Charles Barnett: "Alcoholic Beverages and Resistance to Roman Imperialism in Dalmatia"

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Abstract

As Greco-Roman culture spread across Europe during the later Iron Age, being reshaped and adjusted to Roman imperial discourse, wine and other Mediterranean cultural influences were adopted by many indigenous small-scale societies. Certain groups were resistant to such cultural markers, including the Delmatae, who inhabited the hinterland of Dalmatia, modern day Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Archaeological evidence shows a distinct lack of Mediterranean imports, including vessels associated with the trade and consumption of wine in areas associated with the Delmatae, while their indigenous neighbors readily adopted them into local cultural templates. Critically approaching and building upon the thesis of Dzino, that the newly formed Delmataean identity incorporated a strong anti-Mediterranean sentiment, this paper proposes that 'economies of power' were a significant factor in the construction of local group identities, and in the shaping of dynamic attitudes towards foreign imports, from positive desire to conscious rejection.

Key words: Dalmatia, roman imperialism, alcohol consumption

Two distinct habits relating to alcohol consumption in ancient Europe can be identified in the ancient literary sources; one relating to Mediterranean wine consumption, synonymous with Greco-Roman civilization, and the other to the use of primarily beer and mead, prevalent amongst groups in temperate Europe. In the last centuries BC, when Greek and later Roman influence was spreading into the eastern Adriatic, two cultures and drinking traditions converged. From around 400 BC indigenous groups of the eastern Adriatic increasingly adopted Mediterranean social, political and cultural templates, which led to new processes of identity formation and negotiation of power and authority among local communities. Increased competition among indigenous groups led to the formation of political alliances, including the Delmatae, who inhabited the hinterland of central Dalmatia – modern day southern and central Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Unlike their coastal neighbors, the Delmatae were restrictive towards the adoption of Mediterranean influences. There is a noticeable lack of archaeological evidence relating to wine consumption in the hinterland of central Dalmatia, suggesting the Delmatae resisted its adoption. Alcoholic beverages are often linked to the construction and maintenance of group identities due to their use in the context of social rituals. D. Dzino has argued that during the Late Iron Age the newly formed Delmataean identity incorporated a strong anti-Mediterranean sentiment, and that this is indicated through, amongst other things, the lack of evidence for the consumption of wine in the Dalmatian hinterland. Building upon Dzino's thesis, this paper argues that the lack of evidence for wine and other Mediterranean imports among the Delmatae should be understood in terms of political and moral economies, which are fundamental in defining group identities.

The Greco-Roman sources indicate that two distinct drinking habits existed in Iron Age Europe. One related to Greco-Roman, Mediterranean society, where wine was consumed, and usually in moderation. Another related to temperate Europe, to those people the sources saw as 'barbarians', who drank heavily, and consumed mostly beer and similar beverages, such as mead, though wine was often adopted through cultural interaction with the Mediterranean.[1] The Greco-Roman sources are generally prejudiced against beer and temperate European drinking habits, which they regarded as

[1] Engs (1995): 232-35; Nelson (2005): 38-44; (2014): 9-11.

barbaric.[2] The archaeological evidence tends to agree with the literary sources, indicating that most groups in temperate Europe drank beer,[3] while some also adopted wine consumption.[4] Discussions of Greco-Roman imports in Late Iron Age Europe inevitably revolve around wine and associated feasting equipment due to the prevalence and conspicuousness of such items in the archaeological record. Wine was constructed as a symbol of civilization in the Mediterranean, and had a close association to Greco-Roman society, being a central part of diet, the economy, social rituals, and culture.[5] As Greco-Roman cultural habits spread throughout Europe, wine came with them.

Eating and drinking, and particularly the consumption of alcohol, are usually embedded in socio-cultural values, attitudes, and norms, as they tend to be carried out in social contexts.[6] The significant role that alcohol can play in the construction and maintenance of group identities has been demonstrated by anthropologists over the past few decades. The psychotropic properties of alcohol mean it often plays an important role in the context of social ritual, and encompasses a set of cultural rules and beliefs closer to the individual than most foodstuffs. The labor required in alcohol production and consumption means it also has an important role in political and economic life. Thus, alcohol can also be important in terms of the negotiation and display of power and authority.[7]

