VEDRANA GLAVAŠ – MIROSLAV GLAVIČIĆ

TRANSFORMATION OF PREHISTORIC TO HISTORIC LANDSCAPE: THE EXAMPLE OF *CIVITAS LOPSICA*

Vedrana Glavaš Miroslav Glavičić Department of Archaeology University of Zadar Obala kralja Petra Krešimira IV., 2 HR 23000 Zadar vglavas@unizd.hr glavicic@unizd.hr UDK: 904(497.5Sv.Juraj) 930.85(497.5Sv.Juraj)(37) Izvorni znanstveni članak 27.09.2019.

This paper presents a part of the results of years of archaeological research, whose main goal is the study of complex process of Romanisation of peregrine *civitates* in the area of Velebit Mt. during the first century BC and the first century AD. *Civitas Lopsica* has been selected as an example of Romanisation, whose center was located at the Gradina hillfort, near present day village of Sveti Juraj, located at the foot of Velebit Mountain near Senj. *Lopsica* is mentioned in ancient historical sources but it is particularly important that it was mentioned in the list of important Liburnian settlements by Plinius the Elder who referred to it as *oppidum*. During the first century AD, *Lopsica* achieved municipal status, which was confirmed by epigraphic evidence. Onomastic analysis shows that the inscriptions mentioned members of the autochthonous Romanised aristocracy, who maintained their acquired positions of authority and were a privileged class in the administrative and economic structure of the *municipium*.

Civitas and the *municipium* of *Lopsica* encompassed the coastal region as well as the area that stretched deep into the interior of Velebit Mountain. Combined with the data from earlier studies, recent reviews of terrain and aerial photos have enabled a better overview of the landscape and thus more precise determination of the community boundaries, as well as the way of life in the mountain area that, considering its high karst morphology, seems highly unsuitable for living. The mountain provided great conditions for cattle breeding and the exploitation of forest resources, from which locals could have had significant benefits. The favorable strategic and transportation position and a busy harbor encouraged the development of trade which took place over the mountain passes with lapodes inland. Changes that occurred in the landscape during the Iron Age and early antiquity can still be seen today.¹

Key words: Lopsica, peregrine community (civitas), romanization, municipium

¹ The authors presented the results of archaeological research at the international scientific conference "Tra l'Adriatico e le Alpi: forme e sviluppi dell'organizzazione territoriale e dei processi di integrazione nella X regio orientale e nelle regioni contermini" (Udine, Italy, 3-5. October 2012).

The centre (*oppidum*) of the peregrine community (*civitas*) of the *Lopsi* was located in today's settlement of Sveti Juraj at the foot of the Velebit mountain range, which in archaeological literature has been known since the end of the 19th century as the site of finds from the Late Bronze and Iron Ages and the Roman and Middle Age periods.² Ante Glavičić began the study of the cultural landscape of *Lopsica* 30 years ago,³ and useful information can be found in the works of other researchers. In process are the systematic surveys of this area, which is being conducted within the framework of the research project of the Ministry of Science and Education of the Republic of Croatia "Ancient Towns and Settlements in Liburnia" (no. 269-2690868-0774). The findings of this research are already delivering new insights about the organisation of the territory of the peregrine community of the *Lopsi* in the pre-Roman and Roman periods (*civitas-municipium Lopsica*).

Lopsica is mentioned in written historical sources. We encounter the first possible mention in the $\Pi \varepsilon \rho (\pi \lambda o v \zeta)$ (lat. *Periplus*) of Pseudo-Scylax, where in the 21st chapter several settlements along the coast are listed in the description of Liburnia. It states that the name Alovyoi (Aloupsoi) could refer to the coastal settlement, which in the pre-Roman period was established on the hillfort of Sveti Juraj, and which in the Late Roman period became known under the name of Lopsica.⁴ Namely, Pliny the Elder (C. Plinius Secundus) (Naturalis historia, III, 140) in a precise geographical sequence cites the most important settlements (oppida) along the Liburnian coastline: cetero per oram oppida a Nesactio Alvona, Flanona, Tarsatica, Senia, Lopsica, Ortoplinia, Vegium... Lopsica is mentioned between Senia and Ortoplinia. Since archaeological investigations and epigraphical evidence proved that the title of the town of Senia developed during Antiquity in the area of today's town of Senj, and Ortoplinia/Ortopla was the name of the peregrine *civitas*, the centre of which was located in Stinica near Jablanac, it is logical to conclude that the title of *Lopsica* refers to the *oppidum* that was situated in the area of today's settlement of Sveti Juraj at the foot of the Velebit mountain range. Archaeological finds suggest that the fortified settlement and main centre of the Lopsi community should be located at Gradina hillfort in Sveti Juraj (Fig. 1, 4). The inhabitants of this peregrine community (civitas

² J. BRUNŠMID, 1898, 171; 1898, 99; D. GLOGOVIĆ, 1989, 16; 1992, 23-27, T. I; M. GLAVIČIĆ, 1995/96, 45-70; A. FABER, 2003, 629-648; M. BLEČIĆ, 2006, 5-26; V. GLAVAŠ, 2009, 67-82.

