HAEMUS

an Electronic Journal for the History and Archaeology of the Balkan Peninsula

vol. 2 *2013*

Haemus 2 (2013)

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HAEMUS
Republic of Macedonia
http://haemus.mk/
contact@haemus.mk
ISSN: 1857- 8411

Haemus

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vol. 2
2013

TABLE OF CONTENTS

A Prefatory Note

The independence of the Republic of Macedonia created the necessary preconditions for the transformation of cultural institutions. For the most part, the transformation meant decentralization of government-funded institutions. However, the law was not very helpful for the institutions, which came under the management of local governments not ready to take up this responsibility.

In present-day Macedonia, there are no archaeological institutes, nor archaeological research centres which would employ researches and scientists. Thus, the arduous task of managing a large-scale archaeological excavations, which resulted in hundreds of thousands archaeological finds during the last few years, is a sole burden for curators and custodians employed by the Macedonian museums. These artefacts were stored into Museums' depots; in hope these artefacts to be the scope of scientific research in future times. Furthermore, one must not forget that these poorly maintained depots also hold artefacts from excavations performed 30-40 years ago. The limited number of experts employed in the museums is an additional obstacle for the process of inventorying and cataloging the artefacts, as well as the scientific processing and publication of the artefacts coming from both older and newer excavations.

In 2013, in an attempt to transfer the artefacts from the old to the new building of the Archaeological Museum in Skopje, curators discovered one of the biggest thefts ever registered in Macedonia. More than one hundred gold artefacts from the period of Antiquity were missing. This event calls into question not only the security, but also the overall management of cultural heritage. Instead of having these findings published in archaeological journals, they will probably end up in private collections, without any hope to become available to the public.

Macedonian museums are burdened by the lack of management and by the politicization that occurred in the last 20 years. A complete re-evaluation of museums and providing them with the best possible management will be necessary to overcome all these problems.

This prefatory note is dedicated to the Macedonian museums and to every other museum in the world, which by the similarity of circumstances can be the subject of looting and destruction.

"As for our Macedonian colleagues, HAEMUS gives you our wholehearted support."

Vasilka Dimitrovska
Co-Founder of HAEMUS Journal

UDK 903.2:549(4) *Haemus Journal, vol. 2, 2013, 11-30,* ISSN: 1857- 8411

Nephrite-yielding Prehistoric Cultures and Nephrite Occurrences in Europe: Archaeomineralogical Review

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Abstract: *Nephrite-yielding prehistoric cultures in Europe have been using nephrite artifacts usually as axes or as ritual objects (including amulets). The nephrite artifacts are traced in prehistoric (Neolithic-Chalcolithic) cultures from the Balkans (end of 7th-5th mill. BC – "Balkan nephrite culture") in South-East Europe and Sardinia (Italy; end of 5th-I4th mill. BC) to Central and Western Europe (Southern Poland and the Alpine lakes area of Switzerland and Germany – 5th-3th mill. BC). The largest number of nephrite artifacts on the Balkans is reported from Bulgaria, and in Central Europe – from the Alpine lakes area, with the largest number known from Maurach. For certain prehistoric sites, the source of nephrite is not yet known. Archaeomineralogical studies are suggested to be made in this respect for tracing prehistoric trade routes and nephrite outcrops. Nephrite occurrences in Europe are known and reported from (in alphabetical order): Austria, Bulgaria, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Poland, Russia (European part of the Russian Federation), Spain, Switzerland, Turkey (Turkish Thrace) and Ukraine. Almost all of the nephrite occurrences are of the serpentinite metasomatic genetic type and only in a few cases – of the dolomitic marble genetic type (Val Malenco, Italy; Scortaseo, Switzerland). Rare secondary glacier-related type nephrite finds in the northern part of Europe are also reported.*

Key words: nephrite, prehistory, Europe, archaeomineralogy

Introduction

Archaeomineralogy (archaeological mineralogy; mineralogical archaeology) is an important interdisciplinary science related to the study of archaeological and historical objects of a natural mineral or rock composition (Rapp, 2002; Kostov, 2007a). Of interest are also the sources of the stone artifacts (including in the broad sense the mineralogical, technological, economic and cultural approach: in prospecting, mining, processing, trade and influence). In certain cases achaeomineralogy is linked also to gemmology as a science for the study of natural and artificial raw materials which have been used for some sort of jewellery or decorative purposes since the dawn of humankind to modern times (mineral species and aggregates; rocks; bio-objects; glass and pottery, mineral pigments, as well as metals and alloys). Industrial minerals (salt, clays, abrasives, graphite etc.) also played an important role in the development of different tribes and civilizations and are also of interest for such an interdisciplinary study. Archaeomineralogy can be viewed as a major part of geoarchaeology as a broader scientific field of application of all the different branches of Earth sciences during archaeological searching,

prospecting and study of architectural monuments or single artifacts (archaeometry is another term for a much broader field of interdisciplinary studies in archaeology).

Nephrite $\square Ca_2(Fe,Mg)_5Si_8O_{22}(OH)_2$ is a Fe-Mg bearing Ca-silicate mineral with a double-chain structure, which is classified in the group of amphiboles (clino-amphiboles). It has a massive variety with an intermediate composition in the tremolite-ferroactinolite series, known mainly with a pale green or dark green colour, but can also be white, yellowish, brownish, or rarely with some other colours. In some cases, small black inclusions can be found in the fine green aggregates, which are attributed to magnetite and other spinel-type minerals. Its genesis is attributed mainly to metamorphic (metasomatic) processes in ultrabasic (serpentinite) or carbonate (dolomite marble) host rocks. The main genetic types of deposits of this gemmological material are related to the contacts of gabbroids, acid igneous or metamorphic rocks with ultrabasic rocks or to their contacts with dolomite marbles.

Nephrite and jadeite ($NaAlSi_2O_6$, another usually similar in colour pale greenish mineral, but a member of the group of pyroxenes) are frequently mistaken in general archaeological or historical articles, as the unified term 'jade' has been introduced a long time ago (up till modern times), when no precise mineralogical determination has been used (the word comes from the Spanish 'piedra de ijada' – stone of the loin, a name given to the green decorative mineral brought back to Europe from Central and South America by the XVIth century Spanish conquistadors). Jadeite has hardness on the Mohs scale 7-6.5, and nephrite – 6-5.5. The term chloromelanite, used in the past in archaeological and mineralogical literature, for describing different dark (Fe-rich) "jade"-like or eclogite rocks (and corresponding artifacts), must no longer be used.

Nephrite as a gemmological material has been esteemed by a lot of prehistoric and ancient cultures because of the toughness of the mineral due to its internal structure, composed of fine interlocking fibers. Recent observations, redeterminations and publications mainly on prehistoric rock and mineral artefacts from Bulgarian and other European museums has revealed a lot of nephrite samples, which have been mislabeled or unidentified from a mineralogical point of view. Nephrite artifacts are known from prehistoric sites in Bulgaria and on the Balkans in general in the period from the Early Neolithic (VII mill. BC) to the end of the Chalcolithic period (V mill. BC) when they disappear. The use of this precious material in this case can be attributed to specific population before the Bronze Age, with its specific lithic sources and mythological system in the discussed region. For gemmologists it is a surprise the precision and symmetry of the objects, as well as the perfection in the final polishing. The dominant quantity of nephrite artefacts are represented by small axes and chisels. Rarely are described different types of nephrite amulets and "distributors". The regions of the Swiss lake dwellings (Switzerland; Germany) and southern Poland also display prehistoric nephrite tools, corresponding mainly to the Neolithic Age – in this case V-III mill. BC. Some other prehistoric nephrite artifact finds are reported also from other European sites of the same age. The sources of nephrite in Europe is been a topic for discussion since the end of the XIX century.

Nephrite artefacts in prehistory and the enigma of nephrite occurrences

The idea of Fischer (1880; 1881) for long distance origin and diffusion of the nephrite and jadeite artifacts in different cultures, including those in Europe, has been critically discussed by Meyer (1888) with some new data (including for *in situ* nephrite occurrences in Europe) within the so called "jade question" (*Nephritfrage* in German): "In nearly every part of the earth, especially America, Europe, Asia, and New Zealand, objects of a very hard and generally green stone, in the shape of hatchets, jewelry, etc., are found. They are discovered in mounds,

prehistoric settlements, etc. Similar objects are still worn by wild and uncivilized peoples, and also by the highly civilized. The origin of these objects is in many cases inexplicable, since Asia and Oceanica are the only places within our knowledge where the crude material may be found. It is now supposed that the American objects owe their origin to Asia, whence they were carried to Europe and by chance to, America, as well as directly from Asia to America. This is the opinion of Prof. H. Fischer, of Freiburg, in Baden, and of a great many other savants in Europe and in America. I shall try to prove that this theory is untenable and that the occurrence of these objects must be otherwise explained. The case is nearly the same with the objects of nephrite and jadeite of the Swiss prehistoric lake settlements (Pfahlbauten), whose native place is also looked for in Asia or even New Zealand, whereas the origin of the crude material may be very near. Sir John Lubbock argued for the Asiatic origin in 1865, and only lately Professor Fischer argued for the New Zealand origin. These claims rest solely upon the possibility that the Barmese jadeite and the Siberian or New Zealand nephrite might have been transported to the Swiss lakes, but the manner in which such transportation could have occurred is not at all obvious". Similar are the ideas of some other scientists in the late XIX century (c. other reviews: Westropp, 1881; Meyer, 1882; 1891; Hilton, 1888; Rudler, 1891).

Contemporary analyses and list of European nephrite occurrences is made in recent years (Nichol, 2004; Kostov, 2007a). On the Balkans, despite Bulgaria, nephrite artifacts are known from several Neolithic to Early Chalcolithic sites in Croatia, mainly along the Adriatic coast and they have been properly distinguished from the similar in colour jadeite artifacts (Petrić, 1995; Burić, 2000), which are common in western Europe. Other nephrite artifacts are reported from the European territory of Turkey (Özbek, 2010b) and probably in Greece, Albania, Montenegro and FYR Macedonia (Kostov, 2005a; 2005b; 2007a). The nephrite occurrences in prehistoric times on the Balkans raise a lot of questions. No related to artifacts deposits of nephrite are known in this region (with one possible exception in Turkish Thrace) despite of the favourable geological setting with a lot of ultrabasic outcrops (Montenegro, Serbia, Albania, Macedonia, Southern Bulgaria and Northern Greece). The well known nephrite deposits in Europe (Poland, Switzerland and Italy) are discovered in the late XIX and early XX centuries, and do not provide information or can not be related to trade routes on the Balkans. Another alternative is that the nephrite deposits on the Balkans have been exhausted or disappeared by some geological (earthquake; landslide) or other natural process (cover by soil and plants).

Some prehistoric polished stone axes with a nephrite composition are reported also from Poland (Foltyn et al., 2000; Gunia, 2000), related by some authors to local resources, and from Sardinia (Bertolino et al., 2002) and Sicily (Leighton, 1989) – with unknown source. The nephrite artifacts reported from the Alpine lake-dwellings in Switzerland and Germany also are under discussion, regarding the source of the mineral, as no contemporary analyses are made in order to fingerprint both raw material and artifacts.

Bulgaria

A number of about 40 nephrite artefacts are known from Bulgarian museums in the districts of Pernik (Kostov, Bakamska, 2004) and Kyustendil (Kostov, Genadieva, 2004) as well as from some other sites in Central and Southern Bulgaria (for example from the Kurdjali and Karanovo sites) (see Kostov, 2005a; 2005b; 2007a; 2010). Small axes and chisels with a fine polish represent the dominant quantity of nephrite artifacts. A unique and finely polished scepter, 36 cm long is supposed to be of the same material or nephritoid (Kostov, Bakamska, 2004; Kostov, 2007a). A fine shaped (12.1x0.7 cm size) nephrite 'hair pin' with three holes

without analogue has been found among the artifacts from the Middle Chalcolithic Varna II necropolis (Kostov et al., 2003; Kostov, 2007a) together with the earliest for the site golden beads and painted pottery (the famous gold treasures and faceted carnelian beads are linked to the large Varna I necropolis).

According to archaeological data, the nephrite objects are spread throughout the Neolithic and Chalcolithic period (VII-V mill. BC in Bulgaria). Some of them are masterpieces of art and as stage of perfection, thus pointing to the Balkans as a cradle of prehistoric gemmology. The nephrite carver's art has developed continuously from Neolithic times. Technically, the surfaces of the objects were gradually worn away and shaped through the patient application of some sort of hard abrasive medium (most probably fine quartz sand has served the purpose).

Among the artifacts frequently can be found ritual zoomorphic (frog-like; M-shaped) figurines-amulets, two of them well preserved with a 4-fold rotational symmetry from the Early Neolithic site at Kurdjali (Peikov, 1986, initially described as made of jasper; Kostov, 2005a; 2007a) and Kovachevo (Kostov, 2007a).

The Kovachevo Neolithic site is located in South-West Bulgaria not far from the Bulgarian-Greek border in the foothills of the Pirin Mountain. It has been studied during the past 25 years by a joint Bulgarian-French scientific team. A large number of stone artifacts, found during the 1988-2002 period, are studied for determination of their mineralogical and petrographical composition (including in cases X-ray powder diffraction and optical microscopy). Most of the samples are taken from the axes or chisels of different sizes and stages of preservation (small finds as stone amulets or jewellery objects have not been included). The three most intensively used raw materials (154 total number studied) are serpentinite (~50%), nephrite (or nephritoid) (~25%) and marble (~12.5 %) (Kostov, 2007a; Kostov, Machev, 2007). The serpentinites are dark-coloured, almost black. They are represented mainly by antigorite, in some cases with talc, and small inclusions of iron or other chrome-spinel-type oxides. The nephrite or nephrite-bearing (and nephritoid) artifacts are pale- to gray- and darkgreen in colour. So far, their number is considered to be the largest recorded number from prehistoric sites on the territory of Bulgaria. Their distribution together with similar artifacts from other prehistoric sites in Bulgaria and on the Balkans has been of special research interest, as no suitable nephrite deposits are reported in the investigated area (Kostov, 2005a).

Eighteen nephrite or nephrite-bearing artifacts (represented mainly by small axes of a Neolithic to Chalcolithic age) are recognized according to their physical properties among the stone artifact industry at the Karanovo archaeological site in Central Bulgaria (Kostov, Lang, 2005). Their colour varies from bright yellowgreen and pale green to dark green. The Tell of Karanovo is situated on the north-western periphery of the modern village Karanovo, district Nova Zagora. The site is located on the northern edge of the Upper-Thracian plane close to the southern slopes of the Sredna Gora mountain. The cultural layers, which include settlements from the beginning of the Early Neolithic to the end of Early Bronze Age III, reach a height of approximately 12.4 m.

The total number of nephrite artifacts on the territory of Bulgaria reaches about 100 (Table 1), and a lot of museum collections and new finds in the country are considered to be studied in the future.

Recently a small occurrence of nephrite is reported from the Ograzhden Mountain in South-West Bulgaria (Zidarov et al., 2010), but with no chemical correspondence and no significance for the prehistoric nephrite artifacts found in the region.

The study of Neolithic nephrite artifacts (and spinel-type inclusions) from 3 prehistoric sites along the Struma River valley (microprobe; PIXE) pointed out at least to two different sources for the raw material (Kostov, 2007a; Kostov et al., 2012). At least two different sources

can be suggested also for the nephrite artifacts, which are found in the Eartern Rhodopes area. The distribution of the nephrite frog-like zoomorphic amulets in Southern and Northern Bulgaria, points to some sort of importance of the green mineral as a prestigious material with evidence for long distance transport and distribution (in the case of Northern Bulgaria).

Prehistoric site (District)	Age	Type (number)
Galabnik (Pernik)	Early Neolithic	axe (13); scepter* (1); distributor (1)
Uknown (Kyustendil)	Early Neolithic	axe (1)
Vaksevo (Kyustendil)	Early Neolithic	axe (1)
Krainitsi (Kyustendil)	Early Neolithic	axe (1)
Sapareva Banya (Kyustendil)	Early Neolithic	axe (4)
Kovachevo (Blagoevgrad)	Early Neolithic	axe (~20); amulet (3)
Eleshnitsa (Blagoevgrad)	Early Neolithic	amulet* (1)
Bulgarchevo (Blagoevgrad)	Neolithic	axe (2)
Dobroslavtsi (Sofia)	Early Neolithic	axe (1)
Kapitan Dimitrievo (Pazardjik)	Early Neolithic	axe (2)
Karanovo (Stara Zagora)	Early Neolithic – Late Neolithic	axe (7)
Stara Zagora (Stara Zagora)	Early Neolithic	axe (4)
Azmashka Mogila (Stara Zagora)	Neolithic	amulet* (1)
Kazankuk (Stara Zagora)	Neolithic	needle (1); "distributor" (1)
Harmanli (Haskovo)	Late Neolithic	amulet (1)
Kardjali (Kardjali)	Early Neolithic	axe (2); amulet (2)
Ovcharovo-Gorata (Targovishte)	Early Neolithic	amulet (1)
Golyam Porovetz (Razgrad)	Early Neolithic	amulet (1)
Seidol (Razgrad)	Early Neolithic	amulet (1)
Ohoden (Vratsa)	Early Neolithic	axe (1); amulet (1)
Rousse (Rousse)	Chalcolithic	amulet (1)
Varna necropolis II (Varna)	Chalcolithic	needle (1)
Azmashka Mogila (Stara Zagora)	Chalcolithic	amulet* (1)
Karanovo (Stara Zagora)	Chalcolithic	axe (11)
Slatino (Kyustendil)	Chalcolithic	axe (2)
Svoboda (Stara Zagora)	Chalcolithic (?)	axe (1)
Topolnitsa (Blagoevgrad)	Chalcolithic	axe (2); amulet* (1)
Pernik-Krakra (Pernik)	Chalcolithic	distributor (1)
Yunatsite (Pazardjik)	Chalcolithic	needle (1)
Rakitovo (Pazardjik)	Chalcolithic	axe (1)
Vurhari (Kardjali)	Chalcolithic	axe; adze (4)

Table 1. Nephrite (or nephritoid*) artifacts (mainly axes) from the territory of Bulgaria (Kostov, 2007a; revised with additions)

Turkey (European part; Turkish Thrace)

Twenty stone tools made of nephrite and other rocks are mentioned from a Neolithic site near Kadi-Keuï (in a Stockholm museum; inv. N-13.985) in Turkish Thrace near the Bosphore (Janse, 1925). For the polished tools found in the Early Neolithic sites Hoca Çeşme (Özbek,

2009; 2010b) and Hamaylitarla (Özbek, 2010a), nephrite was preferred as the raw material for the most typical well-manufactured large-sized tools. The preliminary analysis and observations indicate that the nephrite source in the ophiolite belt near Şarköy was exploited and raw material from this locality has travelled more than 150 km to the North reaching the Neolithic sites in the regions of Stara Zagora and Haskovo in Bulgaria (Özbek, 2010c). No chemical analyses of nephrite artifacts are listed for the mentioned Neolithic sites and raw material both, thus this idea must be taken under question.

The nearest lithic analog with about 12 nephrite tools (in the collection of the Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum, Mainz) from the Asian part (Asia Minor) of Turkey (from the area of the "Gyges Sea" or Marmora Gölü) are supposed to be of a Bronze Age (Zimmermann et al., 2003). In the same area (and age) are the some of the stone tools described by H. Schliemann (1881, p. 238-243, 445-451) at Troy (for the axes in the Russian museums c. discussion in: Zidarov, 2005).

Greece

Two small nephrite amulets are known from the prehistoric site Dikilitash (museum of Kavala), two axes from the Late Neolithic phase at Sitagroi (museum of Drama) and two nephrite or nephritoid axes from the Topolnitsa-Promachion site (museum of Seres) – all in Northern Greece (Kostov, 2007a). At the Early Neolithic (VII mill. BC) site Nea Nikomedeia, west of Tessaloniki are found 3 stone "frogs", together with polished axes and chisels, all made of "local serpentine" with a greenish or bluish colour (Rodden, 1964, c. 294, Fig. 1; Mellaart, 1975, p. 251). About 10 small "greenstone" (possibly nephrite) axes and chisels from the Early Neolithic site Sesklo in Thessaly are on display in the National Museum in Athens. Marble and nephrite mace heads are mentioned at the sites Dimini and Sesklo (Siklósi, 2004).

Interesting possibilities of long-distance trade are raised by Nandris (1977, p. 296), who stated that the "green serpentine", from which earstuds from the prehistoric sites Soufli, Argissa, and Nea Nikomedeia were carved was in fact a nephrite, coming from the high parts of the Pindus Range. This contradicted Rodden's observation, according to which the earstuds from Nea Nikomedeia were carved on a green or blue serpentine coming from outcrops of the Vermion mountains that back the Macedonian Plain (Perlès, 2001, p. 287-288).

From the Metropolitan Museum of Art is known a single sample of nephrite tool (inv. N-26.31.505), labeled as Cretan and dated from the V-IV mill. BC.

FYR Macedonia

From the Neolithic site Anza I (Anzabegovo) is reported a "green stone" or "jade", used as raw material for making small polished axes and adzes, as well as jewellery objects (the Bogoslav mountain is mentioned as a probable source for the "jade"; Gimbutas, 1974; Fig. 14.5). From the Anza II site is known a frog-like amulet, made of white marble and interpreted as a giving birth goddess (Mellaart, 1975; p. 259). Similar is the case with the description of lithic artifacts from the Vinca prehistoric site (Vassits, 1930). Artifacts as axes, made of nephrite or jadeite, are suggested to be frequent among the lithics in prehistoric settlements in the country (Garašanin, 1979, p. 99). Probably a nephrite amulet (inv. N-I-115), dated from the Early Neolithic, within a necklace of bone beads, is found at the Barutitsa site near the Anzabegovo village (*Nakitot nis vekovete,* 2001, cat. N-2, p. 25, 50).

Albania

In the western part of the Southern Albania among the artifacts of the Middle Neolithic site Cakran in the Fieri region one can identify at least one small axe and a chisel with a 4-5 cm length (Kostov, 2007 a; c. Korkuti, 1995, Taf. XLVIII, 16-17).

Serbia

On the territory of Serbia. near the Carpathian region, for some sort of small axes of jadeite and serpentinite is reported from the Neolithic sites Divostin and Grivats, not far from Kraguevaz (Titov, 1996, p. 34), as well as from some other sites as Velesnitsa and Vinca (Antonović, 2003, p. 91, 117-118, 123), but these raw materials are not mentioned by other authors (Šarić, 2002). The reported cases of nephrite axes from the earlier layers of Lepensky Vir (Antonović, 2003, p. 104; Table 9), have not been confirmed (personal communication of D. Antonović, Archaeological Institute, Belgrade). Probably the material of the artifacts is serpentinite. Fourteen possibly nephrite artifacts are described from the territory of Serbia, all spanning Early to Middle Neolithic in age (Antonović, Stojanović, 2009). Their source is not yet known.

Montenegro

As made from nephrite are at least two small axes, one of them with a trapezoidal form, and the other one with an asymmetrical form, both from the Neolithic settlement Kremeštice at the Lim River in the western part of the country (Kostov, 2007a; c. Marcović, 1985, Pl. XLV, 6-7).

Croatia

Nephrite artifacts have been reported from several supposed to be Late Neolithic to Early Chalcolithic (~3500 BC) sites in Croatia, mainly along the coast and islands of the Adriatic Sea and they have been properly distinguished from the similar in colour jadeite artifacts (Petrić, 1995; Burić, 2000). Some of the nephrite and "jade" (jadeite) finds are related to trade routes from northern Italy (Gargano peninsula and the Tremiti islands) over the islands Paragruza and Lastovo into the country along the valleys of the rivers Neretva and Bosna, and prehistoric axes are found in two regions – at Sinj, Okruglo, Tijarica and Budimiri Donji in the northwest part at Staro Čiče near Zagreb (Burić, 2000). A list of lithic tools with their localization on the territory of Croatia is given by Petrić (1995; p. 20; 2004; c. Marijanovic, 2002), who distinguishes the jadeite (10 in number) from the nephrite (9 in number) axes and adzes: at Vrbnik on the island of Krk, at Ražanac near Zadar, in the Sinj area and Marko's Cave at the island of Hvar. All of the "jade" examples are considered particularly important and their crafting is a very high quality, so they also reflect the exceptional artistic achievements of the local Neolithic culture. Jadeite and nephrite are supposed to be materials from Northern Italy, and whether these axes came to Dalmatia finished or they were crafted locally is a question for further discussion and research – it looks as though they were made in the Dalmatia area (Petrić, 2004). According to other ideas, the nephrite from the Neolithic artifacts is from local sources (Paunović, 2001, p. 414). From the Historical museum in Pula are known several artifacts made of "jade" (nephrite or jadeite), found at Picugi, which are considered as from the Iron Age as dated by pottery.

Romania

A single case of a nephrite ring-amulet (from the Chalcolithic site Sălcuţa–Piscul Cornişorului in Dolj County) is reported from the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest (Ştefan, 2013).

Russia

Nephrite occurrences are known in the Ural Mountains: in Northern (Polar) Ural, at the Rai-Iz Massif – Nirdvomenshor (Suturin, Zamaletdinov, 1984) and in Central and Southern Ural at the Halilovskii Massif – Halilovskoe; Kozmodem'yanovskoe; Bol'shoi Bikilyar (Suturin, Zamaletdinov, 1984); Fakultetskoe and Pridorozhnoe (Arhireev, 2007). A single small nephrite axe is described from the 2A layer of the Neolithic Varfolomeevska site in the Saratov Region (Yudin, 2006; unpublished DSc thesis).

Ukraine

Two nephrite occurrences are reported from Ukraine: one in the Verhovtsevskii region – Alferovskoe (Soloninko et al., 1977) and another in the Krivoi Rog Bassin region – Annovskoe (Yatsenko et al., 1987).

The Borodino (Bessarabian) treasure (including 6 fine polished nephrite adze-hammers; middle of the II mill. BC; the source and raw material supposed to be from the Sayan Mountains in Asia) has been found in 1912 near the village Borodino in the former Bessarab Gubernia in Tsarist Russia (later Odessa district) (Popova, 1981). The nephrite artifacts have analogues in the 4 stone (as made from nephritoid; jadeite; lazurite) adze-hammers artifacts from Troy.

Poland

With the discovery of the local deposit of *in situ* nephrite at Jordanów at the massif Gogołów-Jordanów (old name Jordansmühl; Traube, 1885; Geschwendt, 1941; 1977; Heflik, 1968; Gunia, 2000; Heflik, Natkaniec-Nowak, 2001; Gil, 2013) and Reichenstein (Traube, 1887) near Wroslaw (the second occurrence is on the contact of granite and serpentinites at the villages Kłodzko-Złoty Stok; Gunia, 2000; Gil, 2013), several attempts are made to explain the existence of prehistoric nephrite artifacts with local for Europe raw material, and not as import from distant Asian localities. Contemporary analyses of the raw material are made for both the occurrences at Jordanów and Złoty Stok (Gil, 2013). According to Meyer (1892): "The occurrence of raw jade [nephrite] in Silesia (Germany) [now Poland], viz., near Reichenstein [now Kłodzko-Złoty Stok] was already known to Linnaeus (vide the 12th Latin edition of Gmelin, Nüremberg, 1777, 8vo, vol. i, p. 458), and has only recently been re-discovered by H. Traube".

Both serpentinites and nephrite from Lower Silesia are used in human culture (Heflik, 2010). A review is made for the prehistoric nephrite tools found on the territory of Central, Western Poland and Upper Silesia (Southern Poland) (Geschwendt, 1941, S. 43, Abb. 7; 1977; Prinke, Skoczylas, 1980; Foltyn et al., 2000). The region in Southwestern Poland is not accepted by some scientists as possible source for the Polish and for some of the other European nephrite artifacts (Gunia, 2000).

Hungary

A single prehistoric artifact made of nephrite (from Ebenhöch) is attributed to the Jordanów source in Poland (Szakmany et al., 2011).

Austria

A single pendant from nephrite is reported from the Aurignacian (Late Lower Paleolithic) site Krems-Hundssteig in eastern Austria (Nigst, 2006; after Hahn, 1977).

At the end of the XIX century are known a few finds of nephrite in Steiermark – in the San valley and in the Mur valley near Graz (Berwerth, 1888; 1898; Sigmund, 1909; Teppner, 1915; Hilber, 1924; Hiden, 2000). Several analyses are made on artifacts from the Murtal valley and from Kili (Bauer, 1914). A nephrite occurrence (Zederhaus) is known in the Salzburg area, Lungau, Zederhaus valley (Niedermayr et al., 1985).

Czech Republic

In the Czech-Moravian region a single nephrite axe is reported from Tezhnize, Třebíč (Kostov, 2007a; cit. after Mrázek, Rejl, 1991). In northern Bohemia, at the contact of the Tanwald granite with an amphibole-plagioclase hornfels is initially described "nephrite" (Gränzer, 1933) or "nephritoid" (Bukovanská, 1992) hard rocks (known as "ironstone"; Eisenstein), used for Neolithic stone tools, but a proper petrographic investigation has suggested the better name amphibole hornfels (Klomínský et al., 2002).

The Lengyel Culture (Moravian Painted Ware Culture, MPWC) in Moravia and Mährisch-Österreichische Gruppe (MOG) in Austria is dated with a sample of nephrite artifact in the earliest phase for the area around the middle of the IV mill. BC (Kuča et al., 2009). Five polished artefacts made of nephrite are described in Moravia and one nephrite axe from Silesia (collection in the castle of Javorník) (Přichystal et al., 2011).

Slovak Republic

In the western part of the Slovak Republic on several prehistoric sites are found and studied spinel-hornblende-anthophyllite (nephritoid) schists (c. Illášová, Hovorka, 1995).

Germany

Nephrite finds are listed from Rügen at Zuklov, Potsdam, Schwemsal (Magdeburg) and Leipzig, as well as at Radautal in the Harz Mountain, Thuringia and the Fichtelgebirge (Bauer, 1914; Uhtig, 1914; Geschwendt, 1977, S. 232).

According to the monograph of Munro (1890), the number of nephrite artifacts at Maurach is about 500 and a total of 800 is estimated for the Überlingersee area (3-4 nephrite tools are known from Baden and Bavaria). The nephrite artifacts from the Bodensee region have been studied by Kalkowsky (1906b). According to the data of Tröltsch (1902), the number of nephrite artifacts at the beginning of the XX century from the lake dwelling sites in the Alpine zone is: France (0), Germany (West and Central) (3), Bodensee area (1500), Switzerland (East) (29), Switzerland (West) (118), total (1650), and for comparison, the total number of the similar in colour jadeite and chloromelanite artifacts is correspondently 118 and 175.

Only for the site of Rosgarten the author mentions a total of 1371 nephrite (820 nephrite, 92 rhodonephrit, 459 weathered nephrite, etc.) artifacts, while only 42 jadeite, 46 chloromelanite, 79 eclogite artifacts. He finds out that the nephrite tools from the Bodensee lake dwellings are just like those from the Swiss lake dwellings of the West. He mentions the following sites with nephrite artifacts on the Überlinger-See: Litzelstetten, Dingeisdorf, Wallhausen, Bodman I, Ludwigshafen, Sipplingen, Nussdorf with 100 small axes from nephrite, Maurach – this site is known also as the largest nephrite workshop in Europe. The total number of nephrite tools is estimated on Lake Constance 1647, in Maurach (Germany) about 1000, and in Rosgarten (Switzerland) – 1347 artifacts.

Switzerland

The Swiss Neolithic lake dwellings are probably built between the end of the V mill. BC and middle of III mill. BC (Lake Constance – Switzerland; Bodensee – Germany). Because of the differences in the conditions of preservation of the sites, certain time periods (mainly during the IV mill. BC) have gaps, with no known sites (probably the villages were not preserved). In the monograph "The Lake-Dwellings of Switzerland" (Keller, 1866), nephrite artifacts are mentioned from prehistoric sites at: Meilen (p. 16; 18, 20; 25, 303; Pl. II, fig. 3), Robenhausen (p. 44-45; 55), Wangen (p. 61), Wauwyl (p. 85), Nussdorf (50 celts; p. 107), Sipplingen (in question; p. 120), Zug (in question; p. 125), Concise (p. 171), below Ekmatingen (p. 267), Lake of Inkwyl (p. 272) and Ebersberg (p. 372). The author summarizes the ideas on the origin of nephrite at the second half of the XIX century: "Professor von Fellenberg has done valuable service to the cause of science by a careful analysis of the nephrite found in the Swiss lake dwellings, both by deciding the true nature of this stone, and also by bringing the question to a point whether this nephrite is a native production or a foreign mineral probably brought out of the East. In an interesting paper, 'Analysen einiger Nephrite aus denschweizerischen Pfahlbauten (Bern, 1865)' he sums up his views on the origin of this stone in the following proposition: 'We may with great probability affirm, so far as component parts are to be relied on to prove the identity or non-identity of two uncrystallised minerals, that the stone celts of Meilen and Concise are of genuine nephrite (whether of the New Zealand kind or not is doubtful), but that from Moosseedorf is of jade (vert oriental). One question yet to be decided is, whether the nephrite found in our lake dwellings may not also have been of Swiss origin, like the celts more commonly found with it, made of serpentine and siliceous schist, for the serpentine and chloritic schist mountains which occur in the New Zealand nephrite districts are found also in Switzerland, widely spread to a considerable extent, as in the Grisons and the Valais; and very possibly also may show segregations of nephrite. Still it has never yet been found here, so that the supposition of its eastern origin, as far as the proofs have hitherto gone, may perhaps be considered the more correct and probable.' This view of Professor von Fellenberg, that nephrite is a foreign mineral, is borne out by the facts that hitherto no Swiss geologist has found it either *in situ*, or in the shape of gravel; and that no unworked pieces, nor any waste or chippings from it, have yet been found in the lake dwellings (Keller, 1866; p. 56-57). To his opinion, the nephrite, which was the mineral most valued for celts or hatchets, was imported already worked.

In the monograph of Munro (1890) are mentioned at least about 1200 nephrite stone tools (hatchets or chisels) in Europe with the dominating role of the Swiss lake dwelling sites as follows: Lake of Bienne (Gerlafingen – Oefeli; Locras), Lake of Neuchatel (La Tene; St. Blaise; Cortaillod; Chatelard; Concise; Font; Vouga; Chevraux), Lake of Inkwylersee, Lake of Morat

(Meyriez or Merlach), Lake of Zug (Wanwylersee), Lake of Pfäffikon (Robenhausen), Lake of Constance (Bodensee in Germany: Uberlinger See – Nussdorf; Maurach; Olzreuthersee), Lake of Moosseedorfsee.

Nephrite-talc bearing rocks are known from the ophiolites at Scortaseo (Oberhalbstein) at the massif Puschlav (Poschiavo) in Grischun (Grisons; Graubünden) (Dietrich, de Quervain, 1968; Nichol, Giess, 2005c; c. Welter, 1911; Bauer, 1914), and other nephrite mineralizations are known at Salux, Val da Faller (Welter, 1911; Nichol, Giess, 2005a). Several other areas can be included as potential nephrite sources: Val de Bagnes, Les Haudères and the glacier Moiry in Wallis (Valais) (c. Preiswerk, 1926; Pétrequin et al., 2012); Cuolms, Bivio, valley Julia, valley Albula, Grischun (Grisons; Graubünden) (Stalder et al., 1993). Meyer (1892) mentions two small pebbles of nephrite from the Lake of Neufchatel. A total of twelve occurrences of nephrite are recorded in intimate association with serpentinized peridotite within the Alpine ophiolite complex of Mesozoic age in the Oberhalbstein area of southern Switzerland, including two recently enlarged roadside occurrences in Val Faller, where exposures in the latter locality reveal contact alteration zones between serpentinites and the country rocks (Nichol, Giess, 2005a). The Scortaseo occurrence near the town of La Prese is the place in Switzerland, where the largest volume of nephrite is supposed to be found (Dietrich, de Quervain, 1968). It is related to the dolomitic marble genetic type.

France

In some early publications nephrite is mentioned from the valley of the Isere River (Welter, 1911; Gränzer, 1933). A new occurrence is reported from the island of Corsica. The continuous reaction zone between siliceous-marbles and serpentinites in ophiolites in northern Corsica is composed by a centimeter thick pale nephrite layer, followed by a thin wollastonite layer and a 5-20 cm thick dark zone composed of wollastonite, carbonaceous material, quartz, but no carbonates (Galvez et al., 2011).

Munro (1890) mentions a single case of a nephrite tool from Rheims. A prehistoric nephrite axe (labeled Carcassonne; inv. N-PRE2009.0.217.1) is described from the museum of Toulouse, and among other prehistoric samples is listed a big axe of Bernon type from Morbihan (inv. N-34175; Pétrequin et al., 2007).

Italy

In Italy nephrite occurrences are described in Southern Liguria at La Spezia, as well as in the region between Sestri Levante and Monte Rossa (Kalkowsky, 1906a; Steinman, 1908; Bauer, 1914; Nicol, 2003). Nephrite occurrence related to domomitic marble is studied also from the talc mines at Mastabia in Val Malenco, Sondrio province, northern Italy (Staub, 1925; Nichol, Giess, 2005b; Adamo et al., 2012; Bocchio et al., 2012). The same Ligurian deposits in the Genova Province are located in the Graveglia Valley, Monte Bianco, La Spezia (Antofilli et al., 1985) and Sestri Levante, Libiola Mine (Antofilli et al., 1983).

A nephrite artifact is mentioned from La Marmotta and two more artifacts in museums in the southern part of Italy, all with probable source from Swiss occurrences, because they differ in appearance with the nephrite from Liguria (D'Amico et al., 2003). Nephrite is described among the stone tools from Neolithic sites (Middle Neolithic Age 4000-3250 BC; disappear during the middle of the III mill. BC during the Monte Claro culture) in the western part of the island of Sardinia, its abundance estimated to be 95% among the axes or chisels, and the

rest 5% are determined as glaucophane schist, metadiabase, andalusite hornfels and phonolite (Bertorino et al., 2002). It is proposed that the nephrite is been imported probably as raw material from the region of northern Italy or from Corsica, but the first idea is not confirmed by the next investigations. Observed is a lack of jadeite and eclogite artifacts. Two groups of nephrite artifacts have been described depending on the presence or absence of epidot, and as main impurity despite chlorite are determined iron oxides. At the same place, at the Chalcolithic necropolis Angheln Ruju are found a lot of green small axes of greenstone. Nephrite Neolithic artifacts are found also in the north-west part of the island, but in both cases the source of the material is unknown (D'Amico et al., 2003).

A nephrite axe is reported from the museum in Castrogiovanui (Sicily) at the end of the XIX century (Schoetensack, 1897). The nephrite tool is described as tremolite or tremolite-antigorite in composition, which differs from the serpentinite (antigorite schist) or antigorite-tremolitic schist (Dixon в: Leighton, 1989, p. 152). Additionally, on the island are mentioned also axes made from sillimanite (c. Leighton, Dixon, 1992). As possible source for some of the artifacts is suggested in the Calabria region. The total number of polished nephrite stone tools from Italian sites is estimated to be 28 (D'Amico, Starnini, 2006): 1 (Latium), 2 (South Italian museums), 1 (Sicily) and 24 (Sardinia). The artefacts do not correspond to the raw material from the Ligurian site (Kalkowsky, 1906a) and a probably provenance from Switzerland (Grisons) is suggested (D'Amico et al., 2003).

Spain

Nephrite is reported from the contact of granite dykes with serpentinites of the Ronda peridotites (Betic Cordilleras, Southern Spain) (Tubía et al., 2009).

United Kingdom

Investigations are underway at Balta in the Shetlands, Scotland on ortho-nephrite in an ophiolite complex of Cambrian age (Nichol, 2004). Several finds of nephrite artifacts (axes) from sites on the British Isles are recognized as imported from New Zealand in modern times (Sheridan et al., 2011).

Belgium

The material of a single find at Ouffet "Houp-le-Loup" (province of Liège) of a Neolithic (second half V – beginning of III mill. BC) nephrite axe-head-pendant is attributed to a Swiss source, most probably from the Valais area (Delaitte et al., 2010-2011).

Finland

In Finland are described nephrite, anthophillitic nephrite and azbest from Paakila, in the region Tuusniemi (Riman, 1936), as well as nephrite from the Stansvik iron-ore mine (Nichol, 2004). No information is available for nephrite-bearing artifacts.

The nephrite-yielding cultures and the enigma of the nephrite sources

Nephrite artifacts are known from prehistoric sites in Bulgaria since the Early Neolithic and they 'disappear' at the end of the Chalcolithic period. The nephrite occurrences in

prehistoric times on the Balkans raise a lot of questions. No nephrite deposits are known cited in publications in this region despite of the favorable geological setting with a lot of ultrabasic (serpentinite) exposures (Montenegro, Serbia, Albania, FYR Macedonia, southern part of Bulgaria and northern part of Greece). The well known European nephrite deposits in Poland (Traube, 1885; 1887), Switzerland (Dietrich, de Quervain, 1968; Stalder et al., 1993) and Italy (Kalkowsky, 1906a) have been discovered in the late XIX and early XX centuries, and do not provide information or can not be related to trade routes on the Balkans in prehistoric times. Another alternative is that the nephrite deposit or deposits on the Balkans have been exhausted or disappeared due to some geological (earthquake; landslide) or other natural process (soil; active vegetation). The use of this precious material can be attributed to a population with its specific mythological system in the discussed region. It is a surprise for gemmologists the precision and symmetry of the objects as well as the perfection in their final polishing. The nephrite artifacts are considerend among the earliest in history according to their variability, perfection and style. The symbolism of the zoomorphic (frog-like) nephrite or nephritoid figurines has to explained in terms of prehistoric mythology and colour impact (Rodden, 1964; Hansen, 2003; Kostov, 2005a; 2007a).

As the Early Neolithic on the Balkans is dated about the VII-VI mill. BC, thus the observed nephrite objects as part of the Balkan prehistoric area are considered representatives of one of the earliest "nephrite cultures", before the well known "nephrite cultures" (Hemudu; Hongshan; Liangzhu; Longshan) in Neolithic China (Wen, Jing, 1992) or the Neolithic to Bronze cultures (Kitoi; Glaskovo) in the Angara-Baikal region of the Russian Federation (Okladnikov, 1950). In this respect it is interesting to have a precise age of the Neolithic Xinglongwa site in China, from where a few nephrite objects have been reported as the "earliest refined 'jade'" (Yang, Liu, 2007).

Contemporary microprobe or other chemical and spectroscopic analyses of nephrite artifacts from European sites are published for samples from Italy (Sardinia) (Bertolino et al., 2002), Bulgaria (Kovachevo; Galabnik; Bulgarchevo) (Kostov, 2007a; 2007b; 2009; Kostov, Machev, 2008; Kostov et al., 2012), Hungary (Szakmany et al., 2011) and Switzerland (Bielersee – Kostov, 2007a; 2007b). Contemporary mineralogical data (analyses of composition) for raw material are published for samples from the Polish occurrences (Jordanów; Złoty Stok) (Kostov, 2007a; 2007b; Delaitte et al., 2010-201; Kostov et al., 2012; Gil, 2013), Switzerland (Scortaseo – Kostov, 2007a; 2007b; Valais and Grisons – Delaitte et al., 2010-2011) and Italy (Val Malenco) (Adamo et al., 2012; Bocchio et al., 2012), as well as for the recently discovered occurrences in Bulgaria (Ograzhden Mountain) (Zidarov et al., 2010) and Spain (Tubía et al., 2009). A future detailed correlation and comparison of mineralogical and geochemical data for nephrite artifacts and nephrite occurrences both is needed in order for the elucidation of the sources of nephrite and trade routes in prehistory. International cooperation and interdisciplinary studies are welcomed in this respect.

Conclusion

A high number of nephrite prehistoric artifacts is recorded on the territory of Bulgaria (mainly South-Western Bulgaria) and adjacent Balkan states (Neolithic-Chalcolithic; end of VII-V mill. BC for the region), as well as of Italy (Sardinia, V-IV mill. BC), Poland and in the Alpine lake dwellings area (Switzerland-Germany; end of V-III mill. BC). The question about the *in situ* nephrite deposits in Europe and some possible clues for finding such deposits from a geological point of view on the Balkans must be discussed. Suitable geological conditions for

nephrite formation are serpentinizied ultrabasic rocks and ophiolithic belts, which are known in the geological setting of different countries. The observed nephrite artifacts on the Balkans are considered among the earliest recorded in history according to their variability, perfection and style. The symbolism of the zoomorphic (frog-like) figurines (amulets) can be explained in terms of prehistoric mythology and colour impact. The uniqueness of the green gemmological material (or similar substitutes) has to be studied with joint mineralogical and archaeological efforts. The nephrite-yielding cultures "move" from Eastern to Central and Western Europe throughout the centuries (end of VII mill. BC on the Balkans to III mill. BC in the area of the Alpine lake dwellings). The Balkan "nephrite culture" in prehistoric Europe has to be declared as one of the earliest in human civilization not only on the continent, but worldwide.

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UDK 903.21-035.56(497.113 Starcevo)"632/6347"
UDK 903.4:665.937(497.113 Starcevo)"632/6347) *Haemus Journal, vol. 2, 2013, 31-42,* ISSN: 1857- 8411

Retouching Tools from Osseous Raw Materials in the Starčevo Culture

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Abstract: *Tools from osseous materials were used for a variety of tasks during prehistoric times – for processing organic materials such as leather, hide, plant fibres; but they may have been also used for the manufacture of flint tools, as percussors, hammers, retouching tools, or anvils. These are relatively easily identifiable through characteristic use wear traces and numerous examples of them were noted on sites throughout Europe, covering the span from the Middle Palaeolithic to the Late Neolithic / Chalcolithic. These tools are important not only in reconstructing the chaîne opératoire for flint tools, but also for linking together different industries into general technology studies. In this paper, tools connected with flint manufacture identified so far in the Starčevo culture bone industry will be presented. These were mainly used as retouching tools or pressure flakers, and all of them were made from antler. They cover the span from ad hoc, expedient, to the carefully shaped tools.*

Key words: antler, bone industry, technology, tools, Neolithic, Starčevo culture

Introduction

It is a common practice in analyses of archaeological materials to group artefacts into industries.[1] Although such an approach is very useful, the analyses should not end with a single industry, but a multiple technology analysis is needed.[2] Sometimes different technologies share the same craftspersons, workshops, methods for obtaining raw materials, etc. Their interconnection and overlapping – flint blades and burins used for bone crafting, bone artefacts used in flint artefact production, etc. – can be both interesting and instructive for analyses of the organization of craft production.

