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*Places of Memory:
Cemeteries and Funerary Practices throughout the Time*

Edited by
Daniel Dumitran and
Marius Rotar

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CONTENTS

Introduction	5
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STUDIES AND ARTICLES

DEFINING THE PLACE

ANAMARIJA KURILIĆ AND ZRINKA SERVENTI Buried Far Away: Easterners in Roman Liburnia	13
DMITRI BUDIUKIN Small Burial Churches in Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Russian Monasteries	37
SUSHANT KISHORE From the Rajghat to India Gate: Places of Memory, Sites of State Sovereignty and Public Dissent	43
SAVANNAH D. DODD Death at Lunchtime: An Ethnographic Study of Locals Lunching at <i>Cimetière Des Rois</i>	59

THE FUNERARY PRACTICES

CHRISTINA LUNDBERG AND MIHAI GLIGOR Place of Death and Place of Rest. Commingled Human Remains from Alba Iulia- <i>Lumea Nouă</i> 2015 Early Eneolithic Funerary Discovery	71
JÚLIA BARA Funeral Traditions of the Hungarian Aristocracy in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: An Overview	105
HILDA MACLEAN “The Defunct Celestial:” Chinese Funerary Practices in Nineteenth Century Australia	133
ANNA E. KUBIAK Legal and Economic Issues of the Polish Funeral Industry	141

KEEPING OF MEMORY

DÓRA MÉRAI Stones in Floors and Walls: Commemorating the Dead in the Transylvanian Principality	151
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CONTENTS

JEWELL HOMAD JOHNSON	
Medieval Remembrance: Mak Dizdar and the <i>Stećak</i> of Bosnia	175
CRISTINA BOGDAN	
Recalling Devices: From Ossuaries to Virtual Memorials	195
<i>RESEARCH METHODS AND PRESERVATION</i>	
DAWN C. STRICKLIN	
Bringing the Dead Back to Life: Reconstructing Cemetery Burial Registers	215
DANIEL DUMITRAN	
Jewish Cemeteries of Romania: Alba Iulia Case Study	235
Abstracts	259
List of abbreviations	267
List of authors	269

BURIED FAR AWAY: EASTERNERS IN ROMAN LIBURNIA

ANAMARIJA KURILIĆ AND ZRINKA SERVENTI*

Liburnia and the Liburni

During the Iron Age, ancient Liburnia – the territory of the Liburni people – encompassed the coastal area from the River Raša to the River Krka including all adjacent islands, as attested to by numerous archaeological finds as well as ancient literary sources. Scholars date the emergence of the people of Liburnia to around the turn of the first millennium BC, i.e. during the transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age, and their autonomy lasted until the Roman dominion.¹ In the Roman period, the aforementioned territory was an integral part first of the province of Illyricum and, subsequently, of the province of Dalmatia, which was set up during the reign of Augustus (see Fig. 1). The Liburni were, as far as we know, quite amicable towards the Romans, collaborating with them even before the organisation of provinces, which consequently accelerated the cultural exchange between the two nations. Still, even in such changed political and organisational circumstances, the Liburni were always able to preserve their own individuality and sense of territorial cohesion.²

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¹ Anamarija Kurilić, *Ususret Liburnima: Studije o društvenoj povijesti ranorimske Liburnije* [Getting to Know the Liburni. Studies on the Social History of the Early Roman Liburnia] (Zadar: Odjel za povijest Sveučilišta u Zadru, 2008), 9-12. Among the ancient sources that mention Liburnia, Pliny gives the most accurate data regarding their span (Plin. *N.h.* 3.139, cf. also 3.141). For additional information and literature on the Liburni see also Stojan Dimitrijević, Tihomila Težak-Gregl, and Nives Majnarić-Pandžić, *Prapovijest* [Prehistory] (Zagreb: Naklada naprijed d.d., 1998), 306-318, 349-369; Šime Batović, “Liburnska grupa” [Liburni Cultural Group], in *Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja*, 5, ed. Alojz Benac (Sarajevo, 1987), 339-390.

² Kurilić, *Ususret Liburnima*, 15-19. See also John J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia* (London: Routledge and Keegan Paul Ltd., 1969), 37-80, 153-162; Slobodan Čače, “Liburnija u razdoblju od 4. do 1. stoljeća prije nove ere” [Liburnia During the 4th to the 1st Century BC] (PhD diss., University of Zadar, 1985); Slobodan Čače, “Rim, Liburnija i istočni Jadran u 2. st. pr. n. e.” [Rome, Liburnia and the Eastern Adriatic During the 2nd Century BC], *Diadora* 13 (1991): 55-76; Slobodan Čače, “Prilozi povijesti Liburnije u 1. stoljeću prije Krista” [Contributions to Liburnian History in the 1st Century BC], *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 35 (1993): 1-34; Slobodan Čače, “Broj liburnskih općina i vjerodostojnost Plinija (*Nat. hist.*, 3, 130, 139-141)” [Number of Liburnian Communities and Credibility of Pliny (*Nat. hist.*, 3, 130, 139-141)], *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru* 32 (19) (1992-1993 [1993]): 1-36; Marin Zaninović, “Histri i Liburni prema rimskoj ekspanziji” [Histri and Liburni with Regard to the Roman Expansion], *Diadora* 12 (1990): 47-64; Robert Matijašić, *Povijest hrvatskih zemalja u antici do cara Dioklecijana* [Ancient History of Croatian Lands up to Diocletian] (Zagreb: Leykam International, 2009), 113-221; Mate Suić,

Pre-Roman Liburnia was, throughout its history, a sea-faring region and its people were regarded as notorious pirates and sea-people. In fact, according to Strabo (6.2.4), for some time during the eighth century BC, the Liburni held ancient Corcyra, until they were cast out by Greek settlers.³ As such, the region was visited by foreigners from the West and the East, which is attested by finds of Mycenaean,⁴ Apulian and Greek pottery as well as by literary sources that mention Greek sailors in the Adriatic from the seventh century BC onward.⁵ In the Roman period trade only intensified, which is also attested by numerous seaports, underwater archaeological sites but also by imported goods found along the coast and deeper into the hinterland. Furthermore, one of the highly important sea routes, the eastern maritime route connecting Northern Italy with Greece, Asia Minor and Egypt, went along the Liburnian coast, using almost exclusively this side of the Adriatic due to the existence of safe anchorages, coves and favourable currents.⁶

“Granice Liburnije kroz stoljeća” [Borders of Liburnia through Centuries], *Radovi Instituta JAZU u Zadru* 2 (1955): 273-296.

³ Cf. Mate Suić, *Prošlost Zadra I: Zadar u starom vijeku* [History of Zadar I: Zadar in Antiquity] (Zadar, 1981), 117-130. See, however, Slobodan Čače, “Corcira e la tradizione greca dell’espansione dei liburni nell’Adriatico orientale,” in *Grčki utjecaj na istočnoj obali Jadrana / Greek Influence along the East Adriatic Coast*, ed. Nenad Cambi, Slobodan Čače, and Branko Kirigin (Split: Književni krug, 2002), 83-100, who offers a new perspective on this tradition.

⁴ On finds of Mycenaean pottery in the Adriatic see Branko Kirigin, ed., *2001 Archaeological Sites on Central Dalmatian Islands: What to Do with Them? The Adriatic Islands Project. Hvar - Split - Zadar - Ljubljana - Birmingham - Toronto. Contact, Commerce and Colonisation 6000 BC - AD 600. Summary of Main Results* (Hvar - Split: Arheološki muzej u Splitu, 1998), 13, 39-41; Mario Luni, “I Greci nel kolpos adriatico, Ankon e Numana,” in *I Greci in Adriatico*, 2, ed. Lorenzo Braccisi and Mario Luni (Roma: L’Erma di Bretschneider, 2004) [Hesperia 18. Studi sulla grecità d’Occidente. A cura di Lorenzo Braccisi], 15-20, 40; Kristina Mihovilić, “Ceramica greca in Istria,” in *I Greci in Adriatico*, 2, 102.

⁵ Matijašić, *Povijest hrvatskih zemalja*, 51-86; Kurilić, *Ususret Liburnima*, 14. For more on archaeological finds, especially ceramic vessels, see Batović, “Liburnska grupa,” 371-375, 386-387.

