

# PROMIŠLJANJA O IDENTITETU, ETNICITETU I “HELENIZACIJI” PREDRIMSKE LIBURNIJE



## RETHINKING IDENTITY, ETHNICITY, AND ‘HELLENIZATION’ IN PRE-ROMAN LIBURNIA

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### Abstract

Opće je prihvaćeno da su Liburni u jednom periodu željeznog doba vladali velikim dijelom Jadrana. Profesor Slobodan Čače prvi je znanstvenik koji je, analizirajući pisane izvore, doista propitivao takve zaključke. Cilj ovog rada je stoga nadovezati se na znanstvenu djelatnost prof. Čače i pokušati kroz analizu antičkih pisanih izvora propitati pitanje identiteta u predrimskoj Liburniji. Osim toga, rad je multidisciplinaran te se obrađuje i poimanje identiteta i kul-

turnog razvoja kroz materijalnu kulturu. Preispituje se i liburnski identitet kroz arheološke nalaze, kao i transformacije koje je on doživio tijekom željeznog doba, a s osobitim fokusom na ideje o etno-kulturalnim identitetima i “hellenizaciji” u interpretaciji razvoja Liburnije tijekom zadnjih četiri stoljeća prije Krista.

**KLJUČNE RIJEČI:** Liburnija, željezno doba, identitet, etnicitet, helenizacija, materijalna kultura

### Abstract

It is widely accepted that the Liburni, at some point in the Iron Age, ruled over much of the Adriatic. Professor Slobodan Čače was the first scholar to truly challenge these narratives through a critique of the written sources. The aim of this paper is to build upon the work of Čače in seeking to rethink identities in pre-Roman Liburnia through analysis of ancient literary sources. It also takes a multidisciplinary approach, and seeks to address ideas about identity and cultural change through material culture. A re-examination is undertaken into Liburnian identity through archaeological evidence, and the transformations it apparently went through during the Iron Age, focusing on ideas about ethno-cultural identities and ‘Hellenization’ in interpretations of developments in Liburnia during the last 4 centuries BCE.

**KEYWORDS:** Liburnia; Iron Age; identity; ethnicity; Hellenization; material culture

## 1. UVOD

U modernoj znanosti *Liburni* i *Liburnia* prihvaćeni su kao termini koji označavaju spomenutu etničku grupu i teritorij na kojem se ona prostirala, odnosno na teritoriju današnje Hrvatske prostor od rijeke Raše do rijeke Krke te sve obližnje otoke. Taj identitet temelji se na izjavama antičkih izvora koji smještaju Liburne na spomenuti teritorij.<sup>1</sup> Na osnovi antičkih izvora koji navode da se oni nalaze i izvan tog matičnog teritorija, opće je prihvaćeno da su Liburni u jednom periodu između 800. i 500. g. pr. Kr. (ili čak do 385. g. pr. Kr.) gospodarili velikim dijelom istočne i zapadne obale Jadrana.<sup>2</sup> Arheolozi su identificirali najvažnije karakteristike materijalne kulture glavnih liburnskih teritorija tijekom željeznog doba i putem toga ustanovili "etnogenezu" Liburna. Pretpostavlja se da je taj proces započeo tijekom prijelaza iz brončano u željezno doba i trajao sve do zadnjih stoljeća pr. Kr., kada su helenistički utjecaji drastično promijenili njegov smjer, da bi na kraju on završio inkorporiranjem liburnskih zajednica u Rimsko Carstvo i početkom "romanizacije". To su uhodani modeli interpretacije liburnskog političkog i kulturnog identiteta koji su u povijesnoj i arheološkoj literaturi ostali nepromijenjeni desetljećima, čak i stoljećima.<sup>3</sup> Cilj ovog rada je preispitati podatke o željeznobrončanim Liburnima i o formativnom periodu provincije Ilirik kako bi se potakla rasprava o liburnskim identitetima u predrimskom periodu.

Profesor Slobodan Čače pružio je nove mudre i pronicljive ideje o liburnskom identitetu i bio je prvi znanstvenik koji je preispitao aspekte tih duboko ukorijenjenih percepcija. Cilj ovog rada je ponovno promotriti liburnski identitet na temelju antičkih pisanih izvora i arheološkog materijala. Pristup problematici temelji se na radovima

## 1. INTRODUCTION

*Liburni* and *Liburnia* are accepted in modern scholarship as labels that identify an ethnic group in antiquity and their territory, which consisted of the territory of modern day Croatia from the river Raša to the river Krka and the adjacent islands. This identity is based on statements in ancient literary sources that place the Liburni within these areas.<sup>1</sup> It is widely accepted that the Liburni, at some point between ca. 800 and 500 (or even up to 385 BCE), ruled over much of the eastern and western Adriatic coasts, based on statements in literary sources that place them outside of their homeland.<sup>2</sup> Archaeologists have identified common features of the material culture of the main Liburnian regions during the Iron Age, and through this evidence traced the 'ethnogenesis' of the Liburni. This process supposedly began during the Bronze to Iron Age transition and continued until the last centuries BCE, when Hellenistic influences drastically altered its trajectory, and finally ended following the incorporation of the Liburnian communities into the Roman Empire and the beginning of 'Romanization'. These are established interpretative models of Liburnian political and cultural identity that have remained intact for decades, even centuries, in historical and archaeological literature.<sup>3</sup> The aim of this paper is to re-examine the evidence relating to the Liburni from the Iron Age and the formative period of the province of Illyricum in an attempt to instigate debate on Liburnian identities in the pre-Roman period.

Professor Slobodan Čače has provided new thoughtful and insightful ideas into discourse on Liburnian identity, and was the first scholar to rethink aspects of these entrenched perceptions. The objective of this paper is to revisit Liburnian iden-

<sup>1</sup> Plin. *NH*, 3.139; Flor. *Epit.*, 1.21.

<sup>2</sup> V. npr. M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 182–188; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2015: 6–13; Š. BATOVIC 2005: 14 i d.; M. SUIĆ 1981; A. KURILIĆ 2012; R. MATIJAŠIĆ 2009: 30 i d.; J. WILKES 1969: 159–162; usp. drugačije mišljenje kod S. ČAČE 2002; D. DZINO 2014b: 52–55.

<sup>3</sup> Za arheološku interpretaciju liburnske "etnogeneze" v. Š. BATOVIC 1987, reprint Š. BATOVIC 2005. Za odličnu kritiku raspravu o raznim problemima i aspektima etničkih, društvenih i političkih identiteta u Liburniji, temeljenu na rimskodobnim epigrafskim nalazima, v. A. KURILIĆ 1999; A. KURILIĆ 2008.

<sup>1</sup> Pliny *NH*, 3.139; Flor. *Epit.*, 1.21.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 182–188; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2015: 6–13; Š. BATOVIC 2005: 14ff; M. SUIĆ 1981; A. KURILIĆ 2012; R. MATIJAŠIĆ 2009: 30ff; J. WILKES 1969: 159–162; cf. different interpretations in S. ČAČE 2002; D. DZINO 2014b: 52–55.

<sup>3</sup> For the archaeological interpretation of Liburnian 'ethnogenesis', see Š. BATOVIC 1987, republished in Š. BATOVIC 2005. For an excellent critical discussion of issues surrounding various aspects of ethnic, social and political identities in Liburnia, based on epigraphic evidence from the Roman period, see A. KURILIĆ 1999; A. KURILIĆ 2008.

S. Čače i D. Dzina, koji su raspravljali o značenju termina “Liburni/liburnski” u antičkim pisanim izvorima. Također, rad nastoji usložnjavati aspekte društvenog i kulturnog identiteta željeznodobnih populacija sjeverne Dalmacije i Kvarnerskog zaljeva koji su ustanovaljeni u arheološkoj literaturi. U svjetlu novih promišljanja o izvorima i novih uvida u proces stvaranja etniciteta i identiteta u antici, namjera je i raspraviti o problemu definiranja Liburna kao zajednice koja je u prošlosti imala jasno određene granice teritorija.

S obzirom na to da je pripisivanje identiteta moderni koncept u društvenoj analizi, primjenjivanje takvog pristupa za prošla društva može biti problematično, osobito prilikom proučavanja materijalnih ostataka. Potrebno je imati na umu da sličnosti u materijalnoj kulturi ne ukazuju nužno i na postojanje jasno određenog zajedničkog identiteta.<sup>4</sup> Sve prepoznatljive karakteristike koje možda ima materijalna kultura su relativne i kontekstualne i sigurno nisu fiksirane u vremenu i prostoru. Identificiranje “populacija” i “kultura” bilo je u fokusu arheoloških rasprava još od 19. stoljeća. Sve do nedavno uzimano je zdravo za gotovo da se preko geografske distribucije različitih tipova materijalne kulture (arteefakata i stilova) moglo identificirati teritorije određenih unificiranih kulturnih grupa. Nadalje, smatralo se da se te grupe ili “arheološke kulture” mogu povezati s “narodima” ili “etnicima”,<sup>5</sup> a promjene u distribuciji materijalne kulture razmatrane su kao posljedica seljenja populacija.<sup>6</sup> U pokušaju da se odmaknu od takvog kulturno-povijesnog pristupa arheološkoj klasifikaciji, mnogi znanstvenici povezani s procesualnom arheologijom navodili su da su te kulturne grupe proizvoljno konstruirani entiteti.<sup>7</sup> Takvim određivanjem jasno definiranih kulturnih entiteta uklanjaju se “nepravilnosti” prisutne u miješanju arheoloških distribucija, gdje se stilovi i tipovi artefakata preklapaju, a ignorira se višežnačnost povezanih faktora koji bi mogli uzrokovati takve “nepravilnosti”.<sup>8</sup> Što se tiče materijalne kultu-

tiny, based on ancient written sources and archaeological material. Its approach attempts to directly build upon the work of Čače and D. Dzino, who have discussed the nature of the label “Liburni/Liburnian” in the ancient written sources. It also endeavours to complexify aspects of the social and cultural identities of the inhabitants of Iron Age northern Dalmatia and the Kvarner Gulf region developed in archaeological literature. The aim here is to discuss issues with the characterization of the Liburni as a group with a delineated territory through time in-light of a rethinking of the sources and new insights into ethnicity and identity construction in antiquity.

As a contemporary concept for social analysis, applying identity to the past can be problematic, and particularly so for material culture studies. It is important to remember that similarities in material culture do not necessarily signify a specific type of shared identity.<sup>4</sup> Any identifying qualities that material culture might have are relative and contextual, and certainly not fixed in time or space. The identification of ‘peoples’ and ‘cultures’ has been a major focus of archaeological debates since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Until recently, it was taken for granted that the geographic distribution of different types of material culture (artefacts and styles) could identify the territories of discrete monolithic cultural groups. Furthermore, these groups, or ‘archaeological cultures’, were presumed to correspond to ‘peoples’ or ‘ethnicities’,<sup>5</sup> and changes in the distribution of material culture were considered a result of population movements.<sup>6</sup> In breaking away from this culture-historical approach to archaeological classification, many scholars associated with processual archaeology argued that these cultural groups were arbitrarily constructed entities.<sup>7</sup> Classification of discrete cultural entities removes the ‘untidiness’ in the cross-cutting of archaeological distributions where artefact styles and types overlap, and ignores the plurality of interrelated factors that might cause such ‘untidiness’.<sup>8</sup> In terms of

<sup>4</sup> M. PITTS 2007: 700; P. S. WELLS 2001: 25; D. DZINO 2008: 46.

<sup>5</sup> S. JONES 1997: 107.

<sup>6</sup> S. LUCY 2006: 86, 91; B. OLSEN – Z. KOBYLIŃSKI 1991: 9.

<sup>7</sup> Za bibliografiju v. JONES 1997: 109.

<sup>8</sup> S. SHENNAN 1989: 12–13; L. R. BINFORD 1972: 197–198.

<sup>4</sup> M. PITTS 2007: 700; P. S. WELLS 2001: 25; D. DZINO 2008: 46.

<sup>5</sup> S. JONES 1997: 107.

<sup>6</sup> S. LUCY 2006: 86, 91; B. OLSEN, Z. KOBYLIŃSKI 1991: 9.

<sup>7</sup> See Jones 1997 p. 109, for bibliography.

<sup>8</sup> S. SHENNAN 1989: 12–13; L. R. BINFORD 1972: 197–198.

re, važno je napomenuti da arheološka distribucija može odražavati brojne prošle aktivnosti, procese i ideje, u istoj mjeri kao i identificirati možebitne aspekte identiteta.<sup>9</sup>

Nedavni antropološki i povjesni primjeri istaknuli su koliko je kompleksan odnos između materijalne kulture i formi etničkog identiteta.<sup>10</sup> Zahvaljujući novim promišljanjima o etnicitetu i o metodologijama povezanim uz definiranje "populacija" kroz materijalnu kulturu, ovaj pristup kojim se bespogovorno definira etnički identitet kroz materijalnu kulturu u modernoj je arheološkoj literaturi u velikoj mjeri napušten.<sup>11</sup> Antropolozi i sociolozi sada naglašavaju fluidnost i subjektivnost etničkih identiteta i promatraju "etničku pripadnost" kao aspekt društvenih odnosa koji se kontinuirano mijenjaju kroz svakodnevne djelatnosti i interakcije te se sukladno tomu i granice etničkih grupa neprekidno redefiniraju.<sup>12</sup> Etničke grupe rijetko su samo jednostavan odraz zbroja sličnosti i razlika određenih kulturnih karakteristika koje je objektivno klasificirao promatrač.<sup>13</sup> Etnicitet je prije rezultat društvenih interakcija i ustaljenih ponašanja koji su relevantni za određeni povjesni kontekst nego što je on odraz habitusa i kulture.<sup>14</sup> Etničke kategorije mogu preživjeti, dok se materijalna kultura kojom se izražavaju takvi identiteti u određenom vremenskom periodu može mijenjati i obrnuto. Čak kad su i prostorno i vremenski ograničene distribucije materijalne kulture rezultat srodnih kulturnih procesa ili zajedničkog habitusa, one ne označavaju automatski opseg samosvjesnih etničkih grupa.<sup>15</sup> Kao što Dzino navodi, kulturni elementi vidljivi u materijalnoj kulturi, poput pogrebnih običaja, prije bi indicirali određeno kulturno iskustvo, barthi-

material culture, it is important to note that archaeological distributions may reflect any number of past activities, processes and ideas, as well as potentially indicating expressions of identity.<sup>9</sup>

Recent anthropological and historical examples have highlighted the complex relationship between material culture and expressions of ethnic identity.<sup>10</sup> This approach to defining ethnic identity through material culture by default is now largely rejected in modern archaeological literature, based on both a rethinking of the nature of ethnicity and methodologies related to tracing 'peoples' through material culture.<sup>11</sup> Anthropologists and sociologists now emphasize the fluidity and subjectivity of ethnic identity, and see 'ethnicity' as an aspect of social relationships that are constantly renegotiated through everyday actions and discursive practice so that the boundaries of ethnic groups are continually redefined.<sup>12</sup> Ethnic groups are rarely a simple reflection of the sum-total of similarities and differences between cultural traits which are themselves objectively classified by the observer.<sup>13</sup> Rather than a reflection of *habitus* or culture, ethnicity is constructed through social interactions and habitual practices that are situational and relevant to specific historical contexts.<sup>14</sup> Ethnic categories may survive, while the material culture involved in expressing such identities at a particular point in time may change, or vice versa. Even if spatially and temporally bounded distributions of material culture are the result of related cultural processes, or a common *habitus*, they do not necessarily signify the extent of self-conscious ethnic groups.<sup>15</sup> As Dzino has argued, cultural elements visible in

<sup>9</sup> Znaključak koji su donijeli brojni arheolozi još od sredine 20. st. V. G. CHILDE 1956; G. DANIEL 1978 [1950]; A. M. TALLGREN 1937; W. W. J. TAYLOR 1948, iako je tek pojmom "nove arheologije" doista prihvaćen kao kritika kulturno-povjesnog pristupa, S. JONES 1997: 107.

<sup>10</sup> S. JONES 1997: 107–108; S. LUCY 2006: 91. Za raspravu o konceptima etniciteta i arheoloških kultura u znanosti središnjeg Balkana v. V. D. MIHAJLOVIĆ 2014: 97–101.

<sup>11</sup> V. S. SHENNAN 1989; *Cultural identity and Archaeology*..., 1996; S. JONES 1997; S. BRATHER 2002; S. LUCY 2006; C. M. ANTONACCIO 2010.

<sup>12</sup> S. LUCY 2006: 91–97; S. SHENNAN 1989: 14.

<sup>13</sup> S. JONES 1997: 108.

<sup>14</sup> S. JONES 1997: 120.

<sup>15</sup> S. JONES 1997: 120–123.

<sup>9</sup> An argument noted by several archaeologists as early as the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, V. G. CHILDE 1956; G. DANIEL 1978 [1950]; A. M. TALLGREN 1937; W. W. J. TAYLOR 1948, though only truly taken up as a critique of the culture-historic approach with the emergence of 'new archaeology', S. JONES 1997: 107.

<sup>10</sup> S. JONES 1997: 107–108; S. LUCY 2006: 91. For a discussion of concepts of ethnicity and archaeological cultures in scholarship from the Central Balkans, see V. D. MIHAJLOVIĆ 2014: 97–101.

<sup>11</sup> See S. SHENNAN 1989; *Cultural identity and Archaeology*..., 1996; S. JONES 1997; S. BRATHER 2002; S. LUCY 2006; C. M. ANTONACCIO 2010.

<sup>12</sup> S. LUCY 2006: 91–97; S. SHENNAN 1989: 14.

<sup>13</sup> S. JONES 1997: 108.

<sup>14</sup> S. JONES 1997: 120.

