THE CIVIC IDENTITY OF THE ELITE IN THE ROMAN SETTLEMENTS OF SOUTH-EASTERN DALMATIA

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The Roman settlements of south-eastern Dalmatia, namely Doclea, Municipium S and Risinium, were organised as any other provincial municipal communities in the Roman Empire. Besides archaeological finds, epigraphy remains the primary evidence for the location, creation and identