The valley of the Una river, the land of the “Illyrian” Iapodes

Abstract: This paper focuses on one of the Illyrian people that played a large role in the study of ancient Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is important to make an overview of ancient sources and their information about the Iapodes as people in order to get a broader picture. In addition, there were many controversies both in historiography and in the information provided by classical authors regarding the territory where the Iapodes lived. It is very difficult to determine the exact border today, so for that reason, the paper presents the opinion of several authors who addressed this issue. One of the most important events, when it comes to the Illyrians, was Bellum Batonianum, commonly known as Bato’s Uprising (AD 6–9), and the paper presents a discussion about whose side the Iapodes were on. It is difficult to draw any major conclusions based on all the texts. Attention was also paid to the administrative arrangements of the Iapodes and their territory after the establishment of Roman rule, which is very important given the differences between the Iapodes and other Illyrian peoples. This paper is an interdisciplinary study combining the ethnological, history of art, architectural and written perspectives.

Keywords: the Illyrians, the Iapodes, the Romans, Bellum Batonianum, religion, Octavian, territory, art

Apstrakt: Rad se fokusira na ilirski narod koji je imao enormnu ulogu u proučavanju antičke Bosne i Hercegovine. Važno je vidjeti pregled antičkih izvora i njihovih podataka o Japodima kako bi se dobila što je moguće šira slika o njima. Također, postoji jako veliki broj kontroverznih podataka, kako u historiografiji tako i u podacima koje su iza sebe ostavili antički autori oko teritorija na kojem su boravili Japodi. Teško je najpreciznije odrediti granicu danas, stoga je u radu navedeno nekoliko različitih

1 The Illyrian name itself is not a construct of the Hellenes or Romans, because its etymological origin probably comes from a complex that belonged to the Illyrians of prehistory, protohistory and the epoch of classical civilizations. It was not created by the Hellenes, Romans or other Italics (e.g., Etruscans) and their languages, but they took it over to give a conceptual collective nomenclature. Of course, this does not mean that the Illyrian term as collective and identity name was also used by those whom the Hellenes and Romans called the Illyrians in the given contexts of time, space and circumstances. It is most likely that the Illyrian name as a collective name by those to which it was applied by the Hellenes and the Romans was accepted only with the establishment of Roman authority. (For more information see: Mesihović 2021)
mišljenja autora koji su se bavili pitanjem Japoda i generalno Ilira te njihovih teritorija. Jedan od najvećih događaja u ilirskoj historiji, svakako je bio Batonov ustanak (6–9. godine), te se u članku mogu pronaći rasprave o ulozi Japoda u tom ustanku. Pored toga, pažnja je posvećena i administrativnom uređenju Japoda nakon što su Rimljani uspostavili svoju upravu na ovom prostoru. Ovo je jako bitno pitanje s obzirom da postoje određene razlike između rimske uprave kod Japoda i kod drugih ilirskih naroda na području današnje Bosne i Hercegovine.

Ključne riječi: Iliri, Japodi, Rimljani, Bellum Batonianum, Oktavijan, religija, teritorija, umjetnost

Introduction: Mention of the Iapodes in classical written and material sources

The earliest preserved authentic mention of the Iapodes can be found in the fragments of Hecataeus of Miletus a logographer from the late 6th/early 5th century BC. Stephanus of Byzantium cited Hecataeus in his lexicon Ethnica mentioning Iapygia, the city in Italy and Illyria. Iapygia in Illyria has never been located, but this mention is understood as the oldest mention of the Iapodes. Strabo shared the following information about the Iapodes and wrote that the Iapygi inhabited Crotone in Calabria, southern Italy, so even this hypothesis about the settlement of the Iapodes in Italy would be possible, but only if we can certainly assure that the name of Iapygia was indeed of Illyrian origin.

The next classical author who was of great importance in the context of Iapodian history is Strabo. In his work, Geographica, he presented a fairly large amount of data related to the Illyrian lands, including the data relating to the Iapodes. In his fourth book, Strabo described the eastern part of the Alpine area and defined that area as inhabited by the Iapodes. In addition, Strabo is the first classical author to mention some Iapodian “cities”, like Metulum, Arupium, Monetise, and Vendon.
his seventh book and the fifth chapter, Strabo wrote about the area of the Western Balkans and mentioned Pannonia and its city Segestica, noting that this city bordered with the Iapodes, people who are both Illyrian and Celtic. Apart from noting that the Iapodes were the Illyrian and Celtic people, Strabo wrote that the Iapodes, like all other Illyrians and Thracians, were covered in tattoos.\(^8\)

Pliny the Elder is another author who mentioned the Iapodes in his *Naturalis Historiae*. However, his work is extremely important because he mentioned the Iapydes together with the Liburnians as the only two peoples who were in the Scardona district (*conventus*).\(^9\) The following author who mentioned the Iapodes was Claudius Ptolemy, who counted the Iapodes as one of the 16 communities from Dalmatia, and he was the one who connected the Iapodes with the coastal areas.\(^10\) This statement is quite legitimate considering that the discovery of monuments dedicated to Bindus indicates that there was obviously some connection between the Iapodes and the sea or water of that matter.\(^11\)

The two most important classical authors who described Octavian’s campaign in Illyria from 35 to 33 BC were Cassius Dio and Appian of Alexandria. Appian was a man who could be described as a “key source” for observing the conflict between Rome and the Iapodes during campaigns. He described these conflicts in detail, as well as the appearance of the Iapodian settlements that Octavian encountered.\(^12\) The siege of Metulum, described in detail by Appian, must be singled out.\(^13\) In addition to describing the settlements, Appian also presented the information about the location of the territory of the Iapodes, so he wrote the following: “...inside the Alps and on the other side of the Alps.”\(^*\)

\(^*\) Translation: And further, the Iapodes (we now come to this mixed tribe of Illyrii and Celti)206 dwell round about these regions; and Mount Ocrais near these people. The Iapodes, then, although formerly they were well supplied with strong men and held as their homeland both sides of the mountain and by their business of piracy held sway over these regions, have been vanquished and completely outdone by Augustus Caesar. Their cities are: Metulum, Arupini, Monetium, and Vendo.

\(^8\) Mesihović, Šačić 2015, 89.

\(^9\) Plin. *HN* 3. 25. *conventum Scardonitanum petunt Iapudes et Liburnorum civitates XIII...* Translate: To the jurisdiction of Scardona resort the Iapydes and fourteen cities of the Liburni...

\(^10\) Mesihović, Šačić 2015, 101.


\(^12\) App. *Ill.* 3.4.17. *Iapydes, Segestani, Delmatae, Daesii and the Pannonians were the greatest difficulties caused to Octavian’s army.*

\(^13\) App. *Ill.* 3. 4. 16 – 21

\(^14\) App. *Ill.* 3. 4. 16; 27, 18 – 21.
Unlike Appian, Cassius Dio did not provide such detailed descriptions of Octavian’s conflicts with the Iapodes. His focus was more on the *Bellum Batonianum* or commonly known as the Great Illyrian Uprising. Dio had a different opinion about the territory of the Iapodes than Appian; so in addition to the fact that the Iapodes lived in the Alps and on the other side of the Alps, he wrote that they lived not far from the sea.\textsuperscript{15} Since Dio focused more on the *Bellum Batonianum*, he is very important as a source for the renowned Germanicus military campaign on the northern line (Pounje – the wider area of the Una river valley and north-western Bosnia) of defence of the remaining areas that had been controlled by the rebels. He conquered Splonum, then *Raetinium*, which Dio said he was not entirely sure whether the Romans eventually re-entered *Raetinium* after the fire was extinguished or left it to collapse.\textsuperscript{16}

In addition to classical authors, the famous *Sebasteion* complex, excavated in 1979–1981 dedicated to Aphrodite and the Julio-Claudian emperors, discovered in the inland of the Caria region in Asia Minor, also “speaks” of the Iapodes.\textsuperscript{17} The figure of Augustus appears on the relief together with the figures of Tiberius, Claudius, and Nero. But it is especially interesting that every nation that was subjugated by Augustus is depicted there. Among them are the Iapodes as one of the four Illyrian people’s depicted.\textsuperscript{18}

**Determination of the Iapodian territory**

The Iapodes were one of the Illyrian peoples\textsuperscript{19} whom classical sources mention being the most belligerent and quarrelsome with others who tried to take their territory. For these reasons, it is very difficult to determine the exact boundaries of the territory controlled by the Iapodes. However, the basic outlines of their territory can be reconstructed thanks to classical authors who provided information on where these people could be located.\textsuperscript{20} Danijel Džino and Alka Domić Kunić located the Iapodes in the area of today’s Lika and Gorski Kotar in Croatia, whose

