REFLECTING ON ILLYRIAN HELMETS

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Abstract. – The so-called Illyrian helmets, with a rectangular opening for the face, are a frequent topic in archaeological literature for several reasons. They are distributed over a large territory – on the Balkan Peninsula and beyond, so many archaeologists from various countries were involved in their study. Then there is the great diversity of forms, where each type or subtype represents a theme in itself posing various questions, and finally new Illyrian helmets appear all the time, even in regions far from their main concentration areas, or with unfamiliar details, demanding new analyses and explanations.

The author discusses their division into types and subtypes, chronology, variants, and comes to the conclusion that a proper study of this theme will be possible only when various aspects of their appearance, including ancient written sources as well as the material culture of this period in particular regions, are taken into consideration because of their complex and versatile role in ancient Balkan history.

Key words. – Illyrian helmets, Greece, Macedonia, Adriatic coast.

The so-called Illyrian helmets, with a rectangular opening for the face, triangular or elongated cheek-pieces and a neck guard, as well as a track consisting of two ridges on the top of the crown for the crest, are a frequent topic in archaeological literature for several reasons. They are distributed over a large territory – on the Balkan Peninsula and beyond, so that many archaeologists from various countries were involved in their study.

Then there is a great diversity of forms, where each type or subtype represents a theme in itself posing various questions, and finally new Illyrian helmets appear all the time, even in regions far from their main concentration areas, or with unfamiliar details, demanding new analyses and explanations.

Many scholars have written about them. In the first place Germans like, B. Schroeder, E. Kukahn, then in particular E. Kunze, who excavated in Olympia where a large number of Illyrian helmets was found, and H.  

1 There are various names, which scholars have given to this type of helmet. The term »Illyrian« is most widespread and I think it is the most suitable. It is short, practical and there is no doubt which shape is in question. On the other hand, all scholars more acquainted with the problem know very well that the Greeks and not the Illyrians invented this helmet and that it was in use in Greece as well as in Macedonia and in Illyrian lands.

2 Schroeder 1912, 39–44.

3 Kukahn 1936, 52–55.


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Pflug, who published the last synthetic study on this theme. Balkan archaeologists like M. Garašanin, D. Berciu, M. Nikolanci, V. Lahtov, H. Ceka, I. Marović, M. Guma, B. Teržan, M. Blečić, E. Teleaga, and many others also contributed to a large extent.

In spite of their diversity, a relatively clear typological development of Illyrian helmets from the 8th to the 3rd century was determined. There are three main phases of development – an early form with low crown and without neck guard, then the middle form, »organisch-belebte«, as named by Kunze, with triangular cheek-pieces, elongated back guard, horizontal ribs on the forehead, and a decorative border with a series of studs alongside the helmet edge, and finally the late form with elongated cheek-pieces and simplified decoration running along the edge. However, there are many variations which appear particularly in the transitional period between the middle and late form, a period of experiments and quest for new creations.

The early form or Type I was found in limited number, mainly on the Peloponnesse, while a single helmet comes from Borove in East Albania. The dating – end of the 8th to the late 7th century relates to the Greek finds, while the helmet from Albania could be somewhat later.

The middle form or Type II, generally dated from the late 7th century to the middle of the 6th century BC, was found mainly in Greek Macedonia in the area between Thessaloniki and Kozani, apart from a considerable number of pieces which come from Olympia. Within the development of the middle form there is one earlier and one later stage. In its earlier phase it is visually the most distinguished and majestic form of Illyrian helmets; the later helmets of Type II lack the former solemn impression, there are deviations in details and hints to the future Type III. The helmets from Olympia, Lindos, Kozani (Pl. I,4), Ano Kopanots (Pl. I, 3), Anarakhi (Pl. I,2), Agia Paraskevi near Kozani (Pl. I,1), Archontiko, Agia Paraskevi near Thessaloniki, the surrounding of Thessaloniki, Donja Dolina (Pl. II,1–3) and Kaptol (Pl. II,4) belong to this earlier phase. The remaining helmets, which were ascribed to Type II (Bukri, Trebenishte, Ungrej, Ioannina), belong according to their characteristics to the later stage. The fragment from Philia formerly considered as Type II, belongs in fact to Type III. Their obvious concentration around Kozani and Thessaloniki shows clearly that the center of their production was in this region. The appearance of three helmets in the northwest Balkans (Donja Dolina, Kaptol) suggests only that there was constant contact and trade between Macedonia and the North Balkans during the 7th and 6th century BC.

Concerning helmets of the organisch-belebte form, one should add that they are not identical; some have more expressed paragnatides, some less expressed, as two helmets from Donja Dolina show. This points to a typological development, but does not necessarily indicate chronological difference. They are decorated with one or, less often, two horizontal ribs on the forehead. Most probably it represents just a variation of the decorative theme, but it is possible that two lines were a sign of higher military rank of the owner whatever this rank may have been, although this assumption should be considered with great reserve.

