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Reaching across the Adriatic: northern and western interactions of the Cetina phenomenon (25th–20th centuries BC)

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Abstract: As is well known, peninsular Italy was considerably involved in the “Cetina phenomenon” during the second half of the 3rd millennium BC, as illustrated by the occurrence of pottery akin to Cetina-types at several sites on the Adriatic side; recent discoveries in present-day Campania have enriched this picture and evidence from the north-east (present-day Veneto and Trentino), besides that from the Trieste/Slovenian karst, may also enlarge this range of connections. The most probable hypothesis to explain the situation is that of small groups, which identified themselves with some elements that we consider as ‘Cetina’, moving from the eastern Adriatic (mainly Dalmatia) to the northern and western Adriatic. Several questions remain open, such as those related to the patterns of interaction between the eastern Adriatic small groups reaching the Italian regions and the local communities. What was the dimension of these cross-cultural contacts and how did they differ from one region to another? To what extent did the foreign groups blend with the local ones? Which were the aftermaths of these interactions? This paper presents a critical reconsideration of the available evidence from continental and peninsular present-day Italy, including the geographical setting of sites and reciprocal distances, with the aim of tracing similarities and differences between the various cases. Hypotheses on both the chronology and patterns of these Cetina interactions are discussed.

Keywords: Cetina Phenomenon, Northern and Western Adriatic, Second half of the 3rd Millennium BC, Cross-cultural Interactions

The “Cetina phenomenon” and its various implications in terms of cross-cultural interactions and mobility in the central Mediterranean during the second half of the 3rd millennium BC have been widely debated by scholars in the last 20 years.² At the same time, the advancement of research in the western Balkans has allowed reappraisals and refinements of the chronology for contexts and cultural aspects belonging to this period,³ including that of Cetina.⁴ Nonetheless, several aspects of the Cetina culture in its core area, present-day Dalmatia and Herzegovina, remain largely unknown, particularly those related

to the socio-economic sphere. New projects including field surveys, archaeometrical and stable isotope analyses are seeking to address old and new questions related to the Cetina culture, such as the settlement pattern(s) – still virtually unknown, technology and organisation of ceramic productions, circulation of metal objects and raw materials, human mobility and external patterns of interactions.⁵

As is well known, peninsular Italy was considerably involved in the “Cetina phenomenon”, as illustrated by the occurrence of pottery akin to Cetina-types at several sites on the Adriatic side; recent discoveries in present-day Campania have enriched this picture revealing how the south Tyrrhenian area was included as well. Evidence from the north-east (present-day Veneto and Trentino), besides that from the Trieste/Slo-

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² Govedarica 2006; Maran 2007; Broodbank 2013; Tomas 2017; Forenbaher 2018a; Recchia / Cazzella 2017; Cazzella et al. 2020; Gori 2020.

³ Bulatović et al. 2020.

⁴ Forenbaher 2018b.

⁵ Gori et al. 2018; Tomas 2020.

venian karst, may also enlarge this range of connections.⁶ Even so the patterns of interactions, as well as their temporal dimension, might have differed from one region to another.

For the period under scrutiny, data on the local cultural and socio-economic aspects (settlement pattern, economic activities, funerary customs) in Italy are scanty, which fact hampers the possibility to understand patterns of connections related to the Cetina phenomenon. The directionality of contacts, that is from the western Balkans towards Italy (and the Peloponnese), is signalled by the low incidence ratio of Cetina-type pottery at contexts in these latter regions.⁷ No evidence clearly related to exchange has been detected, apart from the occurrence of Gargano chert in the eastern Adriatic (and Palagruža), which nonetheless is following a long-established tradition.⁸ Moreover, Cetina-type pottery in the Italian peninsula does turn up at several inland sites, suggesting that suitable locations for maritime exchange were not the preeminent or only focus of interactions (fig. 1). In all likelihood, though, such Cetina-type ceramics were locally made, not imported. So far, archaeometric analyses have not been undertaken on pottery from continental/peninsular Italy, but those on Cetina-type pottery from the Peloponnese do indicate that it was manufactured locally.⁹ The occurrence of stone wrist-guards (an element of clear Bell-Beaker tradition) at Palagruža is likely to result from other influences/interactions than from connections with northern Apulia, as in this region, where Bell-Beaker influences are but random, no stone guards have been found. Stone wrist-guards, for instance, occur at the Ciclami and Gallerie caves in the Trieste karst,¹⁰ pointing to a possible eastern Adriatic link conveying this kind of artefacts.

The most probable hypothesis to explain the situation (and widely accepted) is that of small

groups, which identified themselves with some elements that we consider as ‘Cetina’, moving from the western Balkans (mainly Dalmatia) to both the Italian regions and the Peloponnese. J. Maran labelled them as the “argonauts of the western Balkans” stressing their maritime enterprise and interest.¹¹ Yet, this initiative of seaborne journeys could have been essentially and simply aimed at reaching new lands to settle in.

The spread of Cetina-related stylistic traits to the central Mediterranean islands (Malta, eastern Sicily and the Aeolian Islands) rather than stemming from direct contacts with the western Balkans was probably the result of multiple contacts (at different times) with communities from western Greece that had been more deeply affected by Cetina interactions, such as those from Olympia and Andravida Lechaina.¹² The basis for this hypothesis is chiefly given by two factors: the geographical one (western Greece being the closest point of maritime connection with the central Mediterranean islands) and the stylistic one (comparisons are closer with the locally elaborated models in the western Aegean). The two spheres of influence – the western Balkan one and the Aegean one – overlapped in some southern Italian regions: it is possible that Cetina-inspired features were conveyed to some of those areas by contacts with Aegean groups, as in the case of eastern Sicily, Malta and the Aeolian islands.

Another widely debated point is the relationship between the Bell Beaker phenomenon and the Cetina one. The two spheres of influence have been considered either as clearly separated¹³ or merging into syncretistic aspects at the eastern cultural peripheries of the Bell Beaker.¹⁴ Indeed, the Bell Beaker and Cetina spheres did overlap in various areas of Italy, testifying to permeable cultural borders, but in general each area was mainly involved with one of the two phenomena.

Together with other colleagues I have recently discussed the involvement of the southern Italian regions in the ‘Cetina phenomenon’ in the light of recent acquisitions and theories.¹⁵ In those

⁶The matter of cultural borders is a debated concept and besides, these might well have been permeable; needless to say, current political borders are meaningless in this discourse. I will mention present-day countries and regions as mere convenient geographical reference points.

⁷Cazzella et al. 2020.

⁸Forenbaher / Peroč 2018; Forenbaher 2018a.

⁹Gori et al. 2019. The same applies to Cetina/EH III type ceramics from eastern Sicily and Malta; Mommsen et al. 2006; Malone et al. 2009, 239; Tanasi et al. 2018.

¹⁰Gilli / Montagnari Kokelj 1992; 1994.

¹¹Maran 2007.

¹²Cazzella / Recchia 2015; Recchia / Cazzella 2017; contra Maran 2007.

¹³Maran 2007; Broodbank 2013.

¹⁴Heyd 2007.

¹⁵Gori et al. 2018; Cazzella et al. 2020.

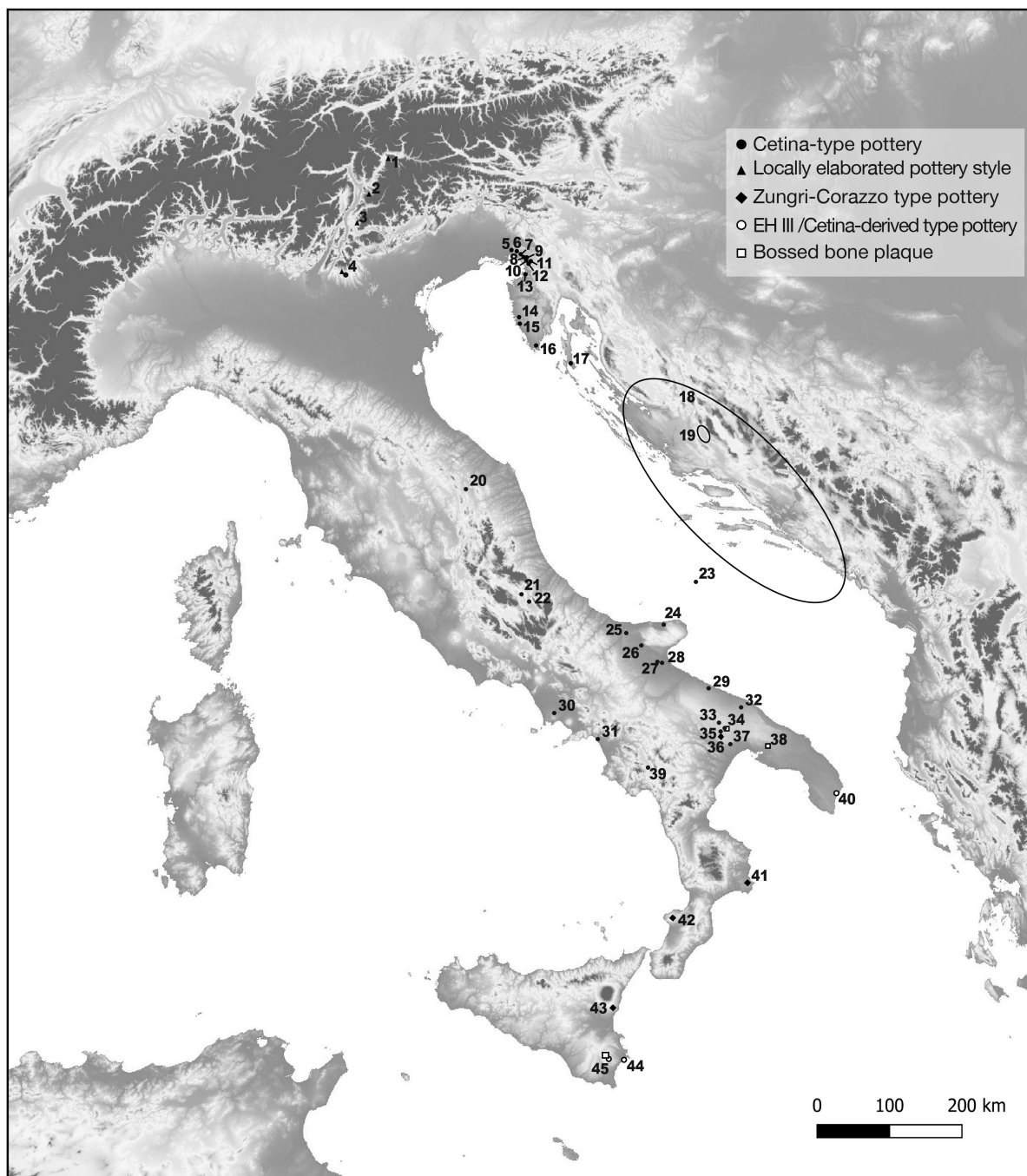


Fig. 1. Map of sites mentioned in the text: 1. Velturano Tanzgasse; 2. Monte Mezzana; 3. Montesei di Serso; 4. Monte Madarosa; 5. Mitreo cave; 6. Teresiana Cave; 7. Caterina cave; 8. Cotariova cave; 9. Zingari cave; 10. Tartaruga cave; 11. Gallerie cave; 12. Ciclami cave; 13. Acijev spodmol; 14. Monkodonja; 15. Marlera; 16. Barbariga tumulus; 17. Jami na sredi - Cres; 18. Cetina core area; 19. Upper Cetina valley; 20. Sassoferrato; 21. Navelli; 22. Popoli - Fonti S. Callisto; 23. Salamandrija - Palagruža; 24. Rodi Garganico; 25. Serra Capriola - Chiantinelle; 26. Pedegarganica Km. 12 - Pescorosso; 27. Fontanarosa Castelletta; 28. Coppa Nevigata; 29. Bisceglie - Lama Macina; 30. Gricignano; 31. Oliva Torricella; 32. Rutigliano - Le Rene; 33. Altamura - Pulo; 34. Casal Sabini hypogea; 35. Pisciuolo hypogea; 36. Murgecchia & Trasano; 37. Laterza cemetery; 38. Pipistrello Solitario cave; 39. Atena Lucana; 40. Zinzulusa cave; 41. Corazzo; 42. Tropea Promontory - Zungri; 43. Novalucello cave; 44. Ognina; 45. Castelluccio.

works the attribution of pottery from southern Italian sites to Cetina-type/comparisons with Cetina models proposed by some authors¹⁶ have been thoroughly revisited, pointing out the cases which, in our opinion, are doubtful or even not pertinent. These will not be discussed again here in detail.¹⁷

Several questions remain open, such as those related to the patterns of interaction between the eastern Adriatic small groups reaching the Italian regions and the local communities – if one is to accept this hypothesis. What was the dimension of these cross-cultural contacts and how did they differ from one region to another? To what extent did the foreign groups blend with the local ones? Which were the aftermaths of these interactions (if any)?

Keeping this in mind, I will critically revisit here the evidence from continental and peninsular present-day Italy (thus including the central and northern regions), attempting to trace similarities and differences between the various cases that might help in understanding both the chronology and patterns of these Cetina interactions. The geographical setting of sites and reciprocal distances will be also highlighted. Within the spectrum of Cetina-like ceramics from Italian contexts broad categories can be singled out: a) Cetina-type pottery, strictly akin to the Dalmatian repertoire; b) locally re-elaborated versions of Cetina stylistic models; c) ceramics akin to Cetina/EH III pottery, with stylistic traits closer to the Aegean specimens than to the Dalmatian ones. Accepting these ceramics as the main (if not the sole) proxy for these interactions as yet known to us, the distribution of these categories may help in recognising diverse patterns.

Brief note on the chronology of the Cetina phenomenon

A still problematic point is the chronological dimension of the Cetina phenomenon and difficulties inherent in singling out diverse phases as regards both the development of the Cetina culture

and external interactions with central Mediterranean regions. As mentioned above, S. Forenbaher has recently revisited the chronology of Cetina and its possible division into phases on the basis of available ¹⁴C dating. He has convincingly proposed a chronological distinction between Adriatic Ljubljana pottery, which would fall into the first half of the 3rd millennium BC and the Cetina ceramics, spanning from the mid-3rd to the early 2nd millennia BC.¹⁸ No further sub-phases within Cetina are envisaged. This proposal diverges from both the Cetina phase-sequences proposed by Marović / Čović and Govedarica.¹⁹ In contrast to J. Maran's hypothesis of Cetina being concurrent only with the Early Helladic III (thereafter EH III) in the Aegean,²⁰ this proposal would also include the late EH II. Forenbaher's chronology for Cetina coincides with the hypothesis, suggested by A. Cazzella and me, that the 'Cetina phenomenon' (or Cetina-related interactions) started around the mid-3rd millennium BC.²¹ This opinion is based on evidence and available absolute dating from the central Mediterranean regions encompassed by the Cetina/Aegean sphere of interactions, namely the Peloponnese, Malta and southern Italy. Recent ¹⁴C dates from Malta provide further support for the involvement of this archipelago in those connections already in the third quarter of the 3rd millennium BC.²² In our hypothesis, however, we suggest the possibility of singling out two phases of Cetina interactions with those regions, based on the stratigraphic evidence from Olympia (New Museum, Altis) and complementary evidence from the Maltese Islands. At Olympia a chronological sequence between deposits yielding bowls with a decorated thickened rim (from the New Museum trench) and those yielding vessels characterised by incised decoration framing the handles has been recognised;²³ closely similar stylistic traits appear in the same sequence in Malta, with decorated thickened-rim bowls (known in literature as Thermi ware bowls) coming into use before the Tarxien Cemetery phase, this latter being characterised in turn by handles framed

¹⁶ I.e. Arcuri et al. 2016; Gravina 2016.

¹⁷ It should also be noted that some sherds from Emilia Romagna, a region deeply involved in the Bell Beaker sphere, which Arcuri et al. 2016, 91 consider as Cetina-type, belong in fact to the Bell Beaker type pottery.

¹⁸ Forenbaher 2018a; 2018b.

¹⁹ Marović / Čović 1983; Govedarica 1989.

²⁰ Maran 1998; 2007.

²¹ Recchia / Cazzella 2017.

²² McLaughlin et al. 2020, 33.

²³ Koumouzelis 1980; Rambach 2004; 2007.

by incised motives.²⁴ Stratigraphies supporting this hypothesis in southern Italy are lacking, but a territorially differentiated occurrence of Cetina-like pottery types has been considered as possibly stemming from these two different waves of contacts as identified at Olympia and Malta.

Northern Adriatic regions

Trieste and Slovenian karst

The occurrence of Cetina-type pottery in the north-eastern Adriatic has been noted long since.²⁵ Evidence here comes from a series of caves in the Trieste and Slovenian karst, namely (from the north to the south) Grotta del Mitreo, Grotta Teresiana, Grotta Caterina, Grotta Cotarjova, Grotta degli Zingari, Grotta della Tartaruga, Grotta dei Ciclami (fig. 2, 1–3), Grotta delle Gallerie, and Acijev spodmol (a rock shelter), all of which falling within a range of ca. 40 km.

¹⁴C dates – from charcoal samples – are available from Grotta del Mitreo layer 5 and the overlying one 4 (respectively 2198–2036 and 2391–2150 cal. 1 sigma BC),²⁶ both yielding Cetina-related pottery.²⁷ This layer sequence, however, is not stratigraphically reliable, as is also shown by the inverted chronology of the dates, both of which in any case fall into the timeframe of the Cetina culture. The available ¹⁴C date for Grotta dei Ciclami layer 4 (2874–2674 cal. 1 sigma BC),²⁸ which contained both Adriatic Ljubljana and Cetina-type pottery, is likely to pertain to the previous Adriatic Ljubljana related occupation of the cave.²⁹

The Trieste /Slovenian karst is terrestrially connected to the ‘core-zone’ of the Cetina culture (present-day Dalmatia); the distance from the Velebit mountain, which marks the northern edge of the core-zone, is of ca. 200 km. Traces related to Cetina are but sporadically encountered across the territory in between these two limits:

at present these are limited to some Cetina-type sherds from the Monkodonja hillfort,³⁰ the Barbariga tumulus³¹ and the Marlera site in Istria,³² and from the Jami na sredi cave on the Cres island.³³ It is difficult to say whether this gap results from an archaeological bias or whether it actually represents a zone that was perhaps crossed by Cetina groups but not settled by them.

Various scholars³⁴ have pointed out that the Karst caves were occupied for pastoral activities, probably caprine penning as indicated by micro-morphological analyses. The number of Cetina-type sherds varies from one cave to another, being in some cases very low. In general, these show a range of variability from the Dalmatian models that were possibly being here locally re-elaborated;³⁵ according to Forenbaher sometimes the points of correspondence with Cetina pottery are slight indeed.³⁶ All of the caves where Cetina-type pottery occurs show traces of occupation at least during the first half of the 3rd millennium BC and have yielded Adriatic Ljubljana type pottery. A continuity between Adriatic Ljubljana and Cetina in Dalmatia is not only indicated by similarity in ceramic productions but also by the widespread repeated occupation of caves and use of the same tumuli across the two periods. Thus, the question arises as to whether the pattern of interaction between Dalmatia and this northern area was akin to that between Dalmatia and the western Adriatic, with small groups moving from the Cetina core area and settling in far-away regions, or whether it entailed different mechanisms of cultural contacts between traditionally linked local groups.

No evidence clearly related to the Cetina sphere has been found in the Friuli plain.³⁷ On this matter, recently Borgna et al. have point-

²⁴ Cazzella 1999; Cazzella / Recchia 2015.

²⁵ Govedarica 1989; 1992; Gilli / Montagnari Kokelj 1992; Montagnari Kokelj / Crismani 1997; Kaiser / Forenbaher 1999; Borgna / Cassola Guida 2009.

²⁶ Montagnari Kokelj / Crismani 1997, 13.

²⁷ The assemblage from layer 5 also included Adriatic Ljubljana-type pottery.

²⁸ Gilli / Montagnari Kokelj 1992, 157.

²⁹ See also Forenbaher 2018b.

³⁰ Hellmut 2017.

³¹ Codacci-Terlevi 2006, pls. I, 1. 12 and II, 14. 23.

³² Komšo et al. 2007, 270.

³³ Forenbaher 2018a, 159.

³⁴ Govedarica 1989, 70; Montagnari Kokelj / Crismani 1997, 92–93.

³⁵ A small vessel from Elleri (Borgna / Cassola Guida 2009, fig. 8, bottom right), possibly related to an early phase of occupation of this site that is argued to occur in a late phase of the Early Bronze Age, shows a decoration with zig-zag bands filled by series of impressed dots that may stem from a Cetina-inspired decorative tradition enduring in this area.

³⁶ Forenbaher 2018a, 157–158, fig. 107.

³⁷ The alleged attribution to Cetina-type of a vessel from Gemona (Arcuri et al. 2016, tab. 1) is unconvincing.

