# From the history of ancient Rhizon/Risinium: Why Illyrian king Agron and queen Teuta came to a bad end and who was Ballaios?

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In 2001 the Center for Research on the Antiquity of Southeastern Europe of the University of Warsaw opened a new archaeological excavation project in the Republic of Montenegro. The site lies in the territory of modern Risan, on the coast of the northern branch of Kotor Bay [*Fig. 1*]. The name of the town appears in different written sources in variants corresponding to the period: Rhizon, Rhizinium, Risinium, but always echoing in the modern name of Risan. Consequently, the identification of the location did not raise any doubts already in the 19th century, but the name itself is of unclear origin. It may have been derived either from the Greek *rhizon*, that is, root or from *rhizotom*, a grass or to be more precise, a medicinal herb which still grows in proliferation around the locality (cf. Ivčević 1999: 101, Dyczek 2008: 155–156). Arthur Evans was the first to explore the area in the 1870s (Evans 1884: 42ff.) and he concluded that the plateau

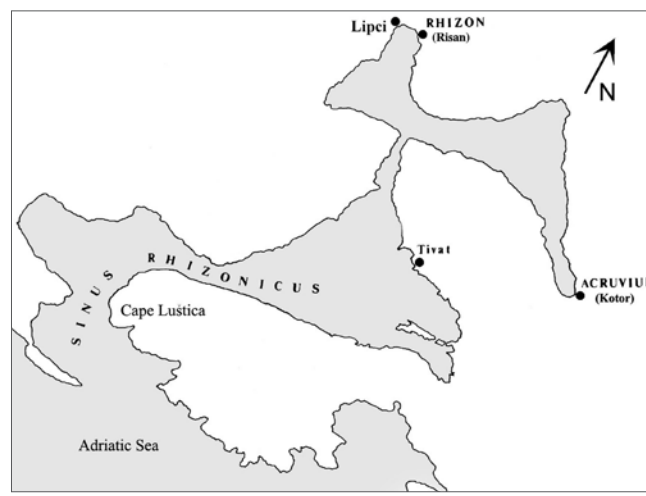


*Fig. 1. General location of Risan*

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situated at the foot of the Građine hill which rises to an altitude of 207 m, was the site of intensive settlement in antiquity.

Risan is a small locality today, but it was once the most important center in the whole bay and a significant player in the history of Illyria and its relations with the Roman Republic. Events with far-reaching consequences were played out here — during the first Illyrian war, for example. Ancient Rhizon with its safe and convenient harbor situated at the crossroads of one important trade route hugging the coast and another one branching off into the interior toward the Danube was an important economic and political center probably already from the 6th century BC and in the 3rd century BC in particular. Thus, it is hardly surprising that the name of the town is present in different contexts in many ancient sources. Suffice it here to mention only the most important ones, like the oldest one which is Pseudo-Skylax's *Periplus of Europe, Asia and Libya* (Gołębiowski 1977: 47; for the translation from Greek, see Meuller 1882: vol. I, 15–36). The author is presumed to be Skylax of Karyanda in Caria writing in the second half of the 4th century BC, but his work describes the situation from the 6th century BC: an *emporion* lying on "Rhisan lake" and the river Arion (fragments 24 and 25) (Pająkowski 1981: 44).

This interchangeable use of the name of Rhizon for the river and the bay, which is typical of ancient sources, is justified topographically because from the sea the bay could have given the impression of a very broad delta of the river Špila. This is reflected most fully by a fragment from the 3rd century BC *Song of the Argonauts*. In it Apollonius Rhodius speaks of a "deep Illyrian river" (Pušić 1964: 267) and recalls a legend that was current throughout antiquity that Rhizon was established by Harmony and the Phoenician Kadmos. The legend was reflected also in the name of a small tribe, the Enchelei, that is, the people of the eels/serpents whose territory surrounded Rhizon. According to the legend, the heroes were changed into eels/serpents after their death (Apollodorus of Athens, *Bibliotheke* III, 39). Indeed, to this day the region of Risan and the river Špila in particular are full of these fish.

Polybius contributed more information in his *Histories (*II.11.16). He seems to have followed Pseudo-Skylax in his description of the town's location, but added an important note on the urban form: "Rhizon a well fortified town (polismation), which lies at some distance from the sea just on the river Rhizon". The wall defenses were also mentioned in an inscription of the 2nd century AD (*CIL* VIII 2581; Garašanin 1966: 28) dedicated in the North African Lambaesis by a native of Rhizon/Risinium, one M. Lucceius Torquatus Bassianus, legate of the legion III Augusta (Zaninović 2001: 12) and later senator in the reign of Commodus (*CIL* VIII 2581). One can only conclude that the ancient fortifications of Risan remained impressive for ages, continuously testifying to the economic importance and prosperity of the town.

