Cultural Integration, Social Change and Identities in Late Iron Age and Roman Liburnia

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Summary

This thesis aims to investigate key issues relating to cultural and social developments in Late Iron Age and Roman Liburnia, based on analysis of archaeological material and ancient written sources. The Late Iron Age, ca. 4th-1st c. BCE, was a period of intensive connectivity and cultural change in Dalmatia that resulted from the Greek economic penetration of the Adriatic and colonization of the central Dalmatia islands. The incorporation of Liburnia into the Roman empire caused dramatic changes to the structure of Liburnian society, as well as existing cultural templates. Rather than a broad overview of all the material, focus is given in this study to select issues and phenomena that are specific to Liburnia, within the context of Late Iron Age Europe and the Roman Empire, and highlight aspects of cultural connectivity. Key topics that are discussed include analysis of imported materials, developing burial practices, social structure, religion and cults, economic issues, Liburnian identities and how these communities were integrated into the Roman provincial system. The overall objective is to highlight the roles of the indigenous and immigrant populations in cultural changes and social discourses that took place over these two periods, and re-assess some critical issues relating to identities and social structure in Liburnia that are entrenched in scholarship.

Statement of Originality

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

(Signed)_____ Date: **6/2/2019**

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It was a great pleasure during the undertaking of this project to visit Croatia and interact with local scholars and archaeologists. I hope that this thesis will help to bind the strong relationship that exists between our countries by encouraging interest in Dalmatian history and archaeology in Australia. A special thanks to Professor Anamarija Kurilić (Department of History) and Dr Martina Čelhar (Department of Archaeology) from the University of Zadar for our many conversations, hosting me in ancient *Iader* and bringing me to sites in Liburnia. I would also like to thank Zrinka Serventi (Department of History) and Mato Ilkić (Department of Archaeology) of the University of Zadar, Smiljan Gluščević (Archaeological Museum, Zadar), Martina Dubolnić Glavan (Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zadar), Maja Miše (University College, London) and Toni Brajković (City Museum, Šibenik) for sharing with me their knowledge of ancient Liburnia.

Reflecting on this thesis I've realised how pertinent its themes are to my own life experience. Processes of colonialism, imperialism and cultural interaction shaped the society

into which I was born. These issues are particularly salient in my own family history. Listening to our story over the years and trying to comprehend the nature of my cultural identities, I believe, led me to this topic. I would like to thank my parents for sharing their life experiences with me over the years, and my brother for being there to share mine.

The undertaking of this project was an arduous, challenging and rewarding journey. It was written over many memorable days, and others I'm glad to have behind me. The presence of my wife during this time made it all seem bearable. This thesis is dedicated to Heather, for helping me find the strength to see it through.

Chapter 1 – Introduction

This thesis seeks to investigate issues of identity as well as social and cultural developments in antiquity that resulted from interaction between Greek and Roman civilizations and the indigenous communities that they encountered as their political and economic influence spread throughout the Mediterranean and temperate Europe. The case study used to investigate these issues focuses on the territory of ancient Liburnia, within the province of Roman Dalmatia, and two chronological periods: ca. 400 BCE – 1st century BCE (the Late Iron Age), and ca. 1st century CE – 300 CE (the Early Roman period). These two chronological periods were chosen due to specific developments that occurred here and resulted in major socio-cultural changes, namely, 1) the increasing interaction with Greek poleis in the Late Iron Age, following Greek political and economic penetration of the Adriatic, and the founding of settlements on the central Dalmatian islands, and 2) the incorporation of Liburnian communities into the Roman Empire.

Aims, Outline, and Approach

Ancient Liburnia, defined in Greco-Roman literary sources as the region between the river Raša and the river Krka,[1] includes the area of modern-day coastal Croatia that encompasses northern Dalmatia (in the modern geo-political sense of the term), also known as the Ravni Kotari-Bukovica region, and the Kvarner Gulf, as well as all the adjacent islands. The geographic and environmental features of this region certainly impacted the social, economic and cultural lives of its communities. The Dinaric Alps run parallel to the

[1] Plin. *HN*., 3.139; Flor. *Epit*., 1.21. See discussion in Chapter 3.

coast, and in some parts of the littoral between the Kvarner Gulf and northern Dalmatia they are only a few hundred meters from the sea. They acted as a natural barrier between the coast and hinterland, and communities in this region were, to a certain degree, isolated from the hinterland, as movement across the mountains is difficult. Communities throughout modern-day coastal Croatia have, since early prehistory, been seafaring and outward looking people, and this is particularly so for those in the territory of ancient Liburnia.

Like many other regions in the Mediterranean and temperate Europe, the incorporation of Liburnia into the Roman Empire was just one stage in interactions between indigenous communities and the Greco-Roman world that took place over centuries. Greek political and economic penetration of the Adriatic began possibly as early as the Mycenaean period. It was only from the 6th century BCE that Greek merchants were increasingly active in the upper Adriatic. While communities on the eastern Adriatic experienced the effects of this interaction it was not until after the colonization of the central Dalmatian islands from the 4th century BCE that such contacts had significant effects on indigenous material culture assemblages. The incorporation of Liburnia into the Roman Empire, which was probably more the result of diplomacy, alliance building, and integration of local elites into the Roman socio-political structure than of military action,[2] led to a greater level of interaction of local communities with broader Mediterranean cultural networks.

As is discussed in detail in the following chapters, Liburnia is considered as the homeland of a discrete ethnic group based on readings of ancient sources.[3] Archaeological material across this area has also been used to identify a Liburnian cultural group.[4] An important aim of this thesis is to investigate Liburnian identity based on the mentioned

[2] As comparable with other areas peacefully annexed by the Romans, and some other imperial-colonial situations elsewhere in history, P. S. WELLS 2015: 267-268.

[3] See below, Chapter 3.

[4] See Š. BATOVIĆ 1987; Š. BATOVIĆ 2005.

sources to reassess the ethno-cultural and socio-political character of this group. There is also a focus on connectivity, and an attempt is made to highlight the regions that Liburnia received material culture and cultural influences from throughout the periods under investigation. Broadly speaking, the following chapters seek to identify some of the social and cultural features that were maintained in Liburnian society, and highlight some important materials, practices and institutions that were adopted and integrated into local communities. An important question here is, how did social status and social relations affect cultural change? Did locals utilise imported cultural features to serve as social signifiers, or integrate into Roman social and political institutions to increase their social standing? This thesis aims to address these topics by investigating several specific themes and issues through analysis of ancient written sources and archaeological material.

A multi-disciplinary approach is adopted here, combining methodologies and materials associated with ancient history and archaeology, to utilize all available sources in answering the questions posed above. The approach to this thesis requires consideration of a wide assemblage of data, including ancient literary sources and archaeological materials that provide evidence for cross-cultural interaction, socio-political organization and identities. The units of analysis include a range of topics and categories of evidence, from settlement structure, cult activities and burial practices, to pottery, coins and inscriptions. This breadth of subject area and material utilized is reflective of both the topic and its attempt at a comprehensive discussion, within the limitations in the availability of material. Focus is directed on material, socio-cultural features and processes that were specific to the territory of Liburnia and its population (both 'indigenous' and 'immigrant') so that the discussion unravels what makes this region interesting and unique in the context of Late Iron Age Europe and the Roman Empire.

The thesis is divided into two main sections, each focusing on the major chronological periods under investigation – Chapters 2-4 on the Late Iron Age and 5-9 on the Roman period. The individual chapters address specific themes within those periods. Chapter 2 introduces the written evidence for Greek knowledge of the eastern Adriatic and its peoples and discusses the archaeological material that helps trace early contacts with the Aegean world to uncover how Liburnia fit within networks of interaction in the Iron Age. Following on from this discussion, Chapter 3 looks more specifically at the case study of Liburnia, analysing the Graeco-Roman written sources that mention the Liburni in order to re-examine some widely-held views about their ethno-cultural identities and socio-political character in the pre-Roman period. It also discusses the so-called 'Liburnian Cultural Group' and investigates the material culture of Late Iron Age Liburnia, attempting to trace networks of economic and cultural connectivity. The issue of social hierarchies and socio-political complexity in Late Iron Age Liburnia is addressed in Chapter 4, based on archaeological evidence, with the aim of testing established theories in scholarship through a reassessment of the material. Chapter 5 deals with the relationship of Liburnian communities with Rome and their integration into the empire, attempting to establish a narrative for the development of Liburnia as an administrative unit in the Roman province of Dalmatia. Some important and interesting aspects of Liburnian society in the Roman period are discussed in Chapter 6 through analysis of literary and epigraphic evidence that provides insight into issues relating to women, familial relationships and ethnicity. Three case studies relating to topics on religion and cult are the focus of Chapter 7. This includes a discussion of local female deities, providing some new interpretations of their origins and aspects of cultic integration, as well as a brief section on Silvanus in Dalmatia. The role of imperial cult in Liburnia is here linked to the broader narrative of the development of Liburnian communities and their relationship with Rome. Chapter 8 provides some insight

into burial practices, including a brief section on a unique necropolis on the island of Caska. An analysis of the of the so-called Liburnian cippi provides unique insight into their artistic and cultural origins, while tombstone monuments with portraits from Liburnia were chosen for discussion due to their association with the indigenous population. Chapter 9 provides an overview of economic issues in the Roman period. This includes a discussion of evidence for networks of connectivity that were established or enhanced in the Roman period. The chapter also looks at imported ceramics and glass as well as evidence for local production within Liburnia. This thesis evidently does not attempt to cover all aspects of society, culture and historical events in Liburnia from the Late Iron Age to Roman period, since limitations on the availability of material places restrictions on the choice of topics. Although a larger work could have increased the scope, these topics were chosen on the basis that they highlighted some distinct aspects of Liburnian society, and because they are particularly pertinent to the topic of socio-cultural integration.

Limitations on the availability of material, its level of publication and the state of research on the Late Iron Age and Roman period in the region under investigation restrict the ability to answer some of the questions that this thesis seeks to address. As is outlined in the following section, research, excavation and publication of material has, until recently, been restricted to the work of a relatively small number of scholars and archaeologists. The amount of material available, especially with specific contextual data, is limited, and the predominance of a relatively small number of scholars discussing this material in the past means wider critical analysis of some fundamental arguments and conclusions is lacking. A new generation of local, mostly Croatian, archaeologists and ancient historians has brought new methodologies and perspectives to historical studies of the region, with scientific approaches to systematic stratigraphic excavation of sites, and a post-processual interpretative framework for creating a narrative from available material. There is still,

however, some way to go. A major issue is the lack of documentation and publication of finds, which renders quantifying the amount of certain materials found in Liburnia almost impossible. The Late Iron Age is a particularly unknown period from this region for several reasons. Continuity of habitation at settlements from the Late Iron Age into the Roman period, and beyond, means contexts from the former are difficult to find at these sites. Almost all known graves from this period were devastated prior to archaeological investigation, whether in antiquity or more recently. Much more is known about the Roman period in Liburnia, based on a range of archaeological and epigraphic material, as well as funerary monuments and the relatively large amount of burials from closed archaeological contexts. Despite these limitations, this thesis endeavours to bring together a range of historical and archaeological data relating to this specific region that help shed light on questions about processes of political and socio-cultural integration and identity formation in ancient Liburnia.

While each of the following chapters provides new perspectives and conclusions on specific issues, the underlying novelty of this project relates to its approach, in the context of scholarship on ancient Dalmatia. Utilizing a range of archaeological reports, ancient written sources and historical studies, it integrates for the first-time a large quantity of archaeological material from the region of ancient Liburnia and historical sources with the purpose of creating a coherent narrative of socio-cultural developments. This thesis aims to connect local and global scholarship to answer the questions it poses. Broad regional case studies of this kind, focusing on issues such as identity and socio-cultural developments, have been undertaken for different parts of Iron Age Europe and the Roman Empire but are lacking for the area of Roman Dalmatia and particularly the region of Liburnia.[5] In a new

[5] For case-studies on regions of Iron Age Europe, see e.g., N. ROYMANS 1990; F. GERRITSEN 2003; M. FERNÁNDEZ-GÖTZ 2014; C. N. POPA 2018. Studies on specific provinces or regions of the Roman Empire

approach to this type of study, the Late Iron Age and Roman period are linked into a single narrative in this thesis. The reason for this was to provide a broader context to developments in connectivity and culture contact, but also to try to determine what aspects of Late Iron Age Liburnian society may have affected the way in which communities integrated into the Roman provincial structure. Different categories of evidence that this project analyses have been the subject of previous studies (as discussed throughout), but here the material is re-examined and utilized to address specific thematic issues that each chapter addresses and brought together to provide a broad narrative of socio-cultural integration. This thesis will provide a microhistorical case study focusing on Liburnia which can be used in wider narratives, both in Dalmatia and more broadly across the ancient world.

Literature Review

To provide a background to scholarship relating to this topic and the material from the case study region, this section will include a literature review of relevant works. The scholars working on this area are mostly Croatian historians and archaeologists, with a few international exceptions. This thesis draws upon a range of archaeological reports, epigraphic studies and works of historiography. Broad historical and archaeological narratives for the region are lacking.[6] The most significant items for this topic are outlined below in thematic order.

Roman historians and archaeologists outside of the former Yugoslav countries, Hungary and Albania have largely ignored the province of Illyricum, beyond the most basic

are numerous, see e.g., M. MILLET 1990a; G. WOOLF 1998; N. ROYMANS 2004; A. T. JONES 2012. The last compact case-study of Roman Dalmatia was J. J. WILKES 1969.

[6] See S. ČAČE 1985.

narrative of events in ancient written sources.[7] This is almost certainly the result of linguistic issues and a lack of engagement with local scholarship. Over the last fifteen years or so, local publications are increasingly being presented in bilingual form, with the secondary language usually English. This should hopefully lead to a greater level of interaction between local historians and archaeologists and international scholarship, and introduce this fascinating part of the ancient world to a wider audience of students and academics. This thesis aims to act as one link between these two worlds, and help incorporate Dalmatia into wider discussions about processes of social change, cultural transformations and imperialism in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds.

Any discussion of scholarship relating to ancient Liburnia surely must begin with mention of the monumental work of Š. Batović. An archaeologist focusing his research on the Iron Age period, the late Batović dedicated much of his life to the archaeology of his home region, and enjoyed a career spanning over six decades. While his publications cover several research areas, including surveys of material from sites,[8] typological analysis of artefacts and fortifications,[9] and complex discussions about trans-Adriatic cultural connections,[10] certainly one of the central achievements of Batović's career was his categorisation of the material culture from ancient Liburnia into phases spanning the transition from the Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age up until the Roman period.[11] Batović's publication of the hoard from Jagodnje Gornje was key to the identification of Liburnian material dating to the Late Iron Age, the period of focus in the first half of this thesis.[12] While aspects of his methodology are somewhat outdated, Batović's work was

[7] For discussion, see D. DZINO 2010b: 14-15.

[8] Š. BATOVIĆ 1968a; 1968b; 1969; 1970; 1980; 1990a.

[9] Š. BATOVIĆ 1972; 1974; 1977; 1984; 1987 – the latter republished as Š. BATOVIĆ 2005.

[10] Š. BATOVIĆ 1976.

[11] Discussed in detail below, see 91ff.

[12] Š. BATOVIĆ 1974.

fundamental to the development of the archaeology of ancient Liburnia and categorisation of local material culture, and without it the type of discussion undertaken here would be impossible.

Z. Brusić, a contemporary of Batović, produced numerous works on archaeological material spanning the Iron Ages, Roman and Late Antique periods in Liburnia. Almost certainly Brusić's most influential addition to scholarship was his work on imported ceramics.[13] His seminal monograph on pottery from the late Hellenistic and Roman period, translated into English, is the most comprehensive work on ceramic finds in Liburnia to date.[14] The doctoral research of both M. Miše and L. Šešelj provided important overviews of imported ceramics found across the eastern Adriatic dating to the Late Iron Age.[15] The studies of these ceramicists were crucial to the tracing of economic connections between Liburnia and other parts of the Adriatic and Mediterranean regions undertaken in this thesis.

In terms of analysis of Iron Age metal items from Liburnia, D. Glogović certainly deserves mention, as she has published widely on such artefacts from pre-Roman Dalmatia. Her work on items from Liburnia, particularly her monograph on finds from the Late Iron Age necropolis at Dragišić, is vital to any discussion of metal artefacts from the region.[16] M. Blečić-Kavur (née M. Blečić) has undertaken research into material, particularly metal artefacts, from the Kvarner Gulf region and Balkan hinterland that traces culture contact and seeks to explain the social value and cultural significance of certain artefacts in the context

[13] Z. BRUSIĆ 1977; 1988; 1989; 1990; 1993.

[14] Z. BRUSIĆ 1999; this monograph largely incorporated work from his previous publications, see above n. 13.

[15] M. Miše recently updated and published her doctorate, M. MIŠE 2015; she recently also published the ceramic material from the Late Iron Age graves at the hillfort of Dragišić, M. MIŠE 2017; L. ŠEŠELJ 2009.

[16] D. GLOGOVIĆ 1987; 1993; 2006a; 2006c; 2007; 2008; 2014.

of their deposition.[17] Her conclusions helped shape the approach thesis takes to questions about connectivity in Iron Age Liburnia.

Amongst the younger generation of Croatian scholars and archaeologists focusing on the Iron Age in Liburnia, one key individual stands out. M. Čelhar has published important work on small finds, in collaboration with S. Kukoč, that is especially important for an understanding of connections between local communities and the wider Adriatic and Mediterranean world.[18] Certainly her most important work, in terms of the questions posed in this thesis, is Čelhar's unpublished PhD thesis on settlement structure and fortifications in Iron Age southern Liburnia.[19] Her reassessment of the chronology of fortifications in the Ravni Kotari-Bukovica region demands a rethinking of arguments about urbanization found in earlier scholarship,[20] and was vital to the conclusions reached in Chapter 4 regarding socio-political complexity.

The Neothermal Dalmatia Project (NDP) was an ambitious project, led by J. Chapman, that sought to identify and explain various changes in environment, settlement patterns and social structure in northern Dalmatia from the Neolithic to Early Modern period. Key themes for this research, amongst environmental change and agricultural intensification, were identifying and explaining the development of social hierarchies and political centralization.[21] A series of publications emerged from this project, based on the

[17] See in particular, M. BLEČIĆ 2007; M. BLEČIĆ KAVUR 2015; M. BLEČIĆ KAVUR and B. KAVUR 2016.

[18] S. KUKOČ and M. ČELHAR 2009; M. ČELHAR and D. VUJEVIĆ 2013; M. ČELHAR and S. KUKOČ 2014.

[19] M. ČELHAR 2014.

[20] Š. BATOVIĆ 1977; Z. BRUSIĆ 2000b.

[21] J. CHAPMAN, R. SHIEL, and Š. BATOVIĆ 1996: 4.

results of large-scale field surveys and excavations at key sites.[22] While further analysis of the results and conclusions is undertaken in Chapter 4, it will do to highlight here that the NDP provided important data relating to settlement structure, social organization, and land use in modern-day northern Dalmatia for an enormous span of time, including the periods under investigation here. This was a rare and welcome contribution of international archaeologists to fieldwork and research into the archaeology of northern Dalmatia. The use of modern technologies and methodologies, as well as an excellent volume of publications, were of great benefit to knowledge about the archaeological landscape of the region. One of the key issues in this thesis is the reconsideration of some important conclusions made by the NDP.

Perhaps the most influential scholar to studies of ancient Dalmatia was D. Rendić-Miočević. An expert in both the Hellenistic and Roman periods in Dalmatia, D. Rendić-Miočević published archaeological, epigraphic and numismatic material from the region throughout the second half of the 20th century, including studies on topics such as onomastics, cults and funerary monuments.[23] During the 1960s, two international scholars, G. Alföldy and J. J. Wilkes, wrote monumental volumes focusing on populations and administration in Roman Dalmatia, both utilizing the enormous number of epigraphic monuments published in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* collection (*CIL*). Alföldy analysed epigraphic evidence from across the province in his prosopographic discussions on population and onomastics in Roman Dalmatia, and this work is important particularly for

[22] See the papers in J. CHAPMAN et al. 1988; J. CHAPMAN, R. SHIEL, and Š. BATOVIĆ 1987; J. CHAPMAN and R. SHIEL 1993; the results and conclusions of the Neothermal Dalmatia Project were largely summarized in the monograph, J. CHAPMAN, R. SHIEL, and Š. BATOVIĆ 1996.

[23] His bibliography is monumental; for some key studies of importance to this thesis, see e.g., D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1950; 1955; 1959a; 1987; 1989; in particular the latter work, which is something of a compilation of his research.

aspects of social history.[24] Wilkes' *Dalmatia*, part of the *History of the Provinces of the Roman Empire* series, remains the comprehensive work on the province that any student or scholar must read.[25] No monograph before or after has come close to this kind of comprehensive and in-depth analysis of the epigraphic material, as well as ancient literary sources, covering as it does subjects including Greek penetration into the Adriatic, Roman military activity in Dalmatia, indigenous groups, urbanization, administration and the upper classes. The much later work of Wilkes, *The Illyrians*, incorporates archaeological evidence from the 1970s and 1980s, but does not repeat the comprehensiveness of *Dalmatia*.[26] The research of D. Rendić-Miočević, Alföldy and Wilkes was fundamental to subsequent studies on Roman Dalmatia. The impact of these three scholars on numerous aspects of this thesis is noticeable throughout due to the many references to them, but just as important was their influence on more recent research which this thesis builds directly upon.

As influential as Batović was to Liburnian Iron Age archaeology, so S. Čače is to historical accounts of the Liburni in both the pre-Roman and Early Roman periods. His work on analysis of written sources relating to the geographical limits and identification of *Liburnia* and the *Liburni* is discussed in detail in Chapter 3, so only brief mention is made here. Čače's publications focus on the transition period between the Late Iron Age and Roman period, particularly the 2nd century BCE to 1st century CE. His critical approach towards and analysis of ancient written sources would certainly stand up to any post-modern, post-structural critique.[27] In several historical studies he focused on the political structure of Liburnian communities and their relations with each other and the Roman

[24] G. ALFÖLDY 1965; 1969.

[25] J. J. WILKES 1969.

[26] J. J. WILKES 1992; see criticism of the Croatian translation in D. PERIŠA 2002.

[27] See especially, S. ČAČE 2002; also, 1993a; 2010.

republic,[28] and in doing so, Čače developed important ideas about Liburnian socio-political organization in the late pre-Roman period.[29] Chapter 3 seeks to directly build upon some ideas Čače raises regarding the nature of 'Liburnia' as a geo-political space in the late pre-Roman period.

Research on urbanism in Roman Dalmatia, and particularly Liburnian settlements, is still highly dependent on the work of M. Suić, who excavated several sites, including Zadar, Nin and Bribirska glavica.[30] Suić also produced the first comprehensive study of the Liburnian cippus.[31] While his arguments in this paper are no longer widely accepted, it remains a key study on these unique monuments which certainly framed the approach to the cippus case study undertaken in Chapter 8. Perhaps the most widely published and influential archaeologist focusing on Roman Liburnia was J. Medini. While his work covered numerous subjects and categories of evidence, most important for this study was Medini's work on examples of public munificence in Liburnian settlements, in which he highlighted the importance of acts of euergetism to members of the indigenous elite early in the Roman period.[32] Also influential were Medini's publications on deities in Roman Liburnia, including a focus on both indigenous and imported cults, and 'romanization' in the cultic realm.[33] Chapter 7 includes a significant reassessment of some fundamental conclusions Medini and others made about the origins of indigenous Liburnian female deities.

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[28] S. ČAČE 1991; 1993b; 1993a; 2013a.

[29] Discussed at length below, Chapter 3.

[30] M. SUIĆ 1981b; 1996b. His study of urbanism on the eastern Adriatic coast is still unsurpassed, see M. SUIĆ 2003, originally published in 1976.

[31] M. SUIĆ 1996a.

[32] J. MEDINI 1969.

[33] J. MEDINI 1972; 1976; 1978b; 1984b; 1984a.

Since the 1990s, a new generation of archaeologists and historians have added to scholarship on Roman Liburnia so that details about the ethnic, social, and religious lives of its inhabitants are better known. Following on from the work of D. Rendić-Miočević, Alföldy, Wilkes and Medini, and through an exhaustive study of epigraphic material, A. Kurilić has undertaken detailed research into various aspects of identity, onomastics, social relations and civic status in Liburnia, among both immigrant and indigenous families.[34] Her critical analysis has led to a rethinking of several important aspects of social life in Roman Liburnia.[35] The data she provides on identities and relationships based on epigraphic evidence from Liburnia was crucial to identifying individuals mentioned on inscriptions in this thesis, and developing an understanding of the ethnic structure of Liburnia.

Ethnicity, Identity and Hellenization: The Search for Peoples in Antiquity

This section discusses approaches to the interpretation of literary and archaeological evidence that will be employed in the following chapters, and outlines the main methodological issues that have framed their perspective. Study of protohistoric periods, such as the European Iron Age, can be approached through archaeological, textual and linguistic evidence. Over the past century, attitudes in scholarship towards how this material can be used to approach themes relating to identity and cultural interaction have changed dramatically. Some key issues in this discourse that have significantly impacted the conclusions of the following chapters are outlined below.

The broad and multidisciplinary approach to this topic outlined in the previous section is important to reaching conclusions that are as comprehensive and objective as possible; however, care is necessary when analysing different categories of evidence. This

[34] Most notably in her unpublished PhD thesis, A. KURILIĆ 1999; see also, 2008b; 2012a.

[35] A. KURILIĆ 1995; 1997; 2008a.

thesis takes a critical approach to analysis of ancient literary sources. Depictions of the 'other' or the 'barbarian' in Greco-Roman literature have become a major subject of discussion in Classical Studies.[36] This has largely been due to the increasing influence of social anthropology and of structuralism and post-structuralism.[37] Structuralist and post-structuralist approaches towards the study of Classical texts have led scholars to ask questions about how Greeks and Romans understood and represented the customs and beliefs of so-called 'barbarian' peoples – such as the indigenous inhabitants of the space of the Roman province of Dalmatia. Greco-Roman writers evaluated other cultures according to preconceptions that originated in the standards and customs of their own culture, and their works reflected the cultural consciousness of the social elite who wrote most of the literature.[38] This investigation examines literary depictions of the inhabitants of Liburnia with a post-structuralist approach in order to critically analyse the meaning behind these representations. Such an approach requires a reading of the relevant sources that is alert to the ethnographic and political framework within which they were composed. Archaeological evidence is analysed here to determine what regions Liburnia had cultural or economic connections with, as well as how these connections affected the development of local material culture and cultural practices. The development of processualism and post-processualism has led to archaeologists asking questions concerning the contextualizing of local developments within local frameworks.[39] This project takes a post-processualist perspective towards human agency in its interpretation of the intercultural exchange of objects and practices as a process of conscious decision-making by individuals and social groups, rather than taking place at the level of cultures or abstract structures – as suggested

[36] See below, 19-20.

[37] T. HARRISON 2002: 13.

[38] P. S. WELLS 1999: 100; 2001: 108.

[39] P. J. UCKO 1995: 20-1.

by Dietler.[40] An investigation into the socio-political and economic organization of the communities being examined is necessary with this approach.

A major issue with discussions about social and cultural change in Iron Age and Roman Dalmatia is the methodology used in some scholarship for identifying and labelling ethnic and cultural identities. This methodology is based on analysis of three sets of data: archaeological material, onomastics, and ancient written sources. The written sources provided group names, such as *Liburni*, *Delmatae*, *Iapodes*, *Pannoni*, and *Histri*, while epigraphic evidence from the Roman era was used to define onomastic areas, such as the Liburno-Histrian, Delmato-Pannonian, ethnic Illyrian, Dardano-Thracian and Iapodian.[41] The group names are then used to describe archaeological distributions as representing discrete ethnic and cultural identities, with large-scale migrations and invasions accounting for broad changes in material culture.[42] This kind of culture-historic approach, which has dominated many academic circles in south-eastern Europe, stems from central European and German archaeological traditions.[43]

As a contemporary concept for social analysis, applying identity to the past can be problematic, and particularly so for material culture studies. It is important to remember that similarities in material culture do not necessarily signify a specific type of shared identity.[44] Any identifying qualities that material culture might possess are relative and contextual, and certainly not fixed in time or space. The identification of 'peoples' and 'cultures' has been a

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[40] M. DIETLER 1998: 299.

[41] J. J. WILKES 1992: 67-87; D. DZINO 2008a: 45-46; I. VRANIĆ 2014a: 161, each with bibliography of earlier scholarship.

[42] Š. BATOVIĆ 1965; 1976; 2005: especially 15ff, and 64-66; A. BENAC 1987a. For a critique of the culture-historic approach to archaeology, ethnicity, and Hellenization methodologies in Balkans scholarship, see I. VRANIĆ 2014a.

[43] I. VRANIĆ 2014b: 34; P. NOVAKOVIĆ 2012.

[44] M. PITTS 2007: 700; P. S. WELLS 2001: 25; D. DZINO 2008a: 46.

major focus of archaeological debates since the 19th century. Until recently, it was taken for granted that the geographic distribution of different types of material culture (artefacts and styles) could identify the territories of discrete monolithic cultural groups.[45] Furthermore, these groups, or 'archaeological cultures', were presumed to correspond to 'peoples' or 'ethnicities', and changes in the distribution of material culture were considered a result of population movements.[46] In breaking away from this culture-historical approach to archaeological classification, many scholars associated with processual archaeology argued that these cultural groups were arbitrarily constructed entities.[47] Classification of discrete cultural entities removes the 'untidiness' in the cross-cutting of archaeological distributions where artefact styles and types overlap, and ignores the plurality of interrelated factors that might cause such 'untidiness'.[48] In terms of material culture, it is important to note that distribution patterns may reflect any number of past activities, processes and ideas, as well as potentially indicating expressions of identity. [49]

Recent anthropological and historical examples have highlighted the complex relationship between material culture and expressions of ethnic identity.[50] The approach to defining ethnic identity through material culture by default is now largely rejected in modern archaeological literature, based on both a rethinking of the nature of ethnicity and

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[45] S. JONES 1997: 106ff, with references to earlier scholarship.

[46] S. LUCY 2006: 86, 91; B. OLSEN and Z. KOBYLIŃSKI 1991: 9.

[47] See S. JONES 1997: 109, for bibliography.

[48] S. SHENNAN 1989: 12-13; L. R. BINFORD 1972: 197-198.

[49] An argument noted by several archaeologists as early as the mid-20th century, V. G. CHILDE 1956; G. DANIEL 1978 [1950]; A. M. TALLGREN 1937; W. W. J. TAYLOR 1948, though only truly taken up as a critique of the culture-historic approach with the emergence of 'new archaeology', S. JONES 1997: 107.

[50] S. JONES 1997: 107-108; S. LUCY 2006: 91. For a discussion of concepts of ethnicity and archaeological cultures in scholarship from the central and southern Balkans, see V. D. MIHAJLOVIĆ 2014: 97-101 and I. VRANIĆ 2014a: 163-164.

methodologies related to tracing 'peoples' through material culture.[51] Anthropologists and sociologists now emphasize the fluidity and subjectivity of ethnic identity, and see 'ethnicity' as an aspect of social relationships that are constantly renegotiated through everyday actions and discursive practice so that the boundaries of ethnic groups are continually redefined.[52] Ethnic groups are rarely a simple reflection of the sum-total of similarities and differences between cultural traits which are themselves objectively classified by the observer.[53] Rather than a reflection of *habitus* or culture, ethnicity is constructed through social interactions and habitual practices that are situational and relevant to specific historical contexts.[54] Ethnic categories may survive, while the material culture involved in expressing such identities at a particular point in time may change, or vice versa. Even if spatially and temporally bounded distributions of material culture are the result of related cultural processes, or a common *habitus*, they do not necessarily signify the extent of self-conscious ethnic groups.[55] As Dzino has argued, cultural elements visible in material culture, such as funeral customs, signify a certain cultural experience, Barthian 'cultural stuff',[56] rather than specific aspects of ethnic identity construction.[57]

Moving forward, to explore identity in past societies, a revision of scale and approach is certainly necessary. Broad analyses of material culture distributions are of little help, since the boundaries of cultural difference that are manifested negate the social context of consumption and reproduction of artefacts and styles and, thus, any identifying qualities

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[51] E.g., S. SHENNAN 1989; P. GRAVES-BROWN, S. JONES, and C. GAMBLE 1996; S. JONES 1997; S. BRATHER 2002; S. LUCY 2006; C. M. ANTONACCIO 2010.

[52] S. LUCY 2006: 91-97; S. SHENNAN 1989: 14.

[53] S. JONES 1997: 108.

[54] S. JONES 1997: 120.

[55] S. JONES 1997: 120-123.

[56] See F. BARTH 1969.

[57] D. DZINO 2008a: 46-47.

these objects and activities may include. If we understand identity as based on fluid, situational processes of 'othering' that are embedded in daily social practices, its application to material culture studies can be particularly helpful to understanding certain aspects of social discourse,[58] while a focus on the social organization of groups in the past may provide a more tangible explanatory framework for understanding how they were formed.[59]

Caution is equally important when drawing any kind of conclusion or assumption about the identity and social norms of past peoples when reading the statements of ancient authors. When analysing the written sources discussed here we must remember that they were socially and culturally constructed in the context of Greco-Roman civilization. E. Said's classic work, *Orientalism*, initiated scholarly interest and debate on the portrayal of foreigners in Western literature, particularly within scholarship concerning Classical texts.[60] Before the 1980s, a number of scholars had gathered examples of negative depictions of foreigners in Greco-Roman literature, though they provided little analysis or discussion on the mentalities behind these constructions.[61] F. Hartog brought attention to methods of depicting the 'other' in Classical literature with his landmark book, *The Mirror of Herodotus*, where he demonstrated, with a post-structuralist analysis, that Herodotus' depictions of the Scythians were in many ways meant to reflect the antithesis of the Greek way of life.[62] Following from this discussion, the concept of the 'barbarian' as developing in 5th century BCE Athenian state-ideology as a result of a Hellenic identity evolving in the post-Persian Wars era became a concept entrenched in scholarship on Greco-Roman literature.[63]

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[58] S. JONES 1997: 13-14; M. PITTS 2007: 701.

[59] D. DZINO 2008a: 46.

[60] E. SAID 1978.

[61] For example, A. N. SHERWIN-WHITE 1967; J. P. V. D. BALSDON 1979.

[62] F. HARTOG 1988: 10-11.

[63] E. HALL 1989: 5-6; J. M. HALL 2002: 172-89; F. LISSARRAGUE 2002: 117; L. BONFANTE 2011: 7.

Until recently, Greco-Roman authors' descriptions of the inhabitants of Late Iron Age temperate Europe, whom they referred to as 'barbarians', were largely privileged over other sources and archaeological evidence was often made to conform to templates created by the Classical texts.[64] Since the 1980s, new approaches to analysis and interpretation of textual and archaeological evidence have largely turned this situation on its head.[65] One major drawback of earlier paradigms was the reliance on written sources for understanding the nature and meaning of collective names from antiquity. Modern social constructs of 'ethnicity' and 'nationhood' were projected onto these groups, as scholars attempted to imagine and understand ancient identities as we know them today. These group names were then applied to apparent archaeological cultures – areas of distribution where certain types of artefacts and symbols existed or were projected from. As V. D. Mihajlović notes, interpretation of the collective names in ancient written sources is the only evidence for the existence of ethnic-type group identities in the Iron Age Balkan peninsula. Without them, the dominant ethnically structured model of the Iron Age would perhaps not have developed in scholarship.[66]

Several anthropologists have also recently called into doubt the correlation between language and ethnicity, both on theoretical and empirical grounds. The 'genealogical view' or 'cladistic' reconstruction of languages, which presumes a link between contemporary languages and ancestry has been criticised by J. Robb and J. H. Moore.[67] Language development is affected by a series of complex processes, and the way they are used by populations changes constantly. Use of a common language may either decrease of increase contact between populations, while acceptable language can change, be borrowed, or

[64] S. DUNHAM 1989: 265; L. BONFANTE 2011.

[65] T. THURSTON 2009: 354.

[66] V. D. MIHAJLOVIĆ 2014: 100-101.

[67] J. ROBB 1993; J. H. MOORE 1994.

become obsolete.[68] Anthropologists have shown many examples of ethnic groups maintaining a conscious sense of unity despite the disappearance of a shared language.[69] As the incredible ability to learn languages by people living in border regions suggests, language does not act as a barrier to cultural transmission. Linguistic communities are communicative communities,[70] and similarities and differences in language may reflect a number of strategic choices and political, social or economic trends.[71]

With these points in mind, this thesis will re-examine Liburnian identity through literary and archaeological evidence, and the transformations it went through during the Late Iron Age and Roman period, to formulate a framework of understanding that is flexible and culturally neutral. The multi-disciplinary approach outlined above resembles that of many studies in the field over the past thirty years. Scholarship on the Late Iron Age in temperate Europe has in recent years become increasingly tied to the study of the Mediterranean world. This is due to increasing interest among scholars of both Iron Age Archaeology and Classical Studies into systems at work in societies of the past and the study of trade and exchange between these two areas.[72] A question being put forward today by scholars researching the European Iron Age is: how can we understand the relationship between the two categories of evidence that shed light on this period? Between the depictions of so-called 'barbarian' peoples we have from ancient literary sources and the picture of their socio-political and cultural environment that we interpret through the archaeological record.[73] Does either field boast more authority in the study of ancient peoples? Is it possible

[68] M. PLUCIENNIK 1996: 43; S. LUCY 2006: 92.

[69] B. OLSEN and Z. KOBYLIŃSKI 1991: 16; G. ELWERT 1997: 266.

[70] B. OLSEN and Z. KOBYLIŃSKI 1991: 15.

[71] J. ROBB 1993: 748-749, 751-755.

[72] B. CUNLIFFE 1988: 1.

[73] L. BONFANTE 2011: 2.

to confirm statements and descriptions of ancient peoples from literary sources with our account of them from archaeological evidence?

The 'Hellenization' concept was, for much of the twentieth century, the dominant conceptual framework employed in the investigation of cultural change relating to Greek colonial situations in the ancient Mediterranean. This interpretation, conceived by the Hellenocentric Western intellectual tradition that was responsible for the development of archaeology as a discipline, saw a desire for Greek objects as an inevitable outcome of the exposure of indigenous communities in Iron Age Europe to Greek culture.[74] The term is broadly applied to instances where Greek cultural templates were adopted in non-Greek communities. As T. Hodos has argued, the term is problematic, since not all aspects of Greek culture were adopted in these situations, and cultural appropriations did not occur at a uniform rate.[75] This leads to different interpretations of the 'level' of 'Hellenization' among the colonized peoples.[76]

This Eurocentric perspective blatantly supposed Greek society and culture was superior, in the eyes of both Greeks and 'barbarians' alike. The development of the Hellenization concept can be traced to the tradition of idolization of classical Greco-Roman cultures in modern European societies, which had a significant influence on the construction of national identities and the development of Classical Studies and archaeology.[77] Postcolonial studies have led to reinterpretations of these processes in many scholarly circles. There is a focus in postcolonial approaches on cultural change as a two-way process, not denying the impact of the 'foreign', colonized culture, as Hellenization narratives had.

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[74] See, e.g., C. M. ANTONACCIO 2001: 127; I. MALKIN 2004: 353, 358; S. OWEN 2005: 13; M. DIETLER 2010: 45-6.

[75] T. HODOS 2006: 11.

[76] I. VRANIĆ 2014b: 36.

[77] M. DIETLER 1997: 296.

As with post-romanization studies, a major shift has seen the deconstruction of binary identities of colonized and colonizers.[78]

The kind of Eurocentric Hellenization model described above has certainly influenced discussions of social and cultural change in scholarship on Iron Age Balkan and eastern Adriatic societies,[79] and this includes studies focusing on Liburnia.[80] As I. Vranić has pointed out, what these studies lack is the application of methodologies, such as hybridity, fluidity and material culture agency in the creation of new identities.[81] Some recent studies have begun to approach these topics with theoretical and methodological issues in mind. Within the space of modern-day Dalmatia, M. Ugarković has recently looked to explain the creation of new identities on the island of Issa (modern-day Vis), during the Hellenistic period. Moving away from established models in previous scholarship, which saw Issa strictly as a Greek town, Ugarković utilises evidence for graves and burial customs at the necropolis of Vlaška Njiva to discuss dynamic processes of cultural integration at Issa in the last four centuries BCE.[82] Such studies have not yet been undertaken for the territory of ancient Liburnia. This thesis aims to rethink ideas about ethnicity and identity in Late Iron Age Liburnia, based on a critical analysis of ancient written texts and material culture, in an attempt to understand how communities here related to each other, their neighbours, and the wider region.

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[78] T. HODOS 2006: 11-12.

[79] R. VASIĆ 1973; A. BENAC 1987b; F. PAPAZOGLU 1978; 1980; 1988; D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1989: see 897ff for English summary.

[80] Š. BATOVIĆ 2005.

[81] I. VRANIĆ 2014a: 164-165.

[82] M. UGARKOVIĆ 2015.

From Romanization to Globalization: Developing Models for Understanding Continuity, Change, and Local Experiences in the Roman Provinces

The line of inquiry undertaken in this thesis, and similar works, generally seeks to analyse the way in which people's lives were changed when their homelands became incorporated into the Roman Empire – the way in which they adapted to new dynamics that Roman power imposed on their society, and how their cultural repertoire was altered after being connected to empire wide social and economic networks. This discussion has changed tone alongside trends in various academic disciplines, as well as contemporary thought processes and perspectives on aspects of political life, such as imperialism and colonialism. The romanization model evolved during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, with T. Mommsen and F. Haverfield as some of the key scholars who developed its initial frameworks. This model was deeply rooted in contemporary ideas of colonialism, imperialism and nationhood, and subsequent generations of scholars have sought to break free of its modernist approach. Though the initial model of romanization had lasting impacts on later scholars, recent studies have dramatically shifted their focus.

The fifth volume of Mommsen's *Geschichte* was an exceptional work for its time, as it focused on the provinces of the Roman Empire, and he emphasized the importance of understanding histories beyond the traditional Rome-centred approach.[83] Mommsen supplemented literary evidence with epigraphic sources in his treatment of the provinces. This focus on inscriptions meant that Mommsen emphasized a generally homogenous situation in the Western provinces. The spread of Roman institutions such as official colonies, citizenship, Latin language, and coinage appeared essentially uniform across the Germanies, Gaul, Spain and Britain. The degree to which Roman civilization penetrated a

[83] T. MOMMSEN 1886: 3.

province or various regions was then measured by the degree to which these institutions were adopted in local communities.[84]

A major drawback of Mommsen's description of socio-cultural development of the Roman Empire was his lack of experience with and use of purely archaeological material (not including epigraphic and numismatic material). This was largely due to the state of archaeological research in the mid-19th century.[85] Mommsen's approach was, thus, primarily text driven, and this is important to remember, since his model had great influence on the work of later scholars.[86] While Mommsen first coined the term 'romanizing', it was the British historian, Francis Haverfield who began utilizing romanization as a framework for investigation in the early 20th century.[87] Haverfield adopted the model of the Roman world that Mommsen created, and largely built upon the latter's framework of a homogenous Roman Empire. He described a uniform Greco-Roman style of material culture spreading throughout the Empire, which replaced local socio-cultural templates.[88] Haverfield described indigenous societies as adopting Roman civilization through the process of *romanization*. This was a wholesale adoption of Roman culture and identity. He noted, 'We can argue from the spread of Roman material civilization that provincial sentiment was growing Roman'.[89] Thus, he suggests that the adoption of Roman material culture meant the adoption of Roman identity.[90] Mommsen and Haverfield's approach to a uniform romanization process led to a tendency in later studies to describe cultural homogenization

[84] As discussed in P. W. M. FREEMAN 1997: 31.

[85] F. J. HAVERFIELD 1904: 87.

[86] P. W. M. FREEMAN 1997: 41.

[87] F. J. HAVERFIELD 1915.

[88] F. J. HAVERFIELD 1915: 19.

[89] F. J. HAVERFIELD 1915: 20.

[90] R. HINGLEY 2005: 34.

in the Roman provinces.[91] Diversity, where present, was largely disregarded as unimportant. Increasing research on the archaeology of the provinces during the 20th century led to a greater realization of the simultaneous unity and diversity of the Roman Empire, and an emphasis on a wider range of categories of material culture that could be used to analyse provincial societies through a more holistic approach.[92]

A major reorientation of traditional models came from the post-colonial 'Nativist' movement. This new approach flipped romanization on its head, arguing for a focus on the agency of local populations in processes of cultural change in the provinces.[93] Nativist scholars emphasized the resistance of local inhabitants to Roman civilization, or their tendency to adapt rather than simply adopt certain aspects of it. They claimed that a 'Roman veneer' was applied over existing pre-Roman cultures, which persisted unscathed into the Roman period, and prospered again in the later Empire. Roman culture was visible in public spaces, but largely ignored by the local population.[94]

In providing the local population of the Roman provinces with agency in the social and cultural changes associated with the romanization process, nativist accounts attempted to oppose the modernist/colonial approach of Mommsen, Haverfield and others. However, their emphasis on native resistance to Roman culture only served to strengthen the binary opposition between Roman and native that was inherent in the earlier modernist approach.[95] The nativist approach failed to properly explain the development of new features of material culture that emerged from interaction between different societies. The nativist movement

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[91] For discussion about this point, with sources, see G. WOOLF 1998: 15; J. WEBSTER 2001: 211.

[92] R. HINGLEY 2005: 30.

[93] D. J. MATTINGLY 2004: 6.

[94] For discussion and references to relevant literature, see C. FORCEY 1997: 16-17; J. WEBSTER 2001: 212.

[95] R. HINGLEY 2005: 41, n. 239 and 240 with more literature.

was not in effect a paradigm shift, as the framework within which romanization was analysed remained the same, despite the reversal of perspective.

The most influential work to come out of the nativist movement was that of M. Millett, who sought to build upon the romanization model of Haverfield, though with the advantage of almost a century's worth of extra archaeological research and scholarship at his disposal.[96] Millett framed his work as opposed to the view that local Britons adopted aspects of Roman society and culture because this meant progress.[97] For him, romanization was a 'two way process of acculturation', where natives and Romans were equally responsible for the creation of the new provincial society that emerged.[98] From this perspective, native elites were encouraged to identify with Rome to reinforce their positions of power in a new provincial setting, which led to emulation of Roman material culture.[99] This emulation then trickled down the social hierarchy, and encouraged the lower classes to adopt Roman material culture.[100]

The problem was that Millett's emphasis on trickle down emulation still evoked a sense of the progressive framework of analysis seen in earlier colonial scholarship on social development.[101] Importantly, its emphasis on the emulation of Roman material culture by native elites as a means of legitimizing political status reinforced the dualistic identities of Roman and native as monolithic ethnic or cultural groups.[102] These identities certainly existed in antiquity, and were no doubt important. However, these were constructed identities that were fluid and permeable, not rigid. Interpreting them at a specific moment in

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[96] F. J. HAVERFIELD 1915: 1.

[97] M. MILLET 1990a: xv.

[98] M. MILLET 1990a: 1-2.

[99] M. MILLET 1990a: 68-69; C. HASELGROVE 1987: 117.

[100] M. MILLET 1990b: 37-38; C. HASELGROVE 1990: 45.

[101] D. J. MATTINGLY 2004: 6; R. HINGLEY 2005: 42-43.

[102] S. JONES 1997: 35.

time through material culture is problematic, as their character is always relative and contextual. To truly break free of this stranglehold, discourse needed to move towards a genuinely neutral framework of cultural interpretation that went beyond Romans and natives.

What Millett and others had failed to do was provide an explanation and definition of so-called 'Roman material culture'. Its manifestation in the Roman provinces is often presumed to be goods and practices imported from a culturally homogenous Mediterranean Europe, since the same objects found on one side of the Empire can be found on the other.[103] This is greatly misleading, since many items supposedly characteristic of romanization were produced in various parts of the empire, and the nature of their consumption was always specific to their local political, social and cultural context.[104] For example, terra sigillata, the quintessential 'Roman' ceramic style, was a combination of Gallic and north Italian pottery traditions restyled by various local production centres in the north-western empire – hardly a characteristically 'Roman' type of material culture.[105] This centralized and homogenous interpretation of Roman identity as manifest in a rigid structure of material culture hindered the development of an understanding of the variety of ways in which objects, images and concepts were utilized in specific local contexts.[106]

G. Woolf attempted to break away from dualistic identities through his work on Roman Gaul, firstly in his paper 'Beyond Romans and Natives',[107] by arguing that the dichotomy of Roman and Native was unhelpful since the culture of Roman Gaul was not something either imposed or adopted, but rather something entirely new. Roman power

[103] P. W. M. FREEMAN 1993: 443; R. HINGLEY 2005: 45.

[104] See A. APPADURAI 1986.

[105] P. W. M. FREEMAN 1993: 444.

[106] R. HINGLEY 1996: 42.

[107] G. WOOLF 1997.

inherently created a range of new relationships between social groups, communities and individuals in Gaul, and out of this new complex system of differentiation emerged a new framework of power and cultural logic.[108] For Woolf, *becoming Roman* was a means for provincial elites to maintain their status in a new provincial setting. Power and identity now needed to be renegotiated in relation to new socio-political templates imposed externally, while maintaining links to existing dynamic cultural frameworks.[109] These ideas have greatly influenced some of the hypotheses and conclusions this thesis makes in chapters 5-9 about the integration of Liburnian elites into Roman administrative structures and cultural institutions.

A major drawback of all 20th century romanization scholarship was a lack of structured models for interpreting changing lifestyles that gave any kind of agency to the lower socio-economic groups. Jane Webster looked to solve this issue with the application of the concept of creolization to her study of cults in Roman Gaul.[110] The term 'creolization' was originally used to describe the mixing of two languages into a new dialect, but has since been applied to processes of cultural interaction, particularly in relation to the formation of African-American and African-Caribbean societies.[111] Archaeologists researching the colonial period in the Americas have applied the model to material culture studies, and Webster argued for its usefulness in understanding the Roman provinces.[112] Creolization represents the blending of two ways of life in a non-egalitarian social context – a kind of resistant adaptation that leads to a mixed culture.[113] This provides the possibility for a bottom-up explanation of cultural development. By highlighting aspects of selective

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[108] G. WOOLF 1997: 347.

[109] See his hallmark work, G. WOOLF 1998, especially 1-23.

[110] J. WEBSTER 2001.

[111] S. PALMIÉ 2006.

[112] J. WEBSTER 2001: 217-218.

[113] F. LIONNET and S. M. SHIH 2011: 25.

integration of cultic iconographies, Webster argues for the development of new Romano-Celtic deities that are neither Roman nor Celtic. This, she claims, moves beyond the limits of a simplistic syncretism model, which fails to take account of power relations in a colonial setting, but also beyond the nativist approach of pure Celticity under a Roman veneer.[114] There are certainly issues with the application of creolization and its usefulness for studying the Roman provinces. Though its focus on identities means it successfully approaches the diversity of responses to Roman imperialism, and gives agency to the silent majority of the lower classes, it has vague echoes of the polarization of earlier models in its explanation of a dichotomy between romanization and resistance.[115] It also lacks acknowledgement of the diversity of reactions throughout the Roman Empire, making it of limited application.[116]

Over the past decade there has been an acknowledgement that scholarship needs to move beyond post-colonial discourse. To understand cultural tensions in the Roman Empire it is important to understand their fundamental characteristics – tensions between small-scale conservatism (continuity and/or unity) and globalizing trends, between established modes of social discourse and new Mediterranean-wide socio-political dynamics, and between traditional means of wealth distribution and a market economy.[117] Investigation into processes of socio-cultural change to a certain extent have been hampered by disciplinary and interpretative dichotomies between 'Classical', 'Mediterranean' and 'provincial', concepts which create artificial categories out of material culture. A focus on the archaeology of the 'provinces', influenced as they were by the development of 19th century nation-states, means that studies are often framed in terms of archaeologies of modern geo-political spaces – not necessarily accurate units for analysing the ancient world.

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[114] J. WEBSTER 2001: 217-223.

[115] D. J. MATTINGLY 2004: 7.

[116] R. J. SWEETMAN 2007: 66-67.

[117] N. TERRENATO 2005: 70.

One solution for these issues involves rethinking the categories of analysis, from provinces, Romans and natives, to a focus on a local and global scale simultaneously.[118]

Roman archaeologists are increasingly pointing to connectivity as a key element in understanding social and cultural trends. Increasing connectivity from the mid-2nd millennium BCE led to trade revolutions in the Mediterranean and Near East, as well as far reaching colonization ventures by Greeks and Phoenicians.[119] During the Hellenistic period, this increasing connectivity resulted in an immense exchange of objects and artistic styles throughout these regions, but the Roman conquest of the Mediterranean and much of temperate Europe led to a level of interconnectedness not seen before.[120] Studies such as Horden and Purcell's *The Corrupting Sea* have begun to describe the Roman world as an integrated Mediterranean wide society that was highly connected by trade and communication networks.[121] More recently, some Roman archaeologists and historians have started to adopt globalization as a theoretical framework through which to interpret certain aspects of socio-cultural change in the Roman world. The word 'globalization' emerged in the 1990s as a term used to describe a number of processes. Though many different models and definitions exist in scholarship, common features of each include the idea of increasing connectivity and interdependence between social and economic networks, with some arguing that the compression of time and space can lead to an increased global consciousness.[122]

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[118] M. J. VERSLUYS 2014b: 10-11.

[119] On connectivity in the Bronze and Iron Ages, see the papers in A. B. KNAPP and P. VAN DOMMELEN 2015.

[120] M. J. VERSLUYS 2014b: 12; M. PITTS and M. J. VERSLUYS 2014a: 17.

[121] For example, see P. HORDEN and N. PURCELL 2000; P. VAN DOMMELEN and A. B. KNAPP 2010; M. PITTS and M. J. VERSLUYS 2014b; M. J. VERSLUYS 2014b.

[122] See M. PITTS and M. J. VERSLUYS 2014a: 11 for discussion and literature on globalization theory.

The term globalization applied to the ancient world no doubt is subject to contention. After all, there was no terra sigillata or Gallic beer in America in antiquity. However, the essential traits of globalizing processes were present in the Roman and Hellenistic worlds, as well as other times and spaces in the pre-modern period. If we take as fundamental to a globalized system increased connectivity, the presence of an interconnected and interdependent market, tension between local and global developments, the simultaneous homogenization and heterogenization of cultural templates and the emergence of cosmopolitan societies, then we can certainly describe the Roman Empire as globalizing – if not globalized (technically speaking).[123] As M. Pitts has outlined, the main differences between modern and ancient globalization are the scale, speed and structure of their processes.[124] Modern society is engaged in a highly complex series of networks, connecting people and places at high speed through modern communication technology, media and jet planes. The Roman world was less structurally complex and temporally compressed, but the processes that made it interconnected and interdependent were the same, just on a smaller scale.

I. Wallerstein's world system and core-periphery models have been used to analyse similar themes of interconnectedness in the Roman Empire.[125] However, these models tended to focus on macro-economics and political integration, and are not suited to analysing the impact of globalizing processes on social and cultural changes at a localized scale.[126] The main attraction of globalization is its inherent aim to explain local diversity in a global context. As Versluys has noted, globalization theories look for diversity within a

[123] M. PITTS and M. J. VERSLUYS 2014a: 17.

[124] M. PITTS 2008: 494.

[125] On Wallerstein's World Systems model, see I. WALLERSTEIN 1974; 2004.

[126] M. PITTS 2008: 493.

single cultural framework.[127] This does not mean that globalization is synonymous with or causes cultural homogenization. Globalization of culture includes various homogenizing processes, with increased connectivity facilitating the spread of cultural features that are in turn incorporated into local political and cultural economies in disparate manners and contexts.[128] Therefore, globalization is an irregular process that emphasizes the local context and agency of socio-cultural changes in relation to globalizing processes. This localized perspective on globalization processes is often referred to as 'glocalization', from the Japanese term, *dochakuka*, meaning 'global localization'. Whereas studies on previous post-colonial studies attempted to explain socio-cultural change in terms of discrepant identities, globalization investigates divergent responses to Roman imperialism in terms of overarching processes, such as increasing connectivity and economic integration.[129] This helps studies of socio-cultural change in the Roman Empire to move away from the dichotomies of Roman and native, Italian and provincial, the monolithic ethnic and cultural blocks that characterized earlier romanization discourses. While it seeks to complexify the debate, it is also a significant shift in the paradigm as it offers a possible explanation for change, rather than simply a description, as many previous approaches had.

Broad narratives relating to social and cultural change based on archaeological material from ancient Dalmatia are rather lacking, particularly those that engage with the kind of theoretical and methodological issues discussed above. Some modern scholars, including D. Dzino and J. Lulić have begun applying such frameworks to specific case-studies from Roman Dalmatia, mainly in the cultic realm.[130] This thesis does not aim to entrench itself in any specific methodological framework or theoretical model to help

[127] M. J. VERSLUYS 2014b: 14.

[128] A. APPADURAI 1996: 42.

[129] M. PITTS 2008: 494.

[130] D. DZINO 2009; 2012b; 2018; J. LULIĆ 2014; 2015.

explain how Roman Liburnia was constructed. To a certain extent it draws upon specific aspects of these methodologies and approaches for use in certain case studies where they are useful. When the aim of research is a comprehensive understanding of socio-cultural change in a specific region of the Roman Empire, application and adherence to a single model or interpretive framework would critically limit the ability of the project to provide a compendious analysis of the topic. Having the benefit of over a century's worth of scholarship on the theoretical and methodological aspects of its topic to employ, this thesis seeks to use Roman Liburnia as a case study to discuss socio-cultural change. This is a suitable case study not only because it represented a specific discrete territory in antiquity, but also since such a broad approach has not yet been undertaken for the area of Liburnia in scholarship.

The '-izations' and other terms used to define complex processes in scholarship discussed above are all secondary concepts that alter through time, in different historical and scholarly contexts, and depending on the specific meaning one person applies to them. Some terms are used throughout this thesis as convenient descriptors of such complex processes, in ways that might divert from how they are otherwise understood, and deserve brief explanation here. Intensive connectivity is an important phenomenon that led to cultural and social integration in the two periods under investigation. This process is observed through the increasing appearance of material culture, styles and ideas imported from increasingly distant locations during these periods, and understood through knowledge of various colonial, migratory and trading activities that are often described in written sources. The term, 'globalizing', is used here to explain the active circulation of material culture and ideas that results from such intensive movement and interaction – increasing trade, immigration, social and political communication, and connectivity to imperial administrative networks, which were all facilitated by the colonial activities of Greeks

during the Hellenistic period and the later the security and political unity of the Roman Empire.

Conclusion

The discussions in this introductory chapter helped to outline the thesis topic and frame it within scholarship on the history and archaeology of Iron Age and Roman Liburnia. Its purpose was also to outline the methodological discourses that have influenced its approach and structure, but also determined some key conclusions and hypotheses. The intention of the following chapters is to investigate the specific issues introduced in the first section of this introduction in a way that is informed by the material and ideas discussed in the other sections. The aim of this thesis is not to develop new theoretical or methodological frameworks with which to interpret identity and material culture. It uses ancient Liburnia as a case study through which to analyse the issues discussed in the above sections in the light of established models and methodological frameworks.

Chapter 2 – The Eastern Adriatic and the Greek World During the Iron Age

This chapter provides some context to the earliest stages in which Liburnia, Dalmatia and the broader eastern Adriatic region were brought into the sphere of the Greco-Roman world. It also considers the historical sources that provide the first descriptions of the indigenous peoples that inhabited this area and the archaeological material that indicates early contacts and connectivity with the Greek world. Other scholars have looked at the Greco-Roman sources that mention this region and its inhabitants,[131] the early Aegean material in the eastern Adriatic[132] and archaeological evidence for Greek settlements and sanctuaries in Dalmatia.[133] The chapter seeks to use these sources to discuss the development of Greek knowledge of the indigenous inhabitants of this region, outline Greek political and economic penetration of the upper and central Adriatic and trace evidence for networks of exchange in Dalmatia that impacted Liburnian communities.

Greek scholars made mention of the groups inhabiting the eastern Adriatic from the 6th century BCE, but references in mythology point to much earlier knowledge of the region. Some limited material from the Aegean world dating back as far as the Bronze Age is found in the eastern Adriatic. It is difficult to say much about the nature of these early interactions, but they were probably of an economic nature, the result of extended trade and exchange links. Greek colonization of Dalmatia, which did not occur until the 4th century BCE, created entirely new relationships with indigenous groups and led to increasing integration between indigenous and globalizing cultural templates. The place of the Dalmatian coast, and certainly Liburnia, along important sea routes that sailors frequented meant that

[131] S. ČAČE 2002; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005; P. CABANES 2006; D. DZINO 2014c.

[132] S. FORENBAHER 1995; H. TOMAS 2005; 2010; 2016.

[133] B. KIRIGIN 1990; 1999; 2006a; B. KIRIGIN and S. ČAČE 1998; S. ČAČE and L. ŠEŠELJ 2005, as well as the papers in N. CAMBI, S. ČAČE, and B. KIRIGIN 2002.

communities here were well connected to trans-Adriatic and Mediterranean wide networks and the people and materials that moved along them. This amplified connectivity meant the Late Iron Age was a dynamic period in Liburnia when communities here were exposed to increasingly large amounts and broad varieties of material culture.

The Eastern Adriatic, 'Illyrians' and 'Dalmatians' in Ancient Sources

Ancient written sources provide some insight into early Greek interactions with the eastern Adriatic, as well as information about indigenous groups that inhabited this area. Early mentions of this region in myths and legends retold in Greco-Roman sources describe heroes travelling along the eastern Adriatic coast. The south-eastern Adriatic also appears in narratives of political events in the Archaic and Classical periods due to Greek colonizing efforts. A discussion of these written sources here explains how the eastern Adriatic fit into Greek cognitive maps, and how their descriptions determine our understanding of local group identities in the region. The distinction between 'Liburni', 'Illyrians' and 'Delmatae' deserves some explanation, particularly for readers outside of southeastern Europe, and while the following chapter goes into some detail about the origins of the Liburni, this section briefly discusses the early use of the other two labels in ancient written sources to provide some clearer context for these group identities.

Greco-Roman myths and legends were passed down through the ages, often being reworked and altered due to the social, political and cultural circumstances in which they were written. It is always important to be alert to the ethnographic framework and any potential political aims that may underpin these works before attempting any literal interpretation of people, places and events therein.[134] Events in these stories often take place

[134] See above 19-20.

in unknown or mythical locations and involve peoples more symbolic than historical. Their chronological context is often impossible to decipher due to relative dating signifiers that are incomprehensible from a historical perspective.[135] These myths, such as those of the Hyperboreans, Jason and the Argonauts, Cadmus and Harmonia and Diomedes' journey to Italy do indicate that some early Greeks had a certain level of knowledge about the eastern Adriatic, its people and geography, particularly in relation to the Aegean region. The Adriatic Sea as a trade route was probably key to this transfer of knowledge, and it is often mentioned in these sources as a connective link between central Europe and the Mediterranean, or in narratives involving travel between the eastern Mediterranean and the Italian peninsula.

Mention of the north-western Balkans in Greek mythology goes as far back as the legends of the mythical race of the Hyperboreans, who dwelt in some far away northern land.[136] Herodotus recounts reports of the people of Delos who claimed that sacred offerings carried from the land of the Hyperboreans to the Scythians were then sent south to Greece via the Adriatic.[137] As Cabanes has noted, this brings-to-mind the so-called 'amber route',[138] along which amber was brought from the Baltic region to the Mediterranean via a series of trade routes, including some which passed along the Adriatic and through the Balkan peninsula.[139] Apollonius of Rhodes describes the voyage of the Argonauts along the Danube river and then down the Adriatic coast. In the description of this voyage, the Liburnian islands, Issa and Korkyra Melaina are mentioned, as are Dyskelados and Pityeia, which are

[135] P. CABANES 2006: 155.

[136] Aesch. *Cho*. 373; Pind. *Pyth*. 10.27-44; J. S. ROMM. 1992: 60-65.

[137] Herod. 4.33.

[138] P. CABANES 2006: 157.

[139] A. J. NIJBOER 2010: 7ff; M. ZANINOVIĆ 2012: 21, 25; A. PALAVESTRA 1994.

possibly the islands of Brač and Hvar (Pharos).[140] The myths of the Hyperboreans and Argonauts indicate the Adriatic was certainly a known route of transport from central Europe through to the Aegean among the Greeks, probably from well before the Archaic period.[141]

The myth of Cadmus and Harmonia is perhaps the Greek legend that is most associated with the north-western Balkans region. In this myth, (related in Book 3 of the so-called *Bibliotheca* of Pseudo-Apollodorus) the heroic pair, Cadmus and Harmonia, migrated from Thebes to the land of the Enchelei – a place hypothesized as located around Lake Ohrid (on the border of modern-day Macedonia and Albania)[142] – where they helped the local people defeat the 'Illyrians' in exchange for becoming their leaders.[143] This myth, like many others, is interpreted in a variety of ways; some consider it to have great historical significance, while others deny that the story has any resemblance to reality.[144] The legend of Cadmus and Harmonia was well-known in antiquity,[145] and it is also depicted in artwork on numerous artefacts.[146] Particularly important in terms of sea travel and trade in the Adriatic was the cult of Diomedes. The importance of this cult and some key sites relating to its worship in the Adriatic are discussed in detail below. Diomedes, who was one of the

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[140] Apoll. *Argon*. 4.562-566; S. ČAČE 2002: 92-93; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2015: 12; J. ĆUS-RUKONIĆ 2012: 396. See R. KATIČIĆ 1995: 11-30; A. DOMIĆ KUNIĆ 2004: 140.

[141] P. CABANES 2006: 155-163.

[142] D. DZINO 2014c: 53. For a discussion of Aegean imports and connections with Mycenaeans and Cretans in the land of the Enchelei, see M. PAROVIĆ PEŠIKAN 1976.

[143] Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.4.2; 3.5.4.

[144] For discussion, see M. ŠAŠEL KOS 1993; M. P. CASTIGLIONI 2010.

[145] The author of the *Bibliotheca* cites Homer and Pherecydes of Athens as sources, see 3.1.1, 3.4.1. A summary of the myth in a scholium to Homer, schol. Homer *Iliad* 2.494, which retells it along the same lines as Apollodorus though credits Hellanicus' *Boeotiaca* as its source, see D. OGDEN 2013: 110 on this source. See also Hesiod, *Op* 162; *Theog*. 937, 975-978; Herod. 5. 61.

[146] R. KATIČIĆ 1995: 211-303; P. CABANES 2006: 160; M. P. CASTIGLIONI 2006: 136. See also the sources listed above in n. 144.

central heroes of Homeric epic, apparently emigrated to Daunia, the northern part of Apulia in south-eastern Italy. While many ancient writers appear to place the cult of Diomedes primarily on the western Adriatic coast, recent archaeological excavations have brought to light the significant impact that it had on the eastern coast.[147]

Fig. 1. Map of ancient Illyricum D. DZINO 2010b: map 1.

Early Greek colonization of the eastern Adriatic is best known from historical sources, as archaeological evidence for this formative period is limited.[148] These sources provide a rather haphazard narrative of Greek penetration into the south-eastern Adriatic region, which apparently began with the colonization of Korkyra in the latter half of the 8th century BCE. Plutarch mentions that men from Eretria inhabited the island of Korkyra before being expelled by a Corinthian army led by the Bacchiad Chersicrates.[149] Strabo, on

[147] R. KATIČIĆ 1995: 305-332; M. P. CASTIGLIONI 2008; J. MAROHNIĆ 2010; see also below, 58ff.

[148] The most comprehensive discussion of historical sources on Greek colonization of the eastern Adriatic is P. CABANES 2006.

[149] Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 11. 293. Scholars disagree whether this Eretrian colony in fact existed, based on a lack of archaeological evidence, P. CABANES 2006: 164 for bibliography.

the other hand, says that the Corinthians expelled Liburni from the island, and adds that Chersicrates was sent to Korkyra by Archias, who was on a voyage to Sicily to found Syracuse.[150] This colony provided a bridgehead between the Greek mainland and southern Italy, aiding trade and communication with the colonies in Magna Graecia and Sicily. Herodotus and Thucydides mention hostilities between the Corinthians and Korkyreans,[151] but they appear to have collaborated on the only Greek colonization efforts in the Adriatic during the 7th century BCE. The founding of Epidamnus-Dyrrachium, in either 627 or 625 BCE,[152] and Apollonia ca. 600 BCE,[153] were outcomes of Corinthian political and economic expansion into the Adriatic, probably inspired by the mineral wealth of the region.[154] These foundations were almost certainly related to control of trade with the northern Adriatic region and the Balkan hinterland.[155] Early Greek colonization efforts were restricted to what is today known as the Ionian Sea (though in antiquity, the Adriatic and Ionian Seas were together known as the Ionian Gulf, or Ionian Sea). The only known examples of official Greek colonization of the Adriatic, which was confined to the central Dalmatian islands, came much later in the 4th century BCE.[156]

The myths and legends relating to the Dalmatian world that are preserved in Greco-Roman literary sources are supplemented in certain instances by archaeological evidence,

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[150] Str. 6.2.4. This is discussed in more detail below, 77-78.

[151] Herod. 3.49; Thucyd., 1.13.4.

[152] Thucyd. 1.24.1-2; Ps-Skymnos 435-39; Str. 8.3.32; Hieron. *Chron*. 97b, Helm; see J. WILKES and T. FISCHER-HANSEN 2004: 330.

[153] Plut. *De Sera*, 522; Ps.-Skymnos 439-440; Str. 7.5.8; 8.3.32; Pausan. 5.22.4; Thucyd. 1.26; Dio 41.45; Steph. of Byz. *FGrH* 773 F 2, s.*v*. Δυρράχιον.

[154] L. BRACCESI 1977: 98-103; J. WILKES and T. FISCHER-HANSEN 2004: 330.

[155] P. CABANES 2006: 169-170. Plutarch discusses the function of the *poletes* (seller) at Epidamnus, who acted as an intermediary in trade between the colony and indigenous communities in the region, Plut. *Quaest. Graec*. 29.

[156] See below, 55-57.

including inscriptions, coins, and evidence for sanctuaries, which are discussed in the following sections. M. Šašel Kos has argued that these legends are best explained in terms of early trade routes and possibly migrations that extend far back into the Bronze Age and even earlier. She suggests that the legends of Cadmus and Harmonia and others are best understood in terms of the expression of powerful civilizing impulses of the Greeks. These legends were thus meant to explain groups of people migrating north into the central and north-western Balkans, where they contributed to urbanization and social development, including in southern Dalmatia.[157] Caution is necessary here, as it is difficult to clearly understand how these myths could relate to migrations or transmission of urban and socio-cultural influences. They certainly do, however, show knowledge of the north-western Balkans and eastern Adriatic region among Greeks in the Archaic and Classical periods, and perhaps much further back.

Perceptions of 'Illyrians' and 'Illyria' in scholarship have changed drastically since the Early Modern period.[158] The understanding of Illyrians and their homeland has developed alongside power-relations and geo-politics in the north-west Balkans region, as constructions of modern national discourses have utilised ancient group identities to justify their specific political structures and ideologies.[159] However, the labels 'Illyrians' and 'Illyria' have acquired diverse meanings in the ancient written sources across different chronological, geographic and ethnic contexts.[160]

Illyrians are first mentioned as appearing in two geographic contexts – along the eastern Adriatic coast, and on the western and north-western borders of Macedonia and

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[157] M. ŠAŠEL KOS 1993: 113, 130.

[158] D. DZINO 2014a.

[159] D. DZINO 2008a: 43-45.

[160] A concept that was noted by J. Lucius as early as the 17th century, see D. DZINO 2014c: 45-46, n. 4, with extensive bibliography.

Greece. The earliest known reference to Illyria occurs in a fragment of Hecataeus, who wrote in the late 6th/5th century BCE. In a discussion of Iapygia, Stephanus of Byzantium notes that this was the name of a city in Italy and another in Illyria, 'as Hecataeus wrote'.[161] There is general agreement in scholarship that the mention of Illyrian Iapygia is a distortion of Stephanus, and that this probably should refer to the Iapodes, who inhabited the Lika region of modern Croatia as well as parts of western Bosnia in the valley of Una, and Bela Krajina in Slovenia.[162] In another fragment Hecataeus mentions a city in Illyria called Orgomenai, though this is otherwise unattested.[163] Stephanus also cites Hecataeus as his source for locating the Chelidonoi, who he says were an Illyrian people.[164] Very little is discernible about the Illyrians from the work of Stephanus and the fragments of Hecataeus that he preserves, apart from some limited suggestion of geographic locations. Curiously, Stephanus states that Illyria was located next to the Pangaean hills, in Aegean Thrace.[165] No ethnographic treatment of the Illyrians is provided in the ancient written sources, as is, to a certain extent, for the Liburni.[166]

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[161] Hecat. *FGrHist* 1 F 86, 97, Steph. Byz., 322.11-13, s.v. Ιαπυγια.

[162] I. MATIJAŠIĆ 2011: 296-297; D. DZINO 2014c: 48, with references to older scholarship.

[163] Hecat. *FGrHist* 1 172, Steph. Byz., 494.16-17, *s.v. Ὀργὰμη*.

[164] Hecat. *FGrHist* 1 100, Steph. Byz., 690. 11-12, *s.v. Χελιδόνιοι*. Wilkes claims they may have lived around the Mat or Drin valleys in northern Albania, J. J. WILKES 1992: 98.

[165] Steph. Byz. 331.6-7. This is interesting, since he cites Hecataeus as stating that the Bantioi were a people of Thrace, Hecat. *FGrHist* 1 174, Steph. Byz. *s.v. Βάντιοι*, though Polybius mentions an Illyrian city called Bantia, Polyb. 5.108.8. L. Pearson suggested that the Bantians may have migrated westward by Polybius' time, L. PEARSON 1939: 61. Another fragment states that the Darsioi were a Thracian people, Hecat. *FGrHist* 1 175, Steph. Byz. *s.v. Δάρσιοι*. It is possible this refers to the Daorsi, who inhabited the Neretva river valley in modern-day eastern Herzegovina and coastal Croatia (on the Daorsi, see below n. 305). Appian referred to this group as 'Illyrians', App. *Ill.* 1.2. Though it is also possible that these were Thucydides' Dersaioi, 2.101.3, a Thracian group that lived beyond the Strymon River, see *FGrH* 1 349.

[166] See below, Chapter 3.

Herodotus and Thucydides made several references to Illyrians, but none technically to Illyria as a defined space. Most of their testimonies relate to Illyrians playing parts in affairs of the Greeks.[167] Herodotus describes the Illyrians as inhabiting the Angrus river valley,[168] today's Ibar river which flows through southern Serbia, Kosovo and eastern Montenegro. Herodotus also mentions marriage customs among the villages of the 'Enetoi in Illyria', who once a year sold their maidens of suitable age to male suitors.[169] Even minor ethnographic details on the 'Illyrians' such as these are not otherwise found in the written sources. There is an argument that Herodotus is referring to the Veneti in the northern Adriatic, as he elsewhere refers to the 'Eneti that live on the Adriatic'.[170] However, Appian places the Eneti on the border of Macedonia,[171] and scholarship usually locates them on the southern Adriatic coast.[172]

From the 4th century BCE, the Illyrians are usually loosely defined as neighbours, and increasingly as enemies, of the Macedonians in written sources.[173] During the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE, the Greco-Roman sources associated the label 'Illyrians' with the 'Illyrian kingdom' of the south-eastern Adriatic. It was from this title, the *regnum Illyricum*, that the title of the Roman province was drawn in the mid-1st century BCE.[174] Pliny the Elder and Pomponius Mela described several groups, located on the coast of modern-day Montenegro and northern Albania, as 'properly called Illyrians'.[175] These statements are

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[167] Hdt. 8.137; 9.43; Thucyd. 1.24-26; 4.124-125. See I. MATIJAŠIĆ 2011: 299-309; D. DZINO 2014c: 49-50.

[168] Hdt. 4.49.

[169] Hdt. 1.196.

[170] Hdt. 5.9.2; see P. CABANES 1988: 17-18; J. J. WILKES 1992: 93-94.

[171] App. *Mith*. 55.

[172] M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 235; I. MATIJAŠIĆ 2011: 300-301.

[173] For narratives and discussion of sources, see M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 249ff; D. DZINO 2010b: 44ff.

[174] See M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2000: 284; D. DZINO 2010b: 80-84. See also below, Chapter 5, on the development of the province of Illyricum.

[175] Plin. *HN*. 3.144; Pomp. Mela. 2.55-56; c.f. M. SUIĆ 1976.

now widely believed to represent memories of the Illyrian kingdom.[176] Appian later broadly described Illyrians, as the Greeks defined them, those people inhabiting the area 'beyond Macedonia and Thrace, from Chaonia and Thesprotia to the Danube'.[177] Yet even he elsewhere describes these groups as separate communities.[178] It is quite probable that to some extent the Greco-Roman ethnographic tradition arbitrarily labelled a large group of communities as 'Illyrians', and that this was perhaps related to the development of the Illyrian kingdom under the Ardiaei and Labetae dynasties. The early Greeks used the term differently in certain contexts, and it became a generalised label for indigenous groups that inhabited the western Balkans and eastern Adriatic coast.[179]

The Delmatae deserve mention here, not only due to the fact they were neighbours and at times enemies of the Liburni, but also since their name was to have great importance for the development of the geographic term 'Dalmatia' in the Roman period.[180] The Delmatae are absent from the early ethnographic accounts of Greek sources such as Hecataeus, Theopompus, Ephorus, pseudo-Aristotle, the periploi of pseudo-Skylax and pseudo-Skymnos, which suggests that this label was not applied to them before the 3rd century BCE, or that they did not exist as a group in the same form before then. Dzino suggests that the Delmatae initially developed as a political alliance of culturally akin groups in the hinterland of central Dalmatia.[181] Based on a reading of Pliny, they are thought to have inhabited the hinterland of central Dalmatia, between the Titius (Krka) and

[176] D. DZINO 2014c: 46-47, with extensive bibliography.

[177] App. *Illy*. 1.

[178] App. *Illy*. 1; see also, for example, Plin. *HN*. 3. 142-144.

[179] D. DZINO 2014c: 60-61.

[180] S. ČAČE 2003. On the Delmatae, see M. ZANINOVIĆ 1967; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 292ff.

[181] D. DZINO 2006a; 2008a: 49; 2013: 148.

Nestos/Hippius (Cetina) rivers, on the Glamočko, Livanjsko Duvanjsko, Sinjsko and Imotsko *polje*.[182]

The first mention of the Delmatae in written sources is in a passage of Polybius, where he describes their revolt against the Illyrian kingdom in 180 BCE.[183] Strabo mentions that the Delmatae were named after their capital, Dalmion, which Scipio Nasica sacked during his campaign in 155 BCE.[184] He also provides some information about the Delmataean economy, stating that they did not adopt coinage, unlike other 'barbarian' peoples. This is the only time that Strabo refers to indigenous inhabitants of the future province of Illyricum as 'barbarians',[185] which might suggest that the Delmatae were considered culturally or socially separate from their neighbours in Greco-Roman ethnography.[186] Polybius stated that the Delmatae accepted tribute from their subjugated neighbours in the form of grain and stock,[187] and it is possible that this is where Strabo draws his information about their non-use of coinage.[188] Strabo also noted that the Delmatae redistributed their land every eight years, which Šašel Kos suggests was related to religious ceremonies of purification and renewal, and maintaining socio-economic equality in Delmataean communities.[189]

The Delmatae were a powerful group in the last two centuries BCE, when they fought in several campaigns against the Romans, as well as against the Liburni.[190] Due to the above-mentioned passages, and a lack of imported material dating to the Late Iron Age

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[182] See Plin. *HN*. 3.142; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 293.

[183] Polyb. 32.9.3-4.

[184] Str. 7.5.5.

[185] D. DZINO 2006b: 120.

[186] C. BARNETT 2014: 21-22.

[187] Polyb. 32.9.

[188] See J. J. WILKES 1969: 185; S. ČAČE 1994/5: 122ff.

[189] M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 293.

[190] See Chapter 5.

in the central Dalmatian hinterland, the Delmatae are sometimes considered as having been resistant to outside influences.[191] This was possibly related to their existing social and economic structures.[192] However, a general lack of focused excavations of sites in the deeper central Dalmatian hinterland and publication of archaeological finds means that Delmataean economic and settlement structures and levels of cultural connectivity and importation are not well understood. The ethno-cultural identity or political nature of the Delmatae is problematic. The label Delmatae is certainly utilised differently to 'Illyrians' in the ancient sources, as it appears only in reference to one specific group inhabiting the central Dalmatian hinterland. However, it is difficult to know whether this group necessarily had any sense of shared group identity.[193] As with the labels 'Illyrians' (Illyricum) and 'Pannonians' (Pannonia), the term 'Delmatae' was adopted in the Roman period for the province of Dalmatia.[194]

The information about the eastern Adriatic in Greek sources mainly concerns geography, and the location of certain indigenous communities. Ethnographic information is limited before the colonization of Dalmatia in the 4th century BCE. It is difficult to interpret the structure of the indigenous groups named in sources, and the example of the 'Illyrians' and 'Delmatae' are indicative of this situation. Greek knowledge of groups inhabiting the future province of Dalmatia developed gradually, and was at times recorded rather haphazardly, as the discussion above has indicated. This situation is important for providing context for how knowledge and understanding of the terms 'Liburni' and 'Liburnia' developed in the ancient written sources, as discussed in detail in the next chapter.

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[191] M. ZANINOVIĆ 1967: 96; D. DZINO 2006a.

[192] C. BARNETT 2014.

[193] D. DZINO 2012a: 82.

[194] S. ČAČE 2003; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 293. Tacitus also referred to the sea beside the province as *mare Delmaticum*, Tac. *Ann.* 3.9.

Greeks in pre-Roman Dalmatia

Archaeological material from the eastern Adriatic provides evidence of contacts with other parts of the Adriatic, the Balkan hinterland and wider Mediterranean world that stretch back far into prehistory.[195] The last half of the 1st millennium BCE was a period of increasing connectivity across the Mediterranean, in large part due to the much earlier colonization efforts of Greeks and Phoenicians.[196] Greek economic and political penetration into the Ionian and Adriatic Seas was particularly important for indigenous communities in the territory of modern-day Dalmatia, as it brought them into contact with Mediterranean wide social and trade networks and the various cultural features of the Greek world that these transmitted. This section discusses the earliest evidence of Aegean imports into Dalmatia and outlines the development of Greek interactions in the Adriatic.

Some interesting, however limited, Mycenaean artefacts have been found on the eastern Adriatic coast, particularly in modern-day central Dalmatia.[197] These include a Mycenaean-looking sword found at Vučevica, nearby Split,[198] and an ingot from the collection of Arthur Evans, now housed in the Ashmolean Museum, supposedly from Makarska on the Dalmatian coast.[199] The provenance of this ingot, however, as with another supposedly found in a hoard from Kloštar Ivanić in continental Croatia, has recently been

[195] See, for example, Š. BATOVIĆ 1976; 2005; M. BLEČIĆ 2007; H. TOMAS 2005; 2016; S. FORENBAHER 1995; 2009.

[196] See A. BRESSON 2005: 101ff; C. M. ANTONACCIO 2009; T. HODOS 2014; M. EUGENIA AUBET 2017.

[197] H. TOMAS 2005. On imports from

[198] H. TOMAS 2005: 679, with references.

[199] See B. KIRIGIN 2006a: 19.

questioned.[200] A number of Tiryns type beads, produced from Baltic amber, dating to c. 1200-1100 BCE, have been found in the territory of the Liburni and Iapodes (northern Dalmatia and the Kvarner Gulf region, and central Croatia, respectively).[201] These are also found in Apulia, the Po river delta, and further afield in Italy, Albania, Greece, Crete, Rhodes and the Near East, and it is possible that the eastern Adriatic finds are an indication of long distance trade routes between the Baltic and eastern Mediterranean via the Adriatic or the Balkan peninsula.[202] Also attributed to a 'Mycenaean' influence is a *tholos* tomb from the hilltop site of Maklavun, near Rovinj in Istria.[203] This tomb has some important structural differences to Mycenaean type tholoi, but as H. Tomas points out, it is unique within the region and it is possible that it was inspired by similar Mycenaean tombs.[204]

In terms of discoveries of Mycenaean period finds and supposed influences from the Mycenaean world in the eastern Adriatic, the most interesting, and certainly the most illuminating, are those from the hillfort of Škrip on the island of Brač in central Dalmatia. Excavations adjacent to surviving 'megalithic' walls at the hillfort uncovered sherds of pottery dating to the Late Bronze Age, including a few identified as Mycenaean, and dated to the Late Helladic IIIC or possibly IIIB.[205] The walls at Škrip were originally dated to the Hellenistic period by earlier excavators, who argued they were built under 'Greek' influence.[206] The finds from excavations undertaken in the 1990s, however, point to a Late

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[200] S. FORENBAHER 1995: 272-73; Forenbaher went as far as to conclude that there are no confirmed indications of trade between the Aegean and north-western Adriatic in the Late Helladic period, S. FORENBAHER 1995: 274.

