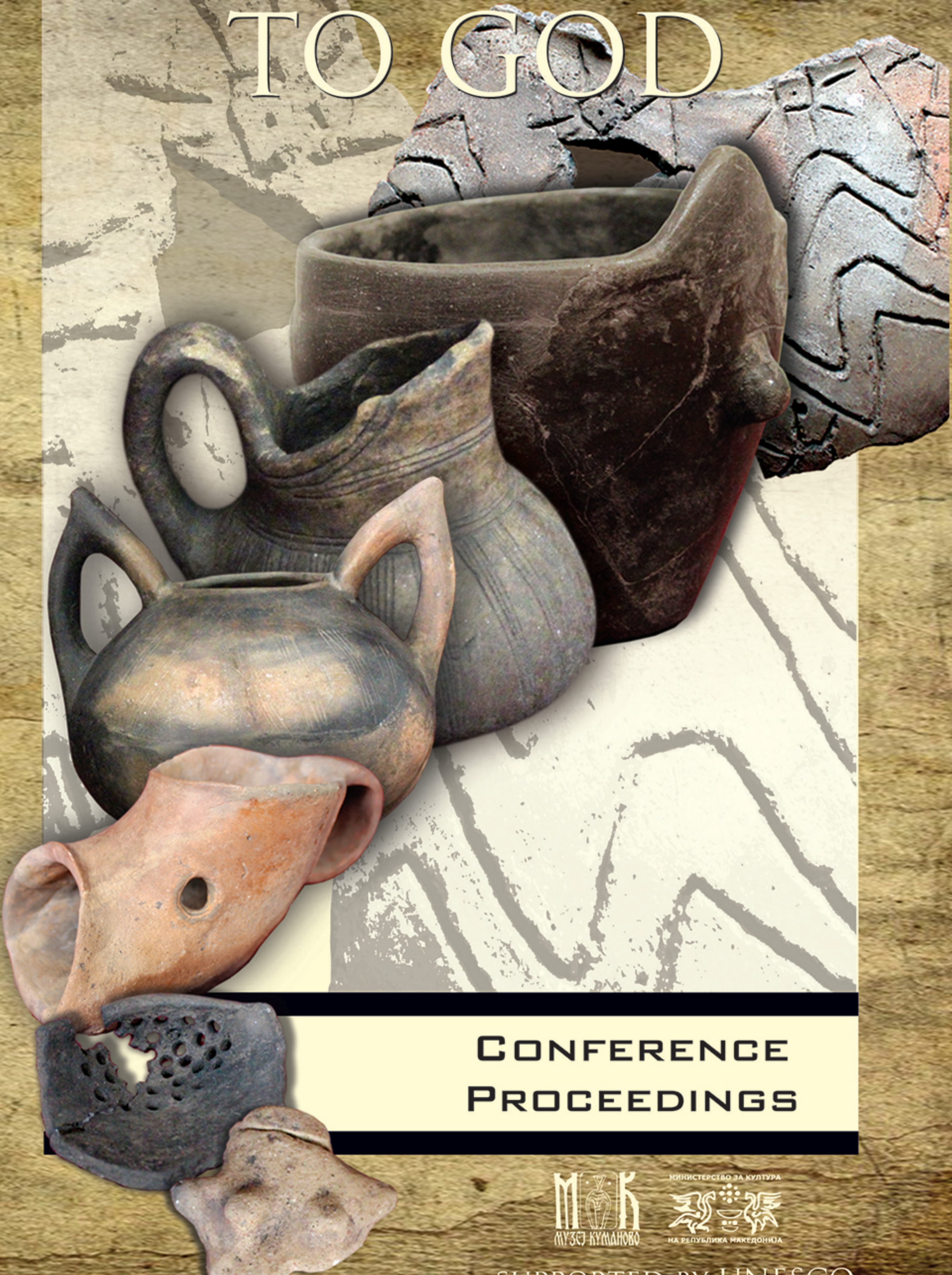
EVIDENCES OF VOTIVE OFFERINGS
IN THE SANCTUARIES,
TEMPLES AND CHURCHES

GIVING GIFTS TO GOD



Conference Proceedings

МУЗЕЈ КУМАНОВО

МИНИСТЕРСТВО ЗА КУЛТУРА НА РЕПУБЛИКА МАКЕДОНИЈА

SUPPORTED BY UNESCO

NATIONAL INSTITUTION MUSEUM OF KUMANOVO

Published by
National Institution Museum of Kumanovo,
In a partnership with
Ministry of Culture and Archaeological Museum of Macedonia

Edited by
Dejan Gjorgjievski

Editorial board:
Bogdan Tanevski (Museum of Kumanovo, Kumanovo),
Jovica Stankovski (Museum of Kumanovo, Kumanovo),
Aleksandra Papazova (Archaeological Museum of Macedonia, Skopje),
Aleksandar Bulatović (Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade),
Bojana Plemić (College of Tourism, Belgrade),
Carolyn Snively (Gettysburg College, Pennsylvania),
Philip Mihaylov (Museum of Pernik, Pernik),
Anastasios Antonaras (Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki)

All rights reserved.
All parts of this publication are protected by copyright.
Any utilisation outside the strict limits of the copyright law, without the permission of the publisher, is forbidden and liable to prosecution. This applies in particular to reproductions, translations, microfilming, and storage and processing in electronic retrieval systems. This publication has been peer reviewed.

CIP - Каталогизација во публикација
Национална и универзитетска библиотека “Св. Климент Охридски”, Скопје
902:2-522(497)(062)
902:338.483.12(497)(062)
902.2(497)(062)
INTERNATIONAL archaeological conference “Kokino” (1 & 2 ; 2016-2017 ; Skopje, Kumanovo)
Giving gift to God : evidences of votive offerings in the sanctuaries, temples and churches : proceedings of the 1 st & 2nd International archaeological conference “Kokino”, held in Skopje & Kumanovo, 2016-2017 / [edited by Dejan Gjorgjievski]. - Kumanovo : NI Museum, 2018. - 249 стр. : илустр. ; 27 см
Фусноти кон текстот. - Библиографија кон трудовите
ISBN 978-608-4792-10-9
а) Археолошки наоди - Свети места - Балкан - Излагања од собири б) Археолошки наоди - Културен туризам - Балкан - Излагања од собири в) Археолошки локалитети - Археолошки наоди - Балкан - Излагања од собири
COBISS.MK-ID 106723082

Supported by UNESCO

GIVING GIFTS TO GOD:

EVIDENCES OF VOTIVE OFFERINGS IN THE SANCTUARIES, TEMPLES AND CHURCHES

Proceedings of the 1st & 2nd International Archaeological Conference "KOKINO", held in Skopje & Kumanovo, 2016-2017

CONTENTS

EVIDENCE FOR MINOAN ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATIONS FROM THE PEAK SANCTUARIES ON PETSOPHAS AND TRAOSTALOS

Göran Henriksson
Department of Physics and Astronomy (retired),
goran.henriksson@astro.uu.se

Mary Blomberg
Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Uppsala University (retired),
mary@mikrob.com

Abstract

Our results indicate that the Minoans were conducting systematic observations of the sun, the moon and the stars - particularly Arcturus - at the sites Petsophas and Traostalos early in the Middle Minoan Period. We propose that there were practical as well as religious reasons for the Minoan interest in the motions of the heavenly bodies: for example the knowledge acquired from the observations contributed to navigation and made possible the regulation of a ritual lunisolar calendar.

Introduction

Minoan peak sanctuaries have been the subject of many studies since Evans' first mention of sacred mountains[1], but they have never been investigated archaeoastronomically. Our own interest in these sites is based on our hypothesis that at least some of them were used for systematic astronomical observations. The hypothesis is one of several being tested as part of our project investigating whether or not the origins of the Greek calendar and Greek astronomy can be traced in part to the Minoans via the Mycenaeans. It is based on information preserved in Mycenaean, Greek and Roman texts[2].

Astronomical observations would not have been at odds with the religious function of the peak sanctuaries, the only one so far ascribed to them, but rather complementary. To what extent astronomical observations may have been regarded as secular, and thus essentially different from the religious activities that took place on the peaks, would be difficult to determine. Also such a distinction is not likely for the period in question, as any activity centered on the sun, moon and stars would probably have been regarded as religious.

Our first investigation of a peak sanctuary was of Petsophas (H. 255 m), the site just above the important Minoan town which lay near present-day Palaikastro. Since then we have repeated our measurements on Petsophas and also have measured on two separate occasions the orientations of the walls of one of the small Minoan structures near the highest peak of the Traostalos massif (H. 515 m), about three kilometres north of the palace at Kato Zakros. Both sites are excellent for the study of the motions of the heavenly bodies. Petsophas has a view of the sea to the north and east whereas the entire eastern horizon is visible from Traostalos in clear weather. They are near important Minoan harbour towns whose inhabitants were probably aware of the utility of the stars for navigation. Material spanning the periods Middle Minoan I and Late Minoan I (*ca.* 2100-1500 BC) has been found at both places. On the dates for Petsophas and the finds see Rutkowski 1991, 16 and MacGillivray & Driessen 1990, 401 and 412; for Traostalos see Davaras 1978. The absolute chronology for the Bronze Age is still uncertain. For recent discussions see Manning 1995, Watrous 1994, 697-698.

The results from Traostalos confirm our findings from Petsophas and thus add a crucial link to the chain of evidence for Minoan astronomical observations.

All dates are before our era. The authors have copyright to all figures.

Petsophas

The results from Petsophas that indicate that systematic observations of the celestial bodies took place on the site are the following, **fig. 1**:

The first astronomically significant factor is that the structure on the site has been placed so that an observer standing near it could have seen

[1] Evans, 1900-1901, 29-30

[2] Ventris & Chadwick, 1973, 284-289, 303-312; West, 1978, 377-380; Mair, 1989, 209; Blomberg, 1996

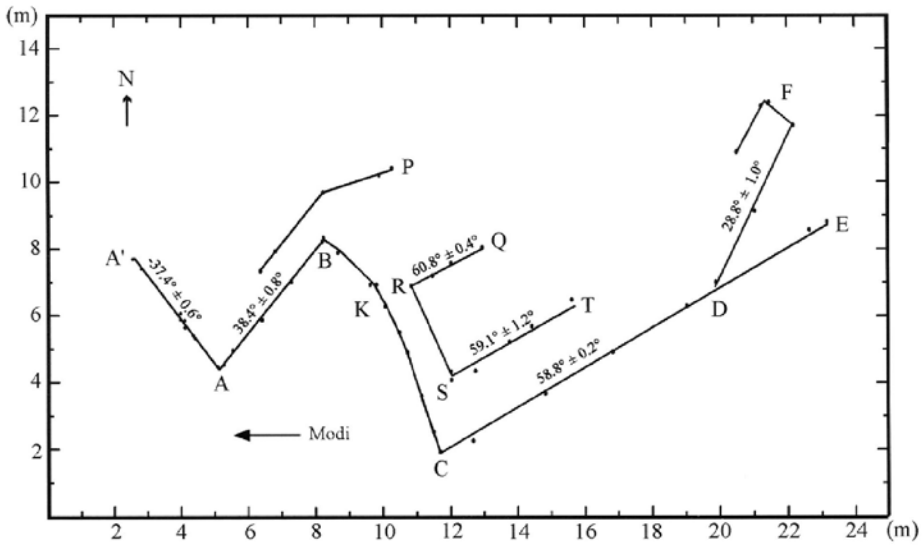


Fig. 1. Petsophas. Orientation of the walls.

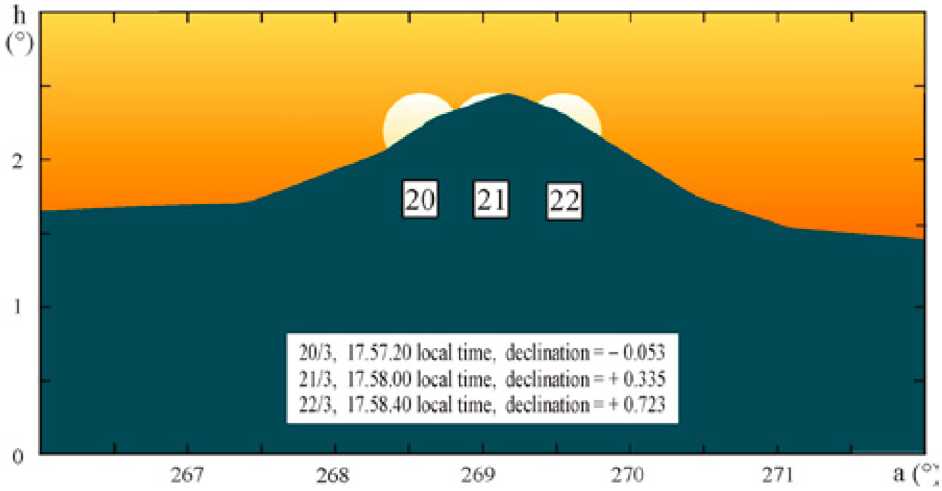


Fig. 2. Sunset behind Modi at the spring equinox as observed from Petsophas 20, 21 and 22 March in the year 1997 BC (refraction for t = + 10° C). The relationship is valid for many centuries.

the sun setting behind the conical peak Modi exactly on the day of the vernal and the autumnal equinox, **figs. 2, 3**. This indicates that the location for the site is likely to have been chosen for the sake of these observations, since the dates would have been shifted by one day for an observer who stood more than 30 metres to the south of the structure. It is not possible to stand more than about 10 metres to the north because of the sheer drop in that direction. Every 19 years, also from near the building, the moon can be observed to set behind Modi once every month for several months in succession, and in some years the new crescent moon and the full moon will set at the equinoxes behind the same peak, **fig. 4**. Such lunisolar coincidences are often considered to be significant and may become the starting points for new calendaric cycles. We have suggested in an earlier article that the moon was significant in Minoan religion[3]. It is important to note here that Modi is the only prominent landmark to the west of Petsophas. Had there been several peaks near each other, as there often are in Crete, our results would be less convincing.

The second significant astronomical factor is that the terrace wall CE was oriented to the rising sun at the summer solstice. This means that the long axis of the room QRST was oriented so that the first rays of the rising sun would completely illuminate the western wall RS only at the summer solstice, had there been no impediment in the east. According to the excavator J. L. Myres the wall DF is later; presumably he meant later than the walls BC and CE. Furthermore, the thick and extensive layer of ashes which he observed on the westward side of the wall DF suggests the custom of building

[3] Blomberg & Henriksson, 1996

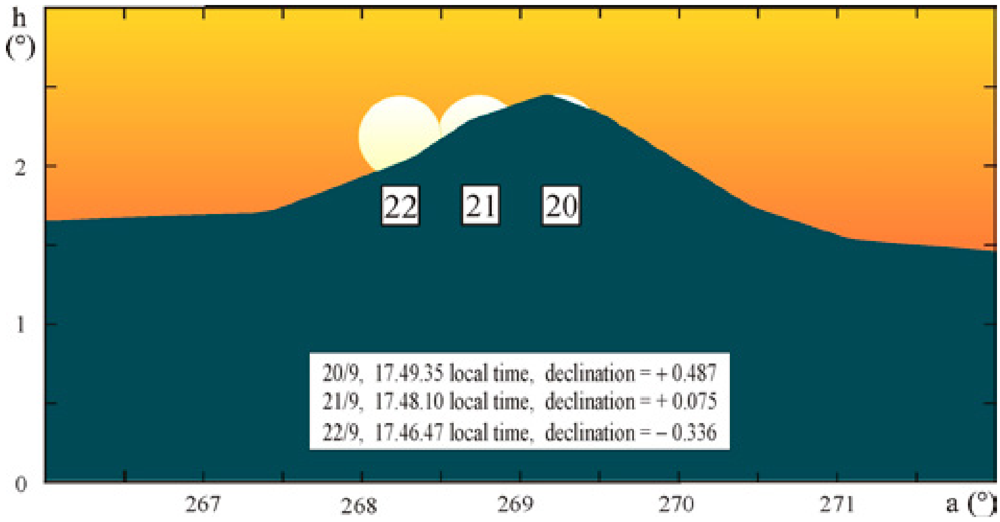


Fig. 3. Sunset behind Modi at the autumn equinox as observed from Petsophas 20, 21 and 22 September in the year 1997 BC (refraction for t = + 10° C). The relationship is valid for many centuries.

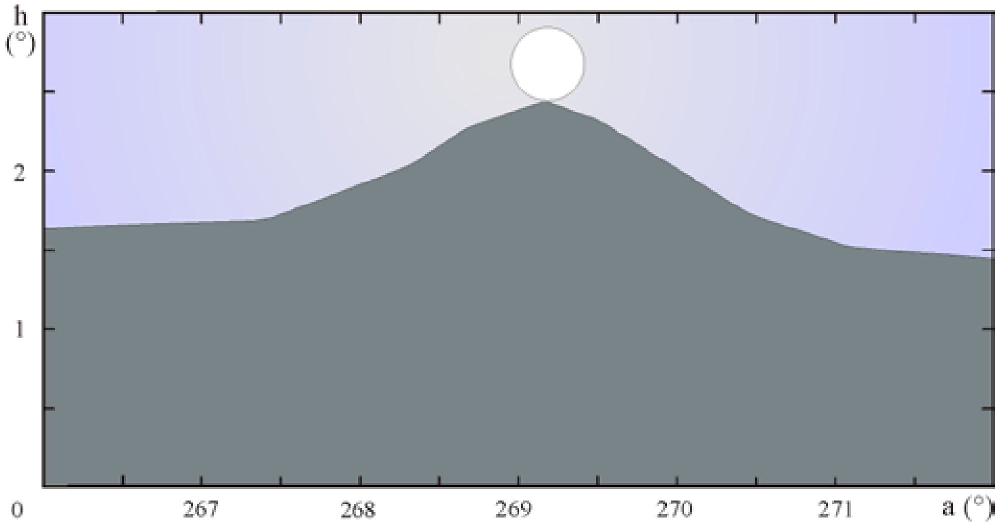


Fig. 4. Full moon setting behind Modi as observed from Petsophas at the autumn equinox (21/9), 2121 BC, 5.13 am local mean solar time (refraction for t = + 10° C).

fires in this region, making it unlikely that the area QRST had a roof in the Middle Minoan period, when the terrace wall was constructed[4]. This orientation must have been important since the terrace wall CE was not built on the most convenient place, the large, nearly flat plateau to the east and south. Nor was it built parallel to the slope of the hill, but at about 45° to it, **fig. 1.** This made it necessary to build up the corner at C about one metre with a massive retaining wall, **fig. 5.** As Myres' plan shows, the site is impractical

The choice of such an impractical location and the unusual layout of the walls of the structure indicate that there were important specific reasons for them. As there are astronomical observations having calendaric and very likely religious, significance that can be made from the site precisely because of the characteristics of the structure and its location, these would seem to be the most logical explanation.

In addition to the orientations reported above, we call attention to a number of unusual features of the structure which have no obvious explanation. One is that the walls AA' and AB meet to form an angle of 76°. That is, they deviate considerably from the right angle which would be normal if they had been part of an ordinary room; and there are no traces of any other walls which would have completed a room. These walls, in addition, have an irregular relationship to the rest of the structure, a relationship, furthermore, which has not been dictated by the terrain.

The wall AA' points 37.4° ± 0.6° to the west of north and AB points 38.4° ± 0.8° to the east of north. The letters designating the walls have been chosen to agree with those on the plan by Myres, **fig. 5**. We use the same for the walls of Traostalos, **fig. 8**. The measurements were made with the laser theodolite

[4] Myres, 1902-1903

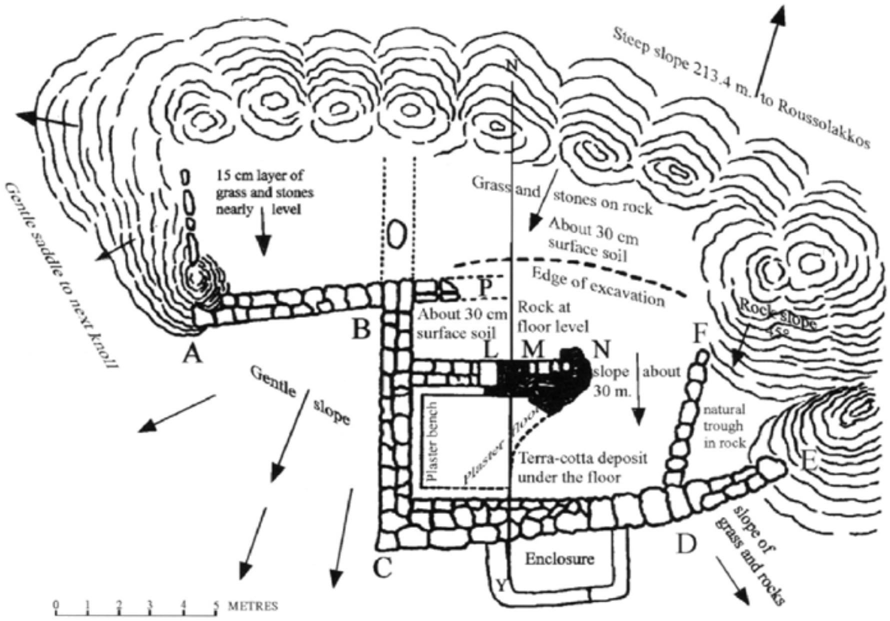


Fig. 5. Petsophas. The walls as Myres drew them (based on pl. VII, *Annual of the British School at Athens* 9, 1902-1903).

SOKKIA SET 4C on two occasions, and the orientation of the co-ordinate system was obtained from observations of the sun, which are accurate to better than 0.01°. The results from the two occasions are for the present purpose identical, being far more exact than is required. The horizon can be seen in both directions from the corner at A. We suggest two hypotheses which could account for the orientations of these walls.

On first reflection one might assume that the walls were intended to be symmetrical with respect to the meridian, for example to mark the eastern and western limits of the circumpolar stars for the latitude of Petsophas (35.20°). The excess of *ca.* 2.2° to the west and *ca.* 3.2° to the east, however, is disturbingly large for this purpose, **fig. 6**.

The second hypothesis assumes that the slightly different orientations of the walls were intentional. In this case AA' can have been aligned to the cosmical setting of Arcturus, optimal for 10 May 1865 ± 71 years, and AB to the heliacal rising of the same star, optimal for 23 August 1869 ± 93 years, dates which agree well with those that have been proposed for the site, **Table 1** and **fig. 7**. However, due to variations in visibility, the *apparent* positions vary. The hypothetical rising at 0° altitude for Arcturus in the year 1730 is 3.7° to the north of the apparent heliacal rising. The parameters for calculating visibility and the optimum relative positions of Arcturus and the sun have been based on the results of H. Siedentopf (1941), A. Ljunghall (1949) and J. F. Schmidt (1865). We have used Schmidt's visibility calibration for Athens of *ca.* 1850, our era, as his observations were made before modern air pollution. The proper motion of Arcturus has been taken into account.

Due to the precession of the equinoxes, stars change their position by about 1.38° in a century. We do not know with what exactness Minoans made their observations of stars. The optimal date calculated from the weighted mean for the two walls is 1866 ± 80 years, **fig. 7**; see below, the section on 'Significance of the orientations'. The calendaric importance of the risings and settings of Arcturus from at least the time of Hesiod (ca 750 BC) speaks for this alternative[5]. The orientation of a wall, or other device, to the point where a star will be observed to rise or set insures that this event will not be missed in the morning or evening light. This is important in Crete where visibility at the horizon is often low.

Thus the placement of the structure on Petsophas and the orientations of several of its walls would have aided observations of a number of celestial phenomena of major calendaric utility as early as the first half of the nineteenth century: the equinoxes, the summer solstice, the heliacal rising and cosmical setting of Arcturus. We know that the calendaric use of these risings and settings of Arcturus existed for the Greeks and the Romans from as early as the Archaic period.

The errors are the mean errors.

[5] West, 1978

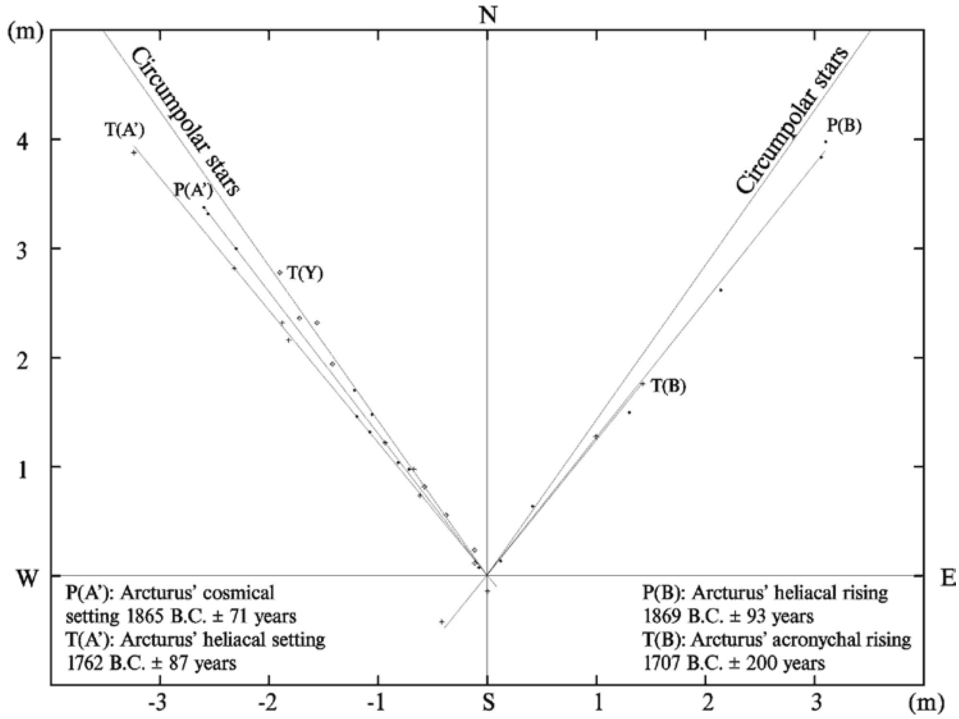


Fig. 6. Orientation of the walls AA' and AB on Petsophas and AA', AB and BY on Traostalos relative to the circumpolar stars. BY has the same orientation as the western limit of the circumpolar stars for the latitude of Traostalos.

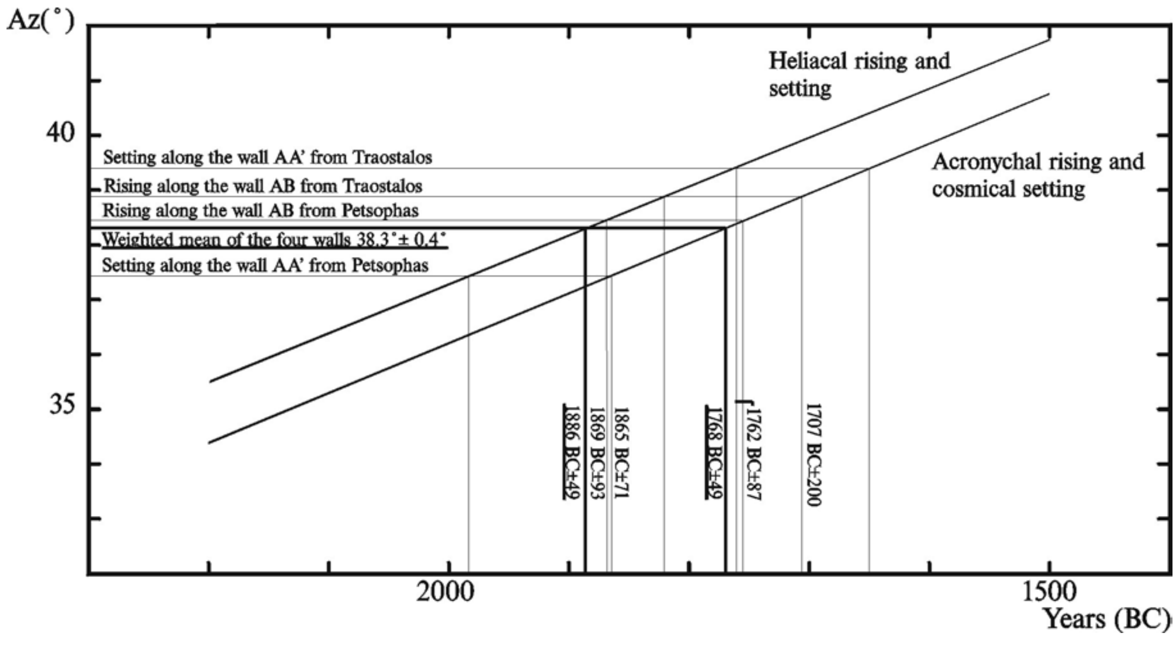


Fig. 7. The measured azimuths of the walls AA' and AB on Petsophas and Traostalos and the corresponding optimal years for the observations of the heliacal rising and setting and the acronychal rising and cosmical setting of Arcturus. For every wall there are two possible optimal years, but only the identifications which give the smallest deviations have been accepted. The weighted mean of the azimuths of the four walls is 38.3° ± 0.4°. On the assumption that the orientations were specific only for the heliacal rising and setting, the mean construction date would be 1886 BC ± 49 years. Assuming that they were specific only for the acronychal rising and cosmical setting, the date would be 1768 BC ± 49 years. On the assumption that the walls were built at the same time in order to observe all four positions of Arcturus, the weighted mean construction date would be 1827 BC ± 77 years.

Site	Orientation	Azimuth	Mean error	No.	Comments
Petsophas	AA'	322.6° (-37.4°)	± 0.6°	10	Arcturus' cosmical setting 10/5, optimal for 1865± 71 years
	AB	38.4°	± 0.8°	6	Arcturus' heliacal rising 23/8, optimal for 1869 ± 93 years
	CE	58.8°	± 0.2°	8	sunrise at the summer solstice ca 2000, valid for many centuries
	ST	59.1°	± 1.2°	4	,,
	RQ	60.8°	± 0.4°	8	,,
	DF	28.8°	± 1.0°	9	later wall according to Myres
	to Modi	269.23° (-90.77°)	± 0.01°		Sunset at the vernal and autumnal equinoxes ca 2000, valid for many centuries
	to	179.31°	± 0.01°		true south 180.00°
Traostalos	AA'	320.6° (-39.4°)	± 0.8°	8	Arcturus' heliacal setting 13/10, optimal for 1762 ± 87 years
	AB	38.9°	± 1.8°	4	Arcturus' acronychal rising 4/2, optimal for 1707± 200 years
	BY	325.0° (-35.0°)	± 0.8°	8	Western limit for the circumpolar stars at Traostalos' altitude 324.85° (-35.15°)
	to Modi	320.28° (-39.72°)	± 0.01°		Arcturus' heliacal setting 13/10, 1730
	to Petsophas	359.31° (-0.69°)	± 0.01°		true north 0.00°

Table 1. Summary of the measured azimuths and mean errors for the walls on Petsophas and Traostalos.

Traostalos

The remains of several ancient structures exist today on the plateau near the central and highest peak of the Traostalos massif, **fig. 8**. The systems of walls described are those of the peak sanctuary investigated by Davaras (1978).

We measured the orientations of the walls on two occasions, and in the interval the site was re-excavated because of planned military construction. We chose only stones which seemed to be in their original position. The fact that the wall AA' is oriented 39.4° ± 0.8° to the west of north, which orientation, considering the margin of error, is that of the direction to Modi, **Table 1** and **figs. 8, 9**, is further indication that the measured direction is the intended one.

In the case of AB some of the stones were moved in the interval between our visits in 1994 and 1995. Stone f, for example, was rotated *ca. 90°* from our photographic documentation. The solid line shows the position before the stone was moved; the dotted line shows its present position, **fig. 8.** We have included in our calculations only the measurements made from stones in the same position in 1994 and 1995, a, h and i. The orientation measured is 38.9° ± 1.8° to the east of north, **Table 1** and **fig. 8.** As on Petsophas, the horizon is visible in both directions from the corner at A.

AA' can have been oriented to the heliacal setting of Arcturus, optimal for 13 October 1762 ± 87 years and AB to the acronychal rising of the same bright star, optimal for 4 February 1707 ± 200 years, **Table 1** and **fig. 7.** The optimal date calcu-

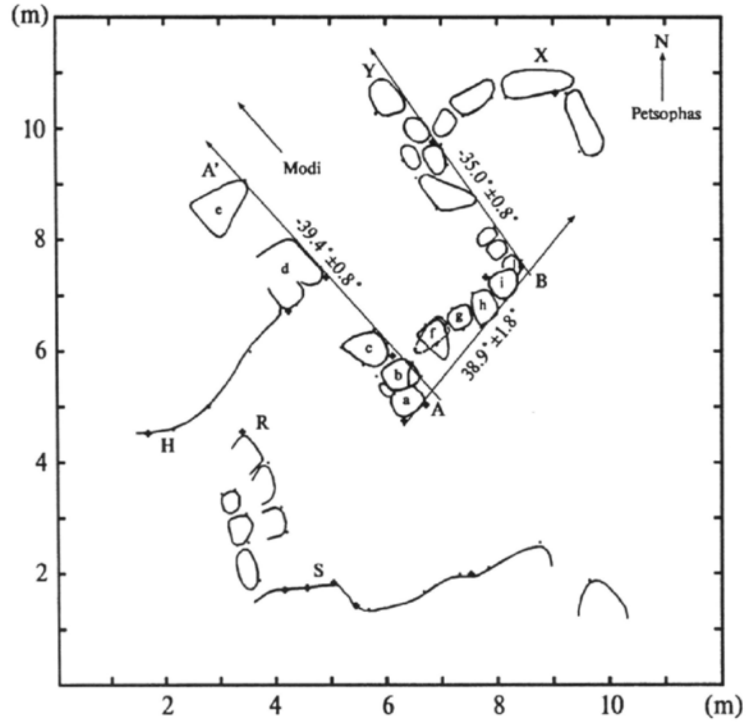


Fig. 8. Traostalos. Orientation of the walls.

Fig. 9. Modi from. The prism staff is in front of A.

lated from the weighted mean of the two walls is 1752 ± 138 years. The poor condition of the wall AB and the evidence that some of the stones have been moved must be given due consideration in the evaluation of the accuracy of the orientation of this wall.

The wall BY, which has no counterpart on Petsophas, is oriented to the western limit for the circumpolar stars for the latitude of Traostalos (35.15°). The existence of the means for a precise definition of the circumpolar stars on Traostalos, and the absence of obvious orientations towards the sun and the moon, may indicate that the site was specialized to the study of the stars for navigation. The location of the site on the highest peak by the sea and with an unobstructed view of the entire eastern coast of the island makes it especially suitable for such study.

The structure on Traostalos is not as well preserved as the one on Petsophas. Nevertheless it seems from the plan and location that it can not have been built for any ordinary purpose, **fig. 8.** The ground slopes downward and eastward from H, giving a difference in altitude of about 1.5 m within the 6 m from the highest to the lowest part, whereas the large plateau to the east is relatively flat. We think that the orientations to Modi and Arcturus must have been important factors in the choice of the location on Traostalos, just as they were in the case of Petsophas, **fig. 9.** The high rocks from H to A', which have been roughly worked to form walls, would have helped to screen off the light from the sun in the evening, increasing the visibility of Arcturus as it set. Our view is that the structure was intended primarily for observations of the stars and that one of the other buildings nearby could have served for any other activities which may have taken place on the mountain.

Significance of the orientations

Lennart Bondesson, associate professor in mathematical statistics at Uppsala University, conducted „Student's T-test" on our measurements of these walls, with pooled variance. The orientations were calculated by orthogonal regression. According to the results the walls AA' and AB on Petsophas do not differ significantly in their north-south orientation. This means that they can have been built symmetrically with respect to north. Bondesson also determined that the orientations of the walls AN on Petsophas and Traostalos are not significantly different, even if the result here is not entirely convincing. This means that their azimuth difference of 2.0° can be explained as a chance variation in our estimations of the orientation of eroded walls towards the same object. In this particular case we can show that the object was Arcturus at its heliacal and cosmical settings. At the time in question there was only 0.9° difference between these two settings. An interval of 112 years corresponds to a difference in orientation of only 1°, as the result of precession. Bondesson's results indicate that it is feasible to test the hypothesis that all four walls were built at the same time and were oriented on each site symmetrically with respect to north. The weighted average of the deviation of all

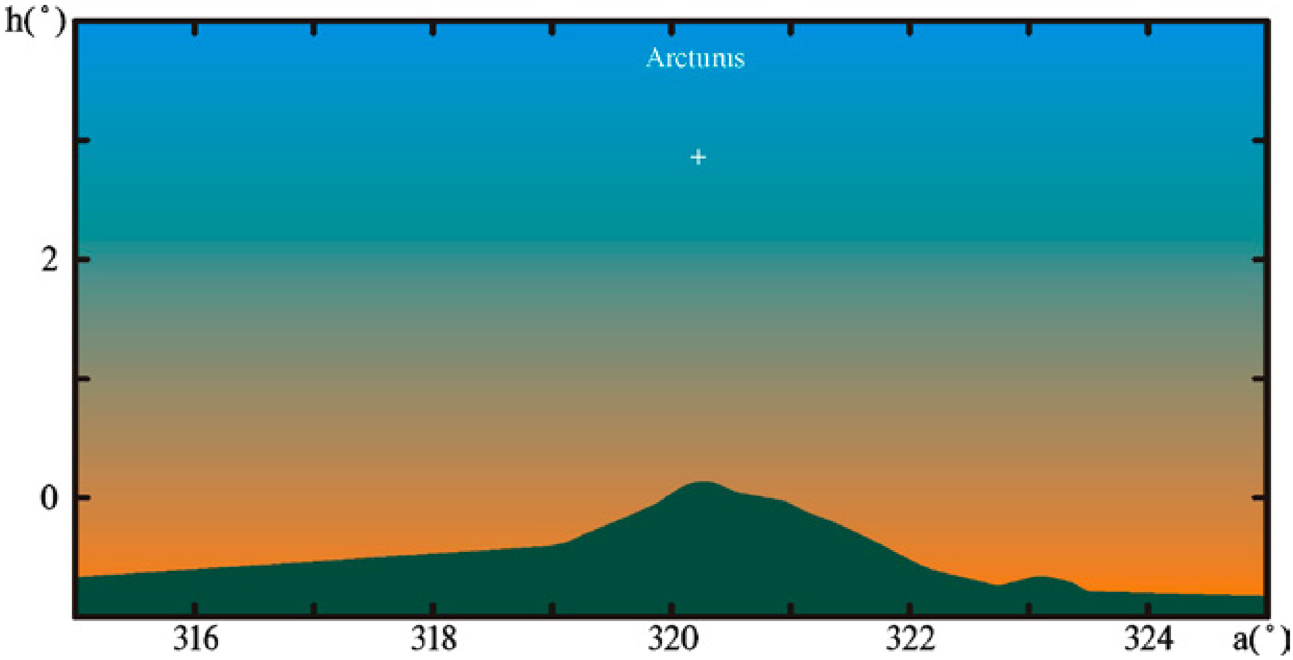


Fig. 10. The heliacal setting of Arcturus above Modi, 13 October 1731 BC at 6:00 pm, observed from Traostalos. The heliacal setting is the last time a star is visible in the evening sky after sunset.

four walls from the north-south direction is 38.3° ± 0.4°. The weighting has been done with respect to the inverse variances. The conclusion from the statistical analysis of our measurements is a 90% probability that the orientations of the walls were intended to be the same.

If we assume that the walls AN and AB on both Petsophas and Traostalos were oriented towards Arcturus, we can conclude that they were built at the same time, 1827 BC ± 77 years, to facilitate observation of the four risings and settings of that important star. Because of the slow rate of precession the walls would have continued to be useful for the same purpose for most of the Middle Bronze Age. After that period the effects of precession would have become more and more appreciable.

The focus on Modi and Arcturus at both sites suggests an important role for this particular mountain and star either in the religion of the area or in Minoan religion in general. The lofty conical peak of Simodi (422 m), which lies between Petsophas, Modi and Traostalos, seems not to have been of interest. The two sites of Petsophas and Traostalos are close to the same meridian, the azimuth from Petsophas to Traostalos being 179.31°. The sum of the evidence indicates a close intentional relationship in function between the sites and is a persuasive argument in favour of our interpretation.

Assuming that the walls AA' and AB were built at the same time and intended to be useful for observing all four positions of Arcturus, the significance of these positions is likely to have been the following: The heliacal rising (24/8) would have been especially useful, as it occurred one lunar month before the autumnal equinox. This means that the Minoan year may have begun already in the Middle Bronze Age at the first visibility of the new moon following the autumn equinox. If the Minoans had used a lunisolar calendar, the heliacal rising of Arcturus would not only have signaled the approaching new year, but the appearance of the star relative to the phases of the moon would have indicated when an intercalary month was needed to compensate for the incommensurate motions of the moon and the sun, thereby keeping the months in the correct seasons. This would have been of great importance for a religious calendar with seasonal ceremonies. The acronychal rising (2/2) occurs midway between the winter solstice and the vernal equinox. This may indicate that there was also a division of the solar year into eight equal parts. Such a year would have been practical for farmers, whereas the lunisolar calendar would have been necessary for religious observances.

The cosmical setting (11/5) and the heliacal setting (13/10) would have been appropriate for indicating the limits of the sailing season in the Middle Bronze Age, and there are traces of the use of stars for the same purpose in the Archaic period. Arcturus was later associated with storms by seamen, but this may have been a superstitious survival from the Bronze Age when the settings and risings of this star were signals of the beginning of stormy weather and, consequently, the limits of the sailing season.

The fact that there seem to be no orientations towards the moon and the sun from Traostalos may mean that stellar observations for the sake of navigation were the focus of the astronomical interest at that site, which has a view of the entire eastern horizon. Petsophas could have been specialized towards maintenance of the calendar. The two places are within sight of each other and near enough to have had a close functional relationship; the linear distance between them is about 7 km.

Summary

The sum of the evidence indicates that a major function of the sites on Petsophas and Traostalos was to keep track of the motions of the heavenly bodies and that some of the walls at each place were designed specifically for this function. The orientation to the heliacal rising of Arcturus would have been very useful for regulating a lunisolar calendar. The existence of such a calendar to determine the proper times for religious observances is well attested in Greece for the historical period and there is accumulating evidence that the Mycenaeans may have had a similar calendar. The orientations to the three other positions of Arcturus may indicate that Minoans also had a secular solar-stellar calendar, which would have been more convenient for farmers and sailors, for example.

The positioning of a structure with respect to a distant horizon marker so that the sun is observed to set behind the marker at the equinoxes from the structure requires considerable knowledge of the sun's motion. The equinoxes would have had to be arrived at empirically and this would have required a long tradition of observations. Thus the relationship of Petsophas to Modi such that the sun sets behind Modi at the equinoxes to an observer no more than 30 meters from the structure on Petsophas indicates a Minoan tradition of astronomical observation and notation going back perhaps several centuries before the relationship was established, unless astronomical knowledge had been acquired elsewhere. In the Early Minoan period, when hills and peaks may already have had a religious function, favourable conditions would have existed for this tradition of observations to have developed.

The implications for religious and political stability could have been considerable, as the dawning understanding of the laws behind natural phenomena can either constitute a challenge to authority or be exploited to its advantage.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the Swedish Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences, the Gunvor & Josef Anér Foundation, the Axel & Margaret Ax:son Johnson Foundation, the Magnus Bergvall Foundation and the Helge Ax:son Johnson Foundation. We thank also Lennart Bondesson, associate professor in mathematical statistics, Uppsala University, who conducted the statistical evaluation of our measurements. We were granted permission to study the sites in Crete that we chose for our investigation by the Greek Archaeological Service and were given practical assistance in many ways by the regional ephors. We wish to thank especially Robin Hägg and Berit Wells, directors, and Bodil Nordström, secretary, of the Swedish Institute at Athens.

Bibliography

Blomberg, M. 1992. 'The meaning of *Χελιδών* in Hesiod', *Opuscula Atheniensia* 19, 49-57.

Blomberg, M. and Henriksson, G. 1996. '*Minos enneoros*. Archaeoastronomical light on the priestly role of the king in Crete', in *Religion and power in the ancient Greek world. Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1993* (Boreas. Uppsala studies in ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern civilizations, 24), Uppsala 1996, 27-39.

Davaras, C. 1963. 'Περιφέρεια δυτικής Κρήτης', *Kretika chronika* 17, 399, 405f.

----- 1978. Τραόσταλος', *Archaiologikon Deltion*, 33, B:2, 392-393.

Evans, A.J. 1900-1901. 'The Palace of Knossos', *Annual of the British School at Athens 7*, 1-120.

Ljunghall, A. 1949. 'The intensity of twilight and its connection with the density of the atmosphere', *Meddelanden från Lunds astronomiska observatorium,* ser. 2, vol. 13, no. 125.

Rutkowski, B. 1991. *Petsophas. A Cretan peak sanctuary* (Studies and monographs in Mediterranean archaeology and civilization, 1), Warsaw 1991.

MacGillivray, J.A. and Driessen, J. 1990. 'Minoan settlement at Palaikastro', in *L' habitat égéen préhistorique,* eds. P. Darque & R. Treuil, *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, Suppl. 19, 395-412.

Mair, G. R. 1989 (reprint), *Aratus. Phaenomena*, Loeb Classical Library 129, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Manning, S. 1995. *The absolute chronology of the Aegean Early Bronze Age,* Sheffield Academic Press Sheffield.

Myres, J.L. 1902-1903. 'Excavations at Palaikastro, II. The sanctuary-site of Petsofà', *Annual of the British School at Athens* 9, 1902-1903, 356-387.

Rutskowsi, B.1991. *Petsophas. A Cretan peak sanctuary* (Studies and monographs in Mediterranean archaeology and civilization, 1), Art and Archaeology, Warsaw.

Siedentopf, H. 1941. 'Neue Messungen der visuellen Kontrastschwelle', *Astronomische Nachrichten* 271, 193-203.

Schmidt, J.F. 1865. 'Ober die Dämmering', *Astronomische Nachrichten* 63, 1865, article no. 1495.

Ventris, M. and Chadwick, J. 1973. *Documents in Mycenaean Greek,* 2nd ed., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Watrous, L.V. 1994. 'Review of Aegean prehistory III: Crete from earliest prehistory through the protopalatial period', *American Journal of Archaeology* 98, 695-753.

West, M.L. 1978. *Hesiod. Works and days,* 377-380. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

LANDSCAPE, PERFORMANCE AND RITUAL ACTIVITIES AT THE ENEOLITHIC SANCTUARY AT ST. ATANASIJ, SPANCHEVO

Marina Spirova
Independent researcher

Figure 1. Map of the Republic of Macedonia with excavated Eneolithic sites, showing the location of Spanchevo

Introduction

When we speak about sanctuaries from the Eneolithic in the Balkans, in most cases they are sanctuaries that were used continuously until antiquity, whose early phases belong to the Eneolithic. In Macedonia one example is the site at Cocev Kamen, where crevices in the volcanic rock and the surrounding terraces were used for ritual activities[1]. In the Balkans we find the rock sanctuaries in the Eastern Rhodope, whose period of establishment dates from the Late Eneolithic[2].

Inside the settlements there were buildings that had distinct architectonic elements, like the Late Eneolithic Shrine from Dolnoslav[3]. Ritual activities also took place in the home, as evident by the specially designated areas related to the oven, found in the houses in Gradishte and Carevi Kuli[4].

This paper considers the Eneolithic site at Spanchevo, near the town of Kochani, in the eastern part of Macedonia (Figure 1). Starting from the first excavation campaign, the site displayed traces of activities that seemed unconnected to any economic or livelihood needs, thereby suggesting that this was an open-air site for ritual activities. The sanctuary has been the subject of several papers and books[5]. Bear-

[1] Dimitrovska, 2010

[2] Raduncheva, 2008

[3] Raduncheva, 2002; Chapman and Gaydarska, 2007

[4] Kolishtrkoska-Nasteva 2006; Rujak, 2015

[5] Atanasova, 2010; 2011; 2012; 2012; 2014; Kolishtrkoska-Nasteva, 2011

Figure 2. The sanctuary, view from the east (photo by M. Spirova)

Figure 3. View of the settlement at Burilchevo from the southern terrace (photo by M. Spirova)

ing in mind the uniqueness of this site, this paper will discuss another aspect of the life in the Eneolithic in more detail.

Through the analysis of the changes of the terrain, contexts of discovery of the movable finds, link with nearby settlements and interpretation of the ritually-related contexts, the author will address several questions of interest regarding the various dimensions of the spiritual life of the Eneolithic population. The complex relationship between the role of the sacred landscape, the active participation of the worshippers and the material culture – consisting of both cult objects and everyday items – will allow an assessment of not only the character of the sanctuary, but also of the diverse aspects of the rituals performed.

Choosing the perfect spot

The sanctuary is located on a small mount in the foothills of the Osogovo Mountains, at 389m above sea level (Figure 2). It is easily accessible from all four sides. Spacious, flat agricultural land opens toward the south.

The placement of the sanctuary enables splendid visibility of the surrounding area. Toward the southwest, the Eneolithic settlement at Burilchevo[6] can be seen from the southern terrace (Figure 3). In the distance the contours of the settlement at Vinichko Kale

[6] Nasteva, 1989

Figure 4. View of the sanctuary from the western terrace at Burilchevo (photo by M. Spirova)

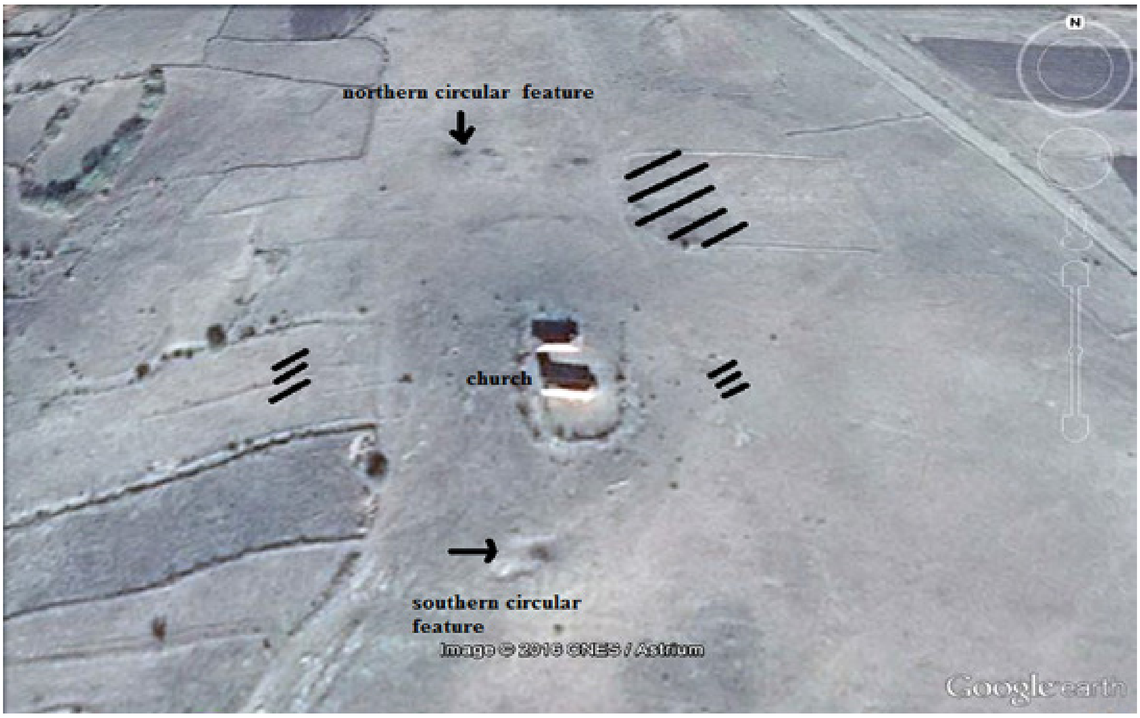


Figure 5. Layout of the sanctuary, satellite image (Google Earth)

– where the earliest phase dates from the Eneolithic – are visible. Located further to the west is Bogoslov Kamen[7], another Eneolithic settlement.

Less than a kilometer away, there is a mine for opal, agate and chalcedony. Deposits from this region were probably a rich source for raw materials for tool production since the Neolithic[8].

The river Bregalnica is located less than 2km from the sanctuary. Apart from being a rich source of food for the population, during the Eneolithic it was one of the main communication routes[9]. Its use is related to the geographic proximity to the Gradeshnica-Slatino-Dikili Tash complex of the Early Eneolithic[10].

The placement of the sanctuary along such an important communication route enabled easy accessibility and more visitors that not necessarily came from the closest settlement, as evident by the presence of material that so far has not been discovered at other Eneolithic sites in Macedonia.

It seems that the main criteria for choosing the

[7] Nacev, 2009

[8] Dimitrovska, 2012

[9] Kolishtrkoska-Nasteva, 1995

[10] Todorova 2003; Chohadziev 2006

location for the sanctuary were accessibility, visual communication with the settlements, and closeness to areas with exploitable natural resources.

Figure 6. Sothern circular feature (Atanasova 2012: Photo 2)

Visibility

The location was not chosen due to its height to dominate over the area (there are higher points on the slopes), but to provide a two-way visual link with the settlement (Figures 3; 4).

Although Burilchevo is the closest settlement, that relation should not be perceived as the only one. Being located on one of the major communications routes, as well as the visibility of at least one other Eneolithic settlement, allows for an association with other Eneolithic settlements as well.

The visual element was very likely important to the people while performing the ritual activities. This concept is not unknown in the prehistory. During the Bronze Age visibility was a key element while choosing the location for the Minoan peak sanctuaries[11].

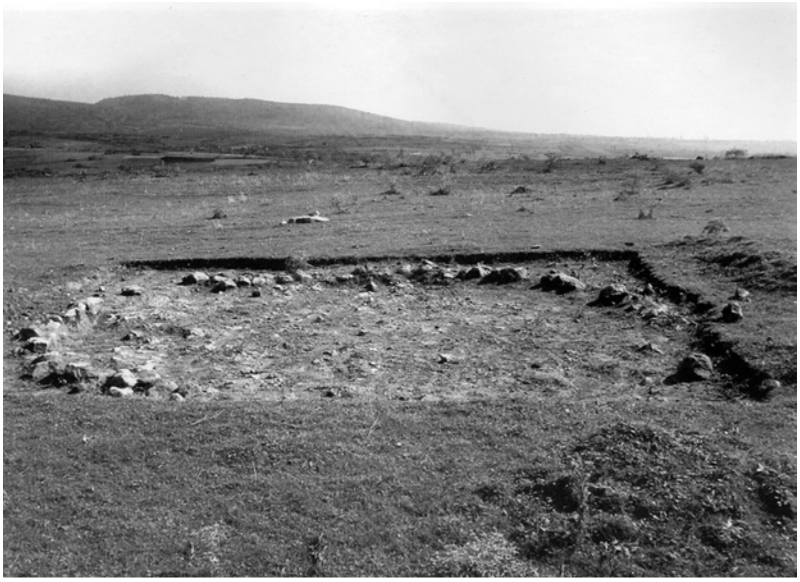


Figure 7. Northern circular feature (Atanasova 2012: Photo 12)

Layout

Following the distribution of the material in order to discern the layout of the sanctuary, it can be noticed that all four terraces of the mount were used (Figure 5). The ritual activity was mostly focused on the eastern terrace where the largest concentration of offerings was found.

On the flat plateau on the top of the mount, church with adjacent buildings is located. It is impossible to say if the sanctuary extended in this area too, due to building activities that destroyed possible archaeological records. Another difficulty that the researches of the sanctuary face is the fact that the western terrace is on private property and thus excavation, apart from one trench already excavated, is impossible. This unfortunately inhibits the complete reconstruction of the sanctuary layout.

Modification of the natural settings

Identifying the traces of the ritual activities at Spanchevo we can recognize that the modification of the natural settings is minimal, and largely follows the configuration and the characteristics of the terrain. The site doesn't have permanent features like altars or standing stones. Several features associated with ritual activities were discovered over the 400 square meters of excavated area[12]. What is common for all features is that before making any modification or construction, the bedrock was leveled with yellow clay.

Circular features

Two circular structures were excavated, one on the northern and one on the southern terrace. The northern one is smaller, its diameter measuring 4.1m (Figure 7). The circular feature on the southern terrace is 18m in diameter (Figure 6). Both structures are bordered by a crown made of stones, marking the limit of the sacred area.

In the southwestern quadrant of the southern structure, in a layer filled with fragmented figurines,

[11] Peatfield, 2009

[12] Atanasova, 2014; Kolishtrkoska-Nasteva, 2011

Figure 8. Platform-like feature
(Kolishtrkoska-Nasteva 2011: Table II, Photo 2)

Figure 9. Deposition of offerings on the eastern terrace
(Atanasova 2010)

animal bones, ashes and cinder a large concentration of fragmented storage vessels were found.

Rectangular platforms

Rectangular platform-like structures made of different sized stones were discovered above the bedrock on the eastern terrace (Figure 8). Offerings were deposited on these surfaces and they are the most abundant with finds: pottery, with a very large percentage of exclusive tableware, figurines, altars, animal bones, horns and antlers, grind stones and tools.

Pits and crevices

Often the offerings were placed in or around pits that are dug in the rock itself. Sometimes even the natural clefts of the rock were used for deposition.

Another mode of deposition of the offerings was also noticed on the eastern terrace, where the finds were discovered placed onto a layer of yellow clay that was used to level the rocky surface that was topped with stones (Figure 9).

This mode of deposition of the offerings (pits and circular features) can be found at other open-air sanctuaries from Macedonia, the Bronze Age Tatikjev Kamen and Pelince[13].

Defining characteristic of the sanctuary is the lack of buildings. No traces from post holes, floors or wall pieces were discovered in either of the sectors, suggesting that there were probably no buildings on site. Some sort of light structure must have existed, though, since small chunks of daub are discovered on the eastern terrace[14].

Pottery

The pottery from the sanctuary is extremely fragmentary and rarely enough wall fragments can be found to enable a reconstruction of the profile. Where one is possible it shows that the shapes are similar to those found in the settlement[15]. The pottery in the southern terrace shows more presence of coarse ware pots.

The sherds show traces of wear, although that can be the result from being exposed to the natural elements when they were deposited as offerings. The exclusive pottery amounts to an exceptionally large percent: over 50% of the discovered pottery in the eastern terrace was fine ware[16].

The graphite painted pottery is of best quality, while the incised decoration is the most common decorative technique. Both decorations appear as already formed, pointing to an accomplished technique of production. The graphite painted pottery is identical to the one discovered in the earlier phase at Burilchevo[17].bAnalogies are found within the Gradeshnica-Slatino-Dikili Tash complex[18]. Decoration belonging to the Maritza I phase, which has so far not been found at any other Eneolithic sites in Macedonia, was also discovered (Figure 10: 1;6;11;12).

---

[13] Trajkovska, 1999; Stankovski, 2010

[14] Kolishtrkoska-Nasteva, 2011

[15] Atanasova, 2012

[16] Kolishtrkoska-Nasteva, 2011

[17] Kolishtrkoska-Nasteva and Karpuzova, 2005

[18] Chohadziev, 2006; Todorova, 1986

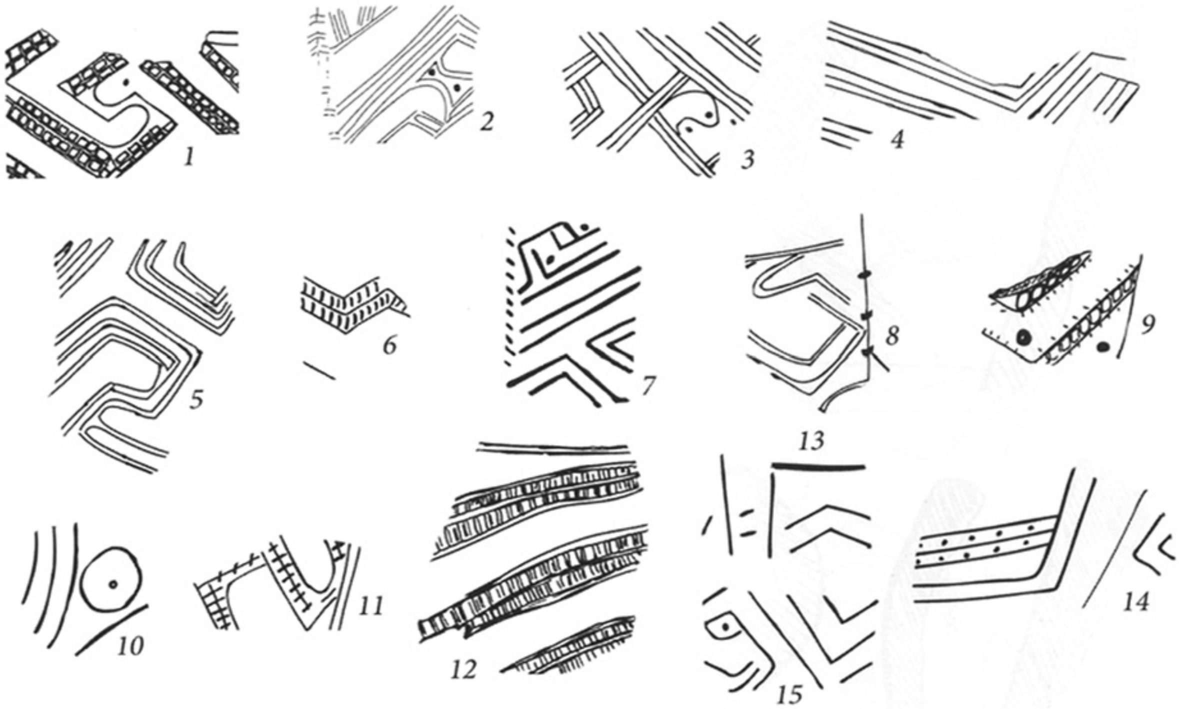


Figure 10. Incised decoration on pottery (Atanasova 2012: Table 3)

Figurines

There is an abundance of figurines in the sanctuary; more than 100 fragments have been discovered so far[19]. It is hard to estimate what was their approximate number, due to erosion, plough damage, looting etc. The figurines are discovered in context with traces of feasts, deposition of pottery sherds and other ritual items - models of houses and altars (Figure 16). They were deposited in all previously mentioned features.

All the figurines were made of clay[20]. Most of them were made from separate parts that were then adjoined. The fragments vary from 3 to 10cm, making the figurines up to 30cm high[21]. The figurines are well modeled pieces of workmanship and were probably done by artists.

23 fragments display gender information. They appear to represent women, as evident by the presence of female attributes: incised pubis, modeled breasts, wide hips, and emphasized abdomen as in pregnancy. Some fragments exhibit pregnancy. Fragments displaying male sexual attributes are absent. Analyzing the female traits, e.g. shape and size of breasts, hip form and belly, the figurines seem to represent young women of reproductive age.

The figurines have rich incised decoration, sometime in combination with white incrusted decoration or red crusting (Figures 11; 12; 13). The complex patterns of decoration include geometrical motifs arranged in horizontal bands that are separated by incised lines. Organization regarding the position of the motifs can be noticed. Certain motifs are related to certain body parts: meanders, angled lines, parallel lines and dots for the stomach; spirals, concentric circles and ellipses for the buttocks; and angled or parallel lines, meanders and meanders with dot in the middle for the legs.

Although the basis of the decorative pattern corresponds to the pattern which is distributed across the Gradeshnica culture, still certain distinction can be seen regarding the signs, the facial features (Figure 15), the lack of the so-called "apron", and the absence of sitting figurines with bended knees, found in Gradeshnica and Slatino[22].

The figurines display a certain level of consistency in regards of the pattern of signs that were used, the depiction of the female body - the preferred attributes, and the association between certain motives with specific body parts. In this way it can perhaps be regarded as an indication that they transferred distinct ideas[23]. The signs can be understood as a projection of beliefs closely related to the message that the items sent and how they were understood and used in the rituals.

Most of the signs depicted on the figurines are related to the notion of fertility. The rhombus with a

[19] Atanasova, 2014; Kolishtrkoska-Nasteva, 2011

[20] Atanasova, 2012

[21] Atanasova, 2010

[22] Nikolov, 1974; Chohadziev, 2006; Vaisov, 1981

[23] Hansen, 2001

Figure 11. Figurines (Atanasova 2010: Cat. no. 4; 2; 9; 7)

dot is considered a symbol of feminine fertility and planted fields[24]. Another sign found on the figurines that is also mentioned in connection to fertility is the meander[25]. One of the figurines from Spanchevo displays an engraved vessel in the area of the pubis (Figure 11: 2). The vessel has been associated with representation of feminine features since the Neolithic, probably because its function resembled the biological functions of women[26].

None of the figurines display a considerable level of iconographic complexity to be identified as a deity image[27]. Although the figurines do display a certain level of diversity, still they were made from a material that is easily accessible, and there are no traces of pairing of figurines or scenes where different sizes of figurines were used. The figurine heads that have pierced ears, where copper bands or some organic material was placed, are on the border of iconographic simplicity, but still not sufficiently complex. This doesn't mean that they didn't carry symbolism that evoked transcendent presence. The only fragment that digresses from the standard postures is the fragment of an upper body with a raised arm that held something in the hand (Figure 14). Only a small part of the figurine is preserved, so no further assumptions can be made.

Having in mind the character of the site, the figurines were most likely votives: either votaries or votive offerings. As votaries they could even be representations of individual worshippers. Still, if we try to understand them as simple votive offering, then the display of diversity in regard to the signs, the special attention given to their decoration and the display of individual facial features is quite puzzling.

Due to the context in which they were discovered and the messages that the signs were transmitting to the participants of the rituals, it would seem that the most appropriate explanation would be that the figurines found at the sanctuary were an active part of the ritual practices, and not just 'passive symbols of prayer'[28].

[24] Masson and Merpert, 1982; Atanasova, 2014

[25] Nikolova, 2013

[26] Naumov, 2008

[27] Lesure, 2011

[28] Peatfield, 2001

Figure 12. Figurines (Kolishtrkoska-Nasteva 2011: Table IX)

Fragmentation

As previously mentioned, both pottery and figurines are extremely fragmentary. Of all the figurine fragments, according to a preliminary analysis, no refits were made.

The figurines are usually broken at identical positions, into the separately modeled parts; e.g. the legs were broken vertically. Of the 45 fragments that display legs, only 6 fragments have the legs attached to each other. Although the condition in which we find them is mostly due to natural elements and post-depositional plough damage, still the recurring breakage patterns of the figurines could be closely tied to the method of manufacture. The way the figurines are broken corresponds to the experiments by D. Gheorghiu in modeling Cucuteni-Tripolye figurines[29]. The legs were modeled from two cones that are twisted or rubbed between the palms by the artist. Both construction methods are present on the figurines from Spanchevo. This method of manufacture results in detaching the legs during breakage, and this could be the reason for the large number of broken or detached legs.

But if the reason for their breakage was indeed the technological process, then it seems strange that the technology of figurine production did not change, if it showed to be flawed and led to accidental breakage of the figurines. This, plus the fact there is a large number of broken specific body parts (the area around the buttocks and legs), leads us to believe that this was the case of intentional fragmentation.

Figure 13. Figurine (Atanasova 2010: Cat. no.13)

[29] Gheorghiu, 2010

Figure 14. Upper part of a figurine with raised arm (Kolishtrkoska-Nasteva 2011: Table IX)

Figure 15. Head of 'the ancestor" (Kolishtrkoska-Nasteva 2011: Photo 1)

From the 81 published figurine fragments, the legs and the area around the hips consist more than half of the fragments. This feature is also visible in the assemblage from Burilchevo[30]. Even if certain fragments (e.g. figurine heads) were lost due to their small size, then what happened to the parts from altars that are missing? Some of them are very characteristic with distinct decoration that would enable an easier notice of re-fits. But apart from one re-fit of an altar, no other re-fits were made.

Several possible explanations can lie behind this act that was very likely connected to the rituals practiced at the sanctuary, and perhaps even in the settlement.

In context with the character of the site it is most likely that the figurines and pottery were broken as part of the rituals, after which they were deposited. The missing parts could have been removed from the sanctuary 'for deposition elsewhere'[31] after the completion of the ritual. Perhaps they were returned to the settlement from which the worshipers came from.

Were the fragments dispersed even further than Burilchevo? The pottery sherds from the Maritza I phase could belong to other settlements where figurine fragments were transported to. Or perhaps the opposite: whoever brought the pottery sherds with the distinct decoration style to the sanctuary may have brought figurine fragments too, and the missing part of the figurine was left in the initial place.

In connection to the nearby settlement, another possibility arises: the figurines from the settlement were brought to the sanctuary to be discarded in order to destroy their ritual power. Then why bring incomplete figurines?

The House

Figure 16. Fragments from altars (Kolishtrkoska-Nasteva 2011: Photo 5)

The sanctuary so far is the only Early Eneolithic site where models of houses and ovens were discovered. Like all other finds, the models are also very fragmented, except one oven model that is almost totally preserved.

The house model is of closed type decorated with incised decoration of the so-called ladder-type that forms meanders, with red crusting (Figure 18).

The models of houses are found on the Balkan since the Neolithic. Their production points to the both social and ritual importance of the house. The house is often found to be closely related to the process of domestication and establishment of the first settlements, playing a crucial role in the construction of social life in the Neolithic[32]. Thus the house has been described as a symbol of stability and continuity, although some recent researchers see the house as quite the opposite, as producer of change[33].

In ritual contexts house models may have been used for rituals of construction, repair or re-occupa-

[30] Kolishtrkoska-Nasteva, 1999

[31] Chapman and Gaydarska, 2007

[32] Hodder, 2012; Borić, 2008

[33] Souvatzi, 2012

Figure 17. 1. Spondylus bracelet; 2. Horn; 3. Grind stone; 4. Animal bones (Kolishtrkoska-Nasteva 2011: Table X)

tion[34]. Their production and display is also associated with confirming house continuity and maintaining stability, as in the example from Ovcharovo[35].

Bearing in mind that the model from Spanchevo is decorated with a technique typical of the early phases of the Early Eneolithic, the time when most likely the settlement at Burilchevo was established, it could point to the assumption that it may have been used for rituals of construction and as a confirmation of the right of a certain group of people to a certain territory. In that way the model could have served as a representation of not only one house, but perhaps even as an image of the entire community that occupied the settlement.

Just like the figurines, the house models also derive their meaning from the contexts in which they were used. It is quite possible that they – like the figurines – had multiple meanings, depending on the context.

Here in the sanctuary we find them as part of the rituals that involved human and animal figurines, materials representing the economy in the community (tools and spindle whorls as evidence of wool producing), feasts and objects regarded as special that were hard to come by and had to be brought via intercommunity trade, such as the Spondylus bracelets (Figure 17: 1). Thus they are related to the community as a whole and its prosperity.

If we take them in correlation with the (female) anthropomorphic figurines they could have been part of rituals of confirming membership (of a household or even in the community), or perhaps even confirmation of continuity, by right of the ancestors - in relation to the so-called ‘head of the ancestor’ (Figure 15).

The preserved oven model has a flat roof, ellipse opening and a small platform in the front (Figure 19).

Spaces related to fire are often closely connected to ritual activities, since figurines and other cult equipment are found near hearths and ovens in domestic contexts[36]. The closest example would be the Eneolithic houses at Carevi Kuli[37]. The models of parts of the house interior shift attention to a particu-

[34] Bailey, 2000

[35] Bailey, 1990

[36] Marangou, 2001

[37] Rujak, 2015

Figure 18. House model (Atanasova 2010: 5)

lar part of the house that was accented for a specific reason[38]. It could suggest that people were attaching special meanings to the particular parts of their houses, not just as elements of the house used for domestic activities, but also other symbolic meanings. The place around the fire in the house was very likely important to the people. Fire meant warmth and life: the fire place was the place where the family would gather. In that way it could be a symbol of the unity and togetherness of the household.

Feasts

Traces of ritual fires, ash deposits, fragments of charcoal and burned material, a large amount of animal bone, horns and antlers (Figure 17: 2; 4), and riverine shells were also discovered at the sanctuary in context with the features and closely related to the other finds. Feasts are considered as communal food consumption events[39]. As such they match the public character of the sanctuary.

The feasts that accompanied the rituals were special communal events. Apart from the large number of animal bones, the numerous fragments of cooking pots and sherds from luxury tableware used for consumption of the prepared food and drinks; the presence of figurines and other items used in the rituals, also attest to that. The range of animals includes sheep, goats, cattle, deer and wild boar[40]. Large percentage of the bones belongs to big animals that are easy to spoil and would require a significant number of people to participate in the feast, so that the meat would be consumed.

Since the material attesting to the presence of feasts at the sanctuary is found in several different contexts, and is closely associated to the modifications in the natural settings in the southern and eastern terrace on several layers, as well as the deposition of the offerings, it points to the fact that these do not result from a single event.

So far, body parts that are considered of low meat quality (heads) have not been discovered, except for several teeth. Their absence most likely suggests that the sequence of carcass processing did not take place in the vicinity of the sanctuary[41]. The meat could have been prepared ahead of time someplace elsewhere (in the settlement, perhaps), and then transported to the sanctuary in storage vessels whose fragments are found.

Defining a sanctuary

Renfrew mentioned four features of the ritual that can help define an area where ritual activity took place[42].

One of the 4 main criteria was attention focusing. This involves stimulation of the senses. At Spanchevo vessels were found, one in form of a fish, that may have been used for burning of fragrant substances.

The second criteria are the special aspects of the liminal zone. The location of the sanctuary was especially chosen so it could provide visual link with the settlement(s). A crown of stones was used to mark the sacred area of the circular enclosures where ritual activity took place.

The third criteria is the presence of the transcendent and its symbolic focus. Objects that carry the attributes of the different dimensions of the belief system are the figurines, altars and models of houses. Redundancy in the used symbols is encountered, especially the meander that is found on the figurines, pottery and altars. The rich iconography that characterizes the decoration, as well as the symbolism that was employed, can be understood to point toward a transcendent presence.

The fourth criteria is participation and offering. At the sanctuary a lot of evidence for expressive actions can be seen. Offerings were deliberately brought from the settlement and deposited. Traces of feasts and preparation of food-grind stones (Figure 17: 3), fires for preparation of the food, libation-altars with holes, jugs and a libation channel in the bedrock inside the circular feature on the southern terrace, gifts of non-consumable material objects (figurines, models of houses and ovens, altars) are found in abundance.

Discussion

The different contexts in which we discover the finds and the diversity of the material suggests that several rituals could have been practiced.

[38] Marangou, 1994

[39] Dietler, 1996

[40] Atanasova, 2012

[41] Pappa *et al.* 2004

[42] Renfrew, 1985

Trying to understand the figurines in the context of fertility, incised signs, deliberate breakage that puts emphasis on certain body parts (hips, abdomen, buttocks), then breaking these particular parts could be connected to the completion of the act of giving birth or perhaps even stimulation of this function[43]. If we look at the attributes represented on the figurines (e.g. small breasts that don't correspond to the depicted pregnancy, in relation to the incised signs that are usually connected to fertility), then we may perhaps view them as representations of the worshiper's wishes (healthy offspring). Caution should, however, be exercised to this explanation since in almost all documented cases of rites where figurines are used to promote human fertility, they represent infants, not pregnant women[44]. Besides, not all fertility rituals need representation of the female body[45].

In context with the models of houses, the figurines that display pregnancy could be part of rituals of confirmation of household membership of the mother[46].

Other types of rituals that could have taken place at the sanctuary are coming-of-age ceremonies for girls[47]. After the completion of the ritual the figurine was deposited. The figurines are discovered in relation to traces of feasts. And feasts are often important part of the rites of passage[48]. In this way, the breakage of the figurines could be part of the rites of passage[49].

Some of the rituals may be connected to the exchange networks between the Eneolithic communities. The proximity of the source for raw material, pottery type not found in the neighboring settlements, and Spondilys bracelets, could point to contacts between communities. So the figurines, especially the split-leg figurines could have been used as contractual device, and in addition to other public actions, like feasts, serve in rituals related to sealing of contracts[50].

Another type of ritual activity that could have been practiced at the sanctuary are calendrical rites. The evidence of communal feasting, the presence of grind stones and zoomorphic figurines, evidence for the importance of secondary animal products (strainers, spindle whorls), could point toward seasonal celebrations, where the sowing/harvesting crops and raising/slaughtering herds were celebrated[51].

Figure 19. Oven model (Atanasova 2010: 7)

Conclusion

The open-air sanctuary at Spanchevo was established and used during the Early Eneolithic. Its establishment could be seen in light of the beginnings of the Early Eneolithic in the valley of Bregalnica. The closeness of the settlement at Burilchevo and the similarity of the assemblages from both sites indicate that it was the inhabitants of the settlement that used the sanctuary and that it was frequently visited. The rituals that took place at the sanctuary were used to promote collectivity, membership in the community and reinforce kinship.

So far, material belonging to the Late Eneolithic, from which the second phase in Burilchevo belongs, has not been found at Spanchevo. The changes that the Late Eneolithic brought certainly had an impact on the spiritual life of the population too, so the sanctuary lost its importance to the communities of the neighboring settlements.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Irena Kolishtrkoska-Nasteva for her support.

[43] Naumov, 2014
[44] Talalay, 1993
[45] Naumov, 2013
[46] Bailey, 2000
[47] Bolger, 1996
[48] Dietler, 1996
[49] Naumov, 2013
[50] Talalay, 1993
[51] Bell, 2009

Resume

Traces of ritual activities in the Eneolithic are usually closely related to other, secular in nature, activities and found in buildings within the settlements. The sanctuary at Spanchevo is a unique occurrence in the Early Eneolithic, as it is the case of an open-air sanctuary, located outside the settlement. The site itself is abundant with symbolic objects, everyday items and evidence of a large scale communal ritual practice. Through these finds this paper will focus on the character of the Eneolithic ritual activities, trying to assess the diverse aspects of the rituals performed at the sanctuary.

Bibliography

Atanasova, I.

2010. Kultna plastika od eneolitskoto naogjalishte Sv. Atanas-s. Spanchevo, Kochansko. Kochani, JOU Iskra.

2011. Rezultati od iskopuvanjata na ranoeneolitskoto svetilishte Sv. Atanas kaj selo Spanchevo. Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica 20: 185-204.

2012. Sveti Atanas – eneolitsko svetilishte kaj selo Spanchevo, Kochansko. Kochani, JOU Iskra.

2013. Antropomorfni figurini od Spanchevo – Kochansko. Makedonsko Nasledstvo 40-41: 148-164.

2014. Early Eneolithic Figurines from the Site of St. Atanas near v. Spančevo – Kočani: A Study of the Manufacturing Technology. In S. Vitezović and D. Antonović (eds.), Archaeotechnology: Studying technology from prehistory to the Middle Ages: 199-220. Belgrade, Srpsko arheološko društvo.

Bailey, D.

1990. The Living House: Signifying Continuity. In R. Samson (ed.), The Social Archaeology of Houses: 17–48. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.

1994. Reading prehistoric figurines as individuals. World Archaeology, 25 (3): 321-331.

2000. Balkan prehistory. Exclusion, incorporation and identity. Routledge, London and New York.

Bell, C. (ed.) 2009. Ritual, Perspectives and Dimensions. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Bolger, D. 1996. Figurines, fertility and the emergence of complex society in prehistoric Cyprus. Current Anthropology Vol. 37, No2: 365-373.

Borić, D. 2008. First households and "house societies". In A. Jones (ed.), European prehistory, Prehistoric Europe: theory and practice: 109-142. Chichester, Wiley-Blackwell.

Chapman, J.

2001. Object fragmentation in the Neolithic and Copper Age of Southeast Europe. In P. Biehl and F. Bertemes (eds.), The archaeology of cult and religion: 89-107. Budapest, Archaeolingua.

Chapman, J. and Gaydarska, B. 2007. Parts and Wholes: Fragmentation in prehistoric context. Oxbow Books, Oxford.

Chohadziev, S. (ed.) 2006. Slatino-praistoricheski selishca. Veliko Turnovo.

Dietler, M. 1996. Feasts and Commensal Politics in the Political Economy: Food, Power, and Status in Prehistoric Europe. In P. Wiessner and W. Schiefenhövel (eds.), Food and the Status Quest: An Interdisciplinary Perspective: 87-125. Oxford, Berghahn.

Dimitrovska, V.

2010. Cocev kamen, neshto povekje od samo obichna karpa!. Kulturen Zhivot 1-2: 30-37.

2012. The system of local supply of stone tools in Amzabegovo-Vrshnik culture from Neolithic Macedonia. Documenta Praehistorica XXXIX: 425-432

Gheorghiu, D. 2010. Ritual Technology: An Experimental Approach to Cucuteni-Tripolye Chalcolithic Figurines. In D. Gheorghiu and A. Cyphers (eds.), Anthropomorphic and Zoomorphic Miniature Figures in Eurasia, Africa and Meso-America Morphology, Materiality, Technology, Function, and Context: 61-72. Oxford, Archaeopress.

Hansen, S. 2001. Neolithic sculpture. Some remarks on an old problem. In P. Biehl and E. Bertemes (eds.), The archaeology of cult and religion: 37-53. Budapest, Archaeolingua.

Hodder, I. 2012. Religion in the emergence of civilization: Çatalhöyük as a case study. New York, Cambridge University Press.

Kolishtrkoska-Nasteva, I.

1995. Eneolit. Arheoloshka karta na Republika Makedonija, Vol.1:43-50. Skopje, MANU.

1999. Antropomorfni I zoomorfni figurini od eneolitskiot period - lok. Pilavo, Burilchevo. Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica 15: 25-32.

2005. Indoevropski elementi vo eneolitot vo Makedonija. Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica 16: 55-64.

2006. Eneolitsko naogjalishte vo Delchevsko. Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica 17: 81-92.

2011. Sv. Atanasie, eneolitsko svetilishte i del od otkrieniot material. Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica 20: 171-184.

Kolishtrkoska-Nasteva, I. and Karpuzova, S. 2005. Grafitno dekorirana keramika od lok. Pilavo, s. Burilchevo, Kochansko. In Zbornik Arheologija 2: 57-66.

Lesure, R. G. 2011. Interpreting Ancient Figurines: Context, Comparison, and Prehistoric Art. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Marangou, Christina.

1994. Micrography in Late Neolithic Greece. Archaeological Manifestations of Religious Traditions and Institutions on Society and Culture. World Archaeological Congress-3, New Delhi, December 1994, Theme 13.

2001. Sacred or secular places and the ambiguous evidence of prehistoric rituals. In P. F. Biehl and F. Bertemes (eds.), The archaeology of cult and religion: 139-160. Budapest, Archaeolingua.

Masson, V. and Merpert, H. 1982. Eneolit SSSR. Moskva.

Nacev, T. 2009. Trite keramitki – rezultati od zashtitnite arheoloshki istrazhuvanja Zletovica 2007-2009. Shtip, Zavod I Muzej Shtip.

Nasteva I. 1989. Pilavo/Burilchevo – eneolitska i helenistichka naselba. Arheoloshki Pregled 1987: 49.

Naumov, G.

2008. The vessel as a human body: Neolithic anthropomorphic vessels and their reflection in later periods. In I. Berg (ed.), Breaking the Mould: Challenging the Past through Pottery: 93-101. Oxford, Archaeopress.

2013. Figuring Out the Figurines: Towards the interpretation of Neolithic corporeality in the Republic of Macedonia. Journal of the Flinders Archaeological Society Volume 2, Issue 1: 49-60.

2014. Together We Stand – Divided We Fall: the representation and fragmentation among Govrlevo and Zelenikovo figurines, Republic of Macedonia. In C. E. Ursu and S. Ţerna (eds.), Anthropomorphism and symbolic behaviour in the Neolithic and Copper Age communities of South-Eastern Europe: 161-186. Suceava, Bucovina Museum.

Nikolov, B. 1974. Gradeshnica. Sofia, Nauka i izkustvo.

Nikolova, L. 2013. Households, Enculturation and Everydayness within the Vinča Communities. In C. Bonsall and L. Nikolova (eds.), Facets of the past: The challenge of the Balkan Neo-eneolithic: 202-214. Bucharest, Romanian Academy.

Pappa, M.; Halstead, P.; Kotsakis, K. and Urem-Kotsou, D. 2004. Evidence for Large-Scale Feasting at Late Neolithic Makriyalos, Northern Greece. In P. Halstead and J. C. Barrett (eds.), Food, Cuisine and Society in Prehistoric Greece: 16–44. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Peatfield, A.

2001. Divinity and Performance on Minoan Peak Sanctuaries. In R. Laffineur and R. Hägg (eds.), Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age: 51-55. Liège, Aegaeum 22.

2009. The Topography of Minoan Peak Sanctuaries Revisited. In A. L. D'Agata and A. Van de Moortel (eds.), Archaeologies of Cult: Essays on Ritual and Cult in Crete in Honor of Geraldine C. Gesell: 251-259. Princeton, American School of Classical Studies.

Radunčeva, A.

2002. Eneolitnijat hramov kompleks do s. Dolnoslav, Plovdivsko i sistemata ot skalni svetilišta s praistoričeski kulturni plastove v Rodopite i izvăn tjah. Godišnik na Archeologičeski Muzej Plovdiv, 9

2008. Prehistoric rock sanctuaries in the Eastern Rhodopes and some other mountain regions in Bulgaria, In R. I. Kostov, B. Gaydarska and M. Gurova (eds.), Geoarchaeology and Archaeomineralogy: 180-184. Sofia, St. Ivan Rilski.

Renfrew, C. 1985. Towards a framework for the archaeology of cult practice. In C. Renfrew (ed.), The

Archaeology of Cult: The Sanctuary at Phylakopi: 11–26. London.

Rujak, Z. 2015. Carevi Kuli. Skopje, Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Macedonia.

Souvatzi, S. 2012. Between the Individual and the Collective: Household as a Social Process in Neolithic Greece. In B. J. Parker and C. P. Foster (eds.), New Perspectives on Household Archaeology: 15-44. Winona Lake, Eisenbrauns.

Stankovski, J. 2010. Prilog kon prouchuvanjeto na obrednata praktika na lokalitetot Tatikjev Kamen, s. Kokino. Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica 19: 115-126.

Talalay, L. E. 1993. Deities, dolls, and devices. Neolithic figurines from Franchti Cave, Greece. Indiana University Press, Indiana and Bloomington.

Todorova, H.

1986. Kamenno-mednata epoha v Blgaria. Sofia, Nauka i izkustvo.

2003. Prehistory of Bulgaria. In D. V. Grammenos (ed.), Recent research in the prehistory of the Balkans: 257-328. Thessaloniki, Publications of the Archaeological Institute of Northern Greece Nr.3.

Trajkovska, L. 1999. Gradishte-Pelince, istrazhuvanja na sektorot Dve Mogili. Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica 15: 47-62.

Vaisov, I. 1981. Antropomorfna plastika na kulturata Gradeshnica. Izkustvo 9-10: 46-50.

CULT PRACTISE AND CALENDARS OF KOKINO SANCTUARY

Olgica Kuzmanovska
Ss Cyril and Methodius University, Faculty of Natural Sciences and Mathematics,
E-mail: olgicak@pmf.ukim.mk

Jovica Stankovski
National Museum, Kumanovo, Macedonia
E-mail: stankovskijovica@yahoo.com

Abstract:

The astronomical alignments of the peak sanctuary Kokino are undoubtedly connected with the cult practise of the Bronze Age people in the region. The simple calendars were based on the periodical motion of the sun and stars for the purpose of following the vegetation cycles and arranging agricultural activities. These cosmological beliefs of the renewal of the nature are still part of the contemporary folklore tradition of the local population.

Archaeoastronomical site Tatićev Kamen (or archaeoastronomical site Kokino), is situated on a neo-volcanic hill on the northeast of Republic of Macedonia, about 30 km from Kumanovo. Within elevation of 1013m, the hill dominates with the surrounding region and the village of Kokino, placed at the bottom of the hill (Fig. 1)

The first archaeological excavations, conducted by the Museum of Kumanovo started in 2001. In the next years, the first astronomical measurements begun.

The position of the site (the archaeological material can be found on the top, on the northern terrace and the southeastern slope), his topographic characteristics - his domination with the area, accessibility only from the side that is lightened by the sun (i.e. the southeastern side) and the absence of any kind of building structures, indicated the possibility that the site was in use as a peak sanctuary. The latter archaeological excavations confirmed this theory.

On **Figure 2**, we can notice the plan of the site, with two artificially cut platforms (A and B), within the distance of 80m, while the east one is 15m higher than the west one. On the western platform are the stone seats, cut in the rock in a position for the seated person to look at the eastern horizon.

Excavations confirmed that the highest parts of the site and the larger part of the northern terrace were in use as a place for rituals. They were enclosed with a wall (1,2 m wide and 82m in length), thus creating a sacral area (temenos/sacred enclosure).

Two types of ritual structures were found during the excavations – ritual pits and circular stone structures.

The ritual pits were created by enclosing the area around the natural gaps of the rocks, using small stones, earth and occasionally clay. Entire or fragmented vessels, stone tools, ritual figurines – representing parts of human body, domestic animals, miniature vessels, small stone axes etc. were deposited in the pit. Later, the pit was filled with earth and small stones (Fig. 3)

The same offerings can be found in the second type of excavated structures – the ones made of circular stones with larger dimensions. Above those structures, when the ritual was accomplished, a small mound of earth and pebbles was built, thus creating a "tumulus" look of the structure.

One of the pits contained small funnel type vessel, appointing that the ritual of libation was performed in the pit.

Speaking on chronology, the archaeological material discovered on Kokino so far, can be dated in the Bronze Age, that is in the Early Bronze Age (EBA; last quarter of 3rd Millennium to XVII c. B.C.), Middle Bronze Age (MBA; XVII – XIV c. B.C.) and the Late Bronze Age (LBA; XIV – XI c. B.C.). The usage of the site ends up in the Iron Age (VIII c. B.C.), as it can be seen by the archaeological material.

Analogies for the material from the EBA (typologically and chronologically) can be found with the so-called Bubanj-Hum III cultural group, as a part of the wider Balkan-Danubian complex of the EBA. Similarities can also be found with the group "Ezero"

Fig. 1. The peak sanctuary of Kokino, panoramic view.

at Thrace, and with the Pelagonian (Armenochori) group from the south. Still, most of the analogies can be found with the material from the nearby sites: Gradište at Pelince, Kale II (the second settlement on Skopsko Kale) and the sites in the lower Southern Morava.

MBA is the least studied period from the prehistory of Republic of Macedonia. However, the findings from MBA on Kokino, as well as the other sites on Pčinja valley, speaks on influences of Pelagonian (Armenochori) group and northern Aegean, as a result of the initial process of disjunction of the region (Vardar region and Eastern R. of Macedonia) from the wider area of Balkan – Danubian groups of EBA. The findings from Kokino are not stratified due to long period of use and the later devastation of the soil. But still we can find pottery that testify on significant changes from EBA, in the way of new forms and decorations. Nearest analogies can be found at Pribovce near Lopate, Municipality of Kumanovo – pots with handles above the rim, decorated with incised triangles; type of vessels so called lamp.

As a result of strong traditions, but still influenced from the north and south, in the LBA, in the valleys of South Morava, Pčinja, Eastern Kosovo and Southeastern Serbia, the so-called Brnjica cultural group is formed. In the very beginning of the period, the similarities with the northern cultures are obvious. Thus, the oldest characteristics of Brnjica group can be noticed on the pottery from Kokino also: bowls and goblets with “S” profile, handles with fan – like broadening on the top, larger vessels with slanting profile rims with ring-shaped inner edge, etc. This layer can be dated in the BrC-D (1400-1200 BC, according to Reinecke’s Central European chronological table).

The second phase of Brnjica group is also found at Kokino, when this cultural group reaches its peak, even know that typical features of Northern Aegean pottery can be noticed here (for example - globular beakers decorated with incised hatched triangles)

The third phase of Brnjica group exist for a while in the mountain regions of southeastern Serbia and Northeastern Macedonia, despite the raids of the bearers of the Gava – Belegiš II group. Thus, there aren’t any findings of the channeled pottery on Kokino, but the previous pottery forms exists even in the transitional period -HaA_2-B_1 (XI – X c. BC), when the Brnjica cultural group will finally be disintegrated.[1]

[1] For an overview of the excavations and the findings, see: Булатовиќ, Станковски, 2012

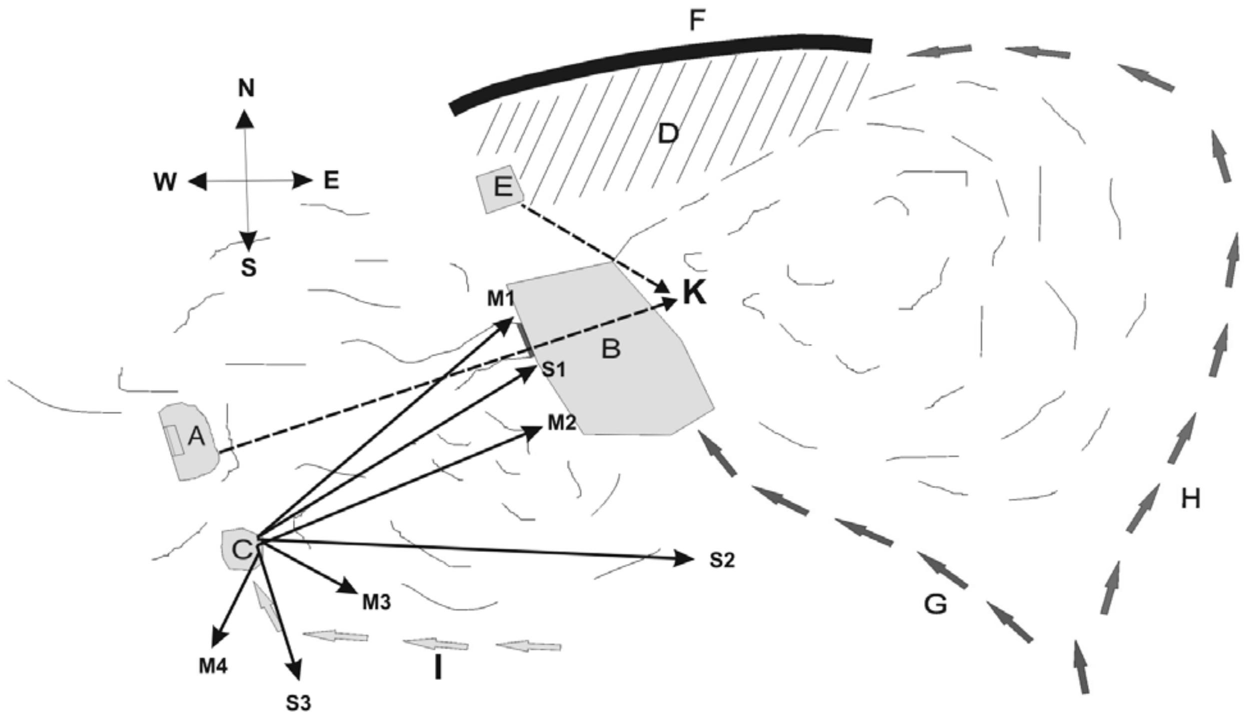


Fig. 2. Map of the locality "Taticev kamen". **A** – lower western platform with the stone seats. **B** – upper eastern platform. **C** – astronomical platform . **E** - astronomical platform. **D** – northern terrace. **F** – sanctuary wall. **G** – main access path. **H** - access from the northern terrace. **I** - side path used by the prehistoric observer. **K** - mutual marker (dashed lines). **S1, S2, S3** – Sun markers. **M1, M2, M3, M4** – Moon markers

The cult practice of the Kokino mountain sanctuary was related with people's daily life and their need to produce more food and gain more wealth. The organization of the agricultural activities on which the community depended was influenced by the weather conditions and the change of seasons. Therefore the interest of the Bronze Age people on the sky and the celestial movements of its brightest objects were deeply connected with their religious beliefs, social structure and the need for survival. Never-ending cycles of the celestial bodies promised the renewal of the birth and death cycles in nature[2]. The periodic motion of sun, moon and some prominent stars made possible the creation of simple calendars based on the solstice and equinox points, changes in the phases of the moon and continuous reappearance of the stars in the same positions in the sky. In this context different parts of the Kokino sanctuary are related via the astronomical events and the corresponding markers that note the astronomical alignments.

A lot of research was conducted on the astronomical importance of the megalithic structures in the Bronze Age Europe. The stone blocks of Stonehenge and other similar monuments in England and Scotland and some of the Minoan palaces, sanctuaries and even graves are oriented toward the extreme positions of the sun and moon[3]. Similarly, the role of the celestial alignments in the cult practice of Kokino sanctuary is indicated by the existence of few prominent markers with a form of apertures carved in the volcanic rocks. The natural predisposition of these rocks to crack vertically and horizontally enables the additional intervention on them not just possible but relatively easy. Discovered in the archaeoastronomical study of the locality that have lasted for more than a decade, the astronomical markers have supported the already existing archeological interpretations of the usage of the site[4]. Several characteristics of the stone markers strongly specify that they are artificially made; the horse-shoe form of some (see **fig. 4a**), signs of using simple tools on the others and the incredible compatibility of their apparent size on the sky with the apparent magnitude of the sun disk (see **fig. 4**). Their apertures are a part of the apparent celestial horizon (skyline) for the observational positions. The most prominent marker (noted as 'K' on **fig.2**) is

[2] Ruggles, Hoskin, 1999

[3] Hawkins, 1964, 1965; Thom et al. 1974, 1975, 1978; Henriksson, Blomberg, 2011

[4] Kuzmanovska-Barandovska, Stankovski, 2011

Fig. 3. Ceramic votive figurines: a female torso, a small figurine a bovine, and four representations of a human leg.

constructed of two apertures positioned one behind the other, forming a tranche for the sun rays that illuminate one of the stone seats on platform ‘A’, as is noted on **fig. 2,** in the morning of particular dates[5]. Finally, the dates are not accidental, as the astronomical coordinates of most of the markers coincide almost exactly with the important extreme positions of the sun and moon. The very fact that Kokino people were familiar with these extreme positions of the celestial bodies provides enough evidence that they were able to construct simple calendar, based on the seasonal change of the brightest objects on the sky. Its main purpose was planning the agricultural activities and the accompanying religious practice.

