

BRIDGES
ITALY MONTENEGRO SERIES N. 1

INTERCONNECTIONS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN
THROUGH TIME:
MONTENEGRO AND ITALY

Proceedings of the Bilateral Round Table held at the
University of Montenegro (23rd September 2016)

edited by
Lucia Alberti

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The bridge's outline shown on the cover is the Millennium Bridge at Podgorica, Montenegro (see pag. 17, Fig. 2).

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*Un legame che è passato indenne
attraverso periodi tumultuosi della storia europea,
che non hanno tuttavia alterato i vincoli
di amicizia e stima fra i nostri due popoli **

SERGIO MATTARELLA

*President of the Italian Republic,
on the occasion of the inauguration of the
interconnection Italy – Montenegro, 15/11/2019*

Cooperation and friendship between Montenegro and Italy has existed for centuries, thanks to the Adriatic Sea that has always represented the bridge between our nations, cultures and economies. The two countries established diplomatic relations 140 years ago, in 1879; and were connected over the aether in 1904, when Italian scientist Guglielmo Marconi set up a wireless telegraphy link between Bari in Italy and Antivari (Bar) in Montenegro. He won a Nobel Prize five years later. Friendship flourished further when the Montenegrin beautiful princess married the Italian future-King Vittorio Emanuele III of Savoy, so becoming the Italian Queen Elena of Montenegro. It is thanks to Italian partnerships that the port of Bar began construction in 1905: it remains today one of the largest ports in the Adriatic.

New times have brought new models of cooperation. Our countries have cooperated for decades in different areas and have accomplished impressive results through economic, cultural and scientific cooperation. The existence of the Adriatic Region encourages the promotion of economic growth and intensifies cooperation between our countries in their efforts to become more competitive in the international environment. Italy has always been not only supportive, but also a very rich and generous resource of expertise and knowledge for our country. The two countries have gained an excellent level of cooperation, not only in political matters, but also in quite different spheres, such as energy, culture and science. Joint projects will further strengthen the framework of cooperation and of trust between our peoples and

* 'A bond that has passed unharmed through turbulent periods of European history, leaving unchanged the links of friendship and esteem between our two peoples'.

countries, and will make the Adriatic not only a place fostering a dynamic exchange of goods but also nurturing a strong network of knowledge and information, one that will be able to compete with even the most developed regions of the world.

Cooperation of Montenegro with the CNR officially started in 2013, with the signing of the Agreement of Cooperation with the Montenegrin Ministry of Science. I was honoured, as Minister of Science at the time, to put my name to the agreement along with Professor Luigi Nicolais, former President of CNR. It is more than clear that this friendship and cooperation with CNR will endure, under the chair of Professor Massimo Inguscio, thanks to enthusiasm of scientists and researchers from both sides, particularly Dr Lucia Alberti, Dr Tatjana Koprivica and Dr Slavko Burzanović. Recent agreements on cultural cooperation between the CNR and the Montenegrin Ministry of Culture will offer important opportunities to the Montenegrin scientific community and will continue to build new bridges of collaboration between our countries.

Sanja Vlahović
Ambassador of Montenegro in Italy

I have been always fascinated by history and archaeology, disciplines that study human interconnections at specific periods and through time. The reader can therefore imagine how honoured I was when offered the opportunity to write a foreword for this collection of papers under the title 'Interconnections in the Mediterranean through Time: Montenegro and Italy'. I am also particularly glad to see how fruitful the collaboration between the Italian CNR - Institute of Heritage Sciences and the Historical Institute of the University of Montenegro continues to be.

Reading through the various contributions, we can better discover the deep and noteworthy past shared by the two shores of the Adriatic Sea. These interconnections have taken various forms: at times violent conquest, on other occasions peaceful trade and cultural exchanges. 'Hybridization processes', to quote from Lucia Alberti, seem to have always been shaping the Balkans, by nature a 'bridge' between the rest of Europe and Asia.

We are reminded of the myth of Kadmos, the Phoenician prince who supposedly brought the alphabet to the Greeks and then, together with his son Illyrios, shaped the birth of Illyrian peoples. Our time-travelling continues with a succinct but fascinating description of those Municipia, some still thriving (like modern Risan, former Risinium, with its beautiful mosaics), once part of the Roman province of Praevalitana, more or less corresponding to present-day Montenegro. In some cases, we do not even know the precise name of the urban centre: a timely reminder that so much is still to be researched and studied in this country.

We are then offered an interesting glimpse to the process of 'Romanization' that transformed the inhabitants of the Balkans, especially their elites, into citizens of the Empire. Thanks mainly to epigraphy, it is possible to reconstruct, at least to some extent, the specific 'civic identity' of those Romanized elites. An identity, as Olga Pelcer-Vujačić tells us in her essay, 'shaped by their mostly Italic origins, as well involving indigenous features': a process that apparently ended up stimulating, so to say, a peculiar sort of 'Romanness'.

One cannot talk of any human culture, even more so an ancient one, without referring to its 'religious side'. In this respect, the religious tradition emerges most strongly from the archaeological evidence in Doclea, the administrative capital of Roman Praevalitana. Romans never left matters to chance: after conquest through arms, they normally undertook a winning

over of ‘hearts and souls’ of the conquered, by integrating them as fast as possible. Among the ways of achieving this end, one employed was religion, in particular the spreading of the Imperial Cult: Doclea, from the Flavian age on, is a case in point. Various other cults, reflecting the polytheistic society of the age, were also practiced in this large and important town. Some were of Illyrian origin, reshaped in a Romanized form (probably, we are told in the paper, the Mercury cult, which seems well established in Doclea); others came from abroad, as the finding of a Jewish grave suggests, testifying of the cosmopolitan dimension of this ancient capital.

Other contributions touch upon different dimensions of these ‘interconnections’: the intertextuality of a museum collection; the use of ICT in archaeological projects in the Adriatic area; the Italian-Montenegrin cooperation in the digitalization of a damaged archival fond, related to the records of Governors for Kotor and Albania of the Venetian Republic, at the Kotor Historical Archives.

The ‘interconnections’ between Italy and Montenegro have endured through the centuries. Professor Burzanović, catapulting us into early 20th century, offers an intriguing picture of a group of ‘Italian capitalists’ investing in the development of the city of Bar, designing its port with the idea of linking it, mainly via railways, to the Danube River (a sort of reverse ‘road and belt initiative’ ante litteram?). In any case, this paper ‘bridges’ the past to the present. Nor can I forget that Italy and Montenegro have recently renewed their ‘interconnections’ through a colossal physical link: on November 15th 2019 the submarine power cable (423 km in length) joining the two countries (and therefore the EU with the Western Balkans) was inaugurated. The infrastructure, built by an Italian company (Terna, which is also supporting the publication of this volume), is in a way the latest in a long, near unbroken, chain of exchanges and interactions shared between the two shores of the Adriatic Sea, part of the Roman Mare Nostrum already in antiquity.

Interconnections produce prosperity, in terms of shared values, culture, new ideas, economic development; in the Ionian-Adriatic region, they really can be seen as the result of long-lasting habits and affinities.

Luca Zelioli
Ambassador of Italy to Montenegro

BUILDING BRIDGES. AN INTRODUCTION

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*I ponti gli piacevano, uniscono separazioni,
come una stretta di mano unisce due persone.
I ponti cuciono strappi, annullano vuoti,
avvicinano lontananze.*

Mauro Corona, *La casa dei sette ponti*, Milano, 2012¹

This volume marks the first in a new monographic series, *Bridges*, whose aim is to publish the results of the bilateral projects the National Research Council of Italy undertakes with various foreign scientific institutions. The series can be further organized into differing sub-sections, related to the countries involved.

The present publication – the first volume in the *Bridges: Italy Montenegro series* – gives an account of the numerous joint-research projects that since 2015 the CNR has conducted with Montenegrin institutions belonging to the Ministry of Sciences and Ministry of Culture of Montenegro. The main topics are related to cultural heritage studies dealing with matters both physical and intangible, with particular reference to the more innovative methodologies and technologies. Already in an advanced stage of preparation is the second volume in this series. Edited by Carla Sfameni, it concerns the history of the Italian involvement in the archaeology of Montenegro from the 19th century to the present day.

The history of the CNR participation in Montenegro is very recent. In 2013, a first scientific agreement was signed by the former CNR President, Professor Luigi Nicolais,

¹ 'He liked bridges, they unify separate entities, as a handshake joins two persons. Bridges sew up torn holes, fill in empty gaps, and bring far-off things nearer'.

with Professor Sanja Vlahović, then Minister of Science of Montenegro and actually Ambassador of Montenegro in Rome. The agreement, realized thanks to the passionate activity of the then Ambassador of Italy at Podgorica, Vincenzo Del Monaco, anticipated that even more formal and high-level agreements would be signed by the two countries in the following years.

Following the 2013 first agreement, the first call for a joint proposal was opened immediately in 2014: as is the CNR tradition, this envisaged a very simple but effective scheme, in which Italian and foreign research groups cooperated on a common program, with reciprocal visits and exchanges. In this way, the participants have the opportunity to deepen their knowledge of each other and so to evaluate the chances of developing common scientific projects in the future.

That is what exactly happened with the first bilateral project, dealing in cultural heritage studies. Entitled ‘Mediterranean Cultural Heritage: Italy and Montenegro – Perceptions and Perspectives’, it was carried out in 2015-2016 by the Historical Institute of the University of Montenegro (HIM-UoM) and the former Institute for Ancient Mediterranean Studies of the National Research Council of Italy (CNR-ISMA; today subsumed into the newly created Institute for Heritage Sciences – CNR-ISPC).

In June 2015, the CNR-ISMA team visited Montenegro for the first time, to demonstrate to the researchers of the Historical Institute how the CNR Institutes deal with cultural heritage studies. Under the guidance of their Montenegrin colleagues, they had also the great opportunity to visit the most important archaeological and historical sites of Montenegro, intending to identify sites for future possible joint researches. In the same year, the Montenegrin team visited Rome and the Institute, in a further exchange of research methodologies and approaches.

At the end of the second year, a closing workshop was held at the Rectorate of the University of Montenegro in Podgorica, where the two teams presented the results of the first two years of activities, proposing then some perspectives for the future (Fig. 1). The present publication is the account of this workshop, showing the communal effort made by the two groups to communicate and to find a common path. Even if both the HIM-UoM and the CNR-ISMA may be considered as humanistic institutions, they, we could say, were chronologically distanced, because they were concerned with different historical periods and used different research methodologies. The Italian team is more familiar with Bronze Age to Late Antiquity archaeology, using often new technologies applied to cultural heritage. The Montenegrin team similarly is more expert in medieval and modern history, using often archival researches as the core of their scientific activities. But in a few years, the desire to communicate and collaborate has produced a new and virtual scientific ‘bridge’ over the



Fig. 1 The participants at the workshop held in the Rectorate of the Montenegro University in Podgorica, on the occasion of the first bilateral project between the Historical Institute of the University of Montenegro (HIM-UoM) and the former Institute for Ancient Mediterranean Studies of the National Research Council of Italy (CNR-ISMA) (23rd September 2016).

Adriatic Sea, ensuring an increase of traffic in exchanges, projects and publications and so creating common ground where all the respective competencies have value.

The present volume mirrors this initial phase of our collaboration, the phase of ‘getting to know each other’, in which the different researchers set out their stalls in their clear efforts to find shared interests for collaboration. The papers are very different; they are here organized, more or less, following a chronological and thematic sequence.

But there is one element characterizing all the contributions, namely the cross-cultural approach that emerges in every, albeit so different, piece of research. From Antiquity to Contemporaneity, there is a focus on the similarities and contrasts attendant on the meeting and exchanges between practitioners of different material culture and cultures. Many of the published results promote the creation of new and more fluid concepts of identity, ones constantly in the process of transformation.

The first paper, by Lucia Alberti, deals with the search for identity of ancient human groups and what possibilities we have as researchers of detecting ancient identities through material culture analysis. Focused on southern Aegean cultural relations during the mid-2nd millennium BC, the paper is actually introduced by a short account of the first travels and archaeological researches of Sir Arthur Evans at the end of the 19th century. Evans's name and celebrity is indissolubly linked with the 'discovery' of the palace at Knossos, but before his activities in Crete, he visited, lived and conducted excavations in the Balkans, traversing also Montenegro and visiting the Roman town of Doclea. More specifically, the paper describes in some detail the case-study of the detected changes in the Knossos material culture of the mid-15th century BC, with specific reference to the so-called 'warrior graves', and the question of mainlanders controlling Knossos then.

The second paper, by Sergio Ribichini, concerns the myths related to Kadmos and his travels in Illyria, the territory more or less covering present Albania and Montenegro. After a precise examination of the Greek myths, the paper goes through the Illyrian names, places and landscapes, all connected with the prince Kadmos and his descendants, illustrating the different versions of the Kadmos and Harmonia myth – something very well known in Illyrian history. Recent studies have brought to light new data on the 'greekness' of the Adriatic area and the places connected with Kadmos, giving particular emphasis on his death and burial place as understood in the 5th century BC. The paper testifies how the mythical data can help reconstruct, on one hand, the Greek perception of the Balkans and, on the other, the Illyrian perception of a Greek myth. The Greeks through the hero's narrative could justify their colonialist movement into the Adriatic, and the Illyrians, at the same time, could glorify their origins by connecting themselves to such a magnificent ancestor.

The paper by Carla Sfameni is an updated account of the Roman archaeological remains in Montenegro. After the Romanization process involving the creation of provinces and *municipia*, in Late Antiquity Roman Dalmatia was divided into two provinces, Dalmatia and Praevalitana, to which latter territory modern Montenegro belongs. Recent studies suggest that during the Roman period Montenegro was a territory with a high level of cross-cultural exchanges, even if, unfortunately, the knowledge of its archaeological remains is still partial. Three main Roman cities are known up to now: Doclea in inner Montenegro, Risan on the coast, and Municipium S on the borders with Serbia. Doclea is presented in detail with its imposing ancient walls and the main monuments: the *forum*, a *basilica*, temples, *thermae*, a *domus* and the later remains of three medieval churches. The evidence coming from the Montenegrin countryside still remains very poor, even if traces of Roman villas, scattered mosaics and tombs have been found especially on the coast between Budva and Bar.

Olga Pelcer-Vujačić explores the difficult topic of perceived identity in the Roman settlements of south-eastern Dalmatia, analysing how the Roman conquest produced changes in the indigenous identities and in the civic elites. Through a detailed analysis of the epigraphic evidence, the paper underlines the different nuances of the Romanization as evidenced by names and careers. From the Docleates tribal aristocracy, who used Latin for their inscriptions but had not yet fully Romanized their names, to local family names in which the Roman elements are slowly being insinuated. If some settlements present a predominance of specific names, as the name *Flavii* in Doclea, others, as Municipium S, testify to no strict ethnic division, with mixed marriages, and Illyrian names present in Roman families and *vice versa*. Yet others, as Risinium (Risan) on the coast, have a high percentage of families coming in from the Italian peninsula. The analysis offers new insights for the reconstruction of individual and group dynamics between immigrant and indigenous persons in the Roman and Late Antiquity periods.

Tatjana Koprivica presents traces of religion and cultic activities detectable at Doclea, the second town of Roman Dalmatia. The author reconstructs a very rich religious framework, collecting both epigraphic evidence and archaeological remains, some of them not anymore extant and recovered from archival sources. Thanks to textual references and sculptural fragments at Doclea, it is possible to prove the lengthy existence of the Imperial Cult, one of the well-conceived methods of the Romans in promoting political propaganda. Other important deities worshipped at Doclea were the Capitoline Triad of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, and other divinities such as Roma, Diana, Neptune, and Mercury. Other traces testify to the town's cosmopolitan character: an altar, now lost, mentions the Greek deity Ananke, and a Jewish tomb from one of the Late Antiquity cemeteries of Doclea constitutes one of the few Jewish monuments preserved within the Balkan peninsula.

With the paper of Dragana Kujović, we face the issue of the museological display of Ottoman ethnographic items. In a philosophical and semantic/semiotic attempt to decode the language employed in museum exhibitions, the author unveils the different ways of reading and interpreting such a display. The various items, in both their physical aspect and their symbolic connotation, are silent contributors to an unwritten text, by which the curator, setting them in some concrete context, may offer to the viewer a multiplicity of possible meanings and readings. Comparing the Homeland museums of Bar and Ulcinj, the same objects assume different meanings when presented in different contexts. The cross and the crescent, usually interpreted as Catholic and Muslim symbols, can be used and interpreted differently, depending on the allusions and comparisons drawn from different realities and narratives.

The paper of Slavko Burzanović introduces the history of the relationships between the Kingdom of Italy and the Principality of Montenegro at the beginning of the 20th century, giving a fresh and interesting account of the commercial activities carried out in the area of Bar by Italian capitalists. The Compagnia di Antivari, financed by Italian banks and factories and by private investors, started a very ambitious project to build the new town of Bar on the southern coast of Montenegro. In a period of less than ten years, the new town was planned and a modern harbour, the quays, berthing channels at Lake Skadar, a railway, new buildings like the Marina Hotel, storehouses and processing facilities for tobacco plants were all established. New radiotelegraphy stations were established both in Bar and in Bari, connecting Montenegro to the European Telegraph Network. However, changes in the political situation prevented the project from being completed: some buildings like the theatre were never realized at all.

Paola Moscati illustrates the more recent trends in archaeological computing, with specific attention to the projects carried out in the Mediterranean and, in particular, in the Adriatic area, where already in the early 1990s there had been realized the first GIS-based project. Many of the achieved and of the yet in progress activities are urban and landscape projects employing extensive use of GIS, remote sensing and 3D reconstruction: examples are the Burnum, the Potenza valley, and the Doclea projects. Recent technological progress, as in the use of sophisticated sonars and robotic underwater archaeology and in innovative data-recording procedures for the reconstruction of ancient architecture, has accelerated considerably. Advances have been accomplished in the processes of classification and recording of archaeological artefacts and in the construction of European digital infrastructures involving both coasts of the Adriatic Sea. The topic of data sharing in science and education is also presented, with specific reference to the open-access policy and the experience of the international journal *Archeologia e Calcolatori*.

Snezana Pejović offers a paper that reconstructs the steps of a digitization project realized by Italian and Montenegrin archivists alongside ICT personnel. The project executed the digitization of a very important archival fond kept in the Kotor Historical Archives, part of the National Archives of Montenegro. The fond contains administrative, diplomatic, political and military documents in different languages, belonging to the period of the Venetian rule in Istria and Dalmatia. Through the implementation and translation of the ICT tools, communication between two archival traditions, the Italian and the Montenegrin, and between different languages and alphabets was successfully carried out. Accordingly, the 30,000 original and very damaged documents can be kept safely untouched in the archive and instead be consulted online in high resolution.

The present book, as said before, is the expression of our first collaboration, aimed at building a common methodological ground. The effort was successful and by 2016, the two teams started a closer and larger collaboration: namely an important project for the re-study and enhancement of the Roman town of Doclea. Located a few kilometres from the capital Podgorica, Doclea is one of the more important ancient settlements for Montenegro, being considered by the local population as a place of cultural identity, linking their history with that of Italy and the ancient Mediterranean. Significantly Doclea, as cited also in this volume, was one of the sites we first visited in 2015, when it was proposed by our Montenegrin colleagues as one possible fruitful place for collaboration. Since then, many projects on Doclea have followed: establishing a Joint Archaeological Laboratory (Archeo-Lab 2017-2018), a Great Relevance Program of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of Italy (MAECI, 2018-2020), and a future new bilateral program (2020-2021). Further, at the specific request of the Montenegrin authorities, many other projects and activities have got under way and are in progressing, involving other cultural sites of Montenegro too.

To conclude, I would like to thank the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of Italy (MAECI), which organization under the Program of Great Relevance is financing this volume. I warmly thank also the society Terna Crna Gora d.o.o., which contributed to the realization of this book, and that constantly follows our activities with great and beneficial interest.



Fig. 2 The Millennium Bridge at Podgorica, Montenegro (photo by Ivan Laković).

With our work, we strongly believe that we are indeed building, year after year, an ever more solid ‘bridge’ across the Adriatic Sea (Fig. 2). A bridge that is not only made of scientific activities and results, but one that is constructed from personal and friendly human connections, so contributing to new links, exchanges, openings and thoughts within our two countries, that gaze at each other from not so very far away.

Un ponte esiste quando le due sponde si amano.
(Antoni Regulski, *Aforismi*)²

² ‘A bridge exists when the two banks love each other’.

**CLASH OF CULTURES OR MELTING POT?
SOME IDENTITY ISSUES IN THE SOUTHERN BALKANS AND CRETE:
MATERIAL CULTURES DURING THE 2nd MILLENNIUM BC**

Lucia Alberti

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As an archaeologist mostly dealing with the Greek Bronze Age and in particular with the relationship between Minoan Crete and the Greek Mainland during the Late Bronze Age, it has been at times challenging to be involved in this very different workshop about Italy and Montenegro interconnections¹. But research is always guiding you onto unknown but worthwhile paths, opening new possibilities and perspectives.

Two things apparently link Montenegro and the Aegean: Sir Arthur Evans and the search for identity, two issues that involve not simply the past, but also the very recent past and even the present of these two areas.

This paper will be divided into two sections. The first one will deal briefly with the personal history of the archaeologist Sir Arthur Evans, very well known to scholars and the public alike for his excavations of the palace at Knossos in Crete. Before travelling in the Aegean, he was involved in research in the Balkans. The second section involves the studies I presented to this workshop, under the specific request of our Montenegrin colleagues, concerning the matter of identity/ethnicity in the Aegean Bronze age and specifically in Minoan/Mycenaean Crete, and the possibility to recognize different cultural identities through the lens of material culture.

¹ I wish to thank my colleagues from Montenegro for the splendid hospitality and kindness. I would like also to express my happiness to be here and within this joint project that has not only improved our reciprocal scientific knowledge, but also has increased our working-relationship and, especially, friendship. The chosen topic for the workshop, and now for its publication, was explicitly requested by our Montenegrin colleagues, even if lies a bit at the borders of the geographical and cultural area of this book. For this reason, I have dedicated it to them. I warmly thank the British School at Athens for the permit to study and publish the materials of the Mavro Spileo necropolis.

1. A preamble on Sir Arthur Evans: from the Balkans to Crete

*'The tireless explorer will be of great use to our history and antiquity,
and it is right that foreigners, at least on occasions,
express how much the Slavians had done for others'.*

Slovinač newspaper 5, 1877

1.1 Travelling in the Balkans

Sir Arthur Evans is known worldwide as the discoverer or more accurately the main archaeologist who excavated the Minoan palace at Knossos in Crete, giving impetus to the new discipline concerning the Bronze Age of the island. Actually he cannot in a way be considered as either the discoverer of the Knossos palace, already known previously by the work of Minos Kalokairinos, or its excavator, because the palace was mostly dug on a daily basis in the trenches by the archaeologist Duncan Mackenzie². Be that as it may, the name of Evans is indissolubly linked with Knossos, its excavations and its monumental publication in four volumes, in which Sir Arthur organized and set forth all his knowledge and reflections about the Minoan civilization in its relations with its Mediterranean counterparts³.

But before Knossos, Evans had had other experiences in the Balkans. It was only time and chance that lead him to follow other paths towards the Aegean Sea⁴.

Arthur John Evans was born in England in 1851. His father John (1823-1908) was a well-known scientist, a collector of prehistoric artefacts and an archaeologist, who in his last years had the joy of seeing the success of his son Arthur at Knossos⁵. It was natural that Arthur grew up with a great interest in archaeology. He was here self-taught as was his father, without any formal training in excavation. We can say, as pointed out by Ann Brown, that 'he grew up under the shadow of his father'⁶, and was probably spurred on by the desire to emulate him. However, the desired celebrity did not come from the halls of Academia, though he did graduate from Oxford in 1873.

In 1871, Evans started travelling in Europe, and especially in the Balkans, where he went for holidays in the same year, visiting Slovenia and Croatia and becoming interested in politics, local nature and traditions. Evans met then with the Turks for the first time, show-

² KOPAKA 2015; MOMIGLIANO 1999.

³ EVANS 1921-1935.

⁴ In between the Balkans and Crete, Evans made an interesting tour also in Sicily in 1889, following his father-in-law Edward A. Freeman, as has been recently reconstructed in PELAGATTI, MUSCOLINO 2019.

⁵ FAGAN 2003, 33-36.

⁶ BROWN 1993, 11; WILKES 1976; MACGILLIVRAY 2000.

ing towards them an ambiguous attitude: admiration and at the same time a strong repulsion for the oppression they practised on the subjugated people of the Ottoman Empire. A similar deep-seated feeling he will express later in Crete, still under the Ottomans when he first went there in 1894⁷.

In 1875, he visited Bosnia and Herzegovina, arriving also in Ragusa (today's Dubrovnik). In 1877, he started an archaeological excavation at a Bronze Age tumulus at Canali, near Ragusa (today's Konavle), but was interrupted after a few days by the war between the Turks and Montenegrins. After two weeks he restarted the excavation; and it was then that he met the famous historian Edward A. Freeman, who arrived with his two daughters. Till now it is not possible to work out what tumulus it was that Evans excavated: he defined it as 'colossal'⁸.

In 1877, after this first Balkan adventure, Evans published a book on the Bosnia and Herzegovina insurrections, that induced the *Manchester Guardian* newspaper to send him back as a correspondent in 1878⁹. In February of the same year, he and Margaret Freeman announced their wedding and a few weeks later he moved to Dubrovnik, where he rented Casa San Lazzaro, a very pleasant house with a garden by the sea (Fig. 1)¹⁰. The wedding was celebrated in September and they moved to Dubrovnik in October, with the clear intention of settling there for years.

During his years in the Balkans, Evans displayed his all-round curiosity: primarily for the political situation and the condition of the local population under the Ottoman Empire, but also for the antiquities and traditions of the country. His interest in politics was soon noticed by the Austrian authority and the possi-



Fig. 1 Arthur Evans and his wife Margaret, 22nd June 1888 (after Wikimedia commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Margaret_and_Arthur_Evans_22_June_1888.jpg).

⁷ EVANS 1878, 126-127; JELAVICH 1955; HORWITZ 1981, 34; WILKES 1976, 34-36; BROWN 1993, 37, 42.

⁸ KIRIGIN 2015, 4; HORWITZ 1981, 44.

⁹ EVANS 1877; BROWN 1993; FAGAN 2003; TSONOS 2011.

¹⁰ HORWITZ 1981, 48-51; KIRIGIN 2015, 4-6.

bility that he might become the new British consul in Dubrovnik vanished, probably because of the rumours that he was a spy.

In the following years, he continued travelling in the Balkans, sending numerous reports on the political situation, that were later published also as *Illyrian Letters*¹¹. He continued to be interested in archaeology and especially in the collection of the smaller class of ancient finds, a type of artefact not much considered by his contemporaries and that he went on to accumulate also in Crete. He collected in particular seals, filling notebooks of notes and drawings, as was his custom in the later documentation about his activities in Crete¹².

In 1882, he was finally accused of being a spy: imprisoned for six weeks by the Austrian authorities, who did not appreciate his interest in politics, he was banned from Austro-Hungarian territories. The couple then went back to England, where Evans had time to write about the archaeological discoveries he had made in the Balkans, where he had mapped the Roman road system and carried out some modest excavations in Risan (Figs. 2-4)¹³. Even if his stay in the Balkans and his activities were circumscribed, he yet left some very important publications, conducted with great accuracy and precision, showing the same aptitude for details we will find later in his numerous volumes dedicated to Cretan antiquities.

Becoming Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum in 1884, he employed his experience in European archaeology to enlarge the collections of the museum and make it an excellent research centre.

In 1893, the sudden death of his wife deeply changed his perspectives. The following year, stimulated by descriptions of the Kephala hill, where later he excavated the palace of Knossos, and by some small finds brought from Crete by his friend and colleague J.J. Myres, he travelled for the first time to the island.

Here too, the political conditions caught his interest. He saw similarities in the desire for freedom from the Ottoman Empire by the local Christian populations both in the Balkans and in Crete. But this time, he had the chance to experience the Cretan insurrection and liberation from the Ottomans. Now too another strand in Evans's life-narrative begins: with the discovery (or for someone the 'creation') of the Minoan civilization.

Evans visited the Balkans (then the Kingdom of Yugoslavia) once again, for a few days, in June 1932, 50 years after his last departure. On that occasion he offered to the Dubrovnik library a rare incunabula 'De natura angelica', that still remains one of the most precious possessions in the library collection¹⁴.

¹¹ EVANS 1878.

¹² BROWN 1993, 21, figs. 16-17.

¹³ EVANS 1883 and 1885, in particular 1885, 6 ff.; KIRIGIN 2015, 2-4.

¹⁴ Branko Kirigin gives a very interesting account of Evans's travels in the Balkans, with many references to the local newspapers. See in particular, KIRIGIN 2015, 10-12, and note n. 30.



Fig. 2 Travels of Sir Arthur Evans in the Balkans in 1871 (*after* Tsonos 2011, fig. 1).



Fig. 3 Travels of Sir Arthur Evans in the Balkans during the period 1875-1877 (*after* Tsonos 2011, fig. 2).

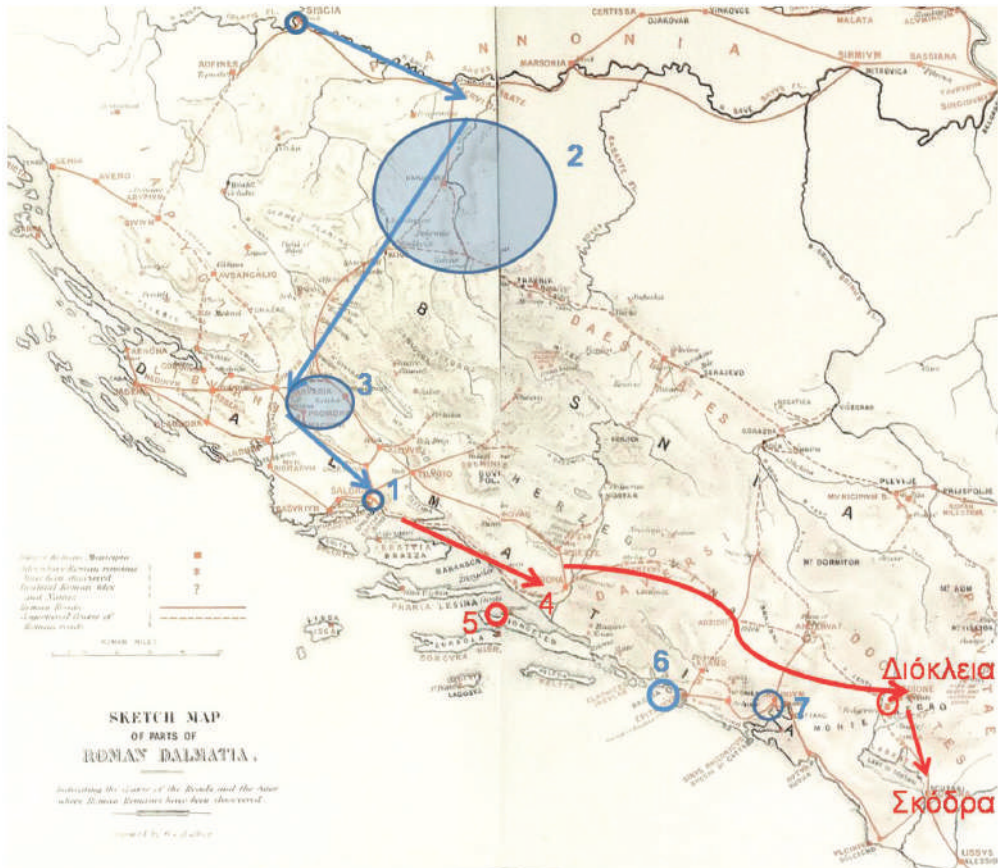


Fig. 4 Travels of Sir Arthur Evans in southern Dalmatia, with the most significant sites he visited (after Tsonos 2011, fig. 4).

2. The search for identity: can the material culture reveal ‘ethnic’ identity?

2.1 Introduction

More than a century after Evans’s archaeological activities, in these last decades, the world of archaeology has often been involved in theoretical and hermeneutical debates related to the multiple meanings and interpretations of material culture. One specific and very disputed topic is the concept and definition of identity and eventually ethnicity, and the possibility of detecting different identities/ethnicities through a material culture.

If we view material culture through the lens of scientific materialism, we can think of the thousands and thousands of data we collect in an archaeological research as micro-particles, interacting among themselves in a physical body, according to rigid rules that scientists are continuously analysing and remarking on. Such a methodology can be applied to cultural evolution and transformation in human processes. The approach is very much an open one; no resolutions have been pronounced. Some scientists and philosophers are persuaded that what happens in our mind and thoughts is a result of the forces of the various physical particles (like atoms) interacting. Others consider that in the human reality there are other factors in operation, such as conscience and mind¹⁵.

This over-simplified description of the many factors concerning cultural evolution and the theories actually expressed by the scientific community on this topic does not get us far. Actually, today there seem to be no secure points in how one interprets material culture and its transformations. This is especially true when we are speaking about cultural traits 'migrating' from one geographical area to another.

That being said, one of the goals of the archaeology, especially when dealing with almost none-literate societies, is trying to understand and to reconstruct a historical narrative, obviously starting from a meticulous analysis of the material culture. After this analysis, the second step is the recognition of patterns of regularities, that is the identifying of interrelated groups of repeated multiple sets of data in a specific area/site/cemetery. Every detail and every item must be considered. For a necropolis, for example, all the data concerning the geographical location (exact position and distribution of tombs in the terrain, the relation among tombs, the relation with the landscape, the settlement, the important monuments), the architecture (typology of tomb, details of construction, energy expenditure for construction), human remains (type of deposition, manipulation of the bodies, sex, conditions of the skeletons), grave goods (typologies, conditions, positions, chronology). All this amount of data should be analysed together, to construct patterns of repetition, in order to detect changes and differences, if and when they happen.

What I am here presenting is an example of this process of detecting regular patterns and identifying changes in material culture, at a time when we do not have a sufficient textual documentation. This is often the case in Bronze Age archaeology.

¹⁵ The question is not only scientific, but also social and political. It is the contrast between materialism and a more open philosophical approach. On this specific topic, as a representative of materialism is D. Dennett, whereas J. Searle, underlines the importance of conscience in human choice. See FINI, MILANI 2005 and <https://www.nybooks.com/articles/1995/11/16/the-mystery-of-consciousness-part-ii/> by Searle and the response of Dennett <https://www.nybooks.com/articles/1995/12/21/the-mystery-of-consciousness-an-exchange/>.

2.2 The case study of Knossian burial customs during the 2nd millennium BC: a very short presentation of the geographical and chronological framework

When we speak about the Greek Bronze Age, we are dealing with a period of about two millennia, roughly between 3000 and 1000 BC, divided into the Early, Middle and Late Bronze Age periods¹⁶.

It is almost impossible to summarize a period that is 2000 years long and the subject of a myriad research projects that started in the end of the 19th century AD. Concentrating our discussion on the 2nd millennium BC, the important phenomenon in the Aegean is the construction of the palaces, first in Crete and later in the Greek Mainland (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5 The Aegean Sea with the principal sites cited in the text (*modified after* NASA image by Jeff Schmaltz, MODIS Rapid Response Team, Goddard Space Flight Center:

<https://www.visibleearth.nasa.gov/images/6864/smoke-over-the-aegean-sea/68651>).

¹⁶ Traditionally we designate as ‘Minoan’ the material culture of Crete, from the mythic King Minos; as ‘Helladic’ the material culture of Mainland Greece (we use the term ‘Mycenaean’ for the Late Bronze Age); and as ‘Cycladic’ the material culture of Aegean islands. In a very synthetic way (and only roughly correct), the Early Bronze Age (Early Minoan/Early Helladic/Early Cycladic) is the period of 3100-2000, the Middle Bronze Age (Middle Minoan/Middle Helladic/Middle Cycladic) is the period of 2000-1600 BC, the Late Bronze Age (Late Minoan/Late Helladic or Mycenaean/Late Cycladic) is the period of 1600-1100 BC. But for a more detailed chronology of the Aegean Bronze Age, with the numerous and still unresolved issues, see MANNING 2010 and for a general and updated overview of the Aegean archaeology, see CLINE 2010.

The palaces are complex systems of buildings, with very important political, economic, religious and social functions. In Crete, the first palaces appeared around 1900 BC and lasted, with many local trajectories, till at least 1300: they are asymmetric structures, usually without defensive walls, very well inserted in the natural landscapes, with buildings organised around a rectangular central court (Fig. 6a)¹⁷. The main and presently known palaces in Crete were Knossos, Phaistos, Mallia, Petras, Kato Zakro, but there are also palaces of slighter dimensions, as Archanes, Galatas, Zominthos, Gournia and Chania. The island of Crete, therefore, during the Bronze Age appears a very well inhabited and exploited territory, with many other sites of more local significance such as the so-called 'villas'¹⁸. We do not have clear knowledge about the political entities governing the palaces and their territories: the most common hypothesis is that it was a mix of religious and political/secular powers.

In Mainland Greece, the construction of structures that we can define as 'palatial' happens later, in a period roughly dated between 1400 and 1200 BC. They are ultimately physically quite different from the Cretan ones: their cornerstone is not the central court, but the *megaron*, a monumental rectangular hall with a central hearth and a throne (Fig. 6b). From the Linear B tablets, we know that the political power was concentrated in the hands of the 'wanax', surrounded by a numerous tiers of officials. The Mycenaean palaces are perhaps more symmetrical and often surrounded by defensive walls, generally located in a prominent position in the landscape¹⁹. The period of the Mycenaean palaces is also the period partially referred to and described by Homer in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*²⁰.

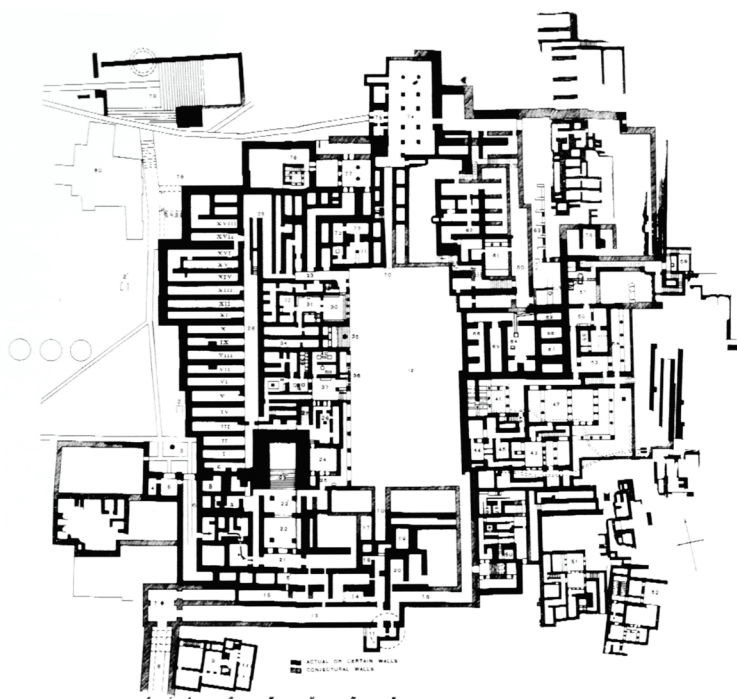
One of the main features of Aegean archaeology is the lack of any literature or written history. Omitting the Homeric poetry, which gives us some (slight) impressions on the Aegean Late Bronze Age, we have only a relatively few and fragmentary documents concerning the administration of the palaces. They are clay tablets baked in the fires that destroyed the palatial archives at different times. These are simple accounts: lists of people working for the palaces, or of foodstuffs moving to and from the palaces. Moreover, not all this documentation has been deciphered: the first writing systems of the Minoan palaces in Crete were

¹⁷ The bibliography is once again imposing. I refer here to the fundamental publication not only of the palace of Knossos, but of all Minoan archaeology (EVANS 1921-1935; for a summarised and updated presentation, see MACDONALD 2005). Some important papers/book in which is possible to find relevant bibliography are GRAHAM 1987; DRIESSEN, SCHOEP, LAFFINEUR 2002; CLINE 2010. See RETHEMIOTAKIS 2008 for a summarised presentation.

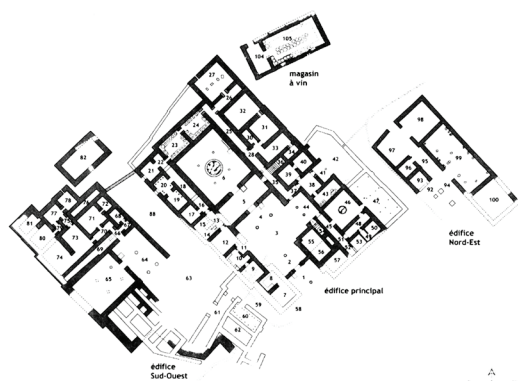
¹⁸ ANDREADAKI-VLAZAKI, RETHEMIOTAKIS, DIMOPOULOU-RETHEMIOTAKI 2008.

¹⁹ Also for the Mycenaean palaces the bibliography is impressive. Some important references are BLEGEN, RAWSON 1966; IAKOVIDIS 1983; DEGER-JALKOTZY, LEMOS 2006; CLINE 2010. See MARAN 2017 for a summarised presentation.

²⁰ DEGER-JALKOTZY, LEMOS 2006.



a



b

Fig. 6 a) The palace of Knossos in Crete (*after* RETHEMIOTAKIS 2008, fig. 2, courtesy of Georgios Rethemiotakis); b) The Mycenaean palace at Pylos in Messenia (*after* TREUIL *et al.* 2008, fig. 52, courtesy of Press Universitaire de France).

hieroglyphic and Linear A, both remain undeciphered. In the Late Bronze Age, both in Crete and in the Mainland, we have tablets written in Linear B, a writing system deciphered in 1952 as a form of proto-Greek²¹.

For all these reasons, the most productive ‘documentation’ for the reconstruction of the ancient societies living in the Bronze Age Aegean is almost exclusively that of the material culture and, sometimes, a comparison with other Mediterranean and contemporary cultures and civilizations. It is much more difficult to reconstruct, however tentatively, a real historical narrative and, even more so, the social dynamics, phenomena of acculturation, human thoughts and feelings of the communities living in the Aegean during the Bronze Age.

As a case study, I will concentrate now on a brief period in the 2nd millennium BC, at the moment when the so-called ‘Minoan’ culture of Crete and the so-called ‘Mycenaean’ culture of Greece came into very close contact²². It is a short period, of two or three generations. In Aegean archaeological terms involves the phase called Late Minoan II-III A2 *early*, in term of absolute chronology the period between roughly 1450 and 1370 BC²³.

2.3 Just before the ‘clash’: the Knossos burial customs of the first phase (ca. 1700-1450 BC)

At the start of our analysis in the first half of the 2nd millennium BC, Crete was the leading civilization of the Aegean basin, exporting not only material culture, but also ideas, styles, ideology, etc. to the Greek Mainland and beyond.

In the 16th century BC, Crete was at its peak: the palaces were flourishing and expanding the reach of their products not only in Greece and in the Aegean and Anatolia, but also

²¹ VENTRIS, CHADWICK 1956; POPE 2008; DEL FREO, PERNA 2019.

²² The term ‘Minoan’ was created before Evans, to link the discoveries in Crete to the mythical King Minos. The term ‘Mycenaean’ was created after the impressive discoveries made by Schliemann in Mycenae (KARADIMAS, MOMIGLIANO 2004; CADOGAN 2006). Both of them had at the beginning a chronological meaning or were related to a specific location. Today, after more than a century of research we still do not know how during the Bronze Age the population of Crete and the Greek Mainland called themselves from their own mouths. It is possible that the Cretans defined themselves or the island of Crete with a name containing the consonants K-f-t, as testified by Egyptian and Syrian sources referring to Crete respectively as Keftiu and Kaphtor. Today both terms Minoan and Mycenaean are under discussion for their ambiguity, perhaps because they evoke specific and well defined political powers, for which in fact we have very scarce and unclear data. In this paper, I will simply use the two terms with a geographical/cultural meaning, referring respectively to the material culture found in Crete and Mainland Greece during the Late Bronze Age.

²³ Also, the chronological labels I used are very much simplified. The beginning and the end of every phase is still under discussion. In the case of LM II-III A2 *early* for example, the most updated hypothesis deals with slightly different absolute dates: 1470/60-1390/70 (see MANNING 2010).

more broadly in the Eastern Mediterranean. I would also like to underline here that the period before the phase on which we will be concentrating is one of strong contacts between the Minoan and Mycenaean civilizations, so that they came to share many cultural features. From a material culture point of view, in this phase Crete appears stronger than the Greek Mainland: Minoan products reached the Mycenaean palaces, and there they were also copied and reproduced, maybe with the support of Cretan artisans employed by and in the Mainland palaces.

This apparently peaceful and productive period is overturned by the eruption of the Santorini volcano, an exceptional and highly destructive phenomenon for the Aegean: in Santorini, all the inhabitants arguably escaped the island before the eruption; the settlements were completely destroyed. The eruption was destructive also for many coastal areas of the Aegean: in Crete a devastating tsunami, or several, may have damaged the north-central and eastern coasts of the island with a reasonable fall of volcanic ash, remains of which were found in many archaeological excavations (Fig. 7)²⁴. We can only imagine the psycho-

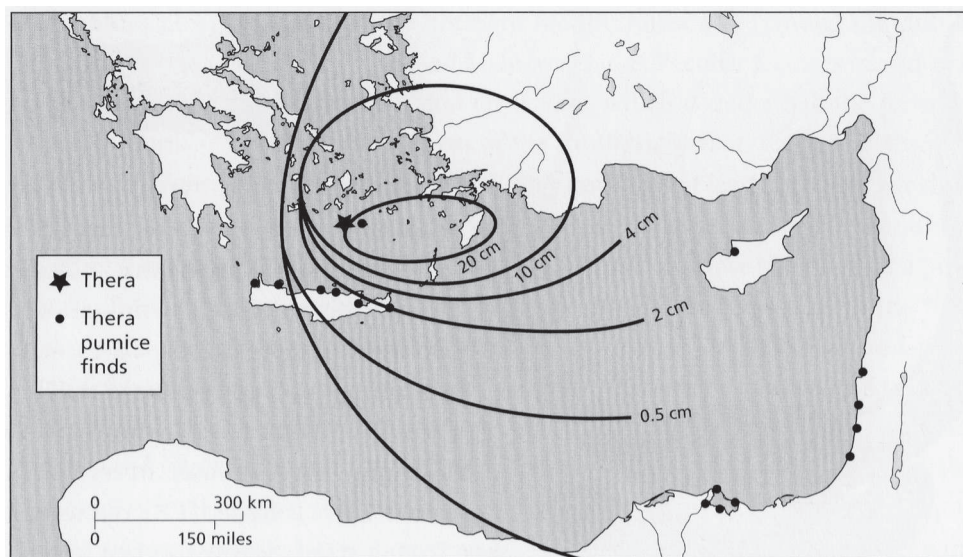


Fig. 7 Distribution of ash-fall from the Thera eruption in the eastern Mediterranean (after BROodbANK 2013, fig. 8.21, courtesy of Thames and Hudson).

²⁴ DICKINSON 1994, 16-18; MINOURA *et al.* 2000; BROodbANK 2013, 371-372. The chronology of the Santorini eruption is still under discussion. Analysis made on an olive tree found inside the *tephra*, the volcanic ash, gave a date of 1628 BC, a date very distant from the traditional one of 1540 BC and the Egyptian chronologies. Here too there are two different schools of thought, both of them claiming scientific backing: one supports the traditional chronology and the second one the new high chronology (CHERUBINI *et al.* 2014; MANNING *et al.* 2014).

logical impact that such a phenomenon had on the Aegean populations, and to the economic difficulties following the destructions of the harbours, the infertility of the terrain, the interruption – even perhaps if very short – of some Mediterranean interconnections.

The following fifty years or so (Late Minoan IB, ca. 1500-1450 BC), in fact, are a crisis period, preceding and ushering in the phase of changes we are speaking about: fewer in number and smaller in size, the settlement pattern, along with other symptoms, already indicates a crisis in action²⁵.

Because our discussion will particularly concentrate on the Knossian burial customs, where the most significant changes are detectable, it is important to give some general information of the burial customs of the period preceding 1450 BC, in particular the phase between 1700 and 1450 BC. The areas in which the most important cemeteries have been found is that around Knossos (Mavro Spileo, Ailias, Gypsades tholos, Monasteriako Kephali on the Acropolis), and also the Poros necropolis in the coastal harbour settlement (Fig. 8). Other tombs sharing the same burial customs and material culture have been found also in Kythera, an island immediately north of Crete²⁶.

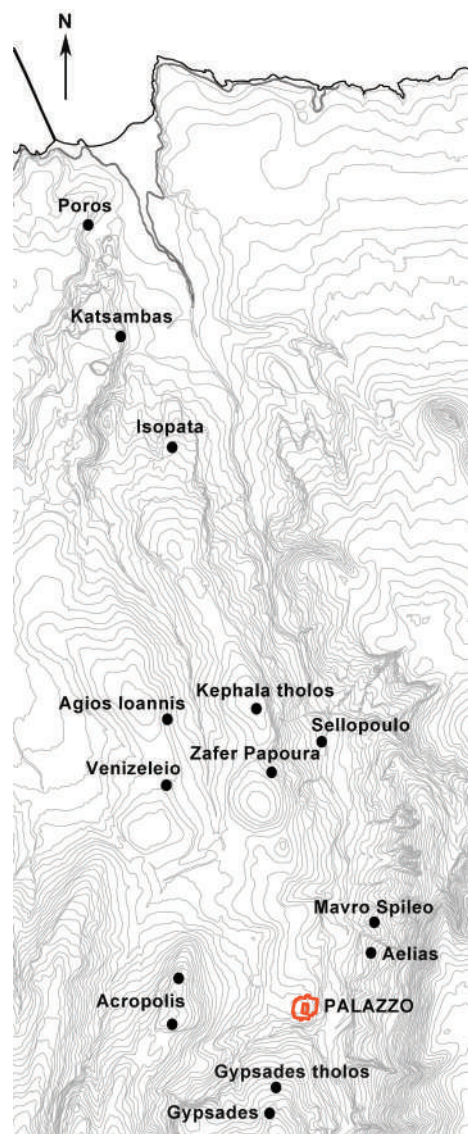


Fig. 8 The Knossos valley with the main cemeteries
(after ALBERTI 2014, fig. 1).

²⁵ DRIESSEN, MACDONALD 1997.

²⁶ COLDSTREAM, HUXLEY 1972 (Kythera); DIMOPOULOU-RETHEMIOTAKI 1988, MUHLY 1992 and DIMOPOULOU 1999 (Poros); FORSDYKE 1926-27 and ALBERTI 2001; 2006; 2013 (Mavro Spileo); HOOD 2010 (Aelias).

The typical Minoan tomb of the period preceding the change is a multi-chambered tomb, without dromos (corridor), or a version with but a single, very wide and irregular chamber, sometimes internally divided into smaller spaces (Fig. 15 Phase 1). They were large-family tombs, used for many generations, with dozens of burials. The grave goods were quite simple and not very rich: some small jewellery and seals, some very simple and undecorated pots²⁷. A most common vase – not only in tombs, but also in settlements – is the so-called ‘conical cup’ (in Greek *skouteli*), a plain vase, found in the thousands on every archaeological excavation in Crete. It was the typical drinking vessel, probably used also as a unit of measure for an individual ration of food (Fig. 9). We can consider this simple cup as a sort of ‘marker’ of the Minoan culture, being distributed in cemeteries and settlements for almost all the 2nd millennium BC²⁸.



Fig. 9 Conical cups from the Mavro Spileo necropolis at Knossos (photo by the author).

At Knossos, these multi-chambered tombs are located around the palace on the hills, running in a curve from the east, across the south and up the west side, in places where it is possible to enjoy an extraordinary view of the main cultural, political and religious focal points of the Minoans: peak sanctuaries and mountains, necropoleis and tombs on the hills, the settlement and palace in the valley, the main roads and the harbour town, the blue Aegean sea beyond all (Fig. 10)²⁹.

We must underline here that the 1700-1450 BC tombs and cemeteries are very scarce and mostly concentrated in the first part of this long phase, between 1700-1600 BC. The period in which the settlement of Knossos enjoys its maximum expansion, with a hypothetical population of 14000-18000 persons³⁰, presents very few tombs: between 1550

²⁷ FORSDYKE 1926-27; ALBERTI 2001; 2006; 2013.

²⁸ WIENER 1984; GILLIS 1990; KNAPPETT 1999; ALBERTI 2014.

²⁹ ALBERTI 2015; 2018a; in press.

³⁰ WHITELAW 2001.

and 1450 BC the majority of them are older tombs maybe reused (or most probably just frequented)³¹. Considering that the Knossos valley has been intensively surveyed in the last hundred years³², we must presume that the funerary rituals used by the Minoans of that period are not detectable (burials at sea?) or that they were not very much interested in monumental or impressive burial customs³³.

2.4 The 'clash': the changes in Knossos burial customs after ca. 1450 BC

Around 1450 BC, in Crete and especially at Knossos, there were some very significant changes: all the palaces of the island were destroyed and most never reoccupied, with the exceptions only of Knossos and arguably Chania³⁴. The disaster(s) caught up many other sites, from palatial settlements, through villas and rural villages to the smallest hamlets. Knossos is the only palace that we certainly know maintained a palatial role and function on the island in the subsequent phase. It continued to be used as a power centre, but with significant changes in architecture, pottery production, burial customs and administration, with the introduction of a new writing, in Linear B, that we said is a form of proto-Greek. Also the changes in architecture appear very meaningful, involving apparently also the ideological system: the detected differences, in fact, involve for example architectonic structures interpreted as religious, such as the so-called 'lustral basin', that is located beside the Throne room, a meaningful place probably connected also with the workings of the political system³⁵.



Fig. 10 View of the Knossos valley from the hill cemeteries of Phase 1 (photo by the author).

³¹ Tombs clearly datable to this phase are some of Poros and the tomb of Monasteriako Kephali in the Acropolis (DIMOPOULOU-RETHEMIOTAKI 1988; DIMOPOULOU 1999; PRESTON 2013). At Mavro Spileo, one of the Knossian necropolis, there are only traces of frequentation (ALBERTI 2001; 2013).

³² HOOD 1958; HOOD, SMYTH 1981; BENNET *et al.* 2008. See also EVANS 1921-1935 and CADOGAN, HATZAKI, VASILAKIS 2004.

³³ DICKINSON 1994; DEVOLDER 2010.

³⁴ HOOD 1985. The Chania palace, in western Crete, is only partially known, because it is hidden under the modern city (ANDREADAKI-VLAZAKI n.d.).

³⁵ DRIESSEN, MACDONALD 1997; MACDONALD 2005. For the north-west lustral basin at Knossos, see EVANS 1921, I, 405-414 and IV, 928; NIEMEIER 1987, 167.

One of the most evident changes is related to the burial customs: after these widespread destructions, the funerary landscape at Knossos changes very significantly.

In the northern sector of the Knossos valley, new necropoleis with new types of tombs are set up, with an architecture typologically completely different from the earlier ones (Fig. 8: Kephala tholos, Agios Ioannis, Venizeleio, Sellopoulo, Zafer Papoura, Isopata and Katsambas): they consist of a more-or-less quadrangular, single chambers, approached by a long and narrow dromos (Fig. 15, Phase 2). Also other types of tombs appear: the Mainland-type tholos and other single-use tombs, again of a typology completely unknown before in Crete. The latter are either simple shaft graves with stone slabs on the top, or they are the so-called pit-graves, namely deeply excavated pits (2-4 meters deep) with side-niches at the bottom in which the dead are placed³⁶.

There are also other important differences: the new locations in the northern valley are without any known earlier funerary connections; their positions do not command any views, either of the settlement of Knossos or other significant places in the previous Minoan story (Fig. 11)³⁷.

In the new single-chamber tombs, the number of depositions per tomb is completely different from the earlier multi-chamber tombs. The new chamber tombs contain much smaller groups of individuals: the earliest contain less than five individuals per tomb, and often they do not show further reuse. In the multiple chamber tombs of the previous peri-



Fig. 11 View from the Knossos cemeteries of Phase 2, located in the lower ground to the north (photo by the author).

³⁶ ALBERTI 2004 with bibliography; MILLER 2011; ALBERTI 2015; in press.

³⁷ ALBERTI 2015; in press.

ods, the depositions are in the dozens and the tombs are reused for centuries: they appear to be clan/family tombs, serving much bigger human groups, probably linked by familial relationships, whereas the new tombs contain very small groups³⁸.

Also the grave goods are different from the few earlier assemblages known until then: now at Knossos there is a marked display of bronze items and jewellery – bronze vases, prestigious objects, personal items and considerable assemblages of weaponry, with magnificent swords, daggers and spearheads. So much so that these tombs were defined as ‘Warrior’ graves³⁹. A new specific set of clay vases is present, made up of the alabastron, kylix and three-handled jar (Fig. 12). This pottery triad is particularly meaningful because it repeats the Mainland pottery patterns found in contemporary and earlier burial assemblages that are very well-known from Mainland Greece⁴⁰.

