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POSLIJE NEZAKCIJA*

IN THE WAKE OF NESACTIUM*

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Pad Nezakcija, drevnog središta starih Histra, 178./177. pr. Kr., popraćen nizom genocidnih operacija, označio je kraj dugoga povijesnoga razvitka ovoga poluotoka. Arheološka građa koju su u zadnjih nekoliko desetljeća iz zemlje izvukli na svjetlo dana i obradili naši kolege u Istri, ukazuje na veliko bogatstvo tog naslijeđa i njegove važnosti za bolje upoznavanje arheologije i povijesti ovoga graničnoga područja između Venetije i Ilirika. U povijesti i arheologiji Histrije kao da nastaje svojevrсна praznina, koja gotovo da traje sve do Cezara i njegova prokonzulata u ovim krajevima. Autor postavlja ovo pitanje i pokušava dati neki mogući odgovor.

The fall of Nesactium, the ancient capital of the Histri, in 178/177 BC, which was accompanied by a whole series of genocidal campaigns, marked the end of a long historical development of this peninsula. The archaeological material that was unearthed and subsequently studied by our colleagues in Istria in the last few decades, indicates the vast wealth of this heritage, and also shows how indispensable this material really is for a better understanding of archaeology and history of this border region between Venetia and Illyricum. It seems that a certain void arises in the history and archeology of Histria, which seems to last all the way to Caesar and his proconsulate in this region. The author poses this question and tries to give a plausible answer.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: *Histrija, Rimljani, Nezakcij, Akvileja, Iliri, Japodi, Cezar, Oktavijan*

KEY WORDS: *Histria, Romans, Nesactium, Aquileia, Illyrians, Iapodes, Caesar, Octavian*

* Članak predstavlja tekst rada Marina Zaninovića koji je bio predviđen za objavu u 25. svesku Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva, naslova *100 godina Arheološkog muzeja Istre u Puli: nova arheološka istraživanja*, Zagreb 2010. Kako članak nije na vrijeme stigao za objavu u navedenom svesku, a predstavlja vrijedan doprinos produbljivanju spoznaja o Nezakciju i Histrima općenito, objavljujemo ga u ovom broju časopisa *Histria archaeologica*.

* The article presents the text of a paper by Marin Zaninović, which was scheduled for publication in the 25th volume of the Publications of the Croatian Archaeological Society (Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva), titled *100 years of the Archaeological Museum of Istria at Pula: New Archaeological Excavations*, Zagreb 2010. As the paper was submitted late for publication in the aforementioned volume, and because it represents a valuable contribution to the understanding of both Nesactium and the Histri in general, we are publishing it in this issue of the *Histria Archaeologica Bulletin*.

Arheolozi i povjesničari iz Istre objavili su u zadnjem desetljeću niz knjiga i rasprava koje su uvelike unaprijedile naše poznavanje davne prošlosti ovoga jedinstvenoga poluotoka. Nije, naravno, moguće ovdje nizati brojna imena tolikih stručnjaka različitih naroda koji su svoje napore posvetili tim proučavanjima. Njihove se vrijedne knjige i rasprave nalaze u opsežnim bibliografijama u svim novijim djelima pa upućujem na te popise. Moramo, međutim, ovdje spomenuti svojevrсна pionirska imena stručnjaka i onih koji su svojim naporima u teškim vremenima najrazličitijih ograničenja i zapreka nastojali promovirati zasade humanizma, kao bitne sastojnice arheoloških i povijesnih proučavanja. Svima koji imaju imalo dodira s ovim predjelima u sjeverozapadnome Jadranu poznata su imena Štefana Mlakara, Borisa Bačića, Ante Šonje, Branka Marušića i Josipa Mladina. Njihovo je djelo odraz jednoga uistinu specifičnoga vremena koje i danas, nakon toliko godina, izaziva kontroverze, i još će dugo u budućnosti. Ali, mislim da ćemo se svi složiti da su ti naši kolege i prethodnici u tim ne lakim vremenima postavljali temelje i stvarali uvjete današnjeg procvata stare prošlosti i arheologije čitave Istre, pa i šire. Stoga im dugujemo našu trajnu zahvalnost i priznanje. Svi se mi u svome poslu krećemo tragovima nekih tradicija i putova koje su utirali naši prethodnici, i po tome smo karike jednoga lanca koji se nastavlja u vremenu i prostoru.

Navest ćemo ovdje nekoliko novijih naslova koje su objavili stručnjaci iz Istre i susjedstva, a koji su na svoj način nastavak svega onoga što su učinili raniji kolege, kao uostalom i oni prije njih, da se ne bi mislilo da nekoga namjerno ispuštamo jer nam to nije ni na kraj pameti. Malo je koja znanost kao arheologija i narodna i kozmopolitiska u isti mah, i svi su naši korijeni u dalekim stoljećima i tisućljećima čije krhotine sakupljamo čitavoga života da bismo spoznajom te prošlosti uvijek imali na umu ono što nas spaja i vodi u zajedničku budućnost ovoga sve manjega planeta s kojim smo neraskidivo vezani. Tu povezanost s prošlošću i njenim davnim pisanim vrelima cjelovito je prikazao Mate Križman svojim djelom "Antička svjedočanstva o Istri", Pula-Rijeka 1979., drugo izdanje 1998. Dalje, kronološki: Robert Matijašić, "Gospodarstvo antičke Istre", Pula, 1998., Alka Starac, "Rimsko vladanje u Istri i Liburniji I - Histrija", Pula 1999., Kristina Mihovilić, "Nezakcija - nalaz grobnice 1981. godine", katalog izložbe, Pula 1996., Guido Rosada i suradnici, "Oppidum Nesactium - una città istro-romana", Canova-Treviso 1999., Kristina Mihovilić, "Nesactium - prapovijesni nalazi 1900.

In the last decade, archaeologists and historians from Istria published a series of books and treatises that have helped a great deal in creating a better understanding of the ancient history of this unique peninsula. We are not in a position here, of course, to list all the names of the many experts from different nations, who have dedicated their efforts to these studies. Their priceless books and treatises are to be found in extensive bibliographies, and in all recent works, and I refer to these listings. We must, however, mention here the names of all those pioneering professionals and people whose goal was to try to promote the tenets of humanism, which are an essential element of archaeological and historical studies in times of great need marked by all kinds of limitations and obstacles. All who have had even the slightest contacts with these regions in the northwestern Adriatic are familiar with the names of Štefan Mlakar, Boris Bačić, Ante Šonja, Branko Marušić and Josip Mladin. Their work is a reflection of a truly specific period that even at present, after so many years, provokes controversy, a phenomenon that will obviously continue even in the future. But I think that we all agree that these colleagues and predecessors of ours, in difficult circumstances, managed to lay the foundations and create the right conditions for the present flourishing of the ancient past and of archeology of Istria as a whole, and even beyond. That is why we owe them our lasting gratitude and appreciation. In our work, all of us follow in the path of certain traditions and ways that were established by our predecessors, and that makes us a link in a chain that continues in time and space.