The primitive techniques of the Bronze Age people, their short lifetime and the absence of any astronomical tools probably made the monitoring of the change of the celestial positions quite difficult, requiring daily observations in the course of many years and decades. On the other hand the usage of the locality as a sanctuary throughout the whole second millennium BC goes in support of the fact that Kokino people were able to identify the periodic cycles of the most prominent sky objects. A strong proof is the discovery of a small platform that had strictly astronomical purpose (noted with ‘C’ on **fig. 2)**, as no archeological material was found on it. The platform was constructed of artificially flattened stone block[6]. It is located near the platform with the thrones, but was accessed from additional side path (noted with ‘C’ on **fig. 2)** because of the sacred role of the space around the thrones. The astronomical alignments are marked with several prominent notches on the nearby vertical rocks that represent the eastern horizon for the observer standing on the platform. Thus, it satisfies one of the basic criteria that Hawkins laid out for a site to be considered as a megalithic observatory if the postulated alignments for a homogeneous group of markers can be observed from a single central point[7]. The positions of these markers coincide very well with the extreme rising positions of the sun: equinoxes and solstices and moon: Major and Minor Lunar Standstills)[8].

The annual apparent motion of the Sun on the ecliptic is defined by its declination - astronomical coordinate that indicates the altitude of the object on the celestial sphere above the celestial equator. The Sun’s declination changes in one year in the interval from -23.5° to +23.5°. The Sun reaches its positive

[5] Kuzmanovska, Stankovski, 2014

[6] Kuzmanovska-Barandovska, Stankovski, 2011, fig. 6

[7] Hawkins, 1966

[8] Kuzmanovska-Barandovska, Stankovski, 2011, fig. 7, table 1; Kuzmanovska et al, 2016, fig. 2, table 1

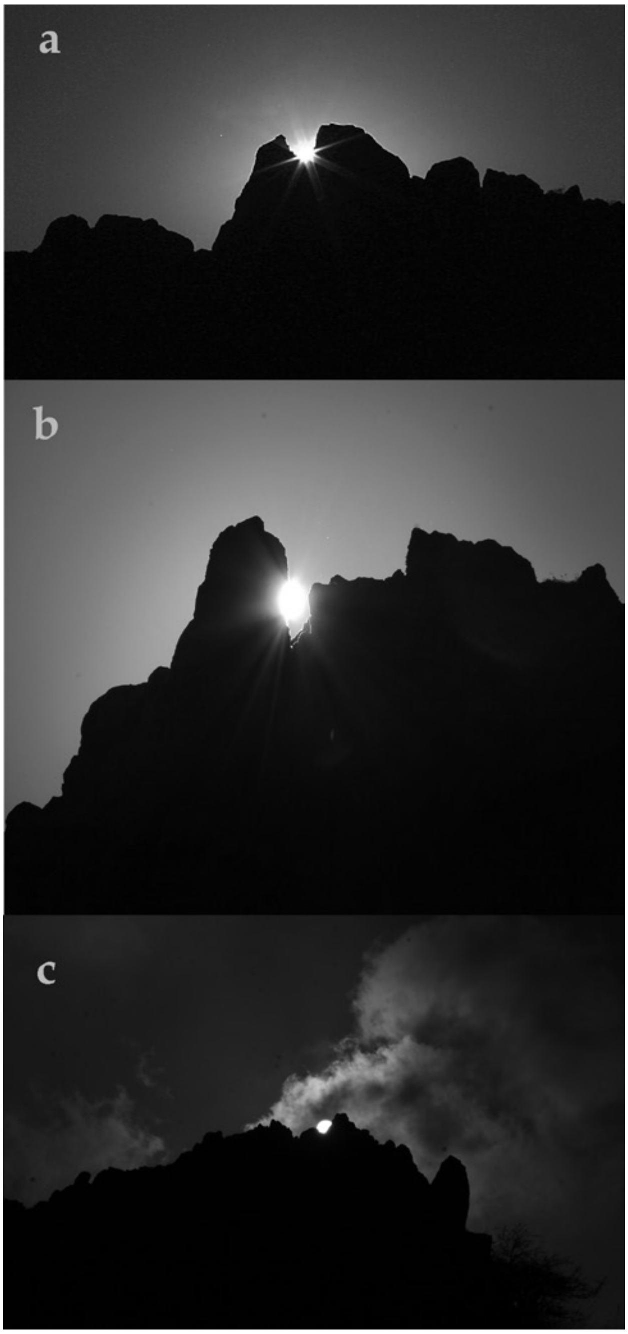


Fig. 4. The rising sun on particular dates seen from different platforms as observational points: **a**. on summer solstice (from platform 'C'). **b**. in mid May (from platform 'A'). **c.** In autumn equinox (from platform 'E').

maximum declination of approximately +23.5° at the instant of summer solstice. Thereafter its declination decreases to zero at the autumn equinox and reaches its maximum negative value -23.5° at winter solstice. Then the declination increases to zero at the spring equinox and returns to the value +23.5° at the subsequent summer solstice. By marking the extreme rising points of summer and winter solstice Kokino people were able to define the period of approximately one year with the central equinox point dividing the year in two halves: warm and cold.

The Moon in the course of a month mimics the annual apparent motion of the Sun. However, that motion is more complicated than the Sun's as the plane of Moon's orbit is inclined to the plane of ecliptic at maximum angle 5.14°. Because of the precession, the nodes of the lunar orbit regress around the ecliptic with the period of 18.6 years. Therefore the declination limits for the Moon are roughly ± (23.5°±5°). Among the astronomers who perform an archaeoastronomical research of the megalithic sites the extreme positions of the Moon are named 'Lunar Standstills'. At Major Lunar Standstill the Moon has its greatest positive declination 23.5°+5°=28.5°. It oscillates during the course of a month from 28.5° to -28.5°. About 9.3 years later, during the Minor Lunar Standstill, Moon's declination oscillates during the nodal period from 18.5° to -18.5° (from 23.5°-5°=18.5°). We will discuss in the further text that it may well be that the annual motions of the moon northward and southward were important to Kokino people.

The connection of the astronomical alignments marked in the platform 'C' with the time calculation and organizing ritual activities is evident from the existence of the most prominent marker, located on the highest part of the locality **(**noted as 'K' on **fig. 2)**. It is the so called "mutual" marker that astronomically relates the platforms 'A' and 'E'[9]. The declination of this marker, measured from the platform 'A' as the observational point is 18.26° and coincides well with the sunrise positions in the middle of May and in the end of July. According to the archaeological findings the second date in summer is undoubtedly related with the cult that celebrated the end of the harvest and gratitude towards the gods enabling it[10]. On the other hand, the sunrise in May probably noted the beginning of the new warm season of nature awakening and ripening the crops, with ritual celebrations performed on both platforms 'A' and 'E'[11]. In support of this is the declination of the "mutual" marker measured from the platform 'E' as observational point. Having the value 0.14° it coincides with the equinox point as well as the declination of the bright star Aldebaran at 2000 BC, approximately when the sanctuary was built. We identified additional four notches of Aldebaran as the star slowly changed its position in the following centuries, due to precession and its proper motion[12]. In this way, the construction of one stone marker for two ritual platforms, enabled the dating of the New Year in May by two simultaneous astronomical events: the heliacal rise of Aldebaran

[9] Kuzmanovska, Stankovski, 2014

[10] Stankovski, 2007

[11] Kuzmanovska, Stankovski, 2014, 2015

[12] Kuzmanovska, Stankovski, 2011, table 2, fig.11

just before sunrise after a period of time when it was not visible (observed from the platform 'E'), and the sunrise through the same marker some minutes later (observed from the platform 'A').

As we discuss in[13], the question of the exact event, astronomical or natural, that marked the beginning of the New Year in the Bronze Age is still open. In the local folklore tradition there are several closed cycles that contain mythical, religious and social characteristics which can be useful for the determination[14]. In western part of Macedonia the dominant activity was stockbreeding. In this region, as well as in the mountainous part of Kumanovo region, the beginning of the New Year was related with the holiday called Letnik in mid March, near the time of spring equinox (21 March). The activities arranged around this holiday had magic meaning and were performed for a purpose of providing the fertility and prosperity of the community. The holiday was related with other spring holidays (Gjurgjovden, Eremija, etc.). The most important in the spring cycle was a Christian holiday with archaic, pagan origin, called Gjurgjovden (May 6th). It had a basic meaning of celebration of life and the awakening and renewal of nature.

It can be argued that the prehistoric stockbreeding tribes in the mountainous part of Kumanovo region (near Kokino) celebrated the beginning of the New Year in the middle of May, when the herds were taken for grazing at the pastures in the mountains. This ritual has been preserved in the popular calendar of the contemporary stockbreeders in this region who still consider the religious holiday of Gjurgjovden as a true beginning of the New Year[15].

One of the main rituals related with the celebration of the New Year in the Near East is the ritual of cosmic "hierogamy." The myth associated with this ritual is about a divine couple among every generation of gods: Gaea and Uranus, Rea and Chronos, Hera and Zeus, i.e. about the wholly matrimony among them (sacred union), the annual death of the male spouse at the end of the Spring and early Summer, and its rebirth in the Autumn during the repeated reconnection with the goddess[16]. This motif is well known in the traditions of many nations. In the Macedonian popular tradition there are numerous examples in which the conceiving of the wholly matrimony between the Earth and the Sky can be detected. It can be argued that, most likely, this ritual of cosmic "hierogamy" between the Great Goddess-Mother and her son – the divine Sun has been performed at Kokino during New Year celebrations. The illumination of one of the thrones at the beginning of May is an explicit example for this. The person sitting at the illuminated throne, most likely the tribal chief in the role of a supreme priest, directed the ritual which signified the repetition of the cosmic act of the creation of the world and the restoration of life and nature[17].

Another important alignment that is noted by the "mutual" marker also deserves attention. The marker's declination of around 18°, measured from the throne's platform, coincides with the Minor Lunar Standstill in winter, between the autumn equinox and winter solstice. The full moon, as the most prominent phase at which the moon lights up the entire night, was very important for many human cultures in the past[18]. From around 2300 BC, the ancient Chinese people celebrated the full moon passing the Pleiades around the autumn equinox[19]. In the megalithic site of Central Alentejo the full moon near the spring equinox was emphasized[20].

Having in mind that Lunar Standstill markers are identified from the astronomical platform as an observational point, the importance of the moon for the Kokino people cannot be neglected. After the autumn equinox, the full moon culminates higher and higher in the sky until it reaches its maximum height throughout the year at the full moon nearest the winter solstice. We already discussed that in the Bronze Age in Kokino the sunrise at autumn equinox could also be observed through the "mutual" marker, from the platform 'E' as an observational point **(fig 4c)**. Some days or weeks later, the full moon on its minor standstill rose in the 'mutual' marker, observed from platform 'A', illuminating one of the thrones. This astronomical event could also be an occasion for arranging celebrations on the main ritual site of the sanctuary, near the thrones. The main dilemma remains if just one phase of the Moon (full or maybe crescent) was being observed with its extreme positions marked in the rocks. If that is the case, the event could be seen in the notches of the "mutual" marker just once in 18.6 years. If the Kokino people could identify the basic rules in the change of Moon's position on the sky and follow its phases in many decades and centuries the sanctuary was used, were they able to predict the eclipse cycle? In lack or written or more concrete evidence, the question remains open.

---

[13] Kuzmanovska, Stankovski, 2015.

[14] Ristevski, 2005.

[15] Kitevski, 2013.

[16] Koehl, 2001.

[17] Eliade, 1992

[18] Thom, 1969; Ruggles, 2005; McKim Malville et al. 1991; Silva, Pimenta, 2012; Clausen, 2014; de Lorenzis, Orofino, 2014; Aboulfotouh, 2014.

[19] Kistemaker, Xiaochun, 1997.

[20] Oliveira, Marciano da Silva, 2010.

REFERENCES

Aboulfotouh, H. M. H., 2014; The architectonic encoding of the Minor Lunar standstills in the horizon of the Gyza pyramids, *Mediterranean Archeology and Archeometry,* 14 (1), 343-352.

Булатовиќ А., Станковски Ј., 2012; Бронзено време во басенот на Јужна Морава и долината на Пчиња, Белград – Куманово.

Clausen C., 2014; West Iberian megalithic tombs and the "Lunar season pointer", *Mediterranean Archeology and Archeometry,* 14 (3), 143-153.

Eliade, M., 1992; *Аспекти на митот*, Култура, Скопје, 60.

Hawkins, G.S., 1963; Stonehenge decoded. *Nature*, 200, 306-308.

Hawkins, G.S., 1964. Stonehenge: a Neolithic computer. Nature, 202, 1258-1261.

Hawkins, G.S. ,1966; Astro – archaeology, *SAO Special Report,* 26.

Henriksson, G., Blomberg, M., 2011; The evidence from Knossos on the Minoan calendar. *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry*, 11, 59-68.

Kistemaker, J., Xiaochun, S., 1997; The Chinese sky during the Han: constellating stars and society. *Sinica Leidensia*, 88, 17.

Kitevski, M., 2013; *Македонски празници и празнични обичаи*, Камелеон Скопје, 112-161.

Koehl, R. B., 2001; *The "Secret Marriage" in Minoan Religion and Ritual*, Aegaeum 22, 237-243.

Kuzmanovska-Barandovska O., Stankovski J., 2011; The role of astronomical alignments in the rituals of the peak sanctuary at Kokino, Macedonia, *Journal of Astronomical History and Heritage*, 14(3), 221-229.

Kuzmanovska O., Stankovski J., 2014; The astronomical relation of the ritual platforms of the peak sanctuary Kokino, *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 14(3), 259-269.

Kuzmanovska O., Stankovski J., 2015; Astronomical aspects of the cult practise of the peak sanctuary Kokino, in *Book of Proceedings of ICENS*, 182-190.

Kuzmanovska O., Stankovski J., Apostolovska G., 2016; Solar and lunar calendars of the mountain sanctuary Kokino, *AIP Conference Proceedings*, 1722, 040003.

Lorenzis de A., Orofino, V., 2015; New Possible Astronomic Alignments at the Megalithic Site of Göbekli Tepe, Turkey, *Archeological Discovery* 3, 40-50.

McKim Malville, J., Eddy, F. W., & Ambruster, C., 1991; Lunar standstills at Chimney rock, Journal for the History of Astronomy, Archaeoastronomy Supplement, 16, 43-50.

Risteski, Lj. S., 2005; *Категориите простор и време во народната култура на Македонците*, Матица македонска Скопје, 364-369.

Ruggles, C., 2005; *Ancient Astronomy: An Encyclopedia of Cosmologies and Myth.* Oxford, ABC-CLIO, pages 81,167,363,448.

Ruggles, C., Hoskin, M., 1999; Astronomy before history. In Hoskin, M. (ed.) *The Cambridge Concise History of Astronomy.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press

Oliveira C., Marciano da Silva C., 2010; Moon, spring and the large stones – landscape and ritual calendar perception and symbolization, *Proceedings of XV IUPPS Congress*, 83-90.

Silva F., Pimenta F., 2012; The crossover of the Sun and the Moon, *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 43(2), 191-208.

Stankovski, J., 2007; The peak sanctuary Taticev Kamen at the village of Kokino and two of its cults, *Thracia*, 17, 259-268.

Thom, A., 1969; The lunar observatories of megalithic man. *Vistas in Astronomy*, 11, 1-29.

Thom, A., Thom, A.S., 1978; A reconsideration of the lunar sites in Britain. *Journal for the History of Astronomy*, 9, 170-179.

Thom, A., Thom, A. Stevenson, and Thom, A. Strang, 1974. Stonehenge. *Journal for the History of Astronomy*, 5, 71-90.

Thom, A., Thom, A. Stevenson, Thom, A. Strang, 1975; Stonehenge as a possible lunar observatory. *Journal for the History of Astronomy*, 6, 19-30.

THE THRESHING FLOOR AS A SYMBOLIC PARADIGM IN ANCIENT OBSERVATORIES

Nikos Chausidis

Every human observation of the sky is in some way his descent to the ground. Today and in our recent past people have done it with the help of various tools we call telescopes (from the ancient Greek *τῆλε* - far and *σκοπέω* – see) whose function consists in approaching the image of the sky above us to our sight, our hands, our mind or our modern analysis machines. The same was done in the past as well, but in a different way – more symbolic than practical. Still, in the core of these ancient procedures, similarly to the modern telescopes, the same concept applied – reflecting the image of the sky through a form of mirror. Hence, the mirror appears as an attribute of many ancient deities, especially goddesses, whose seemingly "shallow" or "cosmetic" function (they used it to admire and confirm their beauty) actually held a more serious meaning. The ancient "goddesses with mirror" are actually the rulers of life and death, of fate, and even the creators of the universe, who used the mirror to view and control the cosmic order and especially the most unknown areas which were "on the other side" of reality. Hence, the modern terms *speculation* and *speculative* are based on the Latin term *speculum* which means mirror, reflection and seeing.[1]

Descent of the sky waters

The abovementioned forms of archaic observation and control over the universe are reflected in one folk poem from Serbia, sung until some 100 years ago during the Dodola rainmaking rites:[2]

...
Nasredsela vita jela
Oj dodo ojdodole
(the previous verse is repeated after every verse)
Vita jela čak do neba
Na vrh jele bjela vila
U krilu joj ogledalo
Okreće ga prevrće ga
Prevrnu se vedro nebo
I udari rosna kiša.
Oj dodo oj dodole!
...

These verses recapture a typical cosmologic space ambient (T.I: 1). The tall fir tree is defined horizontally ("nasred sela") and vertically ("čak do neba"). It is a symbol for the center of the world – Cosmic Axis which in this case connects the two zones of the universe – the earth and the sky. The initiator of the rain is the fairy ("bjela vila") – a mythical character, whose trait, among others, is a patronage to water. She is located on top of the fir tree, which means in the celestial zone. It can be assumed that, aside from the mentioned axial meaning, the fir tree presents a passage through which the sky waters descend to the earth. We can clearly see a basic mythical-cosmological system in the poem, which can be treated as a paradigmatic model for other phenomena.[3] We can find the same structure in a version of the fight between Krali Marko and the fairy. In it she traps the world waters by "locking" the springs in a dry tree, green only at the top. In the end, the mythical hero defeats her and "unlocks" the springs.[4]

But why does the fairy need a mirror to make rain?

Discovering the mechanism, used in the poem above to invoke rain brings us five millennia back

[1] Chevalier and Gheerbrant, 1987, 809-811

[2] Kovačević 1985, 84, 85

[3] Чаусидис 2000, 194-196

[4] Петровски 1975, 157

in time. In a couple of Neolithic and Eneolithic archeological sites from the Mid-Danube (Novi Bečej, Vojvodina), Ukraine (Nezvisko, Horodenka raion) and Germany (Gankönigshofen, Würzburg) a certain type of ceramic figurines were found which represent a woman (completely or half-naked) sitting in a chair and adheres a large bowl, placed on the thighs (T.II: 6-8). According to the B. A. Ribakov's thesis these figurines represent witches in a moment of performing a weather divination rite and attempting to invoke rain. The author supports his thesis with the following arguments.[5]

In the archeological sites from the same period real plates were found (in real dimensions) analogous to the ones in the figurines' laps. On the inner side of the plates are depicted pictorial representations whose symbolic is connected to the sky and the rain. Besides naturalistic and geometric representations of rain and sky these plates also contain images of their zoomorphic symbols in the form of celestial hinds (T.II: 1-5).

Rituals with a similar character are known in Russian and Ukrainian folklore.

In the Eastern Slavic dialects, plates like these were called *чара,* while in Ancient Russian written sources the terms *чародейство* and *чарование* are linked to water spells.

In support of these arguments, we can add facts from the Southern Slavic languages which the author probably wasn't familiar with: the lexemes *чарати, зачарати, опчарати* (Serbian, Croatian) in the context of magic, connected to the Ancient Slavic *чара*; the term used to define this type of plate: *чинија* (Macedonian, Bulgarian) connected to *бацати чини, опчинити, зачинити, чинодејство* (Serbian, Croatian) also used for magic. We can add the lexeme *чини* (Macedonian) as a word that describes to function, work, act, (in the axiological sense). Although suspicious, we should point out the term for dish *блюдо* (Russian) related to *наблюдать* (Russian) as a word that means to follow, observe and *bludjeti* (ancient Slavic) meaning "to be delirious".[6]

The connection between these objects and the song about the fairy with a mirror in her lap can be seen if we take into consideration the fact that the mirror (metal and later glass) was a relatively new and expensive item which wasn't known -nor available to the archaic communities. They used dark colored plates filled with water as a mirror. Based on these facts and arguments we can conclude that the core of the aforementioned figurines (and the ritual they represent) was based on the usage of the plates with water as a mirror (T.II: 6-8).

[5] Рыбаков 1981, 73, 74, 168, 184-186

[6] Чаусидис 2000, 190, 196

What is the semiotic basis of this ritual?

The mythical conscience does not differentiate between a real thing and the image that represents that thing. The image of something is treated as that real thing.[7] The archaic man was unable to have an effect on the real sky or reach it, but he could however reach its reflection in the water which made him believe that through this 'image of the sky' he could affect the sky itself and, in this case, the sky waters in it. Hence, we can conclude that the essence of these and other similar ritual-magical actions was witchcraft i.e. prophesying (a storm approaching, a draught ending), or a change in these conditions (the storm ending, causing rain), all based on approaching the sky to the reach of the man performing these rituals. It is logical to assume that in the communities where the mirror was available it would appear in the lap of the spell casters, as a modern substitute to the water plate. It's this exact updated stage of the ritual that is reflected in the Dodola rite song.

The meaning of its last verses where rain falls only after the sky 'turns over' remains baffling (*Prevrnu se vedro nebo, I udari rosna kiša)* probably caused by the fairy turning over the mirror (*Okreće ga prevrće ga*). We can assume that these verses hide the concept of imitative magic: by turning over the mirror which reflects the real situation in the sky (clear sky = draught) the fairy creates a reverse or 'turned over' situation (cloudy sky = rain). This action makes even more sense if in her lap, the fairy, holds a plate with water instead of a mirror which when flipped over creates another action similar to imitative magic: "as the water pours down from the flipped plate (which is an equivalent to the sky) may the flipped sky pour rain as well".

Descent of the Moon

An analog symbolic concept is behind the ritual known as 'descent' of the moon, seen in the ethnographic traditions of the Southern Slavic people. It's usually performed to take milk from the cow or the breastfeeding mother from another family.

In the dead of night, women, mostly elderly women, strip naked, ride the elongated part of the loom (the elongated part = phallus, riding = coitus) and go to the threshing floor where they sing or recite certain magical songs. Then they sit on the threshing floor, take a plate with water in their lap and look into the reflection of the Moon in the water and strain that water through a sieve. It was believed that through this ritual the "Moon descents from the sky" and "moos like a cow".[8]

[7] Kasirer 1985, 36, 37, 47-52, 77

[8] Risteski, 2002

The same concept is in the basis of this ritual as in the one previously discussed, reflecting the image of the sky in the plate with water, with the difference that in this case they don't reflect the whole sky or the clouds but the moon. Although the ritual focuses on taking milk from the neighbors, its logic points towards taking the milk from the moon, embodied in the form of a cow, probably as a zoomorphic epiphany of a mythical character or a deity which represents this celestial body. The motives behind the presence of this particular animal can be found in three components: the cow's horns related to the "horns" of the new Moon; the cow's milk related to the white (milky) moon light; the emphasized female, motherly aspects of the cow (giving milk) and the related aspects of the Moon (interference of the Moon cycles with the female's menstrual cycle). Another component gets the credit for introducing this ritual on the moon – the influence of the Moon on the earthly waters manifested through tides. The meaning of the final act of straining the water is related to separating the Moon (her image and the milk it contains) from the water in which she reflects.

In these components, we should search to answer why this ritual is performed by women and why is the sexual dimension so accentuated. We can find the answer in the primordial connection between women and the Moon, the interference of the Moon cycles with the female menstrual cycle. It is believed that the Moon changes are the earliest observed celestial phenomena not just because of their obviousness but because they align with the female menstrual cycle. There are indicators that this interaction was noticed in the Paleolithic period, supported by the discovery of various objects, mostly circular, engraved with lines of dots, dashes or "c" forms (moons?) grouped in structures of 7, 14, 21 and 28 elements.[9] It seems that since that period the alignment of these two cycles was interpreted as an indicator of a certain primordial mythical relation between the woman and the moon, both as entities linked to the water, which in this case, gets the title carrier of fertility and requisite of birth (the Moon related to the tide, and the woman with the fluid in her womb in which the fetus floats).

One such prehistoric manifestation of this relation is noted on the territory of Republic of Macedonia in two female tombs from the late Bronze age necropolis "Dimov Grob" in Ulanci, Gradsko (XIII century BC). In one of the tombs the deceased wears a belt with 14 bronze models of double axes, while it the other there's a belt with 26 such axes. If we take into account the obvious female symbolic of the double axe and count the blades of these little axes, their number coincides with the two crucial cyclic appearances on the sky. In the first case, we get the number 28 that marks the number of days in one Moon and menstrual cycle (4x7=28), while in the other we get the number 52 which marks the number of weeks (Moon phases) in one calendar (solar) year (52x7=364). The presence of these items on the woman's belt, in the aforementioned numerical structures, can be justified with the intention, the right order of these cosmic processes to be descended or transferred to the woman that is to influence the support and proper development of her menstrual cycles and consequently on her fertility.[10]

The descent of the sun

The modern man views the cyclic processes in the sky as evident and clear on their own. He cannot grasp the idea that the oldest cultures on Earth could not imagine their roundness. According to science, the archaic consciousness perceived the world through paradigms, by recognizing and equating a certain occurrence in nature with another phenomenon from its close surroundings which was already abolished in consciousness or subconsciousness i.e. integrated in culture. Several artifacts, elements and processes related to existential and instinctive spheres of life acquired this function.

Due to this, the cyclic motion of the Sun wasn't evident at all for the archaic man. There are numerous mythical representations according to which the solar trajectory was actually imagined semi circularly, and that after the setting of the sun in the west beneath the surface of the Earth or the sea, it went in the opposite direction horizontally, so that the Sun can again rise in the east (T. II: 10 compare to 11). There are also other non-cyclical representations according to which the sun actually moves through the sky in a swaying motion. This representation, which may at first sound completely illogical, is based on such motion of the sun in the areas north of the arctic circle, where in the "day period" of the year it doesn't set behind the horizon at all– instead it rises and descends to it in a wavy trajectory. When people say that the "wheel is the biggest invention of mankind", they often forget that it is not just about its practical use – it is also about the function of the wheel as a model for perceiving and understanding the cyclic space processes. Without the "idea for the wheel" man couldn't grasp the cyclic process in space.[11]

Does this mean that the idea of a cyclic space or cyclic time should be dated after the invention of the wheel?

[9] Фролов 1974, 125-129

[10] Чаусидис 2017, 669-671, 764-766

[11] Чаусидис 2017, 596-601

Of course not, and there are two reasons why. First, because we now have knowledge only about the appearance of the first chariots and their older cult prototypes but not about the origin of the wheel itself. Some pictorial representations point to the wheel's existence in the Neolithic period as an image (an image of the sky?), idea or as a magical or cult object (T. II: 9). The wheel and chariot did not actually appear as utilitarian but as symbolic, i.e. cult objects. The best indications for this are early miniature models of chariots (T. I: 2 - Dupljaja, Vojvodina, 3-Trundholm, Denmark).They show that the earliest such objects (miniature or in real dimensions) actually appeared as cult requisites which in the key points of the annual solar cycle (summer and winter solstice, spring and autumn equinox) were supposed to mark with his movement the transition of the sun from one at another stage, and to encourage the proper course of the cycle. The wheels of the oldest archaeologically ascertained chariots found in the rich graves of Eurasia were so thin and weak that they couldn't have been used as utilitarian objects. They were left as symbolic objects in the graves to induce the resurrection of the deceased, following the example of the sun that, moving in such a chariot through the universe, each evening and every autumn dies, and every morning and every spring again raises again.[12]

The sky as a threshing floor

The threshing floor is a circular platform from a compacted ground or paved with stone, fenced with a fence or a ditch, in whose center a wooden pillar (pivot) is clipped. Bulls and horses were tied to this pivot and were made to circle around the threshing floor, stomping on the grains on the floor and effectively separating the grain from the straw (T. III: 3-5). However, besides its agrarian i.e. utilitarian use, the threshing floor had a significant sacral and magical dimension that is older than it and agriculture itself. In fact, this sacral meaning also stands behind the threshing of the grain, which is considered an act of sanctification of the collected grains and its transformation from the sphere of the natural i.e. wild (unfit to be used for food) to the sphere of the cultural (fit to be used for food). The threshing floor is actually the second paradigm through which men recognized the cyclical nature of space, even before the wheel was invented. The circularity as the essence of the threshing floor could have been recognized way before agriculture developed. If a man tied an animal to a tree with a longer rope, it would eventually start circling around it. By observing the animal's precise rhythmic arriving and departing, the archaic man may have recognized the periodical arriving and departing of the celestial bodies and the seasons as well, but also of another cyclical phenomenon in space – the rotation of the starry sky around the Polar star. As a result of these identifications, the zoomorphization of the sky and all its phenomena will occur, one of the most significant being the identification of different animals in constellations: *zodiac* from the Latin *zodiacus*, the ancient Greek *ζῳδιακὸς κύκλος* (literally meaning "animal circle"), and the Old Slavic *зверокругъ* (T.III: 8 – a depiction of the sky, illustration of Ptolemy's "Astronomy", 9th century AD).

On account of the reasons above, the sky and the threshing floor will become equalized, which will lead to treating the threshing floor as an "Earthly image" i.e. earthly equivalent of the sky, and a representative of its sacrality, but on the other hand, treating the sky as a "celestial threshing floor". This identification is clearly manifested in some South Slavic fairy tales. They tell about a man who climbed the sky on a certain day of the year and saw God (or fairies) threshing an immortelle, with birds yoked in their threshing floor. The second indicator of this identification is the mytheme of the "copper threshing floor", which is a combination of the representations of the sky as a threshing floor and a dome made of copper, or some other kind of metal, (based on the sky's shininess and the metal meteors falling down from it). The toponym "Bakarno Gumno" (Copper Thrashing floor) is a product of this phenomenon present in the regions of the Balkans and Macedonia and, like in the Cepigovo village near Prilep, followed by appropriate mythical legends.[13]

The name Milky Way contains the word *straw* in a huge area from the Goby desert to the Atlantic coast of Africa, all the way to North Caucasus and the Danube to Ethiopia. This term can be described with variations of legends in which somebody (for example, the godfather from his godson) steals straw, that fell behind him and marked the road he travelled. The Armenian version of the legend for this title (literally translated into "the road of the straw thief") mentions the name of the ancient deity Vahagn, which points that these traditions are very old.[14] Regardless of the details of the action, we believe that the basis of these traditions is the identification of the heaven with the threshing floor, the essential part of which is the straw (threshing floor-straw; sky- straw, sky=threshing floor). And one legend from Marvinci (Republic of Macedonia) suggests this - , according to the legend, with the local name "Plucked Straw" (Kubana Slama) the 'white strip' (The Milky Way) is named, being visible at the middle of the sky at certain time of the year during the summer when the

[12] Чаусидис 2017, 621-626

[13] Чаусидис 2007; Чаусидис 2008

[14] Harutyunyan, 2003

grain is winnowed.[15] On the other hand, the Finnish version of the term “Linnunrata” (literally translated “way of the birds”) can be correlated with the above-mentioned tales about the mythical characters who used birds in their threshing floor in the sky.

Besides the cyclicity of the sky, the threshing floor also actualizes its axiality i.e. structurization which functions as an axis of its cyclic processes, but as well as the point to which all the axiology of the universe gravitates. As far as something is closer to it, the more fulfilled it is with sacredness, divinity, and all forms of grace. In the night sky, this central point is present in reality through the immobile Polar Star around which all other stars rotate. This star interferes with the pivot in the center of the threshing floor, which is surrounded with a high sacral status. The pivot is involved in a various of rituals, most notably its ornamentation with “God’s Beard”, a plant bunch made of the last wheat gathered from the fields. These traditions indicates to its functioning as a Cosmic pillar i.e. Cosmic axis and as a sacral center which demonstrates the presence of God, and even its functioning as his equivalent or idol.[16] The best confirmation for the identification of the Polar Star with the Cosmic Axis and the threshing floor pivot are some of the names given to it in some Macedonian dialects: „Средоземна Ѕвезда“ (“Middle Earth Star”), „Осовина“ (Axle), „Стожер“ (Pivot).[17]

The perception of all the mentioned aspects reveals the exceptional significance of the threshing floor which was completely marginalized in the previous researches of the ancient cultures. The sacral circularity and axiality of this ancient object i.e. primordial object can be recognized as a paradigm in many of more remarkable buildings made by the great civilizations which had a sacral status in the beginning as well. Such is the orchestra of the ancient Greek theatres (T. III: 7 compare to 4, 5), the ring of the Roman amphitheaters, the current hippodromes and stadiums as well as the ring of the modern circus arenas and the podium of the concert halls.

Even some ancient observatories can be seen as a threshing floor or a “heavenly threshing floor” descended on earth, which reflects the sacral status of the celestial zones which are beyond man’s reach (T. III: 8 compare to 3-5). These areas, with the holy forces and the deities that reside in them, could only be reached by one earthly man only indirectly - through the insight, perception and foresight of their perfect regularity. Their geometrical and mathematical laws were treated by the archaic man as an indicator of the cosmic order behind which some kind of Divine Mind stands. Being present at the crucial moment, when the cycle begins, ends or passes in one of its key stages, it means to absorb the power of the sacred time that will ensure a grace during the entire duration of the cycle.

Even the ancient object in Stonehenge can be seen as an “extra-threshing floor” – a circular platform surrounded with trenches and stones which will be adapted over time for monitoring the celestial cycles, i.e. “the descent of the sky to the earth” (T. III: 6 compare to 3-5). The pagan sanctuaries of the Slavs “*капишта”* (kapišta) look similar, which are also typical for other European people.[18] It is quite probable that these objects, among other things, were also used as “observatories” (T. III: 1,2 compare to 3-6).

In the ancient sanctuary of Kokino, the threshing floor paradigm cannot be recognized explicitly in the form of itself but rather implicitly - in the form and structure of the phenomena that were observed in him. The circularity of the lunar and solar cycles and the rotation of the constellations evoked the circular edges of the “celestial threshing floor”, while its central point, in which concrete markers were used to observe the key phases of these phenomena, the pivot was recognized as the center of the threshing floor and the Cosmic Axis. The location of the sanctuary of Kokino on the top of a remarkable hill consisted of vertical pillar-like rocks aspiring to the sky introduces it into his semiotics and the Holy Mountain as another multifaceted symbol that contains the two meanings that are the focus of this article. The first is the mountain recognized as a symbol of the Cosmic Axis which is the center of the world and from which all phenomena that happen in the world can be seen. The second is the meaning of the Cosmic pillar which supports the sky and which will elevate the observers of the cosmic phenomena and the participants in the rituals performed there to the sky’s level. Due to the elevation above the earth plate and its pile-form, the mountain is also a symbol of the heavenly calotte, which means that being on the top of the Holy Mountain is equivalent to your presence in the sacred celestial regions.[19]

LITERATURE

[15] Ценев 2004,72

[16] Чаусидис 2007, 86, 87

[17] Ценев 2004, 61

[18] Чаусидис 2008, 75-78

[19] Чаусидис 2008

Ценев, Ѓ. (2005). *Небото над Македонија*. Скопје: Младински културен центар.

Chevalier, J., and Gheerbrant, A. (1987). *Rječnik simbola*. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice Hrvatske.

Чаусидис, Н. (2000). Театролошки импликации во Јужнословенските обреди за контролирање на атмосферските појави. In: J. Лужина, ed., *Прилози за историјата на македонскиот театар*. Прилеп: Македонски театарски фестивал „Војдан Чернодрински“, pp. 187-214.

Чаусидис, Н. (2007). Митологизираното гумно во словенската традиционална култура – I (Summary: N. Chausidis, The Mythologized Threshing Floor in the Slavic Traditional Culture – I). *Studia mythologica Slavica*, 10. Ljubljana. pp. 83-101.

Чаусидис, Н. (2008). Митологизираното гумно во словенската традиционална култура – II (Summary: N. Chausidis, The Mythologized Threshing Floor in the Slavic Traditional Culture – II). *Studia, mythologica Slavica*, 11. Ljubljana. pp. 65-103.

Čausidis, N. (2008). Mythologization of the Mountain (A Diachronic Survey of Examples from Macedonia and the wider Balkan region). In: K. Kulavkova,ed., *Interpretation: European project for poetics and hermeneutics,* Vol. 2. Skopje: MANU, pp. 261-303.

Чаусидис, Н. (2017). *Македонските бронзи иРелигијата и митологијата на железнодобните заедници од Средниот Балкан*. (Summary: Macedonian bronzes and the religion and mythology of Iron Age communities in the Central Balkans). [ebook. pdf] Скопје: Центар за истражување на предисторијата. Available at: http://www.cip-cpr.org/en-publishing/_nikos-chausidis-macedonian-bronzes.html

Delphi (2017). Delphi amphitheater from above dsc06297.jpg. [online] *Wikimedia Commons, the free media repository*. Available at:

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Delphi_amphitheater_from_above_dsc06297.jpg

[Accessed 23.11.2017].

Фролов, Б. А. (1974). *Числа в графике палеолита*. Новосибирск: Наука - Сибирское отделение.

Garašanin, M. (1983). Dubrovačko – Žutobrdska grupa. In: A. Benac, ed., *Praistorija Jugoslovenskih zemalja, Tom IV (Bronzano doba)*. Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine – Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja, pp. 520-535.

Harutyunyan, H. (2003). The Armenian Name of Milky Way.*NewsletterOf The Armenian Astronomical Society (ArAS)*, [online] No. 6 (August 29, 2003). Available at: https://www.aras.am//ArasNews/arasnews06.html [Accessed 23.11.2017].

Höckmann, O. (1966). Idolplastik der Theiss- und Bükk-Kultur. *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums*, 13. Berlin, pp. 1-29.

Idoli (1986). *Idoli – zgodnje podobe bogov in žertveni darovi*. Ljubljana: Narodni muzej.

Kasirer, E. (1985). *Filozofija simboličkih oblika – drugi deo: Mitsko mišljenje* (E. Cassirer, Philosophie der symbolischen Formen, Teil II, Das mythische Denken). Novi Sad: Dnevnik – Književna zajednica Novog Sada.

Косановић, Ђ. (2017). Приче са гумна. [online] *Визионарски*. Available at:https: //vizionarski.wordpress.com/2013/02/26/%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%B8%D1%87%D0%B5-%D1%81%D0%B0-%D0%B3%D1%83%D0%BC%D0%BD%D0%B0-%D1%92%D1%83%D1%80%D0%BE-%D0%BA%D0%BE%D1%81%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%B8%D1%9B/[Accessed 23.11.2017].

Kovačević, I. (1985). *Semiologija rituala*. Beograd: Prosveta.

Müller-Karpe H. (1980) *Handbuch der Vorgeschichte* T.IV. München.

Oates, D., and Pinder-Wilson, R. H. (1976). *Rani srednji vek*. Beograd: Jugoslavija.

Петровски, Б. (1974). Самовилите и Марко Крале, во македонските народни творби. *Македонски фолклор*, 14. Скопје, 151-158.

Risteski, Lj. (2002). The Orgiastic Elements in the Rituals Connected With the Cult of the Moon Among the Balkan Slavs, *Studia mythologica slavica*, 5, Ljubljana, pp. 113-129.

Рыбаков, Б. А.(1965). Космогония и мифология земледельцев энеолита.*Советская археология*, 1965/1. Москва, pp. 24-47.

Рыбаков, Б. А. (1981). *Язычество древних Славян*. Москва: Наука.

Sadnja 2017. Sadnja i obrada pšenice u Dalmaciji. [online] *Narodni.net*. Available at:http://narodni.net/sadnja-obrada-psenice-udalmaciji/ [Accessed 23.11.2017].

Седов, В. В. (1982).*Восточныеславянев VI – XIII вв.*.Москва: Институт археологии, Академия наук СССР.

Stonehenge (2017). Stonehenge render.jpg. [online] *Wikimedia Commons, the free media repository*. Available at: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Stonehenge_render.jpg [Accessed 23.11.2017].

Threshingfloor (2017). Threshing floor (aloni), Ethnographic Museum in AnoMeria on Folegandros, 15M6645.jpg. [online] *Wikimedia Commons, the free media repository*. Available at: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Threshing_floor_(aloni),_Ethnographic_Museum_in_Ano_Meria_on_Folegandros,_15M6645.jpg [Accessed 23.11.2017].

Титов, В. С. (1980). Поздний неолит. In: В. С. Титов, И. Ердели (Eds.), *Каменный век. Археология Венгрии*. Москва: Наука, pp. 327-417.

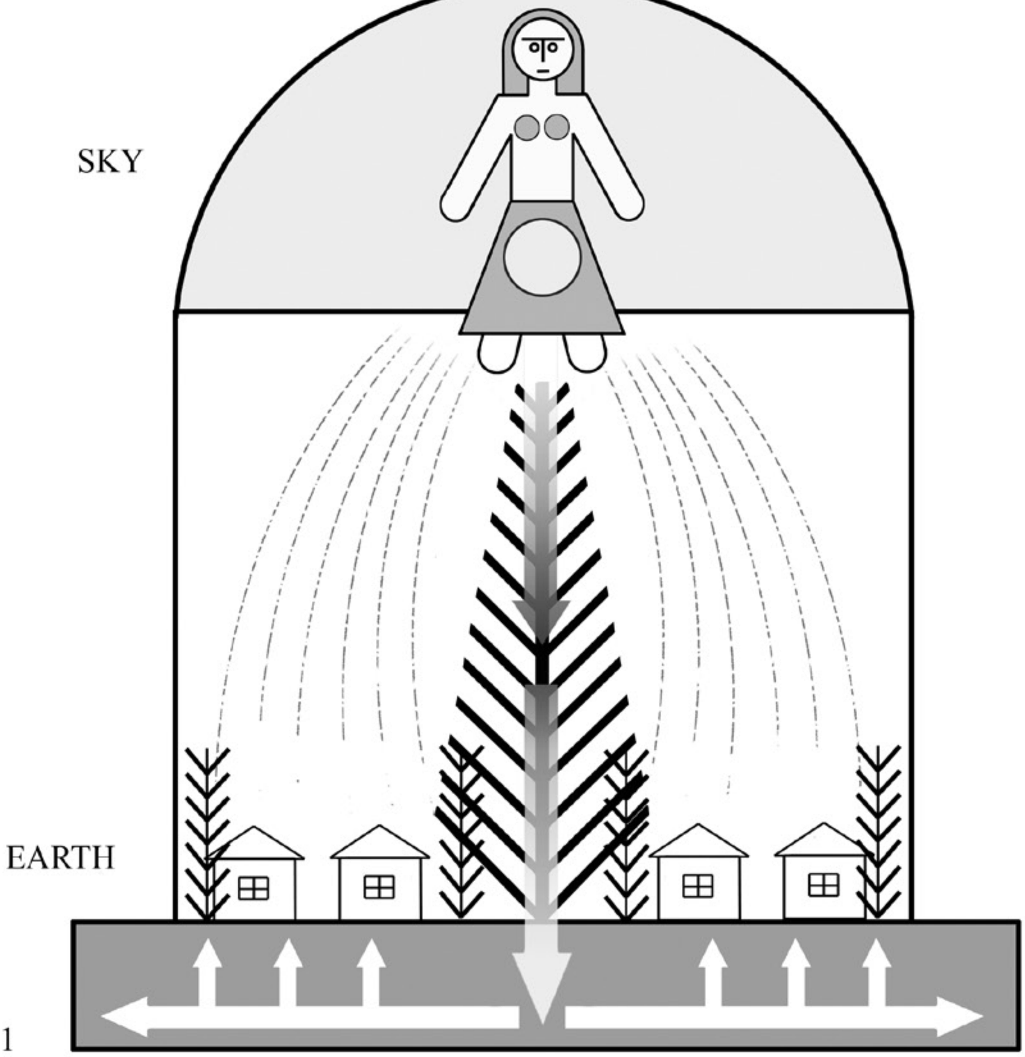
THE THRESHING FLOOR AS A SYMBOLIC PARADIGM IN ANCIENT OBSERVATORIES

Nikos Chausidis

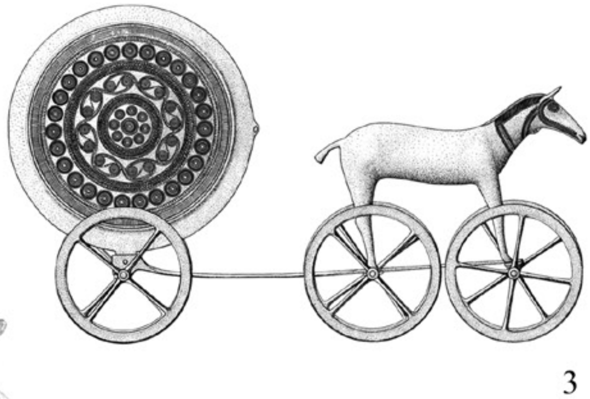
Summary

Every human observation of the sky is in some way its descent on Earth. In the past, it was done more symbolic than practical, through reflection of the image of the sky in an object that functioned like a mirror. In that context, we analyze a Dodola folk song from Serbia in which a fairy invokes rain with a mirror she holds in her lap. During the ritual she is on top of a fir tree which has all the elements of a cosmic axis – it is located in the middle of the village and stretches high in the sky. The genesis of this structure can be traced back to the neolith through figurines of women-witches with a bowl of water in their lap in which they reflect the sky. These interpretations are further supported by lexemes from the Slavic languages which reflect the connection of the words for magic, sorcery (чарати, бацати чини) and those for shallow bowls, plates (чара, чинија). Then we analyze similar South Slavic rituals designed for taking the milk of a cow or a breastfeeding mother from another family. In these rituals women go to the threshing floor, take off their clothes and put a plate with water in their lap to reflect the moon. Then they strain the water through a sieve and believed that this makes the moon descend down to earth and moo like a cow. This is a magical ritual in which the straining of the water actually represents extracting the milk of the Moon which is depicted as a deity in the form of a cow. Supporting the relation woman-moon-water-fertility we mention numerous ethnographic and archeological facts which are based on the interference between the moon cycles and the female menstrual cycles. The movement of the sun in the ancient cultures was not always imagined as a cycle, but more as a semi-circular or wavy pattern, mostly because of the absence of a wheel as a paradigm. Still, the cyclic dynamics of the sun, the moon and the starry sky were observed even before the invention of the wheel and the carriage which later appeared in the era of metals and not as utilitarian but symbolic objects. It is assumed that the threshing hold prepositioned this, being a circular platform with a central pillar around which the horses or livestock moved in circles, stomping the wheat, separating the grain from the straw. This object also appeared as a symbolic phenomenon, a mythical image of the sky which depicts the cyclic movement of the celestial bodies. Its agricultural use comes secondarily. This is supported by the fact that most constellations have animal names, as well as the entire zodiac (‘animal circle’) – The Milky Way whose names contain straw – the essential part of the threshing hold; the immobile Polar star in the center of the sky or Pole star. It is believed that the threshing floor is not just a paradigm of the sky and its cyclic phenomena (‘celestial’/’copper threshing floor’) but of numerous other constructions as well, which used to have a strong sacral status (the antic theaters orchestra, the arenas of the amphitheaters and stadiums..). It is also the basis of many temples-observatories like Stonehenge, as well as to similar Slavic bath-houses and the temples of other European tribes which were most likely used to observe the cyclic phenomena in the sky. The components we pointed out in this paper can be recognized in the temple in Kokino but not in the form of the object but in the form of the cyclic phenomena they observed in the temple (the threshing floor circle) and the central point through which they were observed (the threshing floor pillar).

T.I



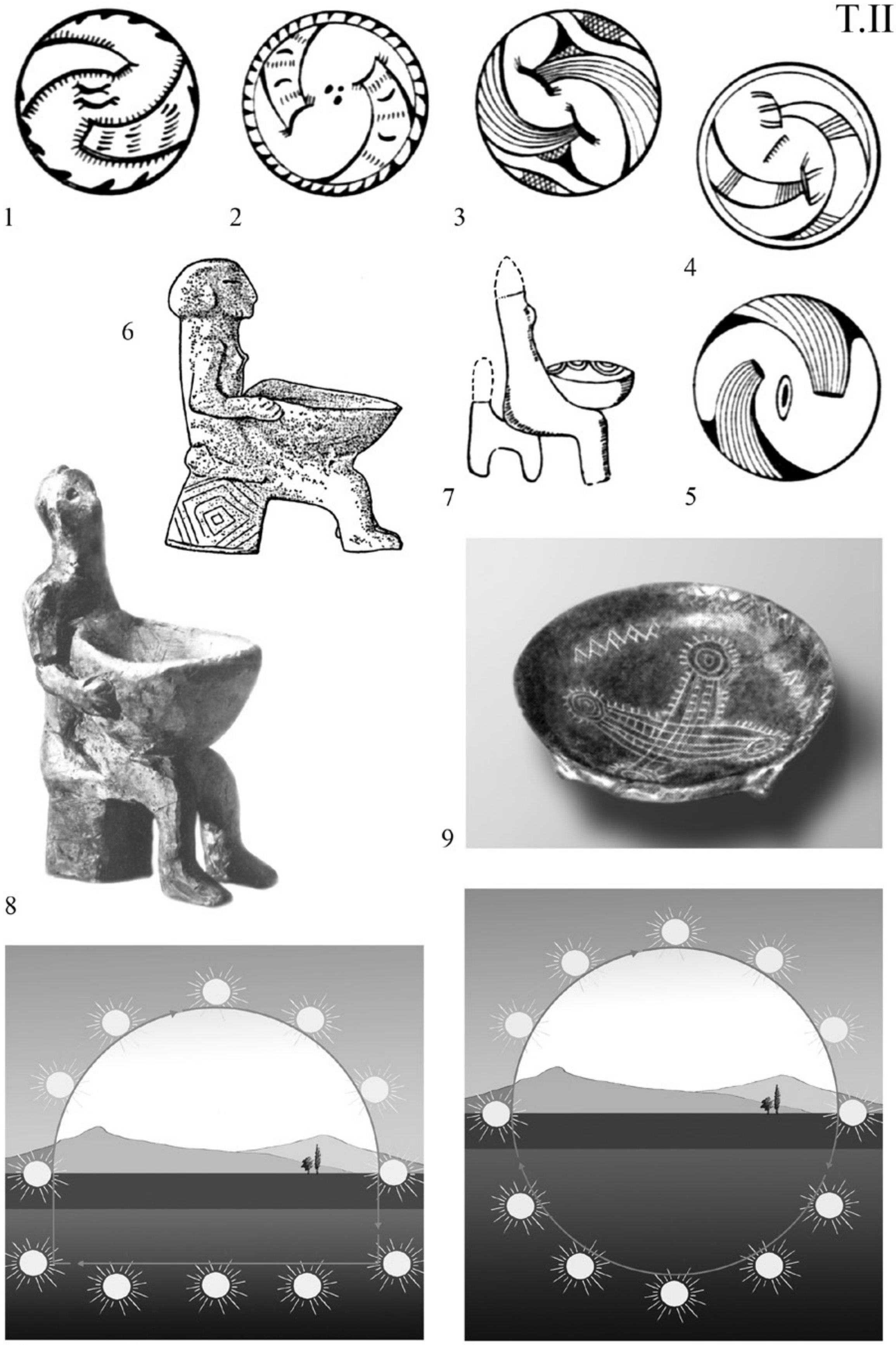
1



3

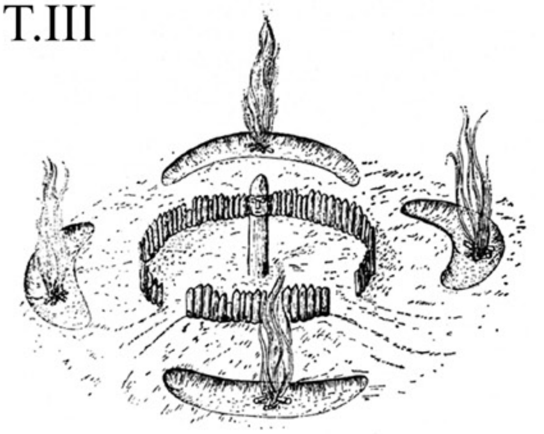
2

T.I: 1. Чаусидис 2000, T.I; **2.** Garašanin 1983, T.LXXXIII: 1; **3.** Müller-Karpe, Taf. 509.

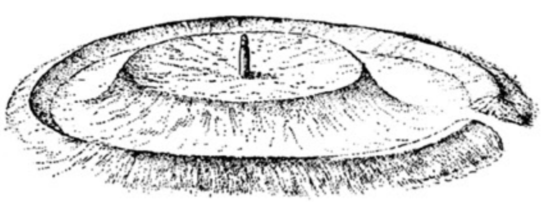


T.II:1-5. Рыбаков 1981,73; **6**. Höckmann 1966, Abb. 4: 4; **7**. Рыбаков1981, Рис. 3: 2-3.
8. *Idoli* 1986, 67 - No.70; **9**. Титов 1980, 325 – Рис. 227-2; Чаусидис 2017, Д67: 1, 2.

T.III



1

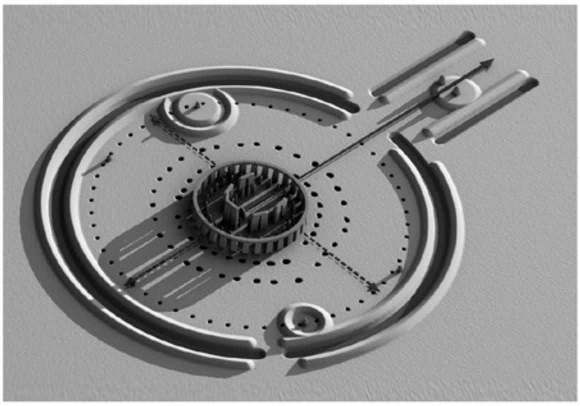


2

3

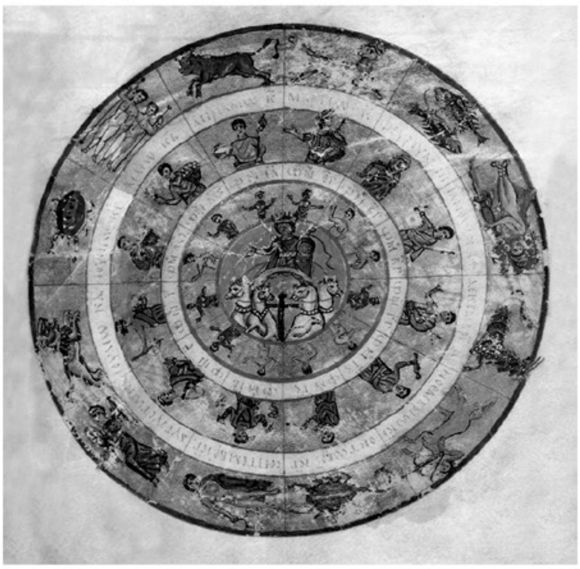
4

5



6

7



8

T.III: 1. 2. Седов 1982, T.LXXIV: 5, 7; **3.** Косановић 2017; **4.** *Threshingfloor* 2017. **5.** *Sadnja* 2017; **6.** *Stonehenge* 2017; **7.** *Delphi* 2017; **8.** Oates and Pinder-Wilson 1976, 89.

TWO ROCKS – CUT RITUAL COMPLEXES IN THE AREAS OF PRILEP AND KRATOVO

Jovica Stankovski
Archaeologist, senior custodian
Kumanovo
email: stankovskijovica@yahoo.com

Dushko Temelkoski
Archaeologist, senior custodian
NI Institute and Museum of Prilep
email: duletem@yahoo.com

Abstract: The hill "Mal Surun" (or "Orlov Kamen") is a rocky hill in the area of the village of Dupjachani, located on about 12 km on the northwest of Prilep. Many rocks can be seen on its top as well as the southwestern slope which have hews and pits that served as founding for buildings or objects or performing rituals. Apart from the several hollowed shallow pits, stairs, formations similar to thrones for sitting, there is an impressive rock on the western edge of the hill with two cavities – one with a phallic shape and another one that probably represents the female symbol of reproduction. Between them, a rectangular recipient pit was cut. This composition makes us assume that this was the area where certain ceremonies connected to the cult of fertility were performed. According to the material data, we can determine the chronological frame of the rituals performed on the rocks - from the end of the Eneolith, through the Bronze age and later, in the Late Hellenistic period.

The second ritual complex is from the area of Kratovo, located on the site known as Pešter, near the village of Šopsko Rudare. It is a complexed sanctuary area containing a large rock that dominates, with several objects cut in it. They resemble platforms, vaulted areas, stairs which lead to them, sacrificial pits and sacrificial recipients, large rectangular water basin etc. The archaeological material is missing, because the thin cultural layers in the rock-cuts were devastated during their long use, but also as a result of the illegal excavations and non-professional interventions when the whole area was prepared to become a part of a touristic site. Nevertheless, based on the several small archaeological trenches in the bottom of the rock where the archaeologists discovered an archaeological material from the Eneolithic, Bronze and Iron Ages as well as from the Roman period, but also according to the objects near the large rocks (sacrificial stones / altars), a great round carved stone block (a representation of the Sun) etc., we can conclude that the rocky complex has been used as a sanctuary for a longer period of time.

In this paper, we have given retrospection to a small segment of the sanctuary area which encloses a conic altar on the edge of a small platform carved in stone which points towards East, above a small flattened area of about 25 m^2 intended for the participants of the ritual ceremony.

The site "Mal Surun"

About 12 km on the northwest of Prilep, around the village of Dupjachani, there is a rocky hill known as Mal Surun or Orlov Kamen, a part of the archaeological complex Surun (Figure 1). On top of the hill, as well as on its southwest slope, in the numerous massive rocks which can be seen on the surface, there are obvious man-made interventions made by carvings, which have formed various objects like stone seats, smaller or largerrecipients carved in the rocks, shallow circular pits, stairs, cut channels etc. Most of these objects on the area with dimensions 400x300м., some of them in groups and separate wholes, adjusted in parts so that they could fit in the architectural structures, points on the conclusion that the complete area had been assigned for the performance of ritual activities.

Fig. 1 – The site "Mal Surun", Panoramic view

On the western edge of the area exist smaller stone block of an oblong shape, 3,40 m long and 1,30 m high. There are two carved surfaces on its upper part: one of a phallic shape and the other one presumably with a representation of a vulva. There is also a rectangular recipient carved between them. This composition makes us assume that it is a sacrificial stone (altar) and an area on which some rituals connected to the cult of fertility were performed (Fig.2 and Fig.3). The carved parts in the rock, shaped in a form of male and female symbols presumably had a certain role directed towards a successful conception. It is possible that in the rectangular pit they performed a ritual bathing for the newborn on the very same area which was actually "responsible" for its birth.

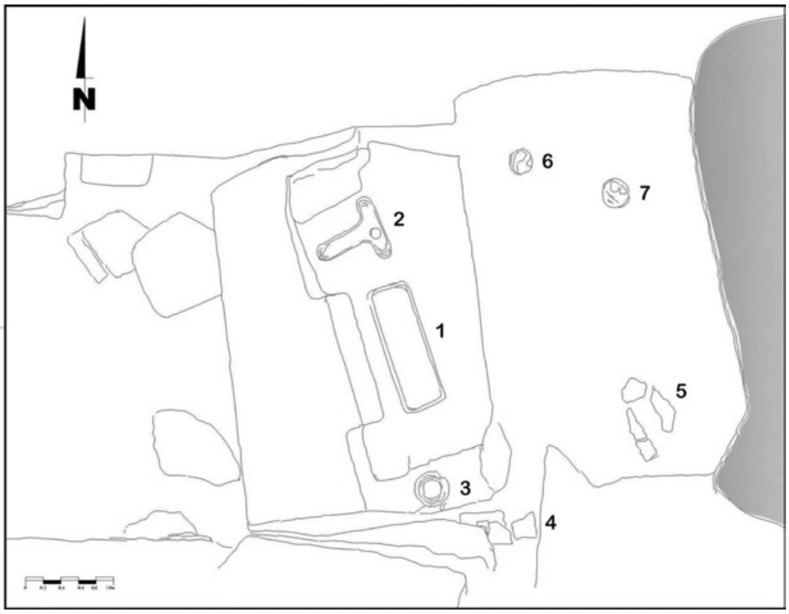


Fig.2 – The site Mal Surun, A plan for the sanctuary segment of the western edge of the ritual complex (1. rectangular recipient; 2,3. Male and female symbols of fertility; 4. A wall of partially carved stones tied with mud in the free area between the rocks; 5. Small construction of partially carved rocks; 6. A ritual pit with remaining of animal bones and fragments of a ceramic pot; 7. Osteological remaining of a child placed in a ceramic vessel)

A significant material data which determines the existence of this area chronologically has been discovered in the earth layer between the sacrificial stone/altar and the massive vertical rock, about 3m eastern of it. Along with the archaeological excavations in 2016, there have also been discovered the bottoms of two shallow sacrificial pits and a small

Fig. 3 – Locality Mal Surun, Ritual rectangular recipient and male and female symbols of fertility

Fig.4 – Locality Mal Surun, Eneolithic pottery

Fig. 5 – Locality Mal Surun, Bronze Age pottery

rectangular form of partially carved rocks. The pits were dug in the ground next to the bedrock which was nivellated. In one of the pits, there were bones of a smaller animal and fragments of a ceramic pot (Fig.2, position 6) and in the other one, there were osteological remaining of a child, placed in a vessel fragments of a skull, parts of the jaw and bones from the arms, Fig.2, position 7). The discovered osteological remaining of a small child, probably a stillborn, can be a symbolic praying sacrifice in order to avoid a repeated appearance of a stillborn in the future. There was no material data in the enclosed rectangular area with stones (Fig.2, position 5).

These three ritual structures belong to the older prehistoric horizon e.g. to the Late Eneolithic period and the Bronze Age. Through the cultural layer, there has been identified a great part of fragmented pot ceramics, but not with a special location or concentration. Of the Eneolithic forms, we can point on the pot decorated with oval imprints arranged in wide fields and an altar with a shallow recipient with two small legs (Fig.4), while in the ceramics from the Bronze Age which are found in a larger number, we can count some fragments of pottery decorated with applied cordons decorated with fingertip impressions, from big cone plates with an inverted rims, fragments of wide strip handles, short tongued and rectangular handles etc. (Fig.5).

The younger cultural layer is dated in the late hellenistic period. There has been found a greater quantity of ceramic pottery with typical forms: stamnos – pixida with osteological remaining of a bird inside, echinus plates and plates – ichtys, a pot with an upper part in "S" profile, four pyramidal and one kidney shaped ceramic weight and a bronze coin of Quaestor Gaius Publilius in the II century B.C. (Fig.6).

There have also been some researches on the area in front of the altar (Fig.7). The massive naturally broken and roughly carved stones are probably a part of some barriers or they were used to level the area. This has been shown by the finding of platelet stones which probably served to pave the entrance towards the altar. The Eneolithic findings on this area are of a smaller number (fragments of pottery with linear grooves and indentations, Fig.4) while the findings of the Bronze Age are represented by fragments of pottery with rectangular tongue-like and strap handles, fragments decorated with lines of indentations made with fingernails, with linear carving, channeling etc.

Fig.6 – Locality Mal Surun, Pottery of the Late Hellenistic period

Based on the researches so far, we can create the chronological frame of the ritual use of this rocky segment of the complete ritual complex from the end of the Eneolithic period through the whole Bronze Age as well as in the Late Hellenistic period.

About 300 m south of the sanctuary, on the place called "Ispraena plocha" and another place called "Tumba", there are seven tombs carved in rocks and they are from the so called type of Macedonian tombs which date from the II century B.C. They are oriented towards West-East so you can enter them through a dromos and an entrance which faces west (Fig.8). There is an antechamber between the entrance and the tomb chamber. The tombs are opened in the past so with their documentation there have been evident some modest findings of ceramic pottery, bronze coins and parts of jewelry from the Late Hellenistic period.[1] Certain discoveries point on the assumption for the belonging of these representative tombs of the Antique settlement called Kolobaisa, which may be confirmed with further research.[2]

The site Pešter

Near the village of Šopsko Rudare, in the area of Kratovo, on the the site called Pešter there is a great volcanic monolithic rock which dominates the surrounding area.[3]Geologically speaking, it appeared because of the precipitation of volcano dust and ash in water conditions. A result of this sedimentation is the volcano tuff, a soft and mealy rock with an argil-

[1] Aleksova 1959,67; Кепески 1971,50; Митковски 1996,89-96; Митkоски 1996А,137-148; Митkоски, Темелкоски 2013,83-104; Темелкоски 2016,121-130.

[2] On the hill called Zlatovrv which raises towards south, there is a monastery called "Dormition of the Mother of God" („Успение на Пресвета Богородица")-Treskavec. The cross on the roof of the church is placed into an antique marble plate with an inscription which mentions a temple dedicated to the Ephesian Artemis in the settlement Kolobaisa:Папазоглу 1957, 223;Papazogly et al 1999, 233.

[3] The hill is located on 1,5 km northern of the neighborhood called "Cocevci", so sometimes it is also marked as "Cocev kamen".

Fig.7 – Locality Mal Surun, Access area in front of the altar

laceous structure which enables for it to be processed well (with carving). On its surface, as well as in its interior, there are several carved objects like platforms, vaulted areas, stairs which lead to them, niches carved into hard accessible areas, a big rectangular recipient for gathering atmospheric water, sacrificial rectangular recipients and shallow pits, channels through which liquid will flow etc. (Fig.9). Similar carved objects can be seen on the smaller rocks which can be seen on the surface around the big monolith: sacrificial stones (altars) with a flattened upper area in which there are some carved sacrificial rectangular pits or shallow circular pits (Fig.10), channels through which liquid will flow, a big circular stone cut disc – a representation of the Sun (Fig.11).

The archaeological material in the objects carved in the rock is absent because of the devastation of the thin cultural layers as a result of illegal excavations and unprofessional interventions when the interior of the rock was arranged for a touristic function through which the land is completely removed from almost all ritual structures and the archaeological data is irretrievably lost. Still, based on the several small archaeological trenches (from 2011 to 2014) in the eastern and southern bottom of the rock, as well as with surveys of the surrounding fields where numerous fragments of Neolithic and Eneolithic vessels were found, but also numerous pieces of lithic material (whole and fragmented stone knives, fragments from stone tools with different sizes etc.), we can note a very long chronological use of the area of this locality from the Neolithic period, Eneolithic period, Bronze and Iron Ages to the Late Antique period. It is truly certain that in the greatest part of this time span of use, the rocky complex Pešter had a ritual function.

The ritual segment which is the subject of this paper is the unique area carved in the big monolith which preserved a partially land material under the unprofessionally digged area in depth of probably about 1 meter. It is a rectangularly shaped area which has not been researched yet and to which you can get by a narrow artificially formed access path which starts from the northeastern part of the monolith. The path goes up to the inside of the rock so the rectangular area is being raised several meters above the level of the field in its bottom From the eastern side, this area which comprises 25 м² is opened towards the eastern horizon and is continually lit by the morning sunshine. In one area of its fenced wall, there is a rock cut bench – an area on which probably some participants in the ritual ceremony sat. The ritual character of the area is also being confirmed with the partially damaged conic altar. It had probably served for ritual washing of the hands or other parts of the body of the person who performed this ceremony before they

Fig.8 – Locality Surun, tombs of the so called Macedonian type

stepped on the small platform in front of the altar and became lightened by the morning sunshine (Fig.12).

Concluding remarks

The name "megalithic monuments" (and from it derived terms like "megalithic culture", "megalithic ceremonies") is very general and encloses a whole line of monuments built from large, naturally broken or partially processed stone blocks or objects carved into rocks. In a narrower meaning, the term "megalithic" is used more for the menhir stones, used separately, as vertical pillars or in lines as well as for the cromlech, when the standing stone blocks are arranged in a circle and sometimes, they are bridged over with horizontal stone blocks like an architrave. The term also encloses the dolmen and covered alley as their elongated variant.

For the rest of the objects carved in the rocks like niches, tombs, altars, platforms, carved rectangular recipients and channels, circular carved parts, stone seats (thrones) etc., we use the term "rock cut monuments".[4] They are widespread on a huge area, from Spain on the west to India and Japan on the east; from England, France, Germany and the countries of the Scandinavia on the north, to North Africa and Egypt on the south. The megalithic monuments can also be seen on the Mediterranean Islands of Corsica, Malta, the Balearic Islands, Crete and we can also find a greater concentration of them on the south and southeast of the Balkan Peninsula.

Their construction and very often, the small quantity of material discovered in some of them or besides them points to significant chronological differences, not only for the monuments in separate regions, but also for the ones in the borders of the same region.

The ethnic attribution of separate monuments is also difficult, concerning their wide prevalence. We cannot answer the question about the deities they were intended for according to the fact that they were not precisely tied to a certain period, area, culture or religion.

Although some of them date since the Neolithic period, their mass raising was during the Bronze Age (e.g. the III millennium B.C.), on the area where the faith in rocks like places where deities were being present was especially present in the Mediterranean countries as well as the countries surrounding the Black Sea.

One of the explanations for the greater number of megalithic cult places in the mountain areas is tied

[4] For the typology of the rock - cut monuments: Фол 1993, 14-76; Фол 2000, 46-110.

Fig.9 – Locality Pešter, Panorama

to the altered way of economy that the tribal communities used during the Bronze Age. Namely, in this period, the mountain areas became visited more intensively because of livestock farming as well as for mineral exploitation. It is natural that the Prehistoric people felt the rocky spaces of the: the mountains, caves, springs etc. like a sacred and grandiose area e.g. a real place where Gods were being present.

The significance of the megaliths and the rock cut monuments is becoming more and more interesting for the researchers. The research is hard mainly because of the lack of written sources. The newest archaeological researches point on the fact that some of the monuments cut in the rocks have been used for a longer period of time. This contradicts the older hypotheses that the megalithic culture has appeared due to migrations, a conclusion which some researchers got based on the small amount of material data found at some of the monuments.[5]

As we have already mentioned, the last researches discover evidence for multiple uses of the rock cut monuments where there use continued from the Prehistoric period to the appearance of Christianity and even later. In some researches, the Christian religious objects were posed on areas that were used for ritual acts in the Prehistoric periods, so we can rightfully say that these are true "topoi of faith".

The lack of written sources about the religion and the ceremonies connected to the rock sanctuaries and the sacred rocks is partially complemented by the relict remaining in the folklore of the people from the Mediterranean. With the appearance of some written documents, towards the end of the Bronze Age, we can see a clearer image of the megalithic ceremonies. In that way, with a multidisciplinary approach ffacing the archaeological, written, linguistic, ethnological and newly presented data from the archeo-astronomic researches, we have gained a new view on the megalithic ceremonies.

A written testimonial about the religion that was practiced in the rock cut objects is written on Greek and is about Pherecydes of Syros (VI century B.C.) which was cited by Porphyry (in III century A.D.). According to Porphyry (in his "De antronimpharum", 31), Pherecydes of Syros speaks of remote mountain areas, carved pits in the rocks (openings, altars, holes), for caves and doors, considering that the birth and the death of the souls from this world was done through them.[6]

The chthonic-ritual meaning of the pits dug in

[5] Фол et al. 1982, 9-11; Фол 1990, 120-121.

[6] Porphyre 1989, 108.

Fig.10 – Locality Pešter, Altar near Pešter

Fig.11 – Locality Pešter, Big stone wheel as a representation of the Sun, on the northeast of Pešter

Fig.12 – Locality Pešter
Conic altar and a platform faced towards East

earth was also confirmed in a part of Homer's "Odyssey". There, Odysseus was being taught that in order to reach the underground world and talk to the souls of the dead, he needs to dig up a sacrificial pit of certain dimensions in which, as an offering to the dead, he will pour honey, milk, wine, water, barley porridge and the blood of two sheep.[7]

There are relict remaining of the ancient ceremonies and beliefs in the rituals tied to the celebrations of some holidays from the traditional calendar of the people from Republic of Macedonia, as well as in the myth-legends and traditions. We should also dedicate a special attention to this ethnological data.

Lately, it has been confirmed that many sanctuaries have been used as a kind of observatories from where the people could observe the spring as well as the autumn equinox, but also the summer and winter solstice in order to determine the seasonal activities. The sunrise and the sunset were usually tied to specific days and celebrations in the calendar of the people who celebrated them.[8]

The upper examples illustrate the meaning of the multidisciplinary approach in studying of all the aspects of the megalithic culture very well.

There are no parallels of monuments similar to the ritual altar with male and female symbols from the locality Mal Surun anywhere near. The astronomic researches performed in the neighboring Republic of Bulgaria on the natural cave called „Тангардьк кая" (Tangardyk Kaya) in the area of Kardzhali situated in the eastern Rhodopes show that it was additionally processed, so between 2.000 and 1.000 B.C., during the winter solstice, a sunbeam, passing through the entrance formed as a phallus, fell down an altar formed as a vulva.[9] The reminiscence of the ancient beliefs tied to the cult of fertility represent the areas that barren women also tend to visit nowadays, in the present. In the Republic of Macedonia, there are several cult stones that are believed to be able to help women conceive a new life.[10]

There are no analogies for sanctuary complexes similar to Pešter, although in its proximity on the locality called "Kraljica" (about 2 km south) there is another sanctuary complex, already published.[11]

[7] Homer, Od. XI, 64.

[8] Stoev, Varbanova1996, 93-100.

[9] Stoev et al 2001, 226-235.

[10] Вражиновски 1998, 109-110; Вражиновски 1998, 121, 128-130, 133, 136, 141; Карaџоски 2015, 100.

[11] Stankovski2003, 229-249.

The word analogy is conditioned because many of these megalithic ritual complexes contain the same or similar ritual structures: altars, ritual pits, sacrificial rectangular recipients, circular pit, cut channels, trapezoidal or oval niches cut into vertical rocks etc. Still remains the question whether in these complexes with a similar repertoire of ritual structures was performed the same kind of ceremonies, especially when the sanctuary had a long time of use. We can cite the example of the ritual pits which were formed in a great number of sanctuary complexes ranging from the Neolithic period to the Middle Ages. They had been dug up as a part of the rituals tied to several religions of the world and were mainly researched and documented well. Nevertheless, they belong to the group of the most incomprehensible manifestations of the ceremonies.[12]

The megalithic culture is manifested in several variants and poses numerous questions. One of the basic questions is this one: When was the idea for megalithic buildings born in the cultures from the Mediterranean and why the rocks are comprehended as areas for the presence of deities?[13] The future multidisciplinary researches should give the answer to this one as well as numerous other questions.

Библиографија:

1. **Aleksova 1959** – B. Aleksova, Iskopavanja na Krklarima i kod Gornog sela, *Arheoloski pregled 1*, Beograd

2. **Булатовић 2015** – А. Булатовић, Феномен праисториских ритуалних јама, *Старинар* LXV/ 2015, Београд

3. **Вражиновски 1998** – Т. Вражиновски, *Народна митологија на Македонците*, Книга 1, ИСК, Прилеп - Скопје

4. **Вражиновски 1998** – Т. Вражиновски, *Народна митологија на Македонците*, Книга 2, ИСК, Прилеп - Скопје

5. **Караџоски 2015** – В. Караџоски, Провлекувањето, составен дел на народната медицинска пракса во Македонија, *Балканославика*, ИСК, Прилеп - Скопје

6. **Кепески 1971** – К. Кепески, *Прилеп и прилепско низ историјата II*, Прилеп

7. **Миткоски 1996** – А. Миткоски, Објекти издлабени во карпа од Прилепско, *Maced. acta archaeol.* 14, Скопје

8. **Миткоски 1996 А** – А. Миткоски, Нови пелагониски гробници, *Македонско наследство 2*, Скопје

9. **Миткоски, Темелкоски 2013** – А. Миткоски, Д. Темелкоски, Три нови гробници издлабени во карпа во прилепско, *Македонско наследство 40-41*, Скопје

10. **Папазоглу 1957 – Ф. Папазоглу**, Македонски градови у римско доба, *Жива антика*, Књига I, Скопје

11. **Papazogly et al. 1999 – F. Papazogl**y, M. Milin, M. Ricl, *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin

12. **Stankovski 2003** – J, Stankovski, Three Megalithic Monuments in the Region of Kumanovo, *Pyraichmes*, vol 2, Naroden muzej Kumanovo, Kumanovo

13. **Stoev, Varbanova 1996 – A. Stoev**, Yu. Vrbanova, Positional systems for solar and lunar observation in the archaic cultures in Bulgaria, in *Astronomical traditions in past cultures, Procedings of SEAC*, Sofia

14. **Stoev 2001 – A. Stoev**, Spatial Orientation and Acoustic Reverberatio in the Tangarduk Kaya Cave Sanctuary new the Village of Ilinitsa, Kardali District, Перперек I, New Bulgarian University, Sofia

15. **Темелкоски 2016 – Д. Темелкоски**, Гробници издлабени во карпа на локалитетот Сурун кај Горно село“, *Зборник на трудови* 19, НУ Завод и Музеј Битола

16. **Фол et al. 1982 – А. Фол**, *Мегалитите в Тракия*, част 2, том 3, Наука и изкуство, София

17. **Фол 1990 – А. Фол**, *Политика и култура в древна Тракия*, Наука и изкуство, София

18. **Фол 1993 – В. Фол**, Скалата, конят и огЬнят, Аргес, София

19. Фол 2000 – В. Фол, *Мегалитни и скално изсечени паметници в древна Тракия*, УИ Св Климент Охридски, София

20. **Fol 2003 – V. Fol**, Spiritual and Temporal Continuum of the Rock - Cut Topoi of Faith, An Eassy on a Preliminary Reconstruction of the Faith - Ritualism, *Pyraichmes*, vol 2, Naroden muzej Kumanovo, Kumanovo

[12] Булатовић 2015, 7-35.

[13] Фол 2003, 215-228.

RITUAL PITS IN THE CENTRAL BALKANS – THE CONTINUITY OF A SPIRITUAL PRACTICE

Aleksandar Bulatović
Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade

One of many definitions of a ritual proposes that a ritual is a set of activities performed with the aim of fulfilling its social purpose, whereby the activities themselves are not important, it is the message that they convey, that is – the meaning and symbolism behind them that are crucial. Among the different perceptions of rituals, which I described previously, this one is perhaps the most relevant for the case under study, i.e. the ritual of depositing votive offerings in pits.[1] Symbolic deposition of goods in pits is one of the earliest prehistoric rituals, perhaps practiced as early as the Palaeolithic.[2] This is a ritual of sacrifice in which the act of sacrificing, or gift offering, is essential; the offerings vary depending on the circumstances. The purpose of this ritual is the offering of sacrifices in order to appease the divine forces, the presence of which humans have always felt around them. The main motive for this ritual is the fear and the sense of helplessness, that is, the feeling of dependence upon these forces.

However, as has already been emphasizes, it is essential to be cautious when defining certain pits as sacral or ritual because, in prehistory, pits were often used for disposing rubbish, storage, residing as well as for other purposes.[3] A ritual function can be attributed to a pit not simply on the basis of the lack of elements associated with a residential use or with rubbish-disposal; it is necessary that the pit represents a context characterized by specific patterns or symbolism.[4]

* * *

Living aside the traces of ritual sacrifice in pits from the Palaeolithic, which is very hard to prove given the time distance and the thin evidence from this period, the current research confirms that ritual sacrificing in pits was practiced from as early as the Neolithic and, in some parts of the world, the practice has survived almost until today. However, in the central Balkans, which roughly encompasses present-day western Bulgaria, northern Macedonia and Serbia south from the Sava and the Danube, the Neolithic pits that can be securely identified as ritual are absent; there are, nonetheless, pits for which a ritual purpose can be inferred.

This is the case with the pit from the site of Žitkovac, which is c. 9 m in diameter and over 1 m deep. Its stratigraphy is quite complex and so it could not be defined as ritual with certainty.[5] However, after the discovery of some very similar Neolithic pits in Thrace, described as ritual pits,[6] the ritual character of the pit from Žitkovac is highly likely.

A number of ritual pits deriving from the Eneolithic have been documented in the central Balkans – for instance at the sites of Bubanj, Beligovo, Vinča. The pits differ in terms of dimensions, contents, location within or in relation to the settlements, etc. Thus, for instance, a pit at Bubanj is about 1.5 m deep, whilst others at this site are quite shallow, but their fill is very similar and includes fragmented pots, figurines, various pieces of weapons, animal bone (dominated by the remains of pig and dog) and so on (fig. 1).[7] On the other hand, the pit from Vinča, which derives from a later phase of the Eneolithic, is very different as it contained only several pots placed upside down at the bottom of the pit. A similar pit, containing several pots but somewhat larger, was

[1] Булатовић 2015, 8.

[2] Janićijević 1986, 38.

[3] Булатовић 2015, 7-9.

[4] Hodder, Hutson 2003, 9; Miret i Mestre 2014, 339-354.

[5] Tasić 1958, 19-21.

[6] Nikolov 2011, 91-119.

[7] Булатовић 2015, 9-13.

registered at the site of Beligovo.[8] These examples demonstrate differences in the dimensions, shape and contents of the pits, even within the same period and in a relatively small area. There are though some elements (e.g. the type of deposited materials) common to all of the described examples, such as the whole pots, placed mainly at the bottom of the pits.

Based on the current knowledge of this phenomenon, it appears that the number of ritual pits increased in the later periods of prehistory. Hence in the Bronze Age, these pits occur in a greater number of locations in the central Balkans compared to the previous periods. Also known from this period are sacral spaces composed of dozens of this type of pits, for example at the sites of Dve Mogili in Pelince and Tatikev Kamen in Kokino in northern Macedonia.[9] Within these prehistoric "shrines", there are different types of pits of varied contents, dimensions and architecture (e.g. some have above-ground stone constructions and at the bottom of one a funnel was registered inside a beaker). This diversity complicates the reconstruction of their specific usage or the associated ritual.

Besides the sacral spaces, there are also solitary ritual pits, like the one at the site of Davidovac in SE Serbia; here, several pots from the Early Bronze Age were discovered in the northwest part of the pit (fig. 2), of which one may have represented a musical instrument – a drum of some kind.[10] Of particular interest is the situation encountered below the tumulus in Krivajica near Loznica in western Serbia.[11] In the centre of the tumulus, there was a sort of a horizontal surface cover constructed of river stone tiles; underneath it was an accumulation of earth. Below the earthen mound, at the base of the central part of the tumulus, two adjacent, circular, shallow pits were located, filled with fine light yellow clayish soil (fig. 3). No grave was discovered in the tumulus. The finds from the tumulus and the stone-built cover date this structure to the Late Bronze Age. The position of the pits in the centre of the tumulus, as well as their carefully prepared infill which is markedly different from the surrounding soil, indicate the special purpose of the pits, that is, their ritual character.

The largest number of ritual pits recorded in prehistory of the central Balkans derives from the Iron Age, and a similar situation applies to Europe.[12] Such pits were detected in eastern Serbia (Miroč),[13] middle Morava Valley (Panjevački rit near Jagodina),[14] southern Morava Valley (the sites of Krševica, Ranutovac and Pavlovac near Vranje),[15] Nišava Valley (the site of Crnoklište near Pirot)[16] and they are also highly frequent in the neighbouring regions – in Thrace and southern Romania.[17] Besides the finds of single ritual pits at these sites, a sacral area was discovered in Miroč with multiple ritual pits or rock crevices in which various goods have been deposited. The Iron Age pits differ in terms of their contents, dimensions and forms. There are, for example, pits in which a whole animal was laid (e.g. a horse in a pit at Ranutovac), pits for libation, or pits where the fill consist of various materials (fig. 4).

The ritual pits at Krševica near Vranje demonstrate the continuation of this tradition into the Late Iron Age and the time of the Scordisci, whereas new research in the area of Vladičin Han shows that ritual pits were also in use in this region during the Roman period. Even though the period of Antiquity was characterized by polytheistic religion imposed by the expanding Roman Empire, in addition to this, and parallel to the existence of some local cults and the emerging Christianity, primitive religious beliefs and practices from the preceding periods seem to have survived.

In the course of the rescue excavations at the site of Piljakovac in Kržince near Vladičin Han in 2015, several pits were detected interpreted as ritual in character. Based on the number of pits and their spatial distribution, the area of the site could even have represented a sacral space, similar to the prehistoric ones documented at Pelince, Kokino, Ranutovac or Miroč. Within a very narrow zone of expropriated land of about 12 m in width, four sub-circular ritual pits were registered, of 1-1.5 m in diameter. They were organized in pairs located 1.5-2 m apart. In one of the pairs (pits 4 and 5), pit 4 was filled with brown soil, pieces of daub, crushed stone and carbonized wood, whilst it also contained finds such as lid of a pot and a Roman coin. The other pit in the pair (pit 5) was also filled with brown soil and contained a high quantity of large daub fragments, crushed stone and charred material; the finds included three woodworking tools made of iron and fragments of three amphorae and three lids made on a potter's wheel (fig. 5). The fill of pits in the other group (pit 12 and 13), located about 18 m to the west from the first group,

[8] Tasić, Tasić 2003, 94-95; Николић, Ђуричић 1997, 82.

[9] Трајковска 1998, 5-30; Станковски 2002, 29-48; Булатовић, Станковски 2012, 268-279.

[10] Bulatović 2014, 61, Pl. II/25-28, III/29, 30.

[11] Istraživanja su obavljena 2016. godine u okviru međunarodnog projekta *Jadar*, kojeg realizuju Arheološki institut, Beograd i Brooklyn College, New York.

[12] Miret i Mestre 2014, 159-170, Taula 8.4.

[13] Jevtić, Peković 2009, 208.

[14] Стојић 1998, 316-322.

[15] Popović 2009, 251; Булатовић 2015, 16-18; Bulatović et al 2016, 214.

[16] Bulatović, Mladenović forthcoming.

[17] Nekhrizov, Tzvetkova 2012, 190, Fig. 1; Berzovan 2013, 309, Fig. 4-10.

was also filled up with brown soil mixed with pieces of daub, burnt matrix and large fragments of stone. In pit 13, underneath a layer of stone slabs, there was a cluster of ceramic vessels consisting of a pot and four lids (fig. 7). At the base of pit 12, an iron rattle bell was found, surrounded by large stones placed on their lateral side (fig. 6). The impression is that, the concentration of large stones covering the pit served to indicate the location of the pits, that is, they represented a kind of markers on the surface. This, too, suggests that the area was a sacral space, continually used for ritual purposes. The finds from the pits – the "offerings" (the coin, rattle bell encircled with stones, several pots covered with stones, large pieces of daub, etc) – imply a special treatment of the pits, which could thus be interpreted as ritual pits. Based on the diversity of the offerings, it can be assumed that the donors, i.e. the individuals practicing the ritual, were of different professions, but that the purpose of different pits was similar given that they all contained daub and burnt beams and bricks – elements of residential architecture. It is possible that the pits played a ritual role in the house construction. Similar pits from the Late Antiquity discovered at the site of Stalijska Mala (3rd century) were mentioned by R. Georgieva, whereas at other sites in Bulgaria pits of this kind are present mostly until the 1st century.[18]

The described examples of ritual pits from the central Balkans, along with the ubiquitous prehistoric pits in the neighbouring regions and whole Europe, indicate a once widespread ritual of depositing offerings in pits, a custom also known from the written sources. Thus in the Odyssey, Homer describes Odysseus digging a hole and putting various goods in it in order to appease the gods.[19] A slightly later source states how Medea, in an attempt to appeal to the gods to bring Jason's father back to life, created two holes into which she poured blood from a black lamb, a jugful of wine and a jugful of milk.[20] The evidence from the written sources on the existence of ritual pits in the past, together with the special contexts that archaeologists encounter in the pits, should be sufficient to eliminate arguments against this ritual practice put forward by the sceptics and critics of this phenomenon, and also to confirm that this interpretation is not a result of claims made by archaeologists without any supporting evidence.

One additional argument is provided by the examples of ritual pits in the central Balkans that date from the recent past. S. Petrović, for example, describes a peculiar custom of placing sacrifices in pits in Serbia over the previous century. In order to delay rain and extend the season of dry, sunny weather that facilitates the drying of brick, brick-makers from the area around the towns of Vranje and Pirot would bury a live cat; in the surroundings of the town of Kruševac, they would drown a cat in water prior to burying it – this with the aim of stopping the rain.[21] A ritual burying of a black rooster in a crop field to prevent hail was recorded in Kosovo.[22] That the ritual deposition of offerings (sacrifices) in pits was not inherited from the Paleo-Balkan peoples of the pre-Roman period is indicated by the presence of a similar practice in the Slavic communities of Central and Eastern Europe. Here, the celebration of the end of the harvest ("Obžinki") in late autumn, associated with many symbols of fertility and lighting of fires, also included burying in the ground of parts of sacrificial animals. A similar practice was documented among the Serbs during the religious holiday of Đurđevdan (St. George's) when bones of the sacrificed "totemic" lamb would be buried inside an ant hill, along with hoofs of sheep and lambs.[23] These examples illustrate how the ritual use of pits is not a tradition associated only with some specific historical periods, but that it relates to the level of religious awareness of people living in a certain region.

* * *

In an extensive study of ritual pits published several years ago it was emphasised that the classification of these pits is almost impossible because they occur in different parts of the world and in different periods, and they vary greatly with respect to their size, shape, fill composition, types of offered objects and materials, associated structures and constructions and so on.[24] Even so, based on the data included in the study, and the unpublished information presented in this paper, especially the one referring to the recent past in the central Balkans, some conclusions can be reached on the nature and development of this ritual practice.

Most importantly, in order to define a pit as a ritual feature, the context of the pit must be in some way special, that is, there should be a distinct symbolism that it displays or a pattern that it follows. The ritual and ritual pits served to enable communication with inexplicable supreme forces upon which the survival of a society depended. They originate from very early periods of prehistory and were particularly common up to the time of the emergence of the dominant present-day religions of the world; some of their elements, however, were retained in the central Balkans and other regions until the last

18 Георгиева 1991, 4, 5.

19 Homer, Od. XI, 64.

20 Ovidije, VII, 238-248.

21 Петровић 2015, 837.

22 Петровић 2015, 816.

23 Петровић 2015, 820.

24 Булатовић 2015, 26.

century and have perhaps survived even until today.

Ritual pits became more common in the later periods of prehistory and so they appear most abundant in the Iron Age, both in the Balkans and Europe as a whole. An attempt at a classification (based on function, dimensions, use period, type of offerings, fill composition, etc) of these features in the central Balkans is problematic because very few pits have so far been registered and their characteristic are quite variable, even within a single sacral area. One exception is the Late Antiquity pits from Kržince which, apparently, indicate a ritual accompanying house construction. The sacrificial role of pits dating to the previous century is established based on the oral tradition; the pits themselves were not documented. The practice of depositing complete pots, normally at the bottom of pits, as seen in the Eneolithic of the central Balkans, could be taken as a possible rule or a pattern.

The concept of sacrificing valuable offerings (including human sacrifice) for a greater good or in order to terminate a period of ill fortune and to ”secure” happiness is not linked with a particular religion, culture or period of the past. It has been present all over the world, from prehistory until modern times and, in a way, it reflects the level of religious awareness and spirituality of individuals and of a community. The ritual of sacrificing in pits is an individual act or an act of a small group of people and, as such, it does not presuppose complex social organisation.

Finally, this (sacrificial) ritual could be defined as one of the earliest, but also one of the longest-lasting, routes of communication with unknown divine powers of which people were respectful and fearful. Although it developed as an element of primitive religions, this symbolic behaviour survived into modern times and is detectible even in present-day societies, in the form of, for example, the habit of throwing a coin into a well.

Aleksandar Bulatović
Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade

Rezime

Praistorijske jame u kojoj se ritualno pohranjuju darovi kako bi se umilostivile neobjašnjive sile, odnosno mitska bića koja upravljaju svetom oduvek su privlačile pažnju arheologa. Treba, međutim, razlikovati jame čija namena nije definisana, pa je to jedini argument zbog čega su opredeljene u ritualne, i one čiji specijalni kontekst ukazuje na njihov ritualni karakter.

Ovaj rad se bavi definicijom rituala i ritualnih jama i kratkim pregledom ovh jama na centralnom Balkanu kroz periode praistorije, ali i donosi nove informacije o antičkim ritualnim jamama, koje su veoma slične praistorijskim, kao i o ritualnim jamama iz prošlog veka.

Zahvaljujući ovim podacima izvedeni su neki zaključci o ritualnim jamama uopšte, kao i njihovoj pojavi na centralnom Balkanu.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Berzovan A., 2013; „Consideraţii privind gropile rituale Dacice de la unip-„Dealu Cetăţuica“, comuna Sacoşu Turcesc, Jud. Timiş (sec. I î.Hr.-sec. I d.Hr)“, in *Arheovest* 1, 309-341.

Булатовић А., 2015; „Феномен праисторијских ритуалних јама, неколико примера са централног Балкана”, in Старинар н.с. 65, 7-35.

Bulatović A., 2014; „New Finds as a contribution to the study of the Early Bronze Age in the southern part of the Central Balkans“, in Старинар н.с. 64, 57-75.

Булатовић, А., Станковски, Ј., 2012; Бронзано доба у басену Јужне Мораве и у долини Пчиње/ Бронзено време во басенот на Јужна Морава и долината на Пчиња*,* Београд.

Bulatović A., Kapuran A., Milanović D., 2016; „Layers from metal ages at the site of Kovačke njive In Pavlovac near Vranje“, in Perić S., Bulatović A., (ур./eds.), *Archaeological investigations along the route of the E 75 Highway*, *2011-2014,* Belgrade, 205-219.

Bulatović A., Mladenović O., forthcoming; „Zaštitna iskopavanja na lokalitetu Gornjo polje u Crnoklištu kod Pirota, autoput E80“, in *Arheologija u Srbiji 2014-2015*.

Георгиева Р., 1991; “Обредни ями в Тракия (края на II-I хил. пр. н.е.)“, in Археология 1, 1-11.

Janićijević J., 1986; *U znaku Moloha*, Beograd.

Jevtić, M., Peković M., 2009; „Mihajlov ponor on Miroč - Tribal Cult Places“, in Старинар н.с. 57, 191-219.

Hodder I., Hutson, S., 2003; *Reading the past*, Cambridge.

Miret i Mestre J., 2014; *Fosses, sitges i altres coses, catàleg d'estructures prehistòriques d'Europa. http://www.academia.edu/7172876/Fosses_sitges_i_altres_coses.* Accessed 4.1.2015.

Nekhrizov, G., Tzvetkova, J., 2012; “Ritual pit complexes in Iron age Thrace: the case study of Svilengrad”, in *Anatolian Iron Ages 7*, 177-209.

Николић Д., Ђуричић С., 1997; „Резултати сондажног истраживања енеолитског насеља Белигово“, in Гласник САД 13, 79-88.

Nikolov V., 2011; “A Reinterpretation of Neolithic Complexes with Dug-out Features: Pit Sanctuaries”, in *Studia Praehistorica* 14, 91-119.

Петровић С., 2015; Српска митологија, у веровању, обичајима и ритуалу, Београд.

Popović P., 2009; “Scordisci on the Fringes of the Hellenistic World”, in: Tiefengraber, G., Kavur, B., Gaspari, A. (eds.), *Keltske studije II. Studies in Celtic Archaeology,* Montagnac, 247–258.

Станковски Ј., 2002; „Татикев Камен – мегалитска опсерваторија и светилиште“, in Музејски гласник 7-9, 29–48.

Стојић М., 1998; „Култни објекат на локалитету Пањевачки рит у Јагодини“, in М. Лазић (ур.), Уздарје Драгославу Срејовићу, Београд, 316-322.

Tasić N., 1958; „Žitkovac i neki problemi relativnog hronološkog odnosa neolitskih i eneolitskih naselja na Kosovu i u dolini Ibra“, in *Glasnik Muzeja Kosova i Metohije* 3, 11-49.

Tasić N.N, Tasić N., 2003; “Serbian Prehistoric Archaeology in the 1990s”, in D. V. Grammenos (ed.), *Recent Research in the Prehistory of the Balkans*, Thessaloniki, 73-128.

Трајковска Л., 1998; “Археолошки истражувања на локалитетот Градиште кај с. Пелинце”, in Музејски гласник 2-4, 5–30.

Historical written sources:

Homer, *The Odyssey*, transl. S. Butler, 1999, http://manybooks.net/, Accessed 10.1.2015. **Ovidije**, *Metamorfoze*, preveo i komentarisao T. Maretić, eLektire.skole.hr, www.jdp.rs/predstave/metamorfoze/, Accessed 6.12.2014.

