

Dama iz Čikata

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Izvleček

Članek predstavlja reinterpretacijo majhne antropomorfne figurice iz Čikata na otoku Lošinj. Gre za edini poznani primerki keramične figurice z območja železnodobnih kultur vzhodne obale Jadrana. *Dama iz Čikata* je frontalna, abstraktna in nepremična figura. Glede na držo in izraz, atribute, značilno pričesko in označene estetske elemente, ki bi jih lahko pripisali kombinaciji nakita, ter zaradi sakralne golote jo je mogoče obravnavati kot skulpturo, opremljeno v tedanjem slogu antropomorfne umetnosti. Zato figurici lahko najdemo primerjave med v članku omenjenimi izstopajočimi primerki keramičnih skulptur, katerih oblikovanost, likovnost ter simbolični zapis kažejo na sorodnost z umetnostjo Etrurije, ki je bila del orientalizirajoče *koiné*, razširjene v 7. st. pr. n. št. Določena kot pomemben ritualni *ex voto* predmet, je figurica pojmovana v smislu žalujoče svečenice, ki objokuje "bdi" in tako ustvarja večnost pogrebnega rituala družbeno pomembne pokojnice. Skladno z analogijami bi bila čikatska *Dama* lahko priložena v lokalni, vendar bogati in pomembni ženski grobnici.

Ključne besede: Hrvaška, otok Lošinj, Čikat, starejša železna doba, mala antropomorfna plastika, orientalizirajoči slog, etruščanska skulptura, ikonografija, socialni status, ritual

Abstract

The article presents a reinterpretation of the small anthropomorphic statuette from Čikat on the island of Lošinj. This unique find is the only ceramic figurine discovered on the territory of the Iron Age cultures along the eastern coast of the Adriatic. The *Lady* from Čikat is a frontal, abstract, and motionless figurine. Due to her pose and stance, her attributes, the characteristic hairstyle, and possible aesthetic elements, which might be interpreted as jewellery, as well as her decent or sacral nudity, it should be treated as a figurine equipped with part of the specific attire set used at that period in the stylistic concepts of anthropomorphic art. Consequently, it is compared with prominent examples of ceramic figurines whose forms, and schematic and symbolic classifications, demonstrate a close connection to the art of the Etrurian part of the Orientalizing *koiné* and its dissemination during the 7th century BC. Its characterization, as a part of a ritual *ex voto* object, is comprehended in the sense of a mourning priestess whose lamenting lasted for all the hours, and in this manner created the eternity of the burial ritual for an important deceased individual. According to the analogies, the *Lady* from Čikat could have been deposited in a local, but rich and important female tomb.

Keywords: Croatia, island of Lošinj, Čikat, Early Iron Age, small anthropomorphic figurine, Orientalizing style, Etruscan sculpture, iconography, social status, ritual



Sl. 1: *Dama iz Čikata*. Mala antropomorfna plastika iz Čikata na otoku Lošinju (po Majnarić-Pandžić 1998).

Fig. 1: *Lady from Čikat*. Small anthropomorphic figurine from Čikat from the island of Lošinj (according to Majnarić-Pandžić 1998).

UVOD

V hrvatski znanstveni literaturi je bila že zdavnaj predstavljena zanimiva, enkratna antropomorfna keramična figurica, izvirajoča iz Čikata pri Malem Lošinju na otoku Lošinju (sl. 1, 2, 3)¹ – tako imenovana *Dama iz Čikata*. Žal arheološki kontekst njenega odkritja ni znan, domneva pa se, da je bila odkrita kot posamična najdba leta 1975, najverjetneje ob gradnji turističnega kompleksa Villa Diana ob obali enega najlepših zalivov na otoku Lošinju. Figurica je bila v času prejšnjih objav še v lasti družine Stojana Dimitrijevića, nekdanjega profesorja prazgodovinske arheologije na zagrebški Filozofski fakulteti. Pozneje, leta 2002, je bila predana v Lošinjski muzej, kjer jo hranijo še danes.² V članku bo figurica ponovno formalno, ikonografsko-ikonološko in kulturno-zgodovinsko ovrednotena in določen bo njen primarni, izvirni, in sekundarni, stvarni kontekst.

Figurica je visoka le 10,4 cm, največja širina v predelu ramen je 6,2 cm, premer glave pa 4,5 cm. Obravnavana zelo enostavno, vendar z izpostavljenostjo drže, z naznačenimi gestami in znaki deluje resno in svečano, lahko bi rekli celo intimno, oblikujoč

tog decenten ženski lik. Modelirana je iz gline s številnimi primesmi, predvsem z zdrobljenim apnencem in/ali kalcitom, kar posledično ustvarja dokaj grobo fakturo keramike. Tako so nekateri deli upodobitve izdelani nevesče in čokato (sl. 2). Tekstura je že njenemu izdelovalcu oteževala ali vsaj močno omejevala možnost natančnejše in globlje plastično profilirane izdelave akta in njegovih porpcev kot tudi posameznih podrobnosti. Zaradi lastnosti materiala ima figurica izrazito hrapavo, danes na številnih mestih bolj ali manj poškodovano površino. Navedene primesi pravzaprav pospešujejo vizualno dinamiko, ki se v različnih pogledih kaže z odsevanjem in spremembami barvnih tonov, s čimer omogoča živost celotne površine. Vendar površina ni povsod enaka, saj so bili nekateri deli še dodatno obdelani – ločeno so obdelana ušesa in lasje, spleteni v kito, drugi deli pa so obdelani z drugimi tehnikami in drugačnimi odnosi do površine – na primer z vrezovanjem in poliranjem oziroma s premazovanjem.

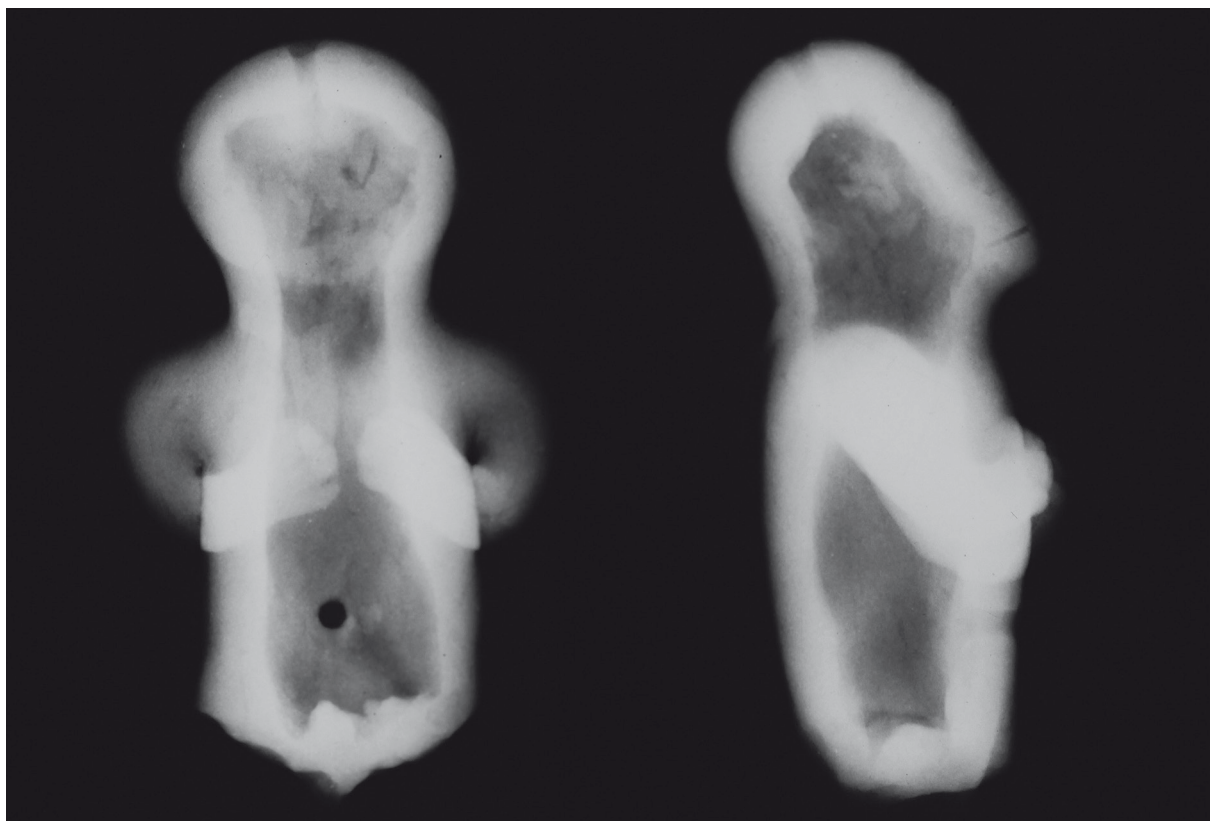
Glede na dejstvo, da glina dopušča popolno kontrolo v procesu oblikovanja in dodajanja mase, je za razliko od drugih klasičnih materialov idealna za svobodnejše oblikovanje izdelka, predvsem detajlov; omogoča eksperimentiranje, kar odraža tudi čikatska figurica. Na osnovi navedenih dejstev lahko domnevamo, da je bila figurica izdelana postopoma, opazujemo lahko kar nekaj zaporednih

¹ Kukoč 1984–1985; Majnarić-Pandžić 1998, 317–318, sl. 140.

² Čus-Rukonić 2003.



Sl. 2: Dama iz Čikata (Lošinjski muzej, inv. št. LM 750. Foto: Arhiv Lošinjskog muzeja).
Fig. 2: Lady from Čikat (Lošinjski muzej, Inv. no. LM 750. Photo: Arhiv Lošinjskog muzeja).



Sl. 3: Dama iz Čikata, rentgenski posnetek (Lošinjski muzej, inv. št. LM 750. Foto: Arhiv Lošinjskog muzeja).
Fig. 3: Lady from Čikat. X-ray (Lošinjski muzej, Inv. no. LM 750. Photo: Arhiv Lošinjskog muzeja).

postopkov. Z modeliranjem figure iz gline so bili prikazani osnovni elementi telesa in funkcionalni detajli. Figura je bila izdelana iz najmanj treh kasneje spojenih delov (glava, trup in noge), ki imajo v zgornjem delu (to je na vrhu glave) in v predelu trupa (v popku), okrogle odprtine (sl. 3). Telo je znotraj votlo, kar je bila tehnična rešitev pri izdelavi. S tem so preprečili pokanje voluminozne keramike med sušenjem in žganjem. Ker so bile noge na telo prilepljene, so se na mestu spojitve tudi odlomile. Naknadno pa so bili dokončani dekorativni elementi, verjetno tudi premaz celotne površine in morebitno dodajanje okrasja iz drugih materialov.