⁶ Anamarija Eterović-Borzić and Zrinka Serventi, “Eastern Adriatic Seafarers and Trade Routes in the Reflection of Eastern Mediterranean Glass Vessels Found in Ancient Liburnia,” in *Identity and Connectivity: Proceedings of the 16th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Florence, Italy, 1-3 March 2012*, ed. Luca Bobardieri et al. (Oxford: Archeopress, 2013) [BAR], 625-633; see also Mario Jurišić, *Ancient Shipwrecks of the Adriatic: Maritime Transport During the First and Second Centuries AD* (Oxford: Archeopress, 2000) [BAR International Series 828]; Dasen Vrsalović, “Arheološka istraživanja u podmorju istočnog Jadrana, Prilog poznavanju trgovačkih plovni putova i privrednih prilika na Jadranu u antici” [Archaeological Underwater Investigations at the Eastern Adriatic. Contribution to the Knowledge of Maritime Trade Routes and Economy at the Adriatic in Antiquity] (PhD diss., University of Zagreb, 1979); Smiljan Gluščević, “Brodolomi na Jadranu u antici i srednjem vijeku” [Shipwrecks in the Adriatic in Antiquity and Middle Ages], *Adrias* 4-5 (1994): 13-32; Zdenko Brusić, “Problemi plovidbe Jadranom u prethistoriji i antici” [Problems Concerning Sailing on the Adriatic through Prehistory and Antiquity], *Pomorski zbornik* 8 (1993): 549-568; Mithad Kozličić and Mateo Bratanić, “Ancient Sailing Routes on Adriatic,” in *Les routes de l’Adriatique antique : géographie et économie : actes de la Table ronde du 18 au 22 septembre 2001 (Zadar) = Putovi antičkog*

Consequently, this territory, owing to its transit importance and developed trade, attracted foreigners both of Eastern and Western origin who came to Roman Liburnia either in search of prosperity and wealth or were sent to the area on official duties or some other assignment. The majority of free-born foreigners of Eastern origin were either members of the military or seamen and traders, and their legacy and identity remain primarily attested on epigraphic monuments. Eastern slaves or freedmen were undoubtedly also present, but their exact ethnicity or origin is extremely problematic to ascertain, an issue that shall be discussed shortly.



Fig. 1. Roman Liburnia within the boundaries of Roman Dalmatia (created by A. Kurilić and Z. Serventi; geographic basis Google Earth: Data SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO; Image © 2014 CNES /Astrium; Image © 2014 TerraMetrics).

Epigraphical evidence

As has already been stated, epigraphic monuments are an excellent source of straightforward information on ancient people and their lives; more importantly, they are the most direct testimonies to the lives of “common” people who otherwise would have hardly entered the spotlight of historical research.

There are some 1,200-1,250 epigraphic monuments from Roman Liburnia (with a few belonging to Liburnians abroad) dating to the first three centuries AD, which mention by name about 1,500 persons (names of emperors, members of their families, and provincial governors are excluded from the current study).⁷

Jadrana: geografija i gospodarstvo. Radovi s Okruglog stola održanog u Zadru od 18. do 22. rujna 2001., ed. Slobodan Čače et al. (Bordeaux - Zadar: Ausonius Memoires, 2006), 107-124.

⁷ The data rely largely on numbers of monuments known up to 2000, according to Anamarija

One of the commonest contents of epigraphic monuments (sometimes even the only contents) are personal names, which in the Roman naming system reveal important information on an individual's personal, social, juridical and ethnic status, i.e., whether the person was free or not, to what social class he or she belonged, whether he or she was a citizen or not, and his or her origin.⁸

The names of many men, especially of soldiers serving abroad, included the entry of their domicile, by either naming their native city (e.g. *domo Laranda*) or ethnic origin (e.g. *natione Liburnus*).⁹ Many more individuals, however, were not so precise in that regard, so their ethnic backgrounds remain to be investigated. The best indicators are their names – to be precise, their personal names – but also their careers, direct family relations with some person of known ethnicity, and so on. Due to the Romanisation process and broad granting of Roman citizenship to many conquered people, as well as to freed slaves, many names became ethnically non-transparent,¹⁰ so a native Egyptian person could have had the same name as a native Gaul; an excellent example of this phenomenon can be found in a letter written by Egyptian Apion, son of Epimachus, enrolled in the Egyptian fleet, to his father, where he wrote: “My name is Antonius Maximus [...]”¹¹ Thus Latin names spread throughout the entire Empire.

A similar process lies behind many names of Greek and Oriental origin, but for a different reason: the slave trade! Slave traders and slave owners often gave such names to persons they owned, frequently choosing those from Greek mythology and glorious history: thus many a slave was called Alexander, Eros, Hermes, Nice, Tyche, or similar. Of course, not all Greek names were slave

Kurilić, “Pučanstvo Liburnije od 1. do 3. stoljeća po Kristu: antroponimija, društveni slojevi, etničke promjene, gospodarske uloge” [Population of Liburnia from the 1st to the 3rd Centuries AD: Anthroponimy, Social Structure, Ethnic Changes, Economic Roles] (PhD diss., Faculty of Philosophy in Zadar, University of Split, 1999), 243, 418-422 and Anamarija Kurilić, “Recent Epigraphic Finds from the Roman Province of Dalmatia,” in *Dalmatia. Research in the Roman Province 1970-2001. Papers in Honour of J. J. Wilkes*, ed. David Davison et al. (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006) [BAR International Series 1576], 133-147, which is slightly enlarged by two or three dozens of subsequent epigraphic discoveries.

⁸ For Roman naming patterns and different categories of the data they can provide on individuals bearing them, see, for instance, Jean-Marie Lassère, *Manuel d'épigraphie romaine* (Paris: Picard, 2005), vol. I, 79-182; Benet Salway, “What's in a Name? A Survey of Roman Onomastic Practice from c. 700 B.C. to A.D. 700,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 84 (1994); cf. Anamarija Kurilić, “Komemoratori i pokojnici s liburnskih cipusa: tko su, što su i odakle su? / Commemorators and Deceased on Liburnian Cippi: Who Were They, What Were They and Where Have They Come from?,” *Asseria* 8 (2010): 134-137.

⁹ Cf. Lassère, *Manuel*, 128-136.

¹⁰ Cf. Kurilić, “Komemoratori i pokojnici,” 134-135.

¹¹ “Letters of Sailors in the Roman Navy,” Letter of a Recruit: Apion, *Select Papyri* I (1932) #112 (II. A.D.), accessed 30 August, 2015, <http://www.csun.edu/~hcfl1004/paplet1.htm>.

names, which makes the task of differentiating them very difficult, if not futile. Greek and other Oriental names thus became so widespread among the servile population (i.e. slaves and freedmen) irrespective of their true ethnic affiliation, that their use as Roman *cognomina* should be regarded as an indicator of the individual's social status (i.e. of their servile status) rather than ethnic background.¹²

On the basis of epigraphic data and in-depth onomastic and prosopographical studies,¹³ it was possible to determine, with various degrees of certainty (certain, possible and uncertain), the ethnic affiliation of most persons named in Liburnian inscriptions. According to our study, people of local and Italian origin prevailed, while other immigrants occurred much less frequently (see Fig. 2).

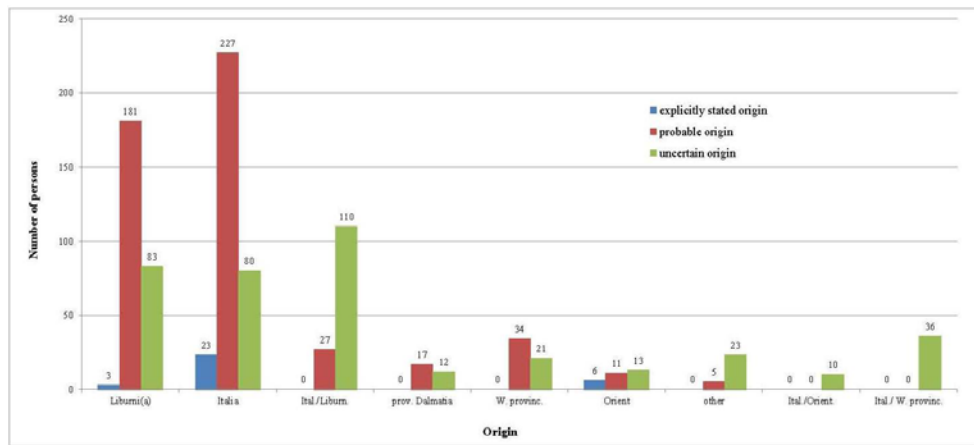


Fig. 2. Ethnic affiliation of persons mentioned in Liburnian inscriptions (created by A. Kurilić and Z. Serventi).

People of certain or probable Oriental origin were not very numerous in Liburnia, as can be easily observed from Fig. 2 – only six names mentioned in inscriptions were of certain Eastern origin, eleven might have been from the East, and the Oriental origin of thirteen was uncertain (plus another ten who might have been either from the East or from Italy). However, there were a

¹² See Heikki Solin, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der griechischen Personennamen in Rom. I.* (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1971) [Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae 48]; Heikki Solin, “Die Namen der orientalischen Sklaven in Rom,” in *L’onomastique latine. Colloques internationaux du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, No 564, Paris 13-15 octobre 1975*, ed. Noël Duval (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1977); cf. Iiro Kajanto, “The Significance of Non-Latin Cognomina,” *Latomus* 27 (1968): 517-534; Kurilić, “Komemoratori i pokojnici,” 136-137.

