Contacts between Greece and Pannonia in the Early Iron Age with Special Concern to the Area of Thessalonica

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Abstract

It seems that in the Late Bronze Age some general cultural and religious concepts were common throughout Europe, from Scandinavia to Greece. The general pattern of social and economic structure, probably partly determined by the climate, was similar over a large area that included both Greece and Central Europe. After that period the cultural development in those two areas followed different patterns, resulting in two fundamentally different cultural complexes of the Early Iron Age. Although the communication between these two areas fundamentally changed, it never ceased.

In the Early Iron Age, Greece became one of the most powerful cultural centres on the Mediterranean. A significant increase in quantity and quality of production of art objects and objects of common use was related to the intensive development of trade activity. Some of that activity was directed northwards and it had reflections even in Pannonia and the area of the Hallstatt Culture.

The area between Pannonia and Greece is geographically very complex, not easily passable, and split into a large number of smaller defined areas. The best solution to this problem would be the establishment of a relay trade system and a complex communication network. The goods that travelled across such great distances, both spatially and culturally, must have had great potential when they were able to characterize, if not even induce such contacts.

There are some finds from northern and Central Balkans in Greece, although the finds of distinctively Pannonian origin are scarce. This group of finds, mainly consisting of pieces of horse equipment, pendants and several types of fibulae and pins, cannot justify the effort and risk of communication with those areas, and we must presume that goods that were transported southward were perishable (perhaps precious metals, amber or other rare raw materials).

A special class of objects that are defined as prestigious goods, like bronze vessels and defensive weapons, could trigger and/or influence the course of material and spiritual development of the local society. In order to find out how these processes work, it is necessary to study the notion and mechanisms of import which can roughly be divided into three main categories including the import of objects, the import of ideas and concepts, and the import of technology and craftsmanship. The distribution of prestigious goods in the area between Pannonia and Greece, as well as study of mechanisms of their transition and function within different cultural contexts, offers some insight into all three aspects of import.

However, objects were not the only thing that travelled along those ancient routes. If we perceive culture as cargo, the objects of prestige present strong conceptual vessels capable of carrying sets of ideas over long distances and open more or less stable communication channels for further transfer.

Резюме

За доби пізньої бронзи деякі основні культурні та релігійні уявлення були схожими в Європі, від Скандинавії до Греції. Загальна модель соціальної та економічної структури, можливо визначена частково кліматичними факторами, була схожою на значній території, включаючи Грецію та Центральну Європу. Після цього періоду культурний розвиток в обох ареалах проходив різними шляхами, в межах двох принципово різних комплексах доби раннього заліза. Не дивлячись на те, що зв'язки між цими двома ареалами суттєво змінилися, вони ніколи не переривалися.

За доби раннього заліза Греція перетворилася в один з найбільш розвинутих культурних центрів у Середземномор'ї. Значне зростання кількості та якості виробництва предметів мистецтва та речей загального використання призвело до інтенсивного розвитку торгівлі, зокрема, у північному напрямку, що мало певний відгук навіть у Паннонії і в області розповсюдження гальштатської культури.

Територія між Паннонією та Грецією географічно дуже складна, важка для перетину і розділена на велику кількість менш значних ареалів. Найкращим вирішенням цієї проблеми могла б бути зміна системи торгівлі і складної системи комунікацій. Товари, які переміщувалися на таку велику дистанцію, просторово та культурно повинні були б мати великий потенціал для того, щоб викликати такі контакти.

В Греції відомі знахідки, які походять з півночі та центру Балкан, але знахідки, які достовірно походять з Панноніі трапляються дуже рідко. Ці знахідки, які в основному відносяться до кінського спорядження, прикрас та схожих типів фібул і шпильок, не можуть пояснити той ризик, який супроводжував зв'язки між цими територіями. Можливо, що товари, які транспортувалися на південь, не були довготривалого вжитку (можливо також, коштовні метали, бурштин або інші незвичні матеріали).

Особлива группа предметів, яка визначена як престижний товар, зокрема, бронзовий посуд та захисне озброєння, могла б відзначати духовний розвиток місцевого суспільства. Для того, щоб дослідити як ці процеси відбувалися, необхідно вивчити сааме поняття та механізм імпорту предметів, які можуть бути попередньо розділені на три основні категорії, а сааме - імпорт предметів, імпорт ідей і концепцій та імпорт технологій і ремесла. Розподіл престижних речей на території між Паннонією та Грецією, як і вивчення механізмів їх трансформації та призначення в межах різних культурних контекстів надає певне розуміння у всіх трьох аспектах імпортів.

Крім того, предмети були не тільки об'єктами, які транспортувалися вздовж давніх доріг. Якщо уявити культуру як вантаж пароплава, тоді предмети престижу представляють уявний пароплав, здатний принести набір ідей на довгу дистанцію і відкрити більш-менш стабільні канали зв'язку для подальшого трансферу.

Introduction

Traces of communication between Greece, Balkans and areas further to the north are visible in all prehistoric periods from the Neolithic onwards. The dynamics of these contacts varied over time in relation to many different factors. Hundreds of different scenarios have been created with the aim of explaining the end of Mycenaean civilization and many involve some version of the "Dorian invasion" theory (Thomas 1978; Wallace/Kare 1978; Hooker 1979; van Soesbergen 1981).

The common trait is a population of warriors coming from the north, that is often described as the last wave of the Indo-European migration, towards the Mediterranean (Drews 1988). The theses presume that both populations had a remote relationship and common origins. That is why they merged their culture traits so quickly and later readily accepted foreign influences creating unique cultural amalgam known as Greek Culture. Some authors identified the northern intruders with the Sea Peoples (e. g. Schachermeyr 1980) claiming that their raids were not only responsible for fall of the Mycenaean civilization, but also for the creation of instability throughout Mediterranean, by cutting off the intricate network of trade, exchange and control over resources, which finally bought about the collapse of the Mediterranean Bronze Age koine. Other authors prefer explanations for changes during the LH III period in Greece that do not involve migrations. Assuming a different point of view R. Drews stresses the importance of the change in warfare (Drews 1993), while many other authors suggest natural catastrophes (earthquakes, drought, etc.) as the key factor that determined cultural changes in this area (Carpenter 1966, 54 ff.; Bryson et al. 1974; Snodgrass 1975; Bouzek 1997, 20 ff.). K. Kilian further supports this concept by pointing out elements of continuity between the Mycenaean civilization and successive cultural phenomena, especially in strong centres such as Tirins (Kilian 1982, 53 ff.). Furthermore, some authors have tried to establish Mycenaean predecessors for objects that were attributed to the northern influence such as pins or fibulae (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984a; 1984b; Kilian 1985). However, they managed to find parallels only as far back as LH III B (Bouzek 1985). Leaving aside the question as to whether they were the cause or consequence of the collapse of the Mycenaean civilisation, it is highly probable that some migrations from the north took place at the beginning of the Dark Ages. The question whether it was an invasion or just a migration in which new population occupied devastated area, over which remnants of the autochthonous population already had no control, will be answered elsewhere.

Many of the natural catastrophe theses inevitably include some form of climatic change that, for example, resulted in drought (Bryson et al. 1974). Some authors claim that climatic changes are one of the main factors that influence the shift in power in the area discussed in this paper, and are the main cause for migrations. The data offered by those authors suggest that the general dynamics of climatic change in Pannonia and Greece were complementary and therefore could directly the influence direction, character and intensity of contacts between these two areas (Bouzek 1982; 1997, 19 f.; 1999). Although the importance of climatic changes and the strength of the argument in favour of their importance cannot be denied, it is very hard to firmly connect the environmental data with results of archaeological exploration without systematic investigations of the ecosystems within which individual archaeological cultures developed. Therefore, their importance in the dynamics of cultural development still cannot be properly evaluated from the archaeological point of view. At the same time, it is almost impossible to es-

tablish intricate interrelations between all the factors that must have influenced the cultural phenomena of the Early Iron Age in this area.

It seems that in the Late Bronze Age some general cultural and religious concepts were common throughout Europe, from Scandinavia to Greece. The general pattern of social and economic structures, probably partly determined by the climatic relations (Bouzek 1997, 20 ff.; 1999), was similar over a large area that included both Greece and Central Europe. After this period the cultural development in the two areas followed different patterns, resulting in two fundamentally different cultural complexes of the Early Iron Age. However, although the communication between these two areas fundamentally changed, it never ceased.

Theoretical Background

In the Early Iron Age, Greece became one of the most powerful cultural centres on the Mediterranean. Some conceptual transformations took place in Greece earlier than in the rest of Europe. They were followed by significant increases in quantity and quality of production of art objects and objects of common use, that was related to the intensive development of trade activity.

What were the goods that travelled across such great distances, both spatially and culturally, and what were the routes along which such objects reached Pannonia or Greece? They must have had great potential if they were able to characterize, if not even induce such contacts. Since the distance of trade or exchange is in inversed proportion to the physical quantity of traded goods, those goods must have had very high value in the destination cultures. There are some finds from northern and Central Balkans in Greece, although the finds of distinctively Pannonian origin are scarce. This group of finds mainly consists of pieces of horse equipment, pendants and several types of fibulae and pins, which are mostly probable temple offerings or individual pieces of attire (Maier 1956; Kilian 1976). Those objects cannot justify the effort and risk in maintaining communication with areas in the north such as the Balkans. Therefore, we must presume that the goods that were transported southward were perishable, or for some reason it is difficult to trace them directly, using only archaeological methods. This conforms to the general rule that Greeks exported works of fine art or wine in order to gain precious metals and other rare raw materials from the barbaric societies. Leather, fur and honey are traditionally mentioned as "export products" of Barbaric North. There are also historic references to "a quantity of gold by far larger than in any other land" in "the North of Europe" as well as amber that also comes from "the sea which lies towards the North Wind" (Herodotus III. 115). We must also not forget the slaves which reportedly could be acquired from barbaric chiefs "in exchange for a jar of wine" (Diodorus Siculus V. 26) and mercenaries in more or less organized groups that sold their services to the Mediterranean communities. In exchange for these things, the Greeks probably traded prestigious goods (often including feasting accessories, such as bronze vessels), the previously mentioned wine, and maybe fine textiles, thus supplying the warrior aristocracy of protohistoric communities in northern areas with "things that belong to civilized life" (Strabo 11. 2. 3).

The area between Pannonia and Greece is geographically very complex, not easily passable, and split into a large number of smaller defined areas. That inevitably led to the development of individual tribal, and later even political units, in each of those geographic areas. In such circumstances, it would be very difficult for a single group of traders to carry their goods all the way across Balkans. The best solution to this problem would have been the establishment of a relay trade system, given that there is an awareness and basic understanding between the communities that lie on each end of the relay trade chain. The key concept of relay trade is control over space. Therefore, in order to make this system functional over great distances, it is necessary to establish a network of relationships between individual communities that control space segments on the route from the source culture to the destination culture. The size, either of the community or of the space it controls, is not the only criteria of importance. Sometimes small communities control very limited, but crucial segments of space, and accordingly must be included in the communication network. The point of exchange between two communities is not necessarily the border between the areas under their control. In many cases such places are communal or regional cult centres (temples or sanctuaries) which are considered to be sacred ground and therefore "no man's land", meaning that the administrative power of the community controlling the area is nominally suspended in that place.

However, when applied to the area between Pannonia and Greece these theoretical points raise several important issues. One of them is the political stability of communities involved in such system of exchange. The cultural group Donja Dolina – Sanski Most, or the communities that form the Glasinac Cultural complex have a long continuity going back to the Bronze Age and demonstrate stable development,

unlike the other parts of the Balkans. In some areas, the cultural phenomena lasted only for a generation or two, such as the princely graves from Atenica and Novi Pazar or the rich burials at Trebenište. The consequence of their sudden appearance as well as disappearance was a change in power structure in a given area which inevitably led to destabilization of complex exchange system. Social and economic stability in this system relies on the constant access and control over certain important resources. After some time, this is reflected in establishment of a stable and well-defined system of inheritance and transfer of power which is of crucial importance to the long-term stability of any community.

