

An Etruscan bone box from south-west Serbia and the problem of Late Archaic imports in the central Balkan area

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Izveček

Koščena škatlica iz knežje gomile v Atenici pri Čačku, okrašena ob strani s prizorom boja med levom in jelenom v plitvem reliefu in na pokrovu s figuro ležečega leva, je najverjetneje etruščanskega izvora. Škatlice podobne velikosti, oblike in okrasa so bile namreč najdene v velikem številu v Etruriji, od koder so se razširile po vsem Sredozemlju. Avtor omenja redke etruščanske najdbe iz notranjosti Balkana in sklepa, da so škatlice prinesli v Atenico grški trgovci skupaj z drugimi južnoitaljskimi in grškimi predmeti. Veliko število grških in južnoitaljskih predmetov na osrednjem Balkanu v zadnji tretjini 6. in prvi tretjini 5. st. pr. n. š. pojasnjuje s specifičnimi okoliščinami, med katerimi omenja politično in ekonomsko krepitev domačih knezov in njihovo povečano zanimanje za tuje blago, pa tudi zgodovinska dogajanja (spopadi Grkov s Perzijci in Kartaginci) ter potrebo po iskanju novih in premalo izkoriščenih tržišč. Nazadnje je govor o enem izmed problemov, na katere opozarja ta import – o razmerju med grško poznoarhaijsko in domačo geometrično umetnostjo na osrednjem Balkanu.

The excavations carried out some thirty years ago in the village Atenica near Čačak in south-west Serbia uncovered two princely mounds with cremation graves and the remains of a complex burial rite.¹ Among numerous grave goods, many of which were damaged by fire, there was a number of imported objects: a clay jug, fragments of bronze vessels (probably a crater with roll-handles and one or two basins on tripods), amber beads in the shape of bird, animal and human heads, applications of gilded silver in the form of a boar, palmette, bees etc. Particularly interesting are parts of a small box, of which only some bone plaques are preserved (*fig. 1*). Beside several rectangular unornamented plaques, a fragmented composition with a lion attacking a deer finished in low relief also belonged to the box. Two preserved fragments of the lower part of the composition are 6,6 and 4,3 cm long so that the length of the entire plaque could have originally been some 12–13 cm (*fig. 2*). A small figurine of a lion, 4,5 cm long, also of bone and found together with the bone plaques, belonged most probably to the same box (*fig. 3*).²

Although the symplegma of lion and deer is basically an oriental motif which spread from the east to Greece

Abstract

The bone box from a princely tumulus at Atenica near Čačak, decorated in low relief with a fight of a lion and a stag sidelong and with a prone lion figure on the cover, is most probably of Etruscan origin. A large number of boxes of comparable size, shape and ornamentation have been found in Etruria; from that area they spread all over the Mediterranean world. Mentioning scanty Etruscan finds in the interior of the Balkans the author concludes that the box reached Atenica, along with other south Italic and Greek objects, through the agency of Greek merchants. The occurrence of a great number of Greek and south Italic objects in the Central Balkans, in the last third of the 6th and the first third of the 5th centuries B.C., is accounted for by specific circumstances: the growth of political and economic power of local princes and their increasing interest in foreign goods, as well as some historical events, like conflicts of the Greeks with the Persians and Carthaginians and the necessity of searching for new and insufficiently exploited markets. Finally, one of the problems brought forward by this import is discussed: the relationship of Greek Late Archaic and local geometric arts in the Central Balkans.

and even further to the west, one can suppose on sufficient grounds that the bone box from Atenica represents an Etruscan product. Namely, this type of box of similar dimensions, covered with plaques of bone or ivory with carved figures and compositions of various contents, and having lids showing figures of birds and lions, is found in relatively large numbers in Central Italy.

L. Pollak in the beginning of the century was the first to write in more detail about this type of jewelry and he supposed on the basis of three plaques found on Cyprus, that it represents a Cypro-Italic product created under Oriental influences.³ Although these influences played a crucial part in the forming of our boxes, later investigations and new finds showed undoubtedly that they are Etruscan products, originating in a workshop near Vulci in the Late Archaic period. Recently Marina Martelli made a particular study of this question.⁴ She collected a great number of boxes or their fragments – remains of the Atenica example were not included in this list – and clearly demonstrated that the greatest number comes from Etruria and its colonies in Emilia and Campania, from where they spread over the Mediterranean, being found up to

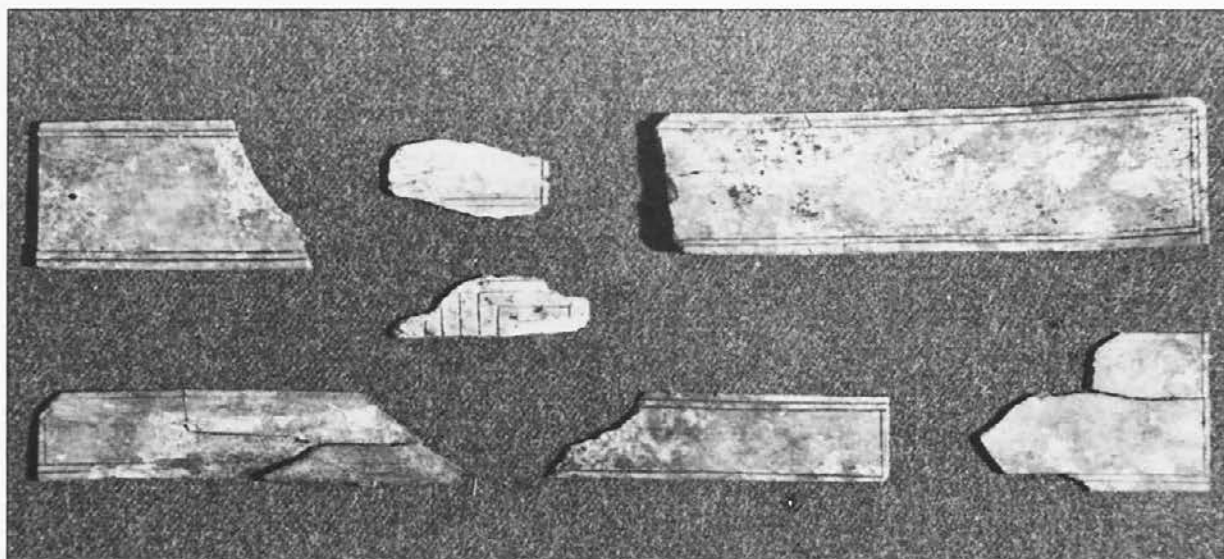


Fig. 1: The unornamented bone plaques of the box from Atenica (Photo Archaeological Institute, Beograd).

Sl. 1: Neornamentisane koštane pločice kutije iz Atenice (foto Arheološki institut, Beograd).

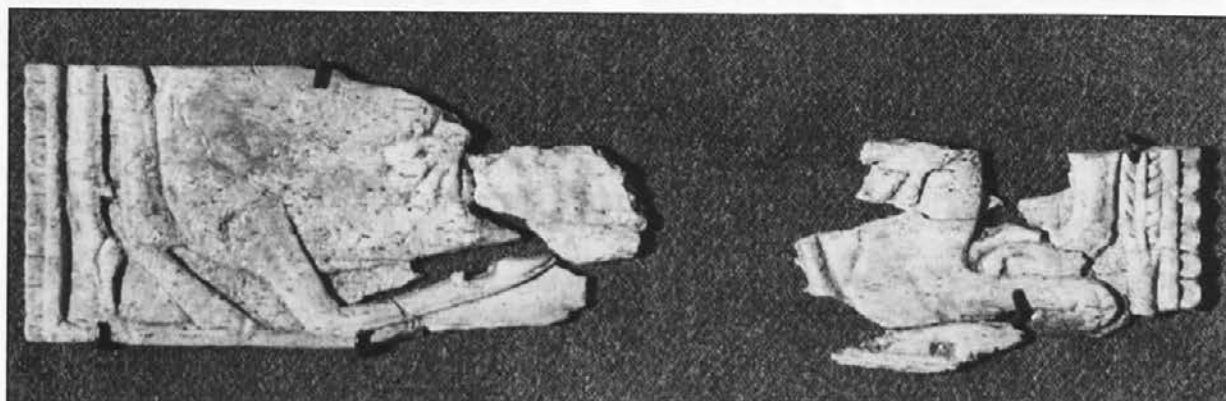
now in South Italy (Velia, Paestum, Locri), in Apulia (Ruvo), on Sardinia (Nora, Tharros), Malta, Delos, Rhodos (Ialisos) and Cyprus. According to the stylistic characteristics of the figural representations, Martelli divided these boxes in four groups which vary chronologically to a certain extent.⁵ Two older groups are characterised by carefully carved forms, sometimes with calligraphic precision, usually showing banquets, processions of men and women, bigae with winged horses, hunting scenes, then birds, deers, lions and other animals. Their style as well as the themes chosen show that one should look for the impulse leading to their appearance on the west coast of Asia Minor. The finds of the older of these two earlier groups are concentrated exclusively in Etruria and dated approximately between 540 and 520 B. C. The second group, whose finds reached South Italy, Malta and Rhodes, is placed in the last quarter of the 6th century B. C. Two more recent groups, the third and fourth, represent a period of decadence, precision and purity of

line disappear, the drawing becomes superfluous and unsure, the themes are mostly confined to the repetition of human and animal heads and figures (rabbits, vovles, bulls). Boxes of these two groups are found in Etruria as well as on Delos and Cyprus and placed chronologically to the first decades of the 5th century.

