

RASTKO VASIĆ
Arheološki institut
Beograd

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GREEK BRONZE VESSELS FOUND IN YUGOSLAVIA

A b s t r a c t: In this paper the author speaks of Greek bronze vessels found on the territory of Yugoslavia and discerns three periods of importation. The earliest period (cca 650—550 B.C.) embraces some twenty vases from the interior of the Balkan peninsula (Glasinac, Pilatovići, Donja Dolina). In the second period (cca 550—450 B.C.) the finds are abundant and come not only from the interior but also from bordering areas to the Greek world (Trebenište, Novi Pazar, Atenica etc.) Finally, from the middle of the 5th century Greek vases became rare in the hinterland and are found mostly in Macedonia — region which was Hellenised to a large extent at this time.

Greek penetration into the interior of the Balkan peninsula and the subsequent relationship between the Greeks and natives, during the Early Iron Age, is one of the most interesting questions in our protohistory and has been the subject of intensive study for many years¹. Bearing in mind the scarcity of data by the ancient authors, concerning the north Balkan region as well as the fact that there were no early Greek colonies in these parts, our best sources of knowledge are the archaeological finds — pottery, jewelry, arms, metal vessels — characteristic Greek types found in the north, and the Balkanic forms discovered in Greece.

Many of these Greek forms in the Balkans, for example pottery and arms, have been the subject of particular studies² which are a great help in understanding the Greco-Balkanic relationship. However, bronze vessels, one of the most obvious signs of Greek penetration to the north are referred to on various occasions but have not been treated in particular. Our intention here is to touch briefly this question.

The earliest bronze vessels of foreign make, found in Yugoslavia, which can be connected with Greek trade are dated in the period between the middle of the 7th and the middle of the 6th centuries. Most of them are found in the Glasinac area (east Bosnia) — Bjelosavići,

¹ „Iliri i Grci“ Catalogue of the exhibition, Belgrade 1959; M. Parović Pešikan, *O karakteru grčkog materijala na Glasincu i putevima njegovog prodiranja*, Starařin n. s. XI, 1960, 21—45; M. Parović-Pešikan, *Les Illyriens au contact des Grecs*, Arch. Jugoslavica V, 1964, 61—81; M. Nikolanci, *Contacts gréco-illyriens sur la coté est de l'Adriatique*, Arch. Jugoslavica V, 1964, 49—60; M. Nikolanci, *Arhajski import u Dalmaciji*, Vjesnik za Arheol. i Hist. dalm. 68, 1966, 89—118; „Antička Bronza u Jugoslaviji“ Catalogue of the exhibition, Belgrade 1969 (further in the text, Antička bronza); Lj. Popović, *Archaic Greek Culture in the Middle Balkans*, Beograd 1975.

² D. Vučković-Todorović, *La céramique grecque et hellénistique dans l'est de la Yougoslavie*, Rev. Arch. 1973/1, 39—52; P. Lisičar, *Cenni sulla ceramica antica*, Arch. Jugoslavica XIV, 1973, 3—27; R. Vasić, *Prilog proučavanju grčkog oružja u Jugoslaviji*, Godišnjak Centra za Balk. isp. XX, Sarajevo 1982, 3—24.

Iljak, Brezje, Osovo, Čitluci, Potpećine, Brankovići³ — while occasional pieces came from the neighbourhood — Donja Dolina by Bosanska Gradiška⁴ and Pilatovići by Užička Požega⁵. They represent for the most part phialae mesomphaloi, plain or ornamented with lotus leaves and griffon heads, fluted bowls, large bowls with embossed rims, while there are also single finds of an oinochoe and of a cup with sharply offset lip and (broken) iron handles.