³ A. GLAVIČIĆ, 1966, 393-396; 1967/68, 30-34; 1970, 47-50.

⁴ M. SUIĆ, 1976, 285.

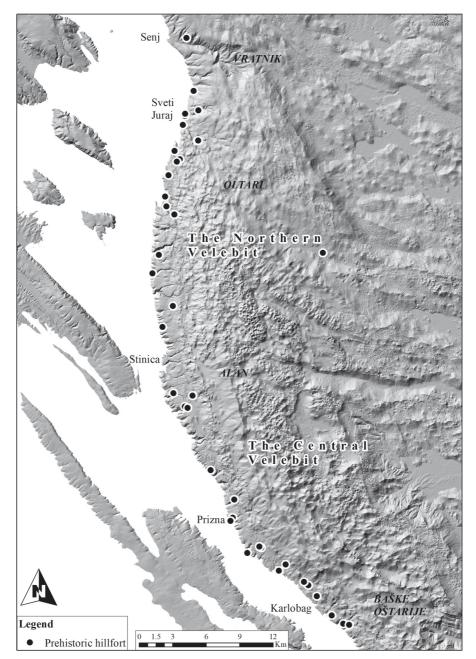


Fig. 1. Pre-Roman hillforts and enclosures in the Velebit Mountain area

Lopsica) called themselves the *Lopsi*. This information was also noted by Pliny the Elder (*Naturalis historia*, III, 139), indicating the Liburnian *civitates* who within the juridical convent of *Scardona* had a privileged position: *ius Italicum habent ex eo conventu Alutae, Flanates, a quibus sinus nominatur, Lopsi, Varvarini*...⁵

Very little archaeological information is known about *Lopsica*. Almost no excavations were conducted, whilst most of the finds were found accidently. Therefore, in order to learn more about the organisation of the territory of this community, we should direct ourselves to the study of the cultural landscape. However, on the Velebit mountain range and its slopes a great problem is sometimes present. Due to the weather conditions and the morphology of the terrain, the littoral slope of Velebit is mostly bare or covered with maquis, and there are usually no cultural layers at the sites or layers are negligible. Therefore, if we wanted to excavate particular sites, in many places it would not be possible, because there is nothing to excavate. In such situations all that remains is the positioning of the sites and their spatial analysis.⁶

The focus of research are archaeological components of the cultural landscape of *Lopsica*. Although without the knowledge of its other components, especially those connected with the sense of space, we cannot understand the archaeological components either.

Currently being conducted is the survey of the hypothetical territory of *Lopsica*. We have specified two main aims: an overview of the known sites, in order to confirm the data known so far, and the discovery of new ones. Earlier researchers did not create sufficiently precise spatial information about the sites and so their positions were mainly defined descriptively. Therefore, for many sites we did not possess information about the coordinates that we would be able to precisely position on a map and spatially analyse the current situation.

What is aggravating is that it is no longer possible to conduct interviews with the local inhabitants, who would be able to refer us to indicative toponyms, positions and local legends, because the people who know the detailed topography of their region are no longer present. The hillfort of Samograd (Fig. 2), for example, which is located 900 m north east of today's Sveti Juraj, is not known to the local inhabitants today as a toponym nor as a site, because their interests are completely different. There are no more local shepherds and the local legends have been lost forever.

⁵ M. SUIĆ, 1976, 297.

⁶ V. GLAVAŠ, 2011, 24-30.

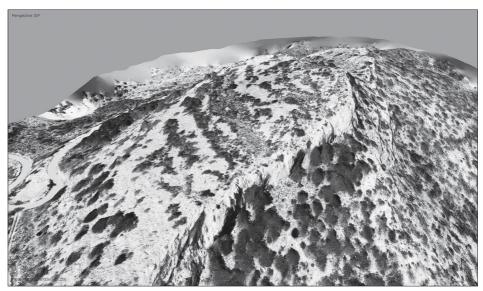


Fig. 2. Digital model of the Samograd hillfort

Due to these reasons, a revision of all data is necessary. An aerial survey of the wider area has contributed greatly to the discovery of new sites and the understanding and reconstruction of prehistoric and historic landscapes of the wider area of *Lopsica*. Besides this, it has also enabled the observation of sites in relation to one another, and not only as isolated structures and independent units. All the archaeological features which were registered on the aerial photographs have been mapped, whereby the interpretation of the landscape of this area has become significantly easier (Fig. 2).