The most widespread and most popular was the late form – Type III, which developed from Type II and dates from the second half of the 6th to the 4th century BC. Its division into Types IIIA with side gussets (»Seitenzwickeln«), and IIIB with a round opening cut for the ears is generally accepted. Within Type IIIA three further subtypes can be distinguished: Type IIIA1, where studs along the helmet edge closely imitate those

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5 Pflug 1988.
6 Garašanin 1957.
7 Berciu 1958.
8 Nikolanci 1959; Nikolanci 1960.
9 Lahtov 1965.
10 Ceka 1972.
11 Marović 1972.
12 Guma 1991.
19 Pfuhl 1988, 44 ff.
20 Pfuhl 1988, 48 ff.
21 See the catalogue of helmets at the end.
23 Cf. Vasić 1974. Two Macedonian »jug-stoppers« of earlier form, dating to the 7th century BC, were found recently in the surrounding of Zemun, Najhold 2010, 46, Figs. 25, 26.
24 Helmets from Lindos, Anarahi and Agia Paraskevi near Kozani have two horizontal ribs. Also the helmet from the former Donald Young collection (internet data).
of Type II (Nietrand), Type IIIA2, where this decorative motif is more freely followed (Punzborte), and Type IIIA3, without decoration but with smooth edges.²⁷

Helmets with smooth edges without stud decoration were marked as Type IIIA3, which is not “ganz treffend”. Namely, in character and appearance they differ visibly from those of Types IIIA1 and IIIA2 and represent an independent form of Illyrian helmets in relation to the basic development II–IIIA1–IIIA2. H. Pflug recognized that difference, but tried to establish a missing link between Type II and Type IIIA3, creating a Type IIB, with three helmets having varied details of edge decoration.²⁸ They are indeed variations which do not negate the independent development of Type IIIA3. This was probably the result of the quest for new forms, where the need for production speed possibly played a significant role.

Most of the helmets were found in Sindos²⁹—“a Sindos variant” may be an appropriate term for them—while the rest also come mainly from Greek Macedonia. Thus, the supposition that they emerged in Greek Macedonia is most probable. For practical reasons, however, to avoid misunderstanding, I will continue to use IIIA3 for this form of helmets.

There are helmets with a smooth edge included in this group (IIIA3) which have a series of stamped circles, an imitation of studs, along the edge. This is again a variation, in fact a mixture of elements, which should be considered separately. There are early examples, as the helmet from Archontiko and the helmet from Reîca show. They are certainly not later than the turn of the 6th to 5th century, but they appear also much later, as that from Belsh, dated to the 4th century, testifies.³⁰ This variant probably also originated in Macedonia.

A particular group of helmets with smooth edges includes those with accentuated calotte, an element borrowed from the Corinthian type. They are decorated on the forehead with two incised figures of juxtaposed lions with turned heads. One of these helmets is in the Metropolitan museum, allegedly from Argolis, but the information is not confirmed, the other comes from a site between Horigi and Vaphiochori near Kilkis, now in the Kilkis Museum (Pl. IV, 2), and two others were found in the necropolis of Thermi near Thessaloniki (one in grave 22). The question is was the form created in the workshops around Thessaloniki or further south. This can not be answered with certainty, but it is probable that it was produced in Macedonia also.³¹

A helmet from the surrounding of Kozani also has an accentuated calotte but in other details, e.g. studs along the edge, no incised lions on the forehead, follows strictly Type II and was obviously made independently from the former group.³² It may suggest that the basic form of Type II remained in use here also after the middle of the 6th century and that the creative spirit, noticeable in workshops around Thessaloniki, did not involve this area.

Corinthian Kalottenabsatz is also seen on two helmets with flat edges, one allegedly from North Greece³³ and the other from Sicily.³⁴ They are close to the above mentioned group with incised lions, but here Absatzlines on both sides of the forehead turn upwards and create a kind of plastic wing-like decoration. The manner of execution reminds one, to a certain extent, of the plastic eye-brows on Corinthian or Italian helmets of this period. This decoration occasionally appears on Illyrian helmets too, as a recently discovered helmet in Isthmia shows.

