Danijel Dzino
University of Adelaide, Australia

DECONSTRUCTING 'ILLYRIANS': ZEITGEIST, CHANGING PERCEPTIONS AND THE IDENTITY OF PEOPLES FROM ANCIENT ILLYRICUM

It is impossible for any person, even more so for our small community of professional historians and archaeologists, to exist outside the contemporary world. The experience of living through a certain period of history, which we arrogantly used to call "our times", enriches our experience as scholars and enables a better insight into the past, no matter how remote this past was from the present of "our times". Thus, it is not surprising to note that experiencing the present perpetually influences our interpretation of the past. This paper will examine the changing perceptions of the ancient "Illyrians" through the different realities of recent history, focusing on the current phase of the research, and discussing the necessity of additions to the current explanatory framework of scholarship dealing with the pre-Slavic identities in Illyricum.

Changing Perspectives

There are numerous examples in the more recent historiography of ancient history when the contemporary political circumstances of the 19th and 20th centuries affected the interpretation of the processes long gone, such as the discourse on Roman imperialism,[1] or the process of acculturation of the conquered natives in the Roman empire known as "Romanization",[2] amongst others. The question of identity in antiquity, individual and group, is a perfect example of the interplay between the past and present, as contemporary national and/or nationalistic interests always heavily affected archaeological and historical interpretations.[3] The practical experience of globalization, immigration, crisis of nation-state and failure of the "melting-pot" idea of assimilation, persistence and change of identities and the rise of multiple identities and so on, enabled more complex views of the past, and a changed perception of the culture and identity from pre-determined and rectified social categories to fluent and perpetually evolving subjective concepts. The introduction of the new approaches in the research of group identities in the pre-industrial era is due to the rise of new scholarly interpretations, such as the archaeology of identity,[4] the deconstruction of the discourse on "barbarians" by Graeco-Roman written

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1 | Linderski (1984); Rich (1993).

2 | Freeman (1997); Hingley (2000).

3 | See the extensive and critical overview of the research on ancient ethnicity and identity in modern historiography up to date in Ruby (2006), and cf. Kohl/Fawcett (1995); Díaz-Andreu/Champion (1996); Kohl (1998) for nationalism and archaeology. See also (n. 23) below.

4 | Graves-Brown et al. (1996); Jones (1997); Díaz-Andreu et al. (2006).

sources[5] and an insight into the distorted perception the ancients had of their geography.[6] These developments revolutionised our view of ancient peoples, especially those who lived outside of the Graeco-Roman Mediterranean core and enabled the ongoing deconstruction of artificial macro-ethnic groups such as ancient "Celts" or "Germans", concepts formed in antiquity but until recently accepted at face value in historical interpretation.[7]

Ancient peoples who inhabited Croatia and the neighbouring countries are no exception to the rule. The development of scholarship and changing concepts of "Illyrians" and "Illyrian tribes" was always affected by the Zeitgeist, so that the changing interpretations of their identities reflected the spirit of times in which particular theories were made. The times of Ljudevit Gaj and the 19th century Romantic Illyrian movement in Croatian historiography and literature can be recognised as the first beginnings to define "Illyrians". Their views reflected the power-relations between dominant Austro-Hungarian political construction and the construction of South Slavic identities in the framework of romanticism.[8] It was followed by the works of the "Panillyrian school" initiated by the methodology of the German archaeologist Gustav Kossinna and the works of his followers. The understanding of "Illyrians" in this framework reflected the Germanocentric view of the Illyrian "homeland" located around German Lausitz/Luzice, and their European-wide expansion that was reaching towards the warm seas of the Adriatic and Aegean during the late Bronze Age *Völkerwanderung*. No wonder the Nazis were fond of Kossina's ideas.[9]

The changes in the European political landscape after 1918, and even more after the creation of the federal socialist Yugoslav state in 1945, affected the revision of the view on the origin of "Illyrians" as people(s) native to Roman Illyricum, roughly (ex)Yugoslav and Albanian territory. This revision remained inside the Kossina-Childe archaeology of cultural/ethnic identities and interpretative framework of ethnogenesis.[10] The influence and impact of Marxist ideology in this era should also not be underestimated. It is best visible through terminology, which was used for describing social relations in "Illyrian" societies ("primitive community", "tribal aristocracy", "emerging class divisions"), and the notion of continuity and cultural succession in pre- and proto-history.[11]

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5 | E.g. Dauge (1981); Cartledge (1993); Dobesch (1995); Wells (2001), 74-83, 103-118.

6 | Moynihan (1985); Nicolet (1988).

7 | *Inter alia*: Brather (2004) (the Germans); Dietler (1994); Fitzpatrick (1996) (the Celts); Wells (1995) (both).

8 | Lauer (1974). Cf. projections of Illyria in 19th century European Romanticism, especially in the poetry of Byron; Wallace (1998), 219-224.

9 | Archaeology: Kossina (1920); paleolinguistics: Krahe (1925), *inter alia*. See the overview of "panillyrism" in Benac (1964b), 60-62; and Arnold (1990); Wiwjorra (1996) 173 f. for the Nazi context.

10 | On links of Childe and Kossina see Veit (1984) and on Childe and Soviet ethnos and ethnogenesis theory see Kohl (1998), 230-233 and Curta (2002). See also the works collected in Gillett (2002a) for a comprehensive criticism of ethnogenesis as an interpretative framework, focusing on the late antique/early medieval period.

11 | Kaiser (1995), 109-113.

In this framework "Illyrians" were seen as a macro-ethnic group made up of heterogeneous and culturally loosely linked tribes that inhabited Roman Illyricum, whose unification into a single ethnos was prevented only by the Roman occupation completed in the early 1st century AD.[12] It appears as a socialist federal Yugoslav brotherhood-and-unity ideology, made of different (but akin) nations bound by a joint political structure, which was cut-and-pasted into the past.[13] Regional political issues and conflicts such as the Serbian-Albanian conflict over Kosovo were projected into the past through the debate over the ethnic origins of the Dardani who inhabited this particular area in antiquity.[14] The refusal of Slovenian scholars to accept an Illyrian framework imposed over the pre-historic inhabitants of Slovenia reflected the strong sense of Slovenian identity inside Yugoslavia but also was due to the developed methodologies used by Slovenian scholars.[15]

When the geo-political framework of the Yugoslav state was starting to dissolve in the 1970s with the decentralized Constitution of 1974 and subsequent disintegration and rising nationalism in the 1980s, the deconstruction of the "Illyrians" began. Based on the research developed earlier,[16] there quickly emerged the view that the "Illyrians" were a group of different identities united by the ancient sources under a common name this reflected the Roman administrative terminology and cognitive geography of the space that Romans perceived as Illyricum.[17] As the Yugoslav political construction fades away from memory in the decade after the Yugoslav conflicts, it becomes easier to develop more objective approaches and assess the identity of these peoples without a cognitive pasting of Yugoslavia over the space of ancient Illyricum.[18]

Methodology

The methodology related to the research of identities in Illyricum was developed in the 1960s and in many ways was preparing the groundwork for subsequent revision and deconstruction of "Illyrian" identity. The methodology rests on the methodological tripod made of: the archaeology of Iron Age cultures, onomastics, and the interpretation of written ancient sources.[19] Archaeology defined and located cultural groups in Illyricum such as the Liburnian, Dalmatian, Iapodean,

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12 | Cf. Benac (1964a) (the discussion), 287. It can be observed in the context of "tribalism", see Connor (1978), 392-393.

13 | Kaiser (1995), 103 ff. Cf. Slapšak/Novaković (1995), 286-288 on socialist Yugoslav research policies after World War II. The development of decentralization brought the rise of works dealing with the regional pre-histories of the Yugoslav federal republics, cf. Kaiser (1995), 109 and in addition to his examples there are also Garašanin/Garašanin (1969) or Bojanovski (1988).

14 | See Wilkes (1992), 11-12 for the debate.

15 | Gabrovec (1964); Slapšak/Novaković (1995), 289-290.

16 | Like Suić (1955), 136-149, who pointed out the artificiality of Roman Illyricum, or the onomastics research methods (see n. 19 below).

17 | See the synthesis of Benac (1987) reflecting and developing the scholarly view of heterogeneity amongst "Illyrian" communities from the 1970s and 1980s. The view was still affected by the search for ethnogenesis and the view of this identity as derivative of objective factors, cultural phenomenon opposed to social structures, formed in a historical/political/ social vacuum, so that the numerous problems in interpretation remained, as Benac himself noted (1987), 800.

18 | Šašel-Kos (2005), 222-223 with much more awareness of diversity of identities in Illyricum.

19 | Onomastics in Illyricum is developed by Untermann, Alföldy and Katičić, see the recent detailed overviews of existing methodological approaches in Benac (1987) (archaeology); Wilkes (1992), 40-87; Šašel-Kos (2005), 223 ff. (whole framework).