V morfološkem smislu je telo figurice prikazano cilindrično, robustno in zaobljeno, vendar hkrati kot plitev relief, tako da poleg same površine poudarja njeno plastičnost tudi kontrast svetlobe in senc na posameznih blagih prehodih med ploskvami (sl. 1, 2). Tako je ustvarjena močna iluzija telesnosti in voluminoznosti, predvsem v delu oprsa brez oblikovanih prsi, ki so skoraj negirane. Plastika je deloma poškodovana, manjkajo spodnje okončine in levo uho. Iz telesne mase izstopajo le zaobljena ramena, poudarjene roke in na kratkem, a širokem vratu postavljena predimenzionirana glava. Izpostavljene so roke, položene simetrično čez prsi. Brez izdelanih anatomskih detajlov imajo posebej obdelano le dlan z neskladno in nenatančno prikazanimi prsti. V plitvem reliefu je zelo ploščato in shematsko izdelan sprednji del glave, ki je izvlečen in povišan v predelu spodnje čeljusti. Ta je zato tudi najbolj poškodovana. Nos je le blago nakazan v reliefu, medtem ko so ustnice zgolj prikazane z vrezom. Na čelnem delu glave je plitva vdolbina, najverjetneje povezana z realistično oblikovano pričesko. To predstavlja kita, ki je spuščena na ramena in v obliki črke Y pada do sredine hrbta, kjer je odlomljena (sl. 1, 2). Prav tako je v plitvem reliefu nakazana tudi središčna linija zadnjice. S končno obdelavo, z vrezovanjem, so bile poleg ust poudarjene tudi realistično in/ali z okraši oblikovana kita, vulva in zapestnice na obeh rokah (sl. 1, 2). To so torej elementi, nekateri zelo dobro vidni tudi pri stranskem pogledu na figuro, ki bodo odločilnega pomena pri poskusu natančnejšega definiranja in interpretiranja te edine male antropomorfne plastike s področja Kvarnerja oz. celotnega vzhodnojadranskega obalnega pasu.

Figurica namreč ne kaže, kot je to razvidno iz njenega opisa, živahnega odnosa volumna s prostorom. Vzrok je njena linearnost in kompaktnost potez ter zaprtost in stisnjenost mase – zbite in na posameznih delih, predvsem v partijah glave in telesa, ploskovito stanjšane. Zamejuje jo sicer več

ploskev, ki so dokaj zategnjene, vendar zaobljene in mehke, ustvarjene z blagimi prehodi iz ene v drugo. S tem je pogojena tudi sama kompozicija umetniškega dela, ki je simetrična in shematizirana, vendar uravnotežena, v perspektivi statična in toga, s čimer odkriva svoj aktivni posvetilni koncept antropomorfne, idealiziranega motiva ženske – *Dame* iz Čikata.

Formalna analiza vseh pomembnih značilnosti figurice iz Čikata prepričljivo kaže, da njene idejne in stvarne umetniške kreacije ne moremo iskati v avtohtoni ustvarjalnosti tedanjega creško-lošinjskega arhipelaga niti je ne moremo povezati z ustvarjanjem liburnskega kulturnega kroga, kot se je to domnevalo v preteklosti.³ Poleg dejstva, da gre še vedno za edini znani primer s prostora železnodobnih kultur vzhodne obale Jadrana, kažejo oblikovanost, likovnost ter kodeks shematiziranega simboličnega zapisa tega majhnega umetniškega dela podobnosti z umetnostjo etruščanskega dela *koiniziranega* orientalizirajočega sloga in njegove širitve v 7. stoletju pr. n. št.⁴

IKONOGRAFIJA

Argument v prid takega razumevanja nudi tudi morfološki opis oziroma *podpis*, ki kaže golo telo brez kakršnegakoli oblačila. Vseeno pa lahko opazimo, da *Dama* iz Čikata ni prikazana ne popolnoma gola niti brez "kakšnih posebnosti", kot jo je nekoč definirala S. Kukoč ter kasneje povzela N. Majnarić-Pandžić.⁵ To se zdi realno, če poleg drže tudi attribute, zelo značilno pričesko in poudarjene estetske elemente, ki bi jih lahko pripisali nakitu, ter izbrano oziroma sakralno "goloto" razumemo kot del svojevrstne noše takratnega slogovnega koncepta antropomorfne umetnosti.⁶

Kodificirani prikaz atributov, čeprav močno okrnjen, lahko razberemo najprej iz jasno prikazanega nakita. Tako imajo polkrožne črte/brazde v zapestjih,

³ Kukoč 1984–1985, 12; Majnarić-Pandžić 1998, 317; Ćus-Rukonić 2003.

⁴ Navajam samo osnovne naslove, ki prinašajo splošni pregled na temo železnodobnega *orientalizirajočega* obdobja srednje Italije in vsebujejo vso važnejšo strokovno literaturo – npr. Cristofani 1978, 64–80; Brendel 1995, 49–109; Torelli 1997a, 69–103; Colonna 2000; Delpino, Flourentzos 2000; Naso 2001; Torelli 2001; Spivey 2006, 40–52. Zanimive razprave so tudi v najnovejših delih Annette Rathje (2010) in Alberta Nijboerja (2010).

⁵ Kukoč 1984–1985, 5–6; Majnarić-Pandžić 1998, 317.

⁶ Bonfante 1989; ead. 1993; ead. 2000.

izdelane z globokima in debelima vrezoma, znatno večji simbolni pomen od samo izvedbene rešitve (sl. 1, 2). Morali bi jih razumeti kot zapestnice predvsem zato, ker je figura prikazana brez obleke, upoštevati pa je treba tudi dejstvo, da pri vseh znanih primerih drobne etruščanske orienalizirajoče plastike dlani niso ločene od ostalega dela rok z vrezanimi linijami, ki so vedno uporabljene za prikaz okrasa – zaključka obleke ali pa prav zapestnic.

Isto velja tudi za morebitne okraske na kiti, pri čemer slednja ni zavita v prekrivalo ali ruto.⁷ Če ušesne mečice ne razumemo zgolj kot odlomljene ali poškodovane (sl. 1, 2), ampak v njej jasno prepoznamo asociacijo na nekdanjo namerno prebodene in/ali puščene odprtine v ušesnih mečicah, v katere so navadno naknadno vstavljali uhane iz drugih, kovinskih, materialov – potem se tudi v našem primeru jasno kaže tako imenovani prikriti simbolizem na prvi pogled brezizraznega oziroma običajnega detajla.

Formalno bi zato, če primerjamo običajen okras na takih malih plastikah, predvsem pa zaradi dodanih uhanov, *Dama iz Čikata* imela primerjavo v bronasti figurici s picenske nekropole Novilara-Servici. Figurica je bila odkrita v relativno bogatem ženskem grobu 83, ki je bil na podlagi celotnega repertoarja datiran v 7. stoletje pr. n. št.⁸ Novilarska figurica ženske ima na kaloti izrastek, telo ploščato modelirano in likovno poudarjeno, vendar pa eno roko drži v predelu trebuha z jasno označenim pasom. Značilnosti obraza in pričeske so prav tako realistično prikazane, luknje v ušesih pa so ostale ohranjene v celoti,⁹ zato se, gledano primerjalno, ta figurica tudi nekoliko oddaljuje od čikatskega primerka. Novilarska figurica kaže značilno držo in gesto picenskega "orientalizirajočega" sloga¹⁰ in je služila kot okrasni obesek na pektoralu tipa Numana.¹¹ Kljub temu pa je primerjavo s to malo

bronasto plastiko poudarjala že S. Kukoč, čeprav zgolj pri interpretaciji kite kot kronološki opori, ki pa se ni pokazala kot povsem zanesljiva.¹²

Zelo sorodna keramična figurica je poznana tudi iz Nyergesújfala. Hrani se, brez natančnejših podatkov o kraju odkritja, v Narodnem muzeju v Budimpešti. Tudi ta je močno poškodovana, vendar so še vedno jasno vidne luknje v ušesnih mečicah in pričeska, pri kateri so lasje na hrbtu spuščeni v obliki kite. Figurica je bila interpretirana kot posledica kulturnih stikov in vplivov s prostora italjskih Picenov.¹³

Morfološke in likovne rešitve oblikovanja glave čikatske *Dame* kažejo na nekoliko bližje primerjave s sočasnimi primerki keramičnih kanop iz Etrurije. Slednje imajo neredko poudarjeno linijo na čelu nad obrazom, številne odprtine za vstavljanje drugih okrasov ali materialov in pri ženskih figurah praviloma prebodena ušesa z uhani iz preproste bronaste žice, včasih pa celo iz žice iz plemenitih kovin (sl. 4). To obdobje razvoja in vzpona antropomorfne prikazovanja v etruščanski umetnosti, pa čeprav se je takrat obraz pogosto prikazoval sploščen kot maska, je povezano izključno in samo s splošnim konceptom človeškega obraza.¹⁴ V tej smeri je treba posebej poudariti podobnost s kanopo iz Castiglione del Lago, datirano v drugo polovico 7. stoletja pr. n. št.¹⁵ (sl. 4). Ta s svojo morfologijo in slogom oblikovanja glave, pa tudi s svojo značilno držo in gesto – to je s položajem in držo rok, zares močno spominja na našo čikatsko figurico.

V Etruriji se poleg antropomorfiziranih kompleksnih in kompozitnih žar in posod od začetka 7. stoletja pr. n. št. naprej pojavlja v različnih oblikah in funkcijah tudi številna antropomorfna keramična plastika zlasti orienalizirajočega sloga. Izdelovali so jo kot statusni simbol za krašenje notranjosti bogatih knežjih ženskih grobnic.¹⁶ Največje število majhnih keramičnih figuric je znano iz grobnice Regolini-Galassi v Cerveteriju. Odkritih je bilo kar 33 primerkov, izdelanih v *bucchero* tehniki.¹⁷

⁷ S. Kukoč se ne odloči za interpretacijo predstavljenega, ampak dopušča možnost prikaza kape/rute oziroma pričeske/kite (Kukoč 1984–1985, 11).

