

Anamarija Kurilić

Acceptance, Imitation and Adaptation

How did the Natives of Roman Dalmatia Respond to Roman Cultural Presence?

Abstract: Roman Dalmatia as a province emerged at the beginning of the 1st cent. CE, but the Roman presence in that region was already centuries long, especially in the littoral areas. The province was inhabited by populations of different linguistic and/or ethnic affiliations as well as of different cultural habits. They, thus, responded in various ways to the Roman presence at the Eastern Adriatic and its hinterland, and eventually accepted new – Romanised – life patterns.

The main focus of this paper describes the various ways in which religious life changed its appearance (and very probably its substance) with the Roman domination, by either accepting the worshipping of Roman deities, making the local deities similar to those of the Romans (*interpretatio Romana*) and/or adapting their natures but also places of worship. Integral part of this study is the issue of natives entering Roman priesthoods as a way of changing fashions in local religious lives.

Illyrii Liburnique et Histri, gentes ferae et magna ex parte latrociniis maritimis infames – this is the earliest note on inhabitants of the Eastern Adriatic coast that we find in works of ancient Roman authors, which was of direct pertinence for Romans and their history. Here Livy, while describing events from 302 BCE (a.U.c. 10.2 – a conflict of Romans and Greek fleet lead by Cleonymus over Thuriae), for the first time brought the three important peoples from the opposite Adriatic shore into the Roman historical narrative, and described them as “savage tribes and most of them notorious for their piracies”,¹ which will remain a stereotype for centuries to come.² Of, course, the Greek authors also wrote of peoples that inhabited the regions of the future province of Dalmatia from an even earlier date (e.g. Hecataeus of Miletus in the 6th century BCE [FGrHist, 1, 93–97]),³ but their texts referred to events relevant to Greeks and Greek history,⁴ not the Romans. The Adriatic Sea became strategically important to the Romans only when they conquered their eastern neighbours and crossed the Apennines, reaching the shores of the Western Adriatic; only then the Adriatic Sea

¹ Translation by B.O. Foster (1936: 363, 365).

² Cf. e.g. Dell (1967).

³ Wilkes (1969: 3–6).

⁴ Thucydides mentioned that in the late 5th century BCE the Illyrians were a constant threat to the Macedonians (Thuc. IV.125.1; IV.126.2) and the same is stated by Diodorus almost a century later (Diod. XVI.2.2). Cf. Hammond (1994: 428 ff., 436 ff.) where relationships of the Illyrians with the North-Western Greeks are analysed in greater detail.

really entered into the Roman sphere of interest.⁵ And only then it made sense for Romans to show interest for the peoples who lived on other shores of this new sea they could call their own.

So, there is no surprise that less than a century later the Romans fought their first war against the peoples inhabiting the opposite Adriatic shores – the First Illyrian War (229 BCE). It took them a little over than three centuries to conquer this vast area (9 CE) that included the entire hinterland all the way to the Danube River.⁶

The conquered native peoples belonged to different cultural, linguistic and/or ethnic groups, and, although the material culture can not and should not be used as identifier of an ethnic and/or linguistic group,⁷ there are instances in which diffusion of a particular material culture overlap with borders of ancient peoples as provided by Greek and Roman authors and/or with linguistic features. In such instances there is a clear predilection in a material culture for particular style, forms, products and symbols that coincides with borders of an individual ancient population that had its own name, customs and territory. Human societies are very complex, and the less evidence is preserved, the more difficult it is to attempt to reconstruct social structures and networks, spiritual and cultural traditions, economy, language and other non-material features; however, “it is possible to delimit various forms of social and ultimately ethnic identity, through a careful analysis of the geographical distribution of social institutions and the symbolic meaning of their material culture” (Kristiansen 2014: 86). For instance, the ancient writers named numerous peoples along the Eastern Adriatic coast and in its hinterland, and occasionally defined their borders: The Histri lived at the Istrian Peninsula, down to the Arsia River (present-day Raša) which was the border with the Liburni, who occupied the entire region from that river to the Titius River (present-day Krka), etc.⁸ Both regions had specific material cultures that correspond with the boundaries recorded in ancient literary sources,⁹ and modest linguistic remains – mostly onomastic – also indicate significant differences among them. Geographical distribution of native personal names known mostly

5 For the Roman conquest across the Apennines cf. Boatwright *et alii* (2012: 79 ff.); Cornell (1989: 376 ff., cf. Fig. 47 on p. 382).

6 On the Roman conquest see Wilkes (1969: Ch. 2–5); Matijašić (2009: Ch. 4 [87 ff.], 125–137, 147–161, 168 ff.).

7 On (im)possibilities of using evidence offered by material cultures for identifying ethnic groups see e.g. Jones (1997: esp. Ch. 6); Kristiansen (2014: 86 ff.).

8 These are the boundaries given by Pliny (*N.h.* 3.129, 3.139, cf. 3.141); on boundaries of other peoples inhabiting Roman Dalmatia at the time of Roman conquest see Wilkes (1969: Ch. 8 [pp. 153 ff.], Fig. 5); cf. Matijašić (2009: Ch. 2 [pp. 30 ff.]). Their territories, however, were not always the same because some of them expanded on neighbouring areas, others migrated or were transferred to new homelands (see Šašel Kos 2005: 166–198), which makes this already very difficult task even more difficult.