¹³ For the criteria see Kurilić, “Komemoratori i pokojnici,” 133-140; cf. Kurilić, “Pučanstvo,” 110-111, 146, 157-166, 243-244.

large number of people with Greek names who were not counted because it was impossible to determine their ethnic affiliation, due to the abovementioned ethnic non-transparency of such names in the Roman environment and their frequent use among slaves and freedmen. An excellent example of such a practice is provided by an ex-slave from Canusium in Italy, whose Liburnian origin could not have been determined from his formal, official name, *A. Arrius A. l. Philemo*, were it not for the agnomen or national designation appended to it – *Liburnus*.¹⁴

The few abovementioned people of certain and probable Eastern origin in Liburnia (who shall be discussed together, since there are no great doubts about the origin of the people in the latter group) were mostly soldiers serving as non-citizens in the *coh. II. Chyrrestarum (sagittaria)* and as citizens in the *legio XI (C. p. f.)*. Three soldiers serving in the *coh. II. Chyrrestarum* were from Syrian Berea (*Dacnas Apsaei f.*,¹⁵ *Stiev Barnainu f. domo Berea*,¹⁶ and one whose name is now lost – *L(?) N(?)AR I(?)ON f(i)lius [...] domo Be[rea]*¹⁷), two were most probably from Cyrrhus (*[Heb?]raeus Abemmi f.* and *Heras Ennomai f.*),¹⁸ while one person mentioned in a very badly damaged inscription was most probably a soldier (or an officer or veteran) as well, and although his precise origin could not be determined, it is safe to assume that he was from the same Syrian region as his comrades.¹⁹

Soldiers of Oriental origin serving in legio XI (C. p. f.) mentioned in Liburnian inscriptions came from Macedonian Heraclea (L. Flavius L. f. Fab.

¹⁴ *CIL* 9.352 (= Kurilić, “Pučanstvo,” cat. nr. 2872); cf. also Anamarija Kurilić, “*Natione Liburnus* – identitet naroda i pojedinca,” [*Natione Liburnus* – Identity of the People and Identity of an Individual], in *Prilozi iz hrvatske historiografije, Zbornik radova sa znanstvenih kolokvija 2009.-2011.*, ed. Zrinko Novosel (Zagreb: Hrvatski studiji Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2012) [Biblioteka “Dies historiae,” knj. 5], 178-179.

¹⁵ *ILJug* 2820 (= Kurilić, “Pučanstvo,” cat. nr. 1762; = *AE* 1925.132; = *lupa* 20690).

¹⁶ *ILJug* 889 (= Kurilić, “Pučanstvo,” cat. nr. 2067; = *AE* 1961.303; = *lupa* 23232).

¹⁷ Ivan Matijević, “Dva neobjavljena natpisa Druge kohorte Kiresta iz Dalmacije / Two Unpublished Inscriptions of the Second Cohort Cyrrhestarum from Dalmatia,” *Diadora* 23 (2009), 39f.; *AE* 2009, 1034 interprets the name as *L(ucius) Mar(cius?) Ion f(i)lius* (cf. *EDCS* 55701993) but this does not seem very plausible for several reasons. For example, the upper and the right part of the inscription were broken off so more text is missing (at least at the end of the preserved first line, so *ION* would be only the beginning of patronymic – if not its central part!), soldiers from that cohorts were mostly peregrines, not citizens (cf. list in John Spaul, *Cohors*² (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000) [British Archaeological Reports International Series 841], 431), so he is not expected to be named with Roman praenomen (Lucius) and nomen (Marcius?); cf. Matijević, “Dva neobjavljena natpisa,” 40, who also regards this soldier as a peregrinus. This is a problem that needs a more thorough analysis than is possible within the confines of this work.

¹⁸ *ILJug* 842 (= Kurilić, “Pučanstvo,” cat. nr. 32; = *lupa* 22868); cf. Mate Suić, “Noviji natpisi iz Burnuma” [Recent Epigraphic Finds from Burnum], *Diadora* 5 (1970), nr. 7, 105f., 123.

¹⁹ The inscription has not yet been published, but in Kurilić, “Pučanstvo,” cat. nr. 2911 ([— ? / —] / [mil(es)? c]oh(ortis) II Ch/[yrrh(estarum)?] domo / [---]V ann(or)um LX /5 [stip(endiorum)] XXXVI / [h(ic) s(itus)] e(st)).

Valens Heraclea, mil. leg. XI C. p. f.)²⁰ and Pontic Amaseia/Amasyia (M. Cupitius M. f. Pol. Paulus Amasia and perhaps also his commemorator Cupitius (M. f. Pol.) Polio (Amasia)),²¹ while a veteran of the XI Legion buried at Roški Slap on the left bank of the Krka River was from Laranda (T. Cillius T. f. Fab. domo Laranda).²²

Orientalis in both coh. II. Chyrrestarum and XI Legion (C. p. f.) were mostly active soldiers who did not forge close contacts with the native population, but stayed close with their commilites who were at the same time their co-patriots. This was particularly true for soldiers serving in coh. II. Chyrrestarum which recruited from among Syrians, who were renowned as excellent archers. This is the cohors, established late in Augustus' reign, that arrived in Dalmatia during the great Pannonian-Dalmatian revolt (6-9 AD) and was disbanded probably even before Vespasian, remaining in this province, it seems, for its entire existence.²³ Its permanent camp in Dalmatia might have been in one of the provincial legionary camps, Burnum or Tilurium.²⁴ Its soldiers were documented on ten monuments: four from military camps (three from Burnum,²⁵ and one from Tilurium²⁶), and about half a dozen from municipal centres (one from Iader²⁷ and four or five from Salona²⁸). The inscriptions from Burnum are dated in the first half and mid-first century AD.²⁹ Among its soldiers stationed in Dalmatia, several explicitly stated their domus,

²⁰ *CIL* 3.14999 (= Kurilić, "Pučanstvo," cat. nr. 1057). Although there were many places called Heraclea, there is the common opinion that he was from the Macedonian Heraclea Senticca which gave many men for Roman legions (see Carl Patsch, "Archäologisch-epigraphische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der römischen Provinz Dalmatien. IV.," *Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen der Bosnisch-Herzegovinisches Landesmuseums. A. Archäologie* 7 (1900): 75; cf. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, 465).

²¹ *CIL* 3.13263 (+ p. 2328.¹⁵; = Kurilić, "Pučanstvo," cat. nr. 1050; cf. *ILLug* 1986, p. 397).

²² *CIL* 3.2818 (+ p. 1626) (= Kurilić, "Pučanstvo," cat. nr. 2233). Laranda is the present-day Karaman in Turkey. In the Roman period it was in the province Lycaonia / Cilicia (see *RE*, XII, 1, s.v. "Laranda" (nr. 1), col. 793; cf. "Laranda," S. Mitchell et al., *Pleiades*, accessed 29 September, 2015, <http://pleiades.stoa.org/places/648693>).

²³ Matijević, "Dva neobjavljena natpisa," 38, 41; Spaul, *Cohors*², 431. Up to now, all evidence regarding this cohors comes exclusively from Dalmatia (Matijević, "Dva neobjavljena natpisa," 42; cf. Spaul, *Cohors*², 431).

²⁴ Matijević, "Dva neobjavljena natpisa," 41f.; cf. Spaul, *Cohors*², 431.

²⁵ *ILLug* 2820 (= Kurilić, "Pučanstvo," cat. nr. 1762; = *AE* 1925.132); *ILLug* 889 (= Kurilić, "Pučanstvo," cat. nr. 2067; = *AE* 1961.303; = *lupa* 23232); Matijević, "Dva neobjavljena natpisa," 39f. (= *AE* 2009.1034).

²⁶ *CIL* 3.14938 (= *AE* 1900.48); cf. Spaul, *Cohors*², 431.

²⁷ *ILLug* 889.

²⁸ Salona: *CIL* 3.8734; *AE* 2009.1015 (= Matijević, "Dva neobjavljena natpisa," 36ff.); Dugopolje in the *ager Salonitanus*. *AE* 1994.1357, *AE* 1994.1358; cf. Spaul, *Cohors*², 431. In addition, there is an epigraphic fragment that most probably should be added to this group (Matijević, "Dva neobjavljena natpisa," 41).

²⁹ Matijević, "Dva neobjavljena natpisa," 40.

mostly Berea (or Beroea, Βέροια, present-day Aleppo or Haleb), a Syrian city not far from Antiochia,³⁰ and one domo Cyro, which is interpreted in several ways, but most probably stood for domo Cyrrus or Cyrrhестice.³¹

On the other hand, soldiers in the XI Legion (*C. p. f.*) were mostly recruited in Italy, though some were also from the West and, as we have seen, the East.³² The legion was garrisoned in Dalmatia at the same time as the *coh. II Chyrrestarum*,³³ and its soldiers – similarly to their colleagues from the *coh. II Chyrrestarum* – relied more on each other or their *heredes* for assistance in times of need, especially in the ultimate need – death and burial in a foreign land. This was a common practice among soldiers in most parts of the Empire at that time, since they were usually stationed far from their homes and families, and could not legally marry and form a proper family to rely on.³⁴

Although we did not trace local influences local influences in their burial practices, as far as can be judged from their epitaphs alone, certain elements of funeral stelae of soldiers from *II Chyrrestarum* can be detected in some of the stelae of Romanised Liburnian natives. For example, the motif of door panels, or “doorstones”, occupying the entire bottom half of the stele of Dacnas from Burnum is also found on a monumental stele with portraits of a native woman, Vadica Titua from Asseria.³⁵ In Roman Dalmatia, the doorstones motif dominated military monuments, especially among soldiers of the VII Legion (*C. p. f.*) stationed in Tilurium where, it seems, there was a workshop that used it as a standard element of its production, and, consequently, other soldiers and/or units stationed in that camp had it on their sepulchral monuments as well. The door has been regarded as a two-dimensional representation of the entrance to the grave chamber,³⁶ thus preserving (or

³⁰ See *RE*, III, 1, s.v. “Beroia” (nr. 5), coll. 307-308; cf. “Beroia,” T. Sinclair et al., *Pleiades*, accessed 29 September, 2015, <http://pleiades.stoa.org/places/658409>.