⁸ V grobu so se nahajale trortasta fibula, ločne fibule z jantarjem na loku, posodica tipa *kothon*, bikonične žare, kovinsko posodje in keramična utež (Beinhauer 1985, t. 134B, 135, 136; glej tudi: Lollini 1976, 174–175, sl. 23).

⁹ Beinhauer 1985, t. 135: 1497; von Hase 2003, 368–370, sl. 6; Babbi 2008, sl. 128G.

¹⁰ Colonna 1992, 110–117.

¹¹ Tabone 1990, 88. Glede na izpostavljene attribute izvira sorodna bronasta figurica iz Riminija, Spadarolo. Ima enako držo in gesto, vendar nima označenih elementov obleke, prsi pa so prikazane z vrezanimi koncentričnimi krožnicami (Babbi 2008, sl. 128F).

¹² Kukoč 1984–1985, 11.

¹³ Szabó 1983, 229, sl. 22–26.

¹⁴ Cristofani 1978, 180–181; Brendel 1995, 107–109; Briguet 1998, 127; Steingraber 2003, 81–82.

¹⁵ Brendel 1995, 107, sl. 74, 75; Briguet 1998, sl. IV-46; Haynes 2000, 106, sl. 89; Minetti 2004, 431.

¹⁶ Cristofani 1978, 106–107; Damgaard Andersen 1993, 29–30; Sciacca 2000, 306; Naso 2001, 122–123; Babbi 2008, 167–168.

¹⁷ Haynes 2000, 79, sl. 60; Sciacca 2000, 306; Bonfante 2003, sl. 62; Babbi 2008, 148–149, t. 31, sl. 25C; Di Fazio 2011, 718.



Sl. 4: Kanopa z najdišča Chiusi, Castiglione del Lago in pokrov kanope iz Dolciana (po Brendel 1995).

Fig. 4: Canopic urns from Chiusi, Castiglione del Lago and Dolciano (according to Brendel 1995).

V izjemni grobnici Poggio Gallinaro v Tarquiniji pa je bilo odkritih pet figuric, izdelanih v enaki tehniki,¹⁸ ki so občutno bližje čikatskemu primerku (sl. 5). Podobnosti so vidne tako v njihovih pozah in gestah kot tudi v položaju glave ter izdelavi in oblikovanju čeljusti in značilnosti obraza, pa tudi v prikazu kodificiranih atributov.¹⁹ Za razliko od čikatskega in novilarskega primerka nosijo omenjene figurice na sebi *perisoma*, ki je v pasu prevezana.²⁰ Kot pri večini drugih etruščanskih malih ženskih

¹⁸ Haynes 2000, 81–82, sl. 64; Sciacca 2000, 305–306, sl. 421–423; Negroni Catacchio 2007, sl. 25; Babbi 2008, 147–148, t. 30, sl. 25A–B; Di Fazio 2011, 718. Figurice so visoke od 8 do 10 cm.

¹⁹ S področja Chiusija so poznane miniaturne ženske figure z enako držo in gestami, prikazane na kompleksnih situlastih posodah tipa Gualandi-Paolozzi (Colonna 2000, 63; Haynes 2000, 82, sl. 64; Babbi 2008, 164, sl. 143G–H).

²⁰ Richardson 1983, 18–20; Bonfante 2003, 19–29. *Perisoma* je pogosto prikazana na telesih orientalizirajoče etruščanske umetnosti kot tudi v ostalem delu Sredozemlja, najpogosteje kot moška obleka – glede na to, da so bile ženske navadno prikazane v različnih kopalnih oblekah. *Perisoma* je bila enako sprejeta v tedanji modi kot tudi umetnosti in se je obdržala še dolgo po uveljavitvi umetniškega kanona “moške golote” v Grčiji (Bonfante 1993, 48; ead. 2000, 276; ead. 2003, 28–29, 84–85, 218).

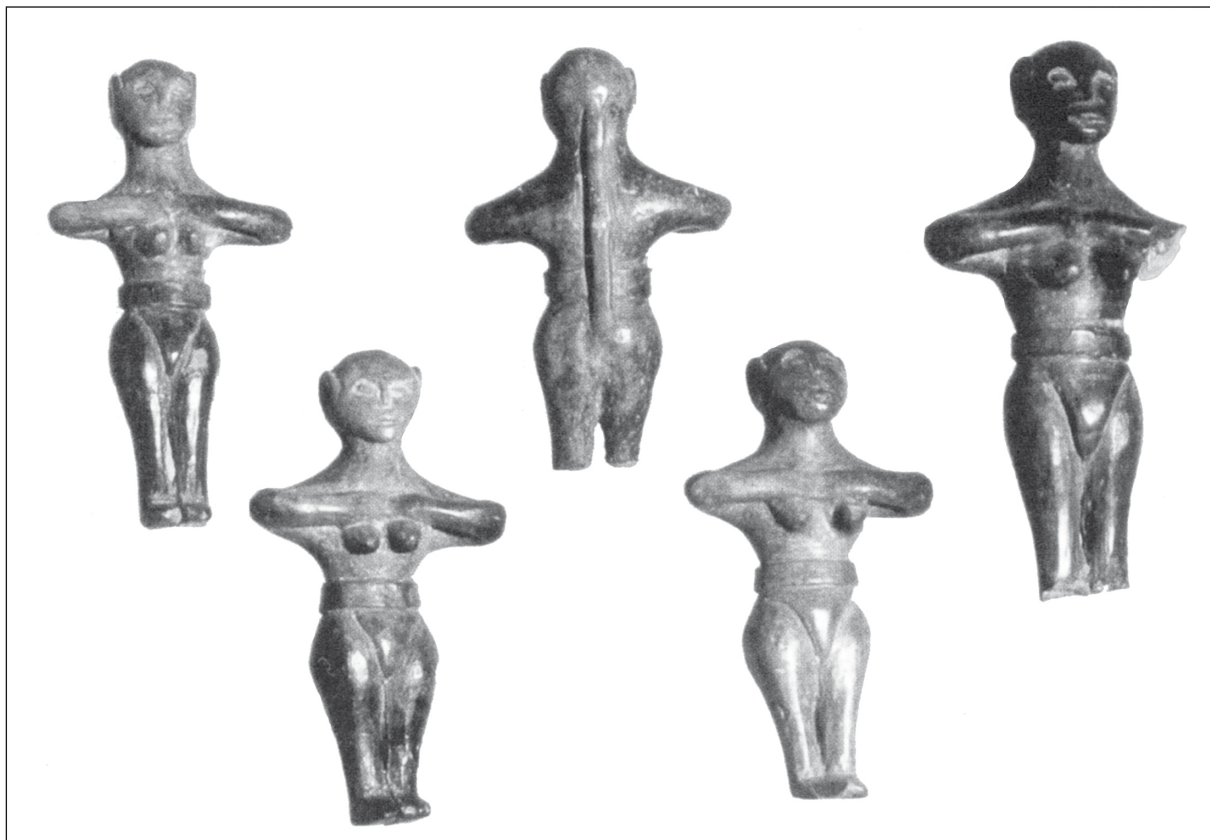
plastik, na katerih se jasno prepoznajo obleka, obutev in nakit ter tudi opazno drugačne pričeske, vse to izraža statusne simbole, namenjene za onostranstvo.²¹ Pričeske so bile praviloma sestavljene iz dveh kit, ki sta preko ramen padali na izrez.²² Razen pri figuricah iz grobnice Regolini-Galassi so navedene značilnosti vidne tudi pri figurici iz slonovine iz grobnice Barberini v Praenestah.²³ Njihove izvedbene in slogovne značilnosti kažejo, da je v času orientalizirajočega sloga z začetka 7. st. pr. n. št. moralo priti do večje spremembe v modi in posledično tudi v oblikovanju pričesk. Ko Nuccia Negroni Catacchio zgovorno in obsežno razlaga to tezo, povezuje to malo plastiko z njenim ikonografskim repertoarjem – s prizorom tkalk in predilk na prestolu iz Verucchia (sl. 6), kjer so slednje prikazane z eno kito las.²⁴ Glede na to je avtorica predlagala, da bi pri teh ženskah morda šlo za nek poseben družbeni položaj. Sicer pa je Larissa Bonfante že

²¹ Bonfante 1993, 48–49; ead. 2003, 220–222.

²² Negroni Catacchio 2007, 549–551, sl. 23, 24.

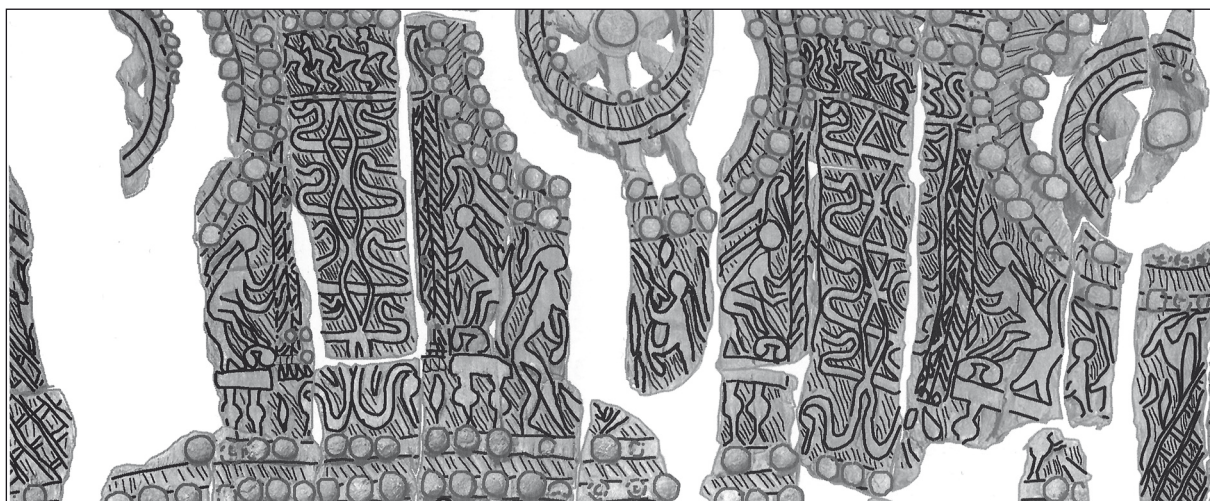
²³ Bonfante 2003, 176, sl. 62, 63; Babbi 2008, 166, sl. 148B.

