

# Brončani reljef s boginjom Nike i disk sa starogrčkim natpisom s gradine Daorsa na Ošanićima kod Stoca

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## Sažetak

Članak govori o dva slučajna nalaza s daorske gradine, pronađena u blizini; o brončanom visokom reljefu s prikazom boginje Nike, vrlo kvalitetnom uratku sitne helenističke plastike, i brončanom poklopcu u obliku diska, na čijem je rubu votivni zapis, a s druge strane mehanizam za zatvaranje. Članak također utvrđuje da su ta dva predmeta dijelovi jedinstvene kompozicije, čime se osigurava jasnija interpretacija klečećega položaja boginje Nike.

*Ključne riječi:* sitna brončana plastika; Nike u visokom reljefu; helenizam; poklopac s natpisom; mehanizam.

Ostatci predgrađa gradine Daorsa ispred akropole na 15 ha zemljišta uglavnom su suhozidne temeljne konstrukcije prostranih četvorina koje se strogo orijentiraju prema megalitskom zidu tvrđave i jasno naznačuju komunikacije koje su završavale na prostranom trgu. Takva planska osnova navela je znalce da postanak naselja datiraju na kraj 4. ili početak 3. st. pr. Krista, u svakom slučaju nakon podizanja dviju kula i moćnih bedema. Ulomci amfora i *gnatia* keramike,

novac i ostali arheološki pokretni materijal, uglavnom grčko-hele-nističke provenijencije potvrđuju da se tijekom 3. i 2. st. pr. Krista u tom dijelu grada vodio intenzivan ekonomsko-trgovački život.<sup>1</sup>

Među tim kvadratičnim konstrukcijama ističe se svojom posve pravilnom osnovom i kvalitetnim zidom prostorija broj XXVII, prema numeraciji Boška Marijana. U njezinu sjevernom kutu sačuvan je pijedestal s tri stube. Je li na njemu stajala velika kamena skulptura s ljudskim likom, čiji su dijelovi pronađeni na točilu ispod toga prostora, može se samo pretpostavljati.<sup>2</sup> Sam položaj iznad sredine trga i njegova okrenutost prema akropoli tek sugeriraju takvu mogućnost. Nažalost, iz cijele četvorine nestao je kulturni sloj, pa se njezina namjena ne da utvrditi, ali je posve izvjesno da je ona rad grčkih majstora, kao i same obrambene zidine. Njezina sjeverna strana uokviruje dubinu spomenutoga trga, agore, a njezin istočni zid markira glavnu komunikaciju s juga. Upravo na početku te komunikacije pronađeni su brončani reljef i natpis na disku od istoga materijala (sl. 1).

Pospremajući platnene vatrogasne cijevi nakon saniranja požara u rastinju i suhoj travi u ljeto 2021. unutar jedne od tih četvorina, vozač cisterne Željko Proleta primijetio je dva brončana predmeta kako izviruju iz tla koje je raskopao mlaz vode iz oštećene cijevi. Prvo je izvukao reljefni i krilati ženski lik, a dvadesetak centimetara dalje iz blata je virio polukružni predmet. Kad ga je saprao, pokazao se cjelovit neoštećen disk.

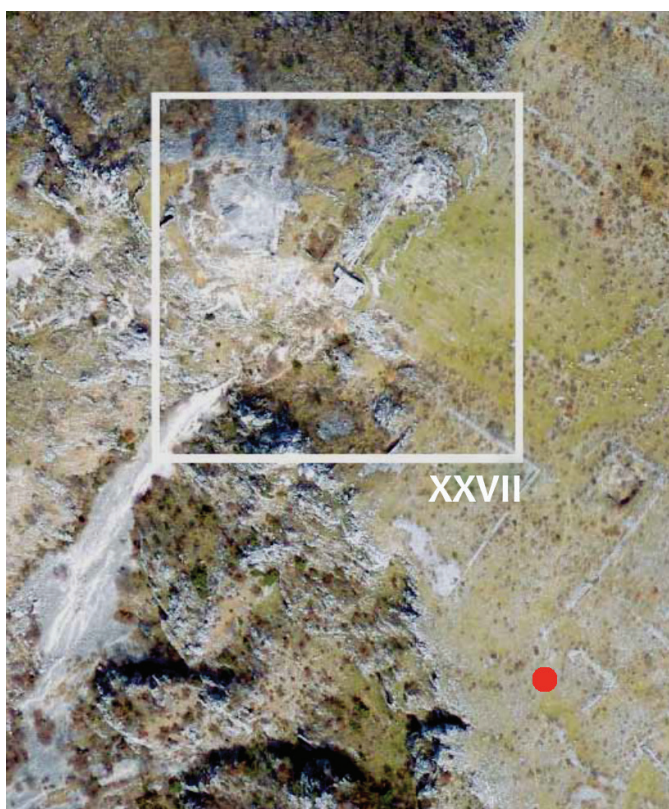
Naknadna istraživanja pokazala su da je na mjestu nalaza zemljano tlo bilo duboko jedva petnaest centimetara, a u četvornom metru prostora nađeni su sljedeći predmeti: brončani novac Akarnanije s Ateninim profilom pod kacigom na aversu i bikovsko-ljudskim likom, personifikacijom rijeke Ahelolja, također u profilu na reversu, datiran u rasponu

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<sup>1</sup> BOŠKO MARIJAN, "Gradina na Ošanićima - transformacija prapovijesnoga gradinskog u urbano naselje", u: *Histria antiqua*, 20, Zagreb, 2011., str. 182-185; NENAD CAMBI, "Arheološki pogled na probleme istraživanja, konzervacije, rekonstrukcije i prezentacije ilirskog naselja na Ošanićima", u: *RFFZd*, 19, Zadar, 1993., str. 37-60; NENAD CAMBI, *Antika, Povijest umjetnosti u Hrvatskoj, Knjiga druga*, Zagreb, 2002., str. 28-29.

