

PEKTORALNI NAKIT KOD LIBURNA: ODRAZI MITA O SUNČEVU PUTOVANJU U LIBURNSKOJ KULTURI

PECTORAL JEWELRY AND THE LIBURNIANS: REFLECTIONS OF THE MYTH ABOUT THE SUN'S JOURNEY IN THE LIBURNIAN CULTURE

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KLJUČNE RIJEČI:

Liburni, Piceni, pektoralni, „ptičja lađa“, mit, Sunčevo putovanje, križ u krugul/disku, četiri točke, solarno, kozmičko, slika svijeta (Weltbild), nazor o svijetu

U radu se ikonografsko-semantički analiziraju dva velika brončana pektoralna kod Liburna, iz Nina i Zatona – grob 6, simbolički utemeljena na mitu o Sunčevu putovanju i to kompozicijom dviju „ptičjih lađa“, dnevne i noćne/podzemne, i ikonografijom urezanih prizora, ponajprije „pričom“ na Sunčevu disku (Nin), u stilu „apstraktne naracije“. Mitska priča teče kroz tri vodoravne sfere svijeta: nebo – zemlja – podzemlje (?). Bit mita je ocrtan u gornjoj sferi složenim simbolom „križa u krugul/disku s četiri točke“ (Nin). Simbol govori da je svijet križno Suncem uređena cjelina u znaku broja četiri, podijeljena na četiri vremensko-prostorna dijela: s četvornim ritmom vremena i s rasprostiranjem u četiri pravca/odsječka. Kako je „križ u krugu s četiri točke“ središnji kôd religijske solarnosti tijekom (kasnog) brončanog i ranog željeznog doba, on se komparativno analizira u zajednicama od europskog Sjevera do Juga. Pektoralni iz Nina i Zatona u ovom radu određeni su kao picenski kulturni element, no snažno integriran u liburnsku kulturu s obzirom na to da su se i Liburni i Piceni dugotrajno koristili solarnim znakovima i simbolima u oblikovanju „ženskog“ i „muškog“ (posmrtnog) odijela.

KEY WORDS:

Liburnians, Picenians, pectorals, “bird boat”, myth, Sun’s journey, cross in a circle/disk, four dots, solar, cosmic, image of the world (Weltbild), worldview

This work offers an iconographical-semantical analysis of two large bronze pectorals in the Liburnian culture, from Nin and Zaton (grave 6), symbolically based on the myth of the Sun’s journey through a composition of two “bird boats”, daily and nightly/underground, and iconography of incised scenes, and particularly through a “story” on the disk of the Sun (Nin), in style of “abstract narration”. Mythical story develops through three vertically hierarchized horizontal spheres of the World: heaven-earth-underworld (?). The essence of the myth is depicted in the upper sphere with a complex symbol of “cross in a circle/disk with four dots” (Nin). The symbol denotes that the world is a whole arranged in a cross-shaped manner by the Sun in sign of the number four, divided into four chronological and spatial segments: with fourfold rhythm of time and

distribution in four directions/sections. Since “cross in a circle with four dots” is the central code of the solar cult in terms of religion during the (Late) Bronze and Early Iron Age, it is analyzed comparatively, in the communities from the European North to the South. In this work pectorals from Nin and Zaton were defined as the Picenian cultural elements but strongly integrated in the Liburnian culture since the Liburnians and Picenians used solar signs and symbols for a long time in shaping “female” and “male” (funerary) attire.

Sustavi simbola jadranskih i drugih, posebno agrafskih kultura iz 1. tis. pr. Kr. su izgubljeni. Moguće je analizirati samo fragmente tih sustava. U Liburna, osobito od 9. do 7./6. st. pr. Kr., najizrazitiji su ikonični solarni simboli.¹ Oni su početkom željeznog doba reprezentativni i za fragmente simboličnih sustava jadranskih zajednica, od histarske do apulskih, i drugih po apeninskim prostorima i na europskom kontinentu. Stoga su solarni simboli bitni u stvaranju tadašnje slike svijeta (*Weltbild*), tj. u razumijevanju svega postojećeg, u sintetiziranju sveukupnog objektivnog znanja; no, oni su morali biti upleteni i u samom pred-filozofskom i pred-kozmijskom² poimanju svijeta/života.³ Osebnost je bila njihova „upotreba“ u konkretnoj sredini:⁴ ipak, gotovo svi temeljni solarni simboli tijekom prvih stoljeća željeznog doba bili su svojevrstni nastavak duhovnosti (kasnog)brončanog doba, njegovih znakova i simbola.

Predodžbe svijeta, kao pojedinačne i posebne sinteze koje upućuju na kozmos – pojam uređene cjeline, u konkretnom pra/povijesnom vremenu i prostoru, s očitom ulogom solarnosti, sigurno su se mijenjale tijekom 3.

Systems of symbols of the Adriatic and other, particularly agraphic cultures from the first millennium BC have been lost. We can only analyze fragments of these systems. Iconical solar symbols are most distinct in the Liburnian community particularly from the 9th to 7th/6th centuries.¹ At the beginning of the Iron Age they were representative of the fragments of symbolical systems of the Adriatic communities, from Histrian to Apulian, and others in the Apennine regions, and on the European continent. Therefore solar symbols were important in creating the image of the world (*Weltbild*) at the time, i.e. in understanding everything there was, in synthesizing entire objective knowledge; but they also had to be a part of (pre-philosophic, pre-cosmologic)² view of world/life.³ Their “use” in a certain environment was specific:⁴ however almost all basic symbols during the first centuries of the Iron Age were a kind of continuation of spirituality of the (Late) Bronze Age, its signs and symbols. Conception of the world, as separate and special syntheses which lead and point to cosmos – as a notion of arranged whole, in specific pre/historic period and space, with evident role of the solar cult, definitely changed during the period from the 3rd to 1st millennia BC, as

¹ Sva vremenska određenja u ovom radu temelje se na tradicionalnoj apsolutnoj kronološkoj shemi željeznog doba.

² Pojam svijeta u svojoj univerzalnosti, ontologijski je pojam, predmet je filozofijskog promišljanja i kao takav on se opire definiciji. Promišljanju o njemu nužno prethodi kozmologijska diferencijacija, koju pak obuhvaća filozofijska kozmologija (E. FINK, 1998, 169, 187).

³ Jer „iako nijedno pojedinačno nije bitkovno nužno“ (E. FINK, 1998, 168), oduvijek su postajala promišljanja Svijeta/Cjeline. Jer „Svijet nikad ne bi mogao ne biti“ (E. FINK, 1989, 169). „Svijet je nužnost prostora unutar kojega pojedinačno biće faktično dolazi u postojanje, nastaje i nestaje – unutar kojega zbiljnost i mogućnost jedino imaju smisla... Svijet svakom biću daje tek prostor i svakome biću tek pušta vrijeme. *Davanje prostora i puštanje vremena je bit svijeta...*“ Svijet je „iskonski prostor i iskonsko vrijeme... Tim dvostrukim davanjem podaruje svijet biću njegov bitak. Bitak je dar svijeta“. E. FINK, 1989, 169.

⁴ Uža pak odredba pojma svijeta podrazumijeva da je pojedinačna kultura, kao neponovljiv entitet, oblikovala vlastitu i osebnost njegovu predodžbu i poimanje (*Weltanschauung*) i da stoga postoje pojedinačna, po mnogo čemu posebna poimanja svijeta, često ipak srodna u svojim različitostima u konkretnom pra-povijesnom trenutku.

¹ All chronological frameworks in this paper are based on traditional absolute chronological scheme of the Iron Age.

² Notion of the world in its universality, is an ontological notion and subject of philosophical considerations; as such it defies definition. Its consideration is necessarily preceded by cosmological differentiation which is encompassed by philosophical cosmology (E. FINK, 1998, 169, 187).

³ Because “although none/nothing individual is essentially necessary” (E. FINK, 1998, 168), there has always been pondering on the world/Whole. Because “World never could not be” (E. FINK, 1989, 169). “World is necessity of space in which an individual being factually begins to exist, it is created and it ceases to exist – in which reality and possibility only have sense... The world only gives space to every being and only lets time for every being. *Giving space and letting time is essence of the world...*” The world is “primeval space and primeval time...With this double giving the world gives its being to the individual being. Being is the gift of the world.” E. FINK, 1989, 169.

⁴ Stricter definition of the notion of the world implies that a certain culture, as a unique entity, formed its own peculiar world view (*Weltanschauung*) which is why there are individual, in many ways special images of the world, often similar despite all their differences in specific (pre)historic moment.

– 1. tis. pr. Kr., kao i ustroj same solarnosti. Nepoznat je intenzitet i sadržaj tih promjena, osobito shvaćanja solarnosti u vrijeme „prijelaza“ brončanog u željezno doba, prije prvog procvata kultura u 1. tis. pr. Kr. i njihovih kvalitativnih promjena. Nadalje je prisutan problem nastanka ikonografski izražajne kontinentalne, podunavsko-karpatске „ptičje simbolike“ kasnoga brončanog doba, stanovito doraden egejskim, mikenskim likovno-simboličnim obrascima.⁵ Nepoznat je, dakle, dublji odnos između solarne simbolike starijih razdoblja i one kasnije „ptičje“, tj. ikonografsko-simbolične sintakse tipa *urnenfelder* po europskim prostorima. Koliko se razlikuje „ptičja“ („progresivna“) solarnost, koja je ikonografski ipak najdefiniraniji sklop cijeloga brončanog doba, od starije solarne simbolike i cjeline religije, katkad nazvane „astralnom“ („konzervativnom“), u kojoj se obožavanje Sunca likovno izražavalo uglavnom jednostavnim sunčevim, zvjezdanim i zrakastim motivima?⁶ Odstupa disk iz Nebre iz starijega nordijskog brončanog doba,⁷ koji (ponovno) i potiče ovo pitanje.

Suditi o sveukupnim europskim solarnim slikovno-religijskim sintaksama i njihovim funkcijama u određenoj zajednici nedostavno je bez vučedolske eneolitičke kulture i njezina iznimnog repertoara elementarne solarnosti: znakova, simbola i simboličnih sklopova. Oni su čak bili popraćeni snažnim umjetničkim efektom, „baroknim“ kontrastom svjetlo-sjena, proizišlim iz tehnike crtanja na keramičkoj površini. Možda je *chiaro-scuro* vučedolske keramike intuitivna posljedica zaokupljenosti Vučedola upravo Sunčevom naravi, koja je u iskonu ambivalentna: svijetla-tamna, dnevna-noćna? U svakom slučaju, keramika vučedolskog svijeta pokazuje koliko je tadašnja likovna izražajnost mogla biti poticana i inspirirana slikom Neba i poima-

well as the structure of the solar cult. Intensity and content of these changes are unknown, particularly understanding of the solar cult during the “transition” from the Bronze to the Iron Age prior to the first flourishing of the cultures from the 1st millennium BC and their qualitative changes. There is still problem of creation of iconographically pronounced continental, Danubian-Carpathian “bird symbolics” of the Late Bronze Age, enriched with the Aegean, Mycenaean visual and symbolical patterns.⁵ Deeper relations between the solar symbolics of the earlier and later periods are unknown – “bird symbolics” i.e. iconographic-symbolical syntax of the Urnfield type in the European regions. What is the difference between the “bird” (“progressive”) solar cult (which is in iconographic terms best defined assemblage in the entire Bronze Age) and the earlier solar symbolics including also the entirety of religion, sometimes called “astral” (“conservative”) in which adoration of the sun was visually expressed mostly with simple motifs of sun, stars and radial motifs?⁶ Disk from Nebra from the earlier Nordic Bronze Age⁷ exhibits certain deviations re-evoking this question.

Analysis of complete European solar pictorial-religious syntaxes and their functions in a certain community would be incomplete without the Eneolithic Vučedol culture and its exceptional repertory of elementary solar cult: signs, symbols and symbolic assemblages. They were even accompanied with a strong artistic effect of “baroque” contrast between light and dark resulting from the technique of drawing on the ceramic surface. Perhaps *chiaroscuro* on the Vučedol pottery was an intuitive consequence of preoccupation of Vučedol with the nature of the Sun which is originally ambivalent: light-dark, daily-nightly?

Anyhow pottery of the Vučedol world indicates the extent to which visual expressivity of the time could have been inspired by image of

⁵ Ch. PARE, 1989, 85.

⁶ A. JOCKENHÖVEL, 2003, 113, 114.

⁷ H. MELLER, 2006, 94; H. MELLER, 2006a, 21-31.

⁵ Ch. PARE, 1989, 85.

⁶ A. JOCKENHÖVEL, 2003, 113, 114.

⁷ H. MELLER, 2006, 94; H. MELLER, 2006a, 21-31.

njem ne samo fizičkog Kozmosa. U vučedolskim ikonografskim solarnim sintaksama (Sl. 18c-f) sabrani su, naime, mnogi od ključnih solarnih (religijskih) ideja, znakova, simbola (krug s točkom, inačice križa upisanog u krugu/rombu, pojam četverostruke podjele prostora, četverostrukosti općenito itd.), koji će u različitim zajednicama sve do željeznog doba i kasnije biti temeljni u dočaravanju Sunčeva lika i karaktera. Već u vučedolskoj kulturi postoji „solarni krajolik“. Sa svojim višestrukim funkcijama, religijskim i čisto praktičnim, utilitarnim, kao što je vrlo vjerojatno rani kalendar, on govori o ključnim Sunčevim pojavnostima na Nebu.⁸ Solarnost je ovdje, i tada općenito, značila egzistencijalno određenje zajednice u vremenu i prostoru.

Sudeći prema likovnim ostacima i ikoničnim simboličnim sklopovima, u kasno brončano doba dinamizirala se struktura solarnosti, sada jasno zasnovana na pokretu – promjenjivosti u vremenu i prostoru, nasuprot statičnosti likovnih kompozicija, vjerojatno i same predodžbe svijeta (?) iz starijih razdoblja brončanog doba. Taj dinamizam u likovnosti, tj. doradenost „ptičje“ likovno-religijske sintakse u stoljećima prijelaza iz 2. u 1. tis. pr. Kr., bio je postignut, uz uvođenje ikonografskih novina, starim i temeljnim eneolitičko/brončanodobnim znakovima/symbolima (krug/disk, križ/kotač) kod konkretizacije Sunčeva lika. To vrijedi i za ranu solarnu simboliku liburnske kulture u kojoj, uz lako uočljive „ptičje“ oblike tipa *urnenfelder*, postoje i stariji, elementarni solarni simboli kao što su: križ, krug, križ u krugu (kotač), svastika, spirala. Najstariji prikaz križa na prostoru sjeverne Dalmacije, izveden od bronce, potječe iz srednjega brončanog doba; stratificiran je arheološki nalaz iz gradinskog naselja Vrčevo kraj Zadra (Sl. 11a), datiran ¹⁴C metodom.⁹ Završeci njegovih krakova

the Sky and comprehension of not only physical Cosmos. In the Vučedol iconographic solar syntaxes (Fig. 18c-f) there are many crucial solar (religious) signs, symbols (circle with a dot, variants of a cross inscribed in a circle/rhomb, idea of fourfold division of space and fourfoldedness in general, etc.), which will be fundamental in depicting the figure and character of the Sun in various communities later on, until the Iron Age. “Solar landscape” was represented as early as the Vučedol culture. It speaks about crucial appearances of the Sun on the Sky with its multiple functions, religious and often practical, utilitarian, such as possible early calendar.⁸ In this case and generally in that period, the solar cult represented existential identification of the community in time and space.

Judging from the visual remains and iconical symbolical assemblages, structure of the solar cult was dynamized in the Late Bronze Age, now clearly founded on the movement – changeability in time and space, as opposed to static quality of visual compositions probably including also the concept of the world (?) from the earlier periods of the Bronze Age. This dynamism in visual representation i.e. high level of development of the “bird” visual-religious syntax in the transitional centuries 2nd/1st BC was achieved with old and fundamental Eneolithic/Bronze Age signs/symbols (circle/disk, cross/wheel) in concretization of the figure of the Sun alongside introducing iconographic novelties. This can also be said about the early solar symbolics of the Liburnian culture in which we found earlier, elementary solar symbols such as cross, circle, cross in a circle (wheel), swastika, and spiral in addition to easily recognizable “bird” forms of the Urnfield type. The earliest representation of the cross in the region of northern Dalmatia, made of bronze, can be dated to the Middle Bronze Age; it is a stratified archaeological find from the hillfort settlement Vrčevo near Zadar (Fig. 11a) with a radiocarbon date.⁹ Terminals of its arms

⁸ A. DURMAN, 2000, 48-89, 54-57, 76, 92.

⁹ M. ČELHAR, 2013, 235, sl. 6. Na ovim podacima zahvalju-

⁸ A. DURMAN, 2000, 48-89, 54-57, 76, 92.

⁹ M. ČELHAR, 2013, 235, fig. 6. I would like to thank dr. sc.

blago su konveksni. Time formalno odgovara znaku/simbolu križa upisanog u krugu, ali i križu sličnog oblika, no bez kruga, oblikovanog u metalu (Pitten: Sl. 11d)¹⁰ i na keramici u različitim kulturama brončanog i željeznog doba Europe; npr., u rano brončano doba sjeverne Italije¹¹ (Sl. 11b); u apeninskoj kulturi¹² (Sl. 11c).

Ovdje se analiziraju simboli koji su u Liburna okupljeni u konkretnoj mitskoj priči. Ona je osebniji likovni i semantički aspekt univerzalne mitske strukture o Sunčevu putovanju. U više svojih ikonografskih i simboličnih inačica ovaj mit o Sunčevu ciklusu, dugotrajno proširen od starog Egipta i Istoka do europskog Sjevera, osobito cijenjen kroz cijelo brončano doba Europe, likovno, dakle, dobro uhvatljiv u „ptičjim“ likovnim sintaksama, varira vječno prisutnu temu o neuništivom Suncu i njegovoj bitnosti za (trajni) život. Premda je mit o Suncu bio svojstven mnogima, s obzirom na to da je, kao i samo praktično promatranje Sunca/Neba, zadirao u ustroj Života, u nazor o svijetu, ipak su samo neke kulture ostavile o njemu značajne slikovne tragove i tek rijetke one pisane.

Prve orijentacije nastajale su promatranjem Neba, s fiksne zemaljske točke, koje se stalno mijenja, dakle, „okreće“ oko Zemlje. Sunčevo kretanje (istok – zapad; desno – lijevo) na obzoru, nad zemljom i vodama, uspostavilo je horizontalni pravac prve orijentacije u životu i religioznosti. Njegova pak „vožnja“ sjever – jug, koja povezuje nebo i zemlju/podzemlje, uspostavila je okomiti pravac. Sječanjem dvaju pravaca Sunčeva gibanja, desno – lijevo i gore – dolje, religijsko mišljenje stvorilo je svoju prvu fundamentalnu koordinatnu shemu koja križno, na pojedinačne odjeljke, na četiri segmenta, dijeli prostor: sve sveto (zemlju, nebo), ali i ono

are slightly convex which is why it formally corresponds to the sign/symbol of cross inscribed in a circle, but also to the cross of similar form but without a circle, shaped in metal (Pitten: fig. 11d)¹⁰ and on pottery in various cultures of the Bronze and Iron Ages of Europe e.g. in the Early Bronze Age of northern Italy¹¹ (Fig. 11b), and in the Apennine culture¹² (Fig. 11c).

Here we will analyze symbols gathered in a specific Liburnian mythical story. It is a particular visual and semantical aspect of a universal mythical structure of the Journey of the Sun. In several of its iconographic and symbolic variants this myth about the cycle of the Sun, widespread from old Egypt and East to the European North over a long period, and particularly highly esteemed throughout the entire Bronze Age in Europe in visual terms, therefore well-illustrated in “bird” visual syntaxes, varies an eternal theme of indestructible Sun and its importance for (permanent) life. The myth about the Sun was characteristic of many communities and cultures since it was related to the structure of Life as well as the practical observance of the Sun/Sky, and also to the worldview, but some cultures left important visual traces of it, and only rare cultures also left written traces.

The first orientations were created after observing the Sky from a fixed point on the Earth. The Sky constantly changes, turning around the Earth. Movements of the Sun (east – west; left – right) on the horizon, over the earth and waters, established horizontal direction of the first orientation in life and religiousness. Its “ride” north-south connecting the sky and earth/underground has established a vertical direction. By intersecting two directions of the movement of the Sun, left-right and up-down, religious thinking created its first fundamental coordinate scheme which divides the space in a cross-shaped manner into separate sections,

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¹⁰ E. PROBST, 1996, 227, 236, 244, 247, sl. 31.

¹¹ R. PERONI, 2004, 52-53, sl. 3/11.

¹² R. PERONI, 2004, 180-181, sl. 29/8.

Martina Čelhar from the Department of Archaeology of the University of Zadar for this information.

¹⁰ E. PROBST, 1996, 227, 236, 244, 247, fig. 31.

¹¹ R. PERONI, 2004, 52-53, fig. 3/11.

¹² R. PERONI, 2004, 180-181, fig. 29/8.

profano.¹³ Križna, temeljna koordinatna shema, sa svoja četiri odjeljka, ustrojava ne samo prostor već i vrijeme. Svaka orijentacija u vremenu pretpostavlja orijentaciju u prostoru; obje proistječu, dakle, iz istoga, iz opažanja fizičkog prafenomena svjetlosti: mijena svjetlo – tama,¹⁴ što je osnovica svake mitske sheme o Sunčevu putovanju. Sa zemaljskog stajališta, Sunčev ciklus je dnevni i godišnji; ono definira jedan dan i jednu godinu s četiri godišnja doba. Dan sadrži Sunčevu dnevnu pojavu s vrhuncem u zenitu i, sadržajno (prividno) različitu, onu noćnu, koja je pak čovjeku oduvijek nevidljiva. I drevno astronomsko pitanje ticalo se upravo svih onih nerazjašnjivih događanja na Nebu nakon Sunčeva zalaza (nestanka) ispod horizonta. Konkretno, nastavljaju li noću zvijezde i Sunce svoja kretanja ispod horizonta i, stoga, ponovno izlaze na istom mjestu?

Kako se Sunce (vječno) rađa na istoku, mitski Sunčev put neizbježno, ali astronomski prividno, zatvara krug/polukrug: tvori imaginarni disk/svod. U najpoznatijim mitovima o Sunčevu putovanju često nije jasno, što za mitsko kazivanje i religiju nije neobično, kako se doista giba (noćno) Sunce, po krugu ili polukrugu, točnije, povrh ili ispod horizonta, odnosno, ispod Zemlje. Ipak, u mitu, gotovo u pravilu, gibajući se po zamišljenom polukrugu/krugu/disku, Sunce silazi u neki drugi, „donji“ svijet, koji je irealan i, stoga, Sunce mijenja svoj lik: postaje tamno/noćno. Ova osnovna solarna mitska, religijska struktura dijelom se podudarala i preklapala s ranim, neznanstvenim, ali ipak empirijskim, praktičnim postupkom promatranja Neba. Jer, u tadašnjoj „astronomskoj“ europskoj slici, sve do Aristarha (3. st. pr. Kr.),¹⁵ ali i dugo nakon njega, okretalo se Nebo, sa Suncem i zvijezdama, oko Zemlje, baš kao i u različitim inačicama mita o Sunčevu putovanju. I

and four segments: all sacred (earth, sky), and what is profane.¹³ Cross-shaped, basic coordinate scheme with its four segments organizes not only space but also time. Any orientation in time assumes orientation in space; they both come out of the same observance of the physical phenomenon of light: change of light and dark¹⁴ which is a basis of every mythical scheme about the Sun's Journey.

From the earthly point of view, Sun's cycle is daily and annual; it defines one day and one year with four seasons. The day contains Sun's daily appearance with an apogee in zenith and (seemingly) different nightly appearance in terms of content which has always been invisible to a man. Ancient astronomic question was related to all those inexplicable happenings on the Sky after setting of the Sun (disappearance) under the horizon: specifically, whether the stars and the Sun continue their movements under the horizon, and therefore, go out again at the same place?

Since the Sun (eternally) rises in the east, mythical journey of the Sun inevitably, but astronomically only seemingly closes a circle/semicircle and makes an imaginary disk/vault. In the most famous myths about the Sun's journey it is often not clear how (nightly) Sun moves – circularly or semicircularly, or more precisely above or under the horizon, i.e. under the Earth which is not unusual for mythical stories and religion. However in the myth, almost regularly, moving in an imaginary semicircle/circle/disk, the Sun descends to some other, “lower” world which is unreal to a certain degree and therefore the Sun changes its appearance: it becomes dark/nightly. In a way this basic solar mythical, religious structure corresponded and overlapped with early, non-scientific, but still empirical, practical procedure of observing the Sky. Until Aristarchus (3rd century BC),¹⁵ and for a while after him, the Sky was turning, with the Sun and stars, around

¹³ E. KASIRER, 1985, 108, 110, 113.

¹⁴ E. KASIRER, 1985, 113.

¹⁵ F. HOYLE, 1990, 85.

¹³ E. KASIRER, 1985, 108, 110, 113.

¹⁴ E. KASIRER, 1985, 113.

¹⁵ F. HOYLE, 1990, 85.

dok je u religiji (mitu) o Sunčevu putovanju Sunce ipak bilo glavno gibanje u Kozmosu, time i njegovo svojevrsno simbolično „središte“, astronomska heliocentričnost pojavila se (Aristarh) relativno kasno i nakratko. A o rotaciji same Zemlje, koja je u (solarnim) mitskim strukturama statična (ploča¹⁶), s obzirom na to da se moćno Sunce giba povrh ili oko nje, prvi govori Herakleid Pontik (4. st. pr. Kr.),¹⁷ što je nužno dovelo u sumnju sva dotadašnja drevna astronomska, no ne i mitska/religijska shvaćanja o kružnoj vrtnji Neba.¹⁸ Prema tome, u prvim stoljećima željeznog doba, vjerojatno i ranije, „astronomska“ slika Neba i u grčkom kulturom krugu, unatoč određenim posebnostima,¹⁹ u svojim najosnovnijim polazištima nije se razlikovala od one po drugim krajevima Europe, s Nebom u vrtnji oko Zemlje. I na religijskoj razini staru Grčku i Europu u 2. i 1. tis. pr. Kr. sigurno su povezivali solarni mitovi srodne sheme, ne nužno i identični, s pričom o Sunčevu putovanju, koja je ipak posebno bila zanimljiva zemljoradničkim zajednicama.

¹⁶ Anaksimandar iz Miletske škole prvi je spomenuo zakrivljenost Zemlje i da je ona poput cilindra. F. KOPLESTON, 1988, 62. U Pitagorinoj školi smatrali su (Filolaj) da je Zemlja sferična, ali da nije središte Kozmosa, s obzirom na to da je to središnja ili „kozmička vatra“ (identificirana s brojem Jedan), oko koje se okreću Nebo i Sunce (vrući disk). F. KOPLESTON, 1988, 72. U vezi s takvim kozmologijskim razmišljanjima nastao je i jedan od početnih nazora na svijet, iskazan poetskim slikama, u kojem je svemoćna vatra u središtu svijeta neumoljiva nužda; sve događanje, kretanje počiva na uzajamnom djelovanju suprotnosti, označenih i kao svjetlo i tmina i slično. W. WINDELBAND, 1990, 94.

¹⁷ Heraklid je utvrdio dnevno okretanje Zemlje oko svoje osi; također je smatrao da Merkur i Venera kruže oko Sunca, a izgleda da je mislio i da se sama Zemlja okreće oko njega. F. KOPLESTON, 1988, 300, 301.

¹⁸ F. HOYLE, 2000, 89.

¹⁹ Misli se i da su Grci u to doba, prije 6. st. pr. Kr., Zemlju također zamišljali kao ploču/disk okruženu oceanom, no s polusfernom kupolom neba, što je utrlo put nešto kasnijem grčkom shvaćanju Zemlje kao kugle. Također, da u prvim stoljećima željeznog doba Grci zamišljaju, za razliku od nekih drugih, kako sva nebeska tijela kruže oko horizonta preko sjevera, da bi se mogli ponovno pojaviti, na istoku, točnije, da su Grci negdje u 8. st. pr. Kr., u vrijeme klimaksa astronomije na Bliskom istoku, smatrali da se tijekom noći sve na nebu (Sunce, Mjesec, zvijezde) ne nastavljaju kretati ispod Zemlje svojim kružnim dnevnim stazama. F. HOYLE, 1990, 83, 89.

the Earth in the “astronomical” European image at the time, as in different variants of the myth about the Sun’s journey. While in the religion (myth) about the Sun’s journey the Sun was the most important movement in Cosmos, therein also a kind of its symbolical “center”, astronomical heliocentric system appeared (Aristarchus) relatively late and for a brief period. Heracleides Ponticus (4th century BC)¹⁶ was the first to mention rotation of the Earth which is a flat static plate¹⁷ in the (solar) mythical structures since powerful Sun moves above or around it which put in doubt all previous ancient astronomical knowledge but not mythical/religious understandings about the circular rotation of the Sky.¹⁸

During the first centuries of the Iron Age, and probably also earlier, “astronomical” image of the Sky in the Greek cultural circle did not differ in its basic concepts (Sky rotating around the Earth) from the one in other parts of Europe despite certain particularities.¹⁹ On the religious level ancient Greece and Europe in the 2nd and

¹⁶ Heracleides suggested daily rotation of the Earth around its axis, he also believed that Mercury and Venus rotate around the Sun, and it seems that he thought the Earth also rotates around the Sun. F. KOPLESTON, 1988, 300, 301.

¹⁷ Anaximander from the Milesian school first mentioned curvature of the Earth, and that it is like a cylinder. F. KOPLESTON, 1988, 62. In Pythagoras’ school Philolaus believed that the Earth was spherical, but not the center of the Cosmos because it is the central or “cosmic fire” (identified with number One) around which the Sky and Sun rotate (hot disk). F. KOPLESTON, 1988, 72. In relation to such cosmological considerations, one of initial worldviews was formed, represented in poetical images in which almighty fire in the center of the world is inexorable necessity; all that happens, all movements rely on mutual action of the opposites, marked as light and dark, etc. W. WINDELBAND, 1990, 94.

¹⁸ F. HOYLE, 2000, 89.

¹⁹ General belief is that the Greeks in the same period, in the 6th century BC, also thought that the Earth was a plate/disk surrounded by the Ocean but with a hemispherical dome of the sky which made way to later Greek apprehension of the Earth as a sphere. Also, in the first centuries of the Iron Age the Greeks believed, as opposed to some other communities, that all planets rotate around the horizon over the north, only to reappear in the east, or more precisely some time in the 8th century BC, in the time of climax of astronomy in the Near East the Greeks believed that over night everything on the sky (Sun, Moon, stars) does not continue to move in their circular daily paths under the Earth. F. HOYLE, 1990, 83, 89.

U neke tadašnje arhaične predodžbe svijeta, premda religijski natopljene, ušla su, na neki ih način odredivši, i početna „astronomska“ znanja, odnosno sadržaji kozmološke²⁰ naravi, što dodatno objašnjava golemu prostornu raširenost motiva i simbola križa tijekom cijeloga brončanog doba i kasnije. Njegova omiljenost u različitim pra/povijesnim kulturama proizlazi iz jednostavne činjenice da je on sjecište pravaca mitskog i (prividno) stvarnog Sunčeva nestajanja i (trajnog) pojavljivanja; on je početna i elementarna slikovna sinteza vremena i prostora. To je pak omogućilo definiranja sveukupnog (prirodnog) Tijeka i nastanak sadržaja ponovljivosti i cikličnosti u arhaičnoj predodžbi svijeta. Glavni simbol te prapovijesne slike, uz jednostavni „solarni križ“, tj. „križ u krugu/disku“, postao je „križ u krugu/disku s četiri točke“.

Kombinacijom svojih likovno konkretnih religijskih slika o svim Sunčevim epizodama i postajama, staroegipatska civilizacija poznat je parametar za poimanje elementarne i uvijek slabo poznate simbolike Sunčeva putovanja u agrafskim društvima. Staroegipatski mit o Sunčevu putovanju u svojoj jednostavnosti je lako shvatljiv, povezan s vrlo naivnim ranim astronomskim predodžbama. Kad se apstrahira staroegipatska osebujna uronjenost u solarnu religiju, s njezinim odrazom u društvenosti i politici, kao i drugdje na Istoku, npr. u pred-hetitskoj i hetitskoj Anatoliji 3. – 2. st. pr. Kr.,²¹ ostaje temeljna konstrukcija – mitska arhaična naracija o Suncu, uz

1st centuries BC were definitely connected with solar myths with a similar scheme, not necessarily identical, with a story about the journey of the Sun which was particularly interesting to the farming communities.

Initial “astronomic” knowledge though with religious connotations entered some archaic images of the world determining them in a certain way. In other words these were concepts with cosmological²⁰ character which additionally clarifies vast spatial distribution of motifs and symbols of cross throughout the entire Bronze Age, and later.

Its popularity in various pre/historic cultures is related to the simple fact that it was an intersection of directions of the mythical and (seemingly) real Sun's disappearance and (permanent) appearance; it was the initial and elementary pictorial synthesis of time and space. This enabled definition of the entire (natural) Flow and formation of contents of repeatability and cyclicity in the archaic concept of the world. Main symbol of this prehistoric image, alongside simple “solar cross” i.e. “cross in a circle/disk”, became a “cross in a circle/disk with four dots”.

Old Egyptian civilization is a known parameter for apprehension of elementary and poorly known symbolics of the solar Journey in agraphic societies by combination of its visually specific religious images about all the Sun's episodes and stations. Old Egyptian myth about the journey of the Sun in all its simplicity is easily understandable, related to very naive early astronomic perceptions. If we leave out old Egyptian specific preoccupation with solar religion with its

²⁰ Kozmologiju se ovdje ne shvaća kao filozofsko-znanstveno promišljanje postanka i razvoja Kozmosa. Tek se naglašava da ono nije bilo samo mitsko, već je „kombiniralo“ religiju/mit (kozmogoniju) i rudimentarnu „astronomiju“, točnije, promatranje Neba/Kozmosa iz praktičih životnih razloga (orijentacija, kalendar). Uostalom, i kozmološko grčko filozofsko/znanstveno razdoblje, kada Europa prvi put razmišlja o Kozmosu, i kada time tek utire put metafizici i pravoj znanosti, još je puno naivnosti i opservacija mitskog tipa. A grčko poimanje svijeta/Cjeline iz vremena koje prethodi grčkom kozmološkom dobu, i koje je usporedno s prvim stoljećima željeznog doba liburnskog i jadranskog svijeta, zapravo je nepoznato.

²¹ U. B. ALKIM, 1975, 151-184, sl. 63-69, 84-89, 103.

²⁰ Cosmology in this case is not understood as philosophical and scientific consideration of formation and development of the Cosmos. It is only emphasized that it was not only mythical, but it “combined” religion/myth (cosmogony) and rudimentary “astronomy”, more precisely observation of the Sky/Cosmos for practical reasons (orientation, calendar). After all, cosmological Greek philosophic/scientific period, when Europe considers the Cosmos for the first time, and makes way for metaphysics and true science, was still full of naivety and observations of the mythical type. Greek comprehension of the world/Whole from the time before the Greek cosmologic period which is parallel with the first centuries of the Iron Age of the Liburnian and Adriatic world is actually unknown.

to popraćena tekstem. Zato je korištena i za razumijevanje mitova i drugih simboličnih struktura europskog sjevera (Danska, Švedska, sjeverna Njemačka), iz nordijskoga brončanog doba (1600. – 500. g. pr. Kr.).²² Oni pak plijene svojom likovnom konkretnošću. Jer, dok je na Sjeveru mit o Suncu oslikavan (Sl. 13, 14, 17c) po stijenama i po artefaktima (oružju, nošnji, instrumentima obreda) stilom osebujne figurativne naracije, osobito u vrijeme nordijskoga kasnog brončanog doba (1100. – 500. g. pr. Kr.),²³ istodobno (i ranije), isti temeljni mit po kontinentu oslikavan je, unatoč dodatku dinamične „ptičje lađe“, krajnje geometrijskim, apstraktnim formama, od alpskog i karpatsko-podunavsko-balkanskog kruga do apeninskog, posebno *proto/villanova* svijeta (Sl. 16, 19), dakle, na širokom *urnenfelder* prostoru i izvan nje. U komparativnoj analizi europske solarne ostavštine, svojom slikovnom izravnošću, nordijski mitovi su među najpogodnijima. Oni se, uostalom, u određenim vidovima dodiruju i stanovito prožimaju sa srednjoeuropskim, staroegipatskim i drugim solarnim mitskim strukturama.

Tijekom brončanog doba Sjevera, osobito u njegovim ranim fazama, postoje, dakako, i potpuno geometrizirani apstraktni „solarni krajolici“ (Sl. 12 – obredna sjekira iz Hermannshagena, oko 1600. g. pr. Kr.).²⁴ Krajolik je ovdje likovno statičan, bez pokretljivosti imanentne antitetičnoj „ptičjoj“ ikonografiji. Nasuprot njemu, disk iz Nebra (Mittelberg), iz starijega nordijskog brončanog doba, oko 1600. g. pr. Kr., ikonografsko-semantički je izniman. Likovno je također relativno statična slika Neba. Ali

reflection in sociality and politics, as well as elsewhere in the East, e.g. in pre-Hittite and Hittite Anatolia in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC,²¹ we are left with the basic construction – mythical archaic narration about the Sun, accompanied with text. That is why it was used to a certain degree for understanding of myths and other symbolic structures of the European North (Denmark, Sweden, and northern Germany) from the Nordic Bronze Age (1600 – 500 BC).²² They are fascinating due to their visual concreteness. While the myth about the Sun was painted (Fig. 13-14, 17c) on rocks and artifacts (weapons, attire, ritual instruments) in the style of peculiar figurative narration, particularly in the period of the Nordic Late Bronze Age (1100 – 500 BC),²³ at the same time (and earlier), identical basic myth on the continent was depicted with utterly geometric, abstract forms despite the addition of the dynamic “bird boat” from the Alpine and Carpathian-Danubian-Balkan region to the Apennine circle, particularly proto-Villanovan world (Fig. 16, 19), in the broad Urnfield-region and outside it. Owing to their visual directness, Nordic myths are among the most suitable examples for the comparative analysis of the European solar heritage. In certain aspects they are in contact and influenced by the central European, old Egyptian and other solar mythical structures.

During the Bronze Age of the North, particularly in its early phases, there are also completely geometrized abstract “solar landscapes” (fig. 12: ritual axe from Hermannshagen, ca. 1600 BC).²⁴ The landscape is visually static here, without mobility immanent to antithetical “bird” iconography. As opposed to this, disk from Nebra

²² F. KAUL, 2002, 143-154; F. KAUL, 2003, 37-51; F. KAUL, 2005, 135-148; F. KAUL, 2006, 66-69; F. KAUL, 2010, 521-536.

²³ Smatra se da je tadašnje preferiranje likovne figuracije posljedica promjena u društvu i religiji nordijskih kultura. Figuracija, ali uz prevladavanje geometrijskih motiva, uvodi se već tijekom starijega nordijskog brončanog doba (1600. – 1400. g. pr. Kr.). F. KAUL, 2003, 37-38.

²⁴ R. SCHWARZ, 2006, 178-179.

²¹ U. B. ALKIM, 1975, 151-184, fig. 63-69, 84-89, 103.

²² F. KAUL, 2002, 143-154; F. KAUL, 2003, 37-51; F. KAUL, 2005, 135-148; F. KAUL, 2006, 66-69; F. KAUL, 2010, 521-536.

²³ Preference of figuration is meant to be a consequence of changes in society and religion of the Nordic cultures. Figuration, but with dominance of geometric motifs was introduced during the early Nordic Bronze Age (1600-400 BC). F. KAUL, 2003, 37-38.

²⁴ R. SCHWARZ, 2006, 178-179.

ona nije samo simbolična već je i praktična, deskriptivna, utemeljena na stvarnom kra-
jolik i dugotrajnom opažanju, u funkciji
svojevrsnoga ranog kalendara, uz ostalo, s
istaknutim točkama dvaju solsticija.²⁵ Disk
je definiran kao rani model svijeta (*Weltmo-
dell*), najstariji u Srednjoj Europi.²⁶ Njegov
(lunisolarni?) karakter je i simboličan i astro-
loško-astronomski „konkretan“: na Nebu su
zvijezde, Sunce (?), Mjesec, dva polukružna
elementa, i ovdje najprepoznatljiviji detalj –
Plejade,²⁷ čvrste nebeske točke i poveznice s
konkretnim prirodnim pojavama osobito u
vezi s (proljetnom) zemljoradnjom.²⁸

U Liburna se sažimanje solarnih simbola
u mitsku strukturu, dakako, uz njihove isto-
dobne pojedinačne likovne konkretizacije,
dogodilo u prvim stoljećima željeznog doba
ponajprije na određenim elementima njihove
svečane nošnje: na njihovu posmrtnom
odijelu. Odijelo je samo odraz društvenih i
religijskih zasada, vjerovanja i obreda, koje
su u liburnskoj kulturi, zasad, uglavnom ne-
otkrivene u svoj složenosti, s obzirom na to
da je liburnski svjetonazor u biti nepoznat.
Njihovo čitanje iz posmrtnog odijela više-
struko je korisno, ali puno ograničenja. Odi-
jelo je ipak „nemoćno“ u interpretaciji slike
svijeta, osobito svjetonazora.

Uz fibule tipa Osor iz 9. – 8. st. pr. Kr.²⁹
(Sl. 22, 23), mit o Sunčevoj plovidbi kod Li-
burna najočitiji je kod dvaju velikih bronča-
nih pektoralala s dvije lađe (Sl. 1, 6). Njihova
ikonografsko-semantički izravna solarnost
omogućuje brojne usporedbe. Mnogi, rela-
tivno jednostavni mitovi o Sunčevu puto-
vanju, od Egipta do Podunavlja i Sjevera,

(Mittelberg) from the earlier Nordic Bronze Age,
ca. 1600 BC, is exceptional in iconographic and
semantical terms. Image of the Sky is relatively
static in visual terms. It is not only symbolical
but also practical, and descriptive in a certain
way, based on an actual landscape and lengthy
observation, functioning as a kind of early cal-
endar, among other things, with pronounced
points of two solstices.²⁵ Disk is defined as an
early model of the world (*Weltmodell*), the earli-
est in central Europe.²⁶ Its (lunisolar?) character
is symbolical and astrologically-astronomical-
ly “concrete”: the stars are in the Sky, the Sun
(?), Moon, two semicircular elements, and most
recognizable detail here – Pleiades,²⁷ firm cele-
stial points and connections with specific natural
phenomena particularly in relation to (spring)
agriculture.²⁸

The Liburnians condensed solar symbols into
mythical structure alongside their synchronous
individual visual concretizations in the first cen-
turies of the Iron Age particularly on the certain
elements of their ceremonial attire: on their fu-
nerary costume. The attire is only a reflection
of social and religious concepts, beliefs and rit-
uals which are unknown for the most part in
all their complexity in the Liburnian culture for
now since the Liburnian worldview is obscure
in its essence. Their interpretation from the fu-
nerary attire is useful in many ways, but it also
has limitations. The attire is “powerless” in inter-
pretation of the world image, and in particular
of the worldview. In addition to the Osor-type
fibulae from the 9th and 8th centuries BC²⁹ (fig.
22-23), myth about the Sun's journey in Libur-
nia is most evident on two large bronze pectorals
with two boats (Fig. 1, 6). Their iconographic

²⁵ W. SCHLOSSER, 2006, 45.

²⁶ H. MELLER, 2006a, 28.

²⁷ H. MELLER, 2006a, 21-31; W. SCHLOSSER, 2006, 44-47.

²⁸ U arhaičnom promatranju Neba, u astronomskim pra-
počecima, posebno su zanimljive bile dvije Sunčeve vre-
menske pojave, relativno lako uočljive, vezane za točke
proljetnog (sjetva) i jesenskog ekvinocija. To su jedina dva
trenutka u godini kada Sunce izlazi u istočnoj i zalazi u za-
padnoj točki. F. HOYLE, 2000, 85.

²⁹ D. GLOGOVIĆ, 2003, 43-45; S. KUKOČ, 2012, 31-116; B.
TERŽAN, 2013, 241-266.

²⁵ W. SCHLOSSER, 2006, 45.

²⁶ H. MELLER, 2006, 28.

²⁷ H. MELLER, 2006, 21-31; W. SCHLOSSER, 2006, 44-47.

²⁸ In the archaic observation of the Sky, in astronomical early
beginnings, two temporal appearances of the Sun were par-
ticularly interesting, relatively easily noticeable, related to po-
ints of spring (sowing) and autumn equinox. These were the
only two moments in a year when the Sun rises in the eastern
point and sets in the western point. F. HOYLE, 2000, 85.

²⁹ D. GLOGOVIĆ, 2003, 43-45; S. KUKOČ, 2012, 31-116; B.
TERŽAN, 2013, 241-266.

određeni su komparativan uzorak za ikonografsko-semantičko objašnjenje ne samo pektoralna kod Liburna (Sl. 1, 6), već i svih sličnih s Apeninskog poluotoka (Sl. 24-26, 29). Ti se apeninski ikonografski solarni obrasci, unatoč svojim mjesnim pretvorbama i osebnim obogaćenjima tijekom vremena, u konkretnim apeninskim kulturama, ipak najlakše svode na shemu, tradicionalno nazvanu „srednjoeuropskom“, „podunavsko-karpatском“ ili pak „tipa *urnenfelder*“, s „ptičjom lađom“ i njezinim likovnim izvedenicama.³⁰ U osnovi, isto vrijedi i za likovno predočavanje istodobnih svih temeljnih liburnskih oblika solarne simbolične naravi. Iako su dobrim dijelom *urnenfelder* ikonografske derivacije, oni su ipak autohtono obogaćeni i često dodatno definirani upravo apeninskim utjecajima.

Oduvijek se pektoralni iz Nina³¹ i Zatona, grob 6,³² i veliki picenski pektoralni, također s dvije lađe (Sl. 24), koliko-toliko komparativno arheološki promatraju.³³ Utemeljenost jednih i drugih na mitu o Sunčevoj plovidbi najprije se nedvosmisleno iščitava iz okomitog komponiranja dviju „ptičjih lađa“, a zatim iz crteža urezanih na njihovim lađama. Dok je pektoralna kompozicija s dvjema solarnim lađama uobičajena pojava u više zajednica željeznog doba, relativno je rijetko dodatno i detaljnije oslikavanje solarnog mita na samoj lađi. Istim osnovnim obras-

and semantical direct solar associations offer a possibility of many comparisons.

Many relatively simple myths about the Sun's journey, from Egypt to the Danubian region and to the North, are a certain comparative sample for iconographical and semantical explanation of not only Liburnian pectorals (Fig. 1, 6) but also all similar examples from the Apennine Peninsula (Fig. 24-26, 29). These Apennine iconographic solar samples in specific Apennine cultures are most easily reduced to the scheme which is traditionally called "Central European", "Danubian-Carpathian" or "Urnfield-type", with "bird boat" or its variants despite their local alterations and peculiar enrichments over time.³⁰ Basically the same can be said about visual representations of simultaneous basic Liburnian forms of solar symbolical character. Although they are Urnfield-type iconographic derivations to a great extent, they were still enriched with autochthonous traits and often additionally defined owing exactly to the Apennine influences.

Pectorals from Nin³¹ and Zaton (grave 6)³² as well as the big pectorals from Picenum, also with two boats have always been observed comparatively in archaeological terms.³³ Their foundation on the myth of the sailing of the Sun can first be read from vertical composition of two "bird-boats", and then from the drawings engraved on their boats. While the pectoral composition with two solar boats is common phenomenon in several communities from the Iron

³⁰ Već odavno, osobito nakon G. Kossacka, K. Kiliana i mnogih drugih, jasno je da „solarna lađa“ u brojnim zajednicama s Apeninskog poluotoka, posebno tijekom *bronzo finale* i početkom željeznog doba, ima nedvojben simboličan solarni karakter, dakako, uz njezine neizbježne dekorativne funkcije, kada je bila svedena na znak, što je povremena sudbina svakog simbola. Stoga je u današnje vrijeme svaka „polemika“ s G. von Merhartom iz polovice prošlog stoljeća o problemu dekorativnosti/solarnosti apeninskih „ptičjih lađa“ tijekom željeznog doba poprilično zakašnjela. Usp. C. IAIA, 2004, 307-308, 310.

³¹ Š. BATOVIĆ, 1981, 23-24.

³² Š. BATOVIĆ, 1981, 23-24. sl. 12; Š. BATOVIĆ, 1987, 369, sl. 1/1; S. KUKOČ, 2012, sl. 25.

³³ G. von MERHART, 1942; G. KOSSACK, 1954, T 10/1; D. G. LOLLINI, 1976, 125; N. LUCENTINI, 2000, 258; N. LUCENTINI, 2000a, 60; M. LANDOLFI, 2000, 126.

