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Minna Skafte Jensen

### Phoenix, Achilles and a Narrative Pattern

In transmitted Greek literature, the legend of Meleager and the Calydonian boar is first told as a part of one of the great speeches in Book 9 of the *Iliad*.<sup>1</sup> This book has always been considered one of the most marvellous passages in the poem. Here Agamemnon recognizes his fault in having offended Achilles, and envoys are sent to the angry hero, entrusted with the mission of offering him rich gifts and persuading him to return to battle. Achilles remains stubborn, but during the argumentation heroic standards and values are laid open to scrutiny in a highly dramatic and emotional fashion. It is one of the Homeric passages that Plato discussed.<sup>2</sup> Cedric Whitman made this scene the centre of the ring composition he found in the *Iliad*.<sup>3</sup> Adam Parry analysed Achilles' language, maintaining that his very questioning of traditional heroic morals was a breach with formulaic diction, a viewpoint that led to a long and subtle discussion of the scope and potentialities of traditional language.<sup>4</sup> And the scene is at the heart of the Homeric study by the great Swedish novelist Sven Delblanc, written when he was dying from cancer, in which he forcefully argued that when Achilles says that he will leave the war and return to his home, even if this means losing his claim to heroic fame, he is profoundly serious: when death is threatening, a long, uneventful life seems much more attractive than any kind of heroic valour.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Some of it is also told in Hesiod, *Ehoëae* fr. 25 (Merkelbach & West), vv. 9-17.

<sup>2</sup> *Hippias Minor*, esp. 364e-365d and 369a-371e.

<sup>3</sup> Cedric H. Whitman, *Homer and the Heroic Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958).

<sup>4</sup> Adam Parry, "The language of Achilles", *TAPA* 87, 1-7. A summary of the discussion, with references, is to be found in G. S. Kirk, ed., *The Iliad: A Commentary* (1993), vol. 3, by Bryan Hainsworth (Cambridge University Press, 1993), 101-102.

<sup>5</sup> Sven Delblanc, *Homerisk hemkomst. Två essäer om Iliaden och Odysseen* (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1992), esp. 45-65.

Book 9 has also been a bone of contention in the old battle between analysts and unitarians, with a question of verbal forms as its focal point: Nestor dispatches the embassy using dual verbs, even though three heroes are sent along, Odysseus, Ajax and Phoenix. For instance, D. L. Page's argumentation that Phoenix is a newcomer in the book, added as one of the latest layers of the text, still makes enjoyable reading.<sup>6</sup> And one of the founding fathers of neo-analysis, J. Th. Kakridis, opened up new perspectives with his interpretation of the way Meleager's story is used by Phoenix in his speech.<sup>7</sup>

In the following I shall argue that an important aspect of Phoenix' words has nevertheless been overlooked. Scholars have mostly taken the side of the envoys. For instance, in the authoritative modern commentary by Bryan Hainsworth Achilles is said to be unreceptive because of overwhelming self-pity.<sup>8</sup> But I think that the text invites us to share our sympathies between the characters, since Achilles has much better reasons for declining the embassy than usually accepted.

When the envoys arrive, Achilles underlines that the three of them are his best friends among the Achaeans (198, 204), and later on Phoenix repeats this (521-2). The whole of the latter's long speech (434-605) exploits the fact that they are related by bonds of close friendship, and that between himself and Achilles the relationship is even that of a father to his son. In the beginning he twice addresses him as *philon tekos*, my dear child, and he gives a touching description of how when Achilles was a baby, he used to hold him on his knee and accepted having his clothes soiled at meals. Phoenix concludes the first part of his speech, the tale of his own life, with the statement that since he knew that he would never have sons of his own, he gave Achilles this place in his world.

Also, it is noticeable that the relationship between parents and children is the dominant theme of the speech: not only are the two main stories, of Phoenix himself and of Meleager, both concerned with this relationship, but it also comes up in other passages. Phoenix opens his speech by reminding Achilles of his father Peleus and the commands he gave him at their departure. In Phoenix' autobiography, when Peleus receives him kindly, it is

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<sup>6</sup> D. L. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959, *Sather Classical Lectures* 31), esp. 297-315. For a qualified answer to Page's arguments, see Michael N. Nagler, *Spontaneity and Tradition. A Study in the Oral Art of Homer*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: California University Press, 1974), 64-111, esp. n. 35 on p. 95.

