

## Some notes on two Greek inscriptions from Montenegro

### Komentar k dvema grškima napisoma iz Črne gore

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#### Izvleček

V članku sta ponovno predstavljena grška napisa, odkrita v obalnih mestih Perast in Ulcinj v Črni gori. Že v primarni objavi sta bila napisa ovrednotena kot pomemben historični vir, a zaradi manjkajočih in nenatančnih najdiščnih in kronoloških podatkov je bila vrednost obeh zgodovinskih dokumentov omejena. Avtorja v prispevku podajata revidirano branje in novo interpretacijo obeh napisov ter drugačno datacijo spomenikov. Napis iz Perasta je posvetilo cestnih stražnikov in njihovega poveljnika, verjetno izvira iz grško govorečega mesta na južnem Jadranu. Oltar iz Ulcinja, napisan v dorskem dialektu, je združenje kamnosekov postavilo Artemidi ubijalki jelenov. Od kod spomenik izvira, ni znano. Paleografski, lingvistični in historični argumenti kažejo na kasnejši čas izdelave, kot se je sprva domnevalo, tj. na časi okoli 1. st. pr. n. št.

**Ključne besede:** Črna gora, Perast, Ulcinj, kamniti spomeniki, grška epigrafika, 1. st. pr. n. št., *peripolarh*, *peripoloi*, grška poklicna združenja

#### Abstract

This paper discusses two Greek inscriptions found in the modern-day Montenegro, in the coastal towns of Perast and Ulcinj. Already at the time of their initial publications the inscriptions were recognized as valuable historical documents. In spite of this, their usage as historical sources was limited, because their proper geographical and chronological context was lacking. In this paper we offer updated reading and interpretation of the texts, as well as an alternative dating to those that have been proposed previously. The dedication (?) from Perast was erected by *peripoloi* (*patrolmen*) and must have originated from a Greek speaking town along the southern Adriatic. The altar from Ulcinj, dedicated to Artemis Elaphabolos (the Deer Slayer), was made by an association of stone-cutters, who must have come from a Doric speaking settlement. The combined weight of paleographical, linguistic and historical evidence points to the later date for the inscriptions than it was previously assumed, most likely ca. 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

**Keywords:** Montenegro, Perast, Ulcinj, stone monuments, Greek epigraphy, 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, *peripolarh*, *peripoloi*, Greek professional associations