Another fact with very significant cultural implications is that in the tombs now opened in the northern and lower part of the valley, the conical cup, the Minoan vase par excellence found not only in settlements but also in funerary contexts in Knossos and in all Crete, is simply not present. It is replaced by the kylix, a type of vase which originates



Fig. 12 a) Sword from Zafer Papoura tomb 36; b) piriform jar from Isopata tomb 2
(after DIMOPOULOU-RETHEMIOTAKI 2005, 202 and 290, courtesy of Heraklion
Archaeological Museum – Hellenic Ministry of Culture & Sports – Archaeological Receipts Fund).

³⁸ For a complete list of necropoleis and related publications, see ALBERTI 2014, nn. 1-6. See also ALBERTI 2018b and in press.

³⁹ The definition was that of Sinclair Hood: HOOD, DE JONG 1952; HOOD 1956.

⁴⁰ ALBERTI 2004; 2014.

in Mainland Greece and for the first time now it is used also in Crete both in tombs and settlements (Fig. 13).



Fig. 13 Kylikes of the 'Ephyrean' type from the Unexplored Mansion of Knossos
(after DIMOPOULOU-RETHEMIOTAKI 2005, 287, courtesy of Heraklion
Archaeological Museum – Hellenic Ministry of Culture & Sports – Archaeological Receipts Fund).

All these items are found in association and, together with the architecture of the tombs, recall contemporary and earlier assemblages extensively found in Mainland Greece, as can be detected by comparing a Cretan and a Mainland example of chamber tombs from this impact phase and thereabouts, in which similarities are real and close both in architecture and grave goods⁴¹.

For this reason, starting in the 1950s, these tombs were interpreted as the tombs of Mycenaean coming from the Greek Mainland to conquer or control the Knossos palace and through that, generally speaking, much of Crete⁴².

2.5 After the 'clash': the 'melting pot' of the later burial customs

In the first stage of the possible meeting of worlds, the two different burial customs do not mix: the two funerary areas of the valley, the Minoan one and the Mycenaean one, stay separate, with different architecture and grave goods and different locations and views.

But in a phase immediately after the impact phase of the phenomenon (difficult to speak about in an actual numbers of years, but we may suppose a period of a very few

⁴¹ ALBERTI 2014, 36, fig. 9 as example of a Mainland assemblage.

⁴² HOOD, DE JONG 1952; HOOD 1956; 1985; ALBERTI 2004; 2015; 2018a-b; WIENER 2015.

years, maybe between 5 and 20 years), there is a necropolis in which the material culture appears, if not mixed, at least starting to hybridize.

The necropolis of Mavro Spileo, located on the hill of Profitis Aelias east of the palace, is one of the oldest at Knossos and the most long-lived, used for more than four centuries and covering all the long period we are speaking about (roughly 17th-13th centuries BC)⁴³. The first phase of use is the 17th-16th centuries BC, when the typical funerary architecture of the period – i.e. the multi-chamber tombs – were regularly distributed on the slope, placed at a certain distance from each other (the tombs coloured black in Fig. 14).

From the mid-15th century BC or a bit later, the new type of funerary architecture – the single-chamber tombs with dromos that we saw appearing in the new necropoleis located lower down and to the north – appears, inserted in the spaces left

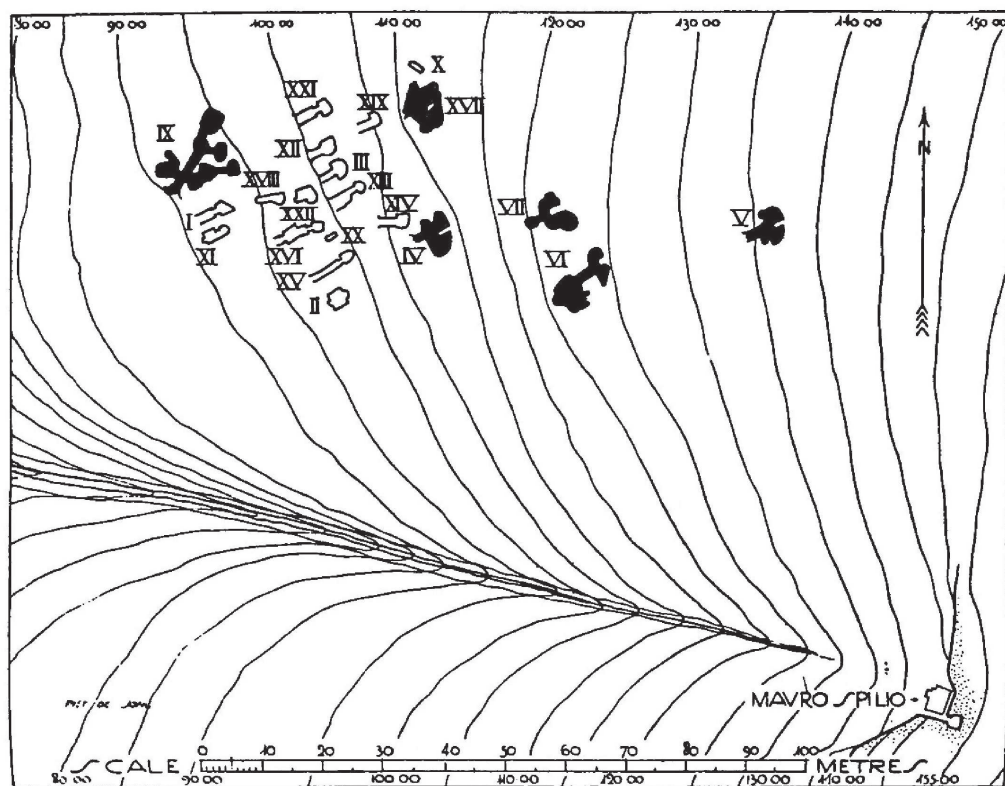


Fig. 14 Map of the Mavro Spileo necropolis: in black are the Phase 1 tombs, in white later tombs (after ALBERTI 2001, fig. 1).

⁴³ FORSDYKE 1926-27; ALBERTI 2001; 2003; 2013.

in between (the white-coloured tombs in Fig. 14). It is the first time that the two funerary architectural typologies are mixed on one site - the one beside the other. Here, the new single-chamber tombs are smaller and apparently less accurately cut than the single-chambers to the north.

In these new single-chamber tombs, the grave good assemblages are intriguing in that they seem to recall the old Minoan object-assemblages and not the impressive 'Mycenaean' goods with weapons we saw in the necropoleis located to the north. At Mavro Spileo, there are small objects, small stone vases, a few bits of jewellery, rather like in the earlier Mavro Spileo multi-chamber tombs. Only one tomb contained weapons. The most interesting aspect of all concerns the aforementioned conical cup: in the Mavro Spileo single-chamber tombs, the conical cup does not vanish, but it is a regular feature, mixed with some of the vases of the new assemblages⁴⁴.

A bit later, the same coexistence of different customs turns up also in the funerary locations in the southern and western sections of the valley. They continue to be employed as important burial areas, and the newer features – both in architecture and grave goods – are fully adopted, but yet they retain a broad continuity with the earlier Minoan traditions. The continuity is testified mostly by the presence of the conical cup, to such a degree that the way of drinking and the vase used for drinking in settlements and tombs seem both to be deeply connected with the personal identities of the groups involved.

The human groups already living in Knossos – the so-called 'Minoans' – after meeting the newcomers – the so-called 'Mycenaeans' – seem to have changed and hybridized considerably: see the new funerary architecture, ways of deposition and part of the funerary assemblages. But the Cretans did not change other important aspects of their burial customs: the locations of the tombs, as they continued to use the places in which their ancestors were buried, and the vessel used for drinking, the conical cup, that appears as a sort of identity 'marker' of the Cretans.

In seeking to identify patterns, the material traits we detect at Knossos can be summarized in this way:

⁴⁴ ALBERTI 2001; 2006; 2013; 2014, 27.

Phase 1	Phase 2 (The 'clash')	Phase 3 (Hybridization, starting only few years after Phase 2 and running in parallel)
Date: 17 th -16 th centuries BC	Ca. 1450-1400 BC	Slightly after 1450 BC, onwards
Location: hill	Location: plain	Location: hill and plain
Typology: multi-chamber	Typology: single-chamber	Typology: single-chamber
Numbers of individuals: very high	Numbers of individuals: few	Numbers of individuals: more than a few
Assemblages: mostly conical cups	Assemblages: new pottery sets, weapons, metal vases etc.	Assemblages: conical cups and others of the new sorts

This is a very simplified way to refer to the funerary data at Knossos, but can be useful in expressing how the introduction of a new custom created deep changes also in the local material culture. After Phase 1 with its established rules, Phase 2 shows a very strict acceptance of a new burial custom. Phase 3, starting slightly after Phase 2, but almost contemporary, is a mixture, a hybridized form that partially adopts the innovations, but also retains some identity elements of the local tradition, here the conical cup.

Visualizing the three different phases, the first example of a Phase 1 tomb is what we mean by a typical Minoan/pre-Mycenaean tomb (Fig. 15 Phase 1): located on the hills, with its multi-chamber form, dozens of buried individuals, with conical cups as the most recurring pottery item.

The second example is a tomb of the Phase 2 of the supposed 'Mycenaeanization' phase, that is the years immediately after the 1450 BC: it is located on the flatter terrain as the new necropoleis are, single-chambered with a long dromos and few buried individuals, but with an impressive assemblage of weapons and the usual new pottery set of alabastron, kylix and piriform jar, but 'without' conical cups (Fig. 15 Phase 2).

Perhaps starting only bit later than Phase 2 but essentially running in parallel, the third example belongs to Phase 3 and is the mixed one: located on the hill, at the site of the old necropoleis of the Phase 1, the single-chambered tomb is inserted in the space left between the older tombs, with an architecture typical of the new phase, dromos and quadrangular chamber, and a mixed pottery set, with some new shapes belonging to the new pottery assemblage, but also with the reappearance of the conical cup (Fig. 15 Phase 3).

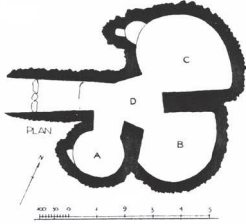
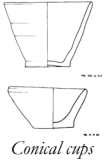
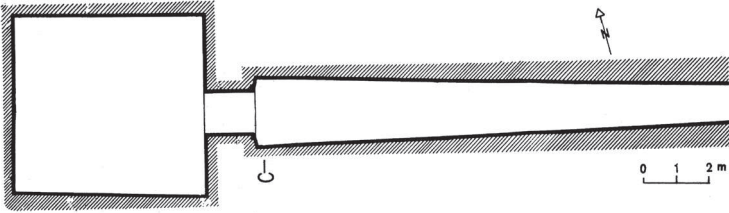
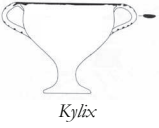
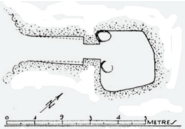
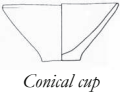
Architecture of tombs	Drinking vessels
<p>Phase 1</p> 	 <p><i>Conical cups</i></p>
<p>Phase 2</p> 	 <p><i>Kylīx</i></p>
<p>Phase 3</p> 	 <p><i>Conical cup</i></p>

Fig. 15 Simplified outline of burial customs of Phases 1-3 at Knossos (not to scale).

3. Clash of cultures or melting pot? Old and new cultural identities in 15th-14th centuries BC Knossos (Crete)

In the last 60 years, attempts to compose a narrative based on these same data sets have produced very different interpretations. Until 20 years ago, the changes detectable in Phase 2 were explained as traces of a foreign and likely violent presence: Mycenaeans from the Mainland had conquered Crete or had been called in as mercenaries by the Minoan elites⁴⁵. In the last two decades, the reconstruction gone through a complete volte face: the changes were now interpreted as signs of an acculturation or hybridization process, without a blow being struck, or a fist raised in anger. Following this new interpretation, the groups at the power in Minoan

⁴⁵ HOOD, DE JONG 1952; HOOD 1956; 1985; WIENER 2015.

Crete, the ‘Minoans’, were argued to have adopted customs from the material culture of the Mycenaeans, in order to emulate the new emerging power in the Aegean in that period⁴⁶.

This remains a very *vexata quaestio* for Aegean archaeology and a solution satisfactory to both sides has not yet been found.

Without going into the details of the question – i.e. if the buried individual in a Phase 2 new necropolis located in the plain was Mycenaean or not, our goal here is to try to answer our first question posed at the beginning of this paper. Can the material culture help to distinguish between different cultural identities for human individuals or groups? Can we recognize signs of the encounter or clash between two different ideologies and cultures, here the Minoan one and the Mycenaean one? Can we spot in the archaeological records the signs of a foreign ideology *versus* a local one?

In the last seventy years, many scholars have identified at Knossos sundry cultural traits that they connected to some Mycenaean presence or influence from the Mainland: architectural structures, functional changes inside the palace, new types of ceramic vessels, new language. And of course burial customs.

An attempt to analyse some skeletal remains did not give the clear results hoped for. In that the analysed bones did not belong to the phase of the supposed Mycenaean takeover, but to stages both before and after, missing altogether what we have defined as Phase 2⁴⁷.

But there are also other data to be considered, coming from the already mentioned economic accounts, and which provides unique information on the identity of the groups living in Knossos after the mid-15th century BC.

A group of Linear B tablets show lists of men: officials, workers, warriors, shepherds etc. The texts, found at the palace and dated from the second to the third phases we referred to, show a fairly high percentage of Greek personal names, of up to about 57%. If we select only the tablets concerning the economic elite, the percentage rises up to 77%. In the so-called military tablets, where officials and warriors are cited, Greek names attain a percentage of 89%. In one series of texts – the so-called Room of the Chariots Tablets, very probably belonging only to Phase 2 (that is Late Minoan II, ca. 1450-1370 BC), but were fired in a destruction level datable to Late Minoan IIIA2 *early* (ca. 1370 BC) – the percentage of Greek names arises to 70-90%⁴⁸.

⁴⁶ PRESTON 1999; 2004; 2005; MILLER 2011.

⁴⁷ NAFPLIOTI 2008. See discussion in ALBERTI 2014 and 2018b.

⁴⁸ The chronology of the Linear B tablets found at Knossos remains under debate (e.g. DRIESSEN 2008, 70-72). For the chronology of the Room of the Chariots Tablets (RCT), probably the earliest Linear B tablets deposit found at Knossos, see DRIESSEN 1990, 114. For the Greeks names in the RCT, see DRIESSEN 2000, 188-194). The total percentage of Greek names presented here are based on the work of R.J. Firth who considers all the Knossos Linear B tablets: FIRTH 1993. But see also FIRTH 2016, especially Appendix A with discussion on relevant bibliography. ALBERTI 2014, 30-33.

In a later group of tablets, in which meaningfully shepherds are listed and not elite individuals, the percentage is lower and the names are less 'Mycenaean': only 38% of the shepherds have names of Greek origin, the rest are of local/Minoan origin. We can suppose that most of the common people continued to use their traditional personal names and only a few started to mix with the newcomers and to use names of Greek origin.

It is generally accepted that language *per se* should not be considered as an identity marker, but it is undeniable that it has an important social meaning and *can be* an identity marker.

Even if a Greek name is not necessarily a proof of ethnicity, the general context at Knossos – archaeological, ideological and historical – in conjunction with such high percentages of Greek personal names in the first phase of impact with the Mainland elements argues that a significant group of people coming from Mainland Greece was present at Knossos in that period. The fact that Greek names are most frequent in the tablets with lists of officials and warriors is also very significant, in understanding what position in society the newcomers were occupying.

The lower percentage of Greek names in the sheep tablets in the later phases can be interpreted as the first traces of an acculturation process, datable from the 14th century BC, when, after a first phase in which the two groups are more detectable, at least in the burial customs, a new hybridized material culture is emerging, in which Minoan and Mycenaean elements are not so separate. That emerging material culture is evident in the Phase 3 burial customs, in which Mycenaean customs, as for example the choice of the single-chamber tomb, come together with the presence of the typical Minoan drinking vessel, the conical cup.

We really do not know how easy or difficult (or indeed violent) was the meeting or the clash between foreign and local groups at Knossos, but for sure the result was the creation of a new society, in which the different ethnic contributions became gradually assimilated with time. They may have known who was who, but to our eyes after more than two millennia things are not so crystal clear.

Conclusions

Reality is sometimes very puzzling. The only way to properly appreciate material culture is to consider all the possible aspects of an archaeological context, underlining patterns of repetitions and changes, in order to possibly identify the reasons and the ways in which changes happened.

The hybridization concept is a very important one, easy and convenient, and maybe the only one that comes close to expressing the complexity of reality. However, it is also

limited, because it does not explain how – i.e. through which routes – new ideas, concepts, beliefs could pass across the Aegean Sea, to be accepted and adopted in a land such as Crete, with its very strong culture and ideology. History is still most difficult to compose in a pre-historic society.

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KADMOS THE PHOENICIAN AND THE ILLYRIAN LANDSCAPE. SOME RECENT MYTHOLOGICAL APPROACHES

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*As I was unable to find anything new about these men,
I adopt the story that makes their name result
from the way in which they came into being¹*
Paus. IX 5, 3

Herennius Philo, from Byblos in Phoenicia, was an ancient writer who lived in the time of the emperor Hadrian (2nd century AD). He wrote, in Greek, several books, about grammar, lexicology, history and geography; but most have got lost. Many titles of his oeuvre are known, while fragmentary passages survive, quoted by later authors. For example, Eusebius of Caesarea (260/265-339/340 AD), in his Preparation for the Gospel (*Praeparatio Evangelica*), quotes polemically many abstracts from his most famous work Phoenician History, or τὰ Φοινικικά, that Philo claims to have translated from the writings of one Sanchuniathon, a purported Phoenician sage, priest and scholar. And Eusebius draws some quotations of Philo's *Historia Phoenicia* from Porphyry's *Contra Christianos*, 3rd century AD². Similarly, Aelius Herodianus (2nd century AD), wrote a summary of another of Philo's works ('On Cities and their Famous Men'), which was then one of the chief authorities used by the lexicographer Hesychius of Alexandria (probably 5th century AD) in his Alphabetical Collection of all Words, and by Stephanus of Byzantium (6th century AD) in his great geographical dictionary entitled *Ethnica*. Stephanus, in particular, cites about thirty quotations from Philo³, and two of them concern Illyria.

¹ I sincerely thank Aleksandra Lalatović-Džaković and Božena Miljić for their precious assistance in the translation of this paper.

² See TROIANI 1974; EBACH 1979; BAUMGARTEN 1981; ATTRIDGE, ODEN 1981.

³ Philo follows in this work the eponymic system, for which every city or people took its name from an ancient hero. This method dates back to the origins of Greek historiography, especially seen with Hecataeus of Abdera, but it is also found in the 'Table of Peoples' of *Genesis* 1, 10. See TROIANI 1974, 13-15.

The first one relates to the modern city of Durrës, in Albania. Stephanus quotes the ancient appellations (Ἐπίδαμνος, Δυρράχιον) of this Illyrian city, called Epidamnus after a hero of the same name, whose daughter was Melissa. Her son, and Poseidon's – says the grammarian of Constantinople – was Dyrrhachios; and a place in Epidamnus where Poseidon enjoyed her, is called after her the Melissonian place. Stephanus mentions some ancient writers as sources for designations and mythical data: Strabo, Philo of Byblos, and Eratosthenes. Thus we have acquired some more information about the cities of Lissos, Acrolissos, and Epidamnus/Dyrrhachion (as a foundation of the Cercyreans), as well as about the rivers Drilon and Aoos, 'around which are shown the graves of Kadmos and Harmonia'⁴.

As for the second quote, Stephanus mentions Philo on the settlement of Buthoe, modern Budva (Montenegro) that was named after the pair of 'oxen' who drove 'quickly' Kadmos's carriage to Illyria⁵. The geographer also knows of other explanations of this name

⁴ Philo Bybl. fr. 35 and 53 Jacoby, ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Δυρράχιον: Δυρράχιον· πόλις Ἰλλυρικὴ, Ἐπίδαμνος κληθεῖσα ἀπὸ Ἐπιδάμνου. τούτου θυγάτηρ Μελίσσα, ἥς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Δυρράχιος· ἅφ' ἧς ἐστὶν ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ τόπος Μελισσώνιος, ἔνθα Ποσειδῶν αὐτῇ συνῆλθεν, “ὡς Φίλων.> Στράβων δ' ἐν <ζ> φησί· “μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ῥιζονικὸν <κόλπον> Λίσσος ἐστὶ πόλις καὶ Ἀκρόλισσος καὶ Ἐπίδαμνος, Κερκυραίων κτίσμα, ἡ νῦν Δυρράχιον ὁμωνύμως τῇ χερρονήσῳ [πρότερον] λεγομένη, ἐφ' ἧς ἱδρυταὶ” (ὡς Φίλων). ... Ἐρατοσθένης γ' γεωγραφουμένων “ἐχόμενοι δ' οἰκοῦσι Ταυλάντιοι. πόλις δὲ Ἑλληνὶς Ἐπίδαμνος ἐπὶ χερρονήσῳ τῇ καλουμένης Δυρραχίου. ποταμοὶ δὲ Δρύλων καὶ Αἰῶς, περὶ οὓς οἱ Κάδμου καὶ Ἀρμονίας τάφοι δείκνυνται”. ὁμοῦς δὲ νῦν Δυρραχίνοι λέγονται. οὕτω γὰρ καὶ Βάλακρος ἐν Μακεδονικοῖς φησί “καὶ τούτων αἱ πόλεις Δυρραχίνοις τε καὶ Ἀπολλωνιάταις ἐπιδήρηνται”. καὶ Ἐρέννιος Φίλων ἐν τοῖς Ἱατρικοῖς Δυρραχινὸν ἀναγράφει Φιλωνίδην οὕτως “Ἀσκληπιάδης ἀκουστάς ἔσχε Τίτον Αὐφίδιον Σικελὸν καὶ Φιλωνίδην Δυρραχινὸν καὶ Νίκωνα Ἀκραγαντῖνον”. καὶ πάλιν “Φιλωνίδης δὲ ὁ Δυρραχινὸς ἤκουσε μὲν Ἀσκληπιάδου, ἰατρεύσας δὲ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ἐνδόξως συνετάξατο βιβλία μέ”. See JACOBY, SCHEPENS, RADICKE 1999, 43. Cf. also Herodian. *de pros. cath.* III 1: Ἐπίδαμνος· πόλις Ἰλλυρίας ἀπὸ Ἐπιδάμνου; <Δυρράχιον> πόλις Ἰλλυρικὴ καὶ Ἐπίδαμνος κληθεῖσα ἀπὸ Ἐπιδάμνου; Const. Porph. *De them.* 9: Ῥητέον δὲ περὶ τῆς ὀνομασίας αὐτοῦ πῶθεν καλεῖται Δυρράχιον. “Δυρράχιον πόλις [Ἑλληνικὴ] <Ἰλλυρικὴ> καὶ Ἐπίδαμνος κληθεῖσα ὑπὸ Ἐπιδάμνου τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἥρωος· τούτου θυγάτηρ Μελίσσα, ἥς ἡράσθη Ποσειδῶν καὶ ἅφ' ἧς ὁ Δυρράχιος. Ἔστι τόπος ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ Μελισσώνιος, ἔνθα Ποσειδῶν αὐτῇ συνῆλθεν”, <ὡς Φίλων>. “Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ῥιζονικὸν Λισσός ἐστὶ πόλις, καὶ Ἀκρόλισσος καὶ Ἐπίδαμνος, Κερκυραίων κτίσμα, ἡ νῦν Δυρράχιον ὁμωνύμως τῇ Χερρονήσῳ λεγομένη, ἐφ' ἧς ἱδρυταὶ”, ὡς [Φίλων] <Στράβων> γράφει. See also ROLLER 2010, 105.

⁵ Philo Bybl. fr. 32 Jacoby, ap. St. Byz. s.v. Βουθόη: πόλις Ἰλλυρίδος, ὡς Φίλων, διὰ τὸ Κάδμον ἐπὶ ζεύγους βοῶν ὀχοῦμενον ταχέως ἀνύσαι τὴν ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς ὁδόν. οἱ δὲ τὸν Κάδμον ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγυπτίας Βουτοῦς ὀνομάσαι αὐτήν, καὶ παραφθαρεῖσαν καλεῖσθαι Βουθόην. ἔχει δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ μυθοῦ Ῥίζονα πόλιν καὶ ποταμὸν ὁμώνυμον. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Βουθοαῖος. Cf. also Herodian. *de pros. cath.* III 1: <Βουθόη> πόλις Ἰλλυρίδος ὡς Φίλων διὰ τὸ Κάδμον ἐπὶ ζεύγους βοῶν ὀχοῦμενον ταχέως ἀνύσαι τὴν ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς ὁδόν. οἱ δὲ τὸν Κάδμον ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγυπτίας Βουτοῦς ὀνομάσαι αὐτήν καὶ παραφθαρεῖσαν καλεῖσθαι Βουθόην; *Etymologicum Magnum*, *Etymologicum Genuinum*, and *Etymologicum Symeonis* s.v. Βουθόη or Βουθόη.

– after the Egyptian Buto, and how it come to be called Buthoe by a corruption of that name. He cites also Rhizon as an appellation of both a river and a town.

It should be noted that in the fragments that remain of Philo's Phoenician History there is no trace of Kadmos, the hero well known in Greek mythology as an original 'Phoenician' Prince. Nevertheless, these quotations of his work 'On Cities and their Famous Men' allow us to suppose that the antiquarian writer from Byblos knew the Greek tradition in which the region of Illyria was identified as the last place in the adventures of this hero, who comes originally from the land of Phoenicia.

According to Hesiod and many ancient Greek writers, Kadmos was a son of Agenor, the king of Tyre, and was sent by his father in search for his sister Europa who had been abducted from the shores of Phoenicia by Zeus. He followed a tortuous path, which 'marked' the limits of the Greek territory until he came to the region of Boeotia. There Kadmos killed a monstrous dragon and founded Thebes. Then he married Harmonia and generated a significant bloodline: a son Polydorus, from whom descended the Labdakides and Oedipus, and four daughters, Agave who begat Pentheus, Autonoe who married Aristeus and had Aktaion, Ino who had Learchos and Melikertes from Athamas, and Semele who begat Dionysos from Zeus⁶.

The audience who in 405 BC, in Athens, first saw the *Bacchae* of Euripides already knew a conclusion of this myth: where Kadmos was transformed into a snake and together with Harmonia left Thebes on a carriage pulled by oxen⁷.

In fact, the later tradition, well summarised in the Library of Pseudo-Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca*, generally dated to the 1st or 2nd century AD), narrated more adventures of this hero, who was either chased or went away voluntarily from Thebes and headed towards the western lands, more precisely to the region of the Encheleans⁸. As the Illyrians were attacking the Encheleans, the Delphic oracle declared that the latter would come out as winners, if they took as their leaders Kadmos and Harmonia. That in due course happened: Kadmos reigned over the

⁶ Ancient sources in ROSCHER 1894, 824-893; ROSSIGNOLI 2004, 103-106. Detailed analysis of Greek myths on the 'Phoenician' Kadmos in BONNET 2015, 332-349.

⁷ Eur. *Bacch.* 1330-1339: δράκων γενήσῃ μεταβαλὼν, δάμαρ τε σὴ / ἐκθηριωθείς ὄφεος ἀλλάξει τύπον, / ἦν Ἄρεος ἔσχεες Ἀρμονίαν θνητὸς γεγώς. / ὄχον δὲ μόσχων, χρησμός ὥς λέγει Διός, / ἐλῶς μετ' ἀλόχου, βαρβάρων ἡγούμενος. / πολλὰς δὲ πέρσεις ἀναρίθμῳ στρατεύματι / πόλεις· ὅταν δὲ Λοξίου χρηστήριον / διαρπάσωσι, νόστον ἄθλιον πάλιν / σχήσουσι· σὲ δ' Ἄρης Ἀρμονίαν τε ῥύσεται / μακάρων τ' ἐξ αἴαν σὸν καθιδρύσει βίον. See also 1352-1362.

⁸ Cf. ps.-Apoll. *Bibl.* III 4: ὁ δὲ Κάδμος μετὰ Ἀρμονίας Θήβας ἐκλιπὼν πρὸς Ἑγγελέας παραγίνεται. τούτοις δὲ ὑπὸ Ἰλλυριῶν πολεμουμένοις ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησεν Ἰλλυριῶν κρατήσειν, ἐὰν ἡγεμόνας Κάδμον καὶ Ἀρμονίαν ἔχωσιν. οἱ δὲ πεισθέντες ποιοῦνται κατὰ Ἰλλυριῶν ἡγεμόνας τούτους καὶ κρατοῦσι. καὶ βασιλεύει Κάδμος Ἰλλυριῶν, καὶ παῖς Ἰλλυριῶν αὐτῷ γίνεται. αὐθις δὲ μετὰ Ἀρμονίας εἰς δράκοντα μεταβαλὼν εἰς Ἠλύσιον πεδῖον ὑπὸ Διὸς ἐξεπέμφθη.

Illyrians, and a son Illyrios was born to him⁹. But afterwards he was, along with Harmonia, turned into a serpent and sent away by Zeus to the Elysian Fields¹⁰.

Before all these events came to pass, as Hyginus records in his *Fabulae* (1st century AD), their daughter Agave had fled to Illyria, married king Lycotherses, and then killed him, in order to give his kingdom to her father¹¹. Parthenius of Nicaea (1st century BC–1st century AD) says that following Kadmos from Thebes into Illyria also came Epeiros, daughter of Echion, one of the Spartoi (the ‘Sown Men’, the ancestors of the Thebans who sprung up from the dragon’s teeth sown by Kadmos): Epeiros gave her name to the land in which she was buried¹². According to Herodotus, the Kadmeans (i.e. the descendants of the Phoenician hero who were expelled from Thebes by the Argives, during the rule of Laodamas son of Eteokles) eventually also ended up in the same region of the Encheleans¹³.

Thus, in the Illyrian epilogue of the Kadmos mythological cycle, the Phoenician hero appears in a renewed role as a parent and founder of peoples, cities and landscapes. If his son

⁹ See also Diod. Sic. XIX 53: Τοὺς οὖν τότε κατοικήσαντας ὕστερον Ἐγγελεῖς καταπολεμήσαντες ἐξέβαλον, ὅτε δὴ συνέβη καὶ τοὺς περὶ Κάδμου εἰς Ἰλλυριοὺς ἐκπεσεῖν; Paus. IX 5: Κάδμου δὲ ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν ἐς τοὺς καλουμένους Ἐγγελέας μετοικήσαντος Πολύδωρος ὁ Κάδμου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχε; Herodian. *De pros. cath.* III 1 and Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἰλλυρία: χώρα πλησίον τοῦ Παγγαίου, ἀπὸ Ἰλλυρίου τοῦ Κάδμου παιδός.

¹⁰ Cf. ps.-Apoll. *Bibl.* III 4, cit.; Apollon. Rhod. *Argon.* IV, 516 ss.: Οἱ (= some Argonauts) δ’ ἄρ’ ἐπ’ Ἰλλυρικοῖο μελαμβάθεος ποταμοῖο, τύμβος ἴν’ Ἀρμονίης Κάδμοιό τε, πύργον ἔδειμαν, ἀνδράσιν Ἐγγελέεσσιν ἐφέστιοι; Dion. Per. 390-397: Κεῖνον δ’ ἂν περὶ κόλπον ἴδοις ἐρικυδέα τύμβον, / τύμβον, ὃν Ἀρμονίης Κάδμοιό τε φημὶς ἐνίσπεικει· / κεῖθι γὰρ εἰς ὀφίων σκολιὸν δέμας ἡλλάξαντο, / ὁππότε’ ἂπ’ Ἰσμηνοῦ λιπαρὸν μετὰ γῆρας ἵκοντο. / Ἐνθα σφιν τέρας ἄλλο θεοὶ θέσαν· ἀμφὶ γὰρ αἶαν / κείνην ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐρηρέδαται δύο πέτραι, / αἷτ’ ἄμφω ξυνίασι δονεῦμεναι, εὐτέ τις ἀρχὴ / γίγνεται ἐνναέτησι κυλινδομένοιο κακοῖο; Hygin. *Fab.* 6: *Cadmus Agenoris et Argiopes filius, ira Martis quod draconem fontis Castalii custodem occiderat suorum prole interempta, cum Harmonia Veneris et Martis filia uxore sua in Illyriae regionibus in dracones sunt conversi.* See VIAN 1963, 124; Sen. *Herc. fur.* 392-394: *Quin ipse torvuum subrigens crista caput / Illyrica Cadmus regna permensus fuga / longgas reliquit corporis tracti notas.*

¹¹ Hyg. *Fab.* 184: *Agave ... profugit ab Thebis; quae errabunda in Illyriae fines devenit ad Lycothersem regem, quam Lycotherses excepit,* and 240: *Agave (occisit) Lycothersem in Illyria, ut regnum Cadmo patri daret.*

¹² Parth. *Narr. amat.* 32 (Meineke, *Analecta Alexandrina*, 334): Φασὶ δὲ τινες τὸν δρυμὸν ἐκεῖνον εἶναι τῆς Ἐχίονος θυγατρὸς Ἠλείρου, ἣν μεταναστᾶσαν ἐκ Βοιωτίας βαδίζειν μεθ’ Ἀρμονίας καὶ Κάδμου, φερομένην τὰ Πενθέως λείψανα, ἀποθανοῦσαν δὲ περὶ τὸν δρυμὸν τόνδε ταφῆναι: διὸ καὶ τὴν γῆν Ἠλείρον ἀπὸ ταύτης ὀνομασθῆναι.

¹³ Hdt. V 61, 2: ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Λαοδάμαντος τοῦ Ἐτεοκλέος μουναρχέοντος ἐξανιστέεται Καδμεῖοι ὑπ’ Ἀργείων καὶ τρέπονται ἐς τοὺς Ἐγγελέας. Cf. VANNICELLI 1995.

Illyrios took/gave the name from/to the Illyrians¹⁴, the myths yet assigned to Kadmos the foundation of some cities, such as Buthoe (already mentioned), Lychnidos¹⁵ (located in the modern Albanian or Macedonian region of Ohrid), and Rhizon¹⁶ (on the river of the same name in the Bay of Kotor). Lychnis and Rhizon¹⁷ were also the names of two eponymous heroes, similarly considered as Kadmos's sons. For the town of Lychnidos, in particular, an author of the Palatine Anthology attests to its foundation by the Phoenician Kadmos (Φοῖνιξ Κάδμος) around the lake of the same name¹⁸.

In this way, the Greek mythology depicts for the Illyrian region a vivid scenario that is of particular interest to us now

- in the *names* of the people associated with the figure of the Phoenician prince and his direct descendants;
- in the *cities* that accredited to Kadmos their ancient origins;
- in some specific *elements* of the landscape where, in historical times, were recognised some 'traces' of the ancient presence of this foreign hero, who came with his wife to 'humanise' the Illyrian territory.

I shall come back to that later. First it should be pointed out that Appian of Alexandria (2nd century AD) quotes a 'variant' story about Illyrios as the eponymous founder of the Illyrian race: one that differs significantly from that which recognised him as the offspring of Kadmos.

¹⁴ Illyrios is the eponymous hero of the Illyrians also according to Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἰλλυρία, cit., Eust. in *Dion. Per.* 389: Ἰλλυριοὺς δὲ φασὶ τὸ ἔθνος κληθῆναι ἀπὸ Ἰλλυριοῦ, παῖδός Κάδμου καὶ Ἀρμονίας, and Schol. in *Dion. Per. (scholia vetera)* 388-391: Ἰλλυρικὴν περὶ χέρσον· Κάτω τῆς Ἰλλυρίας κεῖται ὁ τύμβος τῶν περὶ Ἀρμονίαν καὶ Κάδμον, οἵτινες εἰς ὅφεις μετεβλήθησαν. Ἡ δὲ ἱστορία παρὰ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἐν τῷ δ'. Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι Ἰλλυριὸς υἱὸς Κάδμου καὶ Ἀρμονίας, ἀφ' οὗ Ἰλλυριοὶ ὀνομάζονται. Κεραυνία: δὲ ὅρη εἰρηνται διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐκεῖ πιπτόντων κεραυνῶν. Τύμβον δὲ Ἀρμονίης Κάδμοιο τε: Χαριέντως ἔφησε τὸ <φῆμις>.

¹⁵ Cf. *Anth. Pal.* VII 697 (Christodorus Epicus): Οὗτος Ἰωάννην κρύπτει τάφος, ὃς ῥ' Ἐπιδάμνου / ἄστρον ἔην, ἦν πρὶν παῖδες ἀριπρεπέες / ἔκτισαν Ἡρακλῆος· ὄθεν καὶ μέρμερος ἦρος / αἰεὶ τῶν ἀδίκων σκληρὸν ἔκοπτε μένος. / εἶχε δ' ἀπ' εὐσεβέων προγόνων ἐρικυδέα πάτρην / Λυχνιδόν, ἦν Φοῖνιξ Κάδμος ἔδειμε πόλιν· / ἐνθεν λύχνος ἔην Ἑλικώνιος, οὐνεκα Κάδμος / στοιχείων Δαναοῖς πρῶτος ἔδειξε τύπον. / εἰς ὑπάτους δ' ἀνέλαμψε καὶ Ἰλλυριοῖσι δικάζων / Μούσας καὶ καθαρὴν ἔστεφάνωσε Δίκην. See EDWARDS 1979, 33. For the identification of Ohrid with the ancient Lychnidos, at the lake of the same name, and for the etymology of this place name, see PROEVA 1999.

¹⁶ Cf. Herodian. *De pros. cath.* III 1 (Ῥίζων> ὁ τοῦ Κάδμου υἱὸς καὶ πόλις Ἰλλυρίας καὶ ποταμὸς ὁμώνυμος) and III 2 (Ῥίζων, Ῥίζωνος ὁ τοῦ Κάδμου υἱός). See EDWARDS 1979, 33, note 40.

¹⁷ Cf. Georgius Choeroboscus in Schol. in Theod. 76, 731 Lentz, see ANTONELLI 1994, 19 note 35.

¹⁸ *Anth. Pal.* VII 697, already mentioned.

According to Appian's *Civil Wars*¹⁹, the Greeks said that the country of Illyria received its name from Illyrios, who was the son of the Cyclops Polyphemos and his wife Galatea, along with his brothers Keltos and Galas. All the sons of this couple migrated from Sicily; and the Celts, Illyrians, and Galatians took their respective origins and names after them. This version had probably a Sicilian origin²⁰, and for Appian it seems to be 'more acceptable than others, although there are many variants of the myth, told by many writers'. The Alexandrian historian is also writing within the same ancient literary ethos that assigned 'ethnicity' to a genealogical source²¹, as I have already noted above, in reference to ps.-Apollodorus's text and to other ancient mythographers.

Appian also numbers the children of Illyrios, whose names were given to the Illyrian tribes. He speaks about the six sons (Encheleos, Autarieos, Dardanos, Mædos, Taulas, and Perrhæbos), three daughters (Partho, Daortho, and Dassaro), as well as others, from whom sprang the Enchelees, the Autarienses, the Dardani, the Taulantii, the Perrhæbi, the Partheni, the Dassaretii, and the Darsii. Autarieos had a son Pannonios, or Pæon, and the latter had sons Skordiskos and Triballos, from whom arose the tribes with similar names. 'But I shall leave these matters to the archaeologists', concludes the historian, referring to the specialists of the sciences of Antiquity, among which we all of us, gathered for this Round Table, are honourable members.

In the time of Appian, in any case, the story of Kadmos and Harmonia in Illyrian lands was well known, as was the story of the end of their earthly life through their metamor-

¹⁹ Cf. App. *Ill.* I 1-2: 'Ἰλλυριοὺς Ἑλληνας ἡγοῦνται τοὺς ὑπὲρ τε Μακεδονίαν καὶ Θράκην ἀπὸ Χαόνων καὶ Θεσπρωτῶν ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον. ... φασὶ δὲ τὴν μὲν χώραν ἐπώνυμον Ἰλλυριοῦ τοῦ Πολυφήμεου γενέσθαι· Πολυφῆμῳ γὰρ τῷ Κύκλωπι καὶ Γαλατείᾳ Κελτὸν καὶ Ἰλλυρίον καὶ Γάλαν παῖδας ὄντας ἐξορμήσαι Σικελίας, καὶ ἄρξαι τῶν δι' αὐτοὺς Κελτῶν καὶ Ἰλλυρίων καὶ Γαλατῶν λεγομένων. καὶ τότε μοι μάλιστα, πολλὰ μυθευόντων ἕτερα πολλῶν, ἀρέσκει. Ἰλλυριῷ δὲ παῖδας Ἐγγέλεα καὶ Αὐταριέα καὶ Δάρδανον καὶ Μαῖδον καὶ Ταύλαντα καὶ Περραιβὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ θυγατέρας Παρθῶ καὶ Δαορθῶ καὶ Δασσαρῶ καὶ ἐτέρας, ὅθεν εἰς Ταυλάντιοι τε καὶ Περραιβοὶ καὶ Ἐγγέλεες καὶ Αὐταριεῖς καὶ Δάρδανοι <καὶ Μαῖδοι> καὶ Παρθηνοὶ καὶ Δασσαρήτιοι καὶ Δάρσοι. Αὐταριεῖ δὲ αὐτῷ Παννόνιον ἡγοῦνται παῖδα ἢ Παίονα γενέσθαι, καὶ Σκορδίσκον Παίονι καὶ Τριβαλλόν, ὧν ὁμοίως τὰ ἔθνη παρώνυμα εἶναι. καὶ τάδε μὲν τοῖς ἀρχαιολογοῦσι μεθείσθω.

²⁰ See ŠAŠEL Kos 2004, 503: 'The origins of this story most probably lead us to Sicily, where the love story between Polyphemus and Galatea may have been an old folk tale. However, its political implications, reflected in its subsequent genealogical development, point to the Syracuse of Dionysius the Elder'. About the love of Polyphemos and Galatea cf. Theocr. *Id.* 11.

²¹ Cf. ERCOLANI, LIVADIOTI 2009, 14, 31, and 78-79. See also ANELLO 1984; ŠAŠEL Kos 2004, 501-504; CASTIGLIONI 2014.

phosis into snakes, according to the most common tradition²². In other different ‘versions’, they received a burial, were changed into stone effigies, or transferred to the land of the Blessed or the Elysian Fields.

Until the 1980s, the main points of reference for these traditions, apart from the *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römische Mythologie* of Wilhelm Heinrich Roscher (1894) and the *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* of Augustus Friedrich Pauly and Georg Wissowa (1893 s.), consisted of the study by Francis Vian on the Kadmean origins of Thebes (1963) and of the book of Ruth Edwards (1979), originating in a PhD dissertation on Greek ‘legends’ and Mycenaean times.

Over the past three decades, however, many essays have been devoted to the traditions of Kadmos in Illyria, matching the increased number of monographs devoted to the Graecity of the West²³, and also as a result of the series of six conferences in France and Albania. These congresses began in 1984 at the initiative of Pierre Cabanes, and were expressly dedicated to southern Illyria and Epirus, being held first in Clermont-Ferrand, then in Chantilly, Grenoble, and Tirana²⁴.

These and other studies conducted in eastern and western Europe²⁵ have further enriched the specialised bibliography, focusing on the various historical epochs, civil and religious institutions, and taking advantage of the most recent contributions from archaeology, epigraphy, philology, numismatics, and the social and economic history of the Balkan region. In this context, analysis of the myths was subject to various levels of interpretation.

Accordingly, some scholars have created a general framework for the mythical information referred to above, reviewing the relevant literary data; some have also composed a species of database for all available information. The reports range from more or less ran-

²² According to *Ov. Met.* IV 571-603, the Phoenician hero and his wife, weighed down by age and sadness, become serpents. In this version of the Kadmos saga, as well as in Euripides, the metamorphosis was not a punishment, a humiliation, but on the contrary an apotheosis, a glorification. See CASTIGLIONI 2010, *passim*; and also BONNET 2015, 338-339. Nonn. *Dion.* IV 418-420 (χωομένου δὲ Κάδμος ἀμειβομένων μελέων ἐλικώδεϊ μορφῇ ἄλλοφυνῆς ἡμελλε παρ’ Ἰλλυρίδος σφυρὰ γαίης ξεῖνον ἔχειν ἴνδαλμα δρακοντείοιο προσώπου), *Hyg. Fab.* 6 cit., and *Myth. Vāt.* I 147 (p. 61 Kukcsár) presents the transformation into snakes in Illyria as an atonement of the killing of the dragon of Thebes (*Cadmus Agenoris filius postquam inspector suarum calamitatum fuerat in exitu nepotum, perosus Thebarum sedes cum Hermiona, Veneris et Martis filia coniuge sua in Illiricos sinus profugit. Ibi a diis petita uenia ut in draconis speciem conuerteretur, qui initio mali causa fuit, uota sunt impleta et in serpentes ambo uersi sunt*).

²³ See, in particular, in the Series *Hesperia* and elsewhere, ANTONELLI 1994; 2000; ROSSIGNOLI 2003 and 2004.

²⁴ See CABANES 1987; 1993; 1999; CABANES, LAMBOLEY 2004; LAMBOLEY, CASTIGLIONI 2011; LAMBOLEY, PÉRZHITA, SKENDERAJ 2018, as well as PROEVA 1999; ŠAŠEL KOS 2004; CABANES 2018.

²⁵ See for example CASTIGLIONI 2006; 2009; 2010, and 2014; ŠAŠEL KOS 1993 and 2004; DŽINO 2014; MATIJAŠIĆ 2015.

dom data to specific records, preserved by mythographers and most often by geographers interested in Illyria, or by Byzantine glossators able to gather up information derived from older authors, even if it is but small details, curiosities, and mythical variants otherwise completely unknown. I refer in particular to the essays of Benedetta Rossignoli, Marjeta Šašel Kos, and especially Maria Paola Castiglioni.

They and other researchers have also achieved a more accurate identification of the Illyrian landscape in question, notably where the ancient texts left room for a degree of uncertainty. Their discourse mainly concerns the localisation of certain elements within the mythical events, or an 'Illyrian appropriation' of the tales, varying according to the historical period. More specifically, this involves the cities that owe their foundation to Kadmos, the places where his transformation into a snake occurred and those where their tombs or other monuments are 'evident'.

To refer to Strabo, the modern discourse deals in particular with the traces left by the ancient heroes in the places that saw them as protagonists; 'and the scenes of the stories told about them are still pointed out there'²⁶.

Several authors, for example, specified the burial-places of Kadmos and Harmonia as graves or mounds; Apollonius²⁷, Stephanus²⁸ and Dionysius²⁹ use terms such as τάφοι and τύμβος. Nonnos³⁰ and Dionysius also speak about prodigious πέτραι, which might also correspond to two stone snakes into which Kadmos and Harmonia were transformed, according to many ancient writers. The *Periplus* of the ps.-Scylax testifies a ιερὸν and two λίθοι named after them, not far from the Rhizon river³¹. Nicander speaks about a σεμείλιον

²⁶ Cf. Strabo VII 7, 8: ταῦτα δὲ πρότερον μὲν κατεδυναστεύετο ἕκαστα, ὧν ἐν τοῖς Ἑγχελείοις οἱ Κάδμου καὶ Ἀρμονίας ἀπόγονοι ἦρχον, καὶ τὰ μυθεύόμενα περὶ αὐτῶν ἐκεῖ δείκνυται.

²⁷ Cf. Apollon. Rhod. *Argon.* IV 517 located their tombs 'near the dark deep Illyrian river ... among the Encheleans'. See also Lykophr. *Al.* 1021-1022 (Κράθις δὲ γείτων ἡδὲ Μυλάκων ὄροις / χῶρος συνοίκους δέξεται Κόλχων Πόλαις).

²⁸ St. Byz. s.v. *Buthoe* and *Dyrrhachion*, already mentioned.

²⁹ Cf. Dion. Per. 390, cit.; Eust. in Dion. Per. 395: Ὅτι εἰσιόντι τὴν Ἰονίαν θάλασσαν κατὰ μὲν τὰ σκαιὰ ἢ τῶν Αὐσόνων κεῖται χώρα, δεξιτερὴν δὲ κατὰ χεῖρα ἢ Ἰλλυρίως ἐστὶ γῆ, οὕτω καλουμένη ἀπὸ Ἰλλυριοῦ υἱοῦ Κάδμου, and Schol. in D.P. (*scholia vetera*) 388 cit.

³⁰ Nonn. *Dion.* XLVI 364-367: Ἰλλυρίην δ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἐς Ἑσπερίου στόμα πόντου Ἀρμονίην λιπόπατριν ὁμόστολον ἤλικι Κάδμῳ ἀμφοτέρους πόμπευεν ἀλήμονας, οἷς χρόνος ἔρπων ὥπασε πετρήεσσαν ἔχειν ὀφιώδεα μορφήν; РОССИ 1989, 118.

³¹ Ps.-Scyl. 25-26: Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀρίωνος ποταμοῦ εἰς Βουθόην καὶ τὸ ἐμπόριον ὁ πλοῦς ἡμέρας ἡμισυ. Καὶ Κάδμου καὶ Ἀρμονίας οἱ λίθοι εἰσὶν ἐνταῦθα καὶ ιερὸν, ἠπώθεν τοῦ Ἀρίωνος ποταμοῦ. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀρίωνος ποταμοῦ Ἰλλυρίων ἔθνος εἰσὶν οἱ Ἑγχελεῖς, ἐχόμενοι τοῦ Ῥιζοῦντος. Ἐκ Βουθόης δὲ εἰς Ἐπίδαμνον, πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα, πλοῦς ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς, ὁδὸς δὲ τριῶν ἡμερῶν.

of the Sidonian Kadmos in the area of the rivers Drilon and Naron³². Finally, the Hellenistic historian Philarchus, preserved in Athenaeus, locates a μνημεῖον of Kadmos and Harmonia near a place named Κύλικες that was once famous³³, but was no longer recognizable. These all would be indications of an ‘indigenisation’ of the myth, which would have become true local cult, according to Benedetta Rossignoli³⁴.

In this way, we can identify three different geographical areas that involve the mythical stories.

The first one is on the Adriatic coast and concerns Buthoe³⁵, founded by Kadmos, and Rhizon, which is at the same time the name of his son, of the city and of the river. It is here that the ps.-Scylax places the ‘stones’ of Kadmos and Harmonia, as well as their sanctuary; here too it seems possible to place the stone snakes reported by Nonnos. Here Apollonius of Rhodes and Dionysius Periegetes place the tombs of the heroic couple. Thus, the ‘deep and dense river of Illyria’ of Apollonius must be the Rhizon gulf, rather than the Drilon River, as has also been proposed.

A second field of action is inland, in the region of the Lychnidos Lake, today at the border between Albania and Macedonia: the Drilon rises here and it was in this place that Kadmos became the military and political guide of the Encheleans, an indigenous people. According to Strabo, this was also the territory ruled by the descendants of Kadmos³⁶.

Callimachus of Cyrene (4th-3rd centuries BC), as quoted by Strabo, represents a discordant voice: he places the tomb-stone of blonde Harmonia not far from the colony called

³² Nic. *Ther.* 607-609: ἱρὴν θ’, ἣν ἔθρεψε Δρίλων καὶ Νάρονος ὄχθαι, / Σιδονίου Κάδμοιο θεμεῖλιον Ἀρμονίης τε / ἔνθα δὺν δασπλήτε νομὸν στειβουσι δράκοντε. Cf. Schol. in Nic. *Ther.* 607 and 611: Ἰλλυρικὴν ἱρὴν. Δρίλων γὰρ ποταμὸς Ἰλλυρίδος καὶ Νάρων, ὃς διαχωρίζει Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Λιβύρνους. ἐνταῦθα καὶ ὁ Κάδμος καὶ ἡ Ἀρμονία ὤκησαν, οἱ καὶ εἰς ὄφεις μετεβλήθησαν, ὥς φησι καὶ Διονύσιος· “κεῖθι γὰρ εἰς ὀφίων σκολιὸν γένος ἡλλάξαντο”. ... οἱ δὺο, ὁ Κάδμος καὶ ἡ Ἀρμονία, δράκοντες δασπλήτες γενόμενοι τὸν νομὸν στειβουσι, τουτέστι τὸν πρὸς νομὴν ἐπιτήδειον τόπον πατοῦσιν.

³³ Phyl. fr. 39 Jacoby, ap. Ath. *Deipn.* XI 6: πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ ὁ ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς τόπος διαβόητός ἐστιν ὁ καλούμενος Κύλικες, παρ’ ᾧ ἐστὶ τὸ Κάδμου καὶ Ἀρμονίας μνημεῖον, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Φύλαρχος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν.

³⁴ ROSSIGNOLI 2004, 116. I will skip here other hypotheses. For example, the suggestion that the location of the mythical events was employed in military and diplomatic issues in the interests of Syracusan propaganda, which exploited the tradition of Kadmos’s Illyrian progeny to justify an aggressive policy of conquest by Dionysius the Great (ROSSIGNOLI 2004, 118); or the ‘paideia’ of the snake raising the son of the heroic couple among his coils (see below) as a reflection of the historical image of Philip II of Macedonia (ROSSIGNOLI 2004, 121). On the controversial identification of Kadmos on belt (military?) plaques found in various archaeological contexts in ancient Illyria, see PROEVA 2011. Discussion on the ophidian figures in Illyrian contexts may be seen in CASTIGLIONI 2006.

³⁵ See VIAN 1963, 126. But Buthoe (Budva) is actually outside the Bay of Kotor.

³⁶ Cf. Strabo, VII 7, 8, cit. See VIAN 1963, 127; ANTONELLI 1994 and 2000, 74; CABANES 2018.

Πόλαι, and thus provides a third zone of involvement, apparently in the Istrian peninsula³⁷. A recent suggestion equates this colony with modern Pola or Pula, situated at the southern tip of the Istrian peninsula³⁸. However, one can also suspect that Callimachus sacrificed geographical accuracy to his taste for erudite details. In fact, another proposal identifies the ancient settlement with the modern Pulaj, in Albania, near the river Buen/Bojana, at the border with Montenegro. That fits better with the testimonies of Philarchus and other writers, who place the site of the heroic graves in the area between Rhizon and Drilon³⁹.

The studies to which I am referring allow us to reconstitute the genesis of the Illyrian epilogue of Kadmos's myth during the 5th century BC, and to connect its localisation in the Illyrian-Epirotic area with the Corinthian presence in the region⁴⁰.

The oldest mention of Kadmos's exile from Thebes and his snake metamorphosis is in Euripides' *Bacchae*, as mentioned before, but without any allusion to the Illyrian region. What we have in this tragedy, however, corresponds to what Herodotus writes⁴¹, announcing the defeat of the people who dared to attack the Delphic sanctuary, with explicit reference to the Illyrians and Encheleans. In the 6th century BC, Hecataeus already knew of this people⁴², and the ps.-Scylax (probably 4th century BC) mentioned a tomb of the heroic couple as in the territory of the Encheleans. The version introduced or tapped into by Euripides was the basis of a further enrichment of the tradition that made Kadmos an exiled hero⁴³. In the 3rd century BC the metamorphosis of the couple into the *Dracones Illyriae*⁴⁴ became well known.

Whilst it is true that a large part of the ancient reports is later rather than earlier in date, yet this does not necessarily mean that the stories themselves are recent developments. Glossaries of Late Antiquity and of Byzantine times may indeed give evidence for the growth of a tradition, written as they often were from a particular ethnographic angle

³⁷ Callim. *Aet. fr.* 11 Pfeiffer, *apud* Strabo I 2, 39: ... καὶ ὁ Καλλιμάχος ἐπισημαίνεται, τότε μὲν “Αἰγλήτην Ἀνάφιη τε Λακωνίδι γείτονα Θήρῃ” λέγων “ἄρχμενος, ὡς ἦρωες ἀπ’ Αἰήταο Κυτταίου αὐτὶς “ἐς ἀρχαίην ἐπλεον Αἰμονίην,” τότε δὲ περὶ τῶν Κόλχων “οἱ μὲν ἐπ’ Ἰλλυριοῖο πόρου σχάσαντες ἐρετμὰ “λᾶα πάρα ξανθῆς Ἀρμονίης τάφιον ἄστυρον ἐκτίσσαν “το, τό κεν φυγάδων τις ἐνίσποι Γραικός, ἀτὰρ κείνων “γλῶσσ’ ὀνόμηνε Πόλας”.

³⁸ See ROSSIGNOLI 2004, 110-111.

³⁹ See CASTIGLIONI 2011, 727-728, and 2012, 208.

⁴⁰ See VIAN 1963, 132 s.

⁴¹ On the mentions of Illyrians in Herodotus (cf. Hdt. IV 49, VIII 137, and IX 43.) and others classical authors, see DŽINO 2014.

⁴² Although the sources date back to a century later, see DŽINO 2014.

⁴³ See CASTIGLIONI 2009, 103.

⁴⁴ For a possible connection with the hats and belts of Celtic warriors in the shape of a dragon rampant in the Balkans, see ROSSIGNOLI 2004, note 2.

or with an encyclopaedic objective in mind, which prejudice may involve the elaboration of original etymologies from existing place names. However, they also drew a lot of information from previous and earlier Classical authors, which would otherwise have been lost⁴⁵. Therefore, the contribution of mythical data in the Greek perception of the Balkan region may be placed in a historical perspective, or a series of the same⁴⁶. We can also recognise their input in the construction of the 'Illyrian brand' in the Greek ethnographic discourse: on one side, as a kind of *finis terrae*, where the shores of the Afterworld began, and, on the other, as a wild territory made viable and liveable in, 'thanks' to those Greek heroes who, in the distant past, had visited and primed it⁴⁷.