However, the tools used in flint knapping, be they of antler, bone or stone, are not always treated in detail, although the analysis of these tools can provide both a new way of reconstructing prehistoric flint-knapping techniques and a way of testing hypotheses concerning the nature of the artefacts produced.[3]

Generally, we can define retouchers as objects made from bone, antler or tooth, used in their natural form or modified, that have one or several zones with small punctiform pits and/or parallel linear marks on the distal end on their surface, that were used to strike stones in order

[1] Industry is defined as a set of artefacts characterized by a particular technology, technological style or morphology, and drawn from a number of different, but contextually related, assemblages – Jameson 1999, 307.
[2] *cf*. Lemonnier 1992.
[3] Chase 1991, 443.

to transform them into retouched tools.[4] Use wear traces may also include deep grooves and incisions, generally perpendicular or slightly diagonal to the main axis of the object, but large damages may also occur on bone surface; they are dense and overlapping, thus creating smaller, limited surfaces of damage on the bones.[5]

Retouchers could have been used in percussion flaking, which is the removal of a flake or chip by striking the objective piece with a hammer or percussor. Usually the percussor or hammer is a cobble or pebble, but they may also be made of bone, antler, or wood. Sometimes a percussor is used in a manner so that contact is not made between the objective piece and the percussor, in which case the percussor is used to strike a punch that is placed on the surface of the objective piece. This technique is called indirect percussion. Another technique is pressure flaking, i. e. the removal of a flake or chip by applying pressure to the objective piece without striking. This is usually done by placing the tip of an antler tine or sharpened bone on the objective piece and pushing it down and in on the point of applied force. The antler tine or bone used in this way is called a pressure flaker.[6]

Although the basic function of these tools is generally clear, the more precise cause of marks on them (i.e. by pressure or percussion), has been less frequently discussed.[7] It is interesting that among the diverse prehistoric osseous artefacts, those used for flint production were among the first objects to attract special attention, and also the earliest experiments related to the bone industry were focused on the interpretation of their use.[8]

The identification and interpretation of marks on bones was a topic of numerous studies[9], and focus was especially placed on identifying the marks caused by non-human agents of bone modification, similar to those caused by retouching.[10] Also, several experimental studies were made.[11]

The emergence of such tools might be found in the latest phases of Acheulean[12], but the earliest retouchers are usually connected with the Middle Palaeolithic.[13] Up to day, they were also identified throughout prehistoric Europe in the Upper Palaeolithic[14], Epipalaeolithic[15], Mesolithic[16], and the Neolithic period[17], as well as on different sites outside Europe.[18]

The level of modification of these tools differs from period to period and region to region; most Mousterien retouchers were not formal tools, but expedient, *ad hoc* used pieces of bone,

[4] Patou-Mathis & Schwab 2002, 11; Karavanić & Šokec 2003, 6; Mallye *et al.* 2012, 1131; *cf*. also Averbouh 2000, 195-6, 198, Гуадели 2009, 55-56.
[5] Stordeur 1988, 31, 39; Valensi 2002b, 88, *cf*. also Leonardi 1979; Schwab 2003, Mallye *et al.* 2012, 1131-2.
[6] *cf*. Andrefsky 2005, 12 *ff*., see also illustrations in Siret 1925.
[7] *cf*. Karavanić & Šokec 2003; however, for experimentation concerning raw material used see Mallye *et al.* 2012.
[8] Martin 1906, 1908; Siret 1925.
[9] e.g., Chase 1991; Capaldo & Blumenschine 1994; Giacobini & Patou-Mathis 2002; Schwab 2002, 2003; see also Vercoutère *et al.* 2007.
[10] *cf*. Leonardi 1979; Giacobini & Patou-Mathis 2002.
[11] e.g., Karavanić & Šokec 2003; Mozota Holgueras 2007; 2009; Mallye *et al.* 2012.
[12] Blasco *et al.* 2013.
[13] Martin, 1906, 1908; Leonardi 1979; Chase 1991, Гуадели 2009, 110-111; *cf*. also Karavanić & Šokec 2003, 6, Mozota Holgueras 2009, 27-28.
[14] e.g., Malerba & Giacobini 2002; Schwab 2002, 2003; Гуадели 2009, 114 *ff*.
[15] e.g., Гуадели 2009, 199 *ff*.
[16] e.g., Bačkalov 1979; Жилин 2001; Vitezović 2011b.
[17] e.g., Schibler 2013.
[18] e.g., in the Natufien culture – Stordeur 1988, 31-47.

later ones are usually more formal tools.[19] Raw materials used also cover a wide range – pieces of long bones from large ungulates were mainly used[20], but also phalanges [21], carnivore teeth[22], antler[23], etc., may ocurr.

The presence of these artefacts was also important for the discussions on the Neanderthal behaviour[24], and most papers focused specifically on this tool type deal with Middle and Upper Palaeolithic examples[25], while those from later periods are less known.

Retouching tools in the Starčevo culture

Artefacts identified as being used as retouchers / pressing tools were discovered at seven Starčevo culture sites – at the eponymous site of Starčevo-Grad, at Donja Branjevina and Ludaš-Budžak, situated in Vojvodina, in the Pannonian plain, and at Anište-Bresnica, Grivac, Divostin and Drenovac, situated in the region of Pomoravlje, in central Serbia.[26]

Starčevo-Grad. At the eponymous site, Starčevo-Grad in southern Banat, two such tools were discovered – first one is made from a small red deer antler tine, it has a blunt tip and its' use wear traces consist of deep, dense notches and incisions. At the base, it has a deep groove, that could have been used for attaching the tool (fig. 1). The second artefact was made from a roe deer antler, a beam with a crown and one tine, completely covered by deep, parallel incisions and grooves from use (fig. 2).

Donja Branjevina. In the rich bone industry from this site, three retouching tools were also identified, all made from red deer antler tines. Two of them have at their distal ends their natural tine tip transformed into a small circular surface (approx. 5 mm in diameter), blunt and worn out from use (fig. 3). One of them was especially carefully made (fig. 4). – traces of cutting are visible at the proximal end, and most of its outer surface was smoothed – natural roughness of antler was removed by scraping. Traces of use, visible at both tools at their distal parts, consist from short deep burrows, grooves and incisions, perpendicular in respect to the tool's axis, partially overlapping.

Third tool was made from a tip of a smaller tine (fig. 5). The basal part was carefully cut and the spongy tissue is partially carved out. Two perforations (4-5 mm in diameter) are visible, one entirely preserved, and the other one broken, with an unfinished third perforation. The active end is partially fragmented, but it most likely also had the shape of small elliptical or circular surface. Deep dense lines, incisions and grooves, perpendicular to the tool's axis, are visible at the distal end.

The entire artefact was carefully made – aside from the above mentioned perforations, the natural roughness of the antler was also smoothed. Perforations were probably made so that the artefact could be carried attached to the belt or for some similar reason (broken perforation is the result of use), therefore, this item was not only a practical one, but it may have had a representative role as well.

Ludaš Budžak. One retouching tool was discovered that was made from an antler tine tip (fig. 6). The basal part was cut off with an axe, and the entire surface is covered by dense use

[19] e.g., Schibler 2013.
[20] *cf*. Malerba & Giacobini 2002, Schwab 2002, Valensi 2002a
[21] *cf*. Valensi 2002b.
[22] *cf*. Leroy-Prost 2002.
[23] *cf*. Срејовић & Летица 1978, т. LXXVI; Schibler 2013.
[24] *cf*. Chase 1991, Karavanić & Šokec 2003, *cf*. also Blasco *et al.* 2013.
[25] e.g., Karavanić & Šokec 2003, Mozota Holgueras 2009, Mallye *et al.* 2012.
[26] *cf*. Vitezović 2007, 2011a.

Fig. 1: a, b) Red deer antler retouching tool with a groove on the base, from Starčevo, c) detail of use wear traces.

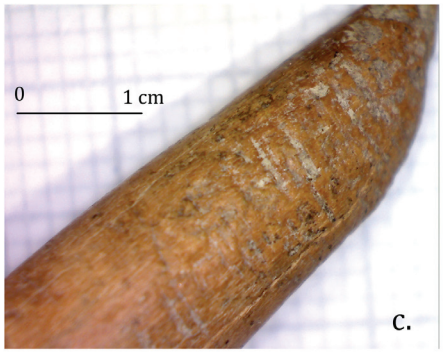

Fig. 2: a) Roe deer antler retouching tool, from Starčevo, b, c) detail of use wear traces.

Fig. 3: Retouching tool from Donja Branjevina.

Fig. 4: Retouching tool from Donja Branjevina.

Fig. 5: a, b) Retouching tool from Donja Branjevina with perforations on the base, c) detail of the perforations, d) detail of use wear traces.

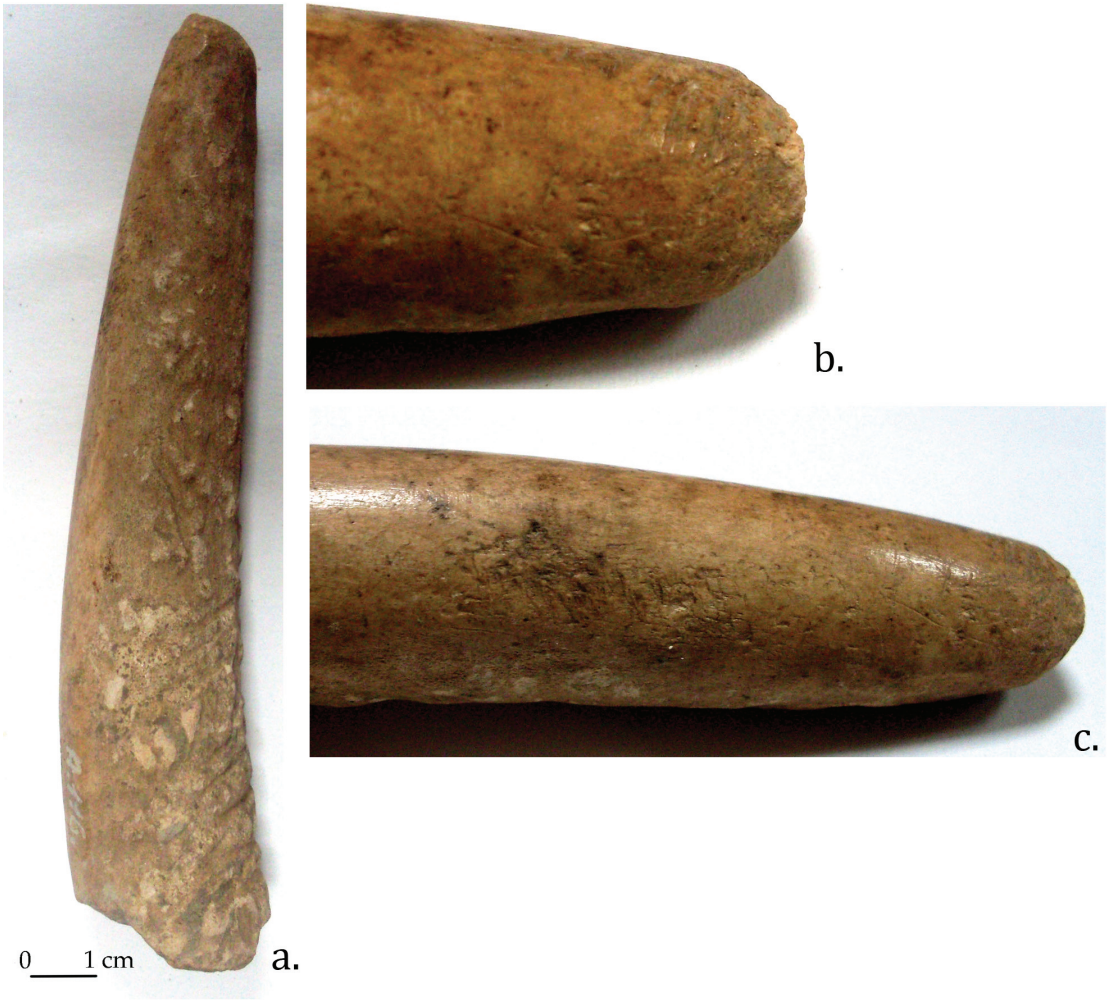

Fig. 6: a) Retouching tool from Ludaš-Budžak, b, c) details of use wear.

wear traces. In the distal portion of the tool several zones exist where grooves and diagonal incisions overlap. The very end itself was modified into a circular surface, also with dense lines and incisions.

Aниште Bresnica. One retouching tool was discovered that was made from a red deer antler tine (fig. 7). The basal part was cut off with an axe, and the distal surface was smoothed by scraping with a fine flint tool. The distal end is in the shape of a small circular surface, and the entire distal portion of the tool is covered with deep, dense incisions and grooves.

Grivac. Two retouching tools were identified (fig. 8), both made from small tine fragments of red deer antlers. The natural tip was modified into a more or less regular circular surface – in specimen Grv 067 the groove was made and then the tip was removed, and at Grv 024 two flakes were removed from two sides. Apart from damage on the tip, entire distal ends are covered with incisions and grooves. One of the tools was found in the unit related to the pit-dwelling, perhaps abandoned on the place where it was used.

Fig. 7: a, b) Retouching tool from Anište-Brenica, c) detail of use wear traces, d) details of manufacture and use wear traces, e) detail of traces of manufacture.

Fig. 8: a) Retouching tool from Grivac, b) detail of a working tip, c) detail of use wear traces, d) detail of the traces of manufacture.

Divostin. At the site of Divostin a rich antler industry was discovered, and it included four retouching tools, all made from red deer antlers. Three of them were made from tines; the natural tip was shaped into a small circular surface on two specimen; the third one has a damaged tip, but the natural tip was also modified by cutting. Traces of use are very intense on all specimens, and consist of dense, deep incisions and grooves.

The fourth artefact is a hammer, from a modified base of a shed red deer antler (fig. 9). The natural base was used as hammer working surface, and the beam was thinned to be used a handle, so the entire artefact is mushroom-shaped. The natural base of the antler was also modified (or perhaps repaired) by removing small flakes, and it was used as hammering surface. The other end is not preserved. After the tool broke and became unusable, the handle was secondarily used for flint artefacts – dense, deep, short incisions and furrows are visible on its surface.

Fig. 9: a, b) Hammer re-used as retoucher, from Divostin, c) detail of use wear traces.

Drenovac. Two smaller antler tines were used as retouchers. The first one with traces of whittling at its base, has its entire mesial and distal part covered with dense, somewhat irregular, short incisions. The natural tip was modified into a circular blunt surface, also damaged from use. On the other retoucheur numerous incisions and grooves from use may also be noted.

Discussion

All these retouching tools were made from antlers. Except for one roe deer antler tool from Starčevo, all other artefacts were made from red deer antler segments. Tine tips were preferred, although other parts may be found as well. In most cases, they were made the same way as smaller punching tools.[27] Firstly, the tines were cut from the antler; usually a groove was made first so as to make the severing easier (generally, the groove was made with a flint tool and

[27] *cf*. Vitezović 2011a, 308 *ff*.

abrasive fibre), and the antler was later cut off by an axe or broken off by flexion. The natural tip of the tine is shaped into a smaller circular or elliptical surface (cf. fig. 8b), usually less than 1 cm in diameter, made either by grooving (using the same technique as in detaching the tines from the antler) or, simply, flakes were cut off or even snapped off from one or two sides.

Similar to these are examples from Neolithic sites in Swiss, also made from antler (although from long, narrow splinters from beam, not from tines), with rounded working end.[28]

If we arrange retouchers from Starčevo sites on an imaginary axis of manufacturing continuum[29], we may observe that they cover a wide range from minimally modified to the carefully made pieces, in which a considerable amount of time and skill have been invested. Strictly *ad hoc* objects are not present, but broken antler tools were sometimes secondarily used as retouchers (for example, broken hammer from Divostin, fig. 9), and most of the tools were planned, made in a uniform way, from strictly chosen raw material (exclusively antler, mainly from red deer). Some of the specimen are particularly carefully made, having their entire outer surfaces smoothed by scraping and burnishing (cf. fig. 7d, e).

The most beautiful piece is the example from Donja Branjevina (fig. 5), with a carefully cut basal part and with perforations, probably used for attaching the tool to the belt. On this particular tool traces of repair may also be observed – after the breakage of one perforation, another one was started (but not finished – perhaps the remaining perforation was sufficient or the distal end broke off and the tool became unusable).

This tool, and the example from Starčevo, were probably portable (fig. 1) – they could have been worn attached to the belt, to be at hand and ready for use. In this sense, it is very interesting to observe an analogy with a tool discovered along with the Iceman (Ötzi). Amongst other possessions, he had one implement, made of a section of a stripped lime-tree branch, which had been cut off straight at one end and appears to had been sharpened at the other end. A 6,1 cm long rod made from antler was stuck into the medullary canal at this end. The tool has a total length of 11,9 cm, whereby the spike sticks out no more than 4 mm, and this part was also hardened by firing. The tool was used for the production of flint implements; when the head of the tool grew blunt from use, it could be sharpened like a pencil and thus rendered fully functional again.[30] This tool, with bark haft, is a unique find in prehistoric Europe. However, it gives good insight into the possible mode of use of these tools.

Apart from Starčevo retouchers, several finds from Swiss Neolithic sites also had perforations or notches for attaching.[31]

Observed use wear traces can roughly be divided into two groups: incisions and grooves, perpendicular or diagonal to the tool's axis (fig. 2), around the small circular working end, and zones of significant damage to the surface, consisting of dense incisions, grooves and burrows, placed at side surfaces in the distal portion (fig. 6). This suggests two possible modes of use – for percussion and pressure flaking.[32] Some of the tools were used in both ways, but some have preserved just one kind of traces.

Several antler retouching tools have been identified in the Iron Gates Mesolithic – those from Kula[33] and several examples from Vlasac can be interpreted as retouchers as well.[34] Therefore, to a certain extent, Starčevo tools may be considered as a continuity with Mesolithic

[28] Schibler 2013, 352.
[29] *sensu* Choyke 1997, 2001, Choyke & Schibler 2007
[30] Fleckinger & Steiner 2000: 41; also Spindler 1995, 134 *ff.*
[31] *cf*. Schibler 2013, 352, fig. 20.4.
[32] *cf*. Karavanić & Šokec 2003
[33] Vitezović 2011b.
[34] Срејовић & Летица 1978, т. LXXVI, *cf*. also Vitezović 2011b.

traditions.[35] Starčevo retouchers are relatively rare, i. e., they were present only at some sites, and never in large number; however, this may be due to sample bias (on most sites, bones were not carefully collected, or the excavations were carried out on a limited surface). So far, retouchers were not identified in the Vinča culture, so this raises an interesting question regarding technological changes in both flint and bone industries.

Conclusion

Retouchers represent one of the most wide-spread functional tool types from osseous raw materials, that cover a wide range of chronological and geographical distribution, as well as a wide range of raw materials, level of modification and final shape.

In the Starčevo culture, they fall into the class of planned, in most cases carefully shaped tools, and display highly uniform choice of raw material, manufacturing techniques and final form. Some of them show traces of repair, or, rarely, they were modified from another tool. For the mode of their use, it is interesting to note that some were clearly portable (the owner carried them most likely attached to the belt).

Preserved use wear traces suggest that they were used for both percussion and pressure flaking. However, their relatively low number does not allow any other generalized conclusions regarding their place within the craft production (were they commonly or only occasionally used for flint knapping, etc.). Many questions remain open, and future finds, as well as experimental work and combined analyses with flint industry, may show exactly how they were used (percussion, pressure flaking or both, whether one tool was in use for a long time or not, etc.) and on which type of flint raw material (all raw materials or just specific types of stones).

Acknowledgments:

This paper is the result of work on the projects "Archaeology of Serbia: cultural identity, integrational factors, technological processes and the role of the central Balkans in the development of the European prehistory", no. OI 177020, and "Bioarchaeology of ancient Europe: humans, animals and plants in the prehistory of Serbia", no. III 47001, funded by the Ministry for education, science and technological development of the Republic of Serbia.

I would like to thank my colleagues that entrusted me with the material analysed here: Andrej Starović, National museum in Belgrade, Maja Živković, Institute for the Cultural Heritage Preservation, Pančevo, Jelena and Vojislav Đorđević, National museum in Pančevo, Agnes Sekeres, City museum of Subotica, Nebojša Vidović, Museum department in Odžaci, Branka Zorbić, National museum in Kragujevac, Katarina Dmitrović, National museum in Čačak, Vesna Živanić, Regional museum in Paraćin. Also, I would like to thank to the colleagues who helped me with references: Dale Serjeantson, Herbert Böhm, Hans Christian Küchelmann, Jörg Schibler, and Mikhail Zhilin.

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[35] Most of the techniques for antler manufacture are also a continuity of Mesolithic traditions – *cf*. Vitezović 2011a, 389 *ff.*

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UDK 904:591.91(495.3)"6347" *Haemus Journal, vol. 2, 2013, 43-51,* ISSN: 1857- 8411

Faunal Remains from Pigi Athinas, a Late Neolithic Settlement in Aegean (Thessaly, Greece)

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Abstract: *The zooarchaeological study of the settlement of Pigi Athinas shows a significant proportion occupied by cattle compared to other animals, which seems original in the Aegean world where breeding is usually based on caprines (goat and sheep). Also, this study helps us to better understand animal use and, the way of life of the Neolithic population.*

Keywords: Zooarchaeology, Neolithic, Greece, Breeding strategy, Environment

Introduction

Pigi Athinas - literally *the source of Athena* - lies at the foot of Mount Olympus, three kilometers north of the border between Thessaly and Central Macedonia., Pigi Athinas is near the present city of Platoons in the prefecture of Pieria, north of the Peneus River (Fig. 1). It takes its name from a natural spring near which it's located. Despite the scarcity of environmental studies, the sea was closest to the site than actually (Ghilardi et al., 2008). Inhabitants of Pigi Athinas had a fertile soil in a floodplain and, thus, had no problems with water resources (Dufaure and Fouache, 1991).

Fig. 1: Localization of Pigi Athinas

The archaeological excavation took place from 2001 to 2003. The site was divided into two parts, A and B. Area A is now located under the road. Faunal remains were recovered by hand and occasionally with a dry sieving. Pigi Athinas was occupied during several periods and a necropolis of the Bronze Age is the most significant discovery. Below the cemetery, archaeologists have discovered a Neolithic occupation which correspond to a small Neolithic tell. The material presented here comes from 21 stratigraphic units covering 13 stages in sector B. These are unequally distributed over two periods, the Neolithic I (± 5400/5300 BC-4800/4700 BC) and Late Neolithic II (± 4700/4600 BC-3200 BC), most of the remains are from the second period. The oldest chronological horizon coincides with the stratigraphic unit 19 - resting directly on the substrate - which has been disturbed but still dated from the Late Neolithic I. Ceramic discovered is brown on black. Fragments of figures, weight, axes and several blades of flint, quartz and a bracelet in *spondylus* were also recovered (Poulaki Pandermali, 2007).

Material and method

It has not been possible to distinguish systematically sheep from goats despite many publications on this topic (Bar one, 1999; Boessneck et al., 1964; Prummel, Frisch, 1986 etc.).Two methods were used to estimate age at death: dental attrition and epiphysation stages. In this case, an MNI (Minimum Number of Individuals) combination was favored. Five major classes have been preferred: very young, young, subadult, adult, old.

A large quantity of remains has been exposed to various taphonomic damages. The proportion of bones specifically identified amounts to 50,6% (1558 on 3078). Most of the osteological material comes from the Late Neolithic II (1494 remains) and only 61 remains are assigned to the first phase of the Late Neolithic. Results from the late Neolithic I are not presented in this study. Forty-five remains appear weathered (2,7% of NISP) and 40 show gnawing marks (2,6% of NISP), which indirectly reveals the presence of dogs/suids in the village. These marks are located on the carpus, or on the epiphyses of long bones but never on the diaphysis. Some remains have undergone weathering effect (Behrensmeyer, 1978; Lyman, 1994).

Results

Domestic fauna represents 95,6 % of the NISP (Number of Identified Specimen) and more than 80% of the MNI. The part occupied by wild animals seems negligible in NISP, while it is higher in MNI. This is due, first, to a greater simplicity in estimating an MNI on small samples, and second, we have to envisage the possibility of a different use of wild and domestic fauna: animals slaughtered outside the village can be discarded on place, then the hunters can report the meat to the settlement (*Schlepp effect*). Domestic fauna consists of caprines (sheep and goat) and cattle over 40% each of the NISP, as well as pigs and dogs (fig. 2).

Caprines (*Ovis aries/Capra hircus*)

Caprines represent 43% of the domestic animals in NISP, while the part is 34,7% in MNI. The distinction between sheep and goats is notoriously difficult on a morphological basis despite publications on this subject: it is problematic to consider the many morphological gradients between the pure forms of goat and pure form of sheep. Therefore, the metric allowed us to distinguish each species: 12 remains were attributed to goat and 10 to sheep. In MNI, we counted 2 goats and 2 sheep. On 17 individuals, including 11 adults or older (≥ 5 years), two young adults (9-24 month), two very young (3-9 month) and two young individuals (≤ 3 month) were identified. Caprines seems mostly preserved until adulthood (64,7% of MNI). The other age classes are under-represented

	Ovis/Capra	*Bos taurus*	*Sus domesticus*	*Canis*	*Cervus*	*Capreolus*	*Bos primigenius*	*Sus scrofa*	*Lepus*
Cranium	186	103	99	5	7	2			
Vertebra	21	55	6	1					
Costae	26	54	5						
Scapula	34	27	23						
Humerus	55	53	18	2	1			2	
Radius	73	27	19	1	1		1		
Ulna	24	9	11		1			1	
Carpus	1	12	1						
Metacarpus	16	21	1		2	1	1	1	
Coxal	16	17	6	1	1				
Femur	68	46	7	1	2				1
Tibia	51	41	6		3			1	
Patella	1								
Fibula			1						
Tarsus	13	41	6	1	6		4		
Metatarsus	19	22	1	1	3				
Phalanx	14	40	3	2	6				
Metapodial	3	22	4	1	1			1	
NISP	**621**	**590**	**217**	**16**	**34**	**3**	**6**	**6**	**1**
MNI	**17**	**19**	**11**	**2**	**3**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**1**
Very young	2	1	1						
Young	2	2	2						
Subadult	2	2	1					1	
Adult	11	13	6	2	3	1	2	1	1
Old		1	1						

Fig. 2: Composition and anatomical distribution of the fauna (NISP and MNI)

(11,8% of each in MNI) and older individuals seem to be absent. Ages of epiphyseal closure - especially those of vertebrae - suggest the existence of individuals exceeding five years. This slaughter profile suggests a continuous occupation of Pigi Athinas: animals are slaughtered all year round.

This slaughtering strategy may reflect a desire of an optimum production of caprines meat - given the large proportion of young slaughtered when they reach a maximum weight - coupled with use of fleeces or milk of animals resulting in a slaughter of old animals providing "secondary products". Meat production still seems to be the main concern of the inhabitants.

Cattle (*Bos taurus*)

Remains of cattle represent 34,7% and 38,8% respectively in NISP and MNI. Cattle are preserved into adulthood and beyond to more than 70% of the MNI (14 individuals) Analysis of epiphyseal closure can refine this observation. Indeed, very young (≤ 6 month), young (6-18 month) and subadult (18-30 month) age classes are poorly represented, what can possibly be assigned to a differential preservation of bones. The proportion of vertebrae and distal ends of femur fused tends to suggest the presence of older individuals, more than 4-5 years. From an economic point of view, maintain animal during long years is not profitable if the primary purpose of the breeding is to produce meat. Also - and without excluding it - milk consumption does not appear to be the primary purpose of breeding since young and subadult seem underrepresented. When milk production is the only aim of a breeding, young and subadult are slaughtered *en masse* (Balasse, 2003). The presence of adults and old individuals could corroborates use of livestock for their strength: cattle help men on fields to carry or tract and are slaughtered as soon as they reached an advanced age.

Pigs (*Sus domesticus*)

Proportion occupied by pig is around 15% of the NISP and 22,5% of the MNI. This estimation may be unreliable since the MNI is based, among others criteria, on dental attrition, yet attrition is variable in animals that have an omnivorous diet. Pigs are slaughtered at every age and nearly 40% of individual do not reach adulthood: one very young (≤ 6 month), two young (6-12 month), one subadult (12-18 month), six adults (≤ 4 years) and one old individual have been counted. Ages of synostosis also tend to show that no one is older than 42 months. Yet, one has been preserved later. This animal was probably maintained late to comfort the herd. Ages of slaughtering correspond to an exploitation of meat; they were slaughtered when they reached an optimum weight between two and three years.

Dog (*Canis familiaris*)

Canids, all adults represent 1.1% of the NISP (16 remains). Anatomically, the homogeneous distribution confirms the consumption of their meat. Process of butchery on canids is still relatively unknown. Although, they have probably been exploited for their skin and possibly their meat. Fine cut marks were noted on the lingual side of a mandible, revealing a disarticulation of the skull or an extraction of the tongue (Nilssen, 2000), the cynophagy is a relatively common fact in the Aegean Neolithic (Snyder and Klippel, 2003). It is difficult to prove, but the role of dogs certainly went beyond the simple food.

Wild fauna

Bones are highly fragmented, yet it biases undoubtedly some results. Indeed, the specific determinations pig / wild boar, cattle/ aurochs, dog/ wolf are delicate because these animals are morphologically close. To a lesser extent, the distinction between cattle and red deer and

goat/roe deer can be difficult on the axial skeleton. Wild fauna represents 3,3% of remains and 14% of the MNI. The faunal spectrum is composed of five species: the aurochs, red deer, wild boar, roe deer and hare. In NISP and MNI, red deer is the most represented before the boar and aurochs. In terms of meat supply, aurochs, red deer and, to a lesser extent, wild boar, are the best meat suppliers while the contributions of roe deer or hare seem marginal.

Aurochs (*Bos primigenius*)

Six remains from two adults could be attributed to aurochs. The tarsal bones (two talus and two calcaneus) are over-represented which may reflect a specific butchering practice. Hunters probably discarded the animal immediately after killing it and they took back to the village some pieces of meat (*Schlepp effect*). The other bones represented correspond to a proximal end of a metacarpus, and a proximal end of a radius. We must take into account these bones reach us whole or subcomplete and are measurable, allowing us to assign clearly to domestic or wild variety, unlike diaphysis of long bones. Biometric data to distinguish between wild and domestic are quite brief, which inevitably leads to a sub-representation of aurochs. When these data are available, the distinction between domestic cattle and aurochs is obvious (Fig. 3).

Red deer (*Cervus elapus*)

Red deer is represented by 34 remains from three adults. The absence of vertebral elements could possibly reflect a *Schlepp effect*, this hypothesis is supported by an over-representation of talus. However, the discrimination between cattle and deer is not ensured in the ribs or vertebrae. The posterior limb of the individual seems to have been favored by men. The general size of the animal does not allow confusion with the fallow deer (*Dama dama/ mesopotamica*) which may also be represented.

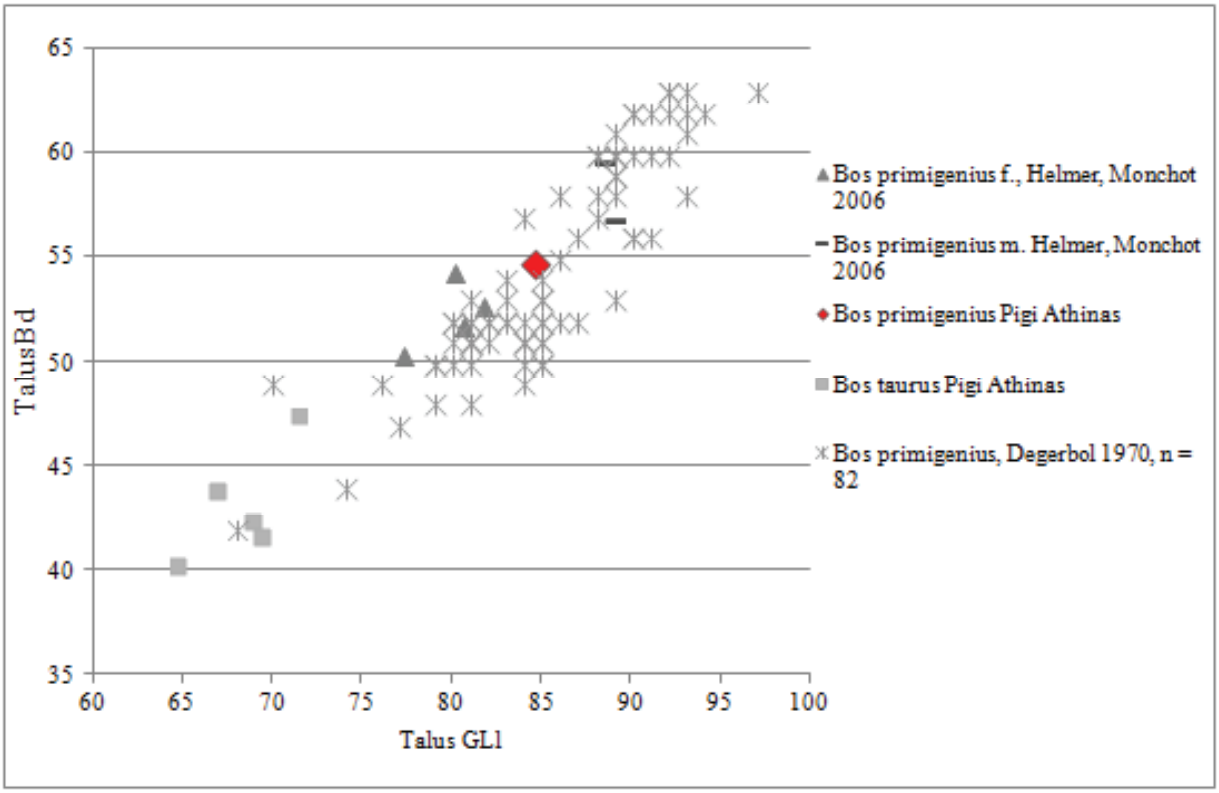

Fig. 3: Distinction between *Bos taurus* and *Bos primigenius* (talus GLl/talus Bd)

Wild boar (*Sus scrofa*)

Six remains from an adult and a subadult were identified. It is highly possible the presence of wild boar is underestimated because measurements are absent in this *corpus*. The boar is represented by bones from the members, humerus, ulna, metacarpus and tibia.

Roe Deer (*Capreolus capreolus*)

The fragmentation of the remains makes it difficult to distinguish between roe deer and sheep/goat. Three remains from an adult male could be determined. It corresponds to cranial elements and metacarpal.

Hare (*Lepus sp.*)

A femoral shaft reveals the presence of an adult hare. This result is probably imputable to a nonsystematic sieving. It tends logically to favor the larger elements at the expense of smaller ones like the bones of small mammals and to a lesser extent the articular bones and phalanx of larger animals (Payne, 1975).

Other animals

It is significant to note the absence of remains of birds and fishes. This is probably due to a cultural choice as the sea is near the settlement and we identified some marine shell. Four remains from a tortoise shell have been identified in the phase corresponding to the Late Neolithic II. In addition, malacofauna includes only marine species, especially shells *Cerastoderma glaucum* and *Arca noae*. Three fragments of Spondylus (*Spondylus gaederopus*) were also identified and all were worked. We noticed that only the dorsal face of the shell was systematically polished. These first results show a close exploitation of the environment and opportunism related to resources, easy to collect. Many molluskan remains were not counted and a study by a specialist would probably refine these first results.

Discussion and elements of conclusion

The proportion of cattle bone at Pigi Athinas is original in the Aegean neolithic world. Livestock is usually based on sheep and goat during this period (fig. 4). However, differences are noticeable depending geography and habitat types (Cantuel et al., 2008).

Faunal remains recovered in caves or rock shelters come principally from sheep and goat. Cattle remains are rare; they still represent less than 10% of the NISP. The proportion occupied by pigs is more variable because they sometimes occupy up to 20% of the remains determined at Franchthi (Payne 1975) or Kastria (Trantalidou 1997) and only 5% at Zas (Halstead 1996).

The place hold by caprines on island settlements is consistently above 75% of NISP and cattle presence there appears marginal. A purely insular breeding seems largely composed of caprines and knows no visible change. This feature will persist beyond the Neolithic (Gardeisen, 2007). However, the Emporio settlement on the island of Chios is an exception as the caprines represents only 60.8% of remains and cattle 33.3% (Clutton-Brock, 1982). This can be attributed to a sampling bias because only 102 remains of domestic animals have been identified for the late Neolithic. These peculiarities can be explained by a different way of life in caves, and secondly, by an unfavorable climate in island to breed cows or pigs (Cantuel, 2010). On open-air continental settlement, we can observe some difference: on a majority of settlements, breeding is based on sheep, goat and, in a lesser extent, pigs. Pigi Athinas appears like an exception as the part of cattle seems important in comparison with other settlement. The study of dental microwear has made possible to highlight a specific diet of animals which is not

1- Agia Sofia LN II
2- Agios Petros LN
3- Arapi LN I
4- Argissa LN
5- Dimini LN II
6- Dimitra LN I
7- Dimitra LN II
8- Doliana LN II
9- Emporio LN II
10- Franchti LN I
11- Franchti LN II
12- Ftelia LN II
13- Kalythies LN II
14- Kastria LN II
15- Kastri LN
16- Kephala LN II
17- Makri LN I
18- Makryalos LN I
19- Mandalo LN II/BA
20- Megalo Nisis LN I/LNII
21- Megalo Nisis LN II
22- Otzaki LN I
23- Otzaki LN II
24- Paradeisos LN II
25- Pevkakia LN I/ LN II
26- Pevkakia LN II
27- Phaistos LN II
28- Pigi Athinas LN II
29- Saliagos LN I
30- Sitagroi LN I
31- Sitagroi LN II
32- Skoteini LN I
33- Skoteini LN II
34- Stavroupoli LN I
35- Thermi B LN II
36- Vassilika C LN I
37- Vassilika C LN II
38- Zas LN I
39- Zas LN II

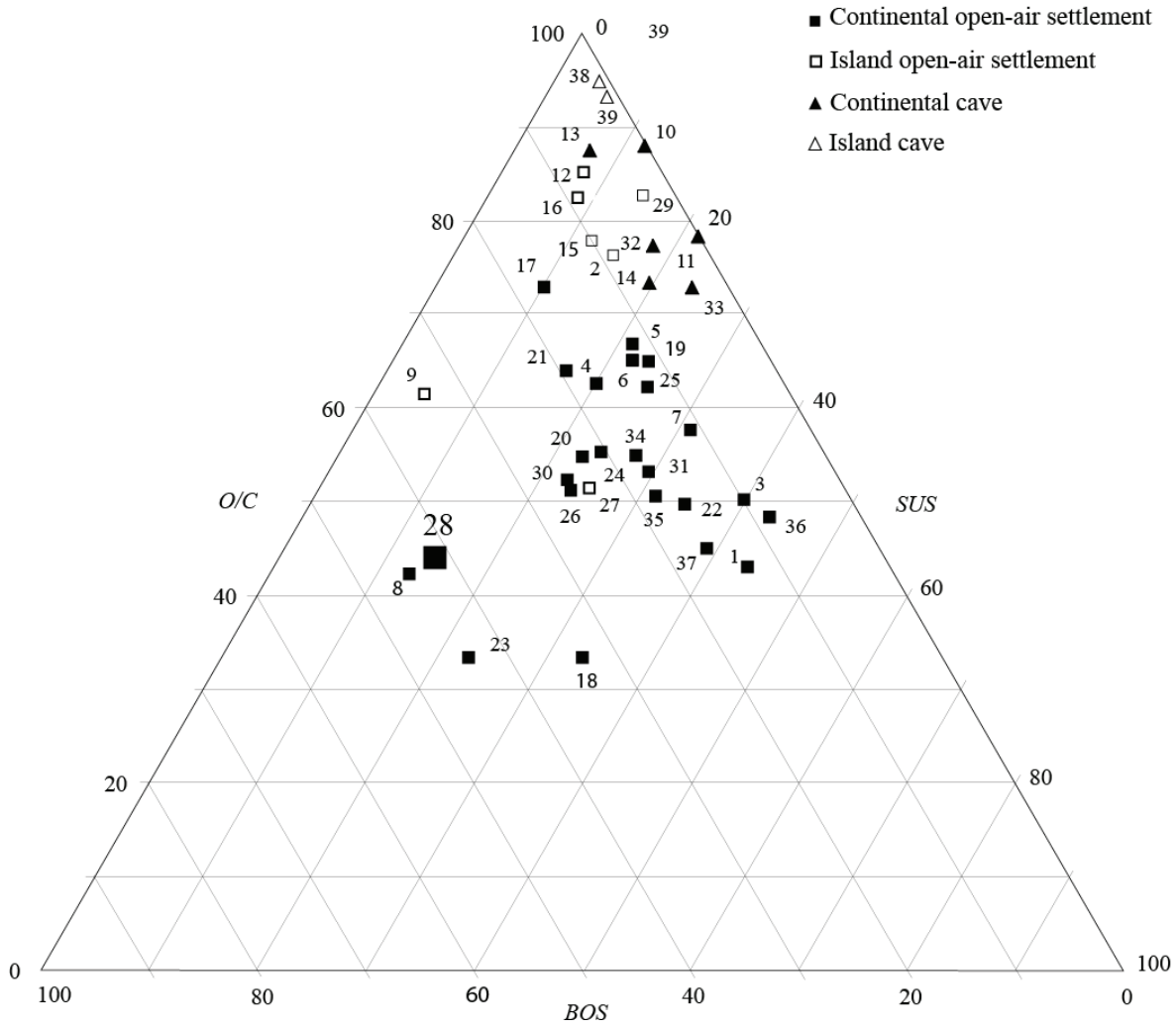

Fig. 4: Faunal *corpus* during the Late Neolithic in Aegean (domestic fauna in NISP)

abrasive. We can relate this to past environment: dense forest cover in a fairly wet environment (Cantuel, 2010). This environmental study could explain the orientation of breeding, especially the place occupied by cattle ; as cattle need pasture and a significant amount of water . In fact, environmental conditions conducive to cattle may have influenced significantly human choices even if we can't neglect a cultural origin.

Acknowledgment

We would like to thank Eleni Klinaki for entrusting us the material from Pigi Athinas and Armelle Gardeisen and Josette Renard for supervising this research.

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UDK 904:726.821(497.7)"652"
UDK 903.5:904-034(497.7)"652" *Haemus Journal, vol. 2, 2013, 53-60,* ISSN: 1857- 8411

Miniature Objects from the Archaic Tombs of Macedonia

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Abstract*: A number of miniature objects in the shape of carts, tables, chairs, spits and spit holders have been found inside archaic tombs in the region of Macedonia. Their signification is difficult to determine as many different hypothesis have been formulated. However, it would seem that they were used as both status and gender markers. Most of these objects were made ouf of iron, but some bronze examples have also been found.*

Key words: miniature objects, iron, bronze, archaic tombs, Ancient Macedonia

Miniature metal objects were found only in very rich archaic burials in Macedonia to this date[1]. Model carts, tables and chairs were often made out of iron rods folded and soldered together. It is the case of the miniatures found in the Sindos cemetery in tombs n°25, 52, 59, 65 and 115[2]. However, the table and chair from tomb n°52 were made out of thin bronze blades and it seems that the table in tomb n°279 of the Archontiko necropolis was made out of bronze while its chair was in iron[3]. In any case, the similarity of material used in all these cases would possibly indicate that they were not only used as a set but also fabricated as such. Cooking spits were made of small iron rods, they were sometimes accompanied by cooking spit holders which probably helped to identify their function. This paper will attempt to summarise all the known examples of such miniature objects, their function and symbolic meanings. The catalogue from the exhibition on *Sindos* was the main source for the study of these objects as it is the most complete publication to date[4].

The most striking particularity about these miniature objects is that they seem to constitute funerary sets. Each of these sets is composed of a cart, a three-legged table and a chair. Whenever one of these objects is excavated in a tomb, the others are also present. Likewise, no example of multiple objects in the same tomb have been found to date. The only exception to this rule is tomb n°65 from Sindos, for which there is no indication of a miniature cart in the publications. This particularity would indicate that the choice of objects accompanying the dead carried significant importance. As for the miniature cooking spits, there aren't many publications of

[1] The term Macedonia will only be used here as a geographical region. The geographical limits chosen here apply only to the period studied and are based on the similarity of the objects found in these areas. Its precise limits are hard to define and it is not the purpose of this paper to discuss them.
[2] See the catalogue from the exhibition in Thessaloniki: DESPOINI *et al.* 1985
[3] CHRYSOSTOMOU and CHRYSOSTOMOU 2003 p.513, it might also be the case of tomb n°131, but the publication is not precise enough
[4] The complete publication of the finds from Sindos should be published shortly, it will surely be an invaluable addition to this study

such finds. It is believed that they were only present in "male-type" tombs[5]. However, their presence might have been more difficult to detect as they were constituted of small iron rods which could have oxidized and disappeared. Therefore, their connection to the other miniature objects is difficult to determine.

Tables and chairs as status markers

The shapes of the tables and chairs are of particular interest. It is widely accepted that during the Archaic period furniture was scarce in homes[6]. Tables and chairs were not widespread and were not associated frequently[7]. Tables came in different shapes, they could be oblong, circular or rectangular and were generally made of wood or bronze[8]. However, it would seem that circular and oblong tables were more recent than rectanguler ones[9]. Three-legged tables were the most common type in antiquity as they were steadier on uneven ground than four-legged tables[10]. Rectangular tables are often depicted on vases as low tables used during the meals to support dishes and food[11]. Rarely to support any other type of object. It would have been common to sit at the table at the time of Homer[12]. However, reclining became a rule later and couches were used in most of the greek *poleis*. Tables were low in order to be pushed under the couches when not in use[13]. They could also be simply carried out. Reclining was not practiced everywhere as people seemed to eat in a sitting posture in Crete and Macedonia for instance[14]. Sitting also appears to have been more commonplace in poorer houses.