<sup>7</sup> J. Th. Kakridis, *Homeric Researches* (1944; *Skriptor utgivna av Kungliga Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund* 45, 1949), 11-42.

<sup>8</sup> Kirk, *The Iliad*, 119.

said that he loved him as a father, though Peleus, of course, was in no need of a son. And when it comes to Meleager's wife Cleopatra, both her parents and her mother's parents are brought into the tale in a brief and enigmatic digression, that seems of no relevance to the story told, except that it directs the attention to how parents and children relate to one another. So in this speech we find the following parent-child relations: Phoenix – Achilles, Peleus – Achilles, Amyntor and his wife – Phoenix, Peleus – Phoenix, Oeneus and Althaea – Meleager, Idas and Marpessa – Cleopatra, and Marpessa's parents – Marpessa.

These last-mentioned parents were known as unhappy because their daughter was carried off by Apollo. But what is really disturbing in the speech is the way in which the main characters, Phoenix and Meleager, are treated by their parents. Both tales are about parents who curse their sons: Phoenix' father makes his son childless, whereas Meleager's mother even calls forth her son's death. So for all the warmth and emotion of Phoenix' speech, there runs just under the surface an opposite story of parents hating their sons and ruining their lives. And there is even an explicitly egoistic element in Phoenix' appeal: in the same breath as he reminds Achilles that he considers him as his son, he also says that he therefore expects him to save his life (494-5).

There is in the *Iliad* a narrative pattern that is of relevance here. When a hero prepares himself to join battle, his closest relatives may try to keep him back in order to save his life. As with other Homeric patterns, it may occur in more or less detail. In its briefest form, it is just barely mentioned, such as in 11.225-6 and 329-32: a foster-father tries to retain a young warrior and even arranges for him to marry his daughter so as to keep him at home, and a prophet foresees the death of his sons and will not allow them to participate in the war. At full scale, the most developed example is Andromache's attempt at convincing Hector not to return to the battlefield in Book 6 (vv. 369-502). But also towards the end of the *Iliad* the pattern recurs in highly moving ways: when from the top of the walls of Troy Priam and Hecuba argue with Hector that he should seek refuge inside the gates rather than take up battle with Achilles (22.25-92); and when later Hecuba scolds her old husband and suggests that he has grown senile, all in order to make him give up his dangerous plan of going into the enemy's camp to fetch his son's corpse (24.191-227).

I read this pattern as one of the ways in which the poet reveals the love between the involved parties. They may express themselves directly, as does Andromache, but deeds are more convincing than words, and even when the words are insulting, as are Hecuba's in Book 24, we are left in no doubt about her love for Priam, revealed in her very fear of the terrible risk he is facing. If we compare with the following scene between Helen and

Paris in Book 6 (vv. 313-68), the significance of the pattern becomes even clearer: Hector has come to persuade his brother to join his comrades on the battlefield, and Helen finds it absolutely shameful that he is staying safely at home while Greeks and Trojans are killing each other for his and her sake. The implicit message is that she does not care all that much whether he survives or not.

If we return to Phoenix' speech with this pattern in mind, his appeal to Achilles becomes ambiguous. He knows well enough that Achilles risks his life if he goes back into battle, since he has just heard from Achilles himself of the warning Thetis once gave her son (410-16). By wanting him to join the battle in spite of this, he reveals his lack of true love for the young hero.

That this is actually how he is understood by Achilles also emerges from the answer he is given (607-19). The rare word *atta* with which Achilles addresses him conveys affectionate regard, according to Hainsworth.<sup>9</sup> It is found once more in the *Iliad*, in another address to Phoenix (17.561, Menelaus speaking), and six times in the *Odyssey* (16.31, 57, 130, 17.6, 599, 21.369), where in all cases Telemachus is speaking to the swineherd Eumaios. Besides the affection, I also hear a condescending tone in these addresses. It is clearest in 21.369 of the *Odyssey*, where Telemachus is actually irritated with the swineherd; but in general, it seems to be an approach to a person who is old and close, but of lower standing than the speaker. Achilles' speech is certainly affectionate and respectful, but strikingly brief compared to Phoenix' loquacity. The only part of the foster-father's argumentation to which Achilles gives an answer is the final appeal that he should accept the honourable gifts that he is offered now, since later he will have to fight anyway, but then without gifts. This is dismissed: Achilles feels in no need of this kind of honour. The rest of his answer boils down to: Old man, you ought to love me rather than my enemies.

