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"Joying in War as in a Feast"[1]. The Construction of Imagery in Greek Ceremonial Armor of the 4th Century B.C.

There have been numerous studies into various aspects and issues relating to Classical and Hellenistic ceremonial armaments[2]. However, the analysis of even the most artistically prominent items rarely enters the realm of art history[3]. This paper offers an attempt to interpret objects of ceremonial armor as constructed artistic images using as examples some selected pieces of luxurious armor dating to the 4th–3rd centuries B. C. From this period, there is a corpus of prestigious ceremonial armor adorned with refined embossed decoration, appliques of precious metals. However, the pieces in question share one important feature that sets them apart from most. In their forms and décor, the stylized anatomical elements (both real and fantastic or divine), as well as clothing items and jewelry, are included. This characteristic suggests an idea of a certain mythological transformation on the part of the armor's wearer, who is vested with the features of another, obviously mythical character.

In this regard, the helmets of the so-called Conversano group, some of which "depict" the characters of the Dionysiac *thiasos,* are of particular interest. This group of pieces was distinguished by Anne-Maria Adam in 1982 [1] and named "Conversano" by Götz Waurick in 1988, based on an exemplary helmet from the Conversano necropolis in Apulia [62, p. 169, Beil. 1, № 15, 16]. R. Graells gives a more detailed classification of this group, and distinguishes the "Pacciano/Catanzaro type" [19, p. 79] and the "Pacciano/Tiriolo series" [20, pp. 158–159]. Nevertheless, the distinctions between these series and subgroups are not crucial to our study. Thus, we prefer Waurick's umbrella term, the "Conversano group", which is also used by E. Künzl [33, p. 67] and D. Alexinsky [3, p. 64].

Eight helmets in this series illustrate most vividly the phenomenon of transformation. These are the earliest published samples — one, stored in the Cabinet des Médailles at the National Library in France, is believed to have been found in Herculaneum (Inv. 2023), and the other,

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1 In the title the quotation from Polybius is used (Polyb. 5. 2. 6): οἵους Ἡσίοδος παρεισάγει τοὺς Αἰακίδας, πολέμῳ κεχαρηότας ἠΰτε δαιτί. ("…just such as Hesiod describes the Aeacidae to be 'Joying in war as in a feast'", trans. by Evelyn S. Shuckburgh).

2 The authors of this article are grateful to Dr. Daniele Castrizio for the fruitful discussions on the subject. Of course, all proposed conclusions are the authors' responsibility. We would like to express our deep gratitude to Ekaterina Michailova and Dr. Tamás Kisbali for the accurate reading of the text and the help with its improvement.

3 Among the publications where the topic of art history was touched upon, the following should be mentioned: [1; 21; 33; 20].

in the Musei Vaticani, has no clear provenance (Inv. 12304). The remaining pieces include: the so-called Pacciano helmet, originating from hypogeum of Tetina (Sigliano, Arezzo) and now owned by the National Archaeological Museum of Perugia (Inv. 1384); a helmet from Tiriolo, stored in the Archaeological Museum of Catanzaro; a helmet from Mojo Alcantara, kept in the Archaeological Museum of Naxos; an example in the Museum of Cyprus in Nicosia (Inv. 1976/xii-15/3), which is said to had been found in the area of Athienou in Golgoi region [20]; a Conversano helmet from the necropolis of Conversano in Apulia (tomb 10/1958), currently on display at the National Archaeological Museum of Gioia del Colle (Inv. 20890). Finally, bronze fragments originating from excavations of the second Mastyugino mound in the Voronezh Oblast (now in the State Hermitage Museum, Inv. 1994/35, 1994/37) should be added to this catalogue.

This group of artifacts has already attracted the attention of a number of scholars (E. Künzl, P. G. Guzzo, D. P. Aleksinsky, R. Graells) who, among other things, focused on their unusual decoration and reasonably interpreted it in line with Dionysiac imagery. Maintaining this interpretation, we will attempt to present a more detailed analysis of some plastic components of the Conversano group helmets in terms of stylistics, iconography, and semantics.

In addition to the helmets, one other piece of armor will be included in the discussion. Namely, a cuirass originating from the necropolis of the ancient city of Laos (located east of Marcellina) on the southern borders of Lucania, and now stored in the National Archaeological Museum of Reggio Calabria (Inv. 11804. [18, pp. 16–17; 21, p. 9; 22, pp. 25–30]. The peculiar anatomical characteristics and some decorative components of this armor provide an apparent "costume-like" effect.

When discussing the helmets, it is necessary to emphasize some characteristic methods employed by their creators. First method is an artistic manipulation with the very shape of the crown, with the intention being to give it a resemblance to a headdress. This feature is most evident on the helmet from the Cabinet des Médailles. Its shape imitates a type of headdress with a soft apex bent over — usually defined as a "Phrygian cap" or "tiara" [2, p. 22]. Variations of this type of headdress appeared in Greek art in the 7th century B. C. as a visual marker of foreigners, "Orientals", non-Greeks, either real or legendary[4]. In Greek art, such a headdress is worn by the most famous foreign opponents of the Greeks — the Amazons and Trojans (and their allies, the Thracians). The headdress may also be more specifically associated with the Trojan princes Ganymede and Paris, as well as with the Anatolian god Attis and the Thracian goddess Bendis. Castrizio connects the "invention" of so-called Phrygian helmet with Syracusan general Hermocrates and his expedition to the East (since the helmet's first appearance was on the decadrachm of Euainetos and Kimon, which dates back to 413 B. C.). He explains the motivation by the ancestral descent of Syracusans from the Trojans, mediated by the city of Tenea and by the *oikistes* Archias[5].

