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ROMANIZATION OF THE POPULATION OF THE EASTERN PART OF THE ROMAN PROVINCE OF DALMATIA

Abstract: It is considered that the territory of the eastern part of the Roman province of Dalmatia was inhabited by the population of the same ethnic and cultural identity. The process of the romanization of population in the eastern part of the Roman province of Dalmatia can be researched through epigraphic material from gravestones and votive monuments, and morphological characteristics of gravestones.

The territory of the eastern part of the Roman province of Dalmatia is a region, which on the basis of archaeological investigation up to now, is considered to have been inhabited by people of the same ethnic group and cultural identity, during the period of Roman domination. As a territorial entity, it includes the following areas: in the north the area from Bratunac in the west Drina valley and Rogatica, in the east and further on the west side of the Drina, the areas around Srebrenica, Skelani, Višegrad, Goražde and Foca, and on the east side of the Drina the areas around Kosjerić, Užice, Požega, Priboj and Nova Varoš, all the way to Prijevalje and Pljevlja on the south. The process of Romanization in this region can be followed mainly through the epigraphic material from gravestones and votive monuments, as well as the morphological characteristics of gravestones. The archaeological finds are of less assistance since they have not been entirely published up to now. The town centers like municipia and colonies, were formed in certain areas of this territory, for example municipia in the region of today’s Skelani, the regions around Užice and Požega (municipium Malvesatium), Prijevalje, and so on. It is significant to mention the town of Viminacium, which was well known for its large size.

The line of the eastern border of the Roman province of Dalmatia has not been established with certainty up to now. Here the line cited by Wilkes, J.J., 1969, 27–28.
or Pljevlja (municipium S.) and the colony in the region of today’s Srebrenica (colonia Domavia) and Rogatica (colonia R.) (fig. 1)

Nothing is known of the population in the eastern part of the Roman province of Dalmatia in the earliest period of Romanization, which was certainly a military-political period to a large extent. The only information is provided by the necropolis Komini I, dated to the 1st century AD in the region of today’s Pljevlja, which shows an absence of Roman cultural elements and thus that the indigene inhabitants in this area up to the 1st century AD had not begun a process of “self” Romanization and that they retained their own traditional cultural forms and characteristics. The first data concerning the local inhabitants’ participation in the Romanization process

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are found during the first half and around the middle of the 2nd century in the region of Skelani and Pljevlja thanks to two epigraphic finds: (P)ublius [Ael(ius) ] pri[nceps civ(itatis) (?)] Dindariorum from Skelani\(^3\), and P. Ael(io) P[ll]adome[no] Carvanio an...[praef(ecto)] civitatium ...m praef(ecto) [mun..?] Aurelii S[p]lo(nistarum) from Kolovrat by Prijepolje\(^4\)(fig. 2). Even though the inscriptions are not chronologically identical, they provide data, that during Hadrian’s rule, the indigene population of this region was included in the Roman social standard of granting the right of citizenship, and that the tribal aristocracy represented the first link in the process of social-political Romanization. It was reflected in the awarding, not only the right of citizenship, but also non-municipal and combined, municipal and non-municipal social functions. Although we know that the old forms of tribal state organization collapsed and disappeared with time, we cannot establish how quickly or in what way this happened. The inscription cited, from Kolovrat, indicates that in certain regions, i.e. micro-regions, such processes took place successfully. From the period of Hadrian’s rule, epigraphic material appears for the first time in this territory in somewhat of a larger number, which certainly relates to the inhabitants of pre-urban and proto-urban centres. Analysis of the onomastic formulae and name content of the epigraphic material indicates that one can follow two groups of inhabitants there. The indigene population makes up one group, which can be followed in the onomastic formulae, mainly two syllable and rarely three or four syllable, with gentilicium Aelius, while a second group consists of immigrants, who were already Romanized in their native region. This second group of inhabitants was noticeable in the Pljevlja region, as an immigrant population, most frequently or most probably from Risan and Agruvium,\(^5\)which

