Hellenistic bell-shaped situlae with ivy leaves

Helenistične zvončaste situle z bršljanovimi listi

Martina BLEČIĆ KAVUR

Izvleček

Situlska umetnost je kot specifična vizualna in pomenska sinteza v prazgodovinski in v zgodovinski železni dobi Evrope povezala številne kulturno različne družbe. Situle, ki so dale ime temu umetniškemu izrazu, niso bile le nosilke umetniške manifestacije in simbolne pripovedi. Odražale so spoznavno zrelost in sublimacijo družbe kot sprejeti emblem reprezentacije, statusa posamezne aristokracije. Območje severnega Jadrana se ponosno predstavlja s primeri iz starejšeželeznodobne situlske umetnosti in mlajšeželeznodobnimi, tako imenovanimi helenističnimi situlami. Izhodišče študije so ulomki helenističnih zvončastih situl z okrasom bršljanovega lista z Reke, ki so analizirani tako tipološko kot stilsko in ikonografsko v primerjavi z vsemi do sedaj poznanimi situlami tega tipa. V prispevku je posodobljen seznam zvončastih situl, predstavljeni so argumenti za njihovo natančnejšo kronološko pozicijo, za tipološko in tehnološko razdelitev v dve večji skupini z različicami ter s tem povezana različna torevtična središča njihove izdelave. Razprostranjenost helenističnih zvončastih situl z okrasom bršljanovega lista kaže, da sta bila vzhodna obala Jadrana in njeno zaledje prostor stika tako makedonskih kot tudi etruščanskih luksuznih torevtičnih izdelkov.

Ključne besede: Severni Jadran; Rijeka/Reka; mlajša železna doba; helenizem; bronaste zvončaste situle; tehnologija; tipologija; ikonografija

Abstract

Situla art, as a specific visual and semantic synthesis, connected numerous culturally different societies of the prehistoric and historic Iron Age of Europe. Situlae themselves, which gave the name to this art phenomenon, were not only carriers of artistic expression and symbolic narrative, but also reflected a cognitive maturity and sublimation of society as an accepted emblem of the way individual aristocracies represented their status. The area of the northern Adriatic boasts examples of the Early Iron Age situla art and the later, 'Hellenistic' situlae. The starting point of the present research are the fragments of Hellenistic bell-shaped situlae decorated with ivy leaves from Rijeka, which are analyzed typologically, as well as stylistically and iconographically in comparison with all the hitherto known situlae of this type. The article brings an updated list of bell-shaped situlae, presents arguments for their more precise chronological position, their typological and technological division into two major groups with variants and the related different toreutic centres of production. The distribution of Hellenistic bell-shaped situlae with ivy leaves shows that the eastern Adriatic coast and its hinterland were a place of contact between Macedonian and Etruscan luxury toreutic products.

Keywords: Northern Adriatic; Rijeka; Late Iron Age; Hellenism; bronze bell-shaped situlae; technology; typology; iconography

FRAGMENTS OF BELL-SHAPED SITULAE FROM RIJEKA

Rijeka, the northernmost point of the Kvarner Bay in the northern Adriatic, has yielded five fragments of bronze and one handle that have already been classified as the Hellenistic type of bell-shaped situlae (*Fig. 1*). Unfortunately, their precise archaeological context is unknown. The Maritime and History Museum of the Croatian Littoral in Rijeka (*Pomorski i povijesni muzej Hrvatskog primorja, Rijeka*) keeps part of the archaeological finds under the inventory label of 'Old Fundus' without more explicit data on the

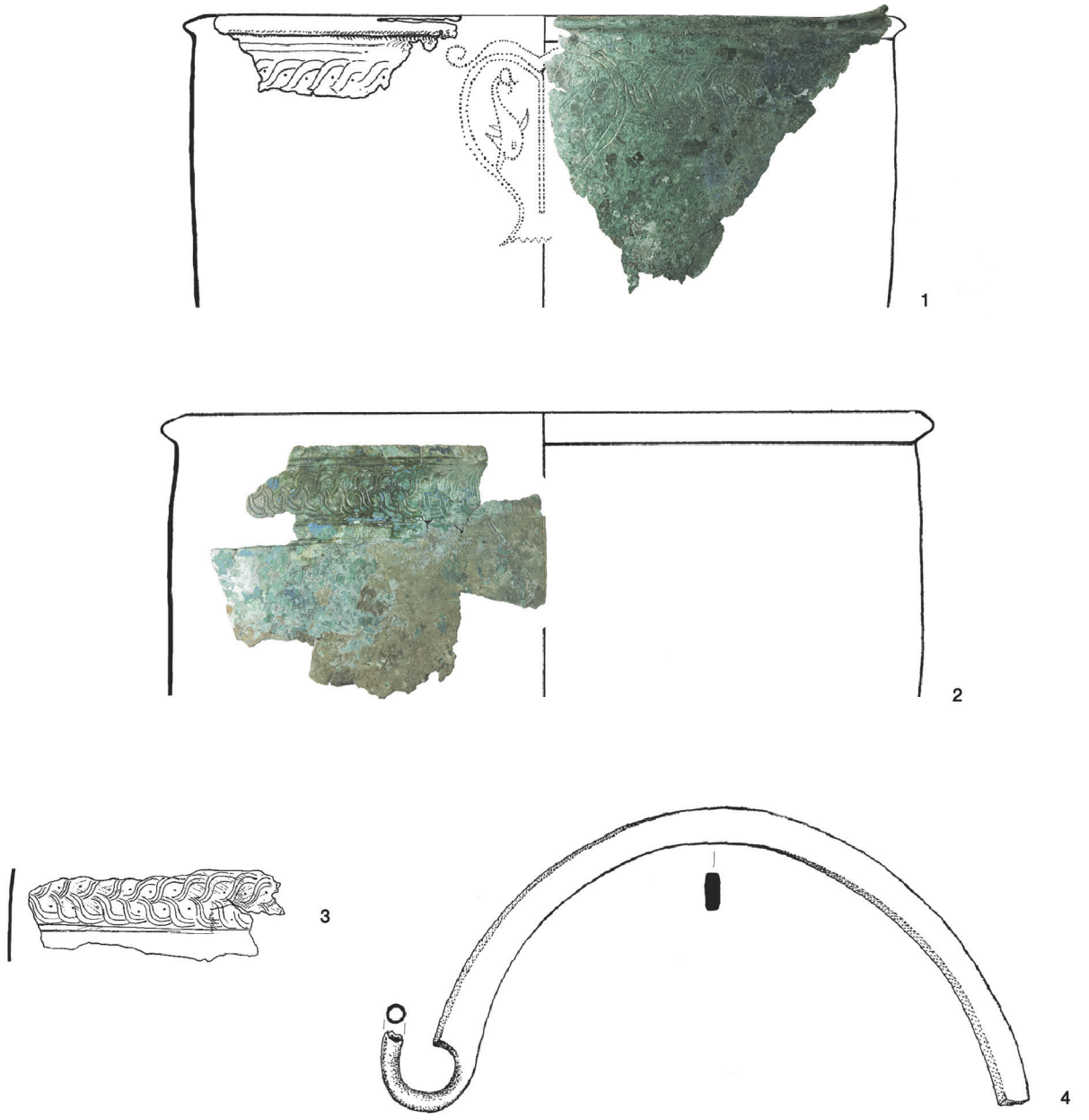


Fig. 1: Fragments of the bronze bell-shaped situlae and arc-shaped handle from Rijeka (*No. 5*). Scale = 1:2.
Sl. 1: Odlomki bronastih zvončastih situl in ročaj situle z Reke (*št. 5*). M. = 1:2.

circumstances of discovery. According to the old inventory book, the fragments most likely came from the rescue investigations that took place at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century in the area of the prehistoric, Roman and medieval necropolis between Andrješćica and Zagrad, i.e. between the former streets of *Via Vernada* and *Via Ciotta* in Rijeka.[1]

All fragments are made of thin hammered bronze sheets and decorated with incising and punching. The detailed restoration and conservation of the fragments, completed in the laboratory of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (*Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu*),[2] showed that they can be divided

[1] On the location of the ancient necropolis in Rijeka: Gigante 1944, 12; Matejčić 1985, 10. On the fragments of bell-shaped situlae from Rijeka: Blečić Kavur 2010, 285–307, 446–447, Fig. 4; Pl. 18: 299–300; ead. 2015, 179–185, Fig. 65.

[2] The restoration of the fragments was carried out by Ivan Gagro, the drawings and reconstructions were made by Miljenka Galić, for which I sincerely thank them.

into three groups according to the method and manner of decoration. This also made it possible to reconstruct two situlae with a high degree of certainty, while the reconstruction of one fragment must for now remain uncertain (*Fig. 1*).

The first group consists of two thin bronze fragments of a bell-shaped situla with the rim bent inwards. Below the rim runs an ornament of two strips of horizontal lines separated by a double cable pattern with punched dots in the interspaces. The largest fragment, 10.03 cm long and 8.32 cm wide, bears half of an ivy leaf capped by a tendril and holding a heraldic depiction of a dolphin facing down (*Fig. 1:* 1)[3] (*Fig. 7; No. 5*).[4]

The second group consists of two bronze fragments of another bell-shaped situla. The preserved larger fragment, 9.89 cm long and 7.39 cm wide, bears three horizontal strips of two incised lines, the top two of which are separated by a triple cable pattern with ring-and-dots in the interspaces and half an ivy leaf. The ivy leaf holds two vertical parallel lines along the centre that divide it into two parts and a curved line or acanthus tip at the bottom end (*Fig. 1:* 2).[5]

The last fragment is also of a bronze sheet, 7.5 cm long and 2.6 cm wide, decorated with two incised horizontal lines separated by a triple cable pattern and punched dots in the interspaces. It was probably part of a situla or even a jug, goblet or cup (*Fig. 1:* 3).[6]

Only one arc-shaped handle, 19.16 cm long and 1.33 cm wide, has been preserved. It is rectangular in cross-section, with one end missing and the surviving hook hollow and round-sectioned. It was most likely the handle of one of the aforementioned situlae (*Fig. 1:* 4).[7]

Despite the not so fortunate circumstances of discovery and preservation, this study will, in an art-for-art-sake manner, focus on the artefacts themselves perceived as cultural capital and cultural expression.[8] On the basis of a reliable identification of the five fragments and a clear typological and technological classification of the bell-shaped situlae, it will present valuable information for their broader understanding in a comprehensive cultural and historical space. Evaluating the meaning of these luxurious metal vessels both individually and generally in the framework of cultural connections, their typological and stylistic differences will be shown to reflect not only their chronological positions, but also individual toreutic centres of the ancient Mediterranean. It is well known that bell-shaped situlae are spread from the central Mediterranean to the Black Sea and all to the distant parts of northern and western Europe (*Fig. 7*). The available evidence shows they came to light at only three sites on the eastern Adriatic shores, two of these in the northern Adriatic and linked to the Kvarner Bay (*Fig. 7; No. 5–6*). In addition, the article will continue the line of reflections focusing on the 'symposium of diversity' so characteristic of the heterogeneous and open modern society inhabiting these regions at the gloom of prehistory and the dawn of antiquity.

BELL-SHAPED SITULAE IN CONTEXT

For many years, bronze bell-shaped situlae were a popular topic in the archaeological discourse. Their role and beginning of production were sought in the Greek Classical period of the 5th century BC when small, χάδος vessels were used for carrying water, but also for mixing water with wine.[9] Their production started slowly in the workshops of Athenian and Boeotian toreuts. The peak of production and use followed in the 4th and the early 3rd century BC, when they spread across the 'Hellenistic world', but also in Etruria and associated regions where they were referred to as *situlae*.[10] These vessels were mostly linked to manifestations of symposia, banquets and festivities. But then again, their use was much broader and diverse, as confirmed in the production of innumerable pottery copies, especially in the framework of south Italian red-figure pottery

[3] Pomorski i povijesni muzej Hrvatskog primorja, Rijeka 108488.

[4] The catalogue numbers refer to the sites as marked on the map (*Fig. 7)* and in the List of sites (see *List 1*) with relevant references.

[5] Pomorski i povijesni muzej Hrvatskog primorja, Rijeka 108489.

[6] Pomorski i povijesni muzej Hrvatskog primorja, Rijeka 108489.

[7] Pomorski i povijesni muzej Hrvatskog primorja, Rijeka 108504.

[8] Cf. De Marrais, Robb 2013; id. 2015.

[9] On the appearance and development of situlae, see in Elizabeth J. Walters (1988), who also presented their iconographic survey and significance.

[10] Giuliani-Pomes 1957, 66–67; Zahlhaas 1971a, 7, Pl. 1; Zimmermann 1998, 47–48; Sideris 2016, 198–199, 200–211.

Fig. 2: Boeotian bell-krater with the depiction of Danae receiving the golden rain and a bell-shaped situla beside the head of Danae.
Sl. 2: Beotski zvončasti krater z upodobitvijo Danaje in zlatega dežja ter zvončaste situle ob glavi Danaje.
(© RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre)/Hervé Lewandowski)

production centres.[11] Vital for their interpretation are the depictions of bell-shaped situlae from the end of the 5th and the 4th century BC in Greece (for example Boeotian) and *Magna Grecia* (e.g. Lucanian) or those of the Etruscan and Macedonian productions from the 4th and 3rd centuries BC. They occur in a multitude of depictions and iconographic compositions – from cosmetic and domestic scenes, presentations of warriors, rituals, festivities and numerous other activities. An important scene is that with Danae receiving the golden rain from Zeus on a Boeotian bell-krater dated to around 410 BC, where a bell-shaped situla with a ring-base is shown beside the head of Danae (*Fig. 2*).[12] There is also a majestic scene depicting a harvest festivity on a Lucanian volute krater of the *Karneia painter*, originating from Ceglie del Campo near Taranto (*Fig. 3*) and dated to the end of the 5th century BC.[13] It shows a young Dionysus in the centre of the composition, sitting on a stone and surrounded by a satyr, a maenad, a flute player and Artemis. In her left hand, Artemis carries a small, elegant bell-shaped situla on a moulded pedestal. The scene, and the vessel as a whole, is dedicated to dancing and amusement – to rites glorifying Dionysus. It is decorated with palmettes, Ionic *kymation* and tendrils of ivy. Numerous volute kraters of the same or similar production were found in the necropolis of Spina in Valle Trebba, but none featured a bell-shaped situla.[14] No such situlae came to light in the necropolis, contrary to stamnoid examples.[15] Finally, it is worth recalling a scene on a bell-krater from Cumae, painted by the *CA painter* in the middle of the 4th century BC. On one side, it shows a woman in motion holding a bell-shaped situla in her right hand. The scene is even more impressive as she is offering the situla and a bowl (as gifts?) to a warrior (*Fig. 4*); it is possible that the scene depicts the rite of libation linked to the eschatological comprehension of the krater itself, of the depicted scene and the semantics of the funerary context.[16]

The majority of bell-shaped situlae were discovered in graves, some also in hoards and, of course, sanctuaries. In known contexts, these situlae were part of luxurious sets in representative, rich graves of individuals from the highest social and political structures in respective societies. Consequently, they were frequently interpreted as insignias, as precious diplomatic gifts, simply as *keimelia* or as ritual means of demonstrating the acknowledged and accepted eschatological practices and trends.[17] Namely, kraters were no longer used in the funerary feasts and rituals of the 4th century BC – this is best demonstrated with the double sets from the Tomb of the Prince (III) in Vergina/Aigai[18]

[11] Zahlhaas 1971a, 71–73; Trendall 1989, 10, Fig. 2, Cat. 146, 228, 275–276.

[12] Carpenter 1998, 103, 109, Fig. 144; Simon 2021, 187, Fig. 157; Musée du Louvre CA 925 [https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010264052#] (28. 12. 2021).

[13] Trendall 1989, 21–22, Fig. 23; De Juliis 1996, 303, Fig. 275; cf. Denoyelle 2002; Durado 2005, Fig. 256; Museo archeologico nazionale di Taranto 8263 [https://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/carc/resources/Introduction-to-Greek-Pottery/Keypieces/lucanian/karneia] (28. 12. 2021).

[14] Guzzo 1994, 81–114; Sassatelli 1994, 186–202; Fig. 44: 74–75, 86–87, 118–119; Barr-Sharrar 2008, 69–72.

[15] The analysis of the resin and wine remains from the stamnoid situlae discovered in the rich male burial in Valle Trebba 128 has again confirmed the Etruscan practise of mixing with resin for improving wines of lower quality (Hostetter, Beck, Stewart 1994, 211–225).

[16] Trendall 1989, 167–168, Fig. 312–313; Burkert 1990, 95; Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest/Szépművészeti Múzeum 51.41 [https://www.mfab.hu/artworks/cammirrorian-red-figure-bell-krater-mixing-bowl/] (28. 12. 2021).

[17] Theodossiev 2000, 68–69; Treister 2002b, 63–64; Barr-Sharrar 2008.

[18] Andronicos 1999, 209–211, Fig. 176–177.

Fig. 3: Ceglie del Campo near Taranto. Lucanian volute krater of the *Karneia painter* with Artemis holding in her left hand a bell-shaped situla.
Sl. 3: Ceglie del Campo pri Tarantu. Lukanski volutni krater *slikarja Karneia* z upodobitvijo Artemide, ki v levi roki drži zvončasto situlo.
(© Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Taranto)

Fig. 4: Bell-krater from Cumae, painted by the *CA painter*, portraying on one side a woman in motion holding a bell-shaped situla in her right hand.
Sl. 4: Cumae. Zvončasti krater *slikarja CA*, na eni strani je upodobljena ženska v gibanju, ki v desni roki drži zvončasto situlo.
(© László Mátyus, Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest)

or Tombs Δ and Z from Derveni.[19] They were replaced by bell-shaped situlae used for the same purpose – for ceremonial mixing of wine.[20] It is known from historical sources that Macedonians, as well as other peoples, whom the Greeks called 'Barbarians' in the northern Balkans, including Illyrians, drank pure, non-diluted wine, though they did ceremonially mix it with honey and spices, consequently making the sieve an important, and often discovered, part of the set (e.g. in Vergina/Aigai (*Fig. 7; No. 48*), Apollonia (*No. 36*), Vărbitsa (*No. 106*) or Montefortino (*No. 8*), especially in Graves 8, 23 and 35 with situlae).[21]

For the first time, the article presents a general, but still useful distribution map of bell-shaped situlae in the central Mediterranean, as well as the Balkan and Apennine Peninsulas that includes some finds from the coast of the Black Sea and its hinterland, as well as from the distant parts of Europe. Of the over 130 currently known examples (disregarding those from the art market), most attention has been paid to the situla from the wealthy Celtic grave from Waldalgesheim (*No. 2*), the situla from Montefortino, Grave 35 (*No. 8*),[22] and similar known examples from the Eurasian continent (*Fig. 7*). Research mostly focused on the technologically and stylistically interesting, representative decoration in the form of palmettes below the attachment rings. Brian Shefton developed a

[19] Themeles, Touratsoglou 1997, 98–103, 121–122, Fig. 111, Δ4–6; 134, Z15; Barr-Sharrar 2008, 11–14, Fig. 8.