³⁰ It has been clear for a while and particularly after the works of G. Kossack, K. Kilian and many others that the "solar boat" in many communities from the Apennine Peninsula, particularly during the *bronzo finale* and at the beginning of the Iron Age, had undoubtedly symbolical solar character, with its inevitable decorative functions, when it was reduced to a sign, which happens occasionally to all symbols. Therefore it seems outdated to "discuss" problem of decorativeness/solar aspects of the Apennine "bird boats" during the Iron Age with G. von Merhart from the 1940s - 1950s. Cf. C. IAIA, 2004, 307-308,

³¹ Š. BATOVIĆ, 1981, 23-24.

³² Š. BATOVIĆ, 1981, 23-24, fig. 12; Š. BATOVIĆ, 1987, 369, fig. 1/1; S. KUKOČ, 2012, fig. 25.

³³ G. von MERHART, 1942; G. KOSSACK, 1954, T 10/1; D. G. LOLLINI, 1976, 125; N. LUCENTINI, 2000, 258; N. LUCENTINI, 2000a, 60; M. LANDOLFI, 2000, 126.

cem o Sunčevu putovanju mogu se načelno objašnjavati i znatno kasniji liburnski pektoral i oni sa samo jednom lađom (Sl. 43-45). Ali, s vremenom, osobito nakon 7./6. st. pr. Kr., mit o Sunčevu putovanju kod Liburna i drugdje (Piceni, Histri, Japodi, kultura Dolenjske itd.) sigurno je izgubio izvornost simboličke, koja se preoblikovala, osobito u helenizmu.

„Ptičja lađa“ najstariji je liburnski oblik solarnog vozila i jedini prije mlađega željeznog doba. Pojavljuje se u dva osnovna oblika. Prvi, najjednostavniji, oslikava plovilo s antitečnim ptičjim glavama (Sl. 44, 45). Sunce se na lađi tek podrazumijeva, s obzirom na to da nije predočeno, a što je kod Liburna gotovo pravilo. Drugi, složeniji oblik ptičjeg plovila koje nosi nešto konkretno, diskasti element, posebno je rijedak, sveden upravo na ninski i zatonski primjerak (Sl. 1, 3, 6, 8a). U liburnskoj kulturi uopće se ne pojavljuje motiv lađe s kružnim solarnim diskom u uobičajenom „podunavskom“ (*urnenfelder*) izdanju (Sl. 16c). Sveukupni liburnski pektoral sastavljeni su, dakle, od dvije ili jedne „ptičje lađe“. Inače, u tipičnoj, likovno eksplicitnoj mitskoj slici o Sunčevu putovanju, s dnevnom i noćnom vožnjom, u igri su obično dvije lađe, što proizlazi iz (arhetipske) dvostrukosti gotovo Janusova tipa u arhaičnom zamišljanju Sunčeva lika, svijetlog i tamnog lica. Katkad su komponirane, i to kružno, upravo četiri lađe³⁴ (Sl. 16a), katkad i mnogo više njih, npr. jasno definirane Sunčeve postaje u staroegipatskom podzemlju. I dvije spojene lađe kod Liburna i Picena dočaravaju ambivalentnu Sunčevu narav, oslikavaju njegov dnevno-noćni hod koji mjeri prostor i vrijeme, vjerojatno ne samo jednog dana i (Sunčeve) godine, već svega postojećega.

Nakon dnevnog putovanja po obzoru – polukrugu, Ra na brodu svake večeri pri svojem ulasku u zapadnu „točku“ (Vrata),

³⁴ G. KOSSACK, 1954, T 9/5; L. LAURENZI, 1959, 37, T 3/6.

Age, additional and more detailed representation of the solar myth on the boat is relatively rare. The same basic pattern about the Sun's journey can be used to interpret much later Liburnian pectorals, including the ones with only one boat (Fig. 43-44, 45). However, over time the myth about the journey of the Sun in Liburnia and elsewhere (Picenians, Histrians, Iapodes, culture of Dolenjska, etc.) definitely lost originality of symbolics which was transformed, particularly in Hellenism.

“Bird-boat” is the oldest Liburnian form of a solar vehicle and the only one earlier than the Iron Age. It appears in two basic forms. The first, simplest form represents a boat with antithetical birds' heads (Fig. 44-45). The Sun on the boat is only implied since it was not depicted which was almost a rule in the Liburnians. The second, more complex form of a bird boat which carries something (a disk element) is particularly rare, reduced to the examples from Nin and Zaton (Fig. 1, 3, 6, 8a). The motif of a boat with round solar disk in the common “Danubian” (*Urnfield*) variant (Fig. 16c) is not represented in the Liburnian culture. All Liburnian pectorals consist of two or one “bird boat”. In a typical, visually explicit mythical image of the Sun's journey, with daily and nightly ride, there are usually two boats, which is related to the (archetypal) doubleness of almost Janus' type in archaic imagining of the Sun's appearance, light and dark face. Sometimes four boats³⁴ are composed in a circular manner (Fig. 16a), sometimes even several specimens such as clearly defined Sun's stations in the old Egyptian underworld. Two connected boats in the Liburnian and Picenian communities depict ambivalent nature of the Sun, its daily-nightly path which measures space and time, probably not just one day and (Sun's) year but everything that there is.

After the daily journey on the semicircular horizon, Ra changes his appearance together with the vehicle every evening in its entering the western “point” (Door); he becomes ram-head-

³⁴ G. KOSSACK, 1954, T 9/5; L. LAURENZI, 1959, 37, T 3/6.

s vozilom mijenja i svoj lik; poprima glavu ovna i, prelazeći s dnevne lađe Mendžet na onu noćnu – Mesktet, ulazi u podzemlje.³⁵ Tu kroz dvanaest epizoda, noćnih sati, vodi bitku s neprijateljima svjetla (zlom zmijom Apop), ali kao pobjednik, Sunce u zoru izlazi iz podzemlja kroz usta goleme zmije i započinje novi dan.³⁶ Ovdje je zemlja kružna ploča/disk, okružena vodom. Ali, i samo Sunce i njegov svijet, s više božanskih bića i mitskih epizoda, zapravo je disk; njegova vrtnja oko Zemlje je polukružna/kružna, i Sunčev mitski prostor (disk) ima svoju gornju i donju „sferu“. A sve, pa i samo Sunce (disk Svijeta), svojim tijelom nadvisuje (i rađa) božanska krava ili Nut, božica Neba.³⁷

Premda se u različitim solarnim mitovima, religijama u cjelini te predznanstvenim i prefilozofskim „kozmoologijama“ u dočaravanju Zemlje, Sunca, Neba i sveukupnosti svijeta, stalno barata pojmovima i slikama kao što su ploča, pločasti disk, krug, uglavnom ostaje nepoznato koje sve kretanje (nebesko, podzemno) oni predočavaju, ili bar na njega aludiraju. Neuhvatljivost značenja brojnih krugova, diskova i sličnih oblika (npr. tzv. falera) tiče se i samog (posmrtnog) odijela. U arhaičnim predodžbama solarnosti i kozmičnosti, pisanim ili slikanim, disk općenito označava pločastu Zemlju, zatim Sunce i Nebo, neizbježno i njihov dodir sa Zemljom, s obzirom na to da se Nebo i Sunce na njihovoj zajedničkoj kružnoj/polukružnoj putanji gibaju oko Zemlje. Zato je disk moguć model svijeta, slika svijeta (*Weltbild*), ali i nešto od onoga što „skriva“ arhaični pogled na Svijet (*Weltanschauung*) u vrlo različitim kulturama, od Egipta do europskog Sjevera.³⁸

³⁵ M. J. MATJE, 1990, 56-59, sl. 21.

³⁶ W. FORMAN, S. QUIRKE, 1996, 132, 162-163; G. ROBINS, 1997, 124, 206, sl. 136, 247.

³⁷ M. J. MATJE, 1990, 20, 29-30; W. FORMAN, S. QUIRKE, 1996, 136.

³⁸ Možda je disk ovdje bio samo likovna nužnost za dvodimenzionalno predočavanje Cjeline, koja je ipak shvaćana i promišljena kao stanovita trodimenzionalnost; konkretno, Nebo kao svod nad vodama.

ed and enters underground, crossing from the daily boat Mendjet to the nightly one - Mesketet.³⁵ Here he fights with enemies of the light (evil snake Apop) in 12 episodes, nightly hours, but Sun as a winner gets out the underworld through the mouth of a big snake and starts a new day.³⁶ In this case the earth is round plate/disk, surrounded with water. But the Sun and its world, with several divine beings and mythical episodes is actually a disk; its rotation around the Earth is semicircular/circular, and the Sun's mythical space (disk) has its upper and lower "sphere". Heavenly cow or Nut, goddess of the Sky overtops (and gives birth to) everything (including the Sun, disk of the World) with her body.³⁷

Although notions and images such as plate, flat disk, circle are often used in depicting the Earth, Sun, Sky and entirety of the world in the solar myths, religions in general and pre-scientific and pre-philosophic "cosmologies", it remains unclear which movements (heavenly, chthonic) are depicted, or at least alluded to. Elusiveness of meaning of numerous circles, disks and similar forms (e.g. "phalerae") also refers to (funerary) attire.

In archaic representations of the solar and cosmic cult, written or painted, disk in general denotes the flat Earth, then the Sun and Sky, and inevitably their contact with the Earth, since Sky and Sun, on their common circular/semicircular orbit move around the Earth. Therefore disk is possible model of the world, image of the world (*Weltbild*), but also something which "hides" archaic perspective of the world (*Weltanschauung*) in different cultures, from Egypt to the European North.³⁸

All mythical correspondences between the

³⁵ M. J. MATJE, 1990, 56-59, fig. 21.

³⁶ W. FORMAN, S. QUIRKE, 1996, 132, 162-163; G. ROBINS, 1997, 124, 206, fig. 136, 247.

³⁷ M. J. MATJE, 1990, 20, 29-30; W. FORMAN, S. QUIRKE, 1996, 136.

³⁸ Perhaps disk was only a visual necessity here for two-dimensional depiction of the Whole, which was understood and considered as a certain threedimensionality, specifically, Sky as a vault over waters.

Nejasne su sve mitske podudarnosti, staroegipatske i nordijske, u shvaćanju Kozmosa. I na nordijskoj Sunčevoj lađi iz 1. tis. pr. Kr., koja očito plovi po krugu/disku, tj. po (kozmičkim) kružnim vodama (Sl. 13c),³⁹ događa se sve bitno za životni sklad: plovidba (Sl. 14), dakle kretanje/promjena, obredi sa solarnim diskovima (Sl. 13d, 13f), stablom (Sl. 13b), glazbalima, životinjama, ratnicima.⁴⁰ Svi temeljni simbolični naglasci Sunčeva ciklusa, njegova uspinjanja, zenita, sukoba bića svjetla i tame (konja, ribe, zmije), prate se u nordijskim slikama. Raspršene po stijinama (Sl. 17a, 17c), po brijačima⁴¹ (Sl. 14) s kojima se odlazi u grob („kraljevski pokop“ iz Seddina⁴²), ali nacrtane i po drugim predmetima (Sl. 15b), te slike arheološki složene u jednu „logičnu“ simboličnu cjelinu, i to u obliku kruga/diska s četiri odjeljka, vidljivo dočaravaju nordijski Sunčev mitski hod.⁴³ Pri tome četiri glavna mjesta presijecanja križa i kruga mogu označavati jutro i večer, odnosno, podne i ponoć; također, mogu se odnositi na četiri godišnja doba.⁴⁴ Arheološkom rekonstrukcijom nastali solarni „križni kotač“ ovdje je doista simbol cikličnoga Sunca koje uređuje Kozmos. Premda u svojim temeljima usporediv sa staroegipatskim, ovaj nordijski kružni Sunčev hod nužno je idealan, djelomično ipak pretpostavljen, s obzirom na to da nije potvrđen pisanim podacima, što vrijedi i za liburnski, picenski i drugi svijet s njegovim solarnim mitskim slikama. I tadašnja egejska (12. st. pr. Kr. – 8./7. st. pr. Kr.) likovna ostavština, utemeljena na solarnim mitovima, ikonografski je manje ek-

Egyptian and Nordic mythology in understanding of the Cosmos are not clear. On the Nordic sun boat from the 1st millennium BC which evidently sails on the circle/disk i.e. on (cosmic) circular waters (Fig. 13c),³⁹ happens everything important for the life harmony: sailing (Fig. 14) meaning movement/change, rituals with solar disks (Fig. 13 d, f), tree (Fig. 13b), instruments, animals, warriors.⁴⁰ All basic symbolic accents of the Sun cycle, it's rising, zenith, conflict between the being of light and dark (horse, fish, snake), can be monitored in the Nordic images. These images are spread on the rocks (Fig. 17a, c), razors⁴¹ (Fig. 14) which are taken to the grave (“royal burial” from Seddin⁴²), or drawn on other objects (Fig. 15b). They are archaeologically structured into a “logical” symbolical whole, in form of a circle/disk with four sections forming in that way Nordic mythical Sun path.⁴³ Four main places of intersection of the cross and circle may denote morning and evening, i.e. noon and midnight; they can also refer to four seasons.⁴⁴ Solar “cross-shaped wheel” formed in archaeological reconstruction is here an actual symbol of the cyclical Sun which arranges the Cosmos. Although it is comparable with the old Egyptian system in its basis, this Nordic circular path of the Sun is necessarily ideal, partially assumed, since it was not confirmed with written information which can also be said for the Liburnian, Picenian and other communities with their solar mythical images. The Aegean examples of visual arts from that time (12th – 8th/7th centuries BC) are based on solar motifs but iconographically they are less explicit than the corresponding works in the Capathian-Danu-

³⁹ I. ULLÉN, 2003, 145, sl. 7.

⁴⁰ F. KAUL, 2003, 38-44; F. KAUL, 2006, 66-69; F. KAUL, 2006a, 58-63.

⁴¹ Brijač, funkcionalan i simboličan predmet u muškim nordijskim grobovima, mogao je imati ulogu i u inicijaciji dječaka, kao znak odrastanja i ulaska u muški svijet. F. KAUL, 2003, 38. Isto, načelno, vrijedi i za apeninske, dakle, i brijače kod Liburna.

⁴² E. PROBST, 1996, 311-319; A. HARDING, 2007, 141-142, sl. 22.

⁴³ F. KAUL, 2003, 42, sl. 9.

⁴⁴ F. KAUL, 2003, 38-43.

³⁹ I. ULLÉN, 2003, 145, sl. 7.

⁴⁰ F. KAUL, 2003, 38-44; F. KAUL, 2006, 66-69; F. KAUL, 2006a, 58-63.

⁴¹ Razors as functional and symbolical objects in male Nordic graves might have had a role in initiation of boys, as a sign of growing up and entering the male world. F. KAUL, 2003, 38. In general the same can be said about the Apennine and Liburnian razors.

⁴² E. PROBST, 1996, 311-319; A. HARDING, 2007, 141-142, fig. 22.

⁴³ F. KAUL, 2003, 42, fig. 9.

⁴⁴ F. KAUL, 2003, 38-43.

splicitna od iste u karpatsko-podunavskom svijetu (s kojom se grčka ikonografski/kulturno dodirivala), zatim na Apeninskom poluotoku ili pak na samom Sjeveru.

Sunčevo putovanje u mitu obično se odvija lađom po vodama (rijekom, oceanom), ili pak kolima, ali opet često u pratnji (vodenih) ptica (Dupljaja; pektoral iz Rimavske Sobote, itd.). To nisu zemaljske, već su nebeske/kozmičke vode (rgvedski kozmički Ocean Surye i Savitra⁴⁵), neizbježno i one podzemne (nebeske i podzemne vode Nila). Rgvedski Savitar (Sunce), gospodar svega, uz ostalo, podijelio je zemaljski prostor i tri puta je okružio zrak, tri sjajne sfere neba; on je najvažnije gibanje u Kozmosu.⁴⁶ Slično je i sa Suryom. Ipak, u vedskoj solarnoj ambivalentnosti, tamno, noćno Sunce blisko je mrtvima i podzemlju, dok je dnevno sjajno. Razlikuje se, dakle, Savitrovo i Suryino vrijeme. Savitar je Sunce prije svojega uspona, prije svanuća, ili pak sunce pred zalazom. Suryi pripada put od uspona do zapada, pripada mu najsjajniji dio dana.⁴⁷ Surya mjeri dan.⁴⁸

U nordijskim slikama posebno mjesto ima „konjska lađa“ (Sl. 13g, 14), stoga, i Sunčevi konji koji lađu ili kola (Trundholm)⁴⁹ vodama vuku na obzoru. Postoji i nordijska „ptičja lađa“.⁵⁰ Lađa i konj dva su ključna motiva u dočaravanju solarne plovidbe Sjevera, točnije, nordijske trodijelne strukturiranosti Kozmosa.⁵¹ Kod Liburna, pojavljuje se i „konjska lađa“ (Grobnik, Kastav: Sl. 30c)⁵² u mlađe željezno doba. Posebno je omiljena u liburnskom zaleđu, kod Japoda, ali i u dijelovima istočnoga alpskog kruga, gdje se najčešće, kao i kod Liburna, oblikom približuje određenoj antropomorfosti, ili se na

bian world (which was in contact with Greece in iconographical and cultural terms), and similar works on the Apennine Peninsula or in the North.

The Sun's Journey in the myth usually happens with a boat on waters (river, Ocean), or with a chariot, but often accompanied with (water) birds (Dupljaja; pectoral from Rimavska Sobota, etc.). These are not earthly but heavenly/cosmic waters (cosmic Ocean Surye and Savitri in Rigveda),⁴⁵ inevitably also the underground waters (heavenly and underground waters of Nile). Savitri (Sun) in Rigveda, master of everything, among other things, divided the earthly space and encircled the air three times, three shiny spheres of the sky; he is the most important movement in the Cosmos.⁴⁶ It is similar with Surya. However in the Vedic solar ambivalence, dark, nightly Sun is close to the dead and the underworld, while the daily sun is shiny. There is a difference between Savitri's and Surya's time. Savitri is the Sun prior to rising, before the dawn, or sun just setting. Road from rising to setting belongs to Surya, as the shiniest part of the day.⁴⁷ Surya measures the day.⁴⁸

In the Nordic images "horse boat" takes a special place (Fig. 13g, 14) and consequently also sun horses which pull the boat or chariot (Trundholm)⁴⁹ over waters on the horizon. There is also a Nordic "bird-boat".⁵⁰ Boat and horse are two crucial motifs in depicting solar sailing of the North, or more precisely, Nordic three-part structure of the Cosmos.⁵¹ In Liburnia "horse boat" appears (Grobnik, Kastav: Fig. 30c)⁵² during the Late Iron Age. It was particularly popular in the Liburnian hinterland, with the Iapodes, but also in the parts of the eastern Alpine circle where its form most often gets

⁴⁵ A. A. MACDONELL, 1974, 31, 32-34.

⁴⁶ A. A. MACDONELL, 1974, 32-34.

⁴⁷ A. A. MACDONELL, 1974, 33-34.

⁴⁸ A. A. MACDONELL, 1974, 30-31.

⁴⁹ F. KAUL, 2010, 521-536.

⁵⁰ Misli se da bi nordijska „ptičja lađa“ mogla potjecati iz kulture polja sa žarama. F. KAUL, 2003, 41.

⁵¹ F. KAUL, 2005, 134-148.

⁵² D. GLOGOVIĆ, 1989, T 42, 2, 5; S. KUKOČ, 2009, 189.

⁴⁵ A. A. MACDONELL, 1974, 31, 32-34.

⁴⁶ A. A. MACDONELL, 1974, 32-34.

⁴⁷ A. A. MACDONELL, 1974, 33-34.

⁴⁸ A. A. MACDONELL, 1974, 30-31.

⁴⁹ F. KAUL, 2010, 521-536.

⁵⁰ Nordic "bird boat" may have originated from the Urnfield culture. F. KAUL, 2003, 41.

⁵¹ F. KAUL, 2005, 134-148.

⁵² D. GLOGOVIĆ, 1989, T 42, 2, 5; S. KUKOČ, 2009, 189.

lađi doista konkretizira lik ljudskih obilježja⁵³ (Sl. 30c) u shemi „Gospodarice konja“ ili „Gospodara konja“.⁵⁴ Ista pojava postoji i kod Picena: privjesak – pektoral u shemi *potnije hyppon* iz Colli del Tronto (Sl. 30b).⁵⁵

Upravo nordijske slike plovidbe, s bitnom ulogom solarnih konja (Sl. 14), doduše uz štošta drugo, npr. rgvedsku literaturu, dokažu u osnovi identičnu, solarnu simboliku, i konja i ptice općenito, pa tako i u sastavu japodskih i (kasnih) liburnskih pektoralala. Staroindijski žrtveni (sveti) konj⁵⁶ ujedinjuje simboliku vatre, vode, Zemlje i Kozmosa. On je, dakle, i solaran; njegovom žrtvom nastaje Kozmos. Rgvedski Surya, gospodar svega, o kojemu ovisi cijeli svijet, svevideći je: oko je vrhunskog Mitre i Varune, ali i Agnija. On je i ptica i konj i u vezi je s diskom, kotačem i kolima.⁵⁷

Unatoč zaključku⁵⁸ da zamjena ptice konjem, u sastavu liburnskih (i japodskih) pektoralala i drugih srodnih apeninskih i uopće europskih nakitnih sklopova, ne mijenja njihovu opću, zajedničku im solarnu strukturu, ostaju nejasni razlozi uvođenja, doduše, količinski ipak neznatne, „konjske lađe“ kod Liburna (Sl. 30c), kao i razlozi njezine sve

certain anthropomorphous characteristics, or a figure with actual anthropomorphous characteristics is concretized on the boat⁵³ (Fig. 30c) in the scheme of “Mistress of Horses” or “Master of Horses”⁵⁴. We can notice the same phenomenon in Picenum: pendant – pectoral is the scheme of *potnia hyppon* from Colli del Tronto (Fig. 30b).⁵⁵

Exactly these Nordic images of sailing, with an important role of solar horses (Fig. 14) with some other sources such as Rigveda confirm basically identical, solar symbolics, of a horse and bird in general, including the Iapodean and (later) Liburnian pectorals. Old Indian sacrificial (sacred) horse⁵⁶ unifies symbolics of fire, water, Earth and Cosmos. Therefore he is also solar, the Cosmos is created due to his sacrifice. Surya from Rigveda, master of everything, on whom entire world depends sees everything: he is the eye of supreme Mitra and Varuna, but also of Agni. He is also a bird and a horse and he is related to the disk, wheel and chariot.⁵⁷

In spite of conclusion⁵⁸ that the replacement of bird with horse on the Liburnian (and Iapodean) pectorals and in other Apennine and generally similar jewelry sets does not alter their

⁵³ Poseban je problem karakter toga očito zagonetnog i nikad definiranog antropomorfog lika, ikonografski samo naslućenog ili pak konkretiziranog na solarnim vozilima već u stoljećima prijelaza brončanog u željezno doba, dakako, i kasnije, u mnogim europskim solarnim prikazima, uključujući i same pektoralale i različite složene privjeske. Narav toga lika na tako širokom prostoru sigurno nije bila ista i sigurno je podrazumijevala njegove različite simbolične aspekte i karaktere u konkretnim sredinama. Antropomorfnik lik, u solarnom okruženju, obično je jednostavnoga adorantskog tipa, ili je pak dan, već početkom 1. tis. pr. Kr., posebno na apeninskim prostorima, osobito od 8. st. pr. Kr. nadalje, u različitim inačicama ikonografsko-semantički vrlo slojevitog i drevnog istočnjačkog i egejskog (kretske-mikenskog) koncepta „Gospodarice životinja“ (Prirode) (S. KUKOČ, 2009, 189). Inačice te stare sheme, i to u liku „Gospodarice konja“ (i „Gospodara konja“), u izrazito solarnom okruženju iskazane su na Sredozemlju likovno vrlo konkretno, figurativno u prvim stoljećima željeznog doba npr. na posudi iz Pithekousses. G. BUCHNER, D. RIDGWAY, 1993, T 235.

⁵⁴ S. KUKOČ, 2009, 172-174.

⁵⁵ E. MANGANI, 2003, 297, 309, T VI/c.

⁵⁶ M. JEŽIĆ, 1986, 177.

⁵⁷ A. A. MACDONELL, 1974, 31.

⁵⁸ S. KUKOČ, 2003, 243-250.

⁵³ Character of this evidently mysterious and never defined anthropomorphous figure is a special problem. Iconographically it was only implied or it was specified on solar vehicles in the centuries of transition from the Bronze to the Iron Ages, and later on, in many European solar depictions, including the pectorals and various complex pendants. Character of this figure in such wide region definitely was not identical and it must have implied various symbolical aspects and characters in specific environments. Anthropomorphous figure in solar surrounding usually belongs to simple adorant type, or it is represented in different variants of iconographically and semantically very complex and ancient, oriental and Aegean (Cretan-Mycenean) concept of the “Mistress of Animals” (Nature) as early as the beginning of the 1st millennium BC particularly in the Apennine regions, and especially from the 8th century BC (S. KUKOČ, 2009, 189). Variants of this old scheme, in representation of “Mistress of Horses” (and “Master of Horses”) in distinctly solar surroundings are represented on the Mediterranean very specifically in visual terms, figuratively in the first centuries of the Iron Age: e.g. on the vessel from Pithekoussai. G. BUCHNER, D. RIDGWAY, 1993, T 235.

⁵⁴ S. KUKOČ, 2009, 172-174.

⁵⁵ E. MANGANI, 2003, 297, 309, T VI/c.

⁵⁶ M. JEŽIĆ, 1986, 177.

⁵⁷ A. A. MACDONELL, 1974, 31.

⁵⁸ S. KUKOČ, 2003, 243-250.

češće pojave u susjednim krajevima, u istočnom halštatskom svijetu u „mlađe“ željezno doba. Konj i njegova lađa (kola), no i sama „ptičja lađa“, očito više nisu bili (samo) izraz mitsko-religijskog promišljanja o cikličnosti Svijeta uređenog Sunčevom dinamikom na način brončanog i prvih stoljeća željeznog doba, nego su donosili nove poruke u kojima se sve više zrcali „društvenost“. I premda je odavno očito da tijekom željeznog doba i na apeninskim prostorima značenja motiva i simbola konja (izvornog ekvivalenta solarnoj ptici) idu prema „društvenoj semantici“, u mnogim apeninskim zajednicama s početka željeznog doba, uključujući i samu Etruriju 9./8. st. pr. Kr., „ptičja simbolika“ ne može se jednostavno svesti na arheološki već izbljedjelu formulu „označavanja elite“ i „isticanja društvenog statusa“.⁵⁹

U nordijskim mitovima o Sunčevu putovanju razna vodena bića (zmije, ribe), pripadajući noći i tami, simbolična su suprotnost solarnom konju i ptici koji vuku Sunčevo plovilo i sam Sunčev disk. Na sveukupnim liburnskim pektoralima ničim nije izrečena borba bića tih dviju sfera, tipična za solarne „priče“ i ništa ne aludira na vodeni svijet kao potencijalno neprijateljski Sunčevu krajoliku.⁶⁰ Ali, na gornjoj lađi picenskog pektoral (Sl. 26b) pojavljuje se motiv stabla (jele?).⁶¹

⁵⁹ Veliku rasprostranjenost solarne „ptičje simbolike“ po određenim apeninskim prostorima ne može uvjerljivo objasniti niti stanovito „kompromisna“ teza, no ipak iznikla na *socio-culturale* primišljanju o „statusu i eliti“, prema kojoj bi solarna (božanska?) sakralnost, predočena „ptičjim“ formama (ikonografijom), za čovjeka imala funkciju posrednika i sredstva u traženju, ali i stjecanju elitnoga društvenog statusa početkom željeznog doba u Etruriji. Usp. C. IAIA, 2004, 310.

⁶⁰ U cjelini liburnske kulture tijekom 1. tis. pr. Kr. uglavnom nema fantastičnih i irealnih bića. Jedno od objašnjenja, ali uglavnom formalne naravi, možda je i u činjenici da Liburni nisu imali vidnije stilske (kulturne) sadržaje primjerene „orijentalizirajućem“ fenomenu koji, uz likovnu konkretnost i narativnost, donosi fantastiku i maštovitost: irealni bestiarij, postupno i sam ljudski lik. U Picenumu, međutim, koji je imao orijentalizirajuće sadržaje, sveukupni pektoral također nemaju likovno konkretiziran sukob svjetlo-tama niti elemente irealnog.

⁶¹ S. KUKOČ, 2012, 70, 80, sl. 29/b.

general, common solar structure, it is not clear why “horse boat” was introduced by the Liburnians (Fig. 30c) though in small amount. It also appears more often in the neighbouring regions, in the eastern Hallstatt world in the “Late” Iron Age and the reasons therein are unknown. Horse and the accompanying boat (chariot), as well as the “bird boat”, were evidently no longer (only) an expression of mythical-religious considerations about the cyclic quality of the world arranged with the Dynamics of the Sun in the manner of the Bronze Age and first centuries of the Iron Age, but they brought new messages which increasingly reflect “sociality”. Although it has been evident for a while that during the Iron Age in the Apennine regions meanings of motifs and symbols of horse (original equivalent of a bird) develop towards “social semantics”, in many Apennine communities from the beginning of the Iron Age, including Etruria in the 9th and 8th centuries, “bird symbolics” cannot be simply reduced to archaeologically worn out formula of “denoting the elite” and “emphasizing social status”.⁵⁹

In the Nordic myths about the Sun’s journey various water creatures (snakes, fish) which belong to the night and darkness represent a symbolical opposite of the solar horse and bird which pull the Sun boat and Sun disk. On all Liburnian pectorals battle of creatures from these two spheres, typical of solar “stories” and nothing alludes to the water world as a potential threat to the Sun’s landscape.⁶⁰ However on

⁵⁹ Wide distribution of the solar “bird symbolics” in the certain Apennine regions cannot be explained convincingly by a “compromise” thesis born from *socio-culturale* considerations of the “status and elite” which proposes that solar (divine?) sacredness depicted with “birds” forms (iconography), functioned as a mediator and means in seeking and obtaining elite social status at the beginning of the Iron Age in Etruria. Cf. C. IAIA, 2004, 310.

⁶⁰ In the Liburnian culture during the 1st millennium BC there are virtually no fantastic or unreal beings. One of explanations, but rather formal, is that the Liburnians did not have more distinct stylistic (cultural) contents suitable for “orientalizing” phenomenon which alongside visual specificity and narration also brought fiction and imagination: unreal bestiary, and gradually also the human figure. However in Picenum which had orientalizing aspects,

On je prisutan i na ponekoj fibuli *a disco* (Sala Consilina: Sl. 20c, 21f). On jest glavna suprotnost tamnoj strani Svijeta: donjoj pektoralnoj lađi. Stablo je Sunce, odnosno, Kozmos. Isti mitski sukob svjetlo-tama likovno nije razrađen na apeninskim fibulama *a disco* i na fibulama tipa Osor.⁶² Nije primjetan niti u geometrizmu europske solarne simboličke *urnenfelder* svijeta s bogatstvom solarnih lađa i kola. Rijetki su prikazi vodenih bića i u *villanova* simboličnim sintaksama o Sunčevu putovanju; no ipak se katkad pojave, npr. zmije oko ptičje lađe ili pak riba (simbol prijelaza) na širokim *villanova* pojasevima, npr. u Picenumu (Fermo;⁶³ „necropoli del Salino“: Sl. 19).⁶⁴

Naglašeno dugi i gusti lanci na pektoralima kod Liburna (Sl. 1, 6) i Picena (Sl. 24-26, 29), i drugdje, Sunčeve su zrake, znak njezova okomitog svjetlosno-toplinskog djelovanja na zemno-podzemne (ktonične) sfere. Prauzor tome postoji i u staroegipatskom likovno-religijskom svijetu. Pektoralni lanci mogu se, dakle, nazvati i sunčevim rukama ili prstima. Jer, Sunce je često prikazano s više istaka na zrakama poput ruku obično s trima prstima (i sa znakom *ankh* na kraju zrake);⁶⁵ također i na nordijskim slikama⁶⁶ (Sl. 13a). Bit izvorne simboličke ranih europskih pektoralna solarne forme, konkretno podunavsko-karpatske ikonografije te one apeninske (picenske i druge), s „ptičjim lađama“ i naglašeno dugim lancima iz prvih stoljeća 1. tis. pr. Kr., dobro se shvaća upravo kroz eksplicitne i jednostavne prikaze Sunca, kao što su staroegipatski, prije svega oni iz Amarna stila, iz doba Amenofisa IV. (XIX. dinastija).⁶⁷

Motiv „triprsta“⁶⁸ prisutan je u likovnom

the upper boat of the pectoral from Picenum (Fig. 26b) there is a motif of a tree (fir?).⁶¹ It can also be found on some fibulae *a disco* (Sala Consilina: Fig. 20c, 21f). It is the main opposite of the dark side of the World: lower boat on the pectoral. The tree is the Sun, i. e. Cosmos. The same mythical conflict between light and dark has not been articulated visually neither on the Apennine fibulae *a disco* nor on the Osor-type fibulae.⁶² It is not noticeable in the geometrism of the European solar symbolics of the Urnfield world with abundance of solar boats and chariots. Depictions of water creatures are also rare in the Villanovan symbolical syntaxes about the Sun's journey; however they occasionally appear e.g. birds around the bird boat or a fish (symbol of transition) on wide Villanovan belts, for instance in Picenum (Fermo;⁶³ „necropoli del Salino“: Fig. 19).⁶⁴

Distinctly long and dense chains on the pectorals of the Liburnians (Fig. 1, 6), Picenians (Fig. 24-26, 29) and elsewhere, are Sun rays, sign of its vertical emanation of light and heat on earthly/underground (chthonic) spheres. Ancient model for such representation can be found in the old Egyptian religious representations. Therefore pectoral chains can be called sun's hands or fingers since the Sun is often depicted with several protrusions on the rays resembling hands usually with three fingers (with the sign *ankh* at the end of the ray⁶⁵); also on the Nordic images⁶⁶ (Fig. 13a). The essence of original symbolics of the early European pectorals in solar form of specifically Danubian-Carpathian iconography as well as the Apennine one (Picenian and others) with “bird boats” and very long chains from the first centuries of the first millennium BC is well understood exactly owing to

pectorals do not have visually specific conflict of light and dark nor the elements of unreal.

⁶² S. KUKOČ, 2012, 74.

⁶³ L. DRAGO TROCCOLI, 2003, 49, 72, sl.7 C/1, sl. 22 A.

⁶⁴ N. LUCENTINI, 2007, sl. 4/6.

⁶⁵ G. ROBINS, 1997, 148.

⁶⁶ Prikaz na rogu iz Wismara, oko 800. g. pr. Kr.: Ch. SOMMERFELD, 2006, 80.

⁶⁷ G. ROBINS, 1997, 148, sl. 172.

⁶⁸ Postoji likovna sličnost između prastaroga prapovijesnog

⁶¹ S. KUKOČ, 2012, 70, 80, fig. 29/b.

⁶² S. KUKOČ, 2012, 74.

⁶³ L. DRAGO TROCCOLI, 2003, 49, 72, fig. 7 C/1, fig. 22 A.

⁶⁴ N. LUCENTINI, 2007, fig. 4/6.

⁶⁵ G. ROBINS, 1997, 148.

⁶⁶ Depiction on a horn from Wismar, ca. 800 BC. Ch. SOMMERFELD, 2006, 80.

repertoaru od ranoga brončanog doba u više kultura, npr. u Nagyrév kulturi⁶⁹ s njezinom solarnom ikonografijom. Tipičan je za *villanova* svijet (Lazio I, II), uz ostalo, i za *villanova*-urne srednje Italije, gdje je ikonografski spojen s motivom „ptičje lađe“. On je i ovdje Sunčev zrakasti snop od triju istaka koji izbijaju ispod ptičjeg plovila.⁷⁰ Javlja se i na *villanova*-urnama u Picenumu (Fermo).⁷¹ Motiv „triprsta“, ali postavljen na kraju duže okomice, čime asocira na antropomorfno, iskucan je kod Liburna na privjesku od brončanog lima iz 7./6. st. pr. Kr. (grob 3 iz Zatona: Sl. 42).⁷² Privjesak pripada brojnoj, inačicama bogatoj i prostorno vrlo proširenoj skupini jednostavnih trokutastih privjesaka željeznog doba, sigurno dekorativne i, katkad, simbolične naravi. Na završetku pak lanaca picenskih pektoralna vise mnogobrojni privjesci najrazličitijih oblika. Često su antropomorfni, bilo geometrijski stilizirani i plošni, ili pak konkretnije i trodimenzionalno oblikovani.⁷³ Njihova pojava može označavati dodir Sunca i čovjeka (Zemlje). Namjena im je, uz estetsku, bila zaštitnička. U istom picenskom kontekstu istaknutu ulogu ima i privjesak u obliku ruke (Sl. 28j).⁷⁴ Vjerojatno i njegova značenja u ovom prapovijesnom trenutku treba izvoditi iz (stare) solarne simbolike zaštitničkih sunčevih zraka s prstima. Privjesak u obliku ruke⁷⁵ na sebi obično ima urezan kružić s točkom u sredini što upućuje na Sunce.

Nasuprot picenskim pektoralima s važnom ulogom ženskog lika na lađi (Numa-

explicit and simple representations of the Sun, such as the old Egyptian examples, particularly the ones from the Amarna style, from the period of Amenophis IV (XIX dynasty).⁶⁷

The motif of “three-finger”⁶⁸ is present in the visual repertory of the Early Bronze Age in several cultures, such as Nagyrév culture⁶⁹ with its solar iconography. It is typical of the Villanovan – world (Lazio I, II), and of the Villanovan urns of central Italy where it was iconographically connected with the motif of the “bird boat”. In this case it is also Sun’s radial ray with three protrusions which emerge under the bird boat.⁷⁰ It also appears on Villanovan urns in Picenum (Fermo).⁷¹ Motif of “three-finger” placed at the end of the longer vertical having therefore anthropomorphous characteristics, was stamped on the Liburnian pendant made of sheet bronze from the 7th/6th centuries BC (grave 3 from Zaton: Fig. 42).⁷² The pendant belongs to a group of simple triangular pendants from the Iron Age with many variants and wide distribution which had decorative and sometimes also symbolical character. Many pendants in various forms hang at the end of the chain of the Picenian pectorals. They often have anthropomorphous form, whether geometrically stylized and flat, or shaped more concretely, in three dimensions.⁷³ Their appearance may denote contact of the Sun and man (Earth). Their function was not only aesthetic but also apotropaic. Hand-shaped pendant had an important role in the same Picenian context (Fig. 28j).⁷⁴ Probably its meanings in this pre/historic moment should be derived from the (old) solar symbolics of protective sun

motiva „triprsta“ i istog s recentne, tradicionalne nošnje Dalmacije.

⁶⁹ R. SCHREIBER-KALICZ, 1984, T XLII/5.

⁷⁰ G. COLONNA, 1974, T 125-26, 129, 132/a; S. KUKOČ, 2009, sl. 186, sl. 266.

⁷¹ L. DRAGO TROCCOLI, 2003, 36-37, sl. 2/B 1, bilj. 20. Autorica motiv, izveden otiskom vrpce, naziva „češljastim“ (*a pettine*).

⁷² F. STARÈ, 1970, T II; Š. BATOVIĆ, 1981, 140-142.

⁷³ D. RANDALL-MacIVER, 1927, T 27, T 28; M. LANDOLFI, 2000, 127, sl. 101.

⁷⁴ M. LANDOLFI, 2000, 127, sl. 101-102.

⁷⁵ C. CHIARAMONTE TRERÉ, 2003, sl. 11/c-e.

⁶⁷ G. ROBINS, 1997, 148, fig. 172.

⁶⁸ There is a visual resemblance between the old prehistoric motif of “three-finger” and the identical motif from the recent, traditional Dalmatian costume.

⁶⁹ R. SCHREIBER-KALICZ, 1984, T XLII/5.

⁷⁰ G. COLONNA, 1974, T 125-126, 129, 132/a; S. KUKOČ, 2009, fig. 186, fig. 266.

⁷¹ L. DRAGO TROCCOLI, 2003, 36-37, fig. 2/B 1, note 20. The author refers to the motif, made by impressing a cord, as “comb-like” (*a pettine*).

⁷² F. STARÈ, 1970, T II; Š. BATOVIĆ, 1981, 140-142.

⁷³ D. RANDALL-MacIVER, 1927, T 27, T 28; M. LANDOLFI, 2000, 127, fig. 101.

⁷⁴ M. LANDOLFI, 2000, 127, fig. 101-102.

na⁷⁶; Cupra Marittima, grob 14 C, 6. st. pr. Kr.: Sl. 31a⁷⁷; Colli del Tronto: Sl. 30b⁷⁸; Montegiorgio, 6./7. st. pr. Kr.: Sl. 30a⁷⁹), koji je ikonografski bio inspiriran *villanova* i orijentalizirajućim etruščanskim svijetom i apeninskim grčkim i greciziranim jugom, i to najočitije od 7. st. pr. Kr. nadalje, katkad čak s rukama-pticama (Sl. 31a), odnosno, konjskim glavama (Sl. 30b), te nasuprot približno istovremenim sličnim (pektoralnim) sintezama solarne lađe/kotača i antropomorfno elementa iz drugih sredina (Dolenjska), na tijelu sveukupnih liburnskih pektoralna nikad se ne pojavljuje ljudski lik konkretnije oblikovan. Određeni izuzetak samo su kasni, ali i nadalje likovno nekonkretni liburnski privjesci (Sl. 30c). Kod Liburna (i Japoda) zato su česti mali antropomorfni trokutasti likovi s rukama-pticama: privjesci tipa Prozor (Zaton, gr. 3.: Sl. 42),⁸⁰ ali i neki njima ikonografski bliski, koji su pak rjeđi.

U različitim kulturnim sredinama,⁸¹ u prvim stoljećima 1. tis. pr. Kr. i nadalje, plovidba dviju „sunčevih lađa“, dnevne i noćne, ikonografski je katkad predočena s izokrenutim (donjim) plovilom: na pojedinim nordijskim brijačima⁸² i ogrlicama⁸³ (Sl. 15b), na apeninskom prostoru (Este, Bologna)⁸⁴ (Sl. 15a, 16b), u Picenumu, na *villanova*-pojasu (Sl. 19) podrijetlom negdje iz Etrurije,⁸⁵ ali i na samim liburnskim pektoralima, uglav-

rays with fingers. Hand-shaped pendant⁷⁵ usually bears a small inscribed cross with a dot in the middle indicating to the Sun.

Human figure shaped in detail does not appear on the body of the Liburnian pectorals as opposed to the Picenian pectorals with an important role of a female figure on the boat (Numana⁷⁶; Cupra Marittima, grave 14 C, 6th cent. BC: Fig. 31a⁷⁷; Colli del Tronto: Fig. 30b⁷⁸; Montegiorgio, 6th/7th century BC: Fig. 30a⁷⁹), which was inspired iconographically with the Villanovan and orientalizing Etruscan world and the Apennine south, which is most evident from the 7th century BC onwards, sometimes even with hands-birds (Fig. 31a) i.e. horse heads (Fig. 30b) and as opposed to roughly synchronous similar (pectoral) syntheses of the solar boat/wheel and anthropomorphous element from the other regions (Dolenjska). Late but still visually unspecific Liburnian pendants represent a certain exception (Fig. 30c). In the Liburnian (and Iapodean) cultural inventory we often find small anthropomorphous triangular figures with arms-birds: Prozor-type pendants (Zaton, grave 3: Fig. 42),⁸⁰ or some other types exhibiting iconographical similarities but they are less frequent.

In various cultural environments,⁸¹ in the first centuries of the first millennium BC, and later on, sailing of two sun boats, daily and nightly, is sometimes depicted iconographically with a reversed (lower) boat: on certain Nordic ra-

⁷⁶ Riječ je o nekoliko primjeraka poznatoga picenskog pektoralnog tipa s antropomorfim likovima na trapezoidnoj pločici (lađi?), datiranog potkraj 7. i u 6. st. pr. Kr., tipičnog za Numanu. Konkretno, u ženskom grobu 357 iz Sirolo – Numame iz prve polovice 6. st. pr. Kr., uz pektoral bile su fibule tipa *pracertosa*, *Grottazzolina*, *San Ginesio*, *a due bottoni*. M. LANDOLFI, 2000, 126-127, sl. 101.

⁷⁷ D. G. LOLLINI, 1976, sl. 15/1; N. LUCENTINI, 2000b, 265, sl. 537.

⁷⁸ E. MANGANI, 2003, 309, T VIc.

⁷⁹ A. PRELOŽNIK, M. SAKARA SUČEVIĆ, S. SEIDEL, 2006, 43, sl. 20.

⁸⁰ F. STARÈ, 1970, T I-II; S. KUKOČ, 1995, 51-80.

⁸¹ A. BENAC, B. ČOVIĆ, 1957, T XXVII/5.

⁸² Usp. F. KAUL, 2003, 40-41, sl. 7.

⁸³ R. MARASZEK, 2006, 80-81.

⁸⁴ G. KOSSACK, 1954, T 9/4-5; L. LAURENZI, 1959, 37, sl. 4, 6.

⁸⁵ N. LUCENTINI, 2007, sl. 4/6.

⁷⁵ C. CHIARAMONTE TRERÉ, 2003, fig. 11/c-e.

⁷⁶ We are referring to several examples of the famous Picenian pectoral type with anthropomorphous figures on a trapezoidal platelet (boat?), dated to the end of the 7th and 6th centuries BC, typical of Numana. Specifically, in female grave 357 from Sirolo – Numana from the first half of the 6th century, the pectoral was accompanied by the following types of fibulae: pre-Certosa, Grottazzolina, San Ginesio, *a due bottoni* from the first half of the 6th century BC. M. LANDOLFI, 2000, 126-127, fig. 101.

⁷⁷ D. G. LOLLINI, 1976, fig. 15/1; N. LUCENTINI, 2000b, 265, fig. 537.

⁷⁸ E. MANGANI, 2003, T 309/VIc.

⁷⁹ A. PRELOŽNIK, M. SAKARA SUČEVIĆ, S. SEIDEL, 2006, 43, fig. 20.

⁸⁰ F. STARÈ, 1970, T I-II; S. KUKOČ, 1995, 51-80.

⁸¹ A. BENAC, B. ČOVIĆ, 1957, T XXVII/5.

nom jantarnima (Sl. 39a, 40). Na pojasu iz Picenuma (Sl. 19) jasno je oslikana Sunčeva dnevno-noćna plovidba prikazana dvjema „ptičjim lađama“ sa solarnim diskom. Između izokrenutih lađa je gusti spiralni snop, tipičan znak moćne svjetlosne Sunčeve mreže na Nebu, u Kozmosu, dakle, svojevrsni ikonografsko-semantički pandan dugim pektoralnim lancima. Izokrenutost donje lađe ne poništava pripadnost i takvih prikaza istoj mitskoj strukturi o tamno-svijetloj Sunčevoj plovidbi, naprotiv, prikazi s izokrenutom donjom lađom dodatno naglašavaju primordijalnu dijalektiku „donjeg“ i „gornjeg“, odnosno, svijetlog-tamnog. Sve izokrenute Sunčeve lađe upućuju na to da se one gibaju po kružnici (Sl. 13b, 20b), ma kako da su se zamišljali prostorni sadržaji toga kruga/diska.

Uz shemu Raova premještanja s dnevne na noćnu lađu koje se sučeljavaju u jednoj horizontalnoj ravni, postoji i staroegipatska shema Raove dnevno-noćne plovidbe raspoređene u dva vodoravna usporedna pojasa, pri čemu su donja plovila katkad također okrenuta naglavce; konkretno, na jednom hipocefalusu. Sve naslikano na tom magičnom disku vodoravnom je crtom podijeljeno na gornju i donju polovinu. Dok su u gornjoj dvije nasuprotne Raove lađe „u susretu“, u donjoj, noćnoj, gdje brodom plove božanski Raovi supstituti (Horus, Sveti skarabej), sve prikazano je potpuno „neprirodno“ postavljeno. Solarni oslikani disk (Horusovo oko)⁸⁶, zvan hipocefalus, priložen u grob, ispisan molitvama i oslikan scenama Sunčeva putovanja, treba pokojniku, identificiranom s božanskim Suncem, osigurati toplinu i vječni život duše, dakle, omogućiti pokojnikov ulazak, ali i izlazak iz podzemnog svijeta.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Okrugao oblik hipocefalusa slika je zjenice Horusova oka. E. A. T. WALLIS BUDGE, 1989, 101.

⁸⁷ „Neka veliki bog u svojem disku daruje zrake svoje podzemnom svijetu...“. E. A. T. WALLIS BUDGE, 1989, 101-103.

zors⁸² and necklaces⁸³ (Fig. 15b), in the Apennine region (Este, Bologna)⁸⁴ (fig. 15a, 16b), in Picenum, on the Villanovan belt (fig. 19), originating somewhere in Etruria,⁸⁵ but also on the Liburnian pectorals, mostly made of amber (Fig. 39a, 43). On the belt from Picenum (Fig. 19) Sun's daily-nightly sailing has been depicted clearly with two bird boats with a solar disk. Between the reversed boats is a thick spiral bundle as a typical sign of mighty network of sunlight in the Sky, in the Cosmos, as a kind of iconographic and semantical counterpart to long pectoral chains. Reversed position of the lower boat does not negate affiliation of such representations to the same mythical structure about dark-light sailing of the Sun, on the contrary, depictions with reversed lower boat additionally emphasize primordial dialectics of the "lower" and "upper" i.e. light and dark. All reversed Sun boats indicate that they moved circularly (Fig. 12b, 20b) regardless of conceptions of spatial contents of the circle/disk.