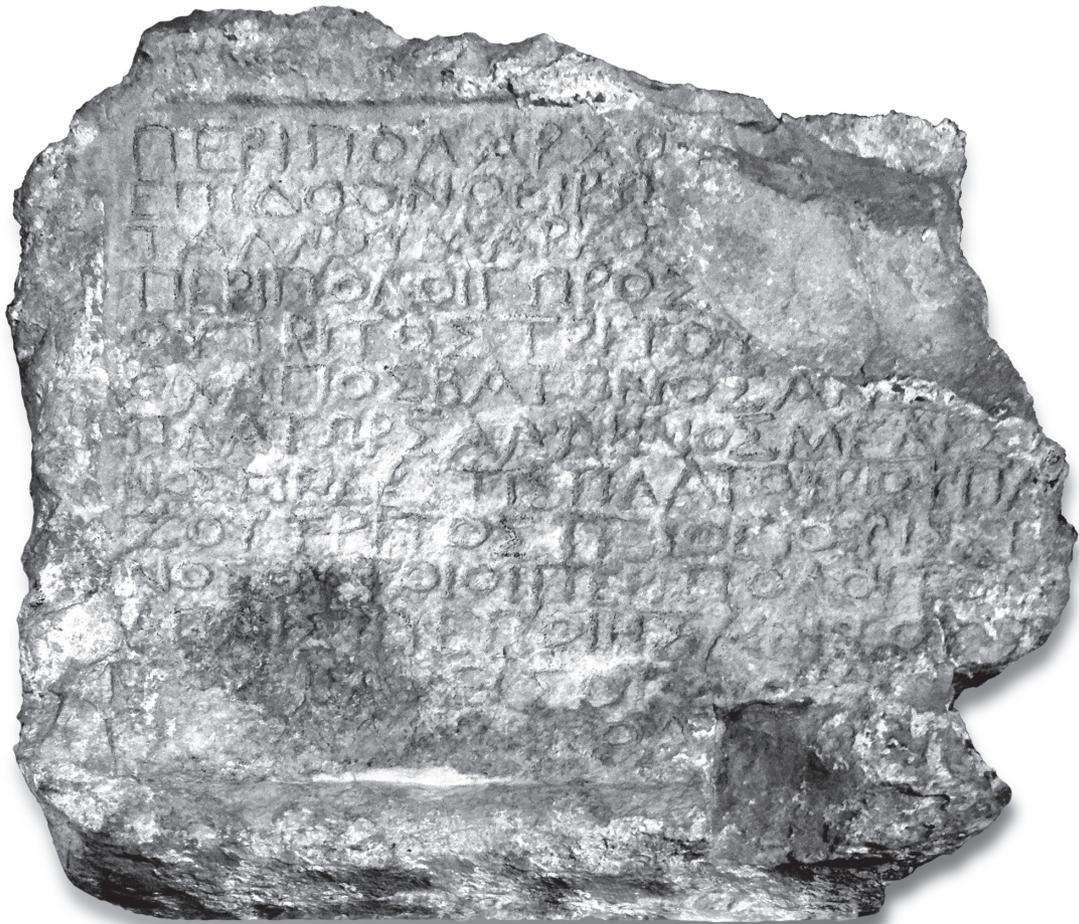


Fig. 1: “Peripolarch inscription” from Perast, kept in the lapidarium on the island of Gospa od Škrpjela (Our Lady of the Rocks), at the entrance to the Bay of Risan.

Sl. 1: Napis z omembo peripolarha/peripolarhov iz mesta Perast, hranjen v lapidariju na otoku Gospa od Škrpjela na vhodu v Risanski zaliv.

## 1. THE PERIPOLARCH INSCRIPTION

### Description of the monument

(Fig. 1)

The first document is the well-known “Peripolarch inscription” from Zmajević’s collection. The text is inscribed on a limestone slab (dimensions: 28.5 × 30.5 × 15.5 cm). The inscription is poorly preserved; the end is unreadable, and the entire right portion of the text is lost. It is difficult to assess the exact width of the fragmented lines, but, if the supplement in l. 7 is accurate, there are 29 letters in the same line, 9 of which are lost. It seems that approximately half of the text is lost in ll. 1–6 and one-third in ll. 7–10. The stone block

was probably brought to Perast, Montenegro from elsewhere, most likely as a part of the collection of antiquities of the 17<sup>th</sup>-century archbishop and antiquarian Andrija Zmajević (1624–1694). It was lost, reused as building material, and discovered by accident after the Second World War. Following its discovery, it was transported to the *lapidarium* on the island of Our Lady of the Rocks (Gospa od Škrpjela), at the entrance to the Bay of Risan, where it remains today.<sup>1</sup>

**Previous publications:** Rendić-Miočević 1987 (*editio princeps*, republished in Rendić-Miočević 1989); Cabanes 1991, 220, no. 6; Masson 1991, 353–359 (summarised in SEG 41.546); SEG 38.572

<sup>1</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1989, 181–182.

(based on Cabanes' reading); Martinović 2011, 278–279 (with errors, both in reading and interpretation); Łajtar, Martinović 2012, 87–91, no. 2.

**Date:** 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (?)

### Inscription

1 περιπόλαρχο[ις - - - - -]  
Ἐπιδοον Θείρων[ος - - - - - Ἄν]-  
τάλλου, Μάρκος [- - - - -]  
περίπολοι Γωρος [- - - - -]  
5 ΟΥ Τρίτος Τρίτου [- - - - -]  
ΟΛΑΠΟΣ Βάτωνος, ANE[- - - - -]  
Πλάτωρ Σαλλῆνος, Μεδεστ[ις Μεδεστι-?]  
νος, Μεδεστις Πλατουρίου, ΠΑ[- - - - Δα?]  
ζου, Τρίτος Πιθειίου, ΙΣΤ[- - - - -]  
10 ΝΟΣ. Οὔτοι οἱ περίπολοι τοῖς [- - - - -]  
ΑΠΑΙΣΤΥ ἐποίησαν ΙΟΥ[- - - - -]  
ΤΟΣ ν ΑΧ vac. ΣΟΙΣ ν Ο[- - - - -]  
vac. ΣΑΛΛΑ vac. ΑΘΛ[- - - - -]  
- - - - ]  
- - - - -

1 probably περιπόλαρχο[ι - - - unless the lost right portion is so long to allow for a full name of a single *peripolarch*, perhaps followed by another title in plural, in which case Ἐπιδοον, Ἄν]ταλλος and Μάρκος are not *peripolarchs*. However, having several *peripolarchs* remains the simplest and therefore the preferred explanation.<sup>2</sup> The singular nominative is περιπολάρχης in the Greek literature but περιπόλαρχος (pl. περιπόλαρχοι) in the Hellenistic inscriptions.<sup>3</sup> 2–3 Ἄν]τάλλου was supplemented by Rendić-Miočević and accepted by Masson and Łajtar. 5 ΟΛΑΠΟΣ is assumed by Rendić-Miočević to be a complete personal name

<sup>2</sup> Cabanes 1991, 202 points out that it is unlikely that a small city would employ several *peripolarchs*: “C'est seulement dans l'inscription 6 que D. Rendić-Miočević suppose que se rencontrent plusieurs péripolarques, comme à Athènes (cf. IG II<sup>2</sup>, 204, 1. 20–21; 2973) II 3 1, 292; autant ce partage de la charge apparaît nécessaire dans une grande cité comme Athènes, autant il est douteux que des communautés plus restreintes aient besoin de plusieurs péripolarques”. However, since the origin of the inscription is unknown, we are in no position to speculate on the size of the city where the *peripoloi* were employed. The number of guardsmen involved in the safekeeping of the territory of a city is more likely to be in a direct correlation to the size of the territory and the length of the border, rather than to the population of the city.

<sup>3</sup> E. g. IG II<sup>2</sup> 1193, l. 2; 2968, II l. 5; SEG 35.153; 38.175 II l. 4; 38. 521, l. 5; 41.148 l. 8 etc.

(thus Ὀλαπος Βάτωνος), and this was generally accepted by other scholars (and duly recorded in *LGPN IIIA* as Ὀλαπος, p. 339, a singular instance). 8–9 - - - Δα]ζου is a supplement suggested by Masson, accepted by other scholars. 13 Read as νν ΣΑΛΛΑ ν ΑΘΛ [*vel* ΑΘΑ] by Rendić-Miočević and Cabanes; νν ΣΑΛΛΑ ν ΑΘΛ by Masson; . . . ΛΛ . . . ΘΑ[. . . ]Ν[- - - -] by Łajtar.

### Translation

*Peripolarch(s) (Patrol commander(s))... Epidoon, son of Theiron... son of Antalos, Markos... peripoloi (patrolmen) Goros... Tritos, son of Tritos... son of Batonos... Plator, son of Salenos, Medestis, son of Medestis, Medestis, son of Platourios... Tritos, son of Pitheios... These peripoloi (patrolmen)... made...*

### Commentary

The document is significant for two main reasons. The first one is that it supplies a highly interesting list of personal names, Illyrian (Τρίτος, Βάτων, Πλάτωρ, Πλατουριος, Δαζος, probably Σαλλην, as well as Ἐπιδοον, qualified by Masson as “très bizarre”), Greek (Θείρων, Ἄνταλλος, Πιθειός), or otherwise unknown (Γωρος, Ὀλαπος [?], Μεδεστις).<sup>4</sup> There is even a Latin name (Μάρκος), the importance of which will be discussed later. The second reason is the mention of *peripolarchs* (περιπόλαρχοι) and *peripoloi* (περίπολοι), otherwise rare in inscriptions. It is difficult to judge the type of document, but the most likely solution is a dedication to a deity (Illyrian or Greek?) by this group of guardsmen. Apart from the fragmentary nature of the surviving text, the main problem in any attempt at its interpretation is the lack of an established context: we know neither the place nor the time of its creation.

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of these names, see: Krahe 1929, 16–20, 40, 92–94, 118; Mayer 1957, 80–82, 114, 273–275, 344; Alföldy 1969, 163–164, 267, 314; Rendić-Miočević 1989, 184–185; Masson 1991, 357–359; Łajtar, Martinović 2012, 89–91. Previously unattested names are probably Illyrian too. Generally, on Illyrian names: Katičić 1962; Alföldy 1964; Katičić 1976, 178–184; Wilkes 1996, 74–87. Masson suggested that letters in l. 13 (read as ΣΑΛΛΑ) represent a variant of another indigenous name Σαλλας, which is well attested: Krahe 1929, 99; Mayer 1957, 290–291; Masson 1991, 359.

## Origin

Several suggestions have been brought forward concerning the origin of the document. Rendić-Miočević opts for Dyrrachium or its immediate vicinity, but also considers areas further north (Scodra, Lissus) as equally likely, and does not even rule out the far south of the Illyrian lands (the region of Apollonia).<sup>5</sup> In line with this is the opinion of Cabanes who favours an origin “from southern Illyria”.<sup>6</sup> In contrast, Masson opts for a location far to the north, somewhere in the central regions of Dalmatia.<sup>7</sup> Ľajtar proposes that the document was inscribed in the Bay of Risan itself,<sup>8</sup> although the first editor rejected this possibility in strong words: “We need to reconcile ourselves with the fact that the monument was brought to Perast from far away and that its contents can in no way be connected with Perast itself nor, it seems, with this historical Illyrian bay.”<sup>9</sup> Since direct information is lacking, the only indication of the monument’s provenance is the Illyrian personal names of the *peripoloi* and their commander, and this, on its own, obviously leaves too much room for speculation. However, the equally important question of the dating of the inscription did not receive the same attention.

## Paleography

We will now address the supposed paleo-graphical similarities between the Ashmolean tablet and the Perast stone slab. Upon closer examination, these seem to be only partial while the differences are equally significant. The two texts are, after all, inscribed on different materials, a bronze tablet opposed to a limestone slab. On the whole, the Perast inscription seems somewhat crude in comparison. In it, O is in most cases smaller than the other letters, but not nearly so distinctively small as in the Ashmolean tablet. Δ in the Perast inscription, unlike in the Ashmolean tablet, has discreet apices formed by the elongated right hasta of the letter, elongated

forms being more common in the later Hellenistic and Roman times. In both inscriptions, we see A with the broken cross-bar, which appears from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC onward, but this characteristic is much more pronounced in the Perast inscription. *Hastae* of the letter M in the Ashmolean tablet are curved; in the Perast inscription, they are straight. Σ in the Perast inscription has straight upper and lower hastae, unlike their angled equivalents in the Ashmolean tablet. This transition between the two variants of the letters M and Σ took place during the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC. In the Ashmolean tablet, the right *hasta* of the letter Π is slightly shorter than the left one and slightly curved. In the Perast inscription both *hastae* are straight and of equal length. Again, it is a feature that appears in the later Hellenistic period and becomes widespread from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC onward.<sup>10</sup> To date any particular Greek inscription solely on the basis of its paleography is notoriously unreliable, and much more so when the proper context is lacking. That said, sometimes this is the only means of dating available. Judging by the letter-forms, the Ashmolean tablet most likely belongs to the earlier Hellenistic age, while the Perast inscription was probably inscribed in the late Hellenistic or the early Roman period. The 1<sup>st</sup> century BC seems to be the safest conclusion.

## Date

Without some chronological frame, this document (as well as any other) loses most of its value. The first editor, Rendić-Miočević, dated the text in the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. His initial claim was that this inscription shares all the paleo-graphical features with the rather more famous bronze tablet in the Ashmolean museum, which mentions a single *peripolarch*, and which was approximately dated in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC by Louis Robert.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1989, 186–187.

<sup>6</sup> Cabanes 1991, 202.

<sup>7</sup> Masson 1991, 359.

<sup>8</sup> Ľajtar, Martinović 2012, 91.

<sup>9</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1989, 182 („Isto tako se moramo pomiriti i s činjenicom da je spomenik u Perastu odnekud donesen i da se njegov sadržaj ne može povezati ni sa samim Perastom, niti, kako se čini, s ovim povijesnim ilirskim zalivom.“).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. McLean 2002, 42–45; Woodhead 1992, 64–65.

<sup>11</sup> Robert 1955, 284: “La gravure semble être le seul argument pour la datation, en l’absence de toute donnée prosopographique. Je ne crois pas que le document remonte au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle, malgré la sobriété des caractères ; la petite dimension des *omicron* et des *oméga* suspend au sommet des lignes, les formes courbes de la barre transversale des *alpha* et de la haste droite des *pi*, le caractère général de l’écriture me paraissent propres à faire dater ce texte de la haute époque hellénistique, disons du III<sup>e</sup> siècle.” The tablet was originally dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (cf. Erwerbungen des Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology of Oxford 1912, *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen*

The alleged paleo-graphical similarity was strongly emphasised. “Our inscription from Perast shows all of the same characteristics”, Rendić-Miočević wrote.<sup>12</sup> However, somewhat contradictory to his previous statement, he settled for a significantly later date, sometime after the Third Macedonian war (171–168 BC). The reason given is that the document obviously belongs to the period in which Rome had already consolidated its presence on the eastern shores of the Adriatic (i.e., there is a Hellenized Latin name among the *peripoloi*). It was certainly the right line of reasoning, but we think that it was not taken quite far enough. The dating to the mid-second century BC was accepted by other scholars without question.<sup>13</sup>

As far as the contents of the inscription are concerned, there are only two points that have any significance for the dating: the presence of the titles of *peripolarchs* and *peripoloi* (sometimes used to set *terminus ante quem* for the document) and the appearance of a Hellenized Latin name. The first point does not contradict the proposed dating; the second actually supports it. *Peripolarchs* and *peripoloi* are not frequently mentioned either by the ancient authors<sup>14</sup> or in epigraphical documents. On the basis of these rare references, one may gather that *peripoloi* were a type of guards- or patrolmen, charged with watching and protecting the *χώρα* of a city. They could be citizen-soldiers

or mercenaries, or a mixture of both.<sup>15</sup> The institution seems to be Athenian in origin,<sup>16</sup> but it was emulated by other Greek cities.<sup>17</sup> Some scholars used the very mention of *peripoloi* as an indication that the Perast document could not have been inscribed later than the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. The implication is that the *peripoloi* are a kind of military unit and thus a feature of independent or semi-independent cities. Allegedly, with the establishment of the Roman authority on the east coast of the Adriatic and Ionian Seas, these should have ceased to exist. This is an unnecessary assumption: the self-governing Greek cities possessed their own armed forces until late into the Imperial age. While *peripolarchs* and *peripoloi* are not recorded after the Hellenistic period, there were many analogous institutions in the autonomous cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces.<sup>18</sup>

Finally, there is a Latin name, Μάρκος. As already noted by Masson and Łajtar, it almost certainly does not form a part of the usual Roman trinominal system. Instead, it is a Roman name assimilated into the standard Greek nominal system, and it was almost certainly followed by a Greek-style patronymic. Such practice was hardly uncommon during the Roman Imperial era when Roman and Roman-derived names were widely used by the populace of the Greek-speaking provinces, but there are precious few examples of Hellenized Latin names in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (merely one or two examples of the name Μάρκος) and only from the late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC do these become more widespread. If the Perast inscription is actually from the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, it would be one of the earliest instances of a Hellenized Latin name (and easily the earliest example of the name Μάρκος). According to *LGPN*, there are only two instances of this Hellenized name dated with any certainty before the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC: SEG 38.478 ll. 9, 11 (Ἀφροδίσιος Μάρκου, Bouthrotos, after

*Instituts* 28, 1913, p. 471). It was republished by Cabanes 1976, 563, no. 41.

