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### **Apstrakt:**

Kulturni prostor današnje Crne Gore mnoga je desetljeća zastupljen na arheološkoj karti poznavanja ilirskih kaciga. Znanstvene studije koje su se ozbiljnije posvećivale analizi tog tipa naoružanja obuhvaćale su i do tada poznate kacige iz crnogorskog područja, vrednujući ih u različitim svojstvima. Ovom studijom ponovno su analizirane, u tipološko-stilskoj klasifikaciji, sve kacige ilirskog tipa s toga prostora, interpretirane u širem aspektu njihova kulturno-povijesnog značenja, a potaknuta „novim“ primjerkom ilirske kacige iz oblasti rijeke Zete. Sve su one predstavnici kasnog ili trećeg razvojnog stupnja ilirskih kaciga koji se, kao jedan od najizražajnijih obilježja ratničke vojne opreme starijeg željeznog doba jugoistočne Europe, vremenski i kulturno razumijeva od 6. pa sve do 4. stoljeća pr. Kr. Posebna pozornost usmjerena je na njihovo ukrašavanje i obilježavanje, pri čemu se ističu primjerci „potpisani“ s punciranim slovima/inicijalima.

*Ključne riječi:* Crna Gora, željezno doba, vojna oprema, ilirske kacige, kronologija, kulturna i društvena obilježja

### **Abstract:**

A cultural territory of today's Montenegro was for decades present on the archaeological maps demonstrating the distribution of Illyrian helmets. Profound discussions which analyzed this type of weaponry included until then known examples from the territory evaluating them toward to different characteristics. In the present discussion are again analyzed, according to their typological and stylistic characteristics, all the Illyrian helmets from Montenegro and interpreted in a broader aspect of their cultural and historic meaning motivated by a “recent” example from the territory of river Zeta. They are all representatives of the third/the late stage of development of Illyrian helmets which, as one of the most distinctive characteristics of military Early Iron Age equipment in South-Eastern Europe, were used from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. Particular attention was paid to their decoration and denotation, focusing on the specially “signed” examples with punched letters/initials.

*Key words:* Montenegro, Iron Age, military equipment, Illyrian helmets, chronology, cultural and social characteristics

## Uvod

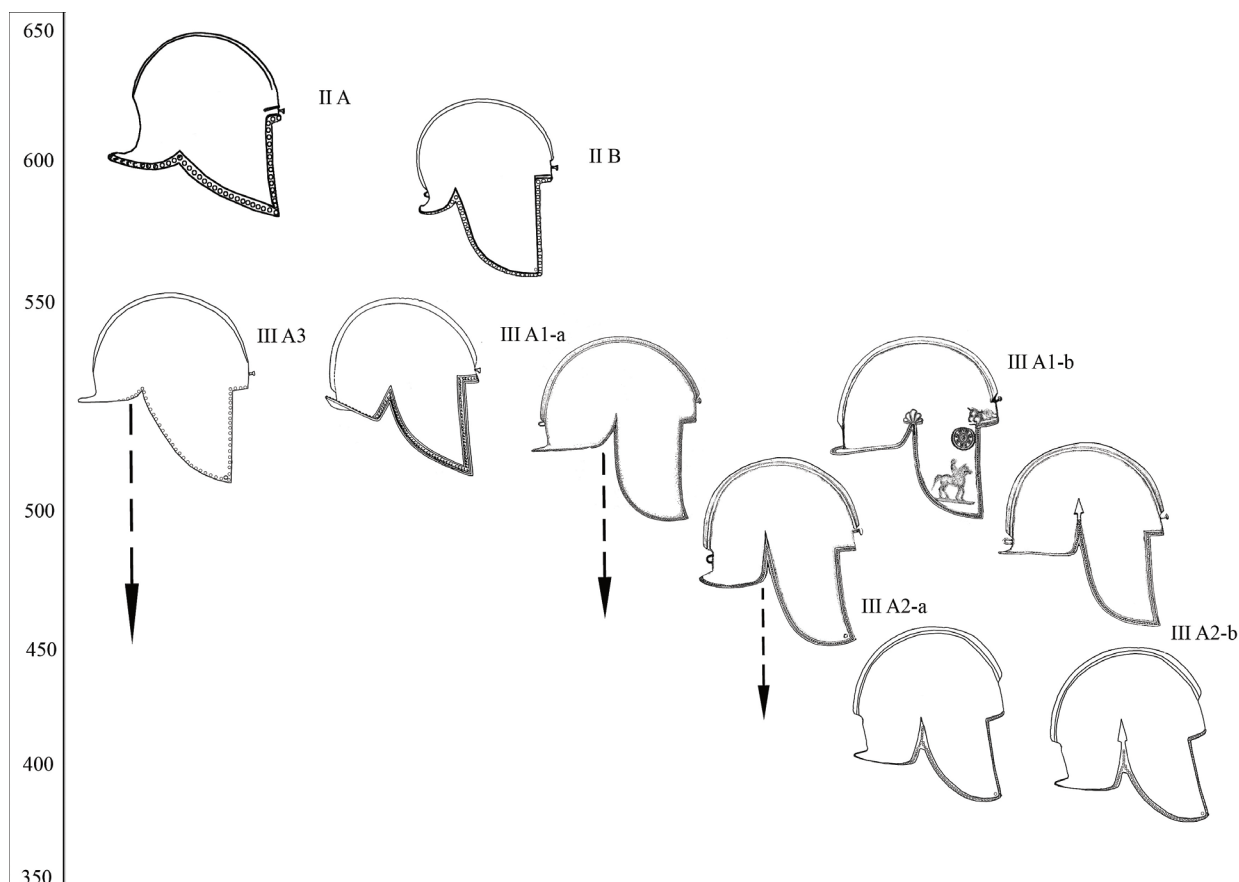
Kulturni prostor današnje Crne Gore mnoga je desetljeća zastupljen na arheološkoj karti poznavanja ilirskih kaciga. Sve znanstvene studije koje su se ozbiljnije posvećivale analizi tog tipa naoružanja obuhvaćale su i do tada poznate kacige iz crnogorskog područja, vrednujući ih u različitim svojstvima. Riječ je o jednom od najizraženijih obilježja ratničke vojne opreme starijeg željeznog doba centralnog i zapadnog Balkana te is-

## Introduction

The cultural territory of today's Montenegro was for decades present on the archaeological maps demonstrating the distribution of Illyrian helmets. Profound discussions which analyzed this type of weaponry included until then known helmets from the territory evaluating them according to different characteristics. They are one of the most distinctive characteristics of military equipment of Central and Western Balkans as well as the Eastern



Slika 1. Geopolitička karta Crne Gore s nalazištima kaciga ilirskog tipa  
Figure 1 Geopolitical map of Montenegro with sites of the Illyrian type helmets



Slika 2. Shematski prikaz razvoja ilirskih kaciga rasprostranjenih na prostoru središnjeg i zapadnog Balkana te istočne obale Jadrana i njezina zaleđa (prema Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012)  
 Figure 2. Schematical view represents a development of Illyrian helmets widespread in the central and west Balkans and along the eastern Adriatic coast and its hinterland (according to Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012)

točnojadranskog priobalja. Zbog svojih je osebujnosti i prepoznatljivosti ilirska kaciga nerijetko imala i mnogo znatniju primjenu od same uporabe u željeznodobnom naoružanju, ponajprije kao statusni simbol ali i kao izvjesna *insignia* određene regionalne vojno-političke aristokracije. Uslijed izuzetne prostorne, samim time i heterogene kulturne raširenosti ilirske su kacige postignule neprikosnoven autoritet u istraživanju željeznodobnih kulturnih razmjera gotovo čitavog Balkana i kao takve, sa svojim najrazličitijim *biografijama* prenose nam vrijednosti kao rijetko koji drugi predmet materijalne kulture toga vremena.

No u odnosu na susjedna područja Hrvatske, Bosne i Hercegovine, Srbije,

Adriatic Early Iron Age. Due to their characteristics and distinctiveness the Illyrian helmets often had numerous other implementation – they were not only Iron Age panoply but also status symbols and likewise specific *insignia* of appointed regional military and political elites. Because of their spatial and consequently culturally heterogeneous distribution, they were considered as the unsurpassed authority on the research of Iron Age cultural occurrences on the whole Balkan territory and as such, with various *biographies*, they transferred values more intensively than any other item of the material culture of that period.

From the territory of Montenegro comes, if compared to neighboring Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia,

Kosova ili Albanije, na crnogorskom je teritoriju zastupljen za sada njihov najmanji broj sa svega 6 primjeraka. Najviše ih svakako potječe iz primorske Budve, dok po jedan primjerak poznajemo iz oblasti rijeke Zete i nikšićkog zaleđa (sl. 1). Prema tipološkim karakteristikama sve su one predstavnici kasnog ili trećeg razvojnog stupnja ilirskih kaciga koji se vremenski i kulturno razumijeva prilično široko od 6. pa sve do 4. stoljeća pr. Kr. (Vasić 2010; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012) (sl. 2).