Without wishing to enter in more detail into the problem of these boxes, we want to underline that the parts of the bone box from Atenica undoubtedly belong to these Etruscan works. This is seen from the form and the size of the box, the ornamental frame of the composition, the technique of finish, the stylistic characteristics, details and the motif represented, as well as the figure of a lion on the box which was often represented on the lid. Comparing our example with the material which Martelli displays, one could point out as parallels the plaque from Orvieto where two lions are attacking a deer, today in the National Museum of Copenhagen,⁶ and the plaque with the same motif from an unknown site.⁷ Both plaques are

Fig. 2: The relief composition of the box from Atenica (Photo Archaeological Institute, Beograd).

Sl. 2: Reljefna kompozicija sa kutije iz Atenice (foto Arheološki institut, Beograd).



close to the piece from Atenica in the motif and the finish of details – hoofs, paws, legs etc. However, the ivory plaques from a grave in Orvieto, uncovered towards the end of the last century, are of particular importance as parallels to the fragment from Atenica (fig. 4, 5).⁸ One of them represents two youths hunting a deer where the deer's pose, position of the legs and finish of the hoofs are very similar to the deer on the relief from Atenica. The box from Orvieto also has a lying lion on the lid, similar to the Atenica lion (fig. 6). All the cited analogies belong to the earliest group dated between 540 and 520 B. C. One should say that the style and the finish of the relief from Atenica are also close to other finds of the first and second group, while on the other hand they show significant differences when compared with the superfluous finish of bulls and deers of the third and the fourth group. Some similarities with these last groups can be seen only in certain details, e. g. the floral motif along the right edge of the relief from Atenica appears on the plaque from Certosa which belongs to the third group,⁹ but also on the plaques from an unknown site and Orvieto both belonging to the second group.¹⁰ This element was obviously not crucial for the precise chronological determination of the plaques.

On the basis of these parallels it seems to us that the box from Atenica should be placed at the end of the first or the beginning of the second group and dated around 520 B. C.

The appearance of this Etruscan box in the interior of the Balkans, the earliest example of this kind found outside Etruria, rises a number of questions all of which cannot be completely answered.

On the territory of Yugoslavia Etruscan import appears mostly in the north-west, in Istria and Slovenia, where Italic influences were strong and the material culture was italicised to a high degree during the 7th and the 6th centuries B. C.¹¹ Among the most significant Etruscan pieces one could cite a bronze tripod from Novo mesto which has direct parallels in Vetulonia in the second half of the 7th century¹² and a bronze oinochoe of plump form from Most na Soči, dated to the first half of the 6th century and made, according to some opinions, in Vulci.¹³ A series of bronze fans in Istria, made under direct Etruscan influence, belongs to this last period.¹⁴ From the middle of the 6th century Etruscan imports are not so numerous in this area but their influence is present later on. It is shown not only through the acceptance of many Italic forms of Etruscan origin, but also in the development of Carniolan and Histrian variant of Situla art whose many elements were formed in the Etruscan artistic tradition.¹⁵ The figural sculpture from Nesactium in Istria, which recent opinion regards as sepulchral sculpture, is dated to the end of the 6th century and also has parallels in Etruria.¹⁶

Italic elements appear frequently in the east Adriatic and in adjacent areas, and here also the Etruscan influence certainly played a prominent part.¹⁷ However, Etruscan imports dated before the 5th century are not found in great number. A bucchero cantharos from Vis is dated to the first half of the 6th century,¹⁸

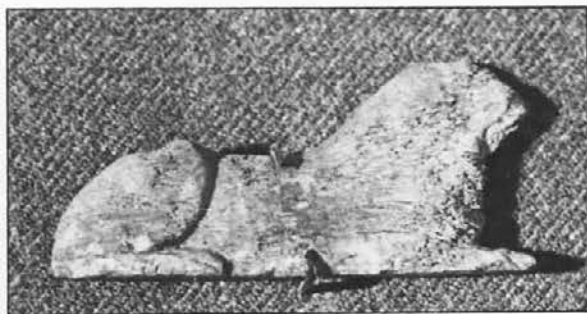


Fig. 3: The bone figure of a lion from the box from Atenica (Photo Archaeological Institute, Beograd).

Sl. 3: Koštana figura lava sa kutije iz Atenice (foto Arheološki institut, Beograd).

while a single find of a bronze figurine from Studenci near Ljubuški in Hercegovina is probably an Etruscan piece from the end of the 6th century.¹⁹ Here one should perhaps mention that in the hinterland, in the prehistoric settlement Pod by Bugojno in central Bosnia, in a layer belonging, according to B. Čović, to the beginning of the 6th century, a bowl with letters incised around the rim was found. The letters might represent a copy of an Etruscan-Umbrian inscription which was probably carved on some bronze vessel.²⁰

In the central Balkan area, which embraces east Bosnia, Serbia, north Montenegro and Yugoslav Macedonia and represents our main field of interest here, Italic and Etruscan influence is weak and the imports are scarce. It is possible that some bronze vessels from east Bosnia and south-west Serbia, which date to the 7th and the first half of the 6th centuries, found in the princely mounds in Glasinac and Pilatovići, are imported from Italy and not from Greece, when we bear in mind the frequent appearance of these forms (fluted bowls and basins with bossed rims) on the Apennine peninsula.²¹ It is corroborated indirectly by the find of an Egyptian scarab in Pilatovići, in the same mound but allegedly in another grave, which probably reached south-west Serbia from Italy and not from Egypt.²² A different case is represented by a bronze male figurine found by chance in Smederevo in Serbia which seems to have been produced in an Etruscan workshop in north Italy in the second half of the 7th century B. C.²³ Its appearance in the Danube region may be explained as a far reaching echo of Italic expansion towards the north and the north-east of the Apennines in the 7th century B. C. which left a number of traces behind.²⁴

Later, in the 5th and the 4th centuries B. C., in the period of further italicisation of Slovenia and the east Adriatic coast, Etruscan elements appear frequently in these regions, but in the interior of the Balkans they are rare. Scyphoi from Pod, Čitluci on the Glasinac plateau and from Trebenište – Etruscan imitations of Attic pottery from the second half of the 5th century – should be mentioned here.²⁵ The spreading of bronze stamnioid situlae over the Balkan peninsula in the 4th century, some of which were found in the south-east Adriatic and in Yugoslav Macedonia, is perhaps also connected with Etruria.²⁶

All these data, even if they speak in favour of various relations between Etruria and the Balkan peninsula in general, do not indicate frequent and organised contact between the Etruscans and the interior of the Balkans, especially not with the central Balkan area which is in question here. Thus, we can suppose that the Etruscan box was imported to Atenica together with other Greek and south Italian products which appear in this region. The finds of Etruscan boxes of this type in south Italy from where many objects were imported to the Central Balkans, confirm this opinion. Also it matches M. Martelli's supposition that Greek merchants carried those boxes together with other Etruscan products to the east Mediterranean.²⁷

These conclusions are fully corroborated by the picture given of the southern imports in the central Balkan area in the second half of the 6th and the first half of the 5th century B. C. They are many and varied, and come mainly from south Italy, Greece and Macedonia.²⁸

A number of foreign objects from the interior of the Balkans is also known in the previous period from the first half of the 7th to the first half of the 6th century. They consist mainly of bronze vessels and a couple of helmets and greaves which were found in the chieftains' graves on the Glasinac plateau in east Bosnia (Ilijak, Brankovići, Brezje, Osovo, Čitluci,

Potpećine),²⁹ then in Pilatovići by Užička Požega,³⁰ Donja Dolina near Bosanska Gradiška³¹ and Kaptol near Slavenska Požega.³² It this wave one can also include a phiale from Sofronievo, in north-west Bulgaria.³³ We mentioned before that some of the metal vessels may be Italic in origin, but the others, as well as helmets, are definitely Greek. The routes by which they reached remote areas in the Balkan hinterland are not easy to determine, but it is probable that Macedonia on one side, and the Greek colonies along the south-east Adriatic – Corcyra, Apollonia and Epidamnus – on the other, played a significant role in this. Greek pottery from this period is rare: some fragments found on the Glasinac plateau³⁴ and a few vases from south Pelagonia (Saraj by Brod, Progon by Bukri, Visoji by Beranci) is almost all we can mention here with certainty.³⁵

In the second half of the 6th and the first half of the 5th centuries the situation changed a great deal and the import from Greece and south Italy increased noticeably (*fig. 7*). It consisted of metal vessels and arms, but also of pottery and jewelry mainly of gold and silver. Particular characteristic of this import are figurally finished amber beads and plaques with representations of men, animals and birds. The most important site with this import is the princely necropolis in Trebenište near Lake Ohrid,³⁶ whose thirteen very rich graves are well known in the literature. Here

Fig. 4: The banquet scene from the ivory box from Orvieto (Photo Soprintendenza Archeologica per la Toscana, Firenze).
Sl. 4: Scena banketa sa kutije od slonovače iz Orvieto (foto Soprintendenza Archeologica per la Toscana, Firenze).