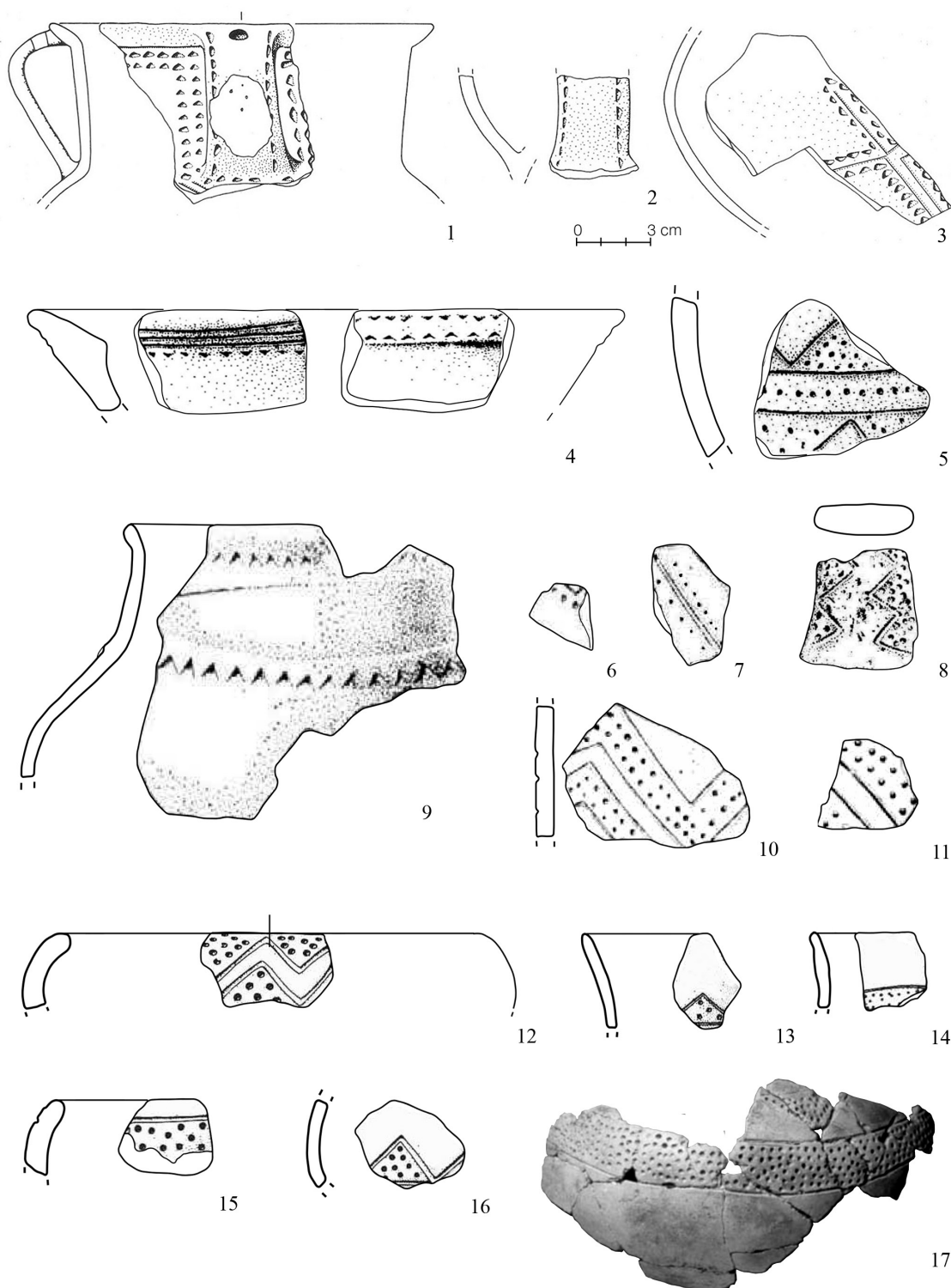


Fig. 2. Northern Adriatic: Cetina-type pottery and ceramics of probable locally elaborated style. 1–3: Ciclami cave; 4–5. 8: Monte Madarosa; 6–7. 9–11: Montesei di Serso; 12–16: Monte Mezzana; 17: Velturno – Tanzgasse (1–3 after Borgna / Cassola 2009; 4–5. 8 after Leonardi 1973; 6–7. 9–11 modified from Perini 1972; 12–16 modified from Bagolini et al. 1985; 17 after Tecchiati / Tauber 2008) (1–3 scale 1:3; 4–16 not to scale)

ed out that the emergence of Early Bronze Age funerary tumuli in the upper plain, now dated to the first centuries of the 2nd millennium BC, is not related to Cetina encounters, but rather stemmed from an early Alpine tradition combined with an eastern Adriatic phenomenon of settlement stabilization in the early 2nd millennium BC, epitomized by the emergence of hillforts in the Trieste Karst and Istrian area.³⁸

Veneto and Trentino

The next areas where ceramics possibly bearing similarities with Cetina pottery have been noted³⁹ are those of the Monti Lessini in inland present-day Veneto and the Alpine valleys in present-day Trentino. Some of these ceramics are characterised by incised and impressed geometric decorative patterns, consisting of incised bands – sometimes forming zig-zag patterns – and triangles both filled by impressed dots, while others display series of impressed triangles – sometimes accompanied by incised lines (fig. 2). These stylistic features, which do not belong to the Bell-Beaker sphere, are deemed to be extraneous to the local tradition, and so regarded as possibly related to the Cetina sphere, where decorations of this type occur. However, in my opinion these suggested comparisons should be carefully evaluated, not least because in the overwhelming majority of cases these decorations are either on wall fragments or on shapes that are not represented among the typical Cetina repertoire.

Although the sites yielding these ceramics are not very close from a geographical point of view (fig. 1), the archaeological traces have various points in common that allow for a comprehensive discussion. Apart from the stone-structures at Velturmo-Tanzgasse, which have also provided ¹⁴C dates (see below), deposits at these sites are either secondary/disturbed or without a clear stratigraphic sequence, the association of recovered materials being hence uncertain. Their occupation in the second half of the 3rd millennium BC is chiefly based on pottery typology and the presence of Bell Beaker sherds: the majority of these sites were encompassed by the Bell Beaker phenomenon.

Evidence hinting at early links with the north-western Balkan sphere in the first half of the 3rd millennium BC comes in particular from two sites in this broad region: Bernardine di Coriano (along the course of the Adige river on the northern Po plain) and Montesei di Serso (see below). The former has yielded ceramics whose peculiar decorative technique and motifs recall Adriatic Ljubljana pottery,⁴⁰ while at Montesei di Serso a stone mould for a shaft-hole axe – a western Balkan type attested in Ljubljana contexts – occurs.⁴¹

The site of Monte Madarosa in the Monti Lessini area has yielded a couple of wall fragments with dot filled bands/triangles decorations (fig. 2, 5, 8),⁴² of which one in particular with its series of opposite triangles closely recalls Cetina-type decorations (e.g. from Salamandrija).⁴³ Unlike the other contexts in this broad region, a thickened-rim tronco-conical bowl decorated with impressed small triangles occurs here (fig. 2, 4):⁴⁴ this indeed resembles Cetina pottery in both the shape and the decoration.⁴⁵

The site of Monte Mezzana in the Terlago valley (north of the Garda Lake, ca. 100 km to the north of Monte Madarosa) has yielded five sherds with dot-filled incised triangles/bands; sometimes the filling dots are very deep (fig. 2, 12–16).⁴⁶ These decorations, however, are not associated with shapes appearing among the Cetina ceramics: two sherds are from inverted-rim bowls (completely outside the Cetina repertoire) and the other two are on flared necks.

At the site of Montesei di Serso, in the Valsugana valley (ca. 30 km to the east of Monte Mezzana) various sherds with incised triangles/lines/zig-zag bands filled or fringed with impressed dots occur (fig. 2, 6–7, 10–11).⁴⁷ Apart from wall fragments, these belong to jars unrelated to Cetina types. It must be said that this context (unfortunately a secondary deposit) has also yielded several sherds with incised decorative

³⁸ Borgna et al. 2019.

³⁹ Boaro 2005; Nicolis 2005.

⁴⁰ Nicolis 1998, figs. 1, 2 and 2, 1–16; Forenbaher 2018a, 156.

⁴¹ Perini 1972, figs. 9, 137; 10, 140–141; Nicolis 2005, 528 with bibliography therein.

⁴² Leonardi 1973, ns. 1874–1875.

⁴³ Forenbaher 2018a figs. 35, 2; 49, 30.

⁴⁴ Leonardi 1973, n. 2210.

⁴⁵ E.g. Lukovača t. 68; Marović 1991, fig. 43, 2; Salamandrija: Forenbaher 2018a, fig. 39, 2.

⁴⁶ Bagolini et al. 1985, fig. 4, 3–4, 19–1.

⁴⁷ Perini 1972, figs. 3, 6; 4, 31–32, 35–37, 42; 9, 128–129.

patterns of different kinds, beside the recognisable Bell-Beaker ones. Some sherds display decorated patterns with rows of impressed triangles: various belong to shapes completely extraneous to Cetina vessels, while one (a jar with distinct conical neck and everted lip: fig. 2, 9)⁴⁸ has been suggested by F. Nicolis to be closely related to Cetina-type. However, the similarity with Cetina pottery is somewhat vague.⁴⁹

The northernmost site where a fragment (probably of a jar; fig. 2, 17) with dot-filled band/triangles occurs is Velturino-Tanzgasse,⁵⁰ located in the Isarco valley (100 km to the north of Monte Mezzana). Contrary to the sites mentioned above, a stratigraphic sequence has been recognised here. The Copper Age context is characterised by four dry-stone circles and related stony structures, some of which contained cremated human bones, and whose use appears to be linked to a symbolic/ritual sphere.⁵¹ The decorated sherd in question comes from the dry-stone circle C. ¹⁴C dates point to the third quarter of the 3rd millennium BC for the lifespan of these structures,⁵² thus making them coeval with an early phase of Cetina.

The picture that emerges is that of a spotted distribution of similar pottery decorative patterns (dot-filled bands/triangles) coming from contexts that, apart from Velturino-Tanzgasse, are neither clearly definable nor accurately datable. The lack of exact associations between these decorations and recognisable Cetina-type shapes hinders precise comparisons. In my opinion the only context that can be reasonably counted among those actively encompassed by the Cetina sphere of interaction at present is that of Monte Madarosa, given the presence there of a decorated Cetina-type bowl. Any connection with the Cetina sphere for the other sites needs better evidence. The dot-filled bands/triangles decorations here are likely to represent locally elaborated styles, and the question remains open as to whether these stemmed from interactions (either direct or mediated) with the western Balkans

sphere in the second half of the 3rd millennium BC or whether they derive from diverse connections and perhaps in different periods.

If one is to acknowledge the relation between the Monte Madarosa context and the Cetina sphere, it cannot be ruled out that interactions took a more direct seaborne route through the gulf of Venice rather than a terrestrial one perhaps mediated by the Trieste/Slovenian karst area.

Middle western Adriatic regions

Marche

The evidence from Sassoferrato – Area artigianale in present-day Marche remains regionally isolated as yet (fig. 1), with the closest contexts yielding Cetina-type pottery being ca. 200 km away (i.e. Navelli and Popoli, discussed below). It is worthwhile mentioning here that the decorated sherds from Monte Ceti⁵³ are allegedly considered as of Cetina-type,⁵⁴ but belong in fact to the Bell-Beaker sphere.⁵⁵

Sassoferrato lies in the valley of the Sentino watercourse, on the eastern side of the central Apennine, some 50 km from the Adriatic coast. A short fieldwork season in 2001 revealed the traces of a probable settlement, consisting of a structure and related postholes probably dating to the Copper Age,⁵⁶ as indicated by the associated materials.⁵⁷ The finds remain largely unpublished as is any complete excavation report, so it is difficult to define the detailed chronology and pattern of use of the site. Among the recovered pottery one sherd stands out from the local repertoire: a hemispherical bowl with a short thickened-rim decorated with impressed triangles and series of semicircular incisions on the wall

⁴⁸ Ibid., fig. 3, 9; Nicolis 2005, pl. CXVIII, a.

