

# Durham E-Theses

---

## *Studies in the roman province of Dalmatia*

J. J. Wilkes

### How to cite:

---

Wilkes, J. J. (1962) *Studies in the roman province of Dalmatia*. Doctoral thesis, Durham University.

### Use policy

---

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a <https://etheses.durham.ac.uk/id/eprint/10470/> is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the [full Durham E-Theses policy](#) for further details.

STUDIES IN THE ROMAN PROVINCE OF DALMATIA

Thesis submitted to the University of Durham  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

J.J. Wilkes

St. Cuthbert's Society

Volume Two.

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author.  
No quotation from it should be published without  
his prior written consent and information derived  
from it should be acknowledged.

April 1962

Chapter X: The Cities of Liburnia.

In the Roman period the Liburni occupied the Eastern shore of the Adriatic between the Rivers Arsia (mod. Raša) and Titius (mod. Krka), although there is evidence that in earlier centuries they were much more widely distributed and were dominant over the whole Adriatic region. To the south they once held the island of Corcyra (mod. Corfu) where they were displaced by the arrival of Corinthian colonists under Chersicrates in the eighth century B.C. Other sources speak of the Liburni as extending on the mainland as far south as the River Narenta, while among the islands of that area, Issa and Pharos were once under their control (1). As well as their power on the Illyrian side of the Adriatic, there is considerable evidence for the settlement of Liburni and other Illyrian peoples on two sectors of the Adriatic Coast of Italy; literary and archaeological evidence suggests that Liburni had settled in Picenum at least as early as the fifth century B.C., while further south, in Iapygia, an abundance of Illyrian personal and place names suggests Illyrian immigration on a considerable scale (2). How far the Liburni had extended northward from the Adriatic we cannot now say; but there appears to be little question that they lost considerable territory to the Celto-Illyrian Iapudes, advancing in a southeasterly direction from the Save Valley in the fifth and early fourth centuries B.C. In the Roman period the sources vary as to the land occupied by the Liburni; a tradition recorded by both Pliny and Strabo describes part of the eastern coastline of the Adriatic- that from Istria to the southern extremity

of the Velebit Mountains- as belonging to the Iapudes, although Pliny's official source describes the whole coastline between Istria and the River Titius as Liburnian. This last piece of evidence, however, is merely recording the administrative situation whereby the Iapudes were included in the judicial conventus of Liburnia based on Scardona, but it seems quite likely that the small communities settled along this particular coastline (Senia, Lopsica, Vegium, etc.) were Liburnian communities, surviving in a land peopled by the Iapudes and only saved from extinction by the impenetrable barrier of the V<sup>e</sup>alebit (3).

Together with the Istri and other Illyrians, the Liburni enjoyed an unrivalled reputation among their neighbours as pirates, gentes ferae et magna ex parte latrociniiis maritimis infames, remarks Livy (4). For this activity the Liburnians developed a special type of craft, the liburna, whose main features were a high prow and streamlined hull for extra speed. In later years it became the accepted name for a warship of almost any kind, making its first appearance in Roman warfare at Actium on the side of Octavian (5).

Little is known of how the Liburni fared in the last three centuries B.C., but there is no doubt that they were completely overshadowed by the powerful Iapudes, against whom a number of Roman commanders are known to have operated in the second and first centuries B.C. In the early months of 84 B.C., a small force of troops was landed in Liburnia by the democrat L. Cinna although, as E. Badian has convincingly suggested, this was not an occasion for an

aggressive war in Illyria but rather the need to train raw levies for the forthcoming struggle against the veterans of Sulla (6). Owing to dissension among the leaders nothing came of the invasion, and the troops who had been landed in Liburnia were soon recalled. The main threat to the Liburni came not from the Romans but rather from their Illyrian neighbours to the south, the Delmatae. Towards the end of Caesar's command in Gaul they attacked the Liburni and captured one of their principal strongholds, Promona on the mountain of that name (mod. Mt. Promina). When the Liburni appealed to Caesar, the latter could do nothing positive apart from threaten the Delmatae with punishment, owing to the imminence of war with Pompey and the senate (7). The final reduction of the Liburni appears to have been effected by Octavian in 35 B.C., when he was on his way to campaign against the Iapudes in the interior: 'he deprived them of their ships because they practised piracy' according to Appian (8); and it is quite likely that the tactical supremacy of Octavian's ships at Actium was largely due to the Liburnian craft which he obtained on this occasion.

In the rest of this chapter each community of Liburnia is dealt with separately with the evidence, if any, of its municipal organisation. Our main source is Pliny, who appears to have taken his list of cities from a source based on the official register of the Scardona conventus, although Ptolemy and the Itineraries supply valuable evidence for the location of individual communities. Here only the coastal cities and those of Liburnia proper are discussed, the inland communities all being included in the following section,

under the general heading of the Iapudes. In this section the Liburnian cities fall easily into two geographical groups, (i) cities on the islands and on the coast north of Iader and (ii) those on the mainland of Liburnia between Iader and Scardona on the River Titius (9).

(i) Cities of the Islands and Northern Liburnia.

The island of Arba (mod. Rab) lies close to the mainland, opposite to the southern sector of the Velebit Mountains. The city of the same name lay on the southwest side of the island, with an excellent harbour and sheltered from the northerly gales. Pliny lists the city as an oppidum, while inscriptions from the site show that it was a municipium administered by IIviri and aediles and enrolled in the tribe Sergia (10). Its municipal status was attained under Augustus, judging from an inscription of 11 B.C. recording the building of a wall and towers, possible with some official assistance. Other dedications were set up decurionum decreto to emperors of the second and third centuries (11). Some of the leading families of Liburnia had connections at Arba, most notably the senatorial Raecii and the equestrian Trebii, but judging from a record of the construction of the city's first proper water supply in A.D. 173 by a freedman of the senator Raecius Rufus, the city was very poorly off in civic amenities (12).

The outermost group of islands in the Gulf of Rijeka (Sinus Flanaticus) were the Apsyrtides, a name which derives from Absyrtus, the ill-fated brother of Medea in the voyage of the Argonauts (13).

The main island of the group is Cres (Italian Cherso) with two cities, Oссор in the south and Cres in the north, but in antiquity the island was called Apsoros, after the city of that name on the site of Oссор, while in the north Crexi was the predecessor of Cres. Pliny records Apsyrtium and Crexi as insulae cum oppidis, but the testimony of Ptolemy leaves no doubt that both the cities of Apsoros and Crexi were on the same island of Apsoros (14).

Judging from the epigraphic evidence of municipal institutions, Apsoros was the principal centre of the island, with IIviri and aediles occurring on inscriptions; its tribe appears to have been Claudia, but this is based on the evidence of one inscription only. An aedilis and IIvir from Sansego, the smallest and most westerly of the Apsyrtides group of islands, almost certainly belongs to Apsoros (15).

The most interesting inscription from the island of Apsoros does not come from the city of that name but from somewhere in the north of the island. A record of the construction of a curia and porticus by IIviri under Tiberius was, according to one antiquary, conveyed to Oссор (Apsoros) from Caisole in the extreme north of the island, although its original findspot is unknown. If it did, as seems likely, come from somewhere in the north of the island, then it raises the possibility of there being a second municipium on it, most probably at Crexi (Cres); bearing in mind the very small scale of settlements on the island, it seems more likely that the municipium of Apsoros included the whole island within its

territorium, with Crexi as a vicus on it. Whatever was the case, the inscription is certainly evidence for at least one early, probably Augustan, municipium on Apsoros (16).

The last major island state of Northern Liburnia was Curictae (mod. Krk. Italian Veglia), situated in the northeastern corner of the Gulf of Rijeka, and separated from the mainland by a sea passage at some points less than a mile across.

It was the scene of one of the earliest encounters in the Civil War between Pompey and Caesar when, early in 49 B.C., the Pompeian admiral C. Scribonius Libo trapped the forces under the Caesarian C. Antonius on the island and forced him to surrender, while other troops of Caesar, of whom one of the commanders was the historian Sallust, could only gaze on helplessly from the mainland opposite (17). Curictae is the only island of Liburnia to produce any evidence of its republican organisation, in the form of an inscription recording the building of a wall 111' long and 20' high under the supervision of two native praefecti, Turus Patalius Granp. Opia f. and Venetus Lastimeis Hosp. f; there is no reason however, to follow Hirschfeld and associate this activity with the events of 49 B.C. (18).

Pliny records the island and city of Curictae, but Ptolemy states that the island had two cities, Curicum and Fulfinium; the latter is to be connected with the Furfinates who are mentioned along with Curictae but not specifically located on the island. Pliny lists Curictae amongst those communities which possessed ius

Italicum (19).

The site of the city on Curictae (Pliny's Curicum) is a pleasant and well sheltered bay at the south end of the island. There is no direct evidence to locate the other city, Fuffinium, but the only really possible site for a major settlement on the island other than Krk is at Omišalj, in the extreme north of the island, where a few Roman inscriptions have been discovered (20). Evidence for civic organisation is scanty and what there is all comes from Curicum, where a Ilvir 9.9. is recorded, while the body of decurions is attested by the formula l.d.d.d. No inscription from the island mentions any Roman tribe. The most interesting inscription from Curictae belongs to the middle of the third century and records a senior equestrian who was patron of the splendida civitas Curictae (21). Curictae's possession of Ius Italicum may indicate that she had attained municipal status at least as early as the Augustan period, and possibly even earlier, but of the three islands cities of Northern Liburnia it is the one about which we have the least evidence.

The fixing of the boundary between Italy and Dalmatia on the River Arsia (mod. Raša) meant that two small communities on the eastern side of Istria fell in the province of Dalmatia.

The first of these was Alvona (mod. Labin, Italian Albona), which lay within a few miles of the provincial boundary. It is first mentioned by Artemidorus of Ephesus (second-first century B.C.) and is listed by Pliny and Ptolemy. The earlier form of the name

appears to have been Alvona but later sources, for instance Peutinger and Ravennas, record it as Albona, a form which also occurs on a dedication to the younger Philip by the Respublica Albonessium (22).

Inscriptional evidence reveals that Alvona was a municipium with IIviri and aediles and enrolled in the tribe Claudia. There is no direct evidence for when Alvona became a municipium; all the magistrates look to be early in date and it is quite possible that the two Istrian cities received their civic status when Gallia Cisalpina ceased to be a province, after 42 B.C. (23). The city was dominated by the Gavillii, a family who were leading citizens of Aquileia in the second century B.C. and spread into many communities in the northeast of Italy (24).

The other Istrian community in Dalmatia was Flanona, (mod. Plomin) at the head of a small inlet a few miles north of Alvona. It was this place which gave the ancient name to what is now the Gulf of Rijeka (Sinus Flanaticus). Like Alvona the city is first recorded by Artemidorus of Ephesus. It is possible that the Alutae, whom Pliny records with Ius Italicum along with the Flanates, are in fact the inhabitants of Alvona, since it would be strange if the privilege was conferred on one only of two communities which appear in all other respects identical. In the section dealing with regio X of Italy, Pliny lists a number of Liburnian communities including the Flamonienses Vanienses et alii cognomine Curici, presumably two communities who shared a common

centre of Flanona (25).

There are no inscriptions from Flanona bearing on the civic status of the place, but at Salonae we find a Sex. Aquillius, probably a praetorian centurion and decorated by Trajan, who was decurion of Flanona and Salonae. As is suggested below, his Flanona decurionate probably belongs to the period before his military service, after which he preferred to settle in the provincial capital, where he joined the ordo (26). At Flanona Aquillii appear frequently on tombstones and were clearly at some period the leading family of the place (27). The Istrian connections of Flanona are shown by one of the honestiores at the colony of Pola being curator Reipublicae Flanatum, probably not earlier than the early second century, while from Parentium, another Istrian city, comes a dedication to Minerva Flanatica (28). The only evidence for the tribe of Flanona is a fragmentary inscription mentioning an individual in Claudia. In view of Alvona's enrolment in Claudia, we can agree with Kubitschek and accept this evidence from a single inscription (29).

Tarsatica (mod. Trsat near Rijeka, Italian Fiume) lay at the head of the Adriatic near the mouth of the River Recina (Italian Fiumara), on its right bank; the pre-Roman settlement lay on a low hill on the opposite bank (30). Tarsatica is listed as an oppidum by Pliny and two inscriptions from there, of the Vettidii family, confirm that it was a municipium under IIviri. There is no conclusive evidence for the tribe of Tarsatica although the tombstone

of a serving praetorian has been taken as an indication that it was enrolled in Sergia (31). An inscription from Moesia Superior has been considered by some to have a bearing on the date when Tarsatica became a city: the tombstone of a peregrinus who had served in coh. I Thracum at Timacum Minus (Ravna) was restored by v. Premerstein to give an origo Tarsa[tic]es(is). The tombstone belongs to the late first century, and upon this evidence Premerstein concluded that Tarsatica was still a civitas peregrina at this time, and that it did not attain municipal status until the time of Hadrian, for which view he finds support in the occurrence of the tribe Sergia at Tarsatica. The evidence is most questionable, if only because of the uncertainty of the restoration. Kraft rejects it and holds that Tarsa[...] is nothing other than a Thracian origo, for which there appears some good evidence. This is certainly more plausible than to have a man from the hinterland of Tarsatica joining a Thracian unit in Syria at this date. The tribe Sergia is certainly not evidence for Hadrianic date but rather the reverse: Iader and Arba, both in Sergia, were cities under Augustus (32).

Apart from clear indications that the Vettidii of Tarsatica are not later than the early second century A.D., there is no indication for the date when Tarsatica became a municipium. Degrassi favours a Flavian date, comparing it with Scardona as a post-Augustan foundation enrolled in Sergia. As he remarks, the obvious traces of civic life such as are found in other Liburnian cities in Sergia of the Augustan period are lacking, but since

virtually all the identifiable communities recorded by Pliny as oppida received municipal status at the latest under the Julio-Claudians, there is no real reason why we should consider Tarsatica to be exceptional. In the case of Scardona, the delay in becoming a municipium may be due to its being the headquarters of the administrative conventus for all Liburnia and the Iapydes of the interior (33).

The ancient port of Senia (mod. Senj, Italian Segnia, German Zengg) lay on the Liburnian coast opposite Curictae, at a point where one of the few routes leading into the interior of Iapydia branches away across the ridge of the Velebit.

Pliny lists it among the coastal oppida of Liburnia, while its existence as a port in the pre-Roman period is possibly attested by an emendation of the text of Ps-Scylax (34). At some period Senia became a municipium of which decuriones, the ordo and plebs Seniensium are attested. At Senia there occurs the only record in Dalmatia of Augustales outside the coloniae, in the form of a reference to the corpus Augustalium on the tombstone of a wealthy freedman from Aequum (35). There is no clear evidence for the tribe of Senia; at Rome a praetorian, M. Valerius M.f. Serg. Quintianus, giving his origo as Seni(a), may be from the Liburnian city although some scholars, including Kubitschek, have doubted this evidence. If Sergia was Senia's tribe then the city may perhaps be one of the Augustan foundations along with Arba and Iader (36).

The commercial life of Senia is illustrated by persons coming from various parts of the Roman World, including Naples, Nicomedia

and Tiberias in Judaea (37). Senia was probably the site of one of the offices of the provincial customs and excise, portorium Illyrici, judging from the presence of a praefectus vehiculorum and a conductor portorii publici, both assignable to the Antonine period (38). One piece of evidence is preserved for the civic amenities of Senia, namely an inscription recording the construction of the civic bath (balneum) in the time of the legate L. Domitius Gallicanus (A.D. 239ff.); while another stone, set up by L. Gavius Optatus, sacerdos Liburnorum, records the building of a temple of Liber in memory of his mother Gavia E.f. Maxima (39).

Three other small communities on the Liburnian coast, all recorded as oppida by Pliny, may be discussed briefly.

Lopsica, recorded by Pliny and all the principal geographical sources, has been located by Patsch at Sv. Juraj (Italian S. Giorgio, German St. Georgien), a few miles south of Senia. According to Pliny, the Lopsi possessed Ius Italicum, but there is no record of municipal institutions from the site; the only inscription from the place records a member of the Appuleii, one of the leading families at Iader. The ancient settlement, situated on one of the small inlets of this very inhospitable coast, can never have been anything more than a port of call for coastal shipping or a large fishing village (40).

Both Pliny and Ptolemy record Ortopula somewhere on the coastline of Liburnia between Lopsica and Vegium. From amongst the hills of the Velebit on the road from Stinica, on the coast south of Lopsica, to Kosinjska Begovača in the Lika polje comes an inscription

recording a agreement, over access to water, between the Ortoplini and the Parentini. The second community mentioned are not known of in any other context, but on the evidence of this agreement Ortopula can be located with reasonable certainty at Stinica, although, so far, the site has produced no traces of ~~in~~habitation in ancient times (41).

Vegium, recorded by both Pliny and Ptolemy, has been located by Patsch at Vidovgrad near Karlobag (Italian Carlopago), whence comes a record of a L. Sestius L.f. Ser. Silvester, a decurion who died at the age of twenty-three. If he was a decurion of Vegium (and not, say, of nearby Arba or Iader), then its enrolment in Sergia would suggest an Augustan foundation. As with Lopsica and Ortopula, Vegium cannot have been anything but the smallest of communities depending for its livelehood mostly on fishing (42).

The last of the coastal oppida of the central sector <sup>of</sup> Liburnia was Argyruntum, now located at Starigrad Paklenica, a small settlement at the southern end of the Velebit mountain range.

It is the only minor settlement of Liburnia to produce a reasonable quantity of evidence for its early status as a municipium, in particular under Tiberius. One of the inscriptions has been restored to give another instance of walls and towers being constructed under Augustus or Tiberius, possibly with some imperial assistance (for others cf. Arba and Iader); the example from Argyruntum dates to A.D. 34/35. An earlier dedication, mentioning the legate L. Volusius Saturninus, was set up to Iulia Augusta

(died A.D. 29) by the only individual honestior the city known to us, C. Iulius C.f. Sulla, in honour of his decurionate. There can be little doubt that Argyruntum was a city in its own right in view of the above evidence (43).

Excavations on the site of Argyruntum have revealed some traces of the city walls, while outside the city itself, which lies on a small northward-facing peninsula, an extensive cemetery with a wealth of grave goods was discovered by the Austrian excavators, on both sides of the road leading away from the city (44). Even so, it cannot have been a large community, as the maximum size it could have reached in its situation was three hundred by two hundred metres, although it is possible that part of the ancient site has been submerged beneath the waterline, a phenomenon which occurs along the whole length of the Dalmatian coastline, although less pronounced in Liburnia than further south (e.g. Epidaurum).

(ii) Cities of the Liburnian mainland.

The principal city of Liburnia was the colony of Iader (mod. Zadar, Italian Zara). Very little is known of Iader in the pre-Roman period, but it is hard to believe that with such an excellent situation it was not one of the larger settlements of the Liburni (45).

The first historical record of the inhabitants of Iader occurs in the period of the Civil War between Pompey and Caesar. In 48 B.C. Q. Cornificius, Caesar's quaestor pro praetore in Illyricum, achieved a success over the Pompeian Fleet under C. Octavius with the aid of some ships supplied by the Iadertini, of whom it is

remarked, quorum semper in rempublicam singulare constiterat officium (46). In later years the ethnic of Iader was Iadestinus, but there can be little doubt that they are the people referred to in this passage (47). An inscription from Pharos of the fourth century B.C., referring to the capture of spoils from the Iadasinoi, had for many years been associated with Liburnians dwelling in the region of Iader, but more recently it has been suggested that the Iadasinoi are in fact identical with the IA]DASTIN[OI mentioned on the decree of 56 B.C. from Salonae, almost certainly a minor Illyrian people dwelling on the mainland in the immediate vicinity of Salonae (48).

At some period before the end of the reign of Augustus, Iader was raised to the status of a colonia, although there is no evidence for the official title which it must surely have possessed. The most significant evidence for the date of the founding of the colonia consists of two inscriptions describing Augustus as parens coloniae and recording the 'gift' of walls and towers from that ruler. The tribe of the colony was Sergia, although Tromentina, the other main tribe of Dalmatia, appears in fair quantity even among its honestiores. All this seems to point to the colonia at Iader being an Augustan foundation (49). The most likely occasion for this step is in 35/4 B.C., when Octavian had deprived the Liburnians of their ships, and Roman power and prestige were re-established on the eastern shore of the Adriatic.

Some scholars have doubted the value of the title parens coloniae as a reference to the founder of the colony and cite the case of

Gades, where M. Agrippa appears on coins as parens municipii in what is generally believed to be a Caesarian municipium. The principal objections to this is the very uncertainty of the Caesarian date for Gades; one inscription gives its title as municipium Augustum, while Pliny describes its inhabitants as Augustani, dwelling in Iulia Gaditana (50).

The magistrates of Iader were Iiviri and aediles, while the freedman colleges of IIIIIIiviri, IIIIIIiviri Augustales and Augustales also occur, but are much less in evidence at Iader than in the other colonies of Dalmatia. In addition to the record of the construction of the city's defences under Augustus, there is evidence for the construction of an aqueduct in the reign of Trajan (51).

The principal evidence for the territorium of the colony consists of extensive traces of its ager centurionatus, identified from air photographs in the vicinity of the city. The centuriae are identical in size with those around Salonae, each measuring 20 by 20 actus (776 by 776 yards) to give an area of two hundred iugera, a size commonly found in other Augustan coloniae. The limites are orientated to suit local conditions, being laid out along the north-west-southeast axis of the coastline and the low limestone ridges of the immediate hinterland, in between which lie strips of fertile land. Away from the immediate vicinity of the colony the amount of fertile land is quite small; in the south a narrow strip continues southward as far as Sukošan, about ten miles from Iader, beyond

which centuriation would have been impracticable. Inland, there is no natural limit to the area of cultivable land, as is the case at Salonae with the mountains of Mosor and Kosjak. Here no less than twelve limites have been discovered running parallel to the line of the coast, and in this direction the limit of the ager centurionatus must remain doubtful until more evidence comes to light from air photographs. In this direction no city is known to have existed nearer than Corinium (mod. Karin), over twenty miles away near the Sea of Novigrad. On the north the approach of the colony's territorium to within a short distance of Aenona raises the possibility that it might have been a dependent community of Iader. In the southeast, the nearest city was Nedinum (mod. Nadin), enrolled in the tribe Claudia (52).

The island of Uglian lies parallel to the coast opposite Iader, is about fourteen miles long and at its greatest two and a half miles wide and is separated from the mainland by a sea-channel averaging three miles in width. Virtually the whole of the island is barren and quite unproductive, a condition due to the Boar, a fierce wind which blows down the Adriatic during the winter months. On the sheltered inland side of the island, however, there is a sizeable strip of fertile land which today supports a number of small communities, and in this area traces of ager centurionatus have been discovered with centuriae identical in size to those of the mainland. Clearly the island of Uglian was part of the territorium of the colony of Iader; in the same manner it is probable

that the eastern shore of the neighbouring island of Pasman may also yield traces of <sup>n</sup>ca~~t~~uriation (53).

Aenona (mod. Nin, Italian Nona) lies on the coast eight miles north of Iader. The actual settlement is situated on a small island surrounded by a marshy lagoon connected to the mainland by two causeways. The whole region is most unhealthy and until a few years ago malaria was commonplace among the local inhabitants.

Discoveries in the immediate area of the city have shown that Aenona was a thriving community in the pre-Roman period. Pliny lists it among the Liburnian coastal oppida, and evidence of municipal institutions comes from the site with an aedile and a Ilvir quinquennalis, while other stones record an aedile and a dedication to Ianus Augustus by an individual for the safety of his ordo and fellow citizens. The tribe Sergia occurs in two contexts (54).

Two provincial governors are honoured as patrons at Aenona; P. Silius, proconsul in Illyricum in 16 B.C. who operated in north-east Italy, and L. Volusius Saturninus (cos. ord. A.D. 3), legate in Dalmatia from the late twenties until some time under Caligula, who is honoured by three separate dedications. Two of them belong to the period when he was in Dalmatia, but the third was set up to him as praefectus urbis, a post which he assumed in the first years or so of Claudius' reign and held until his death at the age of ninety-three in A.D. 56 (55).

In the city itself the most striking remains of the Roman period are those of a large temple decorated in a very ornate style, dated

by the excavators, Abramić and Jelić, to the later first century A.D; explorations of the extensive Roman remains have taken place over a number of years, but unfortunately no adequate publication has appeared. Outside the city, the two causeways across the marshland surrounding it must have required constant attention; an inscription from Aenona records that one of the causeways, with a length of 687', was reconstructed by C. Julius Ceuni f. Ser. Curticus Aetor. The tombstone of this individual appears in CIL among those of uncertain provenance; it records his receipt of decorations from Tiberius for his service in the Bellum Dalmaticum as well as municipal magistracies- the latter are presumably to be connected with Aenona (56).

It is clear that Aenona stood in close relation to the colony of Iader, less than eight miles away. The ager centurionatus of the latter is known to have approached to within three miles of Aenona and the possibility that it was, at some period at least, a vicus of Iader must be considered. The IIvir quinquennalis known at Aenona was an Appuleius, an equestrian family established at Iader, while the only tribe attested there is Sergia, also Iader's tribe.

Perhaps most significant is the finding of a record of IIIIIIvir, an institution which, in Dalmatia at least, is confined to coloniae. On the other hand the patronage of L. Volusius Saturninus and the dedication to Ianus Augustus by an individual at Aenona for the safety of his ordo and fellow citizens seems to indicate that Aenona was a city in its own right, even if

completely dominated by families of Iader (57).

The last of the Liburnian coastal oppida listed by Pliny is the civitas Pasini, but so far no location has been identified for it (58). It occurs after Argyruntum, Corinium and Aenona, and is followed by the mouth of the River Tedanius (mod. Zrmanja), so it is probably to be sought in the region somewhere north of Iader, perhaps around the entrance to the sea of Novigrad.

An inscription of the later second century from Stoĵnik, on the border of Dalmatia and Moesia Superior, has been restored to refer to the Pasinates in the form of a veteran of the (Coh.) I Aurelia n(ova) Pas[ina]n[is] c.R. (milliaria). If this is correct it provides an instance of recruitment of an auxiliary unit in the period of the Marcomannic Wars from a city of Liburnia. There is certainly abundant evidence for widespread recruitment to the auxilia at this time from the interior of the Balkan provinces, but this is the only evidence that such recruitment was extended to the coastal cities of Liburnia (59).

Recorded amongst the coastal oppida of Liburnia, Corinium (mod. Karin) did not lie actually on the coast but immediately south of the Sea of Karin, a small land-locked gulf connected to the larger Sea of Novigrad by a narrow channel about two miles in length (60).

No traces of civic institutions are recorded on inscriptions from Corinium, but the most interesting group attested there is a number of newly enfranchised Roman citizens, whose tombstones

reveal clear traces of their native ancestry. The majority are Iulii, suggesting widespread official grants of the civitas - perhaps under Augustus - while the only tribe attested there is Sergia, on the tombstone of a praetorian veteran and two other fragmentary records (61).

The boundaries of the lands of the Corinienses were the subject of arbitration by the legate of the province on at least three separate occasions, over a period extending from the early years of Tiberius to the later years of Nero. Most of the settlements recorded deal with the boundaries between the lands of the Corinienses and the Neditae, the inhabitants of nearby Nedinum (mod. Nadin), eight miles southeast of Corinium. The earliest settlement known occurred under the legate P. Cornelius Dolabella (legate A.D. 14-20), but it is only attested on a later settlement under the Neronian legate A. Ducenius Geminus (A.D. 63-67 app.). A fragment of what may have been the original settlement of the Corinium-Nedinum boundary was discovered less than half a mile away from the Neronian settlement; in spite of the fact that the fragment only records the name of P. Cornelius Dolabella, there can be little doubt that the settlement dealt with the same boundary. Both these inscriptions were found about three miles south west of Corinium, but less than a mile from that city the words FINIS NEDITI were found carved on a rock. The boundary between the cities was causing more trouble in the reign of Caligula; a boundary stone of his reign, set up under the legate L. Volusius Saturninus from Corinium, clearly refers to the same two states, but only the name

of the Neditae has actually survived. The Neronian boundary settlements are attested on three separate inscriptions, two dealing with the Corinienses and Neditae, the third dealing with the boundary between the Corinienses and an unknown community, of whose name only the first three letters survive (ANS[.....]). This place may presumably be located in the opposite direction from ~~the~~ Nedinum, that is on the west of Corinium, perhaps in the area of Bilisane. All the above boundary settlements were found within three miles of Corinium and, with the probability that they were in situ, or nearly so, when discovered, it appears that the territory of the Corinienses did not extend further than five miles from the city at any point, except perhaps on the east (62).

About six miles north of Corinium, a small settlement of the Roman period has been identified on the Cvijina Gradina near Obrovac and equated with Clambetae, a place recorded for this locality by Peutinger and Ravennas (63). The excavated remains include a temple, a bath-house and a series of long rectangular buildings which, although they appear to me remarkably similar to the barracks of an auxiliary fort, are probably shops or houses. The only indication of date is a tile from the Pansiana tile factory with the titles of Nero, suggesting that the settlement was functioning in the first century A.D. It may have been one of the Liburnian hill settlements, such as Nedinum, Asseria and Varvaria, which were permitted to continue into the Roman period; but there is no evidence from the few inscriptions, of both Roman

citizens and peregrini, that the settlement ever attained the status of a city. It may well have been a vicus of the Corinienses (64).

The city of Nedinum (mod. Nadin) lay on the route between Iader and Burnum at a distance of about twelve miles from the former place. The Nedinates are listed by Pliny in the group of Liburnian peoples under the section on regio X, but are not listed by the same author in his section on Liburnia (65).

Inscriptions from the site of the city show that it was a municipium with IIviri and aediles and enrolled in the tribe Claudia. There is no definite evidence from the date when Nedinum became a municipium, although the tombstone of a veteran of leg. VIII (Augusta) was adjudged by Mommsen as evidence for an Augustan settlement- possibly a deductio veteranorum. The date is hardly Augustan, however, although he may be the first member of the Octavii, the leading family at Nedinum, to settle there (66). This family appears to have monopolised the magistracies of the city for some period, and they were almost certainly connected with the great jurist of the later first and early second century, C. Octavius Tadius Tossianus L. Iavolenus Priscus (cos. suff. 86), whose career is commemorated on an inscription from Nedinum (67). The Octavii may well be Italian immigrants, in spite of the presence of a native name on their main inscription, but Romanised Liburnians are well represented by Iulii and Calpurnii with native affiliations, most of whom are probably datable to the first half of the first

century (68).

The nearest city to Nedinum was Corinium, eight miles away to the northwest. The boundaries between the territories of the two communities are known to have been the subject of arbitration on at least three occasions during the Julio-Claudian period. The details of the settlements are given above in connection with Corinium, but it is worth noting here that the Neditae appear to have owned the bulk of the land between the two places, judging from an inscription on rock less than a mile from Corinium of the words FINIS NEDITI and the fact that all of the boundary inscriptions come from within a radius of three miles of Corinium (69). On the east Asseria lay at a distance of about nine miles, while to the west the centuriated territorium of Iader appears to have extended at least as far as Zemunik, half way between Iader and Nedinum (70).

Asseria (mod. Podgradje near Benkovac) is one of the Liburnian cities included by Pliny under regio X as well as in his section on Liburnia itself; in the ~~then~~ latter context the Asseriates are credited not only with Ius Italicum, but also with immunitas, the only Dalmatian city known to possess this privilege (71).

Inscriptions from the site of the city reveal all the main components of a municipium, IIviri, aediles and decuriones, and show that it was, like nearby Nedinum, enrolled in the tribe Claudia (72). Though not necessarily a creation of Claudius, the occurrence of a flamen divi Claudii from Asseria suggests

that he was being honoured for some benefit that the city received from him. In the second century Asseria could boast a praetorian prefect among its patrons (73).

The territorial boundaries of the city of Asseria are known to have been the subject of the legate's arbitration on at least two separate occasions during the reign of Nero. The first record belongs to the governorship of A. Dacenus Geminus (circa A.D. 63-7) and deals with the boundary between the Asseriates and the Sidrini; it was found northeast of Asseria near Medvidje, about two miles along the road towards Asseria (74). The city of the latter people, Sidrona, is mentioned by Ptolemy only; it may have been at Medvidje, where an ancient settlement has been discovered, although the same place should be identical with the Hadra recorded in that area by the Itineraries (75). The second record, from Dobropoljici about five miles east of Asseria, deals with a boundary between the Resp. Asseriatium and the Resp. Alveritarum. The latter community cannot be identified with any particular site, although on the evidence of this inscription it is probably to be located somewhere in the region of Ostrovica, eight miles southeast of Asseria (76).

The situation of the city of Asseria, on a low hill about three hundred feet high with a commanding view in all directions, is typical of the inland cities of this part of Liburnia; other cities with comparable situations are Nedinum, Varvaria, Clambetae and Sidrona. The dimensions of the city, enclosed by the circuit of

well-constructed walls, were approximately 440 by 170 metres; the shape of the enclosed area is quite irregular since the walls, which are probably of pre-Augustan date, have been constructed to extract the maximum tactical advantage from the lie of the ground for the defenders within. The gateways are very narrow and are flanked by strong defensive towers (77). By the end of the first century A.D., the defences of the city clearly had no longer any military value and may have been kept up merely as civic adornments. In the northwest sector, the line of the wall was cut through for a distance of about fifteen metres and in it was inserted an elaborate triumphal archway, slightly out of alignment with the adjoining wall, in order to be on the same line as the principal roadway inside the city. Fragments of the arch's dedicatory plaque reveal that it was completed in A.D. 113, and the name of one of the leading citizens appears as the dedicator; there appears to have been no mention of the provincial governor (78). Within the walls the remains of a very large forum complex was uncovered by the Austrian excavators, with overall dimensions of 100 by 50 metres. Judging from the style of the small number of inscriptions and the architectural character of the building, it was constructed at about the same period as the Trajanic triumphal archway (79).

Hadra is listed by Ptolemy among the inland cities of Liburnia, and it is marked on the Peutinger Map between Clambetae (Cvijina Gradina) and Burnum at a distance of thirteen miles from each place. On this basis it was located at Medvidje, near to which

(Gradina near Medvidje) remains of a small hill settlement of the Roman period were discovered in the early years of this century (80). Inscriptions are known from the site and record evidence of civic institutions, a Ilvir bis and two dedications to second century emperors, set up decurionum decreto (81).

Another possible identification for the Medvidje settlement has been suggested, however, by a boundary settlement from Bruška, about two miles southeast of Medvidje on the road to Asseria. Dating to the reign of Nero, it records a boundary settlement between the <sup>S</sup>~~Di~~rini and the Asseriates. The obvious conclusion is that the Sidrini, whose centre Sidrona is listed by Ptolemy, were the inhabitants of Medvidje since there is really no other possible location for them in this area. Hadra and Sidrona are listed as separate cities by Ptolemy and thus there is no possibility that Sidrona, oppidum of the Sidroni (or Sidrini), was in later centuries the Hadra recorded in the Itineraries (82). Neither city appears to have been of any consequence, and neither finds a place in Pliny's otherwise comprehensive catalogue of Liburnian cities.

The Varvarini inhabited the oppidum of Varvaria, the most southerly of the cities in the interior of Liburnia. It has been located at Bribir, a settlement enclosed with elaborate defences on a prominent hill some seven miles northwest of Scardona on the River Titius. Like Asseria, Nedinum, etc., it grew out of a native Liburnian hill settlement (83).

Pliny lists the Varvari along with other Liburnian communities under the heading of Regio X, and Varvarini in the section of Liburnia; in view their association with known Liburnian communities in the text of Pliny, it is reasonable to assume that the Varvari are identical with Pliny's Liburnian Varvarini, who enjoy the privilege of Ius Italicum. Ptolemy lists Varvaria among the inland cities of Liburnia (84).

Very few inscriptions have been found on the site of Varvaria, although two of them record municipal institutions, and aedilis IIvir and a decurion of m(unicipium) [Var]var(ia), while the city's enrolment in the tribe Claudia is attested by a primuspilus of leg. VII C.p.f. at Viminacium, a praetorian at Rome and a scriba of the Ravenna Fleet (85). The only other official inscription from the site is a dedication to Trajan dated to A.D. 98/99 (86).

The inclusion of a number of Liburnian communities in Pliny's catalogue of Regio X lead Kubitschek to suggest that they had shared in the grant of civitas to Cisalpina and, until the Augustan organisation of the regiones, were technically part of Italy, and that when the boundary was fixed on the Arsia they were awarded the special privilege of Ius Italicum (87). If Kubitschek is correct, then those communities listed twice by Pliny (Albona(?), Asseria, Flanona and Varvaria) must presumably have become municipia along with the other settlements of Cisalpine Gaul. Yet the epigraphic evidence suggests that these places were not the earliest places to receive civic status but lagged behind other cities of Liburnia

(for instance, Apsoros, Argyruntum, Arba) which certainly enjoyed civic organisation as early as the Augustan period. If anything, the tribe Claudia suggests that their civic status belongs to a later date for, although the tribe Claudia is common among the cities of Istria, in Noricum we find all the Claudian municipalities enrolled in that tribe, and it is not impossible that these Liburnian cities were also raised to the status of municipia under the same emperor; there are no obviously early inscriptions from any of the cities in this category and in the case of one of them, Asseria, there is direct evidence for a connection with Claudius in the form of a flamen divi Claudii (88).

Some evidence for the extent of land occupied by the Varvarini is supplied by the tombstone of a veteran of leg. XI from Mratovo on the eastern bank of the River Titius (mod. Krka), at a point roughly opposite to the legionary headquarters at Burnum. The inscription gives details of where the veteran met his death: hic est occisus finibus Varvarinorum in agello secus Titum (i.e. Titium) flumen ad petram longam. There is no reason to doubt that the find-spot of the stone was not far from its original position (89). How he actually died is not known, but the petra longa can be identified with a headland on the Krka between Puljane and Bogatić which still bears the same name (dugi stina) (90). From the reference to the territory of the Varvarini, it appears that the territory of that Liburnian city actually extended across the Titius in the direction of the Promina mountains. As Pliny states, the boundary between

Liburnia and Dalmatia followed the Titius along its lower reaches, but then it probably followed a more natural line over the Promona to rejoin the river in the area of Knin. This is also supported by the events of c. 51 B.C. when the Delmatae captured the Promona fortress from the Liburni, an indication that the Liburni owned large areas on the east bank of the Titius (91). At Oklaj and Razvadje, between the Titius and the slopes of the Promina, fragments of two boundary settlements by L. Volusius Saturninus have been discovered, but unfortunately in neither case are the names of the communities involved preserved. Possibly they referred to settlement on the boundaries of the Varvarini and the inhabitants of Promona, which appears to have remained for some period as a vicus, probably under direct military administration (92). Another small fragment may come from a dedication to Tiberius, if the reading published in CIL is correct (93).

In other directions the territory of the Varvarini cannot have extended for any appreciable distance since, on the north, lay the legionary camp of leg. XI and later leg. IIII F.f. at Burnum (Šuplja Crkva near Kistanje) at a distance of some seven miles, while to the northwest Asseria lay at a distance of barely ten miles. In the south the inhabitants of Scardona may perhaps have been dependent on Varvaria until their centre became a municipium in the Flavian period, but how far their territory then extended away from the lower reaches of the Titius, it is impossible to say (94).

Burnum was one of the key military stations in Dalmatia for

most of the first century A.D., occupied by three legions successively, leg XX (later Valeria victrix) replaced about A.D. 9 by leg. XI (after A.D. 42 with titles C.pf.) and leg. IIII F.f. from A.D. 70 until 85/86. After the departure of this last formation, Burnum was held by a detachment drawn from various auxiliary units whose headquarters were elsewhere in the province (95).

From the strategic point of view Burnum was an admirable situation for a legionary station. It commanded one of the main routes leading from the Adriatic coast into the interior of the province, that which leads northwards past Knin, over the pass of Strmica into the valleys of the Rivers Sana and Una: it also lay at one of the principal crossing places of the Titius, on the route leading from Liburnia through to the hinterland of Salonae and beyond to the valley of the Neretva via Imotski polje. In the pre-Roman period this crossing of the Titius was protected by a large native fort at Puljane, on the opposite bank to Burnum (96).

A large number of tombstones attest serving militēs of leg. XI, both in the immediate vicinity of the camp and at the canabae, two miles away to the northwest at Ivoševci. Within the camp itself, impressive remains survive in the form of three arches still standing intact from the façade of the later, and larger, principia cross-hall (97).

Pliny refers to Burnum and its inhabitants in two contexts; under the general area of the Salonae conventus, he lists Burnum among the nobilitata proeliis castella, while the Burnistae are

one of the four out of fourteen civitates which he chooses to name under the Scardona conventus. Elsewhere the Burnistae appear among a number of minor Liburnian communities who contributed to the restoration of the praetorium, or administrative headquarters, at Scardona under the legate Scapula Tertullus (A.D. 179-181) (98).

Some considerable time after the departure of the legion, Burnum appears to have attained city status. A dedication to Hadrian in the second year of his reign carries the formula decurionum decreto, but there are no traces of any magistrates, except for a doubtful restoration of a fragment by Patsch to give a IIv[ir.]. The latest piece of evidence is a late second or third century tombstone, recently published, which mentions a dec. m(unicipi) B(urnistarum? or Burni?). (99). The only other occurrence of municipal institutions at Burnum is an individual who was decurion and IIIIvir of the nearby municipium of Varvaria (Bribir), datable to the late first or early second century, when perhaps the Burnistae had been put under the supervision of Varvaria in the interval between the departure of the legion and the creation of the city (100). Presumably the centre of the Burnistae was at or near the legionary station, although the largest native site in the region is Puljane on the opposite bank of the River Titius.

Promona (mod. Promina, a mountain rising in places to over a thousand metres) was a Liburnian stronghold until the middle of the first century B.C., when it was captured by the Delmatae. They still retained it some twenty years later, when Octavian commenced his

second season of campaigning in Illyria by an advance into the territory of the Dalmatae from the northwest (101). The siege of Promona, where the Delmatae had concentrated the larger part of their forces, occupies much space in Appian's narrative and must rank as one of the few notable exploits of Octavian as a general in the field. The disorganisation among the Delmatae following its capitulation is clear indication that, since its capture from the Liburni, they had regarded this formidable mountain massif as the main stronghold in the north of their territory. On the plateau of Promona, which is surrounded by a ring of mountain peaks - Appian compares them to the teeth of a saw,- a number of native settlements defended by earthworks have been discovered. It is impossible to assign a date to the settlements, although there is little doubt that they are all pre-Roman. The occurrence of fragments of Roman ~~time~~ in one of them suggests that some of them may have continued to be inhabited into the Roman period (102).

The Roman settlement recorded at Promona by the Itineraries lay sixteen miles from Burnum, on the route to Salonae through Andetrium, and it has been possible to locate it at Teplju, a small village on the southwest side of the massif, through the discovery of inscriptions as the result of railway development in the closing years of the last century. Three of the inscriptions are of auxiliaries and suggest that a military post existed there from the first to the third century; other inscriptions from the neighbourhood reveal a large number of peregrini (103).

Promona does not occur as a city either in Pliny or Ptolemy. The only evidence bearing upon the administrative status of the inhabitants of the Promona region is a fragmentary bronze tablet, findspot unrecorded, which appears to refer to an agreement or decree concerning the use of water for a water mill. One line has been restored to read pagani Prom[onenses], also referred to in another context on the tablet, but there the reading is less certain. There is no indication of any date for this document. With the lack of any trace of civic institutions and the reference to pagani Promonenses, there is little doubt that the place never attained city status and was presumably under direct government control through the auxiliary station at Teplju (104).

Scardona (mod. Skradin) lay on the northern bank of the River Titius, some twelve miles from its mouth. For most of its lower course the River flows through a deep gorge and it is accessible from the land only, where the valleys of tributary rivers allow an easier approach. Scardona lay at the mouth of one of these valleys, a short distance above the point where the river widens to form Lake Prokljan (105).

Centered on Scardona was one of the three administrative divisions or conventus of the province; the conventus Scardonitanus included not only all the fourteen cities of Liburnia, but also the whole of the territory of the Iapudes. An inscription datable to the last years of the reign of Marcus records the reconstruction of the praetorium at Scardona by some of the minor communities of

Liburnia. At Scardona also was situated the Ara Augusti Liburniae, where the cities of Liburnia expressed their corporate loyalty to the reigning emperor (106).

Scardona was a municipium Flavium and, with the possible exception of Tarsatica, was the only city to be created in Liburnia after the Julio-Claudian period. This may be due to its being the administrative centre for a large part of Liburnia and the whole Iapydia (107). Two magistrates of Scardona are known, both of the Turranii family; one was a IIvir honoured with a statue by the ordo at Scardona, while the other, an aedile, appears at Salonae. The tribe of the Turranii was Sergia, although it was not necessarily that of Scardona, since it is more than likely that the family had moved to Scardona from one of the many cities of the province where Sergia is attested (108).

Chapter X: Notes

1. Plin. NH iii 139, Arsiae gens Liburnorum iungitur ad flumen Tityum, cf. also iii 141. Ptol. ii 16, 2 Μετὰ τὴν Ἰσθρίαν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐξῆς Λιβουρνίας τῆς Ἰλλυρίας παραλίας. Expulsion from Corcyra by the Corinthians, Strabo vi 2,4 p. 269. Liburni on the Illyrian mainland, Pomp. Mela ii 57, in the islands, Apol. Rhod. iv 564.
2. Liburni in Picenum, Plin. NH iii 110, Truentum cum amne, quod solum Liburnorum in Italia relictum est, iii 112, ab Ancona Gallica ora incipit Togatae Gallicae cognomine. Siculi et Liburni eius tractus tenuere ... In Iapygia names closely resembling Liburnian place-names are found: Blanda (X 125 from Thurii, cf. Plin. NH iii 72) on the border between Lucania and Bruttium for Blandona of It. Ant. 272,3 and Ptol ii 16,6; Clampetia in Bruttium (Plin. NH iii 132, Mela ii 69) for Clambetae (Cvijina Gradina near Obrovac, cf. p.269f. below and note 64 ) of Peutinger and Rav. iv 16; Lacinium promontorium near Croton (Strabo vi 261f, Plin. NH iii 43, 96, 97, 99) for the Lacinienses, one of the Liburnian civitates of Plin. NH iii 139.
3. Plin. NH iii 129, Histria ut peninsula excurrit. Latitudinem xl m.p., circuitum cxxv m.p. prodidere quidam, item adhaerentis Liburniae clxxx m.p., nonnulli Flanaticum sinum Iapydiam primovere, a tergo Histriae cxxx m.p. (app. 190 km.) dein Liburniam cl m.p. (app. 225 km.); Strabo vii 5,4 p. 314, Ἐξῆς δ' ἐστὶν ὁ Ἰαπυδικὸς παράπλους χιλίων σταδίων.

4. Liv. x 2,4.
5. Liburnae at Actium, Vegetius iv 33f.; Florus iv 11; and on the history of the craft, Grosse, RE xiii 143ff.
6. On this episode cf. ch. III p. 82f above.
7. App. Ill. 12. On this episode cf. ch. Iv p. 99f above.
8. App. Ill. 16, cf. ch.V above p. 122 .
9. Plin. NH iii 139-140, Ptolemy ii 16, 2-3.
10. Plin. NH iii 140, Insulae eius sinus cum oppidis ..... Arba. Iiviri; III 10121, 1329\*, 2931 (Iader); aediles; III 10121, 2931 (Iader).
11. Dedications decurionum decreto; III 3118 (Marcus), 3119 (Iulia Domna), 3120 (Severus), 3121, cf 10118, p. 2172 (Severus Alexander), III 3122 (Trebonianus Gallus).
12. III 3116 for the text cf. below ch. XV p. 500 note 53 , and on Raecius Rufus ch.XV p. 464 .
13. Ap. Rhod. iv 481, Plin.NH iii 151, .Y.et Apsyrtides Graia dictae a fratre Medae ibi interfecit Absyrto.
14. Plin. NH iii 140, Ptol. ii 16,13 Νήσοι δὲ παράκεινται τῇ μὲν Λιβουρνίᾳ, Ἄψορρος, ἐν ἣ ἰσόλεις β' κρέτα Ἄψορρος.
15. Iiviri aediles; III 15102 (Apsoros, Iivir and aedile), 3138 (Apsoros, Iivir qq. aedile), 3139 (Apsoros, aedile), 3147 (Sansego, aedile Iivir). Tribe Claudia, III 3140, Apsoros.
16. III 3148, Ti. Caesar[e] Aug.f.Augusto pon[t]. max. [?C]. Aemilius Vols. f. Oca L. Fonteius Q.f. Rufus Iiviri porticum curiam dd. faciundam curavere idque probav[ere].

17. On this episode cf. chapter IV p. 101<sup>66</sup> and note II .
18. III 13295, Turus Patalius Granp. Opia f. Venetus Lastimeis  
Hosp.f. pra. murum locaverunt loc. p. cxi alt. xx eisde.  
proba[ver.] On the form of the names cf. Hirschfeld, CIL ad. loc.
19. Plin. NH iii 139, Tus Italicum habent eo conventux ... ex  
insulis Fertinates, Currictae; Ptol. ii 16,8 καὶ Κουρίκτα, ἐν  
ἧ πόλεις δύο, Φουλφίνιον καὶ Κούρικον.
20. Inscription at Omišalj, III 3127, veteran of leg. VIII Aug.  
(A Trebius)
21. IIvir from Krk, III 3130 (quinquennalis); decuriones, III 3128  
3129cf. p. 2172, 13294 (3135); patron of Curicta, III 3126  
for the text and discussion cf. below ch. XV p. and note .
22. Plin. NH iii 139 Alvona, also Ptol. ii 16,2, Artemidorus of  
Ephesus by Steph. Byz. s.v. Φλάνων, μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἄλωνα  
λιμὴν Φλάνων καὶ πόλιν Φλάνων.  
Rav. iv 22, v. 14, dedication to Younger Philip, III 3049.
23. IIviri and aediles, III 3054, 3055, 3056, 3046; tribe Claudia,  
III 3054, 3046, 3055.
24. Gavillii at Aquileia, Liv. xli 5,1; on the family cf. ch. XVI  
p. 545f.
25. Artemidorus of Ephesus, by Steph. Byz. <sup>loc. cit.,</sup> ~~545~~ λιμὴν Φλάνων  
καὶ πόλιν Φλάνων, καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόλπος οὗτος Φλανωνικὸς  
καλεῖται.  
Plin. NH iii 139, Flanates a quibus sinus nominatur and under  
Regio X, iii 130, dein, quos scrupulosius dicere non attineat,  
Alutrenses, Asseriates Flamonienses Vanienses et alii cognomine  
Curici.

26. III 1940, Salonae
27. On the Aquillii cf. below ch.XV p.490 n. 155 .
28. V 60 (Inscr. It. x i 88), Cn. [.....]prio Cn. [f]. Vel.  
Sec[un]din. Iivir [II]vir. qq. patro[no e]t praef. coll.  
[fabr]or. Pol. cura[tor]i reip. Fla[nati]um M. Helv[ius He]rmias  
amic[o sua]viss. l.d.[d.]d., Inscr. It. x 2 194, Parentium,  
[M]inervae [F]lanaticae.
29. Kubitschek, Jhb.A. v (1911) 175.
30. A plan of the Roman city at Tarsatica is published by Degrassi,  
Confine, taf. vi; cf. also the same author in Epigraphica iv  
(1942) 191ff, 'Le Inscrizione di Tarsatica, origine e situ del  
municipio romano'.
31. Plin. NH iii 140, cetero per oram oppida a Nesactio ... Tarsatica,  
Ptol. ii 16,2 Ταρσατικά. Iiviri; III 3028, 3029, on the  
family of these tombstones cf. ch.XVI below p.541 . Praetorian,  
III 3027.
32. III 14579 (OJh iii (1900) Bb. 142) Timacum Minus (Ravna),  
[.....]cinus Dini[.....]cis Tarsa[...].es eq. coh. I [Thrac.] Syr.  
tur. Longi vix.ann. lxi mer. stip. xxvii ex testamen. eius heres  
fac. cur. S. Premerstein and Vulic' propose to restor<sup>e</sup>/Tarsa[ti]c[es](is)  
but this has been doubted by Kraft, Rekrutierung, 190 n. 1891, who  
believes that both Dinus and Tarsa are Thracian names; Dinus,  
Alföldi, Siebbenbürgen, 40 n. 16 and Krahe, Sprache, 42 and  
Tarsa, Mateescu, 272. cited by Kraft, loc. cit. Degrassi, op. cit., 105-6, also doubts  
the evidence of this tombstone.

33. Degrassi confine, 105-6.
34. Ps-Scylax 21. The accepted emendation of the difficult passage beginning Ἰδασσα, Ἀττιενίτης, Δούτρα is Δαδοσάτικα (i.e. Tarsatica) ζενίτης (Senia). The emendation, originally by Gronovius, is accepted by Müller, GGM i 27 ad not. ch.21, but in a recent study of the text M. Suić, Rad 306 (1955) 159-60, 'Istočna jadranska obala u Pseudo Skilakova Periplus', rejects the traditional emendation and restores ἀΐδε Ἰαδερατῖνοι, Ἀψυρταί, Ἀλουσοί etc.
35. III 3016, L. Aurelio L.l. Victori domo Aequo Aug. et Seniae sac. prim. corp. Augustalium ornat. ornam. decurionalib. pleb[s] Seniensium aere conlato curante Aur. Secund. III 3017, L. Valerio Agathopo Aug. huic ord. Seniensium decur. primo decrevit Valeria Montana coniug. opt. l.d.d.d.
36. VI 2451; but see the remarks of Kubitschek, 264.
37. III 3010 (Naples), III 10055, cf. Patsch, Lika, 100 fig. 44 from Tiberias, *ibid.*, 101 fig. 45 from Nicomedia.
38. III 13283, Vratnik near Senia, and Nesselhauf, Epigraphica i (1939), 337f.
39. Patsch, Lika, 100 fig. 43, III 10054, on the legate cf. Jagenteufel, Fasti, 95f; sacerdos Liburnorum, B. Gabričević, Arch. Jug. ii 53, Lib. pat. L. Gavius Optatus sac. Liburnor. immemor. Gaviae L.f. Maximae matris templum a patre dextra aedic. libero aditu maiori aetate cum valvis et sedibus vetustate corruptum a solo restituit.

40. Plin. NH iii 140, Lopsica, 139 Lopsi with Ius Italicum, Ptol. ii 16,3 Λοψίκα. Appuleii III 3015 cf. p. 1642 cf. Lika 104, fig, 47.
41. Plin. NH and Ptolemy, locc. cit., Patsch, Lika, 22, Ex conventione finis inter Ortoplinos et Parentinos aditus ad aquam vivam Ortoplinis passus 8 latus 1.
42. III 10027/2, cf. Patsch, Lika, 106ff. with map fig. 49 and 24f. on the location of Vegium at Karlobag.
43. Plin. NH iii 140, Argyruntum, Ptol. ii 16,2 Ἀργυρούντων. On the location of Argyruntum at Starigrad Paklenica, first proposed by Kiepart in CIL III map VI, following upon a suggestion of Tomaschek, RE ii 903, see Colnago and Keil, Ojh viii (1905) Bb. 57 and more fully xii (1909) 49ff. M. Abramić and A. Colnago, OJh xii (1909) Bb. 49 fig. [Ti. Caesar divi Aug. f. Au]g[ustus imp.] pont[if. m]ax.[trib. pot.] xx[xvi] m[urum et] tu[rres dedit L. Volusi]o S[aturnino leg. pro. pr.]. The inscription is comparable with III 14322, erroneously connected with Starigrad di Obrovazzo in the original publication by Glavinić, Ti, Ceasar divi Aug. f. Augustus imp. pontif. max. trib. pot. xxxvi ded. L. Volusio Saturnin. leg. pro. pr. The correct findspot of this inscription, within the walls of Argyruntum, is indicated by the plan of Abramić and Colnago, OJh. loc. cit., 47-8 fig. 19. The third inscription, III 9972, was attributed to Starigrad di Obrovazzo by the nefarious Glavinić, Iuliae August, divi Augusti matri Ti. Caesaris Aug.

L. Volusio Saturnino leg. pro. pr. C. Iulius C.f. Sulla  
ob dec. For the correct findspot, cf. Abramić-Colnago,  
loc. cit. The words ob dec. appear to have been carved  
over an erasure, but it is difficult to imagine what the  
original text could have been, unless it is a stone cutter's  
error.