During the Iron Age on the littoral slopes of the Velebit mountain there existed a number of smaller communities each of which had its own habitation/ economic territory, which also stretched to the highland area of the mountain.⁷ The greatest number of prehistoric hillforts and enclosures documented is along the coast, where their dense concentration is visible (Fig. 1). Most of them are connected visually (Fig. 3), which proves that the views from the hillforts were one of the significant factors for selecting positions for settling.⁸ However, the main precondition for selecting positions for settling was the permanent source

⁷ In this part of Velebit, the mountain passes are Vratnik (698 m a.s.l.), Oltari (940 m a.s.l.), Alan (1340 m a.s.l.) and Baške Oštarije (927 m a.s.l.).

⁸ V. GLAVAŠ, 2014, 1-26.

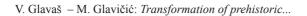
of drinking water,⁹ and then a favourable natural bay for anchoring and a nearby mountain pass through which trade routes passed. Close to the permanent settlements, which were mainly located along the coast, there were not sufficient natural resources for the basic necessities of life; every community also owned territory in the mountains, where during the dry summer months they grazed their herds. The dry summer period forced the communities to look for better pastures for their livestock in the higher parts of the mountain, which was the basis of their economy.

Not all of the hillfort settlements and enclosures discovered in this area had the same significance – one hillfort was always more important than the others. In the observed area this is Gradina in today's settlement of Sveti Juraj, where the centre which combined all the most important factors was located (Fig. 4). Although Gradina hillfort was not the largest by surface area, abundant water sources, a safe harbour, the starting point of natural communication routes through the passes of Oltari and Hrmotine, which connected the harbour and the interior, and the morphologically favourable ground for the organisation of settlements, enabled its development. The emergence of a Roman town in the foothills and on the slopes of the hillfort also confirms the existence of a prehistoric central settlement. The Gradina hillfort in Sveti Juraj was the central settlement, however all the other hillforts and enclosures, which gravitated towards it entirely, also had their own roles in the functioning of the community as a unified system.¹⁰

Oppidum Lopsica possessed the basic characteristics of a proto-urban settlement which was defended by a wall. However, it was not restricted to the hill, the slopes of which were formed like terraces towards the sea, but extended to its foot, e.g. close to the harbour, where everyday social life probably took place. The harbour was not just anchorage for boats, but also the place of a lively market which was the main actuator in the development of the community. Other activities by the inhabitants of the community also took place nearby, mostly various handicrafts. Since the members of the local elite found particular interest in the place of the main economic activities, the *oppidum* became the centre of administrative, social and, of course, religious life of the community. *Lopsica* during the early imperial period, probably during the reign of Emperor Tiberius, became a *municipium* in which the local

⁹ Besides permanent sources, a number of ponds were used for the watering of livestock of which many have survived to this day.

¹⁰ M. GLAVIČIĆ, 1995/1996, 47-49.



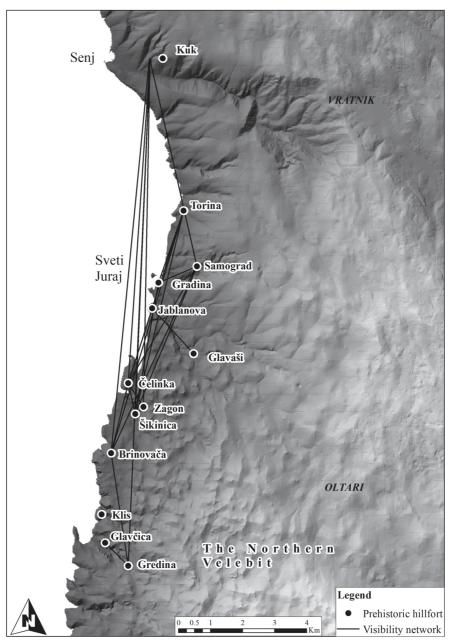


Fig. 3. The visibility network between hillforts and enclosures in the hypothetical territory of *Lopsica*



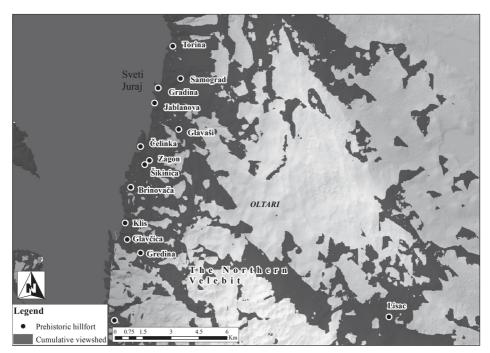
Fig. 4. The Gradina hillfort and the islet of Lisac in Sveti Juraj

Romanised aristocracy held the gained positions of authority, and its members led the municipal administration.

