

UDK -902
94

ISSN:2490-3930
GODINA I/BROJ 1

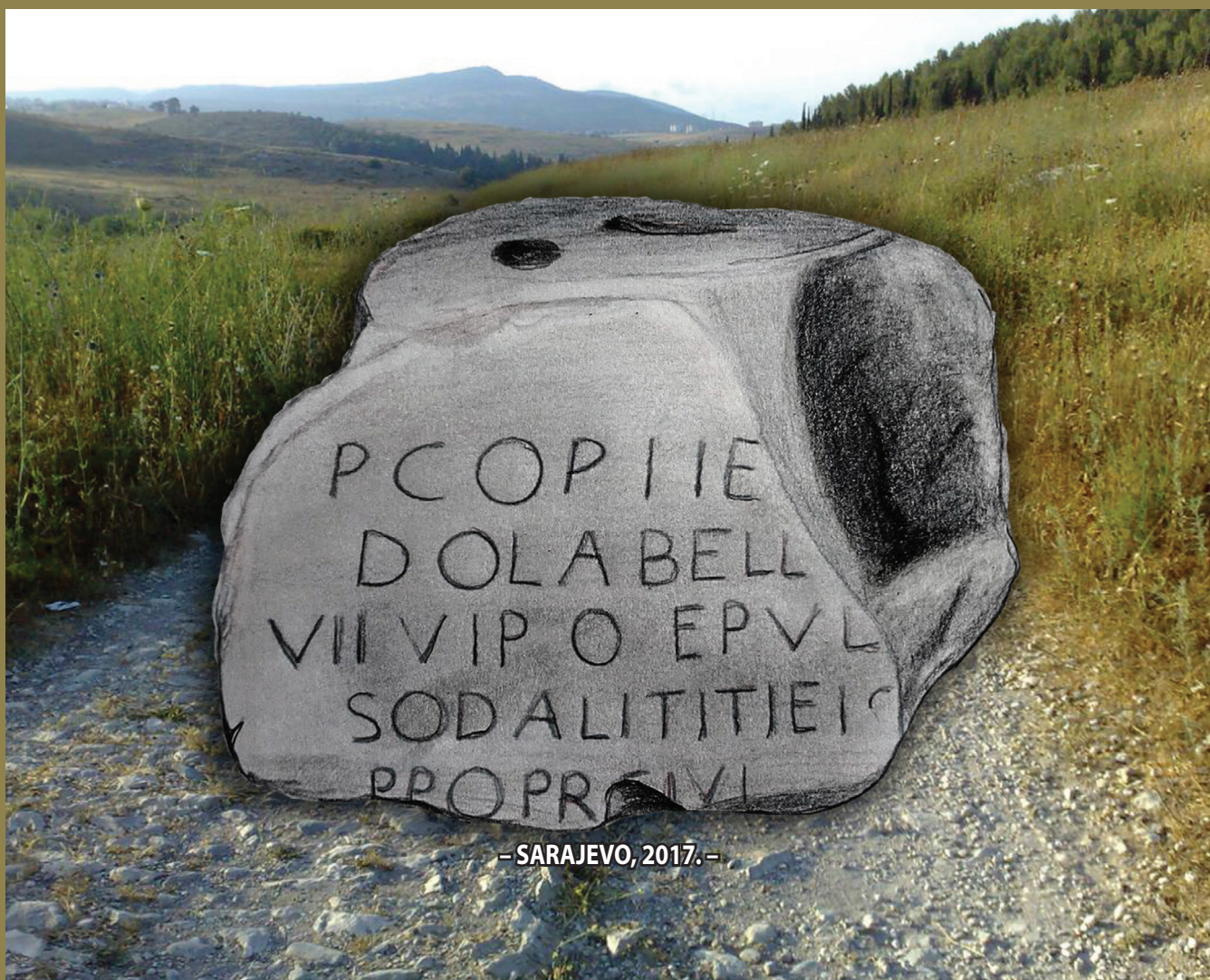
UDRUŽENJE ZA PROUČAVANJE I PROMOVIRANJE ILIRSKOG NASLIJEĐA I DREVNIH I KLASIČNIH CIVILIZACIJA
BATHINVS



GODIŠNJAK UDRUŽENJA
BATHINVS

ACTA ILLYRICA

ACTA ILLYRICA • GODIŠNJAK UDRUŽENJA BATHINVS • GODINA I/BROJ 1



- SARAJEVO, 2017. -

Izdavač / Publisher:

Udruženje za proučavanje i promoviranje ilirskog naslijeđa i drevnih i
klasičnih civilizacija BATHINVS

Topal Osman Paše 20, Sarajevo, Bosna i Hercegovina
www.bathinus.org, <http://udruzenjebathinvs.simplesite.com>

Za izdavača / For the Publisher:

Edin Veletovac

Glavni i odgovorni urednik / Editor-in-chief:

Salmedin Mesihović

Redakcija / Editorial Board:

Branka Migotti, Bego Omerčević, Drago Župarić, Amra Šaćić, Edin Veletovac

Sekretar Redakcije / Secretary of the board:

Ivana Božić

Recenzentski odbor / Advisory board:

Enver Imamović, Branka Migotti, Salmedin Mesihović, Adnan Busuladžić,
Alka Domić Kunić, Adnan Kaljanac, Amra Šaćić, Edin Veletovac

Prijevod na engleski / English translation:

Samra Čebirić

Lektor / Proofreader:

Aida Hasović

DTP:

Amra Mekić

UDK:

Elvira Poljak

Vizualni identitet naslovnice / Cover page design:

Romana Witschi

Štampa / Print:

FERAL PRESS

Tiraž / Print Run:

200

Časopis je štampan uz pomoć / Printing of the journal supported by:



Firma "BABILON" d.o.o. Tuzla



*Udruženje za proučavanje i promoviranje ilirskog
naslijeđa i drevnih i klasičnih civilizacija*
BATHINVS

Acta Illyrica

Godišnjak Udruženja BATHINVS
GODINA I/ BROJ 1

SARAJEVO, 2017.