Maria Paola Castiglioni has well summed up the outcomes of her historical investigation and of the most recent studies: 'After a careful textual analysis supported by the available archaeological material, we can conclude that the complexity of this myth is, in short, the result of disparate development and the overlapping of unrelated themes. Each stage of the process springs from a specific historical context where the myth serves different purposes. At the end of this longue course, Kadmos appears as the trans-Balkan hero par excellence, the pioneer of the Greek presence in Illyria. Besides, he was so successful that he was even adopted as heroic ancestor by the Illyrian elite. In this sense, the Kadmos myth is an excellent example of the acculturative alchemy that arose from the contact between Greeks and Barbarians'⁴⁸.

Thus were confirmed the criticisms that Ruth Edwards directed at interpretative theories that did good service in Pausanias's time⁴⁹, when Kadmos' Egyptian origins, rather than Phoenician, were being debated⁵⁰; or in the times of Philo of Byblos, who stated that divine and heroic events represented an echo, albeit distorted, of ancient and real facts⁵¹.

⁴⁵ See BRELICH 1977.

⁴⁶ The study of the Greek myths set in southern Illyria, in particular by Maria Paola Castiglioni (CASTIGLIONI 2006; 2009; 2011; 2012; 2014), through repeated analyses of the various episodes here localised, has allowed the evaluation of the contribution of such stories in the perception that the Greeks had of the region of Epirus, a very pivotal area, as well as of the phenomenon of indigenous acculturation. On these questions, VIAN 1963, 128 ff. has extensively written, although he tried to show (p. 132) that the Illyrian end-game of the Kadmos story was not a work of the imagination of the mythographers, but based on a historical substratum.

⁴⁷ On the definition of Illyrians and on the perception of indigenous population of the Illyrian land, see DŽINO 2014.

⁴⁸ CASTIGLIONI 2010, 197-198. Translation of the author.

⁴⁹ Paus. IX 12, 2: τοῖς οὖν νομίζουσιν ἐς γῆν ἀφικέσθαι Κάδμον τὴν Θηβαΐδα Αἰγύπτιον καὶ οὐ Φοίνικα ὄντα, ἔστιν ἐναντίον τῷ λόγῳ τῆς Αῠθηνᾶς ταύτης τὸ ὄνομα, ὅτι Ὅγγα κατὰ γλῶσσαν τὴν Φοινίκων καλεῖται καὶ οὐ Σάις κατὰ τὴν Αἰγυπτίων φωνήν.

⁵⁰ See EDWARDS 1979, 57, 113.

⁵¹ On Philo's Euhemerism, see TROIANI 1974. On Euhemerism in Antiquity, see now ROUBEKAS 2017.

These though are now obsolete scenarios, although they still gave rise to some debate in the first half of the last century, when an identification of the Illyrian territory with the mythic 'Phoenicia' was being claimed. An ancient Illyrian migration into Boeotia or a movement of Pelasgian tribes from the Adriatic Sea to Thebes were both also being proposed, as if Φοίνικες originally was equivalent to Πελασγοί⁵².

The modern study of myths has likewise demonstrated that searching for the archaeological traces of those heroic events, using the stories as a literal guide for the reconstruction of historical facts, is an invalid method of approaching the tales. The mythical dimension, if in itself perceived once as a foundation in the time-stream of reality, yet simultaneously belongs to an outdated, sacred, and imaginary 'past' – one accepted as not comparable and equivalent to the contemporary chronological sequence of human events.

The function of all myths, in general, is rather to establish and put on a firm footing the 'present', reconstructing how, in a primordial and different time, unique events occurred that established the present order of things. The historical background, on which the myths are based, therefore, is that of the time when they were fashioned and told, not the one in which the events would 'actually' have taken place⁵³.

This 'diverse', mythical world, was still visible and tangible for instance in the ruins of the earlier Mycenaean civilisation (which the Greeks identified as 'tombs' or 'relics of the ancient heroes')⁵⁴. Its role now was to epitomise a whole human society, one which exploits and adapts the Kadmos saga, using this hero from Phoenicia to legitimise itself as the sacred couple's heirs in Boeotia and Illyria.

This admixture of different strata of interpretations is in keeping with some aspects explained by the most recent thinking on comparative mythology.

Kadmos, undoubtedly, belongs to the category of those heroic travellers who discover an 'unknown territory', and go on to colonise regions, establish communication routes, and so acquire the opportunity (or the right in some eyes) to breach those same alien universes, introducing and hybridising customs and traditions. Kadmos, in fact, is a 'civilising' hero who introduced original and diverse elements of culture into Greece. At the same time, he is a hero of foreign origin⁵⁵, such as Danaos and Pelops, who was actively involved in the

⁵² See VIAN 1963, 132; EDWARDS 1979, 87-113, and CASTIGLIONI 2010.

⁵³ See BRELICH 1970. In my opinion, it seems pointless to look in these tales for traces of historical movements of peoples from east to west, while it is much more productive to investigate the ideological motivations that drove people to narrate certain events, supposing them as having occurred in a time before the present.

⁵⁴ See MALKIN 1987.

⁵⁵ See MILLER 2005. Cf. Schol. in Isocr. *Vita-Hypoth.* I 141: ὁ Σιδώνιος Κάδμος βάρβαρος ὢν (ἡ γὰρ Σιδὼν καὶ αὐτὴ ὑπὸ τοῦς Πέρσας ἦν).

elaborate process of Hellenisation of the regions he visited. Kadmos is also a founding hero who, starting from the fantastic Phoenician East, ended his days in the equally fantastic Illyrian West.

In his homeland, in Phoenicia, he does nothing. But, both in Greece and in Illyria he operates as a founder and cultural hero. Starting from Tyre, with his brothers Kylix and Phoenix, looking for their sister Europe kidnapped by Zeus, the Phoenician prince explores new routes and introduces writing into Greece. In a strange land, Kadmos establishes new cults (Demeter Thesmophoros, Athena Onka, Aphrodite), erects altars, opens stone quarries, discovers mines of gold and copper, and comprehends the processes of metallurgy⁵⁶. He makes the land 'cultivable' (from Demeter, Kadmos received an ear of wheat, as a wedding gift) and habitable (by killing the primordial dragon). The establishment of many new settlements was attributed to him on Rhodes, Thera, Samothrace, and Thrace⁵⁷. In Greece, he founded Thebes, the 'Kadmean citadel', and married Harmonia, the personification of Order⁵⁸. Finally, he manages to pacify the territory of the Encheleans, and, with his children, 'creates' the Illyrian historical landscape⁵⁹.

The contrast with the origin of Kadmos in Phoenicia, his time in Greece and finally in Illyria, is particularly striking. Kadmos does not have a place in any local tradition in Tyre or Sidon; his presence on the imperial coins only testifies to the efforts of a Hellenised administration to exploit the resources of the traditional mythology⁶⁰. In Thebes, he is bearer of cultural achievements that changed the physiognomy of the region and the customs of the inhabitants, the natural sphere, the fertility and prosperity of the soil, as well as instituting the right practice of marriage.

In Illyria, he shapes and 'humanises'⁶¹ the territory, with the introduction of the City and the attribution of the names of his children to the natural elements, to the cities of the urbanised landscape, and to the people who descend from him through his successors.

His cultural role in Illyria, at the same time, is another example of the Greek model of the mythical appropriation of the increasingly known and frequented Adriatic coast, through journeys made by heroes, such as Diomedes in Apulia/Daunia and Antenor in Venetia and Patavium⁶²: territories where the ancient and mythical traces (objects and monuments) of their passage remained for a long time visible.

⁵⁶ Quarries: Plin. *N.H.* VII 195; gold mines: Plin. *N.H.* VII 197; copper mines: Hyg. *Fab.* 274. For the mines in Thracia, see EDWARDS 1979, 32, and CASTIGLIONI 2012.

⁵⁷ See EDWARDS 1979, 29 ss.

⁵⁸ See ROCCHI 1989.

⁵⁹ Also Eust. in *Dion. Per.* 389 cit. claims that Illyrians are descendants of Illyrios.

⁶⁰ See VIAN 1963, 133; BONNET 2015 *passim*.

⁶¹ See CASTIGLIONI 2009, 99.

⁶² See BRILLANTE 2001, 278-279, and ŠAŠEL KOS 2004, 496-497.

If the Greeks could use the Kadmean saga in the West to identify the passage of remote heroic wanderings, in order to justify their colonising movements, the indigenous peoples, on the other hand, after gaining the knowledge and conscience of those same myths, could glorify their origins by referencing that illustrious and civilising ancestor.

Together with many other 'borderline' heroes, however, Kadmos remains on an intermediate plane, marked by belonging to an archaic era, maybe even the more so with the appearance on the scene of Dionysos, son of Kadmos's daughter, Semele, and Zeus. In my opinion, his 'exile' among the Barbarians of Illyria should be so viewed, as also for his descendants the Kadmeans driven out of Thebes in their time⁶³, and where then reigned Illyrios and his descendants. This cultural hero and his Theban descendants belong to a heroic season that is over: their exile marks their passing from the flow of 'current time' and their metamorphosis into snakes contributes to the 'founding' role of Kadmos, giving him even an apotropaic function⁶⁴. For Kadmos, the Adriatic region appears as a liminal space, one step from the Afterworld: here the Phoenician hero can (and has to) leave his human condition behind and / or progress to the non-human or superhuman world.

In a land organised and urbanised under the name and power of their descendants, in an Illyrian country structured by his son Illyrios (to whom other myths gave the paternity of various tribes), there is no place left for Kadmos and Harmonia, despite their special relationship with the gods and their superior civilising roles among the rural inhabitants. The snake metamorphosis⁶⁵, already announced by Euripides⁶⁶, has come to represent in Ovid's 'Metamorphoses' (1st century BC-1st century AD) the last act, the loss of the human/heroic condition. 'Oppressed by misfortunes and years'⁶⁷, Kadmos and Harmonia just have to accept the change, holding each other, while the tongue's skill is stilled, language falters and words vanish: 'Suddenly they were two snakes there, with intertwining coils, until they sought the shelter of the neighbouring woods'.

⁶³ Cf. Hdt. V 61, cit.

⁶⁴ The dragon killer (in Thebes) turns into a dragon (in Illyria). See CASTIGLIONI 2009, 103, and 2010.

⁶⁵ For the translation in the Elysian Fields, see ROCCHI 1989, 118, 134; CASTIGLIONI 2006. On this metamorphosis cf. also Luc. *Phars.* III 189-190: *Encheliae versi testantes funera Cadmi, / Colchis et Adriacas spumans Absyrtos in undas* (see VENINI 1967), and Lact. *Plac. in Stat. Theb.* III 290: *Illyricas ubi Cadmus fugiens infortunia Thebarum, existimans se loco etiam mutare fortunam, cum Harmonia coniuge versi sunt in dracones in Illyrico. Ut Lucanus 'Encheliae versi testantes funera Cadmi'.*

⁶⁶ Eur. *Ba.* 1330-1339, cit. On this metamorphosis cf. also the 'explanations' provided by Eust. in *Dion. Per.* 391.

⁶⁷ Ov. *Met.* IV 569: *malis annisque graves*; 600-601: *et subito duo sunt iunctoque volumine serpunt / donec in adpositi nemonis subiere latebras*. See VIDEAU 1998.

Since then, says Ovid, snakes in Illyria are harmless⁶⁸: ‘they do not avoid human beings or wound them; quiet serpents, remembering what they once were’⁶⁹.

The hero who killed the dragon in the primeval Boeotian territory finally took the form of a snake, as did his wife, in a fabulous Balkan region. According to a Commentary on Vergil’s *Aeneid*, when Kadmos left Thebes and passed through the territory of Macedonia, he left a young son, born to him by his wife Harmonia by the Illyrian River. ‘A serpent twined around this son and, until he had grown up, nursed him in the embrace of its body and filled him with the power to subdue this entire country. It named him Illyrius, after itself’⁷⁰.



Fig. 1 Map of Illyria (after ŠAŠEL KOS 2004, 495).

⁶⁸ On the docility of the Epirotic serpents in the Apollonian divinatory context, see DUMONT 1987.

⁶⁹ *Ov. Met.* IV 602-603: *Nunc quoque nec fugiunt hominem nec vulnere laedunt, quidque prius fuerint, placidi meminere dracones*. But cf. *Stat. Theb.* III 290, where Harmonia strips and spits poison on the Illyrian grass.

⁷⁰ Cf. *Interpr. Vat. Verg. Aen.* I 243: *Cadmus, Agenoris filius, relictis Thebis comite Harmonia coniuge fortunae iniurias sustinens fines Macedoniae supergressus parvulum filium, qui iuxta Illyricum fluvium ab Harmonia editus fuerat, dereliquit. Hunc serpens spiris suis innexuit et, donec ad adultos veniret annos, amplexu corporis fovit imbutque viribus, quibus omnem illam regionem sibi subdidit. Hic ex vocabulo (suo) Illyrium denominavit*. See ROSSIGNOLI 2004, 106 ss.; ANTONELLI 1994, 19; ŠAŠEL KOS 2004, 501.

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LINKING DIFFERENT TRADITIONS AND INFLUENCES: SOME REMARKS ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FROM THE MONTENEGRO TERRITORY IN THE ROMAN PERIOD*

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Introduction

Montenegro was part of the Roman province of Dalmatia. To the Romans gazing out across the Adriatic Sea, the area was always one of the Illyrian provinces that represented 'the other side'. After the conquest, however, the Adriatic became a part of the Roman *mare nostrum*, and as such it was filled with harbours and opened up to commerce, as well as becoming the threshold for the penetration of the Balkan Peninsula¹. Dalmatia can also be placed within the group of the 'Danube-Balkan' provinces, which, thanks to their geographical position, history and culture, have always been a meeting point between East and West². Here, the mixing of the Greek-Roman *koiné* with local traditions offers some particularly interesting socio-cultural insights. The process of Romanization began after the creation of the province under Augustus (10 AD) and developed yet more during the Flavian age. It was at this time that the appellation Dalmatia replaced the previously used Illyricum.

Illyrian-Roman *municipia* were created, while the already existing links between Dalmatia and other Adriatic provinces, in particular *Venetia et Histria*, were intensified. This process lasted until Late Antiquity, when, thanks to the reforms of Diocletian, Dalmatia was then divided into two distinct provinces, Dalmatia and Praevalitana to which last Montenegro belongs³.

* I would like to thank Tatjana Koprivica and all my Montenegrin colleagues for giving me the opportunity to discover their beautiful country. Many thanks also go to Philip Ditchfield for improving my English and to Antonio D'Eredità for reproducing the plans 1, 2-4, 7, 9, 11, 15, 20.

¹ See ZACCARIA 2015, 13-14. On the relations between the two sides of the Adriatic Sea through the ages, see, among others, PAVAN 1958; 1980; 1991; Aquileia, la Dalmazia e l'Ilirico 1985; BRACCESI, GRACIOTTI 1999; MARION, TASSAUX 2015.

² RINALDI TUFİ 2000, 205-222.

³ For a summary of the history of the region, see RINALDI TUFİ 1989, but WILKES 1969 remains a fundamental work. On the events related to the conquest, see especially WILKES 1969, 13-77, while, on Late Antiquity, see 416-437. On Dalmatia in general, see also SANADER 2009. For specific researches, see DAVISON, GAFFNEY, MARIN 2006. For the economy of Dalmatia, see ZANINOVIĆ 1977 and for the historical events of the Imperial age, ZANINOVIĆ 1999. On the Late Antique province, see the recent work of STEVOVIĆ 2014.

For contemporary historiography the Adriatic is an important area of research, not just for what it represents in terms of commercial and cultural exchange, but also as a boundary between differing models of eastern and western civilisation⁴. Since the 1970s, scholars 'of the two sides' have tried to share archaeological data and review the written sources in order to more accurately reconstruct the history of this area⁵.

Montenegro, in particular, possesses significant Roman archaeological remains, dating from the beginning of the Imperial age right up until Late Antiquity (Fig. 1). Unfortunately, however, the archaeological data is quite heterogeneous. Often it is not easily accessible, and there are no specific studies on the documentation of this period as a whole. In recent years, research has intensified in the area, also with the cooperation of foreign archaeological missions, in particular from Italy, but this documentation is barely known outside the specialists.

From the 'global' methodological perspective most accepted in recent archaeological studies and with attention to the broader Mediterranean context, I present a brief overview of Roman archaeology in Montenegro on the basis of the literature available in Italy, focusing on some case studies in which a mixture of different influences and traditions is particularly evident.

1. The towns

From an archaeological point of view, the most significant sites of Roman Montenegro are essentially three towns⁶: *Doclea* and *Municipium S.* in the inner area and *Risinum* on the coast. Stari Bar seems to have been scarcely inhabited – if at all – during Roman times, providing medieval deposits that lie beyond the scope of this research⁷.

1.1 *Doclea*

Doclea was the most important city in the south-eastern part of the Roman province of Dalmatia and played an important role during the Imperial age until Late Antiquity. Only about a fifth of the town has been excavated (Fig. 2), despite investigations beginning at the end of the 19th century. In 1890, thanks to the initiative and the financial

⁴ On the presence of the Adriatic area in contemporary historiography, see ZACCARIA 2015.

⁵ Specific bibliography in ZACCARIA 2015.

⁶ On the cities of Dalmatia in general, see WILKES 2003.

⁷ BOŠKOVIĆ 1962. Research in Stari Bar by the University Ca' Foscari of Venice: GELICHI, GUSTIN 2005; GELICHI 2006a; GELICHI, ZAGARČANIN 2013. Remains from the Roman age come from the territory of Bar, see ZAGARČANIN 2013.



Fig. 1 Map of Montenegro, with the main Roman archaeological sites (modified *after* [https://atlante.unimondo.org/Paesi/Europa/Europa-meridionale/Montenegro/\(livello\)/mappe](https://atlante.unimondo.org/Paesi/Europa/Europa-meridionale/Montenegro/(livello)/mappe)).

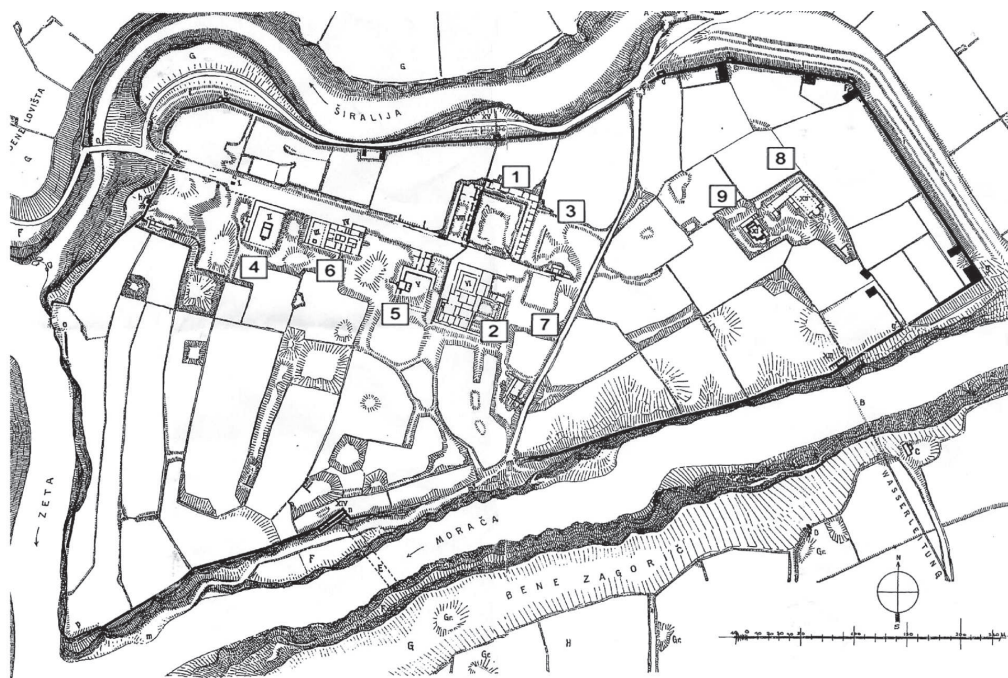


Fig. 2 Doclea: 1. *Forum*; 2. *Thermae* (Baths); 3. The so-called *Capitolium* temple;
4. So-called Temple of the Goddess Roma; 5. *Domus* with a little temple; 6. So-called Temple of Diana;
7. Small *Thermae* (Baths); 8. Church A; 9: Churches B and C (after STICOTTI 1913 (1999), pl.1).

support of Prince Nikola of Montenegro, P.A. Rovinski, a Russian scholar, carried out the first excavations in the central part of the site⁸. In 1893, J.A. Munro, with other British scholars, excavated the Christian basilicas A, B and the cruciform church C⁹. Afterwards, systematic research was carried out by the Balkan Commission of the Academy of Sciences of Vienna, under the direction of an Istrian scholar, Piero Sticotti, to whom we owe the first monograph on the town¹⁰. In 1947-1948, the site was cut through by the construction of a railroad that destroyed some areas of the ancient city. The Serbian archaeologist D. Srejšović and other Yugoslav archaeologists carried out more research in the city in the period 1954-1964¹¹, while J.J. Wilkes dedicated many pages to Doclea in his monograph on Dalmatia¹². More excavations were conducted by the Centre for Conservation and

⁸ For the first investigations, see KOPRIVICA 2013.

⁹ MUNRO *et al.* 1896. T. Koprivica studied the documentation in the Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford.

¹⁰ STICOTTI 1913; RINALDI TUFİ 2012, 478-479.

¹¹ SREJŠOVIĆ 1967 and 1968.

¹² WILKES 1969, 259-261.

Archaeology in Cetinje between 1997 to 1999, 2003 to 2005 and again 2010 to 2019, but are in part unpublished¹³. New studies and archaeological investigations have been dedicated to the ancient city in recent years by the Museum of Podgorica in cooperation with the Italian University of Urbino¹⁴, the Ca' Foscari University of Venice¹⁵ and the British School at Rome¹⁶, the aim of which was to promote cultural tourism in Podgorica through the protection of its historical and archaeological heritage¹⁷. The Historical Institute of the University of Montenegro has recently carried out more work in the town. In particular, Doclea was the subject of the PhD thesis by Tatjana Koprivica who also presented a paper in this conference¹⁸. The Historical Institute of Montenegro initiated a collaborative programme with the Institute for Ancient Mediterranean Studies (ISMA) in 2015 and together with the Institute for Technologies Applied to Cultural Heritage (ITABC), both recently merged in the Institute of Heritage Science (ISPC), of the Italian National Research Council (CNR) in 2016. Other specific archaeological projects are also in progress¹⁹.

In this paper, I will not analyse the Doclean monuments in detail, but I would like just to mention some aspects of the Roman architecture of the city to place it in a wider context.

The history of the city can be reconstructed in broad terms from literary and epigraphic sources²⁰. Originally inhabited by the Illyrian tribes of the *Docleatae*, the site was conquered by Octavian in 35 BC, when its inhabitants were then part of the *conventus* of Naronia. Doclea, so named after the local tribes, became a *municipium* probably in the Flavian period, when the main monuments were built²¹.

¹³ RINALDI TUFİ 2012, 478. Archaeological excavations have been carried out in recent years and are still ongoing. See BAKOVIĆ 2010 and 2011; ŽIVANOVIĆ 2014 and 2018.

¹⁴ RINALDI TUFİ, BARATIN, PELOSO 2010: topographic relief carried out in October 2007. See also BARATIN 2010.

¹⁵ GELICHI *et al.* 2012.

¹⁶ For the geophysical investigations, see in particular PETT 2010.

¹⁷ The results of these researches have been published in the series *Nova Antička Duklja* 1-9 (2010-2018).

¹⁸ T. Koprivica, *The Architecture of Late Antique Doclea. Possibilities of Reconstruction*, University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy, April 2016. See also Koprivica in this book.

¹⁹ This book collects the results of the joint research project *Mediterranean Cultural Heritage. Italy and Montenegro. Perceptions and Perspectives* (2015-2016) between ISMA-CNR and the Historical Institute of Montenegro, University of Montenegro. For the biennium 2017-2018, a Joint Archaeological Laboratory between ISMA and the Historical Institute of Montenegro was carried out. In addition a bilateral project between ITABC-CNR and the same Institute for the study of other Montenegrin archaeological sites was set up. Recently, a new project on Doclea has been financed for the years 2018-2020 as one of the Great Relevance Projects of the MAECI (see ALBERTI 2019 for the first results).

²⁰ WILKES 1969, 166-167.

²¹ In the local inscriptions the name *Flavius* appears 28 times: see WILKES 1969, 260 and 316 and Pelcer-Vujačić in this volume.

The site is located on a plain, surrounded by mountains; it holds a strategic position at the confluence of the Zeta and Morača rivers, being placed on the west and south-east sides, while to the north there runs the mountain stream Širaliđa (Fig. 3). The Zeta river valley, in particular, had a great influence on the development of Doclea, thanks to its mild climate and fertile soil. To the south-east of the city, beyond the Morača river, the remains of an aqueduct have been found, but the bridges across the rivers have not been properly identified²².

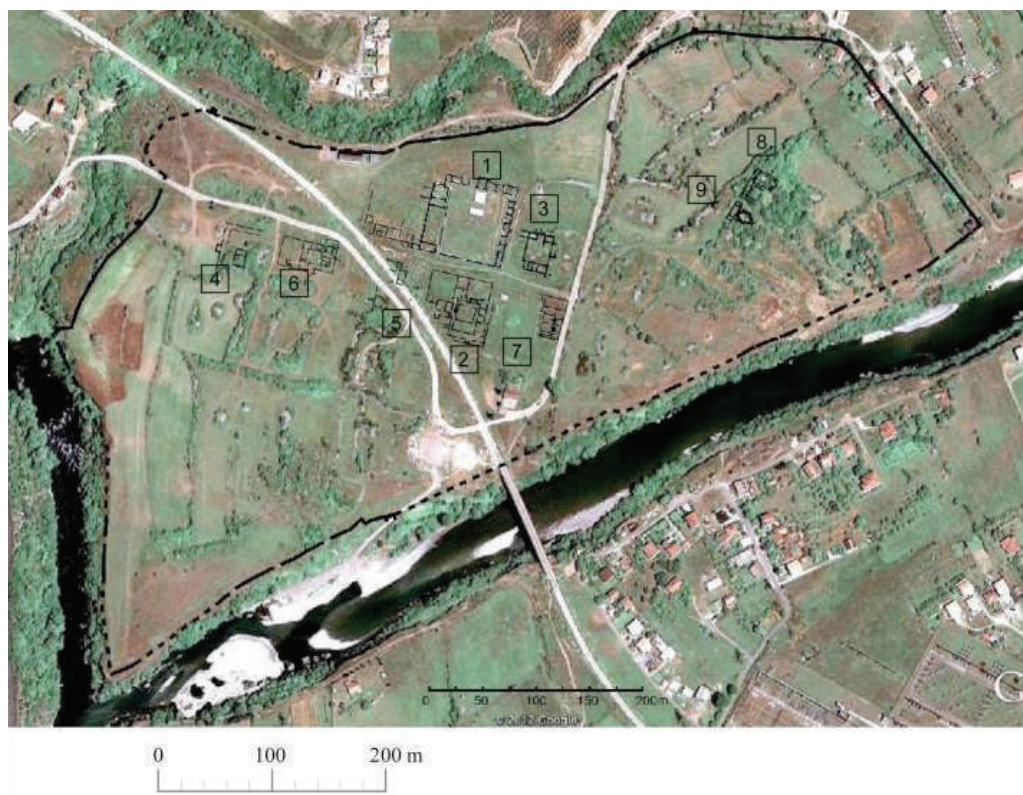


Fig. 3 Doclea: aerial photo, with indication of the excavated areas (*after* Google maps).

The city was fortified: the walls enclose an area of approximately 25 hectares²³. Preserved almost throughout their entire perimeter and often almost up to their original height

²² RINALDI TUFFI 1989, 94.

²³ According to WILKES 1969, 363, the city walls are 'the most impressive remains in the province' (description of the walls, 364-365).

(Fig. 4), these walls were 3-6 m high, possessing a breadth that varies from 2 to 3 m²⁴. The main gate could be in the west wall, but nothing is known of its plan. This part of the fortification contained about twenty inscriptions, originally set up in the *forum basilica*, the latest dating to 254²⁵. According to J.J. Wilkes, 'two periods of construction can be detected in the Doclea walls, the later additions being some external towers on the north side facing the Širalija torrent bed'²⁶. According to M. Živanović and A. Stamenković the city walls of Doclea belong to the mid 3rd century or later: 'We suggest the hypothesis that the construction of city walls of Doclea took place under the patronage of a Roman emperor in the second half of 3rd and during 4th century'²⁷. Unfortunately, studies on the masonry techniques are lacking, while comparisons with other similar structures have yet to be undertaken, so such dates must be treated with caution.



Fig. 4 Doclea: a section of the city walls to the north of the *forum* (photo by the author).

²⁴ For a recent study on the walls, see ŽIVANOVIĆ, STAMENKOVIĆ 2012.

²⁵ WILKES 1969, 365: 'this part of the building may have taken place during the insecurity of the third century, although a much later date is possible'.

²⁶ WILKES 1969, 365.

²⁷ ŽIVANOVIĆ, STAMENKOVIĆ 2012, 137. On fortification in north-western Roman Empire see VON PETRIKOVITS 1971.

The archaeological remains are located in the central area of the site. The excavated buildings are in the western sector, arranged along a road, running from west to east. This road is the continuation of another that came from Naronā and led to a gate that was identified in the western section of the city walls, but is now no longer visible²⁸. On the southern side of the road there is the so-called temple of the goddess Rome, a private house, the so-called temple of Diana, a large bath-house complex and a smaller bathing set-up. On the northern side, there is also an area with many structures yet to be studied, the *forum* with the *basilica*, and another temple²⁹. Today, the railway cutting through the site does not allow us to easily recognise the relationships between the buildings to the north and south sides of the road.

The main monument is the *forum*, dedicated by M. Flavius Fronto and his wife Flavia Tertulla, in memory of their son M. Flavius Balbinus, as indicated in an inscription. The *forum* is a large paved area (60 by 55 m), which is square in shape and surrounded by porticoes and buildings, except on the south side, where the main street passed (Fig. 5)³⁰. On the north side there are constructions of different sizes: in the middle there is a podium 8 m square and 1.5 m high, probably appropriate to a sacred building, whose access steps are not preserved³¹.

A row of *tabernae* and other structures are situated on the east side, while a *basilica* is to be found on the west one. The latter is divided in two parts, the larger, rectangular, 50 by 13 m, with a single row of columns across each end, and the smaller, to the north (13 by 10 m) with an apse in its north wall (Fig. 6)³². The general layout of the complex has no parallel with the other better-known *fora* of the Adriatic region, such as those of Pula, Zara and Naronā, all built in the Augustan age, where a rectangular shape is employed³³. The roughly square plan here, attested too in some smaller towns in Dalmatia³⁴ as well as in other provinces, in particular in Britain³⁵, finds one good parallel in Rome, in the architecture of the Templum Pacis³⁶. The comparison of this last with the *forum* of Doclea, more or less its contemporary, is compelling. That said, there are many differences in size and lay-out. According to S. Rinaldi Tufi, this scheme could have been inspired by military architecture,

²⁸ STICOTTI 1913, 56-59. The scholar noted soon after, to the east, the foundations of a triumphal arch, but no traces remain.

²⁹ On the main public buildings of Doclea see SFAMENI, KOPRIVICA, D'EREDITÀ 2019.

³⁰ Description and reconstruction of the *forum* and the *basilica* by STICOTTI 2013, 106-138; see also WILKES 1969, 371.

³¹ According to WILKES 1969, 371, this building could be a senate house.

³² The architectural elements such as the large shelves boast stylistic features of the Flavian age. Consider the arrowheads separating ovules: RINALDI TUFİ 2012, 479.

³³ RINALDI TUFİ 2012, 479.

³⁴ See WILKES 1969, 368, fig. 18: plans of other *fora* in the province, like *Asseria* and *Aequum*.

³⁵ See, for example, the *forum* in Silchester (FULFORD 1993).

³⁶ MENEGHINI, SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2007, in particular 61-70; GAGGIOTTI 2009; TUCCI 2009.

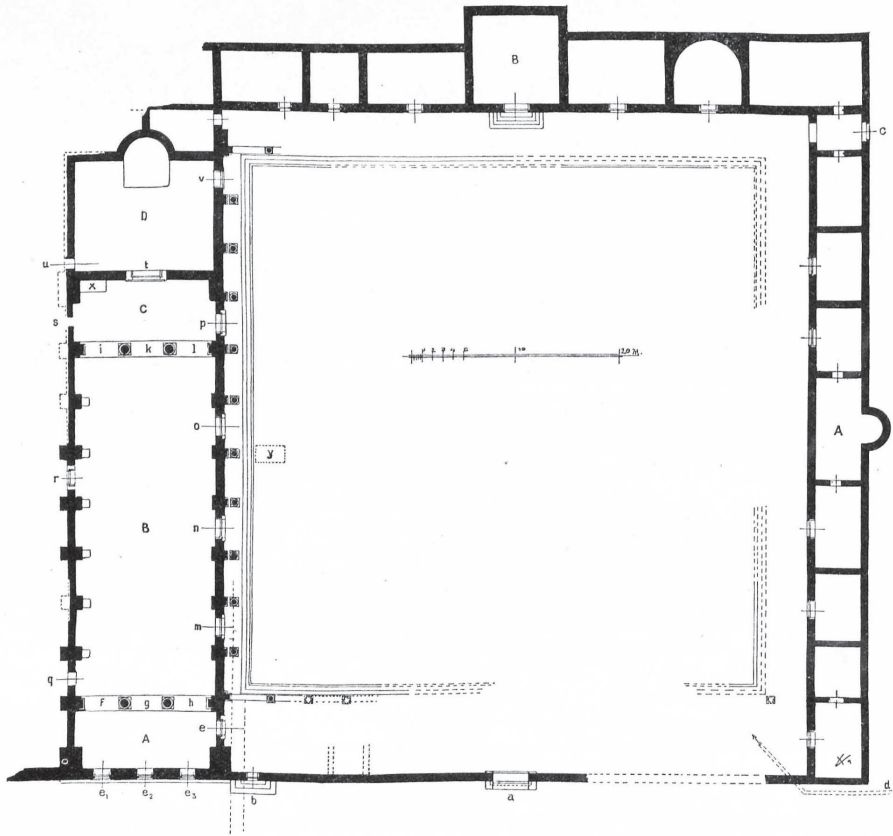


Fig. 5 Doclea: plan of the *forum* (after STICOTTI 1913).



Fig. 6 Doclea: the *basilica* from the south side (photo by the author).

and in particular by the *castra* that were built in large numbers during the intense military activity of the Flavian emperors³⁷. D. Srejšović has also proposed that the *forum* of Doclea performed the function of the *Caesareum* or place of imperial cult, a role that in the 3rd century would have been transferred to the temple of the so-called goddess Roma³⁸. According to this scholar, moreover, this architectural type would have originated in Egypt: the many small finds coming from Africa and Asia Minor, discovered during the research in the Doclean necropolis, would strengthen 'the intensive connections that existed between this part of the Balkans and the eastern provinces'³⁹.

In recent years and on the east side of the *forum*, a building has been excavated, to discover and define its dimension and features. It is a temple, oriented N-S: a prostyle tetrastyle structure of about 7 x 14.5 m, it was built in the central part of a sanctuary, closed on the west, south and probably east sides by a set of rooms, while a porch faces onto the main street (Fig. 7)⁴⁰. The temple has been interpreted as the *Capitolium* of the city. If that were the case, the fact that it faces the *decumanus* would make it extremely peculiar. In the other cities of the Adriatic area, such temples always face the *forum*⁴¹.

In the city, two other sacred buildings are known, both hypothetically identified by a fragment of a pediment decoration, one depicting a bust of the goddess Roma on a clypeus and the other piece a bust of Diana⁴². The so-called temple of the goddess Roma, dated to the 3rd century AD, was of the tetrastyle prostyle *in antis* sort, set on a podium with steps in the façade; the temple was enclosed by a wall and faced the main road⁴³. The so-called temple of Diana was very similar in plan and was inserted into a *temenos*⁴⁴. Unfortunately today the temples are almost completely destroyed. The plans follow well known models also present in the Adriatic regions⁴⁵. Unfortunately, the religious buildings preserved in both the Augustan region of *Venetia et Histria* and in the Illyricum-Dalmatia province are not numerous, so it is difficult to make comparisons. Only in Pula are more complex situations attested, while the

³⁷ RINALDI TUFİ 2012, 479. According to P. Gros, 'même si la thèse est aujourd'hui contestée, il est difficile de ne pas retrouver au moins formellement dans cette organisation sommaire et efficace le souvenir des *principia* des camps légionnaires où en général une salle allongée occupe l'un des côtés de l'aire de rassemblement' (GROS 2011, 226).

³⁸ SREJŠOVIĆ 1967.

³⁹ STEVOVIĆ 2014, 118.

⁴⁰ The results of the archaeological investigations carried out inside some rooms of the complex, in particular in the n. 3, have been published in *Nova Antička Duklja* II and III.

⁴¹ BAKOVIĆ 2011, 19.

⁴² For a detailed analysis of Doclea cults, see T. Koprivica in this volume.

⁴³ RINALDI TUFİ 1989, 91.

⁴⁴ RINALDI TUFİ 1989, 92 had already noted how the temple had been reburied and that nothing was visible of the excavated remains.

⁴⁵ WILKES 1969, 374.

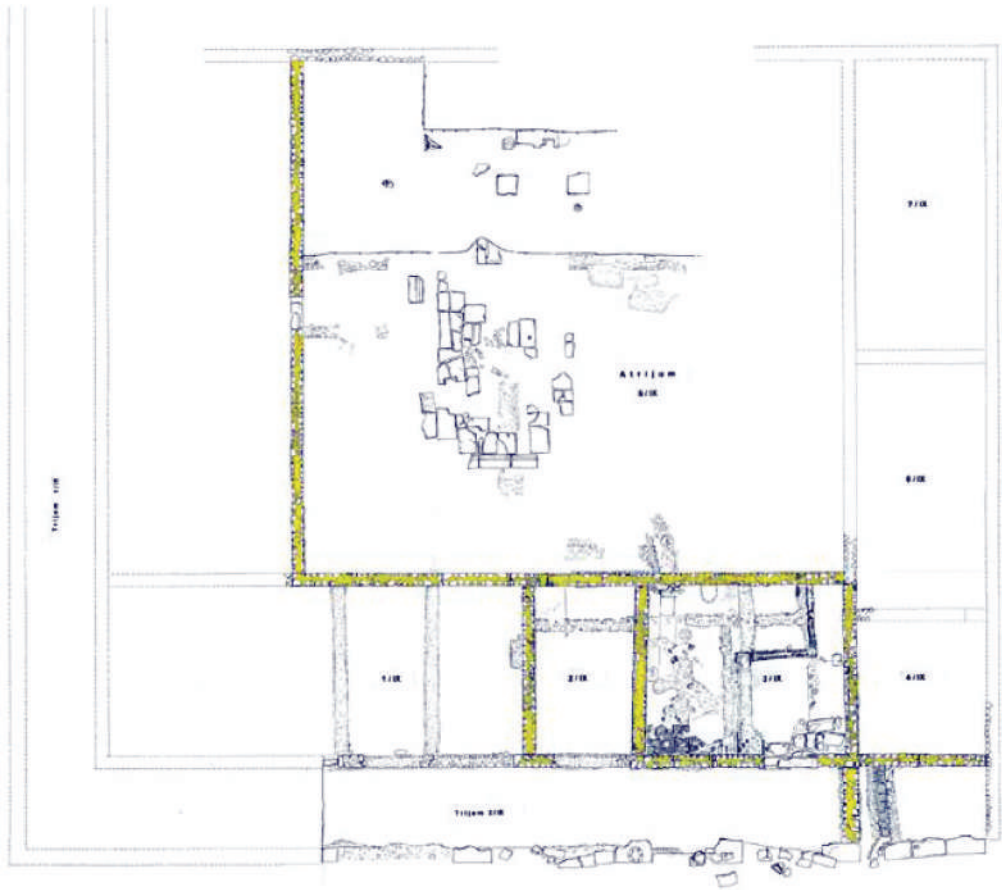


Fig. 7 Doclea: plan of the so-called *Capitolium* temple (after BAKOVIĆ 2010, plate at pp. 76-77).

façade with four elements is already in use in Augustan buildings in Salona and Naronā⁴⁶.

In the same area of the town a private dwelling was also excavated. The house (30 x 23 m) contains more than twenty rooms arranged around a courtyard and a bath-suite (Fig. 8). The building is particularly interesting because of a little temple in its own enclosure that was incorporated into it⁴⁷. Examples of religious buildings of this type are to be found within

⁴⁶ RINALDI TUFİ 2012, 478.

⁴⁷ WILKES 1969, 375-376.

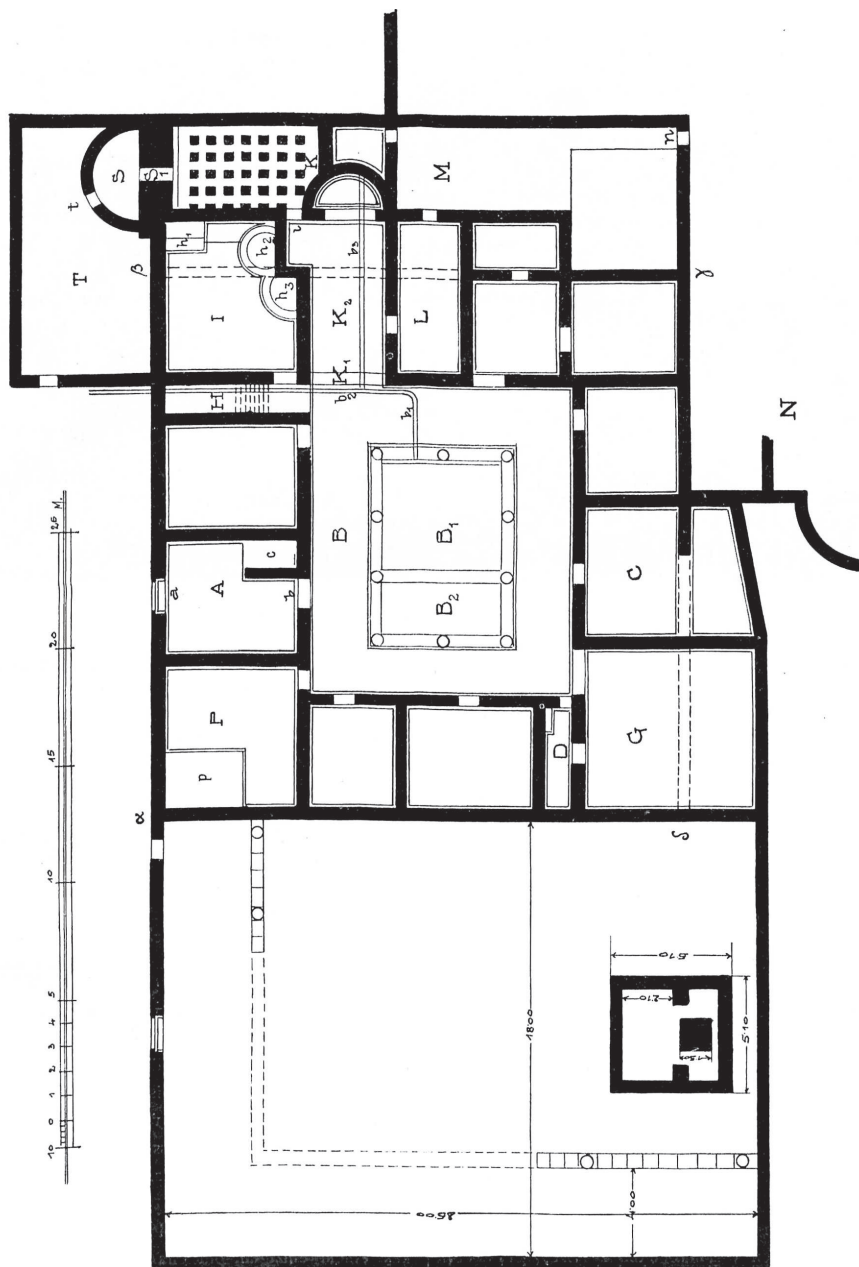


Fig. 8 Doclea: plan of the *domus* with a little temple (after STICOTTI 1913, 78, fig. 37).

some Pompeian houses dating back to the last phase of life of the city⁴⁸. According to J.J. Wilkes, 'its prominent position in the city, together with the private temple, leaves no doubt that this was the residence of one of the wealthiest families, probably the *Flavii* who built the *forum*'⁴⁹. Unfortunately, this building is also in a very poor state of conservation.

Finally, in front of the *forum*, a large bath complex has been identified (Fig. 9)⁵⁰. These baths are more elaborate and luxurious than those present in Salona, but they do not seem to have an axial and symmetrical arrangement which would allow us to recognise a so-called 'imperial' plan⁵¹. Apparently built in the early years of the Flavian city⁵², they have different building phases, attested to by the overlapping of masonry structures⁵³.

In order to make a structural and planned study of the complex and establish comparisons with similar buildings, a study of the characteristics of each phase is first necessary. To the east of these structures, another bath complex has been identified, designated as 'small baths' (Fig. 10), and as yet to be investigated. The two bath complexes were probably part of a same large building as shown by the results of the geophysical survey⁵⁴.

In 1893, J.A. Munro excavated three churches in the east area of the town. The first possessed three naves (basilica A), another had perhaps a basilical plan (church B) and the last a cruciform plan (church C), and was built after church B⁵⁵. New research carried out by the University Ca' Foscari of Venice dates churches A and B to the 6th century (Fig. 11)⁵⁶. It is likely that basilica A was the first to be built. It was flanked by a porch, service rooms and by another building whose form and function are not currently definable. Church B was built subsequently, it sports a narthex with two small rooms at the ends. In the last phase, the central part of this church was occupied by a new building in plan like a Greek cross (church C) (Fig. 12)⁵⁷. It reuses building blocks and architectural elements coming from the

⁴⁸ For comparisons with *domus* in Pompeii, see BASSANI 2008, 93-98 and catalogue nn. 32-36.

⁴⁹ WILKES 1969, 376-377.

⁵⁰ STICOTTI 1913, 98-103.

⁵¹ RINALDI TUFFI 1989, 93; 2012, 479.

⁵² WILKES 1969, 379-381: according to the scholar, however, 'the Doclean baths survived almost untouched by later alterations'.

⁵³ Research carried out in 1997-1998, unpublished, shown that in the *thermae* there are at least four or five different phases. See SEAMENI, KOPRIVICA, D'EREDITÀ 2019.

⁵⁴ COZZOLINO, GENTILE 2019.

⁵⁵ KOPRIVICA 2014 studied the documentation preserved in the Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology of Oxford.

⁵⁶ GELICHI *et al.* 2012. On some issues of early Christian and Medieval constructions in Doclea and Bar, see ZAGARČANIN 2012. The churches have a different orientation than the buildings in the central area of the town.

⁵⁷ GELICHI *et al.* 2012, 27.



Fig. 9 Doclea: aerial view of the bathing complex (modified by Antonio D'Eredità from 2017 Google Earth).



Fig. 10 Doclea: the so-called small *thermae* (Baths; photo by the author).

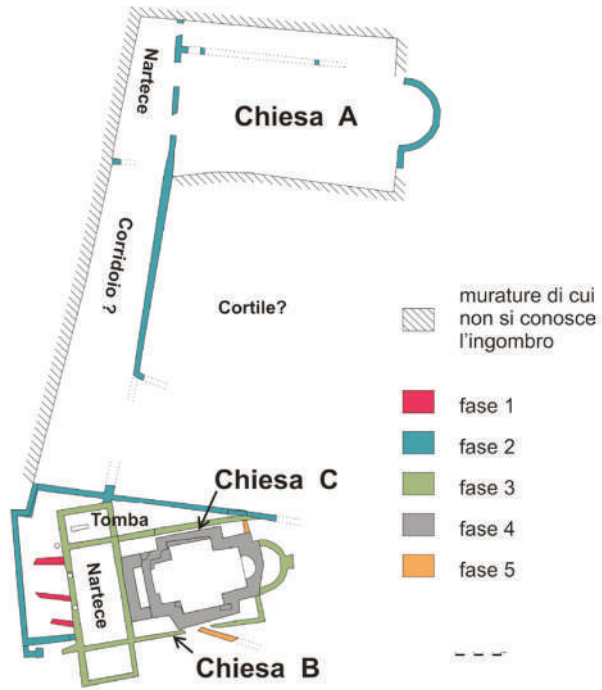


Fig. 11 Doclea: the churches A, B and C (after GELICHI *et al.* 2012, 25, fig. 13).



Fig. 12 Doclea: the cruciform church C (photo by the author).

forum and the civil *basilica*, whose ruination could not be dated⁵⁸. Some scholars propose to identify the church as that of St. Mary, documented in the 9th century⁵⁹. According to a widespread schema observable in the Adriatic area and in particular in Aquileia, Poreč, Grado and Salona in the 6th century⁶⁰, the churches are placed side by side. According to N. Duval and Vl. Popović it would be ‘un quartier chrétien par excellence où les deux églises montrent la présence d’un complexe avec le caractère de résidence d’un évêque’⁶¹.

The Eastern Goths ravaged the town in 489 and an earthquake damaged it in 518; the town was probably reconstructed in the age of Justinian, but it was destroyed again by the Avars and Slavs in 609.

Due to these attacks, the population of Doclea moved to Gradina at Martiniči as it was better defended; in due course it would also become the seat of the bishop⁶². Since Doclea shows a remarkable ecclesiastical organisation in the 5th to 6th centuries, it is thought that it was the original Episcopal seat before the bishop moved to Shkodra⁶³. Regarding in general the christianisation of the Praevalitana province, G. Hoxha observed that historical sources, archaeological data and the Acts of the Church indicate an area with a mixture of eastern and western influences in its spiritual and material culture⁶⁴.

Although Doclea had an important Late Antique phase, mainly witnessed by the churches, the overall layout of the buildings in the central area of the town remained almost untouched. However, in the main monuments it is possible to note some walls built with different techniques that attest to a prolonged use of the area. Recent excavations have also brought to light workshops inserted into existing buildings, as is common in Late Antique and early medieval Roman cities⁶⁵.

1.2 *Municipium S.*

The site in Komini, near present-day Pljevlja in the central Balkan area, is known as

⁵⁸ On the Christian complex in Doclea, see also STEVOVIĆ 2014, 122-126.

⁵⁹ VUJIČIĆ 2007, 45: if this date is correct, then church C would testify that Doclea continued to exist for at least two centuries after the destruction wrought by the Avars and Slavs at the beginning of the 7th century.

⁶⁰ RINALDI TUFI 2012, 480.

⁶¹ DUVAL, POPOVIĆ 1984, 552-553.

⁶² KORAĆ 2001.

⁶³ ZAGARČANIN 2014. Other Christian churches are located north of Doclea, at Doljani and in other sites, see NIKOLAJEVIĆ 1989 and STEVOVIĆ 2014, 126-127.

⁶⁴ HOXHA 2005, 186.

⁶⁵ REHREN, CHOLAKOVA, ŽIVANOVIĆ 2012: from the middle of the 4th century and during the 5th, some of the rooms of the temple complex, now abandoned, were transformed into a small-scale glass workshop (see also ŽIVANOVIĆ 2014).

Municipium S⁶⁶. The name of the Roman *municipium* is not reported either in inscriptions or in the literary evidence, but probably the abbreviation S in one inscription refers to the name of the *municipium*⁶⁷. Far from the main routes of communication, the Roman city existed from the 1st to the 4th centuries AD. Excavations were carried out in 1964-67 and 1970-77: nearly 700 graves, many with inscriptions were discovered in two cemeteries⁶⁸. The large number of Illyrian names in the inscriptions attests to the native component of the population being very strong⁶⁹. The funerary portraits are executed in the same style and modelling, but with different physiological characteristics: a group representing people with plump oval faces is found on most Roman monuments, while other reliefs show people with pronounced cheekbones and chins, making the face look triangular⁷⁰. Here is an example, in figurative art, of how local traditions were able to survive in a Romanised context.

1.3 Risan

The other cities of Montenegro are situated along the coast. Pliny the Elder remarks that from *Epidaurus* (modern Dubrovnik) *sunt oppida civium Romanorum Rhizinium, Acruvium, Butuanum, Olcinium, quod antea Colchinium dictum est, a Colchis conditum*⁷¹.

The best known city from an archaeological point of view is Rhizon/Risinum, the modern Risan in the gulf of Kotor⁷². The geographical position of the bay of Kotor was always of huge geopolitical importance and in the region between Naron and Lissos, Risan was the preeminent port⁷³. In antiquity, the site was very important: in the 3rd century BC, during the reign of Queen Teuta, it was the capital of the Illyrian kingdom and was one of the most important strongholds during the first Illyrian war. Sea routes connected Rhizon with the Adriatic and the Mediterranean, constituting at the same time a highway for Mediterranean trade, technology transfers and exchange of ideas. Probably in the Augustan period a *municipium* was established, but the site may also have received a colony. Families coming from central and southern Europe are attested but, in the 1st century, the ruling class

⁶⁶ The site was known from late 18th century by reports of travellers and explorers that recorded Roman monuments in Pljevlja and its environs. See MIRKOVIĆ 2012, 1-6.

⁶⁷ MIRKOVIĆ 2012, 28, n. 1.

⁶⁸ Austrian soldiers carried out excavations in a Roman necropolis in the village of Komini in 1899, but it was only from 1964 to 1967 and from 1970 to 1977 that A. Cermanović-Kuzmanović carried out systematic excavation in the necropolis. For bibliography, see MIRKOVIĆ 2012, 6-8.

⁶⁹ MIRKOVIĆ 2012, 9-23.

⁷⁰ MIRKOVIĆ 2012, 23, figs. 11-17.

⁷¹ Plin. *NH* III, 144.

⁷² WILKES 1969, 254-255.

⁷³ DYCZEK 2004, see in particular 101-15 for the written sources and the history of the site.

was exclusively of Italian origin. The Illyrian fortress was situated on the hill of Gradina, where the ancient Roman town was also located. The first archaeological excavations of the Illyrian settlement were made by Sir Arthur Evans in the 1870s⁷⁴, quickly followed by more campaigns in and around it during the late 1800s and early 1900s⁷⁵. In 2001, the Centre for Research on the Antiquity of Southeastern Europe of the University of Warsaw began work which yielded important results⁷⁶. Since the settlement was a key maritime centre, port and anchorage, the archaeologists of Warsaw have carried out underwater surveys, looking for the remains of the ancient port⁷⁷.

For the topic of this paper, one private building is particularly interesting: discovered by D. Vuksan in 1930 in the modern city centre, by the sea, it was called the 'villa of Hypnos' due to the presence of a mosaic depicting Hypnos⁷⁸. It is a four-sided building, with rooms arranged around a central space that was identified as an *atrium* (Fig. 13), indicating to Vuksan that he had found a Roman villa. Further excavations were carried out in 1963 in previously uninvestigated parts of the building: the archaeologists then responsible also interpreted the courtyard as a typical *atrium* of a Roman house⁷⁹. In 2004, Polish archaeologists decided to carry out a regular excavation in order to complete the documentation of the mosaics and to establish the history of the building⁸⁰.

The building was built in an area sloping down towards the sea, over the bed of a stream: it was therefore necessary to create a stable supporting platform⁸¹. The rooms are arranged around a central courtyard, surrounded itself by a portico; many rooms have mosaic floors (Fig. 14).

The western and eastern wings are almost identical; within them two narrow rooms were identified as staircases. On the northern side there is a long rectangular room situated behind a series of smaller rooms, while the southern wing has four rectangular rooms. The main entrance cannot be reconstructed, but it is possible that it was located to the south (Fig. 15).

The only figurative mosaic found represents Hypnos, the god of Sleep (Fig. 16): this image is unique for a mosaic floor and, according to some scholars, it could be a symbol of death⁸². The other floors present geometrical forms and occasionally stylised vegetation. The composition is similar: a rectangle or square in the centre, two smaller rectangles often near to

⁷⁴ EVANS 1883-1885 and 2006.

⁷⁵ For the history of research, see CIOLEK-KOWAL 2010.

⁷⁶ See in particular DYCZEK 2008 and 2011-2012 and the studies collected in *Novensia* 21, 2010.

⁷⁷ KARPINSKI 2010, 125-163.

⁷⁸ VUKSAN 1931 and 1932.

⁷⁹ MARKOVIĆ 1964.

⁸⁰ Reports by P. DYCZEK (2004; 2008).

⁸¹ DYCZEK 2010, 57.

⁸² DYCZEK 2009.

