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KOMPOLJE GROB 47 – NOVA INTERPRETACIJA

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U radu se obrađuje grobna oprema iz Kompolja, grob 47, pronađen 1956. godine. Grobne priloge čine dvije fibule s nekoliko zrna jantara na luku i privjescima, veće jajoliko zrno jantara s fibule, brojna zrna jantara raznog oblika i veličine, među kojima su najznačajnija tri izrađena u obliku ženskih glava, zrno u obliku ljudske figure, zrno u obličju ptice, te zrno koje izgleda kao započeti, a nedovršeni rad. Smatramo da figuralno obrađena zrna prikazuju likove iz mitološke priče o Faetontu, sinu boga Helija.

Ključne riječi: Kompolje grob 47, jantar, Faetont, Kikno, Helijade, sunčeve šljokice, labud, solarni simbol, Japodi

Key words: Kompolje Grave 47, amber, Phaeton, Cygnus/Kyknos, Heliades, sun spangles, swan, solar symbol, Iapods

Znameniti grob 47 pronađen je 1956. godine prilikom revizijskih iskopavanja velike japodske nekropole u Kompolju pokraj Otočca. Grobni prilozi obuhvaćali su dvije fibule s nekoliko zrna jantara na luku i privjescima (sl. 10, 11), veće jajoliko zrno jantara s fibule (sl. 8a, 8b), brojna zrna jantara raznog oblika i veličine (sl. 9), među kojima su najznačajnija tri izrađena u obliku ženskih glava (sl. 3, 4, 5), zrno u obliku ljudske figure (sl. 6), zrno u obličju ptice (sl. 7), te zrno koje izgleda kao započeti, a nedovršeni rad (sl. 2) (DRECHSLER-BIŽIĆ 1959: 265; 1961: 102).

Obje brončane lučne fibule su s tri petlje, koje su po tri puta spiralno savijene, a na luku je pet, odnosno šest okruglastih zrna jantara. Na igle su ovješeni brončani privjesci. Privjesak prve fibule sastoji se od trapezoidne pločice, gornji krajevi koje završavaju produžecima u obliku vrata i glave zmije. Na pločicu su lančićima ovješeni trapezoidni privjesci, ukrašeni koncentričnim krugovima ili su na rubovima urezane sitne linije (sl. 10). Privjesak druge fibule sastoji se od veće ploče rađene na proboj, a na gornjoj lijevoj strani je produžetak s prikazom ljudske glave. Na donju stranu zakovicama su pribijene dvije bule (sl. 11).

Ljudska glava, kao i zmijske protome svjedoče da su ti privjesci imali neko religijsko ili simbolično značenje, odnosno da je riječ o božanstvima, zaštitnicima onoga koji nosi taj nakit. Zmija ima vrlo značajnu ulogu u religiji i mitologiji većine naroda. Ona je simbol mudrosti, zla,

zdravlja, plodnosti, personifikacija duše pokojnika, čuvarica kućnog ognjišta i nadasve htonsko božanstvo (STIPČEVIĆ 1981: 48). Ljudska glava mogla bi biti povezana sa solarnim božanstvom, odnosno personifikacijom sunca (KUKOČ 1998: 15–17). Privjesak je koncipiran tako da podsjeća na »gospodaricu životinja« (*Potnia theron*), motiv koji je nastao na Orijentu, a tijekom orijentalizirajućih kulturnih strujanja dopro u Grčku i srednju Italiju, te se proširio na područje srednjih Alpa i stigao kod Japoda (EGG 1986: 73, 76). Dvije brončane bule na jednom od privjesaka sigurno su sadržavale neke stvari koje su korištene u vezi s kultovima, magijskim radnjama ili naprosto kao zaštita.

Lučne fibule s tri petlje i više zrna jantara na luku karakteristične su izrađevine japodskih radionica, a pojavile su se tijekom 6. st. pr. Kr. i trajale, s manjim modifikacijama, do kraja mlađeg željeznog doba.

Među 118 dobro očuvanih jantarnih zrna, 6 je rezbarenih, većina je okruglog, nepravilnog oblika, a jedno je u obliku kapljice, jedno četvrtasto, probušeno po sredini i kroz jedan krak, te najveće koje je duguljasto i služilo je kao razvodnik dvaju nizova (sl. 9, 1). Jedno zrno među 6 rezbarenih, koje izgleda kao započeti a nedovršeni rad, također je razvodnik dvaju nizova (sl. 2). Moguće je da je to zrno bilo namijenjeno oblikovanju, ali oblik nije izveden, te je poslužilo kao još jedno zrno – razvodnik. Među okruglim zrnima s rupom u sredini, nalazi se i jedno koje je nekada bilo probušeno pri vrhu, te se na tome mjestu prelomilo, pa je zaglađeno. To dokazuje da su pojedina zrna bila u sekundarnoj uporabi, odnosno da je majstor sakupljao potrgana zrna, zaglađio ih i ponovno upotrebljavao za izradu nakita. Vjerojatno bi se to moglo reći i za započeti rad na zrnima – razvodniku. Četvrtasto zrno s rupom u sredini i ušicom na jednom kraku izlizano je na probušenim dijelovima, te je uočljivo da je i ono bilo u upotrebi kao razvodnik.

Sva zrna jantara bila su složena u ogrlicu. Ogrlice su kompozitni ukrasi. Svako zrno u njima je zasebno, kao i samostalni dio cjeline, a majstor ima umjetničku slobodu kako će ih složiti. S obzirom na dragocjenost materijala, nije neobična sekundarna upotreba pojedinih zrna.

Ogrlica je načinjena od okruglih, nepravilno izrađenih zrna, koja ne odudaraju od tadašnjeg europskog ukusa, pa je pretpostavka da je i ona djelo domaćih majstora. S obzirom na dva veća razvodnika, bila je složena u 2 niza. Mišljenja smo da su fibule i privjesci, te i veći dio ogrlice, djelo majstora domaćih radionica (DRECHSLER-BIŽIĆ 1961: 94; BALEN-LETUNIĆ 2004: 238–242; 2006: 57).

Veće jajoliko zrno jantara horizontalno je probušeno, a u otvoru se nalazi ostatak brončane žice, koja je pripadala fibuli. Površina zrna s obje strane je izbrazdana nepravilnim urezima (sl. 8a, 8b). Takvo zrno nije jedino u japodskoj zbirci.¹ Postoje mišljenja da su urezi slovni znakovi, naj-sličniji grčkim. S obzirom da je pismo najčešće bilo u službi kulta, mnoga su slova bila svedena na magične znakove, pa postoje mišljenja da je i u ovom slučaju riječ o pojačanoj zaštitnoj ulozi slova (BALEN-LETUNIĆ 2004: 242). Zrno s urezima nađeno je i u Jezerinama (grob VI), za koje se također pretpostavlja da su slova (DRECHSLER-BIŽIĆ 1961: 94). Smatramo da to nisu urezani (magični) znakovi ili slova, nego je riječ o posljedici (nestručnog) zagrijavanja zrna. Da pojasnimo.

Boja većine japodskih predmeta izrađenih od jantara je narančasta do tamno crvena, koja pokatkad prelazi u tamno smeđu. Pojedini primjerci su prozirni, bez kore, mnoga zrna imaju koru, koja je pokadšto raspucana, a pojedini primjerci su tamno smeđi, gotovo crni, neprozirni. Te boje su posve različite od boja koje ima jantar svjež izvađen iz zemlje ili jantar koji donese more. Svjež jantar (većina) je limunasto žute ili narančaste boje do boje tamnog meda, te može biti neproziran,

¹ Vidi u: BAKARIĆ – KRIŽ – ŠOUFEK 2006: kat. 122, 124, 132, 133, 134, 139; slika na str. 39.

mutan ili bistar. Zbog dugog izlaganja zraku ili morskoj vodi (odnosno vremenskog perioda otkad je izvađen iz svojeg matičnog ležišta) – najmanje 50 godina – bistri jantar oksidira u tamno narančastu ili crvenu boju. Poslije mnogo dužeg vremena jantar dobiva raspucanu koru, kao što se uočava na nekim arheološkim predmetima (ROSS 1998: 16–17).

Neprozirni komadi jantara sadrže mnoštvo sitnih zračnih mjehurića (900.000 mjehurića u mm² kod jantara boje kosti –/veličina mjehurića od 0,0008–0,004 mm/; 2.500 mjehurića u mm² kod neprozirnog jantara /veličina mjehurića od 0,0025–0,012 mm/, itd.) (RICE 2006: 189). Metodom postupnoga zagrijavanja boja jantara se pročišćava. Zagrijavanjem do 180°C zračni mjehuri se spajaju i pomiču prema površini. Ako dopru do same površine, nastanu pukotine; ako ostanu ispod površine, nastanu tzv. »sunčeve šljokice« (*sun spangles* ili *Sonnen Flinten*), kapljicaste pukotine zbog kojih se svjetlost na tim mjestima drukčije lomi (ROSS 1998: 4, 16–17; GRIMALDI 1996: 13, 133). Kad jantar pronađen na arheološkim lokalitetima ima raspucanu površinu, velika je vjerojatnost da je u neko doba bio zagrijavan.²

Metodom potapanja zrna u ulje te postupnim zagrijavanjem, zračni mjehuri se ispunjavaju uljem, koje ima sličan refraktivni indeks kao i jantar, pa sunčeva svjetlost može nesmetano prolaziti kroz zrno. Tako se dobiva prozornost zrna (bez pukotina), odnosno nesmetan prolaz svjetlosti kroz zrno. Najpodesnije je ulje od uljane repice, zbog boje slične jantaru – blijedo žuta. Ovisno o boji ulja ili uljnim dodacima, može se mijenjati i boja jantara. Da bi jantar dobio raskošnu crvenu ili smeđu, tzv. »antičku« boju, zrno je potrebno uroniti u željeznu posudu ispunjenu čistim pijeskom, te polako zagrijavati 30 do 40 sati (RICE 2006, 350). Plinije Stariji zabilježio je bistrenje jantara pomoću masti (*HN XXXVII.12*), ali nisu isključene i druge metode bistrenja ili mijenjanja boje, koje nisu zabilježili antički autori. U metodološkom smislu važno je postupno zagrijavanje i postupno hlađenje. U slučaju neadekvatne brzine, nastaju jača oštećenja.