SADRŽAJ

Predgovor	6
Salmedin Mesihović - <i>Familija Publija Kornelija Dolabele</i>	10
Ivana Božić - <i>Lik i djelo Publija Kornelija Dolabele referirajući se na Annales Kornelija Tacita</i>	23
Dženan Brigić - <i>Utjecaj podizanja trajnih naselja i uzgoja žitarica na razvoj putnih komunikacija</i>	32
Jesenko Hadžihasanović / Edo Mešić - <i>Rekognosciranje antičkih lokaliteta na području Kiseljaka</i>	43
Mersiha Imamović / Bego Omerčević - <i>Urbanizacija bosanskohercegovačkih prostora u vrijeme rimske uprave</i>	56
Amra Šaćić - <i>The process of Romanisation in the inland of the Roman province of Dalmatia in the 1st century</i>	78
Maja Pandža - <i>Cirkuliranje novca u prvom stoljeću u unutrašnjosti rimske provincije Dalmacije (na uzorku publiciranih primjeraka)</i>	90
Sanda Hasagić - <i>Orijentalni kultovi na tlu provincije Dalmacije u I stoljeću</i>	102
Samir Aličić - <i>SC Pegasianum</i>	113
Dževad Drino / Benamina Londrc - <i>Činovnička karijera klasičnih rimskih pravnika u provinciji Dalmaciji</i>	125
Dijana Beljan - <i>Illyrski antroponimi na latinskim natpisima Dalmacije</i>	131
Edin Veletovac - <i>Oktavijanovo osvajanje Zapadnog Ilirika u djelima kasnoantičkih autora</i>	148
Branka Migotti - <i>Je li rimska Certisija bila caput viarum?</i>	168
Drago Župarić - <i>Prve kršćanske zajednice: Jeruzalem, Antiohija, Rim</i>	181
Džejlan Ganić - <i>Okrugli sto Godine razvoja i integracije – 2000 godina od namjesništva Publija Kornelija Dolabele</i>	194
Udruženje za proučavanje i promoviranje ilirskog naslijeđa i drevnih i klasičnih civilizacija BATHINVS (predstavljanje izdavača)	202
Autori objavljenih radova	207

Dr. sci. Amra Šačić
Filozofski fakultet
Univerziteta u Sarajevu

Izvorni naučni rad / Original scientific paper
UDK: 904(497.6)“00”

The process of Romanisation in the inland of the Roman province of Dalmatia in the 1st century

Summary: In contemporary Roman historiography and archaeology the process of *Romanisation* is studied from two opposite viewpoints. Post-processualists and structuralists usually define Romanisation as a construct of Mommsen's school of thought, whereas traditionalists believe that the process of Romanisation is one of the evident cultural and political processes that marked the Roman civilisation. For traditionalists it represents a process of cultural transformation that helped indigenous communities to integrate into the Roman Empire. Perhaps the best solution to this problem was offered by Curchin who believes that instead of giving up on the term Romanisation it's better to deconstruct this term and revise it as a useful descriptor of an important cultural process in the Roman world. The inland of the Roman province of Dalmatia can serve as an exact example of the methodological analysis of the aforementioned historiographical problem. Although the 1st century in Dalmatia was marked by construction undertakings of *Publius Cornelius Dolabella*, the basic parameters of Romanisation in the inland can be observed not until under the Flavian dynasty. This is the period of first municipia in the inland: *municipium Bist(uensium)*, *municipium Malvesiatum*, *municipium Raetinum*, *municipium Arupium*, *municipium Doclea*. We observe that local, pre-Roman aristocracy continues to reign in these municipia as part of the Roman administrative machinery. Therefore, even with Roman citizenship, indigenous elite did not renounce their pre-Roman identity. This can be inferred from epigraphic monuments of decuriones from the abovementioned municipia who, although being granted Roman citizenship, retained onomastic elements of Western Balkans (Illyrian) origin within their nomenclature (*Bato*, *Blodus*, *Tatta*, *Epicadus*, *Laedio*, *Aplius* and *Annia*). Local aristocracy evidently played a key role in spreading the Roman political power, because it took over the role of military prefects under the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

Key words: Romanisation, post-processualists, structuralists, traditionalists, Tacitus, province, Dalmatia, *Publius Cornelius Dolabella*, the Julio-Claudian dynasty, the Flavian dynasty, *municipium*, *Diluntum*, identity, onomastics, Roman civil law, boundary markers, *interpretatio Romana*, epigraphy.

While Rome had been enjoying the benefits of ancient philosophy, Corinthian architecture, Sicilian and Ionian science and Egyptian astronomy, the inland of the Western Balkans belonged to a different world of prehistory in terms of culture. Indeed, after 9 AD and the end of *Bellum Batonianum*, peregrine civitates in the inland of the province of Pannonia were pacified. However, the

question is whether the process of Romanisation existed at all in this region in the 1st century AD.