\(^4\) CIL III 8308
\(^5\) Цермановић-Кузмановић, А., 1981, 49.
according to the nomenclature can be characterised as a mixed group of Italic, Greek and Illyrian population. Analysis of the blood relations\(^6\) shows that immigration of this group was organized or carried out within the families, of whom some like the families *Paconii* and *Cipii*, were blood relatives, while others like *Gavieni* and *Statii*, appeared through earlier mixed marital connections between indigene and Greek inhabitants of the coastal region of the province of Dalmatia. In the Rogatica area it can be seen that the immigrant population belongs to the *Clemens* family, which is mentioned earlier in *Asseria*.\(^7\) According to the chronological determination of burial, of the first members of the group of immigrants, around Pljevlja in the second quarter and middle of the 2nd century, we can assume that these inhabitants arrived in the eastern part of the province of Dalmatia, most probably during the rule of Trajan.

It is interesting to notice that members of this family, like *Paconii* in the Pljevlja area and *Clemensi* in Rogatica, were subject to an intensified process of Romanization. For this reason we can follow them later on, through those who functioned in the financial-administrative apparatus of the town’s government, as decurions and duumvirs, and according to the system of inheritance the function passed “from father to son”.\(^8\) The same can also be seen among the indigene group of inhabitants, primarily as separating the tribal aristocracy into a new social group of “earlier” Roman citizens, and later through the next generation into the official apparatus of the city administration. Thus in the Pljevlja region, from the already mentioned Publius Elius Pladomen Carvanius we can trace the social development of their successors further, distinguishable in the family *Firminii*, of the new Roman aristocracy, one of whose members actually became *sacerdos provinciae*.\(^9\) Finds of gold and silver jewelry from the family tomb (type *area maceria cincta*)\(^10\) (fig. 3) speak of their high material and social status (fig. 4). It is certain that the group of early Romanized indigene population, i.e. new Roman aristocracy in the Užice-Požega area belonged to the family of P. Aelius Quintilianus, the decurion, whose son likewise became decurion and duumvir in the city administration.\(^11\) From all this it can also be

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\(^7\) Medini, J., 1973-74, 41.

\(^8\) Zotović, R., 2002, 15-17, list of social hierarchy.

\(^9\) CIL III 8310


concluded, that the second quarter of the 2nd century was a period when there was already a weakening of tribal relations. From then on a process of disintegration of clans, in favour of the family and its ever-greater role in social-economic relations can be observed. Even though, as already mentioned, it is impossible to establish how the mechanism of this process developed, it can be claimed that it developed slowly and individually. Both of these facts depended on the relationship, which the individuals and the family had with the economic factor in society, and vice versa. At present it is not possible to establish to what extent this process was similar or different, in all regions of the eastern part of the province of Dalmatia, because of different degrees of archaeological investigation in certain regions. This is also reflected in the epigraphic material, which is most numerous in just these regions, Prijepolje and Pljevlja. It is probably just for this reason that only here, remains of earlier clan signs instead of gentile names are found, for example Carvanius, Cambria, Cameria, Arguriana, Agregianus. Only

12 Цермановић-Кузмановић, А., 1968.
for a few examples can it be claimed with certainty that they are patronymics derived from “surnames” like Gavienii, and the previously mentioned Firminii. Among a large number of examples, it is very difficult to perceive the difference between the clan designations or family “surnames” as a patronymic inheritance (e.g. Stataria, Nantius and others). This refers mainly to the three syllable and four syllable onomastic formulae of mixed nomenclature both Latin and non-Latin. Such onomastic formulae can be accepted as reliable indicators of a deterioration of clan social relations and strengthening of the family, in which the father becomes ever more important. This process is least noticeable in the northern regions of the eastern part of the province of Dalmatia, where the lack of family names is interpreted as the greater influence of Pannonia, where they were in fact unknown.\textsuperscript{13}

From the middle of the 2nd century and particularly in the late part of that century and onward, epigraphic material appears more frequently. This, together with the fact already mentioned, that it was only in the early 2nd century that epigraphic material appeared in somewhat greater number, in the eastern part of the province of Dalmatia, is analogous with other parts of the Empire, otherwise a generally established fact which refers to the entire Roman Empire.\textsuperscript{14} The same is true of the fact that the earliest epigraphic material refers to the local aristocracy or city elite, while from the late 2nd century and onward a larger number, not only of officials of city administration but also of “common people” appears.\textsuperscript{15}