Pannonian, Histrian, Central Bosnian, Glasinac etc. Onomastics analysed native names record-ed on Roman-era inscriptions and defined certain onomastic areas such as Liburno-Histrian, Delmato-Pannonian, ethnic Illyrian, Dardano-Thracian and Iapodean. Written Graeco-Roman sources that dealt with this area, such as the Hellenistic *periploi*, Strabo, Appian, Ptolemy, Pliny the Elder, etc. provided the group names for those communities, at least from their perspective, and made this tripod complete.[20]

Archaeology and onomastics alone might create a solid explanatory framework, but it is in many ways disrupted by the testimony of the written sources, as the framework is not able to answer numerous inconsistencies created by those sources.[21] I shall note just a few problems that are the most obvious, such as the questions why particular identities disappear from historical landscape such as coastal Dalmatian Nestoi, Manioi and Hyllaei or Bosnian-Montenegrin Autariatae, why the mention of the Liburni in the sources makes them appear so far from their homeland in the early Iron Age,[22] and why some identities suddenly appear in the sources such as the Delmatae or Pannonii.

The identity of the peoples from Illyricum: Upgrading the explanatory framework
The process of deconstruction of "Illyrians" is currently in the transition towards its next phase. It is inevitably going to move towards the wider context of the debate on identities in antiquity, shifting the attention from character and qualitative analysis of the ethnic groups, towards a social context in which these groups were formed, especially focusing on their social organisa-tion as a tool that might help to establish a firmer explanatory framework. The unreliability of archaeology to define identities from material evidence should be seriously taken into account, as the use of certain artefacts or customs does not necessarily show a common identity of the people who used them, even less their ethnicity.[23] True, some cultural elements are visible in the remains of the material culture, such as funeral customs, but they should be seen as a part of the cultural tradition, the similarity of cultural experience, Barthian "cultural stuff",[24] rather than being regarded as the nexus of ethnic identity formation.[25]

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20 | Wilkes (1969), 1-9, 481-486; Alföldy (1965), 33-40.

21 | Wilkes (1992), 39-40 questioning the archaeological component of Benac-Čović theory of Illyrian ethnogenesis, best presented in Benac (1964b).

22 | The Liburnian "riddle" is solved by Čače's scrutiny of the sources, that in fact reflect the Greek common name for the natives in the eastern Adriatic (the Liburni), regardless of their real identities, Čače (2002).

23 | *"'Ethnic identity' is beyond the reach of archaeology, whether it was important in early history or not (this is question for historiography). The archaeological search for 'ethnic identities' was not of scientific interest, but more or less a matter of national discourse and nationalistic emphasis. It was used for the construction of modern national identities"* Brather (2002), 175.

24 | Bentley (1987), 28; Jones (1996), 68-70; (1997), 120 drawing upon the concept of "habitus" of Bourdieu (1977), 72 ff. that in many ways corresponds with the "cultural stuff" of Barth (1969), 15.

25 | I disagree with the otherwise superb scholarship of Olujić (2002). He regards funeral rites (73-74, cf. 81) as a definition of "Us" and the message intended for the "Others", while I would like to see funeral rites as part of wider cultural identity, the perception of a cultural continuity from the ancestors. As Brather pointed out (2002), 169-174, the graves are primarily of social relevance to archaeology, reflecting social identities within a society, not relating to the outside "Other".

Cultural identity is not necessarily the place where we should search for the formation of identities, as a single cultural identity usually hides a plurality of different identities inside, and the ethnic identity is only one of them.[26] The construction of identities is affected by a countless multiplicity of factors such as: power and authority, the experience of being part of a collective identity, the imagined persistency of ethnic attachments and imagined links with the ancestors, regional identity, the pursuit of group/individual interests, or even a choice of the group/individual.[27] Ethnic identity should be traced in the social context of group self-consciousness and self-awareness, the ability to define "Us" against "Them".[28] However, for determining the nexus of identity formation, it is crucial to take into account that group identity is communicative and discursive, constitutively temporal as it always occurs in the present, regardless of its perceived links with the past.[29] The identity of "Us" is formed on the fringes of interaction, in the contact with the "cultural stuff" of the "Other" and affected by the changing historical circumstances, as no society in human history is timeless and completely isolated from the surrounding world.[30] This structural elasticity and fluency enabled continuous transformations and restructuring of identities through time, through an internal subjective perception of the group, such as the development of the common name. Mechanisms of identity formation that were detected and defined by the scholarship are numerous and depend on individual political, geographical and other circumstances of the group in question.[31]