Many helmets of Type IIIA1 were specially decorated and differ from a genuine IIIA1 form. Two of them have cheek-pieces in the form of a ram’s head, a creation which owes much to Chalcidian helmets—one was found in Olympia and the other in Gornja Porta in Ohrid.³⁵ Some helmets have golden and silver embossed rectangular sheets around a square opening (Trebenishte, Archontiko, Sindos), others some floral motifs, while those with golden and silver sheet cuttings in the form of lions, boars and riders on the forehead and the cheek-pieces are particularly interesting. Two of these were found in Olympia,³⁶ one in Trebenishte (Pl. IV, 3, 4)³⁷ and one on the Timiș bank in the north part of the commune Gâvăjoaia near Timișoara in Rumania (Pl. V, 3).³⁸ I do not wish to discuss the meaning, status, symbols or other characteristics of these variously decorated helmets, which are certainly worth discussing in particular because

²⁷ Pflug 1988, 52–53.
²⁸ Pflug 1988, 52. Helmets from Olympia and Trebenishte. The third example from the Canellopoulos collection again represents a variation, having a smooth edge with a series of round holes along it. Amandry 1971, 589–597. It is earlier than the three earliest helmets from Trebenishte (ibid, 589, n. 8) and belongs to the middle phase of development of Illyrian helmets.
²⁹ Sindos 1985, passim.
³⁰ Albanien 1988, 244–259, Nr. 111.
³⁴ Teržan 1995, 121; Sotheby, Catalogue of the sale, 14 november 1966, 73 No. 175.
³⁷ Popović 1956, 47 T. XVIII.
³⁸ Medelet, Cedica 2003.
they appear in different milieus, but mention them to emphasize the diversity of Illyrian helmets. Also it seems to me more appropriate to mark them again just as variations of the main theme, than to give them a type number, as Martina BLEČIĆ did, designating Illyrian helmets of Type IIIA1 with decorations as Type IIIA1b.  

Otherwise, if we take as probable that the examples with a ram’s head and those with boars, lions and horsemen originated on Peloponnesus and that their appearance around the Ohrid Lake was to be expected, while bearing in mind the enormous quantity of Greek ware in Trebenishte, the helmet from the surrounding of Timișoara (Pl. V, 3) is intriguing. It poses questions of a different kind and offers several hypothetic assumptions. On the basis of its shape it is close to the helmets from Pećka banja (Pl. V, 1.2) and Ražana (Pl. V,4), so the solution should possibly be sought in that direction. Could it perhaps have been the helmet of an Illyrian condottiere, who crossed a river too far north?

The basic Type IIIA1 with Nietrand appeared in the Peloponnesus and Macedonia, while in the West Balkans their number was limited. It is usually dated to the second half of the 6th and the beginning of the 5th century BC. Type IIIA2 with Punzborte, dated from the first part of the 5th century to the end of the 4th century, was also found in Greece and Macedonia, but the number of finds in the West Balkans in comparison with IIIA1 increased considerably. When one speaks of Types IIIA1 and IIIA2, one could say that the difference between Nietrand and Punzborte is theoretically quite clear, but in practice it posesses some problems. It is true that some helmets of Type IIIA can be relatively easily ascribed either to one or other category, on the basis of more or less expressed studs along the edge, but in many cases that is not sufficiently transparent. One should keep in mind that the motif was transforming slowly, step by step, that at that time various workshops were involved in helmet production that they did not progress evenly and simultaneously in stud transformation, that there are many uncertain cases, especially when one has the possibility to judge helmets only on the basis of mediocre photographs. For example, two helmets from Pećka Banja (Pl. V,1/2) were ascribed to Type IIIA1, because the interspace between studs and their plasticity are quite noticeable, while on the other hand the helmet from Trstenik (Pl. VI,3) belongs to Type IIIA2: it has no studs in the proper sense of the word but a line of plastic rectangles. Now, on the helmet from Timišoara (Pl. V,3) the density of studs is slightly more expressed than on the helmets from Pećka banja (Pl. V,1.2), so it can be ascribed to Type IIIA1, but also on account of figural decoration. On the helmet from Ražana (Pl. V,4) studs are densely represented, though in some parts spacing is noticeable. This helmet is marked as Type IIIA2, although between it and that from Trstenik (Pl. VI,3) the difference in decoration is much more noticeable than between Ražana (Pl. V,4) on the one hand and Pećka banja (Pl. V,1.2) and Gavojdia (Pl. V,3) on the other.

A variant of Type IIIA2 with arrow motif incised on the sides of the helmet, which was designated as IIIB2–b, was spread mainly along the Adriatic coast and occasionally in the hinterland. Its appearance in Albania, in Perlat dated to the third quarter of the 5th century, and in Budva speaks in favour of an assumption that this variant was produced in the workshops in the south Adriatic, Apollonia and Epidamnus, from where it spread to the Northwest. Some of these helmets with incised arrow, as those from Budva and Podstine, Kiseljak, have an exaggeratedly high crown, a particular handwriting of an artisan or a workshop, which would indicate a later stage of development when the harmony of form began to disappear.

Finally, Type IIIB with ear-shaped cutting, the last type in the series, was found in Greece, Albania and occasionally further northwest, on the Adriatic coast and Italy. The form was probably invented in Greece. Kunze dates this type in Olympia immediately after the middle of the 5th century, but Illyrian helmets in general were slowly going out of fashion, so it was not found in Greece any more in great number.