The history of Risan that can be traced through surviving written and epigraphic sources is full of gaps and ambiguity. It is not clear how the town was established and what its status really was. "Center of commercial exchange" is hardly determinative of

its political structure. Archaeological data from the area date the origin of human occupation in the area to the so-called Adriatic Neolithic, that is, the sixth millennium BC (Brajković 1972: 51–56; Marković 1985: 11). Should there be a kernel of truth in the legend quoted above, the roots of the locality could go back to the Bronze Age. The archaeological evidence is there: remains of fortifications on the acropolis which could stand in confirmation, but there is no proof that a Greek colony was established on the spot of the Bronze and early Iron Age settlement. Corinthian pottery and a hoard of drachmae could suggest that the colony was established by Corinth which had pioneered intensive settlement in the region in the 8th century BC. It should be kept in mind that Greek colonization at the beginning was characterized by two organizational forms which were not colonies in the Roman or modern sense. The first was the *apoikia* or overseas settlement, the second an *emporion* which could have been established by Greeks from different centers united in a common economic enterprise. The emporia soon changed into *apoikia* as a rule and the process is known to have taken place in Buthae (modern Budva) near Rhizon. There is no reason to think that Rhizon did not undergo a similar evolution. It cannot be excluded, however, that it was part of Syracusan colonization of the 4th century BC. More importantly, the lower town was fortified with a kilometer long line of polygonal wall defenses already in the early 4th century BC. In the 3rd century BC Rhizon acted as capital of Illyria and maintained close contacts with the Greeks. After the first Illyrian war the Illyrian kings were subordinated to Rome. Fictitious independence ended in 168/167 BC (Garašanin 1966: 28; Gelcich 1880: 8; Papazoglu 1967: 144) when the last king, Gentius, was captured along with his entire family following his defeat in the third Illyrian war with Rome. The situation in the 1st century BC was described by Pliny the Elder in his *Historia Naturalis (*III.22.14), where the old Rhizon, now Risinum, is mentioned as an *oppidum civium Romanorum.* Pliny emphasizes the Roman citizenship of the inhabitants of this locality. It is not clear whether it had the status of a Roman *municipium* at first (Alföldy 1965: 141–142; cf. *CIL* III 2766 b = 8369 = 1278). Like the other Romanized Illyrian towns, it could have first been a *municipium* before becoming a Roman colony.

Excavations by Arthur Evans and subsequently by Heinrich Richlý in the 19th century proved the commercial nature of Rhizon. Evans discovered Greek coins struck by Corinth, Dyrrhachion, Apollonia and a coin of king Liceos and the town of Damastion (Horvat 1934: 27). Richlý in turn was the first to note a section of the cyclopean walls in the waters of the river (Richlý 1898: 145–152). Incidental research in the 1930s, 1960s ad 1980s uncovered small fragments of ancient town architecture, traced the remains of ancient fortifications on the acropolis, located Roman buildings adorned with mosaic floors, but no regular archaeological excavation preceded the work currently being done by the Polish team.

Risan's stormy past has proved to be reflected in the archaeological record and the ten seasons of fieldwork have led to a verification of information provided by some of the written sources and the epigraphical data. Investigations have covered three sec-

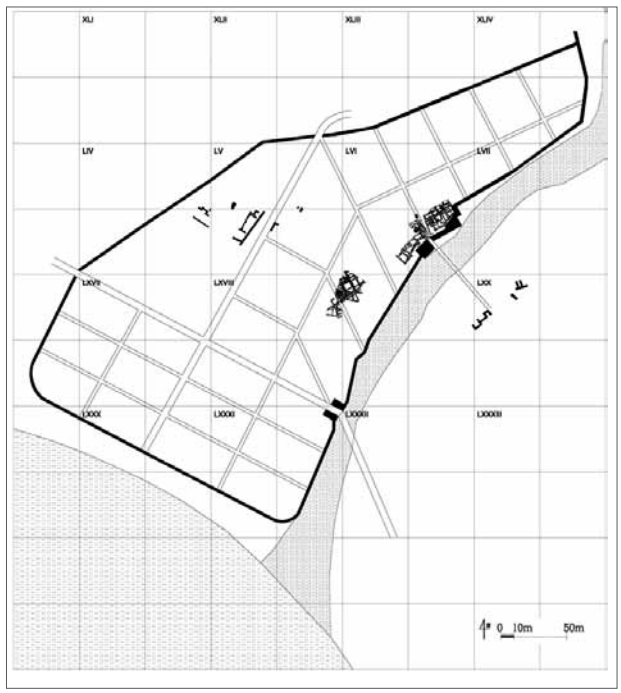



*Fig. 2.* *Plan of the lower town of Rhizon (Plan P. Dyczek, T. Słowik, R. Karpiński)*

*Fig. 3.* *Fortifications of the lower town (Photo J. Rectaw)*

tors of the lower town and the slopes and summit of Građine hill. Archaeologists were naturally looking for architectural remains which could be tied in with the end of King Agron's and Queen Teuta's rule. Of equal interest was King Ballaios, a mysterious figure that has attracted scholarly interest since the 19th century.