For all his references to paternal love, Phoenix is primarily concerned with his own life and the safety of the Greek army. His speech makes the tragedy of Achilles stand out in shocking clarity: Not only will his life be short, but his closest kinsman gives priority to his duties as a warrior rather than to his survival.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.

<sup>10</sup> I thank John D. Kendal for revising my English.

Živko Mikić

## Anthropological Traces of Slav Presence in Kosovo and Metochia

The anthropological history of the population of Kosovo and Metochia is little known. The reasons for that are well known, especially with regard to the last century. Anthropology has not yet been sufficiently institutionalised in our environment, and throughout the second half of the twentieth century state ideology was not interested in promoting scientific fields apt to stand in the way of its doctrine. As a result, for instance, only few medieval necropolises from Kosovo and Metochia were anthropologically analyzed and published: Matičane near Priština, Djonaj near Prizren, Kuline and Rezala near Kosovska Mitrovica, and, to a lesser extent, Novo Brdo not far from Priština. Of course, the number of archeologically investigated necropolises is significantly larger, but their anthropological material has been lost in the meantime. Let us look into this in more detail.

Not so long ago, in 1988, V. S. Jovanović, in his lucid and systematic study “Archaeological Research of Medieval Monuments and Sites in Kosovo”, quoted a total of 12 necropolises, not including almost one thousand graves researched in Novo Brdo cathedral and its graveyard. These 12 necropolises, in the order specified by V. S. Jovanović, are the following:<sup>1</sup>

ROGOVO – the site of Fuše near Djakovica. In 1966, during the excavations of prehistoric mounds, medieval graves of the eighth and ninth centuries were found.<sup>2</sup>

The anthropological material was not analyzed.

ČEČEN – near the village of Dubovac in the vicinity of Vučitrn. The archaeological material, part of which is kept in the National Museum in Belgrade, indicates a medieval necropolis roughly dated to the ninth century (earrings etc.).<sup>3</sup> As it was not archeologically excavated, the anthropo-

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<sup>1</sup> V. S. Jovanović, “Arheološka istraživanja srednjovekovnih spomenika i nalazišta na Kosovu”, in Naučni skupovi SANU vol. XLII (Belgrade, 1988), 17.

<sup>2</sup> M. Garašanin, “Rogovo ‘Fuše’ Djakovica – praistorijska nekropola sa humkama”, *Arheološki pregled* 8 (Belgrade, 1966/67), 40-41.

<sup>3</sup> V. Jovanović, “Über den frühmittelalterlichen Schuck von Čečen auf Kosovo”, *Balkanoslavica* 5 (Prilep, 1977), 123-145.

logical material cannot be discussed. There is only a record about the site being stripped of the material by the villagers.

MATIČANE – a medieval necropolis near the village of the same name in the vicinity of Priština, archeologically excavated between 1969 and 1973. One hundred and twelve graves were investigated and dated to the tenth and eleventh centuries.<sup>4</sup> The anthropological material was analyzed and the analysis submitted for publication to the *Glasnik Muzeja Kosova* (Kosovo Museum Herald) by the author of this paper some thirty years ago, but the paper has not been published to date; so on this occasion more will be said about this medieval necropolis from the anthropological perspective.

BADOVAC – a village near the monastery of Gračanica. In 1967 a small-scale rescue excavation discovered some ten graves. On the basis of grave goods, the necropolis was roughly dated to the tenth and eleventh centuries.<sup>5</sup> Anthropological analysis was not performed.

ŠIROKO – the site of DUBOČAK near Suva Reka. In 1963 a medieval necropolis buried in prehistoric mounds was investigated. There is no record of the exact number of graves and skeletons, and the necropolis was roughly dated to the tenth and eleventh centuries.<sup>6</sup> Anthropological analysis was once again skipped over.

VRBNICA – a village on the bank of the Drim in the vicinity of Prizren. In 1973 about 450 graves were investigated and dated, few to the fifth and sixth centuries, and most to a period between the tenth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>7</sup> The osteological material was submitted for analysis to the Hungarian archaeologist J. Nemeskéri who, in the late 1970s, also analyzed the skeletons of allegedly “executed leaders of the League of Prizren”. However, no relevant anthropological report has appeared to date.

DJONAJ – or the site of Ploše near Prizren. In 1978, 21 graves of a medieval necropolis were investigated and dated to a period between the tenth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>8</sup> Anthropological analysis of the skeletons was carried out by Ž. Mikić.<sup>9</sup>

PRČEVO – or the site of Boka near the village of the same name. In 1974 excavations of the prehistoric tumuli were carried out, and some 50

<sup>4</sup> V. S. Jovanović, *Arheološka istraživanja*, 23–25.