In addition to the scheme of Ra's transfer from the daily to nightly boat which confront in a horizontal plane, there is also an old Egyptian scheme of Ra's daily/nightly sailing distributed in two horizontal parallel belts in which lower boats are also upside down, specifically on a hypocephalus. Everything painted on that magic disk was divided into the upper and lower half with a horizontal line. While in the upper half, two opposite Ra's boats are "meeting", in the lower, nightly half, where divine Ra's substitutes (Horus, holy scarab) sail in a boat, everything is depicted in "unnatural" position. Solar painted disk (Eye of Horus),⁸⁶ called hypocephalus, put in the grave, written with prayers and painted with the Journey scenes, needed to ensure warmth and eternal life of the soul of the deceased person who was identified with the di-

⁸² Usp. F. KAUL, 2003, 40-41, fig. 7.

⁸³ R. MARASZEK, 2006, 80-81.

⁸⁴ G. KOSSACK, 1954, T 9/4-5; L. LAURENZI, 1959, 37, fig. 4, 6.

⁸⁵ N. LUCENTINI, 2007, fig. 4/6.

⁸⁶ Round shape of hypocephalus is an image of pupil of the Horus' eye. E. A. T. WALLIS BUDGE, 1989, 101.

Samo do određene razine simboličnoga, i uvijek u skladu s osebnjuošću pojedinoga kulturnog konteksta, funkciji staroegipatskog hipocefalusa približava se čin relativno čestog prilaganja skarabeja u grobove Etrurije, Campanije, Picenuma (Pianello di Castelbellino, grob 8; Campovalano, grob 47)⁸⁸ i drugdje po apeninskim prostorima te u samom Egiptu. Njima se približuju svi čino- vi darivanja pokojnika probranim grobnim priložima s prikazom Sunčeva putovanja. Uz europske posude-urne na „ptičjim/solarnim kolima“ (*Kesselwagen*),⁸⁹ no i štošta drugo, simbolično je iznimna gesta grobnog prilaganja jantarnih predmeta naglašeno solarnih formi (Sl. 38). Nekom od inačica mita o Sunčevu putovanju mogu se u kasno brončano doba i početkom željeznog doba objašnjavati i brojni, najrazličitiji predmeti iz svijeta muškaraca, žena i djece po europskim prostorima, od Sjevera do Juga: predmeti rata (kompletna oprema), obreda (sjekire, urne i dr.) i svakodnevnice (*domus*), od apeninskih brijača i pojaseva (Sl. 19, 34, 35a-c) do pojasa iz Flota u Poljskoj (9./8. st. pr. Kr.).⁹⁰ Svi su uporno oslikavani solarnim motivima u tadašnjim različitim kulturama. Tada se očito živjelo „pod zaštitom“ odabranoga solar- nog znaka i simbola, primarno križa/diska.

Kao sve solarne lađe, i dvije pektoralne kod Liburna (Sl. 1) i Picena (Sl. 24, 29) neovisno o (izokrenutom) položaju donjeg plovila, sredstvo su koje omogućuje uređenost Svijeta. Jer, noseći Sunce, plovidbom spajaju završne točke prekrštenih (imaginarnih) osi. Time oni spajaju četiri križna vremensko-prostorna odsječka nastala kružnim gibanjem Sunca. Nezaustavljivost kružnog kretanja ikonografski je ipak izražajna na nogama-diskovima fibula tipa Osor i po nogama različitih tipova apeninskih fibula *a disco* (Sl. 20, 21a-b, d-f, 23). Jer, kombina-

vine Sun and therefore enable entrance and way out of the underworld.⁸⁷

Function of the old Egyptian hypocephalus can be compared with the ritual of relatively frequent putting of a scarab in graves in Etruria, Campania, Picenum (Pianello di Castelbellino, grave 8; Campovalano, grave 47)⁸⁸ and elsewhere in the Apennine regions and in Egypt but only to a certain level of symbolics and always in accordance with specificity of a certain cultural context. There are also certain similarities with all acts of donating selected gifts to the deceased person bearing a depiction of the Sun's Journey. In addition to the European vessels-urns on the “bird/solar chariot” (*Kesselwagen*),⁸⁹ and some other things, ritual of putting amber objects with distinctly solar forms is exceptional in symbolic terms (Fig. 38).

Some of variants of the myth about the Sun's journey can be used to explain many diverse objects from the world of men, women and children in the European regions, from the North to the South in the Late Bronze Age and beginning of the Iron Age: objects of war (complete equipment), ritual (axes, urns, etc.) and everyday life (*domus*), from the Apennine razors and belts (Fig. 19, 34-35 a-c) to the belt from Flot, Poland (9th/8th century BC).⁹⁰ They were all ornamented with solar motifs in various cultures of the time. Evidently people lived “under protection” of the selected solar sign or symbol, primarily cross/disk.

As all solar boats, two pectoral boats in Liburnia (Fig. 1) and Picenum (Fig. 24, 29) regardless of the (reversed) position of the lower boat, are means to enable arranged world, because as they carry the Sun, they join final points of intersecting (imaginary) lines by sailing. In that way they connect four cross-shaped chronological and spatial sections made by circular movement of the Sun. Continuity of circular movement is

⁸⁸ G. CAPRIOTTI VITTOZZI, 2000, 231.

⁸⁹ Ch. PARE, 1989, 82-83, 93.

⁹⁰ B. HÄNSEL, 1997, 21, 133, sl. 2.

⁸⁷ “May the great god in his disk give his rays to the underworld ...?” E. A. T. WALLIS BUDGE, 1989, 101-103.

⁸⁸ G. CAPRIOTTI VITTOZZI, 2000, 231.

⁸⁹ Ch. PARE, 1989, 82-83, 93.

⁹⁰ B. HÄNSEL, 1997, 21, 133, fig. 2.

cija križa i kruga/diska ovdje je nadopunjena spiralom i svastikom.⁹¹ Obje izravno naglašavaju vrtnju, odnosno ciklično vrijeme. To je vrijeme sveto; uvijek se vraća kroz sadržaje četiriju odsječaka Sunčeva diska (Sl. 20a-b).

Solarni disk na gornjoj lađi pektoralna iz Nina i Zaton nije okrugao, poput uobičajenih solarnih diskova na lađama/kolima (Sl. 2a, 3, 7a, 8a). Organski je spojen s lađom iz koje izrasta: zato je gotovo četvrtastog oblika, ali sa zaobljenim vrhovima svojih gornjih kutova. I drugdje je Sunce na lađama katkad bliže četverokutu; vjerojatno je riječ tek o stilizaciji (Sl. 38a) ili likovnoj nevješnosti. I na najstarijim picenskim pektoralima, tipa *Ancona*, s dvije lađe (Sl. 24-25, 26b, 29), solarni disk je također neuobičajenog oblika: katkad pomalo četvrtastog (Sl. 29), ipak najčešće kružnog, ali tada podignutog na svojevrsnom postolju (Sl. 24, 26b). To ipak nije obilježje samo najstarijih picenskih pektoralna s dvije lađe, već i onih s jednom lađom, koji su posebno dobro uočljivi u „ženskim“ (i dječjim) grobovima Novilare (Novilara IIb: 720. – 690. g. pr. Kr.), s kraja 8. st. pr. Kr. i kasnije (Sl. 31b, 32).⁹² Postoji mišljenje da ovi rani jednodijelni pektoralni i nisu mlađi od picenskih dvodijelnih te da su u samoj Novilari svi jednodijelni pektoralni bilo raskošni s jasno prikazanim solarnim diskom (Sl. 31b, 32), bilo shematizirani bez solarnog diska, poput onoga iz Numane (Sl. 33), zapravo istovremeni, to jest s kraja 8. st. pr. Kr. i početka 7. st. pr. Kr.⁹³ Njihov solarni disk često je prazan (Sl. 31b) bez urezanih motiva ili pak nosi one koji nisu nedvojbeno solarni, što ih približava „ohladoj“ simbolici (?). Ipak, u grobovima ovi pektoralni i nadalje su standardni u simbolizaciji svijeta žene, koji je u pokopima Picenuma označen, uz ostalo, vretenom, pršljenom, kalemom te jantarom, staklom, školjkom, ali i keramičkom posu-

iconographically most intensively pronounced on the feet-disks of the Osor-type fibulae and on the feet of various types of the Apennine fibulae *a disco* (Fig. 20; 21a-b, d-f; 23). Combination of the cross and circle/disk was supplemented with a spiral and swastika in this case.⁹¹ They both emphasize spinning i.e. cyclical time which is sacred; it always gets back through the contents of four sections of the Sun disk (Fig. 20a-b).

Solar disk on the upper boat of the pectorals from Nin and Zaton is not round like usual solar disks on boats/chariots (Fig. 2a, 3, 7a, 8a). It is organically connected with the boat from which it grows, therefore it is almost square in form, but it has rounded tops of its upper corners. There are other examples where the Sun is squarer than round, probably it was just stylization (Fig. 38a) or artistic ineptness. On the oldest Picenian pectorals, of the *Ancona* type, with two boats (Fig. 24-25, 26b, 29), solar disk is also of unusual form, sometimes a bit square (Fig. 29), but most frequently circular, raised on a kind of pedestal (Fig. 24, 26b). However this is not an exclusive characteristic of the oldest Picenian pectorals with two boats, but also of the examples with only one boat, which are particularly noticeable in “female” (and children’s) graves of Novilare (Novilara II b: 720-690 BC), from the end of the 8th century BC and later (Fig. 31b, 32).⁹² There is an opinion that these early single-part pectorals are not younger than the two-part specimens; also that all single-part pectorals, whether elaborate, with clearly depicted solar disk (Fig. 31b, 32), or schematized, without the solar disk, such as the one from Numana (Fig. 33), are actually synchronous, i.e. from the end of the 8th century BC and beginning of the 7th century BC.⁹³ Their solar disk is often depicted empty (Fig. 31b), without the incised motifs or it carries the ones which are not undoubtedly solar bringing them closer to “detached” symbolics. However in the graves

⁹¹ S. KUKOČ, 2012, 31-116.

⁹² K. W. BEINHAEUER, 1985, 254, 336, 553-544, T 22/B, T 39/C-41/A, T 80/A, T 138-140, T 144/B-145.

⁹³ K. W. BEINHAEUER, 1985, 254.

⁹¹ S. KUKOČ, 2012, 31-116.

⁹² K. W. BEINHAEUER, 1985, 254, 336, 553-544, T 22/B, T 39/C-41/A, T 80/A, T 138-140, T 144/B-145.

⁹³ K. W. BEINHAEUER, 1985, 254.

dicom, tzv. *kothonom* koja na dugmetu svoje ručke obično nosi znak križa (u krugu) (Sl. 28b, 31b, 32, 44a). *Kothon*, postavljan u liburnske, picenske i histarske pokope obaju spolova,⁹⁴ 9. – 8. st. pr. Kr., sigurno je imao obrednu namjenu, kod libacije ili pak kao svjetiljka. Ako je doista bio izvor svjetlosti (za mrtve?), njegova simbolika u grobnom kontekstu načelno poprima višestruka značenja, pogotovo u kombinaciji s opremom pokojnika koja ima određene solarne simbolične aspekte. Oblikom netipičan, solarni disk na ninskoj i zatonskoj gornjoj pektoralnoj lađi (Sl. 3, 8a) punu analogiju ipak ima u pojedinim picenskim dvodijelnim pektoralima (Sl. 29).⁹⁵ Pektoral u Muzeju u Ascoli Piceno izravna je analogija oblikovanju gornje lađe obaju pektoralna iz Liburnije (Sl. 3, 8a). To je važan podatak u komparativnoj analizi najstarije liburnske i picenske pektoralne forme.

Ako „neobični“ solarni diskovi na gornjim pektoralnim lađama kod Picena i Liburna doista podrazumijevaju neko postolje, svi oni mogli bi se formom i značenjem uspoređivati sa stvarnim nordijskim (Danska, Jütland: Sl. 13e) ritualnim brončano-jantarnim predmetom (vis. 7 cm) s postoljem-držačem.⁹⁶ Često je bio i crtan po stijenama, prikazan na solarnoj lađi⁹⁷ (Sl. 13f, 17c). Njegov transparentni jantarni disk, koji označava Sunce, ima upisan križ (Sl. 13e). Upravo ovakav predmet može objasniti „zagonetnost“ poznatog predmeta istaknute solarne simbolike iz Tyrinsa⁹⁸ (oko 1200. g. pr. Kr.), u obliku jantarnog/solarnog križa postavljenog unutar diska izvedenog zlatnom žicom.

Uz asocijacije na nordijski svijet s njegovim pojavama Sunčeva „postolja“ na solarnom plovilu (Sl. 13f, 16c), neizbježne su i određene ikonografsko-simbolične asocijacije solar-nih pektoralnih diskova Liburnije i Picenuma

these pectorals are still standard in symbolizing the world of a woman which is in the Picenian burials denoted with a spindle, whorl, spool and amber, glass, shell, but also small ceramic vessel “*kothon*” which has a sign of cross (in a circle) on the button of its handle (Fig. 28j, 31b, 32, 44a). *Kothon*, included in the Liburnian, Picenian and Histrian burials of both sexes,⁹⁴ from the 9th to 8th centuries BC definitely had ritual function, in libation or as a lamp. If it really was a source of light (for the dead?), its symbolics in the funerary context generally assumes manifold meanings, particularly in combination with the equipment of the deceased person which has certain symbolical aspects. Solar disk of atypical form on the upper pectoral boat from Nin and Zaton (Fig. 3, 8a) finds full analogy in certain Picenian two-part pectorals (Museum of Ascoli Piceno: Fig. 29).⁹⁵ This is an important information in comparative analysis of the earliest Liburnian and Picenian pectoral form.

If “unusual” solar disks on the upper pectoral boats of the Picenians and Liburnians really imply a certain pedestal, they could all be compared in their form and meaning with actual Nordic (Denmark, Jütland: Fig. 13e) ritual bronze-amber object (height 7 cm) with a pedestal/holder.⁹⁶ It was often drawn on the rocks, depicted on the solar boat⁹⁷ (Fig. 13f, 17c). Its transparent amber disk, representing the Sun, has an inscribed cross (Fig. 13e). This kind of object can explain in a certain way “mysteriousness” of a famous object with pronounced solar symbolism from Tyrins⁹⁸ (ca. 1200 BC), in shape of an amber/solar cross placed inside a disk which was made of golden wire.

In addition to associations of the Nordic world with its phenomena of the Sun's pedestal on a solar boat (Fig. 13f, 16c), certain iconographic and symbolic associations of the solar pectoral disks from Liburnia and Picenum (Fig. 3, 24-

⁹⁴ K. MIHOVILIĆ, 2007, 85-94.

⁹⁵ D. RANDALL-MacIVER, 1927, T 28/3.

⁹⁶ F. KAUL, 2006, 67.

⁹⁷ F. KAUL, 2006, 66-69.

⁹⁸ Usp. A. PALAVESTRA, 1993, 22-23.

⁹⁴ K. MIHOVILIĆ, 2007, 85-94.

⁹⁵ D. RANDALL-MacIVER, 1927, T 28/3.

⁹⁶ F. KAUL, 2006, 67.

⁹⁷ F. KAUL, 2006, 66-69.

⁹⁸ Usp. A. PALAVESTRA, 1993, 22-23.

(Sl. 3, 24-26, 29) na staroegipatsku solarnu lađu. Ona u svojem crvenom Sunčevu disku na postolju nosi skarabeja – Sunčev supstitut – u prizoru koji je, uz ostalo, oslikan u unutrašnjosti mumijinog sanduka, konkretno, na mjestu njezine glave (Sl. 12a).⁹⁹

Možda je disk na visoko podignutom postolju na pektoralima Picena (Sl. 24-26, 31b, 32) također aluzija na predmet koji u nekom konkretnom solarnom obredu zamjenjuje Sunce? I Liburni i Piceni, s tadašnjom nesumnjivo bitnom ulogom pektoralnoga solarnog sloga, sigurno su provodili obrede pri obožavanju Sunca i imali za to instrumentarij, osobito u prvim stoljećima 1. tis. pr. Kr. Sam pektoral, poput onoga iz Nina ili Zatona, dug oko 60 – 70 cm, nije označavao samo nakitnu raskoš ili raskoš „društvenog položaja“. Njegov koncept religijski je utemeljen, s vjerojatnom funkcijom u obredima vezanim za posebne događaje u životu žene, odnosno zajednice.

Mitska tema o Svijetu kao neprekidnoj Sunčevoj plovidbi, likovno je ipak najjasnija u kompoziciji na pektoralnom disku iz Nina (Sl. 3, 5). Tu je kroz tri vodoravna pojasa, tj. kroz tri simbolične sfere, nebo – zemlju – podzemlje (?), mit dočaran geometrijskim ikoničnim simbolima, gotovo matematički apstraktnim načinom, ali ipak s određenom narativnošću, dakle u stilu određene „apstraktne naracije“. Treći kompozicijski pojas ove mitske „priče“ teče po samoj „ptičjoj lađi“.

U prvom pojasu dominira motiv tzv. malteškog križa (Sl. 3, 5a). On četverostruko dijeli prostor prve sfere. Oblikovan je od izduženog romba s trokutastim izdancima, poput brojnih istih križeva nacrtanih po različitim predmetima (Sl. 21a-e; 23a),¹⁰⁰ ali i po picenskim pektoralima (Sl. 25). Kako je prikazan na disku, predočava Sunce kao kozmički simbol. No, križ iz Nina dodat-

26, 29) with the old Egyptian solar boat are inevitable. In the red Sun disk this boat carries a scarab on a pedestal – substitute of the Sun – in a scene which is depicted in the interior of a mummy's coffin, specifically, at the place of her head (Fig. 12a).⁹⁹

Perhaps a disk on highly erected pedestal on the Picenian pectorals (Fig. 24-26, 31b, 32) is also an allusion to an object which replaces the Sun in some specific solar ritual? Both the Liburnians and the Picenians, with undoubtedly important role of the pectoral solar expression, definitely held rituals of adoration of the Sun and had the necessary instruments, particularly in the first centuries of the first millennium BC. The pectoral itself, similar to the examples from Nin or Zaton, about 60-70 cm long, did not mark only richness of the jewelry or wealth of the “social position”; its concept was founded on religion, with probable function in the rituals related to special events in life of a woman i.e. community.

Mythical theme of the world as continuous sailing of the Sun is visually clearest on the composition of a pectoral disk from Nin (Fig. 3, 5). In three horizontal zones, i.e. three symbolical spheres, Sky – Earth – Underworld (?), myth was depicted with geometric iconic symbols, in an almost mathematical abstract way, but with a kind of narration, therefore in style of certain “abstract narration”. The third composition zone of this mythical “story” goes over the “bird boat”.

In the first zone motif of the so-called Maltese cross (Fig. 3, 5a) is dominant. It divided the area of the first sphere in four segments. It is formed of an elongated rhomb with triangular extensions, similar to many identical crosses drawn on various objects (Fig. 21a-e; 23a),¹⁰⁰ and on the Picenian pectorals (Fig. 25). As depicted on the disk, it represents the Sun as a cosmic symbol. But the cross from Nin was additionally surrounded with distinct dots, each in its segment

⁹⁹ G. ROBINS, 1997, 200-201, sl. 242.

¹⁰⁰ S. KUKOČ, 2012, 55, sl. 20/c. d, sl. 21.

⁹⁹ G. ROBINS, 1997, 200-201, fig. 242.

¹⁰⁰ S. KUKOČ, 2012, 55, fig. 20/c-d, fig. 21.

no je okružen istaknutim točkama, svakom u svojem segmentu (Sl. 3, 5a). To su četiri mala koncentrična kruga između kojih je prostor ispunjen zrakastim crticama, s točkom u središtu. Oni simboliziraju Sunčeve oči dok nadziru prostor četiriju polja diska. I planetarni znak Sunca je krug s točkom u središtu; također i staroegipatski simbol Sunca.¹⁰¹ Među likovno najkonkretnije Sunčeve oči spadaju, dakako, staroegipatske božanske oči, Raove ili Horusove.¹⁰² I drugdje su se točkom u krugu prikazivale Sunčeve oči; konkretno, u potpuno apstraktnim apeninskim geometriziranim „pejzažima“, predstavljanim na odabranim dijelovima odjeće različitih osoba, pa i ratnika.¹⁰³

Četiri križno raspoređene točke na pektoralu iz Nina dodatno ispunjavaju motiv „križa u krugu“ (disku). One naglašavaju kod njega već prisutnu kozmičku važnost broja četiri, odnosno, četverostrukost. Cijeli znak grafički predočava svijet kao disk/krug, Suncem križno usustavljen, u znaku broja četiri, podijeljen na četiri vremensko-prostorna dijela, s četvornim ritmom vremena i s rasprostiranjem u četiri pravca/odsječka. On jest središnji likovno-religijski kôd (kasnog) brončanog i ranog željeznog doba u mnogim zajednicama. Sam po sebi, posebno u kontekstima s „ptičjim“ motivima, vrhunac je solarnoga simboličnog sažimanja. Stoga je upravo on pravi epicentar simbolike pektoralnog koncepta u Liburna i Picena.

Jednostavna trodijelna „kozmiologija“ imanentna je ovakvoj simboličnoj sintezi: solarom križno-kružnom ustroju Kozmosa. To ne znači da, u svojoj „arhetipskoj“ trodijelnoj elementarnosti (nebo-zemlja-podzemlje), ona nije postojala davno prije relativno raščlanjene religijske solarnosti tijekom (kasnog) brončanog i željeznog doba. Kako je

(Fig. 3, 5a). These are four small concentric circles. The area between them is filled with radial lines with a dot in the middle. They symbolize the eyes of the Sun while they monitor the area of four fields of the disk. Astronomical symbol of the Sun is a circle with a dot in the middle, it is also the old Egyptian symbol of the Sun.¹⁰¹ Old Egyptian divine eyes, of Ra or Horus¹⁰² belong to the visually most concrete eyes of the Sun. This motif has been depicted with a dot in a circle elsewhere as well, in completely abstract Apennine geometrized “landscapes”, presented on the selected parts of attire of various persons, including warriors.¹⁰³

Four dots on the pectoral from Nin distributed crosswise supplement motif of a “cross in a circle” (disk). They emphasize already present cosmic importance of the number four i.e. fourfoldedness. The entire code graphically represents the word integrity as a disk/circle, arranged in a cross-shaped manner by the Sun, in sign of the number four, divided into four chronological/spatial sections, with fourfold rhythm of time and distribution in four directions/sections. It is the central visual-religious code of the (Late) Bronze and Early Iron Ages in many communities. In itself it is the apogee of solar symbolical summarization particularly in contexts with “bird” motifs. That is why it is the epicenter of the symbolics of the pectoral concept.

Simple three-part “cosmology” is immanent to this symbolical synthesis – solar cross-shaped/circular structure of the Cosmos. This does not mean that in its “archetypal” three-part elementariness (sky-earth-underworld) it did not exist long before relatively articulated religious solar cult during the (Late) Bronze and Iron Ages. Since it is characteristic of many communities in its three-part simplicity, and “universal” in a certain way i.e. general, it does not reveal enough

¹⁰¹ A. GROS de BELER, 2004, 112.

¹⁰² Horus je u mitu učvrstio nebo na četiri stupa, a četiri Horusova sina aludiraju na četiri strane svijeta. M. J. MATJE, 1990, 216.

¹⁰³ S. KUKOČ, 2012, 69, 96-97, sl. 28.

¹⁰¹ A. GROS de BELER, 2004, 112.

¹⁰² In the myth Horus supported sky with four columns, and four sons of Horus allude to four sides of the world. M. J. MATJE, 1990, 216.

¹⁰³ S. KUKOČ, 2012, 69, 96-97, fig. 28.

u svojoj trodijelnoj jednostavnosti svojstvena mnogima, stanovito „univerzalna“, tj. općenita, ona ipak nedovoljno govori o „kozmo-logijama“ pojedinačnih kultura, liburnske, picenske i drugih.

U ovom radu ne raspravlja se o prvoj pojavi „križa u krugu/disku s četiri točke“ u povijesti kultura; ona je, dakako, znatno starija od prvih stoljeća 1. tis. pr. Kr. Motiv pak „križa u krugu“ bez četiri točke dobro je poznata svojina nakita (igle i dr.) kultura srednjega brončanog doba u Srednjoj Europi.¹⁰⁴ Motiv križa u krugu s ili pak bez četiri točke koriste i karpatsko-podunavske kulture tijekom brončanog doba (npr. Makó, Nagyrév, Verbicioara, Koszider horizont¹⁰⁵) i dr. te u željezno doba (Bosut/Basarabi), često na dnu posuda, ali i drugdje (nakit). U eneolitičkim podunavskim, i to vučedolskim solarnim slikama, nalazi se rana europska potvrda nedvojbene solarnosti i kozmičnosti „križa u krugu/disku s četiri točke“ (Sl. 18c).¹⁰⁶ Važnost toga motiva tijekom kasnog brončanog i ranog željeznog doba može se dokazivati najrazličitijim usporedbama, npr. reduciranim, ali simbolično uvjerljivim nizom koji uključuje sljedeće solarne diskove: Gualdo Tadino/Perugia (Sl. 18a-b)¹⁰⁷ – Nin (Sl. 3, 5a) – Osor, grob 6 (Sl. 20a)¹⁰⁸ – Terni (Sl. 20b)¹⁰⁹ – Bologna (Sl. 16b) – Sala Consilina

about “cosmologies” of individual cultures, Liburnian, Picenian and others.

This work does not discuss the first appearance of “the cross in a circle/disk with four dots” in the history of cultures; it is much earlier than the first centuries of the first millennium BC.

Motif of a “cross in a circle” without four dots is well known characteristic of jewelry (pin, etc.) of the cultures of the Middle Bronze Age in Central Europe.¹⁰⁴ Motif of a cross in a circle with or without four dots was used by the Carpathian-Danubian cultures during the Bronze Age (e. g. Makó, Nagyrév, Verbicioara, Koszider horizon¹⁰⁵), etc., and in the Iron Age (Bosut/Basarabi), often at the base of vessels, but also elsewhere (jewelry). In the Eneolithic Danubian, and Vučedol solar images we can find early European confirmation of doubtless solar and cosmic characteristic of a motif of “the cross in a circle/disk with four dots” (Fig. 18c).¹⁰⁶ Importance of this motif during the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age can be attested by various comparisons e.g. reduced but symbolically convincing series which includes the following solar disks: Gualdo Tadino/Perugia (Fig. 18a-b)¹⁰⁷ – Nin (Fig. 3, 5a) – Osor, grave 6 (Fig. 20a)¹⁰⁸ – Terni (Fig. 20b)¹⁰⁹ – Bologna (Fig. 16b) – Sala Consilina (Fig. 20c).¹¹⁰ This and many other possible comparisons in Europe of the time (Fig. 17a, c) mostly from the 9th and 8th

¹⁰⁴ E. PROBST, 1996, 1671, 171, 180, 190.

¹⁰⁵ T. KOVACS, 1984, XCVIII/8.

¹⁰⁶ A. DURMAN, 2000, sl. 56-57.

¹⁰⁷ P. L. CARANCINI, 1997, 384, 388; M. BETTELLI, 1997a, 734-735, sl. 435-436. Zlatni diskovi iz ostave Gualdo Tadino (Perugia) iz kasnog brončanog doba (*bronzo finale*), formom su vrlo bliski onima u *terramare* svijetu, konkretno, zlatnim diskovima iz Redù (Modena), Casinalba (Modena) i Borgo Panigale (Bologna), okvirno datiranim između završnog srednjeg i kasnog brončanog doba (*bronzo recente*, odnosno, *bronzo finale*) koji su oštećeni i ispunjeni motivima različitih koncentričnih krugova. P. L. CARANCINI, 1997, 384, 388; M. BETTELLI, 1997, 724; G. BERMOND MONTANARI, 1997, 732-734; R. PERONI, 2004, sl. 47/12.

¹⁰⁸ S. KUKOČ, 2012, 43, sl. 8.

¹⁰⁹ J. SUNDWALL, 1943, 124. Fibula tipa Terni raskucanog luka, s nogom a *disco* ukrašenom s četiri točke u četiri polja križa (kruga/diska), datirana je tijekom 8. st. pr. Kr. H. MÜLLER-KARPE, 1959a, T I.

¹⁰⁴ E. PROBST, 1996, 1671, 171, 180, 190.

¹⁰⁵ T. KOVACS, 1984, XCVIII/8.

¹⁰⁶ A. DURMAN, 2000, fig. 56-57.

¹⁰⁷ P. L. CARANCINI, 1997, 384, 388; M. BETTELLI, 1997a, 734-735, fig. 435-436. Golden disks from the hoard Gualdo Tadino (Perugia) from the Late Bronze Age (*bronzo finale*) are very similar in form to disks from the *terramare* world, specifically, golden disks Redù (Modena), Casinalba (Modena) and Borgo Panigale (Bologna), dated broadly between the Middle and Late Bronze Age (*bronzo recente* and *bronzo finale*) which are damaged and filled with motifs of various concentric circles. P. L. CARANCINI, 1997, 384, 388; M. BETTELLI, 1997, 724; G. BERMOND MONTANARI, 1997, 732-734; R. PERONI, 2004, sl. 47/12.

¹⁰⁸ S. KUKOČ, 2012, 43, fig. 8.

¹⁰⁹ J. SUNDWALL, 1943, 124. The Terny-type fibula with a hammered bow and a *disco* foot decorated with four dots inside four fields of the cross (circle/disk) is dated to the 8th century BC. H. MÜLLER-KARPE, 1959a, T I.

¹¹⁰ K. KILIAN, 1967, 106, T 2/1, T 4/4.

(Sl. 20c).¹¹⁰ Ovu, i bezbrojne druge moguće usporedbe po tadašnjoj Europi (Sl. 17a, c), uglavnom iz 9. – 8. st. pr. Kr.,¹¹¹ simbolično dovršava i čini vjerodostojnim osebujan kameni okrugli predmet, obredno sigurno funkcionalan, iz Moselunda u Danskoj (Sl. 17b).¹¹² Vrlo blagi odrazi važnosti kôda sastavljenog od križa, kruga s četirima točkama prenose se i na različite onovremene svečane nošnje, npr. na liburnske okrugle pojasne kopče (Sl. 6), posebno one s četirima jednostavnim ili složenijim žbicama,¹¹³ zatim na metalne, brončane i olovne aplikacije i druge elemente liburnskoga svečanog (pogrebnog) odijela. Ista pojava, na osebujan način, prati i tadašnju delmatsku nošnju (Sl. 28f), zatim histarsku i neke druge iz jadranskog svijeta.

U Etruriji pak motiv i simbol „križa s četiri točke“ koje su raspoređene između njegovih krakova, u četiri segmenta prostora, to jest četiri odsječka „koordinatnog sustava“, dio je prikaza na zvonolikoj kacigi iz Populonije iz 9./8. st. pr. Kr. (Sl. 19c).¹¹⁴ Iako u pratnji ptica, motiv ovdje ipak nije bio predodređen na antitetičnoj „ptičjoj lađi“, kao što se zbilo na Sunčevu disku na pektoralu iz Nina (Sl. 3). U ovom kontekstu posebno je važan bolonjski *villananova* krug/disk s križem i četirima točkama, koji je solaran i kozmički, s obzirom na to da je smješten na dvostrukoj ptičjoj lađi, od kojih je donja lađa okrenuta naglavce (Sl. 16b). Križna kompozicija iste simbolike očita je idejna podloga i kopčama/diskovima kod dugih pravokutnih apeninskih pojaseva bogato ispunjenih uobičajenim solarnim znakovima u geometrijskom stilu, također s početka željeznog doba.¹¹⁵ Ne samo svojom mogućom solarnom simbolikom, već i tehnikom urezivanja i geometrijskim stilom (nizovi ptica!), oni su izrazito bliski velikim

centuries BC¹¹¹ are symbolically completed and made plausible by a peculiar round stone object, definitely functional in rituals, from Moselund in Denmark (Fig. 17b).¹¹² Slight reflections of importance of the code consisting of cross, circle with four dots are transferred to various ceremonial attires such as round Liburnian belt buckles (Fig. 6), particularly the ones with four simple or more complex spokes,¹¹³ then to metal, bronze and lead appliqués and other elements of the Liburnian ceremonial (funerary) attire. The same phenomenon in a peculiar way accompanies the Delmatian attire of the time (Fig. 28f), then the Histrian and some other examples from the Adriatic world.

In Etruria motif and symbol of the “cross with four dots” which are distributed between its arms, in four spatial segments, i.e. four sections of the “coordinate system“, is a part of the depiction on a bell-shaped helmet from Populonia from the 9th/8th century BC (Fig. 19c).¹¹⁴ Although accompanied by birds, the motif was not depicted on an antithetical “bird boat” as was the case on the pectoral from Nin (Fig. 3). In this context it is important to mention the Villanovan circle/disk with a cross and four dots, which is both solar and cosmic since it is located on a double bird boat, lower of which is reversed (Fig. 16b). Cross-shaped division with the same symbolics is evidently a basis of buckles – disks on long rectangular Apennine belts filled richly with usual solar signs in geometric style, also from the beginning of the Iron Age.¹¹⁵ They are very similar to the large Liburnian and Picenian pectorals not only due to their solar symbolics but also because of technique of incision and geometric style (rows of birds!). Specifically on the belt from Pontecagnano (Fig. 34), observed vertically, same “story” runs in identical visual rendering (birds, bands) as on the large pectorals

¹¹⁰ K. KILIAN, 1967, 106, T 2/1, T 4/4.

¹¹¹ G. KOSSACK, 1954, T 9/5.

¹¹² F. KAUL, 2003, 45, sl. 14; F. KAUL, 2006, 68.

¹¹³ Za pojasne kopče s četiri polukružna kraka, datirane u 7. – 5. st. pr. Kr.: D. GLOGOVIĆ, 2013, 267-276.

¹¹⁴ C. IAIA, 2004, 309, sl. 3/3.

¹¹⁵ B. D'AGOSTINO, P. GASTALDI, 1988, T 21/38A.

¹¹¹ G. KOSSACK, 1954, T 9/5.

¹¹² F. KAUL, 2003, 45, fig. 14; F. KAUL, 2006, 68.

¹¹³ About the belt buckles with four semicircular extensions dated to the period from the 7th to 5th centuries BC: D. GLOGOVIĆ, 2013, 267-276.

¹¹⁴ C. IAIA, 2004, 309, fig. 3/3.

¹¹⁵ B. D'AGOSTINO, P. GASTALDI, 1988, T 21/38A.

pektoralima kod Liburna, odnosno, Picena. Konkretno, na pojasu iz Pontecagnana (Sl. 34), gledano okomito, teče ista „priča“ u istoj likovnoj izvedbi (ptice, vrpce), kao i na velikim pektoralima iz Liburnije i Picenuma.

U drugom pojasu prikaza na disku pektoralna iz Nina (Sl. 3, 5c) četvrtasto je polje. Ono je zemaljska sfera. Po rubovima je ispunjeno znakovima „Sunčeva oka“. Oni su identični „Sunčevim očima“ iz prvog pojasa, ali su sada prepolovljeni. Isti motivi teku i po rubovima diska. Slični motivi polukrugova, s točkom ili bez nje, često „krase“ rubove pojedinih predmeta ili prikaza s naznakama solarnosti, na Balkanu¹¹⁶ i na Apeninskom poluotoku¹¹⁷ u 1. tis. pr. Kr. U kontekstu „solarnog krajolika“, motiv niza spojenih polukrugova, načelno, označava prisutnost Sunca i njegovo djelovanje. Izravna analogija za ovaj pektoralni motiv iz Nina nalazi se po rubovima velikih četvrtastih nogu grčkih tipova fibula iz Albanije (Kuči Zi I.), iz 8. – 7. st. pr. Kr. gdje, uz ostalo, uokviruje upravo prikaz jelena.¹¹⁸ Noge tadašnjih grčkih fibula često nose izrazito solarne „poruke“.

Treću simboličnu sferu – zemno/podzemnu s pticama – možda se može očitati već na gornjoj pektoralnoj lađi iz Nina (Sl. 3, 5b). Njezino „pravo“ mjesto u načelu je uvijek na donjoj, noćnoj pektoralnoj lađi. Na zemlji, ali vjerojatno i ispod nje, dakle u ktoničnoj (zemno/podzemnoj) sveukupnosti, niz je ptica, točnije, motiv prekinutog meandra. Ptice plove zemaljskim vodama i vodama noćnog/podzemnog Sunca, to jest (kozmičkog) Oceana, gdje, uostalom, uvijek boravi „svjetlost u vodama“ (*bind*).¹¹⁹ Jer, u mitskim predodžbama, kozmički Ocean okuplja sveukupne vode, ali i svjetlost u njima.

Slično trodijelnoj kompoziciji na disku

from Liburnia and Picenum.

In the second zone of depictions on the pectoral disk from Nin (Fig. 3, 5c) is a square field. It represents the earthly sphere. On the edges it is filled with signs of “the sun’s eye”. They are identical to the “suns’ eyes” from the first zone, but now they are cut in half. Same motifs run along the edges of the disk. Similar motifs of semicircles, with or without a dot often “decorate” edges of certain objects or depictions with signs of the solar cult, on the Balkans¹¹⁶ and Apennine Peninsula¹¹⁷ during the first millennium BC. In the context of “solar landscape”, motif of connected semicircles generally denotes presence of the Sun and its activity. Direct analogy for this pectoral motif from Nin can be found on the edges of large square feet of Greek type of fibulae from Albania (Kuči Zi I), from the 8th – 7th centuries BC where it encloses exactly the depiction of a deer, among other things.¹¹⁸ Feet of the Greek fibulae from that period often bear distinctly solar “messages”.

The third symbolical sphere – earthly/chthonic with birds – could possibly be interpreted on the upper pectoral boat from Nin (Fig. 3, 5b). Its “proper” place is generally always on the lower, nightly boat. On the earth and probably also underneath, in the chthonic (earthly/underground) totality is a row of birds, or more precisely, motif of disrupted meander. Birds sail in earthly waters and waters of nightly/chthonic Sun i.e. cosmic Ocean where certain “light in waters” (*bind*) always resides.¹¹⁹ In mythical conceptions, cosmic Ocean gathers all waters, and the light in them.

Depiction on the pectoral from grave 6 in Zaton (Fig. 6, 7a, 8a) was divided similarly to the three-part composition on the disk of the pectoral from Nin, though the specimen from Zaton

¹¹⁶ B. ČOVIĆ, 1976, sl. 106, 110, 113, 115-117, 173-174.

¹¹⁷ Npr. na pojasu iz groba 1, Ferrandina-Basilicata, druga polovica 8. st. pr. Kr. (POPOLI ANELLENICI IN BASILICATA, 1971, 27-28), ili u kompoziciji s roga iz Wismara, oko 800. g. pr. Kr. (Ch. SOMMERFELD, 2006, 86).

¹¹⁸ Z. ANDREA, 1976, 135, T IX-T X.

¹¹⁹ S. KUKOČ, 2009, 242-246.

¹¹⁶ B. ČOVIĆ, 1976, fig. 106, 110, 113, 115-117, 173-174.

¹¹⁷ E.g. on the belt from grave 1, Ferrandina-Basilicata, second half of the 8th century BC (POPOLI ANELLENICI IN BASILICATA, 1971, 27-28), or in the composition from the horn from Wismar, ca. 800 BC. (Ch. SOMMERFELD, 2006, 86).

¹¹⁸ Z. ANDREA, 1976, 135, T IX-T X.

¹¹⁹ S. KUKOČ, 2009, 242-246.

ninskog pektoralu, podijeljen je i prikaz, inače ikonografski znatno jednostavniji, na pektoralu iz groba 6 iz Zatona (Sl. 6, 7a, 8a). Motivu križa u središtu Kozmosa s ninskog (Sl. 3, 5a) pektoralu (i nekih picenskih), ovdje odgovora jednostavni vodoravni pojas od trokutastih motiva iz kojih visi nit (Sl. 8a, 10a). Oni označavaju Sunčeve zrake, tj. simboliziraju njihovo okomito djelovanje. Taj široko rasprostranjen motiv i solarni simbol, s približno istim značenjem tijekom brončanog¹²⁰ i željeznog doba, krase brojne metalne europske izrađevine, od Sjevera (Sl. 12) do balkanskog¹²¹ i apeninskog svijeta, uz ostalo, i rubove apeninskih *villanova* brijajača 9. – 8. st. pr. Kr., kao i primjerak uvezenog brijajača kod Liburna (grob 6 iz Nina: Sl. 40).¹²²

U drugom pojasu na zatonskom pektoralu (Sl. 8a, 10a) dvije su valovite cik-cak horizontale; označavaju donje, zemaljske sfere, izgleda primarno one vodene. Kao i kod ninskog, na disku zatonskog pektoralu (Sl. 8a) prikaz završava nizom ptica na gornjoj lađi. Na oba pektoralu urezane ptice dominantan su motiv na donjoj lađi (Sl. 2b, 5d, 7b, 8b, 10b). Na oba pektoralu jedino je ptica odmah čitljiv motiv, mada je krajnje stilizirana i pretapa se u meandar. On ima slično značenje kao ptica: neprekinutost i beskonačnost. Likovno su „konkretne“ jedino ptičje glave na krajevima solarnih lađa obaju pektoralu (Sl. 4a-b, 9a-b).

Unatoč potpunoj apstrakciji prikaza na solarnom disku pektoralu iz Zatona, on govori isto što i prikaz na ninskom pektoralu. Oba naslućuju trodijelnu podjelu Cjeline i time se približuju srodnim nordijskim¹²³ i ostalim sličnim strukturama iz brončanog i željeznog doba u kojima se primjećuje (ili pretpostavlja) trag slične uređenosti Svijeta.

is much simpler in iconographic terms. Simple horizontal zone with triangular motifs with a hanging thread (Fig. 8a, 10a) corresponds to the motif of the cross in the center of the Cosmos from the Nin pectoral (Fig. 3, 5a), and some Picenian examples. They represent Sun rays i.e. they symbolize their vertical action. This widely distributed motif and solar symbol with approximately identical meaning during the Bronze¹²⁰ and Iron Ages decorates many European metal artifacts, from the North (Fig. 12) to the Balkan¹²¹ and Apennine world, among others, and edges of the Apennine Villanovan razors from the 9th and 8th centuries BC as well as an example of imported razor in Liburnia (grave 6 from Nin: Fig. 40).¹²²

In the second zone on the pectoral from Zaton (Fig. 8a, 10a) there are two wavy zig-zag horizontals; they mark lower, earthly spheres, seemingly primarily the water ones. The depiction on the disk of the Zaton pectoral ends with a row of birds on the upper boat (Fig. 8a) as was the case with the pectoral from Nin. On both specimens incised birds represent a dominant motif on the lower boat (Fig. 2b, 5d, 7b, 8b, 10b). On both examples only the bird is instantly legible, though utterly stylized, transforming into a meander. It has similar meaning as the bird: continuity is also infinity. Only bird heads at the ends of the solar boats on both pectorals are represented “concretely” in visual terms (Fig. 4a-b, 9a-b).

Despite complete abstraction of the depiction on the solar disk on pectoral from Zaton, it offers the same message as the depiction on the Nin pectoral. They both hint at three-part division of the Whole coming close in that way to the corresponding Nordic¹²³ and other similar structures from the Bronze and Iron Ages in which we can notice (or assume) trace of similar

¹²⁰ Na kratkom maču iz srednjega brončanog doba iz Petershagen viseći uzduženi trokuti ne završavaju resom već točkom. E. PROBST, 1996, 184.

¹²¹ A. BENAC, B. ČOVIĆ, 1957, T XXVII/2, T XXXVII/2.

¹²² Š. BATOVIĆ, 1976, sl. 1/1.

¹²³ F. KAUL, 2005, 137.

¹²⁰ On a short sword from the Middle Bronze Age from Petershagen hanging longitudinal triangles do not end with a fringe but a dot. E. PROBST, 1996, 184.

¹²¹ A. BENAC, B. ČOVIĆ, 1957, T XXVII/2, T XXXVII/2.

¹²² Š. BATOVIĆ, 1976, fig. 1/1.

¹²³ F. KAUL, 2005, 137.

Način izrade njihove forme, posebno pak detalja, upućuje na to da su pektoralni iz Nina i Zatona najvjerojatnije nastali u istoj radionici i približno istovremeno. Lađe su im lijevane u jednodijelnom kalupu. Identičan je oblik gornjih lađa s četvrtastim diskom iz kojeg izravno izrasta petlja za vješanje (Sl. 2a, 3, 7a, 8a). Lađe su toliko pretopljene u disk da se razaznaju tek po antitetičnim pticama. Očita je podudarnost ninskog i zatonskog pektoralna i u obradi ptičjih glava te u izboru urezanih motiva. Konkretno, identičan je obrub obaju Sunčevih diskova, sastavljen od vrpce ispunjene usporednim crticama (Sl. 3, 8a). Ista vrpca teče oko ptičjeg lika na gornjoj lađi obaju pektoralna (Sl. 2a, 7a) te po ptici donje lađe iz Nina (Sl. 4b). Na obje lađe obaju pektoralna urezane ptice plove u istom pravcu, s desna na lijevo, s istoka na zapad, ne poštivajući time načelo antitetičnosti.

Sve ptičje antitetične glave likovno su dotjerane. Usko ih povezuje trodimenzionalnost postignuta dubokim brazdama po tijelima i plastično istaknutim očima (Sl. 4a-b, 9a-b), što je u suprotnosti s linearnošću urezanih motiva (Sl. 5, 10). Oblik ovih ptičjih glava s dugim izvijenim kljunom najbolju analogiju kod Picena ima na dvodijelnom pektoralu iz Muzeja u Ascoli Piceno (Sl. 29).¹²⁴ Brižljivošću obrade posebno odskaku ptičje glave na donjoj lađi zatonskog pektoralna (Sl. 8b, 9b). Premda formom srodne, ptičje glave dvaju pektoralna nisu identične. Također, na istom pektoralu razlikuju se ptičje glave gornje od donje lađe. Možda je to bio određen pokušaj isticanja različitih karaktera dnevne i noćne solarne lađe i naglašavanja tipične solarne dvostrukosti (lijevo-desno; svijetlo-tamno), inače, ikonografski i stilski, u Europi najuspješnije dočarane na kolima iz Trundholma.¹²⁵

Način izvedbe ptičjih glava na pektoralu iz Nina i Zatona može se uspoređivati s

structure of the world.

Manner of their production, especially of the details, indicates that the pectorals from Nin and Zaton were most probably made roughly simultaneously in the same workshop. Their boats were cast in a one-part mold. Form of the upper boats is identical on both examples (with a suspension loop growing directly out of square disk) (Fig. 2a, 3, 7a, 8a). Boats merge with the disk to the extent that only antithetical birds can be recognized. Correspondence between the pectorals from Nin and Zaton is evident also in rendering of the birds' heads and in the selection of incised motifs. Specifically bordering of both Sun disks is identical, consisting of a band filled with parallel lines (Fig. 3, 8a). The same band runs around the bird figure on the upper boat of both pectorals (Fig. 2b, 7b) and on the bird of the lower boat from Nin (Fig. 4b). On both boats of the both pectorals, incised birds sail in the same direction, from right to left, from east to west, regardless of the antithetical principle.

All antithetical bird heads were rendered meticulously. They are closely related due to three-dimensional quality achieved by deep grooves on the bodies and embossed eyes (Fig. 4a-b, 9a-b), which is in contrast with linearity of incised motifs (Fig. 5, 10). Form of these bird heads with long curved beak has the best analogy in the Picenian culture in the two-part pectoral from the Museum of Ascoli Piceno (Fig. 29).¹²⁴ Bird heads on the lower boat of the Zaton pectoral (Fig. 8b, 9b) were particularly well made. Bird heads on two pectorals are similar in form but they are not identical. Also on the same pectoral we can differ bird heads on the upper and lower boat. Perhaps this was an attempt of highlighting different character of daily and nightly solar boat and emphasizing typical solar doubleness (left-right, light-dark) which is best depicted on the chariot from Trundholm in iconographic and stylistic terms.¹²⁵

Rendering of the bird heads on the pectorals

¹²⁴ D. RANDALL-MacIVER, 1927, T 28/3.

¹²⁵ F. KAUL, 2010, 521-536.

¹²⁴ D. RANDALL-MacIVER, 1927, T 28/3.