Regular exploration of the wall defenses of Risan started in 2004. Scattered stones of large size had been observed at the mouth of the Špila already in the 1980s (Faber 1992: 32; Drobnjaković 2002: 45–46). They were interpreted at the time as remains of an ancient harbor (Faber 1992: 107). Upon excavation, they turned out to be part of cyclopean walls still standing to a height of a few meters. Mapping of the architectural remains in 2005–2007 gave an idea of the line of the fortifications stretching for approximately 300 m along the course of the Špila river, on its right bank from where it springs in the hills to the seashore. Since antiquity the river has moved northward, submerging and destroying part of the defenses, hence in many places the cyclopean walls, including a gate leading from the south, can be observed in the steep river bank or at the bottom of the river. In three spots the mouths of ancient channels were noted, marking the location of ancient streets. In two places the ancient walls were incorporated into the modern waterfront.

The fortifications were constructed in the *emplekton* method which called for the wall faces to be made of large limestone blocks roughly 1.0 x 0.60 x 0.75 m in size [***Fig. 3***]. The polygonal blocks were fitted together tightly and the outer surface in the wall faces was roughly dressed and slightly convex, while the back remained unworked. The thickness of the wall was established at 2.60 m. Underwater research has revealed that the south wall turned a rounded corner to the west on a spot that is exactly in line with the modern artificial terrace on which the hotel buildings stand today. The east and north stretches of the wall were also uncovered and a rounded eastern corner [***Fig. 2***]. Yet another gate with a tower and gateway approximately 3 m wide was traced in the modern waterfront structures. Currently available evidence confirms the presence of altogether four gates, two from the south and two from the north, leading into Rhizon. Each had a single rectangular tower projecting from the curtain of the wall. The broken line of the fortifications presumably followed the riverbank. A similar arrangement of the defenses is known from many other fortresses, not only from the territory of modern Albania, e.g. ancient Lissu, Byllis, Apollonia (Wilkes 1992: 130–136), but also from, for example, Miletus, Samikon and Asine (Adam 1982: 68, 184–185, 188–190). Taking into consideration the known parameters, the height of these fortifications should be reconstructed as approximately 10–12 m. With such an appearance they rightly left a great impression on Roman-age visitors.

These fortifications, however, proved not to be the earliest defenses of Risan. The earlier walls were built of large irregular broken stones, measuring roughly 0.70 x 0.50 x 0.40 m, and were identical with the so-called "Illyrian fortifications" on Građine (for which see below). The joints were filled with smaller broken stone. These walls, like the Illyrian walls on Građine, could be dated only per analogiam with the defenses at Krk

which have been attributed to the 5th–4th centuries BC. The polygonal bondwork of the later walls is known from the fortifications of Issos and Pharos, where the remains have been dated to the end of the 5th century BC (Faber 1976: 230–236). The walls in Amantia, Phoinice and Scodra are dated to the 5th–4th century BC (Ceka 2005: 73, 96, 134; Wilkes 1992: 129–130). To conclude, the older defenses in Risan were constructed most likely at the beginning of the 5th century BC and the later ones probably in the end of the 5th or at the beginning of the 4th century BC (Faber 1996: 109).

The history of Illyria and the list of dynasties and particular rulers based on different sources are still not entirely clear. King Agron ruled the Illyrian tribe of the Ardiaei and he was most probably the son of king Pleuratus, founder of two Illyrian dynasties. His reign falls between 250 and 230 BC. Strabo considered the Ardiaei to be one of the three strongest Illyrian tribes, next to the Autariatae and Dardami. They populated the delta of the Neretva river and the neighborhood of the Kotor bay. Agron extended his rule beyond tribal territory, conquering a wide area encompassing Illyria proper and extending from the island of Pharos and Corcyra Melania in the north to the narrow belt of Epirus leading to and lying around Greek Apollonia in the south. Rhizon lay in the middle of this region. His kingdom achieved considerable military and economic standing, this mainly due to an emphasis on piracy which was soon to draw Rome's anger upon their heads. The Illyrian kingdom also played an important role in local politics, especially in relations with Macedonia. The alliance was tested in 231 BC when Demetrius II of Macedonia turned to Agron for help against the Aetolians who had occupied the lands around the Gulf of Ambracia, including the old capital of Pyrrus, taking advantage of the extinction of the royal line in Epirus upon the death of queen Deidameia. A *koinon* of the Epirotes was established with the capital in Phoinice. When the Aetolians laid siege to the Akarnian capital of Medion in 231–230 BC, Agron sent 100 Illyrian ships with 5000 troops to attack them by surprise (Ceka 2005: 120–121). They brought back rich bounty (Polybius 2.3). Intemperate use of wine during the victory celebrations, as was Argon's habit, ended in pleurisy and death (Hammond 1967: 591, 595–596; Wilkes 1992: 158). This could have been merely Rome's black propaganda with respect to a defeated foe, but Agron's lack of temperance definitely blotted out his undoubted military and economic accomplishments from collective memory. He may well be considered a victim of "Dionysus's divine beverage".