<sup>5</sup> V. S. Jovanović, *Arheološka istraživanja*, 26.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> A. Bačkalov, “Vrbnica kod Prizrena – nekropola X–XIII veka”, *Nakit na tlu Srbije od LX do XV veka*, Exhibition catalogue (Belgrade: National Museum, 1982).

<sup>8</sup> Bačkalov, “Vrbnica kod Prizrena”, 56–57.

<sup>9</sup> Ž. Mikić, “Antropološke karakteristike srednjovekovne nekropole Djonaj kod Prizrena”, *Glasnik Muzeja Kosova XIII/XIV* (Pristina, 1984), 115–122.

medieval graves discovered. The necropolis was roughly dated to the period between the tenth and twelfth centuries.<sup>10</sup> Analysis of the anthropological material was not performed.

BELA CRKVA – or the site of Kiš or Požig, in the village of the same name near Djakovica. In 1966, 120 graves of a medieval necropolis were investigated and dated to the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries on the basis of archaeological finds.<sup>11</sup> The anthropological material was not analyzed.

KULINE – on the left bank of the river Ibar, near the village of Banje in Ibarski Kolašin. In 1978 a medieval church and its cemetery with about 100 graves were archeologically investigated. On the basis of the inscriptions and grave goods, the necropolis was dated to the period between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>12</sup> The anthropological material was analyzed by Ž. Mikić.<sup>13</sup>

GREEK CEMETERY (*GRČKO GROBLJE*) / REZALA – in the village of the same name in Ibarski Kolašin. In 1978 archaeological excavations were performed, and 42 graves investigated. On the basis of grave goods, the necropolis was dated to the period between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>14</sup> The skeletons were anthropologically analyzed and published by Ž. Mikić.<sup>15</sup>

ZASKOK – or the site of Kamena near the village of the same name in the vicinity of Uroševac. In 1980 and 1981 a medieval cemetery with about 130 graves was investigated. On the basis of the jewellery of metal and glass, it was preliminarily dated to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>16</sup> Anthropological analysis was not carried out.

NOVO BRDO – on Mala Planina east of Priština. Archaeological excavations were carried out intermittently between 1952 and 1970.<sup>17</sup> Since

<sup>10</sup> Bačkalov, "Vrbnica kod Prizrena", 46-47.

<sup>11</sup> J. Kovačević, "Bela Crkva u Metohiji – arhitektonski objekti VI veka i nekropola sa kraja XII veka", *Arheološki pregled* 8 (Belgrade, 1966), 150-151.

<sup>12</sup> A. Bačkalov, "Kuline – ostaci crkve i nekropole", *Glasnik Muzeja Kosova XIII/XIV* (Pristina, 1984), 81-87.

<sup>13</sup> Ž. Mikić, "Beitrag zur Antropologie spätrömischer bis zum spätmittelalterlicher Bevölkerungen Jugoslawiens", *Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja ANU BiH XXII/20* (Sarajevo, 1984), 50-53.

<sup>14</sup> Z. Nedeljković, "Srednjovekovna nekropola 'Grčko groblje' u Rezalama", *Glasnik Muzeja Kosova XIII/XIV* (Pristina, 1984), 89-98.

<sup>15</sup> Mikić, "Beitrag zur Antropologie", 45-49.

<sup>16</sup> V. S. Jovanović, *Arheološka istraživanja*, 29-30.

<sup>17</sup> M. Ćorović-Ljubinković, "Arheološka iskopavanja na Novom Brdu u toku 1957. godine", *Starinar IX-X* (Belgrade, 1958/59), 323-326.

this is a large urban complex, it should be noted that about 900 individual graves and family tombs in the cathedral church and its churchyard were investigated, including grave 236, adjacent to the altar table, containing the skeletons of two bishops. Part of the anthropological material (50 skeletons) was studied and published by Ž. Gavrilović,<sup>18</sup> while the rest cannot be traced.

ILIJINA GLAVICA – a sizeable hill west of the village of Veleknicica, near Gnjilane. In 1984 the Kosovo Museum opened an excavation area of about 800 sq m. A total of 206 graves, some of them Roman and most of a medieval date, were excavated. On the basis of grave goods it was dated to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>19</sup> The osteological material was not anthropologically analyzed.