[201] B. KIRIGIN 2006a: 19; V. BARBARIĆ 2009: 318.

[202] A. F. HARDING and H. HUGHES-BROCK 1974: 153.

[203] B. KIRIGIN 2006a: 19; B. TERŽAN and B. HÄNSEL 2012.

[204] H. TOMAS 2005: 675-676.

[205] V. GAFFNEY et al. 2001: 147-148.

[206] V. GAFFNEY et al. 2001: 143.

Bronze Age date.[207] The walls are unlike other supposed Hellenistic fortifications known from sites in nearby northern Dalmatia, such as those at Nin and Bribirska glavica, whose walls include inner and outer faces.[208] The walls at Škrip include only an outer face, supported by an earth embankment (within which one of the Mycenaean sherds was found), possibly pointing to its earlier construction.[209] Škrip is certainly a unique site within the eastern Adriatic due to the scarcity of Mycenaean material in the region, and the apparent foreign influence on the construction of its walls – there are no comparable contemporary structures in the region. The finds of Mycenaean pottery found in association with these walls has led to the suggestion that they were constructed under the influence of Mycenaean or South Italian prototypes. The presence of Mycenaean material and architectural influences here would, from this perspective, highlight the strategic importance of the central Dalmatian islands for trade, particularly for maritime links up to the head of the Adriatic.[210] However, the excavations around these walls were limited, and their dating is certainly not confirmed.[211]

It is also important to place Škrip within its regional context – the presence of an enclosure wall and an associated mound/cairn are characteristics found commonly at hilltop sites on the central Dalmatian islands.[212] A mesh of hilltop enclosures emerged on the central Dalmatian islands during the Late Bronze Age. Distribution patterns on the islands of Hvar, Vis and Brač show these sites were chosen to take advantage of access to agricultural lands.[213] V. Gaffney *et al* suggest that the Aegean material at Škrip is not found

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[207] V. GAFFNEY et al. 2002: 33; V. BARBARIĆ 2009: 320.

[208] See below, Chapter 4.

[209] Similar to those at Smyrna, in Asia Minor, see references in B. KIRIGIN 2006a: 19.

[210] V. GAFFNEY et al. 2002: 33.

[211] V. BARBARIĆ 2009: 322.

[212] V. GAFFNEY et al. 2001: 149ff.

[213] V. GAFFNEY and Z. STANČIČ 1996; V. GAFFNEY et al. 2002: 33-34.

more broadly in the region, nor in higher quantities at the site itself, because Late Bronze Age communities here did not engage in exchange of prestige goods as part of power relations and construction of status.[214] This is quite possible, but due to a lack of material from this period, not much can be concluded about social development in Dalmatia during the Late Bronze Age at this stage in research.[215]

Caution is also necessary before reaching any conclusions from the limited Mycenaean finds on the eastern Adriatic. These items do not necessarily point to direct or sustained contact between communities in the eastern Adriatic and the Mycenaean world, as the finds dating to the Late Bronze Age are few (one person could transport the entire assemblage), and may have arrived in the late or post Mycenaean period.[216] The attribution of Mycenaean origin or influence on some of these artefacts and features is also sometimes tenuous. Tomas concludes that if indeed Mycenaean influences were involved in the appearance of some of the more advanced features of material and architectural structures on the Croatian coast, this was most likely the result of sporadic contact, certainly not regular trade or colonization. She points out that contacts with the Aegean region during the Early and Middle Helladic periods were more pronounced than in the Late Helladic, as evidenced through finds of knives and jewellery more securely identified as imports than other 'Mycenaean' items noted above. In the Mycenaean period these contacts appear to have dwindled along the Croatian coast, though Mycenaean influences are found in relative abundance in the central Balkans and in Italy.[217] As Tomas suggests, perhaps the

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[214] V. GAFFNEY et al. 2001: 152. Forenbaher argued that processes of social stratification had not yet led to the development of organized elites by the Late Bronze Age in Dalmatia, S. FORENBAHER 1995: 276.

[215] V. BARBARIĆ 2009: 318.

[216] S. FORENBAHER 1995: 276-77.

[217] H. TOMAS 2005: 680.

Mycenaeans did not visit Croatia because there were limited natural resources here for them to exploit.[218]

Archaeological evidence shows clear maritime connections and exchange of material culture between Iron Age communities in Dalmatia and Histria and those on the Adriatic coast of Italy, particularly around Apulia and Picenum, from at least the 9th century BCE onwards.[219] The concept of a 'cultural *koine*' for the eastern and western Adriatic during the Early Iron Age, with its roots in the Late Bronze Age, has existed in scholarship for several decades.[220] It is based primarily on the exchange of metal items and styles, such as the *Certosa* type fibulae and basket shaped pendants,[221] between communities in the Balkans and central and southern Italy and the presence of Daunian pottery throughout modern-day Slovenia, Croatia and parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina.[222] There are relatively few finds of material from the Aegean region in Dalmatia during the Archaic and Classical periods (in contrast with the in southern Italy and Albania).[223] B. Kirigin has argued that the significant amounts of coins from Greece held in the Archaeological Museum of Split point to contacts being established as early as the late 6th century BCE.[224] Finds of imported ceramics at sites in Dalmatia also suggest that connections with the wider Adriatic and Aegean regions

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[218] H. TOMAS 2005: 681.

[219] Š. BATOVIĆ 1976; 2005: 18ff; M. SUIĆ 1953; M. BLEČIĆ 2007; E. M. DE JULIIS 1977: map C; N. PETRIĆ 1993; B. KIRIGIN 2006b: 21; V. BARBARIĆ 2006: 58; Pliny mentions that the Liburni, whom he says elsewhere stretched from the river Raša to river Krka (Plin. *HN*., 3.139; see also, Flor. *Epit*., 1.21), inhabited parts of Italy, including Picenum, Plin. *HN*., 3.110, 112.

[220] For discussion and bibliography on the Adriatic *koiné*, see M. BLEČIĆ KAVUR 2009; 2015; J. WILKES and T. FISCHER-HANSEN 2004: 321; D. DZINO 2014c: 53; R. PERONI 1976; A. J. NIJBOER 2010: 4ff.

[221] M. BLEČIĆ KAVUR 2015: 67-73, 86-92.

[222] For further discussion about the exchange of material culture, see Chapter 3.

[223] B. KIRIGIN 2006a: 19.

[224] B. KIRIGIN 1990: 320, Tab. 3.

picked up to a certain degree around this period.[225] Corinthian imports are found on indigenous Dalmatian sites dating from the 7th century, but increasingly during the 6th and 5th centuries BCE.[226] This may point to Corinthian colonization of Syracuse in Sicily and Korkyra on the eastern coast of the Ionian Sea during the 8th century having some influence on Greek economic penetration of the Adriatic.[227]

Fig. 2. Map of key sites mentioned in the text. Source: google maps.

There is no evidence, from ancient literary sources or archaeological material, for any Greek settlements north of Epidamnus-Dyrrachium (modern-day Durrës, Albania) prior to the 6th century BCE. Kirigin argues that the Greeks only became interested in the eastern

[225] Unlike the Italian coast of the Adriatic, finds of Archaic and Classical period Greek artefacts in Dalmatia are limited, and not found beyond the Dinaric Alps, N. NIKOLANCI 1973: 976; Š. BATOVIĆ 1984; B. KIRIGIN 2006a: 19-20; L. ŠEŠELJ 2009: 411-439.

[226] L. ŠEŠELJ 2009: 411-439; I. BORZIĆ 2017: 61-62. See below, Chapter 4.

[227] On Corinthian colonization, see A. J. GRAHAM 1982; S. ČAČE 2002. See also above, 40-41.

Adriatic once the potential for trade and commerce with communities in the Po river valley region on the northern Italian coast became apparent.[228] Greek traders and settlers were becoming increasingly active in the upper Adriatic, particularly at sites along the Po river delta, during the late 6th century BCE.[229] It appears that colonization in the Adriatic was to a large degree driven by economic rather than political factors, and the multi-ethnic character of the important emporia here is perhaps reflective of this fact.[230] Greek settlement at Adria and Spina, in north-eastern Italy, on the Po river delta, developed from the late 6th century BCE.[231] The written sources disagree over whether Adria was a Greek or Etruscan foundation.[232] G. Colonna argued that the presence of some 5th century BCE dedicatory graffiti using Aiginetan letter forms on pottery sherds found at the site points to a significant Aiginetan presence here.[233] Similarly, differing traditions have Spina as a Greek colony,[234] and a Pelasgian foundation.[235] Epigraphic and archaeological evidence has led to the argument that both Adria and Spina were trade emporia with mixed Greek and Etruscan populations and culture. They acted as nodes on trans-Mediterranean trade networks that linked the eastern Mediterranean with northern Italy and continental Europe.[236]

The late 6th century BCE saw a significant upsurge in the quantity of Aegean material found on the western Adriatic coast. The increasing importation of Greek luxury goods was driven by the development of complex social groups in Adriatic Italy from the early 5th century BCE. These societies were centred around large settlements which acted as

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[228] B. KIRIGIN 2006b, 2006a: 19.

[229] L. BRACCESI 2004; P. CABANES 2006: 174-175.

[230] K. LOMAS 2006: 176ff.

[231] J. WILKES and T. FISCHER-HANSEN 2004: 326-327, 334.

[232] Greek: Just. *Epit*. 20.1.9. Etruscan: Plut. *Cam*. 16; Livy 5.33.7; Plin. *HN* 3.120.

[233] Dubois, *IGDGG*, 181-87, see G. COLONNA 1974.

[234] Str. 5.1.7; Just. *Epit*. 20.1.11; Plin. *HN* 3.120.

[235] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom* Hellan. 1.18.4; see also *FGrHist* 4 F 4 = Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.28.1-4.

[236] See K. LOMAS 2006: 178.

economic, administrative and cult centres in their territories, dominated by wealthy, status-conscious elites with wide-ranging connections.[237] Greek pottery is found at several sites along the western Adriatic coast, with Picenum acting as something of a commercial intermediary between Greece and Etruria, as well as regions to the north.[238] From the 6th to mid-4th century BCE, Picenes were consumers of large quantities of imported Greek pottery, the majority of sympotic character, often deposited in elite graves in Numana and settlements in the hinterland.[239]

The official founding of colonies in central Dalmatia was quite late in the context of Greek colonization of the Mediterranean. The timeline for the foundation of these colonies is far from complete, and there are many dates that are still disputed. Pharos and Issa were certainly the two most senior colonies in the region, and we can argue with a fair degree of confidence that Pharos was founded in 385-4 BCE, based on the account of Diodorus Siculus.[240] There is some disagreement in scholarship, however, over the foundation date of Issa. Some scholars claim that the colony was founded before Pharos, while others point to the fact that no archaeological evidence for a Greek presence is known from the island dating to before 330 BCE.[241] Written sources state that a Cnidian colony existed on the island of Korkyra Melaina, modern day Korčula.[242] It was previously suggested that this colony was founded in the early 6th century BCE, coinciding with the beginning of Greek trade with the Po valley.[243] However, systematic archaeological surveys of the island have

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[237] K. LOMAS 2006: 176-178.

[238] M. LANDOLFI 2004.

[239] K. LOMAS 2006: 177-178.

[240] Diod. Sic. 15.13.1-4.

[241] For discussion, and earlier sources, see B. KIRIGIN 1999: 158-159.

[242] Ps-Skymnos, 427-8; Str. 7.5.5; Plin. *HN* 3.152; see D. RADIĆ and B. BASS 2002. On recent archaeological excavations of the Kopila hillfort site on the island of Korčula, see I. RADIĆ-ROSSI and I. BORZIĆ 2017.

[243] R. L. BEAUMONT 1936: 187.

found no trace of this colony.[244] An early 3rd century BCE Issaean colony on the eastern side of the island of Korčula is attested by the famous Lumbarda *psephisma*, found on a hilltop known as Koludrt near the village of Lumbarda,[245] as well as several nearby Hellenistic period graves,[246] and six bronze coins inscribed ΚΟΡΚΥΡΑΙΩΝ .[247] Another supposed Greek colony, Heraclea, existed in central Dalmatia contemporarily with these others, though it is only known through a brief mention from Pseudo-Sklyax,[248] and a rather large number of coins dated to the 4th century BCE with the name of Heraclea in several variants.[249] While the actual location of the site of Heraclea remains unknown, several scholars have suggested that it was one the island of Hvar based on circumstantial evidence.[250]

There is some evidence to suggest that colonization efforts in Dalmatia during the early 4 century BCE were undertaken under the patronage of Dionysios I of Syracuse. Diodorus Siculus relates that the Parian colonists were sent to colonize Pharos with the cooperation of the Syracusan tyrant Dionysios, who had recently founded a colony called Lissus further south, on the coast of modern-day Albania.[251] When the Parians were attacked by the local inhabitants of Pharos and their neighbours on the opposite mainland, who were 'Illyrians', Dionysios sent the governor of Lissus to aid the colonists.[252] Other sources only

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[244] D. RADIĆ and B. BASS 2002.

[245] M. LOMBARDO 1993; M. SOLARIĆ and N. SOLARIĆ 2009.

[246] B. KIRIGIN 1990: 311.

[247] P. VISONÀ 2004; M. ILKIĆ 2016.

[248] Ps-Skylax, 22.

[249] For bibliography on the coins of 'Heraclea', see P. VISONÀ 2005: 29-30.

[250] B. KIRIGIN 1999: 148-150; M. ZANINOVIĆ 1992; 2008b.

[251] Diod. Sic. 15.13.4.

[252] Diod. Sic. 15.14.2. It is quite probable that the term 'Lissus' was incorrectly recorded in the medieval transcript of Diodorus' work, and that the fleet more likely came from Issa, M. NIKOLANCI 1970.

mention Paros in connection with the colony's foundation.[253] Pseudo-Skymnos states that there was a Syracusan colony on the island of Vis.[254] It is not exactly clear, however, when the colony of Issa was founded, and whether this is the settlement that was mentioned. The names of Issaeans who set up the colony on Korčula, as attested by the Lumbarda *psephisma*, point to Syracusan origins.[255] The foundation of Issa is often attributed to the colonizing activities of Dionysios I in scholarship.[256] However, direct evidence to support this is lacking,[257] and as mentioned, there are strong arguments, based on archaeological evidence, to suggest that Issa was founded in the late 4th century, long after the reign of Dionysios I.

Economic issues certainly drove Greek interest in the Adriatic, and while links with the western coast were no doubt important, interaction with communities on the eastern coast should not be dismissed as an incentive to some extent. The Dalmatian islands provided a significant amount of fertile land, and local indigenous communities, particularly those in Liburnia, provided markets for selling manufactured ceramic and metal items. The Greek colonies in Dalmatia acted as nodes of interaction between Mediterranean and indigenous cultures, and certainly had important impacts on Liburnian communities, as is discussed further in the following chapters. Increasing Greek activity in the Adriatic, and particularly colonization of the Dalmatian islands, would lead to significant transformations in the socio-cultural lives of indigenous communities from the 4th century BCE.

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[253] Ephor. *FGrHist* 70 F 89, Steph. Byz. s.v. Φάρος; Ps-Skymnos 426-27; Str. 7.5.5.

[254] Ps-Skymnos 413-14.

[255] J. WILKES and T. FISCHER-HANSEN 2004: 331-332.

[256] L. BRACCESI 1977: 230-232; J. STYLIANOU 1998: 196.

[257] R. L. BEAUMONT 1936: 202; J. WILKES and T. FISCHER-HANSEN 2004: 331-332.

Connectivity in Late Iron Age Dalmatia

Connectivity is increasingly a topic of discussion in studies of cultural interaction in antiquity, particularly in relation to periods of intensive economic, political and social interaction as, for example, during the Hellenistic and Roman periods in the Mediterranean.[258] The eastern Adriatic was an important sea route in antiquity, and communities along the coast were largely seaward focused due to the imposing Dinaric Alps blocking their access to the hinterland.[259] Liburnian communities were particularly well placed due to their access to the sea but also the wide fertile space between the coast and mountain ranges that comprises the Ravni Kotari-Bukovica region. This section seeks to trace the origins and direction of the economic networks that brought imports into local Dalmatian communities by looking at several sanctuaries that merchant sailors used in antiquity. Connection to these networks, and influences from the central Dalmatian Greek colonies, would arguably lead to the adoption of new cultural practices in Liburnian communities in the Late Iron Age.

Several sanctuary sites, on the island of Vela Palagruža, at Cape Ploča and Spila Nakovana, highlight the strategic location of central Dalmatia along ancient seafaring routes, particularly during the 4th-1st century BCE. Palagruža is a small archipelago in the Adriatic located between the Gargano Peninsula and the central Dalmatian islands, with Vela being the larger and Molo the smaller of its two islands. Excavations on Vela Palagruža highlight that the island had a significant role in maritime communications in various periods from as far back as 8000 BP, including the Early Neolithic and Late Copper/Early Bronze Ages.[260] No finds dated between the Early Bronze Age and the 6th

[258] See above, n. 121 for references.

[259] On the importance of the Adriatic to connectivity in pre-history, see the papers in. S. FORENBAHER 2009.

[260] S. FORENBAHER 1999; T. KAISER and S. FORENBAHER 1999; B. KIRIGIN, M. MIŠE, and V. BARBARIĆ 2009: 104-105.

century BCE have yet been discovered.[261] Excavations since the early 1990s on the main archaeological site on the island, Salamadrija, have uncovered large amounts of Greco-Roman pottery sherds and some coins dating from the Late Archaic to Early Roman period.[262] The earliest pottery dates to the late 6th century BCE, though the majority of the assemblage comes from the 5th-3rd century BCE, while later Hellenistic and Early Roman pottery is less common.[263] It appears that Attic pottery (black-figure and red-figure ware) is dominant in the assemblages from Palagruža for the late 6th-5th century BCE, and the material here corresponds well with that from Apulia, Adria, Spina and Numana.[264] This highlights the importance of the island on maritime trade routes linking mainland Greece with the emporia along the Po river delta, as well as the dominant role of Athenian trade in the Adriatic during the Late Archaic and Classical periods.[265] South Italian ceramics, including Late Apulian red-figure and Gnathia ware, point to a certain reorientation of trade links during the Hellenistic period.[266] Coins found at Palagruža appear to date from the 4th-1st century BCE. They include issues from cities in central Dalmatia (Issa and Pharos), the south-eastern Adriatic (Dyrrachium and Apollonia), Sicily (Panormus and Syracuse), Italy (Teate, *Teanum Sindicum*, Lucenia, Neapolis, Rubi, Heraclea, Brundisium, Roman Republican and a coin of Licinius), Sardinia (a Punic issue) Greece (Korkyra and Ambracia) and even Asia Minor (Samos).[267]

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[261] B. KIRIGIN et al. 2009: 139.

[262] B. KIRIGIN and S. ČAČE 1998; B. KIRIGIN et al. 2009; B. KIRIGIN, M. MIŠE, and V. BARBARIĆ 2009.

[263] B. KIRIGIN, M. MIŠE, and V. BARBARIĆ 2009: 106.

[264] B. KIRIGIN and S. ČAČE 1998: 65; B. KIRIGIN et al. 2009: 141.

[265] N. ČAŠULE 2012: 215.

[266] B. KIRIGIN, M. MIŠE, and V. BARBARIĆ 2009: 105-106.

[267] B. KIRIGIN, M. MIŠE, and V. BARBARIĆ 2009: 106; M. BONAČIĆ MANDINIĆ 2012/13:

Around 12,000 sherds of pottery were discovered on Vela Palagruža, and of these, more than 230 sherds are inscribed with graffiti.[268] Few of these inscriptions are legible, but those that are suggest they were dedications.[269] A fragment of a mid-5th century black-slipped kylix base is marked with ΔΙΟΜΕΔ[…],[270] which may suggestion a dedication to Diomedes. Through an analysis of the ancient sources, particularly Strabo's account, several scholars have argued that the Palagruža islands were the Islands of Diomedes.[271] The site on Vela Palagruža is now widely identified as a cult site to Diomedes, visited by Greek merchants sailing across the Adriatic.[272] This conclusion is supported by the large proportion of fine ware within the ceramic assemblage, pointing to them being votive offerings,[273] as well as the inscriptions which include references to *soteria,* 'safety', a common word used in sailors' prayers, and *euploia*, a reference to a good voyage.[274]

The site of Cape Ploča *(Punta Planka*) was identified as Pliny's *Promunturium Diomedis*[275] in the 17th century CE by the Venetian-Dalmatian-Croatian historian I. Lučić.[276] The site is situated on the most prominent point of the Hyllus peninsula in central Dalmatia, near the medieval church of St. John of Trogir. It is an important marker for people sailing along the Dalmatian coastline. The spot is notorious for sudden changes in winds; though the site itself offers no shelter, ships and sailors could find safety in the nearby bays of Rogoznica or Stari Trogir.[277]

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[268] B. KIRIGIN 2012:

[269] B. KIRIGIN et al. 2009: 141.

[270] B. KIRIGIN and S. ČAČE 1998: 64, fig. 4.

[271] S. FORENBAHER et al. 1994: 45; B. KIRIGIN and S. ČAČE 1998: 66ff, see particularly 76-77.

[272] See also, J. MAROHNIĆ 2010.

[273] N. ČAŠULE 2012: 209-210.

[274] B. KIRIGIN et al. 2009: 141.

[275] Plin. *HN*. 3.141.

[276] I. LUČIĆ 1666: 17, 26-27, 241-243.

[277] S. ČAČE and L. ŠEŠELJ 2005: 164.

Excavations at the Cape Ploča site have uncovered over 100,000 sherds of pottery, made-up of vessels associated with the symposium – skyphoi, kantharoi, bowls, possibly some kylikes and plates, as well as several amphorae and amphora lids, pithoi and a variety of lamps.[278] The ceramic evidence from the sanctuary dates from the late 4th century BCE until the 1st century CE.[279] The earliest fragments are of a Apulian Gnathia ware skyphoi, dating to 340-315/310 BCE, while early Roman thin-walled and terra sigillata wares, found here in very small numbers, are the latest.[280] Importantly, most of the pottery assemblage is of local Adriatic production, primarily from Dalmatian workshops at Issa, Pharos and Resnik.[281] The finds here resemble those at contemporary sites in Dalmatia, Liburnia and modern-day Herzegovina, emphasizing that this region was interconnected and involved in intensive trade activities, probably initiated at Issa. The ceramic evidence arguably suggests the site was founded after the colonies of Pharos and Issa.[282] This is perhaps unsurprising since these colonies, particularly Issa, produced the majority of the items deposited here. As at Palagruža, inscriptions on pottery sherds from Cape Ploča point to the site being a cult place to Diomedes.[283] On these inscriptions are recorded around 15 personal names, all of which are recognised as typical Greek names except for one – 'Tritos'.[284] One graffito on a grey clay bowl reads 'ΔΙΟΜΕΔΙ ΔΩΡΟΝ' ('gift to Diomedes'). This bowl, resembling Morel's shape 2150, dates to the late 3rd or early 2nd century BCE, and similar vessels have been found in central Dalmatia at Issa, Pharos, Lastovo and Nakovana.[285] A sherd of a late

[278] L. ŠEŠELJ 2009: 35ff.

[279] L. ŠEŠELJ 2009: 636, 638.

[280] B. KIRIGIN 2004: 142-143; S. ČAČE and L. ŠEŠELJ 2005: 165-166; L. ŠEŠELJ 2009: 39-45, 55-57; L. ŠEŠELJ 2012.

[281] M. MIŠE and L. ŠEŠELJ 2007.

[282] B. KIRIGIN 2004: 148-149.

[283] L. ŠEŠELJ 2009: 543-544.

[284] L. ŠEŠELJ 2009: 543.

[285] B. KIRIGIN 2006a: 23.

Gnathian skyphos, dating to the late 4th to early 3rd century BCE, has an inscription reading 'ΤΡΙΤΟΣ ΔΙΟΜ(ΕΔ)…'. The name Tritos is indigenous to the eastern Adriatic,[286] which possibly indicates that an indigenous trader made an offering here to Diomedes after a successful sea voyage.[287] The numismatic evidence (23 coins) from Cape Ploča is meagre compared to the ceramic assemblage found at the site. Out of 23 coins, 13 are identified as Greek and 5 as Roman Republican. The remainder are completely worn. The identifiable coins date between the early 3rd century BCE to the 40s BCE. They include issues from the Greek mints in the Adriatic – Ancona, Issa, Apollonia, Ionian Korkyra and Leukas, as well as two cities from the Peloponnesus, Aegium and Argos, the island of Cyprus, Carthaginia, Numidia and the Roman Republic.[288]

As the archaeological evidence suggests, Cape Ploča was probably not an important site for trans-Adriatic travel between the Ionian Sea and the upper Adriatic. The open sea route was favoured, via Palagruža, probably to avoid the many islands, capes and shallow seas along the coastline.[289] Cape Ploča was founded at a time when Greek colonizing activities in central Dalmatia led to increasing connectivity and exchange of goods within the region. The evidence here perhaps points to intensive trade between Greek colonies in southern Italy and central Dalmatia and indigenous sites in Liburnia – modern-day northern Dalmatia and the Kvarner Gulf region. This is underlined by the large amounts of imported ceramics in Liburnian funerary contexts from the 4th to 1st century BCE.[290] During the 4th and 3rd century BCE these came primarily from southern Italian centres, though, Dalmatian

[286] The name Tritos is attested as far south as Apollonia, *CIGIME* I.2: 326, 334-6; N. ČAŠULE 2012: 212; D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1989: 795.

[287] B. KIRIGIN 2004: 145.

[288] M. BONAČIĆ MANDINIĆ 2004.

[289] B. KIRIGIN 2004: 142; see also B. KIRIGIN et al. 2009: 150.

[290] Discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.

workshops took over the ceramic trade with Liburnian communities during the 2nd and 1st century BCE.[291]

These two cult sites are important for our understanding of connectivity and the character and function of networks of trade and communication in pre-Roman Dalmatia. Each are situated at significant points on Adriatic seafaring routes. Wind systems have helped connect the Dalmatian coast to Adriatic networks since prehistory.[292] Two major anticlockwise currents divide the Adriatic Sea into northern and southern regions, and these two systems meet in an area stretching between the Gargano peninsula and central Dalmatia.[293] Ships sailing from the Straits of Otranto to the upper Adriatic in antiquity would have sailed closer to the eastern shore if they wished to use these currents to help against cross-winds, or if the unpredictable and often violent *bura* wind was blowing from the north since, as Strabo noted,[294] the eastern Adriatic coast has many more natural harbours for ships to find protection in than the western coast.[295] Cape Ploča is located at a site known for violent and sudden changes of winds. The cape stands out as a landmark for ships sailing along the Dalmatian coastline. Sailors could utilize nearby harbours while they waited out bad weather, and if they wished, visit the nearby cult site to pray for favourable weather and a safe journey.[296] Palagruža is located on the shortest route from the western to eastern Adriatic coast, on the juncture of the two prevailing currents, and no doubt acted as both a navigational marker and shelter for ships.[297] Both the eastern and western shores of

[291] M. MIŠE 2015: 63-64.

[292] See the papers in S. FORENBAHER 2009.

[293] M. SURIĆ et al. 2005; T. KORBAR 2009; B. KIRIGIN et al. 2009: fig. 5; N. ČAŠULE 2012: fig. 11.1.

[294] Str. 7.5.10.

[295] J. WILKES and T. FISCHER-HANSEN 2004: 322.

[296] L. ŠEŠELJ 2012; N. ČAŠULE 2012: 213-214.

[297] B. KIRIGIN and S. ČAČE 1998: 77.

the Adriatic are visible from Vela Palagruža, and this would have greatly helped sailors with navigation.[298]

Palagruža was probably first used as a cult site from around the late 6th or 5th century, around the time of the development of the Greek emporia on the western Adriatic coast, and was no doubt utilized by traders sailing between the Aegean and the Po river delta. Cape Ploča developed after the founding of the Greek colonies in central Dalmatia during the 4th century BCE. The site no doubt reflects the increasing interaction of this region with wider Adriatic and Mediterranean economic and cultural networks, as well as the importance of the Greek colonies as nodes of interaction helping integrate indigenous communities into these networks. As N. Čašule has argued, these two sites were involved in a network of trade and communication which spanned the Adriatic Sea, though was integrated with a Mediterranean wide system in which activity increased markedly during the late 4th and 3rd century BCE. Importantly, this network seemingly had a link to the Diomedes myth.[299] Čašule points out that, of the Greek coins identifiable from Cape Ploča, several come from towns where Diomedes' cult was observed: Ancona, Korkyra, Argos (Diomedes' home town), and Cyprus.[300] The name of Diomedes is connected with a large number of settlements in the Adriatic, with the largest concentration being in Apulia; here the hero reputedly founded Brundisium, Argos Hippon, Venusia, Canusium Cynegeticum, Beneventum, Venafrum and Sipontum.[301] He is also associated with Timavo, Adria, Spina Ancona and, of course, sanctuaries such as the Islands of Diomedes and the *Promunturium Diomedis*.[302] Many of these towns were involved in trans-Adriatic trade, and no doubt these

[298] N. ČAŠULE 2012: 214.

[299] N. ČAŠULE 2012: 214-218.

[300] N. ČAŠULE 2012: 216-217; on the coins from Cape Ploča, see M. BONAČIĆ MANDINIĆ 2004.

[301] D. BRIQUEL 2018: 15-17.

[302] B. KIRIGIN and S. ČAČE 1998: 70-71.

networks had the effect of spreading the Diomedes cult throughout the Adriatic. Čašule suggests that the Diomedes cult represented a shared language that facilitated links between different polities, helping to promote trade and connectivity.[303]

Another sanctuary was found by archaeologists in a cave known as 'Spila', above the village of Nakovana on the Pelješac peninsula in southern Dalmatia.[304] Spila Nakovana is located just below the crest of a 400m high ridge. Strategically positioned close to the western tip of the Pelješac peninsula, the islands of Vis (Issa), Hvar (Pharos), Korčula (Korkyra Melaina), and Mljet are visible from just above the cave site. The site is also only 20 miles west of the mouth of the Neretva river, an important communication route into the western Balkan hinterland which passed the Hellenistic emporium of Narona, as well as the main settlement of the indigenous Daorsi, the remains of which are found at Ošanići near Stolac.[305] The channels which the cave overlooks were some of the most important Adriatic shipping lanes in antiquity.[306]

Within the cave was found a large amount of material from the Hellenistic period (late 4th-1st centuries BCE, though mostly dating from the 3rd-2nd century).[307] This material includes a sizeable quantity of Hellenistic ware pottery sherds (8000 at least). The assemblage is made-up primarily of vessels related to wine drinking in the Greek world, mostly of Issaean production, as well as some from production centres in the Aegean and Greek colonies in southern Italy. Some locally produced indigenous pottery is also found, but in much smaller amounts (around 25%). The high quality of finds and sympotic

[303] N. ČAŠULE 2012: 217.

[304] S. FORENBAHER and T. KAISER 2001.

[305] Z. MARIĆ 1976; 1989; 2004; A. LINDHAGEN 2016.

[306] S. FORENBAHER and A. JONES 2013: 8.

[307] B. KIRIGIN 2006a: 24.

character of the assemblage alerted archaeologists to the probability that the site was used for ritual purposes.[308]

The finds were mostly concentrated around a stalagmite inside the cave. It appears that this stalagmite was the central feature for votive offerings and ritual feasting, with offerings placed around it. The site is positioned in the immediate vicinity of a local hillfort, near the village of Nakovana, that was occupied during the Late Iron Age. Sherds of Hellenistic wares are found at tumuli around the nearby hillfort.[309] There have been no coins found at Spila Nakovana but there are sherds of indigenous pottery, unlike at Cape Ploča. There are also much fewer examples of sherds with graffiti here, but names on the graffiti that is found suggest Greeks did use the sanctuary.[310] Due to its proximity to the local Iron Age hillfort near Nakovana, an assumption was made that the local population was engaging ritual activities at the cave site, as well as Greek sailors.[311] This is possible and could represent a significant example of cultural interaction in Late Iron Age Dalmatia. As Dzino has pointed out, the sacral and mythological domains were important mediums for cultural mediation between indigenous populations on the eastern Adriatic coast and Mediterranean cultural networks.[312] The sanctuaries mentioned above perhaps played important parts in these processes, but it is difficult to clearly identify to what extent the local population engaged in ritual activities at the sites or even visited them.

Another important factor relating to increasing connectivity in the region during the Late Iron Age was Roman colonisation of the Italian Adriatic coast and political-military engagement in the eastern Adriatic.[313] A series of Roman interventions in the eastern

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[308] S. FORENBAHER and T. KAISER 2001: 678.

[309] S. FORENBAHER, T. KAISER, and B. KIRIGIN 2000.

[310] S. FORENBAHER and T. KAISER 2001: 678.

[311] S. FORENBAHER, T. KAISER, and B. KIRIGIN 2000; B. KIRIGIN 2006a: 24.

[312] D. DZINO 2012a: 75.

[313] On Roman colonization in the eastern Adriatic, see Chapter 5.

Adriatic, starting with the 'First Illyrian War' in 229 BCE, saw Roman influence increase in the area until it was brought under direct Roman control.[314] Roman political intervention in the eastern Adriatic meant Rome's interaction with and influence amongst Dalmatian communities greatly increased from the late 3rd century BCE, particularly as they made alliances with groups such as the indigenous Daorsi and the commercially dominant Issaean commonwealth.[315] Following the Third Samnite War, the Romans built several colonies along the western Adriatic coast, connecting them to existing Adriatic networks.[316] Numismatic and epigraphic evidence points to less formal interactions between Romans and eastern Adriatic communities in the last 3 centuries BCE, as migrations of Italians into Dalmatia preceded official colonization.[317] Roman interaction in the eastern Adriatic, particularly their relations with the Liburni, is discussed in further detail in Chapter 5.

An important part of understanding cultural change in Iron Age Liburnia concerns connectivity to social and economic networks in the Adriatic and Mediterranean Seas. Clearly, as communities on the eastern Adriatic coast were drawn into networks that connected them to production centres across the Mediterranean, material culture from the Hellenistic world was increasingly adopted. Relations between groups in Liburnian territory and communities on the western coast of the Adriatic, particularly with Picenum and Apulia, existed as far back as the Early Bronze Age. Apulian geometric decorated pottery and metal items from the Picenum region are found in Liburnian territory from as early as the 9th century BCE.[318] It is difficult to determine through what mechanisms imports came into Liburnia at this early stage. The most probable explanation is that these were trade goods

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[314] See M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005; R. MATIJAŠIĆ 2009b: 87ff; D. DZINO 2010b; D. DŽINO and A. DOMIĆ KUNIĆ 2013.

[315] See Polyb. 32.9; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 296; D. DZINO 2010b: 62-63.

[316] N. ČAŠULE 2012: 207ff.

[317] N. ČAŠULE 2012: 219-226.

[318] Š. BATOVIĆ 1976: 92-3. See below, Chapter 3.

carried on Greek and Italian merchant ships, though it is impossible to discount the idea that they were acquired through piracy.[319] Perhaps imported items were diplomatic gifts or goods that migrants carried with them when they returned home. The lack of metal ores in the eastern Adriatic region means that Iron Age communities in Liburnia must have looked elsewhere for raw material to make jewellery, tools and weapons, and some scholars argue that this was acquired from the Italian peninsula, namely, the Picenum region.[320] Some sort of exchange during the Early Iron Age no doubt existed, and these communities were certainly involved in intensive trading activities.

The greatest influx of outside influences into Liburnian territory came during the Late Iron Age, from around the 4th-1st century BCE, with the introduction 'Hellenistic' type architecture, burial practices, metal items (and associated artistic motifs) and an increasing amount of imported pottery and the development of local imitation types.[321] The increased cultural interaction with Greek and southern Italian communities is explained in terms of the intensification of trans-Adriatic and Mediterranean social and economic networks that resulted from Greek political and economic penetration into the central and northern Adriatic. The timing of these developments, starting from the 4th century, could suggest that the Parian colonization of Pharos and the Syracusan colonization of Issa had some influence on the import of material culture from the Hellenistic world into indigenous communities in Liburnia.[322] The geography of northern Dalmatia (the Ravni Kotari-Bukovica region) almost certainly played an important part in the openness of the communities here to influences from the Hellenistic world, compared to other parts of Dalmatia, the eastern Adriatic and

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[319] Z. BRUSIĆ 1993: 81; and there are references to Liburnian piracy in ancient sources, see below n. 343.

[320] S. ČAČE 2006: 67; M. ČELHAR and D. VUJEVIĆ 2013: 115.

[321] See below, Chapter 4.

[322] For overviews of the production of ceramics at central Dalmatian centres during the 4th-1st centuries BCE, see B. KIRIGIN, J. HAYES, and P. LEACH 2002; B. KIRIGIN, T. KATUNARIĆ, and L. ŠEŠELJ 2004; B. ČARGO and M. MIŠE 2010.

north-western Balkans.[323] The Ravni Kotari-Bukovica region is a relatively flat area, well suited for agriculture, and has been relatively densely populated since antiquity. Communities here flourished not only due to agricultural productivity, but also because they acted as nodes connecting the hinterland beyond the Velebit and Dinaric mountain ranges with the coastal region.[324]

Increasing finds of imported goods from the 4th century BCE, including coins of the Greek colonies in central Dalmatia,[325] at centres along the coast or connected to rivers in northern Dalmatia highlight the importance of connectivity and the Adriatic Sea to cultural developments and the flourishing of towns in Liburnia.[326] Brusić suggested that the islands and natural harbours in Liburnia formed a system used to control eastern Adriatic naval routes during the Iron Age. The quantity of Liburnian hillforts along the coast and on islands, and their positions along vantage points in natural ports, ensured control of shipping along the coast. Underwater finds of imported pottery, including large globular *dolia* with painted geometric designs, along the coast of southern Liburnia suggest luxurious vessels from Corinth, southern Italy, and other Greek areas were being shipped into Liburnian centres, such as Zadar and Nin, through the Pašman Channel from at least the 6th century BC.[327] The micro-region of the southern Ravni Kotari region, which consisted of several significant hillforts, particularly at Bribirska glavica, Dragišić and Velika Mrdakovica, included land that was suitable for agriculture and animal razing. The area is also lined with

[323] There is a distinct lack of imported materials from the Greek world dating to the Late Iron Age in the central Dalmatian hinterland, though this may be due to a lack of intensive surveying and excavation at relevant indigenous sites, see B. KIRIGIN, T. KATUNARIĆ, and L. ŠEŠELJ 2004: 14.

[324] S. ČAČE 2007.

[325] T. ŠEPAROVIĆ 2012: 525-536.

[326] Z. BRUSIĆ 2002: 1, 19. See below, Chapter 4, on numismatic evidence from Liburnia.

[327] Z. BRUSIĆ 2007: 17-18, 20-1.

waterways connected to the river Krka, making travel and communication convenient.[328] Visual communication between hillforts here was also particularly important, as highlighted by the fact that they are all within line of sight of each other.[329]

The aim of this section has been to discuss the increasing levels of connectivity during the Late Iron Age in Dalmatia that is evidenced through material culture from Liburnia and key sites along ancient Adriatic trade routes. The examples of the sanctuaries discussed highlight the different Adriatic maritime trade routes used during the Late Iron Age, as well as indicating how Liburnian communities were drawn into these networks of exchange. While the region had been connected to Italian and Aegean communities for centuries, from the 4th century BCE central Dalmatian settlements facilitated trade between Greek manufacturers and indigenous communities to far greater levels than earlier.

Conclusion

The different categories of evidence that we have for connections between the Greek world and eastern Adriatic during the mid to late 1st millennium BCE provide varying parts of a picture of contact that remains far from complete. The written sources provide some indication of Greek knowledge of the people and space of the future province of Illyricum, but these authors portray their own ideas of social groups and ethnographic norms. It is difficult to conclude too much about the reality of social life and the structure of indigenous ethnic or political groups during the Iron Age in the eastern Adriatic from these texts, but they do provide some context for how interactions with Greeks and, later, the Romans developed. Archaeological material can provide important information about how certain areas were connected to others over time, and how networks of interaction were structured. Although the nature of these early interactions and relationships and how they functioned is

[328] Z. BRUSIĆ 2000a: 2, 6.

[329] Z. BRUSIĆ 2000a: 2-3.

still debatable, they were certainly of an economic character – broadly speaking. Greek colonization certainly caused significant impacts on indigenous communities from the 4th century BCE, both those that they came into direct contact with in central Dalmatia, and others, such as the Liburni, who were indirectly affected through social or economic interactions. With this context of Greek knowledge of and interaction with peoples from the area of the future province of Dalmatia in mind, the next chapter discusses more specifically the case study of the territory of the Liburnian communities.

Chapter 3 – Identity and Culture in Late Iron Age Liburnia[330]

Several important issues relating to identity and culture contact in Liburnian communities in the pre-Roman period require reassessment. The availability of evidence limits the approach to these issues, the scope of the discussion and the firmness of some conclusions. It is also important to bear in mind the pitfalls in studying identity through ancient written sources and archaeological material that were discussed in the introduction. However, some important themes surrounding the socio-political structure and ethno-cultural character of pre-Roman Liburnian communities have provoked insightful discussion in scholarship.[331] Providing a new thematic perspective on these topics, this chapter seeks to undertake a multidisciplinary approach to studying identities and culture in Iron Age Liburnia, in the light of a revision of the ancient written sources and new methodologies relating to material culture and identity construction. Important to this discussion is the meaning of the terms *Liburni* and *Liburnia*. How did the Greco-Roman sources utilise these labels, and what can we discern about the ethno-cultural or political structure of the communities they referred to? Archaeologists have identified common features of the material culture of the main Liburnian regions during the Iron Age, and through this evidence traced the 'ethnogenesis' of the Liburni. This process supposedly began during the Bronze to Iron Age transition and continued until the last centuries BCE, when Hellenistic influences drastically altered its trajectory, and finally ended following the incorporation of the Liburnian communities into the Roman Empire and the beginning of 'romanization'.[332] This chapter questions how accurately the Iron Age material culture from the region of

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[330] Some of the content of this chapter was recently published in a paper in *Miscellanea Hadriatica et Mediterranea* 3, a volume dedicated to Professor Slobodan Čače – see C. BARNETT 2017.

[331] S. ČAČE 2002; 2013a; D. DZINO 2014c.

[332] For the archaeological interpretation of Liburnian 'ethnogenesis', see Š. BATOVIĆ 1987, republished in 2005. See also, M. SUIĆ 1981b: 87ff.

historical Liburnia can reflect any sense of cultural or group identity. An attempt is also made to analyse imported artefacts and styles to provide as comprehensive as possible a picture of economic and cultural connections communities in Liburnia had with different regions during this period.

The *Liburni* and *Liburnia* in Written Sources

Liburni and *Liburnia* are accepted in modern scholarship as labels that identify an ethnic group in antiquity and their territory, which consisted of the area of modern-day coastal Croatia from the river Raša to the river Krka and the adjacent islands.[333] This identity is based on statements in ancient literary sources that place the Liburni within that territory.[334] It is widely accepted that the Liburni, at some point between ca. 800 and 500 (or even up to 385) BCE, ruled over much of the eastern and western Adriatic coasts, as several sources place them outside of the above-mentioned homeland territory.[335] These are established interpretative models of Liburnian political and cultural identity that have remained intact for decades, even centuries, in historical and archaeological literature.[336] The aim of this section is to re-examine the ancient literary evidence relating to the Liburni and Liburnia in an attempt to describe Liburnian socio-political structure and ethno-cultural identity in the pre-Roman period.

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[333] E.g., Š. BATOVIĆ 2005; for discussion of sources on the Liburni, see M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 182-188; A. KURILIĆ 2012a: 172ff.

[334] Plin. *HN*., 3.139; Flor. *Epit*., 1.21.

[335] See, for example, M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 182-188; 2015: 6-13; Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 14ff; M. SUIĆ 1981b; A. KURILIĆ 2012a; R. MATIJAŠIĆ 2009b: 37-38; J. J. WILKES 1969: 159-162; cf. different interpretations in S. ČAČE 2002 and D. DZINO 2014c: 52-55.

[336] For an excellent critical discussion of issues surrounding various aspects of ethnic, social and political identities in Liburnia, based on epigraphic evidence from the Roman period, see A. KURILIĆ 1999; 2008b.

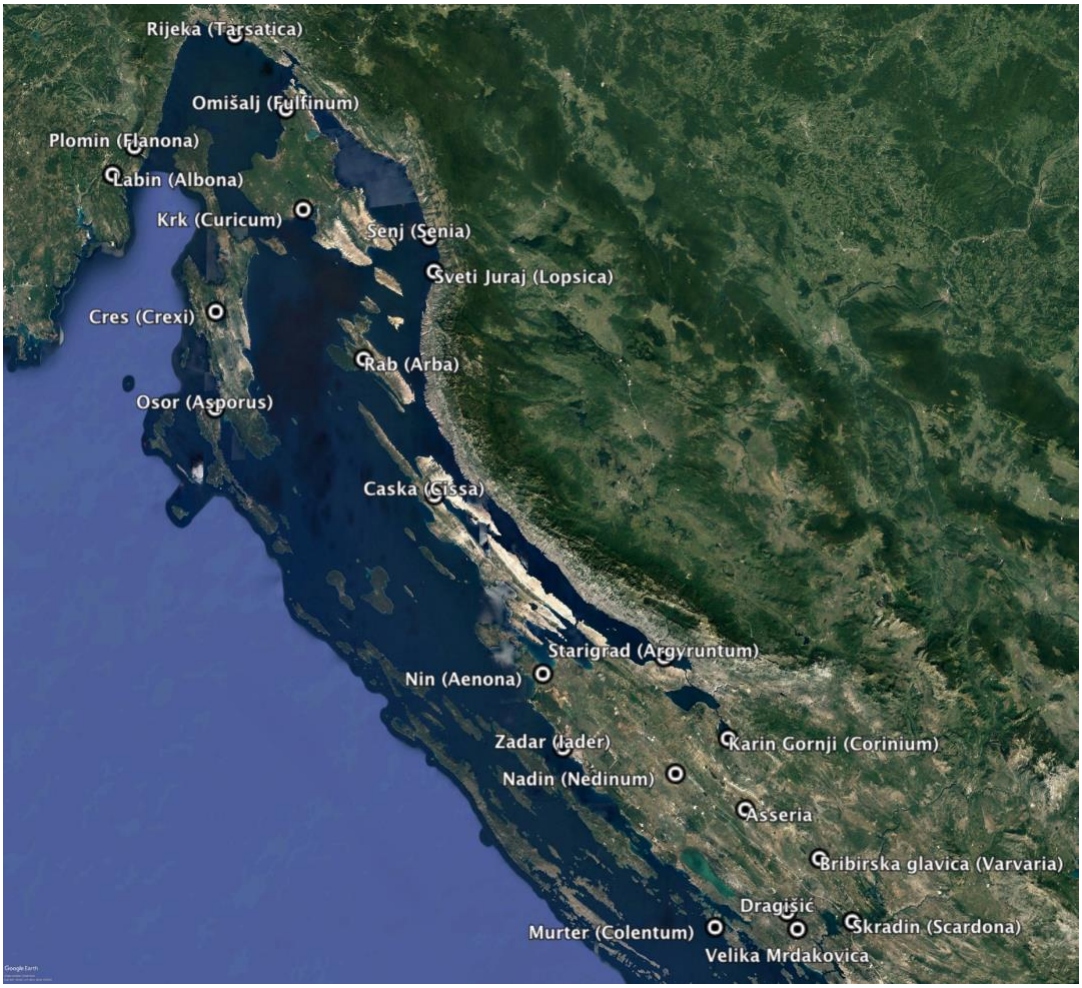

Fig. 3. Map of main sites mentioned in the text from the case-study region (ancient 'Liburnia'). Source: google maps.

The Liburni are mentioned in Greek literature at least as early as the 6th century BCE. The earliest reference to the group we have is a fragment of Hecataeus, preserved in the work of Stephanus of Byzantium.[337] The role of the 'Liburni' in Greek ethnographic discourses on the indigenous inhabitants of the eastern Adriatic, however, appears to go much further back into the Archaic Period.[338] As discussed below, there are very few written sources that contain information on the Liburni, and even these provide little insight

[337] Hecat. *FGrHist* 1 F 93, Steph. Byz. s.v. Λιβυρνοί.

[338] S. ČAČE 2002.

into their history. Most refer to their geographic location, and a few mention noteworthy aspects of their society.

Several sources note the special role of women in Liburnian society.[339] Pseudo-Skylax even states that the Liburni were ruled by women.[340] It is most probable that these statements should be taken to suggest that women had a prominent role in Liburnian society, rather than that the Liburni were indeed governed by women.[341] As Kurilić has suggested, these perceptions probably fit into topoi relating to the barbarization of the 'other' in Greco-Roman literature. Here, gender roles are used to portray Liburnian society as opposed to Greco-Roman social norms.[342] The Liburni were known as a nautical people in written sources, and both Appian and Livy claim they were notorious for their acts of piracy.[343] The rise of piracy in the Adriatic during this period is best interpreted as the result of high traffic in merchant vessels caused by increasing connectivity in the region after ca. 400 BCE.[344] The Liburni were also known for their swift light ships, from which the Romans appropriated their own light battleship, known as the *liburnica*.[345] There are also several references to a Liburnian cloak, dating as early as the 6th century BCE, and later in the Roman period,[346] possibly indicating that this item was a popular export to Greek and Roman cities.[347]

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[339] E.g., Nic. Dam. *FGrHist* 90 F 103 d; Varro. *Rust*. 2.10. These sources are discussed in detail in Chapter 6 .

[340] Ps.-Skylax 21; Florus also mentions the Liburni being under the rule of a queen Teutana, Flor. *Epit*. 1.21, however, he appears to use the terms 'Illyrians' and 'Liburni' as synonyms, D. DZINO 2014c: 53. Šašel Kos regards this as a mix-up of data he drew upon for the history of the Roman conquest of Illyria and, thus, regards Florus as an unreliable source, M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 187.

[341] M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 183; D. DZINO 2017b: 68-72.

[342] A. KURILIĆ 2012a: 176.

[343] Livy, 10.2.4; App. *Ill*., 3; 16. *Bell. Civ*., 2.39.

[344] D. DŽINO and A. DOMIĆ KUNIĆ 2013: 80-82.

[345] App. *Ill*., 3; D. DZINO and L. BORŠIĆ Forthcoming.

[346] Hecat. *FGrHist* 1 F 93, Steph. Byz. s.v. Λιβυρνοί; Mart. *Epigr*., 14.139. See also Plin. *HN*, 8.191.

[347] S. ČAČE 2006: 67.

Based on literary sources and epigraphic data from the Roman period, the Liburnian homeland is defined in scholarship as having its centre in northern Dalmatia (the Ravni Kotari-Bukovica region) and stretching up towards the Kvarner Gulf along the Croatian littoral below the Velebit mountain range (including all the adjacent islands).[348] The picture that is perceived from the written sources is, however, unclear and often contradictory, particularly with relation to the pre-Roman period. Hecataeus simply refers to the Liburni as a people next to the 'most interior part of the Adriatic Gulf',[349] suggesting the far northern Adriatic coast. Pseudo-Skylax lists several Liburnian cities; *Lias*, *Idassa*, *Attienites*, *Dyyrta*, *Lopsica*, *Ortopla* and *Vegium*, which G. Shipley has restored as *Arsias*, *Dassatika*, *Senites*, *Apsyrta*, *Loupsoi*, *Ortopeletai*, and *Heginoi* in his recent revision and translation of the text (for the first time into English).[350] If Shipley's interpretation of these Liburnian 'cities' corresponding to modern-day sites is correct, they all lay within the Kvarner Gulf region. Suić, however, argued for a very different reconstruction of Pseudo-Skylax's description of the Liburnian cities. Most importantly for this discussion, through a broader critique of the Periplous, he argued that the original author had little knowledge of the upper Adriatic and that the description of Liburnian cities was a much later addition to the original text.[351]

Several sources state that the Liburni occupied various places throughout the eastern Adriatic (outside of the above mentioned homeland territory) and even the Italian peninsula in the pre-Roman period.[352] Strabo records that Liburni occupied Korkyra prior to its colonization by Corinthians in 733 BCE.[353] Appian states that Liburni occupied

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[348] See e.g., J. J. WILKES 1969: 159-162, 192-219; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 182-188.

[349] Hecat. *FGrHist* 1 F 93, Steph. Byz. *Ethnica*, s.v. Λιβυρνοί.

[350] Ps.-Skylax, 21; G. SHIPLEY 2011: 105.

[351] M. SUIĆ 1955: 165.

[352] For a thorough discussion of issues surrounding these sources, see S. ČAČE 2002; D. DZINO 2014c: 52-55.

[353] Str., 6.2.4.

Epidamnus/Dyrrachium, before being expelled by the Korkyreans in 627 BCE.[354] A fragment of Theopompus of Chios, a 4th century BCE author, preserved in Stephanus of Byzantium, describes Ladesta (the modern-day island of Lastovo, in central Dalmatia), as a Liburnian island.[355] Pseudo-Skymnos stated that Pharos (modern-day Hvar in central Dalmatia) was a Liburnian island.[356] Apollonius of Rhodes mentions three Liburnian islands, including Issa, Dysceladus, and Pityeia.[357] Issa (modern-day Vis) is certainly in central Dalmatia, and it is possible that Dysceladus correlates to Celadussae (the Kornati islands),[358] or perhaps Brač (Brattia),[359] and Pityeia to Pharos,[360] all islands in central Dalmatia.[361] Pomponius Mela has the river Nar (the Neretva, in southern Dalmatia) as the border between the Liburni and the Piraeans.[362] Pliny mentions that several peoples, the Mentores, Hymani, Encheleae, the Buni, and Peucetiae, formerly were all considered 'Liburni', though now they all were part of 'Illyricum'.[363] He also has the Liburni inhabiting

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[354] App. *Bell. Civ.*, 2.39.

[355] Theopomp. *FGrHist* 115 F 131, Steph. Byz. s.v. Λάδεστα ἢ Λάδεστον.

[356] Skymn. *FGrHist* 2047 F 2 Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Πάρος; Čače argues that it is possible Skymnos' data was transmitted from Theopompus' work, and thus relates to an earlier period, S. ČAČE 2002: 92; see also, M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2015: 12.

[357] Apoll. *Arg.*, 4.562-66; Čače suggests it was because Apollonius was describing the mythical age of the Argonauts that he designated the central Dalmatian islands as Liburnian, harking back to more ancient times, S. ČAČE 2002: 92.

[358] R. KATIČIĆ 1995: 191.

[359] S. ČAČE 2002: 92.

[360] B. KIRIGIN 2006b: 28.

[361] M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 185. On the Liburnian islands, see R. KATIČIĆ 1995: 161-182.

[362] Pomp. Mel., 2.57.

[363] Plin. *HN*, 3.139; Hecataeus, writing in the 6th century BCE, refers to the *Mentores* as neighbours of the Liburni, Hecat. *FGrHist* 1 F 94 Steph. Byz. s. v. Μέντορες. The Encheleae are thought to have inhabited an area much further south. Pseudo-Skylax places them around the Gulf of Rhizon, Ps.-Skylax, 25, Strabo puts them in Damastion, near Apollonia, 7.7.8, see G. SHIPLEY 2011: 109; J. J. WILKES 1992: 98-99. Čače places the Buni in Central Dalmatia, S. ČAČE 2002: 92.

parts of coastal Picenum, in central-eastern Italy, including Truentum, which in his day was 'the only remaining Liburnian city in Italy'.[364]

Strabo records that when Archias, the founder of Syracuse, was sailing to Sicily he left Chersicrates, a Heracleidaean, and some others from his expedition on the island that came to be known as Korkyra (Corfu), in order to colonise it in ca. 733 BCE. Strabo says that Chersicrates ejected the Liburni, who at the time held possession of the island.[365] While this appears to indicate a Liburnian presence far south from their homeland during this early period, it is only one tradition relating to the foundation of Korkyra. Plutarch states that Chersicrates expelled Eretrian Euboeans from Korkyra, not Liburni.[366] It seems much more likely that Euboeans rather than Liburni were found on Korkyra. The Euboeans were among the first of the Greeks to sail from the Aegean in search of suitable places to colonize.[367] Corfu's position along the Ionian coast makes it an ideal staging point from which to sail onward to Italy and Sicily, and thus it is not hard to imagine it being settled by Euboeans in the late 8th century BCE.[368] The Commentator on Apollonius of Rhodes mentions Timaeus reporting that Korkyra was inhabited by Colchis prior to Chersicrates' arrival, and there is no mention of Liburni in this tradition.[369] However, it is entirely possible that multiple groups were settled on different parts of the island.[370]

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[364] Plin. *HN*, 3.110, 112. On the strong links between Picenum and Liburnian regions from at least the Early Iron Age, as evidenced through material culture, see Š. BATOVIĆ 1976; 2005: 18ff; M. SUIĆ 1953; M. BLEČIĆ 2007.

[365] Str., 6.2.4.

[366] Plut. *Quaes. Graec.*, 11.

[367] P. CABANES 2006: 163-165.

[368] S. ČAČE 2002: 85.

[369] Tim. *FGrHist* 566 F 80 = Schol. Apoll. Rhod., 4.1216.

[370] M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2015: 7; I. MALKIN 1998: 77-78. It is unlikely, however, that this was a mixed settlement of Liburni and Greeks from Eretria, N. G. L. HAMMOND 1982: 269.

The Liburni are also placed in the southern Adriatic during the Early Iron Age by Appian, who, when discussing the founding of Dyrrachium/Epidamnus around 625 BCE, recounts how they supplanted the Taulantii, an Illyrian tribe who had themselves supplanted the Briges, from the town. He goes on to say that the Korkyreans, who ruled the sea at the time, drove the Liburni out of Dyrrachium before joining their own colonists to the town.[371] The involvement of the Liburni in these events has been suggested as relating to a much later date, possibly to the events immediately preceding the First Illyrian War of 229 BCE, when the Illyrian queen Teuta attempted to occupy Dyrrachium.[372] Čače suggests the possibility that the Liburni were inserted into the tradition of the founding of Dyrrachium in order to emphasize the right of the Korkyreans to occupy the town.[373] The fact that the Korkyreans 'rescued' the town from the Liburni, before mingling their own colonists into the town, adds strength to their claim of a right to possess the town. A similar sentiment is implied by the fact that Heracles, who was worshipped in Korkyra, played an important role in the foundation myth.[374]

Both myths recounted above, in relation to the founding of Korkyra and Epidamnus/Dyrrachium, have a clear Korkyrean character. The Liburni are portrayed as barbarian outsiders, and the quintessential enemies of the Korkyreans. Čače argues that the stories of Liburnian involvement in Korkyra and Epidamnus/Dyrrachium were inserted anachronistically. In his opinion the anti-Liburnian sentiment came out of altercations between the indigenous communities and the Korkyreans during the latter's penetration into the northern Adriatic during the 6th and 5th centuries BCE. The Liburni were then inserted

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[371] App. *Bell. Civ*., 2.39; see M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 182-184 for Appian's motivation and sources for this passage.

[372] S. ČAČE 2002: 87. Florus, who describes 'Illyrians' and 'Liburni' as synonymous, says the Liburni were once under the rule of a queen Teutana, Flor. 1.21.

[373] S. ČAČE 2002: 87.

[374] App. *Bell. Civ*., 2.39.

into Korkyrean narratives as synonymous with non-Greek, enemy sailors inhabiting the eastern Adriatic.[375] This argument is not accepted by Šašel Kos, who argues that it would be unlikely that the Korkyreans would have explained their foundation story in terms of later events and inserted the Liburni into the narrative later. For her, the accounts of Liburnian domination of Korkyra and Epidamnus/Dyrrachium testify to their supremacy in the Adriatic as early as the 8th century.[376]

This rather confusing account of the geographic and ethnographic limitations of the Liburni has given rise to a tradition, developed in modern scholarship as early as the 17th century,[377] which assumes the Liburni began to dominate the Adriatic Sea from the 9th century BCE.[378] The notion of a 'Liburnian thalassocracy' thus developed in literature and was accepted in later scholarship.[379] However, there are several issues with this idea. The sources on Liburnian domination in the Adriatic are very limited,[380] largely unconnected, and provide an inconsistent portrayal of the Liburni and their territorial dispersion.[381] As noted above, Čače has suggested that the Liburni were anachronistically inserted into traditions on the founding of Korkyra and Epidamnus/Dyrrachium.[382] This brings into question the whole notion of a 'Liburnian thalassocracy'. Recently, Dzino has built upon

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[375] S. ČAČE 2002: 92-7.

[376] M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2015: 10, 12; 2005: 182-185; see also, Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 5, 14-15; N. G. L. HAMMOND 1967: 414-26; 1972: 413; and for an interesting discussion of the mythical figure of Ionios as a Liburnian (within the context of Liburnian expulsion from Korkyra), see M. NIKOLANCI 1989.

[377] I. LUČIĆ 1666: 29-33; D. FARLATI 1751: 6-20.

[378] N. G. L. HAMMOND 1972: 422-424; 1982: 266-267; Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 16-17; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2015: 9-12.

[379] See M. SUIĆ 1953; N. G. L. HAMMOND 1967: 414-426; J. J. WILKES 1969: 4; A. STIPČEVIĆ 1989: 31-32; R. KATIČIĆ 1995; M. ZANINOVIĆ 1996: 292-301, 322-324; I. MALKIN 1998: 77-78; S. ČAČE 2002; P. CABANES 2006: 163-164; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2015: 6-13.

[380] P. CABANES 2006: 163.

[381] As argued by D. DZINO 2014c: 52-55.

[382] S. ČAČE 2002: 96-7.

this by arguing that the label 'Liburni' had a much broader meaning prior to the 4th century BCE.[383] He suggests that the term was once attached to a wide group of indigenous communities in the northern and central Adriatic, parts of the Adriatic cultural '*koine*' in the Early Iron Age, and was eventually taken over by the label 'Illyrian' in certain regions by the 4th century.[384] The term 'Liburni' was eventually confined to the inhabitants of the Liburnia of the historical period, i.e., from the river Raša to the river Krka, including the Ravni Kotari-Bukovica region, the Kvarner Gulf and all the adjacent islands. This would explain why we hear of Liburni in various places that appear to be far from their homeland, why Florus speaks of 'Illyrians' and 'Liburni' as if they were synonymous labels,[385] as well as Pliny's statement that among the Liburni were once included (among others) the Enchelei.[386]

It certainly appears that the central Dalmatian Greeks in the 4th century BCE perceived the local population on the mainland as 'Illyrians'. Diodorus Siculus mentions a conflict in 385/84 BCE between the Parian colonists on Pharos and the indigenous inhabitants, and says that the latter were aided by 'Illyrians' from the mainland.[387] An honorary public inscription from the island of Hvar records a victory of the Parians over the

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[383] Dzino also argues that the archaeological evidence from Liburnian territory in Early Iron Age (ca. 8th-6th century BCE) is not consistent with a society, or any individual communities, that had a level of socio-political complexity and centralization required for military and political domination of such a wide area of the Adriatic, D. DZINO 2014c: 52-53. While there are certainly grounds for this argument, due to insufficient archaeological excavations and research at Iron Age hillforts in northern Dalmatia, it should be taken with caution.

[384] On the use of the term 'Illyrians' in Greek literary discourse, see A. KALJANAC 2009; D. DZINO 2008a; D. DZINO 2014c, with bibliography.

[385] Flor. *Ep*., 1.21.

[386] Plin. *HN,* 3.139. The Enchelei were one of the oldest known 'Illyrian' groups from the area around Lake Ohrid, in the modern-day border region of south-western Macedonia and eastern Albania, D. DZINO 2014c: 53-54.

[387] Diod. Sic. 15.14.1-2; for discussion, see J. STYLIANOU 1998: 193-196; B. KIRIGIN 2006b: 64-67; P. CABANES 2006: 176-178; S. ČAČE 2006: 70; 2013a: 20-24.

'Iadasinoi' and their allies.[388] While D. Rendić-Miočević proposed these Iadasinoi may have been the Iadastini, the group from the neighbourhood of Salona, known from an inscription from Solin,[389] most scholars agree that these Iadasinoi were the inhabitants of Zadar (ancient *Iader*).[390] Paleographic analysis of the lettering dates this inscription to the 4th century BCE, however, it is uncertain whether it relates to the events of 384 BCE or a later conflict.[391] Another 4th century inscription, from the island of Vis (ancient Issa), mentions a hero 'Kallias' perishing while in battle against 'Illyrians'.[392] It is far from certain whether any of these conflicts mentioned by Diodorus and in these two inscriptions were directly related to each other, but also interesting that none of the accounts mention 'Liburni'. Čače points out that the inscription from Hvar's mention of the 'Iadasinoi', and not a wider ethnonym, is significant as it highlights the importance of Zadar in the region during the Iron Age.[393] It also arguably indicates that communities in the territory of (future) 'Liburnia' were developing along communal lines, not necessarily linked in a socio-political structure (or as a distinct ethno-cultural group).

The arguments outlined above highlight the problems with attempting to conclusively define the geographic limits and ethnographic characteristics of the Liburni in the pre-Roman period. If it is accepted that the term 'Liburni' had a much broader meaning prior to the 4th century BCE,[394] as discussed above, this calls into question the chronology

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[388] *CIG* 2, 1837c; J. BRUNŠMID 1898: 16-27; D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1950.

[389] D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1950.

[390] After the analysis of Suić, M. SUIĆ 1975. Cf. B. KIRIGIN 2006b: 67; S. ČAČE 2013a: 20-21. Contra: N. CAMBI 2012, who recently defended the opinion of Rendić-Miočević.

[391] S. ČAČE 1994: 48-52; B. KIRIGIN 2006b: 67; N. CAMBI 2013a: 9-10.

[392] *SEG* 31.604; 55.651; on this inscription and its interpretation, see D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1987: 25-27; J. JELIČIĆ-RADONIĆ 2005: 323-325.

[393] S. ČAČE 2013a: 22-24; see 2006: 70 and Map 3.

[394] By no means a widely accepted argument, cf. M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 182-188; 2015: 6-13; Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 14ff; M. SUIĆ 1981b; A. KURILIĆ 2012a; R. MATIJAŠIĆ 2009b: 30ff.

and mechanisms by which the historical 'Liburnia' came into existence. This argument does not necessarily imply that the people living from the Kvarner Gulf to the Ravni Kotari-Bukovica region did not have a self-conscious sense of belonging to an ethnic group called the 'Liburni', but does suggest a more complex and gradual process of identity-construction in Liburnia needs consideration. The construction of group identity is always a communicative and discursive process, and thus must be understood in terms of social interactions.[395] It takes place constantly through time, and assuming any degree of historical constancy and continuity of selfhood, whether individual or collective, is problematic.[396] This is particularly true here with the nature of the evidence – subjective, one-sided perceptions of the barbarian 'other' found in Greco-Roman sources – which, as argued above, might reflect a number of changes in the use of the terms 'Liburni' and 'Illyrians'. Moving forward, a reformulation of approaches to identity in pre-Roman Liburnia towards analysis of the social and political context within which these identities were formed may prove more constructive than searching for discrete ethnicities, as Dzino noted in the example of the Iapodes.[397]

Pliny is the first to delineate the historical Liburnian region when he states that the Liburni dwelt between the Arsia (the Raša, in modern-day Croatian Istria) and Titius (the Krka, in Šibenik-Knin county) rivers.[398] Pliny was writing in the 1st century CE, and Čače argues that it is possible he used a source for this section on the Liburni dated to around 30-15 BCE.[399] He goes on to suggest that the regions that Pliny names after ethnicities should

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[395] J. STRAUB 2002: 67ff.

[396] P. WAGNER 2002: 50-52.

[397] D. DZINO 2008a: 47-48.

[398] Plin. *HN*, 3.139; see also Flor. *Epit*., 1.21.

[399] S. ČAČE 2013a: 44. Čače argues that Pliny's source for his geographical description of Illyricum/Dalmatia was probably Varro, S. ČAČE 1993a: 20; 2006: 72-73. On Pliny's sources, see also S. ČAČE 2010; T. H. WATKINS 1988/89: 129-31; D. DZINO 2010b: 10-11; J. DESANGES 2004.

rather be considered administrative 'counties' ('*okruzi*'), rather than 'ethnic' units.[400] Čače cites as evidence for the construction of these units an inscription from Verona that mentions an unknown person with military and civil authority over Iapodia and Liburnia during the Batonian revolt.[401] The establishment of these administrative units in the context of the province of Illyricum facilitated the governing of the province, and in extreme cases such as the *Bellum Batonianum*, they could act as bulwarks to protect Italy.[402] It is questionable whether Pliny's description accurately reflects the situation in the pre-Roman period, and certainly plausible that his classification of Liburnia instead reflects the administrative reorganization and compartmentalization of pre-Roman communities and identities.[403] The integration of regions into new political and administrative networks, and the gradual shift from imperial frontier to imperial periphery,[404] can create new 'imperial artefacts' – new mental maps, new provinces, and new administrative spaces.[405] These new administrative identities could precipitate the construction of new indigenous identity-narratives in an imperial context, as are known from examples in Gaul and Batavia.[406]

The integrity of individual communities that remained loyal to Rome, particularly to Caesar or Augustus during the civil wars, was probably upheld under Roman rule.[407] We can assume from Appian's statement that the pro-Marian consuls Lucius Cornelius Cinna

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[400] S. ČAČE 2013a: 44-45; see also S. ČAČE 2007: 75-76.

[401] *CIL* 5, 3346. On this inscription and the individual mentioned, see Chapter 5. On archaeological and literary evidence for the *Bellum Batonianum*, see I. RADMAN-LIVAJA and M. DIZDAR 2010.

[402] S. ČAČE 2013a: 46-47.

[403] As Dzino notes, assuming that the Roman *civitates* mentioned in Pliny (*HN*, 3.139-44), were continuations of pre-conquest indigenous identities is problematic, given the political and ethnographic framework within which he constructed his work, D. DZINO 2014b: 221.

[404] In the Late Republic, Rome was already acting as an expansionist 'Empire', see E. H. CLINE and M. W. GRAHAM 2011: 199ff; N. S. ROSENSTEIN 2012; J. RICHARDSON 2008.

[405] C. ANDO 2000: 353-354; T. DERKS 2009: 240; D. DZINO 2014b: 219.

[406] G. WOOLF 1996b; N. ROYMANS 2004: 221-234.

[407] S. ČAČE 2007: 46.

and Gnaeus Papirius Carbo planned to land an army in Liburnia in 84 BCE, which they would use as a base for a campaign in the eastern Adriatic against Sulla,[408] that the Romans were on friendly terms with some Liburnian communities at this point, as they would not want to land an army in hostile territory.[409] However, Liburni are reported as fighting on both sides of the civil wars of Caesar and Pompey.[410] Even Octavian apparently had trouble with some Liburnian communities, as Appian mentions that he deprived the Liburni of their ships due to their practicing piracy,[411] and Dio mentions their involvement in the unrest that led to his campaign in Illyricum in 35 BCE.[412] Reorganization, or reimagining, of pre-Roman identities need not necessarily involve violent or intrusive intervention (though in some cases it may well have), but may serve to create new socio-political and administrative boundaries out of existing group identities in the formative period of the province of Illyricum. Čače highlights several examples of social and civic developments occurring in the Kvarner Gulf to Ravni Kotari-Bukovica region in this early provincial period.[413] Iader became a colony,[414] while a number of towns were given special statuses and privileges.[415] Several towns were also deserted in the late pre-Roman period, such as Grad near Smokvica in the south of the island of Pag,[416] Gradina Žeželj in Ervenik, Đurina Gomila in Mokro

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[408] App. *Bell. Civ.* 1.77-78.

[409] D. DZINO 2010b: 73-74; S. ČAČE 2013a: 25; 1993b; for some interesting ideas on the causes of this campaign, see Ž. PETKOVIĆ 2008.

[410] See below, 89.

[411] App. *Ill.* 16; Šašel Kos suggests this was part of Octavian's strategic preparation for war with Antony, M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2012: 97.

[412] Dio. 49.34.1-2; for discussion, see A. STARAC 2000d: 17-18.

[413] S. ČAČE 2013a: 45-46.

[414] See J. J. WILKES 1969: 206ff.; A. STARAC 2000d: 26-27; S. ČAČE 2006: 74, n. 42.

[415] See J. J. WILKES 1969: 192-219; A. STARAC 2000d: 27-31. The municipalization and gaining of status among Liburnian communities in discussed Chapter 5.

[416] Š. BATOVIĆ 1973: 105; 1990b.

Polje, and Gradina near Sv. Trojica in Tribanj,[417] while *Argyruntum* was founded in Starigrad-Paklenica.[418] These developments indicate that dynamic and intensive changes to the socio-political landscape in Liburnia were occurring during the period between the founding of the province of Illyricum and that of the province of Dalmatia. The creation of 'Liburnia' as an administrative structure appears to have been one of these changes.

One last source for the ethnic background of the Liburni certainly deserves mention. There is a curious line in the work of Gaius Iulius Solinus in which he labels the Liburni as an 'Asiatic people'.[419] Scholarship has rarely taken this statement seriously. In a recent study, M. Zaninović argued that the Liburni may have migrated to the eastern Adriatic from Lycia in the Late Bronze Age.[420] His arguments are based primarily on paleolinguistic evidence, and are difficult to agree with. The toponymic and onomastic evidence sits uneasily on its own, and the argument for a similarity in the numeric organization of Liburnian society is untenable. Zaninović argues that Liburnian society was made-up of 14 *civitates* and that similar social structures are found in Lycia, Lydia, Lycaonia, and among the Etruscans. He claims that these similarities are explained through several groups, including the Liburni, having migrated from Asia Minor to the Adriatic in the post-Mycenaean period.[421] However, Čače has shown convincingly that this socio-political structure did not exist in Liburnia.[422] As Dzino recently argued, Solinus' statement is part of an intertextual process of gathering and interpreting ethnographic knowledge, whereby the Liburni are perceived as the barbarian 'other'. He links this to the tradition of the rule of

[417] A. TONC, I. RADMAN-LIVAJA, and M. DIZDAR 2013.

[418] M. DUBOLNIĆ 2007.

[419] Sol. *Polyhistor*, 2.51.

[420] M. ZANINOVIĆ 2013; 2015: 11-57.

[421] M. ZANINOVIĆ 2013: 48.

[422] See below.

women in Liburnia, and argues the origins of the Liburni were placed in Asia Minor in the tradition transmitted by Solinus in order to connect them with the mythological Amazons.[423]

Suić argued that similarities could be perceived in the social development of the Liburni and the Greeks and Etruscans in several ways. One example was in terms of the socio-political structure of their communities, which he asserts were organized into a tetrapolis-dodecapolis system. Suić based this hypothesis on a reading of Pliny, who mentions that 14 Liburnian communities existed.[424] However, as Čače has rightly shown, Suić's interpretation misrepresents the number and civic nature of the Liburnian communities cited by Pliny, as it is probable that Liburnia was divided into more than just 14 communities.[425] The existence of a dodecapolis system and any kind of archaic numerical structure of Liburnian communities is, thus, thoroughly unsubstantial.[426]

There has been some speculation over whether, particularly during the latter stages of the Iron Age, the Liburni were linked in a socio-political sense. Some scholars have argued that the communities in the Ravni Kotari-Bukovica and Kvarner Gulf regions were part of a kind of loose confederation or alliance.[427] However, there is no actual proof for this confederation in the written sources, nor any archaeological indicators.[428] Čače has described the situation before Roman government in Liburnia as complex, with Zadar being the strongest and most influential town, yet not having the power to undermine the interests and development of other leading communities.[429] He argued, based on archaeological

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[423] D. DZINO 2017b.

[424] Plin. *HN*, 3. 139; M. SUIĆ 1981b: 108-09.

[425] S. ČAČE 1993a: 5ff.; 2013a: 17-20

[426] See also, S. ČAČE 1985: 647; A. STARAC 2000d: 18.

[427] M. SUIĆ 1991-92: 56, n. 5; 1981b: 108; see S. ČAČE 1985: 647; Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 55; A. STARAC 2000d: 18; D. DZINO 2010b: 42, 91-92.

[428] For references, see D. DZINO 2010b: 42.

[429] S. ČAČE 2007: 46.

evidence, that Zadar was a leading polity with a large territory well beyond its urban centre in the Late Iron Age,[430] and the inscription mentioning that the Iadasinoi led their allies against the Parian colonists on Pharos indicates they had some hegemony or influence over other communities.[431] Caution is still required here, as evidence for the Late Iron Age period at sites in Liburnia is limited. How the other communities in Liburnia were organized, and what the situation was in the Early Iron Age, is much more difficult to interpret.[432] As mentioned above, the absence of a mention of Liburni in the Iadasinoi inscription could indicate a lack of socio-political or ethnic unity among groups in the territory of Liburnia in the Late Iron Age.

N. Cambi has argued that the lack of dedications to a supreme Liburnian goddess (for example, *Liburnia Terra*), compared to the situation in Histria where there are recorded several inscriptions to *Histria Terra*, points to a higher sense of 'national' consciousness and identity among the Histri in contrast with the Liburni.[433] The Histrian kingdom, which appears to have been a federation of individual communities, certainly existed from at least the late 3rd century BCE, and possibly as early as the 4th century, until they came under direct Roman control.[434] There is no indication that such a kingdom or federation existed in Liburnian territory, and Cambi puts this down to their lower degree of ethnic development.[435] As mentioned above, Liburnian communities fought on different sides of the Roman civil wars, pointing to the political division and heterogeneity of these groups in the Late Republican period. Caesar refers to the men of *Iadera* as devoted supporters,

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[430] S. ČAČE 2006: 70-71, Map. 3.

[431] See above 82.

[432] On the political organization of the Iapodes, Histri and Delmatae in the pre-Roman period, see S. ČAČE 1979.

[433] N. CAMBI 2013b: 74, with sources.

[434] A. STARAC 1999: 7ff.

[435] N. CAMBI 2013b: 74.

unsurpassed in their loyalty.[436] He also refers to the joint 'Liburnian' and Achaian squadron in Pompey's fleet in 49 BCE.[437] These sources appear to suggest that the Liburni were not a homogenous socio-political group in the pre-Roman period.[438] While political unity can have the effect of precipitating or enhancing a sense of group identity along ethnic lines,[439] any division need not necessarily point to a lack of ethnic unity.

The question of when the historical 'Liburnia' developed remains unanswered. Appian mentions a conflict in 50 BCE over the settlement of Promona. The Delmatae apparently took this town from 'the Liburni', who then appealed to Caesar for assistance.[440] Čače points out that Appian here refers to the Liburni as a political entity. He suggests that it is possible that a system of Roman domination of coastal Illyricum was established as early as the period of Gaius Cosconius' campaigns against the Delmatae (ca. 78-76 BCE),[441] and that around this time Liburnia was 'constituted' as a league of communities based in northern Dalmatia, possibly including some from the Kvarner Gulf region with whom they shared ethnic similarities.[442] However, Appian's comment needs to be understood in its

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[436] Caes. *Bell. Alex.* 42.3.

[437] Caes. *Bell. Civ.* 3.5.

[438] D. DZINO 2010b: 91-92; cf. S. ČAČE 2013a: 37, n. 40, who argues that the Liburnian navy fighting in Pompey's armada was actually made-up of Liburnian ships (*liburnicae*) captured from the Caesarian side, based on Appian's mention of Pompey capturing 40 of Caesar's ships in the Adriatic, App. *Bell. Civ.* 2.49. This seems unlikely, since Caesar refers to the joint squadron of Achaians and Liburni in the Pompeian fleet, Caes. *Bell. Civ.* 3.5. However, Čače is certainly right when he says our information on Liburni fighting in the civil wars is so scanty as to make it almost irrelevant.

[439] D. DZINO 2008a: 48.

[440] App. *Ill.* 12; for discussion, see D. DZINO 2010b: 85-86; S. ČAČE 2013b: 22-26.

[441] Eutr. 6.4; Oros. 5.23.23; cf. Cic. *Clu.* 97; for discussions, see J. J. WILKES 1969: 35; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 311-313; D. DZINO 2010b: 67-69.

[442] S. ČAČE 2013a: 26-27. There are certainly reasons to presume that Cosconius' campaign had a significant impact on the area, particularly in terms of Rome's influence. In Caesar's time, the Delmatae had to pay tribute to Rome, S. ČAČE 1989: 87, n. 75, and no Roman military interventions here are mentioned between Cosconius' campaign and the end of Caesar's pro-consulship, M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 313.

historical context – he wrote two centuries after these events, and possibly reflects a later period when Liburnia was already a distinct administrative unit. There is no documentation of 'Liburnia' in the provincial framework prior to the Augustan period.[443] It is conceivable that it was developed as an administrative structure, consisting of communities friendly with the Romans, in the context of Octavian's campaigns in central Dalmatia in the 30s to act as a bulwark against the hostile Delmatae.

Given the ambiguity regarding their geographical designation in the written sources, and the lack of evidence for any political cohesion of their communities prior to the 1st century BCE, it is perhaps questionable to what extent the Iron Age peoples inhabiting the territory from the Kvarner Gulf to the Ravni Kotari-Bukovica region had a self-conscious sense of shared identity. Prior to Pliny's listing of Liburnian towns (which probably reflects information obtained from a late 1st century BCE source) the Liburni were placed at various locations throughout the eastern Adriatic and in Italy. The discussion above suggests no earlier sources are confirmed as placing them directly within the same territory as Pliny's Liburnia. The conclusions of this chapter agree with the idea of Čače that the Liburnia Pliny mentions was constructed as a new administrative area during the early formative period of the Roman province of Illyricum.[444] The 'Liburnia' of the historical period being a Roman imperial re-organization of pre-conquest indigenous communities and identities, gathered into a structural whole for administrative purposes.[445] Formation of this administrative unit impacted on the identity of the people living there, so we have several instances where the

[443] If we consider Pliny's account of Liburnian communities as derived from a source dated to 30-15 BCE, see above Chapter 3. On Liburnia as an administrative unit in the Roman period, see below, Chapter 5.

[444] See above n. 400.

[445] On restructuring of provincial communities in the period of Roman imperial expansion, with an eye towards Roman Dalmatia, see D. DZINO 2014b: 219-224.

designation *natione Liburnus* is expressed in inscriptions from the Roman period.[446] This does not mean that some people living in this area prior to the mid-1st century BCE did not consider themselves Liburni and share a common cultural experience. If Liburnia was designated as a Roman administrative/governing unit, or 'county' as Čače puts it, it was certainly named after an important ethnic group in the region.[447] However, as is argued above, the geographic limitations as well as ethno-cultural and socio-political character of these communities is difficult to determine precisely in the period before the formation of the Roman province of Illyricum with the evidence at hand.

The Liburnian Cultural Group

Š. Batović established a systematic chronology of archaeological material relating to the Liburnian region from prehistory in 1965,[448] which he subsequently revised several times.[449] Batović divides the 'Liburnian Cultural Group' into five phases, spanning the 9th to 1st centuries BCE, ending with the Roman conquest. Initially, his first phase occurred between the 11th and 10th centuries BCE, between what Batović describes as two waves of Balkan-Pannonian migration. However, upon revision he has suggested that this phase was not tied to the later Iron Age cultures in the Liburnian region, and should rather be

[446] These inscriptions are discussed in A. KURILIĆ 2012a: 178-180, and in more detail in Chapter 6. However, the designation *natione* does not necessarily express pre-Roman ethnicity, as, for example, the designation *natione Pannonius*, see D. DZINO and A. DOMIĆ KUNIĆ 2012: 103ff, or *natione Delmata*, see D. DZINO 2010a: 106-107.

[447] This would be reflective of, though on a smaller scale, the construction of the provinces of 'Illyricum', 'Dalmatia' and 'Pannonia', each of which was named after a major ethnic group in the region, but which included a number of ethnic and socio-political groups, see below, Chapter 5.

[448] Š. BATOVIĆ 1965: 55-77.

[449] His work was synthesised in an extended article, Š. BATOVIĆ 1987: 339-391, which was more recently published in an updated version, Š. BATOVIĆ 2005, see English summary at 91-95.

considered as a transitional phase between the Bronze and Iron Age cultures.[450] As is discussed below, the five phases were characterized by local developments in material culture as well as cultural connections with various regions in the western Balkans, the Italian peninsula and the Aegean region. Batović's categorisation of the Liburnian cultural group was important for the development of local archaeology in Dalmatia. This section provides an overview and analysis of the concept of the Liburnian cultural group in the context of a discussion about cultural developments and identities in Late Iron Age Liburnia.