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[4] As T. Şare-Ağtürk noted this headdress should be categorized as a variation of the Greek *pilos/pilema,* which means literary "felt". "Since both are made of felt the early form of the "Phrygian cap" perhaps can be categorized as a *bashlyk* worn by elite in Achaemenid Anatolia" [52, p. 66]. See also [50, p. 250].

[5] See video lecture: La corazza di Laos — conversazione del Prof. Daniele Castrizio. URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uLmbEg7vri4 (accessed 18 March 2021)

Fig. 1. Bronze helmet is believed to have been found in Herculaneum. Second half of the 4th–3rd centuries B.C. Inv. 2023. The Cabinet des Médailles at the National Library in France. Drawing by Karl Rickelt. Adapted from Schröder, 1912 [53, Beil. 10]

It is necessary to emphasize, however, the difference between helmets that imitate a headdress similar to the "Phrygian cap" or "tiara" and standard tiara-like or "Phrygian" helmets [53, p. 326, Beil. 10, 1–3; 55, p. 95, pl. 56]. The latter pieces repeat the silhouette of the prototype only schematically. The fundamental differentiating feature of the Conversano group helmets is in their complex modeling of details and textures, the individuality of the shape, which brings them closer in form to sculpture. In the Herculaneum helmet (Fig. 1), the creases of the fabric in the "soft" part of the headdress are convincingly depicted in metal (it is possible that the contrast between two materials — textile for the *krobilos* and leather for the cap itself — was imitated intentionally). The ornamentation with swastikas and rosettes was originally complemented by small details fastened in holes. A "seam" framed by an ornamental wave runs through the middle of the headdress from front to back. Another mimetic detail is a ribbon tied around the headdress and fastened at the forehead with a Hercules knot. A similar way of tying a *bashlyk* (or tiara) can be found depicted on painted vases and numismatics; for example, the goddess depicted on a Sicilian-Punic coin roughly contemporary with our helmet is wearing such a headdress [28, pl. 22, 270, 271]. The same element — a ribbon decorated with floral motifs — adorns the Pacciano helmet, which is also made in the form of a tiara-like headdress.

Another example of artistic license with the form, albeit of a slightly different kind, is provided by the Athienou helmet from Cyprus. If the reconstruction carried out by the museum restorers is faithful to the original,[6] this helmet had a high crest (*phalos*) culminating in a swan's head — a detail reminiscent of Archaic art, including images of Athena and Amazons depicted on painted vases and miniature bronzes [56, fig. 14].

In the alternative reconstruction offered by R. Graells, the helmet loses its high *phalos* and takes on a shape more reminiscent of a Phrygian helmet. The author himself notes that "the long *phalos* appears to be inspired by archaic Greek models", but he views this form as prob-

[6] The Cypriot helmet was donated to the museum in 1976 by private collector M.T. Phylaktou in fragments (the donator himself supposed these fragments to be the pieces of a bronze vessel). It was first published by V. Karageorghis in 1977 [31, pp. 709–713, fig. 7] and then reconstructed by the museum team and put on display.

lematic and preventing the correct typological attribution of the helmet [20, p. 158]. It can be argued, however, that such extraordinary armor does not need to take a regular form. The motif of a high crest with a swan's head, completely uncharacteristic of 4th century B. C. helmets, may be used as an element of deliberate archaization or mythologization of the form. It is worth noting that 4th century B. C. applied arts did, albeit rarely, depict such helmets, including in pieces originating from Odryssian Thrac[7]. The most impressive examples include the depiction of Athena's head on Lucanian triple disc cuirasses from Ruvo and Ksour-Es-Saf [40, p. 36; 38]. More or less standard iconography of Athena's helmet is supplemented here with a waterfowl's head in the center (the high crest is missing, perhaps for reasons of composition). This particular detail of the divine costume — possibly intended as a revival or rethinking of archaic iconography — was implied by the creators of the Athienou helmet.

It was remarkably combined with another quite specific element — a webbed crest, which recalls images of sea creatures or griffins. This detail appears on some Phrygian helmets from Apulia and Lucania, which are not numerous. Headdresses bearing such crests are much better known as an artistic phenomenon in Attic, and especially Apulian vase painting. The earlier depictions predate all known real examples, and we can even speculate that such decoration was originally "invented" within art and was only later made a reality. The range of characters who can wear a helmet or headdress decorated with a webbed crest in 4th century B. C. art is quite wide — the Amazons, the mythical heroes of Thrace (including Orpheus [35, pl. 61, 63]), the Trojans[8] and the Persians.[9]

The second artistic device that distinguishes the Converano group helmets is an imitation of a hairstyle with lush, voluminous curls on the forehead and temples. This feature is not an invention of the 4th century B. C. Curls have been depicted on the foreheads of helmets since the archaic period, but in a very stylized and conventional manner, along with anatomical details such as eyebrows, or even ears [23, p. 138]. The earliest example of a three-dimensional, more naturalistic representation of curls is seen on a helmet originating from the Illyrian territories (tomb no. 1 at the Gorna Porta site in Ohrid), which dates back to the end of the 5th century B. C. [34, p. 40]. This helmet can be considered as a forerunner of the Conversano group helmets[10].