44. For a description of the cemetery and other remains at  
Argyruntum, cf. Abramić-Colnago, 45-112, most of the report  
(52-112) being taken up with a description of the finds  
from the cemetery.
45. It is surprising that compared with other Liburnian sites,  
e.g. Nin, the site of Iader has produced virtually nothing  
in the way of remains of pre-Roman settlement, cf. Abramić,  
S. Donato, lff.
46. Bell. Alex. 42.
47. Colonia Iadestinatorum, Not. Scav., 1907 698 Teano, Iadestinus,  
III 2919 Iader, III 8291 Doclea, XVI 11 diploma witness.
48. On the Iadesinoi, cf. ch. XII, note 2 p. 351 below.
49. Plin. NH iii 140 colonia Iader, cf. Ptol ii 16,3.  
Dedications to Augustus, III 13264, Imp. Caesar divi f.  
Augustus parens coloniae murum turris dedit also III 2907  
with similar text, but an addition recording their restor-  
ation by a private individual, T. Iulius Optatus turris  
vetustate consumptas impensa sua restituit, of a later  
date than III 13264 above, but probably not later than  
the end of the first century. Tribes at Iader, Tromentina;

- III 2932, 2919 (cf. 9986), 2920 (decurion); Sergia; III 2930, 9997 (decuriones), 1200 (Apulum, eques of leg. XIII<sup>1</sup>G), XIII 6827 (Mainz) mil. leg. I Adiut.), VI 221 (Rome).
50. A. Degrassi, Quattuorviti<sup>↑</sup> 331 note 4,6; B. Saria, Laur. Aquinc. I (1938) 250. According to Dio, xli 24,21, Gades received the civitas from Caesar; an inscription (II 1313 Asido) refers to a M. Antonius M.f. Gal. Syriacus IIvir mun. Aug. Gad., while Pliny, NH iv 119, speaks of oppidum civium Romanorum qui appellantur Augustani in urbe Iulia Gaditana. On coins M. Agrippa is described as parens municipii, cf. M. Grant, Imperium to Auctoritas, 171. The question here is, did Gades become a regularly constituted municipium by the grant of civitas from Caesar? It certainly had a IIIvirate in 43 B.C., as a letter from Balbus to Cicero shows, ep. ad. fam. x 32,4. It is not impossible that Gades assumed quasi-municipal institutions after its grant of civitas from Caesar in 49 B.C., but the reference to a municipium Augustum and inhabitants called Augustani must suggest that Agrippa's title of parens meant something, perhaps an official recognition of Gades' status as a municipium.
51. IIviri, III 2931, 2932, 2927; IIvir quinquennalis III 2932; aediles, III 2912 cf. 9986, 2920, 2931; IIIIIViri, III 2928, 2929, 15047, Vjesnik liii (1950-1) 237 n.9; IIIIIViri Augustales, III 2921 also note the III 2978 from Aenona, possibly referring to the Iader sevirate;

Augustalis, III 2923, 10001. Aqueduct under Trajan; III 2109.

52. The most complete survey of the centuriation in the region of Iader is that by J. Bradford, Ancient Landscapes (London 1957), 178-183 with plates 42-43; an earlier publication of the evidence had appeared under the name of the same author, Antiquity xxi (1947) 197ff. On the Yugoslav side, the increasing availability of military air photographs has enabled scholars to correlate this picture by field-work on the ground. The results of an independent examination of the system have been published by M. Suić, 'Limitacija kolonija na istočnog jadranskoj obali' (Limitation of Roman colonies on the Eastern Adriatic Coast), Zbornik Instituta za Historijske nauke u Zadru (Zadar) 1955, 1-36 and plates III-V and pp. 14-17.
53. Centuriation on Uglian, Bradford, op. cit., 183, on Pasma, op. cit., 182 note 2 and M. Suić, op. cit., 16-17 on Uglian.
54. Plin. NH iii 140, cf. Ptol. ii 16,2 Αἰλίωνα; aedilis IIvir qq. III 2977 cf. p. 1037; aedilis, III 14322/4; III 2969, dedication to Sanus Aug, pro salute ordinis sui et civium suorum; tribe Sergia, III 14322/3, Vjesnik lli (1935-49) 55 fig. 1, the text is given below, note 56.
55. III 2973 and add. 10017. On <sup>P. Silius Nerva</sup> ~~this man~~ and his activities cf. above ch.V p. 132 ; Volusius Saturninus, III 2975, 2976, 2974.
56. The only complete description of the remains at Aenona is in Abramić, S. Donato, 14, 81ff. which, unfortunately, has

not been readily accessible to me. Many of the Iron-age objects from Aenona are discussed and illustrated by M. Suić in his study of contacts between Picenum and Liburnia, 'Contributions à la connaissance des relations entre la Liburnie et le Picenum, pendant le premier <sup>^</sup>ge du fer', Vjesnik lv (1953), 71-101. The temple excavation is summarised briefly by Abramić and Jelić, Ojh xvi (1913) Bb. 109-110. The site measure 25 by 22 metres and still lies open today; it is rapidly falling into decay. Causeway inscription, Vjesnik lii (1939-45) 55 fig. 1, C. Iulius Ceuni f. Ser. Curticus Aetor pontem (i.e. causeway) de sua pecun. fecit lon. p. DCXXCVII lat. p. X and for his other inscription, cf. III 3158, loc. inc, but perhaps from Aenona or Iader. I do not feel that the omission of his first cognomen, makes it doubtful that both inscriptions refer to the same individual.

57. IIIIIIvir at Aenona, III 2978.
58. Plin. NH iii 140, but not recorded by Ptolemy.
59. Ojh iii (1900) Bb. 163, III 14545, Stojnik, [I]OM [S]cribonius Faustus vet (?) I Aurel. Pasinatu(m) c.R.[..... There is no other record of a cohors I Aurelia Pasinatum, cf. Kraft, Rekrutierung, 183 n. 1710 and IOI n. 4, Wagner, Dislokation, 179f. On the concentration of auxilia in this region during the later second century, cf. ch. VIII p. 219ff .

60. Corinium is treated as a coastal city by both Pliny, NH iii 140, and Ptolemy ii 16,2.
61. Iulii at Corinium, III 2885, 2886, 2894, 2895, 2896, 2897, 2900, also Calpurnii, III 2891, 2892, OJh xviii Bb. 187.

We may note also the following as possible evidence for Claudian enfranchisement, III 14423, Krivina<sup>(Mocs. Inf.)</sup>, Tib.

Claudius Valenti f. Corini, with Claudii parents, although this might refer to Corinium (Cirencester) in Britain; Ser<sup>g</sup>ia at Corinium, III 2884, 2885, 9970.

62. Boundary settlements: III 9973 with better reading OJh xii (1909) Bb. 31 fig. 6 n.2, Popović, two miles south of Karin, [e]x edictu P. Corneli Dolabele (sic) leg. pro. pr. determinav[it] S. Titius Geminus pri. posterior leg. VII inter Neditas et Corinienses restituti iussu A. Duceni Gemini leg. Augusti pr. p[r.] per A. Resium [M]aximum (centurionem) leg. C.p.f. pr. posterior, et Q. Aebutium Liberalem astat, posteriore. leg. eiusdem.

The following may be a fragment of the original settlement of Dolabella, OJh. xii (1909) Bb. 32 n.3, Popović,

e]x dec[reto P.] Corne[li Do]labele. leg. pro. pr.]  
finis int[er] ....., also ...] leg. Aug.[...] Neditu[...]

in OJh xviii (1915) Bb. 187 g., S. Marcus near Karin.

Finis Nediti, OJh xii (1909) Bb. 33 n.4. Settlement under Gaius, III 2882, ...]nus Laco[.cent.] leg. VII iudex [datu]s ex convent[...eo]r. ab L. Volu[sio]Saturnino le[g. p]ro pr. C. Caesari[s A]ugusti Germ[ani]ci

inter Ned[itas et Corinienses]. Settlement under Nero, III 2883, in the church of S. Martin at Novigrad, finis inter Neditas et Corinienses directus mensuris actis iussu [A. Du]ceni Gemini leg. per A. Resium Maximum (centurionem) legionis XI principem co[h.] I et per D.A[e]butium Liberalem (centurionem) eiusdem leg. astatum posteriorem chor. I; now it only survives as a fragment republished III 15045/2 at Pridraga, between Novigrad and Karin. OJh xii (1909) 30 Bb. 30 n.1 fig. 5, Ivanova glavica on the road from Cvijina Gradina to Asseria, finis] inter ANS[...et Co]riniens. secundum [c]onventionem Utriusque partis directus mensu[r]is] actis iussu A. Duceni [Gem]ini leg. Aug. pro. pr. The findspot lies about four miles directly northeast of Karin, but there is no obvious location for the settlement of the city in this direction. It has been connected with an inscription from near Clambetae (Cvijina Gradina) III2887 (Kruševo), A. Saufeius P.f. Ca[m...]max Ansio miles c[oh.] VIIII pr. It is possible that this Ansio is identical with the community referred to on the above boundary settlement, but the occurrence of Camilia, confined to Italy, makes this unlikely.

63. Rav. iv 16 Crambeis, Peutinger, Hadre - xiii - Clambetis - xvi - Ausancalione.
64. Excavations on the Cvijina Gradina, Colnago-Keil, OJh viii (1905) Bb. 3lff; for the temple measuring 11.40m

by 6.65m, 34ff. figs. 4-8, the bath-house, 27ff. fig.9, 'shops and houses', 40ff. plan fig. 10; these latter buildings are about 60m long and divided into smaller units app. 5m by 5m while the larger, 12m by 12m, room at one end is very reminiscent of the accommodation normally reserved for a centurion. Tile, NER CLAVD PANSIAN. Inscriptions, OJh loc. cit., 44 (a) Q. Ostilius[....., (e) ..]Turrani[us Das?]antis f. Ver[us si]bi et Apio avo.

65. Plin. NH iii 130, Nedimates, cf. Ptolemy ii 16,6, Νήδισινov .
66. Iiviri and aediles; III 2869, 2870, 2871, Vjesnik liii (1950-1) 241 n. 18 a better reading of III 2867; decuriones, III 2860 dedication to Divus Nerva, III 2861 Marcus, 2862 Severus and Caracalla, 2863 Valerian; tribe Claudia; III 2864, 2865, 2869, 2871, 2876, 9964, 9965. Veteran of leg. VIII, III 2865 ...vet]er. le. VIII L. Octavio [.]f. Frontin. fratri. The absence of the legionary title is the only indication of an early date but other features, for instance the occurrence of his frater and a cognomen, point to a later date. This may well be the earliest evidence of the Nedinum Octavii in that city. On the dating of this stone, originally assigned to the Augustan period by Mommsen, CIL III p. 280, cf. Fluss RE xvi 2173 and Ritterling, legio, 1659, and ch. VII appendix 1.
67. Octavii at Nedinum, III 2865, 2869, 2870, 2872, 2874, and

in particular the stemma of 2870;

Q. Octavius, aed. IIvir, m Quintia Voltisa  
C. Octavius Rufus, aed. IIvir pont. Octavia q.f. Secunda  
m T. Octavius Sex<sup>f</sup>. Gracilis aed. IIvir.  
Sex. Octavius Sex.f. Celsus m Octavia T.f. Gracilla  
Octavia Sex.f. Celsina.

For the text of the career of Iavolenus Priscus, cf. ch. XV note 16 p.496 For the native name Voltisa, Vjesnik liv (1952) 206 3 [Volt]issa, Abramić, S. Donato, 44, both Aenona, Vjesnik liii (1950-1) 236,5 (Asseria), III 2891, 2900 (Corinium).

68. On the Calpurnii at Nedinum, cf. ch. XV p. 453 , on the Iulii, cf. cf. XVI p. 551f .
69. The evidence is collected under note 62 above.
70. Bradford, Ancient Landscapes, 179 fig. 15.
71. Plin. NH iii 130, 139, cf. also the Ἀσσερία of Ptol. ii 16 10.
72. IIviri; OJh xi (1908) Bb. 69 fig. 47 (IIvir and IIvir quinquennalis), III 9940 (aedlis II[vir]); decuriones; III 2850, 15027, 15028, also 15026 has been restored to read ...leg. X] Frete[nsis p]rimus omnium Asser[iatium ... possible a centurion or trib. mil.
73. OJh xi (1908) Bb. 69 fig. 47, L. Caninius T,f, Cla. Fronto IIvir flamen divi Claudii IIvir quinq. The praetorian prefect patron was P. Atilius Aebutianus, on

whom see below ch.XV p. 475f .

74. OJh viii (1905) Bb. 53, Bruška southeast of Medvidje,  
...]Caesaris Au[g. ...] inter Sidrinos et Asseriates

Q. Aebutius Liberalis (centurio) leg. XI definit.

Q. Aebutius Liberalis appears on other Neronian boundary settlements, cf. note 62 above.

75. Cf. below on Hadra and Sidrona p.274 and note 82 .

76. III 9938, Dobropoljici on a hill called Smerdeljica, Ti.

[Cl]audius [.....] C. Avillius Clemen[s] L. Coelius

Capella P. Raecius Libo P. Valerius Secundus iudices

dati a M. Pompeio Silvano leg. Aug. pro. pr. inter rem.

p. Asseriatium et rem p. Alveritarum in re praesenti per

[sententi]am suam determinaverunt.

77. On the site of Asseria and its walls, cf. OJh xi (1908)

Bb. 17ff. and plan of site fig. 2.

78. For the triumphal gateway, cf. OJh, ibid. 30ff. and arch

inscription (III 15034), T. Laelius L.f. Cla. Proculus

t.f.i. epuloque dedicari.

79. On the forum, cf. OJh ibid. 47ff. and plan fig. 24.

80. Ptol. ii 16,6 πόλεις δὲ εἰσὶ μεσογείου Λιβουρίας Ἄδρα ..

Peutinger, Clambetis - xiii - Hadre - xiii - Burno.

Excavations at <sup>ions</sup> <sup>Medvidje</sup> ~~Medvudje~~ Gradina, OJh xii (1909) Bb.45.

81. IIvir bis, III 2846; dedications by decurions, III

2844 (Hadrian), 2845 (L. Verus).

82. For the text of this boundary settlement cf. above note

74. Ptol. ii 16,6 Σιδρῶνα possibly identical with the

- Adrise of Rav. iv 16. On the locations cf. Patsch OJh viii (1905) 118ff.
83. The remains of the fortifications at Bribir are described briefly by F. Bulić, Bd xxxiii (1910) cf. plate ix,1; more recently, Abramić has attempted to date the walls of the Liburnian 'hill-cities' in Vjesnik lii (1949) 9f; he believes they may well be of the first century B.C., possible even as late as the Augustan era. The most recent treatment of Varvaria is by B. Šaria, RE viii A 418-20.
84. Plin. NH iii 130, 139, cf. Ptolemy ii 16,9 Οὐαρραρία and the Βρεβέρη of Const, Porphy. de adm. imp. (ed. Moravcsik-Jenkins), 30 line 92. Radke, RE viii A 418 s.v. Varvari, is quite unaware of their Liburnian identity.
85. aedilis IIvir, Vjesnik liii (1950-1) 247 n.35; the decurion is third century, Strena Bulicana, 213 (AE 1925 128), an Aurelius Nepotianus. Tribe Claudia at Varvaria; pp. of leg. VII C.p.f., III 14514, on this individual see below, ch. XV p. 489 ; praetorian, VI 32515 b ii 27; scriba of Ravenna Fleet, XI 104.
86. Strena Buliciana, 217 n.11 Bribir.
87. W. Kubitschek, Strēa Buliciana, 209ff. and in the same volume, 203-8, A. v. Premerstein, 'Bevorrechtete Gemeinden Liburniens in den Stadtlisten des Plinius',

who suggests that they may have been reckoned under Regio X for census and taxation. The most recent discussion is that by A. Degressi, Confine etc., 94-100, who finds the suggestion of v. Premerstein most plausible.

88. cf. above note 73.
89. III 6418 cf. 9896.
90. On the Petra Longa, cf. CIL III 6418 discussion and Evans, Arch, xlviii (1884) 35.
91. On the boundary between the Liburni and Delmatae, cf. below ch. XIII p. 363 . Plin NH iii 141, Liburniae finis et initium Delmatiae Scardona in amne eo (Titio) xii passuum a mari. Capture of Promona, App. Ill. 12.
92. III 9832, 9833. On Promona see below p. 280f.
93. III 14316/4.
94. On Scardona see below p. 281f. .
95. The evidence for these formations in Dalmatia is discussed in ch. VII p. 166ff. and for the Auxilia, cf. ch. VIII p. 195ff. .
96. On the pre-Roman settlement of Puljane, cf. W. Büttler, Ber. RGK xxi (1931) n. 23 fig. 36,1.
97. Excavations at Burnum, E. Reisch, OJh xvi (1913) Bb. 112ff.
98. Plin. NH iii 142, in hoc tractu (sc. conventus Salonitanus) sunt Burnum, Andetrium, Tribulium, Nobilitata proeliis castella, 139, conventum Scardonitanum petunt Iapudes

et Liburnorum civitates xiv, ex quibus Lacinienses,  
Stulpinos, Burnistas, Olbonenses nominare non pigeat,  
cf. Ptol. ii 16,6,  $\beta\acute{o}\upsilon\rho\nu\nu$  . Building of a praetorium  
at Scardona, III 2809, Praetoriu[m vetustate] conlap-  
sum[.....]Burnistae[.....]ses ex pec[...refecer.]  
Scapul[a Tertullus] leg. Augg. p[rov. Dalm] restit[uit ...].

Jagenteufel, Fasti, n. 25 assigning him to 179-181.

99. Dedication to Hadrian, III 9890 (2828), possible IIvir,  
III 14321/23; decurion, Vjesnik liv (1952) 210 n. 19,  
L. Nonius Clementianus, dec. m. B. aed.
100. d.m. T. Al[li]o Saturnino dec. mun. Varvariae IIIIvir  
iure dic. Alli Maximina et Maximus patri b.m. Unpub-  
lished, but to appear in the next number of Vjesnik.
101. On the campaigns of Octavian against the Delmatae,  
cf. ch.V p. 125ff .
102. For the settlements on the Promina, cf. W. Büttler, loc.  
cit., 196ff; the Roman tile was found on the Gradina  
Culjane, op. cit., 196.
103. Peutinger, Burnum - xvi - Promona - viii - Magnum, cf.  
Rav. iv 16. Auxiliaries at Teplju; III 9829 (Severan),  
9834 (coh. I Lucensium, first century, cf. ch. VIII  
p. 200f. ), III 13229 (7 I Belgarum); peregrini, III  
14316/5-7.
104. III 14969/2.
105. Plin. NH iii 141, Ptol. ii 16,2, Strabo vii 5,4 p. 314,  
Rav. iv 16, v 14, Peutinger.

106. Praetorium rebuilding, cf. above, note 98. III 2808, Scardona, Neroni Caesari Germanici f. Ti. Aug. n. divi Aug. pro. flamini Aug. civitates Liburniae. The inscription was lost and then rediscovered and published as a new find, AE 1938 68, cf. A. Degrassi, Atti e Memorie Soc. Istriana di archeol. et storia patria, NS iv (1956) 184. For a sacerdos ad aram Aug. Lib[urnae], cf. III 2810 Scardona (a Turranius).
107. III 2802 Scardona, Genio municipi Fl. Scard. C. Petronius Firmus ob honorem aug. l.d.d.d.
108. Turranii, III 2810 Scardona; decurion IIvir, III 2085 Salonae. The former was in tribe Sergia.

Chapter XI: The Iapudes.

This large group of Illyrian peoples inhabited an area to the northeast of Italy, most of which was later incorporated within the province of Dalmatia. On the West they were bordered by the Istri and Carni, while to the East they extended into the upper valleys of the Sava and Colapis (mod. Kulpa). The centre of their territory appears to have been within the area enclosed by the mountain ranges of the Velika Kapela and the Velebit. In the South they extended to the River Tedanius (mod. Zrmanja), where they bordered on the Liburni. Geographically speaking, this area encloses some of the most difficult country in Europe, with thick forests and steep valleys (1).

Ethnically Illyrian, the Iapudes adopted many habits and implements from the Celtic invaders of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., and later writers make a point of distinguishing them from the rest of the Illyrians for their Celtic characteristics; 'they are indeed a war-mad people ....., their lands are poor, the people for the most part living on spelt and millet; their armour is Celtic, and they are tattooed like the rest of the Illyrians and Thracians', writes Strabo (2). Broadly speaking, the archaeological evidence presents the same picture. The great Iapydian cemeteries excavated at Jezerine and Sanski Most, which were in continuous use from about 400 B.C. until well into the Roman period, reveal a culture more advanced than is found elsewhere in the rest of the Illyrian interior, due, presumably, to

the nearness of the Iapudes to the centre of the European Iron Age in Southern Austria, rather than to any special aptitude for absorbing new influences (3).

Roman contact with the Iapudes began in the early decades of the second century B.C., when she became involved in campaigns against the Istri and the westernmost of the Iapudes through the foundation of the colony at Aquileia. Minor campaigns continued at intervals during the second century until 129 B.C., when the consul of that year, C. Sempronius Tuditanus, escaped from a difficult situation at Rome to campaign and triumph over the Iapudes. Apart from an enigmatic fragment in Sallust, there is no record of campaigns against the Iapudes until Octavian marched against them in 35 B.C. Treaties existed between Rome and the Iapudes, however, and Cicero makes reference to one, in the Pro Balbo, in which there was a stipulation prohibiting members of certain Gallic tribes and the Iapudes from becoming Roman citizens. In his preamble to the Illyrian campaigns of Octavian, Dio gives the failure of the Iapudes and other neighbouring <sup>tribes</sup> to pay the tribute due from them as one of the reasons for Octavian's campaigns. What proportion of the Iapudes were involved in these dealings with Rome is not clear, but it is most unlikely that Roman forces had ever penetrated any distance into Iapydia before the campaigns of Octavian (4).

Octavian spent most of the season of 35 B.C. operating in the northeast of Italy, in the course of which he passed through the lands of the Iapudes to reach the Pannonians dwelling around

Siscia in the Save Valley. Appian's narrative is based on Augustus' own record of the campaigns published in his memoirs; it is fortunate that Appian thought fit to include considerable topographical detail, with the result that these are the only campaigns whose course and chronology are clear to us in most details. Two groups of the Iapudes are distinguished by Appian, those living within, or rather on this side of, the Alps and those living beyond the Alps. The 'Alps' here referred to are almost certainly the ridge of the Velika Kapela, which lies along the western side of the great Lika polje. Three communities are named in the first category, the Moentini, Avendeatae and Arupini, all of whom occur in the later Itineraries, while the second group are centred on the two great strongholds of Metulum and Terponus, neither of which occurs in the Itineraries (5).

We have no record of any Roman operations in Iapydia after 35 B.C. until the great Pannonian Revolt of A.D. 6-9, when the Roman army began a campaign of ruthless extermination in the high valleys of Bosnia and the polja of the Dalmatian hinterland. The nearest operations to Iapydian territory which are recorded are those directed by Germanicus in the territory of the Maezaei, the eastern neighbours of the Iapudes in Northwestern Bosnia (6).

The evidence for the political geography of Iapydia in the Roman period is not great. Pliny records the Iapudes in the conventus of Scardona but adds no further details. Ptolemy does not record the Iapudes, but lists a number of cities in the interior of Liburnia which were clearly in Iapydian territory. Valuable

evidence is furnished by the Itineraries, in which routes through Iapydia are given together with place names and distances (7).

For our purposes it will be best to deal with each of these places which can be located with reasonable confidence in the territory of the Iapudes, commencing with Raetinium (Golubić near Bihać), where evidence of the political organisation of the civitas Iapudum has been found.

According to Dio, Raetinium was a stronghold attacked by Germanicus in A.D. 9, and since he states previously that Germanicus was operating against the Maezaei (in the Sana and Una valleys), the place must presumably be located somewhere in the northwest of the province. More conclusive evidence that Raetinium was in fact at Golubić near Bihać, near the head of the Una Valley, is provided by the records of the Ala Claudia nova. This unit was evidently raised by Claudius, and in its early years it was part of the garrison of Dalmatia. Most of its records come from the territory of the Delmatae, although a decurion, T. Flavius Sabinus, is found at Golubić. From near Moguntiacum there is Andes Sex.f., cives Raetinius, serving in the regiment as an eques, presumably recruited into the unit before it left Dalmatia about A.D. 70. His name is Illyrian and of the six known instances from the province, five are from the immediate area of Bihać, while the sixth is an auxiliary at Burnum who received the civitas from Hadrian, and whose home may well have been Bihać (8).

The most interesting remains from the area of Bihać are a series of dedications from the shrine of Bindus Neptunus (Prevlaka Spring near Golubić), set up by praefecti and praefecti of the civitas Iapudum. During the war of A.D. 6-9, Iapydia was grouped together along with some of the Liburni under the command of a Roman officer, as is shown by a tombstone from Verona, but after the military emergency was passed, the Roman authorities were satisfied to hand over the administration of these backward peoples of the interior to local chieftains, who would be invested with Roman titles and assume responsibility for the paying of any tribute and supplying the prescribed quota of recruits for the Auxilia. The titles of these native administrators vary; principes and praepositi are the rule although there is a fragmentary record of a praefectus civitatis. All are peregrini, except for one who specifically records his grant of civitas from Vespasian. This last point suggests that the majority of these native rulers date to the first century, although it would be rash to assign them all to the Julio-Claudian period (9). There is no reason to believe that all Iapydia included in the province of Dalmatia was administered directly by these native praepositi on behalf of the Roman government. Appian's account of the campaigns of 35 B.C. makes specific reference to smaller communities of the Iapudes, especially among those dwelling on the nearer side of the Alps. Their oppida are known from the Itineraries to have

survived into the late Roman period. What is obscure is how the political development of these centres affected the native rules at Raetinium; certainly there is evidence that at least one of these places attained city status, but we cannot be sure that the native praepositi were completely supplanted; though the lack of any later evidence for them suggests that this in fact was what happened. Some form of local administration may have devolved upon members of the governor's staff; three beneficarii consulari<sup>e</sup>s (Golubić, Munjava and Avendo) and one speculator (Carevopolje near Josipdol-Gordianic) are attested in the territory of the Iapudes (10).

The most convenient method to examine the political geography of the Iapudes west of the Alps is to take the various settlements as they occur, on the route from Liburnia to Siscia, which has also a branch to Senia on the coast, joining it at the northern end of the Lika to connect with the main coast route through to Istria and Italy (11).

The Avendeatae are among the nearer Iapudes who surrendered to Octavian when he approached, and their centre Avendo has been located by Patsch at Brlog Crkvinje, about sixteen miles inland along the road from Senia. Here remains of a Roman settlement were identified by Patsch on a site already occupied in the Early Iron Age, judging from the chance find of a Hallstatt fibula (12). There is no evidence that Avendo ever became a city; of the two inscriptions which the site has produced, one is a late-second or third century tombstone and

the second is a dedication to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus by a bf. cos. of leg. XIV Gemina, datable to the late-second or early third century. Presumably the latter individual was stationed at Avendo in virtue of its position near an important junction on the main route between Senia and Siscia (13).

The Arupini were the most populous and warlike of the nearer Iapudes with whom Octavian came into contact. On his first approach they withdrew from their villages into the walls of their fortress Arupium, but when he appeared to intend a siege they abandoned it and took to the forest; on making their submission they were allowed by him to retain the place intact (14). According to the Itineraries, Arupium lay ten miles beyond Avendo on the road leading inland from Senia, and it has been located by Patsch at Prozor near Otočac, where remains of a fairly extensive Roman settlement have been discovered. The pre-Roman settlement lay on the summit of the small hill of Vitalj, while its Roman successor lay on the main road at the foot of the hill. In this case it is clear that trade and general convenience soon prevailed and overrode any tactical considerations in the siting of the settlement (15). There is a substantial amount of evidence to show that Arupium had acquired city status before the end of the first century. The earliest of a series of dedications decurionum decreto is to Nerva in A.D. 97, while others have been found set up to Marcus Aurelius as Caesar (A.D. 145-160), Traianus Decius (249-51) and Florianus (276) (16). The only record of a

municipal magistrate is a fragmentary dec. [IIvir] iur. [dic.], while at Salonae we find among the many municipal ties of the equestrian P. Aelius Rastorianus a possible connection with Arupium in his description as q(uaestor) municipp. Azina[tium] Splonistarum Ar[upinorum] (17). Azinas may be identical with the Assino of Ravennas, somewhere in Northern Liburnia or Southern Iapydia, and there is no other city name known in Dalmatia to fit Ar[.....] apart from Arupium (18). In addition to the municipal evidence from Arupium, its flourishing condition is suggested by the discovery of two Mithraic shrines in caves a few miles to the southeast, between Prozor and Sinac. Fragments of the cult reliefs have been found at both shrines, while a large part of an elaborate Tauroctony is preserved in the church at Sinac (19). Monetium, the centre of the Moentini, the third Iapydian people with whom Octavian came into contact, is not recorded by any of the Itineraries, but one presumes that it was somewhere in the Southern Lika, not far from Gospić, and Patsch has suggested the hill settlement of Humac near Brinje, where a tile stamped by the Solonas factory has been found (20).

Other places recorded by the Itineraries in Western Iapydia are more difficult to locate precisely. Ten miles south of Arupium was Bivium (i.e. road junction), where the road leading southward through the Lika polje and over the Velebit ridge at Mali Halan into Liburnia branched off from the road from Siscia to Senia. No obvious location for this site is apparent, although clearly it lay somewhere near the source of the River

Gačka near Janjca (21). Beyond that, to Siscia, it is not even established which route the road took from the Lika to the valley of the Sava. Romula, the next station after Bivium, must lie somewhere near the ridge of the Kapela range, whence the route possibly followed the Glina Valley down to Siscia; the frontier station ad. Fines, between Dalmatia and Pannonia Superior, probably lay in the vicinity of Topuško (22).

From Josipdol, near the Pannonian frontier in the hill country south of Karlovac, inscriptions of the later third century reveal some kind of military post, whose precise function is not really clear. One fragmentary dedication was originally set up for the safety of Severus in A.D. 197 and dedicated to I.O.M. D(eo?) D(olicheno?), while a second dedication was set up to the numen and maiestas of Gordian by a speculator of leg. XI Cl., suggesting that the station was an administrative post of the legate's officium (23). A record of a frumentarius was also reported there, but Domašzewski was unable to make out the reading when he came to examine the stone (24). The possibility that a city existed at or near Josipdol during the later part of the third century is suggested by two inscriptions; one, a dedication to Cornelia Salonina Augusta, was set up by decree of decurions, but a more interesting record is provided by a dedication to I.O.M. et Genius loci M(unicipii) Met(uli?), which raises the possibility that the Iapydian Metulum, taken after a great siege by Octavian, may

have become a municipium in the course of the third century; if so, this would appear to support Veith's location of the stronghold on the nearby Viničića Mountain. The stone was set up by a centurion of leg. II Adiutrix and is dated to the reign of Diocletian (25).

Three places are recorded by the Itineraries between Bivium and Clambetae and are presumably to be located in the southern sector of the Lika (26). Here the main difficulty in the way of locating them is the lack of any evidence for the line of the Roman road in the southern Lika until the Mali Han pass over the Velebit range. Epidotion (connected by Tomaschek and others with the Ardotion of Ptolemy) has been located by Patsch at Kvarče, on the western side of the Lika, while he sets Ancus at Kula near Osik, where a number of Roman inscriptions have been discovered; Ausancalio he places at Medak, some miles further to the south but on the same side of the polje (27). On the other hand, it is possible that the road ran along the eastern side of the Lika, as is suggested by Kiepert in his map for CIL III. Both routes are possible on the mileage given, although that advocated by Patsch is preferable, due to his success in discovering traces of some Roman settlement at or near his proposed location for each place. There is no evidence of any city organisation in the Southern Lika, and it is by no means impossible that the whole territory was controlled by Arupium, the only city known to have existed in the Lika.

Chapter XI: Notes.

1. Plin NH iii 146, A tergo Carnorum et Iapud<sup>u</sup>m, qua se fert Magnus Hister, 140, Flumen Tedanium qua finitur Iapydia, 127, Carnorum haec regio iunctaque Iapudum, amnis Timavos.  
Strabo vii 5,4 p. 314, Ἐξῆς δ' ἐστὶν ὁ Ἰαποδικὸς παράπλους χιλίων σταδίων
2. Strabo vii 5,2, ἀρειράνοι μὲν, ἐκτιεπιονήμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τελέως· πόλεις δ' αὐτῶν . . . , λυτιρὰ δὲ τὰ χωρία, καὶ ζεῖα καὶ κέγχρω τὰ πολλὰ τρεφομένων· ὁ δὲ ὄπλισμός κελτικός· κατάστικτοι δ' ὄροίως τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἰλλυριοῖς καὶ Θραξί.
3. Iapydian cemeteries, Jezerine, near Bihać on the Una,  
WMBH i 193ff, iii 39, map page 40, Sanski Most, on the R. Sana, WMBH vi 62. The archaeological evidence for a 'Iapydian Culture' is discussed by V. Miroslavljević, Arch. Jug. iii (1959) 47-54, 'Finding-sites of material culture on the territory of the Iapodians'.
4. Cic., Pro Balbo, 14,1, at enim quaedam foedera exstant, ut Germanorum, Insubrium, Helvetiorum, Iapydum, nonnullorum item ex Gallia barbarorum, quorum in foedibus exceptum est, ne quis eorum a nobis civis recipiatur. On their failure to pay 'tribute', Dio xlix 34,2. On the other campaigns against the Iapudes, cf. ch.III and V.
5. The account of Octavian's campaigns against the Iapudes is in Appian's Illyrike, 16-21, and cf. ch. V above p.123ff.
6. Germanicus against the Maezaei, Dio lv 32,4, and cf. ch.V above p. <sup>141</sup>~~123~~ff. Ptolemy locates the Maezaei as the eastern

neighbours of the Iapudes, ii 16,5.

7. Plin. NH iii 139, conventum Scardonitanum petunt Iapudes et Liburnorum civitates xiv . . . ., Ptol. ii 16,3. On the Itineraries, cf. below note 11 .
8. Raetinium; attacked by Germanicus, Dio xlvi 11. Decurion of Ala Claudia nova at Golubić, III 10033; in the distribution of the unit in Dalmatia, cf. ch. VIII above p. 195f. .  
Eques near Moguntiacum, XIII 7023; Andes in Dalmatia, III 14013, 14012, 10035 all near Bihać, 10024 cf. p. 2328/171 Kula in the Lika, 13249 Burnum.
9. The shrine of Bindus Neptunus was excavated by Patsch and reported on by him in WMBH vi 158ff. Native rulers: III 14325, Bindo Neptuno sacrum Proculus Parmanic praepos. v.s.l.m; 14326, B[i]ndo Neptuno sacr. Licinus Teuda praep. et pr. Ia[p]odum v.s.l.m; 14328, Tloantius Rufus praepositus Iapodum v.s.l.m; 15064, ..]Au[rel?? ..pr]aepo[s...] very doubtful restoration; 15065, ..]v[...pr]aefec[t.... ci]vitat[is] [....]; III 14324. T.F]lavius [?Tu]ditanus [civ. d]on. ab[imp.] Vespasiano Ca[e]sare Aug. pra[e]positu[s] et p[rin]cep[s] Iapo[d]um [v.s.l.m.]. Equestrian administrator, V 3346, Verona, ...bello] Batoniano praefuit Iapudiai et Liburn. sibi et Libertis t.f.i.
10. Beneficiarii consular<sup>e</sup>s; III 15066, Golubić, 3020. cf. 10057, <sup>u</sup>Mánjava, III 10050, Avendo/Brlog Crkvinje; speculator, III 3021, Carevo<sup>u</sup>polje near Josipdol.

11.	It. Ant. 273.	Peutinger	Peutinger	It. Ant. 274.
	Senia	Senia	Siscia	Siscia
	xviii	xx	xx	xxi
	Avendone	Avendone	Ad fines (Rav. Ad. fines (Rav. Abendone) fines)	
	x	x	xiiii	xiiii
	Arupio (cf. Ptol. ii 16,6 Ἀρουκκία)	Arupio	✗ Quadrata	Quadranta
	x		xiiii	xiiii
	Bivium		Romula (also Rav.)	Romula
			x	x
		} [Bivium]		
		x		
		Epidotio		
		Ethetia, Rav.	γ. Ἀρδῶτιον	Ptol ii 16,6)
		xvi		
		Ancus (Rav.)		
		xv		
		Ausancalione	(Ptol ii 16,9 Ἀυσανκαλή)	
		xvi		
		Clambetis (Crambeis, Rav.)		
		xiii		
		Hadre.		

12, Avendo, App. Ill., 16 Ἀβένδεατα, Strabo iv 6,10, vii  
5,4 Οὐένδων; Patsch, Lika, 29 and 90ff., cf. map fig.1.

13. bf. cos., III 10050 cf. Patsch, op. cit., 91 fig. 38,  
tombstone, 10051, cf. Patsch, loc. cit., fig. 32., a

member of the ancient Lavinium priesthood, Laurens Lavinatium, which dates back to the regal period, cf.

Philipp, RE xii 1007-8, s.v. Lavinium.

14. Arupium, App. Ill. 16, cf. ch.V above p. 123 , Strabo iv 6,10, vii 5,4. Ἀρουπίου.
15. Patsch, Lika, 30 and 76-88 for full description of the sites of the two settlements.
16. III 3006, Nerva; 3007 Marcus Aurelius as Caesar; 15084/2 (10048), Traianus Decius; 15086, Florianus. One inscription has posed something of a problem, III 10046 (3008) cf. p. 2328/173, Vitalj, Imp. Caesar Aug. p.p. cos. V decreto decurionum; since Augustus was cos. V in 29 B.C. and cos VI in 28 B.C. it can hardly refer to him, since he only assumed the title Augustus in 27 B.C. and we must assume that the dedication refers to a later emperor. There is no doubt about the reading, and Patsch states that there is no trace of any lettering on the blank area within the panel, Lika, 74 and drawing fig. 24. Another stone appears to refer to a second century emperor, perhaps Pius, III p. 2328/147 add. to no.10047, cf. Patsch, Lika, 74 fig. 25, ...]divi III[....]  
Had[....cos. I]III p.p.
17. III 3009, near Vitalj, Sabi[nus] dec. [IIvir] iur.[....p]ate[r].....; III 8783, cf. add. p. 2136, 2236. ~~The text is given below, ch. no. .~~
18. Assino, Rav. iv 19.
19. Patsch, Lika, 82ff, cf. figs 31,32; Tauroctony, fig.35, map fig. 27.

20. Monetium, Strabo iv 6,10 p. 220, vii 5,4 p. 315, *Μονητίον*  
and App. Ill. 16 *Μοεντίον*. Patsch, Lika, 29 and  
Ill-2. Mommsen suggests that the Solonas tile factory was  
somewhere in Southern Istria, CIL III 3214/14.
21. Patsch suggests that Bivium is probably to be located some-  
where near Lesce, cf. Lika, 31.
22. In fact Topuško is more than 25 Roman miles south of Siscia,  
but there can be little doubt that the route followed the  
Glina Valley. There appears to be some confusion in the  
Itineraries between the routes from Siscia to Emona via  
Noviodunum and that from Siscia to Senia via Bivium in the  
Lika polje.

Peutinger	It. Ant. 259-60	It. Ant. 274
Siscia	Siscia	Siscia
xx		xxi
ad fines	xxviii	ad fines
xiiii		xiiii
Quadrata	Quadrata	Quadranta
xiiii		xiiii
Romula	xxviii	Romula
x		x
Noviodun <sup>o</sup> <sub>a</sub>	Noviodun <sup>e</sup>	Bivium
On to Emona		On to Senia

The distance between Siscia and Noviodunum is approximately  
57 Roman miles and is correctly given by the Antonine  
Itinerary, 259-60, 57 m.p., and by Peutinger, who gives

58 m.p. There is, however, something suspicious about the two intermediate places given on the route by Peutinger, ad fines and Romula, since, in the time of the principat<sup>e</sup>, no provincial boundary came so close the west of Siscia. What appears to have occurred is that the Peutinger map has inserted two places on the route from Siscia to Bivium in the Lika. The reason for the confusion is probably the nearly identical mileage of the two routes (Siscia-Bivium 59 m.p. and Siscia-Noviodunum 58 m.p.), and the occurrence of a place of similar name about half way along the route, Quadrata between Siscia and Noviodunum and Quadranta between Siscia and Bivium.

23. III 10059, I.O.M. D(eo) D(olicheno) pro salute imp. L. Sept. Severi et Anto[nini Caes]a[r]is ...; III 3021, Numini maiestatique D.N. Gordiani Aug. et genio loci Aur. Valerianus spec. leg. XI Cl. referens gratiam v.s.
24. III 10057 (3020).
25. III 3022, Corneliae Saloninae Aug. coniugi D.N. Gallienti Aug. d.d; III 10060, I.O.M. et genio loci m(un?) Met(uli?) Aur. Maximus 7 leg. II Atiutrici[s] votum posuit libens numin[i mai]iestatiqu. eius Im[p]. D.N. Dioc[1]eti[ano] ..  
On Metulum cf. above ch.V p. 124.
26. See note 11 for the routes.
27. Epidotion, cf. Ptol. ii 16,9 Ἀρδῶτιον, Patsch, Lika, 31 and for remains at Kvarte, including a liquid and corn measure op. cit., 67ff; Ancus, Patsch, loc. cit., and map fig. 1; Ausancalio, Patsch, loc. cit., and 56-9. Kiepert locates

Ancus at Vrebac and Ausancalio at St. Michael, both on the eastern side of the Lika, cf. CIL III supp. ii pl.VI.

Chapter XII: The coastal cities of Dalmatia (excluding Liburnia).

By far the most populous and prosperous city of the Roman province of Dalmatia was the provincial capital Salonae. It is first mentioned in connection with the campaigns of L. Caecilius Metellus Delmaticus in 118/7 B.C., when it is described by Appian as the chief port of the Delmatae. He spent a winter there as their guest and in the spring of 117 returned to Rome to celebrate the triumph which he had in no way deserved, or so Appian would have us believe. The city was again a centre of military activity some forty years later when C. Cosconius captured it after two years of campaigning; referring to this episode, Orosius states that Salonae was already a city of great note (urbs florentissima) (1).

The earliest epigraphic record from Salonae consists of fragments of a Greek decree, recording the outcome of an embassy to C. Iulius Caesar at Aquileia in the Spring of 56 B.C. It appears to deal mostly with a restatement of Issa's status as a civitas libera et immunis, which had been granted by the settlement of Gentius' kingdom in 167 B.C., while other fragments have been restored to refer to two minor Illyrian communities, the Iadastini and the Tragurini, both of whom dwelt on the mainland in the vicinity of Salonae. Tragurium had been one of the possessions of Issa which were attacked by the Delmatae in the middle of the second century, while the Iadastini are probably identical

with the Iadasinoi who are recorded on a fourth century B.C. inscription from the neighbouring Greek island of Pharos.

The decree does not appear to mention Salonae by name or to give any indication of what its status might have been at this period, but it is quite possible that this was recorded on those parts of the text which have not survived. In view of the evidence cited above, concerning the history of Salonae as a city of the Delmatae, there is no reason to connect the decree with Salonae itself: it may well have been brought there from elsewhere on the mainland (2).

In the period of the Civil War between Caesar and Pompey there is more evidence for the character of the community at Salonae which had grown up since its capture by C. Cosconius in the early seventies. After the Pompeians had secured victory over the Caesarian general C. Antonius at Curicta<sup>e</sup>, early in 49 B.C., their admiral C. Octavius sailed southward along the Dalmatian coast to attack Salonae, where a conventus of Roman citizens had taken the side of Caesar and was resisting attacks from the Delmatae whom the Pompeians had induced to join their side. The settlers put up a resolute defence and when Octavius attempted to land he was driven off in a pitched battle, forced to call off the blockade and retire southward. Caesar gives us to understand that a sizeable community had become established there and refers to the parts played by women, slaves and children in the defence against the Pompeians (3).

At some time between 47 and 27 B.C. a colony was created at Salonae, Colonia Martia Iulia Salonae. In the earlier period the correct form of the name appears to have been Salonae but later the form Salona becomes the rule, thus bringing it into uniformity with the many other Dalmatian cities which bear the suffix -ona (Flanona, Narona, Scardona, etc.); there does not appear to be any difference in meaning between the two forms, and Pliny uses both in different contexts (4). For the purposes of this study the older (and possibly more correct) form is employed throughout.

There is no decisive evidence whether Salonae was a foundation of Caesar or Octavian, but on consideration of indirect evidence a Caesarian or early triumviral date appears more probable. We know from the Greek inscription of 56 B.C. that Issa retained at least some of her mainland possessions at that date and, if these were Epetium (mod. Stobreč) and Tragurium (mod. Trogir), it seems very probable that she would have owned the land in between these two places, including the site of Salonae. The growth of a settlement of Italian traders (for one presumes that Caesar's supporters were such) must have been very distasteful to Issa and it is thus no surprise to find her acting as a base for the Pompeian admiral. In the winter of 48/47 B.C. A. Gabinus died after unsuccessful campaigns against the Delmatae, and the situation was only saved by the resolute action of P. Vatinius who, in the following spring, crosses the Adriatic, defeated C. Octavius and captured Issa. This is obviously a most likely juncture for the raising of

Salonae to colonial status; the known extent of Salonae's centurionated territorium includes not only all the old mainland possessions of Issa but also the island of Pharos, once a flourishing Greek city. With large confiscations of territory, the introduction of new settlers into the conventus (which must surely have accompanied its elevation to the dignity of a colony) could be effected without disturbing the property of the previous settler community. On the other side the creation of a powerful Roman community on the eastern side of the Adriatic would have helped to curb the power of the Delmatae, who had acquired an unpleasant habit of either routing or harassing every Roman force sent against them (5).

Two pieces of evidence appear on first sight to make the dating of the colony at Salonae to Caesar or the period soon after his death quite impossible; one is the 'capture' of Salonae by C. Asinius Pollio in 39 B.C. and the second is the 'capture' of Salonae by Octavian in 34/33 B.C., attested by Strabo (6). The activities of Pollio have been examined above and there is no need to repeat the discussion. Pollio's campaigns were against the Partheni of Northwestern Macedonia and since he was a legate of Antony he could hardly have operated anywhere north of the division of the Roman world, which the treaty of Brundisium had fixed in the previous year at Scodra. As Syme has shown, the explanation that Pollio named his son Saloninus after capturing Salonae is in all probability a scholiastic invention and is quite unsupported by any historical source (7).

In his chapter dealing with the coastline of the Delmatae Strabo refers to Salo (i.e. Salonae) as the chief port of that people and, a few lines later, includes it in a list of their strongholds captured by Octavian in 34/33 B.C. If this is correct, then not only had the conventus of settlers been overwhelmed by the Delmatae but Strabo deliberately passes over the fact that it had once been the site of a flourishing Roman settlement, perhaps in order to avoid mention of a disaster that had occurred in Octavian's sector of the world. There is, however, good reason to doubt the truth of Strabo's statement. Appian's record of these campaigns, taken from Augustus' own memoirs, gives a complete record of all his movements as well as listing every stronghold which he captured. Two of the places recorded by Strabo, Promona and Sinotion, were certainly taken, as the Illyrike shows, but there is no mention whatsoever of any capture of Salonae, which would surely have taken pride of place in any record of achievement in Illyricum (8).

The last piece of evidence bearing on this problem is the assignment to tribes of the early coloniae and municipia in Dalmatia. Two tribes only are represented, Tromentina and Sergia. On analogy from other parts of the empire, Sergia indicates an Augustan foundation (e.g. Pisidian Antioch) and in Dalmatia we find Sergia at Iader (Augustan on the evidence of inscriptions), Issa (hardly Caesarian), Acruvium and Risinium in the south. Tromentina occurs in three colonies,

Salonae, Narona and Epidaurum. All these three places were major settlements in the Civil War period, Salonae and Epidaurum as strongholds of Caesar, Narona as a commercial centre and headquarters of Vatinius a few years later. In addition Narona was styled colonia Iulia.

On the evidence above it seems most likely that the creation of the colonia at Salonae (and also those at Narona and Epidaurum) was the work of Caesar or his immediate successors (9).

In the earlier period the magistrates of Salonae were IIIIviri i.d., twelve of whom are known on inscriptions. The aedilate, a magistracy normally held by men soon after entering the ordo, is attested also in conjunction with the previous office. At least four, and possibly five IIIIviri quinquennales are attested; these were the IIIIviri elected every four years with special powers to revise the role of the ordo and of the citizen body as a whole. At some time, probably not long after the beginning of the second century, the IIIIviri were replaced by IIviri, thus bringing Salonae into line with other coloniae in the Roman World. There is no precise evidence for the date of this change; the earliest datable IIvir probably belongs to the early years of Trajan in view of his dedication to Divus Nerva. A IIvir who was priest of the cult of Divus Vespasianus suggests that the office may have been functioning as early as the Flavian period. At least twelve and possibly fifteen IIviri are known, seven of whom also held the aedilate; there is no

record of a IIvir quinquennalis (10).

The seviri were an association, mainly of freedman, whose activities were chiefly concerned with the imperial cult and commerce; in the main they are only found in coloniae. The sevirate was a flourishing body at Salonae where no less than twenty-two individual IIIIIIviri Augustales are attested in CIL III, fifteen IIIIIIviri and six Augustales. By far the majority of the inscriptions are tombstones, although there are four instances of the restoration by the collegium of a temple or portico and two other ordinary collegiate records. The scale and quality of these inscriptions well reflects the prosperity of the freedmen and suggests that they may have been a very influential group in the city as a whole (11).

There is no evidence for the character of the original colonial foundation at Salonae; most probably it involved the strengthening of the pre-existing civilian conventus with new settlers - most likely to have been discharged army veterans. In spite of what appears to be a precarious situation on the edge of the Delmatae, Salonae has none of the military atmosphere of a veteran colony. No veterans attested there can be dated earlier than the Augustan period, while no Salonitani are known to have been recruited into the legions until later in the first century (12).

In recent years new discoveries from air photography have enabled us to deduce the extent of the territorium of Salonae

through traces of its ager centurionatus, land demarcated by the Roman technique of surveying on a grid system. The ancient Salonae (mod. Solin) lay at the eastern extremity of the large bay formed on the west by the Island of Čiovo and on the east by the peninsula of Marijan. South of the city the land consists of low undulating hills, rocky but not infertile, although the Marijan Peninsula is very barren and today is occupied by a pine forest. To the east and north of the city there is a small arc of fertile land which soon disappears as the mountain ridges of Mosor and Kosjak rise sheer to heights of seven hundred metres or more. Along the north shore of the bay of Salonae (mod. Kastelanski Zali or Bay of Castles, after the half a dozen or so mediaeval castles along the north shore) a fertile strip extends along its whole length between the sea and the Kosjak Mountains, varying in width from two to five miles. It finishes about three miles west of Trogir, where the mountains approach to within a few hundred <sup>yards</sup> ~~years~~ of the shore.

In his recent work demonstrating the uses of air photography on ancient sites in the Mediterranean World, J. Bradford has produced a number of diagrams and air photographs showing that all this fertile land around the Bay of Salonae was at some period enclosed within a single ager centurionatus. The clearest traces are visible in the immediate area of the modern city of Split, but sufficient traces of the limites, or land divisions, have been identified to establish that the system

extended at least from Trogir in the west to Stobrec<sup>✓</sup> in the east. The size of the centuriae is 20 by 20 actus (actus is 38.8 yards), giving for each square of the grid an area of two hundred iugera. Unfortunately there are only very few traces of the divisions within the centuriae, known as limites inter-cisivi. Since the possible limits of centuriation in the region are determined by precipitous mountain slopes on almost all sides we can estimate with reasonable accuracy the amount of arable land available for the inhabitants of Salonae and the other small settlements in the area. On the basis of an allotment of fifty iugera (appr. 31 acres) for each family, the available land would have provided for upwards of four hundred families, although presumably those of higher status would receive an allotment greater than the average. As Bradford suggests, the immediate area of Salonae, which does not appear to have been centurionated, was probably occupied by orchards and other specialist crops. Traces of what appear to be ancient terracing on the lower slopes of the Kosjak Mountains indicate that even marginal land in this barren region was utilised to the full. If we assume, as I feel we can, that this entire ager centurionatus around the Bay of Salonae was included within the territorium of the colonia, then there were two small urban centres which, in addition to the innumerable villagers, were subject to the city of Salonae; these were Tragurium (mod. Trogir) and Epetium (mod. Stobrec<sup>✓</sup>) (13).

Tragurium was once a possession of the city of Issa and was attacked by the Delmatae on at least one occasion, and (if we accept Rendić's restoration of the Salonae inscription of 56 B.C.) Issa still retained some form of authority over the place in the time of Caesar. Pliny merely describes it as Tragurium civium Romanorum, marmore notum and the omission of oppidum may be an accurate reflection of its legal status. The inclusion of all the land around Tragurium in the ager centurionatus is strong evidence that it was a settlement included in the territorium, and that consequently all its free inhabitants were citizens of Salonae. The view that Tragurium was a vicus of Salonae is in some ways supported by the epigraphic evidence. Two seviri, an organisation restricted in Dalmatia to the coloniae, must belong to the college of Salonae but were presumably living at Tragurium for commercial reasons; while at Salonae there is the interesting case of P. Cloelius, miles cho. Campanae, custos Traguri, who was probably market superintendant or harbourmaster there sometime in the earlier part of the first century. Tragurium was ideally situated as a port of call; it lies on a small peninsula, almost cut off from the mainland, possesses an excellent harbour and is on the sea route from Salonae to Liburnia and Northeast Italy, at the point where the strait between the Island of Čiovo and the mainland is at its narrowest. Commercial contacts of the port are revealed by a self-styled negotiator celeberrimus and a decurion from

Drobeta in Southern Dacia (14).

The second settlement included within the ager centurionatus of Salonae was Epetium (Stobreč), situated on the Adriatic about three miles due south of the colony, which like Tragurium had once been a possession of Issa. Pliny strangely lists the Epetini among a group of island peoples, although the evidence of the Peutinger Table and the occurrence of a dedication to Genius Epetinorum at Stobreč leaves no doubt that they were a mainland community. It is possible that Pliny's error may be due to a survival of the connection between Epetium and Issa into the Roman period. Again inscriptions support the view that it was a vicus of Salonae; two IIIIviri are known there while a third stone records a decurion of Colonia Salonitana. Its activity as a trading centre-like Tragurium it was blessed with an excellent harbour—is attested by the record of a 'dockers union' (collegium saccariorum) while dedications to Mercury presumably reflect similar activity (15).

The island of Pharia (Greek Pharos, mod. Hvar) had known a Greek city at least as early as the fourth century B.C., founded by colonists from Pharos with assistance from the forces of Dionysius I of Syracuse; its site has been located by archaeological research at Starigrad (i.e. Old city) in the northwest corner of the island. Judging from the coins, Pharos had fallen under the rule of an Illyrian dynast, Ballaios, before the end of the second century B.C.; nothing is known of its fortunes thereafter until the Roman period. From Salonae the

tombstone of one of that colony's leading citizens in the reign of Tiberius appears to offer some evidence for the status of Pharia at this time. L. Anicius Paetinas appears as priest of a number of important imperial cults in addition to IIIIVir quinquennalis, but his last post is the praefectura Phariaca Salonae. The most likely explanation for this is a prefecture of the Island of Pharia; it may have been an appointment made by the ordo of Salonae, or possibly by the governor, to administer part of the city of Salonae which was physically separated from it by over a day's voyage, and thus he would presumably be required to take up residence there. Alternatively one can connect the Phariaca Salonitana with a lighthouse of the Alexandrine model situated somewhere near the entrance of the Salonae harbour, and Polaschek connects an unpublished inscription from Salonae with this post. Epigraphically the evidence for the Roman period on Pharia is very meagre; most of the inscriptions come from Starigrad and consist of tombstones. One of them bears the formula l.d.d.d. while another attests a Res Publica [.....], almost certainly referable to Salonae (16). More conclusive evidence that Pharia formed part of the city of Salonae is provided by centuriation. Most of Pharia is quite bare with only barren scrub vegetation in patches but in the north, between Starigrad and Jelsa, lies a very fertile land-locked plain with a reputation for producing the finest vines, olives and other fruit in all Dalmatia. In every

respect Hvar is an ideal environment with a superb climate, very much milder than the adjacent mainland. On the plain of Jelsa there are traces of ager centurionatus, extending over its whole area (approx. 5 miles by 2½ miles). Here the centuriae are smaller than those on the mainland, measuring five by five actus (585 by 585 feet) and forming an area of twelve and a half iugera. The decrease in size compared with the centuriae on the mainland is almost certainly due to the greater fertility and consequently higher value of the land on Pharia. Combined with the possible Pharia prefecture, the presence of this ager centurionatus makes it a reasonable certainty that the Island was included within the territorium of the colonia, being probably part of the lands of Issa confiscated after her support of the Pompeians in the Civil War (17).

Some probable traces of centurionation have also been noted on the Island of Solentia (mod. Šolta) in the region of Grohote, where a cultivated polje exists. No such evidence has been found on Brattia (mod. Brač), the large island due south of Salonae, but this is hardly surprising since nowhere on the island does there exist fertile land in sufficient quantity to allow this method of surveying to be employed with advantage. Most of the population dwells in a group of villages near the centre of the island and in fishing villages around the coast. Towards the south of the island the land rises to a scrub-covered plateau, where marble of the highest quality has been

worked continuously since the Roman period; many of the fine mediaeval buildings and sculptures which adorn the Dalmatian Cities are of Brač marble. Pliny refers to it as a place famous for its goats (capris laudata) who presumably roamed the central plateau. Most of the Roman inscriptions from Brač come from the area of Škrip in the centre of the island, near to the marble quarries which obviously formed the most important part of the island economy. Here we find a soldier in charge of procuring marble for the imperial baths in Sirmium, in the early fourth century, although this does not necessarily suggest that the quarries were permanently under direct imperial administration, - though presumably the government could step in and requisition marble whenever it should require it. The only evidence of municipal organisation is the fragmentary record of a IIIIVir from Sv. Elia about two miles west of Škrip. There is little doubt that this individual was a member of the ordo of Salonae and that, as with Pharia and Solentia, Brattia was part of the territorium of Salonae (18).