Furthermore, it must be clear that the Graeco-Roman written sources reflect a subjective view of the cultural "Other", the "Barbarians", and should be scrutinised and very carefully taken into account.[32] Relating to this Graeco-Roman othering[33] of the peoples from the periphery, the scholarship must take into account that sources reflect the Roman cognitive political geography that created the artificial geo-political areas such as Gaul or Germany – and in turn "Gauls" and "Germans" – and that Illyricum was no exception in that regard. Illyricum was created by the need of Roman foreign policy to deal with the space between Macedonia and Cisalpine Gaul,

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26 | For the Iapodes, we have for example identity levels of the Metuli (regional/political identity), Transalpine Iapodes (political identity), Iapodes (cultural/ethnic identity) and Iapodean-Liburnian-Histrian group (wider cultural identity).

27 | Jenkins (1994) (power and experience); Barth (1969); Cohen (1969) esp. 3-4, 27, 198 ff.; Bentley (1987), 26, 48 (interests); Eller/Coughlan (1993) (imagined persistency of ethnic attachments); Hetcher (1986) (choice).

28 | Shennan (1989), 14-15.

29 | Straub (2002), 67 ff; Wagner (2002), 50-52. Ethnic groups that keep the same name over a long period of time do not necessarily represents the same identity, cf. Kohl (1996) for the Armenian identity transformations throughout history.

30 | Chrétien/Pruner (1989), cf. n. 29 above.

31 | Ruby (2006) warns of the danger in applying generally and unselectively pre-made theoretical explanations of ethnicity-creation for ancient identities. It is indeed a matter of uttermost importance to take into account the individual circumstances of each identity formation in Illyricum.

32 | In many ways, the Greek perception of Illyris was a creation of the "Other" on the western frontier of the "Greekness", Wallace (1998), 214-216.

33 | Generally on this concept in Said (1978); Hall (1992), 296 ff.; Mills (1997). See works cited above (n. 5) for discourses of othering in the classical world.

and creation of this imaginary spatial concept in turn created the Roman perception of *Illyrici* through which they depicted the inhabitants of Illyricum, regardless of their identities.[34]

There are several additions that should be incorporated into the existing methodological framework.[35] Identity formation in antiquity is frequently related to the development of political structures amongst culturally similar communities – the "political ethnicity" phenomena that is noted throughout the ancient world, from archaic Italy or pre-Roman Gaul, to the early medieval period.[36] The formation of proto-political institutions thus builds up the sense of identity amongst initially different communities, it develops the use of a common name and automatically starts the discursive process of othering between "Us" and "Them" that is essential for the development of identity. It looks as there were a two different discourses of othering that developed in Illyricum:

External othering of the natives towards the Greeks, Romans, and the "Celts" who arrived on the Balkan peninsula causing political and social turbulence throughout the 4th century BC.[37]
Internal othering within the natives, that is related to the degree to which a particular native community was affected by Mediterranean globalisation[38], or simply a chain reaction started with the development of complex political structures amongst the neighbours.[39]

The development of complex political structures is closely related to the process of limited globalisation that occured in the Mediterranean world after c. 7th – 6th century BC, that developed its core in mainland Greece and the Aegean islands, and in time expanded this core throughout the Mediterranean. We can see that in Illyricum the development of more complex political structures and urbanization occurs gradually, relating to the geographical position (coast, immediate hinterland, hinterland), and the distance and intensity of contacts with the expanding core of globalization.[40]

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34 | The earliest mention in Pomponius Mella 2.55, cf. Suić (1976), 184-185, but also detectable in Strabo, 6.4.10 and 7.5, Dzino (2007).

35 | They are not new, cf. Benac (1987) yet they have not been incorporated with sufficient sophistication. See significant developments for the early Iron Age interpretation in Babić (2002).

36 | Political ethnicity developed as a concept in anthropology by Cohen (1969). Cf. Whitehouse/Wilkins (1985) (archaic Italy); Nash (1978) (Gaul); or Curta (2001), 335-350; Gillett (2002b) (late antique/early Medieval identities).

37 | The elements of La Tène culture are not visible south of river Sava, Zaninović (2001) so the othering between the carriers of the La Tène culture and the natives was inevitable. Political turbulence significantly affected ethnic Illyrian communities, Bearzot (2004) (both works still are entertaining the false notion of "Celts" as the identity that the carriers of the La Tène culture supposedly shared and represented).