We will mention here some of the more recent titles that were published by experts from Istria and its neighboring regions, which are in their particular way a continuation of everything that was done by our earlier colleagues, and for that matter those preceding them, so that nobody could come up with the slightest suspicion that somebody is being ignored on purpose, as this is not at all on our mind. Archaeology can be regarded as one of the few scientific fields that are both cosmopolitan and national at the same time. Our roots are in the distant centuries and millennia, and we spend all our lives gathering the pieces of this giant puzzle in order to have a better comprehension of the past that in turn would enable our minds to concentrate on the things that unite us and lead us into a common future on this ever smaller planet with which we are inextricably linked. This link with the past and its ancient written sources was comprehensively portrayed by Mate Križman in his work "Ancient Testimonies About Istria" (Antička svjedočanstva o Istri), Pula-Rijeka 1979, second edition 1998. Further, in chronological order: Robert Matijašić, "The Economy of Roman Istria" (Gospodarstvo antičke Istre), Pula 1998. Alka Starac, "Roman Rule in Histria and Liburnia I - Histria", Pula 1999. Kristina Mihovilić, "Nesactium - the Discovery of a Grave Vault in 1981" (Nezakcija - Nalaz grobnice

- 1953.", Pula 2001., Alka Starac, "Istra od Epulona do Dioklecijana - rimsko vladanje u Istriji", Pula 2002., Vesna Girardi Jurkić, "Duhovna kultura antičke Istre", knj. 1, Kultovi u procesu romanizacije antičke Istre", Zagreb, 2005. Moramo spomenuti i istarske časopise: *Histria archaeologica*, *Histria historica* i *Histria antiqua*, koji su također svojevrsne riznice za svakoga tko se bavi našom antikom, a čije stranice ispunjavaju gore spomenuti i drugi autori. Naši kolege u Istri zaslužuju sve čestitke i dobre želje za svoje knjige i rezultate s kojima su ušli u treće tisućljeće.

Povijest Histra seže u daleku prošlost, što su lijepo pokazali spomenuti autori, kao i brojni drugi prije njih. Vrijedi upozoriti da od osam navedenih naslova, tri obrađuju Nezakcij, jedno od ključnih središta ovog naroda. Nas ovdje u prvome redu zanima rimsko razdoblje. Velike zasluge ima rimski povjesničar Livije, koji nam je u svojoj opsežnoj, nažalost samo djelomično sačuvanoj povijesti Rima "Ab urbe condita" (Od osnutka grada) ostavio dragocjene vijesti o Histrima i rimskom osvajanju Poluotoka. Ovu je svoju povijest Livije napisao potaknut nastojanjima cara Augusta u kulturi i dao nam veličanstvenu sliku rimskoga naroda i njihova života. Živio je od 59. pr. Kr. do 17. pos. Kr. te je proživio burno razdoblje konca Republike, ali i dolazak Augustova "rimskoga mira". Utjecaj njegova pisanja je trajan, i kadgod pišemo o Histrima, vraćamo se njemu. Važna nam je tako primjerice njegova bilješka o spartanskom kondotjeru Kleonimu, koji je 302. pr. Kr. došao u pomoć Tarentincima i zauzeo Turije u području Salentinaca. Protiv njega je krenuo konzul Marko Emilije, pobijedio ga i vratio Turije domorocima. Livije veli da je Kleonim napustio Italiju i prije sukoba s Rimljanima. Nakon toga je oplovio Brundizijsku izbočinu (rt) i vjetrovi su ga odnijeli u sredinu jadranskoga zaljeva. Kako su ga slijeva plašile obale Italije bez pristaništva, a zdesna Iliri, Liburni i Histri, narodi surovi i većim dijelom na zlu glasu poradi razbojstava na moru (... *Illyrii, Liburnique et Histri gentes ferae et magna ex parte latrociniis maritimis infames*), tako je (Kleonim) stigao skroz do obala Veneta (Liv. X, 2; Križman 1979, 142, 157; Zaninović 1990, 51). Livije ovdje povezuje Histre s drugim Ilirima naše obale i naglašava njihov gusarski značaj, što je preuzeto iz grčkih tradicija. Ovo je vrijeme nemira na Jadranu, kad nije bilo čvrste vlasti koja bi ove narode držala u pokornosti. Sredinom 4. stoljeća pr. Kr. dokrajčena je sirakuška prevlast i time su oživjele trajne sklonosti žitelja ovih obala. Bio je to način življenja, ne samo

1981. godine), exhibition catalogue, Pula 1996. Guido Rosada et al, "Oppidum Nesactium - a Histrian-Roman town" (Oppidum Nesactium - Una Città istro-romana), Canova-Treviso 1999. Kristina Mihovilić, "Nesactium - Prehistoric Finds 1900-1953" (Nesactium-Prapovijesni nalazi 1900-1953), Pula 2001. Alka Starac, "Istria from Epulon to Diocletian - Roman Rule in Histria" (Istra od Epulona do Dioklecijana - Rimsko vladanje u Istriji), Pula 2002. Vesna Girardi Jurkić, "The Spiritual Culture of Roman Istria, Vol. 1, Cults in the process of Romanization of ancient Istria" (Duhovna kultura antičke Istre, knj. 1, Kultovi u procesu romanizacije antičke Istre), Zagreb, 2005. We likewise have to mention the titles of these Istrian publications: "Histria Archaeologica", "Histria Historica" and "Histria Antiqua", which can be regarded as treasure troves for anybody dealing with the period of antiquity in our land, and whose pages were written by the above mentioned and other authors. Our colleagues in Istria deserve all of our congratulations and best wishes for their books and the results with which they have entered the third millennium.

The history of the Histri takes us back into the distant past, which was nicely demonstrated by the above-mentioned authors as well as by many others before them. It should be stressed that out of eight mentioned titles three of them are dedicated to Nesactium, one of the key centers of this people. We are primarily interested in the Roman period here. The Roman historian Livy has great merit for this because he left precious information regarding the Histri and the Roman conquest of the Peninsula, in his voluminous but, unfortunately, only partially preserved authorized version of the history of Rome "Ab urbe condita" (History of Rome from its foundation). Livy wrote this history inspired by the cultural endeavors made by Emperor Augustus, and gave us a magnificent picture of the Roman people and their lives. He lived from 59 BC to 17 AD, which means that he went through the tumultuous period that characterized the end of the Republic, and also the arrival of Augustus "Roman peace". The impact of his writing is huge, and whenever we write about the Histri we refer back to him. Important to us are, therefore, his notes about the Spartan army leader Cleonimus from 302 BC, who in that year came to help the Tarentines and conquered Turiae in the region of the Salentini. The consul Marcus Emilius confronted him, defeated him, and returned Turiae to the natives. Livy further states that Cleonimus left Italy even before the conflict with the Romans. Afterwards, Cleonimus sailed around the Brundisium Cape, and the winds brought him to the middle of the Adriatic Gulf. As on his left he was frightened by the coast of Italy, which had no ports, and on the right by the Illyrians, Liburni and Histri, the rough peoples that had a mostly infamous reputation as a result of piracy on the high seas (... *Illyrii, Liburnique et Histri gentes ferae et magna ex parte latrociniis maritimis infames*), Cleonimus

Ilira, već i svih drugih primoraca, počevši od Etruščana pa nadalje.