The incorporation of most of her old territory into that of the new colonia at Salonae must have had a serious effect upon the prosperity of Issa, the island state which had for so long dominated that part of the Adriatic. The presence of a legate of Caesar who was also patron of the city in 56 B.C., Q. Numerius Rufus, suggests that it might have been an important administrative centre for Illyricum in the later first century B.C.,

but all this must have disappeared after her capture by P. Vatinius in 47 B.C. Issa appears to have retained her own civic institution, but there are indications that she was very much overshadowed by Salonae. On a tombstone of the Albucii family from Salonae we have a father (tribe Tromentina), decurion of Salonae, with his two sons, the elder (tribe Tromentina) decurion of Salonae and Issa, the younger (tribe Sergia) decurion of Issa only. This would appear to indicate that Issa was a municipium enrolled in tribe Sergia, possibly a creation under Augustus when her misdeeds during the Civil War had been forgotten; but the manner in which the younger generation of the Albucii, a family well established at Salonae, hold the Issa decurionate suggests that the latter was dominated by Salonae families. The tribe of the younger may indicate that he was resident at Issa and had been registered at birth as a citizen of Issa, receiving also its tribe. The most notable monument of the Roman period from Issa itself is a fine dedication of the year AD. 20 recording the construction of a campus, more probably a municipal recreation-ground than a parade-ground (19).

From earliest times the River Narenta (mod. Neretva) had been an important link between the Adriatic Coast and the interior of Illyricum, and there is some evidence for a Greek trading settlement (emporion) established somewhere near the mouth of the River Narenta. In the Roman period the commercial and political centre of the Narenta Valley was Narona (mod. Vid),

the only other city of the Dalmatian coast in any way comparable to the provincial capital Salonae in wealth and prosperity (20). The situation is on a low hill on the western side of the marshy delta of the Narenta. The modern village of Vid is on the site of the city and many of the houses there are constructed from Roman masonry with many inscriptions built into their walls. The modern centre of the region lies on the other side of the valley, at Metković (21).

There is evidence for a trading settlement at Narona in the republican period, comparable to those which existed at Salonae and possibly Epidaurum. The first historical record of Narona occurs in the years 45-44 B.C., when it served as the headquarters of P. Vatinius during his campaigns against the Delmatae; three letters written to Cicero by this commander came from his camp at Narona (22). More evidence for the importance of Narona is the statue base of P. Servilius Isauricus who may have operated in Illyricum at the same time that C. Asinius Pollio was campaigning against the Partheni in Northwestern Macedonia (23).

In addition to the literary evidence, there is a most interesting piece of epigraphic evidence relating to the political organisation of the Narona community in the years before it was created a colonia. On this two magistri Naronae, one freeborn and one freedman, are associated with two quaestores, also freeborn and freedman, in the construction of some fortific-

ation (turris) at Narona. Other inscriptions recording the building of a temple of Liber can be dated also to the republican period on stylistic grounds (24). Narona was an obvious administrative centre for the whole of southern Illyricum, both the coastal area and the interior. Pliny remarks that M. Varro (died 28 B.C.) wrote that eighty-nine civitates were wont to attend at Narona, presumably for judicial and other purposes. This tradition was continued in later centuries by the inclusion of a large area of the interior of Dalmatia in the judicial and administrative conventus of Narona (25).

At some period Narona was raised to the rank of a colony, colonia Iulia Narona, although as with all the other Dalmatian colonies, with the probably<sup>e</sup> exception of Iader, there is no evidence for the precise date when this elevation took place (26). In the Res Gestae Illyricum is omitted from the list of provinces in which Augustus states that he settled colonies of veterans, and it has been generally assumed that this omission is positive evidence that he did not settle colonies in Illyricum. An alternative suggestion has been to take the meaning of the Res Gestae quite literally and assume that if Augustus did settle colonies in Illyricum then they were purely civilian settlements. This is possible but hardly fits in with the situation after Actium when Augustus was faced with the problem of finding lands for a vast number of veterans. Once the problem of accommodating the veterans had been solved, no more colonies were established.

Neither Salonae or Narona has any of the atmosphere of veteran colonies in their early years, and it is clear that the main element in both places was the already established conventus of settlers and traders; at Narona in particular it is the commercial element that predominates in the form of the prosperous freedman class, whose collegiate dedications provide easily the most important evidence for the activity of its inhabitants (27).

A dedication to Augustus in his own lifetime by IIIIIIvir is fairly clear evidence that the colony was in existence then, while the title Iulia suggests that it may have been founded before 27 B.C., perhaps by Caesar or the triumvirs (28).

Various tribes are found at Narona, although the evidence of two instances of Tromentina (one fragmentary while the other is doubtful) was sufficient for Kubitschek to pronounce it as the tribe of the colony (29). In this matter the contrast between Narona and the other colonies of the province is very noticeable; there is little doubt that Sergia is the tribe of Iader, Tromentina of Epidaurum, while that of Salonae was probably Tromentina, although Sergia appears on more than one occasion amongst municipal worthies. At Narona, on the other hand, few people bother to state their tribe, and one municipal dignitary was in Aniensis, though he is probably an Italian immigrant who retained his old tribe (30). In conclusion, we may state that there is some reason to agree with Saria and regard Narona as a Caesarian, or possibly early triumviral, foundation (31).

The lack of uniformity in tribes and its overwhelmingly

commercial character during the first century A.D. strongly suggest that any new settlement which occurred at the time when the colonia was founded did little to change the character of its life. One of the more important results of the raising of Narona to colonial status was the provision of an officially recognised territorium upon which any new settlers could be accommodated. An instance of such new settlement may be the dedication set up by the Papii brothers to Octavian, with reference to the Sicilian victory of 36 B.C., from Tasovčići, ten miles north of Narona in the Narenta Valley. The Papii were a leading family at Narona in later years, and they may have arrived there as new settlers in the colony, provided with lands on its territorium (32).

The magistrates of Narona were IIIIviri and aediles; of the former category, seven examples are known, two of whom are IIIIviri quinquennales, while five aediles are known. The latest datable IIIIvir is a T. Flavius, but there is no evidence for a change to IIviri (as occurred at Salonae towards the end of the first century), although this may be due to the fact that there are no magistrates who, on stylistic and other evidence, can be assigned a date later than the end of the first century, except for the two attested decuriones who are almost certainly of the second century (33).

The freedman college of seviri appears on many elaborate inscriptions at Narona; most of them are collegiate dedications,

although a number of individuals are attested in other contexts. Most of them bear only the title IIIIIIvir although some of them have the letters M.M. afterwards. This has been expanded by Borghesi, followed also by Mommsen and others, to Magister Mercurialis and this expansion is to some extent confirmed by collegiate dedications by the seviri to Mercurius. Unlike Salonae the sevirate at Naronae does not display any connection with the imperial cult; no instances are known of IIIIIIvirii Augustales or Augustales, although two instances are known from the second century with an unusual number of titles referring to the imperial cult, IIIIIIvirii Augustales Flaviales Titiales Nerviales; but it may have been only the wealthiest of the class who could undertake the serious and costly business of acknowledging the emperor's divinity (34).

At Salonae air photography has supplied us with valuable evidence for the territorium of the colony by revealing traces of its ager centurionatus, both on the mainland and on one or two of the offshore islands. No comparable evidence for the extent of Naronae's territorium has yet been forthcoming, although the epigraphic evidence suggests that it included virtually all the fertile land in and around the Lower Narenta Valley, comprising an area roughly equivalent to Southern Hercegovina (35).

The inscription of the Papii brothers has already been cited in another context, but we may note here that its occurrence at Tasovčići suggests settlement by Naronae colonists there, and thus indicates that the Naronae territorium enclosed their

lands. More interesting evidence for the extent of the Narona territorium is furnished by the dedication to Tiberius set up by the leg. VII veterans of Pagus Scunasticus at Ljubuski in the Trebižat Valley (36). The river Trebižat flows into the Narenta a few miles north of Narona and drains a small but very fertile polje around Ljubuski. On the north and south it is sealed off by bare limestone mountains, while on the northeast a narrow passage gives easy access to Imotski and its surrounding polje. Strategically the region was important, since it is the beginning of one of the principal routes to Central Bosnia through Imotski and Duvjansko poljes, and during the first century Ljubuski was the station of a number of auxiliary cohorts (37). The veterans' dedication states that their lands were granted by the colony of Narona, and there can be no doubt that they were included within its territorium, although the presence of an auxiliary garrison at Ljubuski throughout the Roman period must have meant that some of the polje around Ljubuski was reserved by the government for military purposes. A few miles upstream from Narona the River Bregava flows from the east into the Narenta. Its valley is sealed off on all sides by limestone hills and the only sizable area of fertile land is that around Stolac, where the winters are bitterly cold and the reflections of heat from the surrounding hills makes the summers almost unbearable. In this remote place we find evidence for the entry of the native aristocracy to the ruling class of the colony with

T. Flavius Laedio, aedile and IIIIvir, son of T. Flavius Blodi f. (38). Presumably parts of the hinterland with its backward native population were attributed to the colony, to relieve the government of some of the more unrewarding of its administrative responsibilities.

By far the greater part of the land around the Lower Narenta Valley is composed of completely barren limestone hills and, as Evans once remarked, is more comparable to the surface of the moon than anywhere elsewhere in Europe. All the fertile land is restricted to the valleys of the River Narenta, Trebižat and Bregava, although further north in the Narenta valley there exists in the area of Mostar, the old Turkish capital of Hercegovina, a fertile plain called Bjelopolje (Whiteplain) where white wine of an extremely high quality is produced. To the north, beyond Mostar, the River Narenta flows through an almost impassable gorge amongst the mountains of Southern Bosnia, which rise in places to heights exceeding seven thousand feet. The Narenta Valley, south of Mostar, forms a compact geographical unit and the only Roman city known to have existed in the region was the colony of Narona. In the immediate area of the city most of the land was probably owned by immigrants, whether legionary veterans or civilian settlers, although, as the Stolac evidence suggests, large areas peopled only by natives were included also; when civitas came under the Flavians their leaders took their places in the ruling circle of the colony along with the

descendants of the immigrant families.

The Island of Corcyra Nigra (mod. Korčula) had been the site of at least one Greek city, but by the time of Octavian's campaigns it appears to have been merely a nest of pirates when he attacked it and enslaved the inhabitants. Pliny and Strabo both refer to the Cnidian colony founded on the island, but there is no evidence that a sizable community existed there at any time during the Roman period; except for a few inscriptions from Velaluka and the city of Korčula, there is barely any evidence for the island in the Roman period. From Korčula there is an inscription mentioning a IIIIIIIVir, presumably belonging to the colleges of Salonae or Narona; on geographical grounds he is more likely to have come from the latter city. Corcyra Nigra may indeed have been attributed to Narona in the same manner that Pharia, Brattia and Solentia were included within the territorium of Salonae (39).

The name of the third Roman colony in Dalmatia, Epidaurum, is certainly Greek, but there is no evidence that any Greek city or settlement ever existed there. It is first mentioned as one of Caesar's mainland bases when in 47 B.C. it was saved by the prompt action of P. Vatinius, who sailed across from Brundisium with a makeshift fleet and defeated the Pompeian admiral C. Octavius somewhere amongst the islands north of Dubrovnik (40). In the case of Epidaurum there is no evidence for a trading settlement comparable to those which existed in the same period at

Salonae and Naronae.

Our principal evidence for Epidaurum being a colony is a statement to that effect by Pliny; the evidence of its tribe Tromentina and its history as a Caesarian base in the Civil War make it not unlikely that it was a creation either of Caesar himself or of his immediate successors, at the same time as Salonae and Naronae (41). Its magistrates were IIViri from the beginning; five of them are known from inscriptions, one a IIVir quinquennalis; on other inscriptions single instances of an aedile and a decurion are attested (42). There are no instances of individuals belonging to the freedman colleges of IIIIIIViri and Augustales, although both organisations are recorded as having received gratuities from one of the colony's leading citizens (43).

In spite of its being the home of such<sup>a</sup> great m<sup>a</sup>n as Q. Marcius Turbo, Epidaurum comes far behind the other colonies of the province in prosperity; this may be due to part of the city being submerged beneath the sea, as a result of the sinking of the coast to a depth of two or more metres. Recent underwater exploration in the Bay of Cavtat has shown that considerable remains of the city exist beneath the water, but these discoveries await proper publication (44). The only collective activity attested in the colony is a dedication to the Tiberian legate P. Cornelius Dolabella by the civitates superioris Hillyrici (45).

There is some evidence for the extent of the territorium of

Epidaurum; in particular, faint traces of an ager centurionatus have been identified from air photographs in the immediate area of Cavtat, although they are by no means as well preserved as in the area of Salonae or Iader (46).

To the north of the city a fertile strip of coast extends to the region of the modern city of Dubrovnik, but it is on the south side that most of the arable land in the territorium of the colony was situated. The valley of Konavli extends for a distance of approximately ten miles south of the city and is closed off from the sea by a range of low hills. In this region evidence has been discovered, by Evans, of a system of irrigation by an aqueduct, running along the length of Konavli, which also provided water for the city reservoir. The construction of the latter is commemorated by one of the Iiviri of the city (47). There is little fertile land apart from Konavli in the area of the city; inland there is nothing in the way of fertile land until Popovopolje, which in later centuries was part of the territory of the city of Diluntum (48).

Risinium (mod. Risan in the Boka Kotorska) was situated at the northern extremity of one of the arms of the great bay which in ancient times was named after the city (sinus Rhizonicus). Surrounded on three sides by steep mountains, Risinium possessed an excellent harbour, vital for this part of the Dalmatian coast, where sea transport was (and is indeed today) far cheaper and far more direct than the circuitous land route around the

shores of the Boka Kotorska (49).

In the third century B.C. it was Rhizon, the Illyrian settlement where Queen Teuta retired after her defeat in 229 B.C., while the place remained a possession of the Illyrian kingdom until 167 B.C., when the Rhizonitae were granted libertas and immunitas for their timely desertion to the Roman side. Later in the same century it was the stronghold of an Illyrian dynast, Ballaios, whose coins also occur on the island of Pharos as well as at Rhizon. As Evans remarked, there is no evidence of any Greek influence there and 'the history of Risinium is pre-eminently Illyrian' (50).

Pliny lists Risinium among the oppida civium Romanorum, and its status as a municipium is established by a decurion from the city, while its title municipium Iulium Risinium is given by a Doclea inscription of the late first or early second century. Other inscriptions from the city reveal that its tribe was Sergia. Risinium was the home of a senator of the later second century, M. Luceius Torquatus Bassianus, legate of leg. III Augusta in 167-9 and put to death in his old age by Commodus. His association with Risinium is commemorated by a metric inscription from Lambaesis. mentioning the Moenia Aeacia and the Lar publicum (51).

The Agravonitae were one of the Illyrian communities granted libertas and immunitas along with other communities of the region by the settlement of 167 B.C. Their centre was Acruvium (mod. Kotor in the south of the Boka Kotorska), where Pliny records an oppidum civium Romanorum (52). As with Bu<sup>t</sup>ua and Risinium,

Acruvium cannot have been a very large community, since the only sizable area of fertile land is at Grbalj to the south of the city, part of which at least must have belonged to Bu<sup>t</sup>ua, which was situated where the Grbalj plain runs into the sea. Land communications in the area of Acruvium are very difficult and although the town lay on the land route from Naronna through to Macedonia, it must have been the sea traffic which enabled Acruvium to survive as a commercial community.

A small number of immigrant Italian families are attested at Acruvium, three of them in the tribe Sergia, while a Iivir is the only evidence of city organisation from the site. From the Flavian municipium of Doclea comes a tombstone of a later period giving a decurion of Aqr(uvium), but the reading is doubtful (53). Butua (mod. Budva) lies on the coast, a few miles south of the Boka Kotorska, where the mountains of Montenegro slope almost vertically into the sea. The site of the city is a small peninsula and is surrounded by a small area of fertile land, while access to the interior is afforded through the plain of Grbalj to the region of Ko<sup>o</sup>tor. As a port of call it was ideally situated, and its mention by Ps-Scylax suggests that it may have started as a Greek settlement (54).

B<sup>u</sup>atua occurs among the oppida civium Romanorum of Pliny, but the only piece of evidence from the city is an inscription mentioning the Statii family, who were well established at nearby Risinium in the Boka Kotorska (55).

The least known of the oppida civium Romanorum listed by Pliny along the coast of Dalmatia was Ulcinium (mod Ulcinj), a small community between Buđua and Lissus. No inscriptions are recorded from there although Praschniker and Schober were able to identify the site of the ancient settlement on a small peninsula. The only historical reference to the community is in the year 167 B.C., when it was one of a number of small Illyrian communities awarded libertas and immunitas for deserting Gentius (56)

In the early second century B.C. Lissus (mod. Lješ) was the naval headquarters of the Illyrian kingdom, as well as the site of one of Gentius' coin mints. In the Civil War Lissus was the site one of the numerous conventus civium Romanorum which took the side of Caesar. Pliny lists Lissus as an oppidum civium Romanorum, situated on the boundary between the provinces of Dalmatia and Macedonia. Only three inscriptions of the Roman period are known from Lissus, one of which records a certain L. Gavius, of the tribe Arnensis, who as Ilvir quinquennalis took charge of the construction of the city defences. The style of the inscription suggests a date early in the first century. It is possible that the refurbishing of the city defences, originally Illyrian and of which considerable traces survive today, occurred at the time when there was heavy fighting, in the immediate hinterland of the city, amongst the Partheni. The two other inscriptions from the site attest a family of Didii, all liberti, and a dedication to the emperor Caracalla (57).

Scodra (mod. Albanian Shkōder, Serbian Skadar) lies on a low hill at the south of the Lake of Skader (Serbian Skadarsko Jezero), and is protected by rivers on both sides, on the east by the Clausala (alb. Kiri) and on the west by the Barbanna (Alb. Bojana). In the earlier second century B.C. it was the capital of the Illyrian kingdom, captured by the praetor L. Anicius Gallus in 167 B.C. The next mention of Scodra occurs in 40 B.C., when it was designated by the Treaty of Brundisium as the division between the provinciae of Octavian and Antonius (58).

Scodra appears among Pliny's list of oppida civium Romanorum; no evidence of any civic organisation comes from its site but at Doclea we find amongst the honours of M. Flavius Fronto [p]on[t.] in col. Sc[o]dr., which suggests that Scodra was a colonia. From the site of the city a coin has the legend of COL CLAVD AVG, but this has been rejected as a forgery by Sestini and Eckhel. One record of the formula l.d.d.d. from the site of the city may refer to its municipal institutions (59). Although it is conceivably possible that a colonia was established at Scodra, there are no inscriptions from the site comparable with the other coastal cities where considerable Italian immigration is well recorded. Most of the people mentioned on the few inscriptions from Scodra bear imperial nomina and are obviously enfranchised Illyrians of the second and third centuries (60).

The only place where a colonia is known to have been estab-

lished in Dalmatia after the reign of Augustus was Aequum (Čitluk in Sinjsko polje), a foundation which probably took place during the reign of Claudius. As a city which appears to have been composed mostly of Italian veterans and Italian civilian settlers it is proper to include it in the section dealing with the coastal cities whose population was of a similar character. Sinjsko polje is one of the larger tracts of fertile land which exist between the coast of Central Dalmatia and the ridge of the Dinaric Alps. Through it flows the River Hippius (mod. Cetina), entering it a few miles north of Sinj and flowing out towards the Adriatic at Trilj (Roman pons Tiluri), near the camp of leg. VII at Gardun-Vojnić.

Pliny has no mention of Aequum but refers to a veteran settlement made by Claudius at Siculi, located at Biač on the coast between Salonae and Trogir. Epigraphic evidence and the testimony of Ptolemy provide conclusive proof that Aequum became a colonia with the title Claudia, and, in spite of the doubts of at least one modern scholar, it seems fairly clear that its foundation was due to Claudius and may well be associated with the removal of leg. VII from Gardun soon after A.D. 42. (61). The colony grew out of a settlement of discharged veterans and traders, most of them probably Italian. From the earliest years of the existence of the colony we find Sex. Iulius Silvanus who, if Mommsen's restorations are to be accepted, was summus curator civium Romanorum - although the

juxtaposition of the words suffragio [veter?] leg. VII C.p.f. suggests that he may have been summus curator of veterans as well as civilians of the conventus; afterwards he was the first man to be elected to the aedilate by the ordo, that is the first man to hold that magistracy in the colony, while later he also went <sup>on</sup> to hold the quattuorvirate and become pontifex (62). It is not really clear what the exact stages of the growth of the colony were; the civilian conventus can hardly have been established until well into the reign of Tiberius, since nearby Andetrium was where Bato the Daesitiatan made his last stand against the army of Tiberius in A.D. 9. Of the veteran settlers at Aequum ~~none~~ is known to have died before A.D. 42, but three are known after that date, two of <sup>V</sup> VI C.p.f. and one of XI C.p.f., and all of them clearly originated from outside the province (63).

The inscription of Sex. Iulius Silvanus, cited above, is the only recorded instance of a IVvir at Aequum, and all the other magistrates are IIviri, nine of whom are attested. The tribe is not certain; it could well be Sergia, which appears in the majority among the upper classes (including the senatorial Iulii), but a number of legionaries in I Adiutrix at Moguntiacum give Aequum as their origo and Tromentina as their tribe. In view of the probability that many of the leading families of Aequum came from elsewhere, the evidence of the veterans' tribe must be preferred. We need not accept Degraffi's view that the occurrence of the IIIVvir implies that Aequum was a municipium

before it attained the status of a colonia (64).

There is no specific evidence for the extent of the territorium of the colony. Sinjsko polje, very fertile and about fifteen miles long, may well have been included within the colonia after leg. VII C.p.f. had been transferred from Gardun to Viminacum in Moesia, until when a considerable part of the surrounding land would have been needed for the legion. The old Dalmatian fortress of Andetrium (Gornje Muć) was included within the territory of Aequum, judging from one L. Bennius Honoratus, decurion of the colony, probably assignable to the later second century (65).

Chapter XII: Notes.

1. On L. Metellus cf. Appian Ill. 10; on C. Cosconius cf. Eutrop. vi 4, Oros. Hist. adv. pag. v 23, 23. Both campaigns are discussed above, ch. III p. 80f., 83f.

2. On the mainland possessions of Issa in the second century B.C. cf. above, ch. III p. 78f. The text of the Salonae decree of 56 B.C. is given by D. Rendić-Miočević, Vjesnik lxx (1939-49) 19f and by the same author in 'Ricordi Aquileiesi nelle Epigraphe di Salona' in Studi Aquileiesi offerti a Giovanni Brusin, Aquileia (1953), 67-81.

G. Novak, cf. the paper cited above p. 24 and now Rad 322 (1961) 220f., has always held the view that Salonae was the site of another unrecorded mainland settlement of Issa and that the discovery of the decree of 56 B.C. at Salonae adds further support to this view. As Rendić argues in the above paper and elsewhere, there is no real evidence that Salonae was anything other than an Illyrian centre where a conventus of Roman citizens became established in the course of the first century B.C. On the upper fragment of the decree lines 6-7 contain  $\tau\iota\pi\epsilon\sigma\beta\epsilon[\nu]/\sigma\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu\ \tau\iota\alpha\gamma\iota\alpha[\dots]$  the latter word according to the traditional reading.

Rendić, op. cit., 73, has been able to decipher  $\tau\iota\pi\alpha\gamma\iota\pi\iota[\text{NON}]$

thus adding to the embassy the name of the Tragurini.

In 1960 I was able to examine the stone personally in the Split Museum, through the co-operation of the director,

Dr. B. Gabričević, and it seems to me that the reading of Rendić is probably correct, although the damaged condition of the stone precludes absolute certainty. Whatever the word after  $\pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\beta\epsilon[\nu]\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\iota$  was, it was most probably an ethnic name, and the Tragurini are as likely as any to be mentioned in connection with Issa's rights concerning access to the mainland. The [ΤΡΑΓ]ΥΡΙΝΟΙ occur on a new fragment of the decree, first published by M. Abramčić in 1924-5, cf. Rendić op. cit., 74 fig.2. For text of decree see p. 362A.

3. For the conventus civium Romanorum at Saŕonae in the Civil War cf. Caes. BC iii 9; Dio xlii 11; Oros. vi 15,8-9 and above, ch. IV p. 103 .
4. Colonia Martia Iulia Salonae; III 1933 dedication dated to A.D. 137; Colonia Salonitana or Salonitanorum; III 2026, 2055, 2066, 2078, 2081, 2187, 3199 cf. 10157, 8659, 8864, 10156a, 12196, 14320; Salona colonia; Plin. NH iii 141 cf. xxxii 150 Salonis; Ptol. ii 16,3, Σαλωνία κολωνία.
5. For the campaigns of A. Gabinius and P. Vatinius cf. above, ch. IV p. 104 ff. p
6. On the campaigns of C. Asinius Pollio in 39 B.C. of Dio xlvi 41,7 and triumph, Degrassi, Fasti Triumphales, 87 cf. 568; the episode is discussed above, ch. IV p. 112f. ; The 'capture' of Salon is reported by Strabo vii 5,5 p. 314. Mommsen, CIL III p.304, appears to have been the first to doubt the authenticity of the capture of Salonae in 34/33

B.C.; on the campaigns cf. ch. V p. 125 ff. above.

7. 'Pollio, Saloninus and Salonae', CQ xxxi (1937) 39ff.
8. Syme, CQ loc. cit., and ch. V p. 126 above.
9. cf. B. Saria, Laureae Aquincenses (Studies in honour of V. Kuszinsky, Budapest 1938) I 249ff., who argues for a Caesarian date. The most recent discussion of the evidence for the date of the foundation of the coloniae of Dalmatia is F. Vittinghof, Römische Kolonisation und Bürgerrechtspolitik (Wiesbaden, 1952), 124-6: 'Doch ist nur wenig über die Gründer dieser Städte bekannt und man kann sogar neben Caesar und Augustus auch allenfalls noch an Tiberius denken. Augustus hat wahrscheinlich nur die caesarische Politik fortgesetzt, allerdings wohl keine Legionare in Truppenverband als Kolonisten angesetzt'.
10. IIIIviri at Salonae; III 2073, 14712, 14713, 2075 cf. p. 1509, 8733, 8737, 2037, 2079, 2083, 6378, 8813, 8771, 12920: aediles; III 2073, 2075 cf. p. 1509, 8787 8737, 6378, 2072, 2081, 13910, 2087, 8796, 2077, 2084, 8799, 2085, 8793, 8770, 8802: IIIIviri quinquennales; III 14712, 14713, 8733, 8787, 8813(?): IIviri; III 8783, 2072, 8659, 8721, 2026, 1933, 2081, 2087, 1978, 14249/7, 14230, 8796, 14249/8. Dedication to Divus Nerva, III 1978; IIvir as [flam]. divi Ve[spasiani], III 13910 (12918 plus 13097).
11. CIL III p. 2542, 2671 (Mantissa index); on the sex<sup>v</sup>ir<sup>r</sup>ate, cf. Chilver, Cisalpine Gaul, 198ff.

12. The only early legionary veteran whose home may be Salonae is the L. Trebius veter. whose son L. Trebius L.f. Exoratus was killed at the age of twelve in finibus Maezaeis, III 6383 Salonae.
13. J. Bradford, Ancient Landscapes (London, 1957), 183ff. and plate 46, fig. 17.
14. Tragurium, Plin. NH iii 141; Strabo vii 5,5 p. 314, <sup>Ἰπυγούριον</sup> <sup>Ἰσσηνών κτίσμα</sup> Ptol ii 16,9; seviri, III 2680, 9707 (equals 2676); custos Traguri, III 8693 Salonae; decurion of Drobeta, III 2697; negotiator celeberrimus, III 14927.
15. Epetium, Plin. NH iii <sup>42</sup> ex insulis Issaei, Colentini, Separi, Epetini; Peutinger, Salona - iiii - Epetium -; Genius Epetinorum III 12815; IIIIviri; III 1920, 8525; decurion, III 14230; collegium saccariorum, III 14642, 14643; dedication to Mercurius, III 14230/1.
16. For the Greek settlements on Hvar cf. ch.I p. 64 above; Pharia, Plin. NH iii 152, Ptol. ii 16,9 and Peutinger. The coinage of Ballaios is discussed in ch.II above, p. 66 . On the praefectura Phariaca cf. E. Polaschek, RE xix (1937) 1865, citing an unpublished inscription from Majdan near Salonae, elatae funere p[ublico] a praefectura Salo[....]; in this study he prefers to regard the Phariaca praefectura as connected with a lighthouse. For municipal institutions from Pharia cf. III 3084, with formula l.d.d.d. and III 10095, mentioning Res publica (?Salonitana). For L. ANICIUS PAETINAS cf. III 14712.

17. The centuriation on Hvar in the plain of Jelsa is described by Bradford, op. cit., 191ff and plate 47.
18. Centuriation on Šolta, Bradford op. cit., 193 note 1; Brattia, Plin. NH iii 152; Peutinger; It. Ant. 519,4. Marble quarries, cf. Patsch, RE iii 821 and fourth century inscription III 10107; IIIIvir III 13288 cf. add. p. 2328/18.
19. Issa; Plin. NH iii 152 Issa civium Romanorum, Strabo vii 5,5 p. 314; Ptol ii 16,9; It. Ant. 519; as a Pomeian base, Caes. BC iii 9; Q. Numerius Rufus, III 3078; Albucii at Salonae, III 2074; Dedication of A.D. 20 from Issa, Vjesnik liv (1953) 41ff. cf. plate II, Drusus Caesar T[i. Aug.f.] Augusti nepos cos. de[sig. II] pontifex augur camp[um?] Publico Dolabella leg. pro. [pr. ?dedit].
20. For the tradition of Greek commercial activity around the mouth of the Narenta (Greek Naro), cf. above ch.I, p.16, 13, and Beaumont, JHS, loc. cit. The only survey of the archaeological evidence on the site of Narona is the short study of Carl Patsch, Zur Geschichte und Topographie von Narona, Schriften der Balkankommission, Antiquarische Abteilung, V, Wien (1907), cited in this study as Patsch, Narona.
21. Patsch, Narona, 1ff.
22. Cic. epp. ad fam. v 9,10; on the content of the letters see above ch.IV p. 109f. .

23. Patsch, Narona, 23.
24. III 1820, Q. Safinius Q.f. Sex. Marius L.l. m. g. Naro.  
Q. Marcius Q.f. P. Annaeus Q.l. Epic. q. tur. fac. coir.;  
other probable republican inscriptions, III 1784, 1785.
25. Plin. NH iii 142, M. Varro lxxxviii civitates eo ventitasse auctor est).
26. Colonia Iulia Narona; AE 1912 45 Iulia Narona (dated to Pertinax), AE 1950 44 (Pagus Scunasticus dedication) Colonia Naronit., III 12695 Doclea, col Naron. Plin. NH iii 142 Narona colonia, cf. Ptol. ii 16,7, loc. cit.
27. Res Gestae 28; Saria, Laureae Aquincenses, takes this omission as a piece of good evidence to show that the Dalmatian colonies were of Caesarian date. As regards civilian colonies at this period, Dr. J.C. Mann informs me that he believes there is no real evidence for civilian colonies being founded by Augustus and that the title civica (e.g. Brixia) does not indicate a civilian foundation but is rather an honorific title; for the contrary view, cf. Sherwin-White, Roman Citizenship (Oxford 1939), 173.
28. III 1769, a dedication, Augusto sacrum, by C. Iulius Macrini lib. Martialis, IIIIIIvir m.M.
29. Tromentina at Narona; III 1868 cf. p. 1029, 14623/2 (8451): Aniensis; III 1822: Palatina III 1815 (a veteranus, probably from elsewhere): cf. W. Kubitschek, de origine et propagatione trium Romanorum (1882), 235.

30. III 1822, A. Annaeus A.f. An. Flaccus who was flamen Augustalis, IIIIvir quinquennalis II, IIIIvir and praefectus i.d.
31. Saria, loc. cit., 250.
32. III 14265 Tasovčići, Imp. Caesari divi f. Sicilia recepta C. Papius Celsus M. Papius Kanus fratres; for Papii at Narona cf. III 6361.
33. IIIIviri at Narona: III 1822, 1868 cf. p. 1029, 1774, 14626, 14623/2, Glasnik NS iii (1948) 168 Stolac; IIIIviri quinquennales III 1822, 14626: aediles; III 1868, Glasnik loc. cit., III 14626: decuriones; III 8441, 8444.
34. For IIIIIIviri at Narona cf. CIL III index p. 2538 and 2670. On the IIIIIIvir M.M. cf. the remarks of Mommsen, CIL III p. 291.
35. The absence of centuriation around Narona is hardly surprising since much of the Narenta Valley is either very marshy or subject at least to regular inundations. The only area where extensive traces of centuriation might be preserved in<sup>5</sup> the Bjelopolje area around Mostar.
36. The text and references of this inscription are given above, ch. VII note 24 and p. 1736 .
37. The evidence for auxilia at Ljubuški is collected in ch. VIII p. 1966. .
38. Glasnik NS iii (1948) 168, Stolac: T. Flavio Blodi f. Plasso patri pientissimo an. l. et Flaviae Tattae matri an. xxx benemeritae et Flavio Epicado fratri an. xii et T. Flavio Laedioni [.....] aed. IIIIvir. i.d. [.....] Laedio f. vivos s. sibi et s.f.  
Naronae

39. Corcyra Nigra: Plin. NH iii 152, Corcyra Nigra cognominata cum Cnidiorum oppido; Strabo ii 5,20, ἡ Μέλαινα Κόρκυρα, νῆδεις καὶ πόλις Κνιδίων κτίσασθαι. vii 5,5 p.314; captured in 34 B.C. by Octavian, Appian Ill. 16. The evidence for the Greek settlements on Korčula is discussed at length in ch.I p. 4ff . IIIIIII[vir], III 3067 Korčula (town).
40. Epidaurum: Bell. Alex. 44, hunc (Octavium) oppugnantum Epidaurum terra marique, ubi nostrum erat praesidium, adventu suo discedere ab oppugnatione coegit praesidiumque recepit. The episode is discussed in ch.IV p. 106f .
41. Plin. NH iii 143 cf. 144, Epidaurum colonia, cf. III 12695 Doclea, sacerdos in colonis Naron. et Epidauro, probably early second century, Tromentina; III 8407, 1755, 1748, 1745 and of course Q. Marcius Turbo, cf. below, ch. XV p. 469ff .
42. Iiviri; III 8407 (quinquennalis), 8408, 1747, 1748, 1750.
43. III 1745, P. Aelio P.f. Tro. Osilliano Novia Bassila mater et Novia Iustilla avia posuerunt et sportulis decurio. Augustalibus et sexviris datis item publicum spectaculo dedicaverunt huic universus ordo decurionatus honorem et locum statuae decrevit.
44. A popular account, and what appears to be an appallingly inaccurate description of the results, of the activities of Mr. E. Falcon-Barker has recently appeared under the name of that individual, 1600 years under the sea, London, Muller (1961), but with interesting sketchplans on the end papers.
45. III 1741, P. Cornelio Dolabellae cos. VII viro epuloni sodali

Titieni leg. pr. pr. divi Augusti et Ti. Caesaris Augusti civitates superioris provinciae Hillyrici.

46. The evidence for the ager centurionatus of Epidaurum is published by M. Suić, 'Limitacija agora rimskih Kolonija na Istočnog Jadranskj<sup>a</sup> obali', Zbornik Inst. Hist. Nauke Zadru, 1955, 20 with aerial photograph fig. VIII.
47. The archaeological evidence of the Konavli area is described by Evans, Archaeologia, xlviii (1884) 37ff; IIvir from Gruda in Konavli, discovered by Evans, III 8408.
48. On the city of Diluntum, located at Trebimlje, cf. ch. XIII p. 384 below. The line of a road from Epidaurum to Popovopolje was examined by Evans, cf. Archaeologia, loc. cit.
49. As early as the fourth century the Boka was known as the <sup>Πιζούς,</sup> ~~Πιζονικός~~ <sup>Πιζονικός</sup> ~~Ποτάμος~~ , Ps-Scylax 25, and later known as <sup>Πιζονικός</sup> ~~Κόλπιος~~ cf. Strabo vii 5,3; Ptol ii 16,3. For a description of the site of the city cf. Evans, Num Chron xx (1880), 235ff.
50. Teuta at Rhizon; Pol. ii 11,6; Rhizonitae in the settlement of 167 B.C. Liv. xlv 26,15 cf. ch.II p. 57 above and on the coinage of Ballaios, ch.II p. 606. above.
51. On Luceius Torquatus cf. ch.XV below p. 463f. ; Plin. NH iii 144 Rhizinium cf. Ptol ii 16,3; III 12695 Doclea, Iu[1]ium Risinium; decurion at Risinium, III 1717; tribe Sergia; III 6359 cf. p.1491, 1730, 1732, 6360. For the possible decurion of Risinium in the interior of. III 8369.
52. Agravonitae in the settlement of 167 B.C.; Liv. xlv 26,15. Plin.

- NH iii 144 Acruvium, cf. Ptol ii 16,3.
53. IIVir at Acruvium; III 1711. Tribe Sergia; III 1710, 1711, 1738 from Prevlaka s. of Kotor; decurion at Doclea; III 13829 d.m. Fl. Urso d(e)c. Agr(uvium).
54. Butua; Ps-Scylax 24,25, also Etym. Magnum *βουθαίη, πόλις Ἰλλυρίδος.*
55. Plin. NH iii 144 Butua, cf. Ptol. ii 16,3; Statii at Butua, III 6338.
56. Ulcinium, Plin. NH iii 144, cf. Ptol ii 16,3; Olciniatae in settlement of 167 B.C., Liv xlv 26,15. For the location of the site of the ancient settlement, cf. Praschniker and Schober. Archaeologische Forschungen, etc., 82 and fig. 100.
57. On Lissus as port and mint of Gentius cf. above ch.II p. 51ff. ; for the conventus civium Romanorum in the Civil War, cf. Caes. BC iii 26ff, Appian BC ii 59. Plut. vit. Ant. 7; oppidum civium Romanorum, Plin. NH iii 144cf. 145, cf. Ptol ii 16,3, Strabo vii 5,8, p. 316; IIVir quinquennalis, III 1704, L. Gavius Armn. aug. IIVir quinq. dec. decr. mur. ref. idemq. prob. coer; tombstone of Didii, Praschniker and Schober, op. cit., 22 fig. 31; dedication to Caracalla, Patsch OJh x (1907) Bb. 102, from a manuscript source overlooked by CIL.
58. Scodra as capital of the Illyrian kingdom, cf. ch.II above p 55 Treaty of Brundisium, Appian BC v 65.
59. Plin. NH iii 144, cf. Ptol ii 16,7; M. Flavius Fronto, III 12695 Doclea; coin from Scodra, Fluss RE ii A 829 citing WMBH x 422; dedication to Severus with formula l.d.d.d. in A.D. 194, Patsch

- OJh x (1907) Bb. 101, from a manuscript source overlooked by CIL;
60. For inscription from Scodra cf. Spomenik LXXI (1933) n. 335.
61. On Claudius' settlement of veterans at Siculi cf. above, ch. VI p. 179 ; Colonia Claudia Aequum; III 1323, Zlatna, Dacia; Col. Cl. Aequum; III 4376 Arrabona, Pann. Sup.; col. Aequum; III 15004, Burnum, miles of leg. XI C.p.f.; domu Cl. Aequo; III 9895, loc. cit.; Clau. Aequo; III 2026, Salonae, coloniae Aequitatis; Ptol. ii 16,7; but cf. the comment of Kornemann, RE iv 545 n.213, 'Trotz des Beinamens Claudia ist es nicht ganz sicher, ob die Colonie von Claudius stammt'.
62. III 2733 Aequum, Sex. Iu[lius...f.] Ani. Silva[nus] summus c[urator c.R.] suffragio [veteranor?] leg. VII C.p.f. aed[ilis ab] ordine primus [factus ...] IIIIvir i.d. pontifex [....] The title summus curator c.R. appears to have involved administrative responsibility for all the Roman citizens settled in a province rather than merely those at a single place, cf. XII 1900 Lugdunum, Sex. Vagirius Sex. fil. Galeria Martianus summus curat(or) c.R. provinc. Aquit. and XII 1921, loc. cit., Sex. Ligurius Sex. fil. Galeria Marinus summus curator provinc. Lug; cf. the discussion of Kornemann, RE iv 1190-1. All the places where conventus c.R. are known to have existed in Dalmatia (Salonae, Naronae, Epidaurum and Lissus) had become coloniae or municipia long before the Claudian period, and thus presumably Sex. Iulius Silvanus was responsible for the administration of more inland settlements on the lands of the Delmatae and other Illyrian peoples. Aequum was presumably such a

- settlement, and one may have existed at Doclea, where there are a number of families who may well have moved there from the coastal cities before it became a municipium under the Flavians, cf. ch.XIII below, p. 387ff.
63. Veterans at Aequum; leg. VII C.p.f., III 8761, 14946, XI C.p.f., Vjesnik lv (1953) 185 n.4; cf. a veteran of the Ala Claudia Nova BD xxxviii 154 4633A (Ti. Claudius Priscus).
64. Iiviri at Aequum, III 2730 add. p. 1613, 9560, 9767, 9768, 9749, 9763, 8721 (Klis), Strena Buliciana, 233 Potravljje, 233 Potravljje near Sinj, III 2026 Salonae, Tribes at Aequum: Tromentina; XIII 6826, 6828, 6830, 6833 all milites of I Adiutrix (thus presumably original drafts from the Fleet) at Moguntiacum with origo Aequum, and miles of II Adiutrix at Chester (also probably Fleet recruit), Richmond and Wright, Chester, (EE ix 1087), n.34; Sergia at Aequum, III 2830, Sex. Iulius Severus, cos. 127, from Burnum on whom cf. ch.XV below, p. 456f, III 9767 bis. On the quattuorvirate cf. Degrassi, Quattuorviri, 320f.
65. Decurion at Andetrium, III 9783, L. Bennius Honoratus dec. col. Aequensi(um), on the distribution of the Bennii cf. below ch.XV p. 482 .

ἐπὶ ὑπάρχων Γυ[αίο]υ Λέντιλου Μ[αρ]  
 κελλείνου καὶ Λ[ευκ]ίου Μαρκίου Φι[λίπ]  
 πίου πρὸ ἡμερ[ῶν πέ]ντε Νωνῶν [Μαρ]  
 τίων [ἐν δὲ Ἰσση] ἐπὶ ἱερορνάμο[νος]  
 5 Ζωπι[ρου τοῦ . . . .]νος μηνὸς Ἄρ[τε]  
 ριτίου [ . . . . Ἰσταρ]ένου, πρεσβε[υ]  
 σάντων <sup>†</sup> Παιγικ[ . . . ] Παμφίλου τοῦ Π[αρ]  
 φίλου υἱοῦ καὶ Κλεερ[πύ]ρου τοῦ Τιμα[σίω]  
 νος υἱοῦ <καὶ> Φιλοζένου [τοῦ] Διονυσίου [υἱοῦ]  
 ἐν Ἀκοληγία ἐπὶ Γαίου Ρουλί[ου] Καί[σαρος]  
 αὐτοκράτορος Γάιος Γαυένιος Γαίου? υἱ]  
 ὅς Φαβία λόγους ἐποίησα[το περὶ τῆς τε]  
 ἐλευ[θε]ρίας τῶν Ῥωσαίων καὶ τῆς φιλίας]  
 τ[ῶν Ῥωμαίων] καὶ Ῥωσαίων . . . . . ]

† see note 2

some lines missing

. . . . . νκ . . . . . περὶ  
 χώρας καὶ περὶ] ὀρίων [ἀ ποτὲ συνέστη-]  
 σαν . . . . . Τραγο]ουφινὸι κ[αὶ Ἐπετινοὶ]

..... ἴα]δαοίιν[οὶ κατοικοῦντες]  
ποτε (¹) ..... ] εἰσὶν γὰρ[ ..... ]  
..... ] μετὰ συρ[μαχίας .....  
..... ἔ]πει σὺν ἴσ[σαίοις πλοῦν  
ἐντὸς κόλπου τοῦ Μανίου [σύνθεντο ἔ-]  
[χειν κοινὸν καὶ ἀσφαλῆ ..... ?]

some lines missing

ΣΕΙΣ τὴν χώρα[ν]  
[μεθ' ἧς χώρας εἰς τὴν φι]ιλίαν καὶ συρμα  
[χίαν τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ῥωμαί]ων παρεγένον-  
[το ..... τοῖς αὐτοῖς ] νόμοις καὶ τῇ αὐ-  
[τῇ πολιτείᾳ χρῶνται ἢν εἰ]πίσαν .....  
.....

Chapter XIII: The Delmatae, Diluntum and Doclea.

According to Pliny, the Delmatae belonged to the conventus of Salonae and numbered 342 decuriae, making them by far the most numerous of the peoples included within the province of Dalmatia. They were almost a third as large again as the Maezaei, 269 decuriae, or the Ditiones, 239 decuriae, both of whom were also in the Salonae conventus (1).

It is possible to determine the boundaries of the Delmatae with a fair measure of accuracy. On the northwest the Liburnian fortress of Promona, situated some miles to the east of the Titius, appears to have been the limit of their territory after their successful attack on it about 51 B.C. Pliny and Strabo both state that the R. Titius marked the boundary between the Liburni and Delmatae, while in another place Strabo writes that the same river is navigable 'as far as the territory of the Dalmatians', suggesting that the frontier between them lay along the river in its higher reaches - possibly in the region of Knin (2). The Adriatic coast between the mouths of the Titius and Narenta is designated by Strabo as Dalmatian; and the inference that the latter river marked the boundary of the Delmatae on the southeast is supported by the record in Appian of how, in 156 B.C., C. Marcius Figulus was driven by the Delmatae as far as the Narenta (i.e. to the border of their territory?) (3).

The most difficult problem connected with the boundaries of

the Delmatae is how far they extended into the interior of the province. Two pieces of evidence help towards an answer. In the second century B.C. their capital was Delminium, which has been located in the Duvjansko polje at Zupanac. This site lies well inland from the Dinaric ridge, and it is unlikely that it would have been in such a remote area unless they controlled considerable territory beyond the Dinara; this appears to be confirmed by Strabo when he describes the lands of the Delmatae as being cut in two parts by the ridge of the Adrion Mountain, which can hardly be anything other than the Dinara. He adds that, as a result of this, one part of their land looked towards the Adriatic, while that beyond the ridge looked towards the interior (4). Thus we may look for the limit of the territory of the Delmatae on the inland side along the watersheds at the head of the Bosnian Valleys: starting from the north, the most probable line would be from the watershed of the Titius and the Una and through to the ridges of Srnetica, Kosa Gora, Vitoroz, Ljubuša Planina and then down to the Narenta a little above Mostar. Within this region are included the high poljes of Livno, Glamoč, Grahovo and Duvno.

All the political centres of the Delmatae that are known to us occur in connection with the campaigns of various Roman commanders in Illyricum. Our first item of evidence concerns the greatest of their centres, Delminium in Duvjanskopolje which, according to Strabo, was attacked, burned and turned into a sheep pasture in 155 B.C.

Evidence from the Roman period shows, however, that a city did exist there in later years, although not on the same site, but there is no indication that it was in any way pre-eminent among the other cities of the Delmatae, although it did possess a bishop in the sixth century (5). On the Adriatic, Salonae was the chief port of the Delmatae, where L. Metellus Delmaticus spent a pleasant winter as their guest, while some forty years later it was captured after a two year war by the proconsul C. Cosconius. By the time of Caesar, Salonae was the site of a settlement, probably of a commercial character, composed of Roman citizens and strong enough to maintain their position against the attacks of the Pompeians as well as the Delmatae. In spite of the loss of their chief port, the next few decades witnessed a serious<sup>ies</sup> of victories over powerful Roman forces which, combined with the turmoil of the Civil War, gave the Delmatae a period of unchallenged supremacy on the eastern shore of the Adriatic. It is clear that at Rome they were regarded as a considerable menace even though their strength appears to have been overestimated in popular circles there. P. Vatinius complains to his friend Cicero that their strongholds really numbered more than sixty, rather than about twenty as was commonly supposed. On this point, however, we must bear in mind that Vatinius was eager to emphasise the strength of his enemies in support of his claims for a triumph over the Delmatae (6).

Octavian's campaigns against the Delmatae in 34-33 B.C. provide

more information about the location and character of their strongholds. Promona, recently acquired by the Delmatae at the expense of the Liburni, demanded a lengthy siege by the greater part of Octavian's army, while major actions also took place at other strongholds, Synodium and Setovia, which can be located in the steep-sided gorge of the R. Cikola. Strabo adds a fourth stronghold to the list, Ninia, probably not far away from Promona (7). These campaigns appear to have brought an end to the great power of the Delmatae, and although the 'conquests' effected by Octavian can hardly amount even to partial pacification, the reverse<sup>s</sup> they suffered, with the resulting loss of some of their fortresses, allowed a rapid increase in the number of Italian settlements along their coast and it was this process of settlement that must have prevented a revival of the power of the Delmatae, rather than the actual victories of Octavian over them in the field. There is virtually no evidence for the fortunes of the Delmatae in the years between the end of Octavian's campaigns and the Bellum Pannonicum of 12-9 B.C. Even the latter war is only very sketchily reported in the sources, and we cannot be certain that the Delmatae were involved; Dio uses Dalmatia to denote the region which later became constituted as the province of Dalmatia, an area which enclosed not only the Delmatae but the whole of the Western Balkans south of the Save Valley. It is in the last years of Augustus that we have some fairly detailed information about what appears to have been the final subjugation of the Delmatae, along with many other

peoples of that region. In this great struggle it is the tribes of the Bosnian Valleys, Maezaei, Ditiones and Daesitiates, who, along with the Breuci of the Save Valley, hold the stage as arch-enemies of Rome in the Western Balkans; yet the final battles in this ruthless war were fought in the limestone Karst country on the Adriatic side of the Dinaric ridge - that is, in the lands of the Delmatae. Bato the Daesitiatian, the instigator of the war, made his final stand against Tiberius at Andetrium (Gornje Muč), not twenty miles from Salonae. Moreover, Tiberius' strategy of a combined advance against the Bosnian tribes from the Save Valley and the Adriatic hinterland could only have been feasible if the Delmatae had been reduced to submission (8).

The victory in A.D. 9 was followed up by the construction of a number of roads linking the Adriatic with the military centres of the Save Valley, with the result that any future disturbance breaking out in the area could be swiftly contained and dealt with at leisure. None of the Bosnian valleys reveals any trace of permanent garrisons, either in the form of camps on the ground or epigraphic records of serving soldiers. The territory of the Delmatae, on the other hand, presents a completely different picture. There were three great military bases, Burnum (strictly speaking in Liburnia), Gardun and Bigeste (Humac<sup>6</sup>); the first two places were legionary stations while there was a large concentration of Auxilia at Bigeste; other smaller auxiliary posts were Magnum (Balijina Glavica), Andetrium (Muč) and

Promona, all of which were within the territory of the Delmatae. There is not a single piece of evidence for a serving soldier of the first century, either auxiliary or legionary, outside the territory of the Delmatae; one has the impression that if the government were trouble to break out anywhere, it was amongst the Delmatae in the immediate hinterland of the Adriatic. It is perhaps worth noting also that, compared with the peoples beyond the Dinaric Alps, the Delmatae were something of a backwater and in the advance of urbanisation that began at the end of the first century they lagged very far behind their neighbours (9).

Unlike their neighbours on the north, the Liburni and the Iapudes, the Delmatae do not appear to have benefited from material contacts with peoples outside their area. The meagre archaeological evidence suggests that they remained at an extremely low cultural level in spite of the nearness of the Adriatic and its trade, an impression that is borne out by Strabo's remark that they made no use of coined money. In spite of this appearance of stubborn conservatism, they do not appear everywhere as savages eager to kill and despoil, and at least one ancient author comments on the Illyrian reputation for hospitality towards peaceful strangers. Their political organisation was probably of the cantonal type, due to the fertile land being split up among a number of isolated poljes, most of which could not have supported more than a few villages. Strabo speaks of their custom of redividing their land every seven years, and the most

likely explanation for this practice is to be found in the pattern of cultivation demanded by the poljes. During most of the winter and early spring these are flooded, but as soon as the waters begin to retreat the farmers mark out their fields and sow their crops. After a few seasons, however, the land boundaries would require redefinition, and it is almost certainly this redivision in the poljes which has been recorded by Strabo as a noteworthy feature of the economy of the Delmatae. On the basis of the fertile land of the poljes, one Yugoslav scholar has recently attempted to calculate the population of the Delmatae, but the figure which he arrives at (c. 60,000) is surely far too small, bearing in mind the size of the army which the Delmatae are known to have put into the field against Octavian at Promona in 34 B.C. Little is known of their political or social organisation before the time of Augustus, although the existence of a land-owning aristocracy is suggested by the title princeps Delmatarum occurring in the first century A.D. (10).

The following sections deal with the evidence for the political geography of the Delmatae in the Roman province of Dalmatia. Here are dealt with all those centres of the Delmatae which attained city status at some time or other in the first three centuries A.D. For obvious reasons the three colonies which were established on the territory of the Delmatae (Salonae, Aequum and Naronae) are dealt with under another section.

During the Roman period four major settlements of the Delmatae

developed into cities, Rider (Danilo Kraljice), Delminium (Županac in Duvjanskopolje), Novae (Runović near Imotski) and Municipium Magnum (Balijina Glavica in the Čikola Valley). The character of these settlements is completely different from the cities composed mostly of immigrants which became established on the territory of the Delmatae during the earliest decades of the Roman province. Many of the native centres were probably administered by a local police post (beneficiarius consularis) and none of them, with the possible exception of Rider, appears to have attained city status before the late second or early third century. Even then the strongly conservative character of the Delmatae prevented the adoption of Roman municipal institutions in the settlements from becoming anything more than a veneer, barely concealing the old order. Rider abounds with non-Roman names and it is clear that here, for many years, not even the highest grades of native society were affected by the spread of the civitas. For a city less than twenty miles away from the provincial capital Salonae and on a main road this degree of backwardness is quite astonishing. In contrast to the Delmatae, the Liburni made great advances under the Julio-Claudians, and by the middle of the first century A.D. all their major hill-settlements had become municipia, revealing many traces of their flourishing condition in the manner of the true Mediterranean City. Yet even when the Delmatae began to introduce Roman forms and titles into their settlements one is forced to wonder whether any real change in the character of these essentially

tribal centres was brought about.

On present evidence it is not possible to determine the precise date when the Dalmatian settlement at Rider (Danilo Kraljice) adopted the forms and styles of a municipium. Of the four epigraphic records of IIviri or decuriones of the municipium, none need be assigned a date earlier than the first half of the second century, while at least one definitely belongs to the third century (11). All the individuals attested possess Latin nomina and one of them, T. Flavius Agricola, citizen and decurion of Salonae, decurion of Aequum and curator of the Respublica Splonistarum, was almost certainly a member of the aristocracy of the Delmatae who received the civitas under the Flavian emperors. Another of the Rider IIviri has the additional title of princeps municipii Riditarum, an irregular title and typical of the manner in which the older native princeps retained their position in the native Dalmatian cities. One of the earlier members of this class is a princeps Delmatarum (enfranchised by Claudius or Nero), also at Rider. A number of peregrini at Rider bear the title dec(urio), probably to be connected with the decuriae recorded for these peoples by Pliny and showing that the oppidum of Rider was probably the centre for a number of these tribal cantons. As has been noted already there is no definite evidence when Rider became a municipium but, bearing in mind the citizenship of the IIvir at Salonae, the change may have taken place as early as the Flavian period (12).

Following up on a suggestion of Farlati and Evans, Patsch

demonstrated that Delminium, the eponymous capital of the Delmatae, lay not at Gardun-Vojnić on the Cetina near Trilj (Pons Tiluri), as Mommsen and Bulić had at first thought, but much further inland, beyond the Dinaric Alps at Zupanac in Duvjanskopolje. There is no doubt that a city existed here in the Roman period, probably called Delminium, but we cannot be so certain that Zupanac was the site of the Dalmatian stronghold captured and destroyed by P. Scipio Nasica in 155 B.C. It is quite possible that after this crushing defeat the Delmatae decided to transfer their capital to a more inaccessible site in Duvjanskopolje. On the other hand, Patsch was able to identify a large native stronghold on the nearby Lib Planina which could well be the older Delminium. Patsch's excavations on the site of the Roman settlement revealed the foundations of a large structure, measuring 41 by 38 metres, very similar in plan to a city forum. Dating evidence was supplied by small but conclusive fragments of a building inscription dated to A.D. 18/19, a tile stamp of the first century Pansiana factory and a quantity of Arretine pottery manufactured not later than the middle of the first century (13). In spite of the very impressive character of these remains there is no evidence that Delminium became a city before the middle of the second century A.D. Of the two inscriptions which attest municipal institutions, one is a fragmentary dedication decurionum decreto, while the second is a dedication to Iuppiter Capitolinus set up by the dec(uriones) D(e)l(minenses?). Neither stone exhibits any

evidence for date but on stylistic grounds one cannot assign them a date earlier than the middle of the second century. A third inscription from Zupanac refers to a dignitary of the municipium Novensium (14). If anything, Delminium and its environs present a picture of Delmatian backwardness even more pronounced than that found among the inhabitants of Rider. There at least the upper classes very soon adopted Latin formulae on their tombstones, even while they were still mostly peregrini, but at Delminium almost all of the few tombstones which do survive bear imperial nomina of the second century (15).

