the first complex figural and narrative depictions on the Daunian bichrome pottery (Fig. 33e-f),³⁰ also, on *listata* pottery³¹ (Fig. 34 A d) from the 4th – 3rd cent. BC, that is a kind of descendant and ending of the old geometrically painted pottery. However it has not been defined what religious beliefs, definitely crucial for the Daunians, were a basis of paintings of rituals with tree and branches/sticks (Fig. 33 e-f; 34A, d).

In *listata* painting, intended only for the cult of the dead, that marks a stylistic break with fossilized and frozen geometric artistry of the GPSI pottery with its Hellenistic vegetal forms,

³⁰ Nije precizirano vrijeme prve izraženije likovne konkretnosti, figuracije i naracije, na domaćoj dvobojnoj daunskoj keramici, vjerojatno iz Canose. Za ikonografski izuzetnu posudu iz Milana (*Museo Civico*), navodi se (prema kronologiji E. M. De Juliisa – E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977; E. M. DE JULIIS, 1997) već rano subgeometrijsko likovno razdoblje II, dakle, 6. – 5. st. pr. Kr.: M. MAZZEI, 2010, 208-210. No, postoje domaći dvobojni daunski figuralni prizori (zbirka S. Tardivat, Ženeva) istog likovnog izričaja, ali i samog sadržaja (priče), koji se datiraju tek u 4. st. pr. Kr.: L'ARTE DEI POPOLI ITALICI, 1993, 356-357, sl. 236. Visoka kronologija ovog keramičkog figuralnog slikarstva, tijekom 6./5. st. pr. Kr., vremenski odgovara vrhuncu figuracije (priče) na daunskim stelama, za koje se ne može tvrditi da su svojom likovnošću i „ideologijom“ u potpunom raskoraku s geometrijski oslikanom daunskom keramikom, pogotovo ne onom subgeometrijskom. Usp. M. MAZZEI, 2010, 212-213.

³¹ M. MAZZEI, 2010, 214-215.

³⁰ The time of the first more pronounced visual concreteness, figuration and narration has not been determined precisely, on the local bichrome Daunian pottery probably from Canosa. Early Subgeometric period II (6th – 5th century BC after the chronology of E. M. De Juliis; 1997) is considered for an iconographically exceptional vessel from Milan (*Museo Civico*), M. MAZZEI, 2010, 208-210. However there are local bichrome Daunian figural scenes (collection S. Tardivat, Geneva) of the same visual expression, but also content (of the story) that are dated as late as the 4th century BC, L'ARTE DEI POPOLI ITALICI, 1993, 356-357, fig. 236. High chronology of this ceramic figural painting, in the 6th /5th centuries BC, corresponds chronologically to the peak of figuration (story) on the Daunian stelae, that are not in complete disagreement in their visual expression and “ideology” with geometrically painted Daunian pottery, particularly with the subgeometric variant. Cf. M. MAZZEI, 2010, 212-213.

³¹ M. MAZZEI, 2010, 214-215.

i zamrznutom geometrijskom likovnošću keramike GOJI, ipak se ikonografski, sigurno i semantički, zrcali štošta od poruka zabilježenih u znatno starijim, geometrijskim *solarnim krajolicima* iz ranoga željeznog doba. I motiv trokuta *a tenda* dijelom se nastavlja u osebjnom trokutu prekinutog vrha i okruženom solarnim simbolima: križićima ili stiliziranim svastikama i krugovima (Sl. 34A, a-c). Ovaj odnos u osnovi ponavlja odnos trokuta, svastike te krugova u *solarnom krajoliku* (Sl. 1; 2a; 3a-c; 4b; 5). Također, u kultu mrtvih, na *listata* keramici vitičasti biljni svijet, svojevrsni *paysage*, opet je, kao davno prije, složen po vertikalama i horizontalama i u pratnji istih starih solarnih simbola: svastike, križa, kotača (Sl. 34A, e). Novinu predstavlja pojava jasno antropomorfiziranog Sunca, dakle, u vidu kruga s koronom, no sada s ljudskim elementima lica (Sl. 34A, e) te pojava Sunca-Meduze (Sl. 34B).³²

Kako je u *solarnom krajoliku* priča najčešće samo diskretno najavljena ili tek naslućena, to bitno otežava već i samo prepoznavanje teme (Sl. 10 c-d, g; 11f; 13 c, e-f; 15 b-c; 19B a; 20g; 22 e-f; 24a). Stoga, prikaz iz Sale Consiline (Sl. 1), uz vrlo mali broj sličnih na keramici GOJI, svojom „apstraktnom naracijom“ ima istaknutu ulogu u prepoznavanju svih drugih, nedvojbenih ili samo vjerojatnih, *solarnih krajolika* u apeninskom i europskom prapovijesnom slikarstvu.

Premda je u bezbrojnim kompozicijama keramike GOJI, prostor razdijeljen na gornji i donji, brojne su i kompozicije u kojima donji prostor uopće nije definiran, dakle, „zatvoren“, i gotovo je prazan, s malo motiva. Ali, i tada on se lako može zamišljati kao cjelina za sebe, na primjer, kada se u njemu nalaze različiti „obješeni“ motivi (Sl. 15d-l; 17g-u; 18; 19B, a-b; 20a-d; 21a-d; 22d-e; 24e; 27c-i). Mada dolaze iz neke više kompozicijske sfere, tek u donjoj oni ostvaruju svoju punu semantičku ulogu. Pri tome, neizbježno postaju

there are some iconographic and definitely semantical reflections of messages recorded in much older, geometric *solar landscapes* from the Early Iron Age. The motif of *a tenda* triangle continues in a certain way, in a peculiar triangle with interrupted tip surrounded with solar symbols: small crosses or stylized swastikas and circles (Fig. 34A, a-c). This relation is basically a repetition of relation of triangle, swastika and circles in *solar landscape* (Fig. 1, 2a, 3a-c, 4b, 5). Also, in the cult of the dead, on *listata* pottery tendrill-shaped vegetal world, a sort of *paysage*, is again, as long time ago, arranged in verticals and horizontals and accompanied by identical solar symbols: swastika, cross, wheel (Fig. 34A, e). Another novelty is appearance of clearly anthropomorphized Sun, as a circle with corona, but now with elements of human face (Fig. 34A, e), and appearance of the Sun – Medusa (Fig. 34B).³²

Since in *solar landscape* story is almost only an anticipation, it is difficult to recognize the subject (Fig. 10 c-d, g; 11f; 13 c, e-f; 15 b-c; 19B a; 20g; 22 e-f; 24a), let alone to interpret the story more completely. Therefore depiction from Sala Consilina (Fig. 1), with very few similar examples on the GPSI pottery, with its “abstract narration” has an important role in recognition of all other definite or only probable *solar landscapes* in the Apennine and European prehistoric painting.

Although in many compositions of the GPSI pottery the space is divided into upper and lower, there is a number of compositions in which lower space is not defined, “closed”, and it is almost empty, with few motifs. But still it can be interpreted as a separate whole, for instance when various “hanging” motifs are in it (Fig. 15 d-l; 17 g-u; 18; 19B, a-b; 20a-d; 21a-d; 22d-e; 24e; 27c-i). Although they come from a higher compositional sphere, they take their full semantical role only in the lower sphere. In the process they inevitably become a link between the “upper” and the “lower”. However in

³² S. KUKOČ, 1997, 1-20, T IV.

³² S. KUKOČ, 1997, 1-20, T IV.

spojnica „gornjeg“ i „donjeg“. Ipak, u ovakvim prizorima, koji se u biti odvijaju u imaginarnim prostorima, ne treba uvijek očekivati kompozicijsku/semantičku „logiku“.

Dok u *krajoliku* iz Sala Consiline (Sl. 1) gornja kompozicijska sfera podrazumijeva Nebo, nejasno je što sve predočava donja iz koje se Sunce uspinje. To bi trebale biti vode u njihovoj primordijalnoj složenosti, razdijeljene na donje – zemno/podzemne i gornje. Stoga, to nisu zemaljske vode, već one koje u arhaičnim mitovima kružno opasuju Zemlju i po kojima Sunce lađom/kolima plovi oko Zemlje³³ (Sl. 36c). Uz Sunčev disk i Stablo svijeta (Sl. 35b, 36b), plovilo prati i zmija, u slikarstvu i mitu od prapovijesnog Sjevera do Istoka.³⁴ U gornjoj sferi iz Sala Consiline (Sl. 1) stoji lik u molitvenom stavu: orant s tri noge. Ova kompozicija, dakle, donosi i drugi čin tipičan za *solarne krajolike* – Sunčevo štovanje. Mada česti i za priču bitni, izgledom obično „zagonetni“, oranti nisu uvijek nacrtani u *solarnom krajoliku*. Ali, i tada oni se lako pretpostavljaju. I obratno, temeljne ideje *solarnog krajolika* imanentne su brojnim samostalnim prapovijesnim likovima oranata/adoranata, najčešće nepoznatog identiteta, no koji su crtani s nedvojbenim solarnim atributima po tijelu/odijelu ili pak u njihovom neposrednom okruženju tijekom različitih kultura iz europskih kovinskih razdoblja. Neki od njih, u Vučedolu,³⁵ vjerojatno su slika samog pobjedonosnog Sunca. U određenim slučajevima sličnu ulogu doista je mogao imati i nebeski lik Orion, shvaćen kao jedan Sunčev aspekt.³⁶

U *krajoliku* iz Sala Consiline, uz temu Sunčeva uspona i temu adoracije Suncu, naslika-

scenes like this that actually happen in imaginary spaces, compositional/semantical “logic” is hard to expect.

While in the *landscape* from Sala Consilina (Fig. 1) upper compositional sphere implies the Sky, it is not clear what the lower sphere (from which the Sun comes up) depicts probably waters in their primordial complexity, divided into lower – earthly/chthonic, and celestial. Therefore, these are not earthly waters, but the ones that encircle the Earth in archaic myths so that the Sun can sail around the Earth in a boat/chariot³³ (Fig. 36c). Along the Sun disc and World tree (Fig. 35b, 36b), the boat is accompanied by a snake, in painting and myth from the prehistoric North to East.³⁴ In the upper sphere from Sala Consilina (Fig. 1) is a figure in a position of prayer: orant with three legs. This composition introduces another act typical of *solar landscapes* – honoring of the Sun. Although frequent and important for the story, orants are usually depicted “enigmatically/mysteriously” and they are not always drawn in *solar landscape* but they are easily assumed in these cases. And vice versa, basic ideas of *solar landscape* are immanent to many independent prehistoric figures of orants/adorants, usually of unknown identity, but that are drawn with definite solar attributes on the body/attire or in their immediate surrounding in different cultures from the European metal periods. Some of them, in Vučedol,³⁵ probably represent the triumphant Sun itself. In some cases the celestial figure of Orion might have had a similar role, understood as one of the Sun’s aspects.³⁶

In the *landscape* from Sala Consilina, along the subject of Sun’s rising and subject of worship of the Sun, there is also a depiction of the

³³ S. KUKOČ, 2012, 92-101, sl. 25-27, 29.

³⁴ Egipatska divovska zmija Apop guta vode podzemnog Nila. Za svoje noćne plovidbe Ra pobjeđuje Apopa i oslobađa svekolike vode, zemaljske i nebeske. I tada Ra izlazi na obzoru u istočnim planinama, prelazi na dnevnu lađu i počinje njegovu plovidbu nebeskim vodama Nila: M. J. MATJE, 1990, 56-60.

³⁵ A. DURMAN, 2000, sl. 80, sl. 45.

³⁶ A. DURMAN, 2000, 78, sl. 41.

³³ S. KUKOČ, 2012, 92-101, fig. 25-27, 29.

³⁴ Egyptian giant snake Apophis swallows water of underground Nile. During its night sailing Ra defeats Apophis and releases all waters, celestial and earthly. That is when Ra rises on the horizon in eastern mountains, goes to daily boat and his sailing in celestial waters of Nile begins, M. J. MATJE, 1990, 56-60.

³⁵ A. DURMAN, 2000, fig. 80, fig. 45.

³⁶ A. DURMAN, 2000, 78, fig. 41.

no je, dakle, i Sunčevo djelovanje na donje sfere, a iskazano je okomitom cik-cak motivom.

Okomiti cik-cak motiv obično izlazi iz neke horizontale na kojoj samo visi (Sl. 10A, a-b, f; 10B) ili pak, kao u Sali Consilini i drugdje, u svom padu dotiče drugu, donju horizontalu (Sl. 3d; 9; 10A, c, e, g-h; 11 d, f, k, m). Kod oba tipa brojne inačice razlikuju se po dužini, pravilnosti i izlomljenosti crta: s vrlo oštrim ili gotovo valovitim potezima (Sl. 11i, 12d). Ponekad je teško jasno razlikovati cik-cak motiv valovitih okomica (Sl. 11 e, j, l) od motiva munje (Sl. 10A, b, d-e; 11 b-c, g, j). Pogotovo mogućom simbolikom, okomiti cik-cak motiv na ovoj keramici bitno se i ne razlikuje od valovitih okomica jer oba u određenim regijama imaju relativno dugotrajno slične kompozicijske položaje, stoga, i funkcije u slici. U ranim razdobljima keramike GOJI oba se najčešće crtaju u gornjem kompozicijskom dijelu, na vratu posude (Sl. 3a-d, 4a-c, 12e, 13a), dok se kasnije sve češće premještaju na njezine niže dijelove i tada se obično svode na male snopove od nekoliko crta, odnosno, na jednu crtu (Sl. 13e-f). Samom formom oba označavaju određeno zračenje prema dolje.

Okomiti cik-cak motiv različitih inačica crta se već na protogeometrijskoj keramici (Sl. 9).³⁷ Tijekom geometrijskih, ali i u kasnijim, subgeometrijskim izrazima keramike GOJI crta se u enotrijskim regijama (Sl. 2a, 3d). Čest je u Apulija, na njezinom sjeveru (Daunija) te na jugu, točnije, u svijetu mesapske keramike (Salento i dio središnje Apulije).³⁸ Pojavljuje se i u širem području Bradana (Sl. 10A g-h),³⁹ mikroregiji u kojoj su se dodirivali enotrijski i (južno)apulski likovni elementi.⁴⁰

U Dauniji cik-cak motiv okomitih crta traje čak u određenom kontinuitetu od proto-

Sun affecting lower spheres denoted with a vertical zig-zag motif.

Vertical zig-zag motif usually comes out of some horizontal on which it hangs (Fig. 10A, a-b, f; 10B) or as in Sala Consilina and elsewhere, in its fall it touches other, lower horizontal (Fig. 3 d; 9; 10A, c, e, g-h; 11 d, f, k, m). In both types numerous variants can be distinguished regarding length, straightness or brokenness: with very sharp or almost wavy strokes (Fig. 11i, 12d). Sometimes it is even hard to differentiate a zig-zag motif from wavy verticals (Fig. 11 e, j, l), and even motif of a lightning bolt (Fig. 10A, b, d-e; 11 b-c, g, j). Vertical zig-zag motif on this pottery is not significantly different from wavy verticals, especially concerning possible symbolics because both have similar compositional positions and thence functions in the image in certain regions for a relatively long period of time. In the early periods of the GPSI pottery they are both usually drawn in the upper compositional part, on the neck of the vessel (Fig. 3a-d, 4a-c, 12e, 13a), while later they move to its lower parts often being reduced to small bundles of several lines, or only one line (Fig. 13 e-f). Their form signifies certain downward radiation.

Vertical zig-zag motif in different variants of lines appears already on protogeometric pottery (Fig. 9).³⁷ It can be found on geometric and subgeometric pottery in Enotrian regions (Fig. 2a, 3d). It is frequent in Puglia, in its north (Daunia) and in the south, more precisely in the world of Messapian pottery (Salento and part of central Puglia).³⁸ It is also present in the wider Bradano region (Fig. 10A g-h),³⁹ microregion where Enotrian and (southern)Apulian elements touched.⁴⁰

In Daunia zig-zag motif with vertical lines lasted in certain continuity from the Protogeometric expression,⁴¹ then in the 9th – 8th cen-

³⁷ D. YNTEMA, 1985, 23-24.

³⁸ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1997, 9, 12, 21.

³⁹ D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 139/3, 17, 146-147.

⁴⁰ D. YNTEMA, 1985, 144.

³⁷ D. YNTEMA, 1985, 23-24.

³⁸ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1997, 9, 12, 21.

³⁹ D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 139/3, 17, 146-147.

⁴⁰ D. YNTEMA, 1985, 144.

⁴¹ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XXVII/2; M. MAZZEI, 2010, 21,

geometrijskoga izraza,⁴¹ zatim tijekom 9. – 8. st. pr. Kr. na keramici starijeg i srednjeg geometrijskog likovnog izraza,⁴² do oblika u kasnom geometrijskom⁴³ te subgeometrijskom (7/6. st. pr. Kr. – 4. st. pr. Kr.) slikarstvu⁴⁴ (Sl. 10A, a-f; 10B; 12d; 31a). Izvedbe cik-cak okomica (Sl. 11f) u salentinskom krugu, koji je rano bio otvoren balkanskim i egejskim likovnim oblicima, vrlo su česte iz vremena prvog znatnijeg uvoza grčke keramike (kasne geometrijske) na tom prostoru.⁴⁵ No, cik-cak okomice u salentinskoj sintaksi također se pojavljuju i ranije (Sl. 11d) i, uz određena preoblikovanja, traju kroz 7. i 6. st. pr. Kr.⁴⁶ (Sl. 11m). Imaju izravne likovne analogije već u starijoj grčkoj keramici iz 9./8. st. pr. Kr.: srednje korintskoj⁴⁷, zapadno-grčkoj protogeometrijskoj – Itaka⁴⁸ (Sl. 14A a, c-d).⁴⁹ Unatoč tome, cik-cak okomice, uz ostale „grčke“ motive, pripadaju skupini likovnih elemenata koji su na keramici GOJI korišteni na autohtoni način.

Izvornost ovog motiva posredno potvrđuje i podatak da je već u 9. st. pr. Kr., tijekom ranog geometrijskog izraza na apeninskom jugu, na primjer, u Otrantu (Sl. 11a), na vratu urne bio naslikan motiv nekad nazvan „kuka“.⁵⁰ On je likovno izrazito blizak cik-cak elementu, no najbliži je uobičajenom znaku munje/groma, to jest, sile koja se skokovito, također svojevrsnim cik-cak gibanjem širi prostorom. Štoviše, motiv munje („kuke“) ovdje je bio obogaćen s kratkim poprečnim crticama: sitnim zrakama. Crte/vrpce sa sitnim zrakastim ili točkastim dodacima (Sl.

turies BC on the pottery of the older and the Middle Geometric expression,⁴² to forms in the Late Geometric⁴³ and Subgeometric (7th/6th cent. BC – 4th cent. BC) painting (Fig. 10A, a-f; 10B; 12d; 31a).⁴⁴ Zig-zag verticals (Fig. 11f) in the Salentinian circle, that was open to the Balkan and Aegean artistic forms early on, are very common from the time of the first import of Greek pottery (Late Geometric) in this region.⁴⁵ However zig-zag verticals in the Salentinian syntax appeared earlier also (Fig. 11d) and lasted through the 7th and 6th centuries BC with certain adjustments⁴⁶ (Fig. 11m). They have direct visual parallels in older Greek pottery from the 9th/8th century BC (middle Corinthian⁴⁷, western Greek protogeometric – Ithaca⁴⁸; Fig. 14A, a, c-d).⁴⁹ Nevertheless, zig-zag verticals, alongside other “Greek” motifs belong to a group of elements that were used in an autochthonous way on the GPSI pottery.

Originality of this motif is indirectly confirmed by the fact that as early as the 9th century BC, in the Early Geometric expression in the Apennine south, for instance, Otranto (Fig. 11a), the motif once known as “hook” was painted on the neck of an urn.⁵⁰ It is very close in visual terms to the zig-zag element, but it is closest to the common sign for thunder/lightning i.e. force that spreads in space by leaps and bounds, also in a kind of zig-zag movement. What is more, the motif of lightning (“hook”) was enriched with short transversal lines: little rays. Lines/bands with small radiate or dot-like elements (Fig. 26b),⁵¹ are typical of the early (so-called Iapigian or Enotrian – Iapigian⁵²)

⁴¹ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XXVII/2; M. MAZZEI, 2010, 21, sl. d.

⁴² E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XXIX/35.

⁴³ D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 209/28.

⁴⁴ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, TXXXVI/3, T XXXVIII/53.

⁴⁵ D. YNTEMA, 1985, 62, sl. 50/7.

⁴⁶ D. YNTEMA, 1985, 65-76, sl. 47/20-21, 65/6-8, 80/12.

⁴⁷ J. N. COLDSTREAM, 2003, 82-83, sl. 26 f-h.

⁴⁸ A. M. SNODGRASS, 2000, 84-86, sl. 42; J. N. COLDSTREAM, 2003, 182-186.

⁴⁹ J. N. COLDSTREAM, 2003, 143, 194, 202-203, sl. 45 a, 65 a, c, e.

⁵⁰ D. YNTEMA, 1985, 37, sl. 17/15-16, sl. 19.

fig. d.

⁴² E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XXIX/35.

⁴³ D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 209/28.

⁴⁴ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, TXXXVI/3; T XXXVIII/53.

⁴⁵ D. YNTEMA, 1985, 62, fig. 50/7.

⁴⁶ D. YNTEMA, 1985, 65-76, fig. 47/20-21; 65/6-8; 80/12.

⁴⁷ J. N. COLDSTREAM, 2003, 82-83, fig. 26 f-h.

⁴⁸ J. N. COLDSTREAM, 2003, 182-186; A. M. SNODGRASS, 2000, 84-86, fig. 42.

⁴⁹ J. N. COLDSTREAM, 2003, 143, 194, 202-203, fig. 45 a; 65 a, c, e.

⁵⁰ D. YNTEMA, 1985, 37, fig. 17/15-16, fig. 19.

⁵¹ D. YNTEMA, 1985, 33-34, 38, fig. 17/13-14, 16-19.

⁵² E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977; 1997, 7.

26b),⁵¹ tipične su već za ranu (tzv. japišku ili enotrijsko-japišku⁵²) keramiku južne Italije iz 9. st. pr. Kr. (*Geometrico Antico*), u doba još neizdiferenciranih regionalnih/mjesnih proizvodnih središta. Takve „raščupane“ crte/vrpce (*frayed bands*), ponajprije horizontale, dobro su zastupljene u svijetu mesapske keramike (Salento) (Sl. 15b), ali i u Basilikati, ponešto u sjevernoj Apuliji (Daunia) te u Sali Consilini.⁵³ One nisu samo ukrasne, bar ne uvijek, na primjer, na posudi iz tarantinskog depozita Borgo Nuovo (Sl. 15b), oslikanoj u srednjegeometrijskom mesapskom izrazu,⁵⁴ također i na keramici 9. st. pr. Kr. u Kampaniji (Sl. 26a). Motiv salentinske munje („kuke“) u Otrantu (Sl. 11a) naslikan je na onom dijelu urne gdje su se u različitim regijama keramike GOJI po urnama i drugim posudama tijekom protogeometrijskog i geometrijskog likovnog izraza crtali gusti snopovi ili pak samo jedna okomica različito oblikovana, najčešće ipak valovito (Sl. 3a-d; 12e; 13a).

Motiv valovitih okomica također počinje u protogeometrijskom⁵⁵ (Sl. 12 a, c, e), odnosno, u rano/geometrijskom⁵⁶ slikarstvu južne Italije (Sl. 3; 4; 12 b, f-g; 13 a-d) i ima regionalni/mjesni tok oblikovanja. U Salentu postoji u 9. st. pr. Kr. (Sl. 13a), ali tu valovite okomice nisu naslikane u vidu gustog snopa, kao u istovremenom enotrijskom svijetu, tijekom 9. i 8. st. pr. Kr. (Sl. 3b, 4a). Iako i valovite okomice imaju izravne analogije na grčkoj keramici, posebno na srednje- i kasnokorintskoj⁵⁷ i drugoj,⁵⁸ njihova autohtonost

pottery from southern Italy of the 9th century BC (*Geometrico Antico*), in the period of still non-differentiated regional/local production centers. Such “frayed” bands, primarily horizontals, are well represented in the world of the Messapian pottery (Salento) (Fig. 15b), but also in Basilicata, some in northern Puglia (Daunia) and in Sala Consilina.⁵³ They are not purely decorative, at least not always. For instance, on the vessel from the Taranto deposit Borgo Nuovo (Fig. 15b), painted in the Middle Geometric Messapian expression,⁵⁴ also on the pottery from the 9th century BC (Fig. 26a). The motif of the Salentine lightning (“hook”) in Otranto (Fig. 11a) is painted in that part of the urn where thick bundles or only one vertical in different variants, usually wavy, were painted in different regions of the GPSI pottery in the Protogeometric and Geometric expression (Fig. 3 a-d; 12e; 13a).

Motif of wavy verticals also starts in the Protogeometric⁵⁵ (Fig. 12 a, c, e), i.e. Early/Geometric painting⁵⁶ of southern Italy (Fig. 3-4: 12 b, f-g; 13a-d) and has a regional/local course of development. In Salento it occurs in the 9th century BC, (Fig. 13a), but here wavy verticals are not painted as a thick bundle, as in synchronous Enotrian world, in the 9th and 8th centuries BC (Fig. 3b, 4a). Although wavy verticals have direct analogies in the Greek pottery, particularly in the Middle and Late Corinthian expression⁵⁷ and other,⁵⁸ their autochthonousness on the GPSI pottery (Fig. 13a) is attested even more easily than the zig-zag verticals. Wavy verticals, consisting of only one line or a bundle

⁵¹ D. YNTEMA, 1985, 33-34, 38, sl. 17/13-14, 16-19.

⁵² E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977; E. M. DE JULIIS, 1997, 7.

⁵³ D. YNTEMA, 1985, 38, 41-44.

⁵⁴ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1997, 24, sl. 16. Kompozicija je podijeljena na tri dijela; gornji, donji i središnji s motivom ptica. U gornjem dijelu sitne zrake vise iz horizontale, dok se u donjem iz horizontale dižu prema gore. Time se i u ovom, likovno neuglednom detalju, ponavlja misao o gibanju gore-dolje i obratno.

⁵⁵ D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 6/6; 9.

⁵⁶ D. YNTEMA, 1985, 17/12; 31; 48/35-36.

⁵⁷ A. M. SNODGRASS, 2000, sl. 24-25, 49, 50d.

⁵⁸ A. M. SNODGRASS, 2000, sl. 48, 50a. Motiv valovite okomice u Salentu interpretiran je kao grčka posuđenica, no

⁵³ D. YNTEMA, 1985, 38, 41-44.

⁵⁴ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1997, 24, fig. 16. The composition is divided into three parts, the upper, lower and central with a motif of birds. In the upper part little rays hang from a horizontal, while in the lower part they rise upwards from a horizontal. In that way even this plain detail is used to repeat the idea of the motion up - down and vice versa.

⁵⁵ D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 6/6; 9.

⁵⁶ D. YNTEMA, 1985, 17/12; 31; 48/35-36.

⁵⁷ A. M. SNODGRASS, 2000, fig. 24-25, 49, 50 d.

⁵⁸ A. M. SNODGRASS, 2000, fig. 48, 50a. Motif of a wavy vertical in Salento was interpreted as a Greek loan, but adjusted considerably to local taste, D. YNTEMA, 1985, 74-76, Fig. 50/8.

na keramici GOJI (Sl. 13a), još se lakše dokazuje od cik-cak okomica. Jer valovite okomice, sastavljene od samo jedne crte ili pak njihovog snopa, koje često poprimaju *a tremolo* izgled, vjerojatno su, uz brojne inačice „običnih“ ravnih okomica (i trokut), najčešći motivi gotovo na sveukupnoj keramici GOJI.

U kontekstu mogućeg grčkog utjecaja na nastanak motiva i shema na salentinskoj, kao i drugoj keramici GOJI, važno mjesto pripada grčkim kompozicijama upravo s kombinacijom trokuta i jednostavnih okomica⁵⁹ (Sl. 14b-e). Njima su, načelno, mogle biti inspirirane rane apeninske sheme s okomicama između dvaju trokuta (Sl. 7; 8A, a). No, one se na apeninskim prostorima pojavljuju prije grčke kolonizacije, i što je važnije, ponekad se koriste na potpuno autohtoni način. To, dakako, najbolje dokazuju domaći *solarni krajolici* s trokutima, bilo „narativni“ u svojoj apstraktnosti (Sl. 1, 2a, 5) ili pak oni likovno izrazito reducirani, u kojima su jednostavne okomice zamijenjene nekim drugim (vertikalnim) motivom solarnog značenja (Sl. 8A, d; 8B, a; 14a-b). Nasuprot njima, grčke kompozicije uglavnom djeluju dekorativno, jer nemaju izraženije simboličke naglaske. Isto se, međutim, odnosi i na pojedine rane salentinske prizore (Borgo Nuovo: Sl. 7) za koje je upitna simbolična struktura *solarnog krajolika*.

Među kompozicijama koje se zasnivaju na odnosu (nebeske) horizontale i vertikala, najjednostavnija je ona likovno krajnje sažeta, sazdana samo od horizontale i jedne vertikale (Sl. 20f-g, 26b), odnosno, od dviju (Sl. 20f, 21b-c) ili više vertikala (Sl. 15 f, i-j; 16h; 20h;

znatno prilagođena domaćem ukusu: D. YNTEMA, 1985, 74-76, sl. 50/8.

⁵⁹ Isto se odnosi i na pojedine grčke protogeometrijske sheme s okomicama (valovitim/cik-cak i drugima), nacrtnim između dvaju polukrugova koji su položeni na horizontali: A. M. SNODGRASS, 2000, 67, sl. 29. Ali to već dotiče problematiku odnosa grčke protogeometrijske keramike i završne mikenske koja se široko oponašala od Grčke do Makedonije i Albanije: L. BEJKO, 2007, 205, T L; Z. VIDESKI, 2007, 212, T LIVa-b.

of such lines, that often take *a tremolo* look, are probably, together with numerous variants of “regular” verticals (and triangle), the most frequent motifs on almost entire GPSI pottery.

Compositions with a combination of a triangle and simple verticals⁵⁹ (Fig. 14 b-e) are important in the context of possible Greek influence on formation of motifs and schemes on the Salentine, and other GPSI pottery. They could have served as an inspiration for the early Apennine schemes with verticals between two triangles (Fig. 7, 8A a). However, in the Apennine region they appear before Greek colonization, and even more importantly, sometimes they are used in a completely autochthonous way. This is best illustrated by local *solar landscapes* with triangles, whether “narrative” in their abstractness (Fig. 1, 2a, 5) or extremely reduced in visual terms, in which simple verticals are replaced with some other (vertical) motif with solar meaning (8A d, 8B a, 14 a-b). As opposed to these, Greek compositions mostly seem decorative, as they do not have more pronounced symbolic accents. The same refers to certain early Salentine scenes (Borgo Nuovo: Fig. 7) whose *solar landscape* is uncertain.

Among the compositions that are based on the relation of the (celestial) horizontal and the vertical, the simplest one is the most concise one consisting of only a horizontal and one vertical (Fig. 20 f-g, 26 b), or two (Fig. 20 f, 21 b-c), or several verticals (Fig. 15 f, i-j, 16 h, 20 h; 21 a). By simplicity of their form they are all identified with ancient Π (Pi), a sign/symbol and letter in some pictographic scripts. It is related to the notion of infinite and the Sky itself. This, and many other simple schemes (Fig. 10A a-b, f, 12 d-g, 14B e, 15 d-l, 16 d-l, 17 e-u, 18 a, c-d, 20 a-d, 22 g, i, 27 a-b, d-h) are primeval

⁵⁹ The same applies to certain Greek protogeometric schemes with verticals (wavy/zig-zag and other), drawn between two semicircles laid on a horizontal, A. M. SNODGRASS, 2000, 67, fig. 29. However this has to do with the relations of the Greek protogeometric pottery and final Mycenaean pottery that was imitated widely from Greece to Macedonia and Albania: L. BEJKO, 2007, 205, T L; Z. VIDESKI, 2007, 212, T LIVa-b.

21a). Jednostavnošću svojih formi sve one u biti jednače se s drevnim Π (Pi), znakom/simbolom i slovom u nekim slikovnim pismima. On je vezi s pojmom beskonačnoga i samog Neba. Ove, i mnoge druge jednostavne sheme (Sl. 10A, a-b, f; 12d-g; 14B, e; 15d-l; 16d-l; 17e-u; 18 a, c-d; 20a-d; 22 g, i; 27 a-b, d-h), iskonske su semantičke cjeline ili *elementarne solarne sekvence*. Likovno su krajnje reducirane, ne smanjive, ali sadrže bit solarne simbolike. Svojevrsni su aksiomi arhaične i svezremenske solarne simbolike. Sastavni su dio složenih *solarnih krajolika* (Sl. 1; 2a; 3a-d; 4a-c; 5; 16b; 20f; 24 b-c, e; 26c-e; 27j), ili se pojavljuju samostalno, često i kao glavni, odnosno, jedini motiv neke kompozicije (Sl. 10A c-d, 10B, 16a, 19A, 20h, 21a-d, 27c-i) i tada su, u relevantnim kulturnim kontekstima, *pars pro toto solarne krajolika* (Sl. 14B g).

Većina glavnih motiva povremeno visi o nekoj horizontali: jedna jedina okomita crta (Sl. 20 f), snopovi cik-cak, valovitih i raznolikih ravnih okomica (Sl. 15 c, f, i-j; 16 b, e; 17 j-k; 20 a-b, h), trokuti različite obrade uključujući i one zrakaste i *a tenda* (Sl. 15 d-e, k; 16 f-g, j; 17 g-h, l-p; 20 c-d, g; 24 a,; 26 d-e), ljestve (sl. 15 g), motiv *triprsta* (Sl. 13, d, 16 a, c, 26 d) te inačicama⁶⁰ složen motiv trapeza/pregače⁶¹ (Sl. 17, t-u, 18 b, d, 19B b, 24 e), zatim „ptičja lađa“ (Sl. 15 l, 16 d), ponekad čak i motiv pektoralnog nakita u vidu „ptičje lađe“ (Sl. 16 b), napokon, i *potnija theron* (Sl. 16 c, k, 17 i, r).⁶² Vješanje motiva očito je bio jedan od ključnih autohtonih crtačkih postupaka za velik dio keramike GOJI. Provodio se gotovo stalno, no njegov pravi porast vidi se od 7. – 6. st. pr. Kr. i nadalje, u enotrijskom⁶³ (Sl. 27c-i) i apulskom krugu, a posebno u daunskom (Sl. 17m-u, 18a-d). S vremenom,

semantic wholes or *elementary solar sequences*. They are utterly reduced in visual terms, not diminished, but they contain the essence of solar symbolics. They are a kind of axioms of archaic and timeless solar symbolics. They belong to complex *solar landscapes* (Fig. 1, 2 a, 3 a-d, 4 a-c, 5, 16 b, 20 f, 24 b-c, e, 26 c-e, 27 j), or they appear independently, often as main, or the only motif of a composition (Fig. 10A c-d, 10B, 16 a, 19A, 20 h, 21 a-d, 27 c-i), and even then they are *pars pro toto* of *solar landscape* in relevant cultural contexts (Fig. 14B g).

Most of the main motifs occasionally hang on some horizontal (Fig. 15 c, f, i-j; 16 b, e; 17 j-k; 20 a-b, h), including different triangles (Fig. 15 d-e, k; 16 f-g, j; 17 g-h, l-p; 20 c-d, g; 24 a; 26 d-e), ladder (Fig. 15 g), motif of a *three-finger* (Fig. 13, d; 16 a, c; 26 d), to a complex motif of trapezoid/apron⁶⁰ rich in variants⁶¹ (Fig. 17, t-u; 18 b, d; 19 B b; 24e), then “bird boat” (Fig. 15l; 16d), sometimes even motifs of pectoral jewelry in form of “bird boat” (Fig. 16b), and finally *potnia theron* (Fig. 16 c, k; 17 i, r).⁶²

Hanging of motifs was evidently one of crucial autochthonous drawing procedures for a big part of the GPSI pottery. It was practiced all the time, but its increase can be noticed from the 7th and 6th centuries BC onwards: in the Enotrian⁶³ (Fig. 27 c-i) and Apulian circle, and especially in the Daunian (Fig. 17 m-u, 18 a-d). With time, hanging geometric forms, including the anthropomorphous ones, became increasingly diverse (Fig. 21 d).

Manner of hanging motifs was characteristic of many European visual expressions of the metal periods that are symbolical and have solar basis. Occasional participation of “hanging” motifs in definite (Fig. 16 b) and more frequently in (highly) likely *solar landscapes* of the GPSI pottery, is an important starting point

⁶⁰ Na primjer, na posudi u grobu 81, Novilara – Servici. K. W. BEINHAUER, 1985, T 133/1474; C. GOBBI, 2000, 203.