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\textsuperscript{15} Cass. Dio 21. 49. 35 – 38.
\textsuperscript{16} Mesihović 2018a, 505-506.
\textsuperscript{17} Mesihović 2018b, 131.
\textsuperscript{18} Grbić 2011, 134-136.
\textsuperscript{19} Iapodian personal names are best known from inscriptions found in the Una valley near Bihać. They belong to the same onomastic type as the names of their eastern neighbors the Dalmatae and Mazaei. Despite some of their peculiar features, Iapodian names belong to the same group as the personal names of most tribes in the central part of the province of Dalmatia. Katičić 1963, 255-292.
\textsuperscript{20} Olujić 2007, 107.
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The territory stretched to the southern part Bela Krajina in Slovenia and the Una river in Bosnia.\(^{21}\)

Olujić agrees with the idea that the territory of the Iapodes in the north stretched all the way to the middle course of the Kupa river,\(^{22}\) referring to the information provided by Pliny the Elder, who says that there were Colapians, north neighbours of the Iapodes.\(^{23}\) If we take into account that the Colapians are explicitly connected to the area of the Kupa river, such a statement makes sense. The western border caused a lot of problems because, according to Appian, there were two groups of the Iapodes: “One living in the Alps and one living on the other side of the Alps.”\(^{24}\) For these reasons, two cities of the Iapodes are usually taken as capital; one is called Arupium located near Otočac in Croatia, and another is Metulum in the vicinity of Ogulin in Croatia.\(^{25}\) Given such information, Olujić concluded that the western border of the Iapodes should include Bela Krajina in today’s Slovenia. When pinpointing the northwestern border of the Iapodian territory, Olujić used information provided by Strabo, who wrote that this border goes all the way to Okra mountain.\(^{26}\) Dragana Grbić also agreed with the conclusion that the Iapodian territory stretched between Okra mountain and the Una river all the way to the Bela Krajina, and she referred to other authors for this information. She herself is confident that only today’s Lika and the area around Bihać certainly belonged to the Iapodes.\(^{27}\)

When it comes to the southeastern border, almost all of the authors agree that the Iapodian neighbours were the Ditiones, given that Strabo mentions them in his book,\(^{28}\) together with the Breuci,\(^{29}\) Andizetes, Daesitiate,\(^{30}\) Pirustae, and Maezaei.

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\(^{21}\) Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 67.
\(^{22}\) Olujić 2007, 107-111.
\(^{23}\) Plin. HN. 3. 25. 147.
\(^{24}\) App. Ill. 3. 16. 17. 21.
\(^{25}\) Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 68.
\(^{26}\) Okra mountain is differently identified in the literature, most often associated with Mount Nanos, but it is certainly the most suitable mountain pass for land routes that led to Italy (Olujić 2007, 110).
\(^{27}\) Grbić 2014, 74.
\(^{28}\) Strabo 7. 5. 4. Iapydes are stationed around Mount Albion (translator’s comment: Velebit).
\(^{29}\) The Breuci were a Pannonian Illyrian “tribe”. They greatly resisted the Romans but some were sold as slaves after their defeat. They received Roman citizenship during Trajan’s reign. The most famous person from their history is Bato the Breucian, one of the leaders of the Great Illyrian Revolt. He surrendered to Tiberius in AD 8 on the bank of the Bathinus (the Bosna river). He is also described as a coward and ultimately captured by Bato the Daesitiate and put to death after a decision was made by an assembly. (Wilkes 1992, 203, 207.)
\(^{30}\) The Daesitiate lived in the territory of today’s central Bosnia. Their name can be found in many inscriptions and historical works of classical authors. They were conquered by Roman Emperor.
among the Pannonian peoples.\textsuperscript{31} The biggest problem arose in case of the eastern border because there were different opinions about the precise end of the Iapodian territory. Carl Patsch envisioned the border of the Iapodes farther from the Una river toward the east, perhaps even to the area of the Sana river, describing that they were in contact with the Maezaei there.\textsuperscript{32} Olujić believes that the interfluve of the Una and Sana river was actually a border area between the Iapodes and Pannonia, while the valley of the Sana river must have belonged to the Maezaei. He concluded that the Sana should not be included in the Iapodian territory.\textsuperscript{33} The information that confused authors comes from Pliny the Elder, who placed the southeastern border of the Iapodes on the sea shores, and noted that the border between the Iapodes and Liburnians was the Telavius river.\textsuperscript{34} It’s very difficult to identify this river. There are two possible identifications; one of them is the Zrmanja river, in literature most often identified with that river, but it is also identified with the Žrnovnica watercourse, not far from Senj in Croatia.\textsuperscript{35}

In essence, it is very difficult to determine all the borders of the Iapodian territory given an unequal number of pieces of information. The eastern border is quite problematic because of Grmeč mountain and the course of the Sana river which flows into the Una river. It is very difficult to determine where they bordered the Maezaei. They bordered with them for sure, but if we take into account the Unac valley, which Ivo Bojanovski wrote was almost certainly inhabited by the Serdati peoples,\textsuperscript{36} then we can raise the question of where exactly the eastern border of the Iapodes would be. The conclusion may be that the eastern border could be placed on Grmeč mountain because it is quite impassable; even today, it is inaccessible during winter; and it is followed by the course of the Sana river, which, according to various authors, belonged to the Maezaei.

Augustus, after which the Daesitiates were incorporated into the province of Illyricum with a total of 103 \textit{decuriae}. (Wilkes 1992, 207; 216.; Mesihović 2007, 9-10, 180.)

\textsuperscript{31} Strabo. 7. 5. 3. ἕθνη δ᾽ ἐστὶ τῶν Παννονίων Βρεῦκοι καὶ Άνδιζήτιοι καὶ Διτίωνες καὶ Πειροῦσται καὶ Μαζαῖοι καὶ Δαισιτιᾶται, ὧν Βάτων ἡγεμών, καὶ ἄλλα ἀσημότερα μικρά, ἃ διατείνει μέχρι Δαλματίας σχεδὸν δὲ τι καὶ Ἀρδιαίων ἰόντι πρὸς νότον: ἅπασα δ᾽ ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ… Translation: The tribes of the Pannonii are: the Breuci, the Andisetii, the Ditiones, the Peirustae, the Mazaei, and the Daesitiatae, whose leader is Bato, and also other small tribes of less significance which extend as far as Dalmatia and, as one goes south, almost as far as the land of the Ardiaei...

\textsuperscript{32} Carl Patsch 1896, 113-140.
\textsuperscript{33} Olujić 2007, 111.
\textsuperscript{34} Plin. \textit{HN} 3. 140.
\textsuperscript{35} Olujić 2007, 112.
\textsuperscript{36} Bojanovski 1988, 250.
Iapodian relations with the Romans during the Roman Republic

Titus Livius was one of the classical authors who brought important news about early Roman contacts with the Iapodes. He wrote that in 171 BC, newly founded Aquileia sent its envoys to the Senate with a request to fortify and strengthen this city as they felt threatened by the enemy, the Histri (Histrians) and Illyrians. Among these Illyrians, Carl Patsch recognized the Iapodes, probably led by the assumption that in Livy’s time the Iapodes were already an integral part of the Illyrians. Furthermore, in his 43rd book *Ab Urbe Condita*, Livy wrote about consul Gaius Cassius Longinus. In 171 BC, Longinus intended to pass through the land of the Iapodes and further into the interior of the Balkans all the way to Macedonia region to attack their king. He said that he had been hospitably welcomed by the Iapodes, but since Longinus failed to defeat the Macedonians, he angrily destroyed everything on his way back. The Iapodes, along with other Illyrian nations, sent their envoys to Rome and the Senate officially in 171 BC apologizing to the Iapodes for such conduct by their consul. Apart from the fact that the Iapodes were mentioned so early, more important was the Iapodian delegation in Rome. The Senate directly apologized to the Iapodes, showing the diplomatic relations between the Iapodes and the Romans.

Octavian’s campaign in Illyricum was narrated by a large number of classical authors such as Appian, Cassius Dio, Florus, Strabo, Suetinous, and Velleius Paterculus. Especially important for this topic are Appian and Cassius Dio, who offered the best-detailed description of the events of the Octavian’s war. According to the information provided by Appian, Octavian first subdued the pirates of Korčula (*Corcyra Nigra*) and Mljet (*Melita*), after which he went after the Iapodes. It is assumed that Octavian began his conquest of the Iapodes from the port of Senia (Senj) followed by the interior of the Iapodian territory.