<sup>15</sup> S. JONES 1997: 120–123.

jansku “kulturnu građu”, nego specifične aspekte stvaranja etničkog identiteta.<sup>16</sup>

Nadalje, kako bi se analizirali identiteti u prošlim društвима, potrebna je revizija opsega i pristupa. Široke analize distribucije materijalne kulture nisu od velike pomoći jer granice razlikovanja kultura koje se time dobivaju negiraju društveni kontekst potrošnje i reprodukcije artefakata i stilova i, sukladno tomu, svaku karakteristiku identiteta koju bi ti objekti i aktivnosti mogli nositi. Ako prihvatimo da je identitet temeljen na fluidnim, situacijskim procesima “odvajanja drugačijeg”, koji su usađeni u svakodnevne društvene običaje, njegova primjena na proučavanje materijalne kulture može biti korisna, osobito prilikom razmatranja određenih aspekata društvene komunikacije,<sup>17</sup> dok bi fokus na društvenu organizaciju skupina u proшlosti mogao doprinijeti stvaranju boljeg eksplanatornog okvira za razumijevanje toga kako su one nastale.<sup>18</sup>

Oprez je u istoj mjeri potreban kada se na temelju iščitavanja tekstova antičkih autora donose bilo kakvi zaključci ili prepostavke o identitetima i društvenim normama prošlih društava. Prilikom analize antičkih pisanih izvora obrađenih u ovom članku svakako treba imati na umu da su oni bili društveno i kulturno uvjetovani grčko-rimskom civilizacijom. Orijentalizam, poznato djelo E. Said-a, potaklo je zanimanje znanstvenika i rasprave o prikazu stranaca u zapadnjačkoj literaturi, osobito u znanosti koja se bavila tekstovima klasičnih pisaca.<sup>19</sup> Brojni znanstvenici su prije 1980-ih prikupili primjere negativnog prikazivanja stranaca u grčko-rimskim izvorima, iako uz to nije išla odgovarajuća analiza ili rasprava o razlozima takvih konstrukcija.<sup>20</sup> F. Hartog je svojom kapitalnom knjigom *Herodotovo ogledalo* (*The Mirror of Herodotus*) u središte pozornosti stavio pitanje metoda prikazivanja “Drugih” u klasičnoj literaturi te je demonstrirao, putem poststrukturalističke analize, da je Herodotov prikaz Skita u mnogim aspektima trebao poslužiti kao antiteza grčkom načinu živo-

material culture, such as funeral customs, signify a certain cultural experience, Barthian “cultural stuff”, rather than specific aspects of ethnic identity construction.<sup>16</sup>

Moving forward, to explore identity in past societies, a revision of scale and approach is certainly necessary. Broad analyses of material culture distributions are of little help, since the boundaries of cultural difference that are manifested negate the social context of consumption and reproduction of artefacts and styles and, thus, any identifying qualities these objects and activities may include. If we understand identity as based on fluid, situational processes of ‘othering’ that are embedded in daily social practices, its application to material culture studies can be particularly helpful to understanding certain aspects of social discourse,<sup>17</sup> while a focus on the social organization of groups in the past may provide a more tangible explanatory framework for understanding how they were formed.<sup>18</sup>

Caution is equally important when drawing any kind of conclusions or assumptions about the identity and social norms of past peoples when reading the statements of ancient authors. When analysing the written sources discussed here we must remember that they were socially and culturally constructed in the context of Greco-Roman civilization. E. Said’s classic work, *Orientalism*, initiated scholarly interest and debate on the portrayal of foreigners in Western literature, particularly within scholarship concerning Classical texts.<sup>19</sup> Before the 1980s, a number of scholars had gathered examples of negative depictions of foreigners in Greco-Roman literature, though they provided little analysis or discussion on the mentalities behind these constructions.<sup>20</sup> F. Hartog brought attention to methods of depicting the ‘Other’ in Classical literature with his landmark book, *The Mirror of Herodotus*, where he demonstrated, with a post-structuralist analysis, that Herodotus’ depictions of the Scythians were in many ways meant to reflect

<sup>16</sup> D. DZINO 2008: 46–47.

<sup>17</sup> S. JONES 1997: 13–14; M. PITTS 2007: 701.

<sup>18</sup> D. DZINO 2008: 46.

<sup>19</sup> E. SAID 1978.

<sup>20</sup> Npr. A. N. SHERWIN-WHITE 1967; J. P. V. D. BALSDON 1979.

<sup>16</sup> D. DZINO 2008: 46–47.

<sup>17</sup> S. JONES 1997: 13–14; M. PITTS 2007: 701.

<sup>18</sup> D. DZINO 2008: 46.

<sup>19</sup> E. SAID 1978.

<sup>20</sup> For example, A. N. SHERWIN-WHITE 1967; J. P. V. D. BALSDON 1979.

ta.<sup>21</sup> Nakon spomenute rasprave koncept "barbara" koji se razvio u Ateni u 5. st. pr. Kr., a koji je nastao kao posljedica razvoja helenskog identiteta u razdoblju nakon perzijskih ratova, ostao je duboko ukorijenjen u znanosti koja je proučavala grčko-rimsku literaturu.<sup>22</sup>

Sve do nedavno opisi grčkih i rimskih autora, koji su kasnoželjeznodobne stanovnike kontinentalne Europe nazivali "barbarima", smatrani su važnijim od drugih izvora, a arheološki nalazi često su bili prilagođavani šabloni koju su uspostavili antički tekstovi.<sup>23</sup> Ipak, od 1980-ih novi pristupi analizi i interpretaciji pisanih i arheoloških izvora u velikoj su mjeri tu situaciju promijenili.<sup>24</sup> Oslanjanje na pisane izvore kako bi se razumjela priroda i značenje kolektivnih imena u antici jedan je od velikih nedostataka prijašnjih paradigm. Moderni društveni konstrukti poput "etnika" i "nacionalnosti" bili su projicirani na te skupine, a znanstvenici su pokušavali zamisliti i razumjeti drevne identitete na način kako ih mi danas shvaćamo. Kolektivna imena bila su atribuirana dostupnim arheološkim kulturama – teritorijima na kojima su određeni tipovi artefakata ili simbola bili prisutni ili odakle su se širili. Prema V. D. Mihajloviću, interpretacija kolektivnih imena u antičkim izvorima jedini je dokaz za postojanje grupa s etničkim identitetom u željeznom dobu na Balkanu. Bez njih prevladavajući strukturni model za željezno doba koji se bazira na etnicitetu možda ne bi bio ni uspostavljen u znanosti.<sup>25</sup>

Brojni antropolozi su, na temelju teoretskih i empirijskih zaključaka, doveli u pitanje korelaciju između jezika i etniciteta. Genealošku, odnosno kladističku rekonstrukciju jezika, koja pretostavlja da su moderni i drevni jezici povezani, kritizirali su J. Robb i J. H. Moore.<sup>26</sup> Na razvoj jezika utječe niz kompleksnih procesa, a način na koji ga populacije koriste kontinuirano se mijenja. Korištenje zajedničkog jezika može povećati, ali i smanjiti kontakte među populacijama, dok prihvatljivi jezik može biti promijenjen, posuđen ili

the antithesis of the Greek way of life.<sup>21</sup> Following from this discussion, the concept of the 'barbarian' as developing in fifth century Athenian ideology as a result of a Hellenic identity evolving in the post-Persian Wars era became a concept entrenched in scholarship on Greco-Roman literature.<sup>22</sup>

Until recently, Greco-Roman authors' descriptions of the inhabitants of Late Iron Age temperate Europe, whom they referred to as 'barbarians', were largely privileged over other sources and archaeological evidence was often made to conform to templates created by the classical texts.<sup>23</sup> Since the 1980s, new approaches to analysis and interpretation of textual and archaeological evidence have largely turned this situation on its head.<sup>24</sup> One major drawback of earlier paradigms was the reliance on written sources for understanding the nature and meaning of collective names from antiquity. Modern social constructs of 'ethnicity' and 'nationhood' were projected onto these groups, as scholars attempted to imagine and understand ancient identities as we know them today. These group names were then applied to apparent archaeological cultures – areas of distribution where particular types of artefacts and symbols existed or were projected from. As V. D. Mihajlović notes, interpretation of the collective names in ancient written sources is the only evidence for the existence of ethnic-type group identities in the Iron Age Balkan peninsula. Without them, the dominant ethnically structured model of the Iron Age would perhaps not have developed in scholarship.<sup>25</sup>

The correlation between language and ethnicity has also recently been called into doubt by a number of anthropologists, both on theoretical and empirical grounds. The 'genealogical view' or 'cladistic' reconstruction of languages, which presumes a link between contemporary languages and ancestry has been criticised by J. Robb and J. H. Moore.<sup>26</sup> Language development is affected by a series of complex processes, and the way they are used by populations changes constantly. Use of a

<sup>21</sup> F. HARTOG 1988: 10–11.

<sup>22</sup> E. HALL 1989: 5–6; J. M. HALL 2002: 172–89; F. LISSARAGUE 2002: 117; L. BONFANTE 2011: 7.

<sup>23</sup> S. DUNHAM 1989: 265; L. BONFANTE 2011.

<sup>24</sup> T. THURSTON 2009: 354.

<sup>25</sup> V. D. MIHAJLOVIĆ 2014: 100–101.

<sup>26</sup> J. ROBB 1993; J. H. MOORE 1994.

<sup>21</sup> F. HARTOG 1988: 10-11.

<sup>22</sup> E. HALL 1989: 5-6; J. M. HALL 2002: 172-89; F. LISSARAGUE 2002: 117; L. BONFANTE 2011: 7.

<sup>23</sup> S. DUNHAM 1989: 265; L. BONFANTE 2011.

<sup>24</sup> T. THURSTON 2009: 354.

<sup>25</sup> V. D. MIHAJLOVIĆ 2014: 100-101.

<sup>26</sup> J. ROBB 1993; J. H. MOORE 1994.

može zastarjeti.<sup>27</sup> Antropolozi su ustanovili brojne primjere gdje jedna etnička grupa nije imala zajednički jezik.<sup>28</sup> Postoje također primjeri etničkih grupa koje su svjesno zadržale jedinstvo, unatoč tomu što su izgubile zajednički jezik.<sup>29</sup> Jezik nije barijera za prijenos kulturnih tekovina, što jasno dokazuju pojedinci u graničnim područjima koji pričaju više jezika. Jezične zajednice su komunikativne zajednice,<sup>30</sup> a sličnosti i razlike u jeziku mogu se reflektirati na niz strateških odluka i političkih, društvenih i ekonomskih trendova.<sup>31</sup>

S tim na umu, ovaj će rad preispitati liburnski identitet kroz pisane i arheološke izvore i transformaciju koju je on doživio tijekom željeznog doba, a kako bi se stvorila okvirna slika koja je fleksibilna i kulturno neutralna. Već prije spomenut multidisciplinarni pristup u zadnjih je trideset godina primijenjen i u mnogim drugim studijama u ovom znanstvenom polju. Proučavanje kasnog željeznog doba u kontinentalnoj Europi zadnjih je godina sve više povezano uz proučavanje mediteranskog svijeta. Razlog tomu je povećani interes među znanstvenicima, kako arheologima koji proučavaju željezno doba tako i antičarima, za unutarnje uređenje drevnih društava i trgovinu i razmjenu koja se odvijala između spomenutih teritorija.<sup>32</sup> Pitanje koje danas postavlju znanstvenici koji proučavaju željezno doba Europe je kako možemo razumjeti odnose između dviju kategorija dokaza koje rasvjetljavaju ovaj period, odnosno između opisa “barbarskih naroda” koji se javljuju u grčkim i rimskim izvorima i slike njihova društveno-političkog i kulturnog uređenja koje se može interpretirati iz arheoloških nalaza.<sup>33</sup> Ima li ijedan od ovih prikaza prevagu u proučavanju drevnih zajednica? Je li moguće potvrditi navode i opise drevnih zajednica iz antičkih izvora s našim spoznajama dobivenim iz arheoloških nalaza? Proučavanjem identiteta i kulturne promjene u kasnom željeznom dobu Liburnije ovaj rad postavlja upravo ta pitanja.

common language may either decrease or increase contact between populations, while acceptable language can change, be borrowed, or become obsolete.<sup>27</sup> Anthropologists have shown many examples where a single ethnic group lacks a common language.<sup>28</sup> There are also examples ethnic groups maintaining a conscious sense of unity despite the disappearance of a shared language.<sup>29</sup> As the incredible ability to learn languages by people living in border regions suggests, language does not act as a barrier to cultural transmission. Linguistic communities are communicative communities,<sup>30</sup> and similarities and differences in language may reflect a number of strategic choices and political, social or economic trends.<sup>31</sup>

With these points in mind, this paper will re-examine Liburnian identity through literary and archaeological evidence, and the transformations it went through during the Iron Age, to formulate a framework of understanding that is flexible and culturally neutral. The multi-disciplinary approach outlined above resembles that of many studies in the field over the past thirty years. Scholarship on the Late Iron Age in temperate Europe has in recent years become increasingly tied to the study of the Mediterranean world. This is due to increasing interest among scholars of both Iron Age Archaeology and Classical Studies into systems at work in societies of the past and the study of trade and exchange between these two areas.<sup>32</sup> A question being put forward today by scholars researching the European Iron Age is, how can we understand the relationship between the two categories of evidence that shed light on this period? Between the depictions of so-called ‘barbarian’ peoples we have from Greco-Roman writers and the picture of their socio-political and cultural environment that we interpret through the archaeological record.<sup>33</sup> Does either field boast more authority in the study of ancient peoples? Is it possible to confirm statements and descriptions of ancient peoples from literary sources with our account of them from archaeo-

<sup>27</sup> M. PLUCIENNIK 1996: 43; S. LUCY 2006: 92.

<sup>28</sup> G. ELWERT 1997: 266.

<sup>29</sup> B. OLSEN – Z. KOBYLIŃSKI 1991: 16.

<sup>30</sup> B. OLSEN – Z. KOBYLIŃSKI 1991: 15.

<sup>31</sup> J. ROBB 1993: 748–749, 751–755.

<sup>32</sup> B. CUNLIFFE 1988: 1.

<sup>33</sup> L. BONFANTE 2011: 2.

<sup>27</sup> M. PLUCIENNIK 1996: 43; S. LUCY 2006: 92.

<sup>28</sup> G. ELWERT 1997: 266.

<sup>29</sup> B. OLSEN, Z. KOBYLIŃSKI 1991: 16.

<sup>30</sup> B. OLSEN, Z. KOBYLIŃSKI 1991: 15.

<sup>31</sup> J. ROBB 1993: 748–749, 751–755.

<sup>32</sup> B. CUNLIFFE 1988: 1.

<sup>33</sup> L. BONFANTE 2011: 2.

## 2. LIBURNI U GRČKO-RIMSKIM IZVORIMA

Liburni se u grčkim tekstovima prvi put spominju vjerojatno već u 6. st. pr. Krista. Najraniji navod o njima nalazi se u fragmentu Hekateja koji je preživio u djelu Stjepana Bizantinca,<sup>34</sup> iako se pojava Liburna u grčkim etnografskim opisima autohtonih populacija istočne obale Jadrana može datirati i dublje u prošlost, u arhajski period. Ipak, malo je pisanih izvora koji sadržavaju informacije o Liburnima, a i ti ne daju dobar uvid u njihovu povijest. Većina se bavi njihovim geografskim položajem, a samo neki navode značajnije aspekte njihova društva.

Nekoliko izvora bilježi da su žene imale važnu ulogu u liburnskom društvu.<sup>35</sup> Pseudo Skilak čak navodi da su Liburnima vladale žene.<sup>36</sup> Ove izjave najvjerojatnije ukazuju na to da su žene imale važnu ulogu u liburnskom društvu, a ne da su one vladale Liburnima.<sup>37</sup> Prema A. Kurilić, ovdje je vjerojatno riječ o barbarizaciji "Drugih" u grčko-rimskim izvorima, pri čemu su uloge spolova korištene kako bi prikazale liburnsko društvo u opreci s grčko-rimskim društvenim normama.<sup>38</sup> Liburni su u izvorima bili poznati kao pomorski narod, a Apijan i Livije tvrde da su bili zloglasni po svojem piratstvu.<sup>39</sup> Bili su također poznati po svojim brzim i lakin brodicama, a po uzoru na njih Rimljani su izradili svoje lake ratne brodove, poznate kao *liburnica*.<sup>40</sup> U izvorima se još od 6. st. pr. Kr. pao sve do u rimski period u više navrata spominje i liburnski plašt,<sup>41</sup> što bi moglo ukazivati na to da je ovaj predmet bio popularan proizvod koji se izvadio u grčke i rimske gradove.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Hecat. *FGrHist* 1 F 93, Steph. Byz. s.v. Λιβύποι.

<sup>35</sup> Nic. Dam. *FGrHist* 90 F 103 d; Varro. *Rust.* 2.10.

<sup>36</sup> Ps.-Scylax 21; Flor također spominje da su Liburni bili pod vlašću kraljice Teutane, Flor. *Epit.* 1.21, iako se čini da on koristi ime "Ilira" i "Liburna" kao sinonime, D. DZINO 2014b: 53. Šašel Kos smatra da je ovo posljedica miješanja podataka koje je koristio prilikom pisanja povijesti rimskog osvajanja Ilirije i, sukladno tomu, smatra da je Flor nepouzdan izvor; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 187)

<sup>37</sup> M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 183; D. DZINO 2017: 68–72.

<sup>38</sup> A. KURILIĆ 2012: 176.

<sup>39</sup> Livy, 10.2.4; App. *Ill.*, 3; 16. *Bell. Civ.*, 2.39.

<sup>40</sup> App. *Ill.*, 3.

<sup>41</sup> Hecat. *FGrHist* 1 F 93, Steph. Byz. *Ethnica*, s.v. Λιβύποι; Mart. *Epigr.*, 14.139. v. također Plin. *NH*. 8.191.

<sup>42</sup> S. ČAČE 2006: 67.

logical evidence? This paper asks these same questions in its investigation of identity and cultural change in Late Iron Age Liburnia.

## 2. THE LIBURNI IN GRECO-ROMAN LITERATURE

The Liburni are mentioned in Greek literature at least as early as the sixth century BCE. The earliest reference to the group we have is a fragment of Hecataeus, preserved in the work of Stephanus of Byzantium,<sup>34</sup> however, the role of the Liburni in Greek ethnographic discourses on the indigenous inhabitants of the Eastern Adriatic appears to go much further back into the Archaic Period. There are very few written sources that contain information on the Liburni, and even these provide little insight into their history. Most refer to their geographic location, and a few mention noteworthy aspects of their society.