9 For the respective material cultures see Gabrovec & Mihovilić (1987) and Batović (1987), and for other groups inhabiting the territory of the future Roman Dalmatia see other papers in chapters 2 and 4 of *PJZ V*; see also the more recent monograph by Dimitrijević, Težak-Gregl & Majnarić-Pandžić (1998: 251–325, 340–358, and English summaries on pp. 362–369) with rich bibliography.

from Roman epigraphic monuments has shown that there are significant differences between them and that there were several distinct onomastic regions, i.e. onomastic groups, which correspond very well with material cultures and with locations provided by ancient authors. Indigenous peoples of Roman Dalmatia can be divided into several distinct onomastic regions. The Liburni belonged to the North Adriatic region, together with the Histri, Veneti and a small enclave in the eastern Alps. From the onomastic perspective, this group had little in common with peoples of the central and northern Roman Dalmatia, who belonged to two large onomastic groups (regions) that shared some similarities. These are the so-called Delmato-Pannonian region and the Illyrian region; the former included populations inhabiting central Dalmatian region (the Delmatae and probably some of the less prominent neighbouring communities, as well as the Japodes) and the peoples identified by the ancient writers as the Pannoni (Strabo Geog. 7.5.3. C 314: the Breuci, Daesitiates, Ditioni, Maesaei, Pirustae, etc.), while the latter included peoples living in the south-eastern Roman Dalmatia (the Ardiaei, Autariati, Daorsi, Encheleii, Narensii, Parthini, Plaereii, Taulanti, etc.).¹⁰

Most of these peoples reacted in the similar way to the Roman advancement to the other side of the Adriatic and further inland: They fiercely fought it, as might have been expected, except, as it seems, for the Liburni who either waged no wars with Romans or were perhaps conquered the fastest.¹¹ There are many indications that the Liburni were treated by the Romans not as former foes, but as the allies; as a matter of fact, the Iadassini (inhabitants of the most prominent Liburnian centre – Iader) were praised for their constant and faithful alliance to the Romans (*Bell. Alex.* 42.3), so it seems very plausible that the Liburni entered into some sort of alliance with Rome rather early, perhaps in the late second century BCE.¹² Liburnia was one of the most urbanised and Romanised areas of the province (in addition to the Greek

10 A good overview of onomastic groups in Dalmatia and neighbouring regions can be found in Katičić (1976: 179–184); cf. also Šašel Kos (2005: 228–230); Kurilić (2010: 135–136). For onomastic groups in general cf. also Untermann (1959–1961) who was the first to coin the term (*Namenlandschaften*), and was soon followed by Katičić in his papers dealing with the Illyrican anthroponymy (cf. papers cited in Katičić 1976: 179–184) and others.

11 For the Roman conquest, see here, fn. 6. It seems that the Liburni allied with Rome quite early, and that the campaign against them which some authors attribute to Gaius Sempronius Tuditanus, a victor over the Japodes and Histri (App. *Ill.* X.30; Pliny *N.h.* 3.129), is but pure speculation relying on a too free interpretation of the heavily damaged Tuditanus's *tabula triumphalis* and an enigmatic phrase carved on his statue base (Pliny *N.h.* 3.129): “Tuditanus qui domuit Histros in statua sua ibi inscripsit: An Aquileia ad Titium flumen stadia M [or: MM?].” The fact that he recorded the distance from the River Titius to Aquileia was used as an argument that he must have conquered the Liburni in order to reach the river. A very good state of research on that topic can be found in Šašel Kos (2005: 321–329). However, there is another probable cause for stating that distance, and that is to demonstrate that he subdued all of the Japodes and reached their southernmost borders which were not far from the River Titius (see Fig. 77 in Šašel Kos 2005); in such a case, the Liburni might have even provided ships for him and the army to return to Aquileia.

12 Cf. similar in Šašel Kos (2005: 324, 537).

colonies from the central and southern Adriatic, and the cities of the former Illyrian Kingdom), the Liburnian elites were granted Roman citizenship very early (some perhaps already in the mid or late first century BCE), and the Liburnian oppida early became municipal centres, either of the Latin status or of the Roman. Members of the indigenous aristocracy regularly participated in the government of their cities alongside with the Italian settlers (except for the Roman colony of Iader where the latter dominated in all social strata), and sometimes made up a dominant part in the ruling class of a municipium (such as, e.g., in Alvona, Flanona and some others).¹³

Life in the Roman province and under the Roman rules brought many changes in lives of the native populations, one of the most important being the introduction of writing and Latin language, which reflected in the acceptance of the epigraphic habit among the indigenous people (presumably mostly among the elites). Epigraphically richest areas are those that were either inhabited by the Roman settlers or were the most Romanised; these were the Roman colonies (especially the provincial capital Salona) and the littoral cities (especially of Liburnia).¹⁴ On the other hand, this new medium of communication incidentally preserved modest remnants of the language of the native populations with their local names of persons and deities. Archaeological traces of the pre-Roman religions identified remains of rituals and/or monuments, but not of the divine identities, quite contrary to the epigraphic evidence which usually gives the deities's names only with little or no possibilities to know the divine nature and rituals. Archaeological investigations of the pre-Roman sites from the last millennium BCE almost exclusively identified traces of the funerary cults in tombs and necropolises,¹⁵ but only rarely traces of sanctuaries (e.g. in Pod near Bugojno,¹⁶ Gorica near Grude¹⁷ or cave Vilina špilja near Dubrovnik¹⁸).

It is reasonable to assume that the local gods and goddesses to whom the Roman-period altars were dedicated were locally worshipped indigenous deities with continuity from the pre-Roman period. Names were perhaps changed a little due to

13 On the early Roman Liburnia see e.g. Kurilić (2008: 15 ff.); Wilkes (1969: Ch. 9 [pp. 192 ff.], 308 ff.); cf. also Matijašić (2009: 165–166). For the ratio of the indigenous and settler families among the Liburnian municipal magistrates see table in Kurilić (1999: 150–151).

14 According to some recent estimates there are approximately 10,000 epigraphic monuments from the entire Roman province of Dalmatia, with the absolute majority – almost 7,000 – coming from Salona and its territory. With c. 1,200 inscriptions, Liburnia is the next most numerous region, whereas the remaining 2,000 or so monuments are scattered throughout the rest of the provincial territory, most of which come from coastal urban cities or the immediate hinterland, while the fewest epigraphs come from the mountainous interior (cf. Kurilić & Serventi forthcoming, Ch. “Invocation *D M* in Dalmatia”).

15 Cf. Kurilić & Serventi forthcoming, Ch. “Did inhabitants of Roman Dalmatia believe in Manes?”. On the pre-Roman sepulchral art see Cambi (2013a).

16 Cf. Čović (1987a: 517–518).

17 Cf. Čović (1987: 468, 473–474).

18 Results of recent archaeological research at that site were presented by Domagoj Perkić at the conference “Dalmatia and the Ancient Mediterranean: 50 years after John Wilkes's *Dalmatia*” (Rome, 25–26 November 2019); cf. a preliminary note on the site Perkić (2010; 2010a).

the mediations of a new language (Latin) and new worship medium (inscriptions), which both unavoidably brought some changes in traditional ritual.