<sup>2</sup> ZDRAVKO MARIĆ, "Depo pronađen u ilirskom gradu Daors..u (2. st. pr. n. e.)", u: *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja*, XXXIII., Arheologija, Sarajevo, 1979., str. 23-113.

od 300.-167. godine pr. Krista,<sup>3</sup> primjerak izlizana brončanog novca; pet ulomaka lima od nepoznate slitine (sivo-zelena oksidacija i vrlo svijetli, gotovo bijeli prelom) koji čine disk s promjerom od 6 cm i debljine 1 mm, vjerojatno dno neke pikside ili druge posude; ukrasna brončana zakovica i trn od kraćeg brončanog čavla, dio brončanog prstena, tordirana željezna igla s glavom u obliku sroljke laticice; 7 kratkih željeznih čavala (3-4 cm) s ravnim ili zavrnutim trnom; ulomci amfore i dno jedne smeđe keramičke čaše, rađene na lončarskom kolu. Dakle, u tom prostoru nije bilo nijednoga nalaza koji bi se dao bliže povezati bilo s figuralnim odljevkom, bilo s brončanim diskom, osim možda fragmentarnog dna metalne posude.



Sl. Fig. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: The Royal Collection of coins and medals, Danish National Museum (SNG), Thessaly – Illyricum, kataloški broj 423-424. Copenhagen, 1943.

## Nika s Daorsona

Brončani odljevak u tehnici visokog reljefa (širine 80 mm i visine 90 mm) iznimno kvalitetne izrade predstavlja krilatu djevojku koja kleči na desnom koljenu, nesumnjivo boginju Nike. Premda joj je izgubljeno lijevo krilo i dio lijeve podlaktice, a oštećena usta i vrh lijevoga stopala, skladne proporcije lika, primjerene klasičnom grčkom kanonu, i skladno oblikovanje i najmanjih volumena upućuju na izvoran primjerak helenističke sitne plastike. Iako se radi o maloj figuri, plastičnost visokoga reljefa daje joj monumentalni karakter (sl. 2). Pretpostavka je da se izgubljeni dio lijeve ruke pružao do udubljenja na koljenu, učvršćujući ravnotežu tijela koje se naginje u desnu stranu.



Sl. Fig. 2.

Od lijeve lopatice do boginjina vrata pravilan je otvor, vjerojatno isječen nakon odljevanja reljefa (sl. 3), gdje je bilo fiksirano izgubljeno lijevo krilo koje je moglo biti slobodno od podloge na koju se reljefni odljevak fiksirao. Još jedno oštećenje izbočenoga dijela moglo je nastati dijelom zbog isturenosti, a dijelom zbog istanjenosti bronce na predjelu usta i brade. No, te materijalne rane ne smanjuju dojam skladne cjeline kompozicije.



Sl. Fig. 3.

Ženski lik kleči na desnoj nozi i blago pognutoga torza pruža desnu ruku, otvorena dlana u visini tla. Tim saginjanjem formira se težište oko struka, i dok nagib prati desno krilo sličnog usmjerenja kao i ruka, glava je izdignuta i s pogledom usmjerena prema gore (sl. 4). Cijela gesta doima se kao neki formalni i teatralni čin, naglašen rotacijom torza i glave te suprotstavljanjem strukturnih linija na površinama reljefa.



Sl. Fig. 4.

Upravo zbog takva položaja figure, majstor je zajedno s njom izlio produžetak, svojevrsnu konzolu, koja osigurava da odljevak cijelim svojim rubom podjednako naliže na predviđenu podlogu (sl. 5). Zbog spomenutog nagiba tijela, konzola je najizrazitija na njegovoj gornjoj lijevoj strani. Međutim, ona je u konačnici dodavanjem i lemljenjem lijevog izgubljenog krila bila zaklonjena ili se stopila s podlogom od istog metala.



Sl. Fig. 5.

Kako su osnovne mase tijela određene i istaknute pozom, tako je svaki njihov dio (tkanina, perje krila, kosa) dodatno naglašen karakterističnom teksturom. Dugu haljinu inače pridržava na lijevom ramenu okrugla kopča, dok je s desnoga ramena, pri ispružanju ruke do tla, njezina naramenica kliznula niz mišicu pa je tek u dinamici spuštanja zadržava vjetar na boginjinim grudima. Tkanina se pripija uz tijelo i sugerira lakoću i prozračnost dok istovremeno otkriva gracilnu anatomiju i naglašava pokret ponavljanjem krivulja na naborima. Njezina se stilizacija doima dijelom one kiparske tradicije koju

najizravnije nadahnjuje odjeća *moira* sa zabata Partenona, opisno okarakterizirana kao "mokra".<sup>4</sup>

Volumen i valovi kose stilizirani su na sličan način, samo bez oštrih pregiba. Kosa uokviruje lice, zabačena, skupljena i skrivena u reljefu, ali se ispod vrata njezini pramenovi oslobađaju i u valovima vijore niz ramena. Dakle, začesljana unatrag i oblikovana na takav način, frizura kontrastira glatkoći i jednostavnosti lica kako bi usmjerila pozornost na uzdignuti boginjin pogled.

