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STATUS, SYMBOLS, SACRIFICES, OFFERINGS.
THE DIVERSE MEANINGS OF ILLYRIAN HELMETS

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The Illyrian helmet, a particular type of defensive military equipment dating from the late sixth and the fifth century BC, has been found in many places in the wider region of the Balkan Peninsula, the eastern Adriatic coast and its close hinterland. This paper presents and analyses a new find of this kind of armour in the Kvarner (Quarnero) area, a helmet that belongs to the first variant of its last stage of development (III A1). On the basis of data given here, the author proposes that this type should be divided in two variants that were chronologically contemporary and distributed throughout the same region, but had very different status meaning and symbolical characteristics. Based on the find sites, manners and contexts of their depositing she discusses several possible purposes of these helmets, and their meaningful iconographic content and features of style indicate that new aesthetic moments could have reflected the status symbols of chieftains, dignitaries and privileged members of communities in the wider area of south-east Europe.

Almost all the graves that we know of »great« and »powerful« figures in human history have a kind of »warning« scene at their entrance. Usually completely symbolical and abstracted to the level of simplified detail, these scenes through a wealth of themes, meanings or interpretations deal with the eternal struggle against death, the eternal desire for immortality. Sometimes they are completely explicit, such as the scene showing the fight against or the hunt for the boar (and wild beasts) painted above the architrave at the entrance to the tomb of Philip II of Macedon in Vergina. On this occasion, according to myth, the whole contemporary »world« gathered in a struggle against death, which is merciless and indestructible, which is divine (ANDRONIKOS 1992: 205, 208; VOKOTOPOULOU 1996: 149; ANDRONICOS 1999: 97–118; DROUGOU, SAATSOGLOU-PALIADELI 2002: 41–49, Fig. 60). It is a frightening hunting scene full of warning but also of encouragement. In its endless interpretations this thought has been universally illustrated right down to the present.

The wild boar was a central motif and chthonic deity in many polytheistic communities and was not unknown in the iconography of Iron-Age communities and cultures of that time, which the Greeks called barbarian, especially in the wider Balkan region. Boars are shown on helmets, shields, daggers and swords, on horse gear, mounts for belts, as decorations on clothing or jewellery, on

coins, dishes, and even independently, because the wild boar was a specific and explicit symbol of a dignitary or a chieftain, of men who were powerful and indestructible.

Boars are often shown on helmets. We find them on various types of helmets and in many stylistic and iconographic variants but only on Illyrian helmets do they appear on the brow, the most prominent part, where they are shown between two lions. Although this iconographic representation has been much discussed in archaeological literature and many answers offered and proposals put forward, it nevertheless remains a very provocative subject.

On the other hand, this type of military equipment is gaining increasing attention in more recent archaeological literature and there are now many new reviews, observations and modern analyses. Thanks to new finds and new data, knowledge about the Illyrian helmet has been growing in the last twenty years and its definition is gaining in precision. However, rather a lot of time was needed for scholars, although not all of them, to accept this name predominantly as a territorial designation and less as one specifying a particular ethnicity (VASIĆ 1982: 5–6; NADBATH 2004: 38). It must, however, be pointed out that the different terminology reflects the chronological development of knowledge about and analysis of this kind of helmet, changing from *Greek-Illyrian, Macedonian-Illyrian*, down to *Illyrian* helmet.¹ On the other hand, outdated terminology is still being used and there are even proposals for a completely new name such as the *Paionian* (SOKOLOVSKA 1997: 36; 1997 a: 57, Fig. 12–13) or the *Greek-Macedonian* type of helmet (KUZMAN 2006: 546). This paper was motivated by the find of another Illyrian helmet and it is devoted to gaining broader knowledge about these helmets and their different contextual, interpretative and inspirational meanings.

The area of the Kvarner Bay in the north of the eastern Adriatic still holds many archaeological surprises, especially in the case of military equipment. Not so long ago we were surprised by finds in a grave, or a hoard, in the town of Krk, unique in the syncretism of a Negau type helmet and Greek type greaves (BALEN-LETUNIĆ 1991–1992). The find of an Illyrian helmet was a new surprise, all the more so as it was discovered in the sea (Fig. 1–2, T. I). It was brought up from a depth of about 15–16 m in front of Jablanac Point not far from the village of Beli on the island of Cres. This made it the first positive submarine find of its kind in the Republic of Croatia² and also generally, and at the same time it marked the westernmost point in the spreading of this type of armour (Fig. 3, 4).

In 2003, Đani Uhač from Lovran, an important Croatian underwater fisherman of world renown, found the helmet completely by chance. Thanks to him, and also to my colleagues Ivan Radman-Livaja and especially Ante Rendić-Miočević, director of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, the helmet was sent to that museum where it was completely, gradually and fully restored. Damir Doračić performed the restoration and metal analysis, Miljenka Galić made the drawings and Igor Krajcar provided the photo documentation, all of them from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.

As a submarine find, the helmet was surprisingly well preserved and has kept all its indicative parts. It has a hemispherical dome (bowl), custom made for the wearer's head. It is of standard size, 24 cm high by 12 cm wide (Fig. 1, T. I), and does not depart from any of the other known models of this kind of armour. The neck guard is flanged, 2.2 cm wide, and continues uninterrupted from the

1 KUKAHN 1936; KUNZE 1953/1955; 1967; LAH-TOV 1965; 1965a; MAROVIĆ 1976; VASIĆ 1982; 1982–1983; PFLUG 1988; BITRAKOVA GROZDANOVA 1987; TERŽAN 1995; ŠKOBERNE 2001.

2 Earlier literature mentions the helmet from Podgora near Sućuraj on the island of Hvar as a possible submarine find but there are no precise data about where and how it was discovered (NIKOLANCI 1960: 31, Fig. 1; PFLUG 1988: 56, f. n. 84; TERŽAN 1995: 119).



Figure 1. Illyrian helmet found in the sea at Jablanac Point near the island of Cres.
Slika 1. Ilirska kaciga izronjena nedaleko od rta Jablanac kod otoka Cresa.

cheek pieces to the edge of the helmet (Fig. 1b–d, T. I). The cheek pieces, the *paragnatidae*, are triangular with a rounded back edge and a sharp point in front, 14 cm high and 9 cm wide. Each of them has a hole used to secure the helmet when it was worn (Fig. 1a–c, 2b, T. I). The opening for the face is rectangular, 11 cm wide. In front there is a pin and in the back a loop which served to attach a crest to the helmet. The crest fitted between the two jutting ridges of triangular section running across the dome from front to back, between which three parallel lines are incised (Fig. 1a, d, T. I). The whole edge of the helmet is decorated with a thin border consisting of a row of small holes into which separately cast beads were fitted (Fig. 1, 2, T. I), giving the so-called *perlen efekt* in decorating helmets. During restoration an incised cross was discovered on the front of the helmet, exactly under the pin (Fig. 2a, T. I). This detail, although tiny and barely noticeable, makes this helmet unique and more individualised than any of the specimens known. The incised cross was probably the owner's mark, a personal sign of recognition or perhaps an indication of his status. The choice of its position is interesting because it is in this place that the helmets from Trebeništa and Olympia have the famous allegorical scene of a wild boar between two lions (T. IV: 1, 3).³ Could the cross have been a mark showing the exact place where an applied decoration was to be fitted?

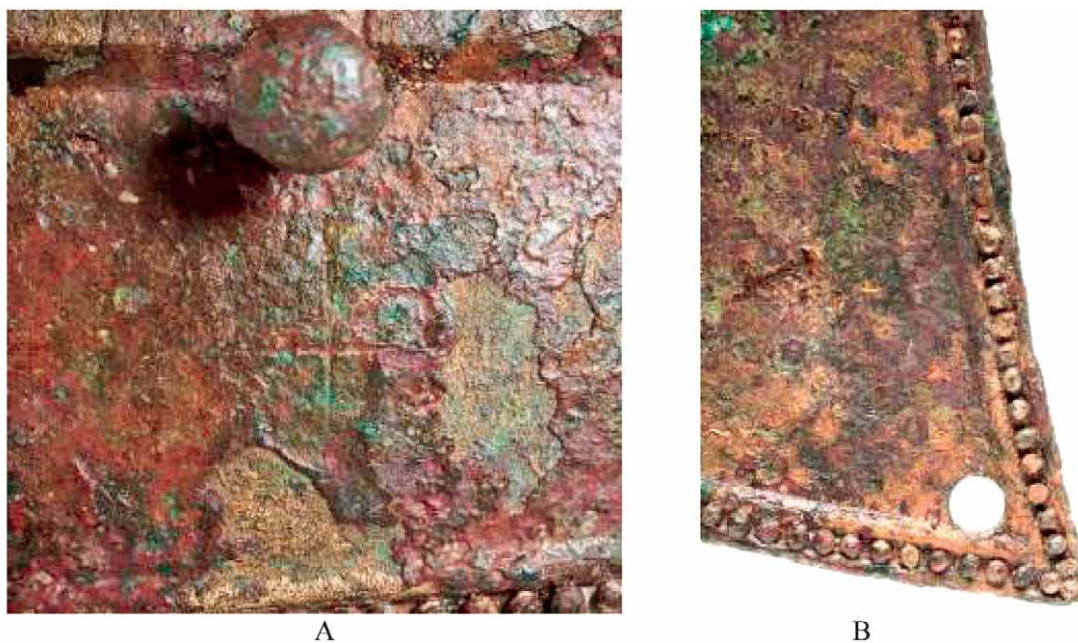


Figure 2. Detail of incised cross under the pin (A) and the end of the cheek piece with the beads and the hole for tying the strap (B).

Slika 2. Detalj urezanog križa ispod zakovice (A) i završetka obrazine s kuglicama i rupicom za vezivanje (B).

³ These finds are well presented in professional literature so I only give here the first publications and more recent reviews that contain older bibliography: FILOW 1927: 29, Abb. 25, T. 5; VULIĆ 1933: 1–41; POPOVIĆ 1975: 54–56, Fig. 47; POPOVIĆ 1994: 128, cat. 96; KRSTIĆ

2007: 108–109; KUNZE 1967: 125, T. 67, 68; SNODGRASS 1984: 89–90, Fig. 44; VASIĆ 1987a: 726–727, T. LXXXVI: 1; KULL 1997: 288–290, Abb. 43; THEODOSSIEV 2000: 199–200, Fig. 20; EIBNER 2001: 254, Abb. 7: 2, 4.

The »Cres« helmet thus belongs to the last, late variant of Illyrian helmets without ear openings, the III A type (Fig. 3). Within this category, its morphological, technological and stylistic characteristics place it on the first level of development, III A1, according to the classification proposed and very convincingly substantiated by Herman Pflug (1988) and Biba Teržan (1995). The production and in most cases the use of these helmets is dated to the second half of the sixth and to the early fifth century BC, and not many specimens of this variant of the above type have been found (PFLUG 1988: 53, Abb. 14; TERŽAN 1995: 87, Abb. 7). They were usually worn over caps or special linings so the beads along the edge had no useful purpose, as in earlier types (I, II), but were only

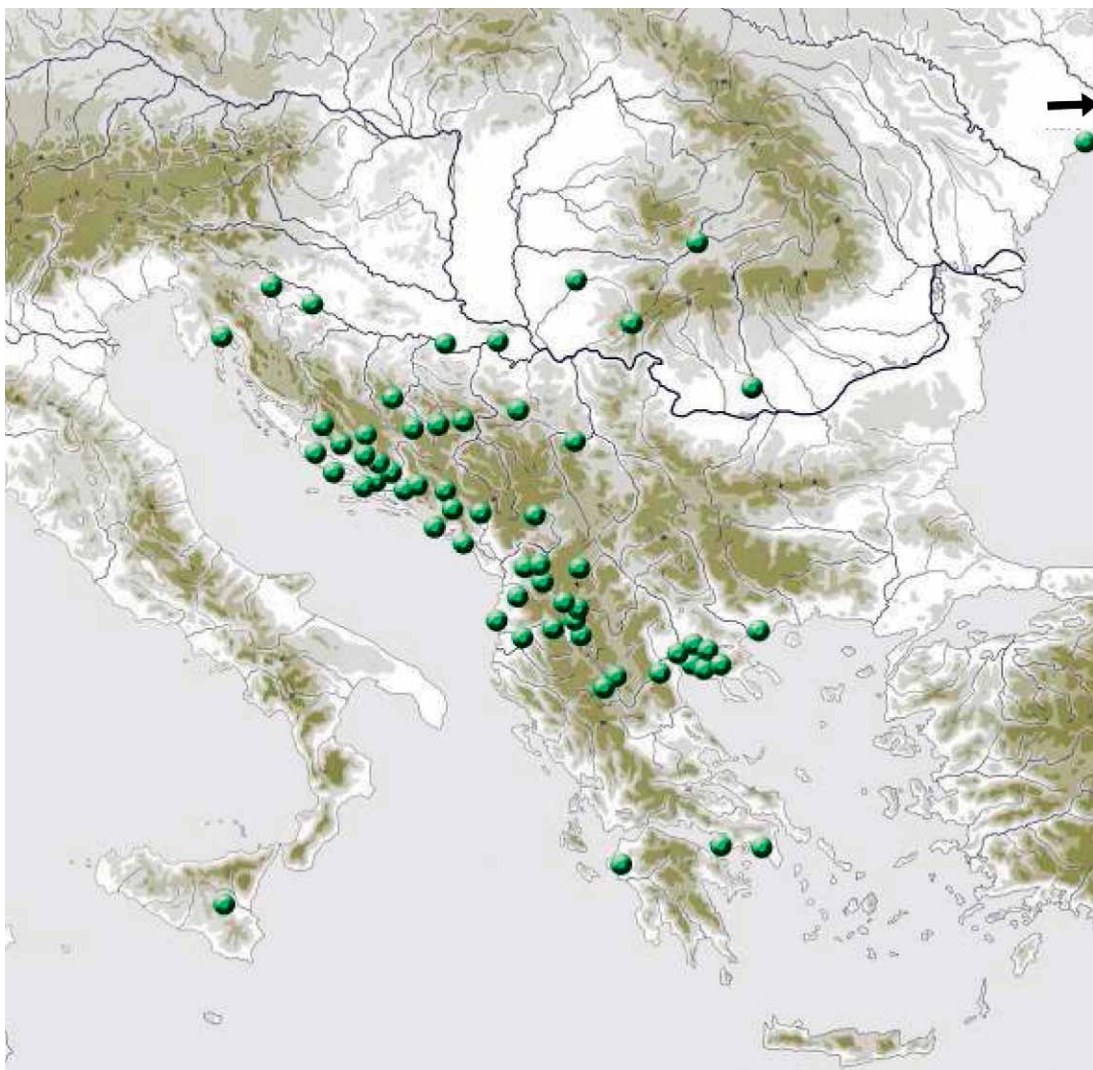


Figure 3. Map showing the distribution of III A type Illyrian helmets.
Supplemented according to TERŽAN 1995.

Slika 3. Karta rasprostranjenosti ilirskih kaciga III A tipa.
Nadopunjeno prema TERŽAN 1995.

List of sites:
Lista nalazišta:

Num.	Find spot	Pieces/Type	Context	Bibliography
1	Island of Cres Jablanac Point (Cro.)	1/ III A1a	Underwater find (sea), chance	Fig. 1–2, T. I. Križ 1997: 57, k. 43;
2	Novo mesto (Si.)	1/ III A1, 1/ III A2a	Necropolis, Grave 19/VII	Egg 1999: 321–325, Abb. 4, T. 12; Križ 2004: Fig. 4.
3	Sisak (Cro.)	1/ III A1a	Underwater find (river), chance	Burkowsky 2001: K. 5; Burkowsky 2004: cat. 1.
4	Breza / Kamenjača (B&H)	2/ III A1a, 1/ III A2, 1/ III A3?	Necropolis, grave	Paškvalin 2002: 526–528, T. II: 1–4.
5	Vranje Selo / Vidića guvno (B&H)	2/ III A2a	Necropolis, grave	Miličević-Capek 2007: 139–144; Vrutak 2007: cover
6	Timișoara (Ro.)	1/ III A1b	Underwater find (river), chance	Cedica (in preparation)
7	Ohrid / Gorna porta (Mc.)	5/ III A1a, 1/ III A1b	Necropolis, Tomb 1	Kuzman 2006: 546; Bangs 2006; Balkana- lysis 2006.
8	Babino / Demir Hisar Kičevo (Mc.)	1/ III A3	Necropolis, grave?	Mitrevski 1997: 279.
9	Tymphaia / Grevena (Gr.)	1/ III A2a	Tomb?	Ducrey 1985: ill. 57; Ellis 1992: Abb 24.
10	Philia (Gr.)	1/ III A3	Shrine	Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002: 90–91, T. 90:1420.
11	Pangaion (Gr.)	1/ III A2a	?	Pflug 1988: Abb. 14: 8.
12	Archontiko / Pella (Gr.)	2/ III A3	Necropolis	Kuzman 2006: 547, Ph. 25; Manti 2006: 6.

decorative. Technologically this was very demanding work that required casting, embossing, incising and soldering or mechanically fixing the beads in the holes made for them. Thus it is not surprising that there were relatively few such helmets in comparison with other variants of the same type. So far only 16 sites with about 50 helmets are known, either complete or in fragments, depending on the place, manner and reason for depositing them (Fig. 4).⁴

In general, Illyrian III A type helmets are widespread in the south and central Balkans (VASIĆ 1982: 5–10; 1982–1983: 76–78, Fig. 3) and a large number has also been recorded in the south part of the east Adriatic shore and its hinterland (NIKOLANCI 1959: 86–89, Fig. 2; MAROVIĆ 1976: 287–290, Fig. 1) (Fig. 3). The history of research into these helmets had been long and gradual, often corrected and systematically added to. Newer finds, such as two Illyrian helmets from

4 We give only a framework number of Illyrian helmets obtained from published material available, in which the number of helmets is very often incomplete or imprecise,

and there is often no catalogue or specific data about the particular fragments.