⁶¹ D. YNTEMA, 1985, 239, sl. 219/a.

⁶² Š. BATOVIĆ, 1976, 75, sl. 20; V. KUČAR, 1979, T II/5; D. GLOGOVIĆ, 1979, 70-71, 74.

⁶³ D. YNTEMA, 1985, 127-128, 135-136.

⁶⁰ D. YNTEMA, 1985, 239, fig. 219/a.

⁶¹ E. g. on the vessel in grave 81, Novilara – Servici. K. W. BEINHAUER, 1985, T 133/1474; C. GOBBI, 2000, 203.

⁶² Š. BATOVIĆ, 1976, 75, fig. 20; V. KUČAR, 1979, T II/5; D. GLOGOVIĆ, 1979, 70-71, 74.

⁶³ D. YNTEMA, 1985, 127-128, 135-136.

obješene geometrijske forme, uključujući i one antropomorfne, postaju sve raznovrsnije (Sl. 21d).

Manira vješanja motiva primjerena je mnogim europskim likovnostima kovinskih razdoblja koje se simbolične i upravo solarno utemeljene. Povremeno sudjelovanje „obješenih“ motiva u nedvojbenim (Sl. 16b) te znatno češće tek u (vrlo) vjerojatnim *solarnim krajolicima* keramike GOJI, važno je polazište u propitivanju dobrog dijela njezine semantičke sintakse.

Keramika GOJI, posebno u nekim svojim proizvodnim regijama, obiluje ovakvim sažetim ikonografskim shemama. Međutim, one često nemaju simbolički relevantan kontekst i u njima, kao uostalom i na sveukupnoj keramici GOJI, vrlo česta je „praznina“ slikovnog kazivanja. (Sl. 13, c, e-f; 15 c; 22 f, h; 24 a). S tim u vezi: je li slog s obješenim ljestvama na već dobro poznatoj posudi iz Borgo Nuovo (Sl. 22e) također simboličan prikaz Sunčeva uspona?

Ovakve dileme nisu neobične za kulturni fenomen poput keramike GOJI koja je enormno dugo trajala, osobito u nekim sredinama (Daunija). Nije neobično određeno „hlađenje“ ili gubitak izvorne simbolike, različitim ritmom u različitim regijama, možda najbrže u Salentu, gdje je solarna simbolika od samog početka najapstraktnija i stoga najslabije čitljiva. Za keramiku GOJI u cjelini očito vrijedi pitanje: koje su slike tek ikonografski derivat simbolike *solarnog krajolika*? Tu je i problem značenja protogeometrijskog slikarstva. U mnogim njegovim slikama već postoji kompozicijska igra pravaca, horizontala i vertikalna, što podsjeća na *solarni krajolik* (Sl. 12d-e). No, on se još ne dokazuje lako. Tim slikama nedostaju neupitni solarni znakovi, dakle, oni za koje se sa sigurnošću može tvrditi da nisu samo proizvod omiljene geometrijske likovne forme. Ipak, i ovakve protogeometrijske slike ikonografsko-semantički uvod su u kasnije doradene *solarne krajolike*. Uostalom, i sam rano geometrijski motiv tro-

in understanding a good part of its semantic syntax.

The GPSI pottery, especially in some production regions, abounds in these concise iconographic schemes. However they often do not have symbolically relevant context. However they often do not have symbolically relevant context and in them, just like in the entire GPSI pottery, “void” of pictorial narration is quite common (Fig. 13, c, e-f, 15 c, 22 f, h, 24 a). In that regard – is the sequence with hanging ladder on the well known vessel from Borgo Nuovo (Fig. 22e) also a symbolical depiction of the Sun rising?

Such dilemmas are not unusual for a cultural phenomenon such as the GPSI pottery that was exceptionally long lasting, particularly in some areas (Daunia). It is not unusual to notice certain “cooling” or loss of original symbolics, in different rhythms in different regions, perhaps most quickly in Salento where solar symbolics was most abstract from the beginning and therefore most difficult to read. A question that is valid for the entire GPSI pottery is what pictures are just an iconographic derivative of the symbolics of solar landscape? There is also a problem of importance of protogeometric painting. In many of its pictures there is already a compositional game of straight lines: horizontals and verticals, reminiscent of *solar landscape* (Fig. 12 d-e). However it is not easy to confirm it. What these pictures lack are definite solar signs, the ones that were definitely not just a product of the favourite geometric form. However even these protogeometric pictures are an iconographic and semantical introduction to later improved *solar landscapes*. Even the early geometric motif of a triangle (Fig. 4 a) is a protogeometric survival (Fig. 12 e, 17 a), as well as several other motifs (Fig. 12 a, c-f).

Relation of the “upper” and the “lower” and their merging in the spatial (spatial) whole has been articulated into a *solar landscape* for the first time only in certain pictures of the Early Geometric expression (*Geometrico Antico*) of the 9th century BC (Fig. 4a). They are based on

kuta (Sl. 4a), protogeometrijsko je naslijeđe (Sl. 12e, 17a), kao i više drugih motiva (Sl. 12 a, c-f).

Odnos „gornjeg“ i „donjeg“ te njihovo stapanje u prostornoj (semantičkoj) cjelini, dakle, prvi put je jasno uobličeno u *solarni krajolik* tek u pojedinim slikama ranog geometrijskog izraza (*Geometrico Antico*) 9. st. pr. Kr. (Sl. 4a). Temelje se na istoj shemi kao i Sala Consilina (Sl. 1), s trokutima koji su bočno praćeni solarnim znacima. Ti trokuti još nisu konkavni (*a tenda*), no, obradom već su njihova prethodnica, dakle, svojevrsna *prototenda*.

U solarnoj „dijalektici“ gore-dolje i lijevo-desno, ljestve su od davnina uobičajeno sredstvo Sunčeva uspona/spusta. To je jasno predočeno u drevnim prapovijesnim crtežima izrazito religijskog karaktera: u europskom slikarstvu na stelama i stijenama iz eneolitika i brončanog doba (Sl. 38),⁶⁴ u scenama s nedvojbena solarnom simboličnom strukturom, s „konkretnim“ Suncem. Simbolika ljestava, koje vode Suncu i Nebu (bogovima), vjerojatno je najčitljivija u egipatskim pokopima s modelima i slikama ljestava prilaganih pokojniku.⁶⁵ Neizostavna je, napokon, jedna od elementarnih, arhetipskih povezanosti ljestava i Neba u šamanizmu sjeverne i srednje Azije,⁶⁶ kada se tijekom obreda slikovito uspostavlja simboličan odnos: ljestve/uspon – deblo/stablo (*axis mundi*) – Nebo/šator. Pitanje je koji trenutak Sunčeva uzdizanja iz kozmičkih voda doista označava vertikalna ljestava u pojedinoj slici: njegov hod godišnji ili sezonski, primjerice, solsticijski (ljetni, zimski) ili neki drugi također visoke religijske (obredne) važnosti za zajednicu, ili pak samo onaj dnevni? Ovaj zadnji, međutim, obično se zamišlja i najlakše predočava po horizontali. Svekoliko pak Sunčevo kretanje u osnovi se „odvijalo“ po imaginarnom krugu (disku)

the same scheme as Sala Consilina (Fig. 1) with triangles laterally accompanied with solar signs. These triangles are still not concave (*a tenda*), but their rendering makes them their predecessors, a sort of *prototenda*.

In the solar dialectics up – down, left – right, ladder is a common means of Sun's ascent/descent. This is clearly depicted in ancient prehistoric drawings of distinctly religious character: in European painting on stelae and rocks from the Eneolithic and Bronze Age (Fig. 38),⁶⁴ in the scenes with doubtless solar symbolic structure, with “concrete” Sun. Symbolics of the ladder, leading to the Sun and Sky (gods), is probably most easily readable in the Egyptian burials with models and pictures of ladder given to the deceased person..⁶⁵ Finally, one of elementary, archetypal connections of ladder and the Sky in shamanism of northern and central Asia⁶⁶ needs to be mentioned where symbolical relation is established during the ritual: ladder/rise – trunk/tree (*axis mundi*) – Sky/tent. The question is what moment of the Sun's rise from cosmic waters is actually denoted by a ladder vertical in certain images: its yearly or seasonal path, for instance, solstitial (summer, winter) or some other moment of high religious importance for the community, or only the daily one? This last one is usually visualized and most easily depicted in a horizontal. Complete Sun's path “happened” after an imaginary circle (disc), with “coordinates” inscribed in a circle, meaning in sign of the number 4.

Ladder, *a scaletta* motif, had been painted on the GPSI pottery already in the Protogeometric period (Fig. 22 a), and most evidently from the transition from the 9th/8th century BC onwards: in Calabria (Fig. 8 b-c),⁶⁷ Cam-

⁶⁴ E. ANATI, 1968, 117-136, sl. 15, 16, 60, 63, 74.

⁶⁵ E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, 1989, 51-54.

⁶⁶ M. ELIADE, 1990, 37-77.

⁶⁴ E. ANATI, 1968, 117-136, fig. 15, 60, 63, 74.

⁶⁵ E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, 1989, 51-54.

⁶⁶ M. ELIADE, 1990, 37-77.

⁶⁷ D. YNTEMA, 1985, 312, fig. 304 a; M. KLEIRBRINK, L. BARESSI, M. FASANELLA MASCI, 2012, 8, fig. 8. In Calabria, sometimes also elsewhere, ladder resembles narrow rectangular reticular motif, M. KLEIRBRINK, L. BARESSI, M. FASANELLA MASCI, 2012, fig. 10-11.

s križno upisanim „koordinatama“, dakle, u znaku broja 4.

Ljestve, motiv *a scaletta*, na keramici GOJI crtaju se već u protogeometrijskom razdoblju (Sl. 22a), a najvidljivije od prijelaza 9./8. st. pr. Kr. nadalje u Kalabriji (Sl. 8b-c),⁶⁷ Kampaniji (Sl. 1, 3c), Basilikati (Sl. 6, 22i)⁶⁸ i Apuliji, sjevernoj (Sl. 22b-d)⁶⁹ i južnoj. Gotovo uvijek su naslikane u dodiru s nekim horizontalnim pravcem o kojemu vise ili su smještene u horizontalnom pojasu, između dvaju usporednih horizontala (Sl. 22b). Crtaju se u nekoliko inačica. Najprije, uobičajenim načinom, s poprečnim usporednim crticama između dviju dugih okomica⁷⁰ (Sl. 1, 6). Treba im priključiti ljestve koje su na isti način izvedene, ali su u prostoru zakošene (Sl. 22d).⁷¹ Predočene su i nizom usporednih, ali kosih crtica između dviju okomica⁷² (Sl. 22 a-c, f-i) i, na kraju, mogu se prepoznati u motivu „širokih ljestava“, tipičnih za regionalni (mesapski) *Geometrico Medio* (Taranto – Borgo Nuovo, Sl. 22e) s početkom u 8. st. pr. Kr.,⁷³ točnije, na prijelazu 9. na 8. st. pr. Kr. Različiti motivi usporednih poprečnih crta, ponekad i u pratnji konkavnog trokuta (Sl. 10B), tradicionalno ispunjavaju ručke posuda na keramici GOJI. Oslikavanje ručke bilo je određeno njezinom formom. Činjenica je, međutim, da se ponekad, posebno kod oko-

pania (Fig. 1, 3 c), Basilicata (Fig. 6, 22 i)⁶⁸ and Puglia, northern (Fig 22b-d)⁶⁹ and southern. They are almost regularly painted in contact with some horizontal line on which they hang, or in a horizontal belt, between two parallel horizontals (Fig. 22 b). They are drawn in several variants. First in a common way, with transversal parallel lines between two long verticals⁷⁰ (Fig. 1, 6). There is also ladder made in an identical way, but slanted (Fig. 22 d).⁷¹ They are depicted with a series of parallel, but slanted lines between two verticals⁷² (Fig. 22 a-c, f-i) and finally they can be recognized in a motif of “wide ladder”, typical of the regional (Messapian) *Geometrico Medio* (Taranto - Borgo Nuovo, Fig. 22e) beginning in the 8th century BC,⁷³ more precisely at the transition from the 9th to the 8th century BC. Different motifs of parallel transversal lines sometimes accompanied by a concave triangle (Fig 10B), traditionally covers handles of the GPSI pottery. Painting on the handle depended on its form. The fact is that sometimes, particularly with vertical handles, painting is not different from the ladder motif (Fig. 3 c, 10B). Ladder is generally an important visual element in Salerno in the 9th and 8th centuries BC, in the Middle (Fig. 22 f-g) and Late Geometric period,⁷⁴ meaning also in the early 7th century BC (Fig. 22 h). They also play an important role in the context of correspondence of the Balkan (Albanian, Bos-

⁶⁷ D. YNTEMA, 1985, 312, sl. 304 a; M. KLEIRBRINK, L. BARESSI, M. FASANELLA MASCI, 2012, 8, sl. 8. U Kalabriji, ponekad i drugdje, ljestve se približuju uskom pravokutnom mrežastom motivu, M. KLEIRBRINK, L. BARESSI, M. FASANELLA MASCI, 2012, sl. 10-11.

⁶⁸ D. YNTEMA, 1985, 146, sl. 129/16-17; B. CHIARTANO, 1994, T 111.

⁶⁹ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XXX/59; M. MAZZEI, 2010, 62-63, sl. e.

⁷⁰ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, XLIII/146, LXVII.

⁷¹ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XXXI/74; D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 33/31, 48/42, 55.

⁷² E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, XXXIX/75, LXII; D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 30, 33/18-19, 39, 47/6, 129/16-17, 304/a.

⁷³ D. YNTEMA, 1985, 51-53, sl. 34/39, 43. Formalno, ovaj mesapski motiv nije analogan uobičajenim ljestvama. Konturama je blizak trokutu, no bez vrha koji se gubi u spoju s gornjom horizontalom. U njemu se, dakle, spaja oblik (i značenje) motiva obješenog trokuta i samih ljestava. Sintetizirana, njihova značenja još jednom ukazuju na važnost čina vertikalnog uspona/spusta.

⁶⁸ D. YNTEMA, 1985, 146, fig. 129/16-17; B. CHIARTANO, 1994, T 111.

⁶⁹ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XXX/59; M. MAZZEI, 2010, 62-63, fig. e.

⁷⁰ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, XLIII/146, LXVII.

⁷¹ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XXXI/74; D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 33/31; 48/42; 55.

⁷² E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, XXXIX/75, LXII; D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 30, 33/18-19; 39; 47/6; 129/16-17; 304/a.

⁷³ D. YNTEMA, 1985, 51-53, fig. 34/39; 43. Formalno this Messapian motif is not comparable to regular ladder. Its contours make it similar to a triangle, but without a tip that is lost in connection with the upper horizontal. Therefore form (and meaning) of the motifs of hanging triangle and ladder are combined in it. Synthetized, their meanings indicate once again the importance of the act of vertical rising/setting. Basically it is most similar to the “trapezoid” motif.

⁷⁴ D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 39, 43, 47/6; 48/42; 55.

mitih ručki, njihovo oslikavanje ne razlikuje od motiva ljestva (Sl. 3c, 10B). Ljestve su općenito važan likovni element u Salentu u 9./8. st. pr. Kr., kroz srednje (Sl. 22f-g) te kasno geometrijsko razdoblje,⁷⁴ dakle, i tijekom ranog 7. st. pr. Kr. (Sl. 22h). Znakovitu ulogu imaju i u kontekstu podudarnosti balkanskih (albanskih, bosansko-hercegovačkih) (Sl. 22j; 23A, a-b) i južno apulskih likovnih motiva i kulturnih dodira.

Česti su prikazi u kojima se ljestve samo monotono ponavljaju u horizontalnom nizu (Sl. 22f). To se doima ukrasnim, a što, naravno, vrijedi i za sve druge motive samo linearne poslagane na keramici GOJI. Uz rijetke složene prikaze (Sl. 1) postoje oni naglašeno jednostavni u kojima se ljestvama ipak vrlo smisleno određivalo mjesto (funkcija). Primjerice, mali *solarni krajolik* iz Daunije koji počinje ljestvama⁷⁵ (Sl. 22c). Svojom kombinacijom ljestava (okomice) i trokuta kompozicijski je usporediv s više prikaza na keramici GOJI, (Sl. 2 d, f, g; 3c; 6; 10A g), ali i sa slikama izvan apeninskoga svijeta (Sl. 14A, c-d; 23A, a), napokon, i s malom scenom na daunskoj steli iz Arpija.⁷⁶

Još jedan jednostavan prikaz, vrlo sažet *solarni krajolik* ili možda *elementarna solarna sekvencija*, vrlo je pogodan za razumijevanje uloge ljestava u samoj Sali Consilini (Sl. 1). Također potječe iz Daunije,⁷⁷ vjerojatno iz 8. st. pr. Kr. (?) (Sl. 22d). Shema dviju koso o horizontali obješenih ljestava, ili pak jednostavnih crta (Sl. 23A, b), sama po sebi, vizualno asocira upravo na kosinu stranica trokuta. Prikaz iz Daunije (Sl. 22d) ikonografsko-semantički upućuje i na fenomen apeninsko-balkanskih likovnih podudarnosti. Mnogočime odgovara Devoll-prikazu iz

nian-Herzegovinian) (Fig. 22 j, 23A a-b) and southern Apulian motifs and cultural contacts.

There is a number of depictions of ladder in monotonous horizontal row (Fig. 22 f). This seems decorative, which can also be said about all other motifs arranged linearly on the GPSI pottery. Besides rare complex motifs there are some very concise compositions where ladder nevertheless had a determined place (function), for example, small *solar landscape* from Daunia that starts with a ladder⁷⁵ (Fig. 22 c). By its combination of a ladder (vertical) and a triangle in terms of composition it can be compared with several depictions on the GPSI pottery (Fig. 2 d, f, g, 3 c, 6, 10A g), but also with the images outside the Apennine world (Fig. 14A c-d, 23A a), and finally with a small scene on the Daunian stela from Arpi.⁷⁶

Another very simple depiction, very concise *solar landscape* or perhaps *elementary solar sequence* is very suitable for understanding the meaning of ladder in Sala Consilina (Fig. 1). It also originates from Daunia,⁷⁷ probably from the 8th century BC (?) (Fig. 22 d). The scheme of two ladders hanging on a horizontal, or simple lines (Fig. 23A b), is visually evocative of a slope of the triangle sides. Depiction from Daunia (Fig. 22d) indicates the phenomenon of correspondences between the Apennine circle and the Balkans in terms of iconography and semantics. In many ways it corresponds to Devoll depiction from Albania from the 8th century BC⁷⁸ (Fig. 22 j), in which ladder also hangs from the “eastern” or “western” side of the horizontal, but the Daunian ladder ends in a disc. Therefore the Daunian scene implies other comparisons, such as the compositions on the pottery from Bosnia and Herzegovina

⁷⁴ D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 39, 43, 47/6, 48/42, 55.

⁷⁵ Kompozicija je različito datirana, najprije neodređeno, u „protodaunsko“ razdoblje (9. – 8. st. pr. Kr.) (E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XXX/59), a zatim indirektno, u kasno geometrijsko daunsko keramičko slikarstvo, negdje na prijelazu 8. na 7. st. pr. Kr., D. YNTEMA, 1985, 220, 223, bilj. 275.

⁷⁶ M. MAZZEI, 2010, 27.

⁷⁷ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XXXI/74.

⁷⁵ This composition has different datings, first indefinitely to the “proto-Daunian” period (9th-8th c. BC) (E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XXX/59), and then indirectly, to the Late Geometric Daunian painting on pottery, some time at the transition from the 8th to 7th century BC, D. YNTEMA, 1985, 220, 223, note 275.

⁷⁶ M. MAZZEI, 2010, 27.

⁷⁷ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XXXI/74.

⁷⁸ B. ČOVIĆ, 1984, T IV/2; D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 38/c.

Albanije iz 8. st. pr. Kr.⁷⁸ (Sl. 22j), u kojem su ljestve također koso obješene s „istočnog“ i „zapadnog“ boka horizontale. Ali, daunske ljestve završavaju diskom. Stoga daunski prizor nameće i druge usporedbe, na primjer, s kompozicijama na keramici iz Bosne i Hercegovine (Sl. 23A, b-h) iz kasnog brončanog i ranog željeznog doba⁷⁹ s ljestvama, osebujnim trokutima, okomito obješenim diskovima te općenito s vrlo jasnim naglascima na prostornim međuodnosima primjerenima *solarnom krajoliku*. Sve to prate različiti elementarni solarni znakovi i simboli (krug/disk, zrakasti polukrugovi, cik-cak i valovite okomice), a što se ponavlja i na bosansko-hercegovačkim kovinskim izrađevinama.⁸⁰ I sam motiv trokuta ovdje ponekad ima nedvojbena solarna obilježja, na primjer, kada kroz njegovu unutrašnjost prolazi valovita ili cik-cak okomica i dok oko njega vise okomice s diskovima (Sl. 23A, e-g). U Dauniji također postoje prikazi diskova koji vise o horizontali,⁸¹ među kojima je jedan od najizražajnijih, uz to i nedvojbena solarnog „podrijetla“, naslikan na daunskoj posudi srednje geometrijske vrste, uvezenoj u histarski Beram⁸² (Sl. 19B, b).

Devoll-kompozicija s ljestvama (Sl. 22j) bila je i „oživljena“, stanovito antropomorfizirana s bočnim cik-cak horizontalnim dodacima, poput raširenih ruku. Na sličan način bili su dinamizirani i drugi motivi (Sl. 27a), uglavnom iz kasnijeg, subgeometrijskog razdoblja⁸³ (7. – 6/5. st. pr. Kr.) iz različitih regija keramike GOJI, najviše daunske te enotrijske iz Basilikate i same Sale Consiline (Sl. 27b-c). Ovako „oživljeni“ geometrijski motivi pre-rastaju u antropomorfni oblik orantskog tipa (Sl. 27d-j), uvijek s raširenim rukama i šakama, tijelom u naglašenom pokretu, ponekad

(Fig. 23A b-h) from the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age⁷⁹ containing ladder, peculiar triangles, vertically hanging discs and generally strongly pronounced spatial interrelations appropriate for *solar landscape*. All of this is accompanied with different solar signs and symbols (circle/disc, radiate semicircle, zig-zag and wavy verticals), and the same repertory is found on the metal artifacts from Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁸⁰ The motif of a triangle also sometimes has doubtless solar characteristics, for instance, when a wavy or zig-zag line passes through it or when verticals with discs hang around it (Fig. 23A e-g). In Daunia there are also depictions of discs hanging on a horizontal,⁸¹ and one of the most distinct examples of definite solar “origin” was painted on a Daunian vessel of the Middle Geometric type, imported to Histrian Beram⁸² (Fig. 19B b).

Devoll-composition with ladder (Fig. 22 j) was “revived”, or anthropomorphized in a certain way with later zig-zag horizontal additions, such as spread arms. Other motifs were dynamized in a similar way (Fig. 27 a) mainly from later, Subgeometric period⁸³ (7th – 6th/5th century BC) from different regions of the GPSI pottery, mostly Daunian and Enotrian from Basilicata and Sala Consilina (Fig. 27 b-c). These “revived” geometric motifs grow into an anthropomorphous form of the orant type (Fig. 27 d-j), always with the arms and hands spread, body in dynamic movement, sometimes reduced to a horizontal zig-zag motif (Fig. 27 g-i). Also, on the disc of the fibula from Sala Consilina, long zig-zag lines come out of spread arms of a very schematized figure in the *potnia theron* pose. These lines grow into a frame of the entire disc filled with solar signs (crosses).⁸⁴ This apotropaic anthropomorphous figure, that embraces the entire solar disc (Sky/cosmos) with its

⁷⁸ B. ČOVIĆ, 1984, T IV/2; D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 38/c.

⁷⁹ B. ČOVIĆ, 1976, 218-236; B. ČOVIĆ, 1984, 9-20, T II-III/1-5.

⁸⁰ B. ČOVIĆ, 1976, sl. 128, 142.

⁸¹ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XLI/111, 114.

⁸² Š. BATOVIĆ, 1976, sl. 20.

⁸³ D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 106, 111/11, 112, 150/13, 321.

⁷⁹ B. ČOVIĆ, 1976, 218-236; B. ČOVIĆ, 1984, 9-20, T II-III/1-5.

⁸⁰ B. ČOVIĆ, 1976, fig. 128, 142.

⁸¹ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XLI/111, 114.

⁸² Š. BATOVIĆ, 1976, fig. 20.

⁸³ D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 106, 111/11, 112, 150/13, 321.

⁸⁴ S. KUKOČ, 2012, 55, fig. 20/e.

svedeni na vodoravni cik-cak motiv (Sl. 27g-i). Također, na disku fibule iz Sale Consilina iz raširenih ruku vrlo shematiziranog lika u pozi *potnije theron* izlaze duge cik-cak crte koje prerastaju u obrub cijelog diska ispunjenog solarnim znakovljem (križevima).⁸⁴ Ovaj zaštitnički antropomorfni lik, obuhvaćajući svojim izduženim cik-cak rukama cijeli solarni disk (Nebo/kozmos), vjerojatno je slika božanskog entiteta. Na dnu diska uspinje se malo stablo.

Mnogi su prizori na keramici GOJI u kojima osnovnu funkciju ljestava – spojnice dvaju prostora, uz već analizirane cik-cak (Sl. 1, 2a) i valovite (Sl. 3a), sigurno preuzimaju i neki drugi okomiti motivi (različito ispunjene vrpce, prepleti: Sl. 2 g, 3d), koji su obješeni o horizontali ili pak položeni između dviju horizontala⁸⁵ i to u kompozicijama s trokutom ili bez njega (Sl. 14B d-e). Na kraju, jasno se zatvara dugotrajni krug simbolike ljestava na keramici GOJI, na kasnoj daunskoj, no već figuralno oslikanoj. Prizori (Sl. 33e-f) detaljno opisuju obrede sa stablom, granama, štapovima te ljestvama u središtu zbivanja. One izlaze iz kružno ograničenog prostora ispunjenog vodom (?). Nepoznata su točna značenja ovoga obreda. Nije neutemeljeno propitivati mogući kontinuitet sadržaja ovog obreda iz religijskih ideja i slika starijih geometrijskih *solarnih krajolika*.

Već općenitim značenjem, swastika – križ naglašene dinamike, prostor s četiri polja u kružnom pokretu, u vrtnji, nastao prekriznom horizontalom i vertikalom zavnutih završetaka – simbolički funkcionira u solarnim/nebeskim „koordinatama“. Arhetipski je simbol blagostanja i svega pozitivnoga, točnije, gibanja prema blagotvornom, a za što je prauzor nebesko podizanje i kruženje Sunca/svjetlosti: dnevno, godišnje i ono beskrajno,

elongated zig-zag hands, is probably an image of a divine entity.

There are many scenes on the GPSI pottery in which basic function of the ladder, a link between two spaces, is taken over by other vertical motifs, such as interlace or a braid (Fig 2g, 3d), variously filled bands,⁸⁵ in compositions with a triangle or without it (Fig. 14B d-e). Finally lengthy circle of symbolics of ladder on the GPSI pottery is closed in the late Daunian pottery, already decorated with figural painting. Scenes (Fig. 33 e-f) describe in detail rituals with a tree, branches, sticks and ladder in the middle. They come out of circularly limited space filled with water (?). Exact meaning of this ritual remains unknown. It is reasonable to question possible continuity of content of this ritual from religious ideas and images of older geometric *solar landscapes*.

Swastika in its general meaning, as a cross with emphasized dynamics, space with four fields in circular movement, spinning, created by intersecting of a horizontal and a vertical with bent ends, works symbolically in solar/celestial “coordinates”. It is an archetypal symbol of welfare and everything positive, more precisely, movement towards the beneficial, with rising and setting of the Sun/light as an original model: daily, annual and the endless one, permanent. Two swastikas on the vessel from Sala Consilina (Fig. 1) suggest that the Sun while rising also spins, more precisely that it rises semicircularly along the concave sides of the triangle and sinks on the other final point of the horizontal or horizon. It is not a coincidence that swastika takes the same spatial position in other, only somewhat more concise Enotrian *solar landscapes* with a *tenda* triangle from *Geometrico Medio* expression in Campania (Fig. 3a) and Basilicata (Fig. 5). In solar landscape from Ferrandina swastikas also accompany laterally the central motif – a pectoral with typical solar character-

⁸⁴ S. KUKOČ, 2012, 55, sl. 20/e.

⁸⁵ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XXVIII/7, 21, T XXIX/39, XXXIV/4, 18, 20, XXXV/26, 29-30, 38, XXXVI/1, 12-13, 17, XXXVIII/43-44, 51, XXXIX/72, 78, 80, XL/82, XLVII/200.

⁸⁵ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XXVIII/7, 21, T XXIX/39, XXXIV/4, 18, 20, XXXV/26, 29-30, 38, XXXVI/1, 12-13, 17, XXXVIII/43-44, 51, XXXIX/72, 78, 80, XL/82, XLVII/200.

trajno. Dvije svastike na posudi iz Sale Consilinae (Sl. 1) govore da se Sunce u usponu i vrti, točnije, da se polukružno, odnosno, uz konkavne stranice trokuta, uzdiže na jednoj, a tone na drugoj krajnjoj točki iste horizontale ili obzora. Nije slučajnost da svastika zauzima isti prostorni položaj i u drugim, samo nešto sažetijim enotrijskim *solarnim krajolicima* s trokutom *a tenda* iz *Geometrico Medio* izraza u Kampaniji (Sl. 3a) i Basilikati (Sl. 5). U *solarnom krajoliku* iz Ferrandine svastike također bočno prate središnji motiv – pektoral tipičnog solarnog izgleda (Sl. 16b). Ovaj prikaz jasno pokazuje izvorno shvaćanje ovog tipa pektoralnog nakita na ovim prostorima. Svastike su bočno razmještene oko apstraktnog glavnog lika orantsko-skarabejske poze i u enotrijskom *solarnom krajoliku* iz Sale Consilinae iz 6. – 5. st. pr. Kr. (Sl. 27j). Prikaz je dobar primjer iskazivanja potpuno istih starih ideja (Sl. 1) na nov likovni način koji je samo privodno dekorativan. U njemu nedostaje (solarni) trokut, ali glavni lik prate tipični solarni znaci. Analogno nekim drugim motivima (Sl. 22j, 23b, 27c), iz ovih (solarnih) krugova izlaze cik-cak crte (Sl. 27j).

U pojedinim enotrijskim solarnim krajolicima u *Geometrico Medio* izrazu (Sl. 2a, 3c) bočne svastike zamijenjene su krugovima s točkom u sredini – znakom/simbolom Sunca (Sl. 23A, b, d; 35a-b; 37b, d). Ponekad su Sunčeve kružnice izvedene točkama, što motiv Sunca približava svojevrsnoj rozeti (Sl. 2a, 3b, 4a-b). Sve to još jednom potvrđuje poznatu činjenicu da je svastika izvorno, u svojoj biti samo Sunce, točnije, viđenje njegove blagotvorne kružne energije. I mnogi europski približno istovremeni ili znatno stariji prikazi Sunce oslikavaju na isti način, s dvjema malim krugovima sa središnjom točkom ili bez nje, koji su bočno postavljeni oko velikog kruga (Sl. 37a-f). Ponekad, jedna Sunčeva bočna kružnica prerasta u lik orantski izdignutih ruku (Sl. 37d).

U enotrijskim *solarnim krajolicima* uspon prate ptice dugih nogu uz bokove trokuta *a*

istics (Fig. 16b). This depiction clearly shows original understanding of this type of pectoral jewelry in these regions. Swastikas are distributed laterally around the main figure in the orant/scarab pose in the Enotrian *solar landscape* from Sala Consilina from the 6th/5th centuries BC (Fig. 27 j). The depiction is a good illustration of expressing identical old ideas (Fig. 1) in a new visual way that only seems to be merely decorative. A (solar) triangle is missing in it, but the main figure is accompanied with typical solar signs. Zig-zag lines come out of these (solar) circles (Fig. 27j) as an analogy to some other motifs (Fig. 22j, 23b, 27 a-c).

In certain Enotrian solar landscapes in *Geometrico Medio* expression (Fig. 2a, 3c) lateral swastikas are replaced with circles with a dot in the middle – sign/symbol of the Sun (Fig. 23A b, d; 35 a-b; 37 b, d). Sometimes the Sun's circles are made with dots, making the motif of the Sun resemble a kind of rosette (Fig. 2a; 3 b; 4 a-b). All of this confirms once more a known fact that a swastika is originally the Sun itself, more precisely view of its beneficial circular energy. Many European roughly synchronous or much older depictions represent the Sun in the same way, as two small circles with a central dot or without it, that are laterally positioned around the big circle (Fig. 37 a-f). Sometimes one of the Sun's lateral circles grows into an orant figure with raised arms (Fig. 37d).

In the Enotrian *solar landscapes* rise is accompanied with long-legged birds stand next to the sides of *a tenda* triangle (Fig. 2g). Birds are a compositional counterpart to the orant figure (Fig. 1). More than once they were drawn with three distinctly long legs, just like the orant (Fig. 2g). As opposed to the type of a small schematized bird (Fig. 15b) that is dominant in the GPSI pottery complex, shape of a big triangular body of a wading bird is typical of the vessels from Sala Consilina in the 9th and 8th centuries (Fig. 2g; 26a). Antithetical position of the birds next to the triangle sides (accidentally?) results in a scheme of “bird boat” (Fig. 2g).

Swastika was generally common in the GPSI

tenda (Sl. 2g). Ptice su kompozicijski pandan liku oranta (Sl. 1). Više puta one su, kao i orant, nacrtane s tri naglašeno duge noge (Sl. 2g). Nasuprot tipu male shematizirane ptice (Sl. 15b), koji prevladava u kompleksu keramike GOJI, oblik velikog trokutastog tijela močvarne ptice tipičan je za posude iz Sale Consiline tijekom 9. i 8. st. pr. Kr. (Sl. 2g, 26a). Antitetičnim pak postavljanjem ptica uz bokove trokuta (slučajno?) nastaje shema „ptičje lađe“ (Sl. 2g). Općenito česta u kompleksu keramike GOJI tijekom *Geometrico Medio*, svastika se crta u gotovo svim njezinim regionalnim likovnim izrazima, no različitim intenzitetom. Ponekad postaje središnji motiv (Sl. 24a-d). Zbog velike proširenosti svastike u vremenu i prostoru gotovo je bespotrebno raspravljati o njezinom podrijetlu na keramici GOJI, ali sklop znakova i simbola *proto/villanova* kruga sigurno je bio njezino važno izvorište.⁸⁶ Odnosi se to i na druge znakove/simbole *urnenfelder* vrste na keramici GOJI, na pticu i „ptičju lađu/kola“ (Sl. 15l, 16d).

Od bezbrojnih europskih prikaza, koji izravno mogu potvrditi ulogu svastike, pa i simboličnost cjeline *solarnog krajolika* iz Sale Consiline, u ovom radu navodi se samo jedan, također nedvojbeni *solarni krajolik* s Cipra iz željeznog doba (Sl. 45).⁸⁷ Na keramici *White Painted* vrste prikazuje zrakast Sunčev disk u središtu zbivanja, okružen dvjema okomitim „strijelama“ usmjerenima prema vrhu. One označavaju put Sunčeva uspona na obzoru. A vrh „strijela“ izveden je gotovo

pottery complex in *Geometrico Medio* and it is drawn in almost all regional artistic expressions, but with different intensity. Sometimes it becomes a central motif (Fig. 24 a-d). Due to widespread distribution of swastika in time and space it is almost pointless to discuss its origin on the GPSI pottery, but the assemblage of signs and symbols of the *proto-Villanovan* circle was definitely its important point of origin.⁸⁶ This relates to other signs/symbols of *Urnfelder* – type on the GPSI pottery, to the bird and “bird boat/chariot” (Fig. 15l; 16d).

Out of countless European depictions that can directly confirm the role of swastika, and even the symbolics of the entire *solar landscape* from Sala Consilina, only one definite *solar landscape* is presented in this paper, from Cyprus in the Iron Age (Fig. 45).⁸⁷ On the *White Painted Ware* a radiate Sun's disc is depicted in the middle, surrounded with two vertical “arrows” pointing upwards. They mark path of the Sun's ascent on the horizon. Points of the “arrows” were made in the identical way as a *tenda* triangle. In terms of composition “arrows” are analogous to the position of lateral verticals that frame Enotrian *solar landscapes* with a *tenda* triangle in shape of a ladder, straight and long vertical lines (Fig. 1; 2a-d; 3 a-d; 6). The swastikas clearly underline the strength of ascent and dynamic structure of the Sky. Although this Apennine-Cypriot comparison is only a detail from a wide spatial and chronological correspondence, or furthermore, universality of images in pre/historic experience of the Sun and the Sky, it is also a certain iconographic and semantical evidence of the reasons

⁸⁶ Ponajprije treba istaknuti likovnu sintaksu prepunu svastika vrlo maštovitih oblika i drugih solarnih znakova na keramici iz *villanova* groblja iz Pontecagna u Kampaniji. Sintaksa je bliska slikanim *solarnim krajolicima* iz Sale Consiline i mnogim drugima na keramici GOJI. Općenito, likovno najuspješnije svastike, antropomorfizirane i ostalih inačica, posebno one uklopljene u četvrtaste okvire („metope“), na apeninskom prostoru crtaju se po urnama i drugim grobnim recipijentima u *proto/villanova* sredinama, od Bologne do srednje i južne Italije, ali isto tako i po mnogobrojnim kovinskim elementima; S. KUKOČ, 2012, sl. 20-21, 31, 33-34.