Krilo ima naglašenu strukturu dugačkih pera koja paralelno teku zajedničkom blagom krivuljom, a naglašena su različitom dužinom. Repeticija krivulje i stupnjevanje dužina predstavljaju vizualnu težinu koja usmjerava pogled na otvoreni dlan desne ruke, očito bitan moment u ikonografiji kompozicije.

Gornji dio krila, vidno nježnije obrade površine, nije tretiran voluminozno kao dugačka pera, nego je tekstura perja gravirana reduciranim plitkim žljebastim krivuljama koje skupno čine dojam titrave mekoće. Taj dio ima crtačku kvalitetu i malo podsjeća na serijski proizvedene suvenire koji se razlikuju tek prema vještini majstora koji ih u drugoj fazi obrade oslikava.

Stilizacija krila nalikuje na bliske motive iz kasnoga klasičnog razdoblja, ali i na helenistički pristup u dramskom razigravanju stilskih obilježja klasike. Sklad je postignut kroz mjeru za redukciju, stilizaciju i detalj. Anatomiju naglašava odjeća, a položaj tijela zatvara pokrenutu, ali stabilnu kompoziciju.

Među primjercima sitne plastike s gradine na Ošanićima, koji prikazuju redovito starogrčka božanstva i njihove mitološke likove, postoji još jedan prikaz boginje Nike u stojećem stavu s opuštenim krilima. Radi se zapravo o negativu na jednom od dva brončana kalupa, pronađena u poznatom depou u podgrađu na padinama ispod tvrđave. Četiri su dijela na tom kalupu, od čijih bi se odljevaka sastavljala vitka figura krilate boginje; cjelovita prednja strana, cjelovita leđna strana, spojena krila, koja bi se lemila između tih polovina, i postolje na koje bi se figura konačno fiksirala. Potaknut zaključcima da je

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<sup>4</sup> HORST WOLDEMAR JANSON, *Povijest umjetnosti*, Stanek, Varaždin, <sup>2</sup>2005., str. 148.

taj helenistički grad definitivno uništen sredinom 2. st. pr. Krista, Zdravko Marić cijeli sadržaj depoa datira u isto stoljeće, ističući da mnogi nalazi iz njega mogu biti mnogo stariji.<sup>5</sup> Međutim, iako vrlo kvalitetan rad, ti negativni ne pokazuju bilo kakve važne odrednice bliske novopronađenom odljevku boginje u dubokom reljefu.

### **Disk sa starogrčkim natpisom**

Brončani disk promjera 109 mm u obliku plitice izliven je s nekoliko blago konkavnih i konveksnih kružnih faceta i reljefnih kružnica s rupicom u središtu i s jedne i s druge strane. Na ravnoj rubnoj plohi s konveksne strane, širine 10 mm, natpis je s 27 znakova klasičnoga grčkog pisma, a na blago konveksnoj plohi tragovi su kositrenog lemljenja, pa je posve izvjesno da je ta strana lice predmeta (sl. 6).



Sl. Fig. 6.

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<sup>5</sup> Z. MARIĆ, "Depo pronađen u ilirskom gradu Daors..u (2. st. pr. n. e.)", str. 23-113.



Konkavna strana diska s nekoliko ukrasnih faceta također je pomno izrađena i dobro očuvana. Posebno je važna za određivanje namjene diska rubna faceta, široka 4 mm, kolika je i debljina vanjske strane. S unutarne je strane 2 mm, a podijeljena je vrlo tankim limom koji oblikuje kružni utor na cijelom predmetu. Točno na suprotnim stranama kružnice isječen je lim dužine po 8 milimetara. Ta dva suprotna žlijeba iste veličine omogućuju da se disk fiksira na podlogu, vjerojatno na metalnu posudu, po principu bajoneta (sl. 7), kao što se fiksira objektiv na kameru, kafetijera na aparat za kavu ili zatvarač rezervoara goriva na automobil.



Sl. Fig. 7.

Posve čitak natpis klasičnom majuskulom izveden je tehnikom punktiranja (sl. 8). Uglavnom su to ujednačeni grafemi s tendencijom nagibanja u pravcu pisanja, osim *omikrona* i *omege* u posljednjoj riječi. Ta dva znaka, inače gotovo upola manja od ostalih, također su nespretnije izvedeni. Valja naglasiti da je druga hasta u slovu *pi* za polovicu kraća od prve što je inače prepoznatljiva inačica u klasičnoj epigrafici zapadno-grčkim alfabetom. Sve te naznake upućuju da je njegovo oblikovanje uslijedilo na već izliven disk, nedvojbeno prema narudžbi kupca.



Sl. Fig. 8.

