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THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE CROATIAN LANDS IN EUROPEAN INTEGRATIVE PROCESSES

Abstract. The theme of the congress, "Croatia and Europe - Integrations throughout History," is at once very contemporary, because it enables us to speak of historical processes that are reflected in our present reality, and a continual theme of European history and historiography from the earliest times to the present day. Integrative and disintegrative processes in Europe are part of the history of the continent. Thus in the past we can repeatedly recognise integrative tendencies (the Roman Empire, the Frankish Empire and the Holy Roman Empire) and disintegrative forces (the migrations of peoples, religious wars, ideological divisions and totalitarian systems). Both physical and cultural geography have influenced historical processes, but the truly integrative periods of the past were those that united, in various ways, the Northern, Central and Mediterranean regions of Europe. The diversity of European regions poured into the diversity of cultural and historical processes. In pre-historical periods, integrative processes are recognisable primarily through material culture (the spread of new agricultural technologies and production), under the strong influence of Middle Eastern civilizations (the continent is so called after the daughter of the Phoenician king Agenor who was abducted and brought to Crete by Zeus, where she bore him three sons - Minos, Sarpedon and Rhadamanthus), while Greece and then Rome are the first spiritual integrative cores of Europe. To classical civilization was added the Christian Church, which represented a tie between ancient and medieval civilizations. In pre-history and in the ancient world, the Croatian area was a component part of Mediterranean-Central European cultural spheres, and was always in intensive contact with its neighbours, from whom it received and to whom it gave. In any case, limitations were of a physical nature: the character of communication across the Dinaric Alps was always a burdensome factor, while the relative poverty of natural resources, which could have been of interest to world trade of that time, lessened the interest of the wider European area for the lands between the Drava River and the Adriatic Sea. The specific cultural-political situation in which the Croatian area found itself in the Middle Ages certainly did not favour the integration of Croatian lands into European currents. However, it was precisely classical studies at the beginning of the modern period that denoted the most important cultural ties with Europe. Marko Marulić was not only a writer, but was also the first Croatian epigrapher, and Ivan Lučić wrote a history of Croatia in the light of classical sources from antiquity (and printed it in Amsterdam in 1666). It was only in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, however, that classical civilizations were assessed in a scholarly way. In the science of the history of the ancient world, it was never disputed that the Croatian area was a part of the European area, because this is suggested by material remains as well as by the spiritual heritage.

Though the theme of the plenary session of the congress, "Croatia and Europe - Integrations Throughout History," was very appealing, in preparing this text I despaired many times about the uncertainty of whether I would hit the mark regarding the core of the theme which was given to me, without thereby trivialising the discourse about which one frequently likes to talk about today in Croatia, sometimes inappropriately. As I was assigned the first place in the order of texts, following the principle of chronological sequence, in this version articulated in the congress, I have to make at the outset some methodological remarks that, without pretensions, it relates to anything other than my contribution to the theme of "Croatia and Europe - Integrations throughout History."

The theme of this congress is a unique opportunity to attempt to collect a complete historic-essayistic review of many authors on the relation of Croatian history, the Croatian people and its present-day area with Europe. This is a very contemporary theme, because it enables us to speak of historical processes that are more than manifestly reflected in our present-day reality and, at the same time, this is a continual theme of European history and historiography from the earliest times to today. For the study of history, that is, the past, is the observation of relations between peoples, nations, cultures, traditions and areas. If we take a hold of a sufficiently large geographical region and a sufficiently long period of time in this study, we will observe the unbroken exchange of integrative and disintegrative forces, for they are certainly continual in the history of the European continent and the Mediterranean region. Thus integrative tendencies are, for example, recognisable in the period of the Roman Empire, while disintegrative tendencies are noticeable during the times of the many migrations of peoples, religious and political wars, ideological divisions, totalitarian systems and so on. Not all integrative tendencies are always positive, and not all disintegrative tendencies are always only negative. They are two entirely equal processes that should be understood as such and researched.