The city of Novae has been located at Runović, four miles south of Imotski, on the inland route between Salonae and Narona where it passes through the valley of the Tihaljina. As with Rider, Novae is not recorded by Ptolemy or Pliny and, more surprisingly, is omitted by the Antonine Itinerary; a pre-Roman settlement has been located in close proximity to the Roman town (16). The route upon which Novae was situated formed the main link between the three great military bases of Burnum, Gardun and Bigeste, during the first century; and the evidence of first century Roman activity from the Tihaljina Valley, a dedication to Tiberius in 26/7 and tiles of the Pansiana factory, is probably to be connected with the Roman army in the province (17). In its earlier years Novae was a statio under the control of a beneficiarius consularis, although the post was not abolished when Novae became a municipium in the later second century.

Two dedications by these officials have been found to I.O.M. et G(enius) M(unicipii) N(ovensium), one dated by the consuls of A.D. 194 and the other dated by Iiviri quinquennales of Novae. The earliest record of municipal status for the Novenses is from the site of the bridge over the River Tihaljina at Kamenmost, namely a dedication to Marcus Aurelius in A.D. 170 with the formula decurionum decreto. The Novenses also shared with the Delminenses and the Reditae the cost of rebuilding the bridge over the River Hippius (Cetina), at Trilj (Pons Tiluri), which was completed in A.D. 184 (18). The names of four honestiores of Novae are preserved, three of whom are Aurelii, and this impression of a late-Romanised community is confirmed by other tombstones from Novae and its immediate vicinity (19). It seems unlikely that Novae gained city status any considerable period before the date when its municipal institutions are first attested (A.D. 170, see note 18), and even when it had attained this status the resident beneficiarius consularis appears to have retained a prominent position in the community. The very small number of inscriptions from the site suggests that it never really grew into anything more than a roadside statio that had been allowed to assume municipal institutions.

Near the northwestern borders of the Delmatae, Balijina Glavica and nearby Umljanović in the Cikola Valley have produced inscriptions which show that here was for some period a statio under the administration of a beneficiarius consularis. It lay on the main road between Salonae and Liburnia, crossing the R. Titius at Burnum, and has been

identified with the Magnum recorded by Peutinger and Ravennas. The name is probably a creation of the Roman period and it may well have superseded the Illyrian Synodium, a stronghold reduced by Octavian and located by Mayer somewhere in the vicinity of Balijina Glavica. A tombstone recording a IIvir and decurio of Mun(icipium) Magn(um) is the only definite evidence that Magnum became a city in later years. His nomen Aurelius and the omission of the place from the lists of Pliny and Ptolemy suggest that this status was not attained until the late second or third century. As with Novae, the bf. cos. at Magnum appear to have retained a leading role in the community after its elevation to city status, judging from one of their dedications to I.O.M. et Genius Municipii (20). The same picture of a backward population is provided by inscriptions from the city and its vicinity, while a tombstone from near Moguntiacum in Germania Superior shows that peregrini from the territory of Magnum were being recruited into the auxilia as late as the second half of the second century. Maximus Dasantis (f.), ensor of a cohort of Asturians, who describes himself as c(ivis) Dalmata ex municipio Magn(o), may, if the date proposed by Kraft is correct, be one of <sup>the</sup> latest known cases of a peregrinus serving in an auxiliary unit anywhere in the Roman Empire (21).

Three small settlements along the coast south of Salonae, Pituntium, Neraste and Oneum, have been located at Podstrana, Jesenice and Omiš, the last named being situated at the mouth of the R. Hippius (Cerina). Pliny describes them as castella, while Ptolemy includes

two of them, Pituntium and Oneum, in his list of cities along the coast of Dalmatia (22). Our earliest record of any of these places is a boundary settlement found (probably in situ) a few kilometres south of Jesenice on the road towards Omiš. The date is early under Gaius and it records a boundary settlement between the Onastini and the Nerastini under the legate L. Volusius Saturninus. A similar settlement, made a few years later, between the Nerastini and Pituntini comes from Srinjine di Poljica, a few miles inland and roughly equidistant from Podstrana and Jesenica. On the evidence of these two settlements it has proved possible to reconstruct the boundaries which were demarcated between the two communities. On the north side of Podstrana, the territorium of Salonae extended beyond Epetium while the boundary between Pituntium and Neraste ran roughly halfway between these two places, from the coast to the foot of the Mosor Mountain chain; that between Neraste and Oneum appears to have been drawn much closer to the former than to the latter, due probably to the greater fertility of the coastal plain (mod. Poljica) which narrows considerably along the length between Neraste and Oneum. Economically, Pituntium and Neraste were much more favoured than Oneum, although the latter's situation at the mouth of the R. Hippius must have given her some profit from sea and river traffic (23).

Some evidence for the civic organisation of one of these communities is preserved; from Podstrana comes the tombstone of a decurion and Iivir of the municipium, while from the same place comes

a record of a bf. cos. of leg. XI Cl. who was decurion of the municipium of Rider. Both inscriptions are probably not earlier than the later second century. The second individual was perhaps a native of Rider serving on the officium of the legate at Pituntium, while the other appears to be at home there and furnishes evidence that the place acquired city status, probably some time before the end of the second century. He could, of course, be a member of the Salonae ordo, although the Claudian boundary settlements prove that the territory was not, in the first century at least, included within the colonia (24). Pituntium appears to have been the home of one of the most notable equestrians in the emperor's service from the province, in the person of L. Artorius Castus, who held a number of senior equestrian appointments, including the command of detachments of two British legions and auxilia in a campaign against the Armoricani. His last recorded appointment was procurator of Liburnia with Ius gladii, perhaps a post created specially for him through the influence of Perennis (25).

As regards Neraste and Oneum, it is perfectly possible that, like Pituntium, they attained city status at the end of the second century; the chance find of a single inscription could well establish as a certainty what at the moment must remain conjectural.

The remaining area of the Delmatae on the Adriatic side of the Dinaric Alps to be considered is the valley of the Hippius, above the point near Sinj where it leaves the mountains to enter the broad

Sinjskopolje. The centre of the region today is at Vrlika, at the foot of the Dinara not far from the source of the Hippus, but in the Roman period there does not appear to have been any dominant settlement in the region and, judging from the scattered finds of late tombstones along the valley, it appears to have remained very much of a backwater, even in the land of the Delmatae, little affected by the movements towards urbanism that were taking place elsewhere among the Delmatae before the end of the second century. The names of two small communities of this region are preserved on a boundary settlement from <sup>v</sup>Sušnjar between Vrlika and Koljana. The date of the settlement is not certain; only the legate's cognomen, Bassus, is preserved and he cannot be identified with any known legate of the province. On the grounds of the date of all the other examples, we can reasonably assign a first century date to this settlement (26). Further down the valley another small community, the Osiniates, is attested on a dedication set up by P. Rapidus, signifer; the people are not recorded by any other source and clearly cannot have been of any significance, but their name reveals the classical origin of the place-name Sinj (27). How these small settlements along the Hippus Valley were administered in the first and second centuries is not clear, but there is some evidence that a city was created from amongst the smaller settlements. From Kievo, one of the many places which have produced evidence of Roman occupation, comes a T. Aurelius Maximus, quinquennalis, but there is a possibility that he might have

belonged to Magnum, not far away in the Cikola Valley (28). There must have been many small settlements in this area whose names are not recorded by the Itineraries, such as the origo of a veteran of the Ravenna Fleet, who describes himself as vet(eranus) ex adoptione nat. Delm. Castrum Planae; what the ex adoptione signifies is not at all clear, but the Castrum Planae (or Plana) must be one of the numerous small settlements not recorded by any of our geographical sources, presumably because they did not lie on any major route (29).

The cities and other political centres of the Delmatae between the Dinaric Mountains and the Adriatic can be located with reasonable certainty, but when one turns to examine that part of their territory which lay beyond the mountains the picture is by no means as clear. Here the key problem is the location of Salvium, a municipium well attested on inscriptions in Dalmatia and other parts of the Empire (30).

We possess two itineraries for the route between Salonae and Servitium (Bos. Gradiška in the Save Valley), that in the Antonine Itinerary and that given on the Peutinger Map. Between Aequum and Leusaba (Stinica, west of Jajce) the places listed by the two sources are not the same and the mileage given also differs for this section. On this basis we can assume that between these places the two sources are recording different routes (31). Archaeological research in this area, at first by Ballif and later by Sergejevski, has produced the lines of two roads, well attested by milestones found in situ and other traces on the ground. One of the routes leaves Aequum and

passes over the Dinara at Prolog, then across Livjanskopolje, over the Staretina Planina into Glamočkopolje, then northward to Pecka near the head of the Sana Valley and finally across to Stinica on the western slopes of the Vrbas Valley. The second route has been traced from the area of Knin over the pass of Strmica near the head of the Titius Valley (Krka) and along the line of the modern road through Resanovci and Drvar; near Petrovac it turns sharply eastwards to join the other route near Stinica where Leusaba, the place south of Servitium where the two itineraries converge, has been located. What appears to be a remarkable correspondence between the literary and archaeological evidence leads one to suggest that the former, shorter, route may be that recorded by Peutinger, while the more westerly longer road may be the one recorded by the Antonine Itinerary. As will appear below, however, this identification produces considerable difficulties in the location of Pelva and Salvium; but one cannot reject easily what appears to be a remarkable harmony between the two categories of evidence, especially with regard to the junction of the two routes at Stinica which corresponds remarkably with the mileage recorded between Leusaba, the place where the two routes join, and Servitium (32).

The shorter Peutinger route may be dealt with briefly; Aequo (Citluk) - viii - Inalperio (summit of Prolog) - xiv - Bariduo Ionnaria (no distance is indicated between these two places; Bariduum may be Livjanskopolje while Ionnaria may be in Glamočkopolje) - xiii -

Saritte (Somewhere beyond Glamoč towards Pecka) - vii - Indenea (near Pecka at the head of the Sana Valley) - v - Baloie (west of Trnovo) - xii - Leusaba (Stinica). A number of milestones of the third and fourth centuries have been discovered along the line of this road.

If we accept the road above as the Peutinger route, then we may attempt to identify the longer Antonine Itinerary route with the more westerly and also longer road. The whole question turns on the evidence for the location of Salvium. This occurs as the second place along the route; the first is Pelva, seventeen miles from Aequum, then follows <sup>vm</sup>Salvia after a distance of eighteen miles. The polja of Livno and Glamoč have each produced evidence for the existence of a city, at Grkovci at the northern extremity of the former, Kamen near Glamoč in the latter. From Grkovci comes a tombstone mentioning a certain P. Aelius Ursus, dec. mun. [...]lv; Patsch sought to restore [Sa]lv. and suggested that Salvium was situated at Grkovci where there is archaeological evidence for a Roman settlement of some size. On the other hand, one could restore [Pe]lv. and identify Pelva at Grkovci, although there is no evidence that Pelva was ever a municipium, as Salvium certainly was (33). At Kamen also the evidence for a city does not help with any identification. On one stone a certain P. Aelius held some leading position in a municipium, while the second, unfortunately fragmentary, consists of a fulsome tribute to an individual who not only held all the appropriate offices in the city

but also had an equestrian career in the imperial service, in the course of which he held the procuratorship of the Dalmatian mines. A third stone from Kamen records a protector, who may well have returned home after military service some time in the second half of the third century (34). Many have supported the view that while Pelva could be in Livjanskopolje, Salvium may well be this site at Kamen near Glamoč (35). It is most unlikely that either place attained city status before the middle of the second century, and in this they are typical of the slowly developing communities of the Delmatae. Yet the large number of Aelii in both the polje of Livno and Glamoč suggests that, with wide grants of civitas under Hadrian or Pius, these places drew ahead of other areas of the Delmatae, for instance Rider or Novae, in their rate of romanisation and general political development. At Kamen the settlement may for some period have been under the charge of a beneficiarius consularis, due presumably to its situation on one of the main routes between the Adriatic and the Save Valley (36).

To return to the Antonine Itinerary. With archaeological and epigraphic evidence suggesting that Salvium and Pelva, in the polja of Livno or Glamoč, were nearer to the shorter route which has been identified above with that recorded on the Peutinger Map, it is perhaps dangerous to place too much reliance on the mileages which these two routes record, especially when one can distinguish some discrepancy in those distances which can be checked (e.g. Salonae-

Aequum, It. Ant. 21 m.p., Peut. 16-although this may be due to an alternative route on the ground - and Leusaba-Servitium, It. Ant. 55, Peut., 51 m.p. with no alternative route really possible). Until more definite evidence for the location of either Pelva or Salvium is forthcoming, there can be no definite elucidation of the problem of the roads across the interior of the province from Salonae to Servitium (37).

The rapid growth of the provincial capital Salonae, and the settling of a colonia at Aequum in the heart of the Delmatae, appears to have had little direct influence on the course of Romanisation among the Delmatae. Novae, Magnum and Salvium (i.e. Kamen) developed out of roadside stationes, and although citizenship became widespread in the first half of the second century there must have been a very large proportion of the population who remained as peregrini until the Constitutio Antoniniana of A.D. 212. Many of the settlements raised to the status of cities can barely have been anything more than overgrown villages, judging from the sparse archaeological remains on their sites, while administrative promotion probably did not affect the status of the tribal nobility in the social order. Once established the cities continued in existence for centuries, and in the record of the provincial council of the Salonae church, held on two occasions in the early sixth century, we find churches at Novae, Magnum, Delminium, Salvium and Oneum, some with bishops and all within the province of the Salonae metropolitan (38).

Few areas of Dalmatia can have appeared so inhospitable and unattractive to settlement as the Karst hinterland of Southern Hercegovina south of the Narenta Valley. Undoubtedly some of the most barren terrain in Europe, mile after mile of bare limestone hills separate the few pockets of fertile land. Even today, the region is almost uninhabited and presents an appearance of backwardness and desolation, remarkable even for the Southern Balkans.

Strabo states that the Pleraei occupied the region between the Narenta and the Sinus Rhizonicus (Boka Kotorska), but our only source for the political geography of the region in the Roman period is the road between Narona and Scodra, whose stationes are recorded by the Antonine Itinerary and the Peutinger Map (39). In spite of the variation in mileage and some of the place-names, there is little doubt that both of the sources record the same route. From Narona the road passed into Popovopolje, although it is not clear whether it went direct through Hutovo or followed the longer route of the modern road on the north through Stolac and Ljubinja to reach the polje in the area of Ravno. Except for Dalluntum (It. Ant.) or Diluntum (Peutinger), nothing is known of any of the places along this road. This place lay at a distance of twenty-five miles from Narona and was presumably situated somewhere near the western end of the polje. From Trebinje, near Hutovo which is situated at the head of the polje, comes the record of a P. Aplius (or more probably Aelius)

Pea[...]so dec. m(unicipii) Dil(unti), showing that Diluntum attained at some time city status, probably not before the middle of the second century (40).

Other stationes along the route can be located approximately. Leusinium was probably somewhere near Trebinje, where traces of a Roman settlement have been discovered; further on the road passes over the foot of the Durmitor Mountains of Northern Montenegro into the valley of the Zeta, where the next major statio, Anderva, was on or near the site of modern Nikšić. Following the Zeta the road then passes around the west shore of the Scutari Lake, after apparently avoiding the city of Doclea, to Scodra (Skhōder) at its southern extremity (41).

Of all the cities of the interior of Dalmatia, Doclea, through its wealth of inscriptions, provides us with the most detailed picture of the institutions and upper classes of a native community which attained city status under the Flavian Emperors. In addition to this there is some evidence for the political organisation of the community before it became a municipium.

The Docleatae, numbering 33 decuriae, are listed by Pliny in the conventus of Naronna, but our earliest record of them occurs in the catalogue of Illyrian peoples who submitted to Octavian during his campaigns in 34-33 B.C.(42). Two interesting records of the tribal organisation of the people come from Grahovo in the mountainous region

between Risan and Trebinje in Popovopolje. Here Caius Epicadi f. appears as Princips Civitatis Doclatium while his brother Agirrus is styled Princeps K(astelli) Salthua(e) (43). The latter place was presumably an oppidum of the Docleatae, somewhere in the region of Grahovo, and Mayer suggested that it might be identical with Salluntum, erroneously included on the Peutinger Map between Leusinium (near<sup>a</sup> Trebinje) and (S)Anderva (Nikšić) (44). These two inscriptions may be assigned a date before the Flavian period, when the Docleatae were made into a city at Doclea, although principes are attested for other peoples of the interior in the second century. The findspot of Grahovo suggests that, in addition to the fertile plain of the Morača and Zeta Valley, the Docleatae extended as far as the area of Nikšić and included all the mountainous territory between that place and the Boka Kotorska. Their comparative smallness, only 33 decuriae compared with the Ditiones, 239, and the Daesitiates, 103, is presumably due to their territory being for the most part composed of barren mountains within which were scattered a few pockets of fertile soil. In their territory lay the old Illyrian fortress of Meteon (Medun), where Gentius attempted to seek safety in 167 B.C. As the Docleatae are not recorded in the settlement of 167 B.C., one presumes that, like the Delmatae, they were a confederation of a number of smaller communities with a common political centre at Doclea.

There are no inscriptions from the site of Doclea which can be

assigned a date before the creation of the municipium, but the presence of a number of Iulii and members of other families known to have been established at Salonae suggests that even before the city was founded traders found the native community at Doclea an attractive place for business (45). There is no definite evidence that Doclea was ever at any time a roadside statio under a bf. cos. as appears to have been the case among many of the municipia of the Delmatae which grew up in the course of the second century A.D. Two beneficiarii consularis are found at Doclea, a miles of coh. VIII Vol. who was adiut(or) princi(pis) bf. cos. almost certainly of first century date, while the second example of such an officer is dated to A.D. 187, at which time the municipium had been in existence for a century (46). It is significant that none of the Itineraries records Doclea, and it appears to have been by-passed by the main Narona-Scodra road.

At some date in the later first century a municipium was established at Doclea (mod. Dukljia), where presumably a native settlement was already in existence. The site itself lies at the confluence of the Rivers Zeta and Morača and the city was well defended by a circuit of fine walls, with a double 'V-ditch' across the small sector of the defences which were not defended by either river or torrent bed. The name Doclea is first given by Ptolemy - Pliny, Appian and inscriptions give the ethnic only - but there can be no doubt that the city was founded under the Flavian Emperors,

perhaps Vespasian or Titus. The most striking evidence for this date is the overwhelming number of Flavii among the honestiores, the Flavian tribe Quirina and a dedication by a IIIIvir of the city to Divus Titus (47). This last item is the only instance of the IIIIvirate at Doclea, all the other magistrates being IIviri; Manni suggests that the quattuorvirate was superseded, soon after the creation of the city, by a college of IIviri and two aediles, but out of a considerable number of honestiores, ~~attested~~ there is not one instance of the aedilate (48). Doclea quickly grew to become one of the leading cities of the province, and by the end of the first century it was the site of the imperial cult in Dalmatia; that of Liburnia was at Scardona, also a Flavian foundation (49).

There can be little doubt that all the principal aristocratic families of the Docleatae became members of the ordo of Doclea; Flavian civitas is universal and much of the wealth of the upper classes appears to have been expended in providing the city with the best in the way of civic amenities; these included the large forum, considerable parts of which are standing today, temples and public baths (50). The most outstanding family of the Docleatae was that of M. Flavius Fronto, a second or third generation citizen, as his praenomen shows. He held a leading position in a number of cities in the southern part of the province; sacerdos in the colonies of Narona and Epidaurum, IIvir in Risinium, IIvir quinquennalis at Scodra and, in his own city, IIvir quinquennalis and flamen [divi

Titi]; the last post is reasonably certain owing to the very limited space possible for the emperor's name (51). Without any doubt this potentate of the Docleatae must have been near ruler of the southern part of Dalmatia. In his own city his generosity, and that of his wife Flavia Tertulla, were prodigious; together they constructed the forum of Doclea in memory of their son M. Flavius Balbinus who, although he had died at the age of fifteen, had attained every honour that it was possible to obtain under the law. The figure of the youth was also commemorated with a gilded statue of him seated on horseback (52). What effect the founding of the city had on the social structure of the Docleatae is difficult to say, but the grants of civitas to the leading families gave the upper classes admission to the ruling circles, composed almost exclusively of families of Italian descent, of the older coastal cities, such as Naronna, Epidaurum and Risinium. A similar trend has already been noted in the territory of Naronna, where we find the Flavian civitas of T. Flavius Laedio.f. enabling him to hold the colony's quattuorvirate (53).

The continuing prosperity of the city throughout later centuries is attested by a series of public dedications to reigning emperors; Nerva and Divus Traianus were honoured by decree of the decurions, but most of the dedications are undersigned by the *Respublica Docleatium*, to Severus Alexander (A.D. 226/7), Severa Otacilia, Philip (A.D. 247), Gallus and Volusianus (A.D. 253), Valerian (A.D. 254) and Gallienus (A.D. 260-268) (54).

As with the Delmatae and other peoples of the interior, peregrini were recruited from the Docleatae for service in the auxilia in the various cohortes Delmatarum; at Moguntiacum we find a miles of V Delmatarum who gives his origo as the ethnic Docleas on a tombstone set up by Ziraeus, a fellow municeps (55).

Chapter XIII: Notes

1. Plin. NH iii 142.
2. Plin. NH iii 141, Strabo vii 5,4 p. 315, ἐν δὲ τῷ παράπλῳ ποταμῷ φορτίοις ἀνάπλουσιν ἔχων μέχρι Δαλματέων, καὶ Ἐκάρδων, Λιζυρνὴ πόλις
3. Strabo vii 5,5 p. 315; on the campaign of Marcius Figulus  
cf. App. Ill. 11 and ch. III p. 75ff.above.
4. Strabo vii 5,5 p. 315, Ἄσριον δὲ ὄρος ἐστὶ, μέσην τέρνον τὴν Δαλματικὴν, τὴν μὲν ἐπιθαλάττιον, τὴν δ' ἐπὶ θάτερα.  
  
On Delminium see below, note 13f. .
5. Farlati, Illyricum Sacrum, ii 173, Episcopus Delminensis Montanorum; see the useful discussion of the Mediaeval evidence for the place by Evans, Arch. xlviii (1884), 68ff.
6. On the campaigns of P. Vatinius and his correspondence with Cicero, cf. ch. IV p. 108ff. above.
7. Synodium, cf. App. Ill. 27 and Strabo vii 5,5 p.316, has been located in the upper valley of the Čikola at or near Balijina Glavica, cf. Mayer Sprache 306; the location of Setovia is discussed by Mayer, op. cit., 302-3, and he suggests Šušanj near Lucani in the Sutina Valley west of Sinj; the country certainly fits well with Appian's description of Octavian's march through a steep-sided gorge. At Rider there is a peregrinus described as dec(urio) Set(oviae), probably referring to one of the decuriae of the Delmatae based on Setovia, cf. Glasnik, NS vi (1951) 57 n. 10. The Citua of

Ravennas, iv 19, may refer also to this place.

8. On these campaigns cf. ch. V p. 132 ff. above.
9. On the dispositions of the legions and auxilia cf. ch. VII and VIII.
10. No excavations have been conducted in the territory of the Delmatae on the Adriatic side of the Dinaric Alps, although some work has been carried out on the site of Rider (Danilo Kraljice) by Prof. D. Rendić-Miočević of the University of Zagreb in the last two or three years. As regards the general archaeological picture of the Delmatae, my remarks are based on personal observation of the miscellaneous collections of material in the Museums at Split, Šibenik and Sarajevo, the last place containing all the material from the <sup>P</sup>goljes beyond the Dinaric Alps. Hospitality of the Delmate, cf. Scymnus speaking of Illyrians, <sup>424-5</sup>~~417~~ (GGM i 214). Strabo on the Delmatae, vii 5,5 p. 316, ἴδιον δὲ τῶν Δαλματῶν τὸ διὰ ὀκταετηρίδος χώρας ἀναδασρὸν ποιεῖσθαι· τὸ δὲ μὴ χρῆσθαι νορίσρασι πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ ταύτῃ ἴδιον, πρὸς ἄλλους δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων πολλοὺς κοινόν.

For an estimate of the population of the Delmatae, cf.

B. Gabričević, Vjesnik lv (1953), 103-119. Princeps Delmatarum, III 2776 Rider, .....] principi Delmatarum ann. xxii Claudia Tib. fil.[.....

11. Two sites have been identified at Rider; the pre-Roman settle-

ment is set on a steep sided hill (Gradina) overlooking the valley, in the middle of which is the site of the Roman settlement which has produced large numbers of inscriptions. Iiviri; III 2774, Rutilii, Iiviri quinquennales, father and son, III 12815a between Jesenice and Podstrana, dec. municipii Rideri and mil.leg. XI Cl. p.f., BD xxxviii (1915) 45, Srinjine di poljica, decurion and Iivir, III 2026, Salonae, T. Flavius Agricola, Iivir qq. disp(unctor) municipi Riditar. Dispunctor was the auditor of a city's accounts, cf. CIL III p. 1030 citing V 5847 from Milan.

12. Peregrini as dec(uriones) at Rider: III 2773, 2775; on the dec.Set(oviae?) see above note 7; other peregrini at Rider, III 2767-2772, 2774, 2776-2801, 9865-9878, 13244-13247, 13989-13992, cf. also the recent collections published by D. Rendić-Miočević, Glasnik NS vi (1951) 56f, Vjesnik lii (1950-1) 213-218 nos. 7-17.
13. For the campaigns of 156-6 B.C. cf. above ch. III p. 75 ff. . The alternative location of Delminium was first suggested by Farlati, Illyricum Sacrum, ii 173, and elaborated by Evans, Arch. xlvi (1884), 68ff, while Patsch's views for locating Delminium at Županac are outlined in WMBH viii (1902) 85 and RE iv (1901) 2457f. Among the sources of the Roman period, only Ptolemy records the place, ii 16,7. For the excavations of the Forum building, cf. Patsch, WMBH ix (1904) 171ff with

- plan on plate lxxxv. Of the building inscription, loc. cit., 171 fig. 18, one fragment records trib. pot. XX, preferably A.D. 18/19 of Tiberius than 4/3 B.C. of Augustus; for the tile stamps, cf. WMBH iv (1896) 157, ix (1904), 186.
14. Inscriptions from Zupanac; III 14229, Zbanica, ..]nep[...]  
md[...?l.d.]d.d., Glasnik NS xii (1957) 109 n.1 (AE 1958 62),  
I. Cap. Victor dec. DLC v.s.l.m., III 13887, [Ae mil.  
Marcellina [.....muni]cipii Novensiu. mil[..... In the ruins  
of the large building at Zupanac fragments of a dedication to  
Furia Sabinia Tranquilina, consort of Gordian III, WMBH ix  
(1904) 193 fig. 31.
15. One instance of a Flavius is known, III 14320/4; Aelii,  
III 14320/3, 14976/7, WMBH ix (1904) 227 fig. 101; Aurelius,  
III 14976/6.
16. For the remains at Runović, cf. Patsch WMBH viii (1902), 96,  
99 cf. also WMBH iv (1896) 156, Bulić, BD xv (1892) 22 and  
Saria RE xvii (1936) 1129f.
17. III 8512 Lokvičić, Imp. Caesare divi Aug. f. August. pont.  
max. tr. pot. XXVIII; the tiles of the Pansiana factory were  
found near the remains of the Roman Bridge at Kamenmost over  
the Tihaljina, Patsch, WMBH viii (1902) 71. Another remark-  
able military site lay on the north side of the polje, along  
the route inland towards Duvjanskopolje at Gradac near Posušje,  
which may be the Epilentum of Ravennas iv 16; we may note III

13880, building dedication to Claudius, A.D. 52, III 13881, probably Antonine, III 13885 ?Aemi]lio [...Le]pido restored by Patsch to refer to M. Aemilius Lepidus (cos. ord. A.D. 6), legate of Tiberius during the latter part of the war of A.D. 6-9, cf. III p. 2328/122 and the remarks of Syme (reviewing Reidinger's Fasti of Pannonia), Gnomon xxix (1957) 519.

18. III 1909, I.O.M. [et] G(enio) m(unicipii) N(ovensium) [.]  
Caelius [S]aturninus bf. cos. leg. I Ad. p.f. [i]m[p. L.]  
Septimio Severo Aug. bis [cos.] (A.D. 194), III 1910, I.O.M.  
et G. m. N. G. Vib. Pom. I[a]nu[a]rius bf. cos. leg. I Adi.  
v.s.l.m. IIviris qq. Aurr. Maximo et Anneo, also a similar  
dedication III 1908, I.O.M. et genio m. N. salvis civibus  
Novensibus Aurelius Donatus votum posuit and the fragmentary  
III 14634, I.O.M. e[t] G. m. P. Satr[.....] from Dikovača near  
Runović; other beneficiarii consularis at Novae; III 1906,  
1907, 1911 cf. p. 2328/121 (A.D. 239), 12802 cf. p. 2328/122 (A.D.  
169?), 14636, 14637, 14638. Inscription from Kamenmost, III  
p. 2328/121 (1913), Imp. Ca[es.] divi Ant[o]nini filio [di]vi  
Hadria[ni] nepoti divi Tra[ia]ni Part. pron[epoti] divi Nervae  
a[bnepo]ti M. Aurelio [Anto]nino Aug. Ar[men. Med. Part. max.  
trib. pote]st. XXIV | imp. V | cos. III p.p. d.d. (A.D. 170)  
A dedication to Pius at Imotski is incomplete but may well  
have been set up by the decuriones of Novae, III 2328/121  
(1912), Imp. C[ae]sar]i [T.] Ael[io] Ha[dri]ano An[t]onino Aug....

Bridge building at Trilj; III 3202 cf. p. 1651, ILS 393, Imp. Caes. M. Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Aug. Pius Sarm. Germ. maximus Britannicus pont. max. trib. pot. VIII imp. VI cos. IIII p.p. pontem Hippi fluminis vetustate corruptum restituit sumptum et operas subministrantibus Novensibus Delminensibus Reditis curante et dedicante L. Iulio Rufino Proculiano leg. pr. pr. The above shows that th<sup>6</sup> Roman name for the River Cetina was Hippus, not Tilurius as others have thought (CIL III supp. ii map VI); more recently this has been established beyond any doubt by another stone from Gardun, Vjesnik lii (1935-49) 51 fig. 1, I.O.M. et n(umini) H(ippi) fl(uminis) Cn. Tullius Faventinus bf. cos. leg. I. Adi.; for another bf. cos. at Gardun, dated to A.D. 211, cf. Vjesnik liv (1952) 230 n. 41. Gardun was known as Tilurium or Pons Tiluri (It. Ant. 337,5 for the latter also Rav. iv 16, Tilurion and Ponteluri); from Prud Orepek near Ljub<sup>u</sup>ški comes a milestone which Patsch has restored as a Til[urio] Sco[dram] lx[viii], cf. Jb.A. ii (1908) 101, and from Novae also another milestone, a Tilur(io) m.p. [xxxiv], Abramić, Vjesnik xlix (1927) 142ff.

19. III 1892, Aurelius Veturius, dec. munic. Novensium, the Aurelius Donatus dedicator of III 1908, cf. above note 18 for text, and the two IIViri quinquennales, Aurelii Maximus and Anneus, who date the bf. cos. dedication III 1910, cf. also note 18 for text. The fourth is the Aemilia Marcellina at Županac, III 13887 see note 14 for text, presumably a

member of the Novae aristocracy.

20. Bf. cos. records from Balijina Glavica and Umljanović;  
III 9790, 14956, 14957, 14959, 14960, 14961, 14962. On the  
location of Synodium (or Sinotion) cf. above note 7, citing  
Mayer, 306. The Peutinger route is; Salona - xvi - Andretio  
- xiii - Magnum - viii - Promona - xvi - Burnum, cf. Raven-  
nas iv 16, Decimin (Dicropolje near Salonae), Endretio,  
Magnum (sic), Promona. IIvir of municipium Magnum, III  
14316/2, d.[m.] M. Aur. M.f. Luc[...] dec. mun. Magn. [...] IIvir  
i.[d. ...; bf. cos. dedication, III 14957, [I.O.]M.  
[et Ge]nio [mun]icipi [...]ERSEV [.....]bf. cos. [...]m.v.v.s.
21. XIII 6538 cf. add. p. 100, Mainhardt; fer text cf. ch. IX  
note 49.
22. Plin. NH iii 142, ab his castella Peguntium Nareste Onium,  
Narona colonia, Ptol ii 16,3, Πηγούντιον ἢ Πιγούντιον, Ὀναίων  
Rav. iv 16, Nerate, Petinitis, Epetium; Peutinger, Salona -  
iv - Epetio - vii - Oneo - xii-Inaronia (Makarska, cf. Mayer,  
234); on the archaeological evidence from Pituntium (Podstrana)  
cf. Polaschek RE xx (1950), 1875f.
23. Boundary settlements; III 8472, Krug di Jesenice, L. Trebius  
Secundus praefectus castrorum inter Onastinos et Narestinos  
terminos posuit missu L. Volusi Saturnin(i) leg. pro praetore  
C. C[ae]sar[is] A[ug]usti Germ[an]ici ex sententia quam is athibito  
consilio dixit, III 12794, Srinjine di Poljica, ....i]nter  
Ner[asti]nos et Pituntinos termini re[cog]niti et restitu[ti]  
a [P]isone leg. pro praetore [Ti.] Claudi Caesaris [Aug].

Germanici per C. Ma[r]ium Maternum 7 leg. 7 C.p.f. quos  
L. Volus[ius Saturninus leg. pro pr. statuendos curaverat?].

On the date of this legate (L. Calpurnius) Piso cf. Jagenteufel, Fasti, 28f. The boundaries which can be presumed from these two settlements have been drawn out on a sketch-plan by D. Rendić-Miočević, Vjesnik lii (1935-49), 28.

24. III 6371, Podstrana, Aur. Titiano dec. m. Ilviro avo et proav, def. ann [.....; III 12815a, Perun between Podstrana and Jesenice, [d.] m. Aurelio Vero dec. municipi Rideri mil. leg. XI Cl. p.f. milit. ann. xxv Aur[e]li Varro et Candida parent.
25. On L. Artorius Castus see ch. XV p.474{and note 93.
26. B. Gabričević, 'Dvije Ilirske općine s područja Vrlike' (Deux communautés illyriennes dans les environs de Vrlika), Vjesnik lv (1953) 104 fig. 1, ....]V[.....]s Bassus [leg. Aug. pr. pr.] inter Barizani(?iates) [et] Lizaviates in neg(otio) finali C. Plotium Ma[xi]mum iudicare iussit [.....]a p[ra]ecepit ut [diceret se]ntentiam [de ponendis? ter]minis.  
As a possible candidate for the legateship Gabričević suggests L. Annius Bassus (suff. early under Vespasian) who was legate of leg. XI C.p.f. in A.D. 69, cf. PIR2 n. 637, a possibility also noted by Syme, Gnomon xxxi (1959) 516.
27. Vjesnik li (1930-4) 157 (AE 1941 52), [G]enio Osini(iatium) P. Rapidu[s] signifer c[ohortis?...
28. III 14967, [I.O.]M. T. Aur. Maximus qq. suo v.l.s.

29. XI 76. It is possible that he came from elsewhere and took the origo of his adoptive father.

30. Salvium: Ptol. ii 16,6, Σαλουία ; XIII 6538 cf. note 21 above, ex muni[c]ipio Salvi[is]o ..; III 14249/2, Sućurać near Saloniae, d.m. Ael. Capito dec. municip. Salvio natus Starue qui vix an. xlv Ael. Victor filius ipsius patri rarissim. b.m. pos. Starue was presumably a vicus of the territorium of Salvium, as Bulić (OJh ii (1899) 111f.) suggested, and he connects it with Staretina Planina between the poljes of Glamoc̆ and Livno; Hirschfeld (CIL III ad loc.) connects it with Sarute of Peutinger,

also in the same region.

31.	Antonine Itinerary	Peutinger
	Salonas	Salona
	xxi	xvi
	Aequo	Aequo
	xvi	viii
	Pelva	Inalperio
	xviii	xiiii
	Salviae	Bariduo
	xxiiii	.....
	Sarnade	Ionnaria
	xviii	xiii
		Saritte
		vii
		Indenea
		v

	Baloie
	xii
Leusaba	Leusaba
xiii	x
Aemate	Lamatis
xviii	xii
	Castra
	xiii
Ad Ladios	ad Fines
xxiii	xvi
Servitti	Servitio

The pioneer field work on Roman roads in Bosnia was done by the Austrian surveyor Philip Ballif, Römische Strassen in Bosnien u. der Hercegovina (Wien), 1893. The results of his work formed the basis of Kiepert's map of the area in CIL (III supp. ii plate VI) where the findspots of milestones are also indicated. Subsequent investigations carried out by archaeologists of the Sarajevo Museum, first Patsch and then later Sergejevski, have been summarised in a most valuable study by Esad Pašalić, 'Römische Strassen in Bosnien und Hercegovina', Arch. Jug. iii (1959) 63ff.

32. The two routes are well illustrated by Pašalić, op. cit., map.

33. The archaeological evidence for Livno and its polje is given by D. Sergejevski, Glasnik xlii (1931) 20ff., l (1938) 91ff. and for Glamoc and its polje, Glasnik xxxix (1927) 255ff.,

xlv (1933) 7 ff. Evidence for a city in Livno and polje; WMBH xi (1909) 120 fig. 10, Grkovci in Livjanskopolje, Eximiae laudis sum[m]ae integritatis [P. A]el. Ursus dec. mun [..]lv. omnibus ho[nor]ibus functus ....., also from Lipa near Livno, III 9849 cf. p. 2165 (WMBH xi (1909) 123 fig. 12), M. Nasi[d]i[u] Se[c]undus dec. mun. vet. [b]f. cos. leg. X G. [s]ibi et Nasidi[o] Rufi[n]o fil. an. xx e[t. ....

34. Glasnik xl (1928) 87 n.9 fig.7, P. Ael. Procul. municip[i] ....., Glasnik xxxix (1927) 260 n.9, the text is given below ch. XV note 115, III 9861, I.O.M. Ael. Titus ex protectore v.l.s.; the cognomen is Illyrian.
35. The location of Salvium in Livjanskopolje was suggested by Patsch, WMBH xi (1909) 118ff., although Pašalić, Arch. Jug. loc. cit., prefers to locate it at Kamen with Pelva in Livjanskopolje, and this view is also preferred by Sergejevski. Mayer, op. cit., 293, notes both views but does not commit himself.
36. For Aelii in Glamocko- and Livjanskopolje, cf. Pavan, 272 note 2 and 116. Bf. cos. at Kamen; Glasnik xxxix (1927) 262 n.11, Halapić near Glamoc, [I.O.M.] et Genio lo(ci) Ael. Anter(i)d(es) bf. cos. l. XIII G. v.l.s. imp. D.N. [Ga]l[li]eno IIII et Volusiano cos. kal. Aprilib. (1 April A.D. 261), III 9862 plus 13231 p. 2270 add., I.O.M. G. Iul. Rogatus bf. cos. leg. XI Clau. et G. Iulius Rogatus Iunior v. libens p.

37. The following boundary settlement from between Glamoc̆ and Grahovo to the west may be evidence for the location of Salvium near Glamoc̆; III 9860, ...iu[d]ex [d]a[t]us a [F]lavio Va[ler]io Cons[t]a[nt]io [v.p.] p.p. [D]elm. [f]i[ne]s i [nt]e[r] Salvia[t]as e[t] S[tr]ido[n]enses [d]e[t]ermi[n]avi[t]. Mommsen doubted the genuinness of the stone on the grounds that the nomen Valerius should hardly appear amongst Constanti<sup>u</sup>s' names before his adoption as Caesar (CIL ad loc.), but, as Jagenteufel, Fasti, 109 note 648, remarks, a deliberate forgery (even by the dubious Alačević!) is really out of the question. Mayer, 293, rejects it outright. The Salviatae would certainly be the ethnic title of the inhabitants of the city, suggested by the territorium Salviaticum mentioned in the Salonae church council of A.D. 532, cf. Farlati, Illyricum Sacrum, ii 173. The other community here recorded is known also. Stridon was the birthplace of St. Jerome, cf. Hieron. de viris illustr. 135, Hieronymus, natus patre Eusebio, oppido Stridonis, quod a Gothis eversum, Dalmatiae quondam Pannoniaeque confinium fuit. In the early fourth century it was reckoned part of Pannonia, Acts of Nicaea Council A.D. 325, provinciae Pannoniae Domnus Stridonensis, cf. G.D. Mansi, Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio, Paris, 1901, ii col. 696. The argument over the location of Stridon has occupied many pages but with no definite result, cf. Mayer, 323 for references.

38. Farlati, Illyricum Sacrum ii 173, in the Salonae provincial council of A.D. 532, Novense (sc. municipium), Magnioticum, episcopus Delminensis Montanorum, Salviaticum, Onestinum.

39. Strabo vii 5,5 p. 316, Πλαρᾶλιου cf. Appian Ill. 10, Παλάριου .

The route is: It. Ant. 337 Peutinger Ravennas iv 16.

Narona Narona Narona

xxii

xxv ad Turres Turres

xiii

Dallunto Dilunto

Here the Antonine Itinerary route probably passes through Hutovo while the Peutinger, <sup>perhaps</sup> follows roughly that of the modern road through Stolac (? ad Turres) and Ljubinje. On this evidence Diluntum must be somewhere in the western sector of Popovopolje, probably near Ravno.

40. Glasnik xlvii (1935) 17 (AE 1939 300), D.m.s. P. Aplio Pea[...]so patri pientissimo dec. m. Dil. et M[....]C[...]infelicissima def. ann. viiii P. Aplius Annius v. sibi et suis fecit.

41. Diluntum- Lensinium and Epidaurem:

It. Ant. 337 Peutinger Ravennas iv 16.

xiv

Pardua Pardua id est Stamnes

xl xvi

Ad Zizio ——— Zidion

viii xxviii



	xvii	
Anderva	Sanderva	
	vi	
xvii	Varis	
	xi	
Sallunto	Sallunto	Salluntum
xvii	xviii	
Alata	Halata	Aleta
x	x	
Birziminio	Bersumno	Birzumi, item iuxta
xviii	xvi	Burzum(ini)on est
Cinna	Sinna cf. Ptol. ii 16,7,	civitas quae dicitur
xii	<i>Kίννα.</i>	Medione.
Scodra	Scobre	

The Salluntum of Peutinger between Leusinium and Anderva may well be identical with the k(astellum) Salthua on the Grahovo inscription of aristocrats of the Docleatae cf. OJh xii (1909) Bb. 201, for text see note 43 below, and Praschniker and Schober, 100, and Mayer, Vjesnik li (1930-4) 156.

From Salluntum to Scodra the line of the road is clear and all the places recorded can be identified with reasonable certainty: Anderva - Nikšić, cf. III 8370 Gorazde on the Drina, Andarvan-or[um], see Mayer, Vjesnik, loc. cit., 148f.

Salluntum - a little north of Danilovgrad.

Alata or Aleta (cf. Ptol. ii 16,7, "Ἀλητα", listed between Andetrium and Delminium) - Бουζ.

Birziminium (according to Ravennas near Medeon (mod. Medun

near Doclea (on which see above ch. I p. 16) - probably at Vukanlekaj where a Roman settlement is attested by inscriptions, cf. Spomenik lxxi (1931), 300-3.

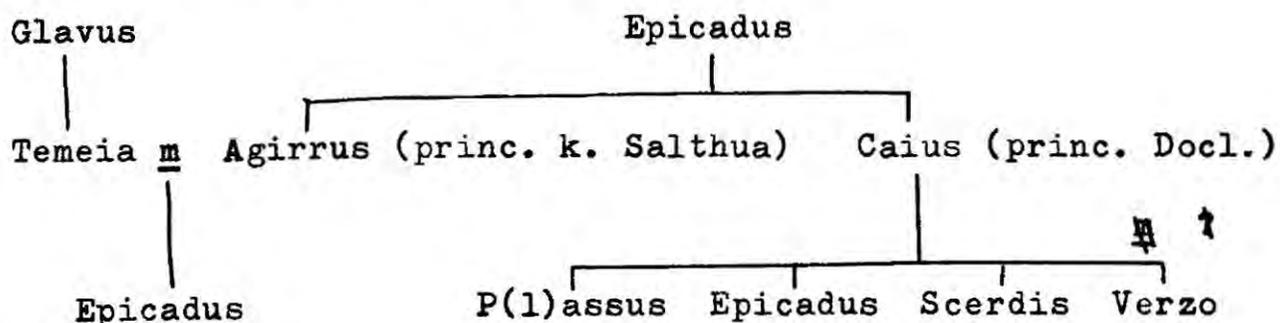
Cinna - near Kopljka on the eastern shore of the Scutari Lake.

42. Plin. NH iii 143, Docleatae xxxiii (decuriae), cf. Appian Ill. 16 and Ptol. ii 16,6, Δοκλέαται.
43. OJh xii (1909) Bb. 201 nos. 73-4, Spomenik lxxi (1931) 241, 242 with photographs, from Grahovo in Montenegro.

Agirro Epicadi f. principi k. Salthua et Temeiae Glavi f. fecit Epicadus f. ut primum aetatis compluerunt tempora vitae et genitor fato conditus tumulo protinus inscripsit pietas nomen matrisque patris(ue) ut legerent cuncti genitoris nomina saepe hoc decet ut nati componant ossa parentum et cineri sedem substituat pietas.

Caius Epicadi f. princeps civitatis Doclatium hic situs hoc fieri iussit genitor sibi et suis set fili eius (Pl)assus Epicadus Scerdis Verzo et summa adiecta efficit istud opus est pietas natiq(ue) hoc auxsisse videntur et decorant facto et docent esse pios.

The family stemma appears thus:



44. See above note 41.

45. Iulii at Doclea, III 12710, 13826, AE 1914 208, Sticotti, Doclea, 157 n. 5,56, Vjesnik 1 (1928-9) 70; other families who probably moved to Doclea from Salonae are the Cassi and the Epidii, cf. ch. XVI p. 530f .
46. Beneficiarii consulares at Doclea, III 12679, AE 1933 76, AD.. 187.
47. The studies dealing with the archaeological and epigraphic remains from the site of Doclea (mod. Duklja in Montenegro); Munro, Anderson, Milne and Haverfield, 'On the Roman town of Doclea in Montenegro', Arch. 1v (1896) 33f. and the more detailed work by P. Sticotti, Die römische Stadt Doclea in Montenegro, Schriften der Balkankommission, Antiquarische Abteilung, vi (1913). In the course of a visit to Montenegro in May 1960, I was able to examine and photograph, in spite of the close proximity of the Albanian frontier, the extensive remains of the walls and forum which are being preserved by the Montenegro Antiquities Commission. Ptol. ii 16,7, Δοκλέα; Flavii among the honestiores at Doclea; III 12692, 13820, 13821, 12695 (all referring to M. Flavius Fronto, see below note 51), 12680, 12696, 8287e cf. 12678, 13829, 12697, 12709, 8281, 1705, Sticotti, Doclea, n.25; for other Flavii at Doclea, cf. Pavan, 89 n.2. Dedication to Divus Titus, III 12680 (Munro, n.4 and add. 13818), Divo Tito Aug. L. Flavius Quir. Epidianus IIIIvir i.d. quinq. ob honor.

48. IIviri at Doclea; III 12695, 8287e cf. 12678, 12697(?), Vjesnik 1 (1928-9) 72 - AE 1933 77. Manni, Storia dei municipi, 196,200; Degrassi's suggestion, Quattuorviri 323 n.7, that with the change from IIIIviri to IIviri Doclea was raised from municipium to colonia, is quite unsupported by any evidence.
49. III 13827, [... Flav]ius Quir. Genialis [.....]cos. et p[...] sacerd. at A[r]am Caesaris; on the Ara Liburniae at Scardona see ch. X p. 282 , note 106.
50. For a description of the excavations and standing remains at Doclea cf. Sticotti, Doclea, passim.
51. III 12695 cf. p. 2253, M. Flavio T.f. Quir. Frontoni sacerd. in colonis Naron. et Epidauro IIvir i.d. Iu[l]io Risin[i]o IIvir. [q]uinq. [p]on[t]. in co[l]. Sc[o]dr. IIvir. i.d. qui[nq.] [Fl]am. [divi Titi] praef. [fabr.] p[er] lbs ex aere cola[to].
52. The forum inscriptions fall into four groups, one from each of the entrances to the Basilica, III 12692 cf. 13819, Munro 19-22: I (Munro 19, III 12692 i), M. Fl. M.f. Quir. Balbino [huic defun]c. ordo Docl. honores omnes et statuam equestr. decrev. [Fl. Fronto et] Fl. Tertulla parentes inauraverunt.
- II (Munro 20, III 12692 ii), M. Fl. M.f. Quir. Balbino huic defunc. ordo Docl. honores omnes et statuam equestr. decrev. Fl. Fronto et Fl. Tertulla fil.
- III (Munro 21, III 12692 iv), ...]Fl. T.f. Quir. Frontoni

praef. f[.....]pontif. flam. divi [.....]

IV (Munro 22, III 12692 iii), ...|l. honores omnes et statuam equestr[..... parentes ....] inauraverunt.

The two inscriptions from the base of Flavius Balbinus' equestrian statue are no less elaborate:

III ~~1381~~<sup>13820</sup> (cf. 12693, Munro 23)      III 13821 (cf. 12694, Munro 24)

M. Flavio M.f.

[M. Fla]vio Mf.

Quir.

[Qu]ir.

Balb[i]no ann. xv

[Balbino] ann. xv

hu[i]o defuncto ord.

[ampl? Decu]r. funu[s]

m[uni]c. D[o]ci. funus

[publ. et st]atuam

[publice et]statuam

[in foro?] decrevi[t]

[in foro? dec]r. item

[item ord. D]ocleatiu[m]

[ordo Docl?] honores

[honores q]uantos pe[r]

q[uan]to]s per [leg]es caper[e]

[leges caper]e liceret e[t]

[liceret et statuam] equestr.

[statuam e]questr.

[M. Flavius M.f.] Quir.

[M. Flaviu]s Fronto [et]

[.....] statuam

[F]lavia T.f. Tertull[a]

[.....] t.p.i.

fil[i]o

M. Flavius Fronto

et Flavia Tertulla

parente[s i]mpens. adiecit inauraverunt

[M. FLA]VIUS FR[ONTO ET FLAVIA TE]RT[UL]L[A PARENTES .....]

53. cf. ch. XII p. 339f. .

54. Civic dedications; III 12681 Nerva, 12682 Divus Traianus, 12683 Severus Alexander, 12685 Severa Otacilia, 12686 Philipp,

III 12687, 12688 Gallus and Volusianus, 13823 Valerian,  
1705 Gallienus.

55. XIII 7039 Moguntiacum, cf. ch. IX above p. 235 , note 42

Chapter XIV: The interior of Dalmatia (conventus of Salonae and Naronae)

With the exception of the Iapudes, who were attached to the conventus of Scardona, all the major peoples of the interior were divided between the conventus of Salonae and Naronae. The area they occupied included all Bosnia and much of Western Serbia. Our source for the lists of these conventus is the Elder Pliny (NH iii 142-3):

conventus of Salonae; Delmatae (342 decuriae), Deuni (25),  
Ditiones (239), Maezaei (269) and Sardiates (52):

conventus of Naronae; Cerauni (24 decuriae), Daorsi (17),  
Daesitiates (103), Docleatae (33), Deretini (14),  
Deramistae (30), Dindari (33), Glinditiones (44),  
Melcumani (24), Naresii (102), Scirtari (72),  
Siculotae (24), Vardaei (20) and also in the  
same district (tractus) were the Ouzaei, Partheni, Hemasini, Arthitae  
and Armistae.

Pliny's list is alphabetically rather than geographically arranged, and is clearly based on an official list of some sort. The decuria may have been the Roman name for an already existing native subdivision adopted by the provincial government, but we really know nothing about it, although the number of decuriae accredited to each people may be taken as a reasonably accurate indication of their relative numerical strength (1). Some of the peoples listed above do not fall within the geographical scope of this section; the Delmatae

are discussed in the previous chapter (XIII), while the Daorsii, Naresii and Vardaei all dwelt on or near the Adriatic.

#### Conventus of Salonae

The Deuni were the smallest people in this group, numbering only twenty-five decuriae; elsewhere they are only recorded by Ptolemy, who sets them beyond the Maezaei, in which case somewhere in the area of the Vrbas Valley seems the most likely location for them (2). The Maezaei are located by Ptolemy next to the Iapudes and probably occupied the valleys of the Sana and Lower Una, while eastwards, they may have spread as far as the Vrbas. After the Delmatae, they were the most numerous people of the province with two hundred and sixty-nine decuriae. Ptolemy refers to them as *δυσπικώτεροι* or hard to get on with, and they provided some stiff opposition to Germanicus in his campaigns in A.D. 9. In the middle of the first century they were still under direct military administration by a praefectus, in one case a centurion of leg. XI Claudia specially seconded for that duty. No native praefecti or praepositi are recorded for the Maezaei, as is the case with the Iapudes and other peoples, but we may assume that the military administration was replaced by native rulers some time before the end of the first century (3). The Maezaei provided recruits for the Roman auxilia; as well as the cases of Maezaei serving in cohorts of Delmatae at Aquae Mattiacorum (Wiesbaden) and Caesarea in Mauretania, one is found serving in coh. I Belgarum at Bigeste, one of the units that

formed the permanent garrison of Dalmatia (4).

The second major people included in the Salonae conventus were the Ditiones, who numbered two hundred and thirty-nine decuriae. One of the routes on the Tiberian road-building records at Salonae extends seventy-seven miles from Salonae ad imum montem Ditionum Ulcirum, and has been identified with that leading to Burnum through Andetrium, while the mountain of the Ditiones mentioned is the pass at Grab, where the road passes over into the interior across the northern extremity of the Dinaric ridge a little beyond Knin. Added to the evidence of Ptolemy, this would give the Ditiones a location between the Iapudes, on the west, and the Delmatae on the east and south. There is no evidence for the political organisation of the people. Ditiones in the auxilia include a miles in a cohort of Delmatae at Bingerbrück, while another at Tergeste may have seen service in the Ravenna Fleet (5). The Sardiates of fifty-two decuriae, the last people recorded in the Salonae conventus, cannot be located precisely, but were presumably somewhere in the western half of the interior - perhaps in the lower part of the Vrbas Valley beyond the Ditiones (6).

#### Conventus of Narona

The conventus of Narona included a larger number of peoples than the Salonae conventus, but only two of them numbered more than one hundred decuriae, while most consisted of less than forty.

The Cerauni of twenty-four decuriae are recorded by Ptolemy also,

but cannot be located precisely. On the other hand, the Daesitiates, of one hundred and three decuriae, are probably the most renowned of all the peoples in this area, and their leader Bato was the instigator of the great uprisings in A.D. 6-9. Their <sup>S</sup>ituation is fixed fairly precisely by the record of a princeps Daesitiatum at Breza, fifteen miles northwest of Sarajevo; association with an Aelia dates him to the second century. Earlier the tribe was almost certainly for some period under military administration, and on the tombstone of the prefect of the Maezaei noted above Daesit|iatum has been restored to add another to the list of Dalmatian peoples which he administered. Like the Ditiones, the Daesitiates are also mentioned on the Tiberian road-building records at Salonae; one of the routes led to He|.....| castellum Daesitiatum, a distance of 156 miles from Salonae. The route can really only be that which runs from Salonae through Trilj, Duvjanskopolje and into the Lašva Valley; and, on the basis of the mileage, Pašalić has calculated that the castellum lies somewhere in the region of Kiseljak, an important road junction west of Sarajevo. A Daesitias is found serving in coh. I Belgarum at Gardun, while a veteran of leg. II Adiutrix, Nerva Laidi f. Daesitias, is shown by his diploma to have joined the Ravenna Fleet at least as early as A.D. 50 (7).

Neither the Deretini, of fourteen decuriae, or the Deramistae, of thirty, can be located, although the latter may have been neighbours of the Daversi (or Daorsi), judging from an auxiliary of that

people who was married to a Madena Plarentis filia Deramista (8).

Although Ptolemy sites the Dindari, of eighty-three decuriae, next to the Ditiones, a princeps Dindariorum from Domavia suggests that they may have occupied part of the Drina Valley, and even if the evidence of this restored inscription is not conclusive, it is difficult to see how a people in the Narona conventus could have bordered on the Ditiones (9).