⁴⁹ For instance, impressed triangles in Cetina pottery are commonly associated with incised lines.

⁵⁰ Tecchiati / Tauber 2008, 21.

⁵¹ A statue-stele in secondary deposition has also been discovered at this site.

⁵² Tecchiati / Tauber 2008, 40.

⁵³ Baldelli et al. 2005, fig. 2, 4-5.

⁵⁴ Nicolis 2005, 534; a more prudent position was expressed in Baldelli et al. 2005.

⁵⁵ For instance, these are closely comparable with a thickened rim-bowl with impressed triangles on the rim from Castenaso – Stellina (BO), a site belonging to the late Bell-Beaker which has produced the ¹⁴C date: 2196–1896 cal. 2 sigma BC; Del Santo et al. 2014, fig. 20, 1.

⁵⁶ Silvestrini et al. 2005.

⁵⁷ A further excavation season in 2002 to the west of the area explored in 2001 brought to light evidence of an earlier occupation dating to the Late Neolithic; Silvestrini et al. 2005.

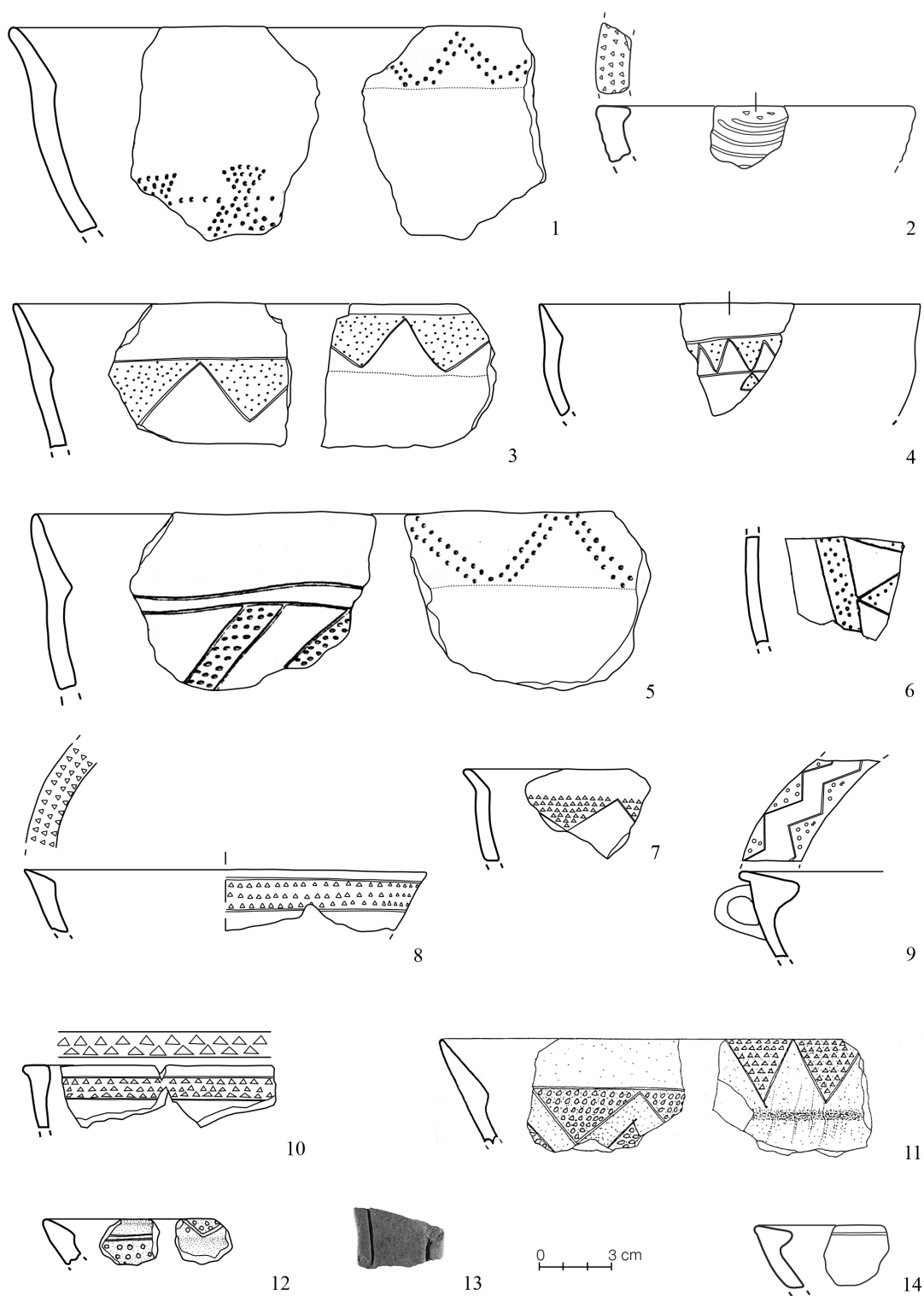


Fig. 3. *Cetina*-type pottery from middle western Adriatic regions and the Gargano area. 1. 3. 5: Popoli – Fonti S. Callisto; 2. Sassoferrato; 4. Navelli; 6–10: Rodi Garganico; 11: Fontanarosa Castelletta; 12: Coppa Nevigata; 13: Pedegarganica km 12 – Pescorosso; 14. Serra Capriola (1. 3–5 modified from Di Fraia 1996; 2 modified from Silvestrini et al. 2005; 6–7 modified from Nava 1990; 8–10. 14 modified from Gravina 2016; 11 after Quojani 1983; 12 after Recchia 2002; 13 courtesy of A. Gravina) (1–13 scale 1:3, 14 not to scale)

(fig. 3, 2),⁵⁸ which is very close to Cetina ceramic models.⁵⁹ A further decorated sherd⁶⁰ does not have close similarities in the local Copper Age repertoire, but neither it does in the Cetina one.

Abruzzo

Sherds akin to Cetina types in the nature of stray finds come from two inland sites in present-day Abruzzo: both are within 50–60 km from the Adriatic coast (fig. 1). They are located some 15 km apart from one another both within close reach of the Aterno river, which intersperses the eastern end of the Apennine ridge. Fonti di S. Callisto – Popoli lies in the Peligna valley along the lower Aterno-Sagittario river basin, while Navelli is located a little more inland to the north. Data is lacking about the nature and chronology of these contexts, as well as about other finds from the same spots. Cetina-resembling pottery consists of bowls with elongated thickened-rim and incised/impressed decorative patterns (fig. 3, 1. 3–5)⁶¹ and possibly some decorated walls.⁶² Besides decorative patterns akin to Cetina ones, at Fonti S. Callisto-Popoli some bowls show diverging motives formed by parallel rows of dots or non-framed dots patterns composing geometric motives. Non-framed dots patterns also appear on pottery at Salamandrija;⁶³ this stylistic variability speaks in favour of a local interpretation of original models. If one is following the chronological proposal of two phases of contacts with the eastern Adriatic, given the absence of jars with decorations framing the handle, both these sites and Sassoferrato would fall into the earliest interaction phase, likewise the northern Apulian sites.

⁵⁸ Silvestrini et al. 2005, fig. 1A, 3.

⁵⁹ I.e. Lad T-2 for the decoration on the rim; a series of semi-circular incisions occur on both tankards and thickened-rim bowls: Lad T-3, Marović 1991, fig. 74, 1; Salamandrija, Forenbaher 2018a, figs. 32, 3; 39, 4.

⁶⁰ A small jar with incised zig-zag line and bands of impressed dots: Silvestrini et al. 2005, fig. 1A, 4.

⁶¹ Three from Fonti S. Callisto-Popoli, one from Navelli: Di Fraia 1996, fig. 3, 12, 14–15, 17.

⁶² Di Fraia 1996, fig. 3, 2–3. 5–6.

⁶³ I.e. Forenbaher 2018a, fig. 38, 12–13.

South western Adriatic regions

Apulia

Evidence of Cetina-type pottery in Apulia is well known and has been widely discussed by scholars from different perspectives since Marović pointed out the close similarity between two tankards from the Laterza Cemetery and those from the tumuli in the upper Cetina valley in Dalmatia.⁶⁴ Data has increased since then, owing to both new research and the re-examination of old collections, contributing greatly to the knowledge of cross-cultural contacts across the Adriatic and the Ionian Sea as well.⁶⁵ I shall now briefly reconsider the various pieces of evidence, trying to bring out their geographical and chronological dimensions and possible reciprocal connections.

Unsurprisingly, a series of sites yielding Cetina-type pottery are scattered across the territory adjacent to the Gargano promontory (fig. 1), besides one located on the promontory itself (Rodi Garganico). The stepping-stone islands (Vis, Sušac, Palagruža, Tremiti) bridging the Adriatic between Dalmatia and the Gargano facilitated the crossing before celestial navigation was developed. The extensive use of Gargano flint at eastern Adriatic sites (particularly those located in Dalmatia)⁶⁶ from the Neolithic to the 2nd millennium BC points to long-lasting contacts between the two areas, also signalling that this maritime route was long-since known by groups settling in Dalmatia. The site at Salamandrija on the Palagruža islet, where abundant Adriatic Ljubljana and Cetina pottery has been found, provides definite supporting evidence for the actual use of this maritime route in the 3rd millennium BC.⁶⁷

Alas, all the Cetina-type pottery from this area are stray finds, mostly from surveys or from occasional recoveries. Rodi Garganico, in a favourable position on the northern coast of the Gargano promontory, has yielded one of the most sizeable assemblages in the Italian peninsula so far: fragments of at least four decorated thickened-rim bowls close to Cetina models and

⁶⁴ Marović 1975.

⁶⁵ Peroni 1985; Cazzella / Moscoloni 1988; Govedarica 1989; Cataldo 1996; Maran 1998, 2007; Cazzella 1999; Recchia 2002; 2010; Rambach 2004; Arcuri et al. 2016; Gravina 2016; Gori et al. 2018; Bianco 2020; Cazzella et al. 2020.

⁶⁶ Forenbaher / Peroč 2018.

⁶⁷ Kaiser / Forenbaher 1999; Forenbaher 2018a.

a decorated wall sherd (fig. 3, 6–10).⁶⁸ These were recovered by local amateurs at different times from de-contextualised deposits resulting from modern construction works.

To the south of the Gargano evidence comes from two sites both on the shore of a former lagoon (Lago Salso), connecting them with the Adriatic Sea: Fontanarosa Castelletta, known from surveys⁶⁹ and Coppa Nevigata.⁷⁰ These are about 4 km apart; each has yielded just one decorated fragment of thickened rim-bowl, strictly akin to the Cetina repertoire (fig. 3, 11–12); at Coppa Nevigata this was found in a surface layer during the excavations of the Bronze Age site.