When we speak of European integrations today, of course, we primarily think of the present state of affairs in contemporary Europe, of the European process of integration that began half a century ago. However, when one speaks of a united Europe, one should also be reminded that, alongside the concept of unity, there also exists the concept of diversity: a diversity of tradition, culture, and language, as well a diversity of historical development. I think we can say that history shows us that, in the past, European integrative forces which were based on economic interests were more successful and longer lasting, while integrations based on wars, conquests, nationalist euphoria, or even on assimilation and genocide, remained short-winded and carried with them a number of negative consequences.

Historical processes in the past were influenced as much by physical as by cultural geography. Of course, sometimes geographical relations represented stronger barriers to communications than today, when distances are overcome physically infinitely faster than before only a hundred years, not to speak of electronic communications.

In the history of earlier and more recent periods, the terms Western, Northern, Central and Mediterranean or South-Eastern Europe were in general usage. These are specific European

macro-regions, a group of geographical-political wholes which had, and continue to have, a more or less common historical development, or at least a defined common denominator in the historical sense. With its position, the Croatian area, from pre-history to today (several thousands of years), indisputably belongs to the Central, Mediterranean and South-Eastern European historic-geographical sphere. The history of every one of those parts of Europe influenced the events and processes among us, so the Croatian area, which is essentially ethnically homogeneous from Srijem to Istria, and from the Croatian Zagorje to Dubrovnik and Boka, is very diverse in its historical development. Parts of Croatia simultaneously belonged to various state formations, so linguistic, cultural and political influences were very diverse. I think that, among European nations, there are not many other similar examples of a nation that concurrently belongs to three cultural and geographical spheres. However, that must not become one more narcissist slogan about the 'uniqueness' of the Croatian ethnic identity, nor should it be seen as a sufficient and adequate characteristic in itself. This is only a fact that should be taken into consideration when we speak of the identity with which we are entering European integration.

The contemporary integration of Europe has its point of departure economic, rather than historical, suppositions. After all, the model of integration that is in action today was never before applied, nor could it be applied, for the conditions that surround us today have only just been assembled. However, we can speak of integrative periods in the past of Europe, about those historical processes which, from time to time, unified life, including the economy and political life of particular parts or the whole of the continent. But diversity always was always predominant after that, and alongside external influences opened the disintegrative periods of European and Mediterranean history.

The mosaic of diversity of European cultures began to be harmonised in pre-history, the non-literate early history of the continent, but the main impulse for the development of that which later became European civilization came from the Eastern Mediterranean, from the area of the Middle East. In the golden crescent, agriculture as well as the beginning of the Neolithic period was initiated, and in the same area the first technologies of the manufacture of metal, and with it the new era, developed. The one and the other, the Neolithic and metallurgy, spread slowly and gradually from the Eastern Mediterranean towards the Northwest, so the Croatian area in these moments found itself facing changes, which took hold of Western and Northern Europe some centuries later. We also recognise two parallel directions of the inroads of these novelties - the Adriatic Sea and the Danube Basin - so that the Croatian area was already divided into two clearly separated geographical and cultural entities. While from the one side, the Danube Basin was technologically more advanced in the earliest times because of the favourable conditions that the area offered for agriculture and metallurgy. Thus in this area brilliant cultures (whose peak is represented by the Vučedol culture of the third century BCE) could develop. The Adriatic direction was initially less spectacular. Nevertheless, the sea was sailed, but the Adriatic and the Mediterranean gained a much greater significance only when the technology of ship-building and sailing took hold, and the spatial orientation and geography was considerably developed in the middle of the second century BCE, and around the seventh and sixth centuries BCE, respectively.