Korištenje jantara u kombinaciji sa smolom poznato je već iz prve polovine drugoga tisućljeća prije Krista, što svjedoči privjesak u obliku sunčevog diska iz Istočne Prusije. Površina diskoidnog zrna s rupom u sredini ukrašena je zrakastim točkama, koje su ispunjene smolom. Time je postignuta različitost u lomu svjetlosti koja prolazi kroz zaglađenu površinu i udubljenja zapunjena smolom (SPEKKE 1957, Pl. 1, 1; RICE 2006: 30; LANGENHEIM 2003: 261–262). Prema tome, kombiniranje jantara s drugim, sličnim (prirodnim) materijalima, primjerice smolom, nije neuobičajeno. Bistrenje boje jantara poznato je od davnine (zabilježio je u 1. st. poslije Krista Plinije Stariji), a sunčeve šljokice (*sun spangles*), koje su posljedica zagrijavanja, vidljive su i na nekim zrnima iz Mađarske (SPRINCZ – BECK 1981: 475, Fig. 5; 482).

Prema navedenom, smatramo da urezi na jajolikom zrnu s fibule nisu namjerni, odnosno da nisu namjerno urezivani znakovi ili slova, već da su posljedica zagrijavanja zrna radi pročišćavanja (ili mijenjanja) boje.

U ovoj grobnoj opremi, kao sastavni dijelovi ogrlice, vrlo je zanimljivo pet jantarnih, figurarno oblikovanih zrna. Riječ je o tri zrna u obliku glava žena (sl. 3, 4, 5), jedno s prikazom cijele ljudske figure (sl. 6) i jedno u izgledu ptice (sl. 7). Zrna su rađena u stilu grčke arhaike, te su uvezena kao cjelina s područja italčkog tla.³ Tih pet likova izrezbarenih u jantaru, mogli bi biti junaci priče iz grčke mitologije o mladom bogu Faetontu i nastanku jantara.

U Ovidijevim *Metamorfozama* našla je mjesto i priča o Faetontu, koji nije doživio pretvorbu, ali njegove sestre i prijatelj jesu, kao i cijela Zemlja i dio ljudi na njoj (I.746–II.405). Vergilije je napisao znamenitu *Eneidu*, u kojoj se spominje sudbina Kikna, Faetontova prijatelja (X.185–193).

2 Opširnije o boji, strukturi i pročišćavanju jantara vidi: RICE 2006; ROSS 1998; GRIMALDI 1996.

3 DRECHSLER 1961: 93; ČOVIĆ 1976: 162; PALA-VESTRA 1993: 26; BALEN-LETUNIĆ 2004, 238.

Euripidov *Faetont* djelomično je sačuvan, a priču spominje i u *Hipolitu*. I mnogi drugi pisci spominju priču, ili samo likove iz nje, kao i mitsku rijeku Eridan. Ukratko, priča glasi: Faetont (*sjajni*) sin je boga sunca Helija i Okeanide Klimene. Odrastao je u Etiopiji, na dvoru svoga očuha kralja Meropa i majke Klimene. Kad je stasao za ženidbu, očuh Merop mu nalazi mladenku, te ga prisiljava na ženidbu, kojoj se Faetont opire. Da bi ga spasila od dogovorene ženidbe, majka Klimena otkriva sinu da mu kralj Merop nije pravi otac, već da je njegov otac Helije, bog Sunca. Tražeći potvrdu očinstva, Faetont dolazi do Helija, koji priznaje očinstvo, a kao potvrdu te tvrdnje dopušta Faetontu da od njega traži što god hoće. Faetont pak traži da jedan dan upravlja zlatnim Sunčevim kočijama, u kojima se vozi nebeskim svodom. Nakon poduzetog nećkanja, Helije mu to dopušta. Usprkos upozorenjima da u vožnji snažno zauzdava konje i da se drži srednjeg puta, Faetont je olabavio uzde i konji su poletjeli mimo uobičajene putanje. Vatrene kola su se čas približavala nebu i pržila zvijezde, a čas se spuštala i žarila zemlju. Svi izvori na visokim brdima su usahli, rijeke su gorjele, mora se smanjivala, a u zemlji su se pojavile pukotine kroz koje je svjetlost dopirala sve do Tartara. Dok su Sunčeva kola letjela nad Afrikom, njeni stanovnici postali su crni, Libija se preobrazila u nepreglednu pustinju, a izvor rijeke Nil se sakrio. Faetont nije znao kako da zauzda konje ni kamo da ih usmjeri. Na visinama se plašio životinja u Zodijaku (Bik, Lav, Škorpion, Rak), a od pogleda na Zemlju, koja je bila u plamenu, obuzimala ga je vrtoglavica. Zažalio je što je saznao za oca i zaželio se vratiti očuhu Meropu. Da bi spasio svijet od vatre, Zeus je munjom ošinio Faetonta i on je, kao sjajna zvijezda, dok mu je plamen izgarao riđu kosu preletio preko neba i strmoglavio se u rijeku Eridan. Eridan leži na suprotnom dijelu Zemlje od njegove domovine – Etiopije. Njegovo zadimljeno tijelo našle su, i na obali rijeke Eridan sahranile, hesperske nimfe. Grob je tražila i našla majka Klimena, te je dugo plakala nad njim. Sestre Helijade – Faetusa, Lampetija i Feba (sva tri imena označavaju svjetlost), tugovale su i plakale, te se polako počele pretvarati u drveće (topole ili johe). Iz kore drveća potekle su suze, koje se u vodi polako pretvorile u jantar. Čuvši za tragediju, kralj Kikno (grčki *Kykno* – labud) napustio je svoju zemlju Liguriju te na rijeci Eridan stao žalovati za prijateljem. Bog Apolon sažalio se nad njegovom tugom te ga pretvorio u labuda koji prekrasno pjeva, a živi na hladnim jezerima i rijekama. Kikno je kao labud doživio starost, te se pjevajući preselio na nebo, kao sazviježđe.

Faetont je umro kako na Zemlji ne bi izumro život. Hesperske nimfe postavile su natpis nad njegovim grobnim humkom s tekstom »*Pao je, ali na velikom, hrabrom djelu*«. ⁴

Cijela priča o nastanku jantara nastala je prilikom prvih trgovačkih doticaja antičkog svijeta s tom čudnom i dragocjenom fosiliziranom smolom. Trgovci su prenosili razne sirovine i robu sa sjevera na jug, i obratno, opisivali zemlje kroz koje su prolazili, te govorili o tome kakvi su običaji i navike ljudi iz dalekih krajeva. Također su prenosili i razne priče o tome odakle je jantar i kako izgleda zemlja u kojoj se pronalazi jantar.

Iz priče proistječe da je jantar, uz pomoć bogova, nastao od stvrdnutih ženskih suza, kao znak velike tuge i žalosti. Kako su Helijade kćeri boga sunca Helija, a njihove suze se pretvaraju u jantar, u jantaru je sadržana sunčeva svjetlost i toplina. Germani smatraju da je jantar materijalizirana sunčeva zraka koja je dotakla površinu vode (DOMIĆ-KUNIĆ 2005: 220). Jantar je simbol sunca u baltičkoj Europi, kao i kod Grka i Rimljana (SPEKKE 1957: 395). Da li su tri glave žena iz groba 47 prikaz Helijada, tužnih sestara, čije se suze pretvaraju u jantar?

Faetont je imao crvenu kosu, bio je mlad, po nekim procjenama imao je oko 14 godina, vrijeme kada mladići iz adolescencije prelaze u zrelost, odnosno u društvo odraslih. Njegovom mladošću opravdava se smionost u vožnji Sunčevih kola (RECKFORD 1972: 409). Pao je u rijeku

4 AHL 1982; DIGGLE 1967; KRAPPE 1942, MAS-TROCINQUE 1991: 11–55; Ov. *Met.* I.746–II.405.

Eridan, pokraj koje je sahranjen. Lokacija te mitske rijeke predmet je mnogih rasprava, još od antičkog doba, pa do danas.