²⁴ Kossack 1998, 134–137; Torelli 1997b, 59–73; Nielsen 1998, 70–73; Boiardi, von Eles 2002, 255–268; Bonfante 2003, 214, sl. B1.



Sl. 5: Poggio Gallinaro, Tarkvinija. Bucchero figurice (po Negroni Catacchio 2007).

Fig. 5: Bucchero statuettes from Poggio Gallinaro, Tarquinia (according to Negroni Catacchio 2007).



Sl. 6: Verucchio. Detajl lesenega prestola (po Boiardi, von Eles 2002).

Fig. 6: Detail from wooden throne, Verucchio (according to Boiardi, von Eles 2002).

prej dokazala, da tudi pričeska ustvarja oziroma določa značilnosti lokalne noše. Tako je prav za 7. st. pr. n. št. značilna dolga enojna kita, ki pada po hrbtu. V sredini stoletja jo zamenja moda tako

imenovanih *sirskih kodrov* oziroma dvojnih kit, ki spredaj padajo na izrez.²⁵ Zato je pri primerjavah

²⁵ Bonfante 2003, 70, 83–84, 87.

značilnih pričesk z enojno kito pomembno izpostaviti še piksido iz gomile I v Paniji pri Chiusiju (sl. 7).²⁶ Impresivna posoda je bila izdelana iz slonovine, datirana je v tretjo četrtino 7. stoletja pr. n. št. in v etruščanski maniri prikazuje poglavja iz grškega mita o Odiseju. V celotnem kontekstu je njena ikonografija razumljena kot prikaz pokojnikovega potovanja v onostranstvo, ki je po novem modelu mitske heroizacije tirenske elite prikazano kot vzvišeno.²⁷ Na četrtem frizu omenjene pikside je med ostalimi prizori upodobljena tudi povorka štirih žalujočih žena (*threnos*), interpretiranih kot svečenice, ki, čeprav popolnoma oblečene, nosijo na hrbtu dolge kite in imajo roke položene na prsi (sl. 7).²⁸

Končno pa predstavlja ikonografija tako upodobljenih drž in gest, to je rok položenih na prsih (ravno, pod, nad ali pa na sredi), etruščansko preureditev izvorno vzhodnosredozemskih, predvsem levantinskih estetsko kanoniziranih motivov.²⁹ Levantinski motivi so prevladali zaradi različnih okoliščin,³⁰ med njimi pa so bili najbolj priljubljeni sirski motivi krilatih "golih" boginj, kakršna je npr. Boginja iz Karkemisha.³¹ Vseeno prevladuje mišljenje, da so v Etruriji le neradi upodabljali ta model, kar ponazarja drobna in elegantna figurica iz slonovine iz Circolo della Fibula v Marsiliana D'Albegna (sl. 8), ki jo imajo za lokalno stvaritev, kljub podobnosti in neposrednemu vplivu severnosirske kreativnosti.³² Omenjena skupina petih figuric iz Poggia Gallinara (sl. 5) predstavlja glede na samostojno izvedbo drž in položajev teles prvi tak tam zaznani pojav,³³ gre za eno izmed najstarejših izvedb v lokalni *bucchero* tehniki.³⁴

²⁶ Briguet 1998, 106, sl. IV-19; Colonna 2000, 63–65.

²⁷ Menichetti 2001, 215–216, 218.

²⁸ Haynes 2000, 110–111, sl. 91; Bonfante 2003, 177, sl. 70; Babbi 2008, 164, sl. 144A.

²⁹ Bonfante 1989, 545–546, 548, 558–562; Miller Ammerman 1991, 220–226; Colonna 1992, 108–112; MacIntosh Turfa 1998, 66–69; Lesure 2011, 200–201.

³⁰ Pomembno vlogo pri tem je odigrala sama diaspora tako imenovanih orientalcev, predvsem elite in obrtnikov mojstrov (Naso 2001, 122; Magness 2001).

³¹ Npr. Winter 2010, 340–342, sl. 3. Splošno o tej temi glej: Marinatos 2000.

³² Bonfante 1993, 49; Cianferoni 2000; Bonfante 2003, sl. 153, 161, 162; Babbi 2008, 165, sl. 146F. To dokazuje tudi dejstvo, da je bila figurica prvotno prekrita z zlatimi lističi, tako njene prsi kot tudi genitalije niso bile vidne. O severnosirskih vplivih glej: Colonna, von Hase 1986; ter novejši pristop k temi v: van Kampen 2010.

³³ Babbi 2008, 163–165.

³⁴ Bartoloni 2009, 164.

Skladno z etruščanskim pojmovanjem umetniškega sloga in sistema simbolov ikonografske vrednosti je bilo potrebno ženske figure prikazovati oblečene in prsi narediti nevidne. Včasih je zadostovalo preprosto prekrivanje s kitami ali z rokami, zato je bil osnovni motiv dokaj spremenjen.³⁵ Etruščanski kipi, če izvzamemo monumentalno kamnito skulpturo iz Orvieto,³⁶ niso bili nikoli prikazani v popolni aristokratski oziroma heroizirani goloti, kot je veljalo za razvita grška klasična dela.³⁷ Kakorkoli so upodobitve "stoječe gole boginje" na prostoru Etrurije dokaj redke. Tudi kadar se pojavlja tak "pansredozemski" motiv,³⁸ gre za označevanje statusa in pomena pokojnice, ne pa za religiozne ali kultne predstave, ki so bile v navadi v Etruriji tega časa.³⁹

Tako je tudi pri mali plastiki iz Populonije iz Circola dei Monili v Poggio alla Guardia (sl. 9).⁴⁰ Gre za majhen jantarni kipek, ki je oblikovno, slogovno in ikonografsko nabolj podoben čikatskemu primerku. Telo je prikazano čokato, neproporcionalno in golo, vendar njeno "nošo" vseeno odlikuje bogata nakitna garnitura, ki je dobro prepoznavna. Sestavljena je iz več ogrlic in zapestnic.⁴¹ Razen položaja rok je na figurici prav

³⁵ Richardson 1983, 19–20; Bonfante 1993, 47–50; ead. 2003, 71, 82–84, op. 45; ead. 2009, 188–190.

³⁶ Npr.: Miller Ammerman 1991, 218; Bonfante 1993, 49; Spivey 2006, sl. 13; Simon 2006, 47–48, sl. IV-4 – z navedeno starejšo referenčno literaturo.

³⁷ Bonfante 1989; ead. 2003, 21.

³⁸ Marinatos 2000, 1–34; Lesure 2011, 11–12, 156–206.

³⁹ Miller Ammerman 1991, 217–218. Prim. Bonfante 1993, 48–52; ead. 2000, 274; ead. 2006; Krauskopf 2006; Di Fazio 2011.

⁴⁰ Negroni Catacchio 1989, 661, sl. 477, 478; id. 1993, 191, sl. 2d.

⁴¹ Negroni Catacchio 2007, 540, sl. 11e. Navedena figurica je bila večkrat primerjana z malo jantarno plastiko in z obeskom iz Satricuma, grobnica VI (Bartoloni 1976, 342–343, t. XCIV: 2,3; Negroni Catacchio 1989, 661, sl. 480; id. 1993, 191, sl. 3a; Babbi 2008, sl. 128E; Nijboer 2010, 8, sl. 5), ki pa je občutno slabše izdelana kot primerek iz Populonije. Tukaj je potrebno omeniti tudi jantarne obeške v obliki ženskih figur s področja Ascolija, ki jih hrani Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology v Philadelphiji (Naso 2000, t. 29; MacIntosh Turfa 2005, 225–227, kat. št. 240–242). Ena od figuric, visoka zgolj 4 cm, je prikazana v stoječem položaju z značilno gesto na prsi položenih rok, vendar ima glavo in lase pokrite z ruto/tančico, ki ji pada po hrbtu (Naso 2000, t. 29; spodaj desno; MacIntosh Turfa 2005, 241, kat. št. 242). Glede na formalne značilnosti je umeščena v 7. st. pr. n. št. in povezana s severnosirskim vplivom, ki pa ni bil nujno posredovan preko Etrurije (Naso 2000, 132–133).



Sl. 7: Pania, Chiusi. Slonokoščena piksida (po Colonna 2000).
Fig. 7: Ivory pyxis from Pania, Chiusi (according to Colonna 2000).



Sl. 8: Circolo della Fibula, Marsiliana D'Albegna. Slonokoščena figurica (po Cianferoni 2000).

Fig. 8: Ivory statuette from Circolo della Fibula, Marsiliana D'Albegna (according to Cianferoni 2000).

tako kot na čikatski izražena dolga, s poševnimi in vodoravnimi vrezi okrašena kita las, ki sega do pasu. Oblikovanje dlani in podaljšanih prstov kot tudi rahlo razširjene noge in roke, položene pod prsi, pa jo od Dame iz Čikata razlikujejo.