To the north-west of the Gargano, some sub-coastal and inland sites known from non-systematic surveys have yielded a few sherds of Cetina-type. At Serracapriola – Chiantinelle, on the lower course of the Fortore river ca. 6 km away from the Adriatic, a thickened-rim bowl with simple incised line below the rim (fig. 3, 14)⁷¹ closely recalls Cetina bowls with simple incisions.⁷² At the site of Pedegarganica Km. 12 – Pescorosso, along the Candelaro river, a handle with vertical incised lines marking the edges has been found (fig. 3, 13):⁷³ a type which is absent in the local tradition but widespread in the Cetina repertoire. Finally, Carlantino – loc. Fontana, on the upper course of the Fortore (ca. 40 km from the coast) has yielded a plain thickened-bowl sherd,⁷⁴ whose ascription to the Cetina style, however, is quite doubtful.⁷⁵ The inland site of Pedegarganica – Pescorosso is at an equal distance (approximately 30 km) between the Adriatic coast to both the north and the south of the Gargano promontory, as well as between the site on the lower Fortore (Serracapriola –Chiantinelle) and the pairing of Fontanarosa/Coppa Nevigata. Despite their non-stratigraphic nature and un-

certainty of depositional contexts, all these finds may well indicate either settlement-type occupations or at least occasional frequentation of the areas, but none can be related to funerary sites.

A sherd with distinct Cetina-type incised and impressed decoration (a series of inscribed curvilinear incised lines with an impressed-dot background) comes from the surface site of Bisceglie – Lama Macina (fig. 4, 1)⁷⁶ and is a stray find. Unfortunately, only a picture is available for this fragment and one has no idea of the shape to which this may belong; in the Cetina repertoire inscribed curvilinear incised lines occur on bowls⁷⁷ and possibly on other shapes. This Bisceglie – Lama Macina coastal site appears to be territorially isolated and more or less equidistant from the other groups, being ca. 70 km to the south of Coppa Nevigata and ca. 55 to the north of Rutigliano.

At present, the sub-coastal site of Rutigliano – Le Rene (some 10 km from the Adriatic coast and 40 km to the east of Pisciulo/Casal Sabini) is the only settlement to exist in central Apulia that yielded a sizeable assemblage of Cetina-related pottery,⁷⁸ amounting to 10 decorated sherds. Among them there are two tankards with incised/impressed decoration framing the handle, whose shape however is not clearly recognisable (fig. 4, 2–3). Decorations include incised bands filled with impressed small circles and incised lines forming angular motifs (fig. 4, 4–8). Close similarities between the decorative motives from this site and Olympia – Altis had been pointed out long ago by J. Maran and J. Rambach.⁷⁹

The next group of sites on the western Adriatic where Cetina-type pottery occurs is located inland, some 100 km to the south-west of Fontanarosa/Coppa Nevigata. These differ strongly from those in the Gargano area in both their contexts (funerary/cultic in the majority of the cases) and the type of Cetina-like pottery they possessed (figs. 4–5).

Three funerary contexts (Pisciulo, Casal Sabini and Laterza) are located in the innermost upper Murgia tableland (*Alta Murgia*) in central Apulia, within a range of 25 km. As is well known two decorated tankards closely resembling Ceti-

⁶⁸ Nava 1990, fig. 3; Gravina 2016, fig. 1, 13–15. Whereas one bowl with elongated decorated rim (Gravina 2016, fig. 1, 16) appears to be closer to Palma Campania-type pottery.

⁶⁹ Quojani 1983, fig. 117, 6.

⁷⁰ Recchia 2002.

⁷¹ Gravina 2016, fig. 1, 21.

⁷² E.g. Rudine T.26: Marović 1991, fig. 19, 4; Ogradice T.1: Marović 1991, fig. 62, 3–4; Brnjica t.1: Gori et al. fig. 2, 1.

⁷³ Gravina 2016, fig. 2, 15.

⁷⁴ Ibid., fig. 1, 20.

⁷⁵ Even more doubtful is the attribution to Cetina types of other sherds from this area published by A. Gravina (2016), as already commented in Cazzella et al. 2020, 188.

⁷⁶ Palmiotti 2004, 53; Bianco 2020, 162.

⁷⁷ I.e. Ljubomir: Govedarica 1989, pl. 31, 7; Salamandrija: Forenbaher 2018a, figs. 32, 3; 39, 4.

⁷⁸ Radina 1989, figs. 10–11.

⁷⁹ Maran 1998, 370; Rambach 2004.

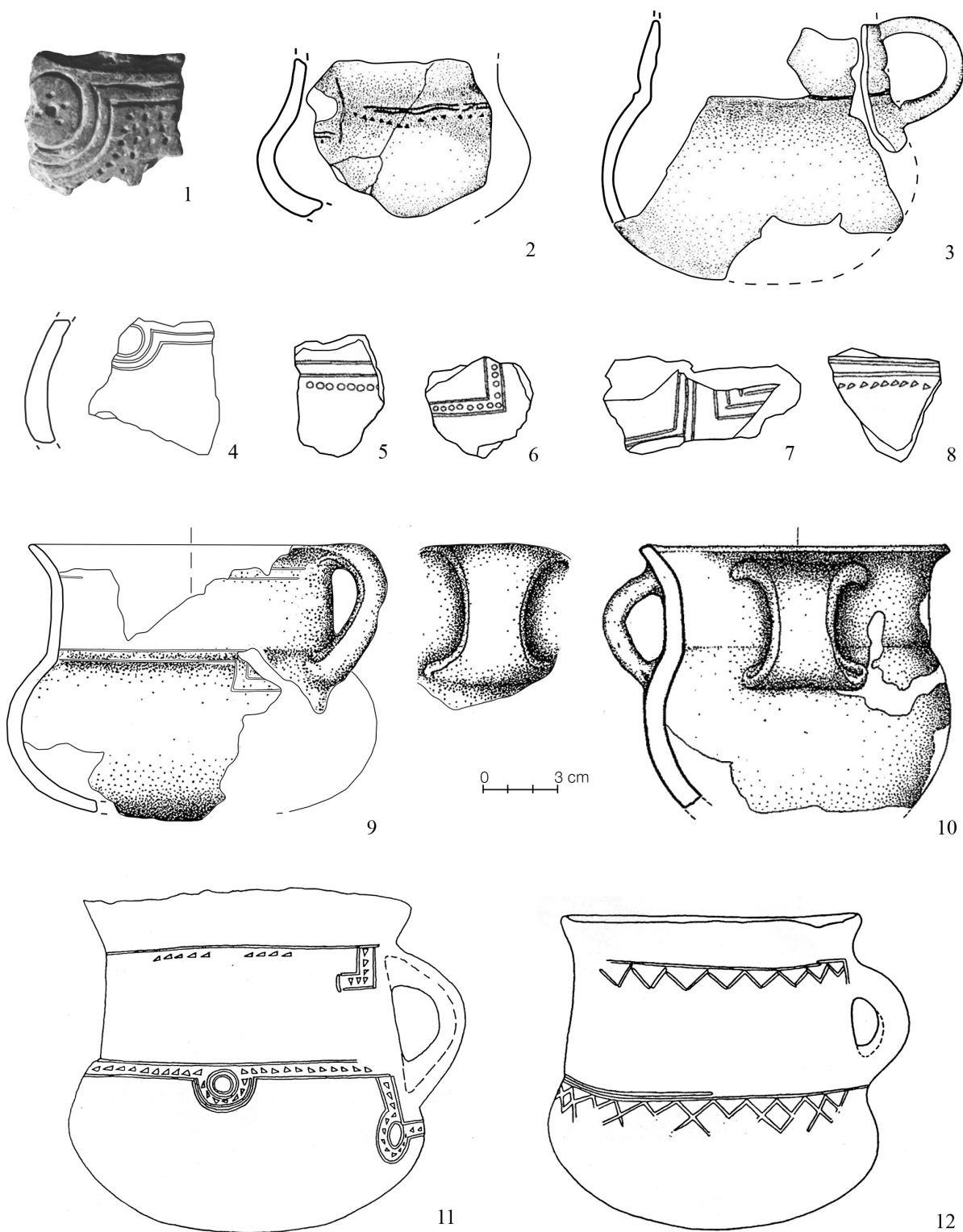


Fig. 4. South western Adriatic: Cetina-type and Cetina related pottery. 1. Bisceglie – Lama Macina; 2–8. Rutigliano – Le Rene; 9–10. Pisciuolo hypogeum 2; 11–12. Laterza cemetery t. 3 (1 after Palmiotti 2004; 2–3 modified from Radina 1989; 4–8 modified from Rambach 2004; 9–10 after Cataldo 1996; 11–12 after Maran 1998) (4–10 scale 1:3; 1. 11–12 not to scale)

na ones come from tomb 3 at the Copper Age rock-cut tombs cemetery of Laterza (fig. 4, 11–12).⁸⁰ These are thought to represent a later phase of use in this collective tomb, which contained a vast assemblage of Copper Age Laterza pottery. Its structure was possibly altered in this later period with the replacement of the original access pit with a small dromos. The cases of Pisciuolo and Casal Sabini (a few km apart from one another) differ from Laterza, as these consist of clusters of hypogea, composed of a funerary chamber and an elongated dromos that did not yield traces of use related to the Copper Age Laterza culture. Instead, their use appears to have spanned the late centuries of the 3rd – early centuries of the 2nd millennia BC, on the basis of the local pottery recovered there. Two tankards (one with incised decoration framing the handle, while the other is plain) akin to Cetina vessels come from Pisciuolo hypogeum 2 (fig. 4, 9–10),⁸¹ while several sherds with incised lines – sometimes forming angular patterns – come from Casal Sabini t. 3 (fig. 5, 6–8)⁸² which all possibly belong to the same vessel(s). Differing from the local pottery style, these latter closely recall Cetina-type decorated tankards. Finally, a fragment of a jar with a cylindrical neck and a series of small holes on the upper wall occurs at Casal Sabini t.1 (fig. 5, 5);⁸³ it is reminiscent of the Kotorac-type Cetina vessels.⁸⁴ Vessels with perforated upper walls – although of different shape – also occur at Lerna IV in the Peloponnese,⁸⁵ together with Cetina-related pottery. As is well known, possible interconnections with the Aegean are testified by the occurrence of a decorated bossed-bone plaque at the same t.1 of Casal Sabini,⁸⁶ mirrored by another similar plaque from the Pipistrello Solitario cave in Salento,⁸⁷ ca. 80 km to the south east, which in turn has yielded a Bell-Beaker type fragment.