Several sources note the special role of women in Liburnian society.<sup>35</sup> Pseudo-Scylax even states that the Liburni were ruled by women.<sup>36</sup> It is most probable that these statements should be taken to suggest that women had a prominent role in Liburnian society, rather than that the Liburni were indeed governed by women.<sup>37</sup> As A. Kurilić has suggested, this is probably part of the barbarization of the "Other" in Greco-Roman literature. Here, gender roles are used to portray Liburnian society as opposed to Greco-Roman social norms.<sup>38</sup> The Liburni were known as a nautical people in written sources, and both Appian and Livy claim they were notorious for their acts of piracy.<sup>39</sup> They were also known for their swift light ships, from which the Romans appropriated their own light battleship, known as the *liburnica*.<sup>40</sup> There are also several re-

<sup>34</sup> Hecat. *FGrHist* 1 F 93, Steph. Byz. s.v. Λιβύποι.

<sup>35</sup> Nic. Dam. *FGrHist* 90 F 103 d; Varro. *Rust.* 2.10.

<sup>36</sup> Ps.-Scylax 21; Florus also mentions the Liburni being under the rule of a queen Teutana, Flor. *Epit.* 1.21, however, he appears to use the terms 'Illyrians' and 'Liburni' as synonyms, D. DZINO 2014b: 53. Šašel Kos regards this as a mix-up of data he drew upon for the history of the Roman conquest of Illyria and, thus, regards Florus as an unreliable source; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 187)

<sup>37</sup> M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 183; D. DZINO 2017: 68-72.

<sup>38</sup> A. KURILIĆ 2012: 176.

<sup>39</sup> Livy, 10.2.4; App. *Ill.*, 3; 16. *Bell. Civ.*, 2.39.

<sup>40</sup> App. *Ill.*, 3.

Na temelju pisanih izvora i epigrafskih podataka iz rimskog perioda smatra se da je središte liburnskog matičnog područja bilo u sjevernoj Dalmaciji (prostor Ravnih kotara), pri čemu se ono dalje širilo priobaljem duž Podvelebitskog kanala prema Kvarnerskom zaljevu i uključivalo sve obližnje otoke. No, slika koja se dobiva iz pisanih izvora nejasna je i često kontradiktorna, osobito za predrimski period. Hekatej tako opisuje Liburne kao narod koji živi na unutrašnjem dijelu Jadranskog zaljeva,<sup>43</sup> što bi ukazivalo na krajnji sjeveroistočni dio jadranske obale. Pseudo Skilak navodi nekoliko liburnskih gradova: *Lias, Idassa, Attienites, Dyyrta, Lopsica, Ortopla i Vegium*, koje G. Shipley, u svojoj nedavnoj reviziji i prijevodu izvora (prvi puta na engleskom jeziku), restituira kao *Arsias, Dassatika, Senites, Apsyrta, Loupsoi, Ortopeletai i Heginoi*.<sup>44</sup> Ako je Shipleyjeva interpretacija točna i ti se liburnski “gradovi” mogu povezati s navedenim modernim lokacijama, oni se svi nalaze unutar Kvarnerskog zaljeva. Suić je ponudio poprilično drugaćiju rekonstrukciju Pseudo Skilakova opisa liburnskih gradova. Najvažnije za ovu raspravu je da je on smatrao, unutar šire analize teksta, da je antički autor znao iznimno malo o sjevernom Jadranu i da je opis liburnskih gradova puno kasniji dodatak.<sup>45</sup>

Nekoliko izvora navodi da su Liburni u predrimskom periodu držali brojne teritorije duž istočnog Jadranu, pa čak i na talijanskoj obali.<sup>46</sup> Strabon bilježi da su Liburni zauzeli Korkiru prije nego što su je kolonizirali Korinčani 733. g. pr. Krista.<sup>47</sup> Apijan piše da su Liburni zauzeli Epidamno/Dirahij (današnji Drač u Albaniji) prije nego što su ih istjerali Korkirani 627. g. pr. Krista.<sup>48</sup> U fragmentu Teopompa iz Hija, pisca iz 4. st. pr. Kr., koji je sačuvan preko Stjepana Bizantinca, Ladesta (današnji otok Lastovo u središnjoj Dalmaciji) opisuje se kao liburnski otok.<sup>49</sup> Skimno iz Hija navodi da

ferences to a Liburnian cloak, dating as early as the sixth century BC, and later in the Roman period,<sup>41</sup> possibly indicating that this item was a popular export to Greek and Roman cities.<sup>42</sup>

Based on literary sources and epigraphic data from the Roman period, the Liburnian homeland is defined in scholarship as having its centre in northern Dalmatia (the Ravnici Kotari region) and stretching up towards the Kvarner Gulf along the Croatian littoral below the Velebit mountain range, including all adjacent islands. The picture that is perceived from the written sources is, however, unclear and often contradictory, particularly with relation to the pre-Roman period. Hecataeus simply refers to the Liburni as a people next to the most interior part of the Adriatic Gulf,<sup>43</sup> suggesting the far north-eastern Adriatic coast. Pseudo-Scylax lists several Liburnian cities; *Lias, Idassa, Attienites, Dyyrta, Lopsica, Ortopla and Vegium*, which G. Shipley has restored as *Arsias, Dassatika, Senites, Apsyrta, Loupsoi, Ortopeletai*, and *Heginoi* in his recent revision and translation of the text (for the first time into English).<sup>44</sup> If Shipley’s interpretation of these Liburnian ‘cities’ corresponding to modern day sites is correct, they all lay within the Kvarner Gulf region. Suić argued for a much different reconstruction of Pseudo-Scylax’s description of the Liburnian cities. Most importantly for this discussion, through a critique of the text more broadly, he argued that the original author had little knowledge of the Upper Adriatic, and that the description of Liburnian cities was a much later addition.<sup>45</sup>

Several sources claim the Liburni occupied various regions throughout the Eastern Adriatic and even the Italian peninsula in the pre-Roman period.<sup>46</sup> Strabo records that Liburni occupied Corcyra prior to its colonization by Corinthians in 733 BCE.<sup>47</sup> Appian states that Liburni occupied Epidamnus/Dyrrachium (modern day Durrës, Albania),

<sup>43</sup> Hecat. *FGrHist* 1 F 93, Steph. Byz. *Ethnica*, s.v. Λιβύρποι.

<sup>44</sup> Ps.-Scylax, 21; G. SHIPLEY 2011: 105.

<sup>45</sup> M. SUIĆ 1955: 165.

<sup>46</sup> Za opsežnu raspravu o problemima koji se vezuju uz ove izvore v. S. ČAČE 2002; D. DZINO 2014b: 52–55.

<sup>47</sup> Strabo *Geog.* 6.2.4.

<sup>48</sup> App. *Bell. Civ.*, 2.39.

<sup>49</sup> Theopomp. *FGrHist* 115 F 131, Steph. Byz. *Ethnica*, s.v. Λάδεστα ή Λάδεστον.

<sup>41</sup> Hecat. *FGrHist* 1 F 93, Steph. Byz. *Ethnica*, s.v. Λιβύρποι; Mart. *Epigr.*, 14.139. See also Pliny *NH*. 8.191.

<sup>42</sup> S. ČAČE 2006: 67.

<sup>43</sup> Hecat. *FGrHist* 1 F 93, Steph. Byz. *Ethnica*, s.v. Λιβύρποι.

<sup>44</sup> Ps.-Scylax, 21; G. SHIPLEY 2011: 105.

<sup>45</sup> M. SUIĆ 1955: 165.

<sup>46</sup> For thorough discussions of issues surrounding these sources, see S. ČAČE 2002; D. DZINO 2014b: 52–55.

<sup>47</sup> Str., 6.2.4.

je Faros bio liburnski otok.<sup>50</sup> Apolonije Rođanin spominje tri liburnska otoka, među kojima su *Issa*, *Dysceladus* i *Pityeia*.<sup>51</sup> *Issa* (današnji Vis) smještena je u središnjoj Dalmaciji, moguće je da se *Dysceladus* može povezati s *Celadussae* (Kornatski otoci)<sup>52</sup> ili možda s Bračem (*Brattia*),<sup>53</sup> a *Pityeia* s Farosom (Hvar),<sup>54</sup> što su sve otoci središnje Dalmacije.<sup>55</sup> Pomponije Mela smješta granicu između Liburna i Pirejaca na rijeku Nar (Neretva).<sup>56</sup> Plinije nabrala nekoliko naroda, poput Mentora, Himana, Enheleja, Buna i Peuceta, koji su, prije nego što su postali dio "Ilirika", smatrani "Liburnima".<sup>57</sup> Osim toga, on smješta Liburne i na dio priobalja Picenuma, odnosno u središnji dio istočne Italije, i tu uključuje Truentum, koji je u njegovo vrijeme bio još jedini preostatak Liburna u Italiji.<sup>58</sup>

Prema Strabonu, kad je Arhija, osnivač Sirakuze, oko 733. g. pr. Kr. plovio prema Siciliji, na otoku koji će poslije biti poznat kao Korkira (Krf) ostavio je Heraklida Hersikrata, zajedno s još nekim pojedincima iz njegova pohoda, kako bi ga oni kolonizirali. Strabon navodi da je Hersikrat protjerao Liburne koji su u to vrijeme držali otok.<sup>59</sup> Iako bi ovaj navod u ovom periodu ukazivao na liburnsku prisutnost daleko južnije od njihova matičnog područja, to je samo jedna priča koja se vezuje uz osnivanje Korkire. Plutarh pak navodi da je Hersikrat izbacio eubejske Eretrijce iz Korkire, a ne

<sup>50</sup> Skymn. *FGrHist* 2047 F 2 Steph. Byz. s.v. Πάρος; prema Čači, moguće je da je Skymno podatke preuzeo iz Teopompa te bi se time oni referirali na ranije razdoblje, S. ČAČE 2002: 92; usp. M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2015: 12.

<sup>51</sup> Apoll. *Arg.*, 4.562-66; Čače smatra da je Apolonije, jer je opisivao mitski period Argonauta, pripisao srednjodalmatinske otiske Liburnima, time se referirajući na starija vremena, S. ČAČE 2002: 92.

<sup>52</sup> R. KATIČIĆ 1995: 191.

<sup>53</sup> S. ČAČE 2002: 92.

<sup>54</sup> B. KIRIGIN 2006: 28.

<sup>55</sup> M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 185.

<sup>56</sup> Pomp. Mel., 2.57.

<sup>57</sup> Plin. *NH*, 3.139; pišući u 6. st., Hekatej je naveo da su Mentori susjadi Liburna, Hecat. *FGrHist* 1 F 94 Steph. Byz. s. v. Μέντοπες. Smatra se da su Enheleji živjeli na puno južnijem teritoriju. Pseudo-Skilak ih smješta negdje oko Risanskog zaljeva, Ps.-Scylax, 25, Strabon ih smješta u Damastion, u blizini Apolonije, Strabo., 7.7.8, v. G. SHIPLEY 2011: 109, J. WILKES 1992: 98-99; Čače Bune smješta u središnju Dalmaciju, S. ČAČE 2002: 92.

<sup>58</sup> Plin. *NH*, 3.110, 112. Za snažne veze Picenuma i liburnskog teritorija još od ranog željeznog doba, ustanovljene na temelju materijalne kulture, v. Š. BATOVIC 1976; Š. BATOVIC 2005: 18 i d.; M. SUIĆ 1953; M. BLEČIĆ 2007.

<sup>59</sup> Str., 6.2.4.

before being expelled by the Corcyreans in 627 BCE.<sup>48</sup> A fragment of Theopompus of Chios, a fourth century BCE author, preserved in Stephanus of Byzantium, describes Ladesta (the modern day island of Lastovo, in Central Dalmatia), as a Liburnian island.<sup>49</sup> Skymnos of Chios states that Pharos was a Liburnian island.<sup>50</sup> Apollonius of Rhodes mentions three Liburnian islands, including Issa, Dysceladus, and Pityeia.<sup>51</sup> Issa (modern day Vis) is certainly in central Dalmatia, and it is possible that Dysceladus correlates to Celadussae (the Kornati islands),<sup>52</sup> or perhaps Brač (Brattia),<sup>53</sup> and Pityeia to Pharos (Hvar),<sup>54</sup> all islands in central Dalmatia.<sup>55</sup> Pomponius Mela has the river Nar (the Neretva) as the border between the Liburni and the Piraeans.<sup>56</sup> Pliny mentions that several peoples, the Mentores, Hymani, Encheleae, the Buni, and Peucetiae, formerly were all considered 'Liburni', though now they all were part of 'Illyricum'.<sup>57</sup> He also has the Liburni inhabiting parts of coastal Picenum, in central-eastern Italy, including Truentum, which in his day was the only remnant of the Liburni in Italy.<sup>58</sup>

Strabo records that when Archias, the founder of Syracuse, was sailing to Sicily he left Chersicrates, a Heracleidaean, and some others from his expedition on the island that came to be known as Cor-

<sup>48</sup> App. *Bell. Civ.*, 2.39.

<sup>49</sup> Theopomp. *FGrHist* 115 F 131, Steph. Byz. *Ethnica*, s.v. Λάδεστα ἢ Λάδεστον.

<sup>50</sup> Skymn. *FGrHist* 2047 F 2 Steph. Byz. s.v. Πάρος; Čače argues that it is possible Skymnos' data was transmitted from Theopompus' work, and thus relates to an earlier period, S. ČAČE 2002: 92; see also, M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2015: 12.

<sup>51</sup> Apoll. *Arg.*, 4.562-66; Čače suggests it was because Apollonius was describing the mythical age of the Argonauts that he designated the central Dalmatian islands as Liburnian, harking back to more ancient times, S. ČAČE 2002: 92.

<sup>52</sup> R. KATIČIĆ 1995: 191.

<sup>53</sup> S. ČAČE 2002: 92.

<sup>54</sup> B. KIRIGIN 2006: 28.

<sup>55</sup> M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 185.

<sup>56</sup> Pomp. Mel., 2.57.

<sup>57</sup> Pliny *NH*, 3.139; Hecataeus, writing in the sixth century, refers to the *Mentores* as neighbors of the Liburni, Hecat. *FGrHist* 1 F 94 Steph. Byz. s. v. Μέντοπες. The Encheleae are thought to have inhabited an area much further south. Pseudo-Skilax places them around the Gulf of Rhizon, Ps.-Scylax, 25, Strabo puts them in Damastion, near Apollonia, Strabo., 7.7.8, see G. SHIPLEY 2011: 109, J. WILKES 1992: 98-99; Čače places the Buni in Central Dalmatia, S. ČAČE 2002: 92.

<sup>58</sup> Pliny *NH*, 3.110, 112. On the strong links between Picenum and Liburnian regions from at least the Early Iron Age, as evidenced through material culture, see Š. BATOVIC 1976; Š. BATOVIC 2005: 18ff; M. SUIĆ 1953; M. BLEČIĆ 2007.

Liburne.<sup>60</sup> Eubejska prisutnost na Korkiri čini se vjerojatnjom od one liburnske. Naime, Eubejci su bili među prvim Grcima koji su otplovili iz Egeje u potrazi za adekvatnim teritorijem za kolonizaciju. Pozicija Krfa uz jonsku obalu čini ga idealnom polaznom točkom za plov prema Italiji i Siciliji, pa stoga nije teško zamisliti doseljavanje Eubejaca u kasnom 8. st. pr. Krista.<sup>61</sup> Komentator Apolonija Rođanina napominje da je Timej izvijestio kako je Korkira bila naseljena Kolhiđanima prije dolaska Hersikrata, ali Liburne uopće ne spominje.<sup>62</sup> Ipak, moguće je i da su različite grupe naselile različite dijelove otoka.<sup>63</sup>

Osim toga, Apijan smješta Liburne na južni Jadranski tijekom ranog željeznog doba, i to u kontekstu osnivanja Dirahija/Epidamna oko 625. g. pr. Kr., pri čemu navodi da su oni iz grada istisnuli ilirsko pleme Taulante (koji su pak prije toga izbacili Brige). On nadalje navodi da su Korkirani, koji su vladali morem u to vrijeme, istjerali Liburne iz Dirahija prije nego što su poslali koloniste u grad.<sup>64</sup> Sudjelovanje Liburna u ovim događajima pokušalo se povezati s kasnijim periodom, moguće s događajima koji su prethodili Prvom ilirskom ratu 229. g. pr. Kr., kada je ilirska kraljica Teuta pokušala osvojiti Dirahij.<sup>65</sup> Čače je predložio mogućnost da su Liburni uključeni u priču oko osnivanja Dirahija kako bi se naglasilo pravo Korkirana da zauzmu grad. Naime, podatak da su Korkirani spasili grad od Liburna prije nego što su naselili svoje koloniste u gradu osnažuje njihovo pravo da traže vlast nad gradom. Slično se implicira mitom da je Heraklo, koji se štovao u Korkiri, imao važnu ulogu u osnivanju grada.<sup>66</sup>

Oba mita koja se ovdje prenose, o osnivanju Korkire i Epidamna/Dirahija, imaju jasan korkirski karakter. Liburni su prikazani kao barbarski stranci, suštinski neprijatelji Korkirana. Čače sma-

cyra (Corfu), to colonise it in ca. 733 BCE. Strabo says that Cheriscrates ejected the Liburni, who at the time held possession of the island.<sup>59</sup> While this appears to indicate a Liburnian presence far south from their homeland during this early period, it is only one tradition relating to the foundation of Corcyra. Plutarch states that Cheriscrates expelled Eretrian Euboeans from Corcyra, not Liburni.<sup>60</sup> Finding Euboeans in Corcyra seems much more likely than Liburni. The Euboeans were among the first of the Greeks to sail from the Aegean in search of suitable places to colonize. Corfu's position along the Ionian coast makes it an ideal staging point from which to sail onward to Italy and Sicily, and thus it is not hard to imagine it being settled by Euboeans in the late eighth century BCE.<sup>61</sup> The commentator on Apollonius of Rhodes mentions that Timaeus reports that Corcyra was inhabited by Colchis prior to Cheriscrates' arrival, and there is no mention of Liburni in this tradition.<sup>62</sup> However, it is entirely possible that multiple groups were settled on different parts of the island.<sup>63</sup>

The Liburni are also placed in the southern Adriatic during the Early Iron Age by Appian, who, when discussing the founding of Dyrrachium/Epidamnus around 625 BCE, recounts how they supplanted the Taulantii (who had themselves supplanted the Briges), an Illyrian tribe, from the town. He goes on to say that the Corcyreans, who ruled the sea at the time, drove the Liburni out of Dyrrachium, before joining their own colonists to the town.<sup>64</sup> The involvement of the Liburni in these events has been suggested as relating to a much later date, possibly to the events immediately preceding the First Illyrian War of 229 BC, when the Illyrian queen Teuta attempted to occupy Dyrrachium.<sup>65</sup> Čače suggests the possibility that the Liburni were inserted into the tradition of the

<sup>60</sup> Plut. *Quaes. Graec.*, 11.