INTERPRETACIJA

Dama iz Čikata je frontalna, abstraktna in nepremična figura, katere položaj rok v skladu z etruščanskimi idejami izraža predvsem vljudno držo (sl. 1, 2, 3). Tak položaj rok bi bil lahko tudi obreden, povezan z njenim religioznim/ritualnim

namenom, vendar je to danes glede na nepoznane okoliščine najdbe težje pojasniti. Če sprejmemo, da položaj rok z zapestnicami ni ne izraz vljudnosti kot tudi ne ikonološki prikaz sramežljivosti, ampak odsev visoko razvitega sistema simbolov, ki je imel za izvirno družbo določen pomen, je treba našo pozornost usmeriti na še nekaj nezanemarljivih detajlov. Gre za luknje na temenu, v popku in v ušesnih mečicah figurice. Razen tehnične rešitve izdelave figure in v skladu z etruščanskimi kompozitnimi glavami, predvsem tistimi s kanop (sl. 4), kot tudi realističnejšega prikazovanja, so bile obstoječe luknjice tudi funkcionalno namenjene za pritrditev izdelanih las, dodatnih okrasov in delov obraza/telesa, mask, poslikav ter podobnih detajlov.⁴² Morda je bila taka rešitev uporabljena tudi na čikatski figurici. V odprtini na temenu bi lahko bili pričvrščeni lasje ali nek okras, v odprtini na trebuhu pa prekrivalo za spodnji del telesa oziroma neka oblika *perisome*. Kot smo videli iz analize, so našete možnosti zelo verjetne, posebej če razen okrasne vloge razumemo tudi različnost njihovega semantičnega pomena.⁴³ Dama iz Čikata je bila najverjetneje oblečena, tako kot tudi vsa druga predstavljena mala plastika enakih značilnosti, ali pa je bila zaradi neke svečane ali svete potrebe gola v predelu genitalij. Te so anatomsko pravilno prikazane, kar je, *nota bene*, tudi značilnost etruščanske likovne ustvarjalnosti.⁴⁴ Obstaja tudi možnost, da so bili v ušesnih mečicah te figurice zatakneni uhani. Če je Dama iz Čikata zares nosila uhane, morda celo iz plemenite kovine, bi v njej lahko prepoznali vse tiste osnovne značilnosti posvečenosti, duhovnosti in religioznosti sredozemskih kulturnih tradicij, ki jih je na primeru osrednje ženske figure, "gole" Boginje s kulturnega vozička iz Strettwega, dokazovala Biba Teržan,⁴⁵ že znatno prej pa pokazala njeno neposredno povezanost z etruščanskim prostorom oziroma njegovimi idejami in ustvarjalno mislijo Luciana Aigner Foresti.⁴⁶ Temu je potrebno in smiselno, poleg predilk in tkalk kot gospodaric hiše – *Penelope*, ob izpostavljanju in pripadnosti velikemu prestižu, bogastvu oz. najvišjemu družbenemu položaju, dodati tudi možnost, da so ženske z eno kito las označevale morebitne "svečenice" s poseb-

⁴² Brendel 1995, 109.

⁴³ Primerjaj npr. s polivalentnim pomenom Venere iz Orvieto (Bonfante 1993, 49–50).

⁴⁴ Bonfante 1993, 49.

⁴⁵ Teržan 2003, 68, 70–71; ead. 2011, 241, sl. 1–3.

⁴⁶ Aigner Foresti 1992, 156, 162–163, kat. št. 242.



Sl. 9: Poggio alla Guardia, Populonia. Jantarna figurica (po Negroni Catacchio 2007).
Fig. 9: Amber figurine from Poggio alla Guardia, Populonia (according to Negroni Catacchio 2007).

nim vplivom v ritualnih in duhovnih obredih.⁴⁷ Zato nam žalujoča povorka “svečenic” s pikside iz Panije (sl. 7), skupaj s poznanimi konteksti lokacije in načina deponiranja posameznih tukaj navedenih figuric,⁴⁸ nakazuje, da je mogoče v samostojnih drobnih figurah zares videti žalujoče duhovnice, ki so v slogu etruščanske “*grammatica del dolore*” objokujoč bedele in ustvarjale večnost pogrebnega rituala izpostavljene pokojnice.⁴⁹

Odsotnost podatkov o arheološkem kontekstu odkritja, nemožnost diahronega zasledovanja take vrste male antropomorfne keramične skulpture na prostoru severnega Jadrana in izključno tipološko-slogovna analiza ne omogočajo natančnejše interpretacije in določitev morebitne funkcije Dame iz Čikata. Vendar ima figurica kot *specifičen subjekt* v analizi predstavljene elemente, ki omogočajo prepoznavanje njene socialne kvalitete.⁵⁰ Njeni v vseh ozirih brezosebni kodificirani atributi doda-

tno nakazujejo, da gre za pomemben ritualni *ex voto* predmet, ki je lahko nastopal samostojno ali pa skupaj z drugimi vsebinami. Odlomljene, toda nedvomno spojene noge in rahlo zakrivljen položaj kažejo, da Dama ni mogla stati samostojno, ampak na majhnem podstavku ali pa pripeta, izolirana ali v kombinaciji z več okraski. Domnevno je bila namenjena notranjemu prostoru in v arhitekturi povezana z okraševanjem notranjosti ali pohištva.⁵¹ Po analogijah bi bila lahko čikatska dama pridana kaki lokalni, vendar bogati in pomembni ženski grobnici.

Na podlagi slogovne analize in njene ikonografske vsebine v primerjavi s skulpturami z vzhodne obale Jadrana in iz zaledja je bila čikatska plastika pripisana obdobju starejše železne dobe, času 7./6. stoletja pr. n. št. ter definirana kot osamljen, enkraten primerjek brez konkretnih paralel. Slogovno je bila obravnavana kot izraz samosvojega likovnega izražanja.⁵² Analiza pa je pokazala, da najdemo slogovno in tematsko zelo podobne primerjave čikatski Dami znotraj spektra male antropomorfne plastike Etrurije, ki je bila oblikovana iz različnih materialov – od keramike do eksotičnih in raz-

⁴⁷ Torelli 1997b, 59–73; Boiardi, von Eles 2002, 262–264; von Eles 2002, 270–271; Negroni Catacchio 2007, 554–555. Prim. Gleba 2009, 80–81.

⁴⁸ Babbi 2008, 46–48; Di Fazio 2011, 717–718, 721.

⁴⁹ Damgaard Andersen 1993, 30–32, 56; Torelli 1997b, 31; Di Fazio 2011, 720–723.

⁵⁰ Kar za etruščanske primerke lepo razloži Di Fazio (2011, 721–723).

⁵¹ Bartoloni 2000, 277.

⁵² Kukoč 1984–1985, 10–12; Majnarić-Pandžić 1998, 318.

košnih materialov, kot sta slonovina in jantar (sl. 5; 8; 9).⁵³ Posledično, upoštevajoč ikonografski program in slogovne značilnosti, *Dame* iz Čikata ne moremo prepoznati kot lokalno interpretacijo etruščanskih virov, saj od njih ne slogovno ne po ravni izdelave ne odstopa. Moramo jo razumeti kot izdelek etruščanskih delavnic in njihovih mojstrov iz prve polovice 7. stoletja pr. n. št. Ker pa predstavljene analogije glede ikonografskih detajlov vseeno niso identične, ni verjetno, da bi našli njeno dvojnico, temveč predstavlja unikatno likovno stvaritev takratnih slogovnih konceptov.

Dama iz Čikata v bistvu izjemno močno odraža tedanje kulturne povezave in posredniške odnose, ki so jih omogočale in vzdrževale čezmorske komunikacije na območju severnega Jadrana. Morda je v vsem tem odigral svojevrstno vlogo prostor Picena. Veliko bolj verjetno pa se zdi, da je vlogo posrednika, prav zaradi prestižnega pomena takih simbolnih predmetov za njihove "lastnike" in zaradi njihove prepoznavnosti v obtoku dobrin v sistemu privilegiranih odnosov ali zvez eminentnejših oseb, utemeljenih na principih zamenjave darov,⁵⁴ v največji meri moral odigrati Verucchio, etruščansko središče *na mejah* ter enklava na Jadranu.⁵⁵ Čeprav je figurica trenutno edinstven in osamljen predmet, glede na številne neposredno uvožene predmete etruščanskih delavnic, ki jih poznamo z istrskih nekropol, predvsem z najbližjega, s Kvarnerjem neločljivo povezanega Nezakcija,⁵⁶ njeno odkritje ne bi smelo biti preveliko presenečenje ali popolna novost.

S pomočjo povezav preko kvarnerskega arhipelaga (Lošinj-Cres-Krk) morda lahko razumemo tudi pojav majhne roževinaste plastike iz groba na Vačah.⁵⁷ Tej skulpturi, ki je očitno okrasni del interjerja, bogatega pohištva, lahko najdemo primerjave prav v Verucchiju, v grobnici B/1871 Lippi, kjer so bile odkrite zelo podobne figurice, izdelane iz lesa.⁵⁸ Na drugi strani pa bo prav ta pomorsko-otoški koridor predstavljal smer nekoliko mlajšega, vendar izrazitega in z arheološkimi podatki podkrepjenega prodora arhajskega umetniškega ustvarjanja Etrurije vse do Japodov in njihove umetnostne dediščine, kjer je treba

še posebej opozoriti na drobne jantarne glavice spinske produkcije.⁵⁹

Zahvala

Obdelavo in objavo Čikatske *Dame* je skupaj s posredovanjem številne tehnične in arhivske dokumentacije omogočila Zrinka Ettinger Stračić (Lošinjski muzej, Lošinj), kritično vrednotenje razprave, neskončne diskusije, nasvete in prevod izvirnega besedila pa mi je omogočil Boris Kavur (Univerza na Primorskem, Koper). Duška Gržeta in Tea Sušanj Protić (Ministarstvo kulture, Uprava za zaščito kulturne baštine, Konzervatorski odjel u Rijeci, Rijeka) sta me usmerili s koristnimi nasveti in opozorili na nezanemarljive pomanjkljivosti, Marjeta Šašel Kos (Inštitut za arheologijo ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana) pa je s svojo zavzetostjo omogočila, da je bilo delo sprejeto v objavo v znanstvenem časopisu, ki bo, poleg ostalega, ostal opažen po bogatem opusu Bibe Teržan, ki ji je to delo posvečeno. Vsem se iskreno zahvaljujem.

Prevod: Boris Kavur

⁵³ Negroni Catacchio 2007, 540, 550, sl. 11e, 25.

⁵⁴ Razpravo o tej temi glej v novjšem pristopu pri: Maras, Sciacca 2011.

⁵⁵ Razumljeno v smislu G. Sassatelli jeve sintagme: "*centro etrusco di frontiera*" (Sassatelli 1996).

⁵⁶ Mihovilić 1986; ead. 1988; Cambi 2002, 15–17.

⁵⁷ Stare 1975, 237–238, 242, t. 16: 2–3, t. 26.

⁵⁸ Bentini 2006, 23–24.