Sljedeća epizoda iz tih operacija je u 221. pr. Kr., kada su Histri bili u savezu s Demetrijem Hvaraninom, strategom i vojskovođom, koji se od rimskoga štćenika prometnuo u njihova protivnika. Demetrije je, naime, nakon 225. pr. Kr. ušao u savez s makedonskim vladarima i 221. postao savjetnik mladoga makedonskoga kralja Filipa V. Istovremeno, Rimljani su bili zauzeti sukobima s Galima u sjevernoj Italiji, a Senat je morao voditi računa i o zbivanjima u južnoj Hispaniji, gdje su Kartażani obnavljali svoju snagu i utjecaj. Demetrije je u to vrijeme praktički vladao dobrim dijelom naše obale, od Skodre do Liburnije. Počeo je gusariti i, kako bilježi Apijan (Illyr., 8, 23), potaknuo je na to i Histre, drugi ilirski narod. Oni su napali rimske brodove sa žitom pa su ih Rimljani, nakon što su porazili Kelte, prognali zajedno s drugima, valjda Demetrijevim podanicima. Taj i drugi Demetrijevi postupci doveli su do rimskoga napada na Demetrija 219. u njegovu središtu Pharusu (Stari Grad na Hvaru). Porazili su ga i srušili zidove grada, a Demetrije je otišao Filipu V. (Zaninović 1998, 89-96; Coppola 1993, *passim*). Time je završilo jedno važno poglavlje ilirske povijesti i Rimljani su ojačali svoje pozicije na južnom Jadranu. Nakon pobjede nad Galima u sjevernoj Italiji Rimljani počinju s osnivanjem kolonija. Tako su 189. osnovali latinsku koloniju u Bononiji, a 183. kolonije rimskih građana u Parmi i Mutini, osiguravajući time svoju vlast u ovim krajevima. Osim toga, učvrstili su savez s Venetima. Histri su, međutim, i dalje sudjelovali u gusarenju sa svojim južnijim sunarodnjacima. Senat je 183. pr. Kr. donio odluku o osnivanju kolonije u Akvileji, što su i učinili 181. godine. Pretor Kvint Fabije Burton zašao je u Histriju 181., jer su se Histri bunili protiv njena osnutka. Osnutak Akvileje imat će ključnu važnost za povijest Istre i drugih krajeva na istoku i sjeveru. Zbog svoga povoljnoga položaja i prostranih plodnih ravnica kolonijaskoga agera, naseobina je postala glavni bastion rimske moći i širenja utjecaja prema istoku i sjeveru. Livije je zabilježio precizne podatke o broju naseljenika i površini zemljišta koje im je dodijeljeno, a što je važno za poznavanje rimske kolonijске politike u cjelini. Najprije su naselili 3.000 kolonista pješaka, koji su dobili po 50 jugera zemlje (1 juger = 3.200 m²), centurioni po 100, a konjanici po 140 jugera (Liv., XL, 34). Iz toga slijedi da je ager Akvileje imao površinu od 200.000 jugera, što odgovara površini od 500.000 hektara ili 500 km². Područje naseobine naraslo je za novih 250 km² kada je na traženje akvilejskih poslanika 169. pr. Kr. senat uputio još 1.500 obitelji kolonista.

carried on all the way to the shores of Venetia (Liv. X, 2; Križman 1979, 142, 157; Zaninović 1990, 51). It is here that Livy connects the Histri with other Illyrians of our coast and emphasizes their pirate character, which is borrowed from Greek tradition. This was a time of unrest on the Adriatic Sea, when there was no firm rule that would hold these peoples in check. The middle of the 4th century BC saw the end of the domination by Syracuse, all of which revived the permanent aspirations of the inhabitants of these shores. It was a way of life, not just of the Illyrians, but also of all other peoples that lived on the coast, starting with the Etruscans, and everywhere around them.

The next episode to come out of these operations was in 221 BC, when the Histri were allied with Demetrius of Pharos, a strategist and army commander who switched from being a Roman protégé to becoming their foe. After 225 BC, Demetrius, in fact, went into an alliance with Macedonian rulers, only to become an advisor to the young Macedonian king, Philip V, in 221 BC. At the same time the Romans were engaged in conflicts with the Gauls in Northern Italy, while the Senate also had to follow the events taking place in Southern Hispania, where the Carthaginians were in the process of renewing their strength and influence. As it were, Demetrius at that time virtually ruled a large part of our coast from Skodra to Liburnia. He began to engage in acts of piracy, and as it was recorded by Appian (Illyr., 8, 23), by doing this he encouraged the Histri and other Illyrian peoples to do the same. They attacked Roman vessels transporting grain, and were thus banished by the Romans after these defeated the Celts, together with other purported subjects of Demetrius. Such behavior as well as other actions by Demetrius brought the full wrath of the Romans upon him, which in 219 BC resulted in an attack on Pharos (Stari Grad on the Island of Hvar) that was a stronghold of Demetrius. He was defeated and the walls surrounding the town were destroyed, all of which did not preclude Demetrius from going to Philip V (Zaninović 1998, 89-96; Coppola 1993, *passim*). Thus ended an important chapter of Illyrian history, and the Romans strengthened their positions in the Southern Adriatic.

After the victory over the Gauls in Northern Italy, the Romans began with the establishment of their colonies. In this manner a Latin colony was created in Bononia in 189 BC, as was the case with the colonies of Roman citizens in Parma and Mutina in 183 BC, thereby ensuring their rule in these regions. In addition, they strengthened their alliance with the Venetics. The Histri, however, were still engaged in piracy together with their southern compatriots. In 183 BC, the Senate adopted a decision to create a colony in Aquileia, which was realized in 181 BC. Praetor Quintus Fabius Burton went into Histria in that year as the Histri were in uproar over the founding of this colony. The establishment of Aquileia will be of crucial importance for the history of Istria and other regions in the

Time je čitav taj teritorij, kako je izračunao K. J. Beloch, imao i do 1.200 km², što je u Cezarovo vrijeme bilo još i povećano (Zaninović 1990, 53).