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37 Aquileia was founded as a colony by the Romans in 180 or 181 BC on land south of the Julian Alps. This colony served as a strategic frontier at the north-east corner of transpadane Italy.
38 Olujić 2007, 73.
39 Patsch 1896, 124.
40 Mesihović, Šačić 2015, 170.
41 Appian’s *Illyrike* is based on Augustus’ *Commentarii* and can therefore be regarded as biased, but the wealth of details makes it an excellent source. Several dozens of peoples and tribes involved in this war were noted by name by Appian (Šašel Kos 2018, 41-59).
42 The account of Cassius Dio is less exhaustive and has certain importance only for the first phase of the war against the Iapodes and Pannonians (Šašel Kos 2018, 41-59).
43 Olujić 2007, 85.
44 Aug. Anc. 3.1.
Octavian’s army marched against the Iapodes in the Alps, where he encountered the Moentini and the Avendeatae, who surrendered immediately. After defeating them, Octavian headed for the Iapodes on the other side of the Alps, and here Appian mentioned the importance of three peoples, namely the inhabitants of Terponus and Metulum, alongside Posena as a special branch of the Iapodes.

The fall of Metulum

The name of this Iapodian settlement can be found in the writings of Appian, Cassius Dio, and Strabo. Dio wrote that Metulum was the largest Iapodian settlement. Strabo only mentioned it when he enumerated the Iapodian settlements, whereas Appian gave a detailed account of Metulum and its fall achieved by Roman soldiers. Sources note that the Iapodian society, whose center was Metulum, is called Metuloi.

According to Appian, Metulum was defended by about “3000 well-armed and warlike Iapodian warriors.” Several fierce battles took place, and the first Roman attack was repulsed without major problems for the Iapodes. Thereafter, Roman soldiers became nervous, so Octavian personally led the second attack on Metulum. The Iapodes realized that they would not be able to defend Metulum, so they sent messengers and 50 hostages to Octavian. They pledged to Octavian that Roman soldiers could enter the city freely; their warriors would remain on the lower platforms, while the Romans would occupy the higher part. Octavian accepted this proposition and entered Metulum with his army, but the Iapodes never intended to give up Metulum so freely. They hid women and children in town halls and attacked the Romans immediately. In the meantime, the town hall caught fire, and the women who came out with children began to throw themselves into the fire because they did not want to fall into the hands of the Romans and become slaves.

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46 App. Ill. 3. 16.
47 Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 154 – 155.
48 Olujić 2007, 92.
50 App. Ill. 3.19.
51 Wilkes 1969, 50 – 51.
52 Mesihović 2018a, 98 – 99.
54 App. Ill. 3.20;21 Their city was completely destroyed, not a trace of it remained even though it was the largest city in these areas.
When it comes to the location of Metulum, there are various locations in the literature where this Iapodian city could be located. Olujić considers that Metulum represents today’s Vinčica in the Ogulin valley in Croatia. The reason for this is his reference to classical authors, including Appian himself, when he wrote that Metulum lay between two wooded hills. Vinčica corresponds to such a place, and on the basis of archaeological excavations, it was founded that there was an ancient settlement.55 Danijel Džino and Alka Domić Kunić agree with this statement, stating that Metulum is actually today’s place Vinčica near Modruš.56 On the other hand, Ivo Bojanovski considers today’s Čakovec near Josipdol in Lika, as actually the site of former Metulum. Apart from Olujić, Džino and Domić Kunić, Mesihović57 and Wilkes58 also agree with the statement that this town is present-day Vinčica near Ogulin.

The role of the Iapodes in *Bellum Batonianum* (AD 6-9)

There is no information from classical authors about the role of the Iapodes in the Great Illryian Revolt until the siege of *Raetinium*. It implies that Iapodes took a part in Bato’s uprising, but it contains a lot of distinctions and discussions about the side they fought on; whether with the Romans or with “rebels”.59 Velleius Paterculus emphasized that the whole of Pannonia with Dalmatia60 took part in Bato’s uprising. But one should be especially careful here when identifying the people who took part in the revolt. We certainly know that the Daesitiates, Breuci, Pirustas, and Maezaei participated because the sources mentioned them.61 On the other hand, nothing specific can be said about the Iapodes.62

Mesihović’s opinion is that the Iapodian territory was literally divided during *Bellum Batonianum* into “loyals” and “rebels”. The uprising was certainly joined by the Iapodian communities in Pounje and in the western parts from the Una river towards the Kupa river, in the area where Bato the Daesitiate passed with his forces.63 That part of the Iapodes was on the side of the Romans, can be told by an inscription from

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55 Olujić 2007, 126.
56 Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 68.
57 Mesihović 2018a, 98.
58 Wilkes 1969, 51.
59 Olujić 2007, 197.
60 Vell. Pat. 2, 96. 2; 3.
61 Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 178.
62 Marin Zaninović believes that the Iapodes and the Liburnians took a part in this uprising, although he is not completely sure (Zaninović 1989, 59).
63 Mesihović 2011b, 373.
Verona, in which it is clearly written that the Iapodes and the Liburnians were led by a certain man mentioned in that inscription. Nevertheless, many authors do not agree with the statement that this inscription immediately implied the action of the Iapodes on the side of the Romans during the uprising. Therefore, Esad Pašalić wrote that at the beginning of the war, the Iapodes and the Liburnians joined the rebel forces. But after the pacification of the northern regions, they came under Roman rule before the uprising ended. Suić claims that according to the information from the sources, it can be clearly concluded that the Maezaei, as neighbours of the Iapodes, were the westernmost people who can be said to have participated in the uprising. The whole area of Pounje was considered an insurgent defensive bastion on the northwestern front, and since this area was close to Siscia (Sisak), the main command post of the Roman army, it suffered enormous casualties.

If Raetinium can be located as an Iapodian place in the vicinity of Bihać, then it can be claimed that the Iapodes fought against the Romans because their city was conquered by Germanicus Julius Caesar, the son of Nero Claudius Drusus and one of the Roman generals who fought in Illyricum during the uprising. But, again, it’s the only Iapodian place that opposed the Romans during the Bellum Batonianum, so it can be said that only a part of the Iapodes was in conflict with the Romans, while the rest were under Roman rule. The fact that Germanicus had to take actions against the Iapodes suggests that they had not yet been completely subdued by the Romans.

The fall of Raetinium

The year of AD 8 was decisive for the outcome of the war. The Pannonians, suffering from famine and disease, surrendered to Tiberius on the banks of the Bathinus river (Bosna) during summer. Bato the Breucian allegedly laid down his arms, handed over Breucian king Pines, and as a reward received an amnesty from the Romans, who left him in charge of his people and some other Pannonians.

64 CIL 05, 3346. Judging by the inscription, the Iapodes were not on the rebels side. However, the mention of Raetinium as an important and powerful rebel stronghold in Cassius Dio (Cass. Dio 56 11. 3-7), relativizes the classification of the Iapodes as rebels.
66 Mesihović 2011b, 373.
67 Olujić 2007, 197 – 199.
68 Džino and Domić Kunić claim that this is one of the examples of the personal ambitions of the leaders of the uprising. By this act, Tiberius promised to help Baton the Breucian. (Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 175.)
Subsequently, Tiberius, as the commander in Chief of the Roman forces, began to deploy his troops on other fronts. According to Mesihović, after the overthrow of the Pannonian resistance, Tiberius could finally allow himself to return to Rome and be replaced by Germanicus. He had only one idea, to end the riots in Illyricum as soon as possible. His tactical idea was based on the northwestern front because he could merge with Salona and Narona on the Adriatic if he needed any reinforcements or supplies for his troops. The only classical source that provides detailed information about this tactical idea is Cassius Dio, while other classical authors that wrote about the *Bellum Batonianum* do not mention this great operation.\(^{70}\)

The first significant place, according to Dio, that felt Germanicus’s offensive was Splonum,\(^{71}\) located in today’s area of Šipovo in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In addition to a large number of warriors, there was a civilian population in Splonum, which meant that it was a more important settlement but Germanicus encountered certain problems when he came to Splonum.\(^{72}\) Namely, Splonum was a place that was very well protected by walls and the Roman general could not harm these fortifications with siege engines,\(^{73}\) but then one banal thing happened. A member of the Roman cavalry, named Pusio, threw a stone hard against the wall and shook the parapet so that it immediately fell and pulled the man who was leaning against him.\(^{74}\) Thus the defence of Splonum gave away, and its inhabitants surrendered to Germanicus.\(^{75}\)

After the capture of Splonum, Germanicus moved with his army northwest toward Raetinium, where he also encountered enormous problems. Arriving in front of Raetinium, Germanicus immediately ordered his troops to attack the fort and completely destroy it. Seeing that they would not be able to defend themselves from the attackers, defenders resorted to tactical cunning.\(^{76}\) Namely, taking advantage of the opportunity provided by the defence fortification system, they set fire in the suburbs and retreated to the fort.\(^{77}\) The Romans, realizing that the suburbs were completely deserted, carelessly and confidently broke into the settlement. Those units who came first into the settlement fell into the predetermined trap.\(^{78}\)

\(^{70}\) Mesihović 2009, 9 – 33.