In short, medieval skeletons were excavated or found devastated (e.g. at Čečen) on 14 sites in the area of Kosovo and Metochia. However, due to the insufficient development and influence of anthropology in the study of the past, there is a total of five skeleton series available. They will be discussed in the following part of this contribution.

Let us reiterate that the five anthropological series available are: Matičane near Priština; Djonaj, 10 km northeast of Prizren; Rezala, also known as “Greek Cemetery”, in the village of the same name, and Kulinje near the village of Banje, both in Ibarski Kolašin; and Novo Brdo, also known as the Cathedral, about 40 km east of Priština.

MATIČANE, or the site of “Breg”, is situated in the immediate vicinity of Priština. The abovementioned text submitted for publication in the *Glasnik Muzeja Kosova* some thirty years ago was not officially refused by its editorial board, but it has been neither published nor returned to its author. Since the title of this paper implies a synthetic overview, the reproduction of the entire text would not be appropriate on this occasion, so only the most important anthropological observations will be repeated on the basis of the preserved copy.

Archaeological excavations of the necropolis Breg–Matičane were led by V. S. Jovanović, at that time assistant professor at the Department of Archaeology of the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. The author of this contribution was a member of his team in the 1971 and 1972 campaigns. Since the osteological material was in a poor state of preservation (highly acidic soil, shallow-buried graves), the anthropological observations made *in situ* are of particular significance. In the course of the excavation campaigns,

<sup>18</sup> Ž. Gavrilović, “Kraniometrijska ispitivanja srednjevekovnog čoveka sa Novog Brda u Srbiji”, *Glasnik Antropološkog društva Jugoslavije* 1 (Belgrade, 1964), 145–147.

<sup>19</sup> S. Fidanovski, “Ilijina glavica, Veleknicica, Gnjilane – rimska i srednjovekovna nekropola”, *Arheološki pregled* 25 (Belgrade–Ljubljana, 1986), 47–48.

58 sepulchral contents with 59 individual skeletons were anthropologically analyzed: the graves/skeletons numbered 35 to 92, number 46 being a double burial. However, due to their rather poor state of preservation, only 29 sepulchral contents with 30 individual skeletons could be anthropologically treated in detail (35 and 36, 42–45, double burial no 46, 47–52, 77–92).

Gender and age of the skeletons from this series were determined according to the method agreed upon by a group of European anthropologists, including the author of this paper.<sup>20</sup> Every anthropological analysis is primarily concerned with demographic elements such as gender and age (at the time of death). In the Maticane series, gender was positively identified for 29 individuals, with the exception of the skeleton from grave 82, most probably male. So this series consisted of 12 men, 6 women, and 12 children up to 14 years of age (age groups *infans I* and *II*). Both genders were found to have been represented by both moderate and significantly developed constitutional forms, indicating a notable sexual dimorphism. However, a significant gender difference cannot be discussed, since this part of the anthropological material could not be studied in detail due to its poor and incomplete preservation.

As regards age distribution, it was shown that none belonged to the *senilis* category, which means that the life span of the members of this community did not exceed 60 years. Furthermore, mortality was highest in the youngest age group. Namely, 9 out of 30 individuals covered by this analysis died before turning seven (*infant I*). There followed the *adultus* group with 8 cases, *juvenilis* and *maturus* with 5 cases each, and finally *infans II* (7–14 years of age) with 3 cases.

Stature could be calculated for 11 male skeletons, according to the method of E. Breitingner.<sup>21</sup> It was 168 cm on average, ranging between 152 and 173 cm. According to H. Bach's method, the average height of 5 female skeletons was about 155 cm, ranging between 142 and 156 cm.<sup>22</sup> In accordance with the classification of the medieval European population given by R. Martin,<sup>23</sup> the values obtained for both sexes are above average for the period. No traces of pathological changes could be found in the cranial

<sup>20</sup> "Empfehlungen für die Alters- und Geschlechtsdiagnose am Skelett", formulated by D. Ferembach (Paris), I. Schwidetzky (Mainz), and M. Stloukal (Prague), co-signed by 36 leading world anthropologists, *HOMO* 30/2 (Mainz–Göttingen, 1979), 1–32.

<sup>21</sup> E. Breitingner, "Zur Berechnung der Körperhöhe aus den langen Gliedmassenknochen", *Anthrop. Anz.* XIV (1937), 249–274.