In the light of the topic, a short reference on the term *Romanisation* is necessary. This term is the result of the 19th century historical tradition. Although Theodor Mommsen did not particularly define this term, his view of the process of spreading the Roman power can be identified with the term of Romanisation. In the first place it referred to an explanation of the influence Rome had on Italy and other conquered parts of Europe. For Mommsen the expansion of Roman culture signified the social progress of indigenous populations. Following Mommsen, British archaeologist and historian Francis Haverfield was the first one to define the concept of Romanisation.¹ Haverfield came up with this concept under the influence of Mommsen's study of epigraphy as the main source of the expansion of Roman culture, language and citizenship.² In accordance with this concept the Romanisation process was ended in 212 AD when all free persons of the Roman Empire were granted the Roman *civitas* due to *Constitutio Antoniniana*.

In contemporary Roman historiography and archaeology the process of Romanisation is studied from two opposite viewpoints. Post-processualists and structuralists usually define Romanisation as a construct of Mommsen's school of thought denying its presence in cultural and political development of ethnic communities that were under the political and military control of Rome. Such point of view is especially prominent among classicists in Anglophone speaking countries. In his somewhat controversial analysis of the Roman political life, *Rome and the Nations*, Syme characterised Romanisation as a term which is "vulgar" and "ugly".³ Woolf even associated the appearance of the term Romanisation with the British imperial policy.⁴ According to Mattingly, Romanisation is a paradigm and an example of a tendency to simplify complex scientific problems. Such approach, as in case of Romanisation, according to Mattingly resulted in a hypothesis about ethnic coherence of, for example, the Celts.⁵ These inferences contributed to new methodological hypotheses based on the identity of indigenous communities. The issue of identity is significant because it combines different scientific problems such as the elites and habitus. Therefore, even scholars who have different views about Romanisation than

¹ Mihajlović, 2012, 711 - 713; Džino & Domić Kunić, 2013, 31 - 34.

² Although Haverfield was the first one to precisely define the term of Romanisation, he did not literally made up this term. Namely, the verb *romanize* was first recorded in the *Oxford English Dictionary* from 1607 (Mattingly, 2011, 38).

³ "In modern text books the term 'Romanization' is put to frequent employment. It is vulgar and ugly, worse than that, anachronistic and misleading. 'Romanization' implies the execution of a deliberate policy. That is to misconceive the behaviour of Rome" (Syme, 1988, 64).

⁴ Woolf, 2011, 2.

⁵ Mattingly, 2011, 207.

for example Mattingly or Woolf dismiss the view of indigenous communities as coherent communities.

Contrary to the aforementioned view of post-processualists and structuralists is rather unambiguous stance of traditionalists who believe that the process of Romanisation was *de facto* and *de iure* present in the Western Balkans. They believe that the term Romanisation is an appropriate term for a construct or paradigm invented by modern scholars to describe the process of cultural transformation that integrated indigenous communities into the Roman Empire.⁶ Traditionalists imply different movements and schools of thought of Roman historiography from continental Europe. Perhaps the best solution to this problem was offered by Curchin who believes that instead of giving up on the term Romanisation it's better to deconstruct this term and revise it as a useful descriptor of an important cultural process in the Roman world.⁷ The inland of the Roman province of Dalmatia can serve as an exact example of a methodological analysis of the aforementioned issue in historiography. The inland of this province implies the territory of present-day Lika, western and central Bosnia, then Herzegovina, part of western Serbia (Zlatibor District), and northern Montenegro.

Unfortunately, ancient written sources offer almost no information at all about the cultural development of Dalmatia and this territory is analysed only in the context of military-administrative history.⁸ However, by making comparisons with other provinces such as Britain and Germania, which were at a similar level of development, we get the impression that Romanisation is a primordial Roman idea cultivated for the purpose of easier control of conquered territories, instead of a spontaneous cultural transformation. Tacitus's work "*De vita et moribus Iulii Agricolae*" from the 1st century AD gives the fundamental postulates of Roman cultural policy applied in less developed communities in Britain.

Roman take on Romanisation can be seen in Tacitus's description of the relation of his father-in-law Agricola towards the autochthonous population from Britain: "The following winter passed without disturbance, and was employed in salutary measures. For, to accustom to rest and repose through the charms of luxury a population scattered and barbarous and therefore inclined to war, Agricola gave private encouragement and public aid to the building of temples, courts of justice and dwelling-houses, praising the energetic, and reproofing the indolent. Thus an honourable rivalry took the place of compulsion. He likewise provided a liberal education for the sons of the chiefs, and showed such a preference for the natural powers of the Britons over the industry of the Gauls that they who lately disdained the tongue of Rome now coveted its eloquence. Hence, too, a liking sprang up for our style of dress, and the "toga"

⁶ Curchin, 2004, 8.

⁷ Curchin, 2004, 8.

⁸ Šašel Kos, 2015, 67 - 76; Zaninović, 2015, 439 - 469.

became fashionable. Step by step they were led to things which dispose to vice, the lounge, the bath, the elegant banquet. All this in their ignorance they called civilisation, when it was but a part of their servitude.”⁹ The last sentence shows that the goal of the expansion of Roman culture and civilisation heritage is to strengthen the power, and it was not a spontaneous process as frequently showed by historiography.