Vranjevo selo near Neum, III A2a type (MILIČEVIĆ-CAPEK 2007: 139–144; VRUTAK 2007, cover), six helmets from Ohrid, III A1 type (KUZMAN 2006: 546), and two helmets from Novo mesto, III A1 and III A2a types, (KRIŽ 1997: 51, 56–57, k. 42–43; EGG 1999: Abb. 4–5, T. 12–13; KRIŽ 2004: 424, Fig. 4), complement our earlier knowledge about the spread, contexts and interrelations of these finds within wider cultural circles. Many corrections have also been made; one of them being the classification of fragments of a cheek piece from the shrine of Athena Itonia in Philia as the III A type (KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 2002: 90–91, T. 90: 1420), almost certainly its 3rd variant. Also very interesting is the fragment of a decorated cheek piece from Tymphaia near Grevena (DUCREY 1985: ill. 57; ELLIS 1992: Abb. 24), which can now be seen as belonging to the III A2 type, probably the *a* variant (Fig. 7c), and not to the III B type, as thought by Pflug (1988: 64, f. n. 83). Furthermore, two helmet fragments from Kamenjača in Breza can now, thanks to published drawings, be determined as belonging to the III A1 type (PAŠKVALIN 2002: 526–527, T. II: 1–2) (T. III: 2). The helmet from Sisak (BURKOWSKY 2001: 28–29, K. 5; 2004: 17, Cat. 1), despite differences of opinion, can nevertheless be classed as the III A1 type (T. II: 2). The helmet from Babino near Demir Hisar, i.e. Kičevo (MITREVSKI 1997: 279), typologically belongs to the 3rd variant of the III A type of Illyrian helmets, and so do the new finds in Archontiko (KUZMAN 2006: 547; MANTI 2006: 6).⁵

The above finds are completely congruent with the accepted classification of Illyrian helmets that Teržan developed, supplemented and correctly structured into sub-types and variants, which Pflug had only anticipated (PFLUG 1988: 52–64). Teržan especially focused on defining the most developed and numerous type III A2, which she divided on the basis of morphology and also of differences in style (III A2a and III A2b) (TERŽAN 1995: 87–88, 114–121, Abb. 7–9). These are certainly not the only data provided by this division; others offer a wider and much more complex view of the origin, circumstances of production and development, and the inter-relations between the two groups. In the same way, in the case of Illyrian helmets with a smooth edge (III A3 type) we also differentiate between those without a decoration and those with incised circles that imitate or remind of earlier types, which Teržan also mentioned (1995: 87, Anm. 29). However, in the case of Illyrian helmets belonging to the first variant of the late phase these differences of morphological and especially of technological and style characteristics are more pronounced.

The closest and best parallel of the »Cres« example is the helmet from a warrior grave in Novo mesto, Kapiteljska njiva-Tumulus VII/Grave 19 (KRIŽ 1997: 57, k. 43; EGG 1999: 321–325, Abb. 4, T. 12; KRIŽ 2004: Fig. 4) (T. II: 1). The rich grave of the »brothers in arms« or »warrior brothers« provides clear evidence of many facts, one of them being that Illyrian helmets of type III, variants A1 and A2a, were both worn at the same time. There are also obvious similarities with helmets from other warrior graves, for example in Kačanj (MARIĆ 1959: 89–90, Fig. 1b, T. 1: 1a–1b; 1976: 106–107, Fig. 3, T. I: 2–5) (T. II: 5–6), the »rich graves« from Trebeništa (POPOVIĆ 1956: 47, T. XVIII; LAHTOV 1965: 124, 153, T. XXVII: 3; KRSTIĆ 2004: 38–39, Abb. 27 (a–c); 2007a: 108–109) (T. IV: 1) and »Tomb 1« from Ohrid (KUZMAN 2006: 546, Ph. 4) (T. IV: 4). To them may also be added the helmet from the isolated grave find near Ražana (GARAŠANIN 1973: Fig. 25; POPOVIĆ 1975: 52, Fig. sat. 46; VASIĆ 1977: 64, Pl. 24: 1) (T. III: 3) and the helmets that were placed beside a grave in the tumulus near Pečka banja (TASIĆ 1998: 578, cat. 222; KRSTIĆ 2004: 39–40; 2007: 98–99) (T. III: 4). Finds in shrines also deserve special mention. The closest analogy in form and manner of production is Olympia where the largest number of III A1 type helmets has to date been found (KUNZE 1967: 124–125, T. 64, 67–68; PFLUG 1988: 53, Abb. 10–11; TERŽAN

⁵ The data are given in the List of Find Spots supplementing Fig. 3.

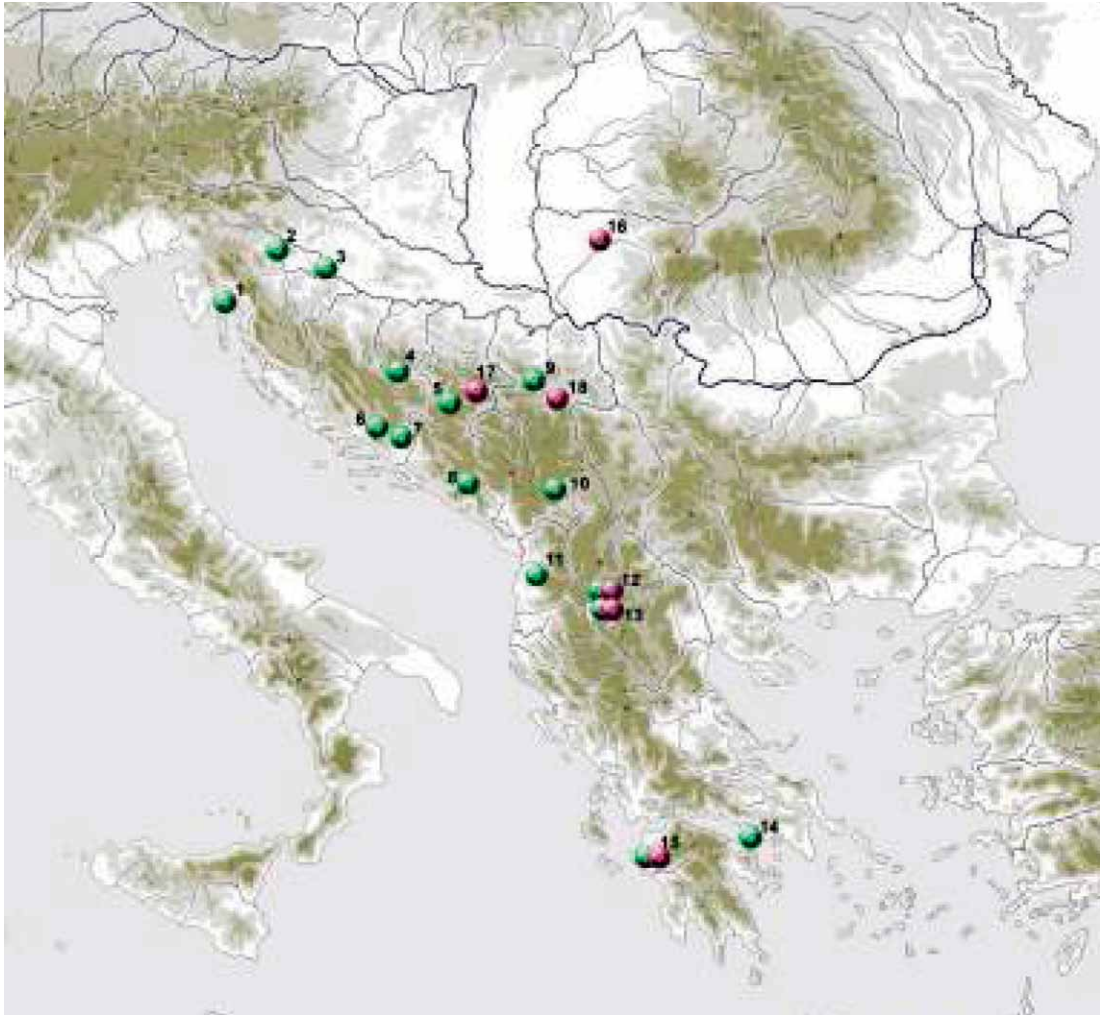


Figure 4. Map showing the distribution of Illyrian helmets of the III A1a and III A1b type and of finds of boar applications.

Slika 4. Karta rasprostranjenost ilirskih kaciga III A1a i IIIA1b tipa s pridruženim aplikacijama vepra.

List of sites:
Lista nalazišta:

Num.	Find spot	Pieces/Type	Context	Bibliography
1	Island of Cres Jablanac Point (Cro.)	1/ III A1a	Underwater find (sea), chance	Fig. 1–2, T. I.
2	Novo mesto / Kapiteljska njiva (Si.)	1/ III A1a	Necropolis, Grave 19/VII	Križ 1997: 57, k. 43; Egg 1999: 321–325, Abb. 4, T. 12; Križ 2004: Fig. 4.

Num.	Find spot	Pieces/Type	Context	Bibliography
3	Sisak (Cro.)	1/ III A1a	Underwater find (river), chance	Burkowsky 2001: K. 5; Burkowsky 2004: cat. 1.
4	Putičevo (B&H)	1/ III A1a	Unknown	Fiala 1899: 151, T. 8; Nadbath 2004: T. 1: 1.
5	Breza / Kamenjača (B&H)	2/ III A1a	Necropolis, graves?	Paškvalin 2002: T. II: 1–2.
6	Bulbin / Imotski (Cro.)	2/ III A1a	Chance find?	Nikolaci 1959: 82, Fig. 1; Marović 1976: 295, T. 4:9.
7	Gorica / Ljubuški (B&H)	1/ III A1a	Shrine	Truhelka 1902: 6–8, Fig. 3–4.
8	Kaćanj / Bileća (B&H)	6/ III A1a	Necropolis	Marić 1959: 89–90, Fig. 1b, T. I: 1a–b; Marić 1975–1976: Fig. 3, T. I: 2–5.
9	Ražana / Kosjerići (Ser.)	1/ III A1a	Grave	Garašanin 1973: Fig. 25; Popović 1975: cat. 46; Vasić 1977: Pl. 24:1.
10	Pečka banja / Peć (Kosovo)	3/ III A1a	Tumulus, beside grave	Srebro 1990: 187; Tasić 1998: 578, kat. 222; Bačkalov 2004: cat. 57–56; Krstić 2007: 94, 98–99.
11	Leči (Lezhe) (Al.)	1/ III A1a	Unknown, S. Gjecov Franciscan Collection	Nopcsa 1912: 188, Fig. 44.
12	Trebeništa / Gorenci (Mc.)	6/III A1a, 2/ III A1b	Necropolis	Filow 1927: Abb. 25, 99, T. 5, 15:1; Popović 1956:47, T. 18; Krstić 2007a:108–109.
13	Ohrid / Gorna porta (Mc.)	5/ III A1a, 1/ III A1b	Necropolis, Tomb 1	Kuzman 2006: 546; Bangs 2006; Balkanalys 2006.
14	Ishtmia (Gr.)	1/ III A1a?	Shrine	Broneer 1958: 34–35, P. 17:b.
15	Olympia (Gr.)	10/ III A1a, 3/ III A1b	12 shrine, 1 underwater find (river)	Kunze 1967: 123–126, T. 57–68; Pflug 1988: Abb. 10–11; Hockey et al 1992: Pl. 19–23.
16	Timișoara (Ro.)	1/ III A1b	Underwater find (river), chance?	Cedica (in preparation)
17	Zagrade / Glasinac (B&H)	Boar application	Grave I/3	Parović-Pešikan 1961: Sl. 2; Čović 1987: 616, T. LXIV: 1.
18	Atenica / Čačak (Ser.)	Boar application	Mound I, peripheral grave	Djuknić-Jovanović 1966: 18–19, T. XIX: 1; Tasić 1992: Fig. 9.

1995: 115, Abb. 7) (T. III: 7, IV: 2–3, 5). Illyrian helmets were very often also found in rivers, but this is as yet not a characteristic of III A1 type helmets. A more direct parallel can only be made with the helmet from Olympia (HOCKEY et al. 1992) (T. IV: 2) and the helmet from Timișoara (CEDICA in preparation).

If we, furthermore, compare the categories of find spot and find context with state of preservation, we see that all the helmets so far found in graves are usually completely preserved, intentionally deformed, broken or intentionally pierced. Not rarely they appear as fragments of cheek pieces that can only exceptionally be recognised (T. II: 6). The same is true of shrines, where intentionally broken and damaged helmets are the most numerous, or are again present in completely recognisable fragments (e.g. Isthmia, T. III: 6). Only sea and river finds give an opposite picture because these helmets are almost completely preserved, without traces of violent or intentional deformation, as if they had been discarded as a message or for some special, perhaps ritual reason.⁶

Even a cursory view of the helmets compared shows pronounced aesthetic, stylistic and technological differences. The famous Trebeništa and Olympia helmets (T. IV: 1–3, 5), together with the new finds of richly-decorated helmets from Ohrid (T. IV: 4) and Timișoara, certainly form a separate group within the first phase of the last stage of development of Illyrian helmets. Since their basic manner of workmanship, shape and production technology are unique, and their contemporaneity indisputable, helmets with applied decorations are the reflection of a different intention, a different need, value and end purpose. These helmets can be divided in the **III A1a** variant, which is simple, common and without additional decorations, and is relatively widespread in the wider region, and the **III A1b** variant, which comprises exceptional luxury helmets designed for special needs (Fig. 4 with list of find spots).

The central motif of the exceptional III A1b variant of Illyrian helmets is the heraldic concept of a wild boar flanked by lions, known from Trebeništa, Olympia and Timișoara (T. IV: 1, 3), or the applied representation of a ram's head on the cheek pieces of the helmets from Olympia and Ohrid (T. IV: 4, 5). However, this is not the first, nor the only, attempt to give these helmets a higher aesthetic level by sublimating narration or symbols through an associative or allegorical representation of animals.

A boar in a similar position, but incised, was already found on the left, intentionally pierced,⁷ cheek piece of a type II Illyrian helmet from the Ioannina necropolis, found in the function of an urn (PFLUG 1988: 49; TERŽAN 1995: 113, Abb. 6; SAKELLARIOU 1997: 97, Fig. 80) (Fig. 5a). Incised, heraldically placed lions with a raised front paw and antithetically turned heads were also found on the III A3 type helmet from Argolis, today in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (PFLUG 1988: 61, Abb. 17–18; MORAN 2007) (Fig. 5b).⁸ It still remains open, and will be a subject for future research, whether this progression shows evolution in the development of this art motif on Illyrian helmets. It is certain, however, that applied decorations in precious metals only appear on helmets of the III A1b type.

6 Deformities caused by the passage of time and/or water are completely different, for example, the helmets from the river Cetina near Trilj (MILOŠEVIĆ 2004: 19; GAFFNY 2004: 3; RADIĆ ROSSI 2006: 85) or the helmet from Timișoara.

7 I would also mention that several Illyrian helmets of the III A2a type are pierced on the left cheek piece, from inside-out, all of them in Olympia (DUCERY 1985: 61, ill. 41e; SEARS 2007; Olympia Museum 2007). Of all the known helmets of the III A1 type, the only one with a pierced cheek piece is in the British Museum (HOCKEY et al.

1992: Pl. 19–21). Therefore, such helmets are exclusively localised in shrines, or at least in areas inseparably linked to them. This fact is all the more important if we know that weapons were nailed to the walls of shrines, usually in corridors and porticoes, and cared for by the priests (DUCERY 1985: 277). Perhaps this is how one should look on the intentionally deformed, outwards bent and pierced cheek pieces on Illyrian helmets?

8 An identical specimen was sold at an auction at Christie's on 25 October (CHRISTIE'S 2007).

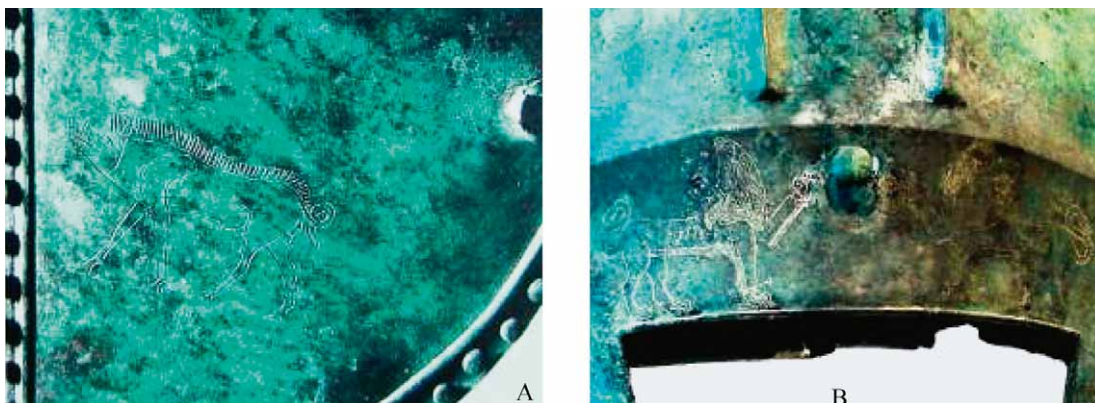


Figure 5. Incised boar on the cheek piece of the helmet from Ioannina (A) (according to SAKELLARIOU 1997) and representation of two lions on the front of the helmet from Argolis (according to MORAN 2007).