In the ancient world the formation of identity was often linked to the development of political structures among culturally akin groups, and it appears this was the case with the Delmatae. Proto-political institutions create a perception of identity that leads to the use of a common name and the process of Othering, of distinguishing between 'Us' and 'Them', that is inherent in the formation of identity. This process developed in Illyricum in two ways; firstly with external Othering, distinguishing between locals and the Greeks and Romans who were arriving on the eastern Adriatic coast from around 400 BC; and internal Othering between local groups, which related to the extent to which certain communities adopted or rejected Mediterranean

[2] Nelson (2003): 110.
[3] Dietler (1990): 382; Arnold (1999): 71ff; Van Zeist (1991): 121.
[4] Tchernia (1983): 92-95; Loughton (2009): 78-85; Pitts (2005): 144ff.
[5] Sherratt (1995): 17.
[6] Murray (1995): 4-5; Joffe (1998): 297-98; Dietler (1990); Nelson (2005): 3.
[7] Dietler (2006): 232-35.

influences and the social and political developments that were occurring as a result of cultural interaction.[8]

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,[9] and M. Dietler maintains that this includes the adoption of alcoholic beverages.[10] As Dietler notes, consumption is culturally specific, and demand for goods is always socially constructed. 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.[11] Thus, the adoption and rejection of foreign goods needs to be understood in terms of local cultural practices, social formations, and modes of social discourse. During the later stages of the Iron Age in the eastern Adriatic, changes were occurring in local social formations due to interactions with Mediterranean civilizations. Analysis of different social formations and sets of power relations at play in the region helps provide insight into the appropriation and rejection of Mediterranean influences.

It is argued by A. González-Ruibal that 'political economies' and 'moral economies' should be understood, in a Foucaultian sense, as 'economies of power'; that is, historically specific ensembles of power relations.[12] Political and moral economies are fundamentally opposite to each other. In political economies, power and economy are linked, and inequalities and social hierarchies are allowed to develop.[13] In moral economies, egalitarian values and isonomy are emphasized, and mechanisms are often employed to hinder the development of inequalities.[14] The particular economy of power present in a society can be fundamental to construction of group identities. Whereas in political economies opulent objects and luxury imported goods create a sense of common identity among elites and clients, moral economies disapprove of imports and emphasize

[8] Dzino (2008): 48.
[9] Appadurai (1986): 29-31.
[10] Dietler (1990): 381.
[11] Dietler (1998): 299-300.
[12] González-Ruibal (2012): 249; see also Fernández-Götz (2014): 203.
[13] Feinman & Nicholas (2004).
[14] See Scott (1977).

domestic modes of production, helping create a shared identity opposed to outsiders.[15] The role of certain economies of power and construction of group identity will be considered below with regard to the absence of wine and other Mediterranean influences in the hinterland of pre-Roman Dalmatia.

Pre-Roman Dalmatia was populated by several different indigenous Iron Age groups. Prior to 400 BC, these groups constructed their identities selectively, drawing on cultural influences from the Mediterranean world and the Hallstatt culture of central-western Europe, and combining them with local traditions.[16] From *ca.* 400 BC, the eastern Adriatic became increasingly exposed to Mediterranean cultural templates due to the settlement of several Greek colonies in the area, while in the same period La Tène cultural influences were spreading to the region through migrations of populations from central Europe.[17] The social organization of indigenous groups of the eastern Adriatic during the Iron Age was similar to that of other communities in temperate Europe. Modern studies argue these communities were involved in a world of complex social networks that was politically decentralized, and lacked any real urban structures or social hierarchy.[18] It is assumed that power and authority was shared and negotiated horizontally by groups linked in socio-political systems through adoptive kinship and clientage, a social structure referred to by some archaeologists as the 'heterarchical society'.[19]

Indeed, there is little in the ancient historiographic or archaeological records to indicate that Iron Age societies in temperate Europe had any overarching leaders.[20] It seems that the elite of these groups drew their power and authority from personal influence and recognition among their community, and through public displays of wealth, rather than from birthright or communal law. The individuals who shared and negotiated power in this way are known in anthropology as 'Big-men', a term coined by Marshall Sahlins in the 1960s.[21] The 'Big-men' social organization of temperate Europe existed alongside, and in stark contrast, to the Mediterranean *polis* model, which was dominated by highly politically and