Permanent sources of water in the mountain area of this part of Velebit are rare.¹¹ Due to the lack of drinking water, which was essential for people and livestock, ponds were built which we have documented in large numbers across the terrain. The ponds are important for the reconstruction of movements of people within the landscape. The hillfort which possessed the most ponds for watering livestock was the hillfort of Lisac in Krasno Polje, where within a radius of a 5 hour walk 54 ponds have been documented.¹² This is not surprising, since Krasno Polje is located at around 800 m above sea level, and continental climate features prevail with a greater amount of rainfall. This was extremely important during the summer months when the ponds on the littoral slopes would mostly

¹¹ In the hypothetical territory of the *Lopsi* the only source of Žive Vodice was located. Somewhat further were the sources on Štirovača and in Begovača.

¹² We have assumed that the radius inside which everyday activities were carried out for the inhabitants of one fort settlement was a 5 hour walk.



V. Glavaš - M. Glavičić: Transformation of prehistoric...

Fig. 5. The cumulative viewshed analysis in the territory of Lopsica

dry up. Meanwhile, also on the littoral slope, near the hillforts of Čelinka, Torina, Jablanova, Gradina and Samograd, within a radius of a 5 hour walk, more than 40 landscaped ponds have been located. Although there also existed springs of water alongside the hillforts and enclosures on the coast,¹³ it is understandable that the building of ponds on the littoral slopes of Velebit for the purpose of livestock would also preserve the purity of the water at the spring.

Visibility from hillforts has already been mentioned as an important factor in the selection of positions for settling. The greatest range of visibility was possibly from the islet of Lisac, which was most certainly an integral part of Gradina in Sveti Juraj. But the analysis of the cumulative viewsheds shows that the system of hillforts controlled all the important parts of the territory of *Lopsica* (Fig. 5). Navigation of the channel under Velebit was fully monitored. Also monitored were the mountain passes or the routes towards them. The route

¹³ The water springs of the coastal area in prehistoric and Roman periods were probably more active than today, and certainly more accessible. Namely, since the water level over time has risen by about 2 metres, today they are underwater springs which emerge near the coast.

towards Hrmotine was monitored from the hillfort of Samograd, while the route of the pass Oltari towards Krasno was controlled from the hillfort of Glavaši.

The fact that from Gradina and its associated islet of Lisac 8 other hillforts can be seen, which is the largest number of visible settlements from a single position in the territory of the Lopsi, also speaks about the meaning of the central settlement in today's Sveti Juraj (Fig. 3). Clearly, it was important that a large number of satellites pertaining to the central settlement could be seen from it. But since the entire territory of the community could not be monitored from the central settlement, each of the other settlements had its own "role" in the visuals landscape. The Čelinka hillfort led in the surveillance of potential economically exploitable areas, whilst the hillfort of Klis monitored the greatest part of the waters. However, it is important to mention that the whole system functioned as a unified body in which every point was important for its work. At the same time, it is possible to see the clear hierarchical settlement structure in the prehistoric landscape, in the background of which the social system can also be reconstructed. Settlement hierarchy is therefore a reflection of the general social hierarchy.

The littoral slope of Velebit is unique because of its morphological characteristics (porous karst terrain with little water, cliffs, canyons, cracks and limestone) and no regularity in spatial form of settlement can be shown. There are no norms in the distance between the hillforts and they were built mainly in places significant for pre-Roman people.

There are better geomorphologic characteristics in higher areas of Velebit where karst *poljes* exist, but they contain settlements with mainly seasonal characteristics. Limiting factors in their development are the lack of permanent sources of water and harsh weather conditions during the winter.

Therefore, it is clear from this that the exploitation of necessary resources was performed only where it was possible. And wherever that was, today we have hillforts or enclosures.

The economy of the peregrine community of the *Lopsi* and all other communities on Velebit was based on a local level. This means that they used the resources existing on their territory (land suitable for grazing and agriculture plus forests). Agriculture on the littoral slopes of Velebit was not particularly developed, but nevertheless human activities and their intentions to enclose every potentially usable piece of land and its exploitation can be identified. Traces of land exploitation are confirmed everywhere by the visible collapsed dry-stone walls enclosing green areas near hillforts. The adaptation of the landscape for the needs of the people is also visible at the hillforts, where terracing was mostly