The native deities vary in different regions of Dalmatia. The Liburnian pantheon was dominated by goddesses who were mostly worshipped locally,¹⁹ in only one or in a couple of neighbouring communities, such as the goddess Anzotica/Ansotica (Figs. 1–2) and the only masculine Liburnian deity – the god Ilicus, who were both worshipped in Aenona,²⁰ and two goddesses – Iutossica and Aitica – who were worshipped in Albona.²¹

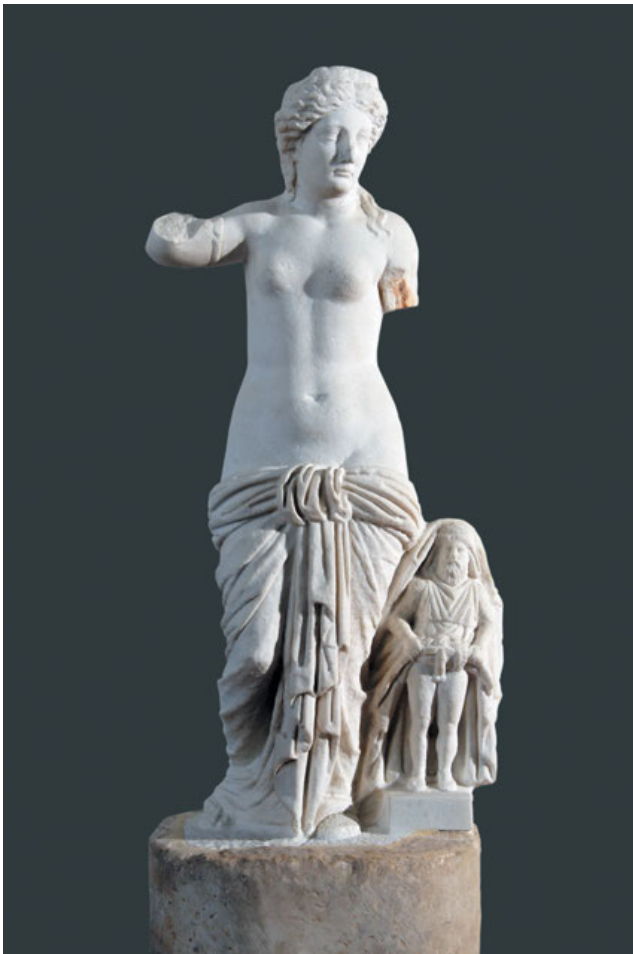


Fig. 1: Statue of presumed Venus Ansotica and Priapus from Aenona (photo by T. Seser, © Arheološki muzej u Splitu; inv. nr. AMS-38100)

¹⁹ On Liburnian goddesses see Šašel Kos (1999: 75–80, cf. also 63–66 and 68–71) with the relevant older references; cf. also Kurilić (2008: 26–28); recent epigraphic addition was published by Matijašić (2006: 201–202).

²⁰ Zović & Kurilić (2015: cat. nos. 55 and 50–51 respectively).

²¹ Zović & Kurilić (2015: cat. nos 2 and 15 respectively).



Fig. 2: Votive inscription from Aenona dedicated to Anzotica by T. Appuleius Antigonus, freedman of two men: Titus Appuleius and Lucius Appuleius (photo by Ortoľ Harl 2015 März [lupa fig. nr. 24147-1] © Arheološki muzej u Zadru; inv. nr. A7284)

Several goddesses were worshipped in the wider area, so two goddesses – Ica and (H)eia – were worshipped in the eastern part of the Istrian Peninsula, by both the Liburni²² and the Histri.²³ Worship of Sentona was also limited to the eastern part of the Istrian Peninsula, in three Liburnian cities: Albona, Flanona and Tarsatica.²⁴ Her dedications are attested in eight epigraphic monuments, which makes it the most numerous deity among the northern Liburni, with no dedications, however, among the southern Liburni.²⁵ There it was the goddess Latra who was worshipped in a very vast region and with many monuments – so far eleven in total. She was worshipped in Nedinum (6 monuments; cf. Figs. 3–5), Corinium (2), Asseria (2; cf. Fig. 6 below) and Scardona (1).²⁶

²² Iria (in Flanona): Zović & Kurilić (2015: cat. nos. 19, 28); Ica (in Flanona): Zović & Kurilić (2015: cat. nr. 17); Heia (in Cissa): Zović & Kurilić (2015: cat. nr. 46).

²³ Ica (in Pola): Matijašić (2017: 103–105, cat. nr. 4) (= *AE* 1985, 436 (*AE* 1989, 322)); Eia (two in Nesactium): *Inscrit*, X/1, 659; *Inscrit*, X/1, 660, (two in Pola): *CIL* 5, 8 (*Inscrit*, X/1, 3); *AE* 1985, 422. Some authors attribute the dedication to Iria from Jasenovik (Zović & Kurilić 2015: cat. nr. 28) to the Histri instead of to the Liburni (see e.g. Cambi 2013: 74), but it is much more plausible that it belonged to the territory of the Liburnian Flanona (Kurilić 2008: 26, esp. fn. 51).

²⁴ Albona: Zović & Kurilić (2015: cat. nos. 3, 6, 11), Matijašić (2006: 12–15, no. 2); Flanona: Zović & Kurilić (2015: cat. nos. 18, 21, 25 [= *ILJug* 448]); Tarsatica (Zović & Kurilić (2015: cat. nr. 30).

²⁵ On regional differences among the Liburni see in Zović & Kurilić (2015: 412 ff. with references to earlier relevant literature).

²⁶ Nedinum: Zović & Kurilić (2015: cat. nos. 89, 89a, 90, 100a, 100b, VI); Corinium: Zović & Kurilić (2015: cat. nos. 76–77); Asseria: Zović & Kurilić (2015: cat. nos. 113, 121); Scardona: Zović & Kurilić (2015: cat. nr. 200).