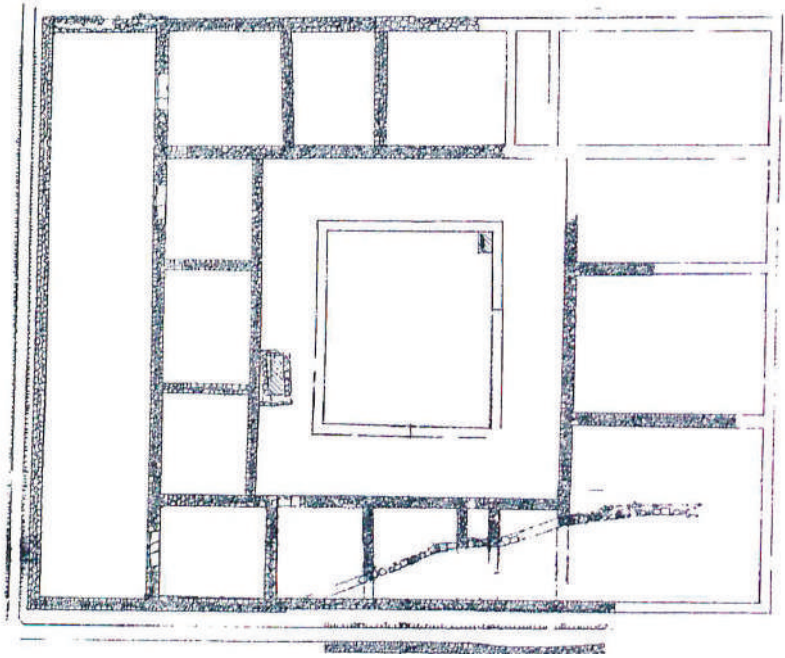


Fig. 13 Risan, villa of Hypnos: plan (*after* VUKSAN 1932, fig. 1).



Fig. 14 Risan, villa of Hypnos: the central courtyard (photo by the author).

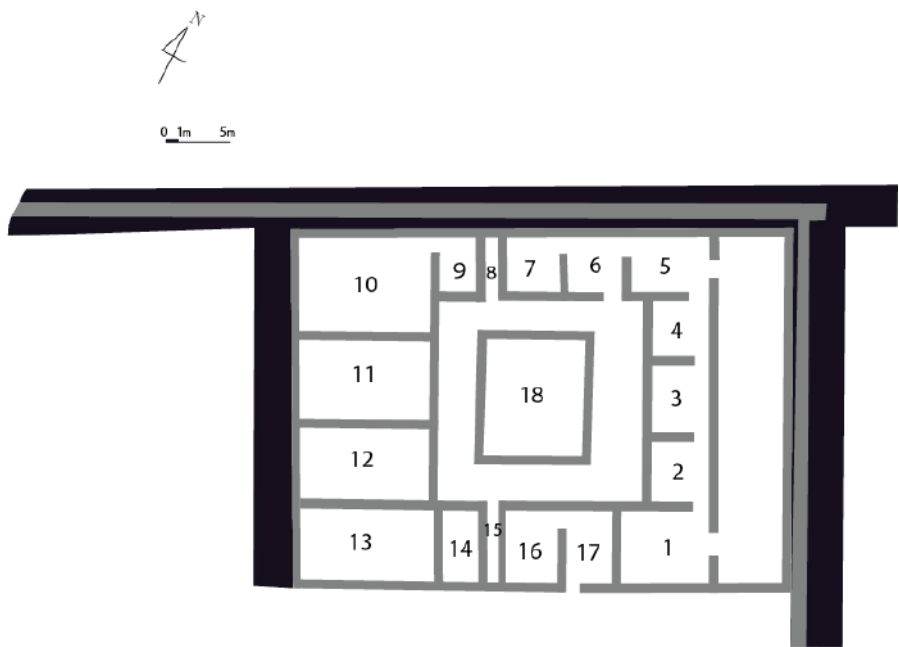


Fig. 15 Risan, villa of Hypnos: plan of the villa after the recent investigations (*after* DYCZEK 2012, 221, fig. 3).



Fig. 16 Risan, villa of Hypnos: the mosaic depicting Hypnos (photo by the author).

the short sides (Fig. 17). Black and white predominate. The decorative motifs reflect different traditions: some patterns have a Greek origin and date back to the 1st century BC, while others come from Italy or Gaul and date from the 1st century AD onwards⁸³. Some of them are from North Africa. In particular, emblems similar to that of Hypnos, but with different subjects, can be found in African pavements in the mid-2nd century. The African connection in the Risan mosaics is exceptional, and is particularly noteworthy since this is the earliest example of such a link in this region⁸⁴. Excavation data is lacking: the mosaics can be dated, only on the basis of the decorative motifs, to the reign of Antoninus Pius, between 138 and 161 AD. A coin of Constantine and some red slip ware ceramics places the destruction of the building in the first half of the 4th century⁸⁵.

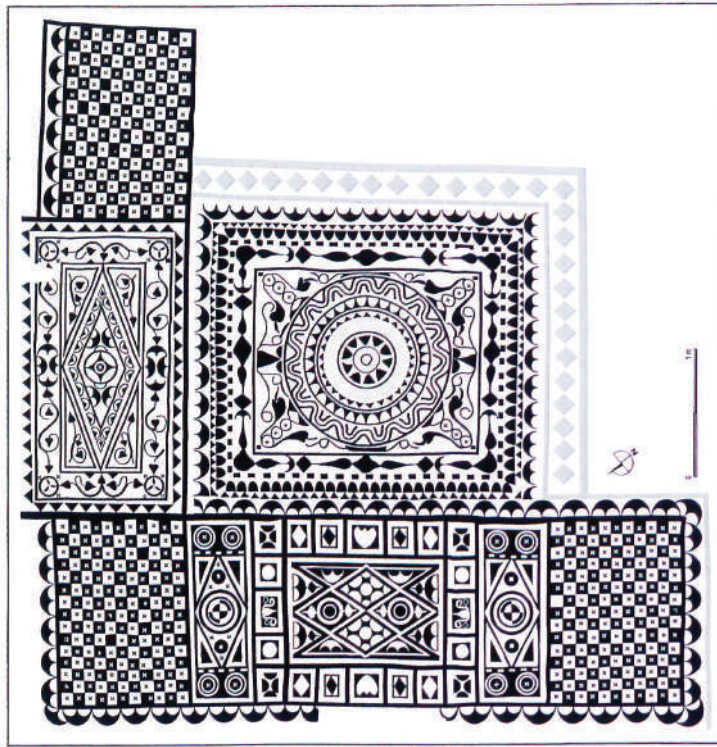


Fig. 17 Risan, villa of Hypnos: the floor of Room 1 (after DYCZEK 2010, 64, fig. 14).

⁸³ For an analysis of the villa mosaics, see DYCZEK 2010 and 2012.

⁸⁴ DYCZEK 2010, 70. The scholar notes that an inscription found in Lambaesis attests to the presence of citizens of *Risinium* (CIL VIII, 2581: the inscription described a mounted statue of the Illyrian god Medaurus, reproducing a monument from *Risinium*, see DYCZEK *et al.* 2010).

⁸⁵ DYCZEK 2010, 60.

The Risan mosaics illustrate well the evolution of the mosaic ateliers in Dalmatia. From the very beginning these workshops show heavy influence from the Italic mosaicists. The first 'mosaic school' was created in the 1st century AD in Istria, under the influence of Aquileia⁸⁶. The school of Salona developed between the late 2nd and the early 3rd centuries, reaching its greatest development in the 3rd century. Then, though remaining as active, it declined in quality gradually during the 4th century. The combinations of decorative motifs originating both from the western provinces and from North Africa are characteristic of this production. Stylistic variations confirm the existence of a local Salonitan school-workshop and of other Dalmatian workshops. These include those of Narona, Senije, Iader, Tarsatica and Epidauros⁸⁷. It has been suggested that in Salona there was an actual mosaic school (a sort of academy) from which patterns and variants of pre-existing motifs emanated throughout the province of Dalmatia and influenced its workshops⁸⁸.

P. Dyczek proposed a new interpretation of the Hypnos villa⁸⁹, generally considered to be either a typical Italic *domus* or, since it is located outside the city, a suburban villa⁹⁰. According to this scholar, the hypothesis that it was a country villa should be rejected, since the soil conditions around it render the practice of agriculture impossible. The mosaics, which boast a highly decorated middle panel (Fig. 18), seem to suggest that the furniture would have been arranged around them and that the rooms could be essentially used as *triclinia* of different sizes to accommodate varying numbers of guests. The main rectangular hall may have been used for larger meetings, or as a dormitory. The building had an upper floor that could have held bedrooms, while other rooms on the lower floor could also have served as sleeping areas. Thus he argues that the so-called villa of Hypnos in Risan was in fact an inn (*hospitium*)⁹¹. The closest comparison would be with two similar houses discovered at Byllis in Albania that may have had a similar function⁹². Nevertheless, the type of *domus* or villa with rooms around a central space is widespread throughout the Roman world⁹³. In particular, it is possible to establish

⁸⁶ On the Salonitan mosaic school-workshop, see MATULIĆ 2003.

⁸⁷ For the mosaic school in Dalmatia, see MANO-ZISSI 1965.

⁸⁸ MATULIĆ 2003, 99.

⁸⁹ DYCZEK 2010.

⁹⁰ MIJOVIĆ 1980, 109; this type of villa can be compared with villas in Pannonia, precisely Eisenstradt, Balaca I, Gyulafiratóy Pogánytelek-Tac I, that have a central space or an open peristyle. See also VASIĆ 1970.

⁹¹ DYCZEK 2010, 74.

⁹² CEKA 1992, 75. See also FERRIÉS, SKENDERAJ 2015.

⁹³ For some methodological thoughts on the identification of Roman inn, see LE GUENNEC 2016.



Fig. 18 Risan, villa of Hypnos: the mosaic in Room 2 (photo by the author).

precise comparisons with buildings of the *X Regio Venetia et Histria*⁹⁴, both urban and rural, as well as villas in Pannonia⁹⁵: all of which have a square plan with a central space or peristyle.

The foundations of another building, with mosaic floors, were found near the villa of Hypnos, under a road. Called ‘villa of the Meander’, it was built in the 2nd century, rebuilt in the early 4th century when it acquired an *opus sectile* floor and perhaps abandoned in the late 4th⁹⁶. Although the interpretation proposed by the Polish scholar for the villa of Hypnos is compelling, in the absence of other elements, it cannot be excluded that all we are dealing with here is a residential district. Beyond its functional interpretation, however, the Risan building constitutes a very useful case-study for the confluence of decorative motifs of different Mediterranean origins.

⁹⁴ DE FRANCESCHINI 1998; BUSANA 2002; MATIJASIC 2001.

⁹⁵ MULVIN 2002.

⁹⁶ DYCZEK 2004, 108-111.

1.4 Other Roman towns on the Montenegrin coast

In other coastal towns, such as *Acruvium* (Kotor), *Butua* (Budva) and *Olcinium* (Ulcinj) the archaeological remains tend as yet to be very poor⁹⁷, but these sites might simply require further investigation.

Pliny places the Illyrian city of *Acruvium* among the *oppida civium Romanorum*⁹⁸, but it is not certain if it was a colony⁹⁹. During the restoration of the Cathedral of Kotor, fragments of an older church were found, which were then kept in a lapidary store. Further investigations were conducted after the earthquake in 1979, but only medieval remains were found¹⁰⁰.

In the Illyrian settlement of Budva (*Butua*), already populated by Roman citizens before it became a colony or *municipium*¹⁰¹, graves with Hellenistic-Roman objects were found in 1938. Sadly the grave goods are now mostly missing. Excavations recommenced after World War II, but the results were never published. After the earthquake in 1979, the excavation of the cemetery was completed and 4th to 5th centuries burials were identified. In particular, the great variety of glass objects from Mediterranean workshops present in the Budva necropolis provides an interesting picture of its trade relationships¹⁰². Glass vessels from Italian workshops were imported during the 1st and 2nd centuries, while the import of objects from Eastern Mediterranean lasted until the 4th century. The materials are now on display in the Archaeological Museum of Budva. In the same museum, there is a fragment of a decorated marble pluteus or iconostasis probably from an early Christian basilica of the 6th century¹⁰³.

Ulcinj (*Olcinium*) is the southernmost town of the Montenegrin littoral. According to Pliny, the city was founded by Colchis¹⁰⁴, but there are no materials related to an archaic phase. Excavations in the old town have revealed the existence of walls dating between the 4th and the 3rd centuries BC. After the fall of the Illyrian kingdom in 167 BC, the city became a Roman *oppidum*, but inscriptions in Latin have not been found¹⁰⁵.

⁹⁷ WILKES 1969, 257.

⁹⁸ Plin. *NH* III, 144; WILKES 1969, 256.

⁹⁹ RINALDI TUFİ 1989, 97. Roman materials (sculptures, inscriptions) are kept in the Pomorski Muzej (Naval Museum).

¹⁰⁰ MARTINOVIĆ 2010, 179-181.

¹⁰¹ Plin. *NH* III, 144; WILKES 1969, 256.

¹⁰² LAZAR 2015.

¹⁰³ MARTINOVIĆ 2010, 179.

¹⁰⁴ Plin. *NH* III, 144.

¹⁰⁵ MARTINOVIĆ 2010, 182.

2. The countryside

The evidence regarding the countryside of Roman Montenegro is very poor. If much of the entire province of Dalmatia remains *terra incognita* in settlement terms, as V. Gaffney notes¹⁰⁶, this is especially true for Montenegro, where, until recently, no attention was paid to the study and interpretation of its historical or archaeological landscape. The new work conducted at Risan, Doclea and Stari Bar is based on modern non-invasive methods of studying the archaeological landscape. Numerous sites dating to early Roman times have been identified in the territory of Bar. To these we have to add the underwater archaeological finds that testify to strong trade links with different Mediterranean regions¹⁰⁷. It is thus possible to argue that settlements lay scattered along the coastal strip, concentrated around Bar, while their cemeteries were located on the more internal reliefs¹⁰⁸.

S. Gelichi notes that ‘there is an absence of settlements of at least a minimal institutional importance in the Roman-Hellenistic age on the coast between Budva and Ulcinium’, but this absence ‘seems to have been compensated, at least from the Late Imperial Age, by a series of *villae*, testified by direct archaeological finds (mosaics and structures) or indirectly, as, for example, for the small group of tombs found in Sutomore in 1971’¹⁰⁹. Nevertheless, only two villas have been excavated.

In the early 1900s, in the locality of Mirišta in Petrovac na Moru, on the coast between Budva and Bar, a mosaic floor was found, along with fragments probably coming from other rooms (Fig. 19)¹¹⁰.

The decorative motifs – vine leaves, knot of Solomon, kantharoi – date the mosaic to the last decade of the 3rd century AD¹¹¹. Excavations at the site were undertaken in 2006 and the results of the 2006-2011 campaigns were published in 2014; another monograph is in preparation¹¹². New rooms were discovered, and more building phases recognised (Fig. 20). The first phase is dated to between the late 1st and early 2nd centuries AD; between the 2nd and the 3rd centuries, the building was enlarged in its western part. Thereafter, an important

¹⁰⁶ GAFFNEY 2006, 104.

¹⁰⁷ ZAGARČANIN 2013.

¹⁰⁸ For some evidence from the territory of Bar, as well as from underwater research, see ZAGARČANIN 2013, 27-33.

¹⁰⁹ GELICHI 2006b, 10-11.

¹¹⁰ The first study is NIKOLAJEVIĆ-STOJKOVIĆ 1957.

¹¹¹ MIJOVIĆ 1980, 110.

¹¹² ZAGARČANIN 2014.

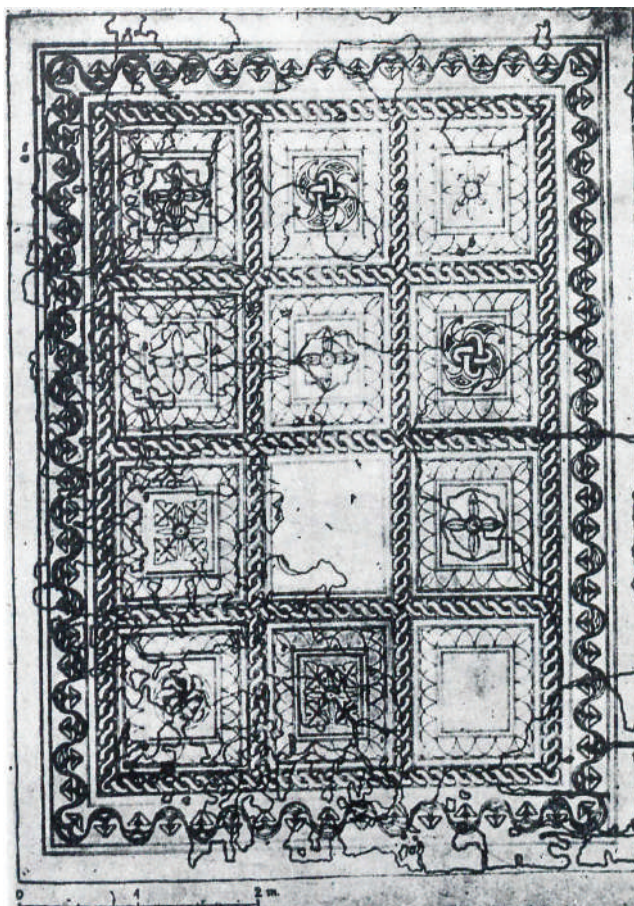


Fig. 19 Petrovac na Moru: the Late Antique mosaic (after MIJOVIĆ 1980, 97, fig. 4).

building phase ensues with rooms having mosaic floors and areas for the production of oil, all dating to the 4th century¹¹³. The particularity of the building at this stage is the presence of a series of pools inside the rooms, the function of which is not clear. M. Zagarčanin suggests that in this phase the building was not a villa, but a place of worship, a sort of *sanatorium* connected with a bathing complex that is not preserved. More investigation is needed¹¹⁴: building underwent a violent destruction in the 4th century, the cause of which is uncertain; further changes are attested in the 6th century¹¹⁵.

¹¹³ ZAGARČANIN 2014.

¹¹⁴ ZAGARČANIN 2014, 49-50.

¹¹⁵ ZAGARČANIN 2014, 51-52.



Fig. 20 Petrovac na Moru: plan of the villa (*after* ZAGARČANIN 2014, 23, fig. 1).

Another villa has been partially excavated in the Kruce Bay, between Bar and Ulcinj, in 1984¹¹⁶: two rectangular rooms and a bathing complex with three fragments of mosaic floors were dated to the 6th century¹¹⁷. However, the structure seems older and the finds only bear witness to the last phase of the site's occupation¹¹⁸. The villa is similar to that of Petrovac in its seaside location, for the presence of rooms decorated with mosaics and for a Late Antique chronology. According to S. Gelichi, however, the possibility that these buildings were connected to estates still remains hypothetical and even their chronology ought to be reassessed on the basis of more reliable archaeological data¹¹⁹.

Mosaic floor fragments have been found both on the coast and inland: 'it is only reasonable to assume the existence of Late Roman villas with *latifundia*, which later passed into the ownership of the Church'¹²⁰. I. Stevović mentions the *villa rustica* on the site Podvhr-Crkvine, situated below Gradina in Martinići, near Doclea, which would have a Christian temple¹²¹.

Other villas, unpublished, are reported in Buliarica (between Bar and Petrovac) and in Pjaca Vranovica, near Tivat¹²². The recovered materials also suggest a direct connection between these settlements and the Adriatic-Mediterranean trade routes¹²³.

Conclusions

In conclusion, we can observe how Roman archaeology in Montenegro is yet to be satisfactorily explored. That said, the available documentation is strongly suggestive of a high level of cross-cultural exchange. Meeting point of ancient cultures and peoples, Roman Montenegro quickly became incorporated into the Imperial system, as evidenced by all the monuments built in its cities. Doclea, in particular, is representative of this phenomenon: the main buildings so far known in the Roman town fit perfectly in the 'official' Roman tradition and also find precise comparisons in aulic architectural models, as can be seen in particular in the case of the *forum*, the temples and the baths. In Doclea, there is no perception of a possible

¹¹⁶ MIJOVIĆ 1987, 120 and 149.

¹¹⁷ GELICHI 2006b, 13 and pl. 1.9

¹¹⁸ GELICHI 2006b, 14.

¹¹⁹ GELICHI 2006b, 14.

¹²⁰ MIJOVIĆ 1980, 108. ZAGARČANIN 2015 also indicates the presence of a Roman villa in the small island Prevlaka near Tivat, and the mosaics of a thermal complex (1st-3rd centuries) found under the dormitory of the monastery of St. Michael the Archangel (ZAGARČANIN 2016).

¹²¹ STEVOVIĆ 2014, 128. The site is not published and it is not possible to verify the relationship between the villa and the 'Christian Temple'.

¹²² GELICHI 2006b, 13.

¹²³ GELICHI 2006b, 13.

reduction in the inhabited space in Late Antiquity, a phenomenon commonly found in many cities of the Empire. The research, which up until now has been limited to church buildings, needs to be widened, in order to better reconstruct the dynamics of the abandonment of the city in the early Middle Ages.

More research is also needed in the other Roman cities of Montenegro and their hinterlands. On the basis of the discovery of the mosaic fragments both on the coast and inland, it is reasonable to assume the existence of many Roman villas, all of which require further investigation. As regards the coastal settlements, it is likely that these villas represent the phenomenon of scattered settlement that was a common pattern on the Roman coastlines. As for cross-cultural contacts, further studies on the production of mosaics and, above all, on the production and circulation of ceramics and other materials all still needs to be further developed.

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THE CIVIC IDENTITY OF THE ELITE IN THE ROMAN SETTLEMENTS OF SOUTH-EASTERN DALMATIA

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The Roman settlements of south-eastern Dalmatia, namely Doclea, Municipium S and Risinium, were organised as any other provincial municipal communities in the Roman Empire. Besides archaeological finds, epigraphy remains the primary evidence for the location, creation and identity of these settlements. The subtle differences revealed in their wording and expression may be perceived as, and reveal, cultural messages conveyed, just as with the material remains.

When analysing early Roman *civitates peregrinae*, one must take into account that the Roman conquest represented a watershed in the construction of indigenous identities¹. While some indigenous communities might have kept the same names, it is difficult to assume that their identity remained unchanged. The social structure of indigenous societies in this region before the conquest is not clear – there were probably different forms both of vertical power struggles ongoing between the elite and other segments of society, and of horizontal links between regional elites. The relative invisibility, in material terms, of elites and settlement-patterns further from the coast for the Late Iron Ages and of the Conquest era too presents problems.

This region belonged to the *conventus iusriticus* of Narona: Pliny names 13 peregrine communities (those of non-citizen subjects in the Empire) in it: Cerauni, Daversi, Desitates, Docleatae, Deretini, Deraemistae, Dindari, Glinditiones, Melcumani, Naresi, Scirtari, Siculotae and Vardaei². Docleates (Δοκλεᾶται) are mentioned by Appian, among the tribes Octavian defeated in 33 BC³. In the time of Augustus, Pliny states there are 33 *decurii* in this *civitates* (*Docleatae XXXIII*)⁴. Claudius Ptolemy locates them south of the Narensii, together with the Siculotae⁵.

¹ DŽINO 2014, 219-231.

² PLINY, *NH* III.22 143.

³ APP. *Ill.* 16.

⁴ PLINY, *NH* III 22 143.

⁵ PTOL. II 16.5; for more on the peregrine communities in Illyricum, cf. GRBIĆ 2014.

Apart from written evidence, there is limited but important epigraphic evidence about these *civitates* and their administrators. The epigraphy shows, in early Flavian times, the existence of different indigenous magistrates, mainly *principes* (which are attested in different communities) such as the *princeps civitatis Docl(e)atium*⁶:

Caius Epicadi f(ilius) princeps / civitatis Docl(e)atium hic situs / hoc fieri iussit genitor sibi et / suis set(!) fili eius Plassus Epicadus / Scerdis Verzo et summa adiecta / eff<e>cit(!) istud opus est pietas natiue / hoc auxsisse(!) videntur et decorant / facto et decent esse pios.

And his brother or relative as *princeps castelli Salthuae*⁷:



Fig. 1 Inscription ILJug 1853 (Museum in Nikšić, photo by the author).

Agiro Epicadi f(ilio) principi k(astelli) Salthua / et Temeiae Glavi f(iliae) fecit Epicadus f(ilius) / ut primum aetatis complerunt tempora vitae / et genitor fato conditus est tumulo / protinus inscripsit pietas nomen matrisque patrisq(ue) / ut legerent cuncti genitoris nomina saepe / hoc decet ut nati componant ossa parentum / et cineris edem substituat pietas.

As we can see, in this period the Docleates were peregrines, led by tribal aristocracy from their *castelli*. In this particular case from Salthua, on the main road from Naron to Shkodra. Their names reveal that they were not Roman citizens, although they used Latin language in their inscriptions⁸. In another inscription from Vuksanlekići *gens Latiniana et Epicadiana* is mentioned⁹: it can be seen as evidence of the patriarchal tribal organisation

⁶ ILJug 1853.

⁷ ILJug 1852.

⁸ WILKES 1969, 259; ALFÖLDY 1965, 144.

⁹ CIL III 14601: *Dis M(anibus) sacr(um) / genti Latinianae / et Epicadianae.*

of the Docleates¹⁰. So far, this issue was discussed by Géza Alföldy and Fanula Papazoglu. According to Alföldy, term *cognatio* would indicate matrilineal relations, as gens would denote patrilineal relatives¹¹. On the other hand, Papazoglu considered it simply a term to designate prominent families¹². One can suppose that only the elite used Latin and that the process of Romanization started with contacts with Italic colonies and the military recruitment of the indigenous population, as is shown by CIL XIII 7039 (Mogontiacum, modern Mainz):

Talanio(?) / Plassi f(ilius) / Docleas / mil(es) ex coh(orte) V Da(l)/matarum / |(centuria) Capitonis / anno(rum) XXXV / stip(endiorum) VI h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / Ziraeus pols{s}uit mun/iceps suo.

Ziraeus set up this funerary monument for his fellow citizen, a soldier from *cohors V Dalmatarum*. The cohort was stationed in Germania Superior, although its camp is not known, and the unit is attested in Böckingen, Arnsburg, Wiesbaden and Mainz¹³. Ziraeus himself was probably an auxiliary soldier or civilian who followed the military troops to the West¹⁴. For them, being *Docleas* was of great significance – even in the remote Germanic regions, thus showing the strength of regional identity.

As Wilkes suggested¹⁵, the *municipium* Doclea was established under the Flavians, possibly by Titus, to whom a posthumous dedication was set up by a magistrate (*IIIIVir*) of the city¹⁶:

Divo(?) Tito(?) / Aug(---) / L(ucius) Flavius Quir(ina) / Epidianus / IIIIVir i(ure) d(icundo) q(uinquennalis) m(unicipii) D(ocleatium) / obhonor(em) // IIIIV

Most members of the elite bear the family name *Flavius* and belong to the Flavian *tribus Quirina*, one of the last rural tribes, established in 241 BC¹⁷. This placement indicates an extensive grant of citizenship to the upper classes on the founding of the city. In Doclea, *Flavii* predominate, followed by one or two native Romanised families, the *Epidii*¹⁸ and *Pletorii*¹⁹. Families of Italian origin did settle at Doclea, such as the *Caninii*, *Novii*, *Servenii*

¹⁰ GRBIĆ 2014, 147.

¹¹ ALFÖLDY 1963, 81-87.

¹² PAPAZOGLU 1967, 11-31.

¹³ AE 1900, 215, AE 1992, 1290, CIL XIII 7581 and CIL XIII 7039 respectively; cf. HOLDER 1980, 226; SPAUL 2000, 309.

¹⁴ KAKOSCHKE 2002, 560.

¹⁵ WILKES 1969, 260.

¹⁶ CIL III 12680.

¹⁷ KUBITSCHKE 1889, 271; TAYLOR-ROSS 2013, 57-58.

¹⁸ *L. Flavius Quir(ina) Epidianus* (CIL III 12680 = 13818); *M. Caesius Epidianus* (ILJug 1851); *T. Cassius Valerius Epidianus*, *Epidia Tatta* (ILJug 1830); *Epidia Celerina* (CIL III 8287); cf. ALFÖLDY 1969, 83.

¹⁹ *Plaetoria Titulla* and *Plaetoria Iulla* (ILJug 1848); *Lucius Plaetorius Valens* (CIL III 14602); this *gentilicium* was common in Venetian and Illyrian areas, cf. ALFÖLDY 1969, 109.

and *Titii*. They probably came from the nearby coastal cities, the *Novii* probably from Epidaurus, the *Servenii* from Risinium²⁰. Not all the population was enfranchised under the Flavians. Some in the area received citizenship under Hadrian, and during the 2nd century immigrants were arriving from other areas of Dalmatia, from Salona and Iader, or even from Gaul²¹. Greek *cognomina* usually indicated freedmen or the spreading of the foreign names among the indigenous population²². There were many traders and foreigners in the *municipii* of south-eastern Dalmatia.

In Doclea, *IIIviri*²³ were almost immediately superseded by *IIviri* and all later magistrates bear that title²⁴. Other offices attested in Doclea were *decuriones*²⁵, *praefecti fabrum*²⁶, *viator consulum et praetorum*²⁷, *sacerdos* (priest of the Imperial cult)²⁸, and *scriba quaestorius*²⁹.

Both ancestry and municipal duties and virtues formed the civic identity of these prominent men and women. In many ways inscriptions naturally become the preferred means to trace the histories of these literate elites. Another matter worthy of enquiry would be what municipal virtues were prominently displayed? An obvious example from these parts is Marcus Flavius Fronto, with his impressive list of offices held in Doclea and neighbouring cities. One inscription gives an impressive list of magistracies and priesthoods held by the father, M. Flavius Fronto, at Doclea and other settlements in south-eastern Dalmatia. He was *sacerdos* in the colonies of Naron and Epidaurum, *IIvir quinquennalis* in the colony of Shkodra, *IIvir* in Risinium, while in Doclea he was *IIvir quinquennalis*, *praefectus collegii fabrum* and *flamen divi [Titi]*³⁰:

M(arco) Flavio T(iti) f(ilio) Quir(ina) / Frontoni sacerdoti / in coloni(i)s Naron(a) / et Epidaur(o) IIvir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) / Iu<l>io Risin(i)o IIvir(o) / <q>uing(uennali) <p>on<t>(ifci) in co<l>(onia) / Sc<o>dr(a) IIvir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) qui<n>[q(uennali)] / <fl>am(ini) [---] praefecto <f>[abr(um)] / pleps(!) / ex aere conla<to>

The significance and wealth of Doclea is manifested in the great personal fortune of the leading family, that of M. Flavius Fronto and his wife Flavia Tertulla. His *praenomen*

²⁰ ALFÖLDY 1965, 144.

²¹ ALFÖLDY 1965, 145; ILJug 1839 (Salona), CIL III 8291 and 12704 (Iader); CIL III 12704, ILJug 1835 and 1838 (Gaul).

²² Ibid; i.e. CIL III 12708 and 13822.

²³ CIL III 12680.

²⁴ WILKES 1969, 260; *IIviri* CIL III 12695, 8287, 8287e, 12697.

²⁵ CIL III 8287, CIL III 12699, 12700, ILJug 1832, ILJug 1834, CIL III 13827, CIL III 12691.

²⁶ CIL III 8287e, 12692, 12695.

²⁷ CIL III 13827.

²⁸ CIL III 13827 (ll.6-7: *sacerd(os) at (!) ar[a]m Caesar(i)s*).

²⁹ CIL III 12690.

³⁰ CIL III 12695.

implies that he was at least a second generation citizen³¹, perhaps of Italic origin³². For J.J. Wilkes there seems to be no doubt that they were the ruling family of the Docleatae, barely disguised behind the titles and designation of the city elite³³. He and his wife were responsible for building the *basilica*, and probably the whole *forum* complex, which they dedicated to the memory of their son M. Flavius Balbinus, who died at the age of fifteen³⁴.

The young man was also venerated by an equestrian statue which his parents had gilded, and the city council had already voted him a pedestrian statue and a public funeral after he had obtained ‘every honour that was permitted by the law’³⁵:



Fig. 2 Inscription CIL III 12692 (Doclea, photo by the author).

M(arco) Flavio M(arci) f(ilio) / Quir(ina) / Balbino ann(or)um XV / huic defunct(o) ord[o] / mun(icipii) Docl(eatium) funus / public(um) et statuam / [ped]estre[m] decrevit item / [primo Docl(eatium)] honores / qua[n]tos per [l]egescarper[e] / [licuit et statuam] equest[r(em)] / [---] Quir(ina) / [---] statuam / [---]t p(oni) i(ussit) / M(arcus) Flavius Fronto / et Flavia Tertulla / parentes impens(am) adiect(am) / inauraverunt // [M(arco) Fla]vio M(arci) f(ilio) / [Qu]ir(ina) / [Balbin]o ann(or)um XV / [huic def]unct(o) ord(o) / [Docl(eatium) p]r(aeter) funu[s] / [public(um) et st]atuam / [pedestr(em)] decrevit[t] / [item primo ordo D]ocleatiu[m] / [honores q]uantos pe[r] / [leges caper]e liceret e[t] / [statuam e]questr(em) / [M(arcus) Flaviu]s Fronto [et] / [F]lavia T(iti) f(ilia) Tertull[a] / fil[i]o // [M(arcus) Fla]vius Fr[onto et Flavia Te]rt[u]l[la] ---]

³¹ WILKES 1969, 260.

³² ALFÖLDY 1965, 145.

³³ WILKES 1977, 766.

³⁴ CIL III 12692, cf. 13819.

³⁵ CIL III 13820.

The *duumviri iuri (iure) dicundo* were the highest judicial magistrates in the cities of Italy and the provinces. Their chief duties were concerned with the administration of justice. *Duumviri quinquennales* were also municipal officers, not to be confused with the magistrates mentioned above, who were elected every fifth year for one year to exercise the function of the censors, which was then suspended for the intervening four years. Although Doclea had many other magistrates, and even a person of the equestrian order among them³⁶, it seems that the wealth and influence of M. Flavius Fronto were not easily surpassed. This family's rise to the ruling class of the cities in the area was swift and comprehensive³⁷. Another member of the Flavian gens buried in Doclea appears in the city council in Acruvium³⁸.

Marriages also played a significant role in the social status: a decurion, Q. Cassius Aquila, probably a descendant of the illustrious equestrian family from Salona, married one Epidia Celerina, from one of the leading native families of Doclea³⁹:

Q(uinto) Cassio Aquilae / decurioni Epidia Cellerina uxor et Cassia / Aqu(i)lina filiapatri / piissimo et sibi et suis / vivae fecerunt.

In the hinterland, epigraphic evidence shows a strong early presence of the indigenous elite in the ranks of municipal political institutions. Changes in the dynamics of the local elites also changed the ways culture and identities were constructed on a local level. There was no strict ethnic division among the population in Municipium S. Illyrian ancestry was not an obstacle for a marriage with a Roman citizen. Illyrian names are also attested frequently in Roman families⁴⁰. A nice example can be seen in an inscription from Otilovići, where the father was Pletor, mother Maximina and the daughter has a full Roman name Statia Fuscina and son also has Roman name Victorinus⁴¹:

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) | Pletor|r(i) Maxi|mina vi|va sibi f(ecit) e|t Victor|ino et Stat|ie (!) Fuscinie fl|ie (!) car(issimae) pi|ent(issimae) b(ene) m(erenti) marito.

³⁶ CIL III 12690: D(is) M(anibus) / M(arci) Marii / Ambacti / Corneli / dom(o) Br<i>xia / P(ublius) Scrasius / Naeolus aeq(uo)(!) / p(ublico) scribe q(uaestorius) / amico in/conparabi/[li] -----

³⁷ WILKES 1969, 316.

³⁸ CIL III 13829: D(is) M(anibus) / Fl(avio) Urso do(mo?) / A<c>r(uvino) qui v(ixit) a(nnos) p(lus) m(inus) / XXXVIII Val(eria) / Marcelli[na] -----

³⁹ CIL III 8287.

⁴⁰ MIRKOVIĆ 2012, 44ff.

⁴¹ CILG Montenegri 266.



Fig. 3 Inscription CILG Montenegro 266
(Otilovići, photo courtesy of
Zavičajni muzej Pljevlja).

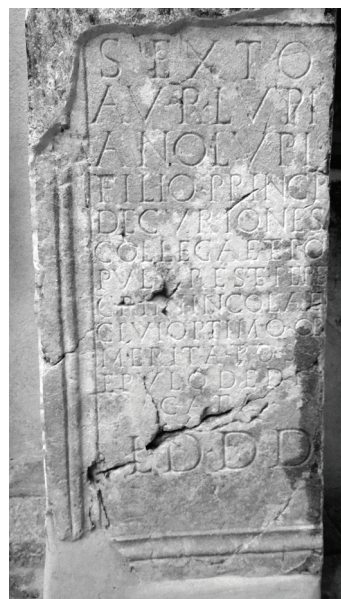


Fig. 4 Inscription CILG Montenegro 211
(Monastery of Holy Trinity, Pljevlja, photo
by the author).

One member of the civic elite in Municipium S is particularly interesting⁴²:

*Sexto / Aur(elio) Lupi/ano Lupi / filio princip(i) / decuriones / collegae et pop/ulares et
pere/grini incolae / civi optimo ob / merita pos(uerunt) / epulo dedil/cata / l(oco) d(ato) d(ecreto)
d(ecurionum).*

Sextus Aurelius Lupianus, Lupi filius, is a full Roman citizen, *civis Romanus optimo iure*. He was probably though of peregrine origin; his family was granted citizenship possibly during the reign of Marcus Aurelius or Caracalla. His Romanised peregrine status was perhaps emphasised by his *cognomen* deriving from *lupus*, an important symbol in Roman legend. He was designated *princeps* in the inscription (as well as the sons of Epicadus in the region of Docleates). He perhaps had a special task to fulfil during his office, as *princeps* in a city⁴³. His fellow colleagues, members of *populares*, as well as *peregrini incolae* (thus showing the concord in the city), set up his statue in gratitude for all his excellent deeds and organise

⁴² CILG Montenegro 211.

⁴³ Mirković 2012, 42.

a banquet in his honour. Other magistrates in Municipium S include *decuriones*⁴⁴, and a *Ilvir quinquennalis*⁴⁵. In the hinterland, we also have evidence of magistrates in office in several cities. Ulpius Gellianus, who dedicated an altar to Serapis and Isis in Municipium S, was *curator* in the cities in the interior (Splonum, Maluesa, Metulum) and of the city of Arba (modern Rab)⁴⁶.

The Paconii were one of the most prominent families in Municipium S, also connected with the Lurii and the Cipii, as shown by the funerary inscription of L. Paconius Barbaro⁴⁷.

The situation on the coast was somewhat different, as might be expected. Risinium was one of the most significant Illyrian cities, with a colourful history and strong identity. In Roman times, Risinium is documented as an *oppidum civium Romanorum*, and its most prosperous time came during the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, when huge villas were built in the area and the city rejoiced in 10,000 inhabitants, as well having access to established trade routes. In several earlier sources, the city is designated as *municipium Iulium* and we should note that many of its leading citizens were listed in the *tribus Sergia*, a tribe commonly found in Augustan foundations⁴⁸. It is widely presumed that the city had the status of *colonia* from the Augustan times⁴⁹. There were many Roman families, especially traders, resident there. The most distinguished family in Risinium were the *Statii*, with connections with Doclea and Municipium S, as well as other cities on the coast. One member of that family was a praetorian decorated by Trajan for service in Dacia and then appointed centurion of the *legio VII Gemina* in Spain⁵⁰:

C(aius) Staius C(ai) f(ilius) / Serg(ia) Celsus / evoc(atus) Aug(usti) donis / donatus bis corona / aurea torquibus / phaleris armillis / ob triumphos belli / Dacici ab Imp(eratore) Caesar re Nerva Traiano Aug(usto) / Germ(anico) Dac(ico) Parthico / Optimo |(centurio) leg(ionis) VII geminae / in Hispania t(estamento) p(oni) i(ussit) et epulo / dedicavit.

⁴⁴ CILG Montenegro 211, ILJug 604, ILJug 619, CIL III 1708=6343, PATSCH 1912, 127, Nr. 11 (heavily restored); cf. ILJug 1691 (Kolovrat) and nearby Berane ILJug 1818: *[D(is)] M(anibus) s(acrum) / L(ucius) V(alerius?) Licinius / dec(urio) II(vir) vix(it) / an(nos) XXXV Pro[c]illaconiunx / ipsiusvix(it) an(nos) XX / L(ucius) V(alerius?) Monta[nus] et Baelbia Iulla / parentes / filiapien[tissimo] et / sibi vivis / memoriam / pos(uerunt).*

⁴⁵ CIL III 6341, CIL III 6342, CIL III 6344: -----](?) / [---] q(uin)q(uen[n]ali) et sacer[doti] ---] / [--- sac] erdotali et Au[re]li-? ---] / [---]VM P(ublius) Ael(ius) Firmini[anus] ---] / [-----?]

⁴⁶ ILJug 73: *Serapidi / et Isidi M(arcus) / Ulp(ius) Gellia[nus] eq(ues) R(omanus) / cur(ator) Arben[si]um) Met(u)lensi(um) / Splonista(rum) / Malvesati(um).*

⁴⁷ AE 1983, 748.

⁴⁸ KUBITSCHKE 1889, 235-236.

⁴⁹ ALFÖLDY 1965, 142.

⁵⁰ CIL III 6359.

It is interesting that after all his adventures, he chose his native city to commemorate all his successes and to celebrate them with a feast. As Wilkes suggested, perhaps this was the case of an Italian family becoming established in a smaller city such as Risinium, before achieving status at Salona⁵¹. The other prominent family were the Egnatii, also of Italic origin, attested in Risinium and Salona. It seems they were connected with the important Statii⁵². It is accepted that many of the Risinium families had their roots in Italy: the Servenii and Tifatii came from south Italy, the Mindii from Ostia, others (the Caesii, Egnatii, Lurii, Manlii, Minucii, Paconii, Publii and Statii) were from central and southern Italy⁵³. The Caesii were found in various places in the interior of the province⁵⁴, but again their main centres were at Risinium and Salona⁵⁵. The Lurii were known only in Salona and Risinium (with two in nearby Acruvium). Perhaps they also



Fig. 5 Inscription CIL III 6359
(Risan, photo by the author).

started out in a smaller centre; in Risinium they are known from two funerary inscriptions and two more from Acruvium⁵⁶. In Salona, one of the witnesses in a military diploma is P. Lurius Moderatus Risinitan(us)⁵⁷ and they also appear in the upper classes⁵⁸. Alföldy names

⁵¹ WILKES 1969, 302.

⁵² WILKES 1969, 301.

⁵³ ALFÖLDY 1965, 142.

⁵⁴ ILJug 1715 (Municipium S).

⁵⁵ In Risinium, CIL III 1720-1722.

⁵⁶ CIL III 1725f, CIL III 1726; CIL III 1715 and CILG Montenegro 39 (Acruvium).

⁵⁷ CIL XVI 14.

⁵⁸ CIL III 1971f: -----] / mag(ister) II(?) i<n>memori(am) Luriae Hygiae / filiae do(num) p(osuit) cuius dedicatione collegio epulum dedit l(oco) d(ato) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

the Iulii and Plaetorii in Risinium as the Romanised native families⁵⁹. One of the leading citizens in Risinium during the Early Principate was Quintus Manlius Rufus, *decurio* and *iudex*, an equestrian and benefactor of the city⁶⁰:

Q(uintus) Manlius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Serg(ia) Rufus / dec(urio) iudex ex quinq(ue) decuriis equo publico / testamento fieri iussit / et epulo dedicari / in hoc opus Statia Sex(ti) f(ilia) Fida mater adiecit HS XXXV(trigintaquinguemilia) et summae operi et epulo relictæ / XX fisco intulit HS XIII(tredecimmilia)CC solo publico.



Fig. 6 Inscription CIL III 1717 (Perast, photo by the author).

This benefactor and his mother combined their resources for *opus* and *epulum* (feast) worth around 300.000 sester tia. We have no way of knowing how the sum was divided between the two gifts; nevertheless, the total amount is quite generous.

The connections between Municipium S and Risinium are attested among the members of the families of the Caesii, Statii, Egnatii⁶¹ and Paconii. Lucius Paconius Barbarius, buried by his family in Municipium S, was a *decurion* in Risinium⁶². Statia Aspasia was presumably from Risinium, but married and buried at Municipium S⁶³.

Unfortunately, in the civil administration of Risinium only *decuriones* are attested⁶⁴.

Even though it seems that in the Roman times most of the leading families were of Italic origin, civic identity in Risinium was also embodied in the great Illyrian walls

⁵⁹ ALFÖLDY 1965, 142.

⁶⁰ CIL III 1717.

⁶¹ ILJug 1715.

⁶² ILJug 611.

⁶³ ILJug 613; cf. also MIRKOVIĆ 2012, 58.

⁶⁴ CIL III 1717, CIL III 8395.

and in the divinity Medaurus, as attested in the famous inscription from Lambesis (CIL VIII 2581:

Moenia qui Risinni Aeacia qui colis arcem Delmatiae(!) nostri publice Lar populi sancte Medaure domi e[t] sancte hic nam templa quoq(ue) ista vise precor parva magnus in effigia succussus laeva sonipes cui surgit in auras altera dum letum librat ab aure manus talem te consul iam designatus in ista sede locat venerans ille tuus [[[---]]] notus Gmdivo belli vetus ac tibi Caesar Marce in primore [cl]arus ubique acie adepto consulatu [[[---]]] tibi respimntem faciem patrii numinis hastam eminus quae iaculat refreno ex equo tuus Medaure dedicat Medaurius.

This Dalmatian god, Medaurus, is almost unknown to us from any other source. As a matter of fact, the only other dedication to Medaurus can be found in the very same Asclepius temple in Lambaesis, with the inscription *Medauro Aug(usto) sacrum*⁶⁵, most probably closely related to the first inscription, and possibly offered by the very same senator⁶⁶. Several researchers have analysed the text and tried to deduce more about this divinity and his cult, but many things are still obstinately obscure⁶⁷.

Members of some Italian families from Risinium made their careers in the army, as is seen from another example of a soldier in Germania Superior, stating his geographic origin, CIL XIII 6852 (Mainz):

*]]llo[m]/[...]us L(uci) f(ilius) / [Ser]g(ia) Risi[[nio] Vale[ns(?)] / [mil(es)] leg(ionis) II / [...] ann(or)um) / [...] stip(endiorum) / [...]llo / [...]OAN / [...] lib(ertus) f(ecit)*⁶⁸.

Alföldy made a presumption that one family from Risinium in the 3rd century had connections deeper in the hinterland, near to modern day Rogatica. A decurion of *colonia Ris()* T. Claudius Maximus was buried there⁶⁹, and Alföldy believed that the abbreviated name of the *colonia* points to Risinium⁷⁰. Nevertheless, there exist also other hints and suggestions for the existence of a settlement named specifically *colonia Ris()* in the area of Rogatica⁷¹.

In the vicinity of Risinium, in Acruvium (modern Kotor), Roman colonisation began in the late 2nd century BC: many of the inhabitants were of Italic origin. The family of the Cipii was probably from Ostia⁷², and three of its members are attested as magistrates

⁶⁵ CIL VIII 2642.

⁶⁶ VÁRHELYI 2010, 34-35.

⁶⁷ Most recently, see STEVOVIĆ 2014, 33-45.

⁶⁸ We should also note that this inscription is now in much worse condition and the words *Risinio* could not be traced anymore as seen in EDH, no. HD055935.

⁶⁹ CIL III 8369=12748=ILJug 1571: *D(is) M(anibus) / T(ito) Cl(audio) Maxi(mo) dec(urioni) / c(oloniae) Ris(---) de(functo?) / [an(norum)?] LV T[---] / [-----]*.

⁷⁰ ALFÖLDY 1965, 142.

⁷¹ FERJANČIĆ, SAMARDŽIĆ 2017, 472; MESIHOVIĆ 2009, 55-74.

⁷² WILKES 1969, 308.

in Acruvium⁷³. Sex. Cippius Firmianus, with his father and cousin, who were both called C. Cippius Aper, gave feasts to the *decuriones*, probably to celebrate their election. Later came the Anicii⁷⁴, Aemilii, Clodii, Publii, and Valerii and even later the Caesonii, Lurii, Statii and Statilii⁷⁵. There is also an equestrian, *Ilvir iure dicundo*, attested during the Early Principate⁷⁶.

With the analysis of these epigraphic sources in mind, an important next question would be what level of need was there on the part of authors to emphasise an elite position, as well as their municipal virtues. Greek and Latin literary and epigraphic sources benefit from a rich vocabulary for the definition of the topmost social and economic rank of individuals or entire groups that played an important part in public life of the city in the Roman period. There are several epithets that express social snobbery and reflect an increasing tendency for social differentiation, even within the higher social layer itself. Greek language employs much more and diverse epithets for their leading citizens and magistrates. In Greek honorific inscriptions, those first citizens were showered with honours and described with many municipal virtues. Latin inscriptions are more restrained in this sense. In these epigraphic examples only general expressions are to be observed – such as *ob honorem* (for honour)⁷⁷, *honores omnes* (all honours)⁷⁸ or *ob merita* (for services to the city)⁷⁹. Also, many magistrates were described in their funerary inscriptions with known familial virtues, such as *piissimus*⁸⁰, *incomparabilis*⁸¹ and *optimus/optima*⁸², emphasising their exceptionally virtuous persona.

One can also discern plain titles, ones without any concrete content, which merely describe people of high social status, of noble descent and with high moral qualities, whilst at the same time there are employed others with a special meaning concerning a certain activity in local or provincial politics. However, it is not always feasible to distinguish

⁷³ CIL III 1710: *Sex(to) Cipio / C(ai) f(ilio) Serg(ia) / Firminiano / G(aius) CippiusAper / pater t(itulum?) p(oni?) i(ussit?) / et epulo del(dicari) / G(aius) Cippius Aper / consobrin(us) / heres pos(uit) / l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*.

⁷⁴ Only one fragmentary mention CIL III 8387.

⁷⁵ ALFÖLDY 1965, 142–143.

⁷⁶ CIL III 1711: *C(aio) Clodio C(ai) f(ilio) Serg(ia) VitellinoIlvir(o) / i(ure) d(icundo) iudic(i) ex V dec(uriis) equopubl(ico) [h]uic / defunct(o) ordodecur(ionum) locum sepulturae in[pensam]funeris --- decrevit*].

⁷⁷ CIL III 12680 (Doclea).

⁷⁸ CIL III 13819 (Doclea).

⁷⁹ AE 2002, 1115 (Municipium S).

⁸⁰ ILJug 1834 (Doclea), ILJug 1818 (Berane), CIL III 6343=8309 (Municipium S), CIL III 8288 (Doclea), CIL III 8287 (Doclea).

⁸¹ ILJug 611 (Municipium S).

⁸² CIL III 19699 (Doclea), CIL III 12701 (Doclea, *matri optima*e).

between titles of the former and the latter categories. Some researchers regard some of these terms as 'empty' titles, without any implication of a special role in public life. Another believe that 'the first citizens', *protoi*, *principales*, *principes*, *primates*, are those recognised as such by their fellow citizens but not wielding any authority, a situation that arises from the fact that there was no clear dividing line between official and unofficial power⁸³. Regional variation should be, however, always kept in mind, which makes it difficult to draw overarching and valid conclusions. Moreover, the particular political structure of every place, as well as the nature of both the Roman influence and the substratum of the local institutions, needs to be taken into account.

All these elite families in the Roman settlements of south-eastern Dalmatia could be seen as a pattern of active immigration into the province during the Principate⁸⁴. During the early Empire, civic elite families established a network first connecting nearby cities and then gradually expanding throughout the province. Roman Dalmatia was not a conservative and isolated region as scholarship has often assumed, especially in the case of its interior⁸⁵. It was rather a very active field, where Roman identity was negotiated in different ways on diverse social levels, using and combining elements of continuity and change to produce new cultural forms.

The issue of imperialism and identities on the edges of the Roman world cannot be understood without looking at two crucially important matters: Empire and Imperial periphery as characterised by political and cultural fluidity. In the older literature, we have an image of Rome on the one side and the conquered society on the other, both more or less static and homogenous. The pattern is seen as embodying a Roman point of view. Perhaps though the whole concept of 'original cultures', ones seen as unified, stable and persistent, which on meeting then give rise to amalgams, needs to be rejected.

A local elite was offered the possibility of integrating into the imperial networks of both symbolic and real power. Apart from social and political change, Roman conquests brought significant cultural changes, a kind of reverse 'culture shock', to the provinces. Cultural practices in society are frequently related to a dominant group, reflecting and justifying power-structures and their functioning within the society. Roman provincial societies were in most cases dominated by local elites, working from within imperial power-structures. So, in order to understand the nature of the change arising from the Roman conquest, we also need to understand the changes within indigenous social groups after the conquest, in particular shifts occurring in local power-dynamics and the

⁸³ ZOUMBAKI 2008, 221-222.

⁸⁴ Italic Republican families are attested in Dalmatia solely in Naronia see WILKES 1969, 298.

⁸⁵ WALLACE 1998, 213-25; DŽINO 2010, 6.

geography of power. Was there an elite-driven cultural change? I tend to agree with Millet that the native elite adopted Roman material culture and ways of living as a response to the changing political realities, and that these changes then filtered down through society as a result of emulation of the elites by the non-elites⁸⁶. For the people of provinces, their Roman identity resided within their practical knowledge of how to act within a changing social context, learning new ways of how to expressing their place in the local community. As Revell indicated, Roman ideologies and Roman material culture became bound up in the negotiation of local hierarchies, with the privileging of the wealthy, adult, free-born male through the persona of the urban magistrate; the less powerful participants became less visible⁸⁷.

What did the civic identity mean for the elite of these specific Roman settlements? They were shaped by their mostly Italic origins, as well involving indigenous features. A civic elite was defined both by Roman recognition and acceptance, and the aping and pursuit of the lower classes. They set about emulating the illustrious families of Rome in various ways, but inevitably were still very connected to their Dalmatian homeland. Their civic virtues were demonstrated by their munificence and generosity to the city in the form of municipal building or banquets. One can assume, as Džino suggested, that local elites gradually accepted their indigenous ancestry and Roman identity as existing in tandem and were equally proud of both, modifying and merging them into a 'specific, regional kind of 'Romanness'⁸⁸.

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⁸⁶ MILLET 1990, 212.

⁸⁷ REVELL 2009, 192-193.

⁸⁸ DŽINO 2010, 180.

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RELIGION AND CULTS IN ROMAN DOCLEA

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Doclea represents a monument to the process of Romanization of the Dalmatia, accompanied by all the features of the Roman presence, most notably the establishment and development of institutions. These measures are mirrored in religious traditions, the architecture of building complexes and the administrative setting, as well as in intensive interaction with nearby and distant places in the Roman world (Fig. 1)¹.

In the western provinces of the Roman Empire, as Duncan Fishwick has stated, the Imperial Cult was one of the well-conceived methods of promoting political propaganda². Augustus and Tiberius created a complex structure of both cult and the imperial ideology of power³. The policy of assimilation was most frequently expressed by powerful and visual means, including the presence of the symbols of rule in the provinces, which also served to establish a mechanism to strengthen the link between the Empire's centre and its fringes⁴.

The Flavian period is of fundamental importance in the development of the Imperial Cult. The reformulated context of worship was focused on increasing the power of an emergent dynasty, but one which was hampered by uncertainties in its legitimacy and authority. Vespasian included his sons, Titus and Domitian, in the Imperial Cult, so that they profited from being revered as well⁵.

The regional Imperial Cult had been in existence since Augustus' reforms. It served as a political instrument for the easier acceptance of Roman rule by the peregrine population. It was most often expressed in places that were less peaceable and where Roman rule was less secure, particularly in those areas where Gauls, Celts, Iberians and Illyrians lived when free, and where Caesar and Octavian/Augustus had won important battles. Once an area was completely pacified and included in a larger administrative division, the possibility existed of organising these forms of worship across the whole province⁶.

Entrenching the provincial Imperial Cult in Illyricum was a part of the complex process of both forming the province and introducing Roman institutions, actions that gathered

¹ STEVOVIĆ 2014b, 37.

² FISHWICK 1991, 148.

³ RUFUS FIER 1981, 55 *et passim*; JADRIĆ, MILETIĆ 2008, 75.

⁴ JADRIĆ, MILETIĆ 2008, 80.

⁵ FISHWICK 2002, 95-96.

⁶ JADRIĆ-KUČAN 2012, 41.



Fig. 1 Doclea, drone view of the western part of the town (photo taken by Rade Koprivica in 2017).

pace after Caesar's death led to civil war and when Octavian conquered Illyricum between 35 and 33 BC. One significant action aimed at establishing the Imperial Cult occurred during the rule of the emperor Tiberius under his governors, Publius Cornelius Dolabella and his successor Lucius Volusius Saturninus⁷.

Not much information about the Imperial Cult and the ministry of the priests in the Roman province of Dalmatia has been preserved⁸. Jasna Jeličić-Radonić states that the Imperial Cult in Dalmatia was carried out in Salona⁹. Ivana Jadrić Kučan believes that regional worship is recorded at the time of the emperor Tiberius in Scardon and, most likely, in Oneum and Epidaurus as well¹⁰. During the Flavian dynasty, the imperial family were associated with the newly set-up Doclean Regional Cult, designed for the peregrine communities of south-east Dalmatia. Kornemann's assertion that the Liburnian Imperial Cult and the Doclean cult dated back to the time of Augustus was rejected by Géza Alföldy and John Joseph Wilkes, who believe that during the Flavian dynasty, the central veneration of

⁷ JADRIĆ, MILETIĆ 2008, 87.