In almost all helmets of this group, the curls are quite long with a characteristic serpentine pattern. They are sometimes arranged on the forehead in symmetrical loops. We have reason

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7 A gilt silver appliqué in the form of Athena's head, which was fixed over the helmet from Golyama Kosmatka tumulus belonging to king Seuthes III, provides an interesting example [13, pp. 167–172]. The similar sample, which is also appliqué but made of bronze, comes from Seuthopolis (late 4th century B. C.) [44, p. 197, no. 288–289].

8 The early representations of such headgear appear in the Judgment of Paris scenes as a part of Paris' richly decorated costume. See for example the Attic red-figured hydria by the Kandoms Painter (about 420–400 B. C.) and another hydria of the same date decorated by the Nikias Painter [6, 1187.32, 1334.29].

9 For example, the figure of enthroned Darius in the famous krater by the Darius Painter and the battle scene on the neck of the same vase, probably Amazonomachy, with the triumphant rider in the center (Amazon queen?) wearing the same type of helmet with the webbed crested [59, p. 89, pl. 203]. See further examples in [19, p. 68].

10 There is another element, which follows the same logic — the anthropomorphic *paragnathids* decorated with beards and mustaches widespread in northern Greece and Thrace [2, p. 31]. Nevertheless, this element seems to be merely anatomical without any intense to transformation or mythologization of the helmet.

to believe that this feature, at least in some cases, refers to a female personage as evidenced by some parallels in sculpture. Thus, a similar hairstyle can be noticed in the marble female torso from Hellenistic Pergamon (Pergamon Museum, Berlin, Inv. AvP VII 87). This original work of the second quarter of the 2nd century B.C. seems to be based on models of earlier Ptolemaic art[11]. The symmetrically-arranged thin curls on the forehead (once named "Zangen-Locken") [16, p. 89], corresponding with the pattern of the wavy vine on the diadem of the "queen", strongly resemble the locks on the Pacciano helmet, as well as the curls-and-diadem combination of the Athienou sample.

An attribute that often goes together with the modeled hair, also indicating a female image, is a diadem. The Conversano helmet has a characteristic pediment-shaped diadem, for which real prototypes can be found (among them being the famous gold diadem bearing the figures of Dionysos and Ariadne, a part of the so-called "Madytos Jewelry"[12]). A diadem of the same type is depicted on rhyton no. 7 from the Panagyurishte Treasure, an adornment of a female head, once interpreted as an Amazon [57, pp. 262–264, fig. 5]. This sculpture-like vessel even bears a reproduction of ribbons punched into holes at the ends of the diadem and tied at the back with a Hercules knot. The fantastic character of the maiden's headdress, decorated with the figures of griffins, as well as the imitative treatment of soft fabrics, are akin to the artistic style of the Conversano group helmets.

The central part of the diadem adorning the Athienou helmet has been lost. However, the slightly convex shape suggests that it was probably a semi-cylindrical diadem similar to the one found in the Crispiano necropolis near Tarentum [57, fig. 10]. On the helmets from Athienou and Conversano, the diadems are braided with hair and the locks are visible above and below them. This hairstyle (which has little to do with *anastole,* as it is sometimes called) is characteristic of the depictions of women found in Apulian vase painting[13]. On the helmets, the surface below the curls should be understood as the upper part of a human face — a representation of the forehead.

The anatomical treatment of the forehead is very noticeable among another group of "hairy" helmets. The helmets in the Musei Vaticani (Fig. 2.1), the Catanzaro (Fig. 2.2) and the Naxos museums bear three-dimensional models of satyrs' ears, in addition to serpentine curls intertwined with Dionysiac ivy. The forehead below the hair on the Musei Vaticai piece is intensively modeled, and the helmet itself is designed in the form of a satyr's scalp. This is one of the most striking examples of a helmet as a kind of anthropomorphic sculpture, crowning a person and acting as a continuation of the wearer's head.

Images of Pan and the satyr, apotropaic in nature, are not alien to armor decoration[14]. Both images adorn the cuirass (Fig. 3.2) originating from the tomb of the highest-ranking Lucanian

[11] The exact identification of this statue is problematic. Probably this head meant to portray one of the Attalid queens. But the similarity to coin portrays of the female Ptolemies, especially Arsinoe II, supposes the orientation on the earlier Ptolemaic models [48, pp. 216–218, cat. 145].

[12] This diadem (330–300 B.C.) is said to have come from a tomb at Madytos on the European side of the Hellespont (now in Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. 06.1217.1) [47, no. 168, pp. 149, 436].