Apolonije u *Argonautici* opisuje Eridan kao rijeku na kraju svijeta, na vratima noći i dijeli je na tri rukavca – jedan se ulijeva u Ocean, drugi u Jonsko more, treći u Jadransko. Eshil ju je identificirao kao Ronu, a Herodot, kao i neki drugi, kaže da je na sjeveru, ali ne vjeruje u njezino postojanje, a kasniji pisci govorili su da je to rijeka Pad.⁵ To smatra i Lukijan, navodeći da je ta rijeka poznata po Apolonovim drugovima, labudovima koji pjevaju. Međutim, na toj rijeci ima labudova, ali oni »*grakću kreštavo i jaderno*«, te se to ne može nazvati pjevanjem (Lucian. *Electr.* 4–5; prijevod BRICKO 2002: 80). Strabon navodi (V.1.9): *A ono mnogo što se napripovijedalo i nalagalo i onako treba ostaviti po strani, kao što je pripovijest o Faetontu i Helijevim kćerima što su se pretvorile u topole oko rijeke Eridana, koje nigdje na zemlji nema, a govori se da je blizu Pada, i otoci Elektride što su pred Padom i morske kokoši (labudovi) na njima: jer niti njih nema nigdje na onim mjestima* (KATIČIĆ 1995: 195).

Mitska rijeka Eridan čvrsto je povezana s jantarom i labudovima, i to onima koji pjevaju. Kikno (grč. *labud*), ligurski kralj, koji je zbog tuge za izgubljenim prijateljem pretvoren u labuda, prekrasno je pjevao. Dar pjevanja dao mu je bog Apolon (KRAPPE 1942: 353).

Ligurijska zemlja iznad Đenovskog zaljeva (Ligursko more), a Plinije govori da rijeka Pad izlazi iz dubine brda Vezula, koje je na području ligurskih Vagijena, te da su joj Grci dali ime Eridan. Faetontova kazna ju je učinila slavnom. Ušće rijeke Pad prije se zvalo Eridansko (*HN* III.117, 120). Prema tome se daje zaključiti kako je Kikno, odnosno labud, važan za rijeku Eridan, iz koje izlazi jantar. Uostalom, Teofrast je jantar nazvao *lyngurion*, koji imenom podsjeća na narod Ligurana.⁶

Iz djelomično sačuvane knjige *O Hiperborejcima* Hekateja iz Abdere saznajemo da su labudovi živjeli na određenom otoku daleko na sjeveru – Helioxoia, kod naroda koji su obožavali Apolona u okruglom hramu. Bog je običavao dolaziti na taj otok u određeno vrijeme, dajući znak da počne zbornu pjevanje za ekvinocij, kad se divlji labudovi počnu spuštati s Ripejskih planina, da bi njihovu pjesmu uskladili s ljudskim glasovima (KRAPPE 1942: 356). Apolon je zimске mjeseci provodio na otoku Delu, kod proročišta, a ljeti je na svojim labuđim kolima letio na daleki sjever, kod Hiperborejaca. Hiperborejci su mitski sretan i besmrtni narod, posve drukčiji od ostalih, koji naseljavaju područje »iza Boreja«, sjevernog vjetrova. Oni borave na granici između zemlje i neba, života i smrti. Herodot govori o legendi kako Hiperborejci šalju darove, koji su umotani u slamu, te oni prelaze iz ruke u ruku od naroda do naroda, dok ne stignu na obale Jadrana. Odande darovi putuju dalje, do Apolonovih svećenika na otoku Delu (MILIĆEVIĆ-BRADAČ 2004: 457–460). Postoje mišljenja da su pažljivo umotani darovi – jantar, odnosno da trasa koju prelaze labudovi od Hiperborejaca do Dela označava jantarski put.⁷ U Euripidovu *Faetontu* Apolonove ptice – labudovi – opisane su kako pjevaju jutarnju himnu na valovima Oceana koji opasuje Zemlju, odnosno kraj svijeta.

Dakle, u nekim djelima antičkih pisaca navedeno je da labudovi prekrasno pjevaju, a u nekim da »*grakću kreštavo i jaderno*«. Zapravo, to su dvije vrste labudova.

5 AHL 1982: 399. Mitska rijeka Eridan najčešće se identificira s rijekom Pad u sjevernoj Italiji. Sada se ne bi bavili pitanjem točne lokacije te rijeke, kao ni novim geološkim tumačenjima o postojanju takve rijeke na mjestu današnjeg Baltičkog mora.

6 MASTROCINQUE 1991: 25. Plinije Stariji, pozivajući se na Teofrasta, spominje riječ *lyncurium*, odbacujući

tumačenje da je jantar nastao od mokraće divljeg risa (PALAVESTRA – KRSTIĆ: 2006, 20; DUFFIN 2008: 11–13, 28).

7 DOMIĆ-KUNIĆ 2004: 220–221; BONFANTE 1985: 317–318. Bonfante tumači da je Herodot smatrao da Hiperborejci žive na području Ilira(?).

Labud je najkrupnija ptica među svim pticama selicama, pripada porodici guščarica, kao patke i guske. Staništa su im u hladnim krajevima sjevera Europe – Island, istočna Laponija i sjeverna Rusija, odnosno obale Sjevernog, Baltičkog i Ledenog mora. Zimi se sele na jug, u toplije krajeve sjeverne Afrike, uz kraće zadržavanje na Britanskom otočju ili u centralnoj Europi, Italiji i Grčkoj. U našim krajevima, kao i u Grčkoj i Italiji, najčešći je crvenokljuni labud *Cygnus olor*, kojeg nazivaju i šutljivi (*mute swan*). To je bijela ptica, odrasli su težine oko 8–12 kg, tijelo im je dužine oko 150 cm, s rasponom krila većim i od 210 cm. Dok pliva, drži vrat visoko u obliku slova »S« sa kljunom nagnutim prema dolje i često uzdignutih krila u obliku štita. Kljun je narančasto crvene boje s crnom grbom. Karakteristično je za njih što upareni mužjak gotovo cijeli život provede s jednom ženkom.

Žutokljuni ili pjevajući labud *Cygnus cygnus* (*whooper ili singing swan*) rijetko se viđa u našim krajevima, pokatkad ga je moguće vidjeti na Britanskom otočju, plašljiviji je od crvenokljunog. Pliva ravno uzdignutoga vrata, nikada podignutih krila. Karakteristika mu je žuti kljun bez grbe, krupan je i velik, dužina tijela iznosi 155 cm, raspon krila 215 cm. Kada se odmara na vodi, često ispušta karakterističan melankoličan zvuk što nazivamo pjevom (LONČARIĆ 2006: 40–41). Kada umire, također ispušta zvuk sličan pjevu, pa je ostala uzrečica da labud pjevanjem predviđa svoju smrt.

Labud simbolički označava cikličku godinu, zbog migracija sa sjevera na jug i obratno u točno određeno godišnje doba. Kada na Mediteranu započme proljeće, labudovi lete na sjever i ne vraćaju se prije jeseni, kada sve u prirodi počinje odumirati. Njihov život je obrnuto različit od života ljudi na Mediteranu (AHL 1982: 377).

Na Mediteranu su crvenokljuni (*Cygnus olor*, šutljivi) labudovi s vratom u obliku slova »S« poznatiji negoli rijetko viđeni žutokljuni, pjevajući, ravnoga vrata. Ali legenda, kao i razne poslovice, udomaćile su se za rijetko viđene žutokljune (*Cygnus cygnus*, pjevajuće), primjerice »labuđi pjev«. Prvi je njihov pjev opisao Eshil u *Agamemnonu* (1444), a Platon u *Fedonu* govori da labudovi najljepše pjevaju uoči svoje smrti (84e–85a). U 3. st. pr. Kr. fraza »labuđi pjev« bila je već ustaljena, te je Opijan iz Apameje (*Cyng.* 2540–50) napisao da je labud prekrasan pjevač i da može predvidjeti svoju smrt (ARNOTT 1977: 149; AHL 1982: 373). Pauzanija govori da je labud poznata ptica po glazbenoj nadarenosti: *Spominju naime da je Kyknos (labud) bio glazbeno nadaren kralj Ligurana, koji žive preko Eridana s one strane keltske zemlje. Kad je umro, kažu da ga je Apolon pretvorio u pticu* (Paus. I.30). Lukijan je na rijeci Pad susreo crvenokljune labudove, koji ne pjevaju, te ga to zbunjuje. Tamošnje stanovništvo nije nikada vidjelo žutokljune labudove, niti je čulo labuđi pjev. Apolon i Kikno povezani su pjevajućim labudovima, jantarom i obalom Sjevernog mora.⁸

U središnjoj Europi u brončanom i željeznom dobu vrlo su česti bili različiti prikazi ptica, koje tumačimo kao predmete kulta, magije ili mitologije. Pretežno se govori o pojmu ptica, barska ptica, vodena ptica, ptičje protome, najčešće patka. Motivi ptica najčešće su u vezi s krugom kao simbolom sunca s kojim obrazuju kompozicije »sunčeve lađe«. Taj motiv je posebno bio proširen na prostoru kulture polja sa žarama tijekom kasnog brončanog i starijeg željeznog doba (STIPČEVIĆ 1981: 23–29; RAUNIG 2004: 79; KUKOČ 2003: 243–246). U sjeveroistočnoj Europi vodene ptice često su prikazane kao krug, ili im je glava u obliku kruga (GIMBUTAS 1956: 189). Patke i guske također pripadaju porodici guščarica, ptica selica, koje su na Balkanskom poluotoku kao domaće životinje poznate najranije od 1000–900. g. pr. Kr. (VASIĆ, V. – R. VASIĆ 2000: 137).

8 KRAPPE 1942: 358. Da je labud povezan s lijepom muzikom, dokazuju i lire minojsko-mikenske kulture, koje su oblikovane tako da su strune nategnute između dva

nosača u obliku dugačkog vrata s glavom labuda. (VORREITER 1975: 93–97).

Prema nekim autorima prikazi barskih ptica u kneževskim grobovima mogu se shvatiti kao prenosioci pokojnikova posebnog statusa na drugi svijet (PALAVESTRA – KRSTIĆ 2006: 181). Labud nije često prikazivan, nalazimo ga u Mojsinju u Srbiji, kao brončanu figuru, s vratom u obliku slova »S«, a datiran je u 6. st. pr. Kr. (VASIĆ, V. – R. VASIĆ 2000: 137). Labud od jantara poznat je iz Falconare (Ancona), na zrnju znanom kao Afrodita i Adonis. Zrno je rezbareno tako da prikazuje muškarca i ženu koji leže. Muškarac drži malu vazru s uljem u desnoj ruci. Kod nogu žene je dijete, a na njenim ramenima odmara se ptica dugog vrata, labud, sa zakrenutim vratom, simbolom regeneracije. Kako upareni mužjak labud gotovo cijeli život prevede s jednom ženkom, on može simbolizirati vjernost i odanost. Ulomak brončane igle upućuje da je zrno pripadalo fibuli, a datirano je u 6. st. pr. Kr. (NEGRONI-CATACCHIO 1993: T. X, 1; GRIMALDI 1996: 153). Ulomak zrna jantara s prikazom labuda pronađen je i u Atenici, kao dio grobne opreme iz centralnoga groba humka I (PALAVESTRA – KRSTIĆ 2006: 181, 323, kat. 499).

Figuralno oblikovana jantarna plastika relativno je čest nalaz na području Italije, koja se po nalazima dijeli na tri područja: etrusko – latinski prostor – zemlja Picena, srednje jadransko područje i jug Italije. Jug Italije ima najviše nalaza zrna u obliku glava žena, osobito pokrajine Puglia i Basilicata (NEGRONI-CATACCHIO 1993: 191).

Zrna jantara u obliku glava žena redovito su povezana sa svijetom žena, a najčešće su nađene kao dio grobnih oprema žena. Polaganje privjesaka na sveta mjesta – npr. svetište božice Mefite u dolini Ansanto (Campanija) dokazuje njihovu religioznu svrhu. Smatra se da ta lica prikazuju lica božica koje su zadužene za zaštitu svijeta žena. Nažalost, mnogobrojnim nalazima takvih zrna ne znamo kontekst ni grobne cjeline, a izrada i izraz lica u vezi su s vizijom umjetnika, a ne s likom određene žene ili božice (LOSI – RAPOSSO – RUGGIERO 1993: 203). Glava žene desnog profila iz groba 47 gotovo je identična s glavom pronađenom u Alleriji na Korzici, datiranoj na kraj 6. st. pr. Kr., te se smatra da je rad iste radionice (PALAVESTRA 1993: 257). Korzika se nalazi u Ligurijskome moru, domovini kralja Kikna.

Postoje mišljenja da je zrno u obliku ljudske figure iz groba 47 prikaz žene (PALAVESTRA – KRSTIĆ 2006: 129; BALEN-LETUNIĆ 2006: 56). Mišljenja smo da je riječ o dječaku, prikazu mladog Faetonta, koji je prilikom pada u rijeku Eridan slomio vrat, pa mu je glava okrenuta prema dolje. Za potvrdu ovakvog mišljenja imamo razloge. Oštrije crte lica ukazuju da je riječ o muškoj osobi, odnosno o dječaku. Osim toga, frizura tog lika je vrlo zanimljiva. Naime, na velikom broju glava žena, pronađenim na području Italskog poluotoka, žene pretežno imaju kosu začešljanu od čela prema potiljku, gdje je obično skupljena i savijena. Ponekad im kosa pada sa strana lica u dugim uvojcima, a vrlo često kosu pridržavaju trakom ili kolposom, što se lako može zamijetiti i na sve tri jantarne ženske glave iz groba 47 (LOSI – RAPOSSO – RUGGIERO 1993: 203–211). Na mnogobrojnim skulpturama muškarci imaju kratko šišanu, mahom kovrčavu kosu, upravo onakvu kakva je na figuri »žene« u spomenutom grobu. Zato smo uvjereni da je riječ o prikazu dječaka, a nikako žene. Vezu sa ženskim osobinama možemo naći jedino u njegovoj ljubavnoj vezi s ligurskim kraljem Kiknom, koja je uzrok bijega od nametnute ženidbe u roditeljskom domu. Prema nekim autorima, Faetont i Kikno tipični su predstavnici homoseksualne veze prema grčkome modelu, u kojoj je jedan partner stariji i dominantan (Kikno), a drugi mlađi i potčinjen (WILLIAMS 1999: 116, 118).

Faetontova vožnja Sunčevih kola, njegov pad i smrt uzrok su mnogih promjena na Zemlji, kao i početku nastanka jantara. Helijade ga u svojoj tuzi stvaraju, a Kikno je pretvoren u labuda, jer je ta ptica simbol rijeke koja nosi jantar, simbol Sjevernog i Baltičkog mora, gdje su labuđa staništa i glavna nalazišta jantara. Pjevanje upućuje na vezu s Apolonom, za kojeg se smatra da označava put jantara od sjevera na jug. Mišljenja smo da svih 5 figuralno oblikovanih zrna prikazuju likove iz te mitološke priče, te tako daju vlasniku posebnu zaštitu, moć promjena i regeneracije, kao što mu

omogućuje i sretniji put do sjaja zvijezda. I Faetont⁹ i Kikno pretvoreni su u zvijezda, kao i rijeka Eridan, odnosno zabilježeni su za vječnost (MASTROCINQUE 1991: 16–22). Uz ovakvu mitološku priču, koja je prenesena u ogrlicu, visoki status osobe koja ju je nosila je evidentan.

Nakon analize jantarne plastike i razmatranja o podacima iz mitologije i povijesnih izvora, pristupili smo mogućoj rekonstrukciji ogrlice (sl. 12) u koju su ukomponirani svi nalazi (osim fibula) iz groba 47. Vjerujemo da je taj posao primjereno obavljen, premda se ne može isključiti i mogućnost manjih izmjena u rasporedu spomenutih zrna, jer uvijek postoji izbor raznih mogućnosti. Nadamo se ipak da je načinjena ogrlica prvobitno izgledala ovako i da je tako upotpunila rekonstrukciju sadržaja groba 47 i opravdala kako mitološke, tako i druge relevantne podatke koje do sada o jantarnim predmetima ovog dragocjenog groba nismo posjedovali u potpunosti. Osim ogrlice, grobnu su opremu činile još i tri fibule sa zrnima jantara¹⁰.

1. Zrno razvodnik (sl. 1)

vis. 4,4 cm; šir. 2,5–2 cm; deb. 1,3 cm; inv. 15444.

Trapezoidno zrno probušeno pri užem vrhu te uzdužno po sredini.



Sl. 1

Fig. 1

2. Zrno razvodnik (sl. 2)

vis. 3,6 cm; šir. 2,9–2,7 cm; deb. 0,9 cm; inv. 15437.

Trapezoidno zrno probušeno pri užem vrhu (potrgano) te uzdužno po sredini. Duža lijeva strana završava nepravilno, te se doima kao da je započeti, a nedovršeni rad.

3. Zrno – glava žene (sl. 3)

vis. 3,2 cm; šir. 2,3 cm; deb. 0,6 cm; inv. 15439.

Zrno jantara izrađeno u obliku ženske glave u profilu. Nos pravilan, a usta slabo naglašena. Oko slabo vidljivo. Preko čela prema zatiljku spušta se šira vrpca izvedena udubljenim linijama. Na licu, oko uha, pravilno je okruglo udubljenje. Na tjemenu je oštećena ušica za ovjes. Poledina zrna je zaglađena.

9 Zvijezde Auriga (Kočijaš).

10 Fotografije izradio je Igor Krajcar, crtež izradila Miljenka Galić, na čemu im se najljepše zahvaljujem.



Sl. 2
Fig. 2



Sl. 3
Fig. 3

4. Zrno – glava žene (sl. 4)

vis. 4 cm; šir. 2,3 cm; deb. 1 cm; inv. 15440.

Zrno jantara izrađeno u obliku ženske glave. Na licu se ističu velike bademaste oči naznačene s dvije udubljene linije, mali nos i usta. Iznad čela nalazi se plastična vrpca ukrašena kosim udubljenim crticama. Na tjemenu je oštećena ušica za ovjes. Poledina zrna je zaglađena, a ima dva pravilna okrugla udubljenja.

5. Zrno – glava žene (sl. 5)

vis. 3,3 cm; šir. 2 cm; deb. 0,5 cm; inv. 15441.

Zrno jantara izrađeno u obliku ženske glave u profilu. Preko čela k zatiljku spušta se šira vrpca izvedena kosim linijama. Oko je izvedeno pomoću dvije udubljene linije, nos je pravilan i ravan, a usta malo naglašena. Na tjemenu su dvije međusobno spojene rupice za ovjes. Poledina zrna je zaglađena.



Sl. 4
Fig. 4



Sl. 5
Fig. 5

6. Zrno – ljudska figura (sl. 6)

vis. 5,7 cm; šir. 1,2–2,3 cm; deb. 0,3–1,2 cm; inv. 15438.

