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Renata Ciołek

“GREAT HOARD” OF 4656 COINS OF KING BALLAIOS FROM RISAN¹

Abstract: The article is a preliminary analysis of the contents of the “great hoard” from Risan, discovered in 2010 by the Center for Research on the Antiquity of Southeastern Europe of the University of Warsaw. Approximate statistics for particular types and subtypes of coins were determined based on an examination of the hoard prior to cleaning and conservation of the coins. Preliminary conclusions concerning the hoard have also been presented.

Key words: Rhizon/Risinium, Ballaios, hoard of coins

Excavations carried out in Risan in 2010 by the Center for Research on the Antiquity of Southeastern Europe of the University of Warsaw brought to light a hoard containing 4656 coins issued by Ballaios,² an Illyrian king known from no other source except his monetary issues. Some of these issues bear his name alone, while others add the title of *basileus* (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ). His actual ruler status is not clear, however, given what is known of the Illyrian state, the nature of state-building processes in the Balkans in the 4th through 2nd century BC and the intertribal relations in the region. The numismatic evidence has given several indications, possibly also with regard to the years of his reign, and the importance of this has hardly been belittled by the fact that many of the coins found previously had no exact provenance. Apparent concentrations of the king’s coins in certain regions could suggest places of production which could subsequently be tied in with territories under his rule, while the distribution of the coins can help to map the extent of his kingdom. Generally speaking, Ballaios seems to have ruled over the eastern shore of the Adriatic, from Kotor Bay in the south to Pharos island in the north.³

One can distinguish a number of basic types and several variants among the known coins of this king. On the whole, Arthur Evans’ view that particular types of coins were apparently limited to specific regions should be upheld. The type with standing Artemis

¹ This important find is signaled here following a preliminary appraisal of the coins before cleaning and conservation. I am deeply indebted to the staff of the Center for Research on the Antiquity of Southeastern Europe, University of Warsaw, for making this research possible, and to Prof. Piotr Dyczek in particular for his generous assistance.

² On the circumstances of the discovery, see KOWAL 2010, pp. 46–48.

³ EVANS 1880; RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1964, p. 86; MAROVIĆ 1988, p. 97; GORINI 1989, pp. 28–29; GORINI 1990, pp. 319–321; UJES, KOVAČEVIĆ 1992, pp. 9–10; UJES 1993, pp. 7–8.

Renata Ciołek
Tomasz Kowal

CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF RESEARCH ON RISAN (MONTENEGRO): THE CASE OF HEINRICH RICHLÝ

Abstract: The article highlights the person and accomplishments of Heinrich Richlý (1839–1907). The Czech archaeologist visited Risan (Greek Rhizon, Roman Risinium) in the end of the 19th century and wrote extensively about what he had seen. Of greatest interest are his observations concerning the topography of the town and a fragmentary Greek inscription with the name of the god Medauros, which he described and of which he made a cast. Richlý also collected and identified about 300 ancient coins and described a few of them, thus contributing to the current knowledge of numismatic finds from Risan.

Key words: Rhizon/Risinium, Richlý, Ballaios, Carine, coins

In 2001 archaeologists from the Center for Research on the Antiquity of Southeastern Europe of the University of Warsaw started excavations in ancient Rhizon (Latin Risinium), modern Risan in Montenegro. Almost ten years of research have fruited in an abundant assemblage of finds, including many amphorae and clay plugs for these vessels, vessels of the Gnathia type and primarily large quantities of ancient coins. In 2010 the finds were especially rich in this last respect, producing a hoard of 4656 coins beside many interesting and unique piece found singularly or in groups.¹ The hoard came from the Carine VII sector located in the low-lying area of Risan on the western bank of the Spila river. This “great hoard”,² as it has come to be referred to, had been hidden under the floor of a room which was part of a bigger architectural complex from the Hellenistic period.

The new Risan hoard justifies a closer look at other sets of coins coming from the neighborhood of Kotor Bay or otherwise associated with the mint operating in Rhizon. The mint struck huge quantities of coins, mainly for King Ballaios of the Rhizonites, but also autonomous coins issued on behalf of the city and its inhabitants. The latter group is definitely less numerous than the royal coinage. Currently, there are about 1800 royal coins recorded beside the “great hoard”, which calculated together with the coins from the hoard raises the total of known coins of this king to more than 6270 pieces. Considering

¹ On the circumstances of the discovery, see KOWAL 2010, pp. 46–48.

² CIOŁEK 2010 (in this volume, pp. 7–12); DYCZEK 2011, pp. 5–10.

Małgorzata Daszkiewicz
Marcin Baranowski

PROVENANCE STUDY OF LATE CLASSIC AND HELLENISTIC BLACK-COATED POTTERY FROM RISAN (MONTENEGRO)

Abstract: Excavations in Risan (ancient Risinium), situated in Montenegro, since 2001 have been carried out by a mission from the Center for Research on the Antiquity of Southeastern Europe, University of Warsaw, directed by Piotr Dyczek. Laboratory analyses (chemical analysis by WD-XRF, MGR-analysis, thin-sections study) were carried out on 112 fragments of black-coated Late Classic and Hellenistic pottery. The main aim of laboratory analyses was to identify provenance groups. The majority of the samples come from a region very probably within present-day Albania where clay with high contents of magnesium, chrome and nickel occurs.

Key words: Risan, Montenegro, Late Classic pottery, Hellenistic pottery, black-slip, black-gloss, chemical analysis, MGR-analysis, thin-sections

Introduction

In 2001 the Center for Research on the Antiquity of Southeastern Europe, University of Warsaw, directed by Prof. P. Dyczek, initiated excavations at a new site within the present-day town of Risan in Montenegro. In 2004 archaeometric analysis was undertaken on ceramic sherds selected by Prof. P. Dyczek. These 39 fragments represented amphorae, Gnathia-type pottery, lamps and basins; some of the analysis results have already been published.¹ In 2008 laboratory analysis was carried out on a further 112 ceramic sherds, including 37 samples recovered from excavations held in 2001–2006 at the Carine VI site and 75 samples selected from excavations in 2008. The analysed pottery sherds came from strata dated to the terminal Classical and Hellenistic periods. The main aim of both series of analyses was to identify provenance groups and ascribe them to production centres (workshops), hence to determine which of the analysed fragments were made at local potteries (local to the site, or local to the region), and which had been imported (and where from). The analysis results² were used in M. Baranowski's M.A. thesis, supervised by Prof. Dyczek. In his thesis Baranowski presented a comprehensive description of all pottery fragments and examined the correlation between groups identified by macroscopic

¹ BARANOWSKI *et alii* 2006; DASZKIEWICZ *et alii* 2007.

² DASZKIEWICZ *et alii* 2009.

Piotr Dyczek

PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE “GREAT HOARD” OF 4656 COINS OF KING BALLAIOS IN RISAN (RHIZON/RISINIUM)

Abstract: Preliminary description of archaeological context and stratigraphic situation in which a hoard of coins was found.

Key words: Rhizon, hoard of coins, Ballaios

The expedition of the University of Warsaw working at Risan in Montenegro for the past ten years has uncovered the remains of an ancient town, Rhizon, which was at one time the capital of Queen Teuta [Fig. 1]. Like other towns in Illyria, the Rhizon of Teuta was divided into insulae which were occupied by typical Hellenistic houses with numerous small courtyards, passages and corridors. Some houses were raised of mud brick on stone foundations. Low buildings with only one floor and mostly inclined roofs predominated. Particular rooms were identified with regards to their function by the finds discovered inside them. There were among them small kitchens and sleeping rooms filled with good, sometimes even elaborate furniture, if the preserved variety of bronze nails is anything to go by.

The main continuous archaeological structure cleared in trench C VII, which stretches across two insulae, was a 3-m wide street aligned north-south and running to the riverbank [Fig. 2]. There may have been a bridge at this point, crossing to the other side. Buildings of evidently different function were situated on both sides of this street. On one side there was a series of rectangular storerooms, on the other a large Greek-Hellenistic house. The house consisted of two complexes of rooms separated by a narrow cul-de-sac. One complex was clearly domestic in character. Finds included fragments of querns, needles of bone and bronze for making nets, ceramic and lead net-weights, fishing hooks, fishbones and shells of oysters and murex. The other complex was residential and it was in one of the rooms of this part, on 8 June 2010, that a truly incredible discovery was made. A hydria full of coins of a little known Illyrian king called Ballaios was found under the floor of this room.

The chamber, which was 4.80 by 3.00 m, was entered from the north through a doorway 1.10 m wide. The jar with the coins lay on its side on a bedding of stones [Fig. 3] attributed to an earlier occupational level. A Gnathia cup was placed over it. The hydria occupied

Piotr Dyczek

**ROMAN MOSAICS IN THE VILLA OF HYPNOS
IN ANCIENT RHIZON/RISINIUM (MONTENEGRO)
— CONTINUATION OF MOSAIC ANALYSIS**

Abstract: The article details the history of research on mosaics found by D. Vuksan in Risan and the results of Polish excavations in the Villa of Hypnos in 2004. The analysis presented herein focuses on the origins of the decoration and discusses the consequences for mosaic dating and interpretation of architectural function.

Key words: Rhizon/Risinium, Roman mosaics

Preliminary information on the mosaics from Risan has been published in *Novensia* 20, particularly on the mosaic with a representation of Hypnos from the so-called Villa of Hypnos [Fig. 1] in Risan. More details of the history of the other four known mosaics are presented in the present article, which also brings a description of the new discoveries made by Polish archaeologists. An analysis of the ornaments has been undertaken and the architectural function of the complex interpreted.

The floor mosaics discovered in the villa in Risan¹ have made it one of Montenegro's best known archaeological structures and it is from a mosaic representing a reclining Hypnos that the building takes its modern name.² In 1930, Dušan Vuksan tested the site on behalf of the Ministry of Education.³ Following interviews with local residents, he sank trenches 200 m from the shore, right in the center of the modern town which lies 500 m to the southeast of Carine (the name originates from the Turkish customhouse), where the ancient Rhizon/Risinium was located.⁴ A fortnight of testing in April was followed by regular excavations lasting a month in the summer. In his field journal, Vuksan reported discovering "... a Roman house erected in the early 2nd century AD at the latest ..." [Fig. 2]. Four of the rooms had mosaic floors, although there is no certainty that these were the same mosaics described in the memoirs of J. L. Violla de Sommières, governor of Kotor province during the French occupation (1807–1814). It is likely because the western part of the building had been undermined by the Pješćine stream, which washed away the *opus tessellatum* on this side. The ruins were relatively shallow, no more than a meter under-

¹ DYCZEK *et alii* 2004, pp. 101–118; DYCZEK *et alii* 2007, pp. 5–29; DYCZEK 2009a, pp. 121–139.

² DYCZEK 2009b, pp. 51–63.

³ VUKSAN 1932, p. 79.

⁴ VUKSAN 1931, pp. 204–205.

Piotr Dyczek
Jerzy Kolendo
Adam Łajtar
Tomasz Płóciennik
Krzysztof Rzepkowski

ILIRYJSKI BÓG MEDAURUS I MURY RISINIUM W ŚWIETLE INSKRYPCJI METRYCZNEJ Z LAMBAESIS (CIL VIII 2581; F. Buecheler, *Carmina Latina epigraphica* 1527)

Abstract: A metrical inscription from Lambaesis (Tazzoult, former Lambèse) in North Africa, the quarters of the *legio III Augusta*, has produced information on Risinium (Greek name of Rhizon, modern Risan in Montenegro on the Boka Kotorska — Bay of Kotor), contributing simultaneously to an understanding of certain religious and art historical issues regarding the Roman Empire as a whole. Erected by a legate of the legion, the inscription described a mounted statue of the Illyrian god Medaurus, replicating a monument from Risinium, where excavations by a Polish expedition from the Southeastern Europe Antiquity Research Center of the University of Warsaw have been taking place since 2001. The team of archaeologists has concentrated, among others, on the defenses and *arx* of Rhizon, which were clearly referred to in the text of the inscription.

Key words: Medaurus, Rhison/Risinium, Dalmatia, Boka Kotorska (Bay of Kotor), Lambaesis, Numidia, metrical inscriptions, *ekphrasis*, mounted statues, Roman religion, legates of the *legio III Augusta*, history of epigraphy

Wstęp*

Z Lambaesis (Tazzoult, b. Lambèse) w Afryce Północnej, obozu *legio III Augusta*, pochodzi bardzo ciekawa inskrypcja metryczna,¹ dostarczająca wielu ważnych informacji o Risinium (inny wariant nazwy: Risinum, nazwa grecka: Rhizon), dzisiejszym Risan, mieście leżącym w Czarnogórze nad Zatoką Kotorską (Boka Kotorska).² Tekst inskrypcji,

* W artykule tym, będącym rezultatem współpracy przedstawicieli filologii klasycznej, archeologii, epigrafiki łacińskiej i greckiej oraz historii starożytnej, zastosowano nieco odmienny system przypisów od stosowanego w całym tomie. Autorzy serdecznie dziękują za okazaną pomoc dr Renacie Ciołek, prof. Jerzemu Danielewiczowi, dr. Radosławowi Gawrońskiemu, p. Rafałowi Karpińskiemu, mgr. Tomaszowi Kowalowi i prof. Marjecie Śašel-Kos.

Skrócona nieco wersja francuska tego artykułu ukaże się w czasopiśmie *Latomus*.

¹ L. RENIER, *Inscriptions romaines de l'Algérie*, Paris 1858, s. 8, nr 36; *CIL VIII*, s. 153, nr 2581, oraz s. 954; *CIL III*, s. 285 (Th. MOMMSEN); F. BUECHELER, *Carmina Latina epigraphica*, Lipsiae 1897, s. 724, nr 1527 (*Anthologia Latina*); H. DESSAU, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae II*, Berolini 1902, s. 243–244, nr 4881.

² P. DYCZEK, *Rhizon/Risinium. Od iliryjskiej osady*

Spis skrótów

<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
<i>LGPN</i>	<i>Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i>
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae</i>
<i>OPEL</i>	<i>Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum</i> , t. I–II, Budapest 1994–1999
<i>PIR</i> ²	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani saec. I, II, III</i> , 2 wyd., Berolini
<i>RE</i>	<i>Real-Enzyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>

Summary

The Illyrian god Medaurus and the defenses of Risinium in the light of a metrical inscription from Lambaesis (*CIL VIII 2581*; F. Buecheler, *Carmina Latina epigraphica* 1527)

A metrical inscription from Lambaesis (Tazzoult, former Lambèse) in North Africa, the quarters of the *legio III Augusta*, has produced information on Risinium (Greek name of Rhizon, modern Risan in Montenegro on the Boka Kotorska — Bay of Kotor), contributing simultaneously to an understanding of certain religious and art historical issues regarding the Roman Empire as a whole. Erected by a legate of the legion, the inscription described a mounted statue of the Illyrian god Medaurus, replicating a monument from Risinium, where excavations by a Polish expedition from the Center for Research on the Antiquity of Southeastern Europe of the University of Warsaw have been taking place since 2001. The team of archaeologists has concentrated, among others, on the defenses and *arx* of Rhizon, which were clearly referred to in the text of the inscription.

The inscription has been lost, but it is known from two copies: a meticulous drawing by corporal Józef Konarzewski (1825–1860), a Pole in the Légion Etrangère (French Foreign Legion), and another copy by a known French epigrapher Léon Renier, who included it in a corpus of texts published in 1858.

The article presents the text of the inscription, critical apparatus, metrical commentary and *similia*. In their philological analysis of the inscription, T. Płóciennik and K. Rzepkowski have proposed the following *corrigenda*:

- line 3, *iam* instead of the hitherto accepted *nam*; therefore:

Sancte Medaure domi et sancte hic iam, templa quoque ista
Vise

instead of:

Sancte Medaure domi et sancte hic, nam templa quoque ista
Vise;

- line 6, *telum* instead of the hitherto accepted *letum*; the commentary supplies numerous parallels for the expression *telum librat ab aure*;
- line 10, *carus* in place of the damaged *parus* (*Inscr.*; so far revised as: *clarus*, *gnarus*, *partus*, *postus*), retaining the lection *primore* (*Inscr.*; sometimes revised as *primori*); hence the text takes on the following form:

ac tibi, Caesar

Marce, in primore carus ubique acie.

The inscription was composed of two parts. The first (lines 1–10) was written in an elegiac distich and the second (lines 11–14) comprised four iambic trimeters. The metrics (correctness of the distiches compared to the considerable metrical randomness of the trimeters) and the language (certain expressions and phrases characteristic of poetry of the period of the Early Empire, like *telum librat ab aure* and also *surgit in auras*, as well as *sonipes*, to describe a horse, and *Gradius* as an epithet of Mars, present in part one and missing from the second part) suggest different authors and even a certain time lapse. The first part may have been written when the legate became *consul designatus* and the second when he actually took office.

The inscription dedicated to Medaurus was discovered *in situ* in one of the shrines on the square, in front of the temple of Asklepios and Salus, which was erected in AD 161–162. It falls in a group of related texts found around this shrine, erected to different divinities by legates of the *legio III Augusta*. The dedications included healing divinities (Asklepios and Salus), but also *dii patrii* — guardian deities of the native towns of the legates, giving a good idea of the local patriotism exhibited by the soldiers and officials. In the case in question, the legate emphasized the greatness of Medaurus who had a splendid statue in Risinium and was the protector of the town described as ancient and the most important of all in Dalmatia. His dedication is also an exemplification of authentic personal religiousness drawing from deeply held beliefs. The legate's *signum* was Medaurius, meaning that the name that actually differentiated him from other people was theophoric in character. The practice of erecting statues to the native gods (*dii patrii*) by officials and senior officers in the army played a very important role in spreading certain rare local cults throughout the Roman Empire, thus providing an explanation for the appearance of local cults of this kind in distant regions.

The dedication to Medaurus was erected by a legate of *legio III Augusta*, whose name was erased, but of whom we know that he bore the *signum* Medaurius and was a “brother in arms” of the emperor Marcus (Marcus Aurelius). He has commonly been identified with M. Luceius Torquatus [B]assianus or [C]assianus, legate of the *legio III Augusta* in 167–169 and consul in 169 or 170, who was executed under Commodus. Yet this identification is unacceptable for chronological reasons. M. Luceius Torquatus, legate of a legion in Africa in 167–169, could not have fought shoulder to shoulder with the emperor in the first phase of the Marcoman wars. Medaurius was a legate of *legio III Augusta* in the last years of the reign of Marcus Aurelius. He could be identified with *Ignotus*, who commanded the legion in 178(?)–180 and whose name suffered erasure. The data for topographic research should thus be revised, namely, M. Luceius Torquatus [B]assianus or [C]assianus, legate of the *legio III Augusta* in 167–169, should be removed from the

list of senators originating from Risinium (or Dalmatia in general) and considered from now on a senator of unknown origin, while Medaurus, legate of the *legio III Augusta* in 178(?)–180, should be added to the said list.

The epigram from Lambaesis contains two descriptions of the cult statue of Medaurus composed at two different moments in time and most probably by two different authors. Formally they refer to a replica of a statue of the god in Lambaesis, but they also speak of the original cult statue erected in Rhizon/Risinium. The text speaks of the greatness of Medaurus which is not reflected in the statue. This phrase could have also referred to the reduced size of the copy of the Rhizon/Risinium statue erected in Lambaesis. The results of archaeological research in Risinium speak in favor of this interpretation of the phrase as emphasizing the size of the original statue.

Medaurus was represented as a warrior mounted on a galloping horse. The text attempts to describe the dynamic form of the statue. Motion is also reflected in the phrase: “the right arm hurls a spear from the ear” (l. 6), meaning that Medaurus was depicted hurling a weapon, an act that requires considerable skill when done from the back of a horse.

The statue in Rhizon must have been big, perhaps even very big. It could not have stood inside a temple, but was erected more likely out in the open space, most probably on the acropolis at the top of the Gradina peak (207 m a.s.l.). The dynamic stance of both rider and horse suggests that it was made of bronze. Representing the horse supported only on the rear legs required the use of some kind of statue support.

The statue of Medaurus from Rhizon can be reconstructed largely hypothetically based on a broader study of horse and rider representations in the ancient visual arts. The epigram from Lambaesis deserves attention as an example of *ekphrasis*, that is, description of an artwork. It is the only *ekphrasis* of an equestrian statue in Latin literature, beside the description of the *Equus Domitiani* on the *Forum Romanum* by Statius in *Silvae*.

In the visual arts horses tend to be shown in static pose, walking, or in a dynamic one, in gallop or rearing. In Roman art both stances are best reflected in equestrian statues of Roman emperors. Among the most popular was a representation of the emperor entering a town on a walking horse, greeted by the residents as *Restitutor Pacis*, meaning no military elements in evidence or, if so, not in a leading role. The emperor as *Dominator Invictus* in dynamic stance was rarer. It was used mainly in battle scenes and it should be kept in mind that seldom did the emperor personally take part in the fighting. The motif of a ruler in battle occurs in the iconography of Alexander the Great. The dynamic stance can be seen also in hunting scenes.

A second issue connected with the iconography of Medaurus is the motif of a mounted warrior using a spear. The following situations are theoretically possible:

- the weapon (spear) held next to the rider’s head in the act of hurling;
- the weapon in battle scenes depicting combat with an enemy on horseback or on foot; the spear is aimed slightly downward on such occasions;
- the weapon held horizontally at waist height, in the manner of lances in later times;
- the weapon angled downward, being thrust through the body of a fallen enemy or a hunted animal.

In the statue of Medaurus described in the epigram from Lambaesis the weapon of Medaurus, a spear, is said to be next to the head of the statue, in the act of being hurled. The parallels are: a funerary stela of a tribune of the cohort, Lucius Pompeius Marcellinus

from Ephesus housed now in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford and a stela from Kibyra (on the border of the Roman provinces of Asia and Lycia) showing a deity.

Depictions of mounted gods were not frequent in Greek and Roman religion. The Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, are virtually the only ones to be depicted in this manner. A much more popular image was that of the gods riding in chariots: Helios, Poseidon and Zeus in some cases. On the other hand, representations of mounted deities were extremely popular on the peripheries of the Roman world, in some of the Eastern provinces of the Roman Empire and in the Balkans. With regard to other regions, Gaul and Germania are the only regions from where there is attested a highly specific cult of a god on horseback, the front legs of the horse held up by the Giants (*Jupiter soutenu par un géant anguipède* — *Jupitertergigantensäulen*). There is also the Celtic goddess Epona, guardian of horses, mules and asses. In the eastern Balkans the Thracian Rider was hugely popular, as indicated by the large numbers of tiles with a representation of this god. The horse was also important in the cult of the so-called Danubian Riders.

Any analysis of Medaurus in the light of other mounted gods has to consider the religious aspect on one hand and the iconographic one on the other. The cult of the Thracian Rider and the Danubian Riders in the eastern Balkans may explain the appearance of the cult of Medaurus in Illyria. Yet the iconography of the Thracian Rider is not a close parallel for Medaurus. Type B after Kazarov depicts the rider in gallop, hurling a spear at a boar below him. Meanwhile Medaurus is apparently hurling the weapon forward into the distance. This indicates an entirely different iconographic type. Most of the representations of the Thracian Rider come from Thracia and Lower Moesia, being much less popular in the western part of the Balkans and absent entirely from Dalmatia. Tiles with a representation of the Thracian Rider are also dated to the 2nd and 3rd century AD and hence cannot be considered as an iconographic model for the depiction of Medaurus which goes back to the Hellenistic period. The iconography of Medaurus could have been developed independently of religious prototypes and could have been modeled directly on extremely popular representations of Hellenistic kings, Alexander the Great in particular.

The statue of Medaurus, patron god of Rhizon, was created in the Hellenistic period as an original form without parallel among the *imagines deorum*. It can be assumed to be the work of a Greek sculptor who sought inspiration for the god's image among equestrian statues of rulers of his day. We would thus be dealing with a local religious concept, but a Greek artistic form.

The god Medaurus is mentioned directly in two other texts. A fragmentary inscription from Lambaesis: MEDAV/RO AVG / [sacru]M, was most probably part of an offering altar erected in front of a shrine (or chapel) of Medaurus. The other text is a fragmentary Greek inscription found at Risan, dated to the second half of the Hellenistic period (1st century BC?), dedicated to Medaurus by the commander(s) of the city guard (περίπολοι). The guard was charged with defending the borders of the *polis* and patrolling the *chora*. Moreover, an inscription from the sanctuary cave on cape S. Maria di Leuca brings the names of two ships, *Rhedon* and *Medaurus*, originating from the names of Illyrian gods. It is completely groundless, however, to associate with the patron god of Risinium one Medaurus (manuscript Medeuru(m)) occurring in an epigram originating from Africa of the Vandals.

The Medaurus of Risinium is referred to as “*Lar* of our peoples” (l. 2). The expression *Lar populi* is much stronger than the stereotypical *Genius* of a town, which means little

more than a personification. As a *Lar* Medaurus protects the town as he would a specific house or family. At the same time, however, the god could have taken on greater meaning for the legate of the *legio III Augusta* Medaurius as a military god, especially during the Marcoman wars, in which the legate took part.

The phrase *arx Delmatiae* in the text of the inscription means more than just that Risinium lies in Dalmatia. The term *arx* has two meanings: “stronghold on a hill”, which corresponds to the actual location of Rhizon acropolis, or else “the most important place in a given land”. It was used here with the aim of emphasizing these two aspects. Risinium was an important place in Dalmatia, in the distant past as well as at the time the statue was erected in Lambaesis, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

The term “Aeacic walls of Risinium” (*moenia Aeacia Risinni*) is associated with the name of Aiakos, whom Pindar described as accompanying Apollo and Poseidon in the building of the walls of Troy. Once these walls had been erected, three serpents attacked them. The two serpents attacking walls built by the gods were struck dead, the third, which attacked the wall constructed by Aiakos, breached it. Apollo interpreted this as two instances when the walls of Troy would be compromised in the future: once by Herakles, at whose sides the sons of Aiakos, Telamon and Peleus, would fight, and the second time two generations later, during the Trojan war, when the Trojans themselves took apart a section to bring in the horse left by the Greeks. Inside the horse’s belly were five Greek heroes who thus sneaked inside the city. One of the five was Neoptolemos, son of Achilles, greatgrandson of Aiakos. The term *moenia Aeacia Risinni* meant that the walls of Risinium were as ancient as the walls of Troy. In no way is this then a reference to a local Illyrian tradition.

The statue of Medaurus must have been made before Rome’s conquest of Dalmatia, most probably in the reign of King Ballaios. This ruler, who fails to be mentioned in any of the written sources, is known from numerous issues of coins with his name struck at Risan. In 2010 Polish archaeologists uncovered a hoard of these coins, totaling 4656 pieces. It cannot however be excluded that the statue was made in the reign of another of the Illyrian rulers.

The first explorers of Risinium, Arthur Evans and Heinrich Richlý, discovered fragments of defense walls made of huge limestone blocks that earned the fortifications the description “Cyclopean” because of their size and polygonal manner of construction. Excavations by the Center for Research on the Antiquity of Southeastern Europe of the University of Warsaw, begun in 2001, have traced the oldest walls of the city and analyzed the building phases. Two different kinds of defense walls were constructed in the seashore town and on Gradina peak between the 5th and the 3rd century BC. The older set, referred to as “Illyrian”, was uncovered in the form of foundations and as a core of the later Cyclopean walls in the town proper; on the acropolis the earlier walls remained in use uninterrupted. The length of the circuit was one kilometer and it enclosed an area of approximately 6 hectares.

On the acropolis the defenses encircled an ellipsoid area 200 m by 100 m across, totaling about one hectare in area. The height of the defenses can be estimated at approximately 5–6 m. They could be seen from a distance and surely left the impression of a monumental structure, much like the lower town wall which to a shipboard observer must have looked as if rising straight out of the sea. The peak of Gradina could be seen rising above the walls. In fact, any building standing on the peak would have towered over the surrounding district. In the classical period the architecture of the acropolis was changed with a rec-

tangular platform being raised in the highest part. The platform was at least 15 x 20 m. It is possible to see in it the remains of a temple of Medaurus. An interpretation of archaeological data indicates that the remains of both Illyrian and Cyclopean walls on Gradina and of the Cyclopean fortifications of the lower town were still to be seen in Roman times.

The earliest defenses of Rhizon are paralleled by structures recorded on many Adriatic sites. The characteristic polygonal bonding of the Cyclopean walls at Rhizon also finds parallels on many sites in Dalmatia from the 5th–4th centuries BC.

A comparison of the text of the metrical inscription from Lambaesis and the results of archaeological excavations in Risinium has demonstrated truly exceptional agreement between information from a written source and archaeological data. *Moenia Aeacia Risinni*, the city walls of Risinium from the 5th century BC, must have made the impression of immensely ancient on people living in the Roman Empire, hence their description as of equal age with the walls of Troy, resulting in the obvious temporal connection between Rhizon/Risinium and the city of Priam.

Arx Delmatiae is the acropolis on Gradina with remains of structures associated with a temple of Medaurus, a powerful god worshipped on the hilltop above the city. In fine weather the entrance to the Boka Kotorska — Bay of Kotor, 16 km away as the crow flies, can be seen from the top of Gradina hill. By a flight of imagination one can see Medaurus hurling his spear at enemies attempting to attack the town from the sea. In Illyria of the 3rd century BC, the protection of a god battling all enemies would have been called upon eagerly in the face of constant pirate threat and numerous wars in which the town of Rhizon was involved.

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BADANIA PODWODNE RISAN 2003–2010

Abstract: The Bay of Kotor in modern Montenegro and the peoples inhabiting it have always been a significant part of the Mediterranean cultural milieu. The settlement of Rhizon/Rhisinium was certainly an important maritime center, port and anchorage, but underwater finds are extremely rare and insufficiently documented. Pictorial representations of boats from the tenth century BC show the earliest sailing activity in the Bay of Kotor and the Adriatic Sea. The place is rich in monuments from the Illyrian, Greek and Roman periods. Underwater research carried out since 2003 by the Center for Research on the Antiquity of Southeastern Europe, University of Warsaw, has focused on exploring the discovered anchorage and searching for the remains of the ancient port.

Key words: Rhizon/Risinium, underwater archaeology, anchorage, port, seafaring in ancient times

W 2001 roku Ośrodek Badań nad Antykiem Europy Południowo-Wschodniej Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego rozpoczął badania archeologiczne w Republice Czarnogóry. Stanowisko badawcze zlokalizowano na obszarze współczesnego miasta Risan, leżącego nad północną odnogą Zatoki Kotorskiej zwaną Zalewem Risańskim, a w antyku nazywaną *Rhizonikos kolpos* oraz *sinus Rhizonicus*.¹

Zatoka Kotorska usytuowana jest w południowej części wschodniego wybrzeża Adriatyku [Ryc. 1] i stanowi jego najgłębiej wciętą w ląd zatokę.² Łączna powierzchnia wszystkich zalewów tego akwatorium wynosi 90 km². Pod względem morfologicznym jest ona naturalnym fiordem z głębokością dochodzącą do 58 m. Akwen ten otoczony jest przez góry z dominującymi szczytami takimi jak Orjen (1895 m n.p.m.), Lovćen (1749 m n.p.m.),³ Dobrostrica (1590 m n.p.m.) i Subra (1680 m n.p.m.)⁴ [Ryc. 2]. Istotne wydarzenia w historii Zatoki Kotorskiej miały miejsce w epoce plejstocenu (ostatni interglacjał), podczas którego poziom morza znajdował się 100 metrów powyżej dzisiejszego. W tym czasie teren Zalewu Risańskiego żłobiony był przez gigantyczną rzekę, płynącą z kierunku Ledenice – Vrsno ponad dzisiejszą doliną Risan. Proces ten ukształtował tak charakterystyczny relief tego obszaru oraz naniósł na obszar miasta i Zalewu Risańskiego osady aluwialne, które możemy dziś zaobserwować na dnie całej zatoki. Pozostałą część Zatoki Kotorskiej formowały inne prehistoryczne rzeki płynące z kierunku mornijskiego, kotorskiego czy tiwatskiego. Dzisiejszy wygląd i linia wybrzeża ostatecznie ukształtowane

¹ BRAJKOVIĆ 1970, s. 22; MIJOVIĆ, KOVAČEVIĆ 1975, s. 130.

² BRAJKOVIĆ 1970, s. 15.

³ BRAJKOVIĆ 1970, s. 15–18.

⁴ MAGAŠ 2002, s. 53; MACEJKA, MLADENOVIĆ, STANKOVIĆ 1979, s. 22.

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Summary

Underwater research in Risan 2003–2010

In 2001 the Center for Research on the Antiquity of Southeastern Europe, University of Warsaw, initiated regular archaeological research (on the ground and underwater) in Montenegro. The site in question is situated in the territory of the modern town of Risan, lying in the northern branch of Kotor Bay, also called the Bay of Risan.

One of the research assumptions is maritime activity in antiquity and a reconstruction of the processes taking place in this region in the light of available knowledge of maritime culture of the Adriatic and the entire Mediterranean basin. The chronological horizon of the said research encompasses the presence in the region of independent Illyrian tribes commingled with strong Greek influence as well as later Roman domination. The geo-

graphical position of Kotor Bay is of huge geopolitical importance, making it an important spot in the Adriatic from antiquity through modern times. The neighborhood of mountains has always made access from the land side difficult, while the steepness of shore cliffs has cut down the number of zones available for settlement. It is not by chance that the oldest town in the region of Risan and its neighborhood also has the biggest potential. The founding of the town cannot be dated precisely. The first mentions date from the 4th century works of Pseudo-Skylax and the *Argonauts* by Apollonios the Rhodian, mentioning the legend of Harmony and Kadmos. Current evidence shows Rhizon to have been the most important port in the region between the Naronia and Lissos. The sea played a considerable role in the life of the inhabitants. Finds leave no doubt as to the importance of the maritime orientation in contacts with other regions. Sea routes connected Rhizon with the Adriatic and the Mediterranean, constituting at the same time a highway for Mediterranean trade, technology transfer and exchange of ideas. The earliest evidence for maritime activities of men inhabiting the Kotor Bay region comes in the form of prehistoric rock art from the vicinity of Lipci, where it has been dated to the 10th century BC. These images include a schematic boat representation showing an outline of a ship with rigging and appropriately spread sails. Numerous modern sources mention the underwater remains of Risan. They come from 1808–1813 (Jacques Louis Violla de Sommières), 1878 (Arthur Evans), 1881 (Henri Cons), 1898 (Heinrich Richly), 1955 (Boris Verigo). Underwater research has been carried out by the Center for Research on the Antiquity of Southeastern Europe since 2003. To date, the team has studied the remains of city walls and the anchorage with its concentration of amphorae. Work is also underway on locating the harbor from the Greek-Illyrian period. Various selected parts of Risan Bay have also been undergoing prospection.

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WSTĘP DO TYPOLOGII GWOŹDZI BRĄZOWYCH ZE STANOWISKA W RISAN

Abstract: During the archaeological excavations in Risan, Montenegro, in the years 2001–2008 244 nails made of copper alloy were found. Typology of Risan nails is based on their shape and size.

Key words: bronze nails, copper alloys, nails typology, Risan

Wśród zabytków odkrytych w Risan (greckie Rhizon, rzymskie Risinium) [Ryc. 1] w czasie badań archeologicznych prowadzonych przez Ośrodek Badań nad Antykiem Europy Południowo-Wschodniej Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego w latach 2001–2008 odkryto i zadokumentowano różne typy gwoździ. Są one datowane na okres hellenistyczny i rzymski.

Typologie gwoździ — stan badań

W literaturze brak jest monografii poświęconych zagadnieniu gwoździ. Część prac zawiera fragmentaryczne informacje dotyczące poszczególnych etapów produkcji, przy okazji omawiania zagadnień metalurgii¹ i produktów rzemiosła. Nieliczne publikacje wyników badań archeologicznych analizują odkryte gwoździe,² jednak wyłącznie wtedy, gdy są one kluczowym elementem odkrycia³ i pełniły w nim wyjątkowo istotną funkcję. Specyfika materiału i jego zróżnicowanie, często w zależności od stanowiska, utrudnia stworzenie usystematyzowanej typologii oraz definitywnego określenia przeznaczenia poszczególnych typów. Jednakże głębsza analiza gwoździ i szersze spojrzenie na zagadnienie umożliwi w miarę precyzyjne określenie metod produkcji oraz wykorzystania praktycznego konkretnego gwoździa, a z pewnością określenie grupy tych przedmiotów.

Wykorzystanie gwoździ i ich typów przedstawione jest przede wszystkim w pracach dotyczących wszelkiej obróbki drewna,⁴ a szczególnie szutnictwa.⁵ Gwoździe brązowe omawiane są przy okazji szerszych zagadnień, szczególnie produkcji skrzyń, kufrów i mebli,⁶ a także wozów.⁷

¹ SIM 1998, s. 61; TYLECOTE 1987, s. 262.

² MARDSEN 1996, s. 15–17.

³ BOCKIUS 2007, s. 34–36.

⁴ ULRICH 2007, s. 69, 282–283.

⁵ CASSON 1971, s. 201–216.

⁶ RIHA 2001, s. 128 *sq.*; ALLASON-JONES, BISHOP 1988, s. 8, 61.

⁷ DOLENZ 1998, s. 529.

Summary

Introduction to the typology of bronze nails from Risan

Various types of nails have been found in the course of archaeological excavations in Risan (Greek Rhizon, Roman Risinium) carried out by the Center for Research on the Antiquity of Southeastern Europe, University of Warsaw. The nails have been dated to the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Copper is believed by the author to be the predominant or sole intentional component of the material from which the Risan nails were made, excluding natural impurities impossible to remove due to the level of metallurgy development in Antiquity.

The 244 bronze nails discovered in the 2001–2008 excavation seasons can be divided into the following types:

- type A — *hufnal* (horseshoe nail type): 6 pieces;
- type B — *hufnal* (horseshoe nail type) with separate head: 7 pieces;
- type C — nail with flat head and broad connection with shank: 7 pieces;
- type D — nail with convex head: 14 pieces;
- type E — nail with flat head: 29 pieces;
- type F — nail with convex head and broad connection with shank: 9 pieces;
- type G — tack: 77 pieces;
- type H — nail with bold convex-conical head: 22 pieces;
- type J — nail with rolled-edges head: 19 pieces;
- type K — buckles: 3 pieces;
- special: 3 pieces.

48 nails could not be classified.

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SOME REMARKS ON EPIGRAPHIC AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN THE MONTENEGRIN LITTORAL

Abstract: The article reports on the history of documentation and preservation of archaeological finds from Montenegro with special emphasis on epigraphic monuments.

Key words: Montenegro, archaeological collections, epigraphic collections, Risan/Risinium, Budva/Butua, Kotor, Ulcinj/Olcinium

Archaeological research started in the Kotor Bay (Boka Kotorska), as in the entire Montenegrin littoral, in the second half of the 20th century with the hiring of the first educated archaeologists to work in local museums. Results were modest due to a chronic lack of funds. Therefore, most archaeological artifacts in museums and collections, illustrating comprehensively the history of the country, came from chance finds made during building construction and agricultural works.

Antique Latin inscriptions were first reported from the Montenegrin littoral by the 15th-century Italian traveler Cyriacus of Ancona.¹ These and other texts, mentioned in the letters of different collectors and associates of Theodorus Mommsen, were included in the third volume of his monumental *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL)*. In the Kotor Bay area foundations were laid for a local collection of antique inscriptions by the clergyman Andrija Zmajević from Perast (1624–1694),² later archbishop of Bar and primate of Serbia. This humanist, theologian and historical writer, as well as folklore collector, removed several Greek and Latin inscriptions from Risan and had them incorporated into the walls of his baroque palace in Perast as well as other buildings, churches and palaces. Many inscriptions and architectural elements were also built into the walls of houses and monasteries in the town of Kotor.

Regular studies of antiquities were taken up at the end of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century. Local historians and professors from the Grammar School in Kotor: Josip Gelcich, Simeon Rutar and Mladen Crnogorčević, produced studies of the country's rich and turbulent history. Pavo Butorac and Ivo Stjepčević later also wrote about local antiquities.

¹ Ciriaci Anconitani *Itinerarium*, Florence 1742.

² See *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije* 8, Zagreb 1971, p. 628 — “Zmajević Andrija” [N. MARTINOVIĆ];

Dizionario biografico degli uomini illustri della Dalmazia, Vienna 1856, p. 320 — “Zmajevich Andrija” [S. GLIUBICH (Š. LJUBIĆ)].

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A CONTRIBUTION TO EXAMINING THE TOPOGRAPHY OF ANTIQUE RISINIUM¹

Abstract: In archaeological studies conducted to date in Montenegro, no attention has been paid to the interpretation of historical or archaeological landscape. Causes, consequences and implications of changes in the environment were not considered important by researchers from this area since it was believed that this kind of information was irrelevant to the creation of an overall picture of an archaeological site and its surroundings. This work is a contribution to the limited corpus of archaeological studies conducted in Montenegro that are based on modern noninvasive methods of studying archaeological landscape.

Key words: aerial interpretation, remote sensing, spatial analyses

Introduction

Remote sensing is a method of collecting environmental data by means of a system which is not in direct physical contact with the environment, object or phenomenon that we are examining.² It is based on interpretation of various images of the Earth's surface taken from the air or the orbit. The notion of remote sensing in archaeology refers to the process of detection, measuring and monitoring of archaeological space.

Aerial photography as a means of remote sensing has long been present in archaeology and it is not necessary to recall here the well known principles of the process of aerial photograph interpretation.³

Montenegro is an exception in this part of Europe (the Balkans) when it comes to remote sensing in general. To date, not a single territory has been photographed for archaeological purposes. Reasons for this should be sought in the approach of Montenegrin professionals as well as in the scarcity of material resources.

Montenegrin archaeology has come to a troubled standstill at the crossroads of a traditional understanding of science on one hand and the possibility of applying other theoretical and methodological techniques on the other. However, the latter remains only

¹ This work is part of broader research conducted by the author for the purposes of his master's thesis in the course of his graduate studies at the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Warsaw under the

supervision of Prof. Piotr Dyczek (UW) and Prof. Włodzimierz Rączkowski (UAM).

² ELACHI, VAN ZYL 2006, p. 1.

³ For example, see WILSON 2000.

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PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE FIELDWORKS IN 2008 IN TAMNICA CAVE NEAR RISAN, MONTENEGRO

Abstract: In 2008 two test trenches were opened in Tamnica cave in Kotor Bay in an effort to establish site chronology. The cave was occupied mainly in the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age. The ceramics can be dated to the Early Neolithic, Late Neolithic, Eneolithic and Early Bronze Age. A Roman amphora sherd and a single microlithic backed piece found on the surface attest to the site being occupied also in other periods. A more detailed chronology could not be determined owing to the mixed nature of the deposits. Neither was it possible to analyze any aspects of the settlement.

Key words: Rhizon/Risinium, Tamnica cave, Neolithic

Archaeologists from the Center for Research on the Antiquity of Southeastern Europe, University of Warsaw, directed by Prof. Piotr Dyczek, have been excavating the Roman-period site of Risan in Kotor Bay, Montenegro, since 2001. Their findings and assistance led in 2008 to a broadening of the scope of the project to include archaeological research on Stone Age settlement in Kotor Bay. A few caves around Kotor Bay were chosen for testing.

The first to be tested was Tamnica cave located above the town of Perast [Fig. 1], on the steep southwestern slope of the Rudo Brdo mountain (871 m a.s.l.) in the Dinaric Alps. The site is situated close to the Spila cave, which was excavated in the 1960s. Six archaeological layers were identified. The bottom levels (I a–c) were dated to the Early Neolithic, the upper ones (II a–c) to the Eneolithic and Early Bronze Age.¹

Tamnica is a large, cold and humid dripstone cave in a limestone formation. There is presently no plateau in front of the entrance to it and it is very likely that nothing has changed from prehistoric times. A narrow seaward-oriented entrance at an altitude of 350 m led from the south [Fig. 2 a] into a corridor, 3 m high and approximately 20 m long, which ran in a northeasterly direction toward the main chamber. The floor of this chamber was situated more than 3 m below the level of the floor in the passage [Fig. 2 b]. The main chamber has an area of approximately 15 m by 10 m and a height of over 5 m. It is filled with calcium carbonate formations, including flowstones, draperies, stalactites and stalagmites. The process of precipitation is still active and water constantly drops from the roof and walls.

¹ MARKOVIĆ 1985.