Even if not quite credible, this story raises the question where the wine came from, considering that there is nothing evident in the archaeological record to suggest that wine was produced in this region (Dyczek, 2007: 238). Part of the answer comes from Pseudo-Aristotle: "There is also another country between [Mentoria and Istria (Illyria)], to whose market traders from the Black Sea come to sell wines from the islands of Lesbos, Chios and Thasos; [wine] and also [brought] from the islands of Adriatic, in amphorae from Corcyra".

The excavations at Risan have confirmed and complemented this report, bringing to light storerooms full of thousands of amphora sherds [***Fig. 4***, top] and inscribed

*Fig. 4.* *A Greek-Italic amphora and stoppers used with these containers (Photos J. Recław)*

and decorated stoppers [*Fig. 4*, bottom]. The sheer amounts of sherds suggest commercial exchange as well as individual use, the latter undoubtedly facilitated by easy access. Obviously Agron's example did not go unfollowed. Most of the containers were Greek-Italic amphoras from the 3rd and 2nd century BC (Sciallano, Sibella 1991: 30–31), some preserving fabricant stamps. Most represent the standard Grand-Congloué 1/Lamboglia 4 type, a few belong to the de Montfo group (Will 1982: 338–356; Lamboglia 1955: 252–260). Amphoras of Rodos type 1 from the turn of the 4th century BC are also present (Py, Sourisseau 1993: 42), as are most types associated with other sites, e.g. Adria (Toniolo 2000:13-86). On these grounds it is possible to say that part of the wine was imported from the Aegean, while the rest came from Magna Graecia.

Agron's second wife, the ambitious Teuta, took power on behalf of the young heir to the throne Pinnes. Her aggressive stand against Rome was a continuation of her husband's policy and she used his well equipped and maintained pirate fleet to attack the Greek towns which to Rome where of cardinal importance in view of the military conflict with Carthage. Safe sailing and trade in the Adriatic were a lifeline for Rome during this period. Queen Teuta took Phoinike, then turned her eyes on the Greek colonies of Epidamnos, Apollonia and the islands of Issa (modern Vis) and Corcyra (Zaninović 2001: 4–5). The conquest of Corcyra, where Teuta left her kinsman Demetrius of Pharos to rule, was especially important for the port controlled passage into the Adriatic Sea.

The Romans sent envoys Gaius and Lucius Coruncanius and a representative of *Issa* Cleemporius to the Illyrian queen to negotiate an end to the attacks. It is not clear what happened next (Pająkowski 1981: 185–189), but it is assumed that Teuta had one of the envoys murdered and plundered the Roman ships. The first Illyrian war ensued in 229 and 228 BC with the consuls Gnaeus Fulvius Centumalus and Lucius Postumius Albiunus gathering 200 ships with full crew, 20,000 infantry and 200 cavalry and moving out from Brundisium to Corcyra Nigra, then to Apollonia, and taking into their protection, among others, Epidamnos and Issa. Teuta sought refuge with a "small retinue" in Rhizon, from where she commanded the action. Losing the war in the spring of 228 BC, she agreed to pay tribute, withdraw from almost all of Illyria — the southern border of her kingdom was set on the Ardaxan river (modern Mat) — and not to take more than two armed ships out of Issa at any one time. She was also forced to cede the throne to Pinnes, Argon's juvenile son from his first marriage with Triteuta, as a guarantee that the accord would be kept (Pająkowski 1981: 191–192). It is not clear what happened to Teuta after these events. The story that the Romans sentenced her to execution by the axe does not appear to be credible.

Rhizon from the times of Argon and Teuta evidently suffered at the hands of the Roman conquering the town as indicated by the thick layers of rubble recorded in the excavations. Excavations have revealed significant data for a reconstruction of the town from this period. Like other Illyrian towns, Rhizon appears to have been subdivided into insulae, which were filled with typically Hellenistic houses featuring many small courtyards, passages and corridors. Some of the houses were constructed of bricks on a stone foundation. The predominating form was a building without an upper floor, covered

with tiled roofs. Some of the units inside these houses can be identified in terms of the function they served: small kitchens, bedrooms with solid and sometimes elaborately elegant furnishings, the presence of which is indicated mainly by numerous copper-alloy nails of all kinds.

To date fragments of three insulae have been excavated, the quarters separated by well paved and drained streets that were 3 m wide. The drainage system inside the insulae was also quite elaborate, but the large number of channels was justified considering that Risan is situated in the center of a region with the biggest annual rainfall per square meter in all of Europe.

One building complex comprised a number of rooms grouped around a small courtyard. These included storage space for amphoras as well as small shops selling Gnathia tableware imported in 325–270 BC from Italic ceramic production centers (Green 1976: 10–13; Curti 1998: 14) or else produced between 360 and 270 BC at Stari Grad on Hvar and Vis islands and in Lumbarda on Korčula island (Vikić, Damaevski 1982: 98, 106–107). Single examples can be dated more exactly, e.g. a beaker with ribbed ornament and *barbotine* motifs on the rim from 300–270 BC (Curti 1998: Pl. 17, nos 60, 69).