Ovim istraživanjem ponovno su vrednovane sve kacige ilirskog tipa s predmetnog prostora, ponajviše u tipološko-stilskoj klasifikaciji kao i u mogućoj interpretaciji njihova kulturno-povijesnog značenja, potaknutim „novim“ primjerkom ilirske kacige iz oblasti rijeke Zete.

### Ilirska kacige iz rijeke Zete

Najnovija ilirska kaciga iz oblasti rijeke Zete privukla je pozornost kao prvi nalaz takvog tipa nakon više desetljeća, dospjevši akvizicijom u Narodni muzej Crne Gore na Cetinju (sl. 3). Iako su okolnosti njezina nalaza nepoznati, mogućnost potjecanja iz same rijeke, na što bi ukazivala njezina korodiranost i patina, nije isključena. Unatoč tomu, poslužiti će širem tipološko-kronološkom interpretiranju ilirskih kaciga na cjelokupnom crnogorskom teritoriju (sl. 1).

Brončana kaciga djelomično je očuvana s oštećenjima na kaloti. Klasičnog je zaobljenog oblika, sa štitnikom za vrat koji je gotovo u cijelosti očuvan. Istaknut je i ravnomjerno prelazi iz paragnatida prema krajnjem rubu kacige. Paragnatide su trokutasto rezane, polukružno zaobljenih vanjskih krajeva i zašiljenog završetka, s po jednom rupicom za vezivanje kacige, pri čemu je desna oštećena. Otvor za lice je četvrtast. Na čeonom dijelu je nosač, a na stražnjem dijelu alka kojima se na

Kosovo and Albania, the lowest number of discoveries counting only 6 examples. Majority of them come from littoral Budva, while one comes from the territory of river Zeta and another one from hinterlands of Nikšić (Fig. 1). According to their typological characteristics they are representatives of the third, this is the late, phase of development of Illyrian helmets which could culturally and chronologically cover an extensive period from the 6<sup>th</sup> and all the way to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (Vasić 2010; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012) (Fig. 2).

### Illyrian helmet from river Zeta

The latest Illyrian helmet coming from the territory of river Zeta drew the attention as being the first such find after decades that was acquired by the National Museum of Montenegro in Cetinje (Fig. 3). Although the circumstances of its discovery are unknown, we can't rule out, due to its corrosion and patina, the possibility that it derives from the river itself. Despite that, it can be used in a broader typological and chronological interpretation of Illyrian helmets on the Montenegrin territory (Fig. 1).

The bronze helmet is partly preserved with damages on the calotte. It has a classical rounded form with a neck-guard which is almost completely preserved. It is accentuated and it smoothly passes from cheek-guards to the edge of the helmet. Cheek-guards are of a triangular form with semicircular rounded outer edges and with a pointed termination perforated for the fastening of the helmet. The right perforation is damaged and the facial opening is of a square form. On the frontal side is a holder and on the rear a hook for the fastening of the plume. On the central part of the calotte are two profiled ribs with a triangular cross-section and with outer grooves. Between them are incised three parallel lines. The edge of the helmet is decorated with a narrow profiled edge in which are





*Slika 3. Ilirska kaciga III A2–a varijante iz oblasti rijeke Zete (Foto: Goran Pajović)*  
*Figure 3. Illyrian helmet of the III A2–a type from the territory of river Zeta*  
*(Photo: Goran Pajović)*

kacigu pričvršćivala perjanica. Sredinom kalote smještena su dva istaknuta rebra trokutastog presjeka s vanjskim kanelurama, između kojih su urezane tri paralelne linije. Rubni dio kacige ukrašen je tankim, reljefno profiliranim rubnikom u kojem se nalazi ukras imitacije pravilno zaobljenih kuglica. Kaciga je konzervirana (sl. 3).<sup>1</sup>

Poput svih, od prije poznatih kaciga iz Budve i ova se iz Zete tipološki može neposredno pripisati III A tipu – najrasprostranjenijoj i najznačajnijoj varijanti ilirskih kaciga na prostoru zapadnog Balkana i jadranske obale (Vasić 2010; Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012; Blečić Kavur, Jašarević 2016) (sl. 3). Sukladno tomu, pretpostavljalo bi se kako tipološko-stilskom različitosti nisu znatno varijabilne, pa ipak među njima postoje izvjesne razlike.

Naime, „zetska“ je kaciga klasičnog tipa, s obzirom na način izradbe, oblikovanjem te izvedbom pojedinih ukrasa. Svojim se karakteristikama vrlo precizno određuje III. A2–a varijanti koja ima standardizirano zaobljen oblik kalote i pravilno zaobljene paragnatide (sl. 2). One se prema vratu sužavaju, gdje im se nalaze rupice za pričvršćivanje kacige prilikom nošenja, te profiliran rubnik s izvedbom imitacija kuglica. Sve kacige te varijante slijede tehnološku uniformiranost koja je, temeljem dobro datiranih konteksta, izgledno obilježila vrijeme druge polovine 6. i vijeka 5. stoljeća pr. Kr. (sl. 2) i to na prostranom području jugoistočne Europe, od Grčke i Makedonije, pa sve do Posavine i Transilvanije (sl. 4). Stoga im se pretpostavlja više mogućih stvaralačkih središta, a jedan je od njih predložen i za prostor istočne jadranske obale, Dalmacije i obližnjeg joj hercegovačkog zaleđa (Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 72-73). Upravo

manufactured imitations of rounded globules. The helmet was restored (Fig. 3).<sup>1</sup>

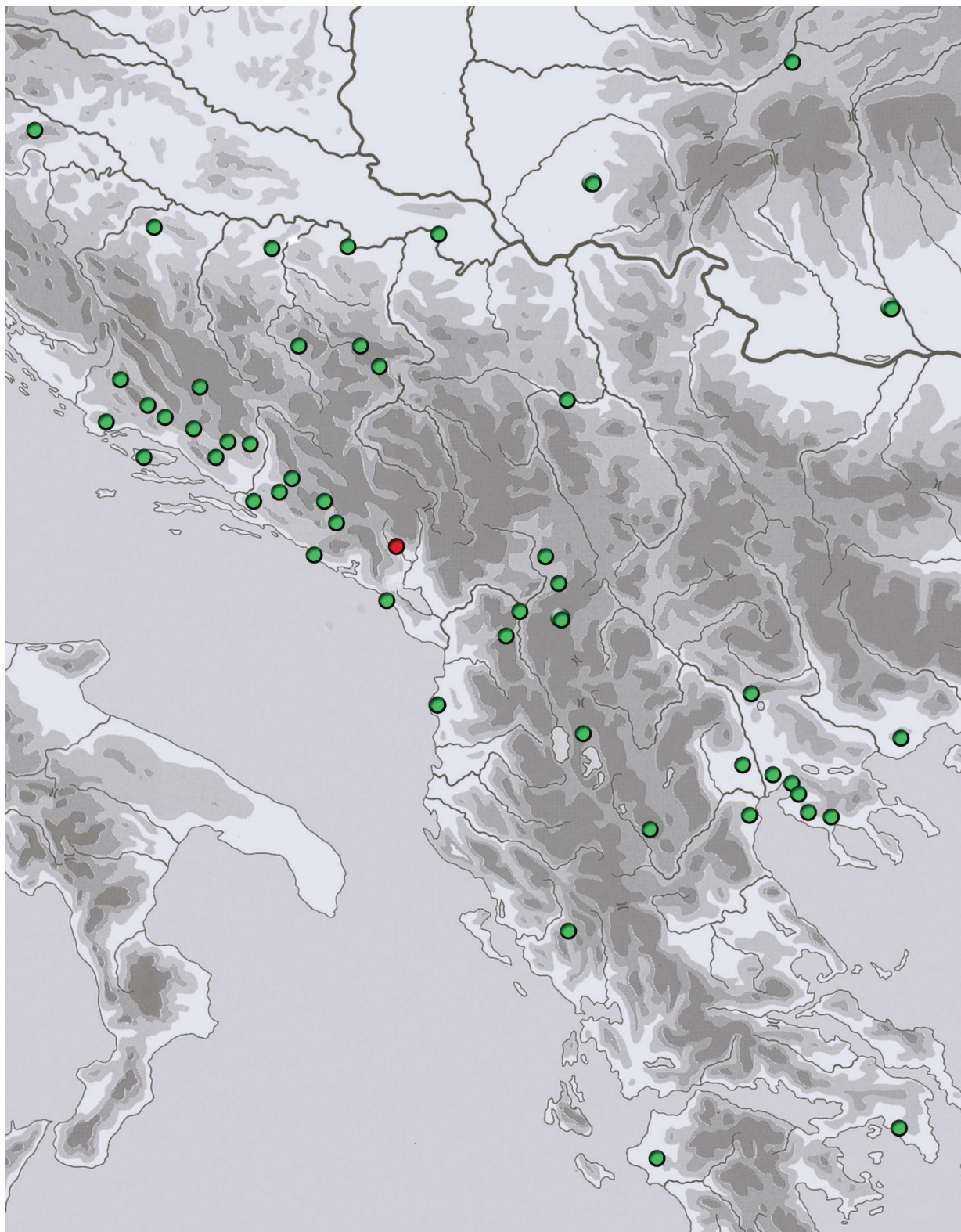
As all previously known helmets from Budva, also the example from Zeta, could be directly ascribed to the III A type – most widely distributed and most characteristic variant of Illyrian helmets on the territory of the Western Balkans and the Adriatic coast (Vasić 2010; Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012; Blečić Kavur, Jašarević 2016) (Fig. 3). Consequently, it was assumed that they are not typologically and stylistically variable, but certain differences among them are perceivable.