Although all these vases should be considered more or less as a group which belongs to the same chronological horizon in the Balkan Iron Age culture, certain chronological nuances can perhaps be discerned. On account of the parallels outside the Balkans one usually dates fluted bowls and large bowls in the 7th century B. C.⁶, i.e. somewhat earlier than the influx of phialae mesomphaloi. These two types remained in use also during the 6th century⁷, but our examples on account of their form are probably not later than the beginning of the 6th century. This applies also to two vessels from Pilatovići — a fluted bowl and a large bowl — found in a female grave which dates at the earliest from the end of the first half of the 6th century⁸. Originating in the Near East, fluted bowls and large bowls with embossed rims occur more frequently in Italy than in Greece⁹, and one supposes, perhaps correctly, that our examples might have reached the interior of the Balkans by way of Italy¹⁰. They were found in Greece

³ *Bjelosavići*: F. Hochstetter, *Mitt. Anthr. Gesell.* Wien 10, 1881, 289 ff. T. II, 1. *Iljak*, *mound II, grave 1*: F. Fiala, WMBH III, 1895, 6—9, Fig. 5—7, 13; A. Benac — B. Čović, *Glasinac* 2, Sarajevo 1957, 70, T. XVIII. *Iljak*, *mound grave 1*: F. Fiala, WMBH III, 1895, 16, Fig. 41. *Brezje*, *Mound I, graves 1 and 2*: A. Benac — B. Čović, *Glasinac* 2, 72, T. XXIII, 1. 8. 9. *Osovo*, *mound II, grave 1*: F. Fiala, WMBH VI, 1899, 39—43, Fig. 15—16; A. Benac — B. Čović, *Glasinac* 2, 73, T. XXVIII, 1, 2. *Čitluci*, *mound I, grave 5*: F. Fiala, WMBH I, 1893, 133—137, Fig. 19—20; A. Benac — B. Čović, *Glasinac* 2, 75, T. XXX, 5. The graves with bronze vessels from *Potpećine* and *Brankovići* are mentioned in WMBH I, 1893, 160 and WMBH VI, 1899, 27—28. For other informations about these objects I thank very much Dr. B. Čović.

⁴ Z. Marić, *Donja Dolina*, *Glasnik Zem. Muz. n. s. XIX*, Sarajevo 1964, 37, T. XII, 2.

⁵ For the informations about the finds in Pilatovići I thank very much Dr M. Zotović.

⁶ F. Matz, *Clio* 30, 1937, 110—117; F. Villard, *Monuments Piot* 48/2, 1956, 31ff. H. Luscher, *Die Phiale*, Bleicherode Harz 1939, 76ff.

⁷ Comp. E. Gjerstad, *The Sweden Cyprus Expedition IV*, 2, Stockholm 1948, 150, Fig. 28 and 405ff.; D. Lollini, *Sintesi della Civiltà Picena*, Jadranska obala u protohistoriji, Zagreb 1976, 132, T. VIII, 3—4, 138, T. XII, 2, 146, T. XV, 9.

⁸ Spectacle fibulae, boat fibulae and small fibulae with the catch-plate in the form of a Boeotian shield were in use during the 6th century, while an astragal belt similar to the example from Arareva Gromila at Glasinac (A. Benac — B. Čović, *Glasinac* 2, T. XL, 4) should not be earlier than the middle of the same century.

⁹ F. Matz, *Clio* 30, 110 ff.; H. Hencken, *Amer. Journ. of Arch.* 62, 1958, 265—267. Comp. also A. Minto, *Le ultime scoperte archelooogiche di Populonia*, *Mon. Ant.* 34, 1931, 363 ff. T. X—XI.

¹⁰ M. Parović-Pešikan, *Starinar n. s. XI*, 23; A. Benac — B. Čović, *Glasinac* 2, 35. On the relations between the Glasinac area and Italy, comp. B. Govedarica, *Prilog razmatranju kulturnih veza Balkana i jugoistočne Italije u starijem željeznom dobu*, *Putevi i komunikacije u praistoriji*, *Materijali arh. društva Jugosl. XVI*, Peć 1978, 77—89.

too and their Greek provenience can not be definitely excluded¹¹, but a slight chronological difference between these and other bronze vases may point to some extent to a different source of import.

The Greek origin of other bronze vessels of this period is more convincing. Plain phiale mesomphaloi and lotus phiale are discovered in large numbers in Greece, particularly in Corinth¹², and we can suppose that our examples came from this direction. Phialae mesomphaloi appeared in Greece in the 7th century though the main lot is dated to the 6th century B.C.¹³ It is supposed that the deeper phialae (scale between height and diameter 1 : 3 and 1 : 4) are older than the shallow examples (scale 1 : 5 and 1 : 6) but this general tendency can not be taken as a rule without exceptions¹⁴. Yet on this account we suppose that phialae mesomphaloi appeared in the interior of the Balkans in the second half of the 7th century and that most of them belong to the 6th century B.C.¹⁵

GLASINAC

Bjelosavić



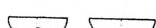
Branković 1896 V,₁



Brezje 1895 I,₁



Brezje 1895 I,₂



Čitluci 189 I,₅



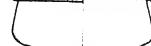
Ilijak 1893 II,₁



Ilijak 1893 XIII,₁



Osovo 1897 II,₁



Potpećine 1892 XVII,₁



PILATOVIĆI



DONJA DOLINA



Fig. 1. Greek bronze vessels in Yugoslavia between 640 and 550 B. C.

¹¹ H. Payne, *Perachora*, Oxford 1940, 151, n. 8.

¹² Ibid., 148—156, T. 51—56; C. Blegen, H. Palmer, R. Young, *The North Cemetery, Corinth XIII*, 1964, 95, Pl. 81, Fig. 10.

¹³ H. Payne, *Perachora*, 149.

¹⁴ Ibid., 150; H. Lushey, *Die Phiale*, 38.

¹⁵ The phiale from Ilijak II, 1 measures 1 : 3, but the one from mound XIII, 1 almost 1 : 5. The Brezje examples are deeper, ca. 1 : 3, the Osovo piece ca. 1 : 4.. while the Donja Dolina example measures after Marić's reconstruction ca. 1 : 3,

Bronze phialae from Potpećine and Brankovići have incised animal figures which most probably represent griffon heads, but their poor state of preservation does not enable us to say anything more precisely¹⁶. They arrived probably from the same source as the lotus phialae: the bronze phialae with griffon heads are discovered only in Perachora and Olympia¹⁷, while a variation of the decoration appears on a bowl from the collection Tyskiewicz, found in Sovana, Etruria, which is believed to be also of Corinthian origin¹⁸. All these finds are dated to the first half and the third quarter of the 7th century but our examples may be somewhat later. The phiales in Brankovići was found together with local jewelry from the middle of the 6th century, while in Potpećine, beside the griffon phiale, a lotus phiale is found similar in type to the example from Donja Dolina which points to the first half of the 6th century as a possible date for this grave¹⁹.

According to the form, the oinochoe from Bjelosavići is probably Corinthian²⁰, while the cup from the Ilijak has parallels in Greece as well as in Italy²¹.

The next period embraces the second half of the 6th and the first half of the 5th centuries in which a change in the character of imported bronze vessels is obvious. The body of a vase is hammered as before, but the mouth, handles and foot, as Payne underlined, are cast separately thus assuming a new importance²². The main find of this period is Trebenište dated mainly to the second half of the 6th century B.C.²³. Several dozens of bronze vessels from this site represent almost all Greek types known in this period: craters, tripods, stands, hydriae, amphorae, basins with handles on tripod feet, phialae, etc. Although

¹⁶ For all details on these vessels I thank Dr. B. Čović.

¹⁷ H. Payne, *Perachora*, 154, T. 51, 1—3; A. Furtwängler, *Olympia IV*, 1890 141—142, Nr. 883, T. 52. Comp. J. D. Beazley, *Antike Kunst* 4, Basel 1961, 600 ff.

¹⁸ W. Froehner, *La Collection Tyskiewich*, München 1896, T. XV; H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, Oxford 1931, 271; H. V. Hermann, *Olymp. Forschungen* XI, 1979, 129, n. 32.

¹⁹ Comp. R. Vasić, *Donja dolina i Makedonija*, Godišnjak Centra za Balk. isp. XIV, Sarajevo, 1975, 87—89.

²⁰ Comp. H. Payne, *Perachora*, 158, T. 58, 3—4; similar pottery shapes comp. H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, Fig. 10 A—B.

²¹ H. Payne, *Perachora*, 157, T. 58, 2; A De Ridder, *Catalogue des bronzes trouvés sur l'Acropole d'Athènes*, Paris 1896, 38, Fig. 12. Comp. also H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, 210, Fig. 96 c, but also, Tomba Castelani, scavi 1861, in Villa Giulia in Rome.

²² H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, 209.