The quality of life in ancient Rhizon is borne out by bathing rooms, one of which held a small ceramic tub set in a mortar floor, while the other one was furnished with a big tub standing on a floor adorned with a simple mosaic made of sherd fragments and small white limestone pebbles in hydraulic mortar [***Fig. 5***]. Red bands framed white

***Fig. 5.*** *Hellenistic bathroom with mosaic floor and ceramic tub (Photo J. Reclaw)*

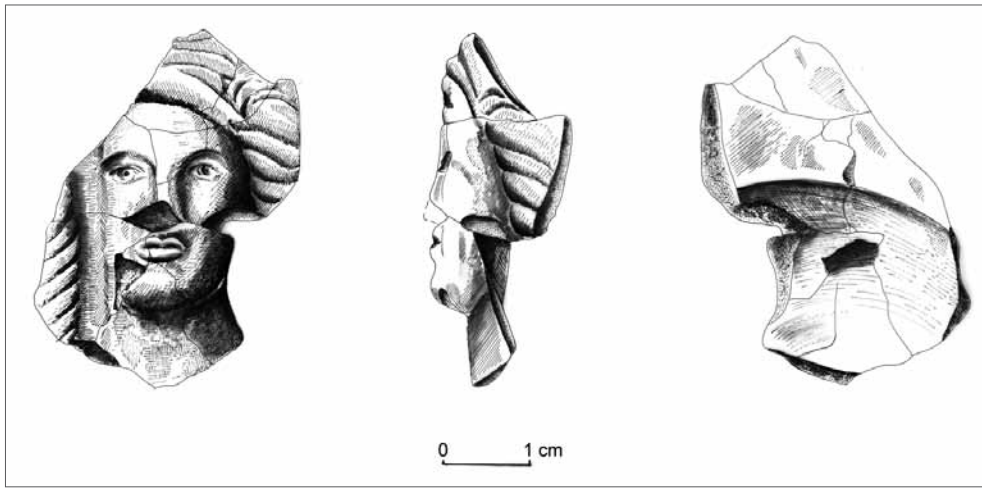



*Fig. 6.* *Thymiateron from Rhizon (Drawing K. Stanek, M. Różycka)*

*Fig. 7.* *One of the main thoroughfares in Rhizon separating two insulae (Photo J. Recław)*

squares. Considering the dating of this complex, one has to say that this is the earliest mosaic floor known from the Adriatic region. The arrangement recalls bath designs from the end of the 3rd and mid 2nd century BC, from Tell Atrib in the Nile delta, for example (Mysliwiec 1995: 125–128; 1998: 123–138). Tubs of small size are known also from other Hellenistic sites, in mainland Greece, for example (Weber 1996: 26, 29, Figs 16, 18b, 21). One of the small finds was a terracotta image of a woman's face, which proved to be part of a Punic *thymiateron* (Dyczek 2004: 11, Pl. XXVI,4) [***Fig. 6***]. No other find of this kind is known from the eastern coast of the Adriatic (Chérif 1991: 739–741). The terracotta fragments discovered in Risan demonstrate a striking similarity with *thymiateria* produced in Sicily from the 4th to the 6th century BC and can be assigned to Muñoz Amilibia's type B, Pena's type II, Chérif's type V, and Regoli's types I and II (Chérif 1991: 734, Figs 4,a–h; 5,a–d).

A street 3.00 m wide was found to run from north to south in the middle of two other insulae [***Fig. 7***]. It ran straight into the river, so it is possible that there was a bridge in this spot. On the western bank there was a large tower on one side of the street. The road surface was made of well fitted limestone slabs covering a large sewage channel. The road was dated to the same period as the cyclopean walls.

The buildings lining this street were clearly of different function. The west side comprised a series of rectangular storage units which were attached to the face of the cyclopean defenses. Fronting them was an alley, 2.00 m wide, turning off at right angle from the bigger street and paved with small- and medium-size river pebbles. The stores still contained considerable quantities of Greek-Italic amphorae belonging in their majority to different variants of the MGS VI type from the end of the 3rd and 2nd century BC (van den Mersch 1994: 81–87; Peacock, Williams 1986: 84–85; Sciallano, Sibella 1991: 30–31).

On the other side of the street, the architecture started approximately 2 m from the inside face of the defenses. The street paving here is made of small stones and amphora sherds. The continuous character of the architecture suggests a developed Greek/Hellenistic house (Robinson, Graham 1938: Pls 88, 94 95). A narrow alley divides the ruins into two separate complexes. One was more domestic in nature, containing quern remains, bone and copper-alloy needles for making fishnets, ceramic and lead weights for fishnets, hooks, fishbones and shells of murex snails and oysters. These finds indicate that the inhabitants applied themselves to the wooden (furniture) and metal (bronze and iron) trades, and fishing was a mainstay with them, as well as the historically confirmed piracy — the archaeological record contains numerous finds of bronze nails used in the construction of ships, *lembi liburnae*(?). People also kept livestock: cattle, goats, sheep, pigs, to judge by the animal bones found in archaeological layers. The presence of phalanxes is proof that animals were slaughtered locally for the purposes of on-the-spot consumption.