Namely, the “Zeta” helmet is of a classical type – regarding its production, form, and finishing of individual decorations. According to the later, it could be attributed to the III A2–a variant which has a standardized rounded form of the calotte and smoothly rounded cheek-guards (Fig. 2). They are bordered with a profiled curb with an imitation of globules and get narrower towards the neck where the perforations for the fastening are positioned. All helmets of this variant follow the technological uniformity which, known from well-dated contexts, characterized the period of the second half of 6<sup>th</sup> and the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC (Fig. 2) and a vast territory of South-Eastern Europe, from Greece and Macedonia and all the way to Sava river basin and Transylvania (Fig. 4). Therefore several possible production centers are assumed – and one of them was assumed also for the territory of Eastern Adriatic coast, Dalmatia and its closest hinterlands of Herzegovina (Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 72-73). It is in this territory that we can find the closest parallels to the new helmet from “Zeta” – examples from Mali Drinić near Trilj (Milošević 1999, fig.

<sup>1</sup> Veličina: v. 20 cm; max. š. kacige 21,2 cm; š. otvora 10,6 cm; d. paragnatida 13 cm. Smještaj: Narodni muzej Crne Gore, Cetinje.

<sup>1</sup> Size: height 20 cm; max. breadth 21.2 cm; breadth of the opening 10.6 cm; length of the cheek-guards 13 cm. Location: National Museum of Montenegro, Cetinje.





Slika 4. Karta rasprostiranja ilirskih kaciga III A2-a varijante (nadopunjeno prema Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012)

Figure 4. Distribution map of Illyrian helmets of variant III A2-a (supplemented after Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012)

ondje naći ćemo i najrodnije primjerke novoj „zetskoj“ kacigi što ilustriraju npr. one iz Malog Drinića kod Trilja (Milošević 1999, sl. 4-5), Bulbina (Nicolanci 1959, sl. 1; Marović 1976, sl. 9), Vičje luke (Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, sl. 12) ili iz Vranjeva sela kod Neuma, Kačnja, Radišića, Plane i dr. (Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, T. III, T. VIII, 21, T. IX, 23, T. XII, T. XIII). U koliko je kaciga doista potjecala iz rijeke, tada je mogla biti zavjetnog karaktera poput kaciga koje su istražene u rijeci Cetini kod Malog Drinića pri Trilju.

### Ilirske kacige iz Budve

Iz starih istraživanja prilikom izgradnje hotela Avala u Budvi, 1938. godine, bez pobližih podataka o okolnostima nalaženja, potjecale su dvije ilirske kacige koje se čuvaju u Narodnom muzeju u Beogradu (Petrović 1939, 170; Garašanić 1967, 84; Marković 2012, 79; usp. Krstić 2007, 142; Vasić 2010, 40, 42) (sl. 5, 8). Tijekom istraživanja budvanske nekropole 80-ih godina prošlog stoljeća istražena su još dva primjerka pohranjena u Javnoj ustanovi Muzeji i galerije Budve (Marković 2012, 78-79) (sl. 9, 10).<sup>2</sup> Kacige iz Narodnog muzeja u Beogradu objavljujane su i dobro analizirane u stručnoj literaturi. One pak iz budvanskog muzeja svoju su prezentaciju dobile u novijim objavama, pa će tek postati znanstveno atraktivnijima ponajviše zbog dragocjenih podataka o njihovim nalaženjima.

Sve su te budvanske kacige morfološki i stilski vrlo srodne. Budući da se raspolagalo s popratnom materijalnom kulturom, kao i s dva izvorna konteksta iz budvanske nekropole (grob 2/1 i grob

4-5), Bulbin (Nicolanci 1959, fig. 1; Marović 1976, fig. 9), Vičja luka (Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, fig. 12) or from Vranjevo selo near Neum, Kačanj, Radišić, Plana and others (Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, Pl. III, Pl. VIII, 21, Pl. IX, 23, Pl. XII, Pl. XIII). If the helmet really derives from the river, it could be of a ritual character such as the helmets discovered in river Cetina at Mali Drinić near Trilj.

### Illyrian helmets from Budva

Two Illyrian helmets, lacking any precise data on the context of their discoveries and kept in the National Museum in Belgrade, come from old excavations performed during the building of the Avala hotel in Budva in 1938 (Petrović 1939, 170; Garašanić 1967, 84; Marković 2012, 79; cf. Krstić 2007, 142; Vasić 2010, 40, 42) (Fig. 5, 8). During the excavations of the Budva necropolis in the eighties of the last century were discovered two more examples kept in the Public Institution Museums and Galleries of Budva (Marković 2012, 78-79) (Fig. 9, 10).<sup>2</sup> Helmets from the National Museum in Belgrade are published and well analyzed in the scientific literature. The ones from Budva were presented in recent publications and will become in the future scientifically attractive mostly due to the precious information about their discoveries. All the helmets from Budva are morphologically and stylistically very closely related. Since we have also the accompanying material culture and two original contexts from the Budva necropolis (graves 2/1 and 6), they could be considered in the younger phases of the end of 5<sup>th</sup> and during the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (Markov-

<sup>2</sup> U starijoj se literaturi navodi podatak o postojanju 6 ilirskih kaciga iz Budve (Marović 1976, 297; Vasić 1982; 2010; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012). Detaljnim je pregledom gradiva u beogradskom Narodnom muzeju i u Ju Muzeji i galerije Budve ustanovljeno kako je riječ o 4 očuvana primjerka.

<sup>2</sup> In older literature was mentioned the existence of 6 Illyrian helmets from Budva (Marović 1976, 297; Vasić 1982; 2010; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012). After a detailed inspection in National Museum in Belgrade and Pi Museums and Galleries of Budva it was realized that there are only 4 preserved examples.





*Slika 5. Ilirska kaciga III A2-a varijante iz Budve (prema Krstić 2007)*

*Figure 5. Illyrian helmet of the III A2-a type from Budva (according to Krstić 2007)*

6), razmatrane su u vremenski mlađim fazama i to kraja 5. i tjeka 4. stoljeća pr. Kr. (Marković 2012, 78-79; usp. Vasić 2010; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 81-82) (sl. 2). Iste varijanti III A2-a pripadati će tako samo jedna kaciga koja se čuva u Narodnom muzeju u Beogradu, a obilježava ju polomljen vrh lijeve paragnatide (Popović 1969, 69, k. 28; 1994, 129-130, k. 98; Krstić 2007, 142, k. 100) (sl. 5).<sup>3</sup>

Kaciga je izvedena masivno od debljeg lijevanog brončanog lima, čiji rubnik nije reljefno profiliran. Kalota joj je prilično izdignuta i blago zabačena prema unatrag, što pokazuje i položaj ležišta za perjanicu koji je kraći u odnosu na klasične kacige III A2-a varijante. Izdignut je visoko iznad čeonog, kao i iznad zatiljnog dijela. Štitnik za vrat je masivan i, u odnosu na ostale inačice, naglašeno izvučen i ravan. Trokutasto profilirana rebra su

<sup>3</sup> Veličina: v. 28 cm; š. otvora 11 cm. Smještaj: Narodni muzej u Beogradu, inv. br. 588/l.

ić 2012, 78-79; cf. Vasić 2010; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 81-82) (Fig. 2). To the same III A2-a variant, could be ascribed a single helmet kept in the National Museum in Belgrade with a broken end of the left cheek-guard (Popović 1969, 69, cat. 28; 1994, 129-130, cat. 98; Krstić 2007, 142, cat. 100) (Fig. 5).<sup>3</sup>

The helmet was produced from a thicker cast metal sheet with an undecorated edge. The calotte is quite high and slightly inclined backward. This is further supported by the bearing of the plume which is shorter than in classical III A2-a variant helmets. It is raised high above the frontal and occipital part. The neck-guard is massive and in comparison to other variants, accentuated and straight. Triangularly profiled ribs are distinctive and much more massive than in other III A2-a helmets. They lack the central incised lines.