Fig. 3: Votive altar from Nedinum with a depiction of a sacrifice or the goddess Latra herself (photo by Ortolf Harl 2015 März [lupa fig. nr. 24302-1] © Arheološki muzej u Zadru; inv. nr. A7621)



Fig. 4: Votive altar from Nedinum dedicated by Calpurnia Ceuna (photo by Ortoolf Harl 2014 Juni [lupa fig. nr. 22920-1] © Arheološki muzej u Zadru; inv. nr. A10861)

Judging by the concentration of her dedications in Nedinum, and more so because of a tabula (Fig. 5) testifying to her sanctuary in the close vicinity to the city itself (in the present-day village of Škabrnja), it seems very plausible that Nedinum was the centre of her cult.²⁷



Fig. 5: Inscription from Škabrnja (Nedinum territory) of a porticus and a signum of the goddess Latra dedicated by members of the local elite, aedilis T. Turranius Rufus and his sons L. Turranius Primus and T. Turranius Fronto (photo by Ortolf Harl 2014 Juni [lupa fig. nr. 23058] © Arheološki muzej u Zadru; inv. nr. A10583)

²⁷ Inscription from Škabrnja in Nedinum territory: Zović & Kurilić (2015: cat. nr. VI); on the cult of Latra see Medini's seminal work (Medini 1984); cf. recent summary (in German) of his conclusions provided by Sanader & Vukov (2019: 383–387), although the data in the epigraphic catalogue should be taken with caution (because of unfortunate misprints and/or perhaps some misunderstandings, as, e.g., in the catalogue unit of this particular inscription [Sanader & Vukov 2019: cat. nr. 6], where the name of the medieval village Camegnane was misspelled as “Carnegnane”, and its modern successor was named Kamenjare [“Heute verbindet man dieses Dorf mit dem modernen Weiler Kamenjare ...”], which must be some misunderstanding because there is no such modern toponym nor did the medieval Camegnane survive to the modern age, etc.; the monument, which was considered lost, was re-discovered in Škabrnja in 1995 during conservation works on the St. Lucas church where it was used as a spoliolum [Pruneti (1996: 9)]. In that same area a funerary monument of a native family was also discovered, as well as Roman architectural remains which are yet to be investigated. [Kurilić 1993: 63–65; for Camegnane see Smiljanić 2009: 261 ff., esp. footnotes 44–46 and 59.]

According to the text of that inscription – quite damaged, but it can be reconstructed – member of the local municipal aristocracy (aedilis T. Turranius Rufus, possibly of indigenous Liburnian descent) made very peculiar porticus (hundred *pedes* long and twenty in width, which would make a very elongated form measuring approximately 30 by 6 meters, unless the portico was circular or semi-circular) and the effigy of the goddess (*signum*), together with his sons L. Turranius Primus and T. Turranius Fronto. This might have been a sanctuary in an open space, perhaps in a grove or similar, and not in a settlement. A portico and the goddesses' *signum* – in addition to the epigraphic habit itself – demonstrate one of the ways in which the Liburni embraced the Roman customs.

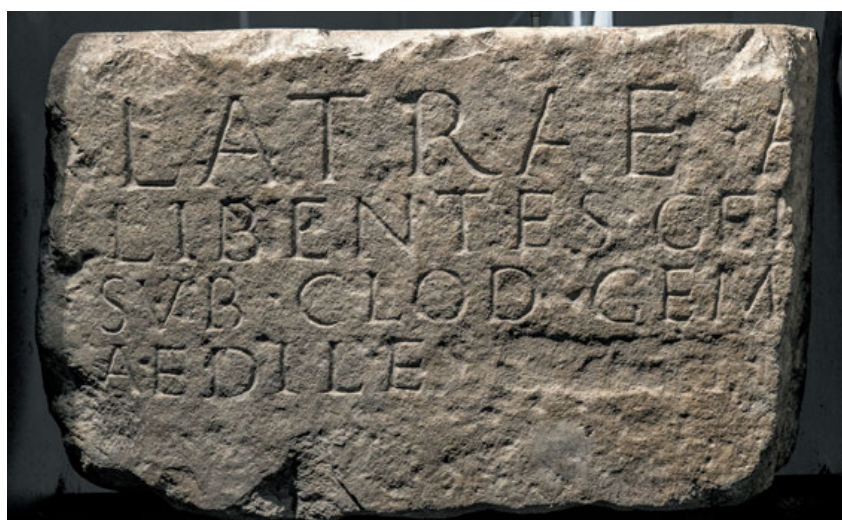


Fig. 6: Inscription from Asseria or perhaps Nedinum dedicated to Latra (photo by Ortoolf Harl 2015 März [lupa fig. nr. 24148-1] © Arheološki muzej u Zadru; inv. nr. A7288)

Unlike the Histri (cf. Figs. 7–9)²⁸ – as far as can be concluded at the present state of research – the pre-Roman Liburni didn't create statues of their deities, nor did they build temples or other structures intended for worship. It seems that the indigenous Liburni continued with the worship of the native deities, adapting them to novelties that came along with the Roman rule.

28 On the stone sculptures – many of which most likely belonged to a sanctuary – among the Iron Age Histri see e.g. Dimitrijević, Težak-Gregl & Majnarić-Pandžić (1998: 269–281); Kukoč (1987); Gabrovec & Mihovilić (1987: 326–331); Cambi (2002: 15–19; 2013a: 396).