Pannonia was never the exclusive source of precious metals or other highly valued goods. Therefore, we cannot expect to find clearly defined and intensively used, stable trade routes of long continuity (such as Silk or Amber Route), leading across Balkans towards Greece. We also have to take in consideration the fact that numerous local and regional transactions took place with every major exchange along the chain of the relay trade, which makes the general picture of interactions in the contact zone even more complex. There is also the question of the dynamics of supply and demand along the route of the relay trade. Every community tries to obtain things for which they have a direct need or that they could easily (and profitably) exchange in the next step of the process. If we accept this model, then we cannot be sure that the same goods will proceed along the whole trade route, and we cannot make judgements on the length and spatial position of trade routes based on the distribution of a single category of goods.

Objects of Prestige and Trade Routes

The goods of high and stable value, which were considered as such by all communities along the relay trade route, will travel the longest distance along that route. Beside precious raw materials that are archaeologically almost impossible to trace, such goods are a special class of objects defined as prestigious goods. These objects are not necessarily connected to the fundamental needs of any given community and have a certain conceptual potential that can successfully connect the communities on both ends of the trade route. All that leads to the conclusion that the exchange of prestigious goods is the best marker of macro-regional as well as local trade communications.

The system of gift exchange was equally characteristic of the warrior elites in Pannonia and Balkans as it was of the Greek aristocracy. The motivation of the gift exchange is primarily the establishment and maintenance of relations and sometimes confirmation of allegiances between different communities. Consequently, the symbolic impact of prestigious goods is far more important than only their high material value. That is why the distribution system of such goods is considerably different than the system used for the goods of more general importance for the community, although those two systems were closely connected. Sometimes, the prestigious goods served as some sort of informal trade tax that was presented to the "big man" with intention to get his approval for a performing more basic, profitable trade in his area or to exchange goods that were highly valued in some other area. The higher organizational level of such communities was reflected in the more intensive administrative control over trade. It was a process that enabled the elites to transform control over space into control over trade and in such way accumulate prestigious goods that served as instrument of power concentration.

Such objects could trigger and/or influence the course of material and spiritual development of the local society. In order to find out how these processes work, it is necessary to study the very notion and mechanisms of importing which can roughly be divided in three main categories: importing of objects, importing of ideas and concepts, and importing of technology and craftsmanship. The distribution of prestigious goods in the area between Pannonia and Greece offers some insight in all three aspects of importing.

Import of Objects

The prestigious objects in the area between Greece and Pannonia probably included some perishable or hardly traceable goods such as fine textiles[1], wine

[1] Beside the famous discovery of the Chinese silk clothin the Hallstatt princely grave in Hochmichele in southern Germany (Riek/Hundt 1982, 213 f.), and other finds from the area such as the princely grave from Hochdorf (Biel 1985), there are also several finds of textiles in princely graves in Pannonia and Balkans. There are strong indications that metal grave goods in such graves were wrapped in some sort of cloth, traces of which were discovered on several sites such as Kaptol in southern Pannonia (Potrebica 2000, 79 f.), or Glasinac and Atenica in Central Balkans (Benac/Čović 1957, 53 ff.; Đuknić/Jovanović 1966, 10). Some traces indicate that a whole piece of clothing including ornaments and fastening devices (like fibulae) was either burned or burried with the deceased, such as those from Novo Mesto in Slovenia (Hundt 1975, 333 f.) or from Mojsinje in Serbia (Ninčić 2002, 126 ff.). Sometimes there is also possibility that the whole urn was wrapped in cloth and fastened with a needle or fibula.

or maybe opium. The other important categories of archaeological material that could be determined as prestigious goods include several types of ornaments, bronze vessels, and defensive weapons.

Several groups of such objects were identified in the material discovered at the necropolis in Kaptol. The geographical position of this site proved to be very important for its development. It is located in the Požega Valley, which is surrounded by mountains, on the southern fringes of the Pannonian Plain. The Požega Valley itself gravitates towards the valley of the river Sava which is considered to be border between the Balkans and Pannonia. The geographical position makes Kaptol an ideal point for the transfer of southern influences to Hallstatt Culture groups located in Pannonia but it is also extremely important for understanding of the very old and intensively used communication route between the alpine world and the Danubian Basin that went along the valley of the river Sava. The analysis established three main sources of the objects and cultural influences in Kaptol graves. The objects imported from Italy came through the southeastern Alpine region, the eastern ideas and material came through the Danubian region, while the prestigious goods connected with Greece came through the Balkans (Potrebica 2000). Probably the greatest known display of macro-regional importance and power that was derived from control over such important cultural crossroad is inventory of the warrior grave discovered under the tumulus IV in Kaptol *(pl. 1)* (Vejvoda/Mirnik 1975, 593 ff. t. 2-3; Vejvoda/Mirnik 1991, 12 ff. fig. 6).

Both objects connected with Italy are unique pieces. The shafted bimetallic battle axe *(pl. 1,4)* is similar to the bronze piece discovered in a very early tumulus at Gornja Radgona (Teržan 1990, 85 fig. 19,6) with a cult wagon model and the Tachlovice sword. Based on the bronze piece that comes from the grave at Cá Morta in northern Italy also with the cult wagon model (Kossack 1957, 50) and the similar form of bronze axe found in the grave Ricovero 236 from Este (Müller-Karpe 1959, pl. 7,9), K. Vinski-Gasparini proposed that the origin of this form is somewhere in the area of the Este Culture, suggesting a somewhat later date for the piece from Kaptol because of its iron blade (Vinski-Gasparini 1987, 195). B. Teržan agrees that the piece from Este is the oldest and that the axe from Kaptol is the latest known example of this form, but she suggests that such axes in the Alpine area were produced in a local workshop, under the influence of similar Etruscan axes dated in the late 8th and the early 7th centuries BC that sometimes reached the north like the example from Cá Morta grave (Teržan 1990, 85). The position of this form of axes within elite warrior graves and their collocation with votive wagon models is hardly coincidental and we cannot exclude the possibility that such axes acted as some sort of insignia of warrior power. In this case, motivation for the import (or acceptance) of such object could be connected more with its symbolic than its functional value.

The other piece connected with Italy is a bronze rectangular plate (*pl. 1,3*) that was originally interpreted as chest plate. Already K. Vinski-Gasparini has pointed out that the origin of that form should be sought in central Italy (Vinski-Gasparini 1987, 194) and B. Teržan attributes it to the family of Etruscan and Central Italian chest plates also dated to the 8th and early 7th century (Teržan 1990, 148). However, the recent suggestion that it is in fact a shield plate seems to be more plausible (Egg/Križ 1997, 201). Moreover, the more detailed study of the plate shows that the ornamentation (a line of circles with dot in the centre) along the edges and along the diagonals is not incised very precisely. At one place it even seems that the craftsmen made a mistake in the ornamentation or at least has not followed through with the whole of intended motif. Such a "careless" approach could also indicate a local, rather than Italic, workshop.

In summary, it seems that both pieces of "Italic import" from the tumulus IV at Kaptol were produced in the Alpine area, much closer to the destination culture, but with good knowledge of Italian prototypes. It seems that a centre on the Alpine route towards Italy (perhaps Dolenjska) ceased at one point to be only a distribution centre for prestigious goods of Italian origin and, at least in some cases, took over the role of production centre. The fact that the same area is source of distribution of a few other distinctive items discovered in the Kaptol cemetery (e. g. fibule à tre bottoni, multi-headed pins, fibulae with bone plating, etc.) supports the thesis of the local production of some "Italic imports".

The eastern influences in this grave are documented with two items under the category of the horse equipment: bronze bits and a fragmented bronze cheek-piece (Vejvoda/Mirnik 1975, tab. 2,5). The bronze cheek-piece with square openings belongs to the type Ib according to G. Kossack (Kossack 1954, 156, Map 2A) with closest parallels coming from Szomlyóvásárhely (Gallus/Horváth 1939, pl. LII,9, 16; Teržan 1990, 148 f.). Such cheek-pieces were widely distributed over the Alpine area as well as the Danubian and Carpathian Basin, and are dated into Ha C. The shape of bits is very similar to those from depositions from Szanda and Ugra (Gallus/Horváth 1939, pl. X,18-19, XII,6; Vinski-Gasparini 1987,

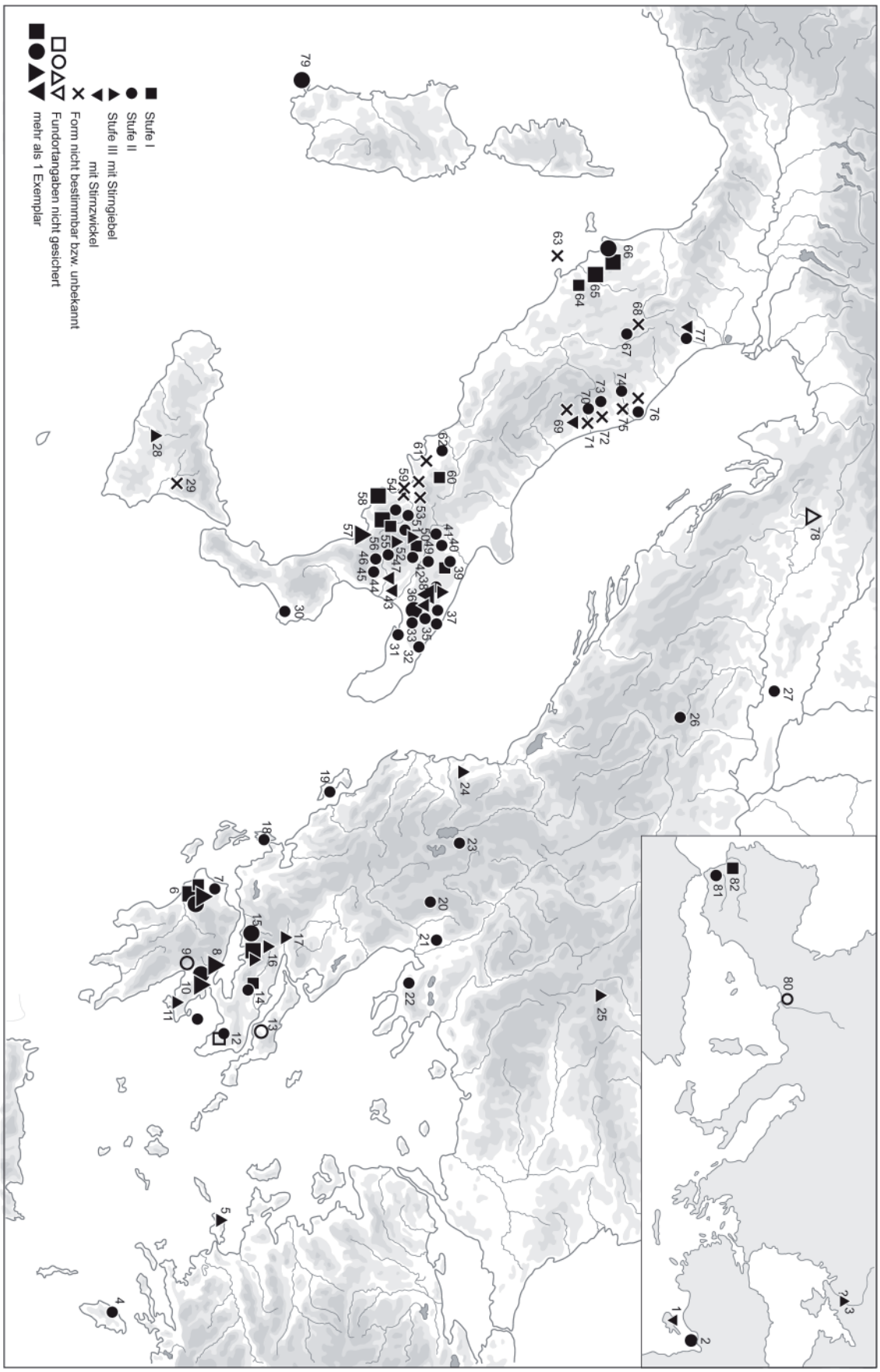

Fig. 1. Distribution map of the Corinthian helmets (after Pflug 1988b)

196) whilst the fish-bone ornament is present on somewhat older bits from Batina (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, pl. 36,5).