Further missing elements are the holder from the frontal and the hook from the rear side used for fastening of the plume. Consequently, it either never featured a plume and the triangular ribs had an exclusively decorative use, or the plume was directly attached to the bed which seems a more likely explanation. This hypothesis could be supported by the impression of a circular, massive remain of soldering on its frontal part of the bed (Fig. 5). The cheek-guards are markedly narrowed and sticking together, while the cut from the lateral sides is narrow. Interesting is the left cheek-guard which was broken towards the top of the upper and lower part of the break are preserved small holes.

They are smaller and were used for the attaching of a triangular metal addition to the broken-off cheek-guard, suggesting it's repairing and thus its use and presence in a longer period (Fig. 5). Along the, with incised parallel lines indicated, elaborat-

<sup>3</sup> Size: height 28 cm; breadth of the opening 11 cm. Location: National Museum in Belgrade, Inv. no. 588/l.

pak izrazita i mnogo masivnija nego kod ostalih III A2–a kaciga, bez urezane tri linije u središnjem dijelu. Kacigi nedostaje i trn s prednje i alka sa stražnje strane za zaglavljivanje perjanice. Prema tomu, kaciga ili uopće nije imala perjanicu, pa su trokutasto profilirana rebra imala ekskluzivno dekorativnu namjenu, ili je perjanica bila izravno pričvršćivanja na njezino ležište, što se čini vjerojatnijim rješenjem. Pretpostavku podupire upravo otisak kružnog, masivnijeg ostatka od lemljenja na njezinom prednjem dijelu ležišta (sl. 5). Paragnatide su joj izrazito sužene i približene, a usjek s bočnih strana im je plitak. Zanimljiva je svakako lijeva paragnatida, odlomljena pri vrhu. Naime, na njoj su očuvane dvije rupice na gornjem i donjem dijelu prijeloma. One su manje i služile su za pričvršćivanje metalnog trokutastog dodatka odlomljenoj paragnatidi, sugerirajući tako na njezino popravljivanje a samim time i na njezino izvjesno korištenje ili baštinjenje u dužem razdoblju (sl. 5). Duž čitavog rubnika, koji je izveden vrlo jednostavno, urezivanjem paralelne linije, teče ukras od žigosanih kvadratića-kružnica, koji je inače vrlo čest na kacigama III A2–a varijante, ali u nešto drugačijoj formi.

Najsrodniju kacigu u smislu morfoloških karakteristika iste inačice moguće je vidjeti kod kaciga iz Cavtata i iz Ošanića. Cavtatski primjerak, u većoj mjeri rekonstruiran, ima kraće ležište perjanice s izrazitije naglašenim i profiliranim rebri (Michl 2013, 18-23). Namjerno je, nasilno fragmentiran predstavljajući se na taj način i posebnim obredom ritualizacije, odnosno oblikom njezina žrtvovanja. Kaciga iz Ošanića, nađena pored ulaznih vrata na gradinsku akropolu, isto je namjerno deformirana, te interpretirana kao zavjetni dar ošaničkog akropolskog svetišta iz 4. stoljeća pr. Kr. (Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 69-70, 109, T. XI, 26). Poput kacige iz Ošanića, i kaciga iz Budve na štitniku za-

ed edge runs the decoration of stamped squares and circles. This decoration is frequent on helmets of the III A2–a variant and also in a different form.

The closest parallels in terms of morphological characteristics could be observed in the helmets from Cavtat and Ošanići. The example from Cavtat, mostly reconstructed, has a shorter bed for the plume with explicitly marked and profiled ribs (Michl 2013, 18-23). It was intentionally violently fragmented representing a special ceremony of ritualization; this is its ritual sacrifice. The helmet from Ošanići, discovered near the entry gates on the acropolis of the hill fort, was also intentionally deformed and is interpreted as a ritual gift to the sanctuary on the acropolis of Ošanići in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 69-70, 109, Pl. XI, 26). As the helmet from Ošanići the example from Budva also features on the neck-guard incised initials of most probably the owner and/or the possessor which makes them unique in the opus of the most popular variant of Illyrian helmets (Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 77-78, fig. 16) (Fig. 14,1).

Meanwhile, sameness in the technological and decorational completing could be observed in the helmets from Podstinje near Kiseljak (Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 106, Pl. VIII, 20), Perlat near Mati (Korkuti 1971, 12, fig. 32; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 75-76, fig. 15, 1) (Fig. 6) and the helmet from Budapest with an already exposed Balkan "origin" (Mozsolics 1959, 50, fig. 13; Marović 1976, 293) (Fig. 7). With markedly high and inclined calottes, accentuated profiled ribs and dominantly narrowed cheek-guards, they are all similar to the helmet from Mainz which had most probably a Macedonian (or Balkan) provenience (Pflug 1988, 63, sl. 20-21). At the same time, they are all missing a system for the fastening of the plume making them similar to the other three helmets from Budva (Fig. 5-10).





Slika 6. Ilirske kacige III A2–b varijante: 1 – Perlat (prema Korkuti 1971), 2 – Podstinje kod Kiseljaka (prema Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012)

Figure 6. Illyrian helmets of variant III A2–b: 1 – Perlat (according to Korkuti 1971), 2 – Podstinje, Kiseljak (according to Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012)

tiljka ima urezane inicijale vjerojatno vlasnika i/ili imatelja što ih čini jedinstvenima u opusu te najpopularnije varijante ilirskih kaciga (Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 77-78, sl. 16) (sl. 14,1).

Međutim, identičnost u tehnološkoj i ukrasnoj izvedbi moguće je vidjeti kod kaciga iz Podstinja kod Kiseljaka (Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 106, T. VIII, 20) i Perlata kod Mati (Korkuti 1971, 12, sl. 32; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 75-76, sl. 15, 1) (sl. 6), odnosno kod kacige iz Budimpešte kojoj je balkansko „podrijetlo“ već bilo ispostavljeno (Mozsolics 1955, 50, sl. 13; Marović 1976, 293) (sl. 7). Izrazito izdignutih i zabačenih kalota, naglašeno profiliranih rebara, i dominantno suženih paragnatida, sve su one bliske kacigi iz Mainza, vjerojatno makedonske (ili balkanske?) provenijencije (Pflug 1988, 63, sl. 20-21). Ujedno, svima njima nedostaje sistem za pričvršćivanje perjanice, čime se približavaju i preostalima trima kacigama iz Budve (sl. 5-10).

Moreover, that the main characteristic of the described helmets is the motive of an arrow incised on the lateral notches of the cheek-guards according to which they were separated into a specific second group or III A2–b variant. These helmets were specific for the central Dalmatian territory where their production was most probably located (Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 76-77, 83-84, fig. 14). From the old excavation is exceptionally well preserved a helmet with an arrow (Petrović 1939, 170; Popović 1969, 69, cat. 29; 1994, 130, cat. 99; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 75, fig. 15, 2) (Fig. 8).<sup>4</sup> As previously listed, it is characterized by expressively profiled ribs running along the calotte between which were incised two parallel lines. Along the incised edge runs a decoration of stamped circles, but lateral notches of cheek-guards are ending with

<sup>4</sup> Size: height 29 cm; breadth of the opening 11.5 cm. Location: National Museum in Belgrade, Inv. no. 589/I.



*Slika 7. Ilirska kaciga III A2–b varijante iz Budimpešte (nepoznato nalazište) (prema Mozsolics 1955)*

*Figure 7. Illyrian helmet of the III A2–b type from Budapest (unknown site) (according to Mozsolics 1955)*

Povrh toga, posebnost opisanih kaciga ukrasni je motiv urezane strelice na bočnim usjecima paragnatida koji ih je izdvojio u zasebnu skupinu određenu drugoj ili III A2–b varijanti. Te su kacige osobite za srednjodalmatinsko područje gdje im se smješta i obrtnička produkcija (Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 76-77, 83-84, sl. 14). Kaciga sa strelicom iz starijih iskopavanja izuzetno je dobro očuvana u cijelosti (Petrović 1939, 170; Popović 1969, 69, k. 29; 1994, 130, k. 99; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 75, sl. 15, 2) (sl. 8).<sup>4</sup> Kao i kod prije navedenih, ističu se moćno profilirana rebra uzduž kalote između kojih su urezane dvije paralelne linije. Duž urezanog rubnika teče ukras žigosanih kružnica, a bočni usjeci paragnatida završavaju strelicom izvedenom umetanjem ukrasnog, urezanog tekućeg obruba. U istoj maniri ukrašene su i preostale dvije kacige iz Budve (sl. 9-10), što će ih udaljavati od prije spomenutih kaciga iz

an arrow manufactured with the introduction of decorated incised continuous edge. In the same manner are decorated the two remaining helmets from Budva (Fig. 9-10), differentiating them from the mentioned helmets from Podstinje, Perlat or Budapest in which the decorative edge ends with a simple schematized arrow (Fig. 6-7).