Through the material culture, the spread of new agricultural technologies and handicraft production, we recognise the first forces of integration. The Middle Eastern roots of Europe are, therefore, the first indisputable facts of the genesis of the cultural history of the continent. In this the significance of the Mediterranean is unusually important, even though today it is sometimes underestimated. The Mediterranean is, at any rate, one of the most important points of the pre-historical roots of European civilization. The Middle East, the Mediterranean and Europe are best linked in the Greek mythological tale of Europa, the daughter of the Phoenician king Agenor, after whom the continent received its name. Zeus fell in love with her, and transformed himself into a bull in order to approach her, hiding in the herd of Agenor's livestock. When Europa climbed onto his back, he took advantage of this and flew to Crete. There he returned once more to his divine form and declared his love for her, which she reciprocated and gave birth to three of his sons, Minos, Sarpedon and Rhadamanthus. Minos became the king of Crete, Sarpedon became the king of Lycia and Rhadamanthus became the king of the Cyclades Islands and Western Anatolia. The abduction of Europa is, metaphorically, the beginning of European civilization. The tale of Europa probably reflects the Semitic tradition in early Greek Indo-European culture and links two worlds: the Semitic East, then at the peak of its power, and the Indo-European West, then still emerging.

The first contacts the Adriatic and Dinaric regions had with Mycenaean civilization date from this time. The Mycenaeans, being seafarers, already sailed into the Adriatic Sea in the middle of the second century BCE, and the mouth of the Neretva River was one of their ports. But in recent times evidence of their presence has been found in Istrian ruins of the period. A thousand years had to pass, however, to a more significant growth in the intensity of ties between the Aegean and the Adriatic. In the middle of the first century BCE, traffic on this route became much more frequent, and the Greeks sailed to the northern Adriatic colonies in Adria and Spina, they founded colonies on the Albanian coast, on the islands of Central Dalmatia (Korkyra around 580 BCE, Issa and Pharos around 390-380 BCE). The ties with Picen and Apulia were also firm, about which there exist indisputable archaeological facts. However, these were not migrations, but trade links, which we recognise today chiefly as objects in our area, which could be the result of trade, as much as of plunder and piracy.

The interior of the Croatian area, the Pannonian plains, was flooded by Celtic tribes, which left an indelible trace, but a much less significant ethnic presence. When one speaks of the migrations of continental peoples, one should, among other things, break the stereotype of great and bloodthirsty warrior groups. Though there were such peoples, numerous nomads were organised into small and highly mobile groups, which sometimes left a greater trace of their passing in contemporary written sources than in material evidence. Though the Celts captured parts of the Croatian Pannonian area, their influence was more important on the group of natives who continued to exist and were enriched by new understandings. This is not the first penetration of culture on the continental level in our area, but the first well documented one at the dawn of written history.

Greek civilization and later the Roman state are the first spiritual integrative cores of Europe. Though Greek civilization is one of the important foundations of European culture, fine arts,

literature, philosophy and so on, we will not dwell too much on it because, among other things, it was of a pronounced Mediterranean character and did not, apart from sporadically, penetrate into the interior of the European continent. Nevertheless, not only the metaphorical, but also the physical penetration is well known in the case of the discovery of a great and massive Greek archaic bronze crater, about 150 centimetres in height, in a princely grave in Vix near Dijon, in central France. Or still the numerous discoveries of Greek painted vases at Heuneburg and other Celtic fortifications in Southern Germany. However, this is again a Celtic context, so that in the Celts we can recognise one of the integrative factors at the end of European pre-history.

That Celtic civilization encompassed the northern, Pannonian part of the Croatian area, and not the southern, Adriatic part, will from that time onwards become a constant of the current of Croatian history. The physical division of the Dinaric Alps, which were a barrier to communications (even if a useful protected region in insecure and restless periods), will for centuries, until the present day, influence the identity of the inhabitants between the Drava and the Danube Rivers.

When the entire present-day Croatian area came under Roman rule at the end of the first century, it was united into one political whole for the first time. Until Augustus' rule, Roman authority gradually spread towards the interior, and the external border of the state was then established on the Danube. So the province of Illyria encompassed the huge area of today's Republic of Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, half of Hungary and the rim of parts of other present day states. That is why it did not last long because, immediately after 9 CE, it was already divided into two parts: Dalmatia and Pannonia. The division into two functional entities, separated by the Dinaric Alps, was repeated. Nevertheless, communications were established between them, because it was necessary to link the Adriatic with the Danube Basin on account of its importance for the defence of the Empire.