[15] González-Ruibal (2012): 251-52.
[16] Dzino (2012a): 145.
[17] Cabanes (2006); Dzino (2007): 53-55; cf. Majnarić Pandžić (2009); Blečić Kavur & Kavur (2010).
[18] Dzino (2012b): 73.
[19] Crumley (1995).
[20] Thurston (2009): 360.
[21] Sahlins (1963): 288.

socially centralized city-states, with developed urban structures and institutions.[22]

Though relatively little is known about the groups that inhabited Early Iron Age Illyricum, features associated with heterarchical societies can be recognized. Small communities linked by kinship are found in the landscapes known as *polje*, low lying plains in the limestone *karst* that are characteristic of the hinterland of the eastern Adriatic. The dominant feature in Iron Age Illyricum was the hill-fort.[23] In the 1960s and 1970s, New Archaeologists regarded hill-forts as military fortresses that indicated the emergence of hierarchical, politically centralized societies. However, recent findings have discovered that such enclosed spaces varied greatly in size and specialization, and that they more frequently served the role of places for assemblies, ceremonies, and industry, and should not be regarded as the beginnings of urbanization and political centralization in Iron Age temperate Europe.[24] The first visible (evident) incentive towards change in the social templates of Iron Age communities in the eastern Adriatic occurred as a result of increased interactions with the Mediterranean world from *ca.* 400 BC.

Greek colonies served as points from which Mediterranean and indigenous cultures interacted, and this led to transformations in both colonial and local societies. The number of Mediterranean symbols and artifacts being introduced into the eastern Adriatic increased significantly from 400 BC, and they became increasingly appropriated into indigenous contexts.[25] Such interaction is highly visible in the sacral and mythological spheres. For example, the cult of Diomedes is archaeologically attested along the coast of the eastern Adriatic,[26] and an indigenous sanctuary in the Nakovana cave, on the Pelješac Peninsula, displays the use of late Classical and Hellenistic wine drinking vessels and rituals that focused on a phallic stalagmite, suggesting Dionysian rites were performed.[27] The Greeks also adopted symbols of indigenous traditions from this region, as in the case of

[22] Hansen (1997): 9-86.
[23] Wilkes (1992): 40-66; Dzino (2012b): 73-74.
[24] Thurston (2009): 363; Woolf (1993): 231.
[25] Dzino (2012b): 74-75.
[26] Šašel Kos (2005): 115-17, fig. 21, cf. Castiglioni (2008).
[27] Kaiser & Forenbaher (2005).

the appropriation of the serpent into the myth of Cadmus.[28]

The indigenous groups of the eastern Adriatic appropriated a range of Greek goods, including what have come to be known as 'Greco-Illyrian' (or just 'Illyrian') helmets. Though found throughout southeastern Europe, and on both sides of the Danube, later types of these helmets are found in significant quantities in the area that was to become the Roman province of Illyricum, indicating specialized development of this originally Greek artifact in the region.[29] These helmets became distinctive symbols of elite identity in Illyricum, used to reflect high social positions.[30] In certain areas of the eastern Adriatic, including that associated with the Liburnian culture, and in the southeast along the coast of modern Albania, increased interaction with the Mediterranean after *ca.* 400 BC led to the development of proto-urban structures.[31] The development of urbanization among these communities affected the way power was negotiated, with the formation of urban elites and the beginnings of a monetary economy.[32] Mediterranean influences in burial customs became visible from the third century BC, with the presence of Greek artifacts in elite burials, such as in the Gostilj cemetery near Lake Scodra,[33] and Liburnian burials from Nadin.[34] Finds of Hellenistic pottery and amphorae, including wine drinking vessels, in central Dalmatia indicate that trade with the Greek world increased dramatically during the fourth and third centuries BC, and also reveal that the habit of wine consumption was adopted by indigenous coastal communities.[35]

After increased Greek penetration into the eastern Adriatic from *ca.* 400 BC, indigenous elites of the future Roman Dalmatia became strongly influenced by Hellenistic cultural and social templates and began to acquire and redistribute imported Mediterranean goods in order to strengthen their power and authority within their own groups. This led to competition amongst indigenous communities on the Adriatic coast, and the development of new methods of displaying wealth, and increased social stratification,

[28] Šašel Kos (2005): 124-25, cf. Šašel Kos (1993); Castiglioni (2006); (2010).
[29] Blečić (2007); Blečić Kavur & Pravidur (2012); Dzino (2012b): 75.
[30] Blečić (2007): 73.
[31] Wilkes (1992): 129-36, 187-88.
[32] Dzino (2012b): 78.
[33] Basler (1972).
[34] Batović & Batović (2013).
[35] Kirigin *et. al.* (2005): 11-13, 15.