The last two helmets from Budva were discovered on the ancient necropolis. An almost complete helmet with insignificant damages comes from grave 2/1 (Marković 2012, 20, Pl. 4, 12)<sup>5</sup>. It has got a significantly shorter bed for the plume with profiled ribs lacking a holder and hook for its fastening (Fig. 9). The cheek-guards are narrow and approaching each-other with perforations for fastening at the ends. The lateral notches are shallow. Along the edge, manufactured with incised parallel lines, runs a decoration of stamped squares-circles creating an impression of relief. A specialty of this helmet is not only its morphology characteristic for the younger forms of this variant, but it is its decoration which makes it special. For, between the ribs is performed a decoration of 7 parallel lines in interval groups. The bed is bordered with two incised lines while 4 parallel lines are additionally positioned above the edge of the frontal opening exceeding the edge on lateral sides. The right cheek-guard is marked with additionally punctuated, although illegible, initials making the helmet special (Fig. 9, 14, 2). According to their form are most similar already described helmets from Budva of the III A2–a (Fig. 5) and III A2–b variants (Fig. 8) as well as helmets from Podstinje, Perlat, and Budapest (Fig. 6-7), but also the helmet from Sućuraj on the island of Hvar (Nikolanci 1960, 32, fig. 1, Pl. I; Stipčević 1981, Pl. XXXIII, 4) which according to its morphology, as it can be observed on the

<sup>4</sup> Veličina: v. 29 cm; š. otvora 11,5 cm. Smještaj: Narodni muzej u Beogradu, inv. br. 589/I.

<sup>5</sup> Size: height 26.5 cm; max. breadth of the helmet 23.2 cm; Location: Public Institution Museums and Galleries of Budva, Inv. no. 12/2.





*Slika 8. Ilirska kaciga III A2–b varijante iz Budve (Foto: Narodni muzej u Beogradu)*  
*Figure 8. Illyrian helmet of the III A2–b type from Budva (Photo: National Museum in Belgrade)*

Podstinja, Perlata ili Budimpešte kod kojih sam ukrasni obrub završava jednostavnom shematiziranom strelicom (sl. 6-7).

Posljednje dvije kacige iz Budve istražene su na antičkoj budvanskoj nekropoli. Gotovo cijela kaciga, s neznatnim oštećenjima iz groba 2/1 (Marković 2012, 20, T. 4, 12),<sup>5</sup> ima znakovito kraće ležište za perjanicu s naglašeno profiliranim rebrima, bez trna i alke za njezino pričvršćivanje (sl. 9). Paragnatide su sužene i približene, usjek s bočnih strana je plitak a na krajevima imaju rupice za vezivanje kacige. Duž rubnika, izvedenim urezivanjem paralelne linije, teče ukras žigosanih kvadratića-kružnica koji odaje dojam reljefnosti. Posebnost ove kacige nije sama morfologija, tipična za inače mlađe forme navedene varijante, već ju iznimnom čini njezino dodatno ukrašavanje. Naime, unutar rebara

<sup>5</sup> Veličina: v. 26,5 cm; max. š. kacige 23,2 cm. Smještaj: Javna ustanova Muzeji i galerije Budve, inv. br. 12/2.

available illustration, matches this group of younger examples.

In addition, the second helmet from grave 6 from the same necropolis is specific in its way (Marković 2012, 26, Pl. 12, 20) (Fig. 10).<sup>6</sup> It is the first helmet from Budva which along the usual damages features deformations caused by a deliberate and violent destruction and demonstrates a practice of specific ritual manipulation, often observed in the helmets of the III A2 type (Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 85-86). Due to its form and decoration, it differs only insignificantly from the previously described. The bed for the plume is somewhat longer with profiled triangular ribs, decorated on the outer side with two and in between with 4 incised lines. The system for the attachment of the plume is also missing. Cheek-guards are despite the deformation and damage clearly semi-circu-

<sup>6</sup> Size: height 22 cm; max. breadth of the helmet 22.8 cm. Location: Public Institution Museums and Galleries of Budva, Inv. no. 37.



Slika 9. Ilirska kaciga III A2–b varijante iz groba 2/1 nekropole u Budvi (Foto: Milena Vrzić)  
 Figure 9. Illyrian helmet of the III A2–b type from grave 2/1 of the Budva necropolis (Photo: Milena Vrzić)

izveden je ukras urezanih 7 paralelnih linija, razmaknutih u grupama. Ležište je u cijelosti obrubljeno s dvije urezane linije, a 4 usporedne linije dodatno su postavljene iznad čeonog ruba otvora koje izlaze iz okvira rubnika na bočnim stranama. Desna je paragnatida obilježena dodatno punciranim, doduše nečitkim inicijalima, što kacigu također čini izuzetnom (sl. 9, 14,2). Glede oblikovanja najrodnije su joj već opisane kacige iz Budve III A2–a (sl. 5) i III A2–b (sl. 8) varijante kao i kacige iz Podstinja, Perlata i Budumpešte (sl. 6-7), ali i kaciga iz Sućuraja na otoku Hvaru (Nikolanci 1960, 32, sl. 1, T. I; Stipčević 1981, T. XXXIII, 4) koja morfologijom, sudeći po dostupnom crtežu, upravo odgovara ovoj skupini mlađih primjeraka.

I druga je kaciga iz groba 6 iste nekropole specifična na svoj način (Marković 2012, 26, T. 12, 20) (sl. 10).<sup>6</sup> Riječ je o prvoj kacigi iz Budve

<sup>6</sup> Veličina: v. 22 cm; max. š. kacige 22,8 cm. Sm-

lar formed with pronounced lateral notches. Along the edge, manufactured with incised parallel lines, runs a decoration of stamped squares-circles. Lateral notches finish with a border which smoothly passes over into an arrow with stylized wings. Within the latter is incised an additional triangle intensifying the plasticity of the motive. Only a single perforation for the fastening of the helmet located on the end of the cheek-guard is preserved. It was additionally marked with hammered initials. Along the lower edge of the cheek-guard are located letters of the Greek alphabet reading *ZED* or *ZEA*, while the punctuated decoration in the upper part is harder legible (perhaps *ZOY*) (Fig. 10, 14, 3).

Adequate parallels to this helmet could be found on the, to the north located, Dalmatian territory, especially helmets of the III A2–b variant from Vičja luka on the island of Brač, grave 4 (Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, fig. 17), from Zagvozd and





*Slika 10. Ilirska kaciga III A2–b varijante iz groba 6 nekropole u Budvi (Foto: Milena Vrzić)*  
*Figure 10. Illyrian helmet of the III A2–b type from grave 6 of the Budva necropolis (Photo: Milena Vrzić)*

koja uz uobičajena oštećenja, svojom deformiranošću provedenom namjernim i nasilnim uništavanjem ukazuje i na praksu osobitog ritualiziranja, čestog upravo kod kaciga III. A2 tipa (Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 85-86). Oblikovanjem i načinom ukrašavanja slična je prije opisanoj kacigi uz neznatna odstupanja. Ležište za perjanicu je nešto duže, s profiliranim trokutastim rebri, ukrašenima s vanjske strane s po dvije, a u središtu s 4 usporedno urezane linije. Sistem za pričvršćivanje perjanice također nedostaje. Paragnatide su joj unatoč deformiranosti i oštećenosti, jasno polukružno oblikovane s naglašenijim usjekom s bočnih strana. Duž rubnika, izvedenim urezivanjem paralelne linije, teče ukras žigosanih kvadratića-kružnica. Bočni usjeci završavaju obrubom koji tekuće prelazi u izrazitu strelicu sa stiliziranim krilcima, a unutar nje urezan je dodatni trokut potencirajući plastičnost motiva. Samo je jedna rupica za vezivanje kacige očuvana na kraju desne paragnatide, a ista je također obilježena dodatnim punciranim

from Mali Drinić on Cetina near Trilj (Nikolanci 1959, Pl. VII, 1; Pl. VIII, 1-2; Marović 1976, Pl. III, 6-7; Pl. IV, 8; Milošević 1999, fig. 4), (Fig. 11). These helmets are exceptionally uniform, produced from a thinner (forged) bronze metal sheet, lacking any system for the fastening of the plume, with incised circles along the edges and with incised arrows on lateral notches which are the best parallel to the decoration of the helmet from Budva. Especially on the basis of this specific decoration with incisions, which can be observed also on cheek-guards, is based the assumption of a regional, this is Dalmatian production of this variant of helmets. Consequently were, due to similarities, helmets from Budva (older and new), Perlat and Podstinje, Budapest and Mainz already considered as second-class products or perhaps products deriving from another model of production from the same producer intended for different person ordering them, or they were simply products from another workshop circle (Vasić 2010, 40-41; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 75-77, 83-84)?<sup>7</sup>

ještaj: Javna ustanova Muzeji i galerije Budve, inv. br. 37.