\(^{71}\) Mesihović 2011b, 366.

\(^{72}\) Mesihović 2018a, 504 – 505; Bojanovski 1988, 51.

\(^{73}\) Cass. Dio 50. 11. 1 – 2.

\(^{74}\) Cass. Dio 56. 11. 2.

\(^{75}\) Zaninović 2015, 447.

\(^{76}\) Cass. Dio 56. 11. 3 – 4.

\(^{77}\) Zaninović 2015, 447.

\(^{78}\) Cass. Dio 56. 11. 5. *After Splonum, troops of Germanicus came to Raetinium, but did not fare so well here. For the enemy, overwhelmed by their numbers and unable to withstand them, set fire of their own*
Raetinium managed to defend itself against the Roman attack; however, the problem was the advance of the fire which endangered the acropolis part of the settlement. For that reason the defenders failed to turn their excellent tactic into a final victory. What is not clear from Dio’s description of this siege of Raetinium is whether the Romans eventually completely occupied Raetinium after the fire subsided. But it is assumed that they had to do it to make sure that they conquered this settlement. Dio probably thought that this was implied, so there was no need to write about it. After Raetinium, Germanicus also went to Seretion, which he also occupied. The siege of Raetinium is significant because it shows that the area of “Pounje” was actually on the side of the rebels, not on the side of the Romans.

Administrative organization of the Una valley under Roman rule

With the end of Bellum Batonianum, the Iapodian peregrine civitates completely belonged to the province of Illyricum Superior, known as Dalmatia. Together with the Liburnians, they formed a special conventus called Scardona. The Liburnians, accord to the encircling wall and to the houses adjoining it, contriving, however, to keep it so far as possible from blazing up at once and to make it go unnoticed for some time; after doing this they retired to the citadel. The Romans, ignorant of what they had done, rushed in after them, expecting to sack the whole place without striking a blow; thus they got inside the circle of fire, and, with their minds intent upon the enemy, saw nothing of it until they were surrounded by it on all sides. Then they found themselves in the direst peril, being pelted by the men from above and injured by the fire from without. They could neither remain where they were safely nor force their way out anywhere without danger. For if they stood out of range of the missiles, they were scorched by the fire, or, if they leaped back from the flames, they were destroyed by the missiles; and some who got caught in a tight place perished from both causes at once, being wounded on one side and burned on the other. The majority of those who had rushed into the town met this fate; but some few escaped by casting corpses into the flames and making a passage for themselves by using the bodies as a bridge. The fire gained such headway that even those on the citadel could not remain there, but abandoned it in the night and hid themselves in subterranean chambers. These were the operations at that point. (Translated by Earnest Cary, Herbert B. Foster. Loeb Classical Library 175. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924.)

Zaninović 2015, 447.
Mesihović 2018a, 507.
Mesihović 2018a, 508.
Peregrine civitates represent small autonomous polities which had a certain degree of dependence on the Roman state and provincial government. The states of these peregrine civitates were not uniform. Depending on the will, interests and needs of the Roman central and provincial authorities, as well as the earlier Illyrian polity toward the Roman state, some peregrine civitates had greater while some has lesser autonomy. The term “polity” implies a community that had built its own system to administer itself (with functional political institutions). (Mesihović 2011a, 3 – 4.)
The provincial border between Pannonia and Dalmatia passed through the Cazin region, which is an area west of the Una river, so it is almost certain that the border followed the Una river basin. (Mesihović 2011b, 373.)
When it comes to the languages of these two peoples, they were, as far as we can conclude from
at the time of their submission to the Romans, were organized on territorial basis as *civitates Liburniae*, while this was not the case with the Iapodes, who lived on a clan principle.\(^8^5\) Pliny the Elder did not mention the number of decuries of the Iapodes, just like the Liburnians, and for that reason the Iapodes cannot be compared with other Illyrian peoples in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to determine their full number.\(^8^6\) The fact that the Iapodes were mentioned together with the Liburnians in the Scardona *conventus*, without indication of the number of decuries, demonstrates that they, for some reason, were registered in a manner different from that of the indigenous *civitates* in other *conventi* of Illyricum Superior.\(^8^7\) Just like other peoples in the province of Dalmatia, the Iapodes were too affected by a gradual process of cultural Romanization and later legal and political Romanization.\(^8^8\)

One of the earliest inscriptions mentioning the Iapodes as a Roman administrative and political unit was found in Verona, and the “author” of the inscription\(^9^9\) is a person who was *prefect* of the Iapodes and Liburnians during the Bato’s Uprising.\(^9^0\) However, the text of this inscription could not tell too much. Namely, it cannot tell us anything about the role of these two peoples during the uprising, and not only that, it cannot tell us anything about the prefect whose name is found on the inscription.\(^9^1\) On the other hand, this inscription shows us that the communities of Liburnia and the Iapodes, at the time of the uprising, were under one command. It sheds light on the administrative aspects of peregrine *civitates* of the Iapodes.

There is a specificity about the Roman administration in the area of the Iapodes that differs from the majority of other peoples of the province of Dalmatia. Namely, at the head of the highest executive functions among the Iapodes from Pounje,

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\(^8^5\) Suić 1981, 108.

\(^8^6\) Their numbers had to be adequate to their historical role, as well as the size of the territory they inhabited. This would suggest that these two peoples were among those with the highest numbers. Since there are only two peoples in the Scardona *conventus*, we could assume that the total number of its population is still smaller in relation to those from Naronitan and Salonitan *conventi*. (Mesihović 2011a, 4 – 5; 13 – 14)

\(^8^7\) *Plin* HN 3. 38; 127; 129; 139 – 140. ...*conventum Scardonitium petunt Japodes et Liburnorum civitates XIV*; Mesihović 2011a, 60.

\(^8^8\) Mesihović 2011b, 373.

\(^8^9\) *CIL* 05, 3346

\(^9^0\) Grbić 2014, 75; Suić 1992, 55 – 66.

\(^9^1\) Suić 1992, 55 – 66.
the *praepositus*\(^92\) and the *prefect*, were local people who came directly from the Iapodian communities, and who were Romanized. According to Carl Patsch and Ivo Bojanovski, the function of *praepositus* is known only among the Iapodes and it cannot be found as such in any other Illyrian people. It is a fact about which all archaeologists, historians, and authors who have studied the Iapodes and the Illyrian peoples in general, absolutely and completely agree. Patsch believed that the *prefects* were actually replaced by the so-called *praepositus*,\(^93\) but it is not possible to determine with certainty what their relationship was like. Bojanovski claimed that the *prefects* can also be found in other nations, such as the Daesitiae, Mazaei, and Melcumani, and that this is not a novelty, whereas the function of the *praepositus* is unknown to other nations.\(^94\)

Given the problem of dating these pieces of information, Mesihović believes that it is possible that these Iapodian *praeposituses* and *prefects* actually belonged to the late decades of the 1\(^{st}\) century or even the beginning of the 2\(^{nd}\) century AD.\(^95\) For the prefectural administration, it is quite certain that it existed during the entire military occupation. After the departure of the legions from Dalmatia, the prefectural administration was abandoned.\(^96\)

In addition to the Dalmatian peoples, Bojanovski states that the *prefects* also had Pannonian *civitates* but there were no clues about *praeposituses* in these parts. Also, Bojanovski noted that the function of the *praepositus* in Dalmatia had so far been confirmed only by the Iapodes and nowhere else.\(^97\) Dragana Grbić was one of the authors who confirmed that the *prefects* among the Iapodes were actually locals and that there are no persons among them who came from other parts of the Roman state.\(^98\) Patsch believed that municipal *principes* formed an advisory council helping the *praepositus* to get chosen among the *principes* to administer the area.\(^99\) Not much can be said about this council and its members, but Imamović believes that these positions were usually occupied by already trained domestic soldiers who were loyal to Rome and its administration.\(^100\)