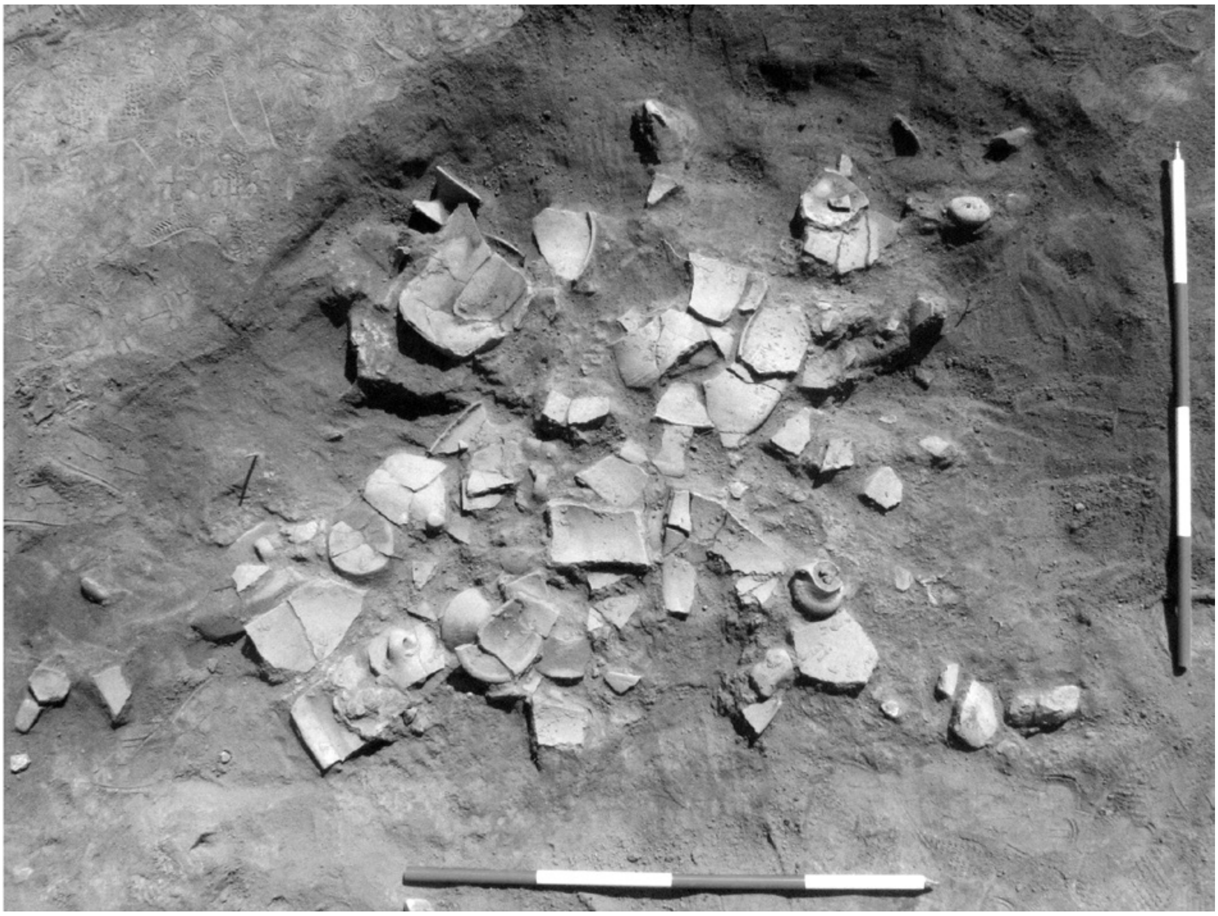


Fig. 1 - Bubanj site near Niš, SE Serbia, the eneolithic ritual pit.

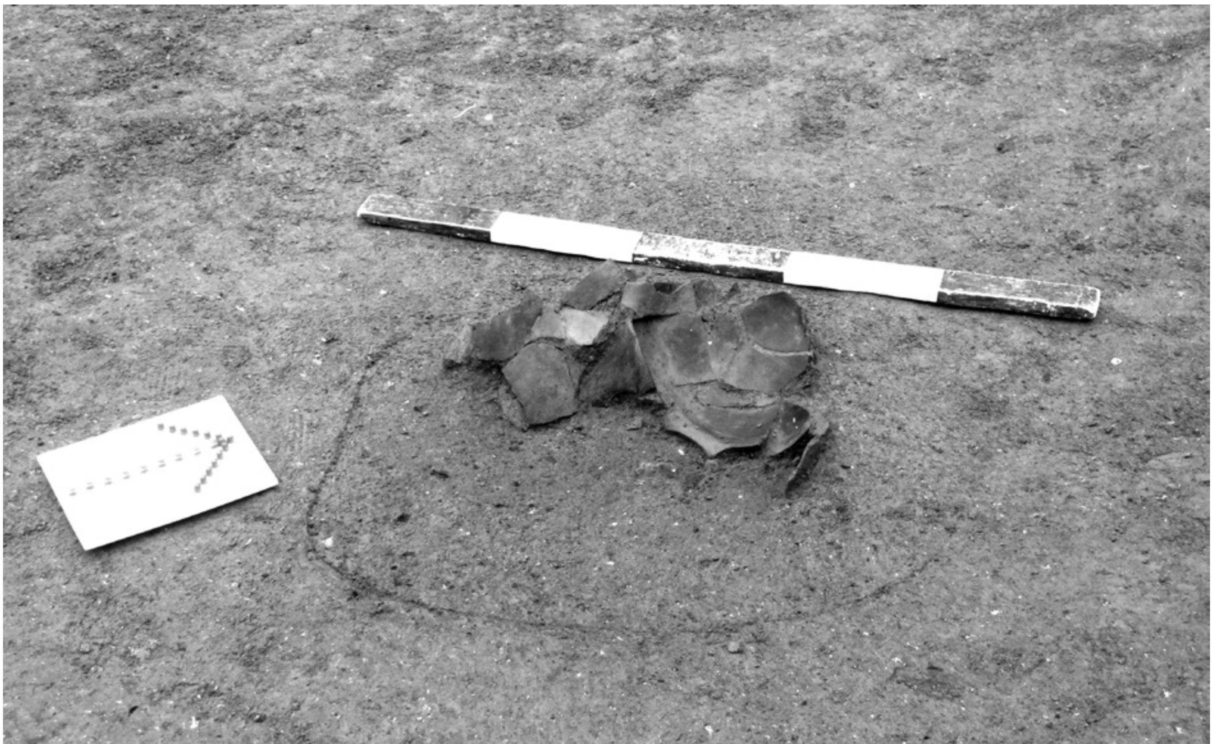


Fig. 2 - Davidovac near Vranje, SE Serbia, the Early Bronze age ritual pit.

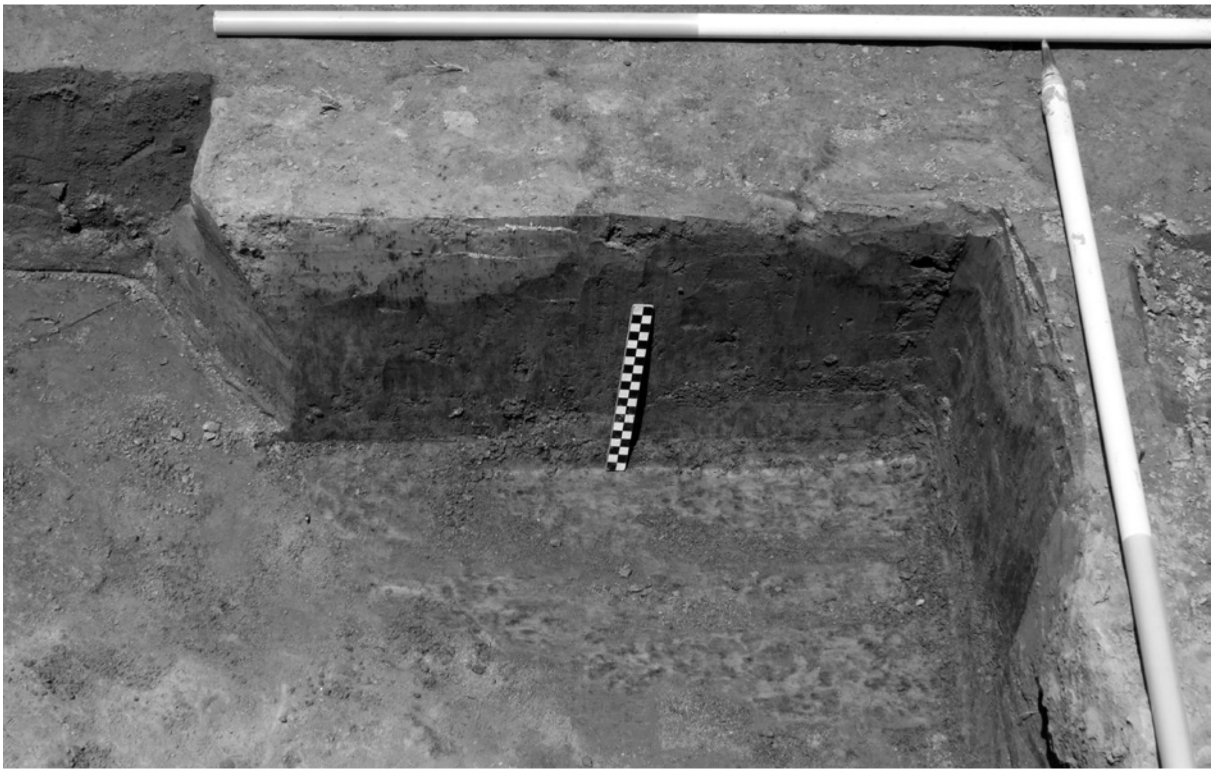


Fig. 3 – Krivajica near Loznica, W Serbia, the Late Bronze age ritual pits.

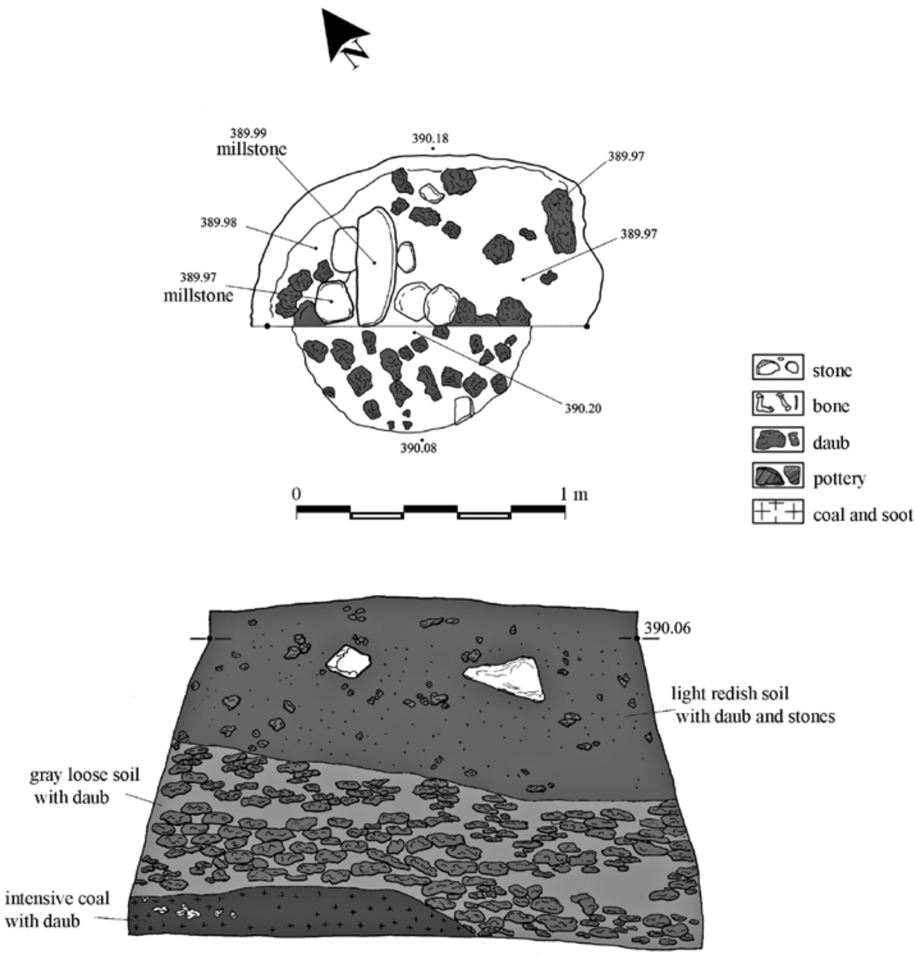


Fig. 4 – Pavlovac near Vranje, SE Serbia, the Iron age ritual pit.

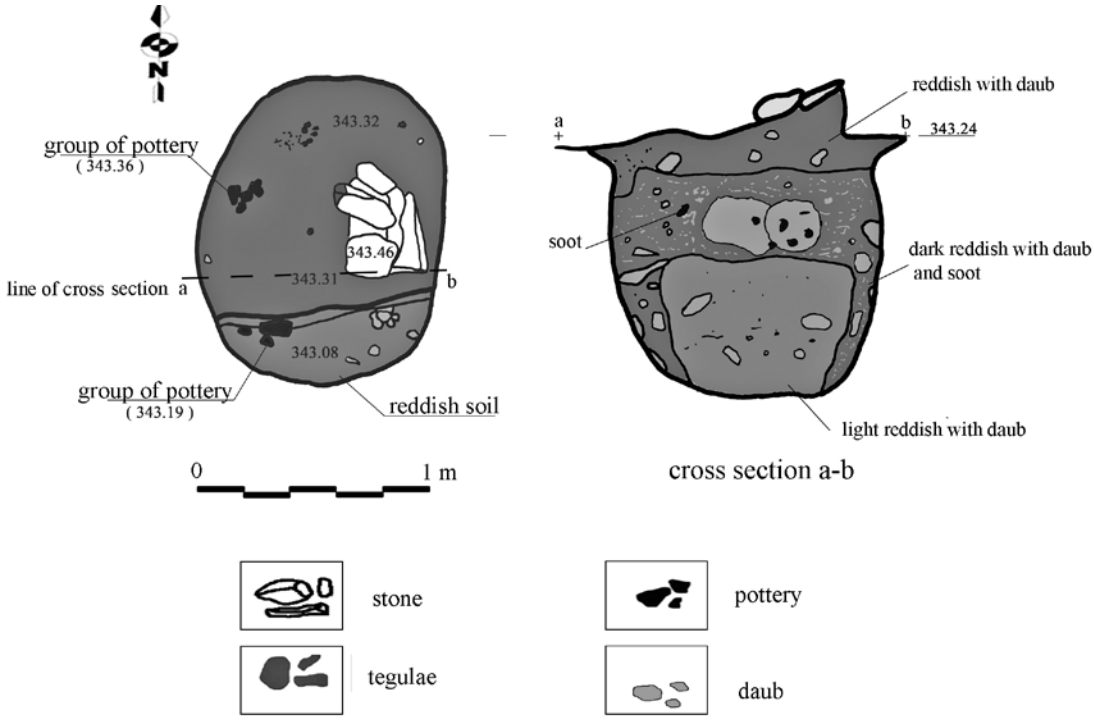


Fig. 5 – Kržince near Vladičin Han, SE Serbia, the Late Antiquity ritual pit 5.

Fig. 6 - Kržince near Vladičin Han, SE Serbia, the Late Antiquity ritual pit 12.

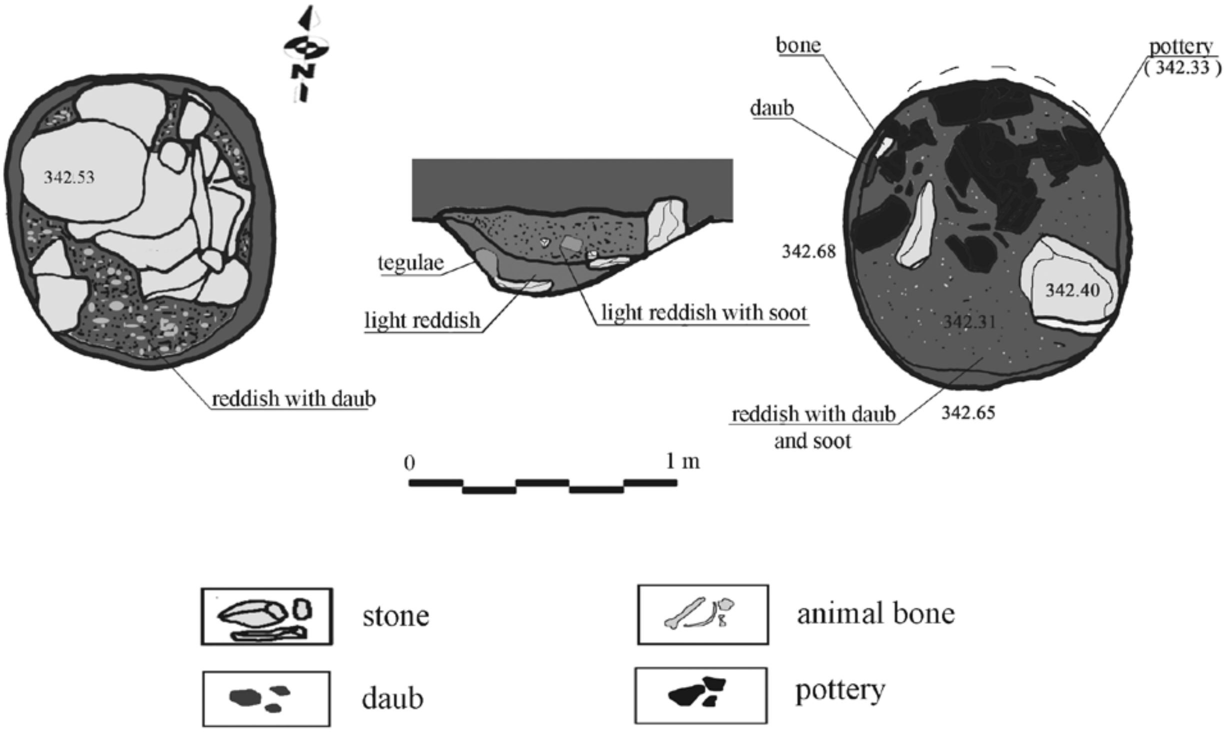


Fig. 7 - Kržince near Vladičin Han, SE Serbia, the Late Antiquity ritual pit 13.

THE LIGHT, IMAGINARY AND REAL SACRED SPACE IN THE THRACIAN ROCK - CUT SANCTUARIES

Valeria Fol

Director of the Institute for Research, Management and Preservation of Cultural-Historical Heritage at the University of Library Studies and Information Technologies - Sofia,
Institute for Balkan Studies with Centre of Thracology - Bulgarian Academy of Sciences

Light and darkness constitute universal categories in the sacred texts, architecture, sacred spaces and ritual practices (including the initiational ones) of various religious systems. Because of this universality, they become synonyms of the binary oppositions, knowledge – ignorance, initiation in faith and non-initiation in it. The universal categories become moral, ethical, and social orientation.[1] At the same time, light and darkness constitute a landmark in the sacred territories, and in the buildings where rituals are performed. Light and darkness form the overall thinking of a person, and especially religiosity. Interpreting light and darkness into sacred objects in a particular cultural and historical environment assists the understanding of the specific rituals practiced in them. This issue is explored extensively in various literary and non-literary cultures.[2]

That is why, since the dawn of human history, the cult towards the Sun-God is a leading one in the religious systems of ancient societies in Southeast Europe, the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean, Asia Minor, Egypt, Mesopotamia, the Levant coast. This cult is in the forefront of religious life,

01 – Rock-cut stairs, Rock-cut sanctuary “Gluhite kamani”, East Rhodope Mountains. Photo by Chavdar Stoichev

and in the Antiquity forms the basis of the doctrine of the ruler’s divine power, of many cults and even religions that have evolved over the millennia and formed the spirituality of the peoples of the Mediterranean countries and Europe. A number of ritual practices, including dedicatory, are based on universal categories of light and darkness. A number of

[1] See the philosophical understanding of light and darkness in *Plat*. Resp. VII. 514A-521B compares the darkness of the cave with non-initiation, illiteracy. The initiates know of the kingdom, not illuminated by light. *Procl*. Rem publ. 12. 287-96 - the prisoner climbing from the darkness of the cave to the light is the ascent of the soul into the realm of reason and good.

[2] For some examples in this direction, see Yadin, Y. 1962; Meyer - Smith (Eds.) 1994; Weightman 1996; Фол 2004; Dieleman 2005: 67, 74 n. 11 and literature for the light in the Coptic papyruses, 153-157, 134 - Helios, who is light in the magical papyruses; Boutsikas 2007. For sunlight and the methods of archeo-astronomy, see Polcaro, A. - V.F. Polcaro 2009.

02 – Rock-cut Sanctuary "Harman Kaia", East Rhodope Mountains. Photo by Chavdar Stoichev

ritual practices, including initiational ones, are based on the universal categories of light and darkness.[3]

In Southeastern Europe, the tradition of paying tribute to the sun was born in the Neolithic. It does not cease with the end of the Chalcolithic (late 4th millennium BC) and the beginning of the Bronze Age (at 3,000 BC), but it accumulates and interacts with the tradition and the ideas of the newcomer groups of stock-breeders from the steppes.[4] The interest in the celestial lights has been dictated by both economic interest and the necessity of land and sea movement, as well as by the universal in ancient times belief that every person and the society in which they live, is part of the cosmos, and that their life must be in harmony with him. The cult of the Sun is practically universal for all ancient peoples, and therefore the examination of the Thracian faith in the Sun-God should be studied in the context of the Mediterranean and the Asia Minor cultures, with which it maintains dynamic cultural interactions.

In ancient literary cultures astral knowledge and the cults and rituals related to it, including the ones to the Sun-God, have been the subject of long-standing research.[5] This is, however not the case with non-literary societies such as the Thracians and most ancient European peoples. The texts that have reached us and the recorded oral stories do not reflect the full picture of astral knowledge, cults and rituals that are very important in clarifying the anthropological, sociological and religious aspects of ancient and even medieval societies. The void is successfully being completed by archaeoastronomy, which constitutes an alternative interdisciplinary method for exploring archaeological sites, artifacts, iconography, planning and building construction, especially construction of cult buildings and sacred spaces.[6]

Observation of the sky requires a special group of people to whom society has given this duty and right, which transform consequently into a privilege. While in Egypt and the literary Malaysian cultures it is known that this knowledge is the privilege of special (priestly) casts, the astral knowledge of the Thracians as well as other non-literary peoples seems to have been passed on in the family and clan, in professional groups, and religious societies through special rites and during mass mysterial ritual.

When the society has a developed aristocratic culture, special knowledge remains the privilege of closed (one may say esoteric) societies. The ancient literary tradition associates with the names of Orpheus and Zalmoxis the Thracian aristocratic societies of the initiated and the rituals in which light and darkness are of utmost importance for the initiational ritualism.[7] Written reports of Thracians' worship of the Sun-God are few. The most famous and commented texts are by Sophocles, Aeschylus, Titus Livius and Macrobius. Scholia to the Iliad reported that the ancient Greek poet Sophocles wrote "Helios, the most honorable deity of the horse-loving Thracians",[8] i. e., a suggestion that the luminary is revered as a sacred power.[9]

In the entire Mediterranean world, including in Ancient Thrace, many of the high-mountain and rock sanctuaries are usually also places for astronomical observations.[10] Through the course of the sun and its appearance at a specific place on the horizon, the ancients measured time. The high moun-

[3] Фол В. 2016.

[4] Фол В. 2013 with literature and criticism of the thesis that the cult of the Sun in Southeastern Europe appears at the beginning of 3 millennium BC. as a result of the arrival of nomads from the north.

[5] Polcaro, Polcaro, V.F. 2009; See Amanda Laoupi's publications in <http://issuu.com/alaoupi> 28 August 2011 on the reflection of astral phenomena on epic visions, mythology and ritualism.

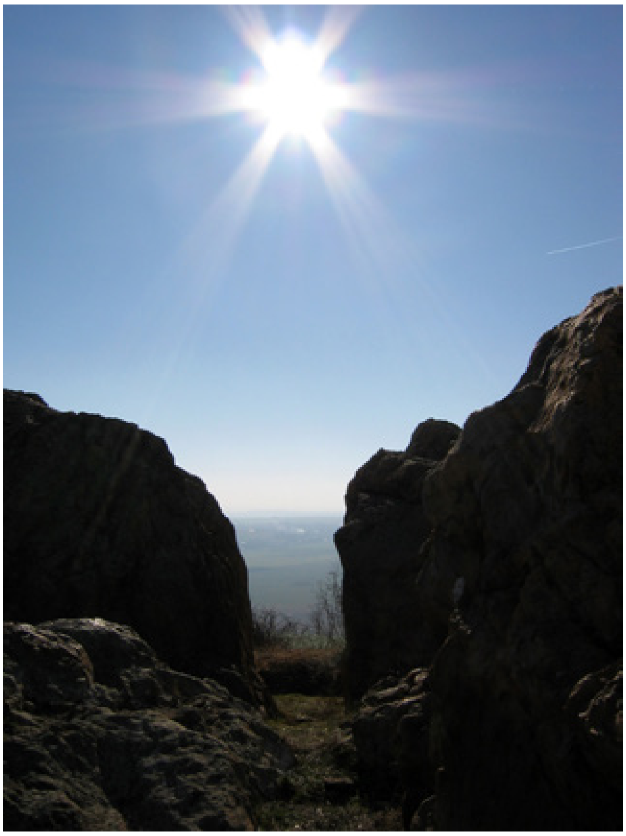
[6] Yavis 1949; Goodison 2001; McCluskey 2006; Liritzis, Vassiliou 2003; 2007; Boutsikas 2007; Banou 2008.

[7] Фол 1986; Попов 1989; 1995; Фол В. 2008.

[8] *Schol*. Il. XIII 705 = *Soph*. Fr. 523 Nauck[2], translation in ИИТ I: 99.

[9] Фол 2002: 48.

[10] Фол В. 2007 with all literature; Radoslavova, Stoev 1989.



03 – Rock-cut sanctuary on the top of the acropolis of the ancient city of Kabyle. Sunrise during the summer solstice. Photo by Chavdar Stoichev

04 – Rock-cut sanctuary "Orlovi skali", East Rhodope Mountains. Photo by Chavdar Stoichev

tain peak, the rock, the big stone constitute some of the safest markers on the horizon on which the sun disk can land on. Everyone can, as long as they know the markers, keep an eye on the annual passing of time, but the secrets of the astronomical calendar and the annual ritual cycle are kept by the priests.

For the Thracians, the solid rock symbolizes the Great Mother Goddess Earth, and the Sun is her Son. They are equal gods. In the Thracian mythological imagery, the penetration of sunlight into the cave-shaped womb-like darkness is the sacred marriage from which the ruler is born.[11] Evidence of this religious doctrine, which we call by the typological term Thracian Orphism, are the inscriptions that have reached us, where we read "Cotys, païs (son, servant) of Apollo", "Cotys, païs (son, servant) of the Mountain Mother". [12]

The theme of the rock-cut and cave sanctuaries, the special purpose of some sub-mound constructions and their connection with the deities honoured by the Thracians, constitute the subject of numerous studies.[13] An important element in most of the sanctuaries, as well as in the sub-mound temple near the village of Starosel, is the ladder. As Fritz Graff emphasizes,[14] from the time of Mesopotamia to that of Dante, the ancients' view of the passage to the World of the Beyond is through a river by going to the end of the world (like Odysseus through the solar door)[15] because in the Mediterranean world since the Antiquity, the World of the Beyond is never found on the same level as the living.[16] Since the Age of Egypt's Old Kingdom,[17] the idea of merging the soul of the dead ruler with the Sun-God so that they live in the World of the Beyond, is presented and described as climbing a ladder equivalent in meaning to a solar ray. Stairs are interpreted as a way to reach the deity. The stairs lead to niches with images or statues of deities, characteristic of the Phrygian and Hittite sanctuaries.

In this context, we must also situate Polyaenus'[18] text, which has been commented on in connection with the priestly functions of the Thracian ruler and a tribute to Hera – the translation of the Great

[11] Фол В. в: Попов, Фол В. 2010: 26-55. Фол В. in: Попов, Фол В. 2010: 26-55.

[12] Фол 2002: 46-48, 92, 179.

[13] Фол В. 2007 with literature review and sources.

[14] Graf 2004: 19.

[15] Fol V. 2007.

[16] Graf 2004: 19.

[17] Игнатов 2009: 7-8.

[18] *Polyaenus*, Stratagemata 7.23.

05 – Rock-cur throne, “Perperek” rock-cut sanctuary, East Rhodope Mountains. Photo by Valeria Fol

Mother Goddess.[19] Kosingas is a ruler and a priest of the Kebrenioi who live along the middle course of Maritza River, and the Skaiboai, who live in the Thracian Chersonesos area and were driven out of there by the Dolonkoi.[20] According to custom, writes Polyaenus, the rulers of the Kebrenioi and the Skaiboai were priests of Hera, i. e., of the Great Mother Goddess. When the chief and priest was Kosingas the Thracians began to disobey him. Then Kosingas gathered many large wooden stairs and threatened to climb the sky to Hera to tell her that they did not obey him. Then the Thracians became frightened, began to supplicate and to swear to obey him.

This mythological story, conveyed by Polyaenus, shows that in the 2nd century the folk tradition keeps the notion of the ladder to heaven as a path to a deity, in this case, of Hera. Ascending to Heaven, a high peak, to pay tribute to Helios, is contained in a preserved fragment of Bassarae by Aeschylus,[21] who describes ritualism in honor of Helios on a mountain peak. The text reports that Orpheus rose before sunrise to climb the top of the Pangaion Mountain to meet the luminary first, singing to the accompaniment of a lyre.

In the same mountain, Euripides locates the cave in which Anthropodaemon Rezos reports to the believers the will of God Dionysus.[22] Titus Livius also writes, on the occasion of the campaign of Philip V in Thrace in the second half of July 181 BC, about honoring the luminary in Thrace, also known as Helios.[23] The text explicitly mentions that Philip was in the holy place when Sirius rose to pay tribute to the dog-star and to make a sacrifice to Zeus and Helios.[24] The Macedonian ruler has taken the risky trip to make an offering to the Sun-God when it rises simultaneously with Sirius, i. e., during the dog days of summer (the hottest days of the year).[25]

Polyaenus’ text on Kosyngas is folkloric and places Hera – Goddess keeper of the family, in the sky, i. e. next to Helios. Assuming that Hera and Helios embody the equal deities Great Goddess and her Son-Sun, we can explain why in the folklore of Southeast Europe is so popular the story of the Sun and the Sun mother, to whom (the mother) the hero goes. We can also explain the belief that on the day of Saint John’s Eve, the Sun drops a swing / ladder from the sky to grab the most beautiful girl.

The archeoastronomical studies of Thracian sanctuaries and megalithic monuments[26] show that their location is specially selected and modeled to observe the course of the sun, and more specifically the solstices and equinoxes. It is obvious that light and darkness are essential to create the imaginary landscape of faith and ritual in the sanctu-

[19] Попов in: Фол, В. Попов 2010: 56-70.

[20] Notes 9 and 10 by Дечев, Кацаров 1949: 347 and 348.

[21] *Aesch*. Fr. 83, translation in ИИТ I: 87

[22] *Eur.* Rhes. 882-922 Murray.

[23] *Tit. Liv.* 40.22.7 Müller.

[24] For Helios, who is Sabazius for the Thracians and Zeus for the Phrygians, see Фол 1994: 284 and 102-105 with analysis of the text, and *Macrob*. Sat. I. 11 Willis.

[25] Фол В. 2012: 26-27.

[26] Radoslavova, Stoev 1989.

06 – Winged solar disk from a sanctuary “Paleokastro”, northern slopes of the Sakar Mountains. Photo by Valeria Fol

07 – Reconstruction of the winged solar disk from a sanctuary “Paleokastro”, northern slopes of the Sakar Mountains

aries. Through the architectural modeling of the rock-cut sanctuaries and megaliths, the luminous modeling has also been achieved. This mode recreates both the real and the imaginary landscape of the eternal natural circle and the life cycle of man.

The merging of light and darkness during the winter solstice in the cave-sanctuaries creates the landscape of creation. In the rock sanctuaries the rising of the sun symbolizes the birth of the Sun-God and his divine power in the days of the summer solstice. On the day of the autumnal equinox, after which light diminishes, it is equivalent to taking on the path to the World of the Beyond. The rock-cut sanctuaries most strongly imply the unity of nature and man, and for this reason so many of them continue to be topoi of the sacred to this day.

Bibliography

Amanda Laoupi в <http://issuu.com/alaoupi > 28. 08. 2011 г.

Banou, E. 2008. Minoan ‘Horns of Consecration’ revisited: a Symbol of Sun Worship in Palatial and Post-palatial Crete? – In: *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry, Vol. 8, No. 1*, 2008, 27-47.

Boutsikas, E. 2007. *Astronomy and Ancient Greek Cult: An Application of Archaeoastronomy to Greek Religious Architecture, Cosmologies and Landscapes*. PhD Thesis – http://www.academia.edu/Papers/in/Ancient_History?page=3 – 18. 04. 2012

Dieleman, J. 2005. *Priests, Tongues, and Rites. The London-Leiden Magical Manuscripts and Translation in Egyptian Ritual (100–300 CE*. Btill, Leiden – Boston.

Fol, V. 2007. The Solar Doors – a Gate to the Beyond. In: *Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Thracilogy, Komotini – Alexandrupolis 18-23 September 2005.* Athens 2007, 169-175.

Goodison, L. 2001. From Tholos Tomb to Throne Room: Perceptions of the Sun in Minoan Ritual* – In: *Aegaeum 22, 2001*, 77-88.

Graf, Fr. 2004. The Bridge and the Ladder: Narrow Passages in Late Antique Visions. In: Ra‘anan S. Boustan, Annette Yoshiko Reed (eds.) 2004. *Heavenly realms and earthly realities in late antique religions*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 19-33.

Liritzis, I., Vassiliou, H. 2003. Archaeoastronomical Orientation of Seven Significant Ancient Hellenic Temples. – *Archaeoastronomy: the journal of Astronomy in Culture, 17, 2003*, 94-100.

Liritzis, I., Vassiliou, H. 2007. Does Sunrise Day Correlate with Eastern Orientation of Byzantine Churches on Significant Solar Dates and Saint’s Days? A Preliminary Study. – *Byzantinische Zeitschrift, Volume 99 (2), 2007*, 523-534.

McCluskey, S. 2006. The Orientations of Medieval Churches: A Methodological case Study. – In: T. Bostwick, – B. Bates, *Viewing the Sky Through Past and Present Cultures: Selected Papers from the Oxford VII International Conference on Archaeoastronomy. Phoenix: City of Phoenix Parks and Recreation Department, 2006, 409-420.*

Meyer, M., R. Smith (Eds.) 1994. *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power*. Harper-SanFrancisco, San Francisco.

Polcaro, A., V.F. Polcaro. *2009.* Man and sky: problems and methods of archaeoastronomy. - *Archeologia e Calcolatori 20: 223-245.*

Radoslavova, Ts., Stoev, Al. 1989. Astronomical Traces in Ancient Rock Monuments in Bulgarian lands. – *Rivista di Archeologia. Supl. 9. Colloquio Internazionale d’Archeologia e Astronomia, Venezia 3 - 6 Maggio 1989*, 176-179, Tav. XLVII-XLVIII.

Yadin, Y. 1962. *The Scroll of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness* Oxford.

Yavis 1949: Yavis, C., *Greek Altars: Origins and Typology.* St. Louis, Missouri, USA: St. Louis University Press, 1949.

Weightman, B. A. 1996. Sacred Landscapes and the Phenomenon of Light. -

Geographical Review, Vol. 86, No. 1 (Jan., 1996), pp. 59-71.

Игнатов, С. 2009: Игнатов, С., Морфология на класическия Египет (по данни на *pHermitage 1115).* Автореферат за присъждане на научната степен „доктор на историческите науки”, София.

ИИТ I: Извори за историята на Тракия и траките. Том I. София, Институт по тракология – БАН, 1981.

Кацаров Г. И., Дечев Д. (Съст.) 1949. Извори за древната история и география на Тракия и Македония. София: БАН.

Попов, Д. 1989. Залмоксис. Религия и общество на траките. София, Университетско издателство „Кл. Охридски”, 1989.

Попов, Д. 1995. Богът с много имена. София, Свят – Наука.

Попов, Д., Фол, В. 2010. Божествата на траките. София, Тангра ТанНакРа.

Фол, Ал. 1986. Тракийският орфизъм. София, Университетско издателство „Кл. Охридски”, 1986.

Фол, Ал. 1994. Тракийският Дионис. Книга втора: Сабазий. София, Университетско издателство „Св. Кл. Охридски”.

Фол, Ал. 2002. Тракийският Дионис. Книга трета: назоваване и вяра. София, НБУ.

Фол, Ал. 2004 Orphica Magica I .София, Борина.

Фол, В. 2008. Орфей тракиецът. София, Тангра ТанНакРа.

Фол, В. 2007. Скални топоси на вяра в Югоизточна Европа и в Мала Азия през древността. Институт по тракология – БАН, (= Studia Thracica 10).

Фол, В. 2012. Богът, почитан от всички хора. – Балканика. Между митът и реалността 1/2012, 21-32.

Фол, В. 2013. Идеята за светлината и мрака в украсата на начелника от Софрониево. – Тракийската култура – неделима част от европейската цивилизация. Сборник по повод 80 годишнината от рождението на проф. Александър Фол., Враца, Микротест, 17-23, 107.

Фол, В. 2016. Светлината и тъмнината в посветителната обредност на траките. В: Поломието. Находки, събития, личности. VII и VIII национални научни конференции. Фобер, Велико Търново, 76-82.

Summary

The article examines the role of light as a universal category and the creation of a sacred space in the Thracian sanctuaries by means of light. Written and epigraphic data were juxtaposed with archeoastronomical research of Thracian rock-cut sanctuaries and megalithic monuments. A conclusion is reached that the the archeoastronomical studies of Thracian sanctuaries and megalithic monuments show that their location is specially selected and modelled to observe the course of the sun, and more specifically the solstices and equinoxes. It is obvious that light and darkness are essential to create the imaginary landscape of faith and ritual in the sanctuaries. Through the architectural modeling of the rock-cut sanctuaries and megaliths, the luminous modeling has also been achieved. This mode recreates both the real and the imaginary landscape of the eternal natural circle and the life cycle of man. The merging of light and darkness during the winter solstice in the cave-sanctuaries creates the landscape of creation. In the rock sanctuaries the rising of the sun symbolizes the birth of the Sun-God and his divine power in the days of the summer solstice. On the day of the autumnal equinox, after which light diminishes, it is equivalent to taking on the path to the World of the Beyond. The rock-cut sanctuaries most strongly imply the unity of nature and man, and for this reason so many of them continue to be topoi of the sacred to this day.

CURRENT ISSUES OF THE STUDIES OF THRACIAN CULT PLACES IN SOUTHWESTERN BULGARIA

Aleksey Gotsev
National Archaeological Institute and Museum
Bulgarian Academy of Sciences
e-mail alexaim@abv.bg

The problems of the archaeological sites, which are related to the ritual practices of the Thracian tribes during the period from the end of the II - I millennium BC, have permanently attracted the attention of the scientists in Bulgaria during the last 30 years. In a number of regions of the country, and especially in the southern half - where the main mountain massifs are located, a number of results have been achieved in the study of various cult centers. In this way, by establishing, the regional approach to such research we are able to make observations and conclusions in general[1].

Significant results have been achieved covering the following main areas:

- Search and localization of Thracian religious centers.

- Archaeological investigation of sites with more or less certain sacral character

- Interdisciplinary studies of cult monuments. In this direction both the application of the methods of natural science and attracting data from folklore tradition, toponimy, ethnography, etc. are included. The two international symposia devoted to the megalithic monuments and cult practices act as a conclusion of the achieved and an outline of the prospective investigations[2].

The archeological studies in this direction have led to the necessity of elaborating or defining criteria that distinguish Thracian holy places from the other monuments of the Thracian culture, subject to archaeological research.

These observations are still in effect during the introduction into the subject of Thracian cult centers - namely the signs and elements through which we recognize them and respectively separate them from the other archaeological monuments generally related to the culture of peoples in Ancient Thrace. It must be acknowledged that the assertion "... at this stage of the survey there are no established criteria on the basis of which it is possible to determine the functional purpose of each site. In the case of the cult sites located in the mountain ranges of Southern Thrace, this problem is particularly evident"[3] is valid with full force.

So despite the efforts of a number of scientists over the last 30 years in this direction, we are still far from elaborating an orderly, hierarchical system that defines the sanctuaries of other profane sites.

The assumption that such a scheme will not be created or constructed due to a number of features of Thracian religious thinking and Thracian cult practices seems more and more likely and acceptable. In this case, we are very far from the harmonious systems in some other religious doctrines (such as the Hellenistic) that are more developed, more sophisticated and more specialized than the religious concepts of the Thracians. Sources for some other religions are too incomparably more abundant, and the information for their practice is more complete, which to a large extent prerequisites and determines the efforts of the archaeological research in the territories of their dissemination.

This is why it should be emphasized that the archaeological results obtained in the study of some religious centers in today's Bulgarian lands should be in the basis of the scheme of criteria for identifying and defining the sanctuaries and cult places. The attempts to attract elements from other cultural and his-

[1] Domaradzki , 1994, 69-108; Гоцев, 2008, 194-234

[2] International Symposiums "Megalithic Monuments and Cult Practices". Blagoevgrad 2012, 2016

[3] Байраков, 2016, 50

torical environments always pose dangers of over-interpretation and open up opportunities for unscientific speculation. Not with standing these reservations, there are objective facts available at this stage that allow archaeological studies related to religious concepts and cult practices to be raised to a higher level.

A large data base has been accumulated in both directions - registration of new cult monuments and archaeological excavations of key sites that carry information at a higher level.

Through the first method we complete the information on their geographic location, the geomorphologic forms where they are located, preliminary data for their chronology is also available, and hence the possibility to consider them as elements of one system that functioned simultaneously.

During archaeological excavations (even on a limited scale) we get more in-depth information about:

- Vertical and horizontal stratigraphy of the monument. The possibilities for more accurate dating of registered archaeological situations are increased.

- The organization of the sacred space - which, surprisingly for the investigators, is a dynamic absorption of territories from the area of the site, which during different periods (even in the 1st millennium BC) have different purposes in Thracian ritual practices.

- Various facilities and constructions related to cult practices are revealed, enriching our ideas about ritual actions and their remnants in the site. This should also be the case when there is a wall built around the sacred space [4].

- The gifts offered at the sanctuary or, more generally, the archaeological materials found during the excavations of such religious centers[5].

The article by D. Bayrakov is a summary of what has been achieved in the field of Thracian religious centers and an attempt to examine critically the different elements of these sites and the possibilities for them to be used as criteria for the designation of the sanctuaries[6].

- Geographic characteristics of present-day South-West Bulgaria. Territory for analysis

The term SW Bulgaria means the mountainous territory of today's Bulgarian borders - that is, the valleys of the three major rivers - Struma, Mesta and Upper Maritsa and their adjacent mountainous territories. The main nucleus, from which most of the monuments studied originate, is more likely the share of the western or even the northwestern part of the Rhodopes and its natural boundaries to the North and West - the valleys Maritsa and Mesta Rivers. (Fig.1) In fact, an extension of this territory in every direction outlines certain perspectives which however go beyond the scope of this report. In the southern direction it is possible to trace the characteristics of the archaeological sites, which are strongly influenced by the processes that take place in the territories of the North Aegean plains which reach the sea and are under the strong influence of the Hellenic culture since as early as the beginning of the I[st] millennium BC. To the east of the studied territory are the Eastern Rhodopes, which have different natural-geographical characteristics and suggest the specificity of the cultural processes taking place there[7]. To the west are the valleys of the Mesta and Struma rivers, which despite the obvious orientation of the contacts made in different periods in the north-south direction also had contact with each other during the period under review in one way or another.

In the present work I will take a closer look at the situation in the north, where Maritsa river flows in its upper course through two high mountain ranges - the Rhodopes to the south and the mountain Sredna Gora - to the north.

Chronological boundaries

The problems of the Thracian cult centers are most apparent during the period of relatively independed development of the Thracian tribes - namely in the end of II and all I millennium BC. In fact, the traces of cult activities of archaeological sites on the Bulgarian lands at this stage of the research may refer to a much earlier period - the final of the Chalcolithic period[8]. The reasons that led to the use of the same natural or mastered by humans and reused elements of the landscape in the mountainous areas of South Bulgaria, is hardly an accident, but this issue goes beyond the objectives of this article. A future study, covering a broader territory and chronological frames, is likely to provide an acceptable explanation for the "interruption" of the ritual practices of some cult centers for several millennia and their "resumption" in the first millennium BC. One might think in the direction of the search for the "missing unit" in the practice of certain rituals, and the site near Kokino would be with its materials that refer to all periods of the Bronze Age - the time between the Chalcolithic and the Iron Age on the Balkans could be a good example[9].

Leading sites that are explored archaeologically. Types of cult centers,

4 Гоцев, 2008, 229-231

5 Тонкова, 2008, 95-115

6 Байраков, 2016, 50-72

7 Dimitrova, 2011, 71-84

8 Gotzev et al., 2016, 224-234

9 Булатовић, Станковски, 2012, 81-95

The state of the source base at this stage allows to try attempts for generalizations or wider observations. For example, in the area of the Western Rhodopes one can speak of several types of religious centers, although it is difficult to identify the reasons that led to the use of different "holy" places in this region.

On the first place, such a site is the sanctuary near Babyak village. (GPS Coordinates N 41.9552766; E 23.67749756)

This sanctuary is one of the religious centers that have been studied the longest in this region, and in its study almost all the elements we define as criteria for designation, determination or definition of an site as a cult were revealed[10]. These are the reasons why this site is a model when other sites are examined, with characteristics that define them more as cult and not profane. (Fig.2)

Another example is probably the sanctuary of Mount Ostrets, in the region of Velingrad, which has similar characteristics[11]. (GPS Coordinates N 42.02532623; E 23.95107689).

The size of research activities here is more limited, which may be due to the initial stage of their expansion and development. This also affects the definition of the essential characteristics and the name of the site, which is once declared a sanctuary of Dionysus, and latter is also placed among the other Thracian sanctuaries[12]. It should not be forgotten that both sites (despite their geographic proximity and similar physico-geographic characteristics) had different functions within the system of cult centers in the Western Rhodopes in the First millennium BC.

Another type of sanctuary is the site in Yadenitsa locality, for which there is preliminary information published and can be used as an example in the present work[13] (Fig.3). (GPS Coordinates N 42.09573392; E 23.86585652 Alt. 1275 m.) The sanctuary at Yadenitsa is situated on a long hill, which deviates from the central ridge of the main mountain ridge. It is surrounded by glens on three sides with steep slopes. In the narrowest part, where there is the only approach to the sanctuary, there is a stone-earth mound. At the other end of the sanctuary there are two flat stone grounds, where archaeological materials can be found. At the foot of the sanctuary there is a small cave in which there are archaeological materials synchronous with those from the site above it.

Its geographic location, the geomorphologic form on which it is located, the dimensions, the chronological boundaries of its functioning, etc., clearly distinguish it from the situation with the sanctuary near Babyak village, for example. The more important differences are also observed in the organization of the sacred space, the facilities found, and their functional characteristics (as far as we understand and interpret them correctly).

- One significant difference is the stone structure which probably had the role of an altar. It was discovered during the archaeological excavations, revealed in the study of a stone-earth mound, the mound itself is irregularly shaped and is located at the very beginning, at the place leading to the sacred territory, which place is thus marked[14]. Such a facility like stone construction - altar was not revealed in the studies of the sanctuary near Babayak village and at the other similar sites in the area, which are explored through regular archaeological excavations.

In one of the latest works devoted to archaeological sites from the Chepino valley, similar stone and earth works from the region of the Northwestern Rhodope Mountains are considered[15]. The work are discusses several sites with stone facilities which are under mound embankment and which are more likely to be premises with a certain architectural appearance, orientation, way of construction (regardless of their functional characteristics) and not just stone structures. Another significant difference in the comparison with the situation of the Yadenitsa Sanctuary is the absence of fence wall encircling a certain space, Such walls are witnessed at almost all the sites in the Chepinska valley[16]. At this stage of research, the question of their purpose remains open in each case.

Another element revealed in the study of the sanctuary at Yadenitsa is the decorated eschara[17]. This is not about the fragments of ornamented cult hearths found in the sanctuaries, but about a clay facility, kept on its place which has a thick cultural layer with a complex structure and content at its base. Such a construction – well preserved and specially built is not a common phenomenon in the mountain sanctuaries, but it is a characteristic element for the synchronous urban centers situated in the flat part of Ancient Thrace[18].

At this stage of the research one of the most accurate criteria for identifying and defining a site as a

[10] Тонкова, Гоцев, 2008; Димитрова, 2014, 7-27

[11] Домарадски, 1994, 126-136

[12] Гергова и кол., 2010, 185-188; Гергова, Салкин, 2016, 204-207

[13] Gotzev, 2010, 230-234

[14] Гоцев, 2008, 231-234

[15] Байраков, 2017, 449-454

[16] Ibidem, 450-452

[17] Gotzev, 2010, 233-234

[18] Ibidem 233, Fig. 14-18; Lazov 1996, 63-73

cult are the archaeological materials discovered during the archaeological excavations of the respective monument. The reasons for this are that discoveries are found in certain cultural contexts when conducting archaeological excavations. On the one hand, this helps to clarify the chronological characteristics of the archaeological situations that have been taken individually, and on the other, one can also think about their interpretation, depending on the material they include.

The role of gifts as a criterion for defining and delimiting "sacred" and "profane" should not be absolutized. In this direction, there are no absolutely certain solutions concerning the gifts of the Thracian sanctuaries from the 1st millennium BC. in the Rhodope Mountains. In other words, no kind of archaeological finds that are found in exploring sites from this region and period can be described as defining the functional characteristics of the given monument. Only analyzing the entire ensemble of archaeological materials obtained from regular archaeological research can give us a certain dose of probability to the function of each individual site.

One must be careful and cautious with quantitative characteristics of archaeological materials discovered during the investigation of the Thracian sites that may have been associated with the cult, or material from which they were made[19]. The introduction of these elements as criteria for determining the main characteristic of a given site is very risky. Apart from the purely technical obstacle that arises from the degree of exploration of one or other site (even more if only drilling excavations are concerned), there are also objective considerations when depositing the gifts in the Thracian sanctuaries that should be taken into account. The analysis of the Babayak Sanctuary materials shows the complexity of the problem of locating the individual categories of archaeological materials that are found in certain areas within the sanctuary[20].

Some common problems related to the discovery of the gifts from the Babyak sanctuary and, more generally, to the other religious sites in the Rhodopes area are presented in the publication dedicated to the study of this site[21]. This study outlines both the possibilities for reconstruction of the Thracian cult practices at a higher level and the objective constraints that archaeological materials carry within themselves. Here are some of the directions that should be developed and enriched with new data from the archeological studies of the religious centers in the area under consideration. Thus, the main directions of the future studies related to this aspect of the religious practices of the Thracian tribes in the region of the Rhodope Mountains are outlined.

- Distinction of gifts from stocks related to the ritual actions of the sanctuary.
- Gifts and their possibilities for more detailed identification of the bearer - gender, age, rank, etc.
- The presents as defining factors of the essence of the deity. Name, main functions and prerogatives of the respective divine power/powers that are worshiped in a particular cult center.

This is a more difficult but objective means of getting into the essence of the Thracian religious practices presented in situations the Thracian religious centers in one area. Attempts are being made to justify the application and attraction of schemes derived from another cultural-historical center, where the sources of the religious thinking of a society are much richer and more precise[22] Such an approach, however, will not allow us to correctly and accurately explore and understand Thracian religious thinking, which is different and its manifestations in the archeological monuments are very specific.

From the observations made so far, another problem can be raised - the essential characteristics of the so-called megalithic rock complexes and the opportunities for them to be considered as cult centers. In the literature, this working term has already been introduced, the purpose of which is to designate a type of sites which are obviously not of a settlement type, not related to burial practices and have their own specific features and areas of distribution[23].

In studying them it is necessary to select a methodology different from that which is applied in the study of the other archaeological sites from the Thracian age. Here I take into account the situation that emerges on most of the sites of this type. Where there are rock cuttings or megalithic constructions - there is no prominent cultural layer and the traditional methods of archeology do not allow a complete and thorough study of the respective monument. Such objects, which are currently being investigated, are for example the one near Belantash (article by B. Borislavov in the present volume), Gluhite kamani[24] etc.

In this work I will present part of the problems of a monument that has been discovered in the vicinity of the town of Strelcha, along the southern slopes of Sredna Gora, and which has been researched for more than 5 years. The Skumsale site is located about 7 kilometers to the north of Strelcha, at the foot of the central ridge of Sredna Gora. GPS Coordinates N 42.55618617; E 24.33411385 Alt. 1275 m. (Fig.4).

---

19 Байраков, 2017, 458-459

20 Тонкова, 2008, 95-98

21 Ibidem, 95-119

22 Байраков, 2017, 458

23 Gotzev et al., 2016, 224-234

24 Нехризов и кол., 2016, 197-200

It is probably a part of a larger conglomeration that includes at least two more megalithic complexes - those in Kulata locality (article by V. Kazarov in the present volume) and Kachulata[25].

Studies during the last years revealed the following:

- Registered rock cuts on the part of the rocks in the area of Skumsale are of natural origin, but with a great deal of security here are rock formations and cuts as a result of human activity.

- The tops of cliffs, especially those who have traces of human activity, not preserved cultural layer. The reasons for this could be of a different nature, but it is more the rule rather than the exception.

- The archaeological materials found at the foot of rocks. In this without specially designed structures or archaeological situation and significant cultural layer.

- They are mostly jewelry (parts of fibulas, ring, part of the bracelet), weapons - (knife, iron spear), miniature clay objects (tokens, processed walls and bottoms of the vessels), finds with unclear functions in everyday life are similar to the materials from the other Thracian sanctuaries.

- Exposed to date on the site archaeological materials mainly relate to two separate periods - Late Chalcolithic and Late Iron Age.

- General characteristics of the site location, the repertoire of the finds, special features, etc. Give reason to assume different, not purely utilitarian, function of this monument[26].

Conclusions

In this work, a short overview and formulation of some of the problems associated with the study of the Thracian religious centers from the 1st millennium in SW Bulgaria was made. The issues related to the cult practices revealed in the study of the Thracian necropolises of this period and these regions are dropped out of the analysis. The manifestations of religious activity, registered in the framework of prominent settlement sites with a predominantly urban appearance, are also dropped.

The aim was to outline the main directions in this type of research, to identify the main problems at this stage of the study, one of which is the identification of the religious centers and their delimitation from the other archaeological monuments.

One important observation is that it is definitely possible to speak of different types of Thracian religious centers from the region in the 1st millennium BC and future studies should find the reasons that led to the creation of various Thracian "holy" places in the Western Rhodopes.

As a relatively new approach, it is possible to determine the attempt to integrate the so-called. Megalithic complexes to the general problems of the Thracian religious centers. The parallels drawn are mainly related to the attempts to analyze the archaeological material found at prominent Thracian religious centers and the one we find during the study of certain territories of the Megalithic rock complexes.

[25] Gotzev, 2012, 102-109

[26] Gotzev et al., 2016, 224-234

Bibliography

Байраков 2016

Байраков Д. Планински светилища в Родопите.

Делев П. (Ред.) Σ Υ Μ Π Ο Σ Ι Ο Ν. СБОРНИК В ПАМЕТ НА ПРОФ. ДИМИТЪР ПОПОВ

Университетско издателство „Св. Климент Охридски“ София, 2016, 50-74

ISBN 978-954-07-4158-1

Байраков 2017

Байраков Д. Няколко обекта от Чепинската котловина - проблеми на интерпретацията.

KRATIΣΤΟΣ. Сборник в чест на професор Петър Делев. СУ "Св. Климент Охридски", Исторически факултет. Национален Археологически Институт с музей. София 2017, 446-462

ISBN 978-954-07-4309-7

Булатовиh, Станковски 2012

Булатовиh А. Станковски Ј . Бронзано доба , басену Јужне Мораве и у долини Пчиње. Београд-Куманово, 2012, 81-95

ISBN 978-86-80093-80-2

Гергова и кол. 2010

Гергова Д., Салкин А., Байраков Д. Светилище на Дионис на връх Острец, Велинград. - АОР през 2009 г., С. 2010, 185-188

Гергова, Салкин 2016

Гергова Д., Салкин А. Спасително археологическо проучване на тракийско светилище на връх Острец, гр. Велинград. - АОР през 2015 г., С. 2016, 204-207

Гоцев 2008

Гоцев А. Проучвания на тракийските светилища в Западните Родопи. В: М. Тонкова, А. Гоцев (ред.). Тракийското светилище при Бабяк и неговата археологическа среда. София, 2008, 194-235.

Димитрова 2014

Димитрова Я. Керамичен комплекс от късната бронзова и ранната желязна епоха от светилището Бабяк. Археология, LV,2014, кн. 1-2, 7-27

Домарадски 1994

Домарадски М. Светилище на връх Острец при Велинград. В Сб. "Славееви гори", т. 1, 1994, 126-136

Нехризов и кол. 2016

Нехризов Г., Цветкова Ю., Иванова Н. Комплекс Глухите камъни. АОР през 2015 г., София 2016, 197-200

Тонкова 2008

Тонкова М. Даровете от късножелязната епоха на светилището при Бабяк. М. Тонкова, А. Гоцев (ред.). Тракийското светилище при Бабяк и неговата археологическа среда. София, 2008, 95-119

Тонкова, Гоцев 2008

Тонкова М., А. Гоцев (ред.). Тракийското светилище при Бабяк и неговата археологическа среда. София, 2008, 95-119

Dimitrova 2010

Dimitrova Y..Rodopi Mountain Between Thrace and Aegea Region: Some Elements of a Border Culture of Early Iron Age in Southern Bulgaria. – In: Anodos. Studies of the AncientWorld, 10/2010, Trnava, 2011, 71-84.

Domaradzki 1994

Domaradzki M. Les lieux de culte thraces (deuxième moitié du IIe – Ier mill. av. J.-C.). – In: Helis III. Part One. Culture and religion in Northeastern Thrace. Sofia, 1994, 69-108.

Gotzev 2012

Gotzev A. Archaeological Survey of Megalithic Monuments. Project Strelcha. In:. Proceedings of the First International Symposium Ancient Cultures in South-East Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean "Megalithic Monuments and Cult Practices". Blagoevgrad, 11-14 October 2012 , Neofit Rilsky University Press, Blagoevgrad 2012, 102-114

ISBN 978-954-680-859-2

Gotzev et al. 2016

Gotzev A., Katzarov V., Staneva S. . Some Problems connected with the Study of Megalithic Complexes. The Skumsale case II. Proceedings of the Second International Symposium, Blagoevgrad, 12-15 October 2016 "Megalithic Monuments and Cult Practices". Blagoevgrad, Neofit Rilski University Press, 2016, 224-234

ISBN 978-954-00-0094-7

Gotzev 2010

Gotzev, A. Thracian Cult Places in West Rhodopa Mountain I st. Millenium B.C. in Candea I. (ed.) The Thracians and their Neghbours in Antiquity. Studia in Honorem Valeriu Sirbu. Braila, 2010, 227-256

Lazov 1996

Lazov G. Clay Altars. in Bouzek, J., Domaradzki, M., Archibald Z. 1996. (eds.) Pistiros I: Excavations and Studies, Prague 1996, 63-73.

International Symposiums " Megalithic Monuments and Cult Practices" 2012, 2016

- Proceedings of First International Symposium Ancient Cultures in South-East Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean "Megalithic Monuments and Cult Practices". Blagoevgrad, 11-14 October 2012 , Neofit Rilsky University Press, Blagoevgrad 2012

- Proceedings of Second International Symposium, Blagoevgrad, 12-15 October 2016 "Megalithic Monuments and Cult Practices". Blagoevgrad, Neofit Rilski University Press, 2016

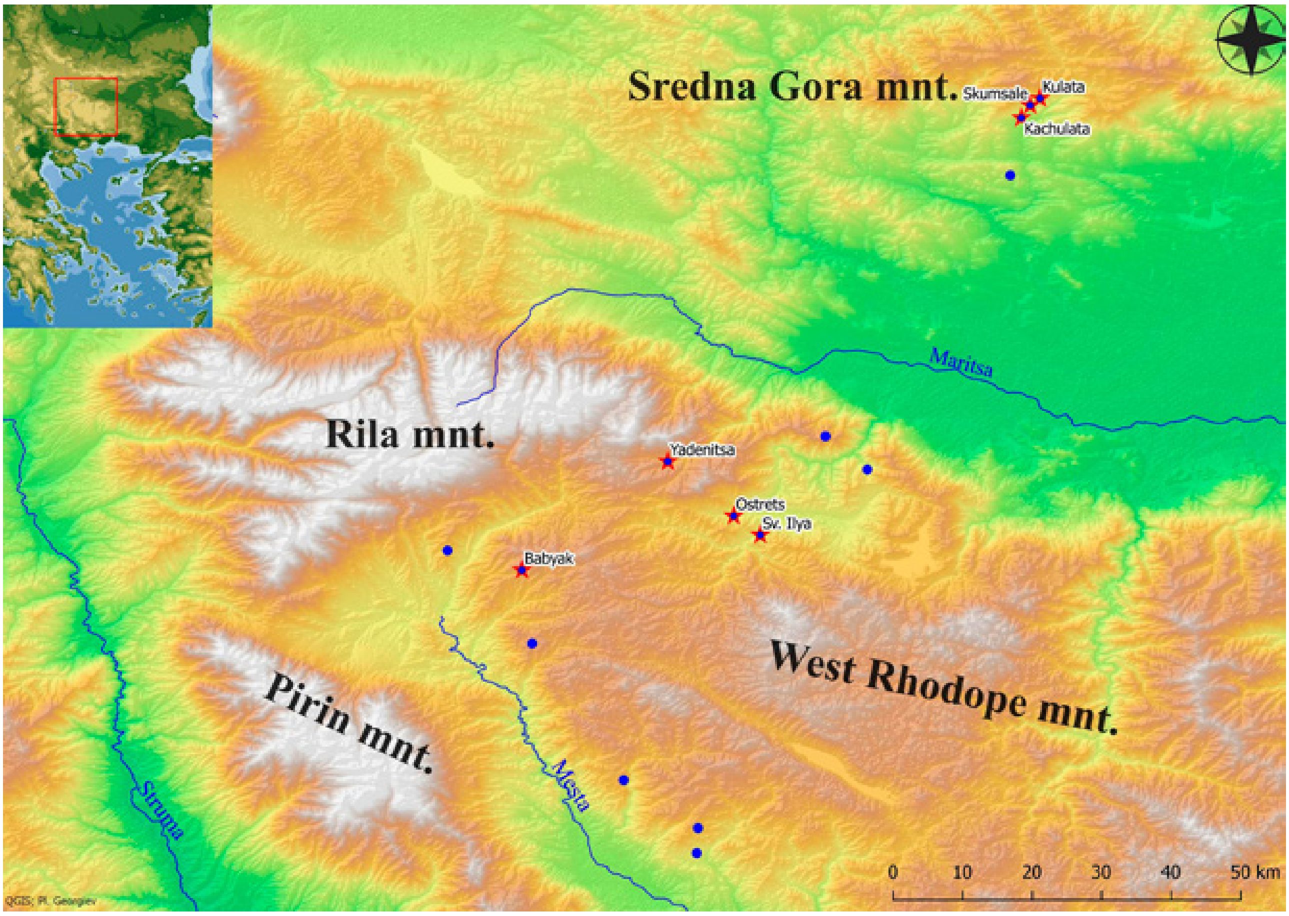


Fig. 1 Map of Thracian religious centers in the NW Rhodope Mountains

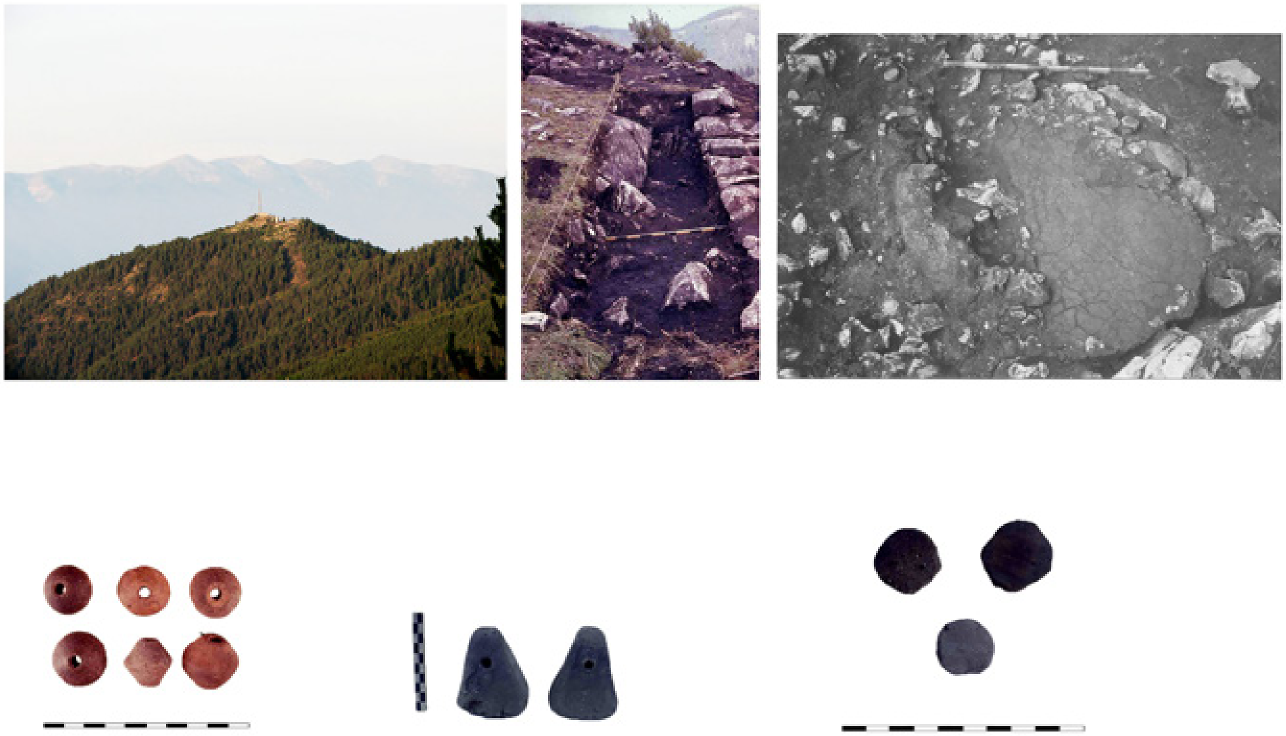


Fig. 2 Thracian sanctuary Babiak - an overview, a clay fireplace, gifts

Fig. 3 Thracian sanctuary Yadenitsa - common view, stone altar, decorated eschara, gifts

Fig. 4 Megalithic complex Skumsale- overview, cuttings in the rock of Malak Belantash, gifts

ROCK MEGALITHIC MONUMENT KULATA NEAR STRELCHA - CENTRAL SREDNA GORA

Vasil Katsarov
Historical Museums – Panagyurishte

The subject of the megalithic monuments in the Bulgarian lands is quite extensive and comprehensive. The beginning was put by the Czech scholars Karel and Herman Shkorpilov. In 1888 they published in Bulgarian the first scientific study of the megaliths on the territory of Bulgaria in Sakar Mountain[1]. The great interest in megalithic monuments in Bulgaria began in the 1970s: Ivan Venedikov, Alexandar Fol, Petar Delev, Ivan Panayotov, Dimitar Peev, Georgi Kulov and others. They walked through Sakar, Strandzha and the Eastern Rhodopes, located old dolmens and discovered new ones, carried out archaeological excavations. As a result the work "Thracian monuments" appeared in 3 volumes, with volume 1 and volume 3 bearing the titles "Megaliths in Thrace, Part 1 and Part 2" respectively. At the beginning of the 21st century, the teams of archaeologists A. Gotzev, M. Tonkova, G. Kitov, D. Agre, D. Gergova, G. Nehrizov, Ivan Hristov were engaged in excavations of dolmens mainly in Sakar, Strandzha and the Rhodopes. The search and study of the megalithic monuments in the regions of Sredna Gora, the Eastern Balkan, Shumen, Ludogorie, Provadian district, etc., were left aside.

Over the last few years, new and new monuments of similar type have been registered in the Central Sredna gora region and the status of already known monuments has been updated. As a result of field, archaeological[2] and geological surveys[3] in the area of the towns of Panagyurishte, the villages of Strelcha, Rozovets, Starosel, Staro Zhelezare, Buzovgrad and others new scientific reports appeared, raising a number of questions about the emergence, periodization, function and identification of the megaliths in central Sredna Gora.

Each megalithic monument registered on the territory of Bulgaria has its own specific features, making it inherently complex for exploration and understanding. This is determined by natural patterns: geographic features such as mountains, rivers, natural resources, atmospheric processes, etc. and this also applies to the registered monuments in the area of Panagyurishte and Strelcha. It is also important to define the megalithic monuments, the term "megalithic" is more precise in Western European literature and is used for structures made of large unburned stone blocks, usually roughly worked or untreated monolithic blocks. Menhir and dolmens are accepted as the basic constructive forms for the megaliths and their respective combinations, such as menhir groups, located in alleys or circles. Different types of triliths appear alone or as a part of an architectural facility[4].

The monuments under consideration on the territory of Panagyurishte and Strelcha should be considered as rock-cut not as the above-mentioned megaliths in the area in question, such as these are absent so far. Special attention is paid to the rock-cut types of megaliths by V. Fol, stressing that such objects are spread not only on the territory of present-day Bulgaria but also in the neighboring countries: Macedonia, Greece, Turkey[5].

The time of appearance of these objects was set in the period of the Eneolith and Late Iron Age on the basis of the archaeological finds[6]. Different opinions and hypotheses on the question of the function are expressed – whether they are objects of cult (shrines)

[1] Шкорпил, 1888

[2] Gotzev, Katzarov, Staneva, 2016, 224-235

[3] Токмакчиева, 2005, 71-76.

[4] Цонев, 2010.

[5] Фол, 2000.

[6] Gotzev A. et alii. 2017

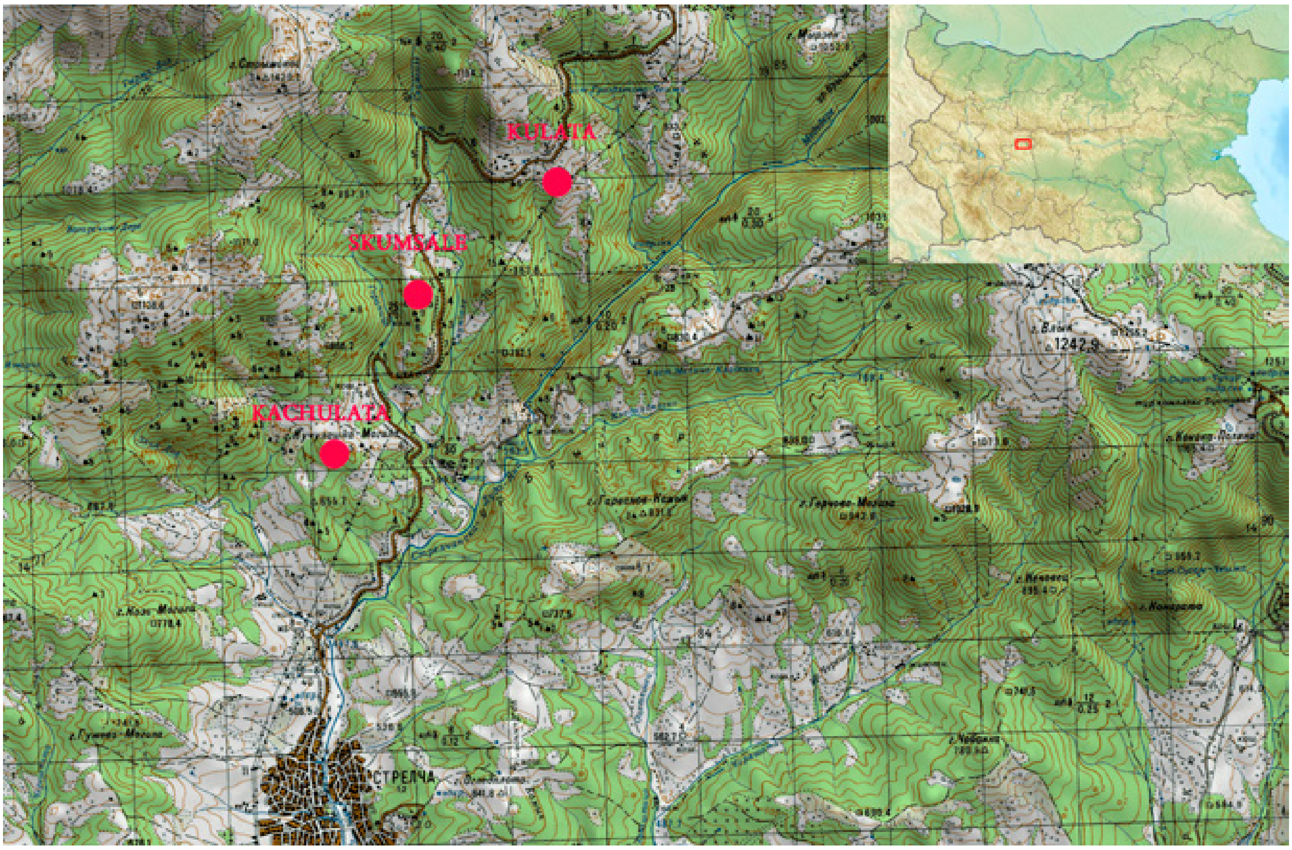


Fig. 1. The location of the object.

or metal-producing objects associated with the extraction of metal. The issue of typology of rock-cut monuments remains open and quite complex to identify different types.

In the present work I will try to present a working typological scheme of the rock-cut groups located on the territory of Panagyurishte and Strelcha on the basis of the archaeological excavations carried out in the central part of the rock megalith complex, Skumsale. It does not claim originality, but rather seeks to amass the previous observations and studies on the monument under consideration, applying formally the typological method. As in the elaboration of this scheme for determining the types of rock-cut groups in the complex ion question, account should be taken of the influence of two major factors.

The objective factor:

1. The existing environment and natural assets of the territory and the results achieved so far.

2. The influence of the weather conditions and the erosion processes on the rock.

3. The changes introduced in time during the extraction and mining of rock mass and inert materials from the site.

The subjective factor.

1. The right approach to documenting and analyzing rock groups.

2. The lack of cultural layers and the application of the relative method of dating the object under consideration on the basis of the discovered archaeological material, if any.

By the middle of the XIX century, Sredna Gora was perceived as the foothills of the Balkan Mountains. Its name is also influenced by two important natural conditions: first, its central location between the Balkan Mountains to the north and the Rila and the Rhodopes to the south, and secondly, its average height with its high neighbors, it has been suitable for habitation throughout the seasons. There are naturally convenient places through which the ridge could be crossed from south to north and back: the eastern part - from Hissar to Banya or Voynyagovo to the west of Verigovo along the valley of the Ayryan River towards the Clement village; the middle part - from the valley of Strelchan Luda Yana river through Koprivshtitsa to the valley of Topolnitsa river; the western part - from Panagyurishte along the Muley River, the Kolonite, the Medet River, left tributary of Topolnitsa river[7].

The megalithic monument Kulata near Strelcha is the northernmost part of the Kachulata - Skumsale - Kulata complex. The site is situated on a southern slope in Sashtinska Sredna gora, 100 km east of the capital Sofia, 60 km north of Plovdiv and 7 km north of Strelcha. The complex was registered in 2011 by a team of SWU "Neofit Rilski" headed by Alexey Gotsev **(fig.1).**

[7] Делирадев, 1956, 9-12.

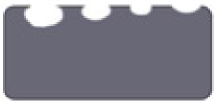
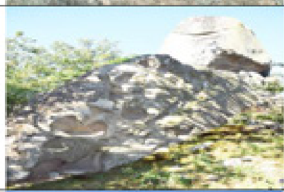
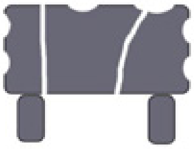
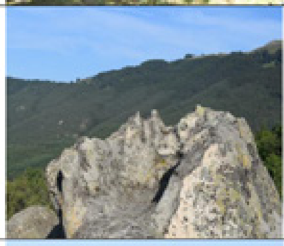
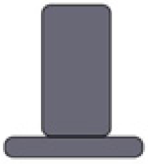
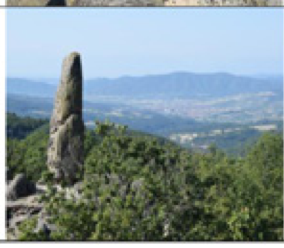
ГРУПИ ТИПОВЕ	МОДЕЛ – СКИЦА	КУЛАТА	СКУМСАЛЕ	КАЧУЛАТА
ГРУПА А ТИП - I				
ГРУПА А ТИП - II				ЛИПСВА
ГРУПА А ТИП - III				ЛИПСВА
ГРУПА А ТИП - IV				

Fig. 2. Table of group A with the four types.

The first reports for the megalithic monuments in the region of Sashtinska Sredna Gora were left by Gavril Katsarov. He calls them "planted stones" (побити камъни) and described them as follows: "Blocks of stone whose surface is carved out with larger or smaller holes often associated with furrows or usually with circles." However, he did not give us the exact location[8]. Nikola Petkov saw in these forms sacrificial stones related to the rituals used by the Thracians[9].

In the 60s of the 20th century, during a field bypass in the area of Sashtinska Sredna Gora Dimitar Tsonchev mentioned rock formations and monolithic blocks located to the northeast of Panagyurishte in the area of Roynish, calling them hole stones (schalensteine)[10].

Ruska Patarchanova who also depicted similar rock-cuts to the northeast of Panagurishte, also showed interest in the descriptions of Tsonchev, expressing opinion on their artificial origin[11]. Rock shrines in the region of Strelcha were also mentioned by G. Kitov who saw zoomorphic forms in them[12]. The rock megaliths around Strelcha in the Posotolov kamak, Kulata and Isara areas were examined ethnologically by Nikoleta Petkova[13].

The archaeological complex: Kachulata - Skumsale - Kulata includes sequentially located isolated rock groups (hills) that dominate the surrounding terrain. The southernmost part of the complex is Kachulata, it is a natural hill with an elliptical shape oriented N - S with height above sea level of 745 m. Approximate dimensions: N - S 480 m, E - W 350 m, with a height of 30 m. The whole hill is full of monolithic blocks on the surface of which indentations and cuts of different shapes and sizes are observed. The central part of the complex is Skumsale, which covers the ridge of a watershed hill oriented N – S with dimensions: N – S 1300 m, E - З 650 м, 750 - 800 m high.

The northernmost part of the megalith complex is Kulata, located to the northeast of Skumsale, and is the highest part of the complex with – 900 – 950 m high. The site covers the ridge of a hill with a natural slope N – S. The area on which it extends is approx-

[8] Кацаров, 1926, 213.

[9] Петков, 1932, 9-11.

[10] Цончев, 1963.

[11] Патърчанова, 1974, 11-15.

[12] Китов, 1979.

[13] Петкова, 2010, 2012, 2017

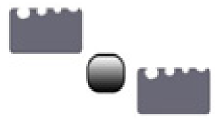
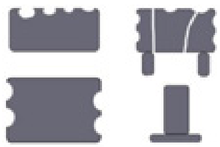
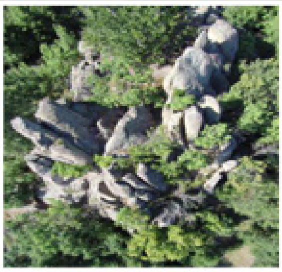
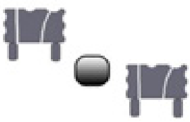
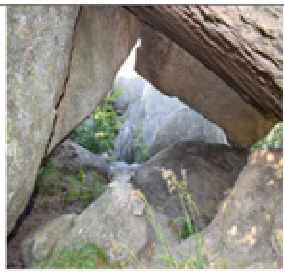
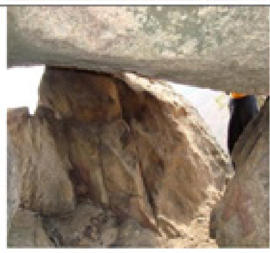
ГРУПИ ТИПОВЕ	МОДЕЛ – СКИЦА	КУЛАТА	СКУМСАЛЕ	КАЧУЛАТА
ГРУПА А ТИП - I		ЛИПСВА		ЛИПСВА
ГРУПА А ТИП - II				ЛИПСВА
ГРУПА А ТИП - III				

Fig. 3. Table of group Б with the four types.

imately 60 daa with predominantly forest vegetation. It consists of separate monolithic blocks and several rock heights that dominate the surrounding terrain. All of them are concentrated in the highest part of the monument and are located at a close distance from one another. The northern boundary of the monument is the asphalt road Strelcha - Koprivshtitsa, the eastern and the western borders are steep slopes descending to gullies. The southern border is difficult to determine at this stage. Archaeological excavations on the site have not been carried out.

Over the entire area of the Tower are located more than 15 rock groups (hills) and twice more separately isolated monolithic blocks, unlike Kachulata and Skumsale here the concentration is much larger and the position of the groups relative to each other is much closer . The rock groups (heights) are monolithic blocks of different size and magnitude, naturally located above the level of the surrounding terrain, standing out with a height of 2 to 15 m. On the top some of them there are well-formed natural grounds, and the approach and access to the summit has a different orientation. We find isolated, single rock blocks with a small height of one to two meters, located at the foot of the rock groups. All of the above-mentioned components are natural, one of them clearly revealing human activity and the use of space in the higher part, where it also allows the discovery of deposited archaeological materials at the foot[14]. There remains a question about the different shape and dimensions of indentations (cuts) on the horizontal and vertical surfaces of the stone blocks. Cuts on the upper surfaces of granite rocks are viewed by some Western authors see as natural shapes and geological processes of weathering, but they are also unanimous that their presence has marked the place as sacral.

The monolithic blocks of the Tower include the following simple shapes: round deep pits, oval shallow pits with spillways chute, stone basins, circles (engraved, convex or just outlined), thrones, niches (holes where people do not fit), rock chambers (holes where a person can fit), etc.

The dispute over the origin of the cuts, whether it is natural or artificial, has not yet been fully resolved and probably there is a different answer for each object. From field observations, in many cases the territory of Bulgaria is dominated by natural forms in which the strokes of shaping, deepening, delineation or additional cutting are clearly evident. The rock heights in the northern parts of central Sredna Gora, including the Kulata area, are made up of predominantly volcanic and intrusive rocks. In the northern part there are predominantly "south-Bulgarian" granites. The sedimentary rocks are largely represented

[14] Gotzev, Katzarov, Staneva, 2016, 224-235.

by senonian sediments, paleogene conglomerates and contemporary deposits[15]. In the granite rock it is difficult for rounded recesses to be formed on a vertical surface, only where there are natural fissures and the granite rock cracks irregularly, which leads to the idea of human intervention.

It is difficult to pinpoint the types of megaliths on the territory of the object under consideration. At this stage, I will refrain from coming up with a precise term for describing the monolithic blocks rock groups adjoined to the object under consideration. The main criteria for the elaboration of a typological scheme are the external features and characteristics of the monolith; the presence of artificial or natural intervention on the rock is difficult to prove because of the lack of a cultural layer and the application of interdisciplinary studies at this stage. The dominant monolithic blocks located on the territory of the monument can be roughly divided into two main groups - **A** and **B**.

Group A includes single monolithic blocks of varying sizes and shapes. This group is represented on the entire territory of the complex. Typically, most of them bear the influence of the natural factor and the aeolian processes to which the block is exposed. There are blocks on which we can see dents (cuts) of different shapes and sizes formed on the horizontal surface. Most often they are round, different in diameter and depth. Sometimes they are connected to each other in a certain configuration, consisting of two or three merging circles. Some of them are cascading situated and are connected to a chute. Dimensions range from a few centimeters to more than one meter in diameter. As far as shape is concerned there are four types: round, elliptical, elongated, and with a complex shape. Some of these cuts have a distinct contour and a shaped edge. On the basis of the studies and observations made, the following types can be assigned to this first group:

Group A, Type I - Single monolithic blocks, located all over the complex. They come in different sizes and magnitude, with the oval and elliptical shape dominating. At the top along the horizontal surface there are one, two, three or more dents (cuts) of different shapes and sizes. They are widely spread, part of them are closed, while others are provided with a chute or drainage hole (basins). There is no precise direction and orientation of these dents (cuts) on the rock, but most often they are have an N – S orientation (**fig. 2**).

Group A, Type II - Single monolithic blocks along the vertical surface on which there are dents (cuts) which in some are down to the level of the surrounding terrain, in others they are in the middle of the block, and forming rows are visible on the larger rock blocks. These lateral cuts, do not have an established exact shape and dimensions as well, there are oval, elliptical, elongated, with convex relief forms, etc. They also do not have a specific orientation. This type is less common than **Type I (fig. 2).**

Group A, Type III - Single monolithic blocks showing human interference (regular and not irregular cuts), traces of deliberate splitting of the rock. Here, it should be borne in mind that there is also a contemporary intervention on the monolith used for the production of building material. Most of these blocks are located at the foot of the rock groups (hills), but there are also ones that are on the high part of the top **(fig. 2).**

Group A, Type IV - Single monolithic blocks, the so-called orthostats (**Konstantinov**). They lack the above-mentioned external features (incisions, cuts, shearing's). They can be viewed as landmarks (markers). This type is found in the central parts of the three sites: Kachulata - Skumsale - Kulata **(fig. 2)**

Developing a well-grounded typology for the second group of the object under consideration is quite problematic. Considering the larger size of the rock groups (heights) and the clustering of variously shaped blocks of rock, as well as the search for a link between them, poses more questions than answers. Generally speaking, the second group of monoliths is natural rock heights including types from the first group. Major differences with the first group are the larger scale of the monolithic blocks as well as the limited access to the top. The observations so far show that there is no strictly defined direction for access to the top of the rock heights. On the basis of the archaeological surveys and observations made up to now, the following types can be outlined:

Group B, Type I - Rock heights including components only from Group A Type I, such as the Little Belantash in the central part of the complex - Skumasle. In this type, the entire horizontal surface is represented by dents and cuts with different sizes and shapes some of which are connecting to each other with a chute, forming a complex system. There are no visible traces of processing of the rock in this type and archaeological materials are not found **(fig. 3).**

Group B, Type II - Rock heights where all types of Group A are included. At the top of the hill there is a naturally shaped site. In the highest part there is a monolith block - a trilith, cut in the shape of a "throne". This group reveals the presence of archaeological materials in the high parts and at the foot of the rock **(fig. 3).**

Group B, Type III - Rock heights where all Group A components are missing at the top some possess a natural site and others do not. The approach to the top is from one or two directions. A character-

[15] Токмакчиева, 71-76.

istic feature of this type is the domination of a monolithic block standing on three supporting points, the so-called "tripod". This group is also common in the complex and archaeological materials are also found on it **(fig. 3).**

As a conclusion to the presented scheme of the types of megaliths related to the megalithic complex called Kachulata – Skumsale – Kulata, is that it does not claim completeness and comprehensiveness. Rather, it raises questions and concerns on the method of exploring such monuments, taking into account the external features and characteristics of the rock. In the field surveys conducted in the studied area, one gets the impression that the concentration of monolithic rock-cut blocks is the biggest in the registered complex. To the east of Kulata it decreases and gradually disappears, to the north they are not found, and in the area to the west of the complex in the direction of the territory of the town of Panagyurishte single cases are encountered, whereas descending to the south towards the plain none are found either.

Regarding the function of the complex in question at this stage it is defined as a place of cult, taking into account the results of the archaeological excavations and the archaeological material.

Summary

The goal of the present work is to present the megalith site Kulata, as part of the rock megalithic complex registered in 2011 – Kachulata - Skumsale - Kulata. The object is located in central Sredna Gora at a distance of 100 km, east of the capital Sofia falling within the territory of Strelcha Municipality. Kulata covers the northernmost part of the complex situated 11 km north of the town of Strelcha on the southern slope of Sashtinska Sredna Gora with an altitude of 900 - 950 m and a natural north-south slope, with coordinates: GPS center; N-42.56433; E - 024.34628. The area on which it is located is 60 daa with predominantly forest vegetation. It consists of several rock groups that dominate the surrounding terrain, all of which are concentrated in the highest part of the monument, forming a complex system of several components - rock throne, rock arch, pirostiq, rock niches, carved cauldrons, trilathes, menhir. Similar types of components are also registered in the central part of the megalithic complex (Skumsale), where archaeological research was carried out in 2011 and 2016. Based on the studies conducted so far, two periods of use of the monument have been registered the discovered materials refer to the late Eneolith and the Late Iron Age. I will try to make a typology of the rock groups in the area of Kulata and the connection between them on the basis of the comparative analysis using the information from the central part of the complex (Skumsale) up to this moment.

Bibliography:

Гоцев 2017 и др.: Гоцев, А. Кацаров, В. Станева, С. Археологически проучвания на обект от късния Халколит и късножелязната епоха в м. Скумсале до гр. Стрелча, област Пазарджик. АОР. С., 2017 г. с. 181 – 185.

Делирадев 1956: Делирадев, П. Кратък географско – исторически преглед на Панагюрска околия. С., 1956 г. с.9-12.

Кацаров 1926: Кацаров Г. Из старата история на Копривщенска област. Юбилеен сборник на Копривщица. София 1926, 213.

Китов 1979: Китов, Г. Тракийските могили край Стрелча. София, 1979.

Патърчанова 1974: Патърчанова, Р. Дупчените камъни в Панагюрско землище. Сб. Панагюрски летопис. 1974, Панагюрище, с. 11-15.

Петков 1932: Петков, Н. Жертвени камъни в Средна гора. – Българска историческа библиотека, С., т. I, 1932, 9-11.

Петкова 2010: Петкова, Н. Скален мегалитен комплекс в местността Кулата, Стрелча . Граници на културологията. Благоевград: УИ Неофит Рилски, 122 – 128.

Токмакчиева 2005: Токмакчиева, М. Минераложки особености на злато от речните отложения в панагюрско. ГМГУ „Св. Иван Рилски" С., Т. 48, с. 71-76.

Фол, В. 2000: Фол, В. Мегалитни и скално-изсечени паметници в древна Тракия. С., 2000.

Цончев 1963: Цончев Д. Археологически паметници по южните склонове на Панагюрска Средна гора. С., 1963.

Цонев 2010: Цонев, Л. Мегалитите в България. София:Фараго, 2010.

Шкорпил 1888: К. Шкорпил, Х. Паметници из българско. София. 1888.

Gotsev 2017: Gotzev A. Katzarov V. Staneva S. Some problems connected with the study of Megalithic complexes. The Skumsale case II. In: Megalithic Monuments and Cult Practices. Proceedings of the First International Symposium Ancient Cultures in South-East Europe and the Eastern mediterranean. Blagoevgrad,Neofit Rilsky University Press, 2016, Blagoevgrad 2016, 224-235

Petkova 2012: Petkova, N. Rock arch from the Megalithic complex in the Isara area near the Town of Strelcha. – In:Megalithic monuments and cult practices.Blagoevgrad:Neofit Rilski University Press, 2012.

Petkova 2017: Petkova, N.Megalithic sanctuary Postolov kamak to Strelcha – structure and possible interpretations. In: Megalithic Monuments and Cult Practices. Proceedings of the First International Symposium Ancient Cultures in South-East Europe and the Eastern mediterranean. Blagoevgrad,Neofit Rilsky University Press, 2016, Blagoevgrad 2016, 134-140.

Internet sources:

www.voininatangra.org/modules/xfsection/download.php?fileid=75 Константинов, М. Нов тип мегалит открит в Средна гора. Анотация

ROCK SANCTUARIES IN THE STRUMA VALLEY

Philip Mihailov
Regional Historical Museum – Pernik
philip.mihaylov@gmail.com

A principle feature of the rock sanctuaries in the Struma Valley and the Western Rhodopes is their location on a prominent slope, overhanging a deep valley, and with excellent and extensive line of sight. To the present date the number of excavated assumed rock sanctuaries in the Struma Valley is very low (**fig. 1**). The largest one occupies the hill in the Sandanski-Petrich valley – the rock sanctuary by the village Levounovo[1]. It is situated at the near-exact geometric center of the valley, on the southern hilltop perimeter (**fig. 2, 3**). During the archaeological investigations, researchers detected a wall around the temenos[2]. During the LIA, an altar is raised on the site, faced with stone slabs and red, likely fired, clay core[3]. The deposit adjoining the altar is gray – likely ash. Near the temenos wall is discovered a large, broken in situ container

The approach to the sanctuary was likely from the west – here investigations investigations exposed holes in the holes in the rock face – for the fixing of the door jambs. The cult place operated during the LBA (14th – 12th c. BCE), EIA (12th – 6th c. BCE), and until the 4th – 3rd c. BCE.

In all likelihood created there because of the perfect exposure of the peak and the abundance of mineral springs and ores in the region.

Another EIA site cluster within a region with high concentration of ore deposits is identified in the Breznik region – the Bardoto hill. The function of the site, with cut-in the rock surface disks (**fig. 4**) on the northeastern slope of the same elevation is unclear. The site has been published as a “rock cult feature”[4].

Fig. 1 – Map of the rock sanctuaries in the Struma Valley

[1] Domaradzki 1986, 99, fig. 8

[2] Domaradzki 1986, 98, fig. 7

[3] Domaradzki 1986, 99, fig. 8

[4] Митова-Джонова 1983: 30, No 49

However, interpretations must await archaeological investigations (despite published petrographic analyses)[5]. On the one hand, most disks are of standardized dimensions – ca. 86 cm, typical to grindstones. On the other hand, several rock outcrops, crowned by stone disks, preserve traces of platforms, and in the case of a large broken-off rock – from a terrace and a channel – marks, characteristics of a cult site. Support to the interpretation lend also the nearby mining shafts (**fig. 4**). The closest (and best preserved) one is a two-step vertical shaft, now measuring 1.70x1.50 m (N-S x E-W). Local informants report, 20 years ago that it was more than 2 m deep – compared to ca. 1 m today.

On the Lyubash peak – a place abounding in-springs and ores, there is another unexplored site believed to be a rock sanctuary. (**fig. 1**).

The famous sanctuary Duralinco, near Babinska reka village, is also located near a river in a rich in ores area. (**fig. 1, 5**).

Another similar cult place is detected around the springs of one of the chief tributaries of Struma River which drains the Breznik plain – Svetlya River[6]. The Sveti Petar (St. Petar) peak (**fig. 6**) is part of the southern branch of Erulska Mountain. The abundance of water, captivating deep gorges and rich ore and clay deposits render these parts of the mountain attractive. The site, occupying the northern slope of St. Petar and framed by two steep river gorges, was excavated over the course of three consecutive seasons between 2006 and 2008. It has excellent vista towards the prominent relief forms in its proximity, as well as over the entire Upper Struma region – Lyubash peak, the Svevtlya and Konska River valleys, the Penkyovska, Cherna Gora, Rudini, Konyavska, Golo Bardo mountain chains – all the way up to Vitosha Mountain.

The highest point of St. Petar, 1160 m a.s.l., is at the greatest rock exposure of the peak. In the western face on the rock are cut "rock thrones" (**fig. 7**). The peak itself there is a long-known archaeological site, associated with metal extraction, processing, and protection of the activities and profit of Late Antiquity date. Investigations in 2006 and 2007 focused on the North slope – in particular the 0.5 ha wide natural terrace. It is comparatively level, with slight incline in its southern periphery, and is the only capacious flat terrain on the north slope of that peak.

During the second phase of the Early Iron Age (7th – 6th c. BCE), and during the Roman Age (from the mid-first to the mid-fifth c. BCE), the peak of St. Petar is the site where various rituals were performed.

Based on its geomorphology, the site is provisionally classified into two parts – "Northern Terrace" (**fig. 8, 9**) and "Northern Slope" (**fig. 10**). The usage of the terrace has been much more intensive and the archaeological finds are much more numerous. In the adjacent slope, pottery sherds and metal trinkets are discovered placed on small platforms, likely intentionally levelled. Common to both areas, however, are excellent visibility – to and from them, near identical finds, similar manner of deposition, lack of a cultural stratum, and the extremely thin humus and soil layer – 0.10 to 0.30 m.

Due to enthusiastic looting interventions more than half of the territory of the site is destroyed, thus precluding categorical conclusions regarding the manner of artifact deposition. In the better preserved structures artifacts are found placed either directly upon the rock or in the upper portion of natural crevices, holes, fissures, or pores. Occasionally, what could be imitation of rock pores are detected – finds deposited beneath one or several stones, on the face of it part of the bedrock. Less commonly (strictly correlated with Roman Age materials), the bottom parts of the karst hollows are also utilized, or the eroded rock is hollowed.

There is no special arrangement of the pottery concentrations. Neither do metal artifacts betray special attention or preference for the site of deposition.

At the terrace, in terms of use there is no distinction between eroded and relatively solid rock. Only on the slope, where the rocky outcrops are better exposed and the gradient notable, there is noted Early Iron Age preference for the rock crevices or cut in the rock level platforms (**fig. 10**). A correlation worth mentioning for the EIA slope deposits is placement of a pottery handle in a narrow rock crevice.

Most common are pottery sherds with rich impresso/ stamped decoration (**fig. 11**). The next most common are plastic elements. Among those best represented are applied bands, followed by lugs, "mastoid" elements, and buttons. Curious and important peculiarity is the practice of distribution of parts of the same vessel into several different locations, sometimes as far as 5 m apart. Unfortunately, the numerous Roman, and modern (looting) disturbances make impossible the restoration of this interesting ritual, in which the vessel was obviously broken first, before its parts were discarded in several locations.

One of the most typical practices of the Roman Age is the deposition of a coin, usually in combination with another coin or with two to three hobnails. There are two principle contexts of coin deposition – upon the ancient terrain (between several small stones, or covered by 1-2 larger pieces or rock), or inserted in a cutout. The second practice is especially interesting – the coins are found inserted into cutouts in the rock, at the bottom of a pit.

[5] Митова-Джонова 1983: 30

[6] Mihaylov 2008, 7-28

At St. Petar peak the Early Iron Age pottery is decorated in the distinctive so called “Basarabi” style, which during the second half of the second phase of the EIA becomes fashionable over a vast territory.

The best analogies for the artifacts from the site is identified in the sanctuaries in the Valley of Gorna Pcinja River, District Kumanovo, Northeastern R.Macedonia. Affinities are evident in terms of archaeological finds and geomorphology – topography, natural resources, site type. There is also partial resemblance to a group of sites from the South Morava Valley.

Similar cult places: associated with rock exposure and, excellent visibility, are partially excavated in the Upper Mesta Valley. Such sites are detected on the peaks by the villages Satovcha, Osina, Fargovo, and particularly – Tsrancha and Babyak.

In conclusion I will summarize the more distinctive features, of the gift deposition and place selection for the site on St. Petar peak during the Early Iron and Roman ages.

The archaeological finds are placed upon the rock surface, between/underneath stones, or in the upper part of the rock sinkholes, crevices, hollows (**fig. 8-10**). Typically, those consist of pottery concentrations (during the Early Iron Age) or coins (during the Roman Age). Likely, the rocks did not have soil cover in the past.

A distinct trait is the relatively high percentage of metal objects. This is one of the richest in metal Early Iron Age sites within the region. A possible explanation to this might be the abundance of metal ores and the several discovered iron melts, at least one – from ore smelting.