[20] Bell-shaped situlae could exceptionally be used as urns. Zahlhaas 1971a, 71; Proskynitopoulou 1979, 124–125; Zimmermann 1998, 47; Rolley 2002b, 57; Kottaridi 2004, 65–71; Zimi 2011, 57; Sideris 2016, 200–201.

[21] Barr-Sharrar 2000, 279; Kottaridi 2004, 62–72; Blečić Kavur 2012; ead. 2021.

[22] Brizio 1899, Pl. XI: 8; Frey 1996, Fig. 27:6. Unfortunately, the other two situlae from Graves 8 and 23 of the same necropolis are not as lavishly decorated and were therefore not so intensively discussed (Brizio 1899, Pl. IV: 13; V: 14; Dall'Osso 1915, 235). But the situla from Grave 23, beside the fact that it is decorated below the rim with an Ionic *kymation*, has the ends of the handle shaped in the form of duck's or swan's heads (Brizio 1899, Pl. V: 14).

complex interpretation regarding their decoration, their roles, implementation, differences and imitations in other materials.[23] Their list is constantly growing with ever new finds – for example from the Troad or Thrace (*Fig. 7*).[24] In recent years, there has been an extensive debate brought about by the discovery of an inscribed situla in a tumulus at Dardanos (*No. 73*) and studied by Beryl Barr-Sharrar. Developing the ideas of Shefton, she was able to define their production centres and stylistic features to demonstrate Athenian ancestors or originals.[25] Also important are the recent studies of Greek researchers such as Eleni Zimi, Annareta Touloumtzidou and especially Athanasios Sideris, who in numerous aspects advanced and widened our understanding of metal vessels and also of this type of situlae.[26]

TECHNOLOGICAL AND TYPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF BELL-SHAPED SITULAE WITH IVY LEAVES

Four of the surviving fragments from Rijeka (*Fig. 1*) can be included into the group of *situle a campana tipo F* according to the general division that Maria-Vittoria Giuliani Pomes proposed in 1957.[27] Her typology was later further developed and supplemented; Gisela Zahlhaas identified these situlae as Type A1b.[28] Much more challenging is the identification of the fifth fragment, of which only a small part is preserved bearing a triple cable pattern below the rim (*Fig. 1:* 3) – such ornamentation also appears on jugs, goblets or cups. What certainly belonged to a situla is the rectangular-sectioned arc-shaped handle with one end missing (*Fig. 1:* 4). Its length allows us to identify it as an A type handle according to Wolfgang Schiering; these had ends in the form of a backward bent bud. Considering the dating of situlae with such handles, this example could be dated to the late 5th and the whole of the 4th century BC.[29]

Giuliani Pomes, Poul Jørgen Riis and Zahlhaas adopted an analytical approach to the study of these vessels and thus created a foundation for their modern understanding.[30] They based their approaches on the typology and morphology of the vessels and handles, only considering their ornamentation at the end. In contrast, Schiering focused on the typology of the handles and formed individual groups with regards to the interpretation of their decoration.[31] The manufacture or production centres of these situlae remains one of the most popular topics in the present discourse, with numerous hypotheses and opinions, both corresponding and contrary. Proposed, as logical candidates were workshops in Greek, Macedonian, south Italian, Etruscan or simply 'Hellenistic' centres. However, taking into consideration their discovery and appearance, it is likely that every major centre, especially a sanctuary, would have had a production or at least maintenance facility for these and other similar vessels, as Claude Rolley argued in his study involving the example from Delphi (*Fig. 5:* 1; *No. 64*).[32]

The production and the associated technological characteristics enable us to divide the bell-shaped situlae into two groups.[33] The first group (or **Type I**) consists of cast examples finished with forging (*Fig. 5–6*). They had separately cast ring-bases. Their attachments were either cast together with the body of the situla or cast separately and soldered to the body while their decoration was finished subsequently. New research has shown that their production can no longer be connected to the 'vast' territory from the Black Sea to southern Italy, but rather more precisely located in northern Greek, Macedonian workshops (*Fig. 7*).[34] The second group (or **Type II**) includes situlae made of thin hammered bronze sheets with separately cast and

[23] Shefton 1985; id. 1994; cf. Sideris 2021a.

[24] Treister 2002a, Fig. 4–5; Touratsoglou 2000, 65, Fig. 81; Sideris 2016; id. 2021a; id. 2021b.

[25] Athenian production of bell-shaped situlae has been inferred from the finds of numerous clay moulds and casts on the Athenian Agora (Barr-Sharrar 2000, 281–284, Fig. 7). One of the assumptions is that Athenian workshops produced exclusively for export north, to the Balkans, especially to Macedonia and Thrace. This interpretation was used to explain their lack in Attica (Barr-Sharrar 2000, 279, 283–284; ead. 2008, 6–8). For a similar interpretation also see Mikhail Treister (2001, 382).

[26] Zimi 2011; Touloumtzidou 2011; Sideris 2015; id. 2016; id. 2021a.

[27] Giuliani Pomes 1957, 66–76.

[28] Zahlhaas 1971a, 10–73, Pl. 1.

[29] Schiering 1975, 78–81.

[30] Giuliani Pomes 1957; Riis 1959; Zahlhaas 1971a; ead. 1971b.

[31] Schiering 1975.

[32] Rolley 2002a, 94–96.

[33] Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2010, 59–60.

[34] Barr-Sharrar 1982, 127–130; ead. 2000, 279–281; ead. 2008, 5–8; Pfrommer 1983, 235–238, 250–263; Rolley 1990, 371–372; id. 2002b, 57; Shefton 1994, 583–592; Treister 2003, 66–68; cf. Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2010, 60.

finished parts (attachments, decoration, handles and bases) (*Fig. 9*). This is characteristic of the Etruscan production that was based on earlier traditions.[35] These two groups show numerous variants regarding the production of decorative elements, which suggest other and different, apparently contemporary, 'atelier signatures'.[36] These technological differences determined their morphology – the shape of the body and form of the rim. Bell-shaped situlae with ivy leaf- or heart-like ornament below the attachments were only considered superficially, though Zahlhaas already identified them as a group 50 years ago.[37] Interesting, although mostly ignored is the work of Rosa Proskynitopoulou, who increased the number of known examples, particularly those with ivy leaf ornament and attempted, with regards to their structure and the known tradition of ivy leaf ornamentation, to locate their production on the Peloponnese.[38] This was the consequence of a raised interest in this type of situlae and a greater number of known examples from the late 70^{s} onwards. Today, their distribution is accepted as broad, though seemingly uneven (*Fig. 7*). Observing their distribution from a general technological perspective, differentiating between cast and forged situlae, we can clearly identify the more likely manufacture origin. In addition, a detailed examination of the ornament will demonstrate three different techniques to mark three variants, as follows below.[39]

Type I

The first group or Type I comprises situlae cast in a single piece with attachments and decoration below them representing Variant **Ia** (*Fig. 5:* 1–8). The ornament was executed with grooving, incising, inlaying or tinning, thus slightly raised and depicting floral motifs and tendrils in the upper part below the attachments. Characteristically, each leaf has a central rib dividing it into two equal parts. The leaves come in two variants: one with triangular or rounded terminals (*Fig. 5:* 1–3) and the other with a denticulated terminal (*Fig. 5:* 4–8).[40] The ornament sometimes takes the shape of an ivy leaf, a popular motif in Greek art of the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods. This group includes the situlae from Tomb II in Altavilla Silentina (*No. 26*), Vergina/Aigai (*No. 49*) and Pistiana (*No. 56*), Delphi (*No. 64*), Budapest/Danube (*No. 3*), Caulonia/Kaminion (*No. 30*) in Calabria,[41] Cernele (*No. 109*) in Romania, Koprinka/Seuthopolis (*No. 88*) in Thrace and Lenina (*No. 114*), the last one discovered beside the necropolis at Kuban (*Fig. 7*). Regarding the manufacture of this ivy leaf decoration, most similarities can be observed between the situlae from Delphi and the examples of Variant Ia from Caulonia/Kaminion, Budapest, Vergina/Aigai, Altavilla Silentina and Koprinka/Seuthopolis (*Fig. 5:* 4–8), as well as Pistiana. The closest parallels in the shape of the leaf terminal are the examples from Lenina and Cernele (*Fig. 5:* 2–3).

The second variant, i.e. **Ib** comprises situlae with attachments and ivy leaf ornaments cast separately and then soldered or otherwise fixed to the vessel (*Fig. 5:* 9–16).[42] Such were the finds from Karaburma (*No. 32*),[43] Skillountia/Mazi (*No. 72*), Apollonia (*No. 36*), Vărbitsa (*No. 106*), Gotse Delchev (*No. 40*), Chirinogi (*No. 110*),[44] Budva (*No. 35*), Bitola (*No. 37*) and Olympia (*No. 71*) on the Peloponnese, from Olynthos (*No. 43*), Artemision of Thasos (*No. 42*) and from Bolu–Göynük (*No. 76*), the last one with the ornament only identifiable of the contours under the rim (*Fig. 7*).[45] The manufacture of the leaf even suggests two subvariants. Similar examples are those from Karaburma, Skillountia/Mazi and Apollonia (*Fig. 5:* 9–11). The situlae from Gotse

[35] Guliani Pomes 1957, 68; Zahlhaas 1971a, 8–9; Pfrommer 1983, 241–242.

[36] Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2010, 59–61; Touloumtzidou 2011, 344–345.

[37] Zahlhaas 1971a, 16–17, 46–48.

[38] Proskynitopoulou 1979; cf. Touloumtzidou 2011, 343–346; Sideris 2016, 213–214.

[39] Cf. Sideris 2016, 213.

[40] Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2010, 59–62, Fig. 3–4; cf. Touloumtzidou 2011, 344–345; Sideris 2016, 213–214, who defined this group as *Subtype b*.

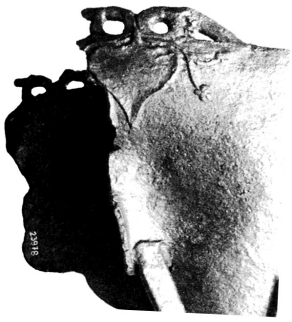
[41] Rolley 2002a, Fig. 4–5. The situla also has the decoration in the form of tendrils and blossoms above the leaf – same as the situlae from Budapest and Lenina. Cf. Touloumtzidou 2011, Pl. 26β.

[42] Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2010, 62–64, Fig. 3–4.

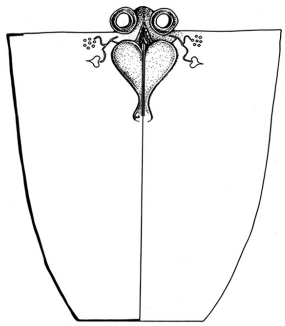
[43] Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2010, 59–66, Fig. 1: 9, 2. Rastko Vasić presented an overview of the Greek bronze vessels from the territory of former Yugoslavia, in which he did not discuss the Hellenistic finds separately (Vasić 1983, 190–191). But we have to point out that he clearly named Macedonian parallels, more exactly the workshops from Chalkidiki that were under strong influences from Attica.

[44] The situla is a rare example of gilded bronze. The author lists two similar situlae from Cernele and an unknown site in Transylvania (Şerbănescu 1999, 233–235, Fig. 3).

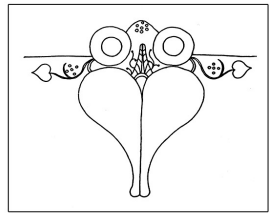
[45] Sideris 2016, 213, who defines this group as *Subtype a*.



1

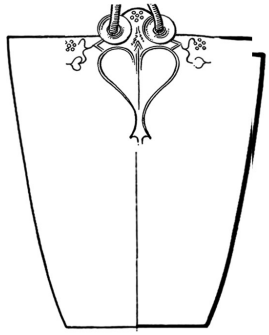


2



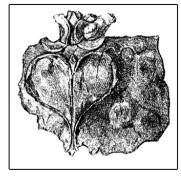
3

4



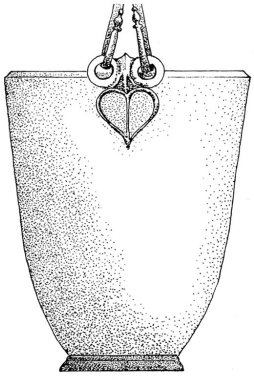
5

6



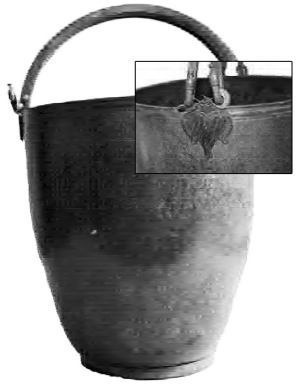
7

8



9

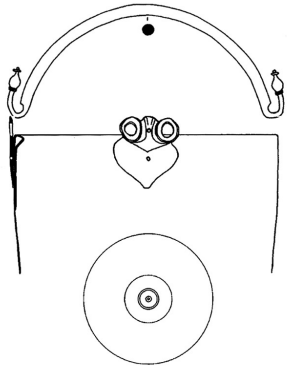
10



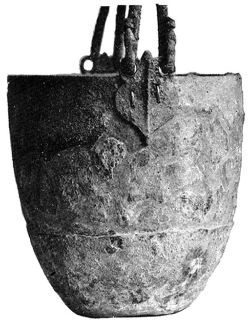
11

12

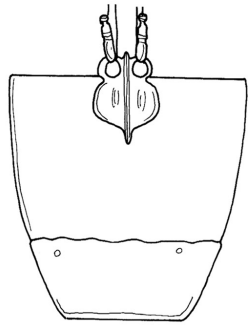
13



14



15



16

Fig. 6: Bell-shaped situlae with incised ivy leaf ornament of of **Type I**, Variant **Ic** (for references see *List 1*).
Sl. 6: Zvončaste situle z vrezanim ornamentom bršljanovih listov, **tip I**, različica **Ic** – (za reference glej *Seznam 1*).
Ic: **1** Demir Kapija (*No. 36*); **2** Thrace (Trakija) (*No. 120*).

Delchev and Vărbitsa represent a regional version of the simplified decoration (*Fig. 5:* 12–13).[46] In contrast, the second subvariant consists of less elegant, coarser and simplified attachments as on the situlae from Chirnogi, Budva and Belgrade (*Fig. 5:* 14–16).[47] These also differ regarding the production manner of the body and base – they were cast separately and then riveted together (*Fig. 5:* 15–16). The different form, especially of the body and ring-base were undoubtedly the result of different toreutic workshops, as also suggested by the attachments. In this sense, the situla from Kozarevo (*Fig. 7; No. 87*) represents a special variant as it features the decoration of double leaves below the attachments.

Nevertheless, it is characteristic that these situlae, contrary to those with lavish palmette decoration,[48] completely lack decoration in the form of a horizontal band below the rim. However, there are exceptions (Variant **Ic**). One is a situla from Demir Kapija (*No. 39*) with a damaged body and missing base (*Fig. 6:* 1). It was cast in one piece and the ivy leaf-shaped decoration incised together with an Ionic *kymation* below the rim. The closest parallel comes from the not so distant Graešnica (*No. 38*), which was initially considered a Greek and later a south Italian product.[49] This kind of decoration was seen as an initially Attic characteristic of the 5th century BC, as demonstrated by the situla from Kalamaria (*No. 45*), further elaborated and used throughout the 4th century BC in the situlae from Macedonia and Thrace.[50] Despite certain specifics, the general characteristics of the situla from Demir Kapija show it can be included into Variant Ic. The closest parallels for the incised leaf decoration are on a situla from Skillountia/Mazi (*No. 72*) and a silver situla from Thrace (*Fig. 6:* 2; *No. 127*) (*Fig. 7*).[51] This, however, only applies to the technique of production and ignores the motifs that display numerous differences. The example with the most complex motifs is that from Demir Kapija (*No. 39*),

[46] In a very similar way, an attachment in the form of an ivy leaf was also on a lamp with a tripod base from Derveni Tomb A (Themeles, Touratsoglou 1997, 37, A4, Fig. 5, 44). Regarding the production of the decoration, it seems that it presents a combination of leaf-like decoration of Variants I and II.

[47] Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2010, 59–62, Fig. 3–4. To this variant, we can also ascribe individual ivy leaf attachments with handles from Apollonia (Veseli 2012, 216, Pl. 3: 9).

[48] Cf. Sideris 2021a.

[49] Zahlhaas 1971a, 21 A32, 69; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2010, 64–65, Fig. 5.

[50] Barr-Sharrar 2000, 282–283; cf. Sideris 2021a.

[51] Sideris 2016, 214, Fig. 85; cf. Zimi 2011, 53–57.

←

Fig. 5: Bell-shaped situlae with ivy leaf ornament of **Type I**, Variants **Ia** (1–8) and **Ib** (9–16) (for references see *List 1*).
Sl. 5: Zvončaste situle, **tip I**, z okrasom bršljanovih listov. Različici **Ia** (1–8) in **Ib** (9–16) (za reference glej *Seznam 1*).
Ia: 1 Delphi (*No. 64*); **2** Lenina (*No. 114*); **3** Cernele (*No. 109*); **4** Caulonia/Kaminion (*No. 30*); **5** Budapest/Danube (*No. 3*); **6** Vergina/Aigai (*No. 48);* **7** Altavilla Silentina (*No. 26*); **8** Koprinka/Seuthopolis (*No. 88*);
Ib: 9 Karaburma (*No. 29*); **10** Skillountia/Mazi (*No. 69*); **11** Apollonia (*No. 33*); **12** Gotse Delchev (*No. 37*); **13** Vărbitsa (*No. 102*); **14** Chirnogi (*No. 106*); **15** Budva (*No. 32*); **16** Beograd (Belgrade) (*No. 119*).