<sup>22</sup> H. Bach, "Zur Berechnung der Körperhöhe aus den langen Gliedmassenknochen weiblicher Skelette", *Anthrop. Anz.* XXIX (1965), 12–21.

<sup>23</sup> R. Martin and K. Saller, *Lehrbuch der Anthropologie*, vol. I (Stuttgart: G. Fischer Verlag, 1957), 324.

and postcranial skeletons of this medieval series, doubtlessly as a result of their poor and incomplete preservation. As regards dental pathology, however, cavities (*Caries*) in molars and premolars were found in 6 adults. A dental cyst (*Peridontalis periapicalis cronica granulomatosa*) was found only in one case (mandible from grave 35). When considering these observations it should be pointed out that the number of findings must have been influenced by the incomplete preservation of the skeletons, so the results obtained are not quite reliable (in view of a larger number of pathological changes expected, both in teeth and bones).

On the basis of the indicators obtained, relevant paleodemographic conclusions can be drawn. Thus, for instance, the results suggest that the average life span of the medieval inhabitants of Kosovo buried in this necropolis was about 30 years, the average life span of the individuals surviving childhood age (*infans II*, up to 14 years of age) being 36 for women or about 40 for men. Such a short lifespan of the population buried in the necropolis Maticane can only partly be disputed by the fact that the data refer to no more than 30 out of about 100 archeologically excavated individual skeletons. However, when interpreting paleodemographic data, delivery technique and post-delivery prevention need to be taken into account, as well as the reasonable assumption that this medieval population group was characterized by a poorly developed socio-economic component (in addition to difficulty in providing the necessary means for life sustenance).

And, finally, a few more words concerning the anthropological classification of the skeletons from the medieval necropolis of Maticane near Priština.

As has already been said, their poor and incomplete state of preservation did not allow for the necessary anthropological measurements. Therefore, in this case morphological observations were of primary importance. Since the author of this paper was a member of the team conducting the abovementioned archaeological excavations, relevant on-site observations carry particular weight. The parameter monitored was the presence of planoccipitaly (flat back part of the skull) as the primary morphological characteristic of the Dinarid anthropological type, which in fact is a substrate type of the Dinarid mountain range as its primary distribution zone.<sup>24</sup> However, since planoccipitaly was not found in any of the cranial skeletons from this series, quite the contrary, they were curvoccipital (curvaceously elongated back part of the head), it may be maintained with certainty that this necropolis is not related to the autochthonous brachycranial planoccipital Di-

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<sup>24</sup> P. Deniker, "Les Races de l'Europe", *L'Anthropologie* IX (Paris, 1898), 113 ff; C. S. Coon, *The Races of Europe* (2nd Greenwood Reprinting, 1975; 1st ed. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939), Pl. 35 ff.

narid anthropological type,<sup>25</sup> but rather to a curvoccipital and doubtlessly dolichocranial type. At Matičane, this anthropological type was characterized by a leptodolichomorph component of a prevailingly robust variant. As regards its ethnic origin and relation to other Balkan populations, the following should be underlined: in view of the period to which this medieval necropolis was dated using the archaeological criteria, and considering ethnic movements in the Balkans during this period, a dolichocranial anthropological type may be primarily linked with the expansion of Slavs or the newly-arrived Slav ethnic groups as yet unaffected by assimilation and metisation processes incorporating them into the autochthonous Old Balkan substratum.

DJONAJ, a medieval necropolis located about 15 km north-east of Prizren. Its anthropological treatment was carried out in April 1980. The series included 21 skeletons, numbered 1 to 21 in the course of archaeological excavations. It should be further emphasised that the skeleton from grave 18 had not been preserved for anthropological analysis, and that grave 4 contained a double burial.

Gender could be determined with certainty in 19 individual skeletons: 10 males, 7 females, and 2 children. Individual age analysis involved 20 skeletons: *infans I* and *II* with one case each; *juvenilis* or *subadultus* age group with 2 cases; *adultus* and *maturus* groups with 7 cases each, and 2 skeletons belonging to the *senilis* age group (over 60 years of age).

The average life span of this medieval population group was about 35 years, with the individuals surviving the childhood age of about 14 years living over 40 on average. As for gender, it should be added that men and women were equally represented in the *adultus* group, while the *maturus* age group showed more deaths of men than of women.

Complete anthropological measurement was possible for 6 skulls (numbers 4, 7, 9, 19, 20 and 21), of which number 7 was best preserved. It was obvious that moderately long and long skulls with prominent curvoccipitaly and narrow face prevailed.