The affinity of Thracian religion to the religion of the people of the Eastern Mediterranean (Aegean, Mycenaean, Creatan) is indisputable. The absence of some of the most important traits of a sanctuary (walled area, altar, a designated building for the performance of rituals, the absence of bones) leads me to define the site as a “cult place”.

The memory of the sacred function of St. Petar peak among the locals is preserved to this day. The lamb sacrifice on St. George’s patron day is offered precisely at the peak’s summit – the greatest rock exposure. The importance of both the peak and the rock in the sacred performances is ingrained in local custom to such an extent that despite the fact that the festive meal was consumed within the village, the sacrificial animal (a lamb) was carried to the peak, to be slaughtered upon the precise hollow, which rumbles mysteriously on quiet days. Perhaps the rumble originates from the underground river, the source of which is tapped at the foot of the peak – in the Klokotalo locality. The endurance of this rite is confirmed by observations from the 1950s and the early 21st c. The memories of the ritual lamb sacrifice still live among the villagers of Dolna Sekirna. The locals are unanimous that this is a rite observed only by one neighborhood (Pejni) of the Dolna Sekirna village – namely the one located at the foot of the peak. The various residents of that neighborhood preserve disparate memories of the rite’s performance (which is also the feast day of the neighborhood – distinct from the village’s feast day, which is on Virgin Mary’s day). Unfortunately, depopulation of the inaccessible Pejni neighborhood has resulted in the fading of this tradition. It is not forgotten yet, but has been discontinued for a number of years now.

Perhaps the St. Petar, Golemi Vrah (Great Peak) and Lyubash peaks formed a group of “cult sites” with visual communication. The large territory of the site at St. Petar and its excellent exposure – from Kraishte and Ruj mountains to Vitosha Mountain and Kopitoto (the Hoof) substantiate my conjecture that it had an important place in the religious life of the inhabitants of the region.

Bibliography

Domaradzki, M. 1986: Sanctuares Thraces du IIe – Ie millenaire av.n.e. In: *Acta archaeologicaca Carpathica*, XXV, pp. 89-104.

Михайлов, Ф. 2008: Обредни практики и места на връх Свети Петър, село Долна Секира, област Перник. – В: *Известия на Регионалния исторически музей, Перник*, т. 1. 7-28.

Митова-Джонова, Д. 1983: *Археологически паметници в Пернишки окръг*. София.

Fig. 2 – Satellite photography of the sanctuary near Levunovo.

Fig. 3 – Location of the sanctuary near Levunovo.

Fig. 4 – Bardoto hill, Breznik. A rock disk and the nearby located mining shaft.

Fig. 5 – Picture of the rock sanctuary Duralinko

Fig. 6 – View from East to St. Petar peak

Fig. 7 – Rock thrones on St. Petar peak

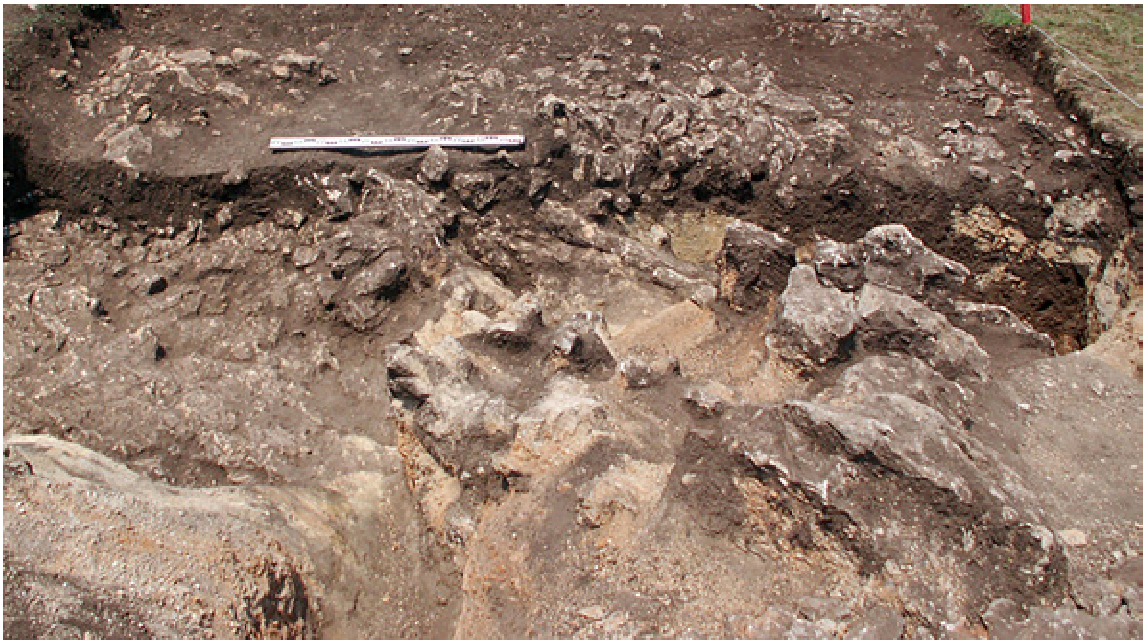


Fig. 8 – "Northern Terrace" – North – South section of the context № 1

Fig. 9 – "Northern Terrace" – East – West section of the context № 1

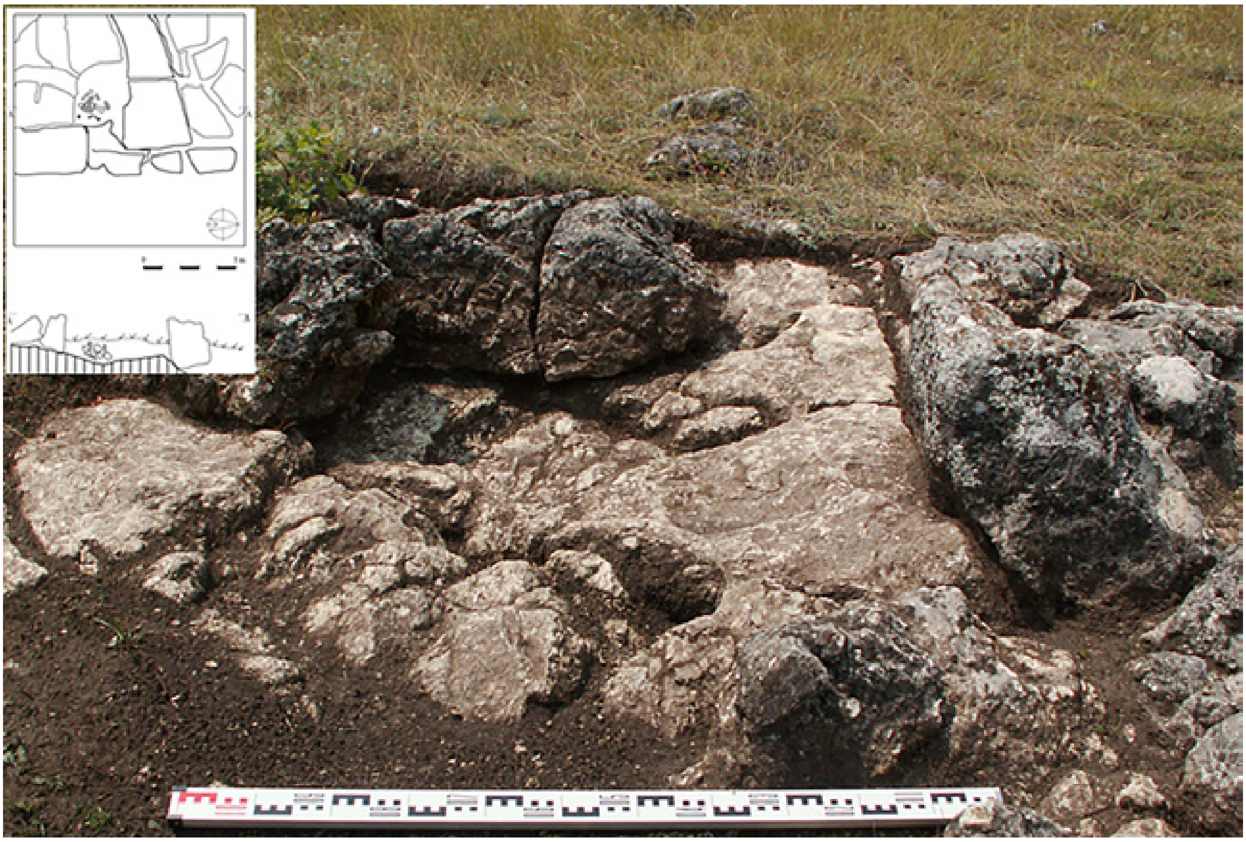


Fig. 10 – "Northern Slope" – an aligned rock with deposited gifts

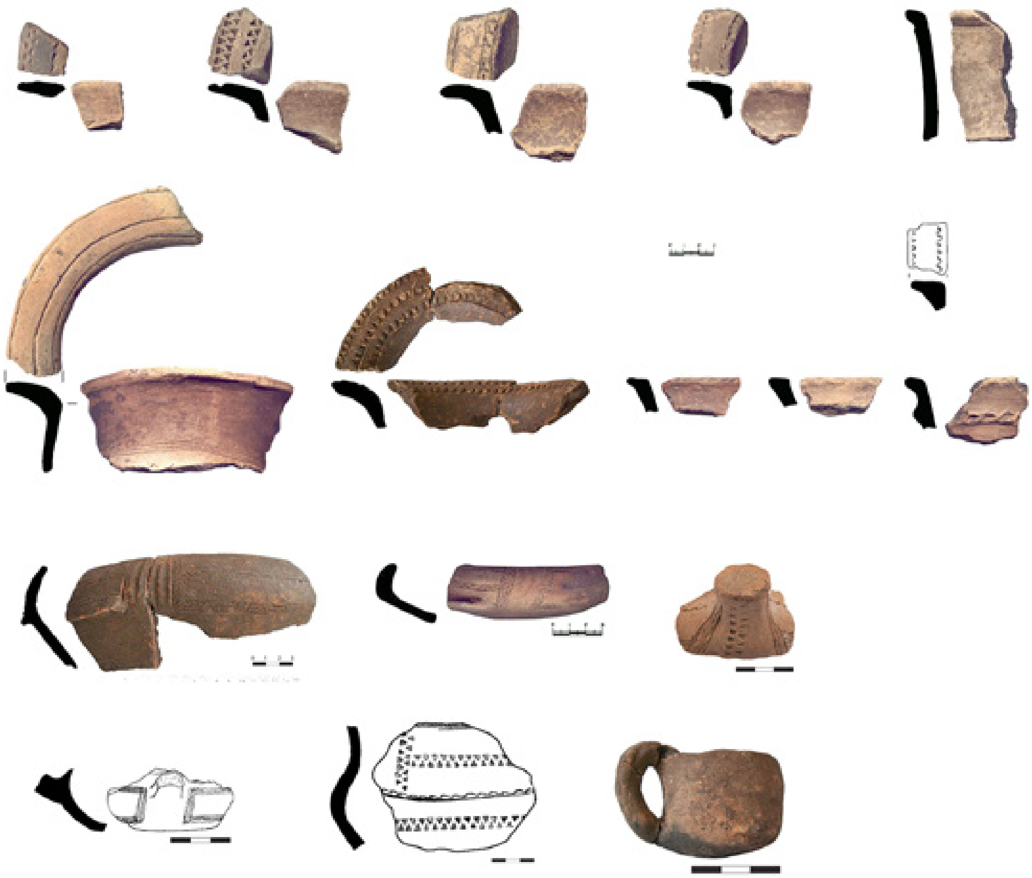


Fig. 11 – Offerings from the Sanctuary on St. Petar peak

„TUMBA” BRVENICA, NECROPOLIS: A CONTRIBUTION TO THE BRONZE AGE IN POLOG

LjuljetaAbazi

Museum of Tetovo region–Tetovo

Igor Tolevski

Foundation “KirilTrajkovski”–Skopje

Abstract: *Many of geological, geo–tectonic and modern influences of man had an influence over the recent look of the valley of Polog which is one of the numerous valleys on the area of the Macedonia. The valley of Polog is located in the northwestern part of Macedonia, stretching from northeast to southwest. The unfailing wellspring of the Vardar River which flows through the valley in the same direction is situated in the southwestern part, on one of the slopes of the mountain Ničpur. It is connecting Polog to the Skopje valley as well as some parts of the Upper Vardar region.*

In the Polog valley, the first manifestations of culture have been connected to the existence and the transition of a great number of Neolithic communities. The randomly gathered data about the life in the period of the Bronze and Iron Age are modest and in a small number. For the first time in this valley, through archaeological excavations started by the Museum of Tetovo region on “Tumba” near the village of Brvenica, there will be discovered four graves, through which we will be able to see the burial rituals in the period of the Late Bronze Age.

Key words: *Polog valley, Tumba, necropolis, ceramics, Late Bronze Age.*

Geological and geographical characteristics of the Polog valley

The present look of the Polog valley[1] was shaped in the long geological history through the time of the great orogenic changes that were happening throughout the whole Planet Earth during the Tertiary period. The range of the valley is formed by the mountains Šara[2] and its branch lines from the northwestern side. On the eastern side are Suva Gora and Žeden. The mountains Vlainica and Bukovik are on the southwestern side and on the northeast are the peaks, Kapčinovec and Šišmanovec[3] **(Fig.1)**.

The source of Vardar River is on the parts of the mountains Ničpur and Vlainica, which are southeastern branch lines of Šara. It has a silent and curvilinear flow passing from southwest-northeast through the eastern side of the valley, pushed towards east by the great number of fast and alluvial rivers and streams (fluvial phase) which flow in from the steeply slopes of Šara.[4]

The above mentioned geo-morphological and hydrological characteristics of the plain have contributed towards the formation of favorable climate conditions in Polog. The three climate types which can be separated and act over the creation of the natural living conditions from time to time or actively are the result of the Mediterranean, continental and mountain influences.[5]

The existance of some mineral resources and raw material in the valley have enabled a longer habitation and maintaining of certain Prehistoric settlements which were exploited in the primary phase.[6] The appearance of copper ore was asserted on two locations in Polog. One of them is near the village of Čelopek, where it had appeared as a string among

[1] The Polog Valley is comprised of two parts which are divided along the bank of the VarderRiver into Upper Polog and Lower Polog. In the Upper Polog region, the administrative, economic and cultural center is the town Gostivar which comprises 718km^2 or 45% of the valley. The center of the Lower Polog region is the town Tetovo which lays on an area of 855km^2 and takes up 55% of the valley. We’d like to take this opportunity to thank professorMitjaGuštin from the University Primorska in Piran, Slovenia for the suggestions, technical support and his help during the preparation of this paper.

[2] The Šaramountain is characterized with numerous peaks that reach over 2000m above sea level. The most imposing peaks include Turčin (2.748), GolemaVraca (2.582) and Ljuboten (2.499) (Колчаковски 2004, 175).

[3] Трифуноски 1976, 3.

[4] Цвијић 1911, 1065; Кировски 1982, 18; Колчаковски 2004, 175-176.

[5] Трифуноски 1976, 18–21; Кировски 1982, 15.

[6] Цвијић 1911, 1068; Керамидчиев 1977, 103–104.

Fig.1 Map of the Balkan Peninsula and the Polog valley, as well as the three locations with discovered findings from the Bronze Age: 1. Tetovo, 2. Debreše and 3. Brvenica.

the shale,[7]and the second one is near the village of Padalište where it had been discovered along with the sericitized shale with the minerals *pyrite* and *chalcopyrite*.[8] Copper as a metal that dominantly participates in the preparation of the bronze will enable this region e.g. Polog to develop a local culture that will be included in the zone of interest of the Mycenaean world.

Chronological review of the Prehistoric researches in Polog

There are almost no archeological papers that are published concerning the Prehistoric period of Polog. The small number of archaeological researches and thus, the small number of discovered artifacts do not allow us to discover the life in the past of these areas in whole. At the Antique historians, the region of Polog can only be noticed through the events about the occupation of the town Oaeneum by the Macedonian king Perseus.[9]

Several scientific-research projects and archaeological field surveys resulted with the location of several important settlements, in the lowest part of the valley as well as on the higher dominant terraces and hills in the bottom of the mountains and canyons that are connecting the Polog with the surrounding regions.

The oldest Neolithic settlements in Polog were

[7] Цвијић 1911, 1068; Трифуноски 1976, 119.

[8] Несторовски 1970, 48.

[9] Oaeneum is mentioned as the town of the Penestae which during the third Macedonian-Roman war was conquered by the Macedonian king Perseus, and according to N. Vulić could have been located somewhere in the vicinity of present–day Tetovo (Папазоглу 1957, 66-67).

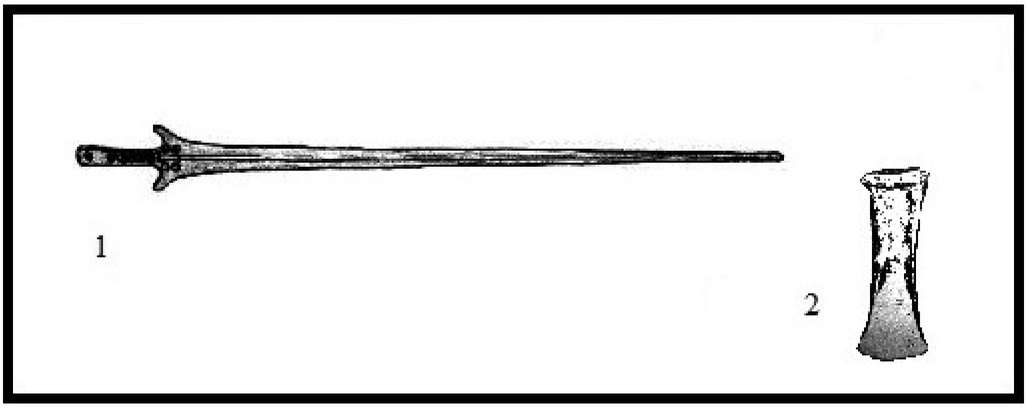


Fig. 2 Stray finds from the areas of Tetovo and Gostivar: 1. Bronze Mycenaean sword M=1:4 (according to:Микулчиќ1982, 54, Fig.2)and2. Bronze axe celt M=1:2 (according to: Микулчиќ 1970, 76, Fig.2)

researched with the research project *The oldest agricultural agglomerations in Macedonia from an aspect of the chronological and cultural appropriation*, conducted by D. Srejović, V. Sanev and S. Saržoski on the territory of Tetovo in 1975.[10] The Neolithic settlement near the village of Stenče was discovered through a micro-terrain prospection performed by D. Mitrevski.[11] There have been conducted archaeological researches and excavations on three Neolithic sites: **"Tumba"** DolnoPalčište,[12] **„Pod selo–Tumba"** Stenče[13] and **"Tumba"** Brvenica.[14] These archaeological excavations have discovered plenty of artifacts belonging to the Neolithic communities that existed in the region, using the achivements of the great cultures from the Balkan-Anatolian, Mediterranean and Central Balkan complex. In the valley, among the dry meanders, the old riverbeds (vardarišta) and the swamps in the lowest part of the plain, there are few more Neolithic settlements which are located on the field, but there have not been any further researches.[15]

The existence of the layers from the following period i.e. the Eneolithic or the Copper Age, is confirmed with the excavations on **"Tumba"** Dolno Palčište, by discovered pottery fragments decorated with so called "schnur" (corde) technique and incrustation.[16] Mikulčić informs as about the archaeological locality **"Gradište"** Želino with a material that belongs to the culture of the wider Danube-Balkan group from Bubanje–Salkuca–Krivodol complex.[17]

The evidences from the Bronze Age in Polog as well as from other periods in prehistory are scarcely preserved. One of the examples comes from the archaeological excavations on "Tumba" DolnoPalčište, where the researchers noticed smaller quantity of the Bronze Age pottery.[18]The urns from Debreše and the bronze sword from Tetovo were discovered by chance by the locals **(Fig. 2.1)**.

The position of the Polog valley, somewhere between the Danube upper Balkan region and the Aegean south, helped in preserving elements of the material culture of the bearers of the new civilization changes which will be happening during the great migrations and the early Iron Age. Dated in the pointed period, there is a chance find of a Bronze axe celt discovered near Gostivar[19] **(Fig.2. 2)**. The archaeological researches of the Iron Age sites in Polog have been conducted minimally, but from the field surveys we know for several settlements which were raised on safely and well protected hills on the mountain bottoms.[20] The first data about this period were gained from the protective archaeological excavation performed by the Museum of Tetovo region.

---

[10] Саржоски–Здравковски 1991, 131.

[11] Здравковски 2005, 25.

[12] Здравковски и Саржоски 1989, 43; Саржоски–Здравковски 1991, 131–144.

[13] Здравковски 2005, 25–31.

[14] Abazi and Tolevski 2017, 99–118.

[15] According to the *Archeological map of the Republic of Macedonia 2* and other publications, in the region of the Polog valley, aside from the abovementioned and researched settlements from the Neolithic, there are mentions of "**Tumba**" DolnoSedlarce, "**Belo Pole**" Želino, "**Tri Tumbi**" Preljubište, "**Tumba**" Sarakino, "**Gradište**" StaroSelo, "**PandilovaTumba–Podlak**" Zubovce, (Микулчиќ 1982, 37–38; Винчиќ, Ивановски1996, 111, Костадиновски 1996, 419, 420, 422, 424, 425; Толевски 2009, 21).

[16] Здравковски и Саржоски 1989, 43; Саржоски - Здравковски 1991, 143.

[17] Микулчиќ 1982, 38.

[18] Здравковски - Саржоски 1989, 43; Саржоски - Здравковски 1991, 143.

[19] Микулчиќ 1970, 75–76, Fig.2; Микулчиќ 1982, 39.

[20] Established sites are located in "**Gradište**" Želino, "**Kuka**" Rogle, "Hisar" Tetovo, "Gradište" Lešok, "Kale–Kalja" Debreše, "Gradište" GornaBanjica, "Gradište–Kalja" Čajle (Микулчиќ 1982, 39; Винчиќ, Ивановски1996, 108, 109, 117).

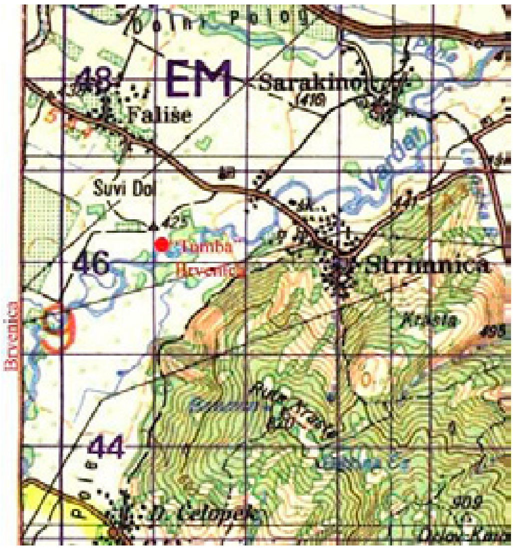


Fig.3 Topographic map with a position of the archaeological site "Tumba"

Fig.4 The middle part of "Tumba", a view from the northern side

Namely, in the village of Larce on the archaeological site **"Lozje"** there have been discovered seven container vessels (pithoi) for preserving grains and these vessels belong to the Iron Age. They date from the period of VIII-VI century B.C.[21]

Through this review about the Prehistoric researches in the Polog region, we can obtain the primary image which simply represents the valley as one of the least researched areas in Macedonia. It may be because of its geographic position, the distance from the seas and the road Vardar-Morava, as well as the containment with high mountain ranges, this region preserved its conservative nature, but still it did not remain immune to the variable civilization flows which left their traces in different periods.

Evidence for the Bronze Age in Polog

The first discoveries are connected to the period before the World War II when near the town of Tetovo, people found a bronze sword of the type "Rapier". The sword was then taken to Skopje and it is now a part of the Bronze Age collection of the Museum of Archaeology of Macedonia. The sword belongs to the Late Mycenaean period and represents a luxurious import from the Mycenaean centers. It dates from the period between XIV and XIII centuries B.C. The sword is long and thin. It was made in a technique "cast in bronze" and it was not intended for offensive use, but as a symbol of dignity and power of a high-ranking member of the local tribal leaders.[22] The places of discovery of few types and variants of Mycenaean swords drew the several paths on the Balkan through which the Mycenaean influences passed (the rivers Haliacmon, Devol, Vardar and Struma) and they represent Polog as a road station of one of the paths towards north.[23]

The second discovery comes from the area of the town Gostivar e.g. the village of Debreše which is situated one kilometer northwest of the town. There have been discovered three ceramic vessels – urns, on the northern edge of the village, in the vineyard by the toponym of "Stražnik". They were found in 1965 by the locals in their fieldworks. The urns were dug inside the hard clay. According to the typology, they are deep globular vessels with small handles which are positioned on the widest part of the vessel and according to Mikulčić, they are similar to the urns from Kosovo and the region south of Morava. Chronologically, they were widely dated in the period between 1700–1200 B.C.[24]

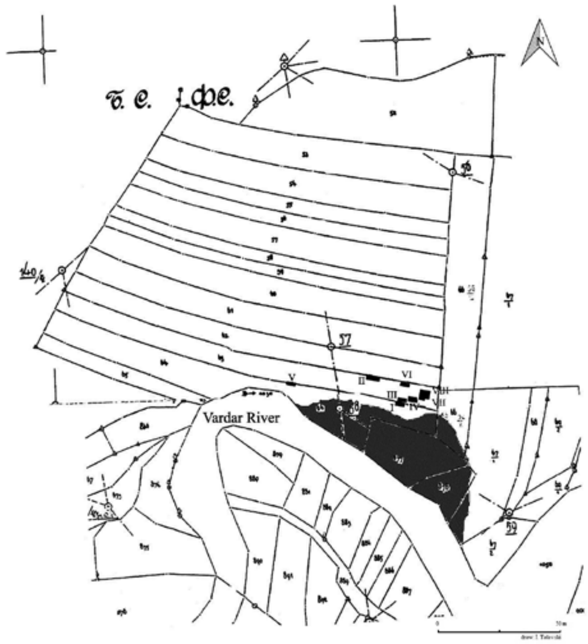
---

[21] Абази 2002, 81–85.

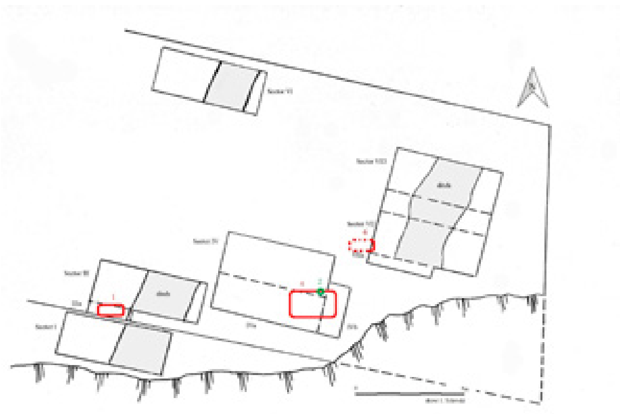
[22] According to N.Sandras division, the bronze sword belongs to type C i (Sandras 1963, 120). Similar swords in the region were discovered in the necropolis in Iglarevo, Kosovo, datedXIV BC and Shtoda, Albania, which belong to the same type (Ljuci 1998, 134). On the sword, see: Sandras 1963, 120; Микулчиќ 1970, 75; Микулчиќ 1982, 38–39; Настева–Колиштркова и Видески 1996, 39–40.

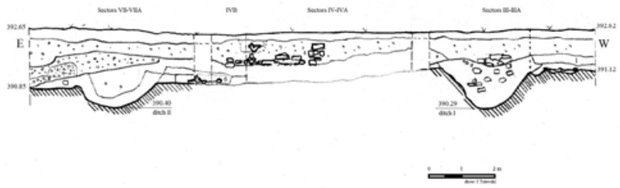
[23] Mikulčić 1966, 2; Микулчиќ 1970, 75; Микулчиќ 1982, 39; Бонев 1988, 17; Китаноски 1994, 56; Митревски 2013, 181–182.

[24] Микулчиќ 1970, 74; Винчиќ, Ивановски 1996, 110; Митревски 1997, 20–21.



Pl. I Archaeological site "Tumba" near the village Brvenica, Tetovo region: grey color is eroded riverbank;I and II Sectors excavated 2012; III–V Sectors excavated 2013 and VI–VIII Sectors excavated 2014 (completed by Igor Tolevski)





Pl. II Cadastral Municipality 579 Strimnica, Cadastral Plot 63, M=1:100 (draw: Igor Tolevski)

Pl. III Cross-section at the southern part of the excavated sectors on the site "Tumba" near the village of Brvenica, M=1:75 (draw: Igor Tolevski)

Archaeological site "Tumba" near the village of Brvenica (Necropolis of the Late Bronze Age)

The archaeological site "Tumba" is situated on the margins of the villages of Brvenica, Fališe and Strimnica near Tetovo and is on 7 km southeast of Tetovo[25] **(Fig. 3, 4)**.Its position is on the left bank of the Vardar River, on an old dried-up meander which enclosed the locality of three sides (south, east and north). The archaeological excavations were performed on limited area e.g. on the field which is in line of the bank of Vardar in direction east-west (Cadastral plot 63, Cadastral Municipality of Strimnica).[26]

The middle part of the Tumba is about 50 m from the excavated section. That is why the researching sectors were located on the eastern part of the field. In a period of three campaigns (2012–2014) there were 7 sectors opened and they had dimensions of 5x2 m., complemented by 4 widening, 1 sector with 7x2.5 m.,and another control profile 5x1 m. between the sectors VII–VIII. Only the sector V is on 60 m. from the rest of the sectors towards west **(Pl. I)**. All of the sectors are oriented in direction east–west and are marked with Latin numbers (I–VIII). The control absolute landmark from which all of the altitudinal changes were measured and noticed all of the archaeological situations is on an altitude of 393.00 m.

With the end of the existence of the Late Neolithic settlement, the area around "Tumba" will be in use again in the Late Bronze Age, as a necropolis with bi-ritual types of burials. During the archaeological excavations from 2013, 3 graves were discovered - Grave 1 and Grave 4 are with inhumation and Grave 2 represents a ceramic urn with a cremation.[27] In the following archaeological campaign from 2014, the position of Grave 6 was partially marked and researched. It contained the remaining of a deceased person buried with inhumation **(Pl. II)**.[28] The stratigraphy of the southern profile of researched sectors (III, IIIA, IV, IVA, IVB and VII) points the vertical spacing of the levels on which the burials are located. The urn that was buried uppermost was the one from the Grave 2. It was probably dug in the topsoil. Just

[25] Трифуноски 1976, 426–427; Микулчиќ 1982, 38.

[26] The archeological team from the Museum of Tetovo region is deeply grateful to MisterIsa Alili from the village Strimnica, the owner of the explored field, for his excellent cooperation and warm welcome.

[27] Because of the proximity between the amphora–like vessel from Grave 2 and the next ceramic vessel which was gradually discovered it was believed that it's another urn, or Grave 3, but it was later determined that that amphora–like vessel belongs to Grave 4. Hence, the numeration of Grave 3 is available and will serve for the next discovered burial site in "Tumba".

[28] In 2014, Sector VIIA a skeleton burial (Grave 5) was discovered, dated IV-VI century AD.

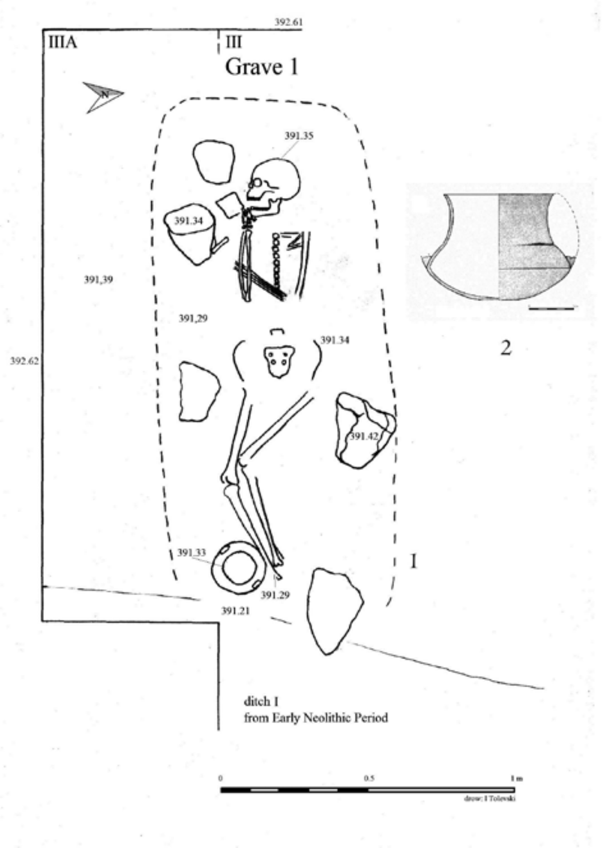


Fig. 5 Sector III and IIIA with Grave 1

Pl. IV Archaeological site “Tumba” near the village Brvenica, Tetovo region, Sectors III and IIIA:1. Grave 1; 2. Ceramic vessel M=1:3(draw: Igor Tolevski)

below the level of the urn we can see Grave 4 with an interesting grave construction of arranged amorphous stones. Grave 1 and Grave 6 were buried the deepest, under the level of the hard clay **(Pl. III)**.

Grave 1 **(Pl. IV)**

Sector III is characterized with two contexts from the Neolithic period: the stonewall of roughly arranged amorphous limestone in direction southwest–northeast and the trench located under the stonewall with the same direction. These two cuts are located in the eastern half of the sector and on the opposite side, on the west half of the sector next to the southwestern profile is Grave 1 **(Fig. 5)**.On the level of the hard clay, there were several amorphous stones of white limestone. They formed the tomb construction which is shallowly dug into the hard clay itself. The dimensions of the tomb are 1.75x0.75 m., with direction west–east. The skeleton is with arms which are bent in the elbows and the hands posed under the skull which faces south. The legs are slightly bent in the knees. The single grave offering is by the right tibia: a ceramic vessel with approximately preserved greater part of the elements. Only the handles are missing. We can question this: Was the vessel added with broken helves during the burial itself?

During the excavation of the grave and the skeleton, the missing handles were not found. The ceramic vessel is handmade, with very precise work. Its color is dark grey towards black with smooth and in certain areas polished outer surface.[29] The rim of the vessel is slightly inverted with a nearly vertical neck and emphasized shoulders on which the two strap handles were positioned which were connected to its highest part. The body is emphasized and pressed towards the bottom, so it forms a bi-conical profile. The bottom of the vessel is very small and mildly concave. The walls of the vessel are pretty thin and its main characteristic is the horizontal groove which separates the neck from the shoulder carved on the outer side **(Pl. IV. 2, Pl. VIII. 1)**.

Grave 2 **(Pl. V)**

Parts of the amphora–type vessel which was meant to preserve the remains of the cremated de-

[29] Dimensions of the vessel: Height: 12.0cm; Width: 16.4cm; Wall thickness:0.35 – 0.4cm; Rim diameter: 12.4cm; Bottom diameter: 4,5cm. The conservation – restauration activities as well as the reconstruction of most of the discovered ceramic vessels was done by m-r ŽaklinaPetrovska, while the technical preparation (washing and cleaning) of the ceramic material fragments was done by BiljanaS.Tolevska.

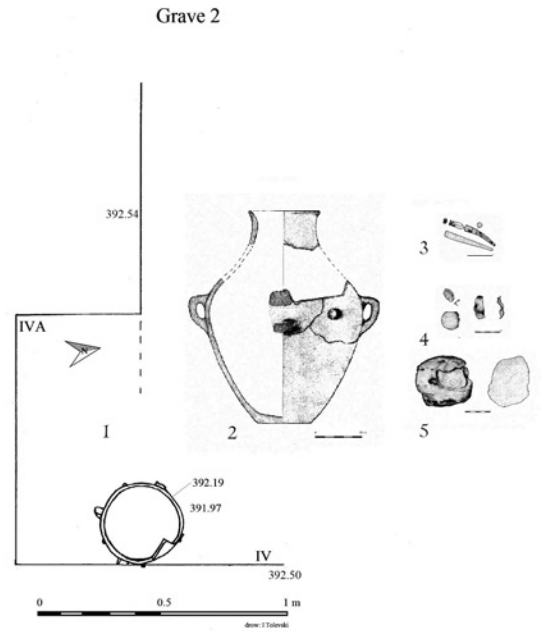


Fig. 6 Sector IV and IVA with Grave 2

Pl. V Archaeological site “Tumba” near the village Brvenica, Tetovo region, Sectors III and IIIA:1. Grave 2; 2. Ceramic vessel M=1:4, 3-5. M=1:2 (draw: Igor Tolevski)

Fig. 7 Segment of Grave 4 during uncovering

Fig. 8 The west side of the construction of Grave 4

ceased were discovered in the southeast corner of Sector IV (Fig.6). The urn was buried very shallow, in the contemporary layer which was ploughed, and therefore it was damaged in the upper part, the rim and the neck. But luckily, the lower part, the belly of the amphora-like vessel along with the remains of the burnished bones and ashes was completely preserved. During the excavation process it was not possible to discover elements which would suggest the dimensions of the pit dug for the urn. The elements that belong to the amphora-like vessel, discovered around it, were fragments of the rim as well as one circular flat stone which probably served as a lid for the urn **(Pl. V. 5, Pl. VIII. 2)**. Inside the urn, aside from the remains of small burnt bones, was one tip of a deer horn, decorated with carved ornaments and a few bronze applications with small bolts and studs **(Pl. V. 3, 4; Pl. VIII. 3, 5)**.

The urn was hand-made[30] and grayish-brown on the outside, the rim is slightly curved to the outside with the neck gradually curling and expanding. On the widest area of the shoulders there are 4 handles, 2 of which are preserved. Between the vertically positioned handles there are 4 finely shaped nipples. The bottom of the vessel is flat **(Pl. V. 2, Pl. VIII. 4)**.

The amphora–like vessel belongs to the group of vessels used as urns discovered in the Kosovo region, Skopje region and South Morava region, as well as in a few instances within some necropolis or settlements in the regions around Struma and Lower Vardar. The role of these vessels is linked, culturally, to the Central Balkan region, that is to the culture Don-

[30] Dimensions of the vessel: Height: 44.0cm; Width: 34.0cm; Width with the handles: 41.0; Wall thickness: 1.0 – 1,1cm; Rim diameter: 15.0cm; Bottom diameter: 11.0cm.

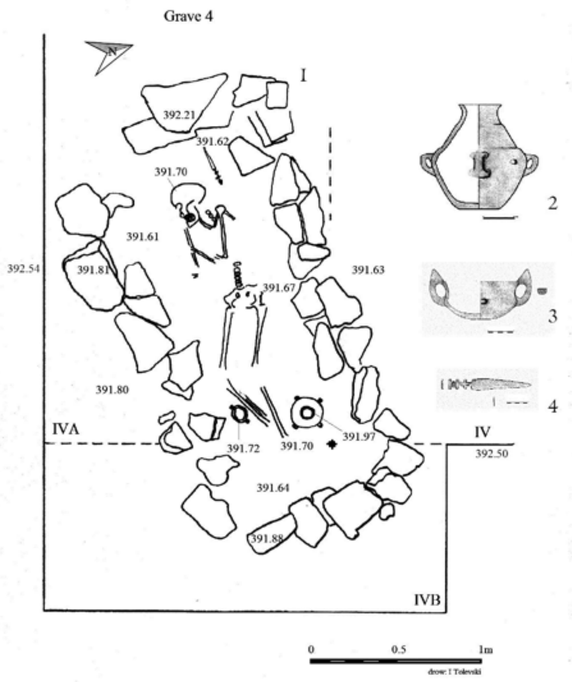


Fig. 9 Sector IV, IVA and IVB with Grave4
Pl. VI Archaeological site “Tumba” near the village Brvenica, Tetovo region, Sectors IV, IVA and IVB: 1. Grave 4; 2. Ceramic vessel M=1:4; 3. Ceramic vessel M=1:2; 4. Bronze dagger M=1:2 (draw: Igor Tolevski)

jaBrnjica–GornjaStražava, dated towards the end of the Bronze Age or the transitional period and early Iron Age.

Grave 4 **(Pl. VI)**

Grave 4 was discovered just underneath the ceramic amphora–like vessel urn (Fig.7, 9). The grave has an impressive stone construction with an approximate rectangular shape, dimensions 2.50x1.5 meters and stretches in the direction west–east. The grave construction was built from white formless limestone, which in some areas was stacked in two or more layers. From the west, frontal side of the construction, a massive stone was revealed, which was probably first positioned vertically and served as a headstone which marked the grave (fig. 8). The skeletal remains of the deceased are well preserved, as well as the items placed in the grave. The skeleton had bended arms in the elbows and palms placed under the scalp which faced the south and the legs are slightly bent at the knees. The amphora–like vessel that resembles the urn from Grave 2, was found almost completely preserved and was placed beside the left shinbone of the deceased **(Pl. VI. 2, Pl. IX. 4)**. The vessel belongs to the group of amphora–like vessels used in the Balkans as storage vessels.[31]

There were few animal bones in the vessel, which probably indicate its character, so it is presumed that it served as a container for a certain amount of meat which was supposed to be used by the deceased in the afterlife. The amphora–like vessel has a slightly flattened and curved rim towards the outside, four vertical handles on the widest part of the belly and a flat bottom and differs from the urn because of the horizontal groove above the handles. On the vertical neck of the amphora–like vessel we can see an attempt for another shallow groove. It is gray–brown on the outside, smooth and evened in some places, so due to these characteristics it can be grouped in the fine production of hand-made ceramic vessels.

The second vessel discovered in Tomb 4 is smaller in size and belongs to the group of kantharos–like vessels with two handles which extend over the rim and was located next to the right shinbone **(Pl. VI. 3, Pl. IX. 1)**.[32] The kantharos–like vessel is consisted of a slightly curved rim to the outside, with two sharp–edged handles extended over it. The widest part of the vessel is slightly bi–conical and there are two plastic applications between the handles. The vessel has a small, narrow, flat bottom. The outside surface is brown, smooth, with polished areas.

The third object is a dagger cast in bronze **(Pl.**

[31] Dimensions of the vessel: Height: 36.0cm; Width: 31.0cm; Width with the handles: 38.0; Wall thickness: 0.12-0.14cm; Rim diameter: 13.0cm; Bottom diameter: 13.0cm.

[32] Dimensions of the vessel: Height: 7.5cm; Height with handles: 10.0; Wall thickness: 0.5-0,11cm; Rim diameter: 15.0cm; Bottom diameter: 4.0cm.

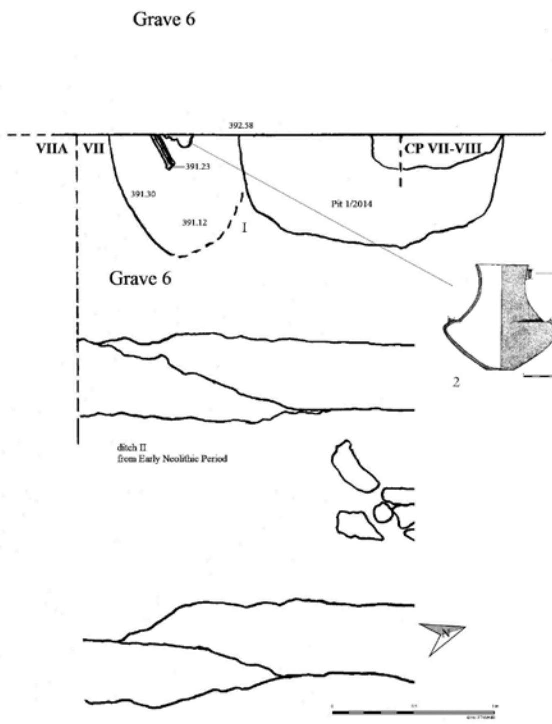


Figure 10 Sector VII with Grave 6

Pl. VII Archaeological site “Tumba” near the village Brvenica, Tetovo region, Sectors VII and VIIA: 1. Grave 6; 2. Ceramic vessels M=1:4 (draw: Igor Tolevski)

VIII. 7).[33] The dagger is consisted of a single blade, with an expanded and flattened upper side (triangular cut). The handle is thorn–like with three normal short extensions. Towards the end of the handle of the dagger, between the second and the third normal extension, there is a circular opening with a simple solution. Across the surface of the dagger (the blade and the handle) we can see attempts to decorate the dagger with simple carved lines. The dagger has not been compleatly cleaned, conserved and chemically analyzed but the initial findings reveal its function. It is very probable that the dagger served as a status symbol for the deceased within his tribal community.

Grave 6 **(Pl. VII)**

In the southwest corner of Sector VII, shallowly buried in the yellow clay, a segment of Grave 6 is discovered. Excavations revealed parts of the lower part of the skeleton and the ceramic vessel which was placed there as a gift in the burial ceremony. The great part of this burial ground has not been researched and is located west of Sector VII. The only thing we can say is that the orientation of Grave 6 is west–east and this was an inhumed burial and the skeleton was positioned with slightly bent legs at the knees (Fig. 10).

The ceramic amphora–like vessel discovered near the left shinbone has a slightly curved rim to the outside and a tall cylindrical neck which gradually lowers to the accentuated bi–conical part between the shoulder and the belly, the lower part of the vessel **(Pl. VII. 2, Pl. IX. 3)**.[34] The bottom is small and narrow, thin and concave. Over the base of the handles, on one part of the neck there is a horizontal groove which is typical for almost every ceramic vessel discovered in the necropolis within the burial grounds. On the accentuated shoulders there are remains of the two handles. On the upper part of the neck, the remains of one of the handles is preserved, which at the intersection looks like a half–moon. Unfortunately, both handles have not been recovered completely, so the following question arises: Did they use new, intact ceramic vessels during the burial ritual or were they, at the moment of burial, partially damaged and left beside the deceased as such?

Final observations

This initial presentation of the few researched burials from the archeological site “Tumba” at the

[33] The bronze dagger was discovered in the upper part of the grave construction, near the head of the deceased. The dagger’s dimensions are: Total length: 20.0cm; Blade length 14.6cm; Blade width: 2.8cm; Upper blade part thickness: 0.25-0.30cm; Length of the handle: 5,8cm; Length of the extensions on the handle: 2.3-2.6cm; Circular opening diameter: 0.4cm; Thickness of the third normal extension:0.4-0.5cm.

[34] Dimensions of the vessel: Height: 26.0cm; Width: 28.6cm; Wall thickness: 0.6-0.8cm; Rim diameter: 13.0cm; Bottom diameter: 6.5cm.

Fig. 11 the river Vardar in the village Strimnica

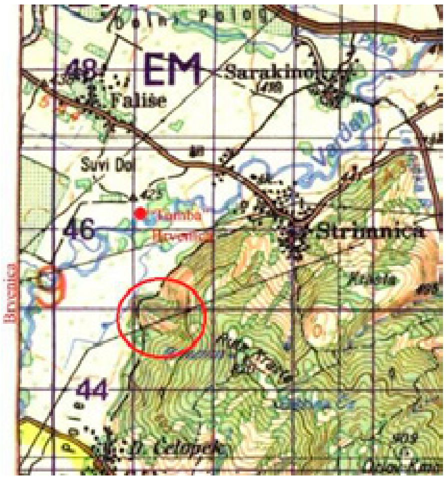


Fig. 12 Fragment from a topographic map with the position of the archeological site “Tumba” and the location of the possible prehistoric settlement “Krasta”

village Brvenica allows us to complete the image of the Bronze Age as well as the new changes that will arise in the era of the great migrations and the beginning of the Iron Age. According to our previous findings, there were quite a few Bronze Age settlements in the area of the towns Gostivar and Tetovo, in the Polog Valley, founded on the surrounding hills which dominated over the Vardar River. The deceased from the necropolis were probably from a settlement located on the dominating hill which rises over the Vardar River halfway between the Čelopek and Strimnica villages (fig. 11, 12).[35]

The four burials presented above, their ritual, as well as the burial items, speak of the local marks and characteristics of the people of the Late Bronze Age and the transitional period in Polog. Still, there are some similarities with the surrounding cultures that can be noticed in some of the burial items.

First, we have to mention the ceramic amphora–like vessel which was secondary used as an urn (Grave 2) **(Pl. VIII. 4)**, which contained the remains of the cremation ritual of the deceased, who was cremated along with his jewelry (bronze circular applications and the deer horn amulet **Pl. VIII. 3, 5**). The urn was closed with a spherical quartzite stone **(Pl. VIII. 2)**. This cremation ritual of the deceased and placing their remains in a ceramic vessel–urn is typical for the Central Balkans (the culture Paraćin and the newer DonjaBrnjica–GornjaStražava), and alongside this, during the transitional period in the area of the Republic of Macedonia inhumation will be practiced at the same time, albeit for a short period of time.[36] Analog to this burial, in the northern regions of Macedonia we find the urns from the necropolis “Klučka–Hipodrom” and Orešani, Skopje Region, which are dated XII–XI BC.[37]

The amphora–like vessel from Grave 4 **(Pl. IX. 4)**, according to the typological characteristics, is similar to the urn from Grave 2, but in context of the find it was meant as a grave gift with a storage character. The same vessels were part of the everyday life in the Late Bronze Age and similar items were discovered within the settlements. Similar amphora–like storage vessels were discovered in Kamenska Čuka near Blagoevgrad, Struma region, dated XIV–XII century BC,[38] Kastanas dated XII century BC,[39] Vardarovca during the Bronze Age.[40] In Sandanski, Struma region, on the other hand, a similar amphora–like vessel was found in a grave with a skeleton

---

[35] This hypothetical settlement “Krasta” isn’t researched in the field but because of the good strategic position and control it probably had over that part of the river Vardar can be considered as an important prehistoric outpost. From the findings so far which speak of the village Čelopek’s surroundings, the toponyms “Kale” or “Gradište” or “Kukul” are listed, with material remains from the Late Roman and Early Byzantine period. (Трифуноски 1976, 415; Костадиновски 1996, 427; Лилчиќ 1996, 70, 72, 84).

[36] Гарашанин 1973, 438-444; Garašanin 1983, 773-778; Митревски 1995b, 58; Срејовић 2002, 104-144; Срејовић 2002, 228-233; Митревски 2013, 194.

[37] Митревски 1995a, 84; Митревски 2003, 12; Митревски 2013, 192–193.

[38] Stefanovich and Bankoff 1998, 278.

[39] Hochstetter 1984, 47, Tf. 10, 1; Митревски 1995, 76.

[40] Heurtley 1939, 98, 214.

burial, dated towards the end of Bronze Age.[41]

The smaller kantharos–like vessel from grave 4 according to the typological characteristics is a typical example of local ceramic ware from the Late Bronze Age and the transitional period in Macedonia **(Pl. IX. 1)**. There are similarities with a kantharos–like vessel with two handles which extend over the rim (type 26 handles with a triangular ending) from the settlement Bay of Bones in Ohrid Lake, dated towards the end of Late Bronze Age.[42]

The amphora–like vessel from Grave 6 is one of the most distinctive items found in the necropolis **(Pl. IX. 3).** The shallow bi–conical part of the belly where one of the handles extended from is especially interesting. The root and the upper part of the handle where it connected with the neck of the amphora–like vessel are preserved. A cross section of that part reveals that it had a half–moon shape **(Pl. IX. 3).** This type of half–moon handles (ansa lunata) are typical for the Vatin culture in the region of South Pannonia. These appear for the first time in the Middle Moravian region within the culture Mediana, in the layer of Mediana II from the eponymous archeological site near Niš, dated according to the P. Reinecke chronology as part of the transition of Bronze Age D to Iron Age A1, and according to M.Garashanin Iron Age I 1b.[43]

The ceramic vessel from Grave 1 is also typical, characterized with thin walls and finely polished outside surfaces **(Pl. VIII. 1).** This ceramic vessel as well, according to certain form elements, can be said it belongs to the oldest Middle Bronze Age examples from the Central Balkans.

Out of all the metal objects excavated from the necropolis, the cast bronze dagger holds special importance (**Pl. IX. 2**). Its unique handle makes it a one of a kind item according to the typological characteristics. There are no similarities found yet to any other item and it's the second bronze example including the Mycenae ceremonial sword recovered in the vicinity of Tetovo, breathing off dignity and power, which most likely adorned its carrier (the dimensions of the Grave 4 confirm this opinion).

These initial discoveries made after examining the findings from the "Tumba" necropolis point to the presence of local ceramic production from the Late Bronze Age with certain influences from the Central Balkans but from the southern part of the peninsula as well. The non–existence of typical Iron Age ceramic ware decorated with cannelure in the closed grave areas, allows us, chronologically to classify them as material that belongs to the last period of the Late Bronze Age, chronologically similar to Sandanski, Thasos IB, Kamenska Čuka, Kastanas (14b–14a–13), Assiros.[44]

The cultural manifestations from 'Tumba" Brvenica that belong to the skeletal burials can chronologically be linked to the Late Bronze Age and the transitional period, XIII–XII BC. The newer influences from the north, on the other hand, manifested through burning the remains of the deceased and burying them in urns are present in the one cremation burial which chronologically can be linked to the period after the XII century BC, that is, to the beginning of the early Iron Age.

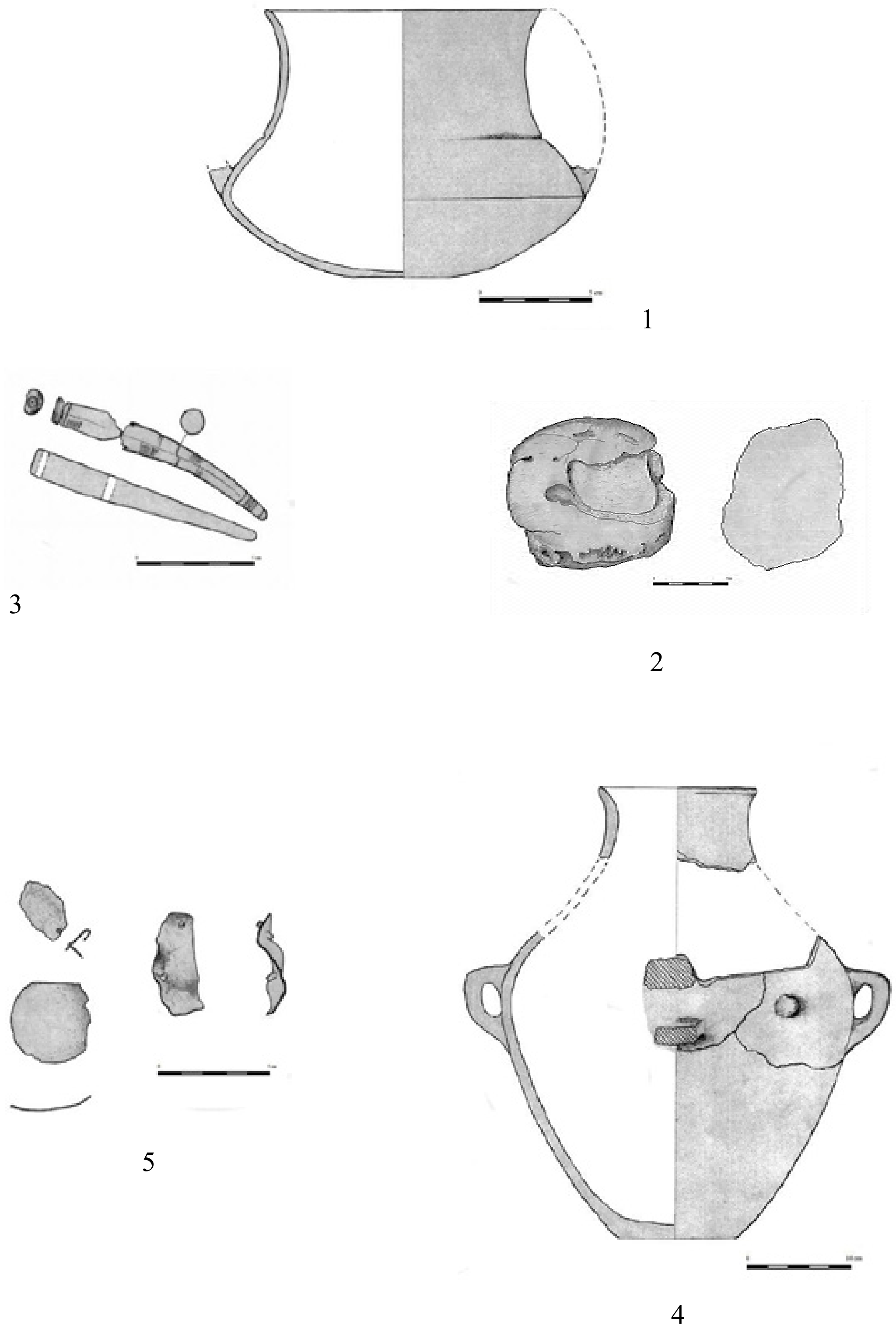
[41] Alexandrovet all 2007, 383. The amphora – like vessel from Sandanski (Grave 3) is similar to the vessel from Grave 4, and has approximately similar dimensions – Height: 36.0cm; Rim diameter: 13.5cm; Bottom diameter: 10.8cm (according to:Alexandrov et all 2007, 386). But it differs in shape in the part around the neck and the shoulder of the vessel, the neck is shorter and the shoulders are more accentuated and there's no horizontal groove above the handles.

[42] Кузман 2013, 373, T.XVIII, 2.

[43] Гарашанин 1973, 308–309, 392, Table IV; Garašanin 1983, 728, 762, 764, 768.

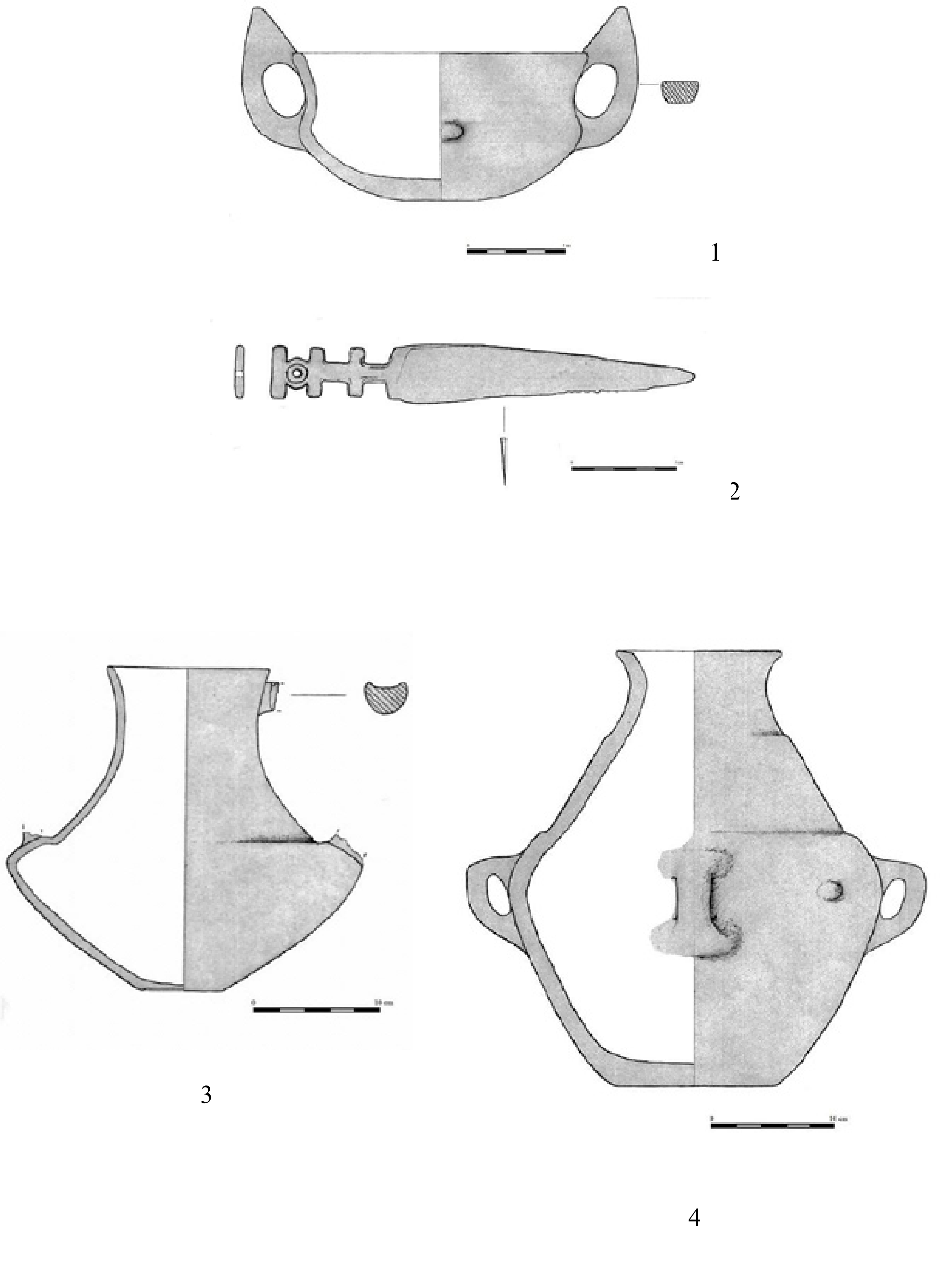
[44] Иванов 2007, 255–256.

Pl. VIII



Pl. VIII Archaeological site “Tumba” near the village Brvenica: 1and 4. Ceramic vessels M=1:4; 2, 3 and 5. M=1:2 (draw: Igor Tolevski)

Pl. IX



Pl. IX Archaeological site "Tumba" near the village Brvenica: 1. Ceramic vessel M= 1:2; 2. The bronze dagger M=1:2; 3 and 4. Ceramic vessels M=1:4 (draw: Igor Tolevski

Bibliography:

Абази, Љ. 2002. Железновременски питоси од Ларце. *Македонско наследство* 18: 81–85. Скопје: Македонска цивилизација.

Abazi, Lj. and Tolevski, I. 2017. The Neolithic Along The Upper Course of Vardar River. In: E. Stojanova–Kanzurova (ed.), *Dragiša Zdavkovski In Memoriam*: *Cultural manifestations during the Neolithic Period on the territory of the Republic of Macedonia and Neighboring Regions*:99–118.Skopje:Archaeological Museum of Macedonia.

Alexandrov, S. Petkov, V. and Ivanov, G. 2007. The Late Bronze Age Necropolis in The Town of Sandanski, Southwest Bulgaria. In: H. Todorova, M. Stefanovich and G. Ivanov (ed.) *The Struma–Strymon River valley in Prehistory*. In The Steps of James Harvey Gaul 2: 373–387. Sofia: Gerga Henkel Stiftung.

Бонев, А. 1988. Тракия и егейкият свят през втората половина на II хилядолетие пр. н. е. Во: В. Велков (отг. редактор), Разкопки и проучвания XX. София: Българска академия на науките.

Цвијић, Ј. 1906. *Основе за географију и геологију Македоније и Старе Србије* 1–2. Београд: Српска краљевска академија.

Цвијић, Ј. 1911. *Основе за географију и геологију Македоније и Старе Србије* 3. Београд: Српска краљевска академија.

Гарашанин, М. 1973. Праисторија на тлу Србије II. Београд: Српска књижевна задруга.

Garašanin, M. 1983. Mediana–grupa. In: A. Benac (ured.), Bronzano doba, *Praistorija Jugoslovenskih zemalja* IV: 760–772. Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hecegovine.

Garašanin, M. 1983. Grupa Donja Brnjica–Gornja Stražava. In: A. Benac (ured.), Bronzano doba, *Praistorija Jugoslovenskih zemalja* IV: 773–778. Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hecegovine.

Herak, M. 1973. *Geologija: Struktura, dinamika i razvoj Zemlje*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.

Heurtley, W. A. 1939. *Prehistoric Macedonia*. Cambridge: At the University Press.

Hochstetter, A. 1984. *Kastanas – Die Handgemachte Keramik*. PAS Band 3. Berlin: Verlag Volker Spiess.

Иванов, Г. 2007. Относно хронологията на некрополите на култура Брница в Централните Балкани. In: M. Stefanovich, Ch. Angelova (ed.), *PRAE In Honorem Henrieta Todorova*: 249–258. Sofia: National Archaeological Institute with Museum, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

Керамидчиев, А. 1977. Извори за рударството и металургијата во античка Македонија. *Macedoniae acta arhaeologica* 3: 103–115. Прилеп: Археолошко друштво на СР Македонија.

Кировски,П. 1982. Природно–географските одлики и населбите во Полог. Во: Љ. Лапе (уред.), *Тетово и тетовско низ историјата*1, Дел први, Глава I: 13–21. Тетово: Собранието на Општина Тетово и Општинскиот одбор на здруженијата на борците од НОВ–Тетово.

Китаноски, Б. 1994. Бронзено време. Во: Ц. Грозданов (одг. уред.), *Археолошка карта на Република Македонија* 1: 51–61. Скопје: Македонска академија на науките и уметностите.

Колчаковски Д. 2004. *Физичка географија на Република Македонија*.Природно–математички факултет–Скопје, Институт за географија. Скопје (Непубликуван труд).

Костадиновски, С. 1996. XXIX. Тетово.Во: Ц. Грозданов (гл. уред.) *Археолошка карта на Република Македонија* 2. Скопје: 417–427. Македонска академија на науките и уметностите.

Кузман, П. 2013. Праисториски палафитни населби во Македонија. Во: П. Кузман, Е. Димитрова, Ј. Донев (ред.), *Македонија милениумски културно–историски факти* 1: 297–430. Скопје: Медиа Принт Македонија и Универзитет Евро–Балкан.

Лилчиќ, В. 1996. Научно–истражувачки проект Северо–западна Македонија во доцната антика и средниот век Полог, Кичевија, Порече. *Македонско наследство* 2: 53–84. Скопје: Македонска цивилизација.

Љуци, К. 1998. Бронзано доба. У: Д. Срејовић (уред.), *Археолошко благо Косова и Метохије од неолита до раног средњег века*: 116–146. Београд: Српска академија наука и уметности и Музеј у Приштини.

Mikulčić, I. 1966. *Pelagonija u svetlosti arheoloških nalaza*. Skopje: Arheološki muzej–Skopje.

Микулчиќ, И. 1970. Минатото на Гостиварскиот крај преку археолошките наоди. Во: М. Панов, Ј. Синадиновски (приг.), *Гостиварскиот крај: Природно–географски одлики и општествено–економски карактеристики* 1: 73–89. Гостивар: Собрание на Општината Гостивар.

Микулчиќ, И. 1982. Полог од предисторијата до средниот век. Во Љ. Лапе (уред.), *Тетово и Тетовско низ историјата* 1, Дел втори, Глава I и II: 35–68. Тетово: Собранието на Општина Тетово и Општинскиот одбор на здруженијата на борците од НОВ–Тетово.

Митревски, Д. 1995а. Праисториската некропола „Млучка–Хиподром“ кај Скопје. Зборник Археологија 1: 61–89. Скопје: Музеј на Македонија.

Митревски, Д. 1995б. Првите етнички заедници во Македонија според начинот на погребување и погребните обичаи. Во: Г. Старделов, М. Матевски, Ц. Грозданов (уред.), *Цивилизации на почвата на Македонија* 2: 57–66. Скопје: Македонска академија на науките и уметностите.

Митревски, Д. 1997. *Протоисториските заедници во Македонија.* Скопје: Републички завод за заштита на спомениците на културата–Скопје.

Митревски, Д. 2003. Од Јужна Морава до Вардар: археолошки параметри за бронзеното и за железното време. Во: Д. Митревски (уред.),*Пирајхме* 2: 1–30. Куманово: Народен музеј–Куманово.

Митревски, Д. 2013. Праисторија на Република Македонија. Во: П. Кузман, Е. Димитрова, Ј. Донев (ред.), *Македонија милениумски културно–историски факти* 1: 83–266. Скопје: Медиа Принт Македонија и Универзитет Евро–Балкан.

Настева-Колиштркова, И. и Видески, З. 1996. Гроб од бронзеното време кај Маркова Сушица. *Macedoniaeactaarhaeologica*14: 37–43. Скопје: Македонско археолошко научно друштво.

Несторовски, И. 1970. Геологија: Општи податоци. Во: М. Панов, Ј. Синадиновски (приг.), *Гостиварскиот крај: Природно–географски одлики и општествено–економски карактеристики*, 1:17–51. Гостивар: Собрание на Општината Гостивар.

Папазоглу, Ф. 1957. Македонски градови у римско доба. Скопје: Жива антика.

Sandras, K. N. 1963. Later Aegean Bronze Swords. American Journal of Archaeology 67: 117–153. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America.

Саржоски, С. и Здравковски, Д. 1991. Тумба во село Долно Палчиште–Тетово. *Macedoniae acta archaeologica* 12: 131–144. Скопје: Здружение на археолозите на Република Македонија.

Stefanovich, M. and Bankoff, A. H. 1998. KamenskaČuka 1993–1995 (Preliminary report). In: M. Stefanovich, H. Todorova, H. Hauptmann (ed.). *James Harvey Gaul, In Memoriam*. In the Steps of James Harvey Gaul 1: 255–347. Sofia: The James Harvey Gaul Foundation.

Срејовић, Д. 2002. Преисторијска некропола у Доњој Брњици. У: В. Јовић (приред.), *Илири и Трачани (О старобалканским племенима)*: 104–144. Београд: Српска књижевна задруга.

Срејовић, Д. 2002. Културе средњег и позног бронзаног доба. У: В. Јовић (приред.), *Илири и Трачани (О старобалканским племенима)*: 223–236. Београд: Српска књижевна задруга.

Толевски, И. 2009. Географска поставеност на неолитските локалитети. Во: Г. Наумов, Љ. Фиданоски, И. Толевски и А. Ивковска (уред.), *Неолитските заедниціво Република Македонија*: 17–24. Скопје: Данте.

Трифуноски, Ф. Ј. 1976. *Полог: Антропогеографска проучавања*. Београд: Српска академија наука и уметности.

Винчиќ, Ж. и Ивановски, М. 1996. VIII. Гостивар. Во: Ц. Грозданов (гл. уред.), *Археолошка карта на Република Македонија* 2: 107–117. Скопје: Македонска академија на науките и уметностите.

Здравковски, Д. и Саржоски, С. 1989. Тумба–Палчиште, неолитска, енеолитска и бронзенодопска населба. *Arheološki pregled* 28: 43. Ljubljana: Savez arheoloških društava Jugoslavije.

Здравковски, Д. 2005. Неолитска населба „Под село–Тумба“ с. Стенче. *Зборник Археологија* 2: 25–31. Скопје: Музеј на Македонија.

DOUBLE AXE OR LABRYS IN THE GRAVE CONTEXT – RITUAL OBJECT OR CEREMONIAL SYMBOL?

Aleksandra Papazovska
Archaeological Museum of Macedonia
papazsan@hotmail.com

Discussion about the double axe or labrys as a cult or ritual object would not be complete without a brief overview of its frequent use in the Bronze Age civilizations of the Eastern Mediterranean, where it is known as a main symbol of Minoan-Mycenaean religion. An etymological link between the Lydian word for double axe - labrys and the Greek word labyrinthos was suggested by Mayer, after Evans' excavations at Crete. The frequent appearance of this symbol raised many questions about Minoan religion. The well-known myth of the labyrinth of Minos and the Minotaur on Crete led Evans toward the suggestion that the labyrinth, in origin, was the House of the Double Axe.[1] The double axe was a widely spread symbol on Crete, as an attribute of the primary Cretan goddess often equated with the Mother Goddess[2]. Therefore the double axe became the central element in Evans' hypothesis that Minoan culture was associated with civilization in the Eastern Mediterranean and a solid manifestation of the connection between the Bronze Age cultures of Anatolia and Crete. The cultural link with Anatolia can be noticed as early as the second millennium BC and the relationship with Caria drew particular attention. The only attestation of the double axe in western Anatolia during the Bronze Age is a fragment of Mycenaean pot decorated with a double axe that was found in Miletus and a Mycenaean double axe found in the temple courtyard at Ephesus. It seems that both are the result of Mycenaean influence.

One of the pioneer researchers of the Minoan-Mycenaean religion, Martin P. Nilsson, posed the main questions: "What was the relation between Mycenaean and Minoan religion, and is Mycenaean different from Minoan?"[3] He found the two religions almost identical, although with certain differences. What is very important to emphasize is the possibility that the religious significance of the double axe conveyed by Minoans might not have had the same meaning for Mycenaeans, or maybe it had no religious significance at all. Therefore one very important question arises: Were these objects found on Mycenaean territory or in the neighboring area fundamentally based on the Mycenaean religious concept

Fig.1 Gold sheets – Shaft Grave IV, Mycenae

[1] Nilsson, 1927, 72

[2] Dickinson, 1966, 264-293; Taylour, 1983, 45

[3] Mylonas, 1966, 136; Nilsson, 1950, 5-7

Fig.2 Periform jar, Mycenae Grave Circle A, Shaft Grave I, LH I (second half of 16 cent. BC)

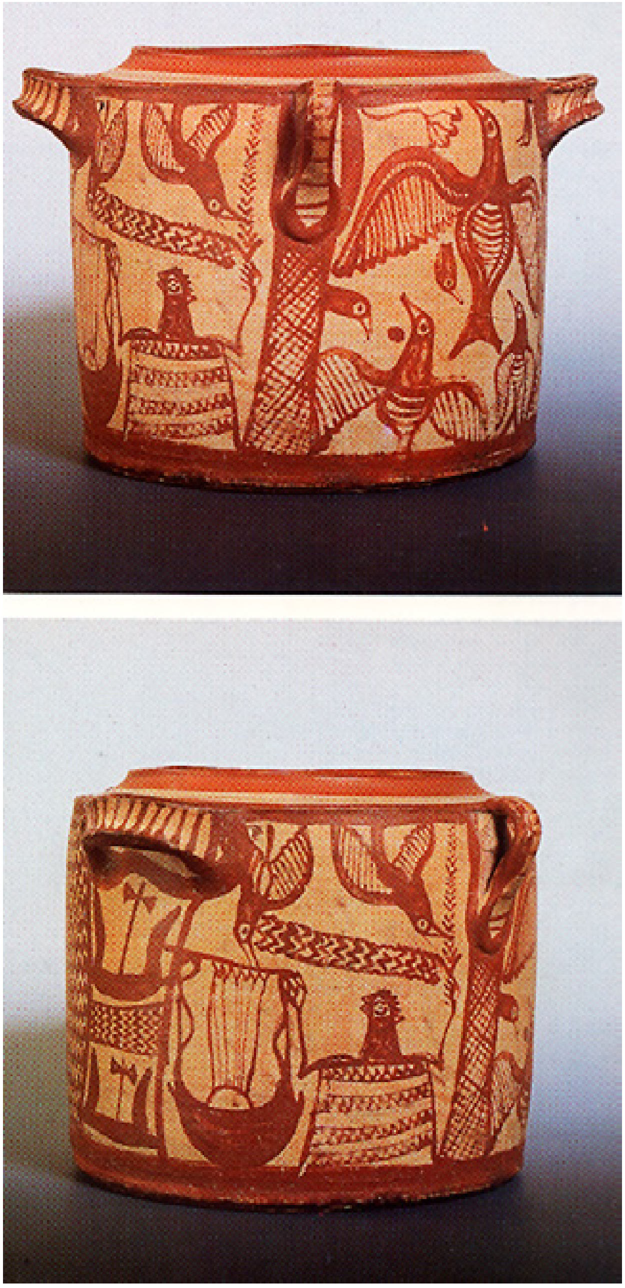


Fig.3 Pyxis – cemetery at Kalami, Apokoronou (photo by Makis Skiadaressis, cat.105)

and have religious significance, or they were simply reflections of an idea?

At the beginning of the Bronze Age, large sanctuaries appeared under the open sky where gods were worshipped and votive gifts were presented. Early Minoan sanctuaries were found on mountains tops or in caves, confirmed by votive statuettes and rituals involving fire. In the final phase of the Minoan civilization, numerous field altars appeared in connection with sacred trees[4].

On the other hand, in the Mycenaean world mountain shrines played a less significant role. Here, built structures appeared that served as sanctuaries. They were incorporated into the architecture of houses, and were distinguished mainly by the number of votive figurines and objects deposited on a bench in the megaron.[5] Examples can be found in Tiryns, at the shrine at Phylakopi on the island of Melos and the so-called "Shrine of the Double-Axes" in Knossos. In the description of the religious concept used by Minoans, the double axe represents a religious symbol. But was it "a real sign" in the Mycenaean religion?[6]

There is a significant difference between the double axes used as tools and those used as religious symbols, especially in the shape and materials of which they were made, possibly because the latter were not suitable for usage and were associated with religion, or both. The following examples discovered on Crete and Mycenae, organized by chronological order, can be separated for illustration.

The earliest examples dated in the LMI period, in the 15th century BC on Crete, are votive objects discovered in the sanctuaries. In the cave Arkalochori, Marinatos found a small gold votive axe decorated with incised parallel lines along with an impressive quantity of various bronze objects[7]. He considered these finds as evidence for the worship of a war-like deity. A fine example of a beaked jug of the so-called Alternating Style, decorated in dark-on-light with a

[4] Dickinson, 1966, 268-278, fig.8.3, 8.4, 8.5

[5] Dickinson, 1966, 286-293

[6] Mylonas, 1966, 169; Nilsson, 1950,486-487

[7] Marinatos - Hirmer, 1960

Fig.4 Hydria –rhyton– Ialysos, Rhodes (photo by Makis Skiadaressis, cat.118)

double axe combined with a sacral knot motif, foliate band and stars, possibly was used for a ritual purpose[8].

Several samples of miniature double axes made of gold sheets from the same period (LHI) were discovered in one of the chambers of Shaft Grave IV, along with horns of consecration (fig.1). In this period the double axe is frequently painted on ceramic vases, especially on amphorae (fig.2). Evans interpreted its appearance as degeneration of the motif of the double axe; while Nilsson points out that the real meaning of the double axe as an emblem was lost[9].

In the beginning of LHII, the double axe was continuously used as a decorative motif on painted vases. Massive productions of vases decorated with motifs of labrys were found in LMIII, such as examples from Crete and Rhodes. It is interesting to point to a pyxis found in a tomb at the cemetery at Kalami Apokoronou, dated in LMIIIB or the first half of the 13th cen. BC (fig.3). The decoration on the vase is matt painted with flying birds in the upper part; below the horizontal handle is a narrow panel with two horns of consecration with double axes, one above the other, and a stylized figure wearing a sleeveless chiton with head in profile and body rendered frontally, holding a branch in one hand and with the other touching a large seven-stringed musical instrument, like a cithara or lyre. The vase is a representative example of the post-palatial pottery workshop of Chania. This scene is known from the Mycenaean world on the mainland, and interpreted as a special ritual of religious nature.[10] Another example with the image of

Fig.5 Bronze axe – Katamachi in Epirus (photo by George Fafalis, cat.90)

religious symbols such as the double axe and horns of consecration is notable on a hydria-rhyton from Ialysos, Rhodes (fig.4). This vase probably was used for funerary libations before the grave offerings were placed in a tomb.[11] The latest depiction is probably on the vase from Thorikos, while on the amphorae of the palatial style this motif was already abandoned.

The gold rings with engraved double axe motif are of particular interest. Images of the ceremonial double axes on rings, such as the examples from the treasury in Drosinos in the citadel of Mycenae, in the tholos tomb in Vaheio and gemstones from chamber tomb 515 in Kalkani, illustrate an enigmatic ritual practiced bya special order of priestesses.[12] The horizontal perforations on these gemstones show that they were parts of necklaces, most probably imported from Crete. They are rare examples where the double axe represented a religious symbol. Double axes incised on the façade of the tholos tomb of Peristeria in Triphylia are also interesting in appearance, interpreted by Marinatos as masons' marks[13].

Examples of the double axe in LH III are almost non existent. A double axe was found incised on a stone block in the wall of Room 7 in the Palace of Pylos,which could be also interpreted as a mason's mark. Several examples of double axes from the same period were discovered on Crete, offered as votive gifts in rooms defined as shrines. In the Treasure Chamber near the shrine of the Palace of Minos, a small double axe made of steatite was discovered along with two sets of horns of consecration and a miniature gilded bronze axe. A household shrine of similar type was discovered in Asine on Mycenaean territory, where instead of a double axe a celt was found among the cult objects. A single example of a double axe was found in the sanctuary at Delphi, dated earlier, and only one bronze example in the sanctuary of Artemis in Delos was found along with other bone and gold objects. Examples of votive double axes are missing in the well-known Mycenaean cities such asMycenae, Tiryns, Pylosand Athens. The double axe from

[8] Nilsson, 1927, 167

[9] Mylonas, 1966, 169

[10] Vlasaki, 1988, 149, cat.105

[11] Papazoglou-Manioudaki, 1988, 158, cat.118

[12] Mylonas, 1966, 170, fig.1 23 - ring 15; Thomas, 1938-1939, 86

[13] Mylonas, 1966, 170; Marinatos - Hirmer, 1960; Nilsson, 1927, 181

the hoard discovered on the Athenian acropolis was used as a tool, not as a votive object.[14]

Similar examples were found at the Katamachi site in Epirus[15], in a hoard of five bronze axes, a chisel and a small anvil, which had been hidden in the Souli mountains (fig.5). Perhaps the absence of the votive double axes made of precious metal is a result of looting of the Mycenaean palaces and cities by the invaders. The objects painted in white color on the fragment of wall painting in Circle A in the area of the Ramp House are identified as double axes by Rodenwaldt and Evans, although these rooms are not yet identified as shrines.

North of the Mycenaean world, the double axe is a rare find. There are several isolated examples in Hagias Mamas, Olynthus, and Kastanas, etc.[16]

Further to the north, the double axe appeared in graves no. 13, 54 and 80 at the cemetery of Dimov Grob near Ulanci. Two belts made of labryses and glass beads were found as grave offerings in graves no. 54 and 80, and one more labrys was discovered in a disturbed grave. Both belts belong to two rich female burials[17]. On this occasion, I would like to pay attention to their position in the graves, as well as to the other accompanying offerings. Namely, in grave no. 54 (fig.6, T.I-1), in which an adult female was buried, there were also two gold spiral earrings; a necklace made of circular bone, bronze, amber and glass beads placed near the head; two large bronze pins crossed on the chest; and two bone beads for bracelets on both wrists.[18] The belt was made of 14 labryses arranged by size, and 14 glass beads in between (fig.7). Besides this one, there was another belt made of 13 sea snails and glass beads in between. The position of the ceramic finds is quite intriguing: the alabastron was placed near the face and hands of the deceased, while the deep bowl was placed above the covering slab of the cist.

Fig.6 Grave 54 – Dimov Grob, Ulanci (after Zlatko Videski)

An adult female, buried in grave no. 80 (fig.8, T.I-2), was accompanied by two bronze spiral earrings, a necklace of three four-sided glass beads placed near the head, two long bronze pins crossed on the chest, and a belt made of 26 bronze labryses with glass beads in between, placed in the pelvic area[19] (fig.7). Next to the forearm of the deceased, a matt-painted kantharos was placed. Based on the finds, we can conclude that the two burials are the richest in the whole cemetery, while the jewelry indicates that both women enjoyed high position in the community.

The choice of the ceramic vessels in the graves is also interesting. In general, many established rules in burial rites can be observed within the cemetery, and among them is the choice of ceramic vessel selected for grave offerings. For example, a matt-painted kantharos and an alabastron (fig.9), usually placed

[14] Mylonas, 1966, 170-186

[15] Papazoglou-Manioudaki, 1988, 138, cat.90

[16] www.archaeology.wiki/blog/2013/03/26/cultures-of-8000-years-and-four-lakes/

New research in the region of the "four lakes" gave new data for the Iron Age in Northern Greece. Especially the finds from the necropolis Aghios Panteleimon and Amyntaion gave a new picture of burial costumes with 148 excavated graves. We found interesting one female burial with luxurious findings: a diadem and composite jewelry, among which are several representations of labyrinths. This burial demonstrates the existence of social stratification and possibly a kind of priesthood. Not all the finds have yet been published.

[17] Видески, 2006, 14, 26, 34; T.VI-2; T.XXX, T. XXXI-1; T. XLVI, T.XLVII-1

[18] Videski, 2007, 317, Fig.7

[19] Videski, 2007, 317, fig.8

Fig.7 Belt labryses from grave 54 and 80– Dimov Grob, Ulanci (photo by Papazovska A.)

between the face and hands of the deceased, are exclusive finds in female burials.[20] The above mentioned monochrome deep bowl placed above the covering slab, on its west side, above the head of the deceased, is also a frequent find in female graves. The plate is probably related to libation, a ritual that took place after the actual burial of the deceased was completed. Both the kantharos and the alabastron discovered in graves no. 54 and 80 are vessels for liquids, which possibly played a role in the ritual of libation. The reason why I pay attention to libation is that a number of inscriptions in Linear A script were discovered in the Minoan sanctuaries, where a libation formula mentioning names of several deities is written. On two votive axes from Arkalochorion Crete the word I-DA-MA-TE is inscribed, interpreted as "the mother Ida".[21] Therefore, it is quite possible that libation continued to be used as an idea and was associated with community members who practiced certain rituals.

It is also worth noting that the large bronze pins found in the three rich female burials in Ulanci (in graves no. 54, 73, 80 and one in grave no. 97) were always placed crossed on the chest of the deceased.[22] They appeared in Sub-Mycenaean, exclusively female graves in Vergina, where they are associated with the Doric peplos, although they originated from earlier Mycenaean shapes made of bone.[23] The labryses discovered in the female graves at the cemetery in Ulanci are already identified as cult belts in the scientific publications.[24] It was mentioned before that the labrys or double axe was a cult object deeply implemented in Aegean beliefs as an attribute of the female deity. It was also suggested that it represented a symbol of the Household Goddess and, as her attribute, it was the focus of Minoan religion.

The labryses discovered in the cemetery of Dimov Grob at Ulanci, which are exclusively found in rich female burials, point to their high rank in the society. Their presence in female graves, uniformity and their number confirms the relationship of these communities with the Aegean world in the Bronze Age and with the Minoan religion, where the labrys was the symbol of the goddess - protector of the house. Both researchers of the cemetery Dimov Grob, Mitrevski and Videski, agree that these burials belong to priestesses who practiced rituals that were deeply spiritually related to the Aegean world.[25] Therefore the labrys belts, in addition to their decorative purpose, had religious meaning as well. Their religious significance in this period is without doubt, but the question is whether these objects were used in the rituals or they were just part of the ceremonial garment of the priestesses.

If we take into consideration all elements of the burial practices of these communities, we can conclude that there are many elements that are related

[20] Видески, 2006, 67-70

[21] Tomas, 2014, 78-79

[22] Видески, 2006, 75-76, сл. 29,30

[23] Andronikos, 1969, 233-236

[24] Videski, 2007, 317

[25] Videski, 2007, 315-319; Митревски, 2013, 186, Сл.65

Fig.8 Grave 80 – Dimov Grob, Ulanci (after Zlatko Videski)

to the Mycenaean world, such are the cist grave, matt-painted pottery, jewelry and weapons. On the other hand, the labrys is known only as a grave gift associated with the burial rites of the community, and not as a votive offering in the sanctuaries or other cult places, which is common for the whole LHIII period in the Mycenaean world. Their appearance in graves of the late Bronze Age communities along the Vardar River, in the so-called Ulanci group, is of great importance for determination of its character. We can notice that burial and ritual practices used at the cemeteries in the so-called Ulanci group, hardly accepts foreign influences. Therefore, the appearance of these objects in the region far north of the Mycenaean world points to a strong manifestation of Aegean values of the late Bronze Age. Another question arises: Was trade between these communities and the Mycenaean world sufficient to create new social and spiritual circumstances, which would be reflected in the material culture of the Late Bronze Age communities? The question regarding the foundation of these communities, which were in contact with the Mycenaean world and transferred the most sensitive ideas related to religious beliefs, remains open as well.

Fig.9 Kantharos and alabastron – Dimov Grob, Ulanci (after Zlatko Videski)

Fig.9a

The importance of the labrys in the spiritual and religious life of the communities in the Lower Vardar Valley is confirmed by its continuous use in the Early Iron Age. Its presence is again attested in a funereal context: the labrys from the central grave in the tumulus at Visoi-Beranci (fig.10), in the tumulus Vojnik near Kumanovo (fig.11) and at Tremnik-Negotino. We cannot discuss with certainty the exact position of both labryses in the graves at Vojnik and Tremnik, because of lack of information.[26] Also there is no data on the gender of the deceased or their position in the graves. Beside the labryses, a vessel on a high foot (fig.12) is found in the tumulus at Vojnik, which originates from the Mycenaean alabastron, but is decorated with ribs.[27] A few buckles are found in the grave, suggesting that this may be a female burial.

[26] Георгиевски, 1987; Митревски, 1997, 316, каталог на некрополи бр.66; Митревски, 2013, 221, сл.76

[27] Папазовска Санев, 2009, 89-90, кат.бр.139; Papazovska Sanev, 2012, 28, сл.12

Fig.10 Labrys – Beranci, Bitola
(photo by Papazovska A.)

On the other hand, the presence of a bronze amulet shaped as a labrys in the central grave at Visoi-Beranci (fig.10) is intriguing, since along with the iron sword of type Neue II and a sub-Mycenaean skyphos are offerings for the tribal leader.[28] The presence of labrys in this grave refers to its religious significance for the community, the reason why it was placed in the grave. The labrys pendant and the sword date to LHIIIB-C, i.e. in the 13th -12th centuries BC, almost more than a century earlier than the sub-Mycenaean skyphos which dates to the 11th century BC.[29]

I would also like to draw attention to the labryses found in four graves at Vergina, one of the best explored cemeteries of the Early Iron Age. These finds confirmed the important role of the double axe in the Early Iron Age communities. In four different tumuli, in four separate graves, triple double axes (fig.13) were found.[30] The grave offerings, mainly jewelry, e.g., salteleon, necklaces of glass and amber beads, earrings, spectacle fibulae, spiral bracelets and button belts, point to rich female burials. In all four graves, a triple double axe and a single jug were placed next to the face of the deceased (T.II). Only one of the graves contained a kantharos as well. All these vessels are for liquids (jug, kantharos and alabastron), and most probably they were used for libation.

The triple double axe is cast in bronze as a single object, and obviously was part of the jewelry of the deceased and had no practical use. They are decorated with geometric motifs, and their significance imposed a unified shape (fig.14). They were unknown before the excavations of the cemetery at Vergina, and they are quite different than the widely distributed miniature double axes known in Europe

Fig.11 Labrys – Vojnik, Kumanovo
(photo by Papazovska A.)

and in Greek sanctuaries of the Geometric period.[31] Their appearance has drawn special attention and interest. First thoughts for their origin inevitably leads to Minoan Crete,and to places of worship. Milojčić in 1948 considered that these objects were of northern origin and were used as razors, rejecting their relation with Crete.[32] This theory was abandoned, especially on the territory of Northern Greece, very soon after the labryses were discovered in sanctuaries,and particularly with the discovery by Andronikos of the labryses exclusively in female burials at Vergina. He considered the labryses as objects of special symbolic significance and emblems associated with a priestly order with powerful social position in the society.[33]

In the cultural circle of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age in western Macedonia, labryses were found in a rich female burial no. 113 in the ceme-

[28] Mikulčić, 1966, 15-17, T.IV-8b,8c

[29] Mikulčić, 1966, 16-17, T.IV-8a; Papazovska, 2007, 487-492

[30] Andronikoς, 1969, 248-251

[31] Andronikoς, 1969, 283-286

[32] Andronikoς,1969, 251

[33] Andronikoς,1969, 179-182

Fig.12 Vessel on foot – Vojnik, Kumanovo (photo by Papazovska A.)

Fig.13 Labrys – Vergina (photo by Andronikos M.)

tery of Vitsa, along with jewelry of the Vergina type, amphoriskos and amphykipela.[34] Another labrys was discovered out of grave context in tumulus I in the cemetery at Kuc i Zi. The labryses sudenly disappeared from this territory after the 9th century BC[35], on Crete even earlier, in the 10th century BC, while in Anatolia, the labrys continued into the Classical period, as is confirmed on the coins with image of Zeus Labraundos from the 4th century BC.

The common characteristic of all afore mentioned burials is that the labrys is a symbol exclusively related to female graves; it survived for a longer period together with many influences from the north after the turbulent transitional period from the Bronze into the Iron Age. Numerous labryses in the burials from the 13th to the 9th centuries BC illustrate that this symbol was used by a large priesthood on the territory of Northern Greece and along the Vardar valley, perhaps even larger than we can assume at this stage of research. Despite its relation with the Minoan tradition, these religious values developed in a micro region, where they survived during the longer period of approximately five centuries, reflecting their own religious and spiritual values. To reveal their character, many things should be clarified. Nevertheless, the key question is whether Minoan-Mycenaean influences were stronger than we are aware of, so they could make such a strong impact on the religious and cultural life of these communities.

[34] Bokoutopoulος, 1986, 244,245,246; sχ. 109st

[35] Andrea, 1985, 109 -124; T.LXIV; Tab.XXXVI ; One labrys was discovered outside the graves in the mound of Tumulus I at the cemetery Kuç i Zi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Andrea Zh. 1985. *Kultura Ilire e tumave në Pellgun e Korçës*, Tiranë: Akademia e shkencave e RPSSH –Qendra e kërkimeve arkeologjike

Andronikoς M.19. *Bergina I − To nekrotafeiov twv tumbwv*, Athnaiς**:** Biblioqhkη thς ev Aqhnaiς arcaiologikhς etaireiaς ariθ.

Dickinson O. 1966. *The Aegean Bronze Age*, Cambrige: University Press.

Ѓеоргиевски З. 1987. Годишен Зборник на филозофски факултет, Необјавени и нови наоди од Повардарјето, Скопје: Филозофски факултет.

Marinatos S. and Hirmer M. 1960. *Crete and Mycenae*, London: Thames & Hudson.

Mikulčić I. 1966. *Pelagonija u svetlosti arheoloskih nalaza – od egejske seobe do Avgusta*, Beograd- Skoplje: Arheolosko drustvo Jugoslavije i Arheoloski muzej –Skoplje.

Митревски Д. 2013. *Македонија – милениумски културно-историски факти I, Праисторија на Република Македонија (археологија)*, Скопје: Медија принт и Универзитет Евро-Балкан

Mylonas G.E. 1966. *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Nilsson M.L. 1927. *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and Its Survival in Greek religion*, London-Paris: Humphrey Milford, Edouard Champion, Oxford University Press.

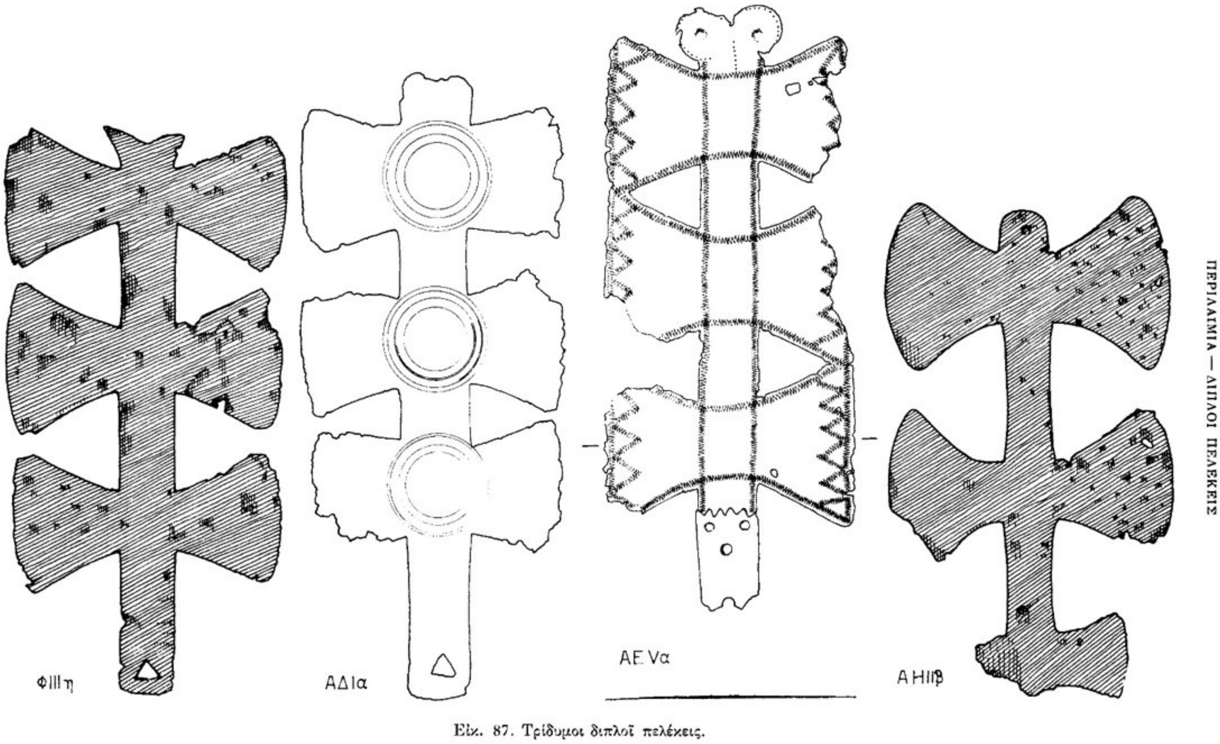


Fig.14 Labrys – Vergina (drawing by Andronikos M.)

Papazoglou-Manioudaki L. 1988. *The Mycenaean World, Five centuries of Early Greek culture 1600-1100 BC,* Catalogue, Athens: Greek Ministry of Culture and The National Hellenic Committee – ICOM.

Papazovska A. 2007. *Between Aegean and Baltic seas-Prehistory across borders,* Matt painted Pottery from the Iron age in FYROM, Zagreb: University at Liege.

Папазовска Санев А. 2009. Керамика од железното време по долината на Вардар, магистерски труд, Скопје: Универзитет Св. Кирил и Методиј, Филозофски факултет, Институт за историја на уметноста и археологија

Papazovska Sanev A**. 2012.** Northern elements in the Iron Age pottery production in Skopje – Kumanovo region, *Muzejski glasnik br. 11*, Kumanovo: Nacionalna ustanova Muzej - Kumanovo.