A further context is cave 1 at the Pulo di Altamura (on the upper Murge tableland, 20 km from Pisciuolo/Casal Sabini and 40 km from the Adriatic coast), whose pattern of use is unclear

(maybe cultic?). This has yielded six sherds with incised/impressed decorations resembling Cetina ones⁸⁸ although the vessel shapes – when recognisable – have no comparisons among the Cetina vessels. Apart from three non-diagnostic fragments, two are perforated walls (fig. 5, 3–4; possibly of jars/tankards), which echo the perforated jar from Casal Sabini t.1 and the Kotorac-type vessels as well (though the shape is probably diverse). One is a carinated bowl with the incised/impressed decoration framing the handle and another one is a curvilinear bowl with everted lip and displaying incised lines forming angular motifs (fig. 5, 1–2). This latter decorative pattern does occur among the Cetina repertoire⁸⁹ and it is also attested at Olympia – Altis.⁹⁰ The hybrid stylistic character of this pottery assemblage points to a locally elaborated one, incorporating Cetina-type models.

Finally, S. Bianco has recently pointed out the occurrence of a decorated sherd from the Zinzulusa cave (near Castro, on the southern Adriatic coast of Salento) that he proposes as of Cetina-type.⁹¹ This displays a swastika incision framed by series of incised lines bordered by impressed dots; a zig-zag incised line coupled with straight lines form a further motif recognisable on the edge of the sherd (fig. 5, 9).⁹² It is unclear whether the sherd belongs to the base of a vessel or whether to a wall. In my opinion the closest comparison for this decorative motif is the Cetina-related EH III pottery from Olympia – Altis⁹³ rather than the Cetina ceramics from Dalmatia.⁹⁴ Being located near to the Otranto channel, the area of the Zinzulusa cave was easily reachable from the Peloponnese – Ionian Islands. Thus, this may well illustrate the interactions with the Aegean sphere rather than with the western Balkan one, enriching the picture offered by the bossed bone plaques from Casal Sabini and the Pipistrello Solitario cave.

⁸⁰ Biancofiore 1967, figs. 32; 37, 3; 51, 3, 20; Marović 1975.

⁸¹ Cataldo 1996, fig. 9, 1–2.

⁸² Ibid., fig. 5.

⁸³ Ibid., fig. 3, 6.

⁸⁴ Govedarica 1989, fig. 19, 1–2.

⁸⁵ Rutter 1982; a discussion on these kind of vessels in Cazella 1999, 400.

⁸⁶ Cataldo 1996, fig. 3, 2.

⁸⁷ Coppola 2001–2002.

⁸⁸ Cataldo 1996, fig. 13, 1–5, 7–8. A further fragment (Maran 1998, pl. 40, 9) is likely to belong to the curvilinear bowl with angular incised motifs: fig. 5, 2; Cataldo 1996, fig. 13, 8.

⁸⁹ I.e. Lucovača t. 69; Marović 1991, fig. 46, 1.

⁹⁰ Rambach 2004, pl. 8, 14.

⁹¹ Bianco 2020.

⁹² Original publication: Mosso 2010, fig. 182; Bianco 2020, fig. 2.

⁹³ Related in turn with Cetina: Maran 1998, pl. 32, 1–2.

⁹⁴ Decorative motifs akin to this one usually occur at Olympia on the base of the vessels.

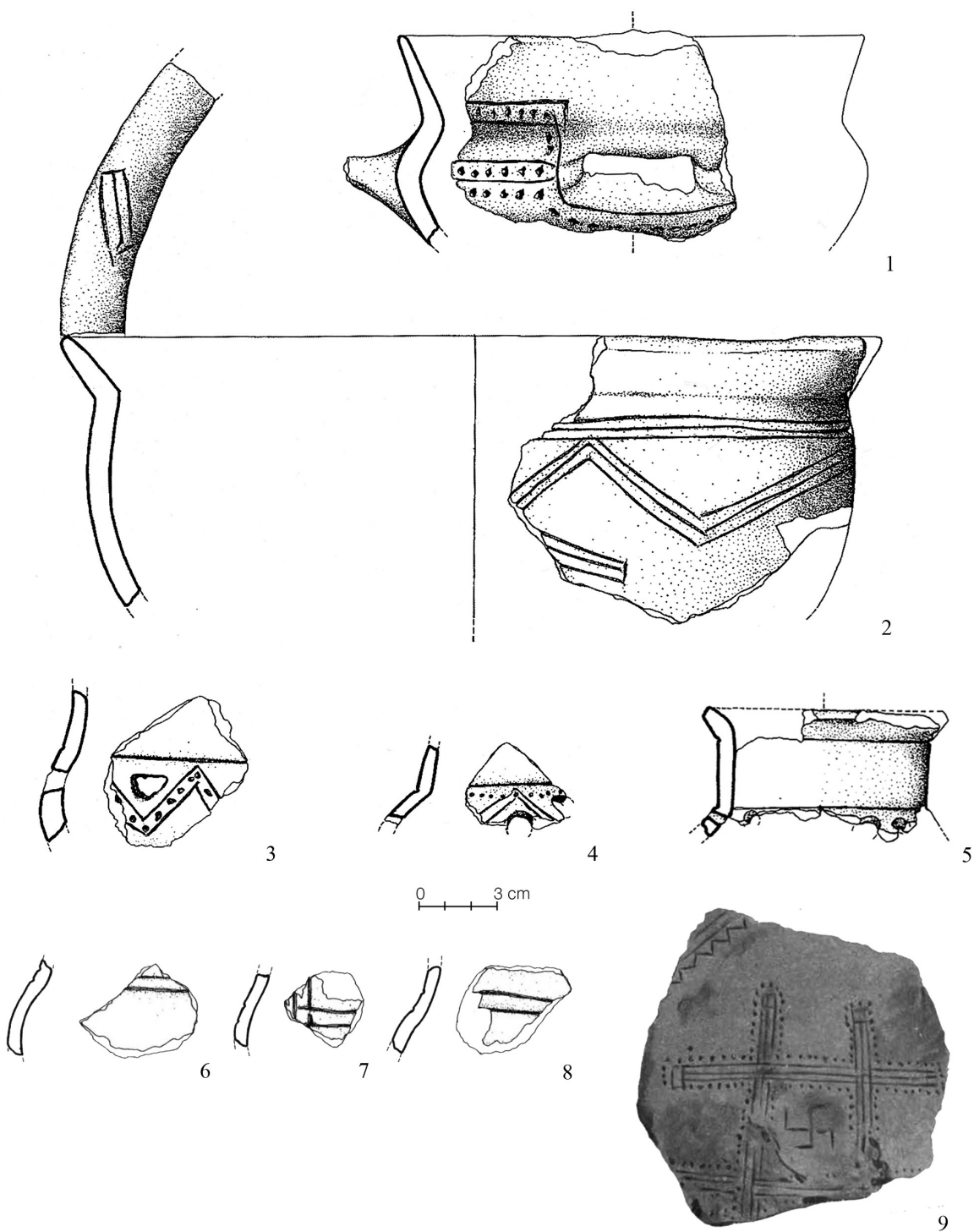


Fig. 5. South western Adriatic: Cetina related pottery and EH III / Cetina-derived type pottery. 1–4. Altamura cave 1; 5. Casal Sabini t. 1; 6–8. Casal Sabini t. 3; 9. Zinzulusa cave (1–8 after Cataldo 1996; 9 modified from Mosso 1910) (4–8 scale 1:3; 1–2, 9 not to scale)

South Tyrrhenian and Ionian regions

Campania

Recent fieldwork in present-day Campania has brought to light Cetina-type pottery in at least three sites located in different territorial zones: Atena Lucana, Oliva Torricella and Gricignano. This evidence has further highlighted the expansive potential of the Cetina sphere, suggesting that small groups from the western Balkans might have crossed the Apennine ridge to reach the Tyrrhenian side of the peninsula. To date, aside from these three sites no other contexts in the region appear to have yielded pottery for which the alleged comparisons with Cetina ceramics are convincing.⁹⁵

The inland site of Atena Lucana is quite interesting, but, alas, remains largely unpublished. Probably a settlement, this lies in the fertile Vallo di Diano, bordered by the western side of the Apennines, ca. 60 km from the Tyrrhenian coast and 130 km to the west of Laterza/Casal Sabini. It has provided one ¹⁴C date (2470–2210 cal 1 sigma BC),⁹⁶ whose large statistical range, however, hinders a more nuanced chronology. Three Cetina-related ceramics are published or described: a small tankard with simple incised decoration framing the handle (fig. 6, 1),⁹⁷ a decorated thickened-rim bowl⁹⁸ and a bowl with incised/impressed decorations and elbow-shaped handle (*ansa a gomito*; fig. 6, 7).⁹⁹ The shape of this latter bowl, with an everted lip, is atypical of the Cetina repertoire, while the elbow-shaped handle is completely foreign to it. The decoration nonetheless has some affinities with Cetina-type motives.

Oliva Torricella is a Palma Campania (Early Bronze Age) coastal settlement located on the northern edge of the Salerno bay, ca. 80 km from Atena Lucana: it was probably destroyed by a *tsunami*. A ¹⁴C date from the deposit affected by the *tsunami* is available and falls in the last centuries

of the 3rd millennium BC (2197–2043 cal 1 sigma BC).¹⁰⁰ A single sherd with a distinct Cetina-type incised/impressed decoration has been found (fig. 6, 2):¹⁰¹ according to the authors of the excavation this comes from the Palma Campania deposit and not from an earlier layer, thus the ¹⁴C date, which is consistent with a late phase of Cetina, would also be viable to include this sherd as well. The decorative motif on this fragment is quite widespread, occurring not only in Dalmatia but also in Apulia – Laterza t. 3 and Rutigliano (fig. 4, 4. 11) – and at Olympia – Altis.¹⁰²

Finally, the site of Gricignano – probably a settlement – in the Campania plain ca. 20 km from the Tyrrhenian coast has yielded a fragment of a thickened-rim bowl decorated with incised diamonds filled by impressed dots (fig. 6, 3),¹⁰³ which recalls a decorative motif on a cup from Škarin Samograd.¹⁰⁴ The associated pottery assemblage in the local tradition does not include clearly diagnostic sherds, but possibly belongs to the beginning of the Early Bronze Age.

Basilicata, Calabria and north eastern Sicily

Some years ago, D. Marino and M. Pacciarelli pointed out the occurrence at some sites in present-day Calabria of bowls with either thickened-rim or everted rim with incised and impressed decorations, which they suggested could be related to Cetina-type pottery.¹⁰⁵ While a few of these bowls display a Cetina-style motif with incised triangles filled by stamped small triangles (fig. 6, 4), the majority is instead characterised by a completely different decorative techniques with sets of impressed small crosses forming geometric patterns (fig. 6, 5–6). This latter peculiar decoration type also occurs on shapes of other kinds. The largest amount of this pottery comes from surveyed sites – mostly from the Crista di Zungri site – in the Tropea promontory on

⁹⁵ As said above, I have recently discussed in detail (Gori et al. 2018; Cazzella et al. 2020) the other cases in Campania for which these Cetina comparisons have been suggested by Arcuri et al. (2016), therefore I will not revisit them here.

⁹⁶ Talamo et al. 2011, tab. 1.

⁹⁷ Talamo 2008, fig. 8, 7.

⁹⁸ Only described in Talamo 2008, 217.

⁹⁹ The photo is published in Arcuri et al. 2016, fig. 6.

¹⁰⁰ Albore Livadie 2011, 123, 130; fig. 118.

¹⁰¹ For a comment on other decorated sherds from this site, see Gori et al. 2018, 204.

¹⁰² E.g. Rudine t. 13: Marović 1991, fig. 11, 1; Biancofiore 1967, fig. 32; Radina 1989, figs. 11; 13; Rambach 2004, pl. 8, 18.

¹⁰³ U.S. Navy lotto 1, Marzocchella 1998, fig. 28 top-left.

¹⁰⁴ Govedarica 1989, t. XXIII, 2.

¹⁰⁵ Marino / Pacciarelli 1996.

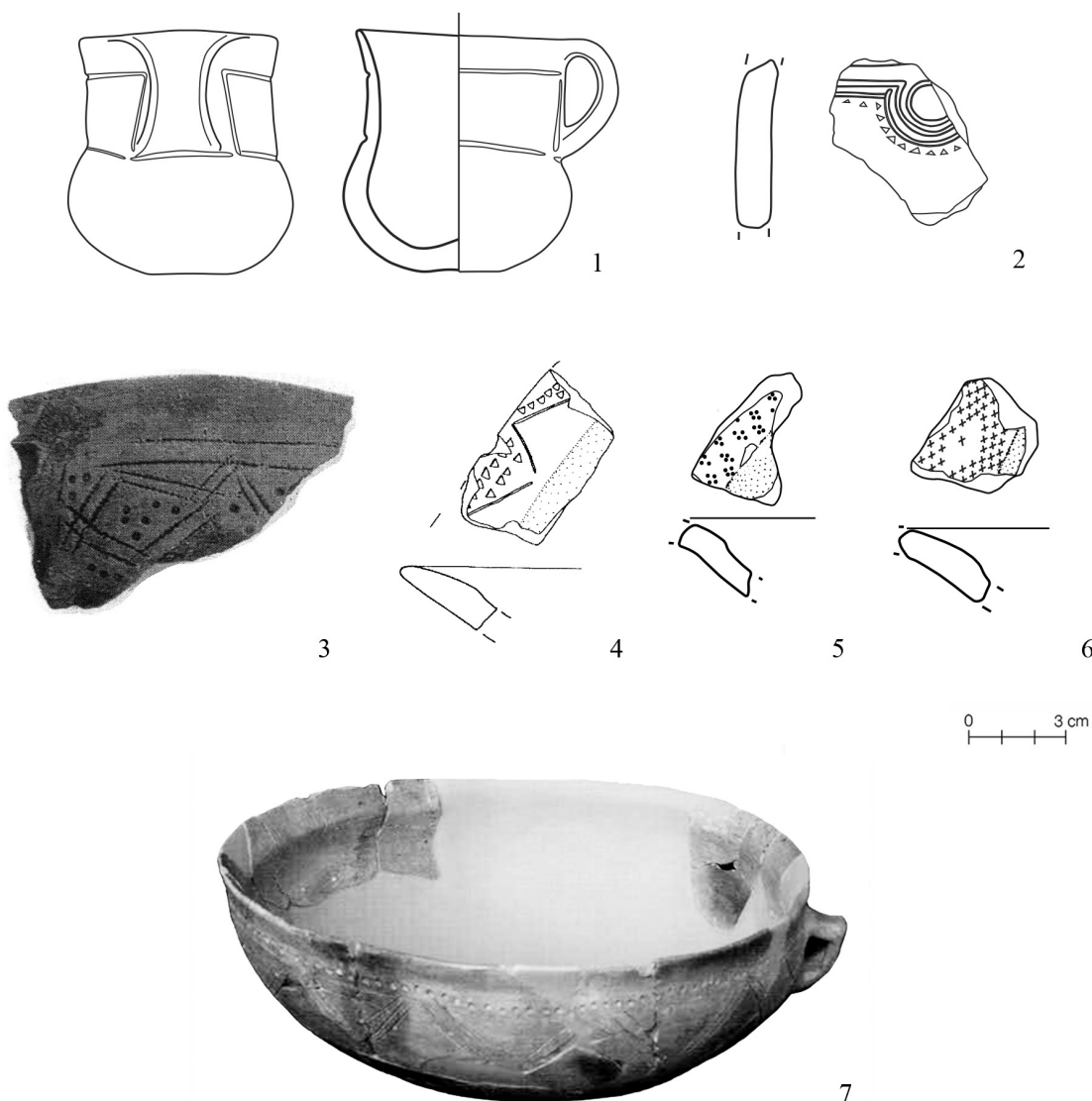


Fig. 6. South Tyrrhenian: Cetina type pottery, probable Cetina related pottery, Zungri-Corazzo type pottery. 1 and 7. Atena Lucana; 2. Oliva Torricella; 3. Gricignano; 4. Casale Spatafora (Tropea promontory); 5. Crista di Zungri (Tropea promontory); 6. S. Stefano (Tropea promontory) (1 modified from Talamo 2008; 2 modified from Albore Livadie 2011; 3 after Marzocchella 1998; 4–6 after Marino / Pacciarelli 1996; 7 modified from Arcuri et al. 2016) (1–6 scale 1:3; 7 not to scale)

the Tyrrhenian coast; similar sherds have been found at other sites including Corazzo near the Ionian coast.¹⁰⁶ Marino and Pacciarelli have attributed these ceramics to a Calabrian culture, named Zungri-Corazzo, to be dated between the mid-24th and the mid-22nd centuries BC,¹⁰⁷ yet the possibility exists that this cultural aspect,

which is chiefly defined on the basis of pottery typology, is not chronologically homogeneous, but actually includes stylistic traits in fact from different phases.

Ceramics with this peculiar decoration formed by sets of stamped small crosses also occur on the Ionian side of present-day Basilicata at the sites of Trasano and Murgecchia,¹⁰⁸ as well as

¹⁰⁶ A detailed list in Cazzella et al. 2020 with bibliography therein.

¹⁰⁷ Pacciarelli 2011.

¹⁰⁸ Lo Porto 1998, pl. LXXV, 332; Guilaine et al. 2014, fig. 7.

in north-eastern Sicily at the Novalucello cave,¹⁰⁹ suggesting a territorial extension of this pottery style wider than southern Calabria.

Indeed, it appears that this is a locally elaborated ceramic style, which perhaps had absorbed some traits derived from a Cetina-inspired tradition, such as the tendency of decorate the rims/lips of bowls and the manufacturing of bowls with thickened rims. Such an influence, however, could have stemmed from interactions with a number of areas and cultural traditions: Cetina-related groups in Campania-southern Italy for one such, and eastern Sicilian communities, like those settling at Ognina,¹¹⁰ that fall within the Aegean sphere of influence for another.

Concluding remarks

Although the evidence of Cetina interactions across the Italian peninsula and its northern continental area is scattered and diversified both in its topographical location and its pottery occurrence, some general trends and patterns can be traced.

The first point concerns the chronological breakdown of these interactions. The territorial distribution of shapes closely related to Cetina-types appears to follow two broad patterns, as noted before: decorated thickened-rim bowls are mainly distributed along the northern and central Adriatic side, including the area of the Gargano promontory (Monte Madarosa, Sassoferato, Navelli, Popoli – Fonti S. Callisto, Rodi Graganico, Serra Capriola – Chiantinelle, Fontanarosa, Coppa Nevigata). On the other hand, tankards with incised decorations framing the handle occur in other areas: the southern Adriatic side (Rutigliano and Murge area) and the southern Tyrrhenian (Atena Lucana). This marked division has been argued to represent a chronological distinction, i.e. two main phases of contacts (the first falling in the third quarter and the second in the last quarter of the 3rd millennium BC), with the tankards/incised decoration framing the handles belonging to phase 2.¹¹¹ Exceptions from

these trends are represented by the occurrence of both decorated bowls in present-day Campania and the Zungri-Corazzo type bowls in Calabria. Bowls however are likely to have endured across the two phases, and furthermore those known so far from Campanian sites appear to be locally elaborated versions. The ¹⁴C date from Oliva Torricella clearly points to the late 3rd millennium BC for the chronology of the Cetina-type sherd recovered there, while the long-span of the date from Atena Lucana does not allow for precise conclusions. However, it cannot be ruled out that other sites, such as Gricignano, had been already encompassed by Cetina interactions during phase 1. The Zungri-Corazzo style bowls, on the other hand, do not appear to be closely related to direct interactions with the western Balkans, but rather to have stemmed from various influences, among which possibly are numbered the eastern Sicilian productions (like those from Ognina) inspired in turn by EH Aegean contacts that would fall into phase 1.¹¹² As mentioned above, however, the ceramic assemblage named as ‘Zungri-Corazzo’ might not be internally consistent from a chronological point of view and more solid stratigraphic data is needed to assess a refined and secure dating.

This two-phased proposal is supported by the stratigraphic and chronological sequence of EH III/Cetina-related pottery in the Peloponnese and Malta; close similarities between the decorative patterns at Rutigliano-Le Rene and Olympia – Altis,¹¹³ coupled with the occurrence of thickened-rim bowls at Olympia in the preceding New Museum phase, represent compelling evidence. Yet, to date clear indications from the core area of the Cetina culture remain scanty. Here the stony nature of the tumuli and the unreliable stratigraphic associations from caves hinder the possibility of singling out phase-sequences of occupations and hence of figuring out diachronic transformation in pottery assemblages. However, the proposed two-phase sequence for the interactions with the western Adriatic and the Peloponnese implies that there was in fact a

¹⁰⁹ Tiné 1960.

¹¹⁰ Cazzella et al. 2020, 191-193.

¹¹¹ Arcuri et al. 2016, 88, have argued that the occurrence of tankards in central Apulia reflects the types of context they come from (tombs and caves used for symbolic pur-

poses) rather than a chronological difference. Yet tankards also occur at Rutigliano – Le Rene, which is likely to be a settlement. Moreover, burial tumuli in Dalmatia commonly contain both bowls and tankards: Marović 1991.

¹¹² Recchia / Cazzella 2017.

¹¹³ Maran 1998; Rambach 2004.

stylistic transformation over time in the Cetina ceramics in the Dalmatian area as well. It can be noted that here Kotorac-type pedestalled vessels are richly decorated for the most, while the typical one-handle tankards appear to fall into two broad groups: 1) those richly decorated (commonly with filled bands and triangles forming angular motifs extended on the neck and the body),¹¹⁴ and 2) those in which the decoration is considerably simpler, consisting mainly – but not exclusively – of incised lines recurrently framing the lower part of the handles.¹¹⁵ Moreover, two-handled jars with incised decorations (framing the lower part of the handles) occur, but at a few sites, among which Bajagić, Jukić, Begovići in present-day Dalmatia and Shtoj in present-day northern Albania.¹¹⁶ Both Jukić and Begovići contexts have yielded ¹⁴C dates falling between the end of the 3rd to the beginning of the 2nd millennia BC.¹¹⁷ Therefore, this vessel type is a good candidate to represent productions related to a late (or very late) phase of Cetina. As a working hypothesis, both these two-handled jars and group 2 of less decorated one-handle tankards, whose main feature is the handle framed by incisions, may be considered as types emerging in a second phase.