³¹ Cf. Spaul, *Cohors*², 431; Matijević, “Dva neobjavljena natpisa,” 37, 40ff.

³² See Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, 460-467.

³³ On the legion’s stay in Dalmatia and in its permanent legionary camp in Burnum see Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, 95-99.

³⁴ Richard P. Saller and Brent D. Shaw, “Tombstones and Roman Family Relations in the Principate: Civilians, Soldiers and Slaves,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 74 (1984): 139-156. For the commemorative practices among military population in Roman Liburnia, see Kurilić, *Ususret Liburnima*, 65-68; Zrinka Serventi, “Nekropole rimske Liburnije: aspekti društvene i religijske povijesti” [Necropolises of Roman Liburnia: Aspects of Social and Religious History] (PhD diss., University of Zadar, 2014), 609-613.

³⁵ Dacnas’s stele: see above, n. 15; Vadica’s stele: *ILLug* 207 (= Kurilić, “Pučanstvo,” cat. nr. 1012; = *lupa* 20689).

³⁶ On the door motive see more in Domagoj Tončinić, “Eine unveröffentlichte Grabstele aus Tilurium,” in *Akti VII. međunarodnog kolokvija o problemima rimskog provincijalnog umjetničkog stvaralaštva. Religija i mit kao poticaj rimskoj provincijalnoj plastici*, ed. Mirjana Sanader and Ante Rendić-Miočević (Zagreb: Golden marketing - Tehnička knjiga, 2005), 282-284; Nenad Cambi, “Two Soldiers’ Stelai from Salona,” *Römisches Österreich. Jahresschrift der*

perhaps even enhancing) the funereal symbolism. Some scholars are of the opinion that the motif expressed Oriental influences, although others tend to see in it yet another Italian motif.³⁷ It is worth noting, however, that in Dalmatia the Orientals were the ones who preferred such motifs, which perhaps gives more credibility to the former opinion.³⁸ Introduction of the motif to rare civilian monuments can perhaps be explained by the loss of customers (i.e. the soldiers of the *Legio VII C. p. f.*, which left for Moesia around the mid-first century AD), forcing sculptors from the Tilurium workshop to look for new clients and markets; perhaps they found these in Burnum, a military camp that was still occupied by legions for several decades longer and where the door motif started to appear approximately around that same time.³⁹ Therefore, the appearance of this theme on the eclectic stele erected by Vadica Titua could have either been an indirect influence or the actual work of sculptors from the not-so-distant Burnum.⁴⁰ It is hard to prove whether the soldiers of Oriental origin mentioned in these Latin inscriptions left any evidence of their particular burial customs, or whether they were influenced by the local population (and vice versa), but certain contacts probably existed, and the door motif on the two stelae – one belonging to the Oriental soldier Dacnas and the other to the Liburnian woman Vadica Titua – arguably offers proof of such influences.

The veteran population had more opportunities to influence the lives of local people because some of them chose to remain and settle in Dalmatia, either in groups or *per viritum*,⁴¹ thus leaving more trace in provincial life. Literary and epigraphic sources testify to several planned land allotment

Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Archäologie 17/18 (1989-1990 [1991]): 64-67; cf. Domagoj Tončinić, *Spomenici VII. legije na području rimske provincije Dalmacije / Monuments of Legio VII in the Roman Province of Dalmatia* (Split: Arheološki muzej u Splitu, 2011), 148-149.

³⁷ A good review of opposing opinions and their arguments is given by Tončinić, “Unveröffentlichte Grabstele,” 282-283. To these should be added the opinion of John J. Wilkes, in “Army and Society in Roman Dalmatia,” in *Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der römischen Kaiserzeit: Gedenkschrift für Eric Birley*, ed. Géza Alföldy et al. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2000), 331, who strongly argues for the Oriental roots of “doorstones”.

³⁸ Cf. Tončinić, “Unveröffentlichte Grabstele,” 283.

³⁹ Cambi, “Two Soldiers’ Stelai,” 67.

⁴⁰ Nenad Cambi, “Rimski nadgrobni spomenici iz Aserije” [Roman Sepulchral Monuments from Asseria], *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru* 31 (18) (1991/1992 [1993]): 30-34, where he also contemplates that the doors on this particular monument might have been of direct North Italian influence.

⁴¹ On veterans in Dalmatia, see Wilkes, “Army and Society,” 328-332, 35-337; Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, 107-115, 127-135, 144-152, 468-469, Fig. 4 (p. 90); J. S. Mann, *Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement during the Principate* (London: The Institute of Archaeology, 1983) [Occasional Publication Nr. 7], 30-31, 110-119; cf. Snežana Ferjančić, *Naseljavanje legijskih veterana u balkanskim provincijama. I-III vek n. e.* (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti. Balkanološki institut, 2002) [Settlement of Legionary Veterans in Balkan Provinces. I-III Centuries AD] [Posebna izdanja 79], 56-69.

(*deductio*), mostly in central and southern Dalmatia, such as in *Siculi*, located in Resnik between Tragurium and Salona,⁴² the *colonia Claudia Aequum* in Čitluk near Sinj⁴³ and *pagus Scunasticus* in the *ager* of *colonia Narona* in southern Dalmatia.⁴⁴ In Liburnia there was only one instance of the probable allotment of farms to a group of veterans, in Roški Slap, on the lower course of the Krka River,⁴⁵ while other allotments were individual.⁴⁶ Among the veterans settled in Roški Slap, at least one was an Easterner, from Laranda (see above, n. 22), but we can only assume that he settled there with a family since the inscription is badly damaged in the lower part where the commemorator would have been mentioned, depriving us of opportunity to learn more about the impact this veteran may have had in his new home.

The non-military population of certain or almost certain Eastern origin in Liburnia included people of various social and economic backgrounds, including municipal dignitaries and priests as well as people of middle and lower standing.

The only municipal dignitary among them is Cocceius Umbrianus, who was a *decurio*, *augur* and *pontifex civitatis Paraliesensium* in the province of Dacia and was buried in Liburnian Nedinum by his son Cocceius Severus.⁴⁷ Nothing in the epitaph gives us the idea what might have brought him (and, apparently, at least some of his family) from a very distant Porolissum⁴⁸ to Liburnia, nor do his names reveal anything of his ethnic background; he might as well have been a Dacian who found some interests that brought him here, or an Italian who lived in Dacia prior to his transfer to Liburnia, or even a Liburnian who had had a career in Dacia and then returned to his homeland. The monument is lost and with it any hope that it might reveal some other useful information on Umbrianus, his origin or his links with Liburnia.

Two priests attested in the Liburnian epigraphic monuments are

⁴² Recent archaeological rescue excavations confirmed the existence of a small Roman settlement in Resnik; see *Antički Siculi / Ancient Siculi*, catalogue of the exhibition (Kaštela: Muzej grada Kaštela 2011) with various contributions.

⁴³ An excellent review of archaeological research and bibliography is given by Miroslava Topić, “Nalazi s Čitluka u fundusu Muzeja Cetinske krajine” [Findings from Čitluk in the Museum of Cetinska Krajina], in *Arheološka istraživanja u Cetinskoj krajini* (Zagreb: Hrvatsko arheološko društvo, Muzej Cetinske krajine and Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2011) [Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 27].

⁴⁴ See Wilkes, “Army and Society,” 329-330, 336, with updated bibliography.

⁴⁵ See *ibid.*, 329, 336.

⁴⁶ Cf. for instance *CIL* 3.2911 (possibly from Sv. Petar or Sukošan near Zadar) of a legionary veteran and his family, which may be taken as an example of individual *missio agraria* in *ager Iadertinus* (cf. Kurilić, “Pučanstvo,” n. 389 and cat. nr. 1298).

⁴⁷ *CIL* 3.2866 (= Kurilić, “Pučanstvo,” cat. nr. 1887).