Pločica jantara izrađena tehnikom plitkog reljefa u obliku ljudske figure. Desna je strana oštećena. Probušena je pri vrhu horizontalno i po sredini. Glava je prikazana nakrivljeno s naglašenim nosom, debelim usnama i velikim okom. Kratka kosa polukružno uokviruje čelo. Lijeva ruka od lakta do šake izviruje iz ogrtača te je horizontalno postavljena ispod lica. Šaka s prstima jasno je vidljiva. Desna ruka spušta se vertikalno prema koljenu (vrh ruke oštećen). Prsti su na šaci jedva vidljivi. Ogrtač je prikazan udubljenim paralelnim, koso postavljenim linijama, koje su u visini koljena postavljene u obrnutom smjeru, te prikazuju nabor, a pri dnu opet mijenjaju smjer i prikazuju borduru ogrtača. Ispod bordure prikazani su gležnjevi i stopala obiju bosih noga prikazanih u profilu. Poledina pločice je zaglađena.

7. Zrno – labud (sl. 7)

vis. 3 cm; šir. 3,7 cm; deb. 0,9 cm; inv. 15436.

Zrno jantara izrađeno u obličju ptice (labud). Probušeno je po sredini lijeve strane te po rubu lijeve strane odozgo do dolje. Jedna rupica nalazi se ispod kljuna. Glava ptice s kljunom smještena je bočno u gornji lijevi ugao, a dulji vrat naglašen je udubljenom linijom. Linija krila postavljena je koso od donjega lijevog ugla do pred kraj gornjega desnog ugla. Na desnoj strani udubljenim paralelnim linijama naglašena su pera krila i repa. Poledina pločice je zaglađena.



Sl. 6

Fig. 6



Sl. 7

Fig. 7

8. Zrno (sl. 8a, 8b)

vis. 5 cm; šir. 6,8 cm; deb. 2 cm; inv. 15435.

Zrno jantara ovalnog oblika. Horizontalno probušeno, a u otvoru se nalazi ostatak brončane žice, koja je pripadala fibuli. Površina zrna s obje strane je izbrazdana nepravilnim urezima.

9. Zrna koja tvore ogrlicu (sl. 9)

inv. 15444.

Niz od 112 zrna. Osim okruglih, probušenih po sredini, jedno je zrno u obliku kapljice te jedno manje četvrtasto – razvodnik.



Sl. 8a
Fig. 8a



Sl. 8b
Fig. 8b



Sl. 9
Fig. 9

10. Fibula s privjeskom (sl. 10)

bronca, jantar; fibula: duž. 8,2 cm; vis. 3,3 cm; pločica: duž. 6,6 cm; vis. 4 cm; inv. 15443.

Lučna fibula s tri petlje, koje su po tri puta savijene. Noga je polukružno savijena. Na luku je šest okruglih zrna jantara. Na iglu fibule ovješena je pektoralni ukras s privjescima. Ukas se sastoji od trapezoidne pločice, gornji krajevi koje završavaju produženim savijenim nastavcima u obliku vrata i glave zmije, koji su na kraju probušeni. Sama pločica ukrašena je po sredini valovitom linijom, a po rubovima su urezane crtice. Na sredini gornje strane je veća alka za ovjes, a na donjoj je izbušeno nekoliko rupica, na koje su ovješeni lančići. Na kraj lančića ovješena je spiralno savijena žica na kojoj visi devet trapezoidnih pločica ukrašenih koncentričnim kružićima ili su na stranicama urezane crtice.

11. Fibula s privjeskom (sl. 11)

bronca, jantar; fibula: duž. 7,8 cm; vis. 3,2 cm; prva ukrasna pločica: duž. 7,2 cm; vis. 5,4 cm; druga ukrasna pločica: duž. 4,7 cm; vis. 2,3 cm; promjer bula 4,6 cm; inv. 15442.

Lučna fibula s tri petlje, koje su po tri puta savijene. Noga je polukružno savijena. Na luku je pet okruglih zrna jantara. Na iglu fibule ovješena je pektoralni ukras s privjescima. Ukas se sastoji od



Sl. 10
Fig. 10



Sl. 11
Fig. 11



Sl. 12

Fig. 12

veće ploče rađene na proboj, koja je ukrašena valovitom linijom. Na gornjoj lijevoj strani je produžetak s prikazom ljudske glave. Oči i usta izvedeni su ubadanjem, a nos je izveden u obliku plastične linije. Na suprotnoj strani ploče vidljivi su tragovi produžetka. Po gornjoj sredini vidljivi su tragovi alke za ovjes, koja je nadomještena naknadno stavljenom alkom, provučenom kroz ažurirani otvor. Donja strana ima devet produžetaka s rupicom po sredini. O njih je ovješena manja ploča bez ukrasa, na čiju donju stranu su zakovicama pribijene dvije bule.

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GRAVE 47 AT KOMPOLJE – A NEW INTERPRETATION

The famous grave 47 was discovered in 1956 during revisory excavation of the large Iapodian cemetery at Kompolje near Otočac. The grave goods consisted of two fibulae with several amber beads on the bow and pendants (fig. 10, 11), a large egg-shaped amber bead from a fibula (fig. 8a, 8b), numerous amber beads of various shapes and sizes (fig. 9), the most important of them three beads carved in the shape of a female head (fig. 3, 4, 5), a bead in the shape of a human figure (fig. 6), a bird-shaped bead (fig. 7), and a bead that looks like a started but never completed product (fig. 2) (DRECHSLER-BIŽIĆ 1959: 265; 1961: 102).

Each bronze bow fibula has three loops, each loop with three coils, and on the bow of one are strung five circular amber beads, and on the other six. Each has a bronze pendant hung from the pin. The pendant on the first fibula consists of a trapezoidal plaque whose upper section ends on each side in an elongated extension in the form of a snake's head and neck. Trapezoidal platelets are hung by chains from the plaque, decorated with concentric circles or incised tiny lines along the sides (fig.

10). The pendant of the second fibula consists of a large plaque in openwork, with a protrusion on the upper left side depicting a human head. Two bullae are riveted onto the lower side of the plaque (fig. 11).

The human head as well as the snake protomes indicate that these pendants had a religious or symbolic meaning, or that these represented deities, the protectors of the person who wore this jewelry. The snake plays a very significant role in the religion and mythology of most peoples. It is the symbol of wisdom, evil, health, fertility, the personification of the soul of the deceased, the guardian of the household hearth, and all in all a chthonic deity (STIPČEVIĆ 1981: 48). The human head could be related to a solar deity or a personification of the sun (KUKOČ 1998: 15–17). The pendant was composed in a manner reminiscent of the »Mistress of Wild Animals« (*Potnia theron*), a motif that originated in the East, and in the course of Orientalizing cultural movements reached Greece and central Italy, then spread to the central Alpine region and further to the Iapodes (EGG 1986: 73, 76). The two bronze bullae on one of the pendants certainly must have contained certain substances that were utilized in relation to cults, magic ceremonies, or simply as protection.

Three-looped bow fibulae with multiple amber beads on the bow are characteristic products of Iapodian workshops, and they appeared during the 6th century, remaining in use, with minor modifications, to the end of the Late Iron Age.

Among the 118 well preserved amber beads, 6 are carved, most are of irregular circular shape, while one is teardrop-shaped, one is square, perforated in the center and in one corner, and one is large and elongated, which served as a spacer for two strings of a necklace (fig. 9, 1). One bead among the carved examples, which appears to be a semi-finished product, also was a spacer for two strings (fig. 2). It is possible that this bead had originally been intended for further carving, but the form was not completed, so it was used as another spacer bead. The circular beads with a hole in the center include one that had once been perforated near the top and had fractured at that spot and was later smoothed over. This proves that individual beads were in secondary use, meaning that the craftsman had collected broken beads, polished them, and reused them in making jewelry. This was probably also the case with the partly worked spacer bead. The square bead with a hole in the center and a loop on one corner was worn in the perforated sections, and it is evident that it was also in use as a spacer.

All of the amber beads were strung in a necklace. Necklaces are composite forms of jewelry. Each bead in them is separate, as an independent part of the whole, and the craftsman enjoys the artistic freedom to arrange them as he wishes. Considering the preciousness of the material, the secondary use of individual amber beads is hardly unusual.

The necklace was composed of circular, irregularly worked beads, which corresponds to the European taste of the time, and it is considered to have been the work of domestic craftsmen. Given the two large spacer beads, the necklace was composed of two strings of beads. It is considered that the fibulae and pendants, and most of the necklace were all crafted in local workshops (DRECHSLER-BIŽIĆ 1961: 94; BALEN-LETUNIĆ 2004: 238–242; 2006: 57).

A large egg-shaped bead of amber was horizontally perforated, and the remains of bronze wire that belonged to a fibula can be seen in the opening. The surface of the bead is grooved on both sides with irregular incisions (fig. 8a, 8b). Such a bead is not unique in the Iapodian collection.¹¹ It has been suggested that the incisions are lettering, closest in form to the Greek alphabet. Considering that writing was most often used for cult purposes, many letters were reduced to magical

¹¹ See: BAKARIĆ – KRIŽ – ŠOUFEK 2006: cat. 122, 124, 132, 133, 134, 139; fig. on p. 39.

symbols, and the opinion exists that in this case letters played a role of providing increased protection (BALEN-LETUNIĆ 2004: 242). Another bead with incisions was found at Jezerine (grave VI), and it is also suggested that these were letters (DRECHSLER-BIŽIĆ 1961: 94). We consider, however, that these were not incised (magical) symbols or letters, rather that they were the result of (unskilled) heating of the bead. Let us explain.