The Glinditiones, of forty-four decuriae, are only mentioned otherwise by Appian amongst a group of peoples who surrendered to Octavian in 34-33 B.C., and they may have been neighbours of the Naresii, of one hundred and two decuriae, also recorded by Appian in the same context, whose name suggests that they may have dwelt somewhere in the upper valley of the Narenta (Greek Naro) (10).

The last of the peoples recorded in the Narona conventus to concern us here are the Scirtari, probably identical with the Scirtones of Ptolemy who dwell 'near to Macedonia', who may have inhabited the mountainous region around P<sup>e</sup>šć and Andrijevica. A gregalis of the Ravenna Fleet appears on a diploma at Sirmium and gives his origin as Scirt(arius?) ex Dalmat. (11).

In addition to the official register of the Narona conventus, Pliny gives the names of five peoples who dwelt in that region; four of them, Ouzaei (perhaps the Oxuaeoi of Appian), Hemasini, Arthitae and Armistae are not known of elsewhere. The fifth people, Partheni, are a well known Illyrian people, dwelling in the hinterland of Lissus,

who came into contact with Rome in the third century B.C. Dedications from the region of Užice in Western Serbia to I(uppiter) O(ptimus) Partinus suggest that part of the people may have moved northward and further inland, although there is no indication of the date when this movement took place (12).

Pliny's lists probably give an accurate picture of the political geography of Dalmatia in the first half of the first century; some of the peoples mentioned, for instance the Iapudes in the Scardona conventus, Maezaei and Ditiones in that of Salonae, and the Daesitiates and Dindari in that of Naronae, retained their individuality and preserved their own tribal organisation at least until the end of the first century. During the second century cities begin to appear, and the tribal principes and praepositi are supplanted by Iiviri and other magistrates. Our main evidence for the growth of these centres comes from inscriptions which, taken in conjunction with the evidence of archaeology and the Itineraries, allow us to locate and identify almost all the settlements which grew up in the region and acquired city status in the course of the second century. To examine these centres we may deal with the four main geographical regions, namely, (i) the Sana and Lower Una Valley, (ii) the River Vrbas and its tributaries, (iii) the Bosna including the area of Sarajevo, and (iv) the Drina Valley together with that part of Western Serbia which was included in Dalmatia.

(i) The Sana and Lower Una Valley

The Sana Valley is noted for its deposits of iron ore, and many of the places where it was extracted in the Roman period are still being worked today, including Blagaj in the Japra Valley, Ljubija and Stari Majdan. In the Roman period the administrative centre of the iron-fields was around Briševo and Ljubija, and from the latter come two dedications to Terra Mater, the patron deity of miners: the first dates to A.D. 209 and was set up by Verecundus, the procurator, and Callimorphus, probably a vilicus, or manager, in the mines. The second dedication, which is better preserved, was set up on the 21st April A.D. 228 (the date on which most of the other dedications also appear to have been set up) by a procurator and a vilicus officinae fer(rariae), while three other similar dedications are too poorly preserved to provide specific evidence of date. Thus we have at Ljubija a mining community under imperial administration in existence at least as early as the early third century (13).

On a tombstone from Prijedor, near Ljubija in the Sana Valley, an Aurelius Surus is described as vet. leg. X G. ex bf. et M.M.; it has been suggested that M.M. could be expanded to magister municipii, but this is doubtful and something like magister metallorum is surely preferable, giving another official of the mining administration. Otherwise there is no indication that any centre in the Sana Valley acquired city status (14). Splaunon, the stronghold captured by Germanicus in A.D. 9, and perhaps belonging to the Maezaei, has been identified with a municipium Splonum mentioned on inscriptions from

Dalmatia. At Salonae we have a curator and a quaestor of Splonum, while at Plevlja another curator is known (15). A certain T. Aurelius Afer from Ampelum in the mining area of Western Dacia, near the Illyrian mining settlement of Alburnus Maior (Verespatak), describes himself as Dalmata princeps ex municipio Splono (16). Splonum has been placed by Tomaschek at Stari Majdan, and this is accepted by Pašalić (17). However, as has been noted above, there is no epigraphic evidence that any of the settlements in this region acquired city status, whereas there is positive evidence for at least some part of the area being under direct procuratorial administration in the early third century. As is suggested below, the most likely location for Splonum is at Plevlja in the Čehotina Valley. It is, of course, quite possible that one of the settlements in the Sana Valley acquired civic institutions and existed alongside the mines administration, as was the case with the lead-mining centre at Domavia in the Drina Valley.

(ii) The Vrbas Valley

The valley of the Vrbas was the centre of gold mining in Dalmatia. In particular, traces of panning for alluvial gold have been identified at Vakar Vakuf (18). Statius and Martial refer to gold from Dalmatia, but, judging from the absence of any evidence for organised mining in later centuries, it appears that the deposits were soon exhausted (19). As Davies observes, the reference to underground workings suggests that the alluvial gold had already been

exhausted as early as the first century A.D., and that it was necessary to prospect by mining (20). What gold mines there were in Dalmatia appear to have been administered from Salonae, where we find the tombstone, probably of the early second century, of a slave who was commentariensis of the Dalmatian gold mines (21).

The evidence for Roman settlement in the Vrbas Valley is scanty. On the evidence of the Itineraries for the routes between Salonae and Servitium, some stationes may be roughly located along the line of the modern road which runs northward a little to the west of the valley. Thus, moving southwards, we have ad fines, the provincial boundary near Laktaši, castra, a little south of Banjaluka, and Aemate (or Lamate), at Han Bunari (22). At Leusaba (near Stinica) the routes of Peutinger and the Antonine Itinerary diverge, the former probably taking the shorter way via the poljes of Glamoč and Livno and over the Dinara at Prolog, while the other probably made a detour to the west via Ključ, at the head of the Sana Valley, and then ran southward through Drvar and Resanovci and down through the upper Cetina Valley to Aequum (23).

From Vaganj, in the hills south of Jajce, comes the only certain record of a boundary settlement from the interior of the province, referring to a settlement made by the ill-fated legate L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus, the only one attested for his governorship. The remoteness of the stone perhaps preserved it from the usual effects of the damnatio memoriae. It records a boundary settlement

carried out on his behalf by a centurion of leg. VII between the  
S  
Capuates and the [La- or Ae-]matini. Sapua is mentioned by Ravennas,  
while the latter place occurs in the Itineraries and has been located  
at Han Bunari (24). The findspot of the stone indicates that the  
provincial government was active in settling boundary disputes in  
the interior, as well as amongst the cities of Liburnia, where most  
of the records of this kind have been found.

There is no major settlement known in the Vrbas Valley,  
although a fragmentary inscription from Sariči, bearing the abbrev-  
iations [l.]d.d.d., suggests that a city may have existed in the  
region, perhaps one of the two communities mentioned on the Vaganj  
boundary settlement (25).

(iii) The Bosna Valley and Konjic

The Roman settlements in the Bosna Valley were concentrated in  
four localities; Dobož, where the Bosna flows out of the hills  
into the plain of the Save, Zenica and the Lašva Valley, the region  
of Sarajevo, and Konjic in the <sup>N</sup>Veretva Valley.

At Crkvenica near Dobož, on the west bank of the river, a small  
flat-topped hill rised to dominate the valley, and this was the site  
of an auxiliary station. A fragmentary dedication to Severus by  
the garrison is one item of evidence, while the identity of the unit  
is established by another inscription recording a prefect of the  
coh. I fl(avia) Hispanorum (26). Dobož may have been a frontier  
post between Pannonia and Dalmatia, manned by a small auxiliary

detachment, but there is no indication as to where the provincial boundary crossed the Bosna, nor evidence for any civil settlement in this part of the valley. To the south, the Bosna Valley is very winding and there is no trace of any Roman route or Roman settlement along it until one reaches Zenica and the Lašva Valley.

For the settlements of Central Bosnia we may take as our starting point the road which leads to that region from Salonae. Our source for this route is the Peutinger Map, with some additional information from Ravennas. The route is as follows: Salona - xvi - Tilurio - xxii - ad Libros - ix - in monte Bulsinio - vi - Bistue Vetus - xxv - ad Matricem - xx - Bistue Nova - xxiv - Stanecli - - Argentaria. The first place after Salonae is the pons Tiluri of the Antonine Itinerary (mod. Trilj on the Cetina). The next two places cannot be located precisely but the fourth, Bistue Vetus, has been located by inscriptions of honestiores in the Rama Valley (27); the actual site of the city was identified by Patsch at Varvara near the source of the Rama. Two magistrates are attested; [T] Fl. [Li]cinius, de[c. et II]vir Bist., and T. F[1]. Licinianus, dec. mun. Bis. A probable restoration indicates that the second man was the son of the first, while another stone records a member of the same family. From the same cemetery a tombstone set up by Fl. Flacilla to her mother Aelia Victorina, who died at the age of seventy-five, suggests that the <sup>F</sup>lavii of Bistue Vetus are perhaps of the late second or even early third century (28). Miller prefers to locate

Bistue Vetus at Kupreš in Malovan Sedlo, where a Roman settlement at Otinovci has yielded a dozen or so inscriptions (29), but the honestiores from Varvara provide stronger evidence for locating the city in the Rama Valley, in spite of the paucity of other evidence for Roman settlements. With the exception of Varvara and Štit, where a few late inscriptions are also known, the Rama Valley has yielded hardly any evidence of occupation in the Roman period (30).

With Bistue Vetus located in the Rama Valley, we can identify approximately the two places on the Peutinger map between there and Tilurium; ad Libros is somewhere in the Duvjanskopolje, where was also situated the city of Delminium, while Mons Bulsinus is clearly the Ljubuša mountain range separating that polje from the Rama Valley (31).

The next major settlement recorded by Peutinger is Bistue Nova, near Zenica or in the nearby Lašva Valley, while the place between Bistue Vetus and Nova, ad Matricem, was most probably at or near Gornje Vakuf near the head of the Vrbas Valley (32).

Considerable evidence of Roman settlement has been discovered in the Lašva Valley around Travnik, the old Turkish capital of Bosnia (33). Three inscriptions refer to a municipium Bist(ue), and, although there is no trace of the epithet Nova, there is little doubt that they refer to Bistue Nova rather than Bistue Vetus, located in the Rama Valley some miles to the south (34). Two of the inscriptions were found in the remains of an early christian basilica at Zenica,

while the third comes from Fazlići in the hills north of Travnik; however, Pašalić suggests that the most likely site of the city is Han Vitez, an important crossing of the Lašva a few miles below Travnik, where traces of a major Roman settlement have been discovered (35). Of the individual honestiores known at Bistue Nova, one is a T. Flavius and another is an Aelius; it is unfortunate that the name of the third is lost since, in addition to the IIvirate of his city, he was sacerdos ... provinci. Delm[ati]ae. The last name we can connect with Bistue is P. Aelius Rastorianus, an equestrian, whose tombstone from Sušurać<sup>c</sup> near Salonae records a number of appointments in the cities of the interior, including dec. IIvir et qq. munic. [Bis]-tuatium, presumably referring to both Bistue Vetus and Nova (36). As a member of a wealthy family from the interior, Rastorianus derived the civitas from Hadrian; he perhaps preferred to reside on the coast with its milder climate rather than endure the chill winters of the interior. At Bistue Nova Flavii and Aelii occur in quantity, and Aurelii are by no means in the majority, but as with the case of Bistue Vetus, we cannot be certain that the presence of Flavii among the honestiores there implies that the municipium of Bistue was a Flavian creation (37).

Some traces of gold working were noted by Davies in the Lašva Valley above Travnik, and were assigned by him to the Roman period; gold working may have been an important element in the economy of this area although, as in the case of the Vrbas Valley, there is no

epigraphic evidence from the region of a mines organisation. No traces of mining of any kind have been found in the Rama Valley, and the only other feature of the Roman period, apart from the ancient sites at Varvara (Bistue Vetus) and Štit, is what may be a small military post on the spur of land at the confluence of the Rama and the Neretva, possibly designed to control the nearby road-junction (38).

From Bistue Nova (Han Vitez near Travnik) the Peutinger route continues to Argentaria through a place called Stanecli. There is no doubt that Argentaria refers to the silver-bearing lead-mines at Domavia (mod. Gradina near Srebrenica) on the slopes of Mt. Kvarac in the Drina Valley. Stanecli, on the other hand, could really be anywhere in the upper valley of the Bosna: Pašalić suggests Kiseljak, which not only fits in quite well with Peutinger mileage taken from Bistue Nova, but lies on the main route between Zenica and the region of Sarajevo, at a point where roads branch off to Visoko and Fojnica, where Roman sites are attested (39).

Bistue is the only settlement in the Bosna Valley which is definitely known to have attained city status; major settlements existed near Sarajevo and Konjic, but only at the former, the curative spa at Ilidže, is there any evidence of any community organisation.

Towards Sarajevo the valley of the Bosna widens to form a broad plain which, with its comparative accesibility from all parts of the interior, has always been of considerable strategic importance. From

this area its inhabitants, the Daesi~~ti~~ates, were able to lead many of the peoples of the Western Balkans into the war of A.D. 6-9. In the corner of this plain (known generally as Sarajevskopolje) opposite to the modern city of Sarajevo lies Ilidže, known for its curative hot springs. Excavation on the site of the modern hospital has shown that the qualities of the waters at Ilidže were well appreciated in the Roman period, judging from the large well-constructed building complex with at least one very large mosaic floor which was uncovered there. From the ruins came a dedication to Diocletian by the Respublica Aquae | S....., but there is no evidence to indicate what the full name of the spa was (40). The scale of the buildings suggests that the spa was a popular place to spend the summer among the provincial aristocracy. A small inscribed pillar, perhaps recording some benefaction, was set up by the Catii, a senatorial family of consular rank who flourished in the earlier part of the third century, showing that Ilidže was popular as a holiday centre even among the highest class in the empire. As is suggested below, there is no justification for assigning a Dalmatian origin to the Catii on the evidence of this stone (41).

Other Roman settlements existed at Fojnica, Visoko and Pazarić, the last place lying on the route southward over Mr. Ivanja into the upper valley of the Neretva (42). Davies was unable to detect any trace of mining in this part of the Bosna Valley and, with the

exception of the spa at Ilidže, the economy of the region must have been predominantly agricultural with possibly some exploitation of the abundant timber resources in the area (43).

Beyond the mountain range to the south of Sarajevo, the Neretva Valley is broad and fertile for a number of miles up to the point where the river turns sharply southward to enter its steep gorge through the mountains of Northern Hercegovina (Lupoglav and Cvrstica). Before the area was recently inundated by the Jablanica hydro-electric power scheme, systematic<sup>atic</sup> archaeological investigation was conducted over a good deal of the area and revealed a large number of Roman sites, particularly in the region of Lisičići and Ostrožac. Half a century ago a most interesting discovery was made in the area of Konjic, when a Mithraic temple was uncovered together with a complete and almost undamaged set of ritual sculptures, of which the most notable was a very fine tauroctony. One of the sculptures was set up by one L. Antonius Menander from Aphrodisias in Caria, and suggests that the construction of the shrine may have been due to traders settled in and around Konjic (44).

(iv) The Drina Valley, Western Serbia and Sandjak

We can include along with the Drina Valley the upper valley of the Serbian Morava around Užice, as well as the mountainous south-eastern part of Dalmatia towards Novipazar and Peč. Within this region the principal Roman settlements were at Rogatica, Plevlja and Požega, all of which at some date acquired city status: at Srebrenica,

in the Drina Valley above Zvornik, the extensive deposits of argentiferous lead were worked under the organisation of an equestrian procurator, although a city is shown to have existed alongside this administration. The valley of the Drina is quite different from the other valleys of Bosnia; here the hills are greater, the slopes steeper, the forests largely coniferous, and to the south, particularly around Foča and Plevlja, the scenery and vegetation is of an alpine character.

Goražde, on the Drina due east of Sarajevo, may have been the site of a small military post, judging from a dedication to Juppiter Optimus Maximus Cohortalis and the record of another individual who may have served on the officium of the provincial governor; Goražde lies on an important crossing of the Drina and would be an obvious choice for any post controlling traffic in the interior (45). It is at Rogatica, in the Prača Valley ten miles north of Goražde on the Roman route from the Sarajevo region to the Drina lead mines, that the principal site of the Roman period appears to have existed. Here a certain T. Cl(audius) Maximus is described as dec. c. Ris. The last letters are clearly the abbreviation of a city name, while the c. may possibly stand for colonia. Some have connected it with Risinium, a municipium Iulium on the coast in Southern Dalmatia, but more probably it conceals the name of the city which existed at or near Rogatica. Two other honestiores are attested at Rogatica, a IIVir and a IIVir quinquennalis. With the exception of a Claudius

and a Flavius, both of whom may be immigrants from elsewhere, the frequency of Aelii and Aurelii on the few tombstones of the region suggests a population which remained for the most part peregrini until towards the middle of the second century (46).

The second Roman centre of the Drina Valley region, after the mining community of Domavia, lay at Taschlydža near Plevlja, at the head of the R. Čehotina which flows into the Drina near Foča. The earliest datable record consists of a fragmentary dedication to L. Verus as Caesar, that is before A.D. 161 when he became joint-emperor with Marcus. No evidence of civic institutions appears on the stone, but we may safely conclude that it is one of the expressions of loyalty to a member of the ruling dynasty so very common in cities throughout the Roman Empire (47). A dedication by a bf. cos., dated to A.D. 194, suggests that the city may have grown out of a statio under such an official; there is no evidence that the city at Plevlja lay on a major road, although it is really unthinkable that such a settlement could not have some road communication with the rest of the interior. The most likely line for a road was along the Čehotina Valley from Foča, then across the easy pass to Novipazar in the Ibar valley. The line of the route is reasonably established by a milestone from Čičjapolje, near Prijepolje in the Lim Valley (48).

Some evidence for the pre-municipal organisation of the settlement at Plevlja is provided by the tombstone of P. Aelius

P[1]adome[n]us, but, as is all too often the case, the stone is damaged in some of the vital places. The first part appears to record his status as a tribal notable; [praef?] civitatum [..... Melco]m., a restoration by Domaszewski, has a certain measure of plausibility. The Melcomani are listed by Pliny in the Narona conventus, while Ptolemy sets them 'beyond the Daorsi', by no means inconsistent with a location in the region of Plevlja (49). The second part of the text, referring to his status in the city (presumably that at Plevlja), is also damaged at the crucial point, praef. i.d. [mun.] Aureli S[.]lo; we cannot say whether he held the position in the tribe at the same time as his municipal office. The name of the city holds interesting possibilities. A city called Splonum is fairly well attested as a municipium on inscriptions from elsewhere in Dalmatia, but this has generally been identified with Splaunon, an Illyrian fortress mentioned along with Iapydian Raetinium by Dio in connection with campaigns of Germanicus in A.D. 9. The evidence that Germanicus campaigned against the Maezaei, dwelling in the Sana and Una Valleys to the west and north of the Iapudes, has been taken to indicate that Splaunon was a Maezaean fortress to be located somewhere in the Sana Valley (Pašalić suggests Stari Majdan). Although Dio seems to imply that Splaunon lay at no great distance from Raetinium, there is really no reason why it should not have been elsewhere in the interior. Thus we may suggest the restoration S[p]lo(num) as a reasonable identification for the city at Plevlja (50).

Further support for locating Splonum at Plevlja is provided by the dedication to Serapis and Isis by an equestrian who was cur(ator) Arbensi(um) Metlensi(um) Splonist(arum) Mal<sup>u</sup>vesati(um); the first is presumably the Liburnian Arba, the second is perhaps Metulum (Munjava?), while the last is probably the city at Požega, where inscriptions record a municipium Mal..... (see below) (51). Another equestrian at Plevlja appears as dec. m(unicipii) S(.....), showing that whatever the name of the city at Plevlja was, it certainly began with S (52). Aelii and Aurelii abound among the honestiores of Plevlja, including two equestrians, while the earlier imperial nomina are almost unknown; Flavii, for instance, are nowhere attested (53). The city does not appear to have been associated with any mineral working, although it is possible that the large deposits of lignite (the mainstay of Plevlja today) were exploited in the Roman period, and there is no trace of any mines organisation comparable with those which existed elsewhere in the interior.

The centre of the Drina Valley in the Roman period was the mining area centred on Domavia at Srebrenica. This was connected by a road to the west which followed very closely the line of the modern road between Sarajevo and Zvornik, whence it proceeded down the Drina Valley to Sirmium in Pannonia Superior (Sremska Mitrovica). The Peutinger Map supplies a list of places along this route: Argentaria - (no distance indicated) - ad Drinum (near Zvornik) - xv - Gensis (Lešnica on the Drina) - xxx - Sirmium. A number of milestone frag-

ments were noted by Ballif along the section between Sarajevo and Zvornik but, as an Austrian military surveyor, he was hardly able to inspect the Serbian part of the route. At Zvornik a road branched off up the Drina Valley to the region of Domavia (54).

The rich deposits of argentiferous lead in Mt. Kvarac, to the east of Srebrenica, were exploited extensively in Roman and Mediaeval times. In the Mediaeval period mining was centred on Srebrenica, but in the Roman period the centre lay at Gradina on the eastern slopes of Mt. Kvarac. Here many traces of the Roman workings are still to be seen, while the excavations undertaken by W. Radimsky at Gradina uncovered the principal administrative buildings, together with a most interesting series of inscriptions relating to both the civic and imperial organisation of the mining community (55). About fifteen miles southeast of Srebrenica, at Skelani on the Drina, some inscriptions which attest municipal institutions only have been discovered, and, with this in mind, Patsch suggested that Gradina, with its large administrative buildings, baths and dedications by various procurators of the mines, was the actual mining settlement under imperial administration, while the city of Domavia, although obviously linked with the mines, was physically quite separate at Skelani (56). This view would enable us to account for municipal dedications being set up at Gradina, which was under procuratorial administration. We may deal first with the evidence from Skelani, together with that from the bf. cos. statio at Lješće, some two miles

along the Drina.

At the outset it will be useful to note some of the objections to Patsch's interpretation; nowhere is the name of Domavia recorded at Skelani, while many of the inscriptions there are demonstrably of second century date, the latest being a dedication set up to Caracalla. In addition, there is (see below) some evidence that the city at Skelani may have been known by a name other than Domavia. At Gradina, on the other hand, there are numerous references to the Respublica, municipium and ordo of Domavia, all on inscriptions datable to the third century. Perhaps the city of Domavia had developed of its own accord out of a bf. cos. statio on the Drina, but with the rapid development of the mining centre at Gradina was completely overshadowed by the procuratorial administration. Domavia is not mentioned by any geographical source, suggesting that the community was a very late creation. In spite of the difficulty concerning the precise relationship between the mining administration and the city, the quantity and variety of the epigraphic evidence makes the settlement the most interesting of all the communities which developed in the interior of the province.

The earliest record of municipal institutions from Skelani is a dedication by the decurions in A.D. 158, although the city was probably not in existence much earlier than this date, since another inscription records that Iivir quinquennalis, T. Flavius Similis, was in A.D. 169 the first man to have his statue erected in the city basilica (57).

Two other Iiviri are attested at Skelani, and it is one of these records which suggests that the city at Skelani may not have been Domavia. Only two lines are preserved; Iiv[i r q]q]. Gerd. i[tem] m. M. l.p. The second part is clearly to be connected with m(unicipium) M(aluesatium) at Požega in the valley of the Serbian Morava near Užice, but what Gerd. refers to is not at all clear: Skelani may have been called something like Gerd(is), but the only similar place recorded by the itineraries in this region is the Gensis of Peutinger, located near Lešnica some forty miles down the Drina from Skelani (58).

At least half a dozen dedications to I.O.M. from Skelani and Lješće (the majority from the latter place) attest a statio under a bf. cos., and, although none of them is dated to a specific year, all appear more likely to be of second rather than third century date, which seems to support the impression gained from the municipal records at Skelani, namely, that the community there flourished in the second century, but in the course of the third century was completely overshadowed by the mining community at Gradina (59).

From Skelani comes the record of a P. A[el.....] pri[n]ceps civ[?] Dinda[riorum ...], which suggests that this part of the Drina Valley may have been inhabited by the Dindari, a people of thirty-three decuriae in the conventus of Narona. The inscription is clearly Hadrianic or later, but may belong to the period before the city was founded at Skelani (60).

Radimsky's excavations at Gradina identified two main building complexes, the administrative basilica and an elaborate bath building. The mines were under the administration of equestrian procurators, of whom seven individuals are recorded. One is described as procurator metallorum Pannoniorum et Delmatiarum, while two others are called procurator argentariarum. On another inscription from the basilica the bonitas and integritas of the procurator L. Domitius Eros are praised, while another official, C. Iulius Silvanus Melanio, is described as patron of the muni[cipium Do]mavianum as well as patron of the province. Iulius Tacitianus was responsible for superintending the loyal dedications to Severus Alexander and Iulia Mamaea by the ordo of the municipium Domavianum. All the above records were set up either inside the basilica, or spaced at regular intervals outside, against the frontage of the building (61). On the other bank of the small river which flows through Gradina, Radimsky excavated the remains of an elaborate bath house. Here there are records of the provision of a water supply in A.D. 220 under the procurator Valerius Super, while by A.D. 274 it had fallen into bad repair and was restored to its pristina forma under another procurator, Aurelius Verecundus. The former official also appears on a record of the reconstruction of the meat market (macellum) under Macrinus (A.D. 217-8), after a disastrous fire (62).

Dedications to Gallus and Volusianus (A.D. 251-3) bear the words ordo dec. col. m. D., which have always been interpreted as an

indication that between the time of Severus Alexander and Gallus the municipium Domavia was raised to the rank of a colonia. This is by no means certain, however, since, apart from the absence of any other evidence for a colonia, the letter m. is not easily explained; it may stand for col(onia) M(etallorum) D(omavianum), as Patsch suggested, but on the present evidence, the colonial status of Domavia must be regarded as highly doubtful (63).

The main settlement in the northeast of Dalmatia was at Požega, where the Rivers Moravica, Djetina and Skrapez join together to form the Serbian Morava. Here there was a settlement which at some period became a municipium with IIviri (64). Most of the individual magistrates attested are Aelii, suggesting that Romanisation of the upper classes began under Hadrian. Although there are mines not far away, there is no reason to suppose that the economy of the city depended on such working; the valley of the Serbian Morava is more fertile than the Drina Valley on the west, and the scattering of the inscriptions recording honestiores of the city suggests that the population was well distributed in a number of farms and villages on its territory. Nowhere at Požega is the name of the city given in full; the fullest record of it is m(unicipium) Mal(.....), while in most other cases it is abbreviated to M(.....). The full name of the city may be recorded on an inscription from Plevlja, where an equestrian is described as curator of four cities, including Maluesae. The other three cities are situated in Dalmatia, although it is possible that

this refers to the eponymous city of Dacia Maluensis, whose exact location is not known (65).

Twelve miles west of Požega at Užice, the modern centre of the Morava Valley, Iiviri occur on two inscriptions. They may be magistrates of the city at Požega, although a dedication by one of them to L(aribus) p(ublicis) Cap(eduni) may indicate that the city at Užice was the Kapedounon, described by Strabo as a city of the Scordisci, a Celtic people who dwelt around the Lower Save (66).

The mines of this region were at Rudnik on Mt. Šturac, north-east of Požega, which, if not actually in Moesia Superior, must have lain very close to the provincial border (67). Near to the entrance of one of these mines, which were worked for their silver-bearing lead, there is a record of the construction of a shrine to the miners' deity Terra Mater, under Severus, by two of the mine workers (coloni), under the supervision of a procurator Cassius Ligurinus; while the record of a P. Aelius Aug. lib. Menander (centurio) officinar(um) suggests that the mines were administered with a quasi-military organisation (68).

In spite of evidence for cities at Požega and Užice, the area was never fully Romanised and much of it may have been retained under direct military administration. In the second century ruthless recruiting under Marcus Aurelius brought a concentration of newly-raised auxiliary units to the region; at three places, Užice, Čačak and Jezdina, evidence has been discovered for military occupation in

the form of records of the commanders of units and dedications to I.O.M. Cohortalis (69). This part of Dalmatia which is closest to the limes is in many ways more allied to the frontier provinces of Pannonia Inferior and Moesia Superior; the military forces stationed there during the latter second century would probably have been controlled by commanders on the Moesian and Pannonian side, rather than by the legate of Dalmatia far away in Salonae.

As for the rest of the province to the south, there is so little evidence from the area now known as Sandjak, that one seriously wonders if the population was ever affected by the Roman conquest. From Novipazar a dedication to I.O.M. Cohortalis by a P. Aelius Pla[tor] suggests perhaps a military post of some kind. Aelii are common in the area of Peč, and from Studenica, a few miles north of Peč, one M. Ul[p. ...] dec. m[....] aedi[lis..] may belong to an otherwise unknown city in the locality, although it is always possible that he belonged to one of the nearer cities of Moesia Superior. At Mitrovica in the north of Kossovopolje a large number of inscriptions are known, but judging from the presence of honestiores of Scupi and Ulpiana and bf. cos. records of men of the legions of Moesia Superior, the place lay within the boundary of that province (70).

Chapter XIV: Notes.

1. See the remarks of Munro in Archaeologia lv (1896) 44.
2. Ptolemy ii 16,5 Δέρριου ; note also the Δερρίους unknown elsewhere.
3. Maezaei, Ptol. ii 16,5 cf. Strabo vii 5,3 in the War of A.D. 6-9, Dio lv 32 and see Fluss in RE xiv 283-6. At Salonae a tombstone was set up to L. Trebius Exoratus, son of L. Trebius a veteran, who was fato ereptus in finibus Maezaeis, cf. III 6383. Prefect of Maezaei, XI 2564 Bovianum (regio IV), [Imp. Caesa]ri Vespasia[no Aug. pont.] max. trib. potes[t. VI cos. VI desig.] VII imp. XIII p.p. c[ens.] ex testam[ent. ...] Marcellini (centurionis) leg. XI Cl[aud. pr]aef. civitatis Maeze[iarum et? Daesit]iatium praef. chor. III Alp[inor .....]ianorum IIvir i.d. quinqu[enn. patr]oni coloniae.
4. The evidence for Maezaei serving in cohortes Delmatarum is discussed in ch.IX p. 235f; for the Maezaeus in coh. I Belgarum, see ch.VIII p.210 (b).
5. Ditiones, cf. Ptol. ii 16,8, Strabo vii 5,3; for the text of the Salonae road building inscription cf. ch.VII p.186 (c); Ditiones in the auxilia and fleet, XIII 7508 Bingerbrück, V 541 Tergeste.
6. Sardiates, Ptol. ii 16,8; note the Bisius Scenob. (f.) Sard(....) from Alburnus, the settlement of miners from the Pirgustae in Dacia who mined the gold in the western

- hills of Transylvania (Verespatak), III 1266.
7. Daesitiates; Strabo vii 5,3, Dio lv 29, Vell. Pat. ii 115; princeps from Breza, Spomenik xciii (1940) 140 cf. G. Čremošnik and D. Sergejevski, Novitates Musei Sarajevensis ix (1930), ...]Ulpiae[....] Procul [an]n. xx[....] f. Valens Varron. [f. ...] princeps Daesit-eati[.... ..] et Aelia Iusta [.....]ceno[....]; the text of the Salonae road building record is given above ch.VII p.185 (a), while the archaeological evidence for the route is discussed by E. Pašalić, Arch. Jug. iii (1959) 65-6; Daesitiates at Gardun in coh. I Belgarum, III 9739, in fleet and later leg. II Adiutrix, XVI 11 dated March 7 A.D. 70.
  8. XVI 38 Salonae, A.D. 93, cf. p.210 (a).
  9. Dindari, Ptol. ii 16,5, Δίνδαροι ; WMBH xi (1909) 156 (AE 1910 216), Skelani, [d.m.] P. A[el. ....] pri[n]cepts civ.? Dinda[rrior..] funct[us... ..] v.f.s. [et s. poste] ris[que eorum ]h. [s.e.].
  10. On these two peoples cf. ch.V note 6 p.147 (iv) and (v).
  11. Scirtari, cf. Ptol. ii 16,8, Σκίρτοιες τῆς τῆς Μακεδονίας diploma from Sirmium, XVI 100 issued to C. Valerius Annaei f. Dasius Scirt(arius) ex Dalmat(ia).
  12. On the Partheni and their contact with Rome in the third century, cf. ch.II p.37; dedications to I.O.M. Patinus, III 8353, Užice, I.O.M. Partino C. Iul. Refus trib. coh.

I mil. pro sal [..... the date is late second century cf. ch.VIII additional note ii, p.218, and III 14619, Bioška, west of Užice, I.O. Par. Aur. Dasius Iivir v.s.l.m.

13. On the iron-working in the Sana Valley, cf. O. Davies, Roman Mines in Europe (1935), 184-6 and map. vi; mining administration, Glasnik NS xii (1957) 110 n.2 (AE 1958 63), Ljubija, Terrae matri sac. [p]ro salute dd. nn. [...i]mp. L. Sep. Severi P[...r. Aug. Arab. Adiab. Par[.....] M. Aur. Antonin] Aug. [.....] Iuliae Aug. m.c. et Aug. [.....V]erecundus proc. Augg. [.....] Callimorum [.....]Maias Pompeiano et [Av]i[to] A.D. 209; ibid. 112 n.3 (AE 1958 64), [Te]rrae matri [sac.] [p]ro sal. d.n. imp. M. Aur. Severi [Alexand.] p.f. Aug. et [Mamm]eae Aug. matri [...] castr. s.c. M. Iul. Marci v.e. pro[c]. Heliodorus vi[licus o]ff. fer. pos. xi k. m. [M]odesto II et Probo co[s]. April 21st A.D. 228; ibid. 113 n.7, an improved reading of III 13240 Brišev<sup>o</sup>, the stone is badly mutilated but [Terrae m]atri sac. can be made out as well as Co[ss](u)tianus Fir[m]us pr. Augg. and I]ucundus vi. fer[r]ar. and the date also, the 21st April; while the name of the emperor Philip has also been detected; ibid. 112 n.6 mentioning a vil(icus) off. [fer]r[.] also with the date 21st April, ibid. n.4 fragment recording [Terr]e mat[ri].

14. Glasnik NS xii (1957) 117 n.8 (AE 1958 66), Zaselak

Milosevići near Prijedor, D.m. et perpetuae securitati  
Tattoniae Proculae ann. xxxiii conpitent. Aur. Surus vet.  
leg. X G. ex bf. et M.M. Aur. iiii Optatus et Firmianus  
matr. infelicissimae et libert. Aur. Baosus et Sumpa et  
Zipandus et Quintus et Caroni libert. a. hh. f.c. The  
opening formula points to a date fairly late in the third  
century.

15. Σπλαύνον Dio lvi 11, III 2026, Salonae for text cf. ch.  
XV p. 484n.7 Respublica Splonistae; III 8783 and add.,  
Sućurać near Salonae, municipp. Azinat. Splonistarum  
Ar(upinorum); Glasnik lii (1940) 20, Spomenik xcviij  
(1948) 287 (AE 1948 242), Komine near Plevlja, for text  
see note <sup>51</sup> below.
16. III 1322 Ampelum, Dacia (very elaborately ligatured, ?  
Severan period) d.m. T. Aur. Afer Delmata princ. adsignato  
ex Splono vix ann. xxx Aur. Sattara lib. patr. optimo p.
17. Tomaschek, cited by Mayer, 320, cf. E. Pašalić, Godiš-  
njak Istoriskog društva Bosna i Hercegovina viii (1956)  
288f. Latin summary p. 300.
18. Davies, op. cit., 186-8.
19. Statius, Silvae i 2, 153; iiii 3, 90; Martial, x 78, 5.
20. Statius, iiii 3, 90 quicquid ab auriferis Hiberia fossis,  
Dalmatico quod monte nitet, ....
21. III 1997 Salonae, d.m. Thaumasto Aug. commentariesi  
aurariarum Delmatarum Felicissimus dispesator (sic) titulum p.

22. The routes between Servitium and Leusaba are as follows:

Peutinger	Itin. Ant.
Servitio	Servitti
xvi	xxiiii
ad Fines	Ad Ladios
xiii	xviii
Castra	
xii	
Lamatis	Aemate
x	xiii
Leusaba	Leusaba

For the line of the road cf. the map of Kiepert in CIL III supp. ii plate VI and also Pašalić, Arch Iug. iii (1959) map.

23. On the routes from Servitium to Sakonae, cf. ch.XIII f. and note 31.

24. III 9864a, Vaganj, L. Arrybtay<sup>un iu</sup>s Camil[1]us Scrib[o]nia[n]us le[g]. pro pr. C. [C]ae[s]aris Aug. Germanici iudicem dedit M' Coelium (centurionem) leg. VII inter Sapuates e[t] [La- or Ae-]matinos ut fines [reg]eret et terminus po[s]. cf. Sapua, Rav. iv 19.

25. III 13982 Šarici.

26. Dedication to Severus at Dobož; III 14618 (12758 joined to a new fragment), 14619 attesting the unit coh. I Fl. Hispanorum. A cohort of this name is attested in Lower

Germany (XVI 23, A.D. 78, 158, A.D. 80), while a coh. I Flavia Ulpia Hispanorum is attested in Moesia and Dacia until A.D. 159 (XVI 110) and possibly until 164 (XVI 185). For reports on the site of Crkvenica cf. Radimsky, WMBH i (1893) 262f. and v (1897) 227, vi (1899) 253f (Patsch). A veteranus of coh. I Belgarum (III 8376b. cf. 12750) and a veteran of an unspecified unit are also attested at Dobož (III 14222).

27. Inscriptions referring to Bistue Vetus from Varvara in the Rama Valley were originally published by Patsch in WMBH xi (1909) 105ff; ibid. 107 fig. 2, [T] Fl. [Li]cinio de[c. II]vir. Bist. [Fla]vii [Licin]ianus [et.....]nianus [pa]tri, ibid., 107 fig. 3, d.m. T. F. Liciniano dec. mun. Bis. IIvir. defu[ncto] an[....., ibid., 108 fig. 4, d.m. Ael. Proc[ul]ae [mat..] T. Fl[.....] dec. m[un Bist.] IIvi[r. ...
28. ibid., 109 fig. 5, d.m. Ael. Victorinae def. an. lxx<sup>v</sup> Fl. Flacilla matri.
29. Miller, Itineraria Romana, 473 citing inscriptions from Otinovci near Kupreš, III 2763, 13233-5, 14317-20, all tombstones.
30. Inscriptions from Štit, III 13869-70, Proslap, III 13232.
31. cf. Mayer, Vjesnik li (1930-4) 125ff. and Pašalić, Arch. Jug. iii (1959) 65-6.
32. A location suggested by Pašalić, op. cit., 66.

33. Numerous reports have appeared in WMBH dealing with Roman remains in the Lašva Valley; Zenica, WMBH i (1893) 273ff; iii (1895) 227, also Sergejevski, Glasnik xliv (1932) 35ff; Fazlići, WMBH iii (1895) 243ff.; Mali Mošunj, WMBH ii (1894) 66f., iii (1895) 229f.
34. III 12765 Zenica, d.m. T. Fl. T.f. Lucio dec. mun. Bis. et Aur. Procle. Fl. Procilla v.f. et sibi et suis, III 12766, <sup>Z</sup>enica, .....IIv[iro m. B]ist. sacerd[... provi]nc. Delma[tiae con]iugi et sib[i] viva f., III 12761, Fazlići, d.m. P. Ael. Iustus dc. m. Bist. et Ael. Procula coniux vivi sibi posuerunt
35. One of the cities known as Bistus may be concealed beneath the Ibisua of Rav. iv 19. The usual opinion has been to take the evidence of the inscriptions from Zenica as an indication that the city of Bistus Nova lay there, near the River Bosna, Pašalić informs me that he believes the most likely place for the city to be at Han Vitez in the Lašva Valley, where the remains of a large Roman settlement are known and he puts out this view in his paper on the roads of the interior, cf. Arch. Jug. iii (1959), 72 note 31.
36. III 8783 cf. p. 2136 and 2326, Sućurac near Salonae.
37. Three families of Aurelii are known in the Lašva region, III 12768, 12769-70, the last from Zenica.
38. Davies, op. cit., 188-9, and for the Roman fort at the

- confluence of the Rama and Neretva, Patsch, WMBH xi (1909) 257
39. Pašalić, op. cit., 66 for location of Stanecli; Roman remains at Kiseljak, Fojnica and Visoko, Patsch, WMBH iv (1896) 248ff; v (1897) 131f; vi (1899) 24ff; ix (1904) 233; Glasnik x (1919) 97.
40. Excavations at Ilidže, Patsch, WMBH v (1897) 131ff; coins from the site cover the second, third and fourth centuries. The main structure measured approximately 70 by 40 metres; inscription from Ilidže, D. Sergejevićski, Novitates Musei Sarajevoensis xiii (1936) (AE 1937 248), Imp. [C.] C. Valer. Diocleti(ano) p.f. invi[c]to Aug. R.P. Aq[uae] S..... The inscription was not found in the ancient site but at Blazuj, a few miles south of Ilidže along the road towards Konjic.
41. The Catii are discussed below, ch.XV p. 466f .
42. See above note 39 for references.
43. Davies op. cit., 186-8.
44. For earlier excavations and field-work in the Upper Neretva Valley, cf. WMBH iv (1896) 272; vi (1899) 209, and in particular at Lisičići, ibid. iv (1896) 266ff. cf. Glasnik xlvii (1935) 18. The recent work prior to the inundation was carried out by Irma Čremošnik, Glasnik NS x (1955) 107ff., xii (1957) 143, mostly in the immediate region of Lisičići. For the Konjic Mithraeum, Patsch, WMBH vi (1899) 186f., ix (1904) 243f. dedication, cf. III

- 13859, L. Antonius Menander Aphrodisieus invicto Aug. v.f.
45. III 13856 (8370), I.O.M. Cor. CAND aram IC ... Saturninus cons, III 12752, M. U[lp]. M.[f.] Maxi[m] qu[o]ndam s(ingularis?) c(onsularis?).
46. III 8369 (2766b cf. p.1038) d.m. T. Cl. Maximo dec. c. Ris de[f. ....]; III 8366 I.O.M. P. Ael. Clemens IIvir v.l.s. cf. III 8367 P. Aelius Clemens veteranus; III 12747 (8368), I.O.M. [T?] Fl. Alba[n]us II[vir] [q]a[.] v.s.l.m.
47. For general description of Plevlja, Patsch, WMBH iv (1896) 275, xii (1912) 120ff. cf. also Evans, Archaeologia xlix (1885) 25ff. Dedication to L. Verus as Caesar, Spomenik xcvi (1948) 298.
48. bf. cos; III 13847, I.O.M.S. P. Ael. Fuscinus mil. leg. I Ad. bf. cos. imp. L. Sept. Severo Perti. Aug. et Albi. Caes. cos. v.l.m.p. Milestone from Čičjapolje, III 10163, cf. Evans, Arch. xlix (1885) 43.
49. III 8308, d.m.s. P. Ael. P[ladome[n]o [....] Caravantio [...] civitatum [....Melco]m. praef. id. [mun.] Aureli S[.]lo. ... Pantoni coniugi eius viva parentibus pientis- simis A[e]l. Titus Lupus et Firminus h.p.c. h.s.f.
- On the Melcumani cf. Ptol. ii 16,5 Μελκορένιοι and Domaszewski, B.Jhb. cxvii 107; Patsch's attempt to restore Melcum]anorum on the Bovianum inscription (see above note 3 for text) is unconvincing.

50. The evidence for the city of Splonum or Splonistae is collected above in notes 15 and 16 and for the suggestion of Pašalić, cf. note 17.
51. Glasnik lii (1940) 20 n.4 fig.4, Spomenik xcvi (1948) 287, AE 1948 242, Komine near Plevlja, Serapidi et Isidi M. Ulp. Gellianus eq. R. cur. Arbensi(um) Metlensi(um) Splonist<sup>a</sup>(rum) Maluesati(um).
52. III 8309 (1708=6343), T. Aur. Sextiano eq. R. dec. m. S.T. Aur. Lupercus filio pientissimo in memoriam posuit l.d.d.d.
53. Honestiores at Plevlja; III 8293, D.A.s. T. Aur. Saturninus eq. R. ex v.l.p. Dea Virago Delia votum favente numine quod [debeo] felix ago l.p. III 8310 (6344), Spomenik xcvi (1948) 300 ....]qq. et sacerdo [...sac]erdotali et au[gur?.....]um P. Ael. Firmini[.....]; III 8301 (6341 cf. p. 2275) I.O.M. Aemil. Titianus IIvi. qq. l.p., III 8304 (6342), Spomenik xcvi (1948) 295, I.O.M. F(ulgatori?) M. Aemil. Antonius IIvir l.p. cf. III 8299 for dedication to I. Cho. by the same man.
54. Ballif, Strassen, 38ff. and milestones 39-47, III 13306-13316, all of the third century; cf. also Pašalić, op. cit., 70-1.
55. Excavations of Radimsky, cf. WMBH i (1893) 218ff; and for general remarks, Davies, op. cit., 191-4 and Pašalić, Glasnik NS ix (1954) 47ff. The final report on the excavations by Radimsky appeared in WMBH iv (1896) 202ff. and plate I (basilica) and II (bath complex).

56. On Skelani cf. Patsch, WMBH xi (1909) 140ff. and cf. note in CIL to III 14219/3.
57. Dedication to Pius in A.D. 158, III 14219/7; IIvir quinquennalis, III 14219/10, T. Fl. Simili IIvir. qq. huic primo ex ordine statuum in basilica posuit et dedicavit eam victima percussa sportulis datis natale Aug. vi k. Maias Q. Sos. Prisco P. Coel. Apollinare cos. T. Fl. Rufinus fil. l.d.d.d. (A.D. 169).
58. IIviri at Skelani, WMBH xi (1909) 155, IIv[i]rali fu[n]oto, ibid., 149, ....]IIv[i]r q[q]. Gerd. i[tem] m. M(al).  
For Gensis see above p. 431 .
59. bf. cos. dedications at Skelani and Lješće; III 14218, 14219, 14219/4, 14219/5, 14219/6, 14219/15, WMBH xi (1909) 147 (AE 1910 214), also nearby at Bajina Bašta, Spomenik xcviiii (1948) 2.
60. For the text and other references to the Dindari cf. above note 9.
61. Procurators of the mines at Domavia from the Basilica:  
i M. Arrius [Iu]nianus III 12725 plus 14219, cf. Patsch, Strena Buliciana, 230 n.2.  
ii L. Domitius Eros and iii L. Aur. Ru[s]ticus v.e. ducen(arius) III 12721.  
iv C. Iul. Silvanus Melanio III 12732, v Iulius Tacitianus III 8359, 8360.
62. Procurators attested in the bath building:

- vi Valerius Super in A.D. 220, III 12734, in 217  
(macellum) III 12733.
- vii Aurelius Verecundus in A.D. 274, III 12736.
- viii and ix ignoti, III 12724 (Gordianic), 12738. For  
the position of all these dedications cf. Radimsky, WMBH  
i (1893) loc. cit., fig. 8.
63. Dedications to Gallus and Volusian, III 12728-9, cf. Patsch  
CIL III.
64. IIviri of Mun. Mal; III 8339 (defunc(tus) Salona.), 8340  
(Karan near Požega), 8342, 8345; decuriones, III 8341,  
8343, 8344, also from Skelani a IIv[ira]tus m. M(al.),  
WMBH xi (1909) 154.
65. The text and references are given above note 51; on colonia  
Maluensis cf. Fluss in RE xiv 927.
66. III 14619 Užice, for text cf. note 12 above; III 8354  
improved in Spomenik xcvi (1948) 487, L.P. Cap. T. Aur.  
Provincialis ab honore[m] IIviratus v.s.l.m. cf. Strabo  
vii 5, 12 Καπέδουρον.
67. On the mines on Mt. Šturac, cf. Davies op. cit., 216-7;  
on the border between Moesia Superior and Dalmatia cf.  
ch.VI above p. 155f. and note 1.
68. Dedication by coloni from Mt. Šturac, III 8333 (6313); for  
the centurio officinar(um) cf. III 14606. The findspot  
stated in CIL III, Rudnik near Reska in Old Serbia, is  
incorrect and the stone was in fact discovered on

- Mt. Šturac, not far from the previous one.
69. For the military concentration around Užice and Čačak, cf. ch.VIII above, additional note ii. p. 217ff.
70. Novipazar, Spomenik lxxi (1933) 251 I.O.C(ohortali) s. P. Ael Pal[tor] note also III 8297 from Soćanica, east of Novipazar, M. Aurel. Felicianus dec. mun. For Aelii in the region of Peć cf. Spomenik lxxi (1933) 273, xcvi (1948) 272, also lxxi 205, lxxv 163, lxxvii 34 and dedication to Serapis Invictus, Spomenik lxxv 181. Studenica, Spomenik xcvi (1948) 104 (cf. lxxv 161) M. Ul[p...] dec. m[un ...] aedi[liis.....] perhaps a honestior of Scupi or Ulpiana; note at Mi trovica, Spomenik lxxi (1933) 217 dec. col. Fl. Scupinorum, ~~xcviii~~ (1948) 222 dec. m. Ulpiana, and for bf. cos. of leg. IIII Flavia, Spomenik lxxi (1933) 210, 211.

Chapter XV: Senators, equestrians and centurions in the Roman Province of Dalmatia.

(i) Senators.

It is nearly twenty years since Sir Ronald Syme contributed a paper to the Festschrift for Viktor Hoffiller on Roman senators from Dalmatia. In this study he not only supplied detailed discussion on senators who were without doubt natives of the province but put forward also some important views on the character of the province as a whole. The political development of the communities is discussed in detail elsewhere in this study while the families of the cities and the advance of the native population is the subject of the following section; there the object is to give a comprehensive survey of all the evidence for men from Dalmatia serving the emperor and, where the evidence is available, to associate them with families in the cities or of the interior. It also proper to include within this section reference to great senators whose families probably owned property in the province and who must have assisted local men in their quest for a career in the emperor's service (1).

(i) P. Servilius Isauricus. Our earliest evidence for a senatorial connection with Dalmatia comes from the colony of Narona where have been found two fragments, later joined by Carl Patsch, of a status base set up to P. Servilius Isauricus cos. (2). Two men are known with these names during the first

century B.C.; the elder was consul in 79 B.C. and gained the title Isauricus through his campaigns in Isauria during the years following (3). A more likely identification for the Narona inscription is perhaps his son P. Servilius Isauricus Vatia who figures among the partisans of Caesar. His <sup>†</sup>first <sub>λ</sub> consulship was in 48 B.C. and he was awarded a second by the triumvirs in 41 B.C. after which date nothing is known of him (4). It is quite possible that he was dispatched to Illyricum by Octavian in the same manner that Asinius Pollio was sent to the northern frontiers of Macedonia for winter manoeuvres against the Parthēni (5). The inscription itself appears, on stylistic grounds, to belong to a later period and it may be that Narona, a prosperous trading centre and military headquarters at the time of the Civil War, was recording an old association with a famous senatorial family which appears to have died out under the Julio-Claudians. The dedication is not necessarily a civic project but may have been set up by freedmen Servilii of Narona to commemorate their old patron (6)

(ii) L. Tarius Rufus. The presence of Tarii Rufi in Dalmatia (7) led Borghesi to suggest that L. Tarius Rufus, cos. suff. 16 B.C., was of Dalmatian origin. From very humble beginnings he rose to the consulate through merit alone and in his later years enjoyed a considerable fortune (8). He invested some of this in large areas of poor-quality land in Ficenum, an area that has always had close contacts with the other side

of the Adriatic (9), and it may well be that the Tarrii Rufi at Nedinum had emigrated from one of his Picenum estates. A military command is also possible; the history of Illyricum is virtually a blank during the early years of Augustus and there is evidence of trouble building up in Dalmatia in the years leading up to the campaigns of M. Vinicius which probably began in 14 B.C. (10).

(iii) Calpurnii Pisones. The most interesting senatorial connection with Dalmatia at this period is that of the mighty Calpurnii Pisones in Liburnia. From the island of Pag a dedication refers to Calpurnia, daughter of L. Calpurnius Cn.f. Piso Augur, consul in 1 B.C. and brother of the formidable Cn. Calpurnius Piso, consul 7 B.C. and enemy of Germanicus (11). The inscription bears the formula d.d. probably to be expanded to d(onum) d(edit). In the nearest city, Corinium, there is other evidence for connections of the Calpurnii; many people here bear this nomen and have native cognomina, a sure sign of first-generation citizens (12). There can be little doubt that they were enfranchised through the senatorial Calpurnii and that large areas of Liburnia were owned by this, and perhaps other, senatorial families.

(iv) C. Pontilius Fregellanus. In the last year of the reign of Tiberius a certain Pontius Fregellanus was expelled from the senate (13). Is he identical with a C. Pontilius Fregellanus honoured as consul and patron at Salonae (14)? Pontius is an old Samnite name- e.g. Gavius Pontius victor of

the Caudine Forks- while the cognomen points to the old Latin city of Fregellae, destroyed after its pathetic revolt in 125 B.C.; examples of it are found in Italy. All that one can conclude, if in fact both references are to the same man, is that he gained re-admission to the senate and went on to hold the consulship. (15).

(v) L. Javolenus Priscus. The first serious senatorial candidate for a Dalmatian origin is the eminent Flavian jurist C. Octavius Tadius Tossianus L. Iavolenus Priscus, to give him full nomenclature, suffect consul in A.D. 86 (16). His career was commemorated at Nedinum by his friend P. Mutilus P.f. Cla. Crispinus, whose tribe leaves little doubt that he is in fact a native of that city (17). Priscus' Dalmatian origin was accepted by Hirschfeld and later by Dessau, but more recently it has been challenged by Syme and Kunkel (18). They point to the unusual combination of Tadius and Iavolenus and argue for an Umbrian origin, in particular Iguvium. The validity of this evidence is unquestionable but before the matter is regarded as settled and incorporated into the prosopographical canon I feel that some consideration should be given to other points. Firstly, the Nedinum text; Priscus was probably legate of IIII Flavia when it was in station at nearby Burnum and this appears to explain an amicus setting up his inscription many years later. But there is a far stronger connection with Nedinum. Virtually all of the known honestiores of Nedinum are Octavii and it is clear that it is from Nedinum that the occurrence of

C. Octavius among his names derives (19). What the exact relationship between Priscus and the leading family of the Liburnian city was can only be conjectured. It is possible that the eminent jurist, whose sanity in later years was doubted by the Younger Pliny, retired to Nedinum and that the Octavii there are descended from members of his household (20).

(vi) L. Minicius Fundanus. The case of a probable legate of Dalmatia who escaped the diligent Jagenteufel deserves to be included, especially when there is some doubt in the matter. In 1926 D. Sergejevski published an inscription from Šipovo in the Pliva valley southwest of Jajce which gives the career of L. Minicius L.f. Pap. Fundanus, cos. suff. 107, one of Pliny's cultivated friends, up to and including the consulate (21). In his review of Jagenteufel, Syme took this as evidence for a governorship, even though the post is not referred to on the large fragment which survives; but, although patronage of some form can<sup>not</sup> be definitely excluded, the safest course is to accept him as a probable legate in office soon after A.D. 107. Syme adds that the tribe Papiria raises the possibility of his originating from the 'Pliny country' around Comum (22).

The two great senators who definitely had their homes in Dalmatia were the two second century generals, Sex. Iulius Severus and Cn. Iulius Verus, both from Aequum, the Claudian colony twenty miles inland from Salonae. Both were distinguished military men and enjoyed the confidence of more than

one emperor. Even more interesting is the strong probability that they were related - perhaps even father and son.

(vii) Sex. Julius Severus. Cn. Minicius Faustinus Sex. Iulius Severus was suffect consul in the later months of A.D. 127 (23). The presence of Minicius Faustinus among his titles has led to the suggestion that he was adopted by another senator of that name, most probably the consul of A.D. 116 (24), but his tribe Sergia, common in Dalmatian cities if not, apparently, the tribe of Aequum, together with the existence of no less than three separate dedications set up in his honour at various stages in his career, leaves little room to doubt that his home was in fact at Aequum (25). The main inscription giving full details of Severus' career comes from Burnum and in spite of its poor condition all the main stages are clear (26). Here the full titles and both praenomina are given but unfortunately the praenomen of the affiliation is lost. On another stone only the praenomen Gnaeus is given while on the third he is called merely Cn. Iulius Severus (27). This apparent predilection for Gnaeus is of some significance when we come to consider the ancestry of Cn. Iulius Verus.

Severus' career up to the consulate calls for little comment, except for the occurrence of XVvir sacris faciundis at an unusually early stage in his career - before he had in fact gained admission to the senate. His military tribunate in leg. XIV Gemina Martia Victrix dates probably to the middle of Trajan's reign. His admission to more priesthoods is an

indication that he was enjoying the favour of somebody of influence. His tribunate of the plebs fell in the last year or so of Trajan and under Hadrian he advanced steadily to the praetorship, command of his old legion XIV Gemina, and then to the praetorian governorship of Dacia. After his consulate in 127 he was in line for the major military commands. These follow. First he takes Moesia inferior and then on to a higher level still with Britain in c. A.D. 130. His value to the emperor is well demonstrated when he is hurriedly sent from his British post to a special command in Judaea (later Syria Palaestina) to deal with a serious rebellion. He justified Hadrian's confidence (Dio says that he was the emperor's best general) by crushing the rebellion ruthlessly and was awarded triumphal insignia ob res in Iudaea prospere gestas (28). His presence was still required in that quarter and he was appointed as legate of Syria, where he spent the later years of the reign.