Grad je štitila laguna na jugu i zapadu, a s istoka je zaštitu omogućila rijeka Natisona. S ovolikim brojem kolonista Akvileja je bila uporište i mostobran kojim su nadzirali prostrano područje s narodima i plemenima, od Norika do Ilirika, Karne, Gale, Japode i bliske Histre koji će prvi doživjeti skoru intervenciju iz Akvileje. Možemo pretpostaviti da su doseljenici zajedno s vojnim čimbenicima željeli dokrajčiti pomorsko-gusarske djelatnosti Histra i prisiliti ih na trajnu pokornost. Time bi uklonili smetnje svojoj trgovačkoj i gospodarskoj, pa i političkoj ekspanziji prema jugu i moru. Tim više što je Rim osigurao mir na istoku, Gali na poluotoku su savladani, a i sukob s Ligurima je povoljno okončan. Tako se u pravcu Histrije 178. pr. Kr. iz Akvileje zaputio konzul Aulo Manlije Vulson s dvije legije i utaborio se kod Timavskog jezera. Aulo Furiju, koji je bio *duumvir navalis*, povjerio je obranu italske obale od Ancone prema sjeveru. Senat i narod, siti ratovanja, nisu se složili s ovom ekspedicijom, ali kako nije bilo protuzakonito ratovati s narodom s kojim nije bilo državnih ugovora, A. Manlije Vulson započeo je sukob snagom svog konzulskog imperija, tj. vrhovne vojne vlasti. Konzulska vojska je došla u zemlju Histra i bila zapravo opkoljena. Histri su to iskoristili i pratili rimsku vojsku stranputicama. Iskoristili su priliku, napali je i porazili. Rimljani su se, međutim, snašli i reorganizirali te Histrima nanijeli težak poraz pobivši ih 8.000, jer ogorčeni rimski vojnici nisu uzimali zarobljenike. Kralj Histra je pobjegao, jer su ga njegovi još mamurna podigli na konja. Livije je ostavio detaljan opis ove bitke (Liv., XLI, 1-5), što je kuriozitet rimske historiografije prije braće Grakho. Ističe se vojnički i osvajački duh Rimljana, ali i prikazivanje ratnika kao ljudi sa svojim slabostima, koji ih znaju nadići i na surov način okrenuti u svoju korist.

Senat je oduzeo zapovjedništvo Aulo Manliju i povjerio ga konzulu Gaju Klaudiju Pulheru. U međuvremenu su Aulo Manlije Vulson i Marko Junije pošli, nakon zimovanja 177., ponovno u Histriju, prije negoli je stigao Gaj Klaudije Pulher. Pustošili su sve pred sobom. Ogorčeni i jadni, Histri su se digli na otpor i borili se hrabro, ali poginulo ih je više od 4.000, a preostali su se povukli u svoja naselja i gradine. Poslali su izaslanike u rimski logor tražeći mir i dali taoce koje su Rimljani tražili: Pulher se pobjeđao da će ostati bez svoje pobjede i plijena te je ljut otišao u svoju pokrajinu. Optužio je pred vojskom Manlija i Junija zbog ranijeg poraza i bijega iz logora. Oni mu odgovoriše da će mu

east and north. Due to its favorable location and the vast fertile plains of the colonial ager, this settlement became the main bastion of Roman power and a springboard for the spreading of Roman influence to the east and north. Livy recorded the precise figures regarding the number of settlers and the area of land that was allocated to them, all of which is of great importance for the understanding of Roman colonial policy in general. In the initial stage they settled 3,000 infantrymen colonists, who received 50 iugeri of land each (1 iugerum = 3,200 square meters), whereas centurions received 100, and cavalrymen 140 iugeri of land each (Liv., XL, 34). It follows that the ager of Aquileia covered an area of 200,000 iugeri in total, which corresponds to an area of 500,000 hectares or 500 square kilometers. The area of the settlement grew by another 250 square kilometers when in 169 BC the Senate sent another 1,500 families of colonists, based on a request submitted by representatives from Aquileia. As K. J. Beloch calculated, the entire territory measured thus 1,200 square kilometers, which was even further enlarged in Caesar's period (Zaninović 1990, 53).

The city was protected by a lagoon on the south and west, and on the east flowed the river Natisona. With such a large number of colonists, Aquileia was both a stronghold and a bridgehead used to control a vast territory containing many tribes and peoples, from the inhabitants of Noricum to the Illyrians, Carni, the Gallic tribes, the Iapodes, and neighboring Histri who would be the first in line to experience the upcoming intervention from Aquileia. We can assume that the settlers, in unison with the military, wanted not only to stamp out maritime piracy carried out by the Histri, but also to subjugate the latter into permanent servitude. This would eliminate all interferences to their commercial and economic as well as political expansion towards the south and the sea. Even more so as Rome secured peace in the east, the Gallic tribes on the peninsula were defeated, and the conflict with the Liguri was settled in a satisfactory manner. As it happened, consul Aulus Manlius Vulso was headed from Aquileia in the direction of Histria in 178 BC, together with two legions that encamped in the vicinity of the Timavo lake. He entrusted Aulus Furius, who was a *duumvir navalis*, with the defense of the Italic coast from Ancona towards the north. The Senate and the people, fed up with war, disagreed with this expedition, but as it was not illegal to engage in war with peoples with whom there were no official state treaties, Manlius Vulso began an armed conflict with the power vested in his consular empire, i.e., the supreme military authority. The consul's army came to the land of the Histri and was literally surrounded. The Histri made use of this and followed the Roman army by using side roads. They seized the opportunity, attacked and defeated them. However, the Romans managed to reorganize themselves, which resulted in a total defeat for the Histri who suffered 8,000 casualties, which was a direct

priznati njegove ovlasti nakon što primi konzulsku čast po svim propisima, što on nije učinio. Stoga se Pulher vratio u Rim, to obavio i pohitao natrag u Histriju (Liv., XLI, 10). Prokonzuli Junije i Manlije su se, međutim, već prije toga bili zaputili prema jugu Poluotoka. Vjerojatno je jedna kolona išla duž obale, a druga više u unutrašnjosti.

Stigli su do utvrđenog središta Histra, *Nesactium*, Liv., XLI, 11, 1), u kojem se sklonio kralj Epulon sa svojim glavarima. Tamo ih je sustigao Pulher, čija se vojska okupila u Akvileji, sada s punim konzulskim ovlastima, te je vratio natrag Manlija i Junija s njihovim četama. Tako su pravi pobjednici ostali bez plijena koji im je već bio na dohvat ruke. Pobjedu je uzeo Pulher, što mu nije bio problem sa svježim legijama i nekoliko tisuća ljudi te boljim spravama, a protiv već iscrpljenih protivnika.

Histri su počeli ubijati žene i djecu, a i sami se nisu predavali. Rimljani su preko bedema prodrli u grad. Buku prodora čuo je Epulon u krikovima onih koji su bježali te je sam sebi zario mač u grudi, da ga ne bi živoga zarobili. Preostali branitelji su bili zarobljeni ili pobijeni. Još su dva naselja što ih spominje Livije bila razorena i zauzeta na juriš. To su *Mutila* i *Faveria* (*Medulin* i *Mutvoran*, sjeverno od Budavske drage ili kod *Pomera*, 4 km zapadno od *Medulina*). Tako je u krvi i ognju ugušena sloboda Histra. Bila su to genocidna osvajanja, kao i većina rimskih pohoda. Histri su, po Liviju, imali 12.000 naoružanih ljudi, poubijano ih je 3.000, a 5.632 je prodano u ropstvo. Pretpostavlja se da je čitava Histrija mogla imati oko 100-120.000 stanovnika. Livije veli da je plijen bio veći nego li se očekivalo od ovoga siromašnoga svijeta i da je sav bio prepušten vojnicima. Klaudije je proslavio 177. trijumf nad *Histrima* i *Ligurima*. Ratni plijen u trijumfu iznosio je 370.000 denara i 85.702 viktorigata (viktorigat je bio rimsko-kampanski srebrni novac i služio je za vanjsku trgovinu, a kada se u 2. st. pr. Kr. učvrstio denar, izgubio se). Poluotok je, dakle, sada bio pacificiran i preostali stanovnici su morali plaćati danak u naturalnim dobrima. Konzul Klaudije prebacio je svoje legije u *Liguriju*, ali je odmah po trijumfu vratio odrede latinskih saveznika koji su u tome sudjelovali, ne bi li čuvali red i mir. Vojni nadzor ostao je u vlasti konzula sve do *Sulina* vremena, kada ga dobivaju prokonzuli i propretori.¹