Postcranial measurements were obtained for 11 adult skeletons (numbers 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 13, 14, 19, 20 and 21) and they showed an average body height of about 173 cm in men, and about 160 cm in women.

With regard to paleopathological analysis, the following was found: well-treated fractures of long bones (*status post fracturam*), tubercular changes in the spine, as well as osteomyelitis (treponema infection) in some lower leg bones. However, by far the greatest number of pathological changes was recorded in the jaw apparatus and teeth. These included all types of caries,

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<sup>25</sup> Ž. Mikić, "Antropološka struktura stanovništva Srbije", in *Catena mundi II* (Belgrade-Kraljevo, 1992), 840-850.

dental cysts and gum boils, as well as tooth loss during life (*intra vitam*), the total number of which in the series exceeds 30 in adult individuals.

From the correlation between the obtained anthropological indicators and archaeological data (chronological framework, the nature of grave goods), there is no doubt that what we have here is a robust leptodolichomorph type which is associated with the Slavs in ethno-cultural terms.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, according to the available information, identical anthropological series are found on the banks of Lake Ohrid, i.e. in the necropolises of Radolište and Sveti Erazmo.<sup>27</sup>

REZALA, or Greek Cemetery as it is named by the local people, is a medieval necropolis in use for several centuries, beginning with the thirteenth century. Fifty skeletons were archaeologically excavated and 31 were suitable for possible anthropological processing. Out of this number, 14 were male and 13 were female. It was impossible to determine the gender of two skeletons of adult individuals, and the remaining two were of a childhood age.

Age distribution reveals that none of the persons buried in this necropolis had lived to a very old age, namely none of the skeletons was assigned to the *senilis* age group (over 60 years of age). The greatest number of adult individuals was placed in the group *maturus* (8) which, however, does not mean that the average life span exceeded 40 years (for both genders).

As shown by anthropological indices, the average male skull of this series was brachycranial, hypsicranic, metriocranic, hypsiccephalic, with moderately tall face and moderately wide nasal opening. Body height in men ranged between 170 cm and 172 cm, etc.

On average the female cranial skeletons from the Rezala necropolis are brachycranial, hypsicranic, ortocranic, hypsiccephalic, metriometopic, with moderately high upper face but narrow nasal opening, etc. Their average height ranged between 162 cm and 164 cm. However, as regards the internal structure of this medieval population group, in addition to brachycranial, there were also dolichocranial skulls. The former confirm the presence of the autochthonous Dinarid type, and the latter, in the given context of find, may only be associated with a further stage of Slav presence, namely with the process of mixing of indigenous and Slav populations.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Ž. Mikić, "Medieval necropolis Đonaj near Prizren and its anthropological relation to the corresponding neighbouring series", *God. zbornik Medic. fak.* 29/2 (Skopje, 1983), 147-152.

<sup>27</sup> Ž. Mikić, "Über Anthropologie der historischen Perioden auf dem Boden Jugoslawiens", *Colleg. Anthropol.* 6/2 (Zagreb, 1982), 207-221.

<sup>28</sup> Ž. Mikić, "Beitrag zur Anthropologie der Slawen aus dem mittleren und westlichen Balkan", *Balcanica XXV-1* (Belgrade: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1994), 99-109.

The necropolis of KULINE is adjacent to a single-nave church and was in use from the thirteenth century. In the investigated area 70 graves were archeologically excavated in 1978, and 58 individual skeletons were eligible for anthropological analysis. Out of this number, 31 skeletons were male, 13 female and 11 children. Gender was impossible to positively determine for three poorly preserved adult skeletons.

The following indices were obtained for the male skulls: brachycranial, hypsicranic, acrocranic, hypsiccephalic, metriometopic; low upper face, moderately high eye sockets, wide nasal opening. The average body height of men ranged between 170 cm and 172 cm. In the case of female gender, anthropological measurements could be collected for one cranial skeleton only (number 16), which was brachycranial, while the body height of this individual was about 161 cm.