The color of the majority of the Iapodian amber objects ranges from orange to dark red, which sometimes merges into dark brown. Individual examples are transparent without a crust, many beads have a crust, which is occasionally fissured, and individual examples are dark brown, almost black, and opaque. These colors are completely different from the colors of amber mined from the earth or amber washed up from the sea. Fresh amber (most specimens) is lemon yellow or orange to a dark honey color, and it can be opaque, cloudy, or clear. After long exposure to air or seawater (and also the extent of time from when it was removed from its original deposit) – at least 50 years – clear amber oxidizes into a dark orange or red color. After a much longer time, amber acquires a cracked crust, as can be seen on some archaeological amber finds (ROSS 1998: 16–17).

Opaque pieces of amber contain innumerable minute air bubbles (900,000 bubbles per mm² in bone amber: bubble size from 0.0008–0.004 mm; 2,500 bubbles per mm² in opaque amber: bubble size from 0.0025–0.012 mm, etc.) (RICE 2006: 189). The color of amber can be clarified using a method of gradual heating. By heating amber to 180°C, the air bubbles merge and move towards the surface. If they reach the surface itself, a crack results; if they remain beneath the surface, what are known as »sun spangles« appear (Ger. *Sonnen Flinten*), discoidal fissures that make the light reflect differently (ROSS 1998: 4, 16–17; GRIMALDI 1996: 13, 133). When amber found at archaeological sites has a fissured surface, there is a great probability that at some point it had been heated.¹²

Using a method of placing amber in oil and gradually heating it, the air bubbles become filled with oil, which has a similar refractive index as amber, so that the sunlight can pass without interference through the material. In this manner a transparency is achieved (without cracks), meaning the free passage of light through the amber. The most suitable oil is rapeseed oil, because of the color similar to amber – pale yellow. Depending on the oil used or further additives, the color of amber can also be changed. To give amber a luxurious red or brown »antiqued« color, it is necessary to place the amber in an iron vessel filled with pure sand and slowly heat it for 30 to 40 hours (RICE 2006, 350). Pliny the Elder noted a process for clarifying amber by using fat (*HN XXXVI.12*), but other methods for clarifying or changing colors that were not specifically noted by ancient writers should not be excluded. In terms of the methodology, the gradual heating and gradual cooling is essential. In cases of inadequate speed, major damage occurs.

The use of amber in combination with resin was already known from as early as the first half of the second millennium BC, as is confirmed by a sun wheel from Eastern Prussia. The surface of the disc-shaped bead or pendant with a hole in the center is decorated with dots arranged in cross-like rays, which are filled with resin. This results in a variety in the refraction of the light that passes through the polished surface and the hollows filled with resin (SPEKKE 1957: Pl. 1, 1; RICE 2006: 30; LANGENHEIM 2003: 261–262). According to this find, the combination of amber with other, similar (natural) materials, such as resin, was not unusual. Clarification of the color of amber was

12 For more detail on the color, structure, and clarification of amber, see RICE 2006; ROSS 1998; GRIMALDI 1996.

known in antiquity (noted in the 1st century AD by Pliny the Elder), and sun spangles, which result from heating, are visible on certain beads from Hungary (SPRINCZ – BECK 1981: 475, Fig. 5; 482).

On the basis of the above, it is considered that the incisions on the egg-shaped bead from the fibula were not deliberately made, meaning that they were not intentionally incised symbols of letters, but rather represented the results of heating the bead to clarify (or change) the color.

A very interesting element of the grave goods, as composite parts of the necklace, consisted of five figurally formed amber beads. Three beads were in the shape of a female head (fig. 3, 4, 5), one depicted an entire human figure (fig. 6), and one had the appearance of a bird (fig. 7). The beads were manufactured in the style of the Greek Archaic, and were imported as a set from the Italic region.¹³ These five figures carved in amber could be the heroes of the story from Greek mythology about the young demi-god Phaethon and the origin of amber.

In Ovid's *Metamorphoses* a place was found for the story of Phaethon, who did not experience a transformation, but his sisters and friend did, as well as the entire Earth and some of the people on it (I.746–II.405). Virgil wrote the famous *Aeneid*, in which the fate is mentioned of Cycnus, Phaethon's friend (X.185–193). Euripides' *Phaethon* is partially preserved, and the story is also mentioned in *Hippolytus*. Many other writers also mention the story, or merely the figures from it, as well as the mythic river Eridanus. The condensed version of the tale is as follows: Phaethon (*brilliant*) was the son of the god of the sun Helios and the Oceanid Clymene. He grew up in Ethiopia, at the court of his stepfather King Merops and his mother Clymene. When he had reached the age for marriage, his father Merops found a bride for him and tried to force him into marriage, which Phaethon resisted. To save him from the agreed marriage, his mother Clymene revealed to her son that King Merops was not his father, rather his true father was Helios, the sun god. Seeking a confirmation of his paternity, Phaethon traveled to Helios, who acknowledged fatherhood, and as a confirmation of this fact allowed Phaethon to ask what he will of him. Phaethon chose the right to drive the golden chariot of the sun for one day across the vault of the heavens. After lengthy reluctance, Helios gave him permission. Despite warnings to strongly rein in the horses and to hold to a middle course, Phaethon let loose the reins and the steeds flew outside their usual course. The fiery chariot at times approached the heavens and burnt the stars, and at times descended and scorched the earth. All the springs on high mountains dried up, the rivers burnt, the sea shrunk, and cracks appeared in the earth through which light extended all the way to the Tartars. While the solar chariot flew over Africa, its inhabitants became black, Libya was turned into an endless desert, and the source of the Nile hid itself. Phaethon did not know how to restrain the horses or how to drive them. In the heights of heaven he frightened the animals of the Zodiac (Taurus, Leo, Scorpio, Cancer), and the view of the earth, which was in flames, made him dizzy. He regretted finding out about his father and wished to return to his stepfather Merops. To save the earth from the flames, Zeus struck Phaethon with a lightning bolt, and he flew like a shooting star across the sky, while the flames burnt his red hair, and plunged into the Eridanus River. The Eridanus was located in the opposite part of the Earth from his homeland of Ethiopia. His smoke-stained body was found on the banks of the Eridanus and buried by the Hesperian nymphs. His grave was sought and found by his mother Clymene, who grieved lengthily over it. His sisters the Heliades – Phaetusa, Lampetia, and Phoebe (all three names having relation to light) – grieved and wept for so long that they slowly began to be transformed into trees (poplar or alder). Tears ran from the bark of the trees, which in the water were slowly changed into amber. Hearing of the tragedy, King Cygnus (Greek *Kyknos* –

13 DRECHSLER 1961: 93; ČOVIĆ 1976: 162; PALA-VESTRA 1993: 26; BALEN-LETUNIĆ 2004, 238.

swan) left his land of Liguria and stood on the banks of the Eridanus to mourn for his friend. The god Apollo took pity on his grief, and transformed him into a swan that sung magnificently, and lived on cold lakes and rivers. Cygnus lived to a ripe old age as a swan and still singing flew into the heavens to become a constellation.

Phaethon died so that life would not die on earth. The Hesperian nymphs placed an inscription over his grave mound that read: »*He fell, but doing a great, brave thing*«. ¹⁴

The entire story about the creation of amber originated as a result of the first trade contacts of the ancient world with this odd and valuable fossilized resin. Merchants transported various raw material and goods from the north to the south and vice-versa, describing the countries they passed through, and speaking of the customs and habits of people from distant places. They also brought back various stories about where amber came from and the appearance of the lands in which amber was found.

It follows from the story that amber, with the aid of the gods, was created from hardened female tears, as a sign of great sorrow and sadness. As the Heliades were the daughters of the sun god Helios, and their tears were transformed into amber, amber contained the light and warmth of the sun. The Germans considered that amber was a materialized ray of sun that had touched the surface of water (DOMIĆ-KUNIĆ 2005: 220). Amber was a symbol of the sun in Baltic Europe, as well as among the Greeks and Romans (SPEKKE 1957: 395). Could the three heads of the women from grave 47 be depictions of the Heliades, the sorrowful sisters, whose tears were turned into amber?

Phaethon had red hair, he was young, according to some estimations around 14 years old, the age when young men passed from adolescence into maturity, into adult society. His youth excuses his audacity in driving the chariot of the sun (RECKFORD 1972: 409). He fell into the Eridanus River and was buried by it. The location of this mythic river has been the subject of many discussions, extending from antiquity to the present.

In the *Argonautica*, Apollonius described the Eridanus as a river at the end of the world, at the gates of night, and divided it into three branches – one flowing into the Ocean, the other into the Ionian Sea, and the third into the Adriatic Sea. Aeschylus identified it as the Rhone, and Herodotus, like other writers, stated that it was in the north, but did not believe in its existence, while later writers considered it to be the Po River. ¹⁵ Lucian also thought this, noting that the river was known for the associates of Apollo, swans that sing. However, there were indeed swans on that river, but they »*have a very unmelodious and feeble croak*«, which certainly cannot be called singing (Lucian. *Electr.* 4–5; trans. BRICKO 2002: 80). Strabo noted (V.1.9): »*But I must disregard most of the mythical or false stories, as, for example, the stories of Phaethon, and of the Heliades that were changed into poplar-trees near (the Eridanus that exists nowhere on earth, although it is spoken of as near the Padus), and of the Electrides Islands that lie off the Padus, and of the guinea-fowls (swans) on them; for not one of these things is in that region, either*« (KATIČIĆ 1995: 195).