visible in the archaeological record.[36] From an anthropological point of view, this increased competition and social stratification indicated a transition from heterarchical societies, dominated by Sahlin's 'Big-men', into hierarchic chiefdoms (as argued by Dzino).[37] Inter-communal competition, which soon spread from the coastal communities to those in the hinterland, led to the formation of political groups, evidenced through the appearance of ethnic identities in the ancient sources, such as the Delmatae and Iapodes, and the disappearance of others mentioned in earlier Greek accounts.[38]

No synthetic works relating to Delmataean communities in the pre-Roman period exist, and a significant proportion of relevant archaeological finds have not been published (or published properly). Thus, there is limited archaeological evidence that can be used in any discussion of the Delmatae in the pre-Roman period.[39] The Delmatae are noticeably absent from the early ethnographic accounts of Greek authors such as Hecataeus, Theopompus, Ephorus, pseudo-Aristotle, the periploi of pseudo-Scylax, and pseudo-Scymnus, indicating that the formation of this political alliance probably took place some time in the third century.[40] The earliest appearance they make in the written sources is in a passage from Polybius describing their revolt against the Illyrian kingdom in 180 BC.[41] The Delmatae inhabited the hinterland of central Dalmatia, between the Titius (Krka) and Nestos/Hippius (Cetina) Rivers on the Glamočko, Livanjsko, Duvanjsko, Sinjsko and Imotsko *polje*.[42] They appear to have initially developed as a political alliance of culturally akin groups in the hinterland where a sense of identity was forming, as a result of social and economic changes occurring in the region that related to increased Greek penetration into the eastern Adriatic, and which was distinct from that in the coastal areas.[43]

The Delmatae largely inhabited hill-forts, known in this region as

[36] Dzino (2012a): 154.
[37] Dzino (2012b): 78.
[38] Dzino (2012a): 155.
[39] Some relevant works dealing with central Dalmatian archaeology in the pre-Roman period include Čović (1987); Wilkes (1992); Majnarić Pandžić (1998); Glogović (2006). There is also the dissertation of Darko Periša in progress at the University of Zadar, exploring the archaeological sources for Delmato-Roman wars.
[40] Dzino (2012a): 148.
[41] Polyb. 32.9.3-4.
[42] Šašel Kos (2005): 293.
[43] Dzino (2008): 49.

gradine, and that tended to be located on ridges surrounding the *polje* in networks that were visually connected.[44] Strabo indicates that the Delmatae derived their name from their capital, Dalmion, a large settlement in the Duvanjsko *polje*, which was destroyed by a Roman army under Scipio Nasica in 155 BC.[45] Scholars usually assume that the Delmataean economy was based on pastoralism,[46] and the *karst*-dominated landscape they inhabited was important to their way of life and the formation and maintenance of their identity, evidenced by the clustering of settlements on the edges of *polje* or in the river valleys of the hinterland. The ethnic identity of the Delmatae is a problematic issue. Their material culture links them to other groups in what is modern day Dalmatia, and the Illyrians in the south, though onomastics identifies them as closer to the Pannonians in the north.[47] While the ancient sources describe the Delmatae as a specific ethnic group, we cannot be certain to what extent this labeling reflected a sense of shared identity.[48] Regional identities can be identified in the material record among the Delmatae due to their common use of joint sacral spaces, such as at the hill-fort known as Mandina gradina in Duvanjsko *polje*, and a 'sanctuary' in Gorica near Imotski.[49]

Unlike their coastal neighbors, the Delmatae seem to have been particularly restrictive towards Mediterranean influences. As with their continental neighbors, the Pannonians and Iapodes, the Delmatae appear not to have made princely tombs or tumuli burials, and no major necropolis has been found in their area.[50] Strabo states that the Delmatae did not adopt the use of coined money, which was peculiar to them compared with indigenous peoples in the eastern Adriatic, though he notes it was common among other 'barbarian' peoples.[51] Interestingly, this is the only instance where Strabo applies the term 'barbarian' to any of the inhabitants of Illyricum in his