⁸⁷ D. MORRIS, 1985, 249, sl. 281.

⁸⁶ First we should emphasize artistic syntax full of swastikas in imaginative shapes and other solar signs on pottery from the *Villanovan* cemetery from Pontecagno in Campani. The syntax is similar to painted *solar landscapes* from Sala Consilina and many other on the GPSI pottery. Generally most successful swastikas in visual terms, anthropomorphized and other, particularly the ones incorporated in square frames (“metopes”) in the Apennine area are drawn on urns and other funerary containers in *proto/Villanovan* regions, from Bologna to central and southern Italy, but also on a number of metal elements, S. KUKOČ, 2012, fig. 20-21, 31, 33-34.

⁸⁷ D. MORRIS, 1985, 249, fig. 281.

na isti način kao i trokut *a tenda*. Kompozicijski, „strijele“ su analogne položaju bočnih okomica koje, u vidu ljestava, ravnih i drugih okomitih crta, uokviruju enotrijske *solarne krajolike* s trokutom *a tenda* (Sl. 1; 2a-d, g; 3a-d; 6). Same svastike jasno podcrtavaju snagu uspona i dinamičnu strukturu Neba. Iako je ova apeninsko-ciparska usporedba tek detalj iz široke prostorno-vremenske podudarnosti, štoviše, univerzalnosti slika u pra/povijesnom doživljaju Sunca i Neba, ona je i stanoviti ikonografsko-semantički dokaz o razlozima oblikovanja i značenju samog trokuta *a tenda* na keramici GOJI.

No, prikaz ove vrste nije jedini u dugotrajnom slikarstvu na ciparskoj keramici (Sl. 41b, 44b). Ciparske svastike okružuju raznovrsne motive, pa i središnje stablo (Sl. 44a). Ono se formom gotovo ne razlikuje od „strijela“. Ciparska keramika općenito, posebno *mattpainted* te druge vrste, tijekom brončanog i željeznog doba pruža bezbrojne likovne usporedbe, ponajprije ikonografske, točnije, ikonološke naravi pri tumačenju slika keramike GOJI (Sl. 41a-b).

Drugi prizor koji se u radu sustavno analizira najčešće je bio interpretiran kao scena oplakivanja u kultu mrtvih.⁸⁸ Naslikan je na posudi (Sl. 25A) iz bogatog „muškog“ groba III (*a fossa*) iz S. Maria d'Anglone (Sl. 25B) u potpuno istom izrazu kao i Sala Consilina (Sl. 1).⁸⁹ Iako oba prikaza donose složenu priču na način „apstraktne naracije“, među njima postoje ikonografske razlike.

Dok je u Sali Consilini štovanje Sunca iskazano samo jednom figurom orantskog tipa s tri noge, u S. Mariji d'Angloni cijela gornja

for formation and meaning of *a tenda* triangle on the GPSI pottery.

However depiction of this kind is not the only one in the long-lasting painting on the Cypriot pottery (Fig. 41b, 44b). Cypriot swastikas encircle different motifs, including the central tree (Fig. 44a) that is almost identical to the “arrows” in its form. Cypriot pottery in general, especially the matt-painted, and some other types, offers a number of comparisons in the Bronze and Iron Age, of primarily iconographic or more precisely iconological character in interpretation of the images on the GPSI pottery (Fig. 41 a-b).

The second scene that is systematically analyzed in the paper was usually interpreted as a mourning scene in the cult of the dead.⁸⁸ It was painted on the vessel (Fig. 25A) from a rich “male” grave III (*a fossa*) from S. Maria d'Anglone (Fig. 25B) in the identical expression as Sala Consilina (Fig. 1).⁸⁹ Although both depictions bring a complex story in a way of “abstract narration”, there are iconographic differences between them.

While in Sala Consilina the worship of the Sun was expressed with only one figure of the orant type with three legs, in S. Maria d'Anglona entire upper compositional sphere was dedicated to undoubtedly human figures, with distinctly spread fingers and lower part of the body in motion, dancing (?). Their rather specific look (Fig. 25A) and the fact that they were put in pairs and linked with a common activity, is not typical of the GPSI pottery as well as significant, not decorative, compositional division of their “scenic” space. Admittedly it also appears at the same time in some other scenes on the GPSI pottery (Fig. 26 c-d), but very rarely

⁸⁸ M. CASTOLDI, 2006, 101, bilj. 12.

⁸⁹ U grobu – pravokutnoj jami – pokojnik u zgrčenom položaju je bio okružen zidićem od riječnih oblutaka te s velikim poklopnim pločama. Oslikana posuda stajala je uz pokojnikove noge, a od više kovinskih grobnih priloga izdvaja se dugmad, nekoliko željeznih zmijolikih fibula, željezni nož i brončani četvrtasti brijac: M. MALNATI, 1984, 47-51, T XXVI-XXVII. Tu je i kružni predmet s nacrtnim okomicama, krugovima i stablom koje se jednostavnošću izvedbe približava formi strijele.

⁸⁸ M. CASTOLDI, 2006, 101, note 12.

⁸⁹ In the grave – rectangular pit – the deceased person in a flexed position was within a small wall of river pebbles with big covering slabs. Painted vessel stood next to the skeleton's legs, and metal artifacts include buttons, several iron serpentine fibulae, iron knife and a bronze square razor, M. MALNATI, 1984, 47-51, T XXVI-XXVII. There is also a round object with drawn verticals, circles and a tree that comes close to an arrow form.

kompozicijska sfera posvećena je nedvojbeno ljudskim figurama, s naglašeno raširenim prstima ruke i donjim dijelom tijela pokrenutim u prostoru, u plesu (?). Njihov prilično konkretan izgled (Sl. 25A) i činjenica da su raspoređeni u parove i povezani zajedničkom radnjom, netipično je za keramiku GOJI, kao što je to i znakovita, nipošto dekorativna, kompozicijska podjela njihovog „scenskog“ prostora. Ona se, doduše, u to doba pojavljuje i u nekim drugim prizorima keramike GOJI (Sl. 26c-d), no, vrlo rijetko s ljudskom figurom (Sl. 26f). Crta se i nešto ranije, u *Geometrico Antico* likovnom izrazu (?), ponekad uz asistenciju močvarne ptice dugih nogu (Sl. 26a). Čvrstoj i pravilnoj strukturiranosti pozadine u S. Mariji d'Angloni (Sl. 25A) pridonosi više okomica *a tremolo* koje, sijekuci horizontalne pravce, razdjeljuju pozadinu na manje četvrtaste prostore i time je približavaju mrežastoj strukturi. Dvije manje cjeline su, međutim, međusobno razmaknute te među njima postoji prolaz. On lomi i očito namjerno rastvara uredno organiziran prostor. Spajanjem ovih dviju razmaknutih cjelina nastao bi (slučajno?) motiv križa ili svastike (Sl. 2e).

Nejasno je značenje ovako isplanirane „scenografije“. Njezino približavanje čvrstoći mrežastog uzorka može asociirati nebeske prostore. U geometrijskom razdoblju, ali i kasnije, posebno u nekim regijama keramike GOJI česti su mali četverokutni mrežasti motivi⁹⁰ funkcija kojih još nije definirana. Oni bi i tu, u određenim kontekstima, mogli simbolizirati strukturu Neba.

A cik-cak prostorni lomovi stanovito podsjećaju i na motiv munje (Sl. 11 a-c, g, j). Oblikom i značenjem on je u osnovi ekvivalent svim cik-cak okomicama te, posredno, i motivu valovitih okomica. Munja se obično monotono i ukrasno (?) ponavlja u horizontalnom nizu, posebno u nekim regionalnim izdanjima keramike GOJI, primjerice u Salentu (Sl. 11a-b) u ranom (*Geometrico Anti-*

with a human figure (Fig. 26f). It is also drawn somewhat earlier, in *Geometrico Antico* expression (?), sometimes with an assistance of a wading bird with long legs (Fig. 26a). Strong and regular structure of the background in S. Maria d'Anglona (Fig. 25A) is emphasized by several *a tremolo* verticals that intersect with horizontal lines, and divide the background into small square areas making it similar to reticular structure. Two smaller wholes are divided by a passage. It breaks and intentionally opens up neatly organized space. A motif of a cross or swastika would be formed (accidentally?) if these two separate wholes were joined (Fig. 2e).

The meaning of “scenography” planned in this way remains unclear. Its resemblance to the firmness of the reticular pattern might be associative of celestial spaces. In the Geometric period, but also later, especially in some regions of the GPSI pottery small rectangular reticular motifs are frequent,⁹⁰ but their function has not been defined. They could also symbolize the structure of the Sky here as well, in certain contexts.

Zig-zag spatial breaks also resemble the motif of a lightning bolt (Fig. 11 a-c, g, j). In its form and meaning it is equivalent to all zig-zag verticals, and indirectly to the motif of wavy lines. The lightning bolt is usually repeated in a horizontal row, monotonously and decoratively (?), in some regional variants of the GPSI pottery, for instance in Salento (Fig. 11 a-b) in the Early (*Geometrico Antico*), particularly during the Middle (Fig. 11c) and Late Geometric expression (Fig. 11j),⁹¹ then around Bari (Fig. 11 g-h)⁹² and in the north, in Daunia in the Geometric and Subgeometric period (Fig. 10A b, e).⁹³ By its form this motif can be identified with the similar *lightning* – motif⁹⁴ in southern Puglia from the 7th and 6th centuries BC (Fig. 11h). The lightning bolt and finally the „lightning

⁹⁰ D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 47/23-24.

⁹⁰ D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 47/23-24.

⁹¹ D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 19, 33/32, 48/37.

⁹² D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 185/9, 18.

⁹³ D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 209/27, 220/25.

⁹⁴ D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 185/18.

co), posebno tijekom srednjeg (Sl. 11c) i kasnog geometrijskog likovnog izraza (Sl. 11j),⁹¹ zatim oko Barija (Sl. 11g)⁹² te na sjeveru, u Dauniji tijekom geometrijskog i subgeometrijskog razdoblja (Sl. 10A, b, e).⁹³ Motiv munje, dakle, formom se može izjednačiti sa sličnim *lightning*-motivom⁹⁴ u južnoj Pugliji iz 7. – 6. st. pr. Kr. (Sl. 11h). Motiv munje i, napokon *lightning*-motiv očito se oblikom i svojim (povremenim) kontekstom mogu dovesti u vezu sa svjetlom.

Podjelu kompozicije na manje četvrtaste cjeline imaju i neke druge proto/geometrijske likovne sintakse, ali bez cik-cak prostornih lomova. U njima su pravokutni prostori – „paneli“ – ili svojevrsne metope, istih ili različitih veličina, u međusobnom dodiru, dakle, raspoređeni gotovo u mrežastoj kompoziciji, što odgovara tadašnjem geometrijskom likovnom ukusu, na primjer, na ciparskoj keramici oslikanoj u kasno brončano doba (Sl. 42b). Takvi manji prostori na grčkoj geometrijskoj keramici obično su ispunjeni raznovrsnim slikanim motivima (Atika i drugo⁹⁵), za razliku od uglavnom praznih polja na keramici GOJI. Po toj praznini keramici GOJI najrodnija je grobna (*impasto*) keramika arhaičnog Rima (*Latium Vetus*) s mrežom četvorina izvedenih plastičnim rebrima.⁹⁶

U donjoj sferi prizora iz S. Maria d'Anglone (Sl. 25A), u kombinaciji s trokutima *a tenda*, naslikano je nekoliko motiva. Svi vise o horizontalnoj crti koja je jasna grafička razdjelnica gornje i donje sfere. Motiv *triprs-*

motif“ can obviously be related to the light owing to their form and (occasional) context.

The division of the composition to smaller square units can be found in some other proto/geometric visual syntaxes, but without the zig-zag spatial breaks. In them rectangular spaces – “panels” or a kind of metopes, in identical or different sizes, in contact, are distributed in an almost reticular composition corresponding to the geometric artistic preferences of the time, for instance Cypriot pottery painted in the Late Bronze Age (Fig. 42b). Such small spaces on the Greek geometric pottery are usually filled with various painted motifs (Attica and other⁹⁵), as opposed to mostly empty fields on the GPSI pottery. Similar emptiness can be found on funerary (*impasto*) pottery of archaic Rome (*Latium Vetus*) with a mesh of squares made by embossed ribs.⁹⁶

Several motifs have been painted in the lower sphere of the scene from S. Maria d'Anglone (Fig. 25A), in combination with *a tenda* triangles. They all hang on a horizontal line that is a clear graphic dividing line between the upper and lower sphere. The motif of a *three-finger* is originally a form of reduced solar hand. On the Cypriot pottery from the Iron Age a motif resembling *three-finger* is called “lotus” (Fig. 43 a-b).⁹⁷ In ancient Egyptian pictures Ra is born (also) from a lotus.⁹⁸

The motif of a *three-finger* can generally be almost directly related to ancient Egyptian depictions of the divine Sun⁹⁹ (Fig. 35a). Also in the Nordic images of the Sun's adoration, its rays were depicted as short hands with three or more

⁹¹ D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 19, 33/32, 48/37.

⁹² D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 185/9, 18.

⁹³ D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 209/27, 220/25.

⁹⁴ D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 185/18.

⁹⁵ J. N. COLDSTREAM, 2003, sl. 2/a-d, 6/d-f, 7/b,d, 8/f, 11/a, c-d, 13/b, 45/a, c; O. DICKINSON, 2006, sl. 5.11, 5.13/3-4,7, 5.14/1-4.

⁹⁶ G. COLONNA, 1974, T 124, 126. Na ovoj *impasto*-keramici nije predočavan ljudski lik, ali se on, u formi glinenog kipića, s obrednom posudom u ruci, ili pak bez nje, prilagao grobu s urnom – kućom (*a capanna*) iscrtanom mrežom urezanih četvorina iz S. Lorenzo Vecchio (Rocca di Papa): A. M. BIETTI SESTIERI, 1976, 82, T VII/2b. Urna je oduvijek, u različitim sredinama, dovođena u vezu sa Suncem, dakako, i u *proto/villanova* svijetu.

⁹⁵ J. N. COLDSTREAM, 2003, fig. 2/a-d; 6/d-f; 7/b,d; 8/f; 11/a, c-d; 13/b; 45/a, c; O. DICKINSON, 2006, fig. 5.11; 5.13/3-4,7; 5.14/1-4.

⁹⁶ G. COLONNA, 1974, T 124, 126. Human figure was not depicted on this *impasto* pottery, but still it was deposited in a grave with an urn – house (*a capanna*) decorated with a mesh of incised squares from S. Lorenzo Vecchio (Rocca di Papa) in form of a clay statuette with a ritual vessel in his hand or without it, A. M. BIETTI SESTIERI, 1976, 82, T VII/2b. Urns had always been associated with the Sun in all communities, including the *proto/Villanova* world.

⁹⁷ D. MORRIS, 1985, 284, fig. 276-277.

⁹⁸ M. J. MATJE, 1990, 22-24.

⁹⁹ A. GROS DE BELER, 2004, 112- 113, fig. 22.

ta izvorno je oblik reducirane solarne ruke. Na ciparskoj keramici iz željeznog doba motiv nalik *triprstu* nazvan je „lotosom“ (Sl. 43a-b).⁹⁷ U staroegipatskim slikama Ra se rađa (i) iz lotosa.⁹⁸

Motiv *triprsta* općenito se može dovesti u gotovo izravan ikonografski odnos sa staroegipatskim prikazima božanskoga Sunca⁹⁹ (Sl. 35a). Također, u nordijskim slikama štovanja Sunca, njegove zrake predočene su u vidu kratkih ruku s tri ili više raširenih prstiju (Sl. 36a).

U likovno pojednostavljenom, domaćem izdanju motiv *triprsta* čest je na keramici GOJI i tu se, u određenim kontekstima, značenjem potpuno izjednačuje sa snopovima triju ili više o horizontalu obješenih okomica različite dužine i oblika (Sl. 15 f, i-j), uključujući i one sitne (Sl. 15c; 17b; 19B, a; 21a) ili pak krupne i guste snopove okomica (Sl. 15a, 24d), sve obično nazivane *motivo a pettine*. Značenjem, svima načelno odgovara i motiv triju kukastih okomica (Sl. 17f, 19A).

Drugi motiv, središnji lik u donjem pojasu kompozicije u S. Mariji d'Angloni (Sl. 25A, 27a) nije lako dokučiv. Neki u njemu vide antropomorfno biće, drugi močvarnu pticu dugih nogu s dvjema dvostrukim protomama¹⁰⁰ ili pak nešto treće. U prvi mah doista je dvojbeno je li lik antropomorfan, životinjski ili njihova kombinacija. Njegovo jednostavno tijelo sastavljeno je od trokutasto shematizirane glave i od triju okomica koje podrazumijevaju noge (?). On se time formalno približava *triprstu* te skupini različitih motiva s tri istake/noge, konkretno, velikim pticama (Sl. 2g), pojedinim potpuno apstraktnim antropomorfnim (?) likovima (Sl. 20a-b, 27b-c), zatim nekim orantima, pa i onom iz Sale Consiline (Sl. 1, 28a). Ali, za razliku od svih orantskih likova, ovaj nema u vis dignute ruke, već raširene, tek naznačene dvjema dugim vodoravnim cik-cak crtama

spread fingers (Fig. 36a).

The motif of the *three-finger* in visually simplified, local variant is frequent on the GPSI pottery and in certain contexts it is identified with bundles of three or more verticals of different lengths and forms hanging on a vertical (Fig. 15 f, i-j), including the small ones (Fig. 15 c, 17 b, 19B a; 21a) or big and thick bundles of verticals (Fig. 15 a, 24 d), usually referred to as "*motivo a pettine*". The motif of three hook-shaped verticals principally corresponds to all these motifs regarding its meaning (Fig. 17f, 19A).

The second motif, central figure in the lower belt of the composition in S. Maria d'Anglona (Fig. 25A, 27 a) is not easy to decipher. Some see an antropomorphous being in it, others a long-legged wading bird with two double protomes¹⁰⁰ or something else. At first sight it is difficult to discern if the figure is antropomorphous, zoomorphic or their combination. Its simple body consists of a triangularly schematized head and three verticals that imply legs (?). In that way it formally approaches the *three-finger* and a group of different motifs with three protrusions/legs, specifically, big birds (Fig. 2g), certain completely abstract antropomorphous (?) figures (Fig. 20 a-b, 27 b-c), then certain orants, including the one from Sala Consilina (Fig. 1, 28a). But as opposed to all orant figures, this one does not have raised but spread arms denoted only by two long horizontal zig-zag lines (Fig. 25A, 27a). In that way it was iconographically associated with later antropomorphous forms (Fig. 27 d-f, h) that also end in full abstraction, reduced to a zig-zag horizontal (Fig. 27 g, i). An analogous figure consisting of several verticals and spread zig-zag arms belongs to certain doubtlessly solar visual expressions from the Early Bronze Age in the Danubian region (Nagyrev)¹⁰¹ (Fig. 40 a, c), and later, for instance, in the culture of

⁹⁷ D. MORRIS, 1985, 284, sl. 276-277.

⁹⁸ M. J. MATJE, 1990, 22-24.

⁹⁹ A. GROS DE BELER, 2004, 112-113, sl. 22.

¹⁰⁰ L. MALNATI, 1984, 50; M. CASTOLDI, 2006, 100-101.

¹⁰⁰ L. MALNATI, 1984, 50; M. CASTOLDI, 2006, 100-101.

¹⁰¹ R. SCHREIBNER-KALICZ, 1984, T XLII.

(Sl. 25A, 27a). Time je ikonografski povezan s kasnijim antropomorfnim stiliziranim oblicima (Sl. 27 d-f, h) koji i sami završavaju u punoj apstrakciji, svedeni upravo na cik-cak horizontalu (Sl. 27 g, i). Njemu analogan, lik sastavljen od nekoliko okomica i raširenih cik-cak ruku, svojina je već pojedinih nedvojbena solarnih likovnosti iz ranog brončanog doba u Podunavlju (Nagyrev)¹⁰¹ (Sl. 40 a, c), i kasnijih, na primjer, u kulturi transdanubijske inkrustrirane keramike¹⁰² te, napokon, iz kasnog brončanog doba (Vatin),¹⁰³ Belegiš¹⁰⁴ i drugdje. Srodan motiv ima i makedonska geometrijski oslikana keramika (urna) s početka željeznog doba (Sl. 23B).¹⁰⁵ Svojim raširenim cik-cak rukama, doduše, bez ptica, lik iz S. Marije d'Anglone približuje se i pojedini neobičnim inačicama sheme *potnije theron* (Sl. 32b). Napokon, analogan je cik-cak „rukama“ koje u albanskom reduciranom *solarnom krajoliku* u Devoll stilu (Sl. 22j) bočno izlaze iz para okomitih Sunčevih ljestava. Očito, štošta navodi na antropomorfan, no likovno ipak stanovito neodređen karakter lika iz S. Marije d'Anglone.

Za njegovo razumijevanje, međutim, bitan je njegov položaj. Kao središnja točka sveukupnog prikaza, pravi je kompozicijski pandan snopu Sunčevih cik-cak okomica u prizoru iz Sale Consiline (Sl. 1). U svakom slučaju lik iz S. Maria d'Anglone u vezi je sa Suncem. Upravo on, najvjerojatnije, samo je Sunce, točnije, znak moći Sunčeve energije, kao što je to i motiv *triprsta* u njegovoj pratnji. Donji pojas prikaza iz S. Maria d'Anglone može se, dakle, očitati jednako kao isti u *solarnom krajoliku* iz Sale Consiline ili na fibuli iz Sale Consiline.¹⁰⁶ Prema tome, slika na posudi iz S. Marije d'Anglone također je ikonografski

Transdanubian encrusted pottery¹⁰² and finally from the Late Bronze Age (Vatin),¹⁰³ Belegiš,¹⁰⁴ and elsewhere. Related motif can be found on the Macedonian geometrically painted pottery (urn) from the beginning of the Iron Age (Fig. 23B).¹⁰⁵ The figure from S. Maria d'Anglona resembles certain unusual variants of the *potnia theron* scheme owing to its spread zig-zag arms, admittedly without birds (Fig. 32b). Finally it is analogous to zig-zag “arms” that come out laterally from the pair of vertical Sun ladder in the Albanian reduced *solar landscape* in Devoll style (Fig. 22j). Evidently there are indications that the character of the figure from Maria d'Anglona might be anthropomorphous although it is rather vague in visual terms.

However the position is important for its understanding. As a central point of the entire depiction it is a compositional counterpart to the bundle of the Sun's zig-zag verticals in the scene from Sala Consilina (Fig. 1). Anyhow the figure from S. Maria d'Anglone is related to the Sun. Most likely it represents the Sun itself, a sign of power of the Sun's energy, as well as the accompanying motif of *three-finger*. Lower belt of the depiction from S. Maria d'Anglone can be interpreted in the same way as in *solar landscape* from Sala Consilina or on the flat disc (foot) fibula from Sala Consilina.¹⁰⁶ Therefore we can say that the image on the vessel from S. Maria d'Anglone is iconographically carefully presented *solar landscape*.

Anthropomorphous forms were only seemingly neglected in the general geometric abstraction of the GPSI pottery since they were not only drawn but also sculpturally shaped. This primarily refers to a visually impressive “orant” figure functioning as a vessel handle (Fig. 29a, 30 a, c-d) with distinctly raised but

¹⁰¹ R. SCHREIBNER, N. KALICZ, 1984, T XLII.

¹⁰² G. BÁNDI, 1984, T LXXVIII/6.

¹⁰³ M. GARAŠANIN, 1983a, 516-517, T LXXXX/4.

¹⁰⁴ N. TASIĆ, 1983, 94, sl 55/c.

¹⁰⁵ M. GARAŠANIN, 1983, 796, T CX/7. Autor je urnu datirao u 8. st. pr. Kr. zbog bliskosti njezinog motiva s enotrijskom geometrijski oslikanom keramikom iz 8. st. pr. Kr.

¹⁰⁶ S. KUKOČ, 2012, 20/e.

¹⁰² G. BÁNDI, 1984, T LXXVIII/6.

¹⁰³ M. GARAŠANIN, 1983a, 516-517, T LXXXX/4.

¹⁰⁴ N. TASIĆ, 1983, 94, fig. 55/c.

¹⁰⁵ M. GARAŠANIN, 1983, 796, T CX/7. The author dated the urn to the 8th century BC due to resemblance of its motif with the Enotrian geometrically painted pottery from the 8th century BC.

¹⁰⁶ S. KUKOČ, 2012, 20/e.

brižljivo dočaran *solarni krajolik*.

Antropomorfni oblici samo su prividno bili zapostavljeni u općoj geometrijskoj apstrakciji keramike GOJI. Jer, oni nisu samo crtani već i plastično oblikovani. To je ponajprije likovno dojmljiv „orantski“ lik u funkciji ručke posude (Sl. 29a; 30 a, c-d), s naglašeno uzdignutim no stiliziranim rukama i uvijek bez šaka te motiv velike samostalne plastične šake (Sl. 31b). Oba su zaštitni znak slikane keramike u Dauniji. Slikani pak antropomorfni likovi stoljećima su bili toliko shematizirani da ih je ikonografski najčešće teško odvojiti od likova koji su samo vjerojatno, odnosno, djelomično antropomorfni. Mada sitnih dimenzija i likovno neugledni, imali su isplanirano mjesto u cjelini prikaza. Njihovi kompozicijski položaji, uvjetovani (i) njihovom ulogom u „priči“, bili su različiti, no istovremeno, i prilično standardizirani. Problem prepoznavanja, a zatim definiranja naravi očito više antropomorfnih tipova na keramici GOJI, ne tiče se samo dvaju ovdje analiziranih *solarnih krajolika*. Prodiranje u njihovu narav jedan je od ključnih problema u interpretaciji semantičkih vidova, točnije, smisla i moguće simbolike dobrog dijela keramike GOJI, dakako, ponajprije u onim regijama gdje su takvi likovi bili najprisutniji, kao u Dauniji i u enotrijskom keramičkom krugu, u Basilikati i dijelu Kampanije. U južnom apulskom (mesapskom, peucetskom¹⁰⁷) krugu antropomorfni elementi slabije su zastupljeni, posebno su obrađeni (Sl. 24b-c) i često nedostaje kontekst koji bi ih uvjerljivo okupio u *solarni krajolik*.

Antropomorfni izgled najlakše se identificira u tipu oranta/adoranta s dvije noge i uzdignute ruke i obično s naglašeno rastvorenim šakama (Sl. 28a-c). Nadalje, na keramici GOJI (Sl. 15h, 21d), posebno u Dauniji (Sl. 17 e, s; 32c) često se slikaju samo noge lika, koje su stoga supstitut cjelovite antropomorfne forme. No, karakter tako reduciranog an-

stylized arms, regularly without hands, and a motif of a big independent plastic hand (Fig. 31 b). They were both hallmarks of the painted pottery in Daunia. Painted anthropomorphized figures were so schematized that it is difficult to separate them iconographically from the figures that are probably, or only partially anthropomorphous. Although small in size and visually plain, they had a place in the entirety of the depiction. Their compositional positions, conditioned (also) by their role in the “story” were different, but at the same time also rather standardized. The problem of recognizing and then defining the character of evidently several anthropomorphous types on the GPSI pottery is not related only to two *solar landscapes* analyzed here. Understanding their character is one of crucial problems in interpretation of semantical aspects, or more precisely meaning and possible symbolics of a fair share of the GPSI pottery, primarily in those regions where such figures were well represented, such as Daunia and Enotrian pottery circle, in Basilicata and part of Campania. In the southern Apulian (Messapian, Peucetian¹⁰⁷) circle anthropomorphous elements are not as numerous, they are rendered in a special way (Fig. 24 b-c) and often without the context that would gather them convincingly into *solar landscape*.

Anthropomorphous appearance is most easily identified in the type of orant/adorant with two legs and raised arms usually with distinctly open hands (Fig. 28 a-c). Further on, on the GPSI pottery (Fig. 15 h, 21 d), particularly in Daunia (Fig. 17 e, s, 32 c) often only legs of the figure are painted as a substitute for the entire anthropomorphous form. However character of such reduced anthropomorphous form that comes out of the horizontal can be interpreted only in a specific compositional combination. Hanging on a horizontal, as different other “hanging” motifs (Fig. 15 d-l, 16 a-l, 17 g-u), it is a constant reminder of verticality and once again it depicts the relation of the “upper” and

¹⁰⁷ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1997, 67, 70.

¹⁰⁷ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1997, 67, 70.

tropomorfno oblika, koji izlazi iz horizontale, može se interpretirati tek u konkretnom kompozicijskom sklopu. Viseći o horizontali, kao i različiti drugi „obješeni“ motivi (Sl. 15d-l, 16a-l, 17g-u), on uporno asocira vertikalnost te ponovno dočarava odnos „gornjeg“ i „donjeg“.

Po ikonografskoj prepoznatljivosti slijedi antropomorfnu tip u shemi *potnie theron*, s raširenim rukama-pticama i uglavnom, mada ne isključivo s dvjema nogama (Sl. 16 c, k; 32a-c). Gornji dio takvih likova, njihov torzo i ruke, zapravo je „ptičja lađa“. Mada se tip *potnije theron* pojavljuje već u nekim srednjegeometrijskim likovnim izrazima keramike GOJI (Sl. 17i, 32a),¹⁰⁸ i kasnije, kroz 7. st. pr. Kr. (Sl. 16 c, k; 17r), pravi procvat doživljava upravo u daunskom prostorno-vremenskom isječku keramike GOJI od 6. st. pr. Kr. i nadalje (Sl. 32b). Daunska maštovitost varijacija unutar ovog tipa tada je tolika da narušava izvorni obrazac *potnije* i preklapa se s obrascem oranta. Jer, u beskrajnoj igri oblika, ruke *potnije* počinju se orantski uzdizati, na njima nestaju ptice i općenito se nazire manieristička izživljenost formi i kretanje prema irealnom (Sl. 32b), a što dovodi u pitanje i (izvorna) značenja koncepta *potnije theron*. Usprkos povremenoj ikonografskoj „kontaminiranosti“ ovih dvaju tipova – oranta i *potnije* – ostaje pitanje njihovog stvarnog odnosa na semantičkoj razini. Koliko se prožimaju, a koliko razlikuju njihovi karakteri u slikarstvu keramike GOJI? I s tim u vezi: tko je od njih bliži kategoriji božanskoga? Mada je u arheološkoj literaturi propitivana, iz objektivnih razloga, ta kategorija u ovom slikarstvu nikad nije sa sigurnošću definirana, kao uostalom i u mnogim drugim likovnim (kulturnim) fenomenima na apeninskom prostoru i drugdje, posebno u ranim, uglavnom agrafskim europskim stoljećima 1. tis. pr. Kr.

Obrazac *potnije theron* likovno i religijski posebno širok i dugotrajan, na Sredozemlju

“lower”.

The following type regarding iconographic recognizability is anthropomorphic figure in the *potnia theron* scheme with spread arms – birds and usually but not regularly two legs (Fig. 16 c, k, 32 a-c). Upper part of such figures, their torso and arms actually represent “bird boat”. Although *potnia theron* appears already in some Middle Geometric expressions of the GPSI pottery (Fig. 17i, 32 a),¹⁰⁸ and later throughout the 7th century BC (Fig. 16 c, k, 17 r), it blossoms exactly in the Daunian spatial and chronological segment of the GPSI pottery from the 6th century BC onwards (Fig. 32 b). Daunian imaginative variations within this type are so advanced in this phase that they undermine the original pattern of *potnia* and overlap with the orant pattern. In the endless game of forms, arms of *potnia* start to rise orant-like, birds on them disappear and one can notice manneristic use of worn-out forms and heading to unreal (Fig. 32b), which questions the (original) meaning of the *potnia theron* concept. Despite occasional iconographic “contamination” of these two types – orant and *potnia* – the question of their actual relationship on the semantical level remains open. What is the extent of overlapping and differences of their characters in the painting of the GPSI pottery? And in relation to this: who is closer to the category of the divine? Although it was studied in the archaeological literature, for objective reasons, this category was never defined with certainty in this painting, as in many other visual (cultural) phenomena in the Apennine region and elsewhere, particularly in early, mostly agraphic European centuries of the 1st millennium BC.

The scheme of *potnia theron* is especially broad and long-lasting in visual and religious terms. In the Mediterranean and the East its primary function was presenting the divine. Despite all doubts about the character of most anthropomorphic figures on the GPSI pottery, forms of the *potnia* type are closest to the category of

¹⁰⁸ D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 129/24.

¹⁰⁸ D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 129/24.

i Istoku izvorno je ponajprije imao funkciju dočaravanja božanskoga. Unatoč svim dvoj- bama oko naravi većine antropomorfnih li- kova na keramici GOJI, kategoriji božansko- ga najbliži su oblici tipa *potnije*. No, to još ne otkriva pravu narav ovog božanskog entiteta u različitim apeninskim zajednicama, ponaj- prije njegov odnos sa samim Suncem koje se na keramici GOJI najčešće iskazuje likovno krajnje apstraktno, jednostavnim ikoničnim simbolima: krugom, trokutima (*a tenda* i drugima), svastikom, križem, zrakama/resa- ma. Je li lik u shemi *potnije theton* na ovoj keramici također jedan aspekt Sunca? Svo- jevrnsno je preduvjereno da je Sunce uvijek „muško“ božansko načelo. Sunce se najvjero- jatnije vrlo rano predočavalo i u shemi *pot- nije theton*. U prilog tome ide i činjenica da u kasnom, već figuralnom južnoapeninskom slikarstvu *listata* keramike, antropomorfnii lik jasno solarizirane Meduze-Gorgone, ina- če i drevne grčke *potnije theton*, u helenizmu općenito solarizirane i omiljene,¹⁰⁹ preuzima dominantnu ulogu u više scena naslikanih u funerarne svrhe.¹¹⁰ Tako na askosu iz Lavella (Sl. 34B) Sunce-Gorgona okruženo životinja- ma, kotačima i zvijezdama nadgleda pogreb- ne obrede (*prothesis*).

Pitanje je, također, kome pripadaju ljudske noge (Sl. 15h; 16l; 17 e, s; 21d; 32c) obješene o horizontali: *potniji* ili/i Suncu? Činjenica je da *potnija* i Sunce, to jest svi njegovi simboli na keramici GOJI jednako vise o (nebeskoj) horizontali. Poseban problem je i identitet osebjnog daunskog djelomično antropo- morfiziranog trokutastog lika (Sl. 18a, 29d, 30b) bez tipičnih osobina *potnije* i oranta. Upisan je u trokutu, koji je najčešće konka- van, dakle, blizak onom *a tenda*, ali je uvijek bez osnovice i visi o horizontali. Uglavnom se pojavljuje u solarnom okruženju, koje je ponekad nedvojbeni, no sažeti *solarni krajolik* (Sl. 29c-d, 30b). Tada, on predočava potpu-

divine. However this still does not reveal true nature of this divine entity in different Apen- nine communities, primarily its relation with the Sun that is presented rather abstractly on the GPSI pottery, with simple iconic symbols: circle, triangle (*a tenda* and other), swastika, cross, rays/fringe. Is the figure of *potnia theton* on this pottery also another aspect of the Sun? There is a certain preconception that the Sun is always “male” divine principle. The Sun was most likely presented very early in the *potnia theton* scheme. This is supported by the fact that anthropomorphous figure of clearly so- larized Medusa – Gorgon, as an ancient Greek *potnia theton*, solarized and popular in Hellen- ism,¹⁰⁹ takes a dominant role in several scenes for funerary purposes¹¹⁰ in the late, already figu- ral southern Apennine mat-painted pottery. In that way on the askos from Lavello (Fig. 34B) the Sun – Gorgon monitors funerary rituals (*prothesis*) surrounded by animals, wheels and stars.