¹ O ovim zbivanjima postoji opsežna literatura. Ovdje navodim samo nekoliko važnijih djela naših autora: Vesna Jurkić Girardi, Prilog za sintezu povijesti Istre u rimsko doba, *HAD* 11, 1987, 65-80; Robert Matijašić, *Gospodarstvo antičke Istre*, Pula, 1998, 31-56; Alka Starac, *Rimsko vladanje u Istriji i Liburniji*, I, *Histria*, Pula, 1999, 7-15

result of the Roman policy of not taking any prisoners of war. The king of the Histri succeeded in escaping thanks to his subjects who managed to put him onto a horse while he was still in a groggy state. Livy has left a detailed account of this battle (Liv., XLI, 1-5), which represents a curiosity of Roman historiography prior to the Gracchi brothers. The emphasis was put on the military and conquering spirit of the Romans, and also on the portrayal of the warriors like ordinary people with all their weaknesses, who know how to superate them and turn them in a brutal manner in their favor.

The Senate has stripped Aulus Manlius of his command and entrusted the consul Gaius Claudius Pulcher with it. In the meantime, Aulus Manlius Vulso and Marcus Iunius embarked on another Histrian campaign after the winter rest period in 177 BC, even before the arrival of Gaius Claudius Pulcher. They ravaged everything that stood in their way. The Histri, bitter and miserable, nevertheless put up a resistance, fighting bravely, but more than 4,000 were killed while the rest retreated to their settlements and hillforts. They sent envoys to the Roman camp, asking for peace and providing the hostages demanded: Pulcher feared that victory and the spoils of war would slip past him and he departed angrily to his region. In front of the army he denounced Manlius and Iunius for the prior defeat and escape from the camp. They responded by assuring him that they would respect his authority only after he received the consular honor in accordance with all regulations, which he failed to do at the time. Pulcher therefore returned to Rome, went through all the formalities, and hurried back to Histria (Liv., XLI, 10). However, the proconsuls Iunius and Manlius were headed towards the south of the peninsula even before that. One column probably went along the coast, while the other took the hinterland route.

They reached the fortified capital of the Histri, *Nesactium* (oppidum *Nesactium*, Liv., XLI, 11, 1), where king Epulon and his elders took refuge. It was there that Pulcher, whose army was assembled at *Aquileia*, caught up with them, now in possession of his full consular powers, and he ordered Manlius and Iunius back together with their troops. In this manner the real winners were denied the spoils of war that seemed ever so close to them. Pulcher emerged victorious, which posed no problems for him considering his fresh legions and several thousands of better armed soldiers who confronted an already exhausted enemy.

The Histri started killing women and children, and they themselves did not surrender. The Romans overran the rampart and burst into the town. The rumble caused by them was heard by Epulon in the form of cries of those who were fleeing the advancing Romans, and he himself thrust a sword into his chest in order not to be captured alive. The remaining defenders were either captured or killed. According to Livy, there were two more settlements that were ravaged and conquered by the onslaught. These

Nakon pada Nezakcija i pokoravanja Histrije izostaju nam posebne vijesti o Poluotoku. To je poznata stvar u historiografiji, nema ratova – nema povijesti, jer pisci nemaju što bilježiti kad nema sukoba. Imamo pojedine kratke vijesti. Tako se Akvilejci žale senatu 171. na nesigurnost grada, jer još nisu utvrdili bedeme. Livije bilježi da je te godine konzul Gaj Kasije Longin krenuo iz Akvileje preko Ilirika za Makedoniju, ali bez znanja Senata, i prisilio Histre da mu dadu vodiče. Međutim, ubrzo se vratio, nakon što je prešao pola puta, i opljačkao te i spalio njihove krajeve. Pravno je to bilo moguće, jer nije bilo saveza (foedus) koji bi to priječio (Liv., XLIII, 5, 4). Izaslanici Karna, Histra i Japoda potužili su se Senatu, koji im je obećao odgovor nakon što se konzul vrati i ispituje ga. Livije, nažalost, nije zabilježio što se dalje s time dogodilo. On je ovom zgodom završio svoje izvještavanje o Histrima. Zahvaljujući ovome velikome povjesničaru staroga svijeta i Rima poznata su nam ova, ovdje najsazetije spomenuta zbivanja. Pad Nezakcija i pokoravanje Histra ključni je događaj u staroj histarskoj povijesti, kojim je završila njihova bogata prošlost potvrđena arheološkim ostacima, koji ukazuju na razgranatost veza sa svijetom Sredozemlja, bližim i daljim. Međutim, još mnogo tragova ove stare povijesti krije istarsko tlo i čeka ruke arheologa, a to će zamijeniti i dopuniti pisana vrela, kojih je malo.

Prošlo je skoro pola stoljeća dok se Histrija nije opet pojavila u vrelima, i to opet u vezi s vojnim pohodom. Konzul Gaj Sempronije Tuditan je 129. napustio Rim da bi pošao na Japode. Bio je slabe sreće, ali svejedno je trijumfirao 1. listopada 129. Plinije je zabilježio (Plin., H. N., III, 129) da je Tuditan koji je pokorio Histre na svome kipu napisao: Od Akvileje do rijeke Titija (Krke) dvije tisuće stadija. Točnost Plinijeva zapisa potvrdili su i sačuvani ulomci Tuditanova počasnoga natpisa – elogije, nađeni u Akvileji (Inscr. It., XIII, 3, 7, no. 90) na kojima piše da je “prisilio Tauriske, Karne i Liburne da napuste brda”. To što se spominju stadiji, a ne milje, ukazuje da je Tuditan putovao duž obale morskim putem, a ne kopnenim, kako neki smatraju (Morgan 1973, 29–48). Jasno je da je bilo nekih zbivanja u Histriji koja je konzul morao rješavati, i to uspješno, jer nema razloga da ne vjerujemo Plinijevom zapisu. Nakon toga sve do Cezarova prokonzulata u Iliriku, koji je dobio senatskim *lex Vatinia* 59. i izbijanja građanskog rata s Pompejem 49. pr. Kr. nema nekih

were Mutila and Faveria (Medulin and Mutvoran, north of the Bay of Budava or in the vicinity of Pomer, 4 km to the west of Medulin). It was thus that the freedom of the Histri was drowned in blood and fire. These conquests had all the hallmarks of genocide, as was the case with the majority of Roman campaigns. Livy states that the Histri had 12,000 armed men, 3,000 of which were killed, while 5,632 were sold into slavery. It is assumed that the population of Histria numbered approximately 100 to 200 thousand inhabitants. Livy states that the spoils of war were greater than it might have been expected from this poor people, and that all of them went to the soldiers. In 177 BC, Claudius celebrated the triumph over the Histri and the Ligurians. The spoils of this triumph amounted to 370,000 denarii and 85,702 victoriat (a victoriat was a Roman-Campanian silver coin used for foreign trade; when the role of the denarius strengthened in the 2nd century BC, it disappeared). The peninsula was now pacified and the remaining inhabitants had to pay a tribute in natural goods. Consul Claudius moved his legions to Liguria, but immediately after the triumph he returned the units of the Latin allies that participated in the campaign, so that they could actively participate in the maintenance of law and order. Military control has remained under the authority of the consuls until the period of Sulla, when it was passed onto the proconsuls and propraetors.¹