Znakovi teku kao neprekinut zvukovni lanac, ali se jednostavno u njemu iščitavaju tri osobna, tipično grčka imena. ΚΑΛΛΙΑΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΕΝΕΥΣΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ (Καλλία Ἀριστομενεὺς Ἀπολλωνί). Oblik imena Kallia mogao je nastati od ženskog oblika pridjeva kallos, kallia, kallon sa značenjem lijepa, inače poznat kao nadimak Helene trojanske, ali u klasičnoj grčkoj epigrafici Kalija podrazumijeva uglavnom muško ime i u nominativu ima oblik Καλλίας. Samo u natpisima iz Delfa ono se pojavljuje 46 puta, označavajući redovito muškarce.<sup>6</sup> Najbliži natpis s istim imenom na viškom je kenotafu iz 4. st. pr. Krista, u kojemu se ističe hrabrost lokalnog ratnika poginulog u borbi s ilirskim gusarima. Stoga se i ovdje tom imenu pridružuje muški identitet.<sup>7</sup> Oblik Καλλία u natpisu mogao bi biti tzv. dorski genitiv.

Drugo ime Aristomenes vrlo je staro i svakako rasprostranjeno, a opće je poznato po mesenskom kralju iz 7. st. pr. Krista koji je nosio to ime i ratovao sa Spartancima. Njegov genitivni oblik u natpisu s Ošanića također je dijalektalan. U staroj grčkoj epigrafici susreće se uz klasični genitivni oblik i u takvom dijalektalnom genitivnom obliku. Tek kao primjer navodi se takav oblik u natpisu s Delosa,<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> CARLE WESCHER, *Inscriptions recueillies a Delphos*, Paris, 1863.

<sup>7</sup> DUJE RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, "Tri povijesna natpisa iz Dalmacije", u: *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, LIII/1950.-1951., Split, 1952., str. 167-168; DUJE RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, *Carmina epigraphica*, Split, 1987., str. 25-27; MLADEN NIKOLANCI, "Epigraphica graeca nova et vetera in Dalmatia reperta", u: *Diadora*, 9, Zadar, 1980., str. 205-225; VELJKO BARBIERI, "Polis Issa", u: *Latina et Graeca*, 38, Zagreb 1991., str. 35-54.

<sup>8</sup> LUDWIG ROSS, *Hellenika: Erster Band, Erstes Heft, Unveränderter Nachdruck der Originalausgabe von 1846*, Frankfurt, 2023., str. 103.

premda je daleko bliži primjer s Korkire.<sup>9</sup> Kako Grci nisu djeci davali imena bogova, onda se treće ime u dativu odnosi na boga Apolona. Stoga bi se sažeti tekst trebao razumjeti kao votivni natpis: Od Kalije Aristomenova Apolonu.

Osim brojnih grafita na ulomcima grčko-italskih amfora, koje su u relativno bezvodnom naselju služile kao spremnici kućnih zaliha vode, pronađeni su i različiti primjerci novca s legendom, pisanom grčkim slovima. Ovdje se spominje samo natpis Daorson na lokalnom novcu. Od četrnaest otkrivenih primjeraka sigurno se zna da je samo njih šest s Gradine na Ošanićima. Nedavno su objavljena dva primjerka s istim likovnim rješenjima kao na ostalim primjercima, ali s natpisom *Dauerson*, koji sugerira oblik naziva Daorsa kod rimskih pisaca.<sup>10</sup> Još jedan s istim natpisom nije objavljen,<sup>11</sup> a sva tri su pronađena u prostoru predgrađa. Sljedeći natpis je na brončanoj kacigi, pronađenoj u garežu i pepelu unutar glavnog ulaza u tvrđavu. Marić je tri slova pročitao kao *Pin* zaključujući da se radi o imenu *Pin(es)*.<sup>12</sup>

Treći je natpis fragmentaran i neobjavljen. Bio je ispisan na užoj strani sivoga kamenog ratničkog brusa od vrha prema dnu. Sačuvan je tek njegov završetak od tri slova. Prvo je oštećeno i od njega je sačuvana samo stopa i dio kose crte koja ide udesno, pa bi moglo biti *sigma* ili *zed*. Iza njega slijedi *omikron* i *mi*. Prema svemu tome, cjeloviti natpis na disku do sada je najjasniji i najopsežniji među natpisima s gradine na Ošanićima.

<sup>9</sup> ANDREAS MUSTOXYDĒS, *Illustrazioni corciresi*, sv. 1-2, Milani, 1811., str. 152.

<sup>10</sup> IVO DRAGIĆEVIĆ, "Novi nalazi daorskog novca s područja Hercegovine i Crne Gore", u: *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine*, sveska 55, Sarajevo, 2023., str. 209-220.

<sup>11</sup> O tom primjerku priprema rad kolegica Snježana Vasilj.

<sup>12</sup> ZDRAVKO MARIĆ, "Ein Bronzehelm aus der Illyrischen Stadt Daorsoi oberhalb Ošanići bei Stolac, Herzegowina", u: *Festschrift für Richard Pittioni zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, I., Mitscha-Märheim, H. et. al. (eds.), *Archeologica Austriaca*, 1976., vol. 13, str. 634-638; ZDRAVKO MARIĆ, "Arheološka istraživanja Akropole ilirskog grada Daors..a na Gradini u Ošanićima kod Stoca od 1967. do 1972. godine", u: *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja*, n. s. *Arheologija*, XXX.-XXXI., Sarajevo, 1977., str. 5-99.