Another question to be posed is to whom human feet (Fig. 15h; 16l; 17 e, s; 21d; 32c) hanging on the horizontal might belong: *pot- nia* or/and the Sun? The fact is that both *potnia* and the Sun, i.e. all their symbols on the GPSI pottery hang on the (Sky) horizontal. Another issue is the identity of a peculiar Daunian par- tially anthropomorphized triangular figure (Fig. 18 a; 29 d; 30b) without typical characteristics of *potnia* and orant. It is inscribed in a triangle, that is usually concave, therefore similar to *a tenda* variant, but always without a basis, hang- ing on a horizontal. It is usually found in a so- lar surrounding that is sometimes definite but concise *solar landscape* (Fig. 29 c-d; 30 b). That is when it depicts the same as *a tenda* triangle (Fig. 1) and *prototenda* (Fig. 4 a) in the early Enotrian *solar landscapes* from the 9th and 8th centuries BC. Therefore this Daunian figure is also a symbol of rise and impact of the Sun's energy.

¹⁰⁹ S. KUKOČ, 1997, 1-20; S. KUKOČ, 2009, 204-208.

¹¹⁰ M. MAZZEI, 2010, 214.

¹⁰⁹ S. KUKOČ, 1997, 1-20; S. KUKOČ, 2009, 204-208.

¹¹⁰ M. MAZZEI, 2010, 214.

no isto što i trokut *a tenda* (Sl. 1) i *prototenda* (Sl. 4a) u ranim enotrijskim *solarnim krajolicima* iz 9. i 8. st. pr. Kr. Ovaj daunski lik stoga je također i simbol uspona i djelovanja Sunčeve energije.

Orant načelno nije božansko biće. No, on je uvijek stanoviti produžetak božanskih moći. Orantska uzdignuta ruka s rastvorenim šakama, općenito personificira pobožnost i želju da dlanove okrenute prema gore ispu- ni božanska snaga.¹¹¹ Ipak, ostaje nepozna- to koga točno orant predstavlja na keramici GOJI (Sl. 1; 25A; 26f; 28a-c). Jesu li to samo štovatelji i molitelji božanskog Sunca ili i pokojnici (?). Pitanje se posebno odnosi na oslikane posude u funkciji urne ili grobnoga priloga. Kako oranti, nedvojbenog ili tek vje- rojatnog antropomorfog izgleda, gotovo u pravilu imaju predimenzionirane šake, postoj- ji i problem njihovog semantičkog odnosa s plastičnim šakama apliciranim na posudama (Sl. 31b). Treba li ove dvije pojave uopće do- voditi u neposredan odnos? Je li velika plasti- čna šaka orantska ili božanska? Ruka božan- stva je zaštitnička. U jadranskim kulturama iz željeznog doba to dokazuju već jednostavni privjesci–šake svojom zaštitničkom ulogom u sastavu nošnje, picenske, histarske¹¹² i druge. Kao i staroegipatska (Sl. 35a), božanska ruka (recentnog) kršćanstva, također je s nebeskih visina okrenuta prema donjim, zemaljskim sferama.

U skupini plastičnih figura posebno važan problem je identifikacija naravi osebujno izvedenog „orantskog“ lika–ručke (Sl. 29-30). Lik se pojavljuje u naglašeno stiliziranom ob- liku već u 8. st. pr. Kr., no biva konkretniji i čest tijekom 7. – 6/5. st. pr. Kr.¹¹³ Ponekad poprima izgled magične maske (Sl. 31a, c), ponekad na sebi ima naslikane solarne sim- bole, čak sažet, ali kompletan *solarni krajolik* (Sl. 29c, 30a). Mada je lik–ručka raznoliko

Generally orant is not a divine being. How- ever he is always a certain extension of divine powers. Orant's raised arm with open hand in general personifies piety and wish that uptuned palms should be filled with divine strength.¹¹¹ However it remains unknown who exactly is represented by orant (Fig. 1, 25A, 26 f, 28 a-c) on the GPSI pottery. Were these only devotees and prayers to the divine Sun or also the de- ceased persons (?). The question relates in par- ticular to painted vessels functioning as urns or grave goods. Since orants, with definite or only likely anthropomorphous appearance, almost regularly have oversized hands, there is also a problem of their semantical relation with plastic hands applied on the vessels (Fig. 31b). Should these two phenomena be associated directly at all? Is the big plastic hand orant's or divine? Hand of a deity is protective. In the Adriatic cultures of the Iron Age this is confirmed by simple pendants – hands with protective func- tion within attire (Picenian, Histrian¹¹² etc.). Just like in ancient Egypt (Fig. 35a), divine hand of (recent) Christianity is also directed to- wards lower, earthly spheres from the celestial heights.

In the group of sculptural figures identifica- tion of the character of peculiarly rendered “or- ant's” figure – handle is specially important (Fig. 29-30). The figure appears in distinctly stylized form as early as the 8th century BC, but it be- comes more specific and frequent in the 7th – 6th/5th centuries BC.¹¹³ Sometimes it looks like a magical mask (Fig. 31 a, c), and some- times it bears painted solar symbols, or even concise, but complete *solar landscape* (Fig. 29 c, 30 a). Although the figure-handle can be mod- elled diversely, it is based on a strictly defined concept.¹¹⁴ It is an independent whole but at

¹¹¹ LEKSIKON IKONOGRFIJE, 1979, s. v ruka.

¹¹² K. MIHOVIĆ, 2014, 234, sl. 155.

¹¹³ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T X, XVIII, XX.

¹¹¹ LEKSIKON IKONOGRFIJE, 1979, s. v ruka

¹¹² K. MIHOVIĆ, 2014, 234, fig. 155.

¹¹³ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T X, XVIII, XX.

¹¹⁴ Although sculptural bull's heads (buchrania) have been attested in many prehistoric spatial and chronological seg- ments, those on pottery from Cyprus from metal periods, full of animal protomes and painted motifs with horns, are shaped almost like horned protomes on the Daunian

oblikovan, temelji se na strogo definiranom konceptu.¹¹⁴ Cjelina je za sebe, no istovremeno ponavlja sve ono naslikano na posudi koju uvijek nadvisuje. Kao i on, posuda je oslikana izrazito solarnim znacima, također i sažetim *solarnim krajolicima* (Sl. 29d, 30b). Ovakvi daunski primjeri prožimanja „poruka“ ručke i oslikanog plašta recipijenta posjeduju najzgušnutiju solarnu simboliku od sveukupne keramike GOJI. Sve to, kao i činjenica da su njegove (Sl. 29a, 30a) predimenzionirane oči – krug s točkom – inače simbol „svevidećeg“ Sunca, upućuje na njegovu božansku narav. Motivi krugova-očiju po keramici GOJI vrlo su česti, mada uvijek nisu nacrtani u paru. Izvorno su zamišljeni kao Sunčeve oči (Sl. 10B; 11m; 14B, g; 30c). U nekim kompozicijama zamijenjeni su motivom kotača (Sl. 24d) ili diska s upisanim križem (Sl. 19B, b).

U prilog božanskoj naravi lika-ručke ide i to što u nekim slučajevima on, uz svoje standardne osobine, ima velike šake položene na rubu posude (Sl. 31c), ili pak ima malu glavu (npr. u bogatom „prinčevskom“ grobu 279 iz Lavella, 7. st. pr. Kr.; Sl. 30d)¹¹⁵ identičnu plastičnim „rogatim“ aplikacijama (tzv. šišmišima) po daunskim posudama.¹¹⁶ U liku-ručki sintetizirani su, dakle, svi glavni i tipično daunski plastični elementi (šaka,¹¹⁷ „rogovi/šišmiši“) te oni slikani u daunskim, enotrijskim i drugim *solarnim krajolicima* na keramici GOJI. Lik je, najvjerojatnije, upravo pobjedonosno Sunce i, stoga, potpuno usporediv sa znatno starijom pričom oslikanom u prikazima tipa *solarnog krajolika* (Sl. 1, 25A). Rogovi svetih životinja, ponajprije bikovih, jelenjih i nebeskih krava (Hator), u

the same time it repeats all that has been painted on the vessel that it regularly surmounts. The vessel is also painted with distinctly solar signs, and also with concise *solar landscapes* (Fig. 29 d, 30 b). These Daunian examples of permeating of the “messages” on the handle and painted surface of the vessel have the most condensed solar symbolics in the entire GPSI pottery. All this and the fact that its oversized eyes (Fig. 29 a, 30 a) – circle with a dot - a symbol of the “all-seeing” Sun indicate its divine nature. The motifs of circles – eyes on the GPSI pottery are very common. Although they are not always drawn in pair, originally they were meant to be the Sun’s eyes (Fig. 10B, 11m, 14B g, 30 c). In some compositions they are replaced by the motif of a wheel (Fig. 24 d) or a disc with an inscribed cross (Fig. 19B b).

Divine nature of the figure-handle is supported by the fact that it in some cases it has big hands laid on the edge of the vessel, alongside its standard traits (Fig. 31c) or a small head (e.g. in rich “prince’s” grave 279 from Lavello, 7th century BC; Fig. 30d)¹¹⁵ identical to plastic “horn-shaped” appliqués (so-called bats) on the Daunian vessels.¹¹⁶ In the figure-handle we have a synthesis of all main and typically Daunian plastic elements (hand,¹¹⁷ “horns/bats”) and those painted in the Daunian, Enotrian and other *solar landscapes* on the GPSI pottery. The figure is probably exactly the triumphant Sun and therefore it can be compared with much older story painted in the depictions of the *solar landscape* type (Fig. 1, 25A). Horns of the holy animals, primarily bull, deer or celestial cow (Hathor) in many communities carry a disc of the Sky/world i.e. the Sun. With their horns they lift the Sun on the horizon. The Sun from the Rigveda is a bull.¹¹⁸ Also the holy Scarab (Sun) lifts the Sun’s disc on the horizon with its upraised legs. In some south Apennine bur-

¹¹⁴ Mada su bikove plastično oblikovane glave (bukraniji) prisutne u mnogim prapovijesnim prostorno-vremenskim isječcima, one s keramike Cipra iz kovinskih razdoblja, inače prepune životinjskih protoma ali i slikanih motiva s rogovima, oblikovane su gotovo poput rogatih protoma na daunskoj keramici, D. MORISS, 1985, 193-194, 318, sl. 316-325, 537.

¹¹⁵ A. BOTTINI, 1982; M. MAZZEI, 2010, 108-109, 111.

¹¹⁶ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T II/22.

¹¹⁷ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T III/25-26.

pottery, D. MORISS, 1985, 193-194, 318, fig. 316-325, 537.

¹¹⁵ A. BOTTINI, 1982; M. MAZZEI, 2010, 108-109, 111.

¹¹⁶ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T II/22.

¹¹⁷ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T III/25-26.

¹¹⁸ M. JEŽIĆ, 1987, 149-150.

mnogim sredinama nose disk Neba/svijeta, odnosno, Sunce. Svojim rogovima oni podižu Sunce na obzoru. Samo rvedsko Sunce jest bik.¹¹⁸ Također, i sveti Skarabej (Sunce) svojim uspravljenim udovima podiže Sunčev disk na obzoru. U više južnoapeninskih pokopa prilagan je izvorni lik skarabeja i više domaćih apeninskih figura slikanih po keramici i kovinskim izrađevinama ima skarabejske odlike, ponajprije uzdignute udove, ali uvijek bez diska.¹¹⁹ „Orantski“ uzdignute „ruke“ daunskog božanskog lika-ručke (Sl. 29a; 30a, d; 31a, d) zapravo su nosač Sunčevog diska koji ovdje nije prikazivan, no koji se podrazumijeva.

Ponekad se, na istoj posudi lik-ručka komponira „u susretu“ s drugim, stiliziranim¹²⁰ ili gotovo realističnim antropomorfnim likom (Sl. 31a), potpuno trodimenzionalnim s nakićenom (obrednom, funerarnom?) nošnjom, ali bez orantske poze, dakle, formom potpuno drugačijom od apstraktnog i prostorno izrazito dominantnog lika-ručke (Sl. 29-30). Ta naglašena likovna različitost dvaju figura govori o različitosti njihovih karaktera. Zato su neki autori upravo u ovom realističnom liku bez solarnih elemenata prepoznali daunsku božicu, odnosno svećenicu.¹²¹

Premda je teško ustanoviti „tko je tko“ te uvijek jasno razlikovati bar dvije osnovne uloge – štovatelja/oranta i božanskog entiteta – u maštovitom panoptikumu antropomorfnih likova na keramici GOJI, činjenica je da svi oni, sudjelujući u atmosferi *solarnog krajolika*, u konačnici postaju dio svetoga. Uvijek se nalaze u semantički indikativnim kontekstima koji, različitim intenzitetom, upućuju na Sunčevu prisutnost. To je još jedna od osebnosti keramike GOJI. Pitanje je, međutim, ima li u ovom slikarstvu svoje mjesto sam pokojnikov lik. *Solarni krajolik*, kao slika i ideja, bio je namijenjen upravo

als an original figure of scarab was deposited together with several local Apennine figures painted on pottery, and metal artifacts also have scarab characteristics, primarily raised legs, but always without a disc.¹¹⁹ “Orant-like” raised “arms” of the Daunian deity figure-handle (Fig. 29 a; 30 a, d; 31 a, d.) actually carry the Sun disc that was not depicted here, but it is implied.

Sometimes, on the same vessel, the figure-handle is combined “in an encounter” with other stylized¹²⁰ or almost realistic anthropomorphous figure (Fig. 31 a), completely three-dimensional, with elaborate (ritual, funerary?) attire, but without the orant’s position, and therefore completely different in form from the abstract and spatially very dominant figure-handle (Fig. 29-30). This pronounced difference in presenting the two figures illustrates the difference between their characters. Therefore some authors recognized a Daunian goddess or priestess in this realistic figure without solar elements.¹²¹

Although it is difficult to determine “who is who” and to always clearly distinguish at least two main roles – a devotee/orant and a divine entity – in an imaginative panopticon of anthropomorphous figures on the GPSI pottery, the fact is that all of them become a part of the divine as they participate in the atmosphere of *solar landscape*. They are always found in semantically indicative contexts that suggest the Sun’s presence with different intensity. That is another specific characteristic of the GPSI pottery. The question is whether the deceased person’s image has its place in this painting. *Solar landscape* as an image and idea was intended exactly for him, i.e. a deity important for the “destiny” of the deceased person and the community. Therefore it is possible that the realistic ornate figure in an encounter with the dominant figure-handle represents the deceased per-

¹¹⁸ M. JEŽIĆ, 1987, 149-150.

¹¹⁹ S. KUKOČ, 2012, 86.

¹²⁰ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, 52, T XVIII/7.

¹²¹ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, 53, bilj 1-2.

¹¹⁹ S. KUKOČ, 2012, 86.

¹²⁰ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, 52, T XVIII/7.

¹²¹ E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, 53, note 1-2.

njemu, odnosno, božanstvu važnom za „sudbinu“ pokojnika i zajednice. Stoga nije isključeno da realističan nakićen lik u susretu s dominantnim likom-ručkom predstavlja samog pokojnika (Sl. 31a). Kako se pokojnik sahranjen u posudi (urni) ili pored posude sa slikom *solarnog krajolika* identificirao s (božanskom) Sunčevom sudbinom, od nesumnjivo „optimističnih“ *solarnih krajolika* očekivala se (prekogrobna?) zaštita umrlih.

Jedan od kronološki najsigurnijih ranih daunskih pokopa s geometrijski oslikanom keramikom u Dauniji (Sl. 19A), između zadnjih desetljeća 9. st. pr. Kr. i 8. st. pr. Kr., grob 1 u humku u Arpiju (Foggia) sa zgrčnim pokojnikom,¹²² dobro dočarava jednu od funkcija ovakve keramike u kultu mrtvih tijekom prvih stoljeća željeznog doba, s njezinom najvjerojatnijom praktičnoj ulogom u libaciji. Posuda skromno oslikana nosi bitne odrednice koncepta *solarnog krajolika*.

Odavno prepoznati solarni simboli na keramici GOJI nisu mogli biti raspršeni i nepovezani, već usustavljeni. Cijela višestoljetna likovna igra solarnih elementa, dijelom analognih istima u *villanova* kontekstima, no neizbježno isprepletenih s običnim ukrasima, provlači se kroz sveukupnu keramiku GOJI upotrebljavanu na nekropolama, u svetištima, ali i u naseljima.¹²³ Točnije definiranje solarno usustavljene simbolične komponente problem je neke buduće sveobuhvatne analize keramike GOJI.

son (Fig. 31a). Since the deceased person buried in a vessel (urn) or next to the vessel with an image of *solar landscape* was identified with (divine) Sun's destiny, protection (in the afterlife?) of the dead was expected from undoubtedly "optimistic" *solar landscapes*.

Grave 1 with a flexed burial in a mound in Arpi (Foggia) is one of chronologically most certain Daunian burials with geometrically painted pottery in Daunia (Fig. 19A) between the last decades of the 9th century BC and 8th century BC.¹²² It is a good illustration of one of functions that this pottery had in the cult of the dead in the first centuries of the Iron Age, most likely with its practical function in libation. A modestly painted vessel bears important determinants of the *solar landscape* concept.

Solar symbols that have been recognized long time ago on the GPSI pottery could not have been dispersed and unrelated, but systematized. Entire multi-centennial artistic game of solar elements, partially comparable to the identical ones in the *Villanova* contexts, but inevitably interwoven with common ornaments, is present in the entire GPSI pottery, used at the necropoles, in sanctuaries, but also in the settlements.¹²³ More precise definition of an solar symbolical component that has been systematized, with an important function of a visual and religious concept of, will be a subject of some future complete analysis of the GPSI pottery.

Translation: Marija Kostić

¹²² F. i S. TINÈ, 1976, 265-266, sl. 1; E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, 31, bilj. 3; M. MAZZEI, 2010, 34-37.

¹²³ Nepoznato je koliko se slikarstvo „kućne“ keramike ikonografsko-semantički razlikovalo od onog iz sfere svetoga, božanskog i funerarnog u pojedinim regijama keramike GOJI.

¹²² E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, 31, note 3; F. and S. TINÈ, 1976, 265-266, fig. 1; M. MAZZEI, 2010, 34-37.

¹²³ We do not know how different was painting on "home" pottery from the one from the sphere of sacred, divine and funerary in iconographic and semantical terms in different regions of the GPSI pottery.

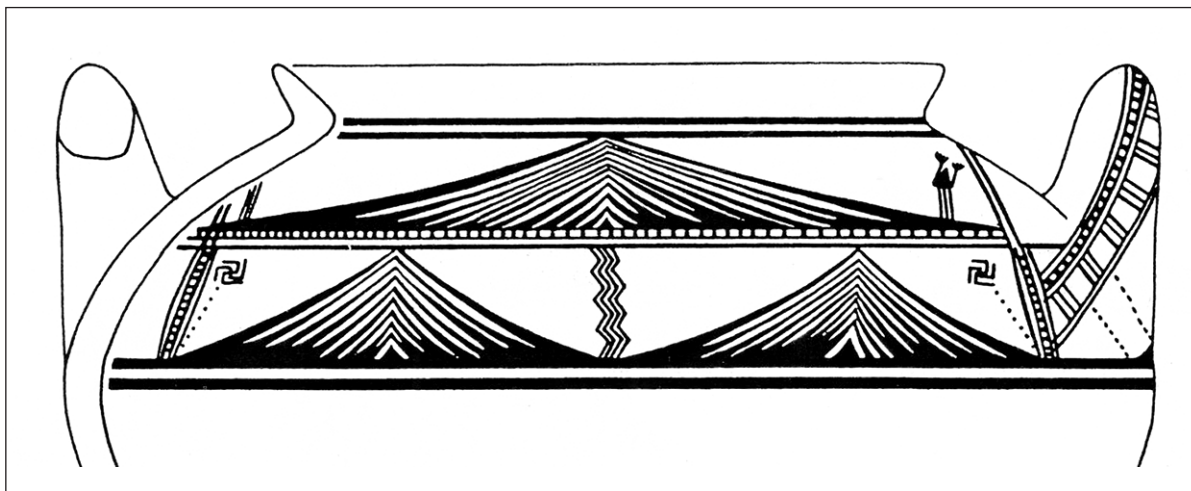
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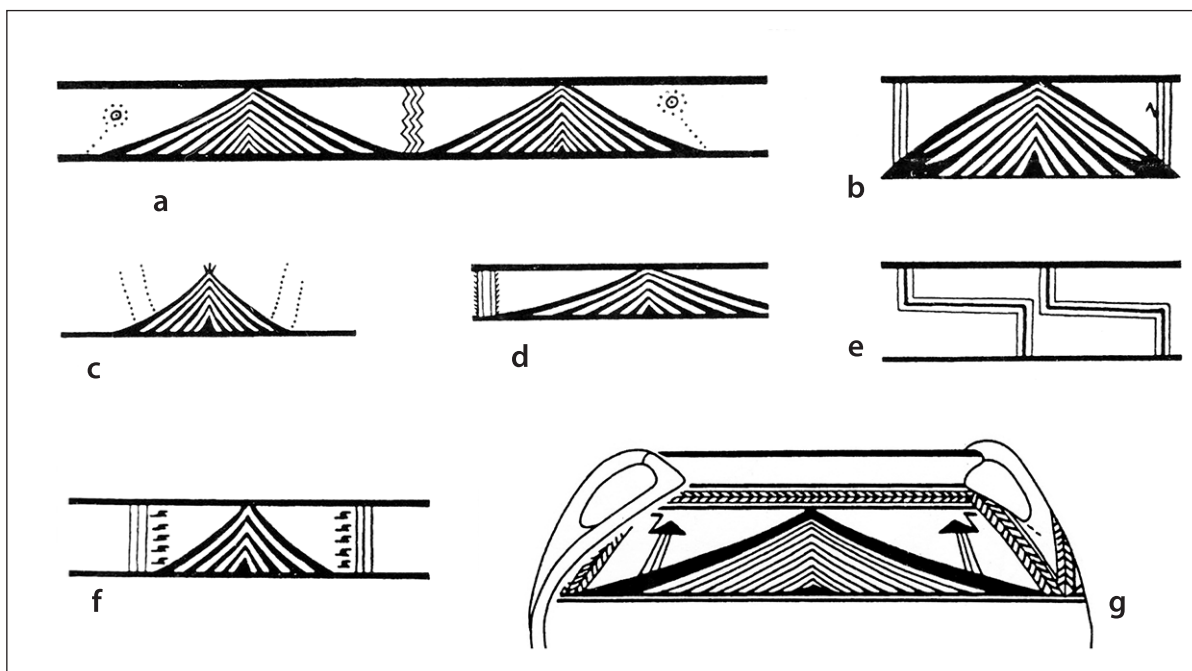
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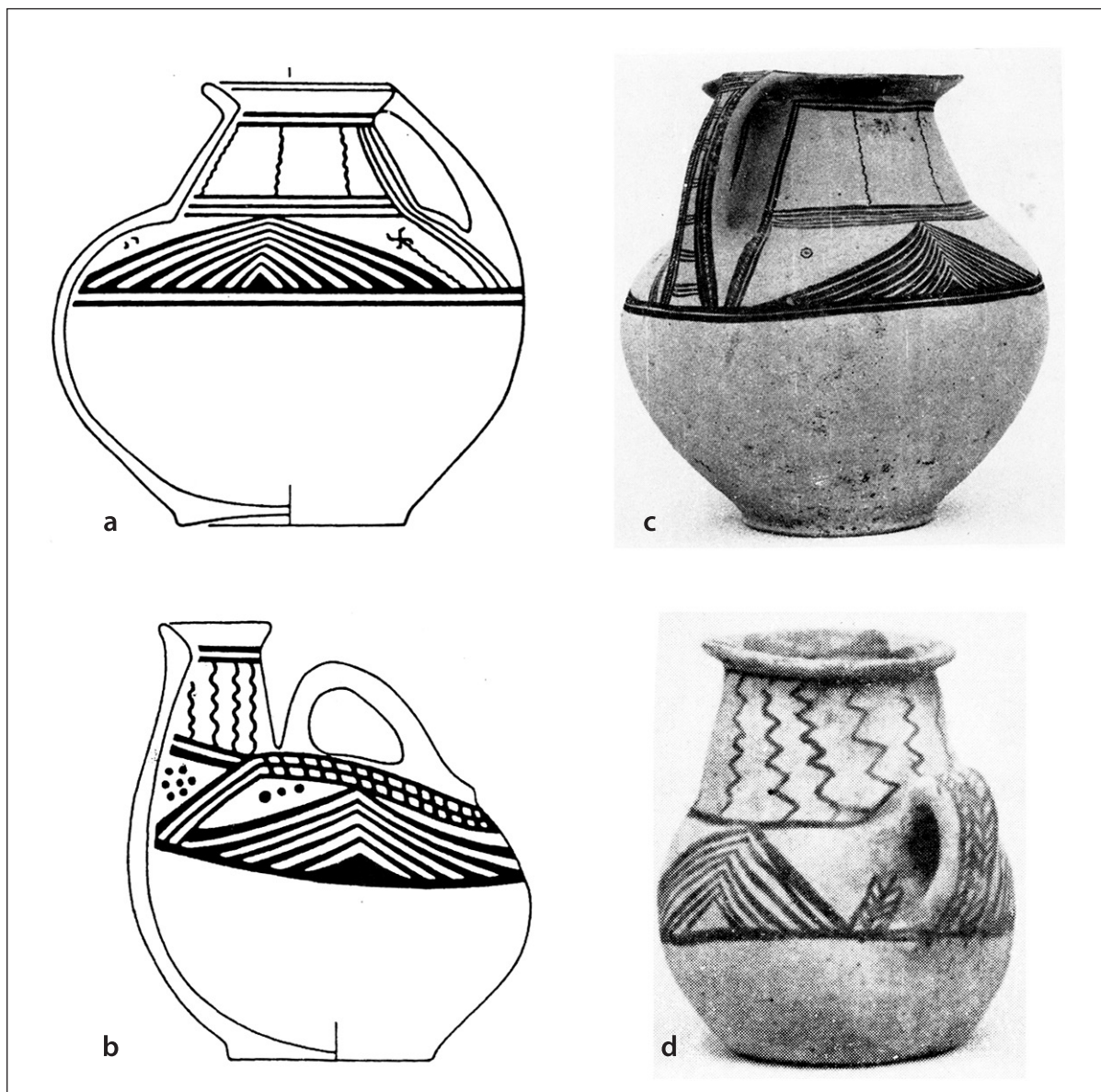
SLIKA 1. Sala Consilina: prizor solarnog krajolika na posudi oslikanoj u srednjegeometrijskom (enotrijskom) izrazu (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 97).

FIGURE 1 Sala Consilina: depiction of solar landscape on the vessel painted in the Middle Geometric (Enotrian) expression (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 97).



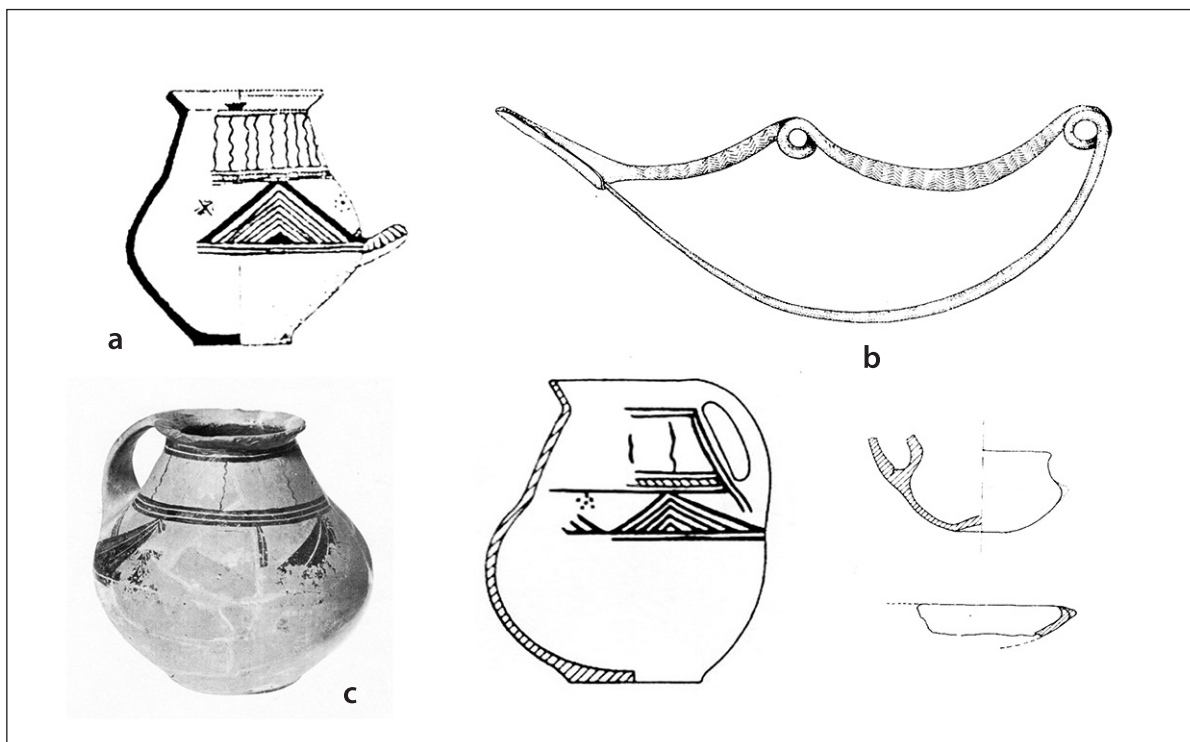
SLIKA 2. a-d) trokuti a tenda u solarnim krajolicima naslikanim u srednjegeometrijskom (enotrijskom) izrazu (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 89/1-4); e) motiv srednjegeometrijske (enotrijske) keramike (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 89/5); f) Bradano područje: solarni krajolik u srednjegeometrijskom (enotrijskom) slikarskom izrazu (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 129/7); g) Sala Consilina: solarni krajolik oslikan u srednjegeometrijskom (enotrijskom) izrazu (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 98).

FIGURE 2 a-d) A tenda triangles in solar landscapes painted in the Middle Geometric (Enotrian) expression (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 89/1-4); e) Motif of the Middle Geometric (Enotrian) pottery (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 89/5); f) Bradano region: solar landscape in the Middle Geometric (Enotrian) painting expression (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 129/7); g) Sala Consilina: solar landscape painted in the Middle Geometric (Enotrian) expression (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 98).



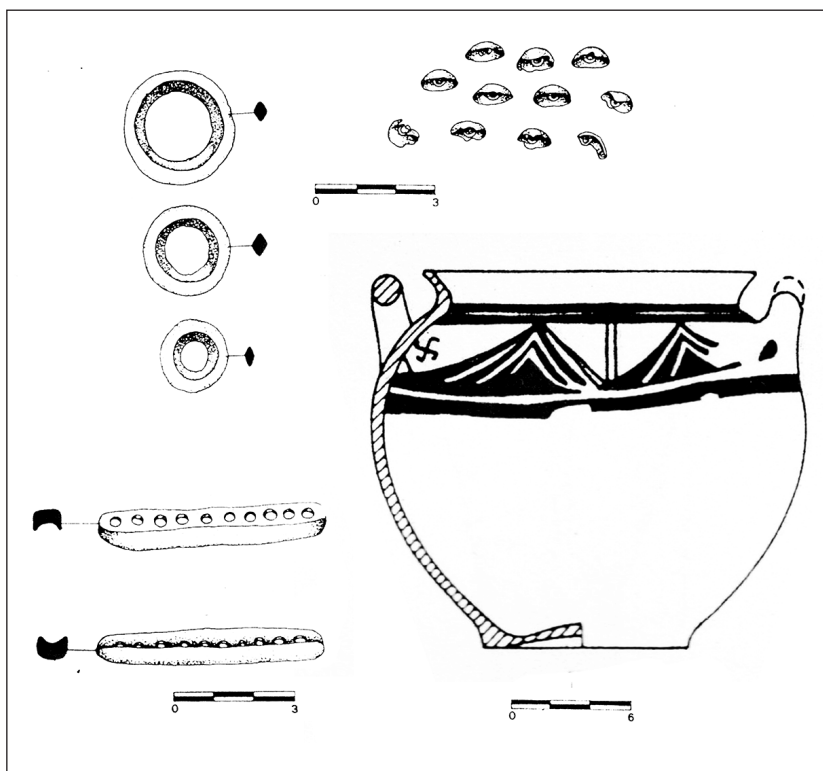
SLIKA 3. a-b) Sala Consilina: prizori solarnog krajolika u srednjegeometrijskom (enotrijskom) izrazu (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 30, 95); c) Sala Consilina: prizor solarnog krajolika naslikanog u srednjegeometrijskom (enotrijskom) izrazu (prema: P. ORLANDINI, 1971, T XV/2); d) Sala Consilina: posuda oslikana u enotrijskom geometrijskom izrazu, 9./8.st. pr. Kr. (prema: P. ORLANDINI, 1971, T XV/1).

FIGURE 3 a-b) Sala Consilina: depictions of solar landscape in the Middle Geometric (Enotrian) expression (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 30, 95); c) Sala Consilina: depictions of solar landscape in the Middle Geometric (Enotrian) expression (after: P. ORLANDINI, 1971, T XV/2); d) Sala Consilina: vessel painted in the Enotrian geometric expression, 9th/8th century BC (after: P. ORLANDINI, 1971, T XV/1).



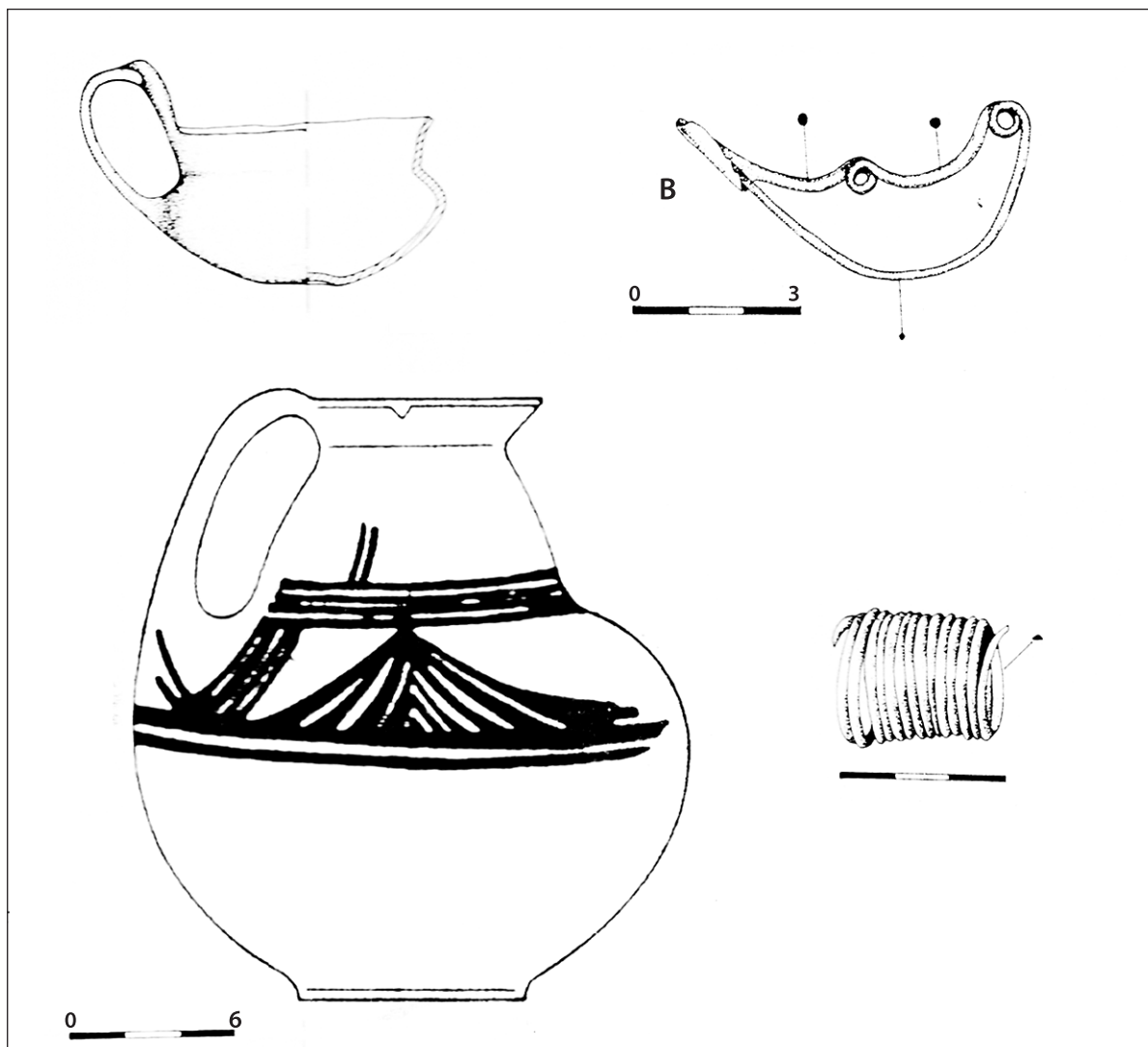
SLIKA 4. a) Posuda oslikana u ranogeometrijskom (enotrijskom) izrazu, 9. st. pr. Kr. (prema: F. FERRANTI, 2008, sl. 2/SS 14); b) Incoronata, grob 170: posuda oslikana u srednjegeometrijskom (enotrijskom) izrazu (prema: B. CHIARTANO, 1994, T 9); c) Craco, grob 6, Basilicata: posuda oslikana u srednjegeometrijskom (enotrijskom) izrazu (prema: POPOLI ANELLENICI, 1971, T XI).