⁴⁸ Porolissum is located in the very far North of Dacia, in present day Moigrad; *RE*, XXII, 1, s.v. “Porolissum,” coll. 265-270; cf. “Porolissum,” J. Wilkes et al., *Pleiades*, accessed 30 September, 2015, <http://pleiades.stoa.org/places/207361>.

considered to be of Eastern origin: one was *archigallus* and the other *IIIIIIvir et Flavialis*. The former, *L. Barbunteius Demetrius*, served as *archigallus Salonitanus* for 17 years until he died at the age of 75, which means he entered the service rather late in life, at the age of 58. He was buried in Liburnian Iader, according to the sepulchral monument set up by his freedwoman, *Barbunteia Thallusa Calistera*.⁴⁹ The fact that Barbunteius was archigallus⁵⁰ of Salona immediately raises the question of whether his jurisdiction only covered the territory of the colony of Salona or whether it was wider, including Magna Mater followers in other communities. Magna Mater worship is well documented in many Dalmatian cities (*Senia, Arba, Iader, Asseria* and in Zecovi near Prijedor), where the *sacerdotes* took care of the cult. Usually there was only one archigallus per province; existing evidence shows that archigalls were usually based in provincial capitals. Salona was the provincial capital; it had a numerous and prosperous community of Magna Mater worshippers, and was one of the most developed Metroac centres in the Roman West, surpassed only by Rome and Ostia.⁵¹ Medini believes that the Salonitan archigallus had jurisdiction over all the provincial worshippers, notwithstanding the title *archigallus Salonitanus* which points to a rather narrower jurisdiction (solely over the territory of *colonia Salona*),⁵² a theory which has been accepted in modern scholarly literature.⁵³ Thus it is plausible that Barbunteius, as the *archigallus Salonitanus*, performed some sacral duties in Iader when death caught up with him.⁵⁴

The Eastern origin of both Barbunteius and his *liberta* was deduced on the basis of his religious function as well as on their Oriental cognomina;⁵⁵ also, it is a common opinion that Barbunteius belonged to the libertine milieu, which would fit well with the prevailing practice in Italy and the Roman West where

⁴⁹ *CIL* 3.2920a (+ p. 1037) (= Kurilić, "Pučanstvo," cat. nr. 1156). Cf. Julijan Medini, "Salonitanski arhigalat" [*Archigallatus salonitanus*], *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru* 20 (9) (Zadar, 1980/81 [1982]): 16, 22.

⁵⁰ *Archigallus* is the highest grade in the Metroac hierarchy; it is not just a high-ranked priest, nor the highest one, but the leading priest in the Metroac sacerdotal community as well as spiritual leader to the entire congregation of a certain region. The archigallus interprets the religious concepts and is a prophet (*vates*) who gives divinations (*vaticinatio archigalli*). For more on the archigallus rank and its duties, see Medini, "Salonitanski arhigalat," 16-23; Palma Karković Takalić, "Vrijeme uvođenja i uloga arhigala u svjetlu natpisa L. Publicija Sintropa iz Kopra / Period of Introduction and Role of Archigalli in Context of the Inscription of L. Publicius Syntropus from Koper," *Archaeologia Adriatica* 6 (2012).

⁵¹ Medini, "Salonitanski arhigalat," 17ff.; Petar Selem and Inga Vilogorac Brčić, *ROMIS - Religionum Orientalium monumenta et inscriptiones Salonitani* (Zagreb: FF press, 2012) [Znakovi i riječi *Signa et litterae*, vol. III], 79.

⁵² Medini, "Salonitanski arhigalat," 25-26.

⁵³ Cf. Karković Takalić, "Vrijeme uvođenja," 97.

⁵⁴ Medini, "Salonitanski arhigalat," 27; cf. Selem and Vilogorac Brčić, *ROMIS*, 79.

⁵⁵ Medini, "Salonitanski arhigalat," 25.

archigalls were, as a rule, of Oriental origin and quite frequently freedmen.⁵⁶

On similar grounds rests the Oriental ethnic affiliation attributed to the other abovementioned priest, *C. Albucius C. I. Restitutus IIIIIvir et Flavialis*, who set up the only two dedications to Syrian gods (*Dis Syris*)⁵⁷ in Dalmatia: one from Podvršje⁵⁸ and a simple votive *ara* (altar) in the provincial capital Salona.⁵⁹ Although there is nothing explicit in his nomenclature (and purely Latin names)⁶⁰ or career that would point to his Oriental origin, his worship of Syrian gods may be taken as strong indicator of his Syrian descent,⁶¹ since the circle of these deities' worshippers was ethnically rather confined. Specifically, the common opinion is that it was Syrian slaves who first brought the cult to Rome and that Syrian immigrants, merchants, soldiers and slaves spread it across the Empire.⁶²

According to the available evidence, the cult was not particularly strong in the Roman province of Dalmatia; as a matter of fact, until recently there was only one epigraphic confirmation of its existence (the *ara* from Salona), although now two are known, both having been set up by the same man.⁶³ The monument from Salona (see n. 59) is a simple dedication to *Dis Syris* set up by freedman *C. Albucius C. I. Restitutus*, but this inscription provides no more information than stated above. It would not have been possible to even speculate about Restitutus's role in the cult – he might have just been a common worshipper who, for one reason or another, set up the altar – were it not for a find from Podvršje that sheds more light on him and the cult. In 2003, in the course of archaeological investigations of an early Christian basilica in Podvršje near Ljubač in Northern Dalmatia, an inscription plaque made of limestone was found broken in two and used as building material in a grave placed near the baptistery.⁶⁴ The inscription gives more details than the altar from Salona, clearly stating that *C. Albucius C. I. Restitutus* was a priest – *sevir*

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Dedications to Syrian gods in Graeco-Roman Antiquity referred to Atargatis and her consort Hadad (Selem and Vilogorac Brčić, *ROMIS*, 206-207).

⁵⁸ *C. Albucius C. I. Restitutus IIIIIvir et Flavialis Dis Syris templum ampliavit et a solo sua inpensa fecit* (Selem and Vilogorac Brčić, *ROMIS*, nr. 2, fig. 2, 207-209; = *EDCS*-66600375; = *lupa* 24250).

⁵⁹ *CIL* 3.1961. Cf. Selem and Vilogorac Brčić, *ROMIS*, nr. 1, fig. 1, 207-209.

⁶⁰ As a freedman he “inherited” praenomen and nomen from his former master (cf. Lassère, *Manuel*, 158-160), while the cognomen was his former slave name which he chose for himself or was given to him not by his parents but by his former dominus or slave trader (see n. 12; cf. Lassère, *Manuel*, 159-160).

⁶¹ Selem and Vilogorac Brčić, *ROMIS*, 207, nr. 1, also think that he might have been of Syrian descent.

⁶² For more on Syrian gods see *ibid.*, 206-207.

⁶³ Cf. *ibid.*, 207.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 208.

et Flavialis – who amplified and made(?)⁶⁵ from the ground a temple of Syrian gods at his own expense.

The temple⁶⁶ that Restitutus situated in a rural area, most probably in the territory of ancient *Aenona*, and the need for its “amplification” testify to a large congregation, presumably mostly of Syrian ethnic background. It is reasonable to assume that the estate (*villa rustica*) where the temple was built was his property; if so, he might have even eventually been buried there, perhaps along with other members of the congregation. For the time being, this must remain pure hypothesis, but perhaps some future finds (both epigraphic and archaeological) will show whether there indeed existed a larger community of Easterners and, if so, how much it impacted the local community.

Other Easterners epigraphically commemorated in Liburnia belonged to the social strata below the ranks of civic magistracies or priesthoods. We shall give here examples only of those who were certainly Easterners, as were *Aurelius Dionysius* from Tiberias in Judaea⁶⁷ and *Manius Claudius Marcianus* from Nikomedea,⁶⁸ from where a *naukleros*, *Heras*, son of *Dorzios*, also came.⁶⁹ It may not be a coincidence that all three inscriptions were carved in the Greek alphabet, which was extremely rare in Liburnia⁷⁰ (although Dionysius’s inscription was written in the Latin language, unlike the other two which were in Greek), but a deliberate choice which clearly relayed the message of their foreign status.

None of these inscriptions expressly named a commemorator, so we can only wonder – especially regarding the former two – whether they had any

⁶⁵ Phrasing *amplavit* (amplified) and *fecit* (made) in the same sentence referring to the same building activity seems to conflict, since the object should have already been built in order to be amplified; it is possible that instead of *fecit* verb *refecit* was intended, but this is a discussion for some other occasion.

⁶⁶ Investigators believe that remains noticed to the northwest of the Early Christian basilica might be its foundations, but this is something that still has to be thoroughly investigated; cf. *ibid.*, 208. They (*ibid.*, 207, nr. 1) believe that there might also have been a temple dedicated to Syrian gods in Salona.

⁶⁷ *CIL* 3.10055 (+ p. 2328.¹⁷⁵) = *IGRR* 1.547 (= Kurilić, “Pučanstvo,” cat. nr. 2429).

⁶⁸ *CIL* 3.15094 = *IGRR* 1.548 (= Kurilić, “Pučanstvo,” cat. nr. 2597).

⁶⁹ Kurilić, “Recent Epigraphic Finds,” 138, nr. 8 (Kurilić, “Pučanstvo,” cat. nr. 2846; = *Iupa* 24255).