Slika 5. Urezani prikaz vepra na paragnatidi kacige iz Ioannine (A) (prema SAKELLARIOU 1997) i prikaz dva lava na čeonom dijelu kacige iz Argolisa (prema MORAN 2007).

The boar applications on helmets should certainly be joined by the boars found in Zagrađe, Grave 1 (FIALA 1899: 51, Fig. 51, PAROVIĆ-PEŠIKAN 1961: 25, Fig. 2; ČOVIĆ 1987: 616, T. LXIV: 1), and in Atenica, Mound I, peripheral grave of a young man (DJUKNIĆ – JOVANOVIĆ 1966: 17–18, T. XI: 1, XIX: 1, XXIX–XXXIII; 2003: 191–192; VASIĆ 2004: Abb. 15), which are creatively and receptively almost identical (Fig. 6. a, b). Interest in them is still very strong but ideas diverge, so despite the frequent mention of their similarities no certain, firm and adequate relationship between these highly aesthetic finds of the cultural heritage has yet been established, although it has been offered (POPOVIĆ 1975: 54; STIPČEVIĆ 1981: 105–106; T. XXXI: 2, 4; VASIĆ 1987: 650; 2007: 560–561).

In the first place, these are certainly applications of similar size, 4.2–4.8 cm, and almost identical workmanship, made of thin silver and/or gilded silver sheet with the same technological and style characteristics. They were probably made in the same crafts centre or at least in a narrow circle of workshops that had the ability, knowledge and skill to process precious metals. This does not by any means imply that they were made in Greek workshops, as Maja Parović-Pešikan assumed (PAROVIĆ-PEŠIKAN 1961: 25) relying on analogies with Greek vase paintings. The only boar that is missing, of all the ones we know about, is that from Trebeništa, which has been preserved as an impression and in the recognition of its position (T. IV: 1). The »Olympian« boar is fragmented in the last part of its body (T. IV: 3), while the Atenica one has no legs or tusks. To the best of our knowledge there has been only one attempt to reconstruct the Atenica boar, but it is unfortunately not very convincing which decreases its symbolism (TASIĆ 1992: Fig. 9) (Fig. 6a). The reconstructed Atenica boar is a clumsy and ungainly animal with short and stocky back legs, although the position of the body, the powerful muscles and the slant of the bristles and head suggest a completely different approach in the reconstruction would have been more appropriate. The best-preserved example is that from Zagrađe (Fig. 6b), which enables a better and more detailed analysis of the animal's posture. Various interpretations have been offered both for the symbolism and for the purpose of this item, some exaggerated, some completely irrelevant (PAROVIĆ-PEŠIKAN 1961: 25; BABIĆ 2004: 131, K. 2) 1.–2.). Only Ljubiša Popović made comparisons between it and the boars known at that time on the helmets from Trebeništa and Olympia (1975: 54–55, f.n. 270).

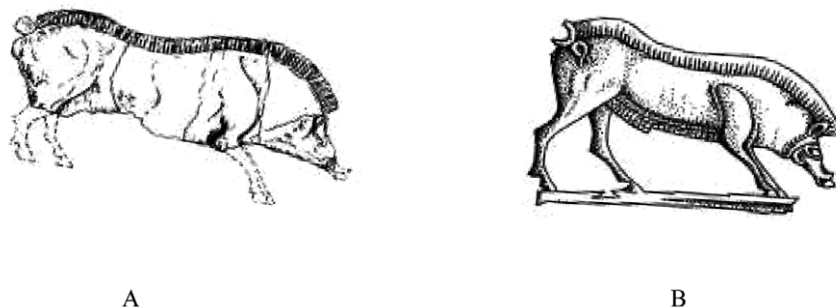


Figure 6. Silver sheet boars from Atenica (A) (according to TASIĆ 1992) and Zagrađe (B) (according to ČOVIĆ 1987).

Slika 6. Srebrni limovi u obliku vepra iz Atenice (A) (prema TASIĆ 1992) i Zagrađa (B) (prema ČOVIĆ 1987).

Another very interesting object must be singled out in the context of the central Atenica grave, Mound II. It is the fragment of a palmette, also cut from sheet silver (DJUKNIĆ – JOVANOVIĆ 1966: 18–19, T. XII: 3, XXI: 1), technologically and aesthetically matching the boar applications (Fig. 7a). Undoubtedly they were shield decorations, as directly suggested by the palmette fragments from Athena Itonia's shrine in Philia

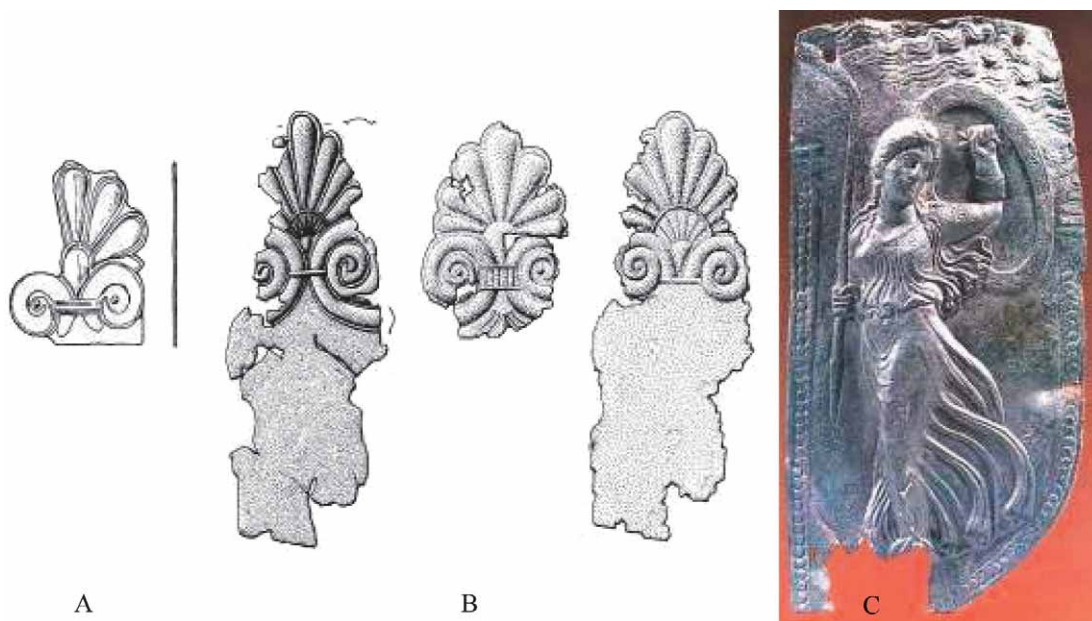


Figure 7. Palmettes of sheet silver and bronze from Atenica (A) (according to DJUKNIĆ-JOVANOVIĆ 1966) and Philia (B) (according to KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 2002) and the cheek piece from Grevena (according to ELLIS 1992).

Slika 7. Palmete od srebrnog i brončanog lima iz Atenice (A) (prema DJUKNIĆ-JOVANOVIĆ 1966) i Philije (B) (prema KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 2002) te paragnatida iz Grevene (prema ELLIS 1992).

(KILIAN DIRLMEIER 2002: 88–89; T. 89: 1393–1401) (Fig. 7b) or is even more convincingly illustrated on the chryselephantine shield from »Philip's Tomb« in Vergina (ANDRONICOS 1999: 134–140, Fig. 91–93) and on the cheek piece from a III A2a type Illyrian helmet in Grevena (Fig. 7c). The cheek piece is richly decorated with the figure of Nike stepping forward victoriously and holding a spear and shield whose handle is decorated with a palmette (DUCREY 1985: 88, Ill. 57; PFLUG 1988: 64; ELLIS 1992: Abb. 24). This is the only known example of a decorated fragment of a III A2a variant of an Illyrian helmet, but it remains open whether it was decorated originally, while the helmet was still in use, which seems more probable, or whether it was subsequently worked on for a certain purpose, perhaps to be used as an insignia. Contextual dating places it at a time when this type of helmet had long gone out of use. Therefore, this cheek piece of secondary use directly shows the value and importance of the Illyrian helmet as a status symbol for a dignitary, chieftain or leader, which by association imparts an unequivocal message.

In this survey we must also mention the, perhaps merely forgotten, applied palmette decorations on the helmets from Trebeništa (Fig. 8a, T. IV: 1). This especially refers to the often-mentioned helmet from Grave 8 (VULIĆ 1932: 34–35, Fig. 55–56; POPOVIĆ 1956: 26–27, T. XVIII, XVIIIa; POPOVIĆ 1975: 54–56; Fig. 47; LAHTOV 1965: T. XXVII: 3), which has been brought back to attention thanks to new reproductions (KRSTIĆ 2004: Abb. 27, K. 36; 2007a: 108–109). The helmet from the Trebeništa Grave 6 also has a palmette application (FILOW 1927: 84, Abb. 99; PFLUG 1988: 53–54). The palmette decorations on helmets from the Olympia shrine show that these were not isolated examples or an exception resulting only from the taste and demands of the Iron-Age »aristocracy« in the Ohrid region. Besides the helmet in the Olympia museum (KUNZE 1967: Nr.

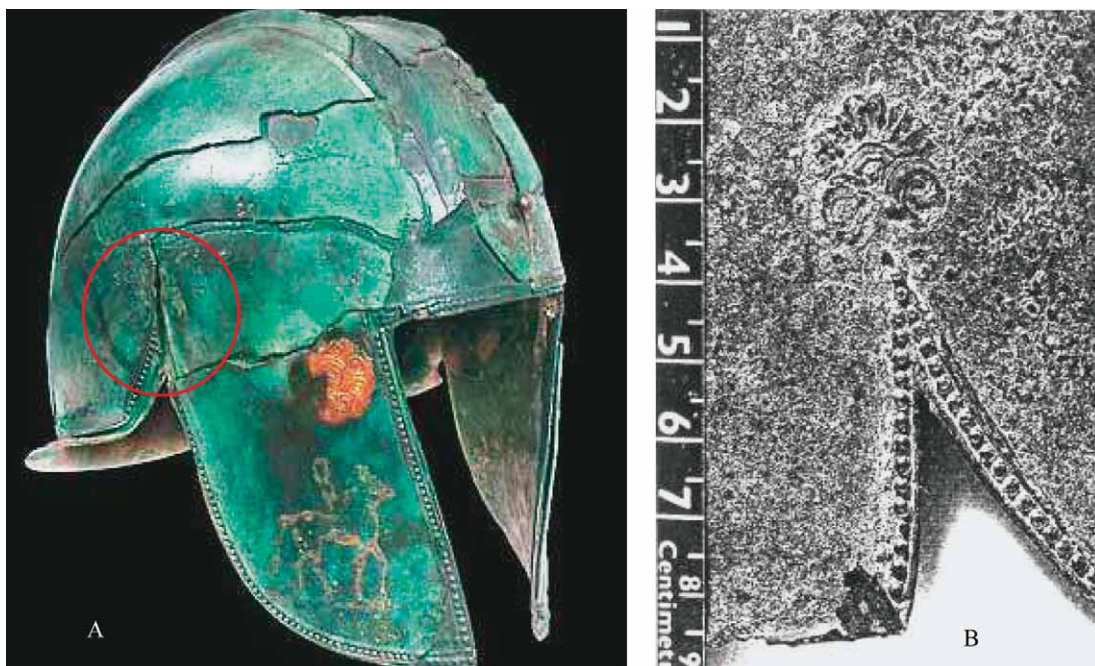


Figure 8. Illyrian helmet from Grave 8 in Trebeništa (A) (according to KRSTIĆ 2007a) and a detail of a helmet decorated with a palmette in Olympia (B) (according to HOCKEY et al 1992).

Slika 8. Ilirska kaciga iz groba 8 iz Trebeništa (A) (prema KRSTIĆ 2007a) i dio kacige ukrašene palmetom iz Olimpije (B) (prema HOCKEY et al 1992).

43, T. 64; SNODGRASS 1984: Fig. 44; PFLUG 1988: 34; KULL 1997: 288, Abb. 43), palmettes were exceptionally »impressed« on both sides of the ends of the cheek pieces and on the front of another Illyrian helmet from Olympia (Fig. 8b, T. IV: 2), which was found in the river Alpheios and is kept in the British Museum (KUNZE 1958: 139, 147, Abb. 106–107, T. 51–52; PFLUG 1988: 54; HOCKEY et al. 1992: 287, Pl. 22: a–b). To the best of my knowledge, this helmet is to date the most completely and most exhaustively studied one and the analyses of its metals and workmanship revealed many new moments, which must be borne in mind.⁹ It has silver applications, the small beads around the edge are also partly made of silver, and analysis showed that both were soldered with tin (HOCKEY et al. 1992: 283–285). Thus tin was probably used to attach or join to the bronze foundation all the other applied decorations on helmets of the III A1b type. It is well-known that silver, gold and tin were not lacking in the central Balkans, especially in today's Macedonia and southern Serbia (particularly in the Bujanovac and Ohrid areas) (POPOVIĆ 1975: 54, 58–59; GRŽETIĆ – JELENKOVIĆ 1995: 13–29, Fig. 1; DURMAN 1997: 8–13, Fig. 2). All the above is even more important when we remember the local autochthonous production of silver and gold fibulas and pins in the Ohrid area (VASIĆ 1987a: 731; 1996: 144–145; 1996a: 17–19; 2004: 23–24).

The other decorations on Illyrian helmets of the same variant also show this relationship between the Ohrid area and the Olympia shrine. The only helmet in Olympia (T. IV: 5) (SOLOW 2007) with cheek-piece applications of realistic rams' heads in profile is joined by a new helmet found in »Tomb 1« in Ohrid, i.e. in Gorna porta (T. IV: 4), with a ram in profile of very similar workmanship and style, technology and artistic approach (KUZMAN 2006: 546, Ph 4; BANGS 2006). The ram's head in profile is a common and recognisable decoration on the cheek pieces of Chalcidian helmets, as evidenced by the famous helmet from the Temple of Persephone in Epizephyrian Locris (KUNZE 1967: 139; CARDOSA 2002: 99, cat. n. 34) and many others (PFLUG 1988a: 137–150; TERŽAN 1995: 86, 123–124, Abb. 10). However, the ram on the cheek pieces of Illyrian helmets was hardly ever a subject of discussion, as if it never even existed. These new finds show that typological determination requires greater caution and precision. If a ram application is, therefore, found on its own, such as the one in Philia (KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 2002: 91, T. 90: 1422), it is very difficult to attribute it to a particular type of the above helmets, especially with certainty. Considering the geographical, micro-regional and cultural situation in the area, and the context of other finds, might not the fragment of sheet bronze in the shape of a ram's head from Philia be seen as a decoration on an Illyrian and not only on a Chalcidian helmet?

Be that as it may, in the attribution of the boar application from Zagrađe and the boar and palmette applications from Atenica it should clearly and without any reservations be said that they were decorations for helmets and/or shields, as their researchers believed (DJUKNIĆ – JOVANOVIĆ 1966: 18–19; POPOVIĆ 1975: 54–56; VASIĆ 1987: 650; 2007: 560–561). When new possibilities are offered the basic principle must be followed of methodologically honouring form, purpose and material in a specific context. It therefore does not seem very likely, although I cannot rule it out completely, that any of the applications were used on clothes (ČOVIĆ 1987: 616; PALAVESTRA 1984: 41–42, Fig. 7, 8, T. XIV; VASIĆ 1987: 650); this is especially not feasible in the case of Atenica if we mean the personal items found there as grave gifts. It is completely unacceptable to connect the above applications with metal containers (BABIĆ 1990: 166–171; 2002: Fig. 2; 2004: 106, 131, 151–152), all the more so as the argument used is the flatness of the applications (they are not curved) because of which they could not have followed the shape of the cheek pieces (BABIĆ 2004: 152). Were applications only used to decorate cheek pieces? With reference to the opinion put fo-

⁹ Metal, i.e., corrosion analyses were also made on the III A3 type helmets from the Archontiko necropolis, showing that tin was used during applying silver to the surface

of the helmets, especially on the neck guard (MANTI 2006:6).

rward several times by Rastko Vasić (2007: 560–561), I must say that all the containers from that time have cast and then riveted or soldered iron decorations, for example the Vix crater that is often used for comparison (e.g. EGG – PARE 1995: 190–192, T. 65, F. T. XXI; GUGGISBERG 2006: 13–15) or that from Trebeništa (POPOVIĆ 1994: 103, cat. 31; KRSTIĆ 2004: 36–37; Abb. 25–26; 2007a: 104–107), or have incised decorations like on dishes, buckets or mirrors (e.g. GIUMLIA-MAIR – RUBINICIH 2002).

Applications of this kind, with a clear message, could also have been placed in a grave of metonymic value and importance on their own (THEODOSSIEV 1998: 360–362; 2000: 199–200). Such symbols would not be found on ordinary helmets, of which there are many, and more are yet to be discovered.¹⁰ They were not the symbols of ordinary soldiers, nor was every Illyrian helmet owned by a distinguished member of the community, as supposed by Viktorija Sokolovska (1997: 35–36). Only helmets and shields with this kind of decoration, and their metonymies, could have been a symbol and expression of the powerful »aristocracy«, either military or political, as Staša Babić also indirectly showed (BABIĆ 2001: 87–88; 2004: 108). This status, or level of internal social organisation, could certainly not have been achieved without strong foundations, one of which was certainly a geopolitical position based on natural resources and the control of communications. To be more precise, the Ohrid area, the future or already existing Lychnidos, was famous for its wealth of raw materials and was also the focal point and intersection of the horizontal communication running from the Adriatic to Chalcidice, the so-called silver or Cadmean route, the future *Via Egnatia* (LISIČAR 1953: 250–254; POPOVIĆ 1966: 15–16; POPOVIĆ 1969: 11–12; KATIČIĆ 1995: 262–264, 274), and of the vertical river transversal running along the courses of the Vardar and the Morava from the Balkan south to its north (BABIĆ 2002: 74–81; VASIĆ 2004: 11). It is in this wider space that the legend of Cadmus and Harmonia, among others, is located (ŠAŠEL KOS 1993: 113–136; KATIČIĆ 1995: 211–303; ŠAŠEL KOS 2004: 499–501). It is in the graves of Trebeništa that many tools for craftsmen, semi-products and unfinished articles were found (POPOVIĆ 1956: 26–30).

But why choose the wild boar? Many prehistoric and historic societies and communities gave a special meaning to the boar. A comparison between material finds and the ritual and religious interpretation of the boar symbol, in its own context and in the mythology of the wider environment, shows that the boar had a strong ritual importance and was a status symbol of the leading, higher or highest members of the community (EIBNER 2001: 266–270). In the southern and central Balkans the boar symbolism is of ancient and primeval origin, and when combined with gold applications (alongside other decorations in gold) and helmets it could have represented the highest form of insignia and also, in the eschatological sense, the deceased's possible elevation to the rank of hero or divinity (POPOVIĆ 1966: 23–29; SOKOLOVSKA 1997: 56; THEODOSSIEV 1998: 360; 2000: 200; BABIĆ 2001: 83–88). Thus the metonymy we pointed to in Atenica, as a consequence of fragmentation, is not simply a coincidence (DJUKNIĆ – JOVANOVIĆ 1966: 8–12, 22–23). In the Atenica burial and cremation rite the boar symbol was also a spiritual authority additionally underpinned by the triple sacrifice of animals to a particular god. Among these animals the boar had a special place that was not as a rule shared by the pig (ČAČE 1985: 18–21; VASIĆ 1987: 646–647; JOVANOVIĆ 2003: 192, 198–199; EIBNER 2001: 242–243), and it accentuated the heroic and even the divine nature of the deceased (STIPČEVIĆ 1984: 220). In the not so very distant example of the Sindos necropolis a similar principle is found of singling out status symbols showing the position and/or privileges of individuals. Similarly as in a child's grave in Atenica, the boy in Grave 59 was

¹⁰ It is enough to look at the legal auctions of Illyrian helmets, accessible on the Internet, especially their quantity, and the expertly evaluated finds in available literature.

buried like an adult, equipped with very rich and very varied imports. These include an Illyrian III A3 helmet of the same kind as that in Grave 25, whose sheet-gold edging was decorated with an embossed wild boar. The inventory of Grave 25 was dated to 540, while Grave 59 was dated to 530/520 BC (VOKOTOPOULOU 1996: 114–118, k. 8577; 1997: 127; 130, k. 211; THEODOSSIEV 2000: 197–198, Fig. 13–14). An interesting feature is a miniature model of a chariot with horses found beside the grave, similar examples to which can be found in Vergina and Pydna (VOKOTOPOULOU 1996: 114–115, k. 8651), and now also at Ohrid in Gorna Porta (KUZMAN 2006: 546, Ph 7).

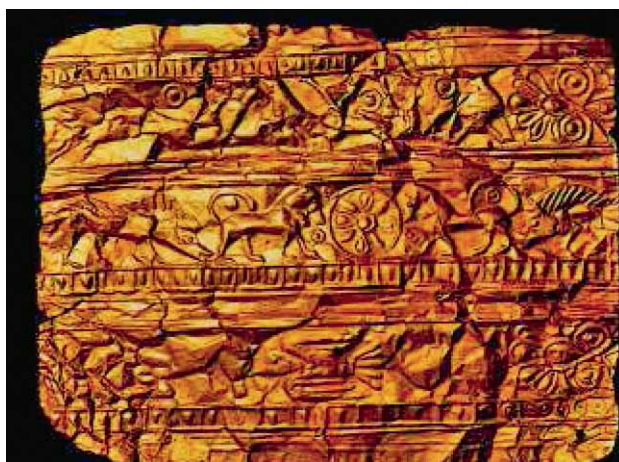


Figure 9. Sindos, embossed gold sheet showing a wild boar, Grave 25 (according to VOKOTOPOULOU 1997).

Slika 9. Sindos, zlatni iskucani lim s prikazom vepra, grob 25 (prema VOKOTOPOULOU 1997).

Iconographically the boar is usually thought to be in a defensive position (PAROVIĆ-PEŠIKAN 1961: 25) (Fig. 6 a, b). This view may be partly correct, but if the animal is carefully observed in his natural position or in the position of attack or conflict, then he also stands firmly with all four feet on the ground, his head lowered, his bristles raised and his tusks pointing up. The boar is one of the strongest animals in our ecological system with many characteristics that make him almost »invulnerable«; very quick, with massive and powerful muscles, an almost impenetrable hide, and a wild strength that destroys everything in his path (CHEVALIER-CHEERBRANT 1994: 743–744). His most important characteristic is his absolute fearlessness and superiority over other animals, and his mighty and awesome tusks. To catch and kill a boar has always been a special challenge for a hunter and his hound, regardless of the period or the kind of hunting weapon used, and this act is truly one that belongs to the royal hunt (ANDRONICOS 1999: 117–118; THEODOSSIEV 2000: 198; EIBNER 2001: 243). It is this that makes the boar a symbol of power, bravery and authority, either spiritual, as is often the symbolical interpretation (STIPČEVIĆ 1981; 106; CHEVALIER-CHEERBRANT 1994: 743), or physical or even heroic (EIBNER 2001). The accepted and adapted choice of the boar as a chieftain's or dignitary's symbol on Illyrian helmets should thus be no surprise, just as we are not surprised by the narrative expression of this symbol, the scene of heroes hunting the boar above the entrance to the tomb of Philip II of Macedon (ANDRONIKOS 1992: 205, 208, Abb. 102, 112–113; 1999: 106–119; EIBNER 2001: 269; DROUGOU, SAATSOGLOU-PALIADELI 2002: Fig. 60) (Fig. 10).

Besides the frieze in the »Great Tomb«, the luxurious silver gilt mount for a belt buckle from Lovèc near Stara Zagóra also has a boar hunt as its central scene. In this case the scene is reduced, broken down and duplicated, its basic elements placed symmetrically to a thematic axis, and with a ritual content (Fig. 11). The mount is dated to the 5th/4th c. BC (VENEDIKOV – GERASIMOV



Figure 10. Frieze above the architrave of the entrance to the tomb of Philip II of Macedon in Vergina, reconstruction (according to DROUGOU – SAATSOGLU-PALIADELI 2002).

Slika 10. Friz iznad arhitrava ulaza u grobnicu Filipa II Makedonskog u Vergini, rekonstrukcija (prema DROUGOU – SAATSOGLU-PALIADELI 2002).

1979: 377–378, Fig. 248, 250; TERŽAN 1995: 88). The scene of the boar hunt specifically defines the high social status of the horsemen and the archers (KULL 1997: 296–301; EIBNER 2001: 250–251), the latter of which are in position, clothes and movements strongly reminiscent of the mount for a belt buckle from Molnik (TERŽAN 1997: 667–668, Abb. 11; EGG – PARE 1995: 19, 1; KULL 1997: Abb. 50: 6–7; TURK 2005: 31–33, Fig. 45). This decorative mount is important for its classical elements associating life and death, immortality and rebirth in the iconographic symbolism of the archer and the hound, the tree of life and the lotus flowers (TERŽAN 2007: 89), and also because of a detail recognisable in the lower right corner, in the last metope: an Illyrian helmet. L. Popović already drew this parallel, singling it out only because of the kindred representations of the boars, not because of the representation of the helmet (POPOVIĆ 1975: 54, f.n. 270).



Figure 11. Decorative mount of belt buckle from Lovèc, Stara Zagóra (according to VENEDIKOV – GERASIMOV 1979).

Slika 11. Ukrasni okov pojasne kopče iz Lovèca, Stara Zagóra (prema VENEDIKOV – GERASIMOV 1979).

Thus the Illyrian helmet, besides its useful dimension also got an interpretative meaning, i.e. it was shown on religious, heroic and ritual scenes with the meaning of an attribute and was clearly and distinctly received in this sense. It is most often shown on mounts for belts, which are themselves a reflection of identity symbolically linking their wearers with the scene shown on them (CHEVALIER-GHEERBRANT 1994: 521–522; KUKOČ 1998: 20). Finds from geographically closer graves and tombs, most of them rich, can also be added to this luxurious mount from Lovèc.

These in the first place include the trapezoidal mount for a belt buckle from the necropolis in Velje Ledine near Gostilj, which has an iron foundation covered with sheet silver embossed over a mould (BASLER 1967: 9–10, 29, T. VII: 30/2; LUTOVAC 2005: 20–21). It shows two heraldically placed Illyrian helmets facing one another (Fig. 12), to which not much attention has been paid despite the many studies and analyses of this mount in literature.¹¹ In the view presented that the scene is a mythological story about immortality and vitality (KUKOČ 1998: 13–22, Fig. 4), the helmets might show, or replace, or to be more precise be the attributes of the heroic Dioscuri twins. This reading is related to the similar positions of horsemen on other mounts for belt buckles of the Prozor type, which led to the hypothesis about identical religious views among the Iapodi and the Labeati. It is based on almost the same solar-lunar ritual principles, defined through scenes on trapezoidal mounts for belt buckles (JOVANOVIĆ 1985: 50–53, Fig. 5–8; KOSACK 1991: 156–161, Abb. 2; BALEN-LETUNIĆ 1995–1996: 23–27; KUKOČ 1998: 20–22; MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1998: 344–346, Fig. 167).

There is a completely different, more specific but still very simplified representation of an Illyrian helmet on another mount for a belt, the rectangular part of a set from Velje Ledine (BASLER 1969: 9, 43, T. XXV: 126/3; JOVANOVIĆ 1989: 117–125, Fig. 1 a–b). It shows the scene of a fight between a soldier on horseback and foot soldier, the latter carrying a Macedonian shield and wearing not a Chalcidian (KULL 1997: 331–333, Abb. 64: 6; 2002: 194, Abb. 5: 2) but an Illyrian helmet (JOVANOVIĆ 1989: 121; ŠAŠEL KOS 1993: 123). This scene, which is not really very dramatic, has been given different religious and historical, artistic and



Figure 12. Belt mount from Velje Ledine, Gostilj (according to LUTOVAC 2005).

Slika 12. Pojasni okov iz Veljih Ledina, Gostilj (prema LUTOVAC 2005).

¹¹ BASLER 1969; STIPČEVIĆ 1974; STIPČEVIĆ 1984; RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1984; JOVANOVIĆ 1985; 1989; KOSACK 1991; KUKOČ 1998; MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1998; ŠAŠEL KOS 1993; KULL 1997; 2002.

mythological, interpretations (JOVANOVIĆ 1989: 120–131; KOSSACK 1991: 151–155; ŠAŠEL KOS 1993: 123). However, it is important to emphasise that these mounts have been dated, in line with all the other material found, to the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd century BC, a time when alliances and coalitions against Roman military conquest were made in Illyria and Macedonia, especially under the leadership of Philip V (JOVANOVIĆ 1989: 121–127; CABANES 2002: 150–167). This was also the time when King Gentius, i.e. the towns of Scodra and Lisos, had their own coinage with the emblem of an Illyrian helmet on the reverse and a Macedonian shield on the obverse (BASLER 1969: 8–9, T. VIII: 34/8, XIII: 59/9; RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1984: 77; STIPČEVIĆ 1974: 173; KUKOČ 1998: 23; CABANES 2002: 168–174) (Fig. 13).

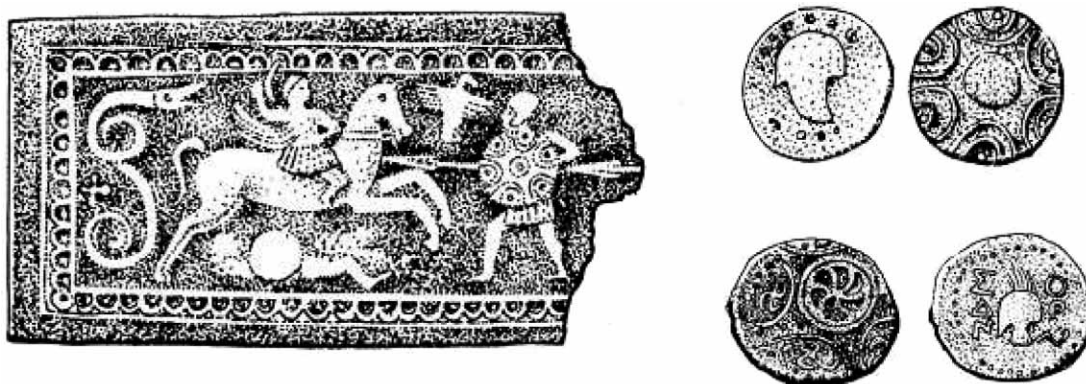


Figure 13. Rectangular belt mount from Grave 126 and coins from Graves 34 and 59 of the necropolis in Velje Ledine, Gostilj (according to BASLER 1969).

Slika 13. Pojasni pravokutni okov iz groba 126 i novac iz grobova 34 i 59 nekropole u Veljim Ledinama, Gostilj (prema BASLER 1969).

The decorative mount for a belt buckle from the rich tomb in Selce at Poshtëme (Podgradec) on the west shore of Lake Ohrid (KORKUTI 1971: 46–47; STIPČEVIĆ 1974: 173; CEKA 1988: 372–373, 284) dates from the same period as the Labeati belt mounts from Gostilj. Technologically it corresponds with the trapezoidal mount from Gostilj because it has an iron foundation covered with embossed sheet silver (Fig. 14). Iconographically and in style it is closer to the rectangular mount from Gostilj, but the scene on it, based on a very similar mythological/historical model, is much more precise and detailed. All the warriors on the Selce mount wear clearly recognisable crested Illyrian helmets and carry Macedonian shields, and the scene is dynamic and comprehensible, unlike the Gostilj example. Since it is considered to have belonged to ceremonial Illyrian dress from the end of the 3rd century BC, attempts were made to interpret it through the attributive meaning acquired by the Illyrian helmet during the anti-Roman Macedonian-Illyrian coalition. The two mounts are connected through the legend of Cadmus, who in the form of the serpents shown on them provided mythological protection in the struggle against a common enemy (CEKA 1988: 373; STIPČEVIĆ 1984: 218–219; JOVANOVIĆ 1989: 121–124; KOSSACK 1991: 154–155; ŠAŠEL KOS 1993: 123; KULL 1997: 299–331).

The most realistic representation of an Illyrian helmet is certainly that on the obverse of coins issued by King Bastareus in the 5th century BC (SOKOLOVSKA 1990: 13, Cr. 8; SOKOLOVSKA 1997: 35, 126: 16), whose reverse shows a stooping bull (Fig. 15). The helmet shows all the details



Figure 14. Belt mount from Selce (according to KORKUTI 1971).

Slika 14. Pojasni okov iz Selce (prema KORKUTI 1971).



Figure 15. Coin of Bastareus, Kyustendil (according to SOKOLOVSKA 1997).

Slika 15. Novac Bastareja, Kustendil (prema SOKOLOVSKA 1997).

most carefully, including the beads along its edge, so it was probably based on a real model of the Illyrian III A1 helmet, unlike the rather later scenes mentioned above, based on recollection.

On the items described above, which had a utilitarian and decorative, special and ceremonial purpose, the Illyrian helmet appears as a symbol and/or attribute belonging to the very essence of associations of life and death, divine and belonging to the after world. It became very important in the mythology of the Macedonians, Labeati, Illyrians and kindred communities; it was promoted into the symbol of a dignitary, chieftain, *primus inter pares*, a figure of authority, in the physical and even more in the spiritual aspect, and was »shown« in a historically disturbed moment.

An analysis of III A1 type Illyrian helmets also shows some differences in their indicative characteristics, which either designated status or were historically based. Thus the III A1a type was widespread among the warrior class of the Ohrid and central Balkan region and the hinterland of the middle and southern eastern-Adriatic shore. They were usually placed in graves as symbols of the deceased's special social status as a warrior, they were sacrificed and offered to gods even in distant shrines, and in seas and rivers they were votive offerings to gods expressing gratitude. Helmets of the III A1b type were undoubtedly ceremonial symbols showing the highest social status of rulers or dignitaries who united several responsibilities, so they expressed a sum of various kinds of authority. Considering their find sites, their number, the context of the finds and the potentials for their production, one of the workshop centres that made them was probably in the Ohrid region. To be more precise, I do not suppose that these helmets were necessarily imports, either directly from Greece or via their Adriatic colonies, because we know that helmets of the III A1a and b variants have so far

only been recorded in Greece in the Olympia and Isthmia shrines (Fig. 4, T. III: 6, IV: 2–3, 5). It is just as inappropriate to interpret the very frequent comparisons made with the Sindos necropolis and other finds in Chalcidice (VASIĆ 1987a: 731–732; 1996: 148) only in one way, only as if they had been the source of influence, because it is also possible that the influence spread to Chalcidice, and especially to Sindos, from the Ohrid region, which is substantiated by the distribution of III A3 type Illyrian helmets (TERŽAN 1995: Abb. 9) and also by the new finds in Ohrid already mentioned (KUZMAN 2006). The Trebeništa graves and those in Gorna porta yielded many tools, semi-products and raw materials. Many of these finds are attributed to local production, and metal processing and crafting was known in this region from much earlier times. Did local craftsmen work here according to models or did itinerant craftsmen produce objects commissioned by the »barbarian aristocracy« remains a question open to future researchers, but there is no doubt that these objects show a strong local creative component. It is from this aspect that we observed the scenes on the mounts for belt buckles and interpreted them as the work of local craftsmen (BALEN-LETUNIĆ 1995–1996: 146; KUKOČ 1998: 21–22). The circulation of precious metals along the horizontal and vertical communications was certainly unavoidable and could indeed have played a decisive role in the flow, transmitting and reception of influence in both directions.