38 | More globalised communities in Illyricum were usually becoming Roman allies, and less globalized, Roman enemies, Dzino (2005), 70-71. Cf. Dietler (1995); Jones/Buxeda y Garrigós (2005); Hingley (2005) on different stages of globalisation process in ancient Mediterranean.

39 | Čače (1987/88), 89 - the Iapodes developed their political organisation as a reaction to the league led by the Iadastinoi in the Liburnian group.

40 | Čače (1979) remains the most significant work for understanding the development of political structures in northwest Illyricum, dealing with the examples of the Iapodes, Delmatae and Histri.

Firstly, there developed political identities in southeastern and eastern Illyricum that were closest to this core of globalisation (ethnic Illyrians, the Autariatae, Dardani, Scordisci) and the Liburnian league,[41] and later the Histrian kingdom on the Adriatic coast. Then occurred the development of the Iapodean political institutions, Cisalpine and Transalpine Iapodes, and the Delmataean alliance in the immediate hinterland. Finally we have the appearance of Pannonian political groups and an increasing sense of identity in the hinterland of the Adriatic. It does not appear in this moment that a cultural exchange between the hinterland and Italy via the Ocra pass and with North Europe via the Amber road significantly affected the creation of identities, although certainly it affected the "cultural stuff", of the Histri-Iapodes-Liburni cultural complex, in the same way as the early import of Greek goods did not affect the creation of ethnic identities within the Central Balkans, as Babić convincingly argued.[42]

The economic and political arrival of the Greeks in the central and Adriatic was significant for the creation of identities in Illyricum. It occurred in two phases: Corcyrean (6th – 5th centuries BC)[43], and the settlement of central Dalmatian islands in the early 4th century BC. The former affected the formation of Liburnian political identity through conflict with the Greeks, and the latter coincided with the movements of the La Tène communities throughout the Balkan peninsula in the 4th – 3rd centuries BC. The trade expansion of the Adriatic Greeks intensified the process of globalisation, and the selective acceptance of cultural features amongst coastal communities, which caused their distinctivness and extended the process of "Othering" within the communities in the hinterland of Illyricum.[44] In the second phase of Greek penetration it was not necessarily conflict that always affected the creation of native identities, as Issaean and Pharian Greeks built political communities that included natives and Greeks who developed a specific identity that was neither Greek nor native.[45] Finally, the arrival of the Romans was the final stage in a process of inclusion of this area into a globalised Mediterranean world.

Conclusion
It is clear that scholarly understanding of the identities in ancient Illyricum have been affected by the contemporary political and cultural settings, which are the product of the Zeitgeist (as this paper is, after all) because our experience as scholars can not be divorced from our experience of the times we live in. The change in the political geography of southeastern Europe makes it easier to assess the nature of identities in Illyricum from different angles.

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41 | Or the league of the Iadastinoi, see Čače (1993/94), 48 ff.

42 | Mason (1996), 108-112 - Amber route; Babić (2002) - Central Balkans. For northeastern fringes of Illyricum cf. findings of Mason (1996), 75-89 that pre-La Tène Iron age identities in Slovenia were regional/family-based with low-level hereditary elite dominating society.

43 | Čače (1995/96); (2002), 92-97. This phase lacks direct support from the written sources, however archaeological developments from the 1990s are starting to confirm it.

44 | Kirigin et al. (2005) for the volume and significance of Issaean exports to the native communities on the central Adriatic coast.

45 | Čače (1998), 80-81; Maršić (1996/97) 52 ff., esp. 54; Kirigin (1990), 299, 305-310.

This paper suggests a need for upgrading the present explanatory framework of identities in pre-Roman Illyricum by giving precedence to the social context over the cultural through observing the interactions with the Mediterranean world, but also through the social construction of political identities in the proto-historical period. The research on identities should incorporate an awareness of the plurality of identities that existed, rather than to search only for an ethnic, political or cultural identity. This upgrade must be done with regard to the individual circumstances found in identity formation rather than using a single, explanatory model. The development of identities in Illyricum was without doubt affected by global events such as the globalisation of the Mediterranean world, but it is even more significant to note that the mechanisms of creation were also individually specific because of the regional events that exposed native communities to different degrees of inter-cultural exchange with the Mediterranean core and the La Tène movements, resulting in the creation of political institutions and the development of more visible identities.