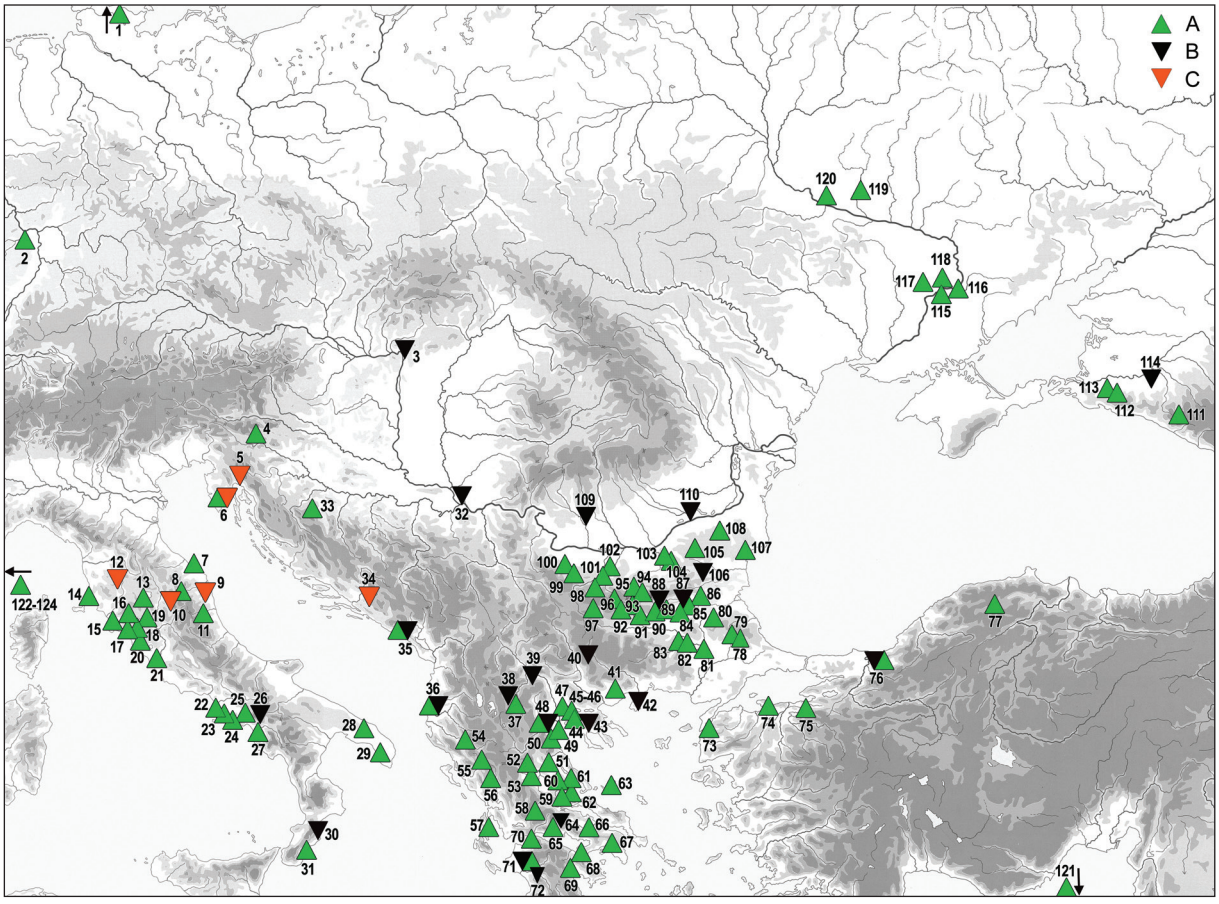


Fig. 7: Distribution map of bell-shaped situlae (A) with marked situlae with ivy leaf decoration below the attachments of **Types I** (B) and **II** (C) (supplemented after Blečić Kavur 2015; for references see *List 1*).
Sl. 7: Razprostranjenost zvončastih situl (A). Izpostavljene so situle z okrasom iz bršljanovih listov pod atašami – **tip I** (B) in **II** (C) (dopolnjeno po Blečić Kavur 2015; za reference glej *Seznam 1*).

which was indubitably a product of Macedonian toreuts with a specific local characteristic used in the final elaboration. We can see its model in the situlae with palmettes of the Classical style, in which the decoration is positioned below the intact circumferential frieze as in the case of the already mentioned situla from Kalamaria (the Kalamaria Group according to Barr-Sharrar).[52] Also ascribable to the Macedonian workshops is the situla from Graešnica (*No. 38*) with the closest parallel in the situla from Grave Δ in Derveni (*No. 47*) and a smaller example from Budva (*No. 35*) having the lavish palmettes with floral decoration located below the intact ornamental zone. Conventionally, it was considered a product of southern Italian workshops of the 3rd century BC.[53] From Budva comes another fragment of a situla with palmettes included into a slightly later Waldalgesheim Group,[54] which is characterized by fused palmettes and attachments interlaced with S volutes or floral decoration constituting the ornamental zone.[55] Another fragment similar to the situlae with palmettes comes from Budva,[56] which remained unnoticed in foreign literature, but bears the characteristics of the Waldalgeshein Group, ascribed to the Macedonian production and dated to the 4th century BC. Besides Demir Kapija, other exceptions include the silver situlae without the horizontal decoration below the rim

[52] Shefton 1994; Barr-Sharrar 2000, 285; Zimi 2011, 54.

[53] Papović, Popović 2001, Fig. 11. Attachments of the situla have the decoration of a central flower between disks. A direct parallel is known from the tomb of Calini Sepus near Monteriggioni (Bianchi Bandinelli 1928, Pl. 37: 162).

[54] Popović 1969, Cat. 59; id. 1994, 123, Cat. 85; Zahlhaas 1971a, 13, A10; ead. 1971b; Shefton 1985, 401–402; cf. Barr-Sharrar 2000; Sideris 2021a.

[55] Shefton 1985, 402; id.1994, 592; id. 2000, 286–288; Sideris 2021a, 27–28.

[56] Popović 1994, 124, Cat. 86.

from Vergina/Aigai attributed to the Vratsa Group.[57] Due to these imperfections, they are considered unfinished or regional products.[58]

The described manner of manufacture and their decoration clearly indicates Greek and Macedonian workshops. Support for this claim comes from the studies of situlae with elaborate decoration in the form of palmettes. Casting in one piece (including palmettes and attachments) is not originally Macedonian, but became characteristic of this region and further north in Thrace later on.[59] It is actually the characteristic of Greek, especially Athenian craftsmen. Consequently, earlier situlae dated to the 5th century BC, such as the examples from Kalamaria, Aghios Athanasios[60] or the famous Peschanoe hoard in the region of Cherkasy on the Dnieper,[61] should be considered as direct imports from Athens or at least from the workshops under a strong Athenian influence.[62] This hypothesis is supported by the above-mentioned realistic depiction of a situla on the Boeotian bell-krater (*Fig. 2*) with the metaphor of Danae and Zeus dated to the end of the 5th century BC. Close, although often not formal, connections between Macedonia and Athens were reliably established in trade and generally in economic relations,[63] and were also reflected in the production of the workshops or ateliers at the Macedonian court. Obsessed by the style and sobriety of Athens, this production reached its peak in the period of Phillip II.[64] This is why numerous masters of different statuses migrated from Athens and different other cities to these *Northern* provinces. They adapted to local tastes and ideas, developing a new style visible on the situlae from the end of 5th and beginning of the 4th century BC.[65]

Applied, separately cast decoration certainly indicates Macedonian workshops. Confirmations for this claim can be found on the figural situlae made in the *repoussé* technique from Thrace[66] reaching their peak in the Derveni krater.[67] Ivan Venedikov adopted the same date for the situlae from Thrace – he set the examples with a ring-base to the 5th century BC, and the later examples with ivy leaf-shaped ornament and other situlae produced locally to the 4th century BC.[68] Is it possible to understand the technological and possibly chronological evolution of the bell-shaped situlae of Type I in the same way? Or, should we consider them slightly earlier and connected with the original Greek idea, as indicated by the situlae from Delphi or Skillountia/Mazi (*Fig. 5:* 1,10)? And should we consider the situlae of Variant Ib as a later variant perfected in Macedonian workshops, an assumption possibly supported by the situlae from Bitola and Karaburma or Skillountia/Mazi and Gotse Delchev, as Rolley already proposed?[69] In any case, the 4th century BC is the culmination of the Macedonian luxury metal production that developed with the growth and expansion of Macedonian power. Still, we should also assume the existence of other workshops either using models

[57] Andronicos 1999, Fig. 176–177; Zimi 2011, 196–197, Cat. 29–30; Sideris 2021a, 31.

[58] Barr-Sharrar 1982, 129; cf. Zimi 2011, 54.

[59] Pfrommer 1983, 250–263; Archibald 1998, 275–278; Sideris 2016, 198–214.

[60] Barr-Sharrar 2008, 6.

[61] Rjabova 1991, 155–156, Cat. 103g; Parzinger 2007, 35, Fig. 5; Treister (1991, 75–76; id. 2008, 11–13, Fig. 8, 10–11) presented an overview of the research, discussions about their dating and manufacture centres, as well as chemical analyses with all the relevant earlier literature.

[62] Barr-Sharrar 2000, 279–280, 285; ead. 2008, 14.

[63] It is well known and understandable that Macedonia supplied Athens with wood and pitch, materials urgently needed for the creation of a naval fleet (Barr-Sharrar 2000: 279; ead. 2008: 5–6).

[64] Barr-Sharrar 1982, 131; ead. 2000, 280–281; Pfrommer 1983, 236.

[65] Michael Pfrommer proved the indirectly observable influence of the Italic style of decoration on Macedonian toreutics, which further transmitted and intensively influenced the production centres in the northern Pontic area (Pfrommer 1982; id. 1983; Treister 2001, 157–158).

[66] Barr-Sharrar 1982, 127; Zahlhaas 1971a, 49–59; Venedikov 1977, 87–88; cf. Sideris 2016; id. 2021a; id. 2021b.

[67] Themeles, Touratsoglou 1997, 70–725, Fig. 13–17; Barr-Sharrar 2008, 30–46; cf. Treister 2001, 99–100, 109; with earlier literature on the Macedonian production and possible other, especially Italic influences.

[68] Venedikov 1977, 87–89; Pfrommer 1983, 252–254, 263; Barr-Sharrar 2000, 280. The situla from Vărbica, completely forged, should be included into this late group (Venedikov 1977, 103, Cat. 33, Fig. 45; Barr-Sharrar 2000: 282, f.n. 33). It is damaged and corroded, missing the base, part of the body and the rim. But, relying on the documentation by B. Filow, G. Zahlhaas noted that one part still bore traces of soldering leaf-shaped attachments (Zahlhaas 1971a, 17, A20). The information is valuable as it suggests a local production which combined forging, well-established casting and applying leaf-shaped decoration. Consequently, it was included in Variant Ib. Despite differently executed decoration, the same could be true of Variant Ia, as concluded for the situla from Koprinka/Seuthopolis (*No. 88*) (*Fig. 5:* 8).

[69] Rolley 2002b, 57.

or working on demand to produce such vessels – especially on the Peloponnese and in Thrace, regions that yielded the greatest number of such situlae in aristocratic tombs.[70]

It is well known that some situlae were used for a long time, even several generations. Besides ritual and simposiastic uses, as parts of ceremonial or funerary sets for feasting (*Fig. 2–4*), they were intensively used as utilitarian vessels. This is illustrated by the inscribed situla from Dardanos (*No. 73*) and the only remaining attachment from Vače (*No. 4*) (*Fig. 7*).[71] The evidence that this kind of vessels were used even into the beginning of the 3rd century BC comes from a funerary stele from Demetrias in Thessaly,[72] which is a Macedonian product made for Menelaus from Amphipolis.[73] The depicted situla is of distinctly elegant and harmonious proportions, resembling those from Bitola and Karaburma. The latter is characterized by the best execution in its group (Variant Ib) and the decoration of ivy leaves with a central rib continuing into a triangle mimicking a twig. As such, it is closely linked to the applied silver ivy leaves from the Derveni krater.[74] Although Rolley dated it to the 4th century BC, listing it among Macedonian products, most of the existing interpretations see it as an item looted during the famous Celtic invasion of Delphi in 279 BC?! However, the situla from Karaburma (*No. 32)* should be considered in the context of the situla from Bitola (*No. 37*) and all other bell-shaped situlae discovered in continental Europe. It is less plausible that they were all bounty from Greece or elsewhere. What seems plausible is that the situla from Karaburma points to direct contacts of the Celts with the Macedonians, possibly as a diplomatic gift or *keimelia*. Or it could simply have come here as an item of trade travelling to a Celtic nobleman across the northern regions of Macedonia, as indicated by the presence of bell-shaped situlae (and other types of vessels) from Bitola.[75] According to new analyses of material culture, the grave with this situla from Karaburma is dated into the last quarter of the 4th and not the middle of the 3rd century BC, as previously generally accepted.[76]

Type II

On the other side of the 'world', we can see that the situation was the same or at least similar in Etruria. There, mural paintings in the tombs of the elite serve as direct evidence of funerary feasts and banquets. In Tomba dell'Orco II in Tarquinia, for example, a *kylikeion* was painted flanked by Eros and Thanatos, the direct witnesses of all funerary feasts and rites (*Fig. 8*). According to Mario Torelli, this tomb dates to around 330 BC, but recent

[70] Pfrommer 1983, 250–263; Archibald 1998, 275–277; Treister 2001, 381; Touloumtzidou 2011, 345–346; Zimi 2011, 54–55; Sideris 2016, 198–214; id. 2021a.

[71] Guštin 1979, 87, Fig. 1, Pl. 3. The situla has two subsequently soldered attachments with a decoration of palmettes and S volutes, which passes over into discs for the double handles. The closest parallels for the attachments come from Olynthus (Shefton 1994, 590 B1, Fig. 1: 3), as Mitja Guštin already noted, considering them Mediterranean products reused on a bucket of a much later date and most probably of a north Italian provenance. Due to the S-shaped volutes and the complete palmettes-floral composition, which would ignore the circumferential frieze, the attachments could be included into the Waldalgesheim Group and precisely dated to the middle of the 4th century BC.

[72] Painted marble. The situla is depicted in a dark brown colour suggesting shining polished bronze. The author used a real set in use at the time in Macedonia as model.

[73] Barr-Sharrar 1982, 124–125, Fig. 1; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2010, 66, Fig. 6.

[74] Leaf-shaped ornaments with a central line were also visible on ceramic imitations from the Agora (Barr-Sharrar 2000, 283–284, Pl. 11–16; ead. 2008, 6).

[75] The second export line of Macedonian products must have followed the direction across Lake Ohrid to Apollonia on the coast and further to southern Italy – a direction of the future *Via Egnatia* running across northern Macedonia.

[76] Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2010.

Fig. 8: Kylikeion flanked by Eros and Thanatos in the tomb Tomba dell'Orco II in Tarquinia (from Steingräber 2006, 209).
Sl. 8: Kylikeion, ki ga obkrožata Eros in Tanatos iz grobnice Tomba dell'Orco II v Tarkviniji (po Steingräber 2006, 209).

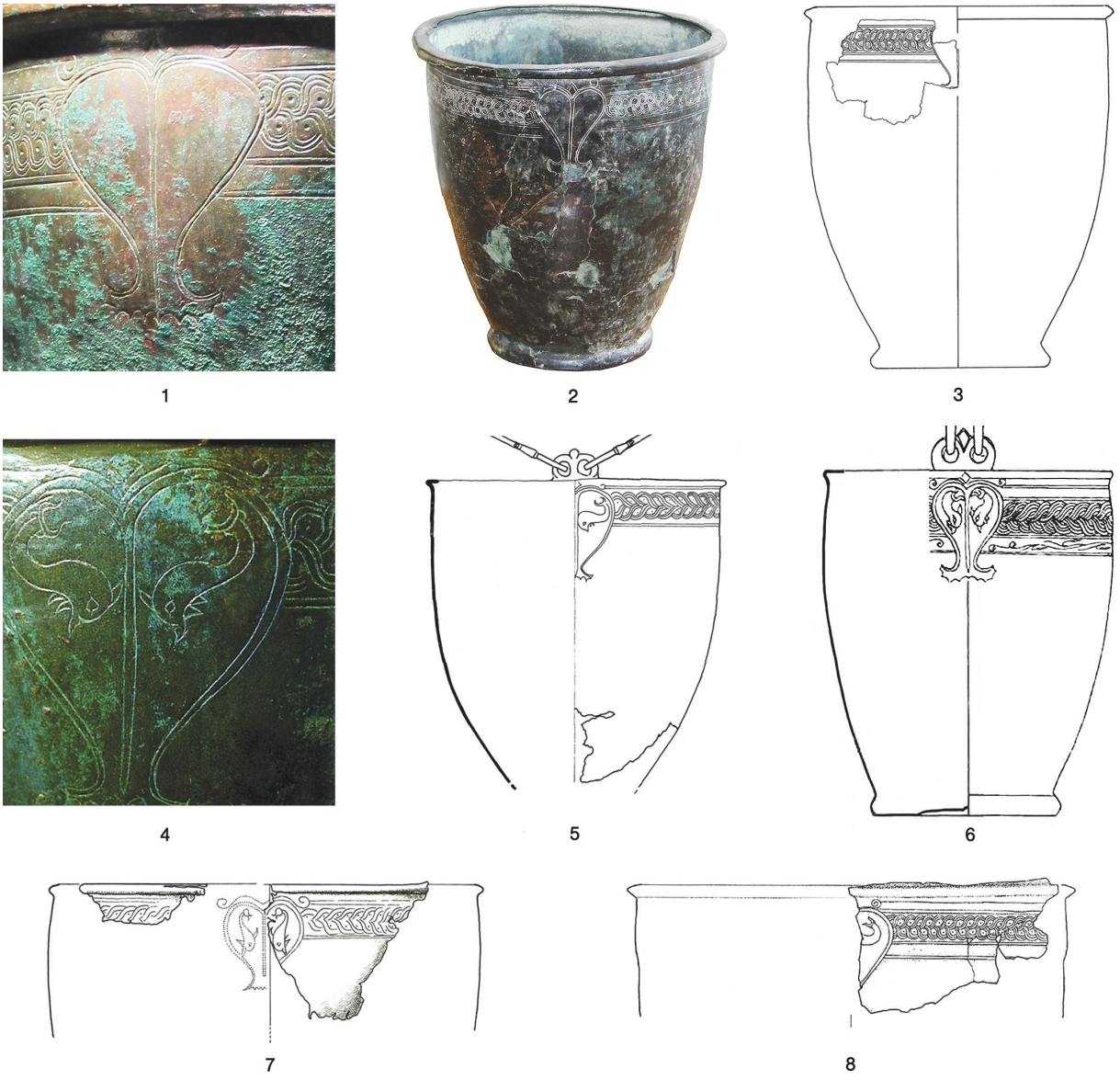


Fig. 9: Bell-shaped situlae with ivy leaves ornaments of **Type II** below the attachments. Variants **IIa** (1–3) and **IIb** (4–8) (for references see *List 1*).
Sl. 9: Zvončaste situle, **tip II** – z bršljanovimi listi pod atašami. Različici **IIa** (1–3) in **IIb** (4–8) (za reference glej *Seznam 1*).
IIa: 1 Monteriggioni (*No. 12*); **2** Ošanići (*No. 31*); **3** Rijeka (*No. 5*);
IIb: 4–5 Offida (*No. 9*); **6** Norcia (*No. 10*); **7** Rijeka (*No. 5*), **8** Vizače/Nesactium (*No.* 6).

dating pushes the whole complex of the family tomb to the early 3rd century BC.[77] Such dating follows the realistic representation of a luxurious set of metal vessels, especially bell-shaped situlae, which were, as already said, part of Etruscan creativity or art of manufacturers producing under Etruscan influence.