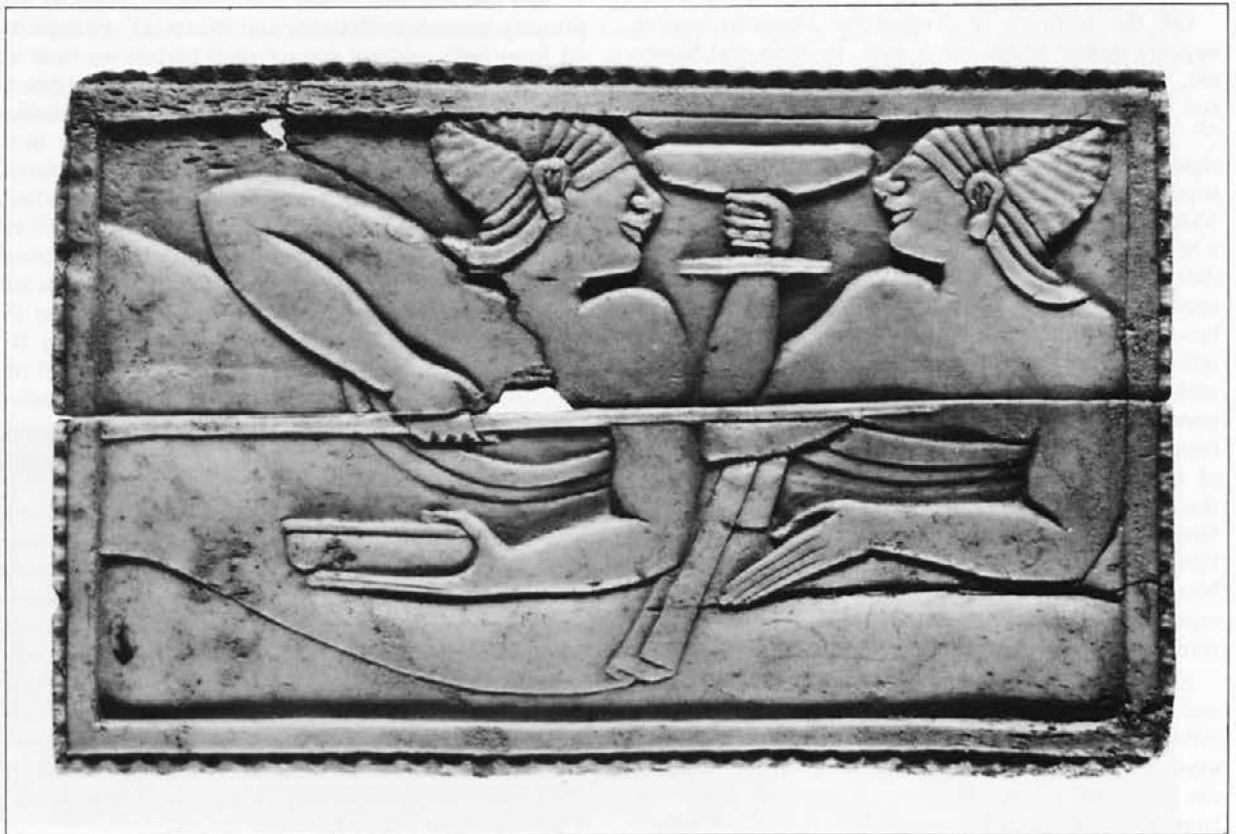




Fig. 5: The hunting scene from the ivory box from Orvieto (Photo Soprintendenza Archeologica per la Toscana, Firenze).
Sl. 5: Scena lova sa kutije od slonovače iz Orvieto (foto Soprintendenza Archeologica per la Toscana, Firenze).

several dozen metal vessels of various forms and sizes are found, many with figural decoration, then ten helmets, parts of greaves, shields and swords, an enormous quantity of gold and silver jewelry including golden masks and sandals, as well as pottery and clay figurines. In the Ohrid region one should mention also the necropolis in Radolište,³⁷ part of which belonged to the end of the 6th and the first half of the 5th century (pottery, jewelry and metal vessels) as well as the handle of an amphora from Donja Bjelica.³⁸ At the site of Sveti Ilija near the village Delagoždi, also in the Ohrid district, two graves from the same period have been recently excavated containing weapons, helmet, Greek pottery, a bronze olpe and jewelry.^{38a} In Pelagonia the most important find is a princely grave in Beranci-Petilep³⁹ with jewelry, pottery and bronze vessels, then pottery and jewelry from Beranci-Crkvište,⁴⁰ pottery and arms from Progon by Bukri,⁴¹ pottery from Saraj and Bela Crkva by Brod,⁴² helmet from Rečica⁴³ and two bronze goats from Trap⁴⁴ probably parts of a vessel. In the Vardar valley imported pottery was found at several sites around Gevgelija and Valandovo, and in Demir Kapija,⁴⁵ fragments of bronze vessels (a bronze goat and a handle with a lion head) come from Gevgelija and Stobi,⁴⁶ while swords and jewelry are discovered in the surrounding of Gevgelija and Valandovo.⁴⁷ Pottery and swords appear also around Štip further to north-east.⁴⁸

North of the Ohrid region, bronze figurines are

found in Tetovo⁴⁹ – a running maenad together with fragments of greaves, probably from a destroyed grave, in Prizren – a running girl,⁵⁰ and in Janjevo – a mirror handle in the form of a youth.⁵¹ In Pečka banja⁵² imported pottery, jewelry and arms are found in the rich indigene graves, while similar objects (pottery, swords) are discovered in the necropolis Romaja by Prizren,⁵³ in Široko by Suva Reka⁵⁴ and in Gornje Gadimlje by Lipljan.⁵⁵ In south-west Serbia the princely mound from Novi Pazar is of particular importance⁵⁶ where Greek bronze vessels, pottery and gold and silver jewelry were found, together with an enormous amount of amber beads with figural shapes. Then a

Fig. 6: The ivory figure of a lion from the box from Orvieto (Photo Soprintendenza Archeologica per la Toscana, Firenze).

Sl. 6: Figura lava od slonovače sa kutije iz Orvieto (foto Soprintendenza Archeologica per la Toscana, Firenze).