⁷⁰ According to the data gathered up to 1999 (which is still valid when dealing with Greek inscriptions from Liburnia), there are only five such monuments in the entire region: apart from the above-mentioned three epitaphs, one monument comes from Varvaria and one from Senia. The former may be from the Hellenistic period, which is why it was not discussed here (cf. Kurilić, “Pučanstvo,” cat. nr. 2933; Bruna Kuntić-Makvić, “Ceun - uz jedan grčki natpis s Bribirske Glavice” [On the Name Ceunus from a Greek Inscription from Bribirska Glavica], *Područje Šibenske županije od pretpovijesti do srednjega vijeka* (Zagreb: Hrvatsko arheološko društvo, 1998) [Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 19]) and the latter is a very small fragment with only four letters of uncertain reading (cf. Kurilić, “Pučanstvo,” cat. nr. 2822; Miroslav Glavičić, “Natpisi antičke Senije” [Inscriptions from Ancient Senia], *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru* 33 (20) (Zadar, 1993/1994 [1994]), 77, nr. 3i).

families or other dependants who took care of their burials and the proper rituals. On the other hand, it is almost certain that Heras, the naukleros,⁷¹ had no close relatives or dependants in Zadar, and yet he was buried there and commemorated with a stele of a type which was not common in the area, suggesting that either his crew or a maritime association that might have existed in Zadar (which was an important maritime city) took care of both.

Aurelius Dionysius and Claudius Marcianus were both buried in ancient Senia (present-day Senj), a city where Easterners and people bearing Oriental names were quite numerous, especially during the Late Principate (i.e. after the mid-second century) when their presence was felt much more strongly than in earlier periods, perhaps due to their economic progress and increasing commercial importance.⁷²

Heras's case is an excellent example of the kind of economic opportunities which encouraged people to undertake long and dangerous voyages across the Mediterranean Sea. Heras was a captain – possibly even the owner of a ship – which would have transported various goods from east to west or vice versa; we can easily imagine that some of the delicate and precious imported goods that came to Liburnia from the East (which we shall discuss later on) arrived there in Heras's cargo hold.

Commerce seems to have been the major impulse for foreigners coming to Liburnia, and it is highly probable that some (or many) other persons of probable Eastern origin were engaged in such activities. One example is provided by members of one family from Iader,⁷³ where the proud father, *M(anus) Cornelius Hiero* (almost certainly of freed status) commemorates his two sons, both called *M(anus) Cornelius Carpus*, one of whom was a trader (possibly wholesale) in oil, and the other a jurisprudence student.

Many more people commemorated in Liburnian epitaphs on both military and civilian structures might have been of Eastern origin; here we can mention only two examples whose Oriental background seems quite plausible, namely *M. Magius Galata* who was commemorated by a so-called Liburnian cippus erected by his wife, *Novia Severa*,⁷⁴ and *Q. Blassius C. f. Sarapa* who set up a stele with portraits and an epitaph in verses to his wife, *Iegiēna L. f. Sec[unda]*,⁷⁵ both from Iader (present-day Zadar). There are many others

⁷¹ For more about *naukleros*, see Werner Eck and Boaz Zissu, "A *Nauclerus de oeco poreuticorum* in a New Inscription from Ashkelon/Ascalon," *Scripta Classica Israelica* 20 (2001).

⁷² For Senia and its population, see Glavičić, "Natpisi," 55-83, esp. 79-80; cf. Miroslav Glavičić, *Kultovi antičke Senije / The Cults of ancient Senia* (Zadar: Sveučilište u Zadru, 2013); Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, 200ff., 428.

⁷³ *CIL* 3.2936 (+ p. 1037; + p. 2273) (= Kurilić, "Pučanstvo," cat. nr. 1151; = *Iupa* 24138).

⁷⁴ *ILJug* 899 (= Kurilić, "Pučanstvo," cat. nr. 1122). On his origin, see Kurilić, "Komemoratori i pokojnici," 221-222. Briefly on Liburnian cippi with the relevant bibliography, see *ibid.*, 132-133.

⁷⁵ Kurilić, "Pučanstvo," cat. nr. 2845 (cf. *Iupa* 23276). The husband's cognomen, Sarapa, is teophoric, and on a few occasions is known from Rome, mostly among slaves and freedmen,

bearing Oriental names, but their ethnic affiliation for now remains uncertain.

Finds in graves

Apart from epigraphical evidence, which is conclusive to a greater degree, there are also some specific grave goods that indicate existence of individuals of Eastern origin. Such finds predominantly come from the vast necropolis of more than 2000 excavated graves situated in Iader,⁷⁶ which is unsurprising as the importance of this settlement and its central position in Liburnia are thoroughly supported by numerous epigraphic inscriptions, literary sources and archaeological finds.⁷⁷ Iader was the only Roman colony in Liburnia; it was an important harbour on the Eastern Adriatic and Mediterranean trade routes as well as a prominent centre for local trade, which made it an excellent starting point for potential foreign settlers (as attested to by the abovementioned inscriptions).⁷⁸ Such foreigners would have had different and separate burial rituals, but these are extremely hard to identify in the aforementioned necropolis, as the grave constructions are often heavily damaged, almost no inscriptions were found *in situ* and those that could be determined were in most part of western influence. A similar situation is encountered in numerous other necropolises found within the territory of Liburnia.⁷⁹ Therefore, we are left only with elusive grave goods which might indicate the Eastern origin of the deceased, but could at the same time be a simple fashion statement devoid of any ethnic or cultural connotation. Among such finds, the most indicative were appliques and pendants made in the form of Attis (as found in Zadar and Nin necropolises)⁸⁰ and glass pendants depicting

either as Sarapa or Serapa(s) (Heikki Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom* (Berlin - New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003) [CIL Auctarium. Series nova. Zweite Auflage], vol. I, 408); for other similar names, see *ibid.*, 408-410; for names more common in Greek inscriptions, see "Lexicon of Greek Personal Names," The Stelios Ioannou School for Research in Classical and Byzantine Studies, accessed on 30 September, 2015, <http://clas-igpn2.classics.ox.ac.uk/name#> (browse the letter Σ). Since Sarapa from Iader is a free-born citizen, his name should be rather taken as indicator of his true Eastern origin than of his libertine descent. His wife's nomen gentile is – it seems – *hapax legomenon*.

⁷⁶ On the necropolis of Iader, see Smiljan Gluščević, "Zadarske nekropole od 1. do 4. stoljeća: Organizacija groblja, pogrebni obredi, podrijetlo, kultura, status i standard pokojnika" [Iader Necropolises from 1st to 4th Centuries: Organisation of Cemeteries, Funeral Rituals, and the Origins, Cultural Backgrounds, Status and Standards of Deceased] (PhD diss., University of Zadar, 2005); Serventi, "Nekropole rimske Liburnije," 301-339.

⁷⁷ Among ancient literary sources on Iader, see especially Pliny (*N. h.* 3.141 and 3.142) and Ptolemy (2.16.2 and 8.7.8). For more on other sources as well as archaeological finds, see Čače, "Liburnija," 725-727; Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, 207-208; Alka Starac, *Rimsko vladanje u Istriji i Liburniji*, II [Roman Rule in Histria and Liburnia, II] (Pula: Arheološki muzej Istre, 2000), 90-92; Mate Suić, *Prošlost Zadra I: Zadar u starom vijeku* (Zadar, 1981).

⁷⁸ Eterović-Borzić and Serventi, "Eastern Adriatic seafarers," 627 (with a rich bibliography on the subject).

⁷⁹ Serventi, "Nekropole rimske Liburnije," 306-339, 496-570.

⁸⁰ Gluščević, "Zadarske nekropole," 237-238; Julijan Medini, "Rimska brončana plastika u

Bes, Hermacles and Harpocrates (also found in the Zadar necropolis). These pendants presumably had an apotropaic function and, based on the production technique and material (bluish glass), their provenance was most likely Eastern Mediterranean (perhaps the Syro-Palestinian coast).⁸¹ Additionally, a small collection of ancient Egyptian objects in the archaeological collection on Košljun on the island of Krk, consisting of two *shabtis*, five figurines of cats and three scarabs, probably came from the necropolis of the ancient settlement of *Curicum* (present day city of Krk).⁸²

Furthermore, numerous ceramic and glass vessels inscribed with Greek texts have been found within necropolises, settlements and submerged objects throughout Liburnia, although the vast majority come from the Zadar necropolis.⁸³ Among the glass vessels, the most notable and luxurious are the Ennion glass cups,⁸⁴ however various other inscriptions were discovered, such as *katachaire kai euphrainou* (rejoice and be merry),⁸⁵ *euphrainou epho parei* (enjoy what you participate in), *kerdos kai euphrosyne* (profit and luck) and *labe ten niken* (catch the victory).⁸⁶ Less luxurious were ceramic vessels such as

Arheološkom muzeju u Zadru” [Roman Bronze Sculpture in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar], *Diadora* 4 (1968): 156-159; Nenad Cambi, “Silvan-Atis, primjer kulturnog sinkretizma” [Silvanus-Attis, an Example of Cult Syncretism], *Diadora* 4 (1968): 131-142.

⁸¹ On Bes and Hermacles, see Gluščević, “Zadarske nekropole,” 238; on Harpocrates, see Šime Perović, “Stakleni privjesak s likom Harpokrata sa nekropole antičkog Jadera” [Glass Pendant of Harpocrates from the Necropolis of Ancient Iader] (paper presented at the International Conference III. međunarodni arheološki kolokvij “Rimske keramičarske i staklarske radionice. Proizvodnja i trgovina na jadranskom prostoru,” Crikvenica (Croatia), November 4-5, 2014).