The other complex was residential in character and under the floor on one room a hoard of coins was discovered during excavations in 2010. Altogether there were 4656 coins in the jar, all struck by King Ballaios [***Fig. 8***]. The total weight was 12 kg. The

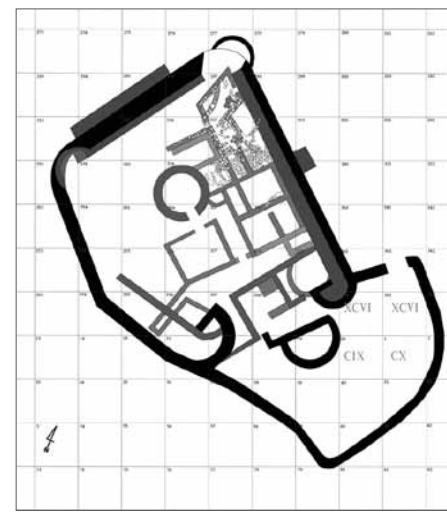
newly discovered hoard has contributed coin series that had not been known among the 1700 coins of this previously unknown ruler known prior to this discovery, mostly from the island of Hvar and a few singular pieces from Aquilea and the region of Veneto, as well as Apulia and Calabria (Zaninović 2001: 7–8).

The king appears to have been a powerful ruler, even though he escapes mention in any of the surviving written sources. He ruled over a territory more or less corresponding to the kingdom of Agron and he struck silver and bronze coinage in mints located in Pharos and Rhizon. The obverse bears the image of a young man in profile, depicted in the Hellenistic manner, identified on many coins with the legend "King Ballaios". The goddess Artemis, who was worshipped by the Illyrians, appears on the reverse. The first to find a coin of Ballaios in Risan was Evans and for lack of any data except a tentative sequence of Illyrian rulers after Teuta's defeat, he placed Ballaios' reign in 168–135 BC. Analysis of data from archaeological contexts, including Gnathia tableware and radiocarbon dates, has already disproved Evans' chronological conclusions and the hoard should contribute to establishing the dates for Ballaios' reign.

The fortress towering over Risan at a height of 207 m a.s.l.[2] was cleared and surveyed in 2006 [*Fig. 9*]. Archaeological work in the northwestern part verified informa-

*Fig. 8.* *Hoard of coins of King Ballaios during exploration in June 2010 (Photo J. Recław)*

*Fig. 9.* *Phased plan of the fortress on the Rhizon acropolis (Mapping P. Dyczek)*




[2] The altitude has been verified; older publications give 205 m a.s.l., cf. Drobnjaković 2002: 47.

*Fig. 10.* *The 'Illyrian' walls (top) and cyclopean walls on the Rhizon acropolis (Photos J. Rectaw)*

tion from P. Mijović and M. Kovačvić (Mijović, Kovačević 1975: 25, Fig. 17) about the existence of an older U-shaped structure and ditch on this side of the fortress. An architectural analysis of the standing remains proved the multi-phases character of the structure, at the same time identifying the standing walls as being of Turkish date. The earliest defenses on the hill cannot be dated archaeologically, but otherwise they have all the characteristics of defense architecture identified in topic literature as Illyrian of the 5th–4th century BC (Faber 1976: 227–230) [***Fig. 10***, top]. The faces are made of large irregular chunks of broken stone measuring 80/100 x 60/70 x 60/70 cm, laid in a polygonal bond. Smaller stones fill the wall core. Sections only a few meters long survive today, but these walls once girdled an ellipsoid area approximately 200 m long and 100 m wide. Enclosed inside the walls was a cistern which had its own fortification and had a separate entrance from outside, and the said U-shaped structure adjoining the fortress. The walls of this structure were 1.60 m thick and were also raised of broken stone. The structure itself was 19.20 m long and 16.60 m wide. This arrangement suggests that we are dealing with an early Illyrian fortress of typical size which later served as a *refugium* (Wilkes 1992: 41).

Previous researchers had already noted the presence of cyclopean walls to the northwest of the fortress and these remains were cleared in 2006, including the trench that had been cut in the rock to build these fortifications. A section of this wall 6.40 m long and 1.10 m high was cleared. The combined reconstructed length of the wall is approximately 15 m. On the southeastern side of the hill, at a distance of 15 m, a parallel wall was observed, its remains surviving only in a section 2 m long. Both walls were constructed of stones roughly 1.30 x 0.90 x 0.50 m in size. The relation between the two walls and Mijović's and Kovačević's report (1975: 25) on the discovery of yet another section of cyclopean wall on the western side of the hill (now completely eroded away) leads to the conclusion that the next phase of building on the hill comprised a platform approximately 15 by 15 m on the very top [***Fig. 10***, bottom]. A coin of Ballaios found by the cyclopean wall, as well as a stopper from a Greek-Italic amphora and a fragment of skyphos of Gnathia ware (so called Late Gnathia 325–270 BC, cf. Green 1976: 10–13), suggest that these defenses were already in existence in the 4th century BC. This platform must have served as a foundation for a strong building and it is tempting to identify this structure hypothetically with a temple of the *Lar populi*, Medaur, a local deity known to have been worshipped in Rhizon/Risinium (*CIL* III, 2581=*ILS* 4881). Further archaeological research is needed to resolve this issue. The Rhizon acropolis was certainly strongly fortified. Sections of defenses from different periods, but especially of Illyrian date, have been discovered all over the mountain. A road leading up to the top from a gate in the fortifications of the lower town has also been traced; at the other end this road ended on the agora situated by the northern defenses.