<sup>61</sup> S. ČAČE 2002: 85.

<sup>62</sup> Tim. *FGrHist* 566 F 80 = Schol. Apoll. Rhod., 4.1216.

<sup>63</sup> M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2015: 7; I. MALKIN 1998: 77–78. Teško je moguće da je to bilo naselje s miješanim stanovništvom Liburna i Grka iz Eretrije, N. G. L. HAMMOND 1982: 269.

<sup>64</sup> App. *Bell. Civ.*, 2.39; v. M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 182–184 za Apijanovu motivaciju i izvore za ovaj odlomak.

<sup>65</sup> S. ČAČE 2002: 87. Flor, koji koristi Ilire i Liburne kao sinonime, navodi da su Liburni u jednom razdoblju bili pod vlašću kraljice Teutane, Flor. 1.21.

<sup>66</sup> App. *Bell. Civ.*, 2.39; S. ČAČE 2002: 87.

<sup>59</sup> Str. 6.2.4.

<sup>60</sup> Plut. *Quaes. Graec.*, 11.

<sup>61</sup> S. ČAČE 2002: 85.

<sup>62</sup> Tim. *FGrHist* 566 F 80 = Schol. Apoll. Rhod., 4.1216.

<sup>63</sup> M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2015: 7; I. MALKIN 1998: 77–78. It is unlikely, however, that this was a mixed settlement of Liburni and Greeks from Eretria, N. G. L. HAMMOND 1982: 269.

<sup>64</sup> App. *Bell. Civ.*, 2.39; see M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 182–184 for Appian's motivation and sources for this passage.

<sup>65</sup> S. ČAČE 2002: 87. Florus, who describes ‘Illyrians’ and ‘Liburni’ as synonymous, says the Liburni were once under the rule of a queen Teutana, Flor. 1.21.

tra da su priče o liburnskoj prisutnosti u Korkiri i Epidamnu/Dirahiju anakronistički umetnute. Antiliburnski sentiment pojavio se nakon sukoba između domorodačkih zajednica i Korkirana koji su se tijekom 6. i 5. st. pr. Kr. širili prema sjevernom Jadranu. Liburni su u tom periodu bili umetnuti u korkirske narative kao sinonimi ne-Grka, neprijateljskih pomoraca koji su naseljavali istočni Jadran.<sup>67</sup> Ovo mišljenje nije prihvatile Šašel Kos, koja smatra da je teško vjerojatno da su Korkirani priču o osnutku objasnili kroz kasnije događaje i time uključili Liburne u narativ. Ona smatra da priča o liburnskoj dominaciji nad Korkirom i Epidamnom/Dirahijem govori u prilog njihovoj dominaciji nad Jadranom još u 8. st. pr. Krista.<sup>68</sup>

Ovaj poprilično zbumujući prikaz geografskih i etnografskih granica Liburna doveo je do toga da se u znanstvenim raspravama, još od 17. st.,<sup>69</sup> ustalilo mišljenje da su Liburni počeli dominirati Jadranom već u 9. st. pr. Krista.<sup>70</sup> Sukladno tomu, pojam "liburnske talasokracije" postao je uobičajen u literaturi,<sup>71</sup> iako postoji niz problema vezanih uz njega. Izvori o liburnskoj dominaciji na Jadranu poprilično su ograničeni,<sup>72</sup> u većoj mjeri nepovezani te nude nekonzistentan prikaz Liburna i njihove teritorijalne rasprostranjenosti.<sup>73</sup> Već je prije navedeno da je Čače razmatrao mogućnost da su Liburni anakronistički umetnuti u priču o osnivanju Korikire i Epidamna/Dirahija.<sup>74</sup> To je dovelo u pitanje cijelu ideju o "Liburnskoj talasokraciji". Nastavno na to, Dzino je predložio da je ime "Liburna" imalo puno šire značenje prije 4. st. pr. Krista.<sup>75</sup> On smatra da je

<sup>67</sup> S. ČAČE 2002: 92–7.

<sup>68</sup> M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2015: 10, 12; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 182–185; usp. Š. BATOVIC 2005: 5, 14–15; N. G. L. HAMMOND 1967: 414–26; N. G. L. HAMMOND 1972: 413.

<sup>69</sup> Za bibliografiju v. D. DZINO 2014b: 52.

<sup>70</sup> N. G. L. HAMMOND 1972: 422–424; N. G. L. HAMMOND 1982: 266–267; Š. BATOVIC 2005: 16–17; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2015: 9–12.

<sup>71</sup> V. M. SUIĆ 1953; N. G. L. HAMMOND 1967: 414–426; J. WILKES 1969: 4; A. STIPČEVIĆ 1989: 31–32; R. KATIČIĆ 1995; M. ZANINOVIC 1996: 292–301, 322–324; I. MALKIN 1998: 77–78; S. ČAČE 2002; P. CABANES 2006: 163–164; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2015: 6–13.

<sup>72</sup> P. CABANES 2006: 163.

<sup>73</sup> Prema D. DZINO 2014b: 52–55.

<sup>74</sup> S. ČAČE 2002: 96–7.

<sup>75</sup> Dzino smatra da arheološki nalazi s liburnskog teritorija iz ranog željeznog doba (oko 8. – 6. st. pr. Kr.) nisu u skladu s društвom ili pojedinačnim zajednicama koje su dostigle kompleksnu društveno-političku razinu organizacije i centralizacije koja je potrebna za vojnu i političku dominaciju tako velikog prostora kao

founding of Dyrrachium in order to emphasize the right of the Corcyreans to occupy the town. The fact that the Corcyreans rescued the town from the Liburni, before mingling their own colonists into the town, adds strength to their claim of a right to possess the town. A similar sentiment is implied by the fact that Heracles, who was worshipped in Corcyra, played an important role in the foundation myth.<sup>66</sup>

Both myths recounted above, about the founding of Corcyra, and Epidamnus/Dyrrachium, have a clear Corcyrean character. The Liburni are portrayed as barbarian outsiders, and the quintessential enemies of the Corcyreans. Čače argues that the stories of Liburnian involvement in Corcyra and Epidamnus/Dyrrachium were inserted anachronistically. The anti-Liburnian sentiment came out of altercations between the indigenous communities and the Corcyreans during the latter's penetration into the northern Adriatic during the sixth and fifth centuries BCE. The Liburni were then inserted into Corcyrean narratives as synonymous with non-Greek, enemy sailors inhabiting the Eastern Adriatic.<sup>67</sup> This argument is not accepted by Šašel Kos, who argues that it would be unlikely that the Corcyreans would have explained their foundation story in terms of later events and inserted the Liburni into the narrative later. For her, the accounts of Liburnian domination of Corcyra and Epidamnus/Dyrrachium testify to their supremacy in the Adriatic as early as the 8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>68</sup>

This rather confusing account of the geographic and ethnographic limitations of the Liburni has given rise to a tradition, developed in modern scholarship as early as the 17<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>69</sup> which assumes the Liburni began to dominate the Adriatic Sea from the 9<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>70</sup> The notion of a 'Liburnian thalassocracy' thus developed in literature,<sup>71</sup> however, there are several issues with

<sup>66</sup> App. *Bell. Civ.*, 2.39; S. ČAČE 2002: 87.

<sup>67</sup> S. ČAČE 2002: 92–7.

<sup>68</sup> M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2015: 10, 12; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 182–185; see also, Š. BATOVIC 2005: 5, 14–15; N. G. L. HAMMOND 1967: 414–26; N. G. L. HAMMOND 1972: 413.

<sup>69</sup> For bibliography, see D. DZINO 2014b: 52

<sup>70</sup> N. G. L. HAMMOND 1972: 422–424; N. G. L. HAMMOND 1982: 266–267; Š. BATOVIC 2005: 16–17; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2015: 9–12.

<sup>71</sup> See M. SUIĆ 1953; N. G. L. HAMMOND 1967: 414–426; J. WILKES 1969: 4; A. STIPČEVIĆ 1989: 31–32; R. KATIČIĆ

to ime tada bilo povezano sa širom grupom autohtonih zajednica na sjevernom i središnjem Jadranu, odnosno s dijelovima jadranske kulturne “koine” ranog željeznog doba, da bi njega s vremenom, do 4. st. pr. Kr., u određenim područjima zamijenilo ime “Ilira”.<sup>76</sup> Termin “Liburni” s vremenom se počeo koristiti samo za stanovnike Liburnije povjesnog razdoblja – od rijeke Raše do rijeke Krke, uključujući Ravne kotare i obližnje otoke. To bi objasnilo zašto se Liburni pojavljuju na različitim mjestima i tako daleko od svog matičnog područja, zašto Flor priča o “Ilirima” i “Liburnima” kao da su istoznačnice,<sup>77</sup> a Plinije među Liburne ubraja (između ostalog) i Enheleje,<sup>78</sup> jedno od najstarijih poznatih ilirskih plemena s područja oko Ohridskog jezera, odnosno današnje granične regije sjeverozapadne Makedonije i istočne Albanije.<sup>79</sup>

Svakako se čini da su srednjodalmatinski Grci u 4. st. pr. Kr. smatrali lokalnu populaciju na kopnu “Ilirima”. Diodor Sikulski spominje sukob iz 385./384. g. pr. Kr. između Parana, kolonista Farosa, i autohtonih stanovnika, za koje navodi i da su im pomogli “Iliri” s kopna.<sup>80</sup> Počasni javni natpis s otoka Hvara bilježi pobjedu Farana nad Iadasinoima i njihovim saveznicima.<sup>81</sup> Iako je Rendić-Miočević smatrao da bi to mogli biti Iadastini, skupine iz okolice Salone, koji su poznati po natpisu iz Solina,<sup>82</sup> većina znanstvenika složna je u njihovoj identifikaciji sa stanovnicima Jadera.<sup>83</sup> Paleografska analiza slova datira ovaj natpis u 4. st. pr. Kr., iako je još uvijek nejasno povezuje li se on s događajima iz 384. g. pr. Kr. ili s nekim kasnijim

this. The sources on Liburnian domination in the Adriatic are very limited,<sup>72</sup> largely unconnected, and provide an inconsistent portrayal of the Liburni and their territorial dispersion.<sup>73</sup> As noted above, Čače has suggested that the Liburni were anachronistically inserted into traditions on the founding of Corcyra and Epidamnus/Dyrrachium.<sup>74</sup> This brought into question the whole notion of a ‘Liburnian thalassocracy’. Recently, Dzino has built upon this, arguing that the label ‘Liburni’ had a much broader meaning prior to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>75</sup> He suggests that the term was once attached to a wide group of indigenous communities in the northern and central Adriatic, parts of the Adriatic cultural ‘koine’ in the Early Iron Age, and was eventually, by the 4<sup>th</sup> century, taken over by the label ‘Illyrian’ in certain regions.<sup>76</sup> The term ‘Liburni’ eventually became only used to describe the inhabitants of the Liburnia of the historical period – from the river Raša to the river Krka, including the Ravnici Kotari region and the adjacent islands. This would explain why we hear of Liburni in various places that appear to be far from their homeland, why Florus speaks of ‘Illyrians’ and ‘Liburni’ as if they were synonymous labels,<sup>77</sup> and Pliny’s statement that among the Liburni were once included (among others) the Enchelei,<sup>78</sup> one of the oldest known ‘Illyrian’ groups from the area around Lake Ohrid, in the modern day border region of southwestern Macedonia and eastern Albania.<sup>79</sup>

It certainly appears that the central Dalmatian Greeks in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE perceived the

što je Jadran, D. DZINO 2014b: 52–53. Iako postoje temelji za taj zaključak, zbog nedovoljnih arheoloških istraživanja željeznobodnih gradina sjeverne Dalmacije treba ga uzeti s oprezom.

<sup>76</sup> O korištenju imena “Iliri” u grčkim izvorima v. A. KALJANAC 2009; D. DZINO 2008; D. DZINO 2014b, s bibliografijom.

<sup>77</sup> Flor. *Ep.*, 1.21.

<sup>78</sup> Plin. *NH*. 3.139.

<sup>79</sup> D. DZINO 2014b: 53–54.

<sup>80</sup> Diod. Sic. 15.14.1–2; za raspravu v. J. STYLIANOU 1998: 193–196; B. KIRIGIN 2006: 64–67; P. CABANES 2006: 176–178; S. ČAČE 2006: 70; S. ČAČE 2013a: 20–24.

<sup>81</sup> *CIG*, II, 1837c; J. BRUNŠMID 1898: 16–27; D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1950.

<sup>82</sup> D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1950.

<sup>83</sup> Prema Suićevoj analizi (1975) M. SUIĆ 1975. Usp. B. KIRIGIN 2006: 67; S. ČAČE 2013a: 20–21. Contra: N. Cambi, N. CAMBI 2012, koji je nedavno branio mišljenje Rendića-Miočevića.

1995; M. ZANINOVIC 1996: 292–301, 322–324; I. MALKIN 1998: 77–78; S. ČAČE 2002; P. CABANES 2006: 163–164; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2015: 6–13.

<sup>72</sup> P. CABANES 2006: 163.

<sup>73</sup> As argued by D. DZINO 2014b: 52–55.

<sup>74</sup> S. ČAČE 2002: 96–7.

<sup>75</sup> Dzino also argues that the archaeological evidence from Liburnian territory in Early Iron Age (ca. 8<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> century BCE) is not consistent with a society, or any individual communities, that had a level of socio-political complexity and centralization required for military and political domination of such a wide area of the Adriatic, D. DZINO 2014b: 52–53. While there are certainly grounds for this argument, due to insufficient archaeological excavations and research at Iron Age hillforts in northern Dalmatia, it should be taken with caution.

<sup>76</sup> On the use of the term ‘Illyrians’ in Greek literary discourse, see A. KALJANAC 2009; D. DZINO 2008; D. DZINO 2014b, with bibliography.

<sup>77</sup> Flor. *Ep.*, 1.21.

<sup>78</sup> Pliny. *NH*. 3.139.

<sup>79</sup> D. DZINO 2014b: 53–54.

sukobom.<sup>84</sup> Još jedan natpis iz 4. st. pr. Kr., pronađen na otoku Visu (antička *Issa*), spominje heroja Kalliasa koji je poginuo u bitci protiv "Ilira".<sup>85</sup> Nije sigurno je li ijedan od sukoba spomenutih kod Diodora povezan s ova dva natpisa, ali je indikativno da ni jedan ne navodi "Liburne". Čače smatra da natpis s Hvara koji spominje Jadasine, a ne neki širi etnonim, ukazuje na važnost Jadera u regiji tijekom željeznog doba.<sup>86</sup>

Gore navedene rasprave ukazuju na probleme prilikom jasnog i sigurnog definiranja geografskih granica i etnografskih karakteristika Liburna u predrimskom periodu. Ako se prihvati da je termin "Liburni" imao prije 4. st. pr. Kr. puno šire značenje,<sup>87</sup> o čemu je već prije raspravljano, to dovodi u pitanje kronologiju i mehanizme kojima je povjesna "Liburnija" nastala. Ovo ni u kojem pogledu ne znači da populacija koja je prebivala na prostoru od Ravnih kotara sve do Kvarnerskog zaljeva nije imala osjećaj pripadanja etničkoj grupi koja se zvala "Liburni", ali upućuje na to da treba uzeti u razmatranje kompleksniji i postupniji proces stvaranja identiteta u Liburniji. Stvaranje grupnog identiteta uvijek je komunikativan i dugotrajan proces i kao takav mora se razmatrati u kontekstu društvenih interakcija.<sup>88</sup> Odvija se kontinuirano kroz vrijeme, pri čemu je pripisivanje bilo kojeg stupnja povijesne konstante i kontinuiteta identiteta, bilo individualnog ili kolektivnog, problematično,<sup>89</sup> osobito kada se uzmu u obzir dokazi – subjektivna, jednostrana percepcija barbar-skog "Drugog" u grčko-rimskim izvorima – koji bi mogli, kao što je već navedeno, ukazivati na niz promjena u korištenju termina "Liburni" i "Iliri". Sukladno tomu, preusmjeravanje pristupa identitetu u predrimskoj Liburniji k analizi društvenog i političkog konteksta unutar kojih su se ti identiteti stvarali moglo bi se pokazati puno konstruktivnije

local population on the mainland as 'Illyrians'. Diodorus Siculus mentions a conflict in 385/84 BCE between the Parian colonists on Pharos and the indigenous inhabitants, and says that the latter were aided by 'Illyrians' from the mainland.<sup>80</sup> An honorary public inscription from the island of Hvar records a victory of the Pharians over the 'Iadasinoi' and their allies.<sup>81</sup> While Rendić-Miočević proposed they may have been the Iadastini, the group from the neighbourhood of Salona, known from an inscription from Solin,<sup>82</sup> most scholars agree that these Iadasinoi were the inhabitants of Iader.<sup>83</sup> Paleographic analysis of the lettering dates this inscription to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE, however, it is uncertain whether it relates to the events of 384 BCE or a later conflict.<sup>84</sup> Another 4<sup>th</sup> century inscription, from the island of Vis (ancient Issa), mentions a hero 'Kallias' perishing while in battle against 'Illyrians'.<sup>85</sup> It is far from certain whether any of these conflicts mentioned by Diodorus and in these two inscriptions were directly related to each other, but also interesting that none of the accounts mention 'Liburni'. Čače points out that the inscription from Hvar's mention of the 'Iadasinoi', and not a wider ethnonym, is significant as it highlights the importance of Iader in the region during the Iron Age.<sup>86</sup>

The arguments outlined above highlight the issues with clearly and conclusively defining the geographic limitations and ethnographic characteristics of the Liburni in the pre-Roman period. If it is accepted that the term 'Liburni' had a much broader meaning prior to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE,<sup>87</sup> as

<sup>80</sup> Diod. Sic. 15.14.1-2; for discussion, see J. STYLIANOU 1998: 193-196; B. KIRIGIN 2006: 64-67; P. CABANES 2006: 176-178; S. ČAČE 2006: 70; S. ČAČE 2013a: 20-24.