The influx of the Illyrian helmet on the East Adriatic coast and in its hinterland is amazing and not easy to explain. How did these unknown groups or tribes become so keen to have Illyrian type helmets? Were there only particular groups in question or the inhabitants of a larger territory? Biba TERŽAN dealt with this problem when she noted that Type IIIA2 b with an incised arrow motif was spread mainly in Dalmatia, Type IIIB with ear shaped cutting in Albania, and Type IIIA3 with smooth edges in Macedonia. Here the division into types and subtypes certainly plays an important role, but together with the edge forms, one should consider

40 BLEČIĆ 2007.
41 For other helmets, found in Rumania, Berciu 1958, 448–449.
42 Pflug 1988, 52 ff.
44 Kunze 1967, 133.
45 TERŽAN 1995, 87 f.
also the height of the crown, length of the cheek pieces, size of the neck guard and other details, which have something to say about particular workshops and artisans. In fact, altogether, this is a complex question, which needs a thorough study of various aspects, where written sources and archaeological material should be compared and analysed in detail. Here again a regional division of the complete archaeological material in the West Balkans, and in Macedonia too, could possibly provide some answers to this and other interesting questions, which Illyrian helmets, with their complex appearance, pose.46 In some way these helmets were unique. They were worn by Greeks, Macedonians and Illyrians, so a detailed study of this theme could not only throw light on the rise and fall in popularity of this piece of armour, but also help in solving some questions in ancient Balkan history and prehistory.

It is supposed that the workshops, which produced these helmets for the West Balkans, were situated in the South Adriatic, in Epidamnus and Apollonia in the first place.47 However, the question arises whether they were capable of satisfying a constant increase in demand for this defense weapon in the second half of the 5th and in the 4th century BC, or were some other workshops involved too? In this context Diodorus’s story (XV, 13, 1–3) could perhaps be relevant. In 385 BC Dionysios, the tyrant of Syracuse sent 500 panoplies to the Illyrians who helped him in the war against Greek cities. What type of helmet was included in these sets? The first thought would be that it was not an Illyrian type because Illyrian helmets were rarely found in Italy. But which one then? Italy was flooded with Corinthian helmets, a type which, on the other hand, was extremely rare in the West Balkans,48 so are not in question here. According to Diodorus (XIV,41, 42,2) several years earlier a large amount of armour, including helmets of various kind and type, were produced in Syracuse on the order of Dionysios, who was preparing war against Carthage. The Illyrian type was probably produced too. Then it was very possible that some workshop in South Italy, in Syracuse in particular, purposely exported Illyrian helmets, simple in form and easy to manufacture, to a barbarian clientele on the other side of the Adriatic. H. Pflug suggested something in this sense, but wisely left it, as I do, for new evidence to confirm this.49

Roughly, one can say that Illyrian helmets were invented in Greece, probably on the Peloponnesus, in the 8/7th century. In their second phase, the end of the 7th and greater part of the 6th century, they spread to Macedonia, where they were produced in great number. The transitional period, the last third of the 6th and the beginning of the 5th century was characterised by a great variety of forms that were still popular mainly in Macedonia. In their late phase, the 5th century, at the peak of their production and popularity, they were frequently found in Macedonia, but also in the West Balkans, where they appeared in great numbers also in the next and latest period of their development – the 4th century BC.

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46 It is interesting e.g. that the princely graves in Aiani near Kozani, with rich goods, similar to that from Trebenishte, did not contain any Illyrian helmet, although in the Kozani area they were relatively frequently found.
49 Pfuhl 1988, 58.
CATALOGUE

The most complete list of Illyrian helmets up to now, with division into types, is that presented by Biba Teržan. Thus, we shall cite her list here, with additional literature where it is necessary. We are aware that there are many Illyrian helmets, which are not included here. It is enough to look on the Internet under »Illyrian helmet« to realize that this type is now in vogue and appears everywhere, genuine and false, usually with very vague or no indications at all as to its origin, but we still hope that this list will be of some help in further investigations of this subject.

I did not add any map of the distribution of Illyrian helmets as it appears in almost all cited articles and because it would not have anything new to offer. Many helmets are not published as yet so it is not possible to identify precisely their types, to mention for example only several dozens in Archontico and Cetina.

FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

BABINO
Helm of Type III. Teržan 1995, 121; Cf. Blečić 2007, 78.

BREZA
Three helmets of type IIIA1 and A2. Teržan 1995, 121; Blečić 2007, 78.

BUBLIN

BUDVA
Six helmets, probably all of Type IIIA2, found during excavations before and after World War II. The excavation in 1939 did not provide grave entities, while the more recent excavations have unfortunately not been published. Teržan 1995, 119; Cf. Č. Marković, in: Muzej grada Budve, nov. 2003, 16–18, Fig. 9. 6.

BUKRI
Helm of Type II. Teržan 1995, 113.

CAVTAT
Helm of Type IIIA2. Teržan 1995, 115.