<sup>12</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1989, 187 („Sve te karakteristike pokazuje i naš natpis iz Perasta.“).

<sup>13</sup> Cabanes 1991, 220; Masson 1991, 357; Łajtar, Martinović 2012, 87. Martinović 2011, 279, understood the words of Rendić-Miočević in a very literal fashion and dated the slab *immediately* after the fall of the Ardiaean king Gentius (in the same year, 168/167 BC): “As to the time of the creation of that inscription, it *certainly* belongs to the first half, or better still to the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, *immediately* after the final collapse of the Illyrian state under the king Gentius, in the year 167 BC.” (our italics) („Što se tiče vremena nastanka tog natpisa, on svakako pripada prvoj polovini, ili bolje sredini II vijeka stare ere, neposredno posle definitivnog sloma ilirske države pod kraljem Gentijem, 167. godine stare ere“). There is nothing about this inscription or its contents that would suggest such a precise date.

<sup>14</sup> All literary references to *peripolarchs* and *peripoloi* come from classical Athens: Thuc 4.67 (the Athenian *peripoloi* are a part of the force sent into Megaris); 8.92 (a mercenary *peripolos* assassinates Phrynicus); Aesh. 2.167 (*peripoloi* are made up from the members of Athenian youth); *FHG* II 112 (the same information, by Aristotle). Cf. n. 15–17.

<sup>15</sup> On *peripolarchs* and *peripoloi*, see: Griffith 1935, 86–88; Robert 1955, 284–285; Cabanes 1991, 210–215; Chaniotis 2008, 105–106, 132–137.

<sup>16</sup> There is a reference to *peripoloi* in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC Sicyon (*FGH* 105 F2), but it comes from a much later source and seems anachronistic, cf. Chaniotis 2008, 132, n. 110.

<sup>17</sup> For the extensive list, see Chaniotis 2008, 132–133 and 132, n. 115.

<sup>18</sup> Most of the evidence on the armed forces of the Greek cities under Roman rule comes from either Egypt or Asia Minor, see; Magie 1950, 647–648 (cf. 1514–1516, n. 46–47); Jones 1966, 212–213 (cf. 348–349, n. 2–4); Robert 1970, 97–108; Mitchell 1995, 195–197; Fuhrmann 2012, 66–82.

163 BC) and *I. Délos* 1924, l. 7 (Λεύκιος Μάρκου, 123/2 BC).<sup>19</sup> However, there are no reasons to assume this. The safest assumption is that the Perast inscription comes from the time when Hellenized Latin names became more common, i.e., from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC or later. The former date would agree well with the previous conclusion we made, based on the letter-forms.

## 2. INSCRIPTION MENTIONING THE ASSOCIATION OF STONE-CUTTERS

### Description of the monument

(Fig. 2)

The second text is found on the surface of a small limestone altar found in the town of Ulcinj, Montenegro (Roman *Olcinium*). Dimensions: 31 × 21 × 9.5 cm. The text is shallowly inscribed in three lines, inside four separate square spaces. The letters are of uneven size; those in l. 3 were cramped in the remaining space in the second, third and fourth squares.

Previous publications: Mijović, Kovačević 1975, 32 (*editio princeps*); Martinović 2011, 284–285; Harland 2016.

**Date:** 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (?)

### Inscription

1 τὸ κοινὸν τῶν λατό-  
μον Ἀρτέμιτι Ἐλα-  
φαβόλοι

### Translation

*The association of stone-cutters to Artemis  
Elaphabolos (the Deer Slayer).*

### Commentary

Unlike the preceding document, this short text is preserved in its entirety. In every instance, *omicron* is inscribed instead of *omega*. There

<sup>19</sup> We deliberately exclude the rather special case of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC tyrant of Katane (of Italian, probably Oscan origin), Mamercus (Μάμερκος), gen. of whose name was given in *IG IV<sup>2</sup>*, 1, 95, l. 72 as Μάρκου.

was a tendency of shortening the long vowels in the Greek pronunciation of the later Hellenistic and Imperial periods: thus, sometimes the long *o* vowel (written in Classical Greek as *omega*) was articulated as a short *o* (written as *omicron*) in the same position.<sup>20</sup> The dative Ἀρτέμιτι is a late Doric/Northwest form.<sup>21</sup> This form (Ἄρτεμις, Ἀρτέμιτος, Ἀρτέμιτι, etc.) is fairly frequent, both in the Peloponnese and Western Greece.<sup>22</sup>