A cultural network existed along the eastern Adriatic coast and in parts of the western Adriatic coast (particularly the Picenum region) during the Late Bronze Age, known as the Adriatic cultural *koine*. Regions that were included in this Adriatic *koine* became increasingly diversified during the transition from the Bronze to Iron Ages, though certain cultural similarities were seen throughout the early phases of the Iron Age from the northern Adriatic to as far south as the southern Dalmatian coast.[451] Batović ascribes this development of diversification to Balkan-Pannonian migrations during the 10th-9th century BCE. [452] During Batović's phase 1 of the Liburnian culture, dating to the 9th century, the material culture of northern Dalmatia appears closer to other areas along the Adriatic coasts, and links with the Balkan hinterland seem to have reduced, except among the Iapodian regions.[453] Some items of material culture found in this earliest stage of the Iron Age are continuations of forms originating in the Late Bronze Age,[454] such as certain types of arched

[450] This phase was related closer to Late Bronze Age cultural features, which had links to the Pannonian region, Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 15-7.

[451] On the Adriatic cultural *koine*, see references above n. 220.

[452] Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 17.

[453] Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 19.

[454] On the Late Bronze Age (12th – 10th centuries BCE) in Dalmatia, see V. BARBARIĆ 2009.

fibulae, while others appear for the first time.[455]

During phase 2, separated into 2a, dating to the 8th century, and 2b, dating to the 7th century BCE, similarities in the material culture of northern Dalmatia can be found in regions on both sides of the Adriatic, particularly in the region of Picenum, in north-eastern Italy, and in central Dalmatia.[456] Study of impasto wares found in Liburnia dating to phase 2 of the Liburnian culture show distinct similarities with contemporary forms found in Picenum. D. Gatti showed that the impasto wares from Nin, Radovin and Zadar had common decorative and formal elements with those on the western coast. Particularly noteworthy is the increasing use of ceramics with bronze knobs, which became common throughout the period of phase 2. Specific sites on the western Adriatic coast, such as Martinsicuro, appear to have had particularly strong links with the eastern Adriatic, and point to trans-Adriatic economic and cultural links.[457] Imports also start appearing at this stage in the form of painted geometric wares from Apulia in southern Italy, and black polished wares from both Apulia and the Venetian region in the northern Adriatic. Certain metal items imported from Italy dating to this period have also been found in northern Dalmatia, including serpentine fibulae and swords with spiral handles.[458] Items of attire, including multi-headed pins and pendants, from this period onwards link Liburnia with the Iapodian and Histrian regions.[459]

Phase 3 (approximately 6th century BCE) saw links with Picenum, Apulia, and the Venetian region retained, while imports of Greek ceramics with black decoration begin during this period.[460] During phase 4, dated to the 5th century, imports from Apulia

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[455] Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 19., T. XXXVII, 1-11.

[456] Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 20.

[457] D. GATTI 2005; see A. J. NIJBOER 2010: 4-5.

[458] Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 20, T. XXXVI, 12-21; T. XXXVIII.

[459] S. KUKOČ 2010; D. GLOGOVIĆ 2008; 2014: 22.

[460] Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 20, T. XXXIX; T. XL, 1-10.

continued, though Greek influence in the region greatly expanded. Interestingly, from this period, the use of amber reduced in the region. This occurred gradually through the later stages of the Iron Age, though the more regular use of amber returned in the Roman period.[461]

Phase 5, which Batović divided into two stages, 5a from the 4th to 3rd century, and 5b from the 2nd to 1st century BCE, saw the most dramatic cultural interaction and integration in northern Dalmatia during the Iron Age.[462] During this phase, the period defined as the Late Iron Age in this region, interactions with the Greek world are considered as having led to significant changes in local cultural templates, as discussed in the next section. Architectural techniques, burial rituals, and abundant forms of material culture were imported or imitated, while the development of certain indigenous forms ceased and others were initiated. Roman influences in material culture became prominent from the second stage of this period. [463]

Batović's research developed the fundamental basis of knowledge on Iron Age Liburnian culture, and his work is indispensable to anyone interested in the field. His studies are based on archaeological material from a range of contexts, including finds from necropolises, settlements, and hoards.[464] There are, however, limitations in his methodological approaches. The arguments outlined in the introduction highlight the issues with locating ethnic identities through material culture. Batović argues for the continuous development of the Liburni as a discrete ethno-cultural entity without interruption from the Late Bronze Age into the Iron Age. This interpretation is firmly framed in terms of analysis of material culture, with the naming of the Liburnian cultural group based on ancient written

[461] Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 21, T. XL, 11-17.

[462] On material from the fifth phase of the Liburnian culture, see Š. BATOVIĆ 1974; D. GLOGOVIĆ 2014; Z. BRUSIĆ 2010.

[463] Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 21, T. XLI, XLII.

[464] On the development of research and excavation of sites in Liburnia, see his discussion at Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 6-13; for an updated and thorough discussion, see M. ČELHAR 2014: 37-52.

sources.[465] He claimed that they were a separate 'national community' from the 8th century BCE and into the Roman period.[466] It was, however, argued above that interpretations of the Liburni as a discrete ethnic or political group through written sources with clear geographic limitations and socio-political characterization prior to the 1st century BCE are problematic. Arguing solely on the material evidence, designation of the Liburni as a pre-Roman collective identity is also difficult to assume, considering modern interpretations of the multidimensional nature of ethnicity and approaches to identity in archaeology.[467] Distribution of material culture can be attributed to many factors, and need not indicate the limits of ethnic identities. The amount of data with context specific characteristics relating to consumption and deposition required for differentiating ethnic identity construction methods through material culture are currently not available for the Iron Age in Liburnia.[468]

Batović noticed differences between material culture remains from various parts of Liburnia – the northern and southern parts of the Ravni Kotari region, the Kvarner Gulf and eastern Istria, but he claimed these are not particularly pronounced.[469] However, Blečić has argued that the communities in the Kvarner Gulf region were substantially different in terms of culture, with the islands and communities here being at the cross-roads of several trade routes linking the eastern Alps region, Balkan hinterland and Adriatic coasts.[470] The people living throughout these regions no doubt participated in the cultural experiences of their own communities as well as that of their neighbours, both within and bordering their immediate area, as they shared aspects of language and material culture relating to burial practices, cults and everyday activities. However, whether any of these practices relate to the

[465] Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 5.

[466] Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 65.

[467] S. JONES 1997: 124.

[468] See S. ČAČE 2013b: 22-23 for a similar argument.

[469] Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 65.

[470] M. BLEČIĆ 2007.

construction of ethnic identities remains to be seen. The Liburnian deities were almost exclusively female, as were those of the Histri.[471] Ethnicity is an aspect of identity that works on a variety of levels, and cross-cuts numerous other aspects of social identities, such as gender, age and religion.[472] Thus, it is difficult to, necessarily, use similarities in the worship of deities as an indicator of ethnicity. As discussed in the introduction, equating language with group identity is also problematic, particularly since languages are constantly changing. Equating any common language in pre-Roman Liburnia with an ethnic group is therefore difficult, particularly since all our onomastic data comes from the Roman period.[473] Similarities and differences in language between neighbouring communities might indicate a plurality of factors, and while this may include a sense of shared ethnic identity, it may also indicate communicative relations associated with trade and economic interactions, political interactions and broad historical processes.[474]

Chapman *et al* were quite right to argue that invasionist/diffusionist paradigms, searching for 'people' and 'cultures' or 'culture-areas' are not the most pragmatic methods of assessing social and cultural change in Dalmatia through archaeological remains.[475] Perhaps a more practical approach is to ask how increasing connectivity and interaction with local and trans-Adriatic centres influenced the ways inhabitants of the eastern Adriatic engaged in various daily activities and cultural practices in the Late Iron Age. Yet, this is a particularly difficult question to answer due to the nature of the evidence and the level of research in the area under investigation. In this period, the increasing influence of and connectivity to south Italian production centres meant that various elements of material

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[471] M. ŠAŠEL KOS 1999: 63-80; see chapter 7.

[472] S. LUCY 2006: 86.

[473] On Liburnian onomastics, with a particular focus on aspects of identity, see A. KURILIĆ 1999 (with extensive bibliography); A. KURILIĆ 2008b; J. MEDINI 1978a.

[474] J. ROBB 1993.

[475] J. CHAPMAN, R. SHIEL, and Š. BATOVIĆ 1996: 7-8.

culture were imported and adopted in many coastal Dalmatian communities to a significant degree. These are most apparent in terms of pottery and jewellery forms, as well as, perhaps, aspects of burial rituals in which these items were included – for example, the deposition of pottery in burials and the introduction of 'Hellenistic' type tombs.[476] Whether imported pots and burial practices were adopted as knowingly Greek/Italic material and customs or not they would soon become normal parts of local cultural repertoires. Similar distributions are seen across a wide area in the Late Iron Age, as Hellenistic style pottery is found imported from southern Britain to the Black Sea.[477] As such, perhaps the simplest way to explain this is that increasing production in south Italian and Aegean centres and economic interactions with the western Adriatic coast during Late Iron Age led to the use of increasingly available mass-manufactured goods, particularly pottery – Gnathia, Black-glazed, Hellenistic relief wares, etc,[478] and the incorporation of new aesthetic and technological aspects of production of metal jewellery and attire items. Yet, this region had undergone similar changes for centuries. Interactions between communities in northern Dalmatia and the Kvarner Gulf with their eastern Adriatic neighbours and other communities further afield on the Italian peninsula were intensive from at least the Early Iron Age, and continued through to the Roman period.[479]

The Material Culture of Late Iron Age Liburnia

This section looks more closely at imported and locally produced artefacts from Liburnia dating to the Late Iron Age. The aim is to trace economic and cultural connections

[476] Discussed in the next section.

[477] The scholarship on consumption of imported pottery across the ancient world is vast, see e.g., M. PITTS 2005; M. DIETLER 2010; J. S. P. WALSH 2014.

[478] Z. BRUSIĆ 1999; M. MIŠE 2015.

[479] Š. BATOVIĆ 1976; Z. BRUSIĆ 1993: 81ff; M. BLEČIĆ 2007; A. J. NIJBOER 2010: 4ff.

across time, as well as to discuss how influences from the Hellenistic and Roman worlds affected local material culture and how imported material was integrated into local cultural practices. Focus is given primarily to ceramic and metal artefacts as these are the most prevalent categories of goods found in Late Iron Age contexts and are relatively well studied. This means that they can provide a good indication of the cultural and artistic circles that their producers drew upon as well as the areas with which Liburnia was connected to during this period.

The locally produced pottery forms commonly found among Iron Age Liburnian communities resemble specimens found in neighbouring regions of the eastern Adriatic and its hinterland. These were generally plain vessels, hand-made without a potter's wheel from poorly refined clay mixed with varied amounts of fine-grained crystalline limestone (calcite) and heated on an open fire to create several shades, from dark grey and reddish to yellowish-brown.[480] Due to finds usually coming from hillfort sites, local Liburnian Iron Age pottery is frequently referred to as *gradina* pottery among local archaeologists.[481] A range of forms of local ceramic artefacts are known, including kitchen wares, various forms of pots, lids, bowls, cups and dishes/trays used for food preparation and serving, as well as portable braziers or cookers, strainers, weights of various sizes, spools and whorls.[482] Decorations on these locally produced pots are rare, though when found usually include fashioning of the rims and handles. Use of fingers or tools to create indentations and grooves, notching, torsioning, as well as application of clay onto the surface of a vessel (appliquéing) were methods utilised to create decorated rims and handles on some Liburnian pots. The most commonly found ornamentation is the use of circular imprints along the rim, handle or base,

[480] Z. BRUSIĆ 1999: 47; Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 45; L. ŠEŠELJ and M. VUKOVIĆ 2013: 337-339.
[481] Z. BRUSIĆ 1993: 81.
[482] Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 45-46; M. KOLEGA 2013: 283-289; M. VUKOVIĆ 2014: 23ff; L. ŠEŠELJ and M. VUKOVIĆ 2013: 337-341; M. ČELHAR and I. BORZIĆ 2016: 70ff.

possibly using a finger or other object.[483] There is no evidence for multi-coloured decoration.

As already mentioned, Batović pointed to influences from the western Adriatic in some local ceramic material. Besides some southern Italian influences in 7th and 6th century BCE ceramic jewellery that affected local styles, he considered that Apulian *dolia* of the 6th century BCE had a similar thickened rim to some Liburnian domestic vessels, while geometric decorations on some Daunian craters of the 6th and 5th centuries also influenced local potters.[484] As M. Kolega discusses, some portable cookers found at Liburnian sites including Radovin, Nin and Bribirska glavica are comparable to specimens known from Venetia and Istria. Similar portable cookers are also found throughout the Italian peninsula, Carpathian Basin and Aegean region, and are typical of inventories dating to the Bronze and Iron Ages.[485] Liburnian ceramics are problematic as the classification of types is only in its preliminary stages. The forms and ornamentations of these pots are largely continuations of earlier Bronze Age specimens which are found throughout the eastern Adriatic and the broader hinterland, from Istria to central Bosnia and beyond.[486] No comprehensive typological and chronological categorisation of domestic Liburnian pottery exists, largely because such ceramics that are known are not fully published and lack appropriate data relating to the stratigraphic positions of finds.[487]

Imported pottery in Iron Age Liburnia is also not yet systematically published. Early imported pottery in the Liburnian region came primarily from Italy. Finds of south Italian (Daunian/Apulian) pottery with matt painted geometric decoration were found at 21 sites in

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[483] M. KOLEGA 2013: 285, Pl. 3, n. 7-9; 4, n. 10; M. VUKOVIĆ 2014: 23ff, Pl. 2, n. 2, 4-6, 8; Pl. 4, 2-3.

[484] Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 47.

[485] M. KOLEGA 2013: 286-288.

[486] M. VUKOVIĆ 2014: 29.

[487] M. ČELHAR 2014: 82.

Liburnia, but are particularly numerous at Zadar and Nin, and are included as burial goods in some graves at Nin.[488] These geometric wares from Daunia, which were imported from the 9th/8th to 4th century BCE, are relatively numerous in the area encompassing Liburnia and Istria, so much so that finds here are greater than anywhere outside of the region in which they were produced.[489] Elsewhere they are found in Campania, Picenum, Venetia, the interior of modern-day Slovenia, scattered finds in the Lika region, as well as central and southern Dalmatia.[490] The numerous finds in Liburnia and Histria are testament to intensive trans-Adriatic maritime trade in the Early Iron Age. The clustering of finds of Daunian geometric ceramics in Zadar and Nin led Čelhar and I. Boržić to suggest that they were major redistribution centres for imported goods that linked the settlements in the hinterland to maritime trade networks.[491] Gatti noted that impasto pottery found at Radovin, Zadar and Nin in particular had striking similarities to such wares from the Picene region of the western coast of the central Italian peninsula.[492]

Vessels from Greece and the eastern Mediterranean entered Liburnia in far less numbers than Italian wares, and those that did make it here came mostly from Corinthian and Athenian workshops. As discussed in the previous chapter, imports from the Aegean are rare in Dalmatia before the mid-6th century BCE and the establishment of the emporia of Adria and Spina in northern Italy at the mouth of the Po river valley. The earliest Iron Age imports were black-figured Corinthian vessels dating from the late 7th and 6th centuries,

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[488] Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 48, Tab. XXXVI, 1, 2; XXXVIII, 1 (8th-7th century); XXXIX, 8 (6th century BCE); M. ČELHAR and I. BORZIĆ 2016: fig. 3, see particularly the map, fig. 1, where they list 16 sites in the region of modern-day northern Dalmatia and the adjacent islands where Daunian/Apulian matt geometric pottery is found.

[489] M. ČELHAR and I. BORZIĆ 2016: 72-73, n. 25-27, with extensive older literature.

[490] On the distribution of Daunian geometric pottery in the eastern Adriatic, see E. M. DE JULIIS 1978: map C; D. GLOGOVIĆ 1979; N. PETRIĆ 1997/1998; Š. BATOVIĆ 1972; 1976: map 5; L. ŠEŠELJ 2009: map 24.

[491] M. ČELHAR and I. BORZIĆ 2016: 73.

[492] D. GATTI 2005; A. J. NIJBOER 2010: 4.

found on Liburnian sites including Zadar and Nin as well as a rare fragment of a specimen from a grave at Zemunik Donji, near the Zadar airport.[493] Finds of these Corinthian black-figure wares are rare in Liburnia and the upper eastern Adriatic in general.[494] Attic black-figure wares dating from the 6th and 5th centuries are also rare in the eastern Adriatic, but are known from several Liburnian sites, including Zadar, Nin and another rare specimen from Zemunik.[495] A fragment of a vessel found at Zadar has a motif of a shell on it, which is characteristic of production at Klazomenai on the west coast of Asia Minor. These are usually found only in the Aegean region, with rare examples in Egypt and Italy.[496] Attic red-figure wares were found at several sites in Liburnia, including Osor, on the island of Krk, Lopar, Radovin, Nin, Zadar and Zemunik Donji. The red-figure wares are relatively numerous throughout the eastern Adriatic, though difficult to quantify given the lack of publication and research of findings. They are mostly of Athenian production, dating from the late 6th to early 5th century, but also include some of Apulian origin, dating from the late 5th and 4th centuries.[497] Batović also briefly mentions small quantities of Venetian imported pots recorded in Liburnia,[498] as well as Ionian vessels with red-figure decoration found at ten sites, and dating to the 5th and 4th centuries.[499]

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[493] Š. BATOVIĆ 1984: 44-52, fig. 1; 2005: 48; L. ŠEŠELJ 2009: 411-439; M. ČELHAR and I. BORZIĆ 2016: 77, fig. 14, 4.

[494] On distribution across the eastern Adriatic coast, see L. ŠEŠELJ 2009: 418-420, map 19.

[495] Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 48, Tab. XXXVI, 6; L. ŠEŠELJ 2009: 420-422, maps 20-21; M. ČELHAR and I. BORZIĆ 2016: 78.

[496] N. NIKOLANCI 1973: 109-110.

[497] On red-figure wares in Liburnia and the Adriatic, see L. ŠEŠELJ 2009: 422-424, map 22; M. ČELHAR and I. BORZIĆ 2016: 78, n. 89, 90.

[498] Venetian matt painted wares are briefly mentioned as finds from excavations at the hillfort at Radovin, L. ŠEŠELJ and F. SILVESTRELLI 2012: 383.

[499] Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 48, n. 120.

The last four centuries BCE, the period under focus here, saw an increase in the importation of ceramic pots into Liburnia, particularly from southern Italy which indicates that existing trade relations continued from the Early Iron Age.[500] The problem is that these imports are, as with the earlier period, not thoroughly researched and catalogued. In his work on imported relief wares, Brusić studied and catalogued Hellenistic relief ceramics in Liburnian communities from eastern Adriatic workshops, including possibly a local workshop in Zadar.[501] Gnathia wares, as well as other black, brown, red and grey glazed wares, and storage vessels carrying consumables, dolia and amphorae, were imported from Italian and central Dalmatian centres, as well as parts of the eastern Mediterranean, throughout the Late Iron Age. The most comprehensive overview of Hellenistic wares imported into Liburnia is Miše's recent study of the ceramics from the necropolis of the hillfort at Dragišić, near Šibenik.[502] Imports into Liburnia are also discussed in the context of eastern Adriatic distributions in her recently published monograph, as well as the doctoral thesis of L. Šešelj.[503]

South Italian red-figure wares, dating to the 4th century BCE are known from Osor, Radovin, Nin and Zadar, highlighting the continued importance of the Kvarner region and the latter two centres in trade with the Italian peninsula. While sherds from Osor and some from Nin are published,[504] another sherd from Nin and others found in Zadar and held in the town's archaeological museum remain unpublished.[505] Sherds of a bell-krater found during excavations at the hillfort of Radovin were recently published.[506] The krater was discovered

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[500] M. MIŠE 2015: 63.

[501] Z. BRUSIĆ 1988; Z. BRUSIĆ 1999: 4-17.

[502] M. MIŠE 2017.

[503] M. MIŠE 2015; L. ŠEŠELJ 2009.

[504] K. MIHOVILIĆ 2002: 504-505 (Osor); B. KIRIGIN 2008: 44-45, n. 19 (Nin).

[505] M. MIŠE 2015: 43, n. 7.

[506] L. ŠEŠELJ and F. SILVESTRELLI 2012.

in association with fragments of a late geometric Daunian vessel as well as an Alto-Adriatic skyphos or krater. Based on associated finds, the authors suggested that the krater was part of a domestic assemblage.[507] The krater is attributed to the Dolon Painter, who worked in Metapontum during the first quarter of the 4th century BCE. It portrays three figures, including a man holding a *thyrsus* in his right hand and a cloak in his left. A woman in the middle holds a ribbed *phiale* and has a thyrsus leaning on her left arm. Behind her is the upper body and head of a bald satyr. It is considered a scene of offering, and the satyr and thyrsoi identify it as a Dionysian representation.[508] Most south Italian red-figure wares from the central eastern Adriatic are late Apulian wares, dating to the late 4th century. This krater provides some evidence for imports between the end of production of Daunian matt painted wares (5th century BCE) and the later red-figure wares.[509]

Miše records that, besides at the necropolises of Nadin, Velika Mrdakovica and Dragišić, Gnathia wares were found in settlement contexts at Osor, Trojan, Radovin, Cosina hillfort near Jagodnja Gornja, Danilo, Dragišić, Bribirska glavica and on the island of Murter.[510] In comparison, only one Gnathia ware vessel is known from indigenous settlements in central Dalmatia – a skyphos found in a pile dwelling settlement in Dugiš, near Sinj.[511] Due to poor preservation and recording only a few examples from Liburnia are easily attributed to certain style groups. A sherd found at Osor displaying a female head between tendrils and grapes points to its attribution in the Dunedin group, produced in Tarentum during the late 4th century BCE.[512] Other sherds from Osor and Zadar that display tendrils and white grapes are possibly part of the so-called Sidewinder group, also products

[507] L. ŠEŠELJ and F. SILVESTRELLI 2012: 383.
[508] L. ŠEŠELJ and F. SILVESTRELLI 2012: 384ff.
[509] L. ŠEŠELJ and F. SILVESTRELLI 2012: 391.
[510] M. MIŠE 2015: 20-22, graph 1.
[511] I. MAROVIĆ 2002: 260, 295, Tab. XXIX, 2.
[512] A. FABER 1980: 309, fig. 13, 1 and 3.

of Tarentum.[513] Some sherds are dated to Late Iron Age/early Hellenistic period, but difficult to attribute to any specific form. Miše mentions Gnathia vessel sherds of uncertain stylistic attribution, discovered in the forum area of Zadar.[514] Other sherds from the hillfort at Radovin with black coating and incised horizontal lines resemble examples from Pharos and Cape Ploča. These are all probably placed in the middle phase of Apulian Gnathia production.[515] It is not clear whether the establishment of the Greek colonies of Issa and Pharos had any immediate impact on the increasing importation of vessels from the Greek world into Liburnia from the mid-4th century. As Miše has shown, there is a lack of Gnathia wares north of Cape Ploča attributed to Issaean production (i.e., none in Liburnian territory). It is quite probable that the explanation for this is that trade between southern Italian centres and Liburnian communities was mediated by indigenous merchants, and that these socio-economic links were a continuation of contacts from the Early Iron Age.[516]

Black-glazed wares are found at numerous sites along the eastern Adriatic coast, including in Liburnia on the island of Molat, at Nin, Zadar, Radovin, Nadin, Velika Mrdakovica, Dragišić and near Brgud.[517] The leading production centre was in Athens, but by the end of the 5th century BCE black-glazed wares were produced in the Greek colonies of southern Italy.[518] Determining the place of origin of these vessels is difficult since they appear in a wide area, with concentrations in central and southern Italy, north-western Greece and Athens. However, a local production centre in central Dalmatia has also been

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[513] A. FABER 1980: 309, fig. 13, 3; M. MIŠE 2015: 23-24.

[514] See Š. BATOVIĆ 1968b: 177, Pl. III, 3.

[515] M. MIŠE 2015: 25-26.

[516] M. MIŠE 2015: 63.

[517] Š. BATOVIĆ 1968b: 177, Tab. XVII; 1973: Tab. XCVII, 2; 1980: 73; Z. BRUSIĆ 2000a: 31; A. BATOVIĆ and Š. BATOVIĆ 2013; M. MIŠE 2017: 86-89; for a discussion of distribution of black-figure wares across the eastern Adriatic, see L. ŠEŠELJ 2009: 79-80, map 7.

[518] M. MIŠE 2005: 26.

hypothesised.[519] Miše notes that imports of black-glazed ware from Dragišić were mostly produced in Apulian workshops,[520] though at least one Attic vessel was found in a grave at the site.[521] During the late Hellenistic period, central Dalmatian production centres produced grey, brown and red-glazed wares that developed out of the black-glaze type, and these are found in limited numbers in Liburnia at the site of Dragišić.[522]

Probably the most widespread category of late Hellenistic ceramics, not only within the eastern Adriatic but also the entire Mediterranean, is Hellenistic relief pottery.[523] These were mould-made ceramic pots which were first produced in Athens during the late 3rd century BCE. It is widely agreed that they were imitations of metal vessel forms from Alexandria or southern Italy and Sicily.[524] Hellenistic relief wares were particularly popular in 2nd and 1st century BCE Liburnia and central Dalmatia, primarily items manufactured locally.[525] Finds of moulds used to produce these vessels point to local workshops at Zadar, Resnik and Vis.[526] The mould from Zadar was used in the manufacturing of kraters. The decorations on the mould resemble those on a bowl found at Resnik, both of which have a wreath of lanceolate leaves at the base, above which are a line of rosettes and then horizontal 'S' swirl motifs.[527] This perhaps points to a link between the production centres at

[519] L. ŠEŠELJ 2009: 80.

[520] M. MIŠE 2017: 95.

[521] Burial 4B, Z. BRUSIĆ 2000a: 8, Tab. IV, 14.

[522] M. MIŠE 2017: 87, 92-94.

[523] P. GULDAGER BILDE 1996: fig. 1; L. ŠEŠELJ 2009: map 10.

[524] S. I. ROTROFF 1982: 6, 9-11; 2006: 368-369; L. ŠEŠELJ 2009: 147.

[525] Z. BRUSIĆ 1988; Z. BRUSIĆ 1999: 4-17.

[526] Z. BRUSIĆ 1999: 14, fig. 21, 119, fig 22, A120, A121; A. BABIN 2004: 16, fig 21; B. KIRIGIN 1986: fig. 8; B. ČARGO 2007; L. ŠEŠELJ 2009: 148-149; M. MIŠE 2017: 92.

[527] Z. BRUSIĆ 1999: 14, fig. 21, 119, fig. 30 A178.

Resnik and Zadar. Brusić suggests that the eastern Adriatic relief wares were produced under the influence of centres in Athens, Corinth and Delos.[528]

Hellenistic relief wares are found on a number of sites in Liburnia, but the greatest number were discovered in the so-called Hellenistic tombs at Nadin, Velika Mrdakovica and Dragišić.[529] Smaller amounts of sherds come from the necropolises at Kosa near Ljubač, Osor and *Asseria*, while a complete krater was discovered in the necropolis at Krk. Relief pottery was also found in hillfort settlement contexts at Velika Mrdakovica, Dragišić, Radovin, Nin and Zadar.[530] The most common shape of Hellenistic relief ware is the bowl, so much so that this category of pottery was originally called 'Megarian bowls', and later 'Hellenistic mould-made relief bowls'.[531] However, while the bowl is something of a symbol of the industry of Hellenistic relief pottery, in Liburnia the krater is by far the dominant shape of these wares. Out of the specimens of such vessels that Brusić identified from Liburnia, at least 103 are attributed to kraters, and only 18 to bowls. The 132 known Hellenistic relief wares of eastern Adriatic production found outside of Liburnia include only 6 kraters – the rest are bowls.[532] Clearly there was a local preference for the krater form in Liburnian settlements.

The Late Iron Age saw several types of jewellery and attire items disappear in Liburnia, while new forms appeared which included locally developed types, imports and forms based on imported styles, particularly from the Hellenistic world.[533] The appearance of new types of decorative motifs on Liburnian jewellery, such as rosettes, palmettes, masks

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[528] Z. BRUSIĆ 1999: 14-15.

[529] A. BATOVIĆ and Š. BATOVIĆ 2013; Z. BRUSIĆ, T. PAVIČIĆ, and S. GRGAS 2000: 8-9, 16-18; Z. BRUSIĆ 2000a: Tab. XVIII, XIX, XX; M. MIŠE 2017: 92.

[530] Z. BRUSIĆ 1999: 7-9.

[531] S. I. ROTROFF 2006: 357; L. ŠEŠELJ 2009: 147.

[532] Z. BRUSIĆ 1999: 11-12.

[533] Š. BATOVIĆ 1974: 221-232.

and human faces, as well as the technique of filigree and gilding silver jewellery are considered inspired by the artistic and technological repertoire of the Hellenistic and Roman worlds.[534] Amber used in jewellery gradually disappears from Liburnian jewellery from the 4th century BCE, though it would reappear later in the Roman period, a trend seen in other parts of the western Balkans.[535] Several new decorative and attire items found during the fifth phase of the Liburnian culture can be attributed to influences from the Hellenistic world, including rings with a spiral crown, rings with an oval crown, gems, pendants depicting a face, amber beads shaped as bags or bottles, and earrings or rings with a 'U' shaped loop.[536]

A hoard that was accidentally found in 1969 near the modern village of Jagodnja Gornja was particularly significant for the conceptualization of last phase of Liburnian Iron Age culture. Batović published the hoard in 1974.[537] It was found between concentric circles of walls surrounding the Liburnian hillfort known as Ćosina, after the nearby village of Ćose. The context of the hoard is not entirely clear due to the circumstances of its discovery.[538] The hoard contained, besides the pottery fragments, 74 items, most of which were decorative (rings, necklaces or bracelets, earrings and hair ornaments, pendants, gems and amber beads) and small metal objects, mostly used with clothing (fibulae, decorative pins, clips and hooks). They are predominantly made of silver, though there are also bronze, amber and glass objects.[539] The items in the hoard are placed chronologically within the last phase of the Liburnian Iron Age culture, and predominantly in its first stage, from the 4th to 3rd centuries BCE. The hoard contains a range of items, some imported (such as glass

[534] D. GLOGOVIĆ 2014: 3; Z. BRUSIĆ 2010: 243.

[535] A. PALAVESTRA 2006: 45.

[536] D. GLOGOVIĆ 2014: 6; A. TONC 2012.

[537] Š. BATOVIĆ 1974.

[538] Š. BATOVIĆ 1974: 168.

[539] See list of items in Š. BATOVIĆ 1974: 168-69, and descriptions at 169ff.

gems), some locally made (such as plate fibulae), and many that include processing and decorative techniques that are known more broadly from the Balkan area, as well as Italy and other parts of the Mediterranean.

Some of the first coins to arrive in Liburnia were silver staters from the Greek colony of Metapontum, in the Gulf of Taranto, southern Italy. These coins with an incuse of a corn ear were minted around 550-475 BCE.[540] Several such coins have been found in Liburnian tombs in Asseria, Nin and Ljubač that can be dated to around the 4th to 3rd century BCE based on the presence of other indigenous artefacts.[541] These coins appear not to have been used as currency in Liburnia, at least in their final stage of use, but rather as decorative ornaments. Holes in them point to either their use as pendants on necklaces, or perhaps on fibulae as examples from graves in Asseria and Nin suggest.[542] Hoards of these coin types from southern Italy suggest that they were in use until the 4th century BCE. In Liburnia, single finds have been found at Asseria, Nin, Ljubač, Smoković, and on the island of Krk, in archaeological contexts, while six specimens are also preserved in the Archaeological Museum of Split, however, with no details on the provenance of their discovery.[543]

The hoard found at the hillfort of Jagodnja Gornja gives some hint to the cultural influence these coins had in Liburnia. Silver pendants, that are thought to be imitations of the Metapontan staters, were discovered in this hoard. The hoard contained four of these pendants, threaded in silver wire, obviously serving as a necklace.[544] Two others are found separately, though also have hoops on one end, indicating they were to be used as decoration on a necklace or fibula.[545] It appears that these pendants are imitations of the staters from

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[540] Š. BATOVIĆ 2011: 25, fig. 1.

[541] Š. BATOVIĆ 2011: 21-24.

[542] Š. BATOVIĆ 2011: Tab. 1, 5.

[543] Š. BATOVIĆ 2011: 21-25.

[544] Š. BATOVIĆ 1974: 207-208, Tab. XX, 21, XXIX, XXX; Z. BRUSIĆ 2010: 243, Pl. 2, 1.

[545] Š. BATOVIĆ 1974: Tab. XXXI.

Metapontum that were found in the tombs from Nin, Asseria and Ljubač, as well as at other sites in Liburnia. They have the same incused corn ear, yet slightly different decoration, with dots curving down from the corn ear.[546]

Certain metal artefacts are particularly illustrative of Liburnia's connection to and significance in the broadest of cultural phenomena during the Iron Age. The so-called 'basket-shaped pendants with a rounded bottom', whose title is descriptive of the item, were the most widely distributed form of the basket-shaped pendants, which were something of a superregional cultural artefact on the European continent.[547] In the eastern Adriatic, these are clearly concentrated in the territory of the Liburni.[548] It is most probable that these were not only imported items, but also locally made products imitating them.[549] Blečić-Kavur argued that these items became part of a universal fashion during the latter part of the Early Iron Age and the beginning of the Late Iron Age, and played a significant role in the development and interlacing of the so-called Adriatic *koine*.[550] In a similar framework she considers the role of a group of Italic 'belt hooks with a palmette', known on the eastern Adriatic from grave 4 at Vičja Luka on the island of Brač, two examples from Otišić in the central Dalmatian hinterland (without information on the context of the finds), grave 4b from Dragišić and a find from Asseria lacking information on the context of its discovery.[551] Examples from Italy are numerous, particularly in the central and southern part of the peninsula.[552] In Italy these were status symbols associated with the burials of warriors and

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[546] Š. BATOVIĆ 2011: 26-28.

[547] M. BLEČIĆ KAVUR 2015: 86-89.

[548] D. GLOGOVIĆ 2014: 25-26, for discussion of site finds in Liburnia with references.

[549] M. BLEČIĆ KAVUR 2015: 87, 89.

[550] M. BLEČIĆ KAVUR and B. KAVUR 2016: 241.

[551] I. MAROVIĆ and M. NIKOLANCI 1969: 29, 41-42, fig. 15, 2; I. MAROVIĆ 1984: 56, fig. 23, 12; Š. BATOVIĆ 1981: 126, 298, fig. 11, 24; Z. BRUSIĆ 2000a: 8-9, Tab. VI, 9; S. KUKOČ 2011b: 16-17, 20-27, fig. 2-4, 21.

[552] M. BLEČIĆ KAVUR and B. KAVUR 2016: fig. 5.

repairs clearly imply they were valuable objects kept for long periods of time.[553] While we cannot know how their consumers in Liburnia perceived the significance of these belt hooks, they were surely considered prestigious items.

Examples of fibulae provide evidence for cultural and exchange contacts, but also the development of local adaptations of imported styles. Several variants of the Certosa type fibulae, dating from the 5th to 3rd centuries BCE, are found in Liburnian settlements, including Nin, Asseria, Dragišić, Velika Mrdakovica, Osor and Krk, and show that the region was linked to networks of exchange with northern Italy, south-western Slovenia, the Lika hinterland and central Dalmatia.[554] Batović considered that the Baška type fibula, named after the Baška hoard from the island of Krk in which a silver fibula of this type was found with decorations on the bow and a 'leaf' shaped extension of the foot,[555] developed out of locally produced pre-Certosoid fibulae.[556] Baška fibulae are concentrated within northern Dalmatia, suggesting they developed within Liburnia,[557] but are also found broadly in central Dalmatia and the Iapodian hinterland.[558] They are dated from the 5th to the 3rd centuries BCE. Glogović suggests that while the Baška type fibulae were a simple form of local jewellery, the Certosa fibulae were possibly expensive imported goods.[559] Batović considered that the Middle La Tène fibulae developed out of the Baška type, probably under 'Celtic' influence, but noted the Late La Tène type was not popular within the region.[560]

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[553] M. BLEČIĆ KAVUR and B. KAVUR 2016: 242-244.

[554] Š. BATOVIĆ 1974: 27-30; D. GLOGOVIĆ 2014: 6, 10-11; M. BLEČIĆ KAVUR 2015: 67-73, maps 23 and 24 show distribution of Certosa type Xe and c; M. BLEČIĆ KAVUR and B. KAVUR 2016: 240-241, fig. 3, shows distribution of pseudo-Certosa fibulae.

[555] Z. VINSKI 1956: 20, fig. 1a.

[556] Š. BATOVIĆ 1974: 190.

[557] Brusić referred to them as 'Liburnian fibulae with a leaf-shaped foot', Z. BRUSIĆ 2005: 10.

[558] Š. BATOVIĆ 1976: 53, map 9; D. GLOGOVIĆ 2014: 11; M. BLEČIĆ KAVUR 2015: 73-77.

[559] D. GLOGOVIĆ 2014: 11-12.

[560] Š. BATOVIĆ 1981: 21ff.

However, as Glogović has discussed, the Middle La Tène type was popular at Liburnian sites in northern Dalmatia and the Kvarner Gulf region throughout the last two centuries BCE.[561]

Another locally developed style is the Liburnian plate fibula, which is found at numerous sites in Liburnia, as well as two sites in Italy (Ravenna and an unknown site), Istria (Nesactium), the Kvarner Gulf (Rijeka) and Lika (Prozor and Lički Ribnik), but concentrated in the Ravni Kotari region.[562] Batović divided this type into 14 variants, and while he admits some are not certainly dated, they are generally separated into the phases 5a and 5b of the Liburnian culture, corresponding to the 4th-3rd and 2nd-1st centuries BCE respectively.[563] The fibulae of the earlier phase have flattened triangular arches and a narrow band with 'serpentine' like folds in the middle that extends out flatter at the end. Metal beads are placed along the middle and foot sections, which were plated on small metal rods. Later versions have decorations of rosettes and the addition of longitudinal metal strips.[564] Fibulae of the second phase have slightly more complex lineal designs, less triangular arch plates and wider bands.[565] Noteworthy is the introduction of images of human heads. On one fibula from Osor, which is otherwise decorated in a similar fashion to others of phase 5B, a very small face is found on the band. Another silver fibulae, found in grave 82 from Nin, appears the most dissimilar to the others. Constructed as a circular plate, geometric motifs around the edges surround a female head in the centre.[566] Batović proposed that while the Liburnian plate fibulae were certainly local products, they were created under the influence

[561] D. GLOGOVIĆ 2014: 14-16.

[562] Š. BATOVIĆ 1974: 192-193, with older literature, 204, map 3; D. GLOGOVIĆ 2006b: 132, map 1; D. BALEN-LETUNIĆ 2010: 136, Pl. 1-3.

[563] Š. BATOVIĆ 1974: 195-196.

[564] Š. BATOVIĆ 1974: fig. 4, 1-4.

[565] Š. BATOVIĆ 1974: fig. 5, 1-10.

[566] Š. BATOVIĆ 1974: fig. 5, 5, 10.

of Italian or Greek prototypes. The development of the variants points to the introduction of use of silver, plating and decorating techniques, including the use of rosette motifs, geometric motifs and certainly the anthropomorphic depictions (see below). Batović pointed to the use of metal beads and serpentine like fibula in Lucania, dating to the 6th and 5th centuries, as perhaps initial models for the origins of the Liburnian plate fibulae.[567]

As already mentioned, anthropomorphic representations and silvery jewellery appear as new developments in the material culture of Late Iron Age Liburnia. A. Tonc studied the anthropomorphic representations on silver jewellery from the Liburnian and Iapodian regions in a recent paper.[568] Along with the already mentioned plate fibula in grave 82 from Nin was another small silver piece with two female busts, which was either part of a pendant or another plate fibula.[569] The burial is dated to the late 3rd or 2nd century, based on the presence of Middle La Tène fibulae.[570] Tonc suggested that models for inspiration of the

[567] Š. BATOVIĆ 1974: 203-205.

[568] A. TONC 2012.

[569] Š. BATOVIĆ 1959: Pl. I, 3, 6; IV, 4, 5; Z. BRUSIĆ 2010: Pl. 3, 1.

[570] Š. BATOVIĆ 1959: Pl. I, 5, 10.

Fig. 4. Belt buckle from Asseria. Z. BRUSIĆ 2010: Pl. 3, 2.

round medallion style fibula might come from Ošanići, the capital of the Daorsi in eastern Herzegovina, or from Budva in Montenegro where golden examples of such items are found.[571] A bronze belt plated in silver and partly gilded silver sheeting (fig. 4), discovered in a pit in Asseria, was decorated in relief with a head of a woman, sometimes interpreted as Medusa.[572] A pendant connected to a silver loop chain found in Sisak (57km south east of Zagreb) has a female bust with similar facial features and neck ornament.[573] A number of pendants are connected via loops and chains to a fibula from the Baška hoard. These include several human head figures.[574] Similarly, a female head pendant is connected to a plate fibula in grave 76 from Nin.[575] These examples of heads are rather simplistic, almost

[571] A. TONC 2012: 64 with references.

[572] A. TONC 2012: 64, fig. 1, 3; Z. BRUSIĆ 2010: Pl. 3, 2.

[573] KELTOI 1984: fig. XII.

[574] A. TONC 2012: fig. 1, 1.

[575] Š. BATOVIĆ 1974: fig. 7, 2.

symbolic of human features. Tonc suggests they resemble the figure on the belt buckle from Asseria and pendant from Sisak, as well as the facial features of figures on pendants from Nesactium in Istria.[576] She agrees with earlier scholarship that these images were created locally though under influence of Hellenistic jewellery found in central Italian graves.[577] Hopefully a broader and more in-depth comparative study of anthropomorphic representations from the Hellenistic world will further uncover the cultural and artistic biography of these items from Liburnia.

Numerous rings are mentioned in literature from graves and hoard contexts in Liburnia that date to the Late Iron Age. Rings of a horse-shoe or circular shape, decorated with impressed concentric circles, are found in graves 6, 10, 12 and 17 of the Dragišić necropolis, as well as grave 80 from Asseria.[578] These rings are typical of the fifth phase of the central Dalmatian Iron Age culture, and indicate cultural or exchange links with that region.[579] Some rings with star shaped circlets from graves 10 and 23 at Dragišić indicate links with Istria and the upper Adriatic.[580] A group of rings are known from grave 20 at Dragišić, as well as graves from Nadin and Kose near Ljubač and the Jagodnja Gornja and Baška hoards, with motifs of rosettes, birds, bucrania, and possibly human figures which are all considered, broadly speaking, influences from the decorative repertoire of the Hellenistic world.[581]

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576 A. TONC 2012: 64; on the pendants from Nesactium, see K. MIHOVILIĆ 1994/1995: Pl. 4.1.

577 A. TONC 2012: 67-68.

578 Š. BATOVIĆ 1974: 177, 205-206; 1981: 19, 150, fig. 6, 18; D. GLOGOVIĆ 2014: Pl. 1, 14; 5d, 63;7, 4; 11a, 17; fig. 7; 11b, 27.

579 D. GLOGOVIĆ 2014: 24. On the central Dalmatian Iron Age cultural group, see B. ČOVIĆ 1987.

580 D. GLOGOVIĆ 2014: 24-25, with references.

581 Š. BATOVIĆ 1974: 206, Pl. 24, 31; Z. BRUSIĆ 2002: 229, fig. 39; D. GLOGOVIĆ 2014: 24, Pl. 9c, 62-66; A. BATOVIĆ and Š. BATOVIĆ 2013: Tab. XC.

Several other jewellery forms developed in the last four centuries BCE in Liburnia are also generally attributed to Hellenistic influences. For example, Batović suggests bracelets made of spiral wrapped and curved wiring, discovered in the Jagodnja Gornja hoard, as well as grave 80 at Asseria and the Baška hoard (where they were connected to Early La Tène fibulae) were not a local tradition and were probably of Etruscan origin and through 'Hellenistic influences' transferred to Liburnia.[582] A series of earrings, known as horse-shoe or temple earrings, that featured a horse-shoe shaped wire section and then a variety of decorations attached, including two piece earrings connected with wiring, amber beads and pendants, and sometimes attached to fibulae, are known from grave 80 at Asseria, grave 76 from Nin, grave 1 from Nadin,[583] grave 30 from Dragišić, the hoards at Jagonja Gornja and Baška, Lički Ribnik and other settlements.[584] Batović suggested that some of the more complex pieces, with pieces of amber wrapped in wire with metal pendants, were copies of 6th and 4th century BCE examples from Magna Graecia and Etruria made from gold, which were themselves imitations of originals from Egypt, produced since the New Kingdom, that used scarabs of gold, stone and glass.[585] This is an interesting argument, and the links to Italian prototypes are probably correct, but more investigation into these links is needed before making further conclusions about these exchange networks.[586]

The Late Iron Age is a particularly unknown period in northern Dalmatia. What we can see is that at least some settlements (the largest ones) imported Greek/Hellenistic style pottery. At some of these sites (certainly Nadin, Velika Mrdakovica and Dragišić) new styles of funerary architecture appear, with tombs constructed of stone blocks, usually

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[582] Š. BATOVIĆ 1974: 206-207, Tab. XX, 20; 2011: Pl. 2.

[583] A. BATOVIĆ and Š. BATOVIĆ 2013: Tab. XC.

[584] Š. BATOVIĆ 1974: 208-212, fig. 6, Tab. XXXII; 2011: Pl. 2, 3; D. GLOGOVIĆ 2014: 28, Pl. 22a, 14.

[585] Š. BATOVIĆ 1974: 215-216.

[586] Similar examples are found on the eastern Adriatic, at Budva in Montenegro, and at Vičja Luka on the island of Brač, D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1959b: 29, 35, Tab. VIII, 1; N. NIKOLANCI 1973: 98, 112.

worked on the inner face, or on each side. They include multiple deceased individuals, and significant amounts of imported Hellenistic types of pottery and some local metal items.[587] This new type of tomb is usually described as a Hellenistic influence on Liburnian culture.[588] Though a variety of examples existed, most burials in the Early Iron Age included those made of stone slabs and burials under tumuli.[589] Burial goods during this earlier period included mostly metal items of jewellery and clothing attire.[590] Prior to the Late Iron Age, ceramic items are not common grave goods in Liburnia. Some examples of imported pots, as well as clay spindles, necklaces and beads in the form of rings are found as grave goods prior to the 4th century BCE, but these are considered rare.[591] During the Late Iron Age, particularly from the late 4th century, imported ceramics appear as grave goods frequently in the necropolises at Nadin, Velika Mrdakovica and Dragišić.[592] These so-called Hellenistic type graves from Liburnia are similar to those found at Issa, in terms of the tomb architecture including worked stone slabs and the inclusion of pottery and metal items of attire but no weapons as grave goods.[593] The timing of the transmission of these burial practices (they appear in Liburnia from the late 4th century BCE) fits with the assumed date of the founding of the Greek colony of Issa in central Dalmatia and the development of

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[587] Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 26-27, 29; A. BATOVIĆ and Š. BATOVIĆ 2013; Z. BRUSIĆ 1980: 11-12, T. III, VII, VIII, X; Z. BRUSIĆ 2000a; Z. BRUSIĆ, T. PAVIČIĆ, and S. GRGAS 2000: 8-11; M. MIŠE 2017.

[588] Š. BATOVIĆ 1974: 222-224; Z. BRUSIĆ 2010: 242; A. BATOVIĆ and Š. BATOVIĆ 2013; D. GLOGOVIĆ 2014: 3.

[589] On burials in the Early Iron Age, see Š. BATOVIĆ 1968a: 14-15, 17-18; 2005: 26-29; Z. BRUSIĆ 2000a: 6-12; 2002; 2005; S. KUKOČ 2009a; 2011a; N. KLARIN 2000; D. VUJEVIĆ 2011; M. BLEČIĆ KAVUR and E. PODRUG 2014.

[590] On metal items in Early Iron Age Liburnia, see Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 35-39; S. KUKOČ and M. ČELHAR 2009; M. ČELHAR and D. VUJEVIĆ 2013; M. BLEČIĆ 2007.

[591] Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 44-45, Tab. XXXVI, 6; XXXVIII, 1; XXXIX, 8; XL, 12, 14; XLI, 4.

[592] Nadin: A. BATOVIĆ and Š. BATOVIĆ 2013; S. KUKOČ 2009a; 2011a. Velika Mrdakovica: Z. BRUSIĆ, T. PAVIČIĆ, and S. GRGAS 2000. Dragišić: Z. BRUSIĆ 2000a; M. MIŠE 2017.

[593] M. UGARKOVIĆ 2015; 2016: 85.

regional exchange networks in the Late Iron Age that were discussed in the previous chapter.

Two reliefs from Bribirska glavica deserve mention in this discussion of Late Iron Age Liburnian material culture, particularly in terms of contacts with the Hellenistic world. These two stone blocks with images in relief of an erotic nature were found at *Varvaria* (Bribirska glavica) and are not yet fully published. The first monument, the circumstances of whose finding are unknown, is a simple diagram that depicts two figures in the act of coitus.[594] A. Milošević and Ž. Krnčević have interpreted this image as a symbolic message of the cult of fertility, carved in the pre-Roman period. They consider the style close to similar stelae from Daunia, while the iconography and symbolism links it more broadly to Etruscan, Egyptian and Mesopotamian cultures of the last 2 millennia BCE.[595] The second monument, originally found as spolia in the wall of a Roman house, has much more detail and shows a higher level of craftsmanship. It features a phallus-shaped ship that is moving towards a female figure whose legs are spread apart.[596] As Milošević and Krnčević note, the woman is no doubt meant to symbolise a port, as her left arm is leaning on a bollard. They consider this monument younger than the previous, placing it within the last centuries BCE, and postulate that it was meant to emphasize the maritime tradition of the Liburni.[597] Furthermore, they suggest that while the figure is perhaps Scardona, a hemisphere object behind the woman symbolises Varvaria.[598] If they are in fact dated to the Iron Age then these two monuments are of great interest since no other such stone carved reliefs are known from pre-Roman Liburnia. They no doubt represent influences from the wider Italic, Greek

[594] A. MILOŠEVIĆ and Ž. KRNČEVIĆ 2017: fig. 17.

[595] A. MILOŠEVIĆ and Ž. KRNČEVIĆ 2017: 34.

[596] A. MILOŠEVIĆ and Ž. KRNČEVIĆ 2017: fig. 18.

[597] Dzino and Boršić note that this is not necessarily a warship, since no *rostrum* is visible in the image, and so it is questionable whether it represents the so-called *liburnica,* D. DZINO and L. BORŠIĆ Forthcoming.

[598] A. MILOŠEVIĆ and Ž. KRNČEVIĆ 2017: 34-35.

or Roman worlds, but it is difficult to determine much more at present. Further study of these interesting reliefs, and similar types from Italy, will hopefully highlight in more detail the cultural influences that their carvers drew upon and provide a closer time frame for their construction.

Fig. 5. Greek inscription from Bribirska glavica. Photo: A. Z. Alajbeg.

The only known inscription from the pre-Roman period was also discovered at Bribirska glavica.[599] This inscription (fig. 5), is a list of personal names written in Greek, is dated based on palaeography to the 2nd or 1st century BCE. B. Kuntić-Makvić suggested that its presence at Bribirska glavica and mention of an indigenous name, Ceun, amongst the Greek names supports the notion that the Liburnian Varvarini and Issa had friendly relations

[599] Published in B. KUNTIĆ-MAKVIĆ 1998.

during this period.[600] An individual with the cognomen *Epetinus* is recorded on several Latin inscriptions from Liburnia,[601] which could further support the idea that Liburni had relations with Issa and their mainland settlements of Tragurion and *Epetion*. Kuntić-Makvić suggests these contacts arose in the framework of the expansion of the Delmatae, who became enemies of both Liburni and the Issaean commonwealth.[602] That some relations between Liburnian communities and Issa, as well as other central Dalmatian production centres, is arguably supported by the evidence for pottery imports in Liburnia and the similarity in burial customs already discussed in this section. However, the nature of these relations and contacts is unclear. It is possible that trade and friendly political relations existed, but equally so that the Liburnian communities acquired these imports through piracy or as payment for ships moving through their territory. The presence of individuals with the cognomen Epetinus in Liburnia during the Roman period does not necessarily indicate that immigration from Epetion occurred in the 2nd or 1st centuries BCE. Even if it did this need not imply friendly relations existed between these communities. The evidence for the stone monuments and various artefacts mentioned above do point to influences from the Hellenistic world in Liburnia. Exactly how these reached Liburnia remains to be seen.

While there is clear influence from the Hellenistic and Roman worlds on burial practices, pottery usage and the technological and stylistic aspects of jewellery forms in Liburnia during the Late Iron Age, what is important is that these influences were part of an

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[600] B. KUNTIĆ-MAKVIĆ 1998: 244, 246-247.

[601] AK 2387 = *CIL* 3, 9938 (Asseria); AK 2920 (Asseria); AK 2921 (Varvaria?); B. KUNTIĆ-MAKVIĆ and B. ŠEGVIĆ 1988: 53-54.

[602] B. KUNTIĆ-MAKVIĆ 1998: 247. Polybius reports that in 158/157 BCE the Delmatae attacked the Issaean mainland colonies of Tragurion and Epetion, Polyb. 32.9; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 296; D. DZINO 2010b: 62-63. On Liburnian-Delmataean conflicts, see Chapter 5. It is noteworthy here that an Issaean coin is known from Bribirska glavica, I. MIRNIK 2009: 135, though this does not necessarily point to direct contacts between Issa and the Varvarini.

organic development and not a wholesale rejection of earlier styles in favour of Hellenistic cultural templates. Some forms of various metal items were now crafted under Hellenistic or Roman influence, but still included traits characteristic of earlier locally made goods. Intercultural exchange in style and form between communities in Liburnia and other areas, such as in the Iapodian and Delmataean regions, was also still intensive during the Late Iron Age, as it had been in earlier periods. Labelling certain monuments, artefacts or practices as either 'Hellenistic' or 'Liburnian' in this context is, perhaps, technically inaccurate since material culture is in a constant cycle of evolution and development. Describing them as 'hybrid' is also not entirely accurate, since everything is in one way or another hybridizing.[603] The simultaneous particularity and heterogeneity of styles and usages of material culture in Liburnia is certainly a result of connectivity to production centres throughout the Adriatic, Eastern Alps, Balkan hinterland, and even the Aegean region, as well as local tastes and production capacity. Due to increasing connectivity during the Hellenistic period, particularly with the expansion of Roman political and commercial influence in the Adriatic,[604] Liburnian communities had a wider variety of objects and styles available for incorporation into their cultural repertoires than ever before. The next chapter will discuss to what extent these processes of cultural integration can reveal something about social discourses in Late Iron Age Liburnia.

Conclusion

As the evidence discussed above shows, the 'Liburni' were constructed as the typical barbarian 'other' in many Greco-Roman written sources, and caution is required when attempting to interpret the socio-cultural nature of Liburnian society from them. It is difficult to comprehend the specific geographical limits of Liburnia and the ethno-cultural

[603] M. PITTS and M. J. VERSLUYS 2014a: 6.

[604] N. ČAŠULE 2012; S. ČAČE 1991.

and socio-political character of its inhabitants prior to the development of Roman governance in the region. The arguments made in this chapter suggest a significant rethinking of the Liburnia of the Roman period from a defined ethno-cultural territory to an imperial artefact is required. Chapter 5 continues this line of discussion with consideration of further evidence from the Roman period to create a narrative of the development of 'Liburnia'. In terms of archaeological material, the arguments here suggest a more pragmatic approach to assessing the significance of cultural change in the Iron Age is to focus on aspects of connectivity and the social context of consumption to better understand and explain how foreign items and ideas were imported into Liburnia, how they were incorporated into Liburnian society, and what impact they had on local cultural practices. Influences and imported goods in Liburnia came primarily from the Italian Adriatic coast and later the Greek settlements on the central Dalmatian islands. While it is clear the inhabitants of Liburnia were particularly receptive to outside influences in the Late Iron Age, and that imported items and symbols were valued in local communities, more archaeological data is required before making any firm conclusions regarding how this material was integrated into local cultural practices.

Chapter 4 – Material Culture and Socio-cultural Developments in Late Iron Age Liburnia

The NDP, quite rightly, critiqued Dalmatian archaeology for its invasionist-diffusionist approach to socio-cultural change,[605] and its search for new models and theoretical frameworks was certainly a much-needed step in the right direction. However, while their methodologies were sound, the conclusions the authors reached in many ways failed to break away from the one-sided view of a gradual and inevitable model of social development in Iron Age Liburnia that was inherent in earlier scholarship, despite the data pointing to a variety of divergent explanations for settlement and burial patterns.[606] An important assumption about the Late Iron Age in Liburnia that pervades scholarship is that this was a time of increasing socio-political and economic differentiation in indigenous communities.[607] As is discussed below, this is presumed based on evidence for increasing external trade, the apparent nucleation of populations into large fortified settlements, construction of monumental defensive structures, and the development of new burial practices and tomb structures that are thought to point to social stratification; all of which was supposedly driven by an evolving local elite based in urbanizing hillfort centres. There are several issues with these arguments, and this chapter seeks to provide a reassessment of the evidence for social structure in Late Iron Age Liburnia based on archaeological evidence. In doing so it provides a fresh perspective, approaching the topic by addressing three specific themes and categories of evidence that have been used to confirm increasing socio-political structures during this period.

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[605] J. CHAPMAN, R. SHIEL, and Š. BATOVIĆ 1996: 8.

[606] J. CHAPMAN, R. SHIEL, and Š. BATOVIĆ 1996: 252ff.

[607] Š. BATOVIĆ 1968a: 27; 1974: 224; 2005: 19; Z. BRUSIĆ 1993: 82; 1999: 47; D. GLOGOVIĆ 2014: 3.

Settlements and Settlement Structure

During the Iron Age in Dalmatia, as with other parts of temperate Europe, settlement was focussed on hilltop sites known as hillforts, or *gradina* in Croatian literature.[608] Several hundred hillforts are known from the Liburnian area, though archaeologists have properly explored only around 40 and thoroughly excavated only a few of these. Hillfort sites that have provided relatively detailed data include Nin, Bribirska glavica, Beretin in Radovin, Velika Mrdakovica, and Dragišić, all in modern-day northern Dalmatia (i.e., the Ravni Kotari-Bukovica region).[609] Settlement at several hillforts in Liburnia continued from the Late Bronze Age into the Iron Ages, while many underwent remodelling and new major sites were also constructed during the Early Iron Age.[610] This section discusses arguments regarding settlement structure and the construction of monumental fortifications in relation to conclusions about the development of socio-political structures during the Late Iron Age in Liburnia.

Certain characteristics of Liburnian hillforts led archaeologists to describe a specific tradition of architectural features in the region. These include their single, undivided inner space, and a rarity of cairns, terraces, acropolises, approach roads and earth banks.[611] The centres of Liburnian hillforts were left empty up until the Roman period, probably as a space for communal activities.[612] The variety of settlement layouts in Liburnian hillforts is much less than that seen in settlements among their northern neighbours in Istria. The NDP found

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[608] For a discussion on the various interpretations of the role and significance of hillforts in Iron Age Europe, see G. WOOLF 1993; T. THURSTON 2009: 362ff.

[609] Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 22; 1977: 203.

[610] J. CHAPMAN, R. SHIEL, and Š. BATOVIĆ 1996: 153; Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 22.

[611] Š. BATOVIĆ 1977: 214-16; J. CHAPMAN, R. SHIEL, and Š. BATOVIĆ 1996: 154-7.

[612] Š. BATOVIĆ 1977: 222, Fig. 13; J. CHAPMAN and R. SHIEL 1993: 97.

that there is significant settlement nucleation in Late Iron Age Liburnia compared with neighbouring regions further into the hinterland, in the Glasinac plateau and in the Delmataean zone in central Dalmatia, and that Liburnian hillforts are also generally of a larger size than those found in these areas.[613]

Fig. 6. Aerial view of Bribirska glavica. Photo: Z. A. Alajbeg.

Domestic architecture is recorded on at least 30 hillfort sites in Liburnia, mostly from simple surveys of observable structures on the surface, making them difficult to date precisely. Archaeologists have located domestic structures at the sites of Radovin, Zadar, Bribirska glavica, Velika Mrdakovica, Dragišić and Nin that are dated to the pre-Roman period.[614] Pre-Roman houses were always single room buildings with (it appears) one level. They were most often rectangular shaped, made of dry-stone walls or slabs of stone, though

[613] J. CHAPMAN, R. SHIEL, and Š. BATOVIĆ 1996: 156.

[614] Š. BATOVIĆ 1977: 219ff; Z. BRUSIĆ 2000b: 137-8; in the area of Bribirska glavica known as Dol, below the remains of the medieval Franciscan monastery built atop of a Roman villa, Š. BATOVIĆ 1980: 61, 64, 66.

during the latter part of the Iron Age some walls were linked together with clay.[615] For example, the hillforts of Velika Mrdakovica and Dragišić have dwellings dated to the Iron Age with walls made of worked stone blocks fitted together with clay.[616] Unfortunately, these domestic structures are not precisely dated, and it is difficult to tell when in the 'pre-Roman' period they came from.[617]

The Late Iron Age in Liburnia is considered a period that saw developments in construction of settlement fortifications as well as domestic and funerary architecture that was characterized by worked stone in rectangular or square blocks.[618] Binder, if used, was generally clay, as mortar was not introduced until the Roman period. This type of construction, including the working of stone and stacking in the *opus quadratum* technique is assumed as an influence from the Greek world, probably from Greek colonies in central Dalmatia or southern Italy, but also possibly cities in the south-eastern Adriatic.[619] Brusić assumed that fortification enhancement begun as early as the 4th century in certain settlements, while megalithic construction using the *opus quadratum* technique probably did not begin until the 3rd century, and was in full swing during the 2nd and 1st centuries.[620] A recently excavated rainwater tank from Bribirska glavica is, unlike other examples from Liburnia, cut into the bedrock and constructed without tegulae, the use of which is characteristic of the Roman period. It is possible this indicates it is a pre-Roman construction, which would make it an interesting feature and perhaps point to the significance of this site in the Iron Age, but the dating remains uncertain.[621]

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615 Š. BATOVIĆ 1977: 222-23.

616 Z. BRUSIĆ 2000b: 137-8.

617 *Pers. comm.* M. Čelhar.

618 Š. BATOVIĆ 1977; A. FABER 1976; Z. BRUSIĆ 2000b.

619 Š. BATOVIĆ 1974: 222; 1977: 216-219; A. FABER 1976.

620 Z. BRUSIĆ 2000b: 141.

621 I. PEDIŠIĆ 2005: 325.

Another assumption is that the Late Iron Age saw the development of a certain amount of planning in the arrangement of Liburnian settlements, as the layout of roads and houses within hillfort sites suggests. At the sites of Radovin, Nin, Budim, Bribirska glavica and Zadar roads and houses thought to date to the Late Iron Age are laid out in regular parallel lines inside the fortifications.[622] However, the timing of this development of organized grid patterning is not known for certain. At Nin, Čače presumed that this stage of construction of houses in rows was dated to the end of the Iron Age, approximately the 2nd-1st centuries BCE, given the presence of material from the 4th-3rd century in layers below them.[623] The centre of Iron Age Zadar exhibits a disorganized, irregular layout of structures and streets. A few dry-stone domestic buildings thought to date to the very Late Iron Age appear to exhibit an orthogonal layout of the town, which continued into the Roman period.[624] However, as already mentioned, the dating of these domestic structures is far from certain, and thus, so is the supposed arrangement that they represent.

Another factor that has been argued as an indication of the apparent development of socio-political structures in Late Iron Age Liburnia is increasing settlement nucleation during this period.[625] Apart from the hillfort sites, smaller rural settlements are thought to have existed during the Iron Age in Liburnia based on clusters of artefact finds in lowland areas. These sites are visible in the archaeological record as scatters of pottery, usually far from hillforts and tumuli.[626] Chapman and Shiel interpret these open and undefended lowland sites as dispersed farmsteads.[627] Field research undertaken by the NDP revealed that a large portion of the landscape of Iron Age northern Dalmatia (outside of hillforts and the

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[622] See above, n. 614.

[623] S. ČAČE 1985: 719; M. ČELHAR 2014: 100-102.

[624] S. ČAČE 1985: 727-28; M. ČELHAR 2014: 107-10.

[625] J. CHAPMAN, R. SHIEL, and Š. BATOVIĆ 1996.

[626] J. CHAPMAN, R. SHIEL, and Š. BATOVIĆ 1987: 132.

[627] J. CHAPMAN and R. SHIEL 1993: 80.

small rural settlements) was devoid of artefact discard, compared to the situation found in the Bronze Age.[628] Chapman *et al* argued that, while environmental factors may have contributed to a reduction in the use of certain spaces, increasing socio-political integration might explain increased concentration of populations in nucleated settlements in the Iron Age. The development of more centralised polities and positions of status and authority connected to specific political and territorial units, particularly in the last four centuries BCE, they reasoned, saw population concentrated into hillfort settlements.[629] Chapman and Shiel assert that this concentration led to increased distinction between the hillforts and the lowland open sites. [630] It follows that settlement nucleation and the construction of monumental fortifications in large Liburnian hillforts would indicate that there was a concentration of wealth and social surplus in proto-urban centres.[631] Along with the appearance of tombs containing multiple burials in this period, the settlement evidence is argued as pointing to the emergence of proto-urban social formations based around elite familial relations.[632]

There are some issues with these hypotheses based on the chronologies and the patterning of the evidence. Firstly, as mentioned above, Chapman *et al* noted that the Iron Age was a period of settlement contraction, where low discard of artefacts points to underuse of fertile land while settlement was confined to small areas. This was compared to the previous period, the Bronze Age, and the subsequent Roman period, which were both characterized by expansion and intensification of land use.[633] Therefore, the decrease of land usage and settlement diversification does not match the supposed development of settlement

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[628] J. CHAPMAN, R. SHIEL, and Š. BATOVIĆ 1996: 78-79.

[629] J. CHAPMAN, R. SHIEL, and Š. BATOVIĆ 1996: 289.

[630] J. CHAPMAN and R. SHIEL 1993: 97.

[631] On monumental fortifications, see below 130-133.

[632] J. CHAPMAN, R. SHIEL, and Š. BATOVIĆ 1996: 288-289.

[633] J. CHAPMAN, R. SHIEL, and Š. BATOVIĆ 1996: 283-291.

and social hierarchies in the Late Iron Age – quite the opposite. The argument for increasing settlement hierarchies then rests on the appearance of large 'megalithic' fortification walls during the Late Iron Age, which preceded the later Roman monumental constructions.[634] These Late Iron Age walls were supposedly created under the influence of Hellenistic military architecture.[635] However, the dating of these walls is another issue (see below).

The lack of settlements in large areas of the fertile lowlands of southern Liburnia suggests a different type of land use and division existed in the Iron Age from the Bronze Age and Roman period. Chapman *et al* argued that while smaller and dispersed settlement units dating to the Bronze Age and earlier point to communal land-holding among populations of northern Dalmatia, later population nucleation and epigraphic evidence dating to the Late Iron Age points to the beginning of private land ownership.[636] Several inscriptions from the 1st century CE, some of which are restorations of older inscriptions, mention an ongoing boundary dispute between the *Neditii* of *Nedinum* (Nadin) and the *Corinii* of *Corinium*.[637] The dispute was over control of karstic pasture land on the Malo Brdo ridge north of Benkovac, and upland pastures near the town of Vegium, and lasted for at least fifty years during the early and mid-1st century CE. Chapman *et al* have argued that this dispute points to increasing private ownership of land by Liburnian communities in the Late Iron Age.[638] The supposition is that during a period when social surplus and economic wealth was increasingly concentrated in new proto-urban settlements, control of land became particularly important in terms of exploitation of resources and agricultural activities.[639] The problem here is that these inscriptions mention events during the mid-1st

[634] J. CHAPMAN, R. SHIEL, and Š. BATOVIĆ 1996: 270-71.

[635] J. CHAPMAN, R. SHIEL, and Š. BATOVIĆ 1996: 152; see also references at n. 607.

[636] J. CHAPMAN, R. SHIEL, and Š. BATOVIĆ 1996: 274-280.

[637] See discussion of these boundary disputes in Chapter 5.

[638] J. CHAPMAN, R. SHIEL, and Š. BATOVIĆ 1996: 274.

[639] See S. ČAČE 2006: 77.

century CE. Liburnia had been under Roman control for a century at this stage, meaning social formations were certainly under the influence of new administrative structures, and it is difficult to know how regulations relating to land use were altered during this period.

There are further issues with the idea of increasing settlement hierarchies. Chapman *et al* argued that there was a clear distinction between the Early Iron Age and Late Iron Age in this regard. According to their synopsis, a two-level settlement structure, which included hillforts and rural farmsteads, in the Early Iron Age was replaced in the last three centuries BCE with a three-level system that included major hillforts.[640] Čače later showed that major hillforts actually already existed in the Early Iron Age. During the earlier period, (9th – 5th century BCE), he shows that large, medium and small hillfort types, and the lowland rural sites were present, and he describes three types of territorial organization: type A, communities with a large hillfort that exceeded 4 hectares, and that include no medium or small hillfort sites within their territory (type A sites include Zadar, Nin, *Colentum*, Nadin, and Bribirska glavica amongst others); type B, communities with one dominant hillfort, as well as two or more other smaller hillforts within its territory; and type C, communities with a number of small hillforts in the same territory.[641] Čače argues that in the Late Iron Age (4th – 1st century BCE) settlement nucleation increased, citing a lack of imported pottery on small hillfort sites as a possible sign of the degradation of these settlements during this period.[642] Evidently, population nucleation occurred during the Late Iron Age, but not due to increasing settlement hierarchies compared to the Early Iron Age.

There are more chronological and categorical issues with Late Iron Age hillfort structures. Many of these hillforts are not precisely dated, with most placed generally in the

[640] J. CHAPMAN, R. SHIEL, and Š. BATOVIĆ 1996: 262.

[641] S. ČAČE 2006: 68-71.

[642] S. ČAČE 2006: 68. See Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 26.

Iron Age. Distinctions between earlier and later stages of occupation are difficult to determine.[643] Dating the end of occupation through imported material alone is problematic, and a lack of chronological and typological categorization for domestic pottery makes determining stages of inhabitation extremely difficult. Čelhar has also argued for a slightly more complex categorization of settlement types than Čače outlined, arguing that many 'small' hillforts are rather 'medium'.[644] It is also arguable whether the smaller hillforts (which Čače characterized as those under 1 hectare) had any kind of settlement function.[645] These were possibly used as refuges or for agricultural purposes, and the lack of investigation of them makes it difficult to determine. The major hillforts that are certain to have thrived in the Late Iron Age were mostly those that had also done so in the Early Iron Age.[646] These factors show that hillfort settlement patterning perhaps remained relatively unchanged through the Iron Age. What had certainly changed from the Bronze to Iron Ages was a de-intensification of land-use in-between these hilltop settlements.

During the Iron Age, Liburnian fortifications were built in the dry-stone technique from rough unworked stones of medium to large sizes, with between two and five layers of walls leaning against one another.[647] These external faces were filled with smaller stones that helped strengthen the walls. Clay is in some cases found as a mortar, but plaster was not used until the Roman period.[648] There is little discernible typological development in this phase of fortification construction which dates from the Early Iron Age and continued in use throughout the Iron Age.[649] At this stage, it is not possible to determine any level of

[643] M. ČELHAR 2014: 244.
[644] M. ČELHAR 2014: 243-44.
[645] M. ČELHAR 2014: 255-56.
[646] M. ČELHAR 2014: 268.
[647] Š. BATOVIĆ 1977: 214-216.
[648] Z. BRUSIĆ 2000b: 139.
[649] A. FABER 1976: 230-231; Z. BRUSIĆ 2000b: 140-141.

differentiation that might point to a hierarchy of settlements based on this form of fortification.[650]A major development that it considered as distinguishing the Late Iron Age in Liburnia is the adoption of sophisticated and technically advanced fortifications. Batović discussed two separate techniques of fortification construction in Liburnia, both probably developed under influence from cities with Hellenistic urban features. One, presumably an earlier method, included the use of roughly cut blocks of medium and large sizes, placed horizontally and vertically.[651] This technique was compared to the first phase of megalithic constructions in southern Illyria, modern day Albania, which are fairly securely dated to the 5th or 4th centuries BCE.[652] From possibly as early as the 3rd century BCE, certain larger hillforts began to have their outer faces built in megalithic style, with finely worked stone blocks, such as at Velika Mrdakovica, Asseria, Varvaria (Bribirska glavica), Trojan at Jagodnja, Gradina at Vrgada, Školj Veliki just off Pakoštane, Nadin, Curicum and Apsorus (the latter two on Krk and Osor, respectively, in the Kvarner Gulf). This second phase is characterized by evenly sized and well-dressed rectangular stone blocks fixed together in the *opus quadratum* technique, and Batović corresponded this to the 3rd phase in Albania, dating to the 3rd-1st centuries BCE.[653]

Megalithic fortifications at settlements such as Nadin would require a large workforce working over several years, and only at specific times of the year when the weather was suitable.[654] The construction of increasingly large and structurally complex fortifications would have required extensive planning and a coordinated contingent of workers, including those with specialized knowledge of stone masonry and construction

[650] M. ČELHAR 2014: 54.

[651] Š. BATOVIĆ 1977.

[652] A. FABER 1976.

[653] Š. BATOVIĆ 1977: 216.

[654] J. CHAPMAN, R. SHIEL, and Š. BATOVIĆ 1996: 169-175.

techniques. Such monumental construction works suggests a certain degree of socio-political organization and complexity existed in the latter stages of fortification development when the megalithic walls were constructed.[655] However, the dating of these constructions is far from secure, and it is quite possible that they occurred much later than previously thought.

Čelhar argues in her doctorate (in which she undertook an exhaustive study of Liburnian Iron Age hillfort settlements) that the chronologies suggested for the stages of megalithic fortification construction, which are largely based on analogies with typologies more securely dated from material evidence at sites in Albania, require reconsideration. She suggests that most of these monumental walls with finely dressed blocks are most probably dated to the second half of the 1st century BCE and the first decades of the 1st century CE, an argument supported by research at Asseria as well as epigraphic evidence relating to the building of fortifications at Zadar and Bribirska glavica.[656] The analogies with Albanian sites are understandably inaccurate since that region was more closely tied to the Greek world, whereas Liburnia had closer connections with the western Adriatic coast.[657] Particularly indicative of this situation is the example of the so-called megalithic walls from Lergova gradina. Surface finds indicate that this settlement was abandoned at the turn of the 1st century BCE-CE. The ramparts here cover only one third of the site, pointing to an incomplete construction that was abandoned along with the settlement.[658] Čelhar does argue that one of the earlier stages of the megalithic walls at Varvaria, with large worked stone blocks placed vertically and horizontally, though not in the *opus quadratum* pattern, is

[655] J. CHAPMAN, R. SHIEL, and Š. BATOVIĆ 1996: 172-174.

[656] M. ČELHAR 2014: 60, n. 261-263.

[657] M. ČELHAR 2014: 58-60.

[658] Evidence from the site of Trojan near Strabnja could point to a similar situation, though records relating to the site are contradictory, M. ČELHAR 2014: 60-1; c.f. Z. BRUSIĆ 2000b: 129, who suggested the incomplete walls at Lergova gradina were due to a reduction in the habitation area of the settlement.

probably dated to the late 2nd or early 1st century BCE based on the design which included multiple walls leaning against one another.[659]

On reassessment, it appears difficult to argue for a consolidation of socio-political units in Late Iron Age Liburnia, based on settlement patterns and fortification constructions. The large empty spaces in the landscape of the Iron Age are argued to indicate settlement nucleation. However, as Chapman *et al* themselves noted, the low level of artefact discard and moderate usage of landscape in this period do not agree with the development of an urbanized aristocracy and an apparent economic boom.[660] Arguments for increasing settlement hierarchies in the Late Iron Age are largely untenable due to chronological issues and incomplete categorization of hillforts and understanding of their use and character. Evidence for political boundaries and inter-community conflict over privately owned land comes exclusively from inscriptions that date from, at the earliest, the 1st century BCE, and mostly from the 1st century CE. Therefore, taking them as evidence for private landownership during the Late Iron Age (4th-1st centuries BCE) is problematic. The evidence for megalithic fortifications in Liburnia, often emphasized as a factor in the proto-urbanization of the Late Iron Age, is also precarious, and these monuments are not dated to any degree of certainty. As Čelhar has argued, these are probably mostly dated to the last century BCE, when Liburnian communities were under significant influence of the Roman administration. Construction of many of these walls no doubt related to the acquisition of civic statuses (see below, Chapter 5), and their significance to social change in Liburnia is probably related to incorporation into the Roman provincial framework. Construction of hillfort walls certainly took place in the Late Iron Age, for example at Asseria, which

[659] M. ČELHAR 2014: 59; contrary to Suić's earlier suggestion that this phase was attributed to the mid-1st century BCE, M. SUIĆ 1981a: 37. C.f., A. FABER 1976: 244; R. SEKSO 2015: 64-65.
[660] J. CHAPMAN, R. SHIEL, and Š. BATOVIĆ 1996: 272.

required a certain degree of socio-political structure and social hierarchy. However, construction of dry-wall fortifications had occurred in Dalmatia, including in Liburnia, since the 12th century BCE.[661] What remains to be seen is whether new constructions in the Late Iron Age were related to any kind of socio-political developments or increase in social hierarchies.

Burial Practices

Burial practices in Late Iron Age Liburnia are another factor that differentiates this period from the previous one. Not only a new style of tomb structure but also sets of burial goods developed during this period, and these changes are usually interpreted as the impacts of influences from the Hellenistic world. Previous studies have published the graves or grave contents from specific sites in Liburnia.[662] This section undertakes a comprehensive analysis of all known graves and necropolises from this period with the aim of outlining aspects of burial practices in Late Iron Age Liburnia and deciphering whether these unravel any details about social structure. As already mentioned, the development of new tomb styles filled with imported goods has been interpreted as evidence for increased social hierarchies in Late Iron Age Liburnia. The evidence for graves is compiled and analysed here to determine whether any kind of social structure is perceptible from them in terms of the architectural elements of tombs or the burial goods left inside them.

Burials of the Early Iron Age in Liburnia, 9th to 5th century BCE, are generally small square or oblong plots sometimes lined with stone slabs or piles of rocks. Burials in grave pits lined with (usually 4) unworked stone slabs and covered by another unworked slab,

[661] J. CHAPMAN, R. SHIEL, and Š. BATOVIĆ 1996: 151; V. BARBARIĆ 2009: 318.
[662] Z. BRUSIĆ 2000a; A. BATOVIĆ and Š. BATOVIĆ 2013; M. MIŠE 2017.

known as cist graves, found in this period are a continuation of a Bronze Age tradition.[663] Some burials are found under tumuli in the Early Iron Age, but none dating to the Late Iron Age.[664] The dead are inhumed throughout the Iron Age, with very few examples of cremation before the Roman period.[665] Burial goods in the Early Iron Age included mostly metal items of attire and some jewellery. Locally made and particularly imported pottery is rarely found during this period.[666]

Developing a clear picture of practices relating to burial of the deceased in Late Iron Age Liburnia is difficult given that all known graves from this period were devastated, either in antiquity or more recently, before archaeologists excavated them. However, as discussed below, a significant amount of remaining material and grave architecture from burials at Velika Mrdakovica, Nadin and particularly Dragišić provide helpful indications of how burial practices were changing during the latter stages of the pre-Roman period. The evidence also shows that material from the Hellenistic world was utilized in these new customs.

Graves in Liburnia usually included only one deceased in the Early Iron Age, or sometimes small groups were buried together.[667] The large so-called 'Hellenistic' graves of the last four centuries BCE at Nadin, Velika Mrdakovica and Dragišić included multiple burials, and these are usually interpreted as family tombs.[668] The predominance of burials with the deceased placed in a crouched position in the Early Iron Age was replaced with burials with the deceased in an extended position in the Late Iron age, at least in some

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[663] S. KUKOČ 2009a: 18; 2011a: 203; Š. BATOVIĆ 1974: 222; 2005: 26; D. GLOGOVIĆ 2014: 3.

[664] S. KUKOČ 2009a; 2011a; D. VUJEVIĆ 2011; Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 27.

[665] S. KUKOČ 2009b.

[666] On Early Iron Age graves from Liburnia, see S. KUKOČ 2009a; 2011a; N. CONDIĆ 2010; Z. BRUSIĆ 2005; M. BLEČIĆ KAVUR and E. PODRUG 2014.

[667] S. KUKOČ 2009a: 44.

[668] Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 26, 49; S. KUKOČ 2009a: 44.

areas.[669] Brusić noted that, during the last four centuries BCE at necropolises nearby settlements in the northern part of the Ravni Kotari-Bukovica region, such as Nin, Zaton, and Ljubač, the deceased were buried in a crouched position, which was a continuation of the earlier practice. At necropolises in the southern part of Liburnia, such as Dragišić and Velika Mrdakovica, the deceased were buried in extended positions during this period. This practice lasted until the Roman period when cremation burials became the dominant custom.[670] There is some evidence of burials in an extended position prior to the Late Iron Age in parts of Liburnia. Burial mounds from Nadin dating to the 9th-6th century BCE (13 and 8) and another generally dated from the 11th-4th/3rd century BCE (12), include burials in an extended position. It should be noted that the extended position burials in Nadin did not include any grave architecture, whereas almost all crouched graves were surrounded by a row of stones, or a small cist in the case of grave 3 in mound 13.[671] It appears that with the extended burials at Nadin certain aspects of usual burial rituals were absent. In Dragišić, burials with the deceased in extended position dated between the 6th-3rd century BCE.[672] Early Iron Age graves from Velika Mrdakovica also have the deceased in extended position.[673]

Graves and associated finds from the hillfort of Dragišić provide a particularly helpful example of the development of Liburnian burial rituals in the southern part of the Ravni Kotari region. The Šibenik City Museum conducted excavations at the necropolis outside Dragišić in late 1973 and May 1976, and again from 2001-2003. The excavations during the 1970s revealed 22 graves, including 14 dating to the late part of the Early Iron

[669] Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 26; S. KUKOČ 2011a: 202.

[670] Z. BRUSIĆ 2000a: 1, 12-13.

[671] S. KUKOČ 2009a: 24, fig. 11; 2009a: 42, 44.

[672] Z. BRUSIĆ 2000a: 1, 6, Pl. XII, XVI, XXV.

[673] M. BLEČIĆ KAVUR and E. PODRUG 2014.

Age or the Late Iron Age, 3 that Brusić, who led the excavation and published the finds, classified as 'Hellenistic' graves, and a Roman cremation burial.[674]

The earlier graves were constructed in oval shapes, which rows of unworked stones clearly outlined. Material from these graves, which included mostly metal items including Certosa fibulae, date them between the 6th and 3rd century BCE.[675] A particularly interesting example (grave 4) provided a discernible chronological progression of burial practices at this necropolis. The oval outline of grave 4 was recognizable from the surface, and within the outline, at the uppermost layer, a square tomb with two slabs still preserved was visible before excavation commenced. Inside the tomb were the remains of the deceased in a squatted position.[676] This burial, designated 4A, included five fibulae, a belt buckle, an earring and parts of needles. The fibulae, which are of the Certosa type with a flattened arch, Batović considered as having appeared during the 5th century BCE.[677]

Directly beneath grave 4A was another burial, designated 4B, which took up a space slightly larger and deeper than 4A. Within grave 4B were the remains of burned human bones, as well as fragments of a ceramic skyphos, 3 large and 2 small fibulae of a similar type to those in grave 4A, and a belt hook with a palmette and 3 holes which, as already mentioned, was a status symbol in contemporary central and south Italian graves.[678] Several bronze pendants, 160 small bronze buttons, a bronze pipe and two bones were also found in grave 4B.[679] The skyphos fragments are from a black-glazed vessel with poorly preserved

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674 Z. BRUSIĆ 2000a.

675 Z. BRUSIĆ 2000a: 1, Pl. XXV, 1-3; Glogović recently published the metal and jewellery items from the graves at Dragišić, D. GLOGOVIĆ 2014.

676 Z. BRUSIĆ 2000a: 6, Pl. III, XXVI, 2-3.

677 Š. BATOVIĆ 1974: 190; see D. GLOGOVIĆ 2014: 10-11 for certosa fibulae found at Dragišić.

678 Z. BRUSIĆ 2000a: 7, Pl. IV. Similar types of belt hook have been found further south in Višjoj Čuci on Brač, and another in Ostišić near Sinj, M. BLEČIĆ KAVUR and B. KAVUR 2016: 241-244, fig. 5.