## Jedinstvena kompozicija

Već spomenuti vanjski rub kositrenoga nanosa na disku točno se i u cijelosti podudara s rubom reljefne figuralne aplikacije (sl. 9). Upravo ta podudarnost nedvosmisleno upućuje na to da su ta dva predmeta lemljenjem postali jedinstvena kompozicija.



Sl. Fig. 9.

Ista tehnika u izradi poklopaca za metalna ogledala na čije bi se disko-ve, uglavnom većega promjera, ali slične stilizacije, lemlili raznoliki odljevci, uglavnom mitološkog sadržaja, ponekad i vrlo kvalitetne izrade, neodoljivo sugerira da je i ta kompozicija s Ošanića rađena u jednoj od takvih radionica.

Jedan nalaz takva poklopca u Korintu s početka 3. st. pr. Krista, koji se čuva u nacionalnom muzeju u Ateni (br. X. 16115) prikazuje poznati motiv u kojem Nike ubija bika (sl. 10). Taj kvalitetni helenistički uradak pokazuje nekoliko dodirnica s odljevkom s Ošanića. I jedna i druga figura zamišljene su i izlivene na malom nimbusu kao svojoj podlozi, pa tek onda zalemljene na kružni disk. Premda se hiton na korintskoj figuri doima laganiji i prozirniji od onoga u kojem je Nike

s Daorsona, i jedan i drugi stilizirani su kao inačice već spomenute mokre odjeće. Ipak, najuočljivija sličnost je u obliku krila čije je drugo dugo pero duže od ostalih.<sup>13</sup>



Sl. Fig. 10.

Naznačena izvorna pozicija reljefnog odljevka na samom disku nije također beznačajna za potpuniju interpretaciju figure boginje Nike, ni predmeta u cijelosti, posebno njezina klečećeg, odnosno sagnutog položaja, ispružene ruke koja nešto pokazuje i uzdignute glave i uzdignutijeg pogleda. Tek kad se odljevak postavi na odgovarajuće i naznačeno mjesto, postaje razvidno da boginjina desnica dodiruje mjesto na rubnoj kružnici diska, na mjestu iznad kojeg je posvetni natpis Kalije Aristomenova. Boginja pokazuje taj natpis, ne bilo kojem promatraču, nego onome kome je on posvećen, dakle bogu Apolonu. Stoga je njezina glava s pogledom usmjerena prema gore, možda prema Olimpu ili prema Suncu, koje Apolon personificira. Prema tome Nike iz predgrađa ilirske gradine na Ošanićima kod

<sup>13</sup> *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, VI, 1, br. 170; LIMC, VI, 2, str. 377.

Stoca nije prikazana kao boginja neke ratne pobjede, one u dvoboju ili na atletskom natjecanju. Ona je izlivena u posve nepoznatom klečćem položaju i onoj najmanje poznatoj ulozi posrednice između ljudi i bogova.

Prema svemu tome brončani poklopac s votivnim natpisom i likom boginje Nike, koji bi se okvirno mogao datirati u 3. st. pr. Krista, reprezentativni je nalaz koji je ukrašavao nepoznatu luksuznu posudu. Njegov votivni natpis sugerira mogućnost postojanja nekog Apolona svetišta upravo u tom dijelu predgrađa.

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## **A Bronze Relief with the Goddess Nike and a Disc with an Ancient Greek Inscription from the Daorsi Fortress at Ošanići near Stolac**

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### **Summary**

The article discusses two random finds found in the vicinity of the Daorsi fortress: a bronze high relief depicting the goddess Nike—a very high-quality piece of fine Hellenistic plastic—and a disc-shaped bronze lid with a votive inscription on its edge and a closing mechanism on the other side. The article also establishes that the two objects are parts of a single composition, thus providing a clearer interpretation of the kneeling position of the goddess Nike.

*Keywords:* small bronze plastic; Nike in high relief; Hellenism; lid with inscription; mechanism.

The ruins of the suburbs of the Daorsi fortress on 15 hectares of land in front of the acropolis are mainly dry stone foundation structures of spacious quadrangles which are strictly oriented towards the megalithic fortress wall and clearly indicate the communication routes that ended in the spacious square. Such planning led experts to date the origin of the settlement to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, in any case after the construction of the two towers and the great ramparts. Fragments of amphorae and Gnathia ceramics, coins and other archaeological movable material, mainly of Greco-Hellenistic provenance, confirm that during the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC, this part of the city had an intensive economic and commercial life.<sup>14</sup>

Among these quadrangle constructions, the room Boško Marijan designated as number XXVII stands out because of its perfectly regular base and high-quality walls. A pedestal with three steps has been preserved in its northern corner. Whether a large stone sculpture with a human figure stood on it, parts of which were found in the scree below the location, can only be assumed.<sup>15</sup> Its very position above the centre of the square and its orientation towards the acropolis merely suggest such a possibility. Unfortunately, the cultural layer has disappeared from the entire quadrangle, so its purpose cannot be determined. However, it is certainly the work of Greek masters as are the defensive walls themselves. Its northern side frames the depth of the aforementioned square, the *agora*, and its eastern wall marks the main communication route from the south. At the very beginning of this communication route, a bronze relief and a disc made of the same material with an inscription were found (Fig. 1).

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<sup>14</sup> BOŠKO MARIJAN, "Gradina na Ošanićima-transformacija prapovijesnoga gradinskog u urbano naselje", in *Histria antiqua*, vol. 20, no. 20, 2022, pp. 182-185; NENAD CAMBI, "Arheološki pogled na probleme istraživanja, konzervacije, rekonstrukcije i prezentacije ilirskog naselja na Ošanićima", in *RFFZd*, 19, Zadar, 1993, pp. 37-60; NENAD CAMBI, *Antika, Povijest umjetnosti u Hrvatskoj, Knjiga druga*, Zagreb, 2002, pp. 28-29.

<sup>15</sup> ZDRAVKO MARIĆ, "Depo pronađen u ilirskom gradu Daors..u (2. st. pr. n. e.)", in *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja*, XXXIII., Arheologija, Sarajevo, 1979, pp. 23-113.

While packing away canvas fire hoses after having remediated a fire in the vegetation and dry grass inside one of these quadrangles in the summer of 2021, tanker driver Željko Proleta noticed two bronze objects peeking from the soil that had been churned up by a jet of water from a damaged hose. First, he pulled out the winged female figure in relief, and twenty centimetres away, a semicircular object was sticking out of the mud. When he washed it, it turned out to be a complete, undamaged disc.

Subsequent explorations revealed that the soil at the site of the find was barely fifteen centimetres deep, and the following objects were found within a square metre of space: an Acarnanian bronze coin with Athena's profile in a helmet on the obverse and a bull-human figure, the personification of the river Achelous, also in profile, on the reverse, dated between 300-167 BC,<sup>16</sup> an example of a worn bronze coin; five fragments of sheet metal of an unknown alloy (grey-green oxidation and a very light, almost white fracture) which form a disc with a diameter of 6cm and a thickness of 1mm, probably the bottom of a pyxis or other vessel; a decorative bronze rivet and a mandrel of a shorter bronze nail; part of a bronze ring; a twisted iron pin with a heart-shaped petal head; 7 short iron nails (3-4cm) with straight or twisted mandrels; fragments of an amphora and the bottom of a brown ceramic cup made on a potter's wheel. Thus, there have been no finds in this area that could be more closely connected with the figural cast or the bronze disc other than the fragmentary bottom of the metal vessel.

### **Nike from Daorson**

The high-relief bronze cast (with a width of 80mm and a height of 90mm) of exceptional quality depicts a winged girl kneeling on her right knee, undoubtedly the goddess Nike. Although her left wing and part of her left forearm have been lost, and her mouth and left forefoot have been damaged, the harmonious proportions of the figure, in accordance with the classical Greek canon, and the

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<sup>16</sup> Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum (SNG), Thessaly - Illyricum, Catalogue no. 423-424. Copenhagen, 1943.



harmonious shaping of even the smallest volumes point to it being an authentic example of Hellenistic small plastic art. Although the figure is small, the plasticity of the high relief gives it a monumental character (Fig. 2). The assumption is that the lost part of the left arm had extended to the depression on the knee, stabilizing the balance of the body which is leaning to the right.

There is a regular slot from the left shoulder blade to the goddess's neck - probably cut after the relief had been cast (Fig. 3) - where the lost left wing had been attached, which may have been free from the base to which the relief was fixed. Further damage to the protruding part could have occurred because of the protrusion and partly because of the attenuated bronze in the area of the mouth and chin. However, these material wounds do not reduce the impression of the composition's harmonious wholeness.

The female figure is kneeling on her right leg, her torso slightly bent, extending her right hand, open and palm up at ground level. The centre of gravity is formed around the waist by the bending, and while the inclination follows the right wing, which inclines in a similar direction as the hand, her head is raised, and her gaze is directed upwards (Fig. 4). The whole gesture seems like a formal and theatrical act, emphasised by the rotation of the torso and head and the juxtaposition of the structural lines on the surfaces of the relief.

Precisely because of the position of the figure, the craftsman cast an extension together with it, a kind of console, which ensured that the entire edge of the cast rested evenly on the intended base (Fig. 5). Due to the aforementioned inclination of the body, the console is most pronounced on its upper left side. However, it was ultimately obscured or fused with the base of the same metal by the addition and soldering of the lost left wing.

Just as the basic volumes of the body are determined and emphasised by the pose, so is every single part (fabric, wing feathers, hair) additionally emphasised by a characteristic texture. The long dress is fastened on the left shoulder by a round buckle, while her shoulder strap has slipped from the right shoulder down her upper arm as she extends her hand towards the ground and is only held to the goddess's chest by the wind in the dynamics of its descent. The fabric clings to the body and suggests lightness and airiness while simultaneously

revealing the graceful anatomy and emphasising movement by repeating the curves of the folds. Her stylisation seems to be a part of the sculptural tradition that was most directly inspired by the moiré clothing from the Parthenon pediments, which has been descriptively characterised as "wet."<sup>17</sup>

The volume and waves of her hair have also been stylised in a similar way, however without sharp folds. The hair frames the face, thrown back, gathered and hidden in the relief, but below the neck, its tresses have been freed and flow in waves down the shoulders. So, combed back and shaped this way, the hairstyle contrasts with the smoothness and simplicity of the face to draw attention to the elevated gaze of the goddess.

The wing has an emphasised structure of long feathers, which flow in parallel in a common, gentle curve and are emphasised by varying lengths. The repetition of the curve and the gradation of length are a visual weight which directs the gaze to the open palm of the right hand, an obviously important moment in the iconography of the composition.