Characteristic of the second group or Type II of bell-shaped situlae (*Fig. 9*) was the production using thin bronze sheets fixed together with soldering, with a rim bent inward and separately cast base and attachments, which were later fixed to the body of the vessel (therefore these parts are mostly damaged and rarely preserved). The decoration on such situlae was completely different than on those of Type I. It comprised a broad band holding a double or triple cable pattern made with a combination of incising and punching. Such an ornament was very popular and widely used in Etruscan toreutics as it was easy to produce with cold incisions, but had a great decorative effect.

[77] Brendel 1995, 337–341; Torelli 1997, 237–243; Steingräber 2006, 206–210; Spivey 2006, 166–168.

Decorated in the same manner were the bronze jugs from the group of rich graves from Spina – in Valle Pega Grave 65A[78] and especially 136A that held bronze situlae adorned with the same interlacing and a silver fibula of the Certosa type.[79] The same decoration adorns the situlae from the rich tomb of Calini (Calisna) Sepus, Casone near Monteriggioni (*No. 12*), Norcia (*No. 10*) and Offida (*No. 9*) in Italy, Vizače/Nesactium (*No. 6*) and Rijeka (*No. 5*) on the northern Adriatic coast, and from Ošanići (*No. 34*) in the southern Adriatic hinterland (*Fig. 7; 9*).[80] All of them have an ivy leaf ornament incised below the attachments, much more elaborate and luxurious as the examples on the Type I situlae.[81] It is made of two parallel lines that also run along the centre of the leaf, above the central part of the leaf is a diamond or triangle from which arise two spirally twisted lines on both sides, and the lower side ending in an undulating line or acanthus tip which is the characteristic of the situla from Ošanići (*Fig. 9:* 2) and the second situla from Rijeka (*Fig. 1:* 2; *9:* 3). Produced in the same style is the ivy leaf ornament of the situla from Monteriggioni (*Fig. 9:* 1). They represent Variant **IIa** of bell-shaped situlae.

Occasionally and as specific narrative elements, ivy leaves held additional motifs, for example heraldic dolphins facing down, and identified in the Variant **IIb** bell-shaped situlae (*Fig. 9:* 4–8). Such an ornament is known on the situlae from Offida (*Fig. 6:* 4–5),[82] Norcia (*Fig. 6:* 6), on the first example from Rijeka (*Fig. 1:* 1; *9:* 7), and also, conceivably, from Vizače/Nesactium (*Fig. 9:* 8). For the moment, these are the only known examples, the value of which is diminished by the fact that all of them lack a known archaeological context. Despite that, the situla from Offida was initially dated into the 5th century BC[83] and later to the Picenum VI phase that corresponds to the late 4th and early 3rd century BC, which is also the accepted dating for the situla from Norcia.[84] Dating to the same chronological frame of the 3rd century BC is the situla from Monteriggioni.[85]

The fragment from Tomb II in Altavilla Silentina (*No. 26*) was broadly dated to the period of 'Hellenism', and noted by Zahlhaas as the closest parallel for the situla from Budapest. Aladar Radnóti dated the latter to the 3rd century and Zahlhaas re-dated them to the 2nd century BC.[86] Later, she determined all the situlae according to morphology and divided them according to decoration, ignoring the details of construction; situlae with different technological characteristics thus found themselves in the same group. Besides that, numerous approaches were put forward regarding the description, analysis, classification of these vessels and their cultural identification.[87] We should emphasise here that their dating, especially the ones with ivy leaf ornaments, is too low.

A situla that belongs to the discussed style is that from the Ošanići hoard (*Fig. 9:* 2). It was the subject of scientific discussions ever since Zdravko Marić published its analysis and dating.[88] Dragan Božič indirectly compared it with the finds from the Tomb of the Prince in Vergina/Aigai focusing on the larnax, dating it to the 4th and 3rd centuries BC and relating it to the south Italian workshops.[89] The larnax from Ošanići can certainly be correlated with that from Vergina/Aigai, and the Macedonian production as such.[90] However, the closest parallels are the examples made of bronze from Filimenas in the Elis and Kurdzhips kurgan on the Kuban. The luxurious silver larnakes from Vergina/Aigai and Aghios Athanasios are later.[91] Following the assumption of Marić that the silver fibulae of the middle La Tène scheme were the latest element of the hoard, Rupert Gebhard used them to date

[78] Curti 1994, 297, Cat. 373.

[79] Curti 1994, 303, Cat. 472–475; 304; 483; Teržan 1976, Fig. 21: 2; cf. Mihovilić 2017, 263–264.

[80] Blečić Kavur 2015, 179–18, Fig. 64–65.

[81] Kristina Mihovilić included the situla from Marzocca di Senigallia (Salvini 2003, 75, Fig. 4; cf. Mihovilić 2017, 263) in this group. Despite technological similarities and incised ornament below the rim, the situla from Marzocca lacks the ivy leaf-shaped ornament. The same goes for the situla from Montefortino – they cannot be included into the group of bell-shaped situlae with ivy leaf ornament.

[82] The drawing of Vincenzo d' Ercole is not precise in comparison with the photograph although the situla was restored in 1987. At the same time, depictions of dolphins are a common element in Etruscan art of the Late Archaic period, that is the Third Style of mural painting, known from the Tomb of the Lionesses and the Tomb of Hunting and Fishing from Tarquinia, but also from vase painting, for example the Micali hydria (Brendel 1995, 185–191, 195–201, Fig. 120; 125; Spivey 2006, 114–118, Fig. 93–94).

[83] D'Ercole 1977, 71, 73.

[84] Lollini 1976, 157; Pignocchi 2000, 70; Lucentini 2002, 34; Giontella 2011, 145.

[85] Giuliani Pomes 1957, 74–75; Landolfi 2002, 266.

[86] Zahlhaas 1971a, 47–48.

[87] E.g. Shefton 1994; Rolley 2002b.

[88] Marić 1979, 54–56; id. 2000, 43–44.

[89] Božič 1984, 88.

[90] Blečić Kavur et al. 2014, 32, 34.

[91] Treister 2001, 280–281; Tsimbidou-Avloniti 2004, 149–151.

his 5th horizon and proposed that the hoard from Ošanići be set to the middle or end of the 3rd century BC.[92] Michael Pfrommer also focused on the situla and assumed that it should be a product of the 3rd century BC if not even earlier, considering it in relation to the larnax.[93] He dated the golden earrings of Hellenistic production in the hoard to the late 3rd and early 2nd century BC, comparing them with the finds from nearby Gorica and also Ohrid.[94] It was due to the presence of the Lesbian *kymation* on one of the matrices that he dated the hoard to the early 2nd century BC.[95] A much more analytical and detailed approach to the matrices was taken by Treister, who used extensive comparative material to identify a possible origin, function and dating for individual matrices.[96] By accentuating the chronological distance between individual matrices, he defined the difference between heirlooms, into which he included the situla and larnax, and utilitarian objects of a later date. As a compromise, he proposed a date towards the end of the 3rd and beginning of the 2nd century BC.[97]

In any case, the situla is one of the earliest items in this hoard. Its main characteristics bring it close to the situlae from Monteriggioni and Rijeka (but also those from Vizače/Nesactium, Offida, Norcia and Marzocca) (*Fig. 9*) and it was certainly a product of the Etruscan cultural circle and/or from the wider Etruscan–Picenian cultural area from the end of the 4th and beginning of the 3rd century BC. The context, in which it was discovered could be, as Marić proposed, described as a hoard of a workshop specialised in different crafts and possibly organized as a family activity. When looking for the founder of this domestic enterprise, we have to agree with Treister[98] and his suggestion that this was a travelling artisan most probably originating from northern Greece, or actually Macedonia, and less probably from southern Italy. The situla might have been included in the property of the family as *keimelia* or in some other way.[99] The period of deposition and 'family craft' should be dated to the early 2nd century BC as proposed by Pfrommer and related to the tumults triggered by the repeated assaults by the Delmati who were constantly threatening the Daorsi in the 2nd century BC. The latter even had to pay *fóros* to them – an act which caused the Daorsi and Isseans to complain together to the Roman Senate. Their agony ended with the downfall of the Illyrian state in 167 BC and the status of Roman clients was granted to them.[100] This could be the date *post quem non* for the hoard from Ošanići. Finally, the same workshop could also be the origin of the figural attachments from the 'tomb below' Temple B in Vizače/Nesactium (*No. 6*),[101] and of the only remaining attachment from Vrankamen (*No. 33*) (*Fig. 7*).[102]

The enumerated parallels, as well as the technique of manufacture and decoration show that the bell-shaped situlae from Rijeka could be related to the spread of the Hellenistic style towards the end of the 4th and beginning of the 3rd century BC and attributed to the Etruscan workshops or those under the Etruscan influence. This is particularly relevant for the Picenian region, where such artistic syntheses occurred continuously, and Picenians themselves played a significant role as the mediators with the Adriatic coasts for numerous Etruscan goods. Moreover, material culture suggests that it is the area of the northern Adriatic that had a decisive position in spreading cultural contacts from the Italian Peninsula to the Carpathian Basin.[103] This is not new in the existing knowledge about the cultural connections of these regions, but only confirms the similarities in artistic aspirations and tastes, the possibilities and needs of societies inhabiting the shores of the northern Adriatic.

[92] Gebhard 1989, 123–124.

[93] Pfrommer 1990, 246, FK 86, f.n. 1971.

[94] It is interesting that the known examples of Hellenistic jewellery from the necropolis of Velje Ledine near Gostilj (Basler 1969, 8, Pl. 20: 98/7; 24: 122/12–13; 30: 3–4), Budva (Rendić-Miočević 1961; Popović 1994, 188–199; Krstić 2007, 174–175) or from Vis (Kirigin 1986, Cat. 293, 39; id. 1996, 165; Cambi 2002, 41, Fig. 40), which were already mapped by Petar Lisičar (1966, Fig 8), were not represented in the monumental catalogue of Pfrommer.

[95] Pfrommer 1990, 161, 246, 369, OR 206a.

[96] In several details of the matrix, Sineva Kukoč saw the possibility for the production of the coats of the Prozor type belt plates (Kukoč 1998, 21–22); Treister proposed the same for some of the relief matrices (Treister 2001, 290).

[97] Treister 2001, 281–293.

[98] Treister 2001, 296.

[99] Marić saw the worn-out appearance and the attachments detached from the body of the situla as an argument for its unconventional use (Marić 1979, 54).

[100] Zaninović 2003, 281, Šašel Kos 2005, 314.

[101] Mihovilić 1996, 51, Pl. 10: 148, 150–155, 159; ead. 2001, 271, Fig. 4: 6–8; ead. 2017, 264–266, Pl. 2 (the base of the situla from Vizače/Nesactium suggests the same technique of production – a separately cast ring-base subsequently fixed to the body of the vessel).

[102] Truhelka 1893, 88; cf. for detailed elaboration see Kysela 2020, 86–88, Fig. 18.

[103] Kysela 2020, 77–88, 289, Fig. 17.

ASPECTS OF ICONOGRAPHY

Iconographically, as well as semantically, the situlae with ivy leaf ornament below the attachments should be observed simply in connection with the ceremonies of symposiums and banquets where wine and herbs as aphrodisiacs acted as inevitable means of relaxation and elevation of spiritual energy leading to high spirits.[104] The presence of wine and ivy indicate the presence of Dionysus himself. The youngest god on Olympus was always linked to the mysteries of this world and the afterlife, to the enigma of birth, death, resurrection and incarnation causing his strong-felt presence, also to funerary feasts glorifying the triumph over death. Therefore, Dionysus is one of the most common themes in Attic vase painting and was, in Archaic and Classical art, represented with clearly canonized attributes (kantharos and ivy, *thyrsos*, satyrs and maenads, snakes, donkey and panther/leopard).[105]

[104] Burkert 1990, 289, 293–294.

[105] Carpenter 1998, 37–38; Osborne 1998, 149–152; Buxton 2006, 69, 81–82.

Fig. 10: Bronze folding mirror with relief ornament representing a satyr (or Pan) holding a bell-shaped situla and leading a goat to the altar of sacrifice.
Sl. 10: Bronasto zložljivo ogledalo z reliefnim ornamentom Satira (ali Pana), ki drži zvončasto situlo in vodi kozo k žrtveniku.
(© 2006 by Benaki Museum Athens)

In the 6th and 5th centuries BC, Dionysus was portrayed as an elderly bearded god in chiton and himation, as we can see on the kylix of Exekias from Vulci dated to around 530 BC.[106] After approximately 430 BC, he becomes a young beardless, half-naked effeminate god who will be interpreted as such throughout the 4th century BC. A young Dionysus with a young woman (Ariadne or Aphrodite) and their *gamos*, not *hieros gamos*, was a popular role model in south Italian vase painting of the 4th century BC,[107] and was as such present on all bell-shaped situlae with figural decoration, especially on those from Thrace.[108] Knowing the system of values and interactions, this is expected as Dionysus was directly linked to the Thracian territory where he spent part of his turbulent, difficult youth. The peak of this idealistic aspiration and luxurious program of visual expression was eternalized on the Derveni krater[109] and the already mentioned krater from Taranto (*Fig. 3*).[110]

In a reduced form, with Dionysus absent, there are the depictions with his companions and/or substitutes such as satyrs and maenads or heads of Silens, tendrils of ivy or vine.[111] An excellent example of this can be found on a bronze folding mirror with relief ornament representing a satyr (or Pan) holding a bell-shaped situla and leading a goat to the altar of sacrifice, dating to the late 4th or early 3rd century BC (*Fig. 10*).[112] As his iconographic and iconological model changes symbolically

[106] Camporeale 1992, 52; Osborne 1998, 103–110; Buxton 2006, 83.

[107] Trendall 1989, 256, Fig. 194; Carpenter 1998, 37–38, 164.

[108] Venedikov 1971, 87, Fig. 34–38; Venedikov, Gerasimov 1979, 73, Fig. 105–107; Barr-Sharrar 2008; Sideris 2016, 200–201.

[109] Buxton 2006, 66–67, 82–83; Barr-Sharrar 2008, 102–157.

[110] From the 7th and especially in the 5th century BC, a large number of Greek and northern Greek masters are believed to have come to work to Italian centres (Trendall 1989, 17; Torelli 1997, 153–157; Spivey 2006, 58–59), though we should also consider possible direct imports from 5th century BC Greece and also from Macedonia. In either case, the miniature situlae from Locri Epizefiri (Orsi 1914, Fig. 34; 59; Meirano 2002, 204, Cat. 41.7) are considered not originally Italian. The same goes for the volute kraters from southern Italy (Barr-Sharrar 2008, 61–72).

[111] Osborne 1998, 149–151; Buxton 2006, 81–82; cf. Blečić Kavur 2012; ead. 2021.