¹²⁵ F. KAUL, 2010, 521-536.

trodimenzionalno lijevanim pticama na raskošnom luku fibule tipa Osor iz groba 10 iz Nina (Sl. 23). One, s dubokim cik-cak brazdama po tijelu, više nisu antitetične. To samo načelno govori o njihovu gubitku dobro poznate „lijevo-desno; gore-dolje“ solarne „logike“. Jer ova liburnska kompozicija ptica „u susretu“ može se shvatiti i kao *pars pro toto* složene kompozicije, poput staroegipatskih, u kojoj se sučeljavaju dvije antitetične solarne lađe (dnevna, noćna). Ovaj ikonografski gubitak antitetičnosti na kičenoj fibuli tipa Osor iz groba 10 u Ninu svakako je znak stanovitoga kompozicijskog prerastanja starog, apstraktnoga „solarnog krajolika“, u realističnije okvire, sa sljubljenim pticama na „rascvjetanom“ luku, koji pak vode prema *genreu*, doduše nikad ostvarenom u liburnskoj kulturi. Je li likovni tretman luka ninske fibule vid liburnskog provincijskog, ali oblikovno (i vremenski) uspješnog praćenja orijentalizirajućeg ukusa 7. st. pr. Kr. u Picenumu, odnosno, Etruriji s njezinim zlatnim fibulama *a disco* s „rascvjetanim“ lukovima (Vulci-Ponte Sodo)? Stožasti spiralni namotaji žice na fibulama tipa Osor (i na apeninskima *a disco*) produžetak su staroga, brončanodobnog oblikovanja spiralno-stožastog nakita Europe, izvorno utemeljenog na solarnosti. I na lukovima različitih fibula *a disco*, pogotovo na onoj iz Nina (Sl. 23), te stožaste „kapice“, poput pupoljaka, znak su neuništive Prirode pod Sunčevom zaštitom.

Uz antitetične ptice, najplastičniji detalj obaju pektorala u Liburniji njihovi su masivni štapićasti privjesci s kuglastim odebljanjem s roščićima-bradavicama (Sl. 1, 4c, 6, 9c). Uz neznatne razlike, privjesci obaju pektorala u osnovi su isti. Ninski privjesci imaju rupicu na svojem vrhu i završetku (Sl. 4). Kod zatonskih (Sl. 9c), gdje su sačuvana samo tri primjerka, izvorno (?) nedostaje donja rupica. Zatonski privjesci imaju nešto plastičnije istaknut spoj gornje rupice za vješanje i tijela. Kuglastim tijelom, posebno činjenicom da na njemu nose četiri plastične bradavi-

from Nin and Zaton can be compared with three-dimensional cast birds on the elaborate bow of the Osor-type fibula from grave 10 from Nin (Fig. 23). However birds with deep zig-zag lines on the body are no longer antithetical. In general this reflects loss of their well known “left-right; up-down” solar “logic”. This Liburnian composition of the birds “meeting” can be interpreted as *pars pro toto* of a complex composition, such as the old Egyptian examples, in which two antithetical solar boats (daily, nightly) confront. This iconographical loss of antithetical position on the elaborate Osor-type fibula from grave 10 in Nin is definitely a sign of certain compositional development of the old, abstract “solar landscape” into more realistic framework, with adjoining birds on a “flourishing” bow which lead towards *genre*, never achieved in the Liburnian culture. Is artistic treatment of the bow of the Nin fibula an aspect of the Liburnian provincial, but morphologically (and chronologically) successful following of the orientalizing taste of the 7th century in Picenum i.e. in Etruria with its golden fibulae *a disco* with “flourishing” bows (Vulci-Ponte Sodo)? Conical spiral wire coils on the Osor-type fibulae (and on the Apennine fibulae *a disco*) are a continuation of the old, Bronze Age shaping of spiral-conical jewelry in Europe, originally based on the solar cult. On the bows of various fibulae *a disco*, particularly on the one from Nin (Fig. 23) these conical “caps”, like buds, are a sign of indestructible Nature under the Sun protection.

In addition to the antithetical birds, the most plastic detail of both pectorals in Liburnia are their massive rod-shaped pendants with spherical thickening with small horns-embossments (Fig. 1, 4c, 6, 9c). Pendants of both pectorals are basically the same with minor differences. Pendants from Nin have a small hole on their top and ending (Fig. 4). On the three preserved examples from Zaton (Fig. 9c), lower hole is missing originally (?). Pendants from Zaton have somewhat more plastically pronounced connection of the upper hole for hanging and the body. Spherical body and particularly four horns-em-

ce-roščića, ovi pektoralni privjesci bliski su, inače tipološki vrlo raznolikom, štapičasto-kuglastom nakitu iz prvih stoljeća 1. tis. pr. Kr., često i s duljim vijekom trajanja,¹²⁶ na vrlo širokom jadransko-balkanskom prostoru, posebno različitim privjescima i iglama. Konkretno, iglama s roščićima tipa Sirolo (9. – 8. st. pr. Kr.) i to primarno njihovim inačicama II. i III., s kuglastom glavom, tipičnima za istočnojadransko područje¹²⁷ (Ljubač:¹²⁸ Sl. 28a-b) (s osebujnom pojavom i na Glasinu, Ilijak, tumul II., grob 10: Sl. 28c),¹²⁹ odakle su pak stigle na apeninski prostor.¹³⁰

Ninski i zatonski pektoralni privjesci bliski su i glasinackim masivnim kuglastim privjescima s bradavičastim istacima (Arareva gromila, grob 1: Sl. 28g)¹³¹ te glasinackim iglama (Arareva gromila, grob 1: Sl. 28d).¹³² Ove su pak, nekim svojim sastavnim dijelovima, analogne elementima od kojih se komponiraju dugi lanci omiljeni u nakitu na balkanskom prostoru, osobito na albanskom (Mati-kultura) (Sl. 28h, 28i) od 8. st. pr. Kr. i nadalje.¹³³ Upravo njima likovno su gotovo identični dijelovi s roščićima na igli (?) u grobu 12 iz Dragišića (Sl. 28e).¹³⁴ Vrhunac voluminoznog oblikovanja pripada delmatskim iglama (Gorica: Sl. 28f)¹³⁵ sa ili bez bradavičastih istaka.¹³⁶ Likovna posebnost delmatskih igala je njihov završetak u antropomorfosti. Simbolično, to je solarni kotač s četiri žbice na njihovu tijelu. Sve skupa asocira na omiljene solsticijske kotače. Broj četiri po-

bossments make these pendants similar to typologically very diverse rod-shaped and spherical jewelry from the first centuries of the first millennium BC often with lengthy duration,¹²⁶ in the wide Adriatic-Balkan area, particularly various pendants and pins, specifically, pins with horns of the Sirolo type (9th-8th centuries BC) and primarily their variants II and III, with a spherical head, typical of the eastern Adriatic region¹²⁷ (Ljubač¹²⁸: Fig. 28 a-b) (with specific appearance in Glasinac, Ilijak, tumulus II, grave 10: Fig. 28c),¹²⁹ wherefrom they reached the Apennine region.¹³⁰

Pectoral pendants from Nin and Zaton are similar to massive spherical pendants with knobs from Glasinac (Arareva gromila, grave 1: Fig. 28g),¹³¹ and pins from Glasinac (Arareva gromila, grave 1: Fig. 28d).¹³² These pins are analogous in some of their segments to elements of the long chains popular in jewelry in the Balkan area, particularly in Albania (Mati-culture) (Fig. 28 h, i) from the 8th century onwards.¹³³ Segments with little horns (on a pin?) in grave 12 from Dragišić (Fig. 28e) are almost identical to these elements.¹³⁴ Certain peak of voluminous shaping belongs to the Delmatian pins (Gorica: Fig. 28f)¹³⁵ with or without round protrusions.¹³⁶ Delmatian pins are special due to their anthropomorphic ending. Symbolically it is a solar wheel with four spokes on the body. It altogether resembles popular solstice wheels. Number four appears not only on four protrusions-horns

¹²⁶ S. KUKOČ, 2010, 95-130.

¹²⁷ N. LUCENTINI, 2007, 96-97.

¹²⁸ Ljubač, gr. 4; Ljubač, inv. br. 14417. Š. BATOVIĆ, 1981, sl. 10/33-34; N. LUCENTINI, 2007, sl. 1, 16, 20.

¹²⁹ A. BENAC, B. ČOVIĆ, 1957, T XX, 7, 9.

¹³⁰ P. L. CARANCINI, 1975, br. 1868; N. LUCENTINI, 2007, sl. 1, 6.

¹³¹ A. BENAC, B. ČOVIĆ, 1957, T 40/4.

¹³² A. BENAC, B. ČOVIĆ, 1957, T 41/6; N. LUCENTINI, 2007, 96-97.

¹³³ D. KURTI, 1978, 175, 177, T III/2 (grob 11), T V (grob 24).

¹³⁴ D. GLOGOVIĆ, 1989, 12; Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000, T XIII/1-2.

¹³⁵ Prva pojava ovih igala je u 8. st. pr. Kr. u srednjodalmatskom (delmatskom) krugu, (faza III B). B. ČOVIĆ, 1987, 449-450, sl. 26/6, T XLVIII/12.

¹³⁶ B. ČOVIĆ, 1987, 450, T LVIII/3-4.

¹²⁶ S. KUKOČ, 2010, 95-130.

¹²⁷ N. LUCENTINI, 2007, 96-97.

¹²⁸ Ljubač, grave 4; Ljubač, inv. no. 14417. Š. BATOVIĆ, 1981, fig. 10/33-34; N. LUCENTINI, 2007, fig. 1, 16, 20.

¹²⁹ A. BENAC, B. ČOVIĆ, 1957, T XX, 7, 9.

¹³⁰ P. L. CARANCINI, 1975, fig. 1868; N. LUCENTINI, 2007, fig. 1, 6.

¹³¹ A. BENAC, B. ČOVIĆ, 1957, T 40/4.

¹³² A. BENAC, B. ČOVIĆ, 1957, T 41/6; N. LUCENTINI, 2007, 96-97.

¹³³ D. KURTI, 1978, 175, 177, T III/2 (grave 11), T V (grave 24).

¹³⁴ D. GLOGOVIĆ, 1989, 12; Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000, T XIII/1-2.

¹³⁵ These pins appeared for the first time in the 8th century BC in the central Dalmatian circle (phase III B). B. ČOVIĆ, 1987, 449-450, fig. 26/6, T XLVIII/12.

¹³⁶ B. ČOVIĆ, 1987, 450, T LVIII/3-4.

navlja se ne samo kod četiri istaka-roščića na kuglastom dijelu ovih delmatskih igala, već i kod drugih nakitnih kuglastih elemenata (Sl. 4c, 9c). Likovno je „logična“ upravo četverostruka aplikacija roščića na kuglastoj formi. Ipak, ima li tu simbolike?

I Piceni dosta koriste batičaste (*a batocchio*)¹³⁷ i općenito vrlo plastične, kuglaste te izdužene privjeske, često i s poprečnim rebrastim odebjanjima. Različitih su inačica i veličina, naročito u nošnji žena: na ogrlicama,¹³⁸ kao naušnice¹³⁹ i osobito na krajevima pektoralnog nakita iz različitih razdoblja (Sl. 26c, 27, 30a-b, 31a, 33). U njihovu formalnom, likovnom te imaginarnom „razvojnom“ tijeku, uključujući i tzv. *nettaunghie*, korištene u svijetu žena i djece (Sl. 47),¹⁴⁰ štapičasti privjesci dosežu konkretan antropomorfni oblik: lik nage žene, katkad orantski podignutih ruku, katkad čak s dodatkom ptica na rukama. Na tijelu jednog pektoral-privjeska, uključujući i one antropomorfne oblike,¹⁴¹ uz štapičaste i druge izdužene privjeske, Piceni nižu i druge tipove plastičnih privjesaka (npr. školjke¹⁴² i dr.: Sl. 28j, 47).¹⁴³ Jedan štapičasti privjesak kod Liburna, u kojemu je ostvaren prikaz ženskog lika (Sl. 48b),¹⁴⁴ nedvojbeni je uvoz iz Picenuma. Tu je (Ascoli Piceno) obično više primjeraka ovoga tipa obješeno na krajeve pektoral-privjeska ili pak nanizano na ogrlicu.¹⁴⁵

Način oblikovanja štapičastog „nakita“ i njegova komponiranja s naglaskom na vertikalnosti, jasno je uočljiv i u kulturi Gola-secca; prati se i dalje prema sjeveru, s posebnim naglascima u liburnskom susjedstvu,

on the spherical part of these Delmatian pins but on other spherical elements of adornment (Fig. 4c, 9c). Fourfold application of small horns on the spherical form is visually “logical” but still, is there certain symbolics?

The Picenians also used rod-shaped (*a batocchio*) pendants¹³⁷ and generally very plastic, spherical and elongated examples, often with transversal ribbed thickenings. They appear in different variants and sizes, particularly on the female attire: on necklaces,¹³⁸ as earrings¹³⁹, and particularly on the ends of the pectoral jewelry from various periods (Fig. 26c, 27, 30a-b, 31a, 33). In their formal, visual, and imaginary “developmental” course, including the so-called *nettaunghia*, used in the world of women and children (Fig. 47),¹⁴⁰ rod-shaped pendants take concrete anthropomorphic form: figure of a naked woman, sometimes with raised arms like an orant, sometimes with birds on the arms. On the body of pectoral-pendants, including the ones with anthropomorphic form,¹⁴¹ the Picenians strung many other types of three-dimensional pendants (e.g. shells,¹⁴² hands, etc.: Fig. 28, 47) alongside rod-shaped and other elongated pendants.¹⁴³ One rod-shaped pendant from Liburnia, which represents female figure (Fig. 48b),¹⁴⁴ was undoubtedly imported from Picenum. In this area (Ascoli Piceno) usually several examples of this type hang on the ends of the pectoral-pendant or they are strung on a necklace.¹⁴⁵

Manner of shaping rod-shaped “jewelry” and its composition with accents on verticality, is

¹³⁷ S. SEIDEL, 2007, 76-79, sl. 3-4.

¹³⁸ E. MANGANI, 2003, T V/f.

¹³⁹ Npr., u poznatom bogatom „ženskom“ grobu 9 iz Loreto Aprutino (Pescara), na krajnjem picenskom jugu, točnije, na području Vestina. V. CIANFARANI, 1976, 56-57.

¹⁴⁰ S. KUKOČ, 2010, 110-115, sl. 12-13.

¹⁴¹ E. MANGANI, 2003, 309, T VI/c; S. SEIDEL, 2007, 76-77, sl. 2; S. KUKOČ, 2010, sl. 10, 12, 17.

¹⁴² S. KUKOČ, 2010a, sl. 11.

¹⁴³ D. RANDALL-MacIVER, 1927, T 27, T 28; E. MANGANI, 2003, VII/d; S. SEIDEL, 2007, 81, sl. 7/1-3.

¹⁴⁴ Privjesak (vis. 4 cm), bez podataka o okolnostima nalaza, izložen je u Arheološkom muzeju Zadar.

¹⁴⁵ D. RANDALL-MacIVER, 1927, T 27.

¹³⁷ S. SEIDEL, 2007, 76-79, fig. 3-4.

¹³⁸ E. MANGANI, 2003, T V/f.

¹³⁹ E.g. in the famous “female” grave 9 from Loreto Aprutino (Pescara), in the Picenian south, more precisely in the region of Vestini. V. CIANFARANI, 1976, 56-57.

¹⁴⁰ S. KUKOČ, 2010, 110-115, fig. 12-13.

¹⁴¹ E. MANGANI, 2003, 309, T VI/c; S. SEIDEL, 2007, 76-77, fig. 2; S. KUKOČ, 2010, fig. 10, 12, 17.

¹⁴² S. KUKOČ, 2010a, fig. 11.

¹⁴³ D. RANDALL-MacIVER, 1927, T 27, T 28; E. MANGANI, 2003, VII/d; S. SEIDEL, 2007, 81, fig. 7/1-3.

¹⁴⁴ Pendant (height 4 cm), without information on circumstances of discovery, is exhibited in the Archaeological Museum Zadar.

¹⁴⁵ D. RANDALL-MacIVER, 1927, T 27.

kod Japoda.¹⁴⁶ Kreativni impulsi za okomito nizanje masivnih privjesaka te oblikovanje onih „na proboj“, što je primjereno ukusu balkanskog svijeta (Bosna, Albanija: Sl. 28g-i), u Picenum¹⁴⁷ su mogli stizati preko istočnog Jadrana (Sl. 31a). Istim putem mogao je stizati i njihov balkanski uvoz. Mada ga koriste¹⁴⁸ (Zaton, gr. 3: Sl. 42; Dragišić, grob 4B),¹⁴⁹ Liburni su, za razliku od Picena, ipak bili manje skloni tom tipu i načinu komponiranja nakita u prvim stoljećima željeznog doba, ali i kasnije. Tip privjesaka s pektoralima iz Nina i Zatonu u istom izdanju više se ne pojavljuje kod Liburna. No štapičasto-kuglasti privjesci s roščićima, identični onima na pektoralima Liburnije, više na donjoj lađi nekih ranih picenskih pektoralima (Canavaccio di Urbino: Sl. 26c). Uz oblik gornje lađe i samu dvodijelnu pektoralnu kompoziciju s dugim lancima, oni su sljedeći zajednički element velikim pektoralima kod Liburna i Picena.

Drugi naglašeno plastični detalj pektoralima kod Liburna – ptičje glave – osnovnom linijom izvedbe, s velikim izvijenim polukružnim kljunom, analogan je jednom od dvaju tipova¹⁵⁰ ptičjih pektoralnih glava kod Picena (Sl. 26d, 29). Drugi picenski tip ptičje glave, s pravokutno uspravljenim kljunom (Sl. 24-25), ne pojavljuje se na velikim pektoralima kod Liburna. Nije tipičan niti za kasnije, manje liburnske „ptičje lađe“ od metala i jantara (Sl. 39, 44, 45).

Uz plastično izvedene detalje (identične štapičaste privjeske, srodne ptičje protome), očita je podudarnost pektoralima iz Liburnije i Picenuma i u odabiru i izvedbi njihovih urezanih motiva. Motiv cik-cak valovnice (Sl.

clearly recognizable in the Golasecca culture; it can be traced to a certain degree further northwards with special emphasis in the Liburnian neighbourhood.¹⁴⁶ Creative impulses for vertical stringing of massive pendants and shaping the “perforated” ones which correspond to the taste of the Balkan world (Bosnia, Albania: Fig. 28g-i), could come to Picenum¹⁴⁷ over the eastern Adriatic (Fig. 31a), so their Balkan import could have also come through the same way. The Liburnians used it¹⁴⁸ (Zaton, grave 3: Fig. 42; Dragišić, grave 4B),¹⁴⁹ but they were less prone to this type and manner of composing jewelry in the first centuries of the Iron Age and later than the Picenians. Same variant of the pendants from the pectorals from Nin and Zaton does not reappear in Liburnia.

Rod-shaped/spherical pendants with horns, identical to the ones on the Liburnian pectorals, hang on the lower boat of some of the early Picenian pectorals (Canavaccio di Urbino: Fig. 26c). In addition to form of the upper boat and two-part pectoral composition with long chains, they are another common element on large pectorals in Liburnia and Picenum.

The other distinctly plastic detail of the Liburnian pectoral – bird heads – is analogous to one of two types¹⁵⁰ of the bird pectoral heads in Picenum (Fig. 24, 26d, 29) regarding its basic line of production with large curved semicircular beak. The other Picenian type of the bird head with rectangularly lifted beak (Fig. 25) does not appear on large pectorals in Liburnia. It is not typical neither for the later, smaller Liburnian “bird boats” made of metal and amber (Fig. 39, 44-45).

In addition to plastically made details (identical rod-shaped pendants, similar bird pro-

¹⁴⁶ S. KUKOČ, 2010, 95-30.

¹⁴⁷ Npr. privjesci u grobovima Novilare: K. W. BEINHAEUER, 1985, T 6/73, T 14/A, T 17/259-260, 264, T 18/278-279, T 53/652. Za Loreto Aprutino (Vestini): A. R. STAFFA, 2003, 580, sl. 18/ 80-10, 17, 19, 27.

¹⁴⁸ Š. BATOVIĆ, 1981, sl. 14/4-14; Š. BATOVIĆ, 1987, 369, sl. 21/13-16.

¹⁴⁹ F. STARÈ, 1970; Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000, T IV/5.

¹⁵⁰ N. LUCENTINI, 2000, 258.

¹⁴⁶ S. KUKOČ, 2010, 95-130.

¹⁴⁷ E. g. pendants in graves of Novilare: K. W. BEINHAEUER, 1985, T 6/73, T 14/A, T 17/259-260, 264, T 18/278-279, T 53/652. About Loreto Aprutino (Vestini): A. R. STAFFA, 2003, 580, fig. 18/ 80-10, 17, 19, 27.

¹⁴⁸ Š. BATOVIĆ, 1981, fig. 14/4-14; Š. BATOVIĆ, 1987, 369, fig. 21/13-16.

¹⁴⁹ F. STARÈ, 1970; Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000, T IV/5.

¹⁵⁰ N. LUCENTINI, 2000, 258.

8, 10, 33a-b) zapravo je svijetli „negativ“ na pozadini oblikovanoj od dva niza nasuprotnih iscrtkanih trokuta. Time je i u ovom naglašenom linearizmu postignuta svojevrsna plastičnost i dubina kompozicije. Isti likovni učinak, ostvaren istim postupkom, primjetan je i kod izvedbe drugih motiva, npr. niza ptica na apeninskim izrađevinama (Sl. 34). Cik-cak valovnica pisutna je na mnogim picenskim¹⁵¹ (Sl. 33a-b) i apeninskim artefaktima. U Picenumu treba izdvojiti njezinu pojavu na maloj grobnoj posudici, tzv. *kothonu*.¹⁵² Sličnim motivom ukrašen je i jedan od *kothona* u histarskoj kulturi, gdje se oni počinjju upotrebljavati vjerojatno već u 9. st. pr. Kr., odnosno u 8. st. pr. Kr.¹⁵³ Činjenica je i da cik-cak „plastična“ valovnica ima ključno mjesto u likovnosti „zapadnobalkanskog stila“ na bosanskim prostorima, na keramici (Sl. 36a-b), posebno na metalu (Sl. 37) (Pod kod Bugojna, Veliki Mošunj kod Travnika, Tešanj, Grapska/Doboj, Krehin Gradac kod Čitluka) na prijelazu 2. u 1. tis. pr. Kr., konkretno, iz 10./9. – 8. st. pr. Kr.¹⁵⁴ Isti tip cik-cak valovnice koristi već rani srednjobosanski likovni izraz tijekom kasnoga brončanog doba.¹⁵⁵

U svojoj drastičnoj i istančanoj apstraktnosti, osobito na metalnim artefaktima, likovnost balkanskog prostora (srednjobosanskog, glasinackog i delmatskog;¹⁵⁶ Sl. 36e), škrtim, pročišćenim jezikom uvijek jasno izriče misao, bez natruha dekorativnosti. Misao se ponajprije tiče solarnog, tj. mitskog „krajolika“ (Sl. 36a-b, 36e), onoga istog o kojemu

tomes), correspondence of the pectorals from Liburnia and Picenum is evident in the selection and rendering of the incised motifs. Motif of a zig-zag wavy line (Fig. 8, 10, 33a) is actually a light “negative” on the background shaped from two rows of the opposite hatched triangles. In that way certain plasticity was achieved in this distinct linearity as well as the depth of composition. Identical visual effect, achieved with the same procedure, can be noticed in rendering of other motifs e.g. row of birds on the Apennine products (Fig. 34). Zig-zag wavy line is present on many Picenian¹⁵¹ (Fig. 33a-b) and Apennine artifacts. In Picenum we need to mention its appearance on a small funerary vessel, so-called *kothon*¹⁵² (Fig. 44a). Similar motif was used to decorate one of *kothons* in the Histrian culture where they were used as early as the 9th century BC i.e. in the 8th century BC.¹⁵³ The fact is that the zig-zag “plastic” wavy line takes crucial place in the visual expression of the “western Bosnian” style in the Bosnian regions, on pottery (Fig. 36 a-b) and particularly on metal (Fig. 37, 39) (Pod near Bugojno, Veliki Mošunj near Travnika, Tešanj, Grapska/Doboj, Krehin Gradac near Čitluk) at the transition from the 2nd to the 1st millennia BC, specifically, from the 10th/9th – 8th centuries BC.¹⁵⁴ The same type of a zig-zag wavy line was used in the early central Bosnian visual expression during the Late Bronze Age.¹⁵⁵

In its drastical and refined abstraction, particularly on the metal artifacts, visual expression of the Balkan region (central Bosnian, Glasinac and Delmatian regions¹⁵⁶: Fig. 36e) always expresses an idea with a scanty, refined language

¹⁵¹ Npr. na koničnoj kacigi iz Novilare-Servici, grob 2. K. W. BEINHAEUER, 1985, T 50/A. Također, i na istom tipu kacige iz Picuga u Istri te u Sloveniji. O koničnim kacigama, od Verucchia do halštatskog svijeta: B. TERŽAN, 2007, 40-43, sl. 1-2.

¹⁵² K. W. BEINHAEUER, 1985, T 177/1990.

¹⁵³ K. MIHOVIĆ, 2007, 85-88, sl. T 3/7.

¹⁵⁴ B. ČOVIĆ, 1984, 10-11, 14, 15-16, T I/5-7, T II/ 1, 4-5, 8, 10-12, T III/3. Poticaje za nastanak srednjobosanskoga likovnog govora, kao ključnog dijela „zapadnobalkanskog stila“, autor smješta u karpatsko-podunavsko zaleđe.

¹⁵⁵ B. ČOVIĆ, 1976, 217-218, sl. 112.

¹⁵⁶ B. ČOVIĆ, 1987, 451, 453, sl. 26/3.

¹⁵¹ E.g. on a conical helmet from Novilare-Servici, grave 2. K. W. BEINHAEUER, 1985, T 50/A. Also, on the same type of helmet from Picugi in Istria, and in Slovenia. About conical helmets, from Verucchio to the Hallstatt world: B. TERŽAN, 2007, 40-43, fig. 1-2

¹⁵² K. W. BEINHAEUER, 1985, T 177/1990.

¹⁵³ K. MIHOVIĆ, 2007, 85-88, fig. T 3/7.

¹⁵⁴ B. ČOVIĆ, 1984, 10-11, 14, 15-16, T I/5-7, T II/ 1, 4-5, 8, 10-12, T III/3. The author finds influences for formation of the central Bosnian visual expression as a crucial part of “the western Balkan style” in the Carpathian-Danubian hinterland.

¹⁵⁵ B. ČOVIĆ, 1976, 217-218, fig. 112.

¹⁵⁶ B. ČOVIĆ, 1987, 451, 453, fig. 26/3.

se uporno govori početkom 1. tis. pr. Kr. po apeninskim *villanova* i drugim prostori- ma te po Europi.¹⁵⁷ I dok je jezgra „zapad- nobalkanskog stila“ (B. Čovića) u vremenu i prostoru prepoznatljiva, ostale su nejasne granice, karakter njegove proširenosti i mo- gućih utjecaja, posebno prema zapadnoja- dranskim kulturama od Picenuma do Sa- lenta i u unutrašnjost,¹⁵⁸ pa i njegov odnos prema likovnosti same Liburnije. Činjenica je, također, da su „zapadnobalkanski“, kao i apeninski geometrizam, točnije apeninski geometrizmi, tek osebujne sastavnice opće europske geometrijske likovnosti, dakle, poj- ma stila kao samosvojne kategorije koji nad- visuje kulturno-etničke granice.

Iako je motiv cik-cak valovnice na iscrtka- noj podlozi svojina balkanskog i apeninskog svijeta, on u ovo doba ipak prerasta jadransko-balkanske i apeninske likovne okvire. Poznat je, također, u sematički solarnoj sin- taksi eneolitičke vučedolske keramike,¹⁵⁹ zat- im kroz cijelo brončano doba: npr. u rano- brončanodobnoj Arbon kulturi Švicarske,¹⁶⁰ u *terramare* kulturi¹⁶¹ itd. Valja spomenuti i njegovu izvedbu na ikonografsko-seman- tički, vjerojatno također solarnim česljastim privjescima iz *terramare* svijeta (Castione Marchesi¹⁶²). Pojavljuje se, napokon, i na ke- ramičkoj urni iz Krneze u Liburniji.¹⁶³ Mo- tiv je kroz prapovijest imao simboličnu, no sigurno i dekorativnu ulogu. U nekim ned- vojbeno simboličnim strukturama, kao što

without any hints of decorativeness. The idea refers in particular to the solar i.e. mythical “landscape” (Fig. 36a-b, e), the one which is constantly discussed at the beginning of the first millennium BC in the Apennine Villanova and other regions, and in Europe.¹⁵⁷ While the core of the “western Balkan style” (by B. Čović) is recognizable in space and time, we know little about its boundaries, character of its distribu- tion and possible influences, particularly in rela- tion to western Adriatic cultures from Picenum to Salento and the interior,¹⁵⁸ and its relation to visual expression of Liburnia. The fact is that “the western Balkan” as well as Apennine geometrism, or more precisely Apennine ge- ometrisms, are only specific components of the general European geometric visual expression, and therefore notion of style as a autonomous category which exceeds cultural and ethnical boundaries.

Although motif of a zig-zag wavy line on the hatched background was the property of the Balkan and Apennine world, in this period it transcends Adriatic-Balkan and Apennine framework. This motif is also known in the se- mantically solar syntax of the Eneolithic Vučed- ol pottery,¹⁵⁹ then throughout the Bronze Age: e.g. in the Early Bronze Age Arbon culture in Switzerland¹⁶⁰, in the Terramare culture,¹⁶¹ etc. We need to mention its appearance on the iconographically-semantically probably also so- lar comb-shaped pendants from the Terramare

¹⁵⁷ „Balkanski likovni govor“, inače temelj pojma „zapadno- balkanski stil“ (B. Čovića), svojom jednostavnošću estetski nadvisuje njemu srodnu likovnost okolnih prostora, uključujući tu i istovremeni, posebno srednjo/apeninski, vrlo doraden i ikonografski standardiziran solarni geometrizam *villanova* svijeta. Unatoč ikonografsko-stilskim očitim podudarnostima apulskog i balkanskog geometrizma, činjenica je da su apeninski geometrizmi prvih stoljeća 1. tis. pr. Kr. stajali u zaleđu zapadnojadranskih kultura.

¹⁵⁸ K. KILIAN, 1976, 193, sl. 5-6.

¹⁵⁹ A. DURMAN, 2000, sl. 28-30.

¹⁶⁰ E. PROBST, 1996, 154.

¹⁶¹ M. BERNABÒ BREA, A. CARDARELLI, 1997, sl. 181/12, 205/2.

¹⁶² N. PROVENZANO, 1997, 532/10, 12-13.

¹⁶³ B. MARIJANOVIĆ, 2012, T II/1a-1b.

¹⁵⁷ “Balkan visual expression” is a basis of the notion “western Balkan style” (B. Čović) and it surpasses akin visual expression of the surrounding regions with its simplicity and aesthetics. These regions, particularly central/Apennine area, include simultaneous, very refined and iconographically standardized solar geometrism of the Villanova world. Despite evident iconographic-stylistic correspondences of the Apulian and Balkan geometrism, the fact is that the Apennine geometrisms of the first centuries of the 1st millennium stood in the background of the western Balkan cultures.

¹⁵⁸ K. KILIAN, 1976, 193, fig. 5-6.

¹⁵⁹ A. DURMAN, 2000, fig. 28-30.

¹⁶⁰ E. PROBST, 1996, 154.

¹⁶¹ M. BERNABÒ BREA, A. CARDARELLI, 1997, fig. 181/12, 205/2.

je vučedolska eneolitička keramika, njegova značenja su solarne naravi.

Iste napomene vrijede i za široko rasprostranjen motiv vrpce ispunjene poprečnim ili kosim usporednim crticama (Sl. 3). Važan je u zapadnobalkanskoj likovnosti, osobito u njezinoj zadnjoj fazi, kroz 8. – 7. st. pr. Kr. (Sl. 36c-d), ali s prvom pojavom već tijekom kasnoga brončanog doba, dakle u ranoj „srednjobosanskoj kulturnoj skupini“,¹⁶⁴ a važan je i na apeninskom prostoru (Sl. 19a). Ipak, i jednostavni motiv iscrtkane vrpce, najviše od svih zastupljenih na pektoralima iz Zaton i Nina, nadrađa uske vremensko-prostorne okvire.¹⁶⁵

Malteški križ, poput onoga na solarnom disku pektoral iz Nina (Sl. 3, 5a), rijedak je u liburnskoj kulturi. Nalazi se, ali u likovno skromnijem izdanju, tek na nekoliko liburnskih fibula tipa Osor, i to onima raskošnije inačice, sa stožastim žičanim kopicama po luku; konkretno, na fibuli iz groba 10 iz Nina (Sl. 21a, 23) te na dvjema iz Osora – Kavanela (Sl. 21b), dakle, na liburnskim artefaktima očito inspiriranim zapadnojadranskim svijetom. Na njima je mali iscrtkani malteški križ, doduše, u središtu noge – solarnog diska, umetnut u veliki četverokut konkavnih stranica. Ili pak (Sl. 21a, 23) dva mala malteška iscrtkana križa izvana prate četverokut, koji je u središtu noge – diska.¹⁶⁶ Ali, malteški križ s ninskog pektoral ima brojne izravne analogije na metalnim artefaktima s apeninskog prostora npr. na pojasevima *villanova* tipa (Tarquinija, grob 33: Sl. 21c),¹⁶⁷ na određenim apeninskim fibulama *a disco* (Sl. 21d-f), na briačima (nekropola Miseri-

world (Castione Marchesi¹⁶²). Finally it appears on the ceramic urn from Krneza in Liburnia.¹⁶³ Throughout prehistory this motif had symbolical but definitely also decorative function. In some undoubtedly symbolical structures, such as the Vučedol Eneolithic pottery, its meanings have solar character.

The same remarks are valid for widely distributed motif of a band filled with transversal or oblique parallel lines (Fig. 3). It is important in the western Balkan visual expression, particularly its final phase, through the 8th and 7th centuries BC (Fig. 3c-d), but with the first appearance as early as the Late Bronze Age, meaning in the early “central Bosnian cultural group”¹⁶⁴; it is important also on the Apennine Peninsula (Fig. 19). However simple motif of a hatched band, as the most frequent motif on the pectorals from Zaton and Nin, surpasses narrow chronological-spatial framework.¹⁶⁵

Maltese cross, such as the one on the solar disk of the pectoral from Nin (Fig. 3, 5a), appears rarely in the Liburnian culture. It can be found in visually more modest edition only on several examples of the more elaborate variant of the Osor-type fibulae, with conical wire caps on the bow; specifically, on two fibulae from Osor-Kavanela (Fig. 21b), meaning on the Liburnian artifacts evidently inspired by the western Adriatic world. A small hatched Maltese cross is in the center of the foot – solar disk, inserted in a large quadrangle with concave sides. On the fibula from Nin, grave 10 (Fig. 21a; Fig. 23), two small Maltese hatched crosses accompany quadrangle on the outer side. Quadrangle is in the center of the foot – disk.¹⁶⁶ But Maltese cross from the Nin pectoral has many direct analogies with the

¹⁶⁴ B. ČOVIĆ, 1976, 216, 232, sl. 131-134.

¹⁶⁵ U ostavi iz Kyhna (Saska), iz srednjoeuropskoga ranog brončanog doba, negdje tijekom 3. tisućljeća pr. Kr., brončani kružni predmet ukrašen je dobro poznatom kombinacijom iscrtkanih vrpca i cik-cak valovnica na iscrtkanoj pozadini. H. GENZ, 2006, 186-187.

¹⁶⁶ D. GLOGOVIĆ, 1989, T 22/5, 7; S. KUKOČ, 2012, sl. 19/d-e.

¹⁶⁷ H. MÜLLER-KARPE, 1959, T 29/C.

¹⁶² N. PROVENZANO, 1997, 532/10, 12-13.

¹⁶³ B. MARIJANOVIĆ, 2012, T II/1a-1b.

¹⁶⁴ B. ČOVIĆ, 1976, 216, 232, fig. 131-134.

¹⁶⁵ In the hoard from Kyhn (Saxony), from the central European Early Bronze Age, some time during the 3rd millennium BC, round bronze object was decorated with a well known combination of hatched bands and zig-zag wavy lines on a hatched background. H. GENZ, 2006, 186-187.

¹⁶⁶ D. GLOGOVIĆ, 1989, T 22/5, 7; S. KUKOČ, 2012, fig. 19/d-e.

cordia-Fermo: Sl. 35b),¹⁶⁸ ali i na picenskim pektoralima (Sl. 25).

Motiv malteškog križa općenito je čest u geometrijskoj likovnoj sintaksi srednje i južne Italije u prvim stoljećima 1. tis. pr. Kr., djelomično uključujući i geometrijski slikanu keramiku s njezinim balkanskim podudarnostima.¹⁶⁹ Motiv ima ulogu i u balkanskim likovnim sintaksama, od Bosne (Pod) u okviru „zapadnobalkanskog stila“ (B. Čović),¹⁷⁰ do Makedonije i Albanije (slikana keramika Devoll stila). S tim u vezi su i teze¹⁷¹ o balkansko-apepinskim stilskim (kulturnim/etničkim) dodirima.¹⁷²

Malteški križ (romb s četiri trokutića na vrhovima) pojavljuje se dosta rano u autohtonom Devoll keramičkom stilu,¹⁷³ nastalom dodirima Egeje i balkanske unutrašnjosti (13. – 8./7. st. pr. Kr.); vjerojatno je Devollstil južne Albanije bio izvorište ovoga motiva u Bosni.¹⁷⁴ U likovnosti same Bosne (Sl. 36c) malteški križ ipak nema posebno istaknutu ulogu; pojavljuje se tek u 8. st. pr. Kr. (Pod, Glasinac)¹⁷⁵ i često se pretache, baš kao i u kasnom Devoll keramičkom stilu (8. – 7. st. pr. Kr.) u igru spojenih rombova koji tvore različite vrpce (Sl. 36d).¹⁷⁶ Ovdje se ne raspravlja o podrijetlu malteškog križa kod Liburna, odnosno Picena, motivu i simbolu općenito velike starosti.¹⁷⁷ On je u ovim

metal artifacts from the Apennine regions; e.g. on the belts of the Villanovan type (Tarquinia, grave 33: Fig. 21c),¹⁶⁷ on certain Apennine fibulae *a disco* (Fig. 21d-f), on razors (necropolis Misericordia-Fermo: Fig. 35b),¹⁶⁸ and on the Picenian pectorals (Fig. 25).

Motif of the Maltese cross is generally frequent in the geometric visual syntax of central and southern Italy in the first centuries of the first millennium BC partially including the geometric painted pottery with its Balkan correspondences.¹⁶⁹ The motif was used in the Balkan visual syntaxes, from Bosnia (Pod) within the “western Balkan style” (by B. Čović)¹⁷⁰ to Macedonia and Albania (painted pottery of the Devoll style). Theses about the Balkan-Apennine stylistic (cultural/ethnic) contacts¹⁷¹ are related to this issue.¹⁷²

Maltese cross (rhomb with four small triangles at the tops) appears quite early in the autochthonous Devoll pottery style,¹⁷³ formed on the contacts of Aegean region and the hinterland of the Balkans (13th – 8th/7th centuries BC); probably Devoll style of southern Albania was source of this motif in Bosnia.¹⁷⁴ In the visual expression of Bosnia (Fig. 36c) Maltese cross does not play an important role; it appears only in the 8th century BC (Pod, Glasinac)¹⁷⁵ and it often transforms into a play of connected rhombs making various bands (Fig. 36d) just like in the late De-

¹⁶⁸ Brijač bez konteksta, iz prve polovice 8. st. pr. Kr., sa svastikom i dva malteška križa, oblikom je tipičan za (južnu) Etruriju, Bolognu i Terni. L. DRAGO TROCCOLI, 2003, 52-54, sl. 10A.

¹⁶⁹ K. KILIAN, 1976, sl. 5-6.

¹⁷⁰ „Zapadnobalkanski stil“ definiran je kao sinteza balkanskih i podunavskih elemenata. B. ČOVIĆ, 1984, 24.

¹⁷¹ G. von MERHART, 1942, sl. 7, T 7. Pojava malteškog križa u srednjoj Bosni i na Glasincu u ovo vrijeme smatrana je indikativnom s obzirom na to da omogućuje kulturno-vremenske usporedbe na širokom potezu od istočne Srbije, Bosne do Apeninskog poluotoka. B. ČOVIĆ, 1976, 232, 306, sl. 131, 176-177; B. ČOVIĆ, 1984, 18. Za keramiku Basarabi stila: N. TASIĆ, 1983, sl. 82/18-22.

¹⁷² B. ČOVIĆ, 1984, 18, bilj. 43.

¹⁷³ ALBANIEN, 1988, 198, sl. 48.

¹⁷⁴ B. ČOVIĆ, 1984, 21-25.

¹⁷⁵ B. ČOVIĆ, 1976, 232, 306.

¹⁷⁶ B. ČOVIĆ, 1984, 16-17, 22, sl. 2/b-c, sl. 4.

¹⁷⁷ Usp. B. ČOVIĆ, 1984, 18.

¹⁶⁷ H. MÜLLER-KARPE, 1959, T 29/C.

¹⁶⁸ Razor without context, from the first half of the 8th century BC, with a swastika and two Maltese crosses, is typical of (southern) Etruria, Bologna and Terni by its form. L. DRAGO TROCCOLI, 2003, 52-54, fig. 10A.

¹⁶⁹ K. KILIAN, 1976, fig. 5-6.

¹⁷⁰ “Western Balkan style” was defined as a synthesis of the Balkan and Danubian elements. B. ČOVIĆ, 1984, 24.

¹⁷¹ B. ČOVIĆ, 1984, 18, note 43.

¹⁷² G. von MERHART, 1942, fig. 7, T 7. Appearance of the Maltese cross in central Bosnia and in Glasinac in this period is considered to be indicative since it enables cultural and chronological comparisons in a wide region from eastern Serbia, Bosnia to the Apennine Peninsula. B. ČOVIĆ, 1976, 232, 306, fig. 131, 176-177; B. ČOVIĆ, 1984, 18. About the Basarabi style pottery: N. TASIĆ, 1983, fig. 82/18-22.

¹⁷³ ALBANIEN, 1998, 198, fig. 48.

¹⁷⁴ B. ČOVIĆ, 1984, 21-25.

¹⁷⁵ B. ČOVIĆ, 1976, 232, 306.

kulturama posljedica zatvorenog kruga stilskog (kulturnog) kretanja, često s povratnim pravcima, na potezu Balkan/Jadran – Apeninski poluotok. U Picenum je mogao stići (i) preko srednjoapeninskog *villanova* svijeta iz unutrašnjosti, odnosno, s apeninskog juga, inače jasno otvorenog ukusu balkanskih stilskih linearizama na slikanoj keramici i na metalu na prijelazu 2./1. tis. pr. Kr., i kasnije. No, nezaobilazan je i Verucchio iz *villanova* razdoblja, smješten na križanju kulturnih utjecaja juga i sjevera, između *Caput Adrije*, Padanije, Etrurije i Picenuma, odnosno, Jadrana. Za problematiku onovremene solarne ikonografije i simbolike važan je složeni motiv izveden urezivanjem i iskucavanjem na brončanom pojasu *villanova* tipa iz S. Giovanni in Galillea, Ara Vecchia, iz Verucchija (Sl. 19b).¹⁷⁸ Ima dva koncentrična kruga s naglašenom iskucanom točkom u središtu. Krugovi su okruženi s četiri malteška križa križno raspoređena. Malteški križ je pak identičan križu na pektoralu iz Ancone (Sl. 25), dakle i križu na pektoralu iz Nina (Sl. 1-2). U odnosu na ovu kompoziciju iz Nina, gdje je malteški križ okružen s četiri koncentrična kruga s točkom u središtu (Sl. 3), u kompoziciji iz Verucchija zbilja se ikonografska zamjena, ali uz zadržavanje simbolike: motiv koncentričnih krugova sada je postao središte okruženo s malteškim križevima. Ova ikonografska igra premještanja i kombiniranja tada omiljenog kruga/diska, križa i broja 4, tj. četiriju točaka križno raspoređenih u kružnom prostoru, jasno govori da u prvim stoljećima željeznog doba znak koncentričnoga kruga s točkom u sredini i znak malteškog, ili nekoga drugog tipa križa, sadrže potpuno isto značenje. Oba su simboli samog Sunca. Kompozicija „malteški križ – koncentrični krug s točkom“ iz Nina (Sl. 3) sadrži iste poruke kao i kompozicija „koncentrični krug s točkom – malteški križevi“ iz Verucchija (Sl. 19b), u približno istom

¹⁷⁸ P. von ELES, 2012, sl. 6.

voll pottery style (8th – 7th century BC).¹⁷⁶ Here we do not discuss origin of the Maltese cross as a very old motif and symbol in Liburnia i.e. Picenum.¹⁷⁷ In these cultures it is a consequence of closed circle of stylistic (cultural) movement, often functioning in both directions, on the route Balkans/Adriatic – Apennine Peninsula. It could have come to Picenum (also) over the central Apennine Villanovan world from the interior, i.e. from the Apennine south, which was clearly open to the taste of the Balkan stylistic linearisms on painted pottery and metal at the transition from the 3rd to 2nd millennium BC and later. We also need to mention Verrucchio from the Villanovan period, situated at the intersection of the cultural influences of the south and north, between *Caput Adriae*, Padania, Etruria and Picenum i.e. Adriatic. Complex motif executed by incision and stamping on the bronze belt of the Villanovan type from S. S. Giovanni in Galillea, Ara Vecchia, from Verucchio (Fig. 19b)¹⁷⁸ is important in the context of problems of the solar iconography and symbolics. It has two concentric circles with emphasized stamped dot in the center. Circles are surrounded with four Maltese crosses in cruciform distribution. Maltese cross is identical to the cross on the pectoral from Ancona (Fig. 25) and to the cross on the pectoral from Nin (Fig. 1-2). In relation to this composition from Nin where the Maltese cross was surrounded with four concentric circles with a dot in the middle (Fig. 3), in the composition from Verucchio an iconographic change took place, but the symbolics was retained: motif of concentric circles has become a center surrounded with Maltese crosses. This iconographical game of dislocating and combining popular circle/disk, cross and number 4 i.e. four dots distributed crosswise in the round space shows clearly that in the first centuries of the Iron Age sign of concentric cross with a dot in the middle and sign of Maltese or some

¹⁷⁶ B. ČOVIĆ, 1984, 16-17, 22, fig. 2/b-c, fig. 4.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. B. ČOVIĆ, 1984, 18.

¹⁷⁸ P. von ELES, 2012, fig. 6.

vremenu, s početka željeznog doba.

Motiv niza urezanih ptica (Sl. 2-3, 8) na lađama dvaju pektorala kod Liburna, više se ne pojavljuje u liburnskoj kulturi. Nije svojstven ni onovremenom istočnojadranskom, odnosno balkanskom svijetu. Tipičan je za probrane i mahom simbolične artefakte (Sl. 21f) s apeninskih prostora početkom željeznog doba, posebno iz Etrurije i starog Lacija, ali i s juga (Pontecagnano: Sl. 34); konkretno, za *villanova* svijet (urne iz 9. st. pr. Kr.¹⁷⁹), stoga i za picenske *villanova* jezgre (Fermo: Sl. 35c).¹⁸⁰ Motiv ima izravne analogije i na obje lađe picenskih pektorala (Sl. 24, 26)¹⁸¹ ili pak na brijačima iz picenske kulture, koji su *villanova* podrijetla ili inspirirani brijačima iz Etrurije iz 9. – 8. st. pr. Kr.¹⁸² (Sl. 35c). U ovom kontekstu osebujan je brijač iz Picenuma (Sl. 35a)¹⁸³ na kojem je relativno konkretno dočaran „solarni krajolik“ s križevima (i pticama), nedvojbeno utemeljen na mitu o Sunčevu putovanju.

Odavno je uočeno da su pektoralni iz Nina i Zatona ikonografsko-stilski negdje „između“ zapadnobalkanskih i (zapadno)jadranskih formi, ali i da sami picenski pektoralni, poput nekih drugih picenskih artefakata, stanovito baštine na istočnojadranskom iskustvu i likovnom ukusu. Te prostore na prijelazu 2./1. tis. pr. Kr. stilski povezuje geometrizam i ikonografsko-semantički bliski solarni sadržaji, s naglaskom na *urnenfelder* „ptičjoj lađi“, kao reduciranoj mitskoj slici Sunčeva putovanja. To je stara, ključna teza¹⁸⁴ o osebujnom, no srodnom komponiranju solarnih (*urnenfelder*) motiva i simbola na zapadnobalkanskom i jadransko-apeninskom prostoru. U tom kontekstu, uz picensku snažnu istočnojadransko-balkansku usmjerenost, bitna

other type of cross, had identical meaning. They were both symbols of the Sun. Composition “Maltese cross – concentric circle with a dot” from Nin (Fig. 3) contains identical messages as the composition “concentric circle with a dot – Maltese crosses” from Verucchio (Fig. 19b) in roughly same period at the beginning of the Iron Age.