Archaeological research in ancient Rhizon/Risinium has already contributed significantly to our knowledge of Illyrian history. And it now appears that this important ancient town, now a sleepy hamlet on the Adriatic coast, had not been lucky for the kings and queens that ruled the region. Agron died here of intemperate drink and his

ambitious wife underestimated the enemy, resulting in the razing of the town and the fall of the kingdom. And Ballaios? He remains a mysterious Illyrian ruler, his secrets hardly revealed, a king whose name would have been lost were it not for his coinage. Current archaeological research will surely change not only Evans' dating of his reign, but will require a modification of existing chronological tables and dynastic lists. It is this that is the most captivating and creative in archaeology and the lifetime achievement of Professor Wiktor Andrzej Daszewski is excellent proof of this — to take apparently unquestionable truths, determinations and theories and to turn them around in the light of new research in a continuous effort to improve our understanding of the past. It is to be hoped that Risan is no longer so ill-fated and none else will share the fate of Agron and Teuta, while the story of Ballaios will be a challenge and hope for the future.

## Abbreviations

*CIL* — *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, I–XVII, Berlin: Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1863–1986

*ILS* — *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, H. Dessau (ed.), Berlin: Berolini Apud Weidmannos, 1892–1916

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# ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| *AA* | *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, Berlin |
| *AAAS* | *Annales archéologiques arabes de Syrie*, Damas |
| *ABSA* | *Annual of the British School of Athens*, London |
| *AJA* | *American Journal of Archaeology*, New York |
| *APF* | *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete*, Leipzig, Stuttgart |
| *ASAE* | *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, Le Caire |
| *BAAL* | *Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises*, Beirut |
| *BABesch* | *Bulletin antieke Beschaving,* Louvain |
| *BCH* | *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, Paris |
| *BdÉ* | *Bibliothèque d'étude,* Le Caire |
| *BEFAR* | *Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome,* Rome, Paris |
| *BIFAO* | *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*, Le Caire |
| *BSFE* | *Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie*, Paris |
| *CCE* | *Cahiers de la céramique égyptienne,* Le Caire |
| *CCEC* | *Cahiers du Centre d'études chypriotes*, Nanterre |
| *CdÉ* | *Chronique d'Égypte*, Bruxelles |
| *CRAI* | *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, Paris |
| *CSEL* | *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Vienna |
| *EtTrav* | *Études et travaux*, Varsovie |
| *GM* | *Göttinger Miszellen*, Göttingen |
| *GRBS* | *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, Durham, NC |
| *IEJ* | *Israel Exploration Journal*, Jerusalem |
| *JbAC* | *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* |
| *JEA* | *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, London |
| *JGS* | *Journal of Glass Studies*, New York |
| *JHS* | *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, London |
| *JJP* | *Journal of Juristic Papyrology*, Warsaw |
| *JRA* | *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, Ann Arbor, MI |
| *JRS* | *Journal of Roman Studies*, London |
| *KHKM* | *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, Warszawa |
| *LIMC* | *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*, Zurich |
| *MDAIA* | *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, Berlin |
| *MDAIK* | *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abeilung Kairo*, Wiesbaden |
| *MEFRA* | *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité*, Paris |
| *MIFAO* | *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale,* Le Caire |
| *NC* | *Numismatic Chronicle*, London |
| *NumAntCl* | *Numismatica e antichità classiche*, Logano |
| *OLA* | *Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta*, Louvain |
| *PAM* | *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean*, Warsaw |
| *RACrist* | *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, Cité du Vatican |
| *RBK* | *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, Stuttgart |

| | |
|---|---|
| *RDAC* | *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*, Nicosia |
| *RdÉ* | *Revue d'égyptologie*, Paris, Louvain |
| *REPPAL* | *Revue du centre d'études de la civilisation phénicienne-punique et des antiquités libyques* |
| *RMNW* | *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie*, Warszawa |
| *RSO* | *Rivista degli studi orientali*, Roma |
| *RTAM* | *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, Gembloux |
| *RTAM* | *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale,* Gembloux, Louvain |
| *SAAC* | *Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization*, Kraków |
| *VetChr* | *Vetera christianorum,* Bari |
| *ZPE* | *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, Bonn |