### Origin

No firm claims were ever made about the origin of the monument.<sup>23</sup> In fact, there is nothing that can be said with certainty about it, save that it probably comes from the wider area of the Adriatic/Ionian Seas. It is unlikely that it was inscribed in the vicinity of its find-spot. Doric/Northwestern forms can hardly aid in determining the possible origin: there was a multitude of Doric speaking settlements on the shores of the Ionian and Adriatic Seas. The cult of Artemis Elaphabolos is also fairly common throughout the Greek world.<sup>24</sup>

### Date

As with the previous example, the dating of this inscription is something of an issue.<sup>25</sup> To obtain

<sup>20</sup> Petrounias 2007, 602, 604–605. Cf. McLean 2002, 350 (and n. 30).

<sup>21</sup> The earlier editors did not recognize the dative Ἀρτέμιτι as Doric/Northwestern and assumed it was an engraver's error. Mijović, Kovačević 1975, 32 read the text (with the aid of S. Kisas) as ΤΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΛΑΤΟΜΟΝ ΑΡΤΕΜΙ(ΔΙ) ΤΙ ΕΛΑΦΑΒΟΛΟΙ. Martinović 2011, 285 treated the absence of *omega* as another error that needs to be corrected, but he made several errors of his own in the process. His reading: Το κοινὸν τῶν λατομῶν Ἀρτέμιδι τη Ἐλαφαβόλοι (note the garbled and missing accents).

<sup>22</sup> Cf. n. 26.

<sup>23</sup> Mijović, Kovačević 1975, 32 assumed that the monument was made locally, although by a foreign group of stonemasons, that probably came from Delphi. They gave no arguments in support of this claim.

<sup>24</sup> Wernicke 1895, 1384; Burkert 2011, 103, 345; Budin 2016, 1–2, 19–20, 48–67, 143–144; Janda 2016, 114–115.

<sup>25</sup> Mijović, Kovačević 1975, 32 dated the inscription between 5<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC, but this was based on an (unwarranted) assumption that the monument is local and that it is roughly contemporary with the construction of the walls of *Olcinium* (which itself was dated on the basis of the building technique). Martinović 2011, 284 made an assertion that “the inscription comes from a very early,

a



b



Fig. 2: Ulcinj (Olcinium), the altar of Artemis Elaphabolos, kept in the Museum of Ulcinj (a); detail of the inscription (b).  
Sl. 2: Ulcinj (*Olcinium*), oltar Artemide *Elaphabolos*, hrani ga muzej v Ulcinju (a); detalj napisa (b).

anything like a precise date based on letter-forms is nearly impossible in this case. It is a short and roughly inscribed text. At first glance, it appears to be fairly archaic, but its crudeness is deceiving. *Omicron* is smaller than other letters, although barely smaller in some cases. E is almost lunate.

archaic age”, but then decided, without further explanation, to date it to the late 5<sup>th</sup> or the early 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. Both claims are unsustainable and can be rejected outright. Arnaoutoglou 2016, 7, 16 dated the inscription to 3<sup>rd</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC but without stating the reasons (letter-forms?). Harland 2016 designated the document as “undated”.

A is inscribed with a single horizontal cross-bar. Hastae of the letter M are straight and outwardly projected. Except for the curved *epsilon*, these features seem to point to the early or middle Hellenistic period, but such conclusion would be anything but certain, especially given that many indicative letters are missing (there are no Π, Ξ or Σ-s). The only safe conclusion that can be gained from paleo-graphical features, as well as from the general shape of the monument, is that it postdates the Classical age. It is up to the language and the contents to furnish more.

The dialectical features of the text provide some, albeit very rough, indications of its chronological frame. Ἄρταμις (gen. Ἀρτάμιτος etc.) is the original Doric/Northwest form, recorded in all dialects belonging to this group, except the Cretan. As we approach the end of the Hellenistic age, it becomes increasingly common to see texts in Doric or Northwest Greek dialects infused with Attic *koinē* elements. In the late Hellenistic and Imperial Doric inscriptions, those that are already influenced by the Attic *koinē*, the name of the goddess changes to Ἄρτεμις (gen. Ἀρτέμιτος, dat. Ἀρτέμιτι, etc.).<sup>26</sup> This inscription is clearly one of those.<sup>27</sup> The fact that the language of the inscription is not completely assimilated to *koinē* is less helpful for dating than it might seem: Doric inscriptions are encountered in the later Hellenistic as well as the early Imperial periods.<sup>28</sup> Taking all this into account, it is likely that the text was inscribed in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, though the preceding century is not excluded.