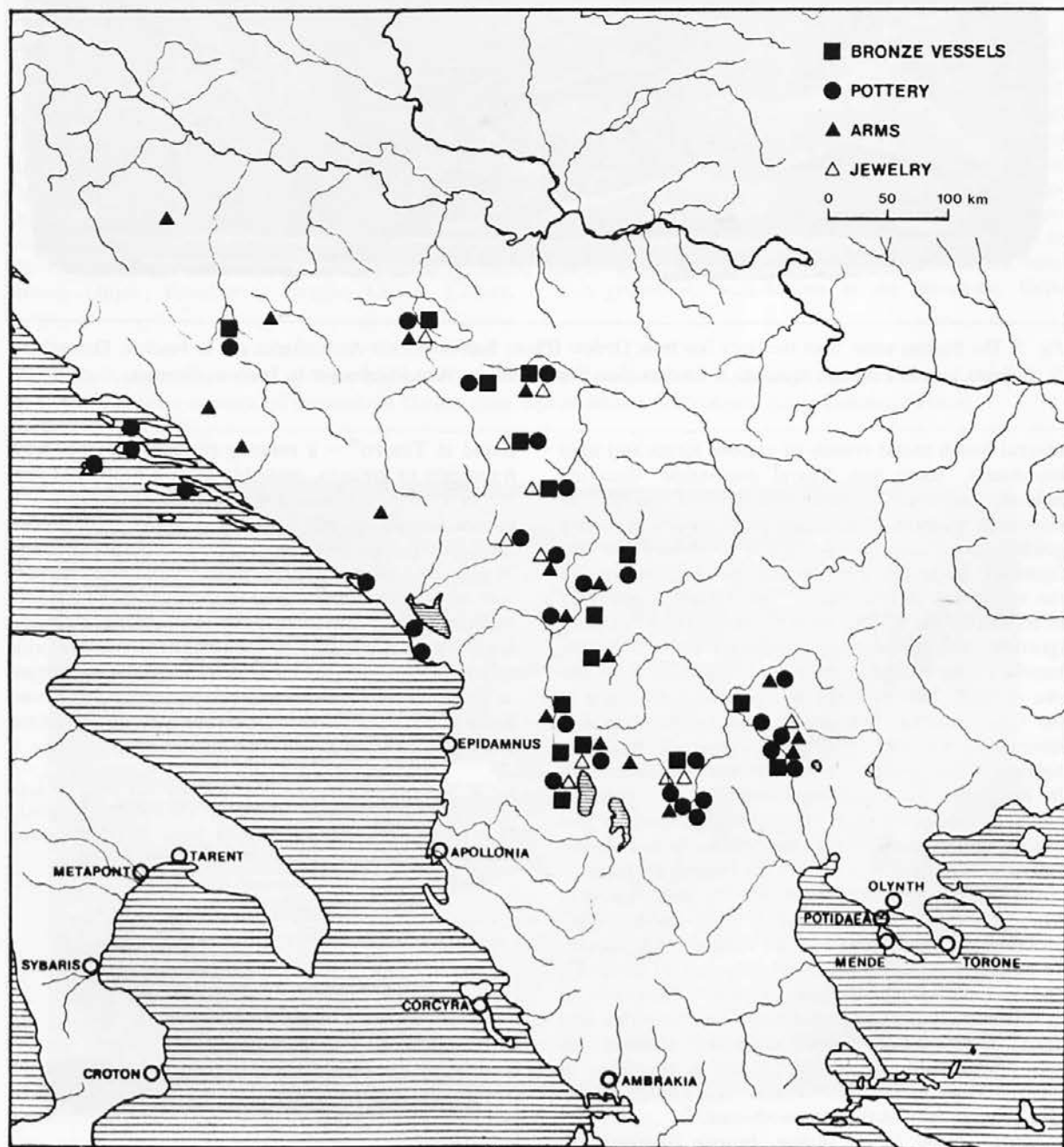
recently uncovered treasure from Kruševica near Raška,⁵⁷ north of Novi Pazar, should be mentioned with gold and silver jewelry, a clay scyphos and a bronze jug. We have already spoken about Atenica near Čačak. Fragments of pottery and bronze vessels (semi-circular handles and a lying lion, probably parts of a hydria) from the princely mound in Pilatovići belong to this period.⁵⁸ The Glasinac plateau⁵⁹ provided some arms, pottery, jewelry and fragments of bronze vessels from this period, while a clay jug and amber beads representing a horseman and animals in relief were

found in a grave in Lisijevo Polje near Ivangrad, in Montenegro.⁶⁰

The bronze vessels, decorated in many cases with figural motifs, come for the greatest part from south Italy and north-west Greece, while only a few pieces can be connected directly with Corinth or Laconia.⁶¹ A number of bronze and silver vessels, mainly without figural decoration, come probably from Macedonia.⁶² The arms, which consist for the most part of helmets of the so-called "Illyrian" type, were at first, it seems, imported to the interior of the Balkans from the

Fig. 7: Distribution map of the Late Archaic imports in the central Balkan area (only the Yugoslav finds are marked).

Sl. 7: Karta rasprostranjenja kasnoarhajskog importa na području centralnog Balkana (navedeni su samo nalazi iz Jugoslavije).



Thessaloniki region and west Chalcidice. Later, these helmets were made in some workshop in the south-east Adriatic, judging by their appearance in great number in the south Adriatic and its hinterland in the 5th and 4th centuries.⁶³ Pottery, mostly Attic and its imitations, and gold and silver jewelry most probably came via Macedonia, or they were in part the work of Macedonian craftsmen who were staying in the courts of indigene princes.⁶⁴ The amber beads finished in the form of human and animal heads and figures have parallels only in Italy.⁶⁵

Judging by the distribution of imports from this period, the route from Macedonia towards the interior of the Balkans led along the future Via Egnatia and not through the valleys of the Vardar and Morava. One of the roads from north-west Greece headed through south-east Albania towards Lake Ohrid and further north to Kosovo and south-west Serbia, while another passed along the coast from Corcyra to Apollonia and Epidamnus. The latter was important also for contacts with South Italy from where the wares travelled to Macedonia but also directly via Epidamnus and Apollonia to Serbia and Bosnia. The Etruscan origin of the box from Atenica, which was formerly believed to be a Ionian product which reached Serbia via the Danube from the Greek colonies on the Black Sea, now poses the question of the existence of a Danube route in this period. It is certainly exaggerated to say that no Greek influence came via the Danube to the Central Balkans in the second half of the 6th and the first half of the 5th centuries but it was doubtless of much lesser importance than the other routes mentioned above.

The considerable increase of foreign import in the central Balkan area in the last third of the 6th and the first third of the 5th centuries seems to be connected with two factors at this moment. On one side, the political and economical development of some Balkan tribal groups and the rise to power of a tribal aristocracy, keen on breaking the gentile relationship, prepared favourable ground for increased interest in foreign and luxurious wares. It is no longer a question of bronze vessels and helmets – the objects which were most likely a century ago to impress the barbarian chieftains in the distant Balkan mountains whose main interest was how to rob their neighbours or make peace with them when it was necessary. The situation changed, the frontiers between the Balkan tribes and the Greeks approached, the relationships became more complex, the desires and needs of the local princes became more refined. The enormous quantity of gold and silver jewelry in their graves, some of which was probably the work of Greek or Macedonian artisans and some of local craftsmen, shows clearly the change of thought and taste and the considerable increase in strength and wealth of tribal rulers.

The other is the historical moment. The new situation in the Near East and the Persian menace, together probably with the troubles with the Carthaginians and Etruscans in the western Mediterranean, forced the Greeks to seek new commercial routes and new unexploited markets, perhaps also possible mili-

tary allies at particular moments. The interior of the Balkans, especially the west part of the central Balkan area, insufficiently explored and not fully exploited commercially, with warlike tribes and their ambitious chiefs, offered good opportunities in this sense.

This influx of imports, however, lasted only a limited period of time. It is interesting to point out, and this is certainly not pure coincidence, that in the sixties of the 5th century B. C., at the time of the final Greek victories over Persia and the beginning of Athenian control of the Thracian coast, the first rich graves with local and in particular Greek objects appear in south Thrace, in Duvanlij,⁶⁶ while at the same time the numerous Greek import ceases to arrive in the central Balkan area. Apparently the political and commercial situation in the Mediterranean and in the Balkans did change – throughout the second half of the 5th and the entire 4th century silver and bronze vessels as well as Greek arms are abundant in Thrace⁶⁷ – and historical events corroborate these archaeological data.

From the end of the first half of the 5th century onwards the import is rare in east Bosnia and Serbia. An occasional piece of armoury or a fragmented vase was all that this area offered for more than fifty years.⁶⁸ The grave goods from mound V in Čitluci on the Glasinac plateau are the only exception. They consist of two bronze jugs, a bronze strainer and two Etruscan imitations of Attic scyphoi⁶⁹ – a kind of a delayed despatch which perhaps arrived by the ancient commercial route, judging by the parallels in Trebenište, in so-called “poor” graves from the second half of the 5th century.⁷⁰

In Yugoslav Macedonia the events took a somewhat different turn and signs of a strong Hellenisation in south Pelagonia and in the Vardar valley, down stream from Stobi, can be noticed in the 5th century.⁷¹ From the end of the 5th and in the 4th century these trends began to spread northwards along the valleys of the Vardar and Morava: Greek and Macedonian pottery and metal are found in great quantity in several settlements around Skopje and even further north in Krševica near Vranje.⁷²

In east Bosnia, Serbia and in the Danube region under this influence from the south one meets fragments of Greek pottery and its rough imitations, as well as jewelry, imported or imitated.⁷³ A good example of this influence are so-called “Scharnier” fibulae which reached the Danube region from Macedonia only at the end of the 5th or in the beginning of the 4th century although they appeared originally in the south towards the end of the 6th century.⁷⁴ The local workshops in the Central Balkans needed a period of time to accept these fibulae and modify them according to their taste and possibilities. The Celtic invasion prevented a stronger development of this Hellenic influence, although the southern wares appear in this region in the following centuries up to the Roman conquest of the Balkan peninsula.⁷⁵

How strong and numerous the influx of foreign imports was in the central Balkan area at the turn of the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. can be judged by comparison with the contemporary imports in the east

Adriatic and its hinterland. Pottery, particularly Attic, is relatively abundant along the coast, but metal objects are rare.⁷⁶ In the hinterland, Pod by Bugojno provided fragments of pottery and bronze vessels,⁷⁷ while Greek greaves and swords are found in Sanski most and an "Illyrian" helmet in Putičevo near Travnik.⁷⁸ Helmets from Gorica by Ljubuški and Bublin by Imotski in Hercegovina⁷⁹ and a panoply (helmet, greaves, swords) from a warrior grave in Kličevo near Nikšić can be ascribed also to this period.⁸⁰ Yet, there have been no rich graves of powerful chiefs found which could match the wealth of Novi Pazar and Atenica, and no gold and silver jewelry is noted before the middle of the first half of the 5th century. From this period, however, onwards, Greek and Italic pottery is found in larger quantity, as well as jewelry, and in particular "Illyrian" helmets which were probably produced somewhere on the south Adriatic.⁸¹ All that indicates the beginning of a slow and systematic Hellenisation of the east Adriatic coast which reached its climax in the following centuries, and was noticeable also in the hinterland.