Both Severus and Verus seem out of place at Aequum; of all the principal cities of the province it appears to be the least likely to produce senators, judging from the almost complete lack of equestrians or other contacts. Presumably the family of these senators settled in Dalmatia some time during the first century; a Sex. Iulius [...] f. Ani. Silvanus, who was summus curator civium Romanorum and later one of the first magistrates of the colony, is obviously from his tribe an Italian immigrant - perhaps a retired legionary or centurion

from leg. VII C.p.f. stationed at Gardun. It seems more than likely that the Iulii of Aequum are descended from this man (29).

It would be interesting to know the status of Severus's father. His own advance is probably the result of his having been taken up by Cn. Minicius Faustinus and it is his association with this man that Severus appears eager to record, preferring that man's praenomen, Gnaeus, to his own Sextus. As a home of senators Dalmatia may indeed come very low on the list, but the career of the novus homo from Aequum who rose to become Hadrian's finest general shows the quality of its sons. What with Q. Marcius Turbo at the beginning and Iulius Severus later on Hadrian had much to thank the province for, and his (viii) gratitude may be evidenced by the remarkable ignotus from the Salonae theatre whose career shows every indication of imperial favour (30).

The second Dalmatian senator was also a vir militaris and, like Severus, came from Aequum; in many ways his career is similar to that of the latter man but in the end he goes on to earn a greater prize- the second consulate. This brings him into that small class of senators whose service and loyalty to the emperor had been quite out of the ordinary.

(ix) Cn. Iulius Verus. The career of Cn. Iulius Cn.f. Verus is given on an incomplete inscription from Aequum which for many years lacked a name and was included by Dessau among the acephalous, until Ritterling was able to link with it a

fragment preserved at Salonae which gave the names of Iulius Verus and his designated second consulship (31) - although unfortunately there appear to be some lines missing between the fragments. His career starts from a higher level than that of Iulius Severus; his status in the vigintivirate, IIIVir monetalis, commanded better prospects than for instance the IIIIVir viarum curandarum post held by Severus while his quaestorship was held at Rome on the personal staff of the emperor (quaestor Augusti), a post of higher status than Severus' quaestorship with the proconsul of Macedonia. After the consulship he goes on to consular commands in Lower Germany and Britain whence he was later moved in Syria where he acted on the advisory staff of L. Verus during the Parthian War of 163-6. In old age he was designated for a second consulship but died before he took up the fascēs (32).

The chronology of this highly successful career is uncertain at some points but we may take the fixed points first. Verus is recorded as legate in Britain at Birrens, Dumfriesshire, on an inscription dated to A.D. 158 while other undated records of his governorship comes from Corbridge and Brough on Noe, Derbyshire (33). From Newcastle upon Tyne there is the interesting record of Britain receiving reinforcements from the armies of the two German provinces, a movement which probably took place when Verus himself was transferred from Lower Germany to deal with an emergency in Britain (34). His suffect

consulship has been assigned to A.D. 154 by Degrassi's restoration of a fragment of the Ostia fasti, but in discussion E. Birley has pointed out to me that if Verus is to be connected with the victory in Britain attested on coins in A.D. 155 then his consulship must be placed three or four years earlier to allow for a normal three year tour of duty in Lower Germany (35). On the other hand if the Birrens inscription belongs to the beginning of his term in Britain then a suffect consulship in A.D. 154 would allow ample time for a German command which would have fallen in the years A.D. 155-7. After his British command he went to Syria where he is attested in the period 163/5 as legate and amicus of L. Verus and it is presumably to this period that the rescript addressed to Verus by Marcus Aurelius and L. Verus belongs (36).

The chronology of his career up to the consulship must remain conjectural; Groag placed his command of leg. XXX Ulpia victrix in the early 140's while the dating of his military tribunate in leg. X Fretensis brings in the question of his relationship with Sex. Iulius Severus. Groag suggested, convincingly, that he held this appointment (usually held in one's early twenties) while Iulius Severus was operating as consular commander in Judaea in 132-4 (37). A good case can be made out for Cn. Iulius Cn.f. Verus being the son of Sex. (more commonly later Cn.) Iulius<sup>u</sup><sub>A</sub> Severus. Both are from Aequum, a remarkable coincidence which must in itself establish some form of relationship between the two men, while both were viri militares with

careers of a remarkably similar pattern (especially in their consular provinces) although the 'son' started on a slightly higher level than his father. In discussion E. Birley tells me that he prefers to regard the question as open and considers an 'uncle-nephew' relationship more probable

(x) Cn. Sertorius Brocchus. A statue base from Doclea contains a most interesting group of names connected with the involved politics of the later years of Hadrian. The full style of the individual honoured appears to be Cn. Sertorius Brocchus Aquilius Agricola Pedanius Fuscus Salinator Iulius Servianus (38). The first group, Cn. Sertorius Brocchus, has only one occurrence in a senatorial context, a proconsul of an unknown province under Claudius; and Dessau, assuming that those were the man's principal names, suggests that he may be a second century descendant of the Claudian senator (39). The Aquilius Agricola does not suggest any obvious connection, but the remaining names bristle with interesting possibilities. The two individuals probably commemorated are Cn. Pedanius Fuscus and L. Iulius Ursus Servianus. Pedanius, consul ordinarius in 118, married Iulia the emperor's niece and must have been a serious candidate for adoption as Hadrian's successor (40). Iulia was the daughter of Hadrian's sister Domitia Paulina and Iulius Ursus Servianus. Nothing further is known of the consul of 118 after that date but the doom of the house occurred in 134 when Iulius Ursus Servianus, who had by then held the fascēs three

times, was put to death for conspiracy together with his grandson Cn. Pedanius, son of the consul of 118 and born in that year (41). Who the man at Doclea was is not clear. It is strange to imagine an individual flouting such a fateful group of names until some years after the reign of Hadrian. We may have here a patron of Doclea and hence perhaps a legate of the province who might be tentatively assigned to fill one of the large gaps in the Dalmatian fasti which still remain for the reign of Pius (42).

(xi) P. Coelius Balbinus Vibullius Pius. A most interesting problem of senatorial relations with Dalmatia is posed by the case of P. Coelius Balbinus Vibullius Pius, consul ordinarius in A.D. 137 whose cursus up to the consulate was set up at Rome by decuriones of an unnamed city (43). His eminence is shown by adlection into the patriciate by Hadrian as well as the important priesthood of flamen Ulpialis, a sure sign of close contact with the reigning emperor. Groag pointed to the significance of his being consul ordinarius in A.D. 137 with the newly designated heir to the throne, L. Aelius Caesar, and together with his tribe Sergia and other obvious signs of close contact with Hadrian suggests that his home was in Baetica- probably Italica (44). Although Coelius was probably one of the emperor's cultivated friends rather than a vir militaris, Syme has pointed out that his ordinary consulate is not particularly significant as he would have been destined for this before the adoption of

L. Ceionius Commodus was decided upon, while the occurrence of a group of tombstones from Salonae belonging to members of his household raises some interesting possibilities. Was he legate of Dalmatia or was he even a native of that province? (45).

A governorship is possible; no legate of Dalmatia is known for Hadrian and it is quite possible that he proceeded to the province immediately after his consulate, as appears to have been usual for legates of Dalmatia in the later second century. Members of other legates' households are attested, for instance L. Volusius Saturninus and L. Scribonianus Camillus (46). Yet there is need for caution. Even allowing for the epigraphic fertility of the Salonae district, half a dozen slaves seems rather too many casualties for the normal two or three year term of a legate. Could he not rather have been at home in Salonae? Sergia is one of the two tribes common at Salonae and, it may be noted, that of the senatorial Iulii at Aequum, a city that appears officially to have been in Tromentina. On the other hand Coelius may have lived at Salonae for a period of his life; but here we are merely speculating. His family was of some standing; his father was probably P. Coelius Apollinaris (suff. A.D. 111) and his son was probably the P. Coelius Apollinaris who held an ordinary consulate in A.D. 169 (47).

(xii) M. Luceius Torquatus. A metric inscription set up at Lambaesis by a legate of III Augusta refers to moenia qui Risinni Aeacia, qui colis arcem Delmatiae, nostri publice lar

populi provides us with a senator from Risinium, a municipium Iulium in the south of the province (48). His name has been erased from the stone but there is no doubt that he is the same man whose name has been erased on other dedications from Lambaesis dating to the years A.D. 167-9, while the poem itself can be dated to A.D. 169 since it refers to Verus' designated consulship and to his own which he presumably held on his return to Rome (49). After a study of the dedications from the Lambaesis amphitheatre L. Leschi was able to supply the name of the ignotus as M. Luceius Torquatus Bassianus (or Cassianus) (50). An inscription of the later second century records a man of these names as a legate of the proconsul of Asia and curator of Ephesus while in the Life of Commodus a Luceius Torquatus appears among the consular senators put to death by that emperor. There is little doubt that he is identical with the legate of III Augusta and that the thorough damnatio was carried out at the time of his death (51). With one exception (a doubtful instance at Arupium) Lucei are unknown in Dalmatia (52).

(xiii) C. Raecius Rufus. In spite of the early advance of <sup>irs</sup> ~~their~~ cities and their apparent prosperity Liburnia does not appear to have been the home of any men of importance in the senatorial order. From the island city of Arba comes a record of the provision of the city's water supply by C. Raecius Leo on behalf of his patron C. Raecius Rufus clarissimus vir. The inscription is dated to A.D. 173 and there is little doubt that

the senator is identical with the curator aedium sacarum attested at Rome in 166 A.D. (53). The Raecii have interesting connections with the aristocracy of Liburnia. At Iader the Q. Raecius Q.f. Cla. Rufus, primuspilus of XII Fulminata and decorated during his career by Titus and Trajan, is on the evidence of his tribe not a native of Iader but another city of Liburnia - perhaps Arba. The connection with Arba and hence a strong suggestion that he was grandfather of the senator is provided by his wife Trebia M.f. Procula whose father was M. Trebius Proculus, holder of the equus publicus and IIvir of Arba (54). Raecii are among the great families of Liburnia and are rather interesting since they are not apparently the descendants of Italian immigrant families but rather of native Liburnian stock. Raecius is a Liburnian nomen and appears among the municipal aristocracy of Liburnia as early as the Augustan period (55).

(xiv) C. Valerius Respectus Terentianus. The remaining senators from the cities of the coast are men of little note. Two fragments of a tombstone from Salonae were joined by Kubitschek to give the full name and identity of C. Valerius C.f. Trom. Respectus Terentianus, a clarissimus iuuenis who died after his post in the vigintivirate (56). The family appear to have wider connections. His mother was Caedicia L.f. Luc[illa] Crispinilla, who may be related to Lucia Lorenia Cornelia L.f. Crispini Crisina, a clarissima puella at Rome, herself probably the daughter of L. Lorenus L.f. Pal. Crispinus, frater Arvalis in A.D. 241

and suffect consul some time before 244 (57). This relationship, accepted by Barbieri (58), suggests a date for Valerius in the first half of the third century.

(xv) M. Lusius Severus. The other senator from the cities of Dalmatia is attested at Narona on the restoration of a temple by Modestus, one of his freedman (59). No further information is provided except his name and title, M. Lusius Severus clarissimus vir; senatorial Lusii are known during the second century including Lusius Quietus, the Moor, one of Trajan's marshals put to death by Hadrian, and C. Lusius Sparsus, suffect consul in A.D. 157, from whom the man at Narona may be descended (60). Lusii are common at Narona and three instances occur in the freedman sevirate (61).

(xvi) Catius Clementinus. As might have been expected, all the above senators from Dalmatia are at home in the cities, in particular Salonae and Aequum and two isolated examples in Liburnia and Narona. The possibility of a senatorial family originating from the interior is raised by an inscribed column from the Roman Spa at Ilidže, at the western extremity of the plain of Sarajevo:

DVS I[....  
COS FETIAL[IS  
CVM PVBLICIA QVAR  
ET CATIIS MAXIMINA C  
CLEMENTINO CLEMENTE LI  
]VS APHRODISIVS FLAM[EN].

Here a [ Catus..]dus I[...] consul and fetialis appears with Publicia Quar[?ta] and Catia Maximina, Catus Clementinus and Catus Clemens with [.....]us Aphrodisius a flamen (62). Clearly there is some connection here with the senatorial Catii. Sex. Catus Clementinus Priscillianus was consul in A.D. 230 and legate of Germania Superior under Severus Alexander and of Cappadocia under Maximinus; earlier he is attested among the noble youths in the Secular Games of A.D. 204 and one of his descendants appears on a christian inscription at Rome (63) It is quite possible that he is one of the sons of the consular recorded at Ilidže. The question of a Dalmatian origin for this family is quite another problem; Ilidže was a spa where archaeological work has revealed traces of an elaborate curative centre, and there would be nothing strange in the occurrence of dedications set up by wealthy families while they were on holiday there. I feel that the Catii must fall into this group and find it most difficult to believe that a most unpretentious monument could have been set up to commemorate a local family that had risen to the consulate. Catii are uncommon in Dalmatia, occurring in only one context at Salonae, although three instances of Cattii occur in the same city (64).

(xvii) Four items complete the list of senators from Dalmatia. The first is an ignotus on a fragmentary cursus from Salonae recently published by A. Betz (65). All the posts recorded are non-military, curator operum publicorum, curator Aquae et

curator Minuciae set up by the [R.P.] S(alonitana?). Curator Aquarum was normally a consular post while that of opera publica was held by both praetorians and consulars. It is not clear whether the curatorship of the Aquae and the Minucia Harbour were part of the same post or whether they were held separately. Pointing out the et between these two posts which does not appear after curator operum publicorum, Betz assumes that they were held simultaneously and deduces that the individual can be assigned to the third century, since it was only after Severus that they were held together (66). On the other hand the lettering appears to suggest an earlier date; but with the high standard of lettering which characterises Salonae inscriptions, even into the christian period, any attempt at stylistic dating must be most tentative.

(xviii) P. Balsamius Sabinianus. At Salonae also occurs the interesting case of P. Balsamius Sabinianus clarissimus puer, son of Aurelius Sabinianus, vir egregius and procurator ducenarius of Dalmatia (67). As Stein suggests this is probably a case of the son of an equestrian being adopted by a senator with the nomen Balsamius while the date is probably middle of the third century (68).

(xx-xxi) The last two are ladies of senatorial rank; Casconia Marcellina and Flavia Prisca, both clarissimae feminae (69). The latter occurs at Karan near Municipium Mal(uesatium) at Požega on the tombstone of her nurse Flavia Tatta, a good

native name as is also that of her steward (villicus) Dazier  
(70).

(ii) Equestrians.

Most provinces which contributed men to the Roman senate can produce also a steadily increasing group of equestrian officers during preceding generations. A successful career in the higher grades of the emperor's service either from the legionary centurionate via the primpilate or from the higher social level of equestrian tribunates could earn a man, or more usually his son, serious consideration for admission to the senatorial career. With the exception of the Liburnian Raecii there is no evidence for such equestrian antecedents of the senators from the province. Yet there is certainly no shortage of local families holding equestrian tribunates, especially at Salonae, but none of them appears to have had any real success in a such a career. Those who did rise to the highest positions (Q. Marcius Turbo, and L. Artorius Castus) do not belong to the leading families of their cities but appear to have risen from the lower status of the legionary centurionate through their own ability.

Perhaps the most remarkable of all men from Dalmatia who entered the service of the emperor was Hadrian's mighty praetorian prefect, Q. Marcius Q.f. Tro. Fronto Turbo Publicius Serverus domo Epidauri, to give him his full style. The first

record of this remarkable man is as a centurion of II Adiutrix during the years 103-7, on the tombstone of a serving soldier (71). Ritterling notes that Turbo may have first come into contact with Hadrian as a centurion in this legion when the young emperor to-be served his military apprenticeship as a tribune in the last years of Domitian (72). A recently published inscription from Cyrrhus in Northern Syria has provided a valuable addition to our knowledge of Turbo's career from primuspilus bis to prefect of the Misenum Fleet, as which he is attested on a diploma of A.D. 114 (73). Q. Marcius Turbo can now be distinguished from another senior equestrian, T. Flavius Priscus Gallonius Fronto Q. Marcius Turbo, recorded on a dedication from Caesarea in Mauretania, as Syme has shown in his review of Stein's study of the prefects of Egypt. This latter man was procurator of Mauretania Caesariensis under Pius (74).

On the Cyrrhus inscription Turbo appears as pp. bis, then praefectus vehiculorum, then holding three military appointments at Rome, tribunates of VII Vigilum of the Equites singulares and of the praetorians. His last post here recorded is the prefecture of the Misenum Fleet which, as noted above, is dated A.D. 114. The presence of Turbo at Cyrrhus is presumably the result of the Fleet having accompanied Trajan to Antioch on his outward journey for the Parthian campaign, as well as conveying praetorians and other troops selected for the honour of going on

active service under the command of the emperor himself. Up to this point the career of Turbo would have been considered remarkable for any legionary centurion even ~~he~~ <sup>he</sup> had not progressed further; the rest of his career marks him out without any doubt as the greatest non-senatorial personage in the imperial service during the whole principate.

We must remember that it was Trajan who first recognised the calibre of Marcius Turbo and it was Trajan who first gave him one of the two extraordinary commands which distinguish his career. According to Eusebius he was sent by Trajan in the last year of his reign to put down the revolt of the Jews in Cyrene and Egypt. On this assignment he waged war ruthlessly, killing many thousands of Jews in both places (75). After some hesitation Stein accepted Turbo as a prefect of Egypt on the evidence of the Caesarea inscription, as restored by Leschi, but as Syme has pointed out the inscription can now be removed from the problem as without doubt it refers to another person (76), while the available gap in A.D. 117 (5 Jan. - August) is far too small to allow a prefecture for Turbo with all the activity of the revolt of the Jews.

Thus in Turbo Hadrian had not only a friend of many years standing but a man whose military ability had been recognised with rapid promotion by his predecessor, a shrewd judge of such ability. Turbo was in Mauretania as procurator when Hadrian summoned him from there to take charge in Pannonia and Dacia.

Two passages in the vita of Hadrian refers to this extraordinary command, the first recording his transfer from Mauretania to Pannonia and Dacia while the second states that he was granted the status (titulum) of prefect of Egypt, quo plus auctoritatis haberet (77). There is a definite chronological separation between the two passages, the first referring to the bestowing of the command while Hadrian was still in the East or on his way home, while the conferring of the status of Egyptian prefect belongs to the time when Hadrian was <sup>in</sup> control at Rome. The area of command appears in fact only to have been Dacia and Pannonia Inferior, since control of Pannonia Superior was retained for an indefinite period into the reign of Hadrian by L. Minicius Natalis (78). There is no reason to follow Stein and assume that Turbo's command involved his actually being given the post of the Egyptian prefecture; the whole command was so unusual that it was necessary to bestow upon Turbo a title from elsewhere to ensure his rank and precedence among the equestrian officers of the emperor, and Syme's suggestion that he was awarded the rank of the Egyptian prefecture is surely more plausible (79). The whole episode was clearly irregular and is bound up with the complicated politics of the first year of Hadrian's reign. Before the new princeps had even set foot in Rome four powerful consulars were put to death - apparently for some conspiracy (80). All four had served Trajan as commanders but even Syme is unable to discover the background and ramifications

ations of this obviously most dangerous group (81). It was the friendship and personal loyalty of Turbo that made Hadrian place such large forces under his control, rather than his unquestionable ability as an army commander. Hadrian could trust him at least (82).

By A.D. 119 Hadrian was confident of his position; Turbo was removed from his anomalous command and brought to Rome to become praetorian prefect. In this key post he served his emperor loyally for fifteen years and on his death he was honoured with a statue (83). His diligence and eminence among the equestrian order are commented on by Cornelius Fronto and Dio (84), although like so many others he appears to have fallen foul of the emperor during his later years (85).

There is some evidence for Turbo's descendants. Groag suggests that T. Flavius Longinus Q. Marcius Turbo, cos. suff. c. 145 and legate of Moesia inferior in 155, and also T. Flavius Priscus Gallonius Fronto Marcius Turbo procurator of Mauretania, were sons of T. Flavius Longinus, veteran of the Ala III<sup>a</sup> Panoniorum and decurion of Sarmizegethusa, Napoca and the canabae of XIII Gemina, were also adopted by Marcius Turbo. However, the tribe of the second was ~~Palatina~~ which may weaken Groag's hypothesis now that Turbo's tribe is known to be Tromentina (86), although it would not be unusual for one who was adopted to retain his original tribe as appears to have been the case with Sex. Julius Severus who retained Sergia after adoption by

Cn. Minicius Faustinus (perhaps in Galeria?).

On the Dalmatian side Epidaurum is perhaps the least known of the colonies of the province; recent researches have revealed that a large part of the city has in fact been submerged beneath the sea as the result of coastal sinkage (87). Marcii occur among the honestiores of Epidaurum (88) while at Narona they are found in the republican period among the magistrates of the conventus (89). At Aequum they appear in the sevirate (90) while a C. Marcus Proculus decurion of Iader is among the witnesses of the Salonae diploma of A.D. 71 (91). The cognomen Turbo appears among the honestiores of Epidaurum with M. Pomentinus M.f. Trom. Turbo (92).

Turbo's career probably began with a direct commission into the centurionate, which would guarantee him a salaried post in the emperor's service, in preference to an equestrian tribunate which would not necessarily lead to a permanent career - especially if his family, although well placed in one or two cities, were not able to count on securing help from a powerful family in forwarding such a career.

The second of the primipilares from Dalmatia who went on to posts in the upper strata of the equestrian order is L. Artorius Castus. Unfortunately his cursus is damaged at some points, but his names have been restored correctly from a small dedication found at the same place, the church of St. Martin at Podstrana/Pituntium (93). Some details are given of his career before the

primipilate: centurionates in III Gallica, VI Ferrata, II Adiutrix and V Macedonica, in the last of which he became pp. After the acting prefecture of the Misenum Fleet he went on to hold an extraordinary command, in Britain, firstly prefect of VI victrix then dux of the British legions (presumably vexillations) against the Armoricani. His final post was procurator centenarius of Liburnia with ius gladii. H-G Pflaum has connected this special command in Britain with the reference in the Life of Commodus to the replacement of senatorial by equestrian commanders during the praetorian prefecture of Perennis (94). The Liburnian post amounted to an independent command and may be, as Pflaum suggests, a special post created for a friend of Perennis (95). Why Liburnia was chosen is not clear except that it was very close to Castus' home near Salonae; in a sense it always appears to have been treated as a separate unit, with its own Ara Caesaris and a judicial conventus of its own; Liburnia also fell within the alimentae, the orphan relief scheme founded by Trajan, while Dalmatia did not (96). Artorii are rare in Dalmatia but the Artoria Prisca from near Pituntium may be a kinswoman or descendant of Artorius Castus (97).

P. Atilius Aebutianus was a contemporary of L. Artorius Castus and had risen to the highest post in the equestrian service before he was put to death by Commodus. According to the vita of that emperor he was put to death as praetorian prefect at the instigation of Cleander (98). The possibility that he came from Liburnia is raised by a dedication from Asseria

referring in him as praetorian prefect, clarissimus vir and patronus optimus and set up by the ord(o) [Asseriatium] (99).

Both Atilii and Aebutii are found in the cities of the province although only the latter nomen appears among the ranks of the honestiores, an aedile and IIvir at Aequum (100).

On the procuratorial side of the equestrian cursus Dalmatia can show three certain cases and one doubtful.

The case of Q. Aeronius Montanus is interesting in that it demonstrates how the distribution of an uncommon nomen can provide evidence for determining the origo of a man in the emperor's service. A dedication of A.D. 158 from Volubilis in Mauretania Tingitana records the rebuilding of the temple of the imperial family under the procurator Q. Aeronius Montanus (101). Aeronius is a rare nomen; Schulze cites examples from Praeneste and Minturnae and an isolated sevir occurs at Ostia (102); by far the largest group of Aeronii however, is found at Salonae, mostly of the freedman class. A single instance of a freeborn family occurs there also, while from Scardona a dedication to Silvanus by a certain L. Aeronius is the only example of this nomen in Dalmatia with a praenomen other than Quintus (103).

The argument from distribution evidence of nomina can be very treacherous and is very likely to be invalidated by the relative epigraphic fertility of the various sectors of the empire. Salonae produces easily the largest number of inscriptions of any place within the compass of CIL III and one naturally expects to find a fair proportion of the rarer names

current in the Roman Empire. Even so there is surely some justification in concluding, on the evidence above, that Q. Aeronius Montanus, a procurator of Tingitana, was a native of Salonae (104).

The second procurator to be considered for a Dalmatian origin is less certain. On his tombstone from Salonae L. Valerius [...] started as prefect of coh. I Tyr[iorum] and after a tribunate in an unknown legion was appointed to command of the Classis Flavia Moesica; his last post is the procuratorship of an unknown province which I feel should be restored on the stone as proc. p[rov Dal.] (105). The stone was set up by his nephew [.....f.] Gal. Niger whose tribe suggests that the family came from Hispania Citerior rather than Dalmatia.

There is no doubt about the Dalmatian origin of the third procurator, L. Antonius L.f. Tro. Firmus, who is recorded with his family at Salonae as aedile, IIII vir, praefectus fabrum as well as procurator Augusti (106). The tribe is that of Salonae while the quattuorvirate points to a date in the first century (107).

The last procurator known from Dalmatia is M. Aurelius Augg. lib. Hermes who set up the tombstone of his son M. Aurelius Hermogenes, eques Romanus, at Salonae. The latter died at the age of twenty but had already become a member of the city council after holding the aedilate (108). He may be an ancestor of the M. Aurelius Hermogenes who was proconsul of Asia under Diocletian and praefectus urbis in A.D. 309/310 (109).

Compared with Salonae and even Aequum, the colony of Narona makes a very poor showing as a home of eminent persons in the imperial service. There appear to have been very few great families settled there, and most of the inscriptions of the first and second centuries refer to the extremely prosperous freedman class. In the second half of the third century, however, we find that the civic baths were reconstructed through the generosity of M. Aurelius Valerius, vir egregius ducen[arius] ex protectorib(us) lateri(s) divini, an equestrian member of the emperor's personal guard. On the day of the baths' inauguration he treated his fellow citizens (presumably the decuriones only) to an official banquet (110). The most interesting third century equestrian from Dalmatia comes from Curictae in the north of Liburnia; his name is not preserved but his tombstone records the Rome tribunates and then protector Auggg, which gives him a date not earlier than the middle of the third century. His patronage of the 'splendidissima civitas Curictae' suggests that this city may in fact have been his home (111).

Finally in the category of senior equestrians one must consider the possibility that some of the procurators of the Dalmatian and Pannonian mines were of Dalmatian origin. The headquarters of the mining administration were at the lead mining centre of Domavia in the Drina valley (Gradina near Srebrenica) (112).

C. Iulius Silvanus Melanio had served the full equestres

militiae and rose through a series of procuratorial posts to become procurator of the mines at Domavia where he was honoured with a statue and his cursus (113). He was patron of the province but I feel that there is no evidence to suggest that he may have been a native of the province. A more likely person to connect with the province is L. Domitius Eros whose cursus and statue was erected through the good will of his close friend (amicus praestantissimus) M. Aurelius Ru[sti]cus, vir egregius ducenarius (114). Again the same arguments apply - a Dalmatian origin is possible but unlikely. One procurator metallorum who was a native of the province held municipal posts in the city at Kamen near Glamoc̆ in Central Bosnia (115). His cursus mentions equestrian military service but its fragmentary condition forbids certainty. One would expect that procurators of the mines might be natives of the Balkan provinces or other mining areas since they would presumably be called on to supervise the actual working and prospecting of the mines. One of the procurators at Domavia probably came from Sirmium, which was the nearest major city to the mining region of Eastern Dalmatia (116).

While the careers of such great men as Q. Marcius Turbo and L. Artorius Castus are in themselves of immense interest for the study of the administration of the empire as a whole they contribute little to our picture of the cities of Dalmatia from which they originated. To obtain this more accurate picture of the

comparative strength of the Dalmatian cities we must turn to those municipal families whose wealth and status gained them admission to the equestres militiae after they had shown their administrative ability by service as a magistrate of their city.

Our starting point for any subject bearing on the equestrian officers of the Roman army must be the fundamental paper of E. Birley which first appeared some twelve years ago (117). Here he analyses the main categories into which these officers can be divided; apart from the municipal worthies who had shown some ability in civic duties there were the younger officers, mostly the sons of centurions, who were aiming at a full military career with perhaps procuratorships during the later stages, while a third group were the centurions themselves, perhaps even a few who had been legionaries, whose long experience made them especially valuable and who probably received their equestrian appointments about the age of fifty. The age of those drawn from municipal magistrates would be at least thirty since in most cases that was the minimum age for holding the <sup>aedilate</sup>~~trivirate~~ and gaining admission to the city council, a necessary preliminary to gaining a commission. The most important point which Birley makes in his paper is that the traditional view that men in the equestres militiae were mere youths with virtually no military experience is quite incorrect, and that although they had little or no military experience most of the men were in their early thirties at least with a background of administrative

experience in their own city. In a sense Stevenson is right when he calls these men amateurs, but we must not infer from this fact a ~~case of~~ glaring case of inefficiency brought about by the rigid class system of the age (118). For the tasks which command of an auxiliary unit in times of the pax Romana involved, these men were exactly the type required. However, when conditions changed during the later second and third centuries this system was gradually done away with and the army became staffed with professionals at all levels. The change was probably much more gradual but no less dramatic than the change brought about in the social origins of the officers of the British Army as the result of enormous losses during the Great War, when men were given commission who in previous years would never have gained entry to any officers' mess in the army.

A man's status was probably considerably increased in his home city if he had spent some years commanding an auxiliary unit on some distant frontier, and probably many of them thought that one tour of duty was sufficient for that purpose before they returned to act as the elder statesmen in local politics. On the other side Birley makes the point that men holding such equestrian commands were technically civilians and when their term of office expired they had no claim on the government for further employment. This situation gave the staffing bureau at Rome great latitude, the selection and rejection of these officers for higher commands depending on the confidential

reports supplied by the provincial commanders. This situation explains why many aspiring to a military career chose the legionary centurionate to which they could usually obtain direct commissions at an earlier age; the centurion's commission was permanent and his employment assured (119).

We may now turn to examine individually the equestrian officers from the cities of Dalmatia. To emphasise the predominance of Salonae they are grouped under their respective cities.

Salonae:

1. P. Bennius Sabinus first century

III 8733 P. Bennio Sabino IIIIvir. iure dic. auguri IIIIvir. i.d. quinquennal. flam. Augustali praefect. cohort. II Lusitanor. equitatae. A cohort of these titles is attested in Egypt in A.D. 107 but it is possible that another unit of this name was stationed in a western province (120). The family is an interesting one; a Bennia Sabina is the wife of a centurion of XI Claudia and later of coh. VI vigilum on a tombstone at Salonae (121), while the family appear among the honestiores of nearby Aequum in the second century (122). At Doclea the P. Bennius Egregius, miles of coh. VIII Voluntariorum and bf. bos. - an unusual appointment for an auxiliary, - may be the ancestor of the equestrian Bennius at Salonae (123).

2. [..] Ca[l]p[urnius ..f.] Tro. Ma[ximus] first century

III 8736 ....]Ca[l]p[urnio f.] Tro. Ma[ximo? pr]aef[e]cto [coh. I] L[u]cen[sium pr]aef[e]ct. [coh ...ce]nturioni le[g].....]

an[or]um ...si]bi .... A case of promotion from the centurionate, Calpurnius is shown by his tribe to be a native of Salonae even though his cohort was part of the auxiliary garrison of Dalmatia during the Augustan period (124). In Liburnia Calpurnii are connected with the Calpurnii Pisones (see above p. 453 ) while elsewhere they are honestiores at Aequum (125).

3. Q. Cassius Constans first century

III 8737 Q. Cassius Q.f. Tro Constans aed. IIIIvir. i.d. augur. praef. fabr. trib. milit. coh. IIII Vol. Civium Romanorum  
Q. Cassius Cerdo libert. et heres faciundum curavit h.m.h.n.s.

The unit was stationed in Pannonia; Tromentina gives a Salonae origo while Cassii are well established in the commercial classes of the city (126).

4. [C. Cor]nelius N[.....] first century-Augustus/Tiberius

III 2018 [C. Cor]nelius C.f. Tro. N[.....]praef. fab]r. bis trib. mil. leg.[...corona] aurea et hasta pura a [Ti. Caesare di]vi August. f. Augusto do[nato] ....

An officer from Salonae decorated by Tiberius, probably in the war of 6-9 while the praefectura fabrum may be the military variety of this post; Cornelii are well attested in the commercial classes at Salonae, Iader, Narona and Aequum, while at Aenona they were connected with the Baebii (127).

5. Desidienus Aemilianus A.D. 258.

VII 769 with EE IX p. 589, Vercovicium, Britannia inferior, ....] pro salute Desidiene Ae[mi]liani prae[fecti] et sua su[orq.] posit[um] vot[um] ac solvit libens Tusco et Basso co[s].

The prefect at Houseteads (of I Tungrorum) bears an unusual nomen not found in any province except Dalmatia where Desidieni occur amongst the honestiores of Salonae (128). The name appears to be manufactured from an Illyrian root and we can confidently suggest a Dalmatian origo for the prefect at Housesteads (129).

6. [Q. Ennius .....] first/second century

III 8739 [Q. Ennio .....] dec. equit. p[raefecto? or praeposito c]oh. III Albinae et Q. Ennio Sever[o] ann. xv fecit Lutatia Veneria vivo et filio (a poem follows).

It appears that we have here a municipal worthy of Salonae in command of one of the permanent garrison units, but the condition of the stone prevents certainty. Ennius is rare in Dalmatia but a Q. Ennius occurs at Corinium (130).

7. T. Flavius Agricola second century

III 2026 (ILS 7162) T. Flavio T.fil. Tro. Agricola decur. col. Sal. aedili IIvir. iure dic. dec. col. Aequitatis IIvir. qq. disp(unctori) municipii Riditar. praef. et patron. coll. fabr. ob merita eius coll. fabr. ex aere conlato curator reipub. Splonistarum trib. leg. X G.p.f.

Flavius Agricola was probably son of a Delmata whose civitas received under the Flavians gave him admission to the civic life of the province. IIvirates in Salonae and Aequum as well as the auditorship of Rider and curatorship of Splonum point to a man of great wealth with wide contacts in the interior of the

province. His is one of a group of five native Illyrians whose civitas enabled them to make their presence felt in the coastal cities with a plurality of magistracies and patronage. These people represent the first entry of the native population into the cities and the beginning of the long process which changed the character of the municipal aristocracies from descendants of Italian immigrant families to a wider representation of the native tribal rulers (131). The military tribunate appears as an afterthought on the inscription.

8. L. Rustius Picens first century (?Augustan)

III 10094 Pharia L. Rustius Picens trib. mil. vovi[t] praef.

eq. fec[it]. Rustius made the vow as a tribunus militum and carries it out as a praefectus equitum. The omission of the cohort prefecture suggests an early date while the cognomen may connect with him with the Ala Picentiana and give him an Augustan dating (132). He must be regarded as doubtful as a native of the province, however, as there is no other attested instance of the nomen anywhere in the province.

9. Q. Servilius Pacuvianus first century

III 2049 Q. Servilio M.f. Palat. Pacuviano aedili praef. cohort.

I Morinorum M. Servilius Copiensis Pacuvianus pater fecit et sibi.

The tribe is foreign to Dalmatia but the aedilate and the fact that the unit is not known to have been stationed in the province suggests that Servilius was at home with his family (133). The Servilia M.f. Copiesilla recorded on another stone at Salonae is

probably his daughter, while the Q. Servilius Statianus, centurion of coh. I Belgarum, may belong to the same family (134). In addition to the nine individuals recorded above, five other equestrian commanders occur in fragmentary inscriptions, bringing the total of equestrian officers from Salonae to fourteen (135). In comparison with Salonae, the other cities make a poor showing in equestrian officers:

Iader

15. L. Geminus C.f. Tro. Montanus first century

III 2916 L. Geminio C.f. Tro. Montano praef. coh. I Sebastenorum

P. Aufidius Postimus amico.

Tromentina is the minority tribe at Iader but there is sufficient evidence to justify acceptance of Geminus as a native of the colony. The cohort was stationed in Judea (136). Geminus may on the other hand be a native of Salonae from his tribe and a family of that name are found in the sevirate there (137).

Aufidii are honestiores at Salonae (138).

16. [.....] T.f. Serg. Rufus first century

III 9996a [.....] T.f. Serg. Rufus tr[ib....] sib[i e]t suis

[.....] Sergia is Iader's tribe.

Epidaurum

17. M. Annus M.f. Triarius first-second century

III 8406 M. Annus M.f. Triarius pr. mil.

Hirschfeld (CIL ad loc.) suggests that tr. mil. should be read but pr(aefectus) mil(itum) is quite acceptable (139). Annus is

not common in Dalmatia although Annaei are found among the honestiores of Narona from the republican period (140).

Within the category of equestrian officers we may include two examples of service on the quinque decuriae jury panels at Rome, a preparatory stage for the equestres militiae:

Acruvium

18. C. Clodius Vitellinus first century

III 1711 C. Clodio C.f. Serg. Vitellino IIvir. i.d. iudic. ex V dec. equo publ. [h]uic defunct. ordo decur. locum sepulturae in[pensam funeris .... decrevit].

A family of Clodii freedmen are known at the same place (141) while the family were among the early settlers at Narona (142) and are among the honestiores at Salonae (143).

Risinium

19. Q. Manlius Rufus first century

III 1717 Q. Manlius Q.f. Serg. Rufus. dec. iudex ex quinq. decuriis equo publico testamento fieri iussit et epulo dedicari in hoc opus Statia Sex.f. Fida mater adiecit HS xxxv et summae operi et epulo relictas xx fisco intulit HS xlii cc sole publico.

Almost certainly Italian immigrants. Manlius is unknown in the cities of Dalmatia but occurs in one context in the interior(144); the mother is probably related to the C. Statius Celsus, a praetorian decorated by Trajan in the Dacian campaign and rewarded with a centurionate (145).

Three other Officers of either the later second or the third century complete the list:

Tragurium

20. Aurelius Maximus third century possibly later

III 14927 Aur[el]io Maximo a militiis negotiat[o]ri cele[be]rrimo  
qu[i vi]x ann. [p]lus minus [.....] Papir[iu]s Maximinu[s et  
?Papiri]a Maximin[a. The formula plus - minus - suggests a late  
date - possibly fourth century.

Dalmatia.

21. Caecilius Bato A.D. 197-8

XIII 8824 (ILS 9178) Roomberg near Leiden, Germania inferior,  
Imp. Caes. L. Septimius Severus Aug. et M. Aurelius Antoninus  
coh. xv Vol. armamentarium vetustate conlapsum restituerunt sub  
Val. Pudente leg. Aug. pr. pr. cura[n]te Caecil. Batone prae.

The cognomen Bato points to Dalmatia or possibly Southern Pannonia  
(146). Of Caecilii in Dalmatia we have a M. Caecilius veteran of  
XI C.p.f. with origo unstated - possibly Dalmatian (147) while  
at Salonae a Caecilia Logiana is the daughter of an eminentissimus  
vir and married to Tullius Callipianus eques Romanus (148).

22. C. Iulius Rufus late second century

III 8353 U<sup>v</sup>zice I.O.M. Partino C. Iul. Rufus trib. coh. I mil.  
Delm. pro. sal [.....] l.p.

The unit is discussed above, ch. VIII p. 218 ; at this date  
the commander perhaps came from a local city.

(iii) Legionary centurions

Mention has already been made of some of the Dalmatians who  
progressed from the legionary centurionate through the primipilate

into an equestrian career, notably Q. Marcius Turbo and L. Artorius Castus. In an earlier chapter we have already discussed the case of L. Praecilius Clemens Iulianus, primuspilus of V Macedonica under Tiberius honoured at Salonae by veterans who had served under him, and have suggested that he was a native of Salonae (149). In addition we may note three further cases of Dalmatians attaining the primipilate; in their cases the post was the climax of their career and not a stepping stone to an equestrian career.

At Viminacium in Moesia superior L. Oppius T.f. Cla. Secundus is described as primuspilus and praefectus castorum of <sup>leg. VII</sup> C.p.f. while his origo is Varvaria in Southern Liburnia (mod. Bribir) (150). The date is perhaps in the second half of the first century although it is more than likely that Oppius gained his commission in the legion while it was stationed in Dalmatia at Gardun. Oppii are rare in Dalmatia but at Asseria, the city next to Varvaria, a C. Oppius [.....] mil. leg. X[I C.p.f.] occurs on a stone table into which are cut a number of liquid measures (151). Raecius Rufus, primuspilus of XII Fulminata and decorated by Titus in the Jewish War and Trajan in the Dacian War, has been mentioned in connection with his senatorial descendant of the same name, while his wife Trebia Procula was the daughter of the equestrian M. Trebius Proculus (152). As noted above the Raecii are a native Liburnian family who appear amongst the municipal aristocracy of Liburnia as early as the Augustan period. The

last of the Dalmatian primipilares comes from Salonae and belongs to a later generation. T. Flavius T.f. Firmus is attested as primuspilus of III Augusta in A.D. 147. E. Birley has noted the possibility of his being related to (i.e. father of) a T. Flavius Firmus prefect of the Ala Noricorum under Pius at Worringen in Germania Inferior (153). If this man was the son of the primuspilus then his father must have attained the senior centurionate of III Augusta at the end of his career, while he would be one of the younger category of equestrian officers, mostly the sons of senior centurions (154). Before we pass on to the rest of the legionary centurions from Dalmatia we may note the case of Sex. Aquillius Severus, centurion probably of a praetorian cohort, decorated by Trajan in Dacia who records decurionates of Salonae and Flanona (155). Aquillii are attested at Flanona and it was probably from that place that he came originally but after service settled in the provincial capital where he was also admitted to the council and where his tombstone was set up. Another praetorian centurion, T. Flavius Proculus from Salonae may be a romanised Delmata; he is dated to A.D. 118 and was thus probably the first or second generation of a native family with the civitas (156). A group of three Dalmatian centurions are interesting for the number of centurionates they held in various legions; from Salonae there is T. Flavius Pomponianus (II Traiana, IIII Flavia, XII Fulminata, XVI Flavia, XIII Gemina and again in II Tr.) and M. Herennius Valens (XI Claudia, I Adiutrix, II

Adiutrix, XV Apoll., I Adiutrix iterum, III<sup>I</sup> Flavia in which he ended up as hastatus posterior of coh. V) attested on his tombstone at Cibalae (Vinkovci) in Pannonia inferior (157). The third probably came from Aequum and started as legionary in XXX Ulpia victrix (or possibly XX Valeria victrix) and, after serving as aquilifer, held centurionates in three legions (XIIII Gemina, XIII Gemina and XXII Primigenia). Out of a life of seventy years he spent forty-five in military service while Herennius Valens actually served for fifty-five years out of a life of eighty-five (158). Finally at Salonae we have T. Titisenus Valentinus centurion of a legion (the number is not given) and son of T. Titisenus Convictorianus decurion and sacerdos at Salonae; the nomen is extremely rare (159).

From the above survey we can assign a Dalmatian origin to nine persons of senatorial rank, thirty-one equestrians and nine legionary centurions, the latter group including three who attained the primipilate but did not advance beyond it.

As might have been expected the largest number of senators were at home in the provincial capital Salonae, although the careers of these men were insignificant compared with such families as the Iulii of Aequum. Probably the earliest senator from Salonae is the Ignotus whose cursus from the theatre there shows every indication of imperial favour (viii); if P. Coelius Balbinus Vibullius Pius was really at home in Salonae then he will

constitute another Dalmatian of the same period who was in contact with the ruling circle of the empire (xi). The other two senators from Salonae are both assignable to the third century, one dying after his vigintivarate appointment (xiv) while the other is an Ignotus with a rather undistinguished group of civilian posts (xvii).

Easily the most remarkable family of any city were the Iulii of Aequum who were almost certainly descended from Italian residents in the conventus civium Romanorum which had existed at Aequum for some years before the creation of the colony, probably under Claudius (vii, ix).

Elsewhere in Dalmatia the cities make a fairly poor showing; M. Luceius Torquatus (xii) from <sup>Risinium</sup>~~Epidaurum~~ rose to the consulate in A.D. 169 and lived on to meet his death at the hands of Commodus. At Narona the M. Lusius Severus, probably of the late second or third century, is merely a name to us.

Liburnia can show only a single senator, C. Raecius Rufus, whose family reached the senate after at least three generations in the imperial service (xii).

With the equestrians from Dalmatia we can distinguish two groups. The first consists of those municipal worthies who did one or more tours of duty in the equestres militiae after holding a magistracy in their city. Most of these men belong to the first century and originated from the families of Italian immigrants settled in the cities. Salonae dominates the scene with no

less than fourteen examples while Liburnian Iader can show only two and Epidaurum, Acruvium and Risinium one each. Narona, the second city of the province, can produce none. Elsewhere in the province the cognomen of an equestrian commander under Severus allows him to be assigned an origin among the native population of the province.

The second group consists of those who rose to the higher strata of the equestrian service from the centurionate or who held positions as equestrian procurators. Many of them belong to a later generation than the first category of equestrians and they are more evenly distributed in the province, although again Salonae has most. The greater men come from elsewhere, however; Q. Marcius Turbo has his origins among the honestiores of Epidaurum and L. Artorius Castus appears to belong to Pituntium. In the second case the city is so close to Salonae that one wonders whether in fact L. Artorius Castus was not at home in Salonae itself, although there is not any trace of such connection on his two inscriptions.

Again Liburnia makes a poor showing. Apart from the possibility of P. Atilius Aebutianus, praetorian prefect under Commodus, being a native of Asseria (where he is honoured as patron), we have only the equestrian Ignotus of the mid-third century from Curicta, whose only recorded link is patronage of that city.

With the legionary centurions from Dalmatia, a slightly

different picture emerges. Only one of the centurions bears what may be an Italian nomen (T. Titisenus Valentinus), while a primuspilus (A.D. 147), a praetorian centurion (A.D. 118), and a legionary centurion all have the nomen Flavius, which suggests a native origin. In Liburnia Oppius Secundus from Varvaria, primuspilus of leg.VII C.p.f., may<sup>be</sup> of first century date while Raecius Rufus, primuspilus of leg.XII Fulminata in the late first century and ancestor of the senator, rose out of the municipal aristocracy of Liburnia as did also the praetorian centurion under Trajan, Sex. Aquillius Severus, whose family were honestiores at Flanona.

Chapter XV: Notes

1. R. Syme, 'Roman Senators from Dalmatia', Serta Hoffilleriana, Zagreb (1940), 225ff.
2. Patsch, Narona, 23 fig. 12 joining a new fragment to III 1858 cf. p. 1494, P. SERVILIO ISAVRICO COS [..... It is not mentioned <sup>e</sup> wither in MRR or RE.
3. Plin. NH v 23; Eutrop. vi 3; Liv. epit., 93; Dio xlv 16.
4. MRR ii 371, cf. the remarks of Syme, Roman Revolution, 197.
5. On the campaigns of Pollio see above ch.IV p. 112f .
6. III 1768.
7. III 2877, 2878 at Nedinum with tribe Claudia.
8. Plin. NH xviii 37; PIR T 14, Dessau referring back to Borghesi.
9. Plin. loc. cit. He is discussed by Syme, Serta Hoffilleriana, 226 and Roman Revolution, 362 note 2.
10. See above ch.V p. 132f .
11. AE 1949 199, Pag, ....Calpurnia L. Pisonis Auguris filia Cn. Pisonis neptis d.d.
12. Calpurnia C.f. Ceuna, III 2857, 2891, 2892; Calpurnia Volaesa, III 2886, other Calpurnii, III 9970, 9976 Corinium a large family; OJh xii (1909) Bb. 33 n.5, *ibid.*, xviii (1915) Bb. 157.
13. Tac. ann. vi 48.
14. III 8715 (ILS 960) Salonae.
15. The case is discussed by Syme, JRS xxxix (1949) 13f. He cites the case of a Q. Ovius Fregellanus at Ariminum, cf. Degrassi, Athenaeum, xxix (1941), 133ff.

16. III 9960 and p. 2168 (ILS 1015 add. p. CLXXIII) Nedinum, C. Octavio Tidio Tossiano L. Iaoleno Prisco l. leg. IV Flav. leg. leg. III Aug. iuridic. provinc. Brittaniae leg. consulari provin[c]. Germ. superioris legato consulari provinc. Syriae proconsuli provinc. Africae pontifici P. Mutilus P.f. Cla. [C]rispinus t.p.i. amico carissimo.
17. cf. above ch. X p. 270 .
18. Hirschfeld, CIL III ad loc; Dessau PIR O 40, challenged by Syme, Serta Hoffilleriana 227 and repeated in Tacitus, 761; W. Kunkel, Herkunft u. soziale Stellung der R. Juristen (1952) 138ff., who does not appear to have been aware of Syme's earlier statement of the case.
19. C. Octavii at Nedinum, III 2870 a family with three IIvirates between them, III 2869 another IIvir, Sex. Octavius Cla. Constans. III 2927, also a centurion of a mysterious cohors I Liburnorum, Betz, OJh xxxvi (1946) Bb. 75, n.3, AE 1950 111 Nedinum, and a veteran of leg. VIII (Augusta), III 2865 also Nedinum on which cf. ch. VIII p. 216 .
20. Plin. Epp. vi 15.
21. Glasnik xxxviii (1926) 155, Šipovo in Pliva valley, C. Minicio L. filio Pap. Fundano VII vir epulonum trib (X)II Fulminatae quaestori tribuno [pl]ebis praetori leg. [leg. XV A]pol-linaris [.....] piaae [...c]ur[...]
22. Gnomon, xxxi (1959) 515-6; friendship with Pliny, Epp. v 16., with Plutarch, More., 452.

23. Diploma, A.D. 127, XVI 72, Sex. Iulius Severus.
24. Suggested first by Mommsen, CIL III ad loc.
25. On the tribe of Aequum cf. above ch. XII p. 349.
26. III 2830 cf. p. 1059 (ILS 1056), Burnum, [Cn.] Minicio Faustino [Sex.] I[ulio] [...f]il. Serg. Severo [se]v[iro] t[ur]ma[e] V eq. [R. I]IIIviro [v]iarum c[ura]nd[ar]um XVviro [s.] f. [trib. m[il. leg XII]II Geminae [q]uaestor pro[vin]cia[e] Macedoniae [c]andida[t]o div[i Tra]i. [P]artici trib. p[le]b. candidat[o ei]usdem praetor. leg. leg XIII Geminae l[eg. pr. pr. imp. Traiani Hadria[n]i Aug. p[ro]vinciae Dacia[e] cos. leg. pr. p[ro]vinciae Moesia[e] inferioris leg. pr. pr. provinciae Brittaniae leg. pr. pr. [pro]vinciae Iudaeae l[eg. pr. pr. [pro]vinciae Syriae huic [senatus a]uctore [imp. Tra]iano Hadrian[o Au]g. ornamenta triu[m]p[al]ia decrevit ob res in [Iu]dea prospere ge[st]as [d.] d.
27. Abramić, Zbornik Gawril Kazarov, Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulgar., xvi (1950) 237 fig. 3, Aequum, Cn. Minicio Faustino Iulio Severo trib. leg. XIII Gem. quaestori provinc. Maced. trib. pleb. pr. leg. leg. XIII[I Gem. .... Abramić, loc. cit., 239 fig. 4, Cn. Iul. S[everus] cos. le[g. Aug.] pr. pr. pr[ovinc.] Syriae Pa[alaestinae] triunf[alib (sic) ornamen]ti [s ...
28. Dio lxix 13 2.
29. III 2733; the status of the man is discussed above, ch. XII p. 348f .

30. BD xxxvii 33 4303A equals AE 1922 36, from the theatre at Salonae, le]gat. l[eg. XXX Ulp. or XX Val. vic]tric. praetori c[andidato divi] Hadriani tri[b. plebis candid]ato eiusdem q[uaestori divi Ha]driani t[rib. mil. legion.] I Ital[icae IIIviro a.a.a.f.f. As E. Birley suggests, the vigintivirate post is almost certain to have been as IIIvir monetalis; R. Syme, Gnomon, loc. cit., considers him for a legate, p.515.
31. III 8714 and III 2732, presumably both originally from Aequum (ILS 1057 plus 8974), Cn. Iulio Cn. fil. Vero cos. desig. II augur. [some lines missing presumably recording comes of Verus and raising of II and III Italicae] leg. A[ug]. pr. pr. provinc. Syriae leg. Aug. pr. pr. provinc. Brittaniae leg. Aug. pr. pr. provinciae German. inferioris praef. Aerari Saturni leg. leg. XXX Ulpiae praetor. tribuno plebis, quaestor Aug. tribuno laticlav[i]o leg.X Fretensis triumviro a.a.a.f.f. Aequanses municipes. For his part in raising II and III Italicae cf. Pflaum under no.164 bis, on AE 1956, 123.
32. In A.D. 180; the date is given by a papyrus, cf. Degrassi, Fasti, 5P, citing Beiträge fur Papyrus forschung xix (1934), 382.
33. Inscriptions of Verus in Britain; Birrens EE IX 1230; Corbridge JRS xxxiv (1944) 85 improving on EE IX 1383; Brough on Noe EEIX 1108.
34. Reinforcements at Newcastle EE IX 1163.
35. Degrassi, Fasti, 43, [CN IVLIVS VE]RVS.

36. cf. E. Birley, RBRA 51; Digest xlvi 16,18. In Syria, III 199.
37. Groag, RE x 850 no. 525.
38. III 13826 Doclea, Cn. Serto[rio] c.f. Brocc[h]o Aquilio [....] Agricola[e] Ped[an]io F[usco] Salinat[ori] Julio Servian[o]
39. PIR S 395 cf. 394 Claudina<sup>^</sup> proconsul citing Mionnet ii 596 n. 549.
40. PIR P 142-5 with stemma; see the remarks of Syme, Tacitus, 240.
41. Their destruction is recorded by Dio lxix 2,6 and 17,1; vita Hadr. 23,3.
42. No legate is known for the province under Hadrian and only two, M. Aemilius Papus Cutius Priscus (18) and Sex. Aemilius Equester (19) for Pius, cf. Jagenteufel, Fasti, ad locc. (excluding the case of P. Coelius Balbinus Vibullius Pius, on whom see below).
43. VI 1383 (ILS 1063), P. Coelio P.f. Ser. Balbino Xviro stlitib. iudic. VIviro equit. Roman. turm. quint. tr. mil. leg. XXII Primig. p.f. adlecto inter patric. ab imp. Caes. Traiano Hadriano Aug. salio Collino quaest. Aug. flamini Ulpiali pr. de fidei comiss. cos. designato decuriones sua pecunia.
44. Groag PIR2 C 1241. But see the discussion of Syme, Gnomon, loc. cit, 513.

45. III 2295 cf. 2294, 2561, 13295 and III 2687 Tragurium.
46. Volusius, III 8807; Camillus Scribonianus, BD xxviii (1905) 20, Salonae.
47. On these two men cf. Groag PIR C 1239, 1240.
48. VIII 2581 Lambaesis; on Risinium cf. above ch. XII p. 343f.
49. VIII 4208 equals 18496 Verecunda, A.D. 167; VIII 17866 Thamugadi, A.D. 167; AE 1909 6 Thamugadi and AE 1955 134 Lambaesis both A.D. 169.
50. L. Leschi, Libyca ii 1 (1954) 171-181 in particular 175 and on the variation of the cognomen note 2.
51. GIG 2977 Ephesus, cf. RE xiii 156f where the praenomen ( P. is wrongly suggested instead of M; death vita Comm. vii 6.
52. Luceius III 15085, Vitalj near Otočac in the Lika.
53. III 3116 Arba, Nymphis Aug. sacrum C. Raecius Leo aquam quam nullus antiquorum in civitate fuisse meminerit inventam impendio ex volunt C. Raeci Rufi c.v. patron.[....de]dicavit [Severo e]t Pompeiano II cos. vi idus Nov. 8 November 173. Curator aedium at Rome in A.D. 166, VI 360.
54. Q. Raecius Rufus pp. of XII Fulminata, III 2917 Iader; M. Trebius Proculus Eques and II vir of Arba, III 2931 Iader.
55. Raecii in Liburnia; III 3149 Crexi records a IIvir under Tiberius Q. Fonteius Raeci f., cf. also the Recus Sentius at Nedinum III 9958.
56. III 1989 plus 1990 joined by Kubitschek, OJh vi (1903) Bb.

8lf., Salonae, C. Valerio C.f. [T]rom. Respe[cto] Terenti-  
ano clarissimo iuven[i Xviro ] stlit. iudicand. [.]