FIGURE 4 a) Vessel painted in the Early Geometric (Enotrian) expression, 9th century BC (after: F. FERRANTI, 2008, fig. 2/SS 14); **b)** Incoronata, grave 170: vessel painted in the Middle Geometric (Enotrian) expression (after: B. CHIARTANO, 1994, T 9); **c)** Craco, grave 6, Basilicata: vessel painted in the Middle Geometric (Enotrian) expression (after: POPOLI ANELLENICI, 1971, T XI).



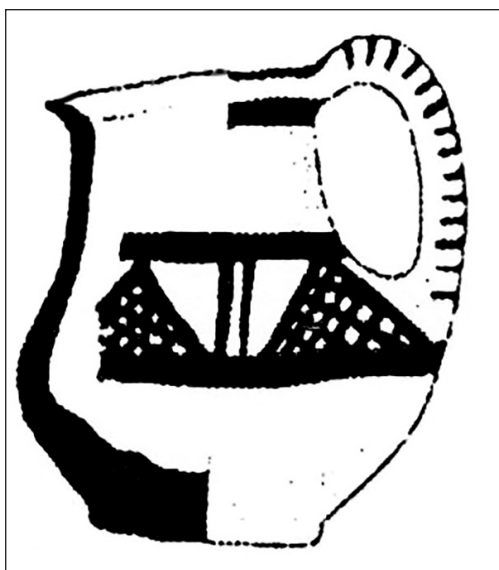
SLIKA 5. Incoronata – San Teodoro, Metaponto: grob 343 s posudom oslikanom u srednjegeometrijskom (enotrijskom) izrazu (prema: B. CHIARTANO, 1994, T 81).

FIGURE 5 Incoronata – San Teodoro, Metaponto: grave 343 with a vessel painted in the Middle Geometric (Enotrian) expression (after: B. CHIARTANO, 1994, T 81).



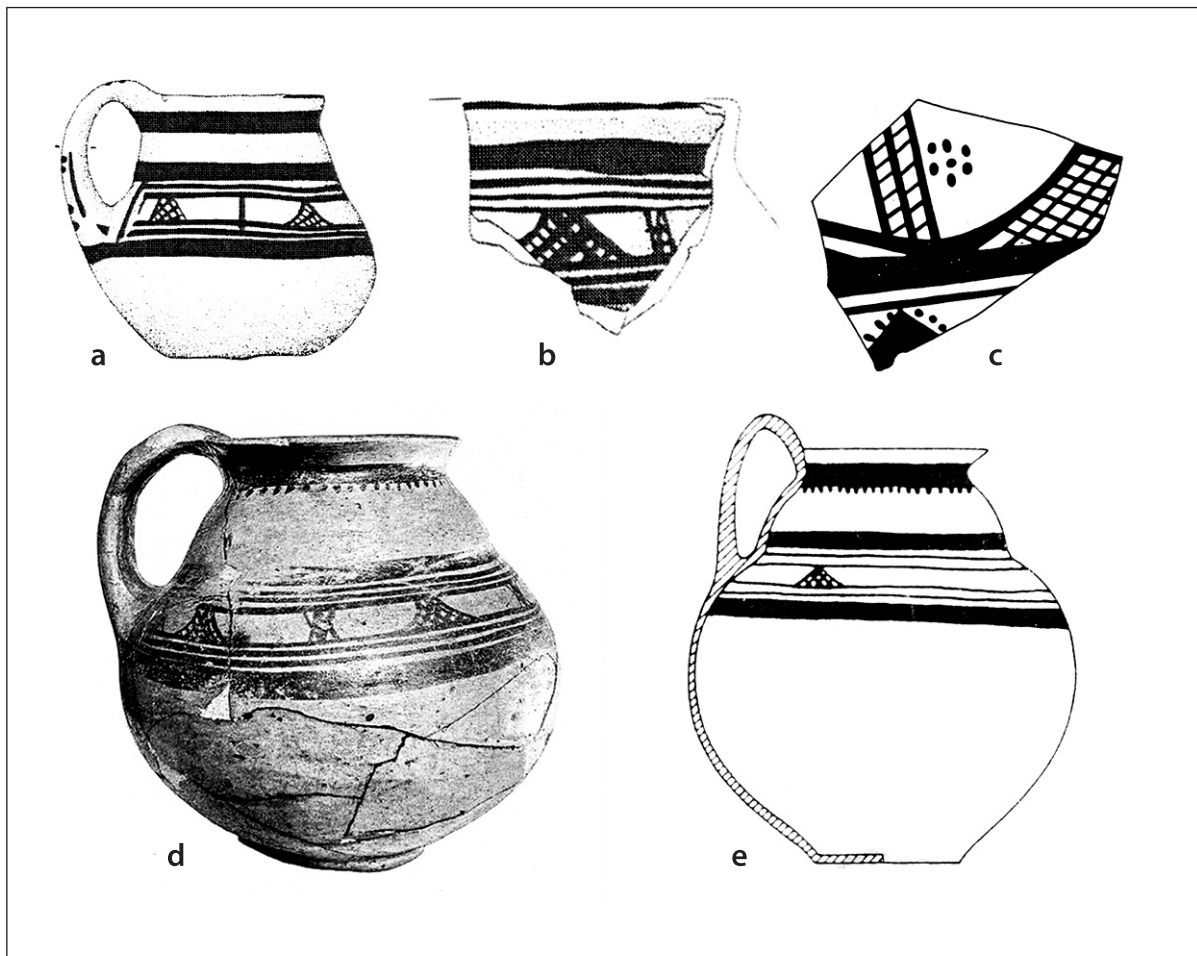
SLIKA 6. *Incoronata – San Teodoro, Metaponto: grob 453 s posudom oslikanom u srednjegeometrijskom (enotrijskom) izrazu (prema: B. CHIARTANO, 1994, T 111).*

FIGURE 6 *Incoronata – San Teodoro, Metaponto: grave 453 with a vessel painted in the Middle Geometric (Enotrian) expression (after: B. CHIARTANO, 1994, T 111).*



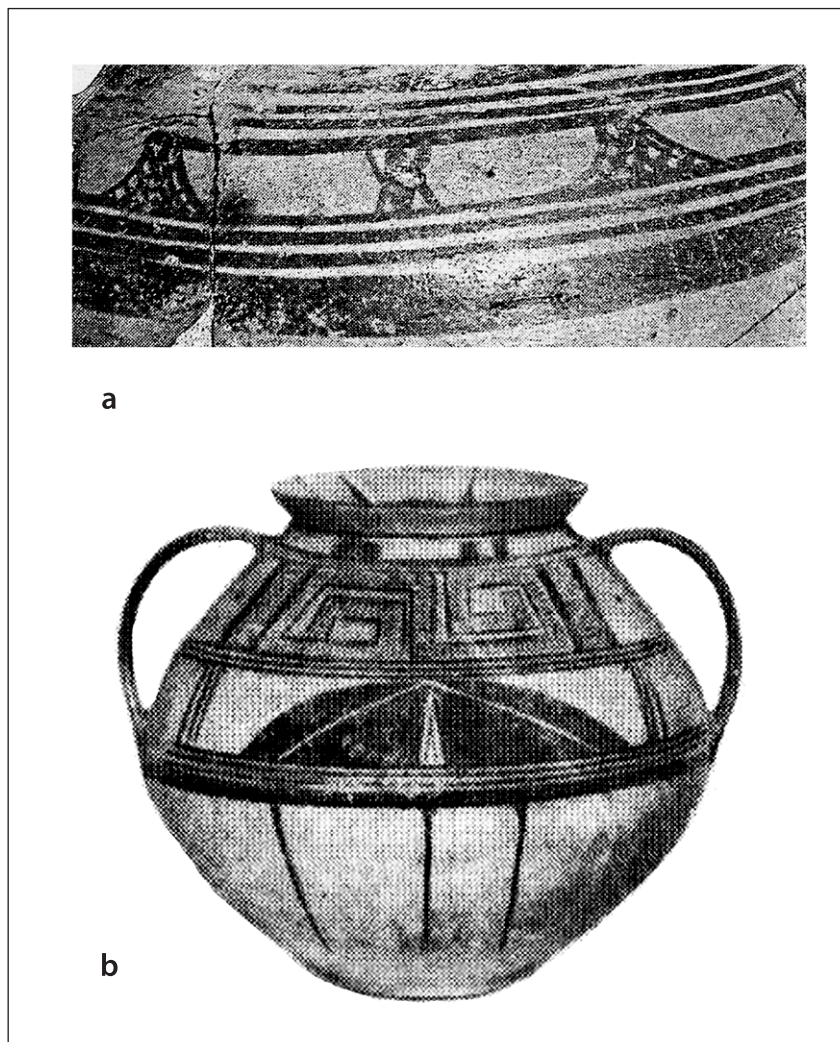
SLIKA 7. *Taranto, Borgo Nuovo: posuda oslikana u ranogeometrijskom južnoapulskom (tzv. geometrico enotrio-iaipigio) izrazu, 9. st. pr. Kr. (prema: M. KLEIBRINK, L. BARRESI, M. FASANELLA MASCI, 2012, sl. 4).*

FIGURE 7 *Taranto, Borgo Nuovo: vessel painted in the Early Geometric southern Apulian (geometrico enotrio-iaipigio) expression of the 9th century BC (after: M. KLEIBRINK, L. BARRESI, M. FASANELLA MASCI, 2012, fig. 4).*



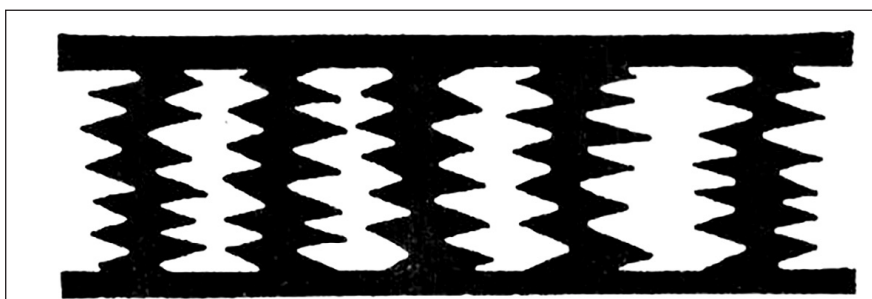
SLIKA 8A. a) *Timpone della Motta* (Francavilla Marittima, Kalabrija): posuda oslikana početkom srednjeg geometrijskog izraza, krajem 9. st. pr. Kr. (prema: M. KLEIBRINK, L. BARRESI, M. FASANELLA MASCI, 2012, sl. 3); b) *Timpone della Motta* (Francavilla Marittima), Kalabrija: posuda oslikana u srednjegeometrijskom (enotrijskom) izrazu (prema: M. KLEIBRINK, L. BARRESI, M. FASANELLA MASCI, 2012, sl. 9); c) *Timpone della Motta* (Francavilla Marittima, Kalabrija): ulomak posude oslikane u srednjegeometrijskom (enotrijskom) izrazu (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 304/a); d) *Torre Mordillo*, Kalabrija: posuda oslikana u srednjegeometrijskom (enotrijskom) izrazu (prema: M. KLEIBRINK, L. BARRESI, M. FASANELLA MASCI, 2012, T 1/3); e) *Incoronata – San Teodoro*, grob 207: posuda oslikana u srednjegeometrijskom izrazu (prema: B. CHIARTANO, 1994, T 20).

FIGURE 8A a) *Timpone della Motta* (Francavilla Marittima, Calabria): vessel painted at the beginning of the Middle Geometric expression, late 9th century BC (after: M. KLEIBRINK, L. BARRESI, M. FASANELLA MASCI, 2012, fig. 3); b) *Timpone della Motta* (Francavilla Marittima), Calabria: vessel painted in the Middle Geometric (Enotrian) expression (after: M. KLEIBRINK, L. BARRESI, M. FASANELLA MASCI, 2012, fig. 9); c) *Timpone della Motta* (Francavilla Marittima, Calabria): vessel painted in the Middle Geometric (Enotrian) expression (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 304/a); d) *Torre Mordillo*, Calabria: vessel painted in the Middle Geometric (Enotrian) expression (after: M. KLEIBRINK, L. BARRESI, M. FASANELLA MASCI, 2012, T 1/3); e) *Incoronata – San Teodoro*, grave 207: vessel painted in the Middle Geometric (Enotrian) expression (after: B. CHIARTANO, 1994, T 20).



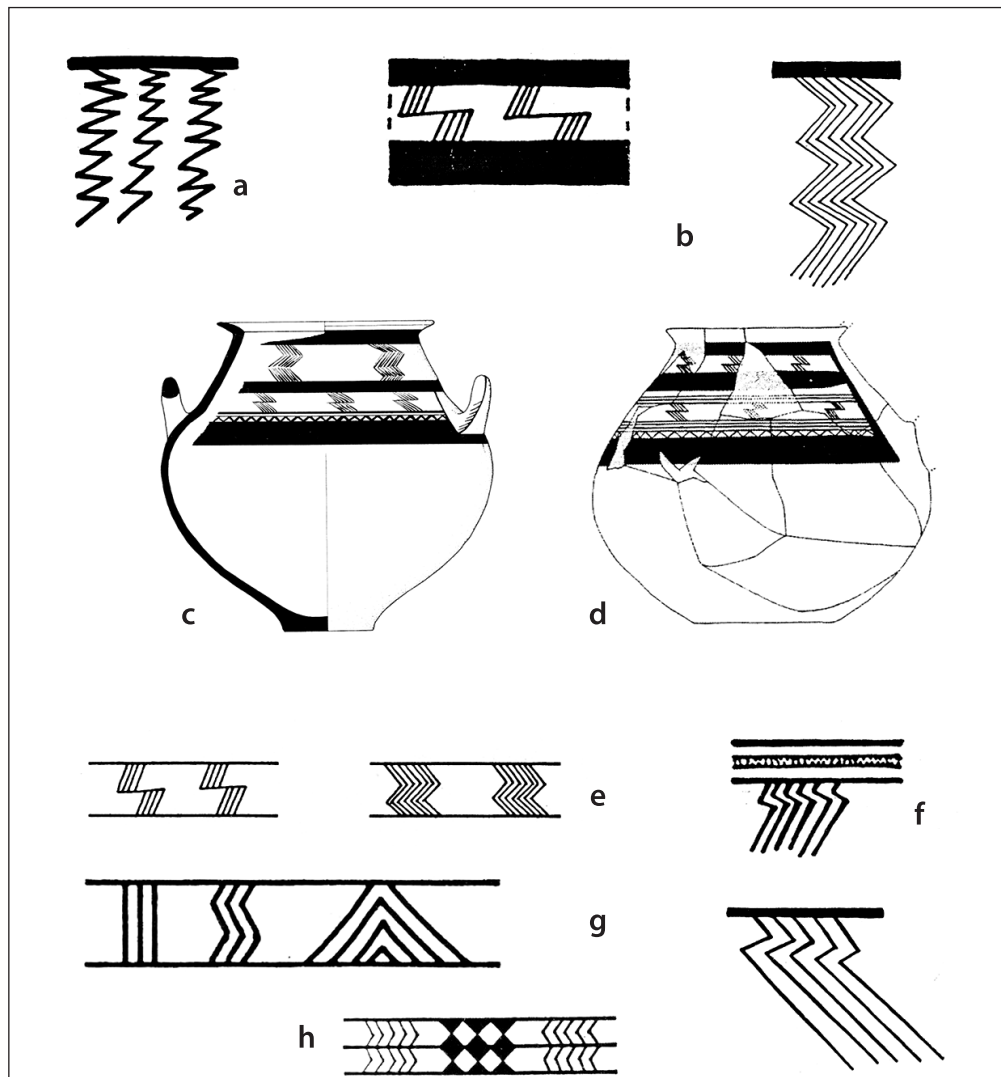
SLIKA 8B. a) Torre Mordillo, Kalabrija: posuda oslikana u srednjegeometrijskom (enotrijskom) likovnom izrazu, detalj (prema: M. KLEIBRINK, L. BARRESI, M. FASANELLA MASCI, 2012, T 1/3); b) Montescaglioso, geometrijski oslikana posuda, dio grobne cjeline (prema: P. ORLANDINI, 1972, T XXII).

FIGURE 8B a) Torre Mordillo, Calabria: vessel painted in the Middle Geometric (Enotrian) expression, detail (after: M. KLEIBRINK, L. BARRESI, M. FASANELLA MASCI, 2012, T 1/3); b) Montescaglioso, geometrically painted vessel, part of a funerary assemblage (after: P. ORLANDINI, 1972, T XXII).



SLIKA 9. Motiv cik-cak okomica: protogeometrijski oslikana domaća keramika južne Italije (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 6 /5).

FIGURE 9 Motif of zig-zag verticals: protogeometrically painted local pottery of southern Italy (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 6 /5).



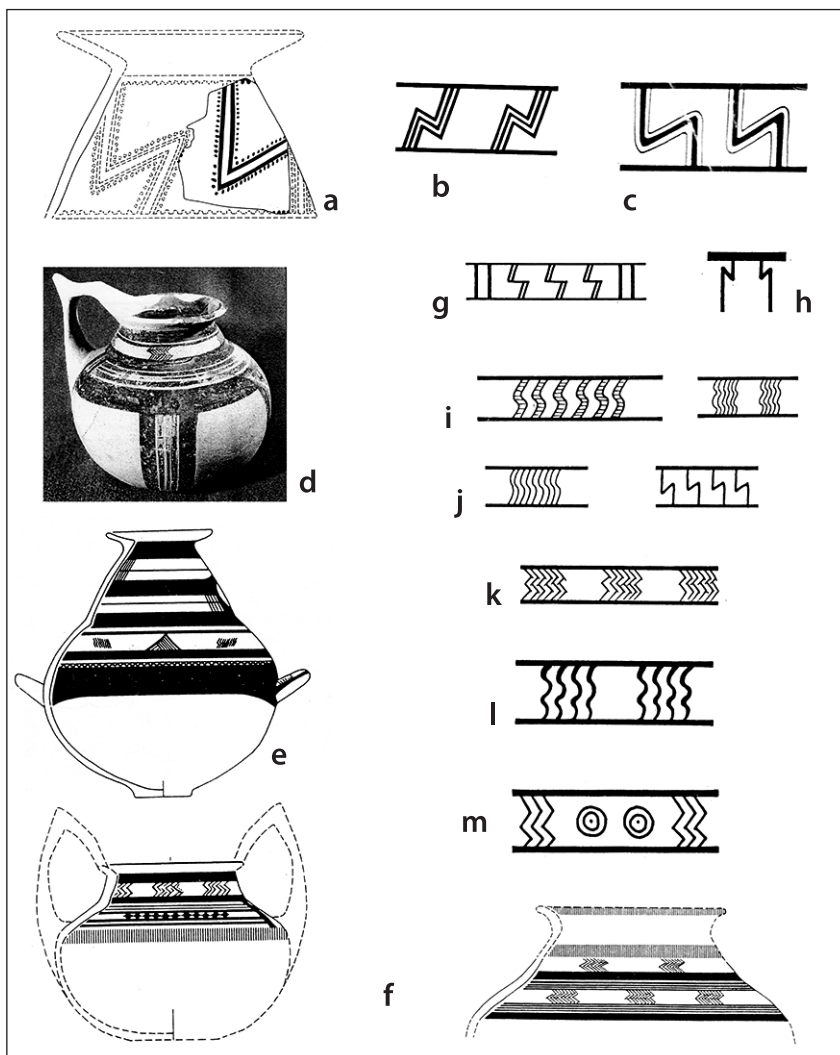
SLIKA 10A. Motivi cik-cak okomica i munje: a) Daunija, protogeometrijski oslikana keramika, cik-cak motiv (prema: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XXVII/2); b) Daunija, keramika geometrijski oslikana (munja i cik-cak okomice), 9. – 8. st. pr. Kr. (prema: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XXIX/35, 40); c) Nezakcij, grob I/12, posuda iz Daunije oslikana u srednjegeometrijskom izrazu (Geometrico Daunio Medio) (prema: K. MIHOVILIĆ, 2001, sl. 60, T 10/4); d) Cupola, posuda oslikana u srednjegeometrijskom izrazu (Geometrico Daunio Medio) (prema: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1997, sl. 29); e) Daunija, keramika oslikana u kasnoegeometrijskom izrazu s motivom munje i cik-cak okomicom (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 209/27-28); f) Daunija, geometrijski oslikana keramika (subgeometrijska), motivi munje/cik-cak okomice, 6. – 4. st. pr. Kr. (prema: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XXXVI/3; T XXXVIII/53); g) Gravina, šire područje Bradana: keramika oslikana u kasnoegeometrijskom izrazu, 8. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 139/3, 146); h) Bradano područje: keramika oslikana u kasnoegeometrijskom izrazu, 8. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 139/17).

FIGURE 10A Motifs of zig-zag verticals and lightning: a) Daunian, protogeometrically painted pottery, zig-zag motif (after: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XXVII/2); b) Daunian, geometrically painted pottery (lightning and zig-zag verticals), 9th – 8th cent. BC (after: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XXIX/35, 40); c) Nesactium, grave I/12, vessel from Daunian painted in the Middle Geometric expression (Geometrico Daunio Medio) (after: K. MIHOVILIĆ, 2001, fig. 60, T 10/4); d) Cupola, vessel painted in the Middle Geometric expression (Geometrico Daunio Medio) (after: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1997, fig. 29); e) Daunian, pottery painted in the Late Geometric expression with motifs of lightning and zig-zag vertical (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 209/27-28); f) Daunian, geometrically painted pottery (subgeometric), motifs of lightning/zig-zag vertical, 6th – 4th cent. BC (after: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XXXVI/3; T XXXVIII/53); g) Gravina, wider Bradano region: pottery painted in the Late Geometric expression, 8th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 139/3, 146); h) Bradano region: pottery painted in the Late Geometric expression, 8th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 139/17).



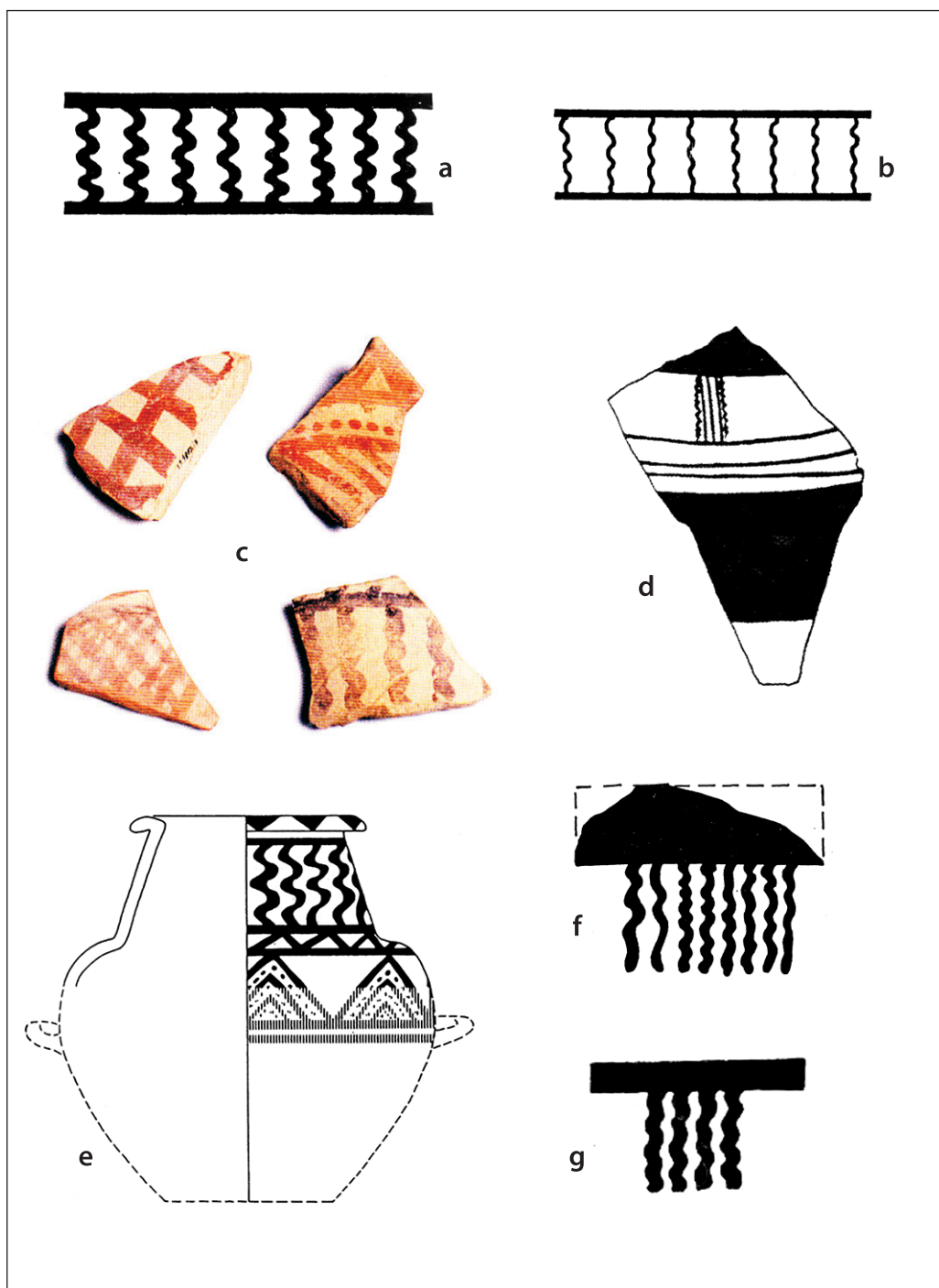
SLIKA 10B. *Canosa, Toppicelli, grob 1/89: posuda oslikana u subgeometrijskom likovnom izrazu, 7. st. pr. Kr. (prema M. MAZZEI, 2010).*

FIGURE 10B *Canosa, Toppicelli, grave 1/89: vessel painted in the Subgeometric expression, 7th century BC (after: M. MAZZEI, 2010).*



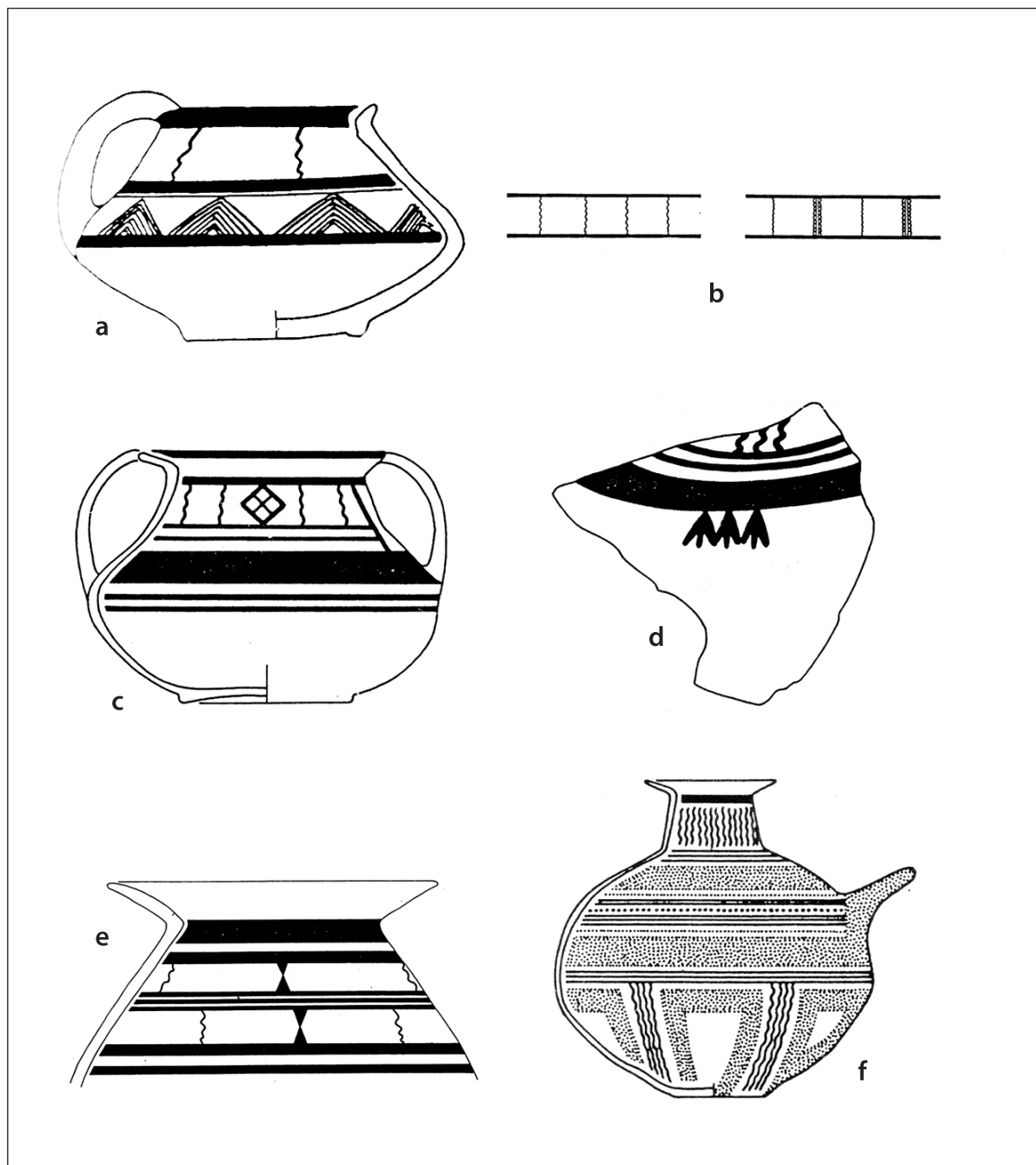
SLIKA 11. a) Otranto: rekonstrukcija vrata urne oslikane motivom munje u ranogeometrijskom izrazu, 9. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 19); b) Motiv munje u ranogeometrijskom slikarstvu južne Italije, 9. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 17/15); c) Salento: motiv munje u srednjegeometrijskom (mesapskom) slikarstvu, 9/8. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 33/32); d) Borgo Nuovo, Taranto: posuda oslikana u srednjegeometrijskom (mesapskom) izrazu (prema: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1997, sl. 18); e) Pontecagnano, Campania: geometrijski oslikana urna u srednjegeometrijskom (mesapskom) izrazu, 8. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 170); f) Otranto: posude oslikane u kasnomgeometrijskom (mesapskom) izrazu, 8. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 53, 59); g-h) Područje Barija, peucetski motivi munje, 7. – 6. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 185/9, 18); i-j) Salento: motivi cik-cak/valovitih okomica i munje u kasnomeometrijskom (mesapskom) slikarstvu (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 48/35-38); k-l) Salento: mesapski motivi cik-cak i valovitih okomica, 7. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 65/6, 9); m) Salento: kompozicija iz 6. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 80/12).

FIGURE 11 a) Otranto: reconstruction of an urn neck painted with a motif of lightning in the Early Geometric expression, 9th century BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 19); b) Motif of lightning in the Early Geometric painting of southern Italy, 9th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 17/15); c) Salento: motif of lightning in the Middle Geometric (Messapian) painting, 9th/8th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 33/32); d) Borgo Nuovo, Taranto: vessel painted the Middle Geometric (Messapian) expression (after: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1997, fig. 18); e) Pontecagnano, Campania: geometrically painted urn in the Middle Geometric (Messapian) expression, 8th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 170); f) Otranto: vessels painted in the Late Geometric (Messapian) expression, 8th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 53, 59); g-h) Bari region, Peucetian motifs of lightning, 7th – 6th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 185/9, 18); i-j) Salento: motifs of zig-zag/wavy verticals and lightning in the Late Geometric (Messapian) painting, 7th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 48/35-38); k-l) Salento: Messapian motifs of zig-zag and wavy verticals, 7th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 65/6, 9); m) Salento: composition from the 6th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 80/12).



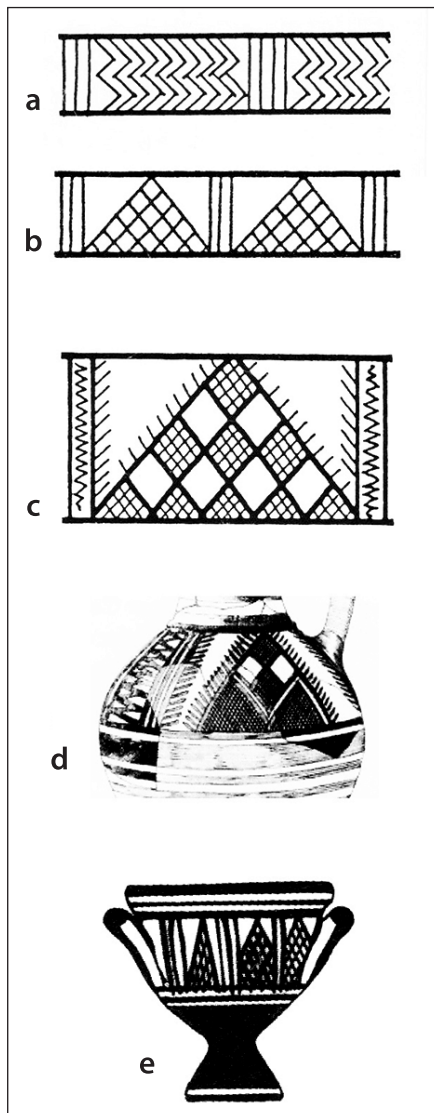
SLIKA 12. Motivi valovitih okomica: a-b) Protogeometrijska i ranogeometrijska slikana keramika južne Italije (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 6/6, sl. 17/12); c-d) Daunija: protogeometrijska slikana keramika, (S. Maria di Riparta; Ortona) (prema: M. MAZZEI, 2010); e) Protogeometrijska idealno rekonstruirana urna (Termitito/Matera; Salapia), 10. st. pr. Kr. (?) (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 9); f) Daunija: protogeometrijska slikana keramika (prema: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XXVII/8); g) Daunija: motiv rano- (?) i srednjegeometrijski oslikane keramike, 9./8. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 203/19; E. M. DE JULIIS, 1997, sl. 27).

FIGURE 12 Motifs of wavy verticals: a-b) Protogeometric and Early Geometric painted pottery of southern Italy (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 6/6, fig. 17/12); c-d) Daunia: protogeometric painted pottery, (S. Maria di Riparta; Ortona) (after: M. MAZZEI, 2010); e) Protogeometric urn, ideal reconstruction (Termitito/Matera; Salapia), 10th cent. BC (?) (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 9); f) Daunia: Protogeometric painted pottery (after: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XXVII/8); g) Daunia: motif of the Early (?) and Middle Geometric painted pottery, 9th/8th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 203/19; E. M. DE JULIIS, 1997, fig. 27).

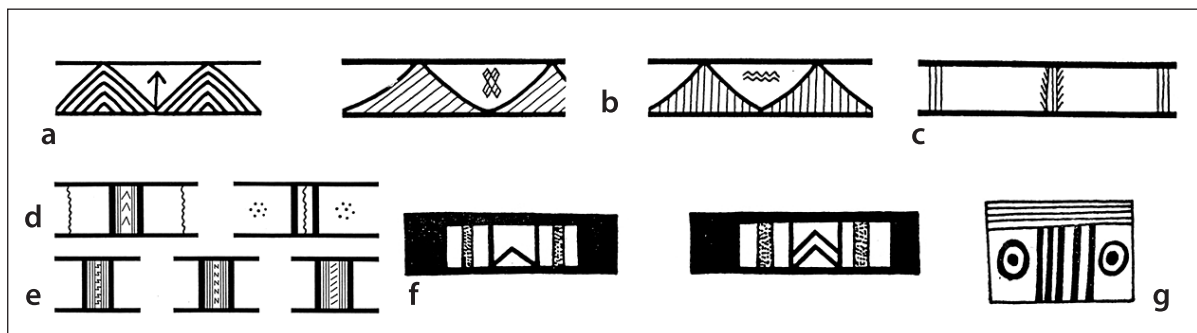


SLIKA 13. *Motivi valovitih okomica: a) Borgo Nuovo, Taranto, posuda oslikana u rano (?) geometrijskom izrazu, 9. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 31); b) Srednjegeometrijski enotrijski izraz – a tenda („klasična“) (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 89/6-7); c) Sala Consilina, posuda oslikana u kasnogeometrijskom (enotrijskom) izrazu, 8./7. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 105); d) Timpone della Motta (Francavilla Marittima), Kalabrija, ulomak posude u kasnogeometrijskom (enotrijskom) izrazu, 8./7. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 307); e) Gravina: posuda oslikana u subgeometrijskom izrazu, 7. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 154); f) Oppido Lucano, Basilicata: geometrijski oslikana posuda, 6. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 313).*

FIGURE 13 *Motifs of wavy verticals: a) Borgo Nuovo, Taranto, vessel painted in the Early (?) Geometric expression, 9th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 31); b) Middle Geometric Enotrian expression – a tenda (“classic”) (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 89/6-7); c) Sala Consilina, vessel painted in the Late Geometric (Enotrian) expression, 8th/7th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 105); d) Timpone della Motta (Francavilla Marittima), Calabria, fragment of a vessel in the Late Geometric (Enotrian) expression, 8th/7th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 307); e) Gravina: vessel painted in the Subgeometric expression, 7th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 154); f) Oppido Lucano, Basilicata: geometrically painted vessel, 6th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 313).*

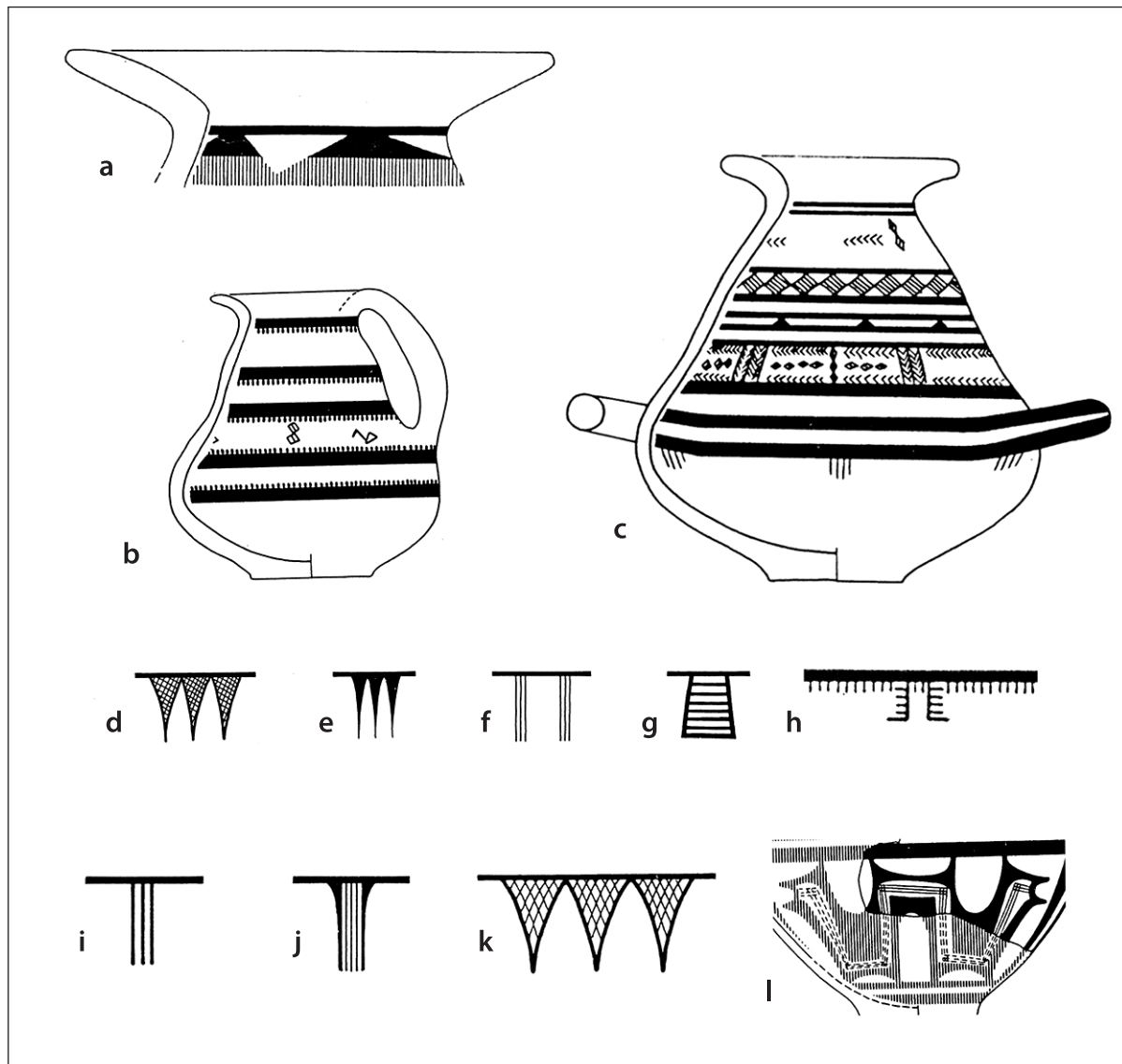


SLIKA 14A. Motivi na grčkoj keramici: a) korintska, srednjegeometrijska, druga polovina 9. st. pr. Kr. – prva polovina 8. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, 36/f); b-d) zapadnogrčka protogeometrijska – Ithaca (Aetos), 9. – 8. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 37/f; A. D. SNODGRASS, 2001, sl. 43); e) Tiryns, kasno protogeometrijska (prema: O. DICKINSON, 2006, sl. 5.17/2). **FIGURE 14A** Motifs on Greek pottery: a) Corinthian, Middle Geometric, second half of the 9th cent. BC – first half of the 8th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, 36/f); b-d) Western Greek Proto-geometric – Ithaca (Aetos), 9th - 8th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 37/f; A. D. SNODGRASS, 2001, fig. 43); e) Tiryns, Late Proto-geometric (after: O. DICKINSON, 2006, fig. 5.17/2).



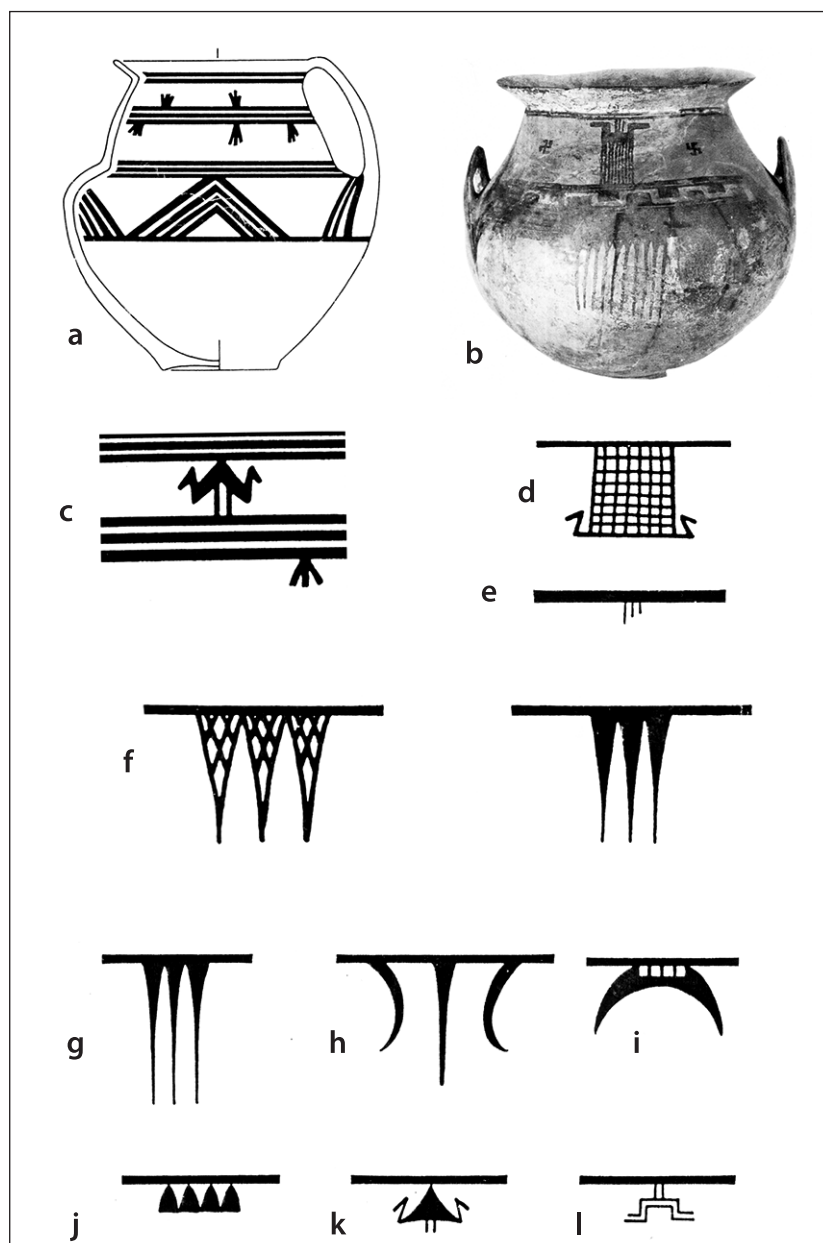
SLIKA 14B. a) Ranogeometrijska keramika južne Italije, 9. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 17/7); b) Salento: kasnogeometrijski (mesapski) motivi, 8. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 47/2-3); c) Bradano područje: srednjegeometrijski prikaz (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 129/15); d-e) Montescaglioso: motivi (peucetski), 7./6. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 160/a-e); f-g) Daunija: subgeometrijski motivi 6. – 5. st. pr. Kr.; (prema: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XXXVIII/43-44, XL/98).

FIGURE 14B a) Early Geometric pottery of southern Italy, 9th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 17/7); b) Salento: Late Geometric (Messapian) motifs, 8th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 47/2-3); c) Bradano region: Middle Geometric depiction (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 129/15); d-e) Montescaglioso: motifs (Peucetian), 7th/6th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 160/a-e); f-g) Daunia: subgeometric motifs 6th – 5th cent. BC; (after: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XXXVIII/43-44, XL/98).



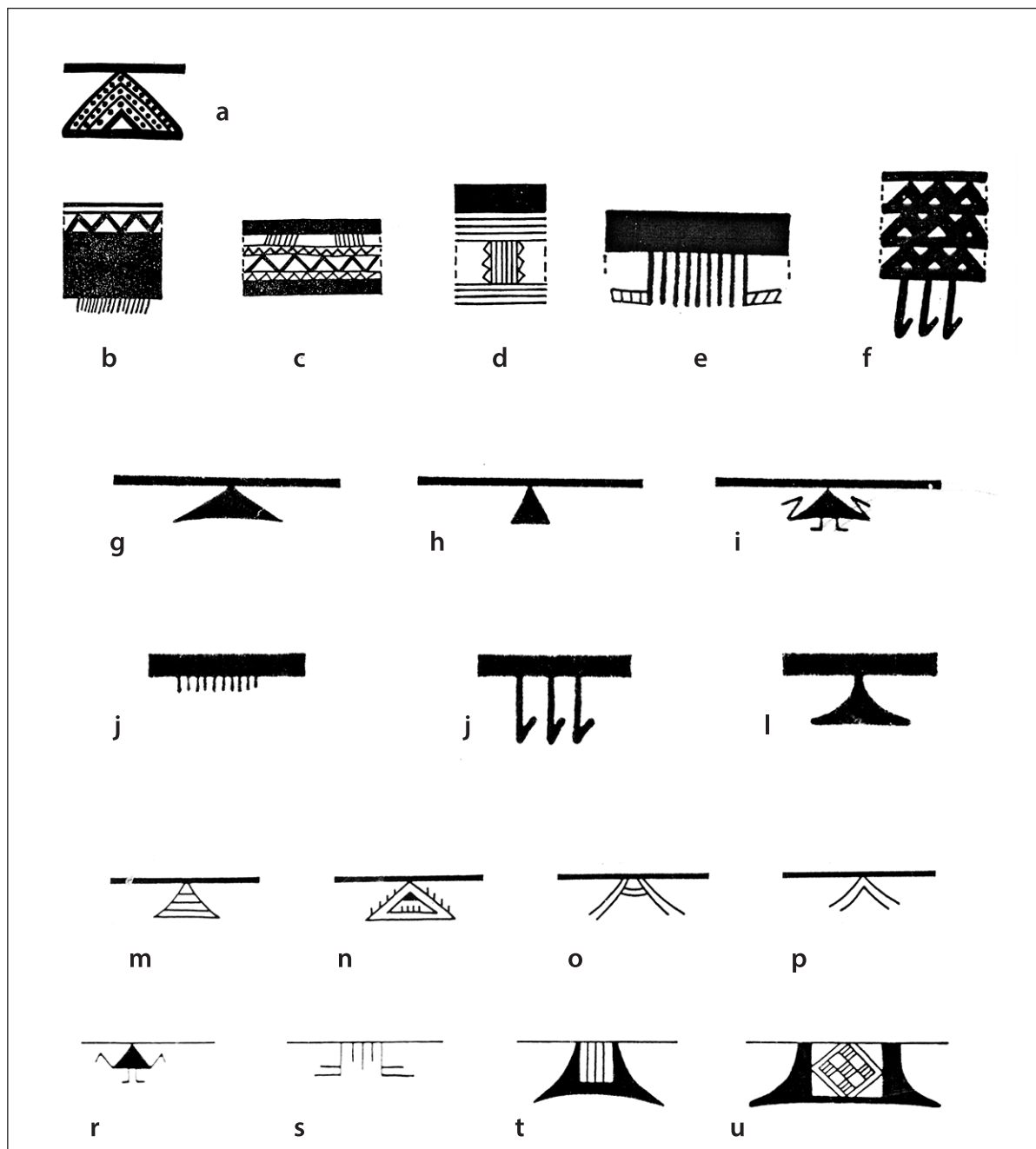
SLIKA 15. Izbor visećih motiva na geometrijski oslikanoj keramici južne Italije: a) Otranto, urna, 9. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 27); b) Borgo Nuovo, Taranto, posuda u srednjegeometrijskom (mesapskom) izrazu (prema E. M. DE JULIIS, 1997, sl. 16); c) Borgo Nuovo, Taranto, urna, oslikana u kasnoegeometrijskom (mesapskom) izrazu, 8. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 51); d-h) Salento: motivi srednjegeometrijskog (mesapskog) izraza (prema D. YNTEMA, 1985 sl. 33/15; 34/36-39); i-k) Salento, kasnoegeometrijski (mesapski) izraz, 8./7. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 47/5; 48/45-46); l) Otranto, motiv „ptičje lađe“ u subgeometrijskom (mesapskom) izrazu, 7. st. pr. Kr. (prema: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1997, sl. 61).

FIGURE 15 Selection of hanging motifs on the geometrically painted pottery of southern Italy: a) Otranto, urn, 9th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 27); b) Borgo Nuovo, Taranto, vessel in the Middle Geometric (Messapian) expression (after: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1997, fig. 16); c) Borgo Nuovo, Taranto, urn, painted in the Late Geometric (Messapian) expression, 8th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 51); d-h) Salento: motifs of the Middle Geometric (Messapian) expression (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985 sl. 33/15; 34/36-39); i-k) Salento, Late Geometric (Messapian) expression from the 8th/7th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 47/5; 48/45-46); l) Otranto, motif of a “bird boat” in the Subgeometric (Messapian) expression, 7th cent BC (after: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1997, fig. 61).



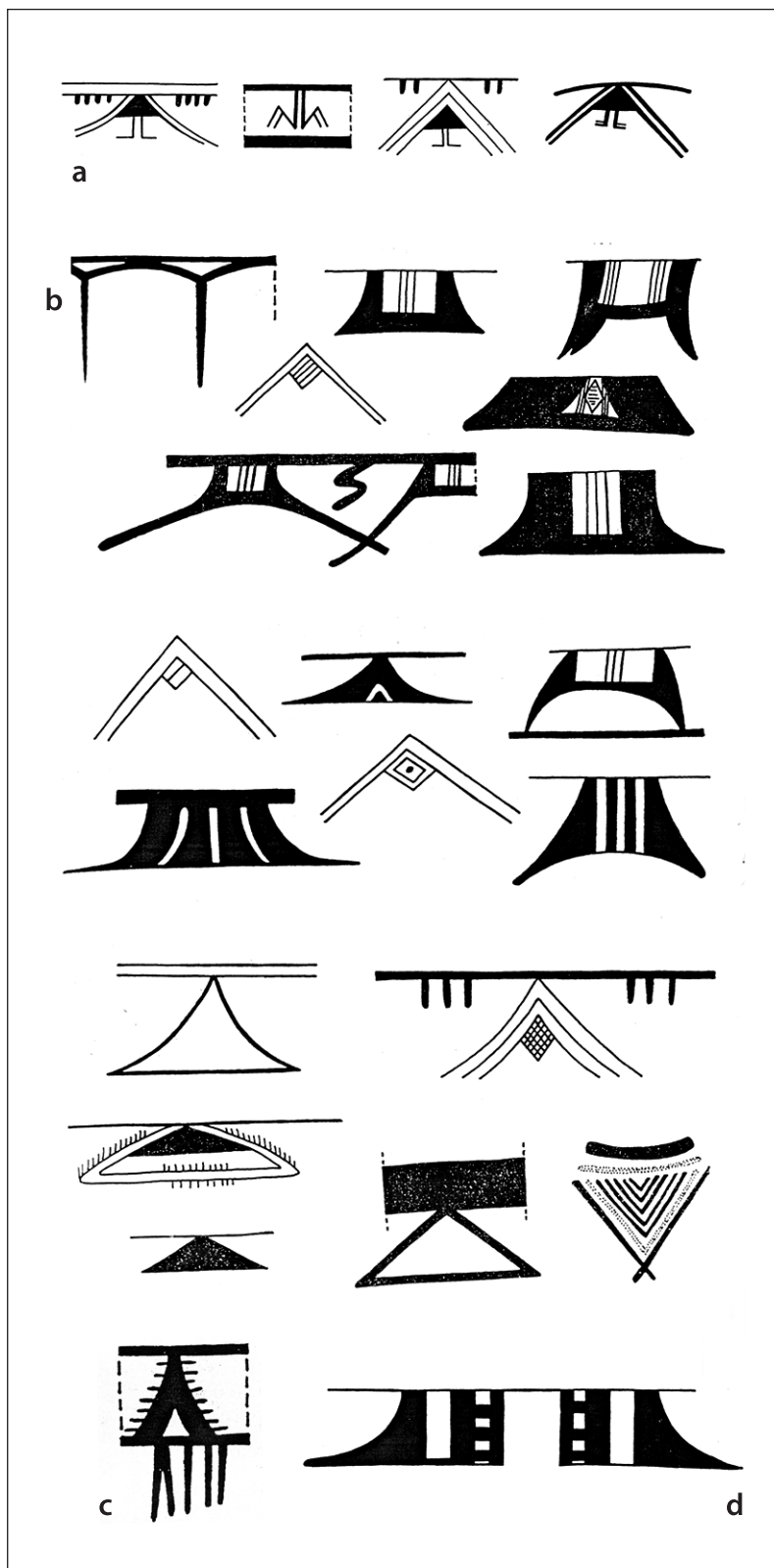
SLIKA 16. Izbor visećih motiva na geometrijski oslikanoj keramici južne Italije: a) S. Teodoro di Pisticci, Basilikata: motiv triprsta na posudi oslikanoj u ranom (?) geometrijskom izrazu (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 20); b) Ferrandina, Basilikata, grob 5: posuda s prikazom nakita u obliku „ptičje lađe“, 7. st. pr. Kr. (prema: POPOLI ANELLENICI, 1971, T VI); c) Ferrandina, Basilikata: urna u subgeometrijskom izrazu, detalj – motiv triprsta i potnije theron, 7. st. pr. Kr. (D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 152); d-e) Bradano područje, srednjegeometrijski izraz, kraj 9. – 8. st. pr. Kr.; motiv „ptičje lađe“ i motiv triju okomica (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 129/ 18-19); f) Bradano područje, kasnogeometrijski izraz, 8./7. st. pr. Kr.: motivi obješenih trokuta (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, 139/28-29); g-l) Bradano područje, subgeometrijski izraz, 7. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 150/19-24).

FIGURE 16 Selection of hanging motifs on the geometrically painted pottery of southern Italy: a) S. Teodoro di Pisticci, Basilicata: motif of three-finger painted in the Early (?) Geometric expression (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 20); b) Ferrandina, Basilicata, grave 5: vessel with a jewelry depiction in shape of “bird boat”, 7th cent. BC (after: POPOLI ANELLENICI, 1971, T VI); c) Ferrandina, Basilicata: urn in the Subgeometric expression, detail – motif of three-finger and potnia theron, 7th cent. BC (D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 152); d-e) Bradano region, Middle Geometric expression, late 9th – 8th cent BC; motif of “bird boat” and motif of three verticals (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 129/ 18-19); f) Bradano region, Late Geometric expression, 8th/7th cent. BC: motifs of hanging triangles (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, 139/28-29); g-l) Bradano region, Subgeometric expression, 7th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 150/19-24).



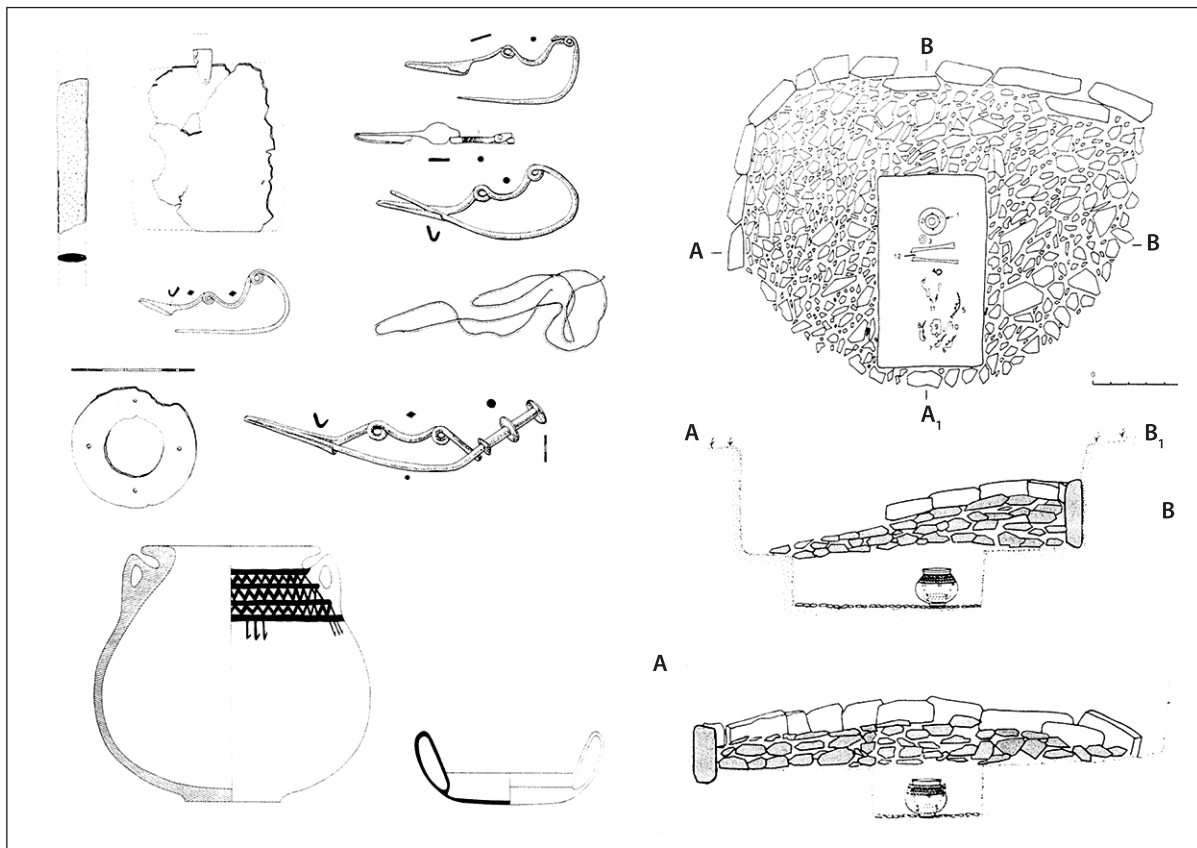
SLIKA 17. a) Daunija: protogeometrijska slikana keramika – motiv trokuta (prema: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XXVII/3); b-f) izbor (visećih) daunskih slikanih motiva, 9. – 8. st. pr. Kr. (prema: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XXVIII/1, 26, 29-30, XXIX/41); g-l) izbor visećih daunskih srednje i kasnoegeometrijskih slikanih motiva (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 203/17-18, 20; 209/36-38); m-u) subgeometrijski viseći daunski slikani motivi, 7. – 6. st. pr. Kr. (prema D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 220/28-31; 277/15-18).

FIGURE 17 a) Daunia: Protogeometric painted pottery – triangle motif (after: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XXVII/3); b-f) Selection of (hanging) Daunian painted motifs, 9th – 8th cent. BC (after: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XXVIII/1, 26, 29-30, XXIX/41); g-l) Selection of hanging Daunian Middle and Late Geometric painted motifs (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 203/17-18, 20; 209/36-38); m-u) Subgeometric hanging Daunian painted motifs, 7th – 6th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 220/28 – 31; 277/15-18).



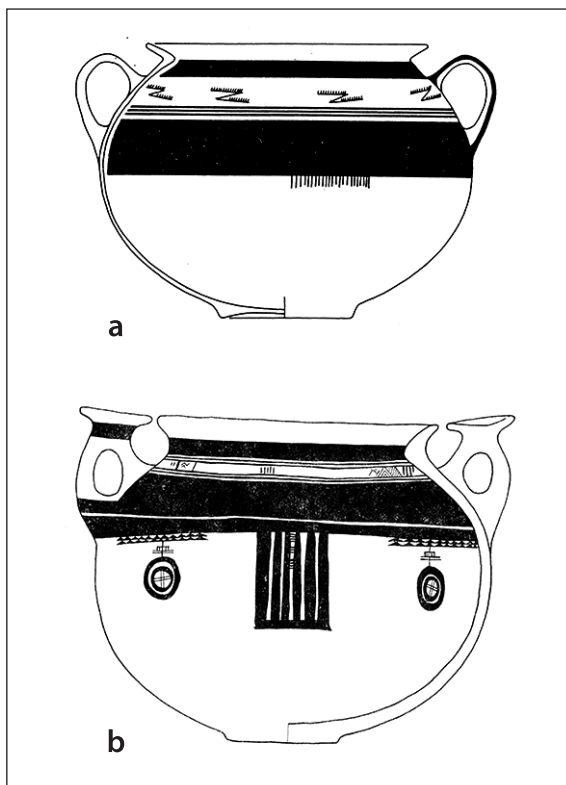
SLIKA 18. Izbor visećih motiva na posudama Daunije: a-c) subgeometrijski oslikana keramika, 6. – 5. st. pr. Kr. (prema: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XL/88-91, XLII/ 129, 131-137, XLIII/140-145, 147-152); d) Motiv trapeza, 550. – 400. g. pr. Kr. (prema: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XLIII/146).

FIGURE 18 Selection of hanging motifs on the Daunian vessels: a-c) Subgeometric painted pottery, 6th – 5th cent. BC (after: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XL/88-91, XLII/ 129, 131-137, XLIII/140-145, 147-152); d) Trapezoid motif, 550 – 400 BC (after: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XLIII/146).



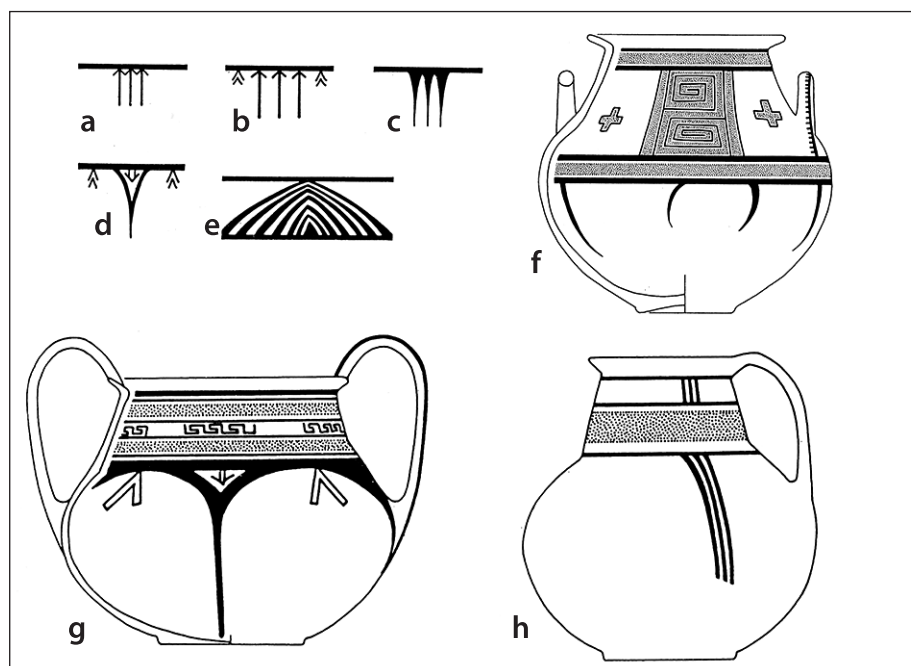
SLIKA 19A. Arpi, humak, gr. 1, s daunskom srednjegeometrijski oslikanom keramikom (Geometrico Daunio Medio), zadnja desetljeća 9. st. pr. Kr. – prva polovina 8. st. pr. Kr. (prema M. MAZZEI, 2010).

FIGURE 19A Arpi, mound, gr. 1, with the Daunian Middle Geometric painted pottery (Geometrico Daunio Medio), last decades of the 9th cent. BC – first half of the 8th cent. BC (after: M. MAZZEI, 2010).



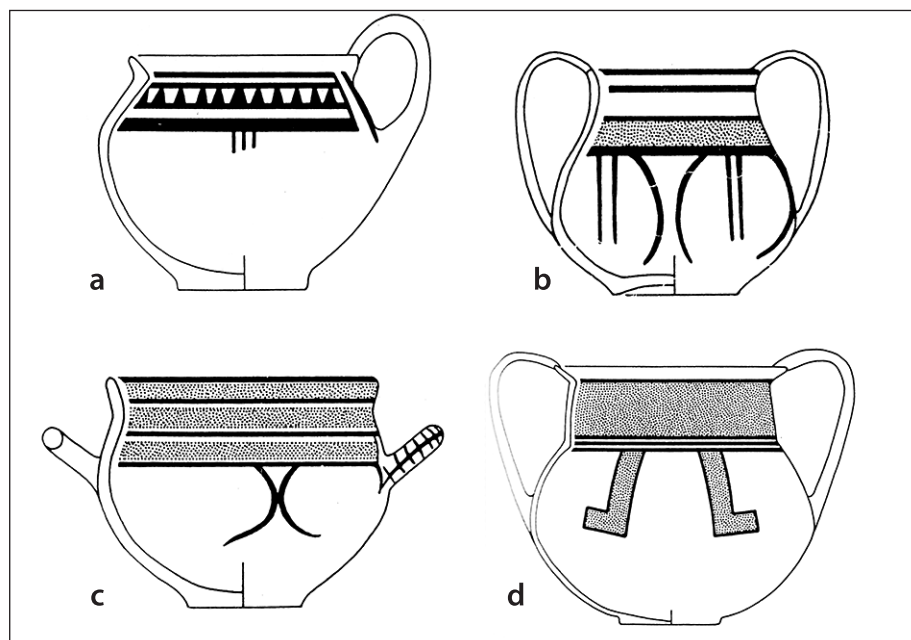
SLIKA 19B. a) Nezakcij, grob IV/1: daunska srednjegeometrijski oslikana keramika (Geometrico Daunio Medio) (prema: K. MIHOVILIĆ, 2001, sl. 58, T 33/3); b) Beram, grob 12: daunska srednjegeometrijski oslikana keramika (Geometrico Daunio Medio) (prema: Š. BATOVIĆ, 1976).

FIGURE 19B a) Nesactium, grave IV/1: Daunian Middle Geometric painted pottery (Geometrico Daunio Medio) (after: K. MIHOVILIĆ, 2001, fig. 58, T 33/3); b) Beram, grave 12: Daunian Middle Geometric painted pottery (Geometrico Daunio Medio) (after: Š. BATOVIĆ, 1976).



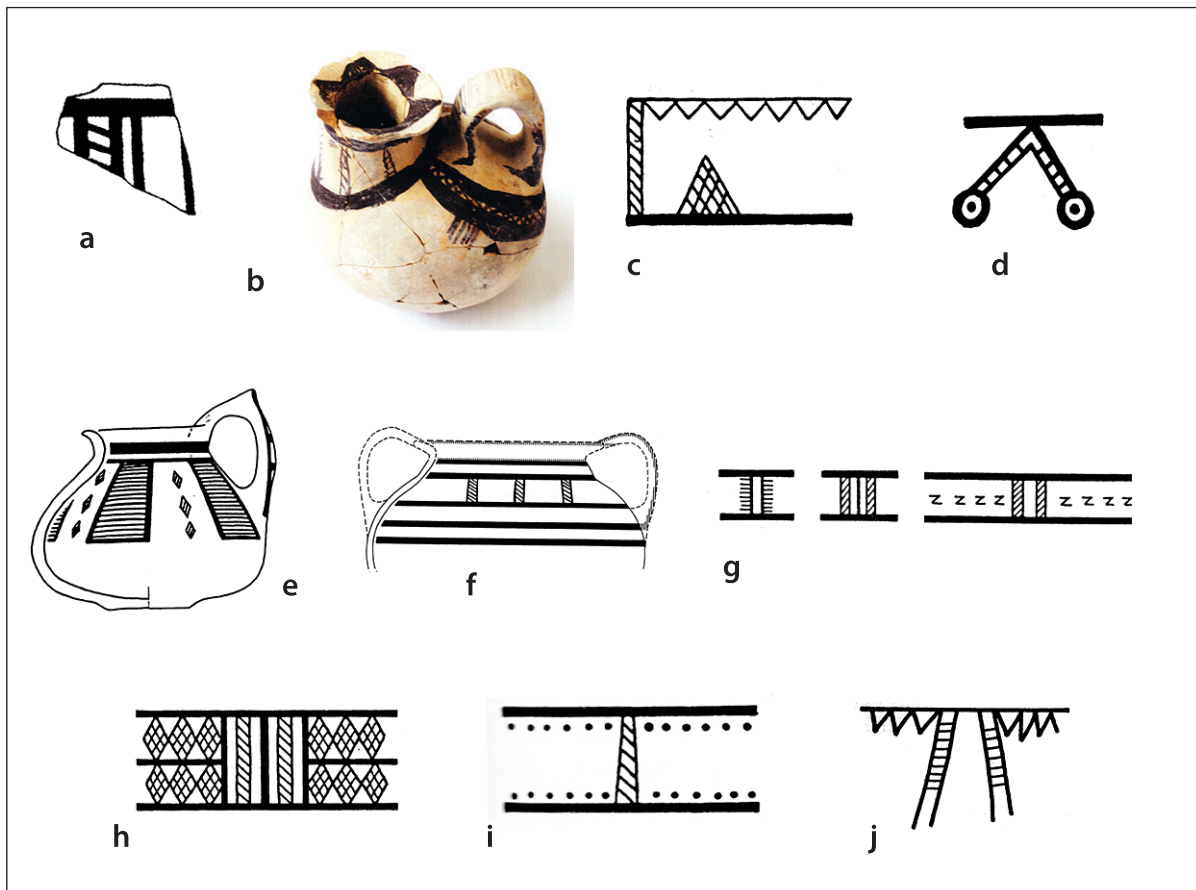
SLIKA 20. Sala Consilina, izbor (enotrijskih) visećih i drugih motiva: a-d) kraj 8. st. pr. Kr. – 7. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 100/12-14, 16); e) motiv a tenda: kraj 8. st. pr. Kr. – 7. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 100/17); f) oslikana posuda, 7/6. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 113); g) oslikana posuda, 7. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 107); h) oslikana posuda, 6. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 127).

FIGURE 20 Sala Consilina, selection of (Enotrian) hanging and other motifs: a-d) late 8th cent. BC – 7th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 100/12-14, 16); e) A tenda motif: late 8th cent. BC – 7th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 100/17); f) Painted vessel: 7th/6th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 113); g) Painted vessel: 7th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 107); h) Painted vessel: 6th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 127).