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\(^{92}\) Patsch 1896, 133 – 136; Bojanovski 1988, 313.  
\(^{93}\) Patsch 1896, 133 – 136.  
\(^{94}\) Bojanovski 1988, 313.  
\(^{95}\) Mesihović 2018a, 364.  
\(^{96}\) Olujić 2007, 200.  
\(^{97}\) Bojanovski 1988, 61.  
\(^{98}\) Grbić 2014, 81.  
\(^{99}\) Patsch 1896, 113 – 139.  
\(^{100}\) Imamović 1977, 48.
The middle course of the Una river was one of the most developed areas of ancient Bosnia and Herzegovina. This region located between Plješevica in the west and Grmeč in the east,\textsuperscript{101} offered a large number of inscriptions and archaeological excavations which only confirm the development of this area.\textsuperscript{102} In the area to the south of today’s city of Bihać, there was an Iapodian center called \textit{Raetinium}. It is difficult to locate exactly where this place was, but the common opinion is that it is the Golubić area,\textsuperscript{103} near the city of Bihać. It is interesting that John Wilkes, who was obviously not familiar with the area around the city itself, mentioned the possibility of locating \textit{Raetinium} as today’s city of Bihać.\textsuperscript{104} However, that is simply impossible because there are data that place this hillfort outside of the city, and in addition, the city is not located on a hill at all, which was a feature of Illyrian settlements. For that reason, the area of today’s Golubić, which is quite mountainous, would perfectly suit the former municipium of \textit{Raetinium}. In addition to this area, which can certainly be considered the most important due to its status, a large number of other settlements like Brekovica, Zaloţje, Ribić and Ripač are significant for sure. The archaeological excavations were located in Jezerine, Pritoka, Gata as well as many around Bihać.\textsuperscript{105}

\textbf{Municipium Raetinium}

Why other classical sources, besides Cassius Dio, did not mention \textit{Raetinium} is unknown. It can be assumed that this settlement only began to develop significantly during the Roman period, but the relatively rich archaeological material from Pounje (settlements and necropolises) confirms that this region was very well populated even in the period before the arrival of the Romans. Apart from Golubić (possibly \textit{Raetinium}), the settlement in Gata, a few kilometers away from Bihać, is especially important because of its thermal spring. The existence of thermal springs refers to \textit{thermae}, the bathing facilities. This settlement was one of the larger settlements in the area of northwestern Bosnia in the ancient period. Roman coins and remains of Roman buildings were found in the vicinity of this thermal spring,\textsuperscript{106} and it is certainly important that a fragment of Roman relief was found here in the swimming pool. In addition, there are traces of Roman walls, while the foundations of the

\textsuperscript{101} Bojanovski 1988, 304 – 305.
\textsuperscript{102} Raunig 2004, 11 – 12.
\textsuperscript{103} Bojanovski 1988, 51; 314 - 317
\textsuperscript{104} Wilkes 1969, 60 – 70.
\textsuperscript{105} Wilkes 1969, 312.
\textsuperscript{106} Bojanovski 1988, 312.
building with fragments of Roman building material and fragments of ceramics – *terra sigillata* – have been preserved above the thermal spring.\footnote{107}

There are many indicators that can testify to the municipality of the Roman settlement in Golubić, such as the proximity of the worship of the cult *Bindus* – Neptune. There are numerous altars dedicated to *Bindus*,\footnote{108} the remains of stilt houses in the area of today’s Ripač. In addition, a cavalry unit called *Ala Claudia Nova*\footnote{109} was stationed in Golubić for about 70 years. There is information about that on a military inscription from Mainz,\footnote{110} where *peregrinus auxiliarus* Andes is mentioned, who stated that his origin was *Raetinium*.\footnote{111} Such a statement would mean that he is a citizen of a self-governing place or a city called *Raetinium*. Also, this information shows that the Roman state, after establishing its power, tried to enlist the warriors into its army. In this way, the Illyrian peoples were exposed to intense Romanization in all aspects of life (politics, economy, religion, etc.).\footnote{112} During the 1\textsuperscript{st} century, the legionaries of the *XI Claudia piae fidelis* settled in the Bihać area. They built estates and many believe that they are responsible for the existence of a larger number of *Villae rusticae* in the area of Golubić, Brekovica and the surroundings of today’s city of Bihać.\footnote{113} In the area around Založje, a residential villa from the 4\textsuperscript{th} century was excavated, which had three rooms, and in one of them several fragments of an amphora and a coin of Emperor Constantine were found.\footnote{114}

The question arises when did *Raetinium* get its municipal status then? Such information cannot be established with certainty,\footnote{115} but Ivo Bojanovski believes that

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\begin{itemize}
  \item \footnote{107}{Pašalić 1960, 100; Radimsky 1893, 50.}
  \item \footnote{108}{Imamović 1977, 95 – 96.}
  \item \footnote{109}{*Ala Claudia Nova* was founded around the year 42 or exactly that year. An inscription about this unit was discovered in Equa, Tilurium and Raetinium respectively, suggesting that the unit must have existed in these places. *Ala Claudia* went to Germany in AD 70 due to the Batavian uprising. (Matijević 2020, 1 – 20).}
  \item \footnote{110}{The monument clearly shows a horseman and a German lying on the floor; the horseman had a helmet, a spear in his right hand, and an oval shield in his left hand; his sword was on his right side, but no belt could be seen. More about Iapodian shields: Raunig 2004, 254; Lewis 1890, 200 – 201.}
  \item \footnote{111}{*Andes Sex(ti)f(ilius) / cives Raet/-nio eq(ues) ala / Claud(ia) an(norum) XXX / stip(endiorum) V h(ic) s(itus) e(st) h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*) (CIL 13, 07023) Translation of inscription: Andes, son of Sextus, citizen of Raetinium, horseman of Claudia Nova, thirty years old, who served in five military campaigns, lies here. His successor erected this monument.}
  \item \footnote{112}{Domić Kunić 1988, 83 – 85.}
  \item \footnote{113}{Škegro 1999, 192.}
  \item \footnote{114}{Busuladžić 2011, 164.}
  \item \footnote{115}{Mesihović believes that no later than AD 212, Iapodian civitas disappeared and shifted to the municipal system. In that case, the Iapodian part of Pounje may have been covered with a municipal unit based in *Raetinium*. (Mesihović 2011b, 373 – 374).}
\end{itemize}
it must have been during the reign of Emperor Vespasian (*Titus Flavius Vespasianus AD 69-79*) because urbanization in the interior of Illyricum had occurred during that period. Therefore, Bojanovski noted that Vespasian was the one who initiated the creation of the municipality of *Malvesiatum*, today’s Skelani and the municipality of *Bistuensium*, today’s Bugojno.\(^\text{116}\)

When it comes to possible roads related to the Una river valley, it is important that not all roads were marked on any *itinerarium*; so for example *Tabula Peutingeriana* shows no roads going through the Una, Sana, and Bosna valleys. However, the information offered by *itineraria* can often be controlled with epigraphic sources, primarily those from milestones, and special attention was pointed to *beneficiarii* inscriptions. Therefore, the *beneficiarii* inscriptions are also important for examining whether certain municipalities or colonies were located by a road or in the vicinity.\(^\text{117}\)

This was used as a basis to confirm the station of *beneficiarii consularis* in *Raetinum*, pointing out the importance of this area for the Romans.\(^\text{118}\)

There was a *beneficiarii* station in the area of Golubić, shown by the information from Privilica, where the votive altar was erected by Licinius Galba, a *beneficiarius consularis* of the Adiutrix I legion.\(^\text{119}\) This altar dates back to the 2\(^{nd}\) century. It was found in 1895 during the construction of a local road with several votive altars to *Bindus – Neptune*. Unfortunately, the architecture of the *Bindus* shrine in this area was not found during the research. A fragment of the inscription was found at the same location, which is being reconstructed as follows: 

\[ \text{[------] / C(aius) [Fla?] vius V[at?] lens / [--- mil]es leg(ionis) [---] / [------]} \]

Bojanovski believed that it is also a votive altar to *beneficiarii consularis*, so it is certain that a *beneficiarii* station with a sanctuary near these sites was built. About 1 or 2 kilometers away from Bihać, towards Bosanska Krupa, a tombstone inscription of Lentidius Saturninus, veteran *leg. p(rimae) It(alianae)*, was found which is thought to have been a minor fortification for road protection.\(^\text{121}\)

*Via Claudia* was built in the direction of the interior of Bosnia and reached the Una valley, from where it continued to Podove and Pajak. From this area, the Roman road descended into Petrovačko polje and continued along the valley

\[^{116}\text{Bojanovski 1988, 315.}\]
\[^{117}\text{Bojanovski 1974, 21 – 22.}\]
\[^{118}\text{Pašalić 1984, 236.}\]
\[^{119}\text{Bojanovski 1988, 315 – 316.}\]
\[^{120}\text{CIL 03, 15067. Pašalić 1960, 13; Patsch 1896, 114 – 115.}\]
\[^{121}\text{Bojanovski 1988, 315 – 316.}\]
of the Sana river, where it mostly coincides with today’s modern road. From that place, the direction continued towards Ključ. It is believed that this road was extremely important because one of the largest Roman metallurgical section and the municipality of Splonum\(^{122}\) is mentioned with the Stari Majdan, whose location was heavily discussed. Thus, the road Salona – Promona – Knin – Petrovačko polje – Sana valley is the shortest and most functional connection of Salona with Pannonia, which also passed through areas rich in forests and iron ore. With its section Petrovac – Bihać and Petrovac – Knin, it was the main traffic “artery” of this area of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the ancient period.\(^{123}\)