[112] Züchner 1942, 47; cf. *Musee Benaki* 1936, 98. Benaki Museum/Μουσείο Μπενάκη ΓΕ 8066 [https://www.benaki.org/index.php?option=com_collectionitems&view=collectionitem&id=140570&Itemid=540&lang=en] (28. 12. 2021).

and narratively, we are witnessing in some cases a complete rationalization of stylistically accepted models. Semantically, the presence of Dionysus will be completely anagrammed written down – it could even be simulated only with dolphins. Their connection with Dionysus is generally accepted and presented in the famous metamorphosis from Greek mythology – in the act of transforming pirates into dolphins[113] as shown on the Etruscan finds of the kylix of Exekias and especially the Micali hydria. The latter is of special value as it is the earliest illustration of this story. Created by an Etruscan artist, the presence of Dionysus is only indicated with the tendrils of ivy.[114] Of course, in this subject there are no coincidences – these are clearly presented beliefs. Dolphins were, as Dionysus himself, linked to transformation, rebirth, death and resurrection with a leading role as a *psychopompós*. In Etruria, they were, as we can see, present from the Archaic period onwards, even before the symbolic importing of Dionysus and his mysteries to Etruria.[115] However, representations of people riding dolphins, bringing them into other worlds, will reach its peak in the Hellenistic art,[116] in a period of the 'best quality of bronze and silver vessels in the perspective of the elegance of their profiles and balanced proportions, of lovely contours and discrete ornamentation'.[117] Should we recognize the leaf-shaped or heart-shaped decoration below the attachments of the Type II situlae (*Fig. 9*) as ivy leaves that, together with the vessel full of the wine, conjure up Dionysus or at least evoke his spirit, a ritual and its mythic narrative complex, bound to the logic of the mystery? Dolphins, as a part of this decoration on the situlae from Norcia and Offida (*Fig. 9:* 4–6), as well as on the fragments from Rijeka and, most likely, Vizače/Nesactium (*Fig. 1:* 1; *9:* 7–8), in an anagrammatic way relate the whole experience of the metamorphosis, i.e. of the new life. In fact, the *jump into the sea* or a liquid is an archetypal subject of mysteries – initiates experience death only to be reborn again. Leaping into the wine-coloured sea associated with the god initiates an escape from 'bad destiny' to reach salvation, and thus a good and blessed destiny.[118] With a safe transition to the other world, it becomes in the same moment the act of heroization and incarnation of the deceased. Precisely in that context, the biographies of the situlae from Rijeka and Vizače/Nesactium undoubtedly represented the social status, the tradition of wine consumption, the eschatological thought and the ritual practices in funeral ceremonies and banquets of this area, which was synchronized with the universal essence of the vast Mediterranean Hellenism. After all, salvation and blessedness come out of the sea. So, *leaping into the deep, wine-coloured sea* and being reborn again.

[113] Burkert 1990, 165–166; Buxton 2006, 82; cf. Csapo 2003, 82–83, Fig. 4.5–6; Bierl 2017, 248–249.

[114] Camporeale 1992, 52–53, Cat. 77; Buxton 2006, 19; Spivey 2006, 114–115, 124–128, Fig. 93. A fragment of a black-figure amphora of unknown production with the depiction of four vertically placed dolphins comes from Adria (Vallicelli 2002, 192, Fig. 9).

[115] Cristofani, Martinelli 1978, 131–133; Bottini 1991; Colonna 1991; Spivey 2006, 114–115; Kukoč 2009, 89–90.

[116] An example is the monument of Lysicrates in Athens dated to 336 BC. The upper frieze has a depiction of Dionysus and dolphins (Camp, Fischer 2002, 137). The latter were also often depicted on coins, for example on a stater from Taranto where it symbolizes the eponymous hero Taras (De Juliis 1996, 212, Fig. 202; Giove 2002, 276–277, Cat. 98; 100–101) or on coins from Syracuse or Naxos (Garraffo 2002, 161–165, 282–285, Cat. 114–121) – cities with strong mythological links to the god. Finally, the chthonic role of the dolphin in the iconography of the cultural groups from the Balkan Peninsula was especially prominent – on the already mentioned belt plates from Gostilj and Prozor, as well as on the matrices from Ošanići (Marić 1995, Fig. 17). At the same time, the dolphin is depicted on the emissions of coins of Jonius from Issa/Vis dated to the 4th century BC, as well as the coins of Labeati dated to the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC (Stipčević 1981, 68, f.n. 152).

[117] Barr-Sharrar 1982, 127.

[118] Csapo 2003; Bierl 2017, 249–250.

Acknowledgements

I am deeply thankful to all who generously helped me in the long-term realization of this unusual study, first of all to Boris Kavur and Mitja Guštin (Univerza na Primorskem, Koper), then to Ranko Starac (Pomorski i povijesni muzej Hrvatskog primorja, Rijeka), Vera Krstić (Narodni muzej u Beogradu), Lucija Đurašković (Javna ustanova Muzeji i galerije Budve), Sabina Veseli (Instituti i Arkeologjisë, Tiranë), Angeliki Kottaridi (Μουσείο Βασιλικών Τάφων των Αιγών, Vergina; Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού και Αθλητισμού, Athens), Athanasios Sideris (Thrace Foundation, Sofia; Masarykova univerzita, Brno) and to Jan Kysela (Univerzita Karlova, Praha).

List 1: The updated list of bell-shaped situlae with relevant references. The catalogue numbers refer to the sites as marked on the map (*Fig. 7*).
Seznam 1: Posodobljni seznam zvončastih situl z referencami. Kataloške številke ustrezajo številkam najdišč na karti razprostranjenosti (*sl. 7*).

No. (*Fig.*)	**Site**	**References**
1	Møn, Keldby	Giuliani Pomes 1957, Fig. 37; Zahlhaas 1971a, 12–13, A8; Shefton 1985, 400, 405; id. 1994, 593, Fig. 2: 1; Barr-Sharrar 2000, 285, Fig. 9; Sideris 2021, 45.
2	Waldalgesheim	Zahlhaas 1971a, 12, A6; ead. 1971b; Joachim 1995, Figs. 32–36; Shefton 1985, 399–400; id. 1994, 593; Touloumtzidou 2011, Fig. 26ζ; Sideris 2021, 44.
3 (*Fig. 5:* 5)	Budapest, Danube	Radnóti 1938, 105–106, Pl. 9: 45; 31: 1; Zahlhaas 1971a, 16, A18; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2010, Fig. 3: 1.
4	Vače	Guštin 1979, Fig. 1; Pl. 3.
5 (*Fig. 1; 9:* 3,7)	Rijeka, 2 or 3 exemp.	Blečić Kavur 2010, 446–447, Pl. 18: 299–301; ead. 2015, 179–185, Figs. 64A,B,D.
6 (*Fig. 9:* 8)	Vizače/Nesactium, 2 or more exemp.	Mihovilić 1996, 51, Pl. X: 148, 150–155, 159; ead. 2001, 271, Figs. 4: 6–8; ead. 2017, Figs. 3, 8; Pl. 1: 1–3; 2; Blečić Kavur 2015, Fig. 64C.
7	Marzocca, Senigallia	Salvini 2003, 75, Fig. 4.
8	Monterfortino, 3 exemp.	Brizio 1899, Pl. 11: 8; 4:13; V:14; Giuliani Pomes 1957, Fig. 36; Zahlhaas 1971a, 13, A9, 22, A36, 27, A53; Shefton 1985, 402; id. 1994, 493: 8; Frey 1996, Fig. 27.6; Landolfi 2002, 266, cat. 89.7; Sideris 2021, 44.
9 (*Fig. 9:* 4–5)	Offida	D' Ercole 1977, 71, 73, B351, Pl. 29; Pignocchi 2000, 70, Fig. 95, 336; Lucentini 2002, 34–35; Landolfi 2002, 266; Blečić Kavur 2015, Fig. 64E.
10 (*Fig. 9:* 6)	Norcia	Giontella 2011, 145, Fig. 2.
11	Campovalano, Tombs 279, 319	Grassi 2003, 509–511, Fig. IIa; Landolfi 2002, 266.
12 (*Fig. 9:* 1)	Monteriggioni, Tomb of Calini Sepus	Bianchi Bandinelli 1928, 159, Pl. 36: 144; Giuliani Pomes 1957, 74–75; Zahlhaas 1971a, 17, A21; Landolfi 2002, 266; Sideris 2016, 214, Fig. 85.b.
13	Chianciano	Giuliani Pomes 1957, Fig. 35; Zahlhaas 1971a, 28, A56; Landolfi 2002, 266.
14	Populonia, 3 exemp.	Cianferoni 1992, 17, Figs. 8–10; Landolfi 2002, 266.
15	Orbetello	Giuliani Pomes 1957, 72; Zahlhaas 1971a, 23, A42; Landolfi 2002, 266.
16	Sovana, attachment	Castoldi 1995, 26.
17	Vulci	Zahlhaas 1971a, 26–27, A52; Landolfi 2002, 266.
18	Tuscania, Tomb of Curunas, 2 exemp.	Shefton 1985, 408–409; Landolfi 2002, 266.
19	Bolsena	Bouloumié 1986, 71, Figs. 14–15; Landolfi 2002, 266.
20	Tarquinia	Castoldi 1995, 25–26, Figs. 39–40.
21	Roma, Tiber	Zahlhaas 1971a, 15, A15; Treister 2001, 226, f.n. 86; Sideris 2021, 44.
22	Napoli	Zahlhaas 1971a, 10, A2.
23	Herculaneum	Giuliani Pomes 1957, 75; Zahlhaas 1971a, 25, A47.
24	Pompei, 6 exemp.	Zahlhaas 1971a, 15, A16, 25, A46, A48, 26, A49, A50, A51.
25	Eboli, Santa Croce, Tomb 37	Longo, Viscione 1996, 117, Fig. 7.
26 (*Fig. 5:* 7)	Altavilla Silentina, Tomb 2	Mustilli 1937, 144, Fig. 2; Zahlhaas 1971a, 16, A19; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2010, Fig. 3: 5.
27	Paestum/Poseidonia	Zahlhaas 1971a, 11, A5; Shefton 1994, 592; Sideris 2021, 43.
28	Oria	Tarditi 1996, 115, cat. 216, 181–182.

29	Ugento, Tomb 2	Tarditi 1996, 116, cat. 262, 181–182; Rubinich 2002, 219, cat. 45.
30 (*Fig. 5:* 4)	Caulonia/Kaminion	Rolley 2002a: Fig. 4: 5; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2010, Fig. 3: 4; Touloumtzidou 2011: Fig. 26β.
31	Locri Epizefiri, Graves 739, 932	Orsi 1914: Figs. 34; 59; Zahlhaas 1971a, 10, A1a/b; Meirano 2002, 204, cat. 41, 41.7.
32 (*Fig. 5:* 9)	Belgrade, Karaburma, Grave 22	Todorović 1972, 17, 58, 88, Pl. 8: 1; 47–48; id. 1974, 69–70, Fig. 42, Pl. 26; Božič 1984, 88, Fig. 51; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2010, Figs. 1–3.
33	Vrankamen, attachment	Truhelka 1893, 88; Kysela 2021, Fig. 18.
34 (*Fig. 9:* 2)	Ošanići, hoard	Marić 1979, 54–55, Pl. 19; 20; Gebhard 1989, 2–11; Pfrommer 1990, 246, FK 86; Treister 2001, 280–285; Mihovilić 2017, Fig. 4.
35 (*Fig. 5:* 15)	Budva, 4 exemp.	Popović 1969, cat. 59; id. 1994, 123, cat. 85; 86; Zahlhaas 1971a, 13, A10; Shefton 1985, 402; id. 1994, 592: 3; Papović, Popović 2001, 63, cat. 59, Fig. 11; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2010, Fig. 3: 12; Blečić Kavur 2021, Fig. 9: 1; Sideris 2021, 44.
36 (*Fig. 5:* 11)	Apollonia, 5 exemp.	Ceka 1988, 360, cat. 263; Veseli 2012, 216, Pls. 1: 4–5; 2: 6,8; 3: 9; Sideris 2021, 44–45.
37	Bitola	Todorović 1972, 107; id. 1974, 70, 106, f.n. 22; Guštin 1979, 87.
38	Graešnica	Popović 1969, 77, cat. 54; id. 1994, 120, cat. 79; Papović, Popović 2001, 72; Krstić 2007, 158–159, cat. 126; cf. Zahlhaas 1971a, 21 A32, 69; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2010, 64–65, Fig. 5.
39 (*Fig. 6:* 1)	Demir Kapija	Vučković-Todorović 1961, 238–240, Fig. 16; Vasić 1983, 190; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2010, Fig. 5: 1.
40 (*Fig. 5:* 13)	Gotse Delchev	Venedikov 1977, 85, 88, 102, cat. 31, Fig. 46; Archibald 1998, Pl. 39; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2010, Fig. 3: 8; Touloumtzidou 2011, Fig. 25ι.
41	Nikisiani, Tombs A–Γ	Lazaridis, Romiopoulou, Touratsoglou 1992, 42–43, Fig. 14, Pl. 27; Teleaga 2008, 266; Touloumtzidou 2011, 358.
42	Thasos, Artemision	Sideris 2016, 214.
43	Olynthos, attachment	Zahlhaas 1971a, Pl. 3: 30, 31, 36; Shefton 1994: 590, cat. B1, Fig. 1: 3; Touloumtzidou 2011, 358–359, Figs. 25δ–ε; ζ; Sideris 2021, 43.
44	Kallikrátia	Touloumtzidou 2011, 359.
45	Thessaloniki, Kalamariá	Barr-Sharrar 1982, 127, Fig. 8; ead. 2000, 282, Fig. 4; Touloumtzidou 2011, 359; Sideris 2021, 45.
46	Thessaloniki, Foínikas	Touloumtzidou 2011, 359; Sideris 2021, 45.
47	Dervéni, Tombs Δ4, Δ6, Z15	Themeles, Touratsoglou 1997, 102–103, 122, Pl. 111; 134; Barr-Sharrar 2008, 13–14, Fig. 8; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2010, Fig. 5: 3; Touloumtzidou 2011, 359, Fig. 25η.
48 (*Fig. 5:* 6)	Vergina/Aigai, Tomb III, 2 exemp., Tomb "Heuzey β", 2 examp., acropolis, 1 exemp., Tomb Aigai, 1 exemp.	Andronicos 1999, 209–211. Figs. 176–177; Barr-Sharrar 1982, 128, Fig. 10a; Shefton 1985, 404–405; Zimi 2011, 196–197, Figs. 29–30; Touloumtzidou 2011, 358–359, Fig. 26στ; Kottaridi 2013, Figs. on p. 327–328, 345; Smith 2015, 23, Fig. 32; Sideris 2016, 214, Fig. 85a; id. 2021, 44–45.
49	Makryialos/Pydna	Touloumtzidou 2011, 360, Fig. 25β.
50	Alykés Kítrous	Touloumtzidou 2011, 360.
51	Larissa	Touloumtzidou 2011, 360.
52	Petróporo	Touloumtzidou 2011, 360–361.
53	Kardítsa	Sideris 2000, 10, Fig. 5; Touloumtzidou 2011, 361, Fig. 26θ.
54	Antigonea	Veseli 2012, 216, Pl. 2: 7; Sideris 2021, 44.
55	Dodona	Zahlhaas 1971a, 19, A27; Shefton 1994, 590, cat. B2; Touloumtzidou 2011, 360, Fig. 27στ.
56	Pistiana	Kottaridi 2013, Fig. on p. 345; Sideris 2016, 214, Fig. 85.a.

57	Ithaka	Touloumtzidou 2011, 362.
58	Kerasies	Touloumtzidou 2011, 361.
59	Lokrida	Touloumtzidou 2011, 361, Fig. 27α; Blečić Kavur 2021, Fig. 9: 3.
60	Nartháki	Touloumtzidou 2011, 361.
61	Dimitriáda	Touloumtzidou 2011, 360.
62	Phthiotis/Pelasgia, 2 examp.	Marangou 1985, 166–167, Fig. 264; Shefton 1985, 405; Barr-Sharrar 2000, 284, Fig. 8a–b; Touloumtzidou 2011, 360, Fig. 26δ; Sidris 2016, 212; id. 2021, 42, 45.
63	Alonnisos (shipwrack)	Hadjidaki 1996, 586, Fig. 31–32; Teleaga 2008, 267; Zimi 2011, 55; Sideris 2016, 211.
64 (*Fig. 5:* 1)	Delphi	Rolley 2002a, Fig. 2–3; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2010, Fig. 3: 6; Touloumtzidou 2011, 361, Fig. 26α.
65	Galaxidi	Zahlhaas 1971a, 17, A22; Sideris 2011, 293, Fig. 22; Touloumtzidou 2011, 361.
66	Akraífia	Touloumtzidou 2011, 362.
67	Athens, Fero	Touloumtzidou 2011, 360.
68	Corinth, Kalamaki/Kengres	Touloumtzidou 2011, 361.
69	Argos	Touloumtzidou 2011, 362.
70	Patras	Touloumtzidou 2011, 362.
71	Olympia, several attachments	Gauer 1991, 114–115, Pl. 98; Shefton 1994, 590, cat. B3; Touloumtzidou 2011, 362, Figs. 25α, σ–τ; Sideris 2021, 42.
72 (*Fig. 5:* 10)	Skillountia/Mazi, 2 exempl.	Proskynitopoulou 1979, 110–126, Figs. 46–47; Rolley 2002a, 93; Touloumtzidou 2011, 361–362, Figs. 25θ–γ.
73	Dardanos	Zahlhaas 1971a, 24, A43; Treister 2002a, 356, Figs. 4–5; Sevinç, Treister 2003, Pl. 6: 60–63; Sideris 2021, 44.
74	Badirma/Panormos	Schröder 1914, Fig. 3; Zahlhaas 1971a, 20, A30; Barr-Sharrar 2008, 14, f. n. 22; Sideris 2016, 212.
75	Bursa/Proussias, 2 exempl.	Zahlhaas 1971a, 18, A24; Shefton 1985, 402; id. 1994, 593: 6; Barr-Sharrar 2000, 287, Figs. 13a–b; Treister 2001, 105; Sideris 2021, 44.
76	Bolu–Göynük	Zahlhaas 1971a, 29, A61; Shefton 1985, 404–405; Baran Çelik 2020, 162–165, Figs. 1, 4–9; Sideris 2021, 45, Fig. 10.
77	Kastamonu	Zahlhaas 1971a, 29, A63; Sideris 2021, 45.
78	Kırklareli, Yùndolan C	Delemen, Çokay Kepçe, Yilmaz 2010, 93, Figs. 9a–b; Sideris 2021, 44.
79	Kırklareli, Karakoç	Zahlhaas 1971a, 94, C23; Archibald 1998, Fig. 11.12; Teleaga 2008, 266.
80	Malomirovo, Zlatinica	Sideris 2021, 43.
81	Arzos	Cattling 1984, Fig. 95; Barr-Sharrar 1982, 129, Fig. 11; Touratsoglou 2000, 65, Fig. 81; Touloumtzidou 2011, 358, Fig. 25γ.
82	Mezek, Srednata Mogila	Zahlhaas 1971a, 27–28, A 55; Venedikov 1977, 100, cat. 21.
83	Mezek, Maltepe	Zahlhaas 1971a, 14, A13; Venedikov 1977, 85, 87, 101, Fig. 44, cat. 26; Pfrommer 1990, 250, FK 99; Archibald 1998, Fig. 11.12; Barr-Sharrar 2000, 286, Fig. 11; Touloumtzidou 2011, Fig. 26η; Sideris 2021, 43.
84	Stara Zagora, Dabrva	Venedikov 1977, 86–87, 100, cat. 19; Archibald 1998, Fig. 11.13.
85	Staro Selo	Venedikov 1977, 95, cat. 1.
86	Kalojanovo	Zahlhaas 1971a, 22, A38; Venedikov 1977, 87, 101, cat. 23.
87	Kozarevo	Venedikov 1977, 87, 102–103, cat. 29; Archibald 1998, Fig. 11.12; Pl. 39; Sideris 2016, 213; id. 2021, 44.
88 (*Fig. 5:* 8)	Seuthopolis, Tomb 1	Venedikov 1977, 85, 88, 103, cat. 32; Dimitrov, Čičikova 1978, 32, Fig. 82; Pfrommer 1990, 254, FK 104; Archibald 1998, Fig. 11.12.