<sup>81</sup> CIG, II, 1837c; J. BRUNŠMID 1898: 16-27; D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIC 1950.

<sup>82</sup> D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIC 1950.

<sup>83</sup> After the analysis of Suić (1975) M. SUIĆ 1975. Cf. B. KIRIGIN 2006: 67; S. ČAČE 2013a: 20-21. Contra: N. Cambi, N. CAMBI 2012, who recently defended the opinion of Rendić-Miočević.

<sup>84</sup> S. ČAČE 1994: 48-52; B. KIRIGIN 2006: 67; N. CAMBI 2013a: 9-10.

<sup>85</sup> SEG 31.604; 55.651; D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIC 1987: 25-27; J. JELIČIĆ-RADONIĆ 2005: 323-325.

<sup>86</sup> S. ČAČE 2013a: 22-24; v. S. ČAČE 2006: 70 i Map 3.

<sup>87</sup> Ovo ni u kojem pogledu nije općeprihvaćeni zaključak, usp. M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 182-188; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2015: 6-13; Š. BATOVIC 2005: 14 i d.; M. SUIĆ 1981; A. KURILIĆ 2012; R. MATIJAŠIĆ 2009: 30 i d.

<sup>88</sup> J. STRAUB 2002: 67 i d.

<sup>89</sup> P. WAGNER 2002: 50-52.

od traženja jasno određenih etnika.<sup>90</sup>

Plinije je prvi jasno definirao granice povijesnog teritorija Liburna koji je prema njemu obuhvaćao prostor između rijeka Arsije (Raša u današnjoj Istri u Hrvatskoj) i Titija (Krka u Šibensko-kninskoj županiji),<sup>91</sup> a koji je i općeprihvaćen kao njihov matični teritorij u rimskom periodu. Plinije je pisao u 1. st. po Kr., ali Čače smatra da je moguće da je za podatke o Liburnima koristio izvore iz 30. – 15. g. pr. Krista.<sup>92</sup> Za regije koje Plinije navodi prema etnicima, on smatra da bi zapravo prije predstavljale administrativne okruge nego etničke zajednice.<sup>93</sup> Čače kao potvrdu toga uzima i natpis iz Verone koji spominje nepoznatog pojedinca koji je tijekom Batonskog ustanka imao vojnu i civilnu vlast nad Japodijom i Liburnijom.<sup>94</sup> Uspostava tih upravnih jedinica u kontekstu provincije Ilirik olakšala je upravljanje provincijom, a u ekstremnim situacijama poput Ustanka Batona (*Bellum Batonianum*) one su mogle poslužiti i kao zaštita Italije.<sup>95</sup> Ipak, postavlja se pitanje je li Plinijev opis točan za predrimski period, a moguće je i da je njegov opis lokacije Liburnije odraz administrativne reorganizacije i podjele predrimskih zajednica i entiteta.<sup>96</sup> Integracija regija u carski politički i administrativni sustav i postupni prijelaz iz carskog graničnog teritorija u carsku periferiju<sup>97</sup> mogao je stvoriti nove carske “artefakte” – nove mentalne mape, nove provincije i nove administrativne prostore.<sup>98</sup>

Pojedine zajednice koje su ostale vjerne Rimu, osobito Cezaru i Augustu tijekom građanskih rata, vjerojatno su ostale cjelovite i tijekom rim-

discussed above, this calls into question the chronology and mechanisms by which the historical ‘Liburnia’ came into existence. This argument by no means implies that the people living from the Ravnici Kotari to Kvarner Gulf region did not have a self-conscious sense of belonging to an ethnic group called the ‘Liburni’, but does suggest a more complex and gradual process of identity-construction in Liburnia needs consideration. The construction of group identity is always a communicative and discursive process, and thus must be understood in terms of social interactions.<sup>88</sup> It takes place constantly through time, and assuming any degree of historical constancy and continuity of selfhood, whether individual or collective, is problematic,<sup>89</sup> particularly here with the nature of the evidence – subjective, one-sided perceptions of the barbarian “Other” found in Greco-Roman sources – which, as argued above, might reflect a number of changes in the use of the terms ‘Liburni’ and ‘Illyrians’. Moving forward, a reformulation of approaches to identity in pre-Roman Liburnia towards analysis of the social and political context within which these identities were formed may prove more constructive than searching for discrete ethnicities.<sup>90</sup>

Pliny is the first to delineate the historical Liburnian region when he states that the Liburni dwelt between the Arsia (the Raša, in modern day Croatian Istria) and Titius (the Krka, in Šibenik-Knin county) rivers,<sup>91</sup> the area that is largely accepted as their homeland in the Roman period. Pliny was writing in the 1st century CE, and Čače argues that it is possible he used a source for this section on the Liburni dated to around 30-15 BCE.<sup>92</sup> He goes on to suggest that the regions that Pliny names after ethnicities should rather be considered administrative “counties” (“okruzi”), rather than “ethnic” units.<sup>93</sup> Čače cites as evidence for this division an inscription from Verona that mentions

<sup>90</sup> D. DZINO 2008: 47–48.

<sup>91</sup> Plin. *NH*, 3.139; također v. Flor. *Epit.*, 1.21.

<sup>92</sup> S. ČAČE 2013a: 44. Čače smatra da je Plinije koristio Varona za njegov geografski opis Ilirika/Dalmacije, S. ČAČE 1993a: 20; S. ČAČE 2006: 72–73. O Plinijevim izvorima v. S. ČAČE 2010; T. H. WATKINS 1989: 129–31; D. DZINO 2010b: 10–11; J. DESANGES 2004.

<sup>93</sup> S. ČAČE 2013a: 44–45; usp. S. ČAČE 2007: 75–76.

<sup>94</sup> *CIL* 5, 3346.

<sup>95</sup> S. ČAČE 2013a: 46–47.

<sup>96</sup> Kako Dzino navodi, problematično je pretpostavljati da su Rimske *civitates* navedene u Pliniju (Plin. *NH*, 3.139–144) bile nastavak autohtonih populacija prije osvajanja, osobito kad se uzme u obzir politički i etnografski okvir unutar kojeg je djelo nastalo, D. DZINO 2014a: 221.

<sup>97</sup> U kasnoj Republici Rim se već ponašao kao ekspanzionističko “Carstvo”, E. H. CLINE – M. W. GRAHAM 2011: 199 i d.; N. S. ROSENSTEIN 2012; J. RICHARDSON 2008.

<sup>98</sup> D. DZINO 2014a: 219.

<sup>88</sup> J. STRAUB 2002: 67ff.

<sup>89</sup> P. WAGNER 2002: 50–52.

<sup>90</sup> D. DZINO 2008: 47–48.

<sup>91</sup> Pliny *NH*, 3.139; see also Flor. *Epit.*, 1.21.

<sup>92</sup> S. ČAČE 2013a: 44. Čače argues that Pliny’s source for his geographical description of Illyricum/Dalmatia was probably Varro, S. ČAČE 1993a: 20; S. ČAČE 2006: 72–73. On Pliny’s sources, see also S. ČAČE 2010; T. H. WATKINS 1989: 129–31; D. DZINO 2010b: 10–11; J. DESANGES 2004.

<sup>93</sup> S. ČAČE 2013a: 44–45; see also S. ČAČE 2007: 75–76.

ske uprave.<sup>99</sup> Iz Apijanovih navoda o namjerama konzula Lucija Kornelija Cine (*Lucius Cornelius Cinna*) i Gneja Papirija Karbona (*Cnaeus Papirius Carbo*) da 84. g. pr. Kr. iskrcaju vojsku u Liburniji, koju su onda namjeravali iskoristiti kao bazu za svoju kampanju protiv Sule na istočnom Jadranu,<sup>100</sup> može se zaključiti da nisu htjeli iskrcati vojsku na neprijateljski teritorij.<sup>101</sup> Ipak, Liburni se spominju na obje zaraćene strane tijekom građanskog rata Cezara i Pompeja.<sup>102</sup> Čak je i Oktavijan imao problema s nekim liburnskim zajednicama, pa tako Apijan spominje da su Liburnima oduzeti brodovi zbog njihova piratstva,<sup>103</sup> a Dion navodi njihovo sudjelovanje u nereditima koji su doveli do Oktavijanova pohoda na Ilirik 35. g. pr. Krista.<sup>104</sup> Ipak, reorganizacija ili preoblikovanje predrimskih identiteta nisu nužno uključivali nasilne ili nametljive intervencije (iako ni to nije bilo isključeno), nego su mogli poslužiti kako bi se stvorile nove društveno-političke i administrativne granice iz postojećih grupa, i to tijekom formativnog razdoblja provincije Ilirik. Čače ističe nekoliko primjera društvenih i upravnih promjena koje su se dogodile na prostoru Kvarnerskog zaljeva i Ravnih kotara tijekom ovog razdoblja. Jader je postao kolonija,<sup>105</sup> a niz grada dobio je poseban status i privilegije.<sup>106</sup> Također, nekoliko gradova napušteno je u kasnom predrimskom periodu, poput Gradca blizu Smokvice na jugu Paga,<sup>107</sup> gradine Žeželj u Erveniku, Đurine Gomile u Mokrom Polju i Gradine u blizini Sv. Trojice u Tribnju,<sup>108</sup> dok je *Argyruntum* osnovan na mjestu Starigrada-Paklenice.<sup>109</sup> Ova zbivanja ukazuju na to su se dinamične i intenzivne promjene društveno-političke organizacije u Liburniji odvijale u razdoblju između osnivanja provincije Ilirik i uspostave provincije Dalmacije, a da je stvaranje povjesno poznate „Liburnije“ možda bilo

an unknown person with military and civil authority over Iapodia and Liburnia during the Batonian revolt.<sup>94</sup> The establishment of these governing units in the context of the province of Illyricum facilitated the governing of the province, and in extreme cases such as the *Bellum Batonianum*, could act as bulwarks to protect Italy.<sup>95</sup> It is questionable whether Pliny's description is accurate for the situation in the pre-Roman period, and it is certainly plausible that Pliny's description of the location of Liburnia is reflective of administrative reorganization and compartmentalization of pre-Roman communities and identities.<sup>96</sup> The integration of regions into imperial political and administrative networks, and the gradual shift from imperial frontier to imperial periphery,<sup>97</sup> can create new imperial 'artefacts' – new mental maps, new provinces, and new administrative spaces.<sup>98</sup>

The integrity of individual communities that remained loyal to Rome, particularly to Caesar or Augustus during the civil wars, was probably upheld under Roman rule.<sup>99</sup> We can assume from Appian's information about consuls Lucius Cornelius Cinna and Cnaeus Papirius Carbo planning to land an army in Liburnia in 84 BCE, which they would use as a base for a campaign in the Eastern Adriatic against Sulla,<sup>100</sup> that the Romans were on friendly terms with some Liburnian communities at this point, as they would not want to land an army in hostile territory.<sup>101</sup> However, Liburni are reported as fighting on both sides of the civil wars of Caesar and Pompey.<sup>102</sup> Even Octavian had trouble with some Liburnian communities, as Appian mentions that he deprived the Liburni of the

<sup>94</sup> *CIL V* 3346.

<sup>95</sup> S. ČAČE 2013a: 46-47.

<sup>96</sup> As Dzino notes, assuming that the Roman *civitates* mentioned in Pliny *NH*, (3.139-44), were continuations of pre-conquest indigenous identities is problematic, given the political and ethnographic framework within which he constructed his work, D. DZINO 2014a: 221.

<sup>97</sup> In the Late Republic, Rome was already acting as an expansionist 'Empire', E. H. CLINE and M. W. GRAHAM 2011: 199ff.; N. S. ROSENSTEIN 2012; J. RICHARDSON 2008.

<sup>98</sup> D. DZINO 2014a: 219.

<sup>99</sup> S. ČAČE 2007: 46.

<sup>100</sup> App. *Bell. Civ.* 1.77-78.

<sup>101</sup> D. DZINO 2010b: 73-74; S. ČAČE 2013a: 25.

<sup>102</sup> Caes. *Bell. Alex.* 42.3; Caes. *Bell. Civ.* 3.5, (see below for discussion).

<sup>99</sup> S. ČAČE 2007: 46.

<sup>100</sup> App. *Bell. Civ.* 1.77-78.

<sup>101</sup> D. DZINO 2010b: 73-74; S. ČAČE 2013a: 25.

<sup>102</sup> Caes. *Bell. Alex.* 42.3; Caes. *Bell. Civ.* 3.5, (v. niže za raspravu).

<sup>103</sup> App. *Ill.* 16.

<sup>104</sup> Dio. 49.34.1-2; za raspravu v. A. STARAC 2000: 17-18.

<sup>105</sup> V. J. WILKES 1969: 206 i d.; A. STARAC 2000: 26-27; ČAČE 2006: 74, bilj. 42.

<sup>106</sup> V. J. WILKES 1969: 192-219; A. STARAC 2000: 27-31.

<sup>107</sup> Š. BATOVIC 1973: 105; Š. BATOVIC 1990.

<sup>108</sup> A. TONC – I. RADMAN-LIVAJA – M. DIZDAR 2013.

<sup>109</sup> M. DUBOLNIĆ 2007.

jedno od njih.<sup>110</sup>

Svakako je vrijedan spomena još jedan izvor za etničko podrijetlo Liburna. To je neobičan navod u djelu Gaja Julija Solina (*Caius Iulius Solinus*) u kojem Liburne svrstava pod „azijiske ljudi“.<sup>111</sup> Znanstvena zajednica rijetko je ozbiljno shvaćala tu izjavu, iako je M. Zaninović nedavno raspravljao o tome da su Liburni možda migrirali iz Likije na istočni Jadran tijekom kasnog brončanog doba.<sup>112</sup> Njegovi argumenti primarno su bazirani na paleolinguističkim dokazima i s njima se teško složiti. Toponimski i onomastički dokazi poprilično su nepovezani, a temeljenje argumentacije na sličnosti prema broju liburnskih zajednica je neodrživo. Naime, Zaninović smatra da je liburnsko društvo bilo sastavljeno od 14 *civitates*, a da se slična društvena struktura može pronaći u Likiji, Lidiji, Likaoniji i kod Etruščana. On tvrdi da se te sličnosti mogu objasniti time što je više grupa, među kojima su i Liburni, u postmikenskom dobu migriralo iz Male Azije na Jadran.<sup>113</sup> Ipak, Čače je vrlo uvjerljivo pokazao da ovakva društveno-politička struktura nije postojala u Liburniji.<sup>114</sup> Prema Dzinu, Solinova izjava dio je intertekstualnog procesa sakupljanja i interpretiranja etnografskog znanja, pri čemu su Liburni percipirani kao barbarski „Drugi“. On to povezuje i s pričom o vladanju žena u Liburniji i smatra da je podrijetlo Liburna u Solinovu tekstu smješteno u Malu Aziju kako bi se oni povezali s mitološkom pričom o Amazonkama.<sup>115</sup>

ir ships due to their practicing piracy,<sup>103</sup> and Dio mentions their involvement in the unrest that led to his campaign in Illyricum in 35 BCE.<sup>104</sup> Yet, reorganization, or reimagining, of pre-Roman identities need not necessarily involve violent or intrusive intervention (while in some cases it may well have), but may serve to create new socio-political and administrative boundaries out of existing group identities in the formative period of the province of Illyricum. Čače highlights several examples of social and civic developments occurring in the Kvarner Gulf to Ranni Kotari region in this early provincial period. Iader became a colony,<sup>105</sup> while a number of towns were given special statuses and privileges.<sup>106</sup> Several towns were also deserted in the late pre-Roman period, such as Gradac near Smokvica in the south of the island of Pag,<sup>107</sup> Gradina Žeželj in Ervenik, Đurina Gomila in Mokro Polje, and Gradina near Sv. Trojica in Tribanj,<sup>108</sup> while Argyruntum was founded in Starigrad-Paklenica.<sup>109</sup> These developments indicate that dynamic and intensive changes to the socio-political landscape in Liburnia were occurring in the period between the founding of the province of Illyricum and that of the province of Dalmatia, and the creation of the historically known ‘Liburnia’ was possibly one of them.<sup>110</sup>

One last source for the ethnic background of the Liburni certainly deserves mention. There is a curious line in the work of Caius Iulius Solinus in which he labels the Liburni as an ‘Asiatic people’.<sup>111</sup> Scholarship has rarely taken this statement seriously, however, M. Zaninović has recently argued that the Liburni may have migrated to the eastern Adriatic from Lycia in the Late Bronze Age.<sup>112</sup> His arguments are based primarily on paleolinguistic evidence, and are difficult to agree with. The toponymic and onomastic evidence sits uneasily on its own, and the argument for a similarity in the

<sup>103</sup> App. *Ill.* 16.

<sup>104</sup> Dio. 49.34.1-2; for discussion, see A. STARAC 2000: 17-18.

<sup>105</sup> See J. WILKES 1969: 206ff.; A. STARAC 2000: 26-27; S. ČAČE 2006: 74, n. 42.

<sup>106</sup> See J. WILKES 1969: 192-219; A. STARAC 2000: 27-31.

<sup>107</sup> Š. BATOVIC 1973: 105; Š. BATOVIC 1990.

<sup>108</sup> A. TONC, I. RADMAN-LIVAJA, M. DIZDAR 2013.

<sup>109</sup> M. DUBOLNIĆ 2007.

<sup>110</sup> S. ČAČE 2013a: 45-46.

<sup>111</sup> Sol. *Polybistor*, 2.51.

<sup>112</sup> M. ZANINOVIC 2013; M. ZANINOVIC 2015: 11-57.

<sup>110</sup> S. ČAČE 2013a: 45-46.

<sup>111</sup> Sol. *Polybistor*, 2.51.

<sup>112</sup> M. ZANINOVIC 2013; M. ZANINOVIC 2015: 11-57.

<sup>113</sup> M. ZANINOVIC 2013: 48.

<sup>114</sup> S. ČAČE 1993a: 5 i.d.; S. ČAČE 2013a: 17-20 (v. niže za raspravu).

<sup>115</sup> D. DZINO 2017.