⁸ GIUNIO 2012, 131 *et passim*; BUZOV 2015, 66-96.

⁹ JELIČIĆ-RADONIĆ 2008, 83-104.

¹⁰ The Imperial Cult in Narona was most likely municipal in character; JADRIĆ-KUČAN 2012, 57-63. The Imperial Cult had been venerated in Issa from as early as shortly after the death of Augustus, where it persisted through the Flavian dynasty; at the time of the emperor Trajan, it most likely was sited in a smaller shrine located in the *forum*; JADRIĆ-KUČAN 2010, 90-91.

the provincial cult had been moved from Epidaurus to Doclea¹¹. Jadrić Kučan argues that Epidaurus accommodated the veneration of a regional rather than a provincial cult. D. Fishwick places the beginning of the Doclean Regional Cult in the period of the Flavian dynasty¹². The Imperial Cult in Doclea is attested in an inscription set up by Marcus Flavius Frontonus: in it, among the details of his rich *cursus honorum*, he is mentioned also as *pontifex* and *flamen Divi Titi* in Doclea and the *sacerdos* in Narona and Epidaurus¹³. Based on the wording *Divi Titi*, the inscription is dated to after 81 AD. The title of *pontifex* was the most prominent clerical title, one that stood for the Roman *pontifex maximus* and was always placed first in any sequence of titles. The College of Pontiffs was more administrative than priestly at this time: it took care of the organising and holding of cult events; it managed holy days, rituals and the calendar; and kept a register of selected town magistrates and priests (*Fasti*)¹⁴. The Roman province of Dalmatia provides 24 mentions of the title pontiff¹⁵. *Flamens* were priests assigned to the Imperial Cult, specifically to the individual member cults of the imperial dynasty. The holders were selected out of the local elite, usually from among the most prominent local families and magistrates¹⁶. Marcus Flavius Frontonus undoubtedly belonged to that circle¹⁷. This mention of the *flamens* from Doclea is one out of 13 such preserved in Dalmatia¹⁸.

The fact that the Imperial Cult was established in Doclea during the Flavian era is also attested by the inscription mentioning Flavius Genialis, *sacerdos at aram Caesaris* – which wording points to both the worship of Titus the then Emperor and Domitian who was in charge of carrying out the cult and taking care of it¹⁹. Pietro Sticotti placed this *ara* in the First Temple²⁰. *Sacerdotes* appeared mostly as priests, performing rites and sacrifices at oriental, national and official cults in the name of a local population; however, they were also present at the personal Imperial Cults performed by both peregrines and *cives*, alongside the official cults and those of both local and oriental deities²¹.

¹¹ ALFÖLDY 1965, 187; WILKES 1969, 253.

¹² FISHWICK 1991, 145-146.

¹³ STICOTTI 1913 (1999), 170, no. 26; ГАРАШАНИН 1967, 196-197; WILKES 1969, 260; MARTINOVIĆ 2011, 154-155, no. 153; JADRIĆ-KUČAN 2011, 105-106; ŠAŠEL KOS 2013, 297; ВЈАЏИЈА 2012, 76; STEVOVIĆ 2014b, 38.

¹⁴ GIUNIO 2009, 413.

¹⁵ GIUNIO 2009, 413, note 39.

¹⁶ FISHWICK 1981, 337-343; GIUNIO 2009, 413; GIUNIO 2013, 182-185.

¹⁷ KOPRIVICA 2016, 185-186.

¹⁸ GIUNIO 2009, 413, note 40.

¹⁹ FISHWICK 1991, 302 note 15, 325; FISHWICK 1991, 149, 227; STICOTTI 1913 (1999), 160, no. 11; GLAVIČIĆ, MILETIĆ 2008, 420; MARTINOVIĆ 2011, 179, no. 198; JADRIĆ-KUČAN 2012, 63-64.

²⁰ STICOTTI 1913 (1999), 194.

²¹ GIUNIO 2009, 414.

There is one more inscription preserved in Doclea which shows evidence of the worship of Titus as a deity. Lucius Flavius Quirinius, performing the service of a *quattuorvir* exercising judicial responsibilities, erected an inscribed base that served as the pedestal for the emperor's cult statue²².

The Imperial Cult in Doclea is also demonstrated by an inscription mentioning *sodales Silvius Aestivus*²³. In 15 AD, Tiberius established the *sodalitas* to worship the divine Augustus²⁴. This college gathered a group of people for the performance of joint sacrifices and liturgies related to the Imperial Cult²⁵. Some scholars argue that a *flamens* was selected as an 'individual', whereas *sodales* were by contrast municipal in character²⁶.

The mention in an inscription of *VI vir augustalis* is recognised in Doclea²⁷. This important municipal function was discharged by a college of six members (*seviri*), who were entrusted with taking care of performing and maintaining the Imperial Cult, as well as of constructing a monument *pro salute et reditu imperatoris*. Most often, they were members of the class of freedmen, who, due to their low social origin, were not allowed to become magistrates or members of the town council²⁸. Their selection was made by decurions. The *Seviri Augustales* represented an honor lasting for one year; after the expiration of their term of office, they would become members of the *corpus Augustalium*. *Augustales* had their own gathering place, called the *aedes augustalium*. Admission to the service was charged by means of donations (*summa honoraria*). In the province of Dalmatia, the emergence of *Augustales* was not linked to the community's legal status, but rather had a commercial meaning attributed to the status of freedmen²⁹.

In Doclea, no statues from the Flavian period exist that would supplement the above-mentioned epigraphic evidence. In the *basilica's* apse (Fig. 2), a monumental portrait of a Roman emperor (Fig. 3) was discovered during the excavation in 1954³⁰. Dragoslav Srejšević assigned it to Septimius Severus and dated it to 202-211 AD, the period in which the emperor returned from the eastern provinces. Srejšević argued that the head was changed as the emperors themselves changed, as well as believing that this imperial portrait con-

²² STICOTTI 1913 (1999), 159, no. 9; JADRIĆ-KUČAN 2011, 106; MARTINOVIĆ 2011, 150-151, no. 148; JADRIĆ-KUČAN 2012, 64.

²³ STICOTTI 1913 (1999), 172, no. 33; MARTINOVIĆ 2011, 187, no. 213; GIUNIO 2012, 216.

²⁴ VÁRHELYI 2010, 73; GIUNIO 2009, 416.

²⁵ RÜPKE 2007, 251-252.

²⁶ ROSS TAYLOR 1914, 231-253; VÁRHELYI 2010, 74.

²⁷ STICOTTI 1913 (1999), 171, no. 30; MARTINOVIĆ 2011, 156, no. 157; GIUNIO 2012, 225.

²⁸ GIUNIO 2009, 414-415.

²⁹ GIUNIO 2013, 186-187.

³⁰ Uprava za zaštitu kulturnih dobara, Cetinje (Administration for the Protection of Cultural Properties, Cetinje), Dokumentacija o istraživanju Duklje (Doclea Excavations Documentation) 1954.



Fig. 2 Doclea, *basilica* (photo taken in 2015 by the author).

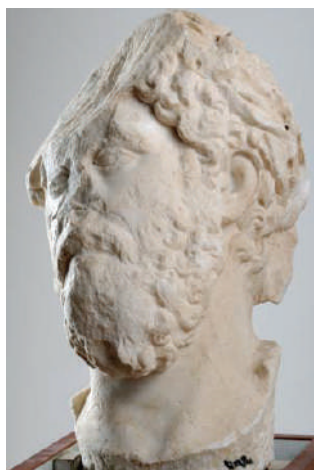


Fig. 3 Head of a Roman emperor
(after RINALDI TUFİ 2010, 45).

firmed that the *basilica* had been dedicated primarily to the Imperial Cult³¹. Sergio Rinaldi Tufi revisited this almost forgotten portrait, and now identifies the emperor as Marcus Aurelius. The portrait was discovered to have been made from high quality lunense marble and was imported to Doclea³².

The 1954 excavation documentation recorded that ‘the Emperor’s head, with the laurel wreath tied by lappet at the nape (...) a part of the top of the head and the forehead, as well as a part of the face, nose, mouth and eyes apart. The hair is curled; however, the beard, which is trimmed and of regular shape, were found in the *basilica*’s apse³³. We do not know to which portrait this description belongs, nor where it is now kept.

³¹ СРЕЈОВИЋ 1968, 91 (figs. I-IV); MARKOVIĆ 2006, 363, fig. 104.

³² RINALDI TUFİ 2010, 45-47; RINALDI TUFİ 2012, 480, fig. 40.

³³ Uprava za zaštitu kulturnih dobara, Cetinje (Administration for the Protection of Cultural Properties, Cetinje), Dokumantacija o istraživanju Duklje (Doclea Excavations Documentation), 1954; A. Mišura, *Doclea (Duklja) i lanjski arheološki radovi osobitim obzirom na pisane spomenike (epigrafijska)*, 2.

The excavations at Doclea also unearthed a portrait that Čedomir Marković attributed to Caracalla (Fig. 4)³⁴. However, neither the excavation references nor any research documentation gives specific evidence of this discovery. One additional male portrait from Doclea, now lost, used to be kept in Cetinje Museum³⁵.

Kornelija Giunio believes that the upper part of a *genius* torso (Fig. 5), discovered near the First Temple, is that that could have been placed on the pedestal dedicated to the Divine Titus. This opinion is disputed by Jadrić-Kučan, who points out that in the Roman world the Genius was envisaged only as a special power, specifically as the form of a general divine quality present in an individual man (or place), and always in a living emperor; therefore, the object found in Doclea cannot be linked with the divine emperor³⁶.

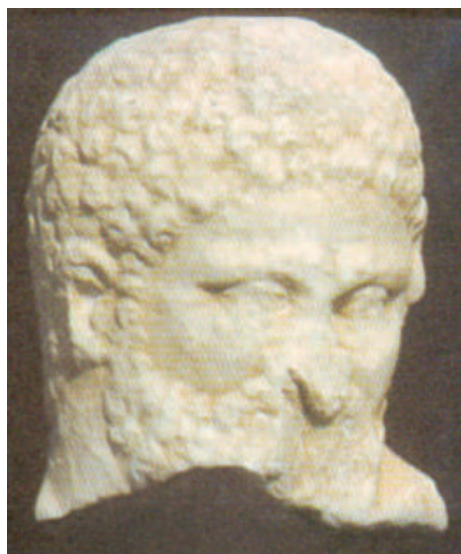


Fig. 4 Head of Caracalla (?)
(after MARKOVIĆ 2006, fig. 106).



Fig. 5 *Genius* torso
(after STICOTTI 1913 (1999), fig. 34).

During the archaeological excavations in Doclea in 1957, in the *basilica* on the *forum*, there was discovered among the debris between the *basilica*'s door and the seventh pilaster, 'a well preserved fragment of a marble statue'³⁷. It is not known which item this is. P.A.

³⁴ MARKOVIĆ 2006, 363 (fig. 106).

³⁵ STICOTTI 1913 (1999), 70-72, fig. 34.

³⁶ JADRIĆ-KUČAN 2011, 107.

³⁷ Uprava za zaštitu kulturnih dobara, Cetinje (Administration for the Protection of Cultural Properties, Cetinje), Dokumentacija o istraživanju Duklje (Doclea Excavations Documentation), 1957, *Dnevnik arheoloških radova na Duklji za 1957. godinu*, 2.

Rovinsky mentioned a leg fragment, from its knee down and 0.12 m long, made from white stone with nicely sculptured musculature. This Sticotti considered to be identical to the fragment exhibited in the Zeta Dom showcase in Cetinje³⁸.

In the early 20th century, there were still preserved statues *in situ* in Doclea. Živko Dragović – who, in a session of the Montenegrin Parliament, attempting to draw attention to the necessity of protecting Doclea – concluded: ‘local shepherds smash the statues using stones and sever their noses’³⁹.

In 2010, in the Capitol temple (Fig. 6), a fragment of a sculptured foot (Fig. 7) and an inscription were found; only the inscription was made public, and no suggestion as to its reading was given⁴⁰. The preserved fragment refers to the lightning of Jupiter, god of light and diurnal lightning (and opposed to the lightning of Summanus, deity of such appearing at night – the Summanum or Summani fulgur). Such a thing was previously unattested in the province of Dalmatia⁴¹.



Fig. 6 Doclea, Capitol temple (2010) (<http://antickadukljacg.com/galerija>).

³⁸ STICOTTI 1913 (1999), 137.

³⁹ Стенографске биљешке о раду Црногорске Народне Скупштине сазване у редовни сазив 21. јануара 1907, Цетиње 1909, 972-975.

⁴⁰ BAKOVIĆ 2011, 24 (fig. T II, 1).

⁴¹ I thank Dr Olga Pelcer-Vujačić, from the Historical Institute of Montenegro, for the interpretation of the inscription.



Fig. 7 Fragment of statue foot found in Capitol temple in Doclea
(after BAKOVIĆ 2011, fig. T II, 1).



Fig. 8 Head of Jupiter
Uprava za zaštitu kulturnih dobara, Cetinje
(Administration for the Protection
of Cultural Properties, Cetinje),
Dokumentacija o istraživanju Duklje
(Doclea Excavations Documentation,
after RADUNOVIĆ 1956, fig. 296).

The Capitol temple must have been dedicated to the Capitoline Triad, consisting of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva; sited in a prominent location, it would have contained the respective statues of the three deities. A high podium and a triple or a single *cella* large enough to accommodate the three statues are features of such structures⁴². During the archaeological excavations of 1962, Jupiter's portrait was found (Fig. 8); however, it is not known precisely where in the town it was from⁴³. Therefore, the question of whether the Triad was worshiped or not remains open. Epigraphic sources record the priests who took care of the Imperial Cult. Two portraits of emperors have been preserved, alongside documentation mentioning several more of them;

⁴² BARTON 1982, 260-261; SINOBAD 2007, 221-263.

⁴³ Uprava za zaštitu kulturnih dobara, Cetinje (Administration for the Protection of Cultural Properties, Cetinje), Dokumentacija o istraživanju Duklje (Doclea Excavations Documentation), *Dokumentacija o arheološkim istraživanjima Duklje 1962. godine*.

however, nothing exists which would allow us to conclude where the Imperial Cult was performed – whether it was in the temple on the *forum*'s northern side, or in the Capitol temple, or in the *basilica* at the *forum*⁴⁴. Emperor portraits were always held in the most visible places and those locations were always clearly designated in terms of town planning⁴⁵. Even if the Imperial Cult was introduced late, the incorporation of the structures required for emperor worship would have been fitted into the existing urban matrices⁴⁶. Accordingly, it seems reasonable to assume that the Imperial Cult used to be performed in the *basilica*⁴⁷.

The worship of the goddess Roma in Doclea is demonstrated by both her image on the tympanum's clypeus (Fig. 9) and the inscription referring to priests that were responsible for the cult⁴⁸. Although it is not certain whether this fragment belonged to the First Temple or the Roma Temple, it is beyond doubt that Roma was worshipped in the town.



Fig. 9 Doclea, *forum*, Goddess Roma
(photo taken in 2015 by the author).

⁴⁴ STEVOVIĆ 2014b, 62-63.

⁴⁵ CAMBI 2000, 9-10.

⁴⁶ PRICE 1984, 134; STEVOVIĆ 2014b, 62-63.

⁴⁷ KOPRIVICA 2016, 189.

⁴⁸ MUNRO *et al.* 1896, 22; STICOTTI 1913 (1999), 73-74, fig. 35, 172, no. 33; MARTINOVIĆ 2011, 187, no. 213; ŠAŠEL Kos 2013, 297.

Up until the 2nd century BC, the *Dea Roma* had been unknown in Roman cult. During the Republican period, the deity was assigned a narrower geographical meaning referring to the city of Rome itself, whereas in the Hellenistic period the Greeks had interpreted the foregoing meaning as encompassing the divine personification of the Roman Republic and the whole Roman people (*Populus Romanus*). In the Eastern Provinces of the Empire, worshipping Roma was introduced as a form of demonstrating the loyalty of the Greek towns based in Asia Minor to Roman rule. A Roma temple was erected in Smyrna in 195 BC. Thereafter, temples were built and festivals arranged under the name *Romaia*, being organised in honour of the goddess⁴⁹. Roma occupied a special position within the Roman state religion⁵⁰. The first Roman who was posthumously worshipped as a demigod



Fig. 10 Goddess Diana (Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology University of Oxford, Archive, photo by J.A.R. MUNRO 1893).

was Caesar, and *Dea Roma* was worshipped as the personification of the Roman Republic as well⁵¹.

In the province of Dalmatia, Roma was worshipped as a part of the Imperial Cult: the earliest known temple is located in Pola and dedicated to goddess Roma and the emperor Augustus. She was worshipped also in Oneum, Šipovo (near Jajce) and Aequum⁵². The southernmost trace of the cult to Dea Roma was recorded in Doclea. Responsibility for this cult used to be assigned to special priests, named *sodalis Romae*, in whose ranks Silvius Aestivus, Publius Flavius and Flavius Chresimus are attested in Doclea⁵³.

A relief image of the goddess Diana was found in the tympanum near the temple (Fig. 10), in the southern part of the town⁵⁴.

According to the popular belief, in the 6th century BC Servius Tullius built a sanctuary to Diana on the Aventine that was previously known for the Forma Urbis Severiana. On the Aventine, out-

⁴⁹ ROSS TAYLOR 1975, 36-37.

⁵⁰ JADRIĆ-KUČAN 2011, 94.

⁵¹ JADRIĆ-KUČAN 2011, 96.

⁵² JADRIĆ-KUČAN 2011, 96-97, 105; DŽIN 2012, 389-394.

⁵³ STICOTTI 1913/1999, 172, no. 33; MARTINOVIĆ 2011, 187, no. 213; JADRIĆ-KUČAN 2011, 105. I. Jadrić Kučan says: 'As soon as the Doclean town community got their civil rights, worshipping the goddess was set up, while the inscription reading about the divine Titus reads also about the divine Emperor.'

⁵⁴ STICOTTI 1913 (1999), 91-92, fig. 46; ПЛЕМИЋ 2017, 27.

side the *pomerium*, the *Diana Nemorensis* cult was venerated⁵⁵. Diana is a *potestas valendi*, the untrammelled life of nature in all its fullness, beneficence and harshness⁵⁶. From the Arch of Trajan in Beneventum, the gods of polity look out for the welfare of the town, while Bacchus, Ceres, Diana, and Silvanus take care of the country⁵⁷. In settings where the Romanization process was adopted by the upper social classes, the autochthonous cults persisted, but were given an *interpretatio romana*. Worshipping Diana was independent; however, it was spread extensively, together with cults to Silvanus and the Nymphs⁵⁸.

The worship of *Diana Candaviensis* in Doclea is attested in the inscription found by Praschniker and Schober in 1916⁵⁹. The inscription was dedicated by T. Flavius Dionisius, whose Greek name could have indicated his either Greek or Macedonian origin. Diana's epithet *Candaviensis* was derived from the name of the mountain located between Skampis (today's Elbasani) and Lihnidusa (today's Ohrid), between which the Via Egnatia passed. In that place, the Tabula Peutingeriana records the station (*mutatio*) *Ad Dianam* (VI)⁶⁰. The settlement, 9 miles away from the place named *Ad Dianam* (nearby Spatari in Albania), was also situated along the Via Egnatia. Most likely it was named after Diana's sanctuary⁶¹. This information perhaps indicates the origin of the *Diana Candaviensis* cult in Doclea.

The worship of *Jupiter Optimus Maximus* in Doclea has been confirmed by a preserved inscription. Related to military cults, Jupiter also appeared as *Jupiter Cohortalis Augustus*⁶² or, in short form, as *Cortalis*⁶³. The cult was widespread throughout Dalmatia and related to the presence and services of *beneficarii*. In 1962, during the archaeological excavations at Doclea, a Jupiter portrait was found⁶⁴. The documentation did not specify where the portrait had been found, nor do we know of its whereabouts now.

The *beneficiarius consularis* in Doclea, Publius Bennius Egregius from *Cohors VIII Voluntariorum civium Romanorum*, dedicated an inscription to the supreme god Jupiter,

⁵⁵ VINCENTI 2010, 11 *et passim*.

⁵⁶ RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 2006, 133-143; MILIĆEVIĆ BRADAČ 2010, 52; GIUNIO 2013, 103-116.

⁵⁷ MILIĆEVIĆ BRADAČ 2008, 363-364.

⁵⁸ MEDINI 1984, 9.

⁵⁹ PRASCHNIKER, SCHOBBER 1919, 2-3, (fig. 4); ГАРАШАНИН 1967, 189; MARKOVIĆ 2006, 359; MARTINOVIĆ 2011, 159, no. 163; STEVOVIĆ 2014b, 56; ПЛЕМИЋ 2017, 113-114.

⁶⁰ FASOLO 2003, 217; ŠAŠEL KOS 2013, 297.

⁶¹ ŠAŠEL KOS 2013, 297.

⁶² STICOTTI 1913 (1999), 157, no. 4; ГАРАШАНИН 1967, 190; MARKOVIĆ 2006, 358; MARTINOVIĆ 2011, 130, no. 108.

⁶³ STICOTTI 1913 (1999), 157, no. 5; MARTINOVIĆ 2011, 162-163, no. 169.

⁶⁴ Uprava za zaštitu kulturnih dobara, Cetinje (Administration for the Protection of Cultural Properties, Cetinje), Dokumentacija o istraživanju Duklje (Doclea Excavations Documentation), 1962, *Dokumentacija o arheološkim istraživanjima Duklje 1962. godine*.

the goddess Epona and the *genius loci*⁶⁵. Caius Ocratius Lacon, who served as a legionary in the legion I *Adiutrix*, also dedicated an inscription to Jupiter, the goddess Epona and the *genius loci*⁶⁶. The majority of inscriptions dedicated by *beneficarii consularis* mention in the inscription both Jupiter and the genius of the place. As far as can be determined, only in these Doclean inscriptions do we find joint dedications to Jupiter, the goddess Epona and the *genius loci*. The inscriptions dedicated to Jupiter and the goddess Epona, found in Salona and Rome, are famous, while the ones dedicated to the goddess Epona and *genius loci* were found within the Nasium locality⁶⁷. The *genius loci* stand for the deified specificities of the local surroundings. It was not easy for the *beneficarii* to become familiar with their environs in such a short space of service, so they felt they should ask the local deities to help them. Egregius' and Lacon's inscriptions were most likely placed, if not immediately one following the other, then within but a short interval. The dispatch of *beneficarii* serving in Doclea can be related to the crisis that commenced in 170 AD⁶⁸.

In Doclea, on the lime altar – now lost – was preserved an inscription dedicated to Ananke, which Dante Vaglieri found near the town walls in 1902⁶⁹. Lucius Coelius Val(e-rius), who worshipped Ananke in the interest of his son, constructed the altar. It is believed that this inscription relates to a rarely worshipped Greek deity, Ananke, the personification of ἀνάγκη (the Latin equivalent to *necessitas*), symbolising a need, a natural urgency or force. At a simplified, everyday level, Ananke may be imagined as a force that pushes people to do something they would like to avoid⁷⁰.

While describing the buildings and monuments in Corinth, Pausanias wrote that Ananke and Bia were venerated together in the sanctuary located where the path leading to Acrocorinth started – specifically next to the elevated platform, the two sides of which featured altars dedicated respectively to Helios and to the Mother of God; he further noted that entering the sanctuary was not customarily done⁷¹.

For the western regions of the Roman Empire, the evidence of the worship of Ananke in Doclea is the only example of the veneration of this deity. Emphasising the Greek origin of this cult in Doclea, Marjeta Šašel Kos points to the numerous testimonies of the Greek

⁶⁵ STICOTTI 1913 (1999), 157, no. 4; ГАРАШАНИН 1967, 190; WILKES 1969, 120; MARKOVIĆ 2016, 358; MARTINOVIĆ 2011, 130, no. 108; DISE 1997, 284-299; MATIJEVIĆ 2009, 50-54; GLAVAŠ 2016, 14-15.

⁶⁶ MARTINOVIĆ 2011, 160-161, no. 166; ŠAŠEL KOS 2013, 298; GLAVAŠ 2016, 28-29.

⁶⁷ GAVRILOVIĆ 2013, 254-255.

⁶⁸ MATIJEVIĆ 2009, 50-54; ŠAŠEL KOS 2013, 298; GLAVAŠ 2015, 28-29.

⁶⁹ VAGLIERI 1904, 284, no. 1; STICOTTI 1913 (1999), 155, no. 1; MARTINOVIĆ 2011, 161, no. 167; ŠAŠEL KOS 2013, 295-306.

⁷⁰ ŠAŠEL KOS 2013, 295.

⁷¹ BOOKIDIS 2005, 146.

presence in the town and roundabout⁷². A fragmented marble votive table dedicated to the god Medaurus was discovered in Rhizinium; the Greek monument found *in situ* in Dobrota nearby Kotor, constructed by the physician *Loukious Louskos Eukarpos*, as well as the fragmentary Greek inscription found in Epidaurus today Cavtat in Croatia, all demonstrate the fact that a Greek minority used to live in the towns and settlements of southern Dalmatia⁷³.

Evidence of the worship of the god Neptune in Doclea is preserved on the *ara* that Petronius Asper dedicated to Neptune *periculorum Absolutori*⁷⁴. The occupation of the person who dedicated this inscription is not known. These *gentilicium* were held mainly by Italic people or their freedmen that settled throughout Dalmatia over a long period. This *gentilicium* was also recorded in Doclea in the inscription mentioning Domnus and Domna⁷⁵. Existing in larger numbers, those from Salona and the Dalmatian seaside towns are well known; however, others have also been recorded in the inland of the province. According to the preserved inscriptions, the Dalmatian *Petronii* occupied distinguished positions in the town administrations: they were rich and most likely they were involved in trade. A certain C. Petronius Asper, the owner of the northern Italian brick factory *Epidiana*, operated in Narona. Bricks produced in that factory have been found in Doclea (Q. Clodius Ambrosius)⁷⁶. Petronius Asper from Doclea may also have been a trader or a businessman exposed to frequent travel and sea journeys. That is perhaps why he dedicated the *ara* to Neptune the Saviour⁷⁷.

Mercury is the deity with the largest number of figure portraits preserved in Doclea. Six of them have been preserved on stelas (Figs. 11-16), one on a sarcophagus slab (Fig. 17) and one on a funerary monument (Fig. 18)⁷⁸. He is depicted as wearing the *petasos* and holding a *caduceus*. A cock appears next to him. Such illustrations of Mercury represent him as a *psychopompos*, escorting deceased souls from the earth to the afterlife. The presence of the cock implies chthonic deity cults. It is supposed that the Doclean Mercury is the Roman interpretation of an Illyrian deity⁷⁹.

⁷² ŠAŠEL Kos 2013, 301.

⁷³ CAMBI 2003, 11-40; GLAVIČIĆ 2008, 43-62; ŠAŠEL Kos 2013, 301-302; СТЕВОВИЋ 2014а, 23-48.

⁷⁴ VUČINIĆ 2007, 197-209, figs. 7-8; ГРЕБИЋ 2009, 175-180, fig. 1; MARTINOVIĆ 2011, 130-131, no. 109; ŠAŠEL Kos 2013, 298; VUČINIĆ 2014, 115-117, figs. 47-48.

⁷⁵ STICOTTI 1913 (1999), 158, no. 8; MARTINOVIĆ 2011, 163, no. 171.

⁷⁶ STICOTTI 1913 (1999), 154.

⁷⁷ ГРЕБИЋ 2009, 176-178; The northern Italy brickworks, i.e. *Epidiana* owner *Petronius Aper* had business transactions with Narona. He could be correlated with the individuals known from the reading of the two Narona inscriptions.

⁷⁸ STICOTTI 1913 (1999), 147-148, drawing no. 85, fig. 86, 149-150, fig. 88, 149-150, fig. 89, 150-151, 176, drawing no. 131; ГАРАШАНИН 1967, 187; ЦЕРМАНОВИЋ-КУЗМАНОВИЋ, ВЕЛИМИРОВИЋ-ЖИЖИЋ, СРЕЈОВИЋ 1975, 271, figs. 162-163; CAMBI 2010, 83.

⁷⁹ ГАРАШАНИН 1967, 178; MARKOVIĆ 2006, 358.



Fig. 11 Mercury
(<http://antickadukljacg.com/galerija>).



Fig. 12 Mercury, National Museum
of Montenegro, History Museum, Cetinje
(photo taken in 2010 by the author).



Fig. 13 Mercury, Doclea, Bjelovine, grave n. 48
(photo taken in 2013 by I. Medenica).



Fig. 14 Mercury
(after STICOTTI 1913 (1999), fig. 88).



Fig. 15 Mercury, Civico Museo di Storia e Arte di Trieste (Fototeca, photo taken in 1909 by P. Opiglia).

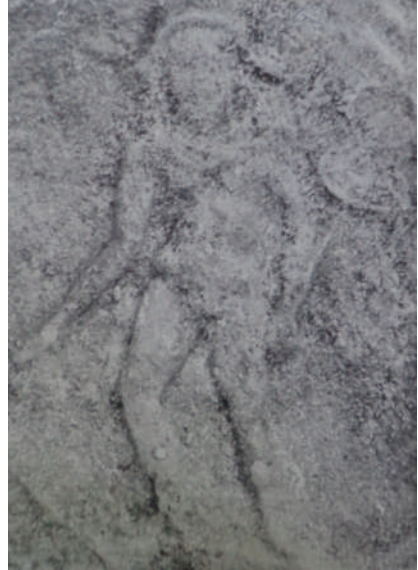


Fig. 16 Mercury, Uprava za zaštitu kulturnih dobara, Cetinje (Administration for the Protection of Cultural Properties, Cetinje), Dokumentacija o istraživanju Duklje (Doclea Excavations Documentation, 1959-1960).



Fig. 17 Mercury, sarcophagus slab, Podgorica, St. Georges church (photo taken in 2012 by the author).



Fig. 18 Mercury, Doclea, funerary monument (after CERMANOVIĆ-KUZMANOVIĆ, VELIMIROVIĆ-ŽIŽIĆ, SREJOVIĆ 1975, fig. 162).

The Mercury cult is one of the earliest Greek and Roman cults performed within the territory of the Roman province of Dalmatia. It seems most likely that, from the time of the first encounters with the Illyrian population along the coast, Greek traders had taken the Mercury cult with them to their newly-established trading centres.

Mercury does not occur so frequently in the Roman province of Dalmatia. Epigraphic records are rare; only nine inscriptions mentioning Mercury, found within the territory of the Roman province of Dalmatia, have been preserved⁸⁰. Outside the trading centres, it seems that the Mercury cult did not put down strong roots⁸¹.

Doclea has also preserved an inscription dedicated to Domnus and Domna⁸². It is not clear which deity is being mentioned. It is only a guess that it refers to a deity's epithet rather than a name, or that it signifies 'the existence of the Illyrian supreme deity'⁸³. The town also preserves inscriptions dedicated to *Dii deaeque omnes*, *Venus Augusta* and *Liber pater Augustus*⁸⁴.

In Doclea's south-east necropolis, out of the 351 examined graves, grave no. 281 is particularly significant (Fig. 19). It was excavated in 1960 in the southeast portion where the graves gradually disperse and fade out⁸⁵. The grave's long sides are lined with a thicker layer of mortar, with the north end covered by a fine mortar. The outer contours of the painted motifs were achieved by engraving them in the fresh mortar, while the interspaces were painted red and dark blue *al fresco*. The composition is divided into three registers⁸⁶. On the upper side, they are unified by the architectural design, a decorative framework. The central motif depicts a large seven-arm candelabrum flanked by garlands and figures of birds. On the east side wall, there is a painted vine or wreath with heart-shaped leaves. On the western wall, there are respective images of a star, a dish and several pieces of fruit. Above all three planes, there protrudes, hewn from the stone, a frieze effect decorated with a type of cymatium, imitating architectural decoration in stone. This frieze is discontinued

⁸⁰ GIUNIO 2004, 142-144.

⁸¹ GIUNIO 2004, 145.

⁸² STICOTTI 1913 (1999), 158, no. 8; MARTINOVIĆ 2011, 163, no. 171.

⁸³ ГАРАШАНИН 1967, 188-189.

⁸⁴ MARKOVIĆ 2006, 359; ŠAŠEL KOS 2013, 297-298.

⁸⁵ CERMANOVIĆ-KUZMANOVIĆ, SREJOVIĆ 1963-1964, 56-57, fig. 2. The grave's long sides were made from unhewn building stone set in mortar (2.07 x 0.84 x 0.86 m). The grave cover comprises four massive stone slabs facing north and south and turning at an angle of 38° toward the west. The grave's southern side was sealed by a large stone block and rectangular bricks decorated by fluting running diagonally across them. The grave was found with two bodies, buried with their heads placed northward. The entombment was done at two different times. The first interred person was placed immediately next to the eastern wall, whereas the subsequently buried one was placed in the central part of the grave. Due to the poor state of preservation, it was impossible to identify their respective genders.

⁸⁶ CERMANOVIĆ-KUZMANOVIĆ, SREJOVIĆ 1963-1964, 57-58.

on both the eastern and the western walls. These motifs represent a conceptual whole and incorporate certain forms of Jewish iconography. This grave decoration is also Jewish, according to the painting treatment. The incisions with the designs are pronounced: it seems as if the whole is more of an engraving than *affresco*⁸⁷. This decoration was created in the late 3rd or the early 4th centuries⁸⁸.

The Jewish grave in Doclea is important evidence of the town's cosmopolitan character. It adds to the few Jewish monuments preserved within the Balkan peninsula. This grave – together with the painted arcosolium in Venosa, the graffiti on the rock tomb in Noto Antica in Sicily and Jewish artefacts in Tripoli – testifies to Jewish communities which did not live sequestered lives in isolation, as has been claimed by earlier historiography⁸⁹.

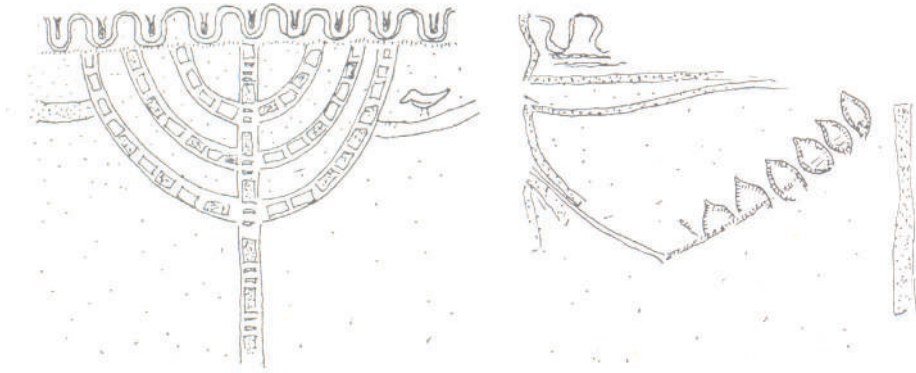


Fig. 19 Doclea, south-east necropolis, grave no. 281
(after CERMANOVIĆ-KUZMANOVIĆ, SREJOVIĆ 1963-1964, fig. 2).

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Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology University of Oxford, Archive, J.A.R. Munro, Doclea.

Civico Museo di Storia ed Arte di Trieste, Archivio Piero Sticotti.

⁸⁷ CERMANOVIĆ-KUZMANOVIĆ, SREJOVIĆ 1963-1964, 58-59, figs. 3-3b.

⁸⁸ CERMANOVIĆ-KUZMANOVIĆ, SREJOVIĆ 1963-1964, 60.

⁸⁹ RUTGERS 1992, 107; 1995, 95.

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INTERTEXTUALITY OF A MUSEUM COLLECTION: THE CASE OF COLLECTIONS IN THE HOMELAND MUSEUMS OF BAR AND ULCINJ

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Introduction

Intertextuality is a notion introduced in literature analysis that considers texts in terms of horizontal and vertical axes – the former connecting the author and reader of a text, and the latter connecting the text to other texts¹. The notion of intertextuality also means treating the author of a text as a writer of the already written². In other words, a text has its own history of writings and readings, so that we can announce ‘the death of the author’ and ‘the birth of the reader’. Texts are framed by other texts, as Foucault has clearly shown: ‘The frontiers of a book are never clear-cut: beyond the title, the first lines and the last full stop, beyond its internal configuration and its autonomous form, it is caught up in a system of references to other books, other texts, other sentences: it is a node within a network. [...] The book is not simply the object that one holds in one’s hands; [...] its unity is variable and relative’³. Having considered the idea of a text’s origins and its problematised boundaries, we face the question of where the text begins and where it ends. If we follow the idea of the preferred reading as a way ‘to *fix* the floating chain of signifieds’⁴, in a museum exhibition we must first recognise elements that can serve as an anchorage of a recommended interpretation of a world depicted in that exhibition. In analysing features of intertextuality in museum exhibitions, we will concentrate mainly on a possibility of different readings or *structural unboundedness* – i.e. the extent to which the text is presented (or understood) as part of or tied to a larger structure of an exhibition etc., factors which are often not under the control of the author of the text. We will look at ways of reading the exhibition following two approaches: a semiotic approach and then

¹ KRISTEVA 1980, 69.

² BARTHES 1974, 21.

³ FOUCAULT 1974, 23.

⁴ BARTHES 1977, 39.

a narrative approach relating to the content of the exhibition, so that exhibits might be treated like texts and subjected to a critical reading. All the photos in this article were taken by the author.

1. Museum exhibition: readings and interpretations

Artefacts in museums are taken from the real world – isolated, classified and displayed according to curators' classifications and their professional and personal points of view. By creating order and pointing out significance among the artefacts on display, a museum becomes an abstract system of cultural authority, so that our reading is settled in an interpretative framework. This interpretative framework allocates to artefacts their significance. If we forget for a moment the rules of the offered interpretation, the objects become parts of 'a silent text *in potentia*'⁵. Objects are dumb, and 'the problem with things is that they are dumb. They are not eloquent, as some thinkers in art museums claim. They are dumb. And if by some ventriloquism they seem to speak, they lie. [...] once removed from the continuity of everyday uses in time and space and made exquisite on display, stabilised and conserved, objects are transformed in the meanings they may be said to carry'⁶. By selecting objects related to certain collections, curators seek to recreate the past with 'a powerful effect of realism', depicting history as 'the way things were'. How can we argue with contents that seem so real and factual, as the usual solidity of a curator's work tends to exclude doubts and other interpretations? However, we do need deconstructive reading – looking at the ways in which exhibitions enable and disable other interpretations, articulating and producing a myth about our own or others' cultural identity.

Among museum practices, the narrative museum layout – in which the visitor follows a story – has become very popular in contemporary museums. In an arranged composition of exhibits, fixed and anchored by their alignment, museum designers lead us from the first moment to read their interpretation of the past or some other aspect of life, and we assimilate their intended or unintended suggestions in exhibition messages. But how can we say that the exhibits are evidence pointing to a truth, and that the truth being pointed to is the only one? We need then to bear in mind that displays are polysemic and that there is a plurality of readings. An exhibition has its own semiotics and mechanism of invisible meanings emerging from an open possibility of revealing different connections between exhibits.

⁵ TABORSKY 1990, 64; CREW, SIMS 1991, 163.

⁶ CRAIG 2003, 260.

2. Intertextuality of a museum collection – museum exhibition

A museum object has two notable characteristics: its physical presence and its meaning. The object's physical presence is fixed, but the level of meaning has no stability. Taking into account the fact that exhibitions may be permanent or temporary displays, and that the linkages between exhibits may be within either a comprehensive or a thematic frame, the level of meaning stability depends on a curator's intentions in displaying the selected artefacts. As the thematic frame expands, the linkages between artefacts increase, making polyvocality in the exhibition much more perceptible and dynamic. Exhibitions are selective and are a product of systems or politics of representation. They are expected to be in line with certain kinds of articulated discourses. It is noticeable that permanent displays always seem at first sight to be static, and are therefore very popular, but their broadened and less tightly defined base at the same time integrates other perspectives and voices not suggested in the purposeful design of a curator's displays, since one cannot avoid the fact that, unlike the curator's motivated activities, artefacts survive as authentic primary material from the past. Texts in the museum work together in linked groups (in other words, in clusters) in a physical space defined by a thematic construction of the exhibition, so that we have museum items shaped into a meaningful whole by spatial context and a syntax of possible relations. We agree that the spatial context functions on three levels: immediate items and texts clustered together within a museum exhibition; their relation with other clusters; the relation at the level of the overall exhibition and the museum as a whole⁷. Generally speaking, there are three types of intertextual relation: thematic, actional and heteroglossic, and among these three we are mainly interested in thematic and heteroglossic intertextuality⁸. Instances of heteroglossia in a museum exhibition mean the appearance of different alternative voices. These voices may be consciously employed, but for the most part they are unintentionally allowed to coexist. Intertextuality is a 'crucial factor in the construction of museum meanings that operates at several contextual levels: within texts; between co-spatially situated texts; between such texts and the broader sociocultural contexts'⁹.

⁷ NEATHER 2012, 200.

⁸ LEMKE 1995, 98-99.

⁹ NEATHER 2012, 215.

3. Collections of the Homeland museums of Bar and Ulcinj: museum exhibitions and reading their messages

In reading and interpreting displays' messages, we seek to understand them on their three levels, according to Roland Barthes in *Rhetoric of the Image*¹⁰: linguistic, denoted and symbolic. In the case of the ethnographic display of the Homeland museum in Bar, there is no textual explanation of exhibited artefacts. Showcases in the ethnographic exhibition of the Homeland museum in Ulcinj offer to visitors limited textual information about the artefacts arranged inside. With regard to the two iconic messages – denoted and symbolic – we must point out that museological language means coded, denoted message, governed by professional rules, the curator's experience and the museological code. The level of denoted, literal message means lines, clusters or groups of arranged and presented items in the museums. In the Homeland museum of Bar, traditional costumes in the ethnographic unit are displayed in two rooms, various pieces of jewellery are in a separate showcase without any distinction and additional textual explanation, old coloured wooden boxes with textile pieces are in both rooms, and finally we notice two very similar necklaces with filigree crosses on two different female costumes – a traditional Albanian costume from Shestan (Fig. 1) and a traditional costume from Spich (Sutomore, Fig. 2). These costumes are clearly associated with quite different national groups. The same type of necklaces, made in silver and with Turkish coins, could also be seen in the ethnographic display of the Homeland museum in Ulcinj on the Albanian bridal traditional costume from Bregasore (Fig. 3), as well as on a (Muslim) Albanian Anamali traditional female costume (Fig. 4) as a part of the ethnographic exhibition in Cetinje. This detail can be considered as the first anchorage of the curator's symbolic message in the ethnographic display in Bar, or as a starting point in a visitor's suggested reading. In the Ethnographic museum in Cetinje, the type of the filigree necklace with the cross is also associated with the traditional adornment in Spich, and a piece of jewellery with crescent moon can be seen on the traditional female costume of northern Albanians (Fig. 5). In the separate showcase with jewellery, there are many filigree pieces made of silver, grouped together as if they bear information about their common use in Bar and its surroundings, but the presence of the crescent moon symbol on silver earrings presented in the showcase imposes additional conclusions and questions such as: 'Who used to wear them?' A spontaneous and more or less correct answer might be: 'They were worn by Muslim and Albanian women'. But is this answer precise enough (Fig. 6)?

¹⁰ BARTHES 1977.



Fig. 1 Filigree necklace in silver with cross on a traditional female costume from Spich (Sutomore) (Homeland museum – Bar).



Fig. 2 Filigree necklace in silver with cross on an Albanian female costume from Shestan (Homeland museum – Bar).



Fig. 3 Necklace on a traditional bridal costume from Bregasor (Christian Albanian) (Homeland museum – Ulcinj).



Fig. 4 Part of the traditional Anamali female costume (Muslim Albanian) (Ethnographic exhibition in Cetinje).

Within the Ethnographic exhibition of the Homeland museum in Ulcinj, pieces of jewellery are always presented with a particular traditional costume, as a part of the whole, so that the above-mentioned type of jewellery with the crescent moon symbol can be seen on the traditional female costume of Shestan (Fig. 7), a region mostly inhabited by Catho-



Fig. 5 Pieces of jewellery on a traditional northern Albanian costume (Christian Albanian) (Ethnographic exhibition in Cetinje).

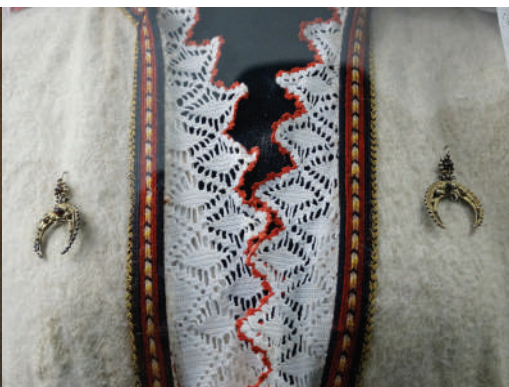


Fig. 6 Pieces of jewellery with the crescent moon symbol (Homeland museum – Bar).



Fig. 7 Pieces of jewellery with the crescent moon symbol on a traditional Shestan female costume (Christian Albanian) (Homeland museum – Ulcinj).



Fig. 8 Two *levhas* in the ethnographic display of the Homeland museum – Ulcinj.

lic Albanians. Within the collection of jewellery of the Ethnographic museum in Cetinje, where different types of traditional adornment from all over Montenegro are collected, there are earrings with the same symbol, described also as a piece of jewellery related to Shestan Albanians. Variations of the crescent moon symbol also appear as a decoration on a silk apron of the displayed Albanian Highlander female costume and the Bregasore bridal costume, as well as combined with crosses decorating the upper part of the Bregasore costume. Both of the traditional costumes are related to Catholic Albanians.

Focusing our attention now on the other part of the Ethnographic exhibition of the Homeland museum in Ulcinj, we find two *levhas* – framed Islamic pictures – produced

in an identical calligraphic manner (Fig. 8). One of them is devoted to God and includes prayers for his help, while on the other *levha* we read the name of Ahmed ar-Rifa'i. Taking into account the fact that Ahmed ar-Rifa'i was the founder of the Rifa'i Sufi order, we can draw the conclusion that the Rifa'i Sufi tradition had its followers in Ulcinj. *Levhas* are placed in a separate showcase with household tools. What is the connection between the crescent moon symbol and Islamic inscriptions in the Ethnographic museum exhibition in Ulcinj? At first sight, they seem related to each other, but very conditionally and only at the level of the literal museological message. As we know, the crescent moon with or without a star is the symbol of Islam, but in this case the crescent moon is not a religious symbol. It is a symbol appearing in the ancient Albanian tradition, and may be found among artefacts related to Muslim Albanians as well as to Catholics. As we have seen, the museological texts in both of the Ethnographic exhibitions in the Homeland museums of Bar and Ulcinj are written as a mixture of the curator's intended arrangement of signals in order to make suggestions as to how to read the exhibition. Making comparisons between two museological ethnographic scripts, we have noticed similarities in items represented and arranged in quite different ways and surrounded by their particular contexts. In each group, they have immediate distinctive features. This mixture of signals leads a visitor's interpretation towards allusions to particular traditions and social customs, as well as cross-cultural references. The above-mentioned instances of the crescent moon symbols and pieces of the same handicraft origin and design used in different national or religious groups make a range of allusions to layers of traditional and cultural texts, always overarched by new layers, making new texts in the process of transformation. The range of allusions changes and is dependent on the visitor's knowledge, experiences, accepted cultural stereotypes and cultural values.

In the Homeland museum in Bar, we read items and texts clustered together within a museum exhibition, their relations with other clusters, and the relations at the level of the overall exhibition and the museum as a whole in a relatively open layout. The conceptual frame in the Homeland museum in Ulcinj is tightly defined in a presentation of local traditions. However, our possible interpretation of both exhibitions requires a comparison between items, based on traces of their interactions and cross-cultural references. In this brief survey of the two museums' ethnographic displays, we have looked at two purposeful, designed displays. Authentic primary material from the past is presented as an outcome of the curator's motivated activities. Their museum texts work together in linked groups or, in other words, in clusters, in a physical space defined by a broad or narrow thematic construction, but their messages are also a *locus* of intertextual relations with other contents outside the museum, emerging from a system of common or individual cultural references.

Conclusions

The museum layout as a readable text activates the interpretation of interactions between the discursive and cultural practices of a society. Its polyvocality and plurality of invisible meanings are derived from the scene of variable signs, made to form a seemingly coherent narrative, which is always open to the visitor's interpretations. As we have seen, the curator's work tends to exclude doubts, but in deconstructive reading, allusions and comparisons with other museum texts and sources are inevitable.

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THE ITALIAN CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF BAR OVER THE FIRST TWO DECADES OF THE 20th CENTURY

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In the early 20th century, in the place where Bar is located today, there was to be found the settlement of Pristan, comprising several houses situated near a very small harbour called Mandracchio. The then town of Bar – now termed Old Bar – was located 4 km away from the sea shore, inland and in a place that, according to the standards of the Middle Ages, was better protected. During the Montenegrin-Turkish war, in the siege of 1877 and 1878, Old Bar was devastated. The Montenegrin authorities were not interested in its renovation. Instead, they constructed several buildings for their own needs in Pristan. In 1885, in Topolica and near Pristan, a palace was constructed for the family of Prince Nikola Petrović's son-in-law, Petar Karađorđević, which later became the palace of the Crown Prince Danilo Petrović¹. Even before its liberation from Turks, the Bay of Bar was envisioned as the primary port of Montenegro and it was thus logical to erect a new settlement nearby, given the relative distance to Old Bar. However, Montenegro did not have the funds to implement this plan; therefore, for almost three decades after the liberation from Turks, the plan remained but a pipe dream.

Over a period of less than ten years, a group of Italian capitalists – led by the Venetians Giuseppe Volpi (Fig. 1) and Piero Foscari (Fig. 2) – changed the circumstances of the Montenegrin economic situation quite considerably. At the site of Pristan, New Bar started to grow; a town that would have enjoyed marvellous opportunities if all the intended economic projects had been realised by this capitalist group. Volpi and Foscari appeared in early 1903 in Cetinje: they contracted a variety of concessions in transport and industry with the Montenegrin government, as well as other concessions for the exploitation of forest and mineral resources. For the most profitable concession of all, the arrangement of a monopoly on the purchase and processing of, and trade in, Montenegrin tobacco, they set up a joint stock company under the name 'Regia Cointeressata dei tabacchi del Montenegro' (Fig. 3). In 1904 and 1905, for the company's needs, a modern tobacco processing plant was built in Podgorica. At the same time, storehouses and processing facilities were constructed in Bar for the Tobacco Monopoly. A network of test fields was established where Italian families

¹ KASALICA, JOVIĆ 2009, 42-45.



Fig. 1 Giuseppe Volpi
(after BURZANOVIĆ 2009, fig. 2).



Fig. 2 Piero Foscari
(after BURZANOVIĆ 2009, fig. 3).

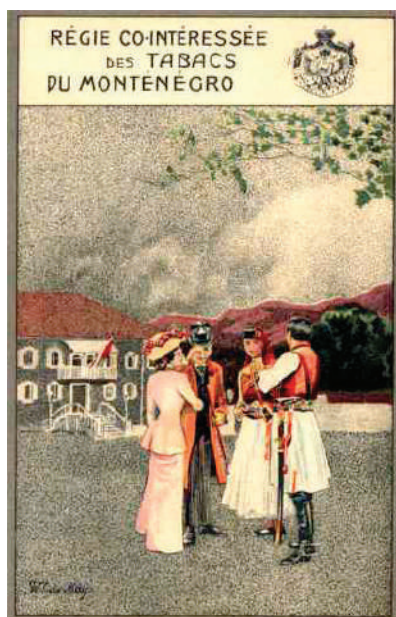


Fig. 3 A postcard from the beginning
of the 20th century.

– taken from the Province of Lecce – were employed to demonstrate the cost-effective method designed to facilitate the farming of high-quality tobacco varieties².

For the realisation of the other concessions, Volpi and Foscari set up the 'Montenegrin-Italian Trade Union (Sindacato italo-montenegrino)' that – over the next three-and-a-half years – was intensively involved in working to ensure the necessary capital, financial and political support from the Italian government. It planned economic ventures in Montenegro of vital interest to the Italian state. Montenegro was presented as the 'Gate of the Balkans', the starting point for the economic and political penetration by Italy into the Balkans and, at the same time, a strategic area if not for stopping, then at least slowing down Austro-

² ĐUROVIĆ 1958, 236-236.

Hungarian expansion within the Balkans³. With the support of the Italian envoy, Luigi Girolamo Cusani, it was primarily the concessions in transport that were negotiated with the Montenegrin government. During the said activities, the Trade Union was transformed twice – firstly into the ‘Port of Bar and Railway Trade Union’ and finally into the ‘Compagnia di Antivari’, namely the Bar Company⁴. The Montenegrin government assigned to the new Trade Union the concessions contracted with its predecessor. Volpi and Cusani managed to get the Prince and the government to drop both any claims for independent Montenegrin navigation on Lake Skadar and also to forgo the subsidy allocated by the Italian government for that purpose. As for the postal transportation service, it was subsequently organised, on a temporary basis, by the Italian government – which was just the first step toward the wholesale surrendering of that service to the Italian-Montenegrin Trade Union⁵.

The Bar Company was set up on December 20th 1905 as a Montenegrin autonomous company based in Cetinje. The Company’s goals were to construct the port and to set up also free zones in Bar; to construct and to exploit the railway ‘in Montenegro and abroad’; to have a monopoly over navigation on Lake Skadar by mechanical vessels; and in general to undertake ‘any financial and trade operation of any kind’. The Company’s operational life was set at 65 years. The Company’s capital amounted to 4 million crowns⁶. At the invitation of the promoter, supported by the Italian government’s benevolent attitude and encouragement, a share capital formation was undertaken and assisted by the major financial and industrial institutions of Italy. With patriotic enthusiasm, private individuals also participated in the company. The shareholders were the Italian Trade Bank; the Pisa and Vonwiller Banks, Milan; Luigi Marsaglia Bank, Torino; and R. Piaggio and Sons Factory, Genoa as institutional investors; and then, as private investors, Tommaso Bertarelli; Marco Besso; the engineer Ernesto Breda; Luigi Cansi; Ferdinand Cesaroni; the engineer Count A. Corinaldi; Carlo Ottavio Cornagia; Senator De Angelis; Count Piero Foscari; Baron Tristan Galloti; Vico Mantegazza; Guglielmo Marconi; Luigi Marsaglia; the lawyer Clemente Maraini; Giorgio Mylius; Attilio Odero; the engineer Giuseppe Orlando; the

³ BURZANOVIĆ 2009, 26-27.

⁴ ASDMAE, Archivio Segreto di Gabinetto, Cassette verdi, *Cusani a Tittoni*, Cettigne, Cettigne, 10. VIII 1905. In the summer of 1905, the Italian-Montenegrin Trade Union was transformed – between the end of July and the beginning of August specifically – into the ‘Port of Bar and Railway Trade Union’. The new Trade Union had capital amounting to 1,000,000 lire. The President, Foscari, was replaced by an engineer, Roberto Paganini, who was already the President of the ‘Tobacco Monopoly’. Paganini assumed this role after receiving a promise that the Italian government would provide the Company with subsidies.

⁵ AS, SI 55, *Cusani a Tittoni*, Cettigne, 14. IX 1905; *Glas Crnogorica*, no. 37, 17. IX 1905, 4.

⁶ *Međunarodni ugovori Crne Gore 1878-1918*, Zbornik dokumenata sa komentarom, G. Perazić, R. Raspopović (eds.), *Statut anonimnog društva nazvanog Barsko društvo*, Podgorica 1992, 510-518.

engineer Vittorio Ottolenghi, the engineer Piero Piola-Daverio; Count Carlo Raggio; Vittorio Rolandi-Ricci, Count and Senator G. Rosi Martini; Frederik Selve; Senator Treves di Bonfiglio; G. Tempini and Cezar Treza di Musella⁷.

The strengthening of the Italian position and presence in Montenegro affected Austro-Hungarian interests. Of particular concern was the possibility that – after the concessions had been realised – the Italian position in Montenegro would be so strong that it would be a serious obstacle even to the Austro-Hungarian's own expansionist intentions within the Balkans, primarily within Albania. From as early as the spring of 1904, while endeavouring to hinder the Italian plans, the Austro-Hungarian envoy, Baron Otto Kuhn started submitting to Prince Nikola a variety of transport and industrial projects that Austrian companies or the Austrian government might implement in Montenegro⁸. The same concern was felt in Russian diplomatic circles as well. The Russian envoy in Cetinje, Maksimov, attempted to exert pressure on the Montenegrin Prime Minister, Lazar Mijušković, to prevent the execution of the contract, which he believed to be harmful to both Montenegrin and Russian interests. Being unsuccessful in his attempt, he did his best to assist the Montenegrin government through his advice during the negotiations, with the intention that the final version of the contract would be as favourable as possible to Montenegro⁹.