⁸² Serventi, “Nekropole rimske Liburnije,” 398; see also Mladen Tomorad, “Zbirke staroegipatskih predmeta u Hrvatskoj” [Ancient Egyptian Collections in Croatia], *Stara povijest*, March 31, 2014, accessed 17 September, 2015, <http://www.starapovijest.eu/zbirke-staroegipatskih-predmeta-u-hrvatskoj/>.

⁸³ Gluščević, “Zadarske nekropole,” 204-205.

⁸⁴ The cups were discovered in Burnum. For more, see Igor Borzić, “Ennion čaše iz Burnuma” [Ennion Cups from Burnum], *Archaeologia Adriatica* 2 (2008): 91-101.

⁸⁵ Eterović-Borzić and Serventi, “Eastern Adriatic Seafarers,” 626. For more, see also Anamarija Eterović, “KATAXAIIPE KAI EYΦPAINOY,” in *Rimske keramičarske i staklarske radionice: proizvodnja i trgovina na jadranskom prostoru, proceedings of the 1st international archaeological colloquium, Crikvenica (Croatia), October 23-24, 2008*, eds. Goranka Lipovac-Vrkljan, Irena Radić-Rossi and Bartul Šiljeg (Crikvenica: Institut za arheologiju, Grad Crikvenica, Muzej grada Crikvenice, 2011), 321-332.

⁸⁶ Eterović-Borzić and Serventi, “Eastern Adriatic Seafarers,” 626. For more, see also Anamarija Eterović, “Reljefne staklene čaše s grčkim natpisom s užeg zadarskog područja” [Glasses Embossed with Greek Inscriptions from the Zadar Area], in *Rimske keramičarske i staklarske radionice: proizvodnja i trgovina na jadranskom prostoru, Proceedings of the 2nd International Archaeological Colloquium, Crikvenica (Croatia), October 28-29, 2011*, ed. Goranka Lipovac-Vrkljan et al. (Crikvenica: Institut za arheologiju, Grad Crikvenica, Muzej grada Crikvenice, 2014), 367-376. Majority of these vessels were found in Zadar and its hinterland, although for some of them provenance is questionable.

lucernae or cups with Greek inscriptions or stamps on the bottom.⁸⁷

The presence of Eastern traders in this territory, which also indicates the importance of eastern provinces to trade in Liburnia, is further evidenced by the presence of other Eastern Mediterranean glass vessels which point to a wider and frequent circum-Mediterranean trade with Syria, Egypt, Palestine and Cyprus. These vessels must have had great value, having been transported from such distant territories, while the production of their beautiful decorations would have required skills that many local artisans in the territory of Liburnia lacked. The majority of vessels remained in Zadar (where they were found within grave contexts), which further indicates the importance of this settlement and its economic prosperity as well as the overall inclination of its inhabitants towards Eastern products. During the first and second centuries AD the majority of such products came from Egyptian and Syro-Palestinian glass workshops, while from the second half of the second century and during the third century Cypriot workshops gained considerable popularity.⁸⁸

Ceramic vessels of eastern origin can be placed in the same trade context; for example, glazed ware (most likely from Asia Minor)⁸⁹ and other fine wares (for example, African *sigillata*⁹⁰ or Eastern sigillata A and Eastern sigillata B originating from Asia Minor and the Syrian coast⁹¹), as well as some amphorae (for example, Dressel 2-4 from the Aegean,⁹² Rhodian amphorae,⁹³ Cretan amphorae⁹⁴ and African amphorae⁹⁵). Compared to glass vessels, such

⁸⁷ Gluščević, "Zadarske nekropole," 204-205. For specific graves see also *ibid.*, cat. no. T. C. Relja - 868, p. 1108; cat. no. Polaćišće - 33, p. 1155.

⁸⁸ Eterović-Borzić and Serventi, "Eastern Adriatic Seafarers," 627-629.

⁸⁹ Igor Borzić, "Keramički nalazi s arheološkog lokaliteta Burnum-amfiteatar" [Pottery Finds from the Archaeological Site Burnum-Amphitheater] (PhD diss., University of Zadar, 2010), 313ff.; see also Zdenko Brusić, *Hellenistic and Roman Relief Pottery in Liburnia (North-East Adriatic, Croatia)* (Oxford: Archeopress, 1999) [BAR International Series 817]. The find from Velika Mrdakovica might be a product of northern Italian workshops as well as eastern ones. For more, see Toni Brajković, *Velika Mrdakovica – rezultati najnovijih arheoloških istraživanja (2011.-2013.)* [Velika Mrdakovica – Results of the Latest Archaeological Research (2011-2013)] (Vodice: Muzej grada Šibenika, 2014), 29-34.

⁹⁰ Gluščević, "Zadarske nekropole," 232.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 124, 205. See also Jurišić, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, 28. Such finds were distributed in the wider area of Liburnia, e.g. in Bakar, Osor, Krk, Nin and Zadar (Paola Maggi, "La distribuzione delle sigillate di produzione orientale nell'arco Adriatico nord-orientale: problemi di metodo," in *Les routes de l'Adriatique antique, géographie et économie*, 179-194).

⁹² Borzić, "Keramički nalazi," 455ff.; Jurišić, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, 12. However, as these vessels were popular they were later produced in other centres, some in western parts of the Roman Empire, and are as such problematic for determining the source of production (Jurišić, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, 12).

⁹³ Borzić, "Keramički nalazi," 474ff.; Jurišić, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, 14.

⁹⁴ Jurišić, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, 24, 58.

⁹⁵ Gluščević, "Zadarske nekropole," 134, 161, 210, 359 (such amphorae are predominantly classified as Keay XXV type).

products were more common and spread more evenly throughout Liburnia, but they are nonetheless mostly connected to the main maritime trade routes and are less common than Italian, Northern Adriatic or other Western products, indicating that trade with Eastern products was not as prominent in the hinterlands.⁹⁶ The increase in trade in Eastern Mediterranean ceramic vessels occurred at the end of the first and during the second century, while African vessels became more popular during the second century, which could indicate a higher influx of Easterners (or at least their products) into Liburnia during that time-span.⁹⁷ It is important to emphasize that while such finds cannot be taken as indicators of ethnicity, they nevertheless attest to extensive contacts between Liburnia and the East, demonstrating the considerable presence of Eastern trade and traders in these parts of the province of Dalmatia.

Necropolises

In terms of necropolises, grave constructions and the classification of sepulchral monuments, Liburnia had a very coherent typology: homogenous and generally quite simplistic, with the majority of influences coming from western parts of the Roman state, primarily from Aquileia, but also from the capital of Dalmatia, Salona (see Fig. 1).⁹⁸ However, there are some particular burial customs and tomb types that could indicate a foreign, perhaps Eastern influence. Among the necropolises of the region, the most indicative of the presence of foreigners is that of Caska, a present-day village located on the island of Pag, which in antiquity was most likely the ancient settlement of *Cissa* (*Gissa*).⁹⁹ The entire necropolis, for now, can be dated from the early first to the end of the third century, as indicated by grave goods, numerous coins and evidence of burial rituals. Furthermore, complex grave constructions found at this necropolis, being unique in all Liburnia and the province of Dalmatia, set it apart from other sites, justifying their designation as “Caska-type tombs”. These tombs consist of two different layers of construction placed around the grave goods and the incinerated remains of the deceased: an internal construction, almost always of the *alla cappuccina* type, and an external one, rectangular and made of local stone and mortar, which was built over the internal one. The top

⁹⁶ Gluščević, “Zadarske nekropole,” 228-233. See also Gluščević, “Brodolomi na Jadranu,” 18-19; Maggi, “La distribuzione delle sigillate,” 183-185; Jurišić, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, 9ff.

⁹⁷ Gluščević, “Zadarske nekropole,” 233.

⁹⁸ Serventi, “Nekropole rimske Liburnije,” 535, 561, 642.

⁹⁹ Anamarija Kurilić, “Otok Pag od prapovijesti do kraja antičkog razdoblja,” [Island of Pag since Prehistory till the End of Antiquity], in *Toponimija otoka Paga*, ed. Vladimir Skračić (Zadar: Sveučilište u Zadru, 2011), 51-91; Ivo Oštarić and Anamarija Kurilić, *Arheološka karta otoka Paga* [Archaeological Map of the Island of Pag] (Novalja: Ogranak Matice hrvatske u Novalji i Grad Novalja, 2013), 230; Anamarija Kurilić and Zrinka Serventi, “The Caska Necropolis – Exceptions, Rituals and ‘Deathscapes,’” *Archaeologia e antropologia della morte: III incontro di studi di archeologia e antropologia a confronto*, *École française de Rome, Roma, 20-22 maggio 2015*, 1-8, accessed 20 August, 2015, <http://en.calameo.com/books/00428374751127c1f417d>.

part of the external construction – slightly smaller than the bottom part – was executed with greater care and was clearly intended to be visible above ground and to carry the tombstone (Figs. 3 and 4).