²³ B. Filow — K. Schkropil, *Die archaische Nekropole von Trebenischte am Ochrida See*, Berlin—Leipzig 1927; N. Vulić, *Das neue Grab von Trebenischte*, Arch. Anzeiger 1930, 276—299; ... *Ein neues Grab bei Trebenischte*, Jahreshefte d. Oest. Arch. Inst. 28, 1932, 164—186; —*Neue Gräber bei Trebenischte*. Arch. Anzeiger 1933, 459—486; —*La nécropole archaïque de Trebenishte*, Rev. Arch. 1934, 26—38. V. Lahtov — J. Kastelic, *Novi istraživanja na nekropolata „Trebenište“ 1953—1954*, Lihnid I, 1957, 5—58. Lj. Popović, *Katalog nalaza iz nekropole kod Trebeništa*, Narodni muzej Beograd 1956.

Chalcidian influence is visible on some of the Trebenište finds, Peloponnesian manufacture, direct or indirect by way of the south Italian colonies, seems to prevail²⁴.

Other finds in Macedonia show similar characteristics though less versatility. A crater and an amphora which have parallels in Trebenište are found in Beranci-Petilep near Bitola²⁵, a handle of an amphora comes from Donja Bjelica near the Lake of Ohrid²⁶ and a handle of a basin from Stobi²⁷. A group of bronze vessels from Radolište on the Lake of Ohrid (phiale, cauldron)²⁸ should be later than the Trebenište horizon. A number of figural elements which probably belonged to bronze vases was discovered in Macedonia — maenad in Tetovo, goats in Gevgelija and Trap near Bitola²⁹, and also in Kosovo — a running girl from Prizren and a handle of a mirror or patera in the form of a youth from Janjevo³⁰.

There are important finds of bronze vessels in Serbia, in Novi Pazar and Atenica, whose origin is most probably south Italy. The Novi Pazar find provided a hydria, basins, a phiale, an amphora, a cista and a strainer³¹, while in Atenica, in spite of the poor state of preservation, one can discern from the fragments one or two basins and a crater with roll-handles like the example from Beranci-Petilep. A golden plaque in the form of a boar belonged perhaps to a bronze vessel³². Glasinac did not produce much in this period: an archaic silver boar, dated ca. 530 B.C., from Zagradje similar to figural plaques from Atenica and Trebenište can be connected with fragments of a thin bronze vessel from the same grave³³. Finally a handle of a basin from Pod, central Bosnia³⁴ is similar to the corresponding objects from Trebenište and Novi Pazar and should be dated to the end of the 6th century.

²⁴ B. Filow — K. Schkropil, op. cit., 101 ff.; H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, 109; I, Κουλσιμανη — Βοκοτοπουλου. Χαλκαι Κορινθιουργεις προχοτ. Athens 1975, 182.

²⁵ I. Mikulčić, *Pelagonija u svetlosti arheoloških nalaza*, Skopje—Beograd 1966, 37—38, Fig. 20.

²⁶ N. Vučić, Arch. Anzeiger 1933, 479, Fig. 18.

²⁷ Antička bronza, 75, Nr. 50.

²⁸ Lj. Popović, *Radolište*, Zbornik Narodnog Muzeja I, Beograd 1956, 75 ff. T. VI, 23/1, 24/1: VII, 1/I, 78/I.

²⁹ N. Vučić, Arch. Anzeiger 1933, 480, Fig. 19—20; Lj. Popović, *Archaic Greek Culture in the middle Balkans*, 78, Fig. 2. B. B. Filow — K. Schkropil, op. cit., 54, Fig. 53; I. Mikulčić, *Pelagonija* . . . , 38.

³⁰ W. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, London 1929, 97—98, T. 33a; Lj. Popović, *Archaic Greek Culture in the middle Balkans*, 78, Fig. 3.

³¹ Dj. Manožisi — Lj. Popović, *Der Fund von Novi Pazar (Serbien)*, 50 Bericht RGK, 1969, 195—20; Novi Pazar, *Ilirsko-grčki nalaz*, Narodni Muzej Beograd 1969.