<sup>7</sup> The information on the existence of another un-

inicijalima. Uz donji rub paragnatide čitaju se slova grčkog alfabeta  $Z\epsilon\Delta$  ili  $Z\epsilon A$ , dok je puncirani ukras u gornjem dijelu teže čitljiv (možda  $ZOY?$ ) (sl. 10, 14,3).

Primjerene paralele ovoj kacigi možemo naći na sjevernijem, dalmatinskom prostoru, osobito kod kaciga III A2–b varijante iz Vičje luke na otoku Braču, grob 4 (Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, sl. 17), iz Zagvozda i iz Malog Drinića na Cetini kod Trilja (Nikolanci 1959, T. VII, 1; T. VIII, 1-2; Marović 1976, T. III, 6-7; T. IV, 8; Milošević 1999, sl. 4), gdje je za sada moguće slijediti i najbliže analogije (sl. 11). Te su kacige izrazito uniformne, izrađene od tanjeg (kovanog) brončanog lima, bez sistema za pričvršćivanje perjanice, s utisnutim kružnicama na rubovima i s urezanim strelicama na bočnim usjecima paragnatida koje će, također, predstavljati najbliže paralele ukrasu budvanskog primjerka. Upravo temeljem svojstvenog načina ukrašavanja urezivanjem, koji se slijedi i na knemidama, opravdano se pretpostavlja regionalna, tj. dalmatinska produkcija te varijante kaciga. Zbog toga su, i unatoč sličnostima, kacige iz Budve (starija i nova), Perlata i Podstinja, Budimpešte i Mainza već razmatrane kao proizvodima druge klase ili možda drugog modela izradbe istoga proizvođača namijenjenima različitim naručiteljima ili su možda bile proizvod drugog radioničkog kruga (Vasić 2010, 40-41; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 75-77, 83-84)?<sup>7</sup>

Pri pokušaju njihova preciznijeg kronološkog određenja ponuđeni su različiti prijedlozi, dijelom usklađeni, dijelom ne. Neosporno, na budvanskoj su nekropoli prakticirali ritual višekratnog pokopavanja u grobnicama i to u dužem vremenskom rasponu, od 4. pa do 2. stoljeća pr. Kr. Pri

In the attempts to precisely determine their chronological position were formulated places different propositions which were only partly harmonized. Beyond any doubt were on the Budva necropolis practiced rituals of multiple burials in tombs stretching across a longer period from the 4<sup>th</sup> and all the way to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. But we have to focus on contexts of the two helmets discovered in graves 2/1 and 6 (Marković 2003, 14; Marković 2012, 17-21, 25-26; cf. Faber 2005, 245-248). Grave 2/1 was opulent in grave goods – it contained most probably burials of 5 persons with luxurious finds of golden jewelry and attire, rich military and personal gear, exclusive set of bronze vessels from which we should mention the situlae (Marković 2012, T 2-5) especially the one of the stamnoid type with the attaché with a lion's head spout of Macedonian toreutic production (cf. Blečić Kavur 2012). The grave number 6 was clearly damaged with the remains of a single deceased and consequently reduced set of finds. The Illyrian helmet is accompanied by golden and silver jewelry, among which we should mention the silver fibulae of Middle La Tène scheme, lanceolate fibulae, bronze and several ceramic vessels (Marković 2012, Pl. 11-12). In both cases beside the metal vessels, the dating of their successive use is determined by the ceramic vessels of the classical Italian Gnathia ware with the Heracles knot and Megarian cups (Marković 2012, 58-66, 70; cf. Krstić 2007, 162-173; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 81).

The Illyrian helmets of the III A2–b variant from Budva should consequently be considered as younger versions of classical helmets of III A2 type which started to be produced and used at the end of

<sup>7</sup> Podatak o postojanju još jedne neobjavljene kacige III A2–b varijante iz Rodokali, koja bi se navodno čuvala u Muzeju u Pogradecu (Stipčević 1981, 111, bilj. 205), pregledom fundusa građe u istom Muzeju, je opovrgnut.

published helmet of the III A2–b variant from Rodokali, which is supposedly kept in the Museum in Pogradec (Stipčević 1981, 111, foot note 205), was proven negative after an overview of the museum fund.





Slika 11. Karta rasprostranja ilirskih kaciga III A2–b varijante (▲) i III B tipa (●) (prema Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016)

Figure 11. Distribution map of Illyrian helmets of variants III A2–b (▲) and III B (●) (according to Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016)

tomu se svakako valja osloniti na kontekste dviju kaciga koje su istražene u grobovima 2/1 i 6 (Marković 2003, 14; Marković 2012, 17-21, 25-26; usp. Faber 2005, 245-248). Grob 2/1, po sadržaju izuzetno brojan, vjerojatno je sadržavao ukope 5 osoba, uz raskošne nalaze zlatnog nakita i nošnje, bogate vojne i osobne opreme, izuzetnog seta brončanih posuda od kojih se svakako izdvajaju situle (Marković 2012, T 2-5), posebice ona stamnoidnog tipa s atašom izljevka u obliku lavlje glavice makedonske toreutičke produkcije (usp. Blečić Kavur 2012). Grob 6 bio je izrazito oštećen s ostacima jednog pokojnika, ali zato i bitno reduciran nalazima. Ilirsku kacigu prati zlatni i srebrni nakit, pri čemu se izdvajaju srebrne fibule srednjolatenske sheme, kopljaste fibule, brončano posuđe i nekoliko keramičkih posuda (Marković 2012, T. 11-12). U oba primjera izuzev metalnih predmeta dataciju njihova sukcesivnog korištenja određuju i keramičke posude italske klasične *Gnathia* produkcije s Heraklovim čvorom i megarske čaše (Marković 2012, 58-66, 70; usp. Krstić 2007, 162-173; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 81).

Budvanske ilirske kacige III A2–b varijante valja zato razumijevati kao mlađe inačice klasičnih kaciga III. A2 tipa, koje su svoju izvedbu i primjenu otpočele negdje krajem 5. s trajanjem do u 4. stoljeće pr. Kr. u većini primjera (sl. 2, 11). U tom aspektu izuzetno je vrijedan i grobni nalaz iz Perlata, gdje je uz ilirsku kacigu nađena i posudica tipa *kantharos* iz klase St. Valentin atičke keramografske produkcije, što cjelinu smješta u razdoblja posljednjih desetljeća 5. (Prendi 1988, 229, k. 95; Teleaga 2008, 233, k. 39), pa sve do početnog 4. stoljeća pr. Kr. (Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 79). Takvo promišljanje argumentirala bi i jedina poznata cjelina iz Dalmacije, tj. grob 4 nekropole u Vičjoj luci, gdje je već dobro definirano višekratno pokopavanje u grobnu jamu, i to u razdoblju od kraja 5. pa

the 5<sup>th</sup> and were used mostly during the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (Fig. 2, 11). In this aspect is extremely valuable the grave find from Perlat where was, beside the Illyrian helmet, discovered a *kantharos* type cup of the St. Valentine class of ceramic production dating it into the last decades of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC (Prendi 1988, 229, cat. 95; Teleaga 2008, 233, cat. 39) and all the way to the beginning of 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 79). Such perspective could be argued by another well-known find from Dalmatia – the grave number 4 from Vičja luka where was well defined the multiple burial into the grave-pit on the period between the 5<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (Marović, Nikolanci 1969, 32; Barbarić 2006, 56; cf. Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016). If we would add also the helmet from Ošanići with a corrected date, the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC would be generally accepted as the lower date of their use (Fig. 2). A possibility of younger dating, ranging all the way to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC could also be assumed, at least on the southern Adriatic coast. Although it was not decisively confirmed yet, it could be suggested by the two described graves from Budva.

### Illyrian helmet from Kličevo

The Illyrian helmet from Kličevo comes from two destroyed graves below a tumulus in which was in the year 1970 discovered a larger amount of military equipment, attire and jewelry (Жижич 1979) (Fig. 12). It is a well-preserved helmet with a square opening with two smaller, lower in profile and positioned aside ribs. On the frontal and back side of the helmet are preserved holes from the spine and hook for the fastening of the plume. Cheek-guards are of a triangular shape, pointed with perforations for the fastening of the helmet. The neck-guard is slightly pronounced and flat. The helmet was cast and al-



sve do početnog 4. stoljeća pr. Kr. (Marović, Nikolanci 1969, 32; Barbarić 2006, 56; usp. Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016). Pridruži li im se i kaciga iz Ošanića korigirane datacije, općenito će, kao donja granica njihova korištenja biti prihvaćeno 4. stoljeće pr. Kr. (sl. 2). Mogućnost još i kasnijeg datiranja, sve do 3. stoljeća pr. Kr., također bi mogla biti razumljiva, barem na južnojadranskom primorju. Premda za sada nije deciderano potvrđena, isto bi mogla donekle sugerirati upravo opisana dva budvanska groba.