Caedicia L.f. Luc[illa] Crispinilla mate[r] infelicissima  
an[.... cf. Barbieri, L'Albo senatorio, 372 n.2112.

57. Lucia Lorenia Cornelia L.f. Crispini Crispina clarissima puella, VI 1448, probably daughter of L. Lorenus L.f. Pal. Crispinus, frater Arvalis in A.D. 231, VI 2108,7, and cos. suff. before A.D. 244, VI 1447 cf. 31657, cf. Barbieri, *op. cit.*, 218 no. 1089.
58. Barbieri, *op. cit.*, 372 n. 2112.
59. III 1786 Narona, M. Lusi Severi c.v. Modestus lib. templum ex voto restituit; Miltner, RE xiii 1890 n.12, gives him a separate entry.
60. C. Lusius Sparsus, consul 157, cf. PIR L 329.
61. III 1775, 1798 and 1799.
62. D. Sergejevski, Glasnik lvi (1940) 15 equals A<sub>e</sub> 1948 241; cf. Barbieri, *op. cit.*, 200 n. 988. for reading Publicia Quar[ta] in preference to Publici Aquar[...] as Sergejevski in Glasnik loc. cit.
63. PIR2 C 564; for probable christian descendant, cf. loc. cit., 573.
64. Cadius, III 8972 Salonae; Cattii, III 8973,4,5, Salonae.
65. Betz, Vjesnik lvi - lix/2 (1954-9) Antidoron Abramić, 85 n.3 cf. Plate IX 2, cu[r]ator [ope]rum publicorum [cur]ator [aqua]e et [cur]ator [Min]uciae [R.p.]S(alonitana?).

66. Kornemann RE iv 1780f.
67. III 8571 (equals 1985 cf. p. 1030) Salonae, Publio Balsamio Sabiniano c.p. trib. laticl. filio Aur. Sabiniani v.e. proc. duc. prov. Dalmat. trib. protec[t. ....]n VIGOR Concordius Victorinus patrono praestantissimo
68. A Stein, Römische Ritterstand, 184, 358.
69. III 1986 cf. 8572 and p. 1030, Casconia Marcellina.
70. III 8350 Karan near Požega, d.m. Fl. Tattae libertae et nutrici def. an. l. Fl. Prisca C.f. et Dazieri vil. vivo p.
71. III 14349/2 Aquincum, C. Castricius Co[ll.] Victor Como mil. leg. II Ad. (centuria) M(arcii) Turbonis etc.
72. Ritterling, legio, 1445.
73. E. Frézouls, 'Inscription de Cyrrhus relative à Q. Marcus Turbo', Syria xxx (1953) 247-278 with photograph p. 278 fig. 2., AE 1955 225, [Q. Marcio] C.f. Tro. Frontoni Turboni Publicio Severo domo Epidauro p.p. bis praef. vehic. trib. coh. VII Vigil. trib. equ. sin[g.] Aug. trib. pr[ae]t. proc. ludi magni praef. class[is] pr. Misenensis P. Va[le]rius P.f. Qui[r. Valens o[b] m[er]itis. Fleet diploma, XVI 60 Sardinia.
74. AE 1946 113, cf. Syme, JRS xlv (1953) 118, reviewing Stein's P<sup>†</sup>raefekten von Aegypten (1952), cf. Pflaum, Carrières, 157. AE 1911 108 with improved reading of Seston in Mélanges xlv (1928) 159 cf. PIR2 F 344 cited by Syme, loc. cit.
75. Eusebius iv 2.

76. Syme JRS loc. cit., see above note 74.
77. Vita Hadr. vi 7; vii 3.
78. II 4509 equals ILS 1029 Barcino.
79. Syme, JRS loc. cit.
80. Dio lxix 2,5; Vita Hadr. vii 7,1.
81. Syme, Tacitus, 244.
82. See the remarks of Syme, JRS xxxvi (1946) 162, reviewing A. Stein's Reichsbeamten von Dazien.
83. Turbo as praetorian prefect, III 1462 and 1551 Sarmizegethusa; honoured with statue at his death, Dio lxix 13.
84. Fronto I 256 (Loeb ed.) writing to Pius in 154/6 and Dio loc. cit.
85. Vita Hadr. xv 7.
86. Groag PIR2 F 305 and F 344 on the two men.
87. Recently <sup>r</sup>underwater exploration has been carried out in the bay of Cavtat but awaits proper publication; see above ch. XII p. 342 n 44 .
88. Marcii at Epidaurum; III 1755 P. Marcius P.f. Trom Messianus.
89. Marcii at Narona; Q. Marcius Q.f. .... mag. Naro(nae)  
III 1820 cf. p. 8423.
90. IIIIIIviri in Aequum; III 9765.
91. XVI 14.
92. III 1748.
93. III 1919 cf. 8513 and 14224 (equals 12791), Podstrana,  
D.m. L. Artori[us Ca]stus 7 leg. III Gallicae item [ 71e]g.

VI Ferratae item 7 leg. II Adi[.i]tem 7 leg. V M(a)c. item  
p.p. eiusdem [.....] praeposito classia<sup>s</sup> Misenatium [....pr]-  
aeff. leg. VI victricis duci legg[... ..]m Britanici(i)arum  
adversus Arm[oricano]s proc. centenario provinciae  
Lib[urniae iure ] gladi vivus ipse sibi et suis [... ex te]st.

III 14224 (equals 12791) Podstrana, L. Artorius Castus

p.p. leg. V Mac. praefec[t]us leg. VI victric.

94. Vita Comm. vi 2; the career of Artorius Castus is discussed fully by M. Pflaum in his Carrières under no. 196.
95. Plaum, Carrière<sup>e</sup>s, loc. cit. Stein, PIR2 A 1184, cites a seal of uncertain provenance in the Louvre with the names L. Artorius Castus.
96. On Liburnia and the Alimentae, cf. Degrassi, Confine nord-orientale dell' Italia Romana (1954) 128 citing III 6753 (equals 249) equals ILS 1396, VIII 23962 equals ILS 1347.
97. III 8476 Naresta (Jesenice) near Pituntium (Podstrana); cf. also the Artorius Felicissimus at Narona, III 1846, probably third century.
98. Vita Comm. vi 12.
99. OJh xi (1908) Bb. 68 n.11 fig. 46 equals A<sup>n</sup> 1908 191 equals ILS 9601, Asseria, P. Atilio Aebutiano praef. praet. c.v. patrono [op]timo ord. [Asseriatium?].
100. Aebutii, Honestiores at Aequum, III 2730 L. Aebutius L.f. Ser. Celer aedilis IIvir; Atilii are common in Salonae, III 2192-6, 8900-3 also Narona III 1847, 8449.
101. VIII 21825 cf. Ae 1948 115 for the correct reading of his

names, Volubilis, Mauretania Tingitana, Imp. Caes. T. Ael. Hadriano Antonino Aug. [Pio] p.m. tr. pot. XXI imp. II cos. IIII p.p. cultores domus Aug. area privatam emptam templum cum porticibus a solo sua pecunia et statuas posuerunt quorum nomina tabulae aereae incisa sunt dedi Q. Aeronio Montano pr[oc.]. Following the editor, A. Stein, PIR2 A 974, assigns him to Q. Apronius Montanus.

102. Schulze LE 111 cites X 8256 Minturnae, XIV 4901,39 Praeneste. From Ostia comes Q. Aeronius Antiochus sevir August. et. qq. (XIV 4140). A freedman also occurs at Uchi Maius in Proconsularis, VIII 26405 P. Aeronius Faustus.
103. Aeronii at Salonae; III 2161 Q. Aeronius Aiutor, Aeronia Delicia, III 6385 Q. Aeronius Menippus to his patron Q. Aeronius Silvester, III 12917 Q. Aeronius Tertius VI Aug. (sic) with son Q. Aeronius Helius; of freeborn category we may note the Q. Aeronius Crescens and son Q. Aeronius Firminus III 6384; at Scardona III 9882 L. Aeronius Silvano v.s.l.m.
104. The case was pointed out to me by E. Birley.
105. III 8716 Salonae, d. [m.] L. Valerio [.....] proc. Aug. p[rov. ....] praef. classis [Flaviae] Moesicae trib. [leg...] praef. coh. I Tyr[iorum ..... f.] Gal. Niger pro[.....] consobr[ino].
106. III 2075 Salonae, [.....] Tertullae an. XIIX Antoniae Primigeniae filius L. Antonio L.f. Tro. Firmo aed. IIIIvir.

i.d. praef. fabr. proc. Aug. fil. L. Antonio Expectato  
frater v.f. sibi et suis.

107. On the quattuorvirate at Salonae cf. above ch. XII p. 324 .

108. III 2077 Salonae, d.m. M. Aureli Hermogenis Eq. Rom.dec.  
aedili cur. def. an. xx d.iii M. Aurel. Augg. lib. Hermes  
proc. piissimo filio.

109. PIR2 A 1528.

110. III 1805 cf. add. p. 2328/119 Narona, Thermas rei p.  
hi[emales ...] populo in ruinam [ di]lap[sas] M. Aur.  
Valerius v.e. ducen[ari]us ex protectorib. lateri[s] divini  
de frugalitate sua IO [.... aedifi]cavit et lavantes rei p.  
tradidit epulum quoque c[i]vibus suis ea die praebu[it]  
Messala e[t] Grato cos. dedicante M. Aur. Tiberiano v.p.  
praes. prov. Del.

111. III 3126 cf. 10125, Curictae, [.....trib. coh.] XI Urbs  
(sic) trib. coh. VI praet. et protector. Auggg. nnn. patroni  
splendidissimae civitatis Curictarum ob insignem eius benev-  
olentiam statuum poni sanxerunt fel.

112. On this place cf. above ch. XIV pp 431 ff .

113. III 12732 Gradina near Srebenica<sup>†</sup>, C. Iul. Silvano Melanioni  
eq. publ. flam[i]ni Promonali [.....]ur omnibus equestris  
militiis func[t]o proc. Aug[usti ..] per provin[...]  
proc. Aug. [rat]ionis [hereditatium?] [proc. p]r[o]vinc. [....p]roc.  
[Ga]lli[ar. Lug]d[unens.] et Aquitan[ic ... in] muni[cipio  
Do]maviano [.....] patrono pro[v]inc[iae Dalm?...

114. III 8361 Gradina near Srebrenica, L. Domitio [E]roti Vivi.  
ex. equestribus turmis egregio procuratori metallorum  
[P]lan[on]. [et] Delm[at]. mi[r]ae inte[g]ritatis [e]t  
boni[ta]tis M. Aur[us] Ru[st]icus v.e. duce[n. a]mico  
praesta[nti]ssimo.
115. Glasnik xxxix (1927) 260 no. 9 Kamen near Glamoc, ..]atis  
praecipu[... ..]magneque in[.....]bus equo et dil[.....]ntio  
princ. m[unicip? .....]bus honori[bus f]uncto ex pro[c.  
me]talloru[m ...]API [.....
116. Sergejevski Glasnik lii (1940) 23ff. figs. 5,6, joining  
III 12739 and 12740 now AE 1948 243, Gradina near Srebrenica,  
[... procuratori] Arg. Delmatiar[um ...qui ob honorem]  
magistratus dem[er]ios ..dedit et.....]o filio dec. col.  
Sirmi flamini [.....qui vixit] annis xxii mensibus ii Aelia  
T[.....marit]o et filio karissim[is bene merentibus fe]cit.
117. E. Birley, 'The Equestrian offers of the Roman Army',  
RBRA 133-153 reprinted from Durham University Journal  
December 1949, 8-19.
118. G.H. Stevenson, Cambridge Ancient History X 226, 'almost  
amateur soldiers'.
119. E. Birley, loc. cit., 152-3.
120. Cichorius RE iv 312f.
121. III 2062 and 8747 joined by Kubitschek, OJh vi (1903)  
Bb. 83.
122. III 9783 from Andetrium, P. Bennius Honoratus dec. col.

Aequens(ium).

123. III 12697 Doclea, the text ~~is given~~ <sup>is</sup> and discussed above  
ch. XIII p. 387 .
124. On the cohort cf. above ch. VIII p. 200 .
125. For the Calpurnii Pisones in Liburnia see above p. 453 ;  
Aequum III 9763.
126. Cassii at Salonae, BD xxxiv (1911) 10 4111A Cas[sius  
IIIIII]Ivir, and also IX 6106 Aternum, L. Cassius Hermodorus  
nauclerus qui erat in collegio Serap. Salon.
127. Cornelii; at Salonae, III 8678, 8686; at Aequum, III 9971;  
at Narona, III 1792 IIIIII]Ivir. m.m.; at Iader, III 2936  
and Aenona, AE 1940 6.
128. Desidieni at Salonae, III 12916 C. Desidienus Proculus  
dec. col. S[a]loni[t]anor., cf. also Desidiena Profutura  
III 9028.
129. The case was pointed out to me by E. Birley.
130. III 2881.
131. These enfranchised natives are discussed in the section  
dealing with imperial nomina in the province, cf. below  
ch. XVI p. 555 .
132. E. Birley, loc. cit., 138; on the Ala Picentiana, cf. RE  
i 1257-8.
133. Cichorius RE iv 317; the unit occurs on the British diploma  
of A.D. 103, XVI 48 and in the Notitia, Occ. xl 52.
134. Servilia Copiesilla, III 13903; Q. Servilius Stati<sup>o</sup>onus,  
centurion of I Belgarum, III 8756.

135. III 14707, ..]Tro[m. ..trib.] mil. bis l[eg..; III 12906, tri]b. mil. leg. XIII Gem.[....fla]min. Flavia; III 8780, pra]ef. al[ae... III 8771 III[I vir? ]trib. mi[l..; III 8770 ...]s trib. mi[l aedil]is augur [.... tribu]nus mi[l..
136. Coh. I Sebastenorum milliaria appears on the Palestinian diploma of A.D. 139, XVI 87.
137. III 14711 plus BD xxvi (1903) 10 n. 3026, Gem[inius A]basc-[antus] VI vir [Aug.].
138. III 2076, 2073.
139. From E. Birley, who draws my attention to an unpublished equestrian career giving a praefectus militum in the mid-second century; it is referred to in AE 1960 167.
140. The Annaei of Narona are discussed below ch. XVI p. 515 .
141. III 1713.
142. Vjesnik liv (1952) 262 n.12, P. Clodius IIIIIIvir.
143. III 2029, IIIIvir; Bd xxxvii (1914) 77 4576, Clodius Felix IIIIIIvir libertus of a (Clodius) signifer of XI C.p.f.
144. III 8379, a freedman at Kiseljak in Central Bosnia.
145. III 6359 cf. p. 1491 (ILS 2665) discussed above under the section on praetorians from Dalmatia, ch. IX p.226 n.8 .
146. For the distribution of the name Bato, cf. Mayer, op. cit., 80-82.
147. Vjesnik lv (1953) 185 fig.4, Gaka near Aequum, M. Caecilius Saturninus vet. leg.XI C.p.f. with liberta as wife, Viria P.l.
148. III 8713 Salonae.
149. cf. above ch. VII p. 177 ; E. Birley concludes that

Salonae was his origo, op. cit., 117.

150. III 14514 Viminacium, L. Oppius T.f. Cla. Secundus Varvar[ia]  
pp. leg. VII C[ p.f. ] praef. k. le[g.] VII C.p.f.
151. III 15025; for photograph cf. OJh xi (1908) Bb. 63,  
Asseria.
152. III 2917 Iader, Q. Raecio Q.f. Cla. Rufo pp. leg. XII Fulm.  
trecenario donis don. ab. imper. Vespasian. et Tito imp.  
bell. Iud. ab imp. Trai. bell. Dacio. princ. praet. Trebia  
M.f. Procula marito t.p.i.
153. AE 1898 11 Lambaesis, possibly the father of T. Flavius  
Firmus praef. eq. [alae No]ric[orum], XIII 8517 Wörringen,  
Germania inferior.
154. E. Birley, op. cit., 140f.
155. III 1940 Salonae, [H]erculi [S]ex. Aquilli[us] Severus  
(centurio) coh. V [praet?] donis donatis ab [imp. Traiano  
bello] Dacico dec. Salonis et Flano[nae] l.d.d.d.
156. VI 30881 (ILS 5462).
157. III 2029, Salonae, T. Flavius Pomponianus; III 13360  
Cibalae, M. Herennius Valens.
158. XIII 6952 Moguntiacum, Germania Superior; as originally a  
legionary recruit he is discussed above ch. IX p.229.
159. III 2055 Salonae, T. Titiseni Convictoriani ~~p~~ dec. col.  
Salon. sac[re]d. T. Titisenus Valentinus 7 leg. filius; on  
the nomen cf. Schulze, LE 208f.

Chapter XVI: The Upper Classes of Dalmatia

There is considerable epigraphic evidence for widespread settlement and prosperity of Italian families in the cities of Dalmatia. They settled in small cities, along the Adriatic coastline, called by Pliny oppida civium Romanorum. Their flourishing condition is attested as early as the period of the Civil War between Caesar and Pompey and the elevation of three of them (Salonae, Narona and Epidaurum) to colonial status may belong to the time of Caesar. This development has been discussed above in the sections dealing with the individual cities and the detailed conclusions need not be repeated here. The object of this section is to show by the distribution and quantity of the various Roman nomina how the families of the coastal cities prospered and how many of them had interests of had branched out in other cities. In Dalmatia we can separate with little difficulty people of Italian and of non-Italian descent, at least during the first century A.D. We can assume that by far the majority of the upper-class families in Dalmatian cities in the first century A.D. are Italian or of Italian descent since the native population did not begin to receive the civitas, even at the highest social level, until the Flavian period; and peregrini are by no means uncommon in the second century. Similarly the spread of imperial nomina in the interior of the province provides a valuable means for tracing the stages of Romanisation in the interior, revealing how the native aristocracy became quite quickly absorbed into the

aristocracy of the coastal cities.

Some of the leading families have already been referred to, in connection with men they provided for the equestrian order and the senate, but it is perhaps better to repeat some of this evidence rather to sacrifice clarity by merely citing it in a previous context.

The summary below includes virtually all the families of the cities of Dalmatia who bear non-imperial nomina and who also held some municipal position, IIvirate, aedilate or the decurionate. It has also been found desirable to treat Liburnia apart from the rest of the province, since in it the evidence for Italian immigrant families is not easy to discern, and the gap between the Liburnians and the inhabitants of Northeastern Italy is very slight compared with that between the Italian settlers in the remainder of the province and the native population of the immediate hinterland.

The first group of families discussed are those at Narona, whose arrival is dated securely to the republican period; some continued to prosper while others appear to have died out or to have moved elsewhere. Next are listed and discussed those who are obviously of the first century A.D. and who occur only in one or two contexts, even though they attained high municipal office and in some cases the equestrian order. Many of these nomina occur once only in the province. This last category is found in most of the coastal cities, especially the smaller centres to the south of Narona, while one or

two examples can be identified at Iader and other Liburnian cities. Almost all of these are of the first century and belong to the period when the flow of Italian immigrants was at its height. The next section (iv) deals with those families who were well established in more than one city, in many cases with municipal magistracies. With some of these one can infer with fair certainty which was the city where they originally established themselves, and in a small number of cases one can even trace their pattern of movement in the province - for instance with the Novii and Casii<sup>s</sup><sub>k</sub> who appear to have spread from Salonae to the rapidly developing native city at Doclea in the south of Dalmatia. Here again Dalmatia and Liburnia can be dealt with separately.

For dating of these tombstones one normally has to rely on such factors as style, internal evidence (such as the occurrence of imperial nomina and magistracies - e.g. IIIIviri i.d. at Salonae are all first-century - and in some cases references to posts in the imperial service, which can usually be dated to a particular century. (Since the references to the evidence cited in the following sections consist for the most part of inscription numbers from CIL or AE it has been deemed preferable to include these within the text rather than create an astronomical quantity of separate footnotes.)

(i) Republican settlement

Narona provides the most remarkable evidence for republican settlement, in the form of a corporate dedication by the magistrates

of the conventus that existed before the period when Narona was a colonia. Two mag(istri) Naro(nae) and two q(uaestores) are mentioned in connection with the construction of a tower (turris), possibly some form of citadel (III 1820 = ILS 7166). One of each category of official is a libertus. The nomen of the freeborn magister Q. Safinius Q.f. is not widely attested in the province; a certain L. Safin(i)us Quar(tus) occurs amongst the magistri mercuriales of Narona (III 1801), a commercial association incorporated into the freedman sevirate. The only other member of the family is probably of the second century (married to an Aelia), at Citluk in Brotnopolje, probably on the territorium of Narona (III 12798). In this context we may perhaps note the Safii, also of Narona; a C. Safius Severus, aedile and IIIIvir, is the only instance of this nomen in the province and belongs to the first century (III 14626).

The freedman magister is Sex. Marius L.l., a nomen fairly common along the coast of Dalmatia. At Iader and Salonae they appear among the upper classes; note the Maria Q.f. Paulla (III 2926 set up d.d. at Iader) and the M. Marius Paullus who married into the Albucii of Salonae (III 1965 with formula l.d.d.d.) as well as the L. Marius Fortunatus, miles of leg. IIII Flavia felix, who is probably a native of Salonae where his tombstone was set up (III 2021).

The freeborn quaestor is Q. Marcius Q.f. whose family has already been discussed in connection with Q. Marcius Turbo (see above ch. XV p. 474 ); here we may note that they were honestiores in Turbo's

home city Epidaurum (III 1755) and appear in the sevirate at Aequum (III 9765).

The freedman quaestor, P. Annaeus Q.l. Epicadus, provides the earliest dateable occurrence of this powerful Narona family. This individual is an Illyrian as his cognomen demonstrates (note Caius Epicadi f. princeps civitatis Docleatium at Grahovo in Montenegro, OJh xii (1909) Bb. 20lf.). The same man is also attested on the dedication of a temple to Liber Pater (III 1784), a cult common in and around Narona (III 1785, 1787, 1788? 8430).

More Annaei are known at Narona during the first century, of whom the most eminent is A. Annaeus A.F. An. Flaccus, flamen Augustalis, IIIIvir quinq. II, IIIIvir i.d., praef. i.d. and pontifex (III 1822); his tribe Aniensis indicates a first-generation immigrant, while the iterated IIIIvirate suggests that he may have lived to an advanced age. Annaei occur also in the sevirate; a P. Annaeus [....se]vir m.m. is found, related to an immigrant family bearing the unusual nomen of Lacutulanus (III 1827), attested in Central Italy (Schulze, LE 358 cites, in addition to the Narona item, IX 4179,4239, 4467 Amiternum; X 824 Pompeii; 5484 Aquinum: the nomen appears to be of Etruscan origin.). Other seviri of this family are P. Anna(eus) Stमित[.....](III 1801, fragmentary but probably a collegiate dedication by seviri) and L. Annaeus Palaestric(us), IIIIIIvir honoured with a funeral by the thiasus iuventutis (III 1828 cf. p. 1494 ILS 7303a Narona). All the other known Annaei come from Narona and

its immediate vicinity (III 1841, 8446a, 8447, 1842). In the second century we may note the L. Annaeus Servilianus in command of the newly-raised coh.II Delmatarum milliaria rebuilding the city walls of Salonae in A.D. 170 (III 6374), possibly one of the Narona Annaei.

The last of the group of Italian families whose settlement is dated to the republican period are the Papii. They are attested on a dedication to Octavian set up at Tasovčići on the occasion of his victory over Sextus Pompeius and the pirates in 36 B.C. (III 14625). The dedicators are the brothers C. Papius Cels[u]s and M. Papius Kanus; this nomen is attested on inscriptions in Latium but in an earlier period is found among the Samnite leaders (CIL I(2) 236; Liv. viii 39, 10-15. 320-314 B.C.); other Papii are known at Dyrrhacium (Praschniker - Schober, Archaeol. Forschung. 40f. fig. 48). At Narona their status appears to have been high, judging from the occurrence of a Papia L.f. Brocchina sacerdos divae Augustae (III 6361), probably of Claudian date when Livia was deified (Dio lx 4; Suet. Claud. 13). The unusual cognomen Brocchina occurs at Iader among the equestrian Appuleii (III 9982) and it is possible that there may be a link here. Only one Annaeus is known at Salonae, on a fragmentary inscription (III 14824).

This summary of the epigraphic evidence for settlement in the republican period strongly emphasises the great preponderance of Narona as a trading station in the first century B.C. It is strange that no such evidence exists for Salonae, where the word of Casar

indicates a settlement of some strength (see above on Salonae ch. XII p. 320 ).

(ii) Italian immigrants in Dalmatian Cities (excluding Liburnia);  
isolated examples

Strangely enough, Salonae does not supply the majority of individuals in this category. The only one of real note is D. Campanius L.f. Tro. Varus, aedilis, IIIIvir, IIIIvir quinquennalis, augur, flamen and praefectus fabrum (III 8787). In view of his obvious standing at Salonae it is remarkable that there is no other record of Campanii either from Salonae or any other city of Dalmatia. Of first century date, in view of the IIIIvirate, he may well be a first-generation immigrant from Campania (note the X 3940 Capua) but his tribe shows him to be a citizen of Salonae.

In contrast to Salonae, two of the few known honestiores of Epidaurum were Italian immigrants whose families are not known of elsewhere in Dalmatia. P. Anulenus Bassus superintended the building of a water reservoir (III 1750), while the other is M. Pomentinus Turbo, a IIvir attested with son and daughter (III 1748). Both nomina are extremely rare; except for a Pomentina at Dyrrhacium (III 622) neither occurs anywhere in the area of CIL III. In themselves they tell us but little; Pomentinus is presumably formed from the tribe Pomptina while for Anulenus Schulze only adds to the Epidaurum example one at Rome (LE 346 note 5, citing VI 7459).

In the same category we can include Sex. Cippius G.fil. Serg.

Firminianus with his father and cousin, both of whom are named G. Cippius Aper, at Acruvium; no municipal magistracy is recorded but the reference to a civic banquet guarantees their status (III 1710). Only one instance of the nomen occurs in CIL III (III 6017/9 from near Graz) while it is not included by Schulze (LE). The only evidence for municipal institutions at Lissus, the most southerly of the Dalmatian municipia, is the record of the construction of city defences under the IIvir quinquennalis L. Gavius Arnn(ensis) (III 1704). An early date can be suggested for this stone since the formula it bears in connection with the building is identical with that found on the record of Q. Numerius Rufus, Caesar's legate in Illyricum in 56 B.C. (III 3078 Issa, on this man see above ch. IV p. 98 ), and if he is not republican he can almost certainly be dated to Augustus. <sup>G</sup> Gavii occur sporadically elsewhere in Dalmatia; at Salonae T. Gavius Benedictus (III 9108 with formula d.m. suggesting second century date), and Burnum (two examples: a mil. leg XI from Brixellum, III 14231/13, and one from Florentia, III 2834).

(iii) Isolated Italian settlers in Liburnia

As in the cities of Dalmatia, we can identify some Italian settlers in those of Liburnia; in almost all cases they are municipal magistrates whose names occur in no other context in that city or in the province as a whole. Naturally the nomina of persons in this category are uncommon generally, and although there can be no certainty most of them seem to belong to the first century. As the leading city of

Liburnia, Iader provides most of the examples in this category.

The nomen of C. Arrenus C.f. Tro. Maximus, honoured with an aedilate by the ordo Iadestina (III 2910), is found nowhere else in the province. One instance occurs in Moesia inferior (III 7518) while Schulze (LE 125) cites examples in Italy ( V 2073 Feltria, 6954 Taurini, IX 5067 Interamna, 5276 Hispellum, XIV<sup>3951</sup> Nomentum, Not. Scav. 1900 575 Rome). His tribe Tromentina is not the official tribe of Iader but is found on more than one occasion amongst honestiores there, and we need have no doubt that he was at home in Iader where he had a libertus, C. Arren(us) Dionysius.

Another instance of Tromentina among the Iader honestiores is Q. Asisienus Q.f. Tro. Agrippa who was aedile, IIvir and pontifex and was honoured by decuriones et pleps (III 2920). The nomen is extremely rare and I can find no other record of it; Schulze does not cite it but had he done so he would presumably have assigned it to Latium on the grounds of the termination -ienus (LE 438).

An undoubted case of Italian settlement is that of T. Elvius Marinus, IIIIVir of Altinum, whose tombstone was set up at Iader before A.D. 42 by his son T. Elvius Salinator, a centurion in leg. VII (III 2914). Altinum lies on the opposite coast to Liburnia and it is not surprising that the father should have moved over to the province where his son held a centurionate in one of its legions.

Similarly there is no doubt concerning the origin of the family of Q. Laepicus Q.f. Serg Bassus, in whose memory a market place was

constructed at Iader (III 2922 cf. add. 9897) by his wife Melia Anniana. As Schulze observes, the termination -icus points to regio X (LE 32) with its basically Illyrian 'Venetic' population. The name does not occur in any quantity, but in Dalmatia we may note at Salonae a C. <sup>L</sup>Paepicus Secundus married to a Maria Rectina whose family had high connections at Salonae and Narona (III 2431). All the above cases of persons who appear to be Italian immigrants come from Iader, but in other cities of Liburnia there are similar instances of highly placed Italian immigrants whose nomina are rare or whose families did not prosper for one reason or another.

At Asseria L. Caninius T.f. Cla. Fronto, IIvir and flamen divi Claudii and thus dateable to Nero or not long afterwards, may be an Italian settler (OJh xi (1908) Bb. 70 n. 12) although the name is not unknown at other centres in the province; the praetorian at Corinium (III 2884) is probably of the same family as the individual at Asseria, while an example occurs far away at Doclea (III 8288a). It is possible that with the Caninii we may be dealing with a native Liburnian family of Asseria (cf. OJh xi (1908) 66 6 for another example), but their date still suggests a possibility of Italian immigration. More probably of Italian origin, although not dated as precisely as the Caninii of Asseria, is the Cinius Genialis at Aenona who restored the statue of Ianus Augustus on behalf of his ordo and his fellow citizens (III 2969, ILS 3321). Cinius is an uncommon nomen, unknown in Dalmatia and not cited by Schulze (LE 423 cites Cinnius). Another

name quite unknown in the cities of Dalmatia is that of P. Pitius P.f. Marullus, decurion at Curictae (III 3128). A family of Pitii are found at Carnuntum and may well represent a branch of the Curictae Pitii who had moved on in commerce (III 4518, 4602); we may also note the Petii at Ravenna and also Salonae (XI 137 and III 8964), while their Italian origin is suggested by two examples of Pitii cited from Baiae by Schulze (LE 211 citing X 2367, 2850).

Sidrona (or Hadra, Medvidje between Corinium and Asseria, cf. above ch. X p. 273f.) does not appear a likely settlement to find an Italian immigrant, but the Q. Cestius Q. filius Proculus, IIvir bis, with his daughter does not seem a native Liburnian (III 2864); the nomen is quite rare (not cited by Schulze) but occurs at three scattered places in CIL III, Ephesus (III 416), Samothrace (III 12322) and on tiles in Noricum (III 13552/21 Ovilava, III 12014/198 Virunum).

The small coastal settlements of Liburnia between Iader and the Gulf of Flanona can never have been anything more than large fishing villages, and their attraction to Italian settlers cannot have been great. One possible Italian immigrant is the L. Sestius L.f. Ser. Silvester at Lopsica (III 10027 Karlobag), a decurion who died at the age of 23. Sestius is a variant of the common Sextius and occurs twice at Salonae (III 2605, Sestius Victor, late second century; III 9341, Sestius Clarus, also <sup>t</sup>lage in view of the formula d.m.). Schulze (LE 561) cites an example from somewhere in Italy and connects it with a place Sestion recorded by Stephanus Byzantinus (562).

(iv) Established families of Dalmatia

In this section we deal with those families who became well established in Dalmatian cities - some in one city only, others in a number of cities - with municipal magistracies. In the following section a distinction is made between (a) those of Dalmatia and (b) those of Liburnia.

(a) Families established in single cities of Dalmatia (excluding Liburnia).

About half a dozen families became established in Salonae only. Among leading families of Salonae in the first century are the Albii who are attested in the IIIIvirate during the first century (III 2073); their continuity among the upper classes is demonstrated by the Albia Crisp[<sup>a</sup>in~~s~~] married in the second century to P. Aelius Rastorianus, one of the romanised nobility from the interior of the province who held high positions in a plurality of cities, many of them newly-created municipia (III 8783); the case is interesting in illustrating how the native aristocracy were accepted into the Italianate ruling class of the provincial capital. The nomen is common in the Northern Adriatic (Aquileia, Calderini 448 (17ex.), Pola, Insc. It. XI 187, Ateste, V 3482; note also the probably fourth century Alb(ius) Valens at Salonae, III 8869). Albucii are a most interesting Salonae family with connections in Issa, a city which may have at one time been a dependant community of the provincial capital (see above ch. XII p. 332f.). On a family tombstone we have (III 2074) C. Albucius C.f.

Tro. Procilianus, decurion and aedile of Salonae as well as decurion of Issa, son of C. Albucius C.f. Trom. Menippus, decurion and aedile of Salonae, and brother of C. Albucius C.f. Serg. Menippus, decurion of Issa only. The tribe of the second son, Sergia, is well attested among other honestiores of Salonae but it is possible that the tribal variation within the same family is due to his being born and perhaps domiciled in Issa. Other Albucii are found in the Salonae decurionate (BD xxx (1907) 87 3809a), while their freedmen are found in the in the sevirate (III 2100 cf. add. 8586, also III 2166, 2167 and 8868 for freedman types with this nomen). Although common in Cisalpine Gaul (CIL V index ad loc.) they occur at no other centre in Dalmatia. The Salonae Albucii had connections with other families of quality; an Albucia C.f. Pontia is found married to a Marius, member of a family of Salonae honestiores (III 1965), while a sevir of the family had married a Tullia, perhaps one of the household of the Salonae family of that name which attained equestrian rank in the second century. Their commercial contacts are shown by a dedication Deae Suriae by one of their freedmen, C. Albucius C.l. Restitutus (III 1961).

The Anicii are one of the leading families of Salonae who can be dated to the early decades of the first century. L. Anicius L.f. Paetinas was IIIIvir quinquennalis, praefectus quinquennalis of the cults established in honour of Drusus Caesar Germanicus and P. Cornelius Dolabella, legate of the province during the early years of Tiberius,

pontifex and flamen of Iulia Augusta; within the city he was praefectus fabrum and praefectus Phariac(ae) Salonitan(ae) which is suggested may have been the prefecture of the island of Pharia (see above ch. XII p. 330 ). Without doubt the inscription belongs to the reign of Tiberius; what the praefectus quinquennalis signifies is not clear but it may be that the ordinary IIIIvirate was suspended and a prefecture instituted for such special occasions as a cult festival (III 14712). Found alongside this inscription is another Anicius with the same cognomen but with different filiation (III 14713); his honours include IIIIvir and IIIIvir quinquennalis and praefectus fabrum, while his tombstone was set up at public expense. Apart from a single instance at Acruvium (Anicia III 8387) the family is not found anywhere else in the province, although it does appear at Aquileia (Calderini 450).

Although some Caesii are found in other cities it is clear that Salonae was their main centre. One tombstone of the family records a C. Caesius C.l. Amaranthus, IIIIIIvir Aug., married to a Clodia P.l. Blanda (III 8786); also mentioned on the same stone - probably the patron although this is not in fact stated - is C. Caesius C.f. Tro. Vindex, aedile and IIIIvir, married to a Cornelia P.f. Clementilla, a Salonae family of equestrian rank (cf. ch. XV p. 493 above). At Narona a Caesius M.l. Primus appears as a IIIIIIvir m.M. setting up a joint dedication to Aesculapius (AE 1932 82). A small group were established at Risinium (III 1720 -1-2), while at Tragurium we

find a Caesius married to a Bennia (III 2688), a leading Salonae family of equestrian rank. Most of the ordinary Caesii are from Salonae itself (III 9298, 14757, 14758, 14759). The legions may well have brought some of the Caesii to Dalmatia, for instance L. Caesius L.f. Cam Bassus from Pisaurum (III 2014) a veteran of leg VII at Salonae with his own household. If in fact he was the first of this family then their arrival can be dated to the period before A.D. 42.

Nassius is a nomen which may well have originated in Salonae.

On the Herculaneum diploma of A.D. 70 (XVI 11), issued to a peregrinus from the interior of Dalmatia serving in II Adiutrix, M. Nassius Phoebus Salonit(anus) appears among a group of Dalmatian witnesses. In Dalmatia the nomen is only found at Salonae and in its immediate vicinity; Q. Nassius Q.f. Tro. Certus, Draco, aedile and IIIIvir i.d., is married to a Tullia Intuma (III 2083), whose family were of equestrian rank in the second century. Others we may note are a Nassius Iulianus, sevir Augustalis (III 8792 cf. p. 2328/126), and a M. Nassius Sotericus, friend of a wine merchant at Vranjić, a small village in the bay of Salonae (III 2131). The duplication of cognomina is a common Illyrian practice and raises the possibility that the Nassii may themselves present a rare instance of native Illyrians among the honestiores of Salonae in the first century, a date suggested by the diploma witness and the first century IIIIvirate. For their Italian background, on the other hand, Schulze (LE 275) cites examples at Corfinium (IX 3191), Herculaneum (X 1403), Cumae (X 2765) and

Praeneste (XIV 2966).

The last but by far the most numerous of the established upper class families of Saloniae are the Vettii. Two honestiores are known at Saloniae. T. Vettius Augustalis was decurion, aedile, quaestor and IIvir of Saloniae as well as patron and prefect of the collegium fabrorum (III 2087); he is probably to be dated to the early decades of the second century on analogy with another man of this family, L. Vettius L.f. Serg. Catulus, IIvir, whose dedication in honour of Divus Nerva almost certainly dates to the reign of Trajan (III 1978). This last stone has been taken as evidence (cf. Mommsen CIL III p. 305) for the date of the change-over from IIIIviri to IIviri at Saloniae, although what in fact this change of title meant in terms of the actual government of the colony and number of magistrates is uncertain - perhaps quaestores took the place of the missing half of the IIIIviri. Liberti of the family are attested in the sevirate (III 2104 cf. 8588: T. Vettius T.l. Fortunatus Augustalis, and III 2103: C. Vettius Eutyches IIIIIIvir Aug) and may belong to a generation or so earlier than the honestiores, while other members of the family are very numerous at Saloniae (III 2102, 2121 a slave from Aquileia, 2594, 9174, 9341, 9399, 9400, 14246/1, 14703); of these one (III 14246/1) is a Q. Vettius Hospes from Suessa in Campania serving in the cohors Campana, probably under Augustus, while another is L. Vettius Pro(culus), a bf. cos. of leg. XI Cl.p.f., probably of the second half of the first century (cf. Ritterling, legio, 1705

on the abbreviations). Here again the family may have come, like the Caesii, to Salonae through military settlement during the first century.

Although in no way comparable to Salonae other cities of Dalmatia can show families of quality.

The Claudian colony of Aequum has an interesting group of families to itself. Except for an equestrian officer, Calpurnii are not found among the municipal aristocracy at Salonae (III 8736); their high position at Aequum is shown by a Calpurnia Crispina married to an unknown IIvir designatus (III 9763) and the lady may be a member of the Liburnian Calpurnii whose connection with the Calpurnii Pisones has been discussed above (ch. XV p. 453 ). Naevii also, with one exception at Salonae, appear restricted to Aequum (III 14243/4 L.Na[evius] L.l. Diogenes mag. col. sevir quinquennalis). From Potravlje, northwest of Sinj, come two records of this family as honestiores at Aequum; [M. Na]evius Firmus, decurion, aedile and duumvir, appears with his family (Strena Buliciana 255 n.3 = AE 1925 36), while on the other we have Q. Naevius Q.fil. Sim[plex], decurion and aedile, married to a [?Domi]tia Marcella (Strena Buliciana, loc. cit.,) Almost certainly related to the Naevii is the T. Naevienus Seneca, decurion, aedile and IIvir of the col. Aequensium (Vjesnik lv (1953) 257 n.4) whose nomen is nowhere else attested in the province. With this last person we can trace a link with the third great municipal family of Aequum, the Seccii, by his marriage to a Seccia

Pudentilla. This family is represented by [C.Se]ccius Cn.f. Serg. Marcellus and C. Seccius C.fil. Serg. Aper who commemorated their duovirates with a portico and banqueting place (III 9767). Also we find an individual liberta Seccia Silvia (III 9778) and an unusually large family of liberti, Cn. Seccius Auctus, Cn. Seccius Felix, Cn. Seccius Crescens, Cn. [Seccius] Diadumenus, Cn. Seccius Mystus and Seccia[.....] (III 9777). Away from Aequum a Seccia occurs at Rider (Vjesnik li (1950-1) 225). The nomen is rare; Holder (ii 1423) cites examples from Noricum (III 5671, 11480) while there is certainly a Celtic Seccius (XII 4151, Seccia Secci fil. Secundina cited by Schulze LE 20, cf. also his remarks *ibid.*, 227).

Narona can produce a very wide range of nomina in the freedman sevirate, but it is extremely difficult to identify any established families comparable to those at Salonae and Aequum. The two main families appear to be the Lusii, who have senatorial connections, and the Annaei, whose settlement as early as the republican period has been discussed in section (i) of this chapter.

After the Annaei the Publicii appear next in order of significance at Narona, a nomen which may refer back to servi publici freed by their cities. Isolated examples appear at Iader (III 2902) and Asseria (III 9941) but their absence from the honestiores of Salonae suggests that they were centered on Narona, where the most notable is a [Publi]cius Q.f. Nic[ephorus] holding the aedilate and IIIIvirate (BD xxxiii (1910) 110); the only other notable is a C. Publicius

Romanus, a decurion whose daughter's name Publicia Ilurica suggests a native origin (III 8441). Publicii are common in the sevirate at Narona (III 8442, Aug. F(lavialis) T(itialis) [N(ervialis)], 14624/1, 14625/1) but surprisingly only one ordinary instance of the nomen appears at Narona in contrast to the thirteen at Salonae (CIL III index ad loc.).

Judging from their quantity and distribution, the other Narona families attested in municipal offices were of little significance. A T. Mevius T.f. Tro. Celsus, aedile and IIIvir (sic: probably really IIIIvir), is the only instance of this nomen in the colony (III 1868). The only other occurrence in all Dalmatia is from Iader, where a Mevia Felicula is married to a M. Caton(ius) Varus, decurion (III 2924), and another instance is found at Aquileia (Calderini 522); the nomen does not appear in the indexes of Schulze (LE). The second family is represented by Q. Veturius Secundus, decurion of the colony (III 8444), assignable on stylistic grounds to the second century. No other instance of the name occurs at Narona but at Salonae an L. Vetur[ius .....]us, eques of an unknown praetorian cohort and dateable to the second century by his marriage to an Aelia Maximina, may be a relative of the Narona decurion (III 8765).

Vibii are common in the Dalmatian cities, especially at Salonae and Narona, but the only city where they occur as honestiores is Epidaurum, where we find a P. Vibius P.f. Urbicus,

[IIVir] i.d. attested on the building record of a water reservoir (III 1750). At Narona they appear in the sevirate (III 1770, 1835 three examples) and one example is known at Salonae (III 8806). In Flanona they are related to the Aquilii, the leading family of that city (III 3032), while examples occur at Iader (III 10015) and Arba (III 10123), but it is clear that they were at home in the cities of Dalmatia proper.

(b) Families established in more than one city of Dalmatia (excluding Liburnia)

This final section, dealing with the established families of the cities of Dalmatia, includes those who held civic positions in more than one city. All of them are represented at Salonae and it is probably at that place that the original Italian immigrants settled. How long Italian settlement continued is difficult to say, but certainly there was considerable movement within the province from the older communities on the coast to some of the newly developing native centres. Thus we have the Turranii at Flavian Scardona, Rutilii at <sup>R</sup>Iader and no less than three such families at the Flavian municipium of Doclea (Cassii, Epidii and Novii). The various families are dealt with here in alphabetical order.

The Cassii had attained equestrian rank at Salonae in the first century (III 8737), while their continued status in the colony is evidenced by the Q. Cassius [.....] IIVir, a

descendant of the equestrian Cassius Constans (BD xxxiv (1911) 10 4111A), while a member of the Salonae collegium of Serapis attested at Aternum (IX 6106) bears this name. In the south they spread to Doclea where we find Q. Cassius Aquila, decurion, married to an Epidia Celerina, of another of the leading families in that city and probably of native origin (III 8287).

Clodii appear early in two cities - Salonae and Acruvium. In the latter place they are represented by the equestrian C. Clodius C.f. Serg. Vitellinus, IIvir i.d., who had seen service on the jury panels at Rome (III 1711), with also a family of freedmen (III 1713). At Salonae a signifer of leg. VII C.p.f. whose name has been lost had a freedman called Clodius and it may well be that the quattuorvir C. Clodius C.f. Serg. Fadienus (III 2079) was a descendant of his. Their seviri occur at Salonae (III 2095 cf. 8583) and Narona (Vjesnik lv (1953) 262) where a P. Clodius (no cognomen) on what appears to be a dedication by the college of seviri may be connected with the senatorial P. Clodii.

In many ways the Egnatii are similar to the Clodii. A decurion appears at Risinium (III 1758 cf. 8403), C. Egnatius C.f. Serg. Marcellus, and is probably assignable to the first century. The other city where they held civic office was Salonae, in the person of L. Egnatius L.f. Cn.nep. Cn. pronep. Tro. Clemens, decurion and augur (III 1942). In Risinium they

were related to the Statii, a leading family there (III 1732), while from Aenona a dedication to the Liburnian deity Latra by Egnatia C.f. Paullina betokens a <sup>a</sup>day of high social status (III 2971). There is a suggestion that the Egnatij<sup>a</sup> of Salonae is almost certainly identical with a lady of the same names at Iader (III 9944), while the former's brother Egnatius Secundinus (III 2311) may be related to an Egnatius Secundus attested at Iader (III 2906). A number of liberti of the family are known at Salonae (III 9045, 12977, 14777/1).

Fulvii are honestiores at Salonae and Epidaurum; in the latter city we have a Q. Fulv[ius .....], IIVir, married to a Taria (III 8408 cf. III 1739) and perhaps related to a Tarius [.v]eter[anus]. At Salonae there are two honestiores of this family, ..[Fulv]ius Sex.f. Tro. [Alfi]anus decurion with his family (III 8789), and a Fulvia married to an aedile (BD xxvi (1903) 140 3119); a connection with the C. Fulvius C.f. Vol. miles of leg. XI from Philippi (III 2031) is possible but a military origin for this family must remain conjectural. At Salonae we find their liberti, one of whom can be dated to the second century by his appearance on the tombstone of a P. Ael. P.lib. Satyrus (III 2144, and for a possible record of the same man III 8590 = 2109). In the case of Fulvii we must always bear in mind the possibility of a connection with the Fulvius Maximus who was legate of Dalmatia at the end of the second

century (Jagenteudel, Fasti, 85ff.) and we may note the number of Fulvii who occur at Salonae (III 9107, 12985) and Epetium (III 8533). Elsewhere an Italian connection is revealed by Fulvia Vitalis, married to a miles of coh. VIII Vol. from Cemenelum at Andetrium (III 9782). In Liburnia they appear established in one city only, an aedile in the local tribe Claudia at Nedinum (Vjesnik liii (1950-1) 241 n. 18, a rereading of III 2867).

The Iunii are found at Salonae and Epidaurum. In the latter we find [I]un. Epidianus among the Iiviri (III 1747), a cognomen that leaves little doubt of native ancestry on at least one side of the family. A IIIIIIvir of the family occurs at Narona (Patsch, Narona, 92 n.7, for other Iunii at Na<sup>†</sup>rona cf. III 8458) while at Salonae there is M. Iunius Iustus, decurion, Iivir and pontifex, probably of second century date (III 2081), as is also the [Iun]ius Fronto, sevir Augustalis, from Klis near Salonae (BD xxx (1907) 118 3928A). Ordinary Iunii occur on no less than thirteen tombstones from Salonae (CIL III index ad nom.). Again there is the possibility that a leading family of Dalmatia may have arrived through veteran settlement in the person of a veteran of leg VII from Heraclea who died before A.D. 42 (III 12903 Salonae).

Compared with the Fulvii or Iunii the Lurii were of little account, and with two exceptions all the instances of the nomen

attested in the province come from either Salonae or Risinium. The latter city may have been their main centre, at least in the first century, judging from a witness of the Salonae diploma of A.D. 70 (XVI 14), P. Lurius Moderatus Risinitan(us), while Lurii are represented on the small number of inscriptions known from Risinium itself (III 1725-6) and a single instance is found at Acruvium, a few miles to the south (III 1715). At Salonae they occur among the upper classes in the person of a Luria Hygia, daughter of a honestior (III 1971), while ordinary members are also known (III 13006, 14809). Curictæ in Liburnia produces an isolated example (III 13289).

The Statii have been mentioned already in connection with C. Staius C.f. Serg. Celsus, evocatus decorated by Trajan in the Dacian War and appointed to a centurionate in VII Gemina (cf. above ch. <sup>ix</sup> ~~ix~~ p. 226 ). Statii are honestiores at Salonae with L. Sta[ti]us P.f.[M .....] aed. II [vir flam. ] divi Ve[spasiani], giving further confirmation to the view that the IIvirate was instituted instead of the IIIIvirate in the last decades of the first century (III 13910); a quinquennalis is also attested, L. Staius L.f. Facula (III 1954), as well as one of their seviri who, if the reconstruction is correct, appears to have made the remarkable leap from the freedman sevirate to a <sup>decurionale</sup> ~~magistracy~~ of the colony, [M? Staius M.] lib. Pal. [...?? VIvir? aug.i]tem dec. col. [Sal. (III 14249/3).

An extremely common nomen at Salonae is Titius (eighteen inscriptions) although only one of them is an honestior, C. Titius C.f. Vel. Primus, whose tribe reveals him to be an immigrant (III 6378) while his IIIIvirate places him in the first century. A single instance of a sevir is known (III 2092). Some of the many instances of this name at Salonae may in fact be a latinisation of the Illyrian name Titus which is widespread in the interior of the province (cf. Mayer, Sprache, 340, for collection of evidence). At Iader there is the decurion M. Titius M. [f]. Ser. Marinus (III 2930), and isolated examples occur at Asseria (III 15020) and Hadra (III 9925). Again we may raise the possibility of settlement through the legions with M. Titius, an equus of leg. VII from Isinda at Salonae (BD xxxvi (1913) 14 4407A). We may also consider the possibility of military settlement in the case of the Domitii. On a large dedication dated to A.D. 137 (III 1933 ILS 4907) a man of this name appears as one of the IIviri; he bears the same names, P. Domitius Potens, as a veteran of coh. III Alpinorum (III 2003) also at Salonae, and it is not impossible that the two are identical. The name also appears in another military context with a L. [D]omitius [V]alens ve[t]. of V Macedonica (BD xxxii (1909) 59 3900A). Domitii are unknown at Salonae in the first century and it is possible that they may be one of the families whose rise in the social scale did not

come about until the second century.

The last family to be considered in this section are the Petronii, who are unusual in that they were established not only in cities of Dalmatia proper but also in Liburnia. At Salonae there are recorded examples as IIIIvir (III 8525 cf, p. 2323 Epetium and aedile (III 8799), while as seviri we have D. Petronius Dasius (native cognomen) and D. Petronius Cilo (III 2097a); seviri of this name are found also at Narona (Patsch, Narona, 89 fig. 47). Compared with the ten inscriptions of the family at Salonae this is their only occurrence at Narona. The Petronii became one of the leading families of Scardona, headquarters of the Liburnian judicial conventus, where we find C. Petronius Firmus setting up a dedication to the Genius municipii Fl(avi) Scardonae to commemorate his augurate (III 2802 with the formula l.d.d.d.). No others of this name are known at Scardona but elsewhere they are found in Iader (III 2950, 10009, 10010), Albona (III 3058) - where we have the most interesting native connections in Vesclevius Petronius Triti f. -, and finally one at Asseria (III 9935). On the military side we have Q. Petronius Valerius at Rider who is probably a veteran of VII Claudia (III 2772 the stone says militavit in leg. VII G.p.f. but at this date VII Claudia is more likely) perhaps a native who returned home after service since the stone certainly does not belong to the period when the legion was in Dalmatia.

(v) Families established in the cities of Liburnia

Although the Liburnian cities can produce only one family which rose to senatorial rank (Raecii), the smaller number of the leading families are in some ways more impressive than those of the cities of the rest of the province.

Raecii were the leading family with connections in a number of Liburnian cities. The native as opposed to immigrant origin of the family is demonstrated by the Q. Fonteius Raeci f. married to a Volsouna Oplica Pl[a]etoris f. (III 3149 Crexi), and there can be little doubt that the Raecii who rose to the senate in the later second century, descended from a primipilaris, originated perhaps in the municipal aristocracy of one of the smaller Liburnian cities. Two examples occur in Dalmatia, both with native connections: a Raecia Maria married to an Aplus Karus (III 2501) at Salonae, and on the nearby island of Solentia (Solta) we have a P. Raecius [...] Liccaius (III 15101). They are found in Cisalpine Gaul at Opitergium (V 2009, 2010) and Patavium (V 3023) as well as an example at Solva in Noricum (III 5380).

Related to the Raecii were the Trebbii, although in their case the evidence, such as it is, suggests they were immigrants to Liburnia rather than natives. At Iader there is M. Trebius Proculus, holding the equus publicus as well as a IIvirate of Arba (III 2931). His daughter Trebia Procula provides the link

with the Raecii by her marriage to Q. Raecius Rufus, the primuspilus of XII Fulminata decorated by Titus and Trajan (III 2917 Iader). The possibility of a military origin for this family is raised by the L. Trebius Paulus, veteran of leg. VIII Augusta (III 3127 Omišalj), probably of first century date (cf. above ch. VIII Appendix I). Of an even earlier date is the L. Trebius L.f., veteran of an unspecified legion, attested on the tombstone of his young son. L. Trebius L.f. Exoratus who died at the age of twelve in the territory of the Maezeii (III 6383 Salonae). Another possible member of the family is the L. Trebius Secundus, praefectus castrorum (probably of leg. VII but this is not stated), appointed to settle a boundary dispute between the Onastini and the Narestini in the first years of the reign of Gaius (III 8472 Krug di Jesenice). A more certain member of the family is the C. Trebius C.[f.] Firmus, a veteran of leg. XI who died at the age of eighty (III 2918) and appears a likely candidate for the ancestor of the later first century equestrian M. Trebius Proculus. The failure of the veteran to state his origo suggests that he may have been a native of Iader, especially interesting in view of the fact that he cannot (with his age and the lack of legionary title C.p.f.) have been born much later than 40 B.C.

The third great family of Liburnia were the Appuleii, who achieved equestrian status as well as leading positions at

Iader and Aenona. The equestrian member of the family occurs at Iader in the form of [C?] [A]ppuleius C.f. Serg. Balbinus, pontifex, who held the equus publicus and who died at the early age of twenty-one, while his mother Epidia Celerina suggests native connections (III 9997). At nearby Aenona there is Appul<sup>e</sup>sius P.f. Fronto, aedile and IIVir quinquennalis, who was probably a member of the Iader ordo (III 2977 cf. p. 1037 cf. also ch. X p. 266f. above). Back at Iader we find an obviously distinguished lady of the family in the Appuleia M.f. Quinta attested on two dedications, one to Iuppiter Augustus and the other to Iuno Augusta, set up in her own name and of that of her son L. Turpilius Brocchus Licinianus (III 6566 equals 9994, III 2904 equals 9982 cf. III 2905). The nomen of her son, and thus presumably of her husband also, does not occur elsewhere in Liburnia although one instance is known at Salonae (III 2383). Liberti of the family occur at Aenona (AE 1938 31) with T. Appuleius T.l. Anticonius dedicating to the native Liburnian deity Anzotica, and also at Iader where the Appuleia M.f. Quinta mentioned above refers to her household (III 2940). The Appuleii occur also among the honestiores of Salonae and in a most interesting context. In the hinterland of Salonae near Imotski comes the tombstone of G. Appuleius Etruscus, a veteran of leg. XI who had held a post as speculator on the legate's officium, who was adlected to the Salonae

decurionate (III 8506 plus p. 2328/121). It is possible that he was one of the Liburnian Appuleii, since a veteran who does not give an origo at this early date is something of a rarity, and that he preferred to remain at Salonae and enjoy the position which he may have created for himself while serving at provincial headquarters. Appuleii were certainly established there in later years with an L. Appuleius Montanus, veteran ex ordinatus (i.e. ex-centurion), who was not only a decurion of Salonae but also IIvir of Aequum (III 8721); his wife is an Octavia, suggesting, perhaps, a link with the Octavii of Liburnian Nedinum. In Liburnia the Appuleii certainly extended farther afield with an Appuleia C.fil. Marcella occurring among a group of ladies of noble appearance at Lopsica (III 3015: for a better reading cf. Patsch, Lika, 104; note the interesting Iulia T.f. Tertia Toruca, a typical case of the duplicated cognomen found elsewhere among Liburnian honestiores). The L. Appuleius L.f. Sergia Iadestinus from Iader, serving in I Adiutrix at Moguntiacum (XIII 6827), is almost certainly one of the Dalmatians who were transferred from the Fleet early in A.D. 69; it is possible that he started life as a peregrinus and was given the civitas and an origo from Iader in a year when an Appuleius was magistrate there; the date is A.D. 70 - 85/6 (Ritterling, legio, 1384).