### 3. LIBURNSKE ZAJEDNICE I NASTANAK LIBURNIJE

Postoje određene pretpostavke da su Liburni bili povezani u društveno-političkom smislu, osobito tijekom kasnijih perioda željeznog doba. Neki znanstvenici isticali su da su zajednice Ravnih kotara i Kvarnerskog zaljeva bile povezane u neku formu labave konfederacije ili saveza.<sup>116</sup> Ipak, nema jasnih dokaza, ni u pisanim izvorima ni u arheološkim ostacima, da je taj savez postojao.<sup>117</sup> Čače je smatrao, na temelju arheoloških dokaza, da je Jader bio vodeća zajednica s teritorijem koji je bio daleko veći od samog ranoželjeznodobnog urbanog centra<sup>118</sup> te da natpis koji spominje da su *Iadasinoi* poveli saveznike u rat protiv parskih kolonista na Farosu ukazuje na to da su oni imali neku vrstu hegemonije ili utjecaja nad drugim zajednicama. Kako su druge zajednice u Liburniji bile organizirane u kasnom željeznom dobu i kavka je situacija bila u ranom željeznom dobu puno teže je interpretirati.<sup>119</sup>

N. Cambi smatrao je da nedostatak dedikacija vrhovnoj liburnskoj božici (npr. *Liburnia terra*), u usporedbi sa situacijom kod Histrija gdje je pronađeno nekoliko natpisa posvećenih božici *Histria terra*, upućuje na to da je kod Histrija postojalo snažnije poimanje „nacionalne“ svijesti i identiteta, dok su Liburni razvijali jači kolektivni identitet.<sup>120</sup> Histarsko kraljevstvo, koje čini se da je bilo federacija pojedinačnih zajednica, svakako je postojalo od 3. st. pr. Kr., a moguće već i od 4. st. pr. Kr., i trajalo je sve do rimskog osvajanja.<sup>121</sup> Nema dokaza da je takvo kraljevstvo ili federacija postojalo na liburnskom teritoriju, a Cambi to pripisuje njihovu nižem stupnju etničkog razvoja.<sup>122</sup> Već je prije spomenuto da su se liburnske zajednice borile na različitim stranama tijekom rimskih građanskih ratova, što bi ukazivalo na političku razjedinjenost

numeric organization of Liburnian society is untenable. Zaninović argues that Liburnian society was made up of 14 *civitates*, and that similar social structures are found in Lycia, Lydia, Lycaonia, and among the Etruscans. He claims that these similarities are explained through several groups, including the Liburni, having migrated from Asia Minor to the Adriatic in the post-Mycenaean period.<sup>113</sup> However, Čače has shown convincingly that this socio-political structure did not exist in Liburnia.<sup>114</sup> As Dzino recently argued, Solinus' statement is part of an intertextual process of gathering and interpreting ethnographic knowledge, whereby the Liburni are perceived as the barbarian 'Other'. He links this to the tradition of the rule of women in Liburnia, and argues the origins of the Liburni were placed in Asia Minor in the tradition transmitted by Solinus in order to connect them with the mythological Amazons.<sup>115</sup>

### 3. LIBURNIAN COMMUNITIES AND THE ORIGINS OF LIBURNIA

There has been some speculation over whether, particularly during the latter stages of the Iron Age, the Liburni were linked in a socio-political sense. Some scholars have argued that the communities in the Ravni Kotari and Kvarner Gulf regions were part of a kind of loose confederation or alliance.<sup>116</sup> However, there is no actual proof for this confederation in the written sources, nor any archaeological indicators.<sup>117</sup> Čače argued, based on archaeological evidence, that Iader was a leading polity with a large territory well beyond its urban centre in the Late Iron Age,<sup>118</sup> and the inscription mentioning that the Iadasinoi led their allies against the Parian colonists on Pharos indicates they had some hegemony or influence over other communities. How the other communities in Liburnia

<sup>116</sup> M. SUIĆ 1992: 56, bilj. 5; M. SUIĆ 1981: 108; v. S. ČAČE 1985: 647; Š. BATOVIC 2005: 55; A. STARAC 2000: 18; D. DZINO 2010b: 42, 91–92.

<sup>117</sup> Za reference v. D. DZINO 2010b: 42.

<sup>118</sup> S. ČAČE 2006: 70–71, Map. 3.

<sup>119</sup> Za političku organizaciju Japoda, Histra i Delmata u predrimskom periodu v. S. ČAČE 1979.

<sup>120</sup> N. CAMBI 2013b: 74.

<sup>121</sup> A. STARAC 1999: 7 i d.

<sup>122</sup> N. CAMBI 2013b: 74.

<sup>113</sup> M. ZANINOVIC 2013: 48.

<sup>114</sup> S. ČAČE 1993a: 5ff.; S. ČAČE 2013a: 17–20, (see below for discussion).

<sup>115</sup> D. DZINO 2017.

<sup>116</sup> M. SUIĆ 1992: 56, n. 5; M. SUIĆ 1981: 108; see S. ČAČE 1985: 647; Š. BATOVIC 2005: 55; A. STARAC 2000: 18; D. DZINO 2010b: 42, 91–92.

<sup>117</sup> For references, see D. DZINO 2010b: 42.

<sup>118</sup> S. ČAČE 2006: 70–71, Map. 3.

i heterogenost ovih zajednica u kasnom republikanskom periodu. Cezar spominje da su stanovnici Jadera bili njegovi vjerni pristaše, nenadmašni u svojoj odanosti.<sup>123</sup> Pri tom navodi i zajedničku liburnsku i ahejsku mornaricu u Pompejevoj floti.<sup>124</sup> Čini se da bi ovi izvori ukazivali na to da Liburni nisu bili homogena društveno-politička grupa u predrimskom periodu.<sup>125</sup> Ipak, dok političko zajedništvo može ubrzati ili unaprijediti stvaranje zajedničkog identiteta na osnovi etnika,<sup>126</sup> njihova razjedinjenost ne mora nužno ukazivati na nedostatak etničke jedinstvenosti.

Čače je situaciju u Liburniji prije uspostave rimske vlasti opisao kao kompleksnu, s Jaderom kao najjačim i najutjecajnijim gradom koji ipak nije imao dovoljno moći da naruši interes i razvoj drugih vodećih zajednica.<sup>127</sup> Stoga se postavlja pitanje je li se ujedinjeni liburnski politički entitet (savez, federacija ili labava unija) razvio u periodu prije stvaranja rimske provincije Ilirik i, ako jest, kada se razvio. Apian spominje sukob oko Promone 50. g. pr. Krista. Čini se da su Delmati oduzeli ovaj grad Liburnima, koji su onda tražili Cezarovu pomoć.<sup>128</sup> Čače ističe da Apian ovdje Liburne spominje kao politički entitet. On smatra da je moguće da je sustav rimske dominacije na teritoriju priobalnog Ilirika bio uspostavljen još u vrijeme kampanje Gaja Koskonija protiv Delmata (oko 78. – 76. g. pr. Kr.)<sup>129</sup> i da je otprilike tada Liburnija “uspostavljena” kao savez zajednica sjeverne Dalmacije, a moguće je da su bile uključene i neke kvarnerske zajednice s kojima su Liburni dijelili etničke sličnosti.<sup>130</sup> Postoje razlozi za pretpostavku da je Kosko-

were organized in the Late Iron Age, and what the situation was in the Early Iron Age, is much more difficult to interpret.<sup>119</sup>

N. Cambi has argued that the lack of dedications to a supreme Liburnian goddess (for example, *Liburnia terra*), compared to the situation in Histria where there are recorded several inscriptions to *Histria Terra*, points to a higher sense of ‘national’ consciousness and identity among the Histri than the Liburni, who were developing along more communal lines.<sup>120</sup> The Histrian kingdom, which appears to have been a federation of individual communities, certainly existed from at least the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE, and possibly as early as the 4<sup>th</sup> century, until they came under direct Roman control.<sup>121</sup> There is no indication that such a kingdom or federation existed in Liburnian territory, and Cambi puts this down to their lower degree of ethnic development.<sup>122</sup> As mentioned above, Liburnian communities fought on different sides of the Roman civil wars, pointing to the political division and heterogeneity of these groups in the late Republican period. Caesar refers to the men of *Iadera* as devoted supporters, unsurpassed in their loyalty.<sup>123</sup> He also refers to the joint ‘Liburnian’ and Achaian squadron in Pompey’s fleet.<sup>124</sup> These sources appear to suggest that the Liburni were not a homogenous socio-political group in the pre-Roman period.<sup>125</sup> While political unity can have the effect of precipitating or enhancing a sense of group identity along ethnic lines,<sup>126</sup> any division need not necessarily point to a lack of ethnic unity.

Čače has described the situation before Roman government in Liburnia as complex, with Iader

<sup>123</sup> Caes. *Bell. Alex.* 42.3.

<sup>124</sup> Caes. *Bell. Civ.* 3.5.

<sup>125</sup> D. DZINO 2010b: 91–92; usp. S. ČAĆE 2013a: 37, bilj. 40, koji smatra da su liburnski brodovi (*liburnicae*) koji su se borili u Pompejevoj mornarici bili preoteti Cezaru i to temelji na Apijanovu navodu da je Pompej zarobio 40 Cezarovih brodova u Jadranu, App. *Bell. Civ.* 2.49. To je malo vjerojatno, s obzirom na to da Cezar spominje zajedničku jedinicu Ahejaca i Liburna u Pompejevoj floti, Caes. *Bell. Civ.* 3.5. Ipak, Čače je u pravu kada kaže da su podaci o Liburnima u rimskom građanskom ratu tako rijetki da se čine gotovo irelevantnim.

<sup>126</sup> D. DZINO 2008: 48.

<sup>127</sup> S. ČAĆE 2007: 46.

<sup>128</sup> App. *Ill.* 12; za raspravu v. D. DZINO 2010b: 85–86; S. ČAĆE 2013b: 22–26.

<sup>129</sup> Eutr. 6.4; Oros. 5.23.23; usp. Cic. *Clu.* 97; za raspravu v. J. WILKES 1969: 35; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 311–313; D. DZINO 2010b: 67–69.

<sup>130</sup> S. ČAĆE 2013a: 26–27.

<sup>119</sup> On the political organization of the Iapodi, Histri and Delmatae in the pre-Roman period, see S. ČAĆE 1979.

<sup>120</sup> N. CAMBI 2013b: 74.

<sup>121</sup> A. STARAC 1999: 7ff.

<sup>122</sup> N. CAMBI 2013b: 74.

<sup>123</sup> Caes. *Bell. Alex.* 42.3.

<sup>124</sup> Caes. *Bell. Civ.* 3.5.

<sup>125</sup> D. DZINO 2010b: 91–92; cf. S. ČAĆE 2013a: 37, n. 40, who argues that the Liburnian navy fighting in Pompey’s armada was actually made up of Liburnian ships (*liburnicae*) captured from the Caesarian side, based on Appian’s mention of Pompey capturing 40 of Caesar’s ships in the Adriatic, App. *Bell. Civ.* 2.49. This seems unlikely, since Caesar refers to the joint squadron of Achaeans and Liburni in the Pompeian fleet, Caes. *Bell. Civ.* 3.5. However, Čače is certainly right when he says our information on Liburni fighting in the civil wars is so scanty as to make it almost irrelevant.

<sup>126</sup> D. DZINO 2008: 48.

nijeva kampanja donijela promjene na ovaj teritorij, osobito u kontekstu rimskog utjecaja njega. Za Cezara su Delmati morali plaćati tribut Rimu,<sup>131</sup> a u periodu od Koskonijeve kampanje pa sve do kraja Cezarova konzulata za ovaj teritorij uopće se ne spominju rimske vojne intervencije.<sup>132</sup> U razdoblju političkih promjena moguće je da su se liburnske zajednice ujedinile kako bi učvrstile obranu protiv agresivnih susjeda i kako bi lakše pregovarale sa snažnom Rimskom Republikom. To bi mogao biti razlog zašto Apian spominje Liburne kao politički entitet. Ipak, zbog manjka dokaza ovo ostaje hipoteza, a o zajednicama koje su mogle biti uključene u takvu tvorbu može se samo pretpostavljati.

Suić je smatrao da se niz sličnosti može uočiti u društvenom razvoju Liburna, Grka i Etruščana. Na primjer, u okvirima društveno-političkih struktura njihovih zajednica, koje su, prema njemu, organizirane u tetrapolis-dodekapolis sustav. Suić je temeljio svoju hipotezu na Pliniju koji spominje postojanje 14 liburnskih zajednica.<sup>133</sup> Ipak, Čače je jasno pokazao da Suićeva interpretacija krivo predstavlja broj i društvenu bit liburnskih zajednica koje spominje Plinije te da je Liburnija vjerojatno imala više od 14 zajednica.<sup>134</sup> Postojanje dodekapolisa ili bilo koje druge arhaične numeričke strukture liburnskih zajednica je stoga u potpunosti neosnovano.<sup>135</sup>

Uzimajući u obzir nedosljednosti pisanih izvora o njihovu geografskom smještaju i manjak dokaza za bilo kakvu političku koheziju navedenih zajednica prije 1. st. pr. Kr., postavlja se pitanje u kojoj su mjeri željeznodobne populacije Kvarnerskog zaljeva i Ravnih kotara imale razvijeno poimanje pripadnosti zajedničkom etničkom ili političkom identitetu. Već je bilo navedeno da je moguće da je rimskodobna Liburnija nastala na osnovi lokalnih zajednica koje su svoje političko ujedinjenje ostvarile u kasnom predrimskom periodu, možda tek u 1. st. pr. Kr., a organizirana je u novo administrativno područje tijekom ranog formativnog perioda rimske provincije Ilirik. S obzirom na to da je "Liburnija" povjesnog razdoblja bila rimska carska

being the strongest and most influential town, yet not having the power to undermine the interests and development of other leading communities.<sup>127</sup> The question then is, did a united Liburnian political entity (league, federation or loose alliance) develop in the period before the formation of the Roman province of Illyricum, and if so, when? Appian mentions a conflict in 50 BCE over the town of Promona. The Delmatae apparently took this town from the Liburni, who then appealed to Caesar for assistance.<sup>128</sup> Čače points out that Appian here refers to the Liburni as a political entity. He suggests that it is possible that a system of Roman domination of coastal Illyricum was established as early as the period of Gaius Cosconius' campaigns against the Delmatae (ca. 78-76 BCE),<sup>129</sup> and that around this time Liburnia was 'constituted' as a league of communities based in northern Dalmatia, but possibly including some from the Kvarner Gulf region with whom they shared ethnic similarities.<sup>130</sup> There are certainly reasons to presume that Cosconius' campaign had a significant impact on the area, particularly in terms of Rome's influence here. In Caesar's time, the Delmatae had to pay tribute to Rome,<sup>131</sup> and no Roman military interventions here are mentioned between Cosconius' campaign and the end of Caesar's pro-consulship.<sup>132</sup> In a period of political change, it is possible Liburnian communities united to help themselves defend against aggressive neighbours and in negotiating with the powerful Roman Republic. This would explain why Appian mentions the Liburni as a political entity. However, due to a lack of evidence, this is purely hypothetical, and we may only speculate as to which communities would have been included in such a formation.

Suić argued that similarities could be perceived in the social development of the Liburni and the Greeks and Etruscans in several ways. One example was in terms of the socio-political structure of their

<sup>127</sup> S. ČAČE 2007: 46.

<sup>128</sup> App. *Ill.* 12; for discussion, see D. DZINO 2010b: 85-86; S. ČAČE 2013b: 22-26.

<sup>129</sup> Eutr. 6.4; Oros. 5.23.23; cf. Cic. *Clu.* 97; for discussions, see J. WILKES 1969: 35; M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 311-313; D. DZINO 2010b: 67-69.

<sup>130</sup> S. ČAČE 2013a: 26-27.

<sup>131</sup> S. ČAČE 1989: 87, n. 75.

<sup>132</sup> M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 313.

<sup>131</sup> S. ČAČE 1989: 87, bilj. 75.

<sup>132</sup> M. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005: 313.

<sup>133</sup> Plin. *NH*, 3. 139; M. SUIĆ 1981: 108-109.

<sup>134</sup> S. ČAČE 1993a: 5 i d.; S. ČAČE 2013a: 17-20.

<sup>135</sup> V. S. ČAČE 1985: 647; A. STARAC 2000: 18.

reorganizacija predrimskih autohtonih zajednica i identiteta, ona je u jednu strukturnu cjelinu bila okupljena u administrativne svrhe.<sup>136</sup> Stvaranje ove administrativne jedinice utjecalo je na identitet njezinih žitelja, pa je tako u nekoliko navrata na rimskodobnim natpisima zabilježen termin natio-ne *Liburnus*.<sup>137</sup> To dakako ne znači da se stanovnici ovog teritorija prije 1. st. pr. Kr. nisu smatrali Liburnima ili da nisu imali zajedničku kulturu. Naime, ako je Liburnija organizirana u Rimsku administrativnu/upravnu jedinicu ili, prema Čači, “okrug”, ime je morala dobiti po važnoj etničkoj zajednici u regiji.<sup>138</sup> Ipak, na osnovi dostupnih podataka teško je precizno ustanoviti geografske granice i društveno-politički karakter tih zajednica u razdoblju prije formiranja rimske provincije Ilirk.

communities, which he asserts were organized into a tetrapolis-dodecapolis system. Suić based this hypothesis on a reading of Pliny, who mentions that 14 Liburnian communities existed.<sup>133</sup> However, as Čače has rightly shown, Suić’s interpretation misrepresents the number and civic nature of the Liburnian communities Pliny mentions, as it is probable that Liburnia was divided into more than just 14 communities.<sup>134</sup> The existence of a dodecapolis system and any kind of archaic numerical structure of Liburnian communities is, thus, thoroughly unsubstantial.<sup>135</sup>

Given the discrepancy in their geographical designation in the written sources, and the lack of evidence for any political cohesion of their communities prior to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE, it is perhaps questionable to what extent the Iron Age peoples inhabiting the regions from the Kvarner Gulf to the Ravni Kotari had a self-conscious sense of shared ethnic or political identity. As argued above, it is possible that the Liburnia of the Roman period developed out of political unification of local communities in the Late pre-Roman period, perhaps as late as the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE, and was constructed as a new administrative area during the early formative period of the Roman province of Illyricum. The ‘Liburnia’ of the historical period, then, being a Roman imperial re-organization of pre-conquest indigenous communities and identities, gathered into a structural whole for administrative purposes.<sup>136</sup> Formation of this administrative unit impacted on the identity of the people living there, so we have several instances where the designation *natione Liburnus* is expressed in inscriptions from the Roman period.<sup>137</sup> This does not mean that people living in this area prior to the mid 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE did not consider themselves Liburni and share a common cultural experience. If Liburnia was

<sup>136</sup> Za reorganizaciju provincijskih zajednica u razdoblju rimske carske ekspanzije, s osobitim fokusom na rimsku Dalmaciju v. D. DZINO 2014a: 219–224.