[13] For example, female heads adorned with a diadem are depicted on two volute craters by the Underworld Painter [59, pl. 209, 210].

[14] The shields with the apotropaic head of Satyr appeared already in the black figure vases. We find it for example in Attic lip-cup by the Epitimos Painter where the giant Enkelados protects himself with a shield adorned by

Fig. 2. 1. Bronze helmet. Second half of the 4th–3rd centuries B. C. Inv. 12304. Musei Vaticani. Drawing by Karl Rickelt. Adapted from Schröder, 1912 [53, Beil. 14]; 2. Bronze helmet from Tiriolo. Second half of the 4th–3rd centuries B. C. The Archaeological Museum of Catanzaro. Drawing by Karl Rickelt. Adapted from Schröder, 1912 [53, Beil. 14]

Fig. 3. 1. Dionysos. Apulian loutrophoros from the Monterisi Rossignoli tomb at Canosa. Detail. ca. 330–310 B. C. Inv. 3300. The Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Munich. Wikimedia Commons. 2. Bronze cuirass from the necropolis of Laos. Second half of the 4th century B. C. Inv. 11804. National Archaeological Museum of Reggio Calabria. Adapted from Guzzo, 1992 [22, tav. III, 1–2]

warrior-aristocrat buried in the necropolis of Laos, Calabria. The *panoplia* found in this tomb includes a helmet very similar to the one from Conversano, but without the imitation of hair or any other anatomical details. The only extravagant feature of this helmet is the webbed crest discussed above. In this case, it was the cuirass that played the role of transforming the armor into a "costume".

prominent Satyros' head (ca. 550–540 B. C.; National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen, Inv. 13966). Among the samples of real armor the gorgeous helmet from the Oloneshty Treasure, found in Moldova, decorated with the head of Satyr and Dionysiac panthers should be mentioned [54, p. 140, fig. 11].

As we know, the imitation of muscles in the shape and decoration of greaves and cuirasses has been observed from the Archaic period onwards [55, pp. 53, 92]. However, the Laos cuirass is by no means standard in terms of its anatomical characteristics. The body reproduced here is not that of a muscular warrior. It is plump and somewhat androgynous, with an articulated breast, but nevertheless unmistakably male. The decoration of the torso is absolutely unique among anatomical cuirasses. It reproduces a wide belt adorned with rich vegetal ornamentation, which is held on the naked body by two chains crossed on the back and chest, with medallions in the center. The interpretation of a small medallion as armor, a disc-shaped *cardiophylax* [18, p. 17], seems to be incorrect. This object should more correctly be identified as a sort of *periamma* (amulet)[15]. This is mainly known from depictions in art, although some real examples have been found [30, pp. 224–225; 58, p. 590]. It is often categorized as an element of female costume worn over the clothing, but sometimes the crossed bands with central medallion appear on the nude bodies of deities, primarily Aphrodite and Eros[16]. The basic function of this device is apotropaic. In the case of our cuirass, the *periamma* is depicted as a functional element — it holds a belt. However, this belt itself clearly represents divine protection, as it bears the relief masks of Pan and the satyr on the belly and back. These heads are depicted emerging from the leaves of acanthus bushes, from which ornamental tendrils are growing. Such iconography is widespread in South Italian vase painting [25], although it also appears sporadically in other territories, such as Macedonia and Illyria [42, pp. 20–21]. The vegetal ornamentation itself has obvious parallels with the art of Apulia, as well as of Mainland Greece, Macedonia and the Pontic region, where it appears more or less simultaneously around the mid-4th century B. C. [43, pp. 125–126]. Most helmets from our group bear such specific ornamentation on the parts covering the nape and neck. Moreover, on the Pacciano helmet, we again see the motif of a frontal isolated head — this time female — emerging from acanthus leaves. The composition is placed on the back of the helmet being part of the decoration of the "ribbon" tied over the headgear. It seems that such ornamentation of helmets has apotropaic and protective functions (Dionysiac associations are also possible) [43, p. 128].

The question arises as to whom this cuirass is supposed to "depict". The naked bodies adorned with crossed bands, in combination with belts, are seen in late Apulian vase paintings representing "heroic" subjects. Thus, on the so-called "Patroclus Vase" by the Darius Painter from the hypogeum of Canosa di Puglia (National Archaeological Museum of Naples, Inv. 81393), and on another vase by the same artist found in the same tomb (Inv. 81947), we see personages with similar attributes (an Amazon and a charioteer respectively) [8, pp. 56–57; 59, pl. 203–204]. At the same time, it is necessary to clarify the typological characteristics of the object that we, following Guzzo's definition, have referred to as a "belt". In fact, this is not a standard belt like those worn by Italic warriors[17]. To our knowledge, this form has no analogues

[15] *Periamma* or *periapton* is the most common Greek name for the amulet, which means literary "something tied around the body" [7, p. 88]. It may take different forms — for example one band with medallions or other apotropaic objects or crossed bends with a disk in the center.

[16] We have numerous representations of Aphrodite wearing such *periamma* among Hellenistic and early imperial terra-cottas. See for example [9, fig. 7–8; pl. I–III; 4, pp. 177–181 (with the samples of male figurines wearing this type of amulets)]. For Erotes see ref. 27.