Judging solely on the basis of the letter-forms or the dialect employed, there is little about this text that would prevent us from assigning it to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. However, the mention of a professional association of stone-cutters makes such a dating less than likely. Professional associations appear only gradually and hesitantly in the Hellenistic age, and only in certain places; contemporary private and cult associations are

much more prominent. The number of professional associations rises sharply only in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD; the majority of the source material concerning them (mostly inscriptions and papyri) comes from the first three centuries AD. This can be (and sometimes is) explained simply as a lack of epigraphical expression, but there are strong reasons to think that associations of workers and craftsmen, inasmuch as they existed at all, were underdeveloped before the Roman age. They owe their flourishing to the favourable conditions of the Early Empire.<sup>29</sup> The associations of stone-cutters or quarry-workers (κοινὰ τῶν λατόμων) are referred to very rarely and the few attestations that exist belong to the Imperial age.<sup>30</sup> If the altar from Olcinium were actually from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, the association of λατόμοι mentioned there would precede the earliest known example by a full two centuries.

To conclude, the very rough indications given by the letter-forms indicate an early to mid-Hellenistic date, but these are far from being conclusive. The appearance of the association of stone-cutters is, however, a strong indication of a later date, probably late Hellenistic or even early Roman. The possibility that the monument and the letters were not created at the same time should be considered, the text perhaps being inscribed at a later date.

<sup>26</sup> Wernicke 1895, 1336; Bechtel 1923, 60, 118, 185, 247, 339–340, 427, 483, 537, 579, 638, 727–728, 880; Buck 1955, 24, 154.

<sup>27</sup> Dat. Ἀρτέμιτι begins to appear in Doric/Northwestern dialect inscriptions in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. Most of the examples come from the epigraphic record of the Roman era.

<sup>28</sup> As is well known, Attic *koinē* became the dominant Greek dialect during the early Hellenistic age, but the traditional dialects persisted for a long time. While it is indisputable that *koinē* eventually triumphed (the Byzantine and Modern Greek are its descendants), absorbing the local dialects, this was a protracted struggle. In the most regions, *koinē* replaced the local dialects on public monuments by the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, but in private inscriptions this transition is often postponed, especially in the Doric-speaking areas, while dialectal features in the *koinē* inscriptions themselves endure even longer (to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD and beyond); there were even artificial attempts at revival of the local dialects during the Imperial Roman era; cf. Buck 1955, 173–180; Bubenik 1989, 73–90; Adrados 2005, 180–184; Bubenik 2007; Horrocks 2010, 84–88.

<sup>29</sup> Arnaoutoglou 2016, 10–11.

<sup>30</sup> Terms such as λατόμος are of course used from a very early time to designate craftsmen as such (cf. table of examples given by Ruffing 2008, 623–626); however, examples of *professional associations* of quarry-workers are very rare: Θρακικά 6, 1935, 302, no. 1 (mid-1<sup>st</sup> century AD); Roesch 1982, 182–183, no. 29 (3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, after 213); perhaps also Pralong 1980, 259–262 (4<sup>th</sup> century AD or later), although context is uncertain. Other examples may be hidden under different terminology, because the word λιθοξοός (stone-mason, stone polisher or sculptor) was occasionally used as synonymous with λατόμος (see Robert 1960, 30–37, especially 32, n. 2 and 3; cf. Zimmermann 2002, 138, n. 953). There are documented examples of the associations of λιθοξοοί (cf. *IGBul.* II 674), though usually there is a clear distinction between the two types of craftsmen (see Pralong 1980, ll. 5–6). A general lack of information on the associations of quarry-workers should be no surprise considering the facts that such workers were among the most impoverished of the free population, and that the quarries were often worked by slaves, convicts or other types of compulsory-laborers.

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## Komentar k dvema grškima napisoma iz Črne gore

### Povzetek

Prvi od obeh napisov, na katerem se omenja peripolarh (*sl. 1*), je bil po drugi svetovni vojni odkrit v kraju Perast, kamor ga je najverjetneje že v 17. st. prinesel škof in antikvar Andrija Zmajević (1624–1694). Kljub fragmentarnosti je spomenik pomemben zaradi napisa, na katerem sta izpričana v epigrafskih virih ne prav pogosta vojaška naziva: peripolarh (περιπολάρχης oz. v tem primeru περιπόλαρχος, poveljnik cestne straže) in *peripolos* (περίπολος, cestni stražnik). Vsekakor ni nepomemben seznam osebnih imen, ki sledi besedilu. Za postavitev spomenika so poskrbeli cestni stražniki (*peripoloi*) in njihov poveljnik (ali poveljniki). Zaradi tega se domneva, da gre morda za votivni spomenik (posvetilo nekemu božanstvu?). Seznam imen kaže na raznoliko etnično in kulturno ozadje dedikantov: prevladujejo imena ilirskega izvora, manj številna so grška, nastopa pa tudi eno rimsko in več neznanih imen. Onomastična analiza za določitev izvora spomenika ni bila dovolj. Raziskovalci, ki so spomenik proučevali v preteklosti, so predlagali različne hipoteze, vse enako možne in enako težko dokazljive. Najverjetneje se zdi, da spomenik izvira s širšega ilirskega območja, iz enega od krajev ob vzhodni obali Jadranskega ali Jonskega morja, *peripoloi* pa so bili v službi grškega (ali grško govorečega) mesta s tega območja.