[44] Zaninović (1967): 95; Wilkes (1992): 190-92.
[45] Strabo, 7.5.5.
[46] Zaninović (1967): 100; Wilkes (1992): 126; Šašel Kos (2005): 295.
[47] Wilkes (1969): 163; (1992): 80.
[48] Dzino (2012b): 82.
[49] Dzino (2012a): 149, see Čović (1976): 252-54, re-assessing initial findings of Truhelka regarding the 'sanctuary' in Gorica.
[50] Zaninović (1969): 96; Dzino (2012a): 146; Wilkes (1992): 241-53.
[51] Strabo, 7.5.5; It is possible that Strabo infers this comment from a passage in Polybius, where the Delmatae are said to have derived tribute from subjugated neighbors in the form of grain and stock, Polyb. 32.9; Wilkes (1969): 185, cf. Čače (1994/95): 122ff.

treatise on the region,[52] possibly indicating that the Delmatae were culturally or socially distinguished from their Illyrian neighbors, at least from a Greco-Roman perspective. While the Delmatae did not mint their own coins, there have been a few finds of Greek and Roman coins in the central Dalmatian hinterland, suggesting the Delmatae made some limited use of coinage.[53] Strabo also mentions that the Delmatae redistributed their land every eight years, which possibly related to religious ceremonies of purification and renewal, and ensured equality between the families and groups was maintained.[54] That the customs of land redistribution and restricted use (or at least production) of coinage lasted until the Roman period is a sign the Delmatae were conservative towards the relinquishing of old customs, and cautious about adopting new ones.[55]

Archaeological evidence suggests that wine consumption became popular among many coastal indigenous communities in central Dalmatia from *ca.* 400 BC, probably influenced by Greek settlements in the area. However, in the central Dalmatian hinterland there is a distinct lack of material evidence relating to the trade and consumption of wine at that time,[56] suggesting that the Delmatae, who inhabited this region, resisted its adoption. This apparent resistance needs to be understood in the context of the active process of regional and cultural interaction in the eastern Adriatic, and in the broader framework of economic and social changes that were occurring between the fourth and first centuries BC.[57] While modern scholars are divided on the topic,[58] the ancient written sources seem to imply that the people living in the region of pre-Roman Illyricum followed the habit of alcohol consumption associated with temperate Europe.[59] Indeed,

[52] Dzino (2006a): 120.
[53] Čače (1994/95): 120-27.
[54] Šašel Kos (2005): 293.
[55] Zaninović (1967): 96.
[56] Kirigin *et. al.* (2005): 14, 21. However, no production centre of olive oil in wine has been located (or at least published) in the Roman times either, apart from the Trebižat valley which is peripheral to the Delmataean areas – see Kopáčková (2014): Pl. 1.
[57] Dzino (2006b): 74.
[58] Dzino (2006b); Zaninović (2007).
[59] The earliest indication comes from Hecataeus, writing in the fifth century BC, who mentioned a beer made from barley (*bryton*) and a blend of millet and endive or fleabane, brewed by Paeonians, who bordered the Illyrians, Macedonians and Thracians, Hecat. *Descr. Eur.* fr. 123 Müller, in Athen. *Deipn.* 10.477d, cited and trans. Nelson (2001): 283, T 3. Cassius Dio complained that Pannonians did not drink wine,

archaeological evidence suggests there may have been a tradition of beer brewing in the region dating back to the late Vučedol Culture.[60] The lack of evidence relating to wine consumption in the hinterland of the Delmatae has been explained as due to wine being not a favorite drink of the locals, or that it was too expensive.[61] However, this is an unsatisfactory explanation. The indigenous neighbors of the Delmatae, including the Daorsi, Liburni, and certain other coastal communities associated with central Dalmatian archaeological culture,[62] readily adopted wine, at least on the elite level, and this helps shed light on reasons why the Delmatae resisted it.[63]

Greek penetration into the eastern Adriatic in the fourth century BC led to the formation of new processes of interaction between indigenous communities and Mediterranean culture. Greek colonies acted as gateway communities through which goods and cultural influences were exchanged with the Mediterranean world via transition zones and indigenous elite redistribution.[64] In the eastern Adriatic, indigenous groups along coastal regions of central Dalmatia, including the Liburni and Daorsi, acted as intermediaries in exchanges between the Mediterranean world and the hinterland. As was typical with groups in the intermediary zones, the Liburni and Daorsi became relatively accepting of Mediterranean cultural influences in general.[65]

It is quite possible that the rejection of wine was initiated, or exploited, by the Delmatae in the context of identity formation.[66] The Delmataean

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but rather a drink made from barley and millet, 49.36.3. Strabo, mentioned the scarcity of wine in Illyricum, 7.5.10. Ammianus Marcellinus related an anecdote in which the emperor Valens was labeled Sabaiarius, 'beer drinker', by defenders of Chalcedon, which identified him with his Pannonian ancestry, Amm. 26.8.2. See Dzino (2005a) and Milićević Bradač (1999/2000): 68-70.