If road infrastructure during the governorship of legate Publius Cornelius Dolabella under Augustus and Tiberius is disregarded, the first signs of Romanisation appear in inland of Dalmatia not until under the Flavian dynasty. For the purpose of easier control over peregrine civitates, the Flavians granted Roman citizenship to their principes such as Varrus the chieftain of the Daesitiates, *Plassus* the chieftains of the Daorsi, *Ditanus* the chieftain of the Iapodes, or *Balbinus* the leaders of the Docleatae. Tacitus unambiguously underlines in his writings that the emphasis is on Romanisation of the elite, because under Domitian (*Titus Flavius Caesar Domitianus Augustus* 81 AD – 96 AD) Agricola opened schools only for the children of chiefs so that Rome can use them in the future to govern over their peoples. There were exceptions such as Arminius, but that Roman policy finally resulted in *Pax Romana*. However, it should be noted that the Romanisation process was not unilateral. The Romans also absorbed certain cultural parameters into their habitus from conquered indigenous communities.

Roman historiography from the second half of the 20th century emphasised that Rome was satisfied with spontaneous Romanisation in the inland, which resulted in greater differences between the south and north of the province of Dalmatia.¹⁰ Namely, this standpoint is a result of a methodological postulate based on cohesive ethnic structure, therefore geographic distance from Mediterranean cultural centres was considered to be the cause, and ethnic diversity of population in the inland was neglected. Communities surrounded by the Dinaric Alps on all sides resisted Roman influence more than the communities on the Adriatic coast, and their conservativeness can be followed through onomastics of local aristocracy that cultivated Illyrian names even generations after accepting Roman citizenship. In case of family Plasso, which was probably of Daorsi origin and governed municipium *Diluntum*, Illyrian names such as *Blodus*, *Tatta*, *Epicadus*, *Leadio*, *Aplius* and *Annia* appear on monuments apart from Roman onomastic elements.¹¹ Members of this family, whose two monuments were found, served as decuriones in municipium *Diluntum* and *aedilis IIII vir iure dicundo*. In accordance with the Roman policy that attempted to

⁹ Tac. *Agricol.*, 21.

¹⁰ More: Pašalić, 1960; Wilkes 1969; Imamović 1977; Bojanovski 1988.

¹¹ AE 1980, 0677 = AE 1939, 0300 = *ILJug* III, 1740; *ILJug* I, 117.

direct the Illyrians towards a sedentary lifestyle through aristocracy, this family started to copy the Roman onomastic system and added Roman suffix *-us* to Illyrian root of a name. It should certainly be borne in mind that this is not a specific phenomenon. There are many such examples across the Roman province of Dalmatia, thus we can say that it is a common practice when using local names in Latin grammar. Judging by the onomastic analysis of decuriones, aediles, and their family members, the Romans formed municipium *Diluntum* in the 1st century AD. So far it has been considered that this municipium was formed under Hadrian (*Publius Aelius Traianus Hadrianus*, 117 – 138 AD). However, its internal structure as seen in the case of the Plassus' family suggests somewhat earlier date, probably in the time of Vespasian's son Domitian.

It would be a mistake to consider that the Romans generously and randomly granted citizenship to Illyrian aristocracy. The image of arduous battles with Bato the chieftain of the Daesitiates and his Breucian allies, Pinnes and Bato Breucian, was still vivid in the 1st century AD. Systematic and planned granting of Roman citizenship was a long process whose aim was to make local aristocracy appreciate the importance of joining the elite of Roman citizens. This approach guaranteed loyalty to the Romans the most. The discontinuity in the intensity of granting citizenship can be seen in even the most respected families. In case of descendants of the Daesitiatian princeps *Varro* there are three imperial nomina gentilicia (*Flavius*, *Ulpus*, *Aelius*).¹² It's plausible that after the Great Illyrian Revolt the Romans selected principes among the loyal domestic elite, since the word principes seems to be a Roman construct. However, it should be noted that this class, which was *de iure* Romanised, *de facto* probably had more privileges than the Illyrian population that was granted Roman citizenship in 212 AD. Accordingly, a small percentage of the population that had the Roman citizenship in the 1st century could have been aware of the Roman principle of strengthening authority through granting certain rights that also implied some obligations. It's suggestive that the Docleataean princeps *Epicadus*, as well as his entire family, doesn't even have imperial nomen gentilicium, which could mean that in the first phase of winning over the elite to its side, Rome does not insist on taking imperial gentilicia, which was inconceivable later on.¹³

The fact that the Flavians granted Roman citizenship to a specific group of people points out the systematic process that was part of the establishment of municipia as well. It's probable that more municipia, apart from *Diluntum*,

¹² *Ulpiae T(iti) f(iliae) / Proculae an(norum) XX / T(itus) F(lavius) Valens Varron(is) / f(ilius) princeps Desitiati(um) ⁵ / et Aelia Iusta / Scenobar[bi f(ilia)] / [----- (ILJug III, 1582).*

¹³ *Caius Epicadi f(ilius) princeps / civitatis Docl(e)atium hic situs / hoc fieri iussit genitor sibi et / suis set(!) fili eius Plassus Epicadus ⁵ / Scerdis Verzo et summa adiecta / eff<e>cit(!) istud opus est pietas natiue / hoc auxsisse(!) videntur et decorant / facto et docent esse pios (ILJug III, 01853 = AE 1906, 00032 = AE 1910, 00101).*

were founded in the inland of the Roman province of Dalmatia in the second half of the 1st century under the Flavians. The so-called Flavian municipia are:

- *municipium Bist(uensium)* – a wider region of present-day Zenica
- *municipium Malvesiatum* – Podrinje (Skelani near Srebrenica)
- *municipium Raetinum* – Pounje (Golubić near Bihać)
- *municipium Arupium* – Lika (Otočac)
- *municipium Doclea* – Montenegro (Podgorica)

Princeps Vespasian (*Titus Flavius Caesar Vespasianus* 69 – 79 AD) and his successors probably granted citizenship to the loyal part of the Illyrian elite in order to ensure obedience of Illyrian highlanders during the construction of the Danube limes. Julio-Claudians had legions stationed in the province which enabled them easier control over the population, while Vespasian withdrew legions to the Danube for strategic purposes and the cheapest means available to him were cultural submission and control over the Illyrians.¹⁴ While Tiberius through Dolabella built road communication that connected the inland with developed urban centres of Dalmatia and Pannonia, Vespasian commenced a cheaper and long-lasting process of introducing the local population into the administrative-legal system of the Empire. Tiberius inherited a well-organised country from Augustus, whereas Vespasian rose to power after the civil war and had to find a cheaper way to control the Illyrian peoples rather than using the services of VII and XI legions.