89	Pastrovo	Zahlhaas 1971: 18–19, A25; Venedikov 1977: 100, Fig. 34–36, cat. 17; Venedikov, Gerasimov 1979: Fig. 105–107; Barr-Sharrar 1982: 127. Fig. 9–10; ead. 2000: 283, Fig. 6; Touloumtzidou 2011: Fig. 27ζ–η.
90	Malko Dryanovo	Zahlhaas 1971a, 21, A33; Venedikov 1977, 87, 99, cat. 15; Archibald 1998, Fig. 11.12.
91	Brezovo	Zahlhaas 1971a, 20, A31; Venedikov 1977, 86, 99, Fig. 32; cat. 14; Archibald 1998, Pl. 38.
92	Chernozem	Venedikov 1977, 87, 100, cat. 16; Shefton 1985, 403–404; Archibald 1998, Fig. 11.12; Pl. 40; Sideris 2021, 45.
93	Duvanlii, Bashova Mogila	Zahlhaas 1971a, 27, A54; Venedikov 1977, 85, 99, cat. 12.
94	Karlovo, Domljan	Kisyov 2004, 49, Fig. 42: 1; Teleaga 2008, 266.
95	Sokolitsa	Kisyov 2004, Pl. 40: 1; Teleaga 2008, 266.
96	Starosel, Pejkova mogila	Kitov 2002, 15, Fig. 70; Kitov 2003, 36.
97	Panagyurishte, hoard	Zahlhaas 1971a, 13–14, A11; Venedikov 1977, 87, 102, Fig. 39, cat. 28; Archibald 1998, Fig. 11.12; Sideris 2021, 43.
98	Vasilyov	Zahlhaas 1971a, 19, A28; Venedikov 1977, 100, Figs. 37–38, cat. 18.
99	Vratsa, Mogilanskata mogila, Tomb 2	Venedikov 1977, 87, 101, Fig. 41, cat. 27; Shefton 1985, 403–404; Archibald 1998, Fig.11.14; Theodossiev 2000, 93, 146; Teleaga 2008, 449–450, cat. 996; 999, Pl. 114: 2; 116: 6; Sideris 2021, 21–22, 45, Figs. 1–2.
100	Pudriya	Venedikov 1977, 87, 102, Fig. 47, cat. 30; Teleaga 2008, 448, cat. 989.
101	Babintsi	Zahlhaas 1971a, 19, A28; Venedikov 1977, 100, Figs. 37–38, cat. 18; Teleaga 2008, 450, cat. 998.
102	Ăglen	Teleaga 2008, 450, cat. 1002, Pl. 87: 1.
103	Vălchitrăn	Archibald 1998, 190, Pl. 11; Teleaga 2008, 448, cat. 990, Pl. 110: 1.
104	Aleksandrovo	Zahlhaas 1971a, 21; A34; Venedikov 1977, 85, 99, Fig. 33, cat. 13; Teleaga 2008, 450, cat. 1000, Pl. 1.
105	Orlovets	Venedikov 1977, 100, cat. 20; Teleaga 2008, 449, cat. 997, Pl. 80; Sideris 2021, 45.
106 (*Fig. 5:* 12)	Vărbitsa	Zahlhaas 1971a, 17, A20; Venedikov 1977, 85, 103, Fig. 45, cat. 33; Teleaga 2008, 448, cat. 991, Pl. 110: 3; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2010, Fig. 3: 9.
107	Varna	Venedikov 1977, 86, 101, cat. 22.
108	Branichevo	Zahlhaas 1971a, 28, A57; Venedikov 1977, 101, cat. 25; Teleaga 2008, 450, cat. 1001, Pl. 5.
109 (*Fig. 5:* 3)	Cernele	Şerbănescu 1999, 234; Teleaga 2008, 449, cat. 994, Pl. 16: 2; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2010, Fig. 3: 2.
110 (*Fig. 5:* 14)	Chirnogi	Şerbănescu 1999, 233–235, Fig. 3; Teleaga 2008, 448, cat. 991, Pl. 18: 4; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2010, Fig. 3: 10.
111	Kurdzhips	Treister 2002b, 66; id. 2003, 68.
112	Karagodeuashkh	Zahlhaas 1971a, 28, A58, A59; Treister 2002b, 66; id. 2003, 67–68; id. 2008, Figs. 8; 11: 3.
113	Rassvet	Raev 1994, 170–171, Fig. 5: 2; Sideris 2021, 44.
114 (*Fig. 5:* 2)	Lenina	Raev 1994, 350–351, Fig. 7; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2010, Fig. 3: 3.
115	Velikaja Znamenka, Mamaj–Gora	Teleaga 2008, 267.
116	Balki, Gaimanova mogila	Rolle 1979, 122–123; ead. 1989, Fig. 83; Treister 1991, 75–76; id. 2002b, 66.
117	Chertomlyk	Treister 2002b, 66; id. 2003, 68; id. 2008, Figs. 8; 11: 2.
118	Nikopol	Zahlhaas 1971a, 23, A39.
119	Tishkovo	Zahlhaas 1971a, 12, A7; Shefton 1985, 402; id. 1994, 592: 2; Treister 2003, 68; id. 2008, Figs. 8; 11: 4; Sideris 2021, 44.

120	Peschchanoe	Zahlhaas 1971a, 11, A4; Rjabova 1991, 155–156, cat. 103g; Treister 1991, 74–76; id. 2008, Figs. 8; 11: 1; Barr-Sharar 2000, 279, Fig. 3; Parzinger 2007, 35, Fig. 5; Sideris 2021, 43.
121	Cyprus, Soloi	Sideris 2021, 45.
122	Ensérune	Bel et al. 2014, 21–23, Fig. 12a–d.
123	Vallfogona de Balaguer, Pedrera	Graells 2011, 133, Fig. 48; id. 2014, Fig. 44.
124	Mallorca, Calvià	Grealls 2014, Fig. 45
Not mapped situlae (from the unknown precise provenance):		
No., (*Fig.*)		**References**
125	Transilvania	Şerbănescu 1999, 234.
126 (*Fig. 5:* 16)	Belgrade	Ratković 2005, 46, cat. 1; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2010, Fig. 3: 12.
127 (*Fig. 6:* 2)	Thrace, 12 exempl.	Sideris 2016, 198–214, Figs. 78.1–85.1; id. 2021a, 43–45, Figs. 3, 6–7, 9, 11; id. 2021b, Figs. 239.1, 248.1–249.
128	Thessaloniki	Zahlhaas 1971a, 29, A60; Touloumtzidou 2011, 359.
129	Athens, 4 exempl.	Touloumtzidou 2011, 362–363; Sideris 2016, 207–208; id. 2021, 44.
130	Thessaly	Touloumtzidou 2011, 360.
131	Peloponnese	Touloumtzidou 2011, 361.

ANDRONICOS, M. 1999, *Vergina. The Royal Tombs and the Ancient City.* – Athens.

ARCHIBALD, Z. 1998, *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace.* – Oxford.

BARAN ÇELIK, G. 2020, Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri'ndeki Bir Grup Bolu-Göynük/Bilecik-Yenisehir Buluntusu. – In: V. Keles (ed.), *Propontis ve* Çevre *Kültürleri / Propontis and Surrounding Cultures,* Parion Studies III, 161–180, Istanbul.

BARR-SHARRAR, B. 1982, Macedonian Metal Vases in Perspective: Some Observations on Context and Tradition. – In: B. Barr-Sharrar, E. N. Borza (eds.), *Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times,* Symposium series I. Studies in the History of Art 10, 123–139.

BARR-SHARRAR, B. 2000, Some Observations on the Cast Bronze Ovoid Situla. – *Kölner Jahrbuch* 33, 277–290.

BARR-SHARRAR, B. 2008, *The Derveni krater: masterpiece of classical Greek metalwork.* – Princeton.

BASLER, Đ. 1969, Nekropola u Velim Ledinama u Gostilju (Donja Zeta). – *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine u Sarajevu* 24, 5–107.

BEL et al. 2014 = V. Bel, N. Chardenon, A. Gardeisen, G. Marchand, M. Schwaller 2014, Au tournant des IIIe et IIe siècles av. J.-C.: une tombe singulière à Ensérune (Hérault). – *Documents d'archéologie méridionale* 37, 193–224.

BERTI, F., P. G. GUZZO (eds.) 1994, *Spina. Storia di una città tra Greci ed Etruschi.* – Ferrara.

BIANCHI BANDINELLI, R. 1928, La Tomba di Calinii Sepus presso Monteriggioni. – *Studi Etruschi* 2, 133–176.

BIERL, A. 2017, "Hail and Take Pleasure!" Making Gods Present In Narration Through Choral Song and Other Epiphanic Strategies in the Homeric Hymns to Dionysus and Apollo. – In: Ch. Tsagalis, A. Markantonatos (eds.), *The Winnowing Oar. New Perspectives in Homeric Studies,* 231–266, Berlin, New York.

BLEČIĆ KAVUR, M. 2010, *The Iron Age at Kvarner Region.* – Phd thesis, Oddelek za arheologijo, Filozofska fakulteta, Univerza v Ljubljani (unpublished).

BLEČIĆ KAVUR, M. 2012, *Novovinodolski "lav"*: specifičan subjekt stamnoidne situle makedonske toreutičke umjetnosti (The 'lion' of Novi Vinodolski: a specific subject of stamnoid situla from the toreutic art of Macedonia). – *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 45, 149–172.

BLEČIĆ KAVUR, M. 2015, *Povezanost perspektive: Osor u kulturnim kontaktima mlađeg željeznog doba / A coherence of perspective: Osor in cultural contacts during the Late Iron Age.* – Koper, Mali Lošinj.

BLEČIĆ KAVUR, M. 2021, *Mladi lavovi*: simboli reprezentacije budvanskog antičkog društva (*Young lions*: toreutic symbols in representation of ancient society of Budva). – In: D. Medin (ed.), *Antička Budva*. Zbornik radova sa međunarodnog multidisciplinarnog naučnog simpozijuma po pozivu "Antička Budva", održanog 28. i 29. 11. 2018 u Budvi, 222–259, Budva.

BLEČIĆ KAVUR, M., B. KAVUR 2010, Grob 22 iz beogradske nekropole Karaburma: Retrospektiva i perspektiva (Grave 22 of the Belgrade necropolis in Karaburma: Retrospective and perspective). – *Starinar* 60, 59–66.

BLEČIĆ KAVUR et al. 2014 = M. Blečić Kavur, A. Busuladžić, W. David, Z. Ettinger Starčić, M. Guštin,

B. Kavur 2014, *Mjesta susretanja / Places of Contact / Mesta srečevanja*. – Koper.

BOTTINI, A. 1991, Appunti sulla presenza di Dionysos nel mondo italico. – In: F. Berti (ed.), *Dionysos – Mito e mistero.* Atti del Convegno Internazionale Comacchio 3.–5. 11. 1989, 157–170.

BOULOUMIÉ, B. 1986, Vases de bronzes étrusques du service du vin. – In: J. Swaddling (ed.), *Italian Iron Age artefacts in the British Museum,* Papers of the Sixth British Museum Classical Colloquium, London, 10.-11. 12. 1982, 63–79, London.

BOŽIČ, D. 1984, Posuđe Kelta. – In: D. Božič, L. Bakarić (eds.), *Κελτοι – Kelti i njihovi suvremenici na tlu Jugoslavije* (*Die Kelten und ihre Zeitgenossen auf dem Gebinet Jugoslawiens*), 87–91, Ljubljana, Zagreb, Beograd.

BRENDEL, O. 1995, *Etruscan art.* – New Haven, London.

BRIZIO, E. 1899, Il Sepolcreto gallico di Montefortino presso Arcevia. – *Monumenti antichi* 9, 617–808.

BURKERT, W. 1990, *Greek Religion; Archaic and Classical.* – Oxford.

BUXTON, R. 2006, *The Complete World of Greek Mythology.* – London.

CAMBI, N. 2002, *Antika.* – Povijest umjetnosti u Hrvatskoj 2, Zagreb.

CAMP, J., E. FISCHER 2002, *Exploring the World of the Ancient Greeks.* – London.

CAMPOREALE, G. 1992, Die Berufung der Etrusker zur Seefahrt. – In: M. Pallottino (ed.), *Die Etrusker und Europa,* 44–53, Milano.

CARPENTER, T. H. 1998, *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece.* – London.

CASTOLDI, M. 1995, *Recipienti in bronzo greci, magnogreci ed etrusco-italici delle Civiche Raccolte Archeologiche di Milano.* – Rassegna di Studi del Civico Museo Archeologico e del Civico Gabinetto Numismatico di Milano, Supplemento 15.

CATLING, H. W. 1984, Archaeology in Greece 1983–1984. – *Archaeological Reports* 30, 3–70.

CEKA, N. 1988, Die Illyrer und die antike Welt. – In: A. Eggebrecht (ed.), *Albanien. Schätze aus dem Land der Skipetaren, Hildesheim,* 33–84, Mainz.

CIANFERONI, G. C. 1992, I reperti metallici. – In: A. Romualdi (ed.), *Populonia in età ellenistica: I materiali dalle necropoli.* Atti del seminario Firenze 30. 6. 1986, 13–41, Firenze.

COLONNA, G. 1991, Riflessioni sul dionisismo in Etruria. – In: F. Berti (ed.), *Dionysos – Mito e mistero.* Atti del Convegno Internazionale Comacchio 3.–5. 11. 1989, 117–155, Comacchio.

CRISTOFANI, M., M. MARTINELLI 1978, *Fuflunus Paxies:* Sugli aspetti del culto di Bacco in Etruria. – *Studi Etruschi* 46, 119–133.

CSAPO, E. 2003, The Dolphins of Dionysus. – In: E. Csapo, M. C. Miller (eds.), *Poetry, Theory, Praxis: The Social Life of Myth, Word and Image in Ancient Greece: Essays in Honour of William J. Slater,* 69–98, Oxford.

CURTI, F. 1994, Tombe di IV secolo a.C. – In: F. Berti, P. G. Guzzo (eds.) 1994, 292–307.

D'ERCOLE, V. 1977, Cultura Picena: Oggetti in metallo, osso ed ambra. – In: *I materiali della collezione Guglielmo Allevi raccolti nel Museo Civico di Offida,* 65–125, Offida.

DALL'OSSO, I. 1915, *Guida Illustrata del Museo Nazionale di Ancona*. (Ristampa anastatica dell'edizione originale Ancona 2006). – Urbino.

DE JULIIS, E. 1996, *Magna Grecia – L'Italia meridionale dalle origini leggendarie alla conquista romana.* – Bari.

DELEMEN, I., S. ÇOKAY KEPÇE, Z. YILMAZ 2010, A "Warrior" Burial of the Mid-Fourth Century BC in Southeastern Thrace: Tumulus C at Yündolan near Kırklareli. – *TÜBA-AR* 13, 91–106.

DENOYELLE, M. 2002, Style individuel, style local et centres de production: retour sur le cratère des "Karneia". – *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité* 114/2, 587–609.

DIMITROV, D., M. ČIČIKOVA 1978, *The Thracian city of Seuthopolis.* – British Archaeological Reports, Supplementary Series 38.

DURADO, F. 2005, *Greece – Splendours of an Ancient Civilization.* – London.

FREY, H. O. 1996, The Celts in Italy. – In: M. Green (ed.), *The Celtic World,* 515–532, London, New York.

GARRAFFO, S. 2002, Capolavori della monetazione siracusana nell'età dei "maestri firmanti". – In: A. Giumlia-Mair, M. Rubinich (eds.) 2002, 161–165.

GAUER, W. 1991, *Die Bronzegefässe von Olympia: Mit Ausnahme der geometrischen Dreifüße und der Kessel des orientalisierenden Stils.* – Berlin.

GEBHARD, R. 1989, *Der Glasschmuck aus dem Oppidum von Manching.* – Die Ausgrabungen in Manching 11.

GIGANTE, R. 1944, La topografia di Fiume Romana e del suo porto. – *Studi, Saggi, Appunti* 1, 7–22.

GIONTELLA, C. 2011, Bronze Grave Goods from Norcia. – *Etruscan Studies* 14, 141–154.

GIOVE, T. 2002, Monete – Taranto. – In: A. Giumlia-Mair, M. Rubinich (eds.) 2002, 276–277.

GIULIANI-POMES, M.-V. 1957, Cronologia delle situle rinvenute in Etruria II. – *Studi Etruschi* 25, 39–85.

GIUMLIA-MAIR, A. (ed.) 2002, *I bronzi antichi: Produzione e tecnologia*. Atti del XV Congresso Internazionale sui Bronzi Antichi, Grado – Aquileia 2001. – Monographies Instrumentum 21.

GIUMLIA-MAIR, A. M. RUBINICH (eds.) 2002, *Le Arti di Efesto. Capolavori in metallo della Magna Grecia.* – Trieste.

GRAELLS, R. 2011, *Mistophoroi* Ilergetes en el siglo IV aC: El ejemplo de las tumbas de Caballo de la necrópolis de la Pedrera (Vallfogona de Balaguer-Térmens, Catalunya, España) (*Mistophoroi* of the Ilergetes in the 4th century B.C.: the example of horses'graves in the necropolis of La Pedrera (Vallfogona de Balaguer-Térmens, Catalonia, Spain). – *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums* 55, 81–158.