679 Z. BRUSIĆ 2000a: 7.

black coating, a type Brusić considered reminiscent of examples from Corinth dating between around 375 to 275 BCE.[680] Miše found that this was an Attic type A with an outcurved rim, two horse-shoe shaped handles and a double curve body ending on a low ring foot, a shape developed in the mid-4th century that was also found in Corinth.[681] This represented the earliest example of imported pottery found at the necropolis. Following the removal of the burials in graves 4A and 4B, another burial was discovered which took up the entire space of the elliptical shaped burial outlined with unworked stones. This grave, designated 4C, was apparently partly carved into the bedrock to a depth of approximately 10 centimetres. The deceased was buried in an extended position, with several fibulae dating from the 4th to 2nd centuries BCE.[682]

The burials in grave 4 in some ways contradict the general picture of the progression of Liburnian burial customs during the Late Iron Age. Grave 4A, with the deceased placed in a squatted position and surrounded by crudely cut slabs of stone, was akin to graves of the Early Iron Age, and those communities in the northern part of the Ravni Kotari region (as discussed above). Grave 4B, chronologically earlier than grave 4A, given its stratigraphic position directly below the former, appears to have been a cremation burial. Cremation burials were not common in Liburnia during any phases of the Iron Age, as already mentioned, making this an exceptional example.[683] However, the contents of grave 4B, which included fragments of a skyphos, align it with the later 'Hellenistic' graves that included many fragments of imported Hellenistic pottery.[684] Grave 4C, the earliest of the three, has the deceased in an extended position, as with the later Hellenistic graves.

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[680] Z. BRUSIĆ 2000a: Pl. IV, 14.

[681] M. MIŠE 2017: 89, 95.

[682] Z. BRUSIĆ 2000a: 8-10.

[683] Brusić linked this with a lasting impact of cremation rituals established during the Bronze Age Urnfield culture, and maintained in northern Croatia and the Iapodian area during the Iron Age, Z. BRUSIĆ 2000a: 8.

[684] See below.

The contents of each burial in grave 4 would suggest that they were all buried in a relatively short time-period, probably all during the 4th century. It is interesting that apparently multiple forms of burial practices existed around the same time, and particularly noteworthy is the presence of a cremation burial between two inhumation burials. This kind of bi-ritualism in burial customs was found in Liburnia as early as the 9th-6th centuries BCE. Burial mound 13 from the necropolis at Nadin includes cremated burials, as well as inhumation burials with the deceased in both crouched and extended positions.[685]

Brusić labelled 3 graves from the necropolis at Dragišić 'Hellenistic' type graves (20, 22 and 24), due to their architecture and contents.[686] Unlike the earlier graves, which were made from undressed stone slabs, these graves were made of worked stone blocks with rectangular or square forms. Nearby were found large blocks with carved slots on their edges which almost certainly acted as covers of these graves.[687] Grave 24 was cut into the bedrock, which was then used as part of the grave wall.[688] These 3 graves are largely devastated (probably since antiquity), and many of the stone blocks were scattered around their immediate vicinity.[689]

The contents of grave 20 includes many fragments of ceramic dishes, mostly Hellenistic relief style pots and a few grey-slip ware and terra sigillata fragments, 3 astragal belt hooks, fragments of Late La Tène fibulae, a coin of Nero and some human bones (though not enough to determine the number of deceased in the grave).[690] In grave 22 were found fragments of Hellenistic relief craters and some other Hellenistic ceramics.[691] Grave

[685] S. KUKOČ 2009b: 81.
[686] Z. BRUSIĆ 2000a: 6, 10-12.
[687] Z. BRUSIĆ 2000a: Pl. XXII, 2.
[688] Z. BRUSIĆ 2000a: Pl. XXIII, 1.
[689] Z. BRUSIĆ 2000a: 10.
[690] Z. BRUSIĆ 2000a: Pl. XVIII.
[691] Z. BRUSIĆ 2000a: Pl. XIX.

24 consisted of fragments of Hellenistic relief craters and other vessels, amphorae, some domestic pottery, fragments of Certozoid and Late La Tène fibulae as well as an Aucissa fibula, some glass beads, parts of an iron knife and spear head, and a coin of Tiberius.[692] Despite the fact these graves are devastated, we can presume from their contents that they were in use for a long period, from the Late Hellenistic period (2nd-1st century BCE) until the 1st century CE. This is based on the presence of Hellenistic relief pottery, sigillata, and the coins of the Julio-Claudian emperors.[693]

During further excavations at Dragišić from 2001-2003, south of the earlier excavations, 34 more tombs were discovered, 29 of which contained fragments of pottery and metal artefacts and 17 the fragments of bones of multiple deceased (only 2 graves had only one deceased).[694] The architecture of these tombs resembled that of graves 20, 22 and 24, as did the burial goods.[695] Miše recently published an analysis of the Hellenistic wares from the entire necropolis. She concluded that of the 51 tombs from the Dragišić necropolis, Hellenistic wares were found in 26 tombs.[696] The other tombs included mostly fragments of locally produced pottery and metal artefacts.[697] Roman thin-walled and sigillata wares were included in tombs 20/1973, 22/1973, 21/2002, 30/2002 and 31/2002, all of which also included Hellenistic wares, while tomb 13/1973 had only Roman wares and 19/1973 had a Sarius cup along with locally produced pottery.[698] Hellenistic and locally produced wares were found together in tombs 21/2002, 25/2003, 30/2003 and 31/2003, while as mentioned

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692 Z. BRUSIĆ 2000a: Pl. XX.

693 Z. BRUSIĆ 2000a: 10.

694 M. MIŠE 2017: 85-86

695 M. MIŠE 2017: 86, n. 6, who cites the excavation logs and notes of the lead archaeologist on the 2001-2003 excavations, M. Menđušić, from the Šibenik City Museum.

696 M. MIŠE 2017.

697 D. GLOGOVIĆ 2014.

698 For the Sarius cup, see Z. BRUSIĆ 1999: 22-29.

above, a skyphos was found in tomb 4B along with locally produced jewellery. In other tombs, such as 33/2003, only local pottery was discovered. Miše quite rightly concludes from this data that the distinction between 'Liburnian' tombs of the (late) Iron Age and the 'Hellenistic' tombs, as Brusić attempted to draw, is not so clear.[699] The Hellenistic wares that Miše analysed from the graves at Dragišić included black-glazed, Gnathia, Hellenistic relief, grey-glazed, brown-glazed and red-glazed wares.[700] A publication of the entire contents of the graves from Dragišić by members of the Šibenik City Museum is planned for the near future. Hopefully this will provide further details on the intermixing of locally produced and imported material in certain graves and provide a more specific time-frame during which they were in use.

At the nearby hillfort of Velika Mrdakovica, similar tombs dating from approximately the 3rd to 1st centuries BCE were excavated, though they are not yet properly published.[701] These were tombs whose walls were lined with worked stone blocks, as with the graves from Dragišić. Brusić noted that there were differences in the quality of the architecture of the graves, and he provides an example of one with roughly-hewn blocks as well as another with quite regularly shaped and well cut blocks aligned parallel in a kind of *opus quadratum* technique.[702] The burial goods are similar to those in the graves at Dragišić, including fibulae, pearls, flint and imported ceramics, mostly Hellenistic relief pottery related to wine consumption (kraters, cups) that was smashed before deposition, but also some Arretine sigillata, indicating that it was also in use for a long period of time. As with

[699] M. MIŠE 2017: 85.

[700] M. MIŠE 2017: 86-94.

[701] See Z. BRUSIĆ, T. PAVIČIĆ, and S. GRGAS 2000 for an overview of the material from the Velika Mrdakovica necropolis.

[702] Z. BRUSIĆ 1980: 11-12, Tab. X, fig. 1-3. Miše provides a recent picture of one of the 'Hellenistic' graves from Velika Mrdakovica, M. MIŠE 2017: fig. 1.

the graves from Dragišić, multiple deceased were buried in these graves from Velika Mrdakovica. [703]

Excavations at the necropolis of Nadin have revealed a continuity of habitation at the site from the Bronze Age through to the Roman period and shed light on the development of burial customs in the central part of the Ravni Kotari region.[704] Burial mounds from Nadin date from the Bronze Age to the early stages of the Iron Age (9th-6th century BCE), while during the Late Iron Age burials were made in the flat necropolis on the north-western slope of the hillfort.[705] The flat necropolis at Nadin has several similarities to that of Dragišić, including the chronology of finds, which date from the 6th century onwards, and also the location, being at the base of the hillfort settlement, and placed along a road that leads into it.[706]

The area of the Nadin flat necropolis referred to as 'Cella I' is a rectangular complex delineated by stone walls that were built in the Roman period.[707] Seventeen Iron Age period graves have been identified in Cella I, though the scattered remains of human bones suggest many more were originally buried here. Several graves, particularly 11 and 13, are reasonably well preserved, with skeletons and burial goods found (apparently) *in situ*.[708] Several types of grave architecture, largely known from other Iron Age sites in northern Dalmatia, can be recognized in Cella I. The grave type with unworked stone slabs, known as a cist, is the most numerous type, though they are all badly preserved. As with elsewhere in Liburnia, the deceased are in a crouched position in the cists. Probably due to robbing in antiquity, they contain few or no artefacts, so close dating of this type of grave here is

[703] Z. BRUSIĆ 1980: 12; Z. BRUSIĆ, T. PAVIČIĆ, and S. GRGAS 2000: 8-9.

[704] S. KUKOČ 2009a; 2011a.

[705] S. KUKOČ 2009a: 50.

[706] S. KUKOČ 2011a: 206.

[707] S. KUKOČ 2009a: fig. 29, 31, 32.

[708] S. KUKOČ 2009a: 58, 60.

difficult.[709] Grave 20 has a semicircular row of rectangular stones above a stone cist, which recalls the elliptical graves from Dragišić and Nin. Unfortunately, it lacks *in situ* artefacts.[710] Another group of burials, including graves 11, 13 and 15, are enclosed by rows of small stones, and contain the remains of skeletons in crouched positions. Grave 8 contains the remains of a deceased in an extended position and is surrounded with slightly larger stones.[711] The artefacts in Cella I range in date from the 6th century BCE to the Late Iron Age (4th-1st century BCE). However, the material is scattered, and the lack of *in situ* finds makes dating of individual graves difficult. Pre-certozoid fibulae found in graves 11 and 12 suggest dating these graves to around the 6th century BCE.[712]

Two large tombs filled with Hellenistic pottery and metal artefacts were discovered at the Nadin necropolis during excavations in 1968.[713] These tombs, known as graves 1 and 2 from Nadin, are of the same type of monumental tomb seen at Dragišić and Velika Mrdakovica, with multiple burials, made from large worked stone blocks, probably originally covered with massive worked stone slabs which were not found with these two graves.[714] The Nadin graves were already disturbed prior to Batović examining them, and much of the material was damaged and scattered. In grave 1, which was 190cm long, 120-125cm wide and 90-95cm deep, a whole locally produced pottery vessel was discovered, along with 15 more fragments, as well as two ceramic rings, 177 fragments of imported Hellenistic pottery, 68 fibulae and 19 fibula fragments (including spiral, late Certosa, Early La Tène, Middle La Tène and table-like fibulae), as well as 2 bracelets, 3 ear-rings, 5 rings, a pendant, a pair of tweezers, 3 pins, 7 belt buckles, 33 metal rings and 12 other unidentified

[709] S. KUKOČ 2009a: 60.

[710] S. KUKOČ 2009a: fig. 41, 61-62.

[711] S. KUKOČ 2009a: 61-62.

[712] S. KUKOČ 2011a: 206.

[713] Š. BATOVIĆ 1990a: 121-125.

[714] A. BATOVIĆ and Š. BATOVIĆ 2013: Tab. X, XI, XLVI, XLVII, LXXXI, LXXXII, LXXXIV, LXXXV.

pieces, equalling a total 364 items.[715] In grave 2, which measured 193cm long, 150-165cm wide and 50-105cm deep, burial goods included 9 fragments of local pottery, 135 fragments of imported Hellenistic pottery, 5 fibulae and 7 fragments of fibulae (including late Certosa and Middle La Tène pieces), 2 rings, 2 pendants, a ring and 2 beads – 164 items altogether.[716] The ceramic remains provide insight into the time frame within which each grave was used. Grave 1 includes mostly Italic pottery, particularly Gnathia ware, while later Hellenistic types are fewer. Hellenistic relief ware is predominant in grave 2, as well as some Italic pieces, but no Gnathia ware. These assemblages indicate that grave 1 was in use from the 4th to early 1st century while grave 2 probably from the 2nd to 1st century BCE.[717]

Another devastated burial found nearby graves 1 and 2 is also considered in some literature an example of a Hellenistic grave.[718] 'Grave 3' was discovered and partially explored in 1983, though it had apparently already been disturbed and dug to a depth of 50cm.[719] Batović collected from the grave 9 fragments of bronze fibulae (one with an amber bead, as well as Late Certosa and Middle La Tène types), a fragment of a bronze plate, 10 sherds of local pottery, 21 sherds of Gnathia and other Italic wares, 26 Hellenistic sherds, a piece of a Hellenistic or Roman candle holder, 2 sherds of Roman pottery, 2 fragments of glass vessels, 2 glass beads, 3 fragments of amber and a fragment of a whetstone – 77 items altogether.[720] According to ceramic finds, use of grave 3 would mostly date to the later stage of the Late Iron Age, as only 3 fragments of Gnathia ware were found.[721] An issue with

[715] A. BATOVIĆ and Š. BATOVIĆ 2013: 16-31, English summary at 182, see Tab. XII-XLV, LXXXVI-XC.
[716] A. BATOVIĆ and Š. BATOVIĆ 2013: 32-30, English summary at 183, see Tab. XLVIII-LXVIII.
[717] A. BATOVIĆ and Š. BATOVIĆ 2013: 183-4.
[718] S. KUKOČ 2009a: 13-14.
[719] A. BATOVIĆ and Š. BATOVIĆ 2013: 183.
[720] A. BATOVIĆ and Š. BATOVIĆ 2013: 39-43, English summary at 183, see Tab. LXIX-LXXIII.
[721] A. BATOVIĆ and Š. BATOVIĆ 2013: 183.

Fig. 7. Contents of the Hellenistic period grave discovered at Bribirska glavica. A. MILOŠEVIĆ 2015: fig. 10.

grave 3 is that its structure is not well recorded or defined, so that it is not clear whether the items came from a single grave.[722]

Graves dating to the Late Iron Age were also discovered below the hillfort at Bribirska glavica (fig. 7). These were largely devastated and only one was excavated. Finds included the remains of the deceased in a crouched position, bronze fibulae, fragments of

[722] *Pers. comm.* M. Čelhar.

needles, carved hollow bones (possibly pan pipes) and sherds of two Hellenistic style vessels – a skyphos a cup made from rough pottery (possibly an oenochoe), which Menđušić dated to the 4th/3rd century BCE.[723] Hopefully future excavations at the site will uncover more graves and provide further details of their architecture and contents to compare with those at other Liburnian settlements.

The monumental graves of the so-called 'Hellenistic' type, that date from the late 3rd or 2nd century BCE to the 1st century BCE/CE, are particularly important in terms of discussing changes in Liburnian culture in the Late Iron Age. As discussed, these graves contain large quantities of fragments of imported ceramics and very few fragments of local style pottery. On the other hand, many of the metal items that are included in these graves were developed in Liburnia, or Italy and the immediate surrounding areas (that of the Delmatae, Iapodes and Histrii). These large tombs are usually interpreted as family tombs due to the presence of multiple deceased, and their appearance in the Late Iron Age is attributed to developing social hierarchies and socio-political integration.[724] The importation of luxury goods, which increased throughout the Iron Age, but most prominently from the 4th century BCE, is considered indicative of the increasing availability of excess resources and a section of the population able to acquire them. Economic development in Liburnia, it is argued, led to increasing social stratification and methods in the display of wealth and power.[725] However, this social stratification is difficult to prove through burial evidence.

The Late Iron Age family tombs were almost certainly much more costly than other burials in Iron Age Liburnia. It is possible that these graves were representative of an emerging Liburnian urban elite, who constructed monumental tombs to differentiate

[723] M. MENĐUŠIĆ 1985.

[724] Š. BATOVIĆ 1974: 57. See above, n. 607.

[725] Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 57-58; J. CHAPMAN, R. SHIEL & Š. BATOVIĆ 1996: 288-289.

themselves from others. The major issue for this argument is in defining which Late Iron Age graves were 'rich' graves and which were 'poor' graves. Earlier scholarship was adamant that cist graves with only locally made metal items as grave goods were in use throughout the Iron Age, including the last four centuries BCE.[726] The only burials clearly dated to the last 3 centuries BCE are those with Hellenistic pottery inside them, and consequently the presence of such material is not useful in differentiating their worth. As discussed in this section, these graves were used over a prolonged time, included multiple deceased and were disturbed before archaeologists excavated them. As such, it is not possible to differentiate wealthier graves, since those with more material were perhaps simply used more often than others. There is no evidence to prove that the tombs were necessarily family tombs, that only one familial group utilised, which might point to a relatively wealthy family.

Chapman *et al* argue that a distinction between rich flat necropolises near hillforts and the poorer cairn burials in more remote areas developed in the Late Iron Age in Liburnia.[727] This association between new rich burials and the nucleation of populations into hillforts increasingly towards the latter part of the Iron Age supposedly gives strength to the proposition of the development of an urban elite class in this period, based around hillfort centres. However, necropolises on flat ground are found already in the Early Iron Age,[728] and use of tumuli burials is not confirmed in Liburnia during the Late Iron Age.[729] It appears that the evidence for burials and necropolises at this stage, with the availability of data and

[726] Batović mentions that earlier cist type burials continued into the Late Iron Age, but provides no examples and none are mentioned in the literature surveyed during this project, Š. BATOVIĆ 1974: 56.

[727] J. CHAPMAN and R. SHIEL 1993: 97; J. CHAPMAN, R. SHIEL, and Š. BATOVIĆ 1996: 288-89.

[728] For example at Nin, Š. BATOVIĆ 1970: 40; Nadin, S. KUKOČ 2009a; Velika Mrdakovica, M. BLEČIĆ KAVUR and E. PODRUG 2014.

[729] The author has found no evidence for tumuli from Liburnia with material dating to the Late Iron Age.

our understanding of these topics, does not provide evidence for social stratification in Late Iron Age Liburnia.

An important element of Late Iron Age Liburnian culture is the increasing amounts of imported Greek pottery, and this is usually interpreted as a symptom of increasing economic prosperity and a sign of increasing social division.[730] As already mentioned, in the earlier phases of Liburnian Iron Age culture, pottery vessels are rarely found within graves. With increasing influence from the Hellenistic world, pottery becomes a common burial good. Imported vessels are found in graves alongside locally produced items, including pottery, jewellery and fibulae. It is obvious that the imported pottery was adopted into the local repertoire of material culture associated with Liburnian burial rituals, which were at the same time evolving under Hellenistic influence. It is difficult to answer questions about the social use of Hellenistic type wares in Liburnian society due to the meagre evidence at hand, or to determine whether the Liburni considered these luxury items due to a lack of contextual data. The fact that the imported wares in Liburnia are all tableware, related to the drinking and serving of beverages, is indicative of the conspicuous nature of their consumption in Liburnian society. Šešelj and Vuković mention that a large number of imported vessels from the hillfort at Beretinova gradina near Radovin show evidence of repairs, indicating that they were highly valued and probably in use for some time.[731] The high number of fragments of imported style vessels as burial goods could indicate that these had value as some form of status symbol in Liburnian communities during the Late Iron Age. However, it is difficult to argue that the use of Hellenistic forms in Liburnia was restricted to an elite class at present, since they are common finds in graves during the 4th to 1st centuries BCE. It is not clear why local pottery production did not develop

[730] See above, n. 607.

[731] L. ŠEŠELJ and M. VUKOVIĆ 2013: 347.

technologically and stylistically along the lines of imported wares – apart from, perhaps the production of Hellenistic relief wares with a mould such as the one found in Zadar.[732] Čače proposed that this was due to the orientation towards finer imported ceramics, but also a result of social relations and the absence of more explicitly divided labour roles, such as a dedicated industry of ceramic producers.[733]

Much has been said about developing social hierarchies in Late Iron Age Liburnia, but it is difficult to support these arguments with the available evidence from graves or burial goods. What we can argue is that imported ceramics played some important role in the development of burial practices in Late Iron Age Liburnia. A. Appadurai has argued that demand is never an automatic response to the availability of goods, and that explanations for the adoption of foreign influences should be understood within the logic of the political economy of particular societies.[734] As M. Dietler notes, consumption is culturally specific, and demand for goods is always socially constructed.[735] The importance of foreign objects is not in what they represent in the society from which they originated, but for their cultural meaning and social use in the context of consumption among those who adopted them.[736] Thus, the adoption and rejection of foreign goods needs to be understood in terms of local cultural practices and modes of social discourse. In this case study, the importance of imported pots is highlighted mostly in the fact that they were placed inside graves. That Hellenistic motifs and styles in jewellery making were adopted attests to a likening for the style. Due to the lack of in situ finds from closed archaeological contexts, it is difficult to make much of an argument about the role of these items and symbols in Liburnian society,

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[732] See above, 105-106.

[733] S. ČAČE 1985: 471-472; see M. ČELHAR 2014: 83.

[734] A. APPADURAI 1986: 29-31.

[735] M. DIETLER 1998: 300.

[736] M. DIETLER 1998: 299.

or even within the funerary realm. What we can argue is that these items were meaningfully adopted into local cultural repertoires, and the context of their acquisition (import) and deposit (funerary) point to their special status amongst their consumers. Whether they were items adopted by some elite group as symbols of their hierarchical status remains to be seen.[737]

Development of a Monetary Economy and North African Coins in Liburnia

The numismatic evidence from Liburnia confirms the picture provided from other archaeological data, pointing to a significant degree of connectivity to wider Adriatic and Mediterranean networks during the Late Iron Age. The Liburni never minted their own coins, unlike some Illyrian groups in the southern Adriatic and the indigenous Daorsi, who inhabited the hinterland of southern Dalmatia.[738] However, a wide range of coins from all ends of the Mediterranean dating to the pre-Roman period are found on Liburnian Iron Age hillfort sites, as well as in some graves, and in hoard contexts. This is taken as an argument that a monetary economy existed in Liburnian communities of the Late Iron Age, which used imported coins as currency.[739] The presence of a large amount of North African coins in Liburnia dating to this period is an interesting phenomenon, as discussed below, and a concrete explanation for this is still lacking. This section will survey the numismatic evidence from Late Iron Age Liburnia to consider what significance it may have for potential social development and cultural contacts during this period.

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[737] There are certainly examples from other parts of Iron Age Mediterranean and temperate Europe where indigenous elites used imported Greek and Roman pots as such symbols during diacritical feasting activities, see e.g., M. DIETLER 1990; 1998; J. S. P. WALSH 2014: 175-180.

[738] I. DRAGIĆEVIĆ 2016.

[739] L. ŠEŠELJ and M. ILKIĆ 2014.

Over one thousand single finds of coins dating to the pre-Roman period are known from Liburnia whose find spots are confirmed, and that is not to mention the many more hundreds, probably thousands, kept in museums and private collections, but which lack any data relating to where they were found.[740] The spatial distribution of coin types dating to the last 4 centuries BCE in the eastern Adriatic region shows three geographic zones where certain issues were prevalent. In the Alpine and Pannonian regions, certain types of Celtic coinage predominated, as well as Roman Republican coins. In the southern Adriatic, coinage of the Greek colonies of Apollonia and Dyracchium, as well as issues of the Illyrian kings are most numerous. And this latter trend was generally followed in the region of central Dalmatian where the coins of the Greek colonies here that began minting in the 4th century are dominant. Separate from these zones is the Liburnian-Iapodian region where there is, interestingly, a prevalence of coinage from Numidia and Carthage, as well as significant amounts of Roman Republican issues.[741]

Almost all the coins found in Liburnia are bronze, with only a few examples of silver issues.[742] Roman republican coins date from as early as the 3rd century BCE. Issues from the late 3rd to 1st centuries are relatively common finds on Liburnian hillfort sites, making up about 18% of single finds, and are known from at least 13 sites.[743] Many examples of aes Rude, *aes signatum, aes formatum* and *aes grave* have also been found in hoards in Liburnia and the Iapodian hinterland, possibly dating as far back as the 6th century BCE.[744] Coins from North Africa are by far the most numerous in pre-Roman Liburnia, which is perhaps a

[740] L. ŠEŠELJ and M. ILKIĆ 2014: 44, fig. 2, 3; 2015: 425, fig. 4, 5.

[741] For discussion of these zones of distribution, see L. ŠEŠELJ and M. ILKIĆ 2014: 50.

[742] L. ŠEŠELJ and M. ILKIĆ 2014: 45.

[743] L. ŠEŠELJ and M. ILKIĆ 2014: 47, fig. 2, 3, 10, 11; 2015: fig. 5.

[744] A. BERTOL and K. FARAC 2012.

surprising phenomenon.[745] Late Carthaginian types, with the head of Tanit or Persephone on the obverse and a horse on the reverse, minted from the last half of the 3rd century to the first half of the 2nd century BCE, have been found on at least thirteen sites.[746] The Carthaginian issues found in the eastern Adriatic are usually more worn than the Numidian coins from the region, suggesting they were in circulation for a bit longer before being lost or deposited.[747] Just one type of Numidian coin is present in Liburnia, with a laureate bearded head on the obverse, and a prancing horse on reverse. The minting of this type dates from around 208-148 BCE, and it is found on at least thirteen sites in Liburnia.[748] Coins of Ptolemy IV and Ptolemy VI, from the Alexandrian mint dating to the late 3rd century, and 2nd century BCE, have been found as single finds on Liburnian hillforts, as well as in hoards in the Iapodian hinterland, though in far less numbers than Numidian and Carthaginian coins.[749]

Some of the earliest coins found in Liburnia are those minted in the Greek colonies of central Dalmatia.[750] Coins of Hercaleia, Pharos, and Issa, dating to the 4th to 3rd centuries BCE are found, which is no doubt due to the close-proximity of these colonies to northern Dalmatia.[751] However, more numerous than these are coins from the Greek cities in southern Italy and Sicily. Particularly noteworthy here are 3rd century BCE coins of the Apulian cities, Salapia, Luceria, Teate, Arpi, and Brundisium, which are otherwise not widespread

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[745] I. MIRNIK 1983; 1987; M. DUBOLNIĆ GLAVAN and V. GLAVAŠ 2011: 101-104; M. ILKIĆ and M. REBIĆ 2014; L. ŠEŠELJ and M. ILKIĆ 2014: 46, 49; 2015: fig. 5.

[746] L. ŠEŠELJ and M. ILKIĆ 2015: 427; 2014: 46, fig. 2-5.

[747] I. MIRNIK 1987: 370.

[748] L. ŠEŠELJ and M. ILKIĆ 2015: 427; 2014: 46, fig. 2, 3, 6-9. On the distribution of Numidian coins across the Mediterranean, see P. VISONÀ 2014.

[749] L. ŠEŠELJ and M. ILKIĆ 2014: 49, fig. 2, 3; M. ILKIĆ and M. REBIĆ 2014: n. 1, 2; I. MIRNIK 1983: 166-167.

[750] On coins of the central Dalmatian Greek colonies, see P. VISONÀ 1993; 1996; 2004; 2017; M. ILKIĆ 2016.

[751] T. ŠEPAROVIĆ 2012: 530-34.

outside of Italy.[752] The numismatic evidence supports the evidence of ceramic imports, discussed above, that suggest Liburnian communities had close contacts with the western Adriatic coast and Sicily during the Late Iron Age. Noteworthy also are a few rare finds from within Liburnia of Hispanic and Celtic coins, as well as coins of the Achean league.[753]

It is difficult to determine precisely when circulation of certain issues was occurring in Liburnia due to a lack of coin finds from closed archaeological contexts. L. Šešelj and M. Ilkić have recently undertaken a study on coin circulation in pre-Roman Liburnia.[754] Šešelj and Ilkić, as well as M. Dubolnić Glavan and V. Glavaš,[755] have suggested that the high number of single finds and the presence of many examples of fractions indicate that a monetary economy existed among Liburnian communities during the Late Iron Age. Based on the dating of the issue of these coins, they conclude that they would have started entering Liburnia from the beginning of the 3rd century BCE, though more commonly from the middle of that century.[756] This is an interesting hypothesis and is probably roughly accurate. The coins that they are studying come largely from surface finds, found during field surveys, mainly at the sites of Liburnian Iron Age hillforts. Therefore, the context of their loss or deposition is unknown and timing of their final use not datable. Thus, dating the development of any kind of monetary economy in Liburnia is problematic.

The North African coins in Liburnia should not be understood separately from those in the Iapodian hinterland.[757] The Iapodes inhabited the region inland from the Velebit mountain range, in modern-day Croatia and western Bosnia, primarily the Lika and Una

[752] L. ŠEŠELJ and M. ILKIĆ 2014: 50.

[753] L. ŠEŠELJ and M. ILKIĆ 2014: 48-49, fig. 15; 2015: 427.

[754] L. ŠEŠELJ and M. ILKIĆ 2014; 2015.

[755] M. DUBOLNIĆ GLAVAN and V. GLAVAŠ 2011: 107, 110.

[756] L. ŠEŠELJ and M. ILKIĆ 2014: 49.

[757] I. MIRNIK 1983; 1987.

Valley regions, but also Bela Krajina in Slovenia.[758] A series of hoards were found in Liburnia and the Iapodian hinterland, mainly in the modern-day Lika region, which are named 'Mazin' type hoards after the largest and most famous of them.[759] These hoards commonly include Numidian and Punic coins, as well as occasionally Ptolemaic and various Greek coins, but they also include examples of early Italian bronze currency in the form of aes grave, aes formatum and aes rude.[760] Various pieces of bronze jewellery and decorative items are also included in some of these hoards.[761] The fact that the Mazin type hoards are crowded into a relatively narrow area has led to the suggestion that they were concealed around the same time.[762] The date of deposition of these hoards is considered as sometime in the late 2nd century or early 1st century BCE, based on the types found in them.[763] The presence of some rare Hispanic coins in some of these hoards allows a more precise dating. For instance, the Štikada hoard includes a coin from Obulco Porcuna, which is dated between 125-80 BCE. This type was overstruck at Acinipo during the times of Q. Sertorius, who took Valentia in 75 BCE, thus providing a *terminus ante quem* for when these coins arrived in the eastern Adriatic.[764]

What appears most puzzling is the phenomenon of the presence of large quantities of Numidian and Carthaginian currency in a relatively distant and obscure part of the Mediterranean. P. Visonà noted that Numidian coins are comparatively rare finds in other

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[758] J. J. WILKES 1969: 157-159; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 422-437.

[759] J. BRUNŠMID 1897; 1899/1900; 1902; 1905b.

[760] For sources on Mazin type hoards, see the extensive bibliography in I. MIRNIK 1987, and more updated publications cited in A. BERTOL and K. FARAC 2012: 94-99, especially at n. 2.

[761] A. BERTOL and K. FARAC 2012: 96-100.

[762] A. BERTOL and K. FARAC 2012: 98.

[763] I. MIRNIK 1987: 373; A. BERTOL and K. FARAC 2012: 98-99, with sources providing different hypotheses relating to dating of Mazin type hoards.

[764] I. MIRNIK 1987: 370-71.

areas outside of North Africa.[765] Various explanations have been offered to explain this phenomenon. The original publisher of the Mazin hoard, J. Brunšmid, suggested that the import of these coins was related to the amber trade.[766] I. Mirnik suggested that they could be related to Roman wars in the region.[767] In 129 BCE, consul Gaius Sempronius Tuditanus marched against the Iapodes, as recorded by Appian and the Livy *periochae*.[768] This could explain the presence of Hispanic coins, which would have been brought to the eastern Adriatic by Roman soldiers who had recently fought in the Lusitanian War. A little later, The Third Dalmatian War was fought between the Romans and the Delmatae group from 78 to 76 BCE.[769] Though the sources do not indicate that the Iapodes or Liburni were involved in this war, the date is very close to the predicted dating of the Štikada hoard.[770] However, attempting to associate coin hoards, particularly those that have been collected under questionable circumstances, with potential historical events is certainly problematic.

Another explanation is that merchants brought these coins, almost all of which are bronze, into the region as bullion.[771] There is a lack of sources of ore in the Iapodian region, and yet the Iapodes had a long tradition of bronze-working.[772] For these coins to enter the Iapodian hinterland, the quickest route was through Liburnia, and their distribution in the eastern Adriatic suggests they followed known trade routes from the Liburnian coast into the hinterland. The Mazin type hoards are largely found near the Zrmanja and Una rivers, heading north from southern Liburnia into the Iapodian hinterland beyond the Velebit

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[765] P. VISONÀ 2014.

[766] J. BRUNŠMID 1897: 46.

[767] I. MIRNIK 1987: 373.

[768] See below, Chapter 5, for discussion.

[769] M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 293-294; D. DZINO 2010b: 67-69.

[770] I. MIRNIK 1987: 374.

[771] I. MIRNIK 1987: 370; A. BERTOL and K. FARAC 2012: 99-100.

[772] J. J. WILKES 1969: 267; M. BLEČIĆ 2007; M. BLEČIĆ KAVUR 2009; D. BALEN-LETUNIĆ 2004.

mountain range.[773] This suggests that the coins arrived in the eastern Adriatic via the Liburnian ports in the Ravni Kotari region of northern Dalmatia.[774] There is also evidence of single finds around the Croatian littoral area that suggests multiple routes through the Velebit mountain range were used.[775] It is possible that the North African coins were imported into the region for melting and re-use in making new bronze items.[776] This hypothesis is supported by the fact that several of the Mazin type hoards include aes rude bricks, scraps of bronze jewellery, and other bronze items, possibly indicating that the Iapodes stored bronze as wealth.[777]

In a recent study of Numidian coins and their circulation outside of North Africa, Paulo Visonà argued that timber was possibly traded by the indigenous inhabitants of the eastern Adriatic in exchange for the bronze coins that were imported. [778] He cites as evidence the find of a shipwreck in southern France, in the Baie de Cavalière, dating to ca. 100 BCE. A Roman ship found here contained Numidian coins, as well as Punic amphorae, and its structure was made mostly of Bosnian pine.[779] After the Third Punic War, Carthaginian bronzes became obsolete and during the reign of the Numidian King, Micipsa (148-111BCE), it is known that Italic soldiers and merchants swarmed Numidia.[780] It is possible that Italic traders exported Carthaginian and Numidian bronzes as a commodity from North Africa to the eastern Adriatic during the 2nd century BCE, probably via ports in

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[773] A. BERTOL and K. FARAC 2012: 98, fig. 2.

[774] Supporting this argument is that fact that finds of north African coins in northern Dalmatia are concentrated in the northern part of the Ravni Kotari region, *Pers. Comm.* I. Ilkić.

[775] M. DUBOLNIĆ GLAVAN and V. GLAVAŠ 2011: 107-8.

[776] D. BALEN-LETUNIĆ 2004: 245.

[777] K. PATCH 1990: 55-56; P. VISONÀ 2014: 128.

[778] P. VISONÀ 2014: 129.

[779] A. J. PARKER 1992: 133.

[780] M. DUBOLNIĆ GLAVAN and V. GLAVAŠ 2011: 107.

southern Italy.[781] The fact that the Carthaginian coins in the eastern Adriatic are generally more worn than the Numidian coins here would make sense if the Carthaginian coins had been obsolete before being exported.

The fascinating evidence for pre-imperial coinage in Liburnia leaves two questions unanswered: 1) why was so much North African currency entering Liburnian and Iapodian territory during this period, and 2) does the numismatic evidence point to the existence of a monetary economy in Liburnia, based upon the use of foreign coinage? The appearance of most coinage of the 4th-1st centuries BCE in Liburnia is no doubt related to economic activities that are evidenced through other material already discussed, such as pottery and metal artefacts, but the concentration of North African coins here is puzzling. How and why these coins came to the eastern Adriatic remains unclear. Archaeological evidence for other North African material is not abundant in the Adriatic during this period, and direct trade between Carthaginian or Numidian and Liburnian communities is probably unlikely.[782] Perhaps future discoveries will help explain the presence of such large quantities of Numidian and Carthaginian currency in Liburnia and the Iapodian hinterland. It is entirely possible that a variety of foreign coins were used in Liburnia as currency in the last four centuries BCE. The well-known coins, such as the Roman, Carthaginian and Syracusan issues were no doubt acceptable currency to merchants passing through Liburnian ports. The local population could also use foreign coinage as tokens for day-to-day purchases, and the presence of many single finds at multiple hillfort sites may support this conclusion. The problem is that most of these coins come from field surveys, chance finds and mine detectors, not archaeological contexts. Thus, the timing and context of their deposition is

[781] P. VISONÀ 2014: 127.

[782] Though it is possible perishable items such as foodstuffs and timber played a part in such trade, L. ŠEŠELJ and M. ILKIĆ 2015: 430-431.

unknown. If future excavations discover coins from closed archaeological contexts, perhaps we will gain a better understanding of when and how these coins entered Liburnia and some insight into what their purpose was in Liburnian communities.

Conclusion

The discussion here has shown that the notion of an increasing social hierarchy and the development of proto-urban structures in Liburnia during the Late Iron Age, which has pervaded scholarship, is not conclusively reflected in the evidence. The decrease of land-use in the Late Iron Age, compared to the earlier period, is certainly not clear evidence of the development of complex socio-political structures based in hillfort centres. As discussed above, it is not certain when the true 'urbanization' of Liburnian settlements began, and it possibly occurred quite late in the pre-Roman period, possible as late as the last half of the 1st century BCE. The possibility that these urbanizing tendencies were related to the incorporation of the region into the Roman state must be taken into account. The development of megalithic fortifications and organized orthogonal layouts in Liburnian cities may have been connected to the development of Roman style cities in the 1st century BCE, rather than to earlier socio-political developments, and reflect the attempts of local elites to establish their communities as leading civitates in the new province.[783] Social hierarchies are not perceptible from the burial evidence available at present. The influx of imported goods may relate to the development of mass production of ceramic goods in southern Italy and central Dalmatia, as well as increasing connectivity during the Late Iron Age, rather than increasing hierarchies or accumulated wealth in Liburnian communities. The numismatic evidence may point to the development of a monetary economy, based on

[783] See the discussion on this topic in the next chapter.

the use of foreign coinage, but this does not necessarily suggest the development of complex social or economic structures. The lack of locally produced coinage may rather suggest Liburnian communities did not have as developed socio-political structures as other local groups, such as the Daorsi and southern Illyrian kingdom, who did mint their own coins. These issues suggest that the idea of increasing social hierarchies and proto-urbanization during the Late Iron Age in Liburnia requires rethinking. More evidence is needed before firm conclusions are made about this situation, or models applied to interpret it.

Chapter 5 – Incorporation of Dalmatia and Liburnia into the Roman Empire

This chapter attempts to outline how Liburnia and Liburnian towns were integrated into the Roman provincial and administrative structure. It provides a new approach to this topic, analysing Roman relations with Liburnian communities in the pre-Roman period, undertaking an in-depth discussion of the processes of developing the administrative structure of Liburnia and looking at the role of imperial patronage and the local elite in the development of Liburnian *municipia*. The beginning of Roman interactions with the indigenous groups of the eastern Adriatic, their eventual subjugation and the development of the province of Dalmatia was a gradual process that took place over several centuries.[784] Through the scant evidence available in literary and epigraphic sources, a vague narrative of the development of the administrative spaces of Illyricum, Dalmatia and Liburnia is recognizable.[785] Following on from the discussion in the first section of Chapter 3, this chapter seeks to provide an assessment of the development of Liburnia as an administrative unit during the Roman period based on an analysis of written sources and in the light of some new and important epigraphic evidence.[786] It begins with an overview of Roman intervention in the future space of Illyricum which focuses on the role of Liburnian communities and their relationship with the Romans. It then discusses evidence for the structure of 'Liburnia' as a geo-political space in the Roman period, and the status of Liburnian towns. The development of municipalities and Roman style towns was a key process in the integration of communities into the provincial system. Within this context, a section is also devoted to epigraphic evidence for construction of fortifications and buildings

[784] On these interventions, see literature below, n. 787.

[785] The only scholar to discuss specifically the administration of Liburnia is A. Starac, see A. STARAC 2000d; 2006a. Her narrative requires revision due to some issues outlined below, but also in light of the new evidence mentioned above and the arguments for the development of 'Liburnia' discussed in Chapter 3.

[786] D. DEMICHELI 2015, discussed below, 179-180.

in Liburnian communities in the Early Roman period and how both the imperial family and local population were involved these processes.

Roman Intervention in the Eastern Adriatic and Liburnian-Roman Relations

Formal Roman intervention in the eastern Adriatic began in the late 3rd century, starting with the so-called 'First Illyrian War' in 229 BCE. Various campaigns against the Illyrian kingdom and indigenous groups along the coast and in the hinterland of the eastern Adriatic continued until the division of Illyricum into the provinces of Pannonia and Dalmatia in the early 1st century CE. Several important recent works have focused on Roman intervention in the territory of the future province of Dalmatia.[787] This section does not seek to outline the narrative of Roman conquest of Dalmatia, but rather discuss the development of the relationship between Rome and the Liburnian communities as evidenced through ancient written sources. The evidence for Roman intervention in the eastern Adriatic comes primarily from historical sources which, while providing some details of various campaigns, provide little analysis or explanation of the factors that lead to them.[788] Liburnian-Roman relations appear relatively peaceful, and the Liburni are never mentioned specifically as enemies of Rome. There is even some evidence to suggest that they were allies, or at least on cordial terms, as is discussed below.

The written sources that recount Roman interaction in the eastern Adriatic present a 'Roman narrative of power', as Dzino describes it. The sources commemorate certain wars or campaigns and rarely discuss the reasons behind conflicts that Rome engaged in, or how those engagements fit within any framework of Roman political goals, military aims or

[787] M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005; D. DZINO 2010b; D. DŽINO and A. DOMIĆ KUNIĆ 2013; 2018; M. ZANINOVIĆ 2015. See also, J. J. WILKES 1969.

[788] See M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 17-81; D. DZINO 2010b: 7-12; S. ČAČE 1991; 2002; 2013a: 13.

social values.[789] A narrative of a continuous Roman conquest of future Illyricum was already conceived in antiquity by Greco-Roman authors.[790] Velleius Paterculus proclaimed that, following Tiberius' victory over certain indigenous communities in Pannonia and Dalmatia in the *Bellum Pannonicum* (ending in 9 BCE), 'Dalmatia, in rebellion for one hundred and twenty years, was pacified to the extent of definitely recognizing the sovereignty of Rome'.[791] Festus also seems to imply that the Roman conquest had been a continuous and purposeful venture when he states 'From the shores of the sea we (the Romans) were gradually entering Illyricum'.[792] Yet, the only source that provides any systematic narrative of Roman engagements with communities in the eastern Adriatic region, Appian, admits that he was unable to discover why they subjugated these people nor the causes and pretexts for the various wars the Romans fought here.[793]

The narrative of a continuous Roman military engagement with communities in the eastern Adriatic region developed fully in the early modern era. I. Lucius (I. Lučić) drew mostly upon Appian in his description of the Roman conquest of future Illyricum in his influential work, *De Regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae*, first published in 1666.[794] Lucius described events from the conflict with Agron and Teuta until Augustus' conquest at the end of the 1st century BCE.[795] He was the first to classify each Roman intervention as a series of 10 'Illyrian wars', including 5 'Delmataean' wars. This new approach to the narrative constructed the Roman interventions in Illyricum as a continuous and coherent story of

[789] D. DZINO 2010b: 7-8.

[790] D. DZINO and A. DOMIĆ KUNIĆ 2018: 77-78.

[791] Vell. Pat. 2.90.1.

[792] Fest. *Brev*. 7.1.6.

[793] App. *Illyr*. 6.

[794] I. LUČIĆ 1666; S. ANTOLJAK 1992: 124-167; M. KURELAC 1994.

[795] I. LUČIĆ 1666: 1-37.

conquest.[796] This system of classification was adopted by the early modern writer D. Farlati who added the Pannonian and Batonian wars to his own narrative in *Illyricum Sacrum*.[797] The Lucius-Farlati narrative of the Roman conquest of future Illyricum was the basis for modern histories written about early Roman engagements in the eastern Adriatic.[798] Dzino and A. Domić Kunić recently proposed a review of the way in which Roman engagement with the eastern Adriatic is defined in scholarship, approaching the topic within the paradigm of systems-analysis. They have looked to complexify the narrative on the construction of Illyricum, moving away from simply viewing Illyricum as the object of conquest to a space that was shaped through a variety of interactions with Rome.[799] Their argument is that there was no articulation of Roman policy in future Illyricum, nor any real conquest, prior to Caesar's command, appointed through the *lex Vatinia*, in 59 BCE.[800] The *conventus* of Roman citizens here arrived organically, inhabiting existing settlements and emporia, and it was not until the time of Augustus that these were made into 'ideological regional branches of Rome – the strongholds of Romanness which were the reflection of Roman ideological discourse emulating Romanness in the provinces'.[801]

The first Roman campaign that the Liburni are thought to have been involved in was that of Gaius Sempronius Tuditanus, consul in 129 BC.[802] Tuditanus, who Appian claims marched off on campaign as a pretext for avoiding his appointment as judge in the agrarian commission of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus,[803] is only recorded as fighting against the

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[796] D. DZINO and A. DOMIĆ KUNIĆ 2018: 78.

[797] D. FARLATI 1751.

[798] G. ZIPPEL 1877; J. J. WILKES 1969: 13-77; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005; R. MATIJAŠIĆ 2009b: 87-176; D. DZINO 2010b.

[799] D. DZINO and A. DOMIĆ KUNIĆ 2018: 78-79.

[800] See below, n. 878.

[801] D. DZINO and A. DOMIĆ KUNIĆ 2018: 81-82; D. DZINO 2010b: 88-89, 119-122.

[802] S. ČAČE 2013a: 24-25, n. 17; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 322ff; M. ZANINOVIĆ 2008a.

[803] App. *Bell. civ.* 1.19.78-80.

Iapodes in the literary sources.[804] The *Fasti triumphales* record that Tuditanus celebrated a triumph over the Iapodes on October 1st 129 BCE,[805] but another inscription, from Aquileia, mentions his defeat of other groups as well. This inscription is fragmentary, and it is only certain that it mentions the Taurisci, though the interpretation in *CIL* adds to this the Carni based on a lone 'C' (the rest of the word is lost), and the Liburni based purely on context.[806] Pliny tells us that Tuditanus inscribed a statue with '*Ab Aquileia ad Tityum flumen stadia M*',[807] and elsewhere describes the river Titius (modern-day Krka) as the border of Liburnia.[808] This has been taken to imply that the Liburni were involved in his campaign; some scholars have argued that Tuditanus engaged the Liburni separately from the Iapodes, in an attempt to stop Liburnian piracy.[809] However, there is no evidence for Liburnian involvement in Tuditanus' campaigns, and after it the Liburni were mentioned as Roman allies.[810] If Liburnian communities had been defeated so badly that they were thereafter never inclined to take up arms against Rome, they would surely have been mentioned in relation to the triumph of Tuditanus over the Iapodes.[811] It is even suggested that some Liburnian communities sided with Tuditanus due to the expansion of the Iapodes towards the Adriatic coast and that it was at this time that some Liburnian communities gained privileges and were allowed to annex the Iapodian coastal region of the Croatian littoral.[812]

Appian relates that the consuls of 84 BC, Lucius Cornelius Cinna and Gnaeus Papirius Carbo, collected an army and shipped it to Liburnia, which was to act as their base

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[804] App. *Ill*. 10; Livy *Per*. 59.

[805] Insc. It. 13/1: 82ff; 559.

[806] *CIL* 1, 652a-b = *CIL* 5, 8270.

[807] Plin. *HN*, 3.129.

[808] Plin. *HN*, 3.139.

[809] M. G. MORGAN 1973: 39-40; for older scholarship, see M. CERVA 1996: 16, n. 29.

[810] M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 538.

[811] M. CERVA 1996: 17.

[812] D. DZINO 2010b: 70-71, n. 47, 52.

against Sulla.[813] Several scholars have suggested that this campaign was undertaken not due to the strategic importance of Liburnia, but with the aim of training the Roman army in preparation for fighting Sulla's army.[814] In a recent article, Ž. Petković argued that Cinna and Carbo's operation was meant as part of a defensive strategy against Sulla's planned invasion of northern Italy.[815] What is important here is that the Roman consuls would not have landed in enemy territory, whether the plan was to train their army or to use the area as a platform from which to campaign against Sulla.[816] We can assume from this that at least some of the Liburnian communities were on friendly terms with the Romans at this point, potentially as *clientelae*.[817]

The Romans first appear as benefactors of the Liburni during their struggles against the Delmatae. Appian relates events of the 'Fourth Dalmatian War', when in 50 BCE the Liburni requested assistance from Rome after the Delmatae captured the 'Liburnian' town of Promona.[818] This strategically positioned hillfort, probably located on the eastern slopes of Mt. Promina, by the modern village of Tepljuh,[819] is south of the Titius (Krka) river, and therefore outside of the territory of Roman Liburnia that Pliny describes.[820] Čače suggested that the Romans gave Promona to the Liburni as a reward for their support during the

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[813] App. *Bell. civ.* 1.77-78.

[814] E. BADIAN 1962: 58-59; J. J. WILKES 1969: 35; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 535; cf. J. P. V. D. BALSDON 1965: 232.

[815] Ž. PETKOVIĆ 2008.

[816] S. ČAČE 2013a: 25; S. ČAČE 1993b.

[817] Zaninović and Šašel Kos have argued that this episode points to the high degree of 'romanization' of the Liburnian communities by the 80s BCE, and the presence of significant numbers of Italian settlers here, M. ZANINOVIĆ 1996: 302; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 537.

[818] App. *Ill.* 12.34. Appian also refers to Promona as Liburnian later, *Ill.* 25.72. On the site of Promona and the siege here, see S. BILIĆ-DUJMUŠIĆ 2006.

[819] For discussion of efforts by archaeologists to located Promona, see M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 443-446; S. BILIĆ-DUJMUŠIĆ 2006: 43-49.

[820] Plin. *HN*, 3.139.

campaigns of Gaius Cosconius in 78-76 BCE against the Delmatae.[821] Starac, on the other hand, suggests the Liburni in fact had begun spreading their influence to the south prior to the request for Caesar's intervention.[822] Caesar despatched an army against the Delmatae, which was heavily defeated, but the town must have returned to 'Liburnian' hands soon after, as the Delmatae captured it from them again in 34 BCE.[823] As already discussed, Liburnian communities appear to have taken different sides during the civil war between Caesar and Pompey.[824] The campaigns against the Delmatae during the 40s indicate that Rome wished to strengthen their hold over the central-eastern Adriatic and its hinterland, and it is quite probable that at this stage the Romans relied heavily on their allies in the region to uphold their interests – including at least some Liburnian communities. Ongoing Roman internal conflict, including Octavian's war with Sextus Pompeius in 36 BCE, meant Illyricum was neglected for some time.[825]

However, in 35 BCE, Octavian campaigned in the north-eastern Adriatic.[826] Wilkes, following Velleius Paterculus, explained the motives behind Octavian's campaign as placed firmly in the Republican tradition of operating for reasons that were not connected to the specific area involved, but rather related to his construction of a military persona for himself, and the training of his troops.[827] Dio explains that the Salassi, Taurisci, Liburni and Iapodes, who had mistreated Romans, failed to pay tribute to Rome, and even invaded and ravaged the neighbouring districts, were now in open revolt.[828] Octavian himself led the

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[821] S. ČAČE 1989: 87.

[822] A. STARAC 2000d: 13.

[823] App. *Ill*. 25.

[824] See above, 88.

[825] D. DZINO 2010b: 98-101.

[826] J. J. WILKES 1969: 4-77; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 393-471; D. DZINO 2010b: 99-116.

[827] Vell. Pat. 2.78.2; J. J. WILKES 1969: 48.

[828] Dio. 49.34.1-2.

campaign against the Iapodes, leaving the other groups to his generals.[829] Appian also mentions this campaign when he relates Octavian's explaining to the Senate how he had freed Italy from savage tribes through his subduing of, among others, the Taurisci, Iapodes, the Salassi, Segestani, the Delmatae, the Daesitiatae, and the Pannonians.[830] It is interesting to note that Appian only says of the Liburni that Octavian deprived them of their ships because of their piracy. This is in stark contrast to Octavian's treatment of the Melitani and Korkyreans (inhabitants of the islands of Mljet and Korčula, respectively), for the same offence of piracy, which he discusses directly before the Liburni. Octavian apparently killed all the young men among the Melitani and Korkyreans and sold the rest as slaves.[831] Šašel Kos suggests this leniency was due to the existence of some kind of alliance between the Romans and the Liburni, and that this scenario is reflective of their friendly relations with Rome and the privileged position they held.[832] According to Čače, Octavian's act ended the previous arrangement between the Liburni and Romans, and must have dissolved the 'Liburnian alliance.'[833] However, as discussed in Chapter 3, there is no evidence for a socio-political unification of groups in Liburnia during the pre-Roman period. Dzino suggests that Dio's remarks did not count for all Liburnian communities. He argues that only those who had supported Pompey in the civil wars had to pay tribute to Rome after their defeat, and thus it was probably these communities that were involved in the revolt that precipitated Octavian's campaign.[834] Octavian would have had to embark in, or at least pass through, Liburnian territory to reach the Iapodes, and it is possible that *Senia* or some other Liburnian community acted as a safe base. If only some Liburnian communities were involved it

[829] Dio. 49. 35.1.

[830] App. *Ill*. 16-17.

[831] App. *Ill*. 16.

[832] M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 141; see S. ČAČE 1993b: 14.

[833] S. ČAČE 2013a: 41.

[834] D. DZINO 2010b: 107-108.

would explain Octavian's apparent leniency and agree with the conclusions in Chapter 3 that there is no evidence these communities were linked in any kind of socio-political grouping.

Liburni are not mentioned in relation to the *Bellum Pannonicum* and *Bellum Batonianum*, and we can almost certainly presume they did not take part in either revolt. This is supported by an inscription which mentions a *praefectus*, Iapodia and Liburnia in the context of the *Bellum Batonianum*.[835] Another inscription from Nin mentions a commendation to an indigenous man, Gaius Iulius Aetor,[836] for his role in the *Bello Delmatico.*[837] Clearly, by the late 1st century BCE the Liburnian communities were well integrated into the Roman provincial framework and did not represent a threat to Rome. A Roman military camp, known as Burnum (Šuplja crkva), was established near the modern-day village of Kistanje, on the northern side of the river Krka – just within the territory of Liburnia, bordering that of the Delmatae. Archaeological and epigraphic evidence suggests the *Legio XX Valeria Victrix* occupied the site already by the end of Octavian's campaigns (35-33 BCE).[838] This base was strategically placed within friendly Liburnian territory, but its proximity to the Krka river meant it acted as a reminder of Roman power to the hostile Delmatae.[839]

The evidenced discussed in this section altogether paints a picture of at least some Liburnian communities as allies of the Romans during the 1st century BCE and perhaps even as early as the late 2nd century. These were communities that probably upheld Roman interests in the region, and benefited greatly in terms of favourable treatment and military aid against local rivals. The next sections of this chapter relate to Roman administrative

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[835] *CIL* 5, 3346; M. SUIĆ 1991-92.

[836] AK 2347. AK refers to inscription numbers from the catalogues in A. KURILIĆ 1999.

[837] *CIL* 3, 3158. An inscription from Nadin mentions a *cohors Liburnorum*, *ILJug* 208 = AK 2619. See D. DEMICHELI 2017: 20.

[838] A. CAMPEDELLI 2011: 37ff.

[839] M. ZANINOVIĆ 1968: 120-121; M. SUIĆ 1981b: 227-228; S. ČAČE 1989: 78-79; D. DZINO 2010b: 123.

structuring and the development of the Dalmatian provincial framework. The picture portrayed of the relationship between the Romans and Liburnian communities here is important for an understanding of the status and positions they gained early in the Roman period and the development of Liburnia as an administrative structure.

Organization and Administering Roman Provincial Cities

Investigation of government and administrative structures in the Roman Empire is greatly hindered due to the lack of any clear description in ancient written sources of how Roman bureaucracy and tax collection worked.[840] Thus, study of provincial administration is largely based on epigraphic evidence. Throughout the empire, the responsibility of governing the cities in the provinces was placed in the hands of local elites who aligned their self-interests with Rome,[841] and this was certainly so to a significant extent in Liburnia. Rome administered the early empire with an extraordinarily small number of central administrators (around 350 senators and knights), and administration of the provinces was largely left to citizens and subjects in the juridical districts (conventus) and cities (*civitates*).[842]

The term *provincia* (meaning 'appointment' or 'task'), to the Romans, could apply to any field of operations that a magistrate was assigned to. By the Late Republic the term was more closely related to geographic spaces, but their borders were hardly precise, and they could be interspersed with regions belonging to allies or free cities.[843] There are three or four known examples of laws and edicts which related to regulations and governing in the

[840] C. ANDO 2006: 178.

[841] C. ANDO 2006: 181.

[842] H. GALSTERER 2000: 345.

[843] A. LINTOTT 1993: 22-27.

provinces.[844] Yet, it is not clear exactly how constitutions and regulations were articulated in the provinces, and it cannot be presumed that there was an all-encompassing enactment that regulated the provinces.[845]

The city was the crucial entity through which the Roman administrative system functioned, and the reorganization of the provinces under Augustus triggered significant urbanization across much of the Roman west, including Dalmatia.[846] Self-governing civic communities (civitates), which include the urban centre (*oppidum* or *urbs*) and a defined area of adjacent rural territory (*ager* or *territorium*), dominated the rural villages (*vici*) and smaller towns (*castella*) in their territories.[847] The urban centre was the meeting place for citizens and officials, was the main focus of cultic, social and economic activity, and included the local seat of government and judiciary.[848] For the purposes of tax collection and administering of civil law throughout its provinces, Rome created judicial territories with a central assize-city, the *conventus*, to which all other settlements in the territory were subordinate.[849] Within this model, a variety of different types of cities developed based on a hierarchy of juridical statuses.

The categorization of provincial communities is another complex and problematic topic as descriptions in literary sources are limited. [850] The three main types of community were peregrine *civitates*, *municipia*, and *coloniae*, though constitutions and levels of rights

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[844] A. LINTOTT 1993: 28; C. ANDO 2006: 178.

[845] A. LINTOTT 1993: 31-32.

[846] See the papers in R. LAURENCE, S. E. CLEARY, and G. SEARS 2011. On urbanization in Roman Dalmatia, see M. SUIĆ 2003; in Roman Liburnia see H. MANENICA 2015.

[847] J. EDMONDSON 2006: 254-255.

[848] J. REYNOLDS 1988: 15-16.

[849] C. ANDO 2006: 183, 190-191. Regional imperial cults, such as that in the territory of Liburnia, were linked to the conventus, as is discussed in Chapter 7.

[850] For a discussion of the complexity of different civic categories and statuses in the Roman Empire, see F. MILLAR 1999.

and citizenship within these categories were not equal.[851] The peregrine civitas was an indigenous community that had no Latin, Italic or Roman constitution and no citizenship rights for its population.[852] These were *civitates stipendiariae,* 'tribute-paying communities', and made-up the majority of towns in the western provinces at the time of Augustus. These towns maintained their own citizenship and local jurisdiction as well as, perhaps more so than other enfranchised communities, their identity.[853] While some members of the elite of these communities may have received Roman citizenship for services to Rome, the inhabitants were mostly non-citizens (*peregrini*).[854]

The granting of Latin rights appears to have affected only the status of specific people, while promotion to *municipium* was implemented through a detailed charter and affected the entire community. Latin status provided individuals with similar rights to citizens in Latium and Rome in civil law, and allowed ex-magistrates and some members of their family to receive Roman citizenship.[855] The process by which a civitas or oppidum acquired the status of 'municipium' is not well understood, neither is the meaning of the term itself.[856] A series of different municipia existed in the Roman Empire, including those with minor or major Latin status, as well as the *municipia civium Romanorum*. The latter community enjoyed a Latin-type constitution, while all its citizens also had Roman citizenship,[857] though this special status was reserved for communities with large Italian populations.[858]

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[851] A. N. SHERWIN-WHITE 1996: 337ff; J. RICHARDSON 1984: 49ff; F. MILLAR 1999; J. EDMONDSON 2006: 256-260.

[852] On these statuses, see below.

[853] A. LINTOTT 1993: 40-41.

[854] J. EDMONDSON 2006: 256-257.

[855] H. VON BRAUNERT 1966; A. N. SHERWIN-WHITE 1996: 360-379.

[856] F. MILLAR 1999: 96-97.

[857] J. REYNOLDS 1988: 23; for example, at Olisipo (Lisbon) during the Augustan period, Plin. *HN,* 4.117.

[858] A. N. SHERWIN-WHITE 1996: 337.

Colonies of Italian veterans were founded across the Roman world by Julius Caesar and the triumvirs, but particularly by Augustus during the period between 30 and 13 BCE.[859] Roman colonies were structured on the model of Rome, both constitutionally and in terms of spatial organization and architecture. They were governed according to Roman law, unlike the municipia (which were theoretically left to local law and political traditions), and enjoyed full Roman status, with all of their population gaining Roman citizenship.[860] While Latin status was a kind of bridge-status for individuals and communities who could go on to secure the status of a full Roman citizen or municipium, peregrine communities or individuals could acquire Roman status through incorporation into a colony.[861] Italic rights (*ius Italicum*) were occasionally granted to colonies, whereby they would become deemed part of Italy, and thus exempt from taxation.[862] T. H. Watkins has argued in several papers that the *ius Italicum* developed out of earlier frameworks of rights provided to Roman citizen colonies.[863] He suggests that the Italic right was formulated in the early years of Vespasian's rule in the 70s CE, as part of his reorganization of imperial economic policies.[864] As is discussed below, several Liburnian communities received Italic status, and this appears to be something of an anomaly.

In its earliest phases of expansion, Rome imposed citizenship on the communities it conquered, though from the Late Republican period, grants of citizenship became used as a reward for loyalty among provincials.[865] Local communities with Latin status were allowed,

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[859] For a list of provincial colonies, with sources, see P. A. BRUNT 1987: 589-601.

[860] J. EDMONDSON 2006: 258-259.

[861] A. N. SHERWIN-WHITE 1996: 350-352;

[862] J. EDMONDSON 2006: 259-260; J. REYNOLDS 1988: 23.

[863] T. H. WATKINS 1979; 1983; 1988/89.

[864] For full discussion, see T. H. WATKINS 1988/89: 119-129. As Watkins points out, Pliny, who dedicated his work to Vespasian in 77 CE, appears unfamiliar with the term, as he refers to it as *ius Italicum* in reference to Liburnian communities, and *ius Italiae* in reference to Spain, Plin. *HN*. 3.25 (Spain); 139 (Liburnia).

[865] C. ANDO 2016: 171.

and in fact encouraged, to democratically elect their own leaders, and these magistrates were granted Roman citizenship. In this way, Rome provided provincial communities with agency in the development of the imperial elite caste, while at the same time, these local elites were co-opted into the service of the metropole through both their roles as magistrates and their Roman citizenship.[866] This system integrated local elites into the Roman administration, while their local influence enhanced Rome's control of the provinces. The extension of Roman citizenship would have gradually reduced its importance as a marker of social differentiation.[867] Yet, certainly in the earliest phases of the development of provincial structures, citizenship was a sought-after status for local elites. The process of acquisition of citizenship provided them with a means of integrating themselves into the new imperial power structure now that pre-Roman methods of expressing power in local societies were largely defunct.[868]

If any kind of pattern is discernible in the way that Rome attempted to create a unified style of governing in the provinces, it is the apparent aim of the imperial government to perpetuate or create a system of civic government that was focused on the urban centre, and the supremacy of the wealthy elite class.[869] Rome relied heavily on local government, which it encouraged and helped develop, though was allowed to govern with a certain level of autonomy.[870] The highest levels of provincial administration, the small corps comprised of senators and *equites*, were usually not indigenous to the provinces where they served.[871] The province of Dalmatia, Liburnia included, produced relatively few equestrian rank

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[866] C. ANDO 2016: 181.

[867] C. ANDO 2016: 183.

[868] On this point, see below, 205-206.

[869] A. K. BOWMAN 1996: 354.

[870] For discussion of the structure and functioning of Roman provincial administration, see A. K. BOWMAN 1996: 351-367; A. LINTOTT 1993: 129-160; C. ANDO 2006: 178-185.

[871] A. LINTOTT 1993: 43-54.

officials and very few senators.[872] This is perhaps surprising of a province that was integrated into the empire relatively early,[873] and especially of the Liburnian communities that received favourable treatment from the Romans, some of which reached municipal status in the Augustan period at the latest.[874] Reflective of the diversity of administrative structures in various civitates throughout the empire, the epigraphic evidence suggests Liburnian communities had different levels and numbers of magistracies depending on the size and importance of the town and its territory.[875]

The aspects of provincial organization and administration discussed in this section are important for an understanding of the incorporation of Liburnia into the Roman empire. While there is much that we still do not know, the evidence at hand suggests that Liburnia had a special place within the context of the administrative framework of the province of Dalmatia. How the term *Liburnia* was applied in a geo-political sense in the Roman period is complex, and appears to have changed over time. The next two sections will discuss the development of Liburnia and how Liburnian communities were integrated into the Roman provincial framework.

Illyricum, Dalmatia and *Liburnia*

The development of Illyricum as a Roman provincial space is not well understood due to the lack of sources that directly mention how it was perceived prior to its division into Pannonia and Dalmatia. Various interpretations exist as to when Illyricum developed

[872] G. ALFÖLDY 1968; R. SYME 1971; J. ŠAŠEL 1982; J. J. WILKES 1969: 318-336; 1970.

[873] M. ŠAŠEL KOS 1994: 203.

[874] See below. L. Tarius Rufus, who served as an admiral under Octavian at the battle of Actium and was elected suffect consul in 16 BCE (see Plin. *HN*. 13. 37; Dio. 50.14; Veget. 4.33), was probably Liburnian and the first senator of Dalmatian origin, G. ALFÖLDY 1968: 100-107; J. J. WILKES 1969: 330-331. Cf. R. SYME 1971: 112-113, 119.

[875] J. MEDINI 1975b.

into a provincial framework. Starac suggests in her discussion of administration in Liburnia that from the time of Tuditanus' campaign in 129 BCE, Liburnia formed part of Illyricum.[876] Čače also considers the possibility that the campaign of Gaius Cosconius, ca. 78-76 BCE, led to the formation of a certain system of Roman domination in the space of future Illyricum.[877] Entirely possible, but with the lack of evidence, we should take caution in presuming Roman control in future Illyricum took any official form at these early stages. This section seeks to outline the development of Liburnia as an administrative unit, in the context of the provinces of Illyricum and Dalmatia.

Though the sources are slightly inconsistent, we can tell that through the *lex Vatinia de imperio Caesaris*, passed in 59 BCE, Caesar received *imperium* over Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum.[878] It is not entirely clear how Caesar's Illyricum was defined, but his *provincia* probably included the coastal zone from the Timavus river in Histria in the north, to the Mathis river, south of Lissus, and varied parts of the adjacent hinterland regions.[879] However, understanding the territorial boundaries of Caesar's command is difficult, particularly since it was only during the Late Republic that the *provincia* (which basically translated to 'appointment' or 'task') became more closely defined through its geographic borders.[880] There is nothing to suggest that Illyricum was a 'province' in the later imperial geo-political sense prior to 30 BCE.[881] It is quite probable that Caesar's appointment gave him authority to protect local allies, and generally uphold Rome's interests in the region. A

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[876] A. STARAC 2000d: 181.

[877] S. ČAČE 2013a: 27.

[878] He also soon after received *imperium* over Transalpine Gaul, Cic. *Prov. Cons.* 2, 3, 15, 36. Plut. *Caes*. 14.10; *Pomp*. 48.3; *Cato Min.* 33.3; App. *Bell. Civ.* 2.13; Dio. 38.8.5; Suet. *Iul*. 22.1; Vell. Pat. 2.44.5; Oros. 6.7.1.

[879] M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 338, figs. 79, 80.

[880] A. LINTOTT 1993: 22-27.

[881] S. ČAČE 2013a: 42.

conventus of Roman citizens had grown along the eastern Adriatic coast during the 1st century BCE, and Caesar's command no doubt included power to govern and protect them. Several scholars suggest that Illyricum developed as a province around the time of the *lex Vatinia*, but there is no evidence to suggest that it was conceived of as separate from Caesar's Gallic *provincia.*[882]

The earliest evidence available at present for the development of Illyricum, and later Dalmatia, comes from the Augustan period. An inscription dating to the 20s BCE discovered attached to a well in the Iader forum records the title of proconsul Gnaeus Tamphilus Vaala.[883] Tamphilus is the first attested governor of Illyricum and is considered a patron of Iader and responsible for the construction of its forum.[884] Propertius, in the *Elegies*, mentions a love rival of his who was a *praetor* in Illyricum.[885] The first book, which mentions Propertius' lover going to Illyricum with this magistrate, was published sometime after 31/30 but before 28 BCE, suggesting a provincial structure was established by this time.[886] In 27 BCE, sources state that several regions were put under senatorial administration – Dio includes 'Dalmatia',[887] and Strabo 'Illyria'.[888] This led to the supposition that Octavian's campaigns in 35-33 BCE led directly to the establishment of the province of Illyricum.[889] The two great revolts in the west Balkans had important impacts on the development of the province as an imperial space. From 11 BCE, the province came

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[882] For discussion and bibliography, see D. DZINO 2010b: 81-82.

[883] *AE* 1986, 547; 2000, 1181.

[884] I. FADIĆ 1986; 1999. On the archaeological context of this monument and the well it was attached to, see P. VEŽIĆ 2016.

[885] Prop. 1.8, 2.16.

[886] D. DZINO 2008b.

[887] Dio 53.12.4.

[888] Str. 17.3.25.

[889] T. NAGY 1991: 67. On the precise dating of the establishment of the province of Illyricum, see D. DZINO 2010b: 119. On the aims of Octavian's Illyrian campaigns, see M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2018.

under the control of the emperor following the *Bellum Pannonicum*.[890] Sometime after the *Bellum Batonianum*, 6-9 CE, the province of Illyricum was divided into two provinces – Dalmatia and Pannonia (possibly originally referred to as *Illyricum Superius* and *Illyricum Inferius*). While it is difficult to date this divide, it was probably sometime between the end of the *Bellum Batonianum* and 20 CE.[891]

An inscription from Verona records a *praefectus* with authority over the Iapodes and Liburni in the context of the *Bellum Batonianum*.[892] This *praefectus* is thought to have held some sort of emergency military or civil command (*provincia*) during the revolt.[893] It is possible that this individual was in fact part of the *cohors Liburnorum* raised at *Nedinum* (Nadin),[894] and that this unit fought on the side of the Romans against the other rebellious indigenous groups.[895] This is the first time that Liburnia is mentioned in the framework of Roman provincial organization, and the first time that Liburnian and Iapodian territories are joined together in an administrative structure.[896] Starac suggests that this 'prefecture' was in fact an administrative precursor to the later, broader, *conventus* centred in Scardona that included all the Liburnian and Iapodian communities.[897] The military command over these two territories was probably consolidated simply based on their geographic proximity to

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[890] Dio. 54.34.4.

[891] For a discussion of this issue, with references to the most important literature on the topic, see D. DZINO 2017a: 42-44.

[892] CIL 5, 3346: *[bello] Batoniano praefui […] Iapudiai et Liburn(iai) / sibi et libertis / t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussi)*; for discussion, see M. SUIĆ 1991-92; D. FAORO 2018. A newly discovered inscription from Zadar has been argued as recording another prefect of the Liburni and Iapodes, based on analogies with similar texts, though this appointment is not confirmed through the preserved text, K. A. GIUNIO, N. CESARIK, and D. ŠTRMELJ 2018.

[893] M. SUIĆ 1991-92: 61ff; D. DZINO 2010b: 149; S. ČAČE 2013a: 46-47.

[894] *ILJug* 208.

[895] D. DEMICHELI 2017: 20, n. 52. See above, n. 837.

[896] M. SUIĆ 1991-92: 63; A. STARAC 2000d: 56-57; I. BASIĆ 2017: 316.

[897] A. STARAC 2006a: 111.

each other and the groups taking part in the revolts. This structure formed the basis of an ongoing imperial administrative framework throughout the Roman period which was again altered due to another broader military emergency in the late 2nd century CE (see below).

Sometime after the division of Illyricum, but probably prior to the end of Vespasian's reign, Dalmatia was divided into three conventus.[898] Pliny tells us that the Iapodes and Liburni were included in a conventus governed from Scardona.[899] Since Scardona was only made a municipium under the Flavian emperors,[900] and they are thought to have founded some other Liburnian municipia, it is possible they were the organisers of the provincial conventus in their final form.[901] According to Pliny's account, the Liburnian communities were not divided into *decuriae* as they were in the other conventus of the province of Dalmatia.[902] This sub-division was likely to have a negative impact on local communities, since smaller ones were incorporated into larger ones, potentially losing aspects of their cultural and communal identities.[903] This potentially points to another example of favourable treatment of Liburnian communities by the Romans.

After introducing the territory of Liburnia and some of the peoples who made-up the *gens Liburnorum*, Pliny states that the Iapodes and Liburni fell under the jurisdiction of

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[898] T. H. WATKINS 1988/89: 111; A. STARAC 2000d: 59-60.

[899] Plin. *HN*. 3.139.

[900] An inscription from Scardona specifically describes it as a municipality of Flavian origin, *CIL* 3, 2802. See also *CIL* 3, 2809; J. J. WILKES 1969: 218, n. 5. However, Glavičić questioned whether the community simply gained *ius Latium maius* under the Flavians and suggests it was perhaps made a *municipium Latium* under the Julio-Claudians, M. GLAVIČIĆ 2007.

[901] A. STARAC 2006a: 111. Starac provides Fulfinum and Curicum as examples of Liburnian towns granted municipal status under the Flavians, however, Wilkes suggests they received this, and perhaps Italic status, under Claudius, J. J. WILKES 1969: 197.

[902] Plin. *HN*, 3, 142-143; S. ČAČE 2010.

[903] D. DEMICHELI 2015: 98.

Scardona.[904] Starac refers to this as the Liburnian conventus,[905] but it is usually described, after Pliny, as the *conventus Scardonitanus*.[906] In a recent paper, D. Demicheli offered a new and intriguing interpretation of this conventus based on analysis of a new fragment of an already known inscription. The first fragment of the inscription was found in Skradin in 2005. Despite its fragmentary state, the inscription is clearly recognisable as a dedication to the deified emperors Augustus and Vespasian, and the bottom two lines obviously make mention of the conventus centred at Scardona.[907] Demicheli found that this fragment was the larger part of an inscription found in Trogir in 1987/88. Placing each together, he restored the inscription as *Divo Aug(usto) e[t] / divo Vespasian[o] / ex auctoritat[e] / [imp(eratoris)] T(iti) Caesaaris divi / Ve[sp(asiani) f(ili) Vesp(asiani)] / [Augu]sti conventus L[iburnor(um)] / Scardonis c[onsecravit?]*, translating as 'To the Divine Augustus and the Divine Vespasian, at the command of Emperor Titus Caesar Vespasian, son of the Divine Vespasian, *conventus Liburnorum* in Scardona dedicated (?).'[908] This reconstruction is of great significance, since it suggests the conventus in Scardona, which included the territory of the Liburni as well as the Iapodes, was in fact known as the *conventus Liburnorum*.

This inscription, which dates to 78-81 CE, is still fragmentary, even with both parts. The letter after conventus on the bottom line appears as a simple straight line – possibly an I or an L. Based on a photogrammetrical analysis of the lettering, Demicheli found a lower horizontal bar facing to the right on this letter, pointing to it being an L.[909] He then argues

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[904] Plin. *HN*, 3.139.

[905] A. STARAC 2006a: 111ff.

[906] E.g. S. ČAČE 2006: 73; 2013a: 18; D. DZINO 2010b: 164; I. BASIĆ 2017: 319; T. H. WATKINS 1988/89: 135.

[907] *Divo Augusto / divo Ves[pasiano] / ex auct[oriate / imp(eratoris)] / T(iti) Caesari[s Vesp(asiani) / [Augu]sti conv[entus? ---] / Scardonis c[onsecravit?],* B. KUNTIĆ-MAKVIĆ and I. PEDIŠIĆ 2009.

[908] D. DEMICHELI 2015: 95-96, fig. 3 and 4.

[909] D. DEMICHELI 2015: fig. 5.

the most logical interpretation is that this word is *Liburnorum*, and that the usual term *conventus Scardonitanus* should be abandoned.[910] This argument is supported by the fact that the imperial cult in Liburnia is mentioned through phrases such as *sacerdos Liburnorum* and *ara Augusti Liburniae*, and having its seat in Scardona.[911] Using similar inscriptions relating to Hispanic conventus as comparable examples, Demicheli shows that *conventus Scardonitanus* would not work with this inscription, since it reads *Scardonis*.[912] That the territory of the Scardona *conventus*, including both that of the Liburni and the Iapodes, was possibly known simply as *Liburnia* is not surprising, given that we know this term was later applied to another administrative structure in a similar geo-political context – the province of Liburnia.

A curious yet poorly understood development in the administrative framework of Liburnia is the establishment of a *provincia Liburnia* sometime in the late 2nd century CE. The only evidence we have for this province is an inscription found in the area of ancient *Pitintium*, modern-day Podstrana near Split, that mentions a *procurator centenarius provinciae Liburniae cum iure gladii*, one L. Artorius Castus,[913] and a passage from the 7th

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[910] D. DEMICHELI 2015: 96-97.

[911] See below, Chapter 7.

[912] D. DEMICHELI 2015: 100-103.

[913] *CIL* 3, 1919 = 8513 = 12813, *D(is) M(anibus) L(ucius) Artori[us Ca]stus (centurio) leg(ionis) / III Gallicae item [(centurio) le]g(ionis) VI Ferra / tae item (centurio) leg(ionis) II Adi[utri(cis) i]tem (centurio) leg(ionis) V M(acedonicae) / C(onstantis) item p(rimi) p(ilus) eiusdem [leg(ionis)] praeposito / classis Misenatium [pr]aeff(ecto) leg(ionis) VI / Victricis duci legg[ionu]m Britanici / miarum adversus Arm[ori(can)o]s proc(uratori) cente / nario provinciae Lib[(urniae) iure] gladi vi / vus ipse sibi et suis [……. ex te]st(amento)*. The restitution of *Liburnia* from *LIB* is almost certainly correct, given that no other area in the Roman state could substitute it. The only other provinces that could, Libya Superior and Libya Pentapolis, did not exist until the time of Diocletian (297 CE) when they were created from the division of the province of Cyrenaeica – a century after this monument was inscribed, J. MEDINI 1980a: 366-367, n. 10. On L. Artorius Castus, see also, *CIL* 3, 12791 = 14224. For a recent discussion of the evidence for the Arotrii in Roman Dalmatia, see M. GLAVIČIĆ 2014.

century CE anonymous Cosmographer from Ravenna.[914] This was a procuratorial province that was a separate administrative entity from the province of Dalmatia, and his appointment suggests Castus held extraordinary authority over criminal jurisdiction, including the imposition of death sentences.[915] Based on the *cursus honorum* of L. Artorius Castus, he held this position in Liburnia at the end of the 2nd century CE.[916] How, when and why this province was established is difficult to determine, given the lack of evidence, but most authors date this inscription and Castus' appointment to 184-185 CE based on the fact this was probably an appointment of Tigidius Perennis just prior to his downfall.[917]

H. G. Pflaum presumed that the foundation of the *provincia Liburnia* took place only in the time of L. Artorius Castus, and was linked to poor relations between the local population and the Roman government.[918] This is a difficult argument to uphold, given the grants of statuses and generally good relations between the Romans and Liburnian communities discussed already in this chapter. Medini suggests that the creation of this province was a part of the establishment of a defensive system around Italy following the Marcomannic Wars,[919] and this was around the time that joint *procuratores ducenarii* for Histria and Dalmatia are first mentioned.[920] Quite opposed to Pflaum, Medini suggested that the special status provided to Liburnia was a result of the special treatment of the Liburni

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[914] *Cosm. Rav.* 4.22, quoted in I. BASIĆ 2017: 319.

[915] A. STARAC 2000d: 69; I. BASIĆ 2017: 317.

[916] H. G. PFLAUM 1960: 535-537; J. MEDINI 1980a: 366-367; M. GLAVIČIĆ 2014: 62. On the functions of this kind of provincial-administrative procurator, see A. STARAC 2000d: 68-70.

[917] H. G. PFLAUM 1960: 120; J. J. WILKES 1969: 329; J. MEDINI 1980a: 180; A. STARAC 2000d: 70-73; M. GLAVIČIĆ 2014: 62.

[918] H. G. PFLAUM 1960: 537.

[919] J. MEDINI 1980a: 370ff; Medini's argument was reaffirmed in several subsequent works, most recently Ž. MILETIĆ 2014; I. BASIĆ 2017: 316-317. For a discussion of previous opinions, see M. ZANINOVIĆ 1996: 380-381, who follows Medini. C.f., L. MARGETIĆ 1988: 6-7.

[920] *CIL* 2, 2643; 11, 2698; I. BASIĆ 2017: 317.

during the first 2 centuries CE and the municipalization of many Liburnian communities.[921] To support this notion of development of a defensive system, Medini points to the apparent construction activities at the Liburnian military camp of *Burnum* in the time of Commodus, and suggests that the establishment of this province did not necessarily mean the placement of large military units here (which would perhaps be epigraphically visible), but rather the inclusion of Liburnia in a wider defensive system due to its strategic position nearby the Alps and the Italian peninsula.[922] Starac agrees with Medini's argument, and adds that it is possible that some internal unrest in the Liburnian-Iapodian area occurred at the same time as the above mentioned wars. She also suggests that the appointment of L. Artorius Castus may have been an exceptional situation, and that he was perhaps the only *procurator* of the *provincia Liburnia,* given the task in what were dire circumstances for the security of Roman Italy.[923] Linking this procurator with any historical events is problematic, given the lack of evidence, and it is not likely that his appointment was caused by internal unrest.[924] But Castus receiving the *ius gladii* implies citizen troops were temporarily stationed within his province.[925] The number of procurators steadily increased over the course of the 2nd century CE, with a massive upsurge during the reign of Septimius Severus.[926] It is most likely that the *provincia Liburnia* was a posting related to the general expansion of the administrative framework of the provinces in the latter 2nd century. This development speaks to the importance of Liburnia during this period, but the specific motive for the creation of the *provincia Liburnia* remains unclear.

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[921] J. MEDINI 1980a: 383.

[922] J. MEDINI 1980a: 376-377.

[923] A. STARAC 2000d: 71-72.

[924] Liburnian communities were well integrated into the Roman provincial structure by this time, as discussed throughout this chapter.

[925] P. GARNSEY 1968: 52.

[926] T. GAGOS and D. S. POTTER 2006: 59.

Medini argued that two inscriptions from the early to mid-3rd century CE suggest Liburnia was formally under the control of the governor in Salona once again. The first is an inscription from Bonn of the governor Gnaeus Fulvius Maximus, dating to the early 3rd century CE, in which he is mentioned as having governed Dalmatia, Liburnia and Iapodia as *legatus Augusti pro praetore*.[927] Another inscription records the rebuilding of the *balneum* in Senia by the governor of Dalmatia, Domitius Gallicaus Papinianus in 239 CE.[928] Since Senia was in Liburnian territory, and Papinianus was the governor in Salona, Medini suggested that at this stage Liburnia must have been included in the province of Dalmatia.[929] Several other sources from the 2nd and early 3rd century appear to mention Liburnia as a separate entity from Dalmatia. One Greek inscription from *Zeleia*, dating to the 2nd century CE, mentions a financial administrator with authority over Dalmatia, Histria and Liburnia.[930] Two other Latin inscriptions, one dating to the time of Caracalla and the other to ca. 223 CE, mention a *procurator alimentorum* in charge of Transpadana, Histria and Liburnia.[931] Some scholars have taken these inscriptions as evidence that Liburnia was linked to Italy for administrative purposes,[932] while others suggest this points to its complete secession from Dalmatia at the time.[933] It is more probable that these administrative duties were appointed to various regions that were not necessarily confined by provincial

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[927] *CIL* 8, 8007; J. MEDINI 1980a: 390. On this inscription, and Gnaeus Fulvius Maximus in Dalmatia, see *ILJug* 2075; *AE* 1944, 103 = 1950, 105; J. J. WILKES 1969: 448, n. 31.

[928] *CIL* 3, 10054.

[929] J. MEDINI 1980a: 391.

[930] *IGR* 4, 71, n. 186, text provided in I. BASIĆ 2017: 317.

[931] *CIL* 3, 249 = 6753; 8, 822 = 12345 = 23963; see H. G. PFLAUM 1960: 765, n. 295; 843-849, n. 327, respectively.

[932] A. DEGRASSI 1954: 130; M. SUIĆ 1970.