CETINA, Trilj, Mali Drinić.
Teržan 1995, 113, 115 and 119 cites helmets of Types II, IIIA1 and IIIA2. They are still unpublished, so a definite type identification is not yet possible. According to Internet data, some 30 helmets were found here. Cf. Milošević 1999, 203–211 (helmets, p. 210, Fig. 4–5).

CRVENICA
Helm of Type IIIA2. Teržan, 115.

CRES, RT JABLANAC
Helm of Type IIIA1. Blečić 2007, 74 ff.

ČARAKOVO
Two helmets of Type IIIA2 were found in Čarakovo, in 1948 and 1986. Teržan 1995, 121.

DALMATIA?
Helm of Type III. Marović 1972, 297; possibly this is the helmet in the Knin museum; cf. Truhelka 1914, 118.

DELAGOŽDA
Helm of Type IIIA3. Teržan 1995, 121; Bitrakov-Grozdanova 1992, 167 f., T. I.

DONJA DOLINA (Pl. II, 1–3)
Two helmets of Type II. Teržan 1995, 113.

DRINOVCI
Helm of Type IIIA2. Teržan 1995, 121.

GORICA (Pl. III,1)
Helm of Type IIIA1. Teržan 1995, 115.

GRUDE (Pl. III,3)
Helm of Type IIIA2. Teržan 1995, 115.

HERCEGOVINA
Helm of Type IIIA2. Teržan 1995, 115.

IMOTSKI

KAČANJ
Five helmets of Types IIIA1 and A2. Teržan 1995, 115.

KAPTOL (Pl. II,4)
Helm of Type II. Teržan 1995, 113.
KLIĆEVO (Pl. IV,1)  
Helmet of Type IIIA3. Teržan 1995, 121.

KOREŠNICA, by Demir Kapija.  
A rich grave with dozens of helmets, armour, bronze crater, jewelry and pottery was devastated and finds sold on the black market. See on Internet s. v. Korešnica.

KUMANOVO, see Ano Kopanos, Greece

LABIN  
Helmet of Type IIIA2. Teržan 1995, 115.

NOVO MESTO, KAPITELJSKA NJIVA  
Two helmets of Type IIIA2. Blečić 2007, 78.

OHRID, GORNJA PORTA  
Six helmets of which one has a cheek pieces in the form of a ram’s head. Blečić 2007, 78.

OŠANICI  

PEĆKA BANJA (Pl. V,1.2)  
Three helmets of Type IIIA1. Teržan 1995, 115.

PLANA  
Two helmets of Type IIIA2. Teržan 1995, 116.

PODGORA, SUČURAJ  
Helmet of Type IIIA2. Teržan 1995, 119.

PODSTINJE, KISELJAK  
Helmet of Type IIIA2. Teržan 1995, 119.

PUTIČEVO, TRAVNIK (Pl. III,2)  
Helmet of Type IIIA1. Teržan 1995, 115.

RADIŠIĆ, LJUBUŠKI  
Helmet fragment of Type IIIA2. Teržan 1995, 121.

RAKITNO, Petrovići  
Decorated bronze sheet fragments most probably did not belong to a helmet. Teržan 1995, 121.

RAŽANA, Kosjerić (Pl. V,4)  
Helmet of Type IIIA. Teržan 1995, 115.

REČICA, Ohrid  
Helmet of Type IIIA3. Teržan 1995, 121.

RITEŠIĆ, village between Doboj and Modriča  

RUSANOVIĆI, GLASINAC (Pl. III,4, left)  
Fragment of a helmet of Type IIIA2 was found in Rusanovići, grave VIII,1/1895, together with 12 arched fibulae with elongated catch-plate (Fiala 1897, 14).

SISAK  
Helmet of Type IIIA1. Teržan 1995, 121; Blečić 2007, 78.

SREMSKA MITROVICA (Pl. VI,4)  
Fragmented helmet of Type IIIA2. Teržan 1995, 116.

ŠIROKO, Suva Reka, Kosovo  
Illyrian helmet? Teržan 1995,121. During the World War I, according to unreliable data, an Austrian army, excavated a mound in the west part of the plain Široko, southwest of Suva Reka in Kosovo, where a skeletal grave with a helmet and other goods was found (Dasić 1957, 249).

TALINE, GLASINAC (Pl. III,4, right)  
Fragment of a helmet of Type III2 was found in the necropolis Sokolac-Taline I,1/1895, together with a spear and two fragmented Certosa fibulae (Fiala 1897, 4). Teržan 1995, 116.