The mythic river Eridanus is firmly connected with amber and swans, specifically those that sing. Cygnus (Greek *Kyknos*), the Ligurnian king, who was turned into a swan because of his grief for his lost friend, sang wonderfully. The gift of singing was granted to him by the god Apollo (KRAPPE 1942: 353).

14 AHL 1982; DIGGLE 1967; KRAPPE 1942, MASTROCINQUE 1991: 11–55; Ov. *Met.* I.746–II.405.

15 AHL 1982: 399. The mythical Eridanus River is most often identified as the Po River in northern Italy. This

article, however, is not the place for a discussion of the exact location of this river, nor of new geological interpretations about the existence of such a river at the site of the present-day Baltic Sea.

Liguria is the land above the Bay of Genoa (Ligurian Sea), and Pliny recorded that the Po River emerged from the depths of Mount Vesula, in the territory of the Ligurian Vagieni, and that the Greeks gave it the name Eridanos. The death of Phaethon made it famous. The mouth of the Po River had previously been called Eridanian (*HN* III.117, 120.) According to this it can be concluded that Cygnus, or the swan, was important for the Eridanus River, from which amber came. Furthermore, Theophrastus called amber *lyngurion*, a name reminiscent of the people called the Ligurians.¹⁶

In the partially preserved book *On the Hyperboreans* by Hecataeus of Abdera it is noted that swans lived in a certain island far to the north – Helioxoia, in the land of a people who worshipped Apollo in a circular temple. The god came to this island at regular intervals, giving the signal for choral singing to begin at the spring equinox, when wild swans descended from the Rhipaeon Mountains, joining their song harmoniously with human voices (KRAPPE 1942: 356). Apollo spent the winter months on the island of Delos, at the oracle, and in summer he would fly in his swan-drawn chariot to the far north, to the Hyperboreans. The Hyperboreans were a mythical happy and immortal people, completely different from others, who dwelled in the lands »beyond the Boreas«, the north wind. They leave at the boundary between land and sky, life, and death. Herodotus wrote of the legend of how the Hyperboreans sent gifts wrapped in straw that were passed from hand to hand and from people to people until they reached the coast of the Adriatic. The gifts then travel further, to the priests of Apollo on the island of Delos (MILIĆEVIĆ-BRADAČ 2004: 457–460). Some consider that the carefully wrapped presents were amber, and that the route taken by the swans from the Hyperboreans to Delos marked the Amber Route.¹⁷ In Euripides' *Phaethon* the birds of Apollo – swans – are described as singing the morning hymn on the waves of the Ocean that encircles the Earth, i.e. at the end of the world.

Hence, in some works by ancient writers it was noted that swans sing beautifully, and in some that they »croak unmelodiously and feebly«. In fact, these are two separate species of swans.

The swan is the largest bird among all migrating birds, and belongs to the Anatidae family, like ducks and geese. Their habitats are in the cold northern parts of Europe – Island, eastern Lapland, and northern Russia, or along the coasts of the North, Baltic, and Frozen Seas. In winter they migrate to the south, to the warmer areas of northern Africa, with brief stops in the British Isles or in central Europe, Italy, and Greece. In Croatia, like in Greece and Italy, the most common type is the red-beaked swan *Cygnus olor*, also known as the mute swan. This is a pure white bird, adults weighing 8–12 kg, with a body length of around 150 cm and a wingspread of more than 210 cm. While swimming, it holds its neck high in the shape of the letter S with its beak turned downwards, and its wings are often raised in the shape of a shield. The beak is orange-red with a black knob. It is characteristic that a male will spend its entire life with a single female.

The yellow-beaked or whooper swan *Cygnus cygnus* (also singing swan) is rarely seen in the eastern Adriatic, but can sometimes be spotted in the British Isles. It is less aggressive than the red-beaked species and swims with its head raised but never with raised wings. It is characterized by a yellow beak without a knob, and is massive and large, the body length measuring 155 cm and wingspan 215 cm. When it is resting on water, it often produces the characteristic melancholy sound that we call singing (LONČARIĆ 2006: 40–41). When it is dying, it also produces a sound similar to song, and the phrase »swan song« (for a final activity or performance) comes from this.

16 MASTROCINQUE 1991: 25. Pliny the Elder, citing Theophrastus, mentioned the word *lyncurium*, rejecting the interpretation that amber was created from the urine of wild lynxes (PALAVESTRA – KRSTIĆ: 2006, 20; DUF-FIN 2008:11–13, 28).

17 DOMIĆ-KUNIĆ 2004: 220–221; BONFANTE 1985: 317–318. Bonfante considered that Herodotus thought the Hyperboreans lived in the region of the Illyrians (?).

Swans symbolically mark the cycle of the year because of their migration from the north to the south in an exactly determined season. When spring begins in the Mediterranean, the swans fly north and do not return before the autumn, when everything in nature begins to die off. Their life is the opposite of the life of people in the Mediterranean (AHL 1982: 377).

In the Mediterranean the red-beaked swan (*Cygnus olor*, mute swan) with an S-shaped neck is more common than the rarely seen yellow-beaked singing swan with the straight neck. But legends, as well as various sayings, have taken root concerning the rarely seen yellow-beaked swans (*Cygnus cygnus*, whooper swans), such as the phrase »swan song«. Their singing was first described by Aeschylus in *Agamemnon* (1444), and Plato in *Phaedon* wrote that swans sing most beautifully just before their death (84e–85a). In the 3rd century BC, the phrase »swan song« had already become established, and Oppian of Apamea wrote (*Cyng.* 2540–50) that the swan was a wonderful singer and that it could foresee its own death (ARNOTT 1977: 149; AHL 1982: 373). Pausanias noted that the swan was a bird noted for its musical talents: *It is said that Kyknos (swan) was a musically gifted king of the Ligurians, who live across the Eridanus on the far side of the Celtic lands. When he died, it was said that Apollo turned him into a bird* (Paus. I.30). Lucian came across red-beaked swans on the Po, who do not sing, and this confused him. The inhabitants had never seen yellow-beaked swans nor heard the song of a swan. Apollo and Cygnus are connected by singing swans, amber, and the coast of the North Sea.¹⁸

Various depictions of birds were very frequent in central Europe in the Bronze and Iron Ages, which are interpreted as magical, mythological, or cult objects. This primarily refers to birds in general, or marsh birds, aquatic birds, and bird protomes, most often of ducks. Motifs of birds most often can be found together with a circle as a symbol of the sun, part of the composition of a »sun vessel«. Such a motif was particularly widespread in the Urnfield Culture area during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age (STIPČEVIĆ 1981: 23–29; RAUNIG 2004: 79; KUKOČ 2003: 243–246). In northeastern Europe, aquatic birds are often depicted as a circle, or their heads are circular (GIMBUTAS 1956: 189). Ducks and geese also belong to the Anatidae family, all migratory birds known in the Balkan peninsula as domestic animals at the earliest around 1000–900 BC (VASIĆ, V. – R. VASIĆ 2000: 137). According to some scholars, the depiction of marsh birds in princely graves can be interpreted as the bearers of the special status of the deceased to the other world (PALAVESTRA – KRSTIĆ 2006: 181). The swan is not often depicted, but it can be found at Mojsinje in Serbia, in the form of a bronze figurine with an S-shaped neck dated to the 6th century BC (VASIĆ, V. – R. VASIĆ 2000: 137). An amber swan is known from Falconara (Ancona), on a bead known as Aphrodite and Adonis. The bead is carved to depict a reclining man and woman. The man is holding a small vase with oil in his right hand. A child is at the feet of the woman, and on her shoulders rests a bird with a long neck, a swan, with a twisted neck, a symbol of regeneration. As pairs of swans remain faithful to one another throughout their lives, the swan can also symbolize faithfulness and loyalty. A fragment of a bronze pin indicates that the bead had been a part of a fibula. The bead is dated to the 6th century BC (NEGRONI-CATACCHIO 1993: T. X, 1; GRIMALDI 1996: 153). A fragment of an amber bead with a depiction of a swan was also found at Atenica, as a part of the grave fittings from the central grave of tumulus I (PALAVESTRA – KRSTIĆ 2006: 181, 323, kat. 499).

Figurally carved amber is a relatively common find in Italy, which can be divided in terms of finds into three regions: the Etruria – Latin – Picenum area, the central Adriatic area, and southern Italy. The south of Italy has provided the greatest number of finds of beads in the shape of female heads, particularly the Puglia and Basilicata regions (NEGRONI-CATACCHIO 1993: 191).

18 KRAPPE 1942: 358. The connection of the swan to beautiful music is also proven by the lyres of the Minoan-Mycenean Culture, formed in such a manner that the

strings stretch between two arms in the shape of a long neck with the head of a swan (VORREITER 1975: 93–97).