**Material remains of ancient religion and culture of life in the Una river valley**

Classical authors who wrote about the Illyrians in general paid more attention to descriptions of major events such as great battles and generals, precisely because they were not interested in the social or economic, neither cultural or religious physiognomy of the communities.\(^{124}\) The amount of data about the daily life is very small.\(^{125}\) However, as at least something is known about the culture and religion of the lapodes and the Illyrians in general, we must thank the archaeological materials, primarily epigraphic monuments, followed by the remains of a sanctuary and some cultural remains.\(^{126}\) Based on these monuments, which are also the basic material for studying the Illyrian religion, we can paint a certain picture with some conclusions about their deities, shrines, but once again it is necessary to emphasize that it is very difficult to create a general idea about it due to lack of data. As Enver Imamović stated in his work *Antički kultni i votivni spomenici na području BiH*, it is necessary to take into account that the material for the study of the Illyrians refers mainly to the time when they were already politically dependent on the Romans, while the time before arrival, especially from their spiritual life, is even less familiar.

Several monuments of a votive character dedicated to the Illyrian god *Bindus* were found. These epigraphic dedications were addressed to the domestic “god of water” which is equal to the Roman god Neptune. A total of 11 similar monuments were found in Privilica.\(^{127}\) Only one of them came out as preserved thus we can

\(^{122}\) Cass. Dio 56.11.2.
\(^{123}\) Bojanovski 1974, 212 – 219.
\(^{124}\) Imamović 1977, 53.
\(^{125}\) Pašalić 1984, 197.
\(^{126}\) Imamović 1977, 53 – 54.
\(^{127}\) They consist mainly of three parts: the pedestal, the middle inscription part, and the upper part
judge that these monuments were beautifully made altars. Ivo Bojanovski considered this sanctuary to be the national sanctuary of all Iapodes; however, the problem lies in fact that there were a lot of smaller communities within the Iapodes. There are many monuments dedicated to other domestic or foreign deities in the territory of the Iapodes, but Bindus was found only in one place in whole Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, Imamović is quite certain that this sanctuary could not refer to all the Iapodes. He supported his statement with the fact that various monuments dedicated to other domestic or foreign deities were found in the area of the Iapodes, but Bindus was found only in one place. He concluded that only one group of the Iapodes was completely associated and related with Bindus. This Iapodian group could be characterized as a group that probably lived within Raetinium itself, if this settlement could be located in today’s Golubić area. Geographically, Privilica and Golubić are about two kilometers apart and there is a high probability of such a statement. Both areas are located to the southeast of the present-day city of Bihać.

Apart from the fact that Bindus “took over” the name from Neptune, he also took over his character and his attributes. The trident, the oar, and the dolphin are all attributes that belong to Neptune, as well as Bindus. It is important to note that these dedications with the name Bindus – Neptune cannot be found anywhere else in the world. So, this deity was exclusively associated with one group of the Iapodes. A possible explanation of equal attributes between Bindus and Neptune is that the Romans did not pay much attention to religion. They realized that the Iapodes had a deity similar to their deity, Neptune, and immediately accepted him as such and called him Neptune.

Of the discovered monuments dedicated to Bindus, only one is decorated with art depictions which show the attributes of Bindus: the oar and the dolphin on one of the so-called roof. At the top, the corners end with one side fold on the front decorated with volutes. Some of these monuments are also artistically decorated, and this was done using the tearing technique, and they are, in fact, drawings in stone. (Imamović 1977, 95)

129 According to Branka Raunig, this sanctuary clearly showed how the Iapodes had their own pantheon which in the period of Roman occupation merged with the Romans. (Raunig 1972, 24)
130 Bojanovski 1988, 314.
131 Imamović 1977, 97.
133 On eight of the 11 monuments, there is a full dedication to the deity which reads Bindo Neptuno. In two cases, since the arenas were badly damaged, no dedication to the deity has been preserved at all, but it is believed to be an identical deity and probably in the same way. (Imamović 1977, 96.)
side the figure Triton with an oar on the other. Also, this altar shows a representation of two long-horned billy goats facing each other. These representations tell a story about the sacrifice the Iapodes had made to Bindus.\textsuperscript{135} Based on the concentration of several monuments dedicated to deities in a place, it was considered the main shrine of the god Bindus. At that place, the analysis of the found bones determined that they originated from domestic goats and cattle, so these animals could be characterized as sacrifices.\textsuperscript{136}

Branka Raunig wrote that the dedications to Bindus\textsuperscript{137} were written in Latin on behalf of the Iapodian praepositus and princeps decorated with home-made engraving techniques. However, geometric representations mostly belong to Roman iconography.\textsuperscript{138} Based on that, the conclusion would be that the dedicators of the monument to Bindus were actually local people, but people who went through a certain stage of Romanization.\textsuperscript{139} These people were actually official people, the leaders of the entire Iapodian territory.

A description of a monument dedicated to Bindus: On one altar, the sides are decorated with figures, on the right side, from above, hangs a wreath made of laurel branches with ribbons in the middle. Below that, a carved image shows a naked male figure, bearded, moving to the left. In his right hand, which is outstretched, he holds a dolphin,\textsuperscript{140} and in his lowered left hand, some oblong object that is supposed to be a trident. On the other side of the monument, on the upper side is also a laurel wreath. Below that is a Triton with a fish body. With his left hand, he holds a paddle that is raised on his shoulder and in his lowered right hand he holds a dolphin.\textsuperscript{141} Raunig wrote that the horse also played a big role in depictions.\textsuperscript{142} She further adds that in Greek mythology, the horse is associated with Poseidon, as well as that Neptune and Poseidon are actually the same deity.\textsuperscript{143} It can be concluded that the Iapodian Bindus

\textsuperscript{135} Imamović 1977, 96.
\textsuperscript{136} Imamović 1977, 98.
\textsuperscript{137} Bindo Neptuno / sacrum. / Proculus Parm-/anic(us) praepos(itus) \textsuperscript{5} / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito). (CIL 03, 14325 = ILJug I, 230) (Imamović 1977, 338)
\textsuperscript{138} Raunig 2004, 20.
\textsuperscript{139} Licinius Teuda, Proculus Parmanicus, Titus Flavius Ditanus – are the names of three dedicators of these monuments, which were followed by their titles princeps Iapodum or praepositus et princeps Iapodum. (Patsch 1896, 116; Bojanovski 1988, 312; Alföldy 1965, 94 – 95)
\textsuperscript{140} Imamović 1977, 96.
\textsuperscript{141} Patsch 1896, 117.
\textsuperscript{142} Raunig 2004, 111.
\textsuperscript{143} Raunig 2004, 111.
must have had such representations too. Apart from the deity of water (probably only drinking water), he could also be considered as a “horse” deity.\textsuperscript{144}

Apart from Bindus, god Liber, the Roman god of fertility, was also worshipped by the Iapodes.\textsuperscript{145} He is usually considered to be related to the eastern parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but in the vicinity of Bihać, more precisely in Brekovica, an altar dedicated to Liber was found, while the altar of goddess Libera was also found in Pritoka. If we look at these two finds geographically, we can see that they are literally on opposite sides of the Bihać area, so we can assert with confidence that these deities were not worshiped in just one group of the Iapodes, as was the case with Bindus. Moreover, the cult of the god Mithras was quite widespread in the Roman province of Dalmatia indicated by a large number of cult monuments. This cult certainly did not bypass the area of the Una river valley. A relief of Mithras was found in Pritoka, which, according to Paškvalin, was the closest in appearance to the relief of Mithras from Italy.\textsuperscript{146}

An independent cult of goddess Diana appears in only three places throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina: Duvno, Blažuj, and in the vicinity of Bihać. What is especially interesting about the find near Bihać is that Diana bore the epithet \textit{Augustus} on the relief, while on the others, she was shown as Artemis from the Greek pantheon.\textsuperscript{147} The cult of Silvanus was found on altars in Gromile and Jezerine. One of the reliefs found near Golubić presents the cult of Hercules and Hesione, shown with lion’s skin performing one of his tasks. A steep cave is shown and how Heracles frees the daughter of Trojan king Leomedon, Hesione, nailed to a rock as a sacrifice to Poseidon and Apollo.\textsuperscript{148}

\textsuperscript{144} It is believed that the horse as an animal had a special role among the Iapodes. Namely, the Iapodian artisans often consciously changed the motifs of other animals on the ornaments worn around the neck or on the chest with the motif of horse heads. In the religious context, this is related to Poseidon, while Kujundžić-Vejzagić believes that this was more of a practical reason because the Iapodes bred good breeds of horses which they exchanged for other valuables. However, during later modern times, the horse was presented almost as a member of the family and not only as a useful domestic animal (Kujundžić-Vejzagić 2012, 77 – 97). Nowadays, the city of Bihać still greatly appreciates and respects the tradition of the Iapodes, so there is an award of the City of Bihać called “Japodski konjanik” (the Iapodian Horseman). It is awarded every year on the occasion of the city’s birthday to people who have contributed to the development, improvement, and promotion of Bihać with their efforts, work, commitment and excellent results in various fields.