³² M. Djuknić — B. Jovanović, *Illyrian Princely Necropolis at Atenica*, Arch. Jugoslavica VI, 1965, 16 ff. T. XVII, 4—10, XX, 18, XXIII, 15—19; — *Illyrian Princely Tombs in Western Serbia*, Archaeology 19, 1, 1966, 43—51.

³³ Zagradje, mound I, grave 3 — F. Fiala, WMBH VI, 51, Fig. 51.

The earliest imported bronze vases in the Adriatic, showing parallels in the East Mediterranean, can be ascribed to the 6th century, though their character is completely different: a bowl with knobs around the rim and a fragment of a vessel with figures of griffons are isolated finds, perhaps from Salona³⁵.

A new chronological horizon, dated from the second half of the 5th to the end of the 4th centuries, shows again differences in the character of bronze vessels finds. The mayor part comes from Macedonia: the most important finds are Demir Kapija³⁶ and Beranci-Crkvište³⁷ while one should mention also Graešnica³⁸, Izbište by Resen³⁹, Prilep⁴⁰, Kruševica, Živojno and Prilepec⁴¹, etc.⁴² A significant group of bronze vessels was discovered in Ždanec in Skopje⁴³. Large necropolises around the Lake of Ohrid — Trebeniško Kale, Openica and Arapski Grobišta produced ca. 15 bronze vases but, they belong to the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. in spite of Lahtov's attempts to place the early graves of these cemeteries in the 4th century⁴⁴.

The most frequent forms which we meet in Macedonia are situlae with plaques in the form of human and animal heads, cantharoi with elaborate handles, aribaloi, bowls, ladles, cauldrons etc. Parallels for almost all of these forms are to be found in Greek Macedonia from where they were probably imported and where the influence of Chalcidic cities, with a noticeable Attic touch, was prevalent⁴⁵.

In the interior of the Balkans bronze vessels are scarce in this period. Exceptions are two jugs with fluted bodies and a strainer from

³⁴ B. Čović, *Die Inschrift von Bugojno und ihre Chronologie*, Arch. Jugoslavica V, 1964, 29, Fig. 30.

³⁵ M. Nikolanci, *Maloazijski import u istočnom Jadranu*, Jadranska obala u protohistoriji, 274, T. I, 2; II, 4; ... Antička bronza, 76, Nr. 52.

³⁶ D. Vučković-Todorović, *Antička Demir Kapija*, Starinar n.s. XII, 1961, 238—240, Fig. 16—20; Antička Bronza, 77, Nr. 56. B. Соколовска, Археолошките ископувања во Демир Капија, Maced. Acta Arch. 4, 1978, 107.

³⁷ I. Mikulčić, *Pelagonija*..., 56, Fig. 29.

³⁸ Antička bronza, 77, No. 54.

³⁹ Antička bronza, 78, No. 58.

⁴⁰ K. Кепески, Хеленистичката некропола под Марковите кули, Maced. Acta Arch. 1, 1975, 156, 160, T. II, 3.

⁴¹ I. Mikulčić, *Pelagonija*..., 56, Fig. 30a—c.

⁴² Comp. J. Todorović, *Praistorijska Karaburma*, Beograd 1972, 58, n. 49.

⁴³ V. Sokolovska — R. Pašić, *Eden grob od Ždanec*, Zbornik Arheol. Muzeja VI—VII, Skopje 1975, 238—241, T. IV, 1, V. 1.

⁴⁴ V. Lahtov, *Arheološko iskopuvanje na „Trebeniško Kale“ kaj seloto Trebenište, Ohridsko, 1953—1954*, Lihnid II—III, 1959, 11..57, T. 16, 1—2, 17, 2—3, 18, 1—2, 23, 1, 32, 2. The vessels from Openica and Arapski grobišta, mentioned in the above paper, are not published.

⁴⁵ Comp, *Treasures of Ancient Macedonia*, Catalogue of the Exhibition, Thessaloniki 1979. Also, M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus X*, Baltimore 1941, 181 ff., Nos. 570—575, T. 37—38; 194 ff., T. 50.