It would be unrealistic to expect the inhabitants of the Adriatic hinterland, surrounded by the inaccessible Dinaric Alps, to speak Latin under the Julio-Claudians and Flavians. Even the small percentage of population that had Roman citizenship probably could not understand the official language of the state they lived in. The Illyrian peoples in the heartland of Dalmatia continued to live a similar life as their predecessors, and even the mutual conflicts had not ended. Although written sources treat these local conflicts, as the Romans see them, with silence and indifference, there are about 25 boundary stones preserved about them.¹⁵ The majority of boundary stone from the province of Dalmatia date to the 1st century AD suggesting that the battles for territory

¹⁴ Through their legates, of which *Publius Cornelius Dolabella* is the most prominent one, the Julio-Claudians reached a high level of control over Illyricum. Mesihović believes that aforementioned governor, by building infrastructure and regulating cadastre and property relations, laid the foundations of future civilizational progress of the Western Balkans (Mesihović, 2014, 57 – 58). Dolabella was the governor of the province of Upper Illyricum which can be inferred from the inscription from Cavtat (*CIL* III, 1741). This implies that Illyricum was divided into Upper and Lower Illyricum after 9 AD, and that Upper Illyricum was renamed into Dalmatia, and Lower Illyricum into Pannonia probably under Vespasian.

¹⁵ Wilkes specified 27 boundary stones in the province of Dalmatia. However, this number must be revised since, based on the methodological postulates, the contemporary epigraphy has determined that some of these monuments were plagiarised such as the monument from Glamoč were Stridon (*CIL* III p. 1623 no. 9860.), the birthplace of Saint Jerome, is supposedly mentioned (Wilkes, 1974, 267).

among communities did not stop not even under Dolabella and his legate successors. Boundary stones mentioning Dolabella were found mostly in the territory of coastal communities such as the Begi and Ortoplini¹⁶, Neditae¹⁷, Asseriates and Corinienses¹⁸, provided that these names should be tied to Liburnia's administrative-legal units of *Nedium*, *Asseria* and *Corinium*. In case of accurate interpretation, the inscription from Solin would suggest a similar process in the inland of Illyricum where Dolabella corroborated the river *Bathinus* as the frontier between Pannonian peoples the Oseriates and Breuci.¹⁹ It should certainly be noted that Roman borders should be studied carefully because it is possible that some Breucian communities were merged with neighbouring civitates in order to for example weaken the Breucian alliance after *Bellum Batonianum*.

In the context of Romanisation of the inland of Dalmatia, we observe that the issue of resolution of mutual border conflicts between the Illyrian peoples intensified under Caligula (*Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus* 39 AD – 41 AD) after Tiberius's legates defused the situation on the coast. Boundary stones of Lucius Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus, governor of Emperor Caligula, discovered near Jajce, shows that two communities appeared unknown to written sources. Namely, centurion of VII legion determined the border between the *[Em]antini* or *[Le]mantini* and the Sapuates.²⁰ The fact that the Roman centurion had to react when border between two ethnic communities was being drawn indicates that these communities were engaged in open conflict in the mid-1st century. This is not uncommon for inhabitants dealing with animal husbandry, since territorial integrity of other communities or peoples could have been easily disturbed when seeking new pastures. In case of the Emantini/Lemantini and

¹⁶ *Ex dec[re]to / P[ubli] Corneli / Dollabel(l)ae / leg(ati) pr(o) pr(aetore) A[ug]usti* ⁵ / [--] / int(er) Begos et Ortopli[n(os)] (ILJug II, 00919.)

¹⁷ *[E]x dec[re]to / P[ubli] Corne[li] Do[-]label(lae) le[g](ati) pro pr(aetore) / finis int[er] ---* ⁵ / [---]III[---] / [-----] (ILJug III, 02872 = AE 1910, 0008)

¹⁸ *Ex [dec]reto P[ubli] Corn(eli) / Dol(abellae) leg(ati) pr(o) [pr(aetore)] / det(erminavit) C(aius) Titius / Geminus* ⁵ / (centurio) / leg(ionis) VII inte[r] / Asser(iates) et C(or(nienses)) (AE 2003, 0133)