The Roman Empire extended over a huge area from Britain to Mesopotamia, and from the Danube to Mauretania. The Croatian area was only a small part of the large state, but it was important because of Adriatic maritime communications and Italy's link to the Danube. The geographical position of the Roman colonies among us precisely shows the communications direction that were important for the Roman government: Pola - Iader - Salona - Naron - Epidaur in the province of Dalmatia, and Siscia - Mursa - Sirmium in our part of the Roman province of Pannonia.

However, I think it is important to stress that the Roman Empire created its integrative function in the European and Mediterranean area more politically and militarily, and less culturally and economically. From a cultural perspective, popular culture in the traditions of native peoples flourished, beneath the surface of the official state culture that was spread by state institutions and Roman citizens, creating in that way numerous regional versions of Roman culture in all provinces of the Roman Empire. From an economic perspective, there also existed a state monopoly that covered the whole state with its network of suppliers, merchants and tax-collectors, but outside that network there remained small agricultural practices and the production of subsistence foods, as well as a trade network of a regional character within particular geographical entities. Though there existed one Roman state, one Roman authority, one Roman army, a single

Roman economy did not exist as a united concept, nor was there a technological unity of agricultural or handicraft production at the level of the whole state.

Roman rule also started the process of integration of our regions into the whole of the state that was emerging; but the parts of our area that were integrated into the complete system were areas which were important to the Romans for the functioning of the whole state. In other words, the roads network, colonies, the network of taxation, customs stations and military camps can be considered as being integrated in the Europe of that period. Only the smaller part of the Croatian region was covered by that integration. The relative poverty of the Croatian area with its spectacular natural riches, which were important and interesting to the civilization of antiquity, was the main cause for the less than strong colonising intensity of Roman citizens, and with that the weak Romanisation outside the aforementioned main communications directions. Today, Romanisation is generally no longer considered a widespread process which was violently implemented on subjugated peoples, but was rather the consequence of Roman conquests during the course of a longer period of time. The term 'acculturation' is therefore more suitable, which signifies contact, the contact of two cultures, one of which usually predominates, but not hastily or violently, but rather gradually during the course of a long period after conquest. There were among us, in the difficultly accessible areas of the Dinaric Alps, small communities that lived almost without any contact with Roman authority, and therefore without almost any contact with Romanisation. Hence they preserved pre-historical traditions which they then bequeathed onto new peoples who settled there during the early Middle Ages.

Nevertheless, Roman rule in Europe and the Mediterranean lasted for almost five centuries, or a little less if we exclude the numerous periods of crisis from the third to the fifth centuries. In its beginning it was successful in military expansion and the imposition of Roman rule, but later it survived thanks to the maintenance of a balance between political hegemony, on the one hand, and economic and cultural decentralisation, on the other. In the Croatian area, it left us as an inheritance the physical separation of the Pannonian, Dinaric and Adriatic geographical spheres, but also the variety of pre-historical traditions in these regions. Probably most importantly, Roman civilization produced Christianity, religion, law, and a world view that represented a tie between the ancient and medieval civilizations in a spiritual, physical and metaphorical sense. Early Christianity spread first in those cities of Dalmatia and Pannonia in which the traffic of peoples and ideas was more intensive, and which were colonies and important market towns. This was the case not only with us, but also in the whole of European-Mediterranean civilization. Generally speaking, the level of Roman integration of the European-Mediterranean region can be judged precisely by factors that were common to the widest area. There were many, even though the particularities are also numerous.