In this late-6th/5th century BC system the meaning of the newly-found Illyrian helmet from the Cres waters and the way in which it got to the Kvarner remains a mystery until some »new surprise discovery« is made. We must certainly take into account the assumed sea routes along which goods travelled to the Kvarner and were from there transported overland into the interior, right to the eastern sub-Alpine region. The nearest parallel, as we have said, is the helmet in Grave 19/VII in Novo mesto. This was a time when the north Kvarner region had important trade and mediation contacts with Dolenjska, which the preserved material heritage shows (BLEČIĆ 2003).

In this example the difference between the aristocratic and warrior status was manifested in the complex symbolism reflected in the status-symbol-aesthetics relationship. This multifaceted correlation did not only belong to ancient times but is being iconographically and even semantically reborn today. Very interesting in this context are the picture of an Illyrian helmet on a special-edition postage stamp issued by the Republika Srpska in 2002 (Srpske pošte, Muzejski eksponati 2002) and its appearance in a heraldic concept on the newly-proposed Kosovo flag (Albania.com 2007). Manifestations of the Illyrian helmet are thus not only a subject addressed by experts in ancient history. This helmet continues to live in the consciousness of modern man, symbolically and as an association, just as it used to exist on the territory on which most such helmets were found.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- JOP** – *Jadranska obala u protohistoriji. Kulturni i etnički problemi*. Eds. M. SUIĆ – B. ČEČUK – N. MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ – V. MIROSAVLJEVIĆ. Simpozij održan u Dubrovniku 1972. Zagreb, 1976.
- MASA** – Macedonian Academy of Science and Arts. (Skopje)
- MHAS** – Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika. (Split)
- NZMH** – Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske. (Zagreb)
- RGZM** – Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum. (Mainz)
- SASA** – Serbian Academy of Science and Arts. (Beograd)

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ILLUSTRATIONS ON PLATES

- T. I** Illyrian helmet from the waters of Cres, Jablanac Point
- T.II**
- 1 Kapitelska njiva 19/VII (according to Egg 1999: T. 12)
 - 2 Sisak (according to Burkowsky 2004: cat.1)
 - 3 Bulbin (according to Marović 1976: T. 4:9)
 - 4 Gorica (according to Truhelka 1902: Fig. 4)
 - 5 Kačanj (according to Marić 1975–1976: Fig. 3)
 - 6 Kačanj (according to Marić 1975–1976: T. I: 2–5)
-different scales
- T. III**
- 1 Putičevo (according to Fiala 1899: T. 8)
 - 2 Breza (according to Paškvalin 2002: T. II: 1–2)
 - 3 Ražana (according to Vasić 1977: Pl. 24:1)
 - 4 Pečka banja (according to Krstić 2007: 99)
 - 5 Leči (according to Nopcsa 1912: Fig. 44)
 - 6 Isthmia (according to Broneer 1958: P. 17: b)
 - 7 Olympia (according to Pflug 1988: Abb. 10)
-different scales
- T.IV**
- 1.a Trebenište (according to Lahtov 1965: T. XXVII: 3)
 - 1.b Trebenište (according to Vasić 1987a: T. LXXVI: 1)
 - 2 Olympia (according to Hockey et al. 1992: Pl. 21: a)
 - 3 Olympia (according to Olympia Museum 2007)
 - 4 Ohrid (according to Balkanalysis 2006)
 - 5 Olympia (according to Solow 2007)
-different scales

STATUS, SIMBOLI, ŽRTVOVANJA, DARIVANJA. RAZLIČITOST ZNAČAJKI ILIRSKIH KACIGA

Na širem prostora Balkanskog poluotoka, istočne obale Jadrana i obližnjeg njegova zaleđa, iz vremena kraja 6. i 5. stoljeća pr. Kr., brojnošću je zastupljen jedan od oblika obrambenog tipa naoružanja, poznatog pod nazivom ilirski tip kacige. U ovome radu iznosi se i analizira novi nalaz te vrste vojne opreme s prostora Kvarnera, unutar konteksta i klasifikacije njegove prve varijante posljednje razvojne faze (III A1). Temeljem donesenih podataka predložena je podjela navedenog tipa u dvije varijante koje su kronološki istovremene, prostorno raširene, ali statusnim značajkama i simboličkim obilježjima znatno različite. Sukladno mjestima, načinu i smislu pohrane raspravlja se o nekoliko mogućih namjena tih kaciga, a znakoviti ikonografski sadržaj kao i stilska obrada omogućili su razmišljanja o novim estetskim pojedinostima kao simbolima statusa prvaka, odličnika ili privilegiranih članova zajednica na širem prostoru jugoistočne Europe.

Gotovo sve poznate grobnice »velikih« i »moćnih« ljudi naše prošlosti imaju na svojim ulazima prizore stanovitih »upozorenja«. Najčešće posve simbolično i apstrahirano do pojednostavljenih detalja, upućuju na vječnu borbu sa smrću, na vječnu želju za besmrtnošću u mnoštvu tematskih sadržaja, značenja ili interpretacija. Poneki prizori u tom su smislu posve eksplicitni. Jedan među njima nedvojbeno je i prizor borbe ili lova na vepra (i druge divlje životinje) oslikan iznad arhitrava na ulazu u grobnicu Filipa II Makedonskog u Vergini. Tu se cijeli tadašnji »svijet«, kako priča mitološki događaj, okupio u borbi protiv smrti koja je nemilosrdna i neuništiva, koja je božanska (ANDRONIKOS 1992: 205, 208; VOKOTOPOULOU 1996: 149; ANDRONICOS 1999: 97–118; DROUGOU, SAATSOGLU-PALIADELI 2002: 41–49, Fig. 60). To je scena lova koja zastrašuje, opominje, ali potiče. U svojim će beskonačnim interpretacijama ta misao postati univerzalni prikaz sve do današnjih dana.

Vepar kao središnji motiv i ktioničko božanstvo brojnih politeističkih zajednica nije stran ikonografski predložak niti kod željeznodobnih, od Grka zvanih barbarskih zajednica i kultura onodobnog svijeta osobito na širem prostoru Balkanskog poluotoka. Stoga su motivi veprova uvijekočeni na kacigama, štitovima, bodežima ili mačevima, konjskim opremama, pojasnim garniturama, ukrasnim elementima nošnje ili na nakitu, na novcima, posudama, pa sve do samostojnog pojavljivanja, jer je i kao takav vepar posve konkretan i izričit simbol dostojanstvenika, odličnika, moćnih, neuništivih.

Prikazi veprova na kacigama su brojni. Nalazimo ih kako na različitim tipovima, tako i u mnoštvu stilskih i ikonografskih sadržaja. Međutim, samo se na kacigama ilirskog tipa nalaze na čeonom, dakle najizraženijem dijelu, prikazani u sceni između dva lava. Budući da se o tom ikonografskom prizoru temeljito raspravljalo u arheološkoj literaturi, ponuđeni su brojni odgovori, izneseni mnogi prijedlozi. Ipak, on i nadalje ostaje vrlo provokativnim!

S druge strane, novija arheološka literatura obiluje i sve brojnijim osvrtima, zapažanjima te modernim analizama tog tipa vojne opreme. Sukladno novim nalaženjima i novim dostupnim podacima u posljednjih se dvadesetak godina poznavanje kaciga ilirskog tipa sve više i preciznije definira. No, bilo je potrebno dosta vremena kako bi se u stručnoj, iako ne posve u široj i dostupnoj, literaturi prihvatio tako ujednačeni naziv uglavnom opredijeljen teritorijalno, a manjim dijelom etničkim nositeljima (VASIĆ 1982: 5–6; NADBATH 2004: 38). Valja, međutim, naglasiti kako različito imensko nazivlje odražava zapravo kronologiju poznavanja i analiziranja te kacige, i to od *grčko-ilirskih*, *makedonsko-ilirskih* pa sve do *ilirskih* kaciga.¹² Suprotno tomu, i nadalje se upotrebljavaju

12 KUKAHN 1936; KUNZE 1953/1955; 1967; LAH-TOV 1965; 1965a; MAROVIĆ 1976; VASIĆ 1982; 1982–

1983; BITRAKOVA GROZANOVA 1987; PFLUG 1988; TERŽAN 1995; ŠKOBERNE 2001.

zastarjela nazivlja, a predlažu se i posve nove imenske varijante, primjerice *pajonski* tip (SOKOLOVSKA 1997: 36; SOKOLOVSKA 1997 a: 57, Fig. 12–13) ili *grčko-makedonski* tip kacige (KUZMAN 2006: 546). Ovaj rad potaknut je također još jednim novim nalazom kacige ilirskoga tipa, a posvećen je njezinom širem poznavanju, različitom kontekstualnom te interpretativnom i inspirativnom značenju.

Prostor Kvarnerskog zaljeva, sjevernog dijela istočne obale Jadrana, u arheološkom smislu, osobito kada je posrijedi vojna oprema, i nadalje pruža brojna iznenađenja. Nije tako davno iznenadio nalaz iz groba, ili ostave, iz grada Krka, jedinstvenog po sinkretizmu kacige, izrađene po uzoru na negovske tipove, i knemida grčkog tipa (BALEN-LETUNIĆ 1991–1992). Novo iznenađenje bio je nalaz kacige ilirskog tipa, tim više što je riječ o podvodnom nalazu (Sl. 1–2, T. I). Kaciga je izronjena na položaju ispred rta Jablanac, podalje od naselja Beli kod otoka Cresa, na oko 15–16 m dubine. Tako je ona postala prvi sigurni podvodni nalaz te vrste na prostoru današnje R. Hrvatske,¹³ ali i općenito, obilježavajući ujedno najzapadniju točku na karti rasprostiranja toga tipa obrambenog naoružanja (Sl. 3, 4).

Kacigu je posve slučajno 2003. godine izronio g. Đani Uhač iz Lovrana, slavni domaći ali i svjetski poznati podvodni ribolovac. Njegovom zaslugom, ali i zaslugama kolege Ivana Radmana-Livaje te osobito ravnatelja Ante Rendića-Miočevića, kaciga je proslijeđena u Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu gdje je obavljena cjelokupna, postupna i temeljita, restauracija. Restauraciju i analizu metala izveo je kolega Damir Doračić, crteže kolegica Miljenka Galić, a fotodokumentaciju Igor Krajcar, svi iz Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu.

Kao podvodni nalaz kaciga je bila iznenađujuće dobro očuvana s postojanim svim indikativnim dijelovima. Riječ je o kacigi zaobljenog oblika, modeliranoj namjenski prema obliku glave za koga je bila rađena. Njezine dimenzije su standardne, visina 24 cm, širina 12 cm (Sl. 1, T. I), pa njima ne odstupa od svih ostalih poznatih modela te vrste opreme. Štitnik za vrat je istaknut, širine 2,2 cm, i ravnomjerno prelazi iz obrazina prema krajnjem rubu kacige (Sl. 1b–d, T. I). Obrazine, paragnatide, trokutasto su rezane polukružno zaobljenih vanjskih krajeva i zašiljenog završetka, visine 14 cm i širine 9 cm. Na svakoj se obrazini nalazi po jedna rupica za vezivanje kacige prilikom nošenja (Sl. 1a–c, 2b, T. I). Otvor za lice je četvrtast, širine 11 cm. Na čeonom dijelu nalazi se zakovica (noslač), a na stražnjem dijelu karičica (alka) kojima se na kacigu pričvršćivala perjanica. Perjanica je lijegala na za to predviđeno mjesto, pa su tako od čeonog prema stražnjem dijelu po sredini kalote smještena dva istaknuta rebra trokutastog presjeka, između kojih su urezane tri paralelne linije (Sl. 1a, d, T. I). Cijeli je rubni dio kacige ukrašen tankim rubnikom s izrezanim rupicama u neprekidnom nizu, u koje su pričvršćene zasebno lijevane kuglice (Sl. 1, 2, T. I). Tako je postignut tzv. »perlen« efekt ukrašavanja kacige. Prilikom restauracije na čeonom je dijelu, točno ispod zakovice, zabilježen motiv urezanog križa (Sl. 2a, T. I). Taj detalj, iako sitan i jedva zamjetan, čini ovu kacigu jedinstvenom i individualnijom od svih drugih poznatih primjeraka. Urezani je križ najvjerojatnije oznaka samoga vlasnika, osobnog znaka prepoznatljivosti ili možda nekog njegova statusa. Odabir položaja zapravo znači zanimljivost, jer je to mjesto gdje se kod kaciga iz Trebeništa ili Olimpije nalaze čuveni alegorijski prikazi vepa između dva lava (T. IV: 1, 3).¹⁴ Tako je možda oznakom križa obilježeno točno mjesto za postavljanje aplikativnih ukrasa?

13 U dosadašnjoj literaturi kao eventualni podvodni nalaz navodila se samo kaciga iz Podgore pokraj Sućuraja na otoku Hvaru, koja ipak nema precizne podatke o mjestu i načinu nalaženja (NIKOLANCI 1960: 31, Sl. 1; PFLUG 1988: 56, f. n. 84; TERŽAN 1995: 119).

14 U stručnoj su literaturi ti nalazi materijalne kulture temeljito zastupljeni, navodim samo prve objave i novije

osvrte, koji sadrže stariju bibliografiju: FILOW 1927: 29, Abb. 25, T. 5; VULIĆ 1933: 1–41; POPOVIĆ 1975: 54–56, Sl. 47; POPOVIĆ 1994: 128, kat. 96; KRSTIĆ 2007: 108–109; KUNZE 1967: 125, T. 67, 68; SNODGRASS 1984: 89–90, Fig. 44; VASIĆ 1987a: 726–727, T. LXXXVI: 1; KULL 1997: 288–290, Abb. 43; THEODOSSIEV 2000: 199–200, Fig. 20; EIBNER 2001: 254, Abb. 7: 2, 4.

»Creska« kaciga može se stoga pribrojiti posljednjoj, kasnoj varijanti ilirskih kaciga koje nemaju otvore za uši, odnosno III A tipu (Sl. 3). U okviru te kategorije, zbog svojih morfoloških, tehnoloških i stilskih odlika pripada prvom razvojnom, tj. III A1 stupnju prema podjeli koju su predložili i posve pouzdano argumentirali Herman Pflug (1988) i Biba Teržan (1995). Njihova se proizvodnja i, najvećim dijelom, uporaba datira u drugu polovinu 6. stoljeća, ali i u početno 5. stoljeće pr. Kr., a obilježavaju jednu od malobrojnijih varijanti navedenoga tipa (PFLUG 1988: 53, Abb. 14; TERŽAN 1995: 87, Abb. 7). Uglavnom su one nošene preko kapa ili na predviđenim podstavama, pa kuglice na rubniku više nisu imale namjenski, kao kod prethodnih tipova (I, II), već samo ukrasni karakter. Tehnološki je to bio vrlo zahtjevan rad izveden lijevanjem, iskucavanjem, urezivanjem, te lemljenjem ili mehaničkim načinom pričvršćivanja kuglica u za to predviđene rupice. Stoga, njihova relativno malobrojna zastupljenost, u odnosu na druge varijante istoga tipa nije začuđujuća. Do sada je poznato sa svega 16 nalazišta oko 50 primjeraka, bilo očuvanih u cijelosti bilo u ulomcima, ovisno o mjestu, načinu i smislu pohrane (Sl. 4).¹⁵

Općenito, kacige ilirskog III A tipa znatno su rasprostranjene na prostoru južnog i središnjeg balkanskog prostora (VASIĆ 1982: 5–10; 1982–1983: 76–78, Fig. 3), a u većem su broju zabilježene i na području južnog dijela istočne obale Jadrana i njegova zaleđa (NIKOLACI 1959: 86–89, Sl. 2; MAROVIĆ 1976: 287–290, Fig. 1) (Sl. 3). Povijest istraživanja tih kaciga dugotrajna je i kronološki postupna, stalno korigirana i sustavno nadopunjavana. Noviji nalazi, kao što su dvije ilirske kacige iz Vranjeva sela nedaleko od Neuma, III A2a tipa, (MILIČEVIĆ-CAPEK 2007: 139–144; VRUTAK 2007, naslovnica), šest kaciga iz Ohrida, III A1 tipa, (KUZMAN 2006: 546) ili dvije kacige iz Novog Mesta, III A1 i III A2a tipa, (KRIŽ 1997: 51, 56–57, k. 42–43; EGG 1999: Abb. 4–5, T. 12–13; KRIŽ 2004: 424, Fig. 4), upotpunjuju naše dosadašnje poznavanje prostornosti, konteksta i odnosa tih nalaza unutar širih kulturoloških krugova. Brojne su i korekcije, kod kojih treba istaknuti ulomak paragnatide iz svetišta Atene Itonije u Philiji, pridruženog III A tipu (KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 2002: 90–91, T. 90: 1420), a gotovo sa sigurnošću može se pripisati njegovoj 3. varijanti. Vrlo zanimljivi je i ulomak ukrašene paragnatide iz Tymphaie kod Grevene (DUCREY 1985: ill. 57; ELLIS 1992: Abb. 24), koji se može tumačiti unutar III A2 tipa, vjerojatno *a* varijante (Sl. 7c), i ne više u sklopu III B tipa kako je to domnjevao H. Pflug (1988: 64, f. n. 83). Nadalje, dva ulomka kacige iz Kamenjače u Brezi moguće je sada, zahvaljujući objavljenim crtežima, odrediti III A1 tipu (PAŠKVALIN 2002: 526–527, T. II: 1–2) (T. III: 2). Kaciga iz Siska (BURKOWSKY 2001: 28–29, K. 5; 2004: 17, Kat. 1), unatoč nesuglasju, može se ipak pridružiti III A1 tipu (T. II: 2). Kaciga iz Babina kraj Demir Hisara, odnosno Kičeva (MITREVSKI 1997: 279) tipološki će spadati u 3. varijantu III A tipa ilirskih kaciga, kojoj se pridružuju i novi nalazi iz Archontika (KUZMAN 2006: 547; MANTI 2006: 6).¹⁶

Navedeni se nalazi posve uklapaju u prihvaćenu klasifikaciju ilirskih kaciga koju je razvila B. Teržan, nadopunila je i pravilno strukturirala u pojedine podtipove i varijante, što je H. Pflug samo nagovijestio (PFLUG 1988: 52–64). Posebnu pažnju usredotočila je na definiranje razvijenog i najbrojnijeg III A2 tipa, kojeg pored morfoloških, dijeli i stilskim različitostima (III A2a i III A2b) (TERŽAN 1995: 87–88, 114–121, Abb. 7–9). Svakako to nisu jedini podaci koje iz te podjele možemo iščitati, već oni pružaju šire i mnogo kompleksnije osnove podrijetla, okolnosti nastanka i razvoja te njihova međusobnog odnosa. U tome smislu i kod ilirskih kaciga s glatkim rubom (III A3 tipa) razlikujemo one bez ukrasa i s urezanim kružnicama, koje imitiraju ili podsjećaju na ranije tipove

¹⁵ Iznosi se okvirni broj ilirskih kaciga, sukladno dostupnoj publiciranoj građi, gdje je vrlo često sam broj pojedinih kaciga manjkav ili neprecizno određen, jednako kao

što često izostaje katalog i konkretniji podaci o zasebnim ulomcima.