The Greek and south Italian imports in the central Balkan area at the turn of the 6th and 5th centuries B. C. pose many questions which demand long and thorough analysis of various aspects. We shall briefly touch one of these problems, connected in some way with the appearance of an Etruscan bone box in Atenica. This is the question of Late Archaic art in these remote Balkan regions.

The majority of sites from the last third of the 6th and the first third of the 5th centuries with Greek and Italic imports, contained objects with figural representations of Late Archaic art – human and animal figures

and even compositions, as was the case in Atenica, either on vases and metal vessels or on weapons and jewelry. These creations were not always the highest artistic achievements, but at many occasions one could say that they reached a satisfactory standard. In any case local craftsmen were able to acquaint themselves with the figural way of artistic expression and had possibilities to accept and develop this trend. However, in the entire local art production of the central Balkan area no wish or attempt can be noticed towards imitation of these figural forms with the creation of a kind of rough and primitive figural expression.

The answer to this question may lie probably in the fact just mentioned. Figural trends were current for a short time in an area which was too immature and unexperienced to understand and accept them having had no time to prepare itself in this direction. The impact was too short and too strong, there was no transitional period which would be necessary to transform primitive and undeveloped artistic thought about the representation of the figure into a clear and visible anthropomorphic expression.

Perhaps the answer also lies partly in the deep roots of local geometric art traditions which were guarded jealously and consistently so that the Balkan craftsmen successfully rejected the temptations from outside and remained steadfast to their primary ideas and conceptions. The gold and silver jewelry, particularly in Novi Pazar and Atenica, based its ornamentation on pronounced geometry – circles, triangles, rhombs, trapezoids – which through its strong and primitive finish is the best illustration of the local artistic spirit and its real needs. It seems to me that no composition of a lion attacking a deer, or anything similar, could at

Fig. 8: A silver belt of the Mramorac type, allegedly found in Vinča (Photo National Museum, Beograd).

Sl. 8: Srebrni pojas tipa Mramorac, navodno nađen u Vinči (foto Narodni muzej, Beograd).



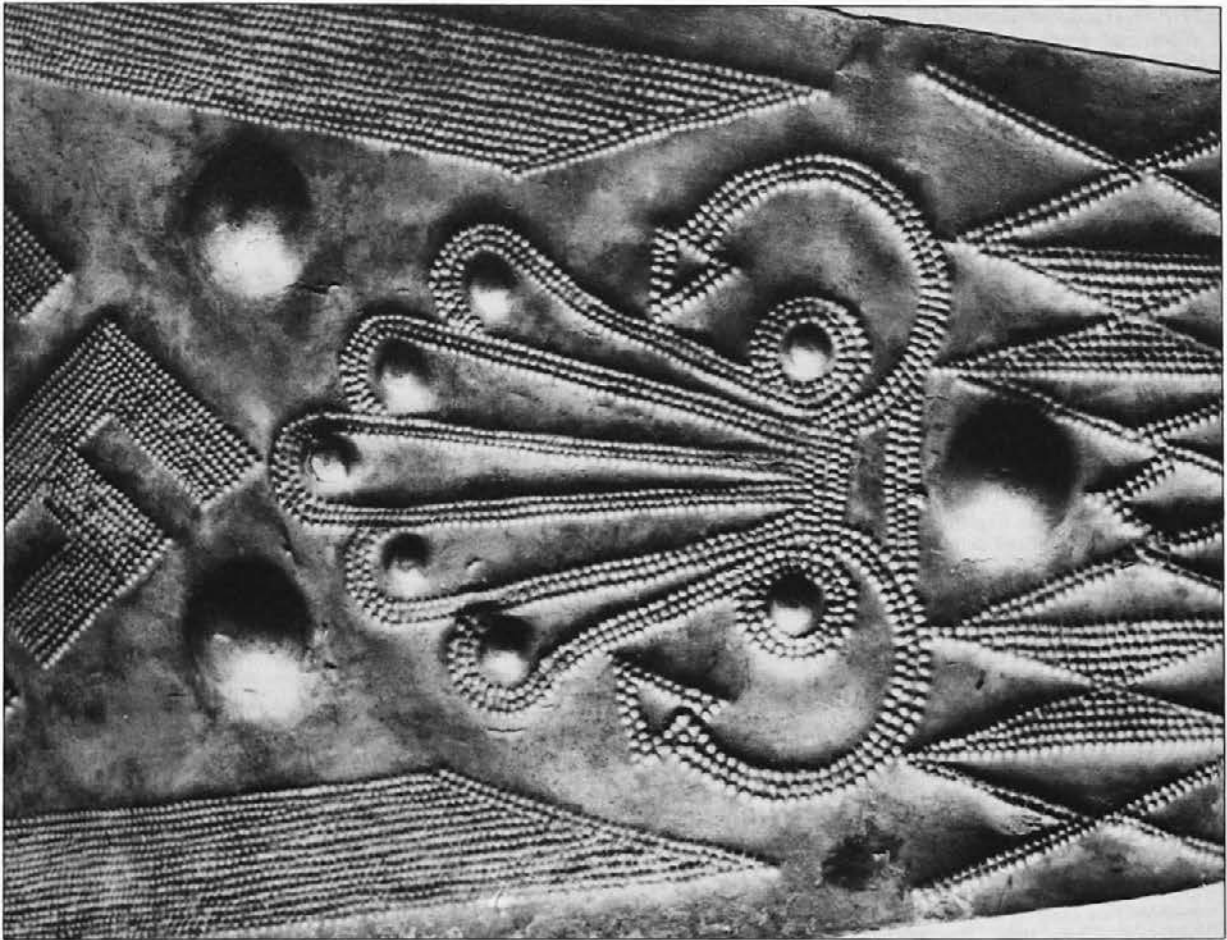


Fig. 9: A detail of the same belt (Photo National Museum, Beograd).

Sl. 9: Detalj istog pojasa (foto Narodni muzej, Beograd).

this moment influence these local trends and change their way of thinking and creating.

Wishing to demonstrate the possibilities of indigene artisans in this period and the degree of their readiness to accept foreign influence, as well as the readiness of their clientele in the Central Balkans to understand and appreciate it, we point out as the best example the silver belts of the type Mramorac, named after the village in Serbia where they were first discovered (fig. 8; 9).⁸² These belts, between 80 and 120 cm long, are decorated with an embossed ornament which combines broad bands that frame the surface and divide

it into triangles and trapezoids, with meanders and palmettes adapted to the local needs and successfully incorporated into the geometric scheme. In spite of certain roughness and primitivism in the finish, the composition is clear, interesting and alive, without repetition, monotony and exaggeration. These belts represent the highest artistic achievements which the central Balkan area was able to offer in this moment and at the same time they point out the extent to which the local art was ready to accept Greek and Italic influence.

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⁸⁰ Žižić 1979, fig. 1–6.

⁸¹ The rich graves from Plana, Kačanj and Ljubomir near Belca, with arms, jewelry and pottery are particularly inte-

resting in this sense. Comp. Truhelka 1901, Marić 1959, Marić 1977, Atanacković-Salčić 1977.

⁸² Comp. Vasić 1988.