Statistical analysis of the internal structure of this medieval population group showed significant individual differentiation. Thus, for example, among the better preserved male skeletons two very different skull shapes were clearly distinguishable – brachycrany and dolichocrany. For this reason the anthropological composition of this population group can be defined as mixed indigenous and Slav, but metisation levels cannot be decidedly determined.<sup>29</sup>

For these two medieval Kosovo necropolises – Rezala and Kuline – only a few kilometres apart in Ibarski Kolašin, where burials commenced at approximately the same time (thirteenth century), and which are identical in their anthropological composition, the paleopathological findings are almost identical as well: bones most often showed arthritic changes (three cases in Rezala, and 10 cases in Kuline), and a single treated long bone fracture (Kuline). However, the jaw apparatuses and teeth were significantly compromised in pathological terms. At Rezala, tooth decay (caries) was found in two cases, and paradontosis and tooth loss during lifetime in three cases each. With a larger number of skeletons, the necropolis of Kuline had a larger number of the same categories of dentopathological findings: caries in 7 cases, paradontosis in 8, with 8 cases of tooth loss during lifetime and 4 dental cysts. Excessive deposition of callus on the teeth of both jaws was recorded in 2 cases. This indicates a very low level of dental and buccal cavity hygiene, which then implies a low social status of this medieval population.

NOVO BRDO is the fifth necropolis in this series. Its anthropological content was studied and published in the meantime, although

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<sup>29</sup> Ž. Mikić, "Sloveni na Balkanu – Usporedna antropološka analiza", in *Antidoron - Uzdarje D. Srejšoviću* (Belgrade: Centar za arheološka istraživanja Filozofskog fakulteta, vol. 17, 1997), 495-500.

only in part. It has already been said that in 1952–1970 almost a thousand graves and tombs were archeologically investigated in the cathedral and its churchyard alone. Ž. Gavrilović<sup>30</sup> anthropologically processed 50 individual skeletons in detail, probably dependent on the degree of their preservation, while skulls were processed in 12 cases. However, even though brachycranial skulls prevailed, one typical dolichocranial skull (grave no 615) was also present. Considering the small number of samples from a large anthropological series, the conclusions reached cannot be fully consequential but the heterogeneous composition of the Novo Brdo population cannot be disputed.

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Of all the scientific disciplines, physical anthropology has least participated in the exploration of the past of Kosovo and Metochia. With regard to the medieval period, when doubtlessly the most important elements for the genesis of each ethnos in the Balkans were created, anthropology in general is once again insufficiently involved.

As it has been shown in this paper, in the territory of Kosovo and Metochia 14 necropolises were archeologically excavated, as well as churches or cathedrals also containing medieval burials. However, due to the already mentioned reasons, the anthropological material from five sites was studied and published: Matičane, Djonaj, Rezala, Kuline and Novo Brdo, but the skeletons from Novo Brdo cathedral and its graveyard cannot be taken into account given the insignificance of the sample. Namely, the archaeologically excavated and anthropologically analyzed skeletons account for only five percent of the material from Novo Brdo! Nevertheless, the obtained aggregate anthropological results are quite significant and doubtlessly play an important role in anthropogenetical studies of the medieval period.

This is what this should mean in more concrete terms.

The anthropological contents of the necropolises of Matičane and Djonaj are attributed to the Slavs. Burial began in the tenth century and went on for several centuries but not later than the thirteenth century. On the other hand, burial in the necropolises of Rezala and Kuline, as well as in and around Novo Brdo cathedral, began in the thirteenth century and went on for the next few centuries. In anthropological terms, the presence of the brachycranial indigenous population of the Dinarid type and of robust leptodolichomorph Slavs has been identified there, or the first elements of the process of metisation/mixing of medieval populations. It is interesting that this process took place so long after the Slavs had settled in the region.

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<sup>30</sup> Gavrilović, "Kranimetrijska ispitivanja", 145 ff.

However, there seem to have been certain marital barriers, identified also in the large medieval necropolis at Vinča.<sup>31</sup> This would mean that the process of Slavization did not run simultaneously in all fields: cultural and linguistic, social and historical, and bio-anthropological.

Or, to put it briefly, in the tenth and eleventh centuries Slav communities in Kosovo and Metochia lived separately from the indigenous communities, and were buried in the same way. In the thirteenth century, the process of population metisation/mixing began, which is best shown by the anthropological content of the investigated necropolises. It is characterised by mixed Slav and indigenous burials both in standard necropolises and around Orthodox churches and cathedrals, in which case there is no need for their ethnic origin to be additionally verified or emphasised.

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<sup>31</sup> Ž. Mikić, "Heiratsgrenzen und Bevölkerungsmischung zwischen Einheimischen und slawischen Zuwanderern in Jugoslawien", *HOMO XXXIII* (Mainz-Göttingen, 1982), 134-149.