[60] Milićević Bradač (1999/2000): 67, 76.

[61] Kirigin *et. al.* (2005): 14. It must be noted that a single attic *skyphos* (wine-drinking cup) has been found in the Imotsko *polje*, in Gorica near Grude, now held in the Zemaljski Museum in Sarajevo, Parović-Pešikan (1986): 42 (no. 3). However, this is an isolated find, and need not indicate wine was being consumed here.

[62] As suggested from finds of Alto-Adriatico vases dating to the second half of the fourth century BC at a hill-fort near Trogir, see Kirigin (2010), cf. Kamenjarin (2014) for neighboring Sikuli (Resnik) near Trogir. On wine-consumption amongst the Daorsi see Marić (1979): 12-15.

[63] Dzino (2006b): 75.

[64] Cunliffe (1988): 193-201.

[65] Dzino (2006b): 74.

[66] Dzino (2012b): 77.

political union was the basis for the construction of a new ethnic identity, and when two cultures and drinking ideologies clashed in central Dalmatia during the third century BC, alcoholic beverages became a meaningful factor in the process of Othering and identity formation. Resistance to the adoption of wine can be seen among other groups in temperate Europe. The Belgian Nervii, German Suebi, and British Iceni, are all mentioned in ancient written sources as refusing to import and consume wine based on their perception of wine as an effeminate drink, associated with Roman customs.[67] The archaeological record appears to confirm the claims of ancient authors, as vessels related to the trade and consumption of wine are absent from the areas associated with these groups.[68] Dzino has argued that the rejection of wine must be seen in the context of the Delmatae incorporating a strong anti-Mediterranean sentiment in the process of constructing their identity.[69] This view is strengthened if we look at local economies of power at play in the eastern Adriatic during the Iron Age.

In moral economies, without necessarily supporting the maintenance of radically egalitarian political systems, collective values and isonomy are emphasized and individual gain is largely secondary. This is often exercised through the communal possession and exploitation of land, mutual aid and social welfare institutions. The social norms of the moral economy intervene not only within the society itself but also in relations between the community and other groups, and are, therefore, often made more visible in circumstances where cultural contact with market-oriented societies occurs.[70] The transition between political and moral economies is fluid and gradual, and several variations of moral economies can exist, including heterarchical societies.[71] It appears, from the available evidence, the Delmatae leaned towards the principles of a 'moral economy'.

As noted above, archaeological evidence indicates that, unlike their coastal neighbors, the Delmatae were particularly restrictive towards Mediterranean influences. They also lacked any princely graves or tumuli burials, which were usually important aspects of the display of wealth and

[67] Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 2.15.4 (Nervii), 4.2.6 (Suebi); Cass. Dio. 62.5.5 (Iceni).
[68] Fitzpatrick (1985): 311-12; Peacock & Williams (1986): 26 fig. 8; Cunliffe (1988): 178-79; Carver (2001): 81.
[69] Dzino (2006b): 80.
[70] González-Ruibal (2012): 250-51.
[71] Fernández-Götz (2014): 203; Crumley (1995).

power as well as social and communal identity construction in political economies, such as the coastal neighbors of the Delmatae, including the Liburni and Daorsi.[72] This suggests the Delmatae looked inward in terms of their identity construction, finding a common belonging in opposition to outsiders. The land redistribution among the Delmatae that Strabo mentions indicates land was held communally, a policy that ensured equality between families and kinship groups was maintained.[73] Strabo also talks about the Delmatae as different to their neighbors. As noted above, he applies the word 'barbarian' to the Delmatae alone of all the inhabitants of Illyricum and says that, unlike their neighbors, they used no coined money. While there have been some Roman and Greek coins found in Delmataean territory, they are rare and were probably of limited use for day-to-day transactions.[74] The archaeological evidence and Strabo's testimony indicate the Delmatae were socially and culturally separate from their coastal neighbors. They showed signs of a society that actively hindered the development of inequalities, shared communal land, restricted trade and imports, and was inward looking in terms of the construction of its identity. These are all traits characteristic of moral economies, which hinder trade and encourage domestic production and democratic consumption, promoting a common sense of belonging in opposition to outsiders.[75]

The conflicts with the Romans that the Delmatae engaged in indicate they attempted to control existing exchange networks that connected the Mediterranean world to central Dalmatia.[76] Polybius reports that in 158/57 BC the Delmatae attacked the Issaean mainland colonies of Tragurium and Epetium, control of which would allow access to the Issaean *emporion* of Salona in the Bay of Kašteli, as well as Daorsi territory in the east of the valley of the Neretva.[77] Polybius mentions the attacks in the context of Issaean and Daorsi complaints to their ally, the Romans, about the Delmataean incursions. The fact that they wished to control the networks of

[72] Dzino (2012a): 146. It should be noted that Greek greaves have been found in a grave at Zagvozd, in the southern part of the Imotsko *polje*, Nikolanci (1959): 89; Vasić (1982): 12-13. However, this is a rare find. A Hellenistic-like stela has also been recently found in Delmataean territory near Tomislavgrad, Cambi (2013): 82-83.
[73] Šašel Kos (2005): 293.
[74] Čače (1994/95): 120-27.
[75] González-Ruibal (2012): 251-52.
[76] Dzino (2012a): 155.
[77] Polyb. 32.9; Dzino (2010): 62-63; Šašel Kos (2005): 296.

exchange was perhaps linked to their wish to resist, or at least control, cultural changes associated with interaction with the Mediterranean world. These conflicts, which occurred between the Delmatae and other indigenous groups, Greek colonies, and the Roman Republic, served to strengthen the newly formed Delmataean identity.[78]

Rome first became involved in the eastern Adriatic towards the latter half of the third century due to conflicts with the Illyrian kingdom.[79] Importantly for Roman imperial policy, the eastern Adriatic appeared to be a frontier zone between northern Italy and the Macedonian kingdom. As a result of the so-called Illyrian wars, Rome defeated the Illyrian kingdom and established their influence in the region. Roman imperial policy towards frontier zones was similar in Illyricum as it was elsewhere, being based on indirect control, exercised by establishing alliances with local groups.[80] The Romans allied themselves with groups who were more integrated into Mediterranean cultural templates than others, including the Liburni, Daorsi, and the Issaean commonwealth.[81] Roman political interaction with indigenous groups in the eastern Adriatic certainly accelerated the transformation of social and political structures that had begun from *ca.* 400 BC with the settlement of Greek colonies.

The establishment of the Roman frontier zone favored the centralization of power among local groups and the development of political alliances, such as the Delmatae, who required political structures able to negotiate power with the Roman Republic. Indigenous communities became active participants in interaction with Rome, and had to choose either to support intervention or resist Roman imperialism,[82] and this no doubt had to do with the a tendency towards principles associated with political and moral

[78] Creating a 'sense of solidarity', one of Smith's foundations of ethnic community, Smith (1987): 29-31, 37-41.

[79] Two literary traditions exist concerning the beginning of Roman intervention in Illyricum from the late third century BC. Polybius, who was probably influenced by Roman historiographic tradition (possibly Fabius Pictor), indicated that the First Illyrian War was started by the Romans in response to violent acts against Roman traders by the Illyrian queen Teuta, Polyb. 2.2-12. Appian and Cassius Dio, on the other hand, mention Issa's request for Roman aid against attacks from Illyria as instigating Rome's antagonism towards the Illyrian kingdom, App. *Illyrike* 7-8; Cass. Dio. fr. 49 = Zonaras 8.19. Cabanes (2006): 181-82, see also Šašel Kos (2005): 249-90.

[80] Dzino (2005b): 52-53; (2012a): 156.

[81] Dzino (2005b): 70-71.