Etruska koštana kutija iz jugozapadne Srbije i problem kasnoarhajskog importa na centralnom Balkanu

Sažetak

Pre nekih tridesetak godina u selu Atenici kod Čačka u jugozapadnoj Srbiji otkrivena su dva kneževska tumula sa spaljenim grobovima i složenim pogrebnim ritualom.¹ Među brojnim prilozima, od kojih je većina stradala u vatri, ističe se više importovanih predmeta: glineni krčag, fragmenti bronzanih posuda, ćilibarske perle u obliku ptičjih, životinjskih i ljudskih glava, aplikacije od pozlaćenog srebra u formi vepra, palmete i pčela itd. Posebno su zanimljivi delovi koštane kutije od koje je sačuvano nekoliko pravougaonih pločica u fragmentima (*sl. 1*). Na jednoj od njih prikazana je kompozicija sa lavom koji napada jelenu u plitkom reljefu. Dva sačuvana fragmenta donjeg dela kompozicije dugački su 6,6 i 4,5 cm tako da je prvobitna dužina cele pločice iznosila 12 do 13 cm (*sl. 2*). Istoj kutiji je verovatno pripadala i figura ležećeg lava, dugačka 4,5 cm, takode od kosti (*sl. 3*).²

Iako je simplegma lava i jelena u osnovi orijentalni motiv koji se sa istoka raširio u Grčku i na zapadni Mediteran, može se sa dosta razloga pretpostaviti da koštana pločica iz Atenice predstavlja etruski proizvod. Naime u centralnoj Italiji nađene su ovakve kutije sličnih dimenzija u velikom broju, pokrivene pločicama od kosti ili slonovače sa urezanim figurama i kompozicijama različitog sadržaja i poklopcima sa figurama ptica ili lava.

O ovoj vrsti nakita prvi je početkom ovog veka opširnije pisao L. Polak koji je pretpostavio na osnovu tri pločice sa Kipra, da je reč o kiparsko-italskim proizvodima, nastalim pod orijentalnim uticajima.³ Međutim, i pored činjenice da je orijentalni uticaj bio presudan u njihovom nastajanju, kasnija istraživanja su pokazala da su kutije etruski proizvod, potekao u jednoj radionici blizu Vulčija u kasnoarhajskom periodu. Nedavno je Marina Marteli⁴ načinila katalog ovih kutija i njihovih fragmenata – ostaci kutije iz Atenice nisu uključeni u ovu listu – i jasno pokazala da najveći broj kutija potiče iz Etrurije i njenih kolonija u Emiliji i Kampaniji. Oдавde su se kutije raširile po čitavom Mediteranu i do sada su nađene u južnoj Italiji (Velija, Pestum, Lokri), Apuliji (Ruvo), na Sardiniji (Nora, Taros), na Malti, na atinskom Akropolju, Delosu, Rodosu i Kipru. Na osnovu stila Martelijeve je podelila kutije u četiri grupe koje se hronološki donekle razlikuju.⁵ Dve starije grupe se odlikuju brižljivo izrezanim oblicima i obično prikazuju bankete, procesije ljudi i žena, bige sa krilatim konjima, scene lova, zatim ptice, jelene, lavove i druge životinje. Način izvođenja i teme ukazuju na direktne veze sa zapadnom obalom Male Azije. Nalazi starije od ove dve grupe koncentrisani su na Etruriju i datovani približno između 540 i 520 g. pre n. e. Druga grupa koja se raširila do južne Italije, Malte i Rodosa stavlja se u poslednju četvrtinu VI veka pre n. e. Dve mlađe grupe, treća i četvrta, predstavljaju period dekadencije, preciznost i čistota linije više ne postoje, crtež je nesiguran, teme su ograničene na ponavljanje ljudskih i životinjskih glava i figura. Ove dve grupe nađene su u Etruriji kao i na Delosu i Kipru i datuju se u prve dekade V veka pre n. e.

Delovi koštane kutije iz Atenice nesumnjivo pripadaju ovim etruskim delima. To se vidi po obliku i veličini kutije, ornamentu koji uokviruje kompoziciju, tehnici obrade, stilskim karakteristikama, detaljima, prikazanom motivu i, najzad, figuri lava sa poklopca kutije. Upoređujući naš komad sa materijalom koji daje Martelijeve, mogu se ukazati paralele sa pločicom iz Orvieto gde dva lava napadaju jelenu,⁶ i pločicom sa istim motivom sa nepoznatog nalazišta.⁷ Obe pločice su slične ateničkoj kako po motivu tako po prikazivanju detalja – kopita, kandži, nogu itd. Od posebne važnosti su i pločice od slonovače otkrivene krajem prošlog veka u jednom

grobu u Orvieto.⁸ Jedna od njih prikazuje dva mladića u lovu na jelenu gde je jelenova poza veoma slična pozi jelena na ateničkoj kutiji. Kutija iz Orvieto ima i ležećeg lava na poklopcu, veoma sličnog ateničkom lavu (*sl. 6*). Sve pomenute analogije pripadaju najstarijoj grupi kutija datovanoj između 540 i 520 g. pre n. e. Treba reći da je stil i obrada ateničke pločice uopšte bliža kutijama prve i druge grupe dok sa kutijama treće i četvrte grupe veza postoji jedino u prikazu pojedinih detalja – floralnog motiva⁹ koji se, međutim, javlja i u drugoj grupi.¹⁰

Na osnovu svega ovoga kutiju iz Atenice bi trebalo staviti u kraj prve ili početka druge grupe, odnosno najverovatnije oko 520 g. pre n. e.

Pojava ove etruske kutije u unutrašnjosti Balkana, najstarijeg primerka ove vrste nakita van Etrurije, postavlja više pitanja.

Na teritoriji Jugoslavije etruski import se javlja najviše na severozapadu, u Istri i Sloveniji, gde su postojali jaki italjski uticaji i tokom VII i VI veka materijalna kultura bila je u dobroj meri italizovana.¹¹ Među najznačajnijim etruskim komadima ističemo bronzani tripod iz Novog mesta koji ima direktne paralele u Vetuloniji u drugoj polovini VII veka¹² i bronzanu ojnohou iz Svete Lucije (Most na Soči), datovanu u prvu polovinu VI veka i načinjenu, po nekim mišljenjima, u Vulčiju.¹³ Istom periodu pripadaju i bronzane lepeze iz Istre, nastale pod direktnim etruskim uticajem.¹⁴ Od sredine VI veka etruski proizvodi nisu tako brojni ali je etruski uticaj i dalje prisutan. To se vidi kako u prihvatanju mnogih italjskih oblika etruskog porekla, tako i u razvoju istarske i dolenske varijante situlske umetnosti čiji su mnogi elementi nastali u etruskoj umetničkoj tradiciji.¹⁵ Figuralna skulptura iz Nezakcija u Istri, datovana u kraj VI veka, takode ima paralele u Etruriji.¹⁶

Italjski elementi su česti na istočnom Jadranu i ovde je etruski uticaj takode igrao značajnu ulogu.¹⁷ Međutim, etruski import stariji od V veka nije tako brojan. Beležimo bukero kantaros sa Visa, datovan u prvu polovinu VI veka¹⁸ i bronzanu figurinu iz Studenaca kod Ljubuškog u Hercegovini, verovatno etruski komad s kraja VI veka.¹⁹ Treba možda pomenuti da je u unutrašnjosti, u naselju Pod kod Bugojna, u sloju s početka VI veka nađena zdelna sa slovima urezanim oko oboda. Slova možda predstavljaju kopiju etrusko-umbrijskog natpisa koji se nalazio na nekom bronzanom sudu.²⁰

Na području centralnog Balkana koji obuhvata istočnu Bosnu, Srbiju, severnu Crnu Goru i našu Makedoniju, italjski i etruski uticaji su slabi i importovani predmeti su retki. Moguće je da su neke bronzane posude iz istočne Bosne i jugozapadne Srbije, koje datuju u VII i prvu polovinu VI veka, nađene u kneževskim tumulima na Glasincu i u Pilatovićima, uvezene iz Italije a ne Grčke kada imamo u vidu čestu pojavu ovih formi (narebrene zdele i bazeni sa iskucanim obodom) na Apeninskom poluostrvu.²¹ To je indirektno potvrđeno nalazom egipatskog skarabeja u Pilatovićima, u istoj humci sa bronzanim posudama, koji je u jugozapadnu Srbiju stigao verovatno iz Italije a ne iz Egipta.²² Drugačiji je slučaj sa bronzanom muškom figurinom nađenom u okolini Smedereva na Dunavu koja je mogla biti načinjena u nekoj etruskoj radionici u severnoj Italiji u drugoj polovini VII veka.²³ Njena pojava u Podunavlju se može objasniti kao jedan od odjaka italjske ekspanzije ka severu i severoistoku od Apenina u VII veku pre n. e.²⁴

Kasnije, u V i IV veku, u vreme dalje italizacije Slovenije i istočnog Jadrana, etruski elementi su česti u ovim regionima ali su u unutrašnjosti Balkana retki. Pominjemo skifose iz

Poda kod Bugojna, Čitluka na glasináčkom platou i Trebeništa – etruske imitacije atičke keramike iz druge polovine V veka.²⁵ Moguću vezu sa Etrurijom pokazuje i širenje bronzanih stamnoindnih situla preko Balkanskog poluostrva u IV veku, kakve su nađene na jugoistoku Jadrana i u Makedoniji.²⁶