Thus in the eastern part of the province of Dalmatia, in the late 2nd century, a greater number of Romanized indigene inhabitants is noticed in general, through two syllable and three syllable onomastic formulae with gentilicium Aurelius.\textsuperscript{16} The chronological determination of the appearance of onomastic formulae of this type is not completely clear, but it certainly appears in somewhat greater number from the period of Marcus Aurelius and in significantly greater number after the year 212. It is possible that in a great many examples of two syllable onomastic formulae, where as well as gentilicium Aurelius there is a name from the non-Latin repertoire, the year 212, can be taken as \textit{terminus post quem} for their appearance. This refers particularly to the characteristics, which are very prominent in the eastern part of the province of Dalmatia, i.e. the traditional conservatism of the indigene population. This, together with the degree of Romanization of

\textsuperscript{13} Alföldy, G., 1965, 67.
\textsuperscript{14} Bartel, B., 1980, 18.
\textsuperscript{15} Bartel, B., 1980, 18.
\textsuperscript{16} For this and all other examples of epigraphic material see Zotović, R., 2002, 92 - 96.
individuals which it conditions, the retention of certain old social features of the clan system and the appearance of new ones within the family, whose members did not belong to the higher classes of the social hierarchy, can be observed on the basis of type, that is the nomenclature of the onomastic formulae. Thus we can follow, as the simplest form in the development of onomastic formulae, the growth of single syllable formulae of the type *Maximus* for masculine gender i.e. *Panto* for feminine, into two syllable
formulae, more rarely type *Aelius*, and more frequently *Aurelius Maximus*, *i.e.* *Aelia (Aurelia) Panto*, and their expansion to three syllable formulae for masculine gender type *Titus*, less frequently *Aelius*, and more frequently *Aurelius Maximus*. It is important to emphasize that such schematised development of onomastic formulae of this type does not agree with logical chronological order but is conditioned by social and even psychological factors in the case of individuals or the group according to social events. The appearance of a greater number of lines of personal names from the non-Latin name repertoire in female onomastic formulae corresponds to the generally known facts that women joined the process of Romanization more
slowly and with more difficulty and much longer and more firmly retained the traditional cultural distinctions. Apart from that, Garašanin\(^{17}\) had already noticed that a large number of female names in the epigraphic material as well as retaining their clan characteristics in the forms of feminine gender, suggests pronounced and long term presence of matriarchy among the indigene population, during the period of Roman rule in the Prijepolje and Pljevlja regions. In addition to that, it is certain that in a small number of examples, like *Aplis Pantonis*,\(^{18}\) the remains of a matriarchy are found, as in the examples *Fusca Ana (or Anae?)*, *Heronia Vera*, *Actia Balbiae* and others from the region of Sandžak, Rudo and Srebrenica.\(^{19}\) The men were less faithful to tradition, and accommodated more quickly to the process of Romanization, so there are fewer personal names of masculine gender in the non-Latin repertoire when compared with feminine. However, considered as a whole, Latin names are more noticeable than non-Latin among the single syllable formulae. It can be assumed that a certain number of names are the Latin translations of local ones with the same meaning. This is most frequent with the names *Maximus* and *Maxima*, while *Firmus* and *Valens* are fewer in number. Likewise the translation of local names to Latin is noticeable and corresponds to the ordinal number of children born in the family (*Quintus, Quintina*), or the appearance of corrupted forms of Latin names (*Secunda* - *Sicundo*, *Mustela* - *Musta*). The chronological range of appearance of such onomastic formulae is very wide and conditioned to a large extent by the individual’s social factor. This is most noticeable in single syllable formulae as an expression of the slave class group which appears in these regions from the 2nd century (*Daziero vilicus - Karan*)\(^{20}\) to the 4th century (*Vurus vilicus - Kolovrat*).\(^{21}\) The development from single syllable formulae to two syllable with the addition of gentilicium as a mark of citizenship, together with its relatively long use, up to the 3rd and 4th centuries, indicate a slower social development of individuals under new conditions of social and cultural changes.