[82] Dzino (20012a): 157-58.

economies. Unlike their coastal neighbors, the Delmatae chose to resist Roman imperialism, and this is evidenced through their ongoing conflicts with Rome and her allies through the second and first centuries BC.[83] Their resistance to the use of wine and other Mediterranean material culture emphasizes this point, and highlights the social, cultural and political transitions and processes of identity construction occurring among groups in the central Dalmatian hinterland at the time. Though the Delmatae shared a similar material culture with other indigenous central Adriatic communities in the Iron Age, they constructed their identity in opposition to Mediterranean influences, distinguishing themselves from Greeks, Romans, and their indigenous coastal neighbors. That they identified closer with their neighbors to the north, the Pannonii, is evidenced through onomastics, a common restriction towards the adoption of Mediterranean influences, and their unity in the *bellum Batonianum*, The Great Pannonian Revolt, against the Romans.[84]

As has been discussed, two cultures and drinking ideologies clashed in the eastern Adriatic towards the end of the first millennium BC. Greek and later Roman social and cultural templates were adopted by indigenous groups, which led to the development of complex socio-political structures. The Delmatae exhibit many characteristics of what is defined as a moral economy, being resistant to outside influences, taking measures to limit inequalities, and constructing their identity in opposition to outsiders. Their aversion to the adoption of wine and other Mediterranean influences highlights the social, cultural and political transitions and processes of cultural and ethnic identity construction occurring among groups in the central Dalmatian hinterland, and emphasizes the Delmatae's resistance to Roman imperialism, which was manifest through their ongoing conflicts with Rome and her allies through the second and first centuries BC.

[83] Dzino (2010): 62-69.
[84] Dzino (2006b): 80.

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Sažetak

Ovaj rad kritički razglaba i nadopunjuje tezu D. Dzina, koja povezuje nedostatak arheoloških dokaza za konzumaciju i proizvodnju vina i drugih oblika uvoza mediteranskih navika i artefakata u srednjodalmatinsko zaleđe tijekom željeznog doba s konstrukcijom identiteta lokalnih Delmatskih zajednica i njhovim protu-mediteranskim osjećajima. Od c. 400. pr. Kr., indigene zajednice istočnojadranske obale i priobalja ubrzano usvajaju grčke, a potom rimske društveno-kulturne obrasce. Ovaj proces dovodi do novih metoda iskazivanja bogatstva i društvenog prestiža, uspostave društvene stratifikacije te prijelaza u društvenoj organizaciji od

heterarhičnih k hijerarhičnim zajednicama. Natjecanje za političku prevlast među lokalnim zajednicama dovodi do novih političkih institucija, poput Delmatskog saveza.Delmati nastaju kao politički savez kulturno srodnih zajednica u jadranskom zaleđu, čiji su se identiteti tvorili na različit način od susjednih obalnih i priobalnih zajednica. Pisana i materijalna vrela ukazuju kako su neke društvene i kulturne značajke izdvajale Delmatske zajednice od drugih indigenih skupina u središnjoj Dalmaciji.

Rad nastoji pokazati kako se ove razlike mogu bolje objasniti kroz koncept 'ekonomije moći'. Dok su Delmatski susjedi Liburni i Daorsi, selektivno usvajali mediteranske kulturne obrasce, uključujući i konzumaciju vina, čini se da su Delmati odbijali ove vanjske utjecaje u znatno većoj mjeri. Uvozni predmeti su poprilično rijetki u područjima koje su nastavali, a Delmatska elita nije vidno iskazivala svoj društveni status kroz distinktivne elitne grobove, poput primjerice Liburna u posljednjim stoljećima pr. Kr. Strabon i njegova vrela pokazuju dobar uvid u neke društvene i kulturne obrasce Delmatskih zajednica, posebice njihovo razlikovanje od susjeda kroz običaj preraspodjele zemljišta svake osme godine te odsustva razgranate novčane ekonomije. Arheološka vrela i Strabonovi podaci sugeriraju kako se društvena organizacija Delmatskih zajednica može objasniti kroz koncept 'moralne ekonomije', u kojem je dominirala egalitarnost, i odbijanje uvoza većine stranih objekata i navika. Prema tome, možemo postulirati kako se njihov identitet konstruirao kroz reinterpretaciju i rekontekstualiziranje vlastitih 'tradicija', rađe negoli kroz intenzivnu akulturaciju s mediteranskim svijetom. Ovo se također vidi kroz delmatske dugotrajne konflikte s Rimskom republikom kroz drugo i prvo stoljeće pr. Kr. Zaključuje se kako odsustvo konzumacije vina i drugih mediteranskih uvoza u zaleđu središnje Dalmacije, te konflikti među Delmatskim savezom i Rimom trebaju biti također shvaćeni i kao sukob između različitih kulturnih obrazaca i 'ekonomija moći' koje su se sukobile u ovom području.