TETOVO  

TOPOLJE, KNIN  

TREBENISHTA (Pl. IV,3,4)  

TRILJ, SINJ  

TRSTENIK (Pl. VI,3)  
Helmet of Type IIIA2. Teržan 1995, 116. B. Schroeder, 1912, 342, Beil. 16,5, publishing the helmet, did not cite any source, which means that he probably received information directly from the Belgrade museum. However, he notes »Trotenik« instead of »Trstenik« as the site of origin.
VALANDOVO, surrounding.
Helmet of Type IIIA. Rujak, Velkovski 2007. Parts of a helmet of Type III were found allegedly around Valandovo. If this is so, the site could possibly be Zeleniste, a necropolis near Valandovo, with graves dating to the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 5th century BC.

STOLAC, surrounding of
Helmet of Type IIIA2. Internet data.

VIČA LUKA, BRAČ
Four helmets of Types IIIA2 and IIIIB. Teržan 1995, 116, 119.

VRANJEVO SELO, Neum, VIDIĆA GUVNO
Two helmets of Type IIIA2. Blečić 2007, 78.

ZAGVOZD
Two helmets of Type IIIA2. Teržan 1995, 119.

ŽUPANJA–ORAŠJE

RUMANIA

GAVOJDIA, Timișoara (Pl. V,3)
Helmet of Type IIIA1 with figural decoration. Medeleț, Cedica 2004.

GOSTAVAT
Helmet of Type IIIA2. Teržan 1995, 115.

JIDOVIN
Helmet of Type IIIA3. Teržan 1995, 121.

OCNA MURESULUI
Helmet of Type IIIA2. Teržan 1995, 115.

GREECE

AGIA PARASKEVI, Thessaloniki
Helmet of Type II and five helmets of Type IIIA3. Teržan 1995, 113, 121; Sismanidis 1986, 796, Pl. 164, 1 right.

AGIA PARASKEVI, Kozani (Pl. I,1)

AGIOS ATANASIOS, west to Thessaloniki.
Four helmets of Type IIIA, Arch. Mus. Thessaloniki (inv. 11324, 11325, 11384, 5136).

AGIOS GEORGIOS, Grevena
Three helmets of Type IIIA, Arch. Mus. Thessaloniki (inv. 5247, 5248, 5249).

AKRINIS, Ryaki, Kozani
A helmet of Type IIIA, Arch Mus. Kozani (inv. 23). A. Keramopoulos, Praktika Arh Et. 1934, 87 f. Fig. 8–9.

ANARAH, Kozani (Pl. I,2)
Two helmets of Type II, Arch. Mus. Kozani (inv. 996a,b).

ANO KOPANOS, former Kupanova, Naoussa (Pl. L3)
Several helmets, possibly all of type II. Teržan 1995, 113. Č. Truhelka mentioned in 1902 two helmets from Kupanova, which he saw in a private collection in Thessaloniki (Truhelka 1902, 8). In 1898 Adolf Struck, architekt who worked for the Macedonian railway in Thessaloniki, travelled to west Macedonia and near Niausta, today’s Naoussa, organised small excavations in Kupanova, today’s Ano Kopanos (Struck 1898, 443–444) Here sometime earlier, near the ruins of St. Nicolas church, in a mixed layer of earth and gravel, pottery, arms and jewelry were found, together with two helmets of »Illyrian type«. Struck acquired one of helmets for him, which many years later, his grand daughter donated to the Darmstadt museum (A. Büttner, Lebensdiges Darmstadt 9/10, 1977). This helmet belongs to Type II. The Museum in Thessaloniki obtained a similar helmet of Type II (inv. 208) in 1916 as a chance find from Ano Kopanos (G. Oikonomou, Arch. Deltion 2, 1916, Annex, p. 11, No. 12). According to this, five Illyrian helmets were found in Ano Kopanos, or at least four, if the helmet in the Thessaloniki museum is the second of the two, which Struck saw in Naoussa in 1898.

»ARGOLIS«
Helmet of Type IIIA3, with accentuated calotte. Bull. of the Metropolitan Mus. of Art 6, 30. 6. 1935, 111 f.

ARCHONTIKO, Pela
According to information from Pavlos and Christina Chrysostomou, at least 40 Illyrian helmets were excavated from the graves in this cemetery, while a large number was dug out clandestinely and sold on the black market. The graves are dated from the middle of the first half of the 6th century to the advanced 5th century, so presumably the helmets were Types II and III. Cf. also, National Geographic, August 2009, Vol. 216, No. 2, p. 22. The same helmet is displayed on the internet, together with a helmet from grave T74, with smooth
edges and a series of stamped circles represented along the edge.

ATHENS, Acropolis
Helmet of Type IIIA. Terzán 1995, 115; Mus. Athens (6556).

CHALIKIDIKI,
Helmet of Type IIIA. Terzán 1995, 115.

DODONA,
Fragment of a helmet of Type IIIB. Terzán 1995, 119.

Lake DOIRAN,
Helmet of Type III, Arch. Mus. Thessaloniki (inv. 52436).

EXOCHI, Kozani
Helmet of Type III, Arch. Muz. Kozani (inv. 1007).