[17] Three belts of Samnite type were found in the Laos tomb together with the cuirass [22, p. 35].

among known real armor. Nevertheless, we can see something that is, if not exactly the same, very similar among depictions on vases, including that of the Darius Painter. On the Patroclus Vase mentioned above and the volute-krater from Canosa (Munich, Antikensammlungen Inv. 3296), we see heroic warriors (Agamemnon in the first case and an Amazon in the second) wearing a kind of reduced anatomical cuirass that protects the abdominal area. The same detail is visible on the vestments of the glorious warrior crowned by Nike on the amphora attributed to the Darius Painter's workshop from the State Hermitage Museum (Inv. Б. 1703). In all of these cases, this detail resembles the "belt" of the Laos cuirass, albeit without the ornamental decoration. But the closest analogy is provided by the red-figure Apulian loutrophoros from the Monterisi Rossignoli tomb, discovered at Canosa in 1813 (Munich, Antikensammlungen Inv. 3300). Here, the belly-cuirass is held by crossed bands (Fig. 3.1). The "Dionysiac" floral adornment is also missing from this example, but the armor is worn by Dionysos himself as a part of his elaborate vestments. We have every reason to believe that the cuirass from Laos represents a body protected by this very type of armor — a specific detail of a heroic or divine costume, which probably existed only in the realm of art.

But, whose body does this "belt" protect? It seems that the anatomical characteristics can be associated with Eros in his 4th century B. C. Italic "edition". On many Apulian vases, Eros acts as a central image, often being surrounded by lush vegetation. He has a plump and feminine body decorated with bracelets and bands, although he does not wear *periamma* of the type described above. Sculptural representations of Eros as a young man with a plump body are well-known among Hellenistic and early imperial terracotta pieces. Clay figurines of Eros originating from the town of Myrina in Asia Minor (known for its terracotta production and skillful coroplasts) clearly wear medallions with relief busts, and the usual bands take the form of crossed chains [9, no. 60–61, pl. XXIV]. They reveal a naked body decorated with a *periamma* very similar in form to the Laos cuirass. If Eros was indeed meant to be represented, this deity should be strongly connected with Dionysus. In Apulian vase painting Eros sometimes appears in Dionysiac environment [26, p. 93; 10, p. 342]. Eros apparently entered the Dionysiac context as early as the 3rd century B. C., and started to be included in Bacchic rituals depicted in South Italian art [27]. It is more difficult to determine Eros' connection with armaments and war in the 4th century B. C. However, images of an armed Eros are widespread in pieces dating back to a later period [39, Taf. 36–38]. At the same time, in South Italian vase painting, Dionysus himself sometimes appears as a youth with a cherubic body as well as his followers represented as human counterparts of the god [10, p. 342, fig. 16.2].

The corpulence of the naked body can be also understood as a specific element of heroization. In some Lucanian painted tombs dating back slightly further than the Laos *panoplia,* we see images of nude heroic warriors armed with shields, helmets and spears engaged in duels to the death[18]. Their anatomical characteristics are very similar to those depicted on the cuirass — quite corpulent torsos with a plump breast and round back. This suggests that such depictions of nudity were appreciated by the Lucanian aristocratic milieu, at least in some contexts. Thus, the Laos cuirass was supposed to transform and idealize its wearer by means of a specific im-

[18] Necropolis of Laghetto, tomb X (south wall), necropolis of Andriuolo, tomb 24/1971 (west slab); see [49, pp. 45, 51, pl. 44, 49].

pression of nudity, while at the same time providing him with divine protection under the patronage of Dionysus.

In conclusion, it is necessary to determine the contexts into which the phenomenon of our "costume-like" armor should fit. Their connection with the world of Dionysus is, in most cases, undeniable. The cuirass from Laos, whomever it may represent, has clear references to the Dionysiac realm. Beside at least four satyr-headed helmets, the other pieces from the "Conversano group", with their serpentine locks and pediment-shaped diadems, can be associated with the Maenads or the Amazons. Features such as tiara-like headdresses, be they webbed or high-crested, better fit the Amazons. However, in the Hellenistic period, the images of Amazons and Maenads seem to converge. They both appear in the retinue of Dionysus the conqueror[19]. With that in mind, our feminine-featured helmets probably depict militant Bacchantes or Maenad-like Amazons.

Ancient authors have provided a wealth of knowledge about the militant side of Dionysus. The warlike nature of this god is clearly pronounced in Euripides' "Bacchae": *"He also possesses a share of Ares' nature (Ἄρεώς τε μοῖραν μεταλαβὼν ἔχει τι νά). For terror sometimes flutters an army under arms and in its ranks before it even touches a spear"* (Bacch. 303; transl. by T. A. Buckley). In addition, we know that Arcadian Pan — a character of the Dionysian environment — was associated with the military sphere. Herodotus, for example, wrote of Pan providing aid to the Athenians in battle (Hdt. VI. 105).