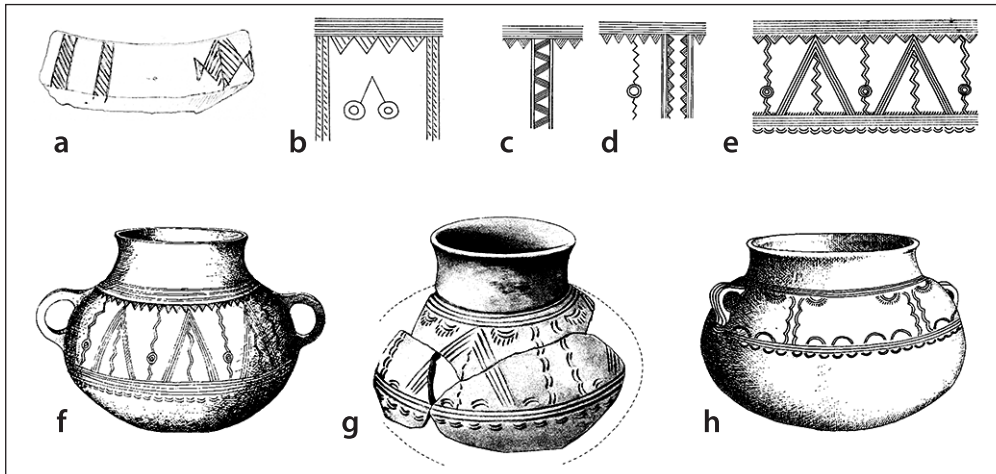
SLIKA 21. Izbor (enotrijskih) visećih motiva u Basilicati: a) S. Maria d'Anglona, 8. – 7. st. pr. Kr.; b) Serra di Vaglio, 7. – 6. st. pr. Kr.; c) Roccanova, 7. – 6. st. pr. Kr.; d) Roccanova, 6. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 108, 114 -116).

FIGURE 21 Selection of (Enotrian) hanging motifs in Basilicata: a) S. Maria d'Anglona, 8th – 7th cent. BC; b) Serra di Vaglio, 7th – 6th cent. BC; c) Roccanova, 7th – 6th cent. BC; d) Roccanova, 6th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 108, 114-116).



SLIKA 22. Motivi ljestava na geometrijski oslikanoj keramici južne Italije: a) Ortona, Daunija: protogeometrijska keramika (prema M. MAZZEI, 2010); b) Ortona, Daunija: srednjegeometrijski oslikana posuda (prema: M. MAZZEI, 2010); c-d) Daunija: slikani motivi, 9. – 8. st. pr. Kr. (prema: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XXX/59, XXXI/74); e) Borgo Nuovo, Taranto, posuda u srednjegeometrijskom (mesapskom) izrazu (prema: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1997, sl. 16); f) Otranto: urna u srednjegeometrijskom (mesapskom) izrazu (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 39); g) Salento. srednjegeometrijski (mesapski) motivi (prema D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 33/17-19); h) Salento. kasnogeometrijski (mesapski) motiv (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, 47/6); i) Bradano područje, srednjegeometrijski izraz (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 129/16); j) Devoll keramika, Albanija (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 38/c).

FIGURE 22 Ladder motifs on the geometrically painted pottery of southern Italy: a) Ortona, Daunia: Protogeometric pottery (after: M. MAZZEI, 2010); b) Ortona, Daunia: Middle Geometric painted vessel (after: M. MAZZEI, 2010); c-d) Daunia: painted motifs, 9th – 8th cent. BC (after: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XXX/59, XXXI/74); e) Borgo Nuovo, Taranto, vessel in the Middle Geometric (Messapian) expression (after: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1997, fig. 16); f) Otranto: urn in the Middle Geometric (Messapian) expression (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 39); g) Salento. Middle Geometric (Messapian) motifs (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 33/17-19); h) Salento. Late Geometric (Messapian) motif (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, 47/6); i) Bradano region, Middle Geometric expression (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 129/16); j) Devoll pottery, Albania (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 38/c).

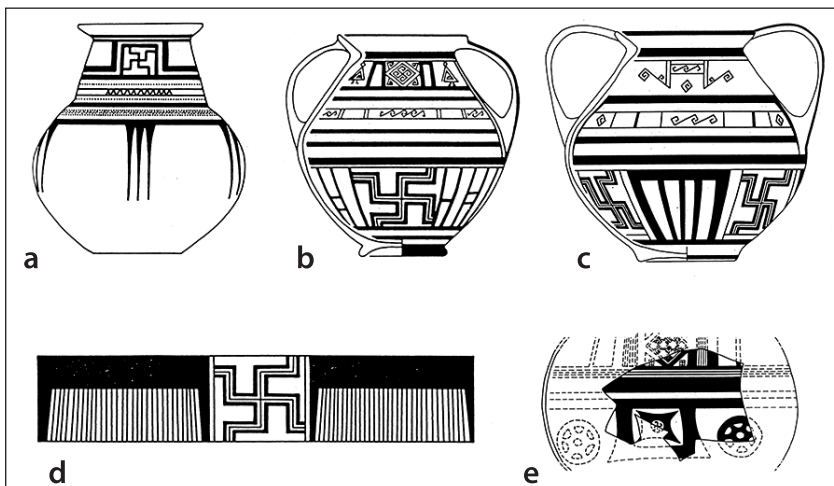
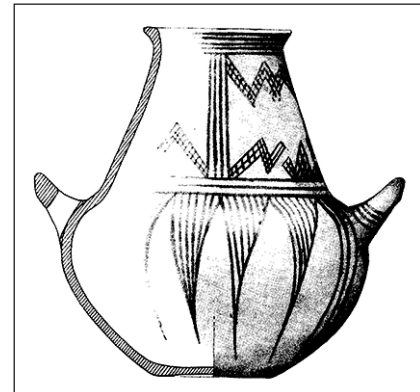


SLIKA 23A. Pod kod Bugojna, Bosna i Hercegovina, keramika iz „srednjobosanske kulturne skupine“: a) željezno doba, 8. – 7. st. pr. Kr. (prema: B. ČOVIĆ, 1976, sl. 131); b-h) kasno brončano doba, 12./11. – 10. st. pr. Kr. (prema: B. ČOVIĆ, 1976; B. ČOVIĆ, 1983, T LXV/3).

FIGURE 23A Pod near Bugojno, Bosnia and Herzegovina, pottery of “Central Bosnian cultural group”: a) Iron Age, 8th – 7th cent. BC (after: B. ČOVIĆ, 1976, fig. 131); b-h) Late Bronze Age, 12th/11th – 10th cent. BC (after: B. ČOVIĆ, 1976; B. ČOVIĆ, 1983, T LXV/3).

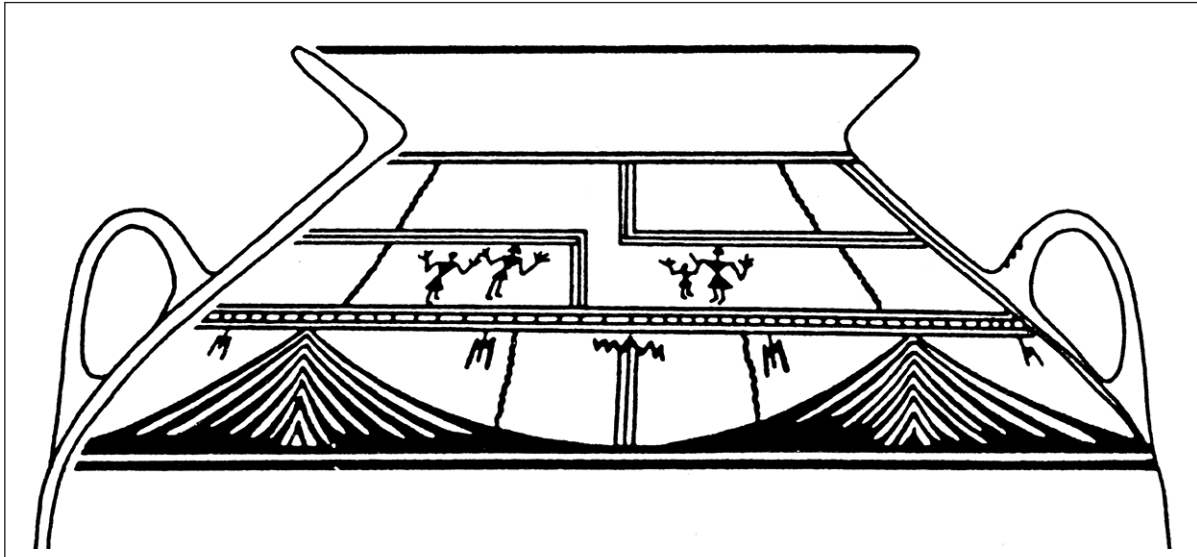
SLIKA 23B. Živojno, grob 2, Makedonija: geometrijski oslikana urna, 9. – 8. st. pr. Kr. (prema: M. GARAŠANIN, 1983, TCX/7).

FIGURE 23B Živojno, grave 2, Macedonia: geometrically painted urn, 9th – 8th cent. BC (after: M. GARAŠANIN, 1983, TCX/7).



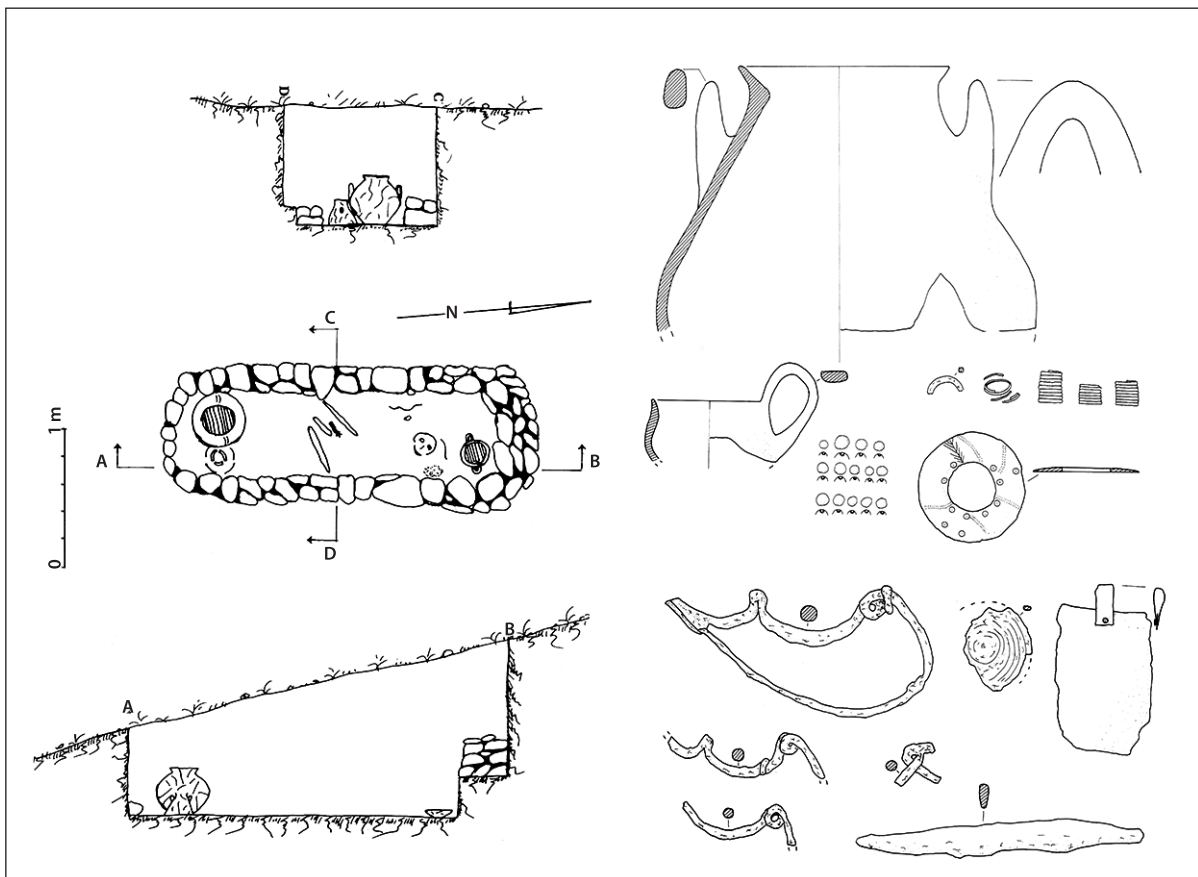
SLIKA 24. Motiv svastike na geometrijski oslikanoj keramici južne Italije: a) Sala Consilina, 7. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985 sl. 103); b-d) šire područje Barija, posude (peucetske), 7. – 5. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 190-191; 194/1); e) Gravina, 7. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 156).

FIGURE 24 Swastika motif on the geometrically painted pottery of southern Italy: a) Sala Consilina, 7th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985 fig. 103); b-d) Wider Bari region, vessels (Peucetian), 7th – 5th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 190-191; 194/1); e) Gravina, 7th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 156).



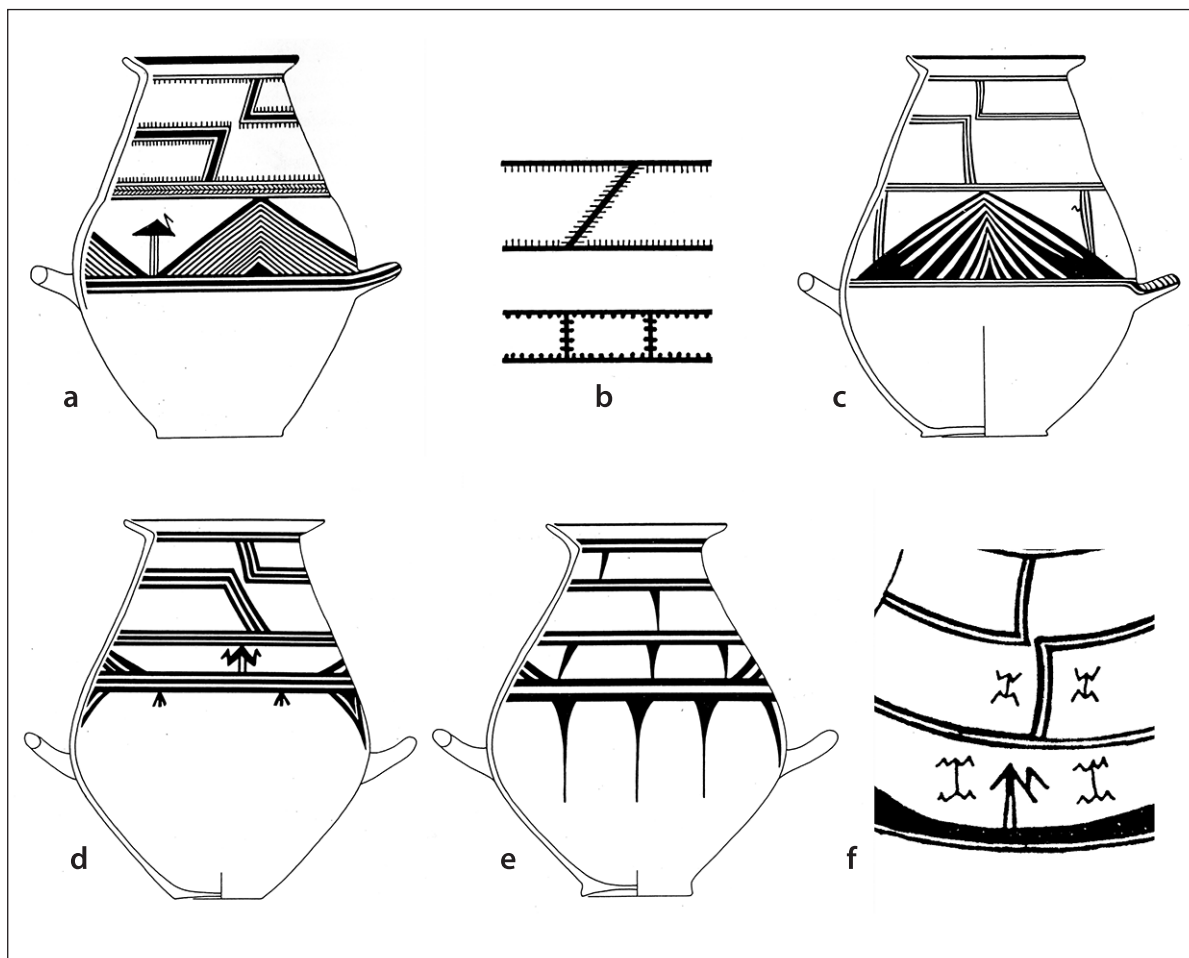
SLIKA 25A. Prikaz solarnog krajolika u srednjegeometrijskom (enotrijskom) likovnom izrazu na posudi iz S. Maria d'Anglona, gr. III, Basilicata (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 94).

FIGURE 25A Depiction of solar landscape in the the Middle Geometric (Enotrian) expression on the vessel from S. Maria d'Anglona, gr. III, Basilicata (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 94).



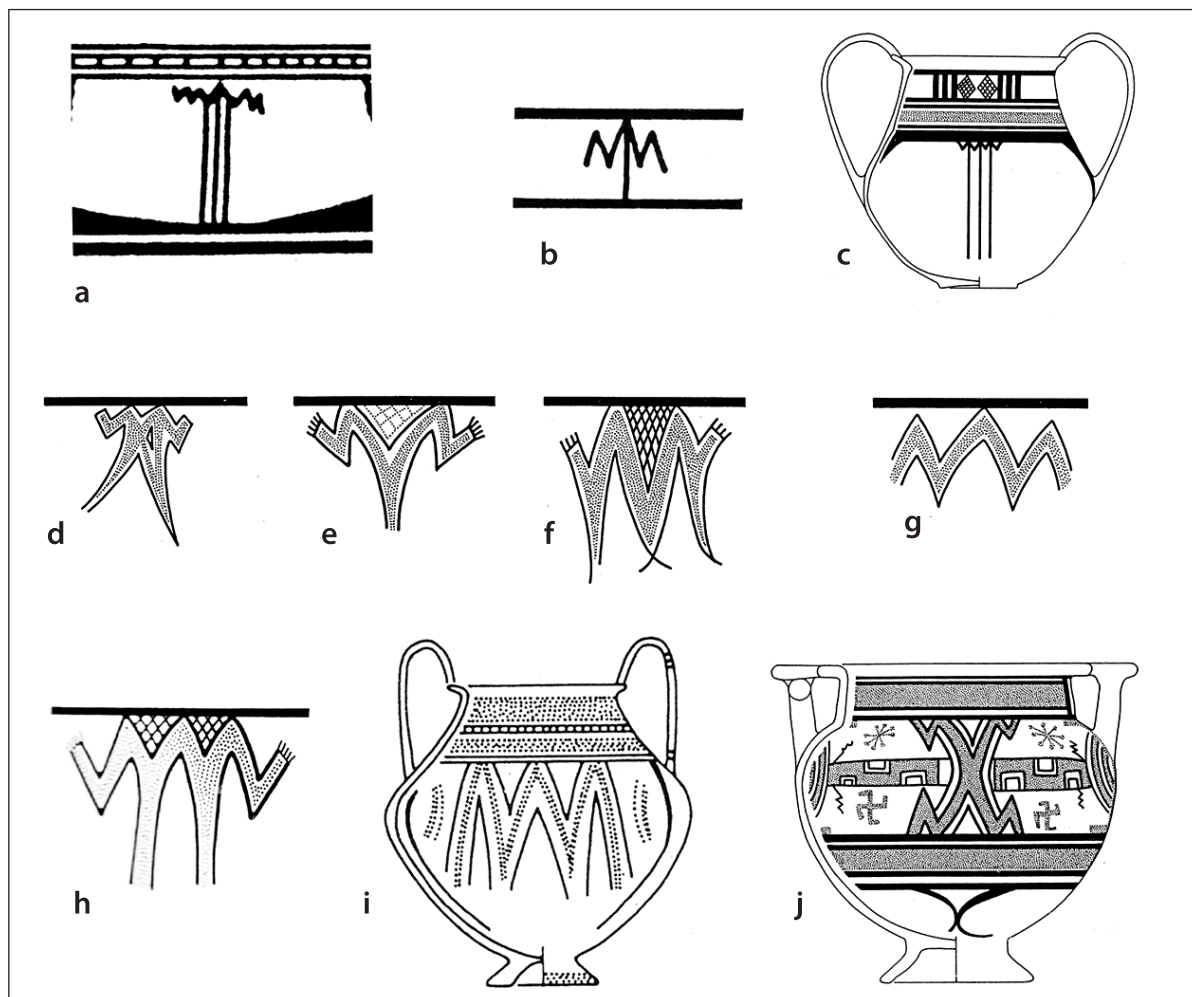
SLIKA 25B. S. Maria d'Anglona, gr. III, Basilicata (prema: L. MALNATI, 1984).

FIGURE 25B S. Maria d'Anglona, gr. III, Basilicata (after: L. MALNATI, 1984).



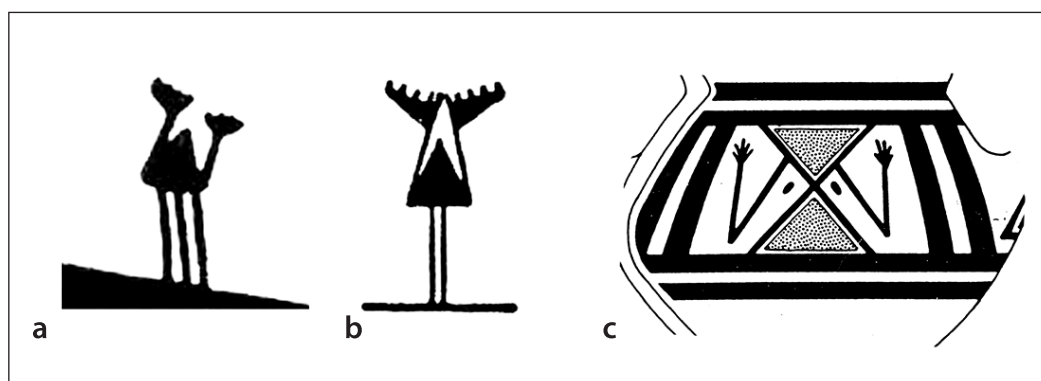
SLIKA 26. a) Sala Consilina: urna, druga polovina 9./8. st. pr. Kr., rani (?) geometrijski (enotrijski) izraz (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 22); b) Motivi na ranoj geometrijski oslikanoj keramici (Geometrico Antico) južne Italije, 9. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 17/14, 17); c) Sala Consilina: urna oslikana u srednjemgeometrijskom (enotrijskom) izrazu (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 91); d) Ferrandina, Basilicata: urna, 7. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 152); e) Incoronata, Basilicata, urna u srednjegeometrijskom slikarskom izrazu, 8. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 131); f) S. Leonardo, grob 2, Basento, Basilicata (prema: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1971).

FIGURE 26 a) Sala Consilina: urn, second half of the 9th/8th cent. BC, Early (?) Geometric painted (Enotrian) expression (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 22); b) Motifs on the Early Geometric painted pottery (Geometrico Antico) of southern Italy, 9th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 17/14, 17); c) Sala Consilina: urn painted in the Middle Geometric (Enotrian) expression (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 91); d) Ferrandina, Basilicata: urn, 7th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 152); e) Incoronata, Basilicata, urn in the Middle Geometric painting expression, 8th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 131); f) S. Leonardo, grave 2, Basento, Basilicata (after: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1971).



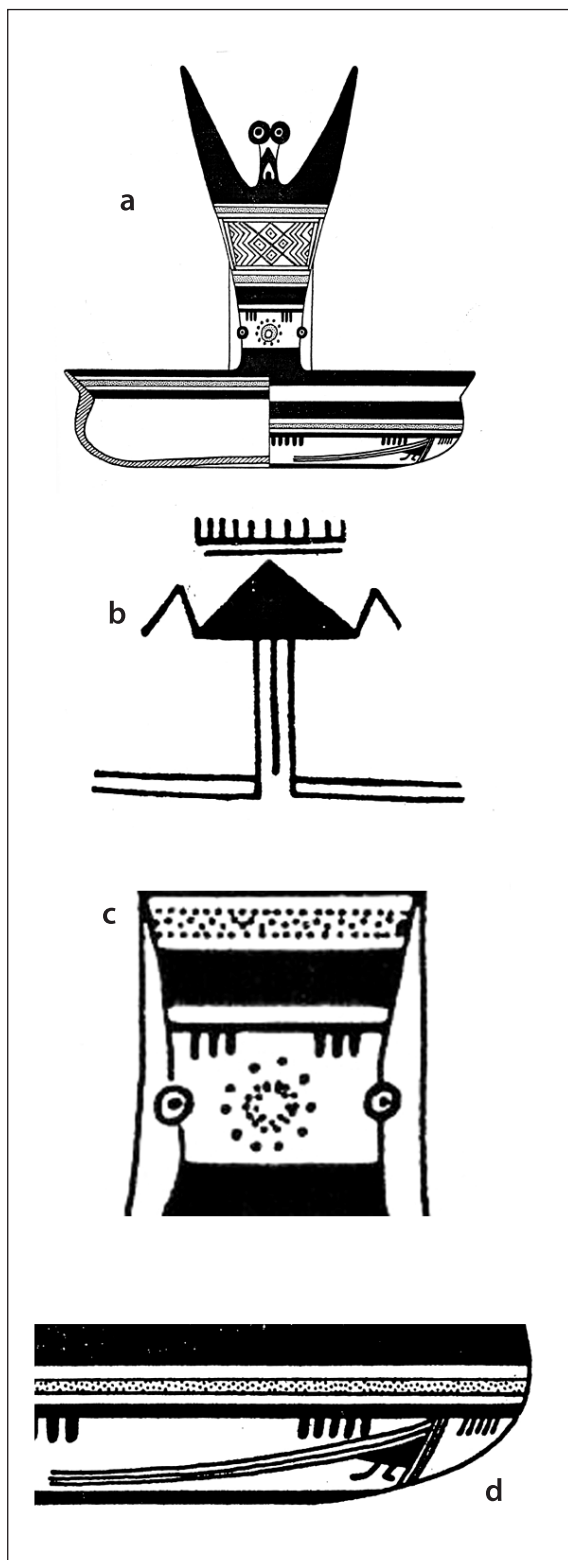
SLIKA 27. Stilizirani (enotrijski) antropomorfni motivi: a) S. Maria d'Anglona, gr. III; b) Bradano područje, 7. st. pr. Kr.; c) Sala Consilina, 7. st. pr. Kr.; d-h) Kampanija (Sala Consilina) i Basilicata (Roccanuova, Garaguso), 7. – 6. st. pr. Kr.; i) Oppido Lucano, 5. st. pr. Kr.; j) Sala Consilina, 6. – 5. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 94; 106; 111/11; 112/c-f; 123; 150/13; 321).

FIGURE 27 Stylized (Enotrian) anthropomorphic motifs: a) S. Maria d'Anglona, 7th cent. BC; b) Bradano region, 7th cent. BC; c) Sala Consilina, 7th cent. BC; d-h) Campania (Sala Consilina) and Basilicata (Roccanuova, Garaguso), 7th – 6th cent. BC; i) Oppido Lucano, 5th cent. BC; j) Sala Consilina, 6th – 5th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 94; 106; 111/11; 112/c-f; 123; 150/13; 321).

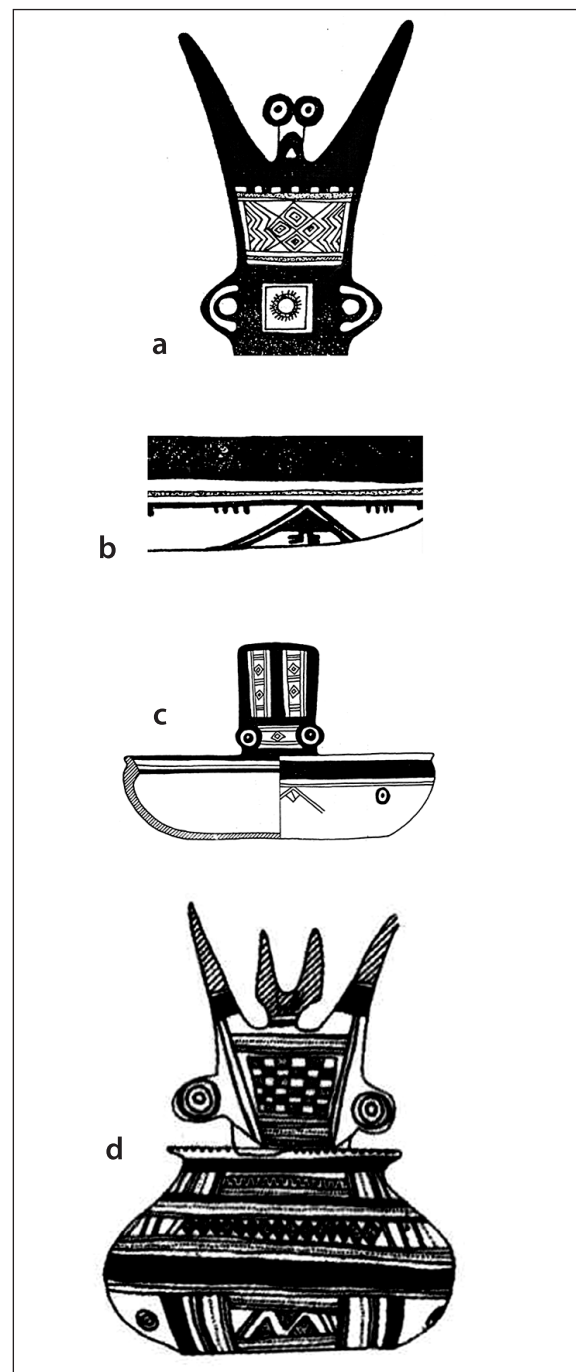


SLIKA 28. a-b) Lik oranta u srednjegeometrijskom (enotrijskom) likovnom izrazu; c) Cozzo Presepe, Basilicata, 7. st. pr. Kr. (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 89/21; 97; 155).

FIGURE 28 a-b) Figure of an orant in the Middle Geometric (Enotrian) expression; c) Cozzo Presepe, Basilicata, 7th cent. BC (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 89/21; 97; 155).



SLIKA 29. a-d) Ordonia, grob VII: daunska posuda s plastičnim likom (ručkom) uzdignutih ruku, 6./5. st. pr. Kr. (prema: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T LXVIII).
 FIGURE 29 a-d) Ordonia, grave VII: Daunian vessel with a plastic figure (handle) with raised arms, 6th/5th cent. BC (after: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T LXVIII).



SLIKA 30. Daunske posude s plastičnim likom (ručkom) uzdignutih ruku, 6. - 5. st. pr. Kr.: a-b) Ordonia, grob X; c) Ordonia, grob 6 (prema: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T LXVI, LXIX); d) Lavello, grob 279: daunska posuda s plastičnim likom (ručkom) uzdignutih ruku, 7. st. pr. Kr. (prema: A. BOTTINI, 1982).

FIGURE 30 Daunian vessels with a plastic figure (handle) with raised arms, 6th/5th cent. BC: a-b) Ordonia, grave X; c) Ordonia, grave 6 (after: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T LXVI, LXIX); d) Daunian vessels with a plastic figure (handle) with raised arms, 7th cent. BC (after: A. BOTTINI, 1982).



a

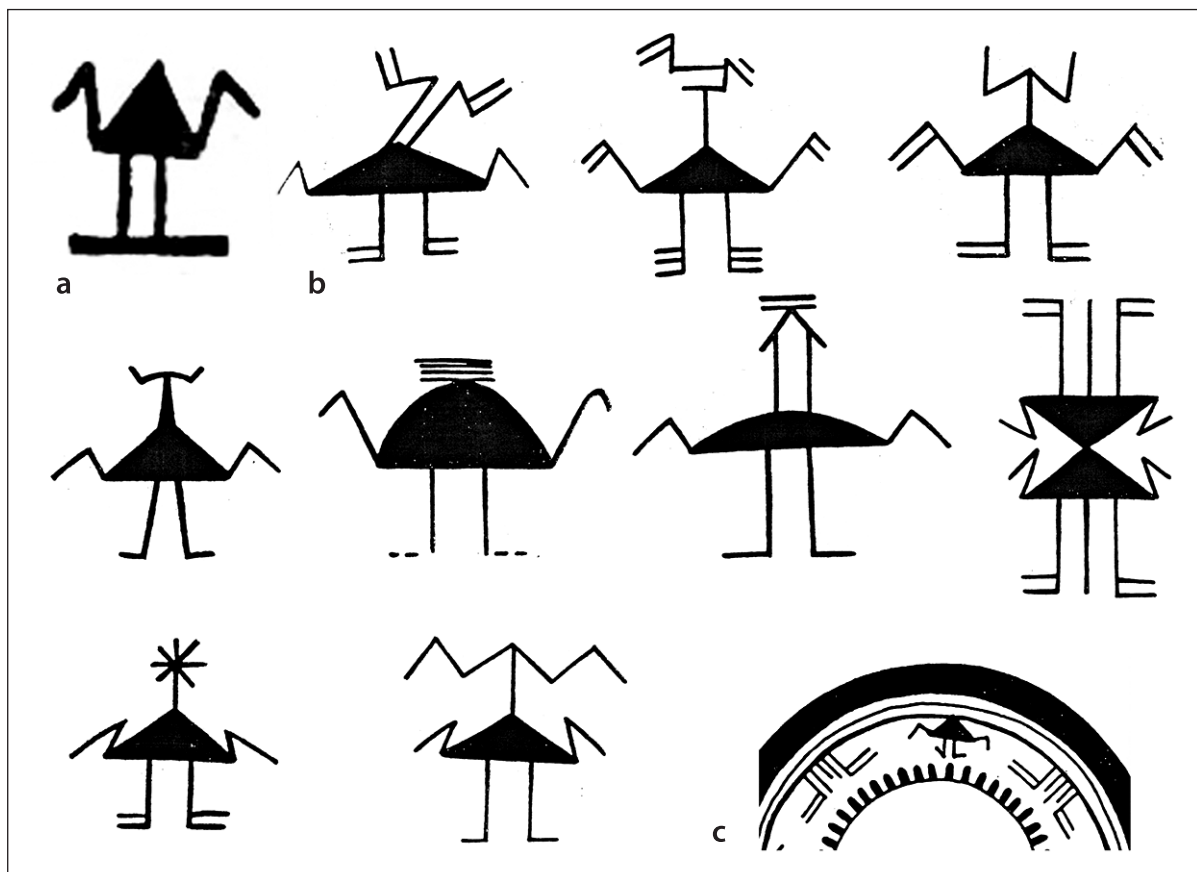


b



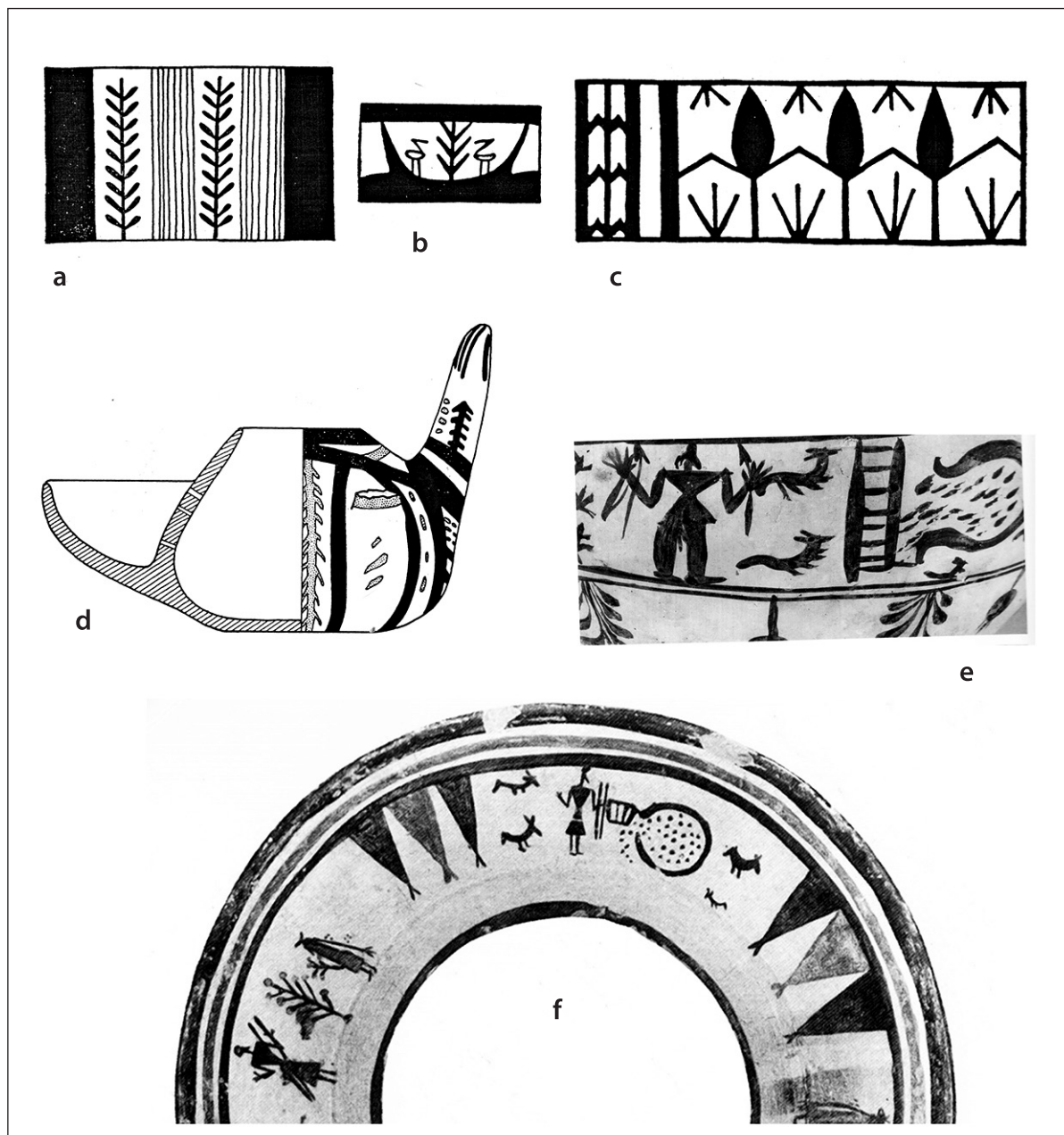
c

SLIKA 31. a-c) Daunska subgeometrijska slikana keramika, 6. – 5./4. st. pr. Kr.
 (prema: DE JULIIS, 1997, sl. 48; L'ARTE DEI POPOLI ITALICI, 1993, sl. 210).
FIGURE 31 a-c) Daunian Subgeometric painted pottery, 6th – 5th/4th cent. BC
 (after: DE JULIIS, 1997, fig. 48; L'ARTE DEI POPOLI ITALICI, 1993, fig. 210).



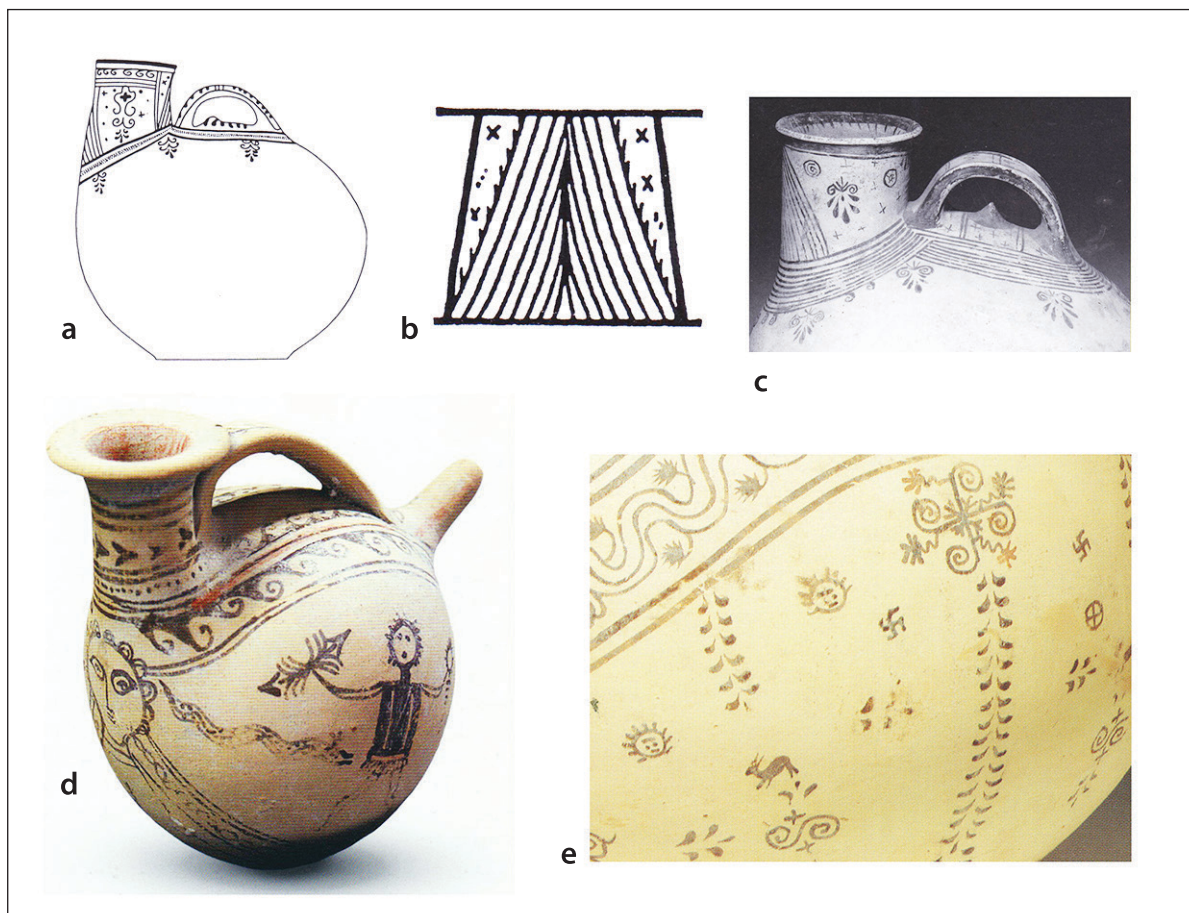
SLIKA 32. Antropomorfni lik u shemi potnije theron: a) Bradano područje, srednjegeometrijski izraz, kraj 9. – 8. st. pr. Kr.; b) Daunska subgeometrijska keramika, 6. i 5. st. pr. Kr.); c) Ordon, gr. 199, detalj daunske subgeometrijske posude (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 129/24; E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XLIV-XLV, LXII).

FIGURE 32 Anthropomorphic figure in the potnia theron scheme: a) Bradano region, Middle Geometric expression, late 9th – 8th cent. BC; b) Daunian subgeometric pottery, 6th and 5th cent. BC); c) Ordon, gr. 199, detail of a Daunian Subgeometric vessel (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 129/24; E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XLIV-XLV, LXII).



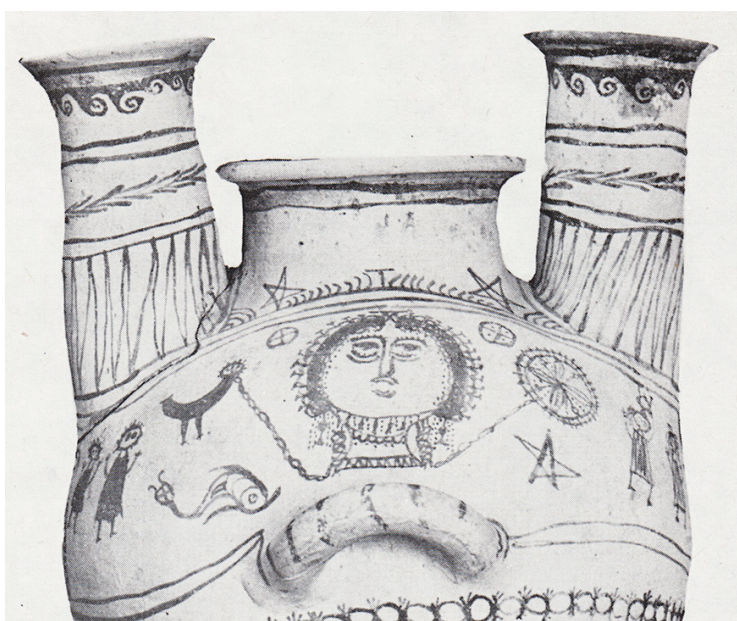
SLIKA 33. a-c) *Stilizirani solarni krajolici s motivom stabla na subgeometrijskoj daunskoj keramici 6./5. – 4. st. pr. Kr.* (prema: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XLIV/153-154, LIV/68); d) *Ortona, gr. 12, posuda s motivom stabla* (prema: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T LXXXI); e) *posuda (detalj) iz zbirke S. Tardivat, Museo d'Arte e Storia, Ženeva: prizor obreda s ljestvama i granama/štapovima, 4. st. pr. Kr.* (prema: L'ARTE DEI POPOLI ITALICI, 1993, sl. 236); f) *Posuda iz Museo Civico, Milano, detalj: prizori obreda s ljestvama i stablom/granama, 5. st. pr. Kr. (?)* (prema: M. MAZZEI, 2010).

FIGURE 33 a-c) *Stylized solar landscapes with a tree motif on the Daunian Subgeometric pottery 6th/5th – 4th cent. BC* (after: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XLIV/153-154, LIV/68); d) *Ortona, gr. 12, vessel with a tree motif* (after: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T LXXXI); e) *Vessel (detail) from the collection S. Tardivat, Museo d'Arte e Storia, Geneva: scene of ritual with ladder and branches/sticks, 4th cent. BC* (after: L'ARTE DEI POPOLI ITALICI, 1993, fig. 236); f) *Vessel from Museo Civico, Milano, detail: scenes of the ritual with ladder and tree/branches, 5th cent. BC (?)* (after: M. MAZZEI, 2010).



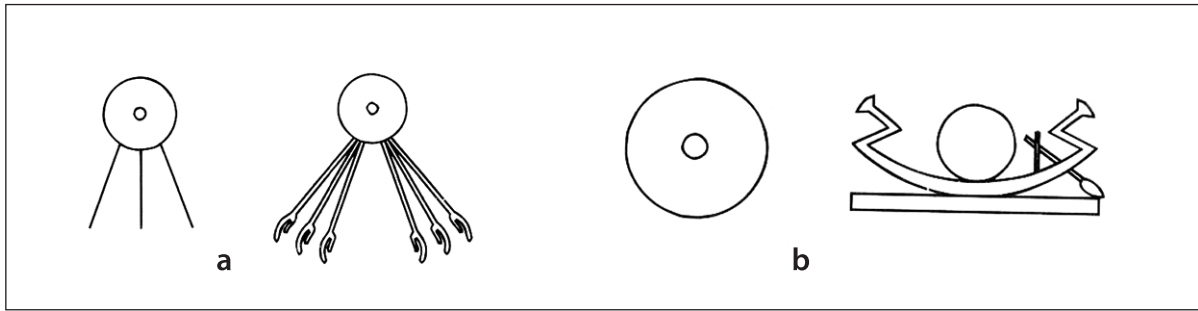
SLIKA 34A. Keramika listata vrste, 4. – 3. st. pr. Kr: a); a-b) Canosa (prema: D. YNTEMA, 1985, sl. 264, 258/24); c) Askos iz zbirke F. E., Ženeva (prema: L'ARTE DEI POPOLI ITALICI, 1993, sl. 217); d) Salapia (prema: M. MAZZEI, 2010); e) Zbirka F. E., Ženeva, (prema: L'ARTE DEI POPOLI ITALICI, 1993, sl. 220).

FIGURE 34A Pottery of listata type, 4th – 3rd cent. BC: a); a-b) Canosa (after: D. YNTEMA, 1985, fig. 264, 258/24); c) Askos from the collection F. E., Geneva (after: L'ARTE DEI POPOLI ITALICI, 1993, fig. 217); d) Salapia (after: M. MAZZEI, 2010); e) Collection F. E., Geneva (after: L'ARTE DEI POPOLI ITALICI, 1993, fig. 220).



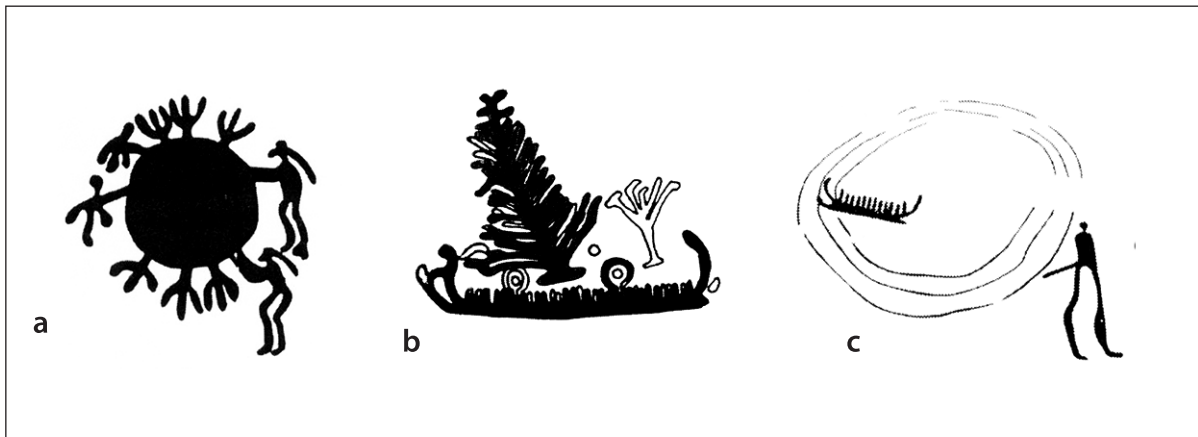
SLIKA 34B. Askos iz Lavello (prema: P. ORLANDINI, 1971, T LXX).

FIGURE 34B Askos from Lavello (after: P. ORLANDINI, 1971, T LXX).



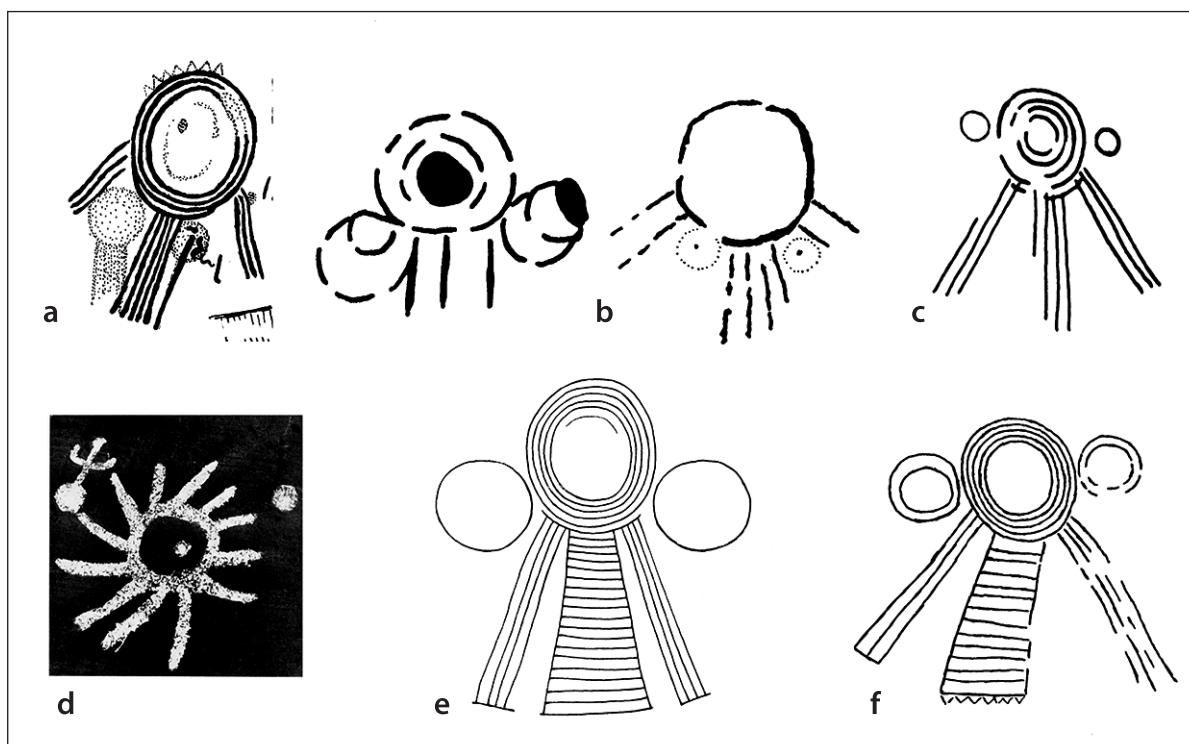
SLIKA 35. a-b) Staroegipatski simboli Sunca (prema: A. GROS DE BELER, 2004).

FIGURE 35 a-b) Ancient Egyptian solar symbols (after: A. GROS DE BELER, 2004).



SLIKA 36. a-c) Nordijski motivi obožavanja Sunca (prema: K. KRISTIENSEN, T. B. LARSSON, 2005; M. GIMBUTAS, 1990, sl. 386/5; I. ULLÈN, 2003, sl. 7).

FIGURE 36 a-c) Nordic motifs of the Sun worship (after: K. KRISTIENSEN, T. B. LARSSON, 2005; M. GIMBUTAS, 1990, fig. 386/5; I. ULLÈN, 2003, fig. 7).



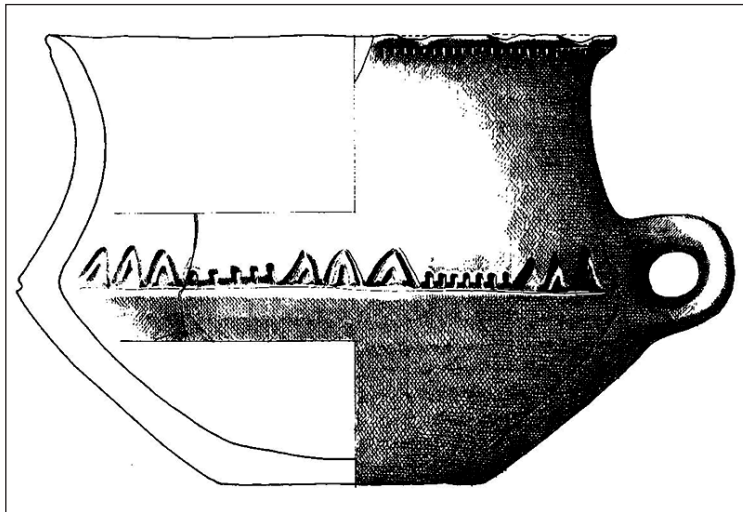
SLIKA 37. Prapovijesni prikazi Sunčeva diska: a) Borno, detalj; b) Caven, stele br. 1 i 2); c) Capitello dei due Pini, Paspardo; d) Coren del Valento, Valcamonica; e) Caven, stela br. 3; f) Valgella, Valtellina, stela br. 1 (prema E. ANATI, 1968, sl. 5, 17-18, 60-63, 73).

FIGURE 37 Prehistoric depictions of the Sun disc: a) Borno, detail; b) Caven, stelae nos. 1 and 2); c) Capitello dei due Pini, Paspardo; d) Coren del Valento, Valcamonica; e) Caven, stela no. 3; f) Valgella, Valtellina, stela no. 1 (after: E. ANATI, 1968, fig. 5, 17-18, 60-63, 73).



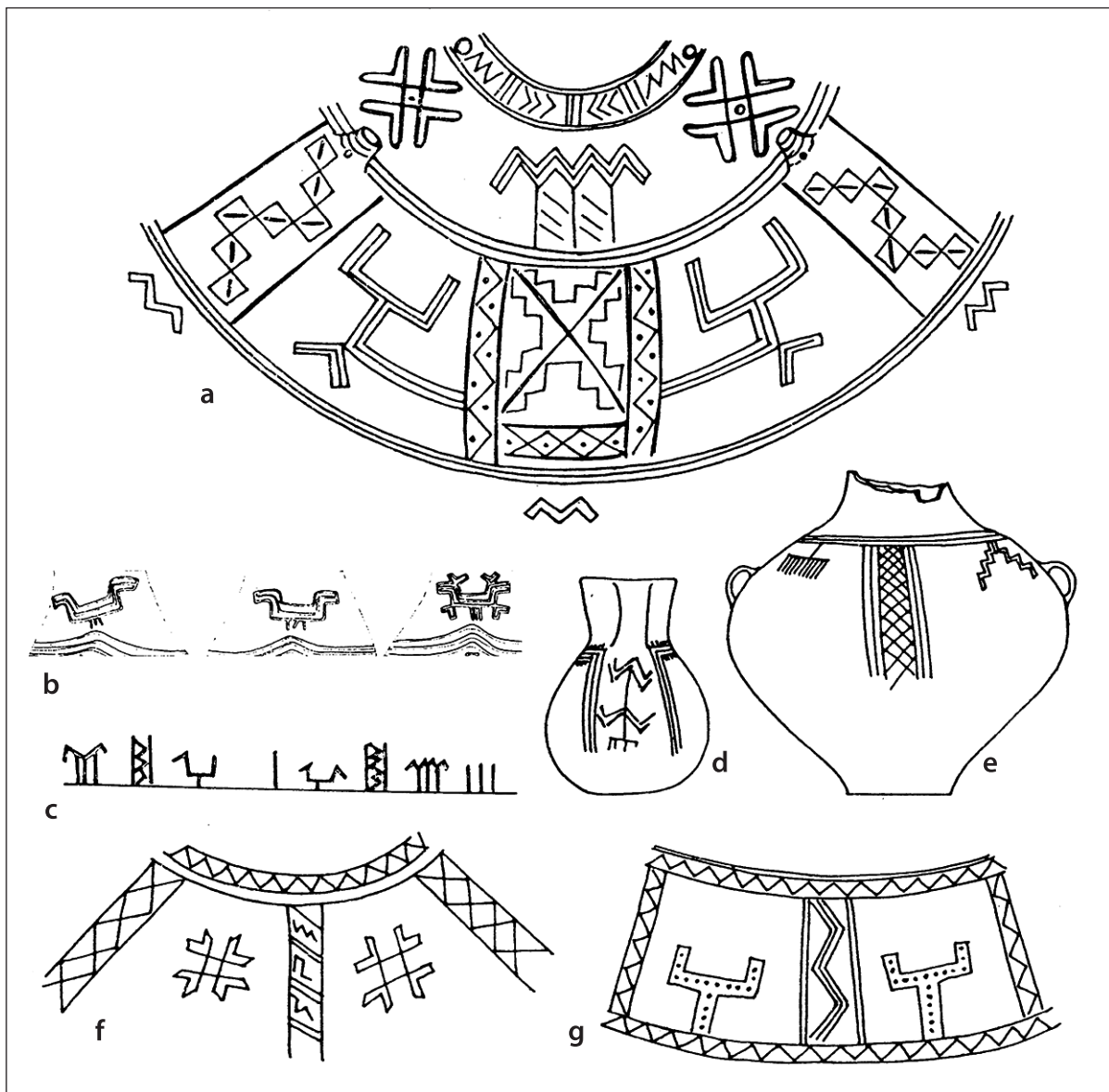
SLIKA 38. Triora, Ligurija: prapovijesna stela s prikazom solarnog krajolika: Sunčeva uspona/silaska ljestvama (prema: E. ANATI, 1968, sl. 74).

FIGURE 38 Triora, Liguria: prehistoric stela with a depiction of solar landscape: the Sun climbing up and down the ladder (after: E. ANATI, 1968, fig. 74).



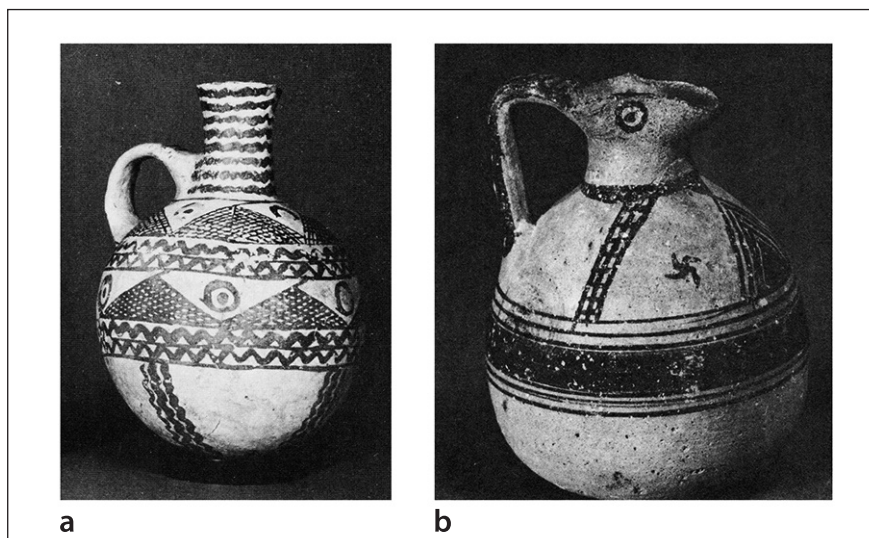
SLIKA 39. Vučedol: posuda s prikazom solarnog krajolika (prema: A. DURMAN, 2000, sl. 27).

FIGURE 39 Vučedol: vessel with a depiction of solar landscape (after: A. DURMAN, 2000, fig. 27).



SLIKA 40. a-g) Nagyrév kultura: solarni prikazi (prema: R. SCHREIBNER-KALICZ, 1984).

FIGURE 40 a-g) Nagyrév cultural group: solar depictions (after: R. SCHREIBNER-KALICZ, 1984).



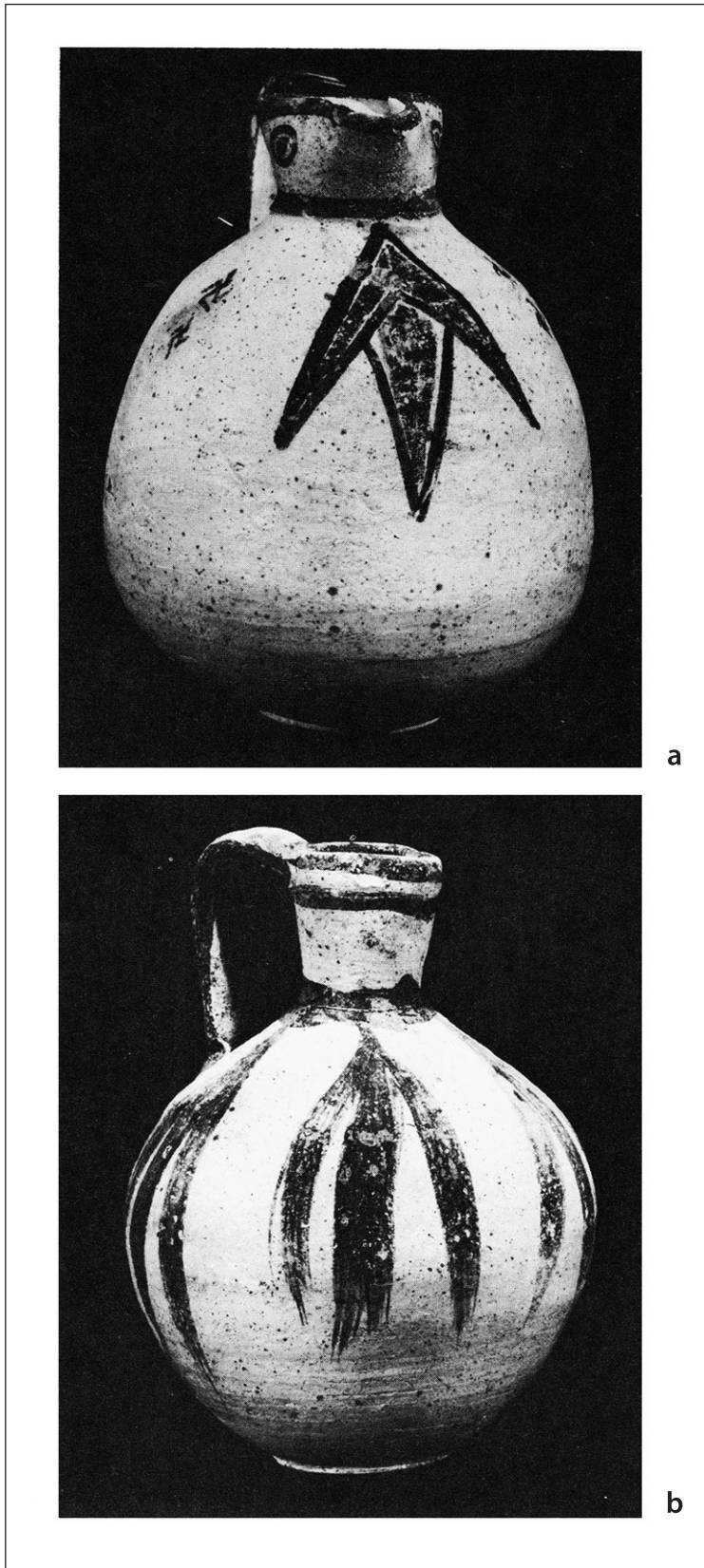
SLIKA 41. *Cipar: a) keramička posuda ručno rađena, White Painted vrste, srednje brončano doba; b) dvobojna keramika, s parom naslikanih očiju, željezno doba (prema: D. MORRIS, 1985, sl. 50/c, 75/a).*

FIGURE 41 *Cyprus: a) Hand-made vessel of the White Painted type, Middle Bronze Age; b) Bichrome pottery, with drawn pair of eyes, Iron Age (after: D. MORRIS, 1985, fig. 50/c, 75/a).*

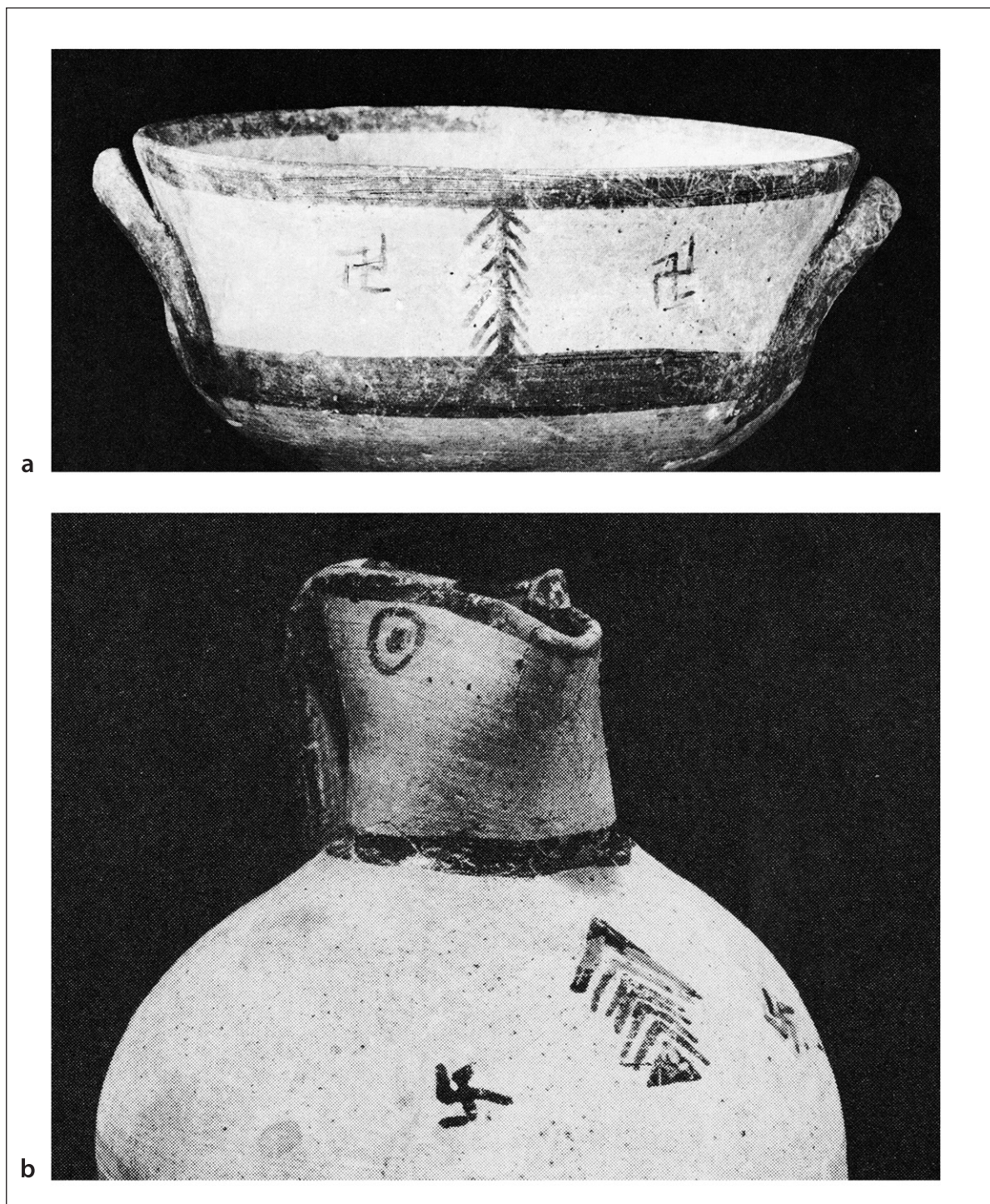


SLIKA 42. *a-b) Cipar, keramičke posude, kasno brončano doba: a) Proto-White Slip vrste; b) White Slip vrste (prema: D. MORRIS, 1985, sl. 29-30).*

FIGURE 42 a-b) *Cyprus, ceramic vessels, Late Bronze Age: a) Proto-white slip type; b) White slip type (after: D. MORRIS, 1985, fig. 29-30).*



SLIKA 43. *a-b) Cipar: dvobojna keramika iz željeznog doba: trodijelni motiv (lotus) obješen o horizontali (prema: D. MORRIS, 1985, sl. 276-277). FIGURE 43 a-b) Cyprus: bichrome pottery from the Iron Age: three-part motif (lotus) hung on a horizontal (after: D. MORRIS, 1985, fig. 276-277).*



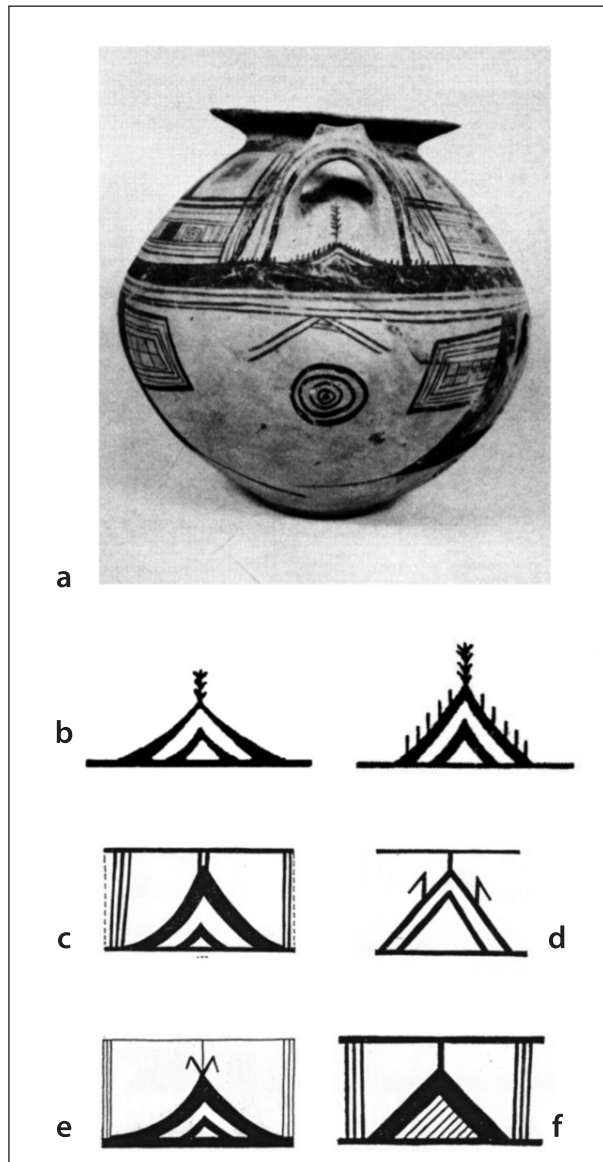
SLIKA 44. a-b) Cipar: posude vrste White Painted radene na kolu, željezno doba, prikaz solarnog krajolika (prema: D. MORRIS, 1985, sl. 279, 282).

FIGURE 44 a-b) Cyprus: wheel-thrown white painted vessels, Iron Age, depiction of solar landscape (after: D. MORRIS, 1985, fig. 279, 282).



SLIKA 45. Cipar: posuda vrste White Painted rađena na kolu, željezno doba, prikaz solarnog krajolika (prema: D. MORRIS, 1985, sl. 281).

FIGURE 45 Cyprus: wheel-thrown white painted vessels, Iron Age, depiction of solar landscape (after: D. MORRIS, 1985, fig. 281).



SLIKA 46. a) Posuda iz zbirke Jatta, Ruvo, 7. st. pr. Kr. (prema: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1984, T XXV/a); b) motivi konkavnog trokuta (a tenda) sa stablom na vrhu: daunska subgeometrijska keramika, 7. – 5. st. pr. Kr. (prema: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1997, sl. 43, 45); c-f) daunski subgeometrijski motivi trokuta s istacima na vrhu, 7. – 6./5. st. pr. Kr. (prema: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XLII/123-125, 128).

FIGURE 46 a) Vessel from the collection Jatta, Ruvo, 7th cent. BC (after: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1984, T XXV/a); b) Motifs of concave triangle (a tenda) with a tree at the top: Daunian Subgeometric pottery, 7th – 5th cent. BC (after: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1997, fig. 43, 45); c-f) Daunian Subgeometric motifs of a triangle with protrusions at the top, 7th – 6th/5th cent. BC (after: E. M. DE JULIIS, 1977, T XLII/123-125, 128).