GEPHYRA, west to Thessaloniki
Two helmets of Type IIIA3, Arch. Mus. Thessaloniki (inv. 11305. 11306).

HALMYROS, Volos
Helmet of Type III. Terzán 1995, 121.

HORIGI–VAPHIOHORI, Kilkis (Pl. IV,2)
Helmet with accentuated calotte and incised lions in the front, Mus. Kilkis (inv. 504). Th. Savvapoulou, Arh. Deltion 44 (1984) Hronika 333 Fig. 182d, g.

ISTHMIA
Fragment of a helmet of Type IIIA1. Terzán 1995, 115. Recently an Illyrian helmet of Type IIIA1 was found in the Sanctuary of Poseidon, North Terrace Deposits. Workmanship is less skilfull; there are plastic eye-brows on the fore head, similar to some Corinthian helmets, Mus. Isthmia (University of Chicago Excavations at Isthmia, internet data).

IOANNINA, Duruti
Helmet of late Type II with incised boar figure on the cheek-piece. Terzán 1995, 113.

KALAPODI, Phokis
Helmet of Type I. Terzán 1995, 113.

KALAVRYTA, Patras
Helmet of Type I. Terzán 1995,113.

KAPUDJILAR, Thessaloniki
Helmet probably of Type III. Terzán 1995, 121. Comp. Schroeder 1905, 342.

KOZANI (Pl. I,4)
Two helmets of Type II. Terzán 1995, 113. Apart from the helmet of Type II from the necropolis in Kozani (Mus. Kozani, inv. 596), another helmet of Type II, with accentuated calotte, was found in the surrounding of Kozani (Mus. Kozani, no. inv No.).

LINDOS
Helmet of Type II. Terzán 1995, 113.

MAGULA–ERATIRA
Helmet of Type IIIA3. Terzán 1995, 121.

»MACEDONIA«:
– Helmet of Type II, Arch. Mus. Thessaloniki (inv. 10424/10923).
– Helmet of Type II, without studs along the edge, Kanellopoulos collection. Amandry 1971, 89–97.
– Helmet of Type III3? Benaki Mus. (inv. 8061).
– Helmet of Type IIIA3. Ashmolean mus., Arch. Reports 1963/64, 13, Abb. 9.
– Helmet of Type IIIA3 with stamped circles along the edge, Mus Mainz. Terzán 1995, 121. According to information from J. Hundt, M. Garašanin, 1957, 42, note 24a, states that the helmet was found in the surrounding of Lake Ohrid. Lahtov 1965, 54 and Marovic 1972, 298 repeat this citation.

MIKRA KARABURUN, Thessaloniki
Two helmets of Type IIIA3. Terzán 1995, 121. Illyrian helmets were found in grave III (Musée du Louvre, new inv. 4117) and in grave XVII. This second helmet has not been published, but judging by the grave goods, very similar to those in grave III, it is probably the same type of helmet. Rey 1928, 62, Fig. 49; Rey 1932, 70.

NEAPOLIS
Helmet of Type IIIA3. Terzán 1995, 121.

OLYMPIA
PANGAION
Helmet of Type IIIA2. Teržan 1995, 121 (Mus. Athens inv. 14802).

PHILIA

»PLATEA«
Helmet of Type II. Teržan 1995, 113.

PTELEA NESTORIU, Kastoria
Helmet of Type IIIA (Mus. Thessaloniki. inv. 7195).

PYDNA
Helmet of Type IIIA2. Bessios, Pappa 1996, 62/A.

SINDOS
Dozens of helmets of Type IIIA3 and some of Type IIIA2. Teržan 1995, 121.

THERMI
Teržan 1995,121. Helmet of type III was found in grave 1, together with a coin of Alexander I (480–476 BC); there are also two helmets with accentuated calotte and lions engraved on the forehead, one of which in grave 22 (Moustaka 2002).

THESSALONIKI, ZEITINLIK
Helmets of Type IIIA1 and of IIIA3. Teržan 1995, 121. Helmets were found in Sarcophagus A – Type IIIA1, and in Sarcophagus C – Type IIIA3 (Rey 1927, 32; 36, Figs. 6, 7, 9, 10). Helmet from Sarcophagus A – Type IIIA1 is now in the Louvre (new inv. 4116), while the whereabouts of the other is unknown.

THESSALONIKI (Pl. VI,1.2)
Helmet of Type IIIA2 (Arch. Mus. Istanbul, inv. 1427M).

TRILOPHON

ALBANIA
BELSH, Elbasan
Helmet of Type IIIA3 with stamped circles. Teržan 1995, 121.

BOROVE, Kolonje
Helmet of Type I. Teržan 1995, 113.

CINAMAK, Kukes

DRAC

DRAJ–REC south of Kukes

DUSHK, Elbasan

EPIDAMNUS
Helmet of Type IIIA2. S. Anamali, Bul. Shken. Shoq. 1/1956, 26 Fig. 8.

KRUEGJETE by Ragostina
Helmet of Type IIIIB. Teržan 1995, 119 s. v. Apollonia.

KUKES, Mus. Tirana
Helmet of Type IIIA2. Kilian 1975, 136.

LACI
Helmet of Type IIIA1. Teržan 1995, 115.

MEMELESHT, Pogradec
Helmet of Type IIIIB. Teržan 1995, 119.

NAMAZGJA, Pogradec
Helmet of Type IIIIB. Teržan 1995, 119.

PERLAT, Mati
Helmet of Type IIIIB. Teržan 1995, 119; Shquiperia arkeologijke, Tirana 1971 no. 32.

PRETUSHA, Podgradec
Helmet of Type IIIIB. Teržan 1995, 119.

RAJCE, Libazhd
Helmet of Type IIIIB. Teržan 1995, 121.

SKADAR, surrounding
Helmet of Type IIIA. F. Prendi, Bul. Shken. Shoq. 12,2, 1958, 252, Fig. 3.

TIRANA, Muz. Tirana
Helmet of Type IIIA. Kilian 1975, 136.

UNGREJ
Helmet of Type II. Teržan 1995, 113.
ZGHERDESH, Mus, Tirana
Helm of Type IIIA. Teržan 1995, 121.

ITALY

ABRUZZI
Helm of Type IIIB. Teržan 1995, 119.

»SICILE «?
Helm with accentuated calotte and wing-like decoration on the forehead. Teržan 1995, 121.

UKRAINE

KERTCH
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Такозвани илирски шлемови са правоугаоним отвором за лице често су тема у археолошкој литератури из више разлога. Једно, раширени су на широкој територији, на Балканском полуостру и ван њега, тако да су многи археолози из различитих земаља укључени у њихово проучавање; затим, јавља се велика разноликост форми, где сваки тип или подтип представља тему за себе која поставља различита питања, и конечно, нови шлемови овог облика јављају се све време, чак и у ретијама које су далеко од главних концентрација налаза, или са новим детаљима, који захтевају нове анализе и објашњења.

Гробу, може се рећи да су илирски шлемови настали у Грчкој, вероватно на Пелопонезу, у 8–7. веку пре н. е. У својој другој фази развоја, на крају 7. и највећем делу 6. века, ти шлемови су се раширили у Македонију, где су произведени у великом броју. У прелазном периоду, последњој трећини 6. века и почетком 5. века, који карактерише велики број варијаната, шлемови се махом јављају у Грчкој и Македонији, али и на целом Балканском полуостру. У касној фази у 5. веку, која представља врхунцу њихове популарности, они су и даље познати у Македонији, а на целом Балкану јављају се у великим броју, и у том и у следећем, 4. веку, у последњој фази свог развоја.

Аутор расправља о подели илирских шлемова у типове и подтипове, хронологију, варијанте и, долази до закључка да ће се обухвати проучавање ове теме бити могуће тек када сви аспекти њихове појаве, укључујући античке писане изворе и материјалну културу овог периода у појединим регионима, буду обухваћени. Они шлемови то заслужују јер су јединствени. Били су у употреби пуних пет векова, носили су их грци, Македонци и Илири, па би детаљна студија о њима не само бацила светло на успон и пад популарности таквог комада одбрамбеног оружја него и помогла да се реши нека питања из старе балканске историје и праисторије.
Plate I – 1) Agia Paraskevi near Kozani; 2) Anarahi; 3) Ano Kopanos; 4) Kozani
Tabla I – 1) Агиа Параскеви код Козани; 2) Анарахи; 3) Ано Копанос; 4) Козани
Plate II – 1, 2) Donja Dolina, from settlement; 3) Donja Dolina, from necropolis; 4) Kaptol

Таблица II – 1, 2) Доня Долина, из насеља; 3) Доня Долина, из некрополе; 4) Каптол
Plate III – 1) Gorica; 2) Putičevo; 3) Grude; 4) Glasinac, Rusanovići and Taline
Табла III – 1) Горица; 2) Путичево; 3) Груде; 4) Гласинци, Руановићи и Талине
Plate IV – 1) Klīčevo; 2) Horigi, near Kilkis; 3, 4) Trebenishte

Таблица IV – 1) Кличеово; 2) Хори, код Килкиса; 3, 4) Требениште
Plate V – 1) Pećka banja 1; 2) Pećka banja 2; 3) Gavojdia; 4) Ražana
Табла V – 1) Пећка бања 1; 2) Пећка бања 2; 3) Гавојджа; 4) Рађана
Plate VI – 1, 2) Thessaloniki (Mus. Istanbul); 3) Trstenik; 4) Sremska Mitrovica

Табла VI – 1, 2) Солун (Муз. Истанбул); 3) Трстеник; 4) Сремска Мишаровица