Taylor L.W. 1983. *The Mycenaeans, revised edition*, London: Thames & Hudson.

Tomas H. 2014. U potrazi za pisanim izvorima o minojskoj Pontiji, *Radovi 46*, Zagreb: Zavod za hrvatsku povjest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveucilista u Zagrebu.

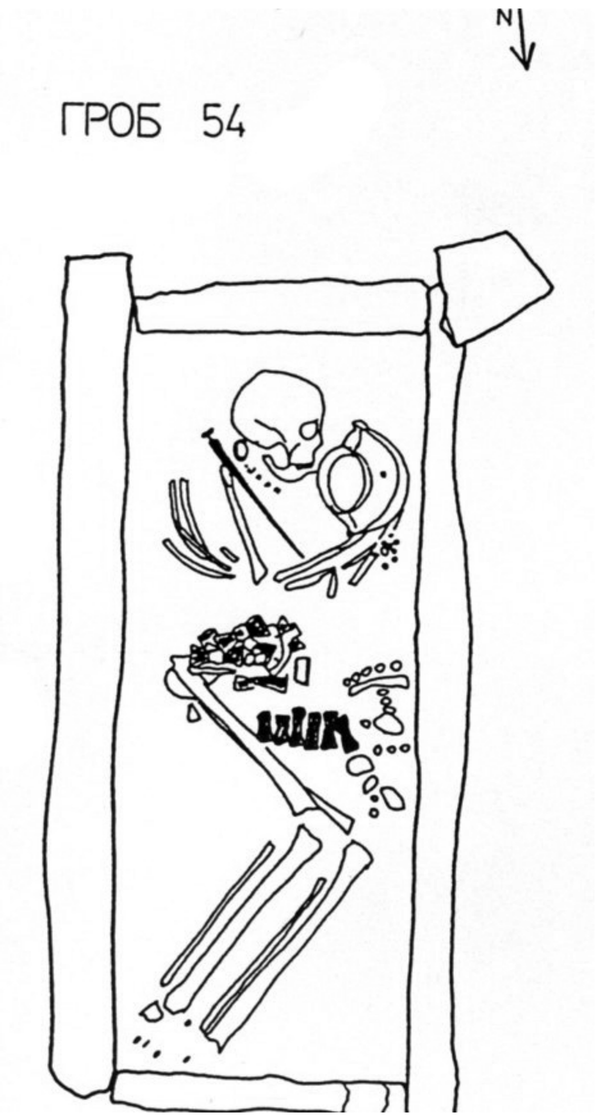
Thomas H. 1938-1939. The Acropolis Treasure from Mycenae, *BSA 39*, Athens:

Видески З. **2006.** Димов гроб – некропола од доцното бронзено време во с. Уланци кај градско, магистерски труд, Скопје: Универзитет Св. Кирил и Методиј, Филозофски факултет, Институт за историја на уметноста и археологија.

Videski Z. 2007. Religious Beliefs of the Late Bronze Age in the Territory of the Republic of Macedonia, *Situla 44 (Scripta praehistorica in honorem Biba Terzan)*, Ljubljana: Narodni muzej Slovenije.

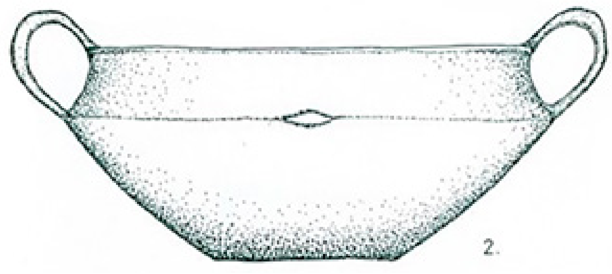
Vlasaki M. 1988. *The Mycenaean World, Five centuries of Early Greek culture 1600-1100 BC,* Catalogue, Athens: Greek Ministry of Culture and The National Hellenic Committee – ICOM.

Bokoutopoulou I. 1986. *Bitsα − Tα nekrotafeiα miας molossikhς kwmhς, Tomoς B*, Aqhnα:Upourgeio politismou, Dhmosieumatα tou arcaiologikou Deltiou Aρ.33

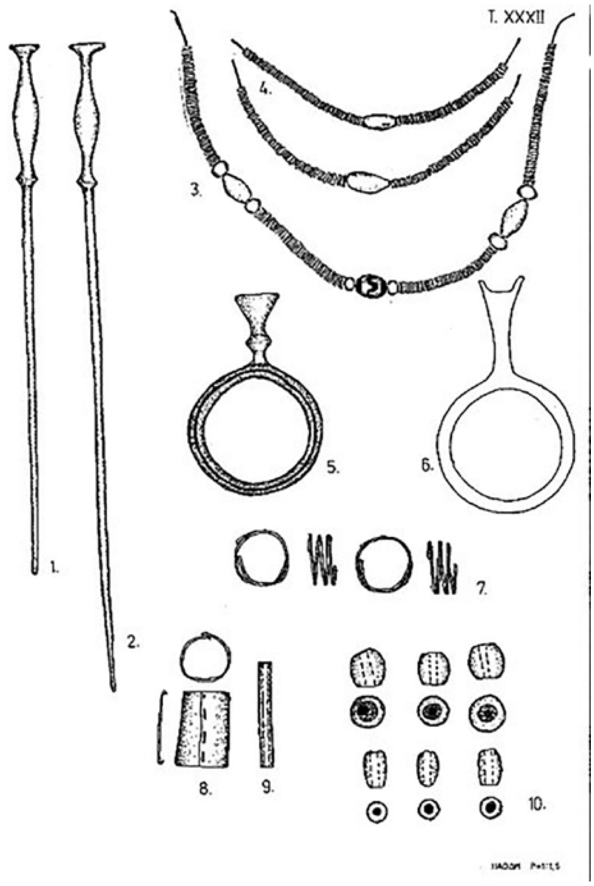


T.I-1 (drawings by Zlatko Videski)

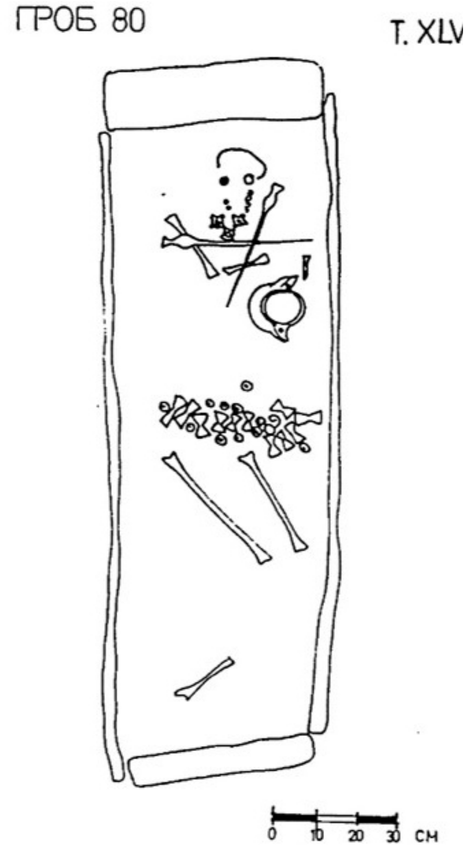
T.I-1a (drawings by Zlatko Videski)



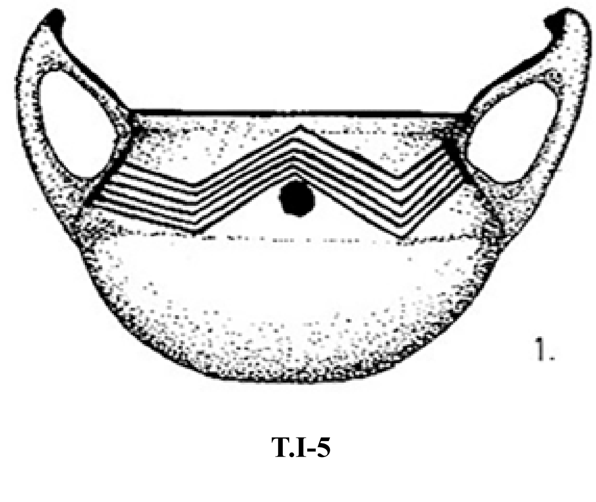
T.I-2 (drawings by Zlatko Videski)



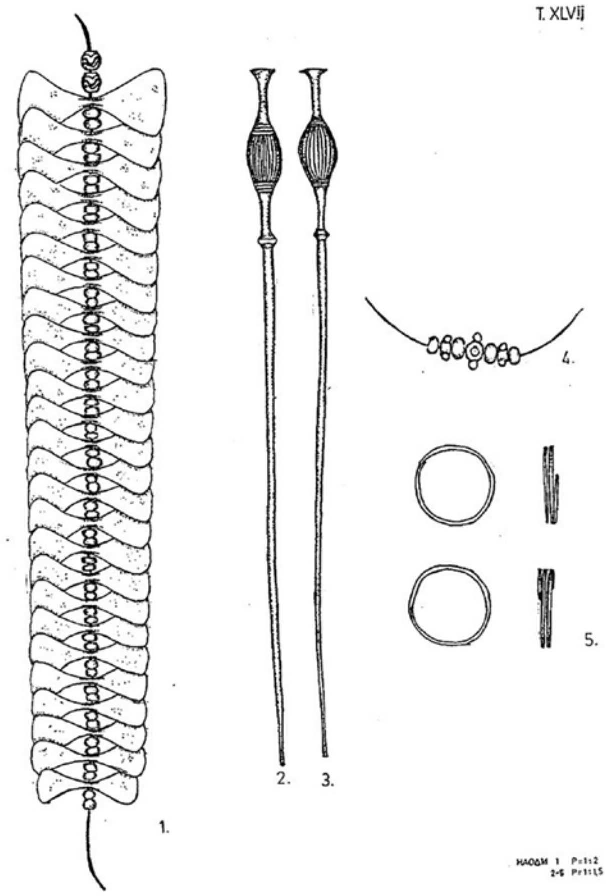
T.I-3



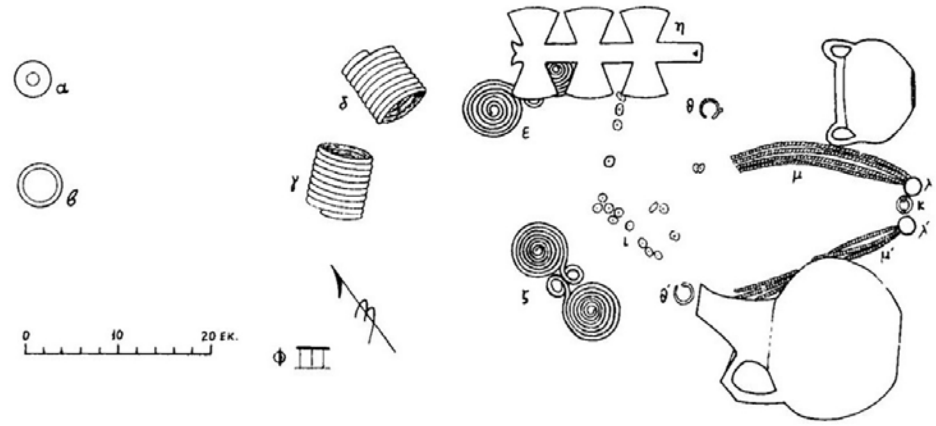
T.I-4



T.I-5

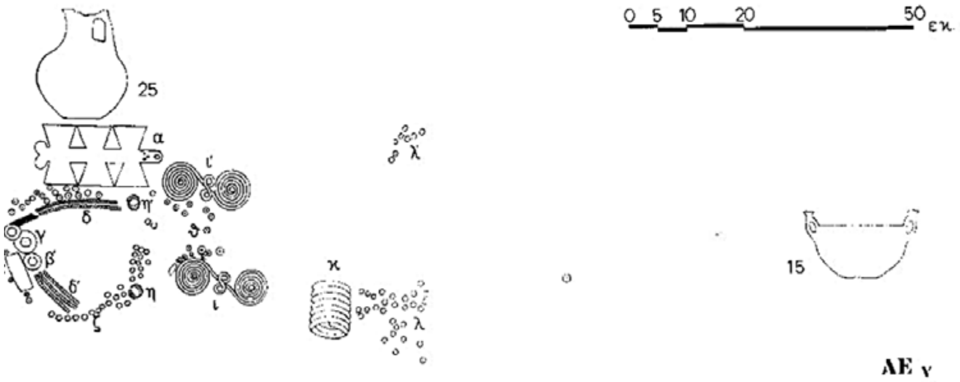


T.I-6



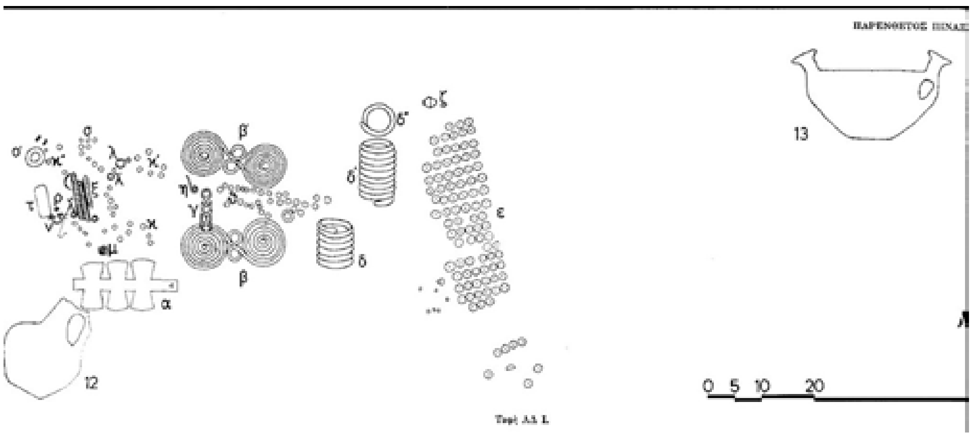
Εἰκ. 16. Ταφὴ Φ III (ἄνω ἥμισυ).

T.II-1 (drawings by M. Andronikos)

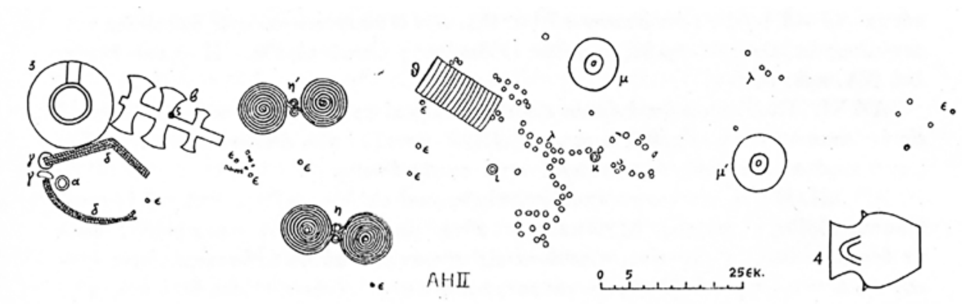


Ταφὴ ΑΕ V.

T.II-2 (drawings by M. Andronikos)



T.II-3 (drawings by M. Andronikos)



Εἰκ. 20. Ταφὴ ΑΗ ΙΙ.

T.II-4 (drawings by M. Andronikos)

ANTIQUE CULT BUILDINGS FROM STARO BONČE

Antonio Jakimovski
Ss Cyril and Methodius University, Faculty of Philosophy, Department of Archaeology
antonio@fzf.ukim.edu.mk

1. Area of Staro Bonce and Visoka

Staro Bonče is an area extending to the North-east edge of the Pelagonia plain between the villages Podmol and Bonče (Fig. 1) . In this area there are more than twenty archaeological sites, most of them belonging to early antique period. Prof. Viktor Lilčić and prof. Antonio Jakimovski conducted an extensive archaeological research in the past ten years and suggested that the ancient city of Pelagonia, the capital of the Fourth Macedonian Merid, should be located in the area.

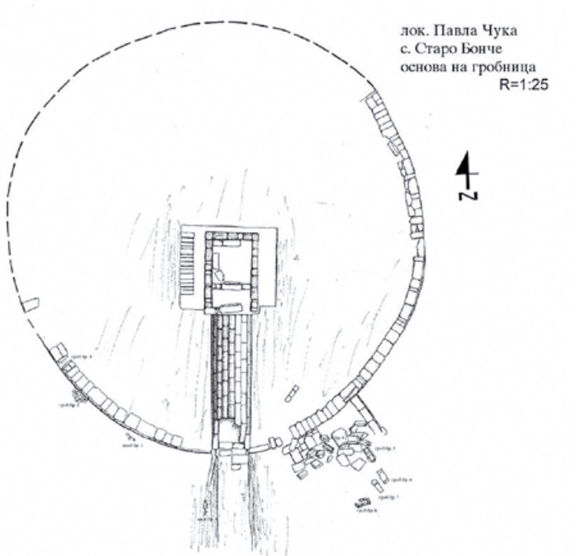
Among the most imposing archaeological features is the tomb of Macedonian type located in the site of Pavla Čuka. The tomb became known in the archeological science since 1936, when archaeological excavations were conducted for the first time under the leadership of prof. Nikola Vulić.[1] Of course, the tomb was already discovered before this excavation, and according to the large number of stone blocks that are missing, it can be assumed that it was used as a quarry by the local inhabitants of the villages Podmol and Bonče .[2]

---

[1] Vulic, N., 1937, 611-612. Despite extremely scarce information in the preliminary report of N. Vulic, we find out that the vaulted dromos and the chamber were first discovered, and because part of the stone blocks and the grave inventory were missing, he assumed that the tomb was unfinished.

[2] Some of these stone blocks were found in the immediate vicinity of the tomb used as a sub-wall for the boundary between two fields.

2. The Macedonian type of tomb at Staro Bonce



3. Plan of the tomb at Staro Bonce

Later, in his doctoral dissertation, Ivan Mikulčić first publishes the plan for the visible constructional elements of the tomb, for which he presented analogies, as well as a brief overview of the method of construction and its date.[3] The description of the tomb was once again published in the monograph,[4] after which this extremely important monument remained completely forgotten until the archaeological excavations in 2006.

In the framework of the initial archaeological research at the site Visoka in 2005, and the surveys of the wider area of Staro Bonče , after analyzing great number of stray archaeological findings,[5] it became clear that there was a city located in this area in the early antique period. In 2006, fragments of three shields from the Hellenistic period, which belong to the personal guard of the Macedonian king Demetrius,[6] were discovered by chance in the area called Staro Bonče .

The obvious importance of the sites, initiated the project of systematic archaeological research on Visoka and Staro Bonče in 2006. In the frames of the project in 2007, stimulated by the monumental appearance of the tomb on the site of Pavla Čuka, archaeological excavations started.[7]

The purpose of this archaeological campaign was to further explore and properly document the tomb, but after the fascinating discovery of the monumental circular wall - an element of the tomb that was then unknown, these excavations became systematic archaeological researches, leading to many new discoveries and findings on the site Pavla Čuka.[8]

Within years of archaeological research, we

---

[3] Mikulčić I., 1966, 62-63,73.

[4] Kepeski K., 1971, 42.

[5] Many of the archaeological artifacts from Staro Bonče are kept in the Museum of Prilep.

[6] Bitrakova Grozdanova B., 2007, 863-873.; Temelkoski D., Juhel P., 2007.

[7] The project was implemented by the Faculty of Philosophy - Skopje, under the leadership of prof. Viktor Lilcic and prof. Antonio Jakimovski.

[8] Jakimovski A., 2009.; Jakimovski A., 2011.; Jakimovski A., 2012, 165-180.; Lilcikj Adams V, Jakimovski A., 2015

4. Vaulted dromos of the tomb

5. The grave chamber in the tomb

discovered several more constructional parts of the tomb (Fig. 2,3). Thus, apart from the previously known vaulted dromos and grave chamber (Fig. 4,5), the dromos cut in the rock was discovered that leads to the vaulted dromos, as well as an antechamber marked with a threshold that had a double-leaf door which was coming through the chamber. The greatest surprise was the discovery of a circular wall with a diameter of 32 meters, which surrounded the tomb as a ring, and the cult building attached to this wall - Heroon (Ancient Greek - ἡρῷον, Latin heroum). It is a building devoted to the hero, most often placed where the tomb or the kenotaph of the hero was found. An analogy can be found in the Heroon in Vergina next to the so-called Philip's tomb.[9]

During the excavations, a total of 11 children's graves were discovered, all of them concentrated in the front of the tomb – the largest concentration of the tombs is around the Heroon. Here, the gaps between destroyed blocks of the Heroon were used as funerary pits. These burials, as well as grave no.3, which is placed on site of one of the blocks removed from the circular wall, confirms with certainty that the Tomb and the Heroon were discovered and destroyed before the burials, which are dated after the year 362, according to the movable archaeological material and the coin of Julian II Apostate[10]

All of the above stated gives us the right to conclude that in the period of the construction of the Tomb/Kenotaf and the Heroon (325 -300 BC), they served as a cult buildings, but their sacral character was preserved much later – even in the second half of the 4th century AD. The site was in use as a place for burial almost 800 years later.

The second cult object is located on a hill Kolkot in the immediate vicinity of about 300 meters southeast of the tomb of Pavla Čuka (Fig. 6).

Archaeological excavations were carried out at this site only in 1985, when a circular wall with dimensions of about 30 meters in diameter and a 1.20 meter preserved height was discovered, built of crushed stone and mud . Four rock – cut rectangular chambers were found inside the circle (the researcher assumed they were graves), as well as some other interventions in the rock for which no explanation was given[11]

Preliminary and extremely scant information of these researches are given in Archaeological review.[12]

The presented material is defined as late antique, but from the only saved/published photograph it can

[9] Andronicos M., 1977, 40-72.

[10] Sutherland J. W. E., 1981.

[11] The archaeological excavations were carried out by the Institute and Museum of Prilep, under the leadership of B. Kitanoski; Kitanovski B., 1984, 128.

[12] Kitanovski B., 1984, 128

6. Aerial photo of the site Kolkot

7. Entry in the site of Visoka

be noted that is very similar to the material found at the tomb of Pavla Čuka.[13] Knowing that there were burials around the tomb from the late antique period and almost all the material (coins and fragmented pottery ceramics) around it is late antiquity, there were probably two simultaneous objects from the early antiquity, which were reused, that is, respected much later in the late antiquity. Towards this conclusion is also the almost identical diameter of the circular walls of the tomb and Kolkot, as well as the dromos which perceived on the surface and connects these two objects. According to the proximity of Pavla Čuka and the surroundings with a large number of early antique necropolis, in combination with the elements that the object of the archaeological

[13] Technical documentation of the excavations is missing, as well as the movable archaeological artifacts.

8. Masonry of the walls at Visoka

site Kolkot possesses, and in the absence of excavation, material and technical documentation, we can only assume that it is a cult object associated with the procession of burials or may be a local variant of a cult of earth and fertility, i.e. –something similar to the Tesmoforion (Tesmophoria) a circular sanctuary-temple, in honor of Demeter and Persephone, especially respected in early antiquity.[14]

The third cult object - peak sanctuary - is the site Visoka. It has been known for a long time in archeology, but archaeological excavations were carried out for the first time in 2005.[15] The site, or as it was previously called the sanctuary[16], acropolis or castle, was erected on the highest rock of Visoka known as Kave or Cuculot, at an altitude of 1742 meters. Around the highest part of the natural rock which occupies the western central area, in form of a pentagon, a monumental wall was build in the early antique period (Fig. 7), surrounding it from three sides. The wall has a preserved height of over 2 meters and was built with monumental stone blocks longer than 2.5 meters, by a technique of combination of isodumum and pseudoisodomum (Fig.8, 9). In a decade of excavation (2005-2015), a large number of movable archeological findings were discovered, and together with stratigraphy of the site tell us that this space was used in the early antiquity (earliest coins of Philip II and Alexander III, but according to the ceramic material we have imports from the 5th and 4th centuries BC), through the entire antique period to the Middle Ages (the latest –skifat is from 13th century).[17] Except as a dominant strategic position that controls a larger area, Visoka also represents a cult building - a peak sanctuary of the city of Staro Bonče , (possibly the ancient city of Pelagonia), and the surrounding area, as well as the wider region of Pelagonia, Mariovo and Tikvesh region.

This conclusion arrives from many factors. The first one is that inhabiting conditions at this height and in this locality (as we felt in the periods of excavations), except in the summer (two to three months), are extremely difficult, or even impossible.[18] Even in the summer there is a great danger from thunderbolt, since Visoka as the highest point attracts thunders. Apart from this, a monumental wall on such an inaccessible location is almost unknown and unnecessary, because even in current conditions, climbing to Visoka lasts from two and a half to three and a half hours, which would certainly be increased with military equipment.

---

[14] We hope that these questions will be answered with the revisional archeological researches on the site Kolkot and on the places where the land from the previous archaeological excavations has been thrown.

[15] Project director is prof. Viktor Lilcic.

[16] Lilcik V., 2006, 62-67 (he is connecting the site with the cult of Dioscures)

[17] Lilčić V., 2006.; Лилчиќ В., Кебакоски Д., 2006, 22.; Lilcikj Adams V., Jakimovski A., 2015.

[18] In 2013 and 2014, some 20-30 archaeologists participated in archaeological campus and felt the incredible conditions in the period of July / August.

9. Masonry of the walls at Visoka

The third fact is that in the space inhabited by Macedonians, Paionians and Pelagonians, unlike the areas inhabited by the Hellenes, no early antique temples were found, but there are several peak sanctuaries that are particularly respected, and as analogies on our territory we can point out Klepa,[19] Treskavec,[20] Pletvar and many other examples. These high mountain peaks, represented places of ritual activities from the ancient times till present.[21]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chausidis N., Mythologization of the Mountain (A Diachronic Survey of Examples from Macedonia and the wider Balkan region), Folia II, 2012, 263-282.

Andronicos M., Vergina: The Royal Graves in the Great Tumulus. – Athens Annals of Archaeology X/1, 1977, 40-72.

Bitrakova Grozdanova V., Macedonian shield from Bonče. – Scripta Praehistorica. Situla 44, Ljubljana 2007, 863-873

Jakimovski A., Macedonian Royal Tomb at Staro Bonče . Macedonian Heritage 38-39, 2011.

Jakimovski A., Das königliche makedonische Grab in der Nähe von Bonče. – Folia archaeologica Balcanica 2, 2012, 165-180.

Kepeski K., Prilep i prilepsko niz istorijata, Kniga I, Glava II, Elinistički period. Prilep 1971.

Kitanovski B., Kolkot, Podmol. – Arheološki pregled 28, 1984, 128.

Лилчиќ В., Потрага по градот Пелагонија, центарот на Македонија Четврта, Македонско наследство / Macedonian heritage, бр. 1, Скопје 1996.

Лилчиќ В., Македонскиот камен за боговите, христијаните и за животот по животот: античка камена архитектонска пластика во Република Македонија, Скопје 2001.

Lilčić V., An attempt at reconnaissance of the town of Pelagonia. – Homage to Milutin Garašanin, Beograd 2006.

Лилчиќ В., Кебакоски Д., Историјат на истражување и убицирање на античкиот и средновековен град Пелагонија. – Македонско Наследство / Macedonian heritage 27, 2006, 22-28.

V. Lilcik, Dioscuri and the town of Pelagonia, Macedonian Heritage no 28, Skopje 2006, 62-67.

Lilcikj Adams V., Jakimovski A., Visoka and Staro Bonce, Skopje 2015.

Mikulčić I., Pelagonija u svetlosti arheoloških nalaza. Skopje 1966.

Микулчиќ И., 1983. Античко светилиште и тврдина на Клепа, Годишен зборник на Филозофскиот факултет. 10 (36). Скопје, 193-210.

Sutherland J. W. E., The Roman imperial coinage, vol. VIII: The Family of Constantine I (A.D. 337-364). London 1981.

Temelkoski D., Juhel P., Ancient Macedonian Shields from Pelagonia, 2007.

Vulić N., Arheološka istraživanja u Južnoj Srbiji. – Jugoslovenski istorijski časopis III/1-4, 1937, 611- 612.

[19] Микулчиќ. И., 1983, 193-210.; Лилчиќ В., 2001, 392 – 395.

[20] Микулчиќ И., 1999, 89- 90; Лилчиќ 2001, 392 – 395.

[21] Chausidis N, 2012,263 – 282

THE THOLOS ROOM IN THE ROYAL PALACE IN BYLAZORA

Jovica Iliev

Abstract: This paper is concentrate on the use of one of the most significant rooms in the largest and most representative building in the acropolis of the ancient city of Bylazora. The building has been recognized as a royal palace of the Paeonian kings, and one of the rooms inside, because of its circular shape is called Tholos room. Its position in the palace and the findings uncovered in situ is what gives the room its significant characteristics. These findings (small sacrificial pits and animal remains) were discovered under the clay floor. The artifacts consists various types of early antique pottery, an oil lamp, a zoomorphic figurine as well as numerous animal remains which indicate the basic role of the tholos room and its purpose, to serve for religious needs of the palace residents. The coin of the Paeoninan king Leonn and the arrows that burn down the palace and destroyed it can give as very close dating of the last days of the royal palace.

Key words: *Bylazora, palace, tholos, vestibule, Leonn*

Figure 1: Location of the Bylazora site

The ancient city of Bylazora is located on the archeological site Gradishte, a dominant hill in the middle of the Ovche Pole plain, near the village of Knezje, 3 km. southwest of the town of Sveti Nikole (Figure 1). It covers an area of 20 hectares and still is the largest archeological site of the early antique period in Republic of Macedonia[1] (Figure 2). It achieved its peak in the second half of the V and IV century B.C. when the most of the representative buildings were constructed, including the so-called Royal palace[2].

The royal palace is a complex structure excavated in the most dominant part of the acropolis, positioned in the southern area next to the western and eastern walls, and has a northeast-southwest orientation. The first remnants of the palace were uncovered in 2011, and later research uncovered more than 60% of the building (Figure 3). Although the palace hasn't been fully explored, we can see that conceptually it is very similar to the Royal palace in the earlier Macedonian metropolis of Aigai[3], in Vergina near Veria[4]. (Figure 4).

In archaeological point of view, several rooms have been completely explored and documented, with a few of them having specific architectural and structural solutions as well as different dimensions, use and inventory. Among them are the central entry-vestibule with its significant entrance from the western side and the secondary entrance from the

[1] Микулчиќ, 1976, 149-164; 1999, 150-152

[2] Митревски, 2016, 37

[3] Митревски, 2016, 38.

[4] Nelsen, 2001, 201-207

eastern side; the northeastern corridor, the tholos room and its vestibule, the kitchen and dining room as well as the eastern, northern and western portico from the central open atrium.

This paper, however, focuses on the tholos room and its vestibule which form a separate ensemble that deserves special elaboration. The other rooms in the royal palace are not a subject of this paper. It should be noted that these rooms have their own frescoes on the walls as well as stone doorsills with carved bezels for the doors. These two main structural characteristics of the royal palace are only absent from the tholos room.

The room and its vestibule are located in the northern wing of the palace between the northeastern corridor and the kitchen.

The term *tholos* suggests a circular structure which either served as a hall (Athens), a place for sacrifice (Epidaurus) or a sanctuary (Olympia)[5]. The room found in the palace of Aigai is architecturally closest to the tholos room in Bylazora. They differ only in the notion that the Aigai tholos does not have a vestibule but it is open towards the atrium. Researchers from the palace of Aigai are not sure about the exact dedication of the tholos[6]. Some of them support the theory that it is a room with a throne and a reception area, while others think it is a ritual dining room[7].

The vestibule of the tholos in the royal palace in Bylazora is an almost square structure (9.75x9.50m.) which communicates directly with the tholos and the northern gallery through which the central open area-atrium can be reached and is separated from the kitchen with a mud-brick wall. The doorsill between the northern gallery of the atrium and the central room-vestibule of the tholos is decorated with two stone Doric columns[8] and a pilaster adjacent to the tholos wall with an anta capital. Part of the architrave beam and the veil are not present which points to the fact that they were most likely made out of wood.

The vestibule floor was made of dense earth coated with clay, where aside from the metal arrow heads found all over the royal palace, researchers discovered a mortarium, fibula od "Phrygian" type, two coins; one drachma of Alexander III and a Leonn of Paionia coin[9]. These few findings testified about the chronology of the use of this room and its purpose as an antechamber for the tholos, but also as an indicator for the violent act of destruction in this area and the whole palace which was destroyed in a fire.

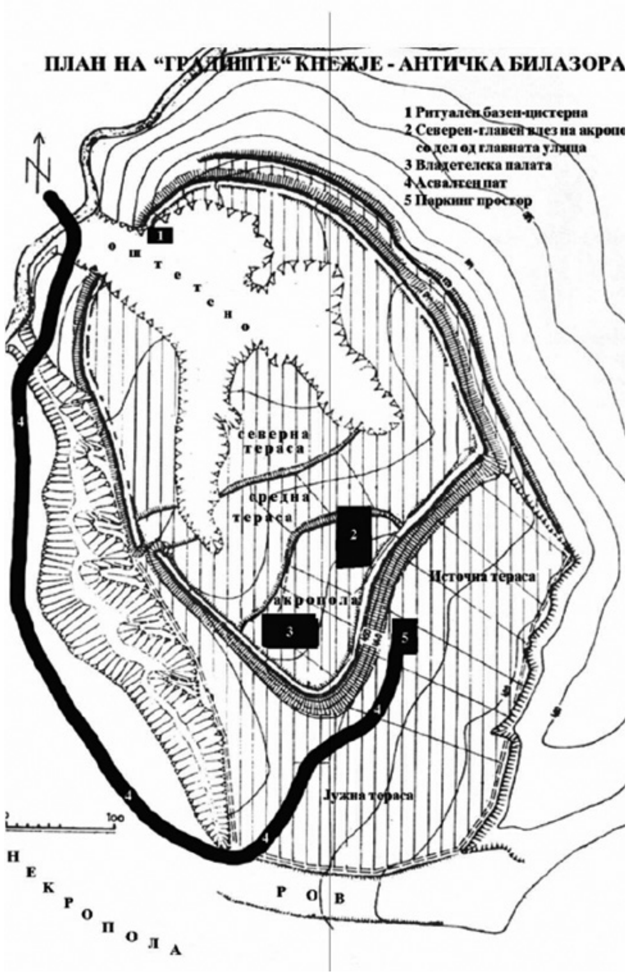


Figure 2: The plan of Bylazora and the excavated parts

The vestibule lies north of the tholos and is also functionally related to it. We can posit two of its uses – that it served either as an open passage that connected the tholos and atrium, or that it had some kind of cult-ritual dedication. The second hypothesize can be supported with the discovery of the stone vessel with a sink, which is sometimes arbitrary called mortarium.

The stone vessel (mortarium) [10] may have been in use for libation, the ritual offering of a liquid sacrifice to the gods, but it is more probable that it was used to pour water that would cleanse the tenants before they entered the tholos. If the mortarium was used for libation, then the vestibule may have been used for ritual sacrifice of animals whose blood was collected in the mortarium and then spilled in the tholos. However, there are many depictions on antique painted vases showing vessels on high foot such as the so-called louterions which were used for ritual washing.

The tholos has a circular shape (9 m. in diameter) built in approximately square structure (9.55

[5] Matthews; Neidinger, 2008-2013, 104

[6] Eidem, 104.

[7] Nielsen, 2001, 203.

[8] The preserved elements of the column (Shaft+Drum+Capital) are 2,33 м in heights

[9] Cf. the Catalogue entries.

[10] Cf. Cath. n.11

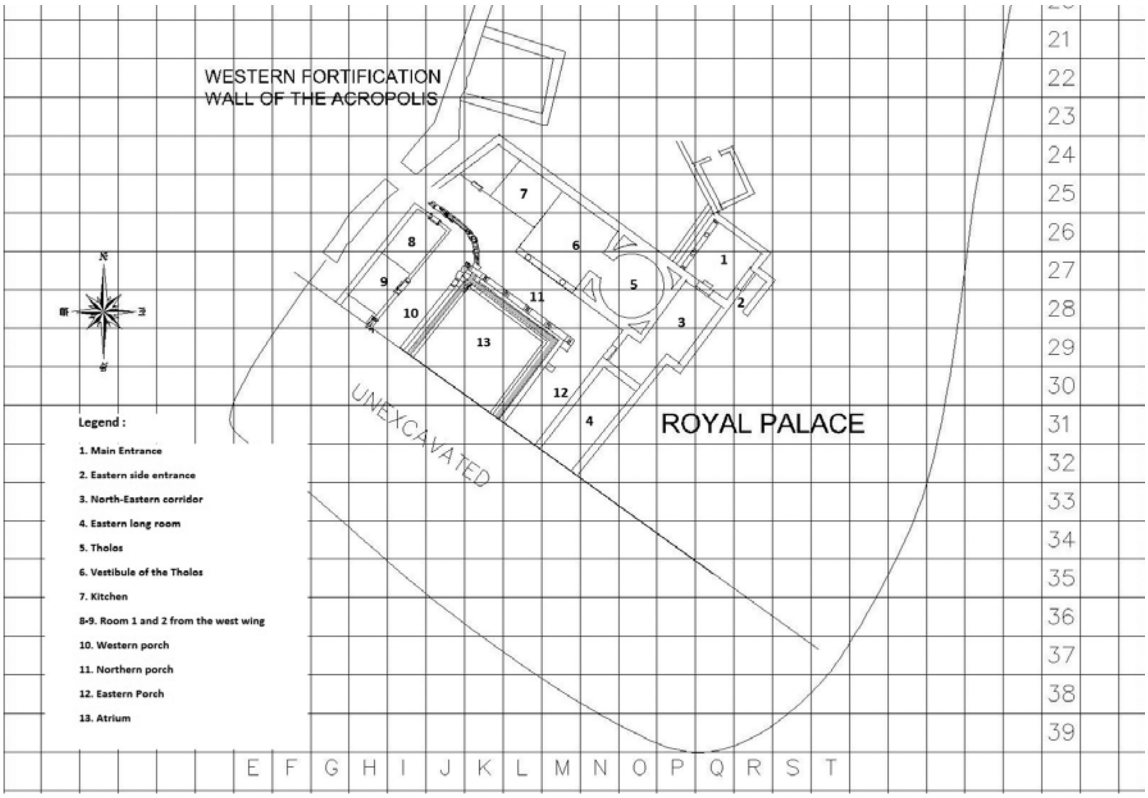


Figure 3: excavated parts of the royal palace in 2016

m. x 9.35 m. measured from the inside of the walls) (Figure 5). The reason why the tholos was built as a square structure from the outside was primarily practical; it was easier to cover the tholos with a double-sided roof and the north wing as well instead of making an arch or a special coned roof for that part of the wing only, then integrating it with the gable roof. In the center of the tholos, a stone basis was found that probably carried a wooden pillar which was part of the roof.

The walls forming this room were founded on shallow, crushed rocks foundations, hand-modeled and clay-bound. The same technique and material was used to make the lower parts of the walls up to a certain height depending on the configuration of the terrain. The walls have a flat ending after which the masonry continued with raw bricks.

The most interesting findings were uncovered in the tholos room, usually in the form of small sacrificial pits along with animal bones dug in the clay floor (Figure 6), but also left on the floor everywhere in the tholos (Figure 7). The most interesting find is the so-called "terracotta pit" which differs from the other findings in its contents (Figure 8). There were many animal bones inside, as well as one lekanys[11] and a terracotta zoomorphic figurine which resembles a bird[12]. The depiction of bird, especially a wad-

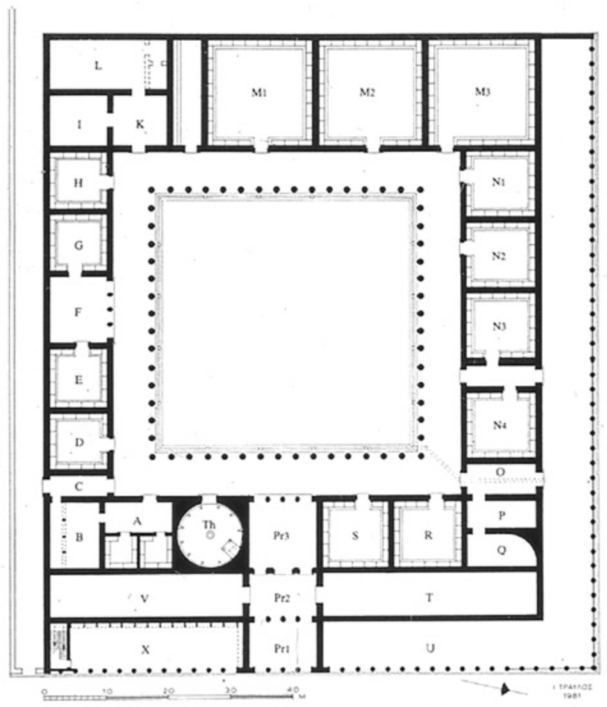


Figure 4: the royal palace in Aegae

er or a migratory bird, is a solar symbol typical for the Bronze and Iron Age in Europe. Among the findings on the Paeonian necropolises from the Iron Age in Republic of Macedonia, this kind of depiction is widely spread in the form of bronze pendants or as finishers or protomes of cult items such as bracelets

[11] Cf. Cath. n.3

[12] Cf. Cath. n..9

Figure 5: (а, б, в, г, д) A view of the tholos from various angles and different phases of excavations

Figure 6: the pits in the northern half of the tholos

or poppy cups[13]. A common part of the solar symbolism which appears along migrating birds is the holy carriage that has been associated with Apollo through the legend of Hyperborea[14]. When writing about the Hyperboreans, Herodotus said they wrapped their votive gifts in wheat straw and sent them to Delos where there was a temple dedicated to Apollo which was also the center of the Hyperborean cult. Thracian and Paeonian wives did the same, wrapping their votive gifts in wheat straw and offering them to the queen Artemis[15], adding that "they never offer a sacrifice without wheat straw"[16]. The offerings to queen Artemis were closely related to the cult of the sun which should not come as a surprise, considering that Artemis and Apollo are brother and sister and divine siblings. Maybe the "terracotta pit" contained a votive gift to the queen Artemis herself or it was meant for her brother Apollo. There is no other logical explanation why the habitants of the palace would leave luxurious pottery in pits accompanied by animal bones, unless they were votive gifts and offerings for the gods.

Those facts, combined with the circular shape of the tholos and its position define it as a clear cult area. Of course, it was also a common room, but it certainly held a special importance in the palace for satisfying the religious needs of the residents.

Besides a few tiny fragments from a black-glazed Attic import, most of the pottery was locally produced and can be separated into two groups - local painted and local monochrome pottery. The local painted pottery was made under the influence of the Attic painted pottery from the V and VI century B.C and comes in two types: full glazed - echinus, an oil lamp and painted - skyphos, lekanys and two bowls[17]. The Type III lantern (special lanterns from the classical period according to the typology of A. Jakimovski) holds a significant meaning. This type can be dated back to the V century B.C., specifically the last quarter of the V century B.C, and was used in the first half of IV century B.C, and no later than the middle of IV century B.C.[18]. This item may have been used during the whole IV century B.C. to light up the cult area of the palace.

The monochrome pottery is also represented in two types. The most common is the grey pottery: (the kantharos filter and crater), but ochre pottery have also been found (pitcher)[19] .

The most interesting shape from the monochrome pottery found in the tholos is a so-called column crater which was modeled after the Attica kraters, but in an austere local manner. The krater is darker grey, slipped in the liquid from the same clay. The most intriguing moment on this vessel are the two symbols ornamented on the shoulder, neck and the rim which were made with stamps on a wet clay.

[13] Петрова, 1992, 125-138.

[14] Apolo, as solar god, travels to North in winter, and arrives again at spring bringing the light and heat.

[15] Herod. 4, 33.

[16] Биртакова, 1999, 150.

[17] Cf. Cath.

[18] Јакимовски, 2012, 30-43.

[19] Cf. Cath.

Figure 7: findings from the tholos floor

Figure 8: "Terracotta pit" detail

Figure 9: A cult pendant in the form of a sun disk, found in one of the Iron Age graves on the Skupi archeological site

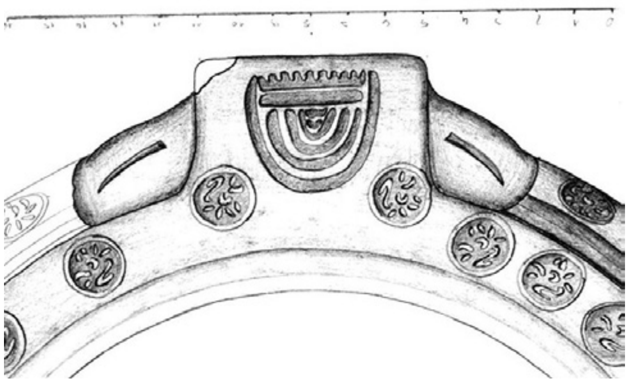


Figure 10: A detail from the symbol on the Krater handles

The symbol[20] on the shoulder, neck and rim is too much stylized, and therefore very difficult for interpretation, although the symbol over the handles resembles the solar symbols through which the Paeonians worshiped the sun. The most common depiction of the solar cult is the representation of the circle[21]. The symbol on the crater is not a full circle, but still has many analogies with an example of a bronze cult pendant from the Iron Age discovered in Scupi (Figure 9). The stamp presents 4 concentric half-circles and a radial ending which connects them (Figure 10).

If we accept the thesis, which is not without arguments, that this pendant resembles the Sun's rays or a representation of a divine figure worshiped by the Paeonians, it can be said that it's a totem sign which hasn't developed in a figural representation. However, over time, under the influence of the Hellenic culture which entered through the Greek colonies in Paeonian territory, we can accept this kind of manifestation as an expression of the local and leading cult of the Sun in Paeionia.

* * *

The palace was in use during two phases, Bylazora II (second half of the V – middle of the IV century B.C.) and III (second half of the IV century – 279 B.C.), while on the floor of the ruined palace there were findings (ceramic vessels, tools, small metal items, colored roof tiles, coins, etc.) which are typical for the period from the second half of the V

[20] F. Mege, E. Matthews, and W. Neidinger; interpreting it as a Celtic Column Krater decorated with representation of goose or swan or some mythological creature.

[21] In the 2nd century BC, Maxim of Tyre speaks on Paeonians as worshipers of the Sun, representing him with circular, small disk, attached on a tall shaft.

century to the first decades of the III century B.C.[22].

The palace was obviously suddenly and violently destroyed somewhere around the first few decades of the III century B.C., apparently without being rebuilt. The arrowheads found in the palace prove this, as they have often been used as a special type of projectiles that can start a fire. Their discovery in the burnt areas of the palace document the moment of destruction very clear, probably during the Gaelic invasion around 280/79 B.C.[23] It is fair to mention that identical iron, pyramidal arrowheads were found in the archeological site of Gloska Čuka-Grčište near Valandovo, which is a clear indication that the arrows were of Celtic origin. The arrowheads from that site were discovered in context with spearhead, a few bronze and iron belt buckles from a male military costume and two spurs, from which one was made of iron and had specific button tops which can be attributed to the Scordisci[24]. This kind of interpretation leads to a conclusion that the arrows were of Celtic origin.

This conclusion would be much more reliable if there was not the finding of the coin of Leonn. In order for the palace to be ruined by the Celts, Leonn should have come to power before it, more specifically before the 280/79 B.C. invasion. Otherwise, we should be looking at other destroyers. However, history is not very precise on this question, because there is really no data in narrative sources for this Paeonian ruler, although his name can be seen on an inscription in Olympia, a base at Delphi and on his bronze coins. The base from Delphi gives us a clear view of the Paeonian dynasty. Because up until then, Leonn was considered the last Paeonian ruler. This is why the scholars are placing Leonn enthroning after the Celtic invasion without an apparent reason and based solely on the coins.

This kind of vagueness related to Leon is why we're suggested to date the beginnings of Leon's reign somewhere between the battle of Corupedium in 281 B.C. of the last two generals and the Celtic invasion in Delphi in 279 B.C.[25]

On the other hand, the statement of professor Mitrevski that the palace was destroyed by the Celts is also unquestionable. We are talking about a time when most early antique settlements along the Vardar valley are beginning to disappear. In the upper path of the river, all the established settlements in the Skopje valley (Gradište-Nerezi, Gradište -Brazda- Gradište -Bucinci, Isar-Studeničani, Kale Varvara etc.) which had a rich and intensive life during the 5-4 B.C. decline in the III century B.C., and life was not reestablished there as far as the II B.C. The metropolis of the free Paeonians in Bylazora with the so-called royal palace were just another early antique center destroyed by the Celts somewhere around the first few decades of the III century B.C.

Bibliography

Митревски Д., Античка Билазора - престолнина на независните Пајонци, Св. Николе 2016г.

Matthews E. and Neidinger W. (editors), Excavation at Bilazora, Republic of Macedonia, Reports 2008-2013, The Texas Foundations for Archeological and Historical Research, Canyon Lake, Texas USA

Inge Nielsen, The Royal Palace Institution in the First Millennium BC, Regional Development and Cultural Interchange between East and West, Athens 2001.

Микулчиќ И., Антички градови во Македонија, Ману кн.8, Скопје 1999г.

Микулчиќ И.,Скопје со околните тврдини, Скопје 1982г.

Битракова Грозданова В., Религија и Уметност во Антиката во Македонија, Скопје 1999г.

Петрова Е., Култовите и симболизмот кај пајонските племиња компарирани со илирските и тракиските, Maced. Acta Archeol. No.13, 1992г.

Јакимовски А., Антички светилки од Република Македонија, Скопје 2012г.

Блажевска С., Акрополата на глоска чука, Maced. Acta Archeol. No.19

Илиев Ј., Леон и Келтската наезда, текст во печат.

[22] Митревски, 2016, 43.

[23] Митревски, 2016, 48.

[24] Блажевска, 2010, 193-206.

[25] Илиев *in print*

1.Kantharos

Tholos, square: N27, 2015

Date: last quarter of IV century B.C

2. Skyphos

Tholos, square: O27, 2013

Dimensions: Ro 16.6cm;Rd 7,7cm; h 18cm

Date: first half of IV century B.C

3.Lekanys

Tholos, square: O27, 2013

Dimensions: Ro 17.7cm; Rd 6,7cm; h 9,5cm

Date: IV century B.C

4.1Painted bowl

Tholos, square: O27, 2013

Dimensions: Ro 20cm; Rd 7,5cm; h 5,5cm

Date: IV century B.C.

4.2Painted bowl

Tholos, square: O 27, 2013

Dimensions: Ro 19cm; Rd 7cm; h 5cm

Date: IV century B.C.

5.Echinus plate

Tholos, square: O27, 2013

Dimensions: Ro 12cm; Rd 6,3cm; h 4,2cm

Date: IV century B.C.

6. Oinochoe

Tholos, square: O27, 2013

Dimensions: Ro 8cm; Rd 5,7cm; h 13,5cm

Date: IV century B.C.

7.Bowl

Tholos, square: O27, 2013

Dimensions: Ro 24,3 cm;

Rd 9,5 cm; h 11,2 cm

Date: IV century B.C.

8.Lamp

Tholos, square: O27, 2013

Date: 425-350 B.C.

9.Terracotta figurine

Tholos, square: O27, 2013

Dimensions:d 8cm; h 4cm

Date: IV century B.C.

10. Krater

Tholos, square: O27, 2013

Dimensions: Ro 28cm; Rd 11,8cm; h 32cm

Date: IV century B.C.

11. Mortarium

Tholos vestibule, square: M26-27, 2013

Dimensions:Ro 24,5cm; Rd cm; h 5cm

Date: IV century-279 B.C

12. Fibula

Tholos vestibule, M26, 2014

Dimensions - length: 3,5 cm

Date: IV century B.C.

13.1 Alexander III coin

Tholos vestibule, square: M27, 2014

Dimensions: d 17mm; t 4g –drachma

Date: 336-323 B.C.

13.2Leon coin

Tholos vestibule, square: N26, 2014

Dimensions: d 14mm; t 2,44g

Date: 280-250?B.C.

14. Arrowheads-projectiles

Area of discovery: most of the examples were found on the floor of the tholos and vestibule.

Dimensions:7-12 cm.

Date: the first few decades of III century B.C.

SCUPI - AUGUSTALES AND SEVIRI AUGUSTALES

Lenče Jovanova
Museum of the city of Skopje, Skopje

The Roman city of Scupi, as a military colony with self-governing status and ius Italicum, had a western model of administrative and social order.[1] In the initial period, the Romans strengthen their power mainly by settling a Roman or Romanized population with Roman or Italic citizenship. Thereby dominating the organized settlement of veterans (deductio), who after finishing their army service, other than money as a reward received a property in the newly acquired area, in this case the fertile land in the region of Skopje basin, which coincides with the wider city territory of Scupi.[2] Other than military veterans, Roman merchants and craftsmen had a special contribution to the rapid economic progress of the city. Later, the process of romanization was accelerated by the granting of citizenship to members of the local aristocracy which, wanting to retain the privileges, power and influence in their own environment, in return firstly accepted the changes and way of life of the new rulers. Certainly the population structure was dominated by the Romanized indigenous population. Regarding social structure, the population mainly belonged to several categories: Roman citizens (cives Romani) with full Roman citizenship, peregrine (free domestic and settled population with or without limited citizenship), freedmen and slaves.[3]

Names and most of the data on epigraphic monuments do not allow making reliable conclusions about the social status, the structure and the number of certain categories of population in Scupi. On the top of the social pyramid were the members of the senatorial aristocracy[4], as well as bearers of the municipal magistratures, such as high civilian (decuriones, duumviri, duumviri quinquennales, aediles, questores)[5] and priestly functions (auguri, pontifices)[6], commonly chosen among the bearers of Roman citizenschip, primarily veterans and members of the local aristocracy. In contrast to free-born Roman citizens (ingenui) with Roman citizenship, to the socially lower category belonged the freedmen (liberti)

---

[1] IMS VI, p. 25-29.

[2] The founding of the colony is associated with the organized settlement of veterans (deductio) of legions: VII Claudia, V Macedonica, V Alaudae and IV Macedonica (Mócsy 1970, p. , 67-69, No. 40, 42; IMS VI, pp. 23-24, pp. 1-14, pp. 25-26, n. 4-16, nos 46, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53 , 54, 56, 55, 57, 216 (Leg. VII Claudiae), 41 (Leg. V Alaudae), 43 (Leg. V Macedonica), 39 (Leg. IV Macedonica); Móscy 1970, p. 68, n. 42, Ферјанчић 2002, pp. 70-78, 188-189; The views on when the colony was founded are separated, i.e. whether it happened in the time of Vespasian (RE IV 547, sv (E. Kornemann), RE XII.1 -2, 1247, 1621, S. Legio (E. Ritterling), IMS VI, pp. 25-26, No. 1-9; Dušanić 1 996, p. 42, 43, n. 20-21, the founding of the colony is places in the time of Vespasian, exactly in year 72), or later in the time of Domitian, exactly in the 84/85 (IMS VI, 26, n. 4-16; Вулић 1909, p. 146, leaves the possibility that Domitian only renewed the colony founded by Vespasian; Móscy 1970, p. 67-69, n. 40, 42, believes that the first settlement of veterans was carried out by Vespasian with veterans from Leg. VII Claudia, until later, in the time of Domitian or Traian, soldiers from the legions V Macedonica, I Italica and V Alaudae were settled; Ферјанчић 2002, p. 72-77, 188-189, the veterans settlement from legions VII Claudia, V Macedonica, V Alaudae and IV Macedonica is connected to the time of Flavians.

[3] IMS VI, p. 32-27.

[4] IMS VI, p. 34, Nos. 10, 27, 28, 75; Sasel 1992, p. 198-200; Dušanić 2006, p. 91-99; Јованова 2010, p. 209-224; Јованова 2015, p. 45-70.

[5] IMS VI, p. 27, nos 6, 7, 12, 15, 31, 30, 42, 45, 46, 49, 62-68; Jovanova 2009, p. 181-192; Јованова 2015, p. 71-88; Basotova 2012, p. 359-366.

[6] IMS VI, p. 27, Nos. 6, 75, 42, 64.

with limited citizenship, without the right to obtain magistratures (ius honorum) and entering the city council of decuriones.[7] On an even lower social scale were the members of numerous domestic (coloni) and settled free population (incolae, hospes, advenae, consistentes) with certain citizenship, as well as free population (domestic or settled) without citizenship (peregrini).[8] The lowest social category were the slaves (servi) without almost any rights.[9]

On this occasion, the focus of our interest is the category of freedmen. After released from slavery, they were granted the status of liberti / status libertatis and they became Roman citizens entitled to: conclude a marriage with free or freedmen (ius conubii), the right to deal with trade and assembly contracts (ius comercii) and the right to commit civic duties, i.e. the right to vote (ius sufragii). However, the freedmen had numerous legal restrictions and were therefore not completely equated to the rights of the free-born Roman citizens (ingenui).[10]

Even though they had certain (basic) civil rights, the freedmen were considered to be insufficiently valuable, a lower category of citizens (humiliores), therefore they were completely excluded from the military service (except in unusual, emergency situations), as well as the right (ius honorum) to obtain civilian functions / magistrates and to enter the city council of decuriones (ordo decurionum), whose members were considered part of a privileged, elite class of citizens (honestiores). Almost the only way for social proofing and advancement of the lower-class citizens, primarily the freedmen, was membership in numerous voluntary professional or religious associations (collegia).[11]

On the other hand, the choice of wealthy freedmen for social establishment and advancement was the Augustales service related to the affirmation and nurturing of the imperial cult on a local, municipal level.[12] Most often, the richest freedman in the city, who did not have other opportunities for status advancement, became Augustales, that is, supporters of the imperial cult, as the only way their descendants would receive certain municipal functions or exercise a military career.[13] The augustalis function is the highest quasi-magistracy that the freedmen were able to obtain, that is, the highest social level on which they could climb.[14] They in some way played the role of a kind of middle class among the privileged carriers of city magistrates and the rest of the population. Hence the opinion that the the augustales service was primarily intended for social and political recognition and advancement of the well-off freedmen as a counterweight to the city aristocracy.[15]

Institution, duty and title of the Augustales

The appearance of the duty and title of Augustales, as the term itself points out, is related to the name of Augustus, that is, the introduction of the emperor's cult institution and it occurs for the first time in the period between 14-12 BC.[16]

The very term Augustales derived from the king's divine name, following the reputation of the names of similar priestly offices, derived from the names of other deities (Dialis, Martialis, Mercurialis, Herculanei).[17] The function of augustalis, sevir augustalis, magister augustalis and sevir are common in developed Roman provincial cities during the im-

[7] IMS VI, p, 35-36. Mócsy 1970, p. 183-184.

[8] IMS VI p. 35-37; Mócsy 1970, p. 179-180; The status and rights of peregrine are defined by ancient authors: Cic. De leg. 11. 94; Amm. Marc. XIV. 6. 7-26; XXVIIL 4. 6-35.

[9] IMS VI, Nos. 10, 28; The following literature was used for the status and rights of slaves: Alföldy 1972, p. 97-129. Buckland 1908; Bradley 1994, p. 1-183; Scheidel 2012, p. 89-113; Liu 2013, p. 2759-2762.

[10] Used literature for the category of "freedmen": Taylor 1961, p. 113-132; Mouritsen 2005, p. 38-63; Mouritsen 2011, p. 10-344; Verboven 2011, p. 88-109; Starac 1991, p. 91-107; Starac 2000, p. 127-131; Vermote 2014, p. 113-130.

[11] Vandevorde 2012, p. 408, n. 30.

[12] On this occasion we will not rely on the emergence, development, distribution, role and other aspects of the imperial cult. The following literature was used on this subject: Taylor 1931, p. 1-296; Fishwick 1978, p. 1201-1253; Fishwick 1990, p. 121-130; Fishwick 1991; Fishwick 1993; Fishwick 2002a; Fishwick 2002b; Fishwick 2004; Fishwick 2007, p. 247-255; Clauss 1996, p. 400-433; Clauss 2001.

[13] Literature used for the institution / function "Augustales": Neumann 1896, p. 2340-2360; Wissowa 1896, p. 2349-2361; Taylor 1914, p. 231-253; Veyne 1966, p. 141-156; Premerstain 1895, p. 824-877; Duthoy 1978, p. 1254-1309; Abramenko, 1993, p. 13-37; Linderski 2007, p. 179-183; Fishwick 1991, p. 609-616.

[14] Duthoy, 1974, p. 134-154, the statistical analysis shows that nine of ten Augustales were freedmen, or 85-95% of the total known have liberated origin; Ostrow, 1990, p. 364-365, n. 2.

[15] Vandevorde 2012, p. 404-423, with quoted literature.

[16] Taylor, 1914, p. 235-236, n. 13-17, the oldest epigraphic monument (ara Lares Augusti) mentions the title Augustalis and originates from the town of Nepet in Etruria (CIL XI 3200 = ILS 89, dated 13/12 BC). On it the title magistri Augustales primi is mentioned for the first time.

[17] Fishwick, 1991, p. 609.

perial period.[18] In science it is generally accepted that the service of seviri does not belong to the same category as the services: augustales, seviri augustales and magistri augustales. The service of seviri is older than the other three services, known since the Republican period, and is considered to have a completely different status, nature and essence, which are not related to the imperial cult. Although the duties of the seviri are not completely determined, there are indications that most of their responsibilities are from the secular sphere, as opposed to the religious one. As a social category, the seviri oppose the members of the city council and the magistrates, and, unlike them, they have placed statues and altars of various deities more often from their own finances, suggesting that they had certain official duties related to the religious life of the city or some of its aspects. In addition, they are associated with organizing cult processions, public spectacles and games of different kind, as well as other municipal activities, especially in the field of urbanism and construction.[19] There are opinions that the older service of seviri served as a paradigm in the organization of the augustales, created as a result of Augustus's policy of harmonizing the various social categories within a complex structure of the imperial cult and the ideology of power, whose purpose was the enthronement of the new social order and manner of governance (Principate).[20]

On the other hand, decades-long discussions on similarities and differences between duties: augustales, seviri augustales and magistri augustales are present in science. It is generally accepted the existence of three different organizations: augustales, seviri augustales, and magistri augustales, who co-existed in parallel, independently of one another, and each of them had a certain role in the maintenance of the imperial cult (genius Augusti / numen Augusti).[21]

However, there is still insufficient knowledge to help define more clearly the differences in the ranks between these three services, as well as the nature of their role in the celebration of the imperial cult.[22] The institutions of the augustales, seviri augustales and magistri augustales are common to the cities of the west, they are rarely found in the centers of the eastern part of the Empire, and completely absent from Rome.[23]

Such unspecified nature of the services: seviri augustales, augustales, and magistri augustales, is largely due to the scanty data of ancient sources, but also to the present data on epigraphic inscriptions which, despite the large number, do not contain sufficient information about the nature and essence of these functions.[24] The Augustales in the sources are mentioned lapidary, only in several places, from which the most striking are several fragments in the Satyricon of Petronius, where the main character, the rich freedman Trimalchio, prides himself on the function / title of sevir augustalis and the privileges that enabled him.[25]

Augustalitas represents honor and function, whose bearers have been granted the right to take care of maintaining the imperial cult on a municipal level. The Augustales were organized within the framework of special associations (collegium Augustalium), which acted more as administrative than religious organizations dedicated to maintaining the imperial cult.[26] Apart from the six-member (seviri = sexviri avgustales), there are known three-member (tresviri augustales) and eighth-member collegiates (octoviri augustales), among which the difference is only in the number of members, not in the function of the service.[27] The augustales were, by rule, selected from among the relatively wealthy freed-

[18] Taylor 1914, 231-253; Duthoy, 1978, p.1254-1309; Vandervoorte 2014, p. 34-35.

[19] Taylor 1914, p. 239; Fishwick 1991, p. 609; Šašel Kos 1999, p. 173-175, n. 2-4, the author provides a detailed overview of the nature, functions, and differences between the seviri and the seviri augustales in the area of the Northeast Adriatic.

[20] Fears 1981, p. 55-66.

[21] Taylor 1914, p. 231-253; Duthoy 1978, p. 1255-1257, 1260-1293; Premerstein 1895, p. 824-877; Ostrow, 1990, p. 1, 364-379.

[22] Premerstein 1895, p. 852, considers that these are separate institutions that functioned independently until the 2nd century when they were united; Taylor 1914, pp. 233-243, believes that seviri augustales after the year-long service went to the augustales category. In the middle of the second century there is a reorganization of the augustales service, so that only the institution of augustales with lifelong membership function.

[23] Taylor, 1914, p. 231; Duthoy, 1978, p. 1258, n. 30, mentions a number of about 2500 inscriptions that mention the title augustalis related to the AD 11 up to AD 270.

[4] Hereinafter, the term augustalis will be used in both cases, that is, in the case of augustalis and as an abbreviation for sevir augustalis.

[25] Petronius, Sat. 30, 57, 65, 71; In addition to to Satyricon of Petronius, lapidary data for augustales are also found in Tacitus (Tac, Ann.154; 2.83; Hist. 2.95); More detailed information about augustales among ancient authors in: Neumman 1896, p. 2349-2361; Duthoy 1978, p. 1307-1309.

[26] Premerstein 1895, p. 824-877; Duthoy 1978, p. 1254-1309, Ostrow 1990, p. 1, 373-379; Fishwick 1991, p. 609-616; Šašel Kos 1999, p. 173-175, n. 5-7; Vandervoorte 2012, p. 410-411.

[27] Premerstein 1895, p. 829; Taylor 1914, p. 234, n. 12, p. 241.

Fig.1. Tombstone dedicated to augustalis Marus Ellius Phoebus, Aračinovo (IMS VI, no 74).

Fig.2. Tombstone dedicated to augustalis C. Lib(..) Crescens, Bardovci (IMS VI, no 75).

men, although even the free-born (ingenui) could become augustales.[28] At proposition of the city decuriones they were given a one-year term of membership in the official city association responsible for maintaining the imperial cult, although they could be elected for the second and third time. The choice of membership in the associations of augustales was approved by a decree of the city council of decuriones (decretum decurionum).[29] Having been elected and inscribed on the list of augustales (album augustalium), they had to pay a certain amount of money (summa honoraria) in the city treasury for membership in the association of augustales (collegium augustalium), after which they received certain duties (munera) and honors (honores). In honor of the service (ob honorem sevitatus), along with the maintenance of the imperial cult with the religious duties (offering sacrifices in honor of the emperor and his family), the members of the association of augustales were obliged to participate with charitable contributions in the organization of certain manifestations, spectacles and games, as well as to share free meals. In addition, they set statues and altars dedicated to the emperor and invested their own funds to cover the costs of carrying out public works related to urbanism of the city (road construction, profane and sacred public buildings).[30] That was the investment they had to pay to get a higher social status, but they could never receive and pursue magistrates' functions, priesthood duties, or to become members of the city council, such as free-born Roman citizens.[31]

The position of augustalis, sevir augustalis, enabled wealthy and ambitious freedmen who sought alternative pathways for social advancement in a legal way to overcome the limiting factor caused by the previous slave status. Thus, through the augustales service, which had the function of a quasi-mag-

[28] Duthoy, 1974, p. 134-154; Duthoy, 1978, p.1254-1309; Vandevorde 2012, p. 409-410.

[29] Premerstein 1895, p. 831; Taylor 1914, p. 232; Tudor 1962, p. 200-201; Duthoy 1978, p. 1266, 1277-1279..

[30] Mourlot 1895, 91-112, the author gives a detailed overview of the austalis duty and honors; Duthoy 1978, p. 1294, 1301-1305; Fishwick 1991, p. 609, 616, n. 36-37; Vandevorde 2012, p. 411-412.

[31] Duthoy 1978, p. 1254-1309.

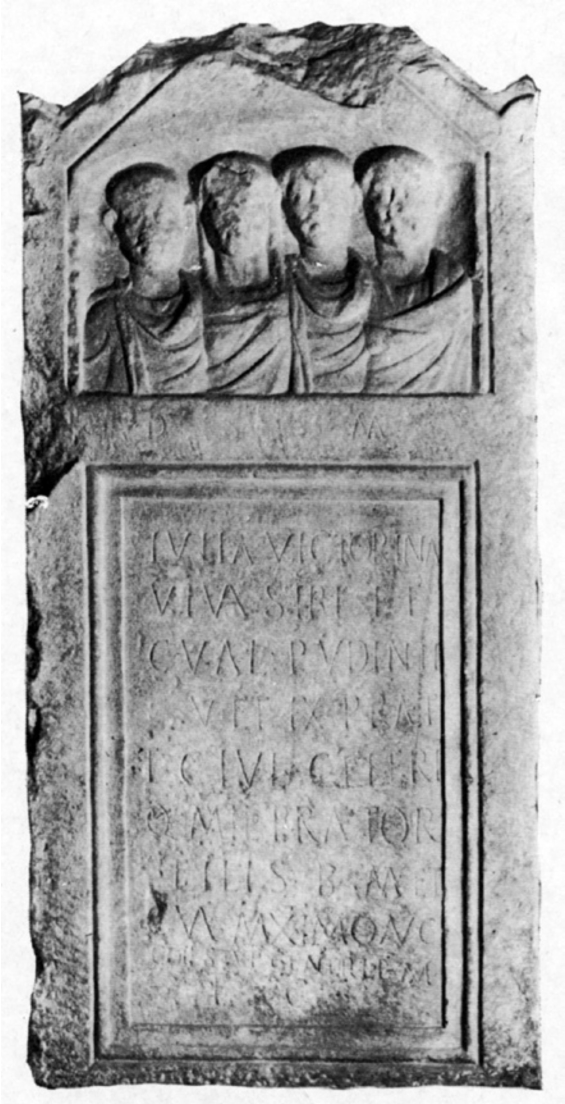


Fig.3. Tombstone dedicated to augustalis C. Valerius Maximus, Dobri Dol (IMS VI, no 34).

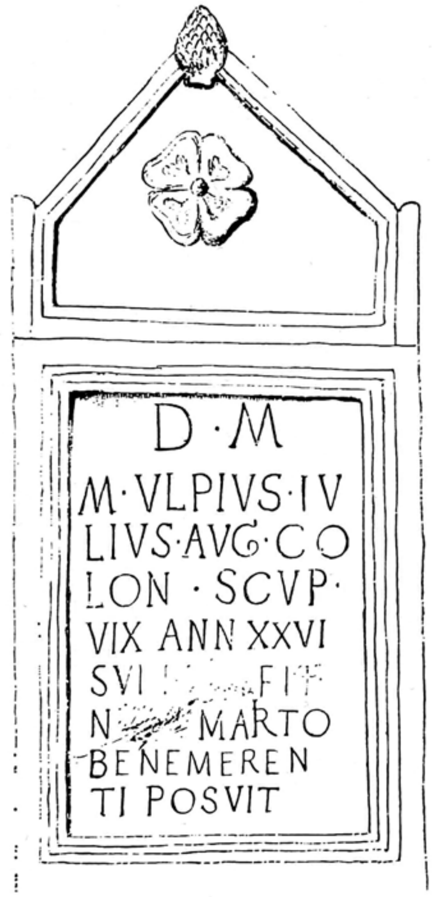


Fig.4. Tombstone dedicated to augustalis M. Ulpius Iulius, M. Andonov Čento (IMS VI, no 76).

istracy, the freedmen were given the opportunity to achieve some kind of surrogate public career, which enabled them to advance not only within the local community, but also throughout the Empire. Within the city administration, the position of augustales is placed on a level of special ordo versus the ordo of decuriones compatible like the ordo of equester was to the ordo of senators.[32]

In return, the augustales were entitled to certain distinctive features (insignia), which served as the formal marking of the official position in the city, such as: accompaniment of flute players and lictores with fasces in the hands (a stick of wooden rods as an expression of power), as well as some other honors and positions. By decree of the decurions' council (ordo decurionum), the esteemed augustales could receive certain rights or could be distinguished with features inherent to the decuriones (ornamenta decurionalia), such as: the right to sit in front of the curia during public events and attend sessions of the city council, but without the right to active participation; the right to sit on magistrates chairs (sellae curules); the right to a double honorary seat (bisellium) during performances in the theater or various public festivities and games; the right to donations in money or food (sportulae); the right to wear a magistrate toga with a purple border (toga praetexta) and an honorary crown (corona), as well as the right to public funerals (funus publicum).[33]

The The associations of augustales associations had their own seat (aedes augustalium) and a treasury (aerarium) and had a similar internal organization and hierarchical structure of functions/duties as a voluntary professional and sacral associations with administration (ordo augustalium) consisting of: praefecti, quinquennales, questores, aediles, curatores, and other duties: scribae, viatores, as well

[32] Taylor 1914, p. 243; Vandevorde 2012, p. 411-419, n. 57-61.

[33] Petronius, Sat. 30, 65; Tac. Ann. II 83; Mourlot 1895, 91-112; Duthoy 1978, p. 1268 -1269; Tudor 1962, p. 208; Fishwick 1991, p. 609; Šašel Kos 1999, p. 177, n. 30; Vandevoorde 2012, p. 411-418, n. 54-55; Vandevoorde 2014, p. 38-40.

Fig.5. Tombstone dedicated to augustalis Iulius Sy[m]ahus, Doberce-Tetovo (Dobruna Salihu 2005, no 99, fig. 91).

Fig.6a. Tombstone dedicated to augustalis L. Iulius Argaeus, Kučeviška Bara (Jovanova 2005, fig. 1)

as ordinary members (plebs/populus).[34] Similarly to the voluntary associations they had a list of magistrates (fasti augustalium) and a list of members (album augustalium).[35] Unlike other similar religious or professional associations that were organized on a voluntary basis, the augustales had the status of state institutions.[36]

In science, opinions about the religious nature of the augustales were divided, because generally they were never official priestley collegia.[37] It is considered that in the augustales should be recognized the missing link between the city elite and the lower social classes.[38]

Augustales and seviri augustales in Scupi

It is quite expected that Scupi, as the oldest colony in the province of Moesia Superior, has developed association of augustales. Of the wider city territory of Scupi there are eleven inscriptions that record the augustalis, six of which bear the title of augustales and five the title of sevir augustalis.

Catalog of inscriptions:

I. Inscriptions that mention people with the title of augustalis:

I / 1. Aračinovo: M. Ellius Phoebus, aug (ustalis) col (oniae) Scup (inorum). **Fig. 1.**

Marus | Elliu [s M. l (ibertus) ?] | Phoe [bus] aug (ustalis) col (oniae) | Scup (inorum) vix (it) an (nis) LXXV | h (ic) s (itus) e [st] | her (edes) f (aciendum) [c (uraverunt)]Surus | Ianuar (ius) N [..] eus.

Translation: Marius Ellius Phoebus, a freedman of Marius, augustalis of the colony of Scupi, who lived for 75 years, is buried here. His heirs, Surus, Ianuarius, Nereus ?, had this (monument) erected.

References: Трухелка. 1929, p. 70, n. 1, fig. 8-9; Вулић 1931, p. 201, no. 528; IMS VI, no 74.

Dating: the middle of the 2nd century.

---

[34] Taylor 1914, p. 242; Premerstein 1895, p. 848, 856; Tudor 1962, p. 200-212; Duthoy 1978, p. 1266, 1277, 1281; Starac 2000, p. 134; Vandervoorte 2013, p. 134-151.

[35] Vandervoorte 2013, pp. 129-151.

[36] Duthoy 1978, p. 1266-1267.

[37] Vandevoorde 2012, p. 411, n. 52; Vandevoorde 2013, p. 136; Linderski 2007, p. 179, n. 2.

[38] Šašel Kos 1999, p. 177-178; Vandevoorde 2012, p. 407-423;Vandevoorde 2013, p. 140-143.

Fig.6b. Tombstone dedicated to augustalis L. Iulius Argaeus, detail with the name and function.

I / 2. Bardovci: C. Lib. Cr [es] cens, au [g (....)]. **Fig. 2.**

.....] |Lib [...] |Cresse [n] tilla v [ix (it)]|an (nis) XV [...]|h(ic) s(ita) e(st)|C. Lib (....) Cr [es] |cens au [g (....)] |filiae p (iae) |f (aciendum) [c (uravit)].

Translation: .... Lib (onia) Cressentilla, who has lived for 15 (?) years, is buried here. Augustalis G. Libonius Crescens to the beloved daughter, had this (monument) erected.

References: Вулић 1931, p. 205, no. 538; IMS VI, no. 75.

Dating: the middle of the 2nd century.

I / 3. Dobri Dol: C. Val (erius) Maximus, aug (ustali) col (oniae) S <c> up (inorum). **Fig. 3.**

D (is) M (anibus) |Iulia Victorina|viva sibi et|C. Val (erio) Pudinti (!) |vet (erano) ex praet (orio) |et C. Iul (io) Celeri|q (ui) militat praetor (ianus) |filis b (ene) m (erentibus) et|C . Val (erio) Maximo aug (ustali) |col (oniae) S <c> up (inorum) generi (!) B (ene) m (erenti) |f (aciendum) c (uravit).

Translation: To the gods Mani, Iulia Victorina, while she was alive, to herself and in memory of the sons (while they were alive?), C. Valerius Pudentus, a veteran and former pretorian and C. Iulius Celerus, in the service of a pretorian, as well as a relative (son in law?) G. Valeriy Maxim, augustalis of the colony of Scupi, In a good memory set up this (monument). for a good memory.

References: Vuckovic-Todorović 1956-57, p. 294-295, Fig. 8; ILIug., No. 36; IMS VI, no. 34.

Dating: late 2nd / early 3rd century.

Fig.7. Tombstone dedicated to sevir augustalis L. Atilius Hilarus, Bardovci (IMS VI, no 70).

I / 4. Singelić (Čento): M. Ulpius Iulius, aug (ustalis) colon (iae) Sc [up (inorum)]. **Fig. 4.**

D (is) M (anibus) |M. Ulpius Iu |lius aug (ustalis) co|lon (iae) Sc [up (inorum)] |vix (it) an (nis) LXX [VI] | [h (ic) s(itus) e (est)] |SVI I ... [F] ir |m [ina] marito |be [ne] m [e] r [en] |ti pos [ui] t.

Translation: To the gods Mani of M. Ulpius Iulius, augustalis of the colony of Scupi, who has lived for 76 years, is buried here. Sui .... Firmina, in good memory, had this (monument) erected.

References: Evans 1885, pp. 102, 111, Fig. 50; CIL III, 8204; IMS VI, no. 76.

Dating: 1st century

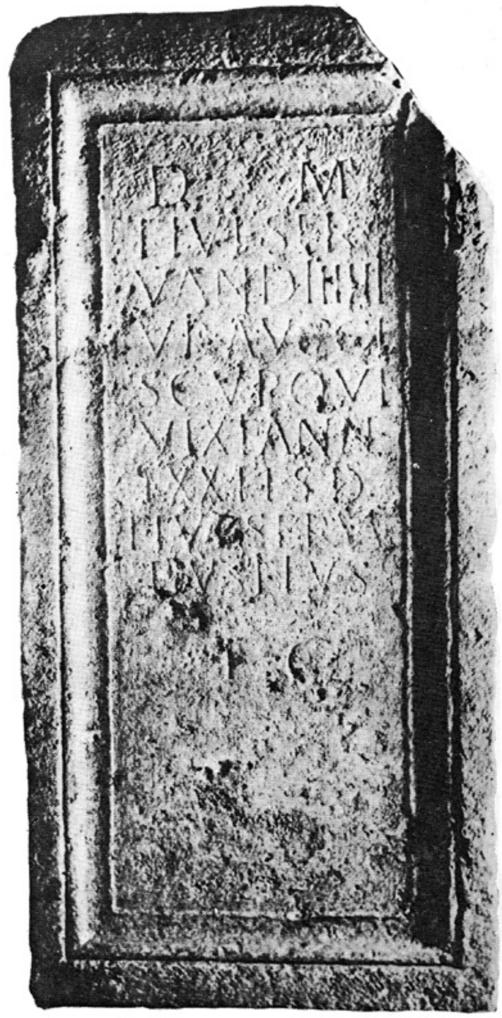


Fig.8. Tombstone dedicated to sevir augustalis T. Iulius Servandus, Bardovci (IMS VI, no 71).

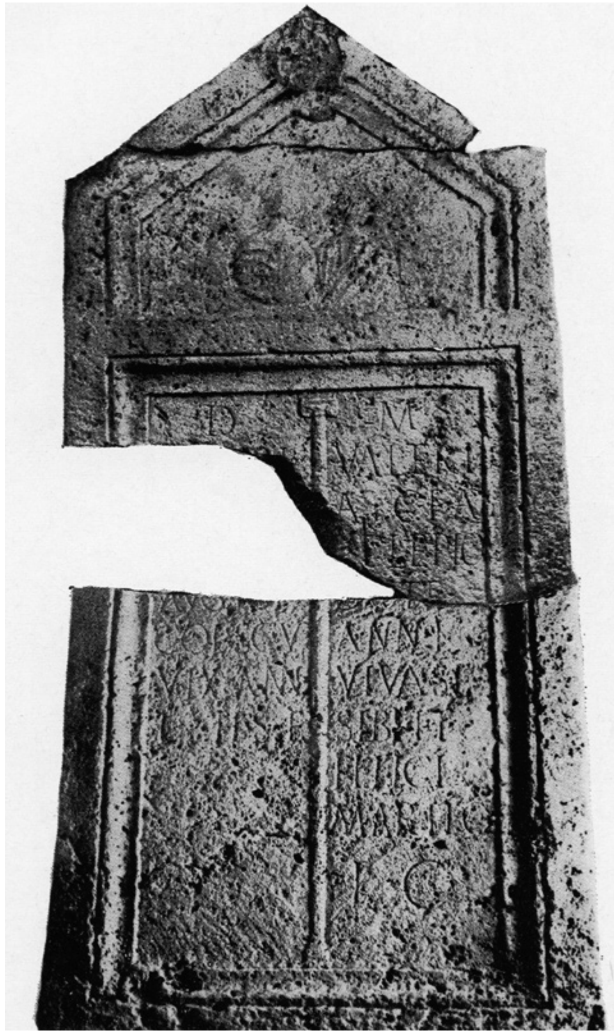


Fig.9. Tombstone dedicated to unknown sevir augustalis ?, Dolno Vodno (IMS VI, no 73).

I / 5. Dobarce-Tetovo: Iul (ius) Sy [m] ahus augusta [lis] col (oniae) Scup (inorum).[39] **Fig. 5.**

Cassandr [a] ┃h (ic) s (ita) e (st) ┃vix (it) ann (is) [..] ┃Iul(ius) Sym┃machus┃augusta [lis] col (oniae) Scup (inorum) ┃matri et collegiu [m] Herculis┃idem [i] ┃b (ene) m (erenti) p (osuit).

Translation: Cassandra is buried here, who lived? years. Iulius Symmachus, augustalis of the colony of Scupi, to his mother (who was), also the mother of the association of worshipers of Hercules, In a good memory made this (monument).

[39] The monument was erected by Iulius Symahus, who was an augustalis in the Scupi colony. It suggests that the region of the village of Doberce-Tetovo, where the monument was found, probably belonged to the wider Scupi's city area, Mikulčić 1971, 467-469, the author thinks that the Tetovo-Polog region did not belong to Scupi's city territory, which may indicate that the augustalis had properties outside the borders of the territory of the city where he was performing his office. However, since it is a border region, one should not exclude the possibility that the region of the village Doberce belonged to the Moesia Superior, and hence the Scupi's city area.

Literature: Dobruna Salihu E., 2005, no. 99, fig. 91.
Dating: late 1st / early 2nd century.

I / 6. Kučeviška Bara: L. Iul (ius) Argaeus aug (ustalis) col (oniae) Scup (inorum). **Fig. 6a-b.**

D (is) ♥ M (anibus) ┃L (ucius) Iul (ius) Argaeus┃aug (ustalis) Col (oniae) Scup (inorum) ┃vix (it) an (nis) LXX Vita┃les coniux eius vix) an (nis) LV┃Maxima filia┃eorum vixit (it) an (nis) ┃XXXVII Iul (ius) In┃genus mil (es) ┃leg (ionis) IIII Fl (aviae) fil (ius) ┃eorum parent(ibus) ┃piis (simis) ♥ posuit.

Translation: To the gods Mani of Lucius Iulius Argaeus, augustalis of the colony of Scupi, who has lived for 70 years, to his wife Vitales, who has lived for 55 years, (and) to their daughter Maxima, who has lived for 37 years. Their son Iulius Ingenus, a soldier in the IV Fl. Legion, set up (a monument) to the most pious parents.

References: Jovanova 2005, 69-84, figs. 1-2; Јованова 2015, 89-106, Figs. 1-3.

Dating: late 2nd / early 3rd century..

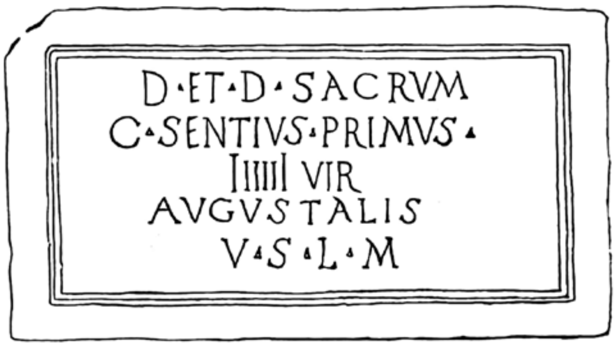


Fig.10. Votive inscription dedicated by sevir augustalis C. Sentius Primus, Bardovci (IMS VI, no 3).

II. Inscriptions that mention people with the title of *sevir augustalis*:

II / 1. Bardovci: L. Atilius Hilarus, sevir aug (ustalis) col (oniae) Scup (inorum). **Fig. 7.**

D (is) M (anibus) | L. Atilius Hilarus se | vir aug (ustalis) col (oniae) | Scup (inorum) vix (it) an (nis) | XXXV h (ic) s (itus) e (st) | L. Atil (ius) Euha | ristus pater.

Translation: To the gods Mani of L. Atilius Hilarus, sevir augustalis of the colony of Scupi, who has lived for 35 years, is buried here. L. Atilius Euharistus, his father.

References: Vulić 1934, pp. 58, 64, no. 63; IMS VI, no 70.

Dating: the middle of the 2nd century.

II / 2. Bardovci: T. Iulius Servand (us), se | vir aug (ustalis) col (oniae) Scup (inorum). **Fig. 8.**

D (is) M (anibus) | T. Iul (ius) Ser | vand (us) seocvir aug (ustalis) col (oniae) | Scup (inorum) quivixit an (nis) | LXX h (ic) s (itus) d (efunctus) | T. Iul (ius) Servan | dus filius | f (aciendum) c (uravit).

Translation: To the gods Mani by T. Iulius Servandus, sevir augustalis of the colony of Scupi, who lived for 70 years, is buried here. His son, T. Iulius Servandus, had this (monument) made.

References: Вулић 1909, p. 147, no. 70; Vulić 1910, Beibl. 219, no. 32; Трухелка 1929, p. 69-70, Fig. 7; Вулић 1931, p. 205, no. 541; IMS VI no. 71.

Dating: the middle of the 2nd century.

II / 3. Dolno Vodno - Skopje: ......, IIIIII [vir] august (alis) col (oniae) Scup (inorum). **Fig. 9.**

D(is) M(anibus) | [......] | [......] | IIIIII [vir] | august(alis) | col(oniae) Scup(inorum) | vix(it) an(nis) | L h(ic) s(itus) e(st) | Valeri | a C(ai) f(ilia) A | [s]clepio | [do]te | ann(orum) L | viva se | sibi et [in] | felici | marito | f(aciendum) c(uravit).

Translation: To the gods Mani of ...., sevir augustalis of the colony of Scupi, who lived 50 years, is buried here. Valeria Asclepiodote, Caius daughter, while she was alive at age 50, had this (monument) made for herself and the unhappy husband.

References: Вулић 1941-48, p. 218, no 431; ILIug, no. 50; IMS VI no 73.

Dating: the middle of the 2nd century

II / 4. Zlokućani / Bardovci: C. Sentius Primus, sevir augustalis. **Fig. 10.**

D (is) et D (eabus) sacrum | C. Sentius Primus | sevir | augustalis | v (otum) s (olvit) l (ibens) m (erito).

Translation: To the holy gods and goddesses, C. Sentius Primus, sevir augustalis, willingly and deservedly fulfilled his vow.

References: Evans 1885, p. 87, 119, Fig. 56; CIL III, 8186; IMS VI no. 3.

Dating: end of the 2nd century.

II / 5. Kale - Skopje: C. Publicius Tertius, sevir august (alis). **Fig. 11.**

D (is) M (anibus) | C. Publicius Tertius | sevir august (alis) | se vivo sibi | et Statuleae | Placidae co | iugi (!) bene me | renti posuit.

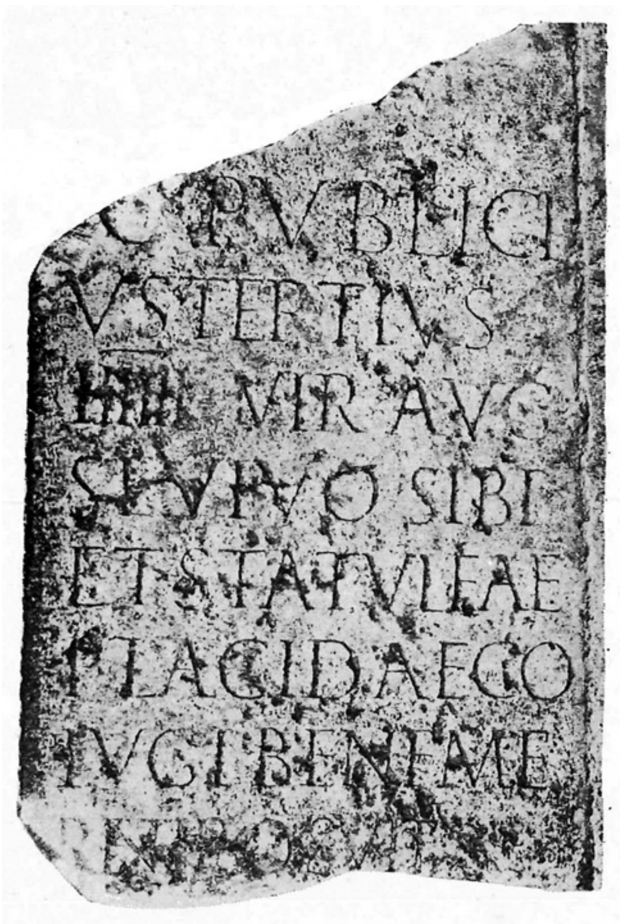


Fig.11. Tombstone dedicated to sevir augustalis C. Publicius Tertius, Kale-Skopje (IMS VI, no 72).

Translation: To the gods Mani, C. Publius Tertius, sevir augustalis, while he was alive for himself and his wife Statuleae Placidiae, in a good memory, had this (monument) made.

References: Dragojević-Josifovska 1977, pp. 461-466, no. 1; IMS VI no 72.

Dating: end of 2nd - beginning of 3rd century.

Analysis of the inscriptions

In the area of province Moesia Superior, where the city of Scupi belonged administratively, the associations of augustales are known in almost all developed city centers, such as Ratiaria[40,] Margum[41], Viminacium[42], Singidunum[43] and Timacum Minus.[44]

The association of seviri augustales operated only in Scupi, while in the other cities only the associations of augustales were known. Such phenomenon suggests that this imperial institution in the territory of Moesia Superior probably started to act in Scupi, which is not surprising knowning that Scupi is the oldest colony in the province, founded at the time of the Flavian Dynasty.[45]

Most of the Scupi inscriptions that mention augustales or seviri augustales are dated in the 2nd century, with the exception of four, one of which is chronologically determined at the end at the 1st century (I / 4), and the other three of the transition from the late 2nd to the early 3rd century (I / 3, I / 6, II / 5). Apart from one of the inscriptions (I / 2), the rest are not particularly emphasized that that the mentioned augustales are freedmen, although in most cases it is not difficult to determine on the basis of the onomastics of their names.[46] A typical Roman name formula is applied using the tria nomina, with a prenomen, gentile name and cognomen (nickname). In five cases (I / 1, I / 4, I / 5, I / 6, II / 2) are used common imperial gentile names (Iulius, Ulpius, Ellius)[47], in one case (I / 3) one of the most common non-imperial gentile names appear (Valerius)[48], in four cases (I / 2, II / 1, II / 4, II / 5) are used rare gentile names (Libonius, Atilius, Sentius, Publicius)[49], while in one case the name of the augustalis was not saved (II / 3). In two examples (I / 1, II / 1) there is a combination of a rare gentile name with a Greek cognomen (M. Ellius Phoebus and L. Atilius Hilarus), while on the inscriptions (I / 5, I / 6) from Dobarce-Tetovo (Iulius Symahus) and Kučeviška Bara (L. Iulius Argaeus), a royal gentle name appears in combination with a Greek cognomen. Almost equally are represented the Latin cognomina: Crecens, Maximus, Iulius, Servandus, Primus, Tertius (I / 2-4, II / 2 II / 4-5)[50], versus Greek cognomina: Phoebus, Hilarus, Argaeus, Symahus (I / 1, I / 5-6, II / 1).[51]

In addition, there is a presence of Latin and Greek cognomina in the same family, that is, the augustalis can have a Latin cognomen, and the members of his family can carry Greek cognomina or vice versa (I / 1, I / 6). The emergence of equal representation, as well as the mixed presence of Greek and Latin cognomina in the same family, is not surprising at all when it comes to freedmen, to whom the use of the cognomina is most often not ethnic but social predecessor.[52]

Interestingly, among the Scupi augustales none was a imperial freedman, which is probably due to the fact that they had more opportunities for social advancement against other well-off freedmen (private and public) whose choice of progress was restricted to the augustales service only.[53]

A common feature of all inscriptions is the absence of personal information about the social status or profession of the freedmen before obtaining the status augustalis or sevir augustalis. There is no explicit information, but indirectly almost everyone can be assumed to be Scupi residents because they are in some way connected with close or distant members of their families. Namely, the majority of monuments (eight) are set by close family members of the augustales, or they are dedicants of a close family member.

---

[40] CIL III, 1641, 6294; Ferri 1990, p. 597-606; Iliev 2010, p. 152-153, n. 20-36.

[41] IMS II, no 315.

[42] IMS II, nos 63, 76, 78, 84.

[43] IMS I, no 47.

[44] IMS III/2, no 24 (the monument is found in Timacum Minus, but it mentioned persons who were augustales in Ratiaria.

[45] See n. 2.

[46] Dutroy 1970, p. 88-105; Móscy 1970, p. 165; Ferri 1990, p. 599.

[47] The gentile name Iulius is known from many inscriptions (26) in Scupi (Mócsy 1970, 73; IMS VI, p. 36, nos 1, 34, 35, 41, 47, 52, 53, 59, 71, 92, 102, 110, 111, 118, 123-128, 136, 144, 153, 180; Јованова 2005, p. 69-84, Jovanova 2015, p. 143-146, n. 45), the gentile name Ulpius appears on six inscriptions (IMS VI, p. 36, nos 11, 69, 76, 158, 159, 178), while the gentile name Aellius is known from nine inscriptions (IMS VI, p. 36, nos 38, 80, 81, 117, 148, 155; CIL VI, nos 533, 32640, 37184).

[48] IMS VI, p. 34 (more than 30 people carry the gentilename Valerius); Jovanova 2009, p. 183-186, n. 15.

[49] IMS VI, p. 33-35, nos 27, 75, 224

[50] IMS VI, nos 75 (Crecens), 34 (Maximus), 76 (Iulius), 71 (Servandus), 3 (Primus), 72 (Tertius).

[51] IMS VI, No. 74 (Phoebus), 70 (Hilarus); Dobruna 2005, p. 687-688, no 99 (the author does not enter the onomastic analysis of the name Symmachus); Pape W. Benseler G. 1911, p. 1487 (Σύμμαχος); Nomenclator 279 (Symmachus); Јованова 2015, p. 97, n. 20 (Argaeus).

[52] IMS VI, p. 36; Duthoy 1970, p. 88-105.

[53] Ferri 1990, p. 601; Starac 1991, p. 96; Starac 200, p. 129-131, with quoted literature.

Most often, that is in three cases, the monuments are set by the wives (I / 4, II / 3, II / 5), in two cases by the sons (I / 6, II / 2) and in one case by the father (II / 1). In one case the augustalis set up a monument to the daughter (I / 2) or mother (I / 5). In only one case (I / 3) the augustalis is a member of the wider family, with an undetermined degree of relashionship (son in law?) of the dedicant, while in another case (I / 1), the heirs of the augustalis, who are probably not in family relationship with him appear as dedicants. One of the monuments is votive (II / 4), placed by augustalis C. Sentius Primus to all gods and goddesses, without data for members of his family. In this context, it should be mentioned that the same person is noted on the inscription from a sarcophagus found in Belimbegovo, where his wife Ulpia Marcia was buried[54], confirming that he and his family lived in Scupi.

The inscriptions allow us to conclude that the augustalis title was not inherited within the family, that is, from father to son, which can be seen from the inscription from Bardovci (II / 1), dedicated to Aaugustalis L. Atilius Hilarus who died at the age of 35 and his father L. Atilius Euharistus, who was not augustalis, appears as a dedicant. That fact is confirmed by another inscription from Scupi, where the same person is mentioned, but as a dedicant.[55] This suggests that in Scupi, the augustalis title was granted only to one generation of freedmen, because their descendants could directly obtain a municipal magistratures or enter the council of decuriones.[56]

There is no data that someone of the augustales or seviri augustales, that is, sevir augustales was awarded with the highest honors, privileges and features (ornamenta decurationalia), which were awarded by a decree of the city council (ordo decurionum) of Scupi.