Nevertheless, the majority of our sources about Dionysus as a conqueror date back to the Hellenistic era or later (Diod. IV, 4, 4; IV, 3, 1; Arr. Ind. V, 9; Nonn. Dyonis. XXVII, 217–220). The myth of Dionysus, the conqueror of the Indians, was established during and after the campaigns of Alexander. It was closely connected with the royal ideology and image of the Macedonian king himself [60, p. 155 (and ref. 1 for bibliography)]. We have many descriptions and references to processions stylized as Dionysian triumphant *thiasos,* starting with Alexander's own passage through Karamnia (Diod. Sic. XVII. 10. 1; Arr. Anab. VI. 28. 1–2; Curt. Hist. Alex. IX, 10, 22–28).[20] It may seem attractive to connect our armor with this phenomenon of theatralization and mythologization of reality in the era of Alexander and his successors. Ernst Künzl even suggested that Pyrrhus (King of Epirus, 281–275 B. C.) could be one of the possible customers of the Conversano group helmets adorned with Bacchic symbols [33, p. 69]. Competing with the fame of Alexander, Pyrrhus, as the "Dionysus of the West," presented himself surrounded by a costumed *thiasos* of satyrs, Maenads and the strategos Pan (Polyaen. I, 2).

However, in the rare cases where we do know the owners of these pieces of armor, the relationship to Alexander or his imitators does not appear so obvious. The nobles and high-ranking military leaders in whose tombs the armor was found were representatives of the non-Greek Italic elite, engaged in an intense dialectical relationship with the Greek poleis. The *panoplia* from Laos belonged to a Lucanian warrior-aristocrat, and the Conversano *panoplia* was worn by a noble from Adriatic Peucetia [12, pp. 295–300; 41, p. 33, ref. 25 for bibliography]. The Pacciano helmet was found at an Etruscan burial site near Chiusi, but it had been placed in

[19] Diodorus Siculus has a mention of the Amazons following Dionysus in his campaigns (Diod. Sic. III. 74). See also [32, p. 102].

[20] [60, p. 157]; A particularly impressive is a description of such Dionysiac procession arranged in Alexandria by Ptolemy II (Athen. V, 25–31).

the tomb dated to the Late Hellenistic period at least 150 years after it was made. Interestingly, this helmet was inherited by the members of a noble family and passed down through the generations "as a tangible emblem of political authority and social prestige" [5, p. 3]. One of the satyr-headed helmets was found in Tiriolo (Calabria, ancient Bruttium or *Brettioi*), in an area considered to be the *temenos* of Dionysus. The helmet was placed there as a votive offering [36, p. 647].

Even in the case of the Marcellina and Conversano tombs, we cannot be completely sure that the armor was commissioned by the tomb owners themselves and was not, for example, received as a gift or taken as the spoils of war. But the Dionysian imagery depicted on the armor seems to fit well into a 4th century B. C. South Italian cultural context. The important, even principal role of Dionysus in the religious life of South Italian Greeks, as well as the non-Greek indigenous elite, is well attested. The main evidence reflecting this importance can be found in South Italian vase painting, which offers "tantalizing evidence of the native population's awareness of and interest in this deity and his iconography, as well as how Dionysus' cult was adapted to suit their societal needs" [26, p. 87]. T. Carpenter goes even further, suggesting that "the vast number of Dionysian vases found in Italic settings … must lead to the conclusion that Dionysus was a principal god of the Italics…" [10, p. 346]. The particular nature of this cult and worship of Dionysus among Italics remains speculative[21]. Nevertheless, the appearance of Dionysian characters and attributes next to the figures of heroized warriors allows us to acknowledge the deity's connection with the aristocratic military sphere. The funereal painting of Paestum provides the most eloquent example of this. In tomb no. 58 of the Andriuolo necropolis (western wall), the Lucanian horseback warrior is depicted approaching a big calyx-krater, from which a tall plant or *thyrsos* tied with red ribbons is emerging [49, p. 61, fig. 64; 26, p. 91].

As noted previously, the figurative repertoire of our armor extends beyond the Dionysian sphere. S. Batino draws attention to the fact that winged helmets featuring webbed crests appear in the Apulian vase painting as the part of the divine *panoplia* that the cortege of Nereids delivers to Achilles [5, p. 10, fig. 5]. In some cases, we suspect these to be references to epic "Orientals" and "foreigners" in the Greek world, such as the Amazons, Trojans, and Thracians, who were often depicted in the Apulian vase painting as feminine, long haired personages in richly ornamented vestments and headdresses[22]. The imagery of our costume-like armor seems close to the complex iconography of Apulian funeral vases, especially those of the Darius Painter, inspired by the Dionysian sphere and by the mythology (including the Homeric epics). It is worth noting that the vases of his workshop are represented in the richest burial assemblages of

[21] Some scholars provide very convincing arguments in favor of Dionysos' connection with the "realm of the dead" [29, pp. 25–36], the others emphasize his patronage of marriage and family unit [26, pp. 92–94].