¹⁶ Podaci su navedeni u Listi nalazišta uz Sliku 3.

ve, a na čiju je pozornost također ukazala B. Teržan (1995: 87, Anm. 29). Međutim, slijedom navedene podjele kod ilirskih kaciga prve varijante kasne faze te su razlike znatnije izraženije, morfoloških ali osobito tehnoloških i stilskih obilježja.

»Creskome« je primjerku u tom smislu najbolja, i najbliža, paralela kaciga iz ratničkoga groba u Novome mestu, Kapiteljska njiva-tumul VII/grob 19 (KRIŽ 1997: 57, k. 43; EGG 1999: 321–325, Abb. 4, T. 12; KRIŽ 2004: Fig. 4) (T. II: 1). Bogati grob »braće po oružju« ili »ratničke braće« neupitno svjedoči o zbiru momenata, a jedan od njih je i istovremenost nošenja ilirskih kaciga III tipa A1 i A2a varijanti. Sličnosti su razvidne i kod kaciga iz drugih ratničkih grobova, npr. Kačnja (MARIĆ 1959: 89–90, Sl. 1b, T. 1: 1a–1b; 1976: 106–107, Sl. 3, T. I: 2–5) (T. II: 5–6), »bogatih« grobova iz Trebeništa (POPOVIĆ 1956: 47, T. XVIII; LAHTOV 1965: 124, 153, T. XXVII: 3; KRSTIĆ 2004: 38–39, Abb.27 (a–c); KRSTIĆ 2007a: 108–109) (T. IV: 1) i »Grobnice 1« iz Ohrida (KUZMAN 2006: 546, Ph. 4) (T. IV: 4). Pridružiti im se može i kaciga iz izdvojenoga grobnog nalaza kod Ražane (GARAŠANIN 1973: Sl. 25; POPOVIĆ 1975: 52, Sl. kat. 46; VASIĆ 1977: 64, Pl. 24: 1) (T. III: 3), kao i kacige koje su bile položene pored groba u tumulu kod Pečke banje (TASIĆ 1998: 578, kat. 222; KRSTIĆ 2004: 39–40; 2007: 98–99) (T. III: 4). Posebni osvrt zaslužuju i nalazi iz svetišta. Tako će formom i načinom izradbe najbliže analogije biti one iz Olimpije, gdje je, ujedno, do sada zabilježen i najveći broj kaciga III A1 tipa (KUNZE 1967: 124–125, T. 64, 67–68; PFLUG 1988: 53, Abb. 10–11; TERŽAN 1995: 115, Abb. 7) (T. III: 7, IV: 2–3, 5). Ilirske su kacige vrlo često nalažene u rijekama, ali to za sada nije i obilježjem kaciga III A1 tipa. Izravniju paralelu moguće je vidjeti jedino kod kacige iz Olimpije (HOCKEY et al. 1992) (T. IV: 2) i kod kacige iz Temišvara (CEDICA u pripremi).

Usporedimo li nadalje kategoriju mjesta i okolnosti nalaženja, s vrsnoćom i kvantitetom očuvanosti, nameću su sljedeća zapažanja: u svim do sada poznatim grobovima kacige su većinom nađene očuvane u cijelosti, namjerno deformirane, razbijane ili namjerno probijane. Nerijetko se mogu naći i u samo iznimno prepoznatljivim ulomcima paragnatida (T. II: 6). To vrijedi i za svetišta, gdje brojnošću prevladavaju namjerno razbijane i polomljene ili, opetovano, evidentne u posve prepoznatljivim ulomcima (npr. Isthmia, T. III: 6). Suprotnu sliku daju jedino nalazi iz rijeke i mora, jer su kacige sačuvane gotovo u cijelosti, bez tragova nasilne ili namjerne deformacije, kao da su odbacene u znaku poruke ili neke posebne, možda, ritualne namjene.¹⁷

Estetske, stilske, pa tako i tehnološke, različitosti već su i kod površnog pregleda uspoređenih kaciga posve izrazite. Slavni će stoga primjerci iz Trebeništa ili Olimpije (T. IV: 1–3, 5), uz nove nalaze bogato ukrašenih kaciga iz Ohrida (T. IV: 4) i Temišvare nesumnjivo činiti izdvojenu grupu u okviru prve faze posljednjeg razvojnog stupnja ilirskih kaciga. Budući da je osnovni način izradbe, forma i tehnologija proizvodnje jedinstvena, a istovremenost neupitna, kacige s apliciranim ukrasima znače međutim, odraz neke druge težnje, neke druge potrebe, vrijednosti ali i krajnjega cilja. Prema tome moguće ih je razlikovati u **III A1a** varijanti, koja je jednostavna, uobičajena i bez dodatnih ukrasa, a relativno je rasprostranjena na širem prostoru. Varijanta **III A1b** predstavljati će pak iznimne, luksuzne i zbog posebne namjene dizajnirane kacige (Sl. 4 s listom nalazišta).

Središnji motiv reprezentativnih III A1b varijanti ilirskih kaciga obilježava heraldički koncept vepra između dva lava, poznatih iz Trebeništa, Olimpije, Temišvare (T. IV: 1, 3), odnosno aplicirani prikazi ovnujskih glava na paragnatidama kaciga iz Olimpije i Ohrida (T. IV: 4, 5). Međutim, to nije prvi, kao ni posljednji, pokušaj oplemenjivanja estetskom komponentom tih kaciga posredstvom sublimiranja naracije ili simbola u asocijativnom ili alegorijskom prikazu životinja. Naime, vepar u sličnom položaju, ali izveden tehnikom urezivanja, poznat je već i na lijevoj, namjerno pro-

17 Deformacije uzrokovane uslijed djelovanja vremena i/ili voda sasvim se drugačije očituju, npr. kacige iz rijeke

Cetine kraj Trilja (MILOŠEVIĆ 2004: 19; GAFFNEY 2004: 3; RADIĆ ROSSI 2006: 85) ili kaciga iz Temišvare.

bušenoj,¹⁸ paragnatidi ilirske kacige II tipa iz nekropole kod Ioannine, nađene upravo u funkciji urne (PFLUG 1988: 49; TERŽAN 1995: 113, Abb. 6; SAKELLARIOU 1997: 97, Sl. 80) (Sl. 5a). Urezani, heraldički postavljeni lavovi, izdignute prednje šape i antitetički okrenutih glava, poznati su i kod kacige III A3 tipa koja potječe iz Argolisa, a čuva se u Metropolitan Museum of Art u New Yorku (PFLUG 1988: 61, Abb. 17–18; MORAN 2007) (Sl. 5b).¹⁹ Može li se u tom slijedu pratiti određena postupnost ili tzv. evolucija razvoja umjetničkog sadržaja ilirskih kaciga ostaje i dalje pitanjem, odnosno perspektivom budućih istraživanja i u tome pravcu. Sigurno jest to da su jedino na kacigama III A1b tipa ukrasi aplicirani plemenitim kovinama.

Aplikativnim vepovima s kaciga treba svakako pridružiti i nalaze veprova iz Zagrađa, grob 1 (FIALA 1899: 51, Sl. 51, PAROVIĆ-PEŠIKAN 1961: 25, Sl. 2; ČOVIĆ 1987: 616, T. LXIV: 1), i Atenice, humka I periferni grob muške mlađe osobe (DJUKNIĆ, JOVANOVIĆ 1966: 17–18, T. XI: 1, XIX: 1, XXIX–XXXIII; 2003: 191–192; VASIĆ 2004: Abb. 15), koji su stvaralački i receptivno gotovo identični (Sl. 6. a, b). Zanimanja na tu temu i nadalje su vrlo živa, razmišljanja oprečna, pa usprkos čestom navođenju njihovih sličnosti sigurna, čvrsta i adekvatna relacija između tih nalaza visokoestetske kvalitativne ostavštine nije ostvarena, iako je ponuđena (POPOVIĆ 1975: 54; STIPČEVIĆ 1981: 105–106; T. XXXI: 2, 4; VASIĆ 1987: 650; 2007: 560–561).

Ponajprije, neosporno je riječ o aplikacijama koje su sve približnih dimenzija 4,2–4,8 cm, gotovo su identičnog načina izradbe, od tankog srebrnog i/ili pozlaćenog lima, te istih tehnoloških i stilskih osobitosti. Najvjerojatnije potječu iz jednog radioničkog centra, ili barem iz užeg radioničkog kruga, koji je imao mogućnosti, znanja i vještine prerađivati i obrađivati, među inim, i plemenite metale. To nikako nužno ne znači da su oni proizvod grčkih radionica, kako je pretpostavljala Maja Parović-Pešikan (1961: 25), oslanjajući se na analogije kod grčkog vaznog slikarstva. Od svih poznatih nedostaje jedino vepar iz Trebeništa, sačuvan u otisku i po prepoznavanju pozicije (T. IV: 1). »Olimpijski« je vepar fragmentiran u stražnjem dijelu tijela (T. IV: 3), a ateničkome nedostaju udovi i kljove. Jedina predložena rekonstrukcija navedenih veprova poznata je samo za potonji primjerak, kojemu je nažalost umanjena vjerodostojnost i u krajnjoj liniji receptivna simbolika (TASIĆ 1992: Fig. 9) (Sl. 6a). Naime, ateničkom su vepu stražnje noge prikazane prekratke i zdepaste, odavajući tako tromu i nezgrapnu životinju, iako položaj tijela, izrazita muskulatura te kosina dlake i glave to posve jasno isključuju. Najbolje očuvani primjerak onaj je iz Zagrađa (Sl. 6b), kojim je omogućeno analitički detaljnije iščitavanje položaja same životinje. Sukladno tomu ponuđene su razne interpretacije, kako o simbolici tako i o namjeni toga predmeta, neka pretenciozna, neka posve irelevantna (PAROVIĆ-PEŠIKAN 1961: 25; BABIĆ 2004: 131, K. 2) 1.–2.). Konkretne usporedbe s tada poznatim vepovima s kaciga iz Trebeništa ili Olimpije iznio je samo Lj. Popović (1975: 54–55, f.n. 270).

U kontekstu ateničkog centralnoga groba, humke II, treba izdvojiti još jedan vrlo zanimljiv predmet. To je ulomak palmete također od srebrnog izrežanog lima (DJUKNIĆ – JOVANOVIĆ 1966: 18–19, T. XII: 3, XXI: 1), jednake izradbe, tehnološkog i estetskog ostvarenja kao i aplikacije vepa (Sl. 7a). Nesumnjivo su to bili ukrasi štitova, kako nam to izravno argumentiraju ulomci pal-

18 Spomenula bih također kako postoji još nekoliko ilirskih kaciga III A2a tipa probušenih na lijevoj paragnatidi, iz unutrašnje prema vanjskoj strani, a koje potječu iz Olimpije (DUCERY 1985: 61, ill. 41e; SEARS 2007; Olympia Museum 2007). Od svih poznatih kaciga III A1 tipa probušena paragnatida je samo na kacigi iz British Museuma (HOCKEY et al. 1992: Pl. 19–21). Dakle, takve su kacige lokalizirane isključivo u svetištima, ili barem na područja koja su nedjeljivo bila s njima povezana. Podatak

je tim vredniji ako se zna da je oružje bilo pribijano na zidove svetišta, ponajviše u hodnicima i porticima, a o kojima se naravno brinulo svećenstvo (DUCERY 1985: 277). Možda u tom smislu treba sagledati i namjerno deformirane, prema van izvučene i probijane, paragnatide ilirskih kaciga?

19 Identičan primjerak prodan je na dražbi 25. 10. aukcijske kuće Christie's (CHRISTIE'S 2007).

meta iz svetišta Atene Itonije u Philiji (KILIAN DIRLMEIER 2002: 88–89; T. 89: 1393–1401) (Sl. 7b) ili još uvjerljivije ilustrira paradni kriselefantinski štit iz Filipove grobnice u Vergini (ANDRONICOS 1999: 134–140, Fig. 91–93) ili pak nalaz paragnatide III A2a tipa ilirske kacige iz Grevene (Sl. 7c). Paragnatida je raskošno ukrašena prizorom Nike u pobjedničkom raskoraku s kopljem i štitom koji na rukohvatu krasi upravo ukras palmeta (DUCREY 1985: 88, Ill. 57; PFLUG 1988: 64; ELLIS 1992: Abb. 24). To je jedini do sada poznati primjerak ukrašenog dijela III A2a varijante ilirske kacige, no ostaje i nadalje pitanjem je li ona ukrašavana izvorno, dok je kaciga još bila u upotrebi, što se čini većom mogućnosti, ili je naknadno obrađivana s određenom namjenom, vjerojatno insignije? Ipak, kontekstualnom datacijom smješta se u vrijeme kada taj tip kacige odavno više nije korišten. Zbog toga će ta sekundarno iskorištena paragnatida neposredno obilježavati vrijednost i značenje same ilirske kacige kao statusnog simbola dostojanstvenika, moćnika, prvaka u asocijativnom elementu nedvosmislene poruke.

U ovome osvrtu treba svratiti pozornost na, možda samo zaboravljeni, aplikativni ukras palmete i na kacigama iz Trebeništa (Sl. 8a, T. IV: 1). Posebno se to odnosi na onu toliko citiranu kacigu iz groba 8 (VULIĆ 1932: 34–35, Sl. 55–56; POPOVIĆ 1956: 26–27, T. XVIII, XVIIIa; POPOVIĆ 1975: 54–56; Sl. 47; LAHTOV 1965: T. XXVII: 3), koja je zahvaljujući novim reprodukcijama opet oživljena (KRSTIĆ 2004: Abb. 27, K. 36; 2007a: 108–109). Palmeta je također aplicirana i na kacigi iz trebeniškoga groba 6 (FILOW 1927: 84, Abb. 99; PFLUG 1988: 53–54). Kako to ne bi bili usamljeni primjerci ili iznimna pojava, koncentrirana samo na ukus i prohtjeve željeznodobne »aristokracije« ohridskoga područja, svjedoče i ukrasi palmeta na kacigama iz olimpijskog svetišta. Osim kacige iz olimpijskog muzeja (KUNZE 1967: Nr. 43, T. 64; SNODGRASS 1984: Fig. 44; PFLUG 1988: 34; KULL 1997: 288, Abb. 43), palmete su iznimno »otisnute« s obje strane završetaka paragnatida i na čeonom dijelu druge ilirske kacige iz Olimpije (Sl. 8b, T. IV: 2), koja zapravo potječe iz rijeke Alpheios, i čuva se u British Museumu (KUNZE 1958: 139, 147, Abb. 106–107, T. 51–52; PFLUG 1988: 54; HOCKEY et al. 1992: 287, Pl. 22: a–b). Ta je kaciga do sada najpotpunije i najopsežnije obrađena, koliko je meni poznato, a analize metala i način njihove izradbe pokazali su i ukazali na niz novih momenata, koje treba poštivati i kojima treba raspolagati.²⁰ Tako su, osim srebrnih aplikacija, i kuglice na rubniku djelomično izrađene od srebra, a potvrđeno je kako su, i jedne i druge, lemljene uz pomoć kositra (HOCKEY et al. 1992: 283–285). Prema tomu, najvjerojatnije su i svi ostali aplicirani ukrasi na kacigama III A1b tipa pričvršćivani ili spajani na brončanu podlogu uz pomoć kositra. Naravno, poznato je kako srebra, zlata i kositra u oblastima središnjeg balkanskog prostora, osobito današnje Makedonije i južne Srbije (pogotovo na prostoru Bujanovca i uokolo ohridskog područja), nije nedostajalo (POPOVIĆ 1975: 54, 58–59; GRŽETIĆ – JELENKOVIĆ 1995: 13–29, Sl. 1; DURMAN 1997: 8–13, Fig. 2). Navedeni podaci utoliko su važniji ako im se pridoda činjenica mjesne, autohtone proizvodnje fibula i igala od srebra ili zlata iz ohridskog prostora (VASIĆ 1987a: 731; 1996: 144–145; 1996a: 17–19; 2004: 23–24).