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Abbreviations:

BAR – British Archaeological Reports, Oxford

ANUBiH/CBI – Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine/Centar za Balkanološka Ispitivanja, Sarajevo

ERS – Ethnic and Racial Studies, London

JEA/EJA – Journal of European Archaeology/European Journal of Archaeology, London

RFFZd - Radovi Filozofskog Fakulteta u Zadru

VAHD/VAPD - Vjesnik za Arheologiju i Historiju/Povijest Dalmatinsku, Split

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Danijel Dzino
Sveučilište u Adelaide

DEKONSTRUKCIJA 'ILIRA': ZEITGEIST, PROMJENA PERCEPCIJE I IDENTITET NARODA IZ ANTIČKOG ILIRIKA

Ovaj rad se bavi ispitivanjem promjena percepcije antičkih "Ilira" u povijesnoj interpretaciji, fokusirajući se na trenutnu fazu dekonstrukcije pojma "Iliri", koja koincidira s početkom razgradnje suvremenog Jugoslavenskog političkog okvira. Rad sugerira neophodne izmjene i dodatke u znanstvenom pristupu izučavanja pred-Slavenskih identiteta u prostoru antičkog Ilirika. Konstatira se da je očevidna relacija između federalne Jugoslavenske političke stvarnosti nakon 1945. i interpretacije "Ilirskih" identiteta kroz prizmu Kossina-Childeovskog viđenja identiteta arheoloških kultura kao makro-etničke skupine "bratskih" plemena koja su obitavala u pretpovijesnom "jugoslavenskom" prostoru koji se podudarao sa Rimskom političko-kognitivnom prostornom konstrukcijom nazvanom *Illyricum*. Potpuna razgradnja Jugoslavenskog političkog okvira krajem 20. stoljeća omogućila je objektivniji pristup ovom problemu i uviđanju postojanja etničke heterogenosti na ovom prostoru u antici.

Trenutačna metodologija izučavanja identiteta "Ilira" zasniva se na metodološkom tronošcu sastavljenom od arheologije željeznodobnih kulturnih skupina, onomastike te interpretacije pisanih vrela. Ovaj okvir ostavlja mnoga pitanja neriješenim, i stoga se nameće potreba neophodnosti razvitaka novih metoda koje bi se bazirale na socijalno-antropološkoj definiciji identiteta kao nestalnih i promjenjivih društvenih pojava.

Sugeriraju se neki pristupi koji bi bili neophodni za inkorporaciju u postojeći okvir kao što su:

Izmjena znanstvenog fokusa sa materijalnog na društveni kontekst raspoložive arheološke građe, pošto arheologija nije kadra definirati etničke skupine kroz analizu materijalnih artefakata.

Implementacija suvremene antropološke metodologije koja definira identitet kao subjektivnu skupnu konstrukciju sa elastičnom strukturom, koja se konstantno redefinira i mijenja u sadašnjosti.

Stvaranje identiteta kroz konstrukciju kulturnog i etničkog "Drugog". Trebala bi se razlikovati dva procesa: kreacija spoljnog "Drugog" (Rimljani, Grci, nositelji La Tènske kulture) te proces stvaranja unutarnjeg "Drugog" kroz razlike u prihvatanju globalne Mediteranske kulture koje su neminovno uzrokovale nastanak razlika između kulturnih habitata susjednih zajednica u Iliriku.

Odnos između konstrukcije političkih zajednica, kao osnovice izgradnje identiteta, te praćenje procesa postupnog formiranja proto-državnih struktura kroz zone obale, zaleđa i unutrašnjosti.

Značaj povijesnih procesa poput političkog prodora Grka u Jadran koji pospješava proces globalizacije i kreiranje "Drugog" po Jadranskoj obali i zaleđu te pojava nosilaca La Tènske kulture ("Kelta") koji su pospješili kreiranje "Drugog" u unutrašnjosti Ilirika.

Zaključuje se da se postojeće teorije o etničkim identitetima trebaju implementirati sa oprezom i svakom pojedinom identitetu u Iliriku pristupati individualno, uzimajući u obzir specifične zemljopisne, političke odnosno gospodarske okolnosti u kojima se pojedini identitet formirao. Također, ukazuje se na postojanje višestrukih identiteta koji se međusobno ne isključuju (kulturni, regionalni, etnički, politički, itd.) tako da se buduća istraživanja ne smiju fokusirati samo na potragu za etničkim identitetom određene skupine, već na sagledavanje pluralizma identiteta koji su postojali u prostoru antičkog Ilirika.