carried out so that this difficult land could be adapted for living or making a livelihood. An important economic activity of the Lopsi and inhabitants of other communities on Velebit was the transhumance of livestock, e.g. the seasonal movement of herds between varying and complementary upland pastures.¹⁴ This method of herding was practiced in the Velebit area until the mid-20th century.¹⁵ The movement with herds took place in relation to the seasons. With the rise in temperature, the herds were moved to higher above sea level altitudes, so that they would spend the peak of summer in the highest mountain areas where there would be sufficient quality grass and much more water than in the littoral regions. Transhumant animal husbandry also should be considered within the context of the adaptation by the inhabitants of Velebit to the natural conditions which enabled quality grazing in the summer months on the littoral slopes of the mountain. During the summer stay in the mountain upland zones the people were also occupied in farming on the karst *poljes*, whilst mowing was extremely important for the preparation of sufficient quantities of hay with which they would feed the livestock during the wintertime in the littoral zone. One of the first pieces of evidence of the transhumance of livestock on Velebit is a boundary stone ("Pisani kamen") carved onto the rocks in Begovača (Fig. 1), on which is written that the coastal Ortoplini are allowed access to the source of "Living water" (aditus ad aquam vivam).¹⁶ However, first evidence on such exploitation of the Velebit Mountain can be dated to Neolithic.¹⁷

The image of the landscape before the establishment of Roman rule was as follows: hillforts, enclosures and prehistoric communications over the Velebit mountain. That is what is visible in today's landscape.

Romanisation would significantly change this image, but mostly only near the main settlement of the *Lopsi*. The landscape around the settlement was urbanised, whilst the establishment of a *municipium* brought new construction. Due to the increase of trade, the harbour in *Lopsica* was adapted to the new needs by building a breakwater between the land and the islet of Lisac, which protected the harbour from the southerly wind.

New buildings were built that differed considerably from the simple prehistoric houses. With the new research in Sveti Juraj, the remains of an ancient

¹⁴ D. S. GEDDES, 1983, 52-66.

¹⁵ V. ROGIĆ, 1958; M. MARKOVIĆ, 1980; T. VINŠĆAK, 1989.

¹⁶ *CIL* III, 15053; D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, 1969, 65; B. ILAKOVAC, 1978, 375-376; M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2003, 86-87; V. GLAVAŠ, 2018, 15-33.

¹⁷ S. FORENBAHER, 2011.



Fig. 6. The Roman inscriptions from Lopsica

structure were discovered, with four rooms, a hypocaust and a floor mosaic in a semicircular apse.¹⁸ The technique, style and the method of construction of this structure were an innovation brought to this area by Romans. The monumentality of walls suggests the existence of a significant cultural building or a building of a public purpose in which the local elite actively participated. When speaking about the collectively constructed identity of society, we cannot assume that all the inhabitants of the town shared the same social values. However, with the arrival of the new government, a new architectural expression developed through which the local elite expressed new Roman standards. From Roman Lopsica only two inscriptions are known on which are noted the names of its inhabitants (Fig. 6.). The first inscription, which is a tombstone discovered in 1975,¹⁹ mentions the local magistrate who held a number of municipal duties (aedilis, duovir (bis), duovir quinquennalis). Although his name is not preserved in its entirety, it can be reconstructed according to the appellation of his daughter (Iulia Ti. f. Procilla). The magistrate was named [Ti(berius) Iulius Ti(beri)? f(ilius)] Se[r(gia tribu) S]ura, a member of the indigenous family Iulius, and

¹⁸ M. BLEČIĆ, 2006, 20-21; V. GLAVAŠ, 2009, 69-79.

¹⁹ M. ZANINOVIĆ, 1976, 159-166; M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2013, 523-529.

tribus Sergia clearly shows that he was a Roman citizen (Fig. 6, I). On the basis of palaeographic and epigraphic particularities, we are able to date the inscription to the period of around the middle of the 1st century AD.

The other inscription (Fig. 6, II) offers more concrete epigraphic evidence about the indigenous origins of the inhabitants of *Lopsica*.²⁰ The commemorator is *Iulia C(ai) f(ilia) Tertia Toruca*, whose origin from autochthonous families clearly shows her personal (local) name (*Toruca*) being used as a *cognomen*. She raises the monument in memory of her daughter *Iulia Paulla (Iulia Sex. f. Paulla*) and granddaughter *Appuleia Marcella (Appuleia C. f. Marcella*). Considering the palaeographic, epigraphic and onomastic particularities, we can date the inscription to the first half of the 1st century.

While the two inscriptions from *Lopsica* represent a very small sample, it is indicative that documented on them are three women and two men from the leading *Iulius* family, amongst whom, judging by the mentioned filiations, we can distinguish three family branches.²¹ These are:

- 1. Iulia C(ai) f(ilia) Tertia Toruca
- 2. Iulia Sex(ti) f(ilia) Paulla
- 3. *Iulia Ti*(*beri*) *f*(*ilia*) *Procilla* and *Ti*(*berius*) *Iulius Ti*(*beri*?) *f*(*ilius*) *Ser*(*gia tribu*) *Sura*, *aedilis*, *IIvir bis*, *IIvir quinq*.