[933] J. MEDINI 1980a: 388, who argued that the autonomous province of Liburnia was directly subordinate to the emperor in Rome, not the governor in Salona. C.f., A. STARAC 2000d: 73. See also, R. THOMSEN 1947: 184.

boundaries. These place names had already been designated as administrative spaces in the formative period of the province of Illyricum.[934] That these various administrators were assigned to 'Liburnia' and 'Dalmatia' need not necessarily indicate that Liburnia was either separate from or included in the province of Dalmatia.[935] It is argued here that whether the province of Liburnia continued after Castus' appointment remains unclear, but it is possible it was maintained. The Cosmographer from Ravenna (who also includes several Iapodian civitates into the *provincia Liburnia*)[936] as well as Procopius and his mention of 'Dalmatias',[937] have been used to argue that the province of Liburnia was in-fact revived several centuries later.[938]

In his *Geographia* (written in the mid-2nd century CE),[939] Claudius Ptolemy differentiates between 'Illyria or Liburnia' and Dalmatia, and further lists separately the Liburnian towns on the maritime shore and those inland. In his list of inland Liburnian towns, Ptolemy names some Iapodian towns, but also seems to imply that other groups further inland, such as the Mazaei, Derriopes, Derri, Dindari, Ditiones and Cerauni, were located in Liburnia, suggesting it covered the entire western and north-western regions of the province of Dalmatia.[940] This contradicts Pliny's earlier statements, as he places these groups within the conventus of Salona.[941] Ptolemy appears to represent Liburnia as a territory including the area of the conventus centred in Scardona, in other words the territory

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[934] Pliny already distinguished between Liburnia and Dalmatia, *HN* 3. 22, 141.

[935] There is a distinction between procuratorial provinces that were sub-divisions of gubernational provinces (governed by *liberti Augusti*) and the imperial procuratorial provinces governed independently (by equestrian procurators), such as Liburnia, see M. VITALE 2015.

[936] See above, 914.

[937] Procop. *Goth.* 1.16. The Loeb translation has the singular, 'Dalmatia'.

[938] See J. MEDINI 1980a: 389ff; I. BASIĆ 2017: 319.

[939] On the *Geographia,* see J. L. BERGGREN and A. JONES 2000.

[940] Ptol. II, 16, 5-6.

[941] Plin. *HN*, 3.141, 142.

of Liburnia and Iapodia. The implication that various other groups in the northern and north-western parts of the Roman province of Dalmatia were included in Liburnia is confusing, and it is possible that this was simply a mistake or that Ptolemy's source was unreliable.[942] I. Basić argues that the timing of Ptolemy's writings, so soon before the first evidence for the *provincia Liburnia*, is indicative of how the two are related to a gradual expansion of a separate 'Liburnia' district within the province of Dalmatia that had different legal functions over time. This initially included only the territories of the Liburni and Iapodes, but gradually incorporated other spaces, as illustrated by Ptolemy's description of multiple groups being included in Liburnia.[943] It is more likely that the inclusion of other territories outside the conventus Liburnorum is a mistake, and the fact that Ptolemy is unsure of the title ('Illyria or Liburnia') of this territory points to his lack of knowledge of the area.

While the earliest stages of the development of Illyricum, Dalmatia and Liburnia are unclear, it is certain that the territories of the Liburni and Iapodes were connected in an administrative-organizational and geo-political context from at least the early 1st century CE. It is possible that this association developed out of a military emergency, during the *Bellum Batonianum,* when the territory of Liburnia and Iapodia was combined. The *praefecti* mentioned on the inscription from Verona administered this space which included the coast (Liburnia) and hinterland (Iapodia), allowing for convenient movement for troops and communication via the sea, while also bordering lands occupied by the rebelling indigenous groups. The fact that the conventus centred at Scardona included the Liburnian and Iapodian territories points to a continuation of this geo-political space as an administrative region. If the title of *conventus Liburnorum* for this jurisdiction is correct, it points to some dominance of the communities in Liburnia, or perhaps this was a result of

[942] J. MEDINI 1980a: 384, n. 73.

[943] I. BASIĆ 2017: 319.

favourable treatment due to Liburni aiding Caesar and/or Octavian during the civil wars. It is possible that the *provincia Liburnia* included the same territory as the *conventus Liburnorum* and that this represents some sort of development of Liburnia as an administrative unit, if not expansion of its geographic space. How long this province lasted, before a revival in Late Antiquity, is unclear. Ptolemy probably incorrectly attributes a much larger territory to 'Liburnia', but he, along with other later sources, confirm that this was a distinct administrative unit during much of the Roman period and into Late Antiquity.

Early Integration of Roman Liburnia and the Status of Liburnian Towns

The status of Liburnian communities in the Roman imperial framework is difficult to discern at the earliest stages of Roman interaction in the eastern Adriatic. Early relations with Liburnia were probably friendly, since Carbo and Cinna used Liburnia as a military foothold for their campaign against Sulla.[944] If the Liburni were not yet unified in a socio-political unit or military alliance, it is possible only some preferred communities were on such friendly terms. These would certainly have included communities in southern Liburnia (the Ravni Kotari-Bukovica region), since the Kvarner Gulf coast is not suitable terrain for landing an army due to the proximity of the Velebit mountain range. Šašel Kos and Zaninović imply that the ability of the consuls to land a Roman army here points to the presence of a significant number of Roman and Italian colonists, who had been arriving since the beginning of the 1st century BCE at the latest.[945] However, the fact that they were able to land here need not necessarily imply friendly relations with Liburni, nor the presence of Italian or Roman citizens, so much as show that the Liburnian communities owed

[944] See above, 164-165.

[945] M. ZANINOVIĆ 1996: 302; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 399, 537.

obligations towards Rome.[946] They were perhaps aware of Rome's power, and lacked any developed socio-political structures and military strength that would be required to negotiate on equal terms with the Romans. The events surrounding the Promona affair (see above Chapter 3) indicate that Liburnian communities were under the protection of the Romans in the mid-1st century BCE. The communities here were certainly incorporated into the Roman imperial framework sometime before the late 1st century BCE, though under what precise circumstances is unclear.

It is difficult to discern the extent to which the administrative structure of early Roman Liburnia contained remains of earlier indigenous socio-political structures. A relatively well documented aspect of the administration of Roman period cities in Liburnia concerns the settlement of boundary disputes between communities. It is not certain whether the layout of the boundaries in the early 1st century CE was an initiative of the communities themselves or the provincial government. An inscription from Corinium mentions that the governor Publius Cornelius Dolabella ordered a cadastral survey, known as the *forma Dolabelliana*, though it is unclear whether this was for the entire province of Dalmatia or just the Liburnian territory.[947] Perhaps Roman era boundaries delineated the territory of pre-Roman communities, or perhaps the government wished to break up the cohesion of earlier political or ethnic groups.[948] In southern Liburnia there are a series of boundary stones that mention disputes over territory between different communities.[949] These boundary stones mostly date to the mid-1st century CE, under the governors L. Volusius Saturninus and A.

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[946] S. ČAČE 2013a: 25.

[947] *ILJug* 847 (Corinium); D. DZINO 2010b: 162-163; D. DEMICHELI 2017: 19. On the building activities of Publius Cornelis Dolaballa, see below.

[948] J. J. WILKES 1969: 456.

[949] See discussions in J. J. WILKES 1969: 456-459; 1974: 258-265; A. STARAC 2000d: 64-66; S. ČAČE 2006: 71-78.

Ducenius Geminus, though the earliest evidence of boundary disputes comes from the governorship of P. Cornelius Dolabella in 14-20 CE.[950]

The best documented dispute was between the towns of Corinium and Nedinum, which appears to have lasted for 50 years.[951] Dolabella initially decided this issue through a ruling (*edictum*), while S. Titius Geminus, senior centurion of the 7th legion, supervised resolution of the dispute.[952] A later dispute or a subsequent revision of the border agreement between the two towns is recorded in an inscription set up under L. Volusius Saturninus. A centurion of the 7th legion, Laco, oversaw this legal proceeding, and was able to resolve the issue between the towns *ex conventione*.[953] The dispute still continued, as the boundary stone set up under Dolabella was destroyed and replaced under Ducenius Geminus, Nero's governor.[954] Even later revisions were made to this border in the area around the modern village of Pridraga.[955] Clearly, the Romans had an interest in preventing communities from expanding into their neighbours' territory, and this no doubt related to maintaining stability in the region.[956]

These disputes are usually presumed to relate to communities that existed as cohesive political or ethnic units since pre-Roman times, with the legal proceedings

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[950] *ILJug* 919, Jablanac near Stinice, J. J. WILKES 1974: 259, n. 3; *CIL* 3, 9973 = *ILJug*, 2871, Popović near Karina, J. J. WILKES 1974: 260, n. 6; *ILJug* 2872, Popović near Karina; *ILJug* 874, Gornji Karin. The judgement (*sententia*) of the governor of the province decided the outcome of these legal proceedings, and his council of advisors (*assessores*) aided him in this process. An arbitrator (*iudex datus*), usually a senior centurion, was appointed to oversee the settlement of these disputes on the ground, J. J. WILKES 1969: 456; A. STARAC 2000d: 64.

[951] *CIL* 3, 2882; 2883; 9973; 15045; *ILJug* 874; 2867; 2872; 2879.

[952] *CIL* 3, 9973.

[953] *CIL* 3, 2882.

[954] *CIL* 3, 9973.

[955] *CIL* 3, 2883, 15045.

[956] S. ČAČE 2006: 77-78.

reflecting the continuation of older inter-communal rivalries.[957] However, whether these issues related to long-running disputes between socio-political groups that started in the pre-Roman period is questionable. As is discussed below, the majority of recorded members of the *ordines decurionum* in Liburnia were Italic immigrants. The political and ethnic structure of these communities changed drastically over the course of their integration into the Roman provincial framework. Disputes over territory may well have developed during the formative period of the Roman province of Illyricum, and represent disagreements between governing Italic elites rather than continuations of old Liburnian rivalries.

Liburnian cities gained municipal status relatively early in the Roman period compared to communities in the interior of the Roman province of Dalmatia and those along the coast further to the south.[958] The only municipality in Liburnia that is confirmed to have had Roman civic status before Caracalla's reforms in 212 CE is Iader, whose colonial rank is attested through epigraphic evidence from the Augustan period.[959] Several scholars have argued that it is possible the Roman citizens in Iader were organized into a conventus as early as the time of Caesar.[960] This is plausible, but difficult to prove decisively, since such arguments are based on Roman engagement with Liburnian communities as allies during the civil war between Pompey and Caesar. As with the other Caesarian and Augustan colonies established in Dalmatia, Iader was not a legionary veteran colony.[961] There is no evidence that any other towns acquired full Roman colonial status before Caracalla's reforms in 212

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[957] A. STARAC 2006a: 107. As mentioned above, Chapman *et al* argued these disputes are indicative of increasing private ownership of land in Liburnia in the Late Iron Age, J. CHAPMAN, R. SHIEL, and Š. BATOVIĆ 1996: 274.

[958] J. MEDINI 1975b: 27.

[959] *CIL* 3, 2907; 13264.

[960] M. SUIĆ 1981b: 142-143, 168, n. 11; see M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2000: 297-298; 2005: 537; D. DZINO 2010b: 89; S. SISANI 2012: 136, n. 177; S. ČAČE 2013a: 39.

[961] J. J. WILKES 1969: 109; M. SUIĆ 1981b: 151-152.

CE. As Starac points out, no further *municipia civium Romanorum* were founded in the provinces after the reign of Claudius,[962] and Pliny, who wrote in the late 1st century CE and is our only source for the status of Liburnian towns, only mentions Iader as a colony in his discussion.[963]

Two inscriptions from Curicum possibly point to its unique status during the early period of integration into the Roman state. The first inscription, dated to the mid-1st century BCE, relates to the building of city walls under the supervision of two magistrates, abbreviated *PR*, Turus Granp. Opia. f. and Venetus Lastimeis Hosp. f.[964] These individuals are presented as *peregrini*, without Roman citizenship, as they have indigenous names.[965] The *PR* on this inscription is usually interpreted as *praefecti*, which is significant since this role is usually held by senior officers of military units involved in pacifying a newly conquered region.[966] No other Liburnian community is recorded as being administered by a *praefecti*, however, indigenous *praefecti* are known from the neighbouring Transalpine Iapodes region, yet from later in the Julio-Claudian period. The only known officer of the Roman army acting as *praefecti* in Liburnia was the one who administered the Iapodes and Liburnia during the *Bellum Batonianum.*[967] Wilkes suggests that these were perhaps quasi-municipal magistrates, or officers that Caesar appointed to organise the defence of the city – the naval battle between Caesarian and Pompeian forces, including a squadron of Liburni, in 49 BCE took place here (see above Chapter 3).[968] As Medini points out, if these were officers they would surely list their rank on the inscription. He argues rather that these were

[962] A. STARAC 2006a: 108.

[963] Plin. *HN*, 3.140.

[964] *CIL* 3, 13295.

[965] See AK 2475; J. MEDINI 1975b: 31, n. 15.

[966] J. J. WILKES 1969: 197; J. MEDINI 1975b: 30-34; A. STARAC 2000d: 81; 2006a: 107-108.

[967] A. STARAC 2006a: 108.

[968] J. J. WILKES 1969: 197.

probably leaders of the community at Krk which, during the mid-1st century BCE, was under the control of the Roman state but had a certain amount of autonomy with, being governed by local *praefecti civitatis*.[969] If Medini's interpretation is correct, the appointment of local leaders was perhaps a result of their friendly relations with the Romans, with Krk being incorporated into the Roman state diplomatically, rather than militarily. Such a process of incorporation into the Roman administrative structure did not significantly alter the organization of the pre-Roman community in this early formative period. Fortification walls were fundamental attributes of the Roman city, and this construction was perhaps an initiative of the *praefecti* towards attaining municipal status for their community (see below, discussion on urban developments).[970]

Another, slightly later inscription, only discovered in 1990,[971] relates to renovations of the temple of Venus at *Curicum*, and also mentions two magistrates with the abbreviation *PR*.[972] Based on palaeographic features and onomastic formulas, the inscription is dated to around the turn of the 1st century BCE/CE, during the Augustan period.[973] Starac takes this *PR* to also refer to *praefecti*, arguing that these two references to *praefecti* over a long period of time, perhaps over 50 years, suggests that a *praefectura Curicum* existed from Caesarian times, lasting until the receiving of a municipal constitution and *ius Latii* in Curicum.[974] Not all scholars are convinced this abbreviation refers to *praefecti*. L. Margetić and Kurilić both prefer the expansion of *praetores*. They suggest that these magistrates had a similar function as *aediles*, a much more regular posting than the *ad hoc* nature of the *praefecti,* meant to oversee the construction of city walls and restoration of the temple of

[969] J. MEDINI 1975b: 32, n. 16.

[970] J. MEDINI 1975b: 32-33, n. 20.

[971] G. LIPOVAC 1991: 38-39, n. 17.

[972] A. STARAC 2000b: 22.

[973] A. KURILIĆ 2006b: 137, appendix n. 1.

[974] A. STARAC 2006a: 107.

Venus.[975] This would certainly remove the significance of these magistrates in terms of their importance to the administrative development of Curicum. As we have no other evidence of such *praefecti* from other Liburnian communities, this is perhaps a more reasonable conclusion.

The most important primary evidence for status of Liburnian towns comes from three slightly contradictory passages of Pliny. The different forms that Pliny uses for the names of several of these towns indicates that he used separate sources for each list.[976] In the first passage, Pliny names several Liburnian communities, among others, in a list of towns that were included in the tenth region of Italy (though not worth providing too much detail on, apparently).[977] These were the *Alturenses, Asseriates, Flamonienses Vanienses, Flamonienses Curici, Foretani*, *Nedinates* and *Varvari*. The *Nedinates*, Liburni from the town of *Nedinum* (Nadin) are the only community not included on at least one of the subsequent lists. In a later passage, Pliny discusses the jurisdiction of Scardona, which included 14 communities of the Liburni. Several of these had Italic rights, including the *Alutae*, *Flanates*, *Lopsi,* and *Varvarini*, while the *Asseriates, Fertinates* and *Curictae* enjoyed immunity.[978] He also lists a number of other Liburnian communities, the *Lacinienses, Stulpini, Burnistae* and *Olbonenses*,[979] as well as the towns of *Albona, Flanona, Tarsatica, Senia, Lopsica, Ortoplinia, Vegium, Argyruntum, Corinium, Aenona, civitas Pasinum, Absortium, Arba, Crexi, Gissa, Portunata, Iader,* and *Colentum*.[980] The last

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[975] L. MARGETIĆ 1987: 171ff, who discusses the first inscription relating to the city walls; A. KURILIĆ 2006b: 136, n. 52, who discusses both, arguing for *praetores* in each case.

[976] G. ALFÖLDY 1965: 68-72; J. J. WILKES 1969: 487-492, see 491 for a table listing these towns in each of Pliny's passages.

[977] Plin. *HN*, 3.130.

[978] Plin. *HN*, 3.139.

[979] Plin. *HN*, 3.139.

[980] Plin. *HN*, 3.140.

list includes a number of towns excluded from the first two (*Iader, Senia, Ortoplinia, Tarsatica, Vegium, Corinium, Aenona, and Arba*), all of which, besides Ortoplinia (otherwise unknown), were enrolled in the voting tribe Sergia, arguably suggesting their Augustan foundation.[981] Medini interpreted Pliny's account as revealing a sequence of municipalization in Liburnia, where peregrine communities were provided with Italic status or immunity from tribute before reaching municipal status.[982]

It is not clear whether any Liburnian towns were given the status of municipium in Caesar's time,[983] and it appears that the municipalization of Liburnia took place mainly during the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius, the Flavian emperors and Hadrian.[984] There is speculation in scholarship that some Liburnian communities gained *immunitas* quite early, perhaps even in the 2nd century BCE.[985] As Čače points out, it is possible that statuses were achieved at more than one point in time; he suggests one stage followed the end of the *Bellum Batonianum* in 9 BCE, and is open to the possibility of some gaining them even earlier.[986] Based on his interpretation of Pliny's list of Liburnian towns, Suić assumed that Curicum, Varvaria and possibly Asseria had acquired *ius Italicum* in the 50s BCE.[987] Alföldy and Wilkes presumed that municipalization occurred between the Augustan period

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[981] J. J. WILKES 1969: 488.

[982] J. MEDINI 1980a: 28-29.

[983] Some authors argue that certain Liburnian communities gained municipal rank during Caesar's proconsulate, J. W. KUBITSCHEK 1924: 209; M. SUIĆ 1960/61: 187ff.

[984] J. J. WILKES 1969: 192-219.

[985] M. SUIĆ 1981b: 137-138; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 323; D. DZINO 2010b: 108.

[986] S. ČAČE 2013a: 34-35.

[987] M. SUIĆ 1960/61: 186-189. He also posited that a *conventus* of Italian traders existed in Iader as early as the mid-1st century BCE, M. SUIĆ 1981b: 142-143.

and the end of the Julio-Claudian period,[988] but it is possible that some Liburnian communities gained privileges from Caesar rather than Augustus.[989]

The fact that several Liburnian towns were presented with Italic rights or immunity is of special interest here. The origins of *ius Italicum* as a civic privilege are unclear. Pliny is the first to mention it,[990] and several jurists quoted in the *Digest* also list a number of communities holding Italic rights,[991] but neither source gives any explanation of their specific meaning.[992] Unlike Latin status, the Italic status may have been primarily applied to communities, rather than individuals.[993] The *ius Italicum* was certainly an enviable status for provincial communities, as it made them exempt from tribute (*immunitas*) and legally included them in the jurisdiction of Italy. This tied them to the homeland of the Roman people, and was no doubt a prestigious status.[994] There are several suggestions in scholarship as to when, how and why these Liburnian communities received this status which are discussed below, though the situation is quite unclear. Pliny's placing of Liburnian cities in Regio X of Italy, as well as later identifying them as communities in Illyricum, though with Italic status, has caused much of the confusion over this issue.

An important point usually emphasised in this discussion is the incorporation of Cisalpine Gaul into Italy in 42 BCE, and the expansion of the Italian boundary to the Arsia River in around 18-12 BCE.[995] This adjustment also brought Histria into Italy, and may have

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[988] G. ALFÖLDY 1965: 86; J. J. WILKES 1969: 492.

[989] M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2000: 297-300; 2005: 471; D. DZINO 2010b: 90.

[990] Plin. *HN*, 3.25 and 139.

[991] *Dig.* 50.15.1, 6, 7, 8.

[992] See T. H. WATKINS 1979; 1983; 1988/89; A. N. SHERWIN-WHITE 1996: 316-321.

[993] A. N. SHERWIN-WHITE 1996: 320, n. 2.

[994] T. H. WATKINS 1988/89: 134.

[995] Str. 7.5.3; Plin. *HN*. 3.129; A. DEGRASSI 1954: 54-60; c.f. R. THOMSEN 1947: 28, who argues for the year 9 CE for the boundary changes; D. DZINO 2010b: 122. On boundaries between Cisalpine Gaul and Istria, see A. STARAC 1993-1994.

occurred due to the increasing amount of land here owned by the imperial family.[996] Due to Pliny's placing of some Liburnian towns in the Regio X and Illyricum,[997] there is some disagreement in scholarship as to whether Liburnia was also actually a part of Italy at some point before being incorporated into Illyricum,[998] or whether the communities with *ius Italicum* were simply administered as part of Italy, probably for census purposes.[999] The latter is probably true, and the confusion was almost certainly caused by Pliny having mixed up his sources.[1000] Wilkes implied that Liburnia may have been included as an extension of Italy following the campaigns of Tuditanus in 129 BCE, before they were excluded when the boundary was fixed on the river Arsia. Prior to the boundary adjustment, some Liburnian communities were provided with Italic status as part of efforts towards assimilation.[1001] Degrassi argued that, following the boundary expansion, some of the more 'romanized' Liburnian towns were given Italic right or immunity, and integrated into the Regio X for census purposes.[1002] Watkins points to Dio's mention that Caesar had given citizenship to the Transpadani 'because he had governed them', to suggest that some of the recipients were

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[996] A. STARAC 1994: 140-141; see also F. TASSAUX 1983.

[997] Plin. *HN*, 3.130, 139-140.

[998] See J. W. KUBITSCHEK 1889: 105; 1924, who argued that this meant the foundation of the towns in the *Regio* X list occurred under Caesar, or at least in the early Augustan period. C.f. R. THOMSEN 1947: 25-31, who argues there is no evidence that the boundaries of Italy were extended this far, and suggests these Liburnian communities were originally part of Transpadana, but were placed in Illyricum in 42 BCE when Transpadana became part of Italy. Wilkes contends that P. Silius Nerva (cos. 20 BCE) was proconsul of Transpadana, which included Histria and Liburnia, in 17 and 16 BCE, J. J. WILKES 1996: 551-552, n. 9, though other scholars agree Silius was proconsul of Illyricum, see M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 484, n. 53; D. DZINO 2010b: 119, 127-128, each with further references.

[999] A. v. PREMERSTEIN 1924, argued that the Liburnian communities were listed in the *Regio* X because they were granted *ius Italicum* or *immunitas* under the census, and were included simply because of their close proximity to Italy; M. SUIĆ 1967: 36; J. J. WILKES 1969: 489-490, who explicitly states that Liburnian communities were granted *ius Italicum* due to their closeness to Italy.

[1000] On Pliny's sources, see L. MARGETIĆ 1977; S. ČAČE 1993a.

[1001] J. J. WILKES 1977: 761.

[1002] A. DEGRASSI 1954: chp. 6; cf. S. MAZZARINO 1974.

select groups along the Histrian and Liburnian coasts.[1003] Their enfranchisement would help to strengthen Rome's control over the area and increase ties between 'romanizing' indigenous groups and the Italian settlers in the region. When Augustus extended the border of Italy to the Arsia river, all Liburnia was not included due to the impracticality of annexing a thin strip of coast when some Liburnian communities, and their Delmataean neighbours, remained hostile. The 'sprinkling of romanized towns' were the exception in the area, yet their commercial ties with Italy, and Augustus' tendency to promote Roman-Italian cultural traditions, led him to attach these particular communities to Italy in a legal and administrative sense, though they remained geographically within the province of Illyricum.[1004] Watkins suggests that Vespasian's government finally excluded the Liburnian communities from registration in Regio X of Italy, and they now were part of Dalmatia and the *conventus Scardonitanus*. They were granted *ius Italicum*, a status officially formulated under Vespasian, because they had been included in the Regio X previously.[1005]

Medini argued that early municipalization of Liburnian communities was basically the result of their good relations with the Romans. However, they received these statuses due to specific military-political and administrative requirements. Established Liburnian municipal centres, especially those in the north-west of Liburnia, could act as bases for any military action required if any other more aggressive local groups rebelled. But Medini sees this also in terms of the Romans using the city-state model in planning their provinces, while allowing the local elite to govern with a certain amount of autonomy. In Dalmatia, he argued, only the Liburnian communities had proven themselves allies of the Romans deserving such autonomy, while in Liburnia already existed territorial settlements with

[1003] Dio, 41.36.3.

[1004] T. H. WATKINS 1988/89: 132-134.

[1005] T. H. WATKINS 1988/89: 134-135.

proto-urban features that fit the Roman model of municipal rule.[1006] While the latter comment is questionable (see above Chapter 4), it seems likely that some Liburnian communities received favourable treatment due to their having sided with Caesar and/or Augustus in the civil wars. It is known that Italic status was awarded to communities for their support during the civil wars in the Severan dynasty.[1007] Other signs of the favourable Roman treatment of Liburnian communities include the fact that they were not subdivided into *decuriae*, like those in the *conventus* of Salona and Narona, as well as Octavian's relatively mild treatment of the Liburni when he punished them for piracy.[1008] In a forthcoming publication, Dzino and L. Boršić discuss the adoption of the Liburnian naval vessel, the *liburnica*, by the Roman navy following the Battle of Actium. They suggest that the development of this vessel could have played an important role in the integration of Liburnian communities into the Roman imperial structure, since it made them desirable naval allies.[1009]

The issue of why Liburnian communities were provided with Italic status and immunity is still unresolved. This cannot be explained simply through their proximity to Italy, as those communities with such statuses are geographically distributed among other municipia and peregrine communities within Liburnia. While it is difficult to decisively resolve this issue, it is probable that some communities were rewarded with Italic status or immunity for their loyalty during the civil wars of the mid-1st century BCE. As discussed above, it is clear Liburnian communities were on different sides in the civil wars, and perhaps those that sided with Caesar are the ones that received privileges. As mentioned, it is also possible that Liburnian troops fought on the Roman side in local revolts during the

[1006] J. MEDINI 1975b: 29.

[1007] *Dig*. 50.15.1-8; A. N. SHERWIN-WHITE 1996: 317.

[1008] Mentioned above, 167.

[1009] D. DZINO and L. BORŠIĆ Forthcoming.

Augustan period. Communities that were particularly well urbanized with great commercial and geo-strategic potential were granted municipal status because Rome required the support of local populations to govern the province and encourage prosperity.[1010] The Liburnian towns of the 1st century BCE and 1st century CE were certainly acceptable on all these points. The material culture of Late Iron Age and early Roman Liburnia shows how connected these communities were to Adriatic and Mediterranean wide economic and cultural networks, particularly when compared to other areas in Dalmatia and the eastern Adriatic hinterland.[1011] These were strategically placed communities, and the Ravni Kotari region is a relatively flat, accessible and fertile space. Most importantly, as is discussed in the next section, local elites were active in the urbanization of towns in the Early Roman period. Those towns with more building inscriptions and Roman style buildings gained municipalization early, and the local elite played important roles in promoting their home towns.

Constructing Roman Cities in Liburnia

Perhaps the most recognizable, drastic and lasting changes that occurred when provincial communities were integrated into the Roman Empire involved processes of urbanization and the development of physical infrastructure within cities. Research into urbanization in Roman Liburnia is still in the earliest stages,[1012] and little evidence for the development of urbanism from the Late Iron Age to Roman period exists in most Liburnian towns due to continuing habitation on many sites. This section does not seek to trace the

[1010] A. STARAC 2006a: 109; D. DZINO 2010b: 89.

[1011] See Chapters 3 and 9.

[1012] The seminal work on urbanization in Roman Dalmatia is that of Suić, M. SUIĆ 2003.

development of Roman style urban and architectural features.[1013] The main aim here is to look at the influence of imperial patronage and the role of the local Liburnian population in the urbanization of Liburnian communities. After some brief comments on Roman urbanistic features in Liburnia and the urban development of Iader, attention is given here to epigraphic evidence for cases of imperial and private munificence in the construction of fortifications and buildings in Liburnian towns.

New settlements were generally not established in Liburnia during the Roman period, but rather existing hilltop settlements became municipalities. However, some hilltop centres were moved to nearby lowland locations. These included settlements located near the coastline, or on islands, and these moves were no doubt undertaken to allow easier access to the sea and maritime trade and communication routes. Each settlement that moved in this way (apart from the Roman fort at Burnum) was also located on the Croatian littoral at the foot of the Velebit mountain range and close to important crossings that linked the sea with the hinterland.[1014] Settlements in the Ravni Kotari and Bukovica area of modern-day northern Dalmatia were well protected on all sides in the Roman period, whether with built ramparts or steep inaccessible cliffs.[1015] Unlike the mountainous Velebit hinterland, northern Dalmatia is flat and suitable for rapid movement, making it vulnerable to enemy armies and difficult to defend. No archaeological traces of ramparts from the Roman period have been discovered at the settlements on the coast under the Velebit mountain range. It is possible

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[1013] See the recent PhD thesis of H. Manenica on urbanization in Roman Liburnia, H. MANENICA 2015.

[1014] Movement towards seaside lowland locations occurred at Tarsatica (Rijeka), Ad Turres (Crikvenica), Fulfinum (Omišalj), Senia (Senj), Lopsica (Sv. Jura), Begium (Cesarica kod Karlobaga), Cissa i Navalia (Otok Pag), Argyruntum (Starigrad Paklenica), Scardona (Skradin), Burnum (hillfort in Ivoševci near the village of Puljan), H. MANENICA 2015: 258, Tab. 1. Each settlement was located nearby the sea besides the fort of Burnum. This move is understandable, since a hillfort was not a suitable site for construction of a typical Roman fort.

[1015] See, e.g., M. SUIĆ 2003; R. SEKSO 2015; K. A. GIUNIO 2001.

that specific mountain passes were controlled, rather than the boundary of the settlements here to protect them from attack and that ramparts were considered unnecessary.[1016] One exception is the town of Argyruntum, where an inscription confirms the construction of city walls.[1017]

The most iconic Roman urban feature, the forum, is archaeologically attested at Iader, *Fulfinum* (Omišalj), *Asporus* (Osor), Senia, Asseria, and Aenona.[1018] More may exist in other settlements, but excavation and archaeological survey has yet to discover them. The orthogonal layout, typical of Roman cities, where urban blocks are intersected by roads in a grid pattern, is visible at several Liburnian towns in the Roman period, including Iader, Senia, Curicum, Aenona, and Argyruntum, and it is assumed to have existed at Asseria due to the position of the city walls and gates in relation to the forum.[1019] Aqueducts are known to have supplied fresh water to Iader, Aenona, Asseria, Cissa, Navalia, Scardona, Curicum, Burnum and Fulfinum.[1020] The presence of stone pipes near the settlement at Apsor, similar to examples at Iader and Curicum, may point to an aqueduct having supplied water here as well. The towns of Curicum, Fulfinum, Iader, Scardona, *Cissa* and *Navalia*, were located on important maritime routes, and supplying ships with fresh water was no doubt of great importance for trade and communication. The need for access to fresh water at the Roman military camp of Burnum is obvious, and inland Asseria was a major production and trade centre that linked the Ravni Kotari region with the Velebit hinterland. Clearly, geographic position and strategic importance were important factors in deciding where to build aqueducts in Liburnia.[1021]

[1016] H. MANENICA 2015: 262-264.

[1017] *ILJug* 2894 and *CIL* 3, 14322; M. SUIĆ 2003: 188; K. A. GIUNIO 2001: 47.

[1018] M. SUIĆ 2003: 244-251.

[1019] H. MANENICA 2015: 265.

[1020] *CIL* 3, 2909 (Zadar); M. SUIĆ 2003: 192; H. MANENICA 2015: 270.

[1021] For an overview of urban features in Liburnian towns, see H. MANENICA 2015: 265-272.

In southern Liburnia habitation continued at hillfort sites in the Roman period and urban structures became integrated with Roman style architecture and planning. However, it is difficult to speak about changes in urbanism in Liburnian towns between the pre-Roman and Roman periods, as so little of the urban structures of either period have survived (particularly the earlier). The colony of Iader provides certainly the best picture of the urbanization process. On the peninsula of Zadar, traces of an earlier settlement are found, around which was constructed a new urban system. In the north-western section of the peninsula, between the coast and the capitolium, a crowded and irregular arrangement of streets is found. This part of the peninsula, centred around the position of the Church of St. Francis, was a high point in antiquity as sea levels were considerably lower.[1022] Material from excavations shows that the Liburnian Iron Age settlement was focused in the north-western part of the peninsula. The knoll at the Church of St. Francis is considered the centre of the pre-Roman settlement, which was concentrated around a hillfort at this high point with a system of concentric streets surrounding.[1023] In the Roman period, houses for the wealthy were found in this northern and north-western part of the peninsula.[1024] The remains of the original Roman town's orthogonal planning are still visible in the layout of the modern city's streets, with Široka ulica and Šimun Kožičić Benje considered as stretching across the line of the *Decumanus Maximus* and *Cardo Maximus*, respectively, of the ancient town.[1025] The forum, which sits next to the intersection of these two roads, was built in the initial stages of the development of the colony, probably in the Augustan period, and then had a major refurbishment during the 3rd century CE.[1026] To the immediate south-west of the

[1022] N. CONDIĆ 2010: fig. 1, 11.

[1023] N. CONDIĆ 2010: 43-50.

[1024] H. MANENICA 2015: 204.

[1025] K. A. GIUNIO 2008: 244.

[1026] Two Early Iron Age graves were discovered in the area of the forum, N. CONDIĆ 2010.

forum a basilica was constructed around the late 2nd to early 3rd century CE, the remains of which were restored and are visible today, and to the west was the Capitoline temple.[1027] Roman Iader was, then, built in accordance with a regular Roman city plan beside the earlier Liburnian settlement which was integrated into a new urban layout.

One important aspect of urbanization and imperial patronage towards settlements in the provinces in the Early Roman period was the donation of public works, particularly city walls and gates. The Augustan period saw an unprecedented amount of city wall building throughout Italy, Dalmatia, Gallia Narbonnensis and the Iberian peninsula, in what was a relatively peaceful era.[1028] The communities that received direct help from the emperors or members of the imperial family were colonies, municipia and those with Latin status. While the fortifications had an obvious function in defence of the settlement, these donations added to its status and emphasized its connection to Rome and the imperial family. S. Stevens has shown that the city walls had as much a symbolic function as a defensive one. Their construction and display was closely related to various rituals and the legal status of the community and its boundaries. The building of fortifications in the provinces during the Early Principate should be seen within the context of Augustan urban adornment and monumentalization.[1029]

In Liburnia, several major works were donated by the Princeps. Two inscriptions from Iader attest to Augustus having constructed walls and a tower here, and refer to him as *parens coloniae* ('father of the colony').[1030] The inscriptions are only roughly dated from 27-2 BCE.[1031] Also recorded is the dedication of the walls at Arba, completed around 11-10

[1027] M. SUIĆ 2003: 230, 245, 251; H. MANENICA 2015: 210ff. See Suić's reconstruction of the forum complex and Capitoline temple, M. SUIĆ 1981b: 205, 211.

[1028] P. GROS 1996: 39.

[1029] S. STEVENS 2016; cf. P. ZANKER 2000: 32.

[1030] *CIL* 3, 13264, 2907; see J. J. WILKES 1969: 207; K. A. GIUNIO 2001: 50-55.

[1031] C. WITSCHEL 2008: 108-109.

BCE.[1032] Though the inscription is badly preserved, and the Princeps' name is missing, the titles that are visible and its chronological context strongly suggest that the benefactor was Augustus (as the reconstruction in *CIL* suggests). A building inscription dating to 34-35 CE from Argyruntum records the construction of fortifications (*murum et turres*), dedicated by the emperor Tiberius.[1033] Another similar inscription, now lost, records the construction of walls at Varvaria in the time of governor L. Volusius Saturninus, which were also dedicated by Tiberius (during his fourth consulate and 25th year of his tribunate – ca. 23-24 CE).[1034] Several scholars argue that the construction of these fortifications, particularly as they were benefactions from the emperor, was connected to the allocation of citizenship and municipal constitution in the Liburnian towns.[1035] Tiberius was also perhaps involved in the building of roads in Liburnia.[1036] While the role of Tiberius in the foundation of municipia in Liburnia is debatable,[1037] it is possible that he acted graciously towards some Liburnian towns in offering municipal status due to their loyalty during the *Bellum Pannonicum* and *Bellum Batonianum* in 12-9 BCE and 6-9 CE, when he was campaigning in Dalmatia.[1038] In the context of empire wide imperial benefactions in the Early Principate, especially the construction of fortifications, it makes sense that the reason for donation of these constructions was the rewarding of these communities as much as simply for defensive

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[1032] *CIL* 3. 3117, 10117; K. A. GIUNIO 2001: 44-47.

[1033] *ILJug* 2894 and *CIL* 3, 14322; K. A. GIUNIO 2001: 47.

[1034] M. SUIĆ 1981a; K. A. GIUNIO 2001: 47-50; R. SEKSO 2015: 64.

[1035] M. DUBOLNIĆ 2007: 23; A. STARAC 2006a: 109; M. GLAVIČIĆ 2009: 58.

[1036] *CIL* 3, 2908; 2972.

[1037] Only the foundation of Argyruntum and Crexi are certainly connected with Tiberius, though Asporus, Nedinum, Asseria, Flanona, Albona, and Lopsica were also possibly granted municipal status under him since they were enrolled into *tribus Claudia*, which appeared among Liburnian cities during his and Claudius' reign, D. DEMICHELI 2017: 20; c.f. G. ALFÖLDY 1961b

[1038] A. STARAC 2006a: 109; on Tiberius's impact on Dalmatia, see recently D. DZINO 2010b: 127ff; 2017a; D. DEMICHELI 2017.

needs.[1039] They were gifted as part of the municipalization process, but the donations certainly had the effect of promoting the imperial family in these communities and making their inhabitants feel more connected to Rome, which was especially important to the princeps during the Early Principate.[1040]

During the Republic, building-inscriptions served a more varied role than in the imperial period. While some recorded benefactions, what is commonly termed 'euergetism' in this context,[1041] others recorded the carrying out of orders from the local senate, whereby magistrates oversaw and approved the construction of a public building. Since there is no expense on behalf of the supervising magistrates, this does not constitute an act of euergetism, but rather fulfilment of duties imposed by the local senate. A clear euergetistic act advertised the *munificentia* and *liberalitas* of the individual(s) responsible for the benefaction, and no doubt provided them with much prestige within their community, which was recognised through honorific decrees, portrait statues and other honours.[1042] The inscribing of names on the building-inscriptions placed in front of the monument was also a permanent public display of their munificence.[1043] The other type of building inscription proclaimed that the officials had fulfilled their magisterial requirements, and probably was meant to advertise the virtues of those individuals in this sense, their *probitas*, *honestas,* and

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[1039] Witschel argues that, as the walls dedicated at Arba were located on an island, they were probably classified as a kind of '*Prestigeobjekt'* ('prestige object'), C. WITSCHEL 2008: 109.

[1040] See section below, Chapter 7, on imperial cult.

[1041] 'Euergetism', derived from the Greek verb '*euergetein*' ('to do a good deed') and noun '*euergetes'* ('benefactor'), was coined by P. Veyne, and described the financial support and benefactions that individuals (local elites, Hellenistic kings, Roman emperors, senators and equestrians, etc) provided for their community, P. VEYNE 1976, see M. HORSTER 2015: 516.

[1042] E. FORBIS 1996.

[1043] Roman law stated that recognition of an individual's benefaction should never be removed from a public building after future repairs or renovations, *Dig.* 50.10.7.1.

integritas – particularly important if they wished to continue their political career.[1044] When direct imperial donations of buildings started across the empire under Augustus, this situation altered significantly, as magistrates no longer oversaw contracts for construction of publicly funded buildings. This change is recognisable in the replacement of phrases such as *faciendum curavit* ('saw to its construction') with *dedit* ('gave') on such inscriptions.[1045] These benefactions helped Augustus promote the idea of an imperial family, so crucial in the newly formed Roman Principate system that saw the development of a new political and social hierarchy, both at Rome and in the provinces.[1046]

The type of urbanization seen in provincial cities was, in the western empire, drastically different to pre-Roman templates in terms of layout and the style and character of public buildings.[1047] Rome provided the framework for monumentalization of a city that was followed throughout the empire. Yet the impetus towards urbanization in this style was not necessarily a simple top-down directive from the imperial government. The responsibility for the development and management of these cities was normally in the hands of local governing elites and benefactors.[1048] The local indigenous populations of the provinces had to adapt to the new political and social structures of the Roman Empire. This was undertaken actively through public service and the acquisition of citizenship. Aristocratic ambition (*aemulatio*) was also focused on the development of communal status, as the acquisition of Latin and municipal status opened avenues to full Roman citizenship. Provincial communities and their local benefactors were highly competitive in the adornment of their cities to increase their chances of promotion, and it is in this context that

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[1044] M. POBJOY 2000, esp. 90-91.

[1045] G. ALFÖLDY 1997.

[1046] A. COOLEY 2012: 154-155.

[1047] See, e.g., R. F. J. JONES 1987; A. VANDERHOEVEN 1996; A. T. FEAR 1996; G. WOOLF 2000.

[1048] R. F. J. JONES 1987: 49-50.

the practice of euergetism developed in these settlements.[1049] Across the empire, the group that is most frequently recorded epigraphically as contributing to acts of euergetism in provincial towns is the local elite. This group made the greatest range of donations (from construction of new buildings, to repairs and providing funding for games) and the most important contributions. While it is difficult to quantify the proportion of public buildings that were privately financed rather than publicly, acts of euergetism were certainly meant to promote and publicize the commitment of citizens to their community.[1050]

Inscriptions relating to the construction, repair or renovation of public buildings in Roman Liburnia are separated into cases of sponsorship from private individuals, imperial munificence and projects that the city council funded or oversaw directly. Most of the acts of private sponsorship are dated to the 1st or early 2nd century CE.[1051] While the ethnicity of several benefactors from this group are not identifiable due to poor preservation or lack of data on the inscriptions, most were attributed to individuals of indigenous origin based on onomastic analysis – at least 12 are certainly identified as bearing local names.[1052] Of the others with confirmed identities, only 3 benefactions relate to Italics,[1053] and one to an individual with a Greek name.[1054] Two acts of munificence are activities that the local

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[1049] J. F. DRINKWATER 2002: 355-356.

[1050] M. HORSTER 2015: 526, 530ff.

[1051] J. MEDINI 1969.

[1052] Albona, *CIL* 3, 3047 = AK 2309; Arba, *CIL* 3, 3116 = AK 2322; Aenona, *ILJug* 215 = *CIL* 3, 3158 = *ILS* 3320 = AK 2347; *CIL* 3, 14322, 4 = AK 2498; Nedinum, *CIL* 3, 2869 = AK 2261; *CIL* 3, 2871 = AK 2262; Asseria, *CIL* 3, 15024 = AK 2557; *CIL* 3, 15026 = AK 2559; *CIL* 3, 15027 = AK 2561; *CIL* 3, 15034 = AK 2568; Varvaria, *CIL* 3, 9881 = AK 2366; Scardona, *CIL* 3, 2810 = *ILS* 7175 = AK 2229. Kurilić has L. Gavius Optatus, whose dedication to *sacerdos Liburnorum* at Senia was made in memory of his mother, as either Italic or Liburnian, AK 2621 = *AE* 1959, 122 = *ILJug* 247.

[1053] Arba, *CIL* 3, 3115 = AK 2321; Aenona, *CIL* 3, 2969 = AK 2276; Iader, *CIL* 3, 2922 (9987) = AK 2034.

[1054] *CIL* 3, 13283 = *AE* 1894, 22 = AK 2473.

municipal councils ordered.[1055] The imperial benefactions relating to construction of walls were discussed above, but also important here is a request of the citizens of Iader for assistance from the emperor Trajan for help supplying fresh water to the colony.[1056] Medini connects this request with Trajan's presence here on his way to campaigning in Dacia.[1057] The indigenous population clearly made the most donations towards the urbanization of Liburnian communities.

The number of examples of euergetism decreases after the early 2nd century, and dramatically declines in the 3rd century CE. While the decline in building inscriptions may have been related to an economic crisis,[1058] it is possible that this is simply due to many civic buildings having already been constructed by the 2nd century. This is supported by the fact that in this later period, those euergetisms that relate to civic buildings are mostly restorations, rather than new constructions.[1059] After the 1st century CE, acts of euergetism in Liburnia are mostly related to the construction or refurbishment of cult buildings.[1060] The data set is relatively small here, but the reduced numbers in this later period follow the general decline in the epigraphic habit in Liburnia.[1061] There are no building inscriptions in Liburnia dating to after the 3rd century CE.

Some acts of euergetism were far more expensive than others. The dedication of Melia Anniana, of northern Italic/Celtic origin, in memory of Q. L. Q. f. Ser(gia) Bassi,

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[1055] Cres, *CIL* 3, 3148 (10131) = *ILS* 5516 = AK 2341; Scardona, *CIL* 3, 2810 = *ILS* 7175 = AK 2229 – this latter example is also a kind of private munificence since despite the council ordering the erection of a statue of T. Turranio, the donator, Iulia Maxima, paid for it with her own funds, J. MEDINI 1969: 63-64. See above also for the acts of the *praefecti*/*praetores* from Curicum, 190-192.

[1056] *CIL* 3, 2909 (9983) = AK 2275.

[1057] J. MEDINI 1969: 55-56.

[1058] J. MEDINI 1969: 72.

[1059] *ILJug* 247; *CIL* 3, 2969; 2809; 10054.

[1060] *ILJug* 247; *CIL* III, 2969; 3116; 13283.

[1061] See below, Chapter 6.

possibly Histrian, in Iader, is perhaps the most lavish. She spent 600,000 sestertii paving the city market (emporium), decorating it with statues and building a new arch.[1062] Another dedication of significant largesse is connected to the so-called Porta Traiana (Trajan's Gates), which were situated on the walls on the western side of Asseria. While none remain *in situ* today, enough of their remains were visible to Austrian archaeologists who excavated Asseria in the late 19th and first half of the 20th century that it is possible to visually reconstruct them.[1063] Two inscriptions were placed upon the gates, one above the other. The upper inscription mentions Trajan's titles, whilst the lower one the dedication set up in honor of the emperor.[1064] While the latter inscription states that the dedicator, L. Laelius L. f. Cla(dius tribu) Proculus, did something (*testamento fieri iussit*) it does not explicitly state what it was, though this is considered as him having constructed these gates, given the location of the inscriptions.[1065] He also organized a feast for the occasion (*epuloque dedicari*), but it is not entirely clear what the occasion was. These dedications were possibly made due to Trajan giving some privilege to the community, but a new theory suggests that it was because the emperor visited Asseria on his way to campaign against the Dacians.[1066] Medini originally considered Proculus to be an Italian, based on his *gentilicum* 'Laelius'.[1067] Through analysis of this individual's familial relations in Liburnia, Kurilić showed that he is in fact most likely of indigenous origin.[1068]

[1062] *CIL* 3, 2922 = 9987 = AK 2034; see J. MEDINI 1969: 56-57.

[1063] M. GLAVIČIĆ and Ž. MILETIĆ 2008b: fig. 3.

[1064] *CIL* 3, 15034 + 15021: *Imp(eratori) Caesari, Divi Ne[r]vae f(ilio), / Nervae Traiano Optimo / Aug(usto), Germ(anico), Dacico, pont(ifici) max(imo), / trib(unicia) pot(estate) XVII, imp(eratori) VI, co(n)s(uli) VI, p(atri) p(atriae). // L. Laelius L. f(ilius) Cla(udia tribu) Proculus / t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) epuloque dedicari*.

[1065] J. J. WILKES 1969: 366-367.

[1066] M. GLAVIČIĆ and Ž. MILETIĆ 2008b: 436.

[1067] J. MEDINI 1969: 61.

[1068] A. KURILIĆ 2006c: 28-33.

The timing of the acts of euergetism among private individuals in Liburnia is almost certainly related to the acquisition of citizenship and municipal status among Liburnian communities.[1069] Most benefactors were enfranchised Liburni, and inscriptions often note their role as magistrates or their status as military veterans.[1070] This information leads to a range of conclusions about the role of locals in the development of Liburnian settlements, and how they integrated into imperial society. Private munificence was almost exclusively an exploit of recently enfranchised members of the indigenous population. As the local population became integrated into the imperial administrative and governing structure, the way in which they engaged in power discourses and gained and displayed status in society had to adapt. Having their names displayed next to public works they financed provided them and their families with lasting recognition of their generosity and social status. Acts of euergetism, and the public display of recognition, exhibited not only the civic status of the benefactor but also their generosity and commitment to the construction of their community in a Roman style. As Woolf has discussed, monumental construction in Roman Gaul perhaps replaced pre-Roman means of power discourses that involved leading warbands. This method of municipal building acted as a kind of aristocratic display that also demonstrated compliance with Roman customs and ideals.[1071] Throughout the imperial period, benefactions (financial contributions towards games, festivities and civic buildings) provided a means for local elites in Italy and the Latin provinces to compete for status, which was often recognized with prestigious titles.[1072]

The evidence for acts of munificence testify to the early urbanization of Liburnian municipalities, and to the role of the local population in the process of developing them into

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[1069] J. MEDINI 1969.

[1070] E.g., *CIL* 3, 2869; 3116; 3148 = 10131; 14322, 4; 15024; 15026.

[1071] G. WOOLF 2005b: 110; 2000.

[1072] H. MOURITSEN 2015: 236ff.

cities with Roman style infrastructure. This points to the continuation of pre-Roman social structures in Liburnian communities, where the local population played a significant role in cultural life and civic administration. According to Šašel Kos, acts of private munificence recorded on inscriptions in Liburnia are disproportionately higher than elsewhere in the Roman province of Dalmatia, particularly in Salona. While these sorts of benefactions make up 1.25% of the total number of Dalmatian inscriptions, this raises to 2.33% in Liburnia, while in Salona it is only 0.83%.[1073] These figures are of interest, however, more up-to-date data on private munificence throughout Dalmatia is required before making firm conclusions and arguments about these trends. The early date of private munificence activities in Liburnia traced through inscriptions is comparable to that in northern Italy,[1074] while G. Wesch-Klein's study of the African provinces suggests that these activities peaked in the 2nd century CE.[1075] These comparisons indicate that Liburnian communities were relatively well developed early in the Roman period, and that some local families had significant wealth and status soon after integration into the provincial administrative structure.

The evidence for construction of urban features during the Early Roman period adds to the list of factors highlighting that Liburnian communities were treated particularly well by the Roman administration. Not only buildings with inscriptions but also generally Roman style urban features are more prominent in communities that gained municipal status early in the Roman period.[1076] As the example of Iader shows, urbanism in Roman Liburnia incorporated local developments and new Roman urban structures. The epigraphic evidence

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[1073] However, there is a high number of Late Roman and especially Late Antique inscriptions from the provincial capital, and Šašel Kos suggests if these were subtracted then Salona's percentage would probably range somewhere between that of Liburnia and the entire province, M. ŠAŠEL KOS 1994: 202.

[1074] E. FRÉZOULS 1990; 1984.

[1075] G. WESCH-KLEIN 1990.

[1076] H. MANENICA 2015: 283.

for acts of munificence in Liburnia shows that the emperors, private individuals and local governments had an influence in early urbanization. There is some evidence to suggest that these acts were related to municipalization in Liburnian towns, and this shows that local elites were adapting to new methods of expression of authority and status in the context of a new Roman provincial social structure.

Conclusion

As has been shown in this chapter, the relationship that at least some Liburnian communities had with the Roman state from at the latest the mid-1st century BCE was friendly, to the level of dependants or even allies. The development of Liburnia within the context of the provinces of Illyricum and later Dalmatia is still difficult to clearly define. What is clear is that from early on the territories of Liburnia and Iapodia were linked for administrative or military-political purposes. Liburnia or certain Liburnian communities were in some way dominant in this geo-political context, given that their name was probably applied to the conventus centred at Scardona, and certainly to the later *provincia Liburnia*, while a *Liburnian* regional imperial cult developed here.[1077] Liburnian communities enjoyed the patronage of Rome during the period of integration and were granted statuses and municipalization earlier than other Dalmatian communities, and those elsewhere in the empire. The reason for their favourable treatment by Roman emperors was probably due to them having aided Rome in certain conflicts and upheld their interests in the region against other more hostile indigenous groups. This was also perhaps due to the developed state of some Liburnian communities in the period of integration, which made them ideal candidates for enfranchisement and allocation of municipal status, while their favourable position along

[1077] See below, Chapter 7 on the imperial cult in Liburnia.

the coast provided Rome with focal points for communication and connectivity in friendly territory along the eastern Adriatic through which they could land armies.[1078] During the Roman period, new Roman style urban structures were incorporated into local settlements. The local population adopted a Roman style of patronage in their own communities in the form of private acts of munificence recorded in inscriptions that provided civic, defensive and religious buildings to Liburnian towns from as early as the mid-1st century BCE, as well as taking on roles as magistrates in local government. Clearly, early integration into the Roman provincial structure benefitted both the Romans and some local elites who were able to reorient themselves towards new sets of power-relations and methods of the display of status in their communities within a new administrative framework.

[1078] J. MEDINI 1975b: 29; D. DZINO 2010b: 89.

Chapter 6 – Reading into Romano-Liburnian Society[1079]

This chapter seeks to use written sources (epigraphic evidence and ancient literary sources) to provide an overview and analysis of social issues in Roman Liburnia. It begins with a discussion of the development of inscribing stone monuments in Liburnia that is intended to place local trends within an empire wide context and to assess the effectiveness of using epigraphic data from this region to answer questions relating to social relationships and identities. As briefly mentioned in Chapter 3, Greco-Roman literary sources describe the special status of women in Liburnian society. The position of women in Liburnia has been the subject of a study by Alföldy,[1080] and Z. Serventi more recently discussed their role in the funerary realm, including anthropological evidence in her paper.[1081] This chapter undertakes a more critical analysis of the literary sources relating to Liburnian women with the intention of drawing some conclusions about the meaning and veracity of their statements. It also incorporates evidence from epigraphic data relating to women in Liburnia,[1082] to help construct some hypotheses regarding their social and legal statuses. The structure of Liburnian families has been debated in previous studies.[1083] Liburnian familial relations based on epigraphic data are discussed below, and a comparison with the situation in Roman Hispania is included, which may provide some clues to the structure of families and position of women in Liburnia. Finally, a discussion of evidence from inscriptions for

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[1079] This chapter is indebted to the work of many scholars, but foremost that of A. Kurilić, whose research on Latin inscriptions from Liburnia, and particularly the statistical analysis of onomastics and familial relations, formed the basis for much of the study undertaken here – see her works in the bibliography, particularly 1995, 1997, 1999, 2008b. I would like to thank Professor Kurilić for kindly discussing these topics with me on several occasions.

[1080] G. ALFÖLDY 1961a.

[1081] Z. SERVENTI 2017.

[1082] A. KURILIĆ 1995; 2008a.

[1083] G. ALFÖLDY 1961a; A. KURILIĆ 1995.

expressions of identity, as well as immigration, provides some indication of the importance of ethnicity, community and demographics in Roman Liburnia.

The Development of the Epigraphic Impulse in Roman-Liburnia

Tracing social realities (social structure, family relations, demographic topographies) in the Roman provinces, let alone how these altered from the situation in the pre-Roman period, is a difficult task. Ancient writers, in contrast to the relative wealth of evidence for the pre-Roman period, give us almost no information to analyse the population of Roman Dalmatia (or the way in which it was portrayed in Greco-Roman literature), and we are left to study epigraphic monuments to extract details regarding their social lives. However, Latin inscriptions from Liburnia are generally brief, providing only the most basic information about the individuals mentioned on them.[1084] Despite the relatively small amount of data they provide, analysis of their naming systems and onomastic elements can provide important data relating to the social life of inhabitants of Roman Liburnia, and some insight into continuities and changes from the pre-Roman period.

It is questionable to what extent we can use the information from epigraphic monuments to inform us about continuations of social and cultural realities from the pre-Roman into the Roman period. Anomalies in apparent social conventions that identify a specific province or region as distinct in some way may point to continuations of pre-Roman norms, however, it is difficult to determine when and where these peculiarities originated. Perhaps they highlight centuries old practices, or maybe they reflect more recent changes caused by immigration or social upheaval. Liburnian society in the pre-Roman period was certainly not static, and incorporation into the Roman Empire may have dramatically altered

[1084] A. KURILIĆ 1999: 26ff.

the pace and direction of the development of social and familial structures, but each society has its own historical trajectory. Another issue is that certain categories used to research ancient societies, such as 'family structure' or 'power relations', are themselves artificial constructs of anthropology and sociology that have, like other terms such as 'society', 'culture', and 'kinship systems', been presented as stable and orderly.[1085] Yet, the data from epigraphic monuments of the Roman world certainly provide us with some understanding of the importance of certain social relations, and the way in which status was conveyed. As these are largely inscriptions from acts of funerary commemoration, they are particularly revealing for how those who inscribed them wished to have their status and familial relations advertised.[1086]

Only one inscription dating to the pre-Roman period is known from Liburnia. This is the already mentioned Greek inscription discovered at Bribirska glavica that mentions the name *Ceun*,[1087] well-known from later Latin inscriptions.[1088] The epigraphic habit, or an epigraphic culture,[1089] in Liburnia developed (in its earliest stages) chronologically alongside much of the Roman Empire.[1090] It has been argued that the development of epigraphic monuments in the empire was related to the acquisition of citizenship in the provinces. E. A. Meyer discusses the desire for citizenship among provincials as rooted in legal and status based rewards. She suggested that the adoption of the deceased-commemorator tombstone in the western provinces was related to obligations of the heirs

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[1085] G. WOOLF 2005a: 236.

[1086] J. EDMONDSON 2005: 187.

[1087] B. KUNTIĆ-MAKVIĆ 1998.

[1088] A. KURILIĆ 1999: 169.

[1089] On the 'epigraphic habit' in the Roman Empire, see R. MACMULLEN 1982; on a reformulation of this concept in terms of an 'epigraphic culture', see G. WOOLF 1996a: 30ff. See also R. GORDON et al. 1993: 154-155.

[1090] A. KURILIĆ 1999.

owed to the dead – the desire for a will that was enforceable under Roman law being one aspect of citizenship that was particularly desirable to provincials. These inscriptions were testimony to the fact that the individuals possessed citizenship and rights, and in this way overtly expressed the status of themselves and their family.[1091] Yet this argument does not account for a range of situations where inscriptions were plentiful, such as those set up by individuals other than heirs, non-citizens, and the many inscriptions from Italy itself, the population of which received citizenship in the early 1st century BCE.[1092]

Woolf suggested that the writing of inscriptions on monuments was important for conveying the complex names and relationships that defined identities in the Roman world. This was increasingly important as the Roman Empire expanded, its social and political structure became more complex and new regional identities were incorporated into it. Inscriptions of various forms provided individuals with a means to fix their place in their specific historical, social and cosmological context – a rounded explanation for the development of 'the epigraphic impulse'.[1093] With a similarly generalised and cogent explanation, F. Beltrán Lloris points out that the Principate provided the perfect conditions for development of an epigraphic culture. In an unrivalled period of peace, colonization, the creation of municipalities, fixed army camps and urbanization were undertaken alongside the development and dissemination of a new social order in which monumental public display played an important role in social competition, self-representation and involvement in the Roman imperial and municipal structures. Integration into a cohesive social order that was powerful and enduring meant that erection of durable monuments aimed at publicising oneself or your family for posterity was a worthwhile and rewarding investment.[1094]

[1091] E. A. MEYER 1990.

[1092] A. KEAVENEY 1987.

[1093] G. WOOLF 1996a: 29.

[1094] F. BELTRÁN LLORIS 2014: 144.

The chronological and geographic distribution of inscriptions shows that this epigraphic impulse was, while following generally similar curves of development and decline, not entirely equal across the empire.[1095] In Liburnia, while the most detailed current categorisation of Roman period Latin inscriptions is only in vague terms of 'Early Principate' (1st century and first half of 2nd century CE) and 'Late Principate' (second half of 2nd century and 3rd century CE), it is clear that the construction of epigraphic monuments peaked in the 1st century CE and drastically declined after the early 2nd century.[1096] This would mean that Liburnia's peak in epigraphic activity was a little early in relation to the rest of the Roman Empire, where it is generally agreed that, following an 'epigraphic boom' in the Augustan period, inscriptions increased to a peak in the 2nd century CE, then declined from the 3rd century onwards.[1097] The timing is probably attributed to the early municipalization and urbanization of Liburnian towns, as well as early immigration from Italy into Dalmatia. That most of the epigraphic monuments from Liburnia date to the 1st century CE means they were constructed during the period when many indigenous Liburni were still in the process of acquiring citizenship, integrating into provincial civic and social structures, and renegotiating their identities and place within the new imperial framework.

Women in Liburnia

The status of women in Liburnian society, both in the pre-Roman and Roman period, has been the subject of great interest and debate due to some comments from ancient authors and analysis of gender identities and social relations on Latin inscriptions from Liburnia. This section will discuss the evidence from ancient literary sources, providing a critical

[1095] E. A. MEYER 1990; F. BELTRÁN LLORIS 2014: Tab. 8.2.

[1096] A. KURILIĆ 1999: fig. 23a – 25b.

[1097] F. BELTRÁN LLORIS 2014: 139-140, fig. 8.3.

analysis of specific authors and their statements to try to determine their meaning, relevance and significance. The epigraphic evidence provides some interesting insight into the place of women in Liburnian society. Women were even more active than men as commemorators on tombstones in Liburnia, making this a particularly interesting case study on gender in the Roman world.

There are a number of curious comments in the ancient written sources that relate to women and Liburnian society. As mentioned above, the periplous of Pseudo-Skylax states that the Liburni were ruled by women, and that women in Liburnian society were able to 'mingle' with their own slaves and men in nearby communities.[1098] Appearing to agree with this statement, Nicholas of Damascus, who certainly derived his information from earlier Greek ethnographic works,[1099] comments that Liburnian women are held in common. They raise their children communally until the age of five when they are assigned to a father based on likeness, ostensibly because the promiscuity of Liburnian women means they are unable to identify the real fathers.[1100] Interestingly, Florus also mentions that Queen Teuta(na) ruled the Liburni, who he implies were also referred to as Illyrians.[1101] In a passage discussing various pastoral societies, and the role of women in them, Varro mentions that in many places women are not inferior to male herdsmen. It is noteworthy that his first example is 'Illyricum', where he says there are communities in which women are capable of tending herds, carrying firewood, cooking food and maintaining orderly huts. He then goes on to mention Liburnian women, who he saw first-hand carrying logs and breastfeeding children (sometimes two) simultaneously, immediately after giving birth. In

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[1098] Ps.-Skylax 21. Pseudo-Skylax also mentions another group, a branch of the Sauromatai, who dwell on the northern shores of the Black Sea, that was also women-ruled (*gynaikokratomenoi*), 70; G. SHIPLEY 2011: 155.

[1099] A. KURILIĆ 2008b: 48-49.

[1100] Nic. Dam. *FGrHist* 90 F 103 d.

[1101] Flor. *Epit*. 1.21.

Illyricum, he noticed that unmarried women were permitted to engage in sexual activities with any man, and even bear children.[1102] Though Varro uses the term Illyricum, he had himself been in Liburnia, his friend Cossinius noted. Since his work was published in 39 BCE, Varro used the term Illyricum, the current term for the Roman provincial space in which Liburnia was included.[1103] Perhaps Varro's comments on Illyricum are then relevant for Liburnia, which would make sense since they include sentiments about the sexual freedom of women reflected in Pseudo-Skylax and Nicholas of Damascus's statements about Liburnian society. Alföldy suggests that the implication in Pseudo-Skylax, that women had a degree of sexual freedom, is probably meant as restricted to unmarried women.[1104] Lastly, in his commentaries on Vergil's Aeneid, the late 4th/early 5th century CE grammarian, Servius, briefly notes that the Liburni were descended from Amazons.[1105]

The statements about women made in these literary sources are understood widely in modern scholarship to point to their special status in Liburnian society. Scholars generally agree that women in Liburnian society enjoyed a greater level of personal and social freedom than in some contemporary Mediterranean (particularly Greco-Roman) societies and had a greater role in religious life, but do not take these sources literally to mean that they ruled under the matriarchal principal.[1106] However, whether we can actually conclude much about the position and role of women in Liburnian society based exclusively on these sources is questionable. It is particularly important that each source is understood in terms of

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[1102] Varro. *Rust*. 2.10.7-9.

[1103] D. DZINO 2017b: 68-69, n. 16. Scholars have postulated that he was in Liburnia as quaestor under either Cinna in 84 BCE, E. BADIAN 1962: 60, or C. Cosconius in 78-76 BCE, C. CICHORIUS 1922: 191-192; T. R. S. BROUGHTON 1952: 86-87.

[1104] G. ALFÖLDY 1961a: 310.

[1105] Serv. *Comm. Ad Aen.* 1.243.

[1106] G. ALFÖLDY 1961a: 308-309; J. J. WILKES 1969: 186-187; D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1989: 770-773; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 183; A. KURILIĆ 2008b: 47-51.

its own political, historical and cultural context so that the process through which the ethnographic 'knowledge' they contain was obtained and presented is understood as accurately and thoroughly as possible.

Our earliest source that mentions Liburnian women is the periplus of Pseudo-Skylax, the original composition of which is dated to the 4th century BCE.[1107] However, as noted above, Suić provided a rounded critique of the text, particularly the information relating to the upper Adriatic. He argued that much of the information on this area was a much later addition, and it is entirely possible that the information about women in the periplus was inserted as late as the Roman period (or even later).[1108] Alföldy links Nicholas of Damascus' statement about the holding of women in common and the communal raising of children in Liburnia with a passage from Herodotus about a similar situation in Libya.[1109] In Alföldy's opinion, Nicholas of Damascus drew upon Herodotus' idea to make sense of the information he had obtained from other sources about women's sexual freedom in Liburnian society.[1110] However, the comments of Pseudo-Skylax and Nicholas of Damascus are better understood as part of a broader ethnographic practice of portraying 'barbarian' groups as opposed to Greco-Roman social norms, a tradition Herodotus had played a part in developing.[1111] This is perhaps best illuminated in Herodotus' account of the reversal of gender roles in Egyptian society.[1112] He also states that Scythian women had consorted with their slaves because their husbands were away at war for so long.[1113] As discussed above, Herodotus mentions that the

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[1107] G. SHIPLEY 2011.

[1108] M. SUIĆ 1955: 165.

[1109] Herod. 4. 180; for discussion of Herodotus on Libyan women, see R. THOMAS 2000: 89, n. 31.

[1110] G. ALFÖLDY 1961a: 310-311.

[1111] F. HARTOG 1988. On women in Herodotus generally, see C. DEWALD 1981.

[1112] Among the Egyptians, he says women 'buy and sell' while men abide at home and weave; women urinate while standing and men while sitting, Herod. 2. 35.

[1113] Herod. 4. 1.

Illyrian Eneti would auction off their maidens annually, a practice they shared with the Babylonians of Assyria.[1114] Herodotus uses women throughout his work to confirm social norms within both Greek and foreign societies.[1115] It appears that Pseudo-Skylax and Nicholas of Damascus drew upon standard Greco-Roman ethnographic topoi relating to the 'other' in their descriptions of Liburnian women.

When Florus suggests that Queen 'Teutana' ruled the Liburni it is clear he has mixed up his data on 'Illyrian' peoples. He has the Liburni as the main enemies of the Romans in the First Illyrian War, whereas the Ardiaei are generally accepted as having been the primary antagonists based on information from Appian, Cassius Dio and Polybius. Florus is probably not a reliable source here, and we should not take seriously his comment that the Liburni were ruled by Queen 'Teutana'.[1116] Nor does the rule of a queen add to any argument for a matriarchal Illyrian society, as all other known rulers were kings, and her reign was simply the result of historical circumstances.[1117] Polybius certainly constructed Teuta as a barbarous character. In describing an interview between her and Roman ambassadors sent to complain about Illyrian piracy, Polybius describes Teuta giving way to her temper with a womanly irrationality and irritability. She defied the laws of humanity and had one of the ambassadors assassinated.[1118] This is perhaps an example of how negative images of female dominance in Illyricum were utilized in Greco-Roman literature as part of barbarizing discourses. It is possible that Florus mixed up the Liburni and 'Illyrians' because he had heard they were both 'ruled by women'.

[1114] Herod. 1.196, he also mentions that Babylonian women have intercourse with strangers, 199.

[1115] C. DEWALD 1981.

[1116] For discussion and sources, see M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 183, 188.

[1117] G. ALFÖLDY 1961a: 308-309, for criticism of earlier scholarship on this point.

[1118] Polyb. 2.8.12; C. B. CHAMPION 2004: 112-113; see A. BAJRIĆ 2013.

The fact that Varro had himself visited Liburnia perhaps makes him a more credible source since he gathered at least some of his information first hand. Dzino suggests that the ethnographic context of his digression about Liburnian women points to the author's aim and reasoning. Since he was discussing the idea of women working as herdsmen, Varro provided examples that he himself had observed. The passage also reflects the views of his own social class, that of the municipal Roman male elite, on gender roles.[1119] While Liburnian women were able to work in the field and carry multiple children at the breast, he describes as 'worthless and contemptible', newly delivered Roman women, who lay under mosquito nets (*conopiis*) for days.[1120] This statement is no doubt meant to reflect the situation among Roman and Italian women of the upper classes. Varro's comment is understandable in terms of his writing in general, through which he reflected on Roman society and politics, and reinforced the traditional norms and virtues of the earlier republic.[1121] It is interesting to note that two Late Republican/Augustan poets, Horace and Propertius, used the term *conopium* in a contemptuous manner when describing Cleopatra's luxury – the latter in a passage that includes mention of the *liburnica*.[1122]

The comment of Servius, that the Liburni were descended from Amazons, is perhaps not altogether surprising given the statements made in earlier sources about the sexual freedom and rule of women in Liburnian society. Dzino convincingly links his statement with that of Solinus, about the Asian origins of the Liburni.[1123] In Greek mythology, the Amazons were located close to Troy, and certainly in the Asia Minor region.[1124] It appears Servius and Solinus were drawing from the same ethnographic discourse in their treatment

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[1119] D. DZINO 2017b: 69.

[1120] Varro. *Rust*. 2.10.8.

[1121] C. ROSILLO-LÓPEZ 2017: 124.

[1122] Hor. *Epod*. 9.16; Prop. 3.11.45.

[1123] See above, 86-87.

[1124] On locating the Amazons in Asia Minor, see R. D. BARNETT 1975.

of the Liburni. It is then perhaps logical that such classically educated intellectuals might conceptualize their association with the Amazons, given the statements about the rule of women in Liburnian society, and therefore locate them in Asia Minor.[1125]

It is quite possible that the above authors in fact confuse information they had obtained about Ligurian women, who are noted in several other sources as bearing children while at work cultivating and continuing with their work in the field and in the household with no trouble,[1126] with the situation in Liburnian society. The obvious similarity in spelling might have caused such confusion, but the mix-up could have been intended – with the authors applying stereotypes of strong and tough women to Liburnian society since they had heard that women here enjoyed a level of social independence they were not used to in Rome or other Greek societies. There is sometimes a link made between the representation of 'Liburnian' and 'Illyrian' women.[1127] As mentioned above, it is possible that Varro uses the term 'Illyria' when discussing Liburnia. The historian, Theopompus, in a fragment of his work related through Athenaeus, mentions that Illyrian women (from the southern Illyrian kingdom) were permitted to attend feasts and are known for having to conduct their husbands home when they have drunk too much.[1128] Athenaeus also relates an account of Theopompus about Etruscan women that has several similarities to the way other sources describe Liburnian women. In a passage that paints a similar picture to the accounts of Pseudo-Skylax and Nicholas of Damascus about Liburnia, Theopompus says that Etruscans share their wives, who have a degree of sexual freedom, and raise their children in common.[1129] It is probable that gender roles are used in the written sources discussed here to

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[1125] D. DZINO 2017b.

[1126] Ps.-Aristotle, *De mir. ausc.* 90-91; Diod. Sic. 4.20.2-3; Posidon. *apud*. Strabo 3.4.17.

[1127] G. ALFÖLDY 1961a: 308; J. J. WILKES 1969: 187.

[1128] Theopomp., 115 *FGrHist* F39, Ath. 10.60 443 a-b.

[1129] Theopomp., 115 *FGrHist* F204 Ath. 12.517d-518b.

emasculate Liburnian men.[1130] It is possible this developed from negative images of the Liburni that emerged during the earliest Korkyrean incursions into the eastern Adriatic during the 6th and 5th centuries BCE, where they were portrayed as enemies of the Greeks, and the quintessential barbarians.[1131] This is not to say that there are no reflections of the actual status and roles of women in Liburnia in the statements of these sources. Perhaps these depictions of Liburnian women in Greco-Roman sources point to a situation that indeed seemed foreign to the authors, where women enjoyed certain freedoms and undertook roles that females in their own societies did not.

The presumed relative freedom of women in Liburnian society is sometimes put down to the piratical and agricultural nature of Liburnian society.[1132] The argument is that, with the men spending a large part of the year raiding at sea and in agricultural work, they were probably away from home much of the time. Women then had to take up roles in economic and social life, which secured them a certain level of freedom.[1133] Similarly, Šašel Kos suggests that women in Iapodian society had relatively equal status due to hard economic circumstances.[1134] However, seafaring and hard agricultural lifestyles were common among countless male-dominated Mediterranean societies throughout human history – (some) Greek and Roman included. Therefore, the importance of seafaring, or a piratical lifestyle, or other farming and nomadic activities are not in themselves convincing explanations for why Liburnian women may have enjoyed certain freedoms or undertaken various roles.[1135]

[1130] See A. KURILIĆ 2008b: 49; 2012a: 176. On gender and ethnic stereotypes in Greco-Roman literature, see K. LOMAS 2014: 487-490.

[1131] On the development of early images of Liburni, see S. ČAČE 2002; D. DZINO 2017b: 71-72.

[1132] On Liburnian pirates, see Livy, 10.2.4; App. *Ill*., 3; 16. *Bell. Civ*., 2.39.

[1133] G. ALFÖLDY 1961a: 311; J. J. WILKES 1969: 187; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 183.

[1134] M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 436.

[1135] D. DZINO 2017b: 70.

Epigraphic material provides important evidence that also suggests women experienced a status relatively equal to that of men in Liburnian society. Kurilić undertook a statistical analysis of the different relationships on epitaphs from Liburnia.[1136] Her figures showed that in terms of commemorations, for the general civilian population, the number of women commemorated on epitaphs is only slightly less than men (48% women and 52% men).[1137] But for the indigenous population alone, women are commemorated more frequently than men (56% women and 44% men for the general population, though 53% women and 47% men if the higher classes are included).[1138] Such studies of tombstones throughout the Roman world usually find women commemorated far less than men.[1139]

Kurilić found that indigenous Liburnian women are also slightly more often commemorators in these epitaphs than men – 51% women and 46% men, with 3% commemorated by a female and male together. This rate is much higher than the rest of the province of Dalmatia, particularly among the indigenous population, and drastically so for most of the western empire. The only comparable region is Hispania, and perhaps Gallia Narbonnensis.[1140] This information certainly indicates that women in Liburnia played a leading part in the funerary realm, and Alföldy suggested this was because they never left their familial home and probably had an important role in supervision and management within the large extended family.[1141] While the latter part of his argument is questionable (see below on the supposed matri-local character of the Liburnian family), women obviously

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[1136] A. KURILIĆ 1995; 1997.

[1137] A. KURILIĆ 2008b: 85, Tab. 1; Z. SERVENTI 2017: 36.

[1138] A. KURILIĆ 2008b: 86, Tab. 5 and 6; Z. SERVENTI 2017: 36-37.

[1139] R. P. SALLER and B. D. SHAW 1984; S. POMEROY 1995: 165.

[1140] A. KURILIĆ 2008b: 61, fig. 7.

[1141] G. ALFÖLDY 1961a: 318. Alföldy calculated that of the 70 grave inscriptions from Liburnia relating to indigenous families that he studied, women commemorated as many as 46 and men 24, see G. ALFÖLDY 1961a: 314. His numbers are found to be incorrect, based on Kurilić's statistical data, A. KURILIĆ 2008b: Tab. 1-6.

were key to some aspects of family management. The fact that siblings are mentioned in commemorations on epitaphs of the civilian population of indigenous Liburni at a higher rate than anywhere else in the western empire (18%) perhaps also points to a familial structure in which females had similar status to males in family lineage.[1142] The high rate of commemorations of females, as well as of sibling commemorations, could point to Liburnian women having relative freedom to own and access money and property.[1143]

One last piece of evidence that points to the relatively privileged status of women in Liburnia is the use of the so-called female *praenomina* alongside familial names in some naming formulas on inscriptions relating to the indigenous population. Though it had been in early Roman society, assigning a *praenomina* to daughters was not a common practice in the mid-Late Republican and Early Imperial periods. Roman daughters were simply identified through the feminine form of their father's *nomen* (*gentilicum*), and sisters were assigned either the signifiers *maior* and *minor*, or numerals according to the order of their birth.[1144] It is possible that this lack of a *praenomina* for females was due to sanctions in the *Leges Regiae*, which stated a father only need to raise his first-born daughter.[1145] More likely, this points to the Roman belief that women were not as self-reliant, socially visible, or politically important as men.[1146] Kurilić showed that this naming system developed locally within Liburnia, and suggests that it reflects a structure where the woman was described as a discrete individual, relatively equal to men.[1147] This might suggest that male and female lines of origin were considered equal in Liburnian society.[1148] As with their male

[1142] A. KURILIĆ 2008b: 58, Tab. 4a-b.

[1143] Z. SERVENTI 2017: 37.

[1144] S. POMEROY 1995: 165.

[1145] S. POMEROY 1995: 164-165.

[1146] J. P. HALLETT 1984: 80-81.

[1147] See full discussion of the Liburnian *praenomina*, see A. KURILIĆ 2008a.

[1148] A. KURILIĆ 1999: 130.

compatriots, once most Liburnian women acquired citizenship they adapted to the Roman naming system, and eventually become unidentifiable as Liburni on inscriptions in the Late Principate.[1149] This example of the loss of the *praenomina* might indicate that gender politics were rearranged in Liburnian society following incorporation into the Roman Empire.

The depictions of women in Liburnia in Greco-Roman literary sources probably reflect the views of the authors about a society in which women enjoyed an amount of freedom to which they were unaccustomed. They drew upon standard literary and ethnographic tropes relating to other 'barbarian' societies in their descriptions, and this is perhaps not surprising, given the frequency with which this sort of barbarizing discourse took place in Greco-Roman literature.[1150] From the epigraphic evidence, it is clear women played an important role in the funerary realm, or 'ancestor cult', and had the rights, responsibility and access to resources to have tombstones commissioned. It is also possible that the epigraphic evidence points to the remnants of a society in which male and female lineage were perhaps seen as relatively equal, compared to the broader Roman world. Roman rule certainly caused changes in gender relations, and the disappearance of the Liburnian *praenomina* perhaps reflects this. However, the presence of the *praenomina* in the Early Roman period, the epigraphic visibility of women and their dominance as commemorators suggests some aspects of women's roles continued from the pre-Roman period. The discussion of the important status of women in Liburnian society will follow in the next section, as well as in Chapter 7, where the predominance of female deities in Liburnia is discussed.

[1149] A. KURILIĆ 1999: 140ff; Z. SERVENTI 2017: 37-38.

[1150] The literature on this topic is vast, see above 19-20.

Family Structure and the Liburnian *Elite*

Family structure and the way familial relations were perceived differed across the Roman Empire in different social and cultural contexts.[1151] The family has, until recently, rarely featured in studies on incorporation of indigenous communities into the provinces. As the basic unit of social life, and a key aspect of identity construction, it is certainly pertinent to ask to what extent the model of the family was altered and whether certain indigenous forms of social organization continued into the Roman period.[1152] The family in the Roman world has become a central focus among Roman social historians over the past thirty years. These studies have focused largely on data from inscriptions on funerary monuments. Perhaps the most influential work has been that of R. Saller and B. Shaw who have published several articles on family relations based on data in epitaphs from Italy and the western provinces.[1153] A key conclusion of Saller and Shaw's work was that the vast majority of familial relationships expressed on epitaphs from the western Roman Empire are between close relatives – i.e., members of the deceased's nuclear family (the mother-father-children triad).[1154] This is particularly important for our understanding of families in Roman Liburnia since, as discussed below, earlier scholarship emphasized the existence of a distinct form of Liburnian extended family.

Family structure in Roman Liburnia is a topic that has seen a significant amount of attention in scholarship, due to its apparently (or presumed) unique form here. Alföldy was the first to scholar to work on issues of social/familial structure and gender in Liburnia.[1155] He argued for the notion of a unique type of Liburnian extended family in which a married

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[1151] See the papers in M. GEORGE 2005.

[1152] J. EDMONDSON 2005: 189.

[1153] R. P. SALLER and B. D. SHAW 1984; R. P. SALLER 1984; 1987 1994; B. D. SHAW and R. P. SALLER 1984; B. D. SHAW 1984; 1991.

[1154] R. P. SALLER and B. D. SHAW 1984.

[1155] G. ALFÖLDY 1961a.

couple would remain in the home of one of their sets of parents. His notion of an extended family came from the relatively frequent occurrence on epitaph inscriptions from Liburnia of mentions not only of relatives from the nuclear family (husband and wife, or parents and children), but also members of several related families (uncles, aunties and cousins).[1156] The emphasis on the extended family on tombstones he argues is put down to the fact that these large families were effectively living together and were closely knit in terms of their economic and religious lives.

What made the Liburnian extended family unique, according to Alföldy's argument, was its matri-uxorilocal character, where the daughter and her husband and children continue to live in her parents' household, and the son moves into the house of his wife's family. He argued this based on a reading of several epitaphs commemorated by women that relate to indigenous families and include mentions of relatives from her own lineage (not that of her husband) outside the nuclear family, which he says is a phenomenon occurring much more frequently in Liburnia than elsewhere in Dalmatia.[1157] The fact that the inscriptions were commemorated by females, and mentioned members of the female's side of the family, was taken as evidence of a matri-local extended family.[1158] He also points to one inscription that mentions both lineages, which he interprets as belonging to a family where the sons and daughters stay together,[1159] *der bilokalen Grossfamilie*.[1160]

[1156] Alföldy gives the examples *CIL* 3, 3055 (Albona), 10147 (Belog), 13302 (Srakan), 3015 (Lopsica), 2870, 2877, 2878 (Nedinum), 2891, 2900, 9976 (Corinium), 9929/a (Medvice), D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1959a: 117 ff. n. 2 = *ILJug* 207 (Asseria); G. ALFÖLDY 1961a: 314, n. 45. See also, S. ČAČE 1985: 582ff.

[1157] *CIL* 3, 2870; 2877; 2617.

[1158] G. ALFÖLDY 1961a: 317-318 - Alföldy argued his conclusion was supported by literary evidence that points to a prominent position of women in Liburnian society, 307-314.

[1159] *CIL* 3, 2878, Nedinum.

[1160] This pointing to the gradual dissolution of the matrilocal extended family, G. ALFÖLDY 1961a: 317.

Alföldy's conclusions about the extended organization and matri-local nature of the Liburnian family were largely followed in later scholarship that focused on Roman Dalmatia.[1161] A closer analysis of data on inscriptions from Liburnia unravels some issues with his interpretations.[1162] For example, on none of these inscriptions are found more than one sibling with the core family. The sibling subgroup is always divided so that only one of its members and their spouse and offspring are represented in the epitaph. This omission appears intentional. On the inscription of Octavia Secunda from Nedinum (see fig. 8),[1163] her brother, C. Octavius Rufus, is mentioned, along with her parents, her husband, and her children, though not the brother's core family. As the inscription indicates, Octavius Rufus had already achieved the position of aedile, duumvir and pontifex, was thus surely of a mature age (if still living), wealthy and probably married (perhaps with children). Thus, the inscription provides an incomplete picture of a large extended family.[1164]

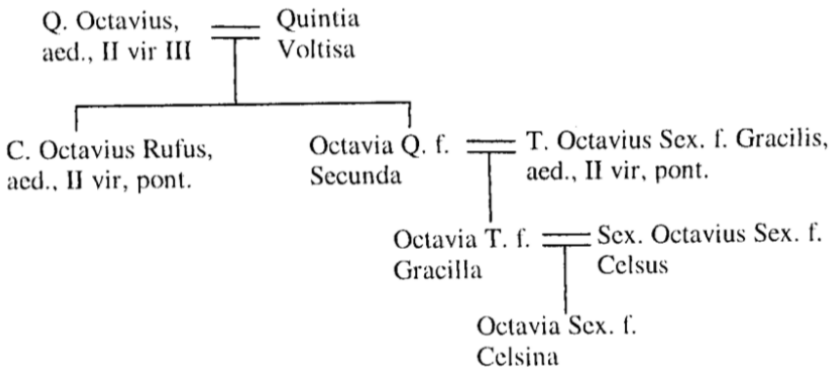

Fig. 8. Family relations on the epitaph dedicated by Octavia Secunda.