⁵⁹ Balen-Letunić 2004, 238, sl. 26, kat. št. 35.3–35.8; Bakarić 2008, sl. 2–7, 12. Prim. Negroni Catacchio 1989, 662, sl. 473; Cambi 2002, 18–20. V nasprotju s temi jantarnimi glavicami *Dama* iz Čikata ni bila vključena v pregled umetnostne zgodovine antičnega obdobja na področju Hrvaške (Cambi 2002) niti v pregled o etruščanskih spomenikih na Hrvaškem v poglavje *Pogovor* prvega v hrvaški jezik prevedenega dela o etruščanski tematiki – Pallotinove klasične *Etruščani: Etruskologija* (Rendić-Miočević 2008).

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The Lady from Čikat

Dedicated to Acad. Prof. Biba Teržan for her 65th birthday

INTRODUCTION

A long time ago an interesting and unique anthropomorphic ceramic figurine, originating from Čikat on the island of Lošinj, was presented in Croatian scientific literature (*figs. 1–3*),¹ – it was named the *Lady* from Čikat. Unfortunately the context of its discovery is not known at all. However, it is believed that it was discovered as an isolated find in 1975, most probably during the construction of the tourist complex *Villa Diana* along the coastal part of one of the most beautiful bays of the island Lošinj. The figurine was, during previous publications, kept in the private property of the family of Stojan Dimitrijević, a former professor of Prehistoric archaeology at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb, while in 2002 it was handed over to the Lošinjski muzej where it is kept today.² The present paper will be evaluating it anew in the formal and comparative sense, in an iconographic and iconological analysis and in a cultural and historical interpretation of the perception of her primary, original, and secondary, real context.

This small compact figurine is a statuette of only 10.4 cm in height, broadest in the shoulder region at 6.6 cm and with a head of 4.8 cm in diameter. The figurine is treated in a very simplified manner, but at the same time presenting a distinct pose with indicative gestures and symbols, serious and ceremonial, we could almost consider it being intimate, focusing directly on the eternalisation

of a decent, stiff female image. The figurine was made from clay with many additives, mostly with crushed limestone or quartz, creating pottery of a relatively rough facture, in some parts clumsy and stockily finished (*fig. 2*). This also constrained, or at least to a large degree limited, the author of this work to precisely and refinedly elaborating the figure itself and its proportions as well as many details presented on it. Due to the characteristics of the material, the figurine has acquired a coarse surface which is today on several spots more or less damaged. The additives in the pottery actually accelerate the visual dynamics which in specific perspectives reflects with lustre and the change of shades, thus again creating the vivacity of the whole surface. Yet, the surface is not uniform, since individual parts were also additionally treated – with the exposure of the ears and the braid, or further accentuated with executions and interventions in different techniques and in different relations – as for example the incising, polishing and coating.

Since clay permits total control during the forming and adding of the mass, unlike other traditional materials, it is perfect for a liberal approach to the fabrication of the work, especially in the details and experimentation, which is reflected on the figurine from Čikat itself. Based on the listed facts, we can assume a progressive realization of the figurine – it included several recognizable processes. With the modeling in clay the basic elements of corporeality with the functional details were produced. The figurine was composed of at least three, consequently fused parts (the head, the trunk and the legs), which on its upper part, that is on the calotte and on the

¹ Kukoč 1984–1985; Majnarić-Pandžić 1998, 317–318, *fig. 140*.

² Čus-Rukonić 2003.

frontal part of the trunk, have circular perforations (fig. 3). The empty cavity inside the body is a technical solution preventing the voluminous pottery from bursting during the drying/firing. Therefore the added legs were broken off on the thinnest part where they were fused to the body. Finally the decorative elements were executed – most probably also the coating of the whole surface and the eventual adding of decorations from other materials.

Morphologically the body is presented as a cylindrical, robust and rounded mass, formed in an extremely low relief. Its plasticity, besides its surface, emphasizes the contrast of light and shade on the smoothly elaborated transitions (figs. 1, 2). In this way an impressive illusion of corporeality and voluminosity was created, mostly in the thoracic part with the complete omission and negation of the breasts. Despite its completeness, the lower extremities and the left ear are missing. Only the shoulders are protruding from the body together with the emphasized hands and, positioned on a short but broad neck, the oversized spherical head. The clearly modeled hands are placed in the foreground directly and symmetrically across the chest. Although lacking the anatomical details, they have a specially modeled palm with massive, disproportionately and inaccurately represented fingers. The face is modeled in low relief, very flat and schematical. Only the frontal part is elaborated, protruding and elevated on the portion of the lower jaw – exactly on the spot where it is also damaged. The nose is represented in low relief, while the lips are indicated only with incisions. On the frontal part of the head a shallow hollow is located, most probably connected to the realistic modeling of the hairstyle which is missing. The latter is presented in the form of a braid let loose on the shoulders in a single “Y” shaped form falling to the middle of the shoulders (figs. 1, 2). Also the central line of the buttocks is indicated only in low relief. With the final treatment, that is incising, besides the realistic and/or decorative braid, the nostrils, vulva and bracelets on both hands were represented (figs. 1, 2). These are the elements clearly visible in the side view, which will be decisive in the attempt at a closer definition and interpretation of this small anthropomorphic figurine from the territory of the bay of Kvarner as well as from the complete eastern Adriatic coastal belt.

The figurine, as observable from the description, does not have, a lively relation between the volume of the figure and the space surrounding it. This is mostly caused by the linearity and compactness of the contours and the reticence and contractedness of the mass, which is compressed and flat in some

portions of the head and the body. The mass is meanwhile restricted with several surfaces which are rather stretched but also rounded and softened with smooth transitions from one to another. This also conditions the composition of the artistic work itself, which is symmetrical and schematized, but balanced – static and stiff in perspective but transmitting an active act of a reconciled concept of an anthropomorphic, idealized motif of a female – of the *Lady* from Čikat.

The formal analysis of all significant characteristics of the figurine from Čikat demonstrates persuasively that her ideological and material creation cannot be sought for in the autochthonous creativity of the contemporary Cres-Lošinj archipelago, nor could we link it to the production of the Liburnian cultural circle as was assumed in the past.³ Since, beside the fact that she is still the only known example on the territory of the Iron Age cultures on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, the form, artistic elaboration and the code of the schematical/symbolical record of this small artistic product exhibit closeness to the art of the Etruscan part of the Orientalizing style *koiné* and its expansion during the 7th century BC.⁴

ICONOGRAPHY

The arguments for such an opinion are offered by the morphological description itself, this is the signature which presents the work in its corporal nudity without any traces of specific clothing. Meanwhile, it can be observed that the *Lady* from Čikat is not completely naked, nor without “*any peculiarity*” as she was defined by Sineva Kukoč and later accepted by Nives Majnarić-Pandžić.⁵ This seems real if, beside the presented pose and attributes, the very characteristic hairstyle and indicated aesthetic elements which could be ascribed to the jewelry ensemble, we understand the elegant or sacral “nudity” as a part of the specific attire of

³ Kukoč 1984–1985, 12; Majnarić-Pandžić 1998, 317; Čus-Rukonić 2003.

⁴ Only the fundamental works presenting general overviews of the Iron Age Orientalizing period of central Italy and including the major contributions in scientific literature are presented. For example Cristofani 1978, 64–80; Brendel 1995, 49–109; Torelli 1997a, 69–103; Colonna 2000; Delpino, Flourentzos 2000; Naso 2001; Torelli 2001; Spivey 2006, 40–52. See interesting discussions in the works of Annette Rathje (2010) and Albert Nijboer (2010).

⁵ Kukoč 1984–1985, 5–6; Majnarić-Pandžić 1998, 317.

the contemporary stylistic concept of anthropomorphic art.⁶

The codified presentation of the attributes, although strongly reduced, can be recognized first of all from the evident demonstration of the jewelry ensemble. In this perception the semicircular lines/grooves below the fist, produced with deep and broad incisions will have a considerably more important symbolical character than just being a solution of the realization (*figs. 1, 2*). They should be perceived as a decoration indicating the presence of bracelets, since the figurine is presented without any clothing. Reconsidering the fact that in all known examples of Etruscan Orientalizing small figurines the fists are not separated from the hands by incised lines, but the latter are exclusively the depictions of decorative elements – presenting the ending of the clothes or the bracelets.

The same goes also for the eventual decoration of the braid of hair, since the latter is not wrapped in the cover of a scarf.⁷ If we do not perceive the ear lobe as just broken or damaged (*figs. 1, 2*), but recognize in it explicitly the association to the once pierced and/or left openings, into which compound earrings made from other, metallic raw materials were added, then we can clearly observe in this case the so-called concealed symbolism of an – at the first glance – expressionless or common detail.

That is why, formally, in a comparative analysis regarding the usual decoration on such small figurines and especially regarding the added earrings, the *Lady* from Čikat has a close comparison in the bronze figurine from the Picenian necropolis of Novilara-Servici which was discovered in a relatively rich female grave 83. Regarding the context of the whole repertory of finds, the grave was dated to the 7th century BC.⁸ The figurine from Novilara has a protuberance on the calotte, the body is flat and artistically accentuated, but it holds one hand on the abdominal area and has a clearly marked belt. The characteristics which distance it in a comparative analysis from the Čikat figurine are the face and the hair, which are realistically presented, and the holes in the ear lobes, which are completely

preserved.⁹ The figurine from Novilara exhibits the typical pose and gesture of the Picenian “Orientalizing” style,¹⁰ with the exact intention of it being a decorative pendant on the pectorals of the Numana type.¹¹ Despite that, this small bronze figurine was mentioned as a parallel already by S. Kukoč, who used it exclusively in the interpretation of the braid as a chronological determinant, which did not stand as being completely reliable.¹²

A similar ceramic figurine is further known from Nyergesújfal. It is preserved in the National museum in Budapest without any detailed information about its place of discovery. Although it is quite damaged, the holes in the ear lobes are still visible as well as the hair which runs down the back in a single braid. It was interpreted as the consequence of cultural contacts with and influences from the territory of the italic Piceni.¹³

Morphologic and artistic solutions in the shaping of the head indicate somewhat closer parallels to the contemporary examples of ceramic canopic urns from Etruria. They have an accentuated line on the forehead above the face, and numerous holes for the insertion of other decorations or materials, almost as a rule, when female figurines are portrayed; they have pierced ears with earrings made from simple bronze wire or sometimes even wire made from precious metals (*fig. 4*). This is the period of the development and ascent of anthropomorphic depiction in Etruscan art, although the face was depicted flattened almost as a mask, linked exclusively and only with the general conception of the human face.¹⁴ In this direction one should accentuate the similarity with the urn from Castiglione del Lago dated to the second half of the 7th century BC¹⁵ (*fig. 4*) which, not only with the morphology and style of the head, but also with its figure

⁶ Bonfante 1989; ead. 1993; ead. 2000.