Glasinac, Čitluci, found together with an Attic skyphos⁴⁶. They should be dated to the second half of the 5th century or even later, marking the beginning of a predominant Attic influence in these parts, evidence of which is confirmed in several ways in Yugoslav Macedonia⁴⁷. A bowl from Štrpcí, in which eight silver hinge fibulae were found, dates from the 4th century and should be paralleled with Ždanec⁴⁸. Two bronze vessels from Romaja by Prizren — a jug and a bowl — are later and have parallels in Trebeniško Kale⁴⁹. Further north two bronze vessels — a situla and a biconic bowl — were found in the Celtic cemetery at Karaburma, Belgrade. They are dated by Todorović to the beginning of the 3rd century and are most probably objects of the loot which was plundered in Greece during the Celtic invasion⁵⁰. The other finds of bronze vessels in the hinterland are later⁵¹.

Finds on the Adriatic coast are not so frequent in the 5th and 4th centuries as they are in Macedonia : some bronze vessels from Budva can be perhaps ranged within the 4th century B.C.⁵² One should mention here also the depot from Ošanići near Stolac where the greatest number of objects is dated to the first half of the 2nd, century B.C., but a bronze situla and a bronze square box are earlier, perhaps from the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 3rd century⁵³.

⁴⁶ F. Fiala, WMBH I, 1893, 139, Figs. 34—35. Comp. M. Parović-Pešikan, Starinar n. s. XI, 29 and 33. The strainer belongs to a type mainly in use at the end of the 6th and in the first half of the 5th century (Comp. A. Zannoni, Gli Scavi della Certosa di Bologna, Bologna 1876, grave 52, T. XXIX, 20—22; D. Lollini, *Jadran-ska obala u protohistoriji*, 146, T. XV, 12) and is perhaps a heritage from an earlier period. Two cups are finely fluted and seem to be typologically later than the cups from Bashova mogila, Duvanlij, put forwards as parallels (B. Filow, *Die Grabhügelnekropole bei Duvanlij in Südbulgarien*, Sofia 1934, 67, Fig. 84, 79, Fig. 100). Our vessels are very similar to a vase from Pudria, northwest Bulgaria, found in a grave with iron spearheads and a bronze situla decorated with plaques in the form of female heads (B. Nikolov, *Izvestija Arheol. Inst.* XXVIII, Sofija 1965, 172—173, Fig. 14).

⁴⁷ Comp. *Attic pottery in Demir Kapija* — especially two white lekythoi (D. Vučković-Todorović, Starinar n. s. XII, 245, Fig. 29) and three Attic grave steles in Yugoslav Macedonia (R. Vasić, *Živa Antika* XXI, 1, 1971, 281—286; V. Sokolovska, *Arch. Jugoslavica* XIX, 1978, 42—45).

⁴⁸ M. Hoernes, *Srebrni pokladni nalazak iz Štrbacu u Bosni*, Glasnik Zemalj. Muz. XIII, Sarajevo 1901, 531, Fig. 10.

⁴⁹ N. Djurić — J. Glišić — J. Todorović, *Praistorijska Romaja*, Prizren—Beograd 1975, 106, T. IV, 1—2.

⁵⁰ J. Todorović, *Praistorijska Karaburma*, 58, T. VIII, 1, 10; XLVI—XLVIII,

⁵¹ Comp. other bronze vessels from Karaburma which are later (ibid., 57—60), then an oinochoe from Bošnjani, Serbia (Ch. Picard, *Aigle et serpent*, Starinar n. s. XIII—XIV, 1964—65, 1ff., Fig. 1—2), etc. For a situla, said to be found be in Vače, M. Guštin, *Ein Bronzeeimer aus Vače*, Arch. Korrespondenzblatt 9, 1979/1, 87—89 T. 3.

⁵² Antička bronza, 78f., Nos. 59—62, 64.

⁵³ Z. Marić, *Depo pronadjen u ilirskom gradu Daors. . u*, Glasnik Zemalj. Muz. n. s. XXXIII, Sarajevo 1978, Arheologija, 51—56, T. XIX—XXII. Comp. also a plain bowl T. XXIV, 8.

Several miniature silver perfume boxes, belonging to this period and found at various sites — Plana by Bileća, Ždanec in Skopje and Bogdanovci in Slavonia — should be connected with jewelry rather than with bronze vessels⁵⁴.

On the basis of these scattered data a following development in the import of bronze vessels to the Yugoslav territory can be discerned.