Fig. 7: Monumental sculpture from Nesactium of a horseman and a woman nursing her child, Early Iron Age (photo by A. Klarić © Arheološki muzej Istre u Puli; inv. nr. P-7310)



Fig. 8: Fragments of stone sculptures from Nesactium of naked youths, Early Iron Age (photo by A. Klarić © Arheološki muzej Istre u Puli; inv. nos. P-7311 [left] and P-7506a [right])



Fig. 9: Fragments of decorated stone slabs from Nesactium, Early Iron Age: a) stone base with remains of a base-altar and a human figure (inv. nr. P-7306) – lateral side (left, photo by T. Draškić Savić) and front side (middle, photo by A. Klarić); b) stone slab decorated with geometrical motives (right, photo by A. Klarić, inv. nr. P-7300) (© Arheološki muzej Istre u Puli)

The Liburni – as can be judged already from the Late Iron Age, i.e. the late pre-Roman period – were frequently adopting foreign techniques and styles, but with their own twist: this is well-attested in the production of jewellery from the last centuries BC which is a mix of the Hellenistic style and local taste (cf. Figs. 10–12),²⁹ but even more in the production of the early-Roman funerary monuments, especially the monumental stele with portraits, which do not follow the standardised production templates of Italian workshops, but instead created their own solution by combining elements known from very different workshops and/or adding something of their own, making their own, eclectic style (cf. Fig. 13).³⁰

²⁹ Dimitrijević, Težak-Gregl & Majnarić-Pandžić (1998: 349–354 [jewellery], 354–357 [local production of Hellenistic-style pottery], with references to the older relevant literature). On p. 351 they emphasise the eclectic nature of the Late Iron Age Liburnian style: “Izdužene pločaste fibule (sl. 174) svojstvene su upravo Libumima i izrazit su primjer kako su od raznih dekorativnih elemenata, preuzetih iz etrurske i helenističke Italije, u liburnskim radionicama stvarani osebujni, kompozitni i eklektički nakiti.” (“Elongated plate fibulae (Fig. 174) are typical for the Liburni and are an outstanding example of how the Liburnian workshops created distinctive, composite and eclectic jewellery by combining various decorative elements, taken from the Etruscan and Hellenistic Italy.”). For the jewellery cf. also Brusić (2010).

³⁰ Kurilić (2008: 28–29); overview of the Liburnian monumental stele with portraits in Kurilić (1993: 62–62 with references to earlier works); cf. also the Liburnian cippi – a cylindrical funerary monument found at the territory of Liburnia only (Cambi 2002: 156; Kurilić 2008: 28–29; Kurilić 2010: 133, 139–141; all with references to earlier scholarly publications).



Fig. 10: Silver jewellery from the Liburnian hill-fort Ćosina gradina in Jagodnja Gornja: (left) necklace with four pendants imitations of the 6th cent. BCE Metapontus silver coins (photo by I. Čondić, © Arheološki muzej u Zadru, inv. nr. P12601), and (right) silver pendant that is reusing Hellenistic gems (photo by Ž. Kucelin and edited by A. Kurilić, © Arheološki muzej u Zadru, inv. nr. P12602)



Fig. 11: Large bronze belt decorated with silver, partly gilded relief of Medusa head, Asseria, Late Iron Age (photo by T. Seser, © Arheološki muzej u Splitu, inv. nr. N 4476)



Fig. 12: Plate fibulae from Aenona (Grave 82), Late Iron Age (photo by I. Čondić, © Arheološki muzej u Zadru, inv. nos P1325 and P1327)



Fig. 13: Stele of Vadica Titua and her family, Asseria (photo by Ortolf Harl May 2015 [lupa fig. nr. 20689-13] © Arheološki muzej u Zadru, inv. nr. A7302)

Dedications to the native deities make the second most numerous group of votive monuments in Liburnia: the Roman divinities are the most numerous (with the absolute domination of dedications to the *I O M* – 47 monuments out of 214 of all analysed inscriptions), leaving behind dedications to other divinities (Oriental, Western, and others) with only 14 attestations. Some of the local gods and goddesses had undergone so-called *interpretatio Romana* (Roman interpretation)³¹ and were identified with (or joined with) Venus (*Venus Ansotica, Iria Venus*), which lead some authors to believe that these Liburnian (and Histrian) goddesses were of similar natures as her, and that they were ancient goddesses of creative forces, fertility and chthonic nature, possibly of very ancient roots (similar as ancient Mediterranean female divinities as *Magna Mater*).³² Another Roman goddess was joined with the Liburnian counterpart in an example of reverse acculturation – an immigrant had accepted the native cult. This is a complex and artistically well put dedication to *Bona Dea Domina* and *Heia Augusta* from the Island of Pag that was set up by a member of a distinguished senatorial family of *Calpurnii Pisones* (by *Calpurnia*, daughter of *L. Calpurnius Piso*, cos. 1 BCE) in a period of great distress because of two separate trials, one against her paternal uncle (*Cn. Calpurnius Piso*, cos. 7 BCE) accused of murdering *Germanicus* in 19 CE, and the other in 24 CE against her father, which may be the cause for such a joint dedication to goddesses described as triumphant (*triumphalis*), ruler of both the land and seas (*terrae marisque dominatrix*), the one who keeps safe both the state of mind and possessions (*conservatrix mentiumque bonarum*), a healer (*remediorum potens*), and the last, but definitely not the least, the one who brings the favourable judgment (*bene iudicans*).³³

This is the rare certain example of foreigners participating in the local worship. There is a hypothesis that another such example can be observed in a text from an unknown site (most likely *Asseria*) that most probably recorded some sort of building activity (construction, restoration, or similar) connected with the worship of *Latra* (Fig. 6). This damaged text was set up by person(s) who might have been either immigrants or of immigrant descent.³⁴ However, the inscription is dated in a rather late period – second half of the second century CE – when Liburnia had already been well Romanised and many of its inhabitants had ancestors of both indigenous and immigrant origins, so it would be more appropriate to consider them as local population of the *Liburno-Roman* cities and descent than to insist on their appertaining

³¹ For the phrase cf. Cambi (2013: 71, esp. fn. 3).

³² Kurilić (2008: 26–27) with references to the earlier literature; Medini (1984: 223 ff., esp. 237 ff.). It is theoretically possible that the temple of *Venus* in *Curicum* (present-day *Krk*) which two local, native officials had restored in the Augustan period, was actually a temple of some native goddess whose name was not included in the inscription (for the inscription see Kurilić 2006a: 136–137, cat. nr. 1).

³³ Kurilić (2004: 5–9, cat. nr. 1); cf. Zović & Kurilić (2015: cat. nr. 46); both with references to earlier publications.

³⁴ Kurilić (2006: cat. nr. 14, pp. 51–54, 68, 71) with references to earlier publications.

to either indigenous or immigrant population.³⁵ Thus this monument would rather testify to another important insight into the native cults of Liburnia which shows that they continued late into the imperial period by changing and adapting along the way to the new realities.