GRAELLS, R. 2014, *Mistophoroi ex Iberias. Una aproximación al mercenariado hispano a partir de las evidencias arqueológicas (VI-IV a. C.).* – Potenza.

GRASSI, B. 2003, Il Vasellame e *l'instrumentum* in bronzo della necropoli di Campovalano nel quadro delle produzioni dell'Italia preromana. – In: *I Piceni e l'Italia Medio-Adriatica, Atti del XXII Convegno di studi Etruschi ed Italici, Ascoli Piceno-Termo-Ancona 2000,* 491–520, Pisa, Roma.

GUŠTIN, M. 1979, Ein Bronzeeimar aus Vače. – *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 9, 87–89.

GUZZO, P. G. 1994, Vasi attici a figure, anche a Spina. – In: F. Berti, P. G. Guzzo (eds.) 1994, 81–113.

HADJIDAKI, E. 1996, Underwater Excavations of a Late Fifth Century Merchant Ship at Alonnesos, Greece: the 1991–1993 Seasons. – *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 120/2, 561–593.

HOSTETTER, E., C. W. BECK, D. R. STEWART 1994, A Bronze Situla from Tomb 128, Valle Trebba: Chemical evidence of resinated wine at Spina. – *Studi Etruschi* 59, 211–225.

JOACHIM, H. E. 1995, *Waldalgesheim. Das Grab einer keltischen Fürstin.* – Kataloge des Rheinischen Landesmuseums Bonn 3.

KIRIGIN, B. 1986, *ISSA: Otok Vis v helenizmu* (*ISSA: The Island of Vis in the Hellenistic Period*). – Ljubljana.

KIRIGIN, B. 1996, *Issa: Grčki grad na Jadranu* (*Issa: Greek colony on the Adriatic Sea*). – Zagreb.

KISYOV, K. 2004, *Тракийската култура в региона на Пловдив и течението на р. Стряма през втората половина на I хил.пр.Хр* (*Trakiiskata kultura v regiona na Plovdiv i techenieto na r. Striama prez vtorata polovina na I. hil.pr.Hr.*). – Sofia.

KITOV, G. 2002, Starosel – centre cultuel Thrace. – *Orpheus* 11–12, 5–60.

KITOV, G. 2003, *Thracian cult center near Starosel.* – Slavena.

KOTTARIDI, A. 2004, The Symposium. – In: D. Pandermalis (ed.) 2004, 65–87.

KOTTARIDI, A. 2013, *Aigai – The Royal Metropolis of the Macedonians.* – Athens.

KRSTIĆ, V. 2007, Tra IV e II secolo a.C. – In: T. Cvjetićanin, G. Gentili, V. Krstić (eds.), *Balkani. Antiche civiltà tra il Danubio e l'Adriatico,* 145–197, Milano.

KUKOČ, S. 1998, Grčki simboli u ilirskom svijetu (Greek symbols in the Illyrian World). – *Opscula Archaeologica* 22, 7–26.

KUKOČ, S. 2009, *Japodi – fragmenta symbolica* (*Iapodes – fragmenta symbolica*). – Split.

KYSELA, J. 2020, *Things and Thoughts. Central Europe and the Mediterranean in the 4th–1st centuries BC.* – Studia Hercynia, monographs 1.

LANDOLFI, M. 2002, Situla campaniforme. Corredo della tomba n. 23 di Montefortino d'Arcevia. – In: A. Giumlia-Mair, M. Rubinich (eds.) 2002, 266.

LAZARIDIS, D., K. ROMIOPOULOU, G. TOURATSOGLOU 1992, *Ο τύμβος της Νικήσιανης / The tumulus of Nikisiani.* – Athens.

LISIČAR, P. 1966, Prilozi poznavanju Epitaura (Contributi allo studio di Epitauro). – *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru* 4, 25–44.

LOLLINI, D. 1976, La civiltà Picena. – In: *Popoli e civiltà dell'Italia antica* 5, 107–195.

LONGO, F., M. VISCIONE 1996, Eboli. Catalogo. – In: M. Cipriani, F. Longo, M. Viscione (eds.), *I Greci in Occidente. Poseidonia e i Lucani,* 119–158, Napoli.

LUCENTINI, N. 2002, Offida: Museo Archeologico "Guglielmo Allevi". – In: *La Civiltà dei Piceni nei musei archeologici di Marche e Abruzzo,* 34–35, Pescara.

MARANGOU, I. L. 1985, *Ancient Greek Art: The N. P. Goulandris Collection.* – Athens.

MARIĆ, Z. 1979, Depo pronađen u ilirskom gradu Daors.. (2. st. pr. n. e.) (The Hoard Found at the Illyrian Town of Daors.. (the 2nd century B. C.). – *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu* 33, 23–65.

MARIĆ, Z. 1995, Die hellenistische Stadt oberhalb Ošanići bei Stolac (Ostherzegowina). – *Bericht der Römisch-germanischen Kommission* 76, 31–72.

MARIĆ, Z. 2000, Helenistički uticaji na ilirsko pleme Daorse (Hellenistic impact on Illyrian tribe of Daorsi). – *Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja* 31/26, 37–52.

MATEJČIĆ, R. 1985, Arheološki nalazi u Rijeci i okolici (Arcahaeological finds in Rijeka and its surroundings). – *Dometi* 4–5, 5–12.

MEIRANO, V. 2002, Situla a campana miniaturistica 41.7 Corredo da Locri, necropoli greca di Lucifero, tomba 739. – In: A. Giumlia-Mair, M. Rubinich (eds.) 2002, 204.

MIHOVILIĆ, K. 1996, *Nezakcij, nalaz grobnice 1981. godine / Nesactium, The Discovery of a Grave Vault in 1981.* – Monografije i katalozi 6.

MIHOVILIĆ, K. 2001, L'Istria tra Celti e Roma. – *Antichità Altoadriatiche* 48, 261–275.

MIHOVILIĆ, K. 2013, *Histri u Istri / The Histri in Istria.* – Monografije i katalozi 23.

MIHOVILIĆ, K. 2017, Helenističke brončane situle iz Nezakcija / Hellenistic bronze situlae from Nesactium. – *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 110/1, 257–274.

MUSTILLI, D. 1937, Altavilla Silentina: Tombe lucane. – *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 13, 143–151.

ORSI, P. 1914, Scavi del Calabria nel 1913 (relazione preliminare). – *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 9. *Supplemento,* 3–54.

OSBORNE, R. 1998, *Archaic and Classical Greek Art.* – Oxford, New York.

PANDERMALIS, D. (ed.) 2004, *Alexander the Great: Treasures from an Epic Era of Hellenism.* – New York.

PAPOVIĆ, S., LJ. POPOVIĆ 2001, *Ancient Budva.* – Beograd.

PARZINGER, H. 2007, Die Reiternomaden der eurasischen Steppe während der Skythenzeit. – In: W. Menghin, H. Parzinger, A. Nagler, M. Nawroth (eds.), *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifens. Königsgräber der Skythen,* 30–48, Berlin.

PFROMMER, M. 1982, Großgriechischer und mittelitalischer Einfluß in der Rankenornamentik frühhellenistischer Zeit. – *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 97, 119–190.

PFROMMER, M. 1983, Italien – Makedonien – Kleinasien: Interdependenzen spätklassischer und frühhellenistischer Toreutik. – *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 98, 235–285.

PFROMMER, M. 1990, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie Früh- und Hochhellenistischen Goldschmucks.* – Istanbuler Forschungen 37.

PFROMMER, M. 1993, Ein Grab – Drei Kulturen. Betrachtungen zu einem thrakischen Grabfund aus Kirklareli. – *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 43, 339–349.

PIGNOCCHI, G. 2000, Offida. – In: G. de Marinis, G. Paci (eds.), *Atlante dei Beni Culturali dei territori di Ascoli Piceno e di Fermo-Beni Archeologici,* 64–71, Ascoli Piceno.

POPOVIĆ, Lj. 1969, Grčka bronza u Jugoslaviji. – In: Lj. Popović, Đ. Mano-Zisi, M. Veličković, B. Jeličić (eds.), *Antička bronza u Jugoslaviji* (*Greek, Roman and early-Christian bronzes in Yugoslavia*), 11–19, Beograd.

POPOVIĆ, Lj. 1994, *Antička grčka zbirka / Collection of Greek Antiquities.* – Beograd.

PROSKYNITOPOULOU, R. 1979, Δύο χαλκοί κάδοι από την Σκιλλουντία της Ηλείας (Dýo chálkinoi kádoi apó tin Skillountía Trifylías). – *Αρχαιολογικό Δελτίο* 34, 114–125.

RADNÓTI, A. 1938, *Die römischen Bronzegefäße von Pannonien.* – Dissertationes Pannonicae II/6.

RAEV, B. A. 1994, Bronze Vessels of the late La Tène Period from Sarmatia. – *Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg* 45*,* 347–353.

RATKOVIĆ, D. 2005, *Бронзане посуде из Римске збирке Народног музеја у Београду* (*= Bronzane posude iz Rimske zbirke Narodnog muzeja u Beogradu)* (*Roman bronze vessels in the Roman Collection of the National Museum in Belgrade*). – Antika 9.

RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, D. 1961. Zlatni nakit iz helenističko-ilirske nekropole u Budvi (Les bijoux d'or de la nécropole hellénistico-illyrienne de Budva). – *Opuscula archaeologica* 4, 5–43.

RIIS, van den P. J. 1959, The Danish bronze vessels of Greek, Early Campanian, and Etruscan manufactures. – *Acta Archaealogica* 30, 1–50.

RJABOVA, V. A. 1991, Kultgefäße der Skythen. – In: R. Rolle, M. Müller-Wille, K. Schietzel (eds.), *Gold der Steppe: Archäologie der Ukraine,* 151–156, Schleswig.

ROLLE, R. 1979, *Totenkult der Skythen.* – Berlin, New York.

ROLLE, R. 1989, *The World of the Scythians.* – Berkeley, Los Angeles.

ROLLEY, Cl. 1990, Contacts, recontres et influences: Grande Grece et monde Celtique. – In: *La Magna Grecia e il lontano Occidente. Atti del 29. convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia,* 357–377, Taranto.

ROLLEY, Cl. 2002a, Le travail du bronze à Delphes. – In: A. Giumlia-Mair (ed.) 2002, 94–99.

ROLLEY, Cl. 2002b, Produzione e circolazione dei bronzi nella Magna Grecia. – In: A. Giumlia-Mair, M. Rubinich (eds.) 2002, 51–57.

RUBINICH, M. 2002, Situla a campana da Ugento /Lecce, tomba 2. – In: A. Giumlia-Mair, M. Rubinich (eds.) 2002, 219.

SALVINI, M. (ed.) 2003, *Area archeologica e Museo La Fenice.* – Senigallia.

SASSATELLI, G. 1994, La funzione economica e produttiva: merci, scambi, artigianato. – In: F. Berti, P. G. Guzzo (eds.) 1994, 179–217.

SCHIERING, W. 1975, Zeitstellung und Herkunft der Bronzesitula von Waldalgesheim. – *Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie* 5/1, 77–97.

SCHRÖDER, B. 1914. *Griechische Bronzeeimer im Berliner Antiquarium.* – Berlin.

ȘERBĂNESCU, D. 1999, Mormântul tumular Geto-Dacic de la Chirnogi, Județul Călărași. – *Thraco – Dacica* 20/1–2, 231–244.

SEVINÇ, N., M. TREISTER 2003, Metalwork from the Dardanos Tumulus. – *Studia Troica* 13, 215–260.

SHEFTON, B. B. 1985, Magna Grecia, Macedonia or neither? Some problems in 4th century B.C. Metalwork. – In: A. Stazio, M. L. Napolitano (eds.), *Magna Grecia, Epiro e Macedonia. Atti del 24. Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 5.–10. 10. 1984,* 399–410, Taranto.

SHEFTON, B. B. 1994, The Waldalgesheim Situla: Where was it made? – In: C. Dobiat (ed.), *Festschrift für Otto-Herman Frey zum 65. Geburtstag,* Marburger Studien zur Vor-und Frühgeschichte 16, 583–593.

SHEFTON, B. B. 2000, On the material in its northern setting. – In: W. Kimmig (ed.), *Importe und Mediterane Einflüsse auf der Heuneberg,* 27–41, Mainz.

SIDERIS, A. 2000, Les tombes de Derveni: quelques remarques sur la toreutique. – *Revue Archeologique* 1, 3–36.

SIDERIS, A. 2011, Προσωπεία της τορευτικής στη Μακεδονία (Aspects de la toreutique en Macedoine) – In: P. Valavánis (ed.), *Ταξιδεύοντας στην Κλασική Ελλάδα. Τόμος προς τιμήν του καθηγητή Πέτρου Θέμελη (=Voyager en Grèce classique. Hommages au Professeur Petros Thémélis),* 283–313, Athens.

SIDERIS, A. 2015, *Theseus in Thrace. The silver lining on the clouds of the Athenian – Thracian relations in the 5th century BC.* – Sofia.

SIDERIS, A. 2016, *Metal Vases and Utensils in the Vassil Bojkov Collection* 1. – Sofia.

SIDERIS, A. 2021a, Situlae with Palmettes: Vratsa, Waldalgesheim and the Vagaries of a Motif. – *Ancient West & East* 20, 21–50.

SIDERIS, A. 2021b, *Metal Vases and Utensils in the Vassil Bojkov Collection* 2. – Sofia.

SIMONE, E. 2021, *The gods of the Greeks.* – Wisconsin.

SMITH, D. M. 2015, Archaeology in Greece 2014–2015: Newsround. – *Archaeological Reports* 61, 12–33.

SPIVEY, N. 2006, *Etruscan Art.* – London.

STEINGRÄBER, S. 2006, *Affreschi Etruschi. Dal periodo geometrico all'ellenismo.* – Roma.

STIPČEVIĆ, A. 1981, *Kultni simboli kod Ilira. Građa i prilozi sistematizaciji.* – Posebna izdanja Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja 54/10.

ŠAŠEL KOS, M. 2005, *Appian and Illyricum.* – Situla 43.

TARDITI, C. 1996, *Vasi di bronzo in area Apula. Produzione greche ed italiche di età arcaica e classica.* – Pubblicazioni Del Dipartimento di Beni Culturali dell'Università di Lecce 8.

TELEAGA, E. 2008, *Griechische Importe in den Nekropolen an der unteren Donau 6. Jh.-Anfang des 3. Jhs. v. Chr.* – Marburger Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 23.

TERŽAN, B. 1976, Certoška fibula (Die Certosafibel). – *Arheološki vestnik* 27, 317–537.

THEMELES, P., TOURATSOGLOU, G. 1997, *Οι τάφοι του Δερβενίου* (*The Derveni Tombs*). – Athens.

THEODOSSIEV, N. 2000, The Dead with Golden faces II. Other evidence and connections. – *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 19/2, 175–209.

TODOROVIĆ, J. 1972, *Praistorijska Karaburma I – nekropola mlađeg gvozdenog doba* (*The prehistoric Karaburma I – The necropolis of the Later Iron Age*). – Dissertationes et Monographiae 13.

TODOROVIĆ, J. 1974, *Skordisci – Istorija i kultura.* – Monumenta Archaeologica 2.

TORELLI, M. 1997. *Storia degli Etruschi.* – Roma, Bari.

TOULOUMTZIDOU, A. 2011, *Μετάλλινα αγγεία του 4ου – 2ου αι. π.Χ. από τον Ελλαδικό χώρο* (*Metal vases of the 4th-2nd centuries B.C. from Greece*). – Doctoral dissertation, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (unpublished).

TOURATSOGLOU, I. 2000, *Macedonia. History – Monuments – Museums.* – Athens.
TREISTER, M. Y. 1991, Etruscan objects in the north Pontic area and the ways of their penetration. – *Studi Etruschi* 57, 71–79.
TREISTER, M. Y. 2001, *Hammering Techniques in Greek and Roman Jewellery and Toreutics.* – Colloquia Pontica 8.
TREISTER, M. Y. 2002a, Metal vessels from the Dardanos Tumulus in the Troad. – In: A. Giumlia-Mair (ed.) 2002, 354–362.
TREISTER, M. Y. 2002b, Grecia settentrionale e il Regno del Bosforo. Produzione metallurgica come riflesso dei contatti nella seconda metà del IV secolo a.C. – In: A. Giumlia-Mair, M. Rubinich (eds.) 2002, 63–67.
TREISTER, M. Y. 2003, Metal vessels from Zelenskaya Gora Barrow and Related Finds from Karagodeuashkh. – *Ancient West & East* 2/1, 51–77.
TREISTER, M. Y. 2008, Bronze and Silver Greek, Macedonian and Etruscan Vessels in Scythia. – In: *International Congress of Classical Archaeology. Meetings between Cultures in the Ancient Mediterranean, Roma 2008,* Bollettino di archeologia on line 1, 11–13.
TRENDALL, A. D. 1989, *Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily.* – London.
TRUHELKA, Ć. 1893, Depotfund afrikanischer und anderer Bronzemünzen vom Vrankamen bei Krupa. – *Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnia und der Herzegowina* 1, 184–188.
TSIMBIDOU-AVLONITI, M. 2004, The Macedonian Tomb at Aghios Athanasios, Thessaloniki. – In: D. Pandermalis (ed.) 2004, 149–151.
VALLICELLI, M. C. 2002, Ceramiche di importazione a figure nere non attiche ad Adria. – *Padvsa* 38, 191–199.
VASIĆ, R. 1983, Greek Bronze Vessels found in Yugoslavia. – Živa Antika 33/2, 185–194.
VENEDIKOV, I. 1977, Les situles de Bronze en Thrace. – *Thracia* 4, 59–103.
VENEDIKOV, I., T. GERASIMOV 1979, *Tesori dell'Arte Tracia.* – Bologna.
VESELI, S. 2012, Një vështrim mbi situlat e bronzit të zbuluara në Shqipëri (An Overview of the Bronze Situla Found in Albania). – *Iliria* 36, 205–224.
VUČKOVIĆ-TODOROVIĆ, D. 1961, Античка Демир Капија (= Antička Demir Kapija) (Demir Kapija dans l'antiquité). – *Starinar* 12, 229–269.
WALTERS, E. J. 1988, *Attic Grave Reliefs that Represent Women in the Dress of Isis.* – Princeton, New Jersey.
ZAHLHAAS, G. 1971a, *Großgriechische und römische Metalleimer.* – Inaugural Dissertation der Ludwig-Maximilians Universität zu München (unpublished).
ZAHLHAAS, G. 1971b, Der Bronzeeimar von Waldalgesheim. – *Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie* I/2, 115–129.
ZANINOVIĆ, M. 2003, Područje Neretve i srednjojadransko otočje (La regione di Neretva e le isole centro adriatiche). – *Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva* 22, 277–287.
ZIMI, E. 2011, *Late Classical and Hellenistic Silver Plate from Macedonia.* – Oxford.
ZIMMERMANN, N. 1998, *Beziehungen zwischen Ton- und Metallgefäßen spätklassischer und frühhellenistischer Zeit.* – Internationale Archäologie 20.
ZÜCHNER, W. 1942. *Griechische Klappspiegel.* – Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts 14.