Chairs were not a common type of furniture. The type of chair represented by the miniature objects is four-legged with a flat backrest. There aren't many known representations of such chairs in antiquity[15]. It appears that stools were more common[16]. Four legs were probably not very practical on uneven floors, even for miniature objects. The chair in tomb n°25 from Sindos has longer front legs folded in a way to make it more stable[17]. As for the flat backrests, they seem to have had different styles. The chair in tomb n°52 from Sindos has three vertical elements instead of two[18]. These chairs could be seen as a simplified, less elaborate version of

[5] This is suggested by CHRYSOSTOMOU and CHRYSOSTOMOU 2007 p.117

[6] RICHTER 1966 summarises the different types of furniture in ancient Greece and Etruria and presents their main types. Very few other studies on furniture in antiquity are known as very little remains survived. We assume that the furniture used in Macedonia must probably have been similar to the furniture depicted on the black-figure and red-figure vases which were used by G..M.A. Richter to establish her categories. The study of ancient furniture has been pursued recently by some scholars among which the work of D. Andrianou should be noted. Unfortunately, she focuses mostly on the Classical period onwards.

[7] RICHTER 1966 p.63-72 suggests that tables were only used during meals for the support of dishes and food.

[8] RICHTER 1966 p.65-66

[9] ANDRIANOU 2009 p.50

[10] RICHTER 1966 p.67 , ROLLEY 1984 p.36

[11] RICHTER 1966 p.63 , ANDRIANOU 2009 p.51

[12] RICHTER 1966 p.64

[13] ANDRIANOU 2009 p.50

[14] RICHTER 1966 p.64

[15] RICHTER 1966 p.13, 33 chairs have a curving back on most representations, they were could bare many names: *κλισμός*, *ανάκλισμος*, *κλισία* or *κλιντήρ*

[16] RICHETR 1966 p.13 Stools were appearently also used in Macedonia and Thrace for the placement of offerings or vessels contained cremated individuals. Remains of a wooden stool were found in a fourth century B.C. tomb, see ANDRIANOU 2009 p.27-28

[17] DESPOINI *et al.* 1985 p.170

[18] DESPOINI *et al.* 1985 p.241

the *thronos*[19]. We can assume that such chairs should indicate the presence of a person of high social rank[20]. The fact that there is always only one chair may suggest that it was destined to a particular person, presumably, the deceased.

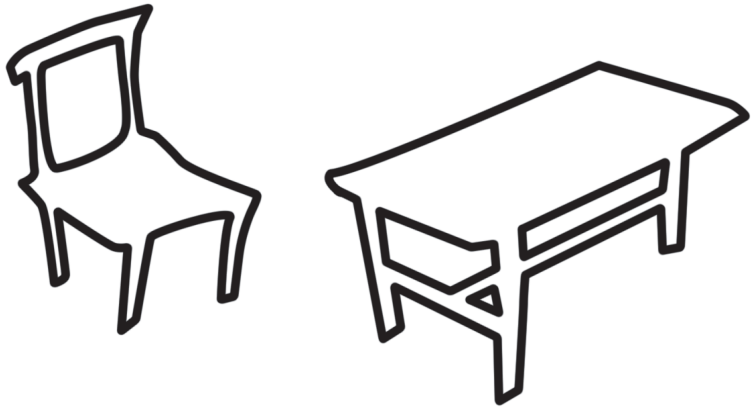

Fig. 1: Bronze table and chair from Sindos tomb n°59, Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki

It seems that in Macedonia it was customary to eat in a sitting position[21], so the interpretation of the presence of tables and chairs could either be of a reference to a normal meal or to a ritual one. It could be for instance interpreted as a reference to the ritual of *kathedra*[22]. It consisted of a last meal that was shared between the participants of the funerary rituals in which they were seated on chairs instead of being reclined on *klinai*. In this case, the miniature objects placed inside of the tomb could be relinders of that last meal or a means for the deceased to take part in it in a symbolical way[23]. It was also suggested that miniature objects could be of use to the deceased in their afterlife[24].

Miniature rectangular tables and chairs are extremely rare in other regions so we may assume this to be a particularly local custom. However, we should bear in mind that there is always the possibility that such objects did exist elsewhere but were made out of perishable material hence would not have left any physical traces[25].

Miniature rectangular terracotta tables are occasional finds in Cyprus[26]. A miniature bronze throne was also found in Cyprus, on the site of Enkomi[27]. They do not seem to be linked to the miniature tables found in Macedonia neither by shape nor by function[28]. Two miniature seats made out of lead were found in Stageira (in the Halkidiki peninsula)[29]. Miniature lead

[19] RICHTER 1966 p.13-15 we should also note that marble thrones became part of the furniture of later tombs in Vergina, see ANDRIANOU 2009 p.27

[20] RICHTER 1966 p.13 indicates that most chairs are associated with high rank, see also ANDRIANOU 2009 p.27

[21] RICHTER 1966 p.64, Athenaios I, r8a we should bear in mind that Athenaios lived during the second century A.D., hence we cannot be certain of which custom was really used during the archaic period.

[22] ROLLEY 1984 p.36-37, GARLAND 1985 p.40-41

[23] DESPOINI *et al.* 1985 p.84

[24] DESPOINI *et al.* 1985 p.84, GARLAND 1985 p.70

[25] Again, let's not forget the wooden stool from ANDRIANOU 2009 p.27-28

[26] RICHTER 1966 p.67, figs.345-346

[27] RICHTER 1966 p.13-15 fig.6

[28] These came from old excavations with no information of the place in which they were found therefore we cannot assume that they had a funerary function

[29] ANDRIANOU 2009 p.25-26, figs.4a, 4b, 5a and 5b

tables were discovered at Delos in domestiv context and were interpreted as offering tables[30]. D. Andrianou suggests that they might have had a similar function as the tables from Sindos whiwh would be, according to her, either reminiscent of domestic cults or toys destined for children[31].

Carts as gender markers

Miniature carts found in tombs of archaic Macedonia have an interesting peculiarity. They seem to have been used not only as status markers but also as gender markers. Two-wheeled carts have only been found in "male-type" tombs while "female-type" tombs contained four-wheeled carts.

female-type grave	male-type grave
four-wheeled cart	two-wheeled cart
	spits
table, chair	table, chair

Fig.2 Miniature objects found in male-type and female-type graves

In the Sindos cemetery, two-wheeled carts were found in tombs n°25, 52, 59 and 115 while four-wheeled carts were found in tombs n°28 and 67[32]. In the Archontiko cemetery, two-wheeled carts were found in tombs n°9, 131, 145, 194, 258A, 279, 280, 283, 358, 410, 417, 443, 692, 741 and 742. Four-wheeled carts were found in tombs n°197, 198, 262, 458, 465 and 712[33].

According to E. Chrysostomou, the same differentiation occurs at the cemeteries of Aiani, Vergina and Edessa[34]. Most of the carts found were made out of iron, their average width in Sindos is of 16cm and their average length 30cm including the yoke. There is no significant difference in size between the two-wheeled and the four-wheeled carts. Every cart is unique in its shape: some are quite plain while others are more elaborate. The cart from tomb n°52 at Sindos, made out of bronze blades, bears a back seat[35]. The cart from tomb n°28 seems to have had a covering lid[36].

The reason why miniature carts were used as gender markers remains unknown. It is suggested throughout the Archontiko publications that four-wheeled carts were related to agricultural chariots while two-wheeled ones represented military carts[37]. However, the only

[30] ANDRIANOU 2009 p.52

[31] The interpretation of toys for miniature objects was originally made at Sindos when some of these objects were discovered in the tomb of a child (tomb n°59). However, if we examine the rest of the offerings inside this tomb, it becomes clear that this child was not buried in a way to mark his status of child but in the same manner of the other adult individuals. Tombs containing children are rare at Sindos, it seems that children were buried elsewhere or treated in a different way at death with very few exceptions. These exceptions seemed to have acquired a status equal to the other adult individuals.

[32] DESPOINI *et al.* 1985 p.183-184, 273

[33] CHRYSOSTOMOU 2009 p.116

[34] CHRYSOSTOMOU 2009 p.124

[35] VOKOTOPOULOU 1996 p.135 The cart from tomb n°25 might also have had one, see DESPOINI *et al.* 1985 p.173

[36] VOKOTOPOULOU 1996 p.143

[37] See also GINOUVES and AKAMATIS 1993 p.34

visible difference between the two types being the number of wheels, we should be cautious when trying to find its meaning. Both types may have been used for everyday practical purposes, they could also be of use in the afterlife of the deceased[38].

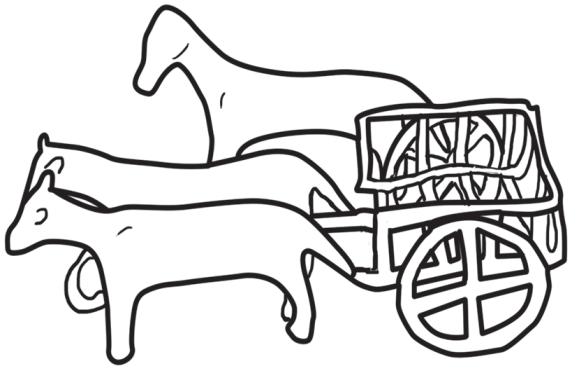

Fig. 3: Iron cart and terracotta miniature horses from
Sindos tomb n°59, Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki

Carts could convey a number of different interpretations. They could be a reference to the ritual transport of the dead from their home to the cemetery[39]. They could also symbolize or facilitate the journey of the soul from this life into the afterlife[40]. The use of carts in funerary rituals and processions is well established since the ninth century B.C. through its representation on attic vases[41]. It would seem that the carts used during processions, weddings and funerals were plain vehicles used in everyday life[42]. However, it would seem that horses were preferred to pull the cart on ritual occasions while oxes and mules were used on a more daily basis. This is confirmed by the fact that small terracotta horses were found in tombs n°59 from Sindos and n°9 from Archontiko[43].

Fig. 4: Main scene of a red-figure pyxis representing a wedding
procession on a two-wheeled cart drawn by horses, National Museum of Athens

[38] GINOUVES and AKAMATIS 1993 p.34
[39] THEODOSSIEV 2000 p.190, VOKOTOPOULOU 1996 p.115, DESPOINI *et al.* 1985 p.104
[40] THEODOSSIEV 2000 p.190
[41] KRUTA 2000 p.537, BOARDMANN and KURTZ 1971 p.60 It should be noted that wedding scenes depicted on vases often depict two-wheeled carts. On earlier geometric vases from the Dipylon however, it is unclear if the carts used during the funerary games in honour of the deceased were either two-wheeled or four-wheeled.
[42] LORIMER 1903 p.136-137
[43] DESPOINI *et al.* 1985 p.104-105, CHRYSOSTOMOU and CHRYSOSTOMOU 2001 p.487

Horse representations are often found inside tombs, it seems that this animal carried a number of social and religious meanings in funerary context[44]. They were particularly linked to the elites and appeared in tombs of both genders. The funerary function of horse-drawn carts during antiquity is also represented in a small terracotta model found in attica on the site of Vari. It is dated from the middle of the seventh century B.C.[45]. It depicts a four-wheeled cart carrying a coffin and three mourners followed by a person riding a horse. The coffin is covered by a cloth and a small bird on top of it could represent the soul of the deceased departing.

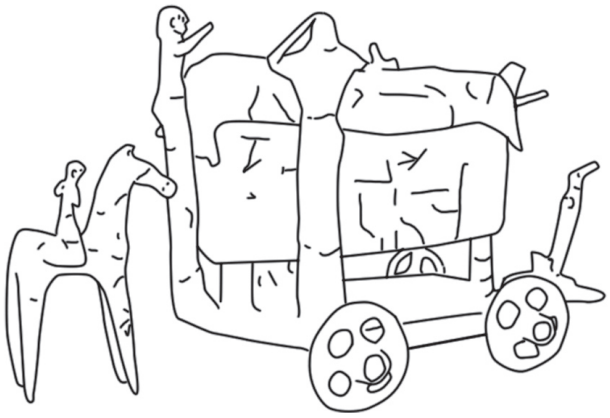

Fig. 5: Terracotta model of a funerary cart from Vari, no indication of its current location (published in GARLAND 1985, p. 33)

Cooking spits as possible gender markers

Miniature cooking spits are the most difficult items to study. This is mostly due to the fact that they were constituted by small iron rods which suffered from oxidizing in the tomb. They are seldom found on different excavation sites both in Greece and in iron-age graves from central Europe[46]. The oldest known examples found in funerary context were made of bronze and were found in a tomb dating from the Geometric period from Palaepaphos, Cyprus[47]. Iron spits were deposited in tombs between the tenth and the eighth centuries B.C. in Crete[48]. They were also found in «warrior-type tombs» from Cyprus and Argos[49]. This would support the idea that spits were closely linked to rich male graves in those areas. However, most a number of spits were commonly found in sanctuaries, sometimes linked to remains of animal sacrifice. They were often found in groups of 3, 5, 6, 12 or 18[50].

In tomb n°25 from the Sindos cemetery, there were seven spits measuring around 30cm in length deposited on a pair of iron spit holders. Tomb n°59 contained six spits held together by thin blades. Tomb n°65 also contained six spits but those are currently in a very bad state of conservation. They were also held by spit holders.

[44] LANGDON 2003 p.11
[45] BOARDMANN and KURTZ 1971 p.78, GARLAND 1985 p.32
[46] BRUN 2004 p.58 considers they are present in the two richest grave-offering categories of european protohistory
[47] VON REDEN 1997 p.159
[48] VON REDEN 1997 p.159
[49] BOARDMANN and KURTZ p.211
[50] VON REDEN 1997 p.160

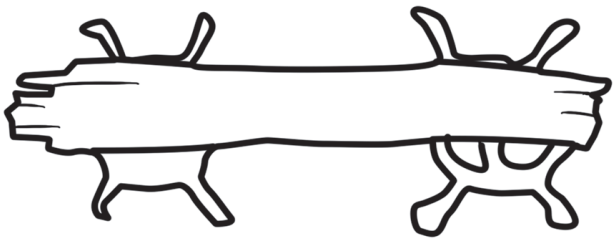

Fig. 6: Seven iron spits and pair of spit holders from Sindos tomb n°25, Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki

Conclusions

Miniature objects found in tombs of Archaic Macedonia were not only status markers but also gender markers. They stressed out the importance of the person present in the tomb and allow us to make different hypothesis regarding their interpretation. The presence of all these objects in tombs is often considered as unique by excavators. However, even if it is difficult to find parallels with surrounding civilisations, if we disregard the difference in size, the presence of carts, spits and tables can also be attested in cart-burials for instance[51]. This type of graves spreaded throughout central Europe during the sixth century B.C. and contained numerous grave offerings like metal vases, weaponry and jewellery[52]. It is difficult to say whether there was a similar association of two-wheeled carts and four-wheeled carts with male and female graves as publications are not always precise on this matter. However, it would seem that it was more of a chronological matter as most of the four-wheeled cart burials were dated between the seventh and the sixth centuries B.C. while two-wheeled cart burials were mostly dated from the fifth to the fourth centuries B.C.[53].

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[51] ROLLEY 1984 p.36 evokes this similarity

[52] KRUTA 2000 p.537

[53] ELUERE 1985 p.144-146

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Oracles of Dionysos in Ancient Thrace

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Abstract: *The focus of the article is the available information about the oracles of Dionysos in ancient Thrace. After a careful analysis of the currently know sources the author states that in the ancient Thracian lands there was not only one or two (as most modern scholars assume) but several oracles of Dionysos. The author proves this point by giving a special attention to some details in the ancient information, such as the localization of the different oracles, the features of the mantic session, the officials etc. In conclusion is summed up that although the provided by the ancient writers' more or less detailed information, oracles of Dionysos in Thrace are not yet localized.*

Key words: Ancient divination, Dionysos, oracles, Thrace.

Dionysos, the famous ancient Greek god of vines and wine, was strongly connected with the Thracian lands.[1] In the following lines is paid attention to only one aspect of this connection – the available information about his oracles by the Thracians. The essential sources on this issue are only a few passages in the ancient literature, presented below.[2] They are repeatedly discussed by the modern scholars, which bring together all sources with only one or two oracles of that god in Thrace.[3] However, here is suggested a new interpretation, based on a careful analysis of the ancient sources with a special attention over some important details neglected by the researchers, such as the localization of the different oracles, features of the mantic session, the officials etc.

[1] It had been discussed for a long time whether Thrace was the birthplace of Dionysos or the god only passed through the Thracian lands, as some ancient legends say, see Farnell 2010 p. 85 sq.; Seaford 2006 p. 154. Wilhelm Tomaschek defined the Thracian gods in four groups, in which the first was called „Der dionysische Sagenkreis"; the other three groups are „Der apollonische Sagenkreis", „Isolierte Hauptgottheiten" and „Die thrakischen Licht- and Donnergötter", see Tomaschek 1980 II, p. 38 sq. Most of the ancient sources about the cult of Dionysos in Thrace are presented and commented by Фол 1991; Фол 1994; Фол 2003.

[2] The original text of the Greek and Roman writers often allow differences in translation. By this reason below, in parallel with the English translations, the original texts are also attached.

[3] It is useless all opinions to be presented, the more so as most of them are not sufficiently argued. In briefly, some researchers accepted that there was only one oracle of Dionysos in Thrace, which is sought in various places: in Rhodope (Захариев 1870 p. 6 sq.), in Pangaion (Perdrizet 1910 p. 37 sq.), in Haemus (Boteva 1997 pp. 287-298), or in other Thracian mountains. Some think that there were two different oracles (Collart 1937 p. 247; Farnell 2010 p. 100).

The information passed down in the ancient literature concerning oracles of Dionysos in ancient Thrace can be differentiated in two main categories.

The first one incorporates sources without any details about oracle center or divination practices. For example, Pausanias (Description of Greece, 9.30.9) just states that „Libethrians received out of Thrace an oracle from Dionysos … (ἀφικέσθαι δὲ τοῖς Λιβηθρίοις παρὰ τοῦ Διονύσου μάντευμα ἐκ Θρᾴκης ...)". It's unknown where and how that prediction was received.

The second category, which is extremely important to this work, consists of sources about oracles with more or less information about mantic details. They are presented and commented in this section, roughly following a chronological order. On this basis the oracles of Dionysos in ancient Thrace are at least five.

(1) Orpheus and the oracle in Haemus. A Scholia to Euripides (Alcestis, 968)[4] maintains that according to information of the „physicist Heraclides":

˙τὸ δὲ τοῦ Διονύσιου κατεσκεύασται [ἐπι] τῆς Θρᾴκης ἐπι τοῦ καλουμένου Αἵμου, ὅπου δή τινας ἐν σανίσιν ἀναγραφὰς εἶναί φασιν <᾽Ορφέως>᾽.	That [oracle] of Dionysos was built in Thrace on the so called Haemus, where is said, that there were some writings of Orpheus upon tablets.

This could be the earliest evidence of an oracle of Dionysos in Thrace. There is a clear location – in Mount Haemus, but it's unclear what this author means under that name.[5] The identification of the originator of the anonymous scholiast – „the physicist Heraclides" – is not quite seamless. The author in question is identified with Heraclides Ponticus (ca. 390 – 310 BC) without the necessary explanations and arguments for such an assertion.[6] However, it is not undoubtedly, because the latter even once wasn't called explicitly „physicist" and the quoted passage is not included among the fragments, attributed to him.[7]

By that reason it is not excluded in this case to be seen the philosopher Heraclites (ca. 535 – 475 BC), as far as can be judged by some of its fragments, concerning the Delphic oracle, which demonstrates his interest in the sphere of ancient oracles and divination.[8]

Of importance here is the fact that in the original Greek text it is not clear whether that place, dedicated to Dionysos, was actually oracle or some other object. The first is more likely, as it is also related to the writings of Orpheus on wooden tablets, as the next.

Other scholia to Euripides (Hecuba, 1267)[9], again with an unknown and – in any event – later author, summarizes:

[4] Greek text after Schwartz 1966 p. 239

[5] The ancient Mount Haemus is commonly identified with modern Stara planina. However, some details in the ancient literature indicate that the concepts of the ancient writers about the Thracian mountains varied in significant borders. For example, in the case of Haemus only Thucydides (2.96.1-4) clearly distinguished Stara planina as a single mountain. Some writers obviously understood under Haemus not only Stara planina, but also modern Rila (see Strab. 7, fr. 36); others added to the conception of Haemus modern Strandzha and Sakar; these visions are seen better in some Renaissance maps of Europe, which are based in significant point over ancient information.

[6] Boteva 1997 p. 294; Тачева 2007 p. 253

[7] Schütrumpf 2008

[8] Heraclites can be defined as physicist on the basis of Cicero (On Divination, 2.133).

[9] Greek text after Dindorf 2010 p. 510

οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον εἶναι τὸ μαντεῖόν φασι τοῦ Διονύσου, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Αἶμον, οὗ εἰσι καὶ ᾽Ορφέως ἐν σανίσιν ἀναγραφαί, περὶ ὧν φησιν ἐν ᾽Αλκήστιδι. ῾οὐδέ τι φάρμακον Θρῄσσαις ἐν σανίσιν, τάς ῾Ορφεία κατέγραψε γῆρυς᾽. ὅτι δὲ καὶ Διόνυσος μαντις, καὶ ἐν Βάκχαις. φησὶ ῾μάντις δ᾽ ὁ δαίμων ὅδε· τὸ γὰρ βακχεύσιμον καὶ <τὸ> μανιῶδες μαντικὴν πολλὴν ἔχει᾽.

Some say, that the oracle of Dionysos was in Pangaion, other – in Haemus, where were some writings of Orpheus upon tablets, about which he speaks in Alcestis: „Not any drug in the Thracian tablets, where are written the sayings of Orpheus". And because Dionysos was and prophet, in „Bacchae" he says: „This god is a prophet, too, for in his rites the Bacchic celebrations and the madness a huge prophetic power is unleashed".

The anonymous author presents an interesting localization of the oracle – in Pangaion (near Lower Struma and Mount Symbolon)[10] or in Haemus (usually identified with Stara planina)[11]. The considerable distance between the normal identification of these two mountains and the missing of Rhodope makes an impression. The latter is among the permanently presented Thracian mountains in the ancient literature from Herodotus (Histories, 4.49.6; 8.116.1-2) onwards. Hence can be assumed, that in the source, on which the scholia was based on, the oronym Rhodope was still unknown.[12]

The unknown author does not provide any information about the divination in this oracle. Probably as an indication of that issue should be considered the marked prophetic power of the Bacchic celebrations (βακχεύσιμος) and the madness (μανιῶδης). As is known, the ancient Greeks believed that no one could be a mediator of oracular responses while is in normal state of consciousness (ἔννους), although in all images on vases Apollo and Pythia were always presented in a peaceful state.[13]

As in the previous scholia, the oracle's localization is associated with some writings on tablets, whose authorship is attributed to Orpheus. This relationship is not specified. The questioned tablets can be interpreted as some oracles of Orpheus, as far he was concerned among the legendary personages, who possessed prophetic abilities. Furthermore, the post mortem oracles of Orpheus were inscribed and sent to their recipients, as shows a fragment of Philostratus (On heroes, 28.8-14). Such a plot can be seen in an ancient Greek kylix[14], some gems[15] and several Etruscan mirrors[16] with the prophesying head of Orpheus. The available sources can not explain the connection between the questioned tablets, Haemus Mount and the oracle of Dionysos.[17]

(2) Oracle of the Satrians. Traditionally, and not without any reason, when it comes to an oracle of Dionysos in Thrace, most attention is paid to the statement of Herodotus (ca. 484 – 424 BC)[18], who wrote (Histories, 7.111.1-2):

[10] Detschew 1957 p. 349 sq.; Avraméa 1993 p. 43
[11] Detschew 1957 p. 9 sq.
[12] It seems that before the time of Herodotus the modern Rhodope Mountains and their neighbour mountains in south Thrace were called Haemus.
[13] Aune 2003 p. 33
[14] Guthrie 1993 p. 36; Graf 2009 p. 38
[15] Furtwängler 1900 p. 248 sq.; Guthrie 1993 p. 36 sq.
[16] De Puma 2001 pp. 18-29, fig. 4-9; De Grummond 2007 pp. 23-40
[17] Furthermore, Orpheus was in closer connection with Apollo, rather than Dionysos, see Guthrie 1993 p. 41 sq. See another opinion in Harrison 1992 p. 454 sq.
[18] Original text after Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (= TLG); English translation after Macaulay 2003 p. 452

(1) Σάτραι δὲ οὐδενός κω ἀνθρώπων ὑπήκοοι ἐγένοντο, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, ἀλλὰ διατελεῦσι τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ αἰεὶ ἐόντες ἐλεύθεροι μοῦνοι Θρηίκων· οἱ κέουσί τε γὰρ ὑψηλὰ, ἴδῃσί τε παντοίῃσι καὶ χιόνι συνηρεφέα, καὶ εἰσὶ τὰ πολέμια ἄκροι. (2) οὗτοι τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ μαντήιόν εἰσι ἐκτημένοι· τὸ δὲ μαντήιον τοῦτο ἔστι μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων τῶν ὑψηλοτάτων, Βησσοὶ [Βισσοὶ] δὲ τῶν Σατρέων εἰσὶ οἱ προφητεύοντες τοῦ ἱροῦ, πρόμαντις δὲ ἡ χρέωσα κατά περ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, καὶ οὐδὲν ποικιλώτερον.

(1) The Satrians, however, never yet became obedient to any man, so far as we know, but they remain up to my time still free, alone of all the Thracians; for they dwell in lofty mountains, which are covered with forest of all kinds and with snow, and also they are very skilful in war. (2) These are they who possess the oracle of Dionysos; which oracle is on their most lofty mountains. Of the Satrians those who act as prophets of the temple are the Bessians; it is a priestess who utters the oracles, as at Delphi; and beyond this there is nothing further of a remarkable character.

It has long been state the very general nature of Herodotus' information. The text shows that the ancient author knows about only one oracle of Dionysos in ancient Thrace. The question of its localization, however, is told very unclear (ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων τῶν ὑψηλοτάτων), and therefore to be read in mean that it is located among the lofty mountains and was served by prophets – Bessians, part (?) of the Satrians.[19]

The name Bissians (Βισσοὶ), attested in one of the caudexes[20], is always replaced by the modern scholars with the ethnonym Bessians (Βησσοὶ)[21]. An interesting here is that the latter are not known to the contemporaries of Herodotus and begin to discover regularly in the sources after Polybius (ca. 200 – 118 BC).

In this oracle the predictions were given by a priestess; in this aspect there was nothing different from the oracle in Delphi.[22] It is not clear whether under this should be understood that the mantic session was identical.

The functions of the prophets in the ancient divination are unclear. Some conjecture that they were religious offices in the temple of the Delphic Apollo, who interpreted the answers, given by Pythia. Other says that they just announced the responses, obtained from Pythia. Still others think that the Pythia provided the answers to the enquirers as they have been already formulated by the prophets. It is expressed even a suggestion that the poets in the Delphic sanctuary were identical with the prophets, but again without evidences.[23]

(3) Oracle in Crestonia. In an attributed to Aristotle text (Pseuso-Aristotle, On Marvelous Thinks Heard, 842a 122)[24] is written the following:

[19] Besides here, the Satrians are mentioned one more time in the work of Herodotus (Histories, 7.112.1), where is explained that they were among the tribes, which possessed both of gold and of silver mines in Pangaion.
[20] Gaisford 2009 p. 312
[21] Detschew 1957 p. 57 sq.
[22] The Sacred Year in Delphi was divided between Apollo and Dionysos. According to a legend, during the winter months Apollo was by the Hyperboreans in north, while in the meantime Dionysos ruled at Delphi. Namely during the cold season were celebrated festivals of Dionysos and these in honor of Apollo – from spring to autumn. See on this issue Isler-Kerényi 2007 p. 235 sq.; Graf 2009 p. 139 sq.
[23] After Aune 2003 p. 31
[24] Original text after TLG

Φασὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Κραστωνίᾳ παρὰ τὴν Βισαλτῶν χώραν τοὺς ἁλισκομένους λαγὼς δύο ἥπατα ἔχειν, καὶ τόπον τινὰ εἶναι ὅσον πλεθριαῖον, εἰς ὃν ὅ τι ἂν εἰσέλθῃ ζῷον ἀποθνήσκει. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο αὐτόθι ἱερὸν Διονύσου μέγα καὶ καλόν, ἐν ᾧ τῆς ἑορτῆς καὶ τῆς θυσίας οὔσης λέγεται, ὅταν μὲν ὁ θεὸς εὐετηρίαν μέλλῃ ποιεῖν, ἐπιφαίνεσθαι μέγα σέλας πυρός, καὶ τοῦτο πάντας ὁρᾶν τοὺς περὶ τὸ τέμενος διατρίβοντας, ὅταν δ' ἀκαρπίαν, μὴ φαίνεσθαι τοῦτο τὸ φῶς, ἀλλὰ σκότος ἐπέχειν τὸν τόπον ὥσπερ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας νύκτας.

They say, that the rabbits, caught in Crestonia near the land of the Bisaltians, had two liver [two hearts] and had one spot sizes as one pletar [~1 decare], in which each animal entered, dies. There is also a large and beautiful temple of Dionysos, in which was held a celebration and a sacrifice. When the god intends to make fruitful year, there appeared a great flame of fire, and it all, which are in the sacred area, see it. When the year will be barren, that light does not appeared and darkness covers the site, just as in the other nights.

What is important here is that the predictions were performed by fire; such information is missing in the cited above sources. On the site[25] (once a year?) was organized a celebration and was made a sacrifice. Judging by this statement, it seems that the oracle was limited to predictions while the year will be fruitful or not. Nothing is mentioned about the administration of the sanctuary. It is unknown where in Crestonia was situated the oracle.[26]

(4) Oracle by the Ligyrians. Another text, attributed to Aristotle or to mythograph named Aristocles[27], is preserved in the Saturnalia of Macrobius (1.18.1)[28], drawn at the end of the 4th or beginning of the 5th century AD:

Haec quae de Apolline diximus possunt etiam de Libero dicta existimari. Nam Aristoteles qui Theologumena scripsit Apollinem et Liberum patrem unum eundemque deum esse quum multis aliis argumentis asserat, etiam apud Ligyreos [Ligireos] ait in Thracia esse adytum Libero consecratum ex quo redduntur oracula, sed in hoc adyto vaticinaturi plurimo mero sumpto, uti apud Clarium aqua pota, effantur oracula.

What was said about the Apollo can be said and for Liber. Aristotle, who wrote „Study of the Gods", claims that Apollo and Liber Pater are one and the same god, and many other evidence suggests that: even, he says, by the Ligyrians in Thrace was a temple, dedicated to Liber Pater, where predictions are issued, but they pronouncing their prophecies after drinking pure wine; as those on Claros drink water.

Of significance here is the indication about the location of the oracle – in the land of the Ligyrians in Thrace. Unfortunately, the ethnonym[29] is unknown from other sources.[30] Some scholars give attention to the proximity of this ethnonym with the name of the river Lyginos (Λύγινος)[31], located on three days south of the Danube, mentioned by Arrian (The Anabasis of Alexander, 1.2.1) in connection with the campaign of Alexander the Great in Thrace in 335

[25] Perhaps the author means a cliff, cave or another similar object?
[26] Crestonia is located near the river Echeidoros and the lake Bolbe, see Detschew 1957 p. 266 sq.
[27] He was author of a work entitled „Study of the Gods", see Kaster 2011 p. 244, not. 470
[28] Latin text after Kaster 2011 p. 244
[29] Detschew 1957 p. 276
[30] The Ligyrians are associated with the ethnonym Digirians/Digerians or with the adjective λιγυρός, -οι, see Фол 1991 p. 153 sq.
[31] Йорданов 2000 p. 109 with the older literature

BC.[32] However, both names are not found in other sources and are not generally characteristic of the Thracian language remains.

(5) An unknown oracle in Thrace. The later direct evidence about prediction, received in a Thracian oracle of Dionysos, is preserved by Suetonius (The Life of Augustus, 94.6)[33]:

Octavio postea, cum per secreta Thraciae exercitum duceret, in Liberi patris luco barbara caerimonia de filio consulenti, idem affirmatum est a sacerdotibus, quod infuso super altaria mero tantum flammae emicuisset, ut supergressa fastigium templi ad caelum usque ferretur, unique omnino Magno Alexandro apud easdem aras sacrificanti simile prouenisset ostentum.	Later, when Octavius was leading an army through remote parts of Thrace, and in the grove of Liber Pater consulted the priests about his son with barbarian rites, they made the same prediction [that the ruler of the world had been born]; since such a pillar of flame sprang forth from the wine that was poured over the altar, that it rose above the temple roof and mounted to the very sky, and such an omen had befallen no one save Alexander the Great, when he offered sacrifice at the same altar.

It's suggested that Suetonius excerpt the story from the autobiography of Augustus (written in 24 BC) directly or through the mediation of Titus Livy.[34] This is the only exactly dated prediction, received in the Thracian lands, because Gaius Octavius was proconsul in the Roman province of Macedonia between 60 – 58 BC and his campaign in Thrace is dated to 59 BC.[35]

This passage does not tell neither for an oracle, nor for a sanctuary, but for a sacred forest, or rather to a temple and surrounding park. For a „sacred forest" in Thrace mentions and Cassius Dio during the presentation of the Thracian campaigns of M. Licinius Crassus in 29 – 28 BC (Roman history, 51.24.5): in the pursuit of the Bastarnians near the Danube „some of them hid in a sacred forest and were burned along with it (… καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς ἄλσος τι καταφυγόντες περιεπρήσθησαν...)". However, there is no proof whether the sacred forest was one and the same.

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The main contributions of the article so far were a systematization of the ancient sources and a critical commentary of the information that they provided. In the following lines is shed more light on several important aspects of the available sources. Its aim is to convince the reader that we haven't work with one or two but with several oracles of Dionysos in Thrace.

(1) Date of the sources. All of the available information dates from the pre-Roman age. If we bring out the problematic dating of the two scholia to Euripides (Alcestis, 968; Hecuba, 1267), the earliest sources are not later by the first half of the 5th century BC, when works Herodotus (Histories, 7.111.1-2). The last oracle was received in 59 BC (Suetonius, The Life of Augustus, 94.6). Between these two chronological points are dated the rest of our sources,

[32] Илиев 2011 pp. 276-284
[33] The original text is after Packard Humanities Institute / Latin Literature.
[34] Den Hengst 2010 p. 73 sq.
[35] Syme 1999 p. 138 sq.

attributed to Aristotle (Macrobius, Saturnalia 1.18.1) and Pseudo-Aristotle (On Marvelous Thinks Heard, 842a 122).

It can only be supposed why there is no information about oracles of Dionysos in Roman times, when the geography of the Thracian lands is better known than ever before.[36]

(2) Localization problems of the oracles. Oracles of Dionysos in Thrace are not yet localized, although the presented above more or less detailed information about their geographical position.

Traditionally is believed that an oracle of Dionysos was situated in the Mount Pangaion.[37] Besides two of the above sources[38] such a hypothesis is supported by the following verse of Euripides (Rhesos, 972), which is referred to Orpheus or Rhesos[39]: „[...] just as the prophet of Bacchus dwelt in a grotto beneath Pangaeus ... (Βάκχου προφήτης ὥστε Παγγαίου πέτραν ᾤκησε)". Besides this, in the same area some other ancient sources about the cult of Dionysos are known. In the vicinity of the city of Drama was found a sanctuary of that god with a rich epigraphic repertoire.[40] This sanctuary is probably identical with the Hill of Dionysos near Philippi, reported by Appian (The Civil Wars, 4.106.1). There is even a tribe called Diony(sii), as evidenced by several coins.[41]

An attempt to localization of any oracle of Dionysos will be prevented by the very general character of the available information and the still insufficient archaeological data. There are formulated some observations on the characteristics of the Thracian sanctuaries[42], but divination practices are not detected. In such a situation the forced interpretation of the so-called Perperikon in the East Rhodope Mountains[43] not only as the oracle of the Bessians, but also as the one and only oracle of Dionysos in Thrace is insufficiently supported by sources.[44]

(3) Terms, which are used to assign the objects. In the two scholia to Euripides (Alcestis, 968; Hecuba, 1267) it comes to μαντήιον, while Herodotus (Histories, 7.111.1-2) reports about a μαντήιον and a ἱερόν, having in mind one and the same object. Among the other available sources only Pseudo-Aristotle (842a 122) tells about a ἱερόν, who also had a τέμενος. The oracle, which was known to Macrobius (Saturnalia, 1.18.1) is labeled „adytum Libero". Suetonius (The Life of Augustus, 94.6) narrates for a „lucus", having at disposal „templum" and „altarium".

Some scholars accept that another two sources were also connected with an oracle of Dionysos in Thrace.[45]

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[36] Augustus is not the only one Roman emperor, whose future was predicted in Thrace. When the principate of Domitian was drawing to a close, the future emperor Hadrian was transferred to the province of Lower Moesia: „There, it is said, he heard from an astrologer the same prediction of his future power which had been made, as he already knew, by his great-uncle, Aelius Hadrianus, a master of astrology… (ibi [in inferiorem Moesiam] a mathematico quodam de futuro imperio id dicitur comperisse quod a patruo magnum Aelio Hadriano peritia caelestium callente praedictum esse compererat)" – Historia Augusta, Life of Hadrian, 2.4.

[37] Σαμσαρης 1980 p. 205 sq.; Curnow 2004 p. 84

[38] See Scholia ad Euripides, Hecuba 1267 and Herodotus, Histories 7.111.1-2 in connection with 7.112.1.

[39] Perdrizet 1910 p. 27

[40] Κουκουλη-Χρυσανθακη 1996 p. 67-107; Pilhofer 2009 p. 544 sq.

[41] Larson 2001 p. 172 with literature.

[42] Domaradzki 1994 pp. 69-108; Nekhrizov 2005 pp. 153-158

[43] The main argument is an open hall with a round altar in its center, see last Sears 2013 p. 29

[44] In recent years this localization is pushed forward by the media; see discussion in Тачева 2007 p. 251 sq.

[45] Boteva 1997 p. 297 sq.

Macrobius (Saturnalia, 1.18.11) noted „that in Thrace the Sun and Liber are considered the same: they call him Sebadius and worship him in a splendid ritual, as Alexander [Polyhistor] writes, and on the hill Zilmissus they dedicate to him a round temple, its center open to the sky. The temple's round shape points to the sun's shape, and light is let in through the roof to show that the sun purifies all things when it shines down from on high, and because the whole world opens up when the sun rises."[46] The text does not mention an oracle, but a temple (aedis).

Cassius Dio (Roman History, 51.25.5) tells the following: „He [M. Licinius Crassus] overran the rest of the country [Thrace] except the territory of the Odrysians. These he spared because they are attached to the service of Dionysos, and had come to meet him on this occasion without their arms; and he also granted them the land in which they magnify the god, taking it away from the Bessians who were occupying it."[47] This passage is associated with an oracle of Dionysos in ancient Thrace, although the text itself provides no reason for such an interpretation. It is expressly stated that it is a land (χώρα), in which Dionysos was worshiped; there are no indications of its location.[48]

(4) Officials of the oracles. Major role in the existence of any oracle had its officials. Only two of the above cited ancient passages contain such information: in the oracle of the Satrians there was a priestess (χρέωσα) and unknown number of prophets (προφῆται); Suetonius reports only for priests (sacerdotes).

There are known several priests of Dionysos in pre-Roman Thrace. An inscription, found in Seuthopolis, was set up by Amaistas, son of Medista, priest of Dionysos.[49] In 11 BC one Vologaesus, a Thracian of the Bessians, priest of Dionysos (Βουλογαίσης Θρᾷξ Βησσός, ἱερεὺς τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς Διονύσου) „gained followers by practising many divinations (προσεποιήσατό τινας πολλὰ θειάσας)" and led a revolt of the Bessians (Cassius Dio, Roman History, 54.34.5-7). Several priests are mentioned in epigraphic documents from Dionysopolis and Mesambria.[50] During the Roman period of control over Thrace are known over a dozen inscriptions related to the cult of Dionysos; some of them contain religious offices and organizations, but any connection with divination cannot be found.

(5) Details about the mantic session. The two scholia to Euripides does not provide information on this issue.

Herodotus reported that in the Thracian oracle of Dionysos there was a priestess (ἡ χρέωσα), who utters the oracles, as at Delphi.

According to Pseudo-Aristotle in Crestonia predictions were performed by fire. The emergence of a large flame of fire was a good omen and foretold fertility. However, it is not

[46] „Item in Thracia eundem haberi solem atque Liberum accipimus, quem illi Sebadium nuncupantes magnifica religione celebrant, ut Alexander scribit: eique deo in colle Zilmisso aedes dicata est specie rotunda, cuius medium interpatet tectum. Rotunditas aedis monstrat huiusce sideris speciem: summoque tecto lumen admittitur, ut appareat solem cuncta vertice summo lustrare lucis inmissu, et quia oriente eo universa patefiunt." Original text and English translation after Kaster 2011 p. 250 sq.

[47] Τὰ δ' ἄλλα πλὴν τῆς τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν γῆς κατέδραμε. τούτων γάρ κατέδραμε. τούτων γάρ, ὅτι τῷ τε Διονύσῳ πρόσκεινται καὶ τότε ἄνευ τῶν ὅπλων ἀπήντησάν οἱ, ἐφείσατο· καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐν ᾗ καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀγάλλουσιν ἐχαρίσατο, Βησσοὺς τοὺς κατέχοντας αὐτὴν ἀφελόμενος. Original text after TLG.

[48] In the periphery of Rhodope Mountains is found an inscription, which states: „Border of the sacred land (ὅρος ἱερᾶς χώρας)", see Λουκοπούλου et al. 2005 No. 434 (from the village of Lutra, district of Evros). The editors of the inscription connected it to land of the sanctuary of the Samothracian gods in Traianopolis, which is known from other similar inscription.

[49] Mihailov 1961 No. 1732; Tatscheva 2000 p. 43

[50] Mihailov 1970 No. 13, 13 bis, 20, 22, 308

specified what actions preceded the emergence of this „big flame of fire", which was seen by everyone in the temenos.

Another attributed to Aristotle fragment specifies that in the temple of Liber Pater, the Latin equivalent of Dionysos, was prophesied by drinking of wine (Macrobius, Saturnalia, 1.18.1).

Suetonius claims that Gaius Octavius had been consulted through „barbarian rites" for the future of his son. The priests made the prophecy by pouring of wine on (a burning?) altar and in consequence of this „it rose above the temple roof and mounted to the very sky".

* * *

Summing up, it is clear that any of the quoted ancient authors know about only one oracle of Dionysos in ancient Thrace. However, there are significant differences in some important aspects, on which was already paid attention. In the Thracian lands there were several oracles of Dionysos. One of them probably was in the area of Pangaion Mount, but the others are not yet localized.

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UDK 27-732.4-675:27-726.2(497.7) *Haemus Journal, vol. 2, 2013, 71-76,* ISSN: 1857- 8411

The Participation of the Bishops from the Macedonian Provinces at the Fifth Ecumenical Council

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***Abstract**: The sixth century, seen through the prism of Ecclesiastical history, was a period filled with debates of both theological and dogmatic nature. These debates later on developed into new religious divisions, which resulted in the convening of the Fifth Ecumenical Council in 553. The convening of this Council was meant to put an end to these debate and to pave the way for establishment of Church unity. The background of these theological disputes were the political and religious conflicts between Rome and Constantinople. The participation of the bishops of the Macedonian Provinces is the main subject of interest in this research.*

Key words: bishops, province of Macedonia, Fifth Ecumenical Council

The sixth century, seen through the prism of Ecclesiastical history, was a period filled with debates of both theological and dogmatic nature. These debates later on developed into new religious divisions, which resulted in the convening of the Fifth Ecumenical Council in 533. The convening of this Council was meant to put an end to these debate and to pave the way for establishment of Church unity. The background of these theological disputes were the political and religious conflicts between Rome and Constantinople.

The first half of the sixth century, denoted by the rule of the Emperor Justinian I (527-565), represented a new phase in the history of the Byzantine Empire; as well as in the history of the Late Antique and Early Medieval Church. Justinian has seen in Byzantium not just the successor of the former Roman Empire, he also saw a Christian Empire united in faith. Therefore, the first years of his rise to power were marked with his attempts to compromise with the supporters of Monophysitism. The ultimate aim was to sway the Monophysits towards acceptance of the decisions made by the Fourth Ecumenical Council held at Chalcedon in 451 and thus, to return them in the folds of the Ecumenical Church.[1] He considered that his Imperial authority was enough to impose a solution which would lead to the reconciliation of the Monophysites and the Orthodox Church.[2]

[1] Although convicted by the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon, Monophysitism continued to exist in Palestine, Egypt and Syria. (John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes* (London: Fordham University Press, 1999), 45)

[2] James Allan Evans, *The Emperor Justinian and the Byzantine Empire* (London: Greenwood Press, 2005), 75.

The issue of the Monophysitism's restoration was arisen after the earthquake that shook Constantinople in November, 533. This natural disaster was interpreted by part of the Capitol's populations as a God's message to return to the return to the teaching of Monophysites. Two years later, after the death of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch Epiphanius, the See of Constantinople was given to Anthimus (535-536), a supporter of Miaphytisitism.

The election of Anthimus for the new Patriarch of Constantinople was the reason for reactions by the Pope Agapetus I (535-536.) His pressure resulted into the decision of Justinian to replace Anthimus on the patriarchal throne. Menas (536-552), as one devoted to the Hypostatic union, was elected for Patriarch.[3]

In the interim, Agapetus I died during his stay at Constantinople; an event manipulated expertly by Theodora to interfere with the election of the new pope. She favoured a candidate who would lead a reasonable policy against the Monophysites.[4]

Vigilius (537-555) was elected as the new Pope; during his pontifical reign the discussions on Monophysitism and Nestorianism were gaining renewed popularity. The works of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrus, and Ibas of Edessa were of particular interest. Emperor Justinian I took part in these debates, with the intention to easy the tensions and to find a compromised solution. He issued an edict, in late 543 or early 544, which condemned the Three Chapters.[5]This was an attempt to reconcile the Non–Chalcedonian Christians with the Chalcedonian Eastern Orthodoxy.