Tako uspostavljeni odnos između ohridskog područja i olimpijskog svetišta pratiti je moguće i kod primjera drugih ukrasa ilirskih kaciga iste varijante. Naime, jedinom primjerku kacige iz Olimpije (T. IV: 5) (SOLOW 2007), na čijim je paragnatidama aplicirana realistična ovnujska glava u profilu, pridružuje se novi nalaz kacige iz »Grobnice 1« iz Ohrida, odnosno s Gorne porte (T. IV: 4). Na njoj je profilirani ovan izvedbom i stilski, tehnološki i umjetnički izveden na vrlo sličan način (KUZMAN 2006: 546, Ph 4; BANGS 2006). Ovnujska glava u profilu uobičajeni je i prepoznatljiv ukras paragnatida halkidiških kaciga, kao što nam to svjedoči slavni primjer kacige iz Perzefonina

20 Analize metala, tj. korozije provedene su također i na kacigama III A3 tipa iz nekropole Archontiko, kojima je dokazano korištenje kositra prilikom nanošenja srebra na

površinu kaciga, osobito na štitniku za vrat (MANTI 2006:6).

hrama u Locri Epizefiri (KUNZE 1967: 139; CARDOSA 2002: 99, cat. n. 34) ali i brojni drugi (PFLUG 1988a: 137–150; TERŽAN 1995: 86, 123–124, Abb. 10). Međutim, ovan na paragnatidama ilirskih kaciga gotovo nikada nije bio predmetom rasprava, kao da je to jednostavno bilo isključeno. No, upravo navedeni novi nalazi upozoravaju na veću opreznost i preciznost pri tipološkom određivanju. Nađe li se stoga aplikacija ovna zasebno, poput one u Philiji (KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 2002: 91, T. 90: 1422) vrlo ju je teško, osobito sa sigurnošću pripisati pojedinom od navedenih tipova kaciga. S obzirom na zemljopisnu, mikroregionalnu kao i na kulturološku uvjetovanost prostora, odnosno konteksta ostalih nalaza spomenuti bi ulomak brončanog lima u obliku ovnujske glave iz Philije trebalo promatrati u smislu ukrasnog elementa možda ilirske, a ne isključivo halkidiške kacige?

Kako god bilo, pri atribuiranju aplikacija vepra iz Zagrađa te vepra i palmete iz Atenice treba nedvosmisleno i jasno kazati kako su one namijenjene estetskoj dimenziji kaciga i/ili štitova, na što su upozoravali i neposredno upućivali njihovi istraživači (DJUKNIĆ – JOVANOVIĆ 1966: 18–19; POPOVIĆ 1975: 54–56; VASIĆ 1987: 650; 2007: 560–561). U ponudi novih rješenja nužno je slijediti osnovni princip metodološkog poštivanja forme, namjene i materijala, i to u određenom kontekstu. Sukladno tomu čini se malo vjerojatnim, iako ne i isključenim, kako poneke od aplikacija potječu s odjeće (ČOVIĆ 1987: 616; PALAVESTRA 1984: 41–42, Sl. 7, 8, T. XIV; VASIĆ 1987: 650), što ponajprije u slučaju Atenice nije održivo, razumijevamo li pri tome osobnu opremu od priloga. Posve neprihvatljivim rješenjem nameće se mogućnost povezivanja navedenih aplikacija s metalnim posudama (BABIĆ 1990: 166–171; 2002: Fig. 2; 2004: 106, 131, 151–152), tim više što se kao argument ističe plošnost (nesavinutost) aplikacija koje zbog toga nisu mogle pratiti oblik paragnatide (BABIĆ 2004: 152). Zar su ukrasi aplikacija samo na paragnatidama? Nadovezujući se na mišljenja koje je više puta ponudio Rastko Vasić (2007: 560–561), istaknut ću kako sve posude toga vremena imaju izliveno i zatim prikovane ili lemljene željene ukrase, npr. vrlo rado komparirani krater iz Vixa (npr. EGG, PARE 1995: 190–192, T. 65, F. T. XXI; GUGGISBERG 2006: 13–15) ili, napokon, krater iz Trebeništa (POPOVIĆ 1994: 103, kat. 31; KRSTIĆ 2004: 36–37; Abb. 25–26; 2007a: 104–107), odnosno urezane poput ukrasa na posudama, vedrima ili ogledalima (npr. GIUM-LIA-MAIR – RUBINICIH 2002).

Takve aplikacije, s nedvosmislenom porukom, mogle su biti i samostalno prilagane ili položene u grob metonimijske vrijednosti i važnosti (THEODOSSIEV 1998: 360–362; 2000: 199–200). Navedeni simboli neće se nalaziti na uobičajenim primjercima, kojih ima mnogo, a biti će ih još i više.²¹ Oni neće biti simbolom običnog ratničkog sloja, niti će svaka ilirska kaciga biti vlasništvom istaknutih članova pojedinih zajednica, kako je pretpostavljala Viktorija Sokolovska (1997: 35–36). Samo tako ukrašene kacige i štitovi, baš kao i njihove metonimije, mogle su doista biti rječitim simbolom i izričajem moćne »aristokracije« bilo vojničkog bilo političkog karaktera, na što je posredno uputila i Staša Babić (2001: 87–88; 2004: 108). Taj status, ili postignuta razina unutrašnjeg uređenja zajednica, nedvojbeno nije bio ostvaren niti postignut bez snažnih osnova, a jedna od njih je zasigurno geopolitički položaj, uvjetovan prirodnim resursima i kontrolom komunikacija. Točnije, područje Ohrida, budućeg ili već tadašnjeg Lihnida, znamenito po bogatstvu sirovina, sjecište je i sjecište horizontalne komunikacije od Jadrana prema Halkidici, tzv. srebrnog ili Kadmejskog puta, tj. buduće prometnice *Via Egnatia* (LISIČAR 1953: 250–254; POPOVIĆ 1966: 15–16; POPOVIĆ 1969: 11–12; KATIČIĆ 1995: 262–264, 274), te vertikalne riječne transverzale vardarsko-moravskim tokom, od juga pa sve do sjevera Balkanskog poluotoka (VASIĆ 2004: 11; BABIĆ 2002: 74–81). Nisu li upravo na tom širem prostoru, među inim, lokalizirane legende o Kadmu i Harmoni-

21 Dovoljno je pogledati legalnu aukcijsku prodaju ilirskih kaciga koja je dostupna na internetskim stranicama,

posebno kada je riječ o kvantiteti odnosa sa stručno valoriziranim nalazima u dostupnoj literaturi.

ji (ŠAŠEL KOS 1993: 113–136; KATIČIĆ 1995: 211–303; ŠAŠEL KOS 2004: 499–501)? Nije li upravo u grobovima Trebeništa dokumentirano mnoštvo obrtničkog alata, oruđa te poluproizvoda ili nedovršenih predmeta (POPOVIĆ 1956: 26–30).

No, zbog čega je izabran upravo vepar? Interpretacije vepra u pretpovijesnim, jednako kao i u povijesnim, društvima i sredinama brojne su i izrazite. U usporedbi nalaza materijalne kulture s kulturnim i religioznim tumačenjima simbola vepra, u dostupnom kontekstu, baš kao i mitologiji prostora, dokazana je njegova izrazita ritualna vrijednost kojom se obilježavao status vodećih, viših ili najviših članova zajednice (EIBNER 2001: 266–270). Na prostoru južnog i srednjeg Balkana, gdje je simbolizam vepra staroga i iskonskoga podrijetla, u kompoziciji sa zlatnim aplikacijama (uz druge zlatne ukrasne predmete) i kacigama mogao je značiti najviši oblik *insignie*, a u eshatološkoj ideji i mogućnost heroizacije te divinizacije pokojnika (POPOVIĆ 1966: 23–29; SOKOLOVSKA 1997: 56; THEODOSSIEV 1998: 360; 2000: 200; BABIĆ 2001: 83–88). Tako u Atenici istaknuta metonimija, kao posljedica fragmentacije, nije tek puka slučajnost (DJUKNIĆ – JOVANOVIĆ 1966: 8–12, 22–23). Znak vepra i kao duhovno autoritativnih u ateničkom je obredu sahranjivanja, i spaljivanja, još jednom potkrijepljen trojnim žrtvovanjem životinja božanstvima kojima se upućuju. Među njima posebno mjesto pripada upravo vepu, i neuobičajeno svinji (ČAČE 1985: 18–21; VASIĆ 1987: 646–647; JOVANOVIĆ 2003: 192, 198–199; EIBNER 2001: 242–243), čime je naglašena upravo heroizacija pa čak i divinizacija pokojnika (STIPČEVIĆ 1984: 220). U ne tako udaljenom primjeru sindoške nekropole, naći će se sličan princip izdvajanja statusnih simbola položaja i/ili privilegija pojedinaca. Slično ateničkom dječjem grobu, i dijete muškog spola u grobu 59 pokopano je na način odrasle osobe, opremljen s vrlo bogatim i najrazličitijim importima. Među inim, nađena je ilirska kaciga III A3 varijante, kakva je uostalom dokumentirana i u grobu 25, a čije su rubne trake od zlatnoga lima ukrašene iskucanim prikazom vepra. Inventar groba 25 datiran je u 540. godinu, a grob 59 smješten je u 530/520. godinu pr. Kr. (VOKOTOPOULOU 1996: 114–118, k. 8577; 1997: 127; 130, k. 211; THEODOSSIEV 2000: 197–198, Fig. 13–14). Zanimljivost je minijturni model kola s konjima, istražen pored groba, a kome se slični primjerci mogu naći u Vergini i Pydni (VOKOTOPOULOU 1996: 114–115, k. 8651), te sada i na Ohridu na Gornoj porti (KUZMAN 2006: 546, Ph 7).

Međutim, ikonografski je vepar obično karakteriziran u stavu obrambenog položaja (PAROVIĆ-PEŠIKAN 1961: 25) (Sl. 6 a,b). S jedne strane takva tvrdnja može biti djelomično ispravna. No ako se, s druge strane, dobro promotre odlike vepra on u svom prirodnom stavu ili u položaju napadanja, odnosno sukoba, također stoji sa sve četiri noge čvrsto na zemlji, s glavom pognutom unaprijed, nakostriješenom dlakom te s uzdignutim kljovama. Vepar je dakako jedna među naj snažnijim životinjama u našem ekološkom sustavu, s nizom osobina koje ga čine gotovo bez »ranjive točke»; izrazito je brz, sabijene i čvrste muskulature gotovo neprobojne, a svojom neukrotivom snagom uništava sve kuda prolazi (CHEVALIER-CHEERBRANT 1994: 743–744). Najvažnija veprova karakteristika ipak je apsolutna neustrašivost i nadmoćnost u odnosu prema drugim životinjama, pri čemu mu snagu i strahopoštovanje izazivaju vrlo izražajne kljove. Uхватiti, i još k tomu usmrtniti, vepra oduvijek je bio poseban izazov za lovca i njegova lovnoga psa, bez obzira o kojem je vremenu ili o kojem je streljivu riječ, obilježavajući tim činom doista divlju žrtvu kraljevskoga lova (ANDRONICOS 1999: 117–118; THEODOSSIEV 2000: 198; EIBNER 2001: 243). Zbog upravo tih osobina vepar je postao simbolom moći, neustrašivosti i autoritativnosti, bilo duhovnog, kako se često simbolički interpretira (STIPČEVIĆ 1981: 106; CHEVALIER-CHEERBRANT 1994: 743), bilo fizičkog ili čak heroiziranog karaktera u spektru mogućih poimanja (EIBNER 2001). Prihvaćeni i prilagođeni izbor vepra u percepciji simbolike prvaka ili dostojanstvenika na ilirskim kacigama, ne bi time trebao biti iznenađenje, jednako kao što ne iznenađuje, svojstvenim narativnim izričajem, istaknuta uloga prizora heroja u lovu na vepra iznad ulaza grobnice Filipa II Makedonskog (AN-

DRONIKOS 1992: 205, 208, Abb. 102, 112–113; 1999: 106–119; EIBNER 2001: 269; DROUGOU – SAATSOGLU-PALIADELI 2002: Fig. 60) (Sl. 10).

Osim friza u »Velikoj grobnici«, lov na vepra(-ove) kao središnja, ovoga puta reducirana scena, ali raščlanjena i duplicirana s osnovnim elementima simetrične tematske osi i obrednim sadržajem, zorno je prikazana na raskošnom srebrnom te pozlaćenom okovu pojasne kopče iz Lovèca kraj Stare Zagóre (Sl. 11). Okov je datiran u 5/4. stoljeće pr. Kr. (VENEDIKOV – GERASIMOV 1979: 377–378, Sl. 248, 250; TERŽAN 1995: 88). Scena lova na vepra izravno definira visoki društveni status konjanika i lukostrijelaca (KULL 1997: 296–301; EIBNER 2001: 250–251), od kojih potonji položajem, nošnjom i pokretom neodoljivo podsjeća na okov pojasne kopče iz Molnika (TERŽAN 1997: 667–668, Abb. 11; EGG – PARE 1995: 19, 1; KULL 1997: Abb. 50: 6–7; TURK 2005: 31–33, Sl. 45). Klasičnim asocijativnim elementima života i smrti, besmrtnosti i ponovnoga rađanja u ikonografskoj simbolici strijelca i lovačkog psa, drva života i lotosovog cvijeća (TERŽAN 2007: 89), taj je ukrasni okov važan i poradi detalja prepoznatljivog prikaza ilirske kacige u desnom donjem uglu, tj. u posljednjem metopnom polju. Na tu je paralelu upućivao već i Lj. Popović, izdvajajući je samo zbog srodnog prikaza veprova, ali ne i zbog prikaza kacige (POPOVIĆ 1975: 54, f.n. 270).

Tako će ilirska kaciga osim interpretativne dobiti i inspirativnu dimenziju, odnosno postat će sadržajem religioznih, heroiziranih i kulturnih scena vrednovana atributivno s jasnom i naglašenom receptivnošću. Njezin prikaz najčešći je na okovima pojasnih garnitura, koje već same po sebi odražavaju identitet, simboličku povezanost njihova nositelja i scene koja je na njima prikazana (CHEVALIER-GHEERBRANT 1994: 521–522; KUKOČ 1998: 20). Raskošnom okovu iz Lovèca mogu se stoga pribrojiti nalazi sa zemljopisno bližeg prostora, uglavnom iz konteksta bogatijih grobova ili grobnica.

Ponajprije, to je poznati trapezoidni okov pojasne kopče iz nekropole u Veljim Ledinama, kraj Gostilja, izrađen od željezne podloge i obložen srebrnim, na matrici, iskucanim limom (BASLER 1967: 9–10, 29, T. VII: 30/2; LUTOVAC 2005: 20–21). Na njemu su heraldički postavljene dvije ilirske kacige usmjerene jedna prema drugoj (Sl. 12), kojima, usprkos brojnim razmatranjima i analizama tih okova u literaturi,²² nije posvećena veća pažnja. Kacige će možda u ponuđenom konceptu mitološke priče o besmrtnosti i vitalnosti (KUKOČ 1998: 13–22, sl. 4), zauzeti ili nadomjestiti ili bolje rečeno atribuirati herojske blizance Dioskure. To se prepoznaje u odnosu na slične pozicije konjanika pri drugim okovima pojasnih kopči tipa Prozor, što je omogućila teza o istovjetnim japodskim i labeatskim religijskim shvaćanjima. Odnos je uspostavljen gotovo istim solarno-lunarnim ritualnim principima, koji su definirani manifestacijama upravo na trapezoidnim okovima pojasnih kopči.²³

U posve drukčijem, konkretnijem, ali opet vrlo simplificiranom prikazu, ilirsku kacigu moguće je vidjeti i na drugom, pravokutnom okovu pojasne garniture iz Veljih Ledina (BASLER 1969: 9, 43, T. XXV: 126/3; JOVANOVIĆ 1989: 117–125, Sl. 1 a–b). U sceni borbe konjanika i pješaka, pješak nosi makedonski štit u ruci i na glavi ne nosi halkidišku (KULL 1997: 331–333, Abb. 64: 6; 2002: 194, Abb. 5: 2), nego ilirsku kacigu (JOVANOVIĆ 1989: 121; ŠAŠEL KOS 1993: 123). Religiozno-povijesne interpretacije, prikazanoga likovnog i mitološkog, doista ne tako dramatičnog, prizora različito su tumačene (JOVANOVIĆ 1989: 120–131; KOSSACK 1991: 151–155; ŠAŠEL KOS 1993: 123). Međutim, važno je naglasiti kako se ti okovi datiraju, sukladno svim ostalim nala-

22 BASLER 1969; STIPČEVIĆ 1974; 1984; RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1984; JOVANOVIĆ 1985; 1989; KOSSACK 1991; KUKOČ 1998; MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1998; ŠAŠEL KOS 1993; KULL 1997; 2002.