It is also indicative, although difficult to judge only on the basis of two inscriptions, that in order to retain the acquired positions of authority, apparently there is status endogamy, i.e. marriage connections within the same indigenous families have been documented (*Iulia Cai filia Tertia Toruca + Sex(tus) Iulius*). This phenomenon is also documented in the territory of Liburnia in *Albona (Gavilii), Flanona (Aquilii), Nedinium (Octavii)* and *Scardona (Turanii)*, where male members of the leading families as a rule held the positions of magistrates.

Apart from the two mentioned inscriptions from *Lopsica*, only one more fragmentary inscription is known. On a fragment of an architrave incorporated as spolia in the Church of St. Phillip and Jacob, letters *NER AV* are preserved.²² Due to fragmentation it is difficult to reliably restitute the text, but hypothetical restitution [*Ve*]*ner*[*i*] Au[g(usti) sac(rum)] suggests a dedication to Venus²³ and it can be speculated whether in the place of the Church of St. Phillip and Jacob there

²⁰ *CIL* III, 3015; J. BRUNŠMID, 1898, 171-172; 1907, 201-202, Nr. 337; M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2013, 529-532.

²¹ M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2013, 533.

²² CIL III, 15091.

²³ V. GLAVAŠ, 2009, 79.

was an earlier temple dedicated to Venus. There have been, in fact, architectural remains of large structures found by archaeological research, however this assumption should be made with great caution.

The Roman influence greatly changed the area around Gradina and Sveti Juraj, but we think that there was little change in the mountain territory of the community. Transhumant pastoralism, which was present in this region since prehistoric times, implies constant movement and does not require the building of permanent settlements or houses. New trails and roads, built to new standards, brought changes to the landscape and modernized trade. Traces of some of those communications were located in the field. Their width in certain places is defined at 3.5 m. According to this we cannot confirm that these are classic Roman roads, but we should bear in mind that the terrain morphology, despite advanced Roman road building, would have prevented construction of better roads. Today, the the remains of the roads have eroded so much that wheel-ruts are sometimes visible at a height of about 0,5 metre above the former level of the soil.

Apart from these routes a significant role was played by wide trails created due to the extraction of wood from the forests. The exploitation of the forests is one of the most significant factors in the changing of the landscape. Wood was, surely, used as fuel, but the exploitation of high quality wood was perhaps even more important for the economy, as it was used in shipbuilding and construction. In Roman times, forests were intensively exploited, and it is sometimes thought that forests were the main interest of the new authorities in this area. After clearing the forest, spaces were opened up for the grazing of livestock – such terrain is particularly suitable for raising small livestock. This led to devastation and a rapid change in the landscape. An area without a forest covering and with sparse vegetation is exposed to the atmospheric elements - the earth is washed away by the rain or the powerful north-easterly wind (bura), which blows in these regions, and carries the earth away – leading to soil absence. This is the reason why the hillforts are completely bare today; they have no cultural layers, whilst the drystone defensive walls and terraces have almost entirely collapsed. Ultimately, the growth of maquis which worsened the visual appearance of the terrain, sporadically prevented the movement over the karst landscape.

We have defined the assumed territory of the *Lopsi* on the basis of configuration, density of sites and natural borders. We assume that it extended to the north to the hillfort of Torina, over Hrmotine in the direction of Krasno, which together with the fort of Lisac belonged to their territory (Fig. 7). The border to the south probably reached to the cliffs near Donja Klada. Boundary

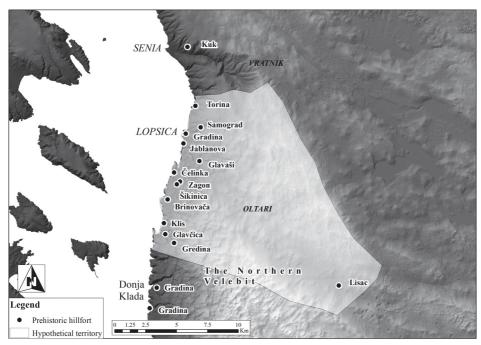


Fig. 7. Hypothetical territory of the Lopsica civitas

inscriptions were also found on Velebit,²⁴ which, do not refer to the territory of *Lopsica*, but we can use them as a model for study of the *Lopsi* territory. Since Romans systematically divided and organized the territory into individual *civitates*, we may presume that they also defined the boundaries of the *Lopsi*, who in the Roman period had a legally specified territory. This was important due to the collection of taxes.

We know nothing about the organisation and appearance of the border areas in the pre-Roman period, but we can assume that they were not organised as in Roman times. We presume that the border in pre-Roman world did not have to mean strictly what it does today. For most of the territory it did not have to be physical, nevertheless it was understood where the border was, in relation to ownership of specific tracts of land.