Sve ovo govori u prilog različitim vezama Etrurije i Balkana uopšte ali ne indicira neki čest i organizovan kontakt između Etruraca i unutrašnjosti Balkana, naročito centralnog Balkana o kome je ovde najviše reč. Stoga pretpostavljamo da je etruska kutija u Atenicu stigla zajedno sa drugim grčkim i južnoitalijskim proizvodima koji se javljaju na ovom prostoru. Nalazi etruskih kutija u južnoj Italiji, odakle su mnogi predmeti stigli do centralnog Balkana, potvrđuju ovo mišljenje. Ono se podudara sa pretpostavkom Marine Marteli da su grčki trgovci raširili ove kutije zajedno sa drugom etruskom robom po istočnom Mediteranu.²⁷

Ovi zaključci se u potpunosti podudaraju sa slikom o južnom importu na centralnom Balkanu krajem VI i početkom V veka pre n. e., koji je broj i različit i stiže mahom iz južne Italije, Grčke i Makedonije.²⁸

Jedan broj stranih predmeta poznat je iz unutrašnjosti Balkana i u prethodnom periodu, od prve polovine VII do prve polovine VI veka pre n. e. Oni se sastoje od bronzanog posuda i odbrambenog oružja – šlemova i knemida – koji su nađeni u grobovima lokalnih kneževa na Glasincu u istočnoj Bosni (Ilijak, Brankovići, Brezje, Osovo, Čitluci, Potpećine),²⁹ zatim u Pilatovićima kod Užičke Požege,³⁰ u Donjoj Dolini kod Bosanske Gradiške,³¹ i Kaptolu kod Slavonske Požege.³² Među ovaj import bi se mogla uključiti i bronzana fiala iz Sofronijeva u severoistočnoj Bugarskoj.³³ Pomenuli smo da su neke posude mogle biti poreklom italske, ali su ostale, kao i šlemovi, svakako grčke. Kojim su putem ovi predmeti došli do unutrašnjosti Balkana, nije lako odrediti ali se može pretpostaviti da su Makedonija na jednoj, i grčke kolonije na južnom Jadrano – Korkira, Apolonija i Epidamnos – na drugoj strani igrale u tome značajnu ulogu. Grčka keramika iz ovog perioda retko se nalazi u unutrašnjosti Balkana: nekoliko fragmenata sa glasináčke visoravnj³⁴ i nekoliko vaza u južnoj Pelagoniji (Saraj kod Broda, Progon kod Bukrija, Visoiji kod Beranaca) su jedini nalazi koje možemo navesti sa sigurnošću.³⁵

U drugoj polovini VI i prvoj polovini V veka situacija se bitno menja i broj importovanih predmeta iz južne Italije i Grčke se značajno povećava (sl. 7). On se sastoji od metalnog posuda i oružja, ali i od keramike i nakita pretežno zlatnog i srebrnog. Posebna karakteristika ovog importa su figuralno obradena zrna i pločice od čilibara sa predstavama ljudi, životinja i ptica. Najznačajnije nalazište sa ovim importom je kneževska nekropola kod Trebeništa u blizini Ohrida,³⁶ čijih su trinaest veoma bogatih grobova dobro poznati u literaturi. Ovde je nađeno nekoliko desetina bronzanih posuda različite forme i veličine, mnoge sa figuralnom dekoracijom, zatim deset šlemova, delovi knemida, štitova i mačeva, ogromna količina srebrnog i zlatnog nakita, uključujući zlatne maske i sandale, kao i keramika i terakote. Sa ohridskog područja treba pomenuti i nekropolu u Radolištu,³⁷ čiji jedan deo pripada kraju VI i prvoj polovini V veka (keramika, nakit i bronzane posude) kao i dršku jedne amfore iz Donje Bjelice.³⁸ Na nalazištu Sveti Ilija kod sela Delagožda, takođe kod Ohrida, otkrivena su nedavno dva groba iz ovog istog perioda sa ilirskim šlemom, grčkom keramikom i bronzanom olpom.^{38a}

U Pelagoniji je najznačajniji nalaz kneževski grob iz Beranaca-Petilep³⁹ sa nakitom, keramikom i bronzanim posudom, zatim keramika i nakit iz Beranaca-Crkvište,⁴⁰ keramika i oružje iz Proгона kod Bukrija,⁴¹ keramika iz Saraja i Bele Crkve kod Broda,⁴² šlem iz Rečice⁴³ i dva bronzana jarca iz Trapa, verovatno delovi nekog suda.⁴⁴ U vardarskoj dolini importovana keramika je nađena na nekoliko lokaliteta oko Đevdelije i Valandova, i u Demir Kapiji,⁴⁵ delovi bronzanih posuda (jarac i drška sa lavljom glavom) nađeni su u Đevdeliji i Stobima⁴⁶ dok su mačevi i nakit otkriveni u okolini Đevdelije i Valandova.⁴⁷ Dalje na severoistoku keramika i mačevi se javljaju u okolini Štipa.⁴⁸

Severno od Ohrida bronzane figurine su nađene u Tetovu⁴⁹ – figura menade sa fragmentima knemida, verovatno iz uništenog groba –, u Prizrenu⁵⁰ i Janjevu.⁵¹ Importovana keramika, nakit i oružje nađeni su u bogatim grobovima u Pečkoj Banji⁵²

dok su keramika i mačevi otkriveni i u Romaji kod Prizrena,⁵³ Širokom kod Suve reke⁵⁴ i Gornjem Gadimlju kod Lipljana⁵⁵ na Kosovu. U jugozapadnoj Srbiji kneževski tumul iz Novog Pazara je od posebnog značaja: ovde su nađeni bronzani sudovi, keramika i zlatni i srebrni nakit kao i velika količina figuralno obradenog čilibara.⁵⁶ Nedavno otkriveno blago iz Kruševice kod Raške, severno od Novog Pazara, sadrži srebrni i zlatni nakit, skifos i bronzani krčag.⁵⁷ O nalazima iz Atenice kod Čačka već je govoreno. U kneževskom tumulu u Pilatovićima nađeni su fragmenti keramike i bronzanog posuda (polukružne drške i ležeci lav, verovatno delovi hidrije).⁵⁸ Sa glasináčkog platoa potiče nešto oružja, keramike, nakita i delova bronzanog posuda⁵⁹ dok zemljani krčag i čilibarska zrna u obliku konjanika i životinja u reljefu su nađeni u jednom grobu u Lisijevom Polju kod Ivangrada u Crnoj Gori.⁶⁰

Bronzane posude, ukrašene u mnogim slučajevima figuralnim elementima, importovane su najvećim delom iz južne Italije i severozapadne Grčke, dok se samo nekoliko komada može direktno vezati za Korint ili Lakoniju.⁶¹ Jedan broj bronzanog i srebrnog posuda, bez figuralnih ukrasa, potiče verovatno iz Makedonije.⁶² Oružje koje se najčešće sastoji od šlemova tzv. ilirskog tipa uvezeno je u prvi mah, kako izgleda, iz oblasti Soluna i zapadnog Halkidika. Kasnije, sudeći po brojnosti ovih šlemova na južnom Jadrano i njegovom zaleđu u V i IV veku, ovi šlemovi su verovatno pravljeni u nekoj radionici na jugoistočnoj obali Jadrana.⁶³ Keramika, najčešće atička i njene imitacije, kao i zlatni i srebrni nakit stigli su najverovatnije preko Makedonije ili su bili delom načinjeni od strane makedonskih zanatlija u radionicama pri dvorovima domaćih kneževa.⁶⁴ Čilibarska zrna obradena u obliku ljudskih i životinjskih glava i figura imaju paralele samo u Italiji.⁶⁵

Sudeći po rasprostranjenju importa u ovom periodu, put iz Makedonije ka unutrašnjosti Balkana vodio je duž buduće Vije Egnatie a ne dolinama Vardara i Morave. Jedan od puteva iz severozapadne Grčke vodio je kroz jugoistočnu Albaniju prema Ohridskom jezeru i dalje Drimom ka Kosovu i jugozapadnoj Srbiji, a drugi obalom od Krfa do Apolonije i Drača. Ovaj poslednji je bio važan i za kontakte sa južnom Italijom odakle se roba kretala ka Makedoniji ali takođe preko Epidamna do Srbije i Bosne. Etrusko poreklo koštane kutije iz Atenice, za koju se prvobitno verovalo da je jonski proizvod koji je stigao u Srbiju Dunavom iz grčkih kolonija na Crnom moru, dovodi u izvesnu sumnju postojanje dunavskog puta u ovom periodu. Bilo bi svakako preterano da se tvrdi da nikakav grčki uticaj sa Crnog mora nije u drugoj polovini VI i prvoj polovini V veka stizao ovim putem, ali je njegova uloga bila znatno manja nego ostalih, već pomenutih puteva.