Finally on June 26th 1906, the Italian envoy Cusani was in a position to send to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Rome a telegram, which read as follows: 'I am pleased to have this opportunity to inform Your Excellency that extensive difficulties have been overcome safely; today, the Bar Company and the Montenegrin government have entered into a contract that will ensure the priority of Italian influence here over the economic life of Montenegro'¹⁰.

During 1905 and 1906, certain port and railway construction works were completed, even prior to the execution of the contract with the Bar Company¹¹. They had been initiated by another business venture which was independent of the Bar Company.

Being both undeveloped and, in technical terms, underdeveloped, Montenegro thus had the opportunity to establish – on August 4th 1904, within its territory, on the Volujica hill near the entrance to the port of Bar – the first radiotelegraph station (Fig. 4) on the eastern shore of the Adriatic Sea, the initial operation of which was celebrated with due ceremony on that date. According to official reports, Marconi and his London-based company

⁷ MANTEGAZZA (n.d.), 24-25.

⁸ AS SI 55, *Cusani a Tittoni*, Cettigne, 25.V 1904.

⁹ AS SI 55, *Cusani a Tittoni*, Cettigne, 25.V 1904.

¹⁰ DDI, terza serie (1896-1907), Vol. X (29. V 1906-31. XII 1907), 26, *Cusani a Tittoni*, Cettigne, 26.VI.1906.

¹¹ FRANETOVIĆ 1960, 344.

erected both the Montenegrin station and its twin in San Cataldo near Bari. He did that to satisfy the Italian Royal couple's wish to make it possible for Queen Jelena to communicate more quickly with her parents¹². Regardless of the accuracy of the claims, political, military, economic and even moral importance was attributed to this particular venture. The introduction of the radiotelegraph system liberated Montenegro from the previous Austro-Hungarian monopoly on telegraph lines. The system was connected, via Kotor, to the European Telegraph Network; however, the Austro-Hungarians had through that link an opportunity to spy on Montenegrin telegraph communications, or even to censor or interrupt them whenever it pleased them. The Bar-Bari direct line, functioning by means of a device invented by an Italian, thus represented a significant opportunity to promote the technical and cultural powers of Italy¹³.



Fig. 4 Marconi station on Volujica hill (courtesy of Zavičajni Muzej u Baru, Compagnia D'Antivari).

The construction of the port of Bar began in the spring of 1905 (Fig. 5). From the stern of his ceremonially decorated luxury yacht, Prince Nikola inaugurated, on March 23rd, the major construction works. At the place to which the new breakwater should have reached, saying 'Let this work be at a blessed moment and to the satisfaction of both the state and the whole Montenegrin nation', he dropped into the sea a large stone with his monogram and the date of the ceremony carved in it. That symbolic action was followed by a religious service, toasts and a feast at the Crown Prince's Palace at Topolica, in which the Prince, various Montenegrin dignitaries, Foscari and other Trade Union representatives took part¹⁴. The works were to be executed by Marin Šegvić, an entrepreneur from Split, according to a

¹² КИРОВА 1973, 203.

¹³ MANTEGAZZA 1905, 186-188; *Glas Crnogorca*, no. 35, 28. VIII 1904, 3.

¹⁴ *Glas Crnogorca*, no. 11, 19. III 1905, 3.



Fig. 5 The first works in construction of Bar port (courtesy of Zavičajni Muzej u Baru, Compagnia D'Antivari).

study that had been developed by the engineer Enrico Coen Cagli¹⁵. Cagli was believed to be one of the best civil engineers in Italy. Later, he was technical director to the Consortium engaged in the construction of the port of Genoa¹⁶. In terms of the construction of the port itself, the hydraulic regulation of the lower levels of the Bar valley was also calculated, so as to ensure both the gradual improvement of the terrain and the effective prevention of silting at the port. Mr. Cagli was responsible for the future New Bar development, as well as for establishing the free industrial zone added to the port¹⁷. The plan was to construct a minimum of 300 m of masonry-lined shore-line so as to provide berths for ships with up to a 7 m draft. It was planned that two breakwaters would be constructed, at 150 m apart, for the protection of the port against winds from the north and west. Within such a pro-

¹⁵ FRANETOVIĆ 1960, 342. According to certain data, the construction works of the port of Bar actually started in 1903, when the Venetian capitalist group originally commenced their Montenegrin venture. The extent of these works remains unknown, except for the fact that the construction of the breakwaters was certainly underway. The works were executed by Mr. Šegvić. It may be that those works are related to certain measurements taken – with the assistance of one Austria engineer – by the engineer Marko Đukanović in the port of Bar in 1901.

¹⁶ MANTEGAZZA (n.d.), 26.

¹⁷ CAGLI 1910, 13.

tected space, two large (150 m) long jetties were envisaged, with one small jetty nearby to serve passenger transport, at the site of the former small harbour called Mandracchio. On the eastern side, a wide, 100 m-long jetty should have been constructed as well, whence a roadway would have served as the principle link with the settlement¹⁸. According to Article 25 of the contract, the Bar Company was obliged to have the execution of the works underway before May 1st 1906, with a completion date of July 1st 1909 at the latest¹⁹. As a bond guaranteeing that they would commence the works on time, the Bar Company paid a two million crown deposit (Article 84)²⁰.

Various difficulties exacerbated the execution of the port construction works. Some of the more extensive port construction work began in the first days of 1906²¹. They were well underway by the end of that year, but were then postponed due to damage from storm waves. Thereafter the work resumed in April 1907 – after a complete break of four months. Several months later, in July 1907, there arose a conflict with certain contractors. In November 1907, Mr. Šegvić filed a claim against the Bar Company at the court in Bar. The dispute which arose lasted for two and a half years. Both parties to the dispute refused the offer of a direct mutual settlement²². The Company requested that the government order Mr. Šegvić to remove his equipment from the site and provide the Company with the opportunity to engage another contractor and continue the construction works. On receiving this appeal, the government immediately requested a postponement of the construction works; moreover, they denied the Company the opportunity to resume them. In May 1908, the government ordered the site to be entrusted to the Company – although compliance with the order took place no earlier than in June. The Bar Company was not satisfied with the speed of the court's decision-making concerning their dispute with Mr. Šegvić and they attempted to influence the court via appeals to local political powers. The delay in the settlement of the dispute was in part due to the judicial and political processes that were taking place in the Principality because of the potential terrorist bombing plot against Prince Nikola: all this was the focus of public attention for several months. The dispute was finally closed in court no earlier than in May 1910; however, even then the matter was not resolved completely, because of the likelihood of an appeal that would further prolong the proceedings. Therefore, Mr. Šegvić and his investor accepted a settlement in July 1910. The Italian and Austrian embassies had also participated in the dispute, while the Montenegrin authorities had multiple interests, partly to achieve the speediest possible resolution of the case, but also to minimise the payment

¹⁸ CAGLI 1910, 7-19

¹⁹ *Ugovor o gradnji barskog pristaništa i željeznice Pristan-Skadarsko jezero*, 1906, Cetinje.

²⁰ *Ugovor o gradnji barskog pristaništa i željeznice Pristan-Skadarsko jezero*, 1906, Cetinje.

²¹ ASDMAE, Carte Levi, b. 29, *N. Squitti a San Giuliano*, Cettigne, 27.VI 1910.

²² ASDMAE, Carte Levi, b. 29, *N. Squitti a San Giuliano*, Cettigne, 27.VI 1910.

awarded in favour of Mr. Šegvić: the purchase of the Bar Company's facilities would have been to the detriment of Montenegro, as it would have been included as an expense in the overall price of the construction of the port²³.

In April 1908, the port design underwent a change, agreed with the government, so that the complexity of the works was doubled, relative to what had been stipulated by the contract (Fig. 6). Instead of constructing a mole between the two 150 m-long jetties, with its interior side protected by a 10 m-long dock, now one jetty was planned as 250 m long, to be protected by a 22 m-wide shoulder, whereas the length and width of the other pair was to be reduced to 100 m and 15 m, respectively. Based on these changes, the relevant law regulating the quantity of works that should be executed by the Company was both proposed and approved, so that the authorities could officially confirm that the port was indeed ready for operation and that accordingly the port's income belonged proportionally to the Company²⁴.



Fig. 6 The port of Bar in 1908 (after BURZANOVIĆ 2009, fig. 8).

²³ ASDMAE, Carte Levi, b. 29, *N. Squitti a San Giuliano*, Cettigne, 27.VI 1910; *N. Squitti a San Giuliano*, Cettigne, 7.VII 1910. The Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs ordered its envoy in Cetinje to use all his influence to make the Prince decide in favour of the Bar Company; ASDMAE, Carte Levi, b. 29, *San Giuliano a Legazione Cettigne*, Roma, 17.VII 1910; *N. Squitti a San Giuliano*, Cettigne, 27.VI 1910; *N. Squitti a San Giuliano*, Cettigne, 2.VIII 1910.

²⁴ ASDMAE, Carte Levi, b. 29, *Compania d'Antivari a Levi*, Roma, 15.VI 1912.

The Bar Company management faced employee dissatisfaction and strikes during the construction works. The first recorded strike took place in April 1906²⁵. In the early July 1909, some 200 workers engaged in the construction of the port went on a new strike due to a wage reduction from 4.5 to 3.5 Perpers. The workers engaged in the construction of the railway stretch passing through the Bar valley had gone on strike in 1906, while the workers engaged in the Sutorman tunnel boring works went on strike in July 1907²⁶.

Simultaneously with the port construction works, the Bar Company also made technical and financial calculations for the construction of a new railway track. Two tracks were considered that would connect Bar and Lake Skadar. For the Italians, the more desirable track – in both economic and political terms – was one that would have reached Lake Skadar near the village of Murići, close to the Turkish / Albanian border. For the Montenegrin government, the preferred route was the Vir-Bar track, as it was less peripheral²⁷. The former stretch would also have passed through Ottoman territory, which was not acceptable to the authorities in Constantinople. Therefore, the latter track was chosen, with its starting point at Pristan station at an altitude of just 1,5 m; from there it meandered along the serpentine trackways of mount Sutorman with gradients and sharp bends. It passed through the massif at an altitude of 660 m, thanks to a tunnel 1,300 m long, and then descended to Virpazar on Lake Skadar's far northern shore, back down to an altitude of only 14 m. The railway route (Fig. 7) was developed by the engineer Roberto Paganini, one of the key figures in the Bar Company²⁸.



Fig. 7 The original plan of the Antivari-Virpazar railway (after CAGLI 1910, appendix).

²⁵ DACG, Ministarstvo finansija i gradevina, 1906, no. 762; *Ministarstvo unutrašnjih djela-Ministarstvu finansija i gradevina*, Cetinje, IV 1906. Some 150 workers stopped their activities in the port, due to poor wages.

²⁶ DACG, Ministarstvo finansija i gradevina, 1906, *Sekretar oblasne uprave u Baru-Ministru unutrašnjih djela*, Bar, 7. VII 1907; Bojović 1969, 338-339.

²⁷ MANTEGAZZA (n.d.), 26.

²⁸ CAGLI 1910, 20-21.

Managed by the engineers Passi and Cenderini, the railway construction works commenced in the spring of 1906 (Fig. 8)²⁹. The first locomotive from Bar arrived in Virpazar on September 26th 1908, a fact that the engineer Vincenzo Passi telegraphed to the Montenegrin Prime Minister Lazar Tomanović³⁰. The Italians arranged a small celebration in Vir, where

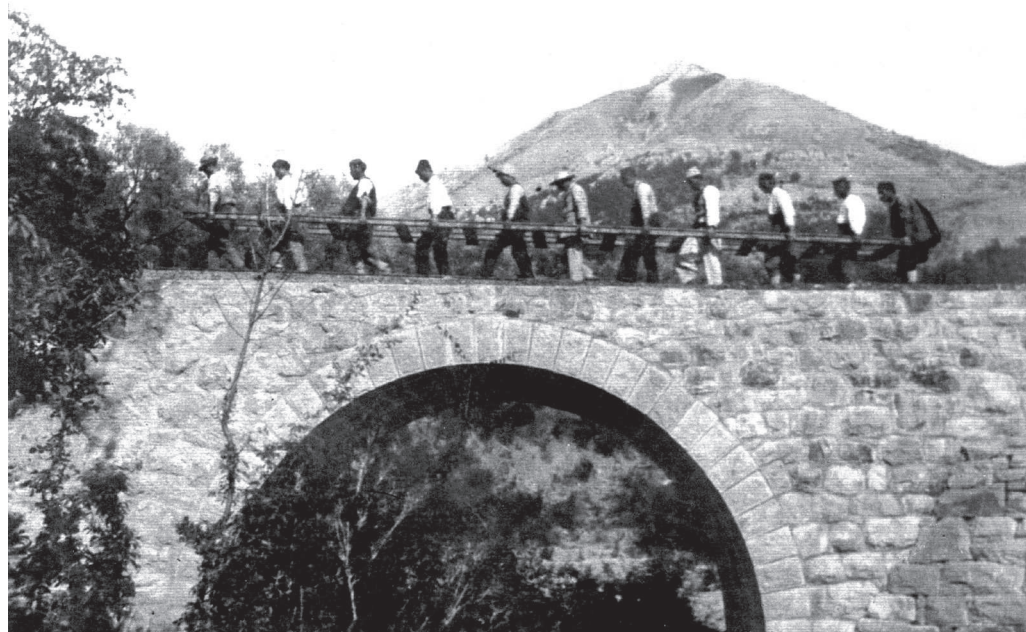


Fig. 8 A moment in the railway construction (after BURZANOVIĆ 2009, fig. 17).

²⁹ DACG, Ministarstvo finansija i građevina, 1906, no. 843, *Lerko-Ministru građevina i saobraćaja*, Pristan, 10. IV 1906. The Bar Company representative Lerko reported, on April 6th, to the Montenegrin Minister of Finance, Civil Engineering and Transport about the arrival of the engineers Passi and Cenderini, due to the beginning of the railway construction works as well as mentioning their intention to have the works for the Pristan station and the tunnels through Sutorman begin immediately. Given that assembling barracks near the tunnels were required without any delay, approval was requested to occupy the land there.

³⁰ DACG, Ministarstvo inostranih djela, 1908, no. 3195, *Pasi-Tomanoviću*, Virpazar, 26. IX 1908; Tomanović's telegraph message read as follows: 'With delight I welcome the first locomotive arrival in Virpazar, wishing that this Italian venture's success will create a space for new ventures that are useful to Montenegro and to our joint interests... I cordially congratulate you, your friends and all the workers, Minister Pres. Tomanović'; *Tomanović-Pasiju*, Cetinje, 13/26. IX 1908.

they exhibited the ruler's photograph and served a feast to the local people. Regular traffic should have commenced as soon as the required inspection's finding that the railway construction works had been executed up to standard. The official press releases both talked of the expected huge economic benefits and announced that the ceremonial putting into operation of the track would soon occur (Figs. 9-10)³¹. The constructed and fully operational railway had effects on the demography and the economic and urban development of Bar, which saw the construction of storehouses for materials and fuel, railroad yards for locomotives and motorail trains, and reloading systems³². The railway stations were both interconnected and connected with the Bar Administration by their own telegraph network³³.

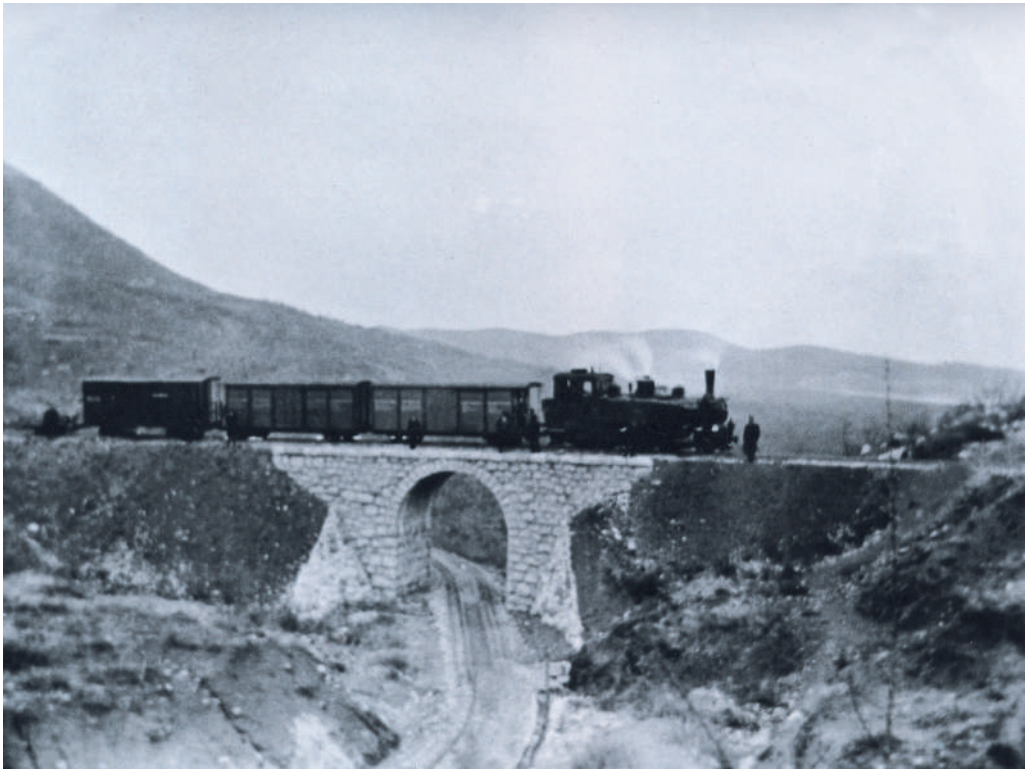


Fig. 9 The first train journey of the Antivari-Virpazar railway (after BURZANOVIĆ 2009, fig. 18).

³¹ *Glas Crnogorca*, no. 51, 13. IX 1908, 3.

³² BURZANOVIĆ 2009, 39; Vir accommodated the repair workshop and the depot. Next to Vir station, there was a restaurant, whereas a buffet was located near the Sutorman tunnel entrance, on the Bar side. Bar station did not offer any such facilities, given that the Company had constructed the Marina Hotel in Bar.

³³ CAGLI 1910, 22.



Fig. 10 A scene from the opening ceremony of the Antivari-Virpazar railway
(after BURZANOVIĆ 2009, fig. 22).

The Montenegrin authorities and people were not as enthusiastic as the Italian Company members in celebrating the start of operations of the small Principality's first railway. Their attention was absorbed by a significant international political crisis, caused by the Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, an event which launched a torrent of anti-Austro-Hungarian protests and demonstrations, in which the Bar Company's workers also took part.

The Annexation crisis was an extremely fortunate event for the Bar Company. The crisis induced Italy to recognise the need to engage themselves more actively in Balkan politics so that they could oppose the Austrian regional expansion that was endangering Italian interests. In Montenegro, the port of Bar, which their exponent the Bar Company was responsible for, was specifically constructed as their economic and political hub within the Balkans – however, Italian diplomats also attempted to acquire the port of Spitz, which had been taken by the Montenegrins in the war of 1877; however, they had to surrender it to their greater neighbour, the Habsburg monarchy. The Italian diplomatic move was crushed by the Habsburg determination not to make even the slightest territorial

compromise. Austria did agree though to waive their rights, as stipulated by Article 29 of the Treaty of Berlin, that had considerably limited both Montenegrin sovereign rights and diminished the military and political significance of the port of Bar and the accompanying constructed transportation system³⁴.

Montenegro's newly acquired rights to permit war and naval ships to enter the port of Bar did indeed increase the significance of both Bar and the Italian companies operating in Bar. Five French warships sailed into the port on December 31st 1909, where they were welcomed by Prince Nikola and overjoyed locals (Fig. 11)³⁵. Very soon thereafter, the port was visited by the Italian destroyer Montebello that had been sailing across the Adriatic Sea for scientific purposes. In late February 1910, the Austro-Hungarian fleet sailed into the port; however, instead of enthusiasm, they received simple courteous greetings from officials in receptions hosted in Bar and Cetinje, respectively³⁶. In 1910, Italian fleet³⁷ and Russian fleet³⁸ visits followed, as well as other calls made by Turkish and Greek warships³⁹ as well.



Fig. 11 Prince Nikola with French and Montenegrin officials
(courtesy of Zavičajni Muzej u Baru, Compagnia D'Antivari).

³⁴ BURZANOVIĆ 2013, 109-110; RAKOČEVIĆ 1983, 58; TOMANOVIĆ 1921, 71-77.

³⁵ *Glas Crnogorca*, no. 53, 21. XII 1909, 3-4.

³⁶ *Glas Crnogorca*, no. 8, 13. II 1910, 4.

³⁷ *Glas Crnogorca*, no. 22, 15. V 1910, 2.

³⁸ *Glas Crnogorca*, no. 37, 24. VIII 1910, 2-3.

³⁹ POPOVIĆ 1985, 53.

Due to the Montenegrin boycotting of goods of Austro-Hungarian provenance, Montenegro and Italy expanded their trade relations, which operated mainly through the Bar Company's transport means, going through the port of Bar⁴⁰.

The Bar Company management took advantage of the crisis to obtain from the Montenegrin government a port operation permit, although not all the contracted works had been completed within the set deadline. On January 31st 1909, Prince Nikola ratified the law requiring the Principality government's authorities to assign the free port of Bar to the transportation system⁴¹. The law laid down also that the contract might be considered fulfilled as soon as the 250 m long breakwater was constructed. Slightly less than one month prior to opening the port, on September 26th and 29th respectively, the legal documents concerning the port operation, such as 'the Temporary Regulation' and 'the Port Tariff Schedule', were released⁴².

The new Bar port was inaugurated and handed over to the Bar Company for operation on October 23rd 1909, by the arrival of Gallipoli steamship. On that day, at 8 in the morning, the steamship's bow touched the three-color ribbon and thereby the port was symbolically inaugurated (Fig. 12). At the moment of the steamship berthing beyond the breakwater, the Bar-Vir railway line, already in operation for a year, ran trains towards Lake Skadar. The inauguration ceremony was attended by Gavro Vuković, the Italian envoy to Cetinje, Baron Nicola Squitti, and the Bar Company's representatives. After the religious



Fig. 12 The inauguration of the Bar port (courtesy of Zavičajni Muzej u Baru, Compagnia D'Antivari).

⁴⁰ RADUSINOVIĆ 1978, 97-107; VUKČEVIĆ 1974, 243, 245.

⁴¹ *Glas Crnogorca*, no. 6, 31. I 1909, 1.

⁴² *Privremena tarifa za eksploataciju slobodne barske luke i njoj pridodate slobodne zone*, Cetinje, 29. IX 1909; *Privremeni pravilnik za eksploataciju slobodne barske luke i njoj pridodate slobodne zone*, Cetinje, 29. IX 1909.

rituals had been completed, Minister Vuković handed over the signed Port Delivery Operation document to the Bar Company. The ceremony was completed by a lunch hosting 80 guests, including Bar Company representatives, Montenegrin government representatives and local distinguished people, held at the Marina Hotel. During that ceremony, the port accommodated three steamships, the Prince's yacht and several sailing ships. Except for the Austrian Lloyd's steam boat, all the listed vessels were duly decorated with official ceremonial flags. The steam ship's crew demonstrated thereby the symbolic Austrian attitude towards the inauguration and its significance⁴³.

Three days after the inauguration, a terrible storm caused waves to strike the port with devastating force and the breakwater suffered serious damage⁴⁴. Due to that, as well as it being the end of the working season, the Bar Company was late with the execution of those works stipulated in the agreement reached with the Montenegrin government on the Port Tariff Schedule, on which the handing over of the port to the Company depended. Those works were not finished by the Italian party before July 1910, of which interval the Montenegrins took advantage and delayed handing over the said Tariff Schedule to the Italians⁴⁵.

The transportation system, comprising of the port of Bar and the Bar-Vir railroad, was supplemented by the Lake Skadar navigation system. This comprised the Vir, Rijeka Crnojevića and Plavnica quays respectively, as well as an array of berthing channels and basins that were to be developed at places where the lake's inadequate water depth prevented the regular traffic of steam ships (Fig. 13). From those ports, further transport to inland destinations was provided by the roads linking Plavnica-Podgorica and Rijeka Crnojevića-Cetinje, from which a network of already developed main roads extended. The Port and the Lake Skadar Channels Development and Construction Study were done by an expert in hydraulic works, one Piero Piola-Daverio⁴⁶. The contractor was the Italian entrepreneur and engineer Facanoni.

The Bar Company interests in achieving a monopoly in all aspects of the Montenegrin transportation system had led to the purchase from Marconi of the Bar-Bari (Volujica-San Cataldo) telegraph line, although it was not a positive asset financially. Marconi was one of many well-known shareholders in the Bar Company: that fact existed if for no other reason

⁴³ FRANETOVIĆ 1960, 346.

⁴⁴ ASDMAE, Carte Levi, b. 30, *Izveštaj administrativnog savjeta generalnoj skupštini*, 4. V 1910.

⁴⁵ ASDMAE, Carte Levi, b. 30, *Izveštaj administrativnog savjeta generalnoj skupštini*, 4. V 1910. The Company insisted, in vain, on viewing the delay as a consequence of 'force majeure'; its desire that the government should decide on January 1st 1910 as the deadline to put into force the provisions concerning the Port Tariff Schedule Handing Over to the Company was also ignored.

⁴⁶ MANTEGAZZA (n.d.), 27.

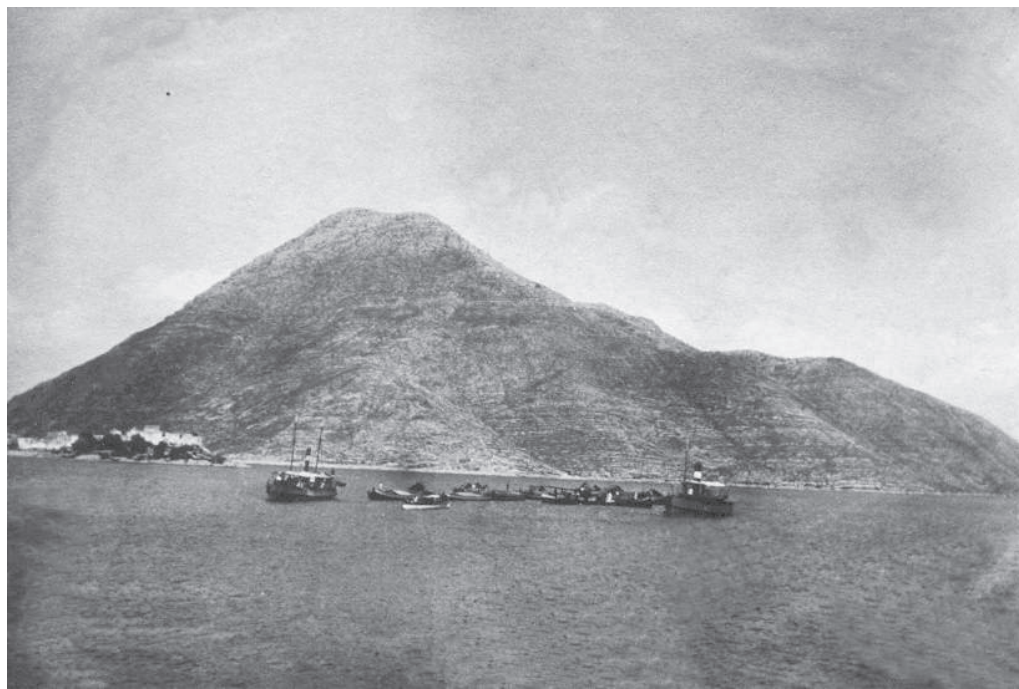


Fig. 13 Boats on the Skadar Lake (courtesy of Zavičajni Muzej u Baru, Compagnia D'Antivari).

than to make the arrangement easier. The contract, dated September 19th 1908, required him to sell to the Bar Company the Volujica-based radio station at a price of 30,000 Lire plus 5% commission on telegrams to be exchanged between Bari and Bar⁴⁷.

In late 1906, for the more successful realisation of their economic and political interests in Montenegro and Albania, the Bar Company management, in cooperation with the Banca Commerciale, set up the Skadar Bank (Banco di Scutari), which was in fact just a subsidiary bank of the Bar Company that provided the bank with funds⁴⁸. Volpi's people, explicitly the Venetian Group members, had considerably greater ambitions induced in mind: they brought about the setting up of the Eastern Trade Company (Società Commerciale d'Oriente) in 1907, funded by the Italian Trade Bank's capital. The said Company's goal was to make a breakthrough into the eastern Mediterranean⁴⁹. Company branches were established both in Montenegro (in Bar) and in Albania. The

⁴⁷ DACG, Ministarstvo finansija i građevina, 1908, no 931, *Lerko-Ministarstvu finansija*, Bar, 1/14. VIII 1908. V 1998, 54-55. Roma, ranih djelanika, 908.

⁴⁸ TAMBORA 1974, 108.

⁴⁹ MILIĆ 1984, 195.

Company played a significant role in the Montenegrin government's subsequent financial arrangements⁵⁰.

The construction of the port of Bar, the railway, the quays and the Lake channels was entirely to the benefit of the development of all those settlements where the Italian company was active – most explicitly for Bar, Virpazar, Rijeka Crnojevića and Podgorica. That is particularly true as regards the new town that, alongside the port of Bar and in its service, had grown up in the location of the former settlement of Pristan (Fig. 14). The Italians gave it a strong start by drawing up the town plan and again by the very existence of the Bar valley-based works, through the execution of which the valley was adapted to settlement construction. Both the Montenegrin authorities and the Bar Company did their best to provide the public with information about that; Antonio Baldacci has written about the eager journalistic campaigning⁵¹. This journalism in apparent response to actual news (or maybe as an element of the same publicity campaign) created the impression that Bar



Fig. 14 The port of Bar (courtesy of Fototeca Kombëtare Marubi, Shkodër).

⁵⁰ КИРОВА 1973, 230-232; PERAZIĆ, RASPOPOVIĆ 1992, 704-708 (see the Published archival sources list).

⁵¹ BURZANOVIĆ, POPOVIĆ 2016, 230-232.

would become the new capital of Montenegro, replacing Cetinje. Just as the port of Bar was growing and the trade/traffic was expanding both in it and along the Vir-Bar railway, so a greater demand for residential, commercial and administrative building construction emerged and the population of Pristan grew. Given the ambition to have Bar developed as a port, and a trade, industry and transportation hub, neither the Italian company nor the Montenegrin authorities were happy with the town being constructed in an anarchic way, i.e. without any planning⁵². As a result, during the execution of the contract of 1906, it was stipulated that the town should develop according to the plan drawn up in advance by the Bar Company's engineers (Fig. 15). According to this plan, the Italians were to irrigate the Bar valley, by regulating the Rikavica spring that – in addition to flooding the surrounding

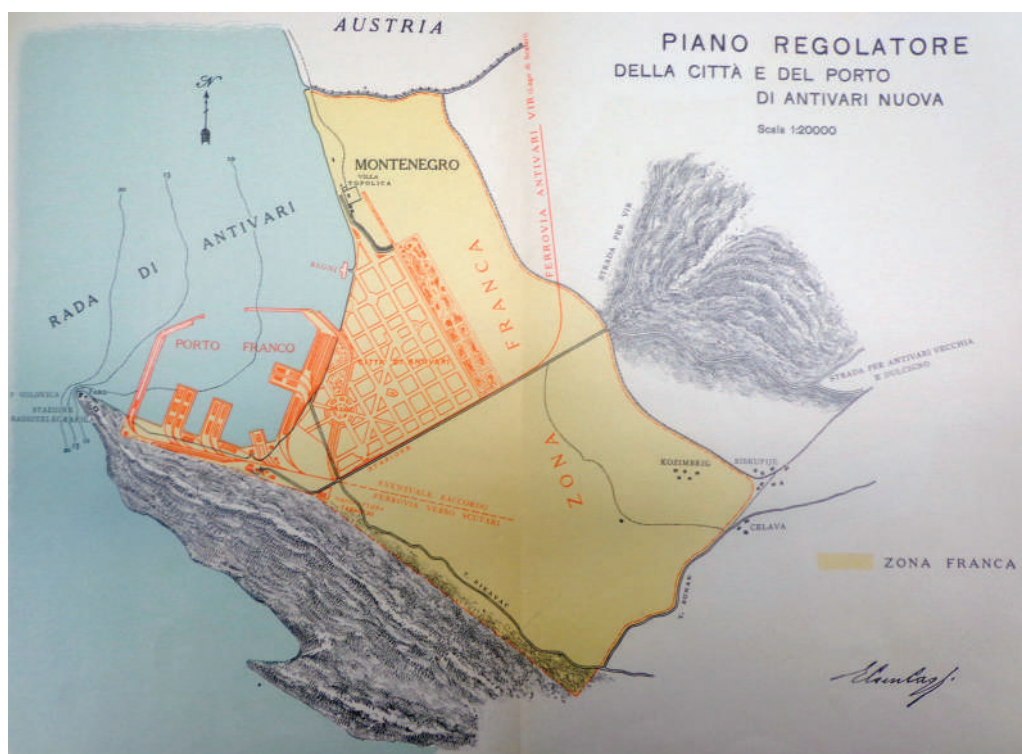


Fig. 15 Plan of town and port of Bar (*after* CAGLI 1910, appendix).

⁵² DACG, Ministarstvo finansija i gradevina, 1906, no. 1066, Cetinje, 17. V 1906; Minister Radović's decision to take into consideration Marko Pukić and Josip Dešković's respective applications for permitting building construction in Pristan was postponed until 'the construction plan is drawn up'. Pukić wanted to construct a *Lokanda* building.

land – used to damage the breakwater by depositing mud there⁵³. The Bar Company was also to ensure that Pristan was supplied with water and drill the wells located within the port zone. Later on, the Company did hydrologic investigations for the purpose of establishing a water supply system, according to the agreements made with the Montenegrin authorities. On the eve of World War I, a deal was reached to have that water supply system constructed. Thanks to the Bar Company, Bar followed Cetinje as the second Montenegrin town to have an electricity supply system. Electrical energy was originally provided by a motor generator. Later on, the construction of a larger power plant was worked out. While taking care of the town's functioning, the Italians also drew up the Town Hygiene Regulation⁵⁴. If the contemporary circumstances in Montenegro are taken into account, the town rejoiced in the best national traffic system, let alone the existence of the port, the railway, the telegraph, and the radiotelegraph system. As of 1901, the Montenegrin maritime transport routes overseas were considerably improved by the Puglia maritime company from Bari, with the Company's ships maintaining regular lines between Bar and the Italian ports⁵⁵.

In Bar, the Italians built several agreeable buildings, of which the Marina Hotel (Fig. 16) was the most outstanding. It was erected on the slopes of the Volujica hill and would bring a touch of European glamour to the town, given that it was built and



Fig. 16 Hotel Marina (courtesy of Fototeca Kombëtare Marubi, Shkodër).

⁵³ CAGLI 1910, 12.

⁵⁴ DACG, Barsko društvo, *Rukopis gradskog sanitarnog pravilnika*.

⁵⁵ TRIZIO 1983, 98; OTTOLINO 1981, 124, 126.

furnished according to the European standards. It was named after Foscari's daughter, Marina. According to the writings of a contemporary Italian, everyone who stayed even for one night at the hotel believed it to be paradise on Earth. The Italian Foreign Ministry official, P. Levi, visiting in 1912 to inspect the Italian companies operating in Montenegro, reported that the hotel had 20 rooms, 2 dining rooms, 2 small parlours and one larger parlour. The hotel was furnished simply and very carefully. There was one flower terrace outside. According to his opinions, the hotel had only one deficiency: namely that a number of rooms were occupied by the Bar Company's officials and so the hotel did not have sufficient capacity to receive the numerous excursion groups. To begin with, it was leased to some Italian hotel managers and also to Montenegrin nationals. In 1912, the Company took over the whole management of the hotel⁵⁶. Several smaller houses were located next to the hotel, intended again for Company officials' purposes. The settlement had also a small hospital, with an accompanying outpatient office and a pharmacy. The Customs House and the Railway Stations were of particular note among the buildings there⁵⁷.

Some of the projects that were designed by the Italian engineers and architects for Bar were never implemented – such as that of Adolfo Magrini in 1911, which featured a design for an impressive theatre there (Fig. 17)⁵⁸.

Due to the economic and political interests that Italians had in Bar, as well as the large Italian population there, the Italian Kingdom established the Vice Consulate in Bar in 1908. To serve as the first consul, Corrado Niccolini, the former chancellor to the Embassy in Cetinje, was appointed⁵⁹. The town was already host to an Austrian Consulate as well.

On May 8th 1908, Prince Nikola placed the foundation stone of New Bar (Fig. 18). Motivated by the celebratory ambience, Prince Nikola sent to his son-in-law, the Italian King Victor Emmanuel, a courteous telegram emphasizing the mutual interests linking the two nations and pointing to the Bar mission, serving the needs of the Slavic brothers living by the river Danube and longing for access to the Adriatic Sea. The ceremonial act caught the interest of the European public. A Hungarian high economic official, the

⁵⁶ ASDMAE, Carte Levi, b. 29. The contract of April 29th 1909 entrusted the hotel operation to Alexander Cerutti from Piacenza, with an expiry date set for May 1st of the following year. The second contract, dated April 26th 1910 entrusted the hotel management to Angelo Conti and Sons Company from Piacenza and to Petar Đonović thereafter. The contract dated February 15th 1911 transferred the hotel management to Eduardo Salle. From 1912, the hotel was run directly by the Company and, after employing one Swiss director, the hotel continued to deliver satisfactory services.

⁵⁷ CAGLI 1910, 19.

⁵⁸ MAGRINI 1911, 1-29.

⁵⁹ *Glas Crnogorca*, no. 46, 11.VIII 1908, 2; *Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia*, no. 54, 5. III 1909, 996.



Fig. 17 Magrini's project for the Bar theatre
(courtesy of Narodni Muzej Crne Gore, Cetinje, Arhivsko-Bibliotečko odjeljenje).



Fig. 18 Prince Nikola places the foundation stone for the New Bar
(courtesy of Narodni Muzej Crne Gore, Cetinje, Arhivsko-Bibliotečko Odjeljenje).

geographer Havass Rezső, was an advocate of economic links between Dalmatia and Hungary, and he focused on the consequences that the development of Bar and the accompanying transport system projects could have for the Dalmatian economy – to this end he visited Bar in September 1908, to inform himself fully as to the course of the Italian venture⁶⁰. The Austrian consul, Dušan Meković, and Serdar Janko Vukotić provided Havass with a correction of the rumours, by a repudiation of the news announcing Bar as the new capital of Montenegro and offering the explanation that, in the event of warfare, one warship only would have been enough to destroy any such new capital. Upon his return to Hungary, Havass wrote about the Italian venture in Montenegro, trying to draw the public's attention to the threat of Italian regional expansion to the Austro-Hungarian economic and political interests in the region. He asserted that Italy had breached the Treaty of Berlin by taking over the management of Bar, if not formally, then *de facto*. By these ventures, Italy had effectively taken over Montenegrin economic life. Bar (Fig. 19) and Montenegro were just the first step; Albania would be the second one, in particular Vlorë, given that it was situated opposite Otranto and stood as the key to the Adriatic Sea⁶¹. In the European press, particularly that of Austria-Hungary, such writing was not exceptional.

The ambitious plans of the Italian capitalists to have the port of Bar as the terminal for the long Trans-Balkan railway track, stretching from the River Danube to the Adriatic Sea bid fair to open up marvellous opportunities for Bar's urban development. The realization of such a project would have required the participation of numerous members, such as Russia, France, Italy and several Balkan countries, including also the Ottoman Empire (from 1912 to 1913). In the decade preceding World War I, it regularly seemed that political and financial agreement would be reached by and between the interested countries and that the implementation of this grand project would begin. A series of European political crises – starting with the Young Turk Revolution in 1908, going on through the Annexation Crisis and the Balkan Wars, and coming finally to a head in

⁶⁰ MAĐAR 1998, 54-55. While in the spacious Bay of Bar, his attention was attracted first by the Marconi Station on Volujica hill – symbolising most brilliantly the advancement and the linked relationship between Montenegro and Italy – and then by the two-storey Marina Hotel on the slope of Volujica, comprising 36 rooms (!) and parlours waiting for newcomers, tourists and entrepreneurs and overlooking the port construction activities, as well as a locomotive running on the track of Montenegro's first railway. On the Bay's opposite side, the Crown Prince's villa and several inferior structures are located. 'Where is that New Bar?' Havass asked. 'It does not exist yet, because only five houses and several barracks are here. Two houses are two-storey ones, out of which one accommodates the Austrian Consulate and the other one houses the Post Office, the Port Administration and other offices. The one-storey building is occupied by the Austrian Lloyd Shipping Agency. There is an avenue passing between the houses and, a bit farther on, there stands a two-storey stone building accommodating the Italian Tobacco Monopoly office.'

⁶¹ MAĐAR 1998, 55.



Fig. 19 A view of the New Bar (courtesy of Fototeca Kombëtare Marubi, Shkodër).

World War I – prevented the implementation of all those projects. Under the changed circumstances after the Great War, the necessary international interest in and consensus for a Trans-Balkan railway construction disappeared. In the newly created Yugoslav state, the Bar Company lost its importance and with it a portion of the concession they had held during the Principality of Montenegro/Kingdom of Montenegro period. The Yugoslav authorities did not have a friendly attitude towards Italian economic initiatives in Montenegro, so the Bar Company stagnated and only survived thanks to Italian government subsidies. All of this meant a slowing down of the economic and urban development in Bar, where the town's development over the first two decades of the 20th century had been dependent to the largest extent on the intensity and character of the Italian economic presence in Montenegro⁶².

⁶² BURZANOVIĆ 2009, 51.

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ICT CHALLENGES, EUROPEAN POLICIES AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH PROJECTS IN THE ADRIATIC SEA AREA

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1. Introduction: recent challenges in archaeological computing

The most recent challenges in archaeological computing for research and publication concern the three basic areas of archaeological practice, i.e. fieldwork, laboratory analyses, and cultural resource management¹. In addition, two important and strategic research areas that go under the general heading of ‘Communicating archaeological research’ and ‘European digital infrastructures for archaeology’ are today taking root. While current achievements in the three first sectors are strictly driven by technological progress, the latter two belong to a wider ‘open science’ approach, now permeating all digital humanities initiatives.

This paper reviews, succinctly, the most dominant trends. The international open access Journal ‘*Archeologia e Calcolatori*’², published by our Institute since 1990, will help illustrate the current research situation and, at the same time, will give the readers the opportunity to freely download the articles quoted. Given the venue of our Round Table, special emphasis is placed on the projects carried out in the Mediterranean area, and in particular in the eastern and western coasts of the Adriatic Sea³. As a matter of fact, it was right here in the early 1990s that Zoran Stančić coordinated one of the first GIS-based archaeological projects on the Dalmatian islands⁴ (Fig. 1); even today the Ljubljana school still remains a very dynamic centre in experimenting with integrated non-invasive research methods for the investigation of complex urban sites⁵.

¹ For a general overview see MOSCATI 2009; 2011; 2013; MOSCATI 2015.

² <http://www.archcalc.cnr.it/>.

³ For the cultural interrelationship between the two Adriatic coasts and the phases of Hellenisation and Romanization of the Adriatic Sea, see the volume edited by Lorenzo Braccisi and Sante Graciotti in honour of Massimiliano Pavan, which is still a pillar for Adriatic archaeology (BRACCISI, GRACIOTTI 1999). For the evolution of ancient Adriatic cities, see DE MARINIS *et al.* 2012.

⁴ STANČIČ 1996; 1998; GAFFNEY, STANČIČ 1991; 1994, and lastly GAFFNEY 2006.

⁵ SLAPŠAK 2012.

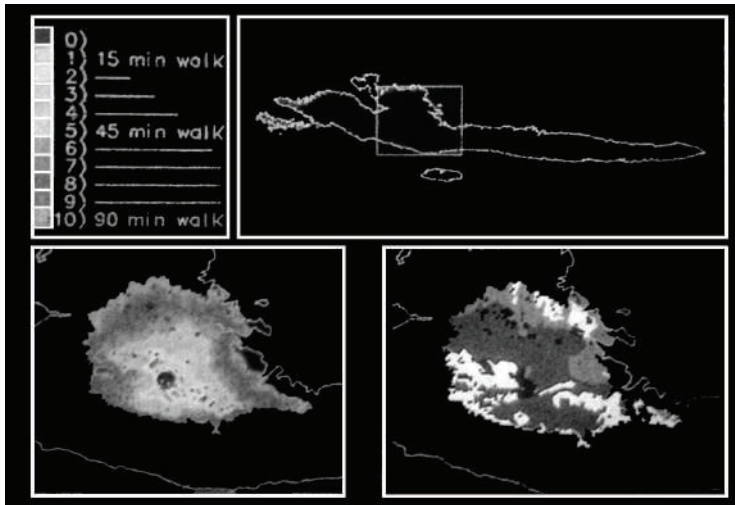


Fig. 1 GIS pilot study of the Adriatic island of Hvar in Croatia, using GRASS: Gračišće territory and soil types (*after* GAFFNEY, STANČIĆ 1994, Tav. IIb).

2. Urban and landscape archaeology

2.1 Geographical Information Systems

Geographical Information Systems (GIS) represent by now the strategic integrated platform on which archaeological terrain data can be managed simultaneously. After more than twenty years of experimentation⁶, the main outcome of GIS-based research is a global Archaeological Information System, which by nature involves different geographical scales and fulfils a twofold purpose: a documentary function to preserve archaeological records for the sake of knowledge and conservation, and an analytical function to perform spatial analyses and interpret data distribution models.

In field surveying, innovation is connected to extensive and high-speed prospection campaigns. Laser robotic total stations and differential global positioning systems (DGPS) are increasingly used, and webGIS and GIS cloud techniques are widely spread in helping synchronise field operations and lab data processing. Sampling methodologies for data acquisition are based both on sophisticated satellite and airborne remote sensing techniques and on state-of-the-art GPR systems, and the results are represented through highly accurate and detailed Digital Terrain Models (DTMs).

⁶ MOSCATI 1998; MOSCATI, TAGLIAMONTE 2002; MOSCATI 2017.

Many research projects based on GIS applications and technological achievements cover the Adriatic Sea area. First and foremost, there is the international project ‘Adriaticum mare’, launched in 2010 and aimed at creating a computerised atlas of the ancient Adriatic⁷: the work is based around an online GIS and a general map of the ancient Adriatic, stretching from Albania to Apulia and covering a period spanning the 11th century BC up to the 8th century AD. Other projects focus on the investigation of ancient towns as well as of their surrounding territory – often characterised by river valleys that served as natural inland penetration pathways – from pre-Roman times to Late Antiquity⁸. Two inspiring and long-standing projects concern the study of the Roman settlements of Burnum (Šibenik, Croatia) and Suasa (Ancona, Italy)⁹.

The Burnum Project is an international initiative, which has been conducted since 2005 under the aegis of the Centro Studi per l’Archeologia dell’Adriatico (Ravenna, Italy). The project investigates the Roman *castrum* of Burnum by making increased use of new methods and tools, in particular geophysical surveys, Remote Sensing techniques and the systematic interactive management of excavations and survey data through a webGIS system (Figs. 2-3).



Fig. 2 Geophysical survey in the Roman *castrum* of Burnum (after GIORGI *et al.* 2012, fig. 1).

⁷ <http://adriaticummare.org/en/the-project/the-computerized-atlas>.

⁸ Cf. e.g. some articles collected in VERMEULEN *et al.* 2012 and, more recently, the book of abstracts of the Conference *TRADE – Transformations of Adriatic Europe (2nd-9th c.)* (http://www.iarh.hr/~trade/userfiles/downloads/Trade%20Zadar%202016_Abstracts%20book.pdf).

⁹ BOSCHI, GIORGI 2012; DESTRO, GIORGI 2012; GIORGI *et al.* 2012; and lastly CAMPEDELLI, DUBBINI, MARTINA 2017.

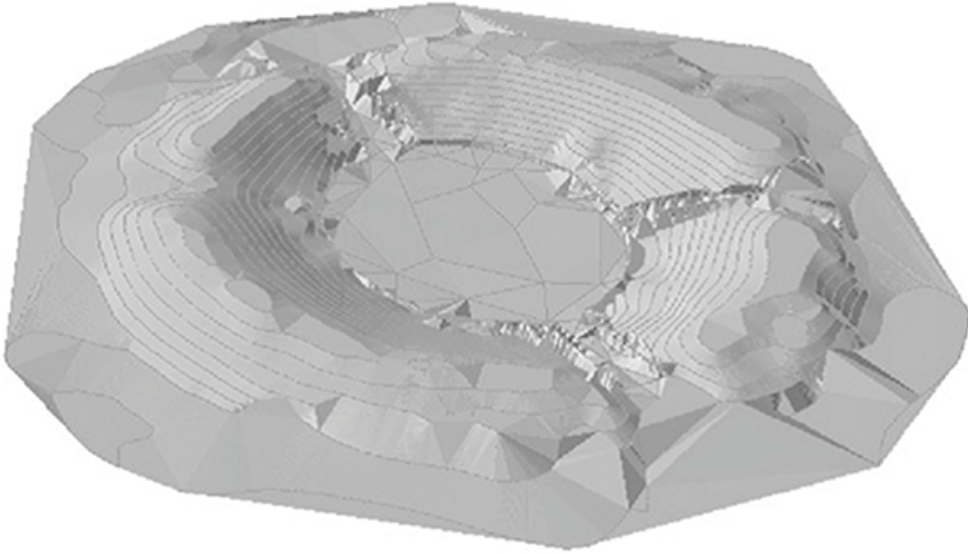


Fig. 3 DEM of the Roman amphitheatre in Burnum (*after* VECCHIETTI 2012, fig. 6).

The Roman settlement of Burnum, situated in the valley of the Krka river in the Krka National Park, required the planning of an integrated strategy for the preservation, enhancement and promotion of the natural, cultural and archaeological heritage. The town of Suasa, located at the Adriatic outlet of the *Regio VI*, demanded the design of an integrated platform on which historical traditional and modern technical documentation could be assembled. Thanks to the provision of special funds, the Bologna University archaeological team took up this challenge and set up a harmonised project within a single long-term webGIS environment (Figs. 4-5).

As far as landscape archaeology is concerned, the role of Remote Sensing techniques combined with DTM is to replace archaeological distribution maps, which were one of the earliest outcomes of GIS applications. The 3D digital representation of ground-surface topography has provided archaeologists with unprecedented opportunities, such as the possibility to visualise complex events that contributed to settlement dynamics and to investigate space distribution models with the aim of predicting the location of archaeological sites.

The application of spatial analysis techniques in the field of settlement archaeology, especially on a regional scale, was being tested as early as the 1990s by the research team of the Salento University's Laboratory of Archaeological Computing¹⁰. Based on data gathered during

¹⁰ See in particular D'ANDRIA, SEMERARO 1993, and SEMERARO 2007.



Fig. 4 Geophysical survey and aerial photography of the urban area of Suasa (after GIORGI *et al.* 2012, fig. 2).

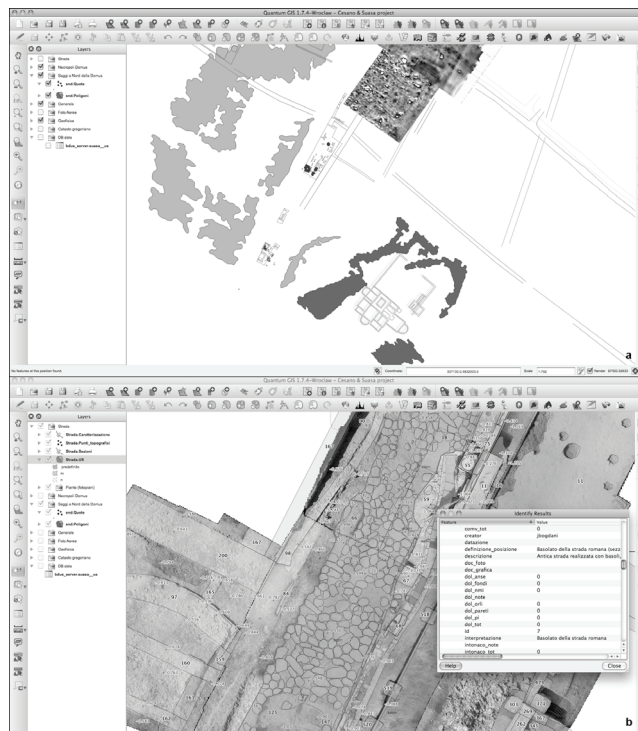


Fig. 5 GIS and webGIS of the archaeological area of Suasa (after GIORGI *et al.* 2012, fig. 6).

extensive surveys and excavations, the creation of a rich database and a GIS system enabled the analysis, both synchronically and diachronically, of some pre-Roman sites in the Salentine peninsula (e.g. Otranto, Vaste, and Oria) (Fig. 6) and in the Daunia region. In particular, in recent years, viewshed and cost surface analyses allowed archaeologists to investigate different distribution models of the Iron Age settlements, as part of a complex physical and human landscape system (Fig. 7)¹¹.

Moving northwards along the Italian Adriatic coast, the Potenza Valley Survey was one of the earliest projects to apply a computer-based interdisciplinary, non-invasive and technologically integrated approach for the study of the evolution of an Adriatic valley in Central Italy (Fig. 8). Undertaken since 2000 by Ghent University as an example of ‘townscape archaeology’¹² and coordinated by Frank Vermeulen, the project aimed at measuring social complexity around the Roman coastal colony *Potentia*¹³ (Marche Region),

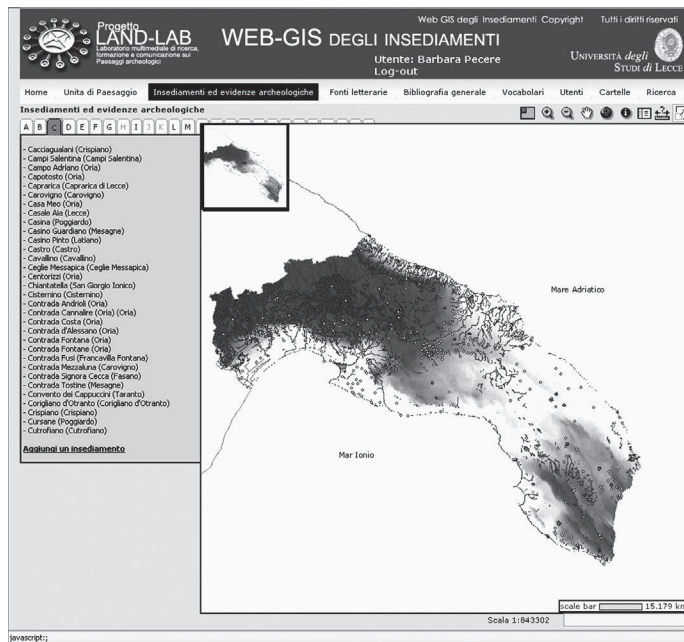


Fig. 6 WebGIS of the Salento pre-Roman settlements (*after* SEMERARO 2007, fig. 3).

¹¹ PECERE 2006.

¹² F. Vermeulen has recently used this term with reference to the study of four abandoned Roman towns in central Adriatic Italy (Marche region): the coastal colony of *Potentia* and the inland *municipia* of Ricina, Trea and Septempeda (VERMEULEN 2017).

¹³ For the project's rich bibliographical apparatus, see the References page in the website: <http://www.potentia.ugent.be/node/20>.

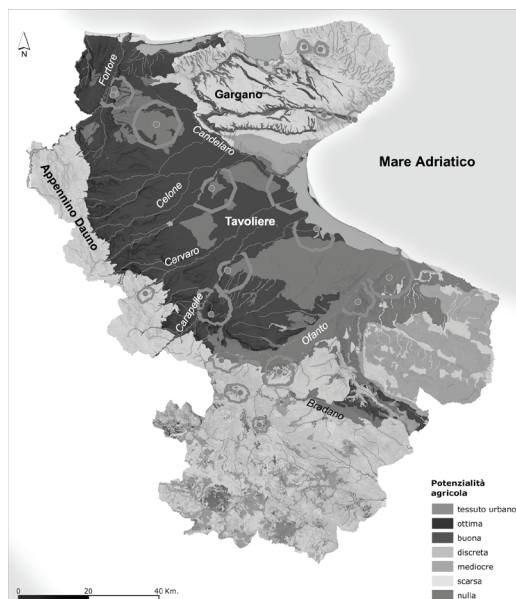


Fig. 7 Pre-Roman Daunia Iron Age settlement system (*after* PECERE 2006, Tav. VII).