### Ilirska kaciga iz Kličeva

Ilirska kaciga iz Kličeva potječe iz dva uništena groba pod tumulom u kojima je nađena veća skupina ratničke vojne opreme, nošnje i nakita, 1970. godine (Жижић 1979) (sl. 12). Riječ je o dobro očuvanoj brončanoj kacigi, četvrtastog otvora s dva manja, plitko profilirana ali razmaknuta rebra. Na čeonj i na zatiljnoj strani kacige očuvane su rupice od trna i alke kojima se pričvršćivala perjanica. Paragnatide su trokutastog oblika, zašiljene i s rupicama za vezivanje kacige. Štitnik za vrat je blago izvučen i ravan. Kaciga je izrađena lijevanjem i već je prilikom uporabe bila naknado popravljana (Жижић 1979, 206, sl. 1). To može upućivati na njezinu dugotrajnu upotrebu ali i na njezinu vrijednost koju je ona za imatelja/nositelja imala, bilo u osobnom bilo u socijalnom značenju, baš kao što je predloženo i za kacigu III A2—a varijante iz Budve (sl. 5).

Opisana tipološka obilježja, čisti oblik kao i potpuno ravni, glatki rubovi bez dodatnog ukrašavanja određuju kacigu iz Kličeva u varijantu III A3 ilirskih kaciga (Teržan 1995, 121, sl. 9; Teleaga 2008, 233, k. 42; Vasić 2010, 43). Time je svrstana u skupinu karakterističnu za prostor antičke Makedonije, od Halkidike pa sve do Trebeništa (sl. 13). Ondje im je zabilježen najveći broj, definirane



Slika 12. Ilirska kaciga III. A3 tipa iz Kličeva  
(Foto: Zavičajni muzej u Nikšiću)

Figure 12. Illyrian helmet of the III A3 type from Kličevo (Photo: Regional museum in Nikšić)

ready during its use subsequently repaired (Жижић 1979, 206, fig. 1). This could be an indicator of its long use and also of its value for its owner/bearer – either in a personal or a social meaning. The same as it was proposed for the helmet of the III A2—a variant from Budva (Fig. 5).

Described typological characteristics, a clear form and completely smooth edges lacking an additional decoration determine the helmet from Kličevo in to the III A3 variant of Illyrian helmets (Teržan 1995, 121, fig. 9; Teleaga 2008, 233, cat. 42; Vasić 2010, 43). With this it is included into a group characteristic for the territory of ancient Macedonia – from Halkidiki all the way to Trebenište (Fig. 13). There is recorded their largest number and they

su različite varijacije posebice glede dekoracije (rubovi žigosani kružnicama ili kvadratima, obrubljeni) s raskošnim zlatnim aplikacijama ili u luksuznim kombinacijama (zlatne maske za lice, oči, usta, bradu...). Stoga im se s podosta sigurnosti na širem prostoru Makedonije smješta i regionalna produkcija (Vasić 2010, 39), a zasigurno će im se definirati i pojedine podvarijante. Osobito vrijedne za analizu predmetnog tipa kaciga bogate su nekropole u čijim je grobovima prisutna kompletna vojna panoplja (kaciga, štit, mač, koplja) kao što je novije istražena nekropola Archontiko u Pelli (Χρυσοστόμου, Χρυσοστόμου 2009; 2012; Λιλιμπάκη-Ακαμάτη et al. 2011, 378-380) ili već od prije poznata ona iz Siondosa (ΣΙΝΔΟΣ 1997; 2016).

U koliko se varijanta III A2–b mogla regionalno povezati uz dalmatinsko i južnojadransko primorje, tip III B uz područje Ilirije (usp. Teržan 1995, 87-88, sl. 8; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, sl. 14; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, 245-248, sl. 6) (sl. 11), varijanta III A3 nedvojbeno je bila oznakom makedonskog kulturnog prostora i njihove vojno-političke elite (sl. 13). Upravo će se kod tih primjera naći i najbolje paralele kličevačkoj kacigi, ali i ostaloj vojnoj opremi iz grobova, potvrđujući već od prije, uz različite predmete postavljen odnos prodiranja makedonske produkcije u sjevernija, prema Jadranu usmjerena područja. Relativno mnogo dostupnih konteksta, dobro sinkroniziranih, omogućili su njezinu poblizu dataciju u vrijeme druge polovice 6. pa sve do druge polovice 5. stoljeća pr. Kr. (Vasić 2010, 39).

U takvom prostornom rasporedu ilirska kaciga iz Kličeva označavati će za sada najsjeverniji pouzdani nalaz na prostoru Balkana (sl. 13), pri čemu joj se možda mogu pridružiti i manji ulomci kaciga te varijante iz nalazišta Breza u Kamenjači (Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 65).

are defined into different variants according to the decoration (edges stamped with circles or squares), edged with lavish golden appliqués or in luxurious combinations (golden masks for the face, eyes, mouth, beard...). Therefore, we can locate their regional production on the broader territory of Macedonia (Vasić 2010, 39) and we can be sure that in the future sub-variants will be defined. Particularly important for their analysis are rich necropoles which include in graves the complete military panoply (helmet, shield, sword, spears) – such as the recently excavated Archontiko in Pella (Χρυσοστόμου, Χρυσοστόμου 2009; 2012; Λιλιμπάκη-Ακαμάτη et al. 2011, 378-380) or the already known Sindos (ΣΙΝΔΟΣ 1997; 2016).

Since the III A2–b variant could be linked to the Dalmatian and southern Adriatic littoral and the III B type to the territory of Illyria (cf. Teržan 1995, 87-88, fig. 8; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, fig. 14; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, 245-248, fig. 6) (Fig. 11), then the variant III A3 could be without any doubt considered as a hallmark of the Macedonian cultural territory and its military and political elite (Fig. 13). It is exactly these helmets that feature the best comparisons to the helmet from Kličevo as well as to rest of military equipment confirming the already with different items determined push of Macedonian production towards the northern, to the Adriatic oriented, territories. Relatively numerous well-synchronized contexts enabled a closer dating into the period of the second half of 6<sup>th</sup> and all the way to the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC (Vasić 2010, 39).

In such a spatial distribution of Illyrian helmets, the find from Kličevo will designate the most northern reliable find on the territory of the Balkans (Fig. 13). Perhaps could be added also smaller fragments of a helmet of such a variant from Breza in Kamenjača (Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 65).





Slika 13. Karta rasprostranja ilirskih kaciga III A3 varijante (nadopunjeno prema Teržan 1995; Vasić 2010)

Figure 13. Distribution map of Illyrian helmets of variant III A3 (supplemented after Teržan 1995; Vasić 2010)

## Za kraj

U analizi pojedinih predmeta materijalne kulture, osnovna su morfološka obilježja koja, u aspektu ilirskih kaciga iz Crne Gore omogućuju relativno jasnu diferencijaciju njihovih tipova i varijanti. Iz kronološke pozicije, premda oskudnih kontekstualnih podataka, preciznijom se klasičnom arheološkom metodom tipološkog određenja ipak može razlučiti slijed njihove uporabe na tom malom ali izvanrednom južnoeuropskom prostoru. Tako se kao najstarija forma predstavlja kaciga iz Kličeva III. A3 tipa, a slijedi joj u većoj mjeri sinkronizirana uporaba kacige III. A2–a varijante iz oblasti rijeke Zete koje se tretiraju u okviru druge polovine 6. i tjeka 5. stoljeća pr. Kr. (Pflug 1988, 63; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 72, 81). Preostale četiri budvanske kacige upravo su oblikovnošću, tim primarnim atributom udaljenije u odnosu na prethodno kanonizirane forme. Činiti će zato zasebnu, kasniju klasu kaciga premda formalno odgovaraju varijantama III A2–a i A2–b, i biti će shvaćene u kasnijem razdoblju kraja 5. i tjeka 4. stoljeća pr. Kr. (Vasić 2010, 40; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 81) (sl. 2). Pri tomu je posebna pozornost usmjerena na kacige ionako regionalne varijante III A2–b. Ali, i tu ima odstupanja. Kako je pokazano, deformirana budvanska kaciga odražava najviše srodnosti s dalmatinskim primjercima, i oblikovanjem i načinom ukrašavanja osobito strelice, pa će izvedbeno možda biti stariji uradak iz 5. stoljeća pr. Kr.?!