After the fall of Nesactium and the subjugation of Histria there is a void as regards any particular news about the peninsula. This is a common occurrence in historiography, no wars, no history, as writers have nothing to write about in times of peace. We have some short news though. Like the ones regarding the citizens of Aquileia, who complained to the Senate in 171 BC about the lack of security in the town because the rampart was not yet fortified. Livy writes that in this year Consul Gaius Cassius Longinus went from Aquileia, via Illyricum, to Macedonia, but without the knowledge of the Senate, and forced the Histri to provide him with guides. However, he soon returned having reached only half of the journey, only to loot and ravage their lands. Legally it was possible for him to do so as there was no alliance (foedus) that would have prevented it (Liv., XLIII, 5, 4). Delegates representing the Carni, Histri and Iapodes complained to the Senate, and they were promised an answer upon the return of the consul, and after his questioning. Livy, unfortunately, did not record the outcome of this matter. With this story he namely concluded his reports dealing with the Histri.

¹ There exists a great deal of literature describing these events. Quoted here are but a few of the more important works by our authors: Jurkić Girardi Vesna, Prilog za sintezu povijesti Istre u rimsko doba (A Contribution to the Synthesis of the History of Istria in Roman Times), HAD 11, 1987, 65–80; Matijašić Robert, Gospodarstvo antičke Istre (The Economy of Roman Istria), Pula, 1998, 31–56; Alka Starac, Rimsko vladanje u Histriji i Liburniji (Roman Rule in Histria and Liburnia), I, Histria, Pula, 1999, 7–15.

izravnih informacija o Histriji. Cezar je boravio u Akvileji 56. i 54. i intervenirao za Liburne kada su ih Delmati napali kod Promone 51. Išao je obalom do Pirusta, koji su se pobunili 54., a prije toga je 56. primio isejske poslanike potvrdivši im savez i prava u Manijskom zaljevu. Prema tome, morao je već zbog blizine dobro poznavati i prilike u Histriji. Reklo bi se, barem po dosadašnjem arheološkom poznavanju, da je životne snage Poluotoka privlačila i na svoj način apsorbirala Akvileja. Vodeće središte ovoga područja svojom je trgovinom i interesima bilo okrenuto Padskoj dolini, Noriku prema sjeveru (Magdalensberg) te prema istoku i Panoniji. Histrija je južnije i možemo pretpostaviti da je igrala manju ulogu u ovim trgovačkim zbivanjima, jer ustvari i nije imala nešto posebno ponuditi trgovcima i publikanima. Pomorski se promet i trgovina odvijao duž obale, o čemu svjedoče sporadični nalazi grčkoitalskih amfora na zapadnoj obali, iz druge i prve polovice 1. st. pr. Kr. Lučki i pomorski karakter zaslugom svoga položaja oživljava i Nezakciju, o čemu svjedoče nalazi kasnohelenističke keramike (Matijašić 1998, 37: za nalaze ove keramike navodi tekstove V. Jurkić Girardi i K. Mihovilić). Lučki i pomorski karakter ovoga naselja uočio sam odmah nakon što sam prvi put posjetio lokalitet, prije puno godina. O tome sam i pisao, samo se malo čitalo (Zaninović 1994, 179-186; Zaninović 2005, 5-23), ali ima autora koji su prihvatili moja razmišljanja.

Nakon pobjede i postavši *dictator perpetuus*, Cezar je razvio opsežnu urbanizaciju Italije i pokrajina s *Lex Iulia de municipalis* 45. godine. Brojna su naselja širom Sredozemlja dobila status rimskih kolonija i municipija. Tako su i Histrija i Ilirik sa svojim starim središtima dobili te privilegije. Njegov nasljednik Oktavijan nakon bitke kod Akcija 31. pr. Kr. također je ostao sam na čelu velikog imperija. Nakon svih ratova na brizi mu je ostalo oko 100.000 ratnih veterana. U tu je svrhu osnovao posebnu vojničku riznicu – *aerarium militare*. Nakon bitke kod Akcija jedan dio plijena i zarobljenika stigao je bez sumnje i u koloniju Polu. O tome svjedoči spomenik – slavoluk što ga je svojem suprugu Luciju Sergiju podigla Salvia Postuma. Kao sudionik i dobitnik plijena iz ove bitke mogao je imati ovakav spomenik. Oktavijan, sada August, podijelio je prostrane istarske ravnice svojim suradnicima i prijateljima. Oni su pak koristili cijeli aparat upravljanja tim imanjima, pretežno iz istočnog Mediterana (Zaninović 1991, 71-89). Ali, kolonista

Thanks to this great historian of the ancient world and Rome, we have learned about these events mentioned here in their most concise form. The fall of Nesactium and the submission of the Histri are key events as regards ancient Histrian history. These events represent the end of their rich past that was corroborated by scores of archaeological remains that in turn point to their ties that encompassed the Mediterranean world, be it the neighboring regions or the more distant ones. However, many traces of this ancient history are still hidden in Istrian soil, waiting for the hands of archaeologists, and this will substitute and supplement the lack of written sources.

Nearly half a century went by before Histria was again mentioned in written sources, and again in connection with a military campaign. Consul Gaius Sempronius Tuditanus left Rome in 129 BC, to embark on a campaign against the Iapodes. However, he ran out of luck, but was still able to triumph over them on October 1, 129 BC. Pliny recorded (Plin., H. N., III, 129) that: Tuditanus who conquered the Histri had this written on his statue: from Aquileia to the Titius River (Krka) two thousand stades. The accuracy of Pliny's records was confirmed by the preserved fragments of Tuditanus' honorary inscription – eulogy, discovered at Aquileia (Inscr. It., XIII, 3, 7, no. 90), on which it is written that he "forced the Taurisci, Carni and Liburnians to leave the hills". The fact that stades are mentioned, rather than miles, indicates that Tuditanus traveled along the coast by sea, rather than by land, as is believed by some (Morgan 1973, 29-48). However, it is clear that there must have been some developments in Histria that the Consul managed to resolve successfully, because there are no arguments not to believe Pliny's records. Thereafter, until Caesar's proconsulate in Illyricum, which he obtained with the Senate's *lex Vatinia* in 59 BC, and the outbreak of civil war with Pompeii in 49 BC, there are no direct sources that speak about Histria. Caesar was in Aquileia in 56 BC and again in 54 BC, and he intervened on behalf of the Liburnians when they were attacked by the Delmati near Promona in 51 BC. He went along the coast to the Pirustae who had rebelled in 54 BC, and before that in 56 BC, and received the mission from Issa, confirming their alliance and rights in Manios Bay. Consequently, he also must have been well acquainted with the existing circumstances in Histria, due to its proximity. At least on the basis of current archaeological knowledge, it could be said that the vital forces of the peninsula were attracted and in a particular way absorbed by Aquileia. The leading center of this region gravitated with its commercial and other interests towards the Po River valley, towards Noricum in the north (Magdalensberg), and towards the east and Pannonia. We can presume that Histria, located further south, played only a minor role in these commercial activities, as it did not have anything special to offer to the traders and publicans. Maritime traffic and trade were carried out along the coast, as evidenced by sporadic