Bronze vessels dated between 650 and 550 B.C. are found up to now only in the regions deep in the hinterland — in Bosnia and west Serbia and this situation is fully corroborated by imported arms : only sites far inland in Bosnia, Slavonia and Serbia produced Greek weapons in this period⁵⁵. In Yugoslav Macedonia and on the Adriatic coast these forms of import are absent. It seems that the areas, neighbouring on the Greek cities in Macedonia and the south Adriatic did not offer much possibility for trade and that the Greek caravans had to travel long distances north in search of interested buyers for their wares — the local markets like Donja Dolina on the river Sava, or the economically and politically strong tribal groups like those on the Glasinac plateau. These groups began to show some interest in foreign products, particularly in bronze vessels and defensive arms — the objects most likely to impress the barbaric chieftains at this stage of their rise to might and power in the distant Balkan mountains.

Yet in general, this contact was not extremely frequent judging by the quantity of imports and it is reflected in the Balkan finds from Greece. A number of west and central Balkan jewelry pieces and arms was found in the Greek temples and can be explained as the gifts received by the Greek merchants during their voyages into the far and unknown, rather than evidence that northern chieftains or their heralds wandered so far south.

The question is in fact a matter for discussion. One can not, exclude completely the possibility that some indigene noblemen travelled south to pay their respect to and consult with the Gods of Greece — the Glasinac sword in Delphi and a fragment of a greave in Olympia⁵⁶ may (but not necessarily) indicate this possibility — but it is hard to ascribe to the same provenience rare buttons, fibulae, belt buckles, bracelets and other *membra disiecta* of Balkan jewelry

⁵⁴ Č. Truhelka, *Bogati preistorički nalaz iz jedne gromile u Plani*, *Glasnik Zemalj. Muz.* XIII, 1901, 9, Fig. 10; V. Sokolovska — R. Pašić, *Zbornik Arheol. Muz.* VI—VII, 241, T. IV, 2; J. Brunšmid, *Preistorijski predmeti iz srijemske županije*, *Vjesn. Hrv. arh. društva* X, 1908—1909, 234ff. Fig. 23, 7.

⁵⁵ R. Vasić, *Godišnjak Centra za Balk.* isp. XX, 18—21.

⁵⁶ P. Perdrizet, *Fouilles de Delphes* V, 1908, 214, No. 749, Fig. 933; K. Kilian, *Germania* 51, 1973, 528ff. Fig. 2.

spread all over the Aegean⁵⁷. It seems to me more likely that it was the other way around. Simply, it was the period of extensive Greek colonisation and their penetration in various directions, the period when Greeks travelled and not the Balkan tribes who lived at this time in the gentile tradition and were principally interested in their immediate neighbours : how to make piece with them when it was necessary and how to rob their cattle when it was opportune.

The period between 550 and 450 B.C. shows a considerable change in the relationship between the Greeks and natives. Bronze vessels are found in much larger number and generally on the territory of Macedonia and south Serbia, as well as on the Adriatic coast -in the regions close to the Greek world. The import of other Greek products shows the same picture : weapons, in particular Illyrian helmets, are found in abundance in the same areas, Greek pottery, rare up to now, is more frequent, even some jewelry forms are imported and further developed by the local craftsmen. The Balkan market became more actual in the Greek commercial plans which is understandable because of the new political situation in the eastern Mediterranean and the Persian menace. On the other hand the continued economic development of some Balkan tribes and the formation of a new tribal aristocracy keen on breaking the gentile relationship, prepared a favourable ground for increased interest in foreign and luxurious wares. Even some Greek artisans seem to have stayed for a period at the so-called courts of this newly formed tribal class⁵⁸.

In Greece also the change is noticeable. Barbaric products are no longer kept in the shrines of the temples as examples of exotic taste in the finish of jewelry but some Balkan elements are adopted by the Greeks in their costume⁵⁹. The first half of the 5th century is particularly characterised by these tendencies.