Fig. 14: Relief of Silvanus from Salona (photo by Ortoľ Harl March 2015 [lupa fig. nr. 24989] © Arheološki muzej u Splitu, inv. nr. AMS-D-242)

³⁵ Kurilić (2006: 52–54).

The continuation of worship of indigenous divinities in the remainder of the province was different than among the Liburni. In other parts there wasn't such a variety of locally worshiped deities as in Liburnia, and some of them were frequently depicted with the aid of visual arts – mostly in the form of very rustically carved images. These images belong to the most widespread indigenous cult – the cult of Silvanus who was worshipped throughout most of the Roman Dalmatia (mostly in its hinterland, among the Delmatae, but not exclusively) and Pannonia, and mostly by the indigenous populations. These cult images depicted him similar to the Greek Pan (cf. Figs. 14–15) and frequently in a company of one or more female figures (cf. Figs. 16–17); his divine attributes included *syrix* (pan-pipes), grapes (or some other fruits), *pedum* (the shepherd's staff), and a goat and/or a dog (Figs. 14–17).



Fig. 15: Relief of Silvanus from Tomislavgrad (photo by Ortoľ Harl March 2019 [lupa fig. nr. 29998] © Sarajevo - Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine)



Fig. 16: Relief of Silvanus and Diana from Opačići near Glamoč (photo by Ortolf Harl March 2019 [lupa fig. nr. 30004] © Sarajevo - Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine)

Because of these characteristics he has commonly been perceived as the pastoral divinity, in charge of protecting shepherds and herds and ensuring the fertility of both the vegetation and herds, which suited well with the dominantly pastoralist way of living of populations inhabiting the Adriatic hinterland. If there is no cult image present, the epigraphic monuments alone usually have no reliable elements that would enable identification of Silvanus as a native deity and distinguish him from the Italian Silvanus, unless there are some divine epithets along his name (such as Silvester and Domesticus, and some others) which are typical for the region. His female companions – identified as Diana and the Nymphs (Silvanae included; Figs. 17–18) – are even in the worse position because they have no distinguishing epithets.



Fig. 17: Relief of Silvanus and Nymphs from Kamen near Glamoč (photo by Ortolf Harl March 2019 [lupa fig. nr. 23725-1] © Sarajevo - Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine)

In other words, Silvanus and other members of his cult group are distinguished from their homonymous classical (Italian or Greek) counterparts mostly on the basis of their visual depictions.³⁶ Their names, however, keep no traces of former native theonyms. A divine couple of Vidasus and Thana, worshipped in Topusko at the border area of Dalmatia and Pannonia, perhaps may provide a clue to the indigenous names of Silvanus and Diana, but present linguistic analysis can not confirm this hypothesis as yet and only some new fortunate find could help to better understand the relation between these two divine couples.³⁷



Fig. 18: Relief of Diana and Nymphs(?) from Opačići near Glamoč (photo by Ortolf Harl March 2019 [lupa fig. nr. 30005-1] © Sarajevo - Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine)

³⁶ On the worship of Silvanus (and his group) and their monuments see recent publications Matijević & Kurilić (2011: 148–151); Cambi (2013: 76 ff.); Dzino (2013); Perinić (2016), all with references to earlier scholarly publications. Dzino, however, does not consider the cult as an indigenous one, but as “new, inventive and multifaceted religious practice, which incorporated existing local traditions and visual aesthetics with global symbolics of Silvanus, bringing together distinct societies and including Dalmatian communities into the »global« world of Roman Empire” (Dzino 2013: 261). Duje Rendić Miočević dealt with Silvanus, his group and their cult images in the Roman Dalmatia in many of his works that still remain mandatory reading for anyone who wants to analyse the topic (see relevant chapters in his *opera selecta*: Rendić Miočević 1989).

³⁷ Matijević & Kurilić (2011: 150–152); Cambi (2013: 84); Perinić (9–10, 47–48); all with the references to the older publications. Topusko is usually thought to be the location of a place named *Ad Fines*, and is usually placed within the borders of Pannonia (Superior) and not Dalmatia (Matijašić 2009: 39, 185, 238; Rendić-Miočević & Šegvić 1998: 9, 11; cf. in *EDH*, nos. HD020118, HD032883, HD052277, HD071802, and HD071804).

Another difference between the Liburnian area and the regions in which Silvanus and his group are worshipped are sanctuaries: while these were unattested in the pre-Roman times and rarely attested (only on the basis of the epigraphic monuments) in the Roman Liburnia, the Silvanus sanctuaries are known in several places and forms – mostly in natural environments, either *sub divo* or in caves, carved on the rock or in the form of aedicula, and occasionally even shared with other deity (Mithras).³⁸



Fig. 19: Relief of Silvanus and his cult group from Suhača near Livno (photo by Ortolf Harl March 2019 [lupa fig. nr. 30640] © Livno - Franjevački muzej i galerija Gorica Livno)

A sanctuary in a natural environment has also been identified in the Japodean territory: Eleven votive altars (some of which were set up by members of the Japodean elite) and a small architectural object were found at the spring Privilica near Bihać (NW Bosnia and Herzegovina). There stood the place of worship of the only Japodean deity known up to now – Bindus Neptunus. Both Bindus's connection with Neptune and iconographic features present in several figural images carved on some altars (such as a deity with Neptune's attributes – fish and a scepter, a Triton, a male goat) clearly testify to him being the god of waters.

The execution of these images shows a mixture of presumably introduced iconographic elements (well known in classical iconography) and native artistic preferences – simple incised drawings which were typical for the art of archaic features that

³⁸ A good overview see in Dzino (2013: 264–270).

was very common among the Japodes, especially in their funerary art (cf. depictions at the Japodean urns at Figs. 20–21).³⁹



Fig. 20: Japodean urn from Golubić near Bihać with a depiction of a horseman (photo by Ortolf Harl March 2019 [lupa fig. nr. 30747-1] © Bihać - Muzej Unsko-sanskog kantona)



Fig. 21: Japodean urn from Založje near Bihać with a depiction of a cortege of five horsemen (photo by Ortolf Harl March 2019 [lupa fig. nr. 30748-1] © Bihać - Muzej Unsko-sanskog kantona)

In addition to the above mentioned deities and/or their cult groups, there are few others that some scholars include in the group of the native gods and goddesses of Dalmatia. These are Apollo Tadenus, Armatus, Medaurus, Talanso, and Tato.⁴⁰ However, as will be shown farther in the text, for most of them there is either still no reliable evidence for such claims or there is enough evidence to show that some of

³⁹ Imamović (1977: cat. nos. 50–60 at pp. 338–344; detailed analysis of the site and the cult: pp. 95–101); cf. Cambi (2013: 74–76). An excellent study on the Japodean symbolism can be found in Kukoč (2009: *passim*, esp. Ch. III–VII).