However, for the subject of this paper the most important group of prestigious objects from the tumulus IV is the one that demonstrates southern influences which consists of the Graeco-Illyrian helmet and bronze cnemidae without ornamentation (*pl. 1,2.5)* (Vejvoda/Mirnik 1975, tab. 2,2). Defensive weapons in general seem to be the best marker of the communication and trade routes leading from Greece to Pannonia. Sets of defensive weapons were found in Kaptol in two princely graves. In the tumulus IV, dated in the middle of the 7th century BC, there was a Graeco-Illyrian helmet, a pair of cnemidae without ornamentation, and ornamented bronze shield plate. The other princely grave in the tumulus X, dated to the first part of the 6th century BC, contained a rich inventory that included a Corinthian helmet. Apart from the already discussed shield plate, the rest of the defensive weapons discovered at the Kaptol cemetery are of the distinctive Greek origin. In this context we must mention the idea already discussed elsewhere (Potrebica 1998, 241) that the sets of defensive weapons and their distribution reflect borders of the spheres of influence to which the individual cultures were exposed. Thus, classic forms of the Graeco-Illyrian and Corinthian helmets marked the zone of the Greek influence in the 7th century BC, while the Italic zone was characterized by composite helmets.[2] This idea has been further developed by B. Teržan who claims that the distribution areas of Graeco-Illyrian, Corinthian, Chalcidice and Phrigian types of Greek helmets reflect both different trade markets and different areas of political orientation and influence, regardless of the actual location of the production centres. (Teržan 1995, 85 ff.). It seems that the Greek influence spread mostly along the route of Via Egnatia to the central parts of the Balkans, and further towards the Danube, while the cultural impulses from Italy travelled over the south-eastern Alpine region to the western Balkans and Pannonia and further to the Danube Basin.[3]

Unfortunately, the Corinthian helmet from Kaptol (*pl. 2,3*) was incorrectly reconstructed and some important distinguishing marks were lost (shape of the neck-piece). However, the small holes along the edge of the helmet that served for the attachment of textile padding are still visible. They indicate that the helmet found in Kaptol belongs to the second phase, or classical type of the Corinthian helmet, which is dated to the late 7th and transition to the 6th century BC. The largest number of similar helmets was discovered in Olympia, while the distribution map of the second phase of Corinthian helmets (Pflug 1988b, fig. 48) shows that in the same period there was a large group of such helmets in southern Italy *(fig. 1)*, perhaps indicating a local production centre. However, the closest parallels to this piece are located in the Balkans and roughly mark the route along which this helmet reached Kaptol. A very similar helmet was discovered in Glasinac *(pl. 3,6)*, in the princely grave in Arareva gromila (Benac/Čović 1957, 20 f. tab. 40,1). This helmet also suffered damage to the lower part, and the shape of neck-piece of these two helmets remains unknown. However, the small holes along the edge, and general shape features make it chronologically close to the example from Kaptol. There are no other finds of Corinthian helmets in the area between Glasinac and the Ohrid Lake, where one piece was found at the famous necropolis Trebenište (Filov 1927, 78, pl. XIV). They seem to be rare even in the area of Macedonia and northern Greece and all known examples seem to be later than helmets from Glasinac and Kaptol. One Corinthian helmet was discovered at the rich necropolis in Sindos on Chalcidice in a grave dated in 510 - 490 BC (Sindos 1985, 278 ff. fig. 458). Two helmets come from the sites at Edessa and Nea Syllata (Pflug 1988b, 77, 100). Another very interesting example, decorated with gold sheet, was found at the Archaic cemetery of Aghia Paraskevi also near Thessaloniki. The grave is dated to the 6th century BC (Sisimandis 1993, 170 ff.). The gold sheet decoration on the helmets is quite a specific feature limited to the area of Macedonia in the 6th and 5th century BC, but it is mostly found on Graeco-Illyrian helmets. The distribution map shows that the helmet from Kaptol is by far the northernmost example of the Corinthian helmet in general (Pflug 1988b, fig. 48).

The type of bronze cnemidae without ornamentation *(pl. 2,2)* and shaped to follow the musculature of a leg was widespread in Greece in the long period between the 7th and 4th century BC. It is therefore difficult to chronologically determine. A large number of such pieces were found in Olympia, but they were widely distributed over a large area from the Black Sea to Italy. The distribution map suggests that the major workshops were in mainland Greece (Kunze 1991), on the west coast of the Black Sea, and in southern Italy (Stary 1981). However, some features, like previouly mentioned small holes along the edge that served for the attachment of textile padding, date

[2] A similar situation is also present in the 5th century BC when helmets of the later Graeco-Illyrian type marked one, and helmets of the Negova type another area.

[3] Northern Croatia was somehow on the borderline between these two spheres of influence, which was reflected in the Kaptol tumuli cemetery.

it to before the end of the 6th century. A similar pair was found in a grave from Čitluci on Glasinac *(pl. 3,1)* (Benac/Čović 1957, tab. 30,6), and two somewhat later pairs were discovered in graves 2 and 55 at the necropolis at Sanski Most (Fiala 1896, 221 f., 239 f., tab. 1-2). At least one pair was discovered at Trebenište in the grave with the Graeco-Illyrian helmet (Vulić 1932, 33 f. fig. 53-54) and several pieces were found on the Adriatic Coast (Balen-Letunić 1992, 22 ff. fig. 2; Nikolanci 1959; 85 tab. 8,1.2; 9,1; Marović/Nikolanci 1969, 11 fig. 4, 11, 16). The pair from Kaptol is again the northernmost example of this type (Teržan 1995, fig. 11).

Probably the most important find for the analysis of the Greek influence is the Graeco-Illyrian helmet *(pl. 2,1)*. According to information collected so far (Pflug 1988a, 42 ff. fig. 6); Lahtov 1965, 49-50; Marović 1976, 288 ff.) the origin of those helmets *(fig. 2)* should be sought somewhere on the Peloponnesus, because the first type of these helmets (dated from ca 750 to the beginning of the 7th century BC) was distributed almost exclusively in the Peloponnesus (again mainly in Olympia). The distribution map of the second phase of those helmets is completely different. It covers a wide area from the southernmost piece in Alexandria (Egypt) to the northernmost in Kaptol. (Pflug 1988a, 48 ff.) The highest density of finds is still in Greece, but sixteen of 27 known examples were found in the Illyrian area. The suggested distribution route goes runs from Trebenište with five examples (Filov 1927), to Donja Dolina with two examples (Čović 1987a, 250 f., 258), and finally to Kaptol (Vejvoda/Mirnik 1975, 595 tab. 2,1). The difference between the second and the third phase of the Graeco-Illyiran helmet is marked by the evolution in shape: paragnatides became longer and extended forward, the cut between paragnatides and neck protection became deeper and eventually evoluted to an ear-oppening, and the neck protection became smaller forming an almost horizontal rim along the back part of the helmet. However, the most important distinction between these types is functional. In the second phase, the helmets have a line of rivets along the edge that served for attachment of textile padding, while in the third phase rivets disappear leaving only ornamental imitation that in time develops into purely decorative bordering. This change suggests that, in the third phase, the helmet was worn without padding over some kind of cap. We cannot be sure whether this change marks a general change in warrior attire or it is perhaps sign of different manner in which this helmet was used by members of different ethnic or cultural groups. The first version is supported by the visible change in distribution area: the helmets of the first and the second phase were mainly found in the area controlled by Greeks, while the helmets of the third phase pre-dominate over the Illyrian area. Even the distribution of the variants of the third phase differs between the Greek and the Illyrian areas, perhaps indicating different local production centres, or perhaps more probably, different tribal communities (Teržan 1995, 88). The helmets of the type III A 3 were found mainly in Macedonia, with two main areas of concentration. The first group is located at Chalcidice with finds such as those from Sindos (Sindos 1985), Agia Paraskevi (Sisimanidis 1993, 170 fig. 179), Zeitenlik, Mesimeri-Trilophon and Mikro-Karaburun (Pflug 1988a, 62), while the second group is concentrated around the Ohrid Lake at the sites of Trebenište (Filov 1927, 82 fig. 97-98), Rečica[4], Delagoždi (Bitrakova-Grozdanova 1989, 87 fig. 4) and Rajcë (Gjipali 1981, 242 tab. 1,8). Such distribution supports the thesis of ethnic or some other strong bond between the elites of Trebenište and Sindos. However, the examples of the second phase are very rare in that area. Trebenište is the only site which provided both helmets of the second and the third phase. The helmet from Kaptol as well as those from Donja Dolina are dated to approximately 650 - 550 BC and they are typologically earlier variants of the second phase than those from Trebenište. Similar chronological inversion between central and northern Balkans and Macedonia has also been observed with Corinthian helmets. The chronological priority of pieces from Donja Dolina and Kaptol indicate that at that time Trebenište and Sindos were not centres of such importance or perhaps were not even located along the trade routes. Another question is the origin of the helmets of the second phase in Trebenište. Since they have no real predecessor or contemporary parallel in the Macedonian area they probably reached Trebenište from Greece along a different route, probably along the route of future Via Egnatia, across northern Albania.

It seems that the Graeco-Illyrian helmet came to Kaptol through Donja Dolina and that is the place where we should start our journeybackwards. One helmet of that type from Donja Dolina is an isolated find, presumably from the destroyed grave on the site Čarakovo (Čović 1987a, 258). The other helmet was found in grave 27 located in the field of M. Petrović junior, along with bronze shield boss and lotus phiala

[4] Lahtov in his original publication (Lahtov 1965) as well as Marović in his synthesis determined this helmet as the later example of the second phase (Marović 1976, 291, 298). The helmet has a line of small holes along the rim, however it is lacking nail-like protrusions and its shape corresponds to the third phase of the Graeco-Illyrian helmets (Kilian 1975, pl. 65,1). Therefore, Pflug considers helmet from Rečica to belong to the variant III A 3 (Pflug 1988a, 62 ff. fig. 19).