¹⁹ Even though the Breuci and Oseriates do not belong to the province of Dalmatia, as bordering communities they can serve as an example of Dolabella's activities in the inland of Illyricum. Unfortunately, Solin inscription as part of permanent exhibition in the Archaeological Museum of Split is not fully legible, and the part concerning demarcation of peoples along the river Bathinvs is completely ruined. Previous reconstructions according to Alföldy suggest the following content: *[Ti(berius) C]aesar divi Augusti f(ilius) / [A]ugustus imp(erator) pontif(ex) max(imus) / trib(unicia) potest(ate) XXI co(n)s(ul) III / viam a Salonis ad He[dum?] castel(lum) ⁵ / Daesitiatum per mill[i]a passuum / CLVI munit / et idem viam ad Bath[inum?] flu[men] / quod dividit B[r]e[ucos] Oseriat[us] / ibus / a Salonis munit per [millia] p[assuum] ¹⁰ / CLVIII / [et idem viam....] / munit ad inum montem Ditionum / Ulcirum per millia passuum / a Salonis LXXVIII / P[ubli]o Dolabella leg(ato) pro ¹⁵ / pr(aetore) (CIL III, 3198b (p 2275, 2328, 19) = CIL III, 10156b = ILJug I, 263).*

²⁰ *L(ucius) Arruntius / Camil[l]us [S]cri- / [bo]nia[n]us le[g](atus) pr[o] / pr(aetore) C(ai)[C]aesaris Au[g](usti) ⁵ / Germanici iudicem / dedit M(anium) Coelium (centurionem) / leg(ionis) VII inter Sapuates / [et La]matinos ut fines / [re]g[re]t et terminus p[on](eret)) (CIL III, 9864a.)*

the Sapuates, it's more appropriate to use *terminus technicus* of community than people because they probably belonged to a wider ethnic corpus of the Maezaei people.²¹ By interfering in border issues of indigenous communities, Rome imposed its laws and, in this case, neglected the custom law of peregrini. In some broader aspect this process could be associated with political-legal Romanisation. When addressing the Maezaei, it is important to emphasise that there is evidence that even after being granted Roman citizenship they retained their pre-Roman name and the Maezaean identity. The best example is Plator, the son of Venetus, who was granted Roman citizenship as a centurion of Classis Ravennatis in 71 AD by Emperor Vespasian.²² It is possible that Plator was overcome by the feeling of belonging to local population as opposed to the fact that he became Roman citizen.²³ Plator apparently had two identities. He was Roman in political and legal terms, but he continued to belong to the Maezaei privately. It is evident that in the first phase of political-legal Romanisation a person could have many different identities.

The second process closely related to Romanisation can be perceived through the prism of political relations - *interpretatio Romana*. The Illyrian population in the inland probably retained the familial character of religion. Keeping religion private resulted in a small number of findings of cults. This phenomenon is typical for communities that were late in reaching the higher level of social development followed by anthropomorphism in religion.²⁴ Therefore, religion is another evidence that the Illyrians cannot be perceived as a single ethnically homogenous unit, because they had never developed a communal pantheon, although there are some indications in Silvanus's cult.

The way the Romans identified their pantheon with religious heritage of other peoples in practice can be seen in the following quote from Tacitus's *Germania*:

²¹ Džino and Domić Kunić emphasised that the Maezaei should not be seen as one coherent system. The Maezaei would represent a group of related communities whose ethnic identity was formed by Rome. Octavian probably accepted their formal capitulation and regulated their relations, but he left them outside the structural framework of the Illyrian province, as allies (Džino & Domić Kunić, 2013, 160 - 161, 192).

²² *Tabella I (extrinsecus):*

*Imp(erator) Caesar Vespasianus Aug(ustus) pont(ifex) / max(imus) tr(ibunica) pot(estate) II imp(erator) VI p(ater) p(atriciae) co(n)s(ul) III desig(natus) / IIII veterani(s) qui militaverunt in / classe Ravennate sub Sex(to) Lucilio ⁵ / Basso qui sena et vicena stipendia / aut plura meruerunt et sunt de-/ducti in Pannoniam quorum no/mina subscripta sunt ipsis libe-/ris posterisque eorum civitatem ¹⁰ / dedit et conubium cum uxoribus / quas tunc habuissent cum / est civi-/tas iis data aut siqui caelibes essent / cum iis quas postea duxissent dum-/taxat singuli{s} singulas Non(is) April(ibus) ¹⁵ / Caesare Aug(usti) f(ilio) Domitiano Cn(a-eo) Pedio Casco co(n)s(ulibus) / **Platori Veneti f(ilio) centurioni / Maezeio** / descriptum et recognitum ex tabula / aenea quae fixa est Romae in / Capitolio ad aram gentis Iuliae de ²⁰ / foras podio sinistiore tab(ula) I / pag(ina) II loc(o) XXXXIII (CIL XVI, 14 = CILIII + p. 850 + p. 1959).*

²³ Domić Kunić, 1996, 100; Demicheli, 2012, 49.

²⁴ This could be associated with Greek colonisation, because the Illyrians borrowed the appearance of Greek god Pan to their Silvanus (Dorcey, 1992).

“Amongst the Naharvalians is shown a grove, sacred to devotion extremely ancient. Over it a Priest presides apparelled like a woman; but according to the explication of the Romans, ‘tis Castor and Pollux who are here worshipped. This Divinity is named Alcis. There are indeed no images here, no traces of an extraneous superstition: yet their devotion is addressed to young men and to brothers.”²⁵ While in case of the Liburnians and other peoples living on the coast the process of *interpretatio Romana* can be traced even earlier,²⁶ in case of the inland it can be traced not until the end of the 1st century.

Epigraphic acknowledgement of *interpretatio Romana* appears in the territory of the Iapodes and can be dated to the period of the Flavians, which is another evidence that the systematic and cultural submission of the Illyrian communities and peoples in the inland with the help of the elite begins with the Flavians. Namely, the shrine of god Bindus, who was identified with Roman god Neptune in the process of *interpretatio Romana*, was found in Privilica near Bihać.²⁷ Principes of the Iapodes were among the dedicants of votive altars to Bindus. One of them is *Titus Flavius Ditanus*, the princeps with Flavian nomen gentilicium and his monument mentions Emperor Vespasian.²⁸ It can be assumed that this Roman princeps established control over Illyrian peoples and communities through their elite after the retreat of legions.