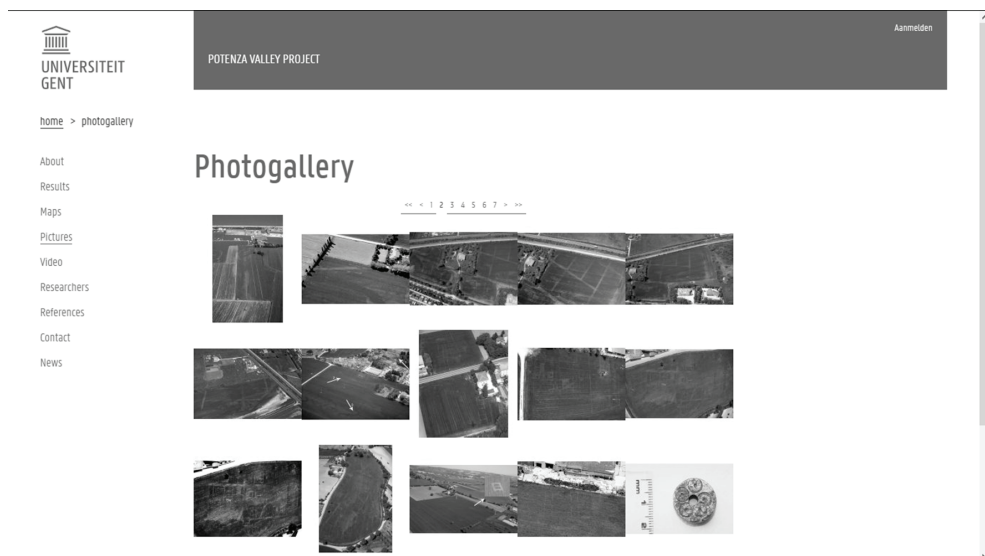


Fig. 8 Potenza Valley Project. Photogallery shown in the website dedicated to the project (<http://www.potenza.ugent.be/node/29>).

based on the historical evolution of the occupation in the territory, from the protohistoric to the Roman and early medieval periods. As early as the beginning of the new millennium, during the Liège UISPP Congress, Frank Vermeulen and Zoran Stančić had already laid out their vision for the need for transversally integrating various methods, from GIS to Virtual Reality techniques, when they organised an ad-hoc session in the congress¹⁴.

In the Marche region, in the early 1990s – when GIS were hardly known amongst European archaeologists – the town of Urbs Salvia was home to a computerised project¹⁵, as part of a more multifaceted research on Roman centuriation in Central Italy (Fig. 9). Particular attention was paid to the evolution of Roman cadastre along the Fiastra valley, in the territory of Urbs Salvia, during the Early Middle Ages and Middle Ages, and important results were gathered thanks to the use of the software AutoCAD for numeric cartography and Paradox 5.0 for data recording in a relational database.

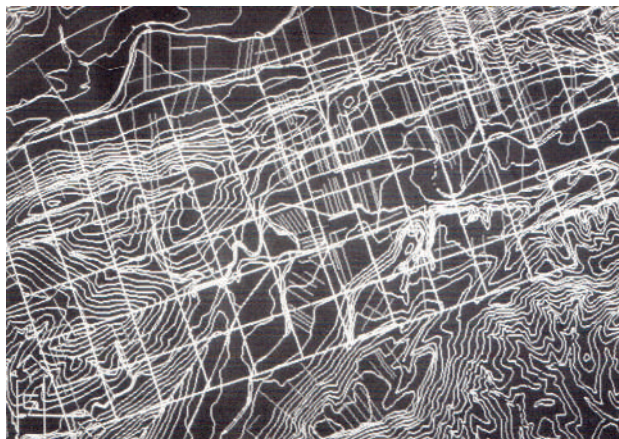


Fig. 9 Computer-based proposal of Roman centuriation in the *ager* of Urbs Salvia (after MOSCATELLI 1996, fig. 1).

2.2 The case of Doclea

Other Roman centres are today under investigation: here the use of modern acquisition techniques, as well as data georeferencing in a GIS environment, is a fact.

¹⁴ See VERMEULEN 2002, in which the author highlighted the importance of integrating several techniques, from GIS to Virtual Reality, Internet and multimedia systems, but at the same time underlined that GIS remains clearly the driving engine of any efficient study, rational management and attractive disclosure of the archaeological data and results.

¹⁵ MOSCATELLI 1996.

We can quote, for example, the case of the Roman town of Doclea, which is attracting the interest of several research groups. In all Roman towns, and in particular in the case of Doclea – the most thoroughly explored town in the south-eastern part of the Roman province of Dalmatia – all efforts are concentrated on both re-interpreting archaeological remains and integrating new technological outcomes with past documentation, coming from research and excavations that were often not systematic.

In 2017, a new ISMA international bilateral project, coordinated by Lucia Alberti and Tatjana Koprivica, has been promoted as part of the CNR Laboratori Archeologici Congiunti initiative. The project is now in progress (ALBERTI 2019). One of its first actions was to gather past and new archaeological documentation onto a single digital platform. As far as methodological computer-based achievements are concerned, two previous important coordinated initiatives are worth of notice: the New Ancient Doclea Project and the project dedicated to Doclea in the Late Antiquity and early medieval periods.

The first initiative is a joint project sponsored by the Municipality and the Museum of Podgorica. The British School at Rome together with the Archaeological Prospection Services of Southampton conducted the geophysical survey, and the Urbino University Carlo Bo undertook the topographic and building survey¹⁶. The results achieved, thanks to various methods of data survey, allowed archaeologists to implement the results on a GIS platform, to develop a new digital map and a DEM of the Roman town, and to reconstruct parts of the ancient *forum* on the basis of laser scanner surveying techniques (Fig. 10)¹⁷, with the ultimate goal of safeguarding and enhancing the cultural heritage of Doclea.



Fig. 10 3D digital model of the east-west front of the Doclea *forum*, obtained by a laser scanner survey (after RINALDI TUFI, BARATIN, PELOSO 2010, fig. 6).

¹⁶ RINALDI TUFI, BARATIN, PELOSO 2010, with references.

¹⁷ The extensive use of the laser scanner for archaeological survey is also reported in the excavations of the city of Stari Bar, where it was used for documenting the so-called Palazzo del Doge: CARDACI, VERSACI 2013.

The second project, also sponsored by the Podgorica Municipality, was conducted by the Venice University Ca' Foscari¹⁸. The project mainly focused on the later phases of the settlement, with particular reference to the ecclesiastical buildings. Thanks to a new digital survey of the main structures, the superimposition of their plans on the numerical map of the town (Fig. 11), and the census and comparison of the wall techniques, the presence of three main buildings (basilica A and basilica B, and the cruciform church C)¹⁹ has been confirmed and five main architectural phases have been detected.



Fig. 11 Satellite image of the Doclea archaeological site, with the area of the ecclesiastical buildings highlighted (*after* GELICHI *et al.* 2012, fig. 1).

2.3 Underwater archaeology and archaeology of architecture: two innovative research views

Returning to the topic of recent technological progress, in the last few years research results in the sphere of underwater archaeology too have grown exponentially, thanks to the introduction of highly sophisticated sonar technologies, further enhanced by the use of robotics. One example may stand for all: the Montenegrin Maritime Archaeological

¹⁸ GELICHI *et al.* 2012, with references.

¹⁹ See Sfameni, in this volume, § 1.1.

Research Project²⁰, a joint initiative between the Museum of Bar and the University of Southampton's Centre for Maritime Archaeology, focusing on one of the favourite shipping routes in the ancient and medieval Mediterranean (Fig. 12). The project began in 2010, following some discoveries in Maljevik Bay (Municipality of Bar). An archaeological survey was then undertaken as a first step in a large and ambitious project aimed at documenting and conserving the maritime heritage of this stretch of the Montenegro coastline, subjected as it is to sprawling touristic development.



Fig. 12 Online video illustrating the Montenegrin Maritime Archaeological Research Project (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OMu-FQblvYo>).

Innovation is also part of the 'archaeology of architecture'. Data recording and processing aim at documenting built heritage elements to produce a complete and reliable reconstruction of historical buildings, by integrating lost architectural elements. As an example, we can quote the research work conducted in the archaeological area located between Ravenna and Classe, which has been the focus of a scientific investigation by the University of Bologna and the Ravenna Antica Foundation²¹. In particular, the town of Classe (Ravenna) – with its long tradition as a maritime centre and the harbour of the

²⁰ http://www.southampton.ac.uk/archaeology/research/projects/montenegrin_maritime_archaeological_research_project.page.

²¹ FIORINI, ARCHETTI 2011; FIORINI 2015.

Roman and the Byzantine fleets for the military and economic control of the Adriatic Sea – and in particular the Monastic Complex of San Severo have been thoroughly investigated (Figs. 13-15)²².

As an example of a methodological synthesis, in the process of ‘reading the walls’ to document plane surfaces (such as the façades of historic buildings), the combined use of monoscopic photogrammetry and 3D laser scanner is gaining ground, replacing the use of direct survey methods and instruments. In addition, photomodelling is rapidly spreading its influence, as a user-friendly documentation technique: this makes use of digital cameras to capture 2D images and then to produce 3D metric stratigraphic models manageable in a GIS environment.

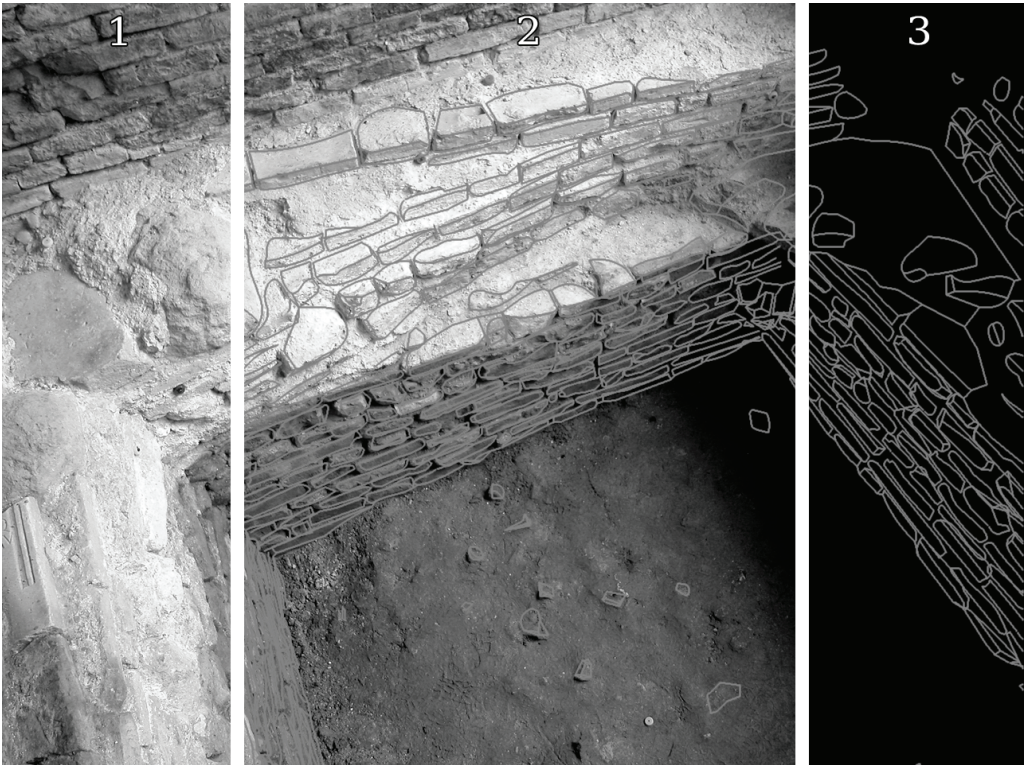


Fig. 13 Digital documentation phases of the medieval bell-tower of the Basilica of San Severo (Classe, Ravenna) (after FIORINI, ARCHETTI 2011, fig. 1).

²² BOSCHI 2012; URCIA, MONTANARI 2012.

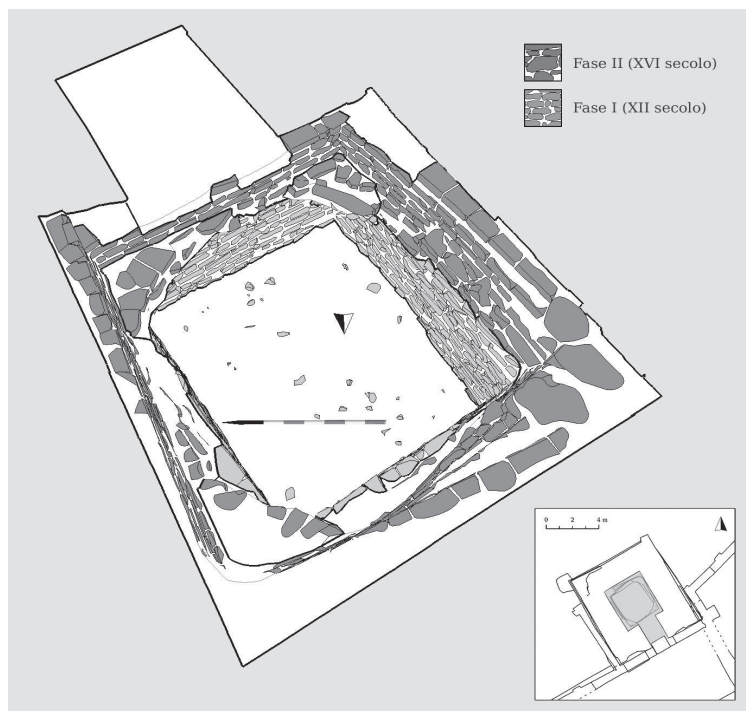


Fig. 14 3D restitution of the medieval bell-tower of the Basilica of San Severo (Classe, Ravenna), achieved by photomodelling and stereophotogrammetry techniques (*after* FIORINI, ARCHETTI 2011, fig. 10).



Fig. 15 Virtual reconstruction of the San Severo (Classe, Ravenna) archaeological site at sunset (*after* URCIA, MONTANARI 2012, fig. 16).

3. From archaeological databases to European e-infrastructures for archaeology

3.1 Archaeological laboratories

According to the traditional categorisation of archaeological research, that of laboratory analysis mainly focuses on the recording and classification of archaeological finds and the interpretation of data collected in surveys and excavations. As we have already mentioned, recent developments of ICTs today have allowed lab work and field research to operate more in sync. However, it is still worth laying out the evolution of some research sectors that have always embraced computer applications.

I refer in particular to artefact classification, a conceptual and methodological approach which is still represented by two different trends. Primarily, the long-standing statistical approach – still a well-established methodological reference model – can support archaeologists in the decision-making processes during the organisation and synthesis of knowledge. Then there is the process of cataloguing and recording archaeological objects: database management systems and their recent evolution towards multimedia information systems allow users to implement, consult, and share data via the web.

In particular, the computer-based analysis and classification of mosaics have attracted the attention of scholars. Two databases have been promoted as part of the European Union programmes dedicated to cross-border, transnational and interregional cooperation (see *infra* § 3.2). The University of Padua has developed the distributed database system TESS²³, which aims at providing a key tool for the identification of the origins of iconographic themes, their geographic distribution and the development of local fashions (Fig. 16). The International Mosaic Documentation Centre – a section of the city of Ravenna's Art Museum – in cooperation with ENEA-Bologna Research Centre, has promoted and implemented a computerised networked system, enabling the storage of information on mosaic decorative aspects (Fig. 17)²⁴.

When government departments, universities, research institutes, regional and local authorities make a joint effort to promote and coordinate cultural heritage conservation and planning policies, the cataloguing and management of large archaeological datasets is generally centralised at a national level. Accordingly, coordination is requested at a global level: supranational representation standards and data transmission protocols for dissemination as well as e-infrastructures and services are all planned to facilitate interoperability between the

²³ <http://tess.beniculturali.unipd.it/>; for the earliest results, see GHEDINI *et al.* 2007 and, more recently, GHEDINI 2016.

²⁴ <http://www.mar.ra.it/eng/CIDM/DATABASE/Mosaic-Database/>.

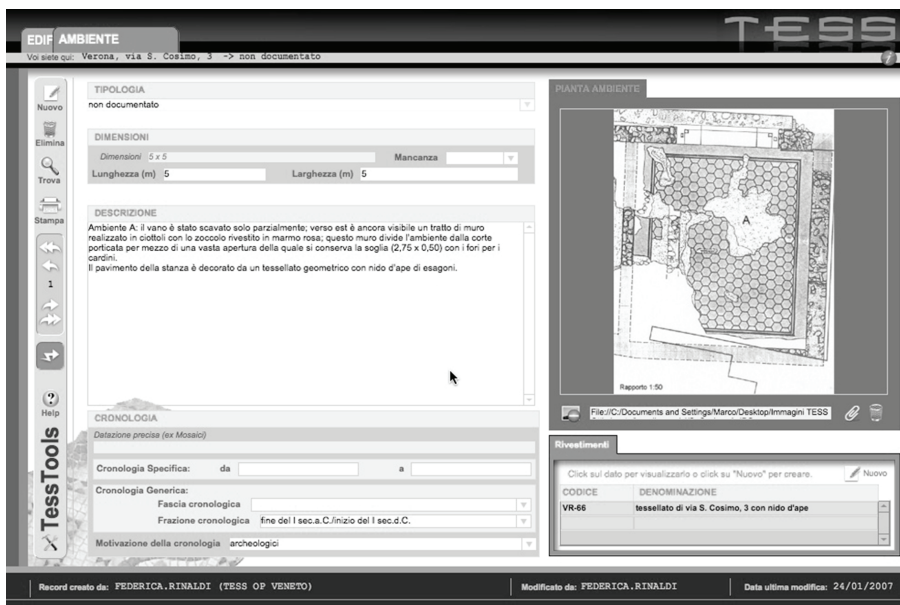


Fig. 16 The database system TESS for mosaics, including informative files regarding building and rooms, location, relevant bibliography and mosaic pavement (after GHEDINI *et al.* 2007, fig. 5).

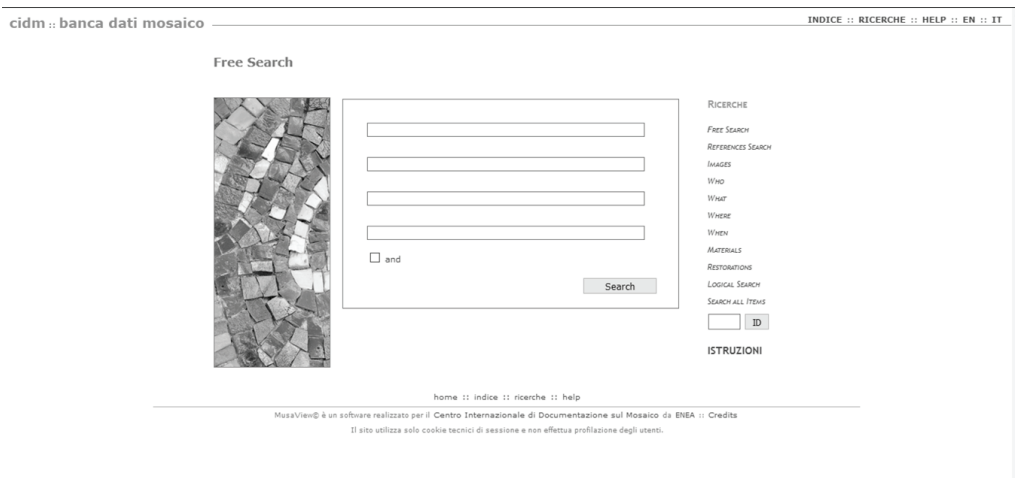


Fig. 17 Example of free search in The Mosaic Database, promoted and developed by the International Mosaic Documentation Centre (CIDM).

digital repositories. The model of data storage, management and preservation being sought coincides with that promoted in digital libraries: comprehensive collection, management and the preservation of a rich digital content for the long term, so as to provide user communities with specialised functionality, according to codified policies.

3.2 European e-infrastructures for archaeology

As early as the first decade of the 21st century, many European projects were aimed at setting up digital infrastructures for the census of natural and cultural resources and for preventing risk factors in the Adriatic Sea area. We can quote, as examples, the Interreg III projects, developed in response to the call for increasing all types of cooperation between bordering regions²⁵, and also the IPA Adriatic Cross-border Cooperation Programme 2007-2013²⁶. The latter gave birth to many research projects. Among them are EX.PO AUS (EXtension of POTentiality of Adriatic UNESCO Sites), aimed at setting up a network between the UNESCO World Heritage Sites of the Adriatic Sea area; PArSJAd - Archaeological Park of the Northern Adriatic Sea, aimed at enhancing the archaeological heritage of the Adriatic coasts, from the coast of Emilia to the Slovenian one²⁷; and finally AdriaMuse²⁸, aimed at creating new tools and services, supported by ICT and able to help organisations in tourism, museums and cultural bodies to implement innovative ways of attracting audiences to exhibitions.

In addition, within the AdriaWealth Project²⁹, which capitalises on the results of previous projects financed by the IPA Adriatic Programme, the project Archeo.S (System of the archaeological sites of the Adriatic Sea)³⁰ tested a new approach in enhancing cultural heritage sites as attractive tourist destinations, with the help of cultural operators and live art events. At a more general level, the EU Strategy for the Adriatic and Ionian Region (EUSAIR) is worthy of note: a macro-regional strategy adopted by the European Commission in 2014 to strengthen regional cooperation and promote a solid basis for the European integration process³¹.

The list of projects devoted specifically to the Adriatic Sea and its criticalities would take too long to present and anyway is outside the scope of this paper. However, we can

²⁵ http://www.welcomeurope.com/european-funds/interreg-iii-499+399.html#tab=onglet_appel.

²⁶ <http://www.ipadriaticcbc.eu/>.

²⁷ <http://www.parsjad-3d.eu/en/parsjad.html>.

²⁸ <http://www.adriamuse.org/>.

²⁹ <http://www.adriawealth.eu/>.

³⁰ <http://www.adriawealth.eu/project/archeo-s/>.

³¹ <http://www.adriatic-ionian.eu/>.

reiterate here that GIS constitute the ideal IT platform capable of generating risk-assessment maps and of estimating the level of aggressiveness from physical, chemical, biological and environmental factors and presenting a vulnerability index.

Concerning European e-infrastructures for archaeology, I wish to expound a little on the Ariadne project³², defined as a key European initiative in the field of archaeological digital research infrastructures. Bringing together the expertise and assets of a large number of institutions or initiatives, it gathers and integrates existing archaeological data collections so that researchers can now have access to various distributed datasets.

Just like many other digital research infrastructures in the arts and the humanities – e.g. the emblematic case of Europeana³³, but also as exemplified by recent initiatives like DARIAH³⁴ and CLARIN³⁵, Ariadne has revitalised the scope and affordability of metadata schemes, as a prerequisite for the future reliability and usefulness of archaeological information held in registries, finds databases, excavation archives, or digital libraries. Descriptive metadata needs to be rich enough to provide researchers with information useful for specific queries, but also responsive to the needs of automated data recording, processing and extraction. Research work has been driven by the identification of ontological structures for data classification to achieve a more targeted retrieval, as requested by the CIDOC Conceptual Reference Model³⁶ and by its extension, CRMarchaeo³⁷, specifically implemented for archaeological purposes. CIDOC CRM is promoted by the International Council of Museums and is oriented towards extracting domain taxonomies in the cultural heritage sector, while assisting researchers to navigate across the information maze of the Internet.

4. Communicating archaeological research

4.1 Open archaeology

Today, the documentation and curation of archaeological records are expected to promote the interconnection of data interpretation with the new paradigm of data sharing in science and education. To face this important challenge in archaeological and humanities

³² <http://www.ariadne-infrastructure.eu/>. A brief account of the Ariadne project is also set out in *Archeologia e Calcolatori*: see lastly NICCOLUCCI 2017.

³³ <http://www.europeana.eu/portal/it/>.

³⁴ <http://it.dariah.eu/sito/>.

³⁵ <https://www.clarin.eu/>.

³⁶ <http://www.cidoc-crm.org/>.

³⁷ <http://new.cidoc-crm.org/crmarchaeo/>.

computing, ICT is the best experimental area to achieve the goal of openly communicating research data and of ensuring its efficient exploitation.

The term ‘open access’ is mainly used in the academic field, and refers to the possibility of free access to scientific publications (‘open science’). However, the concept of openness is not merely concerned with free access, but involves ethical issues such as the freedom to use and to reuse published contents and research products, especially if deriving from public funding. Therefore, delicate and controversial legal, technical, economic and scientific angles come into play in open data theory, which encourages free reuse of contents according to the criteria of ‘sharing economy’.

Today, national and international political agendas are increasingly focusing on data-access policies, in so much as they comply with administrative transparency and with the right of citizens to access to information of public interest. Cultural heritage is, in its own right, an item involving just such dissemination of public interest information, as it is an essential component of the cultural life of the people and therefore can be fairly considered a human right.

During the last five years, great effort has been devoted to the defining of standards and guidelines for the national and international implementation of open access policies. Among the most active projects of such a nature are the MedOANet (Mediterranean Open Access Network)³⁸ and RECODE (Policy Recommendations for Open Access to Research Data)³⁹, both involved in implementing policy guidelines for open access to scientific research data and in promoting their care and protection. More recently, the OpenAIRE⁴⁰ and FOSTER⁴¹ projects confirm this line of conduct, as does OpenGLAM, an initiative run by Open Knowledge that promotes free and open access to digital cultural heritage held by galleries, libraries, archives and museums⁴². In addition, the European Research Council has recently updated the guidelines to promote open access to scientific publications and data resulting from research funded under Horizon 2020 projects⁴³.

4.2 *‘Archeologia e Calcolatori’ and the dissemination of archaeological research results*

Having been involved in the dissemination of archaeological research results for more than thirty years, the achievements of ISMA ICT (laboratory) are a good starting point to illustrate the benefits of an open access policy. In particular, the digital repository

³⁸ <http://www.medoanet.eu/>.

³⁹ <http://recodeproject.eu/>.

⁴⁰ <https://www.openaire.eu/>.

⁴¹ <https://www.fosteropenscience.eu/>.

⁴² <https://openglam.org/>.

⁴³ http://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/data/ref/h2020/other/hi/oa-pilot/h2020-hi-erc-oa-guide_en.pdf.

of ‘Archeologia e Calcolatori’, from which most of the archaeological case studies mentioned above were extracted, is an unprecedented benchmark example.

The Journal has been pioneering principles in the open access and open archives movement⁴⁴. Not only did it join the Open Archives Initiative as early as 2005, but it has also promoted the debate on Open Science by publishing various editions of the ArcheoFOSS⁴⁵ workshop and by giving relevance to contributions of expert scholars addressing the theme of open digital archives and open access archaeological publishing⁴⁶.

A digital repository, conforming to the OAI-PMH protocol, contains the metadata description of the articles published in the Journal and in the Supplements (more than 800 papers by more than 1,000 authors all over the world). All articles published from 1996 onwards are freely accessible. Publication is free of charge for authors and access for readers is made available immediately on publication. Recently, we have launched a support campaign entitled ‘Knowledge-sharing in culture and cooperation in research’⁴⁷, seeking to share our entire collection of articles, to sustain the open access movement in archaeology, and to contribute to the dissemination of interdisciplinary archaeological research within a more collaborative and creative open science environment.

In particular, we tested a new form of presentation for an interdisciplinary research sector in a journal’s website environment. The presence of theme issues, conference proceedings, databases, publication statistics, and additional documents demonstrates that the website is no longer a simple venue for collecting, preserving, and deploying scientific articles, but a conduit for the increasingly enhanced capillary activity of knowledge dissemination. Focus is shifted towards the community of readers, introducing them to a more complex information system; innovative communication strategies are tested out, to reach scientific achievements and so produce an important impact on knowledge and education. As a result, scholars can diversify the channels through which their knowledge is made available, with the support of a cognitive and communicative approach.

Its participation in the Open Archives Initiative has made the Journal not only a dissemination tool, but also an online research point of reference, freely available for scholars and students. Tangible evidence of its role was provided during the implementation of the Virtual Museum Archaeological Computing⁴⁸, a research project that the CNR-ISMA is

⁴⁴ BARCHESI 2006 and lastly MOSCATI 2018.

⁴⁵ CIGNONI, PALOMBINI, PESCARIN 2009; SERLORENZI 2013; BASSO, CARAVALÉ, GROSSI 2016.

⁴⁶ See e.g. CARAVALÉ, PIERGROSSI 2012 and some of the articles published in the SITAR Conference Proceedings (SERLORENZI, LEONI 2015; SERLORENZI, DE TOMMASI, JOVINE 2017).

⁴⁷ <http://www.archcalc.cnr.it/support2.htm>.

⁴⁸ <http://archaeologicalcomputing.lincci.it/>.

leading in partnership with the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei⁴⁹. The articles published in the Journal have been a source for documenting all the different aspects of the history of studies and institutions. This alone is sufficient to display the value of the scientific interdisciplinary approach and the international perspective of studies promoted since the Journal's outset. Technology has thus enhanced our engagement in giving immediacy and ease of access to archaeological data and research results that scholars have the ethical duty to make public.

5. Conclusions

The bilateral aim of our Italian-Montenegrin joint Laboratory on Doclea is to openly publish the archaeological results to be achieved, in accordance with the European guidelines and following a data sharing and dissemination policy. The choice of 'Archeologia e Calcolatori' as one of the publishing platforms will subsequently make it possible to record data first in the CNR SOLAR database (Scientific Open-access Literature Archive and Repository)⁵⁰ and thence in the CNR Science and Technology Digital Library⁵¹. In addition, the choice to share the content of the Journal's repository in CulturaItalia⁵², the Portal of Italian Culture, will make data available to other heritage portals, such as Europeana – of which CulturaItalia is the national aggregator – or CLARIN-IT⁵³, the Italian Common Language Resources and Technology Infrastructure.

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⁴⁹ MOSCATI, ORLANDI 2019.

⁵⁰ <http://eprints.bice.rm.cnr.it/>.

⁵¹ <http://stdl.cnr.it/it/>.

⁵² <http://www.culturaitalia.it/>.

⁵³ <http://www.clarin-it.it/it>.

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PROFESSIONAL COOPERATION BETWEEN MONTENEGRO AND ITALY ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ITALIAN SOFTWARE IN THE PROCESSING OF THE ARCHIVAL MATERIAL FROM THE KOTOR HISTORICAL ARCHIVES

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1. Introduction

In the Kotor Historical Archives, held in the Department of the State Archives of Montenegro¹, the digitisation project of a very significant archival fond – ‘Records of the Extraordinary Governors for Kotor and Albania during the Venetian Government’ – was undertaken. The project was financially supported by the Veneto Region from funds assigned for the preservation and presentation of cultural heritage created during the Venetian rule in Istria and Dalmatia². Two NGOs from Montenegro, i.e. Kotor, applied competitively to the Veneto Region to obtain financing for the projects in 2010, and again for the project itself in 2011. They are: 1. the Centre for the Preservation and Presentation of Kotor’s Documentary Heritage Notar – Kotor³, and 2. the Community of Italians of Montenegro – Kotor⁴. The project leader is the organisation Notar.

According to the originally calculated activities comprising the Project, the scanning and processing of the 40 volumes of this archival fond will be undertaken using the

¹ See more: www.dacg.me.

² Announcement of the Regional Manager of the International Relations, Cooperation, Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Department, Regional Law No 15 from 1994, ‘Interventi per il recupero, la conservazione e la valorizzazione del patrimonio culturale di origine veneta nell’Istria e nella Dalmazia’ in the framework of its Regional Programme for the years 2010 and 2011 (www.regione.veneto.it).

³ The Centre for the Preservation and Presentation of Kotor’s Documentary Heritage - Notar-Kotor is a non-governmental organisation, founded in December 1999. Within the guidelines of the programme, the organisation deals professionally with written sources and early printed material deposited within cultural institutions of the state, church and private archives and libraries, following suitable appraisal by expert and scientific authorities in Montenegro and abroad. The Centre acts to encourage the interest of international professional and scientific units for this kind of heritage in Kotor, which has been on the UNESCO List of World Cultural Heritage since 1979 (www.cdknotar.org).

⁴ See more: www.comunitaitaliana.me.

appropriate software. The corpus has 228 archival units (documents in bundles of various sizes). However, due to the reduction of the project's budget and delays in payment by the donor (the Veneto Region)⁵, Notar had to cut the volume of documents in the project proportionally to the finally received sum, which particularly concerned those documents intended for scanning and processing so as to be published on the web. In the first and the second phase of the project, finances permitted only 21 folders to be processed. So, for now, of this archival set there are presented with a description on the web portal these 21 archival folders and with them are 28,870 digital images of original documents (available in high resolution). The two NGOs are still trying to find financial support for the digitisation of all the remaining documents.

2. On the content and significance of the archival fond 'Records of the Extraordinary Governors of the Venetian Republic'

The full title of this archival fond is 'Administrative and political records of the Extraordinary Governors of the Venetian Republic'⁶, with the archival signature ME DACG IAK UPM. It contains the records created in the office of the Venetian authorities, situated in Kotor from 1420 to 1797⁷. The chronological limits of this particular archival fond are from 1684 to 1797, namely until the end of Venetian rule in Dalmatia. The Extraordinary Governor for Kotor and Albania was responsible for managing the territory of the Kotor Bay, including some other towns in the coastal area (Budva, Paštrovići, Grbalj) or in its

⁵ The full value of the project was estimated at € 51.302,00. The donor (Veneto Region) first approved € 15,000 for the project in 2010: the funds were paid to the NGO Notar in two tranches during 2011 and in mid-2012. Both NGOs applied again in 2010 for funding of projects to be implemented during 2011. The donor approved € 20,000 for the second phase of the same project at the beginning of 2012: it too was paid in two instalments. This second phase finished on 30th April 2013.

⁶ In the Montenegrin language: Upravno-politički spisi vanrednih providura Mletačke republike (UPM) and in Italian: Atti del Proveditore straordinario di Cattaro e Albania con la Soprintendenza di Castel Nuovo (see MILOŠEVIĆ 1977, 24-32).

⁷ Boka Kotorska, together with neighbouring southern region and a part of the Albanian coast, was a separate administrative unit of the Republic of Venice, called 'Venetian Albania' (*Albania Veneta*). Venice reached the maximum extent of its overseas possessions, the *Stato da Mar*, during the 1480s. In the series of Venetian-Ottoman wars that followed from 1479 to 1573, the Venetian dominion in the Adriatic Sea was seriously reduced. Venice lost in the south all of the Albanian coast, apart from merely the area around Boka Kotorska (Perast, Kotor) and Budva. This area was named *Albania Veneta* (MILOŠEVIĆ 1974).

hinterland (Pobori, Maine, Brajići) in what is present-day Montenegro⁸. For centuries, this region, when under Venetian rule, formed the border area with both the Ottoman Empire and the old Montenegrin state⁹.



Fig. 1 Condition of the archival fond (photo by the author).

The documents in the archival fond are mostly administrative, diplomatic, political and military in character. The correspondence of Extraordinary Governor with the Bailo, magistrates, consuls and prelates is of particular importance, as well as that with the representatives of Turkish rule in Albania and others situated in the towns of the Turkish part of Montenegro and in Bosnia and Herzegovina. There are also many specifically significant

⁸ The Extraordinary Governor represented the Venetian government, with the rector, and was situated in Kotor. This function was established in 1684, and Extraordinary Governorship then acted like a permanent institution for resolving temporary *ad hoc* situations. After the re-conquest of Herceg-Novi in 1687, a representative of Venetian authority was established in this town – a ‘superintendent’ subordinate to the Extraordinary Governor in Kotor.

⁹ In this area, the borders between the two Empires, Ottoman and Venetian, changed during the period of Venetian presence on the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea. One part of Kotor Bay was conquered by the Ottomans in 1482, when the Turks occupied Herceg-Novi (Castel Nuovo), the town at the very entrance to the Bay. Their rule lasted for 200 years, until 1687, with a short break between 1538 and 1539 when the town was taken by the Spaniards. After the Turkish conquest of Herceg-Novi, the nearby town of Risan shared its destiny, surrendering to the Ottomans, and also remaining under the Turkish rule until 1687. In that period the small town of Perast was the border town between the Ottomans and the Venetian Republic. During the Fourth Ottoman-Venetian War, also known as the War of Cyprus, in 1571, the Venetian Republic, being unable to defend the entire Adriatic coast, was forced to conclude a separate peace treaty with the Ottomans granting them two towns, Bar (Antivari) and Ulcinj (Dulzigno). Thus, the village of Spič became the southern border between the Ottoman Empire and the Venetian Republic, and this border remained in place until 1878. The Ottomans were present also in the southern part of the Kotor Commune, in the very important region named Grbalj, from 1497 to 1647, and again from 1702 to 1715. See STANOJEVIĆ, VASIĆ 1975.

documents concerning the military conflicts between the united Christian states, headed by the Republic of Venice, and the Ottomans, as well as between Montenegro and the Ottomans. The archival fond contains data related to the activities of the Venetian Republic in organising the resistance against the Turkish military forces, by raising troops of brigands (*hajduk*) of Christians who had escaped from the Turkish territories. Furthermore, there are details about epidemics, piracy, everyday activities of brigands, the control of maritime and caravan trade activities in this part of the Adriatic Sea, negotiations between the Turkish and Montenegrin authorities and the Venetian ones, intelligence service activities on the movements of the Turkish army in this area over several centuries, etc. There are also many records from judicial processes, health regulations and measures in general from political and social life. Some folders contain the registers of terminations and mandates of the Extraordinary Governors.

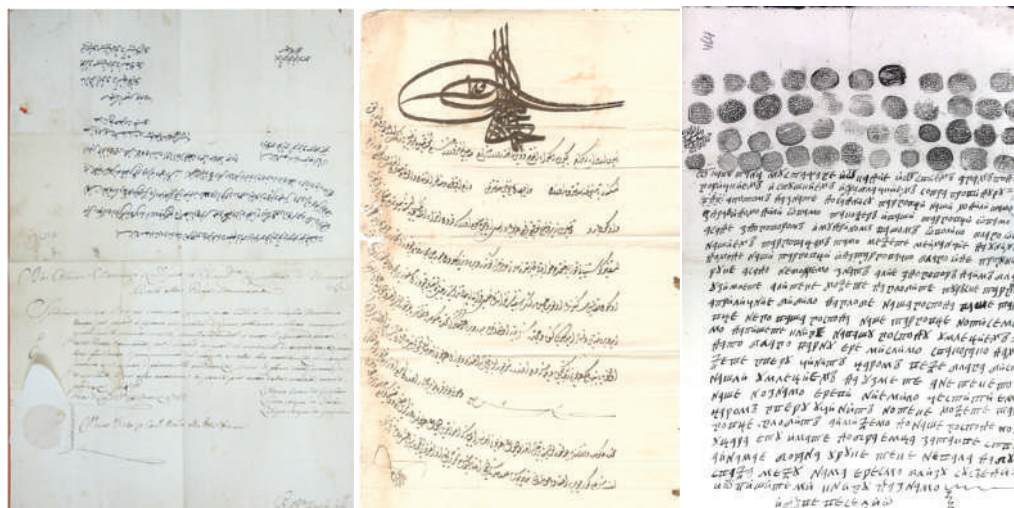


Fig. 2 Correspondence with the Turkish authorities from the border area with the Republic of Venice.

Moreover, there are many documents about land ownership, in the form of land registers especially for the surveys carried out in the territory of the towns of Herceg-Novi (Castel Nuovo) and Risan (Risano) when they were re-conquered by the Venetians, after being for some two centuries under the Ottoman rule. Much data exists on transfers of land ownership from the Turks to the Christian population (Venetians) after the regaining of the Turkish territories, as well as about the population resettlement from the territories

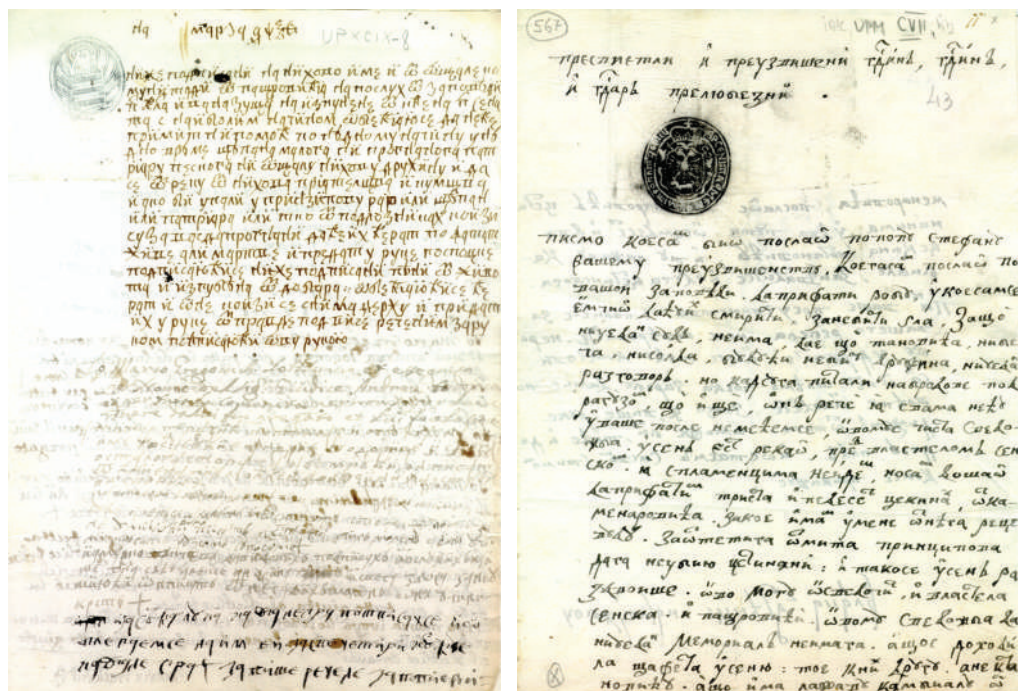


Fig. 3 Correspondence of the Montenegrin authorities.

under the Turkish rule, the colonisation of the Venetian territory on the eastern Adriatic zone, and about the processes of land improvement, etc. There are many to do with sales agreements and various documents on property and legal relations. In addition, it is generally known that the Venetian cadastres were formed in accordance with territorial changes made in the whole of Dalmatia during the Venetian-Turkish wars, including this southern region. Supplementary documentation is preserved in Zadar (Residence of the General Governor for Dalmatia) and in Venice¹⁰.

¹⁰ From the very first cadastre from 1421, through the surveys of territorial gains in the Cyprus War (1570-1573), the War of Candia (1664-1669), the Morean War (1684-1699) and the so-called Small War (1716-1718) right up until the establishing of Grimani's cadastre, the Venetian Republic was recording all the territorial, demographical and land-property changes in the land of Dalmatia (see more: SLUKAN-ALTIC 2000). The oldest cadastral document preserved in Kotor Historical Archives is 'Catasticum carubbionorum Zoppe de Gherbili, Communitatis Catari', from 1430, the official legal document of the property, with the land division and the list of landowners: noblemen and citizens from Kotor, as well as the Kotor Commune.

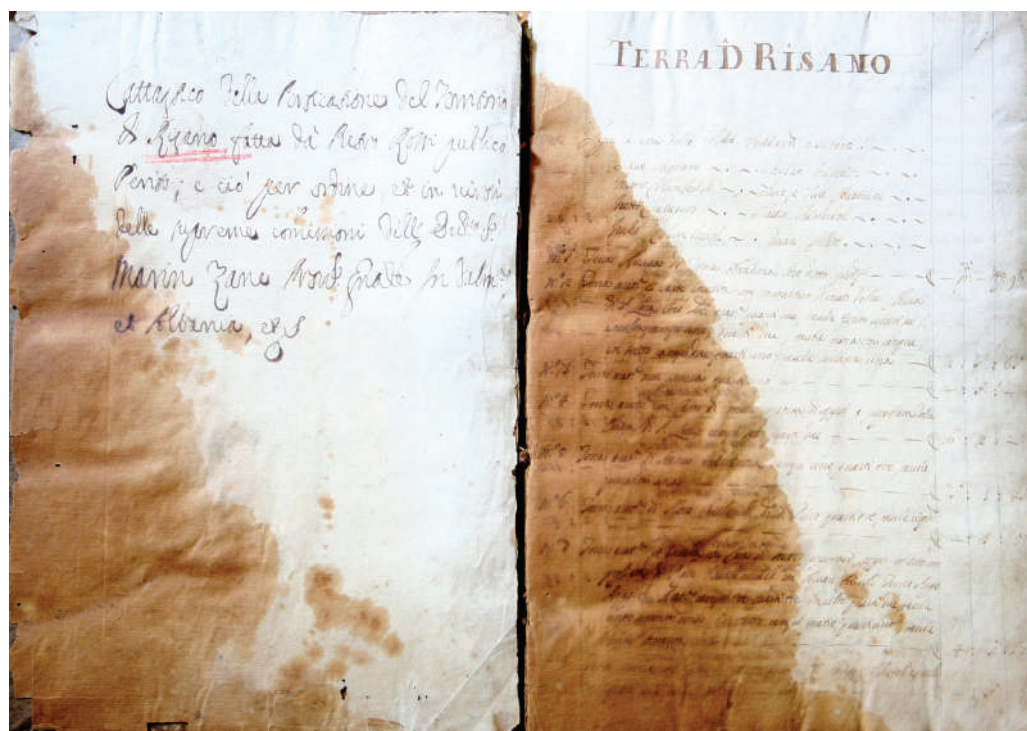


Fig. 4 Surveys carried out in the territory of the town of Risan (Risano), 1704.

Thus this archival fond is the mandatory source for a thorough understanding of the economic, political, social, and cultural relations in this region during its very turbulent history. The fond represents a very valuable source for demographic studies, especially documents from the period of the Candia and Morean Wars, and not only in the area of Kotor Bay, but also in the wider region that belongs nowadays to various states: Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Kosovo, Albania, Italy, and even Turkey.

The documents in this archival fond are mainly written in Italian languages, but there are many in the Old Slavic and Turkish tongues (written in Cyrillic and Ottoman alphabets)¹¹.

¹¹ Usually, the representatives of the Turkish rule wrote documents in the Old Slavic language in the Cyrillic alphabet, but with Turkish seals and signature.

3. Selection of suitable software tools for processing the historical archival material preserved in Kotor and Montenegro

In the Kotor Historical Archives¹², one of departments of the State Archives of Montenegro since 1992, is stored documentation dating back to the year 1309. The majority of the archival material was created during the presence of the Venetian government in this area of the Kotor Bay. Unfortunately, the State Archives of Montenegro has no software for the processing of its archival material. In 1999, the State Archives of Montenegro, in cooperation with the Faculty of Mathematical Science of Montenegro, created an information system for the Archives (ARHIS), which, unfortunately, has never been implemented¹³. Several years ago, too, the State Archives cooperated with the Croatian State Archives in trying to test and implement the pilot project of their information systems (ARHINET), but without any concrete results up till now.

Given the fact that the oldest documentary heritage of the whole of Montenegro is stored in the archives and libraries in Kotor, the NGO Notar from Kotor was searching for possibilities to find and implement a suitable software for the processing of these holdings. It is important to emphasise that the documentary heritage preserved in Kotor and its surroundings was created mostly during the four centuries of Venetian rule: thus it is written in Latin and Italian languages, i.e. Venetian dialect. However, even during the presence of other states in this area, Italian was retained as the administrative language too. Therefore, our documentary heritage is similar to the ones created in the Veneto Region and in Dalmatia during the centuries of the shared political system and destinies. So, naturally we were trying to find software designed for similar archival material and we were looking for it from Italian producers. We rapidly came across the information about the *Arianna programme*, a product of the Italian company Hyperborea from Pisa¹⁴, on the Internet; we then decided to ask them for a collaboration.

In addition to the historical material in the Kotor Historical Archives, in Montenegro a good deal of historical archival material is preserved too (in other state and church institutions and in private collections in other towns), which could be processed by using the new technologies. That is why we thought it sensible if the program *Arianna3* and *AriannaWeb* could be shared by all potential users in Montenegro. Thus, in May

¹² About Kotor Historical Archives and its holdings visit: <http://poincare.matf.bg.ac.rs/iak/iak.htm>.

¹³ PEJOVIĆ 2003.

¹⁴ Hyperborea from Pisa, Italy, is a company that has operated since 1995 in the ICT sector, applying computer technologies to the environment and cultural heritage fields. Hyperborea produces its products, solutions and services for the cultural heritage sector: the application fields are historical and repository archives, museums and libraries (<http://www.hyperborea.com>).

2009, the NGO Notar organised a presentation of *Hyperborea's* products and services in Kotor¹⁵.

4. About Arianna3 and AriannaWeb software for archival sector

Arianna3 and *AriannaWeb* are the software tools that the experienced Italian company Hyperborea s.r.l. has produced for a long time, for the need of the archival sector (created in 2000)¹⁶. They are produced within one out of three business units that comprise Hyperborea – that named Cultural Heritage which is involved in the accomplishment and supply of software and services for archives, museums and libraries. The software has been installed and used in more than 300 historical archives, private and public, around Italy.

Arianna3 is the software tool for the description, arrangement and indexing of archives¹⁷. It is a modular application that operates respecting the international ISAAD (G) and ISAAR (CPF) standards¹⁸. *Arianna3* employs evolved technologies, such as the XML/EAD standard¹⁹, which guarantees the interoperability with other kinds of systems and software. It is a product which performs archival operations for every type of archive and with different modes of retrieval. This software possesses an adaptability to accommodate different archival realities and in different contexts, as well as employing systematically the use of a control dictionary. When it comes to the description process in terms of functionalities, the software has the following features: duplication of similar typologies, customizable interface, and contextual help online. Its advantages thus are: the data model helps the archivist, permitting

¹⁵ 'Digitisation and valorisation of cultural heritage: tools, methods, technologies (archives, libraries, museums)' was the title of the information-educational workshop organised by the Italian companies – Metis System from Rome, (<http://www.metis-group.com>), M.I.D.A. Informatica from Bergamo (<http://www.midainformatica.it>), Hyperborea from Pisa, and NGO Notar from Kotor – in May 2009 – at Kotor. (See more: <http://www.cdknotar.org/en/news/127-workshop-on-digitization-of-cultural-heritage-held-in-kotor> (consulted August 28th 2017).

¹⁶ The software tools have been developed in a scientific context, in the Scuola Normale Superiore of Pisa, and after that they have been transformed into actual products for the marketplace. Thus today they represent the guarantee of quality of the products that reflect the aim to apply the IC technologies to the cultural heritage sector, in particular to the archival field (historical archives).

¹⁷ *Arianna3* is available in two versions: the stand alone, installable in a single workplace for individual work; and the server client, installable on a local network, for the cooperative work of multiple users.

¹⁸ *ISAD (G) General International Standard Archival Description*, 2nd ed. (<https://www.ica.org/en/isadg-general-international-standard-archival-description-second-edition>); *ISAAR (CPF) International Standard Archival Authority Records for Corporate bodies, Persons and Families*, 2nd ed. (<https://www.ica.org/en/isaar-cpf-international-standard-archival-authority-record-corporate-bodies-persons-and-families-2nd> (consulted August 28th 2017).

¹⁹ MICETTI 2005, in particular the chapter 'Descrizione archivistica codificata' (<http://www.loc.gov/ead>) (consulted August 28th 2017).

a fast description of activities, and the result is more precise and uniform. There is both a logical and a physical structure to it. In manipulating the arrangement of archives using this software, it allows one to modify in every possible way the resultant tree-representation, it is possible to manage the work globally at any time, to perform automatic arrangements of archival units by different criteria (sorting and filtering), to manage critical and unordered situations, and to make arrangements in a virtual way and simply. Regarding the process of indexing, there are two avenues: simple index (based on index entries – people, corporate bodies, places – available in all units of description: typologies, roles and occupation) and complex index (based on typologies of people, corporate bodies, places). The functionalities of this operation are: to facilitate detection of entries, to achieve the automatic amalgamation of the same entries, with many other practicalities to support their normalisation. The main advantages accruing are that it is possible to choose the type of index, simple or complex, and it is possible to make a complex index speedily. Finally, it should be underlined that *Arianna3* uses a tree-representation to virtually reproduce the structure of an archive; moreover through the topographic map the user can always see the physical collocation of the documentation.

AriannaWeb is a tool that enables the interactive publication of an archival database on the Internet. It is a software strictly related to *Arianna3*, but *AriannaWeb* can manage databases produced with several different archival tools: it uses the XML/EAD standard to preserve and maintain for a long time the documentation in a digital format. *AriannaWeb* is a web application created for the on-line integrated publication of archival descriptions and images, employing software for the fruition of artistic and cartographical heritages on the Web, so that one may publish and consult on the Internet archival descriptions and high resolution images. It guarantees any user or enterprise the possibility of preserving, valuating and managing documentary heritages of historical archives.

AriannaWeb's interface reproduces an archival structure, allowing a rapid navigation through the stored material: it presents the archival descriptions in a contextualised way, provides rapid researches through a Google-like engine and allows the visualisation of high-resolution images associated with the archival description. From a technological angle, the adoption of the XML/EAD standard and the integration of the open-source solution IIPImage for the visualisation of images²⁰, all make *AriannaWeb* a vanguard technology for its sector.

After the above-mentioned presentation in Kotor, and responding to the interest shown by experts from Montenegrin institutions, state and church alike, that have to deal with archival, library and museum material, we were encouraged to translate the software *Arianna3* into the Montenegrin language to enable its use for Montenegrin archives.

²⁰ <http://iipimage.sourceforge.net> (consulted August 28th 2017).

5. Experiences with the Montenegrin language translation of Italian software *Arianna3*

In order to use the Italian software to process the documents in Montenegro, it was necessary to make a translation into the Montenegrin language. Thus, a cooperative agreement was signed between the company Hyperborea -Pisa and the organisation Notar-Kotor. Essentially, this work was an introductory stage in a common project of digitisation that would be done in future with the provision of some financial support.

The Montenegrin translation of the Italian software for the archival sector represents an important meeting between two different archival traditions, the Italian and the Montenegrin, from the technical and conceptual points of view. In the first, all the software interface elements had to be translated to allow the complete use of the Montenegrin language. For the second, the way of operating and the archival concepts had to be exported, examined and used. This work also represented an important evolution for the dissemination of the software outside the Italian context, something that was an important goal for the company Hyperborea in establishing an international platform for *Arianna3* and *AriannaWeb*.

According to the cooperation agreement, the translation was entrusted to the author. Before I started with the work on the translation, it was necessary to become more familiar with the programme of *Arianna3*. Thus, I spent several days with the company Hyperborea in Pisa. My training was carried out on the program in the Italian language: the description of two fonds from the Kotor Archives were used as an example for insertion, and were also translated into Italian. Working in Italian solely did however limit my ability to fully master the technique of entering the data and to comprehend all the pluses and minuses of the programme in implementing our own archives.

The next phase of the work was to input all the words and sentences into Excel sheets, which was done at Hyperborea. The colleagues who worked on it remarked that it required a lot of time and effort. At the same time, as part of this translation, a short version of the handbook needed to be prepared. At the start, however, only the programme in Italian language and drawn words and sentences in Excel, in Italian and English versions were available.

The translation into Montenegrin was somewhat generalised in many instances, with the use of many synonyms. During the work I found that the terms and phrases in the Italian version were partially or completely different from what resulted, when translated into English. So, I had to decide whether to translate the Italian text, or the English one. However, it was difficult out of context to determine which cases, gender, plural or singular and similar, you were advised to use, all characteristics which are in our language very critical.

	ITALIANO	ENGLISH	CRNOGORSKI	ANNOTATIONS
<u>1</u>	a seconda delle dimensioni dell'archivio questa operazione può richiedere anche diversi minuti	according to database dimensions this operation may take several minutes	zavisno od veličine baze podataka ova operacija može oduzeti nekoliko minuta	
2	a testo libero	full text search	pretraživanje čitavog teksta	
3	abilita	enable	omogućiti	
4	adatta alla finestra	fit to window	prilagodi prozoru	
5	backup	backup	napravi rezervnu kopiju	
6	cambio fase di vita per le unità archivistiche	change lifecycle of archival units	promjena životnog ciklusa arhivske jedinice	
<u>1383</u>	voci d'indice completo (solo voci d'indice non collegate)	index entries complete (not linked index entries only)	puni indeks unosa (samo nepovezani indeksi unosa)	

Fig. 5 An example of the translation of the software.

After I had done the translation into Montenegrin, we decided to prepare the text in Latin and Cyrillic lettering, because both of them are used in parallel in Montenegro. Moreover, with the but small alterations in expressions and dialect, the translated programme *Arianna3* can be used in the former Serbo-Croatian language too.

	ITALIANO	ENGLISH	CRNOGORSKI Latin letter	CRNOGORSKI Cyrillic letter
<u>1</u>	a seconda delle dimensioni dell'archivio questa operazione può richiedere anche diversi minuti	according to database dimensions this operation may take several minutes	zavisno od veličine baze podataka ova operacija može oduzeti nekoliko minuta	Зависно од величине базе података ова операција може одузети неколико минута
2	a testo libero	full text search	pretraživanje čitavog teksta	Претраживање читавог текста
3	abilita	enable	omogućiti	Омогући
4	adatta alla finestra	fit to window	prilagodi prozoru	Прилагоди прозору
5	backup	backup	Napravi rezervnu kopiju	Направи резервну копију
6	cambio fase di vita per le unità archivistiche	change lifecycle of archival units	promjena životnog ciklusa arhivske jedinice	Промјена животног циклуса архивске јединице
<u>1383</u>	voci d'indice completo (solo voci d'indice non collegate)	index entries complete (not linked index entries only)	Puni indeks unosa (samo nepovezani indeksi unosa)	Пуни индекс уноса (само неповезани индекси уноса)

Fig. 6 The translation into Latin and in Cyrillic letterings.