The act of condemning the Three Chapters brought satisfaction for the Monophysite churches in the provinces of Syria and Egypt, if not for a brief period. Yet, in the same time, it reinforced the resistance amidst other Churches who accepted the provisions of the Council of Chalcedon.[6] The Constantinopolitan Patriarch Menas (536-552) was the first who refused to sign the Act. However, he signed the Act later on, with the condition to be signed also by the Roman Pope. This was followed, nit with certain reservation, by the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem signing the Act. They were accompanied by almost all of the Eastern Bishops.[7]

The Bishops of the West were quite the opposing party, they uncompromisingly were against the Edict of Justinian. Pope Vigilius stalled his response, faced with the negative pressure. He arrived in Constantinople in 546, with the intention to plead against the condemnation of the Three Chapters; upon this both the Emperor Justinian[8] and Patriarch Menas[9] were made aware. The Patriarch responded by deleting the name of Vigilius from the diptych, while the Emperor began pressuring the Pope against his plead. This resulted into forcing the Pope to

[3] Georges Florovsky, *The Byzantine Fathers of The Sixth to Eighth Century* (Büchervertriebsanstalt, 1987) 104; Епископ Николај (Велимировиќ), *Охридски пролог: житија, размислувања и беседи* (Охрид: Канео 2009), 456 [Bishop Nikolaj (Velimirovic), *Prologue of Ohrid: hagiographies, contemplations and speeches* (Ohrid: Kaneo, 2009), 456]

[4] Антон Владимировиќ Карташов, *Васељенски Сабори, том II* (Београд: ФИДЕБ, 1995), 12. [Antom Vladimirovic Kartasov, *Eccumenical Councils, vol. II* (Belgrade: FIDEB, 1995), 12]

[5] The term "condemnation of the Three Chapters" is attributed to the condemnation of a certain person and his writings, in this case the work of Theodore of Mopsuestia, certain writings of Theodoret of Cyrus and Ibas's of Edessa letter to Maris, bishop of Hardaschir in Persia. (Judith Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom, revised, illustrated paperback edition*. (London: Princeton University Press and Fontana, 1989), 55.

[6] The writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrus and Ibas of Edessa had not been convicted of any Ecumenical Council and that it was used as an argument by opponents of condemnation of the Three Chapters.

[7] Тотьо Коев и Георги Бакалов, *Въведение в християнството* (София: Булвест – 2000, 1992), 122 [Toto Koev and Georgi Bakalov, *Introduction to Christianity* (Sofia: Bulvest – 2000, 1992), 122]

[8] *Epistola (olim IV) Vigilii Papae Ad Justinianum*, col. 0021D – col.0025B (PL 69)

[9] *Epistola (olim V) Vigilii Papae Ad Mennam*, col. 0025C - col. 0026D (PL 69)

relent and his name was once again added to diptych. Although all of the five Patriarch who signed the Act of condemning the Three Chapters, the real situation was quite different. The divisions in the Ecumenical Church continued to exist. Some of the bishops owed their alliance to Rome and the Roman Pope did not wanted to accept a compromised solution, under no circumstances. Thus, the need for another Ecumenical Council has arisen, where the issues over the condemnation of the Three Chapters should be answered in a manner approved by the entire Ecumenical Church.

The preparations for the Council denoted that each of the five patriarchs to be represented by an equal number of delegates. Yet, this clashed the interests of the Pope who, compared by other four patriarchs which were clearly under profound influence by Justinian, felt himself unbiased.[10] The Pope decided not to attend the Council, knowing beforehand that he would be outvoted and he decided to stop his plea against the condemnation of the Three Chapters.

The attitude of the Pope brought into question the ecumenical character of the Council, once put into wider context. His example was followed by almost all of the bishops under his jurisdiction. Among the ones who refused to take seat at the Council were Benenat, the Archbishop of Iustiniana Prima and Helius, the Bishop of the Thessalonian Vicariate. They sent their representatives: Phocas, the Bishop of Stobi and Benignus, the Bishop of Heraclea Lyncestis.[11]

The Fifth Ecumenical Council began with work in 5th of May 553, in Constantinople and ended in the same year in 2nd of June.

The Fifth Ecumenical Council was convened at 5th of May 553 and ended in the same year, on 2nd of June. The meetings of the Council were presided by Constantinopolitan Patriarch Eutyches.[12] The opening ceremony was attended by 150 delegates, and in the nearly month-long convening their number had risen to 164 bishops.

At the beginning of the Council, four Macedonian bishops took part: Benignus from Heraclea Lyncestis as a representative of the absent Thessalonian bishop[13], followed by Phocas from Stobi as representative of the absent Archbishop of Iustiniana Prima[14] as well as Alexander

[10] During the preparation of the council, in 552 Patriarch Menas died and on his place was elected Eutyches (552-565). In 552, during the preparation of the Council, the Patriarch Menas died and Eutyches was elected as his successor (552-565.) His was a formidable supporter of Justinian's policy to condemn the Three Chapters (Evagrius Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastical History, IV, 38*, ed.Edward Walford [London 1846], reprint 2008); cf. *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus, IV, 38*, translated with an introduction by Michael Whitby (Liverpool: 2000).

[11] *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova Amplissima Collectio*, *tomus IX,* ed. Joannes Dominicus Mansi (Florentiae: 1760), 173 – 192; cf. Блага Алексова, "Старохристијанските црковни центри во Македонија", во *Старохристијанската археологија во Македонија – Прилози од научен собир* (Скопје: 2003), 17 [Blaga Aleksova, "Old Christian church centers in Macedonia", in *The Old Christian Archaeology in Macedonia - Contributions from scientific meeting* (Skopje: 2003), 17]

[12] *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova Amplissima Collectio*, 173; cf. Карташов, *Васељенски Сабори* II, 25 [Kartasov, *Eccumenical Councils II*, 25]; Коев и Бакалов, *Въведение в християнството*, 123 [Koev and Balakalov, *Introduction to Christianity*, 123]; Рајко Братож, "Ранохристијанската црква во Македонија и нејзините односи со Рим"*, Македонско наследство, година V, број 13*(Скопје 2000), 68 [Rajko Bratož, "Early Christian church in Macedonia and its relations with Rome", *Macedonian heritage, year V, No. 13* (Skopje 2000), 68]; Радомир Поповић, *Рано хришћанство на Балкану пре досељења Словена (Србија, Повардарје, Црна Гора)* (Београд: 1995), 89 [Radomir Popovic, *Early Christianity before the arrival of the Slavs in the Balkans* (Serbia, Vardar Valley, Montenegro) (Belgrade: 1995), 89]; Момир Јовић, *Рано хришћанство на Балкану* (Ниш: 1994), 65 [Momir Jovic, *Early Christianity in the Balkans* (Nis: 1994), 65].

[13] *„ ...Benigno religiossimo episcopo Heracliae Pelagoniae vicem agente Heliae beatissimi episcopi Thessalonicensis..."* (*Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova Amplissima Collectio*, 173)

[14] *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova Amplissima Collectio*, 192.

of Amphipolis, and Sabinianius of Zappara.[15]Two of these bishops, Phocas and Benignus, are mentioned as part of the delegation that left for Chalcedon on 7th of May 553, to ask the Pope to join the Council.[16]

In the context of participation of the Macedonian bishops on the Fifth Ecumenical Council, it is important to note that the signature of Benignus stands seventh on the list of the Council's participants.[17] This speaks quite clearly on the high level of esteem in which the Thessalonian bishop was held by the Christian community of the mid-sixth century; it is very obvious that Thessalonica, as the See of the Papal Vicariate, remained strong during the reign of Justinian.

The name of Helius – bishop of Thessaloniki – is signed on another document which is directly connected with the maintenance of the Fifth Ecumenical Council and it was published by Pope Vigilius. Namely, although Vigilius refused to attend to the Council, on the pretext of holding his judgment for the decisions made on this Council, on 14th of May 553, he issued a document known as *Constitutum de tribus capitulis*[18], which states his own interpretation of the Three Chapters. Among the ones who signed this document is the name of the Thessalonian bishop Helius.[19] We are on the opinion that this is a proof toward the implication that Helius was present in Constantinople, but did not attend the Council out of loyalty towards the Pope. Instead, he named Benignus as his representative.

Put into this perspective, we can understand the information contained in the Acts of the Fifth Ecumenical Council, which says that the bishops of Zappare, Naissus, and Iustiniana Secunda, who were under the jurisdiction of the Archbishopric of Iustiniana Prima, refused to participate in the further sessions of the Council, under the pretext that their archbishop is not present.[20] Thus, they expressed their solidarity towards Benenat, who refused to participate on his own behalf in the Council. In this context, it is very plausible that Benenat, just as his Helius, may have been present in Constantinople during the convening of the Council, without being an active participant.

However, despite the resistance of the Pope and the bishops of the West, the Fifth Ecumenical Council completed its covening by deciding to condemn the Three Chapters.[21] This was fully in favour with Justinian's Church policy, so he has responded immediately by signing the Acts of the Council. He even put a request to the Pope and all of his subordinate Bishops to do the same. Again, we have the initial negative response by the Pope, which resulted with the Constantinopolitan Patriarch deleting his name from the diptych. After six months of intensive diplomatic influence, the Pope reconsidered the acceptance of the decisions of the Fifth Ecumenical Council condemning the Three Chapters.[22]

[15] *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova Amplissima Collectio*, 175; cf. Блага Алексова, "Старохристијанските црковни центри", 18 [Blaga Aleksova, "Old Christian church centers", 18.].

[16] *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova Amplissima Collectio*, 214.

[17] Ibidem, 173.

[18] Constitutum de tribus capitulis contains 60 items which give interpretation of the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia qualifying them as dogmatically correct (*Constitutum Vigilii Papae De Tribus Capitulis*, col. 0067C - col. 0114B [PL 69]; cf. *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova Amplissima Collectio*, 173)

[19] *Constitutum Vigilii Papae De Tribus Capitulis*, col. 0067C – col. 0114B (PL 69); *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova Amplissima Collectio*, 173.

[20] *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova Amplissima Collectio*, 191; cf. Фанула Папазоглу, *Македонски градови у римско доба* (Скопје: 1957), 447 [Fanula Papazoglu, *Macedonian cities during the Roman period* (Skopje 1957), 447]; Анета Шукарова, *Јустинијана Прима* (Скопје: 1994), 122 [Aneta Šukarova, *Justiniana Prima* (Skopje: 1994), 122]; Ibidem, "Јустинијана Прима како црковен, политичко – административен и воено – стратешки центар", *Гласник ИНИ, год. XXXIV, бр. 1–2* (Скопје: 1990), 73 [Ibidem, "Justiniana Prima as Ecclesical, political - administrative and military - strategic center", *Journal of INI, year XXXIV, no. 1-2* (Skopje 1990), 73].

[21] *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova Amplissima Collectio*, 371 – 389.

[22] *Epistola Decretalis Vigilii Papae Pro Confirmatione Quintae Synodi Oecumenicae*, col. 0121 - col. 0127 (PL

The decisions adopted at the Fifth Ecumenical Council caused resistance in the whole of Prefecture of Illyricum, including the two Macedonian provinces. According to Rajko Bratož[23], not before 559 the resistance of the Illyricum bishops towards the decisions of the Fifth Ecumenical Council were overcame. The followed Rome's policy towards the Ecumenical character of the Council of Constantinople in 553 and thus accepted the conviction of the Three Chapters.

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69); *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova Amplissima Collectio, tomus IX*, "De Vigilii Decreto Pro Confirmatione V. Synodi", 219-432. Going back to Rome in 552, the Pope Vigilius died in Syracuse (Theophanis, *Chronographia*, AM 6045, 194, col. 502 [PG 108]). His successor Pelagius I (555-560) immediately after his ordination stated that he accept all decisions of the Fifth Ecumenical Council.

[23] Рајко Братож, "Ранохристијанската црква", 70 [Rajko Bratož, "Early Christian church", 70]

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Origins of the Albanian National Awakening

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Abstract: *On 26 August 1830, in the present day city of Bitola in Macedonia, then known as Manastir, the Grand Vizier, Reshid Pasha, met with five hundred southern Albanian beys. Reshid Pasha lured the Albanian leaders to Monastir on the premise they would receivean award for their loyalty to the Porte and for helping to fight alongside the Ottomans in the Greek War of Independence. Instead, that afternoon, over a thousand Ottoman troops killed the five hundred Albanian beys and their guards. This massacre occurred in order to prevent Albanian resistance movements, inspired by their involvement in the Greek War of Independence and other revolutionary events that had or were occurring in the Balkans and in other parts of Europe, and can be seen as one of the origins of the Albanian nationalist movement.*

Key words: Albania, National Awakening, Ottoman Empire, massacre

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the survival of the Ottoman Empire had come into question. After a series of military defeats and economic issues, the Ottoman Empire was beginning to disintegrate. Furthermore, nationalist ideas and movements were on the rise, as is evident by various uprisings in the Balkan states. In 1804 the Serbs revolted against the Janissaries and achieved some autonomy from the Ottoman Empire in 1817. Their independence became official in 1878 alongside Montenegro and Rumania in the Treaty of San Stefano at the Congress of Berlin. At this conference, Bulgaria was formally established as a principality. Additionally, Greece began its road to independence in 1821. Greece, in turn, achieved its goal as an autonomous principality when Russian, Britain, and French joint forces defeated the Ottoman fleets at Battle of Navarino on 20 October 1827, finally receiving its full independence in February 1832.[1] In the midst of all of this, Albanian Nationalism began to form.

On 26 August 1830, in the present day city of Bitola in Macedonia, then called Monastir, the Grand Vizier, Reshid Pasha, met with five hundred southern Albanian beys. Reshid Pasha lured the Albanian leaders to Monastir by saying they would be receiving an award for their loyalty to the Porte and for helping to fight alongside the Ottomans in the Greek War of Independence. Instead, that afternoon, over a thousand Ottoman troops killed the five hundred Albanian beys and their guards with bayonets.[2] This massacre occurred in order to prevent Albanian resistance movements, inspired by their intervention for both the Ottomans and the Greeks in the Greek War of Independence and other revolutionary events that had or were occurring in the Balkans and in other parts of Europe. Furthermore, the massacre allowed for

[1] Misha Glenny. *The Balkans, 1804-1999: Nationalism, War and the Great Powers* (London: Grant Books, 1999), 22-23; Miranda Vickers. *The Albanians: A Modern History* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 1999), 24.

[2] Henry Fanshaw Tozer. *Researchers in the highlands of Turkey: including visits to mounts Ida, Athos, Olympus and Pelion, to the Mirdite Albanians and other remote tribes: with notes on the ballads, tales, and classical superstitions of the modern Greeks* (Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Pub., 2007), 169; Vickers, 24.

the Porte to create a centralized government to better control the Albanian region. This paper will use a collection of travelogues, memoirs, and fictional literature to demonstrate that the massacre initiated the Albanian movement towards independence and how it has played into national identity.

Eric Hobsbawm argues "national consciousness develops unevenly among the social grouping and regions of a country."[3] This holds true in Albania as the beginning of their "national consciousness" began in southern Albania with the uniting of the beys and continued after the massacre with a series of rebellions against the Supreme Porte.

Hobswbawm also states that the first phase of the "national consciousness" is the emergence of culture, literary and folklore as the identity for the particular social group or region, followed more importantly by the emergence of "the national idea." Hobsbawm however, emphasizes the second aspect of "national consciousness" and breaks the idea of "popular proto-nationalism" into four points: language, ethnicity, religion, and mass support.[4] While the Albanian region did encompass areas outside of the present territories, for the most part the area in question in 1830s was largely composed of practicing Albanian Muslims. The massacre of Albanian beys who helped in the Greek War of Independence and the reforms following 1830 created a "national consciousness."

Hobswbawm further argues that the popular masses are the last to be affected by the "national consciousness."[5] The beginning of the "national consciousness" started amongst Albanian elites, such as the beys and Pashaliks who were beginning to unite, in addition to foreign scholars. Piro Misha adds to this argument by stating that the national awakening started in the 1830s and '40s amongst scholars, travellers, ethnographers and philologers who also "noted the fact that the Albanians had a distinctive linguistic and ethnographic community in the Balkans."[6] Both Albanians and foreigners perceived the massacre of Albanian beys as a nationalizing event.

Miroslav Hroch, like Hobsbawm, argues that the first stage of nationalism is created by elites, such as intellectuals, who lay the foundation of national identity. Hroch believes, however, that these elites are foreigners. As stated above, in the case of Albania, it is a mixture of internal and foreign elites that lay the groundwork for nationalism through revolutions against the Ottomans. Hroch's second point, however, is crucial in understanding Albanian nationalism. He argues that after the foundations of national identity had been laid down, "a new range of activists emerged, who now began to agitate for their compatriots to join the project of creating a fully-fledged nation."[7] After the massacre of Albanian beys, the region witnessed over a decade of revolts and in the 1870s a new group of Albanian leaders emerged to form the core of the "national awakening."

The path towards Albanian nationalism is long and complex. The rise of Albanian nationalism, or the "national awakening" (rilindja), dates back to the 1870s with the founding of the Albanian political organization the League of Prizren alongside uprisings ends in 1914 when Turkish troops left Albania.[8] The origins of the Albanian nationalism or "national consciousness"

[3] Eric Hobsbawm. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*. 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 12.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Hobsbawm, 12.
[6] Piro Misha. "Invention of a Nationalism: Myth and Amnesia." In *Albanian Identities: Myth and History*, edited by Stephanie Schwander-Sievers and Bernd J. Fischer (London: Hurts & Co, 2002), 33.
[7] Miroslav Hroch. "From National Movement to the Fully-Formed Nation: the Nation-Building Process in Europe." *New Left Review* 198 (1993), 10.
[8] Tom Winnifrith. "Albania and the Ottoman Empire." In *Perspectives on Albania*, edited by Tom Winnifrith (London: Macmillan, 1992), 85.

seen in the 1870s, however dates back to 1830 and the massacre of the five hundred Albanian beys for their involvement in the Greek War of Independence.

Historiography

The historiography of the massacre of Albanian beys in relation to nationalism is minimal. Albania itself is one of the most understudied nations in Europe. What scholarly work has been done on the nation has focused on the late nineteenth and twentieth century. The majority of monographs and articles that treat mid-nineteenth century Albania and their movement towards independence have reduced the massacre to at most a paragraph or even just a footnote. These works are primarily concerned with events that occurred after 1870, in what is considered to be "the National Awakening." This lack of scholarly work on early nineteenth-century Albania is attributed to lack of archival sources. Albanian records have not been as well preserved as documents from other areas of the Ottoman Empire.

The brief arguments that historians have made about the massacre and its effects on nationalism are confusing and, at times, contradicting. Nathalie Clayer briefly discusses the massacre of Albanian beys in one paragraph of her monograph. She briefly mentions that the massacre and the revolts that followed in the 1830s and 1840s were not forms of nationalism. Yet, Clayer acknowledges that these events created a sense of "Albanité" or "Albanity."[9] The use of this term implies that this event did create a degree of nationalism.

Ediwn E. Jacques opposes Clayer's argument in his personal narrative of Albania. While his monograph is problematic, Jacque even admits that he wrote a "long history" of Albania to fill "the post-war informational vacuum in American diplomacy" and that it is "no exercise in scholarly futility," he does raise some valid points.[10] Jacques states that the massacre was a result of the Greek War of Independence and Albanian desire to receive autonomy from the Ottoman Empire. After Ali Pasha, a ruler of Southern Albania and pasha of Ioannina who managed to keep the region nearly independent from the Ottomans from 1796 until 1822, was killed during the Greek War of Independence, southern Albanians had to decide who would take Ali's place as leader. "When [the beys] agreed with Mustapha Pasha of Skhodra (Shkodër) to make cause against the Turks in 1830, the Grand Vizier Reshid Pasha to their great surprise declared a general amnesty. He invited all the beys and chiefs to a great banquet near Monastir to declare their reconciliation with the government."[11] The event however, ended with the "heads of Nobles [being] cut off, salted and sent to Constantinople (Istanbul)."[12] When southern Albania united to pick Ali's replacement, the Ottomans saw this as the beginnings of a struggle against the Porte that needed to be stopped. According to Jacques, after the Ottomans had suppressed the southern Albanian beys they turned their attention towards Northern Albania, which was becoming increasingly independent from Istanbul.[13]

Tom Winnifrith has also entered into this discussion in his essay on Albania under the Ottoman Empire. In this essay, which examines the nearly six centuries of Ottoman rule in Albania, in which Winnifrith briefly mentions the massacre. He argues that after the massacre the Ottomans imposed a number of reforms, most notably the Tanzimat reforms, to stabilize Albanian society. These reforms, however, were seen as a violation of their freedom. Furthermore,

[9] Clayer, Nathalie. *Aux origines du nationalisme albanais : La naissance d'une nation majoritairement musulmane en Europe* (Paris : Karthala, 2007), 160.

[10] Edwin E. Jacques. *The Albanians: An Ethnic History from Prehistoric Times to the Present* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1995), xvi-xvii.

[11] Ibid, 251.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Jacques, 252.

the division of Albanian territory into different *vilayets* was an Ottoman attempt to squash growing Albanian nationalism.[14]

Background

The Ottomans conquered the Albanian region in 1481, after nearly a century of military presence in the area.[15] Despite this, Albania remained fractured for most of Ottoman rule. The conversion to Islam was gradual, with a higher rate converting in the north than the south. The region was also divided between two linguistic groups north and south of the Shkumbi river; the Ghegs in the north and the Tosks in the south. As Winnifrith describes, the difference between the Ghegs and the Tosks was the equivalent to the difference between Lowland Scots and the English. However "cultural distinctions were also involved, with the Ghegs remaining in a tribal structure akin to that of the Scottish Highland, while among the Tosks this structure had decayed, and there was more urbanisation due to Ottoman interference."[16]

In the eighteenth century, after nearly four centuries of Ottoman rule, the Albania region began to change and two distinct powers began to emerge: The Bushati family in Shkoder and Ali Pasha of Tepelenë. Depending on their goals, the two families cooperated or worked against the Sublime Porte, the central government of the Ottoman Empire, and were rarely united. Despite this, by 1788 Ali Pasha had become the supreme ruler of southern Albania, Greece, and southwestern Macedonia.[17] During this time, the tribal system south of Shkumbini River had disappeared. The beys had become independent rulers of provinces. They were often at war with each other in order to gain land and power. The Porte, afraid that they would unite and rebel, imposed laws on the beys.

The nineteenth century was marked by worsening relations between Albanians and the Porte, in addition to the Empire being in full decline. At the turn of the century Muhammad Ali Pasha, an Albanian commander in the Ottoman army who became the self-declared Khedive of Egypt and Sudan, went to Egypt in 1801 alongside an army of Albanian troops to help the Ottomans re-occupy the area. Muhammad wanted to get rid of the Mamluks, a powerful military group in the Middle East. After working his way up in Egyptian society, Muhammad invited the Mamlucks to a party in 1811 in which all of them were killed.[18] This event planted ideas in the minds of the Porte on how to get rid of leaders who posed as threats.

A contributing factor for the unity of the Albanian beys in 1830 and the path towards the creation of the Albanian state was caused by the Greek War of Independence, in which Muhammad Ali Pasha fought for the Ottomans. Albanians however, fought on both sides of the war. A significant number fought against the Turks to help Greece achieve their independence. For example, in July 1824, Ottoman forces defeated the Greek troops and killed all of the inhabitants near the main town in Psara. In retaliation to this event, a group of Albanians blew up a fort, killing 12,000 Turks and capturing seventy gunboats.[19] Furthermore, Ali Pasha led numerous revolts in the area surrounding Epirus alongside other Albanians. A number of Albanians, however, were forced by Ottomans to fight against the Greeks without pay. In contrast, the oppressed beys, despite their differences, picked a leader to represent them against their move towards independence from the authoritative Porte.

[14] Winnifrith, 80.

[15] Staro Skendi. *The Albanian National Awakening, 1878-1912* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 3.

[16] Winnifrith, 78.

[17] Skendi, 22.

[18] William L. Cleveland. *A History of the Modern Middle East* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2009), 67.

[19] Dorothea Lieven and Guy Le Strange. *Correspondence of Princess Lieven and Earl Grey: 1824-1830*. London: R. Bentley & Son, 1890.

Albanian desire for autonomy from Istanbul was not supressed by the massacre. After murdering five hundred leaders from southern Albania, Mehmet Reshid Pasha turned his attention towards the north, which was seeking autonomy. From 1757 to 1831 there were three Albanian pashas who ruled three pashaliks, spanning what is modern-day Albania, Kosovo, and Northwestern Greece. The longest lasting and remaining pashalik in 1831 was the pashalik of Shkodër, also referred to as the pashalik of Iskodra, from 1757-1831. This was a semi-autonomous pashalik that was founded by the Bushati family. The area of the pashalik of Shkodër encompassed parts of modern-day Albania and Montenegro. From 1810 until the end of the pashalik in 1831, Mustafa Reshit Pasha Bushati ruled the area. A few months following the massacre, the Ottomans, under direction of Mehmet Reshid Pasha, laid siege the castle of Rozafa and forced Mustafa Reshit to abdicate.[20] Just as the beys were pushing for independence from Istanbul, so was Mustafa Reshit. In this single event the Ottomans effectively ended an alliance between northern Albania and Bosnia, both of which were seeking autonomy from the Porte. [21]

With Albanian leaders gone in both the north and south, the Ottomans introduced a number of policies and a centralized government in order to re-establish their dominance in the region. As a result of various reforms and supressing Albanian rights, a number of revolts took place throughout the area from 1833 to 1839. These revolts demonstrate further opposition towards the Ottoman government and growing nationalism.

In 1833, some beys who had fled to Greece started a rebellion in order to drive out Ottoman officials from southern Albania. Shortly following this rebellion, a second rebellion broke out in Gjirokastër, in which a number of employees of the Porte were killed.[22] After this event, a number of civilians in the southern area of Tepelenë revolted. Under Balil Nesho, the uprising quickly spread to nearby areas.

The following year, another rebellion of nearly 10,000 men rose against Ottoman forces in Berat. Once again they besieged the castle of Berat, in which they demanded for their region to become autonomous. As before, in January 1835 the Ottomans gave into the demands and signed a contract with the rebels, which stated they would grant the region autonomy if the rebels disposed of their weapons. The contract was violated and the rebels rose up again. This time however, the rebels were met by a stronger Ottoman force and the rebels were forced to withdraw.[23]

The growing unrest was not isolated to the Berat region. The regions of Shkodër, Ioannina, and Vlorë also had rebellions. According to Pollo and Puto these armed revolts occurred throughout the Albanian region, and were led by *berebeys*, *sipahis,* and *bayraktars*, like Zylyfta Poda, Tafil Buzi, Abdyl Koka, Zenel Gjoleka and Dasho Shkreli. [24] One of the primary reasons for why the armed revolts were able to occur was because Albanians carried arms, such as muskets, pistols, and swords to defend themselves and their properties from bandits.[25] These rebellions demanded more rights or autonomy from the Ottoman Empire. As seen through the rebellions of the 1830s, Albania had entered into a "national consciousness."

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[20] Stanaq Pollo and Arben Puto. *The history of Albania: from its origins to present day*, trans. Carol Wiseman and Ginnie Hole (London: Routledge, 1981), 104.

[21] Barabara Jelavich. *History of the Balkans: Eighteenth and nineteenth centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 349.

[22] Skendi, 23.

[23] Edmund Burke, ed. "Modern Europe." In *Annual Register or a view of the History, Politics, and Literature of the Year 1835* (London: Baldwin & Cradock, 1836), 496.

[24] Pollo and Puto, 105.

[25] Andre Gerolymatos. *The Balkan Wars: Conquest, Revolution and Retribution from the Ottoman Era to the Twentieth Century and Beyond* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), 116.

These revolts continued after the 1830s. In 1839 the Tanzimat reforms were introduced in Albania and other parts of the Ottoman Empire. These reforms were an attempt to modernize the Ottoman Empire and protect their territories from nationalist uprisings and foreign invasions by uniting all citizens living in Ottoman territories, no matter what the religion or ethnicity of these territories were. The reforms were not well received, as was the case in Albania where they were met with strong opposition from the beys and "wild tribes" in the north. These reforms led to a series of uprisings against the Porte, largely amongst northern tribes, that continued until the Tanzimat reforms were abolished in 1876. [26] The reforms were imposed on Albanians in order to stop the nationalist uprisings and prevent the country from gaining independence like other Balkan states had done.

In the 1870s, Albania entered it "national awakening" after decades of revolts against Ottoman rule. In 1878 eighty delegates, mainly clan chiefs and Muslim religious leaders, from Albanian speaking areas of the Balkans, founded the League of the Defense of the Rights of the Albanian Nation, commonly known as the League of Prizren. The organization, which was composed of two branches: the Prizren and the southern branch had the power to create an army and impose taxes. Ideology within the League was however, slightly mixed. While some delegates believed in creating solidarity amongst Muslims, the majority of them referred to themselves as "Albanians", distinct from Slavs, Greeks, and Turks.[27] In 1899 Haxhi Zeka, a former member of the League of Prizren, founded the League of Peja. The League, which demanded that all three Albanian vilayets, an administrative division of the Ottoman Empire that was created in 1864, unite and receive autonomy from the Porte, was dissolved a year later following an armed conflict with Ottoman forces. Zeka was assassinated in 1902.[28]

In 1910 a revolt occurred in Albania against the new policies of the Young Turk government. The Young Turks, or the Committee of the Union and Progress (CUP), was a secularist reform party that ruled the Ottoman Empire from 1908 until November 1918. Albanians helped the Young Turks come to power because they were promised lower taxes, constitutional rights, and the ability to teach Albanian in schools.[29] The revolt however, resulted in a suppression of Albanian culture; Albanian schools were closed and Albanian publications in a Latin alphabet were declared illegal.[30]

Two years later Albania began their last revolt against the Ottoman Empire. The revolt lasted from January until August 1912 in ended when the Ottoman government agreed to all demands on 4 September 1912. Amongst the demands were an autonomous system of administration, the use of Albanian in secular schools, the ability to trade independently, and the right to establish private schools and societies. Shortly after the agreement was reached however, the First Balkan War broke out.[31] The war lasted seven months. The Ottoman Empire fought against the Balkan League, composed of Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro, and Serbia. The Treaty of London, which formally ended the First Balkan War on 30 May 1913, declared Albania as an independent state.[32]

[26] Robert Elise. *Historical Dictionary of Albania*. 2nd ed. (Plymouth: Scarecrow Press, 2010), lvi.
[27] Nicola Guy. *The Birth of Albania: Ethnic Nationalism, the Great Powers of World War I and the Emergence of Albanian Independence* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012), 16.
[28] Charles Jelavich and Barbara Jelavich. *The Establishment of the Balkan National States, 1804-1920* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986), 86.
[29] Vickers, 54.
[30] George Walter Gawrych. *The Crescent and the eagle: Ottoman rule, Islam and the Albanians, 1874-1913*. (London: I. B. Tauris, 2006), 183.
[31] Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw. *Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975*. 2nd vol. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 293.
[32] Elsie. *Historical Dictionary of Albania*, lix.

Five years after Albania declared independence from the Ottoman Empire, Mehmet bey Knoitza, an Albanian diplomat and minister of foreign affairs, wrote a history of Albania and the "Albanian question." In 1918, Mehmet Konitza wrote that the Albanians fought for Greek independence because they were inspired by struggles within the Balkan Peninsula. "The Greeks were greatly helped, too, by the Albanians of the South, of whose valour Lord Byron tells. In return for this help they hoped that Greece would aid them, too, when their time came."[33] In this book it is significant that Mehmet Knoitza argues that the Greek War of Independence was one of the origins of Greek nationalism. As an Albanian leader, he recognized that participation in the Greek War of Independence planted notions of Albanian nationalism amongst elites, which resulted in the massacre of the Beys.

Foreign Accounts of the Massacre of Albanian Beys

Henry Fanshaw Tozer, an English writer and tutor at Exter College at Oxford in the second-half of the nineteenth century, paints a picture of Monastir and provides the most detailed account of the massacre thirty-nine years after it occurred, in his travelogue "Researchers in the Highlands of Turkey." His account is corroborated by other newspaper accounts and travel logs of the event. He describes Monastir, "the military centre of this Turkish region," as being beautiful on the outside but has been scarred by its recent history.[34] Tozer believes that the reason why the massacre occurred was because the Albanians were allowed to take up arms and pillage villages indiscriminately during the Greek war of Independence. Consequently the chiefs responsible for this pillaging then established themselves as an oligarchy to restore order. This was led by four men: Seliktar Poda, commander of Central Albania; Veli Bey, the second son of Ali Pasha who held Ioannina and the rest of Epirus; Arslan Bey, a young officer who represented the national party; and Mustapha Pasha of Shkodër, the last hereditary Pasha of that area. Of these men Seliktar Poda, Veli Bey, and Arslan Bey were rivals until they discovered the Porte's intention to overthrow them.[35]

While these three leaders were uniting, the Grand Vizier, Reschid Pasha, who was aware of Mustapha's intentions, assembled an army in Adrianople to march to Monastir. When the Grand Vizier heard of the alliance "he conducted himself as if compelled to change his plan of action, and after proclaiming a general amnesty, invited all the Albanian Beys to a grand banquet at Monastir, to celebrate the re-establishment of friendly relations with the central government."[36] The five hundred Beys accepted the offer and, headed by Arslan and Veli, they arrived in Monastir. According to Tozer, the Beys were kindly received by the Grand Vizier. However, when it came time for the banquet, the men were greeted by over a thousand troops. Tozer dramatically describes the massacre. "Veli Bey instantly fell, but Arslan and other survived and were wheeling off to the right, when the volley and charge of the second Turkish line took them in flank. From this Arslan alone escaped, and was soon at a distance from the bloody seen."[37] When all of the beys were killed, their scalps were salted and sent to Istanbul.

Tozer describes the events that occurred in Monastir in more detail than any other source available in English or French. What is, however, even more important than Tozer's description of the massacre is his perception of its aftermath. Tozer believes that this massacre was intended to supress resistance and national uprisings that were occuring in other areas of

[33] Mehmet Konitza. *The Albanian Question* (London: W. Lea, 1918), 12.
[34] Tozer, 166.
[35] Richard A. Davenport. *The Life of Ali Pasha of Tepebni, Vizier of Epirus: Surnamed Aslan, or the Lion* (London: Thomas Tegg & Son, 1837), 97;Tozer, 168.
[36] Tozer, 168.
[37] Tozer,169.

the Balkans. The massacre left only two major powers in Albania who were ultimately sought after by the Ottomans, who were then forced to surrender. One of which was Seliktar Poda from southern Albania who was in charge of Ioannina. After the massacre, 16,000 troops were sent against Poda and he was forced to flee to the mountains. As a result, "Epirus fell into the hands of conquerors."[38] The other was Mustapha Pasha, who married Ali Pasha's niece, who was compelled to surrender and then killed shortly thereafter.[39]

William Smith Cooke, a British politician, adds to Tozer's perception of the event. Cooke states:

> *"The Porte, however, gained little from this barbarous act, for the leadership of the national movement in Albania only passed from the Muhammedans to the Christians, who have continued to the struggle with such determination for their independence as to make the dominion of the Turks in these portions of the empire still a very doubtful matter."*[40]

In this text Cooke is referring to the Albanians who fled to northern Greece and began revolts against the Porte following the massacre.

Benjamin Disraeli was Prime Minister of Great Britain in 1868 and from 1874 to 1880, who also traveled to Albania at the time of the massacre. In his book "Alroy: The Prince of the Captivity," he briefly mentions the event in Monsatir. Disraeli, stunned by the facts of the massacre wrote:

> *"The Orientals are famous for their massacres: that of the Mamlouks by the present Pasha of Egypt, and of the Janissaries of the Sultan, are notorious. But one of the most terrible, and effected under the most difficult and dangerous circumstances, was the massacre of the Albanian Beys by the Grand Vizier, in the autumn of 1830."*[41]

Disraeli realized that this massacre was going to be a major event that would greatly affect Albania, one that would continue them on a path towards independence.

References to the Massacre in Contemporary Albanian Literature

Literature from a particular nation can provide insight into that nation's collective memory and national identity. Numerous literary works, mainly novels and poetry, have emerged from Albania over the past century that discusses the country's nationalism and the process of achieving Albanian independence. One key event that has appeared in several of these literary works is the massacre of Albanian beys. This demonstrates that this event is part of Albanian national identity.

Ismail Kadaré, an Albanian writer who has been nominated for a Nobel Prize for Literature, has discussed the massacre a number of times in different works. Kadaré's novels include historical events that occurred in the Balkans and nationalism in Albania.[42] In "Komisioni i Festes" [The Celebration Commission], there is a battle between Albania and the Ottoman Empire. The main focus of the novel is the massacre of the Albanian Beys in 1830 and the conflict between Albanian and Ottoman ideology.

[38] Ibid, 170.

[39] Elias Skoulidas. "The Perception of the Albanians in Greece in the 1830s and '40: The Role of the Press." In *Albanian Identities: Myth and History*, edited by Stephanie Schwander-Sievers and Bernd J. Fischer (London: Hurts & Co, 2002), 174; Tozer, 170.

[40] William Smith Cooke. *The Ottoman Empire and is Tributary States With A Sketch Of Greece* (London: W. Clowes & Son, 1876) 179.

[41] Benjamin Disraeli. *Alroy: The Prince of Captivity* (Echo Library, 2007), 169.

[42] Janet Byron. "Albanian Nationalism and Socialism in the Fiction of Ismail Kadare." *World Literature Today* 54 (1979): 614-616.

In another novel, "The Palace of Dreams," the palace is a metaphor for the Ottoman Empire. Focused on Albania, Kadaré briefly mentions the massacre. The protagonist asks in reference to the "Great massacre of the Albanian leaders at Monsatir…I suppose you've heard of it?"[43] The fact that this event is revealing itself in modern Albanian literature without much explanation to what the event actually is demonstrates that the massacre is well known by Albanians and embedded in the national identity.

Conclusion

The process which created Albanian nationalism took nearly a century. The movement towards the "national awakening" or "national consciousness" began with the massacre of five hundred Albanian beys because of their involvement in the Greek War of Independence, which in contemporary Albanian literature, has been interpreted as a major event in the development of their national identity. After the massacre, leaders and civilians throughout Albania began to rise up against Ottoman rule and, more importantly, for autonomy. By the 1870s Albania had officially entered the "national awakening," with more civilians demanding independence.

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UDK 904:711.42(497.71)"634/653" *Haemus Journal, vol. 2, 2013, 89-111,* ISSN: 1857- 8411

Campus Argestaeus: The Chronology, Extent and Organization of Settlement in the Survey Area

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Abstract: *This study is a continuation of the field report published in the previous issue of the journal Haemus (Donev, D. (2012) Campus Argestaeus: A Landscape Frozen in Time, 217-229, Haemus I.). After considering two methodological issues relevant to all surface artifact surveys, the author describes the distribution of the surface material by periods. Particular attention is given to the extent of the settlements, their inner structure and their locational preferences. In conclusion we point to possible directions for future research and explicate the difficulties and limitations in interpreting surface artifact scatters.*

Key words: Ceramic survey, survey methodology, the Middle Vardar Valley

This study is a continuation of the paper that came out in the first issue of the journal *Haemus*[1]. There we described the survey area and the broader region, the method of fieldwork and the distribution of the overall surface record. We also pointed to the main periods represented in the surface record and suggested the possible land-use pattern. Having studied the fabrics and the shape of the material, it is now time to turn to the analysis of its distribution by periods. This will reveal the history of settlement, its size and rank and the micro-locations preferred by the local communities. However before we begin telling the story of human settlement in the survey area, it is necessary to briefly consider two important methodological issues.

Working with surface material is notoriously difficult for obvious reasons. This is even more so in our survey area, because the current land-use and ground visibility have preconditioned a rather poor quality of the surface finds. The fields on which the bulk of the material was found were either covered with wild vegetation or were lying fallow for at least a couple of years. As a result only a tiny percentage (approximately 1.5%) of the nearly 1200 fragments are feature shards, the great majority consisting of badly worn body shards. In such circumstances we had no other option but to classify the finds into different fabric groups and plot them onto the map. This laborious process quickly paid off, because it proved that most of the fabric groups tended to cluster only on certain sections of the survey area. For example, the fabric groups which we labeled Sk_N_A and SK_N_B appeared only on four contingent transects in the central survey section. Similarly most of the architectural ceramics occurred in the southern end of the survey area, with only rare, isolated examples in the central and northern survey sections. Moreover it soon became obvious that certain fabric groups feature overlapping distribution patterns: the fabric groups Sk_N_A and SK_N_B always appeared together, but never alongside larger concentrations of architectural ceramics. It was thus possible to observe at least three distinct

[1] Donev, D. (2012) Campus Argestaeus: A Landscape Frozen in Time, 217-229, *Haemus* I.

ceramic assemblages, concentrated on three different locations in the survey area. In other words there was a clear evidence of a highly pronounced horizontal stratigraphy. This circumstance was crucial for the dating of the surface material. Even when it wasn't possible to point to an approximate date for a certain fabric group, its pattern of distribution was often indicative of its chronology[2].

Predictably this chronological resolution is extremely raw. Fabric groups were very broadly dated to the Roman Period or the Iron Age, which prevents one from observing the settlement dynamic during the separate phases of occupation. In fact certain categories of coarse pottery were impossible to date, even in these broad chronological periods. These categories were left out of the analysis. The problem was partly alleviated by the fact that there are only a few possibly overlapping fabric groups. In general there is very little resemblance between the fabric groups that constitute the three assemblages, either indicating discontinuity in local pottery production and settlement displacement or both. In the end each of the three assemblages were roughly dated to the Neolithic, the Iron Age and the Roman to Late Roman Period, but the possibility that other periods are also represented by small quantities of unrecognizable or misclassified pottery remains open.

The second methodological issue pertains to the procedures of field data analysis. The principle aim of the method of field survey applied for this study is to quantitatively determine the locations and the limits of the sites[3]. Counting and (in this case) total collections were therefore a necessary component of fieldwork. But the raw density figures estimated on the basis of these data don't necessarily produce a realistic document of the ceramic spreads. In the particular case of this survey area, visibility conditions could vary considerably even within the limits of individual survey sections. The northern survey sector, the large field at the foot of Berudiљta is regularly ploughed and the chances of finding freshly excavated material are higher than on the overgrown fields in the central and southern survey sections. In other words artifact density isn't solely determined by the presence or absence of archaeological remains beneath the surface, but also by the surface conditions at the time of the survey.

Clearly one has to take into account this likely source of systematic bias before drawing the limits of the surface clusters on the basis of the raw density figures. In the regional survey projects in the Mediterranean ground visibility conditions are therefore regularly graded[4]. In our case we adopted a simple scheme where ground visibility was graded on a scale of 0 to 1; 0 standing for optimal visibility or no vegetation cover, 1 for minimal visibility or 100% of the surface covered with vegetation. We adopted a quantitative approach in an attempt to compensate for the unequal visibility conditions in various parts of the survey area. The procedure is very simple. Depending on the visibility grade, the number of finds counted on each individual transect were increased by 25, 50, 75 or 100%. The 5 Roman fragments collected from an individual transect with average visibility (or 50% of vegetation cover) were increased by 50% or to 7, to avoid decimal numbers. In case of minimal ground visibility conditions (or 100% vegetation cover) the number of finds was doubled, but it has been observed that in low

[2] Cf. Vroom, J. (2003) *After Antiquity. Ceramics and Society in the Aegean from the 7th to the 20th centuries A.C. A Case Study from Boeotia, Central Greece*, Leiden.

[3] Bintliff, J. Howard, P. Snodgrass, A. et al. (2007) *Testing the hinterland: the work of the Boeotia survey (1989-1991) in the southern approaches to the city of Thespiae*, Cambridge 2007.

[4] Cherry, J.F. et al, (1988) Archaeological survey in an artifact rich landscape: a Middle Neolithic example from Nemea, 159-176, *American Journal of Archaeology* 92-2; Mee, C. Forbes, H. (1997) Survey Methodology, 33-41, eds C. Mee, H. Forbes, *A rough and rocky place: The landscape and settlement history of the Methana Peninsula, Greece*, Liverpool; Bintliff, J. Howard, P. Snodgrass, A. et al. (2007).

visibility conditions the number of finds remains relatively low even after correcting for the visibility factor[5].

Although the grading of the ground visibility conditions is a widely adopted procedure, the correction for the visibility factor is still a controversial issue. Some researchers have stressed the importance of publishing both the raw and the corrected data or at least providing the reader with an explicit description of the procedure[6]. We deemed it worthwhile to try and calculate the impact of the visibility factor and explore the alternative interpretations of the surface record. Simply ignoring this factor is certainly not a better option and giving descriptive accounts of the ground conditions in the various survey sections will make this text too long and illegible.

The Neolithic

The survey area was inhabited for the first time sometime during the Neolithic. About 70 fragments distributed into two fabric categories were all that could be dated to this period. A broken scraper or a knife made of quartz or quartzite also probably belongs to this assemblage. This represents only about 6% of the total surface record. But regardless of the fairly small size, this material is highly concentrated, appearing only on 6 individual transects or on less than 1% of the survey area. Not a single fragment dating to this period could be found on the rest of the individual transects. This is reflected in the very low average density of this material. Transect units on which Neolithic material was present feature artifact densities that are at least twice the local average (table 1).

Total number and percentage of Neolithic finds	71/6%
Overall average density	2 fragments per 1 hectare
District average	2 fragments per 1000 sq meters
Minimum density	3 fragments per 1000 sq meters
Maximum density	100 fragments per 1000 sq meters
Dispersal area	2300 sq meters

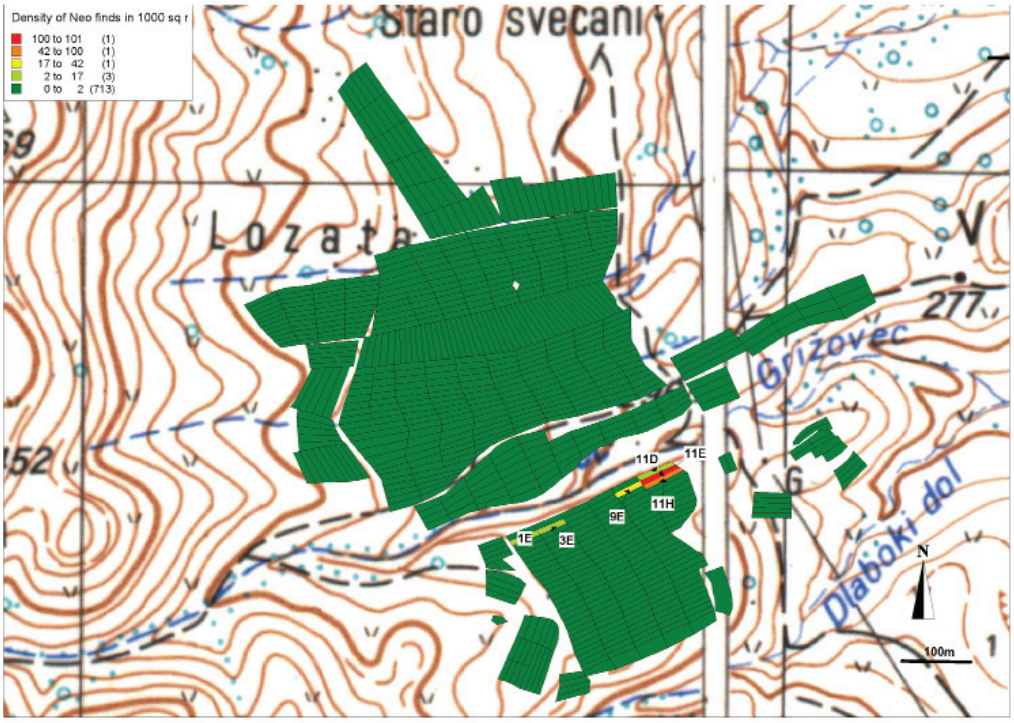
Table 1: Statistical distribution of the Neolithic material in the survey area

This circumstance seemingly makes the definition of the site limits straightforward. The main focus of activity was on four neighbouring transects on the southern bank of the Grizovec, on transects 11H, 11E, 11D and 9E (map 1). The density of Neolithic material ranges from 7 and 17 fragments per 1000 sq meters on the site periphery covered by transects 9E and 11D to over 100 fragments per 1000 sq meters on transect 11E on the site core. On transect 11H, on the southern periphery, artifact density drops to 42 fragments per 1000 sq meters, completely disappearing from the surface record on the surrounding fields. However, about 130 meters to the west-southwest of the site-core, again on the bank of the Grizovec, the Neolithic material reappears, albeit in much smaller quantities. On both transects 1E and 3E we recorded less than 3 fragments per 1000 sq meters or 1 fragment per transect unit in absolute numbers. This is almost three times lower than on the central site's periphery, but it is still over twice the district average.