[22] We agree with Dr. D. Castrizio who believes that the decoration of the helmets seems to take up that of the hats of the Amazons in the painted vases of Italy and Sicily. He also argues that Dionysius the Elder of Syracuse chose the Phrygian type helmets (including that with webbed crests) for his mercenaries from Italy. The different ethnic groups were unified by this headgear, which was, to a certain extent, associated with Trojans and their legendary allies — Amazons (the reference to the Pelasgians, the aborigines, and the Arcades, who, in ancient legends, were a sort of ancestral kinship of all the peoples of Italy, is also possible). See video lecture: La corazza di Laos — conversazione del Prof. Daniele Castrizio. URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uLmbEg7vri4 (accessed 18 March 2021).

the Italic elite, including the Conversano tomb, from which the namesake helmet of the group originated.

Continuing with the topic of the Trojans in connection with historical context, the Lucanian tomb at the Spinazzo necropolis at Paestum should be briefly mentioned. This tomb was decorated with now lost murals known from the accurate drawings by G. Abbate and descriptions by G. Minervini [19]. Among the subjects represented in these murals are two battle scenes featuring duels between a male warrior (identified as a Lucan and the tomb's owner) and his two opponents, one of whom is definitely an Amazon. A. Rouveret sees here a parallel between historical representations and mythological events. According to this scholar, the deeds of the deceased are depicted in the frame of Trojan iconography [51, p. 135]. Strikingly, both the victorious hero and one of his opponents — a feminine warrior defined as Hector, whose image represents the deceased's real-life enemies — wear Conversano-type helmets featuring imitations of hair. It is likely that these quasi-epic scenes demonstrate the function of our costume-like armor: it turned real Italic warriors into heroes of the past.

However, beside South Italy, the same circle of themes and ideas is inherent to Epirotic and Macedonian culture of the 4th century B. C. We are aware of Dionysus' great importance in the religious life of Macedon, at least since the time of Philip II[23]. In Macedon, as A. Trofimova noted, the ancient Thracian roots of Dionysus survived in the warlike nature of the god, in his original connection with Ares [60, p. 155]. We know about the adherence of Olympias — the daughter of Neoptolemus I of Epirus, King of Molossians, and the mother of Alexander the Great — to the Dionysian cult (Plut. Alex. II. 5). At the same time, Trojan mythology is also present in these cultures in connection with the figure of Achilles — the ancestor of the Molossians and Alexander the Great. Taking into account the Italian expedition of Alexander I of Epirus (334–331 B. C.) we suspect that the phenomenon of "Dionysiac" and "heroized" armor appears as a result of an overlap between these two traditions, which circulated on both sides of the Adriatic Sea. It is possible that Italian (Tarentum) craftsmen played a particular role in the creation of such armor, as suggested by Anna Maria Adam [1, p. 21]. Both the locations of the finds and the shape of the helmets speak of their Italian origin.

This does not mean that this kind of armor was made exclusively in Italy [20, p. 173]. The main evidence of other production centers comes in the form of the fragmented bronze helmet originating from the Mastyugino mound (Fig. 4.1), which was convincingly linked to the Conversano group by A. Mantsevich in 1969 (this idea was later supported by Ernst Künzl) [37, p. 106; 33, Abb. 12]. Its iconography generally repeats the satyr-like type — embossed forehead, curly hairstyle, and floral ornamentation on the neckguard. However, the hairstyle with tight, twisted, stylized locks and the triangular toothlike shapes representing a crown or headdress are not found on other helmets. Unlike other pieces, in which the floral ornament takes up the entire space of the neckguard, on the Mastyugino helmet it is divided into two friezes separated by a double cord. Analogous divisions are found on ceremonial Thracian and Getian helmets made of precious metals from the Poiana Cotofenesti and the Detroit Institute of Arts. It is generally accepted that these helmets were influenced by Greek examples and further developed

[23] The main evidences are provided by the finds from the necropolis at the site of Derveni — so called Derveni krater with the scenes of Bacchic *thiasos* and Derveni papyrus with its commentary on the Orphic theology. The former is dated by the letter dates around 340 B. C. See [24, pp. 135–137].