Helenistične zvončaste situle z bršljanovimi listi

Povzetek

Dolga leta so bile bronaste zvončaste situle glavna tema podrobnih razprav v arheološkem znanstvenem diskurzu. Njihova vloga in začetek proizvodnje sta bila datirana v grško klasično obdobje v 5. st. pr. n. št., ko so bila majhna, tako imenovana vedra χάδος uporabljena za prenašanje in prinašanje vode, pa tudi za mešanje vode z vinom. Njihova izdelava se je začela v arhajskem obdobju, zlasti v delavnicah atenskih in beocijskih torevtov v 5. stoletju, vrhunec proizvodnje in uporabe pa je sledil v 4. in zgodnjem 3. st. pr. n. št. po vsem "helenističnem svetu", v Etruriji in sosednjih ozemljih (*sl. 7*). Večinoma so bile povezane z manifestacijami simpozijev, banketov in praznikov (*sl. 2–4*). Vendar pa je bila njihova uporaba mnogo širša in večpomenska, kar potrjuje tudi izdelava njihovih kopij iz keramike, predvsem v delavnicah z juga italskega polotoka.

Večina zvončastih situl je bila odkrita v grobovih, poznamo pa jih tudi iz zakladnih najdb in seveda iz svetišč. Skoraj vedno, razen v primerih, ko kontekst njihovega odkritja ni bil znan, so bile deli razkošnih servisov in reprezentativno bogatih grobov posameznikov iz najvišjih družbenih in političnih struktur tedanjih družb. Posledično so bile večkrat razlagane kot insignije, kot dragocena diplomatska darila, preprosto kot *keimelie* ali kot obredna sredstva za prikaz priznanih in sprejetih eshatoloških praks in trendov. V 4. st. pr. n. št. se v pogrebnih gostijah in obredih kraterji niso več uporabljali – nadomestili so jih z zvončastimi situlami, ki so jih uporabljali z istim namenom za

svečano mešanje vina. Iz zgodovinskih virov vemo, da so Makedonci in drugi, ki so jih Grki imenovali »barbari«, na ozemljih Balkana, vključno z Iliri, pili čisto, nerazredčeno vino. Toda vino je bilo ceremonialno pomešano z medom in začimbami, zaradi česar je tudi cedilo postalo pomemben in pogosto odkrit del servisa (npr. v Vergini, Apolloniji, Vărbici ter v Montefortinu).

Pet odlomkov bronaste pločevine, okrašene s specifičnim okrasom, izvira z Reke (*št. 5*), najverjetneje z območja prazgodovinske nekropole na območju Andrejšćice in Zagrada, ter spada v vrsto helenističnih zvončastih ali ovoidnih situl (*sl. 1*). Vse so bile narejene iz tanke bronaste pločevine, dekorativni motivi v obliki večkratnega prepleta in delno ohranjenih bršljanovih listov ali ornamenta v obliki srca pa so bili narejeni z vrezovanjem in tolčenjem. Glede na obliko in način dekoracije sta bili s precejšnjo zanesljivostjo rekonstruirani dve posodi (*sl. 1; 9*). Na žalost kontekst njihovega odkritja ni znan – najverjetneje izvirajo iz raziskav, ki so potekale v tem delu Reke konec 19. in v začetku 20. stoletja. Ohranjeni fragmenti (*sl. 1:* 1–2) se lahko vključijo v skupino t. i. situl *a campana* tipa F po tipologiji Marie-Vittorie Giuliani Pomes ali v tip A1b po Giseli Zahlhaas. Težje je določiti tipološko pripadnost tretjega odlomka posode, ohranjenega le z majhnim delom okrasa v obliki trojnega prepleta z vtolčenimi pikami na sredini (*sl. 1:* 3). Zagotovo pa lahko situli pripišemo polkrožni ročaj s pravokotnim prerezom (*sl. 1:* 4), ki je bil na koncu poškodovan. To so bili ročaji s konci v obliki nazaj upognjenega popka, pripisani vrstam A-ročajev po klasifikaciji Wolfganga Schieringa.

Glede na njihovo proizvodnjo in povezane tehnološke značilnosti lahko zvončaste situle z okrasom v obliki bršljanovega lista pod atašami razdelimo v dve skupini (*sl. 5–6; 9*). Prva skupina (ali tip I) vključuje primere, izdelane s tehniko vlivanja ter končno obdelane in oblikovane s kovanjem. Imele so ločeno vlita obročasta dna. Ataše so bile bodisi vlite skupaj s telesom situle bodisi vlite ločeno in prispajkane na telo, okras pa je bil izdelan naknadno (*sl. 5–6*). Zaradi novih spoznanj njihova proizvodnja ni več povezana z obsežnim ozemljem od Črnega morja do Velike Grčije, ampak je natančneje umeščena v severnogrške, pravzaprav makedonske delavnice. V drugo skupino (II) spadajo situle, izdelane iz tanke kovane bronaste pločevine z ločeno vlitimi in dodelanimi deli (ataše, okrasi, ročaji in dna). Ta produkcija je značilna za etruščanske delavnice, ki temeljijo na starejših železnodobnih tradicijah (*sl. 9*).

Tip I

Za prvo skupino ali tip I so bile značilne v enem kosu vlite situle. Primeri z vlitimi atašami in okrasi pod njimi predstavljajo varianto **Ia** (*sl. 5:* 1–8). Okrasi so bili zaključeni z dolbenjem, vrezovanjem in vstavljanjem. Posledično je bil okras rahlo dvignjen in plastičen, obogaten z dodanimi cvetnimi motivi in viticami v zgornjem delu. Značilno je, da je imel vsak list osrednje rebro, ki ga je delilo na dva enaka dela. Liste bi lahko nadalje razdelili na dve različici – prva se zaključuje s trikotnimi ali zaobljenimi listi (*sl. 5:* 2–3), druga pa z nazobčanim zaključkom lista (*sl. 5:* 4–8). Okras se včasih spremeni v bršljanov list, priljubljen motiv grške umetnosti pozne klasične in helenistične dobe. V to skupino spadajo situle iz Delfov (*št. 64*), Lenine (*št. 114*) in iz Cernele (*št. 109*), potem iz Caulonie/Kaminijona v Kalabriji (*št. 30*), Donave pri Budimpešti (*št. 3*), iz Vergine/Aigaia (*št. 48*), iz grobnice II v Altavilli Silentini (*št. 26*), iz Koprinke/Seuthopolisa (*št. 88*) ter iz Pistiane (*št. 56*).

V drugo varianto **Ib** je treba vključiti situle z atašami in okrasi v obliki bršljanovega lista, ki so bili posebej vliti ter naknadno pritrjeni oziroma prilotani na posodo. Takšne so bile najdbe situl iz Karaburme (*št. 32*), Skillountie/Mazi (*št. 72*), Apollonije (*št. 36*), Vărbice (*št. 106*), Goce Delčeva (*št. 40*), Chirnogija (*št. 110*), Budve (*št. 35*), iz Bitole (*št. 37*), Olimpije (*št. 71*), Artemiziona na Tasosu (*št. 42*) ter najverjetneje iz Bolu-Göynüka (*št. 76*) (*sl. 7*). Tudi tu lahko ločimo dve varianti izdelave lista – podobni so primeri iz Karaburme, Skillountie/Mazi, Goce Delčeva, Vărbice, Koprinke/Seuthopolisa in Apollonije. Medtem ko druga varianta vključuje precej robustne ter poenostavljene ataše na situlah iz Chirnogija, Budve in Beograda (*št. 125*) (*sl. 7*).

Posebnost je situla iz Demir Kapije (*št. 39*) s poškodovanim trupom in manjkajočim dnom. Izdelana je bila v enem kosu, medtem ko je bil okras v obliki bršljanovega lista vrezan (*sl. 6:* 1), pod obodom pa je imela vodoravni friz z okrasom jonske kime. Najboljša primerjava zanjo prihaja iz ne tako oddaljene Graešnice (*št. 38*). Ker ob razpravi o katerikoli situli ne moremo spregledati njene edinstvene proizvodnje, bi morali situlo iz Demir Kapije na podlagi njenih splošnih značilnosti vključiti v varianto **Ic**. Najboljše primerjave za vrezani listni okras lahko opazimo na situli iz Mazija (*št. 72*) in srebrni situli iz Trakije (*št. 126*) (*sl. 6:* 2). Situla iz Demir Kapije ima naj-

kompleksnejši okras in je bila nedvomno izdelek makedonskih torevtov, ki so na koncu okrasitve dodali specifične lokalne značilnosti. Makedonskim delavnicam bi morali pripisati še situlo iz Graešnice, situle iz groba Δ v Derveniju (*št. 47*) in manjšo situlo iz Budve, ki ima razkošne palmete s cvetličnim okrasom pod nedotaknjenim frizom.

Tip II

Na drugi strani "sveta" pa lahko vidimo, da je bila situacija enaka ali vsaj podobna v italski Etruriji. Tam so bili na stenskih poslikavah v grobnicah družbenih elit upodobljeni pogrebne svečanosti in banketi. V Tomba dell'Orco II v Tarkviniji je bil upodobljen *kylikeion*, ob katerem sta stala Eros in Tanatos, neposredni priči vseh pogrebnih gostij in obredov (*sl. 8*). Njegova datacija je v skladu z realističnim prikazom razkošnega nabora kovinskih posod, še posebej zvončastih situl, ki so bile, kot že rečeno, del etruščanske ustvarjalnosti ali proizvajalcev, ki so izdelovali pod etruščanskim nadzorom.

Zanje je bila značilna izdelava iz tanke bronaste pločevine, spojene s spajkanjem, z izvihanim ustjem, ločenim vlitim dnom ter atašami, naknadno združenimi s telesom posode. Dekoracije so bile povsem drugačne od tistih v skupini I. Šlo je za širok pas, zapolnjen z dvojnim ali trojnim prepletom, ki je bil narejen s kombinacijo vrezov in točk. Tak ornament je bil zelo priljubljen v etruščanski torevtiki, saj ga je bilo enostavno izdelati s hladnim vrezovanjem ter je imel velik dekorativni učinek. Enako so bili okrašeni bronasti vrči iz skupine bogatih grobov iz Spine, Valle Pega 65A in 136A, kjer so bile odkrite tudi bronaste situle, okrašene z istim prepletom, in srebrna fibula tipa Certosa. Tovrsten okras krasi situle iz bogate grobnice Celinii Sepus blizu Monteriggionija (*št. 12*), Norcie (*št. 10*) in Offide (*št. 9*) v Italiji, Vizač/Nezakcija (*št. 6*) in z Reke (*št. 5*) na severni jadranski obali ter Ošanićev (*št. 34*) v hercegovskem jadranskem zaledju (*sl. 9*). Vsi imajo pod atašami vrezan okras bršljanovega lista, veliko bolj razvit in razkošen kot pri situlah I. tipa. Izdelan je iz dveh vzporednih črt z osrednjo ločnico, z rombom ali trikotnikom in spiralnimi viticami nad listom, oz. s spodnjo stranjo, ki se konča v obliki valovite črte ali akantovega vršička, kar je značilnost situl iz Ošanića, prve situle z Reke in situle iz Monterrigionija (*sl. 9:* 1–3), ki so uvrščene v ločeno varianto **IIa**. V drugo, varianto **IIb** prištevamo situle, kateri listasti okras je dodatno izpolnjen z nasprotno in navzdol vrezanimi delfini; iz Offide, Norcie, z Reke in verjetno iz Vizač/Nezakcija (*sl. 9:* 4–8).

Ikonografsko, pa tudi semantično, bi bilo treba situle z okrasom v obliki bršljanovega lista pod atašami opazovati z vidika povezav s ceremonijami simpozijev in banketov, kjer so vino, različni alkoholni eliksirji in zelišča kot afrodiziaki delovali v vlogi neizogibnega sredstva za sprostitev in dvig duhovne energije. Prav upodobitev trte in bršljana kaže na prisotnost Dioniza. Najmlajši bog na Olimpu je bil vedno povezan s skrivnostmi tega in posmrtnega življenja, z enigmo rojstva, smrti, vstajenja in utelešenja. Njegovo navzočnost je bilo čutiti prav pri pogrebnih slavjih, kjer se je slavilo zmagoslavje nad smrtjo. Zato je Dioniz ena najpogostejših tem na atiškem vaznem slikarstvu in je bil v obdobju arhaične in klasične umetnosti prikazan z jasno kanoniziranimi atributi (kantaros in bršljan, *tyrsos*, satiri in menade, kače, osel in panter/leopard). Od 6. in 5. stoletja je bil prikazovan kot starejši bradati bog v kytonu in himtionu, kot lahko vidimo na kiliksu Eksekijasa iz Vulcija, datiranem okoli leta 530 pr. n. št. Toda približno po letu 430 pr. n. št. je postal na upodobitvah mladi brezbradi, napol goli efemizirani bog, ki ga bodo kot takega razlagali v celotnem 4. st. pr. n. št. Mladi Dioniz z mlado žensko (Ariadno ali Afrodito) in njihov *gamos* je bil priljubljen motiv v južnoitalskem vaznem slikarstvu 4. stoletja in prisoten na vseh zvončastih situlah s figuralnim okrasom, zlasti na tistih z ozemlja Trakije. Če poznamo sistem vrednot in interakcij, bi bilo to mogoče pričakovati, saj je bil Dioniz neposredno povezan s tračanskim ozemljem, kjer je preživel del svoje burne, nikakor enostavne mladosti. Vrhunec tega idealističnega hrepenenja in razkošnega programa vizualnega izražanja je bil okras na kraterju iz Dervenija in na kraterju iz Taranta (*sl. 3*).

V reducirani obliki, v Dionizovi odsotnosti, so bili upodobljeni njegovi nadomestki, kot so satiri in menade ali glave Silenov, vitice bršljana ali trte. Odličen primer tega lahko opazujemo na bronastem zložljivem ogledalu z reliefnim ornamentom upodobljenega satira, ki drži zvončasto situlo in vodi kozo k žrtvenemu oltarju, datiranem v pozno 4. in zgodnje 3. st. pr. n. št. (*sl. 10*). Ker se je njegov ikonografski in ikonološki model na simbolni in narativni način spreminjal, smo v nekaterih primerih bili priča popolni racionalizaciji stilistično sprejetih modelov. Semantično je bila prisotnost Dioniza povsem anagramno zapisana – simulirana celo samo z delfini. Njihova povezava

z Dionizom je splošno sprejeta in predstavljena v znameniti metamorfozi iz grške mitologije – v dejanju preobrazbe piratov v delfine, kot kažejo etruščanske najdbe Eksekijasovega kiliksa in še posebej Mikalijeve hidrije. Slednja ima poseben pomen, saj je najstarejša ponazoritev te zgodbe. Ustvaril jo je etruščanski umetnik, navzočnost Dioniza pa je nakazana samo z viticami bršljana. Delfini so bili z vlogo psihopompa, kot Dioniz sam, povezani s preobrazbo, ponovnim rojstvom, smrtjo in vstajenjem. V Etruriji so bili, kot lahko vidimo, prisotni od arhajskega obdobja, kar je bilo še pred simboličnim uvozom Dioniza in njegovih misterijev v Etrurijo. Toda upodobitve ljudi, jahajočih delfine, ki jih prinašajo v druge svetove, bodo dosegle svoj vrhunec v helenistični umetnosti. Ali bi morali v listasti obliki oziroma v tako imenovanem srčastem okrasu pod atašami situl II. tipa (*sl. 9*) dejansko prepoznati bršljanove liste, ki bodo skupaj s posodo, polno vina, če ne že pričarali Dioniza, vsaj vzbudili njegov duh, obred in njegov mitološki pripovedni kompleks.

Delfini kot del te dekoracije na situlah z Reke, iz Norcie, Offide in verjetno Vizač/Nezakcija na znakovni način pripovedujejo o celotni izkušnji metamorfoze. *Skok v morje* ali v tekočino je tipičen motiv misterijev – inicirani doživljajo smrt samo zato, da se ponovno rodijo. S skokom v vinsko obarvano morje, povezano z bogom, inicirani pobegnejo pred "slabo usodo", da bi dosegli zveličanje in s tem blagoslovljeno usodo. In situle z Reke in iz Nezakcija, kot kulturni kapital in umetniške ekspresije, jasno prikazujejo družbeni status, tradicijo uživanja vina, eshatološko misel in obredne prakse pri pogrebnih slovesnostih na tem ozemlju, ki so bili sinhronizirani z univerzalnim bistvom helenizma. Navsezadnje iz morja prihajata odrešitev in blagoslov.

Martina Blečić Kavur
Univerza na Primorskem
Fakulteta za humanistične študije
Titov trg 5
SI-6000 Koper
martina.blecic.kavur@upr.si
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7626-6484

The author acknowledges the financial support from the Slovenian Research Agency for the 'Communities of the dead, societies of the living. Late Bronze Age of Eastern Slovenia project (J6-9363)'.
Članek je nastal v okviru raziskovalnega programa 'Skupnosti mrtvih, družbe živih. Pozna bronasta doba vzhodne Slovenije' (J6-9363), ki ga je sofinancirala Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije iz državnega proračuna.