\textsuperscript{145} Paškvalin 1963, 138.

\textsuperscript{146} Paškvalin 1963, 146.

\textsuperscript{147} Pašalić 1984, 293.

\textsuperscript{148} Imamović 1977, 81, 221.
The Iapodian culture of life

The shaping of the Iapodian culture is believed to have been most influenced by domestic tradition, as well as gradually by external elements, mainly other arts such as the Celtic\textsuperscript{149} and the Archaic Greek.\textsuperscript{150} Even during the Late Bronze Age, the Iapodes traded with the peoples of the Aegean region and the Apennine peninsula, and over time their trade expanded to the western shores of the Adriatic Sea with the Etruscans and other Illyrian peoples. The influence of the material and spiritual culture arrived in the land of the Iapodes via trade routes from these areas, so that already at the end of the 6\textsuperscript{th} and the beginning of the 5\textsuperscript{th} century they began to reach their peak in the spiritual and profane spheres of life. The Iapodes began trying various foreign elements; they were not afraid to incorporate new things, but they did not give up traditional manners and already established own practices.\textsuperscript{151}

As previously mentioned that authentic elements also appeared in the Roman period in the form of spiritual life among the Iapodes of Pounje, the situation is similar to the remnants of material culture. This is especially true of the fact that the Iapodes have preserved the traces of material culture in stone urns.\textsuperscript{152} All of the Iapodian monuments were found in the middle course of the Una river, mainly around the city of Bihač.\textsuperscript{153}

According to their characteristics, the Iapodian monuments known so far can be divided into several specific groups. The first group consists of only two monuments, a fragment of an idol from Golubić, joined by almost erased carved images on a fragment of an urn from the same place. The second group consists of figural representations; the third group consists of \textit{sepulcrum} monuments\textsuperscript{154} with

\textsuperscript{149}... near this area are located and inhabit the Iapodes (a mixture of Illyrians and Celts)... (Strabo 4. 6. 19.) ...they are a warlike people...their armor and weapons are very similar to the Celtic weapons, and their bodies are painted as in the rest of the Illyrian and Thracian people...”(Strabo 7. 5. 4.)

\textsuperscript{150}Celtic migration to the Balkans and the Danube region during the 4\textsuperscript{th} century BC certainly had a huge impact on the Iapodes in terms of culture. This is corroborated by the appearance of pottery, fibulae, swords and, in some areas, new types of axes. The Celtic influence on the Iapodian art and culture had been visible since the middle of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} century, especially on amber and glass objects, but the indigenous tradition of the Iapodes was still preserved. (Stipčević 1989, 37)

\textsuperscript{151}Kujundžić-Vejzagić 2012, 77 – 97.

\textsuperscript{152}The Iapodian urns are stone urns for the cremation of remains, specifically, with two symmetrical prominent consoles on the foreside. More than twenty examples have been discovered, mostly in fragments and in secondary contexts. Almost all of them were found in the Una valley within a radius of some 100 kilometres. (Bojanovski 1988, 319 – 320)

\textsuperscript{153}Raunig 1972, 23.

\textsuperscript{154}Four objects out of ten of this kind are stored in the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo, three are in the Museum of the Una-Sana Canton in Bihač, and three were destroyed
Latin inscriptions, and the last group consists of sacral monuments or altars. In art, the Iapodes have a figural component, where applied art and small sculptures predominate. Human and animal figures, about 15 of them, were mostly found in Ripač.\textsuperscript{155}

Archaeological finds of sepulchral monuments, as well as others, prove the existence of masters and their workshops near these places. Finds of stone urns testify to the existence of local Iapodian stone and stone workshops.\textsuperscript{156} In the area of Lika, there was a quarry in the Roman period that must have been used for the needs of workshops located not far from it, in the valley of the Una river. In the Iapodian area, there must have been local workshops of master sculptors and stonemasons, in which stone monuments were made.\textsuperscript{157}

One of the most widespread materials used by the Iapodes in everyday life is amber. It is a material that was one of the most valued elements for the production of various products in prehistory. Over time, the Iapodes began to use it extensively, making it a mandatory part of costumes and jewellery, but over time it disappeared, so the lack of amber was compensated by the production and processing of glass paste. In her work \textit{Umjetnost i religija prahistorijskih Japoda}, Branka Raunig pays great attention to these materials, thanks to their presence in Iapodian necropolises as well as numerous figural representations.\textsuperscript{158} Figural representations of these materials are not so widespread in the Iapodian area, but they are quite diverse. They are mostly made by cutting out the overall shape in a piece of amber, and then supplemented with incised or concave details.\textsuperscript{159}

When it comes to the art and creativity of the Iapodes, objects that were artistically shaped or decorated are mostly arranged according to material (baked clay, bronze, stone) and technique (engraving, modelling, embossing), as well as the type during the Second World War. Except for a fragment which is supposed to originate from a sarcophagus, these objects are typical for their specific shape, with variously formed outlets on the front side. (Raunig 1972, 270)

\textsuperscript{155} Stipčević 1989, 175.
\textsuperscript{156} Busuladžić 2016, 69, 84.
\textsuperscript{157} Paškvalin 2000, 179.
\textsuperscript{158} Raunig 2004, 175 – 190.
\textsuperscript{159} Among the animal depictions, only animal heads appear in large numbers, while the whole figure is represented in only three specimens. The representations are a bird, a dolphin, a ram, a cattle, a pig or a dog and a horse. The most interesting in Iapodian art are human depictions, whether an individual, male or female, depictions of the whole body or only some parts of it – face, torso, arm, etc. Such depictions can be seen mainly on amber tiles. By observing these human depictions, one can best follow the development of the original Iapodian style and the influences that came from the environment. (Raunig 2004, 175 – 190.)
of figures shown, so there are depictions of objects, animals, and humans. They were especially interested in the depictions on objects made of baked clay, so today we have representations of deer, boar, snake, as well as those of jewellery \textsuperscript{160} and clothing. Until now, known figural representations of baked clay were concentrated in the middle course of the Una river, and most of them originate from the “stilt houses” in Ripač, the place of discovery of terracotta tiles. \textsuperscript{163}

One of the areas of material culture about which figural representations provide very important information is the armament of Iapodian warriors. Among the Iapodes, the cultreligious aspect probably forbade the placing of weapons as accessories in graves, \textsuperscript{164} so their weapons are known from art depictions. \textsuperscript{165} The depictions of helmets are dominant among defensive weapons, both in terms of a number of items and their variety. The oldest depictions show about twenty helmets with a pointed cross. The shield is another type of defensive weapon that appears among the Iapodian figural representations, and since no shield parts have been found in the territory of the Iapodes, this is the only evidence for determining their combat equipment. The Iapodes were familiar with the round shield, the round hoplite shield and, of course, the oval large shield. \textsuperscript{166} Offensive weapons are shown in slightly smaller numbers than defensive ones, among which spear and sword representations are the most common. Spears are shown along with the warriors and, in some places, spearheads are shown independently. \textsuperscript{167} Swords serve more as secondary or additional weapons.