Motif of a row of incised birds (Fig. 2-3, 8) on the boats of two pectorals in the Liburnians, does not reappear in the Liburnian culture. It is not characteristic of the eastern Adriatic i.e. Balkan world at the time. It is typical of the selected and mostly symbolical artifacts (Fig. 21f) from the Apennine regions at the beginning of the Iron Age, particularly from Etruria and old Latium, but also from the south (Pontecagnano: Fig. 34); specifically, of the Villanovan world (urns from the 9th century BC¹⁷⁹), therefore also of the Picenian Villanovan cores (Fermo).¹⁸⁰ The motif has direct analogies on both boats of the Picenian pectorals (Fig. 24, 26)¹⁸¹ or on the razors of the Picenian culture which have Villanovan origin or they were inspired by the identical examples from Etruria from the 9th – 8th centuries BC¹⁸² (Fig. 35c). In this context a razor from Picenum is quite specific (Fig. 35a)¹⁸³ as it bears relatively concretely depicted “solar landscape”, with crosses (and birds), undoubtedly based on the myth of the Sun’s journey.

It has been noticed long time ago that the pectorals from Nin and Zaton are somewhere “between” the western Balkan and western Adriatic forms in iconographic and stylistic terms, but it was also evident that the Picenian pectorals, like some other Picenian artifacts, accepted certain eastern Adriatic experiences and artistic taste. These regions were connected by geometrism at the transition from the 2nd to 1st

¹⁷⁹ G. COLONNA, 1974, T 132/b.

¹⁸⁰ L. DRAGO TROCCOLI, 2003, 41, sl. 4/a.

¹⁸¹ N. LUCENTINI, 2000, 258.

¹⁸² Npr. na tipu Populonia (izgleda bolonjske proizvodnje) u picenskom grobu 19 S/1956 s antenskim mačem tipa *Tarquīnija*. L. DRAGO TROCCOLI, 2003, 57, 59. sl. 13.

¹⁸³ N. LUCENTINI, 2007, sl. 4/2.

¹⁸⁴ G. KOSSACK, 1954, 54; D. GLOGOVIĆ, 1989, 27.

¹⁷⁹ G. COLONNA, 1974, T 132/b.

¹⁸⁰ L. DRAGO TROCCOLI, 2003, 41, fig. 4/a.

¹⁸¹ N. LUCENTINI, 2000, 258.

¹⁸² E.g. on the Populonia type (seemingly produced in Bologna) in the Picenian grave 19 S/1956 with an antenna sword of the *Tarquīnija* type. L. DRAGO TROCCOLI, 2003, 57, 59, fig. 13.

¹⁸³ N. LUCENTINI, 2007, fig. 4/2.

je picenska istovremena, rana transvenzalna otvorenost srednjeapeninskoj unutrašnjosti (Fermo – Etrurija – *Latium Vetus* i drugo). Ona je, uz ostalo, pridonijela dovršenom ikonografskom sintetiziranju određenih picenskih kulturnih elemenata utemeljenih na mitu o Sunčevu putovanju, koji je nedvojbeno snažno sudjelovao u nazoru o svijetu i u mnogim apeninskim prostorima, osobito u središnjim (Etrurija, *Latium Vetus*) i južnim, na prijelazu 2./1. tis. pr. Kr.

Zbog svekolike, u kompoziciji i detaljima, likovne podudarnosti dvodijelnih velikih pektorala Liburnije i Picenuma, odavno se izravno, najčešće prešutno, nameće pitanje: jesu li pektoralni iz Zatona i Nina posljedica tzv. *riscontri transadriatici* i dio tzv. *koiné* jadranske, ili su pak uvoz iz picenskog svijeta?

U prvoj, najproširenijoj tezi o tome pektoralni iz Nina i Zatona plod su kulturne interakcije jadranskih zajednica, primarno liburnske i picenske. U tom kontekstu istaknut je stav da su veliki pektoralni oblik Liburni prenijeli u Picenum gdje se on dalje razvijao.¹⁸⁵ Iza ove teze neizbježno stoji Plinijev liburnski *Truentum* i drugi pisani podaci o Liburnima na Jadranu te mnoge objektivne kulturne liburnsko-picenske podudarnosti. Teza pak o picenskom importu, prisutna u literaturi,¹⁸⁶ nije detaljnije razrađena.

Iako Liburni i Piceni imaju dugotrajnu domaću tradiciju pektoralnog nakita, pektoralni iz Nina i Zatona nisu se „razvijali“ u Liburniji. Njihova forma (za sada) nema izravni kontinuitet u liburnskoj kulturi. Svi drugi liburnski pektoralni po svemu su skromniji, veličinom i obradom. Činjenica je, dakle, da za razliku od picenske kulture, pektoralni iz Zatona i Nina nisu u liburnskoj kulturi, kao niti pektoralni kod Japoda,¹⁸⁷ praćeni drugim,

millennia BC, and iconographically and semantically similar solar motifs, with emphasis on the Urnfield “bird boat” as reduced mythical image of the Sun’s journey. This is an old, crucial thesis¹⁸⁴ about the peculiar but similar composing of the solar (Urnfield) motifs and symbols on the western Balkan and Adriatic-Apenine region. In that context, alongside strong eastern Adriatic-Balkan orientation of the Picenians, it is important to emphasize simultaneous early transversal openness to the central Apennine interior (Fermo – Etruria – *Latium Vetus*, etc). It contributed to completion of iconographic synthesis of certain Picenian cultural elements based on the myth of the Sun’s journey which undoubtedly participated intensively in the image of the world and in the worldview in many Apennine regions, particularly the central (Etruria, *Latium Vetus*) and southern areas at the transition from the 2nd to 1st millennia BC.

Due to complete correspondence in composition and details of the large two-part pectorals from Liburnia and Picenum, for quite a while the imposing though implicit question was whether the pectorals from Zaton and Nin were a consequence of the so-called *riscontri transadriatici* and a part of the Adriatic “*koiné*” or if they were import from the Picenian world?

In the first, most widespread thesis on this subject, pectorals from Nin and Zaton represent a result of the cultural interaction of the Adriatic communities, primarily the Liburnian and Picenian. In that context, main thesis is that the large pectoral form was brought to Picenum by the Liburnians where it further developed.¹⁸⁵ Behind this thesis is Pliny’s Liburnian *Truentum* and other written data about the Liburnians on the Adriatic and many objective cultural Liburnian-Picenian correspondences. Thesis about the Picenian import, which can be found in the scholarly works,¹⁸⁶ has not been elaborated.

Although both the Liburnians and Piceni-

¹⁸⁵ Š. BATOVIĆ, 1981, 24-25.

¹⁸⁶ R. PERONI, 1973, 24, 18, bilj. 13; S. KUKOČ, 1978, 246-247, T LIII-LX; M. LANDOLFI, 2000, 126.

¹⁸⁷ Ne može se (više) govoriti o pektoralima podrijetlom iz *gruppo liburnico – japodica*, prema F. Lo Schiavo i drugim autorima, jer ta kultura nikad nije postojala. Usp. M. LANDOLFI, 2000, 126.

¹⁸⁴ G. KOSSACK, 1954, 54; D. GLOGOVIĆ, 1989, 27.

¹⁸⁵ Š. BATOVIĆ, 1981, 24-25.

¹⁸⁶ R. PERONI, 1973, 24, 18, note 13; S. KUKOČ, 1978, 246-247, T LIII-LX; M. LANDOLFI, 2000, 126.

sličnim raskošnim pektoralnim oblicima. Japodski pektoralni, iako često sastavljeni od dviju solarnih lađa, mahom su mlađi i manjih dimenzija; nikad ne dosežu imponzantnu dužinu od 60 do 70 cm, poput dvaju pektoralala kod Liburna, odnosno, Picena.

Veliki dvodijelni picenski pektoralni (Monteprandone, Canavaccio di Urbino, Monteroberto, Ancona – Colle del Cardeto, Numana, Porto San'Elpidio, vjerojatno i pektoral iz Villa Giulia, Rim: Sl. 29a)¹⁸⁸ te dva pektoralala iz Liburnije, pripadaju svijetu žena.¹⁸⁹ Njihov izvorni picenski kulturni kontekst često je nedovoljno arheološki dokumentiran; relativno su nesigurne pojedine relevantne picenske grobne cjeline, iskopane u 19. i početkom 20. st. Stoga su oni različito datirani, u rasponu između 9. i 8. st. pr. Kr.¹⁹⁰; konkretno, najčešće u 8. st. pr. Kr. (Piceno II) u starijoj¹⁹¹ i novijoj literaturi.¹⁹² Bili su stoga istovremeni pektoralu iz Nina (bez grobne cjeline), oduvijek datiranom u 8. st. pr. Kr.,¹⁹³ odnosno, stariji od pektoralala iz groba 6 iz Zaton, datiranog u 7. st. pr. Kr.¹⁹⁴ U najnovijoj literaturi, i nadalje utemeljenoj na tradicionalnoj apsolutnoj kronologiji, složeni picenski pektoralni smješteni su na kraj 9. st. pr. Kr. i početak 8. st. pr. Kr.¹⁹⁵ te, napokon, u 9. st. pr. Kr. i početak 8. st. pr. Kr.¹⁹⁶

Neslaganja u vezi s kronologijom dvodijelnih picenskih pektoralala, iz objektivnih razloga, ni danas nisu nadživljena. Ne postoje grobne asocijacije ovih pektoralala i drugih artefakata koje bi ih nedvojbeno svrstale na sam početak, odnosno u prvu polovicu 9. st. pr. Kr. U grobu 1/1895 iz Monteprandonea

ans have lengthy local tradition of the pectoral adornments, pectorals from Nin and Zaton did not “develop” in Liburnia. They do not have morphological continuity in the Liburnian culture. All other Liburnian pectorals are more modest in size and crafting. The fact is that as opposed to the Picenian culture, pectorals from Nin and Zaton were not accompanied with other similar elaborate pectoral forms in the Liburnian culture as well as the Iapodean pectorals¹⁸⁷ which often consist of two solar boats, but are mostly younger and have smaller dimensions; they never reach the imposing length of 60-70 cm, such as two Liburnian i.e. Picenian pectorals.

Large two-part Picenian pectorals (Monteprandone, Canavaccio di Urbino, Monteroberto, Ancona – Colle del Cardeto, Numana, Porto San'Elpidio, probably also pectoral from Villa Giulia, Rome, Fig. 29a),¹⁸⁸ and two pectorals from Liburnia belong to the world of women.¹⁸⁹ Their original Picenian cultural context is frequently lacking in archaeological evidence; certain relevant Picenian funerary wholes are also relatively uncertain, excavated in the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century which is why they were dated in the range from the 9th and 8th centuries BC¹⁹⁰; specifically most frequently in the 8th century BC (Piceno II) in the older¹⁹¹ and more recent works.¹⁹² Therefore they were synchronous with the pectoral from Nin (without the grave unit), regularly dated to the 8th century BC,¹⁹³ i.e. older than the pectoral from grave 6 in Zaton, dated to the 7th century BC.¹⁹⁴ In the most recent literature, still based

¹⁸⁸ M. G. SCAPATICCI, 1980, 70-71, T XXIIc.

¹⁸⁹ G. von MERHART, 1942, 7, T 6; D. GLOGOVIĆ, 1989, 25, 27; M. LANDOLFI, 2000, 126.

¹⁹⁰ M. GAVRANOVIĆ, 2007, 183, sl. 10.

¹⁹¹ D. G. LOLLINI, 1976, 125, 185.

¹⁹² K. W. BEINHAEUER, 1985, 254; M. LANDOLFI, 2000, 126.

¹⁹³ Š. BATOVIĆ, 1981, 24, sl. 12.

¹⁹⁴ Š. BATOVIĆ, 1976, karta 7.

¹⁹⁵ N. LUCENTINI, 2000, 258.

¹⁹⁶ N. LUCENTINI, 2007, 95.

¹⁸⁷ Pectorals from *gruppo liburnico-japodico* according to F. Lo Schiavo and other authors can no longer be discussed since such culture never existed. Cf. M. LANDOLFI, 2000, 126.

¹⁸⁸ M. G. SCAPATICCI, 1980, 70-71, T XXIIc.

¹⁸⁹ G. von MERHART, 1942, 7, T 6; D. GLOGOVIĆ, 1989, 25, 27; M. LANDOLFI, 2000, 126.

¹⁹⁰ M. GAVRANOVIĆ, 2007, 183, fig. 10.

¹⁹¹ D. G. LOLLINI, 1976, 125, 185.

¹⁹² K. W. BEINHAEUER, 1985, 254; M. LANDOLFI, 2000, 126.

¹⁹³ Š. BATOVIĆ, 1981, 24, fig. 12.

¹⁹⁴ Š. BATOVIĆ, 1976, map 7.

(Sl. 24), gdje je kombinacija priloga naknadno rekonstruirana, pektoral (duž. 36,5 cm), inače jedan od najstarijih među picenskim, uz (trodijelnu)¹⁹⁷ spiralno-naočalastu fibulu liburnskog oblika, tipa Nin,¹⁹⁸ prati jednodijelna fibula *a disco* sa žičanim stožastim ispupčenjima na luku.¹⁹⁹ Te se fibule u određenim apeninskim krugovima izrađuju već u 9. st. pr. Kr.²⁰⁰ U bogatom pak pokopu žene iz Numane iz prve polovice 8. st. pr. Kr.,²⁰¹ uz pektoral se opet nalazi fibula *a disco*, ali raskucanog luka. Ova inačica se također oblikuje, osobito u srednjopeninskim prostorima, već u 9. st. pr. Kr. (Terni II),²⁰² ali njezina pojava kod Picena u starijoj²⁰³ i novijoj literaturi uglavnom se smještala na početak 8. st. pr. Kr.²⁰⁴ U grobu žene iz Colle del Cardeto-Ancona (Sl. 25) poznati pektoral bio je također praćen jednodijelnom lučnom fibulom *a disco* s raskucanim lukom, zatim s fibulom sa zrnim jantara na luku te visokom spiralnom narukvicom s rebrom.²⁰⁵ Ona je pak obilježje ranih bogatih pokopa žena u Picenumu (Canavaccio di Urbino) tijekom 9. – 8. st. pr. Kr.,²⁰⁶ no s potpunom analogijom na balkanskim prostorima u Velikom Mošunju²⁰⁷ te u delmatskom krugu (ostava Krehin Gradac) u 8. st. pr. Kr.²⁰⁸ Identične duge narukvice s rebrom nose žene i u grobnoj picenskoj kombinaciji s malom jantarnom solarnom „ptičjom lađom“ s kraja 8. st. pr. Kr. i početkom 7. st. pr. Kr. (Novilara –

on the traditional absolute chronology, complex Picenian pectorals were dated to the end of the 9th century BC and beginning of the 8th century BC¹⁹⁵ and finally to the 9th century BC and beginning of the 8th century BC.¹⁹⁶

Disagreements regarding chronology of the two-part Picenian pectorals have not been overcome due to objective reasons. There are no funerary associations regarding these pectorals and other artifacts to date them without doubt to the beginning i.e. first half of the 9th century BC. In grave 1/1895 from Monteprandone (Fig. 24) where combination of grave goods was reconstructed subsequently, one of the oldest Picenian pectorals (length 36,5 cm) is accompanied by a single-part fibula *a disco* with a conical wire embossments on the bow¹⁹⁷ alongside (three-part)¹⁹⁸ spectacle fibula of the Liburnian form, type Nin.¹⁹⁹ These fibulae in certain Apennine circles were made as early as the 9th century BC.²⁰⁰ In the rich burial of a woman from Numana from the first half of the 8th century BC,²⁰¹ fibula *a disco* was found alongside pectoral but its bow was hammered. This variant was present particularly in the central Apennine regions as early as the 9th century BC (Terni II),²⁰² but its appearance in the Picenian culture was usually dated in the older²⁰³ and more recent literature to the beginning of the 8th century BC.²⁰⁴ In the grave of a woman from Colle del Cardeto-Ancona (Fig. 25) famous pectoral was also accompanied with a single-part bow fibula *a disco* with hammered

¹⁹⁷ N. LUCENTINI, 2007, sl. 5 /1.

¹⁹⁸ S. PABST, 2012, 80-82.

¹⁹⁹ N. LUCENTINI, 2000, 258.

²⁰⁰ Izvorni oblik fibule iz Monteprandonea nije siguran, jer je popravljena u prošlosti; stoga možda potječe s početka 8. st. pr. Kr. N. LUCENTINI, 2000, 258, sl. 478. O ovom tipu fibule u Fermo (9. st. pr. Kr.) i šire po Apeninskom poluo-toku: L. DRAGO TROCCOLI, 2003, 44, sl. 5/c, bilj. 61.

²⁰¹ M. LANDOLFI, 2000, 126.

²⁰² Npr. Terni: grobovi 154, 138. H. MÜLLER-KARPE, 1959, T 42 G, T 43A.

²⁰³ D. G. LOLLINI, 1976, sl. 3/5.

²⁰⁴ L. DRAGO TROCCOLI, 2003, 47-48, sl. 6 /F, bilj. 80-81.

²⁰⁵ G. von MERHART, 1942, T 6/sl. 2 (1-4).

²⁰⁶ N. LUCENTINI, 2000, 258.

²⁰⁷ M. GAVRANOVIĆ, 2007, 179, 181-182, sl. 5 (sa starijom literaturom).

²⁰⁸ B. ČOVIĆ, 1987, 448, sl. 26/2.

¹⁹⁵ N. LUCENTINI, 2000, 258.

¹⁹⁶ N. LUCENTINI, 2007, 95.

¹⁹⁷ N. LUCENTINI, 2000, 258.

¹⁹⁸ N. LUCENTINI, 2007, fig. 5 /1.

¹⁹⁹ S. PABST, 2012, 80-82.

²⁰⁰ Original form of fibula from Monteprandone is not reconstructed with certainty since it was repaired in the past; therefore it may be dated to the beginning of the 8th century BC. N. LUCENTINI, 2000, 258, fig. 478. About this type of fibula in Fermo (9th century BC) and elsewhere on the Apennine Peninsula: L. DRAGO TROCCOLI, 2003, 44, fig. 5/c, note 61.

²⁰¹ M. LANDOLFI, 2000, 126.

²⁰² E.g. Terni: graves 154, 138. H. MÜLLER-KARPE, 1959, T 42 G, T 43A.

²⁰³ D. G. LOLLINI, 1976, fig. 3/5.

²⁰⁴ L. DRAGO TROCCOLI, 2003, 47-48, fig. 6 /F, notes 80-81.

Servici, grob XVII.²⁰⁹ (Sl. 44a). Tu je i problem prve pojave u Picenumu spiralno-naočalastih dvodijelnih fibula liburnskog tipa (i trodijelne fibule u Montepandoneu: Sl. 24). One su tradicionalno smještane u 8. st. pr. Kr.,²¹⁰ dok se u novijoj literaturi njihova prva pojava datira uglavnom u rasponu između dvaju stoljeća, konkretno na kraj 9. i u 8. st. pr. Kr., ili pak (indirektno)²¹¹ i nešto ranije, odnosno u 9. st. pr. Kr.²¹²

Dakle, prva pojava velikih picenskih pektoralata vjerojatna je tek u zadnjim desetljećima 9. st. pr. Kr., osobito tijekom 8. st. pr. Kr. Nejasno je točno vrijeme kada su se ovi, i uopće dvodijelni picenski pektoralati prestali upotrebljavati; možda potkraj 6. st. pr. Kr.²¹³ No to su već bili dvodijelni pektoralati spojeni nizovima staklenih zrna i alkica.²¹⁴ Također, u međuvremenu, tijekom 7. st. pr. Kr. u upotrebi su i dvodijelni picenski pektoralati, ali od brončanog lima, s iskucanim ukrasom (Montegiorgio)²¹⁵ i bez jasnoga solarnog znakovlja uobičajenog za pektoralate tipa Ancona.

U grobnoj nošnji žena iz Picenuma s velikim dvodijelnim pektoralom, koja jest očita mješavina elemenata tipičnih za zajednice obiju jadranskih obala i zaleđa, najočitiiji istočnojadranski elementi (posebno rani liburnski) su, dakle, spiralno-naočalaste fibule i duge narukvice s rebrom. Jednodijelne fibule *a disco* s lukom ukrašenim nizom stožastih ispupčenja vuku podrijetlo iz srednje Italije,²¹⁶ kao i fibule *a disco* s raskucanim

bow, then with a fibula with an amber bead on the bow and high spiral bracelet with a rib (Fig. 25).²⁰⁵ It is a characteristic of the early rich burials in Picenum (Canavaccio di Urbino) during the 9th/8th centuries BC,²⁰⁶ but with excellent analogy in the Balkan region, in Veliki Mošunj,²⁰⁷ and in the Dalmatian circle (hoard in Krehin Gradac) during the 8th century BC.²⁰⁸ Identical long bracelets with a rib were worn by women in the Picenian funerary combination with a small amber solar “bird boat” from the end of the 8th century BC and beginning of the 7th century BC (Novilara-Servici, grave XVII)²⁰⁹ (Fig. 44a). There is also the problem of the first appearance of the two-part spectacle fibulae of the Liburnian type (and three-part fibulae in Montepandone: Fig. 24). They were traditionally dated to the 8th century BC,²¹⁰ while in the more recent literature their first emergence is usually dated to the period of two centuries, specifically to the end of the 9th century and to the 8th century BC, or (indirectly)²¹¹ somewhat earlier, i.e. to the 9th century BC.²¹²

The first appearance of large Picenian pectorals is likely only in the last decades of the 9th century BC, particularly during the 8th century BC. It is difficult to say when these pectorals and generally two-part Picenian pectorals were no longer used; perhaps at the end of the 6th century BC,²¹³ but these were two-part pectorals connected with strings of glass beads and small

²⁰⁹ K. W. BEINHAEUER, 1985, 790, T 170B.

²¹⁰ Za Novilaru: grob 70, Novilara-Molaroni. (8. st. pr. Kr.). Prva pojava spiralno-naočalastih fibula u „ženskim“ grobovima Novilare datirana je u 8. st. pr. Kr. K. W. BEINHAEUER, 1985, 251, 544, 705, T 18D, 19A. Usp. S. PABST, 2012, 178-179, 293.

²¹¹ N. LUCENTINI, 2000, 258; N. LUCENTINI, 2007, 95, sl. 5/1.

²¹² U najnovijim vremenskim shemama spiralno-naočalaste višedijelne fibule liburnskog oblika (tip Nin) u Picenumu su određene u 9. – 7. st. pr. Kr. S. PABST, 2012, 178, 292.

S. SEIDEL, 2007, 80.

²¹⁴ S. SEIDEL, 2007, 80.

²¹⁵ S. SEIDEL, 2007, 81, sl. 7.

²¹⁶ One su u Picenumu element snažno inspiriran *villanova* svijetom, primarno Etrurijom (i Ternijem), no i enotrij-

²⁰⁵ G. von MERHART, 1942, T 6/fig. 2 (1-4).

²⁰⁶ N. LUCENTINI, 2000, 258.

²⁰⁷ M. GAVRANOVIĆ, 2007, 179, 181-182, fig. 5 (with older literature).

²⁰⁸ B. ČOVIĆ, 1987, 448, fig. 26/2.

²⁰⁹ K. W. BEINHAEUER, 1985, 790, T 170B.

²¹⁰ About Novilara: grave 70, Novilara-Molaroni (8th century BC). The first appearance of the spectacle fibulae in “female” graves of Novilara was dated to the 8th century BC. K. W. BEINHAEUER, 1985, 251, 544, 705, T 18D, 19A. Cf. S. PABST, 2012, 178-179, 293.

²¹¹ N. LUCENTINI, 2000, 258; N. LUCENTINI, 2007, 95, fig. 5/1.

²¹² In the most recent chronological schemes multi-part spectacle fibulae of the Liburnian shape (type Nin) were dated from the 9th to 7th century BC in Picenum. S. PABST, 2012, 178, 292.

²¹³ S. SEIDEL, 2007, 80.

lukom, dok su pak fibule sa zrnim jantara, inače omiljene kod Liburna, ipak svojina više zajednica u 9./8. st. pr. Kr.

Kako pektoralni iz Nina i Zaton imaju, zasad (!), povoljniji kontekst u sustavu picenske kulture početkom željeznog doba, i budući da su cjelinom i detaljima ikonografsko-stilski srodni s picenskim, štoviše, u konkretnim slučajevima njima gotovo identični (Sl. 29), može ih se smatrati picenskim uvozom kod Liburna.²¹⁷ Najočitija kompozicijska razlika između velikih dvodijelnih pektorala kod Picena i Liburna je u činjenici što liburnski nemaju naglašeno duge lance obješene o donjoj lađi (Sl. 1, 6).

Oba pektoralna kod Liburna, iz Nina i Zaton, nastala su, dakle, negdje u zadnjim desetljećima 9. st. pr. Kr., odnosno u 8. st. pr. Kr. To ne poriče činjenica da su određeni prilozi (npr. košarasti privjesak) u grobu 6 iz Zaton (s višestrukim ukopom?) tipični za vrijeme nakon 8. st. pr. Kr. (Sl. 6). Kao „posuđeni“ kulturni element, pektoralni iz Nina i Zaton, zahvaljujući svojoj simboličnosti utemeljenoj na solarnosti, nedvojbeno su bili ubačeni u najosjetljivije dijelove liburnske kulture i napokon, stavljeni u grob (Sl. 6) zajedno s drugim, tipičnim liburnskim dijelovima nošnje: s osam lučnih fibula sa zrnim jantara, s ranim oblikom pojasne križne kopče, dobro dokumentirane, posebno kod Japoda, već početkom željeznog doba,²¹⁸ s križnom aplikom i drugim elementima. Pektoralni, poput zatonskog i ninskog, sigurno su bili određena dragocjenost, osobito svojim značenjima, koja se čuvala, moguće i nasljeđivala u okviru liburnskog *domusa*, obitelji i običaja šire zajednice.

Picensko podrijetlo i navedeno vrijeme nastanka dvaju velikih pektoralna iz Liburnije, negdje na prijelazu 9./8. st. pr. Kr. potkrepljuje nalaz picenskog pektoralna u Verucchi-

skim prostorom, preko Lacija (*Latium Vetus*). N. LUCENTINI, 2007, 95.

²¹⁷ S. KUKOČ, 1978, 246-247.

²¹⁸ S. KUKOČ, 2009, sl. 311-312 (sa starijom literaturom).

rings.²¹⁴ In the meantime, during the 7th century BC, two-part Picenian pectorals were used, made of sheet bronze, with stamped ornament (Montegiorgio),²¹⁵ and without clear solar signs usual on the Ancona-type pectorals.

In the funeral attire of the Picenian women with a large two-part pectoral, which is an evident “mixture” of elements typical of the communities on the both Adriatic coasts and hinterland, the most recognizable eastern Adriatic elements (particularly early Liburnian) are spectacle fibulae and long bracelets with a rib. Single-part fibulae *a disco* with a bow decorated with row of conical embossments originate from central Italy,²¹⁶ as well as fibulae *a disco* with a hammered bow while fibulae with an amber bead, very popular in Liburnia, are characteristic of several communities in the 9th/8th centuries BC.

Since pectorals from Nin and Zaton for now (!) have more favourable context in the system of the Picenian culture at the beginning of the Iron Age, and since they are similar to the Picenian examples generally and in details, furthermore they are almost identical in specific cases (Fig. 29), they can be considered as the Picenian import in Liburnia.²¹⁷ The most evident compositional difference between the large two-part pectorals in the Picenian and Liburnian cultures is in the fact that the Liburnian examples do not have very long chains hanging from the lower boat (Fig. 1, 6).

Both pectorals in Liburnia, from Nin and Zaton, were made in the last decades of the 9th century BC, i.e. during the 8th century BC. This is not in contradiction with the fact that certain grave goods (such as basket-shaped pendant) in grave 6 from Zaton (with multiple burial?) are typical of the period after the 8th century BC (Fig. 6). As a “borrowed” cultural element, pec-

²¹⁴ S. SEIDEL, 2007, 80.

²¹⁵ S. SEIDEL, 2007, 81, fig. 7.

²¹⁶ In Picenum they represent an element inspired by the Villanovan world, primarily Etruria (and Terni), but also the Enotrian region, over Latium (*Latium Vetus*). N. LUCENTINI, 2007, 95.

²¹⁷ S. KUKOČ, 1978, 246-247.

ju, u grobu 40, Lippi (Sl. 27a-c). Ovaj grob odrasle spaljene pokojnice, s nizom obrednih osobitosti, odraz je složene, no ipak uobičajene funerarne procedure *villanova* i orijentalizirajućeg Verucchija.²¹⁹ Grob je, također, odraz višestrukih kulturnih dodira Verucchija (Romagna) i picenskog kruga. Dvodijelni picenski pektoral (Sl. 27a) ovdje se nalazi unutar prostorno složene grobne strukture, u kojoj se jasno, i to prije svega kod groba 40 s tronom, iščitava ideja ranoga funerarnog (pokojnikova) banketa, točnije, gozbe „sjeđećeg tipa“, poput ranog banketa u središnjoj Etruriji, dakle prije pojave *symposiona*. Pektoral je bio izravni prilog pokojnici; jer nađen je u doliju zajedno s njezinim osobnim priborom, nakitom i drugim oblicima (Sl. 27b-c).²²⁰ Ovo je, dakle, jedini primjerak ranoga, dvodijelnog picenskog pektorala praćenog obredom spaljivanja. Jer u Picenumu i kod Liburna ovakav pektoral uvijek je u kontekstu inhumacije. Važno je i to da pokop obje žene prate, izgleda tek posredno, tipični

torals from Nin and Zaton were undoubtedly incorporated in the most delicate segments of the Liburnian culture, and finally put in grave (Fig. 6) together with other typical Liburnian parts of attire: eight bow fibulae with an amber bead, early form of a belt buckle, well-documented particularly in the Iapodes, as early as the beginning of the Iron Age,²¹⁸ with a cross-shaped appliqué and other elements. Pectorals, such as the ones from Zaton and Nin, were definitely kind of a treasure, particularly with their meanings which were retained carefully, and possibly also inherited within the Liburnian *domus*, family and customs of the wider community.

Picenian origin and mentioned period of formation of the two large pectorals from Liburnia, at the transition from the 9th to 8th century BC is supported by the find of a Picenian pectoral in Verucchio, in grave 40, Lippi (Fig. 27a-c). This grave of a cremated female adult, with a series of ritual particularities, is a reflection of complex but still common funerary procedure of Villanova and orientalizing Verucchio.²¹⁹ The grave is also a reflection of manifold cultural contacts of Verucchio (Romagna) and Picenian circle. Two-

²¹⁹ Grob 40, Lippi, zajedno s grobom 40BIS, tvorio je sepulkralnu cjelinu; na ovoj nekropoli oni su jedini primjer dvaju spaljenih i to „ženskih“ pokopa u zajedničkoj grobnoj jami, svaki u bikoničnoj urni s poklopnom zdjelom, smještenoj u doliju. Povrh dvaju dolija s urnom, bio je prostor s drvenim tronom i skupinom metalnih i keramičkih posuda. A povrh njega, u jednoj idealnoj rekonstrukciji, pretpostavlja se humak. Ovim dvama pokopima zajedničko je bilo i spalište te stanovite podudarnosti u strukturi grobnih priloga. Nakupine grobnih artefakata u oba pokopa, 40 i 40 BIS, koncentrirane su na više mjesta. Kod groba 40 prilozi su bili neposredno uz dolij, na mjestu C1, i vjerojatno su pripadali pokojnici u grobu 40; konkretno: jedan pektoral od brončanog lima, zajedno s drugim predmetima (fibule, narukvice, konjska oprema, instrumenti tkanja i pređenja, metalne posude i drugo te mala sjekira). U samom doliju groba 40, uz picenski pektoral dvodijelnog tipa, nađena su: zrna jantara, staklena plava i žuta zrna, deset fibula s lukom obloženim jantarnim i koštanim segmentima, pet fibula s jednim velikim jantarnim zrnom, šest fibula s lukom obloženim kombinacijom (intarzijom) jantara i kosti, dvije brončane *navicella* fibule, brončane fibule sa spljoštenim lukom (inače tipične za 8. st. pr. Kr. u bolonjskom i venetском svijetu), naušnice s jantarom, brončani pojas i drugo. P. von ELES, F. FINOTELLI, L. MANZOLI, P. POLI, 2014, 986-987, 991, sl. 2, 4-5.

²²⁰ Ostaci jednog vrlo oštećenog pektoral, dakle, nejasnog oblika, spominju se u kao izravni prilog i spaljene pokojnice u urni u grob 40 BIS. P. von ELES, F. FINOTELLI, L. MANZOLI, P. POLI, 2014, 990-991. sl. 2, sl. 4b.

²¹⁸ S. KUKOČ, 2009, fig. 311-312 (with older literature).

²¹⁹ Grave 40, Lippi, together with grave 40BIS, made a funerary unit; at this necropolis they are the only examples of two cremated "female" burials in a joint grave pit, each in a biconical urn with a covering bowl, put in a dolium. Atop two dolia with urns was a space with wooden throne and set of metal and ceramic vessels. A mound is assumed to have covered this construction in an ideal reconstruction. These two burials also had common pyre and certain correspondences in the structure of grave goods. Clusters of grave artifacts in both burials, 40 and 40 BIS, are concentrated on several spots. In grave 40 grave goods were next to dolium, at the spot C1, and they probably belonged to the deceased person in grave 40; specifically: a pectoral made of sheet bronze, together with other objects (fibulae, bracelets, horse equipment, weaving and spinning instruments, metal vessels etc, and a small axe). In the dolium of grave 40 in addition to the Picenian two-part pectoral following items were found: amber beads, blue and yellow glass beads, 10 fibulae with an amber plated bow and bone segments, 5 fibulae with a large amber bead, 6 fibulae with a bow plated with combination (intarsia) of amber and bone, two bronze *navicella* fibulae, bronze fibulae with flattened bow (typical of the 8th century BC in the Bologna and Veneto world), earrings with amber, bronze belt etc. P. von ELES, F. FINOTELLI, L. MANZOLI, P. POLI, 2014, 986-987, 991, fig. 2, 4-5.

„muški“ elementi: npr. koplje, izvorno vjerojatno položeno na poklopcu dolija groba 40 (Sl. 27b-c), te raskošna zmijolika fibula s jantarom uz grob 40BIS, vjerojatno, također položena nad poklopcem dolija.²²¹ Oba „muška“ predmeta nisu bili dio neposredne opreme žena unutar dvaju dolija s urnom.

Naglašeno izdužena donja lađa pektoral iz Verucchija (Sl. 27), osim nekih pojedinosti, isto je oblikovana kao i donja lađa pektoral iz Canavaccio di Urbina (Sl. 26). Identično su im oblikovani donji rubovi namijenjeni za vješanje masivnih privjesaka, odnosno gornji rubovi s lancima za spajanje gornje lađe. Koncept privjesaka na njihovim donjim lađama također je isti. Spiralni privjesci vise na onim batičastim, s tim da su ovi zadnji, na pektoralu iz Canavaccia, izduženiji. „Ptičja lađa“ iz Verucchija također ima istu kompoziciju urezanih, inače tipičnih picenskih pektoralnih iscrtkanih motiva: trokute, vrpce i ptice, to jest prekinuti meandar (Sl. 1-3, 6-8). Ali, dok se motiv stabla, simbol Sunca, u Canavacciu nalazi na gornjoj (dnevnoj) lađi, on je u Verucchiju doduše, u istom obliku, predodčen na donjoj lađi (Sl. 27a). U oba slučaja (Sl. 26b, 27a), glave antitetičnih ptica oblikovane su slično, s vrlo izvijenim kljunom i plastično istaknutim okom.

Picenski pektoral u grobu 40 Lippi iz Verucchija datiran je u 8. st. pr. Kr., s obzirom na analogije u Picenumu, a cijeli pak grob 40 i 40BIS u kraj 8. st. pr. Kr. i početak 7. st. pr. Kr.²²² Time se pretpostavlja da je ženin pektoral za života bio duže upotrebljavan,²²³ kroz naraštaje možda i nasljeđivan.

Ovaj pokop žene s picenskim pektoralom, u širem kontekstu kulturnih odnosa Picenuma i Verucchija, shvaćen je kao stanoviti odraz društvenih, bračnih običaja, prema ko-

part Picenian pectoral (Fig. 27a) in this case was found in a spatially complex funerary structure in which we can clearly read the idea of the early funerary banquet (of the deceased), more precisely “seated” feast, such as the early banquet in central Etruria, before the *symposion* appeared. The pectoral was a direct gift to the deceased person since it was found in the dolium, together with her personal accessories, jewelry and other forms (Fig. 27b, c).²²⁰ This is the only example of an early, two-part Picenian pectoral accompanied with the cremation ritual. Such pectoral is always in the inhumation context in Picenum and Liburnia. It is important that burials of both women are accompanied only indirectly as it seems by typical “male” elements: e.g. spear, originally probably laid on the dolium lid of grave 40 (Fig. 27b-c), and elaborate serpentine fibula with amber next to grave 40BIS, probably also laid over the dolium lid.²²¹ Both “male” objects were not a part of direct female accessories in two dolia with an urn.

Distinctly elongated lower boat on the pectoral from Verucchio (Fig. 27a) is almost identical-shaped as the lower boat on the pectoral from Canavaccio di Urbino (Fig. 26b) except for some details. Lower edges for hanging massive pendants were shaped identically, as well as the upper edges with chains for connecting the upper boat. Concept of the pendants on their lower boats is also identical. Spiral pendants hang on the rod-shaped ones, which are more elongated on the pectoral from Canavaccio. “Bird boat” from Verucchio also has the same composition of incised, typical Picenian pectoral hatched motifs: triangles, bands and birds, i.e. broken meander (Fig. 1-3, 6-8). But while motif of a tree, symbol of the Sun, is depicted on the upper (daily) boat in Canavaccio, it was represented on the lower boat in Verucchio, in the same form

²²¹ P. von ELES, F. FINOTELLI, L. MANZOLI, P. POLI, 2014, 986, sl. 4.

²²² P. von ELES, F. FINOTELLI, L. MANZOLI, P. POLI, 2014, 991-993.

²²³ P. von ELES, F. FINOTELLI, L. MANZOLI, P. POLI, 2014, 992-993.

²²⁰ Remains of a heavily damaged pectoral whose form could not be reconstructed with certainty are mentioned as an accessory of a cremated deceased woman in the urn in grave 40 BIS. P. von ELES, F. FINOTELLI, L. MANZOLI, P. POLI, 2014, 990-991, fig. 2, fig. 4b.

²²¹ P. von ELES, F. FINOTELLI, L. MANZOLI, P. POLI, 2014, 986, fig. 4.

jima nevjesta, u ovom slučaju iz Picenuma, u drugu zajednicu donosi odijelo i različite „ženske“, kućne i druge elemente svoje stare zajednice. Treba li, možda, na ovaj način shvatiti i podrijetlo i ulogu velikih pektoralu u Liburniji, u Zatonu i Ninu (Sl. 1, 6)? Autohtoni pokop žene iz Verucchija, u grobu 40 Lippi, s picenskim pektoralom, baš kao i liburnske situacije u Ninu i Zatonu (Sl. 1, 6), s „posuđenim“ picenskim kulturnim elementom (pektoralom), ponovno upućuje na široke mogućnosti, ali i jasna ograničenja u izvođenju zaključaka o socijalnim, religijskim i etničkim (?) pripadnostima i uvjerenjima individue na osnovi strukture njezina (grobnog) odijela, posebno onoga kombiniranog od „posuđenih“ i domaćih kulturnih elementa.

I dok se picenski pektoralu u grobovima susreću s fibulama iz skupine *a disco* (Sl. 24-25), u liburnskom pokopu (malobrojni) metalni dvodijelni pektoralu (Sl. 6) ne kombiniraju se s liburnskom fibulom tipa Osor (Sl. 22-23), rasprostranjenom isključivo na dijelu istočnog Jadrana,²²⁴ s prvom pojavom u 9. st. pr. Kr. i upotrebom tijekom 8. st. pr. Kr. i kasnije.²²⁵ Unatoč tome, pektoralu iz Nina i Zatonu, kao picenski uvoz, po svemu su komplementarni s fibulama tipa Osor: tehnikom, znakovima i značenjima. Jer, Liburni, na razmeđu Balkana i Jadrana, te su fibule kreativno oblikovali tijekom 9. i 8./7. st. pr. Kr., kao osebujnu kompilaciju autohtonih vještina (dvodijelna konstrukcija) i brojnih „posuđenih“ likovnih elemenata, znakova i simbola iz mita o Suncu, preko balkanskog zaleđa, no najočitije s apeninskih prostora, posebno iz Picenuma, ili pak posredstvom picenske kulture.

U liburnskim grobovima također se, zasad, fibule tipa Osor (Sl. 22-23) ne prilažu s jantarnim pektoralima (Sl. 39a). Vjerojatno stoga što je već sama fibula tipa Osor nosila

(Fig. 26b). In both cases (Fig. 26b, 27a) heads of antithetical birds were shaped quite similarly, with curved beak and embossed eye.

Picenian pectoral in grave 40 Lippi from Veruccio was dated to the 8th century BC considering the analogies in Picenum, and the entire grave 40 and 40BIS to the end of the 8th century BC and beginning of the 7th century BC.²²² Therefore it is assumed that the woman's pectoral was used for a longer period during her lifetime.²²³ This burial of a woman with a Picenian pectoral, in the wider context of cultural relations of Picenum and Verruchio was understood as a certain reflection of social, marital customs, which implied that the bride, in this case from Picenum, brought her attire and various "female" household and other elements from her old community. Should we interpret in the same way the origin and function of the large pectorals in Liburnia, in Zaton and Nin (Fig. 1, 6)? Autochthonous burial of a woman from Verruchio, in grave 40 Lippi, with a Picenian pectoral, as well as the Liburnian situations in Nin and Zaton (Fig. 1, 6) with a "borrowed" Picenian cultural element (pectoral), indicate once more to broad possibilities, but also clear limitations in making conclusions about the social, religious and ethnic (?) affiliations and beliefs of an individual on the basis of the structure of the (funerary) attire, particularly the one combined from "borrowed" and local cultural elements.

While Picenian pectorals in graves are found with the fibulae from the group *a disco* (Fig. 24-25), in the Liburnian burials (scarce) metal two-part pectorals (Fig. 6) are not combined with the Liburnian Osor-type fibula (Fig. 22-23), distributed only in the part of the eastern Adriatic,²²⁴ appearing for the first time in the 9th century BC and in use throughout the 8th century BC and later.²²⁵ Nevertheless pectorals from Nin

²²⁴ S. KUKOČ, 2012, sl. 1.

²²⁵ S. KUKOČ, 2012, 31-115; B. TERŽAN, 2013, 241-266.

²²² P. von ELES, F. FINOTELLI, L. MANZOLI, P. POLI, 2014, 991-993.

²²³ P. von ELES, F. FINOTELLI, L. MANZOLI, P. POLI, 2014, 992-993.

²²⁴ S. KUKOČ, 2012, fig. 1

²²⁵ S. KUKOČ, 2012, 31-115; B. TERŽAN, 2013, 241-266.

ideju Sunčeva putovanja. Ona je snažno utemeljena na solarnoj simbolici i u biti je, svim svojim „porukama“, isto što i veliki metalni ili liburnski jantarni pektoralni.

Prema novijim promjenama²²⁶ u općoj apsolutnoj vremenskoj shemi za željezno doba Apeninskog poluotoka, koja podiže početak te epohe u 11./10. st. pr. Kr. (Fe I.: 1020. – 950. g. pr. Kr.), prva pojava skupine fibula *a disco* pada već u 11./10. st. pr. Kr., npr. u srednjoj i južnoj Italiji²²⁷. U skladu s tim je i datacija metodom ¹⁴C u 10. st. pr. Kr. novootkrivene fibule tipa Osor, i to njezine inačice s jednostavnijim lukom,²²⁸ iz groba 30, s višestrukim ukopom, unutar humka na liburnskoj nekropoli Venac-Ljubač.²²⁹ Sve to, uz druge podatke, navodi na buduće vremensko podizanje u 10. st. pr. Kr., ne samo prve pojave fibule tipa Osor, dosad tradicionalnom metodom datirane u 9. st. pr. Kr.,²³⁰ već i artefakata koji su s tom fibulom tvorili indikativne kombinacije u ranim liburnskim pokopima.

Upravo jantarni pektoralni u liburnskim pokopima²³¹ najjasnije potvrđuju ranu pojavu (Nin, grob 21: Sl. 39a²³²) forme i simbolike „ptičje lađe“ te udomaćenost njezinih izvornih sadržaja kod Liburna kroz više stoljeća (?). Nedvojbenu pripadnost jantarnih liburnskih pektoralna mitu o Sunčevu putovanju dokazuje njihova kompozicija, u osnovi identična velikim brončanim pektoralima (Sl. 1, 6), ali i sama jantarna materija. Bila je cijenjena po svojim zaštitničko-ljekovitim moćima proizišlim iz mitske veze jantara i Sunca (zlata), a u kontekstu složenih pra/povijesnih odnosa Sjevera (Jantarnog puta) i europskog Juga. Prva pojava obrađenoga ne-

and Zaton as Picenian import are complementary with the Osor-type fibulae in all aspects: technique, signs and meanings because the Liburnians at the border between the Balkans and the Adriatic shaped these fibulae reflecting their creativity during the 9th and 8th/7th centuries BC as a peculiar compilation of autochthonous skills (two-part construction) and many “borrowed” elements, signs and symbols from the myth about the Sun, over the Balkan hinterland, but most evidently from the Apennine regions, particularly from Picenum, or through mediation of the Picenian culture.

In the Liburnian graves the Osor-type fibulae (Fig. 22-23) have not been put in graves with the amber pectorals (Fig. 39) probably because the Osor-type fibula also represented the idea of the Sun's journey. It was based firmly on the solar symbolics and it essentially carries the same “messages” as well as the large metal or Liburnian amber pectorals.

In accordance with the latest changes²²⁶ in the general absolute chronological scheme for the Iron Age of the Apennine Peninsula which moves the beginning of the epoch to the 11th/10th centuries BC (Fe I: 1020 – 950 BC),²²⁷ the first appearance of the group of fibulae *a disco* is dated as early as the 11th/10th centuries BC, e.g. in central and southern Italy. Corresponding results were obtained in the radiocarbon dating to the 10th century BC of the newly discovered Osor-type fibula, its variant with simpler bow,²²⁸ from grave 30, with multiple burial, in the mound on the Liburnian necropolis Venac-Ljubač.²²⁹ All these facts, alongside other information, indicate to possible chronological correction to the 10th century BC, of not only first appearance of the Osor-type fibulae, so far dated with traditional methods to the 9th century BC,²³⁰ but also of the artifacts which made indicative

²²⁶ A. M. BIETTI SESTIERI, A. DE SANTIS, 2008, 119-133.

²²⁷ R. PERONI, 2004, 408, 424, sl. 94/1, 5-7.

²²⁸ S. KUKOČ, 2012, sl. 10.

²²⁹ Na ovim korisnim podacima zahvaljujem voditelju iskapanja spomenute nekropole prof. dr. sc. Brunislavu Marijanoviću s Odjela za arheologiju Sveučilišta u Zadru.

²³⁰ S. KUKOČ, 2012, 31-115; B. TERŽAN, 2013, 241-266.

²³¹ Š. BATOVIĆ, 1981, 24, 134, br. 358, sl. 13/5.

²³² Š. BATOVIĆ, 1976, sl. 12/12-15.

²²⁶ A. M. BIETTI SESTIERI, A. DE SANTIS, 2008, 119-133.

²²⁷ R. PERONI, 2004, 408, 424, fig. 94/1, 5-7.

²²⁸ S. KUKOČ, 2012, fig. 10.

²²⁹ I would like to thank prof. dr. sc. Brunislav Marijanović from the Department of Archaeology of the University of Zadar for this useful information.

²³⁰ S. KUKOČ, 2012, 31-115; B. TERŽAN, 2013, 241-266.

figurativnog jantara na sjeveru Apeninskog poluotoka pada u rano brončano doba, nastavlja se u *terramare* kulturi; u željezno doba jantar je na apeninskim prostorima prisutan već od 9. st. pr. Kr., uključujući i Picenum, no njegova je upotreba najintenzivnija u vremenu 8. – 6. st. pr. Kr. Nakon opadanja važnosti Verucchija, Picenum je bio jedna od ključnih točaka oblikovanja i širenja jadranskog jantara sve do 4. st. pr. Kr.²³³

Pektoralni s ptičjom lađom (Sl. 40-41) su i najstariji figuralno obrađeni jantarni predmeti kod Liburna. Nemaju izravne analogije na susjednom prostoru i najvjerojatnije su, obradom baltičkog jantara, komponirani na domaćem tlu. To potkrepljuje izrada oblikom gotovo istoga brončanog trodijelnog lijevanog liburnskog pektoralala (Nin, grob 48: Sl. 43)²³⁴ s dvjema solarnim lađama, od kojih je donja izokrenuta. Glave njegovih antitetičnih ptica shematizirane su gotovo do neprepoznatljivosti. Ipak, slični jantarni, vjerojatno pektoralni privjesci sporadično su zabilježeni u Picenumu: na nekropoli Novilara-Servici u grobu XVII iz 8. st. pr. Kr. (Sl. 44a).²³⁵ Također, u Verucchiju, nekropola Lippi, grob 27/1972, iz vremena procvata mjesnog oblikovanja jantarnih predmeta,²³⁶ vrlo često s očitom solarnom simbolikom (Sl. 38a, c), postoje jantarni oblici antitetičnih, solarnih ptica; oni su integralni dio jantarne obloge luka fibule (Sl. 38b) koji je u obliku solarne „ptičje lađe“.