The augustalis duty was most often received and executed by the wealthier freedmen which in Scupi is confirmed at the monument of Bardovci (I / 2) set by augustalis C. Libonius Crescens. He was the freedman of noble aristocratic family Libonius, who had close family relations with the senatorial family Rufrius. Eminent members, bearers of senatorial functions of the Libonius and Rufrius families at the end of the 2nd and the first half of 3rd century stayed and acted in Scupi.[57] Among them, especially prominent persons were: Libonius Severus, a senator and former consul (consularis), and possibly a patron of the Scupi colony[58], and the eminent Rufrius Iustus, proconsul of the province of Macedonia in one of the years between 220 and 235, whose function and role in the Scupi colony are non certainly determined.[59]

The family union Rufrius - Libonius on the territory of Scupi and further in Moesia Superor, as well as in the surrounding provinces, owned or had under their control a large properties - latifundia with villas and other associated infrastructure.[60] Although there is no direct evidence, there are some indications that the Dardanian sources of wealth of the Libonius and Rufrius families, apart from the agriculture, should also be in the profit of some non-agrarian activities, such as metal manufacturing or rent of parts of the state-owned mining territories.[61] Their power and influence in various spheres of the economic and social life of Scupi and the province of Macedonia were due to the connectivity of the members of the Scupi's group with the Thessalonian branch of the Rufrius family, which were in close affinity with the Claudius

[54] IMS VI, no 159.

[55] IMS VI, No. 90, L. Atilius Euharistus dedicated the monument to his wife Atilia Veneria, which had the same gentile name, that proves they both were freedmen's of the same patron. (Thylander 1952, p. 85). The assumption that on these two monuments (IMS VI, Nos. 70 and 90) is mentioned the same person is based on the fact that the gentil name Atilius is rare in the area of Moesia Superior, therefore it is difficult in Scupi to have two different persons with completly same name.

[56] Móscy 1970, p. 165-166.

[57] Apart from the inscription of the augustalis C. Libonius Crescens (I / 2) from the wider Scupi's territory, region of Kumanovo and South Morava valley are known several other inscriptions on which are mentioned people who were probably heirs, freedmen, descendants of freedmen or clients of the senatorial families Libonius and Rufrius. The emergence of more persons with the same, rare gentile name in a limited region indicates their family or clientelistic connection (Šašel 1992, p. 198-200, IMS VI, pp. 34, 46, Nos. 27, 75, 167, 224; IMS IV, Nos. 120-121 Душанић 2006, pp. 95-99, pp. 104-120; Јованова 2010, p. 209-224; Јованова 2015, pp. 47-60, 67-70, with the references).

[58] IMS VI, 27, the author is considering the possibility that Libonius Severus, apart from the function of Scupi's patron, performed the duty of curator rei publica; Šašel 1992, p. 198-200, n. 12-15, with the literature about the patronus and curator rei publicae. The author concludes that it is more likely that Libonius Severus was patron of Scupi in the first half of the 3rd century.

[59] IG X 2. 1. Nos. 143-144, 173; Aichinger 1979, p. 643, no 40; Šašel 1992, p. 198-200, n. 4-6, 11; Јованова 2010, p. 212-213, n. 16-25; Јованова 2015, p. 49-60, n. 16-26.

[60] Јованова 2015, p. 47, 58, 69, n. 4, 51-51. The location of the properties is determined according to the places where the monuments were found – inscriptions that mention members or persons who were somehow connected to these families. One property probably stretched to the area of today's villages N.Selo -Zelenikovo, the second one was in the vicinity of village Lipkovo-Kumanovo, and the third one was in the valley of South Morava in the vicinity of Bujanovac.

[61] IMS VI, no. 167; Душанић 2006, p. 95-99.

family, one of the most influential and powerful in Thessalonica.[62] The Claudius family also had a close relationship with the local aristocratic family Silvani of Styberra, whose eminent members occupied high civil and priestly offices in Styberra, Stobi, Thessalonica and Beroia.[63]

It appears that the great financial power, the profits and wealth of these families were due to their joint synchronous activities throughout the region. If is known that the propagation of the imperial cult was one of the main tasks of city patrons, such as Libonius Severus, then we should not be surprised by the choice of the augustalis duty by his freedman C. Libonius Crescens. Thus, it is easy to conclude that augustalis C. Libonius Crescens, as a freedman and under the patronage of the extremely rich and powerful senatorial family Libonius, probably himself possessed a great wealth and was part of the client's network of the Libonius-Rufrius family union. In this regard, obtaining and carrying out the augustales duty, except for the purpose of personal affirmation and social progress, it certainly contributed to the increase of power and wealth of the Libonius family, because C. Libonius Crescens had the opportunity within the competencies of the augustales association, but also in the city administration, to act, protect and lobby for the benefit of his patron.[64]

The privilege for the children or descendants of the augustales to have a military career is confirmed on the inscription from Kučeviška Bara (I / 6). Augustalis L. Iulius Argaeus belonged to the level of property freedmen who climbed higher on the social scale by becoming a member of the augustales association of the Scupi colony. After the liberation, among other rights, ius conubii (right to legal marriage), ius comercii (right to trade) and ius suffragii (right to vote), he acquired the right of origo and domicile (place of origin and residence). He could not achieve a military career, but his descendants gained the right to be recruited in military service.[65] His son, L. Iulius Ingenus, who appears as a dedicant on the monument, although born in legal marriage as a child of freedman, probably did not yet have the right to obtain magistratures.[66] Therefore, the only chance of advancement for him was a military career, and in his case the service in the legion IV Flavia, which was stationed in Singidunum.[67] After completing his military career, he was able to return to Scupi from where he originated[68], or to stay in Singidunum where he served in the legion IV Flavia.[69] Regardless of where he decided to settle, he could count on rapid social advancement by obtaining the highest municipal magistratures.

We should mention in the same context the monument from Dobri Dod (I / 3), where the augustalis C. Valerius Maximus, related (son il law) to the brothers C. Valerius Pudentus (praetorian veteran) and C. Iulius Celerus (an active praetorian) and to their mother Iulia Victorina, which appears on the

[62] IG X 2.1. Nos. 168, 173, 177, 209-211, 183-185; Nigdelis 1996, p. 134-138; Јованова 2010, p. 213-214, n. 26-35; Јованова 2015, p. 51-54, n. 27-39, with relevant literature.

[63] IG X 2.1. Nos. 168, 172, 177; Papazoglu 1982, p. 49-52; Nigdelis 1996, p. 134-138, Wiseman 1984, p. 576-577; Бабамова 2005, p. 40-42, 96, 98-99, no. 22, 25; Јованова 2010, p. 213-214, n. 28; Јованова 2015, p. 51-54, n. 28-30, with relevant literature.

[64] Јованова 2005, p. 69-84; Јованова 2015, p. 89-106.

[65] Gordon 1931, p. 65-77; Starac 1991, p. 95-96; Starac 2000, p. 128.

[66] The children of freedman and woman born in legal marriage enjoyed all the rights of the free born Roman citizens, except the right of magistratures. It is thought that even their grandchildren could exercise the right to become members of the city council and to choose magistrate functions (Starac 2000, pp. 128-129 with quoted literature); However there were also exceptions from these rules, especially when it behaves to imperial freedmen; The exeprions were present in the provinces, cause the second generation, that is, the sons of the augustales could become decurions (Móscy 1970, p. 165-166; Ferri 1990., p. 602; IMS III/2, no 24, From Timacum Minus at Moesia Superior, today's Ravna in Serbia, are known two Ratiarian decurions, whose father was augustalis in the same colony). Hence, it is obvious that the honor of respecting and honoring the imperial cult was not the only motive for membership in the association of augustales, but more often were the practical reasons and interests. In this regard, one of the benefits of the augustales service is the right for their sons to actively engage in the political life of the cities (Vandevoorde 2012, p. 412, n. 62).

[67] IMS I, p. 27-30 (with quoted literature), the author gives detailed information on the arrival, accommodation and action of the IV Flavia Legion in Singidunum and Moesia Superior.

[68] IMS VI, No. 38, the inscription is dedicated to veteran M. Aurelius Mestrianus, from Scupi, who after completing the military term in the legion IV Flavia returned to Scupi.

[69] Ферјанчић 2002, p. 183-185, 198-202, the largest number of veterans of the Moesian legions remained in the place they served, a smaller number returned to the place of origin, and only an insignificant number settled in one of the city centers of the province.

inscription as the dedicant.[70] Although their mutual relationship is not quite clear (genero / / son in law ?), however, the very mention of C. Valerius Maximus and the insistence on his function as augustalis in the context of members from the wider family to whom he himself was not blood related, in some way suggests that it had an impact on the social advancement of all family members.

From a totally different perspective, the example of augustalis Iulius Symmachus found in the village Doberce, Tetovo (I / 5) is quite interesting.[71] Although it is not explicitly stated in the inscription, its content suggests that Iulius Symmachus, apart from being a member of the augustales association, probably at the same time belonged to the association for respecting the cult of Hercules in Scupi (collegium Heculis).[72] Namely, his mother Cassandra, to whom he dedicated the monument, was a member of the same association[73], which also had the function of a mother (mater).[74]

Hence, it can be concluded that her son, the augustalis Iulius Symmachus, was also a member of the association for respecting the cult of Hercules. Such a phenomena is not surprising, cause membership in one or more different voluntary associations (professional, religious), as well as concurrent membership in the association of augustales was a common practice in the imperial period. Such practice of simultaneous occupancy of more prestigious positions has increased the possibility of faster advancement and climbing higher on the social hierarchical level.[75] That way, members of the lower social categories, through membership in different kinds of associations (augustales or voluntary), could transfer in a legal way their economic capital into social.[76]

Final conclusions

The analysis of the inscriptions mentioning augustales and seviri augustales contributed to clarify some aspects of the Scupi social life at the time of the principate. The existence and operation of the associations of augustales and seviri augustales in Scupi has been already confirmed at the end of the 1st century, which indicates they were formed shortly after the colony foundation during the time of Flavian Dinasty. In the province of Moesia Superior, the association of seviri augustales acted only in Scupi, while the associations of augustales were present in the other cities as well. According to preserved inscriptions this state institution was most active in Scupi during the 2nd century and the early 3rd century, when it gradually began to diminish, as in other parts of the Empire.

The onomastics of the names is characterized by almost equal representation of imperial and non-imperial gentile names, as well as greek and latin cognomina, which indicates that all augustales / seviri augustales belonged to the freedmen class. A common feature of all inscriptions is the absence of personal information about the social position or occupation before receiving the augustalis or sevir augustalis

[70] Ferjančić 2009, p. 107-108, n. 1, with relevant literature. The praetorian were elite units, which till the time of the Severan Dynasty were mainly recruited from Italy and in a smaller number from well-militarized provinces. Even in the 3rd century they were mostly recruited from the Danubian provinces. After serving the military term, they often returned to their place of origin. Such is the case with the pretorians mentioned in our monument I / 5 (IMS VI, no 34; Ferjančić 2009, p. 107-108).

[71] Dobruna Salihu 2005, p. 687, no. 99, fig. 91

[72] Except on the monument of Doberce-Tetovo, the existence of a Hercules temple and a religious association of the worshipers of its cult (cultores Heculis), is also mentioned on another monument from Scupi, discovered in the northwestern necropolis (Јованова 2015 , 107-130). In addition to these two monuments, Hercules is also mentioned on another votive monument from the Scupi region (IMS VI, no. 5, Miladinovci village). About the Hercules cult in Scupi (Јованова 2015, 122-124, with references) and Moesia Superior (Gavrilović 2014, pp. 17-62).

[73] Regarding the appearance, role, legislation, types, organization and significance of the voluntary associations was used relevant literature: Waltzing 1895, p. 340-406; Royden 1988; Kloppenborg 1996, p. 16-31; Verboven 2007, p. 863-893; Verboven 2009, p. 159-167; Verboven 2011a, p. 88-109; Verboven 2011b, p. 187-195; Liu 2005, p. 285-310; Bendlin 2011, p. 207-296; Sano 2012, p. 393-414.

[74] Within the association, all were equal or colleagues, but each association had its own managing authorities, organized in a similar way to the city administration with electoral magistrates and almost identical titles and hierarchy: curatores, quastores, arcarii, aediles, immunes, decuriones, scribae , matres collegii, patres collegii (Kloppenborg 1996, pp. 26-27; Starac 2000, pp. 168-169; Verboven 2007, pp. 871, n. 47, pp. 883-886). For the function/duty "mater collegii" within the voluntary associations more at: Kloppenborg 1996, p. 25-26; Hemelrijk 2008, p. 115-162.

[75] Verboven, 2009, p. 164; Vandervoorte 2013, p. 136, n. 72.

[76] Verboven K., 2007, p. 884-886.

function. Regarding the family status, all augustales are in some way related to close or distant members of their families, which can be assumed to have been Scupi residents. The augustalis title was not inherited within the family, that is, from father to son, which suggests that in Scupi the augustalis title was granted only to one generation of freedmen, because their descendants could directly obtain a municipal magistratures or enter the council of decuriones. None of the Scupi's augustales / seviri augustales was honored with the highest honors and privileges (ornamenta decurationalia) which were awarded by a decree of the city council.

Some augustales were the freedmen of eminent members of the senatorial families, who stayed and acted in Scupi at the end of the 2nd and the frst half of the 3rd century, confirming that the augustales service was most often received and executed by the richest freedmen. The augustales inscriptions from Scupi confirm that augustales' children and relatives could exercise a military career in legions or elite praetorian units stationed in the province of Moesia Superior, and later on after completing the military term they could count on getting the highest municipal magistratures in their place of residence. It was confirmed that the augustales from Scupi, apart from the association of augustales, were also members of voluntary associations, which increased the possibility of faster social advancement.

On the other hand, the presence and activity of the well-organized associations of augustales and seviri augustales indirectly confirm a high level of implementation of the imperial cult in Scupi.

We expect future findings to bring new insights into the emergence, organization and action of the augustales and seviri augustales associations. This should contribute to determine the acceptance and ways of practicing the imperial cult, as well as clarifying the relations between different social categories within the complex social structure of the inhabitants of the Scupi colony.

Summary

The text gives a brief review of the social and hierarchical structure of certain categories of population present in Scupi during the imperial period. The emphasis is put on the social and religious life of the freedmen, as a specific social category of inhabitants. Particular attention is given to the well-off freedmen, who lacking other opportunities for status promotion and social establishment, became augustales or seviri augustales, or supporters of the imperial cult on a local, municipal level. It was the only way for their personal affirmation, but also the opportunity for their descendants to receive a city magistratures, to enter the council of decuriones or to achieve a military career.

The epigraphic analysis of the inscriptions from Scupi, where members from the associations of augustales and seviri augustales were mentioned, shows that these were well-off freedmen who along with their families were residents of Scupi. The inscriptions confirm that the augustales and seviri augustales have used a good deal of the privileges they acquired by joining the augustales. They occupied several prestigious positions through simultaneous membership in the augustales and voluntary associations, enabling them to transfer in a legal manner their economic capital into a social one, and thus to advance faster on the social scale. From position of supporters of the imperial cult at municipal level they lobbied and protected the interests of their patrons, which additionally contributed to their enrichment and gaining more power and influence. Their children and relatives served in Roman legions and elite praetorian units, which opened the opportunity after the end of the military career to receive one of the city magistratures or to enter the council of decuriones in the place they decided to settle. The analysis of the inscriptions confirmed the presence and activity of well-organized associations of augustales and seviri augustales, which indirectly witnessed the high level of implementation of the imperial cult in the Scupi colony.

ABREVIATIONS

ANRW Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung (Temporini H., Haase W. (Dir.), Berlin - New York, 1972-

CIL Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin

Diz. Epigrafico Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane (eds. De Ruggiero et. al.), vol I (A-B), Roma 1895 (reprint 1961)

ÉPRO Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain

IG X 2.1. Inscriptiones Graecae, X: Inscriptiones Epiri, Macedoniae, Thraciae, Scythiae. Pars II, fasc. 1: Inscriptiones Thessalonicae et viciniae, ed. Charles Edson. Berlin 1972.

ILIug. Šašel A. et J., Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt, Situla, razprave Narodnega muzeja v Ljubljani,19, Ljubljana 1978.

IMS I Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieur, Singidunum et le Nord - Ouest de la Province vol. I (M. Mirković – S. Dušanić), Beograd 1976

IMS II Inscriptions de la MesieSuperieure, vol. II. Viminacium et Margum (M. Mirković) Beograd, 1986.

IMS III/2 Inscriptions de la Mesie Superieure, vol III/2.Timacum Minus et la Vallée du Timok (P. Petrović) Beograd, 1995

IMS IV Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure vol. IV, Naissus Remesiana - Horreum Margi (P. Petrović) Beograd, 1979.

IMS VI Inscriptions de la Mesie Superieure, VI. Scupiet la region de Kumanovo (B. Dragojević-Josifovska) Beograd, 1982.

Jahrsh. Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien, vol. 13, Wien 1910.

Nomenclator Móscy A., Feldmann R., Morton E., Szilágyi M., 1983, NOMENCLATOR provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpinum cum indice inverso Dissertationes pannonicae, series III, vol. 1, Budapestini

RE A. Pauly and G. Wissova (eds.), Real-Enzyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Neue Bearbeitung, Stuttgart 1893-1980 sqq.

Споменик СКА Споменик Српске Краљевске Академије

ANTIQUE SOURCES

Cicero = Marcus Tullius Cicero, De Re Publica, De Legibus, (an English translation by Clinton Walker Keyes) LCL Cambridge University Press 1928.

Ammianus Marcellinus (Amm. Marc.) = Ammiani Marcellini, Rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt (Историја, предговор, превод и објашњења, М. Милин), Нови Сад 1998.

Petronius = Petronius, Satyricon, (Translated with an Introduced and notes by P. G. Walsh), Oxford University Press 1930 .

Tacitus, Annales, Historiae = Tacitus (Annales, Historiae), 5 volumes, Latin texts and facing English translation: Translation by C. H. Moore (Histories) and J. Jackson (Annals). Loeb Classical Library, Harvard University Press, 1925-1937.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abramenko A. 1993, "Dieinnere Organisation der Augustalität Jahresamt und Gesamt organization", in: Athenaeum 81, Pavia, pp. 13-37.

Aichinger A. 1979, "Die Reichbeamten der Römischen Macedonia der prinzipatsepoche", in: Arheološki Vestnik 30, Ljubljana, pp. 603-691.

Alföldy G. 1972, "Die Freilassung von Sklaven und die Struktur der Sklaverei in den römischen Kaiserzeit", in: Rivista Storica dell'Antichità (RSA) 2, Bologna 1972, pp. 97-129.

Бабамова С. 2005, Епиграфски споменици од Република Македонија датирани според македонската провинциска ера, Скопје.

Basotova M. 2012, A Votive Altar dedicated to Venus from Colonia Flavia Scupi, Folia archaeologica Balkanica (FAB) II (Stephanos archaeologicos in honorem professoris Ivani Mikulčić), Skopje 2012, p. 359-366.

Bendlin A. 2011, "Associations, Funerals, Sociality and Roman Law: The collegium of Diana and Antinous in Lanuvium (CIL 14.2112) Reconsideret", (ed. M. Öhler), in: Aposteldekret und antikes Vereinsweswn: Gemeinschaft und ihre Ordnung (WUNT I 280), Tübingen, p. 207-296.

Bradley K. 1994, Slavery and Society at Rome. Cambridge.

Buckland W.W. 1908, The Roman Law of Slavery: The Condition of the Slave in Private Law from Augustus to Justinian, NewYork: AMS Press.

Clauss M. 1996, "Deus praesens, Der römische Kaiser als Gott", in: Klio 78/2, Berlin, p. 400-433.

Clauss M. 2001 Kaiser und Gott. Herrscherkult im römischen Reich, München–Leipzig.

Dobruna-Salihu E. 2005, Plastika decorative dhe figurative e gurit në Dardani gjatë kohës romake, sepulkrale dhe e kultit, II, Prishtine.

Dragojević-Josifovska B. 1977, "Dva latinska natpisa iz Skopske tvrđave Kale", in: Živa Antika XXVII, Skopje, p. 461-466.

Duthoy R. 1970, "Notes onomastiques sur les Augustales cognomina et indication de statut", in: L'antiquité classique, Tome 39, fasc. 1, Liège-Bruxelles, p. 88-105.

Duthoy R. 1974, "La fonction sociale de l'augustalité", in: Epigraphica 36, Faenza, p. 134-154.

Duthoy R. 1978, "Les *Augustales(*)", in: ANRW 16.2. (1978), p. 1254-1309.

Dušanić S. 1996, "The frontier and the hinterland: The role of Scupi in Domitian's wars on the Danube", in: (eds. Petrović and Dušanić), Roman limes on the Middle and Lower Danube, Djerdapske sveske. Posebna izdanja 2, Belgrade, p. 41–51.

Душанић С. 2006 "Просопографске белешке рударства у Горњој Мезији: породице имућних досељеника у у рудничком тлу", in: Старинар LVI, Beograd, p. 85-101.

Evans A. 1885, “Antiquarian Reserches in Illuricum, Parts III-IV, Scupi, Skopia and Birthplace of Justinian”, in: Archaeologia vol. 49, Westminster, p. 79-167.

Fears J. R., 1981, “The Cult of Jupiter and Roman Imperial Ideology”, in: (ed. W. Haase), ANRW, II.17.1, Berlin - New York: W. de Gruyter, p. 3-141.

Ферјанчић С. 2002, Насељавање легиских ветерана, Београд.

Ferjančić S. 2009, “Veterans of the praetorian guard in the Central Balkan provinces”, in: Zbornik matice srpske za klasične studije II, Beograd, p. 107-121.

Ferri N. 1990, “Seviri augustales i augustales libertinskog porjekla u Gornjoj Meziji”, in: Arheološki Vestnik 41, Ljubljana, pp. 597-606.

Fishwick D. 1978, “The Development of Provincial Ruler Worship in the Western Roman Empire” in: ANRW, II.16.2., Berlin - New York, p. 1201-1253.

Fishwick D. 1990, “Votive Offerings to the Emperor”, in: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik (ZPE), 80, Bonn, p. 121-130.

Fishwick D. 1991, The Imperial Cult in the Latin West, in: (ed. M. J. Vermaseren), Studies in the Ruler cult of the Western provinces of the Roman Empire II, l. (ÉPRO 108/2A). Leiden.

Fishwick D. 1993, The Imperial Cult in the Latin West, in: (ed. M. J. Vermaseren), Studies in the Ruler cult of the Western provinces of the Roman Empire I,

1. (ÉPRO 108/1). Leiden.

Fishwick D. 2002a, The Imperial Cult in the Latin West, in: (eds. H. S. Versnel, R. van den Broek) in: Religions in the Graeco-Roman World (RGRW 145), Provincial Ruler Cult: Institution and Evolution. III. 1. Leiden-Boston–Köln.

Fishwick D. 2002b, The Imperial Cult in the Latin West, in: (eds. H. S. Versnel, R. van den Broek), Religions in the Graeco-Roman World (RGRW 146), Provincial Ruler Cult: Institution and Evolution. III. 2. Leiden-Boston–Köln.

Fishwick, D. 2004, The Imperial Cult in the Latin West, in: (eds. H. S. Versnel, D. Frankfurter, J. Hanh), Religions in the Graeco-Roman World (RGRW 147), Provincial Ruler Cult: The Provincial Centre; Provincial Cult. III. 3. Leiden.

Fishwick D. 2007, “Numen Augustum”, in: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik (ZPE), 160, Bonn 2007, p. 247-255.

Gavrilović N., 2014, Kult Herkula I Merkura u Gornjoj Meziji, I-IV vek n.e. Beograd.

Gordon M. L. 1931, “The Freedman’s Son in Municipal Life” in: The Journal of Roman Studies Vol. 21 (1931), Cambridge, p. 65-77.

Hemelrijk E. 2008, “Patronesses and “Mothers” of Roman Collegia”, in: Classical Antiquity Vol. 27, Issue 1, University of California Press, California, Berkeley, p. 115-162.

Илиев Й. 2010, “Епиграфски данни за свързани с императорския култ религиозни длъжности в Горна и Долна Мизия (I - III в.)”, in: Дни на науката 2009, Велико Търново, p. 151-161.

Jovanova L. 2005, “Two latin Incriptions at the Village of Kučeviška Bara, near Skopje”, in: Macedonian Heritage 24, Skopje, p. 69-84.

Jovanova L. 2009, “New Veteran of the Legion VII (Claudia ?) from Scupi with origin from Aquileia”, in: Macedonian Heritage 34/35, (Homage to Blaga Aleksova), Skopje, p. 181-192.

Јованова Л. 2010, “Скупи - Colonia Flavia Scupinorum, Аристократски семејства Rufrii i Libonii”, in: Macedoniae acta archaeologica 19, Скопје, p. 209-224.

Јованова Л. 2015, Inventaria Archaeologica Personarum II, Скупи – Некрополи: Стории за истакнати личности според епиграфски и археолошки сведоштва, Скопје 2015.

Kloppenborg J. 1996, “Collegia and Thiasoi, Issues in function, taxonomy and membership”, in: (eds. Kloppenborg J., Wilson S.) Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World”, London, p. 16-31.

Linderski J. 2007, “Augustales and sodales augustales*”, in: Historia et Ius, Roman Questions (RQ) II, Selected Papers, Stuttgart (Franz Steiner Verlag), p. 179-183.

Liu J. 2005, “Local Governments and Collegia, A New Appraisal of the Evidence”, in: (eds. J-J. Aubert et Z. Várhelyi), A Tall Order. Writing the Social History of the Ancient World: Essays in honor of William V. Harris, Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, band 216, München-Leipzig, p. 285-310.

Liu J. 2013, “Freedmen and freedwomen”, in: (eds. R. S. Bagnall, K. Brodersen, C. B. Champion, A. Erskine, and S. R. Huebner) The Encyclopedia of Ancient History, First Edition., Oxford (Blackwell Publishing Ltd), p. 2759-2762.

Mikulčić I. 1971, Teritorija Skupa, Živa Antika XXI/2, Skopje, p. 463-484.

Mourlot F. 1895, “Essai sur l’histoire de l’augustalitédans l’empire romain”, in: Bibliothèque de l’École des hautes études. Sciencesphilologiques et historiques, 108, Paris 1895.

Mouritsen H. 2005, “Freedmen and Decurions: Epitaphs and Social History in Imperial Italy.” in: The Journal of Roman Studies 95, Cambridge, p. 38-63.

Mouritsen H. 2011, The Freedman in the Roman World, Cambridge University Press.

Móscy A., 1970, Gesellschaft und Romanisation in der römischen Provinz Moesia Superior, Budapest.

Neumann J. K. 1896, “Augustales”, in: RE II.2, Stuttgart, p. 2349-2360.

Nigdelis P. 1996, “Gemini und Claudii: Die Geschihte zweier führender familien von Thessaloniki in der spätern Kaiserzait”, in: Helios - Instituts of Greek and Roman Antiquity, Tessalonike, p. 129-141.

Ostrow S. E., 1990, “The augustales in the Augustan Scheme” in: (eds. K. A. Raaflaub end M. Toher), Between Repablic and Empire, Interpretations of the Augustus and his Principate, Berceley – Los Angeles – Oxford, p. 364-379.

Papazoglou F., 1982, “Notes épigraphiques de Macédoine”, in: Živa Antika, 32/1, Skopje, p. 39-52.

Pape W. Benseler G. 1911, Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen.(2 vols), (1842), bearb. von G. E. Benseler.(1911), Graz.

Premerstain A. von, 1895, “Augustales”, in: Diz. Epigrafico, vol. I, Roma, p. 824-877.

Royden H. L, 1988, The magistrates of the Roman Professionaal Collegia in Italy from the First to the Third Century A.D., Pisa.

Sano M., 2012, "Collegia, through their funeral activities: new light on socability in the Early Roman Empire", in: UNED. Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie II, Historia Antigua, 25, Madrid, p. 393-414.

Scheidel W. 2012, "Slavery in the Roman economy", in: (ed. W. Scheidel.), The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Economy, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press), p. 89-113.

Starac A. 1991, "Oslobođenici u koloniji Juliji Poli", in: Opuscula archaelogica 15, Zagreb, p. 91-107.

Starac A., 2000, Rimsko vladanje u Histriji i Liburniji II, (monografije i katalozi 10/II), Pula.

Šašel J., 1992, "Libonius Severus", in: Opera Selecta, Situla 30, Ljubljana, p. 198-200.

Šašel Kos M., 1999, "Aspects of the sevirate and Augustalitas in the Northistern Adriatic Area", in: Histria Antiqua V, Pula, pp. 173-180.

Taylor L. R., 1914, "Augustales, Seviri Augustales and Seviri: A Chronological Study", in: Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Associacions (TAPhA) 45, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, p. 231-253.

Taylor L. R., 1931, The Divinity of the Roman Emperor, Middletown, Connecticut.

Taylor L. R. 1961, "Freedmen and Freeborn in the Epitaphs of Imperial Rome." The American Journal of Philology 82, no. 2, Baltimore 1961, p. 113-132.

Thylander H. 1952, Étude sur l'épigraphie latine, Lund.

Трухелка Ћ. 1929, "Археолошке белешке из Јужне Србије", in: Гласник Скопског научног друштва књ. V /2, Скопље, p. 61-86.

Tudor D. 1962, "Le organizzazioni degli Augastales in Dacia", in: Dacia N. S. 6, Bucureşti, p. 200-212.

Vandevoorde L. 2012, "Augustales and Decuriones. Sixteen Inscriptions from Narbonese Gaul", in: Latomus: revue d'études latines, 71, 4, Bruxelles, p. 404-423.

Vandevoorde L. 2013, "Respectability on display. Alba and fasti of the Augustales in the context of collegial and magisterial hierarchy", in: Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire, tome 91, fasc. 1, 2013. Antiquité - Ouheid. p. 127-151.

Vandevoorde L. 2014, "Making the Difference. Social Positioning of Augustales in Nîmes and Narbonne", UGent (2014), in: Bulletin de l'Ecole Antique de Nîmes. 31. Nîmes, p. 33-45.

Veyne P. M. 1966, "Augustal de l' an 1. – Premier pontarque", in: Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, Ècole française d' Athènes, XC, Athènes–Paris, p. 141-156.

Verboven K. 2007, "The associative order: status and ethos among Roman businessmen in the Late Republic and Early Empire", in: Athenaeum 95, fas. II, Pavia, p. 861-893.

Verboven K. 2009, "Magistrates patrons and benefactors of collegia: Status building and romanization in the Spanish, Gallic and German Provinces of the Roman Empire", in: (eds. Antela-Bernardez I.B., Naco del Hoyo Antonio), Transforming historical landscapes in the ancient empires (Proceedings of the first workshop Area of Research in Studies from Antiquity, Barcelona 2007) (BAR, International Series 1986), Oxford, p. 159-167.

Verboven K. 2011a, "The Freedman Economy of Roman Italy, in: (Eds S. Bell and T. Ramsby), Free at last: The impact of freed slaves on the Roman Empire, Bristol Classical Press, Bristol, p. 88-109.

Verboven K. 2011b, "Professional collegia: Guilds or social clubs ?" in: Ancient Society 41, Leuven, p. 187-195.

Vermote K. 2014, "Libertus, collegiatus, pistor en coniunx", in: De meervoudige identiteit van Romeinse vrijgelatenen, Handelingen. LXVII. Book (Koninklijke Zuid-Nederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis), Gent, p. 113-130.

Вулић Н. 1909, "Антички споменици у Србији", in: Споменик СКА XLVII, Београд 1909.

Vulić N. 1910, "Antike Denkmäler in Serbien", in: Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien, vol. 13, Wien 1910, p. 197-228.

Вулић Н. 1931, "Антички споменици у Србији", in: Споменик СКА LXXI, Београд.

Вулић Н. 1934, "Антички споменици у Србији", in: Споменик СКА LXXVII, Београд.

Вулић Н. 1941-1948, "Антички споменици наше земље", in: Споменик САНУ (Српске академије наука и уметности), XCVIII, Београд .

Вучковић-Тодоровић Д. 1956-57, "Римски двојни гроб из Доброг дола код Скопља", in: Старинар н.с. VII-VIII, Београд, p. 289-297.

Waltzing J. P. 1895, "Collegium", in: Diz. Epigrafico, vol. II. 1., Roma, p. 340-406.

Wiseman J. 1984, "A Distinguisched Macedonian Family of the Roman Imperia Period", in: The American Journal of Archaeology 88/4, Boston, p. 567-582.

Wissowa G. 1896, 'Augustales' in: (eds. G. Wissowa et al.), RE II, 2, cols 2349-2361.

THE ROMAN CUSTOMS STATIONS IN KUMANOVO IN THE LIGHT OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND EPIGRAPHIC MONUMENTS

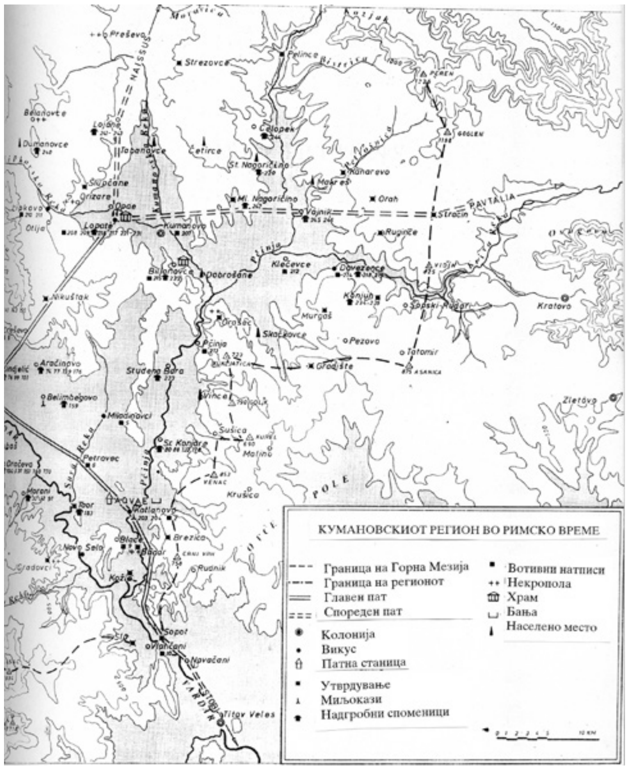
Zvonimir Nikolovski
University of Goce Delčev – Štip
vizianum@gmail.com

The northeastern part of Macedonia has not been explored archeologically to a great extent. The area has favorable climatic, geomorphologic and natural wealth that have allowed different culture groups to live in the region. Recent archeological projects show a clear line of material and spiritual development in the context of historical events and socioeconomic processes in the Balkans. However, the data received is incomplete, so we cannot locate the chronology of material and cultural developments, the network of settlements and their genesis, as well as the ethnicity of the groups of people who lived there and their socioeconomic status for sure.

The area around Kumanovo was a geomorphologic and strategic point located on a historical crossing, one of the biggest on the central Balkans which connected the Danube and the Moravia-Vardar valley with Thracia. As such, this region was subjected to various cultural influences. The Kumanovo area was a natural borderline between two ethnical groups – the Thracians in the East and the Ilirs in the West.

Past archeological expeditions can chronologically be followed through the works of various explorers in the area. Their works are actually the first written sources of data for the ancient history of this part of Macedonia.

Sir Arthur Evans, the famous British explorer, talks about a lively visit of Kumanovo in 1885, when he found a Roman ara in the courtyard of the St. Nicholas city church. [1]The first extensive archeological expeditions in Kumanovo were mentioned in the works of Gjorche Petrov at the end of the XIX century.[2] Petrov was a passionate explorer who was keen of exploring the area around Kumanovo and the



1. A map of the Kumanovo region

area around the Osogovo mountains. Dr. Jovan Hadzi-Vasiljevikj also conducted a research on his own, with data about the area collected in the “Kumanovska oblast” composition[3].

One of the main explorers of the Kumanovo area was professor Nikola Vulic, who has left behind precious data on his research in Macedonia.[4] He can be considered a pioneer in the area of decorative plastics and epigraphics, and he also conducted several ar-

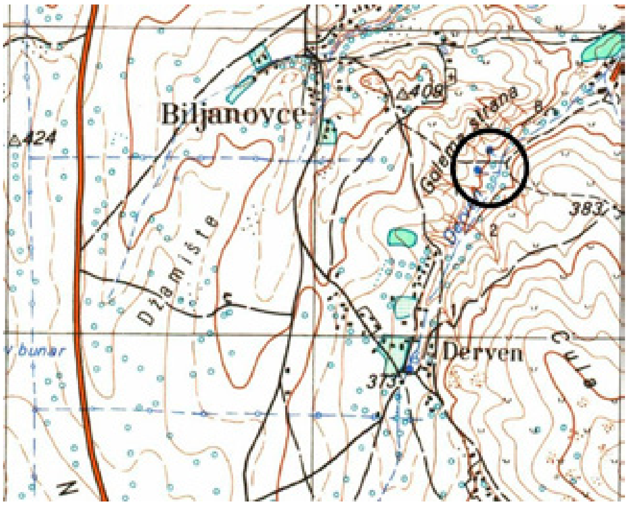
[1] Evans A.J., 1885, 95,154

[2] Петров Ѓ., 1896, 80-107

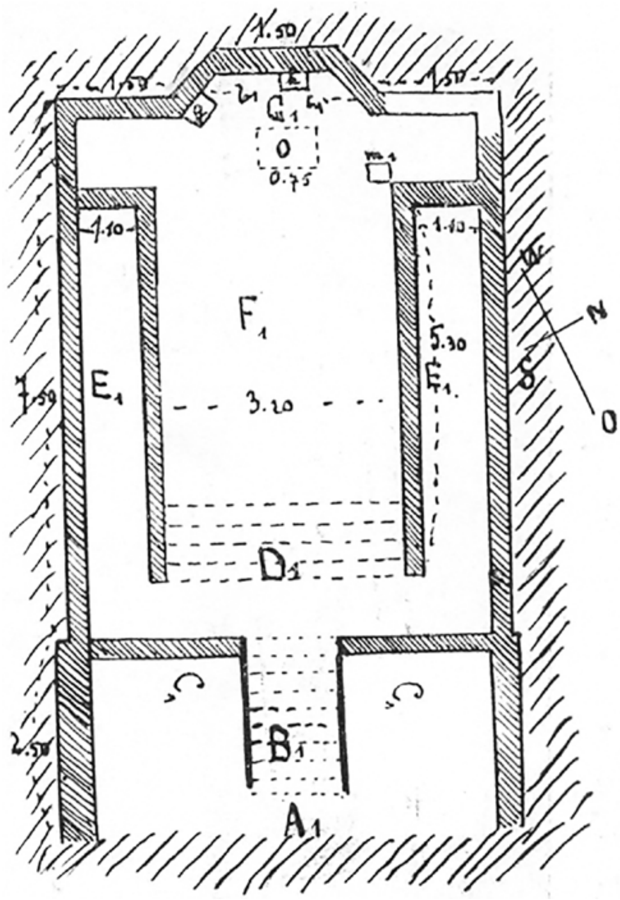
[3] Хаџи - Васиљевиќ Ј., 1909

[4] Вулиќ Н., 1929;1933;1935;1941-1948

2. Border stone from StaroNagoricane



3. Part of the topographical map – "Derven", Biljanovce



4. Layout of the Mitreum, Biljanovce

cheological expeditions on several sites.[5] He worked on antique geography on the territory of old Southern Serbia,[6] the northern borders of antique Macedonia[7] and the Dardanian problems in this region.[8]

The cultural and archeological complexity of this region comes from the late proto-historical stratum to which all antique phases are connected to. The zenith of their lives is in the Macedonian-Hellenistic period, which is already stagnant in the first few centuries of the new era as a result of the pacification of this and the larger part of the Balkans, when the borders of the Roman Empire are moved towards the Danube border.

A crucial moment is the line of circulation of the thoroughfare in the river basins, where the first commercial centers who had walled fortifications were built. The thing that needs to be followed in the pre-Roman urbanization is the presence of epichoral element compared to the weaker cultural influences from the South.

Orientational borders

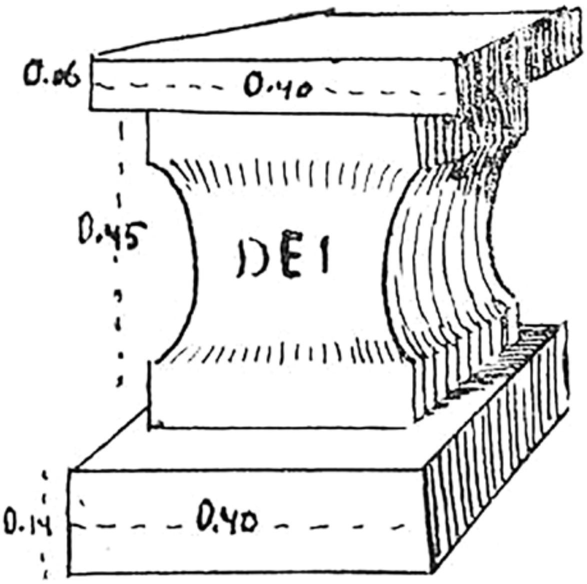
The Skopje-Kumanovo region in the times of the first administrative division fell under the Dardanians. The border rock found in the village of Staro Nagorichane shows that the center between the Dardania, Thrace and Macedonia should be looked at the farthest northern point in the area. The point may be located at the entry of the KrivaReka river in the village of Pchinja in the region around Klechovce.

[5] For exemple, his works at Scupi near Skopje

[6] Вулиќ Н.,1938.

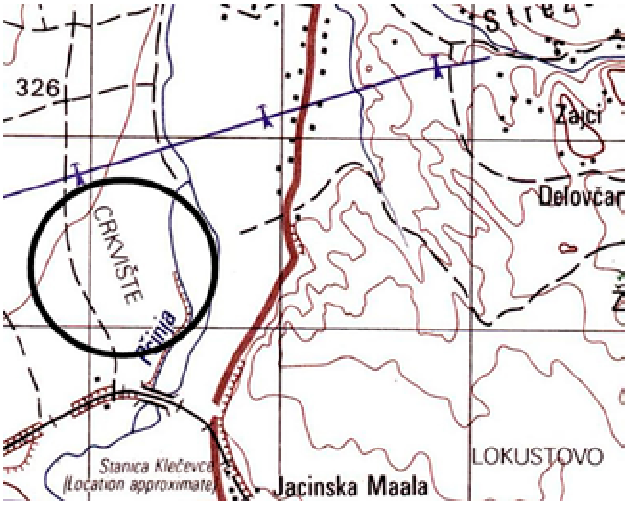
[7] Вулиќ Н.,1925.

[8] Вулиќ Н.,1925.



5. Sacrificial altar from the Mitreum

6. Stone cult icon from the Mitreum



7. Part of the topographical map of the “Crkviste” site in Klecovce

8. Part of the inscription from the ara found in the area of the Klecovce village

There have also been found some similar epigraphic writings on Greek in the area.

A possible customs station in the region near by the Biljanovce village

About 6 kilometers southeast from the Biljanovce village there is a significant administrative and living area that dates back to the early Roman period. The area is connected to Pautalia from both sides of the road, which continues southwest to the village of Pchinja and to the villages of Klechovce and Shupli Kamen to the north. This roadtakes a turn towards the town of Kratovo and is further connected to the eastern road near Kriva Palanka in the municipality of the Krklja village, where remains from the so-called “Roman road” were found. In the nearby fields, locals found a big amount of antique building material as well as ceramic fragments meant for everyday use. Some fragments from the more luxurious *terra sigilata* type were found as well. This area is still known as customs by the locals, which corresponds to its position.[9]

Fragments of Roman hydro installation elements as well as some coins from III century were foundne-

[9] Трифуновски J.,1974,57;Mikulčić I.,1976, 26, 27; Mikulčić I., 1971, 470.

9. Monograms ingraved on the side of the ara and a monogram of the station

10. A fragment from a tombstone

ar the big village fountain. There are remnants from a sacral object known as *mitreum* about 500 meters southeast from the village from the left side in the direction of the Dobroshane village. [10]

The Derven toponym is not accidental, as there was a road in the area which was covered by customs office. There is a sacrificial altar found in the area with the inscription (. . . .) / DEI whose whereabouts are currently unknown.[11]

StatioVizianum in the area of the village of Klechovce

At the east of Kumanovo, on a region called "Sredorek", where the river Kriva flows into the river Pchinja, there is an archaeologically confirmed area which represents a crossroad of natural borders and demarcations. Indirectly, for this locality, we can also connect the termination inscription for the tri-point of the Late Antique provinces Dardania, Mediterranean Dacia and Macedonia The Second. From the epigraphic inscription on both of the ara, one in the area of the village of Klechovce and the other in the area of the village of Lopate, there is one person mentioned: Apolonides and two customs stations, Vizianum and Lamud. With the archeological research from 2001 to 2004, it was confirmed that there is an existence of a large settlement complex and a necropolis, which according to the material data and the rest of the researched parameters, is getting closer to the conclusion that on this area, there was a customs station called Vizianum.

[10] Кокиќ М.,1933,1-10.

[11] Кокиќ.,М.1933,3;Вулиќ Н.,LXXVII,1934,65; Josifovska-Dragojević B.,1982,168(215).

11. A fragment from a lead blockdepicting the Danubian horsemen

The customs station Vizianum as well as the name of the customs officer is present on the votive ara from this area.[12] The localities with the prefix *Biza/Viza* represent sacred areas e.g. a conjunction of two different principles. It can be assumed that this settlement can be seen in the inventory made by Procopius in the Late Antique as well as the Early Byzantine period, probably under the name *Usiana*. For the heterogenous and culturally-ethnical image of the settlements, we can find an evidence in a fragment of a lead plate which represents scenes from the cult of the Danube horsemen and the stela inscription on which there is a term *Bessus* which indicates on a member of the tribe called Bessi, who worked in the surrounding mines[13]. In the inscription of Procopius after Usiana, there is *Besiana* which could represent *vicus metalla*, principally populated with Bessi. This settlement is located near the village of Klechovce, but it may also be in the area of the village of Nikushtak.[14] The surface fragments of ceramics from Klechovce, especially the painted as well as the printed one, show a connection with *Ulpiana*.[15]

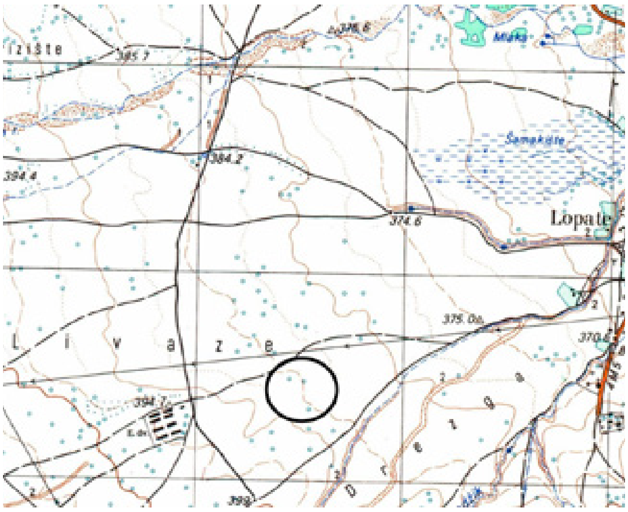
[12] Front: (...) M (ithrae) / Fano Mag (no) / pro sa L(vte) Avg (vstorum) nn (ostrorum) / Apollonides / eorund(em) vect(igalis) / l / (ici) ser(vus) (contra) sc(criptor) stat(ionis) Vizi(ani) / v(otvm) S(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito). On the right side: Gentia/ano et Basso(co(n)s(vlibus) On the left side: A(pollo)n(ide)s Viz(iani)

[13] Stankovska M.,2004,169.

[14] Јовановиќ А.,2007,17-28

[15] Fidanovski S.,1990, T. I - XXXV

12. Coins from the “Crkviste” archeological site



13. Part of the topographical map from the “Drezga” site in the Lopate village

We can see a great number of coins from the locality “Crkvishte” which is not unusual for sacral objects. It seems that the coins from the end of the III and IV century belong to the horizon of a *villa rustica* which was destroyed around the year 380. The existing Early Christian church originated after that. It is interesting that in Klechovce as well as on Drezga, there is an extensive layer of life in the last quarter of the III century.

Was the prosperity of these settlements in the mentioned period an outcome of the resettlement of the people from the abandoned province of Dacia in the year 272?

The finding of the fragment of a lead plate with Danube horsemen from the locality “Crkvishte” is one indication more in that direction of thinking.

Locality “Drezga”, village of Lopate - StatioLamud…

The locality “Drezga” is situated 10 kilometers on the west of Kumanovo and it was very important in the Antique period as a communicational and cul-

14. A Roman ara with an inscription from the area near the Lopate village

tural center, presented by the finding of two ara, one from Lopate and the other from Klechovce, on which Apollonides is mentioned as a dedicant. They were raised in honour of his promotion in the customs office as a *scrutator*, throughout the period of the consuls Gentiano and Basso, according to which, we can tell the year of this event precisely e.g. 211, during the reign of the emperors Caracala and Geta. It is the same time when there was a period of the zenith of worship of the oriental deity called Mitra which was passed by the Roman military and whose devotee was Apollonides himself.[16]

A crisis in the empire during the reforms of Diocletian towards the end of the III century was probably the greatest reason why the intensity of life was transferred to the east side of the area (also, it may be because of the mineral resources) where centers like “Vizianum” and the settlement on the locality “Golemo Gradishte” near the village of Konjuh were developed.

---

16 (Deo)inv(i)c(to) (pro)/ sal(ute) Avg[g(us torvm) n[n (ostrorum duorum) templvm/vetv state/dilapsvm inpendio(!) / svo restitvit/Apollonides eor(undem) ser(vus) sc(rvtator) stat(ionis) Lamvd (...) /Gentiano et Bass(o) co(n)s(ulibus)

REFERENCES

Васиљевиќ-Хаџи Ј., *Кумановска област*, Београд 1909

Вулић Н., *Северна граница античке Македоније*, Булићев зборник (Strena Buliciana), Загреб 1925

Вулић Н., *Дарданци, Глас СКА CXIV(64)*, Београд 1925

Вулић Н., *Антички споменици наше земље*,
Споменик САН LXXI, Београд, 1929
Споменик САН LXXV, Београд, 1933
Споменик САН LXXVII, Београд, 1935
Споменик САН XCVIII, Београд, 1941-1948

Вулић Н., *Географија Јужне Србије у античко доба*, књ. XIX, св.11, Скопље 1938

Evans A.J., *Antiquarian Researches in Iliricum,* Archaeologia Vol.49/1, London 1885

Јовановиќ А., *Римске некрополе на територији Југославије*, Београд 1984

Josifovska – Dragojević B., *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure Vol.VI, Scupi et la Région de Kumanovo*, Beograd 1982

Кокић М., *Нови трагови Митриног култа*, ГСНД XII, Скопље 1933

Кондев Т., *Осоговија*, ГЗ на ПМФ, кн.14 св.2, Скопје 1963

Mikulčić I., *Teritorija Skupa*, ŽA XXI-2, Skopje 1971

Mikulčić I., *TIR K-34*, Ljubljana 1976

Мирковић М., *За станицата Lamud...*, ЖА 10, Скопје 1960

Петров Ѓ., *Материали по изучването на Македония*, София 1896

Санев В., *Извештај од археолошките рекогносцирања во Источна Македонија*, ЗШНМ II, Штип 1961

Stankovska M., *Les nouvelles inscriptions provenant de la Mésie Supérieure*, ŽA, 54, Skopje 2004

Трифуновски Ј., *Кумановска област*, Скопје 1974

Fidanovski S., *Kasnoanticka keramika Ulpiane,* Beograd 1990

SPACES FOR DEPOSITION OF OFFERINGS IN EARLY BYZANTINE CHURCHES: THE POSSIBLE SACRISTIES AT GOLEMO GRADIŠTE, KONJUH

Carolyn S. Snively
Gettysburg College
Gettysburg PA 17325 USA
csnively@gettysburg.edu

This paper is primarily a presentation of two recently excavated rooms in the 6$^{th\ c.}$ Episcopal Basilica at the site of Golemo Gradište, village of Konjuh. The location and furnishings of the spaces raise the possibility that they were used for the deposition of offerings, such as bread and wine for the Eucharist, by members of the congregation as they entered the church. Gifts of bread and wine immediately move the discussion into issues of liturgy. In order to set the church and these specific rooms in context and to avoid entanglement in difficult liturgical issues, some background will be provided and some assumptions stated.

The Late Antique city at Golemo Gradište probably stood near the southeastern boundary of the province of Dardania and thus within the Diocese of Dacia, in the northern half of the Prefecture of Eastern Illyricum. Thus, after 535 AD, it would have fallen under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Justiniana Prima.

The anonymous city at Golemo Gradište was apparently established in the 5th c. and reconstructed with strong fortifications, probably during the first quarter of the 6th c. The Episcopal Basilica occupied a central location in the lower city, on the northern terrace. Built near the middle of the century, two or three decades after the urban renewal, it replaced a structure, probably a large house, from the early 6th c. phase.1 Several unusual features in the basilica have given rise to a hypothesis that toward the middle of the 6th c. the city received a new bishop, who was responsible for the construction of the basilica according to his own idiosyncratic or possibly foreign views.

[1] For the site of Golemo Gradište, see most recently Snively 2017 and Sanev *et al. 2012.*

Background

The performance of the liturgy in Christian churches developed in various ways across the Roman world. No literary sources can definitely be identified as describing the liturgy or the details of its performance in Early Byzantine churches in the Prefecture of Eastern Illyricum, although numerous attempts have been made to attach existing texts to the region.[2] Therefore the only certain evidence for actions connected with liturgy in the provinces of this prefecture consists of the architecture, furniture, and decoration of its churches. That evidence does not paint a unified picture, within a diocese or even individual provinces, although patterns may be observed.

The location of the Prefecture of Eastern Illyricum between East and West, between Constantinople and Rome, and its ecclesiastical status as subject to the Pope in Rome—at least when he could enforce his control over the region—have left open the question whether eastern or western religious practices were followed here.[3] Practices apparently differed between East and West at several points in the liturgy. For example, in Rome at the beginning of the service, the people and the members of the minor clergy entered the church and took their places before the dramatic entrance of the bishop. In Constantinople, however, in the ceremony of the First Entrance the people entered

[2] Mailis 2011, p. 5-16 (history of scholarship), 21-24 (sources). The author discusses the state of the question of *diakonika and then provides a catalogue of sacristies in churches in the provinces of Epirus vetus, Macedonia Prima, Thessalia, Achaia, and Creta, i.e., the provinces of Eastern Illyricum within the modern Greek state. See also Varalis 2008, p. 78-83, and other works cited below.*

[3] Space does not permit a discussion of the amount of influence exerted on church practice through the archbishopric of Justiniana Prima during Justinian's lifetime.

together with or, in fact, probably just after the bishop.[4]

While later sources provide evidence for at least partial reconstruction of the early liturgy in Rome and Constantinople, the situation in Eastern Illyricum remains unknown. The Balkan peninsula is often entirely omitted from discussions of East and West. In terms of liturgy, it is frequently lumped in with the East, i.e., with Constantinople, Asia Minor, Syria, etc. And a note of caution is in order here: the post-iconoclastic sources describe the liturgy in Constantinople as structured around a series of appearances of the clergy from the sanctuary behind the iconostasis and their returns to that hidden space. In contrast, a series of grand processions through the nave and frequently through the entire length of the nave had shaped the Early Byzantine liturgy. As Mathews points out, the relatively open basilica plan of the 5th and 6th centuries and the more closed central plan of Middle Byzantine times reflect this development of the liturgical performance.[5] Furthermore, the arrangement of Early Byzantine churches in Constantinople differs significantly from the arrangement of churches in Eastern Illyricum, to such an extent that Mathews, followed by Robert Taft, argues that the performance of the liturgy, not necessarily the spoken words but the actions accompanying them, also differed significantly between Constantinople and Eastern Illyricum.[6]

One of the processions through the nave, mentioned above, takes us directly into the issue of deposition of gifts. Christians made all kinds of gifts to the church, e.g., alms for the poor, vessels of precious metal, or stretches of mosaic pavement. Undoubtedly unrestricted gifts of money were the ones most popular with the clergy. Our focus here, however, returns to the mundane offerings of wine and bread by members of the congregation. In the West apparently such offerings were deposited directly on the main altar of a church by the members of the congregation, although the details and whether or not an actual offertory procession occurred remain not only uncertain but much disputed.[7] In Constantinople, however, the deacons brought the bread and wine to the altar from the *skeuophylakion, a separate room or building outside the church, where presumably they had been deposited by the faithful before the service. No evidence has been found for a procession of the faithful.*[8] In the Eastern Orthodox liturgy, this practical transfer by the deacons of an appropriate amount of bread and wine for the Eucharist developed into the Great Entrance or the Entrance of the Mysteries, probably in the post-Iconoclastic period.

In contrast to the church plans found in Constantinople and Rome that usually do not have western annexes, church plans in Eastern Illyricum very frequently include rooms or groups of rooms attached to and accessible from the narthex or occasionally the atrium. Features such as tables, benches, containers for liquids, drains, and fireplaces may appear in the rooms. Thus an argument can be made that members of the Christian community brought their gifts of bread and wine to the church and deposited them in a designated space near the entrance. During the service an appropriate amount of bread and wine from among the gifts was moved to the sanctuary in preparation for communion. Recent scholarly opinion holds that the evidence is insufficient to call those rooms—if indeed their function can be definitely identified—*diakonika. Jean-Pierre Sodini and more recently Athanassios Mailis refer to them as sacristies.*[9]

The architectural plans of many 5th and 6th century churches in these regions[10] demonstrate the importance of at least one room at the west side of a church, accessible from the narthex and without indication of a specific function such as baptism. The Central Basilica (also known as the Synagogue Basilica) at Stobi illustrates the measures taken to create such a room. The basilica was inserted into a narrow space between a street and an existing residence, without possibility of an annex to north or south of the narthex. The builders reduced the size of the courtyard of the atrium and shifted it from the axis of the basilica to the north, in order to make space for a room that opened to the west from the south part of the narthex.

A few basilicas have no western annexes. Frequently, however, a complex of two or three rooms are found, of which one may have an apse. Annexes may appear on the north or south side of the church, often in a roughly symmetrical arrangement. Sodini's detailed discussion of the annexes of Basilicas A, B,

---

[4] Mathews 1962, p. 75-77; Mathews 1971, p. 140, 143, 145.

[5] Mathews 1971, p. 178-179.

[6] Mathews 1971, p. 5, 107, 108, 111, 120; Taft 1975, p. 33-34.

[7] Taft 1975, p. 13: "The evidence for such a procession in the West is indisputable." Yarnold 1992, p. 231: "The offertory: In the fourth century the practice of earlier times was continued: the bishop 'offered' the gifts 'offered' by the faithful. The people themselves brought their gifts up to the altar, but there is at this time no evidence whether or not there was a formal offertory procession, or at what point in the Eucharist (or before it) this offering took place."

[8] Taft 1975, p. 11, 16-17; Wybrew 1992, p. 154-155.

[9] Mailis 2011, p. 128; Sodini, Kolokotsas 1984, p. 150.

[10] The provinces probably most relative for comparative material for Golemo Gradište are Macedonia prima, Macedonia secunda, Epirus nova, Dardania, Moesia, and Dacia mediterranea.

C, and D at Byllis shows two examples of symmetrical rooms at north and south of the narthex (C, D), a two-room complex southwest of the narthex (A), and a fairly large room only indirectly accessible from the south side of the narthex in the episcopal basilica (B).[11] While the need for an annex or annexes was clearly an issue in many churches, the choice of location may have been *ad hoc or practical rather than dictated by a rigid rule. So far, no clear pattern has emerged of the existence or arrangement of annexes according to province, urban or rural location, episcopal churches vs. others, etc., although similarities may be observed in a region or in a particular city.*

The western annexes of the Episcopal Basilica

In the Episcopal Basilica on the terrace at Golemo Gradište, doorways at the north and south ends of the narthex gave access to rooms that in turn led to complexes of annexes along the north and south sides of the basilica. Two doorways in the west wall of the narthex led into a row of five rooms located west of the narthex and its annexes **(Fig. 1).**[12] The sole entrance to the basilica from the west in its final phase was through a narrow doorway into Room 5, a small room serving as a corridor from the outer door to the narthex. South of Room 5 and accessible from it lay Room 4 (**Fig. 2)**, a rectangular space with benches built against all four walls. Near the east wall two stone blocks were set into the mortar floor; near them were a ca. 0.70 m long column fragment and a piece of a stone plaque or table top **(Fig. 3).**[13]

From the narthex a second doorway in the west wall led into Room 6, from which one could enter Room 7 to the north (**Fig. 4).** The southeast corner of Room 7 was divided off by a narrow wall and two stone slabs (**Fig. 5**). Within this stone-paved enclosure (Room 7b), which could have been entered only by skinny individuals, parts of a round marble table top and fragments of a small broken storage vessel were found. A pithos occupied the northwest corner of the larger Room 7a, and a fire pit (or possibly a drain) was located beside the east wall (**Fig. 6**). A section of the west wall of the room had been blocked up; in an earlier phase it may have been a doorway from the exterior.

Although the blocked doorway in Room 7 indicates some rearrangement of space and possibly also of function, both Rooms 7 and 4 appear to have been in use during the final phase of the church. They join numerous annexes whose location at the west end of churches and whose installations suggest but cannot prove that the annexes were used for the deposition of gifts by the faithful members of the congregation.

[11] Sodini 2004; more generally Sodini 1984.

[12] Five rooms have been excavated so far. A sixth room may be located to the north of Room 7. At present it appears that the west walls of these five or six rooms mark the western extent of the basilica.

[13] A taller, thinner column with a squared top was also found nearby; a second column with a squared top appeared in the northeast corner of the room.

Bibliography

Mailis, A., 2011. *The Annexes at the Early Christian Basilicas of Greece (4th-6th c.): Architecture and Function (BAR, 2312),* Oxford.

Mathews, T. F., 1962. *"An Early Roman chancel arrangement and its liturgical uses," in Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana 38, 71-95.*

Mathews, T F., 1971. *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy,* University Park and London.

Sanev, G., et al., 2012. "Excavations on the Northern Terrace at Golemo Gradište, Konjuh, 2007-2010,*" Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica 20, 347-364.*

Snively, C. S., 2017. *"Golemo Gradište at Konjuh: A New City or a Relocated One?" in New Cities in Late Antiquity: Documents and Archaeology,* E. Rizos (ed.),Turnhout, Belgium, 205-219.

Sodini, J-P., and K. Kolokotsas, 1984. *Aliki*, 2: *La basilique double* (Études Thasiennes 10), Athens and Paris.

Sodini, J-P., 1984. "Les dispositifs liturgiques des basiliques paléochrétiennes en Grèce et dans les Balkans," in *Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e byzantina* 31, 441-473.

Sodini, J-P., 2004. "Les annexes liturgiques des basiliques de Byllis," in *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'Antiquité* 4, Paris, 432-446.

Taft, R. F., 1975. *The Great Entrance. The History of the Transfer of Gifts and Other Pre-anaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom,* Rome 1975.

Varalis, I., 2008. “Τα προσκτίσματα των παλαιοχριστιανικών εκκλησίων,” in Προσκτίσματα των Παλαιοχριστιανικών, Βυζαντινών, και Μεταβυζαντινών Ναών, Thessaloniki, 70-83.

Wybrew, H., 1992. “The Byzantine Liturgy from the Apostolic Constitutions to the Present Day,” in *The Study of Liturgy, revised edition, L*ondon & NY, 252-263.

Yarnold, E. J., 1992. “The Liturgy of the Faithful in the Fourth and Early Fifth Centuries,” in The Study of Liturgy, revised edition, London & NY, 230-244.

Summary

Recent excavations in the Episcopal Basilica in the anonymous city at Golemo Gradište, Konjuh, have revealed two annex rooms that might be identified as sacristies. Both rooms are located at the west side of the church and include installations that could have been used for the deposition of gifts of bread and wine by members of the congregation, as they entered the church. No literary sources can definitely be identified as describing the liturgy or the details of its performance in Early Byzantine churches in the Prefecture of Eastern Illyricum. Therefore the only certain evidence for actions connected with liturgy in the provinces of this prefecture consists of the architecture, furniture, and decoration of its churches. One issue has been the identification of annex rooms sometimes called diakonika but in more recent scholarship known as sacristies. So far, no clear pattern has emerged of the existence or arrangement of annexes according to province, urban or rural location, function of churches, or other category, although similarities may be observed within a region or in a particular city.

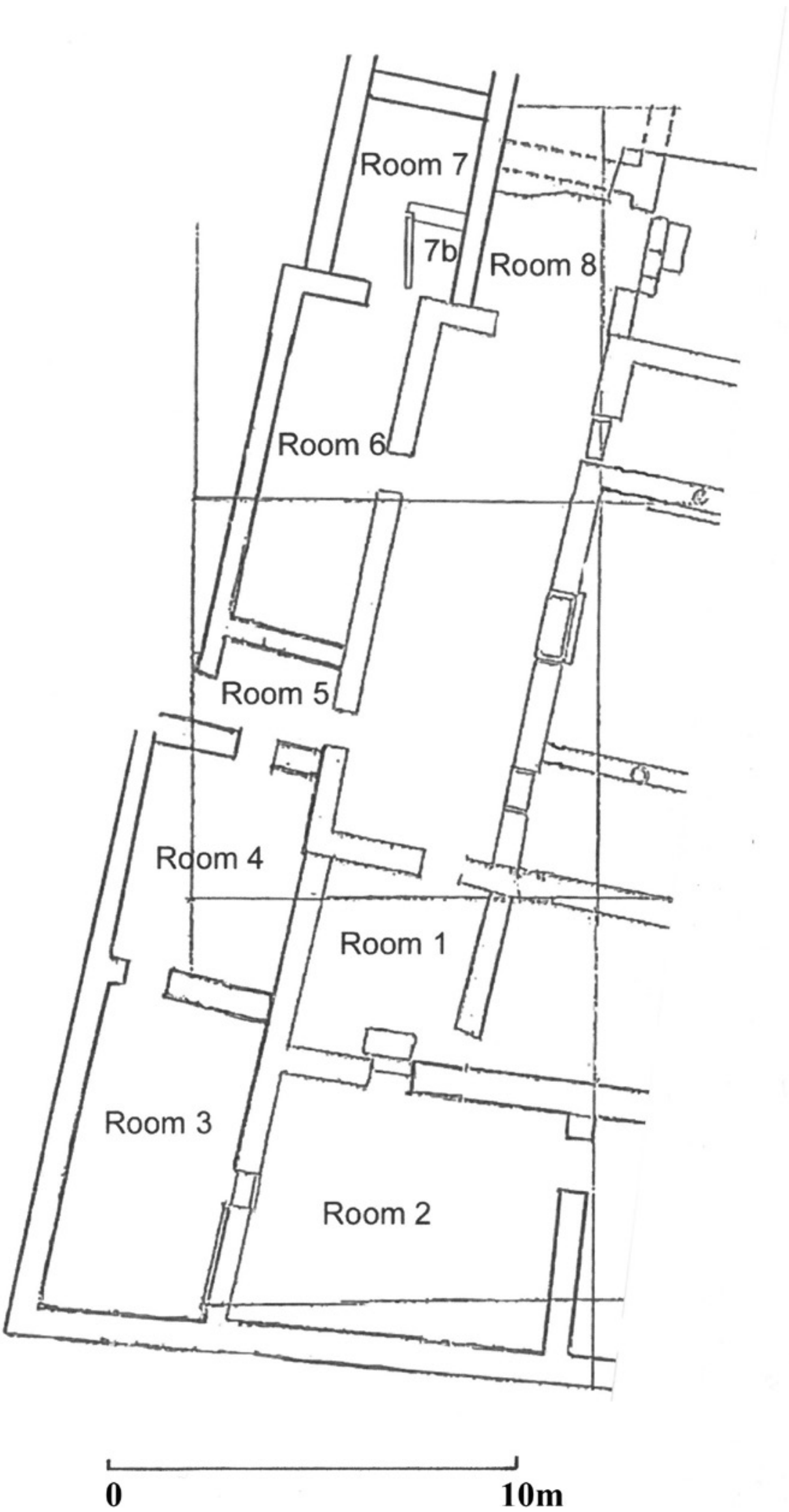


Fig. 1. Plan of the west end of the Episcopal Basilica at Golemo Gradište, Konjuh, showing annex Rooms 1 to 7. North is at the top.

Fig. 2. Room 4; view from the north.

Fig. 3. Room 4; view from the west. Note the two slabs set into the floor, the column and column fragment, and the fragment of a stone plaque.

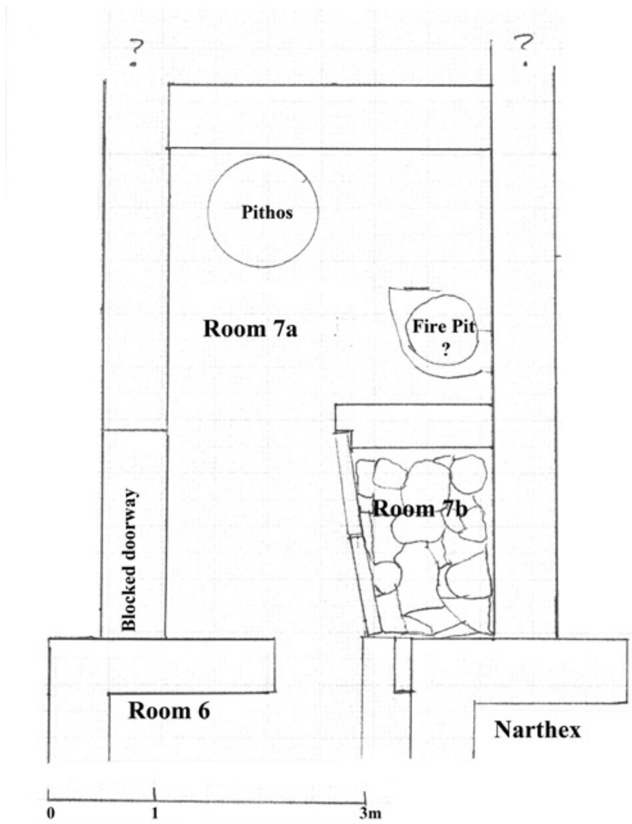


Fig. 4. Plan of Room 7. North is at the top.

Fig. 5. Room 7b and the south part of Room 7a; view from the west.

Fig. 6. Room 7 and the other rooms to the south; view from the north.

THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION IN SCUPI REPRESENTED THROUGH THE ELEMENTS OF THE LARGE BASILICA WITH ATRIUM

Marina Oncevska Todorovska

Museum of the city of Skopje, Macedonia

With the revival in the 4th and the first half of the 5th c. A.D., the Balkan cities gradually achieved their final Late Antique look, which can be observed through the sporadic construction of various luxurious public structures in the urban areas and numerous settlements of a rural nature. Although the cities were visibly changed from the Roman period, they became prosperous centers with episcopal churches, mansions and other churches as well[1].

Unlike the 4th c. A.D., when Christianity was acknowledged as a new religion in Antiquity and carved a path through the Mediterranean region, in the period of the late 5th and 6th c. A.D. were filled with building of a huge number of churches. By gaining quite a few followers, Christianity soon became a political manifestation of the state. The internal division of space within the churches functioned to ensure a symbolic guide for the liturgical procedure, forming space for each of the persons involved in the Christian ritual. Thanks to the engineering innovations of the Constantinian era and the influence of the turmoil caused by the dogmatic disagreements about the true nature of Christ, the road to new rules in church architecture in the eastern part of the Empire in the 5th c. A.D. was wide open. The ratio among liturgical space, iconography and the Christian ritual itself, incorporated in Late Roman theology as an intermediary between God and mankind, allowed for constant transformation from the ancient world to Byzantium[2]. In the continental part of the Balkans, during the 5th c. A.D. churches building and development were more pronounced, with monumental churches being constructed even in the village communities and several churches simultaneously were built in the coastal cities[3]. All of this were influenced by development in the eastern Mediterranean region all the way to North Italy, where Milan was still the center, and the reciprocal influence between West and East was normal due to continuous intercommunication[4]. In the provinces to the late 6th c. A.D., by exchanging architectural concepts, church engineering acquired its own characteristics, which were represented through a clearly defined style or a variation of the same[5]. For example, the building of basilicas with galleries, which were common along the Aegean coastline in the 5th c. A.D., was starting to decline in the Constantinopolitan areas before 530, but they continued to be built in the Balkan provinces[6]. The sum of elements of different origins is a characteristic

[1] Sodini J.-P., 2007, pp. 141, 311-336; Snively C., 2009, pp. 37-44.

[2] Caraher W.R., 2003, pp. 249-250; Jarak M., 1988, pp. 74-76.

[3] Snively C., 2009, pp. 37, 39, 41-43.

[4] Krauthajmer R., Ćurčić S., 2008, pp. 117-118, the Greek ports on the Aegean Sea East coast were in contact with Constantinople and trade centers along Asia Minor, Ephesus, Antioch, Gaza, even to Alexandria. Corinth had close relations with Ravenna and Milan, but also with Constantinople and the centers of the Asian coast. Trade links were strengthened by the ecclesiastical. Since the mid-5th c. A.D., the Roman metropolis has appropriated the Balkans, including Greece, as their spiritual possession, in fact, they were subordinate to the Milanese bishopric in the last decades of the 4th c. A.D.

[5] Krauthajmer R., Ćurčić S., 2008, p. 94, The interweaving of the development in the great architectural centers began around 380, it reached the peak throughout the Empire in the 5th c. A.D., while in the provinces it lasted until the late 6th c. A.D.; Filipova S., 2013, pp. 425-429; Petković S., 2011, pp. 271-273.

[6] Krauthajmer R., Ćurčić S., 2008, p. 268, while in the western part of the Empire, basilicas with galleries, which were previously rare, spread through the conquests of the Justinian›s army.

of the church architecture in the provinces from the period of Justinian I, so different influences in eight discovered churches in Caricin Grad from the 6th c. A.D. are very surprising[7]. The few Constantinopolitan churches were highly influential in a church architecture in the southern Balkans, including Greece in the 5th c. A.D. They usually had an atrium surrounded by porticos. In some of them once entered through the *propylaeum*, the apse was of the Constantinopolitan type (three sides on the exterior), and they were built of brick. All of these features became a common part of church architecture in the southern Balkans in the late 5th and 6th c. A.D[8]. Atrium basilicas were also discovered in Bulgaria and Greece, although the atria were actually large courtyards with a three-sided colonnade and usually were placed on the west side right next to the narthex and through the nartex to the church's main aisle[9].

In the period of 5th and 6th c. A.D. in the Republic of Macedonia, quite a large number of churches were built in Stobi, Scupi, Heraclea, Bargala and Lichnidos[10]. All these churches contributed to continuous life in the Late Antique cities, and the large number of built churches shows how deeply rooted Christianity was in this region at the time. The three-aisle basilicas with an apses at the east end and a narthex at the west are the most common type of the early Christian churches in this region, situated between East and West, which simultaneously shows the clear mutually connections[11]. Few churches in the Dardanian region in Republic of Macedonia were explored, exactly around Skopje and Kumanovo, which reflect the church construction of the 6th c. A.D[12].

Characteristics of the Large Basilica with atrium in Scupi

The early Christian era in Scupi was confirmed by the discovery of the early Christian basilica with baptistery[13], and the new religion was represented through the attendance of bishops at church councils[14]. The Large Early Christian basilica with atrium was built in the beginning of the 6th c. A.D., in a city quarter of Scupi, where a large Roman bath had been previously located[15]. (Fig.1) The construction of the basilica on the top of a thermal structure was carried out in the south part of the quarter, and at the time was specific to build a church over an ancient bath. This was probably done in order to ease the development of waterworks for the structure's needs. The basilica has a west-east orientation, and the structure was adjusted to the street network in that part of the city[16]. The basilica was entered from the west side through a walkway on the cardo street[17]. The basilica

---

[7] Кондиќ В., Поповиќ В., 1977, pp. 169-170; Krauthajmer R., Ćurčić S., 2008, p. 273, note 27; Ivanisevic V., 2016, pp. 121-122.

[8] Krauthajmer R., Ćurčić S., 2008, pp. 273-274; Борисов Б., 1988, p. 45

[9] Petrova S., 2015, p. 22, in Philippi Basilica A, in Sandanski Basilicas No.1 and No.2, Basilica in Mikrevo and Basilica No.1 in Nikopolis ad Nestum. Basilica No.4 in Sandanski has an atrium on the south side; Krauthajmer R, Ćurčić S., 2008, p. 102, the atrium is represented as an integral part from the style of the churches in the 5th c. A.D. in the nearby regions of the Aegean, 104, also in Constantinople in St. John of Stoudios from the ‹450s; Varalis Y.D., www.dimosagis.gr/2627; Caraher W.R., 2003, pp.95-96 and note 132 (the following were mentioned: Stamatas, Aigosthena, Daphnousia, Brauron, Athens – Asclepieion, Korinth –Kraneion, Korinth –Skoutelas, Lechaion – port, Kiato, Epidauros, Argos – Aspis, Hermione, Olympia, Demetrias A, Nea Anchialos – A, B, D, Nikopolis – A, B, D, E).

[10] Алексова Б., Лилчиќ В., 1997, pp. 11-38; Алексова Б., 2003, pp. 7-40; Кораќевиќ Д., 2002, pp. 124-136; Oнчевска Тодоровска М., 2009, pp. 97-111; Микулчиќ И., 2003, pp. 116-147; Микулчиќ И., 2007, pp. 98-129; Манева Е., 1987, pp. 127-133; Белдедовски З., 1990, pp. 31-42; Белдедовски З., 2003, pp. 207-223; Нацев Т., 2008, pp. 74-82; Битракова Грозданова В., Кузман П., 1998, pp. 3-16; Bitrakova Grozdanova V., 1975, pp. 46-86, for the early Christian basilicas on the shore of Ohrid Lake; Bitrakova Grozdanova V., 2009, pp. 23-36; Filipova S., 2010, pp. 129-132, listing basilicas in Macedonia in the 6th c. A.D.; Filipova S., 2013, pp. 425-426.

[11] Ochał-Czarnowicz A., 2010, 189-206, pp. 189-191; Filipova S., 2013, p. 426.

[12] Snively C., 2011, pp. 197-201.

[13] Кораќевиќ Д., 2002, pp. 124-136; Гарашанин М., Кораќевиќ Д., 1979, pp. 31-45.

[14] Микулчиќ И., 1999, p. 306, where he lists bishops of the Dardan episcopate Scupi, noted in acts of the church council in Serdica from 347, in the letters of Emperor Leon to Pope Gelasius in 492, the successor of Scupi was sanctified in 535, the new city Justiniana Prima, as the seat of the Illyric Prefecture, with a note 1 (J.D.Mansi VIII, 13) and note 2 (A.Evans 1995, 145; Proc. De aed IV, I, 17)

[15] Oнчевска Тодоровска М., 2011, pp. 365-379.

[16] The construction of churches on thermal objects was carried out for various reasons, that is, for the use of water pipes or it was linked by other motives, including religious ones. Теофилов Р., 2007, pp. 94-101, on the Grand Spa Complex in Serdica (Sofia) was built the rotunda St. George; The Church S. Maria degli Angeli e dei Martiri was built on a part of the Diocletian Baths in Rome, where the space of the frigidarium was suited and in one of the apses was placed the entrance of the church; also in the church was placed a meridian line / a kind of sunny clock, which was intended to check the Gregorian calendar, the walls height in the frigidarium suited for measuring the sunbeam during the year (see: Serlorenzi M, Laurenti S., Terme di Diocleziano S. Maria degli Angeli, Roma 2002).

[17] Oнчевска Тодоровска М., 2009, pp. 97-111; Oнчевска Тодоровска М., 2011, pp. 365-379.

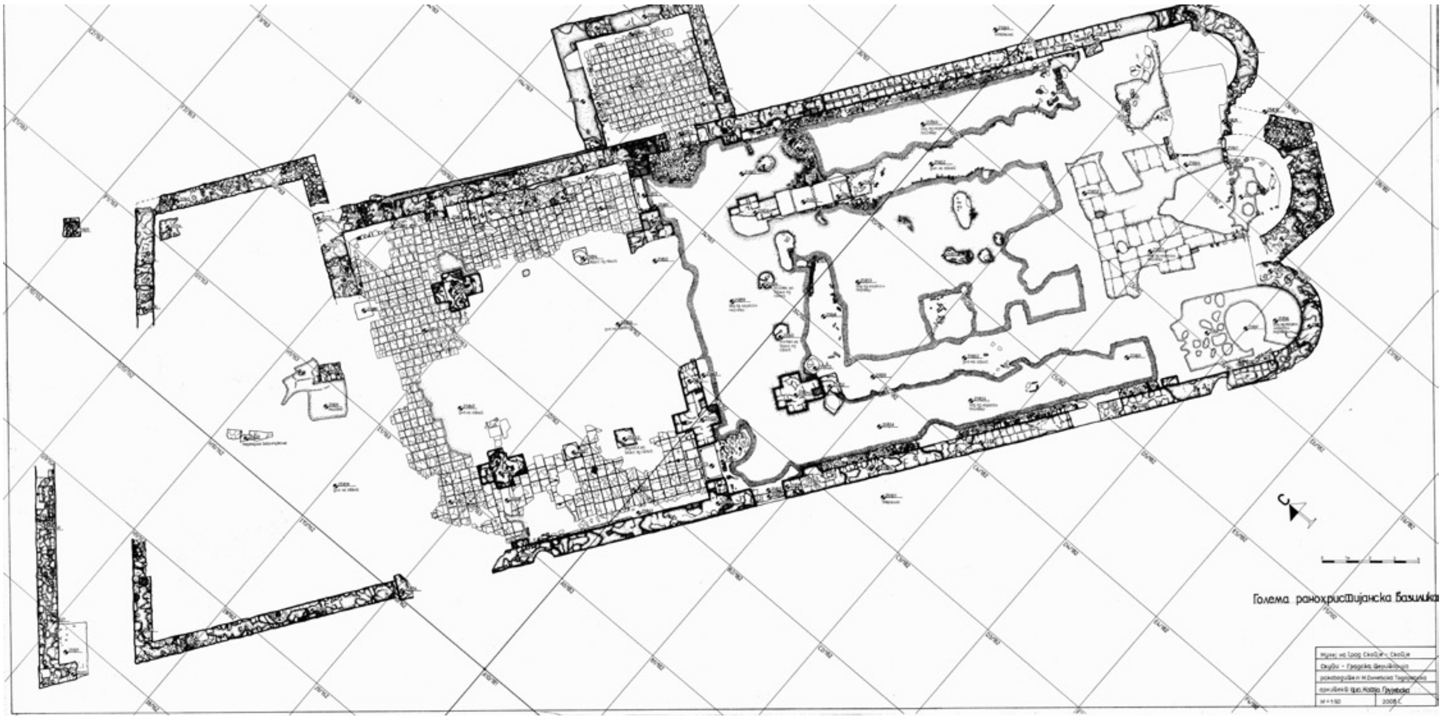


Fig.1 Large Basilica with atrium in Scupi

is three-aisled, with a narthex, atrium and two entry rooms at the west side. It also has an additional room on the north side of the narthex and a still not fully uncovered room on the south side of the basilica. At the east end, the basilica has three apses – the one in the middle is three-sided, while the other two have a semicircular shapes[18]. (Fig. 2) In the history of early Christian church architecture, the semicircular apses precede the three-sided ones[19]. These polygonal apses are common in Constantinopolitan churches from the 5th c. A.D., such as the church of St. John of Stoudios, and they can also be seen in the 6th c. A.D. in churches such as St. Sergius and Bacchus and St. Irene[20]. As the churches from Macedonia Prima do not have polygonal apses before the 7th and the 8th c. A.D., according to Snively this characteristic could not have come in Macedonia Secunda from the south[21]. Most of the apses in the churches in the Macedonian region have semicircular apses on the inside and outside with rare exceptions where the outside of the apse is either four-sided or trapezoid[22]. There are only a handful of churches with three-sided or rectangular central apses on the territory of the Republic of Macedonia. According to Filipova, the three-apses churches are more frequent in Palestine than in the other parts of the Empire. Later, in the 5th c. A.D. this model of churches came to the Macedonian province through Constantinople and Justinian's engineering activities, like in the region north of Caricin Grad in the 6th c. A.D[23].

On the west side of the basilica at Scupi, there was a great atrium (16,10 m x 12,00 m), whose width is identical to that of the basilica itself. The atrium has an interior triangular colonnade, with bricked cruciform columns at each of the corners. (Fig. 3) Two stone columns on each side of the colonnade were probably connected by arches on, while the stone columns stood on square bases. The atrium floor was paved with massive terracotta plaques. Beside the north wall of the atrium a massive stone stairway was found. The stairway led to a gallery or second floor construction that probably stretched from the atrium to the basilica nave. The basilicas with galleries were probably standard for a city in the Bosphorus like St. John of Stoudios church, and similar churches were found on the shore of the Aegean Sea, ranging from Antalya and Thessaloniki to Ravenna[24]. The atrium

---

[18] The walls of the northern and southern apse are wide 0,80 m, the walls in the center 1,15 m. The middle apse is three-sided from the outside, the sides are 1,80 m long and the central part is 3,95 m long.

[19] Faber A., 1992, pp. 151-162, which is thought to be a result of the use of semicircular apses throughout the long ancient architecture.

[20] Steward C., 1954, p. 64, fig. on p. 64.

[21] Snively C., 2005, p. 221.

[22] Filipova S., 2010, p. 130, states that such apses were noticed in the rotund in Konjuh, the small basilica in Heraklea, the church in Tudince, the basilica near Crkviste/village of Zelenikovo. The Polyconhal church of Plaoshnik and the Great Basilica in Heraclea have large apses, fixed with counterfoils.

[23] Filipova S., 2013, p. 426 and note 11.

[24] Krauthajmer R., Ćurčić S., 2008, pp. 103-105, the churches of the 5th c. A.D. St. John of Studios and St. Mary in Calvary, as well as St. Maria of Vlacherna, built

Fig.2 Three apses of the basilica

from this Scupi basilica belongs to the three-sided atrium type[25], that can be seen in the Southern Basilica in Caricin Grad, where the eastern part of the atrium serves the role of a second narthex. These types of churches were common in the Balkans at that time[26]. The other most widespread atrium type is the four-sided atrium like that in the Episcopal basilica at Caricin Grad[27]. The same three-sided atrium type of the Scupi basilica can be noticed in basilicas A and D in Nea Anchialos, basilica in Dion, basilica in Nesebar, and in the A, B and D basilicas in Nicopolis[28]. The presence of atria in the Balkans is rare, except for Caricin Grad where all the churches have atrium. Only a few examples of three-sided apses have been found in Macedonia: in the small church at the archeological site Gradok – MarkoviKuli/ Chanishte in the vicinity of Prilep, in the baptistery of the Episcopal Basilica at Bargala, and in the three churches in Krupishte; these churches have different ground plans so the presence of three-sided apses cannot be linked to a certain type of basilica[29]. Snively points out that in the provinces of Macedonia I and II atrium became common in the large city churches[30], while during the Justinian time they were added to older churches as well[31]. According to her, we can clearly see influence on Macedonian churches from the north

by Justin I (518-527), are representatives of that type of churches in Constantinople.

25 Ončevska Todorovska M., 2015, pp. 173-194.

26 For the Atrium in the Eastern Christian architecture: Caraher W.R., 2003, pp. 94-104; Ochał-Czarnowicz A., 2010, pp. 191-193.

27 Чанева-Дечевска Н., 1999, pp. 12, 21, 84, according to the author, the three - porticos atriums are characteristic of Greece, while in the Balkans were found only one portico, as the case of Scupi basilica; Ivanišević V., 2016, pp. 109-110, 112, fig. 5.

28 Caraher W.R., 2003, pp. 109, fig. 5 (Nikopolis, Bazilika B), 302, Plan 57 (Nea Anchialos, BasilicaA), 304, Plan 66, 68 (Nikoplois, Basilicas A, D); Krauthajmer R., Ćurčić S., 2008, Sl.75 (Nea Anchialos, Larissa, Basilica A); Varalis Y., 2008, pp. 99-112, Fig. 1 (Epidaurus, basilica), Fig. 5 (Nikopolis Basilica B); Bobchev S., 1973, 27,Form. 47 (Nessebar, Old Metropolis); Hoddinot R.F., 1963, p. 124-125; Чанева-Дечевска Н., 1999, Fig.56a (Nessebar, Old Metropolis); Лилчиќ В., 2003, Fig.28 (Dion, Basilica).

29 Лилчиќ В., Илијоска В., 1997, pp. 21-38; Чаусидис Н., 1992, pp. 213-226.

30 Snively C., 2005, p. 219.

31 Filipova S., 2013, p. 426, with note 25.

Fig.3 Atrium of the basilica

through a short presbytery, a three-sided or polygonal apse on the exterior, while single-nave churches were unusual[32]. Speaking about the style and the period in which the Scupi Basilica with atrium was built, there are great similarities with the Basilica at Konjuh[33].

In the context of the connection between the church as a building and its purpose for spiritual enlightenment, the area within the atrium and the narthex, with the accentuated passage, through the doors, portals and gates in the context of sacred space, provide a sense of connection between the profane world outside the church and the sacred space of the Christian ritual. In this space, the observer was prepared for the experience of the church iconography and the connection between the sacred and the profane; as a matter of fact, they enabled a visual and spiritual experience among those who attended the liturgy[34].

Tribelon

In the Scupi Basilica with atrium, the aisles were divided from the narthex by a tribelon, in other words it is a triple entrance with arches formed by two columns[35]. (Fig. 4). From the tribelon were preserved the circular bases of the two columns placed at the same level as the floor[36], while the columns, broken into a few pieces, were found fallen next to them[37]. This

[32] Snively C.,2005, pp. 219, 220, where she exposes greater influence from the province of Dacia Mediterranean than from the province of Macedonia Secunda.

[33] Snively C., 2005, p. 215, plan fig.5-7; Snively C., 2011, pp. 190 - 193, 200.

[34] Caraher W.R., 2003, pp. 94-97.

[35] For the term „tribelon": Armstrong G.T., 1999, pp. 798.

[36] Column of the tribelon, MCS (Museum of the City of Skopje), Entry No. 888-17/A, column dimensions: saved length 1,70 m, diameter 0,55 m; dimensions of the cross in relief: 0,76/0,61 m x 0,38 m. The bases of both columns of the tribelon have a diameter of 0,62 m. In the middle of the bases were preserved small circular holes for casting lead (with a diameter of 0,11 m) to connect the stone from the base to the one of the columns.

[37] The tribelon of the Scupi basilica can be compared with the column of the tribelon in Heraclea basilica A. in: Лилчиќ В., 2002, p. 720/VII.79.15, and Николајевиќ-Стојковиќ И., 1957, pp. 36-38, for the basilica in Heraclea, where Latin type crosses were performed on impost capitals from pillars of tribelon, Basilica A (Small basilica), beginning of the 6th c. A.D. (citation: М.Грбиќ 1938, Уметнички преглед 11, бр.8).

Fig.4 The tribelon columns

became a part of the architectural style of the Aegean region through the example of the church of Acheiropoietos in Thessaloniki[38]. The tribelon columns in the Scupi basilica are especially important because of the relief decoration with large Latin crosses in relief standing on the celestial sphere[39]. (Fig. 5) There are different theories with regard to the tribelon's structure[40]. In the Early Christian churches, due to its characteristic symmetry, the tribelon was used to create semi-open connections to additional rooms[41]. Despite the large number of tribelons built, including in Basilica A in Nea Anchialos, which is a typical example of a church from the 5th c. A.D.[42], not so many tri-

[38] Krauthajmer R., Ćurčić S., 2008, pp. 99, 121, dated to the 450-470; Raptis K.T., 2016, 487, Acheiropoietos was originally erected as a Roman-type basilica without galleries during the last decade of the fifth or the first decade of the 6th c. A.D. (ca. 500); Raptis K.T., 2014, 101, originally founded during the 2nd half of the 5th c. A.D.

[39] Лилчиќ В., 2003, regarding the motive: pp. 20/fig.3 and 70/fig.134, an example from an early 6th c. A.D. diptych is pointed out, where Archangel Michael holds a sphere and a cross, 68/fig.124, shows a detail of a coin where Constance I (337-350) holds a sphere in his hand, 70/Fig.132 and 133, details of other diptytes, with description of various names of the ball that was once Nike/Victoria, and then a cross, as globus cruciger, celestial sphere, earth globe; An example of crosses on pillars in the early medieval church: (Musin A., 2012, 61-94, Fig. 12, Theotokos basilica, Ephesus, Turkey, 10th–11th c. A.D., cross-shaped cavities for reliquary-crosses).

[40] Sturm J.P., 2017, p. 30. The formula of the «three arches» is well known throughout the Empire from the triumphal arches and gates (portae triumphales), like the Arch of Constantine and the ark of Septimius Severus in Rome or the Trajan›s Ark in Timgrad (Algeria), the Arch of Galerius in Thessaloniki which merged the palace with the so-called Rotonda, and were all built in the glory of the great war victories or the death of any of the emperors. In this context, Diocletian is particularly important choosing a triumphal gate in the shape of a tribelon in his residence in Split. The connection between these Roman imperial buildings and the tribelon in the early Christian basilicas through the common form can be presented as an expression of the visual connection between the emperor or the bishop and the moments from everyday life important for celebration; (Junker H., Der Friedhof südlich der Cheopspyramide Ostteil, Giza, Vol.11, Vienna, 1953, pp.92-109).

[41] Petrova S., 2015, p. 167, where is stated that there is a tribelon in Basilica No. 3 in Partikópolis and that is a common element among the early Christian basilicas in Greece, but rare in Bulgaria.

[42] Krauthajmer R., Curcic S., 2008, p. 122, Fig. 75, The Basilica of Thessaly has the features of the 5th c. A.D.:

Fig. 5 Latin cross in relief standing on the celestial sphere

belons with relief ornaments are preserved, like that in the Scupi basilica. We have a similar example of a cross in relief on a tribelon column in Caricin Grad as well[43]. This type of cross can be seen in a different type of architectural church ornaments in this period, e.g. the altar rail in a church in the village of Nebregovo in the vicinity of Prilep built, in the first half of the 6th c. A.D[44]. The Latin cross is a common motif in the early Christian era and was shown on column capitals, altar rails, pediments, and altar pillars in numerous churches in Macedonia[45].

Altar area

The altar area, the *presbyterium*, was derived from a space of 6 m x 6 m. The floor was made of stone slabs, which differentiated this area from the surrounding plaster floor in the nave. Despite the fact that the eastern part of the basilica was mostly destroyed, there are preserved traces that indicate the existence of a chancel screen, i.e. little stone columns with small capitals on the top and small spherical elements as parts of the rail. Nevertheless it is difficult to determine the form and type of the presbytery[46]. (Fig. 6)

Capital from the altar screen

During the 5th and 6th c. A.D., art was generally focused on decorating religious buildings and stone carving, so creating architectural plastic art in early Christian churches became the greatest artistic achievement. Hence, the capitals are one of the most representative church elements; they are direct descendants of the Antique Corinthian and Ionic columns, while impost capitals became the trademark of the early Christian period. The church elements from different types of decorative architectural plastic art experienced transformations throughout the centuries, which led to the development of certain stylis-

a crucified transept, parapets, a sacristy or a gift room, a narthex, a baptistery, a rounded apse and a tribelon.

[43] Николајевиќ-Стојковиќ И., 1957, p. 54, Fig. 129, a relief cross of tribelon in the basilica in the Caricin Grad (citation: Мано Зиси, 1954-55, Старинар н.с. 5-6, p. 169, Fig. 20).

[44] Лилчиќ В., 2002, pp. 947, 1084 and a picture on p.1083.

[45] Филипова С., 1997, p. 63, mentioned: church of Virgin Eleusa in Vodoča, Davina Kula near Chucher, Stobi, Manastirishte-Nebregovo near Prilep and Bargala.

[46] Лилчиќ В., 2002, pp. 532, 534, 536.

Fig. 6 The altar area

tic characteristics. The architectural plastic art in this basilica in Scupi, preserved in just a few elements, reveals certain similarities with the decoration of other basilicas in Macedonia from that period. The style of the majority of capitals in this period is inspired by the Antique period, transformed into a whole new style, so the capitals covered with acanthus leaves, the leaves look sharp and have an almost barbed look. From the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 6th c. A.D. the transformation of the capitals can probably be seen most explicitly in the churches of St. Sophia in Constantinople and of San Vitale in Ravenna[47]. The capitals decorated with lace-like ornaments and the tendency of introducing a light and shadow effect were adapted in the Corinthian capitals as well, which in the 6th c. A.D. got a shortened and edged *cone*, and the acanthus became a pattern that spread over the entire surface of the capitals[48]. There are a number of different capital variations in that period, including the small capitals from the altar screens, which can be especially rare and luxurious[49]. The capital in the Scupi basilica is small and, according to where it was found, it belongs to the composition with columns and parapet slabs from the altar barrier[50]. (T. I/1) The upper part of the capital is decorated with volutes at the edges, merged together with small leaves, while the lower part is filled with larger acanthus leaves. The capital's ornaments, according Lilčić typology, can be classified as Late-Antique Corinthian capitals, type 1/D/1/g – composite capitals and this type of capitals with the so-called 'windblown acanthus foliage', were popular at the beginning of the 6th c. A.D [51]. In terms of the arrangement of the decorative

[47] Kitzinger E., 1977, pp. 76-79.

[48] Филипова С., 2006, pp. 191-193.

[49] Škegro A., 2010, pp. 237-239, Fig. 9-e, an overview from reconstruction of the altar barrier in the basilica in Han Potoci near Mostar, in context of the analyzes from the territory of Diocese of Narona and the basilica in Narona with decorative elements.

[50] Altar capital, MCS Entry No. 36974/A, dimensions: 0,23 x 0,22 x 0,23 m.

[51] Лилчиќ В., 2002, pp. 822, 1047/VII.114, 1-4, Episcopal Basilica in Stobi, examples of composite capitals with clear ionian elements in the volutes, which is not the case with the capital in Scupi, 905 and 902/VII.128, 1-2, the church of the Virgin in the village of Drenovo near Kavadarci, composite-Theodosian capitals, due to similarity in typological and stylistic connection with the mentioned capitals of Stobi, the author gives an opportunity for their dating in the first half of the 5th c. A.D. The author also

Fig. 7 Window decoration

elements, the Scupi capital has certain similarities with the capital from the building termed as 'Consignatorium' in the Acropolis in Caricin Grad where the small acanthus foliage in the upper section slants to one of its sides, the corners have volutes, while the lower, larger section is also flled with acanthus foliage[52].