je bilo s raznih strana. U procesu razvitka carstva u rimskome miru, što ga je ostvario Oktavijan, i Histrija je doživjela procvat. Poslije staroga histarskoga Nezakcija sada se rodio rimski municipij Nezakcij, kao sigurna luka u nevremenima, kada je zbog jakih vjetrova bilo opasno obilaziti južni vrh Poluotoka. Praktični Rimljani dali su, a ne bi li brodovima i pomorcima omogućili rješavanje raznih pitanja, ovome drevnome središtu, koje nikada nije izgubilo svoju lučku i prometnu funkciju, status rimskoga municipija, iako je bio blizu kolonije Pole i praktički na njenom teritoriju. Tri natpisa, zadnji nađen 2005. godine, potvrđuju ovaj status grada. Tako je zatvoren krug, a zemljopisni i prometni uvjeti diktirali su ponovni procvat Nezakcija, koji će trajati tijekom čitave antike.²

Međutim, od Manlija Vulsona do Sempronija Tuditana pa sve do Cezara, histarska arheologija ima zadatak da u budućim istraživanjima osvjetli gotovo cijelo stoljeće o kojem još uvijek ostajemo u okviru raznih hipoteza. Možda bi nam trebala pomoći republikanska numizmatika, ali nažalost raznolike turbulencije i promjene država i sustava, ratovi i sukobi kroz koje je Istra prolazila tijekom 20. st., nisu pogodovali očuvanju ovako sitnoga i zanimljivoga arheološkoga bogatstva kao što je antički novac. Trebao bi se možda neki od mlađih kolega posvetiti proučavanju ovoga arheološki i povijesno dragocjenog materijala. Znači, bilo bi nužno utvrditi stanje svih arheoloških zbirki iz ranijih razdoblja, prelistati svu staru literaturu te izvući bilješke i podatke o numizmatičkim nalazima. A naravno, zna se otprilike gdje se nalazi arheološki materijal iz Istre – u sanducima u Rimu, Veneciji i drugdje, koje možda nitko nije ni otvorio otkada su onamo doneseni.

Nedavno je kolegica Alenka Miškec sakupila poznati numizmatički antički materijal iz Istre (Miškec 2002). Republikanski je novac uglavnom sporadično prisutan. I to vjerojatno ima svoje povijesne i gospodarske razloge, ali ipak bi ga moralo biti više. Stoga bi trebao biti predmetom budućih revizija i novih istraživanja, koja će nam pomoći u boljem razumijevanju poduzetog razdoblja histarske prošlosti koja nas prirodno privlači upravo svojim trajanjem i svojom zatvorenosću. Uvjereni smo da

² O Nezakciju vidi brojne tekstove gore spomenutih istarskih autora, kao i potpisanoga. Vidi i: Oppidum Nesactium – Una Città istro-romana a cura di Guido Rosada, Canova-Treviso, 1999, 160-176

discoveries of Greco-Italic amphorae from the second and first halves of the 1st century BC on the western coast. Thanks to its position, Nesactium too revived its character as a port and maritime center, which is corroborated by finds of Late Hellenistic pottery (Matijašić 1998, 37: texts for these pottery finds are provided by Jurkić Girardi V. and Mihovilić K.). That this settlement really possessed such a character was obvious to me at once, after the first visit I made to the site many years ago. I have also written about that, but it was not widely read (Zaninović 1994, 179-186; Zaninović 2005, 5-23), even though there are authors who have accepted my lines of thought.

After the victory and becoming a *dictator perpetuus*, Caesar engaged in an extensive urbanization of Italy and the provinces with the help of *Lex Iulia de municipalis* in 45 BC. Throughout the Mediterranean, numerous settlements were given the status of Roman colonies and municipalities. It was so that Histria and Illyricum, together with their capitals, also obtained these privileges. After the battle of Actium in 31 BC, his successor Octavianus likewise remained alone at the helm of a great empire. After all the wars he was left with 100,000 war veterans that he had to take care of. For this purpose he established a special military treasury – *aerarium militare*. Some spoils of war, together with some prisoners, were doubtlessly also sent to the colony of Pola after the battle of Actium. This is corroborated by the monument – triumphal arch that was erected by Salvia Postuma in honor of her husband Lucius Sergius. As a participant in the battle, and as somebody who also participated in the subsequent division of the spoils resulting from it, it was plausible for him to get such a monument. Octavianus, and now Augustus, has divided the vast Istrian plains among his associates and friends. And they made use of the entire apparatus that managed these estates, which came mostly from the Eastern Mediterranean (Zaninović 1991, 71-89). But there were colonists from all over. Histria likewise went through a period of blossoming during the process of empire development at the time of the Roman peace created by Octavianus. The Roman municipality of Nesactium was born on the spot where once stood the old Histrian capital of Nesactium, as a secure port during severe storms, when it was dangerous to sail around the southern tip of the peninsula due to strong winds. In order to facilitate the operation of ships and to help solve various issues connected to sailors, the practical Romans had given this ancient center which never lost its function as a port and maritime traffic hub, a status of a Roman municipality, even though it was located in the vicinity of the colony of Pola, and stood practically on its territory. Three inscriptions, the last of which was discovered in 2005, confirm such a status of the town. In this manner the full circle was closed and it was geographic and traffic conditions that dictated the revival

će naši vrijedni kolege u Istri, a i drugi stručnjaci, svojim istraživanjima koja predstoje osvijetliti i ovu dionicu slavne prošlosti svoga lijepoga poluotoka. To im od srca želim pa njihovim dosadašnjim uspješnim rezultatima, kao i onima budućim, posvećujem ove skromne retke kao poticaj.

of Nesactium, which would last throughout the Roman period.²

However, from Manlius Vulso to Sempronius Tuditanus, and all the way to Caesar, the task of Histrian archaeology in future explorations is to shed some light upon a period of time lasting for almost an entire century, which is still being treated within the framework of various hypotheses. Perhaps we should seek help in the form of Republican numismatics, but unfortunately, the great number of different perturbations, the changing states and systems, the wars and conflicts that affected Istria and all of us in the course of the 20th century did not favor the preservation of such tiny and interesting archaeological treasures that come in the form of antique coins. One of our younger colleagues should, perhaps, dedicate him/herself to the study of this archaeologically and historically precious material. This means that it would be indispensable to ascertain the condition of all archaeological collections from earlier periods, and to browse through all the old literature in order to obtain notes and information regarding these numismatic finds. And naturally, we all more or less know about the whereabouts of the archaeological materials from Istria, stored in cases in Rome, Venice and elsewhere, which might even not have been opened since the day they were brought there.