(Čović 1987a, 250 f.). Similar shield boss was also discovered in graves 1, 27, 37 and 39 on the same site (Čović 1987a, 250 f.). R. Vasić dates that type to the second half of the 7th and the 6th century and claims that the iron shield boss type of such as the one from the grave 10 in the field of I. Stipančić site name could be the local variant inspired by imported bronze pieces and therefore belongs to the same period (Vasić, 1977, 33). The closest parallel to this type was discovered at Glasinac, on the site of Čitluci in grave 5 of tumulus I, together with the already mentioned cnemidae, bronze vessels, ornaments, horse gear and arms (Benac/Čović 1957, 16 pl. 30-32). Z. Marić also thinks that this is a local type inspired by a Greek model (Marić 1964, 36). However, although the Greek counterparts are significantly older, it seems that this type should also seen as a Greek import and dated into the period from the beginning of the 6th to the beginning of the 5th century (Vasić 1983, 14). M. Parović-Pešikan traces the origin of the type to the Aegean islands to around the 12th century BC. From there, they reached Greece in the 9th century. Since the examples from Olympia are dated to the 7th century BC, the presence of this

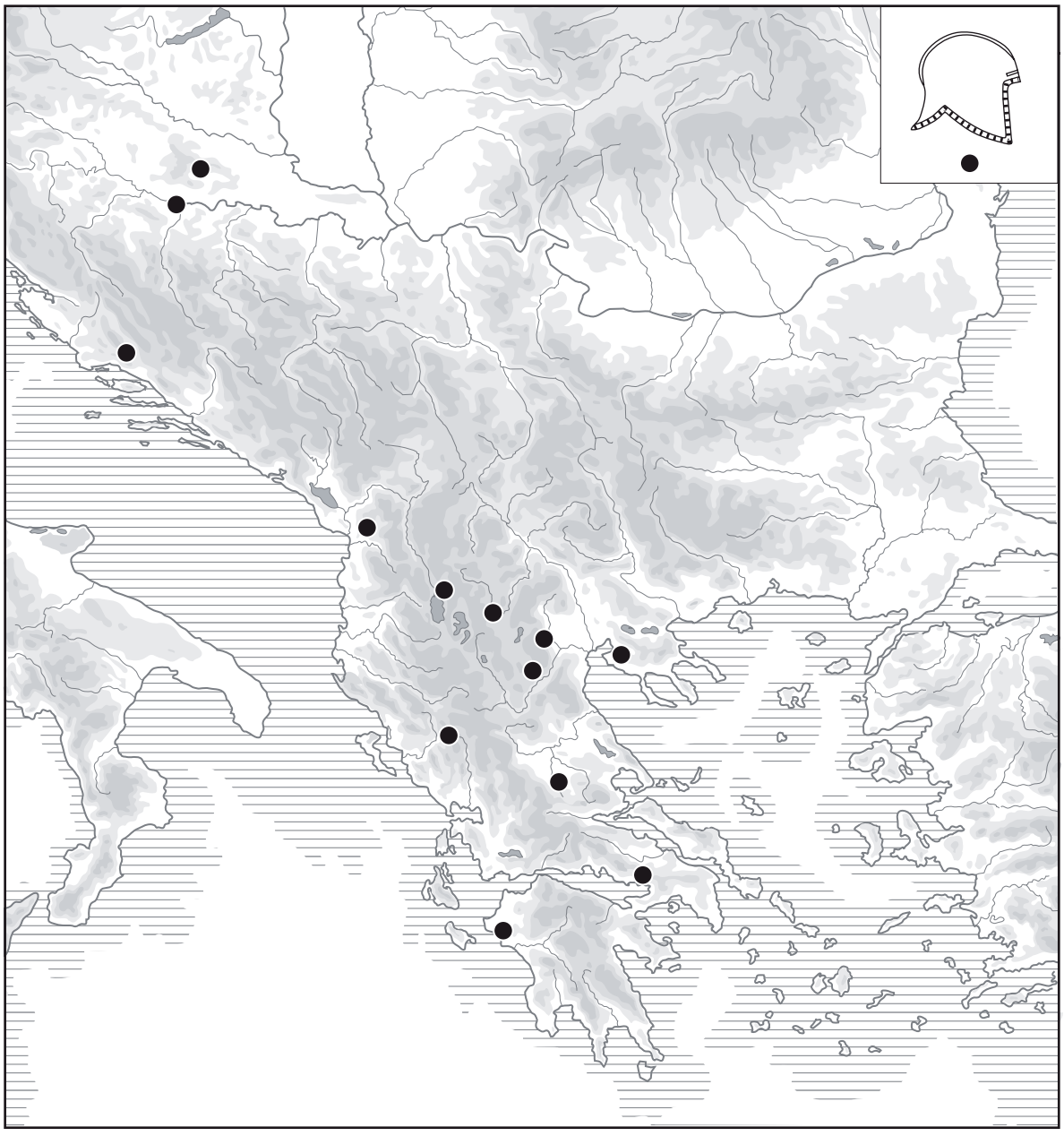

Fig. 2. Distribution map of the second phase of the Graeco-Illyrian helmets (after Pflug 1988a and Teržan 1995)

type in Bosnia is dated to the second half of the 7th and the beginning of the 6th century (Parović-Pešikan 1960, 24).

Therefore we can establish the connection between the material of Greek provenience in Donja Dolina which comprises two Graeco-Illyrian helmets, a bronze phiale and bronze shield bosses, as well as similar material discovered on Glasinac: the previously mentioned Corinthian helmet, cnemidae and some interesting examples of Greek bronze vessels.

The distribution of two very specific objects characteristic of Donja Dolina and Glasinac indicates close interconnection between the southern Pannonian zone and the two dominant Early Iron Age centres of northern and Central Balkans.

The first is a type of multi-headed pin specific to Donja Dolina *(pl. 4,1-3)*. A total of 19 pins were discovered on the site. They were included in the inventories of eight graves, though a few pieces belong to unpreserved graves and several pins were discovered on the settlement. Aside from Donja Dolina, they are very rare. However, one pair was discovered both under tumuli on Glasinac and in Kaptol (Čović 1987b, 620; Vejvoda/Mirnik 1975, 595 tab. 6,1) in the grave together with a specific combination of axes. The same combination of axes was also found in one grave in Sanski Most and that suggests the influence of Kaptol. The other example is so-called 'scepters' – whetstones with fine cast bronze handles *(pl. 4,4-8)*. The origin of this type is on Glasinac. Beautiful pieces discovered there show that at one point (IV C1 = 625 - 550 BC) they ceased to be just functional objects and became a symbol of high social rank in the grave inventory. Before and after that period, that conceptual niche was reserved for axes. It is still a mystery why this shift occurred, but at the same time the luxurious pieces appeared in Kaptol along with the functional ones.

It seems that in the 7th and 6th century BC the area of the Glasinac Culture was a very strong trade centre. Together with the area of the cultural group Donja Dolina-Sanski Most, it formed a trade network oriented north towards Pannonia and through the valley of the river Sava towards the Danubian region. It is also evident that Kaptol, was also incorporated into the trade network.

In this period the finds of Greek bronze vessels (as markers of luxury Greek imports) were accompanied by sets of defensive weapons but only in southern Pannonia and northern Balkans. Such imports haven't yet been confirmed in the southern Balkans, or on the eastern Adriatic coast. Apparently, such luxurious Greek merchandize travelled a long way to reach the powerful centres such as Glasinac and Donja Dolina. In the early phase of the early Iron Age those contacts were not very frequent. Occasional finds of pieces of Balkan clothing ornaments in Greek temples (Kilian 1976, 166 f., 170 f.) could be gifts of merchants that travelled north or panoplies, but they could also be interpreted as gifts brought by pilgrims from the north. We have to bear in mind that the Greek interest in the Balkans and other areas further north was mainly motivated by the need for raw materials such as gold, honey, slaves, amber, or precious metals. These goods are mostly perishable or almost impossible to detect using exclusively archaeological methods.

On the other hand, the Greek imports in this area can be divided in several groups according to its sources. The first one consists of the finds related to Greek centres in Italy. The distribution of Greek bronze vessels imported from Italy in the area of Slovenia, suggests that there was a route that went from central Italy, across the area of the Este Culture, to Slovenia, from where it went along the river Sava towards the Danubian Basin.[5] This route had been operative from the 10th century BC onwards. The basin of the river Sava was a very important segment of that route which acted as trade, exchange and communication channel between the Alps and the Danube Basin. It reached the peak of its activity in the Early Iron Age. The centres along the river Sava, such as the settlement in Donja Dolina, had an important role in the intricate communication network of the Early Iron Age which is reflected in presence of material of eastern, i. e. Danubian origin, and even more in groups of objects of Alpine or Italic provenance. The finds from Hallstatt sites in southern Pannonia, such as Kaptol, indicate intensive communication with the eastern Alpine area. However, although that communication included some Italic elements none of them could be connected with the Greek centres in Italy.

However, we must not ignore the possibility of cross-Adriatic trade through which products of Greek workshops in Italy could reach the Balkans and continue to circulate along local trade routes. Some of the bronze vessels discovered at Glasinac are probably of Italian origin. These are primarily a fluted bowl (Zungenphiale) *(pl. 3,5)* and basin with bossed rim (Perlrandbecken) that were discovered in the princely grave under the tumulus II at the site of Ilijak at Glasinac (Fiala 1895, 6; Benac/Čović 1957,

[5] Theoretically, it could have also followed the river Drina into the Balkans, but we have no direct proof of such activity.

70)[6]. A fluted bowl was also discovered in princely grave 5 under the tumulus I at site Čitluci *(pl. 3,3)* also at Glasinac (Benac/Čović 1957, 75), and another Perlrandbecken on Glasinac was discovered in the grave 1 of the tumulus II at the site Osovo (Benac/Čović 1957, 73). Based on the general distribution of Corinthian helmets, B. Teržan suggests a southern Italian origin of the helmets from Glasinac and Kaptol. She supports the idea with other material of clearly Italian origin such as the bronze vessels on Glasinac, or the shield plate from the princely grave under tumulus IV in Kaptol. Furthermore, the Italian bronze vessels and Corinthian helmet found at Glasinac, lead her to claim the intensive contacts between the southern Italy and the western Balkans in the Early Iron Age reflected in the Italian raw models for feasting and drinking customs used by the warrior elite from Glasinac (Teržan 1995, 88 f.)[7].

However, bronze vessels from Glasinac are not all of Italian origin. There were also Greek bronze vessels, probably of eastern Mediterranean origin, some of which were even in the same graves with Italian bronze vessels (e. g. previously mentioned princely grave 1 in tumulus II at Ilijak). The shield-plate from Kaptol was discovered in the princely grave together with bronze cnemidae and a Graeco-Illyrian helmet of distinctively Greek origin and this context gives just as strong arguments for the southern origin of Corinthian helmets in Kaptol or Glasinac. Furthermore, although rare and somewhat later than the pieces from Kaptol or Arareva Gromila, several Corinthian helmets were also found along the southern trade route at Trebenište, Sindos and several other Macedonian sites, like Nea Syllata, Edessa, Aghia Paraskevi (Filov 1927; Sindos 1985, 280 fig. 458; Pflug 1988b, 77, 100; Sisimandis 1993, 170 ff.).

In the context of cross-Adriatic trade we must mention the route along the river Neretva that has long been suggested as possible (sometimes even the only) inland route for the Greek import (Novak 1955, 4 f.). That route went along Neretva, and then up the tributary streams to the Sava and further on to the Danube. However, Narona, the Greek settlement at the mouth of the river Neretva, was not established until the 5th century, and the period of its greatest influence falls in the 4th century BC when the Greek colonies were established on the Adriatic islands of Hvar, Vis and Korčula. Although it is the general opinion that in the 7th and 6th century BC this route was not yet functional (Parović-Pešikan 1960, 36 f.), there are some finds, like those from Pod near Bugojno (Čović 1983, 152 ff.), that do not completely exclude such a possibility. Even more probable ports of entry for Greek products from Italy could have been the Greek colonies Apollonia and Epidamnos on what is today the Albanian coast. They had well established contacts with the Italian coast of the Adriatic which is not far from the Greek colonies in the southern Italy (Bietti Sestieri/Lo Schiavo 1976). From those ports a network of local trade routes went inland (Mano 1976), and some of them reached an important distribution centre and trade crossroad at Lake Ohrid *(fig. 3)*. This could also explain the presence of exclusive products of Italian workshops in the princely graves of the Central Balkans. Čović has suggested a provenance for some of bronze vessels in the Balkans (Čović 1983, 154). The grave goods of the princely burial under the tumulus in Atenica included anthropomorphic amber pearls and a bone box that are probably Etruscan products (Vasić 1992) although they were previously considered to be a product of Ionian colonies on the western coast of the Black Sea (Palavestra 1984, 44 f.). They probably reached Balkans through Greek colonies on the south-eastern Adriatic Coast (most probably Apollonia or Epidamnos).