The upper part of the wing, of a visibly gentler surface treatment, has not been treated voluminously like the long feathers, but the texture of the feathers has been engraved with reduced, shallow, grooved curves that collectively create the impression of shimmering softness. This part has a drawn quality and is slightly reminiscent of serially produced souvenirs that only differ according to the skill of the master who paints them in the second stage of processing.

The stylisation of the wings resembles related motifs from the late classical period but also a Hellenistic approach in the dramatic interplay of the stylistic features of the classics. Harmony was achieved with a balance of reduction, stylisation and detail. The anatomy is accentuated by the clothing, and the position of the body closes the moving but stable composition.

Among the examples of small sculptures from the fortress at Ošanići, which usually depict ancient Greek deities and their mythological

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<sup>17</sup> HORST WOLDEMAR JANSON, *Povijest umjetnosti*, drugo dopunjeno izdanje (trans. Radovan Ivančević), Stanek, Varaždin, 2005, p. 148.

characters, there is another depiction of the goddess Nike in a standing position with relaxed wings. It is actually a negative on one of two bronze moulds, which were found in a well-known depot in the suburb on the slopes below the fortress. The mould has four parts, the castings of which assemble the slim figure of the winged goddess: the complete front, the complete back, joined wings which would be soldered between the two halves, and a base to which the figure would finally be fixed. Inspired by the conclusions that this Hellenistic city was definitely destroyed in the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, Zdravko Marić dates the entire contents of the depot to the same century, pointing out that many finds from it may be much older.<sup>18</sup> However, although these negatives are very high-quality work, they do not exhibit any important features close to the recently found cast of the goddess in high relief.

### **The Disc with an Ancient Greek Inscription**

The bronze disc with a diameter of 109mm in the form of a plate was cast with several slightly concave and convex circular facets and relief circles with a hole in the centre on both sides. On the 10mm-wide flat edge surface on the convex side, there is an inscription with 27 characters of the classical Greek alphabet, and on the slightly convex surface, there are traces of tin soldering, so it is quite certain that this side is the face of the object (Fig. 6).

The concave side of the disc with several decorative facets has also been carefully crafted and well preserved. The edge facet, 4mm wide, which is also the thickness of the outer side, is especially important for determining the purpose of the disc. It is 2mm from the inner side, and it is divided by very thin sheet metal that forms a circular groove on the entire object. On the opposite sides of the circle, the sheet metal has been cut to a length of 8mm. These two opposite slots of the same size enable the disc to be fixed to a base, probably to a metal container, akin to the bayonet mount principle (Fig. 7), just like a lens is mounted on a camera, a portafilter on a coffee machine or a fuel tank cap on a car.

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<sup>18</sup> ZDRAVKO MARIĆ, "Depo pronađen u ilirskom gradu Daors..u (2. st. pr. n. e.)", in *GZM*, XXXIII., Arheologija, Sarajevo, 1979, pp. 23-113.

The completely legible inscription in classical capital letters was made using the stippling technique (Fig. 8). These are mostly uniform graphemes with a tendency to lean in the direction of writing, except for *omicron* and *omega* in the last word. These two letters, almost half the size of the others, were also more ineptly executed. It should be emphasised that the second stem in the letter *pi* is half shorter than the first, which is nevertheless a recognisable variant of the Western Greek alphabet in classical epigraphy. All these indications suggest that its shaping was done on an already cast disc, undoubtedly according to the customer's order.

The letters flow like an unbroken sound chain, but three personal, typically Greek, names can easily be discerned. ΚΑΛΛΙΑΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΕΝΕΥΣΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ (Καλλία Αριστομενευς Απολλωνι). The form of the name Kallia could have originated from the feminine form of the adjective *kallos*, *kallia*, *kallon* meaning beautiful, otherwise known as the nickname of Helen of Troy, but in classical Greek epigraphy, Kallias mainly designates a male name and has the form Καλλίας in the nominative. It appears 46 times in inscriptions from Delphi alone, regularly denoting men.<sup>19</sup> The closest inscription with the same name can be found on the cenotaph of Vis from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, in which the bravery of a local warrior who died in battle against Illyrian pirates is acknowledged. Therefore, a male identity is attributed to the name here as well.<sup>20</sup> The form Καλλία in the inscription could be the so-called Doric genitive form.

The second name, Aristomenes, is very old and certainly widespread, and is widely known for the Messenian king from the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC who bore the name and fought the Spartans. Its genitive form in the inscription from Ošanići is also dialectal. In ancient Greek epigraphy, such a dialectal genitive form can also be found alongside the classical genitive form. An example of such a form is mentioned in

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<sup>19</sup> CARLE WESCHER, *Inscriptions recueillies a Delphos*, Paris, 1863.

<sup>20</sup> DUJE RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, "Tri povijesna natpisa iz Dalmacije", in *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, LIII/1950-1951, Split, 1952, pp. 167-168; DUJE RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, *Carmina epigraphica*, Split, 1987, pp. 25-27; MLADEN NIKOLANCI, "Epigraphica graeca nova et vetera in Dalmatia reperta", in *Diadora*, 9, Zadar, 1980, pp. 205-225; VELJKO BARBIERI, "Polis Issa", in *Latina et Graeca*, 38, Zagreb 1991, pp. 35-54.

an inscription from Delos,<sup>21</sup> although the example from Corcyra is much closer.<sup>22</sup> Since the Greeks did not give their children the names of gods, then the third name in the dative case refers to the god Apollo. Therefore, the condensed text should be understood as a votive inscription: From Aristomenes's Kallias to Apollo.