In the Roman period, the main trading activity of the community took place in the *municipium* under the strict control of the ruling elite. In the peripheral

²⁴ *CIL* III, 15053; D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, 1969, 63-73; J. J. WILKES, 1974, 258; B. ILAKOVAC, 1978, 373-376.

rural areas, however, the obsolete form of direct exchange of products and goods was probably practiced, whilst the exchange of goods between neighbouring peregrine communities took place at the borders.

Lopsica probably experienced rapid development in the late 1st century BC and during the 1st century AD. Meanwhile, to the north, *Senia* was developing. Thanks to a better transport position, *Senia* was becoming the most significant marketplace in the wider area of the Adriatic coast and the main import-export harbour for the Velebit hinterland. And whilst *Lopsica* retained its defined harbour and trading significance during the 1st century, in the 2nd and 3rd centuries it stagnated overshadowed by *Senia*, which became a town in the full sense of the word. *Lopsica* could not reach this level and as a *municipium* with a Romanised population it retained only local significance.

Human behaviour leaves certain consequences on the landscape, intentional or unintentional, which are more or less visible in the same landscape today. Today we contemplate and experience the landscape in the way that we see it in the present. Its investigation is supported by our empirical knowledge of this landscape. But, if we do not try to understand it, we will not be in the position to perceive earlier events of everyday life in the area observed. The landscape of the ancient territory of Lopsica reflects human activities in continuity since prehistoric times to this day. In every corner of the territory of Lopsica, one can feel the activities and interventions of people who changed the landscape and adapted it for their own needs. The cultural landscape of Lopsica today, if we observe it from aerial photographs, looks like an illustration which man has drawn over the centuries. It is for us to observe these changes and interpret the archaeological features, and this is the most difficult part of the task. The only method in which we can at least partially understand what happened in prehistory and early history in this area is that we continuously gather high quality information about the landscape which people have painstakingly adapted for their own needs for centuries and thereby ensured their survival.

Literature

Martina BLEČIĆ, Zaštitna arheološka istraživanja crkve sv. Filipa i Jakova u Svetom Jurju, *Senjski zbornik*, 23, Senj, 2006, 5-26.

Josip BRUNŠMID, Arheološke bilješke iz Dalmacije i Panonije, Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva, n.s. III, Zagreb, 1898, 150-205.

Josip BRUNŠMID, Arheološke bilješke iz Dalmacije i Panonije IV, Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva, n.s. V, Zagreb, 1901, 87-168.

- Josip BRUNŠMID, Kameni spomenici hrvatskoga narodnoga muzeja u Zagrebu, Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva, n.s. IX, Zagreb, 1907, 108-184.
- Aleksandra FABER, Sveti Juraj Lopsica i Lopci, Senjski zbornik, 30, Senj, 2003, 629-648.
- Stašo FORENBAHER, Shepherds of a Coastal Range: the Archaeological Potential of the Velebit Mountain Range (Eastern Adriatic). *Hidden Landscapes of Mediterranean Europe*, BAR International Series 2320, eds. M. van Leusen, G. Pizziolo, L. Sarti, Oxford, 2011, 113-121.
- David S. GEDDES, Neolithic Transhumance in the Mediterranean Pyrenees, *World Archaeology*, 15/1, 1983, 51-66.
- Vedrana GLAVAŠ, Crkva sv. Filipa i Jakova u Svetom Jurju rezultati novih istraživanja, *Senjski zbornik*, 36, Senj, 2009, 67-82.
- Vedrana GLAVAŠ, Problems of reconnaissance of the karst landscape an example of the northern sub-Velebit littoral, Croatia, *AARGnews*, 43, 2011, 24-30.
- Vedrana GLAVAŠ, Analize vidljivosti u prapovijesnom krajoliku Velebita, *Archaeologia Adriatica*, 8, Zadar, 2014, 1-26.
- Vedrana GLAVAŠ, The legends of rock: stories landscape and boundaries in the Central Velebit Mountain. Landscape in Southeastern Europe. eds. L. Mirošević, G. Zaro, M. Katić, D. Birt, Wien: LIT VERLAG GmbH & Co. KG Wien, 2018, 15-33.
- Ante GLAVIČIĆ, Arheološki nalazi iz Senja i okolice, Senjski zbornik, 2, Senj, 1966, 383-426.
- Ante GLAVIČIĆ, Arheološki nalazi iz Senja i okolice (II), *Senjski zbornik*, 3, Senj, 1967, 5-45.
- Ante GLAVIČIĆ, Arheološki nalazi iz Senja i okolice (III), Senjski zbornik, 4, 1970, 45-70.
- Ante GLAVIČIĆ, Stara i nova groblja, grobovi na području grada Senja i šire senjske okolice (I), *Senjski zbornik*, 19, Senj, 1992, 81-108.
- Miroslav GLAVIČIĆ, Željeznodobna i antička naselja podno Velebita, *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru. Razdio povijesnih znanosti*, 31(18), Zadar, 1991/1992, 97-119.
- Miroslav GLAVIČIĆ, Civitas municipium Lopsica, Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru. Razdio povijesnih znanosti, 35(22), Zadar, 1997, 45-70.
- Miroslav GLAVIČIĆ, Epigrafski podaci o korištenju vode u Liburniji, *Histria Antiqua*, 10, Pula, 2003, 83-89.
- Miroslav GLAVIČIĆ, Crtice o stanovništvu antičke Lopsike, *Diadora*, 26/27, Zadar, 2012, 519-536.
- Dunja GLOGOVIĆ, Prilog poznavanju željeznog doba na Sjevernom Jadranu, Hrvatsko primorje i Kvarnerski otoci, Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Razred za društvene znanosti, Monografije, I, Zagreb, 1989.
- Dunja GLOGOVIĆ, Noževi tipa Sv. Juraj, Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju, 9, Zagreb, 1992, 23-27.
- Boris ILAKOVAC, Pisani kamen, Živa antika, 28, 1978, 373-376.