Ukrašavanju kaciga strelicama već je, uz estetski dojam, ponuđena i znatna simbolička vrijednost, ponajprije statusa osobe koja je takvo ukrasje i/ili znakovlje nosila (sl. 6-10). Znak strelice interpretiran je kao simbol moći i posvećenosti onoga koji ga je posjedovao, jer se njime obilježavao utjecaj nebeskoga božanstva na zemlji, tj. njegova kreacija. U smislu

## To conclude

When analyzing individual items of material culture, the basis for the division is their morphological characteristics, which, when observing the Illyrian helmets from Montenegro enable a relatively clear differentiation of their types and variants. From the chronological position, although with modest contextual data, with a precise classical archaeological method of typological determination could be clear the trace of their use on this small but exceptional territory in Southern Europe. As the oldest form could be recognized the helmet of the III A3 type from Kličevo followed by the mostly synchronized in use helmet of the III A2–a type from the territory of river Zeta dated into the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> and the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC (Pflug 1988, 63; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 72, 81). The four remaining helmets from Budva are according to their formal expression, their primary attribute, distant in relation to previously canonized forms. Consequently, they form a separate, later type of helmets, although they formally correspond to the variants III A2–a and A2–b, and could be dated into the late 5<sup>th</sup> and during the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (Vasić 2010, 40; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 81) (Fig. 2). In this connection, the special attention is focused on the helmets of III A2–b variant. And even here are deviations. As demonstrated, the deformed helmet from Budva exhibits most similarities with the Dalmatian examples – and according to the formation and decoration of especially the arrow, we could consider it being an older product from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

The decoration of helmets with arrows represents, besides the aesthetic impression, also a considerable symbolic value – first of all indicating the status of the person wearing such decoration/sign (Fig. 6-10). The symbol of an arrow was interpreted as a sign of strength and con-



muškog, faličkog značenja, strelice su interpretirane i u aspektu plodnosti, tj. vitalnosti, priskrbujući na taj način apotropejski smisao njezinome nošenju i isticanju (Stipčević 1981, 110-111; Kull 1997, 329-336; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 79).

Izuzev strelicom, sve budvanske kacige III. A2 tipa mlađe klase ističu se još jednim elementom, a to je njihovo naturaliziranje ili personificiranje. Naime, čak su tri kacige od njih četiri „potpisane“ inicijalima (sl. 5, 9-10, 14), što ih statistički čini najizrazitijima u odnosu na zastupljenost jednog prostora, u ovom primjeru budvanske antičke nekropole, te najzastupljenijim načinom obilježavanja u jednoj od varijanti. Jer, potpisane su samo kacige kasnog III. stupnja i od ukupno 13 vrednovanih, čak ih je 7 zabilježeno kod III. A2 varijante. „Potpisane“ kacige jednostavnim znakovnim sustavom ili slovima/inicijalima, a posebice s cjelovitim natpisima poput onih iz Ohrida, Halkidike, Atene ili Olimpije svjedoče o poosobljivanju osobnoga, statusnog ili simboličkog vlasništva, poglavito kada su oni bili najvišeg religioznog zavjetnog karaktera zrelih i vojno hijerarhiziranih muškaraca. Te su kacige većinom bile žrtvovane ili u svetištima ili u kontekstima istog simboličnog značenja, nerijetko upravo u grobovima, poput deformirane kacige iz Budve (Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 77-78).

Budvanske kacige „potpisane“ su na dva načina: urezivanjem i punciranjem (sl. 14). Starija kaciga na štitniku ima urezane inicijale  $I\Sigma$  ili  $I\Theta$  (Krstić 2007, 142, k. 100; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, sl. 16, 3), dok su kod druge dvije kacige na desnim paragnatidama puncirani, manje čitkiji inicijali  $ZEA$  ili  $ZEA$  te  $ZOY?$  Punciranjem je ukrašena i kaciga iz Ošanića  $\Pi\Pi\Pi$  ali i kaciga iz Podstinja u obliku zakrivljenog slova „U“ (Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, sl. 16, 1-2). U istoj je maniri potpisana

separation of the one having it since it was used to mark the influence of heavenly deities on Earth, this is of their creation. In the sense of the male, phallic meaning, the arrows were interpreted in the aspect of fertility; this is vitality, providing the carrier with the apotropaic sense of their wear and demonstration (Stipčević 1981, 110-111; Kull 1997, 329-336; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 79).

Besides the arrow, all of the helmets from Budva of the younger III A2 type feature another element – their naturalization or personification. Even three of the four helmets are “signed” with initials (Fig. 5, 9-10, 14) making them statistically most prominent in relation to the presence on a territory, in this case, the ancient necropolis of Budva – at the same time exhibiting the most frequent mode of designation in a single variant. Signed are only the helmets of a late III stage and from the 13 evaluated, even 7 of them belonged to the III A2 variant. Helmets “signed” with simple signs of letters/initials, and especially those with entire inscriptions such as the examples from Ohrid, Halkidiki, Athens, and Olympia indicate a personification of personal, status or symbolical property – particularly when they were items of the highest dedicative religious character of adult and military hierarchized males. These helmets were mostly sacrificed either in sanctuaries or in contexts of the same symbolical importance – not rarely in graves such as the deformed helmet from Budva (Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, 77-78).

The helmets from Budva were “signed” in two ways – with incisions and punching (Fig. 14). The older helmet has on the neck-guard incised initials  $I\Sigma$  or  $I\Theta$  (Krstić 2007, 142, cat. 100; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, fig. 16, 3), while on the other two helmets are punched on the cheek-guards less legible initials  $ZEA$  or  $ZEA$  and  $ZOY?$  With punching is decorated the helmet from Ošanići with  $\Pi\Pi\Pi$  while the helmet



Slika 14. Detalji s „potpisima“ budvanskih kaciga: 1 – Budva (sl. 5), 2 – Budva, grob 2/1 (sl. 9), 3 – Budva, grob 6 (sl. 10)

Figure 14. Details of the “signatures“ of the Budva helmets: – Budva (Fig. 5), 2 – Budva, grave 2/1 (Fig. 9), 3 – Budva, grave 6 (Fig. 10)

i kaciga iz Budimpešte koja, ipak, ima nešto cjelovitiji korintski natpis na desnoj paragnatidi (Mozsolics 1955, 50, sl. 13) (sl. 7). Podrobnija lingvistička analiza budvanskih „potpisa“, zasigurno će pružiti još nekoliko bitnih momenata u njihovom cjelovitijem poznavanju.

U skladu s tipološkim obilježjima, predočenim analogijama te vremenskim odrednicama, nova kaciga iz oblasti rijeke Zete predstavlja nam se kao najstarija varijanta III. A2 tipa ilirskih kaciga iz Crne Gore. Upotpunila je tako njihovo zemljopisno rasprostiranje na širem balkanskom prostoru, kulturno-povijesno ukazala na izvjesnu povezanost s ostalim središtima i trendovima toga doba te dokazala kako se i na crnogorskom području mora računati s nalazima vojne opreme takvog tipa znatno ranije no što je to do sada bila uvažena činjenica (sl. 4). Uža povezanost s jugoistočnim prostorima Balkana, od Albanije sve do Makedonije ne bi morala biti isključena, tim više ako znamo da se upravo u Kličevu našla kaciga III. A3 tipa, tipična za područje Makedonije istoga razdoblja (sl. 13). Makedonija je održavala izravne i stalne kontakte s tim prostorom, povijesno dokazane još od 6. stoljeća pr. Kr., što potkrepljuju i brojni drugi nalazi materijalne kulture. Ilirske pak kacige III A2–b varijante, kao i one III B tipa (sl. 11),

from Podstinje features a curved letter “U“ (Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012, fig. 16, 1-2). In the same manner is signed the helmet from Budapest which features a complete Corinthian inscription on the right cheek-guard (Mozsolics 1959, 50, fig. 13) (Fig. 7). A detailed linguistic analysis of “signatures” from Budva will clearly present several significant moments in their holistic understanding.

According to the typological characteristics, presented analogies and chronological limitations, the newly discovered helmet from the territory of river Zeta represent the oldest variant of the III A2 type of Illyrian helmets from Montenegro. It completed their spatial distribution on a broader Balkan territory and in a cultural and historical perspective demonstrated a certain connection with other trends and centers of that time – it demonstrated that we can expect on the Montenegrin territory the discoveries of military equipment of that type significantly earlier as it was previously assumed (Fig. 4). A close connection with the territory of South-Eastern Balkans, from Albania to Macedonia should not be excluded. Even more, since we know that in Kličevo was discovered a helmet of III A3 type typical for the territory of Macedonia in that period (Fig. 13). Macedonia sustained direct and permanent contacts

nosile su posebna obilježja regionalnih proizvodnji koje su se razvile, usavršile i prezentirale na krajnje zapadnom dijelu pružanja Balkana, od Ilirije pa sve do istočnojadranskih priobalnih središta, od kojih je Budva jedno nesumnjivo bila.<sup>8</sup>

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with this territory – historically demonstrated already in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC confirmed by numerous finds of material culture. Illyrian helmets of the III A2–b variant as well as those of III B type (Fig. 11) featured special characteristics of local productions which developed, perfected and presented themselves on the extremely western part of the Balkans – from Illyria and all the way to the eastern Adriatic coastal centers from which Budva was definitely one.<sup>8</sup>

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