<sup>137</sup> Npr. AE 1991, 1321; CIL 9, 352 = CIL 1, 1707 (1027); CIL 11, 104, o ovim natpisima raspravlja se u A. KURILIĆ 2012: 178–180. Ipak, oznaka *natione* ne mora nužno označavati predrimski etnik, kao npr. *natione Pannonus*, v. D. DZINO – A. DOMIĆ KUNIĆ 2012: 103 i d., ili *natione Delmata*, v. D. DZINO 2010a: 106–107.

<sup>138</sup> To bi bilo po uzoru, iako u manjem opsegu, na stvaranje provincija Ilirika, Dalmacije i Panonije, od kojih je svaka dobila ime prema važnoj etničkoj zajednici u regiji, ali koje su bile saставljene od brojnih etničkih i društveno-političkih grupa.

<sup>133</sup> Pliny, 3. 139; M. SUIĆ 1981: 108–09.

<sup>134</sup> S. ČAČE 1993a: 5ff.; S. ČAČE 2013a: 17–20.

<sup>135</sup> See also, S. ČAČE 1985: 647; A. STARAC 2000: 18.

<sup>136</sup> On restructuring of provincial communities in the period of Roman imperial expansion, with an eye towards Roman Dalmatia, see D. DZINO 2014a: 219–224.

<sup>137</sup> E.g. AE 1991: 1321; CIL 9.352=CIL 1.1707 (1027); 11.104, these inscriptions are discussed in A. KURILIĆ 2012: 178–180. However, the designation *natione* does not necessarily express pre-Roman ethnicity, as, for example, the designation *natione Pannonus*, see D. DZINO, A. DOMIĆ KUNIĆ 2012: 103ff., or *natione Delmata*, see D. DZINO 2010a: 106–107.

#### 4. MATERIJALNA KULTURA

U uvodnom dijelu već su istaknuti brojni problemi definiranja etničkih identiteta kroz materijalnu kulturu. Batović smatra da su se Liburni kontinuirano i bez prekida razvijali kao zaseban etnički i kulturni entitet od kasnog brončanog doba i tijekom željeznog doba. Ova interpretacija čvrsto je bazirana na analizi materijalne kulture, ali je ime liburnske kulturne grupe preuzeto iz pisanih izvora.<sup>139</sup> On navodi da se Liburni spominju kao zaseban "narod" od 8. st. pr. Kr. pa sve do u rimski period.<sup>140</sup> Kao što je već bilo rečeno, interpretiranje Liburna na osnovi pisanih izvora kao zasebnu etničku i političku zajednicu s jasno definiranim geografskim granicama i društveno-političkim uređenjem prije 1. st. pr. Kr. je problematično. U istoj je mjeri samo na osnovi materijalnih nalaza teško dokazati da su Liburni bili predrimski kolektivni identitet, osobito uzimajući u obzir moderne interpretacije multidimenzijsionalne prirode etniciteta i pristupa identitetu u arheologiji.<sup>141</sup> Brojni faktori mogu uvjetovati arheološku distribuciju koja ne mora ukazivati na granice etničkih identiteta. Zbog stanja istraživanja za željeznodobnu Liburniju nije dostupna dovoljna količina podataka s jasnim kontekstom karakteristika koje se povezuju s konzumiranjem i odlaganjem, a koja je potrebna kako bi se mogle razlikovati metode stvaranja etničkih identiteta kroz materijalnu kulturu.<sup>142</sup>

Batović je primijetio razlike u materijalnoj kulturi iz različitih dijelova Liburnije –sjevernog i južnog dijela Ravnih kotara, Kvarnerskog zaljeva i istočne Istre – ali je smatrao da nisu osobito izražite.<sup>143</sup> Ipak, M. Blečić smatra da su zajednice u Kvarnerskom zaljevu bile kulturno znatno različite, s obzirom na to da su ovi otoci i zajednice bili na sjecištu važnih trgovačkih ruta koje su povezivale istočnoalpsku regiju, balkansko zaleđe i jadransku obalu.<sup>144</sup> Nema sumnje da su populacije koje su živjele na ovim teritorijima razmjenjivale

designated as a Roman administrative/governing unit, or "county" as Čače puts it, it was certainly named after an important ethnic group in the region.<sup>138</sup> However, as is argued above, the geographic limitations and socio-political character of these communities is difficult to determine precisely in the period before the formation of the Roman province of Illyricum with the evidence at hand.

#### 4. MATERIAL CULTURE

The arguments outlined in the introduction highlight the issues with locating ethnic identities through material culture. Batović argues for the continuous development of the Liburni as a discrete ethno-cultural entity without interruption from the Late Bronze Age into the Iron Age. This interpretation is firmly framed in terms of analysis of material culture, with the naming of the Liburnian cultural group based on the written sources.<sup>139</sup> He states that they were referred to as a separate "national community" from the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE and into the Roman period.<sup>140</sup> It was argued above that interpretations of the Liburni as a discrete ethnic or political group through written sources with clear geographic limitations and socio-political characterization prior to the 1st century BCE are problematic. Purely based on the material evidence, designation of the Liburni as a pre-Roman collective identity is also difficult to assume, considering modern interpretations of the multidimensional nature of ethnicity and approaches to identity in archaeology.<sup>141</sup> Archaeological distributions can be attributed to many factors, and need not indicate the limits of ethnic identities. The amount of data with context specific characteristics relating to consumption and deposition required for differentiating ethnic identity construction methods through material culture are, at this stage in archaeological research, not available for the Iron

<sup>139</sup> Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 5.

<sup>140</sup> Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 65.

<sup>141</sup> S. JONES 1997: 124.

<sup>142</sup> V. S. ČAČE 2013b: 22–23 za sličan zaključak.

<sup>143</sup> Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 65.

<sup>144</sup> M. BLEČIĆ 2007.

<sup>138</sup> This would be reflective of, though on a smaller scale, the construction of the provinces of 'Illyricum', 'Dalmatia' and 'Pannonia', each of which was named after a major ethnic group in the region, but which included a number of ethnic and socio-political groups.

<sup>139</sup> Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 5.

<sup>140</sup> Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 65.

<sup>141</sup> S. JONES 1997: 124.

kulturna iskustva sa svojim zajednicama i susjedima, unutar i izvan granica njihova neposrednog teritorija, u istoj mjeri kao što su razmjerenjivale aspekte jezika i običaja pokapanja, kulta i svakodnevnih aktivnosti. Ipak, ostaje upitno može li se i jedan od ovih postupaka povezati sa stvaranjem etničkih identiteta. Liburnska božanstva su, kao i ona histarska, gotovo u potpunosti ženska.<sup>145</sup> Etnicitet je aspekt identiteta koji se uočava na više razina i presijeca brojne druge aspekte društvenih identiteta poput spola, dobi i vjere.<sup>146</sup> Sukladno tomu, problematično je koristiti sličnosti u štovanju božanstava kao indikator etnika. U uvodu je već napomenuto da je izjednačavanje jezika s identitetom zajednice također problematično, osobito jer se jezici kontinuirano mijenjaju. Izjednačavanje bilo kojeg zajedničkog jezika u predrimskoj Liburniji s etničkom grupom je, prema tome, otežano, osobito jer svi onomastički podatci potječu iz rimskog perioda.<sup>147</sup> Sličnosti i različitosti jezika među susjednim zajednicama mogle bi ukazivati na mnoštvo faktora i iako bi oni mogli uključivati i poimanje zajedničkog etničkog identiteta, mogli bi također ukazivati i na komunikaciju povezanu s trgovinom i ekonomijom, političku interakciju ili široke povijesne procese.<sup>148</sup>

Chapman *et al.* s pravom su smatrali da invazionističke/difuzionističke paradigmе, traženje “ljudi” i “kultura” ili “kulturnih teritorija”, vjerojatno nisu bile najpragmatičnije metode procjenjivanja društvenih i kulturnih promjena u Dalmaciji kroz arheološke ostatke.<sup>149</sup> Možda bi praktičniji pristup bio zapitati se kako je tijekom željeznog doba povećana povezanost i interakcija s lokalnim i transadriatičkim centrima utjecala na stanovnike istočnog Jadrana i na njihov pristup svakodnevnim aktivnostima i kulturnim običajima. No, na ovo pitanje osobito je teško odgovoriti zbog prirode podataka i stanja istraživanja na spomenutom teritoriju. U ovom razdoblju povećani utjecaj, ali i povezanost s južnoitalskim proizvodnim centrima doveli su do toga da se u

<sup>145</sup> M. ŠAŠEL KOS 1999: 63–80.

<sup>146</sup> S. LUCY 2006: 86.

<sup>147</sup> Za liburnsku onomastiku s osobitim fokusom na aspekte identiteta v. A. KURILIĆ 1999 (s opsežnom starijom literaturom); A. KURILIĆ 2008; J. MEDINI 1978.

<sup>148</sup> J. ROBB 1993.

<sup>149</sup> J. CHAPMAN – R. SHIEL – Š. BATOVIC 1996: 7–8.

Age in Liburnia.<sup>142</sup>

Batović noticed differences between material culture remains from various parts of Liburnia – the northern and southern parts of the Ravnici Kotari region, the Kvarner Gulf and eastern Istria, but he says these are not particularly pronounced.<sup>143</sup> However, M. Blečić argued that the communities in the Kvarner Gulf region were substantially different in terms of culture, with the islands and communities here being at the cross-roads of several trade routes linking the Eastern Alps region, Balkan hinterland, and Adriatic coasts.<sup>144</sup> The people living throughout these regions no doubt shared in the cultural experiences of their own communities and their neighbours, both within and bordering their immediate area, as they shared aspects of language and material culture relating to burial practices, cults and everyday activities. However, whether any of these practices relate to construction of ethnic identities remains to be seen. The Liburnian deities were almost exclusively female, as were those of the Histri.<sup>145</sup> Ethnicity is an aspect of identity that works on a variety of levels, and cross-cuts numerous other aspects of social identities, such as gender, age and religion.<sup>146</sup> Thus, it is difficult to use similarities in the worship of deities as an indicator of ethnicity. As discussed in the introduction, equating language with group identity is also problematic, particularly since languages are constantly changing. Equating any common language in pre-Roman Liburnia with an ethnic group is therefore difficult, particularly since all our onomastic data comes from the Roman period.<sup>147</sup> Similarities and differences in language between neighbouring communities might indicate a plurality of factors, and while this may include a sense of shared ethnic identity, it may also indicate communicative relations associated with trade and economic interactions, political interactions, and broad historical processes.<sup>148</sup>

Chapman *et al.* were quite right to argue that in-

<sup>142</sup> See S. ČAČE 2013b: 22–23 for a similar argument.

<sup>143</sup> Š. BATOVIC 2005: 65.

<sup>144</sup> M. BLEČIĆ 2007.

<sup>145</sup> M. ŠAŠEL KOS 1999: 63–80.

<sup>146</sup> S. LUCY 2006: 86.

<sup>147</sup> On Liburnian onomastics, with a particular focus on aspects of identity, see A. KURILIĆ 1999 (with extensive older bibliography); A. KURILIĆ 2008; J. MEDINI 1978.

<sup>148</sup> J. ROBB 1993.

priobalnim dalmatinskim zajednicama javlja snažan import i preuzimanje brojnih aspekata stranih materijalnih kultura, a to je bilo najizraženije u keramici i nakitu, a moguće i u aspektima običaja pokapanja u kojima su ti predmeti bili korišteni (npr. prilaganje keramike u grobove i pojava "helenističkih" grobnica). Nevezano jesu li te importirane posude i ritusi pokapanja bili svjesno prihvaćeni kao grčki/helenistički običaji, oni su ubrzo postali uobičajeni dijelovi lokalnih kulturnih repertoara i sukladno tomu je i bilo kakav "liburnski" kulturni identitet promijenjen. Slični procesi ustanovljeni su na brojnim teritorijima u helenističkom periodu, a importirane helenističke posude pronađene su od južne Britanije sve do Crnog mora. Sukladno tomu, možda bi najjednostavnije objašnjenje toga bilo da je povećana proizvodnja talijanskih i egejskih centara i ekonomска interakcija sa zapadnom jadranskom obalom dovela do upotrebe lako dostupne, masovno proizvedene robe (osobito keramike –*gnathia*, crno-glazirane, helenističke reljefne itd.)<sup>150</sup> i do preuzimanja novih estetskih i tehnoloških aspekata produkcije metalnog nakita i odjevnih predmeta. Ipak, ovaj teritorij proživljavao je slične promjene tijekom stoljeća. Intenzivna komunikacija zajednica u sjevernoj Dalmaciji i Kvarnerskom zaljevu s njihovim istočnojadranskim susjedima i drugim udaljenijim zajednicama na talijanskom poluotoku bila je prisutna još od ranog željeznog doba i nastavila se do rimskog perioda.<sup>151</sup>

Više tipova nakita i odjevnih predmeta prestaje se koristiti u Liburniji tijekom kasnog željeznog doba, dok se pojavljuju nove forme koje su uključivale lokalno proizvedene i importirane tipove, ali i oblike izrađene po uzoru na import, osobito onaj iz helenističkog svijeta. Novi dekorativni motivi na liburnskom nakitu, poput rozeta, palmeta, maski i ljudskih lica, pojavili su se pod utjecajem umjetničkog repertoara helenističkog i rimskog svijeta. Isto se s velikom sigurnošću može tvrditi i za pojavu tehnika filigrana i pozlaćivanja srebrnog nakita. Jantar se, kao i drugdje na istočnom Jadranu, od 4. st. pr. Kr. postupno prestaje

vasionist/diffusionist paradigms, searching for 'people' and 'cultures' or 'culture-areas' is perhaps not the most pragmatic method of assessing social and cultural change in Dalmatia through archaeological remains.<sup>149</sup> Perhaps a more practical approach is to ask how increasing connectivity and interaction with local and trans-Adriatic centres influenced the ways inhabitants of the Eastern Adriatic engaged in various daily activities and cultural practices in the Late Iron Age. Yet, this is a particularly difficult question to answer due to the nature of the evidence and the level of research in the area under discussion here. In this period, the increasing influence of and connectivity to south Italian production centres meant that various elements of foreign material culture were imported and adopted in many coastal Dalmatian communities to a significant degree, and this is most apparent in terms of pottery and jewellery forms, as well as, perhaps, aspects of burial rituals in which these items were included (for example, the deposition of pottery in burials and the introduction of 'Hellenistic' type tombs). Whether imported pots and burial practices were adopted as knowingly Greek/Hellenistic customs, they would soon become normal parts of local cultural repertoires, and therefore any kind of 'Liburnian' cultural identity was changed. Similar processes are seen across a wide area in the Hellenistic period, as Hellenistic pots are found imported from southern Britain to the Black Sea. As such, perhaps the simplest way to explain this is that increasing production in Italian and Aegean centres, and economic interactions with the western Adriatic coast led to the use of increasingly available mass-manufactured goods (particularly pottery – Gnathia, Black-glazed, Hellenistic relief wares, etc),<sup>150</sup> and the incorporation of new aesthetic and technological aspects of production of metal jewellery and attire items. Yet, this region had undergone similar changes for centuries. Interactions between communities in northern Dalmatia and the Kvarner Gulf with their Eastern Adriatic neighbours, and other communities further afield on the Italian peninsula, were intensive from at least the Early Iron Age, and continued through to the

<sup>150</sup> Z. BRUSIĆ 1999; M. MIŠE 2015.

<sup>151</sup> Š. BATOVIC 1976; Z. BRUSIĆ 1993: 81 i d. M. BLEČIĆ 2007; A. J. NIJBOER 2010: 4 i d.

<sup>149</sup> J. CHAPMAN, R. SHIEL, Š. BATOVIC 1996: 7-8.

<sup>150</sup> Z. BRUSIĆ 1999; M. MIŠE 2015.

koristiti i za liburnski nakit, iako će se ponovno pojaviti kasnije, u rimskom periodu. Nekoliko novih dekorativnih i odjevnih predmeta datiranih u petu fazu liburnske kulture može se pripisati utjecajima iz helenističkog svijeta poput prstenja sa spiralnom krunom, prstenja s ovalnom krunom, gema, privjesaka s prikazima lica, jantarnih perla u formi vreće ili boce i naušnica ili prstenja s jezičastom petljom.<sup>152</sup>

Osobito je malo podataka poznato za kasno željezno doba sjeverne Dalmacije. Ono što se može zaključiti je da bar neka naselja (ona veća) uvoze grčku keramiku. Na nekim lokalitetima (poput Nadina, Velike Mrdakovice i Dragišića) javljaju se novi oblici grobne arhitekture s grobnicama koje su izrađene od kamenih blokova, uglavnom obrađenih s unutrašnje ili sa svih strana. U grobnicama je bilo pokopano više pokojnika, zajedno s brojnim importiranim helenističkim keramičkim posudama i nekim lokalnim metalnim predmetima.<sup>153</sup> Ovaj novi tip grobnice uglavnom se pripisuje helenističkom utjecaju na liburnsku kulturu. Iako su varijacije postojale, većina ranoželjeznobodnih grobova bila je izrađena od kamenih ploča ili su pokojnici ukapani u tumule.<sup>154</sup> Grobni prilozi tijekom tog perioda uglavnom su bili metalni predmeti poput nakita i odjevnih predmeta.<sup>155</sup> Tijekom kasnog željeznog doba kao novost javlja se korištenje brojnih keramičkih posuda za grobne priloge, što je vjerojatno posljedica kontakata s helenističkim svijetom.