A. KURILIĆ 1997: 233.

Kurilić's statistical analysis of familial relations on the inscriptions of the indigenous civilian population of Liburnia during the Early Roman period shows that the nuclear family

[1161] For example, J. J. WILKES 1969: 185-187; D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1989: 771; J. MEDINI 1985: 5, 19ff.

[1162] A. KURILIĆ 1997.

[1163] *CIL* 3, 2870.

[1164] For discussion of the issue discussed in this paragraph, see S. ČAČE 1985: 582-589.

dominated to a significant extent. Mentions of nuclear family members make up 91% of all relations in this group, while extended family members only 7%.[1165] This is in fact among the highest ratios of mentions of core family relations as a percentage of the total number of relations on tombstones found in the western Roman Empire, which ranges from 77% (Italia-Latium) to 91% (Liburnia and Noricum).[1166] The ratio is drastically different with the Liburnian governing elite – those families whose members held magistracies or were of equestrian or senatorial rank. Among these families, 67% of mentioned relations are nuclear family members, while 20% are members of the extended family, and 13% are heirs (*heredes*), which is a category missing from the rest of the indigenous Liburnian population.[1167] It is noteworthy that the ratio of extended family member mentions among the Liburnian governing elite is much higher than most other areas in the western empire, and comparable only with the indigenous population of the entire of Dalmatia and senatorial class from Republican Rome.[1168] Given the scarce amount of data available for relations in Liburnia – only 6 extended family relations are recorded among the indigenous population – any conclusions based upon them require caution. The nuclear family certainly prevailed amongst all sections of the civilian population, and this clearly opposes the argument of Alföldy for the existence of a unique Liburnian type of extended family.

Soon after Alföldy's initial study, scholars linked the so-called Liburnian extended family with the term *cognatio*, which was identified on an inscription originating either from Varvaria or Burnum.[1169] Alföldy and others after him understood the meaning of *cognatio* on the mentioned inscription in the specific sense as defining kinship through the female

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[1165] A. KURILIĆ 2008b: Tab. 5.

[1166] R. P. SALLER and B. D. SHAW 1984: Tab. 5-12.

[1167] A. KURILIĆ 2008b: Tab. 5-6

[1168] R. P. SALLER and B. D. SHAW 1984: Tab. 1.1; A. KURILIĆ 1997: 232.

[1169] *AE* 1964, 1 = *ILJug* 944A = AK 2687.

line.[1170] The issue with this definition of *cognatio* here is that it is found inscribed on only one monument in Liburnia, the above-mentioned – a votive dedication to Mars from Varvaria/Burnum. In the Salona area the term is found on several monuments, whose inscriptions all relate to the Magna Mater cult.[1171] Therefore, while it is difficult to conclude much from the small data set, there is some evidence to suggest the term had religious connotations in Dalmatia, and little to argue for its relevance to a Liburnian matri-local or matrilinear familial system.[1172] On all epigraphic monuments relating to the indigenous population of early Roman Liburnia the naming system of families is expressed through the male line, therefore it is reasonable to assume this was a society based around patrilineal kinship and lineage. Furthermore, Čače argues that this patrilinear system must have continued from the pre-Roman period, since no surviving trace of a matrilinear system is discernible in local Liburnian onomastics of the Early Roman period.[1173]

In terms of the matri-local nature of Liburnian families, only the inscription of Octavia Secunda from Nedinum provides any potential evidence for this situation. While other Liburnian inscriptions are also composed by women and record the names of family members on the female's side, only this one includes the name of the male at the highest level of the family set (i.e., the eldest generation).[1174] This inscription and its data pertaining to familial relations are also not a reflection of the average Liburnian tombstone. On it are mentioned 7 familial relations (excluding *se vivo/sibi* relations) and besides this one there

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[1170] In Roman legal terminology, the term *cognatio* can stand for a kinship line following either the male or female lineage, or both, G. ALFÖLDY 1963: 82-85; 1965: 167; J. J. WILKES 1969: 187; J. MEDINI 1985: 5, 19ff.

[1171] *CIL* 3, 8675; *AE* 2001, 1606; *ILJug* 674; 1997; 2052; J. MEDINI 1985; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 1999: 81ff; P. SELEM and I. VILOGORAC BRČIĆ 2012: 91-93, 101-107, 115-116, n. 16, 22, 24, 26, 33.

[1172] A. KURILIĆ 1997: 230-231; F. PAPAZOGLU 1967: 13; see also S. ČAČE 1985: 597-603.

[1173] S. ČAČE 1985: 589-597.

[1174] S. ČAČE 1985: 589ff.

are only 2 other tombstones in Liburnia that record more than 3.[1175] Thus, it is an extraordinary example. Importantly, despite the general belief amongst earlier scholars that the inscription was attributed to an indigenous family,[1176] according to Kurilić it is only certain that one of the individuals mentioned on it is of local Liburnian origin – Quintia Voltisa, mother of Octavia Secunda.[1177] There are individuals from multiple branches of the Octavii family, or different homonymous families, mentioned on the inscription. The Octavii were perhaps an immigrant family in Nedinum, but others may have been enfranchised Liburni.[1178] It is therefore difficult to determine whether this inscription is even representative of a Liburnian family in the strictest sense and it cannot be used as evidence for a matri-local family system.

Archaeological material has also been utilized in a variety of ways to either support or oppose arguments relating to family structure as interpreted through literary and epigraphic material.[1179] Focusing on archaeological evidence, Batović argued that in the Iron Age, social life in Liburnia was focused around the small family. He based this on the modestly sized single-level houses that he dates to the Iron Age, while he also notes some grouping of domestic structures in the late pre-Roman period, for example in Radovin, which may point to dwellings of larger families.[1180] Arguments about family structure based on the size and organization of these domestic structures are unreliable since their dating is far from secure. It is not easy to differentiate between those from the Early Iron Age and those from the Late Iron Age, or even the Early Roman period, due to difficulties with

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[1175] *CIL* 3, 9976, Corinium, and 2915, Iader, each record 5, A. KURILIĆ 1997: 233-234, n. 20.

[1176] G. ALFÖLDY 1961a: 316; 1965: 82-83; J. J. WILKES 1969: 213, n. 3, 6.

[1177] *CIL* 3, 2870 = AK 1890.

[1178] A. KURILIĆ 1997: 235-236.

[1179] A. KURILIĆ 2008b: 73-76.

[1180] Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 56.

dating material within the stratigraphic layers surrounding them.[1181] One argument concludes that the relatively small Late Iron Age 'Hellenistic' tombs were not large enough to hold many individuals, and thus point to the prevalence of small families in the pre-Roman period, probably continuing into the Early Roman period.[1182] Archaeologists have discovered and explored relatively few of the so-called Late Iron Age 'family' tombs and these are known from only three sites. It is also unclear whether these are indeed family burials, rather than tombs reused for unrelated individuals.[1183] In general, archaeological evidence (not including epigraphic monuments) reveals, at the present state of research, little about family structure in Liburnia during either the pre-Roman or Roman period.

The evidence for family relations has also led to the suggestion that the practice of status endogamy existed among the Liburnian elite.[1184] This was based on the appearance of apparently endogamous marriages on inscriptions, as well as the relatively high ratio of extended family and successor mentions on tombstones of the governing elite.[1185] As discussed above, the tombstone of Octavia Secunda mentions the marriage of perhaps three different lines of Octavii. Along with this inscription from Nedinum, two others have also been suggested as evidence of endogamous marriages, in the sense of members of the same family (cousins) marrying each other.[1186] The two other inscriptions are both on a type of monumental portrait stelae, and relate to indigenous families.[1187] The first records a married couple – an Aetor and a Ceuna – who both have the gentilicum Ennius. Čače suggests that it is likely, though not guaranteed, that they were relatives who probably gained their civic

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[1181] *Pers. comm.* M. Čelhar.

[1182] S. ČAČE 1985: 616ff.

[1183] See discussed in Chapter 4.

[1184] A. KURILIĆ 1997.

[1185] A. KURILIĆ 2008b: Tab. 5, 6.

[1186] *ILJug* 908 = *AE* 1969-70, 456 = AK 991; *CIL* 3, 3134 (13296 = 10127) = AK 2333.

[1187] Discussed below, Chapter 8.

status at the same time.[1188] The second inscription, although fragmented, repeats the name Volso for the grandparent as well as the husband of the monument's dedicator. These examples suggest marriage between close relatives occurred among the Liburnian elite, though probably at a low rate.[1189] Due to the relative scarcity of the data, caution is necessary when making any conclusions about widespread practices of close-kin marriages among the Liburni.

As discussed above, analysis of all relations on inscriptions from Liburnia would suggest that mentions of the extended family are particularly high among the governing elite. Kurilić suggested that the relatively high percentage of extended family mentions is related to the practice of status endogamy – marriages between members of a certain social class. She argued this is best explained as part of efforts to retain property and social power among the elite. Convenient marriage alliances, known throughout the Roman world, aided those aspiring to high political offices who could draw upon the prestige of their family relations and ancestors.[1190] To support this conclusion she points to the inscription of Octavia Secunda from Nedinum and another two from Iader dedicated by Trebia M. f. Procula. The inscription from Nedinum displays how prestigious Secunda's family was - her father was an *aedile*, *duumvir* and *tertium,* her brother was *aedile*, *duumvir* and *pontifex*, as was her husband (see fig. 8). Procula commemorated a tombstone inscription to her father, M. Trebius Proculus, an equite, priest of the imperial cult, *duumvir* and *aedile* in Arba,[1191] and another to her husband, Q. Raecius Q. f. Cl(audia) Rufus, an equite of *trencarius* rank,

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[1188] S. ČAČE 1985: 604ff.

[1189] Endogamous (close-kin) marriages were not common in Roman society, but they were not illegal and it appears there was no social stigma attached to them in the Late Republic and early empire, B. D. SHAW and R. P. SALLER 1984.

[1190] This practice is well-known from the Roman world, and Kurilić offers examples in the stemmata of the senatorial family of the Calpurnii Pisones, and that of the Julio-Claudians, A. KURILIĆ 1997: 234.

[1191] *CIL* 3, 2931.

and a military veteran decorated for achievements while serving under Vespasian, Titus and Trajan.[1192] This marriage linked two distinguished families, whose members held positions of high ranking in local government.[1193]

Commemorations of members of the extended family are rare throughout the Roman Empire, and the ordering of obligation runs from the nuclear family, to the broader household (*patronus-libertus* dedications), and then extended kin in Italy and Gallia Narbonnensis.[1194] This situation perhaps reflects the emphasis on house or *domus* in the Roman world, and their importance for construction of social identity and sense of duty, as Saller suggests.[1195] Yet, for certain families an emphasis on long agnatic lineages and links to extended family members was of greater importance. These were particularly families in positions of power and with important statuses - families of Roman senators and equites, and the imperial family. In some parts of the empire, wider kinship groups (*cognationes* or *gentilitates*) are attested. Inscriptions from central and northern Spain and Portugal show evidence of more than 250 such kinship groups.[1196] Evidence from the province of Lusitania shows that dedications to extended family members were prominent in certain places, particularly the civitas capital of the *Igaeditani*. While Saller and Shaw calculated only 5% of relations in Spain as extended family, through analysis of specific regions and sites, J. Edmondson showed that the capital of the *Igaeditani* - an indigenous community of

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[1192] *CIL* 3, 2917 = 9985; on Q. Raecius Rufus, see N. CESARIK 2014.

[1193] This inscription suggests that intermarriage between ethnic groups was possible. Procula and her father were both of Italic origin, while her husband was most probably indigenous Liburnian, A. KURILIĆ 2008b: 64. On the prominence of the *Raecii* and *Trebii* in Liburnia, see J. J. WILKES 1969: 309.

[1194] There are more commemorations between patron and freedman than among extended family members in Italy (except among equestrians and senators) and Gallia Narbonnensis, where significant slave populations existed, but not in other Latin provinces, see R. P. SALLER and B. D. SHAW 1984: Tab. 1-16.

[1195] R. P. SALLER 1994: 227.

[1196] J. EDMONDSON 2015: 566.

unknown name - had a much higher rate of extended family dedications, at nearly a quarter of all relations, compared to the Roman colony of Emerita or in the *conventus Pacensis*.[1197]

Another peculiarity of the region of Hispania that parallels the situation in Liburnia is the prominence of women as commemorators on epitaphs. According to Saller and Shaw's table of relations on Spanish inscriptions, wives commemorated their husbands 98 times and husbands commemorated their wives 112 times (the narrowest ratio of all the regions and groups on their tables). However, in parent-child relations, mothers commemorated their children 152 times, while fathers only 56 times.[1198] Edmondson showed that in Lusitania the ratio between husbands and wives reflected that of the entire Iberian peninsula in Saller and Shaw's study. However, the civitas capital of the Igaeditani diverged from this trend, with wives predominating over husbands in spousal dedications, 68% to 32%.[1199] Also in Lusitania, the only sites to match the peninsula wide rate of mother-child dedications were the capitals of the Igaeditani and Conimbriga.[1200] In the *conventus Pacensis* and at Emerita, father-child dedications were much more common.[1201] There is a clear predominance of women commemorators in areas of Hispania that were further from centres of Roman colonization and those communities granted Latin rights under Augustus.[1202] The statistics of relationships on inscriptions from Hispania, and particularly the capital of the Igaeditani, have many similarities with the situation in Liburnia discussed above, particularly in terms of the prominence of women commemorators on epitaphs. And as with the Liburni, the ancient literary sources appear to

[1197] J. EDMONDSON 2005: Tab. 7.9-7.11.

[1198] R. P. SALLER and B. D. SHAW 1984: Tab. 8.

[1199] J. EDMONDSON 2005: Tab. 7.3A.

[1200] On family relations in Lusitania from epigraphic data, see L. A. CURCHIN 2000b; 2000a.

[1201] J. EDMONDSON 2005: Tab. 7.3B.

[1202] J. EDMONDSON 2005: 202-204.

paint a picture of women from Hispania that is extraordinary from a Greco-Roman perspective.

These literary sources highlight the role of Hispanic women in agricultural labour, construction and mining – a picture of societies with working women not unlike that projected onto Liburnian society.[1203] After citing Artemidorus' description of 'barbaric' female ornaments found among Iberian communities, Strabo notes the courage of women, as well as of men. As an example of their courage, he states that these women till the soil, and after they have given birth, they put their husbands to bed and take care of them instead of the opposite. While at work in the fields they were also known to simply walk to a nearby stream to give birth – like Liburnian women as noted by Varro. Strabo goes on to relate an anecdote of Poseidonius that is particularly reflective of the kind of narrative seen in descriptions of the Liburni. He says that in Liguria (southern France), a Massalian named Charmoleon recounted how he saw a woman who was working for him, digging a ditch, moved aside from her work to give birth to her child, and at once came back to her work to avoid losing her pay.[1204] Both Silius Italicus and Justin stated that in Gallacia (north-western Spain), besides warfare, all other labour is the role of women, while the former noted that men consider agricultural work as unmanly.[1205] Strabo also noted that it was a custom among the Cantabarians, of northern Spain, for husbands to give dowries to their wives, daughters to become heirs and for sisters to marry off their brothers. The Cantabrians, he says, lived in a kind of 'gynaecocratic' society,[1206] leading to the suggestion that there existed a 'matriarchal' social structure here.[1207] It is also argued that, based particularly on

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[1203] On women's roles in pre-Roman and Roman Hispania, see C. A. GINER 2010.

[1204] Str. 3.4.17; see also 3.2.9, where be briefly mentions women working in mining.

[1205] Sil. *Pun*. 3. 348-353; Just. 44.3.7.

[1206] Str. 3.4.18.

[1207] J. CARO BAROJA 1970: 26-30.

the strange *couvade* type practice, that property was transferred according to a matrilinear system in certain Hispanic communities during the Roman period.[1208] It is probable that the similar treatment in Greco-Roman sources of Hispanic and Liburnian communities with relation to the role of women is related to the existence of comparable gender and social norms in these societies.

Recent reanalysis of the evidence for familial relationships in inscriptions from Liburnia has shown that the old idea of the extended family as the norm was not accurate. There is some evidence that a practice of status endogamy existed in Roman Liburnia among the indigenous elite, and this could possibly relate to powerful kinship groups from the pre-Roman period attempting to hold on to their property and influence. The comparison with the situation in Roman Hispania, in terms of the way ancient literary sources depicted women in society and the rates of women commemorators and perhaps extended families, shows some apparent similarities with Liburnia. The literary sources should be understood in terms of Greco-Roman authors interpreting a situation in which women held certain roles in society and enjoyed certain freedoms that appeared unusual to them. This situation appears to have existed in Liburnia and parts of Hispania. While the predominance of female commemorators certainly points to the important role of women in the funerary realm, this could also have broader significance in terms of their ability to own or inherit money and property. This could be linked to the apparent higher rates of extended family mentions and status endogamy among the elite. If women could own property, there is a certain economic motivation to practice endogamy to ensure money and power remain within a social grouping.[1209] However, more data is needed to firmly support this argument.

[1208] A. TRANOY 1981: 106-107; R. P. SALLER and B. D. SHAW 1984: 138-139, n. 59-61.

[1209] R. ALSTON 2005: 134.

Ethnicity, Communal Identity and Immigration in Roman Liburnia

Discussion of ethnicity in Roman Liburnia relies on onomastic elements and naming formulas from inscriptions (mostly epitaphic). Determining the ethnicity of individuals or families through this data can only provide possible conclusions about their identity, since explicit references to places of origin or ethnicity are rare. Etymological analysis can provide some help with identifying places of origin, if onomastic elements found in specific regions are well studied.[1210] In this sense, personal names are more indicative of any ethnic identity or ancestry than family names. The context of inscriptions with local onomastic elements, and the location of their finds, suggests that only the indigenous population bore Liburnian personal names, though some family names may have spread beyond the local population (i.e., *Raecius*, *Tarius*, *Feresius*, and some others).[1211] Family names are not so useful for identifying ethnicity, since enfranchised peregrines or emancipated slaves could adopt a Latin *gentilicum* in the context of acquisition of Roman citizenship, or the *praenomen* and *nomen* of their masters, making them ethnically indistinguishable from other Roman citizens and freedmen from across the empire.[1212]

As part of her doctoral research, Kurilić studied the names of individuals and families from inscriptions in Liburnia to determine any identifying qualities relating to

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[1210] For etymological studies on Roman Dalmatia, see G. ALFÖLDY 1969; D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1963; much of Rendić-Miočević's earlier research on Dalmatian and Illyrian onomastics was republished in his later monumental work, D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1989: 425-439, 623-709, 769-774, 785-800, 835-842, for the territory of Liburnia specifically see 711-728; J. J. WILKES 1977: 757-759. On Liburnian onomastics, see A. KURILIĆ 2002.

[1211] A. KURILIĆ 1999: 167.

[1212] If, for instance, a Liburnian family emancipated a slave brought to Liburnia from elsewhere, they would adopt a local *nomen*. Kurilić points to the example in *CIL* 3, 3154 = AK 1287, the dedication of Vinioca Sp. f(ilia) Maximilla to herself and her husband, M. Vinioco Primigenio. While they have a Liburnian *nomen* (family name), they were probably freedmen of this family, and their *cognomina* are not ethnically specific. Thus, it is difficult to speculate about their ethnicity, A. KURILIĆ 1999: 168.

ethnicity, social, economic and civic status they might hold.[1213] Noting the difficulty with clearly identifying ethnicity through onomastic elements and the context of inscriptions alone, she created groups based on figures of confirmed, very likely confirmed ethnicity, and less certain confirmation, to create a picture of the demographic situation in the early and Late Principate.[1214] An individual was identified as an indigenous Liburnian based on their holding a local name, or this identity was assumed if they held a *gentilicum* that was found particularly frequently in the Liburnian area. Given the 'opacity' of Latin names, immigrants of Italic origin are difficult to identify. While some soldiers clearly advertise their place of origin, this is a rare occurrence.[1215] Kurilić determined that Italic origin was convincingly indicated if individuals held certain *gentilicia* found exclusively, or primarily, on inscriptions in Italy. Identifying the ethnicity of individuals with Greek names is far more difficult, since slaves or freedmen often had Greek names given to them.[1216]

Based on onomastic evidence from inscriptions the ethnic structure in Liburnia is divided mainly into two groups – indigenous Liburni and immigrants from Italy.[1217] Along with these are identified immigrants from the western provinces of the empire, and holders of Greek names.[1218] Some important points about this demographic data require discussion before analysis is possible.[1219] This data is certainly not reflective of the actual entire population of Liburnia. It represents primarily 'upper-class' families – those wealthy enough to afford such monuments, including the governing class – irrespective of their ethnic or

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[1213] A. KURILIĆ 1999.

[1214] A. KURILIĆ 1999: fig. 23-25.

[1215] A. KURILIĆ 2012a; D. DZINO 2010a; D. DZINO and A. DOMIĆ KUNIĆ 2012.

[1216] For discussion of her methodology relating to identification of ethnicity through onomastic elements, see A. KURILIĆ 1999: 167-179.

[1217] A. KURILIĆ 1999: 168-174.

[1218] A. KURILIĆ 1999: 175ff.

[1219] For a statistical analysis of ethnicities, see A. KURILIĆ 1999: fig. 23-25.

cultural background.[1220] The lower classes are no doubt underrepresented in the epigraphic corpus, and these groups were probably predominantly of indigenous ancestry. Furthermore, the epigraphic habit was relatively new to Liburnia, even for the wealthier or ruling classes, and it is probable that not everyone began erecting monuments with inscriptions in Latin too soon after the Roman conquest.[1221] Therefore, the immigrant population is almost certainly overrepresented in the epigraphic data. Despite this, some interesting trends are noticeable in terms of the geographic and chronological distribution of onomastic data across Liburnia that reveal important characteristics of colonization and the influence of local elites in the Early Roman period.

While most inscriptions are rarely precisely dated, general data on chronology shows a drastic change between the Early Principate (1-150 CE) and the Late Principate (150-300 CE). In the earlier period, persons of local origin equal 39.38% of the population of Liburnia based on confirmed identities on inscriptions. In the later period this drops to 13.70%. The percentage of confirmed Italic population remains approximately the same, dropping from 45.74% to 42.47%. The number of inhabitants from the rest of the empire in fact grows over these two periods, but their numbers are still so small as to remain insignificant statistically.[1222] The drop in indigenous names is probably less a reflection of any demographic changes in ethnic structure and more the result of a process that started with acquisition of Roman citizenship.[1223] Upon acquiring such status, new citizens adopted a Latin *gentilicum,* and within two generations, indigenous families usually utilized purely Latin personal names.[1224] The reason for the adoption of a Latin *gentilicum* is obvious

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[1220] H. MOURITSEN 2015.

[1221] As discussed in the first section of this Chapter.

[1222] A. KURILIĆ 1999: fig. 23a-25b.

[1223] On Roman onomastics and citizenship, see B. SALWAY 1994; see also A. LINTOTT 1993: 161-167; A. N. SHERWIN-WHITE 1996.

[1224] A. KURILIĆ 1999: 171, 187.

(advertisement of civic status), but the rejection of the personal names of one's ancestors might suggest a higher level of integration into the Roman imperial administrative, cultural and social world.

It is difficult to determine if use of indigenous or Latin names on inscriptions was meant to express any kind of ethnic identity. While the development of a Latin 'epigraphic habit' does indicate that the local population adopted certain 'Roman' practices, inscriptions were not necessarily meant to express a Roman identity.[1225] However, use of a Roman naming formula clearly identified an individual as a Roman citizen – certainly a type of *Roman* identity. The importance of advertising oneself as a Roman citizen is made clear through the sharp decline of indigenous names on inscriptions in Liburnia from the 2nd century CE. This is especially emphasized on inscriptions that highlight the swift adoption of Latin and rejection of local names among some families. An inscription from Albona, a dedication of one P. Gavillius P. f. Cla. Maximus to his grandparent, parents and wife, is an example of a second generation enfranchised indigenous Liburnian who has completely lost any onomastic indication of his ethnicity.[1226]

Conversely, the purposeful rejection of Latin names or naming formulas and preference for local names may point to an expression of indigenous identity. For example, usual convention saw sons and daughters adopt the name of their mother if she were a Roman citizen but their father was not, however, several inscriptions from Liburnia show a daughter adopting the indigenous name of her father, even though their mother was a Roman citizen.[1227] This was perhaps a sign of the purposeful advertising of indigenous

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[1225] G. WOOLF 1998: 78.

[1226] *CIL* 3, 3055 = AK 2316. See also *ILJug* 846 = AK 1950; *CIL* 3, 2886 = AK 25; *CIL* 3, 2876 = AK 1315; *CIL* 3, 2870 = AK 1890. See J. J. WILKES 1977: 759.

[1227] Kurilić discusses the example of *Tullia Oepli f. Voltisa*, daughter of *(Tullius?) Oeplus* and *Oppia Q. f. Opiava*, see *CIL* 3, 2900 = AK 1078, and provides others, see A. KURILIĆ 1999: 188, n. 291.

ethnicity.[1228] While indigenous names become rare after the 1st century CE, the presence of at least some might also suggest attempts at emphasising indigenous ethnicity and the local origins of one's family continued into the Late Principate to some extent. However, an emphasis on civic identity clearly became more important among most families.

There are also more explicit references to identities in inscriptions. Across the Roman Empire some individuals, almost exclusively soldiers and sailors, had their ethnicity advertised on their tombstones.[1229] This practice almost always took place when the individual was outside of their homeland, where they were disconnected from their social networks, the people and places that formed the basis of their identities. Ethnicity was presented with the term *natione* and the name of the individual's homeland (or just the latter) and a number of Liburni who died outside of their homeland were identified in this way on their tombstones.[1230] While it is possible that all these individuals were soldiers or in some other service, it is only certain with one – a sailor in the imperial fleet stationed in Ravenna. This individual is not only identified as a Liburnian, but also through his municipium of origin – *Liburn(us) Varvar(inus).*[1231] Apart from these identifiers, he is otherwise unidentifiable as Liburnian, since he and his father have names common

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[1228] A. KURILIĆ 1999: 188-189; 2012a: 178.

[1229] See, e.g., N. ROYMANS 2004; T. DERKS 2009; A. KURILIĆ 2012a; D. DZINO 2010a; D. DZINO and A. DOMIĆ KUNIĆ 2012.

[1230] *AE* 1991, 1321 = *AE* 1994, 1479 = AK 2852: *Q. No[---] T(iti) f(ilius) na(tione) Libur[nus]*, (*Mursa, Pannonia Inferior*); *CIL* 9, 352 = 1, 1707 (1027) = AK 2872: *A(ulus) Arrius A(uli) l(ibertus) / Philemo / Liburnus sit(us) / Livia L(uci) l(iberta) Flora / Livia A(uli) (mulieris) l(iberta) Haline / hered(es) non seq(uentur)*, (*Canusium*, *Italia*); *CIL* 11, 104 = AK 2861: *D(is) M(anibus) / M(arco) Valerio / M(arci) f(ilio) Claud(ia) Co/lono Liburn(us) / Varvar(inus) scrib(a) cl(assis) / pr(aetoriae) Raven(natis) vix(it) ann(os) L / mil(itavit) ann(os) XXVI / Valerii Colonus et [*, (*Ravenna*, *Italia*); EDH HD035618 = AK 2870 *D(is) M(anibus) / C(aio) Iul(io) Q(uinti) f(ilio) Serg(ia) / [R]ufo Libur(no) / Fl(avia) [Ma]rulla con/iug[I pi]entiss(imo) / vix(it) an(nos) [L?]XI h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*, (Guberevac, *Moesia Superior*); for discussion, see A. KURILIĆ 2012a: 178-180.

[1231] *M. Valerio M. f. Claud(ia tribu) Colono Liburn(o) Varvar(ia domo)*, *CIL* 11, 104 = AK 2861.

throughout the Roman Empire.[1232] This is interesting, as it shows he balanced several identities – a Roman civic identity, a military identity and his ethnic Liburnian identity. This is similar to how other Dalmatian sailors from the Ravenna fleet had their identities portrayed, using a Roman name and a statement of their origin, *natione Delmata*, however, without their civitas or municipium of birth.[1233]

A number of individuals recorded on inscriptions outside of Liburnia (and a couple within) are identified by the name of their municipality. On inscriptions discovered within Liburnian territory, two individuals are recorded with the cognomen *Liburnus*,[1234] as well as several examples outside of Liburnia, however, this name is not necessarily associated with Liburnian identity, but possibly rather with the warship known as the *liburnae* .[1235] The recording of an individual's *origo,* their ethnicity or municipal identity, is perhaps best explained in terms of assertion of one's place in the world – in history, but also within the context of Roman society, and, more philosophically, within the cosmos. In an expanded and complex social structure, such as the Roman Empire, which incorporated a range of societies and communities, increased levels social and geographic mobility could lead to dislocation from one's homeland.[1236] Engagement in this epigraphic culture, and the expressions of identity inherent in its practice, helped individuals remain connected to their origins no matter how distant they were at the time of their death.

It is possible, to some extent, to trace the timing and direction of immigration in different parts of Roman Dalmatia and Liburnia. Italian settlement of Dalmatia started in the Republican period, from the 2nd or 1st century BCE. From the mid-1st century BCE, Italian

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[1232] A. KURILIĆ 2012a: 179.

[1233] D. DZINO 2010a.

[1234] See also *ILJug* 825 = AK 2640, *Cl(audia tribu) Liburno*, (*Varvaria*/Bribirska glavica); *ILJug* 2921 = AK 2769, *Titi Libur(ni?),* (Albona/Rabac).

[1235] For discussion, see M. SUIĆ 1968.

[1236] G. WOOLF 1996a: 32-33.

settlement expanded greatly.[1237] Onomastic evidence indicates that immigrants from different parts of Italy settled into corresponding areas in Dalmatia. In the most part, immigrants in Liburnia appear to have come from northern Italy, those in central Dalmatia from central Italy, while southern Italians settled further south.[1238] Italian colonization of northern Liburnia, in the Kvarner Gulf region, began possibly as early as the Late Republican period. Immigrants from northern Italy and Histria gradually colonized this region (communities such as Albona, Flanona and Tarsatica),[1239] and as Medini suggested, this was probably due to existing social, economic and cultural relations among communities in the upper Adriatic and northern Liburnia in the Iron Age.[1240] The region of northern Italy, particularly around Aquileia, was a source of significant artistic and cultural influences in Liburnia (see below, Chapter 8). Immigrants from this region also developed important centres of mass production for items that helped bring Liburnia into the modern Roman world of industry and trade (see below, Chapter 9).

Some scholars argue that Italic settlers arrived in Zadar even before the founding of the colony here.[1241] The Roman colony at Iader and the military camp of Burnum are, unsurprisingly, the two places where inscriptions relating to immigrant Italic populations are most prevalent. In both these centres, the number of confirmed indigenous Liburni is particularly low.[1242] This is particularly surprising in Zadar, which was probably the largest

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[1237] J. J. WILKES 1969: 298ff.

[1238] On early Italic immigration in Dalmatia, see G. ALFÖLDY 1965: 185; J. J. WILKES 1969: 298ff; 1996: 574-575; D. DZINO 2010b: 121.

[1239] See J. J. WILKES 1969: 193ff.

[1240] J. MEDINI 1978a: 73. On economic and cultural links between northern Liburnian communities and those in the upper Adriatic during the Iron Age, see M. BLEČIĆ 2007.

[1241] See M. SUIĆ 1964; M. ZANINOVIĆ 1977.

[1242] For inscriptions confirmed from the territory of Iader that Kurilić lists, only 11 mention individuals confirmed as of Liburnian origins, see A. KURILIĆ 1999: 455, AK 1132, 1140, 1143, 2033, 2040, 2056, 2064,

and most important settlement in northern Dalmatia during the Late Iron Age, and has the highest number of inscriptions from the Roman period. As already discussed, ancient literary sources suggest the local population of Liburnia (particularly the inhabitants of Zadar) were supportive of Caesar during the civil wars, and it is quite possible that a large portion of them were integrated into provincial society and gained Roman citizenship early in life of the colony and that their Liburnian origins are therefore epigraphically invisible.[1243]

Assessing which ethnic groups were dominant in governing roles is particularly difficult, since the number of inscriptions recording members of the *ordines decurionum* is very low. Through an onomastic analysis of relevant inscriptions, Medini found that indigenous Liburni made-up the majority of *decuriones* and magistrates in a number of Liburnian municipia.[1244] Through a more critical analysis of onomastic elements and potential origins of the individuals mentioned, Kurilić showed that mentions of indigenous individuals are only confirmed as in the majority at Crexi, Albona and Flanona, while Italic individuals were the majority in Argyruntum, Burnum, Iader, on the island of Pag, in Sidrona, Tarsatica, and Vegium.[1245] As she notes, the numbers are so small that only at Iader is a majority without question (7 Italic, 1 unknown); elsewhere even one new inscription would alter the ratio significantly.

Identifying the ethnicity of an individual or family in the Roman world based on names on inscriptions is difficult due to the onomastic levelling that occurred as a result of the spread of citizenship and since distinct ethnic signifiers are only used in specific cases.

2069, 2070, 2077, 2082, while on inscriptions confirmed from the territory of Burnum only 1 out of 129 mentions individuals of Liburnian origins, see 454, AK 2152.

[1243] M. SUIĆ 1981b: 170-171; B. NEDVED 1992: 149-150.

[1244] J. MEDINI 1980a: 35ff, see especially 48-49.

[1245] A. KURILIĆ 1999: see table at 150-151.

The fact that Italic immigrants and the indigenous Liburni make up the two largest ethnic groups in Roman Liburnia is unsurprising, given the early and intensive Italic immigration into Dalmatia. However, the indigenous population is no doubt drastically underrepresented on inscriptions, and so caution is required when considering conclusions about the demographic topography of Roman Liburnia. Integration of the local population into the new Roman social structure certainly led to new ways of constructing and maintaining identities. Adoption or rejection of Latin names, in the context of acquisition of citizenship, could serve to identify one's status and reaffirm ethnic origins within this new provincial framework. Its proximity to Italy, position along the coast of the Adriatic, enduring relationship with Rome and the civic and urban development of its towns made Liburnia an ideal destination for economic migrants. Immigration, particularly from Italy, was to become a key element in the development of some unique aspects of socio-cultural and economic life in Liburnia – as will become more apparent in the next three chapters.

Conclusion

The discussion in this chapter has highlighted a number of important aspects of Liburnian society illustrated through its Latin inscriptions, as well as how epigraphic evidence is useful in illuminating regional differences in aspects of social life. The early peak of Liburnia's epigraphic 'impulse' or 'culture' adds to the evidence suggesting that municipalization, urbanization and integration into the Roman administrative structure occurred here relatively quickly after the region became a part of the Roman state. Epigraphic evidence gives us a unique glimpse at the social life of the indigenous inhabitants of Liburnia through their own voices, however, in the context of Roman socio-cultural practices they had adopted. This evidence shows that several aspects of pre-Roman life continued into the Roman period, such as the status of women and their roles in the funerary realm. While many Liburni gained citizenship and were involved in governing the

municipia as Roman style magistrates, it appears that the indigenous elite actively sought to retain power and property within their social group, which they probably had either held since the pre-Roman period or perhaps gained as rewards for their loyalty during the conquest of future Illyricum. While most Liburnian families quickly adopted Roman names, others chose to advertise their ethnic identity by holding onto their ancestral names for generations after gaining citizenship. The examples analysed here highlight the various ways in which social norms and methods of identity construction were maintained and altered in the Early Roman period in Liburnia, and the region's distinct character in these matters within the context of the broader Roman Empire.

Chapter 7 – Religion and Cult

This chapter seeks to investigate how Roman institutions and exposure to various cults and cultural templates altered the religious lives of the population of Liburnia. The evidence for cults in Roman Liburnia comes from votive inscriptions and sculptural monuments depicting deities and mythological scenes.[1246] No artefacts or monuments that clearly relate to local deities are known from the pre-Roman period, but it is entirely plausible that they were produced in perishable materials that have not been preserved. It is also possible that some symbols on metal items from the Iron Age do have some cultic or spiritual significance, however, our ability to interpret them is limited without proper knowledge of their intended meaning.[1247] Local deities were still worshipped in the Roman period, and it is only from this period that we have evidence for them, since only now were dedications and depictions of them produced in stone.

A range of religious systems and cults existed in the future province of Dalmatia prior to the Roman conquest. These involved various indigenous cults,[1248] but there is also evidence that Greek cults were incorporated into religious life in some parts of Dalmatia during the Hellenistic period.[1249] The development of cultic worship and associations between indigenous and foreign cults in Roman Liburnia is in many ways comparable to elsewhere in the empire. Incorporation into the Roman Empire led to the introduction of not

[1246] On votive inscriptions from Liburnia, see V. ZOVIĆ and A. KURILIĆ 2015.

[1247] See Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 49-51.

[1248] For overviews on indigenous cults from Dalmatia, see J. MEDINI 1984a; M. SANADER 2008; R. MATIJAŠIĆ 2013; N. CAMBI 2013b.

[1249] M. P. CASTIGLIONI 2006; 2008. See the section below on Silvanus for the introduction of Pan into Dalmatia during the Hellenistic period.

only Italic deities, but many of Aegean, Near Eastern and Egyptian origin.[1250] This chapter is not meant to provide a broad overview of cultic activity in Roman Liburnia, but rather looks at three areas that are particularly important to this region. The phenomenon of an all female pantheon existing in Histria and Liburnia is well-known.[1251] A discussion of indigenous female deities is undertaken here to provide a thorough investigation of the evidence, reassess some widely-held arguments about their origins and to place this issue within the broader narrative of the status of women in Libuurnian society. While Silvanus was not a particularly popular deity in Liburnia, a short section on this cult is required here due to the importance of debates surrounding the identity of this cult in Dalmatia and their significance for the themes of this thesis.[1252] The case study of imperial cult is important due to the special status of this institution in Early Roman Liburnia, but also its significance for the incorporation of the indigenous population into Roman institutions and their relationship with the imperial family.

Liburnian Goddesses

Almost without exception, deities from Roman Liburnia that are portrayed in sculptures and on inscriptions and that are unknown beyond this region – pointing to their local origins – are female. The predominance of female deities is something that the Liburni share with their northern neighbours, the Histri, suggesting that the people inhabiting these two areas were closely connected in a religious and cultic system. Outside of this immediate

[1250] There are numerous papers on specific imported cults in Liburnia – for general overviews, see K. A. GIUNIO 2005; M. GLAVIČIĆ 2013; V. ZOVIĆ and A. KURILIĆ 2015; on Dalmatia more broadly, see J. MEDINI 1976; M. SANADER 2008.

[1251] M. ŠAŠEL KOS 1999; J. MEDINI 1984a.

[1252] E.g., D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1955; P. F. DORCEY 1992; D. DZINO 2012b; 2018; J. LULIĆ 2014; L. PERINIĆ 2016.

territory, the author is unaware of any places in the Roman Empire where female deities were not only prominent, but dominant. Whether the evidence of female cults is proof that any kind of matriarchal social arrangement existed is questionable.[1253] However, the existence of (almost)[1254] exclusively female deities supports the evidence in literary and epigraphic sources that suggest women were important figures in Liburnian social and cultural life.

The way a society engages in religious and cultic life is often reflective of other social realities, and Dalmatia is a clear example of this. Among the north-eastern neighbours of the Liburni, the Iapodes, incorporation into the Roman Empire was much slower than in Liburnia and Histria. In Iapodian territory there is very little evidence for cult dedications in the Roman period, and the only indigenous deity that there is any evidence for here is Bindus, who was associated with Neptune.[1255] Furthermore, in large areas of the Dalmatian hinterland (in the territory of the ancient Mazaei, Ditiones, Daesitiates, Pirustae and some smaller groups) there is almost no evidence for indigenous cults in the Roman period.[1256] Histria was incorporated into the Roman state from 177 BCE and, as outlined above, Liburnian communities gained municipalization and were urbanized relatively early, starting at the latest in the Augustan period.[1257] Both Histrian and Liburnian communities were earlier introduced to Roman urban structures and the building of stone votive monuments, and closer proximity exposed them to greater influences from Italian centres in the Veneto

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[1253] See the discussion on the supposed matriarchal Liburnian society above, Chapter 5. C.f. V. GIRARDI JURKIĆ 1983-84: 15; M. SUIĆ 2003: 50.

[1254] The only known example of a male local deity is a single dedication to Icus. This monument is much later than most dedications to local goddesses and it represents an integration with Jupiter and Sabazius by an immigrant from Italy or the western provinces, see below 267-268.

[1255] M. ŠAŠEL KOS 1999: 64-65. On Bindus Neptunus, see J. MEDINI 1975a; D. DZINO 2009, with extensive older and modern literature.

[1256] J. MEDINI 1984a: 9.

[1257] On the development of Roman administration in Histria, see A. STARAC 1999

region and across the Adriatic.[1258] Religious monuments from the Roman period are abundant in both Histria and Liburnia, and include numerous examples of commemorations to imported as well as local deities. Importantly, as is discussed below, worship of imported or indigenous deities was not restricted to either immigrant or local populations.

Though it appears different communities had their own goddess, identified with a unique name, Liburnian and Histrian goddesses are usually interpreted as having the same characteristics. These are considered goddesses of fertility and motherhood, with close associations with nature, agriculture, vegetation and animals (including humans), deities considered typical among agrarian and pastoral societies.[1259] The prevailing argument in older scholarship views these fertility deities as the spiritual legacy of Neolithic and Bronze Age belief systems, which were preserved in Histria and Liburnia more than elsewhere in the region of future Illyricum. Furthermore, based on a reading of the Greco-Roman sources, and their interpretation of a matriarchal society in Liburnia (see Chapter 6), it is suggested that these female deities preserved Neolithic and Bronze Age matriarchal traditions. Through the process of 'ethnogenesis', these cults were syncretised with other cults (totemic, ancestral or similar cults), and became more complex than primitive fertility cults.[1260] That at least some Liburnian and Histrian goddesses were associated with fertility, agriculture and nature is perhaps supported through their association with Venus on certain monuments, as discussed below. However, it is difficult to conclude that these deities had any roots in Neolithic or Bronze Age cults (certainly the former). Arguments for prehistoric 'Mother Goddess' worship throughout the early Mediterranean, Egypt and Near East are usually based on the many discoveries of female figurines dating to the Neolithic (around

[1258] On the Histri, see R. MATIJAŠIĆ 2017.

[1259] J. MEDINI 1984b: 224, 236-237; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 1999: 65.

[1260] For this argument, see J. MEDINI 1984a: 8, 10; 1984b: 223-224; M. SUIĆ 1962/3: 55ff; 1969: 73ff; N. CAMBI 1980: 278.

40,000 – 3500 BCE), as well as the appearance of such goddesses in the later Classical period (e.g., Ishtar, Astarte, Cybele, and the Roman Magna Mater).[1261] This kind of 'meta-narrative' casts religious and cultic beliefs as static, over many millennia, despite significant social and cultural development over such a broad timespan.[1262] There is no archaeological evidence to support a connection between earlier Neolithic or Bronze Age cults and the Liburno-Histrian goddesses, and it is more likely that these reflect more recent religious and social realities in these societies.[1263] Decorations on bronze objects found in Liburnia, dating to the Early Iron Age (8th-5th century BCE) with motifs such as swastikas, meanders, crosses, spirals, and solar symbolism are considered as reflecting worship of the sun as a deity of fertility. Several anthropomorphic figures, interpreted as female, are also argued as relating to a deity of fertility.[1264] As mentioned in Chapter 3, Milošević and Krnšević suggested the relief with the image of an act of coitus from Bribir was related to the cult of fertility.[1265] This is plausible, but it is difficult to know how these symbols were interpreted in antiquity, and it is possibly erroneous to presume they represented any kind of deity.

Cambi argues that the Liburnian deities were not part of a single religious system, or pantheon.[1266] These were supreme goddesses of specific communities, and had similar religious characteristics. This was one piece of evidence, he argues, that points to the relative lack of a 'national consciousness' among the Liburni, compared to the Histri, who had a kind of local federation of communities prior to the Roman conquest of Histria. There

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[1261] For critiques, see A. FLEMING 1969; L. TALALAY 2003; N. H. DEMAND 2011: 35-59;

[1262] Such arguments are often influenced by contemporary political and social discourses, see L. TALALAY 2012.

[1263] Medini points out that these cults probably went through substantial changes due to social, economic and cultural development, but argues they maintained their original essence J. MEDINI 1984b: 223-224.

[1264] Š. BATOVIĆ 1969: 44-45; 1981: 29; 2005: 50, fig. 21/7-9; Tab. XL, 1-5; XLI, 24, 27.

[1265] A. MILOŠEVIĆ and Ž. KRNČEVIĆ 2017: 34, fig. 17.

[1266] As mentioned above, 88-89.

was no equivalent of the goddess *Histria Terra* among the Liburni.[1267] Cambi's argument about the division of Liburnian deities and communities is compelling, and sits well with the arguments in Chapter 3 that these communities were probably not unified into a federation or single political unit prior to the Roman conquest.

That the Liburni and Histri were part of an integrated religious system is attested by the presence of cults in both areas, as well as the concentration of altars to several indigenous deities in northern Liburnia, the region bordering Histria. For example, Ica/Ika is found in Plomin, in northern Liburnia (eastern Istria) and also in Pula (western Istria – in Histrian territory).[1268] Cult monuments in north-eastern Istria (i.e., northern Liburnia) are primarily related to deities of indigenous origin. Only two dedications to Roman gods are known from this region – one to Silvanus at Čepić, and another to Liber at Rabac.[1269] As the table below shows, besides Latra and Anzotica, the indigenous female deities in Liburnia are all found in eastern Istria. This region was clearly dominated by indigenous deities, which is perhaps reflective of the interaction between the local Liburnian and Histrian communities within a connected cultic or religious system that survived into the Roman period.

While data on Liburnian deities is rather limited, analysis of their spatial distribution and the identities of the commemorators of votive dedications from Liburnia highlight some important points.

Deity	**Location/Territory**	**Dedicator(s)**	**Ethnicity of Dedicator(s)**	**Period**	**Literature**
Latra	Nadin, *Nedinum*	Calpurnia C. f. Ceuna	Liburnian	Early Principate	*CIL* 3, 2857; AK 2253;

[1267] N. CAMBI 2013b: 74.

[1268] Plomin, *CIL* 3, 3031; Pula, *ILJug* 415.

[1269] Čepić, *CIL* 5, 424; Liber *CIL* 3, 3046. See R. MATIJAŠIĆ 2005.

					*HD*058228; *EDCS*-28300186
Latra	Nadin, *Nedinum*	[P]upillor(um) Moicorum liberta Dumma	Liburnian	Early Principate	*CIL* 3, 2858; AK 2254; *HD*058151; *EDCS*-28300187
Latra	Nadin, *Nedinum*	C. Iulius Picusi f. Ceunus	Liburnian	Early Principate	*CIL* 3, 2859; AK 2255; *HD*058230; *EDCS*-28300188
Latra(?)	Nadin, *Nedinum*	[..A?]pli f.	Liburnian	Principate	*CIL* 3, 15043; AK 2585; *HD*035658; *EDCS*-32200002
Latra	Nadin, *Nedinum*	R. Tu[rrani]us [L. f. Claud.]; L. Turranio Pr(imo); T. Turranio	Italic or Liburnian	Early Principate	*CIL* 3, 2871; AK 2262; *HD*058241; *EDCS*-28400123

		Frontone (*aedificatoris*)			
Latra	Nadin, *Nedinum*	Unknown	Unknown	Principate	*CIL* 3, 15042; *ILJug* 2873; AK 2584; *HD*057697; *EDCS*-32200001
Latra	Karin, *Corinium*	Q. Calpurnius Sex. f. Ser(gia tribu) F[---]	Italic or Liburnian	Early Principate	*CIL* 3, 9970; AK 2410; *HD*060034; *EDCS*-30301478
Latra	Karin, *Corinium*	[---]ius C [f(ilius)] Se[r(gia tribu)?]	Unknown	Principate	*CIL* 3, 9971; AK 2411; *HD*060038; *EDCS*-30301479
Latra	*Asseria*(?)	Ge[lli]	Unknown	Early Principate	AK 2873; *EDCS*-57200136
Latra	Podgrađe, *Asseria*	[L.? Do]mitiu[s] [R]ufus	Unknown	Early Principate	*CIL* 3, 15018; AK 2551;

					*HD*057623; *EDCS*-31200515
Latra	Roški slap, *Scardona*	C. Turranius C. f. Severus	Liburnian	Early Principate	*CIL* 3, 2816; AK 2232; *HD*061638; *EDCS*-28300145
Sentona	Labin, *Albona*	Geminus Boninus Hostiducis	Liburnian	Early Principate	*CIL* 3, 10075; AK 2434; *HD*061804; *EDCS*-30400619
Sentona	Near Labin, *Albona*	Tullia Fusca	Italic or Liburnian	Early Principate	*ILJug* 2910; AK 2759; *HD*024375; *EDCS*-10101924
Sentona	Labin, *Albona*	C. Vibius Florus	Italic	Early Principate	*ILJug* 2909; AK 2758; *HD*035270; *EDCS*-10101923

Sentona	Plomin, *Flanona*	Felix Aug. n. (servus)	Unknown	Late Principate	*CIL* 3, 10076; AK 2435; *HD*035264; *EDCS*-30400620
Sentona	Plomin - harbour, *Flanona*	Sex. Aem(ilius)	Italic or Liburnian	Early Principate	*ILJug* 2900; AK 2752; *HD*035263; *EDCS*-10101916
Sentona	Rijeka, *Tarsatica*	Eutychus	Unknown	Late Principate	*CIL* 3, 3026; AK 2293; *HD*057304; *EDCS*-28400282
Anzotica	Nin, *Aenona*	T. Appuleius T. L. l. Antigonus	Liburnian	Early Principate	*AE* 1938, 31; AK 2876; *HD*021960; *EDCS*-15900045
Venus Anzotica	Nin, *Aenona*	L. Corneli Bassi	Italic	Early Principate	AK 2931; *HD*020721; *EDCS*-15700109

Iria	Jasenovik, *Flanona*	C. Vale(rii) Opati f(ilia) Felicula	Unknown	Early Principate	*CIL* 3, 3033; AK 2298; *EDR*007814; *HD*061845; *EDCS*-28400289
Bona Dea Heiae	Caska, *Cissa*	[C]alpurnia L. Pisonis aug(uris) f(ilia) Cn. Pisonis	Italic	Early Principate	*ILJug* 260; AK 2625; *HD*016279; *EDCS*-10000337
Ica	Plomin, *Flanona*	M. Vispanius M. l. Faustus	Italic	Early Principate	*CIL* 3, 3031; AK 2296; *HD*061843; *EDCS*-28400287
Ika	Plomin, *Flanona*	Aquillia Q. f. Colatina	Italic or Liburni	Early Principate	*CIL* 3, 3032; AK 2297; *HD*061844; *EDCS*-28400288
Iutossica	Labin, *Albona*	L. Granius Voltimes(is) f. Rufus	Liburnian	Early Principate	*CIL* 3, 10074; AK 2433; *HD*061805;

					EDCS-30400618
Aitica	Rabac, *Albona*	T(iti) Gavili(orum) Voltimes	Liburnian	Early Principate	Zović & Kurilić (2015) 15.
Iuppiter Sabasius Icus	Nin, *Aenona*	L. Plotius Eperastus	Italic or from western provinces	Late Principate	*ILJug* 916; AK 2138; *HD*034585; *EDCS*-10000927

Tab. 1. Dedications to indigenous deities from Liburnia.

Based on the number of dedications it would appear Latra was the most important Liburnian goddess. The distribution of monuments to Latra shows that worship of this deity was focused in the central Ravni Kotari region, and perhaps had its origins in the town of *Nedinum* (see table 1). All monuments to Latra are generally dated to the Early Principate (the 1st century CE and first half of the 2nd century CE). Medini dates one dedication, that of Clod(io) Gem[---], to the Late Principate (mid-2nd to late 3rd century CE),[1270] however, Zović & Kurilić put it in the Early Principate.[1271] Five out of 11 dedications are confirmed as commissioned by indigenous Liburni, and it is possible that the Turranii that constructed the temple to Latra in *Nedinum*, as well as the Calpurnius from Corinium were also locals who had acquired citizenship several generations ago.[1272] Clearly, the monuments are mostly related to the indigenous population, and this is unsurprising since these cults were

[1270] J. MEDINI 1984b: 227.

[1271] V. ZOVIĆ and A. KURILIĆ 2015: 437-438, n. 121.

[1272] *CIL* 3, 2871 (Nedinum); *CIL* 3, 9970 (Corinium); J. MEDINI 1969: 57; 1984b: 228; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 1999: 77.

no doubt worshiped since pre-Roman times. Medini argued that the dedicator from Asseria, Ge[llius?], was probably Italic, and that this dedication shows their family wished to express their acceptance of the domestic cult.[1273]

It appears members of upper and lower social classes engaged in worship of Latra. The local freedwoman, [P]upillor(um) Moicorum liberta Dumma, dedicated a votive altar to her,[1274] while T. Turranius Rufus and his two sons had a 33m long and 6.5m wide portico and sanctuary built for her at *Nedinum*, on the occasion of his election to the aedileship.[1275] The Turranii appear on two inscriptions dedicated to Latra in Liburnia, and also on another from Salona,[1276] naming a total of 5 dedicators of the Turranius *gentilicum*. Medini argued that Latra had, along with her association with fertility and agriculture that was derived from Neolithic origins, developed into a kind of divine protector of the Turranius family.[1277] Medini interprets the above-mentioned inscription from Salona as a dedication by Turrrania [V]alentia in memory of her mother, Severa, despite the fact it does not include the formula, *in memoriam*. However, he links this testament to similar types of dedications to various deities made *in memoriam* of deceased relatives and friends, and considers this an indication of the character of Latra as a primitive fertility deity – the giver of life and creator of nature and humanity, also associated with the afterlife.[1278] A simpler conclusion is that the Turrani were worshipers of Latra due to her communal identity, based probably in Nadin, and that they appear so frequently as dedicators and in multiple locations due to their wealth and

[1273] J. MEDINI 1984b: 232.

[1274] *CIL* 3, 2858.

[1275] *CIL* 3, 2871.

[1276] *CIL* 3, 9342.

[1277] J. MEDINI 1984b: 232ff; see also M. ŠAŠEL KOS 1999: 77-78, who argues Latra had a polyvalent nature, with her primary characteristic being protectress of families (*gentes*).

[1278] J. MEDINI 1984b: 233-234.

prominence in local government. Her character as a familial protectress and association with the afterlife is unconvincing, given the evidence at hand.

Interestingly, besides Latra, there is no evidence for other indigenous deities in the region of southern Liburnia – the Ravni Kotari-Bukovica region – apart from at Nin (Aenona). Medini suggests this is possibly because the early Mediterranean fertility cult did not survive to a significant extent in certain areas.[1279] However, this was perhaps a result of the dominance of Latra in much more recent times. Her dominance in the Ravni Kotari-Bukovica region might also explain the lack of other indigenous female deities in southern Liburnia.

A relief of Latra from Nadin is one of only three figural representations associated with local Liburnian deities. On this monument, Latra is depicted standing wearing long robes and some sort of scarf over her head.[1280] The relief is of relatively poor workmanship, and the simple inscription reads *LAT(RAE) // L(IBENS) / M(ERITO)*.[1281] While not much is discernible about the appearance of this deity from this rustic relief, it is possible that we have here a Liburnian goddess with some indigenous iconography in the form of a local styled female headdress.[1282]

On the north side of the port of modern-day Nin, ancient Aenona, two inscriptions were found that relate to the indigenous deity Anzotica. In the same place, a sculpture of the goddess Venus with Priapus alongside her, as well as fragments of another statue of Venus, were also found.[1283]

[1279] J. MEDINI 1984b: 235-237.

[1280] N. CAMBI 2013b: 72, fig. 2.

[1281] *CIL* 3, 15042 = *ILJug* 2873.

[1282] See Chapter 8 for discussion of female headdress and indigenous iconography on funerary monuments from Dalmatia.

[1283] M. ABRAMIĆ 1939; 1940: 174-175; M. DUBOLNIĆ GLAVAN 2015: map 1, 2, app. 3, n. 140-22.

Fig. 9. Statue of Venus Anzotica and Priapus, found at the northern side of the port of Nin.

M. DUBOLNIĆ GLAVAN 2015: fig. 99.

The statue of Venus and Priapus is an unsurprising pairing of deities. The prevailing tradition has Priapus as son of Dionysus and Aphrodite (the Greek version of Venus).[1284] Venus is the dominant figure in the statue, with Priapus in miniature form beside her (see fig. 9). She wears a loose robe around the bottom of her body, and though her arms are no longer attached to the statue, given their position it appears she was brushing her hair with her right hand and holding a mirror or alabastron in her left hand – in the iconographic type of 'shy' Venus/Aphrodite, which was a Hellenistic style popular in Roman art. Priapus is short, and appears older than Venus, with long hair and a beard. He has a prominent phallus,

[1284] Paus. 9.31.2; Diod. Sic. 4.6.1.

a common feature of depictions of Priapus, and holds fruit with his robe.[1285] It does not appear that there is any kind of indigenous influence on the style or motifs of the sculpture.

Three years before the sculpture was found an inscription was discovered at the same site that is of votive character and relates to the local goddess Anzotica. When the sculpture itself was found, another votive inscription was discovered, and according to the original publisher, M. Abramić, it relates directly to the sculpture of Venus and Priapus.[1286] The first inscription reads *T(itus) Appuleius T(iti) l(iberti) L(ibertus) Antigonus / Anzoticae / v(otum) s(olvit)*.[1287] The *gentilicum, Appuleius*, is commonly found in Liburnia among enfranchised Liburni, and Kurilić has the dedicator as indigenous.[1288] As he is clearly a freedman, his Greek cognomen, Antogonus, is unsurprising. The second inscription, apparently relating to the sculpture, reads *Veneri Ansotic(ae) / sacrum / Baebia C(ai) f(ilia) Maximilla ex testament(o) / L(uci) Corneli Bassi fecit*.[1289] Cambi suggests the dedicator, L. Cornelius Bassus, was a highly 'romanized' local, already a citizen, utilizing his *tria nomina* onomastic form.[1290] Kurilić, however, confirms he was of Italic origin.[1291]

These inscriptions are considered to highlight the gradual process of 'romanization' of the local cult of Anzotica; the first inscription being a dedication to the purely Liburnian goddess, Anzotica, while the second shows her equated with Venus through *interpretatio Romana*.[1292] This pairing of Venus with Anzotica is interpreted in scholarship as supporting the notion of local Liburnian goddesses as fertility deities, a kind of Mother Goddess found

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[1285] M. ABRAMIĆ 1939; N. CAMBI 1980: 273-275; M. DUBOLNIĆ GLAVAN 2015: 291-292.

[1286] M. ABRAMIĆ 1940: 175.

[1287] *AE* 1938, 31.

[1288] AK 2876, see A. KURILIĆ 1999: 170.

[1289] *AE* 1940, 6.

[1290] N. CAMBI 2013b: 73-74.

[1291] AK 2931.

[1292] N. CAMBI 1980: 277; 2013b: 72-74; M. DUBOLNIĆ GLAVAN 2015: 294.

widely across the Mediterranean since prehistory.[1293] The cult of Venus was certainly popular at Aenona, as another votive altar found within the town of Nin is dedicated to Venus, with the epithet *Augusta*.[1294] That these inscriptions and the sculpture are indicative of some kind of integrative process is intriguing, but whether this is a sign of 'romanization' is problematic. As already mentioned, the identity of the dedicator of the Venus-Anzotica inscription is probably Italic. He here associates the well-known Italic Venus with a local deity, possibly due to similar cultic characteristics, which was perhaps the communal goddess of Aenona. This inscription is conceivably less a sign of the 'romanization' of Anzotica and more the 'localization' of Venus, but the reality is difficult to perceive and probably more complex. Both inscriptions are indicative of the convergence of different cults and cultural practices – the first inscription shows a local Liburnian dedicating a Roman style epigraphic monument to his indigenous deity, while with the second an immigrant dedicates a sculpture in the form of Hellenistic-Roman deities to an amalgamation of an imported and a domestic goddess. Perhaps each dedicant, particularly the second, wished to have a broader section of the population (immigrant and indigenous) appreciate and understand their monument.

A side note about the first inscription mentioned above is of peripheral interest. M. Dubolnić Glavan has pointed out that the Z on the inscription is somewhat unusual.[1295] It has slightly curved upper and lower lines, and this form of Z is also found on another inscription from Aenona. The latter inscription is related to an act of munificence undertaken by one Q. Baebius f. Zupri[cus], a man of local origin and a city magistrate.[1296]

[1293] J. MEDINI 1984a: 10-11; 1984b: 223-224; M. SUIĆ 1962/3: 55ff; 1969: 75; N. CAMBI 1980: 278.

[1294] *CIL* 3, 2971; see M. SUIĆ 1969: 76.

[1295] *AE* 1938, 31; M. DUBOLNIĆ GLAVAN 2015: fig. 101.

[1296] *CIL* 3, 14322.4 = AK 2498. See J. MEDINI 1969: 53-54.

This unusual letter was probably meant to express as accurately as possible a local pronunciation, which was different to that associated with the Latin Z or S.[1297]

The only certain dedication to a male version of an indigenous deity from Liburnia was also found at Nin.[1298] This votive inscription is dedicated to a deity identified with Jupiter, Sabasius and Ica – *Iovi Sab/asio Iico / L(ucius) Plotius / Eperastus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.[1299] Based on palaeographic and onomastic details from the inscription it is dated to the Late Principate.[1300] This is of great importance since it indicates that worship of an indigenous deity survived into the late 2nd or 3rd century CE.[1301] The only other indigenous deity that there is evidence for of worship in the Late Principate is Sentona (see table 1 above). However, this lack of monuments is perhaps related to the overall dwindling number of inscriptions on stone after the early 2nd century CE in Liburnia.

The earliest evidence for the cult of Sabazius points to its origins in Asia Minor, probably Phrygia.[1302] During the Roman period, Sabazius was identified primarily with Zeus or Jupiter (depending on the language of the dedication). Such dedications are found across the Roman Empire, in Thrace, Moesia, Asia Minor, Delos, the Greek mainland, Dacia, Dalmatia, Italy, Africa, Gaul and Germany.[1303] Medini studied the depictions and epigraphic monuments related to Sabazius in Roman Dalmatia and developed some important

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[1297] M. DUBOLNIĆ GLAVAN 2015: 294-295.

[1298] Another deity, Iuppiter Taranacus, mentioned in a dedication from Scardona, *CIL* 3, 2804 (AK 2224), has also been suggested as an indigenous male deity, M. ŠAŠEL KOS 1999: 66; A. KURILIĆ 2008b: 27. However, Taranacus was a 'Celtic' deity, and his appearance here is probably related to immigration from the western empire, where the dedicator's family originated, S. BEKAVAC and I. GLAVAŠ 2011: 79.

[1299] *ILJug* 916 = AK 2138. See J. MEDINI 1976: 188; 1980b: 81-84; 1984a: 24-28; M. SINOBAD 2010: 174, 198, n. 114; M. DUBOLNIĆ GLAVAN 2015: 301-304.

[1300] J. MEDINI 1980b: 83; V. ZOVIĆ and A. KURILIĆ 2015: 428, n. 55. M. Sinobad dates the inscription to the first half of the 3rd century CE, M. SINOBAD 2010: 198, n. 114.

[1301] M. DUBOLNIĆ GLAVAN 2015: 302.

[1302] E. N. LANE 1989: 1-10.

[1303] E. N. LANE 1989: 11-22.

conclusions. The early worshippers of this cult in Dalmatia were people of eastern origins; freedmen, slaves, merchants, artisans and soldiers.[1304] Given the similarity in the name to the Liburnian/Histrian goddess Ica,[1305] Medini assumed that Icus had a similar function as a fertility deity. He also argued that the name of Icus/a derived from the Indo-European 'Ikkas', meaning 'horse', and points to the cult's relation to fertility and the Mother Goddess worshipped across the Mediterranean, which was often associated with a horse.[1306] The association with nature and fertility were what linked Sabazius and Icus, and Medini suggested that this altar being discovered in the area of the Early Iron Age necropolis in Ždrijac, near Nin, supports this conclusion.[1307] Given that Icus is the only known male representation of an indigenous deity in Liburnia, and is associated with Jupiter, it has been suggested that he may have been understood as some kind of supreme cult figure.[1308]

It is important to consider this Icus monument in its historical and cultural context. The dedication is important as it suggests that the Icus/Ica cult survived into the Late Principate, possibly three centuries after incorporation of the region into the Roman Empire.[1309] Kurilić identifies the dedicator as of Italic origins or from one of the western provinces.[1310] This is significant, not only as an example of an immigrant dedicating a monument to a local deity, but also because this could explain why the Liburnian deity is associated with Jupiter-Sabazius, and perhaps why he is presented as a male version. Whether Icus was any kind of supreme cult figure is questionable since only one monument is dedicated to him, and it dates to the Late Principate period. His association with the

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[1304] J. MEDINI 1980b: 85.

[1305] See below.

[1306] J. MEDINI 1984a: 24-27.

[1307] J. MEDINI 1984a: 28.

[1308] J. MEDINI 1980b: 82-84; A. KURILIĆ 2008b: 27.

[1309] M. DUBOLNIĆ GLAVAN 2015: 302.

[1310] AK 2138.

fertility cult of a Neolithic Mother Goddess is also unlikely, for the same issues about this connection mentioned above.

There is evidence for the worship of Ica/Ika in both Histria and Liburnia, though only two confirmed dedications to her are known – one from Pula/ (ancient *Pola*) in Histria,[1311] and another from Liburnian Flanona (modern-day Plomin) on the Kvarner Gulf coast.[1312] While Mommsen and other scholars interpreted the inscription from Plomin as dedicated by one M. Vispanus M. l. Faustus,[1313] Kurilić and Šašel Kos interpret the *gentilicum* as Vispanius, suggesting that this was perhaps a family member of Marcus Vispanius Agrippa.[1314] Based on some rather ineligible iconography on the monument to Ika from Pula, it has been suggested that this was a goddess of fertility and agriculture (potentially of olive and fruit growing).[1315] The altar of Vispanus was supposedly found close to a water source, leading to the suggestion that Ica was identified as a local nymph, or connected with water and springs.[1316]

Mommsen interpreted a dedication of Aquillia Q. f. Colatina in memory of her mother, Vibia Portia, as to 'Iria', which is followed in some modern scholarship.[1317] The most recent reading and interpretation of this monument is that of Matijašić, who prefers

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[1311] *ILJug* 415.

[1312] *CIL* 3, 3031 = AK 2296; on the recently 'rediscovered' inscription found within the bell-tower of the St George the Elder Church in Plomin (AK 2297), see R. MATIJAŠIĆ 2016: 100-102. Zović and Kurilić follow Mommsen's reading of the inscription, and have the deity as 'I[r]iae', V. ZOVIĆ and A. KURILIĆ 2015: 423, n. 19.

[1313] *CIL* 3, 3031 = AK 2296.

[1314] AK 2296; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 1999: 70.

[1315] V. GIRARDI JURKIĆ 2005: 137.

[1316] M. ŠAŠEL KOS 1999: 70; R. MATIJAŠIĆ 2016: 105, with references to earlier scholarship.

[1317] *CIL* 3, 3032 = AK 2297 – *I[r]iae Aug(ustae) in memoriam V[i]biae Portiae matris Aquillia Q. f(ilia) Colatina d(onum) d(at)*. See V. ZOVIĆ and A. KURILIĆ 2015: 423, n. 19.

Ika.[1318] This monument, built into the St George the Elder Church at Plomin, might also point to an association of Ika with water, since its inscription records a benefaction of Aquilia, who dedicated baths (*balineum*) to the deity in memory of her mother. Matijašić hypothesizes that the monument from Pula was discovered close to a spring between the city-walls and the amphitheatre, suggesting this possibly also points to the deity's association with springs.[1319] Lastly, it has been suggested that there is a link between the name of this deity and the modern town of Ika, located between Lovran and Opatija, on the coast of the Kvarner Gulf around 25km north of Plomin.[1320] While Šašel Kos suggests this would speak against an identification of Ika as a water goddess from Flanona,[1321] Matijašić notes that heavy rains are known to cause water descending from the nearby Učka mountain to reveal large submarine springs on the sea surface around the bay of the modern town which bubble in diameters up to 10 meters wide. Perhaps this phenomenon is related to the worship of a deity related to springs and water centred at Flanona.[1322]

Iria is associated with Venus in one inscription found near the church of St. Andrea at Jesenovik, in the territory of Flanona, which was a dedication made by one Felicula, daughter of C. Valerius Optatus.[1323] The name Felicula is found frequently in Italy, but also in Dalmatia,[1324] and while it is difficult to identify her ethnicity, Šašel Kos suggests she does not seem to have been Histrian and that the association of Iria with Roman Venus might

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[1318] R. MATIJAŠIĆ 2016: 100-102, with references to earlier scholarship on the interpretation of the inscription.

[1319] R. MATIJAŠIĆ 2016: 105-106.

[1320] A. MAYER 1957: 164.

[1321] M. ŠAŠEL KOS 1999: 70.

[1322] R. MATIJAŠIĆ 2016: 107.

[1323] *CIL* 3, 3033 = AK 2298 – *Iri<a>e Veneri / C. Vale(ri) Optati f(ilii) / Felicula / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*. See V. GIRARDI JURKIĆ 2005: 128.

[1324] G. ALFÖLDY 1969: 202.

confirm her non-indigenous identity.[1325] The same Felica also left a dedication to Magna Mater at Flanona.[1326] With this lone dedication to Iria it is difficult to determine much about her character. Since Felicula links her with Venus it is possible they shared some characteristics, but as the Heia-Bona Dea example below indicates, such an association might have a more integrative effect.

As table 1 above outlines, dedications to Sentona are known only from northern Liburnia. While we have very little data on the cult of Sentona, it is noteworthy that there are a range of social and ethnic identities represented in her list of dedicators, and the cult obviously survived into the Late Principate. Given the geographic spread of Sentona monuments it is possible her cult was based in Albona already in pre-Roman times.[1327] Despite the relatively numerous monuments to Sentona (6), compared to other indigenous deities, there is no evidence of her integration with other cults.

The single example of a dedication to Heiae from the island of Pag is significant for several reasons.[1328] Firstly, its dedicator was Calpurnia L. Pisonis, daughter of L. Calpurnius Piso Augur, consul in 1 BCE.[1329] It is known that the powerful Calpurnii Pisones had an estate on Pag and a presence at the site of Cissa where this dedication was found.[1330] They were one of the leading Roman senatorial families under Augustus and Tiberius, and had close links with other communities in Liburnia, particularly Corinium, and in the upper Adriatic.[1331] In her dedication, Calpurnia equates Heiae with the Italian goddess Bona Dea,

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[1325] M. ŠAŠEL KOS 1999: 70-71.

[1326] *Ins. It.* 10, 3, 198.

[1327] J. MEDINI 1984a: 14.

[1328] AK 2625 = *ILJug* 260 = *AE* 1964, 270; H. H. J. BROUWER 1989: 127-129.

[1329] J. ŠAŠEL 1963.

[1330] AK 2625 = *ILJug* 260 = *AE* 1964, 270; AK 2626 & 2627 = A. KURILIĆ, 1994, 209ff, n. 18 and 19; A. KURILIĆ and Z. SERVENTI 2015a: 31-32.

[1331] J. J. WILKES 1969: 199-200, 331.

and uses poetic language to describe her as dominator of the land and sea, a protectress, healer, and judicial arbitrator.[1332] Bona Dea was a revered goddess among Roman women. Along with Juno and Minerva, she was a protectress and educator of women who guided them into married life.[1333] It is possible that Calpurnia equated Heiae with Bona Dea because they shared some obvious traits, but it is also conceivable that the local cult had some influence on her interpretation of this deity. H. H. J. Brouwer notes that in no other dedications to Bona Dea is she given so many titles and epithets as in Calpurnia's. He suggests that while the Bona Dea cult is clearly recognizable, some epithets are indicative of influences from local cults on this Roman goddess (for example, with the reference to *Dom(inae)*).[1334] Three dedications to an Eia, presumably the same goddess, are known from Nesactium and Pula.[1335] The two from Nesactium were dedicated by indigenous men, which might seem odd since Calpurnia equates Heiae with Bona Dea, a cult associated with women. However, as Šašel Kos points out, none of the traits Calpurnia refers to are exclusively female. She suggests that Heiae had a polyvalent character, similarly to that of Liburnian Latra, Histrian Aecorna and Venetic goddesses.[1336] While Calpurnia's interpretation of Bona Dea is unique, what is unclear is whether it was a personal or generally accepted one.[1337]

The only known dedication to the goddess Iutossica is that of L. Granius Voltimes(is) f. Rufus, from Albona, in northern Liburnia.[1338] The *gentilicum Voltimesis* was

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[1332] H. H. J. BROUWER 1989: 128; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 1999: 68.

[1333] H. H. J. BROUWER 1989: 254-296; A. MASTROCINQUE 2014: 15ff. On the sources for Bona Dea, see H. H. J. BROUWER 1989: 3-228.

[1334] H. H. J. BROUWER 1989: 387-389.

[1335] Pula: *CIL* 5, 8 = *Ins. It.* 10 1, 3 = *ILS* 4892; Nesactium: *Inst. It.* 10, 1, 659; 660.

[1336] M. ŠAŠEL KOS 1999: 69.

[1337] The inscriptions relating to Eia from Histria provide no information about the character of this deity, H. H. J. BROUWER 1989: 389.

[1338] *CIL* 3, 10074; AK 2433.

indigenous,[1339] and is also found on a tombstone from Albona, that of Sex. Ceionius Voltimesis f. Claud(ia) Loiscus,[1340] as well as another dedication to an indigenous Liburnian goddess mentioned on only a single known monument. The inscription on this monument appears to identify Aplus and Titus Gavilii Voltimes(is), two indigenous men, as the dedicators. While the lettering is not entirely clear on the name of the deity, it is usually interpreted as Aitica or Avitica.[1341] This monument is one of the rare examples of an iconographic representation of an indigenous Liburnian deity. The relief section of the monument is not well preserved, with the figures side and head completely lost, but it is clear the goddess is seated, wearing a long garment, perhaps a *stola* and *palla*, and is holding what is probably a *cornu copiae*.[1342] Matijašić compared the representation of the seated figure to various depictions of goddesses on Roman imperial coins.[1343] It is significant that two local men depict an indigenous deity in a very Roman style in this dedication.

It is impossible to not consider a link between the high rate of female commemorators on epitaphs in Liburnia, the unusual character of Liburnian women described in Greco-Roman literary sources and the fact that all Liburnian deities are female. However, while the data set is very small, men appear more frequently than women as commemorators on votive monuments dedicated to indigenous deities,[1344] unlike on epitaphs dedicated to indigenous people where women commemorators are more numerous (as discussed in Chapter 6). The Liburnian goddesses are, as with those of Histria, perhaps best interpreted as communal or regional deities, with Latra having the broadest range of

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[1339] A. KURILIĆ 1999: 169.

[1340] *CIL* 3, 10074 = AK 1256.

[1341] Cf. R. MATIJAŠIĆ 2005: 203; V. ZOVIĆ and A. KURILIĆ 2015: 15.

[1342] V. GIRARDI JURKIĆ 2005: 121; N. CAMBI 2013b: 72, fig. 1; R. MATIJAŠIĆ 2005: 203, fig. 1.

[1343] R. MATIJAŠIĆ 2005: 203-204.

[1344] See table 1 above.

worship. While interpretations of their characters as goddesses of fertility and agriculture are perhaps correct in some cases, particularly with the association with Venus and Priapus, it is unlikely their cultural origins can be traced back to a Mother Goddess of the Neolithic. The apparent association of Ika with water may in fact call into question the assumption that the Liburnian and Histrian goddess all share the same association with fertility and agriculture. The female cults of Liburnia provide fascinating examples of the preservation of pre-Roman culture in the Roman period. The reverence to these deities in monumental form and their portrayal in stone sculptures, including in classical style, shows how practice of these cults was adapting to new Roman styles of expression and worship. These cults acted as cultural mediums, as evidenced through the several examples of worship of Liburnian deities by immigrants. For now, immigrants appear responsible for all the monuments relating to local deities associated with imported ones. Interpretation of this cultic integration is problematic, given how little is known about the local cults, but it is difficult to conceive of this as some kind of 'romanization'. The example of Heia-Bona Dea indicates that the local cult may have made meaningful contributions towards the interpretation of this amalgamated deity. This is a type of cultural integration that resulted from interaction between two cultic networks, but exactly how these deities were conceived remains unclear.

Silvanus in Dalmatia and Liburnia

The cult of Silvanus in Dalmatia has received a significant amount of scholarly attention since as early as the late 19th century.[1345] This cult was particularly popular in Dalmatia, and over 160 monuments dedicated to Silvanus are known from the province.[1346]

[1345] See L. PERINIĆ 2016: 7-9; for full discussion of earlier literature.

[1346] See P. F. DORCEY 1992: 169-171 (who does not include unepigraphic Pan-like reliefs and statues in his list of 90 monuments); see the catalogue of inscriptions and relief monuments from Dalmatia in L. PERINIĆ

These monuments are dated generally from the 1st to 4th century CE, though most are from the 2nd and 3rd century.[1347] The significance of Silvanus and the reason the cult in Dalmatia has been given so much attention in scholarship relates to the varying interpretations of the religious, cultural and iconographic origins of its representations within the Roman province. While the cult is not as popular in Liburnia as other parts of Dalmatia, its appearance in Liburnian territory is an important factor in some interpretations of different versions of Silvanus representations, and its significance within the region and to the themes of this thesis means a brief discussion here is important.

Interpretations of Silvanus in Dalmatia in scholarship are divided into two opposing opinions – one arguing that this was an indigenous deity presented as Silvanus, and the other that sees it purely as the Italic version of the deity. The earliest scholars to discuss the cult viewed Silvanus in Dalmatia as an indigenous deity that was depicted visually as the Greek Pan and linked to the Roman Silvanus through the process of *interpretatio Romana*.[1348] Local Croatian scholars of the modern era follow this interpretation, considering Dalmatian Sivlanus as a syncretisation between an indigenous supreme deity and its closest likeness in the Greco-Roman pantheon.[1349] A. Rendić-Miočević further elaborated on this argument and suggested that the cult had undergone a process of *interpretatio Graeca* during which it was linked to the Greek Pan, and then afterwards through *interpretatio Romana* it was recognized as Silvanus, though the visual imagery of Pan remained.[1350] This interpretation

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2016: 69-95. She also mentions and provides an image of an unpublished relief from Bribirska glavica, 17, fig. 4.

[1347] D. DZINO 2012b: 264.

[1348] O. HIRSCHFELD and R. SCHNEIDER 1885: 34-47; A. VON DOMASZEWSKI 1895: 14; A. VON DOMASZEWSKI 1902: 19-20.

[1349] N. CAMBI 1968: 131-141; D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1989: 461-507; D. MARŠIĆ 1997; L. PERINIĆ 2016.

[1350] A. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1982: 135-137; 2007: 20-21.

has found support in several recent discussions on Dalmatian Silvanus.[1351] Other modern scholars – none of whom are local Croatians – have argued against an indigenous interpretation of this cult, and consider it wholly as the Italic deity, despite variations in its representation within Dalmatia.[1352]

Visual representations of Silvanus in Dalmatia are usually categorized into two styles, referred to in scholarship as 'Pan Silvanus' and 'Youthful Silvanus'. Until recently, distributions of monuments of each style in the Roman province of Dalmatia led scholars to consider that Pan Silvanus was more prominent in coastal regions, while Youthful Silvanus was focused in the hinterland beyond the Dinaric Alps and in Liburnia.[1353] On monuments of the Pan Silvanus type the deity is portrayed similarly to the Greek-Arcadian Pan. He appears here as an older male with goat legs, horns and pointy ears, often ithyphallic, and has with him on different occasions a *nebris, pedum syrinx*, grapes, other fruits, a goat and sometimes a dog (the only symbol which might relate to Silvanus).[1354] The Pan type was first named in the late 19th century,[1355] however, these depictions were characterised in some early scholarship as purely representing Silvanus,[1356] an argument supported by the fact that no dedications to Pan are known from Dalmatia, while several monuments with examples of the Pan type have inscriptions with dedications to Silvanus.[1357] Dorcey, on the other hand, pointed out that it is possible these are simply representations of Pan, since the majority have no inscription to suggest otherwise.[1358] Youthful Silvanus is represented as younger,

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[1351] R. MATIJAŠIĆ and F. TASSAUX 2000: 89; J. J. WILKES 2009: 43; D. DZINO 2012b: 265, 268.

[1352] A. MÓCSY 1974: 250-252; P. F. DORCEY 1992: 68-71; A. M. NAGY 1994: 773.

[1353] Ž. RAKNIĆ 1965: 88; D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1989: 469, 475-476, 481; D. DZINO 2012b: 265ff; L. PERINIĆ 2016: 16-19.

[1354] D. DZINO 2012b: 265-266.

[1355] O. HIRSCHFELD and R. SCHNEIDER 1885.

[1356] Ž. RAKNIĆ 1965; J. MEDINI 1965; Z. GUNJAČA 1969.

[1357] *CIL* 3, 1960; 8306; 8343; 9754; 12790; 13187; 14322, 2; *ILJug* 155 = 1640; 261; 1592.

[1358] P. F. DORCEY 1992: 68-71.

without a beard, sometimes with goat legs but other times with human legs, and in an undefined space.[1359] This more anthropomorphic version of Silvanus was recognized by D. Rendić-Miočević as representing the Italic deity, having flourished in only those parts of Dalmatia where the local cult was not well established. The argued the Pan Silvanus was an indigenous deity, interpreted as Silvanus in the Roman period.[1360]

In her recent monograph on the cult of Silvanus in Dalmatia and Pannonia, Lj. Perinić challenged some of the preconceived ideas about the distribution of its representations across Dalmatia. Through her updated catalogue of Silvanus relief monuments from Dalmatia, Perinić shows that the distribution of so-called 'Pan' and 'Youthful' Silvanus representations is not so clearly delineated as previously thought, and wholly rejects the categorisation of two separate types of the deity on reliefs in Dalmatia.[1361] Most important for the study undertaken here are her conclusions about Silvanus representations in Liburnia. While the territory of the ancient Liburni has rarely been the focus of discussions of Dalmatian Silvanus,[1362] the accepted view in scholarship, until recently, was that an Italic ('Youthful') version of Silvanus prevailed in Liburnia. This variation displayed more anthropomorphic features, without the attributes of the shepherd (*syrinx*, *pedum*, goat or dog) found on examples from the region of the Delmatae, which is explained in terms of differences in agricultural and pastoral lifeways between the different regions.[1363] However, having compiled the most up-to-date and comprehensive catalogue of Silvanus monuments from Dalmatia, Perinić shows that relief depictions of the deity from Liburnia do not differ from those found across the rest of the province. There are relatively

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[1359] D. DZINO 2012b: 266-267; L. PERINIĆ 2016: 16-17.

[1360] D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1989: 469, 475-476, 481.

[1361] L. PERINIĆ 2016.

[1362] See Ž. RAKNIĆ 1965.

[1363] Ž. RAKNIĆ 1965: 88; D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1989: 468.

few relief depictions of Silvanus from Liburnia (8), and these show a variety of traits typical of other examples from the territory of the Delmatae, as well as coastal Dalmatia.[1364] Perinić adheres to the notion of Dalmatian Silvanus as an indigenous deity, interpreted as Silvanus in the Roman period, and quite rightly suggests that the reason that monuments dedicated to the deity are not found in higher numbers in Liburnia is probably due to the prominence of female indigenous deities.[1365]

The question of the cultural origins of Dalmatian Silvanus is still a topic for debate. The lack of a homogenous culture amongst the indigenous populations of the area, or any kind of uniform cosmology,[1366] has been argued as evidence against any kind of supreme 'Illyrian' deity.[1367] Nor is it possible to label Silvanus as a deity of the Delmatae since, apart from the fact that not much is known about the pre-Roman sacral life of this group, their supposed geographic powerbase in the hinterland of modern-day central Dalmatia, around the regions of Glamoč, Livno, Tomislavgrad, Vrlika and Sinj, was relatively removed from the coastal areas where most of his monuments are found.[1368] As Dorcey noted, while Silvanus is depicted in the company of several Greco-Roman deities, including Diana and Nymphs, he is never identified with any indigenous deities.[1369] Yet, Dalmatian Silvanus was certainly a unique form of the deity in the context of the Roman Empire. The only example of goat-legged Pan-Silvanus outside of Dalmatia that Dzino is aware of is an example on a monument from Bassianae, in south-eastern Pannonia.[1370] The most recent interpretations of this cult generally agree that Dalmatian Silvanus was the result of a series of complex

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[1364] L. PERINIĆ 2016: 17-19.