The Ionian trade is flourished at the end of the 7th and through the 6th century and formed the second group of the imported material (mainly pottery and bronze vessels). The supposed route went from the Ionian colonies (e. g. Istros at the mouth of the

6 Based on the position of the fluted bowl (*zungenphiale)* in the grave, Fiala (1895, 6) suggested that the prince used it as a helmet or a kind of head-gear!? Benac and Čović (1957, 12 fig. 6) used Fiala's description and made a drawing reconstruction of that grave and B. Teržan (1987, 17; 1995, 89) accepted such suggestion. I do not agree with such explanation because the same grave also contained a "proper set" of bronze vessels consisting of basin with bossed rim (*Perlrandbecken)*, *kotylus* and *phiale.* It clearly shows that the owner was aware of the proper use of bronze vessels which is documented by another fluted bowl discovered in the normal position in the princely grave 5 under the tumulus I at site of Čitluci also at Glasinac (Benac/Čović 1957, 75). The Corinthian helmet from Arareva Gromila (another princely burial on Glasinac) shows that they were also familiar with the use of real helmets. Furthermore, there is no original drawing of the position of the finds in the grave and the reconstruction is based solely on Fiala's written description which could be contaminated with intention of a prejudiced interpretation. The fluted bowl could have contained some sort of offering which was laid slightly above the head of the deceased and later fell on his head. Even if it was deliberately placed there it was in accordance with some sort of burial ritual, and not as a reflection of its original use!

7 This proposition is probably somewhat influenced by N. Lucentini (1981) who interpreted the chronology of the Glasinac Culture from the point of view of the well-established Italian chronology, to a large extent without insight into local chronological and cultural circumstances. The result was a chronological scheme which almost completely ignored the continuous development of the Glasinac Culture from the Early Bronze Age to the Late Iron Age. In this case, I must agree with rather lapidary reaction of B. Čović to this work in which he recognizes "many fresh ideas, but without a real understanding of internal development dynamics in the Central Balkan region." (Čović 1987b, 581).

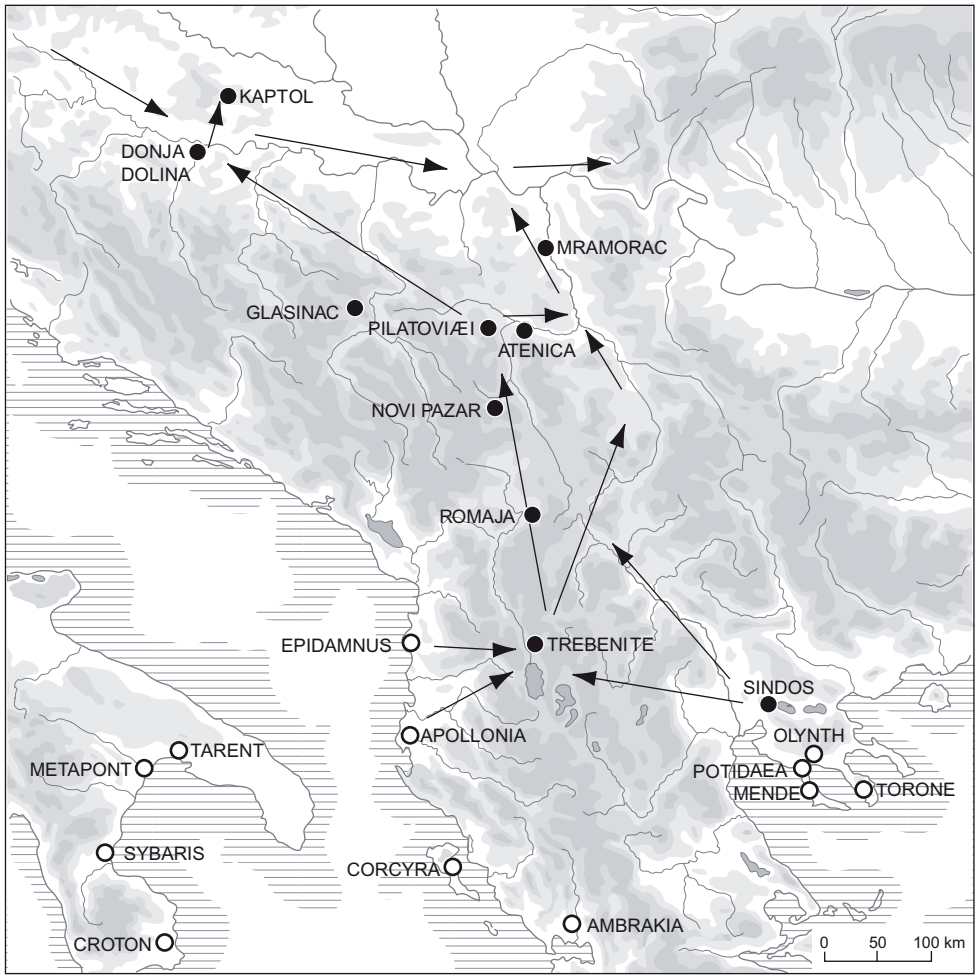

Fig. 3. Communication routes over Balkans in the 7th – 5th century BC

Danube) on the Black Sea, along the rivers Danube and Drina, into the mainland of the Balkans. This road was probably known already in 10th or 9th century BC (before the colonisation of Ionian Greeks), but the most intensive traffic along this route falls in the 5th century BC when it was probably connected with the trade route that went along the river Neretva. However, the modern interpretation of the material thought to be Ionian (e. g. bone box from Atenica) puts serious doubts on the importance of the Danubian way, at least in that period (Vasić 1992, 59).

The analysis presented of the available data shows that the most important group of Greek imports seems to be the one that connects the most southern part of the Hallstatt Cultural circle with mainland Greece across the Balkans. Although, it is roughly marked by the distribution of the Graeco-Illyrian helmets, there are a few variants on that route. The distribution of Greek import suggests the route of the future Via Egnatia as a more probable than the variant that went along the valley of the river Vardar, and further north along the valley of Morava and Drina (*fig. 3 and 4*). In that context we already mentioned the route that went from the Greek colonies Apollonia and Epidamnos, along the valley of Drim to the river Ibar and Lake Ohrid. We should also pay attention to scarce finds that suggest communication between Central Greece and the area around Lake Ohrid that went across Thessaly (Parović-Pešikan 1960, 44) or perhaps along the possible route across Epirus and northern Albania documented by helmets found in the vicinity of Ioannina (Andhreou 1985) and Ungrej (Barun Nopcsa 1907, 2 fig. 2-3). Unfortunately, the crucial parts of these areas are still insufficiently explored and published to form the ground for more specific conclusions.

Although the third type of the Graeco-Illyrian helmets is later than the second type (e. g. helmets from Donja Dolina and Kaptol) and functionally significantly different, the distribution of individual variants of that type has some interesting features.

It shows more spatial than chronological differentiation, and the concentration of the variant III A 3, mostly in Macedonia (Pflug 1988a, 61 ff. fig. 19), indicates highly developed metal working and trade distribution centres on Chalcidice that were very important for long distance trade. These long distance relations could have their roots in the very beginning of the Iron Age when the flow of concepts and objects perhaps went in the opposite direction. Some elements of burial ritual as well as attire found at the tumuli necropolis at Vergina support this thesis (Andronikos 1969; Radt 1974, 144 ff.; Teržan 1987, 8 f. fig. 3).

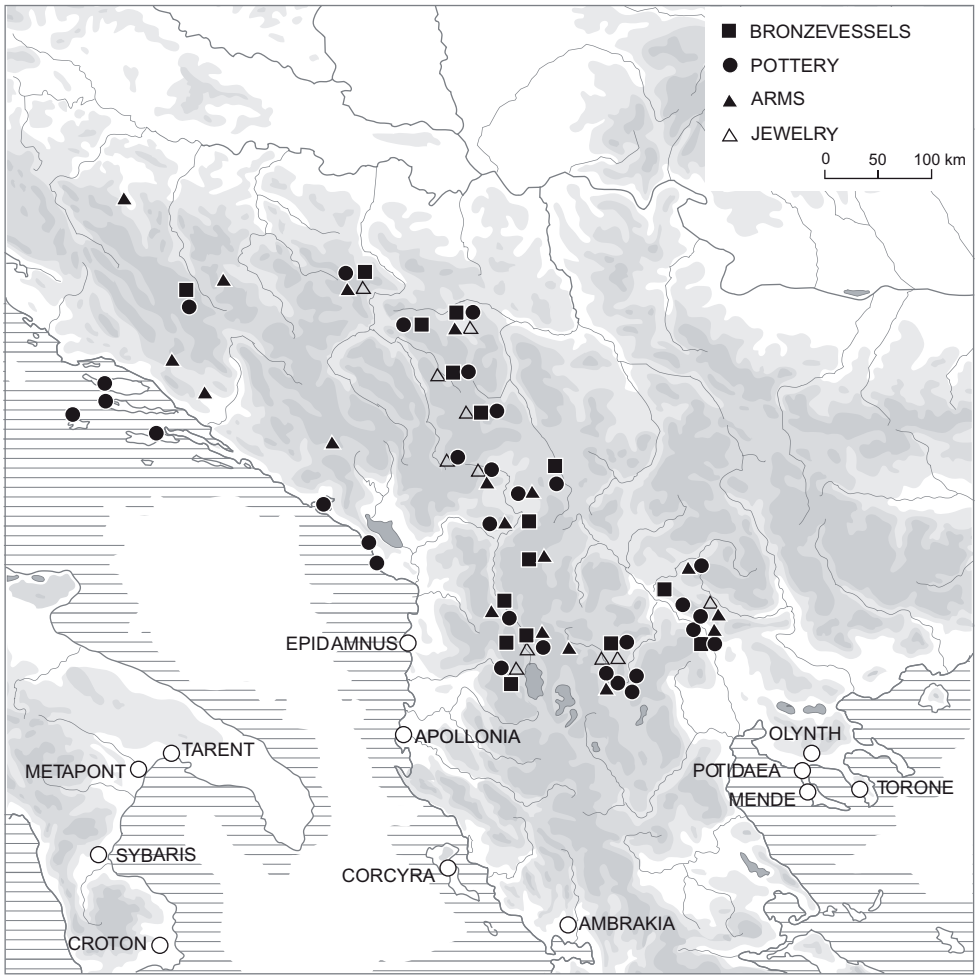

Fig. 4. Distribution of the late Archaic Greek import throughout Central Balkans (after Vasić 1992).

Import of Ideas and Concepts (or what did they really import?)

Obviously, objects were not the only thing that travelled along those ancient routes. If we perceive culture as cargo, than objects of prestige present strong conceptual vessels capable of carrying sets of ideas over long distances and opening more or less stable communication channels for further transfer. If such objects are containers, their immaterial content could be a set of religious and social concepts and ideas, but what were the mechanisms of their transition, and how did they function within different cultural contexts?