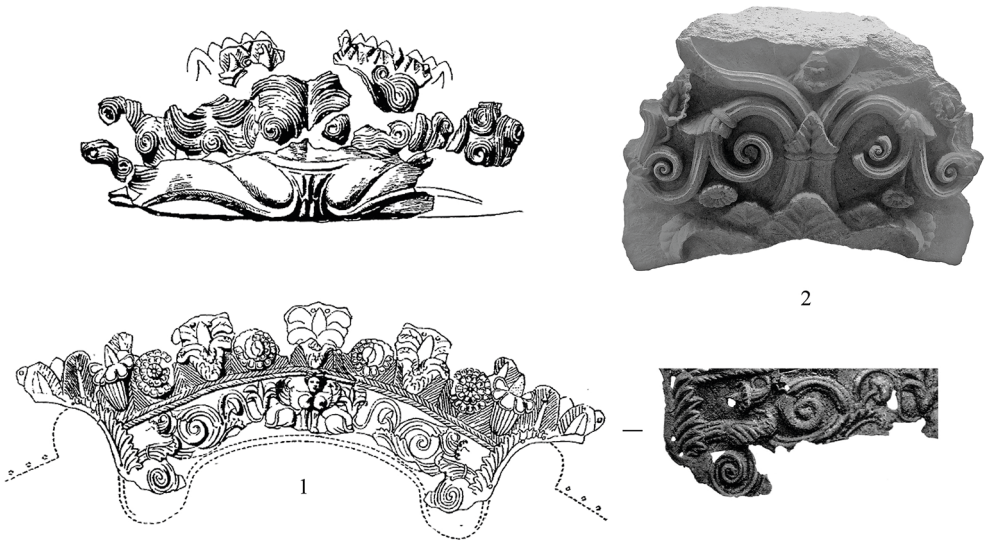

Fig. 4. *1*. Bronze helmet from the second Mastyugino mound. Second half of the 4th century B. C. Inv. 1994/35, 1994/37. The State Hermitage Museum. Drawing by E. S. Matveev. Adapted from Mantsevich, 1969 [37, fig. 1]; *2*. Stone relief slab from the Zhaba Mound. 4th century B. C. Strelcha Historical Museum. Photo by N. A. Nalimova

within the framework of their original tradition [17, p. 71; 14, p. 45; 45, pp. 521–522]. The type of floral ornamentation remains the same, but differs a lot stylistically. This vegetation, with its thick stems and sharply modeled leaves, finds its parallels in the art of Odryssian Trace. The floral decoration of stone relief slabs from Zhaba Mogila in Thrace (now stored in the Strelcha Museum) provides a good analogue (Fig. 4.2).

With this in mind, we suspect another production center of such helmets existed in Macedonia or Thrace. The famous Memphis models [15, Taf. 4–16], which bear ornamentation very similar to some Conversano-type helmets, albeit completely devoid of sculptural decoration (hairstyles, hats, headbands) cannot serve as evidence for the Alexandrian origin of the type. Rather, they appear to speak in favor of foreign (possibly Macedonian) prototypes, which were copied in Ptolemaic Egypt. The presence of ready-made standards for copying may be a specific feature of the labor organization in the Memphis workshop. Egyptian artisans who worked in this old craft center could carefully reproduce objects of a foreign tradition [46, pp. 175–177].

Unfortunately, we can only determine an approximate chronological framework for the existence of this costume armor trend. The tombs from Laos and Conversano can be dated back to between 330 and 310 B. C. The second Mastyugino mound is contemporary to them. We can conclude that such armor began to be popular among various groups of elites (not only Italics, but most likely also Epirotes, Macedonians and Thracians) beginning with Alexander the Molossian's expedition to the West. The concepts were probably uniform across locations. The armor not only adorned upon its owners the greater prestige of heroic times, but also, to quote A. Rouveret, created a "chronological depth" [51, p. 135] endowing signs of historical awareness upon its wearers, who considered current events to be a continuation of the legendary past.

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Title. "Joying in War as in a Feast": The Construction of Imagery in Greek Ceremonial Armor of the 4th Century B. C.

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Abstract. This paper offers an attempt to interpret the Classical and Hellenistic ceremonial armaments as constructed artistic images. It concentrates on a group of luxurious armor of the 4th–3rd centuries B. C., which represents or imitates anatomical details, both real and fantastic, as well as clothing and jewelry (e.g. the helmets of the so-called Conversano group, the cuirass from Laos). This characteristic suggests the idea of a certain mythological transfiguration of the armor wearer himself. From a formal point of view, such armor is close to sculpture, stylistic, iconographic, and semantic aspects of which can be identified and analyzed. The only distinction from "real" sculpture is that the owner himself is directly involved in the creation of the image. In the majority of cases, it is not known who the owners of these pieces were, because most of the finds have lost their original context. Nevertheless, based on the available data, the authors attempt to draw conclusions about the possible contexts in which the phenomenon of such "costume-like" armor could have arisen.

Keywords: Hellenism, Classical Age, armor, Macedonia, Apulia, Lucania, Thrace, Dionysian characters, floral decoration

Название статьи. «Они радуются войне, как пиршеству». Создание образа в греческом парадном доспехе IV в. до н. э.

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Аннотация. В статье рассматривается группа парадных доспехов IV–III вв. до н. э. (шлемы т. н. группы Конверсано, изображающие персонажей дионисийского фиаса, и панцирь из Лаоса). Эти доспехи выделяются среди парадного вооружения, поскольку в их формах и декоре использованы стилизованные анатомические элементы, предметы одежды и украшения, реальные и фантастические, что предполагает идею некоего мифологического преображения носителя такого доспеха. Авторы представили детальный анализ пластических компонентов вооружения, оценивая их формальные и стилистические свойства, иконографические особенности, семантический строй. Выбранный ракурс позволил подойти к доспеху как к произведению пластического искусства. Специфика лишь в том, что в создании образа в данном случае участвовал сам носитель (владелец) доспеха, в большинстве случаев нам неизвестный. Эти вопросы связаны с более широким феноменом перевоплощения, метаморфозы, мифологизации реальности в классическом и эллинистическом искусстве, его истоками и смыслами. Авторы предприняли попытку подойти к интерпретации предметов вооружения как сконструированного художественного образа.

Ключевые слова: эллинизм, классика, доспех, Македония, Апулия, Лукания, Фракия, дионисийская образность, растительный декор