Elements from the altar screen

The altar area was separated from the remaining front section of the church with low partitions made of stone/parapet slabs placed between the piers, which are linked with an architrave beam. During the Late Antiquity, the space between the piers was enclosed with linen curtains, which were replaced by icons later on, thus producing the iconostasis. The parts of the altar screen are an attempt to illustrate this very important segment of the Scupi Early Christian Atrium Basilica[53].

points out that the variety of motifs on stone elements in the church in Drenovo point to the late 5th and the beginning of the 6th c. A.D.

[52] Баван Б, Иванишевић В., 2006, p. 34, Fig. 5.

[53] Difficulties regarding stylistic and chronological determination of parts of the altar space represent a serious problem, due to poor field research and scientific observation. In this context: Црнчевић Д., 2013, pp. 164-166.

The fragment of the marble pier[54] is an upper section of a column from the altar screen in the basilica, which, depending on the model of the screen could have had an architrave beam. On the basis of Lilčić's typology, the Scupi find can be included in the piers that belong to altar screens of the type II-A-1/в, identified as partitioning piers, combined with colonettes in continuation, a variant of an individual pier, a base, a colonette, a capital. (T. I/2) Similar design can be seen in the piers found in Varoš/monastery St. Archangel Michael near Prilep[55], the Konjuh Rotunda[56], Bargala[57], the basilica in the village of Suvodol[58], the basilica in Drenovo[59], the church Lukovi-

[54] A fragment of the marble pier, MCS Entry No. 37021/A, dimensions: 0,225 m. high, square base of 0,115 m x 0,115 m.

[55] Лилчиќ В., 2002, p. 932, Fig. 142/6, the late 5th/ beginning of the 6th c. A.D.

[56] Лилчиќ В., 2002, pp. 588, 1033 / VII.15, a picture on p. 588 capitals and column from the altar barrier of Rotunda in Konjuh.

[57] Нацев Т., 2008, p. 200, cat. 81, Bargala.

[58] Лилчиќ В., 2002, pp. 1035 / VII.98 and 778 basilica in Suvodol, from the middle of the 6th c. A.D., 1033 / VII.90, 758 and 761 from the basilica of Dolenci near Bitola from the first half of the 6th c. A.D.; Цидрова Љ., 2009, 129, Fig. 3b, basilica in Suvodol.

[59] Ѓорѓиева В., Лилчиќ В., 2009, pp. 70, 72, Fig. 6, 19-20, 21-22, 34-35, basilica near Drenovo.

ca near Makedonska Kamenica[60], all dated in the 6th c. A.D., like the other from the basilica in the village of Oreše near Nicopolis ad Nestum in Bulgaria, dated in the frst half of the 6th c. A.D. [61], and the one from the site Gradina on the Jelica in Serbia[62] and the Early Christian church in Bregovina[63].

In the line of church decoration we can also include the elements with small globular shapes placed on top of the piers, as a part of the altar partitioning compositions. The changes in the design of these architectural decoration have little effect on the stylistic features of the screen. Similar designs as the find from the Scupi basilica[64] can be seen in the finds from the Episcopal Basilica in Stobi, the small basilica in Heraclea[65], and the basilica St. Erasmus near Ohrid[66]. (T. I/3)

The altar screens were usually made of a quality material and decorated with Early Christian motifs. Since only the corner section with a small dimension has been preserved from the marble parapet fragment from the altar screen of the Scupi basilica, it lacks the usual relief church motifs. The choice of materials, which is usually marble, affects the quality of the decoration on the altar screen[67]. Although the item does not provide an opportunity for determining the precise design of the slab, the smooth marble and perfect production reveal that it was a solid stone-carving product. According to the typology by Lilčić, it is classified as a plutei, *pluteum*, altar, *saeptum*, or a colonnade and other partitioning slabs, type II-2, listing examples of this partitioning type from the basilicas in Davina Kula near Skopje[68], the Early Christian basilica in the village of Suvodol in the Mariovo region[69], while from the broader region, we should also mention the altar slabs from Nicopolis ad Nestum and the basilica near Koprivlen, Bulgaria[70]. (T. I/4)

Window decoration

The early Christian churches have a very special decorative element, the mullion or mullion column used for windows[71]. These stone architectural elements have an oval cross-section. A mullion divided the opening for the window; it rested on a base and and was usually crowned by a capital. Depending on the type of window, one or two mullions, connected by arches, divided it into biphoras or triphoras[72]. These sections, made of stone, have an elongated shape with an elliptical cross-section and go separated the window opening. The menoa were placed on a base, and they usually had capitals above them, connected with arches, creating bifori and trifori[73]. The churches, in addition to numerous lamps and candelabras, were also illuminated through the windows. With the breaking of daylight and the rays of the sun shining on the floor, it was also possible to mark the hierarchy in the inside of the church. For example, the central apse was lighter than the other parts of the church because of the mutual action of the windows and the artificial lighting. That is why, the presbyterium got the most light in the Late Antique church[74]. (Fig. 7)

Crosses

Among the finds from the Large basilica with atrium in Scupi, Christianity is especially confirmed by several bronze crosses. The cross is the most widely spread symbol of Christianity and it is also a proof of acceptance as well as dedication towards the faith. Among the crosses discovered in this basilica, there are examples that belong to the type of cross-pendants: one cross[75] (T. II/5) is classified as

[60] Лилчиќ В., 2002, pp. 1033 / VII.9 and 560-562 from Lukovica, Begov Dab near Makedonska Kamenica from the first half of the 6th c. A.D.

[61] Petrova S., 2012/A, p. 346, Fig. 51-a, altar barrier from the basilica in Oreshe from 5th - 6th c. A.D., second phase of the first half of 6th c. A.D.

[62] Milinković M., 2002, p. 100, Abb. 24/3, Early Byzantine Complex on Mount Jelica, church «C» built in the frames of the walls, at time of the Justinian renewal.

[63] Jeremić M., 2004, pp. 132, 134, Fig. 29, 32, 34.

[64] A fragment of an architectural stone decoration with a globular shape on the top, representing the terminal part of the top side of a pier from an altar screen. MCS Entry No. 37022/A, dimensions: 0,155 m high, 0,13 m in a diameter.

[65] Филипова С., 1997, T. XXXVI/5 Episcopal basilica in Stobi, T.XXXV/1 Small basilica in Heraclea Lyncestis.

[66] Лилчиќ В., 2002, pp. 680-681 / VII.61-8, 12, basilica of St. Erasmus near Ohrid.

[67] A fragment from the altar barrier, MCS Entry No. 36956/A, dimensions: 0,173 m x 0,186 m x 0,57 m.

[68] Лилчиќ В., 2002, p. 657 / VII.54-1, an altar plate from Basilica B in Davina Kula/the village Orman, near Skopje, from the middle of the 6th c. A.D.

[69] Цидрова Љ., 2009, p. 129, Fig. 2-4, basilica in the village of Suvodol.

[70] Petrova S., 2012, p. 348, Fig.53, part of the altar barrier and impost capital were found as remains of a church from the 4th - 6th c. A.D., village of Mosomishte, near Goce Delchev and Koprivlen in Bulgaria.

[71] Нацев Т., 2008, p. 157, cat. 22-24, Bargala; Ristov K., 2015, pp. 368-369, Fig. 8, a public building in the late antique settlement near the village of Taor, Skopje; Ѓорѓиева В., Лилчиќ В., 2009, p. 73, Fig. 8, 10, 36, Basilica in Drenovo.

[72] Бошковић Ђ., 1976, p. 16.

[73] A window meno from the basilica in Scupi, MCS Entery No. 28799/3, dimensions: length 1,30 m, diameter 0,35 m.

[74] Caseau B., 2007, p. 560.

[75] Cross-pendant, MCS Entry No. 53279/A, dimensions: 0,028 m x 0,018 m.

Fig. 8 The Medieval graves next to the basilica

a Greek cross type, and another cross[76] like a Maltese cross type[77] (T. II/6), with motifs of concentric circles, are embossed on the averse of the arms terminals. Also found was a cross of the extended cross type (an incense burner cross)[78], with two rings on one of its arms, which are linked to a bronze wire, probably used for hanging the incense burner. It is shaped as a Latin cross, with fanned arms, made of bronze tin and lef unornamented meant for an icon lamp, attached to a bronze wire and made in the form of a Latin cross[79]. (T. II/7) The crosses date from the 6th c. A.D. and their typology follows the concrete uses of the crosses themselves so that none of the types is attached to only one chronological period, but every single one of the types has its own development from its appearance until today. The cross-pendants from Scupi belong to the 6th c. A.D. according to their form, decoration and area of discovery, which is analoguous to the cross found at the site of Isar, village of Shipkovica, Tetovo[80]. The extended crosses, had different uses in the churches[81]. These crosses were usually made of bronze tin, and shaped by cutting, as opposed to all the remaining types of metal crosses, made by casting. One of the arms has perforations at its end for inserting chains or rings, which were hanged with massive hooks onto the propylaea, in fact, they represent a link with the hoop of the church horos. Some of them were used for suspending the incense burner, hence their term

[76] Musin A., 2012, p. 69, Fig.6/1, a finding from Balania, Nubia, from the period 430-450, which was in use until the 7th c. A.D., such as the findings of Anemurium and Sadovsko Kale in Sadovec, Bulgaria (with the quote bibliography).

[77] Cross-pendant, MCS Entry No. 85948/A, dimensions: 0,031 m x 0,019 m.

[78] Extended cross, MCS Entry No. 52382/A, dimensions: 0,05 m x 0,035 m.

[79] Extended crosses similar to the sample of Scupi, Macedonia were also found in Stobi, Demir Kapija, in the village Orman near Skopje, in: Ивановска Велковска С., 2013, cat. 91-92 (Stobi), cat. 97 (village of Orman near Skopje), cat. 107 (Demir Kapija), As well as in Sadovec in Bulgaria, in: Uenze S., 1992, Taf. 31/5-6; Милинковић M., 2011, pp. 73-84, Fig. 1 - Gamzigrad/Romulina, fig. 2 - the surrounding of Pirot, fig. 13 - Caricin Grad.

[80] Лилчиќ В., 2004, 75, fig.143, 84, fig. 169; Ивановска Велковска С., 2013, p. 86, cat. 72.

[81] Petrova S., 2015, p. 167, Fig. 7/2, findings of crosses from Basilica No. 4 in Partikopol.

incense burner crosses. Their use started in the early Christian churches towards the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 6th c. A.D[82].

Cross-enkolpion from the Medieval horizon of the area surrounding the basilica

In the area surrounding the basilica, an enkolpion cross was found which dates from the 10th -11th c. A.D[83]. A preserved reverse of a Latin enkolpion cross, with trapezoidal fanned vertical arms, while the horizontal ones are rectangular. The representation was applied graphically with shallow engravings. It features a central depiction of Mary Orans wearing a maphorion, decorated with dense engraved lines in different directions[84]. (T. II/8) The enkolpion cross probably belonged to one of the burials from the early Middle Age found around the basilica. A part of this necropolis was placed very near to the Basilica with atrium, by respecting the holiness of the former church building[85]. In the area of the city of Scupi until now several areas with medieval burials have been located, i.e. in the central city core to which belong the graves around the Basilica with atrium, in the area near the Southeast City Wall, and in a part of the acropolis of the city located on the hill called Zajchev Rid. A part of the early Medieval settlement was discovered in the area of the roman theatre[86]. The graves and a settlement are in favour on thesis for the proceeding the Christianity in Scupi in the early medieval period. (Fig. 8)

Concluding comments

The Large Early Christian Atrium basilica in Scupi is distinguished by its highly segmented architectural base, which had relatively large dimensions. The structure was 16,10 m wide, 41 m long, and its total length, including the entrance halls, measuring from the cardo sidewalk was 52,50 m. The rational exploitation of the structure in performing the rituals, combined with the high aesthetic criteria in the spatial planning of this Early Christian sacral building is a true example for a construction of a three-aisels Early Christian Atrium Basilica, applied especially in the larger urban centres at the Balkans. The polygonal apse from the outer side is characteristic of the time of Justinian and, along with the other elements of the building, it points to the development in the basilica in the first half of the 6th c. A.D., which shows the continued development of the town after the catastrophic earthquake of 518. The basilica's size and the storied construction of the building indicate that it held a dominant position in the city during the end of the Late Antiquity, i.e. during the Early Byzantine period.

The analysis of this Scupi basilica reveal that it reflected in more than one aspect, the original intention of the Early Christian architecture, manifested in receiving the space as an integration of the sacred and the profane and at the same time it created a space for meditation and ambiguity, which are required by the profane in order to overcome the human reality and manifest the sacred in a human form. In the centuries of the Late Antiquity the building of churches as a necessity of the Christian community is one of the main characteristics of the period. In the context of political developments and inseparable relationship with pagan rituals, Christianization became a widely accepted position of Late Roman society and caused a process of cultural change when the emergence of the new symbolism became part of the everyday life at the end of antiquity.

---

[82] Ивановска Велковска С., 2013, p. 45.

[83] The crosses-encolpions, in fact relics, have an intense production through Byzantine workshops of the 10th c. A.D. In the Balkans, the greatest expansion occurred from the 9th to the 11th c. A.D. Кепеска Л., 2008, pp. 61-63, Fig. 99-102; Ивановска Велкоска С., 2013, pp. 43-44, 55-73, cat.1-39; Дончева Петкова Лю., 2006, pp. 101-106.

[84] A crosse-encolpion, MCS Entry No. 85950/A, dimensions: 0,04 m x 0,024 m.

[85] Ончевска Тодоровска М., 2011, p. 374; Ončevska Todorovska M., 2009, p. 108; Snively C., 2003, pp. 59-74; Џидрова Љ., 2003, pp. 257-260, 268-271.

[86] Kuzmanoski I., 2017, pp. 367-418; Tolevski I., 2017, pp. 321-366.

ХРИСТИЈАНСКАТА РЕЛИГИЈА ВО СКУПИ ПРЕТСТАВЕНА ПРЕКУ ЕЛЕМЕНТИ ОД ГОЛЕМАТА БАЗИЛИКА СО АТРИУМ

Марина Ончевска Тодоровска
Музеј на град Скопје, Македонија

Резиме

Проучувањата на Големата базилика со атриум во Скупи пружаат можност за поопсежни анализи во врска со стилот на црковната градба и заедно со типичните ранохристијански наоди ја создаваат претставата за прифатеноста на новата религија во овој дел на Балканот. Зачуваните градежни елементи и движните наоди од базиликата покажуваат одредени блискости или припадност со различните стилови развивани на Балканот и пошироко во доцната антика. Базиликата е изградена во раниот VI век, кога раното христијанство е масовно прифатено и со својот изглед, за разлика од црковните градби во Империјата од претходните векови кога новата религија го одвивала процесот на легитимност, се вклопила во востановените бројни трикорабни црковни градби, чиј развој на наше тло е проследен со бројни влијанија. Особености на базиликата се трите announce апсиди, од кои средната е повеќеаголна од надворешната страна, голем атриум, галерија, трибелон и додатни простории градени во различни периоди. Карактеристиките на градбата и наодите, меѓу кои се неколкуте зачувани архитектонски елементи: столбовите од трибелонот на кои се изведени во релјеф големи латински тип крстови со небесната сфера, мал коринтски капител, делови од олтарната преграда, како и прозорско мено, изведени во стилот на времето на изградба на базиликата, на кои се придружуваат и неколкуте бронзени крстови, овозможуваат оваа скупска базилика да биде дел од вредните ранохристијанските црковни градби на Балканот.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Алексова Б., Лилчиќ В., 1997, Ранохристијански цркви во Македонија, Македонско наследство 5, Скопје, 11-38.

Алексова Б., 2003, Старохристијански црковни центри во Македонија, Скопје, 7-40.

Баван Б, Иванишевић В., 2006, Iustiniana Prima - Царичин Град, Лесковац.

Белдедовски З., 1990, Брегалничкиот басен во римскиот и раниот средновековен период, Зборник на Завод за заштита на споменици на културата и народен музеј Штип, бр. VI, Штип, 31-42.

Белдедовски З., 2003, Комплексот на Епископската базилика во Баргала, Старохристијанска археологија во Македонија, Скопје, 207-223.

Битракова Грозданова В., Кузман П., 1998, Лихнидос во раната антика - нови археолошки докази, Македонско наследство 8, Скопје, 3-16.

Битракова Грозданова В., 1975, Старохристијански споменици во охридско, Охрид.

Бобчев С., 1973, История на архитектурата през средните векове, София.

Борисов Б., 1988, Старохристиянските базилики край с. Караново, Бугарска област, Археология кн. 3, София, 38-46.

Бошковић Ђ., 1976, Архитектура средњег века, Београд.

Гарашанин М., Кораќевиќ Д., 1979, Базиликата II во Скупи, Macedoniae acta archaeologica 5, Прилеп, 31-46.

Дончева Петкова Лю., 2006, Кръстове - енколпиони от средновековна България, Spartacus II, Велико Търново.

Ѓорѓиева В., Лилчиќ В., 2009, Ранохристијанска базилика кај Дреново, Македонско Наследство 34-35, Скопје, 67-76.

Ивановска Велкоска С., 2013, Крстови од Македонија (V-XV век), Скопје.

Кепеска Л., 2008, Трпчева црква, средновековна некропола, Прилеп.

Кондиќ В., Поповиќ В., 1977, Царичин Град, утврђено насеље у византиском Илирику, Београд.

Кораќевиќ Д., 2002, СКУПИ, Градска територија, Скопје.

Лилчиќ В., 2002, Македонскиот камен за боговите, христијаните и за животот по животот, том II, Доцна антика, Скопје.

Лилчиќ В., 2003, Ранохристијанска црква, Скопје.

Лилчиќ В., Илијоска В., 1997, Каталог на ранохристијанските цркви во Република Македонија, Македонско наследство бр.5, Скопје, 21-38.

Микулчиќ И., 1999, Антички градови во Македонија, Скопје.

Микулчиќ И., 2003, Стоби, антички град, Скопје.

Микулчиќ И., 2007, Хераклеја Линкестис, Антички град во Македонија, Скопје.

Манева Е., 1987, Резултати од заштитните ископувања Extra muros во Хераклеја, Macedoniae acta archaeologica 7-8, Скопје, 125-142.

Маленко В., 1977, Осврт врз извршените работи во 1975 година на ранохристијанската трикорабна базилика и раносредновековна некропола на локалитетот Св. Еразмо, Macedoniae acta archaeologica 3, Прилеп, 125-140.

Маленко В., 1989, Ранохристијански објекти во Охрид и охридско, Лихнид 7, Охрид, 3-22.

Милинковић М., 2011, Прилог проучавању тзв. ранохришћанских полилеја у Србији, Ниш и Византија IX, Ниш, 73-84.

Нацев Т., 2008, Доцноантичкиот град Баргала, Штип.

Николајевић-Стојковић И., 1957, Рановизантиска архитектонска пластична декорација у Македонији, Србији и Црној Гори, Српска академија наука, пос. издања књ. CCLXXIX, Византолошки институт књ. 5, Београд.

Essa Oнчевска Тодоровска М., 2011, Новата голема ранохристијанска базилика од Скупи, Macedoniae acta archaeologica 20, Скопје, 365-379.

Теофилов Р., 2007, Римски градове в Българя, София.

Филипова С., 1997, Архитектонска декоративна скулптура во Македонија, 5-6 и 11-12 век, Скопје-Мелбурн.

Филипова С., 2006, Рановизантијски капители креирани у престоници у јустинијаново доба, македонске и српске аналогије, Ниш и Византија IV, Ниш,192-212.

Црнчевић Д., 2013, Камени ступић олтарске преграде из манастира Светог Архангела Михаила на Превлаци, Старинар Нова серија књига LXIII/2-13, Београд, (153-171), 164-166.

Чанева Дечевска Н., 1999, Раннохристиянската архитектура в България IV-VI в., София.

Чаусидис Н., 1992, Неколку доцноантички градишта во Мариово, Maced. acta archaeol. 13, Скопје, 213-226.

Цидрова Љ., 2009, Локалитетот Сланец-Манастирец, с. Суводол, Македонско Наследство 34-35, Скопје, 127-142.

Цидрова Љ., 2003, Обичајот на погребување во црквите и на градската територија и проблемот на континуитет од антикта во среден век, Старохристијанската археологија во Македонија, Прилози од научен собир, Скопје, 255-272.

Armstrong G.T., 1999, Narthex, in Ferguson E. ed., Encyclopedia od Early Christianity, Second Edition, Published by Routledge,, 798.

Bitrakova Grozdanova V., 2009, Lychnidos a l'epoque Paleochretienne et son noyau urbain, Nis and Buzantium VII, Nis, 23-36.

Caraher W. R., 2003, Church, Society and the Sacred in Early Christian Greece, Dissertation, The Ohio State University.

Caseau B., 2007, Objects in churches: the testimony of inventories, Lavan L, Swift E. editors, Objects in context, objects in use, Leiden-Boston, Published by Brill, 551-579.

Dosseva I., 2012, Early Byzantine and Medieaval Architectural Sculpture in Sozopol, Horizon foundation and Remi foundation, Accent 96, Sofia.

Faber A., 1992, Antička apsida i njezin kontinuitet u arhitekturi sakralnih objekata,VAMZ, 3.s., XXIV-XXV, Zagreb, 151-162.

Filipova S., 2010, Early Christian Culture Centres in Republic of Macedonia along the Via Egnatia, Patrimonium 7-8, Skopje, 127-148.

Filipova S., 2013, The Influence of Eastern and Western Architectural Models on the Churches

Built in the Province Macedonia in the 5th-6th C., Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies, Vol. 2, No. 3, MCSER Publusning, Rome-Italy, 425-430.

Hoddinott R.F., 1963, Early Byzantine Churches in Macedonia and Southern Serbia, A Study of the Origins and the Initial Development of East Christian Art, Palgrave Macmillan.

Ivanišević V., 2016, Caričin Grad (Justiniana Prima): A New-Discovered City for a "New" Society, Proceeding of the 23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Belgrade, 22-27 August 2016, Plenary papers, The Serbian National Committee of AIEB, 107-126.

Jarak M., 1988, Napomene uz problem porijekla ranokršćanskog simbolizma, VAMZ 3.s., XXI, Zagreb, 67-78.

Jeremić M., 2004, La sculpturearchitecturale de leglise de Bregovina (VIe s.ar.J.C.) en Serbie du Sud, Старинар LIII-LIV (2003-2004), Belgrade, 111- 137.

Kitzinger E., 1977, Byzantine Art in the Making, Main lines of stylistic development in Mediterranean Art 3rd-7th Century, Harvard.

Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou E., Wandering in Byzantine Thessaloniki, www.thebyzantinelegacy.com/achieropoietos

Krauthajmer R., Ćurčić S., 2008, Ranohrišćanska i vizantijska arhitektura, Beograd.

Kuzmanoski I., 2017, Medieval Necropolis in the Area of the Roman Theatre at Scupi, A. Jakimovski ed., Roman Theatre Scupi, Skopje, 367-418.

Milinković M., 2002, Die Byzantinische hohenanlage auf der Jelica in Serbien-ein beispiel aus dem nordlichen Illyricum des 6.Jh., Starinar LI/2001, Beograd, 71-133.

Милинковић М., 2011, Прилог проучавању тзв. Ранохришћанских полилеја у Србији, Ниш и Византија IX, Ниш, 73-84.

Musin A., 2013, Byzantine reliquary-crosses in the formation of medieval christian culture in Europe, Rome, Constantinople and Newly-Converted Europe. Rome, Constantinople and Newly – Converted Europe: Archaeological and Historical Evidence, Frühzeit Ostmitteleuropas 1.2, M. Salamon et all. (eds), Krakow 2013, Vol. 2., 61-94.

Nacev T., 2016, Bargala, The most significant values of the cultural and natural heritage, Skopje.

Ončevska Todorovska M., 2009, The Great Early Christian Basilica in Scupi and Early Christianity, Macedonian Heritage 34-35, Skopje, 97-112.

Ončevska Todorovska M., 2015, The Atrium in the Early Christian Church architecture in Eeast Illyricum and the Large Early Christian Basilica with an atrium in Scupi, Folia Archaeologica Balkanica III, Professoris illustrissimae Elica Maneva in honorem, Skopje, 173-194.

Ochał-Czarnowicz A., Between east and west: early Christian architecture in Macedonia in the social context, Studies in ancient art and civilization 14, Kraków 2010, 189-206.

Petrova S., 2012/A, Rimski gradove Nikoplis ad Nestum/Mestum, (Ivanov R., ed.), Roman Cities in Bulgaria, Corpus of Ancient and Medieaval settlements in modern Bulgaria, Vol. I, Sofia, 289-361.

Petrova S., 2012/B, On Early Christianity and Early Christian Basilica of Parthicopolis, Study sull'Oriente Christiano, Accademia Angelica-Constantiana di lettere arti e scienze, 16.1, Roma 2012, 93-139.

Petrova S., 2015, The Early Christian basilicas in the urban planning of Parthicopolis, Niš and Byzantium XIII, Niš, 161-184.

Petkovic S., 2011, Late Roman Romuliana and mediaeval Gamzigrad from the end of the 4th to the 11th centuries AD, Keszthely-fenékpuszta im context spätantiker kontinuitätsforschung zwischen Noricum und Moesia, Castellum pannonicum pelsonense Vol.2, Budapest -Leipzig –Keszthely- Rahden/Westf., 267-283, 709, 721-724.

Raptis K.T., 2014, The mural decoration of Acheiropoietos basilica revisited, Nis and Byzantium XII, Nis, 101-114.

Raptis K.T., 2016, The Sculptural Decoration of Acheiropoietos Basilica (Thessaloniki) Re-Evaluated under the Light of a Recent Architectural Analysis of the Monument, Studying Byzantine sculpture in the 21st century: new perspectives and approaches, 23rd international Congress of Byzantine Studies, Belgrade, 22-27 August 2016, Thematic sessions of free communications, 487.

Ristov K., 2015, Gradiste Taor-Late Antique settlement and fortress, Folia Archaeologica Balkanica III, Professoris illustrissimae Elica Maneva in honorem, Skopje, 361-392.

Snively C., 2003, Churches and cemeteries: Religion and Death in Early Byzantine Macedonia, Старохристијанската археологија во Македонија, Прилози од научен собир, Скопје, 59-74.

Snively C., 2005, Dacia Mediterranea and Macedonia Secunda in the sixth century: a question of influence on Church Architecture, Niš and Byzantium III, Niš, 213-224.

Snively C., 2009, The fates of Balkan cities in late antiquity: recent views, Nis and Byzantium VII, Nis, 37-44.

Snively C., 2011, The new Basilica at Golemo Gradiste, konjuh: a sixth century church in the province of Dardania, Nis and Byzantium IX, Nis, 187-202.

Škegro A., 2010, The Diocese of Narona (Ecclesia Naronitana), Arheološki vestnik 61, Ljubljana, 229-244.

Sodini J.-P., 2007, The Transformation of cities in Late Antiquity within the provinces of Macedonia and Epirus, Poulter A.G., ed., The transition to late antiquity, on the Danube and beyond, Chapter 13, Publishing for the British Academy by Oxford Univ. Press, 311-336.

Steward C., 1954, Early Christian, Byzantine and Romanesque Architecture, Simpsons History of Architectural Development Vol.II, Longman, Green and C., London/New York/Toronto.

Sturm J.P., 2017, Late Antique Episcopla complex, Bishop Eufrasius and his residence at Poreč (Croatia), Rollason D. editor, Princes og the Church: Bishops and their Palaces, Society for Medieval Monograph 39, Routledge, London and New York, 23-34.

Sulikowska-Gąska (eds.), U źródeł Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej/Frühzeit ostmitteleuropas, Band 1, Teil 2, Kraków-leipzig-rzeszów-Warszawa 2012, vol. II, 61-94.

Tolevski I., 2017, Medieval Settlement Built Above the Ruins of the Roman Theatre at Scupi, A. Jakimovski ed., Roman Theatre Scupi, Skopje, 321-366.

Uenze S., 1992, Die Kelinfunde, Uenze S. edited, Die Spatantiken Befestigungen von Sadovec (Bulgarien), München, 137-199.

Varalis Y.D., Church-Building in Thessaly during Late Antiquity: Is the Aghia Region a Case Apart?, www.dimosagis.gr/2627.

Varalis Y., 2008, Reverend prototypes? Constantinian churches and their later imitations in the Balkans, Niš and Byzantium VI, Niš, 99-112.

T. I-1 Capital from the altar screen

T. I-2 Fragment of the marble pier

T. I-3 A fragment of an architectural stone decoration with a globular shape on the top

T. I-4 A fragment from the altar barrier

T. II-5 Cross-pendant

T. II-6 Cross-pendant

T. II-7 Extended cross

T. I-8 A crosse-enkolpion

THE EARLY BYZANTINE EMPIRE AND THE PAGAN TRADITION IN THE CULTURE AND THE CITIES OF THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

Ljubinka Džidrova
NI Archaeological Museum of Macedonia

Only a scratch in the crust of several centuries' diligent historic study reveals the sentimental overwhelming with modern myths inspired by half a millennial blindedness with the world of antiquity's mystic beauties of the post-Byzantine era. *The myth of Byzantium created in the nineteenth century still serves as justification for the pursuit of the Byzantine studies of retained potency, representing it as a beacon of classical civilization shining in the barbarous gloom of the Middle Ages.* With these words, set in a paraphrase, one of the masterminds of byzantinology, Prof. Cyril Mango, starts his provocative and inspiring discussion on *Byzantium as a custodian of the priceless deposit of ancient culture… a perennial fount from which Byzantine authors and artists drew their inspiration*.[1] Peeling off shell by shell the multilayered cultural deposits stacked one after another, created by the human genius through millennial creativity, the periodisation of the historic sequence and the gradual transformation of the social mode of Byzantium are revealed.

Its civilization, characterized as predominantly urban throughout the existence of the Byzantine Empire, is considered to be based on the tradition of the *polis* of the past centuries.[2] The city united the potentials that enabled food supply, provision of amenities for urban living including public buildings, street network, water provision and discard etc.; the exchange of goods that initiated traffic and creation of an urban network stimulating money exchange as a basis for accumulation of wealth and tax-payment, provided the essential needs that sustained the existence of the empire. Placed in a pyramidal order, the cities and their regional administrative capacity reflected the ruling apparatus and hierarchy of the Empire. They were the centre of prosperity where forces united to produce an outcome – a moving force for the creation of a culture and a global civilization.

The temporal focus at this place is on the first six centuries of the first millennium, a vibrant period of cultural prosperity, communication and religious experiment across the two continents, Asia and Europe, resuming its products in the visual culture of the early Byzantine *oecumene*. The interplay of human creativity and encounter of different religions through mutual influence or visual contradiction, by borrowing and transforming earlier models, or assimilating their emblems and symbols, resulted in the creation of characteristic models of imagery often of transitory character, of highly abstract form or potent figural patterns as a paraphrase for the religious acts, thus revealing the diversity, proximity and richness of visual imagination in the interplay of different cultures.

In order to understand the ancient inheritance processed through ages of social and cultural intervention, and the tripartite stratification of the Byzantine medieval society, it will be observed through the postulates of its literary and artistic accomplishments, which request a precise analysis as to certify and define the level of various components represented in the global literary achievement. Thus the body of ancient inheritance of Hellenistic literature and philosophy as distant precedents of Byzantium, on which it founded its representable literacy and learning of grammar and rhetoric, practiced by only a few hundred of the intellectual élite - the highest of the social strata, was nurtured as a minority isolated within their own world. Expressing themselves in an artificial idiom for the time and in a manner dictated by archaic conventions, they effectively obliterated the reality of Byzantine life, representing it in an antique guise. Behind this classical façade of Byzan-

[1] Mango C., 1981, p.48.

[2] Mango C., 1981, p.49; Whittow M., 1996, p.90-95.

tium lay a different reality covered by the nature of the representational art of almost the entire Byzantine period confined to the religious painting as a faithful reproduction of the iconographic formulas traceable back to the Early Christian period.[3] Besides the huge mass of illiterate of the third social layer, amounting to over ninety-five per cent of the population, the second stratum made the larger public of relative literacy, a representative of the so-called lowbrow literature and texts, documentary rather than literary, yet enabling for the present day readers the access to everyday reality, revealing unexpected details and practices of the time. Apart from patristic, liturgical and devotional books, this literature comprised chronicles, Lives of saints, anchorites' stories, florilegia of useful sayings and oracles, which gave the readers the needed edification and information. Within some publications of this kind, some of the universal chronicles of the ninth century, as that of Malalas edited c. 490-570's, first within this category and therefore exercising great influence especially after its translation in Church Slavonic and Georgian,[4] George Synkellos, George the Monk or Symeon the Logothete, or by eleventh century authors as Kekaumenos of mixed Slavic and Armenian origin,[5] the Hellenistic tradition plays a minor part, even deliberately downgraded by them. From there it is understood that the average Byzantine of the high Middle Ages did not feel any kinship with the ancient Greeks, but was more conscious of the history of Rome, particularly from Augustus onwards, considering it the history of his own Empire.[6] Within the early Byzantine time this distance was by all means much lesser, but also the power of Roman influence was more intensive.

Fig.1 Roman ossuary re-employed as vasculum in the piscina of the North Basilica at Stobi, today in possession of the National Museum in Belgrade (According to: Petrović Dr. J., 1943, fig 33 a, b.)

Across the ancient Hellenistic inheritance stood the powerful Roman component, which already in the last centuries of the old era in a decisive stroke overtook the ruling power over the Mediterranean, to develop its full potentials in the next five-six centuries of the new era. Growing on the riches of local cultures, enforcing exploitation of their resources and managing them to self-sustain and develop, the Roman component became the operative force in the formation of the Roman Imperial and the early Byzantine Empire.

At the transition from one to another Empire, without any profound change in the demographic

[3] Mango C., 1981, p.49-51.

[4] s.v. Malalas, John, B.B. in: *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, p.1275; Scott R. D., DOP 39 (1985), p.99-109.

[5] s.v. Kekaumenos, A.K. in: *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, p. 1119; Kazhdan K., *Viz.Vrem*. 36 (1974), p.154-167-177; Margetić L., *ZRVI* 21 (1982), p.39-46.

[6] Mango C., 1981, p.49, 51-54.

Fig.2 Marble crater, Baptistery of the Episcopal basilica at Stobi, II century AD (With the courtesy of the Archaeological site and Museum Stobi)

structure as that characteristic for the early Middle Ages, cities also transited from one to another culture and essentially altered their urban concept and compound. In this process the level of continuity, transformation and exchange defines the bondage between the different cultures, their sacred places being the fundamental part after which remains are primarily recognized. The *templum* as a notion survived from the early first millennium B.C. to be recreated in the *templon* of the Christian churches defining the most sacred space that encloses the altar in early or in late antiquity. At the beginning, treasuring the reminiscences of the mythological past, the *templum* denoted an area of the sky or the land defined by the *augur* within which he took the auspices – a piece of demarcated and consecrated land – a sacred precinct.[7] Its Hellenistic parallel, the *temenos* and the temple – *naos,* is succeeded in Roman classical times with the *aedes* built within the sacred enclosure for sheltering the God's statue, the sacred objects and the storage of the offerings made by the faithful to the shrine. In both traditions the essential feature for the conduct of the ritual was the altar – ara, placed under the open sky where sacrifices were offered to the divinity.[8] While the temples defined by the rite of the augurs were not given strictly proscribed positioning, in the Hellenistic world the major part of the temples faced east with the cult statue raised upon the west wall of the *cella*, envisaging the sun rise through the central entrance in the east wall. The East seems to have denoted the direction of sunrise on the day of the temple's foundation or the principal feast day of the divinity concerned, thus the rays of the rising sun would shine through the doorway and strike the God's image.[9] The rule is borrowed from the earliest traditions and the Hellenistic times into Christianity marking the orientation of basilicas, not any more the Roman civil basilicas, but those transformed for the celebration of the new religion, which preserved in its fundaments the relationship of the rising sun with the day of the church foundation and the cult of the saint with his protective capacity.

Within this concept of borrowing forms and practices it will be posed for a moment on two crucial objects that elaborately describe the bondage between the old world of the polytheistic antiquity and that of the new Christian world. Tertulian writes about the bathing as part of the ritual of initiation in the cults of Isis and Mythras, one of the latest preserved and active mystique cults, which survival in the third and the early fourth century is interpreted with the proximity with the mystery of the Christian cult and the faith in its regenerative power. He writes of the sprinkling with water as part of the pagan ceremonial of purification giving Christian revalorization to the act of immersion of the athletes before the start of the competitions.[10] According to the laws of Moses the bathing represented a necessary act of cleaning before taking part in a religious ceremonial. The Jewish habits are a direct predecessor of the Christian rite of baptism inaugurated in the eschatological nature of the baptism of St. John the Baptist, established in the act of baptism of Christ.[11] The mystery of the baptismal rite enacted through immersion of the faithful in water describes an act of initiation and purification from the sins with a promise for better life after their symbolic death. It reflects the doctrine of Christ's sacrifice and the spiritual death of the believers enacted in the act of baptism at the moment of the *immersio* and their spiritual rebirth when coming out of the life giving water. This ideological doctrine symbolically performed in the baptismal ceremonies, was formally materialized in the lowest stratum of the organizational concept of the North basilica's

---

[7] Barton I. M., 1989, p.67, fn1.

[8] Barton I.M., 1989, p.67-68.

[9] Barton I. M., 1989, p.81-82, with a note on Vitruvius' prescription: let the altars look to the east.

[10] Tertulian *Bapt.* 5; s.v. Baptism, Ferguson E., in: Ferguson E., ed., 1998, p.160.

[11] s.v. Baptism, Ferguson E., in: E. Ferguson, ed., 1998, 160.

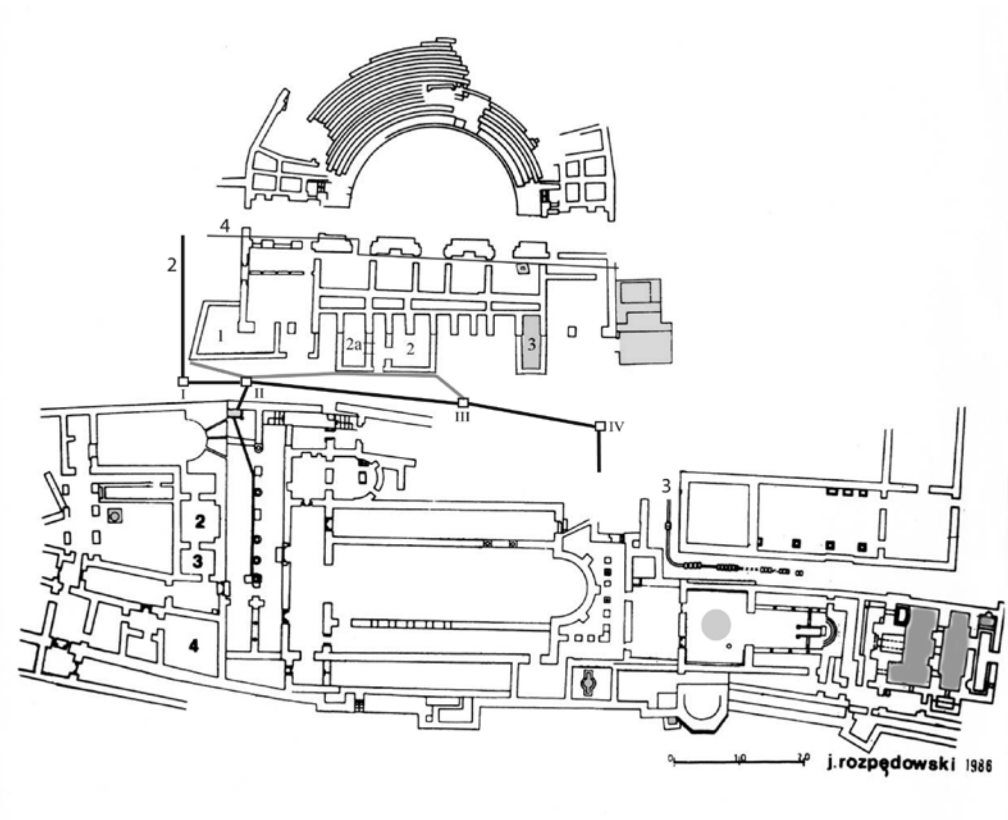


Fig. 3 Heraclea *Lyncestis*, Plan (According to: Lj. Džidrova, 2011, fig. 3)

baptistery, where at the bottom of the *piscina* located in a quatrefoil building was placed a marble ossuary, an object intended for and by all means primarilly used in an act of burial in earlier Roman Imperial time (**fig. 1).** Carefully processed possibly from proconesian marble, its purpose is explicitly stated in its plastic relief decoration with floral garlands hanging on all four sides from the corners, where rams' heads were placed. Large plastic *rosettae* are applied on three sides, while on the fourth long side three female portraits of the deceased were carved in deep relief.[12]

Another object of high artistic value, was similarly reused in the act of baptism as a *vasculum* at the *piscina* - a term denoting a fish-basin borrowing the symbolic meaning of fish – *piscis* lat.– to which the water gives life equally as to the believer baptized inside of it. It literally materialized the Christian ideology of the symbolic rebirth. In that sense a well known marble crater of Roman origin is found re-employed in the Episcopal basilica's baptistery at Stobi, placed probably at the time of its renovation in the late fifth or early sixth century when it was placed on the basin's parapet **(fig. 2)**.[13] The position marks the transition in the conference of the cult of baptism from that conducted in the spacious piscina through *immersio*, to the cult of *oblutio*. The analyses performed on the marble estimated its quality as Pentelic calcite, suggesting that the object was originally imported from a site in the Mediterranean basin, where many similar craters were found.[14] It was probably originally used in the performance of ritual celebrations in the ceremonies of offering the sacred wine, later given the meaning of the blood of Christ in the Christian ritual, and at this very place used in the act of baptism to provide forgiveness of the sins through the recollection of Christ's sacrifice.

In the early centuries of the newly established Byzantine Empire founded on the tradition of its distant predecessors, and confirmed through the act of recognition of the Christian monotheistic religion, three mainstream manifestations point to the preservation of remnants of the former Graeco-Roman polytheism, which survived the transformation of the late Roman Empire to appear as acts

[12] Petrović Dr. J., 1943, p. 492-495, particularly the last page, fig 33 a, b. The ossuary today is not found among the archaological finds from Stobi, but was taken to the National museum in Belgrade after the termination of the excavations, as J. Petrović says: *something has to be taken home for the museum as to justify the investment*, p.465

[13] Dinsmoor, Jr. W.B., in: *Studies in the Antiquities of Stobi*, J. Wiseman ed., Vol. II, 1975, p.15-27, with older bibliography.

[14] Niewöhner Ph.- Audley-Miller L.- Prochaska W., in: *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 2013, p.109; Catalogue no. 20, Sample ST8, dim.: height 133 cm, diameter inside *c*. 50 cm, outside *c*. 70 cm, p. 128.

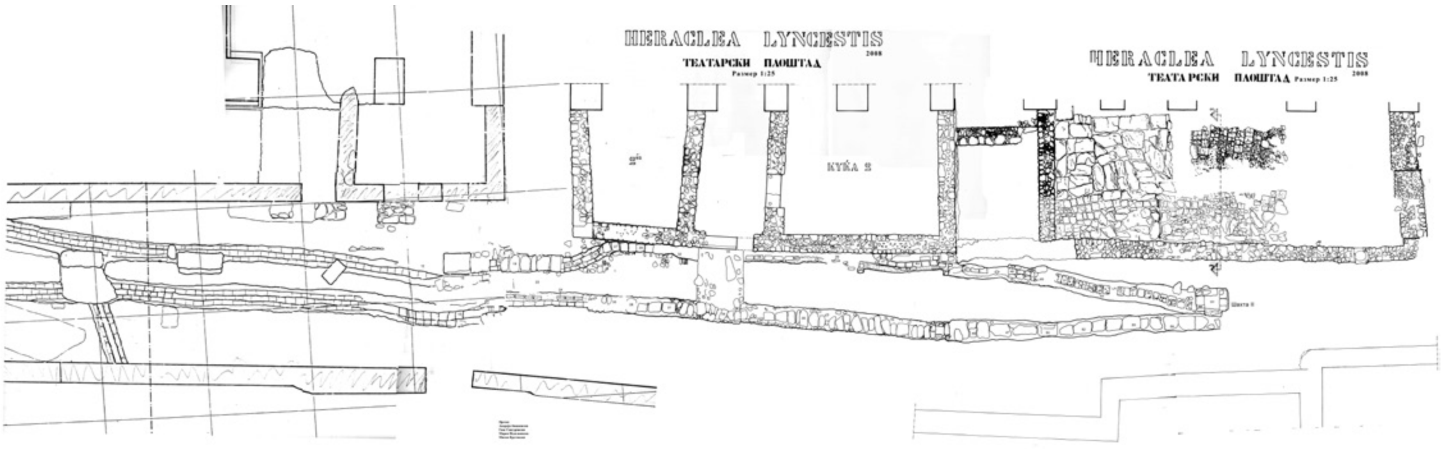


Fig.4 Houses no. 1-2 and the temple area to the east of it, Plan (Documentation from the excavations)

of *paganism* in the new Christian world. They are the political, intellectual and cultic mainstream.

The political stream stemmed from the religious indifference of the army with constant influx of *foederati* of various ethnic origins in the Roman/Byzantine army, which ceremonial largely retained the ancient practices.[15] Deities worshipped by soldiers were divided in two main groups; the first comprised the gods of the established state religion, whose worship was regulated by the official calendars, among which those that personified the virtues of military life, as *Disciplina* and *Virtus*. The second group comprised other cults, mainly non-Roman, adopted and encouraged by military units often named after soldiers' lands of origin and omitted from the official calendars. This division was almost paralleled by the place of worship, within the campus for the official cults, or outside it for the private ones that were rarely military.[16] Nevertheless, two main cults of eastern origin managed to sneak through the filters of official Roman religiosity. The first is of *Iuppiter Dolichenus*, its epithet signifying a cult of local origin named after Doliche – a hill of Commagene known since Hittite times, which appealed to the army due to God's close association with iron. Associated with Jupiter it reached its peak in the west in the third century, and once spread and favourized by the priesthood, it was to share its decline just as well.[17] The second cult is of Mithras, which reached the Roman world already in the old era, with a peak in the third century. Its appeal was to the merchant class and the army, and related to the initiatory nature of the ritual it was a secret society that appealed particularly to members of the officers' class, who are most often found among its dedicants. Its mystique character opened the gates for the promotion of the Christian faith in the Roman society, but despite numerous examples of early military Christian saints, the army remained the last refuge of paganism to become more present only in the later fourth century after the reign of Julian the Apostate.[18] Despite the fact that Rome was often the ultimate aim of early Christian apostles and by all means played an important role in the recognition of Christianity, still paganism was preserved in its formal practices according to the surviving votive inscriptions throughout the fourth century, as documented in the wider territory of Italy. In contrast, the present stage in the study of votive and funerary inscriptions of pagan character in Macedonia point to their occurrence only to the late or the end of the third century. Funerary inscriptions of early Christian context so far originate only from the early fourth century and are found in a distinctively small number, represented by two examples from Stobi and its surrounding, dated to the 305-6 an the 308. This owes mostly to the fact that the year of dedication is not presented in the text, as a continuation of the Roman early Imperial practice which resulted with wide dating also of the early inscriptions, mostly from first to third century A.D. In the same context of poor dating material, the early Christian funeral *stelae* given elaborate symbolic representations are usually dated to the fifth-sixth century. Further re-inspection of uncovered epigraphic monuments may reveal other objects of early Christian date of origin, as well as new epigraphic objects may be uncovered.[19] The much earlier acceptance and distribution of Chris-

[15] S.v. *Paganism*, in: *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 3, 1991, p.551-552.

[16] MacMullen R., 1967, p.131-2 and fn. 445; Salzman M.R., 1991, prepared in Rome it has historical importance especially for the study of pagan-Christian relations in the fourth century, up to the year 354 and later due to the later additions, particularly valued for its illustrations.

[17] MacMullen R., 1967, p.132.

[18] MacMullen R., 1967, p.132-133; Imamović Dr E., 1977.

[19] I thank D-r Slavica Babamova for the above quoted information produced as a result to her current research.

Fig.5 The early temple area with the aedicula's concrete base (Photo Lj. Džidrova)

tianity in the east, despite the extremely poor level of identification of early paleochristian practices and proofs of early celebration of the cult, still await their study in Macedonia, particularly within the consideration that by the end of the fifth century the process of Christianization in the East was completed.

The political mainstream manifestations of retained paganism, observed from the point of view of cult practices largely outgrew the proscribed trends of well defined early byzantine culture. On the contrary, sometimes it coincides with the cultic mainstream, but different from its latent dating to the late seventh century and onwards, observed as preservation of *pagan* habits recreated in feasts, magic and astrology, and visible in theatrical performances, pagan oaths and the clothing of law students.[20] The remains from *Heraclea Lyncestis*, which illustratively document separate phases of development and illuminate the gradual transformation of the urban corpus, show an architectural unit that subtly reveals an important characteristic in its life – the retention of pagan cult practice in the centre of the city **(fig. 3)**. Its display astonishes with the determination, clear statement and rigidness. It is explicitly found as part of the theatre complex built in the second century and proved to retain its performances until the late fifth century and possibly into the sixth, before it hosted the late urban settlement within its premises.[21] The rear of the scene building exited on the former forum, later replaced by the Large Episcopal basilica. It was organized as a sequence of 10 vaulted rooms varied in size, and two additional rectangular each on both sides of the building. An object of specific interest - an *aedicula* - was built into the sixth chamber, the physical center of the building, originally facing the forum to the south, built at the same time as the theatre. The archaeological excavations conducted in 1988-89, 1998 and 2008 were concentrated on the communication between the theatre scene and the support wall that fenced the sacred premises of the Large Basilica raised on the remains of the forum. They revealed a sequence of late antique buildings annexed to the scene rear that communicated with the vaulted chambers **(fig. 4).** They were partly residential, so far denoted as Houses no.1, unfortunately unpublished, and 2/2a fully excavated in 1998, and in 2008. The excavations of House no.2 indicated its construction in the later second half of the fifth century, after the construction of the Episcopal basilica in mid fifth century.[22] The quality of the two houses, their gradual development and growth in size, with the two or three urban phases, suggested ownership by high representatives of the municipal elite. The remains of

[20] The previous is suggested in: s.v. *Paganism*, in: *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, p.1552.

[21] Јанакиевски Т., 1987; ibid., 1998; Džidrova Lj., 1999, p.282-285.

[22] Džidrova Lj., 2008, p. 291-310.

Fig. 6 The south Wall of the House no. 2 with the built in tympanon (Photo: Lj. Džidrova)

a glassed window, a second floor level and provision of flowing water from a private aqueduct, which additionally supplied the large baptistery located to the south-east of the basilica, and later also the fountain raised in the early sixth century at the north end of the narrow garden to the west of the same basilica, clearly speak of the high status and wealth of the supplier.[23]

The object of particular interest at this place is the mentioned *aedicula*, built into the chamber no. 6 on the external side of the *scene, facing east.* **(fig. 5)**. It is witnessed by a massive concrete fundament, the remains being set against the chamber's north wall clearly showing a foundation of *c.* 30 cm height, with a preserved lower part of a chamber, a *cella*, once holding the relics of the cult. They were built in concrete in *opus incertum*, which necessarily requested surface revetment. Parts of the marble veneer were not uncovered in the ground, as far as known, or any other related remains. The *aedicula* was established most probably at the time of construction of the theatre in the second century AD.[24] At a certain moment from the mid fifth century, after the construction of the Episcopal basilica or possibly simultaneously with it, the *aedicula* was decomposed, and a part of it, the tympanon, was built into the south façade of a neighbouring building, House no. 2. **(fig. 6).** The tympanon probably is a part of the roof structure built into the wall, and the style of the single decorative ornament applied on it, the *rosette*, is reminiscent of the ornamentation characteristic for the second and third century. The relevant dating material from the upper layers under the street surface comprise a fourth century cross-bow fibula, an early sixth century finger ring and rare coin finds, which are not studied so far, and can be related to the time of construction and renovation of the private houses, as well as of the several water conduits installed there **(see fig.4)**.

The active use of the temple and the cult space in front of it was first altered after the construction of the Large basilica. The excavations performed on the street that ran in front of the south theatre façade revealed four Corinthian capitals dated in the first half of the second century and one Ionic preserved in the deeper strata and the earth fill bellow the street surface. They are attributed to the time of construction of the theatre and its south façade.[25] The time of their deposition as part of the process of degradation of the *scene*, possibly resulted in the earlier proposed massive destruction around the town in an earthquake dated about the turn of the fourth cen-

[23] Džidrova Lj., 2008, p. 291-310; ibid., 2011, p.395-401.

[24] Јанакиевски Т., 1987; ibid., 1998, with complete bibliography where the aedicula was not mentioned nor documented.

[25] Јанакиевски Т., 1998, p. 76-101, 137, fig. 109, fn.299. Of the four Corinthian capitals only one comes from the early excavations.

Fig.7 View from above of the late temple area spread to the street and walled from it (Photo Lj. Džidrova)

tury.[26] At that time the sacred ground of the temple ran next to the street and was open to the lower section of the town. The front line of the sacred premises was limited by a low rubble wall, which upper part was made of distinctively large pebble stones. It originated prior to the construction of the neighboring private house, since the front rubble wall underlies the mortared east wall of the House no. 2. **(**see **fig.5** and **fig.7)**. A second rubble wall started from the chambers' east concrete wall, which originally belongs to the theatre. It was built at an uncertain point, but related to the existence of the street, and was most probably paralleled with a similar one on the west side, later replaced by the mortared house wall. This suggests that the sacred ground was narrowed by the two rubble walls at this precise moment, possibly in course of the earlier fifth century.

Former excavations that preceded the theatre conservation were conducted also in the vaulted rooms at the rear of the scene, but results were never published or acknowledged in whatever form, nor are they and the material accessible to archaeologists. However, the 2008 excavations conducted along the street were extended also within some of the vaulted chambers, including the one with the *aedicula*. Excavations were engaged with the lowest stratigraphic layers of the chamber and material deposits until virgin soil. A certain amount of fragmented pottery lamp sherds of dense concentration were uncovered on that occasion, unfortunately inaccessible for study and documentation posterior to the excavations. Among the finds a single completely preserved lamp, an imitation of the Ephesus type dated to the late second or early first century BC was uncovered there, **(fig. 8)** as well as a number of attic *lucernae*.[27] The overall situation points out that the site was used as a cult place since the last centuries of the old era, which means prior to the construction of the theatre and coterminous with the Hellenistic settlement unearthed in the ground later occupied by the Large basilica and underlying the Roman forum.[28] As such it was enclosed within the later scene rear. Successively a Roman style *aedicula* was built there. Of the older remains preceding the theatre construction a floor made of rectangular bricks set in *opus reticulatum* was uncovered at the west end of the scene rear, dateable to the I century B.C./A.D., the two remains pointing to

[26] Džidrova Lj., 1999, p.276-277.

[27] Similar lamps are well known from the fund of the Museum at Bitola, part of which was published by: Maneva E., 1983/84,p. 47-57, with several examples of this type presented, with closest analogy with lamp cat.no 5, and an original product, no.1.

[28] Манева Е., 1979. The existence of the late Roman settlement lying above the forum is observed also in: Lj. Džidrova, 1999, p.275-277, fig. 2.

Fig.8 The Lucerna, II-I century BC (Photo: Lj. Džidrova)

the active use of the area before the construction of the theatre, partly for religious practices which continued throughout Roman and Early Byzantine times.

The cult practiced at the *aedicula* shows an extinct vitality and survived for some more time. At a later point, after the construction of House no.2 in the late fifth century, the east rubble wall was pulled down in order to create a wide platform where the cult was celebrated **(fig. 9)**. The space in front the vaulted chambers 7 to 9 was paved with stone tiles, and a small quadrangular room built from rubble, of uncertain use, was enclosed within the unit. The excavations performed there were previously completed and for that reason no particular dating material was later uncovered. This space was fenced to the south towards the street with a high rubble wall built in *opus incertum*, therefore continuing the standard Byzantine technique of construction, clearly indicating that pagan ritual ceremonies continued to be performed in this area. Its preservation and the number of finds witness the vitality of these rituals as part of the traditional practices in the city throughout early byzantine time. The survival of this cult place from late Hellenistic throughout Roman and early Byzantine times in the centre of the city, suggest that the site was dedicated perhaps to a cult that didn't contradict the rigid Roman politics during early Christian times, and was possibly dedicated to the healing practices. In favor of it speaks a marble tile with the imprint of feet in it, set in the stone pavement near the *aedicula*. Much later, following one of the sixth century earthquakes, most probably the one from mid sixth century, the space in front of the *aedicula* and its *temenos* was filled with clean red sandy earth. This was possibly enacted synchronous with the construction of Justinian I's donation, the fountain located 10-20 meters eastward, which finally brought extinction to the pagan ceremonies at this place in Heraclea Lyncestis.

Modern archaeological discussion during last few decades within the Republic of Macedonia, but also partly wider in the Balkans, has whole heartedly accepted as a fact the presumed final breakdown between ancient paganism and the newly established Christianity, following the edicts of Emperor Theodosius I promulgated in 388 in *Stobi* and in *Scupi* (*CT* 16.5.15, 16.4.2). Examples are numerous; in fact they are regular. Dazzled by the multitude of Christian basilicas regularly dated within a safe chronological definition to the fifth-sixth century, this seemed to be the only logical and only possible solution for the interpretation of the current material and spiritual culture. The precision or the varieties of the cultural kaleidoscope in this segment of the imperial territory were not cared much for, preserving the view of an inferior estimation compared to similar manifestations typical for the rest of the Empire. But the time was most vibrant particularly in central Balkans as anywhere else across Byzantium. Times were mainly peaceful, despite the periodical Gothic or Hun ravages that disturbed the population, inflicted damage on their possessions, and set on an alert the Empire and its armies, occasionally resettled in agreement with the remodeling of the regional political and administrative units. It was mostly reflected in the apparent occasional reappearance of *provincia Macedonia II* or *Salutaris*, which shows to be a rather constant administrative form in the region throughout the early Byzantine Empire. Roads were built and protected,

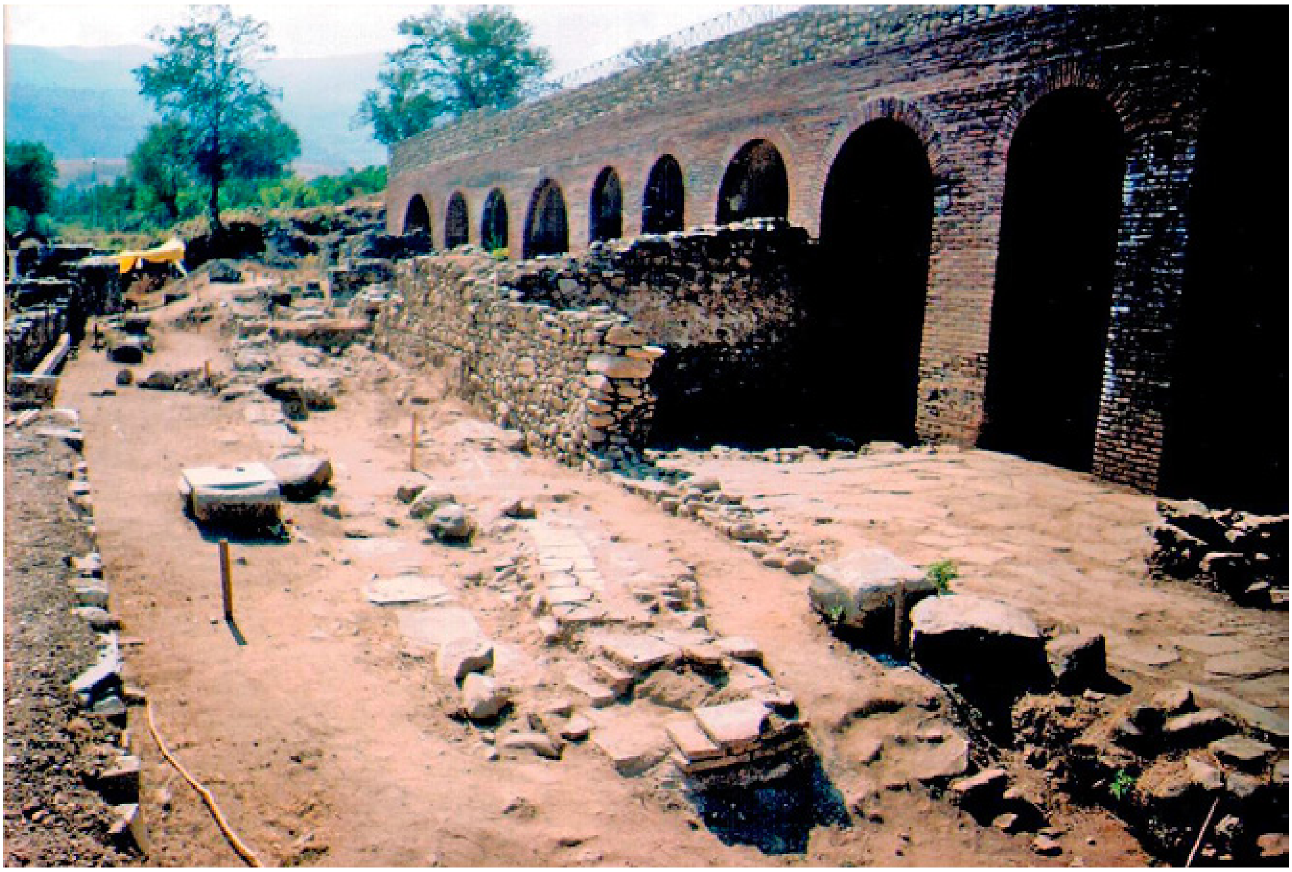


Fig.9 The Temple Area in the last phase of existence, from the east (Photo: Lj. Džidrova)

although not too safe; trade was active, people thriving for prosperity travelled here and there under the protection of their gods: traditional ancient adopted as Roman, eastern brought about by the armies and the traders coming from Asia Minor. All of them were pagan *versus* the single God of the new Christian religion. From all previously said, paganism was a predecessor and a fundament upon which the new monotheistic Christian religion was developed and grown, and remained buried in its structure, its vivid particles preserving the energy of the ancient cults to be revived at certain critical moments.

A strong second phase in the transition from pagan Roman culture is marked by the official condemnation of paganism under Theodosius I when cities started acquiring a Christian outlook, yet preserving the predominantly non-Christian appearance around 400. Attempts for a transformation of the established urban structure were started under the pressure of socio-political alterations of the Roman urban society. Massive building complexes, most often theatres, due to disinterest of the public municipal assemblies for their upkeep were subject to neglect and disintegration, shortly to become physically dominated by the main ecclesiastical seats. Lack of finances necessary for the organization of the glamorous feasts that lasted over several days, caused their narrowing and replacement with other forms of program. The derelict state of the public buildings is often interpreted with theatres' falling out of function, instead of lack of sufficient level of upkeep. Changes are poorly saved in the stratigraphy of the arenas, but are visible in the transformation of specific parts of the complexes. Within this trend spoliation is one of the most often found proofs for the lost respect for the ancient gods, as well as of the degraded esthetic values. Unfortunately poor methodology of excavations and unpublished results, give no chronological support to estimated changes, new practices or survivals of older forms and retained religious practices.

The disappearance of classical monuments is generally observed as a manifestation of the triumph of the Christian religion, falling as victims of the deliberate destruction of the Christianized state, of fanatical bishops, monks and common folk, as focus groups that rejected the pagan cultural tradition. However, archaeological explorations have already proved that the most distinctive municipal institution of antiquity, the Roman *forum*, a successor of the Hellenistic *agora*, as the most distinct centre of urban public life of the early Imperial time, by the end of the late imperial time lost its importance in favor of the smaller market places devoted to simple marketing transactions and gathering, located close to the cathedral churches. Confronted with the pressure of the early Christianization that prepared its public promotion for several centuries, numerous temples of the Roman gods retreated before the re-

Fig.10 The North Portico with the Sculptures (Photo: Lj. Džidrova)

strictive edicts of the Roman emperors often falling into disrepair, while others, more modest in form and capacity, as that upper indicated from Heraclea Lyncestis, showed distinct vitality. Similar case is provided with the study of the antiquities of Stobi.

Previous revision performed on the results from the archaeological research in the theatre at Stobi pointed to the reduction of the *summa cavea*, where at its tip was originally located the *Nemeseion*. The site was completely destroyed together with the upper theatre *meniana* at the time of elevation of the Episcopal Basilica after mid fifth century on a dominant terrace 4,5 m higher than the original location, spread over a part of the Roman theatre.[29] This event executed a definite blow on the transformation of the theatre, already largely reshaped in its earlier major reconstruction campaign at the turn of the fourth century, when a temple of *Nemesis* was installed in the central of the five rooms inside the scene building, with a reorganized route of approach. On that occasion the *aedicula* in its original form with a re-employed votive inscription to the Goddess was relocated at the new site and was placed over a sandstone base. Sandstone was largely employed in the reconstruction of the *sacellum*, additionally decorated with sculptures, cult reliefs and numerous votive offerings. Material from a layer under the floor of the building gives the terminus post quem in the late third-or early fourth century, succeeded with one more intervention in the fifth century.[30] Its preservation and the multitude of various finds witness an ongoing ritual at the time, speaking of the vitality of these rituals in the traditional practices of the city.

The senatorial aristocracy that preserved its conservative positions largely contributed to the survival of paganism, due to the number of pagans that remained active at the Imperial court in the fourth and fifth century.[31] The same trend was also preserved at a lower level by the city councils as shown in practice by the example of Kyzikos, which city council asked Emperor Julian to restore Hellenic temples, a request that met the opposition of the state woolen factories workers and the *technitai of coins* who supported the local bishop.[32] However, from the fourth to the seventh century there were large alterations in the ruling practices of cities reflected on the wellbeing of their communities. At first they were largely autonomous, ruled by the hereditary oligarchy of

[29] Džidrova Lj., 2005, p.161-162.

[30] Džidrova Lj., 2005, p.167-171.

[31] s.v. *Paganism*, in: *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 1991, p.1552.

[32] Sozom. *HE* 5:15.4-6; s.v. *Paganism*, in: *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, p.1552.

rich landowners forming the *boulē*; Competing in the embellishment of cities and responsible for a number of tasks demanded by the imperial government, they provided for the appealing outlook of cities. In the following centuries the prestige in fulfilling these duties inflated, membership in the council ceased from the position to be a mark of the social status, and on the contrary it became avoided, bringing the existence of the *boulē* to an end by the mid sixth century. At that time the wealthy citizens looked forward rather to membership in the provincial institutions and the capital. In that sense the political stream of retained paganism was largely enforced by the senatorial aristocracy. The Christianization of the Roman aristocracy as a whole belonged to the early fifth century and only by that time occurred the Christian society in a more developed form.[33] Christianization speeded up the decline of secular offices as members of wealthy lay families increasingly entered the church, Christians becoming a dominant part of the urban ruling elite, on which account came to a decrease of candidates for the city council, from which service the clergy was exempted. These changes were reflected on the physical appearance of the cities, earlier equated with a trend of decline, even named as *de-urbanisation*, but in current observations it is treated as a development from the classical Roman type of urbanism, to a new Byzantine.[34]

This problem was not observed systematically for the territory of the R. of Macedonia, but the evidence from *Heraclea Lyncestis* enables the application of the same conclusion. The so-called North Portico, a part of the early Imperial Double Portico, preserved the exposed marble sculptures, as that of Nemesis taken down in the late fifth or sixth century from the theatre's Nemeseion, and that of Tit Flavius Orest, a second century high priest (**fig. 10).** They speak in favour of the identity of this building estimated to be the seat of the *boulē*, active most probably until the mid sixth century, when it suffered in the catastrophic earthquake.[35] The conclusion is based on the revision of archaeological data, showing that its ruins were covered with debris from the neighboring Small basilica located across the street, adapted in the former South Portico (fig.11). The time is indicated by a fragmented *kämpfer* capital dated to the *c.* mid sixth century and a capital with the monogram of Archbishop John of Thessalonica, both installed within the last arrangement of the Small Basilica in the second half of the same century.[36] They are simultaneous with the construction of the new fountain donated to the citizens of Heraclea by Emperor Justinian I on his thirty-fifth anniversary in 562, according to the engraved inscription, promoting high aesthetic values to the arrangement of the central urban precincts.[37] The careful analysis reveals my former omission in the statement, indicating that the deposition of the debris was made in course of a later renovation and activity of the Small Basilica, posterior to the mid sixth century renovation, and obviously caused by another earthquake that stroke the city at an imprecise early medieval date when the *boulē* was finally placed out of function. The time of its termination from function, and the ground leveling over its fallen sculptures on top of which an early medieval probably residential unit was raised, could be defined only by the results from the early excavations conducted there in the 1970-s.[38]

Going back to the mainstreams in the preservation of paganism, the intellectual paganism still flourished in the fifth century based on the aristocratic mandarine knowledge of the few of distinct literacy built on the foundations of classical teaching of literature, rhetoric and philosophy.[39] The elitist preservation of the ancient tradition as a declaration of the classical values of the formally, at that time, Roman empire preserved a number of pockets where paganism was nurtured in concord to the imperial trends promoted in the capitals, such as Al-

[33] Barnes T.D., 1995, p.135-146, particularly to 138 and p.21-25. Живковић Т., 2002, p.162, generally agrees with the upper statement, although in n. 427 stated that until mid-sixth century Christianity didn't prevail over paganism, proving it with the 80 000 pagans Christened by St. John of Ephesus in 565/566. On the analogy with Anadolia he concludes that the same may be expected for Greece quoting: Kaegi W. Jr., 1982, p.243-275.

[34] Whittow M., 1996, p.56-58. The author regularly names this period to the 600 as Roman, and from there he calls the new urbanism medieval, which is not fully accurate if one considers the actual medieval processes of social and cultural transformation that will produce the medieval type of a town. In the actual Middle Ages the qualification *a city* is far from objective, and applicable to the capital and few metropolises.

[35] Within the Portico are found votive inscriptions, bases and footings of other sculptures, too, Цветковић-Томашевић Г., 1965, p.14-32, who suggests a much earlier dissolution of the function of this building; for a different view see: Dzidrova Lj., 1999, p.285-287, fig. 6, showing the phases of late antique adaptation of the portico, excluded from function after the mid sixth century earthquake.

[36] Николајевић-Стојковић И., 1957, p.40-42

[37] Janakievski T., in: Б. Алексова, ed., 2003, p.191-206; Džidrova Lj., 1999, p.282, 285, with older bibliography.

[38] The results and the material from these excavations are not known to us, apart from the poor information produced by: Цветковић-Томашевић Г., 1965, p.14-32, figs. 6, 7.

[39] S.v. *Paganism*, in: *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 1991, p. 1552.

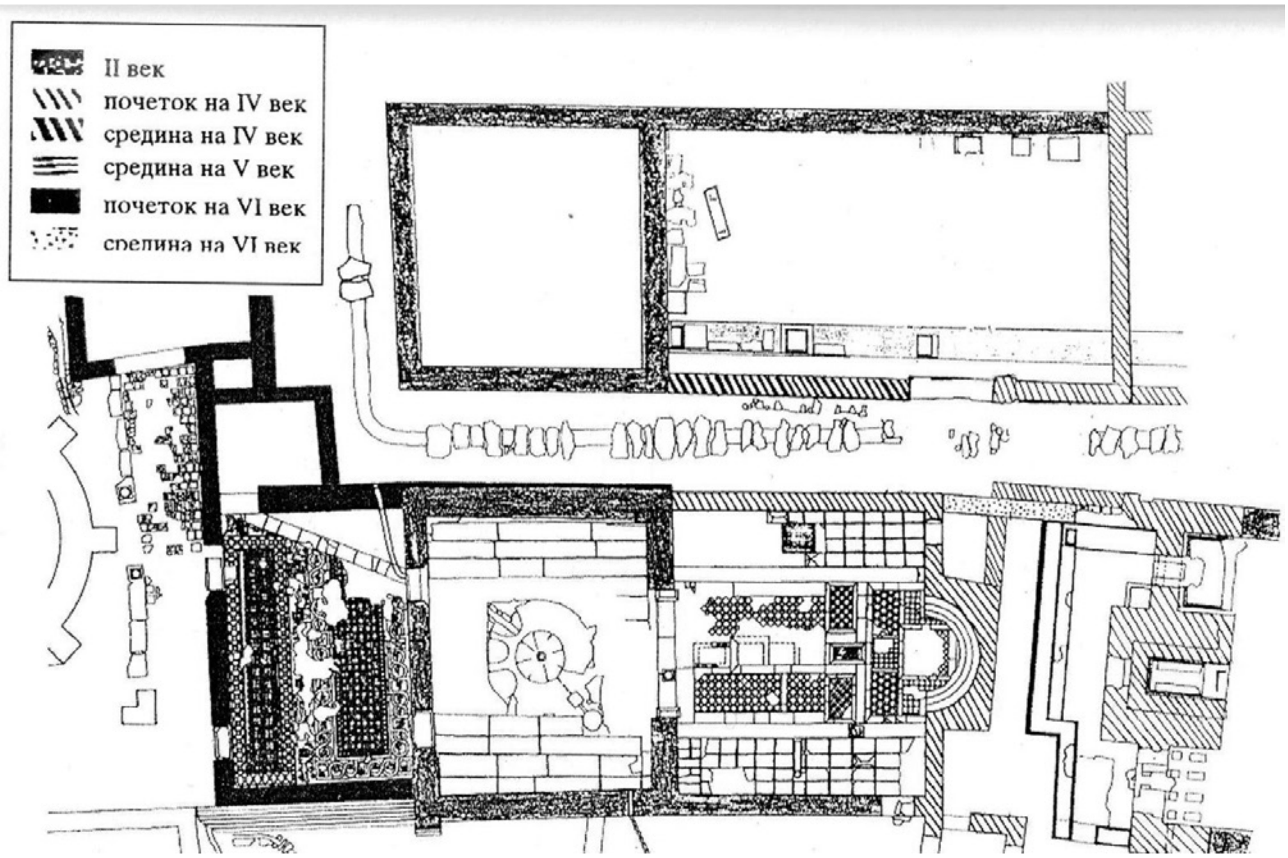


Fig.11 Plan of the Double Portico with the phases of development (According to: Lj. Džidrova, 1999, fig.6)

exandria, where the traditional values were adapted to the powerful Orthodox practice. On the other hand the radical standing of the Academy at Athens brought its closure in 529 with the intervention of Justinian I, in his attempt to stamp out remnants of pagan religious practice. Apart from the large ruling centres similar pockets were preserved also in the background provincial cities across the Empire.

One of the distinguished late products of the early Byzantine representational art executed in the early sixth century, related to the early rule of Justinian I is the mosaic of the Seven Sages from a villa at Nerodimlje near Uroševac in present day Kosovo.[40] The more recent research brought clarification to the results from the excavations reinterpreting the character of the building as a thermal complex,[41] which largest apsed hall lavishly decorated with 2-3 layers of mosaic pavement and a central font, in its early phase received the famous mosaic of the Seven Philosophers. The rectangular form of the figural frieze adapted from the earlier semicircular scheme reshaped for the necessity of the medium, and the specific rendering of space where the figures were placed in niches delineated by columns, which closely follows the examples given by the decoration of the architectural sarcophagai decoration, are in style with the youth of the represented philosophers, as a unique characteristic of the iconography of the Seven. They lost their individuality on the account of adopting the youthful type of appearance of The Philosopher - Christ, characteristic for the early phase of the early Christian art.[42] The images are identified according to their names and the proverbs mentioned in the underlying text, some deviating from the standard rules, possibly as a mistake in the transcription from the base model. Yet, the attribution of their proverbs is estimated as closest to the Latin translation of the Greek proverbs in Ausonius' play *Ludus septem sapientum* dated to the 390.[43] The overall design of the mosaic field, encloses a figural composition in the upper part of a large rectangular carpet, surrounded by a band of inhabited acanthus scroll with enclosed birds and fruit, and a filling pattern of the organic carpet diagonally intersected with repeating floral elements with a cross-shape rosette. It is familiar in the Balkans and the East, particularly in the south-west part of modern Republic of Macedonia, where it is found in the vestibule of the

[40] Kovaljev G. –Janković Dj., 1990, p.41-47.

[41] Лазић М., 2001, p.245-270.

[42] Kovaljov G. – Janković Dj., 1990, p.41-45; Djurić S., 1990, p.123-128; Gerke F., Christusbild, *RAC* 3, 1957, p.1-24.

[43] Djurić S., 1990, p.124 and fn. 9.

Northern chapel of the Episcopal Basilica at Heraclea Lyncestis, as well as in the naos of the Tetraconchal church and its baptistery at Ohrid, and at the close by Basilica at Lin in Albania.[44] This distinguished product of the early sixth century Byzantine representational art together with the previous examples promotes the political and cultural status of the central Balkans as one of the current trends in the Empire.

Further search for remnants of pagan beliefs and practices, however miniature, reveals them preserved in the rich deposits of our ancient sites. The lowest stratum of Byzantine culture, of the illiterate folk who comprised the largest part of the overall population, never managed to wipe out the ancient beliefs. Transformed and misunderstood they were sustained for centuries, sometimes hardly understandable even for the ethnographers, requiring the same determined peeling off of the layers of cultural deposits to come to the truth buried deeply inside of it.

---

[44] Djurić S., 1990, p.128-130; Цветковић-Томашевић Г., 1996, 15-20, with a different interpretation of the images of philosophers. At this place, as a short time participant in the uncovering and documenting of the mosaic, I need to make a notice to the sketched drawing in fig. no. 1 in: Djurić S., 1990, and the plan presented by Цветковић-Томашевић Г., 1996, fig 6, that the staircased entrance into the hall was much later added and covered the original mosaic field, which is in fact coterminous with the late crude mosaic of large *tesserae* of c.2 cm regular cubes ascribed to the last phase of the pavement. Therefore, the eastern entrance opposite the apse set on the west side was the original entrance into the hall, as presented in Цветковић-Томашевић Г., 1990, fig. 6.

Bibliography:

Barnes T.D., Statistics and the Conversion of the Roman Aristocracy, in: *JRS* LXXXV (1995), p.135-146

Barton I. M., Religious Buildings, in: *Roman Public Building*, ed. By I. M.Barton, University of Exeter 1989

Цветковић-Томашевић Г., Портик со почесни споменици, in: *Хераклеја* II, Битола, 1965, p.14-32

Цветковић-Томашевић Г., Уметност на прекретници од паганства ка хришћанству, *Саопштења – Communications* XXVII-XXVIII, 1995-96, Београд 1996, p.9-21

Dinsmoor W.B., Jr., The Baptistery: Its roofing and Related Problems, in: *Studies in the Antiquities of Stobi*, Vol. II, J. Wiseman ed., Beograd 1975, p.15-27

Djurić S., Mosaic of Philosophers in an Early Byzantine Villa at Nerodimlje, in: *Coloquio international sobre mosaic antiguo*, VI, Palencia-Mérida 1990, p.123-128

Džidrova Lj., *Heraclea Lyncestis* and the Problem of Chronology and Interpretation, in: *Macedoniae acta archaeologica* 15, Skopje 1999, p.269-291

Džidrova Lj., Revision of the Archaeological Data on the Ancient Theatre in Stobi, in: *Macedoniae acta archaeologica* 16, Skopje 2005, p.149-176

Džidrova Lj., Archaeological Excavations of House No. 2 at *Heraclea Lyncestis*, Sector: Theatre Square, in: *Macedoniae acta archaeologica* 18, Skopje 2008, p.291-310

Džidrova Lj., The Water Supply of *Heraclea Lyncestis*, in: *Macedoniae acta archaeologica* 20, Skopje 2011, p.381-404

Ferguson E., ed., *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 2nd ed., New York-London 1998

Gerke F., Christusbild, in: *RAC* 3, 1957, p.1-24.

Imamović Dr E., *Antički kultni i votivni spomenici na području Bosne i Hercegovine*, Sarajevo 1977

Јанакиевски Т., *Театар*, *Heraclea Lynkestis*, Битола 1987

Јанакиевски Т., *Антички театри во Република Македонија*, Битола 1998

T. Janakievski, *Heraclea Lyncestis*-фонтана, in: *Старохристијанската археологија во Македонија*, Б. Алексова, ed., Скопје 2003, p.191-206

Kaegi Jr. W., The Fifth Twilight of Byzantine Paganism, Army, Society and Religion in Byzantium, in: *Variorum Reprints*, London 1982, vol. V, p.243-275

Kazhdan K., in: *Viz.Vrem*. 36 (1974)

Kovaljev G., Janković Dj., Saopštenje o arheološkim iskopavanjima u Nerodimlju, in: *Kosovsko-Metohijski zbornik 1*, Priština 1990, p.41-47

Лазић М., Терме у Доњем Неродимљу код Урошевца, in: *Vestigatio vetvstatis to Aleksandrina Cermanović – Kuzmanović from friends, colleagues and students*, University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy, Centre for Archaeological Research Vol. 20, Belgrade 2001, p.245-279

MacMullen R., *Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire*, Harvard University Press 1967

Манева Е., *Неколку типови и форми на елинистичка и римска керамика од Хераклеја*, Битола 1979

Maneva E., Светилки од музејската збирка во Хераклеја, in: *Зборник на трудови на Битолскиот музеј*, бр. 4-5, Битола 1983/84, p.47-57

Mango C., Discontinuity with the Classical Past in Byzantium, in: *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*, M. Mullett and R. Scott, eds., Centre of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, 1981, p.48-57

Margetić L., "Kekaumenos" Dobronja – ein Kroatischer Herrscher des XI. Jahr., in: *ZRVI* 21 (1982), p.39-46

Niewöhner Ph.- Audley-Miller L.- Prochaska W., Marbles, Quarries and Workshops on the Highlands of Northern Macedonia, in: *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1 Halbband.2013, p.95-145

Николајевић-Стојковић И., *Рановизантијска архитектонска декоративна пластика у Македонији, Србији и Црној Гори*, Београд 1957

Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, vol. 1-3, New York-Oxford 1991

Petrović Dr. J., U Stobima danas – Auf den Trűmmern Stobis heute, in: *Glasnik Hrvatskih Zemaljskih muzeja u Sarajevu*, LIV – 1942, Sarajevo 1943, p.463-524

Salzman M.R., *On Roman Time: The Codex-Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley 1991

Scott R. D., in: *DOP* 39 (1985),

Whittow M., *The Making of Orthodox Byzantium*, 600-1025, MacMillan Press 1996

Живковић Т., *Јужни Словени*, Београд 2002

РАНОВИЗАНТИСКАТА ИМПЕРИЈА И ПАГАНСКАТА ТРАДИЦИЈА ВО КУЛТУРАТА И ГРАДОВИТЕ ВО РЕПУБЛИКА МАКЕДОНИЈА

Љубинка Цидрова
НУ Археолошки музеј на Македонија

Резиме

Паганството во време на рановизантиската империја по званичното прифаќање на христијанството како државна религија и континуирано спроведуваното покрстување, е една од најнепознатите теми во археологијата на овој период во Македонија. Дури и скромните востановени сознанија за напредокот на покрстувањето, особено одразено во бројноста на црковните градби од тоа време, и покрај нивната слаба истраженост и најчесто глобално датирање во 5.-6. век, имаат создадено вето за споменот на преживеалиците на паганството. Но, историјата е сепак жива материја која не дозволува цврсти канони и забрани за она што претставува одраз на тековното живеење во еден период на внатрешни бурни интелектуални превирања и верски борби на општество во трансформација, процес кој е незапирлив и постојано трае. Ова особено е правило во рамки на империјата која ние ја нарекуваме Византија, а која е втемелена на традициите на Хеленската и Римската цивилизација, обете политеистички и пагански, наспроти новото христијанско монотеистичко царство. Одтука паганството, вткаено во културната традиција на Византија, во текот на целото нејзино постоење опстојува како скриено тајно наследство што избива инцидентно покажувајќи ја својата длабока втеменост, за подоцна во средниот век да прерасне во ерес и како такво постојано да внесува немир во културниот и верскиот живот на Империјата. Со цел да се илустрира степенот на паганскиот израз во првите векови на Византија, на ова место се представени најизразитите примери на опстојување на традиционалните форми на живеење и практикување на култот и верата во рамки на една крута Империја која по секоја цена се труди да го наметне христијанското учење како единствено на целата своја територија.

GLASS VESSELS IN LATE BYZANTINE GRAVES IN THESSALONIKI. OFFERINGS OR FUNERARY RITUAL REMAINS?

Anastassios C. Antonaras
Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki
aantonaras@culture.gr

It has been archaeologically attested that from the seventh century onwards and throughout the Byzantine and Ottoman periods, the ancient necropolises outside Thessaloniki's city walls ceased to be used and burials were conducted exclusively within the city itself. Although there are a few spots in the city where early Christian burials have been attested,[1] it is known that intra muros burials were prohibited by the law and the customs, in order to protect the public health.[2] The wish of the Christians for an *ad sanctos* burial, i.e. to be buried next to a martyr's burial place, led to a high concentration of burials in and around *extra muros martyria*[3]and after the 6th century in and around *intra muros* churches as well.[4] Burials within city walls for the first time were legalized by Leo's VI (r. 886 to 912), Novella no 53, probably legalizing an already centuries-old practice.[5] Small, Late Byzantine cemeteries connected with chapels and small monasteries dispersed throughout the city are often found in the salvage excavations conducted by the Greek Archaeological Service. Due to the small size of the plots excavated, small groups of graves are also found without archaeological evidence of a chapel[6]. More than fifty sites of Byzantine burials have been recorded.[7]

In contrast to the absence of vessels in Middle Byzantine tombs, in the Paleologan era glazed, clay bowls were found placed in the majority of the burials. How were they actually used and whether was wine poured from them over the deceased person, or if *kollyva/* жито, like in the up to date surviving ritual remains unknown. Kollyva (κόλλυβα, or жито) is boiled wheat kernels sweetened with honey or sugar, almonds, pomegranate, raisins, anise and parsley?, which is used liturgically in the Orthodox Church. It probably predates Christianity as some of the ingredients had symbolic value in the Pagan religion too. The word signified a small cake already in the Hellenistic period[8] In the Eastern Churches, kollyva are blessed during the successive memorial services, and on special occasions, such as the Saturday of Souls.[9] Orthodox Christians consider kollyva to be the symbol of death and resurrection, according to the words of the Gospel and of Saint Paul[10]. In addition, a small number of burials contained glass vessels, exclusively close-shaped vessels, i.e. large-size vials. These vessels, their origin, and their use will be the subject of this paper.

[1]Akrivopoulou 2017, 39-54.

[2] Emmanouilidis 1989, 177-178·

[3] Duval 1988, 51. Emmanouilidis 1989, 206-212.

[4] Poulou-Papadimimitriou, Tzavela and Ott 2012, 388. Akrivopoulou 2017, 39-41.

[5] Dain and Noailles 1944**,** 198-201.

[6] Makropoulou 1995, 235-244. Makropoulou and Tzitzimpasi 1993, 364-366. Bakirtzis 2203, 63. Kanonidis 1999-99, 523-30. Kanonidis 1998a, 207-218. Kanonidis 1998b, 183-194 esp. 184, fig. 1 and 185, fig. 2. Kanonidis 1999, 523-530. Marki 2002, 172-175. Makropoulou 2006, 7-10. Antonaras 2016, 66. Mantazi 2015. Akrivopoulou and Tokmakidou in press.

[7] All relevant information has been gathered and presented in a very useful master's thesis, Mantazi 2015. Newer information probably is included in the Akrivopoulou and Tokmakidou in print, according to Akrivopoulou 2017, 52.

[8] κόλλυβος. Liddell, Henry George; Scott, Robert; *A Greek–English Lexicon* at the Perseus Project. [http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.04.0057:entry=ko/llubos]

[9] *Kazhdan, Alexander P., ed. (1991). „KOLLYBA". The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium. Oxford University Press.*

[10] *John* 12:24; 1 *Corinthians* 15:42-44.

Figure 1. Glass sprinklers, 13th-14th c., Thessaloniki

As regards the use of glass in late Byzantine society and the different forms of glass vessels, the following can be said: Use of glass diminishes after the 7th c. and it is only from the 13th c. onwards that glass vessels are once again found in relatively large numbers, restricted though to large and important urban and religious centers where they were actually imported. Very important for our knowledge of glass typologies of this era are the new burial customs. In the middle Byzantine period burials did occasionally contain jewelry, but practically no vessels. In the Late Byzantine period though, the burial customs demanded the use of wide- and narrow-mouthed vessels and there was a strong belief that these vessels should not be brought back home after the funeral, but rather left in the graves. The importance of retaining these finds in the cemeteries becomes more evident if we keep in mind that recycling was always systematic, exploiting almost every glass fragment from habitation areas.

According to the archaeological finds Byzantines were covering their needs in glass vessels with imported material. Glass vessels from the Italian peninsula, mainly bottles and beakers were imported to several urban centers of the empire and the Balkan kingdoms. Islamic vessels were just as widely distributed. Only a few forms of the rich Islamic typology appear in Byzantine sites, i.e. flasks and unguentaria, used also for the transportation and holding of holy water. Also, big enameled mosque lamps were, at least occasionally, imported. Furthermore, spindle-shaped unguentaria were imported to Balkan urban centers.[11]

Later on, in the 16th century, large lentoid flasks appear throughout the Balkans, presenting a Venetian imitation of the earlier Arab products. It is known that Venice, from the 13th century onwards, produced special artefacts oriented towards specific markets and tastes. It is also known that Tamerlan's invasion (1400) led to the elimination of glassworking in Syria with the transfer of the craftsmen to his capital Samarkand. It seems that Venetians covered this void with their ordinary products and also with specially altered products imitating shapes and decorations of Islamic prototypes. To the latter, the altered Venetian products, could be ascribed the lentoid vessels of this group.[12] These imported vessels were covering different needs of the society, mostly and were mainly used as tableware, the main forms being jugs, bottles and beakers. Often, these vessels were also used for liturgical purposes: Beakers as lamps in graves or churches, and bottles as containers of holy water. Bottles are present in various forms, mainly of western origin. In addition, most of the drinking vessels were Italian products too. Furthermore, glass vessels were used, at least in monasteries, for serving food as well. Indeed, it appears that

[11] Antonaras 2010, 408-421.

[12] Antonaras 2001a, 199-202. Antonaras 2010, 411-12.

Figure 2. Glass Flasks, 14th-15th c., Thessaloniki

they existed in two sizes, smaller and bigger ones.

Glass lamps are a fairly common find appearing in several sizes and shapes, from big mosque lamps to simple bowls for insertion into polycandela. It seems that there were specific vessels, Islamic, Western and some locally produced ones, of a certain size or shape which were made for holding small portions of liquids, of medical or liturgical character. Distributed widely were Islamic spindle-shaped, lentoid and ring-shaped vials, which were also produced later in western workshops. Also, it appears that some, possibly limited, local productions existed as well. Scribes are depicted using relatively small, handle-less or single-handled, vessels quite similar to some archaeological finds, for holding ready-for-use ink. Finally, it is also known that physicians and alchemists continued using glass urinals, bleeding cups, alembics and vessels for preserving substances, raw materials or ready-to-use medicaments. [13]

Regarding the use of glass vessels in burials in Thessaloniki but also throughout the Roman and early Byzantine world it can be said that, although no form or use of vessel was invented originally to be used in burials and in burial customs, yet almost all forms of vessels constitute burial findings and they have indeed been used in burial and/or in commemorative feasts, *memorials*.[14] It must also be noted that almost every relatively complete glass vessel was found during excavations of burials. Spouted vessels, pseudo baby-feeders (or rather lamp fillers), as well as examples of the entire repertoire of glass lamps have been found in large quantities at the *necropoleis* of Thessaloniki.[15].

The presence of unguentaria and partly of larger, close-shaped tableware vessels (e.g. jugs, flasks, and bottles) is connected with the equally Pagan and Christian custom of anointing the dead—equal to the extent that the fathers of the Christian church castigated it[16]. Also, the vessels must have held oil

[13] Antonaras 2010, 417-21.

[14] Antonaras 2017, 182-186.

[15] Marki 2006, 115-116, 208 where finds from Thessaloniki are cited. On presentations of lighting lamps and candelabra see Marki 2006, 167-168, drawings 113-115, pl. 15β, 171, drawings 123, pl. 17β. Antonaras 2008, 23-30.

[16] Koukoules 1940, 3-80, esp. 8-9, 13. Kyriakakis 1974, 37-72.

Figure 3. Glass sprinklers, 16th c., Thessaloniki

used in the symbolic act performed by the priest when he poured it crosswise over the corpse at the funeral in order to show that the deceased lived and died in accordance with the sacred canons[17]. Additionally, this custom was connected with an effort by the deceased's family to render the, frequently luxurious, burial garments[18] useless and thus to discourage the desecration of the grave[19].

Tableware fragments, found in and around the graves or scattered around at the *necropoleis*, are connected with the memorial ceremonies and the meals that Christians offered above the graves[20]. All aforementioned vessels, used for the burial or in the cemetery, were not supposed to be brought back to the deceased one's house, as they were not considered clean anymore, they should therefore be smashed and left on site[21].

Hundreds of Late Byzantine burials have been excavated in small, parochial and monastic cemeteries dispersed throughout the city of Thessaloniki.[22] Glazed clay bowls were found placed in the majority of these graves.[23] Either wine was poured from them over the deceased person, or they contained some kind of *kollyva*, boiled wheat or other cereals, like in the present day surviving ritual. A small number of burials contained glass vessels, almost exclusively flasks. They are quite uniform in shape, while during the 13th-14h centuries' lentoid Islamic sprinklers prevail, although few ring-shaped sprinklers appear too. They are mostly undecorated and small in size, but there are a few which bear geometrical décor. The method for making the largest one and most fully decorated is described below: The flask is made of free blown colorless, greenish glass with several bubbles. It features a plain base with a low kick, a flat ovoid body, and a tall, slender, tapering neck, marked by a squat relief ring at its base and forming a narrow, plain rim at the top. The entire flask is covered with a thick coat of red color on which rich geometric decoration in off-white (possibly originally gold) and black is applied. An off-white band, topped by black, spirals around the neck down to the relief ring. On the narrow sides a black triangle defines a vertical zone of three lozenges made of a double off-white band that fills the space between the panels on the main sides. The main sides feature an off-white grid pattern framed by a triple off-white and black line. On one side the

[17] Kalinikos 1969, 560-561. Koukoules 1940, 43-44. Loukatos 1940, 47.

[18] Antonaras 2001b, 45-47. Antonaras 2002, 18-19.

[19] Koukoules 1940, 47.

[20] Koukoules 1948-52, vol. IV, 208-214. To the needs of this custom are ascribed the flat surfaces, occasionally supplemented with built benches, which have been traced atop of barrel vaulted graves, see Laskaris 2000, 268, also Marki 2006, 114, 209. For an independent building dated to the late 6th -7th century, with such a use in the cemetery of Carpathos see Geraskli 2004, 389-402. For depictions of funeral suppers in graves in Thessaloniki see Marki 2006, 140-141, drawings 74-75, pl. 5β-γ. On the meaning of these common meals, the *agape*, in the life of the Christian community see Cabrol, Leclerq, s.v. "Agape", *DACL* 1, (1939), col. 848-849. Since the deceased ones continued to present part of the community, funeral suppers were for the Christians absolutely normal and acceptable practices; see Ascough 2004, 509-530. Besides, funeral suppers had a long tradition in the Greco-Roman word, already known from Homer's works (Ψ.29, γ.328), while in Roman Macedonia they were connected with *parentalia* and *rosalia*, which also included meals in the cemeteries and which were imported there by the Italian colonists; see Ascough, 2004, 513-514, with relevant bibliography.

[21] Loukatos 1940, 75-79. On similar finds from Thessaloniki's necropoleis see Makropoulou 2001, 266-267.

[22] See supra notes # 6 and #7.

[23] Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2009, 451-467. Antonaras 2016, 67-69, 127-37.

grid pattern covers the entire surface and is filled with Greek crosses; on the opposite side it covers only the center, and is surrounded by a wide linear frame and filled with short horizontal lines. A fingerprint, probably of the craftsman that decorated the vase, is preserved on the applied paint on the flask's base.[24]

The flask, used as a perfume container, came from a tomb in the cemetery of the Byzantine Vlatadon Monastery in Thessaloniki.[25] It is a characteristic example of a type of flask common in the Arab world during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods, particularly in the second half of the thirteenth century, and was probably manufactured in Syria or Egypt. This type, called a sprinkler, is known by its Arab name: *qumqum* or *omom*.[26] In the Arab world they were decorated with real enamel—that is, powdered, colored glass applied to the finished piece and fused to its surface during firing. By contrast, the Thessaloniki flask and at least four other similar examples from Thessaloniki, Didymoteicho, and Rhodes are not decorated with enamel.[27] Not encountered on Arabic omoms, the technique used for their decoration probably entailed the application of colored bands, possibly by some cold or low-temperature process, which resulted in the decoration's poor adherence to the surface as compared to enamel, which is unaltered by time and by exposure to humidity. This different technique suggests that the object was decorated in a workshop other than the known Syrian ones, possibly one associated with a place where these flasks were filled with some "holy" liquid, which would explain their presence in monks' tombs. Although it is only logical to assume that they were created to meet some secular needs, e.g. as containers of fragrances or medicaments, yet all known examples of them have been unearthed in excavations of churches and they are connected to burials. The discovery of such flasks in Thessaloniki is not surprising, given that the city had active trading relations with both the southeastern Mediterranean and the West.[28] Several smaller, undecorated examples of this type of flask have been excavated in Thessaloniki.[29]

Venetian imports, known as *Inghistere* present a second group of vials placed in late Byzantine burials. These perfume flasks are dated to the 14th–15th centuries and are relatively short, ca. 15-20 cm.[30] They are made of blown transparent, colorless glass, which is typical for the Venetian production of this period. They feature a plain base, or a tall conical base, in both cases with high *kick*, a markedly conical bottom, a squat body, and a long, twisted cylindrical neck that ends in a plain fire-polished rim. These flasks are known in Venetian glassmaking by the name of *inghistere* or *angastaria*, a term of Greek origin, which derives from the nouns aggos (vase) and gaster (belly), and probably indicates the type's East Mediterranean origin.[31] Vases of this type appeared after the twelfth century throughout the Mediterranean and beyond. They were particularly common in the 14th and early 15th centuries.[32] Their shape and quality of material, as well as certain manufacturing features, associate them beyond doubt with Venetian glass workshops, the activity of which peaked during this period, reaching the highest technical standards and aesthetic quality among Mediterranean glass producing centers. These small vases had various functions: from measuring the quantity of beverages in the taverns of the West to containing rose water or aromatic oils used for social or therapeutic purposes. Despite the lack of relevant written or pictorial evidence, they probably had similar uses in Byzantium. They were almost certainly also used for liturgical purposes, as containers of holy water or oil. The discovery of such flasks in Thessaloniki is not surprising, given that the city had active trade relations with the Italian republics, including Venice, during this period.[33]

Glass vessels of a specific type appear during the early Ottoman period in Christian graves.[34] They have a flat base, a conical bottom with a kick, and a pontil mark. The bodies are lentoid, and the spindle-shaped necks have two bulges, one at the bottom and one at the transition to the cup-like rim. Most of them are made of deep blue glass that is free of impurities and bubbles, in addition one olive green, and one colourless example have been unearthed. In some cases, the necks and rims are twisted, bearing oblique ribbing. These vessels (H. ca 22 cm, W. ca 10 cm) were blown in a dip mold, then expanded and tooled. The geometric decoration found on the body of some of these vessels consists of a checkerboard-like motif on colorless and yellow fields. The neck is decorated,

[24] Antonaras 2009, 85, pl. I:4. Antonaras 2010, 411, fig. 35. Drandaki, Papanikola-Bakirtzi, and Tourta 2013, 248, no. 119.