23 JOVANOVIĆ 1985: 50–53, Sl. 5–8; KOSSACK 1991: 156–161, Abb. 2; BALEN-LETUNIĆ 1995–1996: 23–27; KUKOČ 1998: 20–22; MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1998: 344–346, Sl. 167.

zima materijalne građe, na kraj 3. i početak 2. stoljeća pr. Kr., u vrijeme kada su sklapani savezi i koalicije protiv rimskih vojnih osvajanja na prostoru Ilirije i Makedonije, poglavito pod dominantnim vodstvom Filipa V (JOVANOVIĆ 1989: 121–127; CABANES 2002: 150–167), ili u vrijeme kada su kralj Gencije, tj. gradovi Skodra i Lisos kovali vlastiti novac s amblemom kacige ilirskog tipa na reversu i makedonskim štitom na aversu (Sl. 13).²⁴

Kronološki istovremeni pojasnim okovima Labeata iz Gostilja je i ukrasni okov pojasne kopče iz bogate grobnice u Selce at Poshtëme (Podgradec) kod zapadne obale Ohridskoga jezera (KORKUTI 1971: 46–47; STIPČEVIĆ 1974: 173; CEKA 1988: 372–373, 284). Tehnološkom obradom odgovara trapezoidnom okovu iz Gostilja, korištenjem željezne podloge i oplata od srebrnog iskucanog lima (Sl. 14). Ikonografskim sadržajem i stilskim obilježjima bliži je pak pravokutnom okovu iz Gostilja, ali je, suprotno njemu, znatno preciznijeg i detaljnijeg prikaza vrlo sličnog mitološko-povijesnog predloška. Na okovu iz Selce svi ratnici nose jasno raspoznatljive, tj. naglašene ilirske kacige s perjanicama na glavi i makedonske štitove u ruci. Scena je dinamična i razumljiva, za razliku od gostiljskog primjerka, a kako se također smješta u paradnu garnituru Ilira kraja 3. stoljeća pr. Kr., pokušala se definirati u atributivnom značenju ilirske kacige, koju je ona pridobila za proturimske makedonsko-ilirske koalicije. Oba okova u poveznici su također podudarna s manifestacijom legende o Kadmu, koji je u liku prikazanih zmija bio mitskim okriljem u borbi protiv zajedničkog neprijatelja.²⁵

Najrealističniji prikaz ilirske kacige svakako je onaj na aversu kovanica vladara Bastareja (SOKOLOVSKA 1990: 13, Cr. 8; SOKOLOVSKA 1997: 35, 126: 16), s prizorom pognutog bika na reversu, i koje se datiraju u 5. stoljeće pr. Kr. (Sl. 15). Na toj su kacigi pomno izrađeni svi detalji, uključujući i kuglice na rubnicima kacige, pa je vjerojatno ona rađena prema pravom predlošku ilirske III A1 kacige, za razliku od reminiscencija na navedenim prilično mlađim prizorima.

U opisanim predmetima utilitarne i ukrasne, nesvakidašnje ili paradne namjene, u sukube asocijacija na ideje o životu i smrti, božanskog i onostranog, koncipirana je i ilirska kaciga kao simbol i/ili atribut. Zauzela je tako znakovito mjesto u mitologiji prostora onodobnih Makedonaca, Labeata, Ilira i njima srodnim zajednicama, promovirana u simbol odličnika, prvaka, *primi inter pares*, odnosno autoriteta, u fizičkom i još više u duhovnom aspektu, te »ispričana« u povijesno potaknutom trenutku.

Analiza pak III A1 tipa ilirskih kaciga ukazala je također na pojedine različitosti među značkama kojima su one vrednovane, bilo statusnog bilo povijesnog karaktera. Stoga će kacige III A1a tipa biti raširene kod tzv. ratničkog sloja, ohridskog i središnjeg balkanskog prostora, odnosno zaleđa srednje i južne obale istočnoga Jadrana. Prilagane su najčešće u grobovima kao simboli pokojnika s posebnim statusom vojničko-ratničkog dijela društvene strukture, žrtvovane su i darovane božanstvima u njihovim i udaljenim svetištima, ali im i votivno poklanjane u znak zahvalnosti u morima i rijekama. Kacige III A1b tipa nedvojbeno su bile reprezentativni simbol najvišeg društvenog statusa vladarskog karaktera, dostojanstvenika koji su u svojim funkcijama združivali nekoliko odgovornosti, pa će one tako izražavati zbir različitih autoritativnih značajki. S obzirom na mjesta, njihov broj, okolnosti nalaženja i mogućnosti izradbe, možda je moguće pomišljati kako je jedan od radioničkih centara djelovao upravo na ohridskom području. Točnije, pretpostavljam kako te kacige nisu bile nužno posljedica importa, bilo izravnog iz Grčke ili posredstvom njihovih kolonija na Jadrane, budući da se zna kako su do sada kacige III A1 a i b varijanti zabilježene jedino u grčkim svetištima Olimpije i Isthmije (Sl. 4, T. III: 6, IV: 2–3, 5). Nadalje, vrlo često uspoređivanje sa sin-

24 BASLER 1969: 8–9, T. VIII: 34/8, XIII: 59/9; RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1984: 77; STIPČEVIĆ 1974: 173; KU-KOČ 1998: 23; CABANES 2002: 168–174.

25 CEKA 1988: 373; STIPČEVIĆ 1984: 218–219; JOVANOVIĆ 1989: 121–124; KOSSACK 1991: 154–155; ŠAŠEL KOS 1993: 123; KULL 1997: 299–331.

doškom nekropolom i s ostalim nalazima na prostoru Halkidike (VASIĆ 1987a: 731–732; VASIĆ 1996: 148), također se ne može tumačiti u jednome pravcu, samo kao uzor ili utjecaj, već bi se moglo razmatrati na mogućnost radiranja utjecaja s ohridskog područje prema Halkidici, a pogotovo prema Sindosu, što argumentira rasprostiranje III A3 tipa ilirskih kaciga (TERŽAN 1995: Abb. 9), a potkrepljuju i već spomenuti novi nalazi iz Ohrida (KUZMAN 2006). Trebeniški grobovi, kao i oni iz Gorne porte, bogati su i nalazima obrtničkog alata, poluproizvoda ili sirovih izrađevina. Mnoštvo je ondje nalaza koje se pripisuje domaćoj proizvodnji, a prerada i obrada metala na tome području znana je i iz mnogo ranijih vremena. Jesu li to bili domaći majstori koji su radili po uzoru, ili su to bili putujući obrtnici koji su izrađivali predmete prema narudžbi »barbarske aristokracije«, i nadalje ostaje pitanjem budućih istraživanja, no nesumnjivo se kod tih predmeta očituje snažna lokalna stvaralačka komponenata. U tom smislu, promatrane su i predstave na okovima pojasnih kopči, a tumačene su upravo kao djela domaćih majstora (BALEN-LETUNIĆ 1995–1996: 146; KUKOČ 1998: 21–22). Svakako je cirkulacija plemenitim kovinama, horizontalnim i vertikalnim komunikacijama, bila neizbježna i doista je mogla imati odlučujuću ulogu upravo u cirkulaciji, prenošenju i primanju utjecaja u oba pravca.

Kakvu bi važnost u cijelom tom poretku kraja 6. i 5. stoljeća pr. Kr. imala i novo nađena ilirska kaciga iz creskog akvatorija, ostaje zagonetkom, baš kao što zagonetkom ostaje do »novih iznenađenja« i njezin put do Kvarnera. Sagledavati se svakako treba pretpostavljene morske plovne putove, kojima su različita materijalna dobra prispijevala na Kvarner, a otuda se transportirala tranzitnim kontinentalnim pravcima u unutrašnjost, sve do istočnog predalpskog prostora. Najbliža paralela, kako je rečeno, očituje se kod kacige iz groba 19/VII u Novome Mestu. Upravo je to vrijeme kada prostor sjevernog dijela Kvarnera ima znatne doticaje, trgovačkog ili posredničkog karaktera, s prostorom Dolenjske, a koje je moguće pratiti u sačuvanoj materijalnoj ostavštini (BLEČIĆ 2003).

Diferencijacija aristokratskog i ratničkog statusa, u ovome primjeru, iskazala se u složenoj simbolici odnosa status-znak-estetika. Taj splet odnosa nije vrijedan samo minulih vremena, već se on ikonografski, pa i semantički, ponovno oživljava. Vrlo zanimljiv je stoga prikaz ilirske kacige na poštanskoj marci posebnog izdanja tzv. R. Srpske iz 2002. godine (Srpske pošte, Muzejski eksponati 2002.), kao i njezina pojava u heraldičkom konceptu novo predložene kosovske zastave (Albania.com 2007). Manifestacije ilirske kacige nisu zato vezane samo na promatranja dogođenih momenata poznavatelja davne prošlosti. One su i nadalje žive u svijesti modernoga čovjeka, posve simbolički i asocijativno baš kao nekada na prostoru koji ih je najvećim dijelom baštinio.

ZAHVALE

Mnogo je onih koji su stvaranje ovoga rada potaknuli ili koji su, na posredan ili neposredan način, sudjelovali svojim doprinosom. Ponajprije zahvaljujem dragom prijatelju i nalazniku »creske« kacige Đaniju Uhaču iz Lovrana. Za svaku podarenu pomoć i bezgranično strpljenje riječi iskrene zahvalnosti upućujem kolegama iz Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, ravnatelju Anti Rendić-Miočeviću, Ivanu Mirniku, Ivanu Radmanu-Livaji te Miljenki Galić, Damiru Doračiću i Igoru Krajcaru. Nebrojeno važne podatke, sugestije i usmjerenja dobila sam od kolegica i kolega; Ivanke Miličević-Capek, Maje Bunčić, Boruta Križa, Ante Miloševića, Adnana Busuladžića, Andreja Preložnika, te posebno Mitje Guština, Paska Kuzmana i Kemalja Lucia. Bezrezervnu podršku i kritičko sagledavanje problematike rada pružili su mi Biba Teržan, Rastko Vasić i Boris Kavur. Riječi ne opisuju snagu one zahvalnosti koju vam svima dugujem.

Rukopis primljen: 9.XI.2007.
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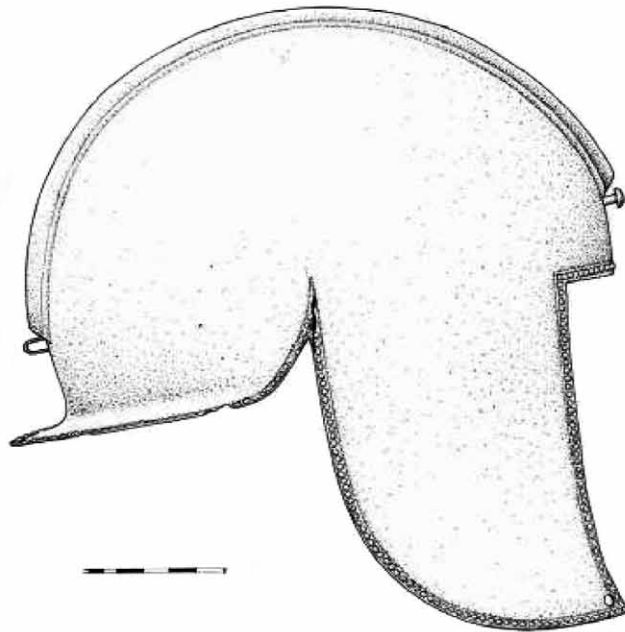
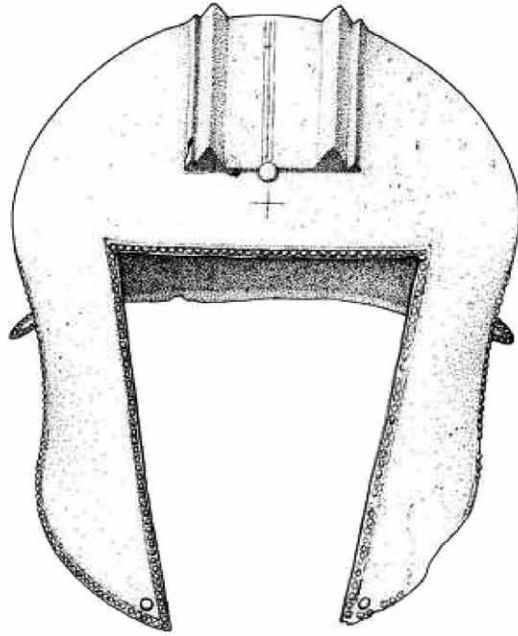
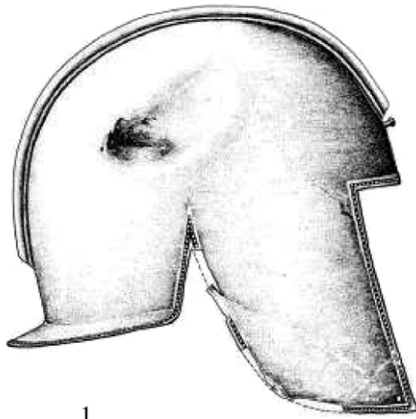


Plate I



1



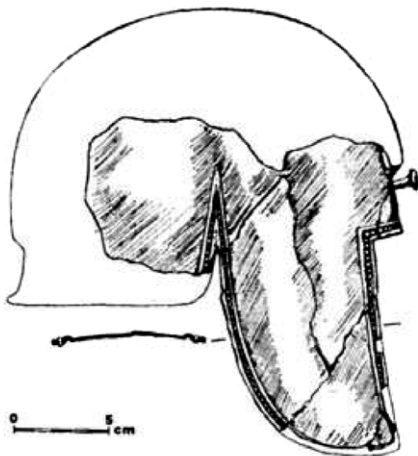
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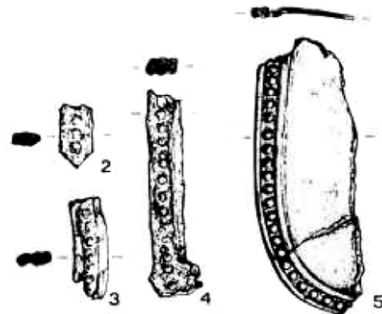
3



4

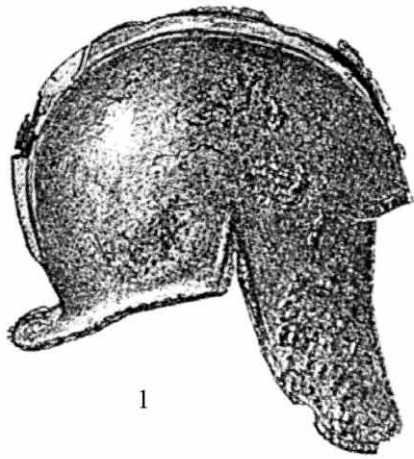


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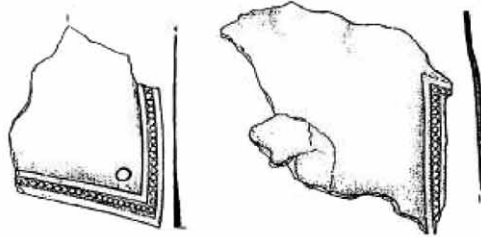


6

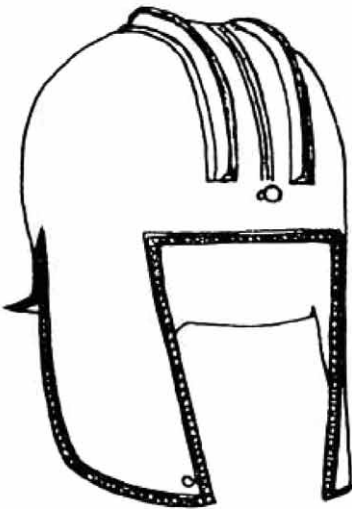
Plate II



1



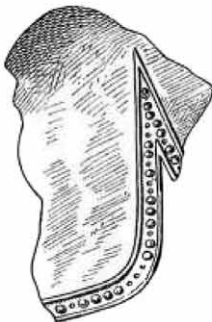
2



3



4



5



6



7

Plate III

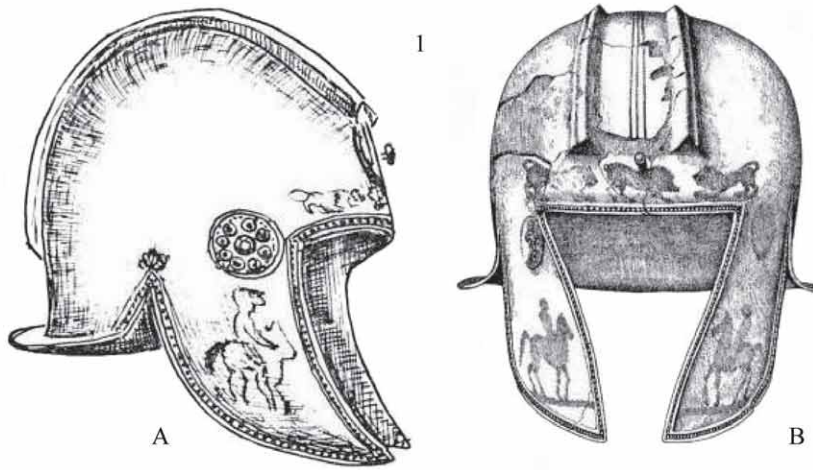


Plate IV