\textsuperscript{160} Raunig 2004, 22 – 37.
\textsuperscript{161} The oldest display of a shirt worn by men can be found on an Iapodian stone urn from Ribić near Bihać from the 5\textsuperscript{th} and 4\textsuperscript{th} centuries BC, where fragments of an urn also show bull although they were rare among the Illyrians. An integral part of the clothing was buckles – fibulae that were found in large numbers in tombs. They are most often made in spiral, arched and plate shapes. In Illyrian areas, arched fibulae appear in different variants, the most numerous being in the territory of the Iapodes. Women used them to button their dresses and coats, thus emphasizing their social status in a certain way. (Olujić 2007, 159)
\textsuperscript{162} One of the interesting things regarding the Iapodes is the construction of their stilt houses and their existence today, especially the settlements and houses in Ripač. However, as time goes by, the stilt houses of the “Una Highlanders” are deteriorating due to the exposure to weather conditions, as well as people’s negligence. This settlement in Ripač has been explored several times during the 19\textsuperscript{th} and 20\textsuperscript{th} centuries. (Raunig 2003, 269 – 276)
\textsuperscript{163} Raunig 2004, 38; 45 – 46.
\textsuperscript{164} There was a custom according to which during the burial of the deceased, emphasis was not placed on what he did during his life, and that is the key reason why there are no weapons, tools or other items among the grave goods that were widely used for everyday life. (Bakarić 2006, 36 – 47)
\textsuperscript{165} Raunig 2004, 253.
\textsuperscript{166} Raunig 2004, 254.
\textsuperscript{167} Raunig 2004, 254 – 255.
Iapodian urns are of special value to culture in the Una valley. There is a unique phenomenon that is unknown in this form to any of the Illyrian people. The period when the production of these urns began is unknown. The shape of the urns is quite original, especially since they have two protruding extensions on the front, similar to the handles on small carts. The outer surfaces of the urns are decorated with geometric ornaments and artistic images carved into the stone. In 1936, during the construction of the railway in Ribić, an interesting find was discovered while digging a drainage canal. Namely, at a depth of one meter, workers found new remains including a large urn and three more urns at a distance of only a few meters. The urns were made of soft marlstone that was extracted in large quantities in the Una river. It is specific in that the stone is quite soft immediately

168 Bojanovski 1988, 319.

169 In his article on Iapodian urns and sarcophagi, Nenad Cambi presented the conclusions of his research, stating that among the Iapodes, in addition to urns, sarcophagi were an element of funeral customs. Namely, in his work, he wrote about a sarcophagus without the lid of certain Tito Flavius Marcellus, a perfume merchant, who was found in Prozor in Lika. He noted that sarcophagi on the Iapodian territory are known from the very appearance of specifically decorated tombstones. Such an example is the famous “plate” from Založje, which is actually the facade of a magnificent sarcophagus. He further notes that it is not at all strange that sarcophagi appear early with this people, because the Iapodes practiced both rituals (incineration and inhumation). In this regard, Cambi raises the question of whether Marcel’s sarcophagus, currently the only early specimen in the Iapodian area, is the result of traditional Iapodian docking with both rituals or whether it was due to the growing popularity of inhumation coming with Roman influence in the 2nd century. (Cambi 2003, 97, 108.) Although this sarcophagus does not geographically belong to the Iapodes of the Una valley, it is a relatively close area, and the fact that a “plate” representing the facade of the sarcophagus was found near Založje, an area belonging to the Iapodes from Bihać, may indicate that this group of the Iapodes used sarcophagi after the establishment of Roman rule in these areas as well.

170 In the past, there was a significant debate about whether to date the urns to the 6th–5th century BC, or to the period of Roman rule (1st–2nd century AD). Some authors (Sergejevska, Čremošnik and Bojanovski) argued that a later dating should be assumed because some of the urns had Latin inscriptions or Roman grave goods inside. Conversely, Stipčević showed quite convincingly that the Iapodean stone urns should be dated to a long stretch of time – those with the decorations can be dated to pre-Roman times, and those without figures, with or without Latin inscriptions, can be dated to Roman times. (Sergejevska 1949/50 45-93; Čremošnik 1959, 12-13; Bojanovski, 1988; Stipčević 1989.)

171 Pašalić 1984, 270.

172 The left protrusion of the large urn is decorated with a picture of a woman walking to the right. With her left hand, she carries the vessel, and with her right hand, she leads a child. The woman has a long dress, with two vertical stripes from the waist down. The woman’s head is shown awkwardly because the eye is shown as one circle. In the middle of the front side, there is a woman with a man. The woman is sitting on a wooden armchair and facing to the right, while the man is standing in front of her. His suit is almost not shown, but he is wearing a helmet with a feather and he holds a spear on his left shoulder, meaning he is a warrior. (Sergejevska 1949/50, 51 – 52)

173 This stone with the symbolic name “Bihačit” was widely used by the Iapodes, with special emphasis on urn production. Thanks to its softness and suppleness, Iapodian stonemasons were
upon being taken out of the ground and over time it patinates and becomes firm as marble, making it extremely resistant to weathering.\textsuperscript{174}

It is clear that the urns are related to the religion and spirituality of the Iapodes, but can it be determined to which social class the urns belonged? Determining the socio-economic position of persons whose ashes were buried in urns remains only within the sphere of hypotheses. However, it is assumed that the richest ornaments belonged to members of the ruling structure within the Iapodian society. Those were probably the principes, praepositus or people who were at the head of the religious community of the Iapodes.\textsuperscript{175} Raunig associated the cessation of the production of figure-decorated urns with the change of socio-economic relations and the loss of power of the tribal aristocracy, which occurred at the end of the 5\textsuperscript{th} century when the need to make stone urns ended.\textsuperscript{176}

A very important segment of cultural opportunities in the Una valley is the fact that culture was mostly based on local traditions. Of course, there is the influence of external elements, but just like religion, the Iapodes of Pounje managed to preserve some of their tradition in this field as well. This can primarily be said for urns, which in such a form cannot be found in any other of the Illyrian people.

\textbf{Conclusion}

During the classical period, the Una valley was the seat of the Illyrian people the Iapodes, who left behind various material remains on the basis of which one can learn more about one of the most powerful Illyrian peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Of course, their territory and aspects of their life began to develop fully with the arrival of the Romans, just like any part of Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, based on archaeological findings, we can see today that life really existed even before the arrival of the Roman forces and the establishment of their rule. What makes this topic very interesting, are different opinions about certain events, and this especially refers to the assessment of the territory of the Iapodes. Historiography is not in agreement on this issue, and probably will not in the near future, but there are some opinions that are generally accepted.

\textsuperscript{174} Sergejevski 1949/50, 65 – 66.
\textsuperscript{175} Raunig 1972, 46.
\textsuperscript{176} Raunig 2004, 232.
More information about the area of the Una valley is provided by various material remains, especially the remains related to spirituality and culture in this area. In addition, one classical author only wrote about the events during Germanicus’s offensive in the area of POUNJE, when Raetinium was conquered, a place that became a municipality or the seat of Iapodian communities after the end of Bellum Batonianum. It’s unknown why, but Cassius Dio also wrote about this area, only mentioning this famous siege and without giving us information on whether Raetinium was conquered, razed, or something else. But, he was probably guided by the statement that it was implied.

Unlike the Upper Bosnian region, the area of the Una valley is more accessible, making this process of Romanization much faster. Some authors linked this process of Romanization to Baton’s uprising, when the Iapodes were on the side of the Romans; except for one small group around Raetinium. This area is thought to have belonged to a certain community within the Iapodes that was either not previously defeated or simply rebelled against Roman rule.

This topic is extremely interesting and important, considering that various events took place in this area, a large number of inscriptions have been found, monuments, both religious and cultural, which only indicate that life here was very active. What is perhaps the most important is that literature is quite abundant, which only shows that this topic is wellresearched. But, the problem is the modern scholarship has neglected the history of this region during the ancient period, where local people were not so interested in the Iapodes, or Illyrians in general.

Translation by the author
Sažetak: Dolina rijeke Une, područje ilirskih Japoda

U klasičnom razdoblju, dolina rijeke Une je bila sjedište ilirskog naroda Japoda, koji su iza sebe ostavili razne materijalne ostatke na temelju kojih se može saznati nešto više o jednom od najmoćnijih ilirskih naroda na području Bosne i Hercegovine. Naravno, njihov teritorij i razni aspekti života počeli su se potpuno razvijati dolaskom Rimljana. No, na temelju arheoloških nalaza, danas možemo sa sigurnošću reći da je život postojao i prije dolaska rimskih snaga i uspostave njihove vlasti. Duhovnost Japoda je bila raznolika i složena, što je odraz razvijene ekonomije i složenih društvenih odnosa. Pojedine fenomene duhovnog života su Japodi primili od okolnih kultura i naroda, a neke su razvili samostalno, nasljeđujući ih od svojih predaka. Posebno je zanimljiv njihov odnos sa Keltima, koji do danas ostaje prilično nejasan, ali kako god on izravno utiče na stvaranje različitih mišljenja o etničkom identitetu Japoda. Veliki broj nalaza koji su pronađeni i okarakterizirani kao kulturno dostignuće Japoda se danas nalazi u Zemaljskom muzeju u Sarajevu, dok se nekoliko njih nalazi u Regionalnom muzeju Pounja u Bihaću. Materijalni ostaci pružaju dobar uvid u to kako je izgledao život Japoda na ovim prostorima, pa se na temelju toga može utvrditi, ne samo šta su tačno radili i čime su se bavili, nego i društveno ustrojstvo ovog ilirskog naroda.
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