A short time ago, our colleague Alenka Miškec collected the known numismatic finds from the Roman period in Istria (Miškec 2002). Republican coins are mostly sporadically present. And that probably has its historical and economical reasons but, nevertheless, there should be more of them. This is, therefore, the subject of future revisions and new explorations that will help us to better understand a rather long period of the Histrian past that attracts us naturally because of its duration and its confinement. We are confident that the forthcoming explorations of our hardworking colleagues in Istria, as well as those of other experts, will shed some light onto this period of the glorious past of this beautiful peninsula. This is our heartfelt wish, and I dedicate these modest lines as an encouragement for any present and future successes.

² See the many texts about Nesactium, written by the above mentioned Istrian authors and by the undersigned. Also see the supplement by the undersigned in this volume of HAD that deals with Istria. Also see: *Oppidum Nesactium - Una Città istro-romana a cura di Guido Rosada, Canova-Treviso, 1999, 160-176.*

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SAŽETAK

POSLIJE NEZAKCIJA

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Povijest istarskoga poluotoka određena je njegovim zemljopisnim položajem. Ovamo, na završetak jadranskoga zaljeva, stizali su moreplovci davnih vremena i istarska je dionica bila jedna od ključnih plovidba njihova puta. Odavde se ide u Padsku dolinu i srednju Europu. Osvojivši Apeninski poluotok, Rimljani su stigli na ušće Pada i u Venetiju. Histri su s drugim Ilirima vladali svojim morem i rimsko je približavanje odmah izazvalo određene sukobe te prvi histarski rat 221. u savezu s Demetrijem Hvaraninom. Za rimsko osvajanje Histrije ključno je bilo osnivanje kolonije u Akvileji 181. pr. Kr., u koju je stigao veliki broj kolonista. U pohod na Histre ubrzo je krenuo konzul Aulo Manlije Vulson 178. Operaciju je nastavio Gaj Klaudije Pulher, a osvajanje su dovršili 177. zajedno s njim konzuli Marko Junije i Aulo Manlije, zauzimanjem Nezakcija. Mnoštvo je ljudi pobijeno, a ostali su prodani u roblje. Nakon toga se pola stoljeća ništa ne događa, u povijesnim vrelima nema nikakvih informacija, što potvrđuje tvrdnju da kada nema ratova nema ni povijesti. Sljedeća je za našu obalu važna operacija konzula Gaja Sempronija Tuditana, koji je 129. krenuo brodovljem iz Akvileje i stigao morem do rijeke Ticija (Krke), kako je Plinije stariji izričito zabilježio. On je morao proći i histarskom obalom. Počasni natpis nađen u Akvileji potvrđuje Plinijevu tvrdnju.

Iduće vijesti, koje barem hipotetski možemo povezati s Histrijom i Akvilejom, dvogodišnje su operacije Gaja Koskonija što ih je vodio po Dalmaciji od 78. do 76. Budući da južnije nije bilo središta koje bi moglo logistički podupirati ove operacije, logično je pretpostaviti da je glavni mostobran bila Akvileja i dijelom Histrija, kao blisko područje. Nema sumnje da su korištene dobre luke duž obale, poput Parentiuma i Pole. Obala je, naime, bila pojas koji je funkcionirao u svim vremenima. Unutrašnjost je ostala izvan interesa rimskih došljaka. To je uostalom bio slučaj i s dalmatinskom obalom, gdje su Iliri iza brda i dalje živjeli po svome – oni koji su preživjeli različite genocidne pohode.

Cezar dolazi u naše krajeve nakon što je dobio na upravljanje od Senata Galiju Cisalpinu i Ilirik. Boravio je u Akvileji u tome svojstvu od 58. do 56. i od 56. do 54. On u više navrata izravno intervenira u događajima

SUMMARY

IN THE WAKE OF NESACTIUM

Marin ZANINOVIĆ

The history of the Istrian peninsula was determined by its geographical position. Ancient mariners were arriving here, to the end of the Adriatic Gulf, and the Istrian section represented one of the key navigation routes of their journey. It is from here that one goes into the Po River valley and to Central Europe. By conquering the Apennine Peninsula the Romans arrived to the Po River estuary and to Venetia. The Histri, together with other Illyrians, ruled their seas, and the advance of the Romans immediately triggered some conflicts and the first Histrian war in 221 BC, in alliance with Demetrius of Pharos. The key occurrence for the Roman conquest of Histria was the founding of the colony of Aquileia in 181 BC, into which a large number of colonists arrived. Consul Aulus Manlius Vulso soon started a campaign against the Histri in 178 BC. This operation was continued by Gaius Claudius Pulcher, and together with him, the consuls Marcus Iunius and Aulus Manlius concluded the conquest in 177 BC, with the fall of Nesactium. A large number of people were killed and others were sold into slavery. After that, for half a century nothing happens, because there are no written sources, which confirms the assertion that when there are no wars there is no history. The next campaign that is of importance for our shores is the one started by consul Gaius Sempronius Tuditanus, who in 129 BC sailed with a fleet from Aquileia and arrived by sea to the river Titius (Krka), as was described by Pliny the Elder. On his way he had to pass by the Histrian coast. An honorary inscription discovered at Aquileia corroborates Pliny's claim.

The next information that can be at least hypothetically connected with Histria and Aquileia, are the campaigns of Gaius Cosconius, which lasted for two years, and which he carried out all over Dalmatia from 78 BC to 76 BC. As to the south there were no centers that could have been used as a logistical base for these operations, it is logical to assume that the main bridgehead consisted of Aquileia, and in part Histria, as a nearby region. There is no doubt that they used the good harbors along the coast, like Parentium and Pola. The coastline was in fact a belt that functioned at all times. The Roman newcomers had no interest for the hinterland. This was also the case along the Dalmatian coast, where the Illyrians behind the hills continued to

u Iliriku, prima isejsko poslanstvo u vezi sa Salonom, guši bunu Pirusta na jugu, intervenira za Liburne protiv Delmata, a njegove se čete izravno sukobljavaju s pompejvcima kod Kurikte 49. Cezarova je politika svugdje bila jačanje romanizacije te je u kontekstu tih svojih nastojanja dao i Poli status kolonije 46./45. To je početak novoga rimskoga poglavlja histarske povijesti.

live on their own, but only those that managed to survive the various genocidal campaigns.

Caesar arrived in our region after he was authorized by the Senate to rule over Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum. He was in Aquileia in this capacity from 58 BC to 56 BC, and again from 56 BC to 54 BC. On several occasions he directly intervened into the situation in Illyricum, he received the mission from Issa regarding Salona, he quenched the rebellion of the Pirustae in the south, intervened on the side of the Liburnians against the Delmati, and his units came into direct confrontation with the Pompeians near Curicta in 49 BC. The hallmark of Caesar's policy was the strengthening of Romanization everywhere, and it was in the context of these efforts that Pola was given the status of colony in 46/45 BC. This marks the beginning of a new Roman chapter of Histrian history.