In examples of inheriting function in the family circle, or receiving a new and higher one, we find proof of further weakening of the clan tradition among that section of the population which in its time belonged to the upper aristocratic class of the indigene clan community. In the late 2nd and during

\(^{17}\) Гарашанин, М., 1967, 227-228.
\(^{18}\) Mirković, M., 1975, 98, no. 3.
\(^{20}\) Петровић, П., 1986, 14, no. 4, fig. 9.
the 3rd century a social hierarchy formed mainly by granting functions to inhabitants, who received citizenship thanks to census, or after 212 AD the edict *Constitutio Antoniana*. This corresponds to the facts which refer also to other regions i.e. the provinces of the Roman Empire, especially as the reasons and necessity for this edict lay just in the financial weakening of the one time city elite and property strengthening of the population without the right to Roman citizenship.\(^{22}\) Evidence of this, in the eastern part of the Roman province of Dalmatia, is found in *Aurelius Valerius-a, arcarius fisci Dalmatiae*,\(^{23}\) an official of lower rank in the fiscal department. The name of his wife *Andetia*, is indigene in origin and cited without gentilicum which once again proves that the domestic population and particularly women, retained the old traditional traits. Outstanding proof of this is found also on a gravestone from Kolovrat by Prijepolje (fig. 6).\(^{24}\) On this gravestone of stele type, dated to the end of the 2nd and beginning of the 3rd century, three generations of women are mentioned with names in single syllable formulae from Latin and non-Latin repertoires of names. Possibly none of them had yet received the right of citizenship, but they had begun their own process of Romanisation by accepting the Roman form of gravestone, which on one hand was made possible by their financial situation, and on the other it was conditioned by psychological factors i.e. desire to enter the higher layers of society. Only the costumes (scarves with loose ends) on the relief representation of the bust on this gravestone suggest the traditional conservatism of the local population, while all the rest belongs to the already formed Roman sepulchral art.

The 3rd century, in the eastern part of the province of Dalmatia, can be distinguished as a period of sudden growth in the economic power of individuals and their affirmation in positions among the social hierarchy. Division into classes and change in Roman civil society takes place in this region according to the general model and no longer specifically according to region. This can be seen particularly in the Domavia area, where sudden urban and economic development to meet the requirements of ore deposit exploitation is noticed. Thus a large number of procurators appear, in this area in the 3rd century, whose onomastic nomenclature do not make it possible to differentiate between Romanized indigene inhabitants and other immigrant individuals.\(^{25}\) The remaining data from the epigraphic finds provides an

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23 Вулић, Н., 1909, no. 122.
opportunity to observe their great financial power. They had been the financiers of the renovation and construction of public buildings, and even the patrons of the province. Disintegration of the Roman civilian society into classes was felt in the eastern part of the province of Dalmatia through the Roman order of knights. This also can be noticed particularly in the region of Domavia, and then Prijepolje, where it is seen that military service or census, likewise contributed to this former class of aristocrats being reduced to just above the rank of common citizens.26

However, on the other hand, the 2nd century was a period in which one could follow the survival of traditional conservative domestic inhabit-

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26 Zotović, R., 2002, 16, no. 43 - 47.
ants. This is reflected in the retention of traditional elements of female national costume, and possibly even certain characteristics of the matriarchy also. This includes the above mentioned manner of wearing the scarf with loose ends, which are met on the relief representations of female busts on gravestones in the areas Pljevlja, Prijepolje, Foča, and further to the north, Nova Varoš (fig. 7). This style of wearing the female scarf, which is in fact characteristic also for the interior of the province of Dalmatia, in the surrounding of today’s Glamoč and Konjic, is not found on the gravestones
of the northern part of the eastern province of Dalmatiae. In the north of the eastern part of the province of Dalmatia, in the Užice - Požega area, the presence of a square type gravestone was confirmed at one time in Seča Reka, where the presentation of jewelry indicates the retention of traditional conservatism in female costume (fig. 8).\(^{27}\) This gravestone which dated to the late 3rd century, shows through a bracelet with crossed ends and a female diadem in the shape of a band, a long tradition of use even from the La Tène period. The grave from the vicinity of Rogatica,\(^{28}\) dated to the 4th century shows, thanks to a bracelet of spirally twisted bronze wire, bronze bracelets fastened with ornamented fish bone, as well as pearls of enamel in different colours and geometric decoration, that the prehistoric tradition in jewellery production, in this region, lasted a long time. Males as in all else, so in this case, displayed less conservatism than women. Relief presentations on gravestones indicate that they were mainly presented in tunics with short or

\(^{27}\) Зотовић, Р., 1995, 126 - 127, no. 137.