Amber beads in the shape of female heads are usually related to the female world, and are most often found as female grave goods. The deposition of such pendants at holy sites – such as the temple of the goddess Mefite in the Ansanto valley (Campania) – shows their religious purpose. It is considered that this face depicts the face of the goddess whose role is to protect the world of women. Unfortunately, neither the context nor the grave units are known for numerous finds of such beads, and the formation and expression of the face is tied to the vision of the craftsman and not to the figure of a given woman or goddess (LOSI – RAPOSSO – RUGGIERO 1993: 203). The head of a woman in right profile from grave 47 is almost identical to a head found at Alleria on Corsica, dated to the end of the 6th century BC, and they are considered to have come from the same workshop (PALAVESTRA 1993: 257). Corsica, of course, is in the Ligurian Sea, the homeland of King Cygnus.

The bead in the form of a human figure from grave 47 has been considered to represent a woman (PALAVESTRA – KRSTIĆ 2006: 129; BALEN-LETUNIĆ 2006: 56). However, here it is suggested that this is in fact a boy, a depiction of the young Phaethon, whose neck was broken when he fell into the Eridanus, and hence his head is bent forwards. There are valid reasons for such a conjecture. The sharper lines of the face indicate that this is a male individual, a young man. Additionally, the hairstyle of this figure is very interesting. On a large number of the female heads found throughout the Italic peninsula, the women mostly have hair combed back from the forehead to the back of the head, where it was usually coiled into a bun. Sometimes their hair falls to the side of the face in long ringlets, and very frequently the hair is held in place with a band or ribbon, as can easily be noted on all three amber female heads from grave 47 (LOSI – RAPOSSO – RUGGIERO 1993: 203–211). On numerous sculpture, men have short cut, mostly curly hair, just as on the figure of the »woman« in the above grave. Hence it seems convincing that this is in fact a depiction of a boy, and certainly not a woman. The only connection with female attributes can be found in the romantic attachment of Phaethon to the Ligurnian King Cygnus, as the cause of his flight from the imposed marriage prepared for him in his royal home. According to some authors, Phaethon and Kyknos would be typical figures in a homosexual relationship according to the Greek model, where one partner would be older and dominant (Kyknos), and the other younger and subordinate (WILLIAMS 1999: 116, 118).

Phaethon's driving of the chariot of the sun, his fall and his death caused many changes on the earth. This is also marked in legend as the starting point for the creation of amber. The Heliades created amber in their grief, and Cygnus was transformed into a swan, this bird being a symbol of the river down which amber flowed, in fact a symbol of the North and Baltic Seas, the habitat of swans and the main source of amber. The cited singing would indicate a connection with Apollo, whose legends are considered to reflect the existence of an amber route from the north to the south. It is suggested that all five figurally formed beads depicted individuals from these mythological tales, and granted a special protection to their owners or bearers in terms of powers of transformation and regeneration, also enabling effective access to the brilliance of the stars. Both Phaethon¹⁹ and Cygnus were transformed into constellations, as was the Eridanus River, meaning they were recorded in eternity (MASTROCINQUE 1991: 16–22). Given such a mythological narrative, as given life by the amber necklace, the elevated status of the individual who wore it is more than evident.

After analysis of the amber carvings and consideration of the data from the mythological legends and historical sources, a possible reconstruction of the necklace has been presented (fig. 12), which encompasses all the finds from grave 47 (except for the fibulae). Hopefully, this will represent the final word on this subject, although the possibility of minor changes in the arrange-

19 The constellation of the Auriga.

ment of the above beads cannot be excluded, as the choice of various possibilities always exists. Nonetheless, it is conjectured that the composite necklace originally looked like this, and in this manner it has supplemented the reconstruction of the contents of grave 47 and explicated the mythological and other relevant data about the amber objects from this valuable grave that had not been fully available to date. In addition to the necklace, the grave goods further consisted of three fibulae with amber beads.²⁰

1. Spacer bead (fig. 1)

Ht. 4.4 cm; w. 2–2.5 cm; th. 1.3 cm; inv. no. 15444.

A trapezoidal bead pierced near the narrow tip and lengthwise through the middle.

2. Spacer bead (fig. 2)

Ht. 3.6 cm; w. 2.7–2.9 cm; th. 0.9 cm; inv. no. 15437.

A trapezoidal bead pierced near the narrow tip (broken) and lengthwise through the middle. The longer left side ends irregularly, given the impression the bead is unfinished.

3. Bead – a female head (fig. 3)

Ht. 3.2 cm; w. 2.3 cm; th. 0.6 cm; inv. no. 15439.

An amber bead in the shape of a female head in profile. The nose is straight, and the mouth is faintly outlined. The eye is barely visible. A wide ribbon formed of incised lines extends across the forehead towards the back of the head. On the face near the ear is a regular circular hollow. On the crown of the head is a damaged suspension loop. The back of the bead is smoothed.

4. Bead – a female head (fig. 4)

Ht. 4 cm; w. 2.3 cm; th. 1 cm; inv. no. 15440.

An amber bead in the shape of a female head. The large almond-shaped eyes emphasized by two deepened lines stand out, while the nose and mouth are small. Above the forehead is a relief ribbon decorated with oblique incised lines. On the crown of the head is a damaged suspension loop. The back of the bead is smoothed with two circular depressions.

5. Bead – a female head (fig. 5)

Ht. 3.3 cm; w. 2 cm; th. 0.5 cm; inv. no. 15441.

An amber bead in the shape of a female head in profile. A wide ribbon formed of oblique lines descends across the forehead towards the back of the head. The eye is formed from two incised lines, the nose is straight, and the mouth is somewhat accentuated. On the crown of the head are two connected holes for suspension. The back of the bead is smoothed.

6. Bead – a human figure (fig. 6)

Ht. 5.7 cm; w. 1.2–2.3 cm; th. 0.3–1.2 cm; inv. no. 15438.

An amber plaque in low relief in the form of a human figure. The right side is damaged. It is pierced near the top horizontally and through the middle. The head is depicted bent, with an emphasized nose, thick lips, and a large eye. The short hair frames the forehead in a semicircle. The left arm from the elbow to the hand protrudes from the cloak and is horizontally placed beneath the face. The hand with its fingers is clearly visible. The right arm hangs vertically towards the knee (the top of the arm damaged). The fingers on the hand are barely visible. The cloak is depicted with incised parallel oblique lines, placed at knee height in the opposite direction to depict folds, and again near the

²⁰ The photographs are by Igor Krajcar, and the drawings by Miljenka Galić, for which I gratefully thank them.

bottom changing direction to depict the edge of the cloak. Below the cloak edge are the bare ankles and feet shown in profile. The back of the plaque is smoothed.

7. Bead – a swan (fig. 7)

Ht. 3 cm; w. 3.7 cm; th. 0.9 cm; inv. no. 15436.

An amber bead in the shape of a bird (swan). It is pierced in the middle of the left side and along the edge of the left side from top to bottom. One small hole is located below the beak. The head of the bird with the beak is located laterally in the upper left corner, and the long neck is accentuated with an incised line. The line of the wings was placed at an angle from the lower left corner to near the end of the upper right corner. The feathers of the wings and tail are accentuated on the right side by incised parallel lines. The back of the bead is smoothed.

8. Bead (fig. 8a, 8b)

Ht. 5 cm; w. 6.8 cm; th. 2 cm; inv. no 15435.

A horizontally pierced oval amber bead. Remains of bronze wire from a fibula are located in the opening. The surface of the bead is furrowed on both sides with irregular incisions.

9. Beads composing a necklace (fig. 9)

Inv. no. 15444.

A string of 112 beads, pierced in the middle. Most are circular, with one teardrop bead and one smaller square spacer-bead.

10. Fibula with a pendant (fig. 10)

Bronze, amber; fibula: l. 8.2 cm; ht. 3.3 cm; plaque: l. 6.6 cm; ht. 4 cm; inv. no. 15443.

A bow fibula with three loops, each with three coils. The foot is bent in a semicircle. There are six circular amber beads strung on the bow. A pectoral ornament with pendants hangs from the pin of the fibula. The ornament consists of a trapezoidal plaque whose upper parts end in elongated curved extensions, perforated at the ends, in the form of the neck and head of a snake. The plaque itself is decorated in the center with a wavy line with small incised lines along the edges. In the center of the upper side is a large ring for suspension, and several holes were pierced on the lower side, with chains hung from them. A spirally coiled wire hangs from the ends of the chains, and suspended from the wire are nine trapezoidal platelets decorated with concentric circles or short incised lines along the edges.

11. Fibula with a pendant (fig. 11)

Bronze, amber; fibula: l. 7.8 cm; ht. 3.2 cm; first decorative plaque: l. 7.2 cm; ht. 5.4 cm; second decorative plaque: l. 4.7 cm; ht. 2.3 cm; diameter of the bullae 4.6 cm; inv. no. 15442.

A bow fibula with three loops, each with three coils. The foot is bent in a semicircle. There are five circular amber beads strung on the bow. A pectoral ornament with pendants hangs from the pin of the fibula. The ornament consists of a large openwork plaque decorated with a wavy line. On the upper left side is an extension with a depiction of a human head. The eyes and mouth were formed with stab marks, and the nose as a relief line. Traces of an extension are visible on the other side of the plaque. Traces of a ring for suspension are visible in the center of the upper side. The original loop was replaced by a circlet pulled through the openwork. The lower side has nine extensions, each with a hole in the middle. A small undecorated plaque with a spiral coil hangs from them, and two bullae were riveted to its lower side.

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