It will be useful to mention some difficulties which I faced during this work of translation:

- The programme in Italian and drawn words and sentences in Excel (in Italian and English versions) were available in two completely separate formats.
- During the work I found that the terms and phrases in the Italian version were partially or completely different from its translation into English.
- It was difficult to separate the terms that were purely IT terms from the archival ones.
- For translation of IT terms one should find and provide an appropriate technical dictionary. Unfortunately none exists in Montenegro yet, so I used some glossaries published in the Serbian and Croatian languages²¹.
- Lack of archival terminology glossary is to be noted in Montenegro, but also in our environment, in the former Serbo-Croatian language area.
- It is hard to find adequate words in Montenegrin for IT terms, if one wishes to avoid widespread use of Anglicisms in a computer language in Montenegro.
- When the translation was inserted into the program by Hyperborea, only then it was possible to see exactly what needed to be changed or refined in translation. Certain parts of the texts in the translated version remained unchanged, i.e. that in the Italian language, despite the ease with which the programme automatically can change languages by copying of the appropriate files to the programme installation. For example, many drop-down menus, some titles, etc. usually the ones for automatic insertions.

It is clear that the translation of the programme *Arianna3* is a very complex job and it should be conducted in teams by archivist or archivists – translators and programme creators, as well as their already experienced users – viz. Italian archivists. However, as this was a pioneering job in the field of archival profession not only in Montenegro, but in the wider area, it still succeeded in attracting the attention of many experts in the archival world, as well as ones from the field of computer science²².

It should be emphasised that, so far, the translation of the software *AriannaWeb* has not been achieved. We hope that it will be through further cooperation between the organisations Notar and Hyperborea, when we find adequate financial support.

²¹ AAVV 2016; Kiš 2006. Also there were used: ILLINGSWORTH 1997; WALNE 1988; ANDROIĆ 1972.

²² PEJOVIĆ 2009; 2010. The Autumn Archival School in Trieste in November 2009, organised by the International Institute for Archival Science Trieste, Maribor. IIASTM is a postgraduate training course. That year it was on the issues relating to the archives in the 20th century (1900-2000), professional aspects and technical-scientific aspects (see more: <http://www.iias-trieste-maribor.eu/index.php?id=78&L=1>, consulted August 28th 2017).

6. Applying the software *Arianna3* and *AriannaWeb* to the archival material of the Kotor Historical Archives

Since some of the funds for the project in the Kotor Historical Archives came from the donor – Veneto Region²³, we engaged two companies from Italy as our collaborators, without which we could not perform the project. They are, as already mentioned, Hyperborea from Pisa and M.I.D.A Informatica from Bergamo²⁴. We have to emphasise here that in Montenegro there are no similar companies or IT specialists capable of offering programmes and services in the field of digitisation of cultural heritage, especially concerning archival material. Thus, alongside the two Italian companies, the two NGOs from Kotor implemented the project of digitisation of the archival fond ‘Records of the Extraordinary Governors for Kotor and Albania during the Venetian Government’, and its web publication beginning in September 2011. All project stages were performed in both the Montenegrin and Italian languages.

During the project implementation (first and second phases), the following activities were undertaken:

1. Examination and numeration of each folder of the archival fond to make a detailed description.
2. Cataloguing of all folders in Montenegrin, using the translated version of the software *Arianna3*.
3. Translation of the existing archival descriptions and inventories written in Italian, and their cataloguing using the original (Italian) version of the software *Arianna3*.
4. Digitisation of documents from 21 folders (28,870 pages). Image verification and counting at the end of the digital capture.

²³ See more: footnote n. 2.

²⁴ <http://www.midainformatica.it>. The company was founded in 2000. The fields of work in which M.I.D.A Informatica has most experience is digitisation, cataloguing, archiving and promotion of cultural heritage. Its special offer is turnkey projects, including all aspects of a project: organisation and methodology, either the digital recording of cultural heritage or the indexing of it. M.I.D.A Informatica uses professionals for the recording and acquisition of digital images, recording is always performed at the client's location, the processing of digital images in client's office is always under the supervision of M.I.D.A.'s qualified personnel. The company acquired the certification, in 2005, UNI EN ISO 9001:2000, being specified for the process of a computerised cataloguing of cultural heritage and its presentation. They have developed E-Gallery, which is an intranet/internet application that enables the on-line publication and visualisation of very high resolution images; it also provides a link to pre-existing cataloguing databases. In addition, they made a specific product for the video-referencing of bound books, MidaBook, a system that is able to present any kind of digitalised publication in a virtual-book format.

5. Indexing, i.e. compiling image metadata. At the end of the metadata compilation work, a further systematic and automated verification of all processed data was carried out.

6. Various other support activities necessary for the project implementation.

6.1. Examination and numeration of each folder of the archival fond to make a detailed description.

In this activity we performed preparatory jobs – the examination of all 208 folders, i.e. 228 volumes: current condition of the documents inside each volume, the exact number of documents, number of unbound documents inside each volume, notes on damages of documents and ligatures, collection of all other relevant data to make a description according to archival standards.

The next step was a review of the archival fond in accordance with the needs for computer processing by software *Arianna3* and *AriannaWeb*: data about the location of the fond, condition of its arrangement, existence and type of finding-aids, authors of finding-aids, restoration, integrity of archival fond, omissions and errors in archival signatures, disorder of physical location of folders and documents, type of bindings and kinds of damages, situation with preservation of documents, etc. Also we regularised some other data, like the names of Extraordinary Governors and other representatives of Venice administration, the amount of documents written in other languages, like Old-Slavic or Turkish ones, etc.

6.2. Cataloguing of all folders in Montenegrin language using the translated version of the software Arianna3.

After the initial analysis, we made the description of the entire fond and each separate volume in it, recording all necessary characteristics, in order to be able to implement the computer cataloguing, defining the use of controlled vocabularies and customising the user interface of the software *Arianna3* for the description and arrangement, in its Montenegrin and Italian versions. First we created an *ad hoc* database and then we formulated the logical tree to represent the sorting of the archival fond. Subsequently we started inputting the information about archival units in the Montenegrin language. The model of description of the class hierarchy requires the following data entry fields: 1. Cataloguing of fond (title, chronological limits, quantity of archival units and linear metres, name of creator, name of holder, description of content, description of documentation: proprieties of material, location, condition of preservation, finding-aids); 2. Cataloguing of logical aggregation (type of aggregation: series, category, chronological limits, quantity of archival units); 3.

Cataloguing of archival units (reference code, collocation, chronological limits, proprieties of material and description of ligature and condition of documentation, numbering and survey of quantity of document, title of archival unit, indexing of the names of governors with chronological data, condition of preservation with data on restoration interventions, existing finding-aids, names of authors of finding-aids, characteristics of document, languages, letters, location).

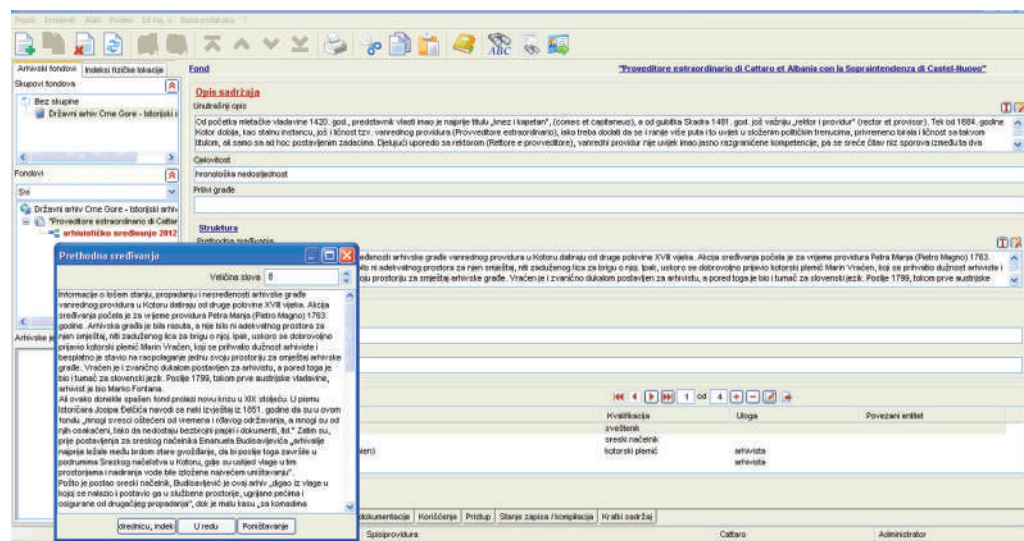


Fig. 7 Cataloguing in the Montenegrin version of *Arianna3*.

6.3. Translation of the existing archival descriptions and inventories written in Italian, and their cataloguing using the original (Italian) version of the software *Arianna3*.

The Italian translation of the cataloguing was performed by two archivists-translators during the same description phase as the Montenegrin language, so that by working together we could quickly proceed and integrate archival and linguistic remarks, having immediate feedback in both languages²⁵. With those activities we ensured that data from an important archival fond could be consulted by a wider circle of researchers from different countries.

²⁵ The translation of all description data of the archival fond, originally written in Montenegrin, into Italian was performed by archivists from Kotor Historical Archives: Snežana Pejović, Jelena Strahinja and Joško Katelan, with the ongoing consultation and assistance of the archivists from Hyperborea, Angela Fuggi.

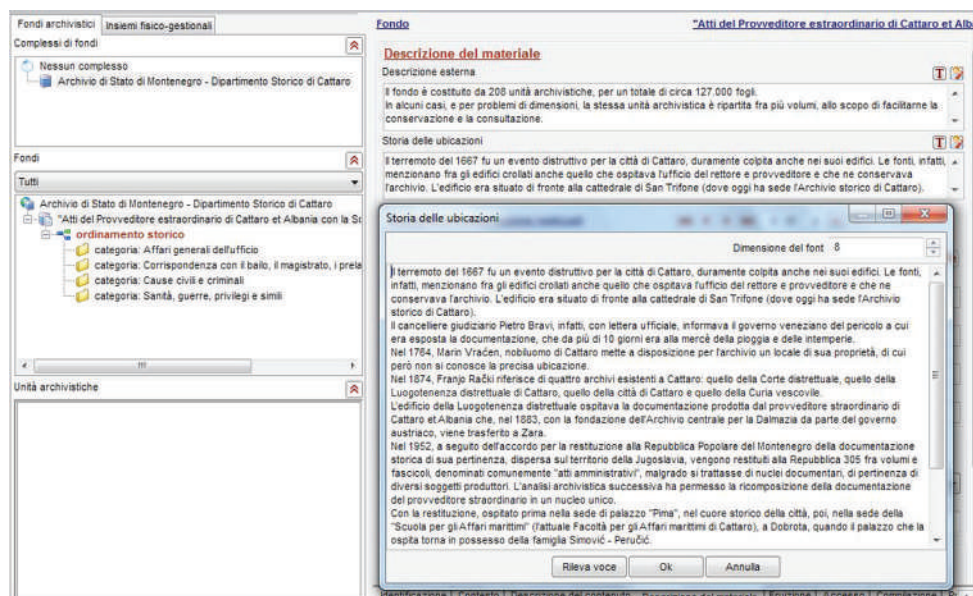


Fig. 8 Cataloguing in original version of software, with data translated into Italian.



Fig. 9 Cataloguing in two languages, Montenegrin and Italian archivists working side by side (in Kotor Historical Archives, photo by the author).

During the data entry, three archivists from Kotor Historical Archives modified and improved the existing translation of *Arianna3* in the Montenegrin language, identifying in the course of the practical software implementation all deficiencies remaining in the first version of the translation. The corrections were entered on Excel sheets and the IT specialists from Hyperborea inserted them in Montenegrin version of software *Arianna3*.

6.4. Digitisation of documents

The M.I.D.A Informatica experts carried out the digital image acquisition in the Kotor Historical Archives. For this purpose they used the scanner planetarium Metis DRS 5070 Book²⁶.

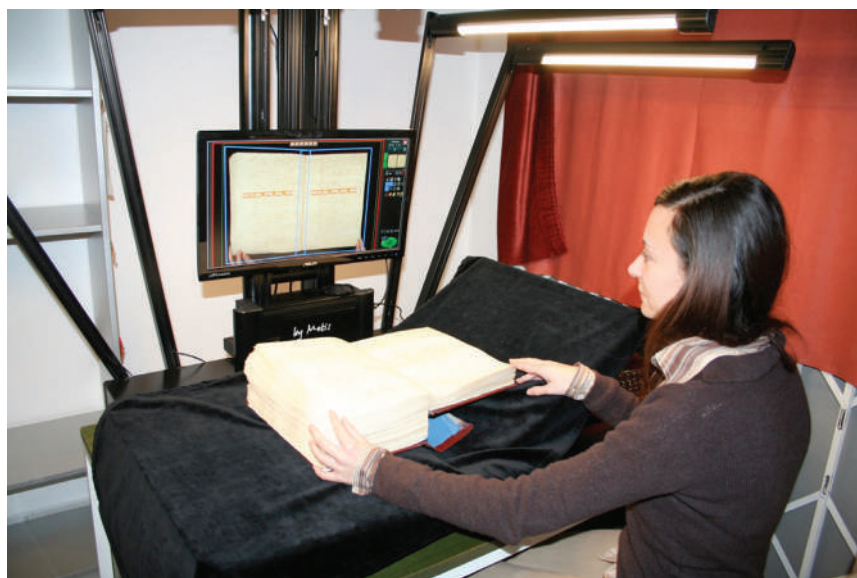


Fig. 10 Digitisation in the Kotor Archives, performed by M.I.D.A. Informatica IT specialist, using the Scanner Metis DRS 5070 Book, produced in Rome (photo by the author).

²⁶ This is a product of the company Metis System from Rome (<http://www.metis-digital.com>). The scanning system of DRS 5070 Book is equipped with a sensor that allows a professional optical native resolution of 400 dpi on the entire format, just exceeding 50x70 cm. Among the most important features is the lighting system SynchroLight, active only during the scanning process. It is suitable for old and fragile books with limited opening angle and without using glass. This is enabled through the integration between the software, the book cradle, a special accessory and the DRS-specific optical and light design. See more: <http://www.metis-digital.com/html/English/Products%20Main.html> (consulted August 28th 2017).

We shall mention the several basic steps in the process of digitisation:

1. Preparation activities: setting up of the space intended for scanning, in consultation with the client: security of space, presence of possible sources of vibration, interference caused by lighting, access to the space, its capacity, provision of free access for the M.I.D.A.'s staff during the working hours, transport and installation of the scanner, its configuration and calibration, installation and configuration of the work-station and storage media.

2. Routine and repeating activities of the digital image acquisition process, and control of the work: carrying out of a routine maintenance scanner calibration, every scanning is always preceded by a pre-scanning in order to optimise the parameters of the image, such as exposure, contrast, gamma, highlights, etc. In the case of particularly sensitive material or a bad state of preservation, documents are digitised without contact with the crystal. M.I.D.A. applies a whole range of precautions to avoid damage of documents.

3. Periodic transfer of acquired data, completion of digital acquisition and closing of the workplace: digital copies acquired are periodically sent to the Image Elaboration Centre of Bergamo, but only after previously verifying that the back-up copy of data to be sent is present at the work-station. The transport service is entrusted to specialised couriers to deliver data disks, properly packed, to Bergamo, where the data are imported to the local conservation system, checking if the files TIFF 6.0 are valid. Every image will be opened and manipulated; when it is certain that the digital copy is correct, only then will the back-up copy at the work-station be cancelled. The scanner remains installed until each digital copy has been manipulated.

4. Post-processing and production of pyramidal format: the image processing package is Adobe Photoshop CS4 and its subsequent updates, under the procedures defined by an Adobe Certified Expert Consultant; the colour management system is based on the profiles of the International Color Consortium – ICC; the process of converting the format from file Master TIFF to format TIFF Pyramid is carried out; before making the compressed version of the images, tests are done to identify the most appropriate compression parameters for obtaining the required compactness, quality and readability of images.

6.5. Indexing and metadata compilation

For metadata creation, XML/MAG (Administrative Metadata Management) is used, conforming to the international standard, in this case, the version 2.0.1. The software *AriannaMag* is used for indexing²⁷.

²⁷ *MagMaker*, the product of Hyperborea, is recognised by the Central Institute for the Union Catalogue (ICCU) of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage of Italy.

At the end, a website hosting service is employed, and the storage of images carried out.

Only the first two phases are performed at the premises of the client; the others are carried out at the headquarters of the company M.I.D.A. in Bergamo.

7. Final results of digitisation and web publication of archival fond from the Kotor Historical Archives

As we have already explained, the implementation of the project lasted until April 30th 2013, when the two NGOs from Kotor had to submit a narrative and financial report to the donor, Veneto Region.

The final result of the project, the first of this kind undertaken in Montenegro, is available on the Internet address <http://arhivkotor.hdue.it>. The cataloguing performed was published on the web in both languages, through the software platform *AriannaWeb* with customised graphics.

Thanks to this project, all researchers and other visitors of the Internet from all around the world are able to browse the data relating to a very important period of historical events in this part of the Mediterranean, through the original documents and information contained in archival fond. The documents are available in high resolution with the possibility of enlargement. The program offers the opportunity for the opening of every digital image in a separate window, thus facilitating the transcription of sometimes extremely illegible handwriting and damaged parts of the text²⁸.

The worth of this project is not only the enabling of easier access to archival material kept in Montenegro, but also with the digitisation of this quite damaged archival fond we have taken measures for its protection. Thanks to the project, about 30,000 well-damaged originals in the Archives can be kept unopened, i.e. they can be consulted only in digital format. The digital images are stored on two external memories in the Kotor Historical Archives.

The singular value of this project is that it represents an end result of professional cooperation between two countries, Montenegro and Italy: an Italian new technological product in conjunction with Italian IT professional knowledge and expertise worked on archival material, created during the Venetian rule in Kotor Bay, and today curated and preserved in Montenegro, at the Kotor Historical Archives.

²⁸ Despite this being the first instance of the web presentation of archival cultural heritage in Montenegro, we have not been able to interest the Montenegrin State Archives or other government agencies, such as the Ministry of Culture to further develop this important project. Costs for hosting and maintaining web portals are high. The organisation Notar cannot pay Hyperborea for the next year's expenses, so that the web portal will be deactivated soon.

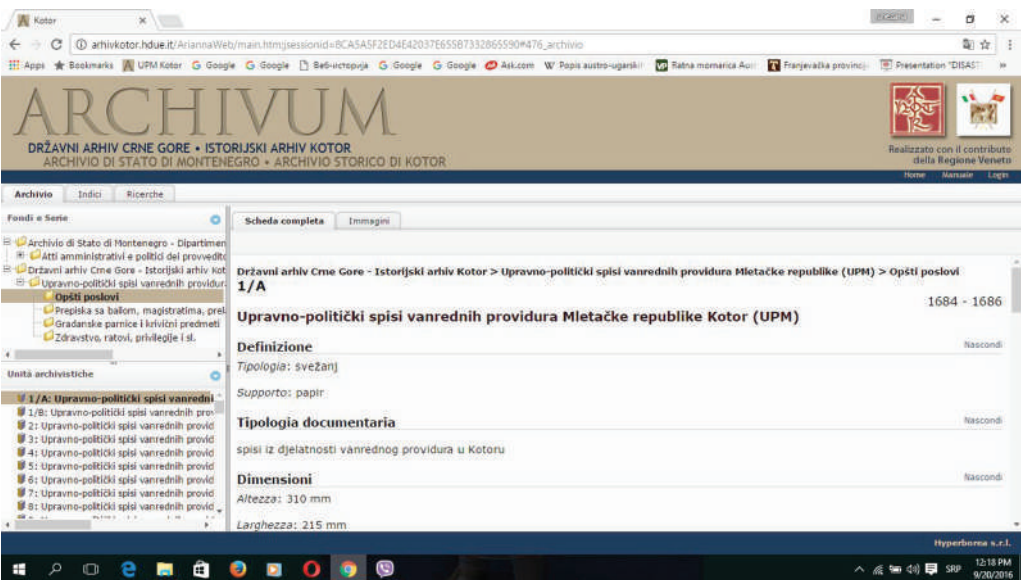


Fig. 11 Inventory of the archival funds in Montenegrin.



Fig. 12 Inventory of the archival funds in Italian.

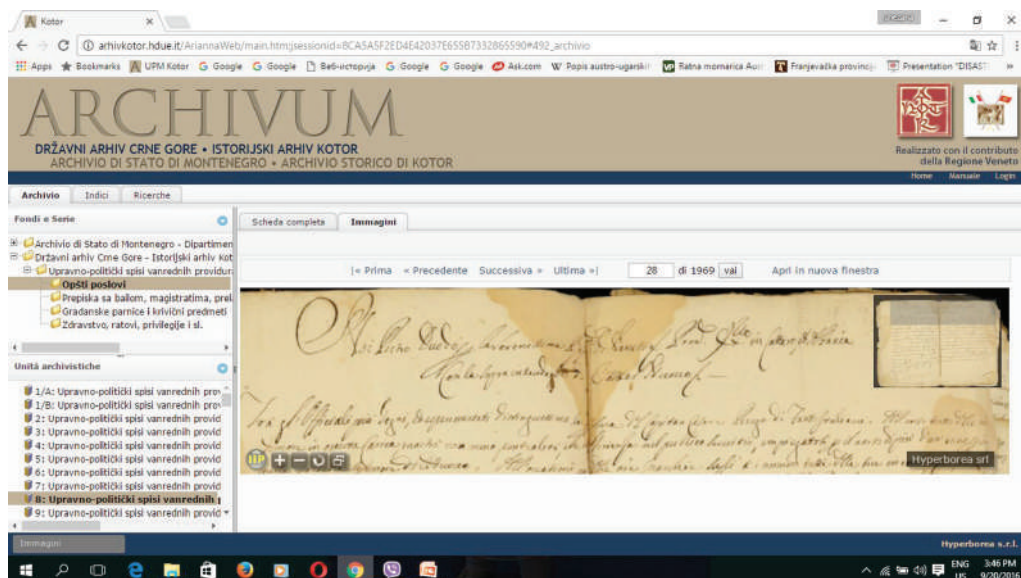


Fig. 13 Inventory and digital image of document.

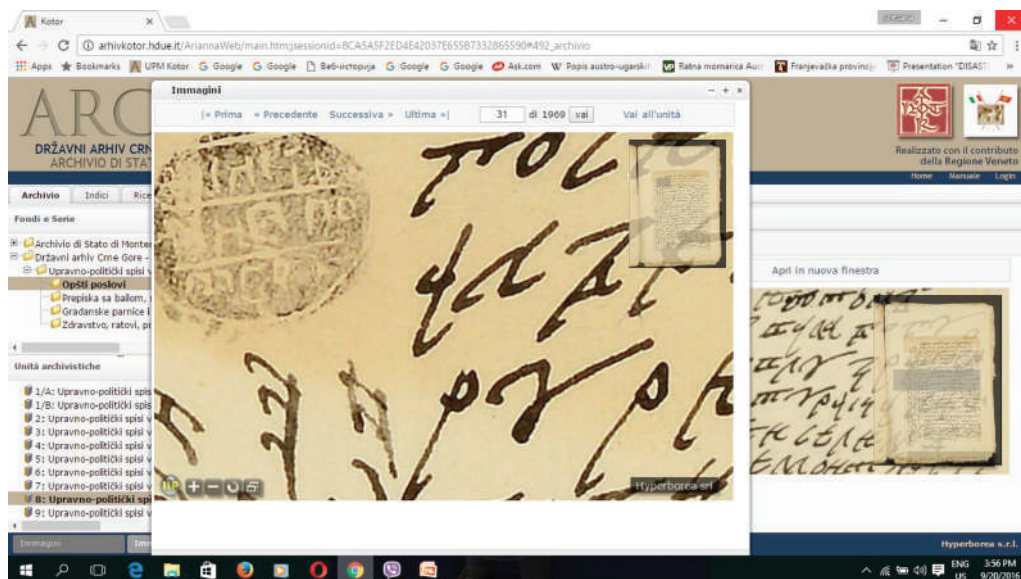


Fig. 14 Digital image of document in a separate window.

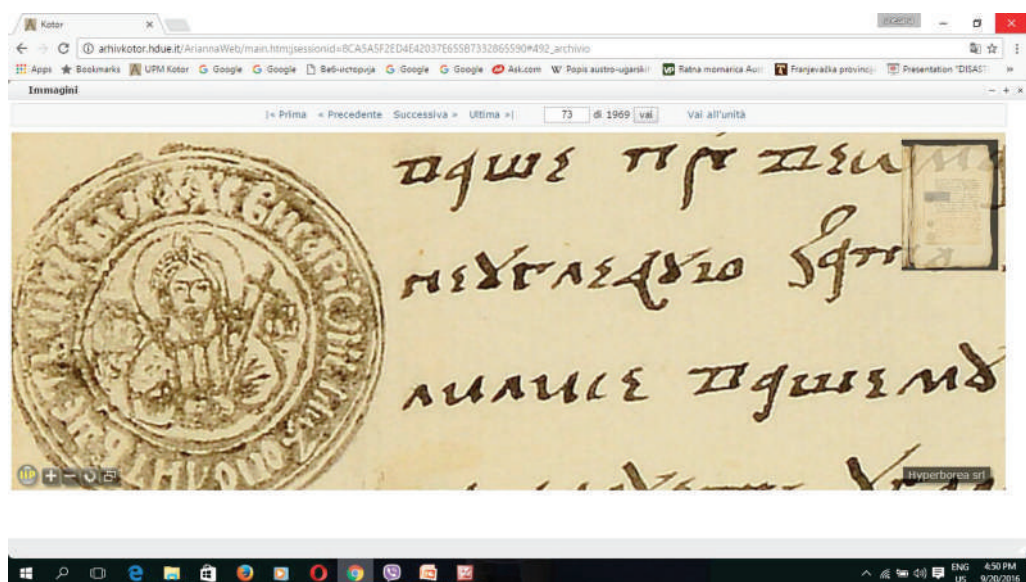


Fig. 15 Enlarged digital image of document opened in a separate window.
In the right hand corner: the frame for reading the certain part of enlarged document.

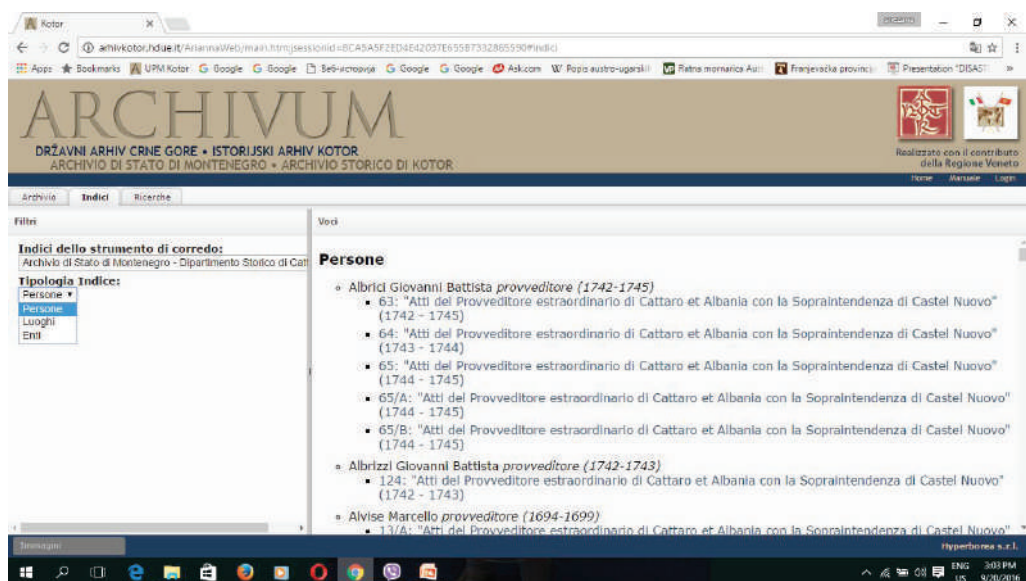


Fig. 16 Browsing through indexes.

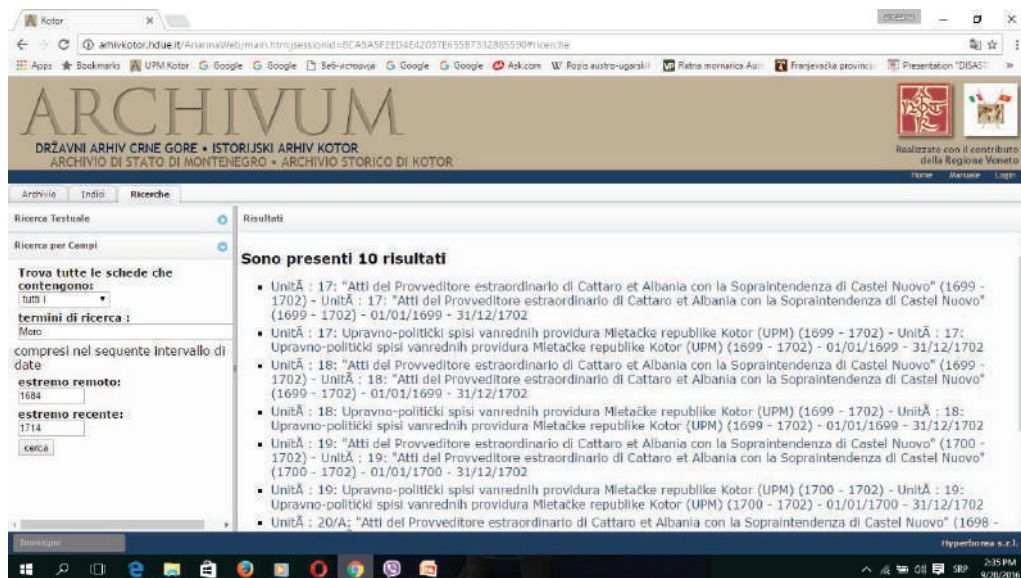


Fig. 17 Browsing through the finding-aids

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ABSTRACTS

1. Clash of cultures or melting pot? Some identity issues in the southern Balkans and Crete: Material cultures during the 2nd millennium BC

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After an introduction on the political and cultural activities of Sir Arthur Evans in the Balkans before his moving to Knossos, the paper introduces a brief discussion about the possibility of detecting different cultural identities through the material assemblages. The case-study presented concerns the changes that occurred in the Knossian burial customs during the mid-2nd millennium BC. After a first phase in which the funerary landscape around the palace is marked by multi-chambered tombs with hundreds of buried individuals and assemblages with many conical cups, new impressive burial customs appear around the mid-15th century BC. In the northern sector of the Knossos valley, previously not occupied by burials, single-chamber tombs with a long dromos and different approaches to depositions appear with very rich assemblages of weapons, jewellery and a new pottery set. This funerary custom is very similar to the burial uses of Mainland Greece and in the past has been interpreted as the proof of a Mycenaean presence at Knossos in that period. Later, in the Mavro Spileo cemetery, it is possible to detect signs of hybridization processes, with tombs and assemblages showing both old/local and new/foreign traits, testifying to the creation of a new material culture.

Keywords: Sir Arthur Evans, material culture, Knossos, burial customs, Warrior graves

Scontro di culture o crogiolo? Alcune questioni identitarie sulle culture materiali del II millennio a.C. nei Balcani meridionali e a Creta

Dopo una breve introduzione sulle attività di Sir Arthur Evans nei Balcani prima del suo passaggio a Creta, l'articolo introduce la discussione sulla possibilità di identificare differenti

identità culturali nella cultura materiale. Il caso studio è quello dei costumi funerari di Cnosso nel II millennio a.C. Dopo una prima fase in cui il paesaggio funerario intorno al palazzo presenta tombe multi-camera con centinaia di deposizioni e corredi con moltissime conical cups, intorno alla metà del XV sec. a.C. compaiono dei nuovi costumi funerari. Nel settore nord della valle precedentemente non occupato da necropoli, compaiono tombe a camera singola con un lungo dromos e altre tipologie di deposizione, accompagnate da ricchi corredi con armi, gioielli e un nuovo set ceramico. Questi costumi funerari sono molto simili a quelli della Grecia continentale, tanto da far sì che siano stati interpretati come la prova di una presenza micenea a Cnosso in quel periodo. Poco dopo, nella necropoli di Mavro Spileo, è possibile identificare i segni di processi di ibridizzazione, con tombe e corredi che mostrano tratti misti, vecchi/locali, nuovi/stranieri, testimoniando così la creazione di una nuova cultura materiale.

Parole chiave: Sir Arthur Evans, cultura materiale, Cnosso, costumi funerari, tombe dei Guerrieri

Sukob kultura ili *melting pot*? Neka pitanja o identitetu na juznom Balkanu i Kritu: materijalne kulture tokom II milenijuma prije nove ere

Nakon uvoda o političkim i kulturnim aktivnostima ser Artura Evansa na Balkanu prije njegovog odlaska u Knosos, rad izlaže kratku diskusiju o mogućnosti detekcije različitih kulturnih identiteta kroz materijalnu kulturu. Iznesena studija slučaja odnosi se na promjene koje su se dogodile u običajima sahrane u Knososu tokom sredine II milenijuma prije nove ere. Nakon prve faze u kojoj je zagrobni pejzaž oko palate obilježen višeprostornim grobnicama sa stotinama sahranjenih pojedinaca i materijalom sa mnogobrojnim koničnim čašama, novi impresivni ukopni običaji pojavljuju se sredinom XV vijeka prije nove ere. U sjevernom sektoru doline Knososa, koja nije ranije bila zauzeta ukopima, pojavljuju se jednodostorne grobnice sa dugim dromosom i različitim pristupima položaju ukopa sa veoma bogatim zagrobnim materijalom: oružje, nakit i nova vrsta keramike. Ovaj pogrebni običaj je vrlo sličan običajima ukopa u kontinentalnoj Grčkoj i u prošlosti je tumačen kao dokaz mikenske prisutnosti u Knososu u tom periodu. Kasnije, na grobnici Mavro Spileo, moguće je otkriti znakove procesa hibridizacije, na grobnicama i zagrobnom materijalu koji pokazuju i stare / lokalne i nove / strane osobine, što svjedoči o stvaranju nove materijalne kulture.

Ključne riječi: Ser Artur Evans, materijalna kultura, Knosos, zagrobni običaji, grobovi ratnika

2. Kadmos the Phoenician and the Illyrian landscape. Some recent mythological approaches

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This paper discusses some recent studies dedicated to investigating classic myths about the territory that today is Montenegro; it highlights the figures of Kadmos and his son Illyrios, as well as some indigenous peoples and settlements related to their myths. A series of accounts about and cultural contacts within the ancient Mediterranean are concerned, the result of an ideological transfer between the East and the regions of the Adriatic coast, with particular reference to the myths about some modern place-names.

Keywords: Kadmos, Illyrios, Harmonia, Phoenicia, Thebes, Boeotia, Illyria, Buthoe, Rhizon, Lychnidon Lake, Encheleas, Kadmeans, Dracones Illyriae, Different Approaches to analysing Greek Mythology

Kadmos il Fenicio e il paesaggio illirico. Alcuni recenti approcci mitologici

Si esaminano alcuni recenti studi dedicati alle tradizioni mitologiche classiche sulla regione dell'attuale Montenegro. Si evidenziano le figure di Kadmos e di suo figlio Illyrios, delle popolazioni autoctone e degli insediamenti connessi ai loro miti. Si rintraccia così una serie di relazioni e di contatti culturali nel Mediterraneo antico, quali esiti di cambiamenti ideologici tra l'Oriente e le regioni della costa adriatica, con particolare riguardo alle narrazioni mitiche su alcuni moderni toponimi.

Parole chiave: Kadmos, Illyrios, Harmonia, Fenicia, Tebe, Beozia, Illiria, Buthoe, Rhizon, Lago Lychnidon, Enchelei, Cadmei, Dracones Illyriae, approcci diversi per l'analisi di miti greci

Feničanin Kadmos i ilirski pejzaž. Neki noviji pristupi mitologiji

U radu se razmatra nekoliko novih studija posvećenih klasičnoj mitologiji na teritoriji današnje Crne Gore. U fokusu su Kadmos i njegov sin Ilirios, kao i veza mita o njima sa lokalnim stanovništvom i naseobinama. Na ovaj način su ispitani niz veza i kulturnih

prožimanja na antičkom Mediteranu, koji su rezultat dodira između Istoka i jadranske obale, sa posebnim osvrtom na legende o modernim nazivima pojedinih mjesta.

Ključne riječi: Kadmos, Ilirios, Harmonia, Fenikija, Teba, Beotija, Ilirija, Budva, Risan, Ohridsko jezero, Enhelejci, Kadmejci, *Dracones Illyriae*, različiti pristupi analizi grčke metodologije

3. Linking different traditions and influences: some remarks on archaeological evidence from the Montenegro territory in the Roman period

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Since Montenegro was once part of the Roman province of Dalmatia, it possesses significant archaeological remains, many of which lasted from the beginning of the Imperial age until Late Antiquity. However, many sites remain unexplored and specific studies are lacking. In this paper I will place several case-studies in their wider context, that of the Balkan provinces, and in so doing, endeavour to highlight how the archaeological evidence reveals many cultural and artistic currents common in the Roman world at that time. In particular, some monuments show a merging of elements, originating not only from Italy and the western provinces, but also from North Africa, as in the case of the mosaics in Risan.

Keywords: Montenegro, Dalmatia, Roman period, archaeological data, cultural traditions

Tra differenti tradizioni e influenze culturali: considerazioni sulla documentazione archeologica del territorio montenegrino in età romana

Il territorio del Montenegro, parte della provincia romana di Dalmazia, conserva alcuni resti archeologici significativi del periodo romano, dall'età augustea fino alla tarda antichità. Tuttavia, molti contesti devono essere ulteriormente esplorati e non esistono studi specifici sulla documentazione di questo periodo nel suo complesso. In questo contributo mi concentrerò su alcuni casi di studio, nel più ampio contesto delle province balcaniche, cercando di evidenziare come in diversi tipi di testimonianze archeologiche sia possibile osservare l'influenza di molte tradizioni culturali e artistiche, come è consueto nel mondo romano. In particolare, alcuni

monumenti mostrano una sintesi di elementi provenienti non solo dall'Italia e dalle province occidentali dell'impero, ma anche dal Nord Africa, come nel caso dei mosaici di Risan.

Parole chiave: Montenegro, Dalmazia, età romana, dati archeologici, tradizioni culturali

Između različitih tradicija i kulturnih uticaja: neka razmatranja o arheološkim svjedočanstvima iz rimskog perioda sa crnogorske teritorije

Kako je Crna Gora bila dio rimske provincije Dalmacije, u njoj se nalaze značajni arheološka svjedočanstva, koja potiču iz perioda s početka imperijalnog doba do kasne antike. Ipak, mnogi lokaliteti su neistraženi i o njima nema posebnih studija. U ovom radu smjestiću nekoliko studija slučaja u širi kontekst balkanskih provincija, namjeravajući da naglasim kako se arheološka svjedočanstva mogu posmatrati kroz uticaj mnogih kulturnih i umjetničkih tradicija, što je uobičajeno za rimski svijet tog perioda. Posebno, neki spomenici pokazuju sjedinjavanje elemenata čije porijeklo je ne samo iz Italije i zapadnih provincija, već i iz Sjeverne Afrike, kao što je slučaj sa mozaicima iz Risna.

Ključne riječi: Crna Gora, Dalmacija, rimski period, arheološki podaci, kulturne tradicije

4. The civic identity of the elite in the Roman settlements of south-eastern Dalmatia

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The Roman settlements of south-eastern Dalmatia, namely Risinium, Doclea and Municipium S, were organized as any other provincial municipal communities in the Roman Empire. Inscriptions are the preferred and best means to trace the histories of the literate elites. How are the messages drawn from these inscriptions to be appreciated? Given that we tend to draw conclusions about cultural norms and social or hierarchical distinctions from these sources, one matter they noticeably permit is identifying the origins of the families concerned, as we have evidence of peoples from Italy or from other communities in Dalmatia. Another aspect for enquiry would be what municipal virtues were prominently displayed? An obvious example from Montenegro is Marcus Flavius Fronto, with his impressive list of magisterial offices both in Doclea and neighbouring

cities. Both ancestry and municipal duties and virtues combined to form the civic identity of these prominent men and women.

Keywords: Dalmatia, Doclea, Risinium, elite, inscriptions

L'identità civica delle élite negli insediamenti romani della Dalmazia sudorientale

Gli insediamenti romani della Dalmazia sudorientale, in particolare Risinium, Doclea e Municipium S, erano organizzati come qualsiasi altra comunità municipale provinciale dell'Impero Romano. Le iscrizioni sono gli strumenti migliori per tracciare le storie delle élite colte. Ma come possono essere valutati i messaggi di queste iscrizioni? Considerando che si tende a trarre conclusioni da queste fonti riguardo a norme culturali e a distinzioni sociali o gerarchiche, una questione che può essere affrontata in modo chiaro è quella delle origini delle famiglie citate, dato che si ha traccia di personaggi provenienti dall'Italia o da altre comunità della Dalmazia. Un altro aspetto da approfondire potrebbe essere tentare di identificare quali fossero le virtù municipali da ostentare. Un esempio noto per il Montenegro è quello di Marcus Flavius Fronto, con la sua impressionante lista di incarichi pubblici sia a Doclea che nelle città limitrofe. La combinazione di doveri e valori sia relativi alle loro origini che municipali contribuiva a formare l'identità civica di questi uomini e donne illustri.

Parole chiave: Dalmatia, Doclea, Risinum, élite, iscrizioni

Gradski identitet elita u rimskim naseljima u jugoistočnoj Dalmaciji

Rimska naselja jugoistočne Dalmacije, posebno Risinium, Doclea i Municipium S, organizovane su kao bilo koja druga municipalna zajednica u Rimskom carstvu. Na neki način, natpisi su postali privilegovano sredstvo za praćenje istorije pismenih elita. Kako su poruke iz ovih natpisa vrednovane ili devalvirane? Naš zadatak je da izvučemo zaključke o kulturnim normama i društvenim ili hijerarhijskim razlikama iz ovih izvora. Od izuzetnog je značaja pratiti poreklo porodica jer imamo dokaze o porodicama iz Italije ili iz drugih zajednica u Dalmaciji. Još jedno pitanje je koje su municipalne vrline jasno prikazane? Očigledan primer iz ovih krajeva je Marcus Flavius Fronto, sa impresivnim spiskom magistratura u Dokleji i susednim gradovima. Običaji, municipalne dužnosti i vrline formirali su građanski identitet ovih istaknutih muškaraca i žena.

Ključne riječi: Dalmacija, Duklja, Risan, elite, natpisi

5. Religion and Cults in Roman Doclea

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This paper deals with the religion and cults practised in the Roman town of Doclea (in present-day Montenegro) from the 1st to the 5th centuries AD. Doclea was an important site of the Imperial Cult. The worship of the goddess Roma and the goddess Diana has also been attested in Doclea. Other divinities venerated in Doclea include Diana Candaviensis, Dei omnes, Dii deaeque omnes, Iuppiter Cortalis Augustus, Iupiter Optimus Maximus, Epona and Genius loci, Venus Augusta, Liber pater Augustus, Domnus and Domna, Ananke, Neptune Absolutor periculorum and Mercury.

Keywords: Doclea, religion, Imperial Cult, the goddess Roma, the goddess Diana

La religione e i culti nella Doclea romana

L'articolo si propone di offrire una panoramica sulla religione e i culti praticati nella città romana di Doclea (Montenegro) dal I al V secolo d.C. Doclea è stata un importante luogo di celebrazione del culto imperiale. Vi compaiono testimonianze anche del culto della dea Roma e della dea Diana. Altre divinità venerate a Doclea erano: Diana Candaviensis, Dei omnes, Dii deaeque omnes, Iuppiter Cortalis Augustus, Iupiter Optimus Maximus, Epona e Genius loci, Venus Augusta, Liber pater Augustus, Domnus and Donma, Ananke, Neptun Absolutor periculorum e Mercurio.

Parole chiave: Doclea, religione, culto imperiale, dea Roma, dea Diana

Religija i kultovi u rimskoj Dokleji

U radu se daje osvrt na religiju i kultove štovane u rimskom gradu Dokleji (Crna Gora) od I do V vijeka n. e. Dokleja je bila važno mjesto štovanja carskog kulta. Štovanje boginje Rome i boginje Dijane takođe je posvjedočeno u Dokleji. Ostala božanstva štovana u Dokleji su bila Diana Candaviensis, Dei omnes, Dii deaeque omnes, Iuppiter Cortalis Augustus, Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Epona i Genius loci, Venus Augusta, Liber pater Augustus, Domnus and Donma, Ananke, Neptun Absolutor periculorum i Merkur.

Ključne riječi: Dokleja, religija, imperijalni kult, boginja Roma, boginja Dijana

6. Intertextuality of a museum collection: the case of collections in the homeland museums of Bar and Ulcinj

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The concept of intertextuality in a museum collection/display is a key aspect of our research interest in this paper. We seek to raise questions concerning the interpretation of cross-cultural references in the syntax of artefacts within a museum collection/display and their meanings in relation to different historical texts. Given that intertextual relations overarch the context of a tightly defined physical space in the museum and depend on the cultural context, our analysis of the intertextuality of collections/displays in the Homeland Museums of Bar and Ulcinj is focused on how different museum spaces and clustered objects interact and communicate as a whole.

Keywords: museum, collection, display, intertextuality, artefacts

Intertestualità di una collezione museale: il caso delle collezioni nei musei patri di Bar e Ulcinj

Il concetto di intertestualità in una collezione/mostra museale è un aspetto chiave della ricerca illustrata in questo articolo. Il nostro scopo è sollevare domande concernenti l'interpretazione di tratti interculturali nella sintassi dei manufatti all'interno di una collezione/mostra museale e i loro significati in relazione a vari testi storici. Dato che le relazioni intertestuali sono al di sopra del contesto dello spazio fisico precisamente definito di un museo e dipendono dal contesto culturale, la nostra analisi sull'intertestualità delle collezioni/mostre nei musei patri di Bar e Ulcinj è focalizzata a come differenti spazi museali e raggruppamenti di oggetti interagiscono e comunicano nel loro complesso.

Parole chiave: museo, collezione, mostra, intertestualità, manufatti

Intertekstualnost muzejske zbirke: primjer zbirke u zavičajnim muzejima Bara i Ulcinja

Koncept intertekstualnosti muzejskih zbirki, odnosno postavki, je okosnica našeg istraživačkog interesovanja u ovom radu. Naša upitanost je u vezi sa interpretacijom interkulturnih referenci u sintaksi artefakata u okviru neke muzejske kolekcije ili postavke i njihovog značenja, povezanog sa različitim istorijskim tekstovima. S obzirom da intertekstualne relacije natkriljuju kontekst nekog čvrsto definisanog fizičkog prostora u muzeju i da zavise od kulturnog konteksta, naša analiza intertekstualnosti zbirke ili postavki u zavičajnim muzejima Bara i Ulcinja usredsređena je na pitanje kako različiti muzejski prostori i grupisani objekti posatju međusobno interaktivni i komuniciraju kao cjelina.

Ključne riječi: muzej, zbirka, postavka, intertekstualnost, artefakti

7. The Italian contribution to the development of Bar over the first two decades of the 20th century

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Intending to achieve – via Montenegro – an economic and political advance within the Balkans, with the support of their government, a group of Italian capitalists in 1905-1909 funded and constructed a contemporary port in the bay of Bar. They designed the New Bar urban plan that also included a free port and industrial zones. For their needs, they constructed a contemporary hotel, medical and sanitary facilities and power plants. They were engaged in the development and installation of the town water supply system as well. Bar was also home to a Marconi radiotelegraph station — the first system of that kind within the Balkan Peninsula. The Italians constructed the railroad connecting the town with the settlement of Virpazar, from where transport was continued by both road and lake waterways. According to their plans, Bar should have become an important port which, via the railway, would have connected the River Danube and the Adriatic Sea, specifically with Southern Russia and Italy and France. The warfare and geopolitical changes that took place in Europe between 1912 and 1918 meant that it was impossible for their plans to be realized.

Keywords: Montenegro, Bar, Italy, port, railway

Il contributo italiano allo sviluppo di Bar nelle prime due decadi del XX secolo

Interessati a concretizzare una presenza economica e politica nei Balcani tramite il Montenegro, dal 1905 al 1909 un gruppo di capitalisti italiani appoggiati dal loro governo finanziarono e costruirono un porto moderno nella città di Antivari. Il piano urbanistico della nuova Antivari da loro progettato aveva un porto franco e una zona industriale. Per le loro esigenze costruirono anche un albergo moderno, strutture mediche e sanitarie, impianti di generazione di energia, promuovendo la costruzione di una rete idrica cittadina.

La città di Antivari fu anche sede della prima stazione radio-telegrafica di Marconi nei Balcani. Gli italiani costruirono inoltre una ferrovia che collegava la città con l'insediamento di Virpazar, importante snodo via terra e via lago del traffico verso l'interno del paese. Secondo i loro progetti la città di Antivari avrebbe dovuto essere un importante scalo della ferrovia che doveva collegare il Danubio e l'Adriatico, vale a dire il sud della Russia con l'Italia e la Francia. Le guerre e i cambiamenti geopolitici avvenuti in Europa dal 1912 al 1918 impedirono la realizzazione di questi progetti.

Parole chiave: Montenegro, Antivari, Italia, porto, ferrovia

Italijanski doprinos razvoju Bara tokom prve dvije decenije XX vijeka

Zainteresovani da preko Crne Gore, ostvare ekonomski i politički prodor na Balkan, grupa italijanskih kapitalista, uz pomoć svoje vlade, od 1905. do 1909., finansirala je i izgradila u barskom zalivu modernu luku. Projektovale su urbanistički plan novog Bara, sa slobodnom lučkom i industrijskom zonom. Za svoje potrebe, izgradili su moderan hotel, medicinske i sanitarne objekte, postrojenja za proizvodnju električne energije. Radili su na izgradnji gradskog vodovoda.

Bar je dobio i Markonijevu radio-telegrafsku stanicu-prvu na Balkanu. Italijani su izgradili željeznicu, koja je grad povezala sa Virpazarom, naseljem odakle se kopnom i jezerom obavljao saobraćaj sa unutrašnjosti zemlje. Prema njihovim projektima, Bar je trebalo da postane važna luka na željezničkom putu koji je trebalo da poveže Dunav i Jadran, odnosno jug Rusije sa Italijom i Francuskom. Ratovi i geopolitičke promjene koje su se odigrale u Evropi od 1912 do 1918., onemogućile su ostvarenje ovih projekata.

Ključne riječi: Crna Gora, Bar, Italija, luka, željeznica

8. ICT challenges, European policies and archaeological research projects in the Adriatic Sea area

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The paper intends to illustrate the most recent challenges in archaeological computing and introduce an interdisciplinary approach to data acquisition, processing and representation. Some of the latest and most innovative trends concern the three basic areas of archaeological practice: fieldwork, laboratory analyses, and cultural resource management. Each of them benefits from the evolution of spatial, quantitative, and visual data processing. In addition, two important and strategic research areas that go under the general heading of ‘Communicating archaeological research’ and ‘European digital infrastructures for archaeology’ are today taking roots. Based on the resources collected in the digital repository of the international peer-reviewed and open access Journal ‘Archeologia e Calcolatori’, some representative case-studies focused on preserving and enhancing the archaeological heritage in the Adriatic Sea area will be illustrated, all addressing some theoretical issues underlying the application process.

Keywords: Archaeology, Archaeological Computing, ICT, Open Access, Adriatic Sea

Sfide informatiche, politiche europee e progetti di ricerca nel mare Adriatico

Il contributo intende illustrare le sfide più recenti nel settore dell’informatica archeologica, caratterizzate da un approccio interdisciplinare all’acquisizione, all’elaborazione e alla rappresentazione dei dati. Alcune tendenze innovative caratterizzano oggi le tre aree fondamentali della pratica archeologica – il lavoro sul campo, le analisi di laboratorio e la gestione del patrimonio culturale – che beneficiano dell’elaborazione dei dati spaziali, quantitativi e visivi. Inoltre, due temi importanti, che vanno sotto il titolo di “Comunicare la ricerca archeologica” e “Infrastrutture digitali europee per l’archeologia” si stanno diffondendo. Facendo tesoro degli articoli raccolti nel repository digitale della rivista internazionale e open access “Archeologia e Calcolatori”, si illustreranno alcuni casi di studio strategici incentrati sulla conservazione e sulla valorizzazione del patrimonio archeologico nell’area del mar Adriatico. In tutti questi esempi, complesse problematiche teoriche sottendono al processo applicativo.

Parole chiave: Archeologia, Informatica archeologica, ICT, Open Access, mare Adriatico

ICT izazovi, evropska politika i arheološki istraživački projekti u oblasti Jadranskog mora

Članak nastoji da predstavi najnovije izazove u arheološkoj informatici, koje karakterišu interdisciplinarni pristup prikupljanju, obradi i prezentovanju podataka. Neke od poslednjih i najinovativniji trendova predstavljaju danas tri fundamentalne oblasti arheološke prakse: terenski rad, laboratorijske analize i upravljanje kulturnim resursima-koje zavise od razvitka prostorne, kvantitativne i vizuelne obrade podataka. Pored toga, danas se ustanovljavaju dva važna i strateška polja istraživanja koja se mogu podvesti pod naslove “Komunicirati arheološko istraživanje” i “Evropska digitalna infrastruktura za arheologiju”. Na osnovu članaka koji se nalaze u digitalnom repozitoriju međunarodnog open access časopisa «Archeologia e Calcolatori», u radu će biti predstavljene neke studije slučaja gdje je fokus na očuvanju i valorizaciji arheološkog nasleđa u oblasti Jadranskog mora, obrađujući u isto vrijeme i određena teorijska pitanja.

Ključne riječi: Arheologija, informatička arheologija, ICT, Open Access, Jadransko more

9. Professional cooperation between Montenegro and Italy on the implementation of Italian software in the processing of the archival material from the Kotor Historical Archives

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The paper deals with an important project implemented in the State Archives of Montenegro – at the Department of the Kotor Historical Archives. It concerns the digitization of one part of a very significant and considerably damaged archival fond (an aggregation of documents all from the same source): Records of the Extraordinary Governors for Kotor and Albania during the Venetian Republic (1684-1797). This corpus contains records created in the office of the Venetian authorities responsible for this border area with the Ottoman Empire and the old Montenegrin state. We describe how we translated into the Montenegrin language the Italian software packages of Arianna3 and AriannaWeb

and used them in the processing of archival material in the Kotor Archives. This project represents an important union between two different – technically and conceptually – archival traditions, the Italian and the Montenegrin.

Keywords: Digitization of archival material, web portal, software Arianna3 and AriannaWeb, Kotor Historical Archives, archival collections of the Venetian Administration at Kotor, NGO “Notar” – Kotor, Hyperborea, Veneto Region

Cooperazione professionale fra Montenegro e Italia per l’implementazione di software italiani nell’elaborazione dei materiali d’archivio dell’Archivio Storico di Kotor

L’articolo concerne un importante progetto realizzato negli Archivi di Stato del Montenegro, presso il Dipartimento degli Archivi Storici di Kotor. Riguarda la digitalizzazione di parte di un fondo archivistico molto importante e danneggiato in modo significativo, costituito da documenti provenienti tutti dalla stessa fonte, vale a dire le Registrazioni dei Governatori Straordinari per Kotor e l’Albania, fatte durante la Repubblica di Venezia (1684-1797). Questo corpus contiene dati prodotti nell’ufficio delle autorità veneziane responsabili per questa area di confine con l’Impero Ottomano e il vecchio stato montenegrino. Si descrive qui come i software italiani Arianna3 e AriannaWeb siano stati tradotti in montenegrino e siano stati poi utilizzati nel trattamento dei materiali degli Archivi di Kotor. Questo progetto rappresenta l’importante collegamento fra due tecnicamente e concettualmente differenti tradizioni archivistiche, quella italiana e quella montenegrina.

Parole chiave: digitalizzazione di materiali archivistici, web portal, Arianna3 e AriannaWeb, Archivi Storici di Kotor, fondi archivistici dell’Amministrazione veneziana di Kotor, Ngo “Notar” – Kotor, Hyperborea, Regione Veneto

Stručna saradnja između Crne Gore i Italije u primjeni italijanskih softvera kod obrade arhivske građe u Istorijskom arhivu Kotor

U radu je riječ o važnom projektu koji je realizovan u Državnom arhivu Crne Gore – Odsjeku Istorijski arhiv Kotor. Radi se o digitalizaciji dijela veoma značajnog i prilično oštećenog arhivskog fonda (cjelina dokumenata iste provenijencije), *Upravno-politički spisi vanrednih providura Kotora i Albanije za vrijeme Mletačke republike* (1684-1797). Ovaj arhivski fond sadrži spise koji su nastali u kancelariji predstavnika Mletačke vlasti, u graničnom području između Otomanske imperije i stare Crne Gore. Opisujemo kako

smo preveli na crnogorski jezik italijanske softvere *Arianna3* i *AriannaWeb* i kako smo ih koristili u obradi arhivskog materijala u Istorijskom arhivu Kotor. Projekat predstavlja važno objedinjavanje dviju različitih arhivskih tradicija, italijanske i crnogorske, i to sa stanovišta arhivske i informatičke struke.

Ključne riječi: Digitalizacija arhivske građe, web portal, softver Arianna3 i AriannaWeb, Istorijski arhiv Kotor, arhivski fond Mletačke uprave u Kotoru, NVO „Notar“- Kotor, Hyperborea, Regija Veneto.