- Mirko MARKOVIĆ, Narodni život i običaji sezonskih stočara na Velebitu, Zbornik za narodni život i običaje Južnih Slavena, 48, Zagreb, 1980, 5-139.
- Duje RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, Novi Dolabelin "terminacijski" natpis iz okolice Jablanca, Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, s.3, 3, Zagreb, 1969, 63-73.
- Veljko ROGIĆ, Velebitska primorska padina, Prirodoslovno-matematički fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Zagreb, 1958.

Mate SUIĆ, Antički grad na istočnom Jadranu, Zagreb, 1976.

- Tomo VINŠĆAK, Kuda idu "horvatski nomadi"? Studia ethnologica Croatica, 1, Zagreb, 1989, 79-98.
- John J. WILKES, Boundary stones in Roman Dalmatia, Arheološki vestnik, 25, Ljubljana, 1974, 258-271.

Marin ZANINOVIĆ, Antički natpis iz Jurjeva, Senjski zbornik, 6, Senj, 1976, 159-166.

- Marin ZANINOVIĆ, Antička naselja ispod Velebita, Senjski zbornik, 8, Senj, 1980, 187-196.
- Marin ZANINOVIĆ, Stanovništvo velebitskog podgorja u antici, Senjski zbornik, 10-11, Senj, 1984, 29-40.

CIVITAS LOPSICA: PRIMJER PROMJENE PRAPOVIJESNOG U POVIJESNI KULTURNI KRAJOLIK

Sažetak

U radu se prikazuje dio rezultata višegodišnjeg arheološkog istraživanja, čiji je glavni cilj proučavanje kompleksnog procesa romanizacije peregrinskih civitates na prostoru Velebita tijekom 1. st. prije Krista i u 1. st. nakon Krista. Kao primjer romanizacije odabrana je civitas Lopsica, čije se središte nalazilo na Gradini u današnjem podvelebitskom mjestu. Sveti Juraj kod Senja. Lopsica se spominje u antičkim povijesnim vrelima, osobito je važan njezin spomen kod Plinija Starijeg (Naturalis historia III, 139, 140), gdje je u popisu važnijih liburnskih naselja navedena kao oppidum. Lopsica tijekom 1. st. nakon Krista postiže municipalni status, koji je i epigrafski potvrđen. Onomastička analiza pokazuje da su na natpisima navedeni pripadnici romanizirane autohtone aristokracije, koji u upravnoj i gospodarskoj strukturi municipija zadržavaju stečene pozicije vlasti i čine povlašteni sloj.

I civitas i municipium Lopsica imali su svoj teritorij, koji je osim priobalja obuhvaćao i prostor koji se duboko prostirao u unutrašnjost Velebita. Uz podatke iz ranijih istraživanja, korištenje suvremenih metoda prospekcije terena, osobito metoda zračne arheologije, omogućilo je preciznije određenje granica zajednice i uvid u organizaciju života na planinskom prostoru koji se, gledajući njegovu izrazito krašku morfologiju, čini krajnje neprikladnim za život. Planina je pružala vrlo dobre uvjete za bavljenje stočarstvom, ali i za eksploataciju šumskih resursa, od čega je lokalno stanovništvo moglo imati značajnu korist. Povoljan strateški i prometni položaj te dobra luka poticali su razvoj trgovine, koja se preko planinskih prijevoja odvijala s japodskom unutrašnjošću. Promjene koje su tijekom željeznog doba i početkom antike nastale u krajoliku, mogu se i danas uočiti.

Ključne riječi: Lopsica, peregrinska zajednica (civitas), romanizacija, municipium