[25] Makropoulou 1985, 277, pl. 68.

[26] Carboni and Whitehouse 2001, 246-247. Carboni 2001, 150-151.

[27] Antonaras 2009, 85-88, 93-94.

[28] Jacoby 2003, 85-132.

[29] Antonaras 2009, 85-88. Antonaras 2010, 411, figs. 35-37.

[30] Antonaras 1999, 37-40. Antonaras 2010, 409-11, fig. 34.

[31] Gaparetto 1979, 84. Zecchin 1990, 163.

[32] Antonaras 1999, 30-40.

[33] Jacoby 2003, 85-132.

[34] Antonaras 2001a, 199-202. Antonaras 2009, 86. Antonaras 2010, 411-12, figs. 38-39.

from the lip down, with a narrow white stripe. In some cases, a second color - red - is used in the decoration.[35]

Although we have no evidence of their contents, they could have held oil or holy water that was poured out, cross-wise, by a priest over a body at a funeral to show that the deceased lived and died in accordance with the sacred canons.[36] Testimony to this use is the appearance of an identical vessel in the hands of Saint Anastasia *pharmacolytria* (poison curer), from Corfu.[37] The Saint is depicted on an icon holding in her hands the vessel, obviously a container of a curative sanctified liquid substance, water or oil. In general, all Roman and medieval vessels with lentoid bodies have been characterized as pilgrim vessels. Usually the only evidence connecting them to this function is the shape of the body, which makes them convenient for long trips. Following this practice, and based on the clues concerning the content and uses of our lentoid vessels, we can suggest that they may have been some kind of *eulogiai, i.e. v*essels associated with pilgrimages to sacred places, a tradition well established from the early Christian period. Nevertheless, we must also note that vessels of similar shape are mentioned in the inventory of an apothecary in Ragusa dating to 1482,[38] when they were used in preserving and transporting drugs.

To conclude, it can be stated in short that it is not at all clear whether these flasks, which obviously were developed for use in everyday life and in liturgical contexts as rosewater sprinklers, were placed in the graves containing some holy substance, e.g. holy water, or some kind of fragrance. For those among them with appropriate rim it is quite probable that they might have been used as oil or wine containers employed by the priest during the funeral, when he poured it crosswise over the deceased person in order to show that the (s)he lived and died in accordance with the sacred canons.

[35] Antonaras 2001a, 199-202.

[36] Kallinikos 1969, 560-1; Koukoules 1940, 43.

[37] Acheimastou-Potamianou1998, I 56, fig. 45.

[38] Han 1981, 94: '*Patrina mezana piata'*, translated in Serbian by Han as *'boca-pljoska.'*

Bibliography

Acheimastou-Potamianou, M., 1998. Εικόνες του Βυζαντινού Μουσείου Αθηνών*,* Athens.

Akrivopoulou, S., 2017. "*Οι πρώτες ενάστειες ταφές στη Θεσσαλονίκη" in* ΚΤίΤΟΡ. *Αφιέρωμα στον δάσκαλο Γεώργιο Βελένη*. Ι. Δ. Βαραλής και Φ. καραγιάννη (eds.) Thessaloniki, 39-54.

Akrivopoulou, S. and A. Tokmakidou, in print. "Βυζαντινές ταφές στη Θεσσαλονίκη και τη βόρεια Ελλάδα. Πρακτικές, χωροθέτηση και ιδιαιτερότητες", *in Βυζαντινά* 2017 (in press)

Antonaras, A., 1999. "Two Venetian vessels from Thessaloniki", *in Museum of Byzantine Culture* 6, 30-40.

Antonaras, A. C., 2001a. "Venetian Glass Pilgrim Vessels found in Thessalonica", *in 15th International Congress of the International Association for the History of Glass (New York NY, Corning NY 2001)*, 199-202.

Antonaras, A., 2001b. "Early Christian silk fabrics from Thessaloniki", *in Museum of Byzantine Culture* 8, 38-44.

Antonaras, A., 2002. "Late Antique gold embroidered silks. New finds from Thessaloniki", in *8th Annual Meeting of European Association of Archaeologists*, 24-29 September 2002, Thessaloniki, Program of Abstracts, Thessaloniki, 18-19.

Antonaras, A., 2008. "Glass Lamps of the Roman and Early Christian Periods. Evidence from the Thessaloniki Area", in C.-A. Roman, N. Gudea (eds), *Lychnological Acts 2. Acts of the 2nd International Congress on Ancient and Middle Age Lighting Devices (Zalău – Cluj -Napoca, 13th-18th May 2006). Trade and Local Production of Lamps from Prehistory until the Middle Ages*, Cluj-Napoca, 23-30.

Antonaras, A., 2009. "Old and Recent Finds of Byzantine Glass from Northern Greece", *in Glasnik Srpskog Arheoloskog Društva* 25, 83-101.

Antonaras, A., 2010. "Early Christian and Byzantine Glass Vessels: Forms and Uses", in F. Daim, J. Drauschke, *Byzanz – Das Römerreich im Mittelalter*, vol. 1, *Welt der Ideen, Welt der Dinge*, Monographien des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums 84. Mainz, 383-430.

Antonaras, A. C., 2016. *Arts, crafts and trades in ancient and Byzantine Thessaloniki archaeological, literary and epigraphic evidence,* Mainz.

Antonaras, A. C., 2017. *Glasware and Glassworking in Thessaloniki. 1st century BC – 6th century AD,* Oxford.

Ascough, R., 2004. "A Question of Death: Paul's Community-building language in 1 Thessalonians 4: 13-18", *in Journal of Biblical Literature* 123/3, 509-530.

Bakirtzis, Ch., 2003. "The Urban Continuity and Size of Late Byzantine Thessalonike", in A.-M. Talbot(ed.), *Symposium on Late Byzantine Thessalonike (Washington, D.C. 2003) / Dumbarton Oaks Paper* 57, 35-64.

Cabrol, F., H. Leclerq, 1907-1953, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, Paris.

Carboni, S., 2001., *Glass from Islamic Lands*, New York.

Carboni, St., D., Whitehouse (eds), 2001. *Glass of Sultans*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art / The Corning Museum of Glass / Benaki Museum, New York.

Dain, A., & Noailles, P., 1944. *Les novelles de Léon VI le Sage,* Paris.

Drandaki, A., D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi, and A. G. Tourta. (eds.), 2013. *Heaven and Earth: art of Byzantium from Greek Collections. Exhibition catalogue held at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., from October 6, 2013, through March 2, 2014, and at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, from April 9 through August 25, 2014,* Athens.

Duval, Y., 1988. *Auprès des saints corps et âme* [Collection des Études augustiniennes. Série Antiquité (Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale 121)], Paris.

Emmanouilidis, N., 1989. *Το δίκαιο της ταφής στο Βυζάντιο*. Athens.

Gasparetto, A., 1979. "Matrici e Aspetti della Vetraria Veneziana e Veneta Medievale", *in Journal of Glass Studies 21,* 76-97.

Geraskli, E., 2004. "Παλαιοχριστιανικό νεκροταφείο στον Βροντή Καρπάθου: πρώτη παρουσίαση", in D. Damaskos (ed.), *Χάρις Χαίρε. Μελέτες στη μνήμη της Χάρις Κάντζια*, vol.A'-B', Athens, 389-402.

Han, V., 1981. *Tri veka dubrovačkog staklarstva (XIV XVII. vek),* Belgrade**.**

Jacoby, D., 2003. "Foreigners and the Urban Economy in Thessalonike, ca. 1150-ca. 1450", *in Dumbarton Oaks Paper* 57, 85-132.

Kallinikos, K., 1969. O *christianikos naos kai ta teloumena en auto,* Athens.

Kanonidis, I., 1999. "Το βυζαντινό κοιμητήριο της πλατείας Διοικητηρίου Θεσσαλονίκης", In *Αρχαία Μακεδονία, vol. 6 (1996), ανακοινώσεις κατά το ΣΤ' διεθνές συμπόσιο, Thessaloniki, 15-19 October 1996 (Thessaloniki 1999,)* 523-530.

Kanonidis, I., 1998a. "Οι ταφές εντός των τειχών της Θεσσαλονίκης στη μέση και ύστερη βυζαντινή περίοδο, 10ος-14ος αι.", *in Πρακτικά διεθνούς επιστημονικού συνεδρίου 'Χριστιανική Θεσσαλονίκη. Ταφές και κοιμητήρια', Ιερά Μονή Βλατάδων, 6-8 October 1994 (Thessaloniki 1998)*, 207-218.

Kanonidis, I., 1998b. "Νεότερα στοιχεία από τις ανασκαφές του 1998 σχετικά με τα υστεροβυζαντινά κοιμητήρια στη Θεσσαλονίκη", *in Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη* 12, 183-194.

Koukoules, F., 1940. "Βυζαντινών νεκρικά έθιμα", *in Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών*, 16, 3-80.

Koukoules, F., 1948-52. *Βυζαντινών Βίος και Πολιτισμός*, vol. I-V, Athens.

Liddell, H. G., Scott, R. *A Greek–English Lexicon* at the Perseus Project.

Kazhdan, Alexander P., ed. (1991). „KOLLYBA". *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium. Oxford University Press.*

Loukatos, D., 1940: "Λαογραφικαί περί τελευτής ενδείξεις παρά Ιωάννη τῷ Χρυσοστόμῳ", *in Επετηρίς του Λαογραφικού Αρχείου Ακαδημίας Αθηνών* 2, 30-117.

Makropoloulou, D., A. Tzitzimpasi, 1993. "Σωστική ανασκαφική έρευνα στην οδό Κασσάνδρου 90", *in Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη* 7, 355-372.

Makropoulou, D., 1985. «Από το υστεροβυζαντινό νεκροταφείο της μονής Βλατάδων», *in Η Θεσσαλονίκη* 1, 255-309.

Makropoulou, D., 1995. "Το βυζαντινό κοιμητήριο της μονής Βλατάδων", *in Χριστιανική Θεσσαλονίκη. Σταυροπηγιακές και ενοριακές μονές. Πρακτικά Ζ' Επιστημονικού Συμποσίου Ιερά Μονή Βλατάδων, 18-20 Οκτωβρίου 1993*, 1, 235-244.

Makropoulou, D., 2001. "Ταφικά ευρήματα, νομίσματα και νομισματικοί θησαυροί στα παλαιοχριστιανικά κοιμητήρια της Θεσσαλονίκης", in Ai. Kalamartzi-Katsarou, S. Tampaki (eds), *Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη του Σωτήρη Κίσσα,* Thessaloniki, 263-272.

Makropoulou, D., 2001. "Grave Finds and Burial Practices in Thessaloniki (4th - 15th cents.)", in *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies, London, 2006*. Online at http://www.byzantinecongress.org.uk./paper/II/III.4_Makropoulou.pdf accessed at April 2010.

Mantazi, D., 2015. '*Ανασκαφών τεκμήρια'. Τάφοι και ταφές της βυζαντινής Θεσσαλονίκης (8ος-14ος αι.).* Master's thesis submitted to the Theological Department of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.

Marki, E., 2002. "Τα χριστιανικά κοιμητήρια στην Ελλάδα", *Δελτίο Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 23, 172-175.

Marki, E., 2006. *Η Νεκρόπολη της Θεσσαλονίκης στους υστερορωμαϊκούς και παλαιοχριστιανικούς χρόνους (μέσα του 3ου έως μέσα του 8ου αιώνα μ.Χ.)*, Athens.

Papanikola-Bakirtzi, D., 2009. "'Πολύτιμα' εργαστηριακά απορρίμματα εφυαλωμένης κεραμεικής από τη Θεσσαλονίκη", In Stella Drougou et al. (eds.), *Κερμάτια Φιλίας, τιμητικός τόμος για τον Ιωάννη Τουράτσογλου, vol 2. Επιγραφική – Αρχαιολογία – Varia*, Athens, 451 -467.

Poulou-Papadimitriou, N., E.Tzavella, and J. Ott, 2012. "Burial practices in Byzantine Greece: archaeological evidence and methodological problems for its interpretation" in *Rome, Constantinople and Newly-Converted Europe. Archaeological and Historical Evidence,* M. Salamon, M. Wołoszyn, A. Musin, P. Špehar, M. Hardt, M.P. Kruk, A. Sulikowska-Gąska (eds.) U źródeł Europy Środkowo-wschodniej/Frühzeit Ostmitteleuropas 1,1 Kraków-Leipzig-Rzeszów-Warszawa, vol. I, p. 377-428.

Zecchin, L., 1990. "Cesendelli, inghistere, moioli." in *Vetro e Vetrai di Murano*, vol. III, 161-165, Venice.

GLASS VESSELS IN LATE BYZANTINE GRAVES IN THESSALONIKI. OFFERINGS OR FUNERARY RITUAL REMAINS?

Anastassios C. Antonaras

Summary

Late Byzantine cemeteries have been located in approximately 50 different sites, all of them within the city walls of Thessaloniki. More than 500 burials have been noted and in most of them one or more glazed clay bowls were placed. In some graves glass vessels were found, almost exclusively flasks in different sizes. Islamic and Venetian sprinklers along with Venetian *inghistera* bottles comprise the narrow repertoire of the glass finds, which were probably used during the funeral by the priest. The use of glass vessels in early Christian and late Byzantine cemeteries in Thessaloniki and the nature of the late Byzantine glassware in the city are the topic of the present paper.

NEW TECHNOLOGIES IN PRESENTATION OF SERBIAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE: IMPACT ON TOURISM

Bojana Plemić
The College of Tourism, Belgrade
E-mail: bojana.plemic@visokaturisticka.edu.rs

Almost every segment of human life is affected by new technologies in times of their extensive everyday use. Although sometimes imbued with negative connotation, they provide certain benefits, particularly in sciences. Thus, over the past decades, new technologies such as LIDAR for geophysics have been applied in archaeology, contributing significantly to research quality. On the other hand, new technologies have been applied increasingly in another field of archaeology - presentation of sites, i.e. archaeological heritage interpretation which is more and more oriented towards masses and not exclusively professionals. Thus, it is possible to ensure more active role in tourism sector and enable economically sustainable sites or raise funds for more solid conservation and protection of presented heritage.

The importance of this fact is confirmed by 70th session of the UN General Assembly that has declared 2017 as the International Year of Sustainable Tourism for Development, aimed at promoting tourism both in conserving values and cultural diversity as well as in raising awareness on importance of cultural heritage.[1] Additionally, archaeological tourism is currently an increasingly significant tourist field in the world, whereas historical sites are becoming top attractions. According to the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA), these sights are ranked third in popularity (after visits to restaurants and shopping malls) among American outbound tourists.[2] However, this tourism type is accompanied by extremely complex issues, including adequate preparation of sites for mass tourist influx that might be damaging for cultural heritage. Hence, archaeological heritage management is becoming more significant in collaboration of renowned institutions and scholars.[3]

As for archaeological tourism in Serbia, despite world trends, it is still in a fledging stage. Apart from rich cultural heritage belonging to different periods of human civilization, only few archaeological sites have recently become more popular tourist destinations. This fact is also asserted by the only local site inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List - *Felix Romuliana* or Gamzigrad near Zaječar. In addition to several medieval monuments (Manasija Monastery, Smederevo and Bač Fortresses), *Justiniana Prima* - the late Roman site is currently in the Tentative List, whereas Viminacium and all other sites within *Roman Limes* in Serbia are being prepared for nomination. However, this process has been stagnating for a while since these monuments have not yet been inscribed due to incomplete documentation including the file on the site itself, its management plan and emergency response plan. The problem lies in absence of regulations in heritage management plan, which is thus drawn up solely for UNESCO World Heritage list application.[4] Namely, strategy for presenting sites as well as their active role in tourism is missing.

Nevertheless, major regional projects have recently been undertaken, such as *Roman Emperors Route* (*Itinerarium Romanum Serbiae*) and *Danube Limes Brand*,[5] linking attractive remains of Roman

[1] The Resolution is available at: http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc./

[2] https://www.archaeological.org/tourism_guidelines

[3] UNESCO 2006; Carbone 2016.

[4] Vladimir Džamić, National Coordinator for UNESCO, online edition of *Novosti* retrieved at 11/7/2017.

[5] It is one of the major projects related to inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List, within which all sites along the former border of Roman Empire are included in the nomination. Germany and Great Britain have already been inscribed, whereas the parts of limes in Austria,

Fig. 1. – Felix Romuliana, UNESCO World Heritage Site (source: National Museum "Zaječar")

past in these regions, i.e. including Serbian heritage in prominent cultural routes of the Council of Europe,[6] making it a recognizable tourist attraction not only in the region, but all around Europe as well. The stated project, *Roman Emperors Route* can be said to be the most prominent. Originally, it was envisaged to improve the site's infrastructure, thus linking Roman Emperors' route in Serbia - *Sirmium*, *Viminacium*, *Tabula Trajana* and Trajan's Bridge, Šarkamen, *Mediana et Naissus*, *Justiniana Prima*, *Diana* Fortress, Kale-Krševica, Hisar and Drenovac in one cultural route by emphasizing standardization of all sites aimed at preparing them for tourist supply.[7] Although the original idea of the project has not been implemented, a part of this route was certified in 2015, including *Felix Romuliana*, *Sirmium*, *Viminacium*, *Mediana and Diana* (Karataš) Fortress with around 15 Roman sites as well as wine regions in Croatia, Bulgaria and Romania, as the official cultural route of the Council of Europe named *Roman Emperors and Danube Wine Route*,[8] enabling tourist promotion of included regions in the European market.

Nevertheless, modernization of sites is inevitable in modern-day tourism. Not only does it imply development of necessary infrastructure by adding accommodation capacity where possible, but also an appealing presentation, which occasionally evokes lives of ancient times in all its glory just out of ruins. Today, use of new technologies is vital since remains of the past can be visualized through the so-called augmented reality to avoid somewhat exorbitant and unfeasible architectural reconstructions to es-

Hungary, Slovakia and Croatia are in the preliminary lists, see: http://danubelimesbrand.org/sites/. Serbian sites are currently under procedure and in the phase of completing the nomination documents, see: Mrđić and Golubović 2013.

[6] Serbian medieval monasteries have been in the route of Romanesque monuments since 2007, linking cultural heritage of Germany, Austria, Italy, France, Spain, Slovenia and Serbia in the route called *Transromanica*, see: http://www.transromanica.com.

[7] Originally, it was envisaged to open the sites for tourists 364 days a year (except January 1st) and to have at least one facility with protected construction in order to enable its work in different weather conditions, guiding in English, souvenir shops and visitors' relaxation facilities, as well as necessary public convenience, see: Korać 2013, 11.

[8] The Danube Competence Centre, Belgrade (http://danubecc.org/dcc-projects/the-roman-emperors-and-danube-wine-route/).

Fig. 2. – Reconstructed Tower of Felix Romuliana Fortification, New Multimedia Centre (source: National Museum "Zaječar")

tablish better interaction with observers. Interactive boards, 3D architectural reconstruction, holograms and guides for android telephones with culture of the spectacle oriented at reviving ancient atmosphere through costumed guides and staff as well as reconstructing customs, games and rituals from the past or tasting authentic dishes,[9] all make 21st century tourist experience unforgettable. Some of the most outstanding Roman sites such as Sirmium, Felix Romuliana and Viminacium are following this practice, serving as an excellent indicator of development and potential for archaeological tourism in Serbia. By elaborating on the use of new technologies in presenting heritage, the focus in this paper is to look into their direct impact on fostering attractiveness of sites, resulting further in annual increase of domestic as well as inbound tourists.

Use of New Technologies in Presentation of Archaeological Sites: the Case Study of Felix Romuliana

The fact that Felix Romuliana is the only preserved complex of its kind from the period of Roman Empire's second tetrarchy, has been the main criterion for inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage list in 2007 (**Figure 1**), thus completing the process started in 1953, when the first systematic excavations in this site were undertaken. Although noted even in the writings of the Austrian traveller and archaeologist, Felix Kanitz,[10] it was only in the second half of XX century research that full richness of this colossal complex was revealed, especially after 1970 when Dragoslav Srejović became in charge of the site. One of the most important discoveries there took place in 1984, when a fragment of arch element above door (archivolt) was found, with *Felix Romuliana* inscription, thus revealing that it was palace of Gaius Galerius Valerius Maximianus (297–311) who had named it after his mother.[11]

Life traces in Gamzigrad have been recorded ever since Prehistory, but this area was certainly of greatest significance as Galerius's residence, who intended to retire there after descending the throne. In the area of 6.5 ha, in the late 3rd century, a fortification with a palace and shrine was built first. Afterwards, outer fortification was constructed, including a monumental temple dedicated to Jupiter as well as other early 4th century economic facilities when Galerius became the most powerful person in the

[9] Ognjević 2013.

[10] Каниц 1985, 373-375.

[11] Срејовић 1983; Живић 2003; Vasić 2007.

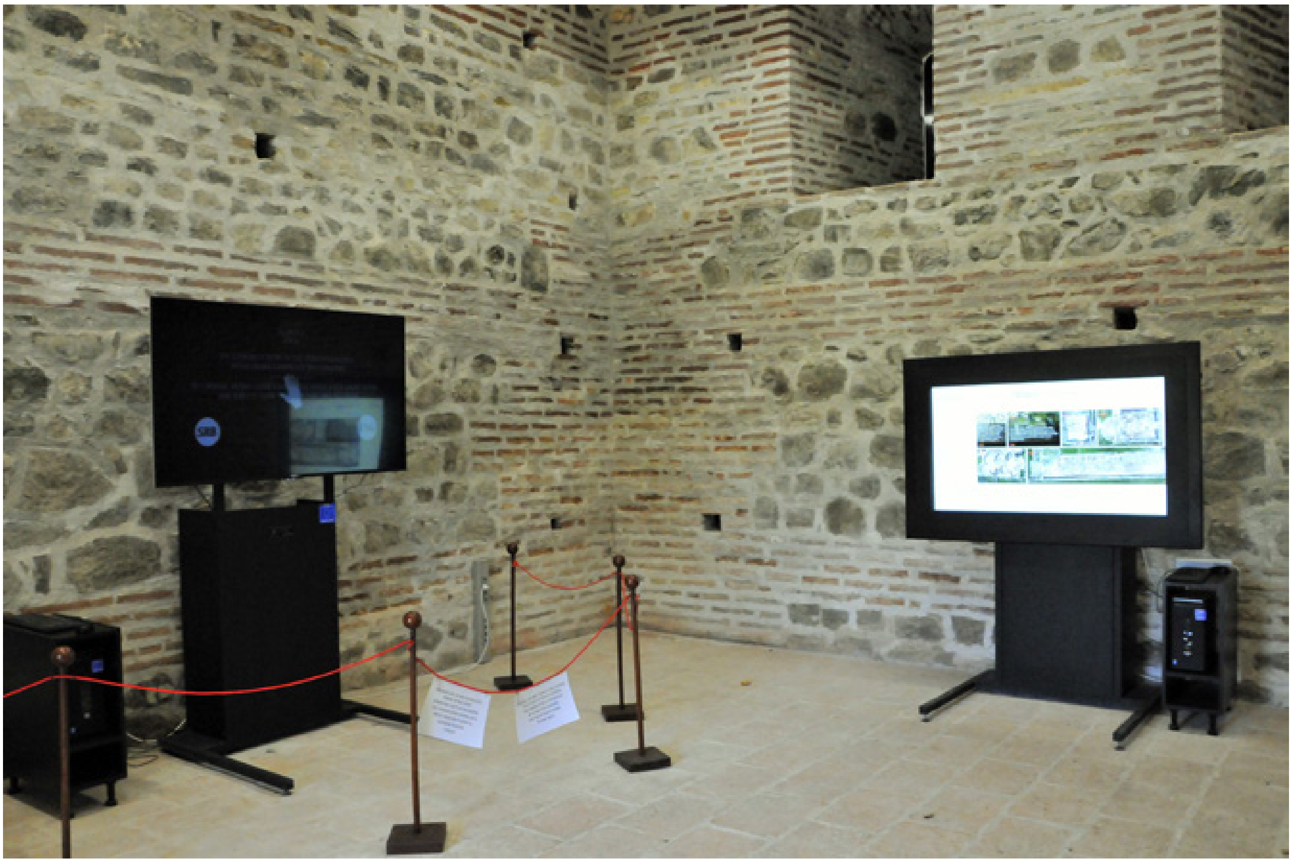


Fig. 3. – Multimedia Visitor Centre, Felix Romuliana (source: National Museum "Zaječar")

Empire (305/6 AD). Although, the emperor abruptly died in Bulgaria in 311, archaeological research has confirmed that both Galerius and Romula were buried in Magura hill, around a kilometre away from the main palace gate, where two tumuli remnants were found featured by ritualistic burning of wax figures, i.e. apotheosis of the emperor and his mother as well as two mausoleums.[12] As for decoration in Gamzigrad Palace, it is characterized everywhere by elaborate ornamentation so as to exude the political idea of tetrarchy. Thus, the Palace's floors were covered in high quality mosaics and walls in frescos, while niches had porphyry sculptures. In the entire iconography, scenes depicting Dionysus had a special place - the eternally young god resurrecting perpetually as Galerius conceived him in order to highlight personal immortality and divine nature.[13]

As previously stated, the importance of Felix Romuliana has been affirmed by inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage list, which turned beneficial for this cultural site. At first, in the year upon inscription, a number of visitors substantially grew (**Table 1**) as the site was in media spotlight, whereas rating of Gamzigrad improved in terms of government's funding as well as international grants, but more importantly, as to the use of new technologies in its presentation as a modern tourist attraction.

Owing to project implementation in 2015, Felix Romuliana launched an innovative product for tourism sector, a cell phone and tablet android application,[14] thus following global museum trends oriented at establishing better interaction between visitors and presented content.[15] The application *Present yourself to Emperor Galerius as the Custom Dictates* can be downloaded for free at the spot since the entire site has a Wi-Fi connection. The signal is set up via *Bluetooth* by transmitting data on its location. Actually, it is a game modelled on *Treasure hunt* since a visitor has to walk towards the intended place in the site, according to the given task. Once the requested location is reached, the visitor solves a task by using assistance in the game, a map and photographs in the menu to navigate through the site's history, which is

[12] Чанак-Медић, Стојковић-Павелка 2010.

[13] Srejović 2001.

[14] Project's implementation is supported by the German organization GIZ, funding the *Regional Project to Promote Cross-border Tourism in Middle and Lower Danube* through the Danube Competence Centre (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit – GIZ (https://www.giz.de/en/worldwide/serbia/)

[15] Numerous conferences held today are dedicated to digital innovations in museums encouraging similar projects. Museum and the Web, Museum Next, Museum Ideas are just a few.

Fig. 4. – Interactive Screen with 3D reconstruction of Felix Romuliana (source: National Museum "Zaječar")

equivalent to museum labels. After the task is solved, another one is triggered and the game continues at a new location. Therefore, the visitor temporarily becomes an archaeologist exploring parts of the palace, participating in Roman religious rituals and learning about numerous details from Emperor Galerius's biography as well as Roman lifestyle and leisure time. In order to create a personally memorable experience, this application replaces traditional guiding with the game by using a novel approach to historical and archaeological heritage, which is, at least, for the time being, unique in Serbia. Apart from boosting tourist visit, presented further in the paper, one of the possibilities on offer is to collect statistical data significant for improving quality of museum programs.

After launching the application, it was already in the following 2016 that Felix Romuliana was equipped with state-of-the-art multimedia visitor centre which elevated cultural heritage interpretation to ultra-modern technological level. It refers to the final stage of Project HERA – *Sustainable Tourism Management of Adriatic Heritage*, in which, partners from Italy, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Albania, Rep. of Macedonia and Greece participated together with the National Museum "Zaječar" in order to develop a joint cross-border platform for sustainable tourism to make local communities more involved in promotion and appreciation of cultural heritage.[16] Owing to this project, Gamzigrad visitor centre is featured by state-of-the-art equipment, whereas works were finalized in three towers, today used as exhibition space, i.e. holographic introduction into flourishing ambience of Felix Romuliana (**Figure 2-3**). Therefore, visitors can walk along the ideal reconstruction of the imperial complex by moving hands before the screen (**Figure 4-5.**), while 3D animations are available (so-called augmented reality) through interactive panels as well as original artefacts, i.e. restored fragments of architecture used to depict authentic ambience.

At last, the innovative technological project of cultural heritage promotion named TECHCOOLTOUR (Technology and Tourism: Augmented Reality for Promotion of Roman and Byzantine Itineraries) is worth mentioning, which has included Gamzigrad archaeological site from the beginning. The project aims at mapping and popularizing two cultural routes, the first refers to Roman and the latter to late Byzantine sites in Europe, emphasizing their correlation in forming European identity.[17] The idea is to point to and affirm the use of innovations in tourist

---

[16] Project HERA (http://www.heradriatic.eu/project/objectives).

[17] Project TECHCOOLTOUR (http://www.techcooltour.com/en/project/about).

Fig. 5. - Interactive Screen with 3D reconstruction of Felix Romuliana (source: National Museum "Zaječar")

centres, i.e. potential in using mobile devices (phones and tablets) as innovative modes of communication for cultural heritage. Therefore, 12 promotional info boards have been installed in four countries, operating through the so-called augmented reality: once a visitor is in front of the board downloading TECHCOOLTOUR application to a device, the site's virtual presentation appears with additional information for visitors, transforming these cultural routes in outdoor museums. One of the first such boards in this project was installed in 2013 in Belgrade Savamala Promenade for the promotion of Felix Romuliana.

The use of new technologies described in this paper mostly aims at familiarizing the general public with history and cultural heritage in a popular and attractive way, i.e. by breaking prejudice on archaeology as a science intended exclusively for scholars and its content as ''boring ruins.'' Although these implementations have been recently introduced, according to current statistical data, certain benefits can already be felt in tourism development of Felix Romuliana. As stated above, this archaeological site has registered tourist boom since 2007 after inscription on the UNESCO list with the peak visit in 2008 and positive outcome later in 2009. Simultaneously, those were also the first years with more significant visits of inbound tourists (**Table 1**). Later, the site had an average visit of around 30000 tourists for several years with a steady rise in the number of foreign visitors, with constant visits in 2013, much above average. It was the year of commemorating 1700 years of the Edict of Milan resulting in numerous celebrations and conferences as well as organized side trips for participants, which led to more frequent visits to Gamzigrad. Generally, ever since 2012, the site has been characterized by more active role in organizing cultural events and seminars, generating a growing number of visitors who frequent Felix Romuliana for those purposes (**Table 2-3**).

Finally, in the wake of stagnant 2015, caused by closing parts of the site for conservation and restoration, a recurring trend in the increased number of tourists of all categories is registered in 2016 and 2017. Given the fact that displayed statistics has included the period until August 2017, when data for this paper were collected,[18] it can be estimated that it will be a successful tourism year since the stated innovations have gradually yielded results. On the other hand, it is encouraging that there was a growing trend in the number of group visits in 2016 as they in larger percentage account for school excursions. The

[18] I owe acknowledgements to Andrijana Maksimović, superior curator of the local museum in Zaječar for her kindness of providing figures on visits as well as the photographs for this paper.

innovative solutions for interpreting heritage presented in this paper are the ones younger generations today are familiar with. Hopefully, by gaining positive experience from these visits, they will become agents of archaeological or culture tourism in the future.

As for the structure of inbound tourists according to the statistics for the period covered in 2017 (**Table 4**), it can be concluded that Felix Romuliana is mostly visited by tourists from the region, mainly from neighbouring Bulgaria, but European countries as well, where cultural routes *Roman Emperors and Danube Wine Route* have been recently promoted. Although, more work must certainly be invested in presenting Gamzigrad abroad as an attractive tourist destination, it should be emphasized that visits from distant countries such as China, Japan and Russia are also registered. These countries represent extremely favourable markets for tourist promotion of Serbian cultural heritage since they nurture their own cultural values and tradition.

New Technologies in the Presentation of Sirmium and Viminacium

Even though Felix Romuliana has so far been a site with the possibly greatest investment in applying cutting edge technologies of heritage presentation in Serbia, other significant projects are worth noting. Firstly, the paper will focus on ancient Sirmium, located in nowadays Sremska Mitrovica, where an urban settlement was founded for the first time during the Flavius Dynasty, and was granted the status of colony. Since its establishment until the late 4th century, it was referred to in historical sources as a temporary residence of many Roman emperors or one of the four Empire's capitals, whereas five emperors were born in Sirmium or its surroundings: Trajan Decius, Aurelian, Probus, Maximianus Herculius and Gratian. Sirmium reached its heyday in the late 3rd and during 4th century, when its most representative part – the Imperial Palace with a hippodrome and other luxury objects was erected on the foundations of former structures in the city's southeast part along the river Sava. The first systematic excavations in Sirmium started in 1957 by exploring the Imperial Palace followed by discoveries of the hippodrome and numerous public buildings such as Licinius's thermae, granaries as well as trade and merchandise quarters. The city is known today for its powerful ramparts, waterworks and sewage system as well as the mint and it developed tremendously until 6th century turbulences, when it was eventually conquered by Avars.[19]

The Imperial Palace complex is one of the most important Sirmium sites, whereas the remains of the residential part, elaborately decorated in frescos and mosaics with architectonic ornamentation of different stones,[20] can be seen today presented in a modern way and protected by archaeological construction in a visitor's centre.[21] Given the fact that it is a major tourist attraction in Sremska Mitrovica, several innovative high tech projects have also been implemented here, aimed at improving its presentation. Within the aforementioned TECHCOOLTOUR, another holographic projection base or table of Emperor Constantius II who resided in Sirmium for some time was installed in 2015, again in the Savamala Promenade. Once interested tourists find themselves before the board, by switching on TECHCOOLTOUR application, emperor's avatar appears, inviting them to visit his city. The display functions by following augmented reality principles, making it very appealing for promotion, which can also be seen in Sirmium Imperial Palace since January 2017.[22]

For a number of years, Sirmium has been included in the international ARCHEST project,[23] with a prime goal to educate visitors on archaeological sites along the Roman route *Aquileia – Emona – Viminacium*, i.e. tourist promotion through creating 3D reconstructions and introducing technology of extended reality in order to evoke the settlement ambience of ancient times as authentically as possible. Thus, 3D reconstruction of Sirmium Imperial Palace was created within ARCHEST, available today on touch screens, as a tool visually evoking sumptuous atmosphere of this complex. Since a novel type of presenting this attraction in an upgraded way is in question,[24] growth in tourist visits is to be expected.[25]

[19] Milošević 2001, 202–203; Popović 2003; Mirković 2006.

[20] Jeremić 2009; Поповић 2013, 108.

[21] Vasić-Petrović, Momčilović-Petronijević 2015, 114.

[22] Institute for Protecting of Cultural Monuments Sremska Mitrovica, Projects (http://zavodsm.rs/project/tek-kul-tur/?ltr=lat).

[23] Institute for Protecting of Cultural Monuments Sremska Mitrovica, Projects (http://zavodsm.rs/project/archest/?ltr=lat); Project ARCHEST (http://archest.eu/project/)

[24] The project was promoted ceremonially during the Archeological Festival *Archest Open Days – Sirmium*, 30-31st August 2017, followed by an appropriate scientific conference.

[25] Over the last few years, the number of visitors to Sirmium Imperial Palace has ranged from 12000-15000, but according to the latest 2017 statistics, owing to the numerous events at the local site, i.e. improving its presentation, this year is expected to substantially exceed the latest average figures. This is an occasion to express my gratitude to Dušica Ostojić, a tourism expert at Sirmium Imperial Palace on providing statistical data.

At last, being the first archaeological park in Serbia founded in 2006, Viminacium is also included in the ARCHEST project.[26] The former legion camp, Roman city and capital of Upper Moesia province, entails seven indoor facilities open today to visitors: the North Gate of the camp (*Porta praetoria*), thermae, amphitheatre, mausoleum or alleged tomb of Roman emperor Hostilian, mammoth park, *Domvs Scientiarvm Viminacium* – a reconstructed *villa rustica* operating as a scientific, research, tourist and trade centre with furnaces for producing ceramics and brick. It is unique also for its accommodation capacities featured by hotel rooms in authentic Roman style as well as enjoyment in classic Roman dishes. Virtual reconstruction of Viminacium is currently under way within the same project - technological innovation to additionally foster an already solid site's offer leading to expected annual visits which are certainly deserved due to presented content.[27]

According to the facts proposed in this paper, it can be concluded that use of innovative technologies has become inevitable either in research or in presenting archaeological heritage. Following global trends and using cutting edge technologies for interpreting heritage are just some of the assets to make the past visually more compelling to visitors. Apart from the sites presented in this paper, the quality presentation of the protected sites in Serbia can be seen in Lepenski Vir and Mediana near Niš, whereas similar projects on introducing technological innovations in other sites are still to be planned. Despite the fact that these novelties have already yielded results, a more realistic account on their contribution can be expected in the following years. At any rate, the final stage of another complex process as to heritage valorisation is in question. The argumentation is that development of archaeological tourism can be instigated through strategic positioning in the future by linking institutions and various experts who will act jointly in all phases of protecting and conserving cultural heritage, given the fact that it is recognized as one of the greatest tourism potentials, not only in Serbia, but in the region as well.

[26] Viminacium, Projects (http://viminacium.org.rs/projekti/projekat-archest/)

[27] Annual visit to Viminacium varies from 75000-80000 visitors, but in line with the original idea of the *Itinerarium Romanum Serbiae* project much more has been estimated, see: Korać 2013, 11; Paardekooper *et al.* 2014, 213.

References

Carbone, F, 2016.
''An insight into cultural heritage quality management of tourism sites'', in *European Journal of Tourism Research* 14, 75–91.

Jeremić, M, 2009.
''The Sirmium Imperial Palace Complex, in Light of the Recent Archaeological investigations'', in *Dioklecijan, tetrarhija i Dioklecijanova palača o 1700. obljetnici postojanja*, N. Cambi (ed.), Split.

Каниц, Ф, 1985.
Србија. Земља и становништво (II), Београд.

Korać, M, 2013.
''Pre-feasibility Study Itinerarium Romanum Serbiae'', in *Archaeology and Science* 9, 9–35.

Milošević, P, 2001. *Arheologija i istorija Sirmijuma,* Novi Sad.

Mirković, M, 2006.
Sirmium. Istorija rimskog grada od I do kraja VI veka. Beograd.

Mrđić, N., Golubović, S, 2013.
''Danube limes as UNESCO world heritage Site'', in *Archaeology and Science* 9, 101–118.

Ognjević, T. 2013.
''Archaeological heritage and modern spectacle as cultural entrepreneurship experiment'', in *Archaeology and Science* 9, 149–154.

Paardekooper, R. et all, 2014.
''Viminacium and the Openarch Project'', in *Archaeology and Science* 10, 211–220.

Поповић, И, 2013.
„Сирмијум – царска резиденција, панонска метропола и хришћанска глава Илирика“, у *Константин Велики и Милански едикт 313. Рађање хришћанства у римским провинцијама на тлу Србије*, И. Поповић, Б. Борић-Брешковић (eds), Београд, 101–117.

Popović, V, 2003.
Sirmium grad careva i mučenika, Beograd.

Срејовић, Д. 1983.
''Увод '', у: *Гамзиград, касноантички царски дворац*, С. Ћелић (ур), Београд, 5–7.

Srejović, D, 2001.
''Ikonografija graditeljskog poduhvata rimskog imperatora Galerija u Gamzigradu (Felix Romuliana),'' u *Iskustva prošlosti - Izabrani članci i studije*, (Knjiga 10, Elektronsko izdanje), Beograd.

UNESCO, 2006.
Tourism, Culture and Sustainable Development. Paris: UNESCO Publishing.

Vasić, M, 2007.
''Felix Romuliana (Gamzigrad) – Palast und Gedenkmonument des Keisers Galerius'', in: *Roms Erbe auf dem Balkan – Spätantike Kaiservillen und Stadtanlagen in Serbien*, U. Brandl, M. Vasić (eds.), Meinz am Rhein, 33–53.

Vasić Petrović, E, Momčilović Petronijević, A, 2015.
''Shelters for Archaeological Sites in Serbia: A Research Aiming to Develop Guidelines for Future Design and Construction", in *FACTA UNIVERSITATIS Architecture and Civil Engineering* (Vol. 13/2), 113–121.

Чанак-Медић, М, Стојковић-Павелка, Б, 2010.
''Архитектура и просторна структура царске палате'', у: Felix Romuliana – Гамзиград, И. Поповић (ed.), Београд., 49–106.

Живић, М, 2003.
Felix Romuliana. 50 година одгонетања, Зајечар.

NEW TECHNOLOGIES IN PRESENTATION OF SERBIAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE: IMPACT ON TOURISM

Bojana Plemić, PhD
The College of Tourism, Belgrade
E-mail: bojana.plemic@visokaturisticka.edu.rs

Summary

In times of increased use of new technologies, they are applied on a daily basis in all spheres of human life including science. It is archaeology which uses different technological achievements, contributing significantly to the quality of research, i.e. being perhaps the most important factor for protecting a site since its interpretation is directed at general public, and not only professional circles.

Although archaeological tourism can be said to be in a fledging stage, a lot of effort has been made lately to incorporate it in Serbia's tourist offer as its inevitable segment, either locally or through international cooperation. However, for active participation in present-day tourism, modernization of the site is paramount. It implies not only development of necessary infrastructure and even accommodation capacities where possible, but primarily an attractive presentation, which will depict the life of former times in all its glory just out of ruins. The use of cutting edge technology is vital there, since it visually revives remains of the past by interacting in the most appealing way with the observer via the so-called augmented reality, avoiding at times, exorbitant or unfeasible architectural reconstruction by making the experience of 21st century tourist authentic.

Thus, it was owing to participation in major regional projects that the prominent sites of Roman period in Serbia: Felix Romuliana, Sirmium and Viminacium, enriched their presentation. Therefore, a visitor to Felix Romuliana today can go sightseeing and explore the site through a game via mobile phone application, whereas in a visitor centre, it is possible to walk through an interactive panel with a holographic projection in the original architecture of the complex. Additionally, interactive screens with 3D reconstruction of Imperial Palace are available in Sirmium, whereas visitors are greeted by a hologram of the emperor Constantius II, who resided there for some time. A similar project related to 3D reconstruction of the city and military camp in Viminacium is currently under way, as an additional attraction of this archaeological park. However, even though the stated novelties have already brought results in terms of the annual number of tourists, whereas more realistic picture of their contribution is expected in the following years, still the completion of more complicated heritage valorisation process is in question. Hence, a strategic positioning is necessary in the future, linking institutions and various experts who will act jointly in all phases of work on protection and conservation of archaeological heritage since it is archaeological tourism which is recognized today as one of the greatest tourism potentials not only in Serbia, but in the entire region as well.

Table 1.

Year	Group Visits	Individual Visits	Foreign Visitors	TOTAL
2001	15990	1816		**17806**
2002	22528	3765		**26293**
2003	18668	3644		**22312**
2004	18941	4191		**23132**
2005	18893	5670		**24563**
2006	23114	5859		**28973**
2007	23945	7154	950	**32049**
2008	28497	11594	1411	**41502**
2009	22389	9213	1902	**33504**

Source: *National Museum "Zaječar"*

Tab. 1. – Annual Visits to Felix Romuliana Site from 2001 to 2009.

Table 2.

Year	Group Visits	Individual Visits	Foreign Visitors	Events	TOTAL
2010	20830	83223	2073		**31225**
2011	18835	7689	2756		**29280**
2012	17047	7305	3604	1782	**29738**
2013	15835	8345	4363	5786	**34329**
2014	11308	6572	4691	6794	**29365**

Source: *National Museum "Zaječar"*

Tab. 2. – Annual Visits to Felix Romuliana Site from 2010 to 2014.

Table 3.

Year	Group Visits	Individual Visits	Foreign Visitors	Events	TOTAL
2015	14348	6533	4735	2220	**27836**
2016	15587	7875	5587	1845	**30894**
2017	13102	5755	3726	1143	**23726**

Source: *National Museum "Zaječar"*

Tab. 3. – Annual Visits to Felix Romuliana Site from 2015 to 2017.

Table 4.

Country	Visitor Numbers	% of Total
Bulgaria	1205	32.34%
the Czech Republic	129	3.46%
France	179	4.80%
Italy	163	4.37%
Japan	99	2.66%
China	168	4.51%
Germany	223	5.98%
Poland	318	8.53%
Romania	252	6.76%
Russia	126	3.38%
Slovenia	185	4.97%
Spain	90	2.42%
	TOTAL:	**3726**

Source: *National Museum "Zaječar"*

Tab. 4. – Structure of Inbound Visits to Felix Romuliana during 2017

PERSPECTIVES FOR DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURAL TOURISM IN KOKINO

Dejan Metodijeski, Nako Taskov, Oliver Filiposki, Elizabeta Mitreva
University "Goce Delcev", Stip – Faculty of tourism and business logistics
dejan.metodijeski@ugd.edu.mk; nako.taskov@ugd.edu.mk; oliver.filiposki@ugd.edu.mk; elizabeta.mitreva@ugd.edu.mk

Abstract: In the period of past few decades tourism has seen constant growth globally and in the competitive tourism market cultural attractions enrich the offer of tourist destinations. Research from relevant literature related to tourism show, that tourists when traveling to destinations tend to visit cultural and historical sites, museums, events and festivals, and that was always been regarded as an integral part of the tourist experience. These activities are the basis of cultural tourism and in our case the connection between ancient astronomy and tourism is investigated. The purpose of this paper is to present the potentials of the site Kokino as an attraction and generator of tourists visit. The paper examines the existing literature related to cultural tourism development in the field of ancient observatories and their management for tourism purposes. Secondary data from relevant sources were used to make a model of tourism development. At the end of the paper, recommendations are given on the directions in which the Kokino site should move in the possibility of attracting foreign and domestic tourists.

Key words: Kokino, cultural tourism, astronomy, development

Introduction

Today tourism is one unique phenomenon present in all countries around the world and has constant tendency of increasing its growth on a international level. There is no country in the world that does not develop some type of tourism or a country where citizens are not involved in tourist movement outside of their permanent place of residence for various reasons such as culture, business, pleasure, sports and recreation, religion or other reasons. According to the United Nations World Tourism Organization[1], international tourists arrival in 2016 has reached 1.235 million. Tourists expenditure reached to 1.220 billion US dollars, and the tourism industry participated with 10% of the global GPD (gross domestic product). Every eleventh employed person in the world is employed within the tourism industry. Tourism will maintain its continuous and positive level of development from the past 60 years in the coming years. With studies predicting continued growth, tourism is an increasingly important factor for tourism policy and governments and also in the planning and management at UNESCO World Heritage sites[2]. There are many ways of defining tourism, but a commonly accepted definition is the one developed by the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO): The activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business, and other purposes. Tourism is the temporary, short-term movement of people to destinations outside the places they live and work and their activities during the stay at destinations.

Cultural tourism is one of the oldest forms of special interest tourism, and yet, remains one of the more misunderstood types[3]. People have been travelling for what we now call cultural tourism reasons since the days of the ancient Romans visiting Greece and Egypt or Chinese scholars making journeys to beautiful landscapes. Given the many definitions of culture, it's hardly surprising there are many definitions for cultural tourism[4]. Cultural tourism occurs when participation in a cultural or heritage activity is a significant factor for traveling. Cultural tourism includes performing arts (theatre, dance, music), visual arts and crafts, festivals, museums and cultural centers, and historic sites and interpretive centers. The movement of persons to cultural attractions in

[1] UNWTO (2017) UNWTO Tourism Highlights, 2017 Edition. Madrid: UNWTO

[2] Pedersen, 2002

[3] Du Cros; McKercher, 2015

[4] Whyte; Hood; White, eds., 2012

cities or countries other than their normal place of residence, with the intention to gather new information and experiences to satisfy their cultural needs is cultural tourism. In a broad sense, cultural tourism covers all movements of persons to specific cultural attractions, such as heritage sites, artistic and cultural manifestations, arts and drama to destinations outside their normal place or country of residence. There are many types of cultural tourism, like archeological tourism, astrotourism, educational tourism, heritage tourism, music tourism, manifestation tourism, religious tourism and other types connected with culture and travel of tourists.

Connection between astronomy and tourism

Basically, astronomy is the study of stars, planets and space. Historically, astronomy has focused on observations of heavenly bodies. Ancient cultures wore using astronomy to plan and structure their lives, to determine and understand time for the purpose of their concerns[5]. Astronomy is multidisciplinary science and uses different methods and aspects in research and study. Archaeoastronomy for example is the study of beliefs and practices concerning the sky in the past[6]. Archaeoastronomy or cultural astronomy as science tend to seek answers to questions as[7]: What did ancient people see in the sky that mattered to them? How did they interpret what they saw? Precisely what knowledge did they acquire from looking at the sky, and to what ends did they employ this knowledge? The role the sky played in the lives of ancient cultures is also important issue for the cultural tourism and specific type of tourism - astrotourism. One of the good and valuable aspects of astrotourism is that sky never needs to fix and develop, it is always available and has its unique features[8]. The more the people become educated, the more they enjoy the beauties of the sky. So, astrotourism whether in night or in day can be considered to be sustainable form of tourism.

Astrotourism goes back many centuries when mankind looked up to the stars, imagined figures and gave them meanings. Monuments were erected and sites given a special connotation due to the affinity humans made with the universe. Nowadays, it has become a rising niche of tourism with much potential, mainly educational, social and to relax, thus being considered a leisure activity[9]. The concept of astrotourism has expanded over the years, from dictionary definitions of "activities by tourists paying to travel into space for recreation" to "tourism using the natural resource of unpolluted night skies for astronomical, cultural, or environmental activities"[10]. Astrotourism opens new opportunities of bridging science and tourism, motivating alliances for starry nights, science, culture, and nature. Associating nightscapes with heritage is a logical step in astrotourism. The night sky has played a key role in the development of civilization, including orientation and navigation, agriculture, calendars, cultural travel, and celebrations. The dawn of many cultures is marked by archeoastronomical milestones, witnessed at widespread sites, including Stonehenge, Chichen Itzá, Giza, Mesa Verde, Chankillo, Persepolis, Almendres, Gochang, or Chaco Canyon. The relevance of these sites, the commemoration of key dates in ancient calendars, and other intangible and oral manifestations are a resource for cultural-scientific event tourism. Astrotourism entails observatories, stargazing places and dates, heritage sites related to astronomy, and natural dark sky areas of outstanding beauty. Astronomical tourism is the form of tourism that involves the sites with astronomical interest, historical and archaeological sites, modern research organizations (observatories, astronomical institutes), educational centres, space museums, planetariums, etc[11].

Balkan countries cannot compete with developed countries with respect to astrotourism. Some authors suggest that organizers of the travel from this countries should introduce naked-eye astronomy into their tourism programs – observations of the night sky without a telescope[12].

Methodological framework of the research

The aim of this paper is perspectives for development of cultural tourism in Kokino. For the purpose of the research a review of ancient observatories in selected countries was undertaken. In the interest of the paper, we use secondary data sources by consulting relevant literature on the subject of astrotourism and the Internet. A literature review shows that there is existing body of literature concerning astrotourism and archeology sites management concerning tourism visitors. Using Internet sources we also collected data such as tourism strategies and tourism law that have been analyzed later. The main method used in this comparative research is content analysis[13]. Content analysis is an observational research method that is used to systematically evaluate the actual content

[5] Burton, ed., 2016.

[6] Ruggles; Urton, eds., 2007.

[7] Kelley; Milone, 2011

[8] Najafabadi, 2012

[9] Matos, 2017.

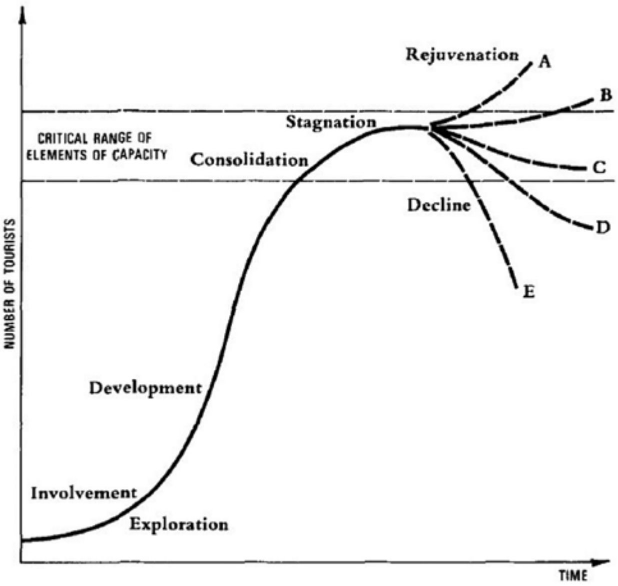
[10] Jafari; Xiao, eds., 2016.

[11] Mickaelian, 2016

[12] Tadić, 2016, 127-144

[13] Ritchie; Burns,; Palmer, eds., 2005.

Fig. 1 – Hypothetical evolution of a tourist area



Source: Butler, R. (1980) The concept of a tourist area cycle of evolution: Implications for management of resources. The Canadian geographer, 24 (1), pp. 5-12

of the official web pages of ancient observatories in four countries: Kokino in Macedonia, Carahunge in Armenia, Carnac in France and Stonehenge in England. On the basis of the findings we use comparative analysis to highlight similarities and differences among multiple features of ancient observatories connected to tourism. The comparisons helps us to establish the relationships of multiple case designs as a research strategy.

We elaborate on relationship between tourism and development through evaluation of some models outlined in relevant tourism literature. The model of space-temporal development of tourism proposed by Opperman[14], although it was developed at national level, represents a useful tool in illustrating tourism potential success in development. This model supports the economy of developing countries and it is composed of two separate sectors (formal and informal tourism sectors) that although co-exist side by side, they have very few links. The model of Miossec[15] describes the structural evolution in time and space of tourist regions. The model identifies five distinct phases regarding the changes that occur in the provision of facilities (the resorts and of transport system) and in the behavior and attitude of tourists, of local decision-factors and the host population. Butler develops a more complex model than the one of Miossec on the hypothetical evolution of tourist areas. Butler developed a model which shows how tourist areas may grow. Tourist area may start off from being a small and low key, destination. He suggests that all tourist areas go through the same sort of process. **(Fig. 1)**

The seven stages of tourist development are presented below:

1. The stage of Exploration - a small number of tourists visit the area. The area is unspoilt and few tourist facilities exist.
2. Stage of Involvement - local people start to provide some facilities for tourists. There starts to become a recognised tourist season.
3. Stage of Development - the host country starts to develop and advertise the area. The area becomes recognised as a tourist destination.
4. Stage of Consolidation - the area continues to attract tourists. The growth in tourist numbers may not be a fast as before. Some tensions develop between the host and the tourists.
5. The stage of Stagnation - the facilities for the tourists may decline as they become old and run down. The numbers of tourists may decline too.
6. The stage of Rejuvenation - investment and modernisation may occur which leads to improvements and visitor numbers may increase again.
7. The stage of Decline - if the resort is not rejuvenated (stage 6) then it will go into decline. People lose their jobs related to tourism. The image of the area suffers.

The Butler model is a generalisation, and so not all tourist areas will follow this process. If we adjust Butler's model to the four ancient observatories that are point of interest of this research, according to the given parameters we can conclude, that observatories Kokino and Carahunge are in the first stage of tourism development or the exploration stage. The entrance in these two sites is free of charge. On the other hand, observatories Carnac and Stonehenge are in the sixth stage of tourism development or the rejuvenation stage. The entrance in Carnac is 11 euros and entrance in Stonehenge is 18 euros. Stonehenge has registered more than 1.38 million visitors in 2016[16].

Review of selected ancient observatories in the context of tourism development

Observatories were built in an effort to track the sun, moon, planets and stars, giving ancient cultures a calendar to know when to plant, when to harvest, when certain ceremonies should occur and more. This observatories allowed ancient cultures to flourish. Such privileged information allowing the

[14] Oppermann, 1993, 535–556.

[15] Miossec, 1977, 41-48

[16] https://www.statista.com/statistics/586843/stonehenge-visitor-numbers-united-kingdom-uk/ [Accessed 10.10.2017]

ancient people to predict the seasonal shifts must have seemed to come from divine inspiration. As they began to record their observations, some cultures developed quite an accurate body of astronomical knowledge. Many cultures built markers to align with sites on the horizon to mark the summer and winter solstices, then began to build permanent observatories with openings to catch the first light precisely on those mornings[17].

Concerning archaeoastronomy, there are three main aspects of the astronomical system associated with a given place and thus contributing to the value of a site[18]:

material evidence of the astronomical place in the form of fixed property and/or moveable objects;

the results of scientific activities (in the broadest sense), including but not restricted to astronomical observations; and

Socio-cultural applications and uses of astronomy at a given moment or over a given period for the site.

For the purpose of the paper, we analyze four archaeoastronomy sites as follows: Kokino in Macedonia, Carahunge in Armenia, Carnac in France and Stonehenge in England. The locations of this sites is shown in figure 2. (**Fig. 2)**

Fig. 2 – Map of selected ancient observatories

Source: Author's own illustration

Kokino

The megalithic observatory Kokino is located in the municipality of Staro Nagorichane, 75 kilometers from Skopje and about 30 kilometers from Kumanovo. It is situated right beneath the mountain pick Tatikev Kamen on 1013 meters above sea level and the name takes after the same called village. The archaeological site was accidentally discovered in the autumn of 2001[19]. Among the many findings in this locality numerous artefacts were discovered (ceramic plates, amorphous dishes, stone axes, etc.)[20]. The site contains several artificially carved and flattened surfaces (platforms) and objects cut in the rocks, such as stone seats, astronomical and ritual markers, paths, etc. The most fascinating part of the locality is the lower, western platform which contains monumental stone seats or "thrones" carved in the rock terrain. The existence of a marker for the equinoxes indicates the sophisticated observational skills of the Kokino "astronomers"[21].

Carahunge

Carahunge is a megalithic monument in southern Armenia close to the city of Sisian, at about 1,770 m above sea level has often been acclaimed as the oldest observatory[22]. The monument, composed of dozens of standing stones, has some perforated stones. The direction of the holes has been measured and their orientation is related to the sun, moon, and stars, obtaining a date for the construction of such devices. The Carahunge monument closes off a slightly elevated area at the confluence of two ravines. This is occupied by several underground square structures that have been interpreted as tombs. The megalithic assemblage, to the east of this large necropolis, is composed of various structures of basaltic standing stones. In the nearby city of Sisian, there is a small museum dedicated to findings in the area, including palaeolithic petroglyphs found on mountain tops in the area, and grave artefacts form the Bronze Age burial site with over 200 shaft graves.

Carnac

The Carnac stones are an exceptionally dense collection of megalithic sites around the village of Carnac in the northwest of France, consisting of alignments, dolmens, tumuli and single menhirs. More than 3,000 prehistoric standing stones were hewn from local rock and erected by the pre-Celtic people of Brittany, and form the largest such collection in the world. Most of the stones are within the Breton village of Carnac, but some to the east are

[17] NASA Sun-Earth Connection Education Forum (2005) Ancient observatories – Timeless knowledge. NASA Sun-Earth Connection Education Forum.

[18] Ruggles; Cotte, eds., 2010.

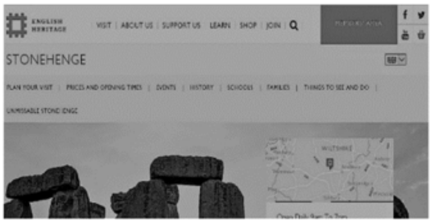
[19] Gjorgjievski, 2017.

[20] Taskov; Dimitrov; Metodijeski, 2017.

[21] Kuzmanovska; Stankovski, 2015

[22] Ruggles, 2015.

Tab. 1 - Comparative analysis of web pages of selected ancient observatories

Ancient observatory, country	Web page main interface	Web page (content)
Kokino, Macedonia		**kokino.mk** (home, map of Kokino, events, history, museum, publications, visit Kokino, tourism and hospitality offer, android application on Google Play, gallery – photos by category, donors, language – two options)
Carahunge, Armenia		**carahunge.com** (home, gallery, information, map, contact)
Carnac, France		**carnactourism.co.uk** (discover Carnac, gallery, events, weather forecast, map, were to eat, were to sleep, to see, to do, going out, prepare your stay, useful to know, Carnac tourist office, web cams, videos, contact, public and municipal services, language – tree options)
Stonehenge, England		**www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/stonehenge/** (plan your visit, prices and opening times, events, map, history, schools, families, things to see and do, exhibition, trip advisor and social media, guide book, nearby places, similar places, gallery, about us, support, language – eleven options)

Source: Official web pages of selected institutions

within La Trinité-sur-Mer. The stones were erected at some stage during the Neolithic period, probably around 3300 BCE, but some may date to as early as 4500 BCE. The site was used for lunar observation and there was two large megalithic lunar observatories in the Carnac area[23].

Stonehenge

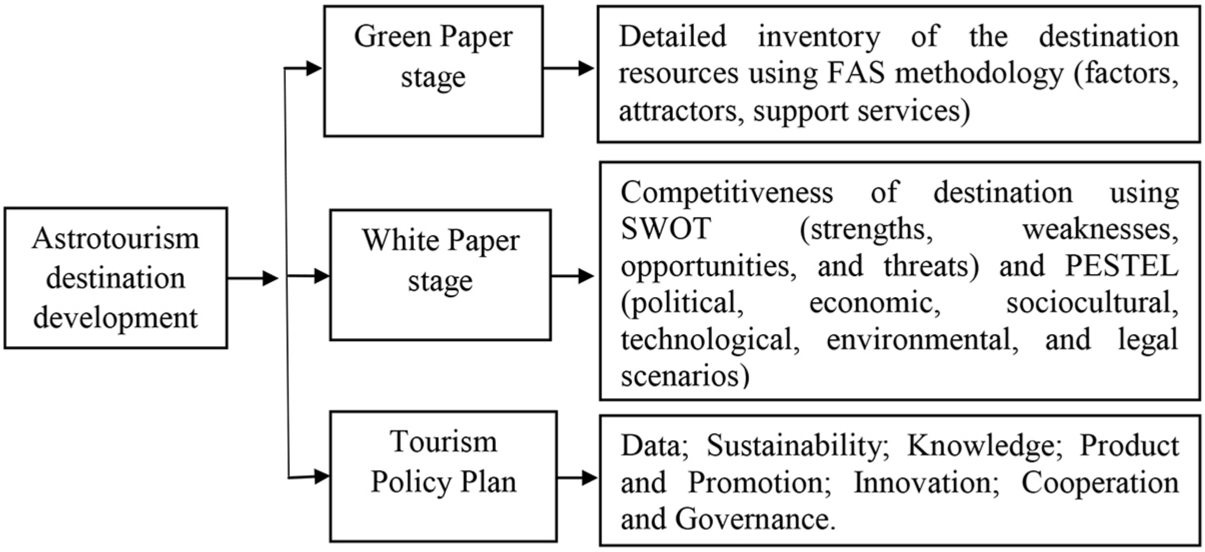
Stonehenge is one of the most famous prehistoric monuments in the world. The first known writings about Stonehenge appeared in the XII century in histories of Britain[24]. Stonehenge is located tree kilometers west of Amesbury in Wiltshire, England. It consists of a ring of standing stones, with each standing stone around four meters high, and two meters wide and weighing around 25 tons. The stones are set within earthworks in the middle of the most dense complex of Neolithic and Bronze Age monuments in England, including several hundred burial mounds. **(Tab. 1)**

The analysis of the official web pages of the four ancient observatories showed that observatories with higher number of tourists have rich web pages and colorful offers for visitors. Namely, the smallest content, information, offer and activities is noticed in the web page of Carahunge, then follow by the web page of Kokino where it is possible to find more information about the destination and activities that potential visitors can practice and be involved during the visit and stay at the destination. The most "user friendly" are the web pages of Carnac and Stonehenge, with

[23] Thom; Thom; Gorrie, 1976, 11-26

[24] Malone; Bernard, 2002

Fig. 3 – Astrotourism destination development and position on the market



Source: Author's own illustration, adopted from Fayos-Solá, E., Marín, C., Jafari, J. (2014) Astrotourism: No Requiem for Meaningful Travel. Revista de Turismo y Patrimonio Cultural, 12 (4), pp. 663-671

rich content and necessary information for tourists, and these web pages have been translated into more foreign languages. Social media is also present in the web pages. Carnac's web page is linked to the tourist office of the destination, which is a good example of tourist promotion of the site.

Conclusion

Across the world there are a number of ancient observatories that enrich the offer of cultural tourism by practicing one of its forms – astrotourism. In the paper we gave examples of four ancient observatories and through the analysis of their web pages we have seen the degree of development of these destinations that attract visitors for the purpose of astrotourism. Beside the offered models for development of tourism in the destinations, in conclusion we also give a proposal model for the development of cultural tourism in Kokino. The model for astrotourism destination development and position on the market is based on research that we find in the relevant scientific literature on this topic. Astrotourism diverges from conventional forms of tourism both from the demand and supply perspectives, and for different stakeholders has different meanings and opportunities:[25]

For tourists, it entails a knowledge-rich experience, combining the pleasures of unspoiled sites, enlightened company, and personal tangible experiences with learning, knowing, and understanding the observable surroundings at large.

For the host communities, it signifies a positive reputation, often beyond local reaches, additional edutainment and scientific facilities, motivation and implication of many stakeholders, optimizing appeal chances in very competitive tourism markets.

For astronomy and the general scientific community, it brings a unique chance to come near ample publics, and to gain support regarding science objectives, values, and financial needs. It also supposes an excellent opportunity to make these publics aware of the scientific viewpoints regarding strategic issues, such as human capital formation, good governance, and environmental conservation.

The three stage model for astrotourism destination development is shown in fig. 3 below. (**Fig. 3)**

The model for astrotourism destination development is divided in three stages as follows: Green Paper stage, White Paper stage and Tourism Policy Plan. The most important starting requirement for an astrotourism quest is applying know how to an inventory and analysis of the resources available or Green Paper stage[26]. When the analysis is done, conservation of these resources becomes a main issue, which must be tackled through the establishment of voluntary or compulsory standards and norms, followed by adequate programmes and actions. Adequate governance proposals and decisions from the outset are also important. It is erroneously believed that tourism governance setups must always be organized and conducted by government, but this is not the case. Neither is the fundamentalist free market doctrine that a left alone private sector will do. As-

[25] Fayos-Solá; Marín; Jafari, 2014, 663-671

[26] Fayos-Solá; Marín; Jafari, 2014. 663-671

trotourism resources are usually a clear cut case of a common pool resource, and it is tailor made governance solutions which can be the most effective and efficient to optimize resource use. Finally, adoption of a Tourism Policy Plan, with specific provisions for astrotourism is highly recommended. This plan will usually include programmes and actions for data production and mining; sustainability provisions; knowledge creation, dissemination, and application; supervision of quality and excellence of operations; product formulation, promotion, and follow up, and explicit arrangements for institutional cooperation and governance.

In this paper, different models for destination development were presented. Basically, we pointed out the model for astrotourism destination development resulting form the potential of Kokino for the development of this type of cultural tourism. What kind of development model will be applied in the case of Kokino remains to be decided by all stakeholders through organizing meetings and undertaking concrete measures in the future. One thing is certain, Kokino as a destination with natural and cultural potentials deserves more attention by authorities in the quest of attracting foreign and domestic tourists with activities that will enrich tourist offer at regional, national and international level.

References

Burton, B., ed. (2016) *Astronomy in the Ancient World: Early and Modern Views on Celestial Events*. Switzerland: Springer International Publishing.

Butler, R. (1980) The concept of a tourist area cycle of evolution: Implications for management of resources. *The Canadian geographer*, 24 (1), pp. 5-12

Du Cros, H., McKercher, B. (2015) *Cultural tourism*. Oxon: Routledge.

Fayos-Solá, E., Marín, C., Jafari, J. (2014) Astrotourism: No Requiem for Meaningful Travel. *Revista de Turismo y Patrimonio Cultural*, 12 (4), pp. 663-671

Gjorgjievski, D. (2017) Kokino: Findings of archaeological excavations. Kumanovo: NI Museum of Kumanovo.

Jafari, J., Xiao, H., eds. (2016) *Encyclopedia of Tourism.* Switzerland: Springer International Publishing.

Kelley, D., Milone, E. (2011) *Exploring Ancient Skies: A Survey of Ancient and Cultural Astronomy*. Switzerland: Springer International Publishing.

Kuzmanovska, O., Stankovski, J. (2015) *Astronomical aspects of the cult practise of the peak sanctuary Kokino*. International Conference on Engineering and Natural Sciences (ICENS 2015) May 15-19, 2015 Skopje (Macedonia)

Malone, C., Bernard, N. (2002) *Stonehenge*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Matos, L. (2017) *Terrestrial Astrotourism – Motivation and Satisfaction of Travelling to Watch the Night Sky.* Master's Thesis, Aalborg University.

Mickaelian, A. (2016) *Astro Tourism in South West Asia*. IAU OAD project report

Miossec, J.M. (1977) Un modèle de l'espace touristique. *Espace géographique*, 6 (1), pp. 41-48

Najafabadi, S. (2012) *Astronomical Tourism (Astro-Tourism) in Cebu, Philippines: Essential Features In Selected Destinations and Its Complementing Visitor Attractions*. International Conference on Trade, Tourism and Management (ICTTM 2012) December 21-22, 2012 Bangkok (Thailand)

NASA Sun-Earth Connection Education Forum (2005) *Ancient observatories – Timeless knowledge*. NASA Sun-Earth Connection Education Forum.

Oppermann, M. (1993) Tourism space in developing countries. *Annals of Tourism Research,* 20 (3), pp. 535–556

Pedersen, A. (2002) *Managing Tourism at World Heritage Sites: a Practical Manual for World Heritage Site Managers.* Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Centre.

Ritchie, B, Burns, P, Palmer, C., eds. (2005) *Tourism research methods: Integrating theory with practice*. Oxfordshire: CAB International.

Ruggles, C., ed. (2015) *Handbook of Archaeoastronomy and Ethnoastronomy*. New York: Springer.

Ruggles, C., Urton, G., eds. (2007) *Skywatching in the ancient world: New perspectives in cultural astronomy studies in honor of Anthony F. Aveni*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Ruggles, C., Cotte, M., eds. (2010) *Heritage Sites of Astronomy and Archaeoastronomy in the context of the UNESCO World Heritage Convention*. Paris: ICOMOS.

Tadić, M. (2016) Naked-eye astronomy in mass tourism. *Bulletin of the Serbian geographical society*, 96 (1), pp. 127-144

Taskov, N., Dimitrov, N., Metodijeski, D. (2017) *A guide to the famous products, places, landmarks and events in Macedonia*. Skopje: Agency for support and promotion of tourism in the Republic of Macedonia.

Thom, A., Thom, A. S., Gorrie, J. (1976) The Two Megalithic Lunar Observatories at Carnac. *Journal for the History of Astronomy*, 7 (1), pp. 11-26

UNWTO (2017) *UNWTO Tourism Highlights, 2017 Edition*. Madrid: UNWTO

Whyte, B., Hood, T., White, B., eds. (2012) *Cultural and Heritage Tourism: A Handbook for Community Champions.* Québec: FPT Ministers of Culture and Heritage.

PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY - NEW AND CREATIVE SOLUTIONS TO PROMOTE CULTURAL HERITAGE

Elena Karanfilovska
Institute for Archaeological Research – Skopje
karanfilovska.elena@gmail.com

Public Archaeology is a branch of modern archaeology that focuses on increasing public awareness and education about archaeology. It can be widely defined as the practice of presenting archaeological data and interpreting that data to the public. However, there are many diverse meanings and contexts for public archaeology in the academic literature.

If we want to give a more narrow definition we can say that public archaeology is both a disciplinary practice and a theoretical position, which can be exercised through the democratization of archaeological communication, activity or administration, through communication with the public, involvement of the public or the preservation and administration of archaeological resources for public benefit by voluntary or statutory organizations. Broadly understood as a sub-discipline, public archaeology is as much an activity as a theoretical concept, and operates in a wide variety of societal, social and academic contexts[1].

This sub-filed of archaeology is relatively new, it emerged in the 1970s, departing from the traditional view of archaeology by looking outside the academic discipline. The term 'public archaeology' has been in use since the publication of McGimsey's book Public Archeology in the USA – as a term used within the context of publicly funded and supported excavation and preservation of archaeological sites threatened by development works[2]. Since then public archaeology has become increasingly popular in the world, it has grown gradually and steadily, and has developed in a science that explains the role and importance of the archaeological sources in today's society and with the help of active participation of the public includes the (archaeological) heritage in the modern life. A lot of archaeologists nowadays work on this subject, share their results with the wider public and actively collaborate with non-archaeologists, the term public archaeology is mentioned more and more on archaeological seminars and in the university courses. Overall new and innovative public activities - both on excavations and in museums - are thriving.

Unfortunately the term Public Archaeology is still relatively unknown in Macedonian archaeology, but the lack of communication between the professional archaeologist and the wider public is a general problem.

The archaeologists usually establish one way links with the public, which are based on a hierarchical relationship to the general public and are one-sided, mainly scientific interpretations. Archaeologists are generally aware about their responsibility to the audience, but for various reasons they do not pay much attention to this activity. As a result, the communication is inadequate. Experts see the solution in educating the public, and they don't see themselves as part of the problem. They leave the education process together with the information about new discoveries and insights to the media, which brings a lot of disappointments to the profession, and also public discontent and indifference to their own past[3].

As a consequence to that there is an incursion of pseudo-archaeology in the media, the general public is overwhelmed with inaccurate information and more and more people end up believing in it. In a country with an abundance of archaeological heritage it is the duty of the archaeologists to convey the right message and to provide new stories, which have the potential to be more viable than the fantasies that presently rule.

Of course, in order to do that, primarily they need to consider who their audiences are and whether these different audiences are

[1] Schadla-Hall et alii, 2010; Matsuda and Okamura 2011; Skeates et alii, 2012

[2] McGimsey, 1972

[3] Plestenjak, 2005, 37.

Fig.1 – The poster and the opening of the exhibition Archaeology in Progress Vol.1 (Author: Karanfilovska E.)

receptive to their archaeological information.

Throughout Macedonia people come up with different stories about hidden treasures, the tomb of Alexander the Great, buried gold and similar fantasies. The public is just more comfortable with these ‘public mythologies’ and they strongly believe that they are true mainly because they were retold for generations. In their eyes archaeologist are only grave diggers and people who search the gold that was left there by their ancestors. These stories are alive and flourishing and archaeologists are just ignoring them. However, even though we see them as lunacies mocking them will not make them go away.

Archaeologists must explain what archaeology is or what it does, the persons who convey this message must have a positive attitude towards the public and must have good communicational and interpretational skills. On a language that is understandable to the wider public they must answer the basic questions: who, what, where, when and how, and at the same time, in the contrast to the way that is common among archaeologist, understand that the public does not expect a multitude of data filled with academic language.

In order to succeed in shifting the opinion of the general public about the ‘true’ archaeology we need to explain that archaeologists study the past on behalf of the people, and as mediators between the past and present we must not forget that it is our duty to share the results of our research. As one of the most important British archaeologists of the 20th century Sir Mortimer Wheeler wrote “It is the duty of the archaeologist, as of the scientist, to reach and impress the public, and to mould his words in the common clay of its forthright understanding”[4].

New strategies

Nowadays throughout the world the relationship between archaeologists and the public is much more relevant and more complicated than previously. In a situation of a global economic crises where it is inevitable to change priorities in order to find solutions for more basic problems of the society, archaeologists must justify the relevance of the profession and explain the relationship between archaeology and contemporary society, in the attempt to highlight how much the discipline is relevant to society itself. Archaeologists have the power to influence the way society looks at its past and, consequently, the way it looks at itself. This is an incredibly fascinating task but a very delicate one, and it bears great responsibility as well[5].

The situation here is not very different, the Ministry of culture of the Republic of Macedonia pro-

[4] Wheeler, 1956, 224.

[5] Dal Maso, 2017, 12.

Fig.2 - The exhibition in the city museum in the town Vinica (Author: Karanfilovska E.)

posed a new strategy through which it encourages cultural institutions not to be depended only on the funds provided by them, but to actively seek for private donations and sponsors, to join with the citizen's associations in order to cover the needed amount that the ministry cannot provide. It is a good idea but first of all, the archaeologist themselves need to spark an interest among the potential donors. As I mentioned before, public outreach skills are necessary to the profession and contemporary archaeologist must change their authoritarian approach and finally learn that "the public has an irreplaceable role in maintaining the cultural heritage, and it must become a partner to the professionals throughout the process of research, conservation, interpretation, marketing and preservation of cultural heritage sites[6].

As one of the foremost experts in this field concludes: "it is only by education that archaeologists can possibly hope to stimulate interest in the subject and care for archaeological heritage, and it is only by getting out and doing it ourselves that this can be achieved"[7].

All of the abovementioned looks feasible, however, this trend has not yet become part of Macedonian archaeology and for the time being it is mainly the result of improvisation and good will.

[6] Perko, 2014, 201

[7] Merriman, 1989, 23

New and creative solutions

In 2009 an association was formed with a clear goal to protect and promote the cultural heritage. It was the first one of its kind in our country and it consisted of experienced archaeologists and students of archaeology whose goals were to contribute to the development of archaeology in general and present it before the wider audience. Together with several colleagues we felt the need for more and better public education and we wanted to provide opportunities for the public to learn about archaeology and even participate in our projects.

Archaeology in Progress - exhibition of working archaeological photographs

The main idea of the project was to bring archaeology closer to the people. We decided to make an exhibition of working archaeological photographs and to let everybody see what is happening "behind closed doors" at the archaeological excavations. Exhibition of this kind was a novelty in our country, the photographs were showing the preparations and the actual work at one archaeological site. The motives were exclusively archaeological and showed the most interesting moments that occur at the field.

The goal was to promote archaeology and to present the best photographs taken on the archaeo-

Fig.3 - The poster and the opening of the exhibition Archaeology in Progress Vol.2 (Author: Karanfilovska E.)

logical sites in our country. Participation was open to professional photographers who have participated on some excavations, archaeologist who have taken the role of a photographer at the field, archaeology students and all the admirers of archaeology and photography. Everyone who have worked or just visited some archaeological site could participate in the announced competition. We encouraged them to send their photos to us.

The exhibition aroused great interest among the archeologists and the general public. A great number of photographs came on the competition organized on the web site and the social networks. The best 30 were selected by giving votes on the Facebook page of the association and also by a professional jury. The best three photos were given symbolic prizes on the opening of the exhibition which was held in the Macedonian ICOMOS office in the Old Skopje Bazaar, and also as part of the project we published a catalogue with all the pictures. **(fig.1)** The winning photo was from the town of Vinica, so we brought the exhibition to the town museum and there was a great interest among the local people. **(fig.2)**

Through these archaeological photographs we wanted to present the real situation of archaeology in Macedonia, to give incentive for the development of the culture, to increase the offer of cultural events in our country and if we are able to, to create a traditional exhibition that will be held every year.

The great interest and the many positive comments about the project were a reward for the successful realization of the project, but also made us realize that there is a grave need for such events among the professional and general public.

The next year we made the project "Archaeology in progress Vol. 2". The concept was the same, but the interest was much bigger than the previous year. This time the opening was at the open air museum on the archaeological site Tumba Madzari (Neolithic village). The location was chosen intentionally, we wanted people to fell the archaeological ambience and at the same time, promote the site. **(fig.3)** After a break due to financial reasons in October 2017 a third exhibition was held, this time with collaboration of the Archaeological Museum of Macedonia where the exhibition took place. In a way the exhibition is already becoming traditional and we will work hard and try to manage the financial problems in order to hold it every year.

We decided to change our views and to take a slightly different and alternative approach and it turned out successful in engaging the interest of a lot of people about archaeology.

Day of Archaeology

The Day of Archaeology is an annual event that is celebrated worldwide for the past several years. In 2013 for the first time archaeologist from Macedonia have joined together to take part in the celebration of the International Day of Archaeology. The project was strongly supported by the media and the idea was widely accepted.

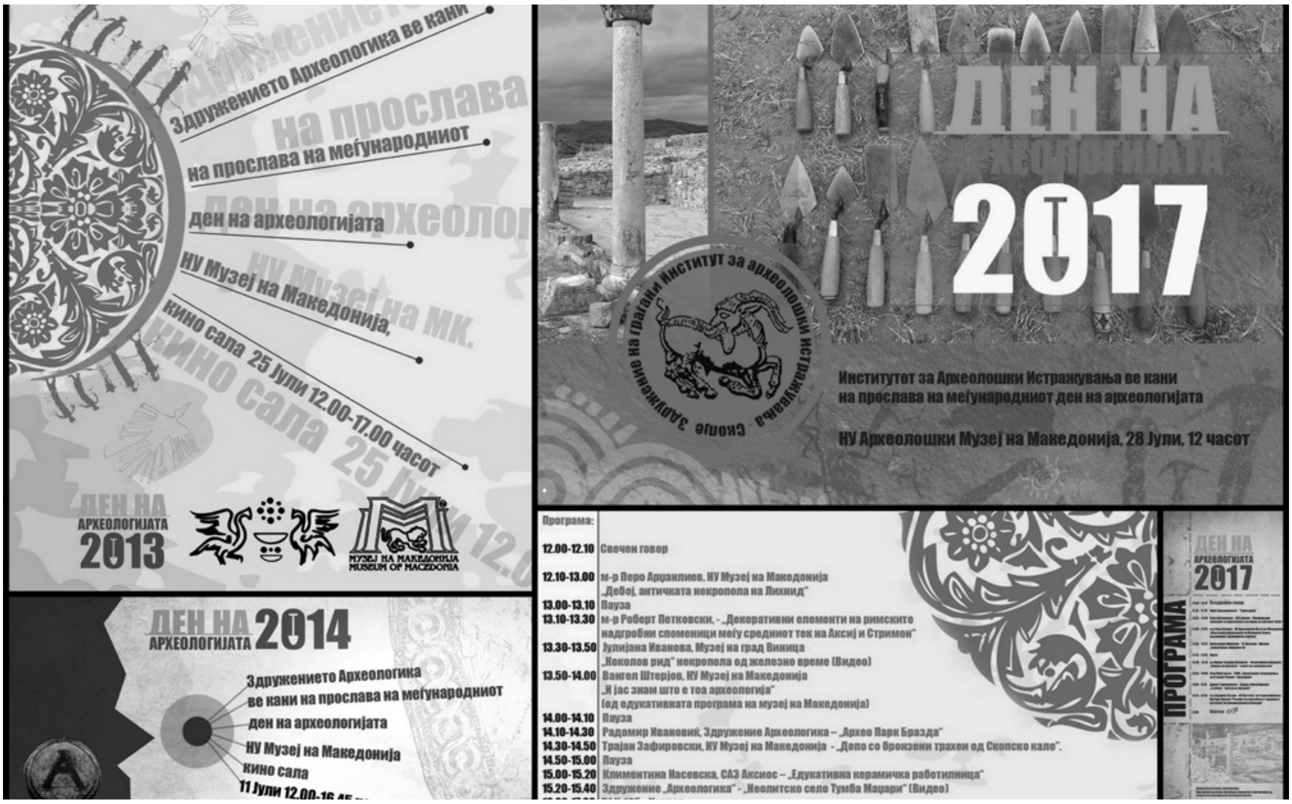


Fig.4 – Part of the promotional material for the Day of Archeology (Author: Kacanski J.)

The project aimed to provide a window into the daily lives of archaeologists and we asked people working, studying or volunteering in the archaeological world to participate by recording their day and sharing it through text, images or video. The results of the project demonstrated the wide variety of work our profession undertakes day-to-day and helped to raise public awareness of the relevance and importance of archaeology. **(fig.4)**

The main goal of our project was to organize an event where the wider public (the non-archaeologists) can interact with the archaeologists. Just one day, where in a different and not "boring" way they can learn something new, where they can freely ask questions, and most importantly where they can express their opinion about our work and how they see it through their eyes and minds. **(fig.5)**

On the event there where series of lectures in various topics of archaeology, presentation of a documentary film about one day in archaeology and how is it spent in the museum or on the archaeological sites, presentation of photographs from the current archaeological excavations throughout Macedonia, experimental archaeology and exchange of ideas and experiences. After every presentation open discussions were held, where anyone could share their opinion and make a positive or negative comment about the things presented. We paid special attention to encourage the non-archaeologist to engage in the discussions and we got some valuable insights and saw in how many different ways people are perceiving archaeology. **(fig.6)**

Through this project we learned a valuable lesson that "If archaeologists can be self-critical in a public debate, before being critical of non-archaeologists, they should be able to bring alternative viewpoints into archaeology, which could be a potent tool in resisting the established authority of archaeology. Once the public recognize that their voices are considered and represented within the public agenda of archaeology, they should begin to regard the archaeological debate as their own concern. This would be exactly the aim of public archaeology"[8].

The interest about this project exceeded our expectations, from both, the professionals and the general public. For our surprise, the idea of a celebration of the Macedonian archaeological culture seemed alluring to the archaeologist and a lot of them were willing to participate, some of them in the documentary film and some with different contributions, and for the general public… they were very happy with our different approach and were constantly asking why aren't there more events of this kind in our country. This project is still active and we will continue to celebrate the Day of Archaeology in Macedonia every year.

Concluding thoughts

In a country with rich archeological heritage, our role as experts at the field is to engage people

[8] Matsuda, 2004,74

Fig.5 – Part of the audience attending the event (Author: Karanfilovska E.)

in a positive way, helping them to understand and value our profession and the results of our work. Archaeologist who have failed to communicate with the public are at the risk of making themselves irrelevant, as Fritz and Plog note in their article "unless archaeologists find ways to make their research increasingly relevant to the modern world, the modern world will find itself increasingly capable of getting along without archaeologist"[9].

Taking into consideration the surprisingly big interest and the successful implementation of the projects overall, we can conclude that we achieved our goals. Through new and creative solutions we managed to provoke the general public and to engage them to express their opinions. We wanted to prove that with different methods you can still achieve the desired goals to protect and present archeology and to contribute to the most important thing, which is to raise the awareness of the general public about the significance of their cultural heritage.

[9] Fritz, Plog, 1970, 412

Fig.6 - Some of the lectures prepared for the Day of Archaeology (Author: Karanfilovska E.)

Bibliography:

Dal Maso, C. 2017. "Editorial", *in: Archeostorie, Journal of Public Archaeology* 1, 7-14

Fritz, J. M., Plog, F. T. 1970, "The Nature of Archaeological Explanation", *in: American Antiquity* 35, 405-412

Matsuda, A. 2004, "The Concept of 'the Public' and the Aims of Public Archaeology", in: *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology* 15, 66-76

Matsuda, A., Okamura, K. 2011*, Introduction: New Perspectives in Global Public Archaeology*. London, Springer

McGimsey, C. R. 1972, *Public Archeology*. New York: Seminar Press.

McManamon, F. P. 1991, "The many Publics of Archaeology", in: *American Antiquity* 56/1, 121-130

Merriman, N. 1989, *Museums and archaeology: the public view.* in: E. Southworth (ed.) *Public service or private indulgence?* Liverpool: Society of Museum Archaeologists

Merriman, N. 2002, "Archaeology, Heritage and Interpretation", in: *Archaeology: The Widening Debate*, edited by B. Cunliffe, W. Davies, and C. Renfrew, 541–566. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Merriman, N. 2004*, Introduction: Diversity and Dissonance in Public Archaeology*, in Merriman, N. (ed.) Public Archaeology. London: Routledge (1-17).

Plestenjak, A. 2005, "*Archaeology and the Public" A Slovenian Perspective,* MA Thesis, York.

Richardson, L. J. & Almansa-Sánchez, J. 2015, "Do you even know what public archaeology is? Trends, theory, practice, ethics" in: *World Archaeology*, 47/2, 194-211

Schadla-Hall, T. 1999, "Editorial: Public Archaeology", in: *European Journal of Archaeology* 2, 147–158

Schadla-Hall, T., G. Moshenska, A. Thornton. 2010, "Editorial", in: *Public Archaeology* 9, 62–63

Skeates, R., C. McDavid, J. Carman, eds. 2012, *The Oxford Handbook of Public Archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Vidrih Perko, V. 2008, "Arheologija za Javnost", in: *Arheo 25 - Glasilo Slovenskega arheološkega društva*, 113-130

Vidrih Perko, V. 2014, *Muzeologija in Arheologija za Javnost: Muzej Krasa*, Ljubljana.

Wheeler, R. E. M. 1956, *Archaeology from the Earth*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE MANAGEMENT – ARHEO PARK BRAZDA

Radomir Ivanovic
Institute for Archaeological Research – Skopje

Fig. 1 - The site overgrown with wild vegetation (Author: Ivanovic R.)

Fig. 2 - House in v. Brazda build with material from the chamber (Author: Ivanovic R.)

Inroduction

The archaeological site "Gradište - Brazda" is situated 15 km northwest of Skopje, R. Macedonia, on a humble hill that rises over the village of Brazda. According to information 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 makes it the largest settlement in the Skopje valley from that period.

With the excavation of the monumental architectural edifice, known as "The Royal tomb" in 1986, the archeological site Gradište claims a significant place in the archeological circles.

With its specific characteristics, the Royal tomb at Brazda represents a unique building of its kind on the wider Balkan Peninsula[1].

About the project

The idea to turn this site into a turist destination was born during the mandatory excursion on this archeological site as archeology students. A monumental royal tomb dating from the 5th c. BC stood before us with its massive stone blocks, but the entrance to it was nearly impossible and the whole place was overgrown with wild vegetation and buried under years and years of piled garbage. **(fig. 1)** There were no signposts or information panels, so the visitors can neither be led to, nor informed about the immense historical heritage that they were unknowingly passing by. The general public was completely unaware of its existence and more importantly so was the world.

After many years and many attempts to realize the wishful idea, in 2012 the association "Archaeologica" in partnership with the N. I. Museum of Macedonia and supported by ELEM – the goverment Electricity Power Company 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 Arheo Park Brazda.

Before the first excavations in 1986 many of the

[1] Микулчиќ, Соколовска, 1990

Fig. 3 - Access path with two wooden bridges (Author: Ivanovic R.)

locals were using this place for extraction of large blocks of fine cut stone which they used for building some of the houses in the village Brazda. **(fig. 2)** With the excavations of this monumental building this trend stoped only because the locals were informed by the authorities that there will be repercussions if somebody destroys this cultural heritage.

At that time the archaeologists neglected their duty to explain the importance of the site to the locals and they only presented their views throught the media and the sientific papers which were inaccesible to a wider audience. All this led to an indiference to their own past which is excatly the problem with the 'deficit model' of communication and the authoritarian approach of the archaeologist towards the locals[2]. Years later, when the project for the arheo park started, the locals had very poor knowledge about the significance of this site and they were only using this place to dump their garbge.

Even though the archaeologist tried to protect this place, with this authoritarian model of protection you can see the paradox by the escalating alienation of the public from the cultural heritage, even though the protection is done in their name, while between the experts there is a growing feeling that the public is ignorant and it's the potential destroyer[3].

When the work started the first reaction of the local population was that our efforts would be a waste of time and energy and that it is not possible to create an atraction on this spot because it is not that important and that nobody would come to see it. This was not so suprising because since the discovery of this monument in 1986 the only activity conducted was the small scale protective excavations in 2004, again without any education or explaination to the locals about the importance of the archaeological heritage that they have in their vicinity.

The interpretation to the locals of the archaeological finds and sites in modern society is of crucial importance. The public has an irreplaceable role in maintaining the cultural heritage, and it must become a partner to the professionals throughout the process of research, conservation, interpretation, marketing and preservation of cultural heritage sites. The local public has the right to cultural, spiritual and economic benefits[4].

In order to change the opnion of the locals, during our work there we changed our approach. Rather then excluding them from the project we tried to engage their interest primarily through education. Having in mind one of the Tilden's principles of interpretation which states “If the interpreter does not create a personal relationship between what is being interpreted and the visitors, they will experience the heritage as sterile”[5], we tried to explain the special connection that we have with this particular cultural heritage to the locals, we told them the story of how we have fallen in love with this site in our student days and told them the whole story about this site on a simple and understandable language hoping that we can convey the uniqueness of this Royal tomb. Probably this is one of the reasons of our successful collaboration with the locals.

[2] Merriman, 2002

[3] Hodder, 1997

[4] Perko, 2008

[5] Tilden, 1957.

Fig. 4 - Voluntary ecological action (Author: Ivanovic R.)

After this the interest about the site was increased, the locals started to take their heritage as a value that must be preserved and we are happy that we've managed to inspire in them a sense of personal repsponsibility to protect and safeguard the heritage of the area.

Our main purpose was not only to educate the locals but as Tilden said to provoke them and to arouse special feeling about their cultural heritage[6]. All these actions were altogether beneficial as the local citizens who at the beginning did not want to have anything with the project, changed their opinion and started supporting the implemention. The help came in many ways, some of them helped with physical work, others were bringing tools and equipment, locals that worked in the municipality were helping with bureaucracy etc. The involvement of the locals inspired many others from the surrounding villages to show interest about the project and for a very short time respectful numbers of the inhabitants were contributing in some way.

After gaining the trust and support from the locals, everything was running smoothly. The interior of the tomb and the passageway (dromos) were completely cleaned from wild vegetation and debris which increased the visibility of the site, we provided an approach to the site by building an access path with two wooden bridges **(fig. 3)**, the plateau in front of the tomb was cleared and leveled, the riverbeds were cleaned of garbage with a voluntary action **(fig. 4)**, a small square was built and wooden benches with trashcans were placed, the landscape around the park was horticultural refined, information panels and signposts were placed **(fig. 5)** and informative flyers were printed and distributed. We paid particular attention to use natural materials in the realization of the project, materials that do not stand out from their surroundings. The opening of the Arheo Park was covered by all the media and a web site about the park was developed (www.arheoparkbrazda.mk). With all of the abovementioned, the organization wanted to make this site »user friendly« for all sorts of visitors from random passersby to organized tours and families. Special atention was paid to the media coverage so we can reach as much audience as possible.

The interest in this cultural monument significantly increased 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 of the arheo park. Due to the heightened interest in the park, as well as the increased number of visitors a second phase of the project is planed that would include: building access paths to the top of the hill where the ancient town was located, setting up a wooden gazebo which would serve as an educational nest for the students of archaeology and the pupils from the primary schools located in the vicinity of the site as well for larger groups of tourists. Apart from the second phase, for the last five

[6] Tilden, 1957.

Fig. 5 - The landscape around the park, information panels and signposts (Author: Ivanovic R.)

years our organization the Institute for Archaeological Research in partnership with N. I. Archaeological Museum of Macedonia and with the support of the Ministry of Culture of R. Macedonia, is taking care for this site by providing regular maintenance of the park as well as enriching it with new features. In the area of promotion and popularization we've done a lot by: producing several documentary films and promotional videos which were screened on different events throughout Macedonia and abroad, the web site and all the social media platforms are regularly updated with new information, photos and events, guest appearance on TV shows, promotional material is being produced (flyer and stickers) etc. **(fig. 6)**

Conclusion

All of the above mentioned is one example of how only a small part of excavated archaeological site can be transformed from an unknown location to a tourist destination that attracts visitors, which is directly influencing the local economy. By sustainable heritage management and engagement of the public, archaeologists can help developing communities to protect and manage their heritage. In this way, they can also help and educate the community to promote their regional archaeological site. To create this, archaeologists have the responsibility of providing the community with theoretical background with which they explain why it is important for them to be involved and what is the outcome they want to have at the end of this process[7].

In fact, successful projects generally 'start small,' but are conceived by people who 'think big.' Even if they are actually 'small,' they can have an enormous impact on the community they grow in, or even on society at large. They may choose either to stay small or to grow, but in both cases they prove to be influential and powerful[8].

[7] Dal Maso, 2017

[8] Dal Maso, 2017

Fig. 6 - Part of the promotional material (Author: Ivanovic R.)

Bibliography:

Dal Maso, C., 2017, “Editorial”. *Archeostorie. Journal of Public Archaeology* 1, 7-14

Hodder, I., 1997, *Changing configurations: The relationships between theory and practice*, v: J. Hunter, I. Ralston (eds.), Archaeological Resource menagement in the UK. An Introduction. Glouchester.

Merriman, N. 2002, “Archaeology, Heritage and Interpretation*”,* in: *Archaeology: The Widening Debate*, edited by B. Cunliffe, W. Davies, and C. Renfrew, 541–566. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Микулчиќ, И., Соколовска, В., 1990, “Гробницата во Бразда”, *МАА 11*, 79-91

Vidrih Perko, V., 2008, “Arheologija za javnost*”, Arheo 25 - Glasilo Slovenskega arheološkega društva*, Ljubljana, 113-130

Vidrih Perko, V., 2014, *Muzeologija in arheologija za javnost: Muzej Krasa*, Ljubljana

Tilden, F., (1957) *Interpreting our Heritage*, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press.