Možda su se dijelovi jantarnih liburnskih pektoralala uvozili i kod Liburna se tek sklappali. Postupak prenošenja jednostavnih jantar-

combinations in the early Liburnian burials.

Exactly amber pectorals in the Liburnian burials²³¹ most clearly confirm early appearance (Nin, grave 21: Fig. 39)²³² of the form and symbolism of the “bird boat” and acceptance of its original (?) aspects in Liburnia over several centuries. Doubtless attribution of the Liburnian amber pectorals to the myth of the Sun’s journey is confirmed by their composition, basically identical to the large bronze pectorals (Fig. 1, 6), but also amber as a material. It was appreciated due to its protective and healing properties resulting from the mythical connection of amber and the Sun (gold), in the context of complex pre/historic relations of the North (Amber road) and European South. The first appearance of worked non-figurative amber in the north of the Apennine Peninsula is dated to the Early Bronze Age, it continues in the Terramare culture; in the Iron Age amber was present in the Apennine regions from the 9th century BC, including Picenum, but its use was most intensive from the 8th to 6th centuries BC. After the importance of Verucchio declined, Picenum was one of crucial points of shaping and spreading the Adriatic amber until the 4th century BC.²³³

Pectorals with the bird boat (Fig. 40-41) are also the oldest Liburnian amber objects with figural shaping. They do not have direct analogies in the neighbouring region and they were most likely composed in Liburnia by shaping the Baltic amber. This is confirmed by manufacture of almost identical three-part bronze cast Liburnian pectoral (Nin, grave 48: Fig. 43)²³⁴ with two solar boats lower of which is reversed. Heads of the antithetical birds are so schematized that they are almost unrecognizable. However similar amber pendants probably from a pectoral

²³³ Verucchio ima bitnu ulogu u ranoj proizvodnji i trgovini jantarnih izrađevina na Apeninskom poluotoku i na Jadranskom, s početkom već u 9. st. pr. Kr. te s vrhuncem u 8. st. pr. Kr. i prvoj polovici 7. st. pr. Kr. N. NEGRONI CATAACCHIO, 2009, 195-199, 200-204.

²³⁴ Š. BATOVIĆ, 1981, 134, br. 359. sl. 13/6.

²³⁵ U ovom grobu, datiranom u fazu Novilara IIb (kraj 8. st. pr. Kr. i početak 7. st. pr. Kr. bilo je više pravokutnih jantarnih privjesaka „koji na dvije strane završavaju u oblike ptičje glave?“. Ostale su samo skice bez mjerila. K. W. BEINHÄUER, 1985, 790, T 170 B.

²³⁶ P. von ELES, 2007, 154, sl. 9.

²³¹ Š. BATOVIĆ, 1981, 24, 134, no. 358, fig. 13/5.

²³² Š. BATOVIĆ, 1976, fig. 12/12-15.

²³³ Verucchio played an important role in the early production and trade with amber products on the Apennine Peninsula and on the Adriatic, beginning in the 9th century BC, reaching the peak in the 8th century BC and first half of the 7th century BC. N. NEGRONI CATAACCHIO, 2009, 195-199, 200-204.

²³⁴ Š. BATOVIĆ, 1981, 134, no. 359, fig. 13/6.

nih oblika, uključujući i one četvrtaste,²³⁷ u kulturu koja ih komponira po svojim estetsko-religijskim načelima, poznat je u izradi jantarnih predmeta po Europi već u rano brončano doba i prije.²³⁸ Četvrtasti pločasti oblici od jantara proizvodili su se i u Verucchiju.²³⁹ U jadranskom svijetu njihovo komponiranje u ogrlice, koje jesu vrst pektorala, posebno je vidljivo u Picenumu (Sl. 32, 39c).

Jantarni liburnski pektoralni sastavljeni su iz tri dijela, izvorno spojena nekom (nesačuvanom) niti; konkretno, od dvije jednostavne „ptičje lađe“ bez solarnog diska te pravokutnog ili trapezastog središnjeg dijela (Sl. 39). On je spona dviju lađa, gornje i donje. Isto je što i gusti snop lanaca na dvjema velikim metalnim pektoralima iz Nina i Zatona, odnosno, Picenuma. Zapravo su i veliki metalni pektoralni koncipirani iz tri dijela: od dvije Sunčeve lađe i bogatih snopova Sunčevih zraka. Svi oni, jantarni i brončani, najveći kompozicijski prostor daju upravo središnjem dijelu, koji u načelu pripada lancima – likovno posebno dojmljivoj poveznici gornje i donje pektoralne sfere.

Kako je veza sa Suncem okosnica simbolike jantara, svojim zgusnutim značenjima gotovo je paradigmatičan kasnobrončanodobni spoj motiva „križa u krugu/disku“ i jantara u oblikovanju poznatog „nakita“ iz Tyrinsa (12. st. pr. Kr.). On je ne samo kompozicijski, već i svojom materijom (jantar, zlato) pravi solarni križ. Najstariji jantar liburnskog prostora (zrna tipa Tyrins i Allumiere: Privlaka, Vrsi, Baška) izravno je uključen u jadransku i sredozemnu kartu²⁴⁰ prve veće jantarne proširenosti na europskom jugu. Jantar ugrađen u različite artefakte, pogotovo u epohi posebno sklonoj solarnosti, izravno naglašava njihovu solarnu simboliku. Brojne su vrste grobnih priloga od jantara ili samo s dodatkom jantara, koji uz liburnske pekto-

were recorded sporadically in Picenum: at the necropolis Novilara-Servici in grave XVII, from the 8th century BC (Fig. 44a).²³⁵ Also in Verucchio, necropolis Lippi, grave 27/1972, from the period of blossoming of the local production of the amber objects,²³⁶ often with evident solar symbolics (Fig. 38a, c), there are amber forms of antithetical, solar birds; they are an integral part of the amber plating of a fibula bow (Fig. 38b) which is shaped like a solar “bird boat”.

Perhaps parts of the Liburnian amber pectorals were imported and only assembled in Liburnia. The procedure of transferring simple amber forms, including the square ones,²³⁷ into a culture which composes them according to their aesthetic and religious principles, was known in the production of the amber objects across Europe as early as the Early Bronze Age, and even earlier.²³⁸ Square flat artifacts made of amber were produced also in Verucchio.²³⁹ In the Adriatic world, their composing into necklaces, which represent a kind of pectoral, is particularly evident in Picenum (Fig. 32, 39c).

Liburnian amber pectorals consist of three parts, originally connected with a thread (unpreserved); specifically, of two simple bird boats without the solar disk, and rectangular or trapezoidal central part (Fig. 39). It is a connection of two boats, upper and lower. It is actually the same thing as the dense bundle of sun rays. All of them, whether made of amber or bronze, give largest compositional space to the central part which basically belongs to chains – particularly impressive visual connection of the upper and lower pectoral sphere.

Since connection with the Sun is the basis of the symbolics of amber, Late Bronze Age combination of motifs of the “cross in the circle/disk”

²³⁷ J. BOUZEK, 1993, 142.

²³⁸ C. Du GARDIN, 1993, 68-74.

²³⁹ P. von ELES, 2012, sl. 22.

²⁴⁰ N. NEGRONI CATAACCHIO, 2009, 195-199.

²³⁵ Several square amber pendants “ending in shape of bird heads on two sides?” were found in this grave dated to the phase Novilara IIb (late 8th century BC and beginning of the 7th century BC). Only sketches without a scale were left. K. W. BEINHAEUER, 1985, 790, T 170 B.

²³⁶ P. von ELLES, 2007, 154, fig. 9

²³⁷ J. BOUZEK, 1993, 142.

²³⁸ C. Du GARDIN, 1993, 68-74.

²³⁹ P. von ELES, 2012, fig. 22.

rale (Sl. 39), to dokazuju: npr. okruglo zrno jantara na nozi fibule tipa Osor iz groba iz Nina (Sl. 22), ili pak umetak na fibuli iz Verucchija, iz groba 47 (Sl. 38a), s masivnom jantarnom oblogom luka²⁴¹ nalik na svod, koji ima predočene tipične solarne znakove/simbole: križeve i dvije ptičje lađe, od kojih je jedna, „ploveći“ po oblozi luka fibule, dakle, po krugu/svodu, nužno izokrenuta. Posebnost ovakvih fibula je i u njihovim velikim dimenzijama, do 25 cm. One su, stoga, kao i goleme picenske fibule sa zrnim jantara, na brončanom ili željeznom luku s rasponom do 65 cm, element grobnog odijela s posebnom namjenom, misli se obrednom,²⁴² u životu i smrti. Na jantarnom dugmetu iz neolitičke Rzucewo kulture na Sjeveru, s početkom oko 2200. g. pr. Kr., negdje tijekom ranoga brončanog doba Europe, oblikovan je bio motiv križa u krugu.²⁴³ Fibula pak iz Osora (Sl. 20a) sva je sastavljena od solar-nih znakova/simbola, od jantarnog križa i metalnog diska na svojoj igli, od diska s križem na nozi te od žičanih spiralno-stožastih ispupčenja po svojem luku, koji deriviraju iz brončanodobne tradicije spiralnog nakta. Jantarni križni element na njezinoj dugoj igli (Sl. 20a) oblikom odgovara i pojedinim pršljenovima za vretena (npr. iz Ferma);²⁴⁴ također, neizostavno asocira na „križ u krugu“ na brončano-jantarnom vretenu iz Verucchija, Lippi grob 32/2006 (Sl. 38c).²⁴⁵ Cijela bogato ukrašena igla „ženske“ fibule iz Osora (Sl. 20a) (slučajno?) asocira na vreteno, nalik na ono iz groba 92 iz nekropole Novilara-Servici²⁴⁶ ili pak na metalno vreteno obloženo jantarom iz pokopa žene iz Verucchija, grob 47, koji je bio prepun jantarnih izrađevina.²⁴⁷ Najtipičniji sadržaji ženske sfere

and amber in shaping famous “jewelry” from Tyrins (12th century BC) seems almost paradigmatic in its concentrated meanings. It is a genuine solar cross not only in terms of composition but also by its material (amber, gold). The earliest amber in the Liburnian region (beads of the type Tyrins and Allumiere: Privlaka, Vrsi, Baška) was directly included in the Adriatic and Mediterranean map²⁴⁰ of the first more significant distribution of amber in the European south. Amber incorporated in various artifacts, particularly in the period exceptionally inclined to the solar cult, directly emphasizes their solar symbolics. There are many types of grave goods made of amber or with amber which confirm this statement, alongside Liburnian pectorals (Fig. 39), such as: round amber bead on the foot of the Osor-type fibula from grave in Nin (Fig. 22) or an inlay on a fibula from Verucchio, from grave 47 (Fig. 38), with a massive amber plating of the bow²⁴¹ like a vault with a depiction of typical solar signs/symbols: crosses and two bird boats, one of which is necessarily reversed since it “sails” on the bow plating, meaning on the circle/vault. Particularity of these fibulae is also in their large dimensions, up to 25 cm. Therefore they are elements of funerary attire with a special function, probably a ritual one,²⁴² in life and death as well as the large Picenian fibulae with an amber bead on a bronze or iron bow with the span of up to 65 cm. Motif of a cross in a circle was made on the amber bead from the Neolithic Rzucewo culture in the North, beginning around 2200 BC, some time during the Early Bronze Age of Europe.²⁴³ Fibula from Osor (Fig. 20a) consists of solar signs/symbols, of an amber cross and disk on the pin, disk with a cross on the foot and wire spiral-conical embossments on the bow derived from the Bronze Age tradition of spiral jewelry. Amber cross-shaped element on its long pin (Fig. 20a) corresponds by its form to

²⁴¹ P. von ELES, M. ZANARDI, M. SIBONI, 2009, 215, sl. 4.

²⁴² P. von ELES, M. ZANARDI, M. SIBONI, 2009, 212; N. NEGRONI CATAACCHIO, 2009, 204.

²⁴³ I. LOZE, 1993, 135-136, sl. 7/9.

²⁴⁴ L. DRAGO TROCCOLI, 2003, 71, sl. 21/11-12.

²⁴⁵ P. von ELES, 2012, 239, sl. 13.

²⁴⁶ E. MANGANI, 2003, T I / d

²⁴⁷ N. NEGRONI CATAACCHIO, 2007, 552-553, sl. 31.

²⁴⁰ N. NEGRONI CATAACCHIO, 2009, 195-199.

²⁴¹ P. von ELES, M. ZANARDI, M. SIBONI, 2009, 215, fig. 4.

²⁴² P. von ELES, M. ZANARDI, M. SIBONI, 2009, 212; N. NEGRONI CATAACCHIO, 2009, 204.

²⁴³ I. LOZE, 1993, 135-136, fig. 7/9.

života (vretena, preslice, kalemovi, pečnjači) u ovo doba gotovo u pravilu stoje pod zaštitom solarnih znakova, u prvom redu križa te „ptičje lađe“. Solarna „ptičja lađa“ ulazi i u sastav okomitoga tkalačkog stana u prizorima (obrednog) tkanja, od Soprona do Verucchija (Lippi, grob 89/1972).²⁴⁸ Izrazita uronjenost u solarno znakovlje i simbole eminentno ženske (aristokratske) radnje, kao što je tkanje i pređenje, pandan je muškoj, posebno ratničkoj izrazitoj uronjenosti u svijet potpuno istih znakova i simbola u prvim stoljećima željeznog doba. I premda se kod ovih žena i muškaraca (ratnika i drugih), očito radi o dijelovima društva na vrhu ljestvice moći i bogatstva, njihov izbor upravo solarnih znakova, traži objašnjenje koje nadilazi razinu „društvenog prestiža elite“ i tiče se postojećeg koncepta svijeta/Kozmosa (s očitom funkcijom i moćima Sunca), dakako, i samog svjetonazora šire zajednice.

Može biti upitna dosadašnja rekonstrukcija liburnskih jantarnih pektoralā, najviše „prevrnuta“ donja „ptičja lađa“. Stoga je razumljiv prijedlog njihove drukčije rekonstrukcije, konkretno, s donjom lađom u „prirodnom“ položaju plovidbe.²⁴⁹ On je prihvatljiv tek pod pretpostavkom da su tri sastavna pektoralna jantarna dijela izvorno bili povezani dužim nitima/lancima, koji se nisu sačuvali.

Analogno simboličnom izokretanju naglavce donjih Sunčevih lađa u staroegipatskim²⁵⁰ i nordijskim kontekstima (Sl. 15b) i šire po europskom i apeninskom prostoru (Sl. 15a, 16b, 19) i značenje donje izokrenute jantarne liburnske lađe ipak nije sporno. Ona upravo naglašava ambivalentnost, stoga i sigurnost povratka (ciklične) Plovidbe. Jantarni liburnski pektoral u grobu i jest, figurativno govoreći, svojevrsni liburnski hipoce-

certain spindle whorls (e.g. from Fermo);²⁴⁴ also it unmistakably evokes “cross in a circle” on the bronze-amber spindle from Verucchio, Lippi grave 32/2006 (Fig. 38c).²⁴⁵ The entire richly adorned pin of a “female” fibula from Osor (Fig. 20a) (accidentally?) resembles a spindle, similar to the one from grave 92 from the Novilara Servici necropolis²⁴⁶ or metal spindle plated with amber from a female burial from Verucchio, grave 47, which was full of amber artifacts.²⁴⁷ The most typical objects from the women’s sphere of life (spindles, distaffs, spools, stove tiles) in this period are almost regularly under the protection of solar signs, primarily crosses, and the “bird boat”. Solar “bird boat” enters the system of a vertical loom in the scenes of (ritual) weaving, from Sopron to Verucchio (Lippi, grave 89/1972).²⁴⁸ Distinct preoccupation with solar signs and symbols of eminently female (aristocratic) activities as weaving and spinning is a counterpart to male particularly warriors’ preoccupation with the world of identical signs and symbols in the first centuries of the Iron Age. Although in the case of these women and men (warriors and others), they represented social class with all power and wealth, their choice of solar signs demands an explanation which surpasses level of the “social prestige of an elite” and refers to existing concept of the World/Cosmos (with evident function and powers of the Sun), and naturally, worldview of the wider community.

Previous reconstruction of the Liburnian amber pectorals might be doubtful, primarily “reversed” lower “bird boat”. Therefore proposition of their alternative reconstruction is understandable, with lower boat in “natural” sailing position.²⁴⁹ It is acceptable only if we assume that three constitutive amber parts of the pectoral originally were connected with longer threads/

²⁴⁸ P. von ELES, 2007, 151, sl. 2; P. von ELES, 2007a, 77.

²⁴⁹ D. GLOGOVIĆ, 1989, T 24/4, 8.

²⁵⁰ Npr. u (ptolomejskim) astronomskim slikama sa Suncem, u hramu Hator u Dendri. A. GROS de BELER, 2004, 40-41.

²⁴⁴ L. DRAGO TROCCOLI, 2003, 71, fig. 21/11-12.

²⁴⁵ P. von ELES, 2012, fig. 13.

²⁴⁶ E. MANGANI, 2003, T I/d.

²⁴⁷ N. NEGRONI CATAACCHIO, 2007, 552-553, fig. 31.

²⁴⁸ P. von ELES, 2007, 151, fig. 2; P. von ELES, 2007a, 77.

²⁴⁹ D. GLOGOVIĆ, 1989, T 24/4, 8.

falus, bilo svojim oblikom bilo ljekovitošću svoje materije koja, kao Sunčev supstitut, također pokojniku osigurava toplinu, njegovoj tjelesnosti i spiritualnosti (duši?).

I druge kulture već na početku željeznog doba prilažu umrlima male „ptičje lađe“ iz različitih materijala (npr. od kosti), vrlo često upravo spaljenim pokojnicima (grob GC, Rimski Forum, Lazio II A, 9. st. pr. Kr.).²⁵¹ Te male grobne lađe mogu biti i ostatak nekoga izvorno složenijeg predmeta, kao što su različiti (pektoralni) privjesci, možda i predmeti s aluzijom na razvodnike, s nizom rupica, u sklopu pribora za tkanje. U liburnskom grobu katkad je nađena samo jedna jantarna ptičja lađa (Sl. 42), katkad više dijelova lađa, što govori ili o višekratnom ukopu ili o tome da su jantarni liburnski pektoralni bili prilagani u paru. Možda su se izvorno katkad slagali i iz više od tri dijela.

Jantarni pektoralni pripadaju počecima kulture željeznog doba kod Liburna, dakle, uglavnom su istovremeni velikim metalnim pektoralima (Sl. 1). Možda jantarni liburnski pektoralni (Zaton, grob 3; Sl. 42)²⁵² oponašaju metalne iz Nina i Zaton.²⁵³ Najviše se nose tijekom 8. – 5. st. pr. Kr.²⁵⁴ Grob 6 iz Nina (Sl. 40) jedan je od najstarijih s ostacima jantarnog pektoralna, točnije s dva ulomka jantarnih „ptičjih lađa“ i ulomcima dviju četvrtasto-trapezastih pločica. Ali on ima dosta „muških“ grobnih priloga: dvije zmijolike fibule uvezene s Apeninskog poluotoka, tri igle (Vadena i druge), zatim brijač, nabavljen sa središnjega apeninskog prostora, možda upravo preko Picenuma. U grobu 6 iz Nina s višestrukim ukopom (?) tijekom 9. – 8. st. pr. Kr., „ženski“ jantarni pektoral uvjerljivu asocijaciju stoga ima tek s lučnim fibulama sa zrnim jantara i s ostalim jantarnim zrnima. Brijač pak u prevladavajućem

chains which were not preserved.

Meaning of the lower reversed Liburnian amber boat is not questionable if we observe it in analogy with symbolical reversing of the Sun's boats in the old Egyptian²⁵⁰ and Nordic contexts (Fig. 15b) and elsewhere in the European and Apennine regions (Fig. 15a, 16b, 19). It emphasizes ambivalence and therefore also safety of return of (cyclical) Sailing. Figuratively speaking Liburnian amber pectoral in the grave is a kind of Liburnian hypocephalus, either in its form or in its healing qualities which as the substitute of the sun also ensured warmth to the deceased, his bodily and spiritual aspects (soul?).

In other cultures at the beginning of the Iron Age small “bird boats” made of various materials (such as bone) were put in the graves, very often with cremated remains (GC, Roman Forum, Lazio II A, 9th century BC).²⁵¹ These small funerary boats might be remains of some originally more complex object such as various (pectoral) pendants, perhaps also objects with an allusion to lamm, with a row of holes, as a part of weaving utensils. In the Liburnian graves sometimes only one amber bird boat was found (Fig. 42), or several segments of boats indicating to multiple burials or that the Liburnian amber pectorals were put in graves in pairs. Perhaps they originally consisted of more than three parts.

Amber pectorals belong to the beginnings of the Iron Age culture in Liburnia meaning that they are mostly synchronous with the large metal pectorals (Fig. 1). Perhaps Liburnian amber pectorals (Zaton, grave 3; Fig. 42)²⁵² really imitate metal examples from Nin and Zaton.²⁵³ They were worn mostly from the 8th to 5th centuries BC.²⁵⁴ Grave 6 from Nin (Fig. 40) is one of the oldest graves with the remains of an amber pectoral, more precisely with two fragments

²⁵¹ G. COLONNA, 1974, T 129/A1; S. KUKOČ, 2009, 186, 266.

²⁵² F. STARÈ, 1970, T II/16.

²⁵³ Usp. D. GLOGOVIĆ, 1989, 27.

²⁵⁴ Š. BATOVIĆ, 1981, 24.

²⁵⁰ E.g. in the (Ptolemaic) astronomic images with the Sun, in the temple of Hathor in Dendera. A. GROS de BELER, 2004, 40-41.

²⁵¹ G. COLONNA, 1974, T 129/A1; S. KUKOČ, 2009, 186, 266.

²⁵² F. STARÈ, 1970, T II/16.

²⁵³ Cf. D. GLOGOVIĆ, 1989, 27.

²⁵⁴ Š. BATOVIĆ, 1981, 24.

„muškom“ aspektu ovoga groba, tipičan je simboličan pandan „ženskom“ jantarnom pektoralu. Njegov resasti motiv – simbol Sunčeva djelovanja, identičan onom na pektoralu iz Zaton (Sl. 8a, 10a), po Europi se nalazi, uz ostalo, upravo na oružju uključujući i mač iz groba 27 iz Nina²⁵⁵ (Sl. 41a-b). Ovaj pak grob (s višestrukim ukopom?), s ranim jantarnim pektoralom, također ima kombinaciju tipičnih „muških“ (mač, brijlač, igla)²⁵⁶ i uobičajeno „ženskih“ priloga. Brijlači su u apeninskim, kao i drugim europskim zajednicama, imali konkretnu ulogu u solarnoj zaštiti svijeta muškaraca. Time je apeninska gesta stavljanja brijlača sa solarnim znacima/symbolima u „muške“ grobove (sa ili bez oružja) značenjima komplementarna s prostorno dalekim i djelomično istovremenim važnim nordijskim religijsko-društvenim obredom posjedovanja brijlača i njegova prilaganja umrlome (Sl. 13g, 14).²⁵⁷ Tome se simbolično priključuje i čin grobnog prilaganja, doduše, ne baš brojnih brijlača kod Liburna.²⁵⁸ „Solarni krajolici“, s polazištem u mitu o Sunčevu putovanju pojavljuju se već na apeninskim brijlačima s početka željeznog doba (dvorezni tipa Vetulonija: Tarquinia I.; dvorezni tipa Torre Galli iz južne Italije),²⁵⁹ ali svojom „apstraktnom naracijom“ oni nikad nisu dosegli izravnost mitskog kazivanja, poput one u solarnim prizorima po nordijskim brijlačima 9. st. pr. Kr. – 8. st. pr. Kr.

Nasuprot dugotrajnoj likovnoj unificiranosti jantarnih pektorala kod Liburna, oni metalni tijekom više stoljeća ipak su mijenjali oblik. Najbrojniji su brončani oblici „ptičje lađe“ malih dimenzija, dužine oko 4 – 6 cm²⁶⁰ (Sl. 44). Kako po sredini tijela imaju dva okomita kanalića za provlačenje niti, mogli su se nositi kao pektoral, na prsima,

of the amber “bird boats” and fragments of two square-trapezoidal platelets. But this grave also contains a fair amount of “male” grave goods: two serpentine fibulae imported from the Apennine Peninsula, three pins (Vadena and others), a razor, acquired from the central Apennine region, perhaps through Picenum. In grave 6 from Nin with multiple burial (?) during the 9th/8th centuries BC, “female” amber pectoral has a plausible association only with the bow fibulae with an amber bead and other amber beads. Razor in dominantly “male” aspect of this grave is a typical symbolical counterpart to the “female” amber pectoral.

In Europe its fringed motif – symbol of the Sun’s activity, identical to the one on the pectoral from Zaton (Fig. 8a, 10a), can be found on weapons, among other artifacts, including a sword from grave 27 from Nin²⁵⁵ (Fig. 41a-b). This grave (with multiple burial?), and early amber pectoral, also has a combination of typical “male” (sword, razor, pin)²⁵⁶ and usually “female” grave goods. Razors had a specific role in the solar protection of the male world in the Apennine and other European communities. In that way the Apennine gesture of putting razors with solar signs/symbols in the “male” graves (with or without weapons) is complementary in its message with distant and partially synchronous important Nordic religious and social ritual of owning a razor and depositing a razor with the deceased person (Fig. 13g, 14).²⁵⁷ This is symbolically accompanied by the act of putting razors in graves by the Liburnians though less frequently.²⁵⁸ “Solar landscapes” with starting point in the myth about the Sun’s journey appear on the Apennine razors from the beginning of the Iron Age (double-edge razors of the Vetulonia type: Tarquinia I; double-edge razors type Torre Galli from southern Italy),²⁵⁹ but in

²⁵⁵ D. GLOGOVIĆ, 1989, 15, T 10/1; A. HARDING, 1995, 56-57.

²⁵⁶ A. HARDING, 1995, 56.

²⁵⁷ Vidi bilj. 41.

²⁵⁸ D. GLOGOVIĆ, 1989, T 24/9-12.

²⁵⁹ R. PERONI, 2004, 424, 450, sl. 94/4, sl. 101/2.

²⁶⁰ Š. BATOVIĆ, 1981, 134, br. 362, sl. 13/9. (Nin, grob 69).

²⁵⁵ D. GLOGOVIĆ, 1989, 15, T 10/1; A. HARDING, 1995, 56-57.

²⁵⁶ A. HARDING, 1995, 56.

²⁵⁷ See note 41.

²⁵⁸ D. GLOGOVIĆ, 1989, T 24/9-12.

²⁵⁹ R. PERONI, 2004, 424, 450, fig. 94/4, fig. 101/2.

ili drugdje na tijelu, kao privjesci. Mogli su se nositi i u paru, okomito povezani nitima, jedan povrh drugog, ali o tome nema sigurnih dokaza. Liburnskim relativno brojnim brončanim prikazima „ptičjih lađa“, ikonografsko-stilski bliska su dva (neobjavljena) identična metalna lijevana primjerka (dužine 3 cm) (Sl. 45) iz Aserije kod Benkovca. Oba imaju samo jednu, dosta široku rupu po sredini tijela, vjerojatno za provlačenje nečega, možda za nasadivanje na šipku (?). Možda su ove lađe izvorno bile komponirane u paru. Tipologija metalnih liburnskih „ptičjih lađa“ završava potpuno stiliziranim oblikom iz helenističke grobnice 1 iz Nadina iz 4. – 1. st. pr. Kr.²⁶¹ (Sl. 46). Brončani privjesak malih dimenzija (dužina 3,7 cm; visina 1,5 cm) bio je obješen o alkice kroz dvije rupe na sredini tijela. U novom, liburnskom helenističkom kulturnom kontekstu, upitna je njegova izvorna simbolika o Sunčevu putovanju. Njegova pojava ipak upućuje na žilavost tradicije liburnskog oblikovanja i vjerovanja (?).

Mit o Suncu dočaran pektoralom iz Nina (Sl. 1), ali i iz Zaton (Sl. 6), spada među najdojmljivije likovne oblike te vrste u tadašnjoj Europi. Mit je, kao i cjelokupna solarna likovno-religijska sintaksa Liburna i Picena, bio sastavni dio onovremenoga duhovnog stanja velikog dijela Europe. Stoga je stanovito nebitno podrijetlo dvaju liburnskih pektoralala. Solarne slike („krajolici“) bile su aplicirane po najrazličitijim predmetima iz svih životnih sfera, profanih i sakralnih; one tvore dnevni „dekor“, likovni stil, religioznost (mit) i, napokon, sliku sveukupnosti u više europskih kulturnih krugova potkraj 2. i početkom 1. tis. pr. Kr. Nepoznato je, međutim, koliko te činjenice doista dokazuju postojanje religija kao sustava sa Suncem u središtu na tako velikom europskom području.

U tadašnjoj europskoj duhovnosti, u tragovima se ipak uočavaju, u svojoj svojoj srodno-

their “abstract narration” they never reached directness of mythical story telling, such as the one in the solar scenes on the Nordic razors in the 9th– 8th centuries BC.

As opposed to long-term visual unification of the amber pectorals in the Liburnians, the metal examples changed their form over the course of centuries. Bronze forms of a small bird boat are most numerous, measuring from 4 to 6 cm in length²⁶⁰ (Fig. 44). Since they have two vertical channels in the middle of the body for pulling thread, they could have been worn as pectorals, on the chest, or elsewhere on the body, as pendants. They may have been worn in pair, connected with threads vertically, one above the other, but there is no definite evidence therein.

Two (unpublished) metal cast examples (length 3 cm) (Fig. 45) from Asseria near Benkovac are similar in iconographic and stylistic terms to the Liburnian quite numerous bronze depictions of “bird boats”. They both have only one, rather wide hole in the middle of the body, probably for pulling something, perhaps for fixing on a rod (?). Possibly all these boats were originally composed in pair. Typology of metal Liburnian “bird boats” ends in a completely stylized form from the Hellenistic tomb 1 from Nadin dated from the 4th to 1st centuries BC²⁶¹ (Fig. 46). Small bronze pendant (length 3,7; height 1,5 cm) was hanging on small rings pulled through two holes in the middle of the body. In new, Liburnian Hellenistic context, its original symbolics about the Sun’s journey is questionable. Its presence indicates to resilient tradition of the Liburnian beliefs and crafting (?).

Myth about the Sun depicted with a pectoral from Nin (Fig. 1), and also from Zaton (Fig. 6), belongs to the most impressive artistic forms of the kind in Europe in the mentioned period. The myth was just a part of spiritual state of large part of Europe at the time as well as the complete solar artistic-religious syntax of the Liburnians and Picenians. Therefore in certain

²⁶¹ Š. BATOVIĆ, 1981, 134, br. 363, sl. 13/10.

²⁶⁰ Š. BATOVIĆ, 1981, 134, no. 362, fig. 13/9, (Nin, grave 69).

²⁶¹ Š. BATOVIĆ, 1981, 134, no. 363, fig. 13/10.

sti, različiti ikonografsko-simbolični solarni sustavi: na europskom Sjeveru, zatim u središtu kontinenta, s određenim epicentrom u podunavsko-karpatском svijetu s njegovim sintaksama *urnefelder* tipa te na Jugu, posebno u apeninskim zajednicama. Sva ta približno istodobna solarnost, s nizom posebnosti i pojedinačnosti, proizlazila je iz općeg shvaćanja svijeta, koji je Suncem uređen, na mitskoj (kozmogonijskoj), ali i rudimentarnoj „kozmoškoj“ (predznanstvenoj) osnovi. To uređenje, dakako, ne podrazumijeva pronalaznje pojmovnoga određenja trajne osnove svijeta u ovo još „predznanstveno“ i „premetafizičko“ doba; to nije uspjelo mnogima niti u ranoj europskoj filozofiji/znanosti 6. – 5. st. pr. Kr.²⁶²

Ne zna se što se sve tada u različitim kulturama očekivalo od omiljenoga solarno/kozmičkog kôda u vidu „kruga/diska s križem s četiri točke“, posebno u njegovoj simboličkoj ključnoj kombinaciji sa solarnim „ptičjim“ vozilom. Jesu li moći toga kôda, ali i moći sveukupne tadašnje solarnosti, nadilazile sferu ljekovitosti, ozdravljenja i izlječenja? Činjenica je da je upravo to simbolično polje oduvijek čovjeku najzanimljivije. Ono se otvara trajnoj mladosti i vodi (piću) besmrtnosti. To su u religiji omiljeni Ašvini, Dioskuri i drugi blizanci. Iako nisu vrhunska božanstva, i nisu samo Sunce, oni su s njim u najtješnijoj vezi, baš kao i sa sferama njemu nasuprotnima. I Sunce iskonski funkcionira upravo na ambivalentnosti primjerenoj naravi Blizanaca.

Kako Sunce (putovanjem) uređuje i štiti svijet, iza svega bi se mogao očitati optimističan životni nazor, od eneolitika, posebno kroz brončano doba. Društvo u uzletu traži vlastito određenje u Svijetu sa Suncem u središtu, koje oduvijek donosi red i moć/vlast u Prirodi i društvu. Te kategorije potrebne su svim društvenim sferama, od vrhovništva – profanog i sakralnog *auctoritasa*,

sense origin of the two Liburnian pectorals is irrelevant. Solar images (“landscapes”) were applied on various objects from all life spheres, profane and sacral; they make daily “decor”, style of visual expression, religiousness (myth) and finally, image of the Whole in several European cultural circles at the end of the 2nd and beginning of the 1st millennia BC. In the European spirituality of the time, we can notice in traces various iconographic and symbolical solar systems despite all their similarity: in the European North, then in the center of the continent, with certain epicenter in the Danubian-Carpathian world with its syntaxes of the Urnfield type, and in the South, particularly in the Apennine communities. All these general, approximately simultaneous solar aspects, with a series of particularities and singularities, came out of general worldview which is arranged by the Sun, on the mythical (cosmogonic) and also rudimentary “cosmological” (pre-scientific) basis. This arrangement does not imply finding conceptual definition of permanent basis of the world in this “pre-scientific” and “pre-metaphysic” era; many did not succeed in the same attempt even in the early European philosophy/science in the 6th and 5th centuries BC.²⁶²

We do not know what was expected from a popular solar/cosmic code in shape of “circle/disk with four dots”, particularly in its symbolically crucial combination with a solar “bird” vehicle. Did the powers of that code, and powers of the entire solar cult at the time, surpass the sphere of healing and recovery? The fact is that this symbolical field has always been the most interesting to a man. It opens up to eternal youth and water (drink) of immortality. In religion those are popular Ashvins, Dioscuri and other twins. Although they were not supreme deities, and they were not the Sun, they were closely related to it, as well as with the spheres opposed to it. The Sun originally functions on the ambivalence characteristic of the nature of the Twins. Since the Sun (by its Journey) arr-

²⁶² W. WINDELBAND, 1990, 80.

²⁶² W. WINDELBAND, 1990, 80.

preko sfere *arma* do sfere svekolikih Bogatstava (*opes*), kamo spadaju i: zdravlje, lijek, piće besmrtnosti, dakle, i mrtvi. Stoga, ako se pokojnikova sudbina poveže za Sunčevu kružnu cikličnu plovidbu, kojoj je svojstveno izmirenje svih „događanja“ u njezinoj prostorno-vremenskoj četverostrukosti, tada i umrli, odlazeći vodom na (noćnoj) solarnoj lađi, neizbježno, bar u jednoj epizodi svojega Putovanja, stiže „s onu stranu“ prostora. Nasuprot staroegipatskoj solarnoj lađi, koja pokojnika identificiranog sa Suncem, preko Zapada nedvojbeno odnosi u podzemlje, to jest u podzemne, noćne vode Nila, gdje mu je, zahvaljujući savršenosti cikličkog Sunčeva toka, omogućen susret njegove duše i topline tamnog Sunca, a time i stanoviti novi život,²⁶³ ništa se konkretno ne zna o najosnovnijim eshatološkim pitanjima svih onih agrafskih zajednica koje su također koristile izraženo solarno znakovlje u kultu mrtvih uključujući i Liburne i Picene u prvim stoljećima 1. tis. pr. Kr. Pitanje je, čak, u kojem su simboličnom (religijskom) odnosu bili spaljeni mrtvi i sunčeva „ptičja lađa“ iz europskog *urnefelder* – kulturnog kruga i *proto/villanova* svijeta. Odvoze li Sunčeva kola/lađa pokojnika u „podzemlje“, ma gdje da se ono smještalo, ili je pak ono samo jedna od postaja u konkretnom eshatološkom konceptu. Uostalom, i u staroegipatskom svijetu samo neki pokojnici nakon podzemlja završavaju na Otocima blaženih. I konačna točka nordijskoga prekogrobnog Putovanja ipak se ne razaznaje iz samih slika, usprkos njihovoj figurativnosti. Podzemlje se i ovdje pretpostavlja: izvodi se iz solarne cikličnosti. Solarni svijet koji se, dakle, giba poput kozmičkog kotača, u sferi smrti načelno pobuđuje nadu u besmrtnost.

Postavljajući u grobove pektorale s mitom o Sunčevu putovanju, ali i druge elemente

ranges and protects the world, we could interpret the entire cult as an optimistic worldview, which accompanies progress of the society from the Eneolithic, particularly in the Bronze Age. It demands its own definition in the world with the Sun which has always brought order and power/dominance in the Nature and society. These categories are necessary for all social spheres, from leadership – profane and sacral *auctoritas*, over the sphere of *arma* to the sphere of overall Wealth (*opes*), including also: health, remedy, drink of immortality, and the dead. Therefore if the deceased person's destiny is related to the Sun's cyclical journey which is characterized by reconciliation of all "events" in its spatial and chronological fourfoldedness, then the deceased inevitably reaches "other side" of the space at least in one episode of the journey, leaving by water on the (nightly) solar boat.

As opposed to the old Egyptian solar boat which carries the deceased person identified with the Sun over the West to the underworld i.e. underground, nightly waters of Nile where his soul can meet warmth of the dark Sun, and therefore a kind of new life,²⁶³ owing to perfection of the simple cyclical Sun's course, we know nothing in specific about the most basic eschatological questions of all those agraphic communities which also used pronounced solar signs in the cult of the dead including the Liburnians and Picenians in the first centuries of the first millennium BC. The question is what was the symbolical (religious) relation between the cremated deceased individuals and the sun "bird boat" from the European Urnfield – cultural circle and the proto- Villanovan world. Does the Sun's chariot/boat transfer the deceased person to the "underworld", regardless of where it might be, or was it just one of stations in specific eschatological concept. After all, in the old

²⁶³ Pokojnik se identificirao s Keperom/Kheprijem (Skarabejem: bogom i simbolom egzistencije i stvaranja) i time dobivao atribute duše boga Sunca. Ptica *benu* (feniks) smatrala se „Raovom dušom“. E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, 1989, 42-45,100; A. GROS de BELER, 2004, 112, 116.

²⁶³ The deceased person was identified with Khepri (Scarab: god and symbol of existence and creation) assuming thereby attributes of the soul of the god of Sun. Bird *benu* (phoenix) was considered to be Ra's soul. E. A. T. WALLIS BUDGE, 1989, 42-45, 100; A. GROS de BELER, 2004, 112, 116.

svojega svečanog i posmrtnog odijela utemeljenog na solarnom mitu (Osor – fibule, aplikacije, kopče, privjeske, jantarna zrna), i Liburni su sigurno očekivali solarnu zaštitu mrtvih. Spiritualne granice toga očekivanja (prekogrobnoga?) tek se naslućuju kroz grobnu ostavštinu zajednica iz prvih stoljeća 1. tis. pr. Kr.

Egyptian world only some of the deceased persons end up on the Islands of the Blessed after the underworld. Final point of the Nordic afterlife Journey cannot be recognized from the images, despite their figurativeness. Underground is assumed here as well: it is derived from the solar cyclicity. Solar world which moves as a cosmic wheel evokes hope in immortality in the sphere of death.

The Liburnians definitely expected solar protection of the dead when they put in graves pectorals with the myth of the Sun's journey, and other elements of their ceremonial and funerary attire based on the solar myth (Osor-type fibulae, appliqués, buckles, pendants, and amber beads). Spiritual boundaries of these expectations (afterlife?) can only be assumed through the funerary heritage of the communities from the first centuries of the first millennium BC.

Translation: Marija Kostić

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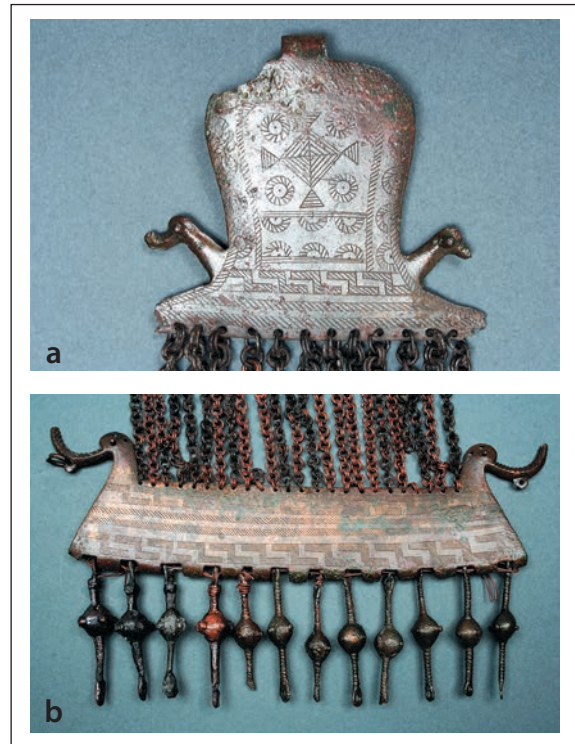
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SLIKA 1. Pektoral iz Nina, Arheološki muzej Zadar (foto: M. Parica, 2011).

FIGURE 1 Pectoral from Nin, Archaeological Museum Zadar (photo by M. Parica, 2011).



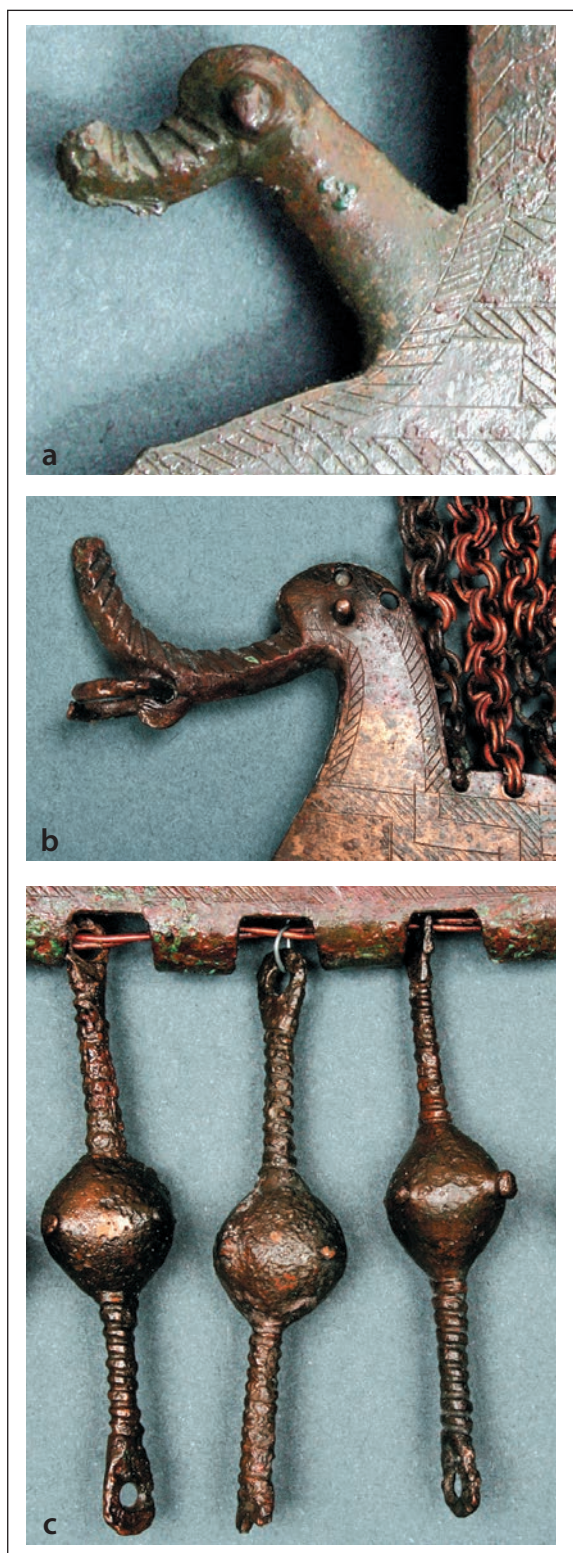
SLIKA 2. Pektoral iz Nina: a) gornja „ptičja lađa“; b) donja „ptičja lađa“. Arheološki muzej Zadar (foto: M. Parica, 2011).

FIGURE 2 Pectoral from Nin: a) upper “bird boat”; b) lower “bird boat”. Archaeological Museum Zadar (photo by M. Parica, 2011).



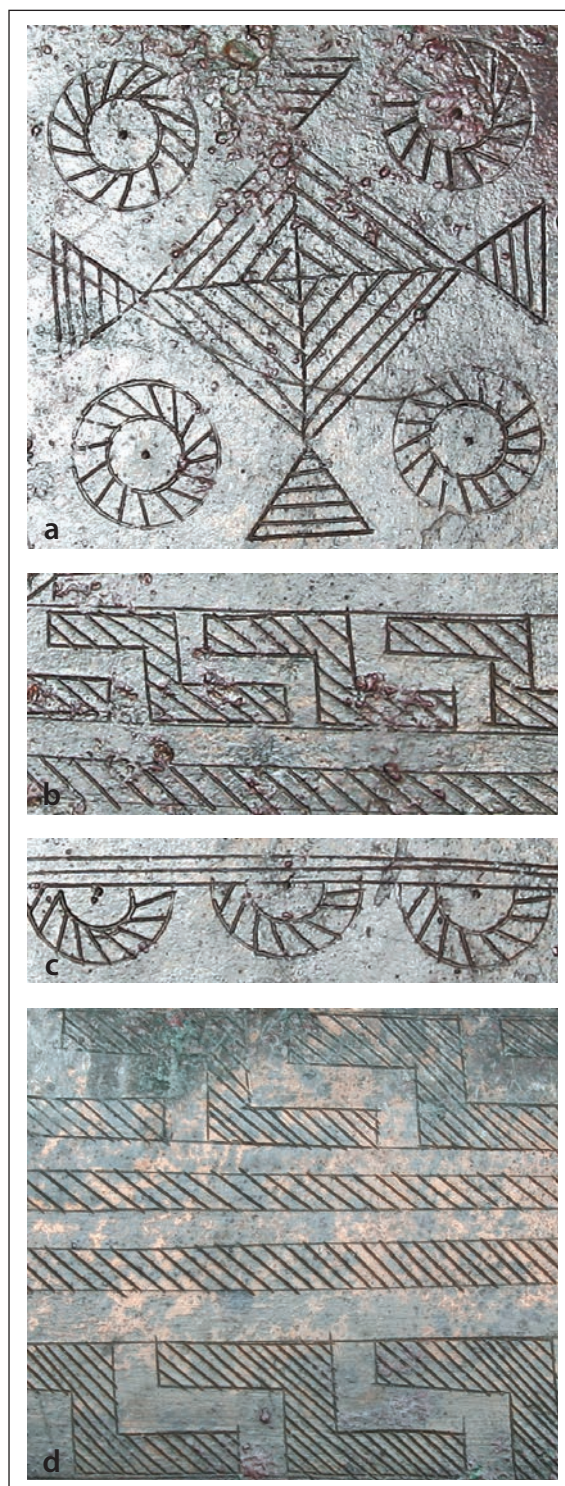
SLIKA 3. Pektoral iz Nina: likovni prikaz mita o Suncu na gornjoj „ptičjoj lađi“, Arheološki muzej Zadar (crtež: Z. Bakić, 2011).

FIGURE 3 Pectoral from Nin: depiction of the Sun myth on the upper “bird boat”, Archaeological Museum Zadar (drawing by Z. Bakić, 2011).



SLIKA 4. Pektoral iz Nina, detalji: a) ptica na gornjoj lađi; b) ptica na donjoj lađi; c) privjesci s bradavičastim ispupčenjima. Arheološki muzej Zadar (foto: M. Parica, 2011).

FIGURE 4 Pectoral from Nin, details: a) bird on the upper boat; b) bird on the lower boat; c) pendants with knobs. Archaeological Museum Zadar (photo by M. Parica, 2011).