Dosta se raspravljalo o razvitku društvene hijerarhije u kasnoželjeznobodnoj Liburniji, iako je o tome teško zaključivati na osnovi nalaza iz grobova i grobnih struktura. Ono što se može zaključiti je da su uvezeni predmeti i stilovi bili neka vrsta statusnog simbola. A. Appadurai smatrao je da

Roman period.<sup>151</sup>

The Late Iron Age saw several types of jewellery and attire items disappear in Liburnia, while new forms appeared which included locally developed types, imports and forms based on imported styles, particularly from the Hellenistic world. The appearance of new types of decorative motifs on Liburnian jewellery, such as rosettes, palmettes, masks and human faces was inspired by the artistic repertoire of the Hellenistic and Roman worlds. The same can almost certainly be said of the introduction of the technique of filigree and gilding silver jewellery. As with other areas of the eastern Adriatic, amber used in jewellery gradually disappears from Liburnian jewellery from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE, though it would reappear later in the Roman period. Several new decorative and attire items found during the fifth phase of the Liburnian culture can be attributed to influences from the Hellenistic world, including rings with a spiral crown, rings with an oval crown, gems, pendants depicting a face, amber beads shaped as bags or bottles, and earrings or rings with a U-shaped loop.<sup>152</sup>

The Late Iron Age is a particularly unknown period in northern Dalmatia. What we can see is that at least some settlements (the largest ones) imported Greek pottery. At some of these sites (certainly Nadin, Velika Mrdakovica and Dragišić) new styles of funerary architecture appear, with tombs constructed of stone blocks, usually worked on the inner face, or on each side. They include multiple deceased individuals, and significant amounts of imported Hellenistic types of pottery and some local metal items.<sup>153</sup> This new type of tomb is usually considered a Hellenistic influence on Liburnian culture. Though a variety of examples existed, most burials in the Early Iron Age included those made of stone slabs and burials under tumuli.<sup>154</sup> Burial go-

<sup>152</sup> V. D. GLOGOVIĆ 2014; D. GLOGOVIĆ 2006; A. TONC 2012; Z. BRUSIĆ 2010.

<sup>153</sup> Š. BATOVIC 2005: 26–27, 29; A. BATOVIC – Š. BATOVIC 2013; Z. BRUSIĆ 1980: 11–12, T. III, VII, VIII, X; Z. BRUSIĆ 2000; Z. BRUSIĆ – T. PAVIČIĆ – S. GRGAS 2000: 8–11.

<sup>154</sup> Za pokope u ranom željeznom dobu v. Š. BATOVIC 1968: 14–15, 17–18; Š. BATOVIC 2005: 26–29; Z. BRUSIĆ 2000: 6–12; Z. BRUSIĆ 2002; Z. BRUSIĆ 2005; S. KUKOĆ 2009; S. KUKOĆ 2011; N. KLARIN 2000; D. VUJEVIĆ 2011; M. BLEČIĆ KAVUR – E. PODRUG 2014.

<sup>155</sup> Za metalne predmete u ranoželjeznobodnoj Liburniji v. Š. BATOVIC 2005: 35–39; S. KUKOĆ – M. ČELHAR 2009; M. ČELHAR – D. VUJEVIĆ 2013; M. BLEČIĆ 2007.

<sup>151</sup> Š. BATOVIC 1976; Z. BRUSIĆ 1993: 81ff; M. BLEČIĆ 2007; A. J. NIJBOER 2010: 4ff.

<sup>152</sup> See D. GLOGOVIĆ 2014; D. GLOGOVIĆ 2006; A. TONC 2012; Z. BRUSIĆ 2010.

<sup>153</sup> Š. BATOVIC 2005: 26–27, 29; A. BATOVIC, Š. BATOVIC 2013; Z. BRUSIĆ 1980: 11–12, T. III, VII, VIII, X; Z. BRUSIĆ 2000; Z. BRUSIĆ, T. PAVIČIĆ, S. GRGAS 2000: 8–11.

<sup>154</sup> On burials in the Early Iron Age, see Š. BATOVIC 1968: 14–15, 17–18; Š. BATOVIC 2005: 26–29; Z. BRUSIĆ 2000: 6–12; Z. BRUSIĆ 2002; Z. BRUSIĆ 2005; S. KUKOĆ 2009; S. KUKOĆ 2011; N. KLARIN 2000; D. VUJEVIĆ 2011; M. BLEČIĆ KAVUR, E. PODRUG 2014.

potražnja nikada nije izravni odgovor na dostupnost predmeta, već da bi se razlozi za prihvatanje stranih utjecaja trebali tražiti unutar logike političke ekonomije određenih društava.<sup>156</sup> Prema M. Dietleru, potrošnja je kulturno specifična, a potražnja je uvijek društveno uvjetovana.<sup>157</sup> Važnost stranih predmeta ne leži u značenju koje oni imaju za društvo iz kojeg potječe, već u kulturnom značenju i društvenoj upotrebi tih predmeta u kontekstu potrošnje zajednice koje ih nabavlja.<sup>158</sup> Sukladno tomu, preuzimanje ili odbacivanje stranih dobara treba promatrati u kontekstu lokalnih kulturnih običaja i načina društvene komunikacije. U ovom slučaju važnost importiranih posuda naglašena je upravo njihovim prilaganjem u grobove. Preuzimanje helenističkih motiva i stilova u izradi nakita jasno dokazuje da su oni bili popularni. Zbog manjka *in situ* nalaza iz zatvorenih arheoloških cijelina teško je zaključivati o ulozi tih predmeta i simbola u liburnskom društvu, ali i u samim običajima pokapanja. Moglo bi se ipak zaključiti da su ti predmeti smisleno preuzeti u lokalni kulturni repertoar, a da bi kontekst njihove nabave (importa) i (pogrebnog) odlaganja ukazivao na njihov poseban status među korisnicima. Iako je još uvijek upitno jesu li te predmete neke elite koristile kao simbol njihova društvenog statusa, svakako postoje analogije s autohtonim zajednicama s drugih područja Mediterana i kontinentalne Europe kod kojih su importirane grčke i rimske posude korištene kao simboli elita tijekom istaknutih gozbi.<sup>159</sup>

U kontekstu drugih istočnojadranskih zajednica, Liburni su bili otvoreni stranim utjecajima te su tijekom željeznog doba kontinuirano u svoj kulturni repertoar preuzimali nove značajke. Tako zvani "helenizam" 4. – 1. st. pr. Kr., odnosno razdoblje intenzivne komunikacije sa zajednicama zapadne jadranske obale, bio je samo jedna faza u trajnom procesu razvoja kulture razmatranog područja. Pomorski karakter zajednica i njihov priobalni položaj doveo je do toga da je teritorij između Ravnih kotara i Kvarnerskog zaljeva

ods during this earlier period included mostly metal items of jewellery and clothing attire.<sup>155</sup> The use of pottery as grave goods in large amounts is certainly a new feature of the Late Iron Age in Liburnia, and came about due to interactions with the wider Hellenistic world.

Much has been said about developing social hierarchies in Late Iron Age Liburnia, but it is difficult to support these arguments with evidence from graves or tomb structures. What we might argue is that imported items and styles were some type of status symbol. 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.<sup>156</sup> As M. Dietler notes, consumption is culturally specific, and demand for goods is always socially constructed.<sup>157</sup> 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.<sup>158</sup> Thus, the adoption and rejection of foreign goods needs to be understood in terms of local cultural practices and modes of social discourse. In this case study, the importance of imported pots is highlighted mostly by the fact that they were placed inside graves. That Hellenistic motifs and styles in jewellery making were adopted attests to a likening for the style. Due to the lack of *in situ* finds from closed archaeological contexts, it is difficult to make much of an argument about the role of these items and symbols in Liburnian society, or even within the funerary realm. What we can argue is that these items were meaningfully adopted into local cultural repertoires, and the context of their acquisition (import) and deposition (funerary) point to their special status amongst their consumers. Whether they were items adopted by some elite group as symbols of their hierarchical status remains to be seen, but there are certainly examples from other parts of Mediterranean

<sup>156</sup> A. APPADURAI 1986: 29–31.

<sup>157</sup> M. DIETLER 1998: 300.

<sup>158</sup> M. DIETLER 1998: 299.

<sup>159</sup> M. DIETLER 1990; M. DIETLER 1998; J. S. P. WALSH 2014: 175–180.

<sup>155</sup> On metal items in Early Iron Age Liburnia, see Š. BATOVIĆ 2005: 35–39; S. KUKOČ, M. ČELHAR 2009; M. ČELHAR, D. VUJEVIĆ 2013; M. BLEČIĆ 2007.

<sup>156</sup> A. APPADURAI 1986: 29–31.

<sup>157</sup> M. DIETLER 1998: 300.

<sup>158</sup> M. DIETLER 1998: 299.

bio dobro povezan s jadranskim i mediteranskim društvenim i ekonomskim strukturama. Kako je velik broj apulskih centara tijekom 4. i 3. st. pr. Kr. proširio svoju proizvodnju, njihov izvozni potencijal se također povećao, što je dovelo do snažnijeg izvoza u Liburniju. Kad je tijekom 2. i 1. st. pr. Kr. opala proizvodnja u Apuliji, grčke kolonije Isa i Faros povećale su svoju produkciju, a uvoznici su se okrenuli središnjoj Dalmaciji.<sup>160</sup> To bi ukazivalo na važnost proizvodnih i uvoznih potencijala za autohtone populacije prilikom njihova odabira potrošnih dobara.

Iako je u Liburniji tijekom kasnog željeznog doba jasno uočljiv helenistički i rimske utjecaj na običaje pokapanja, upotrebu keramike i tehnološke i stilске aspekte proizvodnje nakita, važno je da su ti utjecaji bili dio organskog razvoja, a ne sveukupno odbacivanje prijašnjih stilova u korist helenističkih kulturnih predložaka. Neki oblici metalnih predmeta sada su bili izrađivani prema helenističkim i rimskim uzorima, ali su još uvijek uključivali i karakteristike starijih, autohtonih proizvoda. Međukulturna razmjena stilova i oblika između zajednica Liburnije i drugih teritorija, poput japodskog ili delmatskog, bila je i tijekom kasnog željeznog doba jednako snažna kao i u prethodnim razdobljima. Stoga bi opisanje određenih predmeta ili običaja kao “helenističke” ili “liburnske” u ovom kontekstu možda bilo pogrešno jer se kultura kontinuirano razvija i evoluira. Nije u potpunosti korektno ni definirati ove predmete ili običaje kao “hibridne” jer je u osnovi sve na neki način hibridno.<sup>161</sup> Brojni arheolozi i povjesničari su zajednička značenja, simbolizme i materijalnu kulturu grčkog i rimskog svijeta počeli promatrati kroz prizmu teorije moderne globalizacije.<sup>162</sup> Iako u ovom radu nema dovoljno mesta za raspravu o tome, bitno je napomenuti da je istovremena svojstvenost i neujednačenost stilova i korištenja materijalne kulture u Liburniji rezultat povezanosti s proizvodnim centrima diljem Jadrana, istočnih Alpa,

and temperate Europe where indigenous elites used imported Greek and Roman pots as such symbols during diacritical feasting activities.<sup>159</sup>

The Liburni were particularly receptive to outside influences, in the context of other Eastern Adriatic communities, and added new features to their cultural repertoires continuously throughout the Iron Age. The so-called “Hellenism” of the 4<sup>th</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BCE, basically a period of intensive interaction with communities on the western Adriatic coast, was simply one stage in an ongoing process of cultural development in the region. The maritime nature of the communities here and their coastal position made the region between the Ravni Kotari and Kvarner Gulf areas well connected to Adriatic and Mediterranean wide social and economic networks. As an increasing number of Apulian centres expanded their production during the 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BCE, their export potential increased, and thus we see more imports in Liburnia. As production in Apulia dropped in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BCE and, simultaneously, that of the Greek colonies of Issa and Pharos, increased, importers turned to central Dalmatia.<sup>160</sup> This perhaps suggests production and import potential were particularly important factors in locals' choice of consumption goods.

While there is clear influence from the Hellenistic and Roman worlds on burial practices, pottery usage and the technological and stylistic aspects of jewellery forms in Liburnia during the Late Iron Age, what is important is that these influences were part of an organic development and not a wholesale rejection of earlier styles in favour of Hellenistic cultural templates. Some forms of various metal items were now crafted under Hellenistic or Roman influence, but still included traits characteristic of earlier locally made goods. Intercultural exchange in style and form between communities in Liburnia and other areas, such as in the Iapodean and Delmataean regions, was also still intensive during the Late Iron Age, as it had been in earlier periods. Labelling certain artefacts or practices as either ‘Hellenistic’ or ‘Liburnian’ in this context is, perhaps, technically inaccurate since culture is in a constant

<sup>160</sup> M. MIŠE 2015: 61–64.

<sup>161</sup> M. PITTS, M. J. VERSLUYS 2014: 6.

<sup>162</sup> Literatura o primjeni teorije globalizacije na antički svijet prilično je opsežna. Neke ključne rasprave su *Globalisation and the Roman World* 2014; M. PITTS 2008; T. HODOS 2010: 23–27.

<sup>159</sup> M. DIETLER 1990; M. DIETLER 1998; J. S. P. WALSH 2014: 175–180.

<sup>160</sup> M. MIŠE 2015: 61–64.

balkanskog zaledja, pa čak i egejskog prostora, ali i odraz lokalnih ukusa i kapaciteta proizvodnje. Liburnske zajednice su zbog bolje mogućnosti povezivanja tijekom helenističkog perioda, osobito nakon širenja rimskog političkog i trgovačkog utjecaja na Jadranu,<sup>163</sup> imale dostupan nikad veći izbor predmeta i stilova koje su mogle uklopiti u svoj kulturni repertoar.

## 5. ZAKLJUČAK

Cilj ovog rada bio je ukazati na potencijalne opasnosti u primjeni modernih poimanja društvenih struktura na antički svijet te istaknuti važnost kritičkog iščitavanja pisanih izvora i njihovih specifičnih povijesnih i kulturnih konteksta. Profesor Čače probio je led svojim promišljanjima o liburnskim identitetima i o tome kako su se oni prikazivali u antičkim pisanim izvorima. Podatci koji su analizirani u ovom članku ukazuju na to da su “Liburni” u brojnim grčko-rimskim pisanim izvorima bili predočeni kao tipični barbarski “Drugi” i da je potreban oprez prilikom korištenja tih izvora za interpretaciju društveno-kulturne prirode liburnskog društva. Kad se uzme u obzir oskudna količina dostupnih podataka, teško je razaznati točne geografske granice Liburnije i etno-kulturni te društveno-politički karakter njezinih žitelja prije uspostave rimske vlasti u regiji. Argumentacija izložena u ovom radu ukazuje na to da bi razumijevanje kulturnih promjena na osnovi arheološkog materijala najbolje bilo pokušati ostvariti istraživanjem aspekata mogućnosti povezivanja te načina na koji su importirani materijal koristi pripadnici različitih društvenih skupina. To može pomoći pri objašnjavanju kako su strani predmeti bili importirani u Liburniju te kako su bili inkorporirani u liburnsko društvo i na koji su način utjecali na lokalne kulturne običaje. Stoga je ovdje predloženo da se rasprava odmakne od potrage za etničkim identitetima i jednostavnim modelima kao što je “helenizacija” ili bar da se oni ponovno razmotre. Iako je jasno da su stanovnici Liburnije bili otvoreni stranim

cycle of evolution and development. Labelling these objects and practices as ‘hybrid’ is also not entirely accurate, since everything is in one way or another hybridizing.<sup>161</sup> Many archaeologists and ancient historians have begun to view the shared meanings, symbolisms and material culture throughout the Greek and Roman worlds through the lens of the contemporary globalization theory.<sup>162</sup> While there is not space to engage in this discourse here, it will do to note that the simultaneous particularity and heterogeneity of styles and usages of material culture in Liburnia is certainly a result of connectivity to production centres throughout the Adriatic, Eastern Alps, Balkan hinterland, and even the Aegean region, as well as local tastes and production capacity. Due to increasing connectivity during the Hellenistic period, particularly with the expansion of Roman political and commercial influence in the Adriatic,<sup>163</sup> Liburnian communities had a wider variety of objects and styles available for incorporation into their cultural repertoires than ever before.

## 5. CONCLUSION

The aim here was to show the potential pitfalls of applying modern conceptualizations of social constructs onto the ancient world, and the importance of a critical reading of written sources and their specific historical and cultural contexts. Professor Čače paved the way in terms of a rethinking of the evidence relating to Liburnian identities and their portrayal in ancient written sources. As the evidence discussed above shows, the ‘Liburni’ were constructed as the typical barbarian ‘Other’ in many Greco-Roman written sources, and we must use caution when attempting to interpret the socio-cultural nature of Liburnian society from them. Given the scarce amount of material available, it is difficult to comprehend the specific geographical limits of Liburnia and the ethno-cultural and socio-political character of its inhabitants prior to the

<sup>161</sup> M. PITTS, M. J. VERSLUYS 2014: 6.

<sup>162</sup> The literature on application of globalization theory to ancient world studies is increasingly vast. Some key studies include, *Globalisation and the Roman World* 2014; M. PITTS 2008; T. HODOS 2010: 23–27.

<sup>163</sup> N. ČAŠULE 2012; S. ČAČE 1991.

<sup>163</sup> N. ČAŠULE 2012; S. ČAČE 1991.

utjecajima, a importirani predmeti i simboli cijenjeni u lokalnim zajednicama, potrebna su daljnja arheološka istraživanja prije nego što se donese bilo kakav sigurniji zaključak o procesu integracije ovog materijala u autohtonu kulturu i o vrijednosti koju je on imao za vlasnika kao simbol društvenog statusa.

development of Roman governance in the region. In terms of archaeological material, the arguments here suggest a more pragmatic approach to assessing the significance of cultural change in the Iron Age is to focus on aspects of connectivity and the social context of consumption to better understand and explain how foreign items and ideas were imported into Liburnia, how they were incorporated into Liburnian society, and what impact they had on local cultural practices. The suggestion here is to move away from, or reconsider, the search for ethnic identities and simplistic models such as ‘Hellenization’. While it is clear the inhabitants of Liburnia were receptive to outside influences in antiquity, and that imported items and symbols were valued in local communities, more archaeological data is required before making any firm conclusions regarding how this material was integrated into local cultural repertoires, and if they had any value as symbols of the social status of their consumers.

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