[1365] L. PERINIĆ 2016: 19.

[1366] J. J. WILKES 1992: 244.

[1367] P. F. DORCEY 1992: 68-69; J. J. WILKES 1992: 244; R. MATIJAŠIĆ and F. TASSAUX 2000: 89.

[1368] D. DZINO 2012b: 267.

[1369] P. F. DORCEY 1992: 69.

[1370] *CIL* 3, 14340; see J. BRUNŠMID 1905a: 57-58, fig. 113. D. DZINO 2012b: 268.

cultural integration processes and that the indigenous population must have had some role in their outcome. Perinić states in her concluding remarks that the development of Dalmatian Silvanus was the result of integration between Greek Pan and Delmataean 'Pan', as well as the influence of Greek iconography, Italic Silvanus (*interpretatio Romana*) and Italian iconography.[1371] Along similar lines, Dzino argues that Pan was a global symbol which various populations in Dalmatia utilized to negotiate religious and cultural identities during the Late Iron Age and Roman period, emphasizing the social role that the cult played in processes of integration.[1372] Lulić recently suggested using a cognitive approach to help understand how various interpretations of the cult of Silvanus developed in scholarship.[1373] To summarise her ideas briefly, she suggests that D. Rendić-Miočević, who understood Silvanus as an indigenous deity, was influenced to identify the cult as an example of resistance to Roman traditions due his upbringing in a Croatian family that had played a significant role in promoting Croatian identity and traditions in resistance to foreign (Italian) influences. The other view of an Italic Silvanus in Dalmatia, that of Dorcey, she explains as a result of his neural structure having been tuned towards the aims of his book – a study on Roman Silvanus.[1374]

The multilayered identities of Dalmatian Silvanus are complex and, as was shown in this section, not easily explained. The important conclusion from this discussion for the present study is that Silvanus in Liburnia was not in fact separated from other parts of Dalmatia in terms of the way this deity was represented in relief depictions, as was previously believed. Like the Liburnian indigenous deities, Silvanus in Dalmatia is still

[1371] L. PERINIĆ 2016: 49.

[1372] D. DZINO 2012b: 269-270; 2018.

[1373] J. LULIĆ 2014; 2015.

[1374] J. LULIĆ 2014: 40.

interpreted as a deity related to fertility, nature and pastoralism.[1375] Given that the female Liburnian deities thrived from the pre-Roman and into the Roman period, this perhaps explains why Dalmatian Silvanus was not as popular here as he was in other parts of the province. The local population already had an existing cultic system that satisfied the same needs Silvanus fulfilled.

Imperial Cult in Liburnia

Development of the imperial cult in the Roman provinces created a relationship of reciprocation that served to secure the position of the imperial family and local elites – if not to equal degrees – in their respective socio-political contexts. The imperial cult is another area that sets Liburnia apart in its regional and provincial context, and its early development here adds to the evidence that suggests good relations existed between the Liburni and Rome during the initial stages of integration into the provincial system, and for preferential treatment of the Liburnian communities. This section will discuss the evidence for the various levels of the imperial cult institution in Liburnia, and how its development relates to the status of *Liburnia* and Liburnian communities outlined in previous chapters.

What we now call the Roman 'imperial cult' had diverse forms across the empire. As M. Beard, J. North and S. Price rightly stated, 'there is no such thing as "*the* imperial cult"'.[1376] The structure of cults dedicated to the emperors and their family members differed everywhere, particularly between the Latin west and Greek east. In the west, where Dalmatia was culturally and socio-politically placed, institutions for the worship of imperial cult in the provinces were organized at three different levels – provincial, regional, and

[1375] L. PERINIĆ 2016: vi.

[1376] M. BEARD, J. NORTH, and S. PRICE 1998: 348.

municipal.[1377] The imperial cult was initially introduced into areas of the empire that were newly pacified as a device to enhance the image of the emperor and loyalty to him and his family within the provinces, and ensure the acceptance of a new social and governmental structure.[1378] The complex structures of various imperial cults enabled members of all social classes to worship the emperor in their own way. Distinctions existed between colleges in Rome, Italy, the provinces, certain regions or groups, and different municipia, as well as between those including citizens or freedmen and slaves.[1379] This religious change in the Roman provinces had the effect of helping to orientate the local population towards Rome and its administration as a means of gaining prestige within their community and social mobility. Conversely, from the point of view of Rome and the emperor, the imperial cult may have provided one method in which to subordinate the local provincial elite.[1380] However, private individuals financed most of the monuments and festivities associated with the imperial cult and a major impetus for this investment was the resulting justification and display of their economic power and socio-political status.[1381]

During the Late Republican period the Romans adopted the practice of granting divine honours to individuals holding special grants of *imperium* or other positions of power. This was almost certainly a practice borrowed from the Greek world, perhaps a result of the increasing Roman intervention in the Hellenistic east, but also the large amount of Greeks migrating to Rome in the last century BCE.[1382] The Roman imperial cult had some more direct origins in a personality cult established under Caesar, and Suetonius mentions honours that he allowed bestowed upon himself including the construction of

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[1377] I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN 2012: 43; K. A. GIUNIO 2014: 185ff.

[1378] D. FISHWICK 1987: 148; J. RUFUS FEARS 1981: 55-66.

[1379] M. BEARD, J. NORTH, and S. PRICE 1998: 357; M. GLAVIČIĆ and Ž. MILETIĆ 2008a: 417.

[1380] M. BEARD, J. NORTH, and S. PRICE 1998: 358-359.

[1381] C. ANDO 2006: 185-186.

[1382] D. FISHWICK 1987: 46-55.

temples, altars, statues, and a college of priests dedicated to him, as well as the title of a calendar month.[1383] Scholarship disagrees over the significance of this to the later imperial cult – one view seeing Caesar's cult as a direct model for the latter, while another argues that Augustus learnt what not to do from his adoptive father's attempt and, as a result, purposefully changed its course.[1384]

An inscription that was discovered during excavations at the Zadar forum in 1949 provides evidence for a college of *sevir Iulialis*.[1385] The inscription reveals the monument was dedicated by Lucius Tettius Sperches, who was *VI vir Iulialis*, to his seven-year-old son, Lucius Tettius Epidianus. His Greek cognomen, as well his priestly office, reveal Sperches was a freedman of the Italic Tettius family. The location of the monument in the forum, allowed by decree of the *ordines decurionum*, speaks to the high standing the man held within the colony.[1386] The title *VI vir Iulialis* is otherwise unknown in Roman epigraphy,[1387] but Caesar's *flamen* in Rome probably provided the model for this municipal *collegium* of freedmen.[1388] Suić associated this monument with Caesar being the possible founder of the colony of Iader, dating the development of the college here to earlier than 27 BCE.[1389] K. Giunio prefers a date for the origins of the institution between 27 and 12 BCE, based on the dating of the famous inscription from Narbonne that mentions the consecration of the *Ara Numinis Augusti*, and links the worship of Julius Caesar in Liburnia with the loyalty of the Iadasinoi to him during the civil wars.[1390] Glavičić and Miletić place the

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[1383] Suet. *Caes*. 76.

[1384] These views are discussed in D. FISHWICK 1987: 72.

[1385] *ILJug* 211 = *AE* 1953, 104 = AK 1161 – *L(ucio) Tettio / Epidiano ann(orum) / VII L(ucius) Tet[t]ius Sper/ches pater VI vir / Iul(ialis) vivos posu / it. L(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).*

[1386] K. A. GIUNIO 2014: 178-179.

[1387] K. A. GIUNIO 2014: 179.

[1388] M. GLAVIČIĆ and Ž. MILETIĆ 2008a: 419.

[1389] M. SUIĆ 1949: 210-212.

[1390] K. A. GIUNIO 2014: 189-190; see M. SUIĆ 1981b: 147-148.

origins of the college of *Iuliales* in the Augustan period, and not earlier than 12 BCE, based on the development of municipal civil and freedmen colleges of the imperial cult elsewhere in the Roman West from that year.[1391] Their argument links the development of the *Iuliales* college here to Augustus' patronage of the colony of Iader. They point to his building of fortifications at Iader, as well as the financing of the forum under governor Gnaeus Tamphilus Vala,[1392] and later decoration of reliefs here representing Jupiter Amon and Gorgona, iconography which may have served imperial ideology.[1393] For Glavičić and Miletić, Augustus' acts of benevolence towards the Iadertini were a result of Liburnian loyalty to him and Caesar, and an important aspect of his patronage was the promotion of the imperial cult.[1394] Two other fragments of epigraphic monuments from Liburnia also possibly relate to the college of *sevir Iulialis*. One very badly damaged inscription possibly has a reference to a priest of the *sevir Iulialis*, as well as *Augustales*,[1395] while another fragment records a dedication – *DIVO IV[LIO]*.[1396] While the dating of this college is uncertain, its presence in Liburnia supports the conclusions in Chapter 5 that Liburnian communities received favourable treatment from Caesar and Augustus due to their loyalty during the civil wars.

Evidence for a regional Liburnian cult comes from two inscriptions, one from Scardona, that of T. Turra[nio] T. f. Ser(gia) Seda[to], identified as *decurioni II [vir] sacerdos ad aram Aug(usti) Lib[urn(orum)]*.[1397] Examples from the Roman provinces of

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[1391] M. GLAVIČIĆ and Ž. MILETIĆ 2008a: 419.

[1392] See above, 176-177.

[1393] N. CAMBI 2002: 89-92; 2005: 24-27, figs. 25-27.

[1394] M. GLAVIČIĆ and Ž. MILETIĆ 2008a: 420.

[1395] *CIL* 3, 3168 = AK 2351; possibly reconstructed as *[------] / II [--------] III vir / [Iu?]li(?) Aug(ustalisque) / Iuniae Astice / coniugi pientissimae*.

[1396] Held in the Archaeological Museum of Zadar, Collection of Epigraphic Monuments of the Museum's Classical Antiquity Department, inv. no. A7372, see K. A. GIUNIO 2014: 191.

[1397] *CIL* 3, 2810 = *ILJug* 199 = AK 2229.

Hispania, Asia and *Dalmatia* indicate that regional cults were closely connected to the institution of the *conventus,* and Scardona is rightly identified as the centre of the Liburnian cult.[1398] Another inscription from Senia records a dedication to Liber Pater of one L. Gavius Optatus, *sac(erdos) Liburnor(um)*,[1399] who was of either Italic or local origin.[1400] Some have argued that the Liburnian regional cult developed as early as the Augustan period.[1401] Wilkes suggested that a dedication to Nero, son of Germanicus, collectively by the *civitates Liburniae* from Scardona, dated to before 31 CE, was related to the setting up of the imperial cult in Liburnia.[1402] Fishwick argued that this was an isolated case of collective action by the *civitates Liburniae*, preferring a Flavian date for the foundation of a conventus cult in Liburnia, based on the fact that Scardona only became a municipium in Flavian times and also due to analogies with developments of regional cults in north-west Spain under Vespasian.[1403] It is also important to note that there is no necessary link between this epigraphic mention of the *civitates Liburniae* and any kind of cult,[1404] and the same goes for any sculptures of imperial family members.

The presence of Tiberius' son, Drusus Caesar, who came to Dalmatia to promote his father's policy and gain popularity with the army,[1405] could be argued as potential indirect evidence for the existence of a Liburnian imperial cult during this emperor's reign, since the regional cults were always organized by the emperor or a member of his family in order to

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[1398] D. FISHWICK 2002: 148; M. GLAVIČIĆ and Ž. MILETIĆ 2008a: 420.

[1399] *ILJug* 247 = AK 2621.

[1400] A. KURILIĆ 2010b.

[1401] See references in D. FISHWICK 2002: 149, n. 172.

[1402] *CIL* 3, 2802; J. J. WILKES 1969: 218.

[1403] Fishwick also describes the similar honouring of P. Cornelius Dolabella on an inscription from Epidarum (*CIL* 3, 1741) as an isolated incident, D. FISHWICK 1987: 145-146; 2002: 149.

[1404] M. VITELLI CASELLA 2015: 304.

[1405] Tac. *Ann*. 2.44.

help establish control in newly conquered provinces.[1406] Yet, even if a Tiberian date is acceptable, a reinvigoration of the cult in Scardona must have taken place during the Flavian period. M. Vitelli Casella recently stated his preference, if the date must be Julio-Claudian, for the theory of Kornemann that places its creation under Augustus, who promoted numerous altars of devotion to himself, as well as being instrumental in the construction of the conventus, upon which the regional cult was based. The fallout from the *Bellum Pannonicum* and *Bellum Batonianum* perhaps provided incentive for Augustus to promote him and his imperial household in the region.[1407]

The development of the Liburnian regional cult is further confirmation of the specific and separate status of Liburnia as a territory within the province of Illyricum, and then Dalmatia.[1408] Although Pliny states that the conventus centred at Scardona included both Liburnian and Iapodian communities,[1409] this regional cult appears to have been organized solely for the Liburni, given the titles of *ara Augusti Liburnorum, sacredos Liburnorum* and perhaps *civitates Liburniae*, and that the Iapodes were excluded, possibly due to their unfavourable treatment by the Romans after a long history of hostility.[1410] It is also possible that, as with the *conventus Liburorum*,[1411] the regional imperial cult was named after the Liburni, though the Iapodian communities were also part of its administration and activities.

Only one inscription survives, in very fragmentary form, that possibly represents evidence for a provincial cult of Dalmatia. The inscription, from Zenica, appears to record a

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[1406] M. GLAVIČIĆ and Ž. MILETIĆ 2008a: 420; I. JADRIĆ-KUČAN 2012: 50.

[1407] M. VITELLI CASELLA 2015: 304.

[1408] M. GLAVIČIĆ and Ž. MILETIĆ 2008a: 420.

[1409] Plin. *HN*, 3.21.

[1410] J. MEDINI 1975a: 85.

[1411] See above, 179-180:

sacred(oti/otali) [provi]nc(iae) De[l]ma[tiae].[1412] Fishwick dates this provincial cult of Dalmatia provisionally to the Trajanic period, though the date is certainly debatable,[1413] and we can only guess as to where the cult centre was – probably in Salona.[1414]

The presence of priests of imperial cult colleges is recorded in several Liburnian towns, including Iader,[1415] Tarsatica,[1416] Scardona,[1417] Senia,[1418] Asseria,[1419] and Aenona.[1420] It has been suggested that in the province of Dalmatia, the colleges of *seviri Augustales* were present only in Roman colonies.[1421] However, the epigraphic evidence suggests otherwise, as it is hard to imagine that all the communities with colleges were at some point colonies when it is only confirmed that Iader had colonial status.[1422] It is important to ask how and why certain communities were able to develop colleges of *Augustales*, and what if any particular requirements relating to legal rights and citizenship were connected to their allocation. Giunio suggests that in Dalmatia the presence of *Augustales* was related to a community's commercial significance for the ranks of freedmen associated with these priesthoods, rather than any legal status.[1423] She quite rightly points out that the colleges are generally found in more developed communities close to the coast. These were communities highly engaged in commercial and social interactions with the wider Roman world, and

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[1412] *CIL* 3, 12762 + 12766.

[1413] D. FISHWICK 2002: 181.

[1414] M. GLAVIČIĆ and Ž. MILETIĆ 2008a: 419.

[1415] *ILJug* 210 = *AE* 1956, 232 = AK 2063.

[1416] *CIL* 3, 3028 = *ILJug* 253 = AK 1846.

[1417] *CIL* 3, 2810 = AK 2229.

[1418] *CIL* 3, 3016 = *ILJug* 250 = AK 2291; *ILJug* 247 = AK 2621.

[1419] AK 2785; *ILJug* 2282 = *AE* 1956, 232; see K. A. GIUNIO 2007.

[1420] AK 2844.

[1421] G. ALFÖLDY 1965: 78.

[1422] See above, 189-190.

[1423] K. A. GIUNIO 2014: 187.

perhaps their involvement in the imperial cult relates to the economic opportunities afforded their freedmen population.

The evidence for the imperial cult is another area that highlights the important place of Liburnia within the province of Dalmatia. The early development of a college of *sevir Iulialis* is further evidence that the Liburnian communities were treated particularly well during the earliest period of integration into the Roman provincial and imperial system, and this probably relates to their support for Caesar and Augustus in the civil wars and revolts in Illyricum. The evidence for a specifically Liburnian regional imperial cult supports the idea that the *conventus* centred at Scardona was entitled *conventus Liburnorum*.[1424] This also highlights the importance and distinctive identity of 'Liburnia' as a discrete geo-political territory within the province of Dalmatia, as discussed in the previous chapter. The presence of colleges of *seviri Augustales* at several Liburnian communities emphasizes their importance as strategic commercial hubs, a topic discussed further in Chapter 9.

Conclusion

Cult monuments in the Roman period are important evidence for cultural integration in Liburnia. Not only did local Liburni adopt a new form of worshipping their deities – constructing stone monuments with dedications in Latin, some even with sculptured images – but immigrants also began worshipping local cults, as well as having brought their own to Liburnia. The limited evidence for association between pre-Roman and imported deities also shows that a kind of cultic integration, as is seen elsewhere in the empire, occurred in Liburnia. The imperial cult provided the local population with a means of enhancing their own status within the new provincial society, but also helped justify and solidify the new imperial structure, orienting the local population towards worship of the Roman emperors as

[1424] D. DEMICHELI 2015.

divine beings. This chapter has shown that cult worship in Liburnian communities persisted well into the Roman period. They were closely connected to regional religious systems in the eastern Adriatic, most importantly that which they shared with communities in Histria, but also communities in central Dalmatia which had probably evolved as a result of interactions with Greeks since at least the Hellenistic period.

Chapter 8 – Burials and Tombstones in Roman Liburnia

Funerary monuments and burial practices provide archaeologists with material that can reveal numerous features of ancient societies, including providing a picture of cultural integration and changing lifestyles over time. During the early 20th century, Roman historians and archaeologists such as F. Cumont regarded funerary symbolism in the Roman world as closely connected to religion and cults, funerary rites and beliefs in the afterlife.[1425] In the late 20th century, this interpretation was largely superseded for one that emphasizes the desire to express social status, more so than articulation of emotion or beliefs in the after-life.[1426] More recent studies have considered the situation as much more complex, with funerary symbolism as representing a mix of emphases on social status, as well as personal grief and emotion and beliefs in the after-life. Other factors, such as rank (within military, political or cultic frameworks), financial factors, cultural affiliation, personal taste, familial and local traditions, as well as availability of resources and materials, might also contribute to the funerary monument form chosen, the artistic features depicted on them and the way identities are expressed.[1427]

In the Roman period, burial practices changed dramatically in Liburnia in terms of grave types and the ways in which the dead were buried, as well as with the introduction of a broad array of grave goods and funerary monuments. While the evidence from Roman necropolises in Liburnia is vast,[1428] this chapter will focus on three specific case-studies relating to burial practices and funerary monuments that are peculiar to this region and

[1425] F. CUMONT 1923; 1942.

[1426] I. MORRIS 1992; J. HUSKINSON 1997: 233.

[1427] See, e.g., V. M. HOPE 1997; D. DZINO 2010a; R. CHAPMAN 2013; L. CHIOFFI 2015; M. A. JANKOVIĆ 2016.

[1428] See especially, S. GLUŠČEVIĆ 2005; Z. SERVENTI 2014.

provide insight into the experience of the indigenous population. The first section discusses a necropolis in Liburnia that is unique within the Roman Empire – the Caska necropolis on the island of Pag.[1429] The second looks at a unique type of funerary monument, the Liburnian cippus, and traces its artistic and cultural origins. Suić undertook a study into this monument's origins in the 1950s,[1430] and his conclusions require significant revision. The approach here looks much more broadly for influences and provides a detailed cultural biography of this monument type. The third section undertakes a study on funerary monuments with portraits from Liburnia, for the first time focusing on the various civic, social and cultural identities of those they depict and detailing the origins of artistic and cultural features on them.

Burial practices and the Caska Necropolis

New grave types and burials practices are a key feature of the archaeological record of Roman Liburnia when comparing socio-cultural templates to previous periods. While there is some limited evidence for cremation burials in northern Dalmatia from the Early Bronze Age, Early Iron Age and Late Iron Age,[1431] inhumation burials are much more frequently found before the Roman period.[1432] Cremation was the most common form of burial during the 1st and 2nd centuries CE in Liburnia, while inhumation was revived through the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE.[1433] Christianity certainly played a role in the revival of the rite of inhumation in the later Roman period.[1434] Z. Serventi and M. Jurjević point out that the

[1429] A. KURILIĆ and Z. SERVENTI 2015b.

[1430] Republished in 1996, M. SUIĆ 1996a.

[1431] S. KUKOČ 2009b.

[1432] See discussion in Chapter 4.

[1433] Z. SERVENTI and M. JURJEVIĆ 2012: 204.

[1434] J. M. C. TOYNBEE 1971: 39.

spatial relationship between necropolises and settlements in Liburnia differed across the pre-Roman, early Roman and late Roman periods. Before the Roman period, graves were usually found spread around the settlement. In the Early Roman period necropolises were placed along roads outside of the settlement, as was common in Roman towns, while in the later period they were concentrated around specific religious spaces.[1435] Some pre-Roman funerary practices survived into the Early Roman period. The ritual of breaking ceramic vessels during funeral ceremonies and scattering the pieces around the graves, which was a practice recorded as having occurred at the necropolises of Zadar, Velika Mrdakovica, Dragišić and Nadin was a continuation of a pre-Roman tradition that occurred not only in Liburnia but amongst groups in Italy and in the Iapodian region.[1436] There are numerous types of funerary monuments as well as grave types and burial goods that appear in Liburnia in the Roman period.[1437] In many ways, the trends are reflective of changes seen in many other parts of the Roman Empire. One necropolis stands out in Liburnia as particular, both in terms of grave and monument type, as well as burial practices.

This necropolis deserves mention due to its unique character not only within the context of Dalmatia, but indeed the entire Roman Empire. It is located nearby the village of Caska, on the island on Pag. This is a particularly long island (around 60km) stretching from the island of Rab to the tip of the Ravni Kotari to the south. The village of Caska is located at the end of a long cove in the north of the island. Traces of an extensive Roman settlement have been discovered near the village, and this was probably the site of the community of

[1435] Z. SERVENTI and M. JURJEVIĆ 2012: 204.

[1436] See Z. SERVENTI 2014: 593, n. 2571 with bibliography.

[1437] On the Roman necropolis from Iader, see S. GLUŠČEVIĆ 2005; and for a catalogue and discussion relating to all funerary monuments and graves from Liburnian necropolises, see Z. SERVENTI 2014.

Cissa that Pliny includes on his list of Liburnian towns on islands.[1438] Along with the necropolis at the site are preserved the remains of some Roman period houses.[1439]

Excavations since 2003, as well as chance finds by locals, have uncovered a number of burials at the site of the necropolis, which sits at the southern end of the cove close to the sea.[1440] The necropolis was in use from the 1st to 3rd century CE, based on grave goods including numismatic finds from the site.[1441] What makes the necropolis at Caska most interesting is the unique type of tomb construction found here. This has led to their designation as 'Caska-type tombs'.[1442] These tombs are composed of two layers that were constructed around a central space where the incinerated remains of the deceased and their grave goods were placed. In almost all such tombs, the internal layer was constructed *alla cappuccino*, while the outer rectangular layer made of stone and mortar covered the internal one and was closely attached to it.[1443] The upper section of the external layer was slightly smaller than the bottom section, and the stone of this section was well worked, perhaps pointing to this part being visible above the ground, with the tombstone placed upon it. This is not the only tomb form at the necropolis, and several variations of the Caska type are found here, as well as standard type graves, such as burials in ceramic urns and amphorae, simple pit burials, burial chambers and square urns made of stone. The type unique to this site dominates here, and out of 43 tombs known from the necropolis, 26 belong to the Caska type.[1444]

[1438] Plin. *HN*, 3. 140; J. J. WILKES 1969: 199.

[1439] G. SKELAC 2005: 281-283; 2006: 315-316; A. KURILIĆ 2011: 71-72; A. KURILIĆ and I. OŠTARIĆ 2013: 230.

[1440] On excavation and research on the Caska necropolis, see A. KURILIĆ 2004a; 2005; 2006a; I. FADIĆ 2005b; I. RADIĆ-ROSSI and A. KURILIĆ 2005.

[1441] On numismatic finds from a settlement context at Caska, see M. ILKIĆ 2011.

[1442] A. KURILIĆ and Z. SERVENTI 2015a: 30.

[1443] See fig. 10.

[1444] A. KURILIĆ and Z. SERVENTI 2015b: 2.

Fig. 10. Tomb 18 from Caska necropolis. A. KURILIĆ and Z. SERVENTI 2015a: fig. 3.

Some funerary rituals at the Caska site also differ from other necropolises in Liburnia and Dalmatia. As mentioned, cremation became the most common type of burial in Liburnia, as well as across the Roman Empire, from the 1st century CE. The necropolises of Zadar are the best-known from Roman Liburnia, and excavations have uncovered over 2000 burials at the site so far.[1445] Though cremations became dominant from the 1st century CE, by the end of the 2nd century inhumation was equally as popular and took over cremation in the 3rd century.[1446] At Caska, only two graves are inhumation burials, and cremation appears to have been dominant through into the 3rd century CE, much longer than elsewhere in Liburnia and the wider Roman Empire.[1447] The Caska type tombs have pipes that protrude out of the external layer (*profusiones*), which were probably used for libation rituals during

[1445] S. GLUŠČEVIĆ 2005.

[1446] S. GLUŠČEVIĆ 2005: 206.

[1447] A. KURILIĆ and Z. SERVENTI 2015b: 2. On cremation and inhumation in the Roman world, see I. MORRIS 1992: 31-69.

the funeral, which is supported by the presence of amphorae around some tombs.[1448] These types of pipes are not common in Dalmatia, and are only known from two necropolises in Liburnia (Baška on Krk, and Zadar).[1449]

Epitaphs on tombstones found in the section of the necropolis that has been excavated give some indication of the identities of the inhabitants of this settlement. At least 14 tombstones are known from this area so far, which is a relatively high number given that only 46 tombs have been uncovered. They include only single names, rather than the Roman *tria nomina.* None bear indigenous Liburnian names, but there are examples of several Greek names (Agelaus, Amerimnus, Epaphroditus, Hilarus and Satyrius), including some slaves, and, of course, Latin names.[1450] One fragmented epitaph was commemorated by Calpurnius Hilarus to his brother Agelaus. Several decades ago a small titulus was found at the site, which displayed a commemoration to Gemelus, a slave of Calpurnius Gemellus, by Ser. Calpurnius Epaphroditus.[1451] These inscriptions confirm the presence of the powerful *Calpurnii Pisones* at the site of *Cissa*, and it is known they had an estate on the island in the early 1st century CE.[1452]

The necropolis at Caska stands out as unique within Liburnia. Kurilić and Serventi suggest that some features, such as grave types, ritual traces and libation pipes point to analogies with the necropolis of Pupput (*colonia Aurelia Commoda Pia Felix Augusta Pupput*) in modern-day Tunisia, despite differences in grave construction.[1453] As they point out, the epigraphic evidence, as well as grave goods, could point to a concentration of

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[1448] On *profusiones* and libation rituals in the Roman world, see J. M. C. TOYNBEE 1971: 37, 41, 52, 101, 123.

[1449] A. KURILIĆ and Z. SERVENTI 2015b: 4.

[1450] A. KURILIĆ and Z. SERVENTI 2015a: 31.

[1451] *AE* 1994, 1376; A. KURILIĆ 2004b: 20-21, n. 14, fig. 14.

[1452] AK 2625 = *ILJug* 260; AK 2626 & 2627 = A. KURILIĆ, 1994, 209ff, n. 18 and 19.

[1453] A. KURILIĆ and Z. SERVENTI 2015a: 33.

immigrants from the east in this settlement. But the link with a northern African necropolis, in terms of style, is certainly of interest. Hopefully further investigation and research on this fascinating site will bring to light more information on its population and their socio-cultural lives.

The Liburnian Cippus

This section will discuss the cultural 'biography' of a unique form of funerary monument from the territory of Roman Liburnia, known in scholarship as the 'Liburnian cippus'.[1454] These monuments are well-known in local scholarship, but international scholars are rarely made aware of them. As is outlined below, local scholars have gone to great lengths to describe these monuments, but little attention has been given to investigation into their cultural origins. An attempt is made here to trace the cultural origins of this monument form and investigate whether it is possible to decipher any meaning in its style within the local social and cultural context.

Scholarship has traditionally divided Roman funerary monuments according to form and decorative style into categories such as stelae, altars, urns, and sarcophagi.[1455] This categorization often helps in identifying broad similarities across the Roman world, as well as regional and chronological variations. A certain level of conformity is found through the adoption of forms of funerary monuments through much of the empire that drew upon globalizing cultural templates, yet, simultaneously, the clustering of various designs and styles shows localized individualizing in the choice of details.[1456] Given that the Liburnian

[1454] See, e.g., M. SUIĆ 1996a; I. FADIĆ 1989; 1990; 1991; 2003; A. KURILIĆ 2010a.

[1455] E.g., J. M. C. TOYNBEE 1971; H. VON HESBERG 1992; V. M. HOPE 1997; 2001; E.-J. GRAHAM and V. M. HOPE 2016.

[1456] E.-J. GRAHAM and V. M. HOPE 2016: 168.

cippi draw upon both monumental tomb and tombstone styles (as outlined below), it is important to understand them in the context of the development of both architectural and funerary monument styles and imagery. The relative scarcity of archaeological evidence for domestic structures means that funerary architecture is often used for comparative evidence.[1457] Suić in fact argued that these monuments imitated the style and architecture of prehistoric domestic buildings.[1458] While the discussion below agrees that the Liburnian cippi were miniature imitations, it argues that their style was derived from funerary monuments on the Italian peninsula, rather than local domestic architecture.

Fig. 11. Liburnian cippus from Asseria. I. FADIĆ 2006: fig. 9.

The Liburnian cippi are stone sepulchral monuments composed of a cylindrical body and a cone shaped upper section, the latter usually plated with pinecone scales that are

[1457] J. BECKER 2013: 12.

[1458] M. SUIĆ 1996a.

shaped pointing upwards, and topped with an acroterion in the form of a pinecone.[1459] The bodies of most Liburnian cippi are shaped so that the entire cylindrical section is vertically straight, whether the body is much longer than the upper cone section or approximately the same.[1460] Another type of cippi have wider bases with a body that slants ever so slightly inwards so that the top is narrower than the bottom.[1461] Yet a third type, which are usually smaller examples, have outward bulging central parts of the body.[1462] The top section of the cippi comes in various forms, ranging from elongated to short dome shaped on different monuments, but all are in a general cone shape and decorated with pinecone scales.[1463] Decoration on Liburnian cippi is usually focused around the bottom edge, the segment between the body and the upper cone section, and the framing around the inscription panel. While these edges usually simply have linear profiles, they are sometimes decorated with astragals or vegetative ornaments.[1464] On the top of the cone upper section of the cippi is usually placed a pinecone. Examples of these that have survived (which is relatively few) come in various forms, or sometimes include only a cylinder shape.[1465]

The first study of Liburnian cippi was that of Suić, originally published in 1952.[1466] While Suić's paper is the only work to have focused on the cultural origins of the Liburnian cippi before now, I. Fadić has published extensively on these monuments over the past three decades and divided them into categories based on their features and hypothesised production centres. He named these categories after the places at which they were most

[1459] See figs. 11 – 13.

[1460] M. SUIĆ 1996a: fig. 2.a,b.

[1461] M. SUIĆ 1996a: fig. 2.c.

[1462] M. SUIĆ 1996a: fig. 2.d.

[1463] M. SUIĆ 1996a: fig. 4.

[1464] Suić notes that later cippi had more modest ornamentation, M. SUIĆ 1996a: 147.

[1465] M. SUIĆ 1996a: fig. 8.

[1466] M. SUIĆ 1952 (republished as M. SUIĆ 1996a).

commonly found – the island of Krk, Asseria and Zadar.[1467] Suić argued that the form of these cippi was drawn from pre-Roman domestic funerary monuments – namely, tumuli, and that in the Roman period they were made in sculptured stone form and covered with Roman decorative elements, as well as inscriptions.[1468] He points to the existence of tumuli in the pre-Roman period in Liburnian territory, and that of their regional neighbours, and suggests that the Liburnian cone cippus form developed out of small individual tumuli consisting of small rocks arranged in the shape of a spherical cone, reminiscent of a domestic structure. It was only when the 'conservative' Liburni came into the sphere of the Roman Empire that they received the stimulus to build their monuments in monolithic form.[1469] Suić argues that this explanation is supported by the hollowing of some of these cippi, which he suggests indicates that they were meant to represent domestic structures of the living. He provides interesting examples of houses of the dead resembling those of the living in a variety of Mediterranean cultures and chronological periods.[1470] Suić then points to examples of cylindrical dry walls and central foundations in tumuli from Istria, eastern Bosnia and the region of the Hallstatt culture to suggest some potential precedents or parallels that the Liburni may have followed.[1471]

Suić's discussion is well thought-out and researched, however, there are several issues with his argument about Liburnian cippi developing from prehistoric tumuli. Firstly, tumuli within the Liburnian region are difficult to date due to lack of investigation, and the earliest dated are from the Early Iron Age – none date to the last four centuries before the Roman period.[1472] Thus, there would be a significant chronological separation between the

[1467] I. FADIĆ 1989; 1990; 1991.

[1468] M. SUIĆ 1996a: 145, 158ff.

[1469] M. SUIĆ 1996a: 162.

[1470] M. SUIĆ 1996a: 163-164.

[1471] M. SUIĆ 1996a: 164-166.

[1472] J. CHAPMAN, R. SHIEL, and Š. BATOVIĆ 1996. See discussion in Chapter 4.

prehistoric ‘Liburnian’ tumuli and the Roman period cippi. The development of rock pile tumuli into the cone shaped cippi is also not altogether convincing, and without any evidence to suggest this, it is difficult to agree with. Given the clear influences from Italian models, discussed below, it is also now impossible to presume these were solely locally developed monuments. However, Suić was certainly on the right track when he pointed to these cippi mimicking other structures.[1473]

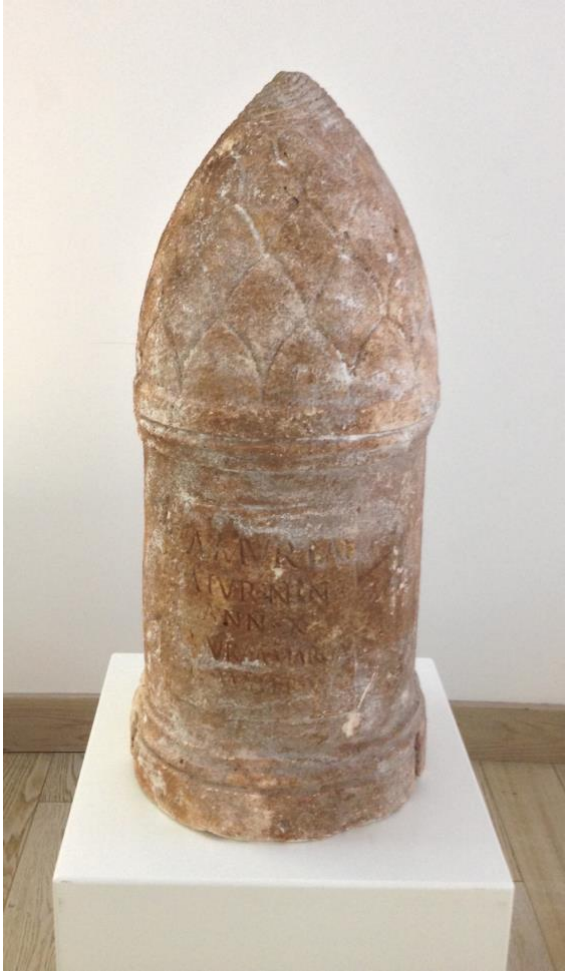

Fig. 12. Liburnian cippus from Museum of Ancient Glass, Zadar. Photo C. Barnett.

It is important to understand the origins and development of both the form and style of monuments, but also that of their decorative and iconographic motifs. Monument forms and decorative styles do not necessarily move together as they are imported into new areas.

[1473] M. SUIĆ 1996a: 163-164.

Producers of monuments may wish only to introduce a certain artistic or iconographic element to their existing monument style, or they could adopt an entirely new form of structure. The latter situation is perhaps more likely to occur when there are more direct and intensive contacts between the two regions of exchange (such as migration, familial relations, or significant commercial interactions). The exchange of iconographic elements may simply signify the circulation and exchange of fashionable motifs and styles.[1474] The appearance of the Liburnian cippus represents the introduction of an entirely new form of funerary monument into the region.

Fig. 13. Zadar type Liburnian cippus from the Archaeological Museum of Zadar. Photo C. Barnett.

[1474] M. VERZÁR BASS 1985: 185-186.

As Suić pointed out, what makes the Liburnian cippi distinct is less the decorative elements on them, which draw obviously from a wide range of sepulchral and artistic styles found throughout the empire at the time, but more their fundamental shape and form.[1475] He mentioned the similarities between the Liburnian monuments and Phoenician and Etruscan cippi with rectangular bodies and cone shaped upper sections, but dismissed any direct connection due to the significant chronological and geographical space between them.[1476] However, if we look at the range of funerary monuments in use during the Late Republic and Early Principate period in Italy, particularly northern Italy, we can identify more contemporary influences. As with other parts of Italy, and much of the empire that was brought into the Roman state in the Republican period, monumental production, including commemorative funerary monuments, developed from the second half of the 1st century BCE and peaked during the first half of the 1st century CE.[1477] The cylindrical funerary tombstone was relatively popular throughout the Veneto region during this period, and in some parts of the south-eastern Adriatic,[1478] but it is usually described as of Hellenistic origin.[1479] While those in central Italy largely kept their Hellenistic style, in the 1st centuries BCE and CE the cylindrical cippi in northern Italy took on a new form that integrated elements of Etruscan funerary imagery,[1480] but also of the Roman monumental tomb shape. Several variations of these cylindrical monuments were produced, including a variety of decorative and stylistic forms. These range from simple smooth, undecorated cippi, to those with various figural decorations such as vegetation, animals, festoon bands, geometric

[1475] M. SUIĆ 1996a: 145.

[1476] M. SUIĆ 1996a: 158-159, fig. 11, 12.

[1477] L. L. TAYLOR 2000: 61.

[1478] F. GHEDINI 1984; D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1976.

[1479] M. VERZÁR BASS 1985: 190.

[1480] F. GHEDINI 1984: 68-69.

designs, and portraits.[1481] Several features of these cippi (particularly those from Ateste) are reminiscent of the Liburnian monuments, including the smooth cylindrical body (particularly of the undecorated examples), and the conical upper section. One of the plainer examples includes an imbricated upper section,[1482] as with the Liburnian cippi. These items were, no doubt, produced under the influence of similar forms of cylindrical cippi from central Italy, where Hellenistic influences in the funerary realm were widespread. Following the founding of colonies at Aquileia, Concordia and Ateste, central Italian families immigrated to the Venetian region in significant numbers.[1483] These no doubt brought various cultural influences, and certainly new styles of funerary monuments.[1484]

A cursory glance at funerary monuments from the Venetian region reveals some decorative features in common with the Liburnian cippi. Firstly, the use of a pinecone as an acroterion on the top of funerary monuments is found relatively frequently throughout the region. Numerous smaller funerary monuments from Aquileia have upper sections with pyramidal shapes, though also with imbricated pinecone scales and a pinecone acroterion.[1485] Large mausolea with figural monuments dominated the necropolises at Aquileia, including the famous Grand Mausoleum. The outline of this latter monument closely resembles that of the Liburnian cippi, though it is peripteral, with a sculptured figure in the central part. The upper section, similarly to the Liburnian cippi, is imbricated with pinecone scales and there is a pinecone placed at the apex.[1486] It is interesting to note that on the larger mausolea, the pinecone scales are facing downwards, while on the smaller

[1481] F. GHEDINI 1984: 53-57, fig. 24-30.

[1482] F. Ghedini mentions this example, see above n. 1481. However, the author has, unfortunately, not yet been able to acquire an image of this monument.

[1483] C. SMITH 2018: 191ff.

[1484] F. GHEDINI 1984: 68.

[1485] See, e.g., V. M. HOPE 2001: Pl. 1A, 2B, 7A (see 115), 9A, 9B, 12A, 13A; F. GHEDINI 1984: fig. 27-29.

[1486] V. M. HOPE 2001: Pl. 1B.

tombstones they are facing upwards, as with the Liburnian cippi. This is perhaps due to functionality (upward facing scales, which are more representative of the pinecone shape, hinder the flow of water down a roof – less important on a small tombstone than a larger mausoleum). Particularly important for a comparison with the upper section of the Liburnian cippus is an example of a stelae, or cippus type, found in Altinum and Concordia, known as a hemisphere portrait. This form is suggested as possibly a symbolic omphalos or a miniaturization of a tumulus tomb, but either way is certainly of a central Italic origin.[1487] An example from Concordia (discussed further below) is shaped more like a pinecone and, similarly to the conical upper section of the Liburnian cippi, is imbricated with what are considered in most scholarship as pinecone scales that are facing upwards.[1488]

The pinecone as a funerary emblem had significance to many Mediterranean societies and cultures throughout antiquity, into the Medieval and Renaissance periods,[1489] and still today in some places – including Balkan folklore.[1490] The pinecone is frequently found on Etruscan monuments, and a significant number of cippi known from Etruria are shaped as pinecones or in a cylindrical shape with a pinecone as an acroterion.[1491] There are clear influences from Etruria in the funerary sphere in Roman Venetia, including particularly the use of lions and sphinxes on monuments in the region, as well as, perhaps, various stelae forms.[1492] The use of pinecone imagery on funerary monuments in Venetia probably also represents an Etrurian influence.

[1487] L. L. TAYLOR 2000: 483.

[1488] L. L. TAYLOR 2000: 487.

[1489] M. FINCH 1991.

[1490] E. DOBRUNA-SALIHU 2005: 349.

[1491] L. BANTI 1973: 158. As G. Dennis noted in the late 19th century, see G. DENNIS 1985: chpt 37, 42.

[1492] L. L. TAYLOR 2000: 471-472.

Pinecones as features placed at the apex of funerary monuments and as acroteria are known from other parts of the Roman Empire, particularly southern Dardania.[1493] Cumont stated that the pinecone was symbolic of immortality and resurrection within the realm of sepulchral art,[1494] and pine type trees are certainly tied to the Roman cult of the dead in ancient written sources.[1495] Pinecones and trees are associated with several deities, including the Magna Mater,[1496] Cybele, Sabazius,[1497] Attis,[1498] Bacchus, and Silvanus.[1499] It is thus possible that the pinecone as a motif in the funerary realm in Italy had its origins in Anatolia.[1500] This imagery certainly came to Liburnia via Italy, but the point made above highlights the roundabout manner in which this imagery was transferred. The meaning of the pinecone imagery no doubt changed as it crossed social and cultural borders, but appears tied to the funerary realm in a wide range of historical and geographic contexts.

Suić complained that earlier descriptions of Liburnian cippi in modern scholarship always spoke in terms of two pinecones, one bigger and one smaller (the acroterion), with the upper conical section of the monument that is decorated in pinecone shells in fact representing a pinecone. He saw this upper section as indistinguishable from the cylindrical body, and that the fact it was covered with pinecone shells was less important.[1501] This top section can, however, provide us with additional information on from where this imagery was directly borrowed. A number of tombstones from the Aquileian region have similar

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[1493] E. DOBRUNA-SALIHU 2005: 348, fig. 1, 3.

[1494] F. CUMONT 1942: 219.

[1495] Ov. Tr. 3.13.21; Plin. *HN* 16, 139-140.

[1496] J. N. BREMMER 2008: 288.

[1497] E. DOBRUNA-SALIHU 2005: 348.

[1498] However, Attis is not associated with the pine tree in the Greek version of his cult, nor in Greek iconography, J. N. BREMMER 2008: 279, 307.

[1499] For bibliography, see N. CRUMMY 2010: 63, n. 68.

[1500] F. CUMONT 1942: 22; E. DOBRUNA-SALIHU 2005: 348; J. N. BREMMER 2008: 288.

[1501] M. SUIĆ 1996a: 157.

imbrication of pinecone scales on their upper sections, as well as a pinecone acroterion. The pinecone shaped 'hemisphere portrait' cippus with a sculpture of the head of the doctor D. Sempronius Hilarus, from Concordia, and dating to the early Augustan period, has striking resemblance to the upper section of the Liburnian monuments, both in terms of shape and decoration.[1502] It is certainly different to the Liburnian monuments, as the conical upper section sits atop a short rectangular podium. The pinecone scales in relief that imbricate the upper section are facing upwards, as with the Liburnian cippi. One *L. Sempronius Rufus Iuvenalis* is indirectly mentioned on a Liburnian cippus from Bibinje, near the colony of Iader, dedicated to his slave Fortina by her parents.[1503] This is not to claim that this family brought the cippus type to Liburnia, nor even that this is certainly the same Sempronius family. The pinecone top does, however, certainly represent a direct influence from the artistic circle that produced the monument in Concordia.

Epigraphic evidence suggests immigration into Liburnia in the Early Roman period came largely from northern Italy,[1504] while there is some indication that craftsmen who produced the cippi were among them. This is highlighted in an example of a cippus from Asseria. The body of this monument reflects that of other Liburnian cippi, however, a kind of wicker basket shaped upper section is attached – a characteristic form of funerary omphalos known from Aquileia.[1505] The name of the deceased highlights his membership in an elite Aquileian family.[1506] Craftsmen from northern Italy were immigrating to Liburnia along with other individuals and families, and they probably knew there was a potential market for their craftwork here. They adapted various forms and imagery that were known

[1502] F. GHEDINI 1984: 63-64, fig. 40.

[1503] A. KURILIĆ 2010a: 233, cat. 70 = AK 1127 = *CIL* 3, 14007.

[1504] As discussed earlier, 245-246.

[1505] I. FADIĆ 1990: T. VII (25) 2.

[1506] M. VERZÁR BASS 1985: 186, 205.

from their home region, and Italy more broadly, into a new type of monument that became popular locally in Liburnia.

Various funerary monuments from Venetian towns reflected trends in Rome at the time, particularly in Brixia, Verona and Ateste. Circular mausolea from Verona are of special significance here. Though only the curved slabs that contain their commemorative inscriptions remain from these monuments, it is quite probable that they were scaled-down versions of the imposing monumental circular mausoleum type that became popular among Roman elites from the Late Republican period.[1507] A series of monumental circular masonry and brick funerary monuments developed in Italy from the 1st century BCE, and were in use intermittently for over four centuries, between the reigns of Augustus and the sons of

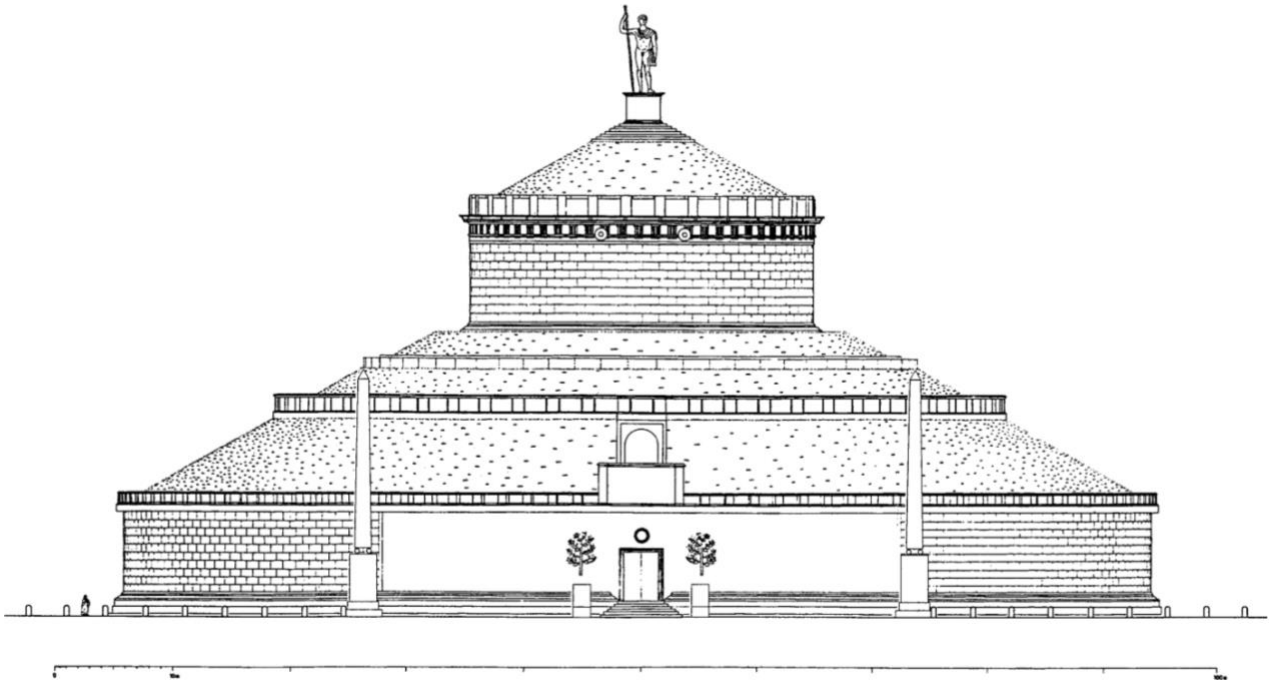

Fig. 14. H. von Hesberg's reconstruction of the Mausoleum of Augustus. H. GERDING 2002: fig. 43.

[1507] L. L. TAYLOR 2000: 494, 502-503.

Constantine I. Examples of this monumental circular tomb type are found throughout Italy, including at Tusculum, Tivoli, Pozzuoli, Naples, Regio Emilia, Polla, Pompeii, and Pietrabbondante.[1508] Most date to the 1st century BCE and 1st century CE, though this type of tomb was in use through to Late Antiquity in various parts of the Roman Empire.[1509]

There has been debate over whether the Roman circular tombs are derived from Etruscan tumuli or Hellenistic architectural influences.[1510] H. Gerding argues that a kind of Etruscan archaism does not make sense, since it is difficult to recognise any kind of Etruscan vogue among the highest level of Roman elite in the Late Republic and early Augustan period. He argues the difference in proportions and clear emphasis on the cylindrical wall would suggest it was distinguished from the tumulus.[1511] The Mausoleum of Augustus represents a combination of these two types of sepulchral monument – the Etruscan tumuli mound and the circular mausoleum. Based on H. von Hesberg's reconstruction of the Mausoleum of Augustus (fig. 13), Gerding suggests that the monument is constructed of two different concepts – the lower part resembling a tumuli mound, and the upper part a cylindrical structure that is related to the tombs of Caecilia Metella, L. Munatius Plancus, L. Sempronius Atratinus, and others.[1512] The lower section of Augustus' mausoleum certainly indicates inspiration from Etruria, such as the type of grass-covered earthen tumuli found at the Banditaccia Cemetery at Caere.[1513] The archaic simplicity and monumentality may have harkened back to the *mos maiorum* of the Republican period, which Augustus professed to restore. The upper section of the Mausoleum perhaps found

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[1508] E.-J. GRAHAM and V. M. HOPE 2016: 168, with references.

[1509] J. M. C. TOYNBEE 1971: 157-163.

[1510] For an extensive discussion of the typology and meaning of the Mausoleum of Augustus, see J. C. REEDER 1992 and S. L. FUGATE BRANGERS 2007, both of which refer to older literature.

[1511] H. GERDING 2002: 85.

[1512] H. GERDING 2002: 85-87, for references to further literature.

[1513] On funerary architecture from the Banditaccia Cemetery at Caere, see A. NASO 2007.

inspiration in the late Roman republican cylindrical tombs, mentioned above, but its size and monumentality recall the dynastic tombs of Asia Minor, such as the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, as well as the Mausoleum of Alexander.[1514]

P. J. E. Davies has suggested that, after returning to Rome following his victory at the battle of Actium, Augustus was eager to erect a monument to celebrate his military achievement. As the result of the battle both justified and perpetuated his family's ruling of Rome, he created a funerary monument, in the Republican tradition, that marked his name while also acting as a trophy to his victory.[1515] Gerding takes this argument further and suggests that the Roman cylindrical monuments drew upon the characteristics of other circular concepts, the *heroon* (shrines that mark the grave where a hero was buried) and the *tropaion* (victory monument). In the Roman concept, deriving the idea from the 'Sullan' *imperator* tomb, these monuments, at least originally, were architectural manifestations of the triumphal celebration. A list of these cylindrical monuments, which Gerding provides, shows that seven out of eight tombs within the vicinity of Rome were associated with a *triumphator*. The latest of these seven dates to before 21 BCE, while the eighth, dated to 9 CE, belongs to two men awarded *ornamenta triumphalia*. Several of these monuments are known from outside the immediate area around Rome, but all date to the 1st century CE, none of which are related to *triumphators*. The dating of these monuments makes sense, since after 19 BCE, only the members of the imperial family celebrated triumphs, while other commanders were awarded *ornamenta triumphalia*.[1516]

This fluctuation appears to follow similar trends in displays of memorials in general funerary contexts in Rome. Such displays reached a peak in the final years of the Republic,

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[1514] P. J. E. DAVIES 2000: 51-54.

[1515] P. J. E. DAVIES 2000: 62.

[1516] For discussion, see H. GERDING 2002: 88-89.

while self-glorifying monuments focused on the individual declined in the 1st century CE.[1517] The reign of Augustus, and the emergence of a new imperial political system caused drastic changes to Republican power structures among the Roman elite. The Mausoleum of

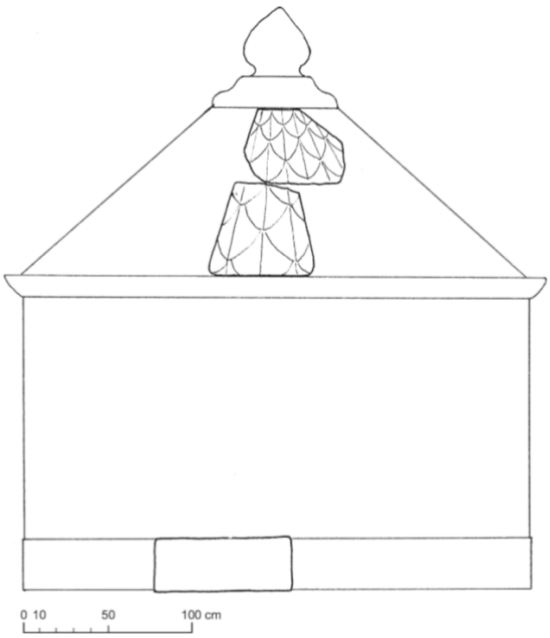

Fig. 15. Reconstruction of rotunda from Pula. A. STARAC 2000a: fig. 24.

Augustus symbolized this change as it dominated the landscape of the capital. Legislation passed in 18 BCE prohibited ostentatious displays of luxury among the Roman elite, and this was no doubt meant to prevent competition with Augustus in terms of his self-image.[1518] These changes had relatively little practical impact outside of Rome, and while the funerary monument lost some of the symbolism of political power it once held amongst the elite in the capital, it gained a new significance among other levels of society throughout the empire.[1519]

As mentioned above, the cylindrical tomb structure became a favourite of the municipal elite, particularly in northern Italy. This at least spread to the Istrian coast, where

[1517] H. VON HESBERG 1992: 19-54.

[1518] L. CHIOFFI 2015: 636.

[1519] V. M. HOPE 1997: 110-112.

a number of fragments of cylindrical masonry structures, found at the site of Pula, are held in the Archaeological Museum of Istria. These included sections of podia, pieces of walls with relief representations of mythological scenes and a dancing woman, as well as fragments of architraves and cornices. Based on their shape and dimensions, these pieces relate to circular monuments ranging from approximately 2.7 to 6 meters in diameter.[1520] Related to these are three fragments of the upper section of such monuments. These pieces would form spherical equilateral triangles and are decorated with layers of pinecone scales. It appears these belonged to cylindrical funerary monuments like those already mentioned.[1521] These monuments are dated from the late 1st century BCE to 1st century CE. Starac has provided a figural reconstruction of one of these structures, with an approximate diameter of 3 meters, based on the dimensions of pieces of the conical shaped roof and podium (fig. 14).[1522] If this is an accurate depiction, this monument has great similarities in form, dimensions and style to that of the Liburnian cippus, just on a larger scale. The form of these circular monuments also indicates they imitate the cylindrical tombs known from Italy, however, on a smaller scale. This conceivably provides the link that points to the direction from which the idea for this cippus design was brought to Liburnia; the Liburnian cippus, then, representing a kind of miniature reproduction of the cylindrical tomb that was popular among Roman emperors and the municipal elite with the addition of pinecone imagery.

The reproduction of temples or *heroa* in miniature form as funerary monuments is certainly not an unknown occurrence in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds, but more so the former. Examples are known from the eastern Adriatic, including two rectangular cippi in

[1520] A. STARAC 2006b: 21, cat. 20-32.

[1521] A. STARAC 2006b: cat. 33-35.

[1522] A. STARAC 2000a: fig. 24.

the form of *heroa*, and two cylindrical cippi in the form of *tholoi*, from Apollonia in modern-day coastal Albania.[1523] Similar examples of miniature forms of cippi are known from Carsulae and Apulia.[1524] Given the Liburnian cippus' specific shape and decoration, particularly its upper section, the direct influences for the construction of this monument clearly came from the upper Adriatic region.

The link between Liburnian cippi and northern Italian funerary monuments is clear, particularly in terms of the cylindrical shape of the body and the upper section having upward facing pinecone scales and a pinecone acroterion. The similarities with the circular monument from Pula is interesting – though the pinecone scales here are facing downwards, as mentioned above, this difference is probably functional. It is quite possible that the Liburnian cippus draws inspiration for its form from the same place as the Pula monument and certain other cylindrical cippi from Italy, and it is argued here that this comes from the prevailing monumental funerary structure of the time, the cylindrical mausoleum. The northern Italic funerary imagery of the pinecone upper section and acroterion form was then adapted to this form. The rounded upper section, found on some Liburnian cippus types, may indicate the influence of the type of hemispheric pinecone cippus found in Concordia, while other shapes are more reflective of the conical roofs of monumental cylindrical mausoleums. The transformation and adaptation that took place in the development of the Liburnian cippi was certainly unique within the context of the Roman Empire, as this type has no direct parallels outside of Liburnia.

Since the Liburnian cippus form is unique to the territory of Liburnia, some scholars have presumed that those who chose to use them must have been of local origin,[1525] or that

[1523] M. VERZÁR BASS 1985: 196, fig. 9. 10, 19, 20.

[1524] M. VERZÁR BASS 1985: 196, 206.

[1525] M. GLAVIČIĆ 1994a: 72.

they were created according to local perceptions of funerary monuments.[1526] Fadić noted the difficulties with identifying the individuals and families commemorated on Liburnian cippi, due to the lack of information provided in the inscriptions, but highlighted the range of ethnic groups that utilised these monuments.[1527] Through an exhaustive analysis of the legible inscriptions on the Liburnian cippi, Kurilić has provided an assessment of the discernible ethnic and civic identities of the individuals mentioned on them.[1528] Her analysis shows that around 24 (32%) of those mentioned on these monuments were either local or immigrant populations (mainly Italic), while 21 (28%) were certainly immigrants (mostly Italic) and their descendants. Only 8 (11%) are certainly identified with local names, while 3 more possibly are also.[1529] Their majority use by Italic immigrant families and enfranchised locals is perhaps unsurprising, since the former were probably familiar with certain features of these monuments while the latter were in a position whereby they may wish to emulate aspects of Italic elite culture to emphasize their position in a new provincial society.

Kurilić also provided a system of relative value for monuments from Liburnia. Her categorization was based upon the size of the stone block used for the tombstone, as well as the level of craftsmanship and artistic skill evident in the carving of the monument, its decoration and text.[1530] According to the hierarchy of monuments that she created, the Liburnian cippi stand out as a homogenous group of the most expensive tombstones and epigraphic monuments.[1531] This suggests that the commissioners of these monuments were wealthy, or very wealthy individuals.[1532]

[1526] M. SUIĆ 1996a: 145.

[1527] I. FADIĆ 2003: 115.

[1528] A. KURILIĆ 2010a.

[1529] A. KURILIĆ 2010a: 139, chart 1.

[1530] A. KURILIĆ 1999: 22-25.

[1531] A. KURILIĆ 1999: 202; 2003: 77-92; 2006c: 64-65, app. 1.

[1532] A. KURILIĆ 2010a: 141.

The monumental cylindrical tombs of the Late Republican period were certainly related to the celebration of triumphs amongst the Roman elite. As from 18 BCE only members of the elite were allowed to celebrate triumphs, and ostentatious displays of wealth were curbed, the size and number of cylindrical monuments decreased. It is argued here that the emergence of some cylindrical cippi monuments in the late 1st century BCE in Italy was a result of members of the Italic elite, as well as the socially mobile members of Roman society, adopting this form due to its association with the Roman elite and the Emperor.[1533] The proliferation of cylindrical mausoleums in the 1st century CE probably indicates that they lost their original association with receivers of the military triumph.[1534] If the cylindrical cippi were indeed imitations of these monuments then they surely were also not associated with military triumph, but were probably associated with elite social status. The high number of migrants from northern Italy to Liburnia, and the high value of these monuments within Liburnian society, suggest they were probably also symbols of social status in this provincial setting.

The Liburnian cippi have a long and interesting 'cultural biography'.[1535] Its form and style included features of Etruscan and Hellenistic funerary monuments that were adopted in Rome and northern Italy. The unique shape that formed when northern Italian settlers brought these monuments to Liburnia points to several important conclusions. The manufacturers who brought this style knew they would have customers to purchase them in this new land. Stylistic choices often serve the purpose of emphasizing certain ideologies and strategies of legitimation that reinforce status and identity.[1536] While it is difficult to

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[1533] See V. M. HOPE 1997; L. CHIOFFI 2015: 634-636; E.-J. GRAHAM and V. M. HOPE 2016: 168, 170, 171.

[1534] H. GERDING 2002: 89.

[1535] M. J. VERSLUYS 2014a: 154-155.

[1536] M. J. VERSLUYS 2013: 433.

determine exactly what new meanings and functions were applied to this monument as it went through the different stages of its 'cultural biography', if it indeed drew upon the shape and form of the Roman monumental cylindrical tomb, we can presume it had significant symbolism in terms of social identity. Given its relatively expensive worth in Liburnian society, and its regular association with full Roman citizens, we might presume this symbolism was carried with it from Italy to Liburnia. However, how the pinecone and other aspects of imagery were conceptualized in new ways as it was appropriated across social and cultural boundaries, it is hard to say.

Tombstone monuments with portraits

Another style of monument imported from northern Italy into Liburnia was the tombstone type with portraits. Unlike the well-known Liburnian cippi, on which are recorded a range of immigrant and indigenous families, onomastic data suggests that people mentioned on portrait monuments from Liburnia were mostly of the latter group. As discussed below, at least 42 tombstones with portraits are recorded here, along with 3 outside of Liburnia that record indigenous Liburnian names, though many are quite fragmented with no inscriptions surviving. Furthermore, only on a select group is there enough relevant onomastic data present making it possible to identify the origins of the individuals mentioned on them. Using the methodology for identifying ethnic backgrounds on inscriptions from Liburnia, discussed in Chapter 6, it is possible to draw some conclusions about the identities of those who utilized these monuments.

Of the portrait tombstones from Liburnia with inscriptions that provide identifying data, 13 mention indigenous Liburni,[1537] 1 two Pannonians,[1538] 3 persons of either Liburnian or Italic origin,[1539] 1 a Liburnian as well as a person of either Liburnian or Delmataean origin,[1540] 1 a Iapodian, 1 a person of 'Greek' background and another from southern Gaul,[1541] and 1 a person of northern Italian background.[1542] Outside of Liburnia, 2 portrait tombstone monuments, one from Pannonia Inferior,[1543] the other from Dacia,[1544] mention indigenous Liburni, while another from Pannonia Inferior mentions an individual of Liburnian or Histrian origin and another person of Liburnian or Italic origin.[1545] A monument commemorated by *Retinia Quieta* to *Retinio Felicissimo*, two Iapodes, is only vaguely recorded as found beyond Asseria, and close to Scardona.[1546] Both Kurilić and Serventi have it as only possibly a portrait stela, and no picture of the monument is known. It is noteworthy that Scardona was the seat of the conventus that had jurisdiction over both Liburnia and Iapodia, so it is entirely imaginable that Iapodes may have lived in or nearby the town, perhaps in some administrative or governmental role. Another monument,

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[1537] AK 991 = NS 58 = *ILJug* 908 = *AE* 1969-70, 456; AK 1012 = NS 79 = *ILJug* 207; AK 1329 = NS 10 = *ILJug* 869 (1963, 203) = *AE* 1969-70, 458; AK 1994 = NS 560 = A. KURILIĆ 1992/93: 61ff, fig. 1; AK 2333 = NS 22 = *CIL* 3, 13296 (3134 = 10127); AK 1078 = NS 134 = *CIL* 3, 2900; AK 2843 = NS 108; AK 1257 = NS 187 = *CIL* 3, 3058 (10096); AK 2380 = NS 693 = *CIL* 3, 9929a; AK 1260 = NS 190 = *CIL* 3, 3038 (10062) = *AE* 1967, 353; AK 1753 = NS 326 = *CIL* 3, 3036 = *ILJug* 2908 = *AE* 1967, 352. NS 453 (see M. GLAVIČIĆ 2003: 79ff, fig. 6) was 'very likely' a portrait stela, due to its shape and formulation of inscription and artwork, though the actual portrait from the upper section is missing; similarly with NS 558 = AK 1950 = *ILJug* 846.

[1538] AK 1988 = NS 209 = *ILJug* 2956 = *AE* 1980, 689. On Pannonian onomastics with extensive bibliography of earlier scholarship, see I. RADMAN-LIVAJA and H. IVEZIĆ 2012.

[1539] AK 1317 = NS 476 = *CIL* 3, 2874; AK 2841 = NS 445; AK 2301 = NS 341 = *CIL* 3, 3037.

[1540] AK 2727 = NS 511 = *ILJug* 2858.

[1541] AK 2845 = NS 722.

[1542] AK 2842 = NS 786.

[1543] AK 2852.

[1544] AK 2917 = *CIL* 3, 1200.

[1545] AK 2916 = *CIL* 3, 3322.

[1546] AK 1500 = NS 539 = *CIL* 3, 2814.

dedicated by one [P.(?) Corne(?)]elius [. f. Sca. R]epentinus domo Florentia, whose origins were in northern Italy, to Corneliae P. l. Fortunat(a)e, originally discovered and recorded in 1709, is also now only known from written notes. It supposedly had anthropomorphic depictions, but its identification as a portrait stela is far from certain, and the accuracy of the record is questionable.[1547] Thus, the majority of known tombstones with portraits from Liburnia are related to indigenous Liburni, or individuals who were probably indigenous Liburni, with only a few exceptions, and some examples are known of Liburni using this monument type away from their homeland.

Several studies have discussed the portrait stelae from Liburnia, starting with that of Rendić-Miočević, who in 1959 published an analysis of the four examples that were known at the time.[1548] These included stelae from Ostrovica (near Bribirska glavica – ancient *Varvaria*), Asseria, Kašić, and Nin.[1549] Three decades later, M. Kolega undertook a stylistic analysis of two other examples from the island of Krk, in the Kvarner Gulf.[1550] Cambi discussed portrait stelae in an article on Roman grave monuments from Asseria, and provided important insight into the northern Italian and Hellenistic influences on their design.[1551] Since then, several new portrait monuments from Liburnia have been published.[1552] Lastly, in 2009, D. Maršić published a monograph on embedded and structural portrait reliefs in Histria and Dalmatia.[1553]

[1547] NS 786 = AK 2842.

[1548] D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1959a.

[1549] NS 58 = AK 991; NS 79 = AK 1012; NS 10 = AK 1329; NS 134 = AK 1078.

[1550] M. KOLEGA 1989.

[1551] N. CAMBI 1991-1992.

[1552] A. KURILIĆ 1992/93; D. MARŠIĆ 2003.

[1553] D. MARŠIĆ 2009.

Monumental portrait stelae are considered among the most valuable epigraphic monuments from Liburnia,[1554] and were an elaborate form of expressing various identities – social, familial, and cultural, as well as citizenship status. The portrait medium as a visual representation of the deceased was a particularly effective means of perpetuating their memory, and the associated epitaph allowed for the advertisement of their achievements and character.[1555] These monuments were certainly constructed in local workshops; however, the sculptors who constructed them drew their influences from similar monument types produced on the Italian peninsula. Comparison with similar monuments from the necropolises of Aquileia points to the Veneto region as the node from which these styles reached Liburnia. Stelae that included half-length portraits in relief, displayed in simple aedicule, with stylized gables, as seen in these examples from Liburnia, appeared in northern Italy in the second half of the 1st century BCE, and were themselves influenced by similar large family tombstone monuments from central Italy.[1556] Such stelae with half-portraits were particularly numerous in Roman Histria during the 1st century CE,[1557] again, pointing to the direction from which the influence for these monuments reached Liburnia. Several of the larger and more impressively sculptured examples from Liburnia have features that provide evidence of their various artistic and cultural influences, their meanings and origins, as well as aspects of the social, ethnic and civic identity of the deceased represented and described on these monuments, and deserve analysis here.

[1554] A. KURILIĆ 2006c: app. 1.

[1555] J. FEJFER 2008: 105ff, with references to many works on portrait stelae from across the Roman Empire.

[1556] A. STARAC 2006b: 19.

[1557] A. STARAC 2000c.

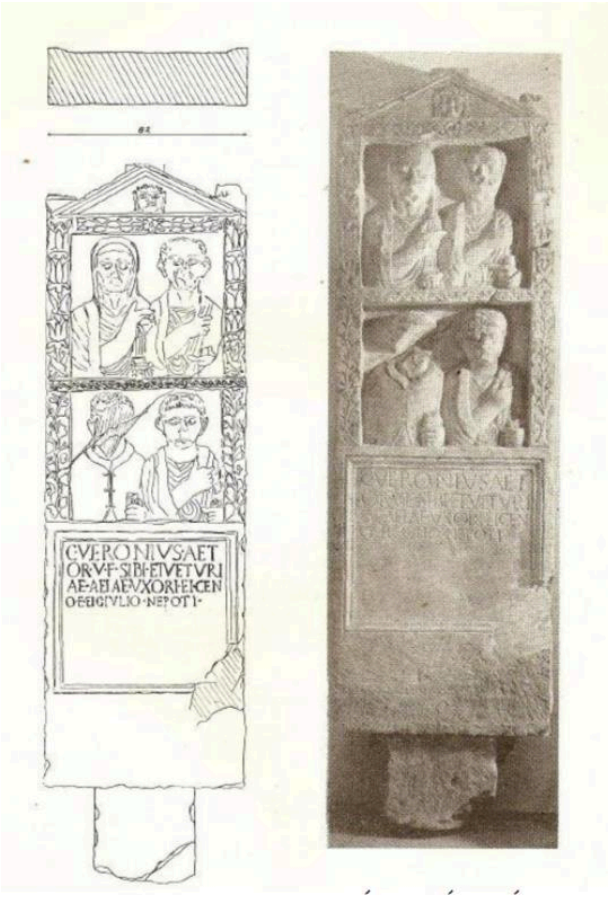

Fig. 16. Monumental portrait stela from Ostrovica. Z. SERVENTI 2014: NS 10.

The first monument (fig. 16) was discovered at Ostrovica, near Bribirska glavica. With a height of 356 cm, length 82 cm and thickness 24-27 cm, this monumental portrait stela has two aedicules containing portraits, each portraying two individuals, with an inscription field below.[1558] The triangular gable above displays a head of Medusa in its field and two acroterias (probably lions) on the sides above are damaged, as well as one at the apex (perhaps a pinecone). Thin ridges along the gable help to give the impression of a roof structure. Floral motifs adorn the frames of the portrait niches. The two figures on the right of both portrait aedicules are males – the one above displaying older features than that below.[1559] Each is presented in a stereotypical pose of a Roman citizen,[1560] dressed in a tunic

[1558] AK 1329 = NS 10 = *ILJug* 869 (1963, 203) = *AE* 1969-70, 458.

[1559] D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1959a: 109ff.

[1560] J. FEJFER 2008: 181ff, 262ff.

and toga, with the right hand bent at the chest clutching the toga and the left hand closed lower down, from which a scroll protrudes. The scroll signifies that the individual was a Roman citizen,[1561] and might imply he had civic administrative responsibilities.[1562] The figure on the left of the upper niche is an older woman. She wears a garment wrapped around her body, probably a *palla*, and a kind of scarf over her head. Cambi compares this scarf to those that appear on female figures in portraits and busts from elsewhere in the Balkans, at Breza in central Bosnia and Gnjilane in Kosovo. He suggests this was a type of head cover specific for 'Illyrian' clothing, distinct from the Roman style of dress found on the other figures, and was an expression of the identity of an indigenous rural woman.[1563] Similarly with the males, her right hand is bent and holds her clothing, with her index finger bent – an indication that she was married for a second time. In her left hand, she holds a jewellery box. The figure on the left of the lower niche, which is badly damaged, was obviously a soldier. He wears a *paenula* rather than toga, and in his left hand is an object that is probably a sword hilt.[1564]

The inscription below reveals the older man depicted in the portrait was Gaius Veronius Aetor and his wife alongside him Veturiae Aei(t)ae. Their *gentilica* are clearly Roman, but they both carry local *cognomina* – Aetor and Aei(t)ae.[1565] The male on the bottom right is named without a *gentilicum*, and his *cognomen*, Ce(u)no, is certainly local Liburnian.[1566] The last individual has a wholly Roman nomenclature, C. Iulio Nepoti, and

[1561] M. T. BOATWRIGHT 2005: 296.

[1562] J. FEJFER 2008: 184-186.

[1563] N. CAMBI 1991-1992: 36.

[1564] D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1959a: 113.

[1565] See A. KURILIĆ 1999, persons 3144 and 3145.

[1566] See A. KURILIĆ 1999: 168ff for a list of Liburnian personal names.

possibly completely lost his indigenous name in the context of gaining citizenship due to his service in the military.[1567]

The portrait stela from Ostrovica is of particular interest for the varied examples of costume, and what this might tell us about the individuals portrayed on it. Choice of clothing and adornment are often mediums through which various aspects of identity and status are communicated on Roman portrait monuments and inhabitants of the provinces often used mixtures of indigenous and Roman clothing styles to negotiate different identities.[1568] What is of interest in this sense is that women were much more often depicted wearing indigenous costume, as opposed to Roman attire, on portraits from the provinces than were men. The reason women more often donned indigenous dress is perhaps the difference between the private and public lives of men and women – what this might reveal is the need for men to behave and dress in a more 'Roman' fashion since they were much more engaged in the public arena than women.[1569] Other indigenous female head-covers are also found displayed on Roman-era tombstones not too far from Liburnia. The so-called Pannonian-Norican 'turbans' are characteristic of elite tombstones in Pannonia and Noricum.[1570] As with the example from Ostrovica it is unclear whether these represented recent or older traditional fashions (the latter is more likely),[1571] and how they functioned as gendered identity-indicators.[1572] Examples are also known from the province of Dalmatia. Female busts on gravestones with a scarf with loose ends are found on tombstones in the eastern part of the province at Pljevlja (Montenegro), Prijepolje (Serbia), Nova Varoš (Serbia) and Foča (eastern Bosnia), as well as in the central part of the province at Glamoč (south-western

[1567] D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1959a: 115.

[1568] For in-depth discussion, see M. CARROLL 2013.

[1569] M. CARROLL 2013: 567-572.

[1570] J. GARBSCH 1965: 13-22; 1985: 559-562.

[1571] S. HALES 2010: 234.

[1572] D. DZINO and A. DOMIĆ KUNIĆ 2012: 105.

Bosnia) and Konjic (northern Herzegovina).[1573] Unlike these examples of women, indigenous men in these regions are displayed on tombstones in very Roman fashion.[1574] Wearing of the toga was, during the Principate, reserved strictly for Roman citizen men,[1575] and is sometimes described as a kind of ethno-cultural marker of the Romans in ancient literary sources.[1576] Married women who were Roman citizens wore the *stola*, so both genders had distinctive dress that marked their civic status.[1577] Portraits of soldiers without full armour but with a belted tunic and clock along with a weapon or standard that clearly identified them with their military class were popular throughout the Principate.[1578]

With these issues in mind, it is clear the stela from Ostrovica displays a range of identities. If Cambi's interpretation of Veturiae as wearing a headdress of local origin is correct, it is probably an intentional expression of her indigenous identity. She was a married woman and a Roman citizen, so could have worn the same kind of typical Roman *stola* found on other female portraits from Liburnia.[1579] The jewellery box that she holds is perhaps meant to signify her status as a woman from a wealthy family,[1580] but it is difficult to tell whether this had any other identifying qualities or was related to any belief systems. Veronius and Ce(u)no displayed themselves as Roman citizens through their wearing of the toga and holding of the scroll in their left hand, which was perhaps meant to signify their

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[1573] R. ZOTOVIĆ 2003: fig. 7. A square gravestone from Seča Reka of an indigenous woman displays jewellery also thought to indicate retention of traditional costume, fig. 8.

[1574] R. ZOTOVIĆ 2003.

[1575] S. STONE 1994; G. DAVIES 2005.

[1576] Suet. *Aug*. 40.5; Verg. *Aen*. 1.282-286.

[1577] J. EDMONDSON 2008: 22.

[1578] M. A. SPEIDEL 2012: 3-5.

[1579] The *stola* was itself a symbol of status, J. FEJFER 2008: 40, 183, 257.

[1580] D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1959a: 113; a woman holds a similar box, on a smaller portrait stela from Asseria, D. MARŠIĆ 2003: 166ff, fig. 5 = NS 484, as well as on another stela from Petrčane, near Nin, AK 991 = NS 58, D. MARŠIĆ 2002: 190ff.

recent granting of citizenship.[1581] Yet they still wished to have their local identities remembered, as they held onto their indigenous *cognomina*. Iulio Nepoti is clearly portrayed as a soldier of the Roman army, and his name emphasises his status as a full Roman citizen. While his nomenclature does not provide any hint at his relationship to the other individuals on the portrait, we might well presume he is a son of one or each of the two elders, and that

Fig. 17. Monumental portrait stela from Kašić Donji. M. KOLEGA 2011: fig. 6.

he displays no indigenous name due to his gaining citizenship through military service. This particular stela is dated to approximately the last decade of the 1st century CE,[1582] and is therefore from a period when indigenous Liburni were fairly well incorporated into the Roman Empire in terms of municipalization of cities and acquiring of various levels of citizenship. That certain elements of indigenous identity are expressed on it at this relative

[1581] D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1959a: 112.

[1582] N. CAMBI 1991-1992: 38.

late period in integration of Liburnian communities into the structure of Roman citizenry is perhaps due to the rural area from which it came. Rural areas were slower to integrate into certain aspects of Roman administrative and 'globalizing' cultural frameworks, probably due to their relative geographic isolation from networks of communication, trade and centres of governance.

The form of monument with double portrait fields, one above the other, is a clear influence of northern Italian models, and is rare in Dalmatia,[1583] though another example is known from Liburnia. On this second example (fig. 17), the lower portrait niche has a semicircular top section, rather than square like the former, and this is a variant that has its origins in northern Italy.[1584] This portrait stela, discovered in a rural cemetery near the village of Kašić Donji (nearby to ancient Corinium), similarly to the monument from Ostrovica, includes an inscription field below the portraits, but has even more of an architectural appearance, as the sides of the upper portrait field are designed as columns.[1585] Though they are rather badly damaged, the upper section clearly contains the figures of a woman on the left and man on the right, and a lone woman populates the lower section.

The inscription identifies the people portrayed as Tullia Oepli f. Voltisa (commemorator), the woman in the top section on the left, her son C. Iulio Ceuni f. Acirrio to her right, and her mother Oppiae Q. f. Opiavae in the field below. They kept their indigenous Liburnian personal names – *Oepla, Voltisa, Ceunus, Acirrius,* and *Opiava* (and family name *Oppia*).[1586] The inscription indicates Tullia Voltisa was married to a man named *Ceunus*, based on her son's filiation, and that he had no civil rights. Based on the

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[1583] One example from Dalmatia is the well-known stela from Salona of Titus Fufitius and his family, N. CAMBI 2000: 45, n. 50, Tab. 62.

[1584] N. CAMBI 1991-1992: 35.

[1585] AK 1078 = NS 134 = *CIL* 3, 2900.

[1586] AK 1078.

name of her father (*Quintus*), Tullia Voltisa was probably a second-generation citizen.[1587] This was a family in the early process of gaining Roman citizenship.

C. Iulio has large ears and short hair with dense locks arranged across the forehead in a regular row – a style of hair typical of the Julio-Claudian period, and worn by emperors

Fig. 18. Monumental portrait stela from Asseria. M. KOLEGA 2011: fig. 8.

Tiberius, Caligula and Claudius. The female figures both have uncovered heads, and hair that is combed and parted in the middle. This dates the portrait to the first half of the 1st century CE.[1588] A similar hairstyle is seen on portraits of Agrippina the Elder, Agrippina the

[1587] D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1959a: 125.

[1588] J. FEJFER 2008: 351-369.

Younger and Livilla, and this is the most common style seen on other private portraits from Liburnia.[1589]

The most discussed example of a portrait stela from Liburnia is a large monument found at Asseria (fig. 18). Fragmented now into four parts, the stela has a single portrait field above the inscription field, below which is the shape of a door, and it has the same general architectural form as the others.[1590] There is a head of Medusa in the middle of the gable area, and two (badly damaged) heads of men as acroterias to the sides, facing away, with what look like ram horns – perhaps an image associated with Jupiter Ammon.[1591] Another interpretation sees these as heads with big tufts of long hair meant to represent barbarians, an iconography that had its origins in Hellenistic art, particularly from Pergamon.[1592] The portrait niche has two female figures, identified in the inscription as Vadica Apli f. Titua, and her mother, Pasinae Q. f. Voltisae. Also mentioned are Aetoris and Ceuni Vadicis, but their actual relationship to the others is not specified. Their nomenclature reveals all are of indigenous origin.[1593]

The doors in the lower section of the stela have attracted the most debate, in terms of its cultural origins. The door motif was popular among military sepulchral monuments in Roman Dalmatia, and it appears that there was a workshop for this tombstone type at Tilurium, where the *Legio VII C. p. f.* was garrisoned, mainly for serving soldiers buried near the castra.[1594] Following the movement of *Legio VII* to Moesia in the mid-1st century CE, it is possible that the sculptors who had produced these monuments now moved to Burnum, where the door motif started to appear around this time. The stela of Vadica Titua

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[1589] M. KOLEGA 2011: 91-92.

[1590] AK 1012 = NS 79 = *ILJug* 207.

[1591] D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1959a: 119.

[1592] N. CAMBI 1991-1992: 27-28; M. KOLEGA 2011: 93.

[1593] AK 1012.

[1594] J. J. WILKES 2000: 331.

was perhaps commissioned in Burnum, or at least the monuments produced there influenced its sculptor.[1595]

The door motif on sepulchral monuments from the Roman Empire has been the subject of much discussion, with regards to its cultural or artistic origins. One group of scholars has, since the early 20th century, argued that this motif (referred to as 'porta inferi', 'porta inferorum', 'porta Ditis', or 'porta dell'Ade'), has its origins in Asia Minor, and that the Metroac cult had some influence on it. Another group rather argues that its origins are on the Italian peninsula, in central or northern Italy (Picenum, Marsi, Umbria, Sarsina, and Aquileia). The debate continues, and still different scholars argue for a greater similarity with monuments from one or the other area.[1596] Cambi, who has worked widely on stelae from Dalmatia, denies any religious connotation for the doors and argues these monuments mimicked architectural models, simply in mutated miniature form, based on northern Italian prototypes.[1597] The discussion of the Liburnian cippi above found something similar, so this is certainly a possibility. Yet even Cambi argued that the 'barbarian' heads on monuments from Dalmatia were derived from Hellenistic artistic motifs from Pergamon (see above). Other local scholars, such as Medini, argued rather for origins in Asia Minor. Medini discussed at length the evidence for arguments of both sides, but noted that both the *porta inferi* and the sad Attis motif, found often on these monuments from Dalmatia, were derived from iconography of the Metroac cult from Asia Minor.[1598] As Kurilić and Serventi point out, it was the soldiers of eastern origin that preferred the door motif monuments in

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[1595] N. CAMBI 1989/1990: 67; A. KURILIĆ and Z. SERVENTI 2015a: 21. On sepulchral stelae of soldiers with the door motif from Dalmatia, see D. TONČINIĆ 2005; 2011 (Tilurium); R. DODIG 2005 (Narona hinterland).