Značajno povećanje stranih predmeta na centralnom Balkanu u poslednjoj trećini VI i prvoj trećini V veka stoji, kako se čini, u zavisnosti od dva činioca. S jedne strane, politički i ekonomski razvoj nekih plemenskih grupa na Balkanu i povećanje moći plemenske aristokratije pripremili su povoljno tlo za povećan interes za stranu i finu robu. Sada više nije reč o bronzanom posudu i šlemovima – predmetima koji su jedan vek ranije mogli da impresioniraju lokalne poglavice u dalekim balkanskim brdima –, situacija se prilično promenila, granice su se približile, odnosi postali složeniji, želje i potrebe lokalnih vođa rafinovanije. Ogromna količina zlata i srebra u njihovim grobovima jasno pokazuje promene u mišljenju i ukusu i značajno povećanje snage i bogatstva plemenskih glavešina. Na drugoj strani su istorijska kretanja. Nova situacija na istoku i persijska pretnja, zajedno sa sukobima sa Kartaginjanima i Etrurcima na zapadnom Mediteranu, naterali su Grke da traže nove trgovačke puteve i nova neiskorišćena tržišta, možda čak i moguće vojne saveznike u određenim trenucima. Unutrašnjost Balkana, posebno zapadni deo centralnog balkanskog područja, nedovoljno istražen i trgovački nepotpuno obraden, sa ratobornim plemenima i njihovim ambicioznim vodama, pružala je u tom smislu dobre mogućnosti.

Ova poplava importa trajala je, međutim, samo ograničeno vreme. Zanimljivo je da se kaže, i to verovatno nije čista koincidencija, da se šesdesetih godina V veka, u vreme konačnih grčkih pobeda nad Persijancima i početka atinske kontrole tračke obale, javljaju u južnoj Trakiji prvi bogati grobovi sa grčkim importom, pre svega u Duvanlju,⁶⁶ istovremeno kada brojni grčki import prestaje da stiže na područje

centralnog Balkana. Očigledno se politička i trgovačka situacija na Mediteranu i na Balkanu promenila – u drugoj polovini V i tokom čitavog IV veka srebrno i bronzano posuđe i grčko oružje se javlja u Trakiji u velikom broju⁶⁷ – pri čemu se istorijski izvori podudaraju sa ovim arheološkim podacima.

Od sredine V veka pre n. e. importovani predmeti su retki u istočnoj Bosni i Srbiji. Komad oružja ili fragmentovana vaza bi bilo sve što se ovde našlo tokom više od 50 godina.⁶⁸ Jedini izuzetak su grobni prilozi iz tumula V u Čitlucima na Glasincu koji sadrže dva bronzana krčaga, bronzanu cediljku i dve etruske imitacije atičkih skifosa.⁶⁹ Ovi predmeti su najverovatnije do Bosne stigli starim trgovačkim putem, sudeći po paralelama u Trebeništu, u tzv. siromašnim grobovima iz druge polovine V veka.⁷⁰

U jugoslovenskoj Makedoniji događaji su se nešto drugačije odvijali: u V veku se zapaža jaka helenizacija južne Pelagonije i Vardarske doline, južno od Stobija.⁷¹ Od kraja V veka i tokom IV veka ovi trendovi su se širili na sever dolinom Vardara i Morave: grčka i makedonska keramika i metalni predmeti nađeni su u većoj količini u nekoliko naselja oko Skoplja i dalje na sever u Krševici kod Vranja.⁷²

Pod ovim južnim uticajima javljaju se u istočnoj Bosni, Srbiji i Podunavlju fragmenti grčke keramike i njene imitacije, kao i nakit, importovan ili podražavan.⁷³ Primer ovih uticaja su tzv. šarnirske fibule koje su iz Makedonije stigle u Podunavlje tek krajem V ili početkom IV veka iako su se na jugu javile i bile u široj upotrebi već krajem VI veka pre n.e.⁷⁴ Lokalne radionice u unutrašnjosti Balkana su potrebovale jedan vremenski period da prihvate i prilagode ove fibule svome ukusu i mogućnostima. Keltska invazija početkom III veka sprečila je dalji razvoj helenskih uticaja mada se južni import sreće na ovom području i u kasnijim vekovima sve do rimskog osvajanja Balkanskog poluostrva.⁷⁵

Koliko je bio broj grčkog import na području centralnog Balkana krajem VI i početkom V veka može se oceniti poređenjem sa importovanim predmetima na istočnom Jadrani i njegovom zaleđu u to vreme. Keramika, najviše atička, je česta pri obali ali su metalni predmeti retki.⁷⁶ U zaleđu, u Podu kod Bugojna su nađeni fragmenti keramike i bronzanog posuđa,⁷⁷ grčke knemide i mačevi potiču iz Sanskog mosta i jedan šlem iz Putičeva kod Travnika.⁷⁸ Šlemovi iz Gorice kod Ljubuškog i Bublina kod Imotskog⁷⁹ i kompletno naoružanje iz jednog groba iz Kličeva kod Nikšića⁸⁰ pripadaju verovatno ovom periodu. Ipak, ne nailazi se na bogate grobove moćnih poglavica koji bi se mogli uporediti sa Novim Pazarom ili Atenicom, i nema zlatnog i srebrnog nakita pre sredine prve polovine V veka pre n. e. Od ovog perioda, međutim, grčka i italaska keramika nađena je u većim količinama kao i nakit i šlemovi, koji su po svemu sudeći bili proizvedeni u to vreme negde na južnom Jadrani.⁸¹ Sve to ukazuje na početak lagane i sistematske helenizacije istočne obale Jadrana koja je doživela svoj vrhunac u sledećim stolećima, zahvatajući takođe i njeno zaleđe.

Grčki i italaski import na centralnom Balkanu krajem VI i početkom V veka postavlja više pitanja koja zahtevaju dugu i sveobuhvatnu analizu različitih aspekata. Ovde ćemo se zadržati samo na jednom od tih pitanja, problemu kasnoarhajske umetnosti u unutrašnjosti Balkana.

Najveći deo lokaliteta sa grčkim i italaskim importom poslednje trećine VI i prve trećine V veka sadržali su predmete sa figuralnim predstavama kasnoarhajske umetnosti, kako na vazama i metalnom posudu tako i na oružju i nakitu. Ovi proizvodi nisu bili najviše umetničke kreacije ali su u mnogim slučajevima dostizali zadovoljavajući standard. Lokalni majstori su u svakom slučaju bili u mogućnosti da se upoznaju sa figuralnom umetnošću i prihvate i razviju ovaj trend. Međutim, nigde na centralnom Balkanu ne sreće se ni želja ni pokušaj da se podražava figuralna umetnost i stvori neka vrsta grube i primitivne figuralne predstave.

Odgovor na ovo pitanje leži verovatno u činjenici koju smo pomenuli. Figuralni trendovi su bili prisutni suviše kratko vreme na području koje je bilo nezrelo i neiskusno da ih razume i prihvati. Uticaj je trajao kratko i bio suviše snažan, nije bilo prelaznog perioda, potrebnog da se nerazvijena umetnička misao o figuralnoj predstavi transformira u jasnu i vidljivu antropomorfnu ekspresiju.

Odgovor možda leži i u dubokim korenima lokalne geometrijske tradicije u umetnosti na ovom prostoru. Geometrijska umetnost je negovana konstantno i gotovo ljubomorno pa su balkanske zanatlije mogle da se uspešno odupru spoljnim iskušenjima i ostanu verni domaćim idejama i htenjima. Zlatni i srebrni nakit u Novom Pazaru i Atenici zasniava svoju dekoraciju na naglašenju geometriji – krugovima, trouglima, rombovima, trapezima – koja najbolje odaje lokalni umetnički duh i njegove stvarne potrebe. Čini se da u tom trenutku nikakva kompozicija sa lavom koji napada jelena niti ista slično nije moglo da utiče na lokalne umetničke težnje i promeni njihov način mišljenja i stvaranja.

Želeći da pokažemo mogućnosti domaćih radionica u tom periodu i stepen njihove spremnosti da prihvate strani uticaj, kao i spremnost njihove klijentele da ga razume i prihvati, donosimo ovde kao najbolji primer velike srebrne pojaseve tipa Mramorac, nazvane po selu gde su prvo bili otkriveni (sl. 8; 9).⁸² Ovi pojasevi, dugi između 80 i 120 cm, ukrašeni su iskucanim ornamentima koji kombinuju široke trake koje uokviruju površinu i dele je na trougle i trapeze, sa meandrima i palmetama prilagođenim lokalnim potrebama i uspešno ukomponovanim u geometrijsku šemu. Uprkos izvesnoj grubosti i primitivizmu izvođenja, kompozicija je jasna, zanimljiva i živa, bez ponavljanja, monotonije ili preterivanja. Ovi pojasevi predstavljaju najviša umetnička dostignuća koja je centralni Balkan bio u stanju da ponudi u tom trenutku i istovremeno pokazuju do koje je mere lokalna umetnost bila spremna da prihvati grčke i italaskie uticaje.