The fourth and last of the equestrian families of Liburnia

are the Vettidii, whose distribution is considerably less extensive than the other families of this category. The equestrian occurs at Iader, C. V<sup>e</sup>ttidius C.f. Tro. Maximus, pontifex, IIvir quinquennalis and patron of the colony as well as having the equus publicus (III 2932). No other instance of the nomen occurs at Iader and the tribe leads one to suggest that he may have come from elsewhere. The only other place where Vettidii occur among the honestiores, however, is Tarsatica (tribe Claudia) in the extreme north of the province; there we have two records of the family, Vettidius Nepos IIvir with his son T. Vettidius Nepos (III 3029), while on the other a T. Vettidius Nepos, probably one of the two mentioned on the first stone, occurs on the tombstone of a C. Notarius Vettidianus Secundus, IIvir i.dic. and sacerdos Augusti (III 3028). The nomen of this latter personage has caused some difficulty; either it is Cn. Otarius as Mommsen took it (CIL III ad loc.) or C. Notarius, preferred by Degraasi (confine etc., 103 note 14 cf. Epigraphica iv, 1942, plate. i for illustration) while Schulze (LE 364) only cites the Mommsen reading. Elsewhere Vettidii are unknown in Dalmatia.

A fifth equestrian does not appear to belong to an established family. M. Autronius D.f. Atratinus, an equus Romanus attested on two inscriptions (III 9999, 10000 Iader), bears a nomen that is not found anywhere else in Dalmatia and only occurs once in

CIL III (12~~7~~433 Moesia inferior) although its occurrence in three contexts in the northeast suggests that his home may not have been far away from Liburnia (V 1984 Opitergium, V 1915 Concordia, Inscr. It. X iii 172 Istria).

The two other upper class families of Iader are of little account and, apart from the odd inscription from the colony, are not found anywhere else either in Liburnia or Dalmatia. The name of a sevir Augustalis, Q. Dellius Q.l. Fuscus (III 2921), occurs also in another context where a Q. Dell[ius.....] is honoured with ornamen[ta decurionalia] but is hardly, as Hirschfeld suggested (CIL III ad. loc.), identical with the sevir (III 9998). In the near vicinity the nomen is found at Aquileia (Calderini, 490 six examples). With the more unusual nomina such as Dellius it is worth while taking note of historical personages, and in this case we may cite the Q. Dellius, an equus and negotiator and friend of Dolabella in Asia in 44 B.C., who accompanied Antony to Parthia in 36 B.C. Later he was sent into Macedonia to raise forces for the coming Civil War, and it is not impossible that some of his household may have managed to escape the disasters of Actium and settle in Liburnia. He was a man of learning and wrote an account of Antony's campaigns in Parthia which may well have been utilised by Plutarch (Strab. xi p. 523; and perhaps the man addressed by Horace in Odes ii 1). The other minor family is represented by the decurion

M. Caton(ius) Varus, married to a Mevia Felicula perhaps related to the highly-placed family of that name at Narona (III 2924). Except for a doubtful case from the interior (III 8323 Mun. S..., Plevlja) the nomen is unknown from Dalmatia. A Catonius occurs at Ulcisia Castra in Pannonia inferior (III 10574 Duna-Keszi).

The most significant distinction between the upper classes of the Liburnian and those of the Dalmatian cities is the strong suggestion that most of the former were from native stock in contrast to the almost completely Italian character of Salonae or Narona families, at least in the first century. In the case of the Liburnian families we can discern native cognomina among the Appuleii, and there is little doubt that Raecius is a Liburnian rather than a Latin name, formed from the native Raecus. In the following section, dealing with families of the smaller Liburnian cities, it will be noticed how many instances there occur of non-Roman names in the families of leading citizens, a complete contrast to the minor cities in the south of Dalmatia such as Acruvium or Risinium.

Baebii are far more numerous in Liburnia than in the rest of the province and are common also in regio X. In Liburnia they occur among the honestiores of Arba, where we have the interesting L. Baebius Opiavi f. Ser. Oplus Malavicus (two cognomina), decurion and IIvir, married to a Seia Opli f.

Tertulla (III 10121), and a B[ae]bia T.[f. Ca]lli[d]a married to an unknown decurion and IIvir (III 13293). A Baebius occurs as an aedilis at Aenona, Q. Baebius [. ] f. Zyprius (III 14322/4). The Baebii are fairly well scattered in Liburnian cities, though apparently not among the families holding magistracies. At Aenona we have a Baebia C.f. Maximilla related to a Cornelius (AE 1940 6), at Corinium there is a Baebius married to a Calpurnia (inferred from the name of her daughter III 2890), at Nedinum a dedication to Volcanus (III 14001) and at Asseria a Baebia is mother of an Oppius (III 15030/1 and 15036/1). Naturally some are found at Salonae (III 2242,-3, 2346) while there is an interesting occurrence in the interior from near Sarajevo (Spomenik lxxv (1933) 69).

Decidius is found only in two cities of Dalmatia, Apsoros and Salonae; in the former we have M. Decidius M.f. Maximus, aedile, IIvir and augur, but those at Salonae do not possess comparable status (III 9025, 3177 loc. inc. but probably Salonae) and may well be members of the Liburnian Decidii or possibly from Aquileia, where they appear in some quantity (Calderini 489f. 9 examples), or Pola (Inscr. It. X i 592a,e,b).

The L. Fonteius Q.f. Rufus, a IIvir attested on the Island of Crexi and thus assignable to the city of Apsoros (III 3148), is without any doubt of native Liburnian origin while his colleague is [C.] Aemilius Volso f. Oca whose ancestry calls

for no elucidation. The connection with the Raecii has already been noted above with Q. Fonteius Raeci f. married to a Volsouna Oplica Pl[a]etoris f. (III 3149). The nomen is not common, but as well as a doubtful example at Salonae (III 9401) there is an interesting L. Fonteius L.f. Salonae at Ateste (V 2711). Another nomen among the upper classes of Apsoros is Valerius in the form of Valerius Oclatinus, aedile and IIIIvir quinquennalis (III 3138); the nomen appears in the sevirate at Narona (III 1770) and also at Senia where a freedman L. Valerius Agathopus is honoured with a decurionate by the ordo Seniensium (III 3017).

The family of L. Magius Neus, who was honoured with a public funeral at Apsoros (III 3137), was connected with the Lartii both at Apsoros and Nedinum. At Apsoros this man's wife was Lartia T.f. Magia and his daughter was Magia<sup>a</sup> T.f. Maxima (~~etc~~), while the connection at Nedinum is revealed by the marriage of C. Lartius Sabinianus, officialis Neditarum (~~on this see above on p.~~) to a Magia Maxima who may be identical with the daughter of the Apsoros magistrate (III 2868). Elsewhere Lartii occur at Salonae (III 2414) and nearby Tragurium (III 2679).

The Gavillii of Albona are a Liburnian family remarkable in that their ancestry can be traced back to the early days of the colony of Aquileia. Three inscriptions record them, Sex. Gavillius Sex.f. Germus aedile and IIvir with his daughter (III 3054), T. Gavillius C.f. Claud. Lambicus aedile and IIvir who constructed a bath (balneum) for the

city (III 3047), and finally P. Gavillius Sex. f. Cla. Priscus, aedile and IIvir, who was awarded a public funeral, with his wife Taelia Volsetis f. Quarta and son P. Gavillius P.f. Cla. Maximus, also aedile and IIvir (III 3055). Another member of the family is also known there (III 3061). The Gavillii are the only known honestiores of Albona and their native character is revealed by such cognomina as Germus and Lambicus but the nomen itself appears to derive from Aquileia. In 178 B.C. two leading citizens of the colony, Cn. and L. Gavillii Novelli took the initiative in a campaign against the Histri (Liv. xli 5,1). The name also occurs frequently on inscriptions at Aquileia (V 1553, 1234, 1235, 1052b, 34, 1126), also at Tergeste (V 601, 602) and Parentium (V 338, 351), and they likewise appear to have spread into Noricum (III 4920, 11539 Virunum). Here we can see demonstrated how great a contribution was made by Aquileia in the settlement and commercial development of northeastern Italy and Liburnia. There is little doubt that the Gavillii of Albona originated from Aquileia, whether they came first as freedman traders or landed gentry.

The Octavii of Nedinum have already been discussed in connection with the Flavian jurist Iavolenus Priscus, and it has been suggested that this family stood in some special relationship to him, seeing that they bear his first praenomen and nomen (cf. ch. XV p. 454 above). Two inscriptions, one mentioning only Sex. Octavius Sex. f. Cla. Constans IIvir and pontiff (III 2869) while the second records

no less than three generations of the family (III 2870 for the stemma cf. ch. X p. 296 ): their native connections are revealed by the occurrence of Quintia Voltisa in the first generation of the second inscription. Elsewhere an Octavius occurs as IIVir and pontifex at Iader, C. Octa[vius M]ontanus (III 2927) while Arba can produce a decurion of this family, P. Octavius [.] f. Serg. Cirtus (III 13292 = 10122). Outside Liburnia Octavius does not have a wide distribution; at Salonae an Octavia Rufina is found married to a honestior Appuleius, possibly from the Nedinum family (III 8721). An Octavius recorded at Nedinum as a veteran of leg. VIII (Augusta) may be an early settler, as Mommsen thought (III 2865), but with the cognomen and other evidence concerning this legion's sojourn in the province, a date later in the first century is suggested (cf. ch. VIII appendix p. 215 ). At the Flavian municipium of Scardona the major family were the Turranii; here we have T. Turra[nius] T.F. Ser. Seda[tus], decurion and IIVir, sacerdos at the altar of the imperial cult of Liburnia, who was honoured with a statue (III 2810). At Salonae we have T. Turranius T.f. Verus, aedile of Scardona, with his household (III 2085), while a freedman of the family is also found there, C. Turranius Cronius IIIIIVir August(alis) (III 8675). It is possible that the L. Turranius L.f. Rufus whose aedilate is recorded at Nedinum (III 2870) may in fact be a member of the Scardona ordo, while

from much nearer to Scardona the praetorian evocatus, C. Turranius C.f. Severus, may be the first member of this family to settle in the area (III 2816, Roski-Slap on the R. Krka); his dedication is to Latra, a Liburnian deity very popular in the early first century around Corinium and Nedinum. For the original home of the Turranii we may perhaps look further afield to Northeast Italy, where they occur in a number of cities including Aquileia (Calderini, 557 seven examples), Concordia (V 1926, 8772, 8692) and Patavium (V 2058, 2847); apart from the examples cited above from Scardona and Salonae, the nomen is rare in Dalmatia (III 3045 Flanona, III 2744 Andetrium).

From this survey of the established families of the province of Dalmatia clear differences emerge between those of the Liburnian cities and those settled in the cities of Dalmatia proper. In Liburnia what Italian settlement there was appears to have merged very quickly into the native background, judging from the number of native elements appearing in the leading families even quite early in the first century. Some of these families quickly attained equestrian status, and the manner in which one family seems to monopolize the municipal magistracies (e.g. Octavii at Nedinum, Gavillii at Albona and Vettidii at Tarsatica) suggests that they were not unlike feudal barons

ruling their 'manors' with the civic forms of the polis. Obviously the epigraphic evidence is insufficient to allow confident generalisations, but the number of such indications of local power in the smaller cities of northern Liburnia cannot be lightly disregarded. In Dalmatia there were few families who were able to reach high rank; Salonae has numerous individual equestrian officers but almost all are certainly of purely Italian origin and date to the first century, and neither that city or any other of the southern part of the province can produce families comparable to the Raecii or Appuleii in distribution among magistracies of various cities. In particular, at Narona hardly any real 'municipal' families can be discerned, and the influx of the native aristocracy into the ruling circles of the Dalmatian cities which gathered momentum under the Flavians must have brought a much-needed strengthening element to the coastal cities.

(vi) Imperial nomina in the cities of Dalmatia

The distribution and frequency of the imperial nomina provide us with evidence for the spreading of Romanisation by grants of the civitas in the native area of the province. Other provinces make great advances under particular dynasties, as is the case with Iulii in Gaul, Claudii in Noricum and Flavii in the more backward regions of Spain. In these areas the progress of Romanisation, at least among the upper classes, appears to

have been completed very rapidly, and their members are soon found aspiring to careers in the equestrian grades of the emperors' service. In the province of Dalmatia the spread of the civitas, even among the native aristocracy, was only a very gradual progress, and we are fortunate in being able to discover the advance made by certain areas of the province over a period of nearly two hundred years, from the Iulii in some areas of Liburnia to the Aelii and Aurelii in some of the more remote parts of the interior. It will then be sufficient if we take the imperial nomina chronologically and show by discussion of their respective distribution how various areas advanced at different rates. In the case of the cities which were created in the interior, some of the evidence of the nomina of the leading citizens will already have been discussed in connection with the section on political geography, since in many cases they provide the only precise indication for the date when a particular municipium was created. Thus in the section dealing with Aelii and Aurelii it will be sufficient to indicate where greater numbers of these nomina occur and, if possible, to distinguish the places where one or the other of them predominate.

The only concentration of Iulii occurs in the southern mainland of Liburnia, in the hinterland of Iader, around Corinium and Nedinum. At Iader itself a certain T. Iulius

Optatus took charge of the restoration of the Augustan defences of the colony (III 2907 = ILS 5336) while at nearby Aenona the remarkable C. Iulius Ceuni f. Ser. Curticus Aetor built one of the causeways through the marshland that completely surrounds that place (Vjesnik lii (1950-1) 55 fig. 1); he can be dated precisely since another stone gives in addition to his aedilate (presumably of Iader) the information that he was decorated by Tiberius in the bellum Delmaticum, while the dedication (in honour of his Iivirate) was set up to Ianus Pater Augustus, possibly in the lifetime of Augustus himself (III 3158), loc. inc.). At Iader also we have a Iulia Tertulla, related to a Turus (good Liburnian name, cf. III 13295 Curictae, Turus Patalius f.), dated to the Claudian period by her priesthood of Diva Augusta (Abramić, S. Donato, 50 n.30). Iulii appear frequently among the honestiores of other Liburnian cities, at Asseria T(i). Iulius Clemens decurion (III 2850) and T(i) Iulius T(i) f. Cla. C[ele]jr, who may be either a miles or centurion of II Augusta (III 15024); at Curictae Iulius Q.f. Iivir quinquennalis (III 3130 badly copied and in one manuscript source only); at Apsoros Sex. Iulius C.f. Niger, aedile and Iivir (III 3147 Sansego); and at Argyruntum C. Iulius C.f. Sulla, decurion, dated by a dedication to Tiberius (III 9972). Corinium and other mainland cities of Liburnia reveal a group of Iulii with native cognomen, suggesting first or second generation citizens; at Corinium there is Iulia C.f. Oia (III 2895), Iulia Iaefi f. Secunda (III 2896), Iulia Virno (III 2897) and C. Iulius Ceuni

f. Acirrus (III 2900) with a family of Liburnians; at Lopsica, Iulia C.f. Tertia Toruca (III 3015 for better reading cf. Patsch, Lika 104); at Nedi<sup>n</sup>um, C. Iulius Picusi f. Ceunus (III 2859 dedication to Liburnian deity Latra); also at Aenona (III 14322/10) and Asseria with L. Iulius Aetor (III 15032). Most of these people probably belong to the same generation as those in the same area who received their civitas through the senatorial Calpurnii Pisones (cf. above ch. XV p. 453 ).

Iulii are not significant in the cities of the rest of Dalmatia; seviri occur with the nomen at Salonae (III 2097 cf. n. 8505 and p. 2135, a large family descended from an imperial slave), Narona (III 1775, 1833, 1769 = ILS 7167) and Aequum (III 2734). The Iulii of Aequum are not romanised natives but rather descendents of a family who had settled in the conventus civium Romanorum before the colony was created probably under Claudius (cf. above ch. XII p. 348c). Elsewhere Iulii are unknown among the upper classes, except for a Iulia Tertulla married to a decurion at Risinium (III 1738 cf. 8403 with Iulii liberti).

Claudii are virtually unknown in the cities of the province and with one exception there is no sign of any progress to the civitas among the native aristocracy. At Salonae they were of little account although the Claudia Aesernina, sacerdos Divae Augustae at Narona (III 1769 cf. p. 1494, ILS 3327), suggests

that a family of Claudii may have been in the colony where a Claudius, though probably of a later period, is attested in the sevirate (Patsch, Narona, 91 n.6 fig. 51, Cl. Mascelio). The one instance of Claudius among the native aristocracy is an Ignotus princeps Delmatarum who died at the age of twenty-two and was related to a Claudia Tib. fil. at Rider (III 2776 cf. p. 1035, ILS 7165); one presumes he was a Claudius. The Claudii who are known from the interior are probably immigrants and certainly belong to a time much later than the first century; one place where the name occurs is Skelani on the Drina (on the topography and question of the location of Domavia cf. ch. XIV p. 431 ff. above) where Cl(audia) Catia bears a cognomen reminiscent of the senatorial Catii at Ilidže (WMBH xi (1909) 158 fig. 69) and a Cl(audius) Maximus dedicated to Silvanus (AE 1910 215). The third item raises some interesting possibilities; an inscription, unfortunately fragmentary, was restored by Patsch to read [in memoriam Claudii ...]avii eq. R. c.v. [patris et ...] matris C.f. Cl. Ca[.....] giving an eques Romanus and a clarissimus vir, at Skelani also (WMBH xi (1909) 152 fig. 59 and 60). From Rogatica, likewise on the Drina, a T. Cl(audius) Maximus, dec. c. Ris(.....) poses something of a problem; the reading does not appear to be in doubt (III 2766b cf. p. 1035, III 8369 where the RIS is established in preference to the earlier BIS) but what a decurion of Ris(inium) is doing in this

remote part of the interior is rather difficult to explain.

Although one city bears the title of municipium Flavium (Scardona), no Flavii are attested among the upper classes in Liburnia. In the rest of the province the wide spread of the nomen reveals how rapidly the political geography and status of the upper classes changed under the Flavian dynasty. Amongst the Iapudes, probably the most advanced people of the interior, the tribal notables begin to acquire the civitas under the Flavians. At the tribal shrine of Bindus Neptunus, near Bihać, a number of peregrini are attested as praefecti and praepositi of the civitas Iapodum and one of them, [ T. F ]lavius [Tu]ditanus, praefectus and praepositus, specifically records his grant of civitas from Vespasian (III 14324; for the other praefecti cf. above ch. XI p. 306 ).

In the central regions of the province a number of the communities which attained municipal status have Flavii among their honestiores, suggesting that their political progress began under the Flavians. At Skelani (municipium Domavianum) there is T. Fl(avius) Similis, IIvir quinquennalis, who in A.D. 169 was the first man to be honoured with a statue in the curia (III 14219/10). The few honestiores known from the cities which grew up along the main route from Salonae to the region of Sarajevo are almost all Flavii; at Bistue Vetus there is T. Flavius Licinus and his son T. Flavius Licinianus, both

Iiviri (WMBH xi (1909) 107 fig. 2-3) while another T. Flavius, decurion and Iivir, also occurs in the same city (WMBH xi (1909) 108 fig. 4). At Bistue Nova, now located in the Lašva Valley at <sup>Han Vitez</sup> ~~Viseke~~, Flavii appear as decurions (III 12765 Zenica, dec. mun. Bis). Another Flavius occurs as a Iivir qq. in the city which existed in the Drina Valley at Rogatica, a few kilometres north of Goražde (III 12747). From Rude near Višegrad there is a T. F(lavius) Silvanus dec. muni(cipii) probably belonging to the same city (Spomenik lxxvii (1933) n.19). At Narona Flavii occur among the seviri (III 1800, T. Flavius Asiaticus, T. Flavius Surus IIIIIViri) and they appear among the Augustales at Salonae (III p. 2260 add. to n. 2093). The most remarkable development in Dalmatia under the Flavians occurred at Doclea, in the extreme south, where most of the large number of honestiores known are Flavii. The most interesting person attested is M. Flavius Fronto who, as well as holding leading positions in Narona, Epidaurum, Risinium and Scodra, was responsible with his wife Flavia Tertulla for constructing the forum of Doclea, dedicating it to the memory of his son Flavius Balbinus who died at the age of fifteen (III 12695 etc; the family are discussed in detail above ch. XIII p. 388f.). Another Flavius at Doclea may be a decurion of the older coastal city of Acruvium, but the reading is in doubt (III 13829); if he was in fact a decurion of

Acruvium then it confirms the impression, given by the position of Flavius Fronto, that the upper classes of newly-created Doclea soon began to dominate the smaller but earlier civic foundations on the coast, which in the first century consisted mostly of Italian immigrants. At Naronna the Flavian period saw the entry of natives of the interior into the ruling circles of the colony. From Stolac, in a more remote area of Hercegovina, we find T. Flavius Laedio, aedile and IIIIvir of the colony, with a family of Flavii all with native cognomina (Glasnik NS iii (1948) 168). In the later second century, a Flavius Faladus appears as sacerdos on a dedication for the safety of the emperor Pertinax and the people of Iulia Naronna (AE 1912 45). With the Flavii we can detect the entry of the native aristocracy into the ruling class of Salonae. T. Flavius T. fil. Tro. Agricola is by his tribe a citizen of the colony (III 2026 cf. p. 1030) and, in addition to a decurionate there, was decurion of Aequum, IIvir quinquennalis and dispunctor (auditor) of Rider and curator of the city of Splonum. At the end of his municipal offices there appears a tribunate in X Gemina p.f. which seems very much to have been added as a postscript - suggesting that he held the appointment at a later age than was usual. Another Flavius of equestrian rank is the T. Fl(avius) Herennius Iasio, equus Romanus, decurion, pontifex, and aedile of Salonae as well prefect of the collegium fabrorum

et centonariorum; his father bore the same names and was vir egregius and patron of the colony, but the family do not appear to have contacts with any other cities of the province (Vjesnik liii (1952) 227 n.36).

The only Cocceius who occurs among the upper classes of Dalmatia is a decurion of Poroliss<sup>um</sup> in Dacia attested at Nedium<sup>n</sup> (III 2866), but a small group of Ulpia appear in various cities both on the coast and in the interior. At Visibaba near Požega (Municipium Mal....) we have an Ulp. [U]rsa, mother of a Iivir of the municipium, while from Plevlja (municipium S.....) comes a dedication to Serapis and Isis by M. Ulpius Gellianus, eques Romanus and curator of four cities in the province (Glasnik lii (1940) 20 n.4 fig.4 = Spomenik xcvi (1948) n.287, AE 1948 242), who may be a native of the locality although the oriental deities suggest that he may have originated elsewhere. From the remote border region between Bosnia and Serbia comes a M. Ul[p.] dec. m[unicipii] aedi[liis] but we cannot be really certain to which city he belonged (Spomenik xcvi (19<sup>48</sup>4) n. 104 Studenci); in this area we must always bear in mind that the nearest cities of any size were Ulpiana and Scupi in Moesia superior whose honestiores are attested at Kos. Mitrovica. At Narona a freedman of Trajan appears in the sevirate, M. Ulp. Aug. lib. Nedymus (III 1792), but at Salonae, on the other hand, we have another equestrian

dignitary in the person of M. Ulpius M.f. Sabinus, eques Romanus, decurion and IIVir of Salonae (BD xxxvii (1914) 75 4574A).

The policy of the Flavian emperors is reflected in political progress by the native communities, but they appear to have been very selective in their grants of civitas and municipal status, judging from the large number of people who bear the nomina of Hadrian and the Antonines. Many areas of the population, even among the upper classes, were still completely untouched by romanising influences emanating from the cities of the Adriatic coast. From the time of Trajan the interior begins to enjoy an economy of its own with the development of the gold and silver mines of Central and Eastern Bosnia, attested by the coin series referring to the METALLI DELM (RIC 705, 710), and we can safely conclude that the noticeable increase in prosperity is largely due to the mines. Even so it is possible to distinguish the stages of romanisation during the second century in that there are some places where Hadrianic citizenship, revealed by the nomen Aelius, predominates while other areas did not receive the civitas until the Antonines, as is revealed by the ubiquitous Aurelius. The process culminated in the grant of universal citizenship by the Constitutio Antoniniana under Caracalla, by which Dalmatia must have been affected much more than most other areas of the empire.

With the nomen Aelius we still have evidence for grants of civitas to tribal aristocrats as late as the early second century; from Domavia there is a P. A[el. ...] pri[nceps civ.] Dinda[rrior]. (WMBH xi (1909) 156 fig. 66 Skelani) while a princeps of the mighty Daesitiates from Breza north of Sarajevo is still a peregrinus but is related to an Aelia (Spomenik xciii (1940) 140 cf. above ch. XIV p. 414 ). At Plevlja (Municipium S.....) P. Aelius Caravantius (Pladomenus) may have been praefectus of the Melcomanji, if the restoration by Domaszewski is correct (III 8308 cf. ch. XIV p. 429 ). Among the cities of the interior Aelii are quite numerous at Plevlja (Municipium S..... III 8310, 8308 see above), Požega (Municipium Mal.... III 8339 Visibaba, 8340, 8342, 8343, IIviri and decuriones) and the city at Rogatica (III 8366 IIvir). Perhaps the most remarkable Aelius in Dalmatia is P. Aelius Rastorianus at Salonae who, although he does not appear to have had any status in that colony, was a leading citizen in a number of provincial communities including IIvir quinquennalis of both Bistue Vetus and Nova, dispunctor of Naronae, quaestor of the unknown municipium of Azinas (cf. above ch. XI p. 309 ) also of Splonistae (cf. ch. XIV p. 429 above) and perhaps Arupium at Vitalj near Otočac in the Northern Lika (cf. ch. XI p. 309 above) (III 8783 cf. pp. 2136, 2326, ILS 7163). He is an impressive demonstration of the power wielded by a member of

the native aristocracy over wide areas of the province in the later second and third century. Aelii appear frequently in Livnopolje where we find [P. A]el. Ursus dec. mun. [..] lv (WMBH xi (1909) 120 fig. 10; the identity of the city is discussed above ch. XIII p. 381 ) at Grkovci and also a P. Ael. Procili[a]nus dec. IIvir. (III 9846 republished by Patsch in WMBH xi (1909) 124 fig. 13).

The most remarkable fact revealed by the distribution of the last imperial nomen, Aurelius, is the relative backwardness of the territory of the Delmatae in the immediate hinterland of Salonae. A number of cities which grew up on the territory of the Delmatae have Aurelii as magistrates with hardly any other nomina represented. At the municipium of Novae (Runović near Imotski), which was also a statio with a bf. cos. at least as late as the beginning of the third century, all the attested municipal dignitaries are Aurelii (III 1910, a dedication to the genius of the municipium dated by the IIviri, both Aurelii, (III 1908, 1892); Municipium Magnum can produce only two honestiores, both Aurelii (III 9798 = III 14316/2 III 14967), while decurion at Pituntium is an Aurelius who had seen service in leg. XI C.p.f. (III 12815a), and the only IIvir is an Aurelius also (III 6371). Aurelii also occur in the older cities; at Senia a freedman L. Aurelius L.l. Victor from Aequum was adlected to the decurionate of that city (III 3016), while

at Aequum itself an Aurelius is found as a IIvir (III 9750). In Salonae we have a T. Aur. Marc[elli]nus IIvir and another Aurelius as decurion (III 2078). This preponderance of Aurelii not only reveals the great backwardness of the Delmatae in comparison even with other regions of the interior, but it shows that the great cities of the coast had virtually no influence on the native aristocracy or on the social organisation of the Delmatae, which still retained the old system of tribal chieftains even when they were disguised by such titles as II viri in the third century. With the exception of one honestior at Varvaria (on the borders of the Delmatae) the nomen Aurelius is virtually unknown in Liburnia (Strena Buliciana 213, Piramtovci near Bribir). In the central area of the province Aurelii are certainly numerous but by no means the most common; places such as Požega, Livno and Plevlja show a majority of Aelii among their honestiores. Among the honestiores of Plevlja there are two Aurelii, both of equestrian status, T. Aurelius Sextianus equus Romanus dec. m.S... (III 8309) and T. Aurelius Saturninus equus Romanus (III 8298, for other Aelii honestiores at Plevlja cf. III 8310 (6344) a sacerdotalis, 8308.) while the nomen occurs also at Požega (III 8339, <sup>8</sup>8340, 8342, 14613); Užice, Aur. Dasius, native cognomen (III 8344); Vranjana, decurion who died at Salonae ( III 8354 dedication to L.P. Cap. in honour of a IIvirate, cf. above ch. XIV p. 436 . OJh vii (1904) Bb. 10 <sup>also</sup> Turbici, T. Aur.

Silvanus dec. m.). Elsewhere the Aurelius Augustianus dec. duumviralicius m. Cel. at Ivanjica near Sarajevo is probably a visitor from Celeia in Southern Noricum (III 14610), although it is possible that Cel. may refer to an unknown city of the Dalmatian interior (~~cf. above ch. p.~~). Two other Aurelii are from Dacia, perhaps refugees from the province after its abandonment under Aurelian, Aurelius Longinianus decurion of Drobetae (Turnu Severin) at Tragurium (III 2679) and Aurelius Aquila, negotiator from Porolissum, at Saloniae (III 2086),

Chapters X-XVI: Bibliographical Note;

- G. Barbieri. L'Albo senatorio da Settimic Severo a Carino  
(193-285), Rome 1952.
- E. Birley. Roman Britain and the Roman Army, Kendal 1953.  
(cited as RBRA)
- A. Calderini. Aquileia Romana - Ricerche di storia e di epigraphia,  
Milan 1930.
- A. Degrassi. I Fasti consolari dell' impero romano, Rome 1952.
- A. Degrassi. 'Quattuorviri in colonie e municipi romani', Rend.  
Acad. Lincei, Rome 1951.
- A.J. Evans. 'Antiquarian Researches in Illyricum', I and II in  
Arch. xlviii (1884) 1-105, III and IV in Arch. xlix  
(1885) 1-167.
- D. Farlati. Illyricum Sacrum, Venice 1751.
- H. Krahe. Lexikon Altillyrischer Personennamen, Heidelberg  
1929.
- E. Manni. Per la storia dei municipii fino alla guerra  
sociale, Rome 1947.
- A. Mayer. Die Sprache der Alten Illyrier, Vienna 1957.  
(cited as Mayer)
- C. Patsch. Die Lika in romischer Zeit, Schriften der Balkan-  
kommission (Antiquarische Abteilung) i, Vienna 1900.  
(cited as Patsch, Lika)
- C. Patsch. Zur Geschichte und Topographie von Narona, Schriften  
der Balkankommission (Antiquarische Abteilung) v,  
Vienna 1907. (cited as Patsch, Narona)

- M. Pavan. Ricerche Sulla Provincia romana di Dalmazia, Venice  
1958. (cited as Pavan)
- H-G. Pflaum. Les carrieres procuratoriennes equestres sous le  
haut-empire romain, Paris 1960/1.
- W. Schulze. Zur Geschichte der lateinischen Eigennamen, Berlin  
1904. (cited as LE)

The following reached me too late to be utilised in this study:

- G. Alföldy 'Die Sklaverei in Dalmatien zur Zeit des Prinzipats'  
Acta Antiqua Acad. Scient. Hungaricae, ix fasc.  
1-2 121-151, Budapest 1961.

Index: Prosopographical and Historical.

- Aebutius, 476
- L. Aelius Caesar, cos. ord. A.D. 137, 462
- L. Aelius Lamia, cos. ord. A.D. 3, 184
- P. Aelius Rastorianus, 309
- Aelius, 428, 435, 522, 529, 550, 558ff.
- Sex. Aemilius Equester, cos ?, leg. of D., 165
- L. Aemilius Paullus, cos. 219 B.C., 40
- M. Aemilius Lepidus, cos. ord. A.D. 6, 140
- Aemilius, 544
- Q. Aeronius Montanus, 476
- Aeronii, 476
- Agron, K. of Illyria, 30
- Alasinius, 213
- Albius, 522
- Albucius, 383, 514, 522f.
- Alexander of Epirus, 29
- Alexander II of Epirus, 30
- Alexander The Great, 124
- Algacus, of the Parthini, 55
- L. Anicius Gallus, pr. 167 B.C., 51, 54f., 58, 347
- Anicius, 330, 523f.
- Annaeus, 515, 528
- [?Annius] Bassus, leg. of D., 184, 378
- Anni, 486f.
- Antigonos Doson, 38
- Antigonos Gonatas, 38
- C. Antonius, pr. 63 B.C., 101
- M. Antonius, triumvir, 112, 130, 167, 174
- L. Antonius Firmus, 477
- Antonius, 179
- Anulenus, 517
- Aplius, 384, 537
- Appuleius, 516, 537ff., 543, 547
- Aquillius, 490, 494, 530
- Arrenus, 519
- L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus, cos. A.D. 32, 157, 182,
- L. Artorius Castus, 377, 474f., 493 419, 463
- Artorius, 475
- C. Asinius Pollio, cos. 40 B.C., 112, 322, 334
- (C. Asinius) Saloninus, 322
- Asisienus, 519
- P. Atilius Aebutianus, 475, 493
- Atilius, 177
- Attius, 213
- Aufidius, 486
- L. Aurelius Cotta, cos. 119 B.C., 80, 95, 125

- M. Aurelius Hermes, 477  
M. Aurelius Hermogenes, 477  
M. Aurelius Rusticus, 479  
Aurelius Sabinianus, v.e., 468  
M. Aurelius Tiberianus, pr. of D., 165  
M. Aurelius Valerius, v.e., 478  
Aurelius, 374, 428, 430, 488, 550, 560ff.  
Autronius, 541f.  
Avillius, 213
- Baebidius, 214  
Baebius, 543  
Ballaios, 60, 329
- P. Balsamius Sabinianus, 468  
Bato, Breucian, 136f.  
Bato, Daesitiatan, 136f., 367  
Bennius, 209, 482, 525
- L. Caecilius Metellus Celer, proc. in Transalpina, 59, 94  
L. Caecilius Metellus Delmaticus, cos. 119 B.C., 77, 80, 85,  
Caecilius, 488 319, 365  
A. Caecina Severus, cos. suff. 1 B.C., 129  
Caedicia L.f. Lucilla Crispinilla, 465  
Caesius, 524f.
- L. Calpurnius Piso, cos. A.D., 27, leg. of D., 182  
Calpurnius, 482f., 527, 544  
Campanius, 517  
Caninius, 225, 520  
Caravantius, brother of Gentius, 54f., 57  
Casconia Marcellina C.f. 468  
Cassius Dio Cocceianus, cos. I A.D., 200, II ord. 229, leg.
- L. Cassius Longinus, cos. 171 B.C., 78 of D., 163  
Cassius, 483, 513, 530f.  
Catus Clementinus, cos. ?, 466f.
- Sex. Catus Clementinus Priscillianus, cos. A.D. 230, 467  
Catus, 553  
Catonius, 529, 543  
Cattius, 425, 467  
Cestius, 521
- C. Cilnius Proculus, cos. A.D. 87, leg. of D., 163  
Cinius, 520  
Cipius, 517f.
- Ti. Claudius Nero, Claudius imp., 179  
Ti. Claudius Nero, Tiberius imp., 134, 136f.  
Claudius, 549, 552f.  
Cleander, 475f.  
Clodius, 487, 524, 531  
Cocceius, 557
- P. Coelius Apollinaris, cos. suff. A.D. 111, 463  
P. Coelius Apollinaris, cos. ord. A.D. 169, 463

- P. Coelius Balbinus Vibullius Pius, cos. ord. A.D. 137, 462,  
P. Coelii, 463 491f.
- P. Cornelius Dolabella, cos. suff. 44 B.C., 102  
P. Cornelius Dolabella, cos. ord. A.D. 10, 157f., 170, 182,  
L. Cornelius Cinna, cos. 87 B.C., 82, 86 268, 342  
P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, cos. 155 B.C., 75f. 81  
L. Cornelius Sulla, dictator, 83  
Cornelius, 483, 544
- Q. Cornificius, qu. pr.pr., 104ff.  
Coruncanii, legates 229 B.C., 33
- C. Cosconius, cos. ?, 77, 83ff., 95, 319, 365  
Curiatius, 179
- Decidius, 544
- L. Decimius, leg. 171 B.C., 51  
Dellius, 542  
Demetrius II of Macedon, 31  
Demetrius of Pharos, 34f., 38, 40  
Demetrius, son of Philip V, 49  
Desidienus, 483f.
- M. Didius Iulianus, cos. A.D. 174/5, leg. of D., 163, 222  
Didius, 346  
Dionysius I of Syracuse, 3, 6, 18
- C. Domitius Ahenobarbus, cos. 32 B.C., 189  
L. Domitius Eros, 479  
L. Domitius Gallicanus Papinianus, cos. A.D. ?, leg. of D.,  
Domitius, 214, 535f. 163ff, 259
- A. Ducenius Geminus, cos. A.D. , leg. of D., 182f., 268  
L. Duronius, pr. 181 B.C., 47f., 50
- Egnatius, 531  
Ennius, 484  
Epicadus, noble of Parthini, 55  
Epicadus, princ. of Docleatae, 386, 515  
Epidius, 530  
Etleva, cu. of Gentius, 55
- C. Fannius Strabo, cos. 161 B.C., 74f.
- T. Flavius Longinus, Q. Marcius Turbo, cos. suff. c. A.D. 145,  
T. Flavius Roscius Gallonius Fronto Q. Marcius Turbo, [473  
Flavia Prisca C.f., 468 473  
Flavius, 340, 388, 423, 428, 430, 484f., 490, 549, 554ff.  
Fonteius, 537, 544  
Fufius Geminus, leg. of Octavian, 125
- Cn. Fulvius Centumalus, cos. 229 B.C., 34  
Ser. Fulvius Flaccus, cos. 135 B.C., 61, 78  
Fulvius Maximus, cos. , leg. of D., 162, 532f.
- M. Fulvius Nobilior, cos. 189 B.C., 46  
Fulvius, 532
- L. Funisulanus Vettonianus, cos. A.D. 78, leg. of D., 163

- A. Gabinius, cos. 58 B.C., 104ff., 125, 130, 185, 321
- G. Gavenius, leg ? in Illyria, 96f.
  - Gavillius, 545., 548
  - Gavius, 518
  - Geminus, 486
  - Gentius, k. of Illyria, 29, 44, 47, 50, 52, 54, 58, 73f., 386
- Hannibal, 25, 153
- M. Helvius, leg. of Octavian, 124
  - (H)elvius, 519
  - Hereditus, 177
- M. Herrenius Picens, cos. suff. 34 B.C., 189
- Herennius, 226, 490f.
- L. Iavolenus Priscus, cos. suff., A.D. 86, 454f.
- C. Iulius Caesar Germanicus, 141, 304
- C. Iulius Caesar, dictator, 26, 60, 94ff., 319
- C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus (Augustus), 83, 87, 119ff.
- L. Iulius Caesar, cos. 64 B.C., 190
- C. Iulius Proculus, cos. A.D. 109, leg. of D(?), 222
- Sex. Iulius Severus, cos. suff. A.D., 127, 455ff., 473
- C. Iulius Silvanus Melanio, 478
- L. Iulius Ursus Servianus, cos. III 134, 461
- Cn. Iulius Verus, cos. I ? A.D. 154, II desig. 180, 455, 457f.
  - Iulius, 228, 387, 457, 488, 491, 540, 549ff.
- D. Iunius Brutus, cos. 138 B.C., 79
- M. Iunius Brutus, conspirator, 111
- L. Iunius Rufinus Proculianus, cos. A.D. ?, leg. of D., 160, 165
- Iunius, 214, 533
- Lacutulanus, 515
- Ti. (Latinus) Pandusa, 79
- Laepicus, 519f.
- Lartius, 545
- P. Licinius, cos. ? B.C., 84
- M. Licinius Crassus, cos. 30, B.C., 132
- M. Livius Salinator, cos. 219 B.C., 40
- L. Lorenus Crispinus, cos. suff. A.D. 244, 465
- Lucia Lorenia Cornelia, 465
- M. Lucceius Torquatus, cos. A.D. 169, 463f., 492
- Lucceius, 464
- M. Lucretius (Gallus), pr. 171 B.C., 50
- Lurius, 533f.
- M. Lusius Severus, c.v., 466, 492
- Lusius, 466, 528
- ..... Macer, cos. A.D. ?, leg. of D., 162
- Magius, 545
- Manlius, 487
- C. Marcus Figulus, cos. 156 B.C., 75f., 363

- Q. Marcius Turbo, 469ff., 493  
Marcius, 474, 514  
Marius, 514, 520, 523  
Melius, 520  
Mevius, 529, 543
- Cn. Minicius Faustinus, cos. A.D. X 116, 458, 474  
L. Minicius Fundanus, cos. suff. A.D. 107, 455  
L. Minicius Natalis, cos. suff. A.D. 106, 472
- Naevienus, 527  
Naevius, 527  
Nassius, 525  
Notarius, 541  
Novius, 513, 530
- Q. Numerius Rufus, tr. pl. 57 B.C., leg. in Ill.c. 56 B.C., 98  
332, 518
- M. Octavius, Pompeian commander, 103, 185, 321, 341  
Octavius, 454, 540, 546ff.  
Oppius, 489, 494
- Pandusa, see Latinus
- Cn. Papirius Carbo, cos. 85 B.C., 82, 86  
Papius, 337f., 516
- Cn. Pedanius Fuscus, cos. ord. A.D. 118, 401  
Periander of Corinth, 4  
Perseus, k. of Macedon, 44, 49, 53f.
- C. Petilius Cerealis, cos. I A.D. 70, II 74, 232  
Petius, 521  
Petronius, 536  
Philip V, k. of Macedon, 25, 28, 39ff., 42, 44f., 49, 52, 73  
Pinnes, heir of Agron, 36, 40  
Pitius, 521  
Plaetorius, 232
- M. Plautius Silvanus, cos. 2 B.C., 129, 138f.  
Pleuratus, son of Scerdilaidas, 43ff.
- C. Plinius Secundus, cos. A.D. 100, 455  
Pomentinus, 517
- Cn. Pompeius Magnus, cos. 70 B.C., 100  
Pompeius, 214
- Q. Pomponius Rufus, cos. A.D. 95, leg. of D., 162, 183
- C. Pontilius (?Pontius) Fregellanus, cos. A.D. ?, 453
- L. Postumius Albinus, cos. 229 B.C., 34f.
- L. Praecilius Clemens Iulianus, 177, 489  
Publicius, 528f.  
Pyrrhus of Epirus, 30
- T. Quinctius Flaminius, cos. 198 B.C., 44  
Quintius, 547
- C. Raecius Rufus, c.v., 464, 492

- Raecius, 465, 489, 494, 537, 543  
Riccius, 177  
Rustius, 485  
Rutilius, 530
- Safinius, 514  
Safius, 514
- C. Sallustius Crispus, historian, 102  
M. Salvius Otho, cos. A.D. 33, 179  
Saufeius, 226  
Seapula Terullus, cos. A.D. ?, leg. of D., 160, 165  
Scerdilaidas, 32, 39ff.  
Scribonius, 220  
Sebdius (?? The reading seems suspect to me), 242  
Seccius, 527f.  
Seius, 543
- C. Sempronius Tuditanus, cos. 129 B.C., 78f., 95, 303  
L. Septimius Severus, emperor, 227  
Cn. Sertorius Brocchus, 461f.  
P. Servilius Isauricus, cos. 79 B.C., 334, 451  
P. Servilius Isauricus Vatia, cos. I 48 B.C., II 41 B.C., 334, 451  
Servilius, 485f.
- Sestius, 521
- P. Silius Nerva, cos. 20 B.C., 132, 265  
Silvius, 213
- C. Sosius, cos. 32 B.C., 189  
T. Statilius Taurus, cos. suff. 37 B.C., 126  
Statius, 226, 532, 534
- P. Sulpicius Galba, cos. 211 B.C., 45  
P. Sulpicius Rufus, procos, in Ill. 46 B.C., 107
- L. Tarius Rufus, cos. suff. 16 B.C., 452  
Teuta, q. of Illyria, 32ff.  
Tigidius Perennis, 475  
Titisenus, 490, 494
- M. Titius, leg. of Antony, 189  
Titius, 182, 535  
Trebias, 178, 182, 465, 489, 537f.
- M. Tullius Cicero, cos. 62 B.C., 109f.  
Tullius, 488, 523, 525  
Turpilius, 539  
Turranius, 226, 530, 547f.
- Ulpus, 557f.
- L. Valerius [.....]. proc of D., 477  
L. Valerius Maximianus, general of Marcus, 221  
C. Valerius Respectus Terentianus, c.i., 465  
Valerius, 545
- L. Varius Gotyla. aed. 44 B.C., 190

- P. Vatinius, cos. 47 B.C., 94, 105ff., 321, 341, 365
- Veratius, 228
- Versus, leader of Delmatae, 125
- Vespasian, 306
- C. Vettius Sabinianus Iulius Hospes, cos. c. A.D. 175, leg. of  
Vettidius, 541, 548 D., 163
- Vettius, 526
- Veturius, 529
- C. Vibius Postumus, cos. A.D. 5, leg. of D., 184
- Vibius, 529
- M. Vinicius, cos. 19 B.C., 133, 453
- M. Vipsanius Agrippa, cos. 37 B.C., 83, 133
- L. Vitrasius Flamininus, cos. ??? A.D. 122, 163, 222
- Vivius, 214
- L. Volusius Saturninus, cos. A.D. 3, leg. of D., 132, 157f. 265f.  
268, 272, 463

Index: Topographical

Absyrtium, 252  
Achaean League, 32  
Acharnania, 31  
Acrolissus, 25  
Acruvium, 344  
Adamklissi, 228  
Aemate, 419  
Aematini, 420  
Aenona, 132, 265  
Aequiculi, 229  
Aequum, 178, 228, 348ff., 379, 383  
Aetolia, 28, 31, 42, 46  
Agravonitae, 57, 344  
Alba, 230  
Alburnus Maior, 418  
Alvona (Albona), 227, 254f., 272  
Alma, mona, 137  
Alveria, 183  
Anchiale, 13  
Ancus, 311  
Anderva, 385  
Andetrium, 142, 204, 349f., 367, 413  
Ans[ium], 183, 226, 269  
Aphrodisias, Caria, 426  
Apollonia, 22, 34f., 42, 53f.  
Apsoros, 252  
Apsus, R., 41  
Apsyrtides, 251f.  
Apulum, 229  
Aquae Mattiacorum, 234f.  
Aquae S....., 425  
Aquileia, 80, 96, 303  
Aquincum, 230  
Arba, 251, 430  
Ardiaei, 30, 78  
Argentaria, 421, 424, 430  
Argentorate, 232  
Argyuntum, 260f.  
Armistae, 411, 415  
Arsia, R., 155  
Arthetae, 411, 415  
Arupini, 123f., 304, 308  
Arupium, 123f. 308, 311  
Asseria, 178, 183, 271ff.  
Atintanes, 35f., 39  
Augusta Vindelicorum, 213  
Ausancalio, 311

Avendeatae, 123, 304, 307  
Avendo, 307  
Azinas, 211, 227, 309

Baloie, 381  
Barbanna, R., 347  
Bariduum, 380  
Barizani(ates), 184  
Bassania, 54  
Bassiana, 230  
Bastarnae, 125, 130  
Bathiatae, 145  
Bathinus, R., 139, 186  
Bessi, 122  
Bigeste, 173f., 208, 367, 373, 412  
Bingium, 234  
Bistue Nova, 421f.  
Bistue Vetus, 421f., 424  
Bituriges, 195  
Bivium, 309  
Bodiontii, 202  
Boeotia, 22  
Bouthoe (Butua), 14, 58, 344f.  
Brattia, 209, 331f.  
Breuci, 129, 133, 139f., 197, 367  
Brigantio, 204  
Britain, 125  
Brundisium, 47, 86, 105  
Bruttium, 79  
Bulsinius, mons, 41f.  
Burnum, 141, 166f., 173, 179, 277f., 367, 373, 413

Cadmus, 14  
Caesarea (Mauretania), 235  
Cambaei, 145f.  
Capedunum, 436  
Cappadocia, 238  
Carales, Sardinia, 227  
Carni, 80, 147, 302  
Carnuntum, 177, 228  
Carthage, 38  
Castra (Peutinger), 419  
Castrum Planae, 233, 379  
Caturiges, 203  
Cavii, 54  
Celeia, 206  
Cemenelum, 206  
Cerauni, 411, 413  
Chester, 232  
Chios, 1

Cibalae, 238  
Cimbri, 82, 130, 135  
Cisalpine Gaul, 79, 85, 94, 113  
Clambetae, 269  
Clausala, R., 347  
Cnidos, 3f.  
Colapiani, 197  
Colapis, R., 155  
Corcyra (mod. Corfu), 13, 34, 39, 48, 248  
Corcyra Nigra, 3f., 9ff., 48, 122, 341  
Corinth, 2  
Corinium, 182, 225f., 264, 267f.  
Crexi, 252  
Curictae, 102, 253, 320  
Curunda (?), 197  
Cyclades, 39  
Cynoscephalae, battle, 44, 51  
Chyrrestica, 200  
Cyrrihus, Macedonia, 200

Dacians, 126, 130  
Daesitiates, 129, 134, 185, 211, 231, 367, 386, 411, 414, 425  
Dalluntum (Diluntum), 384  
Daorsi (Daversi), 47, 57, 167, 210, 235, 411, 414, 429  
Dardani, 83  
Dardania, 220  
Dassaretia, 41, 57  
ad Decimin, 185  
Delmatae, 46f., 73ff., 81ff., 99f., 126ff., 235f., 280, 411,  
ch. XIII passim  
Delminium, 76, 160, 364, 370, 372f., 383!  
Delphi, 11  
Denseleptae, 83  
Deramistae, 210, 411  
Derbani, 127  
Deretini, 411, 414  
Derrioi, 236  
Deuni, 411f.  
Dimale, 40  
Dim[os], 13  
Dindari, 411, 415, 433  
Ditiones, 129, 134, 186, 235, 363, 367, 386, 411, 413, 415  
Doclea, 386ff.  
Docleatae, 147, 235, 411  
Domavia, 424, 428, 431f., 435  
Drilo, R., 155  
ad Drinum, 430  
Dyrrhacium, 17, 31, 34f., 39, 46, 50, 55, 57, 103, 108, 111

Egui, 203  
Elanites, 15  
Elis, 32  
Elococci, 204  
Enderon, 147  
Enderundini, 146  
Epetium, 73, 321, 327, 329  
Epidaurum (Cavtat), 14f., 106f., 184, 336, 341ff., 388, 474  
Epidotion, 311  
Epirus, 6, 30f., 36, 42, 46, 48, 58, 82

ad Fines (Laktaši), 419  
Flanona, 225, 255f.  
Fulfinium, 253  
Furfinates, 253

Gades, 263  
Gensis, 430  
Genusus, R., 41  
Gerd(is), 433  
Glintidiones, 121, 147, 411, 415

Hadra, 272f.  
Hebrus, R., 122  
Heraclea (? city in Illyricum), 13  
Hemasini, 411, 415  
Hippasini, 122  
Hippius, R., 160, 348, 377

Iadastinoi, 10, 104, 262, 319f.  
Iader, 132, 176, 178, 225, 261ff.  
Iadertini, 261.  
Iapudes, 78, 84, 96, 120, 131, 151, 302ff., 416, 429  
Iapygia, 248  
Iguvium, 177, 454  
Inalperio, 380  
Indenea, 381  
Interphurinoi, 147  
Ionnaria, 380  
Issa, 5, 7ff., 16ff., 35, 49f., 57f., 73f., 96Af., 321, 332f.  
Istri, 47, 79f., 132, 302f.  
Iulian Alps, 96, 136

Labeatae, 58  
Lamatini, 183  
Leusaba, 379ff., 383, 419  
Leusinium 385  
Liburni, 80, 82, 122, 125, 151, 158, 248ff.  
ad. Libros, 421f.  
Lissus, 7, 16ff., 25f. (chapter I note), 42f., 52ff., 73, 155f., 346

Lizavia(tes), 184  
Lopsica, 259  
Lucania, 79  
Lucus Augusti, 201  
Lychnidus, 45

Macedonia, 11, 50, 56, 60, 73, 85, 108, 113, 131, 135  
Maedi, 82  
Maezaei, 129, 134, 231, 304, 363, 367, 411f., 417  
Magnum, 236, 367ff., 375ff., 383  
Mallians, in Indus Valley, 124  
Maluesates, 430ff.  
ad Matricem, 421f.  
Melcomani, 411, 429  
Melite (Mljet), 15, 122  
Messenia, 32  
Meteon, 16f., 55, 386  
Metulum, 124f., 131, 304, 310, 430  
Moentini, 304  
Moesia, 135, 138f., 178  
Moguntiacum, 232, 235  
Monetium, 309  
Montani, 201.  
Mursa, 236

Naresii, 147, 411f., 415  
Naro (Narenta), R., 1f., 30, 46f., 61, 73, 76, 127  
Narona, 109f., 160, 175, 180, 324, 333ff., 388, 432  
Naupactus, 41  
Nedinum, 182, 216, 235, 268, 270f.  
Neraste, 363, 375f.  
Ninia, 126, 366  
Norici, 132  
Novae (Runović), 160, 209, 370, 373f. 383  
Nymphaeum, 26

Oneum, 182, 383, 387  
Oricus, 42  
Ortoplini, 260  
Ortopula, 259  
Osiniates, 378  
Ouzaei, 411, 415  
Oxyaei, 121

Paeonia, 1  
Palarii (Pleraei), 78  
Pannonii, 119, 128f., 132, 170  
Parentini, 260  
Paros, 7ff.  
Parthini, 35f., 39f., 55, 57, 112, 322, 415f.

Parthians, 202  
Pasina, 220, 267  
Paxos, 34  
Pelagonia, 41  
Pella, 53  
Pelva, 380ff.  
Pertheenatae, 145f.  
Pessinus, 177  
Pharsalus, 103  
Pharos/Pharia, 7ff., 16ff., 46, 56, 60, 320, 329  
Phoenice, 32, 42ff.  
Picenum, 248, 453  
Pirustae, 57, 98ff.  
Pituntium, 182, 375f.  
Pleraei, 61, 78, 384,  
Pola, 256  
Promona, 99, 125f., 131, 169, 279, 323, 363, 366, 368  
Pydna, 50  
Pylos, 39  
Pyrissaei, 145f.  
Raetia, 135  
Raetinium, 141, 196, 305, 429  
Ravenna, 232  
Rhizonitae, 57f., 344  
Rider, 370f.  
Risinium, (Rhizon), 35, 57, 60, 226, 232, 343f., 388, 427  
Romula, 310  
  
Saccii, 220  
Sacida, 220  
Salassi, 123  
Salinae Suetrorum, 204  
Salluntum, 386  
Salonae, 81, 83, 85, 103, 113, 126, 151, 171, 176, 217, 223, 226  
Salthua, 386  
319ff., 379, 382  
Salvium, 379, 381ff.  
Sapua, 420  
Sardiates, 411, 413  
Saritte, 381  
Sarmatians, 127  
Scardus, mons, 136  
Scardona, 160, 175, 226, 281, 304, 388  
Scheria, 13  
Scirtari, 411, 415  
Scodra, 18, 43, 45, 51, 55, 57, 85, 112, 322, 347, 385, 388  
Scordisci, 83, 133  
Scunasticus, pagus, 173f., 339  
Scupi, 156, 437  
Segesta see Siscia  
Segestani, 80, 125

Selepitani, 57  
Sellasia, 38  
Senia, 160, 225, 258, 307  
Servitium, 184, 379f., 383  
Setovia, 126, 366  
Siculi, 179, 348  
Siculotae, 411  
Sidrona, 183, 272, 274  
Singidunum, 155  
Sirmium, 111, 119, 129, 141, 155, 430  
Siscia (Segesta), 80f., 111, 119f., 124, 128, 307  
Solentia, 331  
Spain, 39, 132  
Splaunon (Splonum, Splonistae), 141, 417f., 429f.  
Stanecli, 421, 424  
Suessa, 199  
Suetri, 204  
Synodium (Sinotion), 126f., 323, 366, 375  
Syracuse, 12

Tarsatica, 225, 256f.  
Taulantii, 56, 121, 145  
Tauris, 106  
Taurisci, 80, 121  
Tedanius, R., 267, 302  
Terponus, 123, 304  
Thasos, 1  
Thessaly, 11  
Tilurium (pons Tiluri), 160, 172f., 348, 422  
Titius, R., 73, 80, 363  
Tragurini, 319  
Tragurium, 15, 73, 321, 327f.  
Transalpine Gaul, 94  
Transpadana, 223  
Trasimene, Lake, 41  
Triboci, 195  
Troas, Augusta, 179

Ulcinius, 57f., 346  
Ulcirus, mona, 186  
Ulpiana, 156, 437  
Uscana, 66

Varciani, 195, 203  
Vardaei (Ardiaei), 78, 411f.  
Varvaria, 173, 225, 274, 279f.  
Vegium, 260  
Velauni, 203  
Veneti, 96f.  
Viminacium, 228f.  
Volcaean Marshes, 138