⁷ S. Kukoč does not interpret the presented feature but permits the possibility of a representation of a cap/scarf or haircut/braid (Kukoč 1984–1985, 11).

⁸ The grave included three fibulae with three knobs on the bow, bowed fibulae with amber on the bow, a vessel of *kothon* type, biconical urns, metal vessels and a ceramic weight (Beinhauer 1985, pls. 134B, 135, 136. See also: Lollini 1976, 174–175, *fig. 23*).

⁹ Beinhauer 1985, pl. 135: 1497; von Hase 2003, 368–370, *fig. 6*; Babbi 2008, *fig. 128G*.

¹⁰ Colonna 1992, 110–117.

¹¹ Tabone 1990, 88. Regarding the revealed attributes, a similar bronze figurine comes from Rimini, Spadarolo. It exhibits the same pose and gesture, but does not have the marks representing the clothing, and the breasts are represented with just incised concentric circles (Babbi 2008, *fig. 128F*).

¹² Kukoč 1984–1985, 11.

¹³ Szabó 1983, 229, *figs. 22–26*.

¹⁴ Cristofani 1978, 180–181; Brendel 1995, 107–109; Briguet 1998, 127; Steingraber 2003, 81–82.

¹⁵ Brendel 1995, 107, *figs. 74, 75*; Briguet 1998, *fig. IV-46*; Haynes 2000, 106, *fig. 89*; Minetti 2004, 431.

and gesture – i.e. the limbs and the placement of the hands – really strongly resembles our statue.

In Etruria, beside the anthropomorphic complex and composite urns and vessels, anthropomorphic statuettes also appear numerous in different forms and purposes. They became distinctive from the beginning of the 7th century BC in the local production of the Orientalizing style. The intention of their production was primarily the creation of a status symbol oriented towards the decoration of interiors of rich, princely female tombs.¹⁶ The largest number of small ceramic figurines is known from the Regolini-Galassi tomb in Cerveteri. There 33 examples produced with the *bucchero* technique were discovered.¹⁷ Further in Tarquinia, in the extraordinary tomb of Poggio Gallinaro, five figurines produced with the same technique were discovered¹⁸ – formally they resemble the figurine from Čikat (fig. 5). They exhibit the same pose and gesture, position of the head with a similar manufacture and shaping of the jaw and the characteristics of the face, and finally they exhibit the same coded attributes.¹⁹ Contrary to the Čikat and Novilara examples, the figurines wear a perizoma which is tied up at the waist.²⁰

As in the majority of other Etruscan small figurines depicting females on which the clothes, shoes, jewelry and hairstyle are clearly recognizable, they reflect symbols of status used for the afterlife.²¹ The hairstyles were generally made from two braids

falling across the shoulders down to the décolletage.²² Besides the figurines from the mentioned Regolini-Galassi tomb, the listed characteristics are present also in the figurines made from ivory from the Barberini tomb in Praeneste.²³ Their realization and stylistic features suggest that in the period of the Orientalizing style at the beginning of the 7th century BC a change in fashion must have taken place which was also reflected in the shaping of the hairstyle. Explaining eloquently and extensively this thesis, Nuccia Negroni Catacchio linked, with its iconographic repertoire, these small figurines with the depictions of weavers and spinners on the throne from Verucchio (fig. 6) where they were all depicted with a single braid.²⁴ In regard to the above listed, the author hypothesized about a possible affiliation of these females to a specific social status. It was actually, Larissa Bonfante who had already demonstrated how the hairstyle creates or actually determines the characteristics of local fashions. In this way it was at the beginning of the 7th century BC that a long single braid falling along the back was characteristic, but it became replaced in the middle of the century by the fashion of so called “Syrian curls”, that is of double braids falling into the décolletage in the front.²⁵ When comparing the characteristic haircuts with a single braid one should also consider the pyxis from mound I in Panija near Chiusi (fig. 7).²⁶ This impressive vessel, made from ivory and dated to the third quarter of the 7th century BC, presents in the Etruscan manner the episodes from the Greek myth about Odysseus. In the whole repertory its iconography is considered as being the presentation of the voyage of the deceased into the afterlife – presented as the departure of a noble person, according to the new model of mythological heroisation used by the Tyrrhenian elite.²⁷ On her fourth register, among other scenes, is depicted a procession of four mourning woman (*threnos*), interpreted as being priestesses which, although completely dressed, wear long braids on

¹⁶ Cristofani 1978, 106–107; Damgaard Andersen 1993, 29–30; Sciacca 2000, 306; Naso 2001, 122–123; Babbi 2008, 167–168.

¹⁷ Haynes 2000, 79, fig. 60; Sciacca 2000, 306; Bonfante 2003, fig. 62; Babbi 2008, 148–149, pl. 31, fig. 25C; Di Fazio 2011, 718.

¹⁸ Haynes 2000, 81–82, fig. 64; Sciacca 2000, 305–306, figs. 421–423; Negroni Catacchio 2007, fig. 25; Babbi 2008, 147–148, pl. 30, figs. 25A–B; Di Fazio 2011, 718. The figurines measure from 8 to 10 centimeters in height.

¹⁹ From the territory of Chiusi are known, of course in the same pose and displaying the same gestures, miniature female figures represented on complex situla-like vessels of the so-called Gualandi-Paolozzi type (Colonna 2000, 63; Haynes 2000, 82, fig. 64; Babbi 2008, 164, figs. 143G–H).

²⁰ Richardson 1983, 18–20; Bonfante 2003, 19–29. *Perisoma* is often represented on the bodies in the Etruscan Orientalizing style art where, as in the rest of the Mediterranean, it was worn by men, since females were represented in different forms of bathing suits. Perizoma was equally accepted in contemporary fashion as well as in art, but also remained longer in use even after the introduction of the artistic canon of “male nudity” in Greece (Bonfante 1993, 48; ead. 2000, 276; ead. 2003, 28–29, 84–85, 218).

²¹ Bonfante 1993, 48–49; ead. 2003, 220–222.

²² Negroni Catacchio 2007, 549–551, figs. 23, 24.

²³ Bonfante 2003, 176, figs. 62, 63; Babbi 2008, 166, fig. 148B.

²⁴ Kossack 1998, 134–137; Torelli 1997b, 59–73; Nielsen 1998, 70–73; Boiardi, von Eles 2002, 255–268; Bonfante 2003, 214, fig. B1.

²⁵ Bonfante 2003, 70, 83–84, 87.

²⁶ Briguet 1998, 106, fig. IV-19; Colonna 2000, 63–65.

²⁷ Menichetti 2001, 215–216, 218.

their backs and hold both hands placed on their breasts (*fig. 7*).²⁸

Finally the iconography of such presented poses and gestures with hands on the chest (straight, up, down or in the middle) presents the Etruscan adaptation of originally eastern Mediterranean, especially Levantine esthetically canonized motifs.²⁹ The Levantine motifs gained this supremacy due to different circumstances,³⁰ among which most popular are the motifs of Syrian winged “naked” goddesses of fertility holding their breasts, as known for example in the Goddess from Carchemish.³¹ Still it is believed that this is an unwillingly adopted form in Etruria, as illustrated by the small and elegant figurine made from ivory from Circolo della Fibula in Marsiliana D’Albegna (*fig. 8*) which, despite the correspondence and the origins, is considered as being a local creation.³² A separate group of five figurines from Poggio Gallinara (*fig. 5*), according to their original pose and poise, present there the first such documented appearance,³³ one of the oldest productions in the local *bucchero* technique.³⁴

According to the Etruscan perceptions of artistic style and systems of symbolic iconographical values, female figurines should be represented as clothed with breasts made almost invisible. Sometimes this could be achieved by simply covering them with braids or hands – consequently the original motif being largely modified.³⁵ Etruscan figurines, if we exclude the monumental stone sculpture from Orvieto,³⁶ were consequently never represented in

a complete aristocratic or heroic nudity, as was the case with the developed Greek classical works.³⁷ In every case the representation of a “standing naked goddess” is relatively rare on the Etruscan territory. And when such a “pan Mediterranean” motif appears,³⁸ it does so as an element signifying the status and character of the deceased and not only in the sense of religious or cultural convictions which were practised in Etruria of that period.³⁹

This is the case with the small figurine from Populonia, from Circolo dei Monili in Poggio alla Guardia (*fig. 9*).⁴⁰ It is a small figurine made from amber, which most closely resembles morphologically, stylistically and iconographically the figurine from Čikat. The body is stumpy, disproportional and physically naked, but its “attire” is distinguished by a clearly recognizable rich set of jewelry consisting of several necklaces and bracelets.⁴¹ With the exception of the position of the hands, the figurine has a long modeled braid falling all the way to the waist, decorated with oblique and horizontal incisions in the same manner as in the figurine from Čikat. But still, the forming of the fist and elongated fingers as well as widened legs and hands placed below the breasts create a difference in regard to the *Lady* from Čikat.

²⁸ Haynes 2000, 110–111, *fig. 91*; Bonfante 2003, 177, *fig. 70*; Babbi 2008, 164, *fig. 144A*.

²⁹ Bonfante 1989, 545–546, 548, 558–562; Miller Ammerman 1991, 220–226; Colonna 1992, 108–112; MacIntosh Turfa 1998, 66–69; Lesure 2011, 200–201.

³⁰ A major role was played by the diasporas of the so called Orientals – mostly of the social elite and tradesmen/masters (Naso 2001, 122; Magness 2001).

³¹ For example see Winter 2010, 340–342, *fig. 3*. Generally see: Marinatos 2000.

³² Bonfante 1993, 49; Cianferoni 2000; Bonfante 2003, *figs. 153, 161, 162*; Babbi 2008, 165, *fig. 146F*. This is demonstrated by the fact that the figurine was initially covered with golden leaves and consequently neither her breasts nor her genitals were visible. For the north-Syrian influences see: Colonna, von Hase 1986; and a novel approach: van Kampen 2010.

³³ Babbi 2008, 163–165.