Fig. 3. Typical tomb from the Caska necropolis (Tomb 18, photo by A. Kurilić).

Up to now, at least 14 tombstones or their fragments have been linked with this section of necropolis, ten of which were found during archaeological investigations (with a very high ratio of one inscription per three tombs). Almost all are quite simple *tituli* of modest dimensions, most probably intended to be placed on top of the Caska-type tombs (cf. Fig. 4). They were mostly erected by the closest family members (spouses, parents, siblings and children), which is perhaps one of the reasons why almost all bear single names rather than the standard Roman (*duo*) *tria nomina*. Some bear Greek personal names (Agelaus, Amerimnus, Epaphroditus, Hilarus, Satyrius), some Latin, but none have native Liburnian names. Some of the people buried here were slaves (such as vilicus Satyrius, his wife Iucunda, and the dispensator Atticus), but others were probably free people with some financial means, enabling them to build such particular tombs and to provide grave goods, some of which must have

been costly. Rare occurrences of *nomen gentilicium* highlight the presence of the powerful senatorial family, *Calpurnii Pisones*, who already had an estate in the area by the early first century AD.¹⁰⁰ A fragment of an epitaph erected by Calpurnius Hilarus for his brother Agelaus was found during archaeological excavations between graves 8 and 9, while some decades ago a small titulus made of veined dark marble was found by accident which had been erected by Ser. Calpurnius Epaphroditus to commemorate Gemellus, a slave of Calpurnius Gemellus. The names of both the slave and his master recall that of Ser. Calpurnius Gemellus, a slave of the Roman senator *Ser. Calpurnius Scipio Orfitus* (*cos.* 172 AD).¹⁰¹ That could indicate that Calpurnii kept their property in Caska, and that at least some of the people buried in this cemetery were freedmen and slaves of theirs.

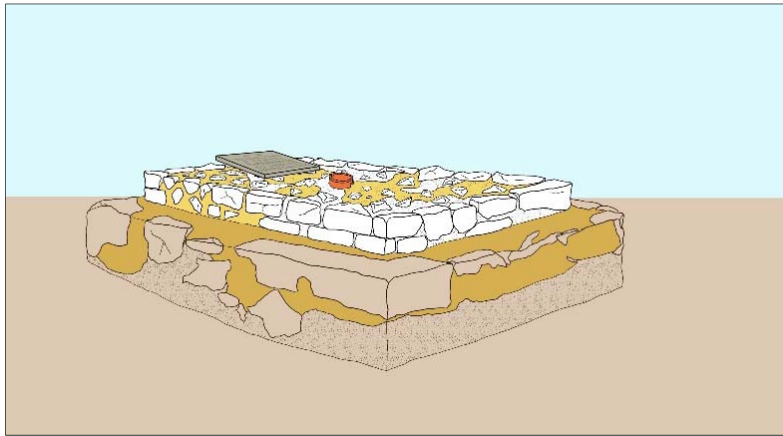


Fig. 4. Ideal reconstruction of Caska-type tombs
(drawing by M. Vuković).

The uniqueness of this necropolis is further enhanced by its internal organisation or “deathscape”: it had relatively well-arranged internal pathways that meandered amidst the tombs, which were predominately of the Caska type, with their upper tiers and tombstones visible above the ground (Figs. 5/a-b). Complex and lengthy sepulchral rituals were most likely conducted around them, as supported by finds of numerous libation pipes (*profusiones*)¹⁰² that are

¹⁰⁰ Cf. *ILLug* 260 (= *AE* 1964, 270 = *AE* 1949, 199; = Kurilić, “Pučanstvo,” cat. nos. 2625-2627); Anamarija Kurilić, *Epigrafski spomenici na prostoru Novalje* [Epigraphic Monuments in the Area of Novalja], 2nd and revised ed. (Novalja, Grad Novalja; Zadar: Arheološki muzej u Zadru and Sveučilište u Zadru, Odjel za povijest, 2004), 5-9.

¹⁰¹ Kurilić, *Epigrafski spomenici*, 20-21, nr. 14, fig. 14; *AE* 1994, 1376.

¹⁰² More on *profusiones* and the libation ritual see in Jocelyn M. C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press and London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), 37, 41, 52, 101, 123.

generally quite uncommon in the province of Dalmatia, but also by the remains of sepulchral meals and rituals that include purification by fire, similarly rare for this territory.¹⁰³

The Caska necropolis is, for these reasons, completely different from any other in Liburnia; thus far, the only analogy known is the necropolis of Pupput (*colonia Aurelia Commoda Pia Felix Augusta Pupput*) in present-day Tunisia, approximately 70 km southeast of Carthage. The burials within this necropolis date from the end of the first/beginning of the second century up to the fifth century, with maximum use in the second and third centuries. Certain grave constructions, ritual traces and libation pipes clearly resemble the ones found in Caska, but despite the similarities there are still some differences: for example, grave constructions are more elongated and many are of a *cassone*/vaulted type.¹⁰⁴ However, this is still the closest correlation known to us and, in accordance with epigraphic finds and certain grave goods (such as a glass *cantharos* with an engraved Greek inscription), it could indicate a higher concentration of foreign, most likely Eastern, people in Caska. Although these settlers managed to maintain certain burial customs in Western-oriented Liburnia, they were still compelled to fuse the old and the new, adapting to the different culture of their new homeland. However, the predominance of incineration ritual right up to the third century points toward the conclusion that Easterners living in Caska were a specific and closed community that resisted changing their rituals for longer than usual (the dominant burial ritual in Liburnia at the end of the third century was inhumation).¹⁰⁵

Conclusions

As a sea-faring region, Liburnia, rich in islands and bays, harbours and anchorages, as well as water and other supplies, was regarded as a favourable sailing route along the Adriatic, despite the notorious piracy of the Liburni people. The territory maintained its dominant position in maritime trade during the Roman period, and was accordingly visited by foreigners from both the West and the East. The most direct evidence for the ethnic affiliation of these people is provided by epigraphic monuments, supported, to a lesser degree, by archaeological finds. However, only a few of these inscriptions, which are predominantly of military background, mention the person's *natio* or *domus*. These soldiers came from Amaseia/Amasyia, Berea/Beroea, Cyrrus (or Cyrrhestice), Heraclea and Laranda who served in *legio XI (C. p. f.)* and *coh. II Chyrrhestarum*. They were mostly in active service and unable to forge close contacts with the native population, which prompted a closer bond with their

¹⁰³ Kurilić and Serventi, "The Caska Necropolis," 1-5.

¹⁰⁴ Aïcha Ben Abed and Marc Griesheimer, eds., *La nécropole romaine de Pupput* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2004) [Collection de l'École française de Rome 323].

¹⁰⁵ On the burial customs and their change in Liburnia see Serventi, "Nekropole rimske Liburnije," 618, 630.

commilites who were, at the same time, their co-patriots. They relied more on each other or their *heredes* for assistance in times of need, especially of the ultimate need – death and burial in a foreign land.

Civilians of certain or probable Eastern origin included individuals of various social and economic backgrounds, including municipal dignitaries (one *decurio*, *augur* and *pontifex civitatis Paraliensium* in the province of Dacia) and priests (one *archigallus* and one *IIIIIVir et Flavialis*), as well as individuals of middle and lower standings. Easterners who belonged to the social strata below the ranks of civic magistracies or priesthoods seem to have been attracted to Liburnia primarily by the prospect of commercial gain, again, evidenced by inscriptions and archaeological finds. Among these, *naukleros* Heras, son of Dorzios, provides the best example of such economic activities: he was a captain – possibly even the owner of a ship – that probably transported various goods from East to West and vice versa; we can easily imagine that some of the delicate and precious imported goods that came to Liburnia from the East (primarily luxurious glass and ceramic goods) arrived there as Heras's cargo.

Despite the fact that Easterners in Liburnia were not very numerous, their presence influenced all aspects of social, economic and religious life, and consequently, in many ways, the burial customs, as well. One rare archaeological site that clearly has strong similarities with those in eastern parts of the Roman Empire is the Roman necropolis in Caska, the tombs of which are unique in Liburnia (and indeed the entirety of Dalmatia), but have the closest analogies with tombs in Puppit (Tunisia). Furthermore, the Caska necropolis suggests that the people buried there were a specific and closed community that resisted change to their rituals for a longer time than was usual in Liburnia.

In the context of the epigraphic and archaeological data discussed in this article, it is evident that Easterners were more numerous in Liburnia than previously thought, although not nearly as numerous as those who arrived there from the western parts of the Empire and who influenced the native Liburni the most. Exactly how these men and women adapted to life in Liburnia remains unknown to us, since there is still no direct correlation between the epigraphic monuments they left and either their living or burial customs; however, we can presume that some of the objects and traces of rituals of Eastern origin discovered in archaeological layers throughout the region reflect at least in some measure the ways in which they lived and died.



Fig. 5/a. Aerial view of the necropolis in Caska (photo by G. Skelac).



Fig. 5/b. Schematic plan of the necropolis (drawing by M. Vuković).