Although in two cases, sets of valuable defensive weapons were added to the standard set, the analysis of warrior grave inventories from Kaptol shows that warfare did not change. The standard equipment of the Kaptol warriors consisted of two or three (in some cases even more) spears *(pl. 1,6-8)*, one or more axes and horse-gear. This illustrates their way of fighting: the warrior would throw spears

towards the enemy and than use axe for close-range combat. Such weapons were used for individual fighting and not for fighting in an organised order, like the Greek phalanx (Vinski-Gasparini 1987, 195). Sets of defence weapons consisted of carefully gathered objects that came across the Alps from Italy or across the Balkans from Greece, and they were obviously considered prestigious goods. Such objects had a considerable value either because of their rarity (sometimes because of the long distance they travelled), their high-quality of production, or the material itself. They reflected the power of a prominent individual or group within the local social structure. In the case of the Graeco-Illyrian helmets, some other examples of the same type were actually used, damaged and repaired, such as helmets of the third phase from Kličevo (Žižić 1979, 206 ff. fig. 1) and Rečica (Lahtov 1965). Their geographical position puts them spatially and culturally closer to the production centre of these helmets and they probably served as actual weapons rather than classical objects of prestige. The helmet of the second phase with traces of ancient repair at the front of the crest from the Rouch Private Collection from Germany (recently offered for sale) probably came from the same area. Unfortunately the exact location of this exquisite find will remain unknown. Even the ornamented pieces from Trebenište *(pl. 5,1)*, that were obviously prestigious objects, are similar to the ornamented helmets discovered at Sindos necropolis. It shows how the context 'wears off' with distance leaving these objects susceptible to conceptual transformation. Perhaps even helmets from Kaptol were used in some actual battles, but their primary role was to make their owner socially distinctive. Prestigious objects are often taken out of the context of the culture that produced them and acquire new meaning and value in the culture they enter. However, although it seems that these objects travelled individually without their original warfare concept, they were part of a general concept of the appearance of a mighty warrior. The combination of the Graeco-Illyrian helmet with the bronze cnemidae, such as the one from tumulus IV in Kaptol (*Fig. 1*), has been discovered over the large area between Greece, Adriatic and Pannonia. Such warrior equipment with helmets of the third phase was discovered in Vičja Luka (Nikolanci 1959, 82 ff. tab. 7,9) and in Kličevo near Nikšić (Žižić 1979, 206 ff. fig. 1-3), but also in Trebenište (e. g. Lj. Popović 1956, 47 f., tab. 18-19) and in Kaptol (Vejvoda/Mirnik 1975, 595 tab. 2,1.2) where such combination belongs to the second phase of Graeco-Illyirian helmets. Examples such as the set from Krk with the combination of the Negova helmet and cnemidae (Balen-Letunić 1992), as well as many examples of the same combination with the Corinthian helmet, show that it is not the imitation of appearance but the actual importing of the image or concept of the warrior where helmets and cnemidae were just outer manifestations.

Although such objects came without their immediate cultural context, they opened a channel through which some new concepts were communicated to this area. Some of these were related to warriors such as the conceptual unit of 'brothers in arms'. The grave 19 of tumulus VII in Novo Mesto, discovered in 1995, contained a rich and very interesting inventory marked with bronze vessels and warrior equipment that also included two Graeco-Illyrian helmets of the third phase - III A 1 and III A 2 (Egg 1999). It seems that two warriors apparently of the same status were buried together; although it is not clear whether they were buried at the same time (one helmet could be dated into the late 6th century and the other into the beginning of the 5th century BC). Perhaps the incineration burials of warriors in the identical urns in tumulus IX in Kaptol could be interpreted in the same way (Potrebica 2001, 72). The recent discovery of a rich princely burial also at Kaptol with two sets of weapons dominated by the bronze and the iron sword could become the best illustation of that concept in the Hallstatt area, given thatanthropological analysis confirms a double warrior burial. The ancient concept of "brothers in arms" is present in Greek literature and mythology and it also had some sociological reflections among Greek and Etruscan nobility (Egg 1999). Imitation or even the "import" of such a concept is not limited to the Hallstatt Culture because several La Tène graves could also be interpreted in such a way. Perhaps the rich Late La Tène warrior burial recently discovered in Mali Bilač, which is also located in the Požega Valley, 30 km south of Kaptol (Potrebica/Dizdar 2002, 113 ff. fig. 2), could also be interpreted in such a way.

Sometimes it is difficult to separate the conceptual content from the imported object, because the object itself is part of a specific religious practice. Prestigious objects were often used as offerings presented to deities by a tribal aristocracy. The largest number of Graeco-Illyrian helmets and a significant number of Corinthian helmets was discovered in the treasuries of temples in Olympia (Kunze 1958; 1967). Similar religious practices are evident throughout Greece and Italy, but there is some proof that these were also present on Balkans. The building discovered in the village of Gorica near Grude in western Bosnia (Truhelka 1899) is remarkably similar to an early Greek temple. The reinterpretation of the building, initially defined as "crematorium", confirms that it was a sanctuary with some sort of treasury (Čović 1976, 252 ff.) and the spatial organi-

zation corresponds to Greek temples. The finds from the treasury show a long continuity of this sacred space. Among those finds there is also a Graeco-Illyrian helmet (Truhelka 1899, fig. 3-4) of the early third phase. Another aspect of the votive deposition of helmets in sacred spaces is ritual deposition in rivers. Probably the best corpus of Graeco-Illyrian helmets from such a context are helmets recently discovered in the river Cetina (apparently more than 30 pieces).[8] Even before this discovery, several Graeco-Illyrian helmets came from similar contexts and which al ready indicated that there was a practice of ritual deposition of such specific offerings in rivers. The best representatives of that group are helmets discovered in the river Sava near Sisak (Vuković 1994, 106, 254 fig. 122), between Županja and Orašje (Vasić 1982, 7 f. fig. 1) and Sremska Mitrovica (Vasić 1983, 76 f. fig. 1). Their location on the southern edge of Pannonia marks a very important west-east route that we have already discussed. The wide spatial distribution of such phenomena indicates the general notion of the important role that rivers had in religious practices connected to warriors. Perhaps some rivers, such as Sava or Cetina, had specific prominent place in cults. In both cases, the continuity of deposition of different weapons is extremely long. Finds from the river Cetina date as early as 6000 BC and a large number of metal and stone objects that have been retrieved from the river include over 60 Bronze Age swords, over 30 Graeco-Illyrian helmets, a Roman legionary dagger complete with sheath, as well as numerous items of jewellery, axes and spearheads. Although the river Sava has not yet produced such a remarkable record, the Late La Tène helmet recently discovered in Sava near Nova Gradiška also suggest long continuity of the ritual.

Another important fact is that the objects of prestige are rarely bought. They were probably received as gifts in a complex exchange scheme that was of crucial importance for development of the trade network between those very different cultures. Although it is well known in Greece (e. g. Fischer 1973), such intricate mechanisms of gift exchange were established in different communities in almost all periods all over the world. The ethnological research in last century showed that similar customs were preserved almost until today.

It is not a coincidence that, in many cases in the area between Pannonia and Greece, prestigious goods are defensive weapons. Their form and purpose make them objects of display that everyone can see and perceive as symbols of power and wealth. The best illustration of that idea are bronze helmets ornamented with applied gold sheets (*pl. 5,1*) that were discovered only on few sites in Macedonia. Such ornaments were found on several Graeco-Illyrian helmets at Sindos (Sindos 1985, 83 f., 127, 130 f. fig. 121, 199, 211) and on one such helmet from Trebenište (Vulić 1932, 34 f. fig. 55-56). There is also the Corinthian helmet ornamented in the same technique from Aghia Paraskevi (Sisimandis 1993, 170 ff.). One of many common features of cemeteries at Sindos and Trebenište are golden masks (*pl. 5,12*). Such masks were discovered only at three or four sites: Sindos (Sindos 1985, 80 ff. fig. 115, 239, 282, 322, 451), Trebenište (Filov 1927, tab. I,1; Popović 1956, tab. 1-2), an unknown site from Chalcidice – now in the Stathatos collection (V. Popović 1966, 24 fig. 13) and Petilep near Beranci where a typologically different mask was discovered in a female cremation grave (Mikulčić 1965, 219 fig. 9). Because of the immense cultural and temporal gap we cannot consider it to be a revival of ancient Mycenaean burial custom. However, it seems to be a characteristic feature of elite burials at this specific period in Macedonia which is fundamentally foreign to this area and could be considered southern import, perhaps connected with small-scale migration (V. Popović 1964; 1966, 23 ff.). At least two masks from Sindos (Sindos 1985, 148 f., 276 f. fig. 239-240, 451-452), the mask from the Stathatos collection (V. Popović 1966, 24 fig. 13), and probably some from Trebenište were used in combination with the Graeco-Illyrian helmets, but never with helmets ornamented with gold sheets. It seems that those two ornamental techniques excluded each other or occupied the same conceptual niche. Perhaps they were reflection of more subtle stratification within the social stratum of the warrior elite.

We also already discussed the multi-headed pins of the Donja Dolina type and luxurious whetstones from Glasinac *(pl. 4)* as examples of conceptual units that could have been 'picked up' by the stream of ideas that went from Greece towards Pannonia.

In the second half of the 7th and the first half of the 6th century BC, the southern imports that travelled across Central Balkans reached Pannonia through Donja Dolina. At that point they reached the other important trade route that went along the river Sava, connecting the eastern Alpine area and the Danubian Basin *(fig. 3)*. Recent research in the distribution of the multi-headed pins of the Donja Dolina type shows an eastern branch that went all the way to Romania (Majnarić-Pandžić 2002, 285 ff. fig. 2), confirming active communication with the Danubian Basin in that period. The preliminary results of the excavations at the Kaptol hillfort also support this thesis. Several types of pottery suggest even

[8] Preliminary communication by A. Milošević, V. Gaffney and the University of Birmingham.

closer relations with Donja Dolina, as well as with the Danubian Basin (Potrebica 2004).

Later, in the late 6th and the 5th century the southern communication route shifted more to the east. In that period it went from the Central Balkan cultural centres (e. g. Glasinac) straight towards the Danube *(fig. 3)*. In the area of eastern Slavonia, Srijem and Vojvodina this period is marked by strong Balkan influences, such as the specific types of fibulae with triangular or trapezoidal catch-plate and knob (Vasić 1999, 89 ff.). R. Vasić interprets those influences rather as signs of an Illyrian intrusion, probably from the area of the Glasinac Culture, than as the result of trade (Vasić 1983, 77). Nine skeletal graves on the Early Iron Age cremation necropolis Lijeva Bara in Vukovar (with 101 incineration burials) provide an argument for foreign ethnic elements, especially because of the richly ornamented whetstone *(pl. 4,6)*, similar to already discussed objects from Glasinac, that were discovered in one of those graves (Vinski/Vinski-Gasparini 1962, 271 tab. 3-4; Balen-Letunić 1996, 32 ff. fig. 16-17). However, the fact that similar objects were also found in Kaptol and that the same grave also contained a fibula of the Vače type which came from the Alpine area, suggest a more complex explanation for these phenomena. The Graeco-Illyrian helmet from Sremska Mitrovica probably also came from the Glasinac area. Further east, following the Danube, we reach Romania which is the most eastern area of the Graeco-Illyrian helmets. All three helmets from Romania belong to the late phase of those helmets and could be dated to the 5th century BC (Berciu 1958, 447 f.). The examples of the same type from Trstenik (M. Garašanin 1973, 511 tab. 111) and Ražana (M. Garašanin 1957, 37 ff. fig. 1) in Serbia suggest a south-eastern route of distribution of those helmets, along the rivers Vardar and Morava. However, if we take into consideration the eastern distribution of the 6th and 5th century BC Glasinac fibulae types (Vasić 1999, 89 ff. pl. 64B; Bader 1983, pl. 49-50; Teržan 1984, 12 ff. fig. 17-18), it seems more probable that helmets also came from the area of the Glasinac Culture which was at peak of its power at that time (Vasić 1983, 79). On the other hand, if that is the case, we still do not have satisfactory explanation for lack of contemporary Graeco-Illyrian helmets in the "core area" of the Glasinac Culture, even in rich princely burials. Another open question is whether those helmets reached Romania as a result of limited population movement (such as intrusion of organized warrior groups), or if they are actual imports from the Central Balkan area (Berciu 1958, 449 f.; Vasić 1983, 79).