³⁴ Bartoloni 2009, 164.

³⁵ Richardson 1983, 19–20; Bonfante 1993, 47–50; ead. 2003, 71, 82–84, *f.n. 45*; ead. 2009, 188–190.

³⁶ For example: Miller Ammerman 1991, 218; Bonfante 1993, 49; Spivey 2006, *fig. 13*; Simon 2006, 47–48, *fig. IV-4* – with listed older referential literature.

³⁷ Bonfante 1989; ead. 2003, 21.

³⁸ Marinatos 2000, 1–34; Lesure 2011, 11–12, 156–206.

³⁹ Miller Ammerman 1991, 217–218. Compare: Bonfante 1993, 48–52; ead. 2000, 274; ead. 2006; Krauskopf 2006; Di Fazio 2011.

⁴⁰ Negroni Catacchio 1989, 661, *figs. 477, 478*; ead. 1993, 191, *fig. 2d*.

⁴¹ Negroni Catacchio 2007, 540, *fig. 11e*. The mentioned figurine was often compared to small amber figurines such as the pendant from Satricum, tomb VI (Bartoloni 1976, 342–343, *pl. XCIV: 2,3*; Negroni Catacchio 1989, 661, *fig. 480*; id. 1993, 191, *fig. 3a*; Babbi 2008, *fig. 128E*; Nijboer 2010, 8, *fig. 5*) which is actually less well made than the example from Populonia. One should also mention the amber pendants in the form of female heads from the territory of Ascoli which are kept in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Philadelphia (Naso 2000, *pl. 29*; MacIntosh Turfa 2005, 225–227, *cat. nos. 240–242*). One miniature figurine, only 4 centimeters in height, is represented standing with the characteristic gesture of hands placed on the breasts, while the head and hair are covered with a scarf/veil falling down her back (Naso 2000, *pl. 29: below right*; MacIntosh Turfa 2005, 241, *cat. no. 242*). Regarding the formal characteristics it was dated to the 7th century BC and connected to the north-Syrian influence – not necessarily with Etruscan mediation (Naso 2000, 132–133).

INTERPRETATION

The *Lady* from Čikat is a frontal, abstract and immobile figurine in which the position of the hands according to the Etruscan idea can create a courteous attitude (figs. 1–3). But the position could also be a ceremonial one, linked to a ritual/ceremonial purpose – a hypothesis which, due to the present circumstances, is hard decisively to interpret. However, if we accept that the position of the hands with bracelets is not an expression of discretion or modesty, but an expression of a developed symbolical system which had a meaning and was understood by the original society, then we should again focus our attention on another important detail. We are speaking about the perforations located on the top of the head, in the area of the navel and in the ear lobes. Besides the technical solutions in the process of the production of the figurine, and according to the Etruscan composite heads, especially those from the canopic urns (fig. 4), the existing perforations were, for the goal of realistic presentations, functionally used for the fixing of modeled hair, additional decorations and parts of the face/body, masks and similar.⁴² Such a possibility could be applied also to the figurine from Čikat which could have had added specific decorations or hair into the perforation on the head and some clothing or a form of perizoma into the perforation in the navel. As seen in the presented analysis, this is not impossible if, besides the composite decorative role, we perceive in it also the difference in their semantical use.⁴³ We can assume that the *Lady* from Čikat was most probably dressed, just as all the here presented figurines with similar attributes, but her genitals – from in a specific, sacral or sacred necessity – could also have been stripped. This part of the statue is correctly and realistically presented which is, *nota bene*, also a characteristic of the Etruscan artistic production.⁴⁴

If the *Lady* from Čikat wore ear-rings, especially from precious metals, then it could demonstrate all the basic characteristics of consecration, spirituality and piety of the Mediterranean cultural traditions, which were demonstrated by Biba Teržan on the case of the central “naked” Goddess from the cultic wagon from Strettweg,⁴⁵ and much earlier by Lu-

ciana Aigner Foresti, who demonstrated its direct connection to the Etruscan territory, its ideas and creative thoughts.⁴⁶ It is also necessary and sensible to add that, beside the spinning and weaving ladies as mistress of the house – as *Penelope*, the exposure and the demonstration of affiliation of great prestige and richness – in other words the highest social status – the significance of females with a single braid must have marked perhaps the “priestesses” with special influences in ritual and spiritual rites.⁴⁷ For this reason the mourning procession of “priestesses” from the pyxis from Pania (fig. 7), with known contexts of the place and way of deposition of the individual figurines here listed,⁴⁸ will suggest that in these individual small figurines we should really observe the mourning priestesses which were in the style of the Etruscan “*grammatica del dolore*” lamenting and watching over and in this way ensuring the eternity of the burial rite of an exposed deceased.⁴⁹ The absence of data about the archaeological context of discovery, the absence of any possibility of diachronous tracing of such anthropomorphic ceramic figurines on the territory of the northern Adriatic and exclusively typological and stylistic analyzing makes impossible any concrete interpretation or recognition of a possible purpose of the *Lady* from Čikat.

Still it contained, as a *specific subject*, exhibited elements which triggered the recognition of its social quality.⁵⁰ Codified attributes, which were registered on her, and which are impersonal in all the examples, further suggest its characterization as an important ritual, *ex voto* object which could appear independently or with other, different contents. Broken but joint legs and a slightly curved statue anticipate the fact that the *Lady* could not stand independently, but had to be fixed to a small socle or attached, isolated or in combination with several ornaments, and exclusively intended for an inner space, in architecture connected to the decoration of the interior or of the furniture.⁵¹ Following the analogies, the *Lady* from Čikat could have been dedicated in a local, but rich and important female tomb.

⁴² Brendel 1995, 109.

⁴³ Compare with the polyvalent meaning of the Venus from Orvieto (Bonfante 1993, 49–50).

⁴⁴ Bonfante 1993, 49.

⁴⁵ Teržan 2003, 68, 70–71; ead. 2011, 241, figs. 1–3.

⁴⁶ Aigner Foresti 1992, 156, 162–163, cat. no. 242.

⁴⁷ Torelli 1997b, 59–73; Boiardi, von Eles 2002, 262–264; von Eles 2002, 270–271; Negroni Catacchio 2007, 554–555. Compare Gleba 2009, 80–81.

⁴⁸ Babbi 2008, 46–48; Di Fazio 2011, 717–718, 721.

⁴⁹ Damgaard Andersen 1993, 30–32, 56; Torelli 1997b, 31; Di Fazio 2011, 720–723.

⁵⁰ Which is nicely explained for the Etruscan example by Di Fazio (2011, 721–723).

⁵¹ Bartoloni 2000, 277.

With the stylistic analysis and iconographical content in relation to figurines known from the eastern Adriatic coast and its hinterland, the figurine from Čikat was dated to the 7th/6th century BC and defined as an isolated, unique example without any parallels. It was stylistically treated as a reflection of the original artistic expression.⁵²

However, as discussed, formally, stylistically and thematically very close parallels to the *Lady* from Čikat could be observed in the small figurines from Etruria where they are made from similar materials, from pottery to the exotic and luxurious ones such as amber and ivory (figs. 5, 8, 9).⁵³ In accordance with these, i.e. in its iconographical program and stylistic characteristics, one cannot observe the *Lady* from Čikat as a local interpretation of Etruscan patterns. Since it does not differ either stylistically or in elaboration, it should really be considered as a product of Etruscan workshops and their masters from the first half of the 7th century BC. But since the presented analogies do not correspond completely in the iconographical details – and without the expectation of a discovery of a double – it is considered as a product of a unique artistic creativity of the contemporary stylistic concepts.

In reality, the *Lady* from Čikat is one of the extraordinary valuable reflections of the contemporary cultural and mediatory relations which were running with maritime communications over the territory of the northern Adriatic. Perhaps in all of this the territory of Picenum played a crucial role? Still it seems more plausible that, due to the well confirmed prestige of such symbolic artifacts as objects owned by their possessors and their recognisability in the circulation of goods in the system of privileged relations or alliances of eminent persons exchanging gifts,⁵⁴ this role was most likely played by Verucchio – an Etruscan center *on the borders* and an enclave on the Adriatic.⁵⁵ Although a unique and isolated example for the moment, its discovery should not be a too big surprise or a complete novelty, since several directly imported artifacts from the Etruscan workshops are known from the Istrian necropolis, especially from the closest Nesactium, indivisibly connected with the Kvarner.⁵⁶

We can perhaps, in this relation, across the archipelago of Kvarner (Lošinj-Cres-Krk), understand also the appearance of the small figurines manufactured from horns in the graves in Vače,⁵⁷ since in this sculpture, evidently in the decoration of the interior, of the rich furniture, parallels could be observed in Verucchio in the tomb B/1971 Lippi, where very similar figurines made from wood were discovered.⁵⁸

On the other hand this maritime – islands corridor will definitely represent the direction of a somewhat younger, but more distinctive – and in the archaeological record substantiated – irruption of the archaic artistic creations from Etruria all the way to the Iapodes and their artistic heritage, where most evident are the small amber female heads produced in Spina.⁵⁹

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⁵² Stare 1975, 237–238, 242, pl. 16: 2,3, pl. 26.

⁵³ Bentini 2006, 23–24.

⁵⁴ Balen-Letunić 2004, 238, fig. 26, cat. nos. 35.3–35.8; Bakarić 2008, figs. 2–7, 12. Compare Negroni Catacchio 1989, 662, fig. 473; Cambi 2002, 18–20. Contrary to the amber heads, the *Lady* from Čikat was unfortunately not included in the overview of the art of antiquity on the territory of Croatia (Cambi 2000), nor in the presentation of Etruscan monuments in Croatia in the chapter *Pogovor* to the first translated work on Etruscan thematics – the classical *Etruščani: Etruskologija* by M. Pallotino (Rendić-Miočević 2008).

⁵² Kukoč 1984–1985, 10–12; Majnarić-Pandžić 1998, 318.

⁵³ Negroni Catacchio 2007, 540, 550, figs. 11e, 25.

⁵⁴ See the discussion on this topic in the modern approach by: Maras, Sciacca 2011.

⁵⁵ Considered in the sense of G. Sassatelli's concept of "*centro etrusco di frontiera*" (Sassatelli 1996).

⁵⁶ Mihovilić 1986; ead. 1988; Cambi 2002, 15–17.