⁴⁰ Cf. Cambi (2013: 84–85).

them were actually foreign deities. The only exception is Medaurus. This is a deity that was explicitly linked with the Dalmatian city of Risinium as its protector (*Moenia qui Risinni Aeacia ... nostri publice Lar populi*).⁴¹ The dedicator was, thus, from Risinium. He belonged to the highest social class: he was a *legatus legionis III Augustae* and reached the consulate in the late 2nd cent. CE.⁴²

Let's now return to the remaining four divinities mentioned in the previous paragraph. Apollo Tadenus is attested in Dalmatia in one monument from interior (Ilidža by Sarajevo), but there are three other monuments – as far as I am aware – found outside this province: two in Thrace, and one in Thessaly.⁴³ Detailed study of its monuments in Thrace has shown that he might have been either a foreign cult in Thrace (introduced by settlers from the East) or an indigenous Thracian deity.⁴⁴ Taking into consideration the numerical ratio and the fact that the dedicator of the Ilidža monument bears a Greek name (*Charmidis*), it seems reasonable to exclude Apollo Tadenus from the list of Dalmatian native deities and include it into the group of imported cults from the East.

The other deity of this group is Tato – *Deus Tato Pa()*, interpreted by Suić as Tato Patrius, the Illyrian god of ancestral cult. He is attested solely once, in a votive text carved beneath the cult image of the so-called Thracian horseman from Moesia Superior (Buljesovac in Serbia).⁴⁵ Suić interpreted it as the Illyrian god because of onomastic similarities with indigenous names such as Tato, Tatta, Tattaia and similar, which occur occasionally in different Dalmatian areas (mostly in the south-eastern part and among the Delmatae),⁴⁶ however, it must be emphasised that the iconography of the so-called Thracian horseman is most typical for Thrace and Lower Moesia, and is also frequent in Upper Moesia either among the populations of the Thracian descent inhabiting its southern and south-eastern parts or among the military population (to which group the monument from Buljesovac belongs) and in its northern

41 Lambaesis (Numidia): *CIL* 8, 2581 (cf. *EDH* HD031417 [last update: 27 November 2001]; EDCS-20600032). Medaurus is also attested in two other epigraphic monuments: another, much shorter, from Lambaesis (*CIL* 8, 2642; cf. EDCS-20600093), and one Greek fragmented inscription from Risinium (*ILLug* 1854A).

42 More on the inscription, finding circumstances, epigraphic and prosopographical analysis see Dyzek *et alii* (2010); cf. Rendić Miočević (1989 [1980]). The latter (p. 523, 526) accepted the opinion that Medaurus was a healing god, similar to Aesculapius (cf. Cambi (2013: 85)) because the monument was found in the sacral complex of Aesculapius and Salus, but the former had convincingly proven (pp. 88–92, esp. 90 ff., 112, 129) that he was one of *dii patrii* and divine protector of Risinium.

43 Dalmatia: Ilidža – *CIL* 3, 13858; Thrace: Kabyle (Yablon) and Malko Trnovo (in Greek) – Sharankov (2017: 215–216); Thessaly – *IG* 9, 1076.

44 Sharankov (2017: 215–216, 243): foreign cult in Thracia, linked perhaps with iron production workers; Šaćić Beća (2018: nr. 1, 161–162): in Dalmatia foreign, Thracian cult, linked with healing and thermal springs.

45 *ILLug* 28; Suić (1960); his conclusions are followed by other scholars (cf. *ILLug* 28; Cambi 2013: 85). Cf. also Grbić (2013: 8).

46 Suić (1960: 95–96) for the distribution of such names see Alföldy (1969: 305–306, ss.vv.).

parts where soldiers of Thracian descent are well attested. It is undoubtedly considered as a native Thracian deity. In addition to that, in some inscriptions the deity was named *Deus Toitovitus* (or in some other slightly altered variants of the name, such as *Totoithianus*, *Τωτουσουρα*, and similar),⁴⁷ so it seems reasonable to assume that the dedication to *Deo Taton* from Upper Moesia has nothing to do with the Illyrian cults (or the province of Dalmatia) but is just another form of well-known epithets of the Thracian horseman.

The third deity of the group for which at the moment is not possible to state whether he was an indigenous or imported god (or genius) is Talanso. This name is a *hapax legomenon*: it is attested on a solely one votive monument, an ara from Livanjsko polje near Livno in the Adriatic hinterland, in the land of the Delmatae. The monument has never been published, but it is clearly visible from the photograph that it was dedicated to *Talanson[i] Augusto* by a group of people.⁴⁸ In order to understand Talanso's nature and origins the monument must first be studied in depth, and with this still lacking, it is not possible (nor methodologically correct) to make claims about his affiliation to a particular region or community.

Not far from Livno, in Duvanjsko polje (the central part of the Delmatae territory), two epigraphic votive monuments dedicated to *Armatus* were found more than a century ago. *Armatus* was already then interpreted as the native god, and most of the scholars accepted that view without giving it a second thought. The god was later interpreted as the native god of war – some kind of the native God Mars (“probably the *translatio* of the Delmatean war god of an unknown name”, Cambi 2013: 85) – because of the meaning of the Latin word *armatus* (“armed”). Only one author, E. Imamović (1977: 179), expressed the opinion that these are dedications to the Roman god Mars, who was here named by his attribute *Armatus* only. Since neither of these two inscriptions offer any firm indications to whether he was a local or imported divinity, it would be best not to include it in any of these groups.⁴⁹

In addition to native divine names and the occasional insight into their divine natures, the monuments also provide information of people participating in the cult. Mostly these are worshipers, dedicators, and only sporadically priests or other cult attendants. My focus here will be on priests of indigenous descent. There are not many such people or – rather – it is not possible to identify many such persons. Native personal names, usually the only way to identify members of indigenous descent, tend to disappear with the advancement of Romanisation and grants of Roman citizen-

⁴⁷ See a recent study by D. Grbić (Grbić 2013: 7 ff., *Toitovito*: 9–13, 16), with references to relevant earlier bibliography. She includes *Tato* among Thracian personal names (p. 16).

⁴⁸ Cf. Cambi (2013: 85). Mayer (1956: 159) just mentioned the name, in passing, while discussing morphology of divine names. My most sincere gratitude goes to Mr Nino Švonja, curator in the Archaeological Museum in Split for providing me with a photograph and basic information on the monument, including the announcement of its forthcoming publication.

⁴⁹ A good review on these two monuments and their finding place, as well as of various opinions on the nature of *Armatus* can be found in Pandža (2014).

ship, because of the introduction of the Roman onomastic system and Latin names.⁵⁰ A Roman citizen – wherever he/she came from – followed the same naming pattern.

At the moment I am aware of only two natives from Dalmatia who performed priestly functions: Turus Longini f. and Iulia Turi f. Tertul[la?].

Iulia Tertulla was a sacerdos Divae Augustae in a Liburno-Roman city of Asseria. Her unabbreviated father's name Turus clearly testifies to her indigenous descent, while the fact that she was a priestess of the divinised Empress (Livia, late wife of Emperor Augustus) shows that she and her family must have had a high social standing in the city.⁵¹ Her participation in the Imperial cult can be seen as an act of civic loyalty of new Roman citizens towards the Roman rule and Imperial family.

Turus Longini f. from an inscription from Liburnia (most probably from Varvaria or Burnum)⁵² dedicated an altar to the god Mars. His nomenclature testifies that he was not a Roman citizen but a Romanised peregrine (his father has the Latin name). He was *decurio* and *sacerdotalis*, which has been interpreted as either city councillor and priest⁵³, or an official and a priest of a native Liburnian kinship group known as *cognatio*.⁵⁴ In my opinion the former interpretation has more merits, since we know of other peregrine city councillors (as in municipium Rider)⁵⁵ and, on the other hand, there is still no convincing evidence of presumed peculiar kinship organisation of Liburni that would have been called *cognatio*. On the contrary, there is enough evidence of the religious congregation in Salona of Magna Mater worshippers that was called *cognatio*, so perhaps here too the term was used in the similar sense (i.e., as brothers and sisters in faith).⁵⁶

Turus made this dedication on behalf of persons close to him (*suis*, most probably members of the immediate family) and of a *cognatio* named Nantania. Its name has a root present in the central Dalmatian onomastic groups,⁵⁷ but its meaning still eludes us. Is it possible that it is the native name or attribute of some deity similar in its nature to Mars? This is just wishful thinking and only some future fortunate find could help solve this problem, the same as the one of why Turus was addressed as *sacerdotalis* instead of *sacerdos*.

For three more persons native descent may be presumed, while the remaining Dalmatian priests and priestess were most probably immigrants to the province. Native descent has been presumed for T. Turranius Sedatus, a high municipal offi-

⁵⁰ Cf. Kurilić (2010: 133–139).

⁵¹ Kurilić (2006: 10–12, 67); cf. Kurilić (2010: 143–144, 167–168, nr. 2); *AE* 1993, 1260.

⁵² *Marti sac(rum) / Turus Longini f(ilius) / dec(urio) et sacerdotali(s) / pro suis et cognation(e) / Nantania / de suo (fecit). V(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito). ILJug 944A*; cf. Kurilić (1999: cat. nr. 2687); Kurilić (1999a: 230–231 = 2008: 88) with references to earlier scholarly publications.

⁵³ Zaninović (1968: 125).

⁵⁴ Wilkes (1969: 216, cf. p. 187).

⁵⁵ See Wilkes (1969: 241).

⁵⁶ Kurilić (1999a: 230–231 = 2008: 88) with references to earlier scholarly publications.

⁵⁷ Cf. Kurilić (1999: 123, fn. 210).

cial in Scardona and *sacerdos ad aram Augusti Liburnorum*,⁵⁸ L. Gavius Optatus from Senia who was *sacerdos Liburnorum*,⁵⁹ and high municipal official from Arba, the Roman knight M. Trebius Proculus,⁶⁰ who was either *sacer(dos) Lib(eri)* or *sacer(dos) Lib(urnorum)* like the previous two.⁶¹ The priesthood has been generally taken to be an expression of the loyalty to the Roman state and Imperial cult that was organised for the Liburni, with the centre of worship placed in Scardona.⁶²

It is evident from this brief overview of priests of native origins from Dalmatia that the majority comes from one of the most Romanised areas – Liburnia. In this area, among the Liburni, new customs arriving with the Roman rule were accepted and adapted to their own tastes, and it happened earlier than in the interior. Religious traditions observed among the Liburni, the southern part of the province and its interior show that there were clear divisions between them even in the Roman period.

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⁵⁸ CIL 3, 2810 (*ILJug* 199); on his life and career see Wilkes (1969: 312–313); on *Turrani* from Scardona cf. Falileyev & Kurilić (2016: 277–280).

⁵⁹ *ILJug* 247 (*AE* 1959, 122); Kurilić (2010a) with references to earlier scholarly publications.

⁶⁰ CIL 3, 2931; cf. Wilkes (1969: 309); Kurilić (1999a: 236–237 (= 2008: 93–94)). M. Trebius Proculus was also mentioned in CIL 5, 961 from Aquileia, who was perhaps the same person as our Proculus from Arba.

⁶¹ *Sacerdos Liberi* (*EDH* HD060232); *Sacerdos Liburnorum* (Kurilić 1999a: 236–237 (= 2008: 93–94)); Jadrić-Kučan (2012: 47); and others.

⁶² See i.e. Jadrić-Kučan (2012: 44 ff.), with references to earlier publications.

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