Following this two phase-sequence, contacts between the eastern Adriatic and the Italian peninsula, with the movement of small groups from the former area, might have been directed primarily towards the north-central western Adriatic and Gargano area in phase 1, and more towards the south western Adriatic and Tyrrhenian areas across the Apennines in phase 2. In both phases it appears that there was a deep interest towards occupying inland areas (Marche, Abruzzo, perhaps Veneto, Murge, inland Campania), particularly fertile valleys in between mountain ridges that somewhat recall the Dalmatian landscape. The perpetuation of a traditional subsistence economy is possibly a reason underlying these choices.

¹¹⁴ A good example is the tankard from Lukovača T. 69; Marović 1991, fig. 46, 3. The fragmentary status of many richly decorated vessels hampers their attribution to pedestalled ones or simple tankards.

¹¹⁵ For instance, the tankards from Lukovača T. 69, Ogradice T. 4 and 5; Marović 1991, figs. 47, 1, 4; 66, 1; 67, 6.

¹¹⁶ Govedarica 2016.

¹¹⁷ 2030–1880 cal. 2 sigma BC, Olujčić 2012; 2134–1979 cal. 1 sigma BC Beg Jerončić 2011.

The question remains as to whether evidence from the various regions reflects direct contacts with/movements from the eastern Adriatic coast or whether only some areas were reached via seaborne journeys, the small groups conveying Cetina-type ceramic models moving by land from there towards other areas. It is reasonable to assume that contacts were multiple, not only in time but also in space.

The northern Apulia/Gargano area was doubtless directly accessed by the seaborne interactions in phase 1. Other routes might have reached the northern Adriatic, and from there inland Veneto. As said above, evidence from Alpine valleys in Trentino is ambiguous: the decorative style of ceramics is clearly locally elaborated, and the influence of the Cetina style remains dubious.

As for present-day Abruzzo, both hypotheses (of direct vs. mediated contacts) are plausible. On the one hand, the well-known connections between Ripoli and Danilo in the Middle Neolithic,¹¹⁸ as well as possible similarities between Late Ripoli and Maliq IIB in the Late Neolithic/Copper Age,¹¹⁹ testify as to how the Adriatic body of water between Dalmatia and Abruzzo was crossed in late Prehistory; the Aterno, flowing into the Adriatic, might have constituted an easy riverine route into the interior. Yet traces of Cetina connections on the coastal/sub-coastal area are lacking. On the other hand, ceramics from the Abruzzo sites, akin to some of those from the Gargano area, are possibly locally re-elaborated; it cannot be excluded that the Gargano area was the western Adriatic spot from which small groups moved on northwards into the mountain landscapes. Sassoferrato in the Marche is a quite isolated site as yet; likewise in Abruzzo, the coast (e.g. the Conero promontory) could have been easily reached by sea, the Esino – Sentino constituting then a possible fluvial route inland.

It is difficult at present to place the evidence from Bisceglie – Lama Macina within a specific phase, since the shape of the sherd is not recognisable. This site lies just in between the Gargano area and the other group of sites to the south; its coastal setting may make it a further spot reached by western Balkan seafarers.

¹¹⁸ Cremonesi 1965; Batović 1984.

¹¹⁹ Cazzella 1994.

A second wave of contacts probably touched central Apulia, with small groups moving inland towards the Murge upper tableland and possibly some crossing the Apennines to reach as far as the Campania Tyrrhenian side. Direct seaborne contacts with the southern Tyrrhenian are less probable. Ionian regions too might have remained outside direct contacts with the western Balkans.

Evidence from the Zinzulusa in southern Apulia speaks in favour of this area being reached by movement across the Ionian Sea of small groups from the western Aegean. These connections may have also conveyed the decorated bossed bone plaques (either the concept or the actual objects) found to the north at the Pipistrello Solitario cave and Casal Sabini.

Another point that still remains to be addressed is that of interactions between the local communities and the small groups that identified themselves through the pottery style we define as Cetina-type. In most cases Cetina-type pottery is found as stray finds, so there is not a clear link with specific contexts. In a few situations, mostly coastal ones such as Rodi Garganico and perhaps Rutigliano-Le Rene, the number of Cetina-type ceramics is sizeable, which fact may indicate that these were sites largely occupied by groups distinguishing themselves by means of this ceramic style. More commonly, however, Cetina-type sherds are limited in number. There are contexts predominantly yielding pottery of local tradition (i.e. Oliva Torricella), while at some funerary sites either with an early occupation (i.e. Laterza t.3) or newly built but following a local tradition (i.e. Pisciuolo and Casal Sabini) Cetina pottery is used as a grave good: these cases may reflect foreign groups blending with local communities, individuals preserving their identity at the same time. Local groups might have also taken up Cetina-type models, so favouring the elaboration of hybrid styles.

The advancement of knowledge in the last twenty years together with the development of international research has enriched the picture of connections across the Adriatic in the 3rd millennium BC, posing new questions and still leaving open several problems. The anticipated course of multidisciplinary analyses and new techniques, assisted by the refinement of consolidated archaeological practices and the develop-

ment of new projects, will certainly contribute to addressing these unsolved questions. Thus, it is likely the perspective offered here will change.

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Rezime

Kroz i preko Jadrana: sjeverna i zapadna interakcija fenomena Cetinske kulture (25–20. v. pr. Hr.)

“Cetinski fenomen” i njegove različite implikacije u smislu kulturnih interakcija i mobilnosti na prostoru centralnog Mediterana tokom druge polovine 3. milenija BC, bili su često tema naučnih rasprava u posljednjih 20 godina (Govedarica 2006; Maran 2007; Broodbank 2013; Tomas 2017; Forenbaher 2018a; Recchia, Cazzella 2017; Cazzella et al. 2020; Gori 2020). Istovremeno, napredak istraživanja na zapadnom Balkanu omogućio je prepravke i preciziranja hronološke slike vezane za kontekste kulturnih cjelina koje pripadaju ovom periodu, uključujući i aspekte Cetinske kulture (Bulatović i dr. 2020; Forenbaher 2018b). Ipak, nekoliko aspekata Cetinske kulture na njenom izvornom području, današnjoj Dalmaciji, posebno onih koji su vezani za društveno-ekonomsku sferu i

dalje je uglavnom nepoznato. Novi projekti, uključujući terenska istraživanja, arheometrijske i izotopske analize, nastoje da riješe stara i nova pitanja vezana za ovu kulturu. Tu spadaju sistem naseljavanja koji je još uvijek praktično nepoznat, tehnologija i organizacija keramičke produkcije, cirkulacija metalnih objekata i sirovina, ljudska mobilnost i obrasci spoljnih interakcija (Gori i dr. 2018; Tomas 2020).

Kao što je poznato, Apeninsko poluostrvo bilo je u znatnoj mjeri uključeno u "cetinski fenomen", što je ilustrovano pojavom keramike cetinskog tipa na nekoliko lokacija na jadranskoj strani Apenina. Nedavna otkrića u današnjoj Campaniji obogatila su ovu sliku pokazujući da je tu bila uključena i tirenska oblast na jugu. Nalazi sa sjeveroistoka (današnji Veneto i Trentino), pored onih iz Trsta i Slovenačkog krasa, takođe govore u korist uvećanja spektra ovih veza, kao i to da su se obrasci interakcija i njihova vremenska dimenzija, mogli razlikovati od jedne do druge regije.

Najvjerovatnija hipoteza koja objašnjava način ovih kontakata i koja je široko prihvaćena, je ona koja polazi od malih 'cetinskih' grupa koje prelaze sa zapadnog Balkana (uglavnom iz Dalmacije) na područje Italije i Peloponeza. J. Maran (2007) te grupe naziva "argonauti Zapadnog Balkana" naglašavajući time njihov interes za pomorske i prekomorske komunikacije. Ipak, ova morska putovanja u suštini su bila usmjerena na osvajanja novih područja u cilju trajnog naseljavanja. S tih područja su se cetinski elementi (ovoga puta već modifikovani u interakciji sa lokalnim elementima) širili dalje na istočnu Siciliju, Maltu i na Eolska ostrva. Na tom širem planu prepliću se elementi sa zapadnog Balkana i oni sa egejskog područja.

Drugi aspekt o kome se u zadnje vrijeme dosta diskutuje je odnos između fenomena kulture zvonaštih pehara i cetinske kulture na području Italije. Sfeire uticaja ove dvije kulture se preklapaju na raznim dijelovima italijanskog poluostrva, što svjedoči o kulturnim granicama koje se međusobno prožimaju, kao i o tome da je svaka od tih oblasti bila uključena u jedan od ova dva fenomena (Maran 2007; Broodbank 2013; Hejd 2007).

U ovom članku najviše pažnje je posvećeno cetinskoj kulturi, odnosno njenim transjadranskim vezama i interakciji sa lokalnom kulturnom tradicijom. Na osnovu poznatog materijala cetinskog tipa sa šireg područja Apenina koji je, počev od nalaza iz tršćanskog i slovenačkog krasa, pa sve do sjeveroistočne Sicilije ovdje kratko, ali jezgrovito prezentiran, autorica dolazi do zaključka da se u kontaktima ove kulture sa područjem Apeninskog poluostrva izdvajaju oblasti na kojima su koncentrisane različite cetinske keramičke forme. Ukrašene posude sa zadebljanim obodima uglavnom su raspoređene duž sjevernog i srednjeg jadranskog priobzeja, uključujući i Gargan-

sko poluostrvo (Monte Madarosa, Sassoferrato, Navello, Popoli – Fonti S. Callisto, Rodi Graganico, Serra Capriola – Chiantinelle, Fontanarosa, Coppa Nevigata). S druge strane, pehari sa urezanim ukrasima koji obrubljuju dršku javljaju se u južnom priobzeju Jadrana (Rutigliano, Murge) i u južnoj Tireniji (Atena Lucana).

Te tipološke različitosti imaju i hronološko značenje. Naime, pokazuje se da su ovdje u pitanju dvije faze cetinskih prodora, prva koja pripada trećem kvartalu trećeg milenija i druga koja slijedi u četvrtom kvartalu tog milenija.

Prateći ove dvije faze kontakata o kojima svjedoči arheološki materijal, može se pretpostaviti da su manje grupe iz okvira Cetinske kulture tokom prve faze bile usmjerene prije svega na sjeverno-centralnu oblast zapadnog Jadrana i na područje Gargana. U toku druge faze više su fokusirani južni dio zapadnog Jadrana i tirenska oblast. U obje faze čini se da je izražena snažna tendencija zaposijedanja unutrašnjosti Apeninskog poluostrva (Marche, Abruzzo, možda Veneto, Murge i unutrašnjost Campanije). Posebno su bile zanimljive plodne doline između planinskih grebena koji donekle podsjećaju na dalmatinske pejzaže. Razlog za to je vjerovatno bila potreba za stvaranjem uslova za upražnjavanje tradicionalnih formi samoodržive, odnosno supstancijalne privrede.

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