Spomenik iz Perasta je bil v prvi objavi na podlagi primerjave z napisom na bronasti tablici iz muzeja Ashmolean, na kateri so prav tako navedeni *peripolarhi*, pa tudi zaradi omembe rimskega imena Μάρκος datiran v 2. st. pr. n. št., čeprav domnevne paleografske podobnosti z bronasto tablico kažejo bolj na 3. stoletje. Vendar pa omemba heleniziranega rimskega imena zahteva kasnejšo

datacijo, ko je bila rimska navzočnost na vzhodnih obalah Jadranskega morja močnejša, torej po tretji makedonski vojni in padcu kralja Gentija. Na drugi strani prisotnost oboroženih stražarjev, domnevnih najemnikov v službi grškega mesta, nakazuje, da napis ni izhajal iz časa direktne rimske nadvlade. Lokalne oborožene sile bi lahko bile izraz neodvisnosti ali delne neodvisnosti grških mestnih držav. To je bil tudi razlog za datiranje spomenika v sredino 2. st. pr. n. št. Natančna analiza spomenika je ovrгла dosedanjo datacijo. Podobnosti med tablico iz muzeja Ashmolean in spomenikom iz Perasta so zgolj delne, več je med njima opaznih razlik, med drugim material, iz katerega sta spomenika izdelana. Datacija napisa iz muzeja Ashmolean je sporna: prvotno je bila tablica postavljena v 4. st. pr. n. št., Louis Robert pa je njen nastanek s tehtnimi argumenti umestil v helenistično dobo, v 3. st. pr. n. št. Ker so helenizirana rimska imena v 2. st. pr. n. št. izjemno redka, bi bil napis iz Perasta z datacijo v sredino tega stoletja eden najzgodnejših primerov napisa z omembo heleniziranega rimskega imena (in skoraj zagotovo najzgodnejši primer za ime Μάρκος). Verjetneje je čas nastanka spomenika iz Perasta kasnejši, ko so tovrstna imena pogosteje izpričana. Če združimo paleografske in historične argumente, kažejo na pozno helenistično ali zgodnje rimsko obdobje, zelo verjetno na 1. st. pr. n. št. Omemba peripolarhov in *peripoloi* na napisu ni datacijsko občutljiva, saj so bile lokalne oborožene sile v službi grških mest tako v helenizmu kot v rimskem času (*op. 1–19*).

Drugi spomenik (*sl. 2*), ki je prav tako zanimiv in hkrati problematičen, je bil odkrit v mestu Ulcinj

(ant. *Olcinium*). Oltar je v celoti ohranjen, črke so vklesane plitvo in neenakomerno. Posvečen je Artemidi Elaphabolos (strelki jelenov), postavilo pa ga je združenje kamnosekov. Podatkov o izvoru in dataciji spomenika nimamo. Podobno kot smo domnevali pri prejšnjem spomeniku, verjetno tudi ta ni bil klesan v bližini najdišča. Edini argument, ki bi morda zožil območje provenience, je narečje napisa, namreč oblike besed, značilne za dorsko/severozahodno jezikovno skupino. A je bilo na obalah Jonskega in Jadranskega morja več naselbin z dorsko govorečim prebivalstvom. Tudi Artemido Elaphabolos so častili po celotnem grškem prostoru. Narečne prvine (dodani elementi atiške koine) postavljajo spomenik v pozno helenistično dobo, vsekakor ni bil izdelan pred 2. st. pr. n. št., verjetnejša je datacija v 1. st. pr. n. št. Splošne paleografske značilnosti se s tem zaključkom ujemajo, čeprav je besedilo precej poškodovano, manjka pa tudi nekaj izpovednih črk. Omemba poklicnega združenja kamnosekov govori proti dataciji v 3. ali 2. st. pr. n. št. Poklicna združenja se namreč pojavijo šele proti koncu helenistične dobe, njihova številčnost in aktivnosti pa se okrepijo šele

v 1. st. n. št. Združenja kamnosekov in delavcev v kamnolomih se pojavijo razmeroma pozno, v primerjavi z drugimi združenji so tudi redkeje izpričana. Če bi bil spomenik iz mesta Ulcinj res iz 2. st. pr. n. št., bi šlo za najzgodnejši primer takšnega združenja, kar dve stoletji pred pojavom sicer znanih tovrstnih združenj. A dejansko ni razloga za takšno domnevo, saj vsi naštetih argumenti kažejo na 1. st. pr. n. št., čeprav ni izključeno niti 1. st. n. št. (*op.* 20–30).

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