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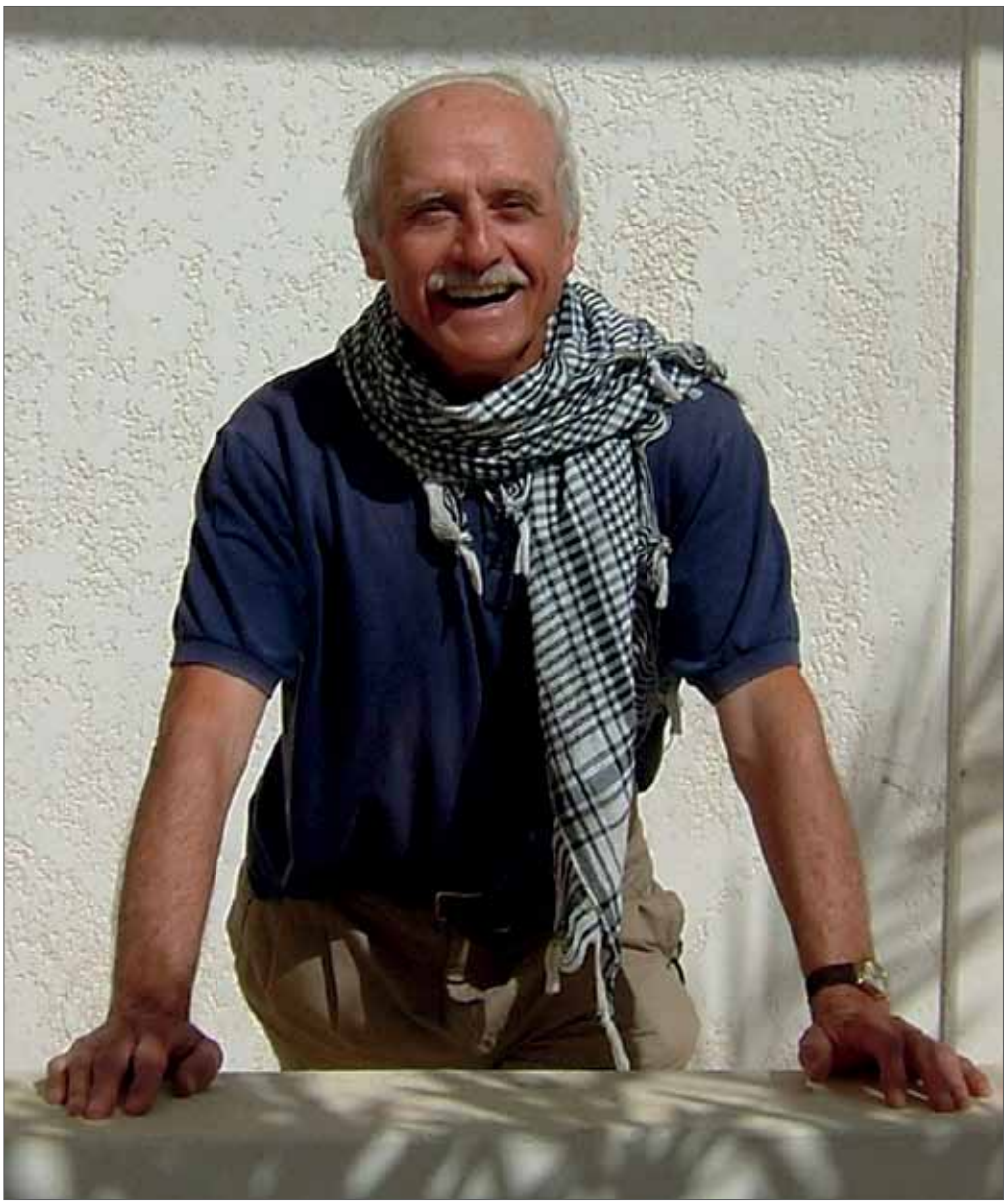
|---|---|
| *DACL* | F. Cabrol, H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie,* Paris, 1907–1953 |
| *LCI* | E. Kirschbaum, W. Braunfels (eds), *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, Rom: Herder, 1968–1976 |
| *RealEnc* | A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, K. Mittelhaus*, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* Stuttgart–Münich, 1893–1980 |

CLASSICA ORIENTALIA



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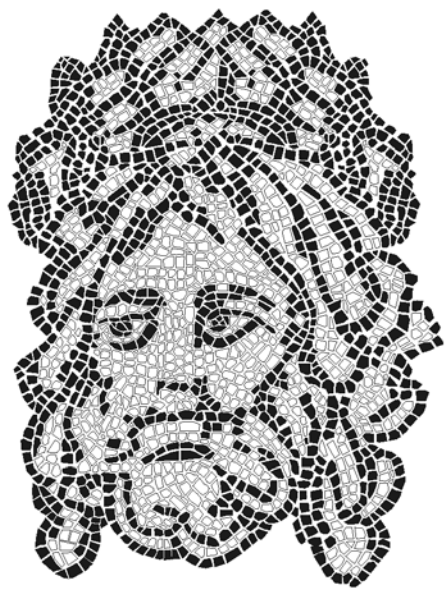

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Wiktor Andrzej Daszewski
on his 75th Birthday

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# CONTENTS