Besides the numerous graffiti on fragments of Greco-Italic amphorae, which served as containers for household water supplies in a relatively waterless settlement, various coin specimens were also found with legends inscribed in Greek letters. Only the local coins with the inscription Daorson will be considered here. Of the fourteen specimens discovered, it is known for certain that only six of them are from Gradina at Ošanići. Recently, two examples were published with the same artistic solutions as on the other examples, but with the inscription *Dauerson*, which suggests the form of the name *Daorsi* used by Roman writers.<sup>23</sup> Another one with the same inscription has not been published,<sup>24</sup> and all three were found in the suburban region. The next inscription is on a bronze helmet, found in the soot and ashes inside the main entrance to the fortress. Marić read the three letters as *Pin*, concluding that it was the name *Pin(es)*.<sup>25</sup>

The third inscription is fragmentary and unpublished. It was inscribed from top to bottom on the narrow side of a grey-stone warrior's whetstone. Only its ending of three letters has been preserved. The first letter is damaged and only the stem and part of the stroke going to the right have been preserved, so it could be *sigma* or *zed*.

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<sup>21</sup> LUDWIG ROSS, *Hellenika: Erster Band, Erstes Heft, Unveränderter Nachdruck der Originalausgabe von 1846*, Frankfurt, 2023, p. 103.

<sup>22</sup> ANDREAS MUSTOXYDĒS, *Illustrazioni corciresi*, vols. 1-2, Milani, 1811, p. 152.

<sup>23</sup> IVO DRAGIĆEVIĆ, "Novi nalazi daorskog novca s područja Hercegovine i Crne Gore", in *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine*, vol. 55, Sarajevo, 2023, pp. 209-220.

<sup>24</sup> Colleague Snježana Vasilj is preparing a paper on this example.

<sup>25</sup> ZDRAVKO MARIĆ, "Ein Bronzehelm aus der Illyrischen Stadt Daorsoi oberhalb Ošanići bei Stolac, Herzegowina", in *Festschrift für Richard Pittioni zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, I., Mitscha-Märheim, H. et. al. (eds.), *Archeologica Austriaca*, 1976, vol. 13, pp. 634-638; ZDRAVKO MARIĆ, "Arheološka istraživanja Akropole ilirskog grada Daors..a na Gradini u Ošanićima kod Stoca od 1967. do 1972. godine", in *GZM*, n. s., *Arheologija*, XXX.-XXXI., Sarajevo, 1977, pp. 5-99.

It is followed by *omicron* and *mu*. Accordingly, the complete inscription on the disc is the clearest and most comprehensive of the inscriptions from the fortress at Ošanići.

### Single Composition

The already mentioned outer edge of the pewter coating on the disc precisely and completely coincides with the edge of the relief figural application (Fig. 9). It is this correspondence which unequivocally suggests that these two objects became a single composition through soldering.

The same technique used in the production of lids for metal mirrors, on the discs of which, mostly of a larger diameter but of a similar stylisation, various casts, mainly of mythological content, sometimes of a very high quality, would be soldered, irresistibly suggests that this composition from Ošanići was also made in one of these workshops.

The find of such a lid in Corinth from the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, kept in the National Museum in Athens (No. X. 16115), depicts the famous motif of Nike killing a bull (Fig. 10). This high-quality Hellenistic work shows several points of contact with the cast from Ošanići. Both figures were conceived and cast on a small nimbus as their base and only then soldered to a circular disc. Although the chiton on the Corinthian figure appears lighter and more transparent than that worn by Nike from Daorson, both are stylised as versions of the previously mentioned "wet" clothing. However, the most noticeable similarity is in the shape of the wing, where the second long feather is longer than the others.<sup>26</sup>

The indicated original position of the relief cast on the disc itself is also not insignificant for a more thorough interpretation of the figure of the goddess Nike, or of the object as a whole, especially her kneeling, i.e. bent pose, her outstretched hand indicating something, and her raised head and more elevated gaze. Only when the cast is placed in the appropriate and indicated position does it become clear

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<sup>26</sup> *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, VI. 1, no. 170; LIMC, VI, 2, p. 377.

that the goddess's right hand is touching a point on the outer circle of the disc, above which is the dedicatory inscription of Aristomenes's Kallias. The goddess is indicating the inscription, not to any observer but to the one to whom it is dedicated, that is, to the god Apollo. Therefore, her head is looking upwards, perhaps towards Olympus or towards the Sun, which Apollo personifies. Thus, the Nike from the suburbs of the Illyrian fortress at Ošanići near Stolac is not depicted as the goddess of victory in a war, a duel or an athletic competition. She was cast in a completely unknown kneeling position and in the lesser-known role of mediator between humans and the gods.

In line with the above, the bronze lid with the votive inscription and the image of the goddess Nike, which can roughly be dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, is a representative find that decorated an unknown luxury vessel. Its votive inscription suggests the possibility that a sanctuary of Apollo existed in this part of the suburbs.