Finally, the process of Romanisation has not yet been adequately investigated within the scientific community especially when it comes to the 1st century. It seems that there is a need for defining a methodological tool that will be used for finding a solution to this important archaeological and historical problem. For centuries scholars have been observing Romanisation as a positive phenomenon, while contemporaries frequently have a different attitude. Strabo identified Romanisation of southern Italy with barbarism, while Tacitus compared it with slavery. Its aim in Dalmatia was to control indigenous inhabitants that viewed Romans as invaders in the 1st century AD. Illyricum went through a rocky road during which its inhabitants transformed themselves from enemies of Rome during the period of early Principate into the most loyal Roman citizens during the Late Roman period.

Translation: Samra Čebirić, MA

²⁵ Tac. Ger, 43, 4.

²⁶ Cambi, 2013, 73 - 74.

²⁷ *Bindo Neptuno / sacr(um) / Licinus Teuda / praep(ositus) et pri[n(ceps)]⁵ / Ia[p]odum / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)* (CILIII, 14326).

²⁸ *[T(itus) F]lavius / Ditanus / [civ(itate) d]on(atus) ab / [Imp(eratore)] Vespasiano⁵ / Ca[e]sare Aug(usto) / pra[e]positu[s] / et p[rin]cep[s] / Iapo[d]um / [v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)]* (CILIII, 14324).

Sažetak

Proces romanizacije u prvom stoljeću nove ere u unutrašnjosti rimske provincije Dalmacije

Pojam romanizacije u nauci se posmatra dijametralno različito. Riječ je o terminu koji je rezultat historijske tradicije devetnaestog stoljeća. Idejni tvorci tog termina su Theodor Mommsen i Francis Haverfield. Za njih je romanizacija bila širenje izvorne rimske kulture na indigene zajednice sa ciljem njihovog kulturnog i političkog uključenja u *populus Romani*. Postprocesualisti i strukturalisti odbacuju ovakvo viđenje zbog toga što ga vide kao produkt imperijalističke historiografije. Nasuprot njih tradicionalisti smatraju da je romanizacija bila izvjestan proces koji se može uočiti u pisanim izvorima poput Tacita ili na epigrafskim spomenicima. Možda najbolje rješenje ovog naučnog problema je ponudio Curchin koji smatra da umjesto odustajanja od izraza *romanizacija*, puno bolje rješenje je dekonstruisati taj pojam i revizirati ga kao korisnog diskriptora za značajan kulturni proces u rimskom svijetu. Treba naglasiti da proces romanizacije nije bio jednostran. Rimljani su također od pokorenih zajednica apsorbirali u svoj habitus određene kulturološke parametre indigenih zajednica. To se može primijetiti na primjeru unutrašnjosti rimske provincije Dalmacije gdje je u vrijeme Flavijevaca glavni nositelj rimske vlasti u municipijima bila lokalna aristokracija. Primjetno je da Rim u drugoj polovini prvog stoljeća prelazi sa uređenja koje se zasnivalo na peregrinskim civitas na municipalno uređenje. Tako u unutrašnjosti rimske provincije Dalmacije u vrijeme Flavijevske dinastije nastaju municipiji: *municipium Bist(uensium)*, *municipium Malvesiatum*, *municipium Raetinum*, *municipium Arupium*, *municipium Doclea*. Njihova lokalna aristokratija, koja se na epigrafskim spomenicima pojavljuje sa naglaskom na funkcije dekuriona i edila, pored rimske onomastike je zadržala ilirska odnosno zapadnobalkanska imena (*Bato*, *Blodus*, *Tatta*, *Epicadus*, *Leadio*, *Aplius*, *Annia* itd). Onomastička analiza nadgrobnih spomenika lokalne aristokratije ukazuje da su municipiji poput Diluntuma stariji nego što se do sada pretpostavljalo. Lokalna aristokratija odigrala je ključnu ulogu u širenju rimske političke moći, jer ona preuzima ulogu koju su imali vojni prefekti u vrijeme Julijevsko-Klaudijevske dinastije. Naime, Flavijevci su preko lokalnih elita počeli vršiti kulturno-političko pokoravanje ilirskih zajednica u unutrašnjosti Dalmacije. To pokoravanje ili romaniziranje je bilo složen, dugotrajan proces. Peregrini su i nakon osvajanja nastavili živjeti istim načinom života kao i prije osvajanja o čemu svjedoče međašni natpisi koji su imali za svrhu da preciziraju teritorije indigenih zajednica. Potreba za teritorijalnim ustrojstvom je bila uslovljena čestim lokalnim sukobima koji su među zajednicama u Dalmaciji bili prisutni u prvom stoljeću. Da su indigene

zajednice u vrijeme Julijevaca-Klaudijevaca, a potom i Flavijevaca, nastavile živjeti svojim karakterističnim načinom života pored onomastike i međašnih natpisa dokazuje i religija. Na natpisima se pojavljuju autohtona božanstva i atributi tih božanstava se mogu prepoznati preko procesa *interpretatio Romana*. Epigrafske potvrde *interpretatio Romana* javljaju se i u unutrašnjosti, na spomenicima koji pripadaju Japodima. Ti spomenici se datiraju u flavijevsko doba što je još jedan argument da sa Flavijevcima u unutrašnjosti započinje sistematsko, kulturološko pokoravanje ilirskih zajednica i naroda preko elite. Na kraju može se reći da unutar naučne zajednice proces romanizacije još uvijek nije adekvatno istražen naročito kada se radi o prvom stoljeću i unutrašnjosti rimske provincije Dalmacije. Čini se da u budućnosti postoji potreba za definiranjem metodološkog aparata na čijim principima će počivati rješavanje ovog važnog arheološkog i historijskog pitanja.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations

- AE *L'année épigraphique*, Paris
 CBI Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja, Akademija nauka i umjetnosti BiH, Sarajevo
 CIL III *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum III* (ed. Th. Mommsen), Berlin 1873: Supplementa 1889–1902.
 ILJug *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL e MCMLX repertae et editae sunt* (ed. A. et J. Šašel), Situla 5, Ljubljana 1963 (št. 1–451); *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX e MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt* (ed. A. et J. Šašel), Situla 19, Ljubljana 1978 (št. 452–1222); *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt* (izd. A. et J. Šašel), Situla 25, Ljubljana 1986 (št. 1223–3128).

Primary sources

- Strabo, *The Geography of Strabo*, (ed. H. L. JONES), LCL, Cambridge (Mass.), 1954.
- Plinius Secundus (C.), *Naturalis historia*, Libri III/IV (ed. G. WINKLER – R. KÖNIG), München – Zürich, 1988.
- Tacit, *Germanija*, (ed. V. ČAJKANOVIĆ), Beograd, 2002.
- Tacitus, *Agrikola* (Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics) (ed. A. J. WOODMAN), Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Velleius Paterculus, *The Tiberian narrative*, (ed. A. J. WOODMAN), Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Velej Paterkul, *Gaj Velej Paterkul, rimska povijest* (ed. J. MIKLIĆ), Zagreb 2006.

References

- Alföldy G. 1965, *Epigraphica*, Situla 8, Ljubljana 1965, 93–112.
- Bojanovski I. 1988, *Bosna i Hercegovina u antičko doba*, Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Djela LXVI, CBI 6, Sarajevo 1988.
- Cambi N. 2013, *Romanization of the western Illyricum from religious point of view*, *Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine*, Godišnjak CBI 42, Sarajevo 2013, 71–88.

- Curchin A. L. 2004, *The Romanization of Central Spain: Complexity, Diversity and Change in a Provincial Hinterland*, London - New York 2004.
- Domić Kunić A. 1996, *Classis praetoria Ravennatium with special reflection on sailors that origin from Dalmatia and Pannonia*, *Živa antika*, Vol. 46, Skopje 1996, 95-110.
- Demicheli D. 2012, *Salonitani extra fines Dalmatiae (I) Svjedoci podrijetlom iz Salone na vojničkim diplomama*, *Tusculum*, Vol. 5, Solin 2012, 47-57.
- Dorsey F. P. 1992, *The Cult of Silvanus, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition*, Leiden - New York - Köln 1992.
- Džino D. & Domić Kunić A. 2013, *Rimski ratovi u Iliriku - povijesni narativ*, Zagreb 2013.
- González J. 1968, *The Lex Irnitana: A New Copy of the Flavian Municipal Law*, *The Journal of Roman Studies*, vol.76, Cambridge, 1968, 147-243.
- Grbić D. 2014, *Plemenske zajednice u Iliriku - predurbane administrativne strukture u rimskim provincijama između Jadrana i Dunava (I - III vek)*, Beograd 2014.
- Mattingly J. D. 2011, *Imperialism, power, and identity: experiencing the Roman empire*, Princeton - Oxford, 2011.
- Mesihović S. 2011, *Antiqvi homines Bosnae*, Sarajevo 2011.
- Mesihović S. 2014, *Proconsules, legati et praesides. Rimski namjesnici Ilirika, Gornjeg Ilirika i Dalmacije (Rimski namjesnici Ilirika, Gornjeg Ilirika i Dalmacije)*, Sarajevo 2014.
- Mihajlović D. V. 2012, *Koncept romanizacije u arheologiji: uspon i pad paradigme, Etnoantropološki problemi*, vol. 7, sv. 3, Beograd 2012, 709-729.
- Mrozewicz L. 2014, *Flavian municipal foundations in Dalmatia*, *Within the Circle of Ancient Ideas and Virtues - Studies in Honour of Professor Maria Dzielska*, Krakow 2014, 209-219.
- Imamović E. 1977, *Antički kultni i votivni spomenici na području Bosne i Hercegovine*, Sarajevo 1977.
- Paškvalin V. 2012, *Antički sepulkralni spomenici sa područja Bosne i Hercegovine*, *Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Djela LXXX III, CBI*, 9, Sarajevo 2012.
- Syme R. 1988, "Rome and the Nations." In *Syme Roman Papers vol. 4*, 62-73. Originally published in *Diogenes* 124 (1983): 33 - 46., Oxford 1988.
- Šašel Kos M. 2015, *The final phase of the Augustan conquest of Illyricum*, *Antichità Altoadriatiche*, Vol. LXXXI, Centro di Antichità Altoadriatiche, Aquileia, Udine 2015, 65 - 87.
- Wilkes J. J. 1969, *History of the provinces of the Roman empire - Dalmatia*, London 1969.
- Woolf G. 2011, *Tales of the Barbarians: Ethnography and Empire in the Roman West*, Oxford 2011.
- Zaninović M. 2015, *Ilirski ratovi*, Zagreb 2015.