\(^{28}\) Fiala, F., 1897.
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long sleeves, with a cloak over them, which was fastened with a fibula on the right shoulder. Only the representation of one tunic with long sleeves gives an indication of the tunic’s origin. It is a completely singular example on a relief representation of servants, on the above mentioned gravestone square from Seča Reka, on which it can be seen that they were clothed in some sort of “dress” to the knees made of fur or rough woven material of wool (fig. 9).

If however we return once again to the epigraphic material, the question arises what can be said, on the basis of the epigraphic material and relief presentations of costumes, concerning the ethnic composition of the population? In the epigraphic material, apart from the already mentioned population of Greek and Italic origin, names are mentioned from the repertoire which Katičić29 marked as a group identical with those of the central

Fig. 10 The spreading of identical names of central region of province of Dalmatia in the eastern part of province
Dalmatian region. Here are names: Aplini, Andetia, Bazo, Besus, Carvus, Calvus, Dasius, Dussona, Germano, Lautus, Lavius, Panto, Vendo, Pinentia, Plator, Plares, Stataria, Statius, Scavenianus, Tata, Turo, Turus, Testo, Tritano... These names appear most frequently in the regions of Pljevlja and Prijepolje, but are less noticeable in the other regions of the eastern part of the province of Dalmatia (fig. 10). This fact together with the statement that pieces of female costume from the regions Prijepolje and Pljevlja in particular, and to a lesser extent also other parts if the eastern province of Dalmatia, similar or identical costumes from the interior of the central Dalmatian belt, do not provide an answer to the question, whether these were immigrants, from the period of Roman rule, or ethnic relatives, or just an identical population already settled in this region in the pre-Roman period?

Altogether the following can be said of Romanization of the inhabitants of the eastern part of the Roman province of Dalmatia. Traces of the beginnings of Romanization of the population in this region are found from the middle and in the second half of the 2nd century in the areas Skelani and Prijepolje, where one can follow Romanization of the clan aristocracy and their inclusion in the social functions of Roman standards. Already in Trajan’s time in the region of Prijepolje and Pljevlja a group of immigrant inhabitants is noticed, of mixed Italic, Greek and indigene inhabitants from coastal areas of the province Dalmatia which were already Romanized in their own native regions. This group of inhabitants becomes the bearers of an intensified process of social-political Romanization, together with members of families of Romanised indigene aristocracy. Epigraphic material from the 2nd century refers mainly to the urban elite, with a small number who belonged to the middle social groups i.e. classes, while the epigraphic material from the end of the 2nd century and from the 3rd century refers to the late Romanized domestic population of lower and middle-social groups. Onomastic formulae indicate, according to their developmental phases, that the mechanism of Romanization of the individuals can not be observed in a logical chronological sequence, but is dependant rather, on economic factors of the individual or social group and vice versa, as well as on psychological factors in some people with “their own” understanding of the process of Romanization. In all this the domestic population shows, particularly through female costume and jewelry as well as the remains of social traits of the clan matriarchy, that the remains of traditional conservative indigene population were retained chronologically for a very long time, up until the period of the late 3rd century.
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РОМАНИЗАЦИЈА СТАНОВНИШТВА ИСТОЧНОГ ДЕЛА РИМСКЕ ПРОВИНЦИЈЕ ДАЛМАЦИЈЕ