[1596] For discussions of both sides of the argument, with extensive bibliography on the debate, see D. TONČINIĆ 2005: 282-283; R. DODIG 2005: 209.

[1597] N. CAMBI 1991-1992: 30-34.

[1598] J. MEDINI 1984c.

Dalmatia,[1599] and besides the one of Vadica Titua, the only other stela with this motif from Liburnia belonged to a soldier from Syria called Dacnas Apsaei f.[1600] The development of the portrait stela in Dalmatia took place in a period of intensive interconnectivity and high mobility across the Mediterranean. Artistic influences, along with all sorts of material culture, were transferred across long distances, often by traders and soldiers. It is possible that the stelae in Dalmatia drew upon artistic templates from a variety of different sources, which has caused the difficulty with pinning down a single point of origin for the door motif.

For the most part, the families that had portrait stelae commissioned as their tombstones in Liburnia were indigenous Liburni who only recently acquired their citizen status, as they still hold onto indigenous names. They were, therefore, still at a stage of negotiating between existing and new kinds of identities. The introduction of monumental sepulchral tombstones in the Roman period gave the local population an entirely new mode of funerary commemoration – no tombstones are known from the pre-Roman period. That the indigenous population are recorded on the more expensive funerary monuments, and favoured the elaborate portrait stelae, suggests that those families of this group that had enough resources to afford tombstones wished to advertise themselves overtly and ostentatiously. This was a Roman style of funerary commemoration that they had adopted, and yet these monuments allowed them to display a range of identities. Use of large elaborate monuments displayed the wealth of the family of the deceased, at least at their time of death. The portraits and inscriptions, through clothing, the items they held, and naming formulas, identified those displayed on them as citizens, soldiers, indigenous Liburni, men, women, or children, as well as their economic status. They were the ultimate

[1599] Cf. D. TONČINIĆ 2005: 283.

[1600] *ILJug* 2820 = AK 1762; A. KURILIĆ and Z. SERVENTI 2015a: 21.

tool for expressing identities in a provincial society in the process of cultural integration, and in this sense, it is not surprising that the local population favoured them. This allowed them to express their newly acquired civic status (a kind of social status itself), while also commemorating their ancestry through their indigenous names or traditional clothing style.

Conclusion

The case studies discussed in this chapter highlight how cultural influences were brought to Liburnia through migration and increased connectivity during the Roman period. The evidence for tombstones, discussed in the last two sections, highlights that cultural and artistic influences came largely from northern Italy, particularly the Veneto region and the town of Aquileia. This signifies a continuation of cultural links between northern Italy and Liburnia that went back into the Early Iron Age, probably resulting from close economic interactions, which the Adriatic Sea facilitated, and were even closer in the Roman period with significant migration along this route. The necropolis at Caska and its unique tombs and burial practices are interesting. It is still unclear why such peculiar practices took place at one specific site, but the necropolis is particularly important since it shows that a kind of cultural diaspora could survive in one place without affecting neighbouring communities. Hopefully the significance of this site, the origins of the practices taking place here, and its possible impact within the region will be illuminated through further excavations and research.

Chapter 9 – Economy and Globalizing Consumptions

The Roman period was a time of particularly intensive trade and interaction in Dalmatia, and economic activities can have the effect of promoting cultural interaction.[1601] The aim of this chapter is to look at aspects of production, trade and consumption in Liburnia to assess how commerce, material culture assemblages and lifestyle choices were altered in the Roman period, as well as to highlight the various regions that Liburnian communities were connected to through exchange over time. While broader studies of economy at the provincial level for Dalmatia exist,[1602] no attempt at an assessment of economic activities specific to Liburnia has yet been undertaken. This chapter is not meant to cover every minute detail of economic activities and consumption patterns, but looks to discuss aspects of economy that were distinct to Liburnia and for which relatively abundant evidence is available.

Ancient literary sources provide very little information about economic activities in Roman Dalmatia,[1603] and archaeological evidence is certainly the main source of data for investigating trade, production and consumption within the province. The broadest study on the economy of Roman Dalmatia to-date, which looks at both external and internal trade across the entire province, is that of K. Glicksman,[1604] although recent discoveries from archaeological excavations mean that some important aspects of production are not covered in her work. A project currently underway, led by members of the Institute of Archaeology

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[1601] K. GLICKSMAN 2011: 37.

[1602] J. J. WILKES 1969: 407-415; M. ZANINOVIĆ 1977; A. ŠKEGRO 1999; K. GLICKSMAN 2005; M. SANADER 2006. On the economy of the eastern part of the Roman province of Dalmatia, see R. ZOTOVIĆ 2002.

[1603] Pliny mentions gold mining in Dalmatia, *HN* 33.67, and the *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* makes a short note on exports, 53.5-9, see K. GLICKSMAN 2005: 190.

[1604] K. GLICKSMAN 2005: 189-191, for an assessment of scholarship on the economy of Roman Dalmatia.

in Zagreb, entitled *RED – Roman Economy in Dalmatia: Production, Distribution and Demand in the Light of Pottery Workshops*,[1605] is focusing research and fieldwork efforts on sites of production of ceramics in Roman Dalmatia. A number of publications coming out of the *RED* project, with excellent results of excavation, fieldwork and artefact analysis of key sites and finds from Liburnia, are already available and are discussed below.[1606]

The lack of comprehensive publication of finds from necropolises across Liburnia means that a thorough quantitative analysis of products imported and consumed here is not possible at present. Excavations at Roman period necropolises at Zadar over the past forty years have discovered over 2000 graves dating from the 1st to 4th century CE.[1607] While some of the goods from these graves have been published, particularly some impressive examples of glass vessels,[1608] much of the material remains unpublished. Quantitative analysis of this material will in the future provide important additional data on what types of goods were consumed here among different social groups, the regions Liburnia was connected to in different periods, and hopefully some insight into lifestyles, foodways and various social and cultural practices.

Ports, Roads and Connectivity in the Roman Period

Connectivity certainly affected the ways in which communities were integrated into the Roman imperial system and the new material culture that became available to them. Levels of connectivity in various parts of Dalmatia influenced how the Dalmatian provincial landscape developed and in which ways aspects of Roman settlement patterns and

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[1605] *Croatian Science Foundation*, *IP-11-2013-3973*.

[1606] See the 'Publications' section of the *RED* website for a full up-to-date list, http://red.iarh.hr/?page_id=152&lang=en, last accessed on 9/11/2018.

[1607] S. GLUŠČEVIĆ 2005.

[1608] See the second section of this chapter.

globalizing material culture affected them.[1609] Unsurprisingly, coastal regions and those with well-developed roads saw significantly greater transformations due to increased connectivity in the Roman period. As discussed in Chapter 2, Liburnia's coastal position meant that communities here were well connected to other parts of the eastern Adriatic, the Italian peninsula and the eastern Mediterranean, since prehistory, while over-land connections with the Balkan hinterland existed as well. The directions of these connections continued into the Roman period, and Liburnia's placement on important Adriatic seaways certainly affected the character of cultural change. One of the most archaeologically visible products of this connectivity is the wide range of consumer goods available in Liburnia, as is discussed below. It is important in this context to also discuss the evidence available for how Liburnia was connected to these networks – through her ports and the roads that intersected Liburnian territory.

Sea and river transport were important features of economic activities in Roman Dalmatia (in large part due to the impassability of land routes), particularly along the Kvarner Gulf coast and the route from Crikvenica to Senj, but also Omiš to Makarska further south.[1610] Even in the Roman period, sailing was extremely dangerous if caution was *thrown to the wind*. Sailing was restricted mostly to the period from early spring to late autumn due to weather conditions. Given the dangers of sailing in bad weather and the restricted speed of ancient ships, sailors stuck to known routes and stopped at designated harbours and settlements.[1611] As mentioned already in Chapter 2, sailing along the eastern Adriatic coast is safer than the western coast due to favourable winds and currents, as well as the greater number of safe harbours in which to anchor, meaning that Liburnian

[1609] D. DZINO 2017a: 48-50.

[1610] M. SANADER 2006: 159.

[1611] A. ETEROVIĆ BORZIĆ and Z. SERVENTI 2013: 627, with references to sailing in the Roman world and eastern Adriatic maritime routes.

settlements were located along an important route connecting the Straits of Otranto to the upper Adriatic.

Presumably a main sailing trajectory along the eastern Adriatic coast included Aquileia, Pula, Iader, Salona and Epidamnos-Dyrrachium.[1612] The sea route from Pula to Iader is mentioned in both Pliny and the *Itinerarium Antonini*,[1613] while the latter also notes the distance from Ancona to Iader,[1614] suggesting this trans-Adriatic passage was an important seaway. While larger ships perhaps only stopped at the most important ports, many smaller trading and transport ships no doubt stopped along shorter routes, such as *Iader-Asporo-Nesactium, Iader-Arba-Curicum-Fulfinum-Tarsatica*,[1615] or *Iader-Pakoštane-Colentum-Scardona*. The islands of Ugljan and Pašman, as well as Dugi Otok and Kornati, off the coast of the Ravni Kotari region provided a barrier protecting against the open sea for ships sailing northwards from the river Krk along the Liburnian coast. There is evidence for Roman period ports and landings on sites within the two channels that these islands created, but more so on the inner route between the main land and Ugljan and Pašman,[1616] which is understandable since the colony of Iader lay at the end of this channel.[1617]

There is no archaeological evidence for construction of port facilities in Liburnia prior to the Roman period. Brusić presumed that the Iron Age Liburni kept their boats on the shore when not sailing out at sea, and only in the Roman period were ports constructed at coastal settlements.[1618] Due to continuous use of the site since antiquity, the Roman period

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[1612] R. MATIJAŠIĆ 1999: 162.

[1613] Plin. *HN*, 3, 140; *Itin. Anton*. 496, 7.

[1614] *Itin. Anton*. 497, 2.

[1615] R. MATIJAŠIĆ 1999: 162.

[1616] At least 14 and 5 sites, see R. MATIJAŠIĆ 1999: 165-166, with references to older studies.

[1617] It is possible there was a garrison of the imperial fleet at Iader, while one is confirmed at Colentum at the entrance to this channel, *ILJug* 930, A. KURILIĆ 2012b: 119.

[1618] Z. BRUSIĆ 2007: 17-18.

port of Iader is not known in any detail, though it was probably located at the site of the modern port within the Zadar peninsula harbour. While the port in the lagoon of Nin was used in the pre-Roman period, in the Roman period the port moved to the site of Zaton. Unlike the earlier port at Nin, the Roman port at Zaton faced the sea and was protected by a breakwater dam.[1619] Excavations have taken place at the site since the late 70s, and finds include mainly ceramics of the Early Roman period, as well as finds of three boats of the *serilia* type.[1620] While evidence for ports in northern Liburnia is lacking, Senia must have been an important port city due to the presence of *publici portorii* here and its location at the Vratnik pass, the only passage into the interior of the province of Dalmatia in this region.[1621] Recent underwater excavations around the site of Pakoštane have revealed that an important Roman port complex was used intensively here, mainly between the 1st to 3rd centuries CE, as evidenced through ceramic and numismatic finds. The complex is thought to have acted as a port for the nearby town of Asseria, which was itself an important economic and well-connected centre in the Ravni Kotari region.[1622] Underwater archaeologists in Dalmatia are increasingly active, and hopefully future research will bring to light more evidence about Liburnian ports and their importance on Adriatic trade routes.

The Romans initiated constructions of roads soon after they incorporated regions into their empire. These usually followed existing lines of movement and communication indigenous groups and merchants used beforehand, as certainly was the case with Dalmatia. The routes of these roads are reconstructed to varying degrees of certainty through use of

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[1619] R. MATIJAŠIĆ 1999: 166-167.

[1620] On the port of Zaton, see S. GLUŠČEVIĆ 2007; D. ROMANOVIĆ and S. GLUŠČEVIĆ 2014; D. TARAS 2015; M. BUOVAC 2018. On the *seriliae* from Zaton, see Z. BRUSIĆ and M. DOMJAN 1985; S. GLUŠČEVIĆ 2004; D. DZINO and L. BORŠIĆ Forthcoming.

[1621] M. SANADER 2006: 159. On the *publici portorii* at Senia, see 354.

[1622] On the port of Pakoštane, M. ILKIĆ, M. PARICA, and M. MEŠTROV 2008; see also Z. BRUSIĆ 2007. On Asseria and its role in the Ravni Kotari region, see S. ČAČE 2007.

archaeological evidence (including evidence for actual sections of roads, as well as inscriptions on milestones), and literary sources (such as the *Itinerarium Antonini*, *Anonymous Cosmographer of Ravenna* and *Tabula Peutingeriana*).[1623] The governor of Dalmatia, Publius Cornelius Dolabella (14 – 20 CE) is known to have undertaken significant infrastructure programs, including establishing a road system across the province. Several inscriptions attest to his road-building activity, known as the *tabulae Dolabellae*.[1624] They preserve the names of the roads, destinations and distances, and were probably built for military purposes, since the Legio VII and XI constructed them. These included the *via Gabiniana*, connecting Salona to the military camps of *Tilurium* and Burnum, as well as roads connecting Salona with the territory of the Ditiones, the Daesitiati, and Pannonian Breuci.[1625] An inscription from Iader has a similar text to those of the *tabulae Dolabellae*, mentioning Dolabella and the Legio VII and XI.[1626] It is not entirely clear what this inscription refers to, but given the mention of these two legions it probably also related to the construction of roads. One argument suggests that the road network of Dolabella started not only at Salona, but also Iader and Epidaurum, and this inscription supports such a conclusion.[1627]

Various inscriptions and archaeological evidence show that during the Roman period a land route followed the eastern Adriatic along its entire length, from Aquileia to Lissus and Dyrrachium. The route is thought to have passed through *Aquileia – Tergeste – Castra – Tarsatica – Ad Turres – Senia – Avendo – Ancus – Ausancalio – Clambetae – Burnum – Promona – Magnum – Andetrium – Salona – Tilurium – Ad Novas – Bigeste – Narona –*

[1623] K. GLICKSMAN 2005: 216.

[1624] A. KOLB 2015: 650-651.

[1625] *CIL* 3, 3198a, 3198b, 3199, 3200, 3201; see description in *CIL* 17/4, 130-133; D. DEMICHELI 2017: 10-11, 13, fig. 1. On the *tabulae Dolabellae*, see also I. BOJANOVSKI 1974; M. SCHMIDT 2005.

[1626] *CIL* 3, 2908.

[1627] D. DEMICHELI 2017: 13, n. 20, with older literature.

Anderba – Scodra – Lissus – Dyrrachium.[1628] This route was developed due to construction of a series of shorter segments, which were eventually connected, and probably followed earlier prehistoric courses.[1629] The road from Tarsatica to Senia appears on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* as two lines, one further from the coast, marked *XX*, and another closer marked *Ad Turres* (the site of modern-day Crikvenica).[1630] Several milestones are known

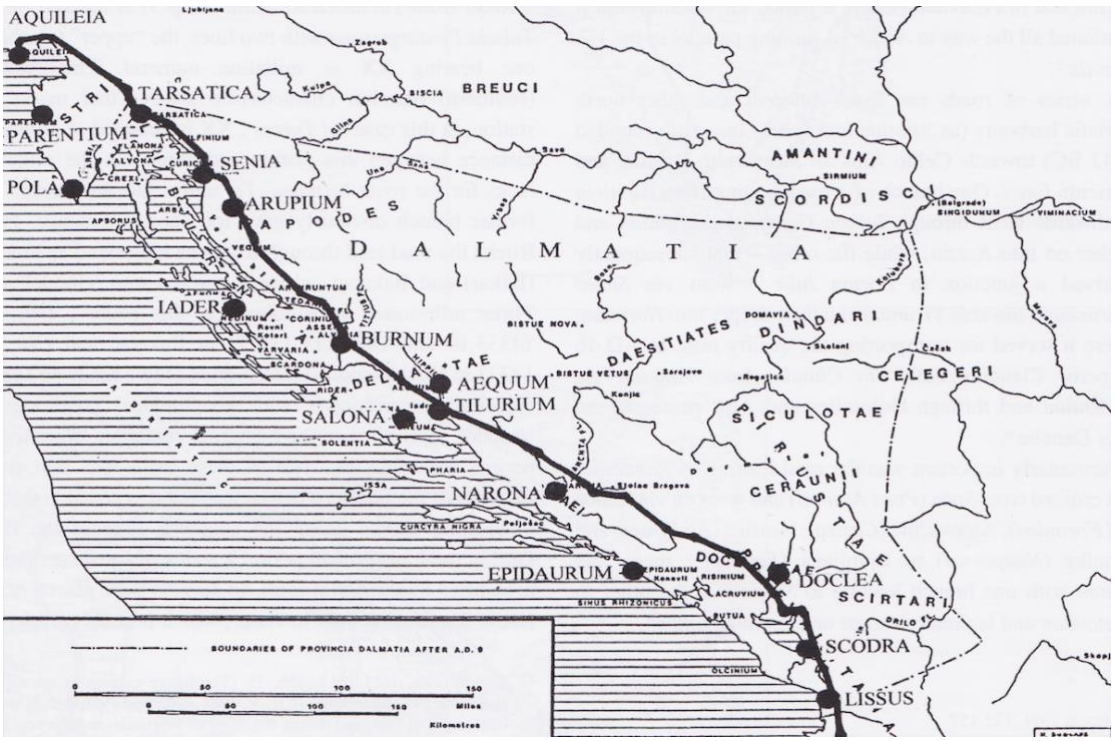

Fig. 19. Road from Aquileia to Lissus. Ž. MILETIĆ 2006: map. 1.

from along this course, at Bakarac[1631] and Novi Vindolski.[1632] As is discussed below, a major ceramic workshop was located at the site of Ad Turres, and this road no doubt facilitated movement of goods to nearby Senia, which was an important harbour and starting point for overland transport into the hinterland.[1633]

[1628] M. SANADER 2006: 157.

[1629] Ž. MILETIĆ 2006: 125ff, map 1; A. DELUKA, V. DRAGCEVIC, and T. RUKAVINA 2003: 737.

[1630] *TP* section 4A1-3, 4B1-3.

[1631] *CIL* 3, 14333.10; 14333.11.

[1632] *CIL* 3, 14333.

[1633] Ž. MILETIĆ 2006: 128.

The route that this main highway took over the Velebit mountain range and into the Ravni Kotari region and to the military camp of Burnum is not known for certain. One route is thought to have gone through the Mali Alan and Kraljičina passes and then straight to Iader, where other roads linked the towns of the Ravni Kotari. Another route bypassed this area and went through *Clambetae* and probably *Hadra* on the way to Burnum before continuing south to Salona and Tilurium via Promona.[1634] A series of roads connected the towns of the Ravni Kotari region. Archaeological and epigraphic evidence suggest roads created links between *Aenona – Iader – Scardona – (Tragurion), Iader – Nedinum – Asseria – Burnum, Asseria – Varvaria – Burmum, Asseria – Scardona, Asseria – Sidrona and Asseria – Ansium (?).*[1635] The centrality of Asseria on these connecting routes could help explain its wealth in terms of the many monuments and tombstones found here, with the city acting as a node connecting communities within the Ravni Kotari and along the coast with the Lika hinterland.[1636] This may, in turn, explain the significance of the port of Pakoštane, as goods imported from ships passed through here on their way to Asseria.[1637]

Liburnia's coastal aspect certainly played a part in how connectivity and culture contact affected its communities. The eastern Adriatic was an important seaway for communication and trade in antiquity, as it is today,[1638] and the evidence for ports and discoveries of cargoes and ships underwater show that a significant number of merchants visited the Liburnian coast in the Roman period. The evidence for roads in Dalmatia shows that Liburnia was well connected overland as well, and the routes that are confirmed point to

[1634] Ž. MILETIĆ 2006: 129-130, map 4; S. ČAČE 2007: fig. 1.

[1635] Ž. MILETIĆ 2004; 2006: map 4; A. DELUKA, V. DRAGCEVIC, and T. RUKAVINA 2003: 738.

[1636] S. ČAČE 2007: 47ff.

[1637] M. ILKIĆ, M. PARICA, and M. MEŠTROV 2008.

[1638] M. KOZLIČIĆ and M. BRATANIĆ 2006.

the economic importance of connectivity. The next sections will focus on what types of goods were traded at these ports and moved along those roads.

Imports and Production

Imports arrived in Liburnia during the Roman period from various parts of the empire, and there is some evidence for the local production of imitations of these items. This section will focus on ceramic and glass items, mainly since the level of research and publication of finds of these two categories of artefacts from Liburnia makes it possible to discuss issues of the directions and timing of their import and the possibility of their production at local sites. Ceramic material is ubiquitous in archaeological contexts, and glass is of special importance to Liburnia due to the unusually large amounts of vessels made of this material found at Liburnian sites. This section looks to discuss imports to understand what regions Liburnia was connected to in the Roman period. It also looks at production to understand how significant local manufacturing was, and which groups were active in it – military and civilian, immigrant and local.

Imports

Ceramics are perhaps the most important commodity available for the study of trade, as well as various other aspects of social and cultural life in the Roman world. All classes of society utilized pottery for eating, drinking, food preparation and storage, and other daily household activities. Amphorae are direct indicators of trade, since they contained agricultural products and various forms are known as associated with specific contents, indicating what commodities were transported. Ceramic evidence is also relatively well

provenanced material, meaning it is often a good indicator of interactions between different regions.[1639]

Analysis of types of imported fineware pottery in Liburnia during the Roman period reveals trends in commercial connections over time, where various regions dominated imports into Liburnia during certain periods. Generally, in the Early Roman period, that is during the last decades of the 1st century BCE and the first half of the 1st century CE, imports from Italy dominated. From the late 1st century CE until at least the end of the 2nd century, imports from the eastern Mediterranean predominate. Finally, from the beginning of the 3rd century CE, imported pottery from North Africa dominates, as it does across much of the empire.[1640]

Ceramics from Italy make up the largest number of imports into Liburnia.[1641] Imports of early *sigillata* wares, known as Arretine sigillata or *vasa Arretina* after the workshops they were produced in near the Italian town of Arezzo, and dating from the last decade of the 1st century BCE to the first two decades of the 1st century CE,[1642] are known from at least six sites in Liburnia – Velika Mrdakovica, Nin, Zadar, Burnum, Crikvenica and maritime finds off the island of Zlarin, near Šibenik.[1643] This coral-red coloured relief-decorated pot type was reminiscent of earlier Hellenistic relief wares. Most finds of Arretine sigillata in Liburnia come from Velika Mrdakovica, where they are found in funerary contexts.[1644] Overlapping with Arretine sigillata was the north Italian sigillata, produced in

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[1639] K. GLICKSMAN 2005: 191-193.

[1640] For a brief outline of trends in Liburnia, see Z. BRUSIĆ 1993. For a discussion of the export of North African ceramics across the Mediterranean, in the context of a local economic boom, see M. S. HOBSON 2015.

[1641] Z. BRUSIĆ 1993: 83.

[1642] A. OXÉ and H. COMFORT 2000.

[1643] Z. BRUSIĆ 1999: 18-21; A. TONC 2011: map 2; for finds from Burnum, see I. BORZIĆ 2013; from Crikvenica, see I. OŽANIĆ ROGULJIĆ 2011.

[1644] Z. BRUSIĆ, T. PAVIČIĆ, and S. GRGAS 2000: 19-21.

workshops from the Po valley to Ravenna, which drew upon the former for style. The relief-decorated north Italian sigillata that reached Liburnia was of two main types, one identified as the Sarius cup, and the other the Aco beaker, both named after the potters whose names were imprinted on the vessels (Sarius and Aco).[1645] Sarius cups have been found at eleven sites in Liburnia, including Dragišić, Asseria, Burnum, Karlobag, a grave near Rijeka, Osor, Zadar, Bribirska glavica and Nin, though as with the Arretine forms, most were discovered in the necropolis at Velika Mrdakovica.[1646] The Sarius and Aco vessels were imported from around the last decade BCE until the end of the Tiberian period.[1647] The Sarius cup vastly outnumbers all of the other types of relief wares that were imported into Liburnia in the Roman period that Brusić recorded. In his catalogue, even when those from Velika Mrdakovica are excluded, Sarius cups make up 35% of the imported relief pottery in Liburnia (49 out of 140 pieces), and 35% (49/95) of imports dated from ca. 10 BCE to the end of Tiberius' reign.[1648]

Besides the relief wares, a great number of sigillata and thin-walled pottery was imported into Liburnia during the first 2 centuries CE.[1649] Noteworthy are a number of specimens of south Gaulish sigillata. While it is entirely possible that these items came to Liburnia directly from southern Gaul, it is more likely that they arrived here via Aquileia, which had thriving maritime trade links with Liburnia, particularly the colony of Iader.[1650] It is interesting that while these imports of terra sigillata from Gaul are relatively well represented in southern Liburnia (14 examples are known from Iader, Aenona, Asseria, Burnum, and *Colentum*), Glicksman found that only 2 examples are known elsewhere in

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[1645] Z. BRUSIĆ 1999: 22-29.

[1646] R. MAKJANIĆ 1982; Z. BRUSIĆ 1989; 1993: 83; Z. BRUSIĆ, T. PAVIČIĆ, and S. GRGAS 2000: 23-28.

[1647] Z. BRUSIĆ 1999: 23-29.

[1648] Z. BRUSIĆ 1999: 22-23; K. GLICKSMAN 2005: 198.

[1649] Z. BRUSIĆ 1990; 1993: 83; I. OŽANIĆ ROGULJIĆ 2011.

[1650] Z. BRUSIĆ 1999: 32, fig. 60-61, n. 418-431.

Dalmatia, both from Salona.[1651] While the numbers are quite small, this is perhaps due to the connectedness of these Liburnian communities – Iader, Aenona and Colentum were ports, Asseria was a node on Ravni Kotari road networks, while the military camp of Burnum was home to legions of foreign soldiers. According to Glicksman, besides the Roman colonies at Salona and Narona, and a site in the hinterland at Golubić, finds of Italian terra sigillata in Dalmatia are apparently restricted to Liburnia.[1652] As Tonc has pointed out, the distribution of imported Arretine and north Italian sigillata in Liburnia is almost identical to that of the earlier Hellenistic relief wares, which were produced in central Dalmatian centres.[1653] Most are concentrated in southern Liburnia, especially at Velika Mrdakovica and Burnum,[1654] but are found also in the Kvarner Gulf region, particularly at the site of Osor. While these patterns are no doubt reflective of varying degrees of excavation, publication and research at different sites, it is also possible that such distributions are due to the social and economic structure of settlements in these two regions, Osor and Velika Mrdakovica being two key sites situated at important positions along trade routes that retained their importance in the Roman period.[1655] However, this distribution of fine wares is certainly also related to the continuation of funerary practices from the Late Iron Age into the Roman period in which drinking and libations played important roles.[1656]

Brusić included in his study of relief wares in Liburnia a group of thin-walled pots and small amphorae with barbotine decoration. He presumed a coastal Adriatic workshop produced these ceramics, which were dated from the second half of the 1st to first half of the 2nd century CE. While the examples Brusić catalogued included solely finds from the port of

[1651] K. GLICKSMAN 2005: 199.

[1652] K. GLICKSMAN 2005: 197-198.

[1653] A. TONC 2011: 315-316, map 1 and 2.

[1654] On terra sigillata imports at Burnum, see I. BORZIĆ 2013.

[1655] A. TONC 2011: 317.

[1656] See discussion in Chapter 4.

Zaton, he mentions that various forms of thin-walled pottery are found in grave, settlement and underwater contexts in Liburnia in enormous numbers.[1657] Fragments of grey thin-walled pottery of northern Italic or Adriatic production from an estimated 29 vessels, dating from the Tiberian period to beginning of the 2nd century CE, were found during excavations in 2007-2013 at the forum of Fulfinum, on the island of Krk. These made-up 29/53 estimated vessels at the site, and examples of Italian thin-walled pottery are also known from a number of other Kvarner Gulf sites, though these mostly remain unpublished.[1658] Hopefully further research into thin-walled pottery in Liburnia will reveal in more detail its commercial importance, and highlight the various regions from which it was imported.

Pottery from the eastern Mediterranean was arriving in Liburnian settlements from the earliest stages of the Roman period, and this is unsurprising, given the well-known maritime connections between that region and the Adriatic going back into prehistory.[1659] Imported pottery from the east was popular in Dalmatia generally. While some examples of eastern sigillata A (2nd century BCE – 1st century CE) and B 1 (ca. 10 – 75 CE), originating from workshops in Asia Minor and coastal Syria, are known from Dalmatian sites, B 2 (ca. 75 – 150 CE) is much more common.[1660] R. Makjanić quite rightly argued that the lack of eastern sigillata A in the Kvarner Gulf region was due to the dominance of imports from Italic workshops during the early 1st century CE.[1661] Eastern sigillata A is not found at all in southern Liburnia (the Ravni Kotari-Bukovica region),[1662] and this is perhaps due to the concurrent dominance of imported Hellenistic relief wares produced in central Dalmatia.[1663]

[1657] Z. BRUSIĆ 1999: 30-31.

[1658] A. KONESTRA 2015: 164-165, graf. 2.

[1659] See discussion in Chapter 2.

[1660] K. GLICKSMAN 2005: 199.

[1661] R. MAKJANIĆ 1983: 51.

[1662] P. MAGGI 2006: fig. 4 a.

[1663] See discussion on production of Hellenistic relief wares in Dalmatia in Chapter 3.

Eastern sigillata B, which in stylistic terms drew inspiration from Italian wares, had its origins in workshops of western Asia Minor. During the second half of the 1st century CE, eastern sigillata B flooded the Adriatic and took over the ceramic market from Arretine and north Italian sigillata producers.[1664] Various relief table wares as well as kitchen wares from workshops in Asia Minor, Syria and Palestine, dating broadly from the late 1st century BCE to 3rd century CE are found in Liburnian settlements, however, eastern imports were most dominant from the late 1st century CE to end of the 2nd century CE.[1665] Many examples are, however, not precisely dated, making it difficult to say when they were produced and made their way to Liburnia. Brusić discusses a group of mould-made relief pots found in Liburnia that were made in Cnidian workshops. Due to lack of data, in some cases a result of finds coming from older excavations, it is only possible to date one find – a vessel discovered in Zadar depicting a bearded head of Bacchus, dated to the end of the 1st century CE.[1666] The rest are only generally noted as having arrived in Liburnia from the end of the 1st century CE to the beginning of the 3rd century CE.[1667] After the 2nd century CE, eastern imported pottery is not found in Liburnia as frequently. Several Corinthian relief bowls, dating from the second half of the 2nd century to end of the 3rd century CE were found in Asseria, Aenona and Zadar. These same Corinthian relief bowls have been found at several sites in the province of Dalmatia, as well as the upper Adriatic, and it appears this product was particularly well associated with maritime trade routes in the Adriatic region.[1668]

[1664] M. PARICA 2008: 84ff, on examples of eastern sigillata B and kitchen ware from Asia Minor found at the port of Pakoštane.

[1665] Z. BRUSIĆ 1993: 83; 1999: 33ff; M. PARICA 2008.

[1666] Z. BRUSIĆ 1999: fig. 73, n. 469.

[1667] Z. BRUSIĆ 1999: 41.

[1668] Z. BRUSIĆ 1999: 42-44; K. GLICKSMAN 2005: 206.

While pottery from North African workshops arrived in Liburnia from the early 2nd century CE, the majority of imports date from the 4th to 7th century CE.[1669] However, as with other parts of the empire, and certainly the north-eastern Adriatic region, North African ceramics dominated imports into Liburnia from the early 3rd century CE.[1670] A range of North African relief-decorated wares are found at Zadar, Nin and Asseria, though in relatively small numbers, and date from the 3rd to 5th centuries CE.[1671]

Bricks and tiles were imported from northern Italy into Dalmatian ports in significant numbers in the Early Roman period – some from the pre-Augustan period, but they are found in dramatically increasing numbers from the Augustan period.[1672] Most date to the 1st century CE, which was a period of intensive building in Dalmatia.[1673] They are clustered around the main ports – Iader, Salona and Narona, but are found in the immediate areas around these sites, and more broadly from Albona, on the Istrian peninsula, to Lissus, on the coast of modern-day north-west Albania.[1674] Glicksman argues that their wide distribution and the variety of sites that these imported bricks and tiles are found at suggest that there was a general and regular trade in *tegulae* between northern Italy and Dalmatia, and that they were not transported here just for specific projects. This is important, since it implies these imports were transported from Italy as cargoes of saleable ballast, and

[1669] Z. BRUSIĆ 1993: 84.

[1670] V. VIDRIH PERKO 2005: 54ff. For example, recent analysis of the ceramics found during excavations at Bribirska glavica report a dominance of African wares, making up 42% of the ceramic assemblage, V. GHICA et al. 2018: 50, though the finds are not from closed archaeological contexts.

[1671] Z. BRUSIĆ 1999: 45-46.

[1672] J. J. WILKES 1979; R. MATIJAŠIĆ 1983; 1987.

[1673] R. MATIJAŠIĆ 1987: 531.

[1674] On finds of *tegulae* imported from northern Italy (1st century BCE – 2nd century CE) at Bribirska glavica, see R. MATIJAŠIĆ 2009a: 2-11.

therefore Dalmatian exports obviously produced a high enough profit to make regular trade worthwhile and possible.[1675]

Despite the limited evidence, it is clear that imports of pottery into Liburnia in the Roman period mirrored trends seen across the empire, and reflect the development of different production centres in Italy, the eastern Mediterranean and northern Africa. The demand for imported pottery among the Liburnian population is something that certainly continued from the Late Iron Age, as Early Roman fine wares replaced Hellenistic relief wares. Their use in everyday life and burial rituals continued, as did certain Late Iron Age practices such as destroying pots during the funeral.[1676]

Numerous glass vessels dating to the Roman period have been discovered at several sites in Liburnia, including *Volcera* (modern-day Bakar) in the Kvarner Gulf, the site of Fulfinium in Sepen cove near Omišalj on the island of Krk, Osor on the island of Cres, *Ortopla* (modern-day Stinica, below the Velebit mountain range), Argyruntum, Asseria, Iader, Scardona, Velika Mrdakovica and Aenona. Smaller numbers of finds are known from Crepsa, Senia, Vegia (modern-day Karlobag) and Varvaria.[1677] Finds are particularly numerous in southern Liburnia, where over 5000 glass vessels are known from the sites of Iader, Aenona, Asseria and Argyruntum alone – though the majority come from the necropolises of Zadar.[1678] Glass finds are quantitatively significant in relative terms as numbers here exceed other sites in the eastern Adriatic, even the largest and strongest economic centre, the provincial capital and colony of Salona.[1679]

[1675] K. GLICKSMAN 2005: 194-196.

[1676] Z. BRUSIĆ, T. PAVIČIĆ, and S. GRGAS 2000: 20-21.

[1677] I. FADIĆ and B. ŠTEFANAC 2010: 277-278; for finds from Velika Mrdakovica, see Z. BRUSIĆ, T. PAVIČIĆ, and S. GRGAS 2000: 29-30.

[1678] S. GLUŠČEVIĆ 2000; I. FADIĆ and B. ŠTEFANAC 2012: 206;

[1679] I. FADIĆ 2002: 388.

There are several issues with establishing the provenance of different glass vessel types. Some glass forms that were widespread throughout the Roman world were produced in many different workshops across the empire, making identification of a common vessel's place of origin difficult. Some types with unique forms are known from only single finds, making it impossible to determine their spatial distribution or the specific workshops from which they came. Through analysis of the vessels whose provenance has been determined, it is clear imports from the eastern Mediterranean were dominant in Liburnia, along with imports from the Apennine peninsula, particularly northern Italy, while limited examples came from Gallic and Pannonian workshops.[1680]

Imported glass from Egyptian workshops is mostly dated to the 1st and 2nd century CE. These vessels include bowls decorated in a mosaic pattern using the technique of polychromic threading, generally dated to the late 1st century BCE and early 1st century CE and considered products of workshops in Alexandria. Two such vessels were found in Zadar, and these are the earliest attested glass vessels in Liburnia.[1681] Other vessels found in the Zadar region and the military camp of Burnum, known as '*mille fiori'* or *'agate*' bowls, are also considered to have originated in Alexandrian workshops.[1682] Also attributable to Egyptian workshops are conical glass cups discovered in Stinica (*Ortopla*), Zaton and Zadar,[1683] and the more common *sacco* bowls or cups which A. Eterović Borzić and Z.

[1680] I. FADIĆ and B. ŠTEFANAC 2010: 278-279.

[1681] A. ETEROVIĆ BORZIĆ and Z. SERVENTI 2013: 625, fig 1, 1; I. FADIĆ 2001: 275-276, fig. 297.

[1682] A. ETEROVIĆ BORZIĆ and Z. SERVENTI 2013: fig. 1, 2-3; I. FADIĆ 2001: 277-279, fig. 318, 320; 2004: 135.

[1683] A. ETEROVIĆ BORZIĆ and Z. SERVENTI 2013: 625, fig 1, 4-5; I. FADIĆ 2001: 306, 328-329, fig. 349-350, 386-387; 2004: 135.

Serventi hypothesize were used to carry ointments and powders, rather than food or drink.[1684]

During the 1st and 2nd centuries CE, imports of glass came into Liburnia mainly from workshops in the Syro-Palestinian region. Import of glass products of Syro-Palestinian workshops was particularly significant, as almost all of the more exclusive and valuable vessel forms they produced are found on Liburnian territory.[1685] Glass vessels made in this region were predominantly relief-decorated mould-blown vessels, and a variety of shapes and types belonging to this category are found in Liburnia, such as amphoriskoi, small jugs,[1686] various bottles,[1687] including date-shaped bottles,[1688] and beakers decorated with lotus buds,[1689] vegetal ornaments or inscriptions.[1690] Of particular interest are a small group of cylindrical cups with various toasts inscribed in Greek - ΚΑΤΑΙΧΑΙΡΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΦΡΑΙΝΟΥ, ΕΥΦΡΑΙΝΟΥ ΕΦΩ ΠΑΡΕΙ, ΔΑΒΕ ΤΗΝ ΝΙΚΗΝ, and ΚΕΡΔΟϹ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΦΡΟϹΥΝΗ, found in southern Liburnia.[1691] Also noteworthy are two fish shaped vessels discovered at Zadar, only eight of which are known from the entire Roman Empire.[1692]

Around the mid-2nd century CE there was a shift in the popularity of glass vessels in Liburnia, from imports of Egyptian or Syro-Palestinian origin, to those coming from workshops in Cyprus. One hypothesis suggests that this shift was connected to the Antonine

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[1684] A. ETEROVIĆ BORZIĆ and Z. SERVENTI 2013: 626, fig. 1, 6; I. FADIĆ 2001: 279, fig. 319, 321, 389, 390, 394; 2004: 135.

[1685] I. FADIĆ and B. ŠTEFANAC 2010: 280.

[1686] I. FADIĆ and B. ŠTEFANAC 2010.

[1687] I. FADIĆ and B. ŠTEFANAC 2014.

[1688] I. FADIĆ and A. ETEROVIĆ BORZIĆ 2015.

[1689] I. FADIĆ 2005a.

[1690] B. ŠTEFANAC 2017.

[1691] A. ETEROVIĆ 2011; A. ETEROVIĆ BORZIĆ 2014.

[1692] A. ETEROVIĆ BORZIĆ and Z. SERVENTI 2013: 626,

plague, which devastated the population of the Roman Empire between 165 and 180 CE.[1693] This is quite possible, but it is difficult to say certainly why this shift occurred and it is possible it was due to various internal socio-political or economic issues in the areas of production, or even changing styles and tastes. While most of the imported glass vessels from Cyprus in Liburnia are dated to the 2nd to 3rd centuries, a group of bird-shaped flasks, dating to the late 1st and 2nd centuries CE, could come either from Cypriot or Syrian workshops according to the current state of research.[1694] Vessels in various shapes, including egg-shaped and bell-shaped vessels, bottles with truncated conical bodies and cups with indentations, thought to originate from Cypriot workshops and dating to the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE, have been found at a number of Liburnian sites.[1695]

Examples of glass vessels imported from Italy are far fewer than those from the eastern Mediterranean. Glass vessels from Roman Liburnia other than those produced in the eastern Mediterranean are also not well published, making any analysis of them difficult. Some rare mould-blown cups, known as *Ennion* and *Aristeas* types after the name of their producers, were found at the military camp of Burnum. While these are usually considered as products of eastern Mediterranean workshops (*Ennion* of Syro-Palestinian, and *Aristeas* of Cypriot origin), their provenance is still questionable, and based on distribution of these items it is possible they originated in northern Italy.[1696] B. Štefanac, a senior curator from the Museum of Ancient Glass in Zadar, published a group of glass aryballoi found in Zadar. One item with ribbed decoration, dating from the second half of the 1st century CE, he suggests came from Italic or Transalpine workshops, based on the style of the handles and

[1693] A. ETEROVIĆ BORZIĆ and Z. SERVENTI 2013: 628.

[1694] B. ŠTEFANAC 2009a; 2009b.

[1695] A. ETEROVIĆ BORZIĆ and Z. SERVENTI 2013: 626, fig. 3, 1-5; I. FADIĆ 2004: 134-135.

[1696] I. BORZIĆ 2008; 2011.

rim of the vessel.[1697] Rare glass dilecythos, or 'double bottle' vessels, several of which are known from Liburnian territory, are also thought to originate from western workshops. Štefanac has published one vessel, from Asseria, which he considers a product of Gallic workshops from the Rhine region, dating from the late 2nd to early 3rd century CE.[1698]

The exceptional quantities of glass vessels of many different types known from Roman Liburnia indicates that there was a certain local preference for glass objects.[1699] These vessels were probably used for holding and pouring various incenses, perfumes, spices and medicinal and cosmetic substances. Trade with the near east – the modern-day Middle East region – brought a wide variety of these items into the Roman Empire, and eastern products were particularly highly valued at Rome.[1700] Some bottles used for containing standard liquids were perhaps transported already filled, but others were certainly sold separately. Glass vessels from Roman Liburnia are found mostly as grave goods, and were probably used during funerary rituals.[1701] These were placed next to the cremated remains of the deceased, not intentionally broken as with some ceramics. These were no doubt expensive items, due to the complexity of their production and long-distance over which they were traded, and point to the wealth of those who able to acquire them and dispose of them in graves.[1702] Their presence in Liburnia points not only to the prosperity of Liburnian communities, but also their importance on long-distance trans-Mediterranean trade routes, particularly with the eastern Mediterranean, and highlights the high level of connectivity in the region. Hopefully with further research into and publication of the finds

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[1697] B. ŠTEFANAC 2013: 172-174.

[1698] B. ŠTEFANAC 2008.

[1699] I. FADIĆ and B. ŠTEFANAC 2012: 209.

[1700] R. MCLAUGHLIN 2010: 141ff.

[1701] Glass vessels are also found as grave goods at Dalmatian sites outside of Liburnia, such as Budva and Doclea, K. GLICKSMAN 2005: 198; B. ŠTEFANAC 2017: 106.

[1702] A. ETEROVIĆ BORZIĆ and Z. SERVENTI 2013: 628.

from Liburnian necropolises of the Roman period, more contextual information regarding the use of glass vessels by various social and cultural groups, their importance in society and how highly they were valued, will come to light.

Production

At the site of the modern town of Novalja, on the northern side of the island of Pag, excavations by the Archaeological Museum of Zadar in 1993 underneath a modern house unearthed evidence of a 1st century CE kiln. Fragments of over fired and rejected amphorae vessels, as well as archaeometric analysis of sherds and clay, point to the presence of a kiln at the site.[1703] It is possible that the need to manufacture amphorae on Pag was related to the production of olive oil on the northern peninsula of the island, around the modern town of Lun.[1704] Evidence of a kiln was found further south on the island of Pag, at a site nearby Dinjiška. Here, bricks belonging to the actual kiln were discovered, and it is thought that this was perhaps used to produce construction material.[1705] On the nearby island of Rab, at the site of Lopar, a Roman kiln has also been excavated.[1706] Recent field surveys undertaken by the *RED* project have confirmed pottery production at the site of St. Peter bay near Soline, on the island of Krk, due to the presence of production waste, as well as at the site of Plemići Bay, near Ražanac, in the northern part of the Ravni Kotari region.[1707]

Legionary camps in the Roman Empire customarily had a variety of craft workshops accompanying them, and these usually included those for brick making. For the Burnum legionary camp, the actual production site for this brick making is known, with a certain degree of probability. A chance discovery from the late 19th century revealed four brick

[1703] S. GLUŠČEVIĆ 2017.

[1704] M. GRISONIC 2017: 71-72.

[1705] A. KURILIĆ 2010c: 552.

[1706] G. LIPOVAC VRKLJAN and B. ŠILJEG 2012.

[1707] G. LIPOVAC VRKLJAN et al. 2017.

kilns and moulds for tegulae in the modern-day village of Smrdelji, near Scardona-Skradin, thirteen kilometres west of Burnum. These moulds contained the stamps of legions such as *Legio XI, Legio VII Claudia Pia Fidelis, Legio IIII Flavia Felix* and *Legio VIII Augusta.* The sporadic discovery of bricks and tegulae with military stamps in the area led to the assumption that this was a legionary workshop site.[1708] Kiln fired bricks and tegulae were unknown in the future province of Dalmatia prior to the 1st century CE. While imports of bricks from northern Italy dominated during the earliest years after incorporation of the region into the Roman Empire, brick making workshops appeared in the 1st century CE and were initially tied to the legions. While their products were primarily intended for use in the legionary camps, local export soon followed.[1709] Bricks produced at the workshop at Smrdelji were used in construction of various public buildings throughout Dalmatia, including some buildings in Salona and Asseria.[1710]

The most important site for investigating pottery production in Liburnia is Crikvenica, the only complete ceramic workshop known from the coastal region of Roman Dalmatia. The modern-day town of Crikvenica, situated on the Vinodol coast in the Kvarner Gulf region, is located at the site of ancient Ad Turres. Excavations at the site began in 2006 and have covered an area of around 2000m^2, revealing a large Roman period ceramic production complex that probably extended to 6000m^2. This includes six rectangular pottery kilns (four of which are well preserved), stations for wheels and shaping of material, spaces for preparing and drying ceramic products, water pipes and a pool for processing raw materials.[1711] The extent of the complex facilities alone suggests significant output potential,

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[1708] I. PEDIŠIĆ and E. PODRUG 2008: 85; I. JURAS and F. JURKOVIĆ PEŠIĆ 2016: 57-58, both with references to older literature.

[1709] I. PEDIŠIĆ and E. PODRUG 2008: 100.

[1710] M. SANADER 2006: 176.

[1711] G. LIPOVAC VRKLJAN and I. OŽANIĆ ROGULJIĆ 2015: 129; 2013: 256; G. LIPOVAC VRKLJAN 2009: 310, fig. 2.

and around 32 tonnes of ceramic material (mostly waste material) has been discovered at the site.[1712] The first signs of life at the site date to the late 1st century BCE, but its heyday was in the mid-1st century CE. Large-scale production lasted until the 30s or 40s of the 2nd century, though numismatic and ceramic evidence points to occupation at the site into Late Antiquity, and two graves were found here dating to the 4th century CE.[1713] The halting of production at the site is perhaps explained through the increasing dominance of ceramic imports from workshops in the eastern Mediterranean and Africa from the mid-2nd century, which even overtook the more influential centres in northern Italy.[1714]

The workshop at Crikvenica produced a wide variety of ceramic materials, including building materials, amphorae, kitchen wares, table wares, and weights used for weaving. The material found at the site suggests that the workshop's main activities focused on the production of building materials and amphorae. Stamps on architectural material and tegulae produced at the site reveal that this was a workshop, at least initially, of one Sextus Metilius Maximus.[1715] This workshop produced a range of building materials, including *tegulae, tubuli*, pipes, bricks and small bricks for *opus spicatum*.[1716] The flat-bottomed amphorae produced at Crikvenica are typologically similar to the Forlimpopoli and Santarcangelo type amphorae, which were produced in the Emilia-Romagna region of northern Italy.[1717] However, some of their features suggest a deliberate alteration from the Italian models. The form of the mouth, handles and neck, as well as neck height are all different on the examples from Crikvenica, indicating that the workshop of Sextus Metilius Maximus created a new

[1712] G. LIPOVAC VRKLJAN and I. OŽANIĆ ROGULJIĆ 2013: 257.

[1713] B. ŠILJEG et al. 2013: 130.

[1714] G. LIPOVAC VRKLJAN and I. OŽANIĆ ROGULJIĆ 2015: 130. On changing trends in ceramic imports into Liburnia, see above 338.

[1715] G. LIPOVAC VRKLJAN 2009: 310, fig. 4.

[1716] G. LIPOVAC VRKLJAN and I. OŽANIĆ ROGULJIĆ 2015: 129.

[1717] G. LIPOVAC VRKLJAN 2011: 9.

form of Adriatic flat-bottomed amphorae.[1718] Along with these, another 10 types of amphorae were produced in Crikvenica, including a variant of Dressel 2-4, for a variety of storage purposes, and probably intended for carrying locally produced oil, wine and *garum*, though possibly also other products.[1719] At least four types of ceramic amphorae stoppers were also found among the refuse at the workshop site. The numbers of these stoppers are very low, suggesting stoppers made of perishable material were probably also used with amphorae produced at the site.[1720]

A variety of jugs, bowls, pots, lids and incense burners were also produced at the Crikvenica workshop, as evidenced through the many fragments of waste material at the site.[1721] These include imitations of imported *terra sigillata* and thin-walled pottery from Arrezo and northern Italy, while limited amounts of originals of these types are also found at Crikvenica.[1722] This is the only site in the northern part of Roman Dalmatia known to produce thin-walled pottery.[1723] Kitchen ware is also found at the site, including a group of vessels with perforated grids. These are found commonly around the Roman Empire, in various shapes and forms. This type dates back to the Late Republic, but was made in workshops in Arrezo, the Po valley, as well as workshops producing eastern sigillata A and African sigillata, and local workshops around the Empire – including in Crikvenica. Their use is not entirely clear, but they are usually considered as used for cooking milk, straining

[1718] G. LIPOVAC VRKLJAN 2011: 16; 2009: 311.

[1719] G. LIPOVAC VRKLJAN and I. OŽANIĆ ROGULJIĆ 2013: 258; 2015: 129.

[1720] G. LIPOVAC VRKLJAN, I. OŽANIĆ ROGULJIĆ, and A. KONESTRA 2012-2013: 135.

[1721] I. OŽANIĆ ROGULJIĆ 2012.

[1722] I. OŽANIĆ ROGULJIĆ 2011.

[1723] I. OŽANIĆ ROGULJIĆ 2011: 35.

wine, burning incense, or as portable hearths.[1724] A significant amount of ceramic loom weights were also found at the workshop, with several different types identified.[1725]

While significant efforts have been made so far to publish the finds from the workshop at Crikvenica, they are still only published in parts. The forthcoming publication 'Workshops of Sekstus Metilius Maksimus in Crikvenica/Radionica Seksta Metilija Maksima u Crikvenici', part of the RED project, will no doubt provide a much fuller picture of the workshop, its products and their significance to the economy of Roman Dalmatia. Still, some important observations are already possible based on the discernible distribution of Crikvenica products. Due to the industrious efforts of a few archaeologists (namely, G. Lipovac Vrkljan, B. Šiljeg, I. Ožanić Roguljić and A. Konestra), examples of ceramic materials produced at the Crikvenica workshop are recorded at a number of sites across coastal Croatia, from Rijeka in the north down to Šibenik in the south – a distance of around 350km. Their efforts discovered that these products were confirmed as present on a range of sites (including towns, smaller settlements, *villae rustica*, *mansiones*, necropolises, other pottery workshops, and the military camp of Burnum). Sites at which they are found include the towns of Rijeka (Tarsatica), Omišalj (Fulfinum), Osor (Asporus), Senj (Senia), Prozor (Arrupium), and Zadar (Iader), smaller settlements including at the sites of Lički Ribnik, and Preko on the island of Ugljan, *villae rusticae* at Lokvišće, Selce, and Sibinj, *mansiones* at Tribalj, Žuta lokva, and Godač Kotor, necropolises at Omišalj, Bakar, Senj, and Ivoševci near Kistanje (Burnum), the ports of Zaton near Zadar, Zadar-Kolovare, and Pakoštane, as well as underwater finds near Uvala Vela Jana (off the island of Krk), Cape Madona (off the island of Lošinj), Cape Margarina (off the island of Susak), Smokvice, St. Ante channel near

[1724] I. OŽANIĆ ROGULJIĆ 2014: 286.

[1725] G. LIPOVAC VRKLJAN and I. OŽANIĆ ROGULJIĆ 2015: 129.

Šibenik, and a shipwreck off the island of Kozina/Vrgada – a total of 26 sites.[1726] The Crikvenica workshop obviously only provided material for local markets, and it is noteworthy that the sites where its products are found are confined to Liburnian territory and the Lika hinterland.

Lipovac Vrkljan and Ožanić Roguljić suggested that nearby Senia was an important trade centre from which Crikvenica products were distributed.[1727] Zaninović considered Senia primarily a trading centre at which imported goods arrived in merchant ships, and where exported timber and cattle from the Iapodian region and wider Illyrian hinterland were exported.[1728] The commercial character of Senia is perhaps supported by two 2nd century inscriptions from the nearby village of Vratnik that confirm the presence of customs officers - *publici portorii*. Both inscriptions record dedications to Mithras by the customs officers.[1729] This customs office was perhaps the point through which commercial traffic moved from the hinterland to and from Senia, which connected the region to the wider Roman world via the Adriatic Sea.[1730] Material from the Crikvenica workshop is found at several locations around the settlement of Senia, as well as at the site of Žuta Lokva, further along the route into the interior from Vratnik. Thus, Lipovac Vrkljan and Ožanić Roguljić propose that a sequence of production and distribution existed whereby material produced at Crikvenica was brought to Senia and exported locally from there, both via land into the

[1726] Lipovac Vrkljan and Ožanić Roguljić provide a helpful map of these sites as well as an extensive bibliography relating to publications of these finds at each site and examples of unpublished material, G. LIPOVAC VRKLJAN and I. OŽANIĆ ROGULJIĆ 2015: 131, fig. 5, n. 7-35.

[1727] G. LIPOVAC VRKLJAN and I. OŽANIĆ ROGULJIĆ 2013: 263-266.

[1728] M. ZANINOVIĆ 1996: 358.

[1729] *CIL* 3, 13283; *ILJug* 920.

[1730] M. GLAVIČIĆ 1994b: 54; V. GLAVAŠ 2010: 14-15.

hinterland (at least to some extent), and via sea routes to other locations in coastal Dalmatia.[1731]

The production of glass at Salona was confirmed through discovery of a glass workshop at the provincial capital during excavations in the late 60s and early 70s.[1732] While archaeologists have not found direct evidence of such a workshop from Liburnian territory, the production of glass in Iader is presumed based on some indirect evidence. A shipwreck at the site of Glavat Point, near the island of Mljet, in southern Dalmatia, revealed a cargo of unrefined glass. The supposition is that this points to the existence of a glass workshop nearby on the eastern Adriatic coast, which the cargo was headed towards when the ship sunk.[1733] Due to the concentration of certain types of glass vessels in the area around the Zadar region, some scholars have argued that a production workshop must have existed in the colony in antiquity. These include a type of bell-shaped flask, which is found at sites from northern Italy to the Aegean, but which is concentrated in northern Dalmatia and at Tomis, on the Black Sea.[1734] Gluščević argued that this distribution indicates workshops may have existed at Iader and Tomis, which were producing typologically similar vessels. He points out that it is difficult to determine which was earlier, and thus, which influenced the other, though finds with datable contexts suggest production ranged from the mid-2nd to 3rd century CE.[1735] A group of square glass bottles, whose form, method of production, and relief stamps suggest a unique type, are thought to originate from a local workshop near Iader, the region around which finds are concentrated.[1736] Similar arguments are made for

[1731] G. LIPOVAC VRKLJAN and I. OŽANIĆ ROGULJIĆ 2013: 266.

[1732] C. W. CLAIRMONT and V. VON GOZENBACH 1975: 56-63.

[1733] M. JURIŠIĆ 2000: 43.

[1734] S. GLUŠČEVIĆ 2000: fig. 3.

[1735] S. GLUŠČEVIĆ 2000: 185-188.

[1736] I. FADIĆ and B. ŠTEFANAC 2012: 207-209.

other glass vessel types, such as the so-called pseudo-Mercury vials,[1737] and other small bottles, urns, and bottles with square bodies and concave vertical sides.[1738]

The concentration of the specific types of vessels mentioned above certainly supports the hypothesis that they were produced somewhere on the eastern Adriatic coast. The numerous finds of imported glass vessels in Liburnia also supports the idea that glass production eventually caught on locally, with local producers imitating higher quality imported vessel types. Further research into typology and distribution will hopefully shed more light on the significance of this production, and perhaps future excavations may reveal where their workshops were located.

The production of ceramic loom weights, used for weaving, at Crikvenica, mentioned above, is of special interest as this discovery is the first-time potential archaeological evidence of textile manufacture and trade in Liburnia has supplemented suggestions of it in written sources. In a passage discussing the different varieties of wool originating in various parts of the Roman Empire, Pliny states that Istrian and Liburnian fleece is quite coarse, being nearer to hair than wool, and unsuitable for soft garments.[1739] This statement suggests that garments made from Istrian and Liburnian fleece were exported beyond Dalmatia. The statement about the coarseness of their wool need not imply these garments were of low quality – perhaps they were used to create particularly sturdy clothing. In one of his epigrams, Martial mentions Liburnian hooded cloaks – *Cuculli Liburnici*. He mocks someone for having stained their cloak *callainas*.[1740] The *cucullus* is mentioned in various sources as a tough coarse hooded cloak,[1741] used by workers on farmsteads,[1742]

[1737] I. FADIĆ 2011.

[1738] I. FADIĆ and B. ŠTEFANAC 2012: 206; I. FADIĆ 2002: 390, fig. 1, 2.

[1739] Plin. *HN*, 8.191.

[1740] Mart. 14.140. According to Plin. *HN*, 37.56, *callais* was a kind of sea-green stone.

[1741] Juv. 170.

[1742] Cat. *Agr*. 2.

which was useful for keeping out the wind, cold and rain.[1743] It is also often depicted as a useful disguise, keeping the head covered from view.[1744] The type of fleece produced in Liburnia and Istria, which Pliny mentions, probably suited this type of garment, no doubt keeping their wearer warm and dry due to their toughness and texture. While it is difficult to gauge how quantitatively significant Liburnian exports were, the large numbers of ceramic loom weights found at Crikvenica could imply this was an important aspect of the local economy.

There are several other mentions of garments made in Dalmatia, and the wider eastern Adriatic region. Martial himself in his epigrams also refers to a *Bardocucullus*,[1745] no doubt a cloak whose style, or at least name, originates from the territory of the Bardiaei, i.e the Ardiaei.[1746] A Dalmatian long sleeved tunic, *chiridotae Dalmatarum*, is mentioned in the *Historia Augusta*,[1747] and Isidore of Seville mentions a long tunic known as a *dalmatic*, well-known in Late Antiquity.[1748] Clearly, textile manufacturing was popular in Dalmatia, and this may have been related to the type of fleece that sheep reared in the region produced. Further evidence for textile production in Dalmatia, particularly around Salona, in Late Antiquity suggests that Dalmatian exports were popular, probably since the Early Roman period at least, and possibly earlier.[1749]

While direct archaeological evidence for olive oil production in Liburnia is lacking at this moment in time, there are curious excerpts from literary sources that suggest Liburnian oil was a highly regarded product. The 1st century Roman cookbook, known as

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[1743] Columella. *Rust*. 1.8.9-10; 11.1.21.

[1744] Mart. 5.14, 11.98.10; Juv. 6.330, 8.145.

[1745] Mart. 14.128.

[1746] *Hist. Aug. Pert.,* 8.3.

[1747] *Hist. Aug. Pert.* 8.2; *Comm*. 9.8.

[1748] Isid. *Etym*. 19.22.9.

[1749] For evidence from Late Antiquity, see K. GLICKSMAN 2005: 214-215.

the *De Re Coquinaria* of *Apicius*, explains a method through which Spanish olive is altered to taste like Liburnian oil. The text states that in order to make an oil similar to a Liburnian oil (*oleum Liburnicum*), a mixture of elecampane, Cyprian rush and green laurel leaves are crushed and reduced to a fine powder and then, along with salt, are added to Spanish oil and left for three days. After this process it becomes indistinguishable from Liburnian oil.[1750] In his work on agriculture, Palladius Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus describes exactly the same process, explaining that this is a method that the Greeks adopted.[1751] Imitation of Liburnian olive oil certainly suggests it was regarded as amongst the finest oils, was exported outside of Dalmatia (probably to Italy at least) and was well-known across the Roman Empire. It is unsurprising that an inscription from Iader mentions an olive oil tradesman – *negotiator olearius*, a man named Manius Cornelius Carpus.[1752] This inscription certainly supports the assumption of olive oil as a significant export of Roman Liburnia, and speaks to the importance of Iader as a commercial centre, probably from which these agricultural products were exported to Italy, elsewhere in the Adriatic and perhaps beyond.[1753] However, it is difficult to say with certainty whether this particular *negotiator olearius* was involved in the export or import of olive oil at Iader, or rather simply local trade of locally produced oil.[1754]

Evidence for the production of goods in Liburnia is, besides the ceramic workshop at Crikvenica, rather scarce and sporadic. This makes it difficult to quantify the output of local producers and analyse their significance to internal and external trade, as well as local consumption. That the military and immigrant population were involved in production of imported/imitated ceramic products is unsurprising, and there is yet no evidence that

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[1750] Apicius, 1.7.

[1751] Pall., XII.

[1752] *CIL* 3, 2936.

[1753] I. JADRIĆ 2007: 357.

[1754] K. GLICKSMAN 2005: 211.

indigenous Liburni were involved in these processes. The influence of workshops in northern Italy on the products produced at Crikvenica is clear. These items show that the workshop of Sextus Metilius Maximus followed popular contemporary trends in ceramic production in the northern Adriatic region, but also had a certain style of its own, producing some forms that are not found elsewhere. Further evidence for glass production is required before conclusions can be drawn here, but it appears that producers followed trends found in workshops across the Mediterranean. The evidence for loom weight production is unsurprising among traditionally pastoral communities and, similarly, the environment of coastal Dalmatia is ideal for wine and oil production. Hopefully further evidence will come to light through future excavations that will reveal more about production and output at Liburnian sites.

Centuriation

One of the most enduring impacts of Roman rule on the landscapes of Italy and the provinces was the process of land division, known as centuriation. Roman colonization began as early as the 4th century BCE, and colonists, often veterans, were allocated agricultural land around the settlements. This continued into the Late Republic and early imperial period, when consuls and emperors set up veteran colonies in newly conquered territory as reward for their soldiers.[1755] Land was distributed according to measured parcels (*limitatio*) in orthogonal patterns of square lots (*centuriae*) that were commonly 20 *actus* in length (710m), making up an area of around 200 iugeri (50.4ha).[1756] Traces of Roman centuriation are visible in Liburnia in the landscape around Zadar and on the nearby island

[1755] B. CAMPBELL 2000: liv-lv.

[1756] B. CAMPBELL 2000: lvii.

of Ugljan, which was part of the Iader *ager*. Around Zadar these allotments run parallel to the coastline, rather than along a north-south axis as was usual practice.[1757]

The karst landscape of Dalmatia is generally unsuitable for large-scale centuriation, and much of the allotted land is now probably invisible due to soil erosion and later land use, urbanization and industrialization. While in his mid-20th century work on ancient landscapes, J. Bradford identified only 150 *centuriae* in the Iader *ager*,[1758] recent use of satellite imagery has revealed that this system was at least twice the size.[1759] While these centuriated landscapes are usually associated with colonizing activities, it is important to mention that the *De Condicionibus Agorum* notes that not all conquered peoples were deprived on their land. Status, influence and friendship might lead the victorious commander to allow the locals to keep some *centuriae* on their own land.[1760] Given that some of the Liburnian communities, particularly the Iadertini, are mentioned as allies of the Romans, it is possible that significant amounts of centuriated land were provided to local elites.

Conclusion

The increasing connectivity and trade activity in the Roman period drastically changed the economy and material culture of Liburnia. The evidence for early imports of Roman period ceramics supports other evidence for close connectivity between Liburnia and northern Italy – unsurprising, given their close-proximity across the sea and the existence of roads connecting Italy and Liburnian communities on routes that extended along the entire eastern Adriatic coast. The use of imported vessels as valued items in funerary rituals was a

[1757] M. SANADER 2006: 163.

[1758] J. BRADFORD 1957: 180.

[1759] K. GLICKSMAN 2011: 38, fig. 1.

[1760] B. CAMPBELL 2000: 121-123.

continuation of pre-Roman practices, which now included glass vessels and probably some products that they held, imported from the Near East. Consumption patterns and some cultural practices were clearly changing due to the increased connectivity of the Roman period. Production sites are often isolated from settlements, and thus difficult to find archaeologically. Our knowledge of production in Liburnia is limited, and difficult to quantify for these reasons, but it is clear new items were locally produced in the Roman period that were not before. Some types of ceramics (bricks, amphorae, fine wares, loom weights), glass and oil are not known to have been produced in Liburnia during the pre-Roman period, and represent the introduction of new technological expertise and agricultural practices. It is arguable that developments in economy and consumption patterns would have had the greatest impact on the lives of indigenous Liburni of all the changes that occurred due to incorporation into the Roman Empire. New technological innovations, consumer goods, foodstuffs and land distribution affected everyday life and occupations drastically.

Chapter 10 – Conclusion

As outlined in the introduction, this thesis aimed to investigate a series of issues relating to identity as well as social change and cultural integration during the Late Iron Age and Early Roman period in Liburnia that resulted from Greek interactions in the Adriatic and later the incorporation of the region into the Roman Empire. These included an assessment of Liburnian identity, based on ancient written sources, that sought to determine whether this was a distinct group with a shared ethnic background and/or a set of communities linked through any kind of political relationship. The analysis of archaeological material sought to answer questions relating to cultural and trade links Liburnia had with various regions throughout these two periods, as well as what kind of cultural artefacts and practices were adopted or persisted. Linked to this latter statement was the question of how social status was linked to these cultural changes, and how and why these imported elements were utilized in local Liburnian society. The topics that were chosen to analyse these issues were a mix of those that had some specific importance or were unique to the case study region and others that were particularly relevant to the questions raised. The choice and application of each topic was restricted by the availability of evidence.

Connectivity, Identity and Social Structure in Late Iron Age Liburnia

Greco-Roman written sources that describe the indigenous communities of the eastern Adriatic provide an incomplete, often contradictory, picture of the ethno-cultural and socio-political structure of the region during the pre-Roman period. The extent and significance of the earliest Greek contacts with the indigenous communities of the eastern Adriatic remain mysterious, but they were probably limited until the late 6th century BCE. Gradual Greek political and economic penetration into the Adriatic during the Iron Age and

the founding of settlements in central Dalmatia had important impacts on regional exchange networks and local cultural templates, particularly among the communities in Liburnia. This material, particularly from Cape Ploča and other sanctuary sites, highlights the increasing intensity of regional Dalmatian and trans-Adriatic sea-trade routes during the last 4 centuries BCE. Liburnia was well placed along a part of the coast that provided protection for ships sailing along the Adriatic. However, exactly how Liburnia was connected to these early networks and how they functioned is unclear. It is probable that most of the imported material was traded, but also possible that it arrived in Liburnia as plunder from piracy or as diplomatic gifts.

Chapter 3 came to several conclusions that contradict some widely-held assumptions about the geo-political structure of Liburnia and Liburnian group identity. A thorough examination of relevant written sources shows that the term 'Liburni' was applied inconsistently to people in different areas and is only confirmed as restricted to communities in the Ravni Kotari-Bukovica and Kvarner Gulf regions (the territory of historical 'Liburnia') from the late 1st century BCE. Building upon some ideas of Čače, this chapter argued that the Liburnia of the Roman period was conceivably an administrative structure created within the context of the construction of the province of Illyricum, which was named after an important group-label from the region (as with Illyricum and Dalmatia, but on a smaller scale). The narrative of the development of Liburnia as an administrative unit was continued in Chapter 5. It was also concluded here that it is not clear to what extent communities in Liburnia were linked in an ethno-cultural or socio-political sense prior to the Roman period with the evidence at hand.

The material culture of the Liburnian communities was constantly adapting and reconstructing throughout the Iron Age, influenced by local and regional developments, but increasingly also adopting elements of globalizing cultural templates dispersed from Italic,

Aegean and later central Dalmatian settlements. Given this gradual development and the clear influence of local, regional and globalizing styles on local production, the term 'Liburnian Cultural Group' appears somewhat redundant. Any association that the above-mentioned term has with any specific ethnic group or process of ethnogenesis is unjustifiable in the light of the issues with identifying ethnicity through material culture that were discussed in the introduction.

The last section of Chapter 3 sought to highlight levels of connectivity in Liburnia through time and trace the regions that Liburnian communities received material culture and cultural influences from during the Late Iron Age. The presence of ceramic vessels showed clear connections with the Italian peninsula from as early as the 9th century BCE, while imports from the Aegean also increased significantly from the late 6th century BCE. During the Late Iron Age, connections with Greek centres generally appear to have increased as the material becomes more plentiful, with the central Dalmatian production centres providing the bulk of ceramic material to Liburnian communities during the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE. While some clear links with certain production centres were identified, the ability to make conclusions about the timing and intensity of connections based on the ceramic material is greatly hindered due to the lack of publication and research into the assemblages found at sites in Liburnia. Most of the imported pottery vessels related to wine consumption, and the krater was a particularly popular form. It is possible this points to the importance of feasting, particularly during funerary rituals, but more contextual data is needed before further conclusions about the social significance of this trend are possible. Metal items show links to the Italian peninsula, but also influences from artefact styles in the Balkan peninsula and central Europe. Several scholars note 'Hellenistic' influence in the production of many metal finds from Liburnia dating to the Late Iron Age, but the origins of these influences are rarely easy to identify. Further study into metal items (particularly those with

anthropomorphic representations) and comparisons with other styles from, for instance, the Italian peninsula and other western Balkan sites, will hopefully provide answers to how 'Hellenistic' influences on metal artefact production reached communities in Liburnia.

Chapter 4 raised the issue of the apparent increase in social stratification in Late Iron Age Liburnia that many scholars have discussed. The findings made here suggest that such an argument is not supported through the archaeological evidence. The degree of land use decreased during the Late Iron Age, which would contradict a model of increasing socio-political complexity. The beginning of proto-urbanization and construction of megalithic fortifications in Liburnian communities is difficult to place in time, and until future excavations provide more details for dating these constructions their significance for the development of socio-political structures in the pre-Roman period is unclear. Chapter 4 provided an important overview and analysis of burial customs in Late Iron Age Liburnia. As discussed, social stratification is not visible in the necropolises of this period, though they do provide evidence for new burial practices and tomb styles. The numismatic evidence is perplexing, to say the least. The reason for the presence of so much Carthaginian and Numidian currency in Liburnia remains a mystery, but it is most probable that south Italian traders played some role in their transport from north Africa to Dalmatia. Perhaps these coins were used as currency in Liburnian communities, but the existence of a monetary economy need not imply social hierarchies were increasing and the lack of locally produced currency might point to a relatively low degree of socio-political development. The arguments of this chapter are important for discussions about society in Late Iron Age Liburnia as they question the assumptions that communities here were increasingly hierarchical and that they were in a state of proto-urbanization in the pre-Roman period.

Political, Social and Cultural Integration in Roman Liburnia

Chapter 5 sought to construct a narrative of Liburnian interactions with Rome and the development of Liburnia as an administrative unit. It is unclear exactly when 'Liburnia' developed as a geo-political space, but perhaps around the time of Octavian's campaigns in the 30s BCE. This administrative framework appears to have changed over time in reaction to different governing and military needs. The territory of Liburnia and Iapodia were linked during the *Bellum Batonianum*, and integrated into an administrative structure that took on the former's label (probably because of the preferential treatment the Liburnian communities received as Roman allies). The conclusions made here agree with the suggestion of Demicheli that the *conventus* centred at Scardona was entitled the *conventus Liburnorum*. Supporting this argument is Ptolemy's statement, which implies 'Liburnia' included Iapodian communities and was separate from Dalmatia. This territory was at some point included in a procuratorial province entitled *provincia Liburnia*, but its duration is unclear.

Communities in Liburnia flourished in the Early Roman period, and friendly relations with the Romans account for the allocation of Italic status and immunity in some Liburnian communities. The early urbanization of Liburnian towns in the Roman period and the patronage they received was probably related to the process of municipalization. Chapter 5 established conclusively that the Liburnian communities were well integrated into the Roman administrative and provincial framework from its earliest stages.

Latin inscriptions are themselves evidence of the introduction of an epigraphic culture in Liburnia, but they also reveal various aspects of social and cultural templates that were adopted or maintained during the Roman period. As discussed in Chapter 6, Greco-Roman sources provide a depiction of women and their place in Liburnian society that is framed negatively. This is no doubt part of a wider barbarizing discourse, but the epigraphic

visibility of indigenous women in Liburnia suggests that those sources perceived correctly that gender norms were different here to other parts of the Roman world. While we can only say for sure that women played an important part in writing epitaphs, it is possible that the high rate of commemorations of women here points to relatively equal rights between men and women. As discussed, the higher rate of female commemorators on epitaphs may point to equal rights in regards to inheritance. This evidence points to the continuation of local gender norms among the indigenous population of Liburnia from the Late Iron Age, at least in the Early Roman period.

Kurilić argued that the practice of status endogamy occurred in Liburnia and while the evidence for this is statistically limited it could point to efforts by the local elite to retain their property and status. The links highlighted between Greco-Roman depictions of women and epigraphic evidence for familial relationships in Liburnia and parts of Hispania is intriguing. Further investigation into these case studies is required before making any conclusions, but it is possible that a closer comparative study (than there was room or time for here) including other regions of the Roman Empire (e.g., Gallia Narbonnensis) could bring to light additional details about the status of women and family structure in Liburnia. Epigraphic evidence also highlights some interesting methods of identity construction, with specific references to ethnic identities and the retention of traditional names after acquiring citizenship as practices meant to highlight an individual's origins. An important avenue for future study, which was beyond the scope of this thesis, would include the use of Kurilić's updated criteria for identifying ethnicities through onomastic evidence from Liburnia to reassess Medini's earlier work on the ethnic composure of Liburnian towns.[1761]

Monumental votive dedications and sculptures from the Roman period represent an entirely new form of cultic worship and deity reverence in Liburnia. The dominance of

[1761] J. MEDINI 1978a.

female deities in Liburnia shows cultural links with the Histrian region, but the argument of this paper is that the idea they represent traces of a Neolithic Mother Goddess is unsubstantial. Monuments to these goddesses represent not only integration of local worshippers into a 'Roman' or 'Hellenistic' style of monumental and epigraphic dedication, but also immigrants associating local deities with their own. Given that the cases of cultic amalgamation were dedications by immigrants, this was a process of integration into local culture. It was perhaps due to the existence of a developed indigenous cultic network that Silvanus did not penetrate Liburnia to the extent of elsewhere in Dalmatia. The phenomenon of entirely female deities perhaps had some effect on the Greco-Roman literary tropes about Liburnian women. It certainly supports the view that women had relatively high social statuses in Liburnia, in comparison to some other parts of the Greco-Roman world.

The evidence for various imperial cult structures in Liburnia supports the notion of the favourable relationship the Liburni had with the Romans and the patronage they received from Caesar and the emperors. Engagement with the imperial cult highlights the relatively harmonious integration of local communities and individuals into the Roman structure of power relations and new cultural framework. This was an avenue through which they could advance their own social status and highlights the benefits of *becoming Roman* to provincial populations.

The Caska necropolis is an interesting example of an apparently isolated burial custom within Liburnia. The apparent link to the necropolis of Pupput in grave type, ritual activity and the use of libation pipes is interesting but needs further investigation and explanation. The new analysis of Liburnian cippi in Chapter 8 points to strong artistic and cultural connections with northern Italy, particularly the Veneto region. The study undertaken here into the origins of the Liburni cippi is of value for understanding the development of Roman sepulchral monuments throughout the provinces and the way in

which artistic and cultural influences were disseminated. It is of special interest that this specific tombstone type is only found in Liburnia, which speaks to the development of localised tastes and production centres. A key finding here is the link this tombstone form has with Roman monumental cylindrical tombs, and the tracing of influences from proto-types in northern Italy and Histria. Its high value in Liburnia suggests that it carried some socio-cultural significance, perhaps as a symbol of elite identity. The Liburnian cippus provides an example of an artistic and cultural phenomenon that could be used to test and critique various models relating to the romanization debate, and this is a topic the author has planned to research further after completion of this thesis.

Tombstones with portrait reliefs from Liburnia also indicate influences from northern Italy in their form and styles, but the door motif possibly has its origins in Asia Minor – this latter issue remains unresolved. These monuments were mostly dedicated to indigenous Liburni, including all the monumental and most elaborate examples. An argument was made here that these monuments were favoured by the indigenous population because their realistic depictions gave great emphasis to various social, cultural, gendered and age related identities, as well as their recently acquired civic status. Locals were renegotiating their identities in the context of a Roman provincial setting, and portrait monuments allowed them to advertise a range of identities.

Chapter 9 attempted to provide for the first time an overview of the Liburnian economy in the Roman period. The construction of port facilities in Liburnia as well as roads connecting settlements to major trading hubs had a significant impact on connectivity and the circulation of commodities in the Roman period. Ceramic and glass materials highlight regions with which Liburnia had trade links over time, largely mirroring regional and empire wide trends. The presence of glass objects is certainly a new feature of the Roman period in Liburnia, and the high number of vessels found here highlights a local

preference for this material. The evidence for production in Liburnia points to new technologies and styles being used in local manufacturing, particularly in ceramics but also potentially in glass vessels. The site of Crikvenica provided by far the greatest evidence for production. The evidence for production of garments probably hints at continuation of earlier local traditions, however, how and when olive oil production started in Liburnia is difficult to tell. There are other important limitations with this discussion of economy in Liburnia. Hopefully further publication of ceramic and glass finds, particularly from the well-excavated necropolises of Zadar, will provide more quantitative data with which to trace specific trading links over time. Evidence for production of glass is suggested through local styles, but not confirmed by the discovery of any facility or tools. Economy in Roman Liburnia, not just relating to imports, certainly deserves further study since there is some evidence for new innovations and continuing industries. However, the availability of evidence and its state of publication at present is severely limiting to this discussion.

Overarching Themes and Final Remarks

The types of evidence used to answer the questions posed in the introduction varied between the two periods under question due to the nature of the material that attests to the different type of contacts occurring, interaction between different cultural templates over time and the imposition of a new social structure and technological advancements in the Roman period. The ability of this thesis to answer those questions was limited in places due to the lack of evidence and particularly the number of still unpublished finds from this region. These limitations meant that quantification of certain trends and significance of several issues was in places imprecise due to a lack of statistical testing. This case study highlights the significance of regional studies, and the benefit of regular reassessments of material and accepted models of ethno-cultural and socio-political structures in certain

contexts. It is hoped that future research and publication of materials will lead to the answering of further questions relating to contacts Liburnia had with other regions over time, as well as a greater understanding of social structures and cultural practices. However, as outlined in the previous sections, some important conclusions and hypotheses have been reached here regarding various issues relating to identity and socio-cultural integration. These conclusions brought to light several key themes that permeated the thesis topic.

An important observation of this thesis is that the role of the Adriatic Sea as a connective route and the placement of communities in northern Dalmatia and the Kvarner Gulf region – the space of ancient Liburnia – greatly impacted socio-cultural developments throughout the Iron Age and Roman period. Communities here were affected by Mediterranean wide trends, but political and economic developments in the Adriatic were what drew them into networks that exposed them to a variety of cultural templates. The flourishing of the south Italian pottery industry, Greek interest in the Po Valley and the founding of settlements in central Dalmatia led to increased imports and adoption of cultural practices. Incorporation of the eastern Adriatic and Liburnian communities into the Roman Empire led to a much more intensive level of connectivity, and imports largely came from production centres that supplied much of the Mediterranean. Artistic influences in the construction of funerary monuments during the Roman period came primarily from northern Italy, specifically the Veneto region. The direction of these influences was probably related to immigration, as the knowledge of such forms and the techniques used to produce them were certainly introduced by the artists themselves.

A theme throughout several chapters related to the way in which communities in Liburnia were integrated into the Roman administrative framework. This thesis questions some aspects of the accepted notion of Liburnia as a distinct ethno-cultural space and provided an alternative narrative of it having developed as a socio-political structure in the

context of the construction of the province of Illyricum. Some of these communities appear to have had friendly relations with the Romans, and the receiving of statuses, imperial patronage in the construction of certain urban features and the early development of imperial cult institutions points to their favourable treatment, acceptance of Roman values and high level of integration in the Early Roman period. At the same time, the Liburni kept certain socio-cultural features that cannot be regarded as Roman/imperial (e.g., the status of women, indigenous names and female deities), showing that the process of integration was not one-sided and that these communities actively participated in constructing their imperial identities as global and local at the same time.

The topic of women and gender relations appeared in several chapters. There are several cases of imagery of female heads appearing on metal attire items from the Late Iron Age. While the development of anthropomorphic imagery in this period is usually thought to relate to influences from the 'Hellenistic' world, broadly speaking, it is interesting that figures from this period are mostly female. The two mentioned unpublished reliefs from Bribir are also of interest for their depictions of females and sexuality. While it is difficult to confirm that these images from the Late Iron Age relate to specific deities, it is rather coincidental that there was clearly a dominance of female deities in the pre-Roman period. The ancient written sources point to the special place of women in Liburnian society, and the epigraphic evidence supports this idea. The precise status of women remains a mystery, but perhaps further comparisons with other parts of the Roman Empire (as was started with relation to Hispania in Chapter 6) will provide more insight into this fascinating subject.

The introduction asked whether the adoption of new cultural features and integration into Roman social and political institutions was related to social statuses or relations in Late Iron Age and Early Roman Liburnia, and several examples emphasized such a link. The presence of imported pottery in Late Iron Age graves suggests that these new items were

highly valued, and the increasing amounts of pottery found in burial contexts during this period might point to broader cultural changes these imports played some role in. Integrating into Roman civic and cultural institutions – gaining citizenship and civic statuses as well as participation in the imperial cult – provided indigenous individuals, families and communities with methods of improving their positions in the new provincial society. Indigenous elites also undertook euergetistic acts that contributed to the early urbanization of Roman style towns, but also advertised themselves and their families as prestigious members of their communities. As discussed in Chapter 8, the highly valued Liburnian cippi had complex artistic and cultural origins. Expensive tombstones, such as the monumental portrait stelae, which displayed a range of social and cultural identities, were disproportionately preferred among the indigenous population. These examples highlight how cultural developments were often linked to social discourses.

The issues discussed in this conclusion highlight the distinctive character of Liburnia within the context of the Late Iron Age Adriatic, as well as the wider Roman Empire. As has been shown, socio-cultural templates in ancient Liburnia were greatly impacted by the political and economic activities of Greek merchants and poleis during the Iron Age as well as the integration of the eastern Adriatic into the Roman world. Yet many aspects of indigenous lifeways continued. Cultural change was often linked to the renegotiation of identities and social relations, when new material culture and cultural institutions were integrated with local social groups as part of engaging status discourses. Identities were renegotiated in the Early Roman period as 'Liburnia' was formed into an administrative unit and indigenous families adopted Roman citizenship and Latin names.

Liburnia was part of dynamic trans-Mediterranean socio-cultural processes that were affected by increasing connectivity and political circumstances during these periods. Interpreting Liburnia within its regional and local contexts is crucial to understanding the

unique character of this territory. It is hoped that this case study will serve to benefit broader narratives of Late Iron Age Europe and the Roman world, and precipitate further study into identities and socio-cultural developments in Dalmatia.

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CIG *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*. Berlin: 1869-.

CIGIME *Corpus des inscriptions grecques d'Illyrie méridionale et d'Épire*. ed. P. Cabanes, Athens: 1995-97.

CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Berlin: 1828-.

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