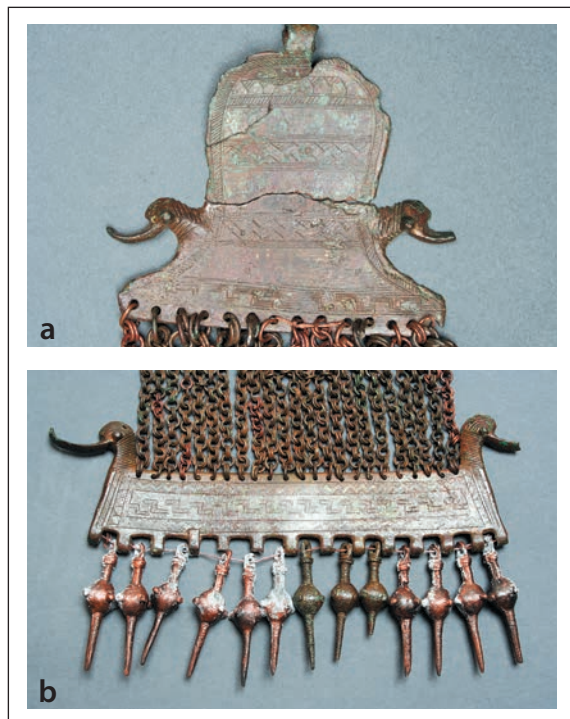
SLIKA 5. Pektoral iz Nina: a) motiv solarnog križa s četiri točke na disku gornje lađe; b-c) detalji prikaza na gornjoj „ptičoj lađi“; d) ptice: detalj prikaza na donjoj lađi. Arheološki muzej Zadar (foto: M. Parica, 2011).

FIGURE 5 Pectoral from Nin: a) motif of a solar cross with four dots on the upper boat disk; b-c) details of the depiction on the upper “bird boat”; d) birds: detail of the depiction on the lower boat, Archaeological Museum Zadar (photo by M. Parica, 2011).



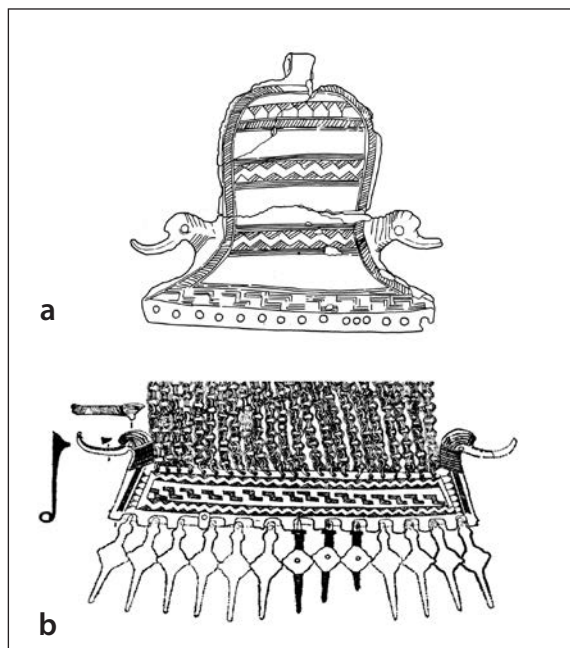
SLIKA 6. Zaton kod Nina, grob 6. Arheološki muzej Zadar (foto: M. Parica, 2011).

FIGURE 6 Zaton near Nin, grave 6. Archaeological Museum Zadar (photo by M. Parica, 2011).



SLIKA 7. Pektoral iz Zaton kod Nina, grob 6: a) gornja lađa; b) donja lađa. Arheološki muzej Zadar (foto: M. Parica, 2011).

FIGURE 7 Pectoral from Zaton near Nin, grave 6: a) upper boat; b) lower boat. Archaeological Museum Zadar (photo by M. Parica, 2011).



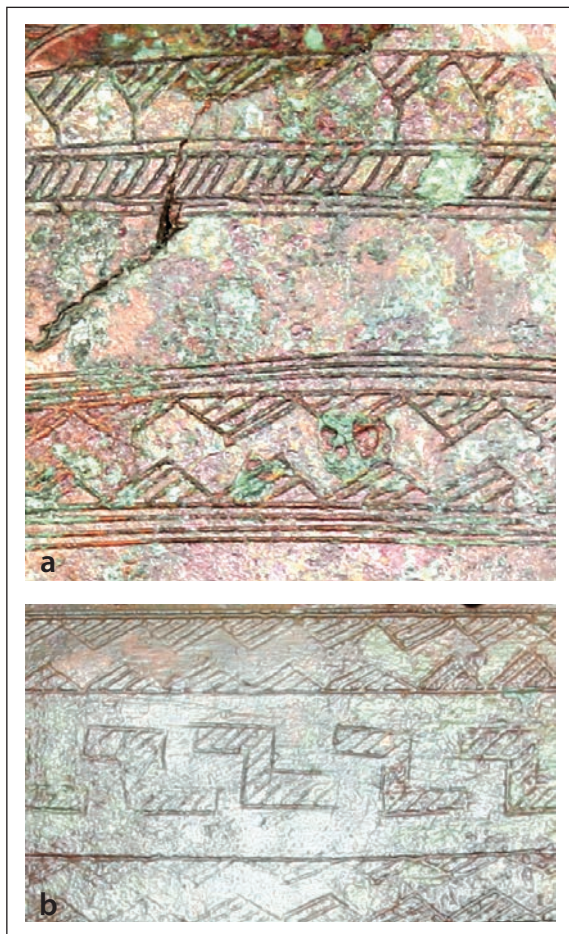
SLIKA 8. Pektoral iz Zaton kod Nina, grob 6: a) prikaz na Sunčevu disku gornje „ptičje lađe“ (crtež: Z. Bakić, 2011); b) donja lađa (prema: Š. BATOVIĆ, 1987).

FIGURE 8 Pectoral from Zaton near Nin, grave 6: a) depiction on the Sun disk of the upper “bird boat” (drawing by Z. Bakić, 2011); b) lower boat (after Š. BATOVIĆ, 1987).



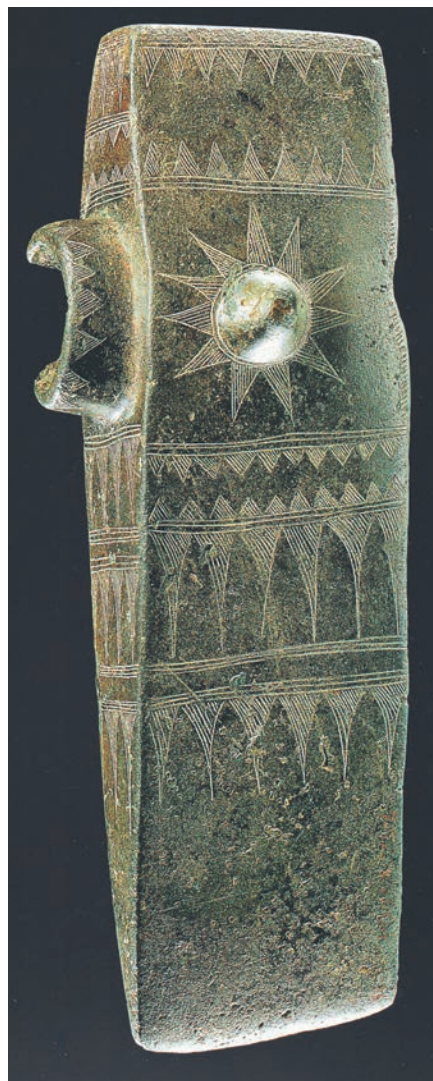
SLIKA 9. Pektoral iz Zaton kod Nina, grob 6, detalji: a) ptica na gornjoj lađi; b) ptica na donjoj lađi; c) privjesci s bradavičastim ispupčenjima. Arheološki muzej Zadar (foto: M. Parica, 2011).

FIGURE 9 Pectoral from Zaton near Nin, grave 6, details: a) bird on the upper boat; b) bird on the lower boat; c) pendants with knobs. Archaeological Museum Zadar (photo by M. Parica, 2011).



SLIKA 10. Pektoral iz Zatona kod Nina, grob 6, detalji: a) motivi na Sunčevom disku na gornjoj „ptičjoj lađi“; b) motivi na donjoj „ptičjoj lađi“. Arheološki muzej Zadar (foto: M. Parica, 2011).

FIGURE 10 Pectoral from Zaton near Nin, grave 6, details: a) motifs on the Sun disk on the upper “bird boat”; b) motifs on the lower “bird boat”, Archaeological Museum Zadar (photo by M. Parica, 2011).

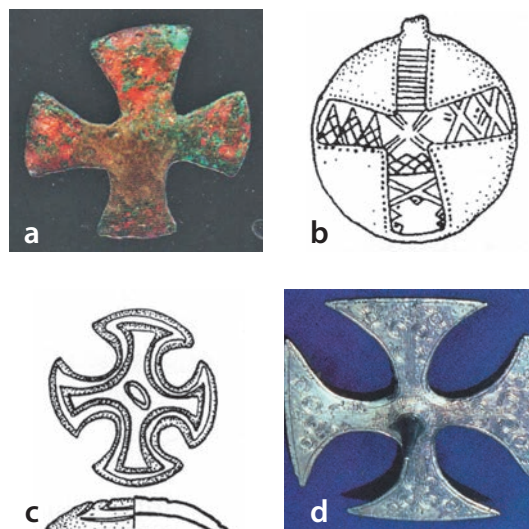


SLIKA 12. Hermannshangen: brončana obredna sjekira, oko 1600. g. pr. Kr. (prema: R. SCHWARZ, 2006).

FIGURE 12 Hermannshangen: ritual bronze axe, ca. 1600 BC (after R. SCHWARZ, 2006).

SLIKA 11. Motiv križa iz brončanog doba: a) Vrčevo – Gorica, kraj Zadra, gradinsko naselje brončanog i željeznog doba: brončani križ (prema: M. ČELHAR, 2013); b) sjeverna Italija, rano brončano doba, dno keramičke posude (prema: R. PERONI, 2004); c) južna Italija, apeninska kultura: dno posude (prema: R. PERONI, 2004); d) Pitten, Donja Austrija: metalni križ iz srednjeg (Hügelgräber) brončanog doba (prema: E. PROBST, 1996).

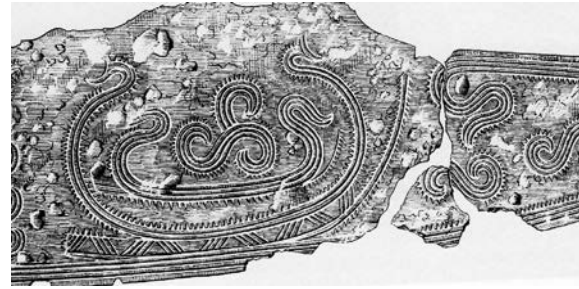
FIGURE 11 Motifs of cross from the Bronze Age: a) Vrčevo – Gorica, near Zadar, hillfort settlement from the Bronze and Iron Ages: bronze cross (after M. ČELHAR, 2013); b) northern Italy, Early Bronze Age, base of a ceramic vessel (after R. PERONI, 2004); c) southern Italy, Apennine culture: base of a vessel (after R. PERONI, 2004); d) Pitten, Lower Austria: metal cross from the Middle (Hügelgräber) Bronze Age (after E. PROBST, 1996).





SLIKA 12a. Teba: oslikana unutrašnjost pogrebnog kovčega, detalj; Sunčeva lađa (prema: G. ROBINS, 1996).

FIGURE 12a Thebes: painted interior of a coffin, detail, Sun boat (after G. ROBINS, 1996).



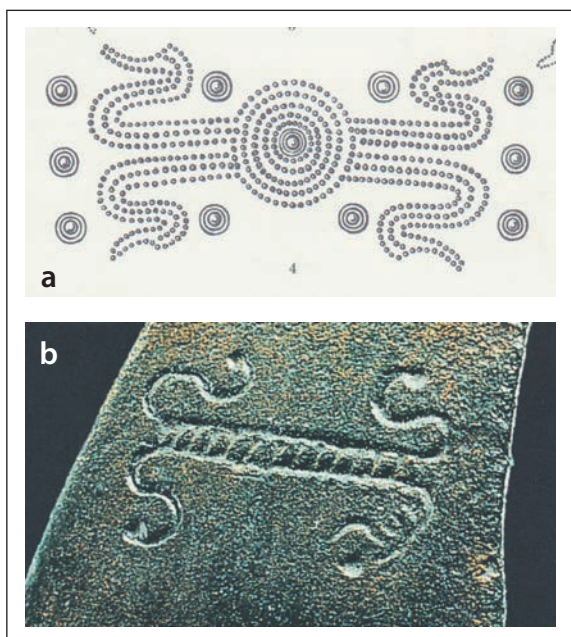
SLIKA 14. Harsefeld, Niedersachsen: Brijač s prikazom solarne lađe sa sunčevim konjima (prema: E. PROBST, 1996).

FIGURE 14 Harsefeld, Niedersachsen: Razor with a depiction of the solar boat with sun horses (after E. PROBST, 1996).



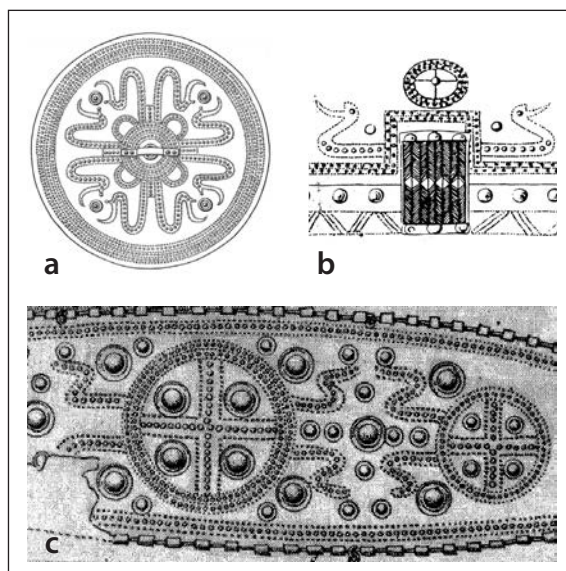
SLIKA 13. a-d) Nordijski prizori obreda u obožavanju Sunca, (prema: K. KRISTIANSEN, T. B. LARSSON, 2005; I. ULLÉN, 2003; F. KAUL, 2005; F. KAUL, 2006; F. KAUL, 2006a); e) Nepoznato nalazište, Jütland, Danska: obredni predmet od bronce i jantara (prema: F. KAUL, 2006); f) Egely, Bornholm, Danska, Prikaz brodova s obrednim solarним predmetom (prema: F. KAUL, 2006); g) Hallingskov, Danska: brončani brijač u obliku solarne „konjske lađe“, 700. g. pr. Kr. – 500. g. pr. Kr (prema: F. KAUL, 2006a).

FIGURE 13 a-d) Nordic depictions of rituals of the Sun adoration (after K. KRISTIANSEN, T. B. LARSSON, 2005; I. ULLÉN, 2003; F. KAUL, 2005; F. KAUL, 2006; F. KAUL, 2006a); e) Unknown findspot, Jütland, Denmark: ritual objects made of bronze and amber (after F. KAUL, 2006); f) Egely, Bornholm, Denmark, Depiction of boats with a ritual solar object (after F. KAUL, 2006); g) Hallingskov, Denmark: bronze razor in shape of solar “horse boat”, 700 BC-500 BC (after F. KAUL, 2006a).



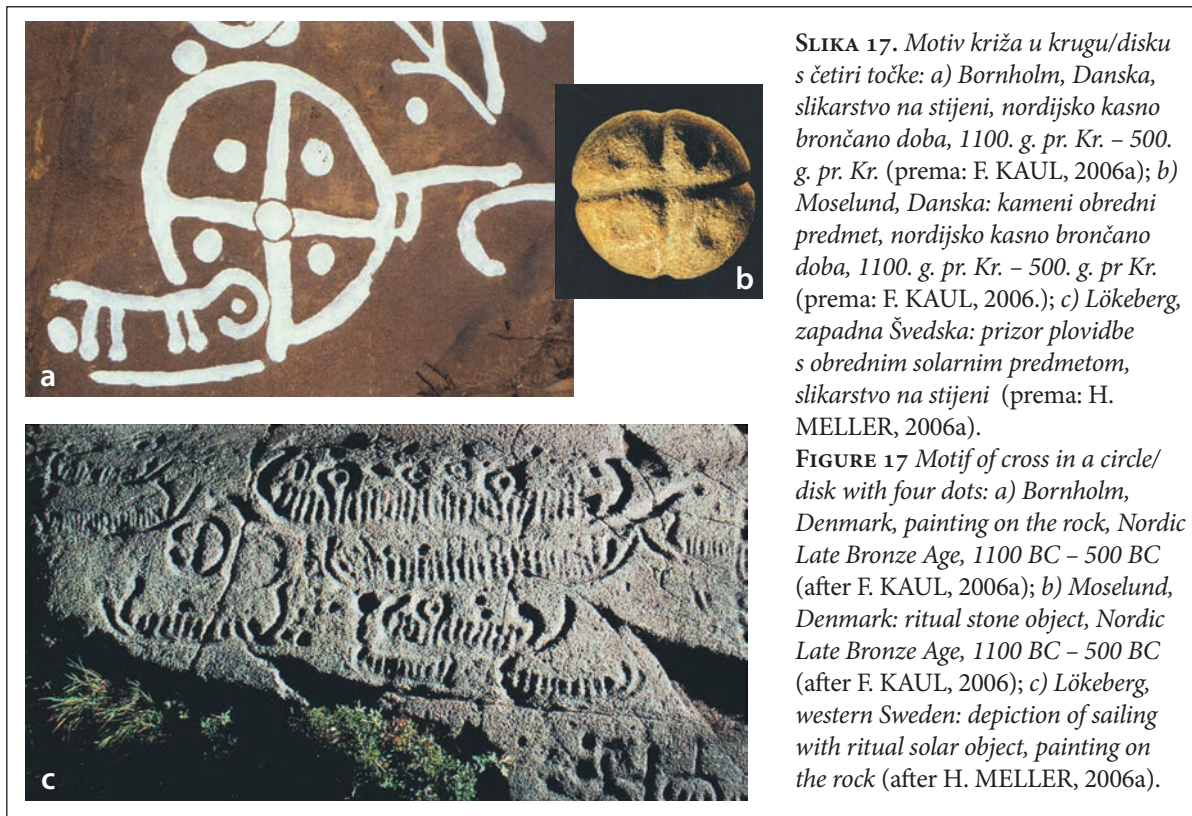
SLIKA 15. Motivi dviju spojenih sunčevih „ptičjih lađa“: a) Este, Casa di Ricovero, grob: situla (prema: G. KOSSACK, 1954); b) Deersheim (Halberstadt), ogrlica, detalj 9. st. pr. Kr. – 8. st. pr. Kr. (prema: R. MARASZEK, 2006).

FIGURE 15 Motifs of two connected sun “bird boats”: a) Este, Casa di Ricovero, grave: situla (after G. KOSSACK, 1954); b) Deersheim (Halberstadt), necklace, detail, 9th century BC – 8th century BC (after R. MARASZEK, 2006).



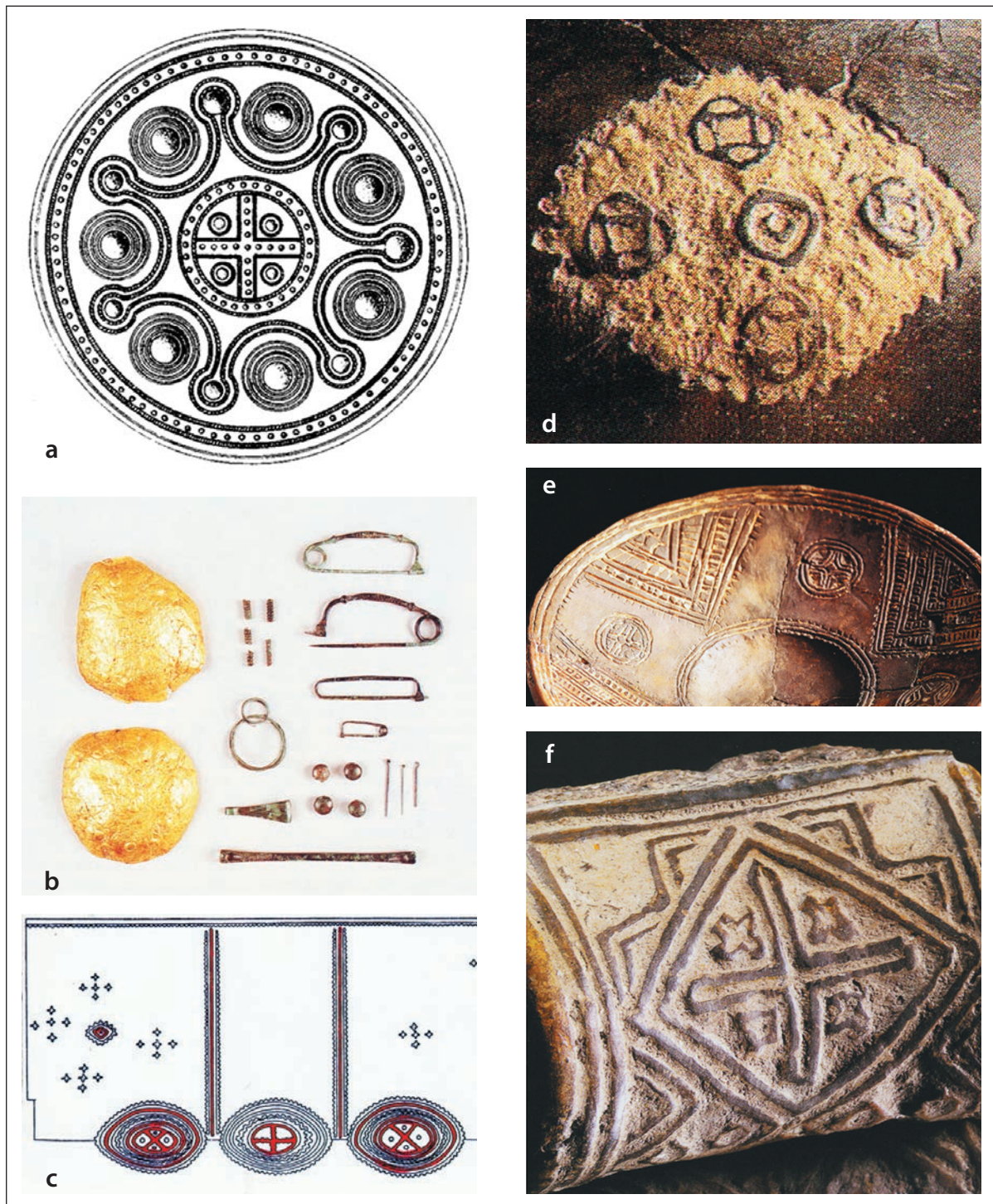
SLIKA 16. Motivi „ptičje lađe“: a) Monteveglio, Bologna (grob), detalj metalne posude (prema: G. KOSSACK, 1954); b) Mariesminde, Danska, situla, detalj, 8. st. pr. Kr. – 7. st. pr. Kr. (prema: A. JOCKENHÖVEL, 2003); c) Bologna, brončani pojas (prema: L. LAURENZI, 1959).

FIGURE 16 Motifs of “bird boat” a) Monteveglio, Bologna (grave), detail of a metal vessel (after G. KOSSACK, 1954); b) Mariesminde, Denmark; situla, detail, 8th century BC – 7th century BC (after A. JOCKENHÖVEL, 2003); c) Bologna, bronze belt (after L. LAURENZI, 1959).



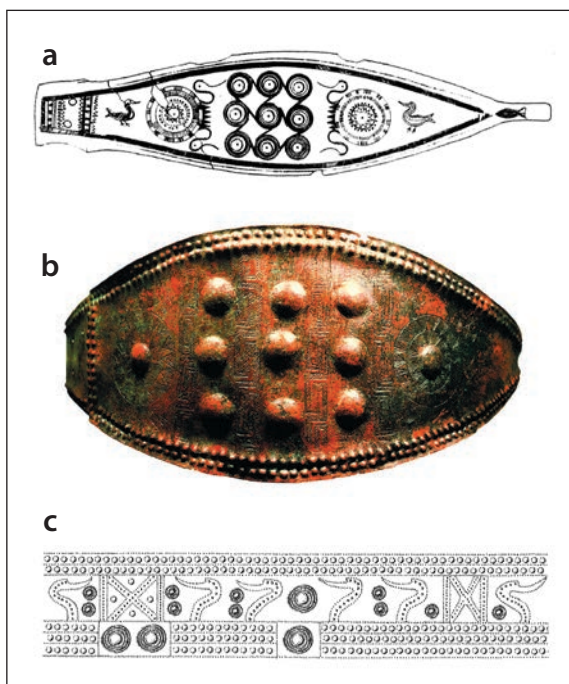
SLIKA 17. Motiv križa u krugu/disku s četiri točke: a) Bornholm, Danska, slikarstvo na stijeni, nordijsko kasno brončano doba, 1100. g. pr. Kr. – 500. g. pr. Kr. (prema: F. KAUL, 2006a); b) Moselund, Danska: kameni obredni predmet, nordijsko kasno brončano doba, 1100. g. pr. Kr. – 500. g. pr. Kr. (prema: F. KAUL, 2006.); c) Lökeberg, zapadna Švedska: prizor plovidbe s obrednim solarnim predmetom, slikarstvo na stijeni (prema: H. MELLER, 2006a).

FIGURE 17 Motif of cross in a circle/disk with four dots: a) Bornholm, Denmark, painting on the rock, Nordic Late Bronze Age, 1100 BC – 500 BC (after F. KAUL, 2006a); b) Moselund, Denmark: ritual stone object, Nordic Late Bronze Age, 1100 BC – 500 BC (after F. KAUL, 2006); c) Lökeberg, western Sweden: depiction of sailing with ritual solar object, painting on the rock (after H. MELLER, 2006a).



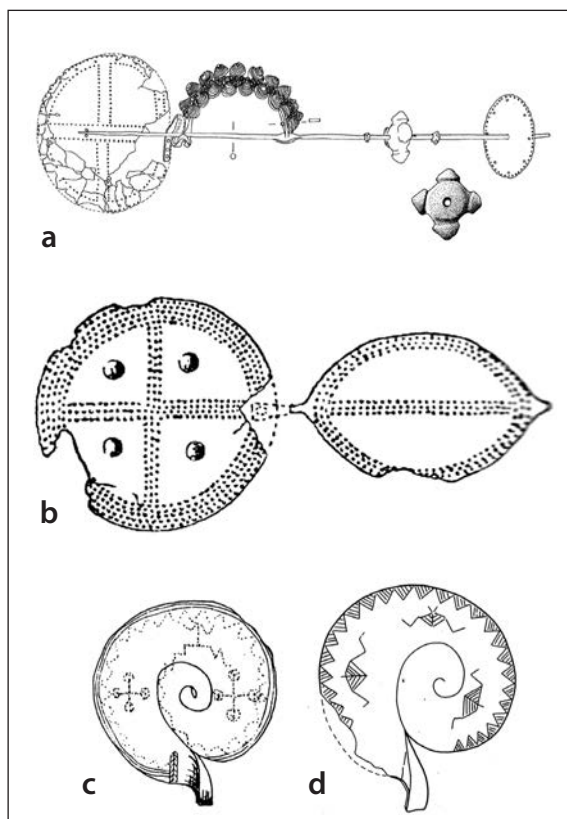
SLIKA 18. a) Gualdo Tadino, Perugia, ostava; zlatni solarni disk, kasno brončano doba (bronzo finale); b) Gualdo Tadino, Perugia, ostava (prema: M. BETTELLIA, 1997); c-f) Solarni prikazi na keramici vučedolske kulture (prema: A. DURMAN, 2000).

FIGURE 18 a) Gualdo Tadino, Perugia, hoard; golden solar disk, Late Bronze Age (bronzo finale); b) Gualdo Tadino, Perugia, hoard with two solar disks (after M. BETTELLIA, 1997); c-f) Solar depictions on pottery of the Vučedol culture (after A. DURMAN, 2000).



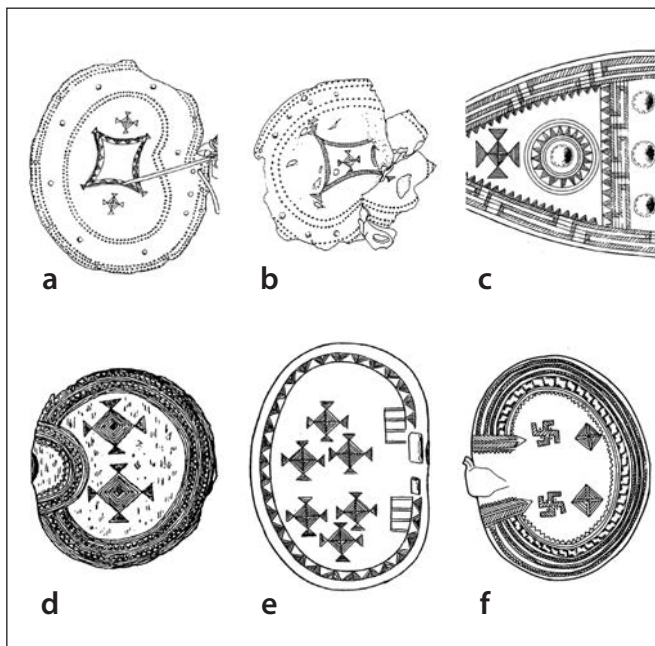
SLIKA 19. a) „Necropoli del Salino“, Picenum: pojas villanova tipa, prikaz mita o Sunčevom putovanju (prema: N. LUCENTINI, 2007); b) Verucchio, Masrola (S. Giovanni in Galilea); metalni pojas, (prema: P. von ELES, 2012); c) Populonija, Grob 1, a camera, Poggio del Mulino: motiv „križa s četiri točke“; detalj prikaza na kacigi (prema: C. IAIA, 2004).

FIGURE 19 a) “Necropoli del Salino”, Picenum: belt of the Villanovan type, depiction of the myth about the Sun’s journey (after N. LUCENTINI, 2007); b) Verucchio, Masrola (S. Giovanni in Galilea); metal belt (after P. von Eles, 2012); c) Populonia, Grave 1, a camera, Poggio del Mulino: motif of “a cross with four dots”; detail of depiction on the helmet (after C. IAIA, 2004).



SLIKA 20. Lučne fibule s nogom u obliku diska: a) Osor na Cresu: grob 6, (prema: D. GLOGOVIĆ, 1989); b) Terni, S. Pietro in Campo, grob 36 (prema: J. SUNDWALL, 1943); c-d) Sala Consilina, detalji (prema: K. KILIAN, 1967).

FIGURE 20 Bow fibulae with a disk-shaped foot: a) Osor on the island of Cres: grave 6, (after D. GLOGOVIĆ, 1989); b) Terni, S. Pietro in Campo, grave 36 (after J. SUNDWALL, 1943); c-d) Sala Consilina, details (after K. KILIAN, 1967).

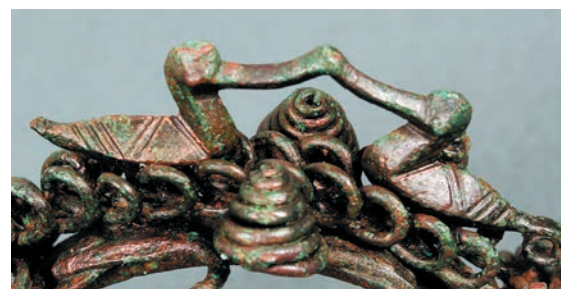


SLIKA 21. a) Nin, grob 10: fibula tipa Osor, detalj; b) Osor-Kavanela: disk na nozi fibule tipa Osor (prema: D. GLOGOVIĆ, 1989); c) Tarquinija, grob 33: pojas villanova tipa (prema: H. MÜLLER-KARPE, 1959); d) Norcia: disk na nozi fibule (prema: J. SUNDWALL, 1943); e) Cumae, grob 5: detalj fibule (prema: H. MÜLLER-KARPE, 1959); f) Pontecagnano: disk na nozi fibule (prema: B. D'AGOSTINO, P. GASTALDI, 1988).

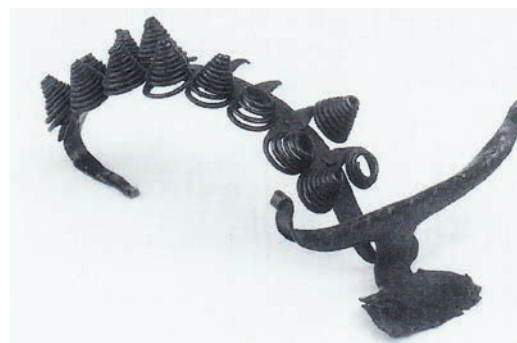
FIGURE 21 a) Nin, grave 10: Osor-type fibula, detail; b) Osor-Kavanela: disk on the foot of the Osor-type fibula (after D. GLOGOVIĆ, 1989); c) Tarquinia, grave 33: belt of the Villanovan type (after H. MÜLLER-KARPE, 1959); d) Norcia: disk on the fibula foot (prema: J. SUNDWALL, 1943); e) Cumae, grave 5: detail of a fibula (after H. MÜLLER-KARPE, 1959); f) Pontecagnano: disk on the fibula foot (after B. D'AGOSTINO, P. GASTALDI, 1988).



SLIKA 22. Nin, grob 1: fibula tipa Osor (foto: M. Parica, 2011).
 FIGURE 22 Nin, grave 1: Osor-type fibula (photo by M. Parica, 2011).

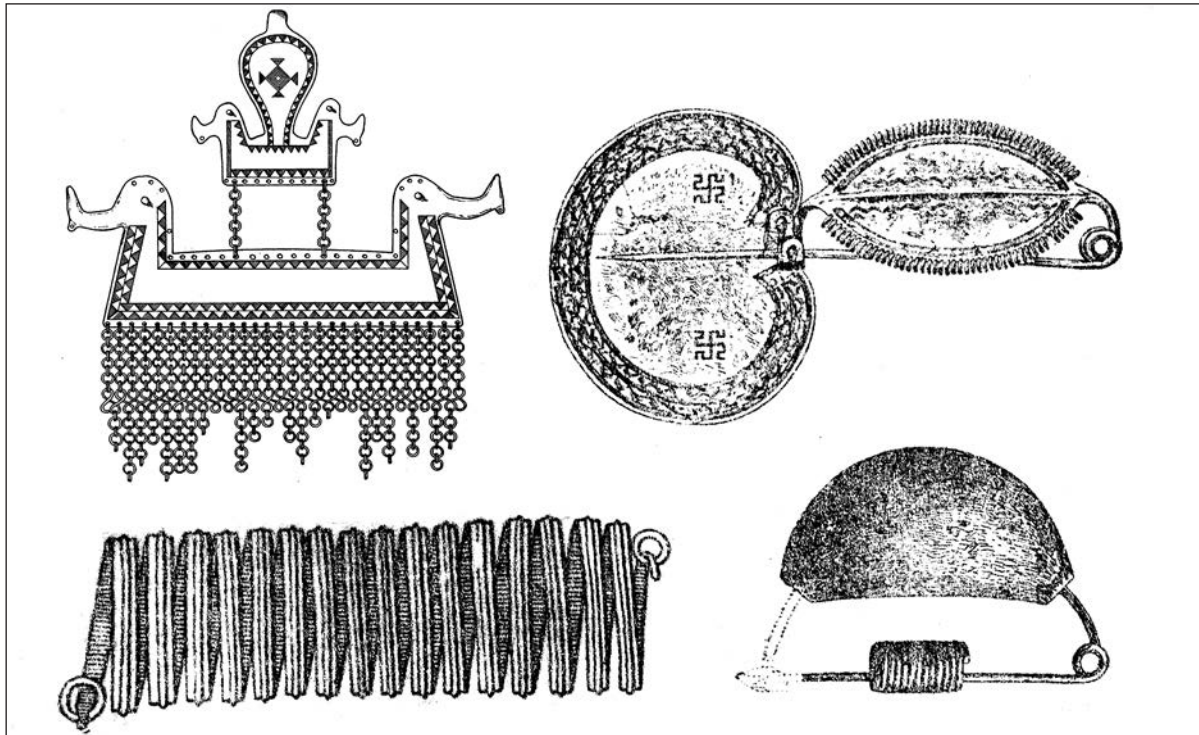


SLIKA 23. Nin, grob 10: fibula tipa Osor (foto: M. Parica, 2011).
 FIGURE 23 Nin, grave 10: Osor-type fibula (photo by M. Parica, 2011).

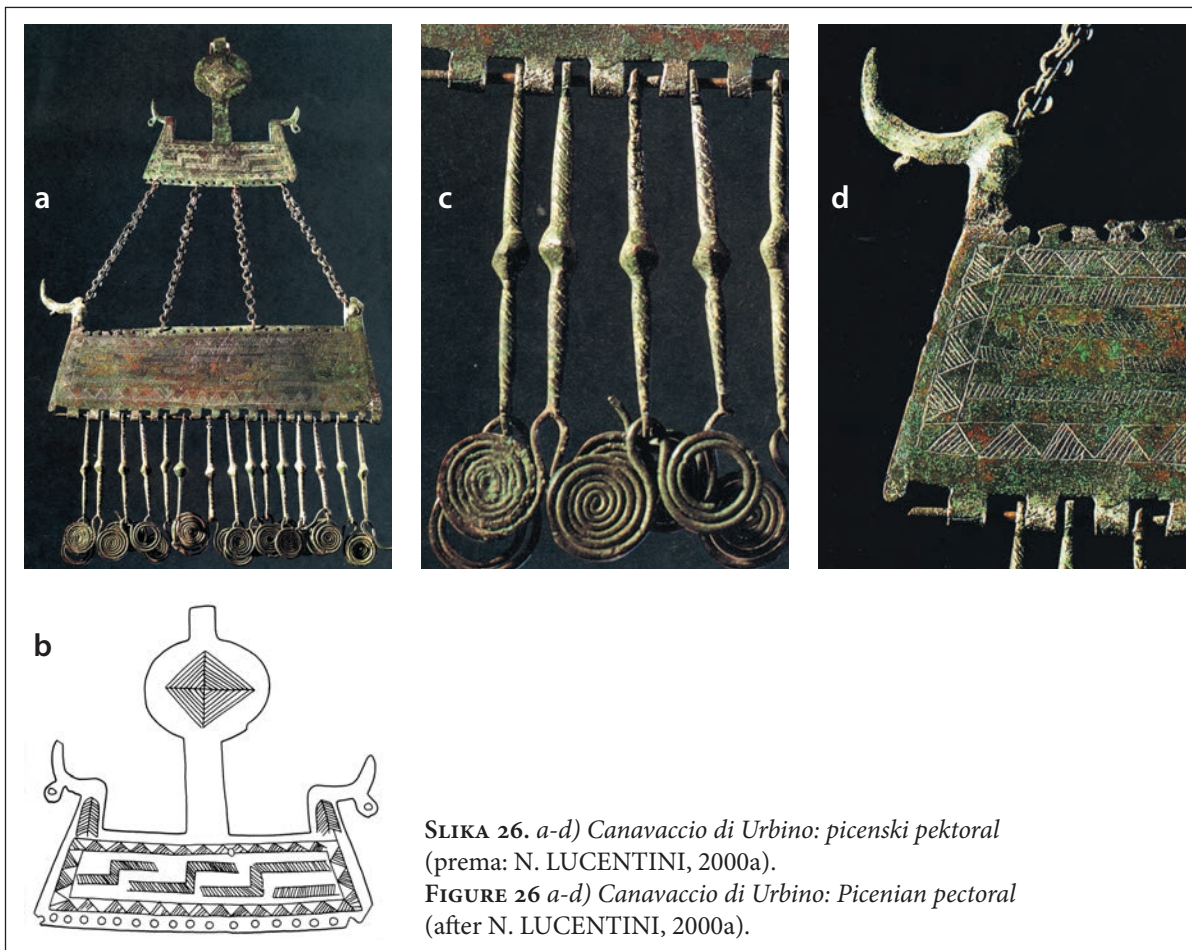


SLIKA 24. Monteprandone: grob s pektoralom, spiralno-naočalastom i fibulom s nizom stožastih ispupčenja na luku, Muzej u Ascoli Piceno (sastavljeno prema: N. LUCENTINI, 2000; N. LUCENTINI, 2000a).

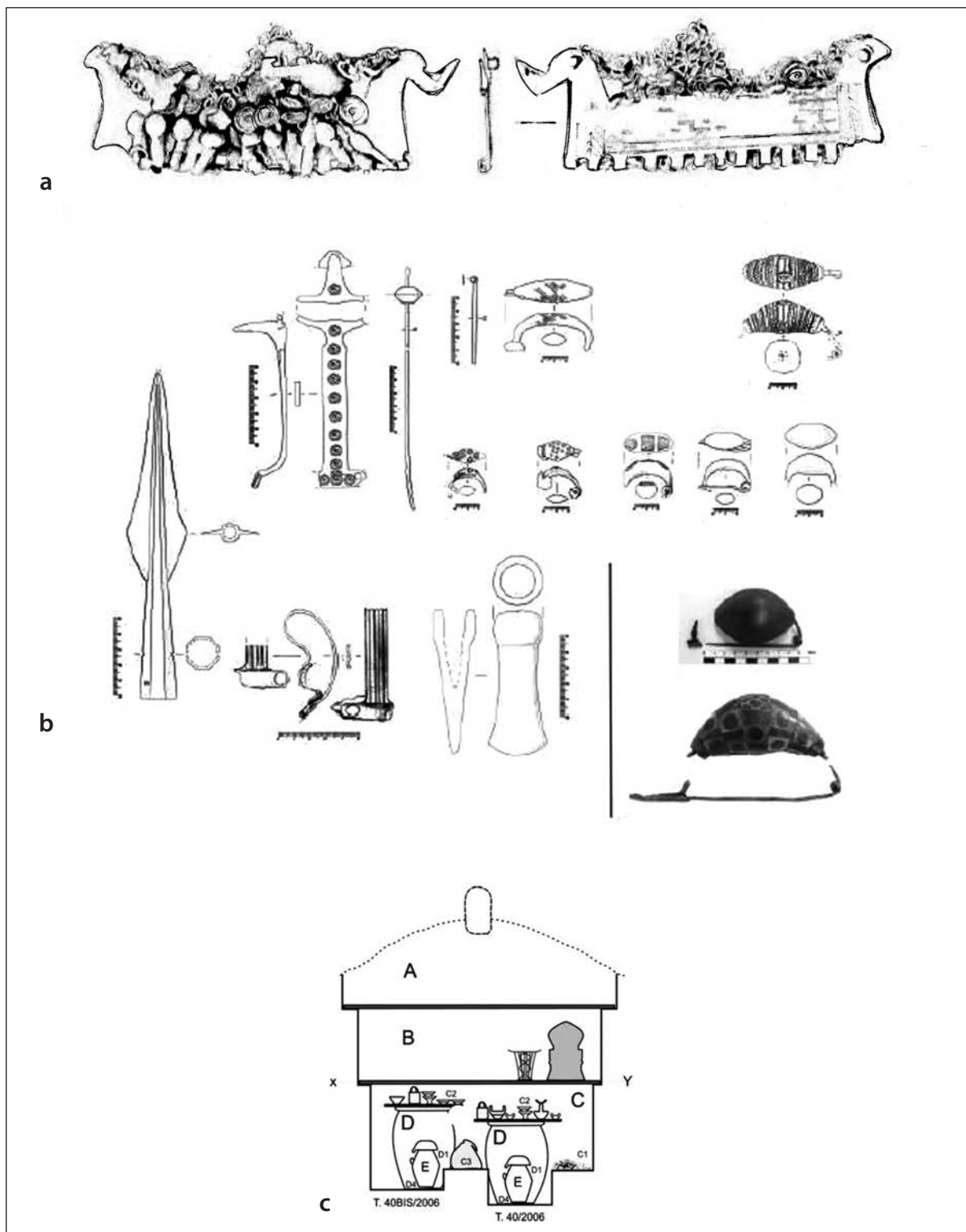
FIGURE 24 Monteprandone: grave with a pectoral, spectacle fibula and fibula with a row of conical embossments on the bow, Museum of Ascoli Piceno (composed after N. LUCENTINI, 2000; N. LUCENTINI, 2000a).



SLIKA 25. Colle del Cardeto – Ancona; grob (prema: G. von MERHART, 1942; G. KOSSACK, 1954).
 FIGURE 25 Colle del Cardeto – Ancona; grave (after G. von MERHART, 1942; G. KOSSACK, 1954).



SLIKA 26. a-d) Canavaccio di Urbino: picenski pektoral
 (prema: N. LUCENTINI, 2000a).
 FIGURE 26 a-d) Canavaccio di Urbino: Picenian pectoral
 (after N. LUCENTINI, 2000a).



SLIKA 27. a) Verucchio, nekropola Lippi: spaljeni grob 40: dvodijelni picenski pektoral; b) Verucchio, nekropola Lippi: spaljeni grob 40: izbor predmeta nađenih u doliju s urnom i na mjestima oko dolija; c) Verucchio, nekropola Lippi: rekonstrukcija prostornosti i sheme obrednog tijeka u dvojnem spaljenom pokopu 40 i 40 BIS/2006 (prema: P. von ELES, F. FINOTELLI, L. MANZOLI, P. POLI, 2014).

FIGURE 27 a) Verucchio, necropolis Lippi: cremated grave 40: two-part Picene pectoral; b) Verucchio, necropolis Lippi: cremated grave 40: selection of objects found in a dolium with an urn and at places around dolium; c) Verucchio, necropolis Lippi: reconstruction of spatial aspects and scheme of a ritual ceremony in double cremated burial 40 and 40 BIS/2006 (after P. von ELES, F. FINOTELLI, L. MANZOLI, P. POLI, 2014).



SLIKA 28. a-b) Ljubač (inv. br. 14417; grob 4): igle tipa Sirolo (prema: Š. BATOVIĆ, 1981); c) Glasinac, Ilijak, tumulus II, grob 1: igla (prema: A. BENAC, B. ČOVIĆ, 1957); d) Glasinac, Arareva gromila, grob 1: igla (prema: A. BENAC, B. ČOVIĆ, 1957); e) Dragišić, grob 12: umetak na igli (?) (prema: Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000); f) Gorica: igle (prema: B. ČOVIĆ, 1976; B. ČOVIĆ, 1987); g) Glasinac, Arareva gromila, gr. 1, detalj pojasa (prema: A. BENAC, B. ČOVIĆ, 1957); h) Burell, dolina Mati, humak, grob 11: detalj ukrasnog lanca (prema: D. KURTI, 1978); i) Burell, dolina Mati, humak, grob 24 (prema: D. KURTI, 1978); j) Novilara – Servici, grob XXI (prema: K. W. BEINHAUER, 1985).

FIGURE 28 a) a-b) Ljubač (inv. no. 14417; grave 4): Sirolo-type pins (after Š. BATOVIĆ, 1981); c) Glasinac, Ilijak, tumulus II, grave 1: pin (after A. BENAC, B. ČOVIĆ, 1957); d) Glasinac, Arareva gromila, grave 1: pin (after A. BENAC, B. ČOVIĆ, 1957); e) Dragišić, grave 12: pin inlay (?) (after Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000); f) Gorica: pins (after B. ČOVIĆ, 1976; B. ČOVIĆ, 1987); g) Glasinac, Arareva gromila, gr. 1, belt detail (after A. BENAC, B. ČOVIĆ, 1957); h) Burell, Mati valley, mound, grave 11: detail of ornamental chain (after D. KURTI, 1978); i) Burell, Mati valley, mound, grave 24 (after D. KURTI, 1978); j) Novilara – Servici, grave XXI (after K. W. BEINHAUER, 1985).