From the second half of the 5th century the intensity of bronze vessel import to the Yugoslav territory is weakening. They are still found in large numbers in Yugoslav Macedonia, generally in the west (Pelagonia) and central regions (the Vardar valley) which were hellenised to a large degree at that time, but further north they are rare. Greek arms are absent from Macedonia in this horizon; the 'Illyrian' helmets are in vogue only in the west Balkans and are produced probably in a workshop close to these regions. Contact between the north

⁵⁷ K. Kilian, *Trachtzubehör der Eisenzeit zwischen Aegaeis und Adria*, Praeh. Zeitschrift 50, 1975, 105ff. T. 82—86, esp. pp. 119—120. Also, K. Kilian, *Bosnisch-herzegowinische Bronzen der Eisenzeit II aus Griechenland*, Godišnjak Centra za Balk Isp. XIII, Sarajevo 1976, 163—171. V. Pingel, 'Balkanische' bronzen in Sizilien und Unteritalien, Situla 20/21, 1980, 172—173.

⁵⁸ B. Čović, *Od Butmira do Ilira*, Sarajevo 1976, 312—319.

⁵⁹ F. e. double-shank pins, comp. R. Vasić, Praeh. Zeitschrift 57, 1982, 220 ff. Comp. N. Alfieri, P. E. Arias, M. Hirmer, Spina, München 1948, 32—33, T. 16—17, for the representation of an „M“ double-shank pin on the Boreas painter crater from Spina.

Balkans and Greece is shown mainly by the imported jewelry — ear-rings, fibulae, bracelets, miniature perfume boxes, etc., some of which were made perhaps by Greek artisans in the local workshops.

This change in the intensity of the relationship certainly has its historical background. It is obvious that the former powerfull tribal groups in Illyria — such as Trebenište and Glasinac — did not exist any more, having given place to new tribes not yet fully developed economically and politically, which it seems were occupied in small scale trading with the south. The Greeks on the other hand did not see much reward for their trade in these areas and directed their interest towards the East Balkans, toward Thrace. The possibility of new finds in Yugoslavia may modify this picture, but for the moment the Greek bronze vessels and arms found in Thrace fully corroborate this statement.

Whereas up to now some twenty bronze vessels and a number of imported arms from the period between 650 and 550 B. C. have been found in the west Balkan area, only one bronze vase — a plain phiale mesophalos from Sofronievo⁶⁰ — was discovered as far as I know on the Bulgarian territory. The first large imports of bronze vessels in Duvanij (mounds Mušovica and Kukuva mogila) are dated to the second quarter of the 5th century, i.e. after the Persian retreat from the Balkan peninsula⁶¹. From then on, throughout the second half of the 5th and the entire 4th centuries bronze vessels of various forms as well as Greek helmets and corslets are abundant in Thrace and are found in astonishingly larger numbers than in the West Balkan area⁶². Although the main finds are concentrated around Plovdiv, in the centers of the Odrysian kingdom, a considerable quantity of Greek products comes from north Bulgaria. An instructive example of such a center in north Thrace is the region of Vraca where the local tribe reached the peak of their power towards the middle of the 4th century which is best expressed through the luxurious metal vessels, jewelry and Attic pottery in the graves of the local chieftains⁶³.

I leave a further discussion on this interesting theme for another occasion and hope that this short paper on imported Greek bronze vessels to Yugoslavia will contribute in some degree to a better understanding of the Greco-Balkanic relations in the period between the 7th and the 4th centuries B.C.

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⁶⁰ B. Nikolov, *Izvestija Arheol. Inst. XXVIII*, Sofija 1965, 176, Fig. 5. The scale between height and diameter is ca. 1: 4.

⁶¹ B. Filow, *Die Grabhügelnekropole bei Duvanlij in Südbulgarien*, 39—58, 82—97. Comp. P. Alexandrescu, *Thraco—Dacica* 1, 1976, 117 ff.

⁶² B. Filow, op. cit., passim; I. Venedikov — T. Gerassimov, *Thrakische Kunst*, Wien—München 1973, passim; — *Goldschätze der Thraker — Thrakische Kultur und Kunst auf bulgarischem Boden*, Catalogue of the exhibition, Vienna 1975.

⁶³ I. Venedikov, *Novootkrito trakijsko mogilno pogrebenie v Vraca*, Arheologija Sofija 1966/1, 7..15; B. Nikolov, *Grobnica III ot Mogilanskata mogila v Vraca*, Arheologija, Sofija 1967/1, 11—18.