The Croatian area in pre-history and in the ancient world was a component part of Mediterranean-Central European cultural spheres, and was always in intensive contact with neighbours, from whom it received and to whom it gave. Limitations were in any case mainly only of a physical nature: the character of communication across the Dinaric Alps was always a burdensome factor, while the relative poverty of natural resources, which would have been interesting to world trade of that period, lessened the interest of the wider European area for the lands between the

Drava River and the Adriatic Sea. Of course, our geo-political position in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages played a great role, and especially during the period of Turkish forays, which certainly was not always favourable for the integrative processes of Croatian lands into European currents. Nevertheless, the realisation of the Mediterranean Gothic and the Italian Renaissance shows that strong ties existed during the course of the whole Middle Ages and the beginning of the modern period. It was precisely the period of humanism that denoted the continuous process of our 'drawing near' to Europe. Marko Marulić was not only a writer, but also the first Croatian epigrapher, and Ivan Lučić wrote the history of Croatia in the light of classical sources from antiquity (and printed it in Amsterdam in 1666). However, as is the case with other European lands, it was only during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that classical civilizations were assessed in a scholarly manner. Nevertheless, summarising all that has been said, I think that I can claim that, in the science of the history of the ancient world, it was never disputed that the Croatian area was a part of the European area, for material remains as well as the spiritual heritage suggests this.

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Sveučilište u Puli

Stara povijest hrvatskih zemalja u europskim integracijskim procesima

Tema kongresa „Hrvatska i Europa – integracije kroz povijest” podjednako je vrlo suvremena, jer nam omogućava da progovorimo o povijesnim procesima koji se odražavaju u našoj današnjoj stvarnosti, a istovremeno je to i stalna tema europske povijesti i historiografije od najstarijih vremena do danas. Integracijski i dezintegracijski procesi u Europi stalnost su povijesti kontinenta tako da se u prošlosti u nekoliko navrata može prepoznati integrativne tendencije (Rimsko Carstvo, Franačko Carstvo, Sveto Rimsko Carstvo) i dezintegrativne silnice (seobe naroda, vjerski ratovi, ideološke podjele, totalitaristički sustavi). Na povijesne su procese utjecali kako fizički, tako i kulturni zemljopis, ali istinski su integrativna bila ona razdoblja u prošlosti koja su objedinila, na različite načine, sjevernu, srednju i sredozemnu Europu. Raznolikost europskih regija pretakala se u raznolikost kulturnih i povijesnih procesa. U prapovijesnim razdobljima integrativni procesi prepoznatljivi su prvenstveno kroz materijalnu kulturu (širenje novih tehnologija zemljodjelstva i proizvodnje), pod snažnim utjecajem bliskoistočnih civilizacija (i kontinent se tako zove po kćeri feničkog kralja Agenora koju je Zeus oteo i doveo na Kretu, gdje mu je rodila tri sina: Minoja, Sarpedona i Radamanta), a Grčka i potom Rim prve su duhovne integrativne jezgre Europe. Na klasične civilizacije nadovezala se kršćanska crkva, koja je predstavljala sponu između antičke i srednjoeuropske uljudbe. Hrvatski prostor u prapovijesti je i u starom vijeku bio sastavni dio sredozemno-srednjoeuropskih kulturnih krugova, uvijek u intenzivnim doticajima sa susjedima, od kojih je dobivao i davao. Ograničenja su u svakome slučaju bila samo fizičke naravi: karakter komunikacija preko Dinarida uvijek je bio otežavajući čimbenik, a relativno siromaštvo prirodnim resursima koji bi bili zanimljivi tadašnjoj svjetskoj trgovini umanjivalo je zanimanje širega europskog prostora za zemlje između Drave i Jadrana.

Specifična kulturno-politička situacija u kojoj se hrvatski prostor našao u srednjem vijeku zacijelo nije pogodovala integrativnosti hrvatskih zemalja u europske tokove. Ali upravo su klasični studiji na početku novoga vijeka označili najvažniju kulturnu vezu s Europom. Marko Marulić nije samo književnik, već i prvi hrvatski epigrafičar, Ivan Lučić napisao je povijest Hrvatske u svjetlu i klasičnih antičkih izvora (a tiskao ju je u Amsterdamu 1666). Ali tek u 19. i 20. stoljeću klasične se civilizacije valoriziraju na znanstveni način. U znanosti o povijesti staroga vijeka nikada nije bilo prijeporno da je hrvatski prostor dio europskoga jer na to ukazuju kako materijalni ostaci, tako i duhovna baština.