Import of Technology vs. Imitation – Shape, Concept or something else

Imitation is perhaps the best illustrated with the objects of display. Such objects can be results of technological import (e. g. the fortification elements at Heuneburg), the import of prestigious goods (e. g. defence weapons and bronze vessel sets), or just individual elements of attire. Their common denominator is the imitation of appearance achieved by objects of material culture, with limited awareness of the original context of those objects or their conceptual value. The simple illustration of that is the fibula of the Vače type characteristic for the Alpine area of the Hallstatt Culture that was originally part of the female attire. If we compare the distribution map of that type of fibulae and with the context of finds, we notice that in the area of origin it strictly keeps to its conceptual position within the female attire (usually cremation graves). With distance, the original context fades and conceptual value diminishes. The result of that is the appearance of an example in a male skeletal grave at Vukovar - Lijeva Bara site.[9] Sets of vessels for ritual and/or social feasting also fall into the category of religious concepts equally characteristic of Pannonia and Greece. The ritual feast played an important role in the warrior and heroic dimension of the Iron Age religion, in the Hallstatt region as well as further south (Potrebica 2001, 72). This ancient concept could have roots way back in early Indo-European religion. That is maybe why it was so readily accepted in such a broad area from Mediterranean to Central Europe.

Luxurious sets of bronze vessels imported for that purpose both in Central Europe and Balkans demonstrate characteristic features of prestigious objects as objects of display, and the discussion of that subject would take us too far. Instead, we will rapidly discuss their pottery counterparts. A large number of such sets have been found in the wide territory of the Hallstatt Culture.[10] In Kaptol, that category includes cups with single handles *(pl. 1,10)*, two ceramic situlas *(pl. 2,7)*, a cist *(pl. 2,5)* and a footed cup, and finally the most impressive set from tumulus XII: an askos, two ceramic tripods and three big black food storage jars. Pottery imitations of bronze vessels *(pl. 2,4-7)* are not just a mere reflection of an inferior community that could not afford the "real stuff". Pottery is one of the most important archaeological

[9] Another example of that are certain types of Balkan fibulae that are imitated outside of their original areas, but without true understanding of its technology or functional elements like those from Gorica (Truhelka 1899, 353 f. fig. 13-16).

[10] These and their cult significance were discussed in detail by G. Kossack (Kossack 1964).

denominators of any culture and the drinking set is a specific group of vessels used for a conceptually well-defined purpose. The acceptance and transcription of these characteristic shapes indicates a transfer on deeper conceptual level. At the same time, although the original objects (e. g. sets of imported bronze vessels) have the role of prestigious goods, their cultural and conceptual impact in many cases remains superficial.

The askoi that are related to the complex symbolism of bovines and fertility and tripods that have numerous mythological references are perhaps the most prominent elements of such sets. They have counterparts both in the Italian/Alpine and the Greek/Balkan zones. The origin of initial conceptual impulse is hard to establish. Because of their complex symbolic connotations, it is difficult to determine whether it is simple imitation of a form or a transformation of a concept already present.

Eastern influences played a crucial role in the process of social and cultural change at the end of the Late Bronze Age in Pannonia that resulted in the Hallstatt Culture. Among a wide variety of differently dated objects bearing eastern characteristics, the most important group is that of the so called, "Cimmerian" bronzes. These mainly consist of bronze horse equipment dated into the 8th and the first half of the 7th century BC (Kossack 1980, 109 ff.). Although the idea behind these objects definitely came from the East, the analysis of their distribution marked them as Pannonian types, being much more present in Central Europe and Pannonia than in southern Russia (Bouzek 1997, 199 ff.; Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, fig. 99-100, 107, 110, 113, 136, 138, 147, 154). Although a new form of horse harness and riding was developed on the other side of the Carpathians and the new production techniques could not be transferred without some contacts with these populations[11], the actual objects show independent and local characteristics probably continuing the local metallurgical tradition (Potrebica 2001, 63).

Therefore, horse gear is more reaction than imitation. It is an import of technological solutions to a given problem. Although such objects appear in context of Pannonian Cultures at the time when they were more aware of the areas where prototypes of such objects were created, the impulse for their production came from within. It is class of locally produced objects that were at one point equally characteristic of Pannonian and Caucasian Cultures. The sociological structure of Pannonian Cultures at the dawn of the Iron Age adapts in response to impulses reaching this area from the east. Therefore, horse gear appears as technological innovation caused by changes from within the society. The idea, prototype or technology, were initially imported, but the production was organized locally and those objects appeared as fully integrated elements of the material culture of a local society.

Imitation is plainly visible in intracultural relations within more or less compact cultural units such as were Greek, or even better Hellenistic and Roman cultural koines. In such cases, objects and ideas are part of the same general knowledge and the intended effect of the imitation is plainly visible. An interesting example are ship cargoes containing imitations of amphorae characteristic of the famous wine-growing areas. Amphorae of characteristic shape would be considered to contain such high-quality product, but imitations of those amphorae probably contained wine of lesser quality and they were sold at culturally more distant parts of Mediterranean to indigenous population that presumably couldn't tell the difference – the concept that is not altogether strange to our times.

On the other hand, it is very hard to establish a simple 'imitation' in intercultural relations and long distance trade. In those cases, it is always part of more complex notions related to import and cultural transfer and somehow always lingers on the vague borders of different conceptual categories.

[11] The most important recent contributions to the subject are those of C. Metzner-Nebelsick (1998; 2002).

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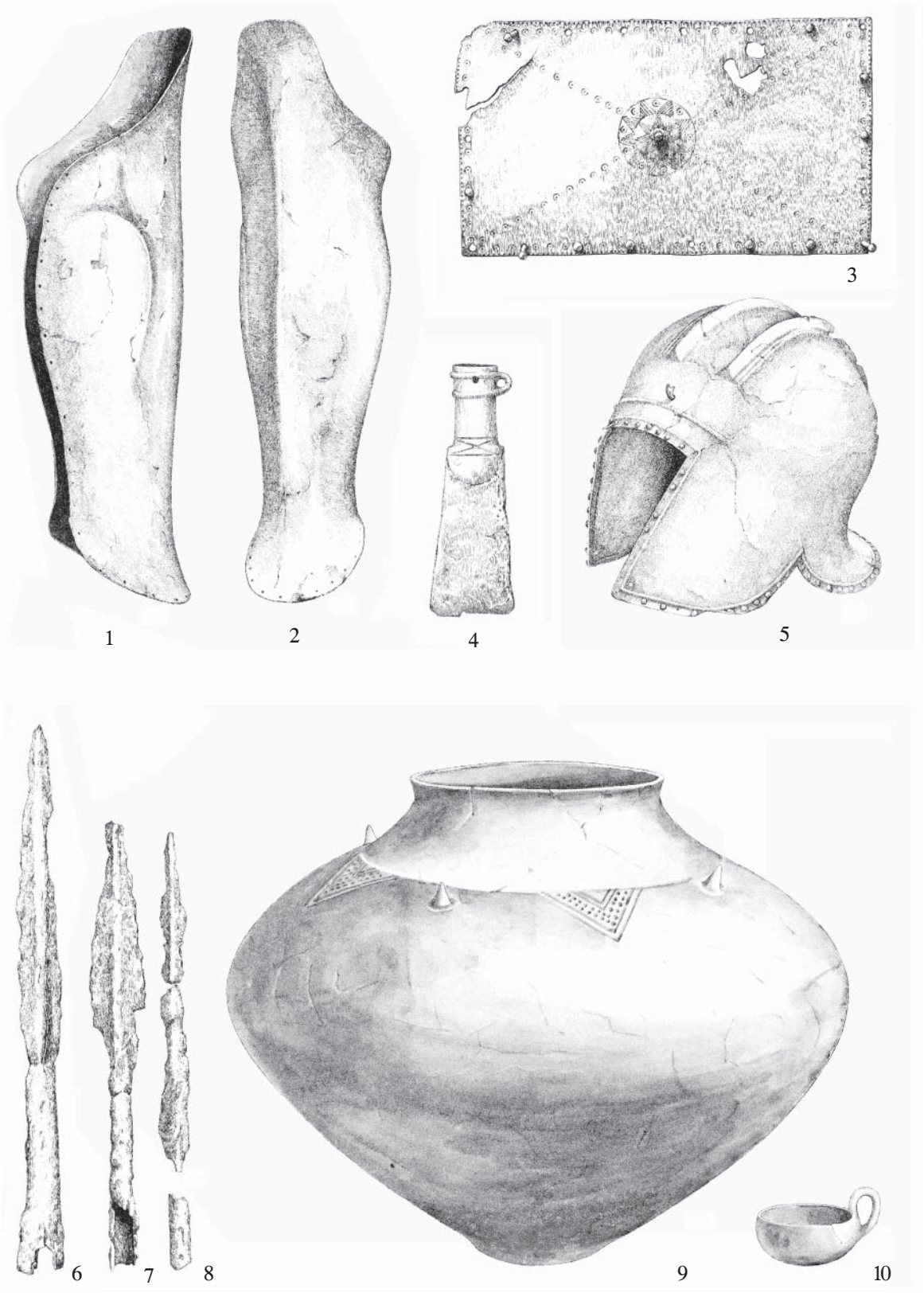
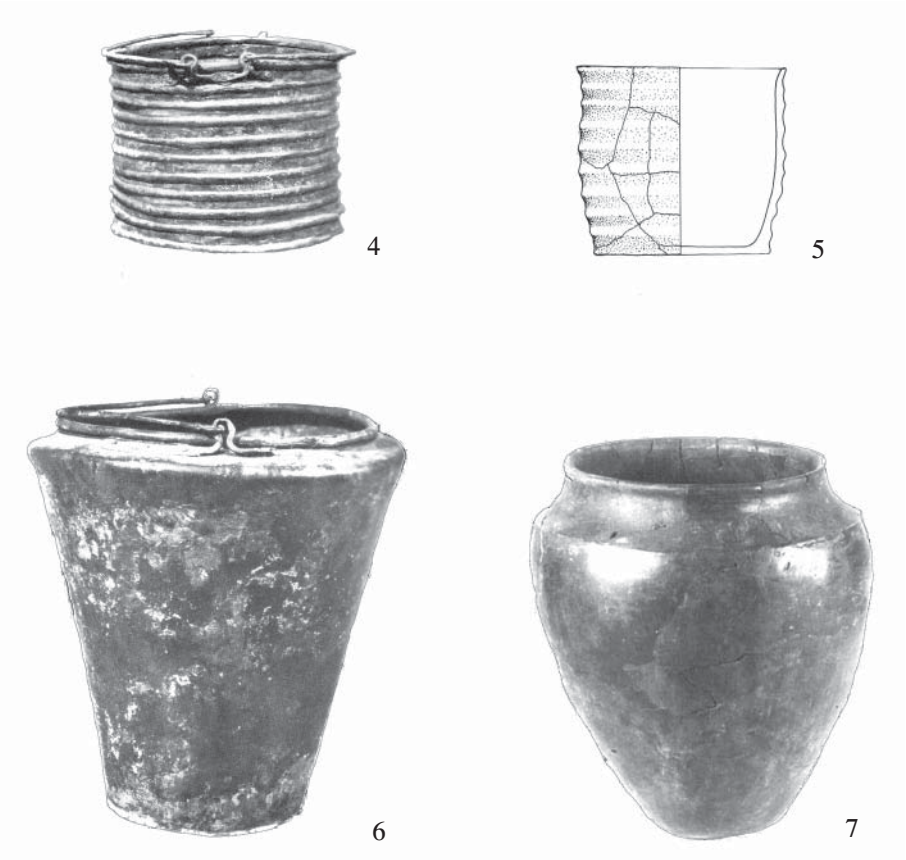
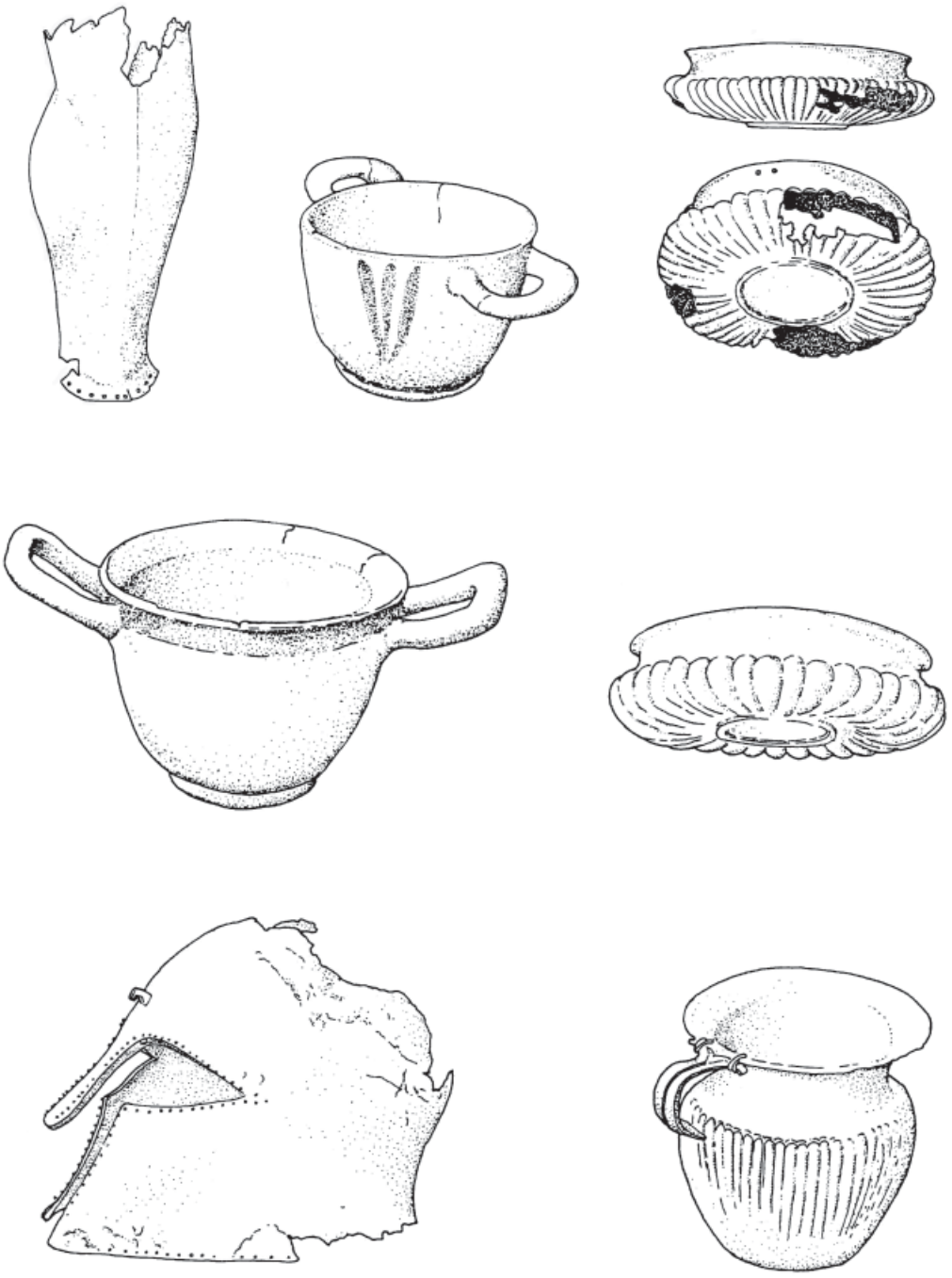