[5] Bintliff, J.L. (2000) The concepts of 'site' and 'offsite' archaeology in surface artifacts survey, 200-215, eds. M. Pasquinucci, F. Trément *Non-Destructive Techniques Applied to Landscape Archaeology*, Oxford.

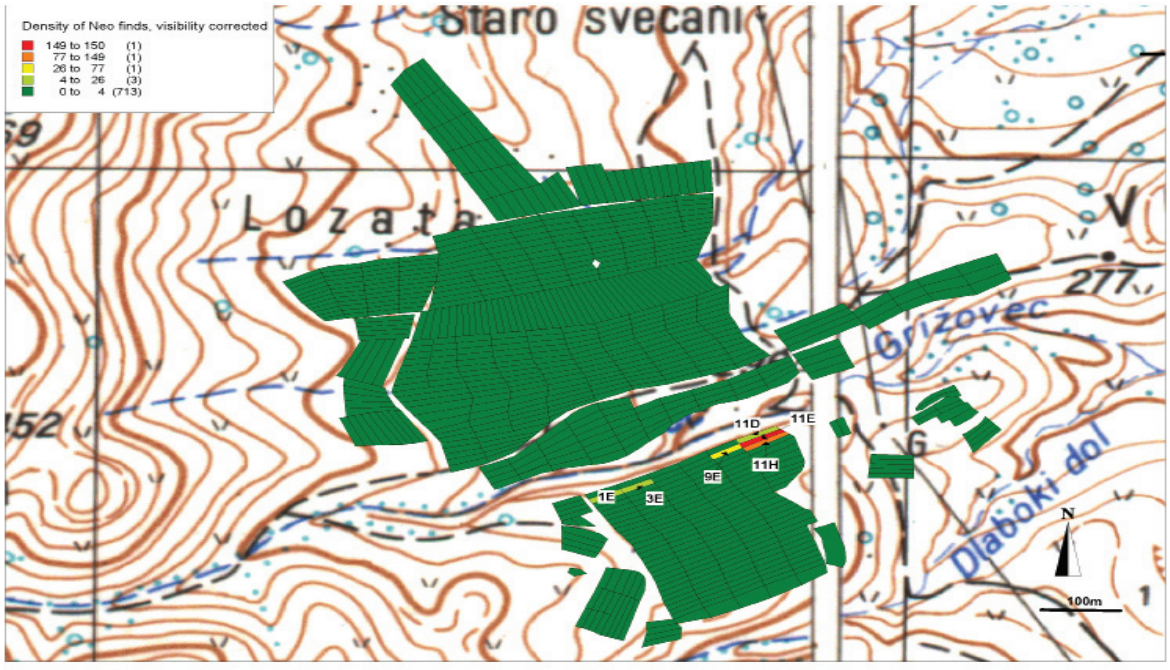
[6] Mattingly, D. (2000) Methods of collection, recording and quantification, 5-15, R. Francovich, H. Patterson, eds. *Extracting Meaning from Plough-soil assemblages. The Archaeology of Mediterranean Landscapes 5.* Oxford.

Visibility conditions across this entire section are average to low and they couldn't have played a particularly strong role in the overall distribution of the Neolithic finds. Correcting



Map 1: Density distribution of the Neolithic finds in the survey area.

for the visibility factor merely increases the artifact density proportionally on all transect units, though the small concentration on transects 1E and 3E now equals the density on the site periphery, on transect 11D (map 2). Nevertheless, it is likely that the concentric character of the on-site pattern of distribution was at least enhanced if not created by the local land-use and ground visibility. Most of the finds from the core of the site on transect 11E, as well as on



Map 2: Distribution of Neolithic finds in the survey area, corrected for the visibility factor.

the neighbouring transect to the west, 9E came from a narrow furrow, probably the remains of a derelict irrigation canal. Transects 11H, 11D, 1E and 3E were fallow fields, with 75% of the surface covered by vegetation. But the fact that much more finds were collected from transect 11H than from transect 9E warns us against giving too much weight to the local surface conditions. However the sudden disappearance of the Neolithic material from the surface of the neighbouring transect to the south could indicate that the site occupied a larger area or at least had clearer margins.

The concentration and the character of the finds on the central cluster clearly indicate that these were the remains of a permanent settlement. The documented area is very small area, stretching between 1000 and 1500 sq meters. One has to allow for wider margins, probably extending the site area to over 2000 sq meters. Like the majority of the settlement sites in the survey area, the Neolithic settlement clings on to a small island of Pleistocene sediments, surrounded by a sea of older Pliocene sediments and Paleozoic metamorphic rocks (map 3). To a certain degree, the location of the site is perhaps instructive of its chronology, because in the Early and the Middle Neolithic the majority of the known settlements are limited to flood plains or spring outflow areas[7]. The discovery of an Early Neolithic settlement in a relatively barren area, away from the water-fed zones came as a great surprise. The very small size of the site can also be seen as an index of its later dating. However knowing so little about the natural history of the study region and the size of Neolithic sites in the country, one cannot rely solely on these indications in determining the chronology of the settlement more closely.

Map 3: Geologic framework of the survey area; White-Pleistocene, Green- Paleozoic Amphibolites, Yellow-Pliocene.

With so little information from the other regions along the Vardar Valley and the central parts of the Balkan Peninsula in general, it is difficult to bring forward an unambiguous

[7] Bogaard, A. (2004) The Nature of Early Farming in Central and Southeast Europe, 49-58, *Documenta Praehistorica* XXXI; Sherratt, A. (1980) Water, soil and seasonality in early cereal cultivation, 313-330, *World Archaeology* 11; see though Perlès, C. (1999) The distribution of Magoules in Eastern Thessaly, 42-56, ed. P. Halstead, *Neolithic society in Greece*, Sheffield.

interpretation. The only certainty is that during the Neolithic there developed a small hamlet in the survey area, probably consisting of not more than several agglomerated households. The small concentration of finds situated 130 meters to the west of the central site could signal the diminished remains of an isolated dwelling or non-residential activities, such as pits or burials. We can only hope to establish this through excavations or geophysical prospection.

The Iron Age

Although the exact chronology of the Neolithic material remains problematic, the absence of the characteristic Eneolithic shapes and fabrics is a sure indicator that by the second half of the 4th millennium BC the survey area was abandoned. During the next two and a half millennia, the local community either moved to a different drainage basin or occupied the upper course of the Dlabok Dol, deep into the mountain interior. The next phase of permanent settlement in the area covered by the intensive survey dates to the first half of the first millennium BC or the Iron Age. Because of the very poor state of preservation of the finds, it is again impossible to suggest a more precise dating. Apart from simple vertical rims and polygonal handles, there is hardly any diagnostic material including a few fragments decorated with finger impressions or punctuations.

286 shards classed into 6 fabric groups comprise the Iron Age assemblage. This pottery is characterized by very coarse fabrics, rough and porous surfaces, large numbers of different types of inclusions and uneven firing. Fragments of vessels made of fine clay, with polished surfaces are rather scarce, representing less than 30% of the Iron Age assemblage. This material is finally accompanied by several dozen fragments of carbonized daub, which rarely appears outside the main concentration of Iron Age finds. Including this category, the Iron Age material represents about 25% of the total surface record in the survey area.

Its spatial and statistical distribution is very different from that of the Neolithic assemblage (table 2). Finds belonging to the fabric groups datable to the Iron Age were collected from 72 transect units or nearly 10% of the surveyed terrain. Artifact density ranges between 1.2 and 39.5 fragments per 1000 sq meters, while the district averages for the central and southern survey sections are 4 and 0.6 fragments per 1000 sq meters respectively. Thus we are clearly dealing with a thinner and more widespread ceramic carpet, stretching over ten times the area occupied by the Neolithic material. This creates problems when deciding about the limits of the site, because almost 1/3rd of the transect units with Iron Age material feature artifact densities close to the average values. More specifically on over 10,000 sq meters the density of Iron Age finds fluctuates between 4 and 10 fragments per 1000 sq meters. In addition there is an even more extensive zone featuring between 1 and 4 fragments per 1000 sq meters. Are we to treat the integral carpet of Iron Age material occupying almost 3 hectares as a potential site area? We believe that the total dispersal area of these finds truthfully reflects the impact zone of the Iron Age settlement, though the area occupied by dwellings was certainly more contracted.

Total number and percentage of Iron Age finds	286/24%
Overall average density	9 fragments per hectare
District averages, southern and central	0.6/4 fragments per 1000 sq meters
Minimum density	1.2 fragments per 1000 sq meters
Maximum density	39 fragments per 1000 sq meters
Dispersal area	29,900 sq meters

Table 2: Statistical distribution of the Iron Age finds

Map 4: Density of Iron Age finds in 1000 square meters.

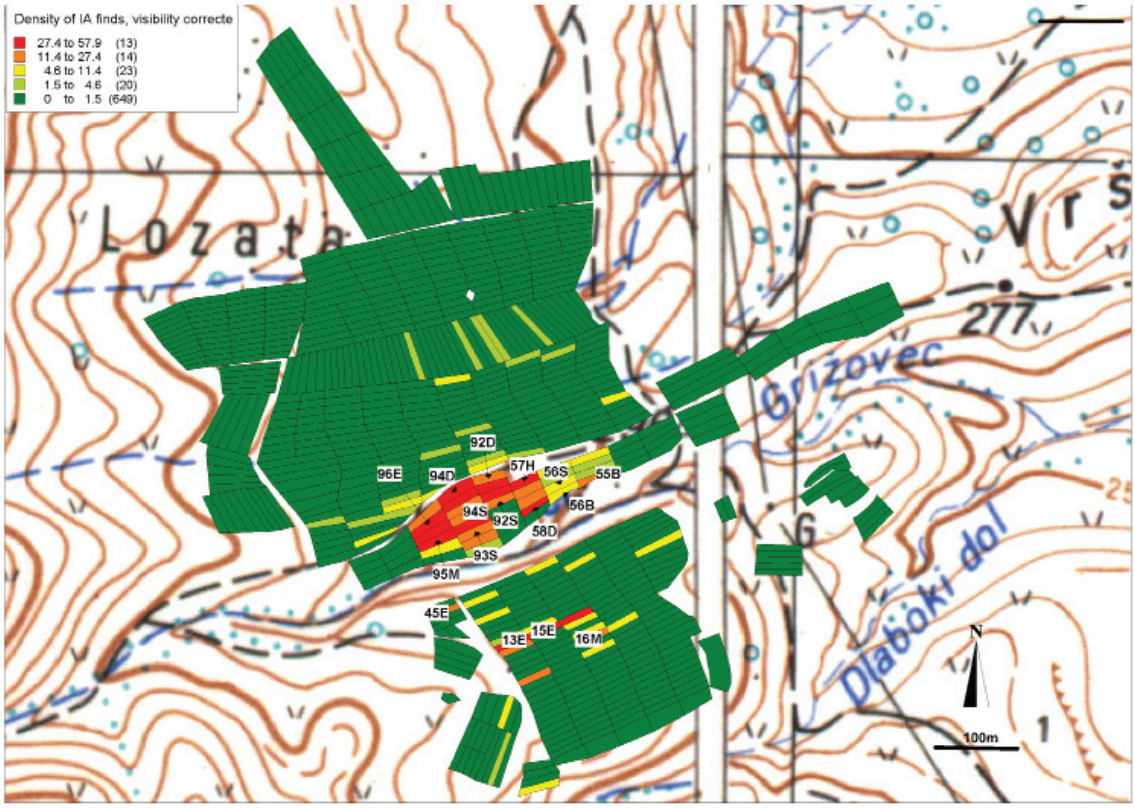
The problem becomes even more accentuated when we look at the spatial distribution of this material (map 4). Over 70% of the finds were collected from the transect units on the narrow strip of land between the northern bank of the Grizovec and the main local road leading to the Vardar Valley. Artifact density stays above the limit of 10 fragments per 1000 sq meters over a compact area of nearly 1 hectare. To the south and west the cluster suddenly stops, with artifact density dropping to zero. We believe that this is an effect of the extremely low visibility on the stretch along the Grizovec and that there was at least a narrow belt of intermediary or low artifact density that we couldn't detect in the field. It is even possible that a portion of the settlement proper spreads over these transect units, but because of the local topography the true limits of the site must be very close to those indicated by the survey results.

We managed to capture the northern and eastern limits of the cluster, where we see a gradual decrease in the artifact density, from 11 and 15 fragments on transects 57S and 57H to about 4 fragments on transects 56B, 56S and finally to about 2 fragments on the neighbouring row of transect units on the east. Only transect 55B spoils the concentric pattern, featuring slightly over 11 fragments per 1000 sq meters. A similar pattern emerged on the ploughed fields north of the main local road. Here we discovered an even sharper decrease, with artifact density staying below 3 fragments per 1000 sq meters on all but 2 transect units, while certain section along the northern periphery were completely sterile. Nevertheless this zone of ultra-thin density spreads over a larger portion of the northern survey section, isolated fragments appearing at a distance of nearly 200 meters from the northern edge of the central cluster. This is not a continuous carpet, but find-spots of single or a pair of finds, separated by sterile stretches. Depending on the size of the transect unit, they produce between 2 and 4 fragments per 1000 sq meters.

A similar discontinuous cluster spreads on the fields to the south of the Grizovec, in the southern survey section. But in this case the artifact density returns to the on-site levels recorded on the transects on the opposite bank of the Grizovec. On transects 13E and 15E the density of

Iron Age finds increases to 26 and 22 fragments per 1000 sq meters and it stays above the limit of 10 fragments per 1000 sq meters on the two neighbouring transects to the east and west of the central pair. Furthermore there is an apparent clustering of field units with intermediary and low artifact density on a number of transect units south of the central cluster. In fact on transect 16M, about 15 meters to the south, there is yet another smaller peak with over 11 fragments per 1000 sq meters, surrounded by a group of field blocks with artifact densities ranging between 2 and 5 shards per 1000 sq meters. Thus there is a compact but smaller cluster of high artifact density in the southern survey section, not unlike the cluster of Neolithic finds discovered about 150 meters to the northeast. Rare fragments belonging to the Iron Age fabrics also appear on the stretch between this smaller cluster and the southern bank of the Grizovec, but they give artifact densities lower than 4 fragments per 1000 sq meters. An exception is transect 45E at the northern foot of Mali Konjik, with over 10 fragments per 1000 sq meters, but unlike the other transect units with artifact densities higher than the district average it stands isolated.

There are no drastic changes when the survey records are corrected for the visibility factor (map 5). The limits of the two clusters in the central and southern survey sections remain unchanged, while on average, the artifact density increases for about 50%. Thanks to the lower ground visibility the increment is slighter on the central site. The transects that comprise the core of the site (58D-B, 57S, 57H, 57E, 92S-H-E-D, 93S-H-E-D etc) usually feature above 20 fragments per 1000 sq meters, while on the site periphery and on transects north of the main local road, artifact density stays below 10 fragments per 1000 sq meters. South of the Grizovec the smaller clusters centered on transects 13E, 15E and 16M become slightly more accentuated, because the lower ground visibility entails higher theoretical densities. On transects 13E and 15E the density of Iron Age material increases to over 40 shards per 1000 sq meters, elevating them to the same rank as the transects on the core of the central site.



Map 5: Distribution of IA finds in the survey area, corrected for the visibility factor.

On the transects that surround this satellite cluster the increase is proportional, though the difference between transects with higher and lower than average artifact densities now becomes more pronounced.

There are no doubts about the main focus of settlement during the Iron Age. This was the area between the northern bank of the Grizovec and the main east-west road. If we take the ceiling of 10 fragments per 1000 sq meters as a notional limit of the site, it occupied an area of approximately 1 hectare. Adding transect units with average or lower than average artifact density to the settlement area would imply that we are dealing with a much larger, dispersed type of settlement, stretching over an area of several hectares. We find this interpretation unlikely, because it leaves no room for the effects of site erosion and smearing of the surface material and the likely traces of non-residential activities (rubbish disposal, storage pits etc.)[8]. The few worn fragments scattered across the fields north of the central site are incomparable to the much larger and better preserved assemblages from the central site. On the other hand, the smaller satellite cluster south of the Grizovec must be interpreted as another focus of settlement and this area of just under 2000 sq meters should be added to the total occupied area. The small cluster on transects 13E, 15E and 16M not only features artifact densities close to those recorded on the central cluster, but also has the typical on-site signature, with artifact density gradually decreasing from the core to the periphery. At the same time the area over which this concentration of material spreads is too large to be interpreted as the traces of rubbish or storage pits or other non-residential activities.

According to the surface archaeological record, during the Iron Age the survey area was occupied by a small village, consisting of not more than 30 households. For some unknown reason there existed two separate foci of settlement: one much larger in the central survey section, by the main local road and dominating over the small island of Pleistocene conglomerates, the other, many times smaller and occupying a more sheltered location, at the foot of Mali Konjik and away from the main local road. A small excavation on the satellite cluster south of the Grizovec would be a logical step in the future research on this Iron Age site. It will hopefully resolve the character of this cluster and clarify its chronology and relation to the central site[9].

The Roman to Late Roman Period

For the purposes of this paper we will limit the discussion to the analysis and description of the distribution of the surface ceramic material. It is to be read alongside the earlier summary descriptions of the surface architectural record, still awaiting its full publication[10]. As with the previous two periods of settlement in the intensively surveyed area, the ceramic material can only be dated into very broad chronological terms. About a dozen and a half different fabric groups (including tile and coarse ware) can be dated to the Roman Period (i.e. between the 2nd and the late 6th century AD). As one may suspect, we are dealing with a local production, at least where the coarse ware is concerned. Making a distinction between coarse pottery produced and used during the Iron Age and the Roman Period on the basis of macroscopic observations is hardly achievable. It is perhaps better to leave this category out of the analysis and focus

[8] Bintliff, J.L. (2000) 210, eds. M. Pasquinucci, F. Trément; Alcock, S.E. et al. (1994) Intensive survey, agricultural practice and the classical Greek landscape 137-170, ed. I. Morris, *Classical Greece. Ancient histories and modern archaeologies,* Cambridge.

[9] Cf. with the remains of the Late Iron Age settlement near Sopot (Veles) documented in a similar fashion, Donev, D. (forthcoming) Intensive survey and GIS: a few case-studies from the Middle Vardar Valley, *Macedonian Heritage*.

[10] Donev, D. (2012), 224-226.

on the distribution of the architectural ceramics and the plain fabric groups, characterized by forms, production techniques and surface treatment that safely determine them as Roman to Late Roman. Later we will see that the fact that the clusters of Roman and Iron Age material are clearly spaced apart allows one to include the coarse fabrics into the analysis.[11]

In comparison to the Iron Age finds the Roman material is in a better state of preservation, with feature shards representing over 15% of the assemblage. This must be related to the local taphonomic factors, the Roman to Late Roman material coming almost exclusively from wild parcels, outside the modern plough-zone. Apart from the problematic coarse fabric groups, it is difficult to single out a predominant plain fabric group. Indeed it is rather symptomatic that there lack too many misfired or waster fragments, possibly suggesting an absence of developed local production.

In total the material dated to the Roman and the Late Roman Period represents 47% of the total surface record, 30% if only the secure fragments are counted (table 3). It is thus by far the most numerous chronological category in the local surface record. The study of the individual finds only confirmed our preliminary observations on the date of the architectural features and earthworks in the survey area. This landscape was almost certainly created sometime during the Roman-Late Roman Period. In terms of density ranges the Roman to Late Roman assemblage stands in-between the Neolithic and the Iron Age assemblages. Excluding the coarse ware, artifact density ranges between 1.2 and 71.1 fragments per 1000 sq meters. If we allow that most of the coarse pottery found alongside the rest of the Roman material also dates Roman-Late Roman, (considering the complete absence of Iron Age plain fabrics, a very likely scenario) the maximum artifact density increases to slightly less than 80 shards per 1000 sq meters. Thus the differences between transect units with high and average artifact density are fairly sharp, regardless of the large dispersal area. Finds securely datable to this period were collected on 129 transect units or roughly about 18% of the survey area. Including the coarse ware the carpet of Roman to Late Roman finds occupies nearly 30% of the survey area. This is between 3 and 4 times the total dispersal area of the Iron Age material and many times the area occupied by the carpet of Neolithic finds. As a result the overall average is slightly higher, reaching nearly 1.5 fragments per 1000 sq meters. There are nevertheless considerable differences between the survey sectors: 6 fragments per hectare were recorded in the central and northern survey sections, slightly less than 5 fragments per 1000 sq meters in the southern and eastern survey sector.

Total number and percentage of R-LR finds	466/30%
Overall average density	16 fragments per hectare
District averages, northern and southern	0.6/4.75 fragments per 1000 sq meters
Minimum density	1.2 fragments per 1000 sq meters
Maximum density	71 fragments per 1000 sq meters
Dispersal area	ca. 90 000 sq meters

Table 3: Statistical distribution of the Roman to Late Roman finds, coarse ware excluded

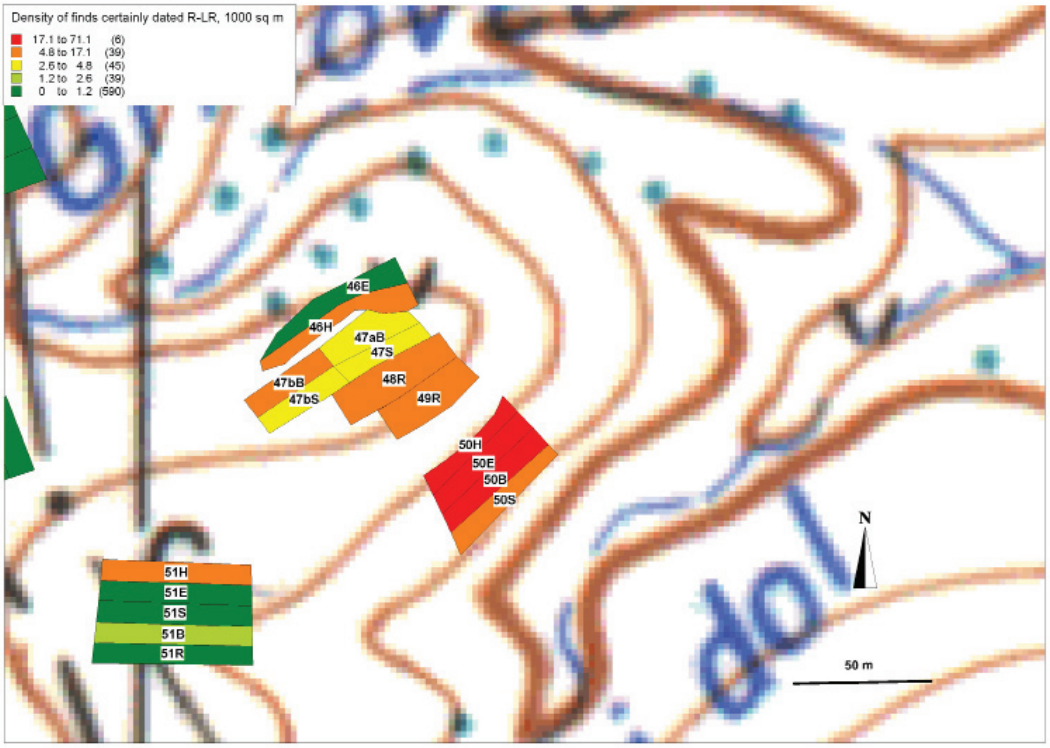
As evidenced by the stark contrast between the two district averages, the distribution of this material is far from even. Only about 25% of the Roman to Late Roman material was collected from the central and northern survey sectors, 65% from the southern sector and 10%

[11] This is how we analyzed the ceramic spread in Donev, D. (forthcoming) *Macedonian Heritage.*

from the small eastern sector. Almost one third of the transect units with Roman material feature artifact densities higher than the average for the southern sector. If we add all possible Roman to Late Roman finds, including the coarse ware, the higher than average density zone extends for over 100%, stretching over an area of almost 4 hectares. On the rest of the transects with Roman material there are between 1 and 5 fragments per 1000 sq meters, with a rather narrow zone of very low artifact density.

We'll argue that in the case of the Roman to Late Roman assemblage, the zone of higher than average density (or > 5 shards per 1000 sq meters) was only partly covered by the settlement proper. Looking at the density figures on individual transect units, one notices that a large number of transects classed into the zone of higher than average density feature densities only slightly higher than the district average, most frequently between 5 and 7 fragments per 1000 sq meters. During the analysis of the distribution of the Iron Age finds we saw that the difference between the on-site and the district average densities was at least threefold. In absolute numbers the collections from transect units that feature between 5 and 7 fragments per 1000 sq meters consist of 2 or 3 Roman shards. These low quantities can hardly be interpreted as settlement remains, although we'll see that in the local context of low artifact density they aren't totally irrelevant nor can they be simply relegated to the off-site zone. The relatively large number of transect units that fall within the limits of this density range explains the unusually large extent of the zone of higher than average density.

The pattern of distribution of the Roman material is fairly irregular and focalized, though it is possible to observe local and general concentric trends. Transect units with very high artifact densities are always surrounded by transects featuring higher than average density or between 5 and 17 fragments per 1000 sq meters. We observed three, possibly four high concentrations[12]. Predictably one of these clusters was located on the transects covering the small fort and its foothills (map 6).

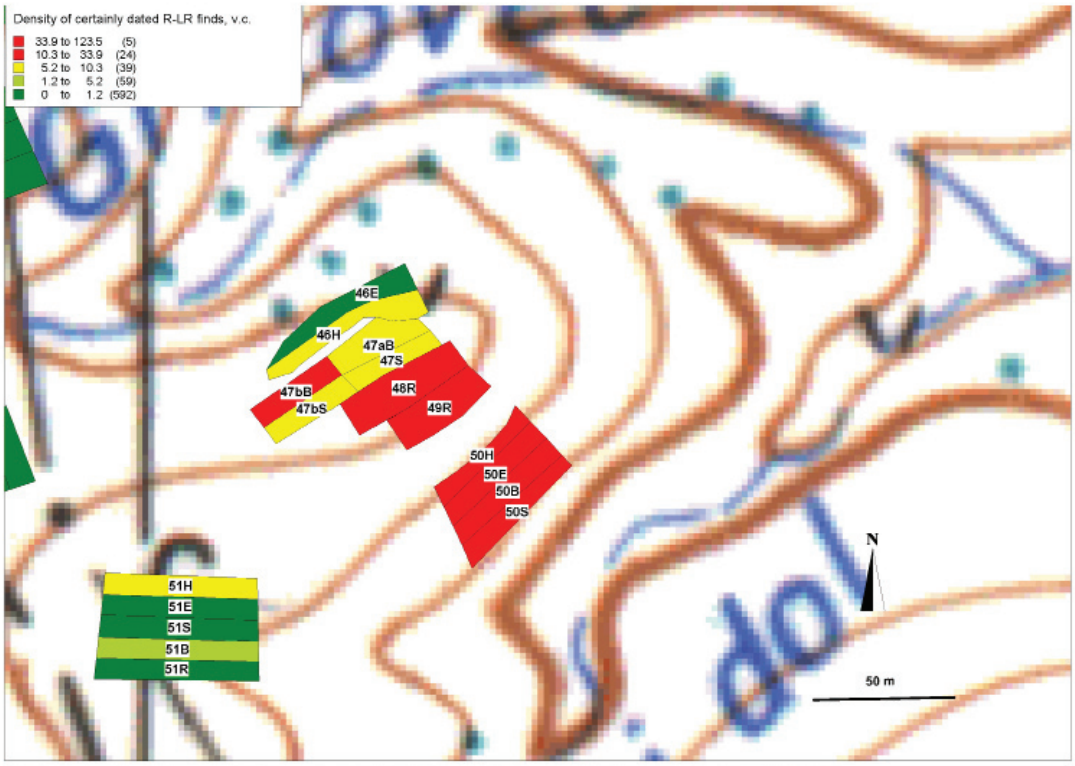


Map 6: Density of Roman-Late Roman finds in the area of the fortification, in 1000 sq. meters.

[12] Donev, D. (forthcoming) *Macedonian Heritage.*

The highest concentration of Roman material was located at the southern foot of the hill-fort, on transects 50S, 50B, 50E and 50H, with a gradual increase from 13 fragments on 50S to nearly 80 fragments per 1000 sq meters on 50H, the maximum for the survey area. On the transect units covering the interior of the fort, the density of Roman material was closer to the district average, ranging between 3 and 13 fragments per 1000 sq meters. Because of the local topography and ground visibility conditions, the cluster has very sharp, unnatural limits. On the south it is bounded by the bed of the Dlabok Dol, on the west by a long overgrown stretch. Only on transects 51H and 51B, 90 meters to the west do we see the Roman material reappearing on the surface, but in quantities lower than the average. It is possible that we are actually seeing a portion of the "tail" or the "halo" of the site, mostly concentrated at the southern foot of the fort[13].

Correcting for the visibility factor doesn't have a particular effect on the local pattern of distribution (map 7). The transect units covering the interior of the fort are elevated above the district average, but the density is still many times lower than that predicted for transects 50B-50H. It is highly probable that transect 49R and possibly 48R, both on the southern terraces of the fort, were also occupied, but the density on the acropolis and the northern terraces are too low, even when corrected for the visibility factor. Taking into account only the area covered by the transects on the southern terraces and at the foot of the hillock and allowing for a wider margin along the western limit, this settlement measures between 2500 and 3000 sq meters.



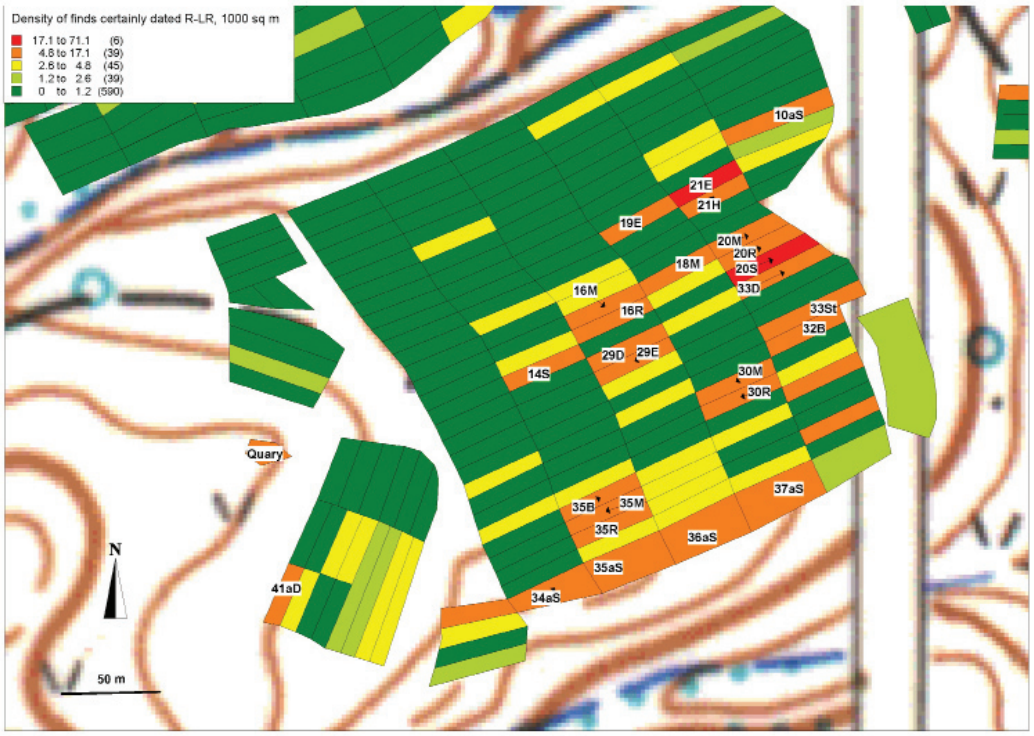
Map 7: Density of finds certainly dated to the Roman-Late Roman Period, in 1000 sq. meters, visibility corrected.

The most extensive carpet of Roman to Late Roman material was recorded at the foot of Mali Konjik, in the southern survey sector. This sector is almost entirely covered with Roman material, with a particular concentration on 2 or 3 cores, near the southern and eastern edge of the foothills (map 8). The most extensive core stretching over 5 neighbouring transects, 18M, 20M, 20R, 20S and 33D is situated on the eastern edge of the foothills, about 250 meters west

[13] For the concept of site halo see Bintliff, J. Howard, P. Snodgrass, A. et al. (2007) 23-26.

of the hill-fort. However, very high artifact density was recorded only on transect 20S with over 20 fragments per 1000 sq meters, the rest of the transects featuring not more than 7-8 shards per 1000 sq meters. The density of Roman finds increases again on transect 18M, immediately to the west of the group, with almost 15 fragments per 1000 sq meters. West of this core there spreads a sparse carpet of Roman material with artifact densities ranging between 2 and 6 fragments per 1000 sq meters. It can be followed continuously for over 120 meters from the western edge of the site. If we limit the site to the transects featuring over 7-8 fragments per 1000 sq meters, it will measure almost 2000 sq meters. But admittedly the local pattern of distribution makes it rather difficult to draw the site limits in a non-arbitrary fashion, i.e. include the transect units with over 7 fragments per 1000 sq meters and exclude those featuring lower artifact densities. The difference between the densities recorded on the core and the periphery aren't particularly pronounced.

Only a couple of dozen meters north of the cluster on transects 20M-20S, 33D, there is a second, smaller peak on transect 21E with slightly over 19 fragments per 1000 sq meters. This cluster extends over the neighbouring units 21H and 19E with 7 and 8 fragments per 1000 sq meters, leaving a less extensive halo, mostly limited to the east of the core. It extends for about 60 meters reaching the edge of the foothills. Typically for this zone the artifact density is average or lower than average, though there is another small peak on transect 10aS with 9 shards per 1000 sq meters. On the units to the north of this core and on the units covering the area between the sites on transects 21E-21H, 19E and 18M, 20M-20S, 33D, finds securely datable to the Roman and the Late Roman Period completely disappear from the surface record. This was evidently a smaller site, measuring slightly over 1000 sq meters.



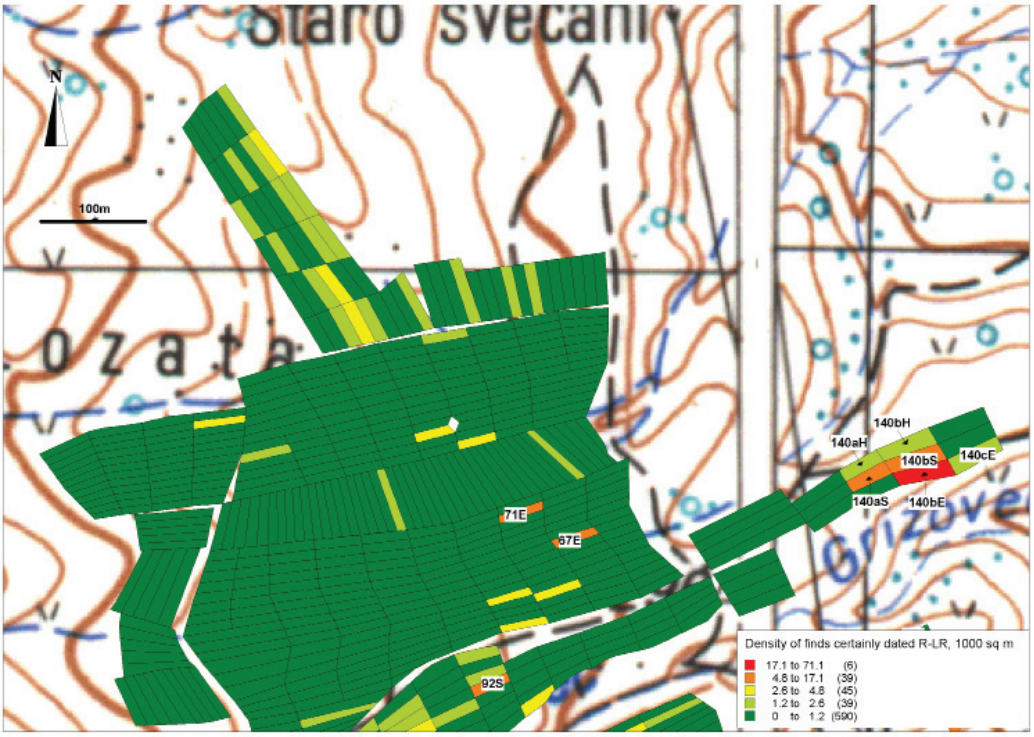
Map 8: Density of R-LR finds in the southern survey section, in 1000 sq. meters.

South of the concentration on transects 18M, 20M-20S, 33D, after a brief sterile interval, the carpet of Roman finds reappears on the surface. It stretches almost continuously across the southern third of the foothills. Only about 15 meters south of the edge of transect 33D, there is a sudden, but low peak on transects 33St, 32B, 30M and 30R, with densities ranging between

5 and 8 fragments per 1000 sq meters. This irregular cluster is difficult to interpret as it lacks a clear concentric pattern and it is suddenly interrupted in the middle. We will see that this is very likely an artificial phenomenon.

The highest concentrations were recorded further south, on the transects covering the terraces along the southern edge of the foothills. On transects 34aS-37aS we recorded between 7 and 12 fragments per 1000 sq meters, while slightly lower densities were recorded on transects 35B, 35R and 35M, about 10 meters to the north of transect 35aS. In-between these two cores and on the transects to the east of the pair, the density of Roman material drops below the district average, fluctuating between 2 and 5 fragments per 1000 sq meters over a distance of almost 130 meters. Thus we have a pattern very similar to those discovered on the rest of the cores of Roman material at the foot of Mali Konjik: a group of not more than 4-5 transect units with higher than average artifact density is coupled by more extensive strips of average or lower than average density, usually spreading asymmetrically to the central core. Like the concentrations at the foot of the hill-fort and the one on transects 18M, 20M-20S, 33D it measures between 2 and 3000 sq meters.

A thin carpet of finds securely datable to the Roman-Late Roman Period also covers the slopes of Mali Konjik, in its southern half. The majority of these transects feature average or lower than average density of Roman material, but note the small peaks on transect 41aD and near the small quartz quarry, just outside the survey limits. Mostly thanks to the local context and the character of the finds, these remains were interpreted as traces of non-residential, industrial activities[14].



Map 9. Density of R-LR finds in the central and northern survey sections, in 1000 sq. meters.

The last concentration of finds datable to the Roman-Late Roman Period was discovered in the eastern survey sector on three neighbouring transect units, 140bE, 140bS and 140aS (map 9). The artifact density ranges from 7 shards on 140aS, 12 on 140bS to 17 per 1000 sq meters on transect 140bE. This is a small island in an otherwise sterile zone, with only isolated fragments

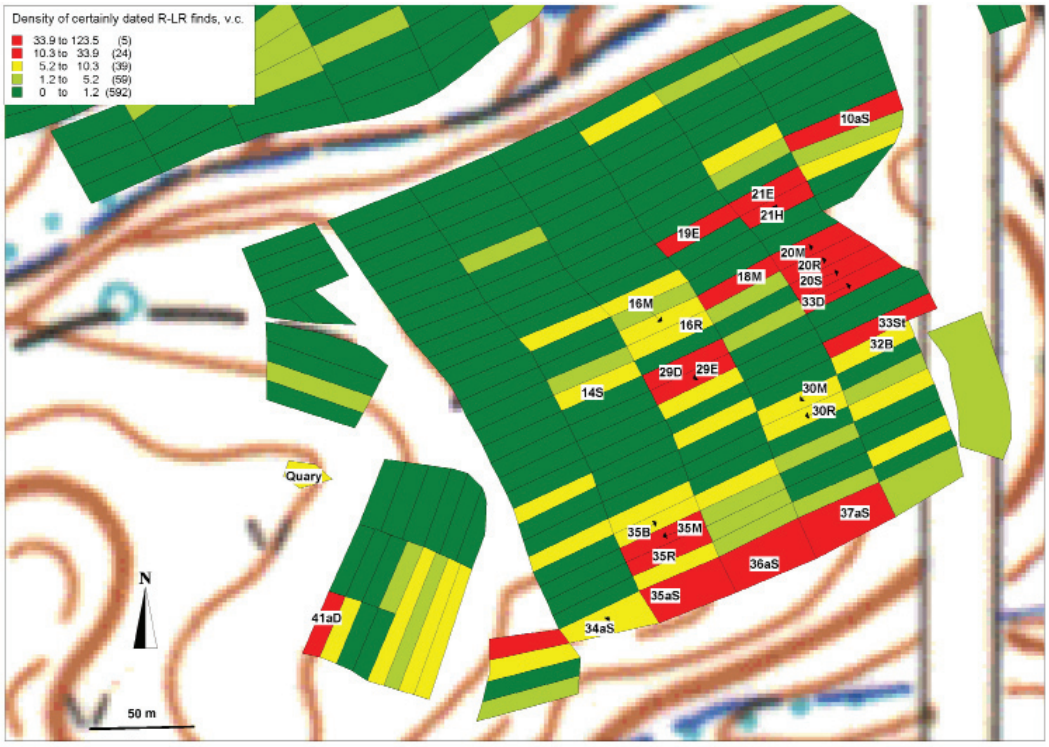
[14] Donev, D. (forthcoming) *Macedonian Heritage.*

coming from transects 140aH, 140bH and 140cE. Again it is the local context and the character of the finds that were decisive in the interpretation of this cluster. These alongside the absence of an extensive zone of intermediary density indicated the existence of a necropolis on this location, contemporary with the small fortification and the surrounding settlement foci[15].

In the rest of the intensively surveyed area, including the northwestern half of the southern section, the carpet of Roman to Late Roman finds suddenly becomes extremely sparse and discontinuous. The average density drops below 1 fragment per 1000 sq meters, but there are nevertheless considerable fluctuations. Extensive sterile stretches are suddenly interrupted by low density peaks, such as those on transects 92S, 71E or 67E. On these transect units the artifact density suddenly increases to 5 or 6 fragments per 1000 sq meters, approaching the values recorded on the periphery of the clusters in the southern survey section. Are we to interpret these small concentrations limited to single transect units as potential foci of non-residential activities or subsidiary buildings? After all these increments are much higher than the average density for the central and northern survey sectors. The worn character of the finds and the absence of architectural ceramics exclude the possibility that we are dealing with a dispersed network of individual dwellings.

We were surprised to discover a more continuous and compact carpet in the northernmost group of transects, at the foot of Cucula. Here the density of Roman to Late Roman material never exceeds the threshold of 4 fragments per 1000 sq meters, but the carpet is continuous and could indicate the presence of another settlement foci, perhaps situated on some of the ridges drained by the ravine to north of the Grizovec. This drainage was left outside the intensively surveyed area and we expect future surveys to discover the remains of another Roman settlement, probably smaller than the one discovered on the northern bank of the Dlabok Dol.

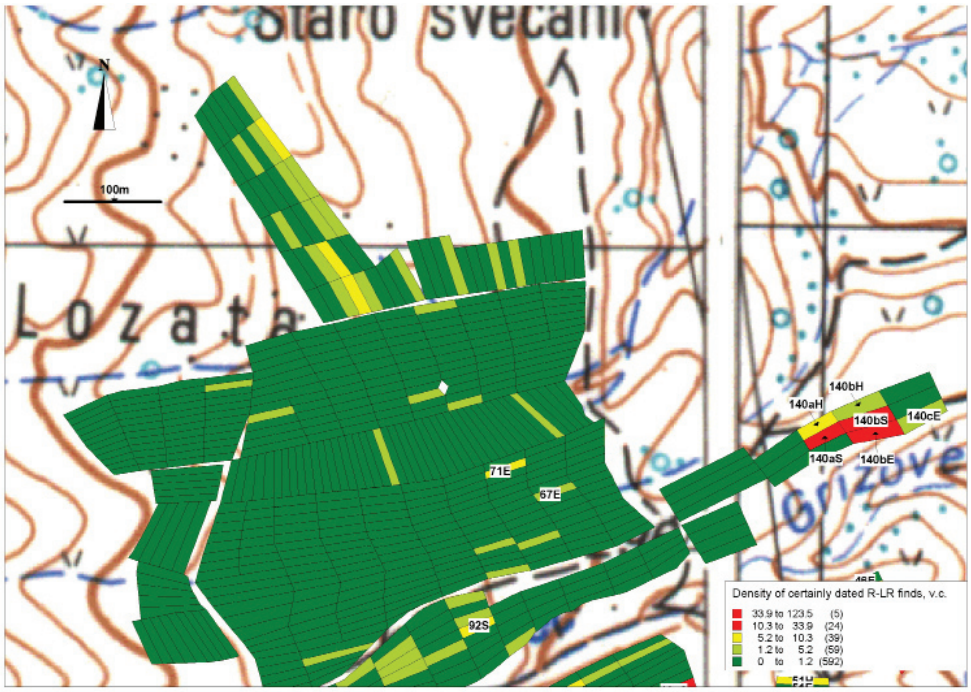
As in the area of the fortification, correcting for the variable ground visibility conditions doesn't alter significantly the pattern described in the preceding paragraphs (maps 10, 11).



Map 10: Density of R-LR finds in the southern survey sector, visibility corrected.

[15] Ibid.

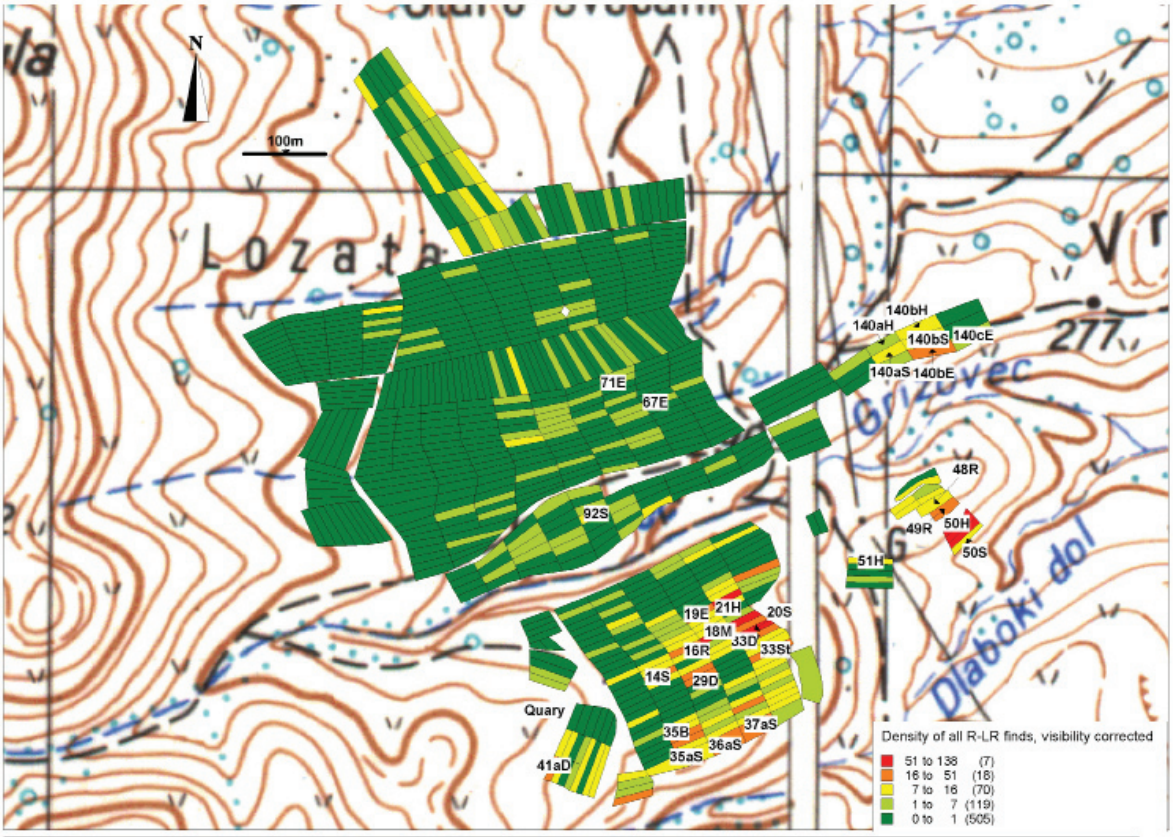
However it does have the unperceived effect of further extending the zone of higher than average artifact density (although the average threshold is slightly raised). Thus only between 10 and 15% of the transect units with Roman material in the southern survey section belong to the zones of intermediary or lower than average artifact density. As a result of this correction, the roughly concentric pattern described earlier, completely loses its integrity. Although it is still possible to distinguish quantitatively between transect units covering the settlement proper and those covering its halo, the latter regularly featuring less than 10 fragments per 1000 sq meters, the zone of transition between the site and the off-site disappears. At the same time, the dispersed scatter of Roman finds in the central and northern survey sections becomes even thinner and most of the low, isolated peaks are relegated to the zone of intermediary density. The extensive carpet covering the northernmost group of transects becomes slightly more pronounced, with artifact density exceeding the average on three transects. Similarly the small concentration in the necropolis area becomes slightly denser and larger, spreading over the neighbouring transects to the north, 140aH and 140bH.



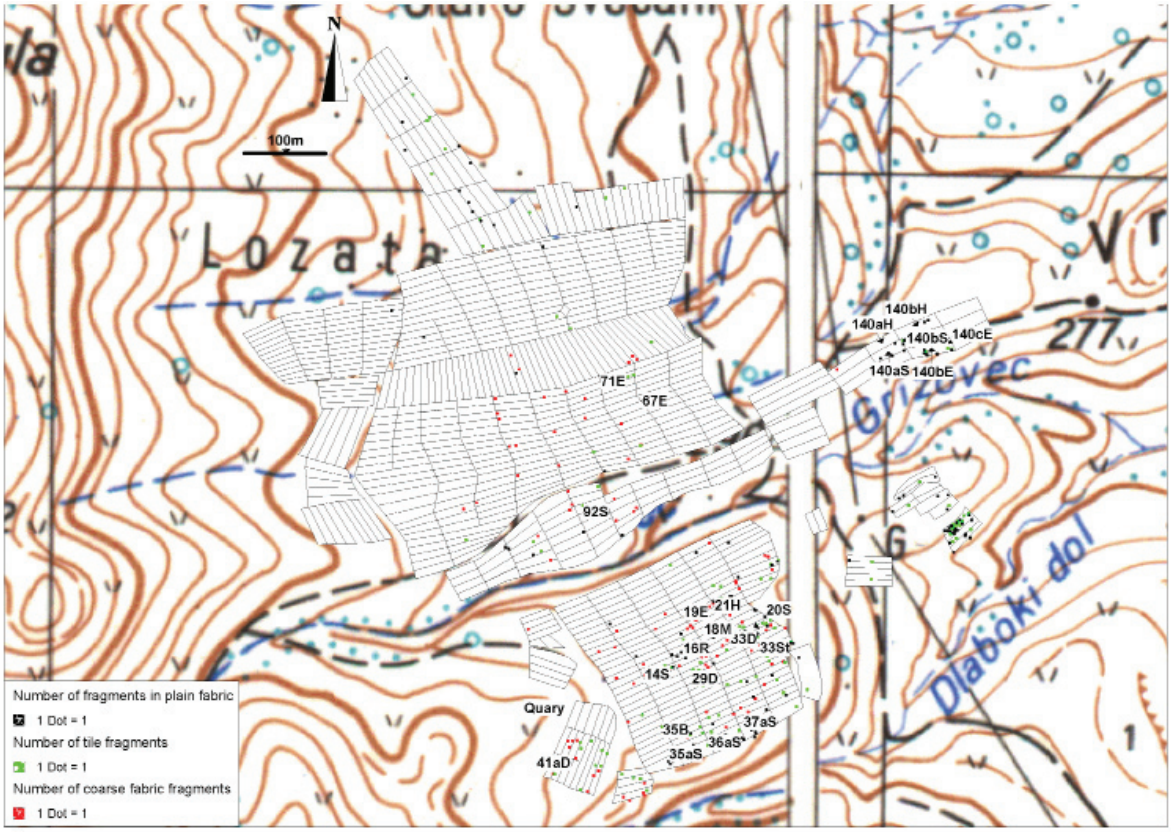
Map 11: Density of R-LR finds in the central and northern survey sections, visibility corrected.

It is also worthwhile looking at the distribution of all finds possibly datable to the Roman-Late Roman Periods, corrected for the visibility factor (map 12). We get a visibly changed, but also a more comprehensible pattern.

The coarse ware not only represents a considerable fraction of the Roman to Late Roman assemblage, but it is also distributed differently from the rest of the ceramic classes (map 13). As a result further increases in artifact density are limited only to certain portions of the zone of high density of fine, plain and tile fabrics. The threshold that defines the zone of higher than average density is raised to 16 fragments per 1000 sq meters and it is now limited to approximately 10% of the transect units with Roman material on the surface. The clusters at the foot of Mali Konjik receive clearer contours and we see a more extensive zone of intermediary density. The main cores persist: the one at the foot of the hill-fort, now clearly separated from the average density in the fortified area (note the complete absence of coarse pottery on this location, map 13), the one on transects 18M, 20M-20S, 33D and its smaller neighbour on transects 21E, 21H and



Map 12: Density of all finds possibly datable to the R-LR Period, visibility corrected.



Map 13: Distribution of all finds possibly datable to the Roman-Late Roman period, by fabric classes.

19E, and the one on the terraces along the southern edge of the foothills, now separated in two distinct clusters on transects 36aS-37aS and 35R-35M. One new cluster emerges on transects 29E and 29H, lying on the very periphery of the halo of the site on transects 18M, 20M-20S, 33D. Similar increases emerge on transects 14S and 33St, while the anomalous increase on transects 33St, 32B, 30M and 30R disappears, merging into the zone of average density. The small concentration on transect 41aD persists and there is an increased density on all transect covering the southern half of the face of Mali Konjik. Not much changes in the extent and the distribution of the cluster on the suspected necropolis area, although the artifact density is lower than on the major clusters in the southern survey section and we also see a more widespread carpet of low artifact density across the eastern sector.

Perhaps the most significant modifications occur in the zones of intermediary and lower than average artifact density. Combined they occupy almost 90% of the area covered by the carpet of Roman-Late Roman material and this extent is indeed proportional to the documented site area. Furthermore we see a regular concentric pattern, with transects featuring between 7 and 16 fragments per 1000 sq meters regularly clustering around transects featuring over 16 fragments per 1000 sq meters. In the central and northern survey sections this intermediary density zone nearly disappears, only to return on the transects covering the northernmost survey section.

These alternative readings of the carpet of the Roman-Late Roman material bring up the issue of the possible correlates of the integrity of the ceramic assemblages. Do integral, contemporary ceramic assemblages tend to leave a particular signature in the surface record? They do at least in conditions of flat or gentle relief and this phenomenon was observed with the very onset of intensive on-site survey in the Mediterranean[16]. The difficulty with our Roman-Late Roman assemblage is that it covers a rather wide chronological period of almost 7 centuries. Even if the dating of the coarse ware was unproblematic, this period is simply too long. Settlement contraction, expansion or displacement is likely to occur and this will inevitably affect the shape and the structure of the surface cluster. Yet disregarding the coarse pottery, although methodically justified, amounts to taking away about one third of the assemblage and produces a rather unusual pattern. Perhaps this fact, alongside the limited number of fabric groups indicate that the life of this settlement was shorter, mostly falling within the second half of the period. The presence of a few fragments datable to the Early Roman Period can hardly affect the overall pattern.

During the Roman to Late Roman Period settlement in the survey area moved to the left bank of the Dlabok Dol and at the foot of Mali Konjik. It consisted of at least three farms or clusters of houses, plus the concentration at the foot of the hill-fort. The character of the latter site is somewhat problematic in view of the complete absence of coarse pottery, but one shouldn't exclude the possibility that this is predetermined by the local taphonomic conditions. The large amount of tile and plain domestic ware are difficult to explain by referring to non-residential activities. In terms of settlement area, these clusters sum up to approximately one hectare, i.e. very similar to the Iron Age settlement. But the character of this settlement will remain unclear. Solely on the basis of the surface record it is impossible to decide if these are separate farmsteads or a dispersed hamlet. Either way it is difficult to grasp the extent of the architectural remains, the fortification and the terraces. We are obviously dealing with a stable community that invested in the surrounding landscape.

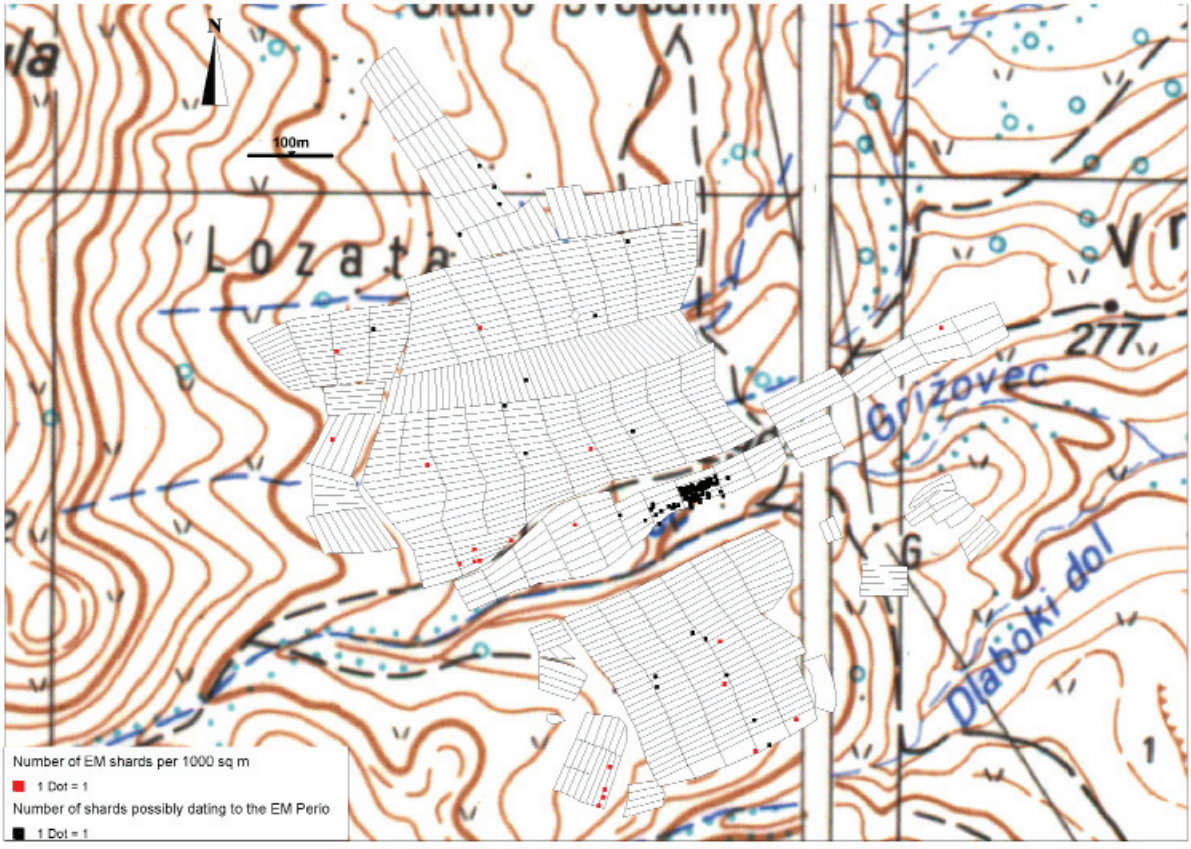
One final remark concerning the Roman to Late Roman Period is the shift in settlement focus from the central parts of the Pleistocene zone to the narrow belt of amphibolites that

[16] Bintliff, J.L. Snodgrass, A.M. (1985) The Cambridge/Bradford Boeotian Expedition: The first four years, 123-161, *Journal of Field Archaeology* 12; Cherry, J.F. et al, (1988) fig. 5.

limits the survey area from the south and west. This part of the terrain hasn't been ploughed in the recent centuries and it seems that this has always been the case. Compared to its prehistoric predecessors the Roman to Late Roman settlement lies hidden from sight; even the fort is not very visible from the main local road. This positioning makes perfect sense, as it not only leaves the entire cultivable area free from dwellings, but it also makes an optimum usage of the local topography. These farms or groups of houses were favorably exposed to the south, protected from the cold northerlies.

Svećani in the post-Antique Period

After the end of the Roman-Late Roman Period, the intensively surveyed area was definitely abandoned. Among the collected material there are no fragments datable prior to the late 19th-early 20th century. Thus we couldn't confirm the tradition preserved in oral history and cartography that the site of the old village[17] was closer to the Vardar, somewhere in the northern end of the survey area. The ruins of the village Svećani, abandoned in the early decades of the 20th century are situated in the upper course of the Dlabok Dol, over 2 kilometers southwest of the survey area as the crow flies[18].



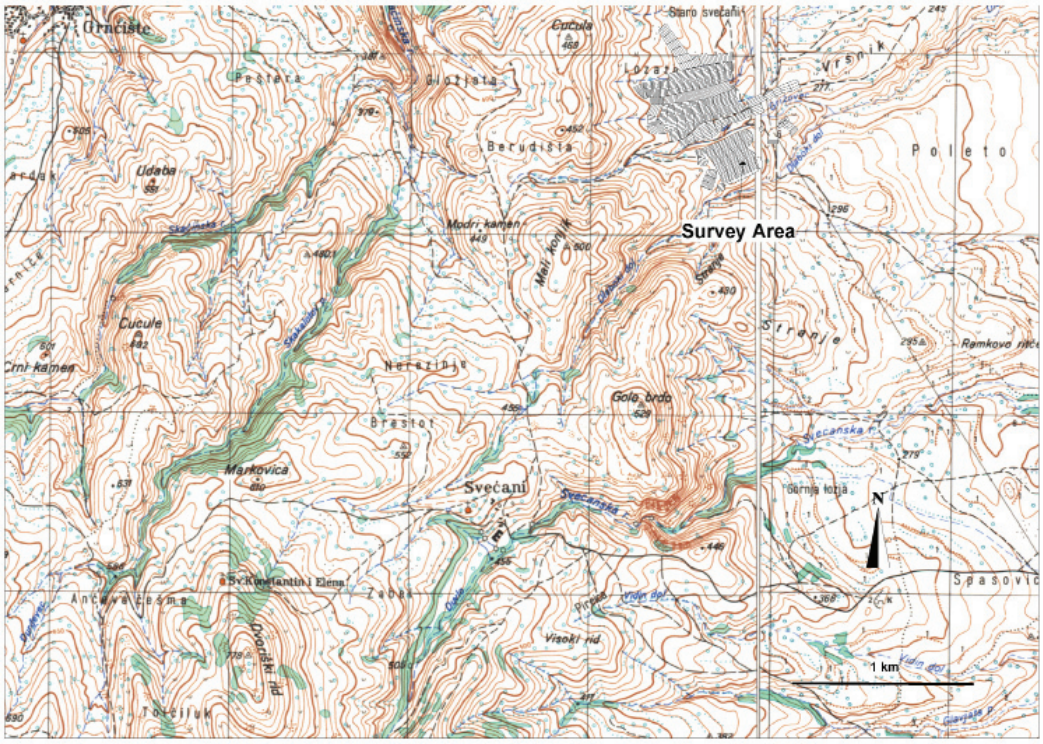
Map 14: Distribution of all finds possibly datable to the Early Modern Period.

[17] The earliest mention of a village named Svećani in the region of Veles in an exhaustive Ottoman census from the mid-15th century, Соколовски, М. Стојановски, А. (1971) *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ. Опширен пописен дефтер 4 (1467-1468 година),* Скопје. (Sokolovski, M. Stojanovski, A. 1971, *Documents Turcs sur l'histoire du peuple Macedonien. Livre d'enregistrement détaillé* 4, Skopje). See also map 1.

[18] Радовановић, В. (1924) Тиквеш и Рајец. Насеља и порекло становништва. *Српски Етнографски Зборник* XXIX, Београд (RADOVANOVIĆ, V. 1924, Tikveš and Rajec. Settlements and the origin of the population. *The Serbian Ethnographic Bulletin* XXIX, Belgrade).

Although this may seem as an apparent retreat from the main agricultural resources and regional communication, the mountainous hinterland could have been equally attractive to the local agro-pastoralists thanks to the relative abundance of freshwater springs and pastures. In any case the survey area can be cultivated feasibly even from this location, as the walking distance to the fields at the foot of Berudiљta and Mali Konjik is about half an hour.

The most direct evidence of a renewed presence during the Early Modern Period comes from a small group of pottery fragments scattered across the survey area, but with a visible concentration in the northern half of the survey and especially along the main local road (map 14). This is a tiny assemblage of about 20 fragments, made of fine ochre clay and often carrying traces of poor, vitreous glaze. However it is possible that the assemblage was larger, including two fabric groups that appear in larger quantities on a couple of transects in the central survey section. We remain cautious when it comes to their dating, because they could easily belong to the Roman-Late Roman assemblage. The only factor that distinguishes them from the rest of this assemblage is their pattern of distribution. They hardly overlap with the majority of the fabrics datable to the Roman-Late Roman Period. Moreover the majority of the fragments that belong to one of the two problematic fabric groups appear almost exclusively on one or two transect with visible remains of furrows for irrigation channels. Bearing in mind that over 90% of the finds are body shards, it is very likely that we are dealing with the fragments of a ceramic pipe that went out of use in the nearer past.



Map 15: The location of Early Modern Svecani and the survey area.

Including or excluding these two categories from the Early Modern assemblage doesn't affect the interpretation of the settlement and land-use during the Early Modern Period. The settlement focus moved to the upper course of the Dlabok Dol, at the foot of Dvorski Rid and Markovica (map 15). This is a far more extensive zone of Pleistocene sediments; the remnants of an old lacustrine terrace, fragmented by the linear erosion into low ridges with rounded tops. Because of the rugged terrain large portions of this land are uncultivable, but in terms of

carrying capacity it represents an alternative settlement niche to the lower course of the Dlabok Dol. Svećani was a small village or a hamlet comprising between ten and a dozen households. In terms of rank it probably didn't differ from the Iron Age and the Roman-Late Roman settlement that we discovered in the lower course of the valley.

Being a part of the same valley, the intensively surveyed area was incorporated into the agricultural territory of the new settlement. It is possible that at least some of the terraces were built or reused for agricultural purposes during the Early Modern Period. Although appearing in fairly small quantities, the presence of Early Modern finds in the surface record shows that this area was frequented and probably exploited by the inhabitants of Svećani. Access from across the Vardar or from the valley of the Svećanska Reka is more difficult and the exploitation of this small oasis of arable land is hardly feasible for the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages.

Conclusions and directions for future research

It is still too early to speculate about the long-term settlement dynamic in the valley of the Dlabok Dol. We still need to survey the rest of its lower basin and it is possible that we're seeing only a fraction of a wider, continuous pattern. None the less the occupation of the alternative settlement niche in the upper course of the Dlabok Dol by the Early Modern Period points to one possible pattern in the long-term settlement history of the area. One should consider the possibility that this episode was repeated in other periods when the survey area was uninhabited, but it is equally likely that both settlement niches were inhabited simultaneously only during the Neolithic, the Iron Age and sometime during the Roman-Late Roman Period. It is unfortunate that the immediate surroundings of Early Modern Svećani are now lying overgrown, the low ground visibility preventing an intensive and systematic artifact survey. However it is possible to make intensive collections from the area of the village houses, which could give us an important clue to the date of this settlement and it can also detect the traces of settlements from other periods in the immediate vicinity. Another possibility is that the local settlement shifted between the banks of the Dlabok Dol, although because of its apparent dryness and openness the southern bank doesn't look like a very promising settlement location.

The fact that during the three periods represented in the surface record of the survey area, the size of the local settlement didn't exceed 1 hectare is hardly surprising in view of the carrying capacity and the agricultural potential of the wider study region. The valley of the Dlabok Dol could provide secure subsistence for not more than 30 families, assuming that each household consisted of 5 individuals and owned not more than 5 hectares of arable land. It was more surprising to discover a small, farm-sized Neolithic settlement, although the absence of this size-category from the country's archaeological record could simply reflect the prevalent type of field survey method. Sites of this size dating to the prehistoric periods and especially the Neolithic are rare, even in regions covered by intensive artifact survey[19].

During the last phase of settlement most of the micro-regions along the Middle Vardar Valley were covered by a modular network of settlements, featuring roughly the same number of inhabitants or between 10 and 30 families. However this simple pattern is interrupted by larger villages such as Vinićani, with nearly 100 households. Another group of villages clusters around the limit of 50-60 households. It would be of great interest to extend the survey over some of the neighbouring settlement niches and look for evidence of larger settlements in the archaeological record. One possible candidate is the valley of the Vidin Dol, with the remains of a larger settlement at the site called "Vidin Grad"[20].

[19] Bintliff, J. Howard, P. Snodgrass, A. (1999) The Hidden Landscape of Prehistoric Greece, 139-168, *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 12-2.

[20] Јосифовска-Драгојевиќ, Б. (1965) Прилог локализовања града Аргоса у Пеонији, 117-136, Жива Антика

We would at last like to mention the character of the surface clusters which we termed sites and settlements in this survey. In contrast to the common perception and representation of archaeological sites as simple dots, this small scale survey demonstrated that these are far more elusive phenomena. Indeed this observation was made over a decade ago and in geographic settings as distant as southern Greece and central Europe[21]. In "Old Svećani" we observed similarly complex patterns in the surface archaeological record. The ceramic assemblages were distributed into concentric density patterns, ranging from 0 to over 140 fragments per 1000 sq meters. In nearly all cases presented in this paper the concentric pattern was multi-focal and irregular. This circumstance creates obvious problems of interpretation. It is often difficult to decide on the exact limits of the site solely on the basis of the density figures, or more specifically, it is almost impossible to separate the area covered by dwellings from the peripheral zone of the settlement proper and the site halo. The interpretation of the zones of low and intermediary density or the so called satellite clusters is even more problematic and most survey projects now combine surface artifact surveys with geophysical prospection or test-pits in the hope of clarifying the character of these phenomena[22].

In fact these irregular dispersed patterns in the distribution of the surface material shouldn't be surprising if we think in terms of the complex series of pre and post-depositional events that created the archaeological record[23]. The settlement with its dwellings and subsidiary buildings is but a single component of the inhabited landscape, including satellites, field huts, burial and sacred ground, intensively cultivated areas and so forth. Furthermore the settlement itself hardly represents a zone of homogenous activity. Instead it is a complex agglomeration of house floors, rubbish pits, ditches and fences, roads and public space that can hardly produce a compact artifact cluster on the surface, even if we exclude the impact of recycling and the local taphonomic factors. This makes us rethink the traditional concept of archaeological site as a discrete and compact area, a concept that can indeed be quite misleading for both landscape archaeologists and the people that work out strategies for cultural heritage protection.

XV, Скопје (Josifovska-Dragojević, B. (1965) A contribution to the localization of the town Argos in Paeonia, 117-136, Antiquité Vivante XV, Skopje).

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UDK 398.22(497.774)(049.3)
UDK271.2-36(497.774) *Haemus Journal, vol. 2, 2013, 113-133,* ISSN: 1857- 8411

Discussion:

Through the Dead-ends of the Legends About Krk-kardaš and Beyond

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In memoriam Petri Ilievski

Abstract: *On the 28 October 2012 in the cathedral church of Bitola were canonized as saints the "Forty Monk-martyrs of Bitola" and an appropriate short book appeared, prepared by the Bigorski brotherhood. It is obvious that the monks engaged knew of a paper by Aleksandar Sterjovski, one that encouraged me to reexamine the circumstances. After I searched through the available literature, it seemed inevitable to conclude that there is no decisive evidence for the existence, not to speak of sanctity of such local characters from the time of the Ottoman conquest. There are many versions of the relevant legend, Christian and Muslim, in the first category the dominant motif being that of warrior-monks, defending the town by the sword, while in the second that of warriors similar to those witnessed especially in the cults of Central Asia. It appears possible that on the same place where we today find the church dedicated to the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste or on another, closer to the Reverse-grinding watermill, there was a church by the same name already in pre-Ottoman times and so the partially known life of these ancient Christian saints could be confused with the local legend for the conquest of Bitola together with that church. Or even that there was a "Krk-kardaš" (Christian?) before Krk-kardaš (Muslim?), which could lead to a fatal confusion of legends and locations. In other words, the executed canonization is baseless and irresponsible.*

Key words: Bitola, legends, monks, warriors, churches, mosques, saints.

More than a year has passed from the day when the alleged forty martyrs of Bitola were canonized as saints by the Macedonian Orthodox Church – the Archbishopric of Ohrid on the 45th anniversary of its autocephaly in the cathedral dedicated to the Holy Great Martyr Demetrius the Myrrh-streaming of Thessalonika. It was the 15/28 October 2012 when this unusual event united many clerics, monks and faithful people in a cheerful celebration. The canonization was carried out in the spirit of Russian Orthodox tradition, with a pannychida and liturgy, and only an informative and rather suggestive selection of data was given out about the then concluded procedure. The full explanation is available in the shape of a small book that I bought and read soon after it appeared[1] and became even less convinced by the justification

[1] *Светите славни Четириесет битолски преподобномаченици: повест за страдањето и богослужба.* Битола: Митрополиска библиотека „Св. Јован Богослов", 2012 [*The Holy Glorious Forty Monk-martyrs of Bitola: story of the passion and liturgy.* Bitola: Metropolitan library "St. John the Theologian", 2012].

offered, being already scandalized by a paper of Aleksandar Sterjovski on the toponym *Krk-kardaš*.[2] Following friendly and just recommendations, I finally decided to write a genuine scientific paper on the oral and written tradition about Krk-kardaš. I was further encouraged to publish such a paper by the shocking fact that, as far as I know, nobody else out of the many that should be interested, many of whom are incomparably more qualified to write on this subject than me, nobody, I say, reacted in a scientific or any other manner. What is even more striking is that the authors of the book, monks from the Monastery of St. John the Baptist (Bigorski), used and give in their bibliography the contribution by professor Sterjovski that scandalized me, but obviously not them.

Map 1

First, a due bit of topography. The place called *Krk-kardaš* (Turkish for "forty brothers/brethren") is located on the north-east edge of what today appears as a hollow surrounded by hills over the left bank of the river Dragor. This hilly formation is a part of the Snegovo-Oblakovo hill mass, which expands in an east-west direction just opposite the promontory of Baba over the ancient city of Herakleia Lynkou. Somewhere here may have been one of the palaces from which Gabriel Radomir, the son of Tsar Samuel, ruled what was left from their

[2] Стерјовски, Александар. *Топонимот „Крк-кардаш" во Битола.* Јазичните појави во Битола и Битолско денеска и во минатото (реферати од научниот собир одржан од 7 до 9 септември 1984 г. во Битола). Скопје: МАНУ, 1988, стр. 311-21. [Sterjovski, Aleksandar. *The toponym "Krk-kardaš" in Bitola.* Linguistic phenomena in Bitola and Bitola region today and in the past (papers from the scientific gathering held from 7 to 9 September 1984 in Bitola). Skopje: MANU, 1988, pp. 311-21]. It is worth noting that Sterjovski admits at the beginning of this paper that the available material is incredibly poor and often contradictory and that the task he took up is very difficult and uncertain to the end. More recently and similarly on this perhaps first Turkish toponym in Bitola: Димовски-Цолев, Ѓорѓи. *Реликти од турски топоними во Битола.* Македонско-турските односи и врски во светлината на Ататурковата порака: „Мир во земјата – мир во светот" (зборник на трудови поднесени на Меѓународниот научен симпозиум одржан на 18 и 19 октомври 2002 год. во Битола). Битола: Здружение за македонско-турско пријателство – Битола, 2003, стр. 213 [Dimovski-Colev, Gjorgji. *Relics of Turkish toponyms in Bitola.* Macedonian-Turkish relations and ties in the light of Ataturk's message: "Peace in the land – peace in the world" (collection of papers submitted to the International scientific gathering held on 18 and 19 October 2002 in Bitola). Bitola: Association for Macedonian-Turkish friendship – Bitola, 2003, p. 213].

medieval state in the central Balkans after the terrible Battle of Belasica in 1014 AD, although it seems that it was already there even previously, when he was Samuel's co-ruler.[3] His cousin from Samuel's and by the same killed brother Aaron, John Vladislav, after killing Gabriel in revenge, (re)constructed the fortress of Bitola, which he recorded on the famous Bitola slab.[4] This medieval inscription on marble was accidentally discovered when the oldest mosque in the town, the Eski-džami (Turkish for "Ancient mosque"), constructed by Sungur Čauš-bey (son of "Abdullah", so a local convert) in 1434/5 AD and being actually an adaptation of a preexisting church on the site, was destroyed.[5] This was unnecessarily done when in the autumn of 1956 a new regulation plan was being carried out and this mosque occupied part of the planned pavement of a new street.[6] Within its foundations were discovered other ancient walls built of stone and lime mortar. Later, during the digging of foundations for a civil apartment building next to the former mosque, some Christian relics were found, a medallion of St. Marc the Evangelist and a medallion of another saint, together with the upper part of a scepter in the form of a dragon. The many ornamental marble fragments and inscriptions (spolia) probably originate from the area of Herakleia, but it is not clear whether they were already built in the church.[7] Another scholar from Bitola, Gjorgji Dimovski-Colev, in a footnote in one of his papers about Bitola refers to the generally unavailable *Chronicle of Ace Kanare*, kept then by his daughter in the town of Balčik, Bulgaria, in which he had written down a legend from Bitola exactly about the adaptation of this church into a mosque by using the very material of the destroyed previously great and wealthy church up on the hill, dedicated to the Forty Martyrs of

[3] ἐν ᾗ διάγοντι τούτῳ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Σαμουὴλ ἀγγέλλεται θάνατος κατὰ τὴν εἰκοστὴν τετάρτην τοῦ ᾽Οκτωβρίου μηνός. καὶ εὐθὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπάρας ἐκ Μοσυνοπόλεως κάτεισιν εἰς Θεσσαλονίκην, κἀκεῖθεν ἄπεισιν εἰς Πελαγονίαν, μηδὲν λυμηνάμενος τῶν ἐν ποσίν, ἀλλ᾽ ἢ μόνα πυρπολήσας **τὰ ἐν Βουτέλῃ βασίλεια τοῦ Γαβριήλ**. πέμψας δὲ καὶ στρατιὰν χειροῦται τὸ φρούριον Πριλάπου καὶ τοῦ Στυπείου. ἐκεῖθεν καταλαμβάνει τὸν Τζερνᾶν λεγόμενον ποταμόν, ὃν σχεδίαις καὶ θυλάκοις πεφυσημένοις διαπεράσας ἐπάνεισιν εἰς τὰ Βοδηνά, κἀκεῖθεν τῇ ἐννάτῃ τοῦ ᾽Ιαννουαρίου μηνὸς ἦλθεν εἰς Θεσσαλονίκην (Ioannis Scylitzae *Synopsis historiarum,*editio princeps [Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae, volumen V, Series Berolinensis], recensuit Ioannes Thurn, apud Walter De Gruyter et socios Berolini et Novi Eboraci, MCMLXXIII, Basil and Constantine, 36. 36-45, p. 351). A general overview of the situation in Pelagonia at that time can be found in: Сидовски, Кочо. *Пелагонија во времето на Самуиловото Царство.* Јавна трибина „Битола низ вековите I: Битола во X и XI век". Битола: Факултет за учители и воспитувачи – Битола, 1998, стр. 21-31 [Sidovski, Kočo. *Pelagonia at the time of the empire of Samuel.* Public discussion "Bitola through the centuries I: Bitola in the X and XI century". Bitola: Faculty of teachers – Bitola, 1998, pp. 21-31].

[4] Филиповска-Лазаровска, Гордана. *Некои нови моменти за Битолската плоча.* Јавна трибина „Битола низ вековите IX: Битола во XIX век (странци во Битола)". Битола: Факултет за учители и воспитувачи, 2006, стр. 123-31 [Filipovska-Lazarovska, Gordana. *Some new moments about the Bitola slab.* Public discussion "Bitola through the centuries IX: Bitola in the XIX century (foreigners in Bitola)". Bitola: Faculty of teachers, 2006, pp. 123-31].

[5] Тефик, Мехмед. *Кратка историја на Битолскиот вилает.* Битола: Интернационална трговска печатница, 1911, стр. 29 [Tefik, Mehmed. *Short history of the Bitola district.* Bitola: International trade printing house, 1911, p. 29 (a handtyped translation from the Turkish original by an unknown translator)]. Цепенков, Марко К. *Македонски народни умотворби во десет книги. Книга 7: Преданија.* Скопје: Македонска книга & Институт за фолклор, 1980, стр. 222 [Cepenkov, Marko K. *Macedonian folktales in ten books. Book 7: Legends*. Skopje: Makedonska kniga & Institute of Folklore, 1980, p. 222] says that the previous church at Žitni pazar (Grain market) was dedicated to St. Paraskeva (Sv. Petka). Хаџи-Васиљевић, Јован. *Град Битољ.* Кроз Стару Србију и Маћедонију. Београд, 1911, стр. 19 [Hadži-Vasiljević, Jovan. *The town of Bitola.* Through Ancient Serbia and Maćedonia. Belgrade, 1911, p. 19] to the Ascension of Christ, that being the cathedral church.

[6] Томовски, Крум. *Џамии во Битола.* Архитектурата на почвата на Македонија. Макропроект „Историја на културата на Македонија" (прилози за истражувањето на историјата на културата на почвата на Македонија). Книга 9. Скопје: МАНУ, 2000, стр. 187, бел. 91 [Tomovski, Krum. *Mosques of Bitola.* The architecture on the soil of Macedonia. Macroproject "History of the culture of Macedonia" (contributions for the research of the history of the culture on the soil of Macedonia). Book 9. Skopje: MANU, 2000, p. 187, n. 91].

[7] Ibid., p. 177.

Sebaste.[8] It is common knowledge that the modern church on the spot is dedicated to the same group of Christian saints.

The *Chronicle of Ace Kanare* is very important because it is the only testimony that even in pre-Ottoman times there existed on the same (?) hill a church dedicated to the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste. Professor Colev doesn't give a date for the creation of this chronicle, but one may well assume that it comes from about the same time as the different testimonies of Jovan Hadži-Vasiljević and his contemporary Marko K. Cepenkov do, which are dealt with in detail by professor Sterjovski, but perhaps not in full detail. Therefore one is inclined to try and sharpen the picture they offer only after repeating the words of this trustworthy scientific predecessor.

Sterjovski writes that according to Hadži-Vasiljević, who stayed twice in Bitola at the very end of the XIX century, the first time as a traveler and scientist (1894) and the second as an employee of the Serbian Consulship in Bitola (January-May 1899), Krk-kardaš was "a tomb of a renowned Muslim holy woman" and it was actually called "Arapli Krk-kardaš". On this place in his time there was a tomb in which an Arab woman had been buried together with her forty sons that died there. It became a renowned holy place where every Friday the Muslims of Bitola lit candles and oil-lamps.[9] Marko K. Cepenkov, the famous collector of Macedonian folklore, stayed in Bitola on several occasions before 1888 and noted down the most important legends about the town, among which also the one about the Muslim sanctuary of Krk-kardaš. It was built out of stone and had giant dimensions: ten paces in length and as much in width. At the time when Cepenkov saw it, it was open, but with nothing to indicate that people had been buried there. The legend connected to it that he gives is similar to the previous one: a Turkish woman was buried there together with her forty children that she gave birth to within twenty four hours, and they all died together with her on a single day and were then buried in a single grave. That is how the place got its name.[10]

It is clear that according to both authors from the end of the XIX century there is no doubt about the Muslim character of this sanctuary. The difference in the ethnic determinative used for the alleged Muslim holy woman is of no importance here, but the same adjective for the name of the place is an internal confirmation of Hadži-Vasiljević's account. Both record the same legend, which well corresponds to the similar ones of Central Asia and other regions of Eurasia.[11] It is also known that Friday is considered a day of prayer by Muslims. Only Cepenkov's description of the grave seems very unusual. Sterjovski even tries to calculate the probable number of people that could be properly buried in a place of such dimensions as not more than fifteen.[12] He may have gone far astray here. Instead, a reconsideration of the character of the place Cepenkov describes is in order. There is no doubt, it perfectly matches the basis of a ruined church. But why not go back to the source here and see what one can independently make out of this legend.

Legend Nº 657 (KRK KARDAŠ): *"Going to the Reverse-grinding watermill* (Kriva vodenica) *over the town of Bitola, when you come to enter among the Badembalari* (Vineyards

[8] Димовски-Цолев, Ѓорѓи. *Средновековната положба и име на Битола.* Научна мисла – Битола 1980 (материјали од научниот собир одржан во Битола на 6 декември 1980 г.), кн. 1. Битола: ДНУ – Битола, 1980, стр. 548, бел. 23 [Dimovski-Colev, Gjorgji. *The medieval location and name of Bitola.* Scientific thought – Bitola 1980 (materials from the scientific gathering held in Bitola on 6 December 1980), v. 1. Bitola: DNU – Bitola, 1980, p. 548, n. 23]. He was told about the chronicle by Simeon Acevski, a local priest.

[9] Sterjovski, op. cit., p. 312.

[10] Ibid., loc. cit.

[11] Ibid., pp. 314-9.

[12] Ibid., p. 320.

with almond-trees) *vineyards, so called by the Turks* (Ottoman and Muslims in general)*, there is a Turkish grave, encircled by a wall of stone, about ten paces long and as wide, and inside the grave is empty, covered by grass. In that grave were buried in ancient times a Turkish girl with her forty children. That girl gave birth to forty children within twenty four hours and they were all male, small as little birds and they all died. At last, after the girl had given birth to all of them, she also died and was buried there together with her forty children. And this grave came to be renowned and it was called Krk kardaš. The Turks consider those forty brothers to be holy, so they told old women to light candles and an oil-lamp to them every Friday."* He adds in a footnote: *In our town of Prilep there is a graveyard near the village of Varoš called "Krklari" (krk kardaš – forty brothers). Those forty brothers were not born of one mother, as it is in the town of Bitola, but were made brothers by oath in order to execute prince Marko and they were all killed by Marko, so they were buried there.*

It becomes clear that Sterjovski didn't use and report to the reader all the information that Cepenkov gives. The Reverse-grinding[13] watermill was located at the entrance of the late Ottoman town of Bitola (Manastĭr), beyond the Kara-köprü (Crn most, Black bridge), on the left bank of the river Dragor. Just over it were the Badembalari (Badem-bağlari) vineyards with almond-trees as boundaries between them. Cepenkov says that the Turkish grave he saw was just at the entrance in this area, which can in no way be brought into agreement with the known location of modern Krk-kardaš on the very opposite, north-east edge of the imagined hollow. This gives sound ground to the assumption that one is actually dealing here with the foundations of a church. It remains unclear why Cepenkov connects this "grave" to the Muslim legend. No matter whether it is a misunderstanding or not, further evidence may be added for the existence of a church in the area. Recently two parecclesiae (Sv. Petka) were constructed on the two opposite banks very close to the alleged remains of the old church and one of them has been displaced during the construction of a new round-flow bridge next to the Black bridge. However, this is no scientific proof, but probably the consequence of a tradition mentioned by Mehmed Tefik-bey, who was the director of the Ottoman Military gymnasium in Bitola and a history teacher there at the end of the Ottoman rule. In 1911 he wrote:

"Why is this town called Manast'r? On the right bank of Dragor there were forty one churches and as many watermills for their support. Similarly, on the left bank of Dragor were built twenty nine churches and the same number of watermills for their support. At these churches were gathered the population of the Bitola field on holidays, and there were performed their religious rites. Because the surface upon which the town of Bitola extends today was covered with monasteries (churches)*, this town was called Manast'r.*

According to another legend, the town got this name for the huge church that existed over Bitola, at the contemporary bridge called Kara-köprü, on its right side, at the place where today the residence of the great Riza-bey exists, and in which church all the inhabitants of the settlements in the Bitola field could enter on holidays."[14]

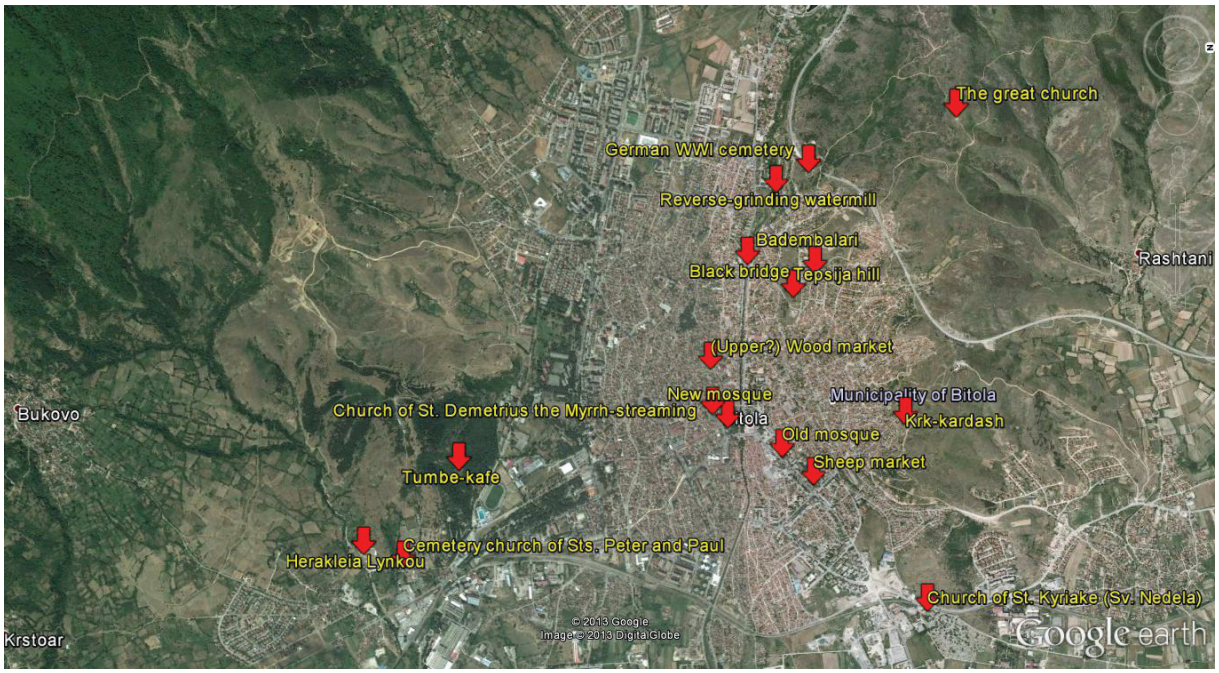
It is known that the residence (konaci) of Riza-bey was, as Mehmed Tefik-bey writes, on the inward (towards the town) side of the Black bridge, on the left bank of the river, and the remains of the church I am trying to identify with Cepenkov's "grave" should be on the same bank, but the outward side of the bridge. This, however, if a misunderstanding, is of an

[13] A local old man told me that the mill got its name for the opposite direction of the rotation of the grinding stone (to the left). He also confirmed that it was located just under the modern Bitola prison.

[14] Tefik, pp.16-7.

incomparably smaller degree than the assumed one of Cepenkov. Perhaps one should also take into consideration the remains of the great church on a high hill north of the "grave", although that one would definitely not have its own adjoined watermill.[15]

It appears then that the place Cepenkov described is not Krk-kardaš and there is no trace of the existence of another Krk-kardaš in the surroundings of Bitola, different from the place designated with that name today. There is on the hill Tepsija a grave that is today rarely venerated by Muslims, but with normal dimensions for a single burial.[16] Having checked one of his sources and proven that the public hadn't got the full picture by Sterjovski, one is justly inclined to check the other as well. Here are the very words of Hadži-Vasiljević:



Map 2

"Under the Bair, which is a hill on the north-west side of the town, there stands a grave of a renowned Muslim holy woman and it is called Arapli Krk Kardaš. The Turks light every Friday oil-lamps and tallow candles at this grave and they have a legend that an Arab woman gave birth to forty sons, they all died here and were buried here." He adds in a footnote on the same page: *"That is a generally known legend of the Turks and we meet it everywhere. See on this Prilep and its surroundings 79-80."*[17]

[15] Филиповска-Лазаровска, Гордана. Аница Ѓорѓиевска. *Материјалната култура во Битола од X-XI век.* Јавна трибина „Битола низ вековите I: Битола во X и XI век". Битола: Факултет за учители и воспитувачи – Битола, 1998, стр. 11-20 [Filipovska-Lazarovska, Gordana. Anica Gjorgjievska. *The material culture in Bitola of the X-XI century.* Public discussion "Bitola through the centuries I: Bitola in the X and XI century". Bitola: Faculty of teachers – Bitola, 1998, pp. 11-20]. Тодоровски, Стевче. *Археолошки наоди од Среден век во ареалот на Битола.* Скопје: Македонска цивилизација, 2002, стр. 80 [Todorovski, Stevče. *Archaeological finds from the Middle Ages in the area of Bitola.* Skopje: Makedonska civilizacija, 2002, p. 80] connects the church and the mill, mentioning the place as one of the vakufs (endowments) in the central town area. He gives further details on pp. 104-5. On the vakufs in general, see p. 106.

[16] Perhaps it is the grave of Hasan-baba. He was probably a member of a religious sect. For the many of the kind that appeared in Bitola through the centuries of Ottoman rule, of whom a few may well have been buried on the Tepsija hill, although not evidently, see Tefik, pp. 31-47.

[17] Hadži-Vasiljević, op. cit., p. 22 with n. 21.

The work on Prilep indeed contains a strikingly similar description: there was over Prilep a place called *Krklar* ("The Forty", corresponding (?), as Hadži-Vasiljević notes, to the Christian Forty Martyrs, 09.03) where Turkish women came every Friday and lit tallow candles, as the "Serbs" of the town said, for the souls of their predecessors killed by Marko Krale during the conquest of Prilep, as Cepenkov wrote.[18] Next to that place was another, which the same women approached in the same way, and it was called *Karataš*, which means "Black stone". Sterjovski's explanation again proves to be deficient. Hadži-Vasiljević clearly says that the place he knew to be united with this Muslim legend is in the same part of the town where Cepenkov led his readers (north-west, under the hill), although it is unusual to the modern reader that the name *Bair* is used for that region. It becomes more probable now that Cepenkov was not the victim of a mere misunderstanding and that there was a "Krk-kardaš" before Krk-kardaš. But that is not the only evidence for such a genuine Muslim sanctuary.

The most valuable and archaic version of the legend about Krk-kardaš, according to Sterjovski, is the oral one told to him by the seventy year old then pensioner of Turkish origin, Mr. Feti Alievski. He said that at Krk-kardaš there was a military camp of a division of the Ottoman army that participated in the conquest of the town. The inhabitants of Bitola tried to bribe these forty soldiers with as many girls, but failed. All forty died during the attack on the town and all were buried at the site, with the only exception of their leader, who was buried in one of the two graves at Gorni Drven pazar in Bitola (Upper Wood market). But this is not the only known expression of such a version of the legend. Here it is evident that the legend about Krk-kardaš is only a part of the wider legend about the conquest of the town by the Ottomans. Taking the opposite direction now, the beginning belongs to Tefik:

"When the Ottomans went to subdue the town of Bitola, its inhabitants fought bitterly against the Ottomans for a few days. When they saw that they would not be able to resist them, they tried to calm down the fire that burst out from the direction of the Ottomans with an act that at first sight looked like a kind of hospitality. The janissaries that had pitched their tents near the famous church of St. Kyriake (Sv. Nedela, built in 1863)*, one that is even today well equipped and exists beside Bitola on its northern side, saw thirty eight young girls approaching them at sunset. Timurtaš-bey, the commander of the Ottoman army, accepted the gifts, for the girls had brought different kinds of food and other things, being sent to also challenge the morality of the Ottomans. He distributed the drink and the food to the janissary army, but gave them so much money, that was ten times the cost of what they brought and besides that he gave a present to each and every one of them. In meantime, after the most amiable reception, the night had settled down. He immediately ordered that the necessary number of tents be emptied and within them he placed the girls mentioned. And in order for them not to suffer any damage and to remove their doubts and fears, before each tent he put a guard of janissaries, trustworthy and people of age that until dawn kept watch and vigilantly took care of their peace and calm. The next day, early in the morning, after he said farewell to them, he sent them out with an escort of about ten most trustworthy and honest janissaries of age to accompany them.*

Surprised by this reception of their girls beyond any expectation and especially amazed at the understanding the Ottomans had shown this time, the lord of Bitola immediately after the return of the girls mentioned sent to Timurtaš-bey the priest Nicholas, the head of the Monastery of St. Kyriake, who had taken refuge in the town and had left the monastery in fear of the Turks. He asked for mercy, promising that he would be forever faithful to the Ottoman

[18] Хаџи-Васиљевић, Јован. *Прилеп и његова околина (историјско-географска излагања)*. Београд, 1902, стр. 79-80 [Hadži-Vasiljević, Jovan. *Prilep and its surroundings (historical and geographical expositions)*. Belgrade, 1902, pp. 79-80].

state. Timurtaš-paša showed extraordinary justice towards the population of Bitola that had surrendered to him. The story goes that at the same moment one hundred and thirteen people, a hundred from the very town and thirteen from the surroundings, converted to Islam.

However, by order of Timurtaš-bey, for safety reasons, the fortress of Bitola was razed to the ground. The fortress was on a hill called Reverse-grinding watermill (Kriva vodenica). *That hill is even today called Kale-bair* (Fortress hill). *"*[19]

The camping place of the Ottoman army here obviously agrees with the one in Feti's tale and a similar number of girls, thirty eight in this narrative, strengthen the similarity. What is missing here are the forty soldiers who died and were buried there. But it is clear that Tefik didn't have fuller knowledge of the legend for the taking over of Bitola and couldn't add more, which he would have surely done if it were possible. What is especially interesting in this version are the two quite different names for the same hill, the one with fortress on it: *Reverse-grinding watermill* and *Fortress hill*. It has already been said that the Reverse-grinding watermill is no hill, but a place under a hill. It seems that this equation can be explained only if one excludes an identification with the modern part of Bitola called *Bair*, which lies so attractively under the slopes of the hill with the known Krk-kardaš. And truly, it is not *Bair*, but *Kale-bair*. It is difficult to speak of modern Krk-kardaš as being near the Bitola fortress. There could be a guard detachment on the hill over Krk-kardaš, but hardly a fortress so far from the Reverse-grinding watermill and the great church on a high hill over the river Dragor. That leaves Krk-kardaš far away, in the area of the Ottoman camp, nearer to the modern church of St. Kyriake, which probably didn't exist at the time of the conquest.[20] But this places doubt on the legend written down by Ace Kanare. If the ancient, pre-Ottoman church of the Saint Forty Martyrs of Sebaste was on the same site as the modern one with the same name, how is it possible that the Bitola slab, originating probably from the same area, testifies to a (re)construction of the fortress? Such a slab would have been placed on the very gate of the fortress and that is too far from the great church to the southwest of Raštani and from the Reverse-grinding watermill. The location of Herakleia similarly can't be taken into consideration and the low position of Ottoman and modern Bitola doesn't seem to be safe enough for the age, although it is probable that there existed churches and simple low class dwellings downtown. One has to admit the possibility that both the church and the slab were somewhere over the Reverse-grinding watermill, far away from the modern Krk-kardaš, which leaves it free for Muslim occupation and sanctification. That, however, brings other trouble. Why and how would Sungur Čauš-bey bring the material for the adaptation of a previous church on the bank of Dragor into a mosque from so far and so high away? Or not from high, but just beside the river? If there was a church dedicated to the Holy Forty Martyrs of Sebaste on a lower position beside the river, closer rather to the Reverse-grinding watermill, which can be proven in no way, then such an enterprise seems credible and the account of the two contemporaries understandable.[21] The church at the Reverse-grinding

[19] Tefik, p. 18.

[20] To my amazement, I found an opinion that this church dedicated to St. Kyriake was to be found near Herakleia, at the place called *Crkvište*. Todorovski, op. cit., p. 33, n. 92.

[21] Certainly, this line of thought follows the assumption that only the Ottoman conquerors were capable of and interested in bringing down and preserving the slab of John Vladislav by adapting it into a threshold of their first mosque in the town, which is not certain. One thing, however, is certain: the available written sources together with the material remains are very silent on the period 1018-1385. There is no data about a previous destruction and/or reconstruction of the fortress by the invading Byzantines, Latins or anyone else. See: Аџиевски, Коста. *Пелагонија во Средниот век.* Скопје: Институт за национална историја, 1994, стр. 59, бел. 62 [Adžievski, Kosta. *Pelagonia in the Middle Ages.* Skopje: Institute for national history, 1994, p. 59, n. 62]. There is even a third possibility, namely that the fortress of John Vladislav remained deserted and untouched for a long time, right

watermill would be called especially by the Turkish-speaking population through a logical translation and simplification with the same name as their sanctuary far away, on the site of the modern Krk-kardaš. Cepenkov (and even Vasiljević) would easily and wrongly connect the living Muslim tradition with the ruined church, because as an Orthodox Christian he would only have heard the Muslim story of Krk-kardaš, without visiting and checking the place it described. But, as there was already for a long time no church activity at the Orthodox "Krk-kardaš" for it to tell a different and true story about that site, albeit with an adapted name, a misunderstanding could relate it to the Muslim legend. Perhaps the opposite in the case of Kanare. However probable this may appear, it is definitely not provable. Now again Cepenkov, who recorded two legends for the fall of Bitola:

Legend Nº 599 (LEGEND ABOUT THE TOWN OF BITOLA): *"Before the Turks came to take over the town of Bitola, it was then also built in the area of the village Bukovo. That this was in the area of Bukovo is proven by the foundations found in all of the fields around Bukovo. The village of Bukovo is about an hour's walk from the town of Bitola to the west.*

About half an hour from the village of Bukovo there is a mound (tumba) *that was called Bori-kale, as on that mound there was in that time a fortress constructed by king Toljo. There are vineyards on that mound now. Years ago the headman* (muhtar) *Costa had a dream about some money in the vineyard he had there; digging he found no money, but found stones from the sea, carved columns and other things. He also found a grave made of marble, cut as a trough and covered with a single slab of marble; the slab was inscribed with letters that nobody could read.*

After Costa dug out those things and didn't find money, he went to the head of the town (reiz) *and told him about that. The whole town council* (beledie) *rose and went there and carried away to Bitola all those stones that were useful. The whole of Bitola had transferred itself to see that miracle found on Bori-kale. They took the grave to a tap at the barracks* (k'šli) *to serve as a trough and they took the cover at the café of Abdi-paša and put it on a tap there. They stand to this very day.*

Under the mound of Bori-kale there were foundations of a church; on those foundations years ago the Greek party built a church. Around the church they made graves ordered by tile (čerpija/regula?)*. Between the mound of Bori-kale and the church there was a treasury buried by king Toljo. According to what old people say, as king Toljo escaped, many searched for that treasury, French people dug there with imperial permission, but nobody found it nor will it be found, for it was dedicated by king Toljo to the one who knows when to find it. In the vineyards, the fields, the meadows, wherever you dig, you will find foundations everywhere; one can tell where the streets were, and they are said to be quite wide and straight.*

When the Turks were taking over our places, they came to take over Bitola as well and although they were taking it over from two sides, one army came from the direction of Prilep and another from that of Voden (Edessa)*, still they could not easily take it over, for king Toljo fought from the fortress and the monks that were in the seventy two monasteries, they also defended themselves, so they were troubled quite some time before they took over Bitola. King Toljo was then surrounded from all sides, but he had made his fortress on the mound with a trick in order for the Turks to think that it was made of iron, for he had covered it with colored boards so that it would look like iron and the Turks would imagine it as being of iron. And it really appeared so to them and they, the Turks, were all the time afraid to charge.*

until the Ottoman conquest, while the other conquerors in the meantime had their base over the ancient Herakleia. However it may be, this paper definitely doesn't intend to shed new light on the obscurity that is medieval Bitola.

For quite some time did king Toljo fight the Turks, although he had only a small Bulgar army. However, he knew that he would not be able to endure. The name of Bori-kale remained from that time, Bitola's inhabitants calling that mound Bori-kale. And the name of the town of Bitola was given by king Toljo when he saw that the Turks would capture him and escaped. (I describe that in the taking over of Bitola). When the Bulgars found out that king Toljo escaped, they told each other: Bi Toljo, dobi Toljo! (Fight, Toljo, win, Toljo! or *Toljo fought, Toljo won!) From that word, said then by the Bulgars, there remained the name for the town of Bitola: Bitola."*

Now things become much clearer. Cepenkov had definitely got lost in his legends. He makes here the obvious mistake of confusing ancient Herakleia for medieval Bitola, perhaps due to a "Greek party" source. The detailed description at the beginning of this narrative leaves no doubt. It is not clear whether he meant that the village of Bukovo was to the west of Bitola or the opposite. However it may be, it is a misunderstanding of his, for Herakleia is to the south of modern Bitola, and the medieval fortress, as it appears, must have been to the north. The "mound" is definitely Tumbe-kafe and the church that dedicated to the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, at the so-called "Bukovo cemetery" (Bukovski grobišta), quite far from that village and under the hill. There are three further points that should be made in connection to this legend. First, the popular version about the fall of Bitola clearly included a group of local monks in arms that fought the Ottomans. Second, the only mound-like hill in the area of Bitola that could plausibly be identified with the medieval Bori-kale is the one just over the Reverse-grinding watermill, although the control-excavation performed there around the German cemetery of World War I didn't discover any corroborative evidence.[22] Third, it seems that there must have

[22] Јанакиевски, Томе. *Убикација на средновековна Битола (VII-XIV век)*. Битола: Институт за старословенска култура – Прилеп, 2003, стр. 65-72 [Janakievski, Tome. *Ubication of medieval Bitola (VII-XIV century)*. Bitola: Institute for Old Slavic culture, 2003, pp. 65-72]. On pp. 209-10 he concludes that according to his research remains of medieval Bitola should be searched for in the area of the cathedral church dedicated to St. Demetrius the Myrrh-streaming of Thessalonika. This seems right only as long as the downtown is concerned, because people had to live in the area around the watermill-supported churches in the valley of Dragor. The fortress, however, had to be on a high position, where they would escape at the time of assault. I don't see how it could not be connected with the church foundations on a higher hill 45-minutes walk to the north-west of the German cemetery, which Janakievski (p. 209) considers to have been a refugium. On the probable downtown, see: Стерјовски, Александар. *Постоеле ли населби „Варош" и „Подградец" во Битола.* Јавна трибина „Битола низ вековите I: Битола во X и XI век". Битола: Факултет за учители и воспитувачи, 1998, стр. 39-45 [Sterjovski, Aleksandar. *Did settlements by the names "Varoš" and "Podgradec"exist in Bitola.* Public discussion "Bitola through the centuries I: Bitola in the X and the XI century". Bitola: Faculty of teachers, 1998, pp. 39-45]; Филиповска-Лазаровска, Гордана. *Археолошки наоди од XIV и XV век од црквата „Св. Димитрија" во Битола.* Јавна трибина „Битола низ вековите III: Битола во XIV и XV век". Битола: Факултет за учители и воспитувачи, 2000, стр. 15-20 [Filipovska-Lazarovska, Gordana. *Archaeological finds from the XIV and XV century from the church of St. Demetrius in Bitola.* Public discussion "Bitola through the centuries III: Bitola in the XIV and XV century". Bitola: Faculty of teachers, 2000, pp. 15-20]; Филиповска-Лазаровска, Гордана. *Археолошки наоди од црквата „Св. Димитрија" во Битола.* Јавна трибина „Битола низ вековите IV: Битола во XVI век". Битола: Факултет за учители и воспитувачи, 2001, стр. 15-26 [Filipovska-Lazarovska, Gordana. *Archaeological finds from the church of St. Demetrius in Bitola.* Public discussion "Bitola through the centuries IV: Bitola in the XVI century". Bitola: Faculty of teachers, 2001, pp. 15-26]; Јанакиевски, Томе. *Дискусија.* Јавна трибина „Битола низ вековите V: Битола во XVII век". Битола: Факултет за учители и воспитувачи, 2002, стр. 75-7 [Janakievski, Tome. *Discussion.* Public discussion "Bitola through the centuries V: Bitola in the XVII century". Bitola: Faculty of teachers, 2002, pp. 75-7]. On the conquest in general and on Bori-kale, see: Димовски-Цолев, Ѓорѓи. *Завладување на Битола од Турците.* Јавна трибина „Битола низ вековите III: Битола во XIV и XV век". Битола: Факултет за учители и воспитувачи, 2000, стр. 27-38 [Dimovski-Colev, Gjorgji. *The subduing of Bitola by the Turks.* Public discussion: "Bitola through the centuries III: Bitola in the XIV and XV century". Bitola: Faculty of teachers, 2000, pp. 27-38]. Hadži-Vasiljević, *The town of Bitola*, p. 6 also considered Bora-kale

been a church dedicated to the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste among the seventy two.

Legend Nº 673 (HOW DID THE TURKS TAKE OVER THE TOWN OF BITOLA): *"…When the Turks arrived at Bitola, they didn't find the easy challenge they found at Prilep, for Bitola had a head over its small army: king Toljo had fought vigorously against the Turks. For nearly four months the people of Bitola fought the Turks and killed many of them. However, because the Bulgars were very few in comparison to the Turks, they could not repel them and, one day after another, the army of Toljo decreased and they finally surrendered the keys. However, king Toljo did not surrender to the Turks that easily, for he had made a trick, according to the trick of Marko Krale that he had made at Marko's towers* [Markovi kuli] *(at Varoš, when he set up drums on wind); in the same way did king Toljo at first cover the fortress all around with boards colored in iron-color in order for the fortress to appear to the Turks as being of iron. He had also set up drums on wind to blow at the fortress, and so one night he had found his end and had got out of the fortress, escaped and left the Bori-kale, for he had convinced himself that he would not be able to fight the Turks and win, as the Turks were too many and Toljo had help from nowhere.*

With that in place, the Turks had stood in fear of the fortress for a long time, for it seemed to them as being of iron and they listened to the drums beating inside. However, it was not only that God was helping the Turks, but even the ants did. An old granny had heard that king Toljo had covered the fortress with boards colored in iron-color and had put drums on wind, but he himself had escaped from the fortress, so she went to the Turks and told them about that. When the Turks heard those words from the granny, they believed her and entered the fortress, taking it over without any rifle shot.

Adam the painter (Adamče zugraot) *told me only* (he or that?) *about an experiment that king Toljo did to the Turks in order for him to see of what quality they were, just or sinful. King Toljo had sent a few girls from the fortress, they being among the fairest, to the Turkish army, that were to pretend to be sellers of things there and to sleep near the army. The girls went and slept under the tents of the Turkish army and in the morning they went back to king Toljo. King Toljo was informed that no soldier molested them, although the girls had teased them. However, the Turkish soldiers neither turned an eye on them nor touched them with a single finger, being that honest these soldiers. When king Toljo had understood of what quality the Turkish army was, he had convinced himself that he would be beaten and so escaped.*

After the Turks had conquered the fortress, they razed it to the ground (erlen beraber)*; as the fortress, so also the churches and the whole town was ruined after they plundered and conquered it.*

Now only a single monastery was left for them to take over; that monastery was the modern mosque that is in Bitola at the Sheep market (Ovčki pazar)*. That mosque was a monastery with the temple dedicated to St. George. There were four hundred monks in that monastery. It was surrounded by a big and thick wall, being a true fortress. Besides the wall that was strong, there*

to be a branch of Pelister, although on p. 22 he mentions a legend for the coming of the Turks from the direction of the Bair, where the fortress was. If the whole of the huge hill mass was called by some *Bair*, then it is not strange for the great church and modern Krk-kardaš to be both placed by them on the same "hill". In 1956 the inhabitants of the village of Raštani (2 km north of Bitola) told the story of king Toljo's resistance against the Ottomans as fortified on the site called *Kale* to the west of their village. They also considered their village church dedicated to St. Nicholas to be older than the town of Bitola. See: Трифуноски, Јован Ф. *Битољско-прилепска котлина: антропогеографска проучавања.* Српски етнографски зборник XCIX. Одељење друштвених наука. Насеља и порекло становништва. Књига 45. Београд: САНУ, 1998, стр. 253-4 [Trifunoski, Jovan F. *The valley of Bitola and Prilep: anthropogeographic studies*. Serbian ethnographic collection XCIX. Department of social sciences. Settlements and origin of inhabitants. Book 45. Belgrade: SANU, 1998, pp. 253-4].

was thick forest of mature trees, one next to the other like rye growing in a field, so thick was the forest, so that nobody could easily find the place of the monastery. In front of the monastery there ran the river Dragor or the river that comes from the village of Magarevo at the Reverse-grinding watermill. In order for someone to enter the monastery there was only a single narrow path through the forest that was around the monastery. When the monastery remained the last to be taken over by the Turks, at first they didn't know where the monastery was, for it was surrounded by trees.

The damned granny that told about the fortress of Toljo, again it was she that betrayed the great monastery dedicated to St. George in order for them to find it and take it over. She told them that there was a great monastery with many monks, hidden in the great forest and in order for them to find the monastery, they were supposed to go by the river that flew through the forest, after that they would find many ducks and should follow them and the very ducks would bring them to the gate of the monastery.

After the monks noticed that the Turks found the monastery, they were convinced that they were going to be killed and as they had no intention of surrendering to the Turks, as some monasteries with only a few monks surrendered, they firmly closed the gates and sharpened the swords and knives, prepared their other arms as well and hid in one of the cells, pretending to have escaped.

After the Turks unlocked and opened the gates of the great monastery, five hundred Turks agreed and stormed the monastery. However, although the monks were pious, they were deeply offended and cut them all down to the last and only then closed the gate. There was enough food and drink for a long time for the monks in the monastery, but when the head of the Turks realized that the five hundred who entered the great monastery hadn't returned, he got very angry and sent a great force to attack the monastery and save those five hundred men. For the monastery had a strong fortress and the thick forest that was around the monastery was even stronger, they could in no way get to the monastery. Furthermore, the commander ordered the whole forest around the monastery to be cut down and chopped to smaller pieces of wood which would be thrown over the wall into the yard of the monastery. The Turks did it. Half of the wood they had arranged outside of the wall, in a great pile, and they had put it on fire from one end to the other and as the fire spread the flames almost reached the clouds. From the outer strength of the fire the pile inside got also ignited and by that strong fire the cells together with the whole of the monastery started to burn, the monks were completely incinerated and so they took over this monastery too.

After the Turks conquered all the monasteries, they destroyed all of them and on each monastery they made a mosque. Everywhere the Turks took over towns at that time, rarely did they ruin a church or a monastery in a town, for they were pious and were afraid of the saint, but in the town of Bitola they were not afraid of the seventy two saints that were in the churches, for they had become very angry with the monks because they killed those five hundred Turks that entered the great monastery. And so over that monastery (St. George) the Turks made a mosque, which is at the Sheep market. Behind the mosque of St. George there is an empty place where there is a foot of the horse of St. George, who then came very fast and wherever the horse would step its feet would sink and the Turks could make nothing in the form of a building, for the saint would not allow it…"

Cepenkov begins this narrative with the legend about the peaceful Ottoman taking over of Prilep and ends it with a list of the churches in Bitola that the Ottomans turned into mosques. Both are irrelevant to this discussion. The legend about the conquest of the fortress of Bitola is

in an expanded form of the core given in the previous narrative. Here emerges another version of the experiment with the girls, but although it was told by a local Christian, it is not clear whether it is of Christian or Muslim origin.[23] The information that the Ottomans razed the fortress of Bitola to the ground (erlen beraber) explains why it is difficult if not impossible to identify any remains of it today beside the slab.[24] It agrees with the fact that it is easier to find medieval traces in the modern town center, around the cathedral church. What is especially valuable in this narrative is the legend about the taking over of the monastery dedicated to St. George, which is to be found nowhere else. This legend only might have something to do with Krk-kardaš, but it is anyway very interesting for the appearance of local monks in it and it was definitely used by the monks of Bigorski for their story, albeit to a limited extent. Although it is far from the Sheep market and with no mosque over it, the great church north-west of the town well fits the condition of the monastery being a true fortress within a thick forest.[25] However it may have been then, this legend clearly states that these four hundred monks were enraged and "cold-bloodedly" killed five hundred Turks before they were incinerated by the fire of Ottoman revenge and their monastery turned into a mosque.

The end of the overview of the available testimonies about Krk-kardaš is dedicated to the "purely" Christian oral legend in a few versions, which also found a reflection in contemporary literature. In a paper on the toponymy of the area of Bitola we read the following explanation for the place name *Krk-kardaš*:

"Church of the Forty Martyrs: north of Bitola, according to the legend at this place the Turks brutally killed forty insurgents, in the memory of this event a church was built in the

[23] The thought of these girls being a Muslim mockery of original monks is tempting and nothing more than that.

[24] The stone at Krk-kardaš, today built in the temple with one half and stretching outside with the other, at which candles are lit, can hardly be qualified as a construction piece and it is not certain that the wall in which the Bitola slab was inserted in the first place was made of stone.

[25] Todorovski, op. cit., p. 95 perhaps prefers this identification, although his sentence is evidently not complete. He doesn't seem to believe that it is possible for the locality *Stari grobovi* (Old graves) near the village of Raštani over Bitola to be the necropolis of a medieval Bitola around this church or monastery (p. 96). Hadži-Vasiljević, op. cit., p. 19, tells a different story, namely that the Yeni-džami (New mosque, called by the Turks and by him *Nal-džamisi*, which means "Mosque with horseshoes", on Pekmez pazar) was built over the church dedicated to St. George the Victory-bearing and that the previous church under the mosque at the Sheep market was dedicated to the Holy Apostles (p. 20). He reports on p. 19 that Pavle Ristić, a mason from the village of Smilevo, while repairing the New mosque in 1893 found many inscribed stone slabs, which he "errased" and inserted in the mosque on Turkish demand. As they would hardly decide to destroy Muslim epitaphs, this encourages further research with two hypotheses: continuity of life in the Dragor valley from antiquity and/or organized large-scale transportation of ancient pagan architectural pieces and inscriptions of material quality from Herakleia to the river valley for the construction of representative Christian temples. Recent excavations there uncovered some other interesting indications: Михајловски, Роберт. *Битолската Јени џамија во светлината на најновите археолошки откритија.* Патримониум.мк, год. 2, бр. 3-4 & 5-6, Скопје, 2008-9, стр. 185-7 [Mihajlovski, Robert. *The Yeni-džami in Bitola in the light of the most recent archaeological discoveries.* Patrimonium.mk, year 2, nº 3-4 & 5-6, Skopje, 2008-9, pp. 185-7]. However, I don't think that there is any sound basis for us to believe either Cepenkov or Hadži-Vasiljević on the name. On some uncertainties about the great church, Todorovski, op. cit., p. 114. The same author finally concludes that it is only possible for medieval Bitola to be the continuation of ancient Herakleia (pp. 152-8), something one could hardly agree with, although he seems to insist upon it: Тодоровски, Стевче. *Т. н. „микростанбена целина врз театаром" во античкиот град Хераклеја Линкестис.* Патримониум.мк, год. 3, бр. 7-8, Скопје, 2010, стр. 111-8 [Todorovski, Stevče. *The so-called "micro dwelling unit over the theater" at the ancient town of Heraclea Lynkestis.* Patrimonium.mk, year 3, nº 7-8, Skopje, 2010, pp. 111-8]. An interesting, albeit forced compromise can be found in: Томоски, Томо. *Како топонимот „Манастир" се наложил како втор назив на Битола.* Годишен зборник на Филозофскиот факултет 19 (45), Скопје, 1992, стр. 93-103 [Tomoski, Tomo. *How did the toponym "Manastir" come to be a second name for Bitola.* Annual of the Faculty of philosophy 19 (45), Skopje, 1992, pp. 93-103].

area and every spring on a certain day people go to the small church (that day is called KRK-KARDAŠ by the people). After this event and after the small church with the same name, the locality was named with the contemporary name."[26]

On the occasion of the public appeal for financial support of the expansion of the previous small temple at Krk-kardaš, people were encouraged to participate by the retelling of this legend, clearly considered to be a genuine Orthodox Christian one. Here is what Mr. Stevče Todorovski wrote then:

"The monastery 'St. Forty Martyrs' in Bitola is to be found at the locality called 'Krk-kardaš', which means forty brothers in Turkish.

The town of Bitola with its position was well known in the world of Byzantium and with the arrival of the first Turkish clans in Macedonia their interest in conquering this very town together with its surroundings increased. After it was conquered, and it was according to the legend located at the locality called 'Bair', as the last unconquered obstruction remained the male monastery on the opposite side of the hill. Inside the monastery lived forty monks and they were prepared at any moment to resist the Turks during an eventual taking over of the monastery as well, that being according to the many examples in the Holy Scriptures where the defense of holiness, truth and justice in armed battle is described.

One day the Turks surrounded the monastery and the battle to conquer began. The monks, not wanting to break the canons, waited to be attacked and only then to use weapons in self-defense. They defended the monastery for a long time, which was the last stronghold in this region, but the great number of Turks started to climb the walls of the monastery and a face-to-face battle began in which the monks fought bravely, but were killed one by one by the outnumbering Turks. The church bells were heard as a sign that the monastery was still defended, but when the last monk fell, the bells stopped ringing.

After they took it over, the Turks plundered the church and set it on fire together with the overnight stay (konaci) *and leveled the walls to the ground.*

But, our Macedonian people kept the memory of the Forty Monk-martyrs to this day and at that place constructed a small parecclesia dedicated to the Holy Forty Martyrs, relating the event to the Forty Martyrs of Sebastopolis in the frozen lake.

The legend was handed down from generation to generation and the locality got the name 'Krk-kardaš', which in Turkish means forty comrades."[27]

Only one thing in this text especially deserves comment. Probably somebody counted on the ignorance of the general public when he said that the Holy Scriptures contain many examples of armed (self)defense of holiness, truth and justice by the canons. But, as one's theological knowledge may not be as limited as someone else would wish and expect, one is called upon to act in defense of holiness, truth and justice by the canons by explicitly stating that such an excuse as is given here is pure nonsense. While armed defense can only with difficulty be condemned and rather understood in the case of common people, in the Old and the New Testament, as far as monks are concerned there is no doubt that no plausible justification

[26] Танчевски, Киро. *Топонимијата на Битола и Битолско (II)*. Развиток, Битола, год. VI, бр. 2, март-април 1968, стр. 205 [Tančevski, Kiro. *The toponymy of Bitola and of the area of Bitola (II)*. Razvitok, Bitola, year IV, nº 2, March-April 1968, p. 205].

[27] Тодоровски, Стевче. *Легенда за манастирот „Св. 40 маченици"*. Вистина (гласник на Преспанско-битолската епархија), год. 4 (1994), бр. 10, стр. 17 [Todorovski, Stevče. *A legend about the monastery "St. 40 Martyrs"*. Vistina (herald of the Eparchy of Prespa and Bitola), year 4 (1994), nº 10, p. 17].

can be offered for such an act. Monks that took arms are definitely no longer monks and even theoretically they can't be cleaned from such a great sin, i. e. baptized again in their own blood. Such a thing was possible in the case of St. Demetrius the Myrrh-streaming of Thessalonika or in that of St. George the Victory-bearing, who had both killed many offenders of earthly authority, but were subsequently tortured and killed by their own antichristian emperors, for whom they had previously fought against barbarians, in a burning confession of their living faith in Christ. Similar is the case with the Holy Forty Martyrs of Sebaste and only slightly different that of the Holy Forty Two Martyrs of Amorium.[28] In other words, they were washed from all their sins by the bath of their own blood and only in that way they became holy martyrs. That is clearly unthinkable in the case of monks, for previous bloodshed from one's own hands is impossible for someone who wants to fully follow the Lamb that surrendered Himself to torture and crucifixion for the sins of mankind, the only violence on His side in the process being the condemned cutting-off of the ear of one of the high priest's servants by the hand of the Apostle Peter.

A small mention of such a legend, of forty monks killed by the Ottomans after giving armed resistance, can be found in a recently published novel, a travel book full of history, where the main story about Krk-kardaš is the one of the improvised construction of the first parecclesia there, near the remarkable stone where these "defenders" are said to have been decapitated.[29]

The only novel that thoroughly exploits the legend of Krk-kardaš for literary purposes, it being the leit-motif around which everything else revolves, is *The Small Church of Forty Martyrs in Bitola* by the local writer Vladimir Kostov.[30] But even there one finds no doubt about the main version being that of forty monks that fought the Turks, as the author puts it, by the cross in one hand and by the sword in the other.[31] The main theme is the process of the construction of the first parecclesia on the site. He also mentions a handwritten diary of a school-teacher from Bitola in which allegedly in 1874 was put down on paper the first written version of the legend about the forty "martyrs" (rather social than religious for Kostov). According to that diary, the forty monks belonged to the white monastery dedicated to St. Athanasius, which was on the Hill (Bair). It was the last monastery to be destroyed, only in the age of the great vezir Mehmed-paša Sokolović, who issued such an order while preparing the town for the coming of the sultan. However, there is good reason to believe that this version has been invented by Kostov because he also gives a few details, as he says, taken from the chronicle of Ašik-paša Zede, while there is definitely no such information in that chronicle.[32] Kostov also gives the seemingly important information that the people of Bitola gathered every first Thursday after Easter (awaiting Eastern Friday – Balakli?) at the Reverse-grinding watermill on the place where foundations of a church could be seen. His character Janakija the Hill-dweller (Bairčanecot), on the other hand, knew of a previously destroyed temple on the site of Krk-kardaš that was to be merely restored by Momir and Džiška. When it was built without the permission of any church

[28] *Житија на светиите: март*. Струмица: Храм „Св. Григориј Палама и Св. Димитриј Мироточив", 2011, стр. 147-59 и 191-200 [*Lives of the saints: March.* Strumica: Temple of St. Gregory Palamas and St. Demetrius the Myrrh-streaming, 2011, pp. 147-59 and 191-200].

[29] Бундалевска, Марија. *Битушки даб.* Битола: МНД, 2013, стр. 8-13 [Bundalevska, Marija. *The Oak of Bituša.* Bitola: MND, 2013, pp. 8-13]. I wish to thank the author for allowing me to give a short commentary on p. 12.

[30] Костов, Владимир. *Црквичето Четириесет маченици во Битола.* Скопје: Мисла, 1984 [Kostov, Vladimir. *The Small Church of Forty Martyrs in Bitola.* Skopje: Misla, 1984].

[31] Similarly, Todorovski, *Archaeological finds,* p. 105.

[32] Матковски, Александар. Кемал, Аручи. *Извадоци од две турски хроники за Македонија и соседните области.* Гласник на Институтот за национална историја, год. 21, бр. 1, 1977, стр. 231-50 [Matkovski, Aleksandar. Kemal, Aruči. *Excerpts from two Turkish chronicles about Macedonia and the neighboring areas*. Herald of the Institute for national history, year 21, nº 1, 1977, pp. 231-50].

party in the town (Exarchy or Patriarchy), which is given an ecumenist/panreligious undertone by Kostov, Janakija entered inside carrying a sword and the icon of the Holy Forty Martyrs of Sebaste. Furthermore, another impressive character, Trajko Popot, states that at Krk-kardaš were killed both Christians and Muslims for a just deed, which introduces the possibility of a double cult on the same spot.

The only fair conclusion is a final confrontation with the Bigorski brotherhood. The only unavailable real testimony that they used is that of the great-grandfather of their archimandrite Parthenius, who, as we are told, had written down in his diary a detailed version of the legend about the forty. This diary was very dear to father Parthenius, as were some other memories from his childhood spent near Krk-kardaš. It was kept in the library of the Bigorski monastery, where on 30 September 2009 it was destroyed together with all of the other books in the great fire that caught the monastery's Upper palace (Gorni palat). There appears to be no paper or digital copy of it. We are left only with the memory of father Parthenius to rely upon, but nowhere in the small book are we told what exactly was written in the diary according to the grandchild's memory. It is said that among many other everyday events Vasil Stojanov, who had graduated in theology in Sofia, described his impressions of the visits to the temple at Krk-kardaš (already established!) and in that context gave a detailed account of the legend about the monk-martyrs. However, nowhere in this book do we find a footnote to tell us that some specific details in the story of the forty are derived right from the memories of this diary's content (perhaps Hasan?). On the contrary, immediately after the general information about the diary we are confronted with a strange and striking statement that it was not only necessary to search through historical works that would provide corroborative evidence, but also and especially in the belles-lettres that, believe it or not, "in great measure compensate for and explain the oral tradition". And this only after it is written at the beginning of the foreword that "sometimes we are forced to guess history from ruins and from oral folk legends and tales". There is no way to determine what is the historic core here and what the folk admixture. It is clear that guessing is neither in the realm of history nor in that of hagiography/theology and it really doesn't seem necessary to go into any further detail in the unmasking of this pseudo-hagiographical forgery, fiction full of figures, footnotes and other cosmetics, which would definitely leave the conscious reader with the impression that he is dealing with another communist decree that nobody is to challenge, however absurd and outrageous it may be. All measures of precaution have been taken and subsequently thrown to the dogs, without asking for anyone else's opinion. This may sound too harsh and even emotional, but there is no sound logic or theology in the emotional sanction of the existence of a church, the gathering of people at a stone and perhaps some miracles there by the deus ex machina of local saints, contrary to obviously too complex and negative evidence and naively relaying only on the words of a few dear old people. I'm not held back by the praising words of Metropolitan Peter at the very beginning, in which there is not the slightest trace of doubt, although in a recorded statement at Krk-kardaš on 22 March 2008 he made no announcement for a planned canonization.[33] Even the significant participation of the official hymnography of Constantinople cannot come to the rescue of such an "apology".[34] I should be satisfied to have given here the available evidence about the nature of Krk-kardaš and shown to the scientific and general public that there is no decisive proof even of the existence, not to

[33] Антиќ, Вера Стојчевска. Златанов, Методија. *Црквата „40 маченици" во Битола.* По стапките на христијанството во Македонија. Кн. 4, Скопје, 2010, стр. 13-5 [Antić, Vera Stojčevska. Zlatanov, Metodija. *The church "40 martyrs" in Bitola.* Following the footsteps of Christianity in Macedonia. V. 4, Skopje, 2010, pp. 13-5]. The then host of the church, Mr. Dimitar Pavlovski, influenced or not by Kostov, also spoke then of the "free" girl Džiška and not about warriors, but about 39 Christian brethren and 1 Turk who died as martyrs at the stone.

[34] I wish to confirm here that I am in no way connected to the group of Zoran Vraniškoski.

speak of sanctity of such local characters from the Middle Ages, more than six centuries ago, centuries of decrease and humiliation for the Christians... The prayers to such are of no help when there is no evidence neither for an ancient martyrology nor for an uninterrupted through time oral historical tradition. No archaeological or archival evidence of a local cult to encourage scientific research, no strong and distinctive consciousness spread across the population of Bitola to explain the spontaneous gathering at the stone. There is also no way to confirm, as the brotherhood claims, that the day of the passion of the alleged local ones was the same with that of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste. The examples of St. Agathangelus and St. Nectarius of Bitola serve only the rebuke of the act enforced, for they were both for a long time unknown to the people of Bitola, but had entered Orthodox hagiography and the calendar immediately after their passion and death respectively.[35] I'm not saying that the Muslim version of Feti is the only one that reflects the truth, but I can't fully reject that possibility, as well as the one that the sanctuary was only temporarily taken over by Muslims. Certainly, there is no good enough reason to believe in any single version and discredit all the other, or even that there ever was a single version. It is certainly possible that both traditions, Christian and Muslim, contain some historic core deep inside, reflecting some sort of a double cult at Krk-kardaš. Furthermore, it is definitely probable that the legend of the forty Christian defenders reflects a popular incomplete knowledge of the life and passion of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, which turned them into local ones with the help of time and not the opposite,[36] and perhaps of the existence of a pre-Ottoman church dedicated to these ancient Christian saints among the seventy two in the valley of Dragor, there being in Bitola a "Krk-kardaš" (Christian?) before Krk-kardaš (Muslim?), which turned the church into a "grave"… and the grave into a "church"? However it may be, it is clear that in Orthodoxy one doesn't become a martyr by shedding the blood of infidels for "freedom", but by being (tortured and) killed by them for one's belief in Christ. The other canonization on the occasion, that of the Holy Monk-martyrs Evnuvius, Paisius and Avercius of Prečista (monastery in the area of Kičevo), can be defended only by the fact that they didn't pose any armed resistance. Everything else is an undermining of the principles of local and global true Christianity. Still, the newly composed story includes the mention that monks and priests took weapons for the defense of the town to the last drop of blood, like some sort of Knights Templar. The brotherhood's asking for forgiveness of any possible unintentional mistakes and omissions, pleading for it not to be taken as a sin, only confirms how unserious they were in this undertaking of theirs. Having defeated the suicidal argumentum ex silentio, we are left with the "consolation" of the apocalyptic literary vision of Vladimir Kostov and perhaps that of Dragi Mihajlovski.[37] For further archival and archaeological research we will probably have to wait,

[35] Гулевски, Александар. *Битола и нејзините светци – Св. Ангел Битолски (+ 1750).* Јавна трибина „Битола низ вековите VI: Битола во XVIII век". Битола: Факултет за учители и воспитувачи, 2003, стр. 32 [Gulevski, Aleksandar. *Bitola and its saints – St. Angelus of Bitola (+1750).* Public discussion "Bitola through the centuries VI: Bitola in the XVIII century". Bitola: Faculty of teachers, 2003, p. 32]; Павле, монах од Лавра. *Житие и служба на Св. Нектариј Битолски.* Превод од грчки: Весна Калпаковска, Валентина Гулевска. Битола: Митрополиска библиотека „Св. Јован Богослов", 2001 [Paul, monk of Lavra. *Life and liturgy of St. Nectarius of Bitola.* Translation from the Greek original: Vesna Kalpakovska, Valentina Gulevska. Bitola: Metropolitan library "St. John the Theologian", 2001].

[36] Hasan, the Turk allegedly won over by the monks' defense of Christ's faith, extraordinarily corresponding to the dungeon-keeper Aglaeus, could well be a sign of an adaptation of the life of the Holy Forty Martyrs of Sebaste.

[37] Михајловски, Драги. *Смртта на дијакот.* Скопје: Каприкорнус, 2002 [Mihajlovski, Dragi. *The death of the deacon.* Skopje: Capricornus, 2002]. It appears also necessary to mention the to this paper useless collection prepared quite recently by the rector of the University of St. Clement of Ohrid in Bitola: Жоглев, Златко. *Заеднички христијанско-муслимански свети места во Битола.* Јавна трибина „Битола низ вековите X: Битола во XIX век (слободни теми)". Битола: Педагошки факултет, 2007, стр. 7-14 [Žoglev, Zlatko. *Common Christian and Muslim holy places in Bitola.* Public discussion "Bitola through the centuries X: Bitola in the XIX century (unlim-

while being encouraged by the Bigorski monks with their "mystic" knowledge that the first parecclesia, existing at the site of Krk-kardaš before the construction of the small church in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, was built there in the middle of the XIX century…

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APPENDIX

I apologize for not having noticed earlier and included in my article a small excerpt from a document of the archbishop of Ohrid Demetrius Chomatenus (1217-1234), one that doesn't influence the conclusion, but has some factographical and bibliographical value. It is the mention of the archimandrite Methodius as the head of all the monasteries in the area of Bitola (there only Pelagonia), residing in the Monastery of the Holy Apostles: «Ὁ εὐλαβέστατος ἀρχιμανδρίτης τῶν κατὰ Πελαγονίαν ἱερῶν φροντιστηρίων καὶ καθηγούμενος τῆς ἁγίας μονῆς τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἐνδόξων πανευφήμων Ἀποστόλων, ὁ ἱερομόναχος Μεθόδιος, παραστὰς τὴν σήμερον τῇ ἡμῶν μετριότητι προκαθημένῃ συνοδικῶς, ἀνήνεγκεν, ὡς τῶν κληρικῶν τίς τῆς ἁγιωτάτης ἐπισκοπῆς Πελαγονίας...» (Demetrii Chomateni *Ponemata diaphora* [Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae, volumen XXXVIII, Series Berolinensis], recensuit Günter Prinzing, Walter de Gruyter, Berolini et Novi Eboraci, MMII, 79, 1-6, p. 264). One understands why the monastery Treskavec near Prilep, as it appears, had no real-estate in Central Pelagonia in the age of Stefan Dushan, but had some in its southernmost part (Adžievski, op. cit., p. 188). On the history of the Pelagonian episcopate, see: Михајловски, Роберт. *Преглед на христијанската историја на Пелагонија и архиереите хераклејско-пелагониски до 1767 година.* Прилози (Зборник на трудови на Друштвото за наука и уметност – Битола), XXXIII, I, бр. 54/55 (1993), стр. 3-20 [Mihajlovski, Robert. *An overview of the Christian history of Pelagonia and the Heraclean-Pelagonian archpriests until the year of 1767.* Contributions (Collection of works of the Society for science and art – Bitola), XXXIII, I, nº 54/55 (1993), pp. 3-20]. In the census of 1468 the Turkish officials immediately after those of the town of Bitola listed the inhabitants of a village called *Dupka* (Hole) or *Apostol* (Apostle), which may have been next to the mentioned monastery (*Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ: опширни пописни дефтери од XV век.* Том II. Под редакција на Методија Соколоски. Скопје: Архив на Македонија, 1973, стр. 145 [*Turkish documents for the history of the Macedonian people: detailed census books from the XV century*. Vol. II. Ed. Metodija Sokoloski. Skopje: Archive of Macedonia, 1973, p. 145]). It is also worth noting that not long before the publishing of this article Metropolitan Peter resanctified the corresponding church in Bitola (13/26 October), which was a little more than a month before the inclusion of *Čet'rse* (celebration of the Forty Martyrs in the town of Štip) as an immaterial good in UNESCO's Representative list of protected goods of humanity (05.12). On the incompatibility of Christian priesthood (and monasticism) and military service, even in defense, and beyond, one can consult: Matthew 6. 24, 22. 21 & 26. 51-54; Marc 14. 47; Luke 22. 49-51; John 18. 10-11 & 25-27; Timothy II, 2. 3-5; Apocalypse, 13. 9-10; Apostolic canons 6, 81 & 83 (with editor's footnotes); Fourth (Chalcedonian, 451) ecumenical council – canon 7; Canons of St. Basil the Great 8, 13, 43 & 55 (with editor's footnotes); Canon of St. Gregory of Nyssa 5… (*Свештени канони на Светата Православна Црква.* Велес: Повардарска епархија – „Св. Ѓорѓи Полошки", 2011 [*Sacred canons of the Holy Orthodox Church.* Veles: Povardarska eparchy – "St. George of Polog", 2011]).