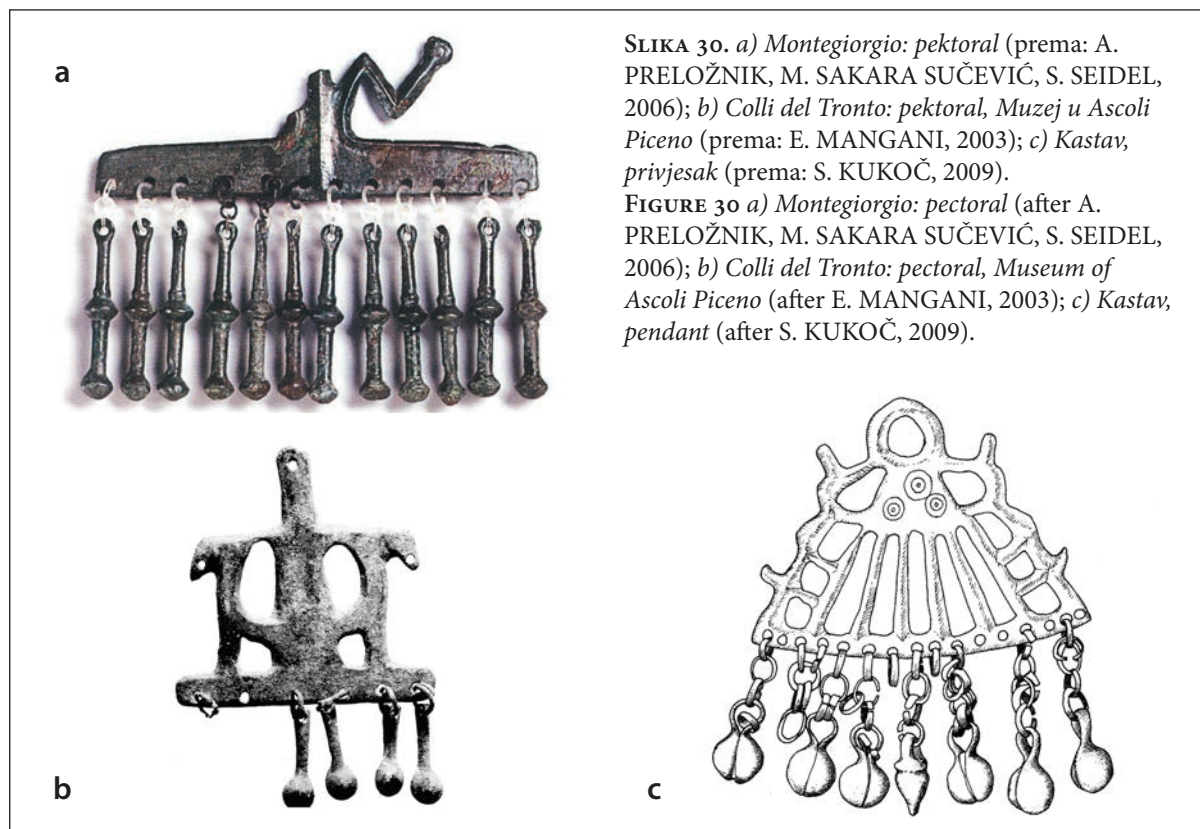
SLIKA 29. Picenski pektoral, Muzej u Ascoli Piceno (prema: D. RANDALL-MacIVER, 1927).

FIGURE 29 Picenian pectoral, Museum of Ascoli Piceno (after D. RANDALL-MacIVER, 1927).



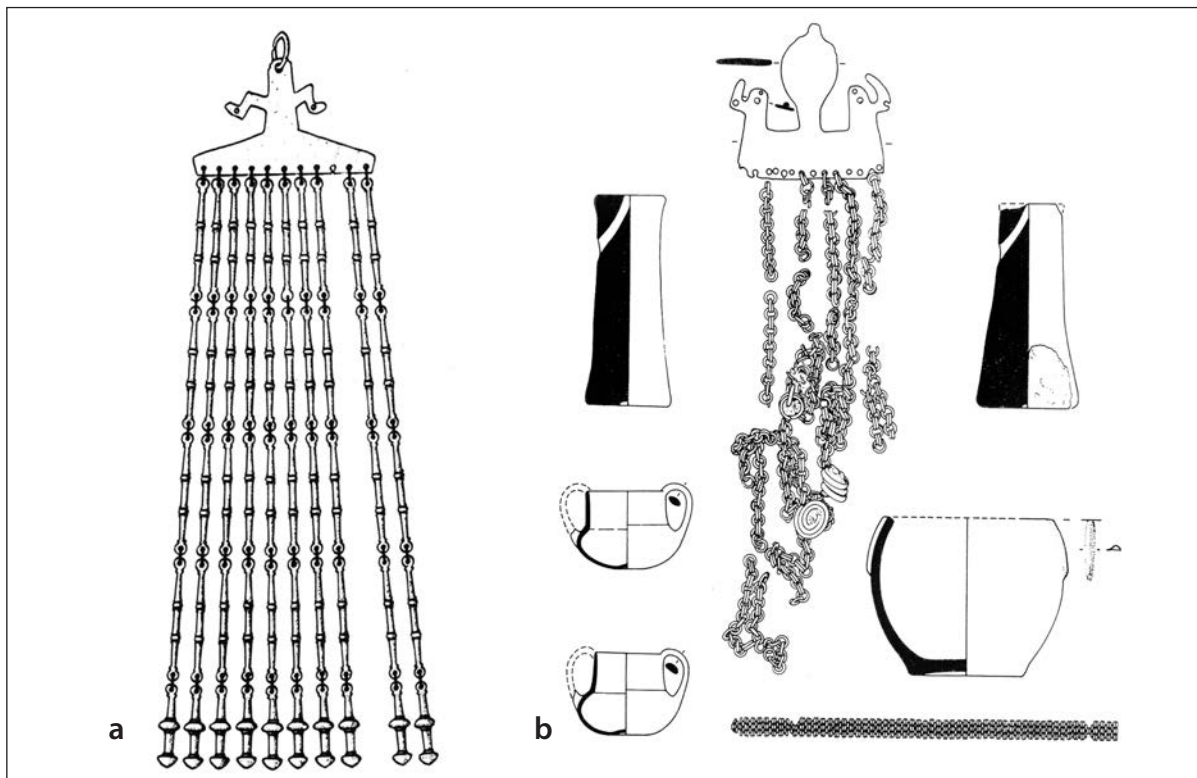
SLIKA 29a. Oštećeni picenski pektoral iz Museo nazionale di Villa Giulia (prema: G. M. SCAPATICCI, 1980).

FIGURE 29a Damaged Picenian pectoral, Museo nazionale di Villa Giulia (after G. M. SCAPATICCI, 1980).



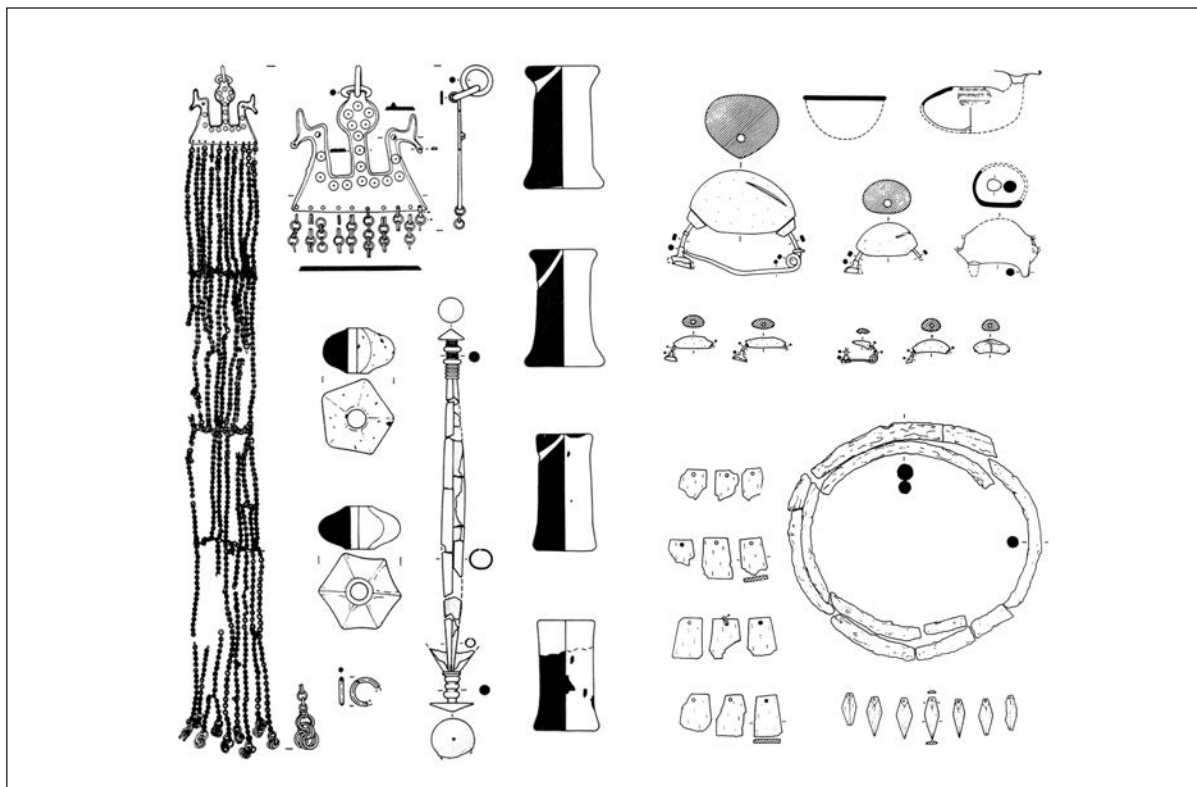
SLIKA 30. a) Montegiorgio: pektoral (prema: A. PRELOŽNIK, M. SAKARA SUČEVIĆ, S. SEIDEL, 2006); b) Colli del Tronto: pektoral, Muzej u Ascoli Piceno (prema: E. MANGANI, 2003); c) Kastav, privjesak (prema: S. KUKOČ, 2009).

FIGURE 30 a) Montegiorgio: pectoral (after A. PRELOŽNIK, M. SAKARA SUČEVIĆ, S. SEIDEL, 2006); b) Colli del Tronto: pectoral, Museum of Ascoli Piceno (after E. MANGANI, 2003); c) Kastav, pendant (after S. KUKOČ, 2009).



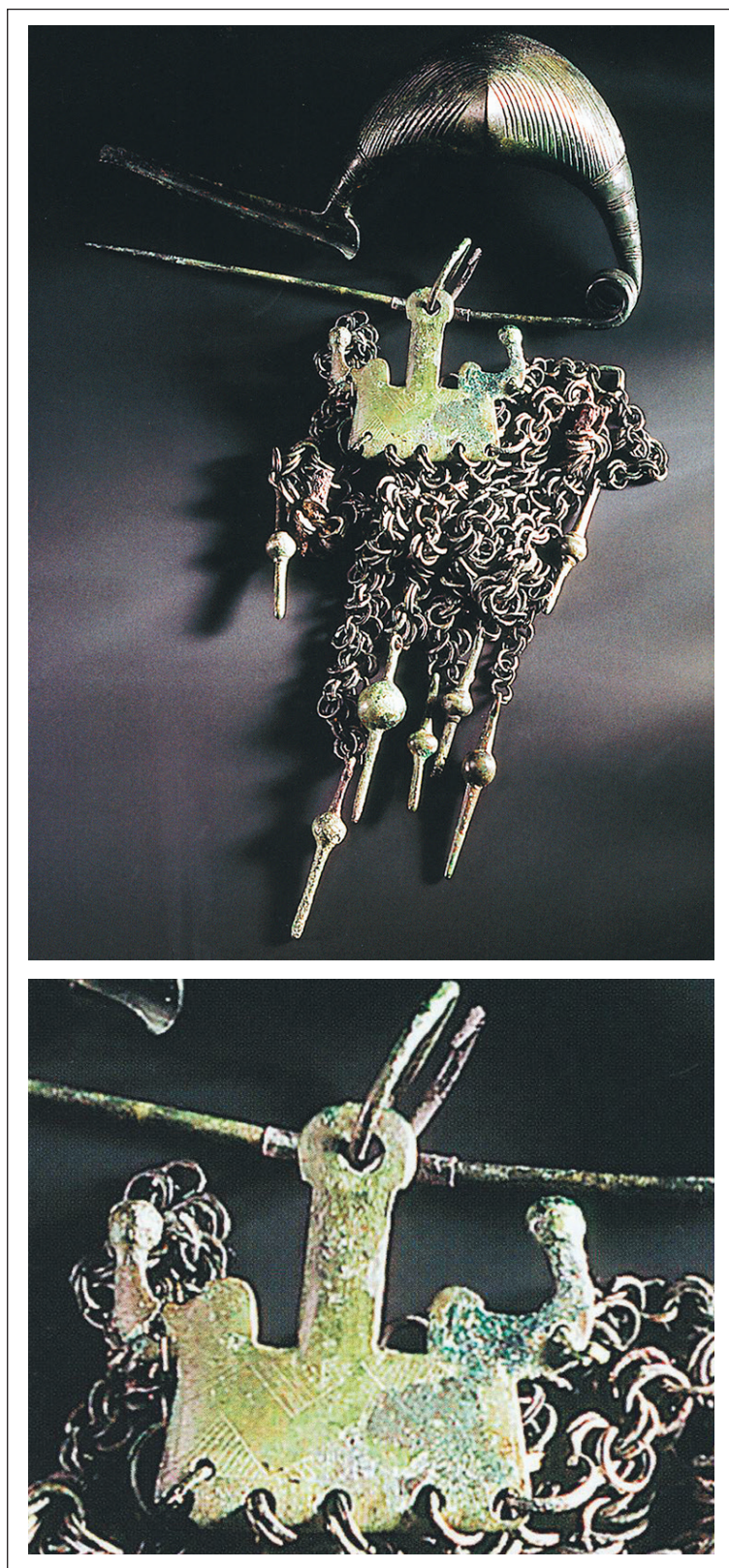
SLIKA 31. a) Cupra Marittima, S. Andrea, grob 14C, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Ancona: pektoral (prema: D. G. LOLLINI, 1976); b) Novilara - Servi, grob 32 (prema: K. W. BEINHAUER, 1985).

FIGURE 31 a) Cupra Marittima, S. Andrea, grave 14C, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Ancona: pectoral (after D. G. LOLLINI, 1976); b) Novilara - Servi, grave 32 (after K. W. BEINHAUER, 1985).

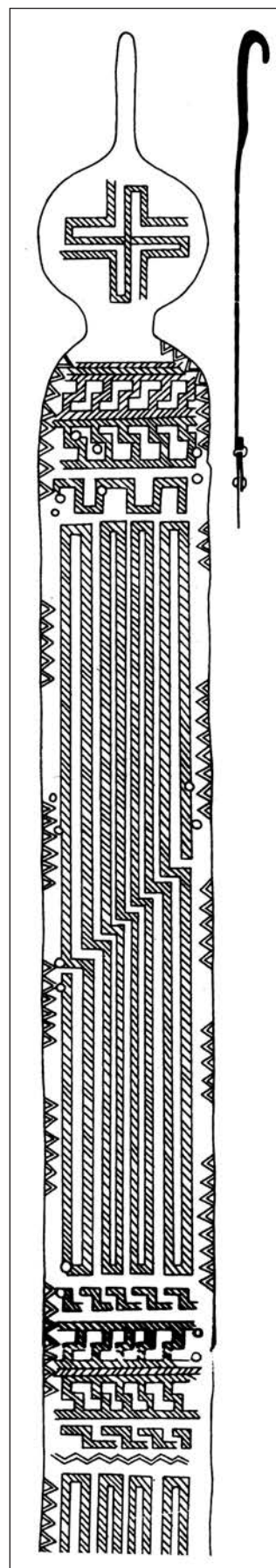


SLIKA 32. Novilara - Molaroni, grob 135 (prema: K. W. BEINHAUER, 1985).

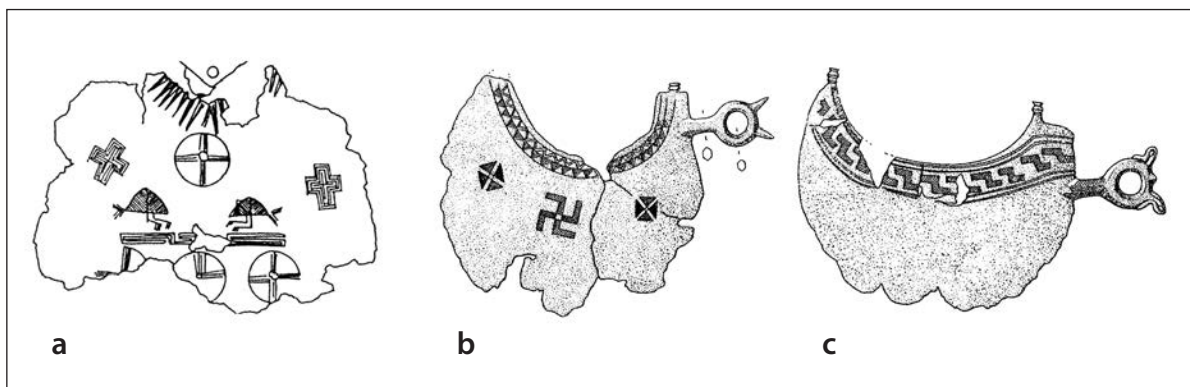
FIGURE 32 Novilara - Molaroni, grave 135 (after K. W. BEINHAUER, 1985).



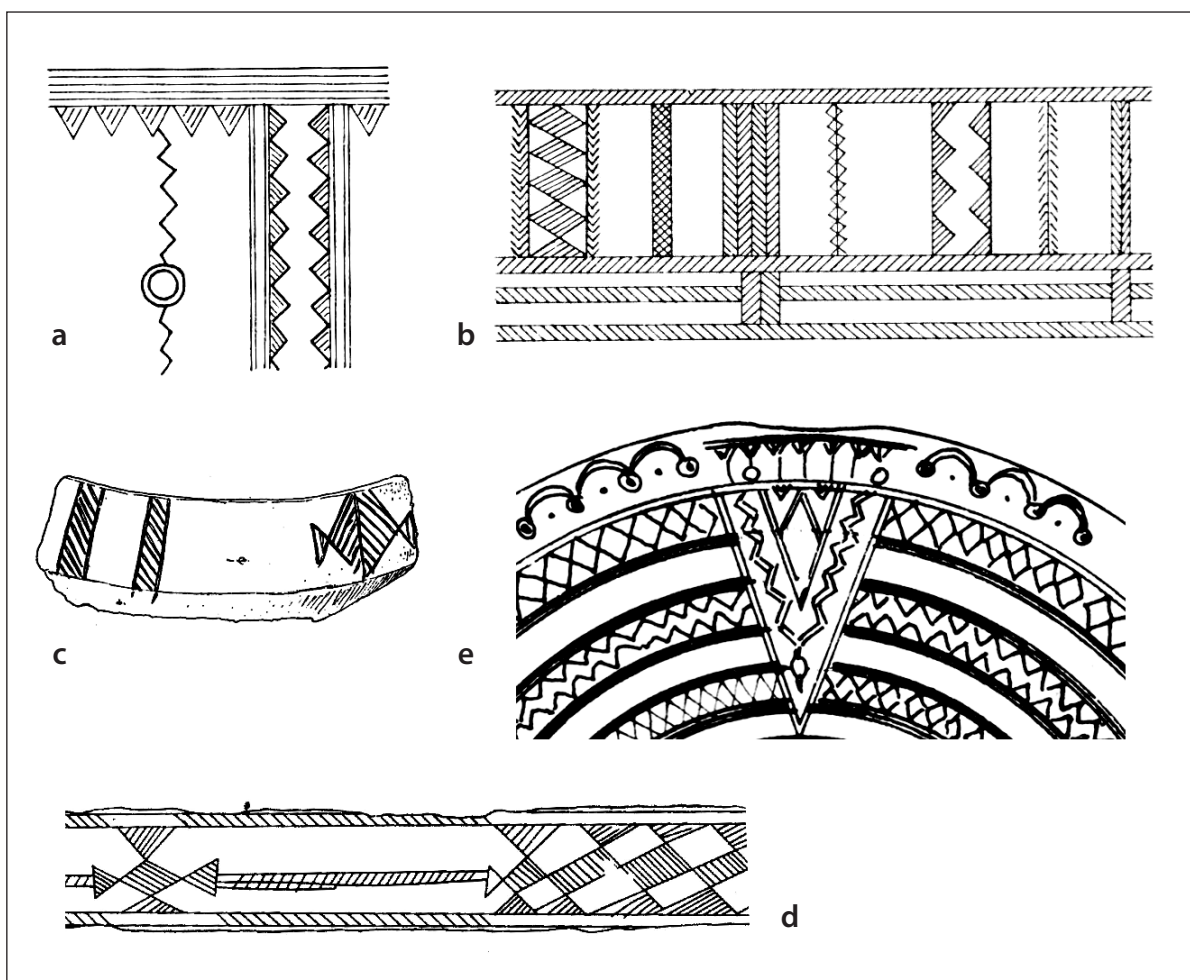
SLIKA 33. Montegiorgio: brodolika fibula s privjeskom u obliku solarne lađe (prema: A. PRELOŽNIK, M. SAKARA SUČEVIĆ, S. SEIDEL, 2006).
 FIGURE 33 Montegiorgio: boat-shaped fibula with a pendant in shape of solar boat (after A. PRELOŽNIK, M. SAKARA SUČEVIĆ, S. SEIDEL, 2006).



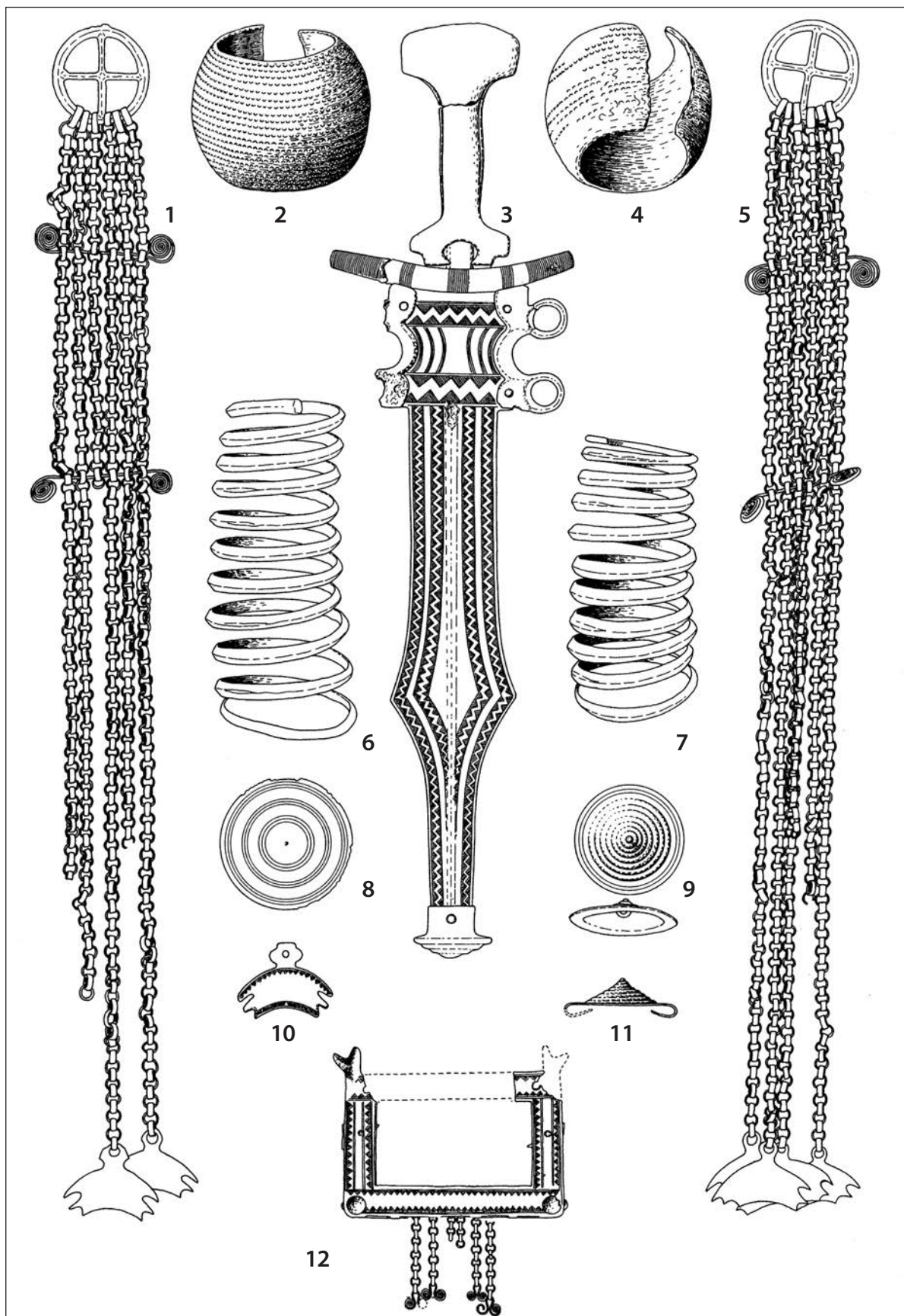
SLIKA 34. Pontecagnano: brončani pojas (prema B. D'AGOSTINO, P. GASTALDI, 1988).
 FIGURE 34 Pontecagnano: bronze belt (after B. D'AGOSTINO, P. GASTALDI, 1988).



SLIKA 35. Brončani brijači: a) „Necropoli del Salino“, Picenum: prikaz mita o Sunčevom putovanju (prema: N. LUCENTINI, 2007); b) Fermo, grob 19 S/1956; c) Fermo-Misericordia (prema: L. DRAGO TROCCOLI, 2003).
 FIGURE 35 Bronze razors: a) “Necropoli del Salino”, Picenum: depiction of myth about the Sun’s journey (after N. LUCENTINI, 2007); b) Fermo, grave 19 S/1956; c) Fermo-Misericordia (after L. DRAGO TROCCOLI, 2003).

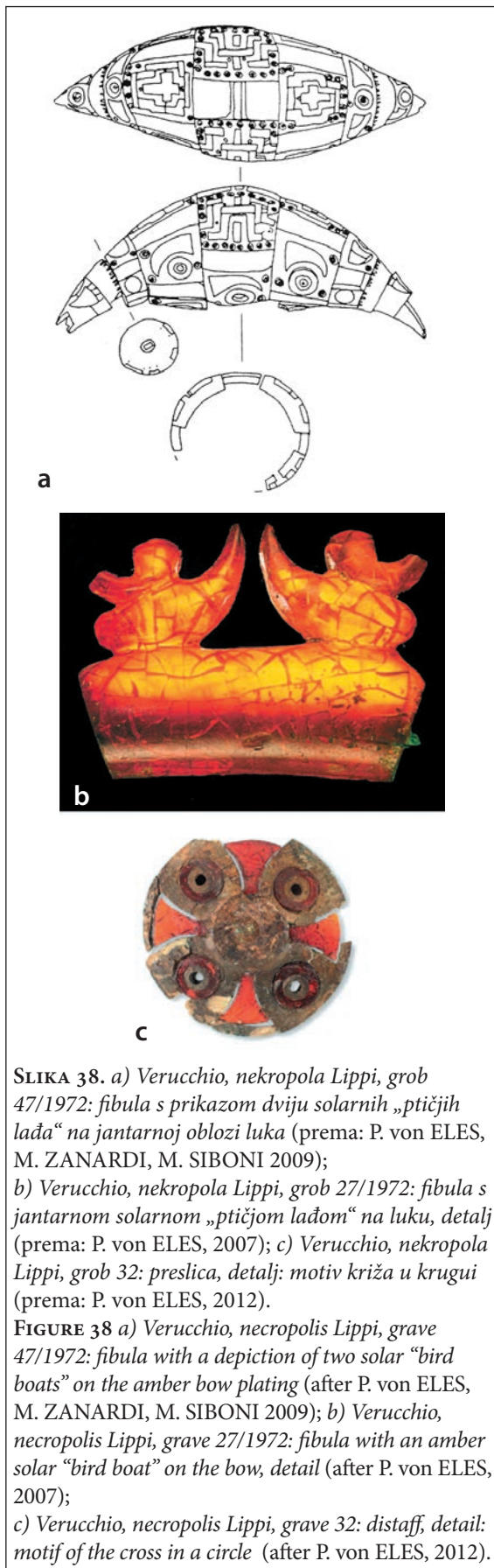


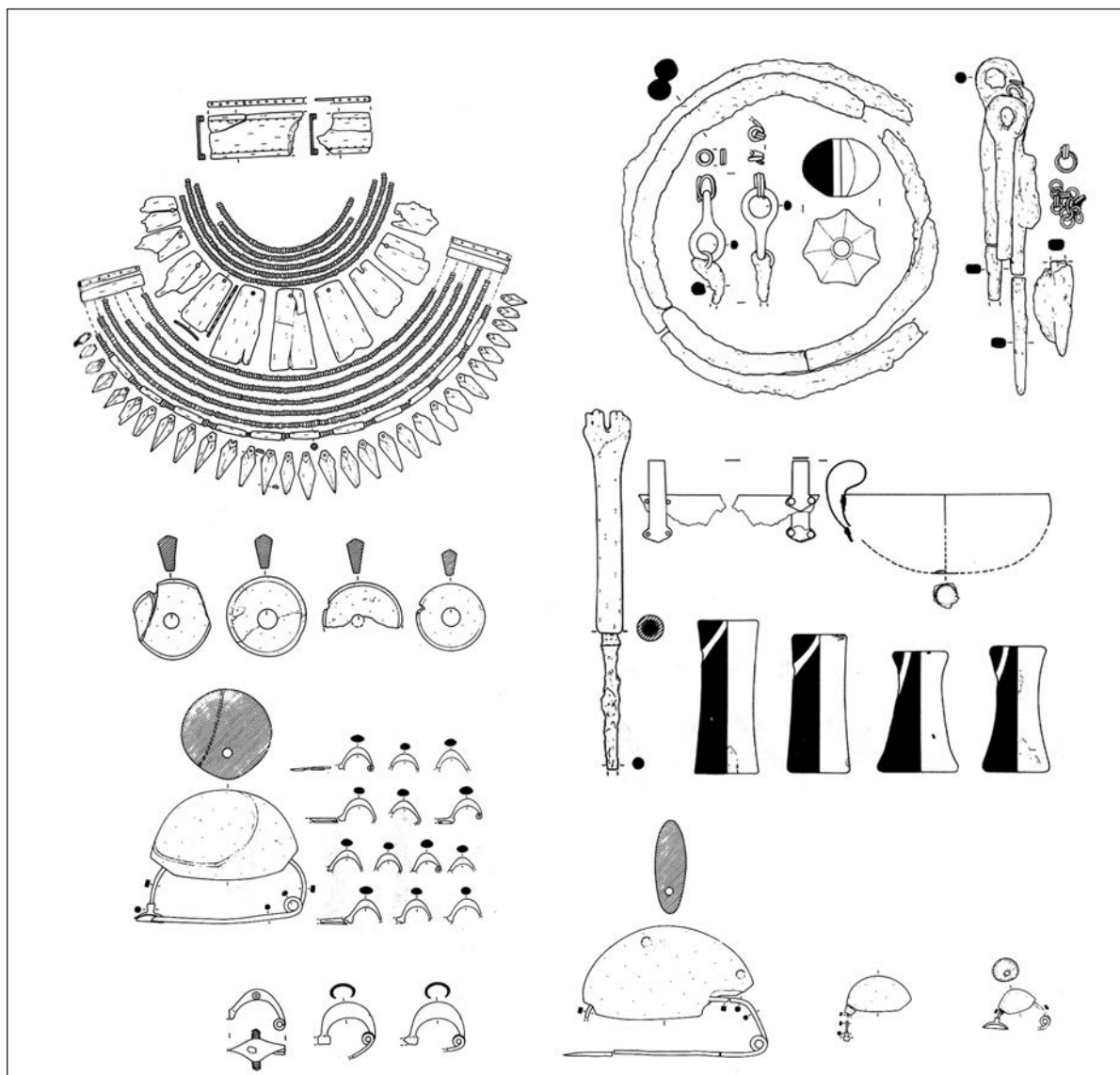
SLIKA 36. a-c) Pod kod Bugojna: motivi na keramici (prema: B. ČOVIĆ, 1984); d) Glasinac: motivi na brončanom nakitu (prema: B. ČOVIĆ, 1976); e) Ostava Krehin Gradac, Čitluk: detalj štita (?), (prema: B. ČOVIĆ, 1987).
 FIGURE 36 a-c) Pod near Bugojno: motifs on pottery (after B. ČOVIĆ, 1984); d) Glasinac: motifs on bronze jewelry (after B. ČOVIĆ, 1976); e) Ostava Krehin Gradac, Čitluk: shield detail (?), (after B. ČOVIĆ, 1987).



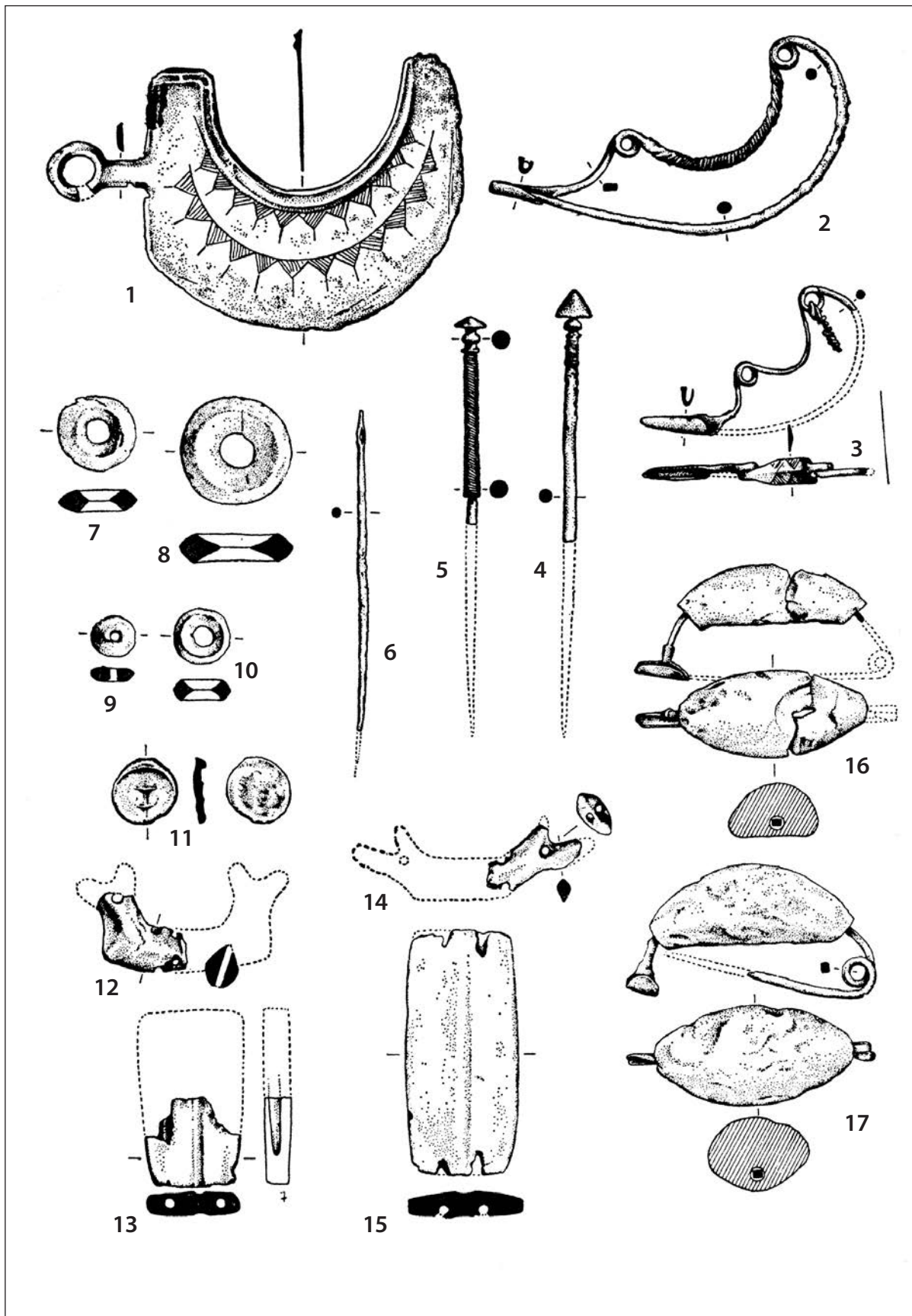
SLIKA 37. Veliki Mošunj, Travnik, ostava, izbor (prema: B. ČOVIĆ, 1976; A. HARDING, 1995).

FIGURE 37 Veliki Mošunj, Travnik, hoard, selection (after B. ČOVIĆ, 1976; A. HARDING, 1995).





SLIKA 39b. Novilara – Servici, grob 46 (prema: K. W. BEINHAUER, 1985).
FIGURE 39b Novilara – Servici, grave 46 (after K. W. BEINHAUER, 1985).



SLIKA 40. *Nin, grob 6* (prema: Š. BATOVIĆ, 1976).

FIGURE 40 *Nin, grave 6* (after Š. BATOVIĆ, 1976).



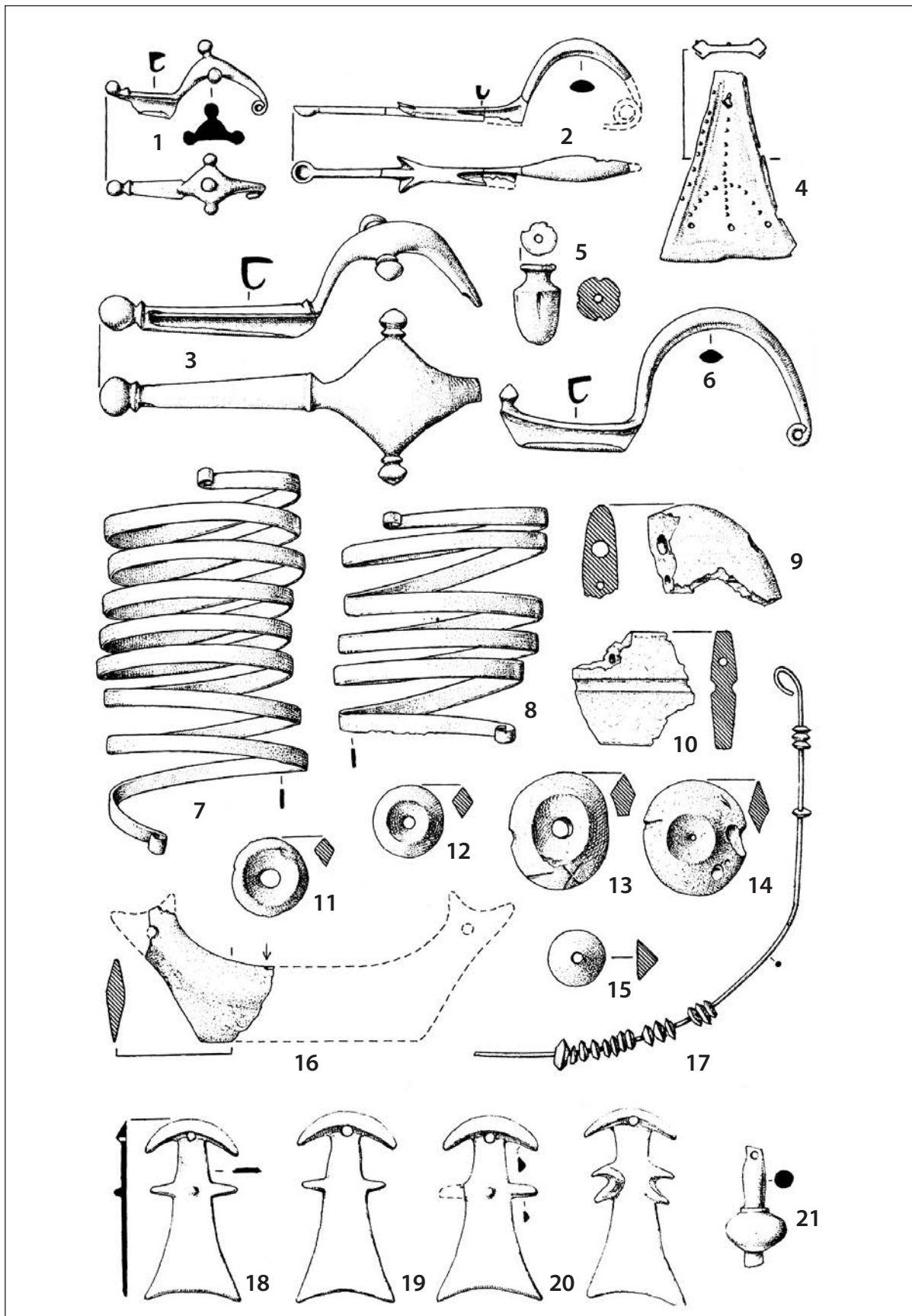
SLIKA 41a. *Nin, grob 27* (foto: M. Parica, 2011).

FIGURE 41a *Nin, grave 27* (photo by M. Parica, 2011).



SLIKA 41b. *Nin, grob 27: mač, detalj* (foto: M. Parica, 2011).

FIGURE 41b *Nin, grave 27: sword, detail* (photo by M. Parica, 2011).



SLIKA 42. Zaton, grob 3 (prema: F. STARÈ, 1970).

FIGURE 42 Zaton, grave 3 (after F. STARÈ, 1970).



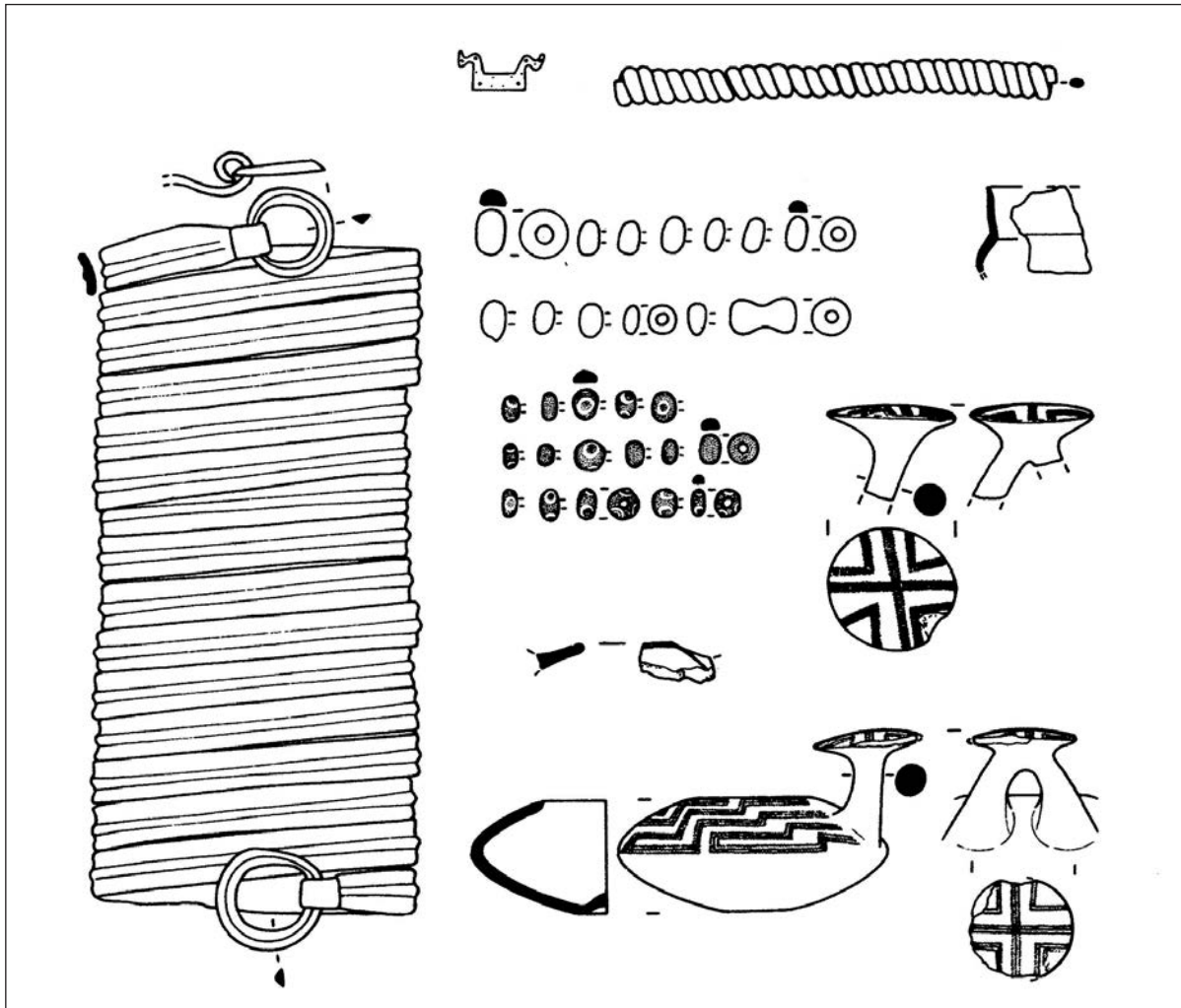
SLIKA 43. Nin, grob 48 (foto: M. Parica, 2011).

FIGURE 43 Nin, grave 48 (photo by M. Parica, 2011).



SLIKA 44. Brončane „ptičje lađe“, Arheološki muzej Zadar (foto: M. Parica, 2011).

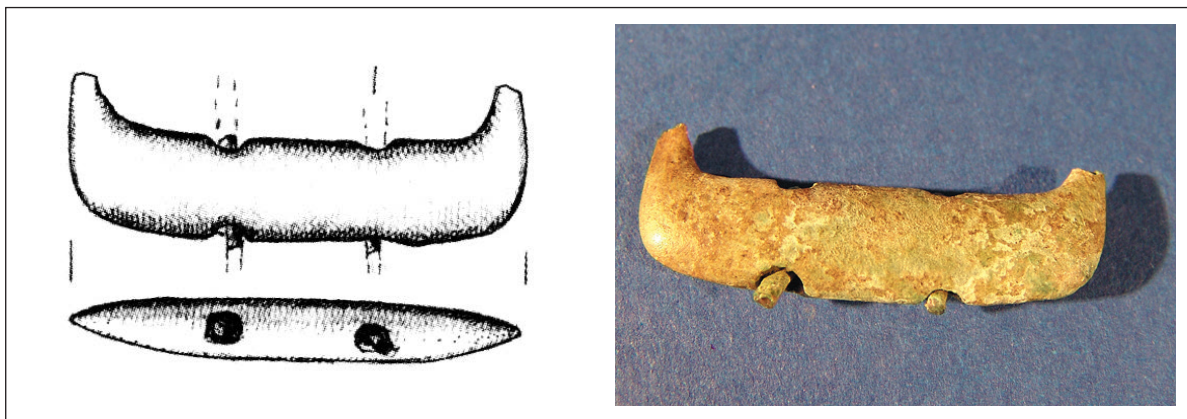
FIGURE 44 Bronze “bird boats“, Archaeological Museum Zadar (photo by M. Parica, 2011).



SLIKA 44a. *Novilara – Servici, grob XVII* (prema: K. W. BEINHAUER, 1985).
 FIGURE 44a *Novilara – Servici, grave XVII* (after K. W. BEINHAUER, 1985).

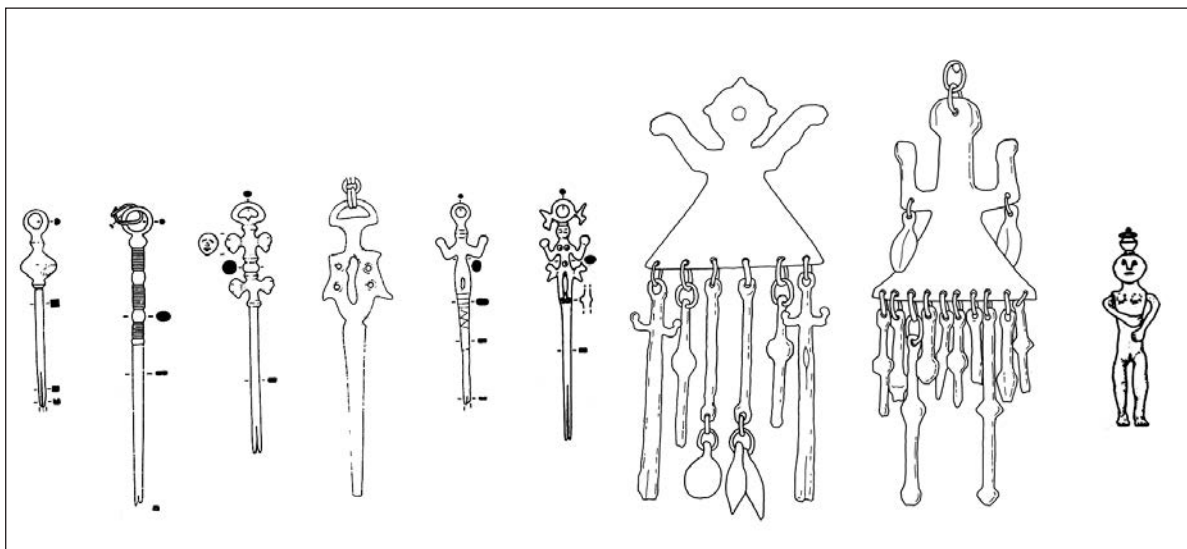


SLIKA 45. *Dvije brončane „ptičje lađe“*, Zavičajni muzej u Benkovcu (foto: M. Parica, 2011).
 FIGURE 45 *Two bronze “bird boats”*, Regional Museum in Benkovac (photo by M. Parica, 2011).



SLIKA 46. Nadin, grob 1, brončana „ptičja lada“, Arheološki muzej Zadar (foto: I. Čondić, 2007).

FIGURE 46 Nadin, grave 1, bronze “bird boat”, Archaeological Museum Zadar (photo by I. Čondić, 2007).



SLIKA 47. Picenski privjesci: od štapićastih, nettaunghija do antropomorfnih (prema S. KUKOČ, 2010).

FIGURE 47 Picensian pendants: from rod-shaped, nettaunghia to anthropomorphous examples (after S. KUKOČ, 2010).



SLIKA 48. Brončani picenski privjesak u liku žene, Arheološki muzej Zadar (foto: M. Parica, 2011).

FIGURE 48 Bronze Picenian pendant in shape of a woman, Archaeological Museum Zadar (photo by M. Parica, 2011).