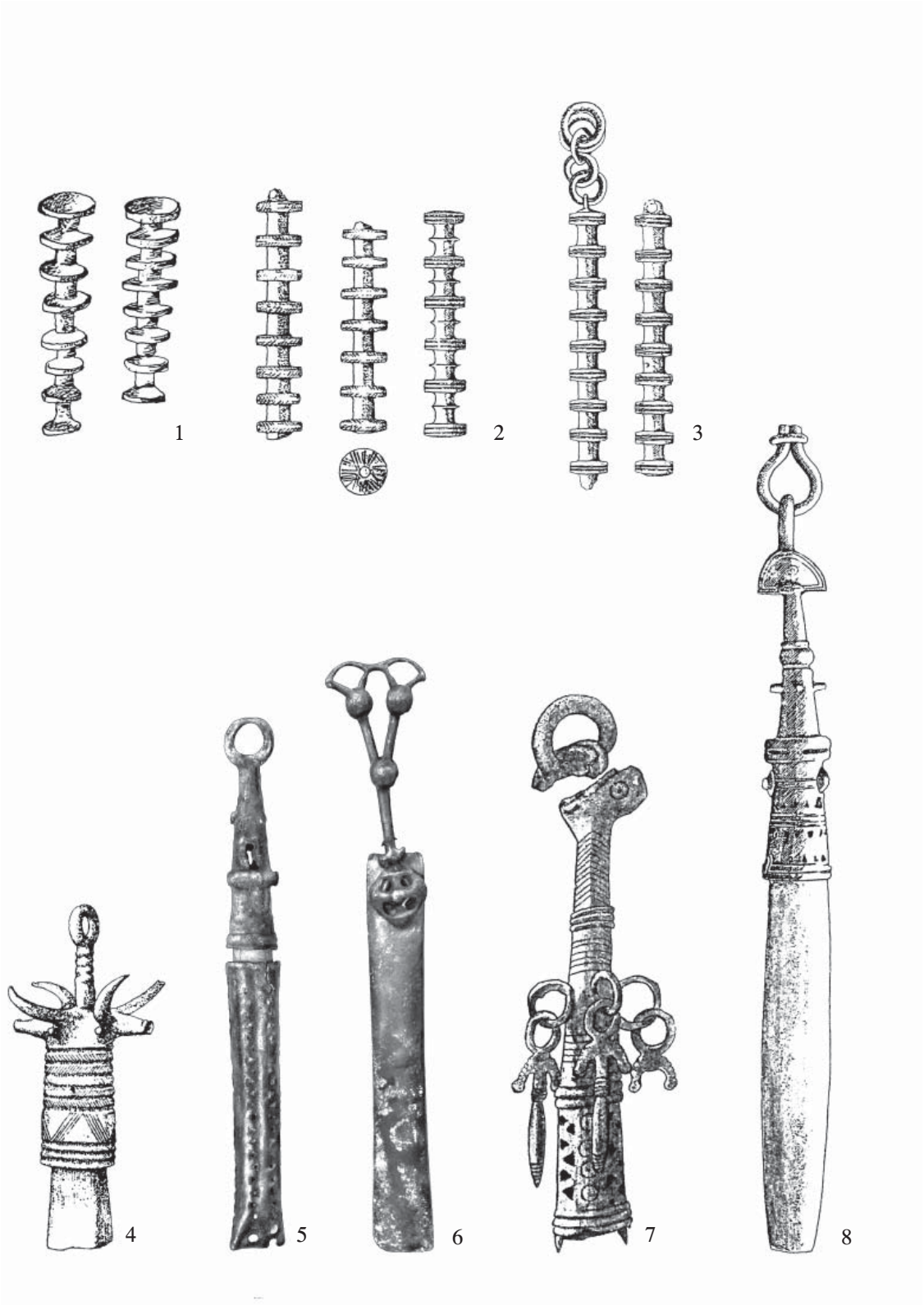
Pl. 1. Part of the grave goods of the princely tumulus IV at Kaptol (after Vinski-Gasparini 1987)



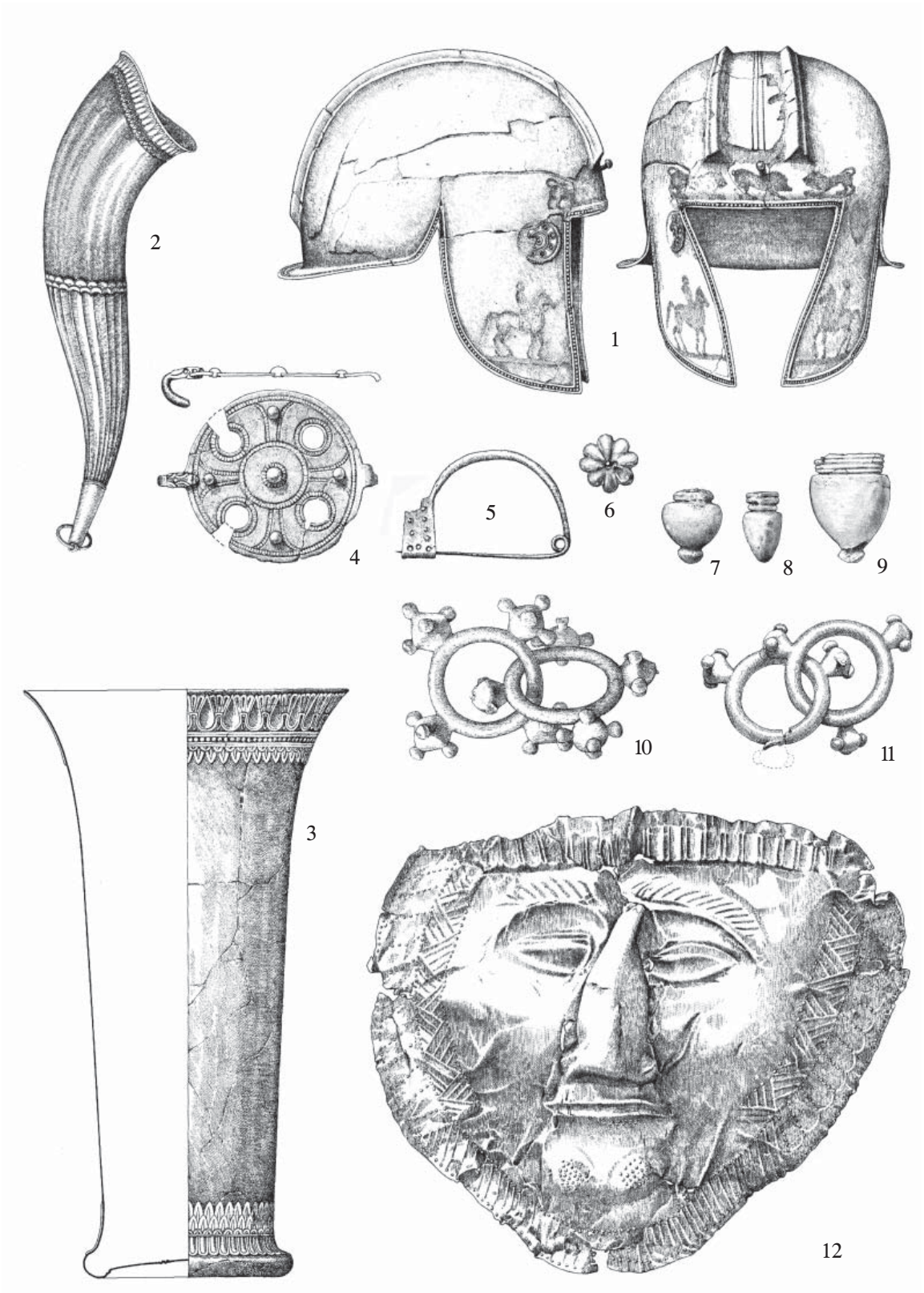
Pl. 2. 1-3. Greek import at Kaptol (after Potrebica 1998); 4-7. Bronze vessels from tumulus IV at Kandija in Novo Mesto (1 and 3) and their ceramic counterparts from tumulus VII in Kaptol (2 and 4) (after Knez 1986 and Potrebica 2000)



Pl. 3. Greek imports at Glasinac (after Kromer 1986)



Pl. 4. Multi-headed pins of the Donja Dolina type and whetstone "sceptres" (1. 4. 5. Kaptol; 2. Donja Dolina; 3. 7. 8. Glasinac; 6. Vukovar) (after Potrebica 2000; Vinski-Gasparini 1987; Benac/Čović 1957; Čović 1987a and b)



Pl. 5. Finds from the princely burials at Trebenište (after Vasić 1987)