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Ioannis Scylitzae. Synopsis historiarum,editio princeps [Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae, volumen V, Series Berolinensis], recensuit Ioannes Thurn, apud Walter De Gruyter et socios Berolini et Novi Eboraci, MCMLXXIII, Basil and Constantine, 36. 36-45, p. 351.

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UDK 338.48 : 910.4 (497.7:100)"18" *Haemus Journal, vol. 2, 2013, 135-144,* ISSN: 1857- 8411

Comparative Approach to International Tourism in the 19th Century: The Case of Macedonia

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***Abstract**: The purpose of this paper is to review the travel and tourism in Macedonia in the 19th century, and to compare the highlights of the historical development of the world tourism, by using a comparative approach. The first part of the paper presents the factors affecting the development of the international travel in Western Europe and around the world and also presents the greatest achievements that contributed to popularization of the travel, increase of the number of tourists and tourism establishment. The second part provides information on the situation of international tourism in Macedonia. The foreign travel books are used as a primary source of information. The paper describes the accommodation, hospitality, food and leisure facilities available for travelers, which existed in the 19th century, and with their description, we determine the level of tourism development in Macedonia at this time.*

Key words: travel, tourism, Macedonia, 19th century, comparative approach

1. International tourism development around the world in 19th century

The history of tourism develops internationally as an exciting and dynamic field. Concerning the dimension of this global, economic, social and cultural phenomenon, the significance and contribution of the history is very important to the process of understanding the tourism[1].

Although tourism is a relatively new concept, its roots are much deeper. There is an unbreakable connection between tourism and travel, which gives the meaning to people's existence. Overcoming the space is as old as human history, because expanding the living area is a primordial and fundamental human need[2]. The existential nature was the reason why journeys were organized at first, but latter they were organized for particular purposes such as: military conquests, trade, sports events - Olympics, entertainments - amphitheatres, health - using baths by the Romans, religious purposes, scientific discoveries, educational and cultural purposes

[1] Walton, J. ed. (2005). Histories of tourism: representation, identity and conflict. UK, p.1
[2] Мариноски, Н. (2005). Туристички агенции. Охрид, стр.14 [Marinoski, N. (2005). Travel agencies. Ohrid, p.14]

- Grand tour[3] etc., until the first organized tour by Thomas Cook in 1841[4]. The emergence of tourism is related to the basic needs of travelers, such as overnight stays, food and mediation for travel arrangements.

There are various predictions made by several authors in terms of where and when the word "tourism" was first seen printed, but there are no existing sources earlier than 19th century (Oxford Dictionary in 1800)[5]. It is a challenge to research the historical development of tourism during this century, because during this period tourism has established itself worldwide.

The basis of the tourism development is the scientific and technological development and the socio-economic relations that continue from the 19th century to present. Therefore, the inventions in public transportation such as the train, steamship and automobile have been of great importance. Also, increasing labor productivity, higher amount of workers' compensation, shortening working hours, using paid annual leave in practice, increasing the people's level of cultural intelligence are also important for the emergence of tourist movements.

True change has happened and tourism movement has emerged during the Industrial Revolution in the 19th century, when huge number of people began to live in urban areas. During the Industrial Revolution, there have been changes not only in the industry but also in other areas such as: tourism and hospitality, science, government, technology, innovation, traffic, education, administration, politics, military etc.

The Industrial Revolution has also led to the appearance of the first forms of organized mediation for travel, which could be explained by the example of Thomas Cook who in 1841 has done the first organized tour by train[6]. Cook continued his work during the next years with great success, organizing tours and visits to many countries in Europe and the world, publishing guidebooks for the most of the countries visited by the tourists. He sold 165,000 tickets for the Great Exhibition in London and 400,000 tickets for the Great Exhibition in Paris which is hardly possible nowadays. During this period the first travel agencies in the world were created. In 1950, Henry Wells founded the American Express Company, the first travel agency in the United States, in 1868 in Germany, the first travel agency was founded by Carl Stander etc.

This is a period when the basis of modern tourism was established. Modern accommodation and food facilities were emerging rapidly. The number of trips was increasing as well - the nobles at first and later the merchants, bankers, industrialists etc. The first luxury hotels in the United States were opened in the first half of the 19th century - Branums city hotel in Baltimore (1825) and the famous Tremont hotel in Boston (1829) which is considered as the first "modern" hotel[7]. During this period inns were changed into hotels and taverns into restaurants[8]. The technological progress resulted in improved service quality - the international accommodation facilities already have had hot and cold water system, toilets, electricity, heating and elevators (implementation of central heating in the rooms in 1846, elevator in 1859, electricity in 1881 etc.)[9].

In this period the first seaside resorts in the United States (Atlantic City)[10], the UK and other European countries were founded. The origins of modern tourism in the United States are

[3] Towner, J. (1985). The grand tour a key phase in the history of tourism. Annals of tourism research, Vol. 12, pp. 297-333
[4] Rae, W.F. (1891). The business of travel: a fifty years record of progress. London
[5] Tribe, J., ed. (2009). Philosophical issues in tourism. UK, p.44
[6] Shackley, M. (2006). Atlas of travel and tourism development. UK, p.101
[7] Sherman, R. (2007). Class acts: service and inequality in luxury hotels. Los Angeles, p.26
[8] Walker, J. (2011). The restaurant: from concept to operation. New Jersey, p.8
[9] Bardi, J. (2007). Hotel front office management. New Jersey, p.7
[10] Williams, S. (2009). Tourism geography: a new synthesis. London, p.33

associated with the opening of Yellowstone National Park in 1872, the trips to Niagara Falls[11] etc.

Ruzic associated the development of tourism in Germany with the year of 1873, when the state employees earned paid annual leave[12]. The origins of tourism in Norway date back to 1870, when the Norwegian fjords and valleys were discovered by the European "elite"[13]. We can give similar examples for other European and Mediterranean countries such as: France, Italy, Croatia (under Austro-Hungarian rule), Spain etc. The thermo mineral waters and the construction of baths throughout Europe and worldwide played an important role in the process of popularization of the travel for health improvement. At the beginning of the 19th century, various massage techniques began to develop in Sweden, and in 1880 Sebastian Kneipp started practicing hydrotherapy[14].

In the 19th century the first guidebooks for tourists appeared. Karl Baedeker is a pioneer in publication of tourist guidebooks. The first guidebook for Germany is released in 1827, and later on for the other European and world countries. These guidebooks contained different information needed to those who travel, such as places to visit and stay, natural and anthropogenic attractions and quality and accurate maps[15].

2. International tourism in Macedonia in the 19th century

The typical term "tourism" used in Western countries could not be used in Macedonia during the 19th century. The foreign writers of travel books are the primary source of detailed information about accommodations in Macedonia, or at least they give us an idea of the passengers' stays. They often gave information about overnight stays and accommodations for diplomatic, military, economic or political missions, cruising through Macedonia, almost always with a companion. Companion or companions were needed for several reasons. First, they spoke the local language so they were able to communicate with the locals, they were familiar with the paths of travel, with the dangerous places where they could expect armed gangs, they had experience in determining the cardinal points of the world, in predicting the weather and also they had experience in setting up tents or choosing a good place to stay under open sky. In the 19th century on the territory of Macedonia while under Ottoman rule, there were no modern hotels with the exception of couple in Thessaloniki. The main accommodations in the Republic of Macedonia are in Ohrid, Bitola, Skopje, Prilep (the major urban centers) or along the roadside (along the well-known Vardar Valley, the route of the ancient Via Egnatia, and the high mountain saddles).

During the 19th century the already established system by the Ottomans, was functioning and has developed even more. The inns were the most common form of accommodation at that time. They were also found under the name caravansary because very often caravans were staying there. In addition, facilities like taverns, bezistans (bazaars), hammams (Turkish bath), hospices etc., performed service activity as well. Fairs that were held at several places in Macedonia, at specific time of the year, were also used to gather together a large number of passengers who were in need of accommodation.

[11] Pender, L., Sharpley, R., eds. (2005). The management of tourism. London, p.201
[12] Ružič, P. (2005). Ruralni turizam. Pula, str.13 [Ružič, P. (2005). Rural tourism. Pula, p.13]
[13] Haugen, M., Vik, J. (2006). Farmers as entrepreneurs: the case of farm-base tourism. International Journal of Enterpreneurship and small business, V.6, N. 3, pp.321-336
[14] Smith, M., Puczko, L. (2009). Health and wellness tourism. UK, p.23
[15] Butler, R., Russell, R. eds. (2010). Giants of tourism. UK, p.93

Inns were found in towns, in villages, along roadside, in empty areas. They are important objects of the profane Eastern (Oriental) architecture. They were found under the name caravansary or caravan-station only in the areas and countries that were heavily influenced by the Ottomans. There were widespread in Asia, northern Africa, and the Balkans. In caravanserais the travelers were resting, sleeping, having breakfast, the materials and trade goods were stored there, and the pack animals were also placed in their special auxiliary facilities. Skopje's most famous inns are: Capan-an, Suli-an and Kursumli-an. The Capan-an was business and hospitality facility built in 15th century, located inside the old town. Inside, travelers and traders could stay in 44 rooms located on the ground floor or on the upper floors. There were two entrances: entering from the south or from the north entrance. In front of it, there was a tap called Capan-tap. Suli-an was also built in 15th century. In the first few centuries many stores that have been opened there, were owned by Jews. In 1689, was badly burned in city fire caused under the command of the Austrian commander Piccolomini, Later was reconstructed and continued to work as a commercial facility. The ground floor was used for storage of goods, and travelers and traders spent the nights in the rooms located on the upper floor. The porch was built on 18 pillars and the rooms were arranged in a row on all four cardinal directions. Toward the inn run two entrances: to the east and to the west side. Kursumli-an was built slightly later (probably during the 16th century) and at the beginning was used as caravan-seraglio. In 1787 became jail and from 1904 to 1914 was inn again. The ground floor was used for storage of goods, and the rooms on the upper floors were resting rooms. Barns were built in the second part of the inn. All these inns were built according to a model, using stone, rows of bricks and layered plaster.

Taverns or pubs (bars) were usually described as low buildings with earthen floor, along the roadside, in which wine, brandy with appetizers and traditional dishes were served. The pubs, known from the Byzantine period, continued to exist during the Ottoman rule in the Balkans and in Macedonia. The term "krchmar" (tavern owner) is first mentioned in 1452, in the story of Stajo, son of "krchmar" who lived in the village Audrey, Tetovo vilayet (Tetovo province). However, by the middle of the 19th century inns mostly served wine, and later brandy became the main drink.

Hospices were facilities for overnight stays. They were usually in possession of a wealthy and respected man, administrative or military commander in the Ottoman state. One of the most famous hospices in Skopje was the hospices of Havzi Pasha, complex in the village of Bardovci. They were built in the period between 1830 and 1845 on the "chiflik" (property) of Havzi Pasha. The "selamlik" (the portion of a Turkish house reserved for men), the "haremlik" (the portion of a Turkish house reserved for women and forbidden to men) were located there, and only the final part of the house was used for economy, with stables and watering place. The hospice "Ukjumat" located in Skopje was built in the late 19th century. However, the hospices are buildings in public or private ownership, and unlike inns, attracting and retaining travelers of any kind is not a priority. The hospices were dwelling of a rich Ottoman officer or they were administrative buildings.

Hammams, also known as Turkish baths were used by the Muslims for hygiene, for ritual bathing, but also played an important role in the social relation. As such, they began to spread in Western Europe, so already in the 19th century were opened in Great Britain as well. Apart from hammams, the bezistans (bazaars) attracted huge number of people for potential overnight stays. Bezistan is an enclosed covered area (market) protected from attacks by gangs (oriental market), which sells various handicrafts products, haberdashery etc. The most popular bezistans in Macedonia were in Bitola, Thessaloniki and Skopje. The bezistan in Skopje was built in the 15th century, but was destroyed in 1689. In 1899/1900 was restored. The bezistan in Bitola

was built a little later (it is mentioned in the 16th and the 17th century). Had over 50 stores and you could enter in it through 4 large iron gates. It is very interesting that in Bitola there was a separate warehouse, known as "magaza" (warehouse) used for storage of goods by traders who came to the city.

More traders were gathered in one place during the fairs. But, fairs were held at specific time period and only once or twice in a year. They were held even before the Ottoman period, and one of the most important not only in Macedonia, but also in all Rumelia (Balkan) was the Fair of Prilep which was held during the 18th and the 19th centuries. At that time in Prilep were coming traders from all over the Macedonia and beyond: Nis, Sofia, Plovdiv, Korca, Elbasan etc. They had tobacco, wheat, rugs etc. to trade. It's logical to assume that during the fair the need for staying in the city or in its surroundings was increased. The fairs of Serres, Doiran, Gevgelia, Sv. Nikole (stone of cattle) etc., had a similar situation[16].

Macedonian authors of 19th century were familiar with the inns and pubs, the resting places and the places to have breakfast[17]. They were locals, which is the reason why maybe exist only a few descriptions of these places. Writing about Prilep, Kuzman Shapkarev noticed that the population in Prilep was engaged in agricultural work and livestock. The grain, grapes, tobacco, hemp, flax, etc. were cultivated. The most important agricultural product was the tobacco and the most important handicraft product-the kettle. The city was abounded with inns and taverns because it was located at a crossroad. There, stopped travelers from Serbia, Bulgaria and Thrace who were going to Albania and beyond[18].

P.A. Chacharov points out very interesting finding. In 1892, in a report to the newspaper "News" drew attention to the hot spring near the river Bregalnica[19]. The water was curative, it's coming from a mineral spring, but the villagers didn't know how to use its medicinal characteristics. One part of it was used for washing and the other, called the spring of Kezhovica was used for bathing, charged by the government. In1836-38, the Frenchman Ami Bue probably wrote about the same hot spring and during his visit he announced "In Novo Selo, we visited the mineral sulfur spring with water temperature of 54^0 to 55^0 C".

The monasteries were also used as stops along the way. Writing about the Monastery of Saint Jovan Bigorski, Jakim Derebanov from Struga noticed that the monastery was the central place for all events in Debar. So "the monastery is a house offering food, drink, warm room, bed, etc. for free"[20]. In another article, the same author judged the villagers from Vranestica, Kicevo, because they drank brandy a lot and they were regular visitors to the taverns[21]. In another letter he pointed out that the passengers were being exposed to danger during their trips[22]. Therefore, the passage Jama between Kicevo and Debar was guarded by the villagers, and consequently

[16] Илиев, Д. (1891). Бележки по п'туванието ми отъ Щипъ до Св. Николе (Клиселия). Новини, брой 50, стр.2 [Iliev, D. (1891). Records from my travel from Stip to Sv.Nikole. News, N.50, p.2]

[17] Ковилоски, С. (2010). Патописот во македонскиот XIX век. Скопје, стр.7-10 [Koviloski, S. (2010). Travel writhing in Macedonian 19th century. Skopje, pp.7-10]

[18] Шяпкаревъ, К. (1872). Описаніе на градъ Прилепъ съ околностът' му, на молбеныте и учебныте му заведенія. Читалище, ноемврій 30, книжка 2 [Sapkarev, K. (1872). Description of Prilep city and surroundings with religious and educational facilities. Reading room, November 30, book 2]

[19] Чачаров, П. (1892). Описание на с. Ново-Село (Щипско). Новини, брой 67, стр 2 [Cacarov, P. (1892). Description of vill. New Village (Stip). News, N.67, p.2]

[20] Деребанов, Як. (1897). Дебърски Монастиръ Св. Иоанъ Предтеча Бигорский. Новини, брой 34, 3 март, стр.2-3 [Derebanov, J. (1897). Debar Monastery Ss.Jovan Bigorski. News, N.34, 3 March, pp.2-3]

[21] Деребанов, Як. (1897). Дописки. Новини, брой 9, 5 ноемврий, стр.2 [Derebanov, J. (1897). Correspondences. News, N.9, 5 November, p.2]

[22] Деребанов, Як. (1898). Дописки. Вøсти, брой 73, 20 юли, стр.2-3 [Derebanov, J. (1898). Correspondences. News, N.73, 20 July, pp.2-3]

they were exempted from the Ottoman "dzhizie" tax. We'll confirm his words by a passage from a text of Georgi Balaschev from Ohrid. He wrote that between the mountains Nidze and Durla was located a long ravine: "on the right side, a traveler over his shoulder sees the mountain Durla, on the left side Nidze, both overgrown with beeches, oaks and chestnut trees. The road curves through the high forest, the passenger's heart beats too fast, his blood starts to freeze and he's shaking in his boots; most robberies and murders take place there"[23]. That was the reason why companions (guides) were needed, and because of that the communication within the Ottoman state and the number of passengers were reduced compared to the real possibilities.

The foreign writers of travel books are the primary source of information about the location of numerous inns and taverns. We'll keep the attention to several authors who give interesting information. In one of the general notes about the state of the hotels and apartments in Turkey, including Macedonia, the writer named J. B. Richard wrote: "With the exception of a few big cities where I can find well-maintained hotel, the traveler on his way cannot find something that would even look like a shelter for foreigners; inns and caravansaris are located at various distances along the main roads in order to shelter travelers somehow, even for free; rooms are generally clean, but man cannot get anything to eat there if he doesn't have food items. It's the custom to give a small gift to the innkeeper, when leaving. However, there are bars that sell eggs, bread, milk, sherbet, etc"[24].

To this general presentation of the housing situation in the Ottoman Empire we would add another, broader one. The Englishman Thomas Alom (1835) devoted a special chapter to "Inside the Turkish coffee shops"[25]. Alom, writes about the taverns and the coffee shops. Taverns were open-air places "where a group of chefs prepare different types of refreshing drinks...". The visitor has passed by them, has sat on worn straw mat, and in front of him has been placed table with rough metal ashtray on it. Then a waiter has come caring two bowls of two different types of pancakes. The client did not get any napkin nor knife, fork or spoon. Coffee shops were little better places where the rooms were decorated in a very good way. In some of them were performing musicians playing tanbur and mandolin, accompanied by singers. The coffee was served, and hookah or water pipe were devices used in smoking tobacco. The storytellers were used as additional entertainment in the coffee shops. Julia Pardo presents similar data in 1836. She writes about coffee booth "a place where unemployed and exhausted man, voluptuous and businessman stop by to enjoy one hour after the hard trade work"[26]. They were places to "chit chat and enjoy". Pardo also notes that entertainers (storytellers) and musicians were performing in some of these coffee booths as well. While in the bigger urban centers of the Ottoman Empire, especially in Constantinople the music was performed by the Greeks or Jews, in Macedonia the music was generally performed by a troupe of guslars (men playing gusle)[27]. In the late 19th century the bar "Itaat" (going fast) in Bitola located at today's "Hunter House" was one of the first bars which hired female singers[28].

The Frenchman Pukvil, had a bad experience while traveling in Macedonia, in Skopje and Kumanovo. In his travel book of the year 1801 he writes: "From Üsküp (Ottoman Turkish name

[23] Езерски. (1892). Топографско-исторически поглед на град Воден. София, стр.97 [Ezerski. (1892). Topographic and historic view of Voden city. Sofia, p.97]
[24] Матковски, А. (1992). Македонија во делата на странските патописци 1827-1849. Скопје, стр.63 [Matkovski, A. (1992). Macedonia in the writings of foreign travel writers 1827-1849. Skopje, p.63]
[25] Ibid, pp.74-77
[26] Ibid, pp.123-124
[27] Стерјовски, А. (1999). Македонските слепи гуслари. Скопје, стр.104 [Sterjovski, A. (1999). Macedonian blind guslars. Skopje, p.104]
[28] Завоевъ, П. (1916). Писма отъ Македония. София, стр.128 [Zavoev, P. (1892). Letters from Macedonia. Sofia, p.128]

of Skopje) to Kalkandelen (Turkish name of Tetovo) passengers passed ten burdensome leagues (1 league = 4.8km), which together with the previously seven made their day the one of the toughest. On top of everything, they found nothing to eat in the inn where they were situated... Poor traveler who hopes to find something here in Kalkandelen, especially the one forced to stay here, as happens very often!"[29]. The same author in another travel book of the year 1817 writes that in Macedonia there were not only ordinary inns and taverns. Pukvil writes about pastry shops (a rare term of this type of hospitality facility)[30].

Many foreigners who traveled around the country had unpleasant experiences with the accommodation facilities in Macedonia. They were used to better accommodation facilities and the ones they found in Macedonia were just the opposite of their experiences by then. Ami Bue in his travel book of the year 1836-38 mentioned that he was also dissatisfied with the accommodation in Kratovo. He wrote: "We were situated in a very dirty house so we decided to camp under the blue sky"[31]. However, Ami Bue found better facilities and hospitality in Stip. Heading towards Prilep and Bitola, he reached the inn Trojak (refers to Troyatsi – village in Prilep). "The Inn Trojak is right on south of the mountain Kozjak from which one ravine extends to the valley of the fast river. Right in this valley are located the sentry box and the inn Trojak, where there is a fountain with very cold water. Our people were ahead of us and we just had to sit down, which is a rare pleasure in Turkey, a place where usually wait until dinner is ready. Later everyone had to find a comfortable place to sleep, because the gallery did not have enough room for all of us. We tried to accommodate in the caves located along the ravine, but they served as stables for sheep, so the flies didn't give us an opportunity for a pleasant stay. The little forest near the inn seemed more comfortable"[32]. Continuing his path Bue arrived to the river "Crna reka" with his friends. There were two taverns in the village Mogila: "In one of them was staying a Christian, and therefore there was served wine as well", while in the other one some pasha was accommodated. Arriving in Bitola or Monastir as Bue calls it, he noticed that none of the taverns had wide yards, so the rich people had houses in the suburbs.

The Englishman Edmund Spenser offers wealth of information about the Macedonian roads, travel habits, inns and accommodations. He was a military person (captain) and has traveled a lot, probably for military intelligence purposes. During his travels, Macedonia was one of the points found on his map. Spenser's travel book referring to Macedonia is of the year 1850. He informs that has had fellow passenger named George who "was acting like he was at home, he knew all the people and he was greeted with loud cheers and cries of welcome everywhere"[33], which again points out the fact that during the 19th century foreign travelers in Macedonia needed a guide who knew the roads. Spenser says that there was nothing to see in Tetovo, and that there were a covered bezistans (bazaars), coffee shops and taverns in Skopje. He wrote that his path was a road paved by the Macedonian kings along the river Treska. Because on the way to Bitola they didn't eat for a long time, they were tired (rode 8 hours) and there was no hospitality facility, they camped under the open sky. In Bitola, he noticed "well-dressed people on the way to the coffee shops", which proofs that people paid attention to fashion and that the city of Bitola was in progress. Beside "the progress of Bitola compared

[29] Матковски, А. (1991). Македонија во делата на странските патописци 1778-1826. Скопје, стр.344-345 [Matkovski, A. (1991). Macedonia in the writings of foreign travel writers 1778-1826. Skopje, pp. 344-345]
[30] Ibid, p.715
[31] Матковски, А. (1992). Македонија во делата на странските патописци 1827-1849. Скопје, стр.233 [Matkovski, A. (1992). Macedonia in the writings of foreign travel writers 1827-1849. Skopje, p.233]
[32] Ibid, p.240
[33] Матковски, А. (1992). Македонија во делата на странските патописци 1850-1864. Скопје, стр.3 [Matkovski, A. (1992). Macedonia in the writings of foreign travel writers 1850-1864. Skopje, p.3]

to the last time I visited, the inns show no such signs, and moreover, now every room, nook or corner of the inn were filled with Arnauts, displaced by the innkeepers". However, a little later, at the end of the 19th and especially at the beginning of the 20th century in Bitola were built several famous hotels such as: "Shark" (later "Bosnia"), "Royal", "Thessaloniki" etc. Spenser claimed that there were conditions for development of medical tourism using the lakes on Pelister[34]. For one of them, he writes: "people suffering from fever or similar diseases, during the summertime use the lake for recovery". These kinds of hospital visits were also made at the Monastery of St. Naum. Here, even Muslim dignitaries were coming to improve their health. Many foreign writers of travel books during their stay in Macedonia considered that the kindness of the monks and the conditions were the best in the country. Ottoman authorities in Ohrid organized a fish picnic at the lake, and then luxury party "Alachampetre", i.e. in a rural way for Spenser. The visitor was very pleased.

We'll concentrate on one foreign diplomat, who had the opportunity to travel through Macedonia. He is Johannes Hahn from Germany who was traveling from north to south (from Kumanovo to Bitola)[35]. He gives wonderful information about the hospitality situation in Skopje. When Han arrived in Skopje, the kaymakam of Skopje accommodated him in a private house of a Vlach, who lived renting out an inn. The inn was located at the entrance to the city. The accommodation was good, consisting of three clean and tidy rooms. The host spoke several languages, something that positively surprised the traveler. He describes the Kursumli-an (Lead-an), as fire-resistant construction, built like a well supplied store and shelters for foreign traders. The building was a massive two-flat quadrangle entered through a door with iron chains. There was a fountain in the middle, and the warehouses were located on the lower floor. Han devoted entire chapter to "Kaplan-an". The inn was located on south of the field of Skopje, in the Valley of the river Pchinja. This inn was often attacked by robbers probably because it was away from the town. In Skopje, they slept in the stables together with their horses, because of the fear of being robbed, but that was not necessary here. Due to the presence of the robbers, the whole group of Han was very careful during their stay in Kaplan-an. Han mentions the rivers Vardar and Pchinja and the nearby villages Bader and Taor, which proofs that Kaplan-an is actually Katlanovo or Katlanovsky-an.

The same inn is mentioned by Muir Makenzi and Adelina Irbi from England who in 1863 traveled together in Macedonia. They paid enough attention to the inns and the guesthouses. Once they wrote: "As for the guesthouses or inns or taverns as called here, we found them quite different in different parts of Turkey, with the exception of some key details that were same everywhere. Everywhere, there is no other furniture except the rugs (carpets) - that should be immediately taken out; the floor should be cleaned, and if possible, a few hours before arriving should be washed. Here or there you will find glass windows or paper-covered windows, otherwise everywhere only wooden shutters. Almost everywhere there is furnace like some kind of basket, or open fireplace (chimney) which is better option"[36]. The two ladies from England described the housing situation in every place they stayed, pointing to the low culture of their hosts and their illiteracy, the bad behavior of the robbery gangs and the Ottoman policemen, as well as the poor condition of the roads. Once, even their luggage was lost on the road. Some inns they visited had no separate rooms, but at least had somewhere to shelter on a hot or rainy days. Mackenzie and Irby described some of these inns as "bad" and "dirty". They were kindly and generously welcomed in Bitola. On the way from Prilep to Veles, at the foot

[34] Ibid, pp.25-31
[35] Ibid, pp.257-310
[36] Ibid, p.567

of the mountain Babuna, they noticed the inn Vazir-an, where they wanted to spend the night. Here, they were rewarded for their troubles: "Vazir-an lies right at the foot of the ravine and it is the best inn we have seen in Turkey; has one upper floor, safe stairs and more guestrooms; and the most important, there were glass windows in the most beautiful room"[37]. Still, their opinion is as subjective as the opinion of their predecessors-travelers who have been here. They found the recommended inn Babuna-an, considered the best in Turkey, "perfectly destroyed so that made us feel happy to find a shelter in a hollow tree during our short vacation"[38].

The housing situation in Macedonia in the 19th century was different from the situation in the Western developed countries. Bitola, Skopje and Ohrid offered a lot of accommodation opportunities with high quality. Also, Prilep, Veles, the roadside inns in Trojaci, near Babuna, Kaplan-an etc. offered quite good accommodation opportunities as well. Edmund Spenser wrote that if there was no way for "safe and simple communication, because otherwise the country will remain undisclosed, that would be useless for the progress of a country, regardless of its industrial and natural potential"[39]. He certainly refers to the overgrown roads where the travelers were being exposed to danger of landslide and floods, and mostly of robberies and murders committed by numerous armed gangs. Also, the opinions of Mackenzie and Irby from England, passing through Macedonia, from Prilep to Veles, complete this picture: "Sorry, but it's not worth it to mention where the good inns are located in Turkey, because if other passengers do not pass the same path right after you, probably they wouldn't notice the good inn on the place where you've seen it, and the opposite, where you've noticed a bad almost ruined inn, after two years other passengers would probably find a new inn"[40].

Previously expressed point of views of Spenser, Mackenzie and Irby say enough about the opportunities to develop some kind of tourism in Macedonia. Initially, the lack of roads caused certain regions of the country to be left aside the modern civilization. The lack of a road network reduced the communication between the residents of nearby towns and villages, and also the communication with the foreign merchants, potential guests in Macedonian inns. To this image of bad roads we'll add the image of the many armed gangs who've attacked travelers and caravans. After all, the accommodations that existed at one point, mostly have been ruined, unprotected from outside influences, offering bad service and rude behavior. In fact, as in almost all other countries under Ottoman rule, the conditions and the service of staying overnight in small towns, rural areas and roadside inns were very low.

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[37] Ibid, p.600
[38] Ibid, p.601
[39] Ibid, p.22
[40] Ibid, p.601

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UDK 903:711.42(497.712)"652"
UDK 903:726.821(497.712)"652" *Haemus Journal, vol. 2, 2013, 145-151,* ISSN: 1857- 8411

The First Archaeological Park in Macedonia "Arheo Park Brazda"

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Abstract: *The archeological site "Gradiste - Brazda" is situated nearly 15 km north of Skopje, on a humble hill that rises over the village of Brazda. With the excavation of the monumental architectural edifice, known as "The Royal tomb" in 1986, the archeological site Gradiste claims a significant place in the archeological circles, as well as in the wider public. With its specific characteristics, the Royal tomb at Brazda represents a unique building of its kind on the wider Balkan peninsula. It is a representative structure with a rectangular chamber with dimension of 9.8 by 6.6 meters and a dromos with over 20 meters in length that steeply descends toward the west entrance of the tomb. The entire structure is built from large decorated travertine blocks with an average weight of 500 to 1500 kg. The idea for the project, or to turn this place into a tourist attraction so it finally receives the attention it deserves was born when we first visited this archeological site as archeology students. A monumental royal tomb dating from the 5th c. BC towered before us with it massive stone blocks, but the entrance to it was nearly impossible and the whole place was overgrown with wild vegetation and buried under year and years of piled garbage. This paper presents the making and the opening of the first archaeological park in R. Macedonia – "Arheo Park Brazda".*

Key words: Antiquity, Royal tomb, archaeological park, management, Brazda

The archeological site "Gradiste - Brazda" is situated nearly 15 km north of Skopje, on a humble hill that rises over the village of Brazda. According to information (data) obtained through past researches, the site is classified as a fortified early antique settlement, dating from the 5th to the 3rd century BC and spreading over an area of 3.5 ha, which make it the largest settlement in the Skopje valley.

The excavation of the monumental architectural edifice, known as "The Royal tomb" in 1986, the archeological site Gradiste claims a significant place in the archeological circles as well as the wider public.

With its specific characteristics, the Royal tomb at Brazda represents a unique building of its kind on the wider Balkan peninsula.

It is a representative structure with a rectangular chamber with dimension of 9.8 by 6.6 meters and a dromos with over 20 meters in length that steeply descends toward the west entrance of the tomb. The entire structure is built from large travertine blocks with an average weight of 500 to 1500 kg. Although it is a structure buried in the ground, the chamber blocks are decorated with a smooth rectangular frame encompassing the salient middle. The exquisite decoration of the rock, as well as the fact that the closest travertine mines are on a distance of 20

Fig. 1 Arheo park Bradza

Fig.2 Arheo park Bradza

Fig. 3 Arheo park Bradza

Fig. 4 Info sign Brazda

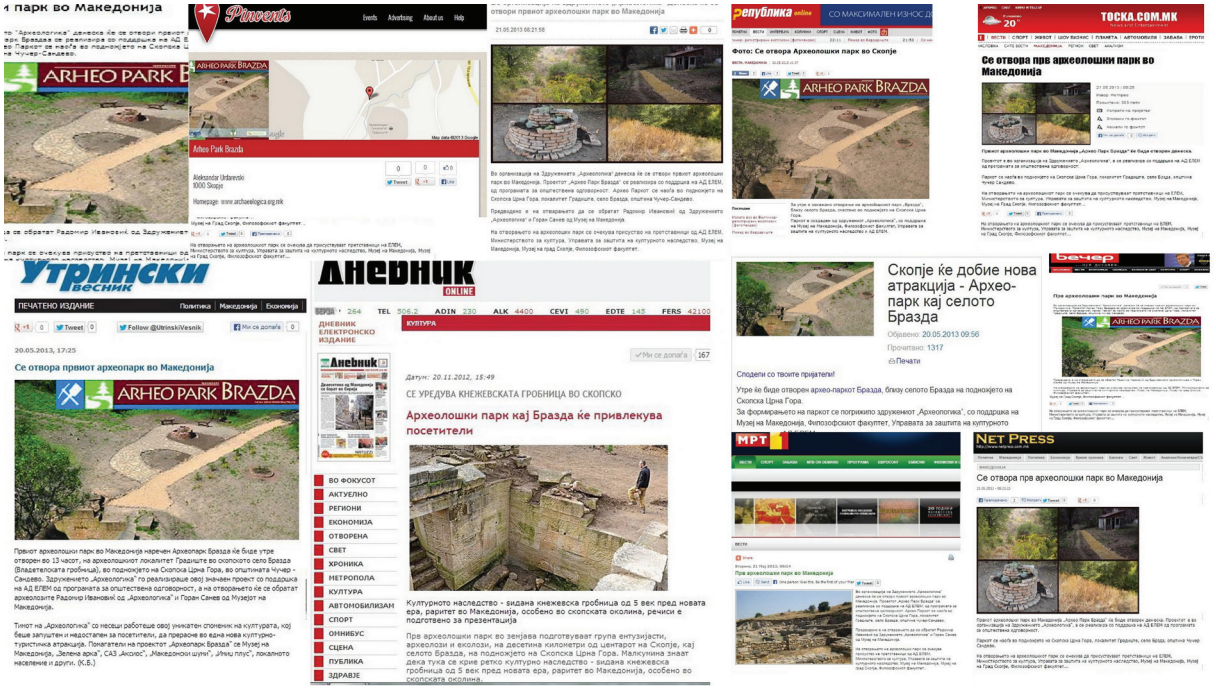

Fig. 5 Media coverage

Fig. 6 Road sign Brazda

Fig. 7 Before and after

Fig. 8 Before and after

km from the site, are arguments enough to determine the economic power of the deceased and the settlement at large which was one of the more important settlements in the 5th century BC.

Nevertheless, the city's name, its function, meaning and regional administrative status are still unknown. Who were the citizens of Gradiste? This cannot be determined with certainty as well. The presence of red-figure vases among the ceramic findings is a confirmation of the existence of cultural and economic relations with Athens. Whether it is a matter of colonists from the southern part of the Balkan Peninsula who inhabited the settlement or maybe it is a result of the driving development of the local Paionian inhabitants are question left to archeology to resolve. [1]

The idea for the project or to turn this place into a tourist attraction so it finally receives the attention it deserves was born when we first visited this archeological site as archeology students. A monumental royal tomb dating from the 5th c. BC towered before us with it massive stone blocks, but the entrance to it was nearly impossible and the whole place was overgrown with wild vegetation and buried under year and years of piled garbage. There were no signposts or information panels, thus the visitor can neither be led to nor informed about the immense historical heritage that they unknowingly pass by. The general public was completely unaware of its existence and more importantly so was the world.

After many years and many tries to realize the wishful idea, in 2012 the association "Archaeologica" in partnership with the Museum of Macedonia and supported by ELEM through its social responsibility program, finally started working on the field in order to change the image of this important cultural heritage turning it into the first archeological park in Macedonia – the Archeo Park Brazda.

The Archaeologica team toiled for months to arrange the site and its surroundings.

- The interior of the tomb and the passageway (dromos) were completely cleaned from wild vegetation and debris which increased the visibility of the site,
- The plateau in front of the tomb was cleared and leveled,
- An approach to the tomb was ensured by building an access path with two bridges,
- A small square was built and wooden benches were placed,
- A voluntary action was organized to clear the riverbeds of garbage
- The landscape around the park was horticultural refined
- Information panels and signposts were placed,
- Informative flyers were printed and distributed
- The opening of the Arheo Park was covered by media
- A web site about the park was developed (www.arheoparkbrazda.mk)

We paid particular attention to using natural materials in the realization of the project, materials that do not stand out from their surroundings.

By opening the first archeological park in Macedonia, "Arheo park Brazda", we strive to bring archeology closer to our fellow citizens, to raise the standards of archeology in Macedonia and to simply enrich the offer of cultural landmarks.

The aim of the project is to protect as well as present a rare example from the world cultural heritage to raise the cultural and environmental awareness of the local authorities and the local population in the municipality of Chucher-Sandevo and to develop the tourism in this rural environment.

This kind of development and widening of the touristic offer of Skopje would contribute

[1] Иван Микулчиќ, Викторија Соколовска, Гробницата во Бразда, кај Скопје, МАА 11 (79 – 91), 1990

to the development of the village of Brazda se well, and of the surrounding area in this vivid and picturesque region.

The short distance to the city and the well organized road infrastructure enable a fast and simple approach to the attractive recreational locations such as, the village of Banjani, the village of Gornjani, restaurant Chardak, etc. Simultaneously, in the vicinity of village Brazda numerous cultural and historical monuments dating from the 14th to 19th century can be found, dispersed through the foothills of Skopska Crna Gora: the church of St. Nikita in Gornjani village, the church of Holy Salvation and the monastery of St. Archangel in Kuchevishte village, the churches of St. George and St. Ilija in the village of Banjani, etc. And finally, by adding the Gradiste site to this group of cultural landmarks, we arrive at an unforgettable whole-day experience, a tourist walk through the past in Skopje and the vicinity, from the beginnings of ancient times to today.

The interest in this cultural monument significantly rose after mounting the signposts and the official opening of the "Arheo Park Brazda". Apart from casual passersby that would learn about this place from the signpost, organized groups also visit the park. As the local inhabitants inform us, the site receives daily visits from foreign and domestic tourists who are in awe of everything this site has to offer from a cultural aspect as well as from the natural beauties that abound.

The undertakings so far are just a part of the overall conceptual solution for this arheo park. Due to the heightened interest in the park, as well as the increased number of visitors, we are planning a realization of the second phase of the project that would include: setting up a wooden gazebo which would serve as an educational nest for the students of archeology and the pupils from primary schools located the vicinity of the site, as well as for larger groups of tourists; building access paths to Gradiste; setting up litter bins and additional horticultural enrichment along the paths and around the tent, as well as maintaining the park; mounting new signposts on key crossroads so as to alleviate access to the site, printing informative leaflets, etc.

We wholeheartedly hope that we will have an opportunity to realize these steps i.e. the second phase of the project, which would raise the Arheo park to world standards and contribute to the protection and promotion of the Gradiste site as a significant cultural inheritance, attract even higher numbers of foreign and domestic visitors, and encourage the development of rural tourism.

UDK 903.2-035.56:069(049.3) *Haemus Journal, vol. 2, 2013, 153-155,* ISSN: 1857- 8411

Prehistoric Bone Industries in Southeast Europe. Book review:

Corneliu Beldiman, Diana-Maria Sztancs and Costel Ilie: ***Artefacte din materii dure animale în colecţia Muzeului de Istorie Galaţi. Eneolitic (Osseous material artefacts in the collection of History Museum of Galaţi: Aeneolithic).*** **Mega Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2012, ISBN 978-606-543-277-2.**

Iosif Vasile Ferencz and Corneliu Beldiman eds.: ***Artă şi meşteşug în epoca regatului dac: artefacte de os şi corn. Catalog. (Art and craftsmanship during the dacian kingdom: bone and antler artefacts. Catalogue).*** **Mega Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2012., ISBN**

The book Osseous material artefacts in the Collection of History Museum of Galaţi Aeneolithic (Artefacte din materii dure animale în colecţia Muzeului de Istorie Galaţi), by the authors Corneliu Beldiman, Diana-Maria Sztancs and Costel Ilie (Mega Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2012), contains 237 pages, 155 pages of text, 82 pages comprising 210 full-colour plates. The book represents a bilingual catalogue in on the osseous artefacts from several Aeneolithic sites (Bereşti-Delalul Băzanului, Bereşti-Delalul Bulgarului, Soicani-Cetăţuia and Sucevani Stoborăni) in Romania. It is the result of the project called „Digitization of the movable cultural heritage from the History Museum of Galaţi. Collection of Aeneolithic osseous materials artefacts" - DanubiOs (August-November 2012) financed by the Administration of the National Cultural Fund of Romania.

The purpose was to give a proper presentation in both digital and paper form of the portable archaeological material in Romania, and this book is devoted to assemblages of artefacts made from osseous raw materials. This type of assemblages are generally poorly represented in the archaeological literature throughout Europe, therefore a detailed catalogue of finds, with high-quality illustrations, is more than necessary for both heritage presentation, preservation, as well as for future scientific research.

The book represents much more than merely a catalogue, it also includes a high-quality scientific study. The first chapter of the book gives general information on the project of digitalization itself. Second chapter gives an overview of the Aeneolithic sites from which the movable archaeological material is represented (Bereşti-Delalul Băzanului, Bereşti-Delalul Bulgarului, Soicani-Cetăţuia and Sucevani Stoborăni). The next three chapters are devoted to the osseous assemblages – from history of research in general, the studies of osseous industries in Romania, methodological considerations, the full analysis of assemblages from above-mentioned sites, and the catalogue itself. The catalogue is equipped with high-quality colour photographs, including some macro-photographs of selected artefacts. The book also gives and extensive bibliography on both Aeneolithic sites in Romania and bone industry analyses.

Extensive analyses of bone industries, with catalogues included, are generally not particularly common in European prehistory (with some notable exceptions). Therefore the entire project of the digitalization of the portable archaeological heritage itself is an excellent undertaking, very important for both Romanian archaeology as for European archaeology in general. Especially artefact types such as everyday tools do not receive enough attention in archaeological publications; the industries from osseous materials are get even space in archaeological publications, and detailed catalogues of such finds in the European prehistory are extremely rare. Keeping this in mind, the project of the book on osseous artefacts deserves even more credit and praising.

This catalogue is very important for both Romanian and wide European framework of archaeological research, and has significance in not only preserving and presenting the diverse archaeological patrimony of Romania, but for scientific research as well. The catalogue itself represents an important contribution to the research of prehistory in South-Eastern Europe.

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The book Art and craftmanship during the dacian kingdom: bone and antler artefacts. Catalogue (Artă şi meşteşug în epoca regatului dac: artefacte de os şi corn. Catalog), edited by Iosif Vasile Ferencz and Corneliu Beldiman (Mega Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2012), represents a volume with numerous short papers on osseous industry during the Dacian reign, accompanied by a detailed catalogue. The book contains 359 pages, with 81 figure and 73 plates in colour, and is bilingual (texts in Romanian are followed by unabbreviated English version). The catalogue is an outcome of the exhibition presented in the Museum of Dacian and Roman Civilization in Deva.

Apart from the editors, list of contributors includes Mihaela Ion, Diana-Maria Sztancs and Marius Barbu. Papers represented are dealing with different aspects of bone crafting and related topics in prehistory in general, with special emphasis on bone industry during the Dacian times. Several introductory papers are dealing with bone artefacts in prehistory and protohistory, osseous raw materials in general and zooarchaeology (domestic and wild animals, hunting and fishing) in Dacian times by Mihaela Ion, Diana-Maria Sztancs, and Iosif Vasile Ferencz. They are followed with contributions by Corneliu Beldiman and D.-M. Sztancs on history and methodology of bone artefact studies, bone industry in Romania and especially bone crafting among the Geto-Dacian communities. Third part of the book are papers dealing specifically with Dacian osseous artefacts and their context, by C. Beldiman, I. V. Ferencz and Marius Barbu. The book is closed by Short introduction of the Dacian imaginary. The real and fabulous bestiary, by I. V. Ferencz, thus encompassing a wide range of topics related not only to bone artefacts but also to the animal use and animal symbolism within Dacian communities.

This part is followed by a detail catalogue of finds, organized by sites, bibliography list, and seventy-three colour plates, that include also some macro photos of details of manufacture and use wear traces.

As mentioned above, the bone industry is, despite the increase of diverse researches and publications in past few decades, still under-explored topic. While some regions and some periods received more attention (for example, Palaeolithic finds from France or Spain), some are almost completely ignored. The protohistoric periods, for example, especially in south-east Europe, belong to the second group. Therefore the book edited by I. V. Ferencz and C. Beldiman represents the first comprehensive overview of the bone industry in Dacian times. Diverse related topics covered by papers in this volume, as well as detailed catalogue, add to the value of this book.

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Both these publications are amongst still rare (especially regarding the south-east Europe) publications devoted to the bone industry. This under-explored topic has a great interpretative potential and value for research in all prehistoric periods. These two publications will, hopefully, encourage further research in this field, but at the same time draw attention to the archaeologist conducting excavations how and why it is important to collect properly and later analyse and publish in detail artefacts from osseous raw materials. Detailed catalogue and illustrations give these books potential to became reference work for future analyses of the bone artefacts in region, but also in wider context of European prehistory and protohistory. The bilingual version of the integral (unabbreviated) text gives additional value to both these books.

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in this issue:

ISSN: 1857- 8411