Р е з и м е

Први знаци војно-политичке и економске фазе романизације на источном делу римске провинције Далмације могу се уочити од средине I до средине II века. После тога, у епиграфском као и другом археолошком материјалу, видљив је већи степен романизације, не само војно-политичког и економског типа, већ шире, укључујући социјалне факторе становништва кроз римске стандарде живота и културе. Први подаци о домородацком становништву у процесу романизације односе се на два епиграфска налаза из периода прве половине и средине II века, са подручја Скелана и Пљеваља. Оба налаза, иако нису хронолошки идентична, упућују на то да је домородачко становништво на овим подручјима било укључено од периода Хадријана у римске стандарде добијањем права градјанства, и да је племенска аристократија представљала у том смислу прву карику у спроводњу социјално – политичке романизације кроз облике немуниципалних и муниципалних функција. Механизам социјално-политичке романизације одвијао се постепено, спроводњем урбанизације као потпуне новине римског сандарда живота и распадањем старих родовско-племенских организација, за које се још увек не зна у ком хронолошком распону или којом брзином су слабиле и нестајале. На одреденим подручјима, односно микрорегијама одредених области, ови процеси су се одвијали сукцесивно.

Анализа епиграфског материјала показује да се могу пратити две групе становништва. Једну групу, која се може пратити преко ономастичких формула углавном двочланих, а ретко трочланих или четворочланих, са гентилицијем Аелиус, чини домородачко становништво, док другу групу сачињава досељено становништво, које је већ било романизовано на својим матичним подручјима. Друга група становништва је уочљива на подручју Пљеваља, као досељено становништво, најчешће или највероватније уз Рисна и Агревиум-а, која се према именској номенклатури може окарактерисати као мешовита група италијанског, грчког и илирског становништва. Анализа крвног сродства показује да је досељавање ове групе било организовано или вршено у оквиру породица, од којих су неке као породице Paconii и Cipii, биле у крвном сродству, а друге, као Gavienii и Statii, настали претходним мешањем путем брачних веза домородачког и грчког становништва приморских области провинције Далмације. На подручју Рогатице може се уочити да досељеном становништву припада породица Clemens, која се од ранје помиње у Asseri-и. Што се тиче досељенника са подручја Пљеваља, може се према хронолошкој детерминацији сакрањивања првих чланова ове групе становништва у период друге четвртине и средине II века, претпоставити њихово досељавање на територију источног дела провинције Далмације највероватније у време Трајана. Такодје једино на овом подручју налазимо и задржавање тј. остатке старијих родовских ознака на месту гентилних имена, као што су Carvianus, Cambria, Cameria, Arguriana, Argregianus.
У епиграфском материјалу, поред већ помињаног становништва грчког и италског порекла, помињу се имена из репертоара који је Катичић означио као групу идентичну са средњедалмацијским подручјем. То су имена: Aplini, Andetia, Bazo, Besus, Carvus, Calvus, Dasius, Dussona, Germano, Lautus, Lavius, Panto, Vendo, Pinentia, Plator, Plares, Statius, Scavenianus, Tata, Turo, Turus, Testo, Tritano... Најчешће се ова имена јављају на подручју Пљеваља и Пријепоља, али су у мањој мери уочљива и на осталим подручјима источног дела провинције Далмације.

Као једна од карактеристика спорог процеса романизације у оквиру одредјених друштвених слојева или група уочава се дуго задржавање конзерватизма. Ово се огледа у епиграфском материјалу, где се у ономастичком материјалу могу пратити остаци матријархата преко великог броја женских имена у једночланим ономастичким формулама, или преко женских имена на месту где би се иначе налазио патронимик. Рељефне представе на надгробним споменицима, као и налази накита из гробова из околине Пожеге и Рогатице, показују да се све до краја III и почетка IV в. задржао традиционални начин одевања и украшавање, нарочито у женској ношњи. Извесни елементи женске ношње (марама са пуштеним крајевима) идентични су онима из средишњег дела провинције Далмације, нарочито околине данашњег Гламоча и Коњица. Ова чињеница, као и појава имена идентична са средњедалмацијским именичким подручјем, има увек увек даје могућност да се одговори на питање да ли се ради о досељеном становништву из периода владавине Римљана, или о етнички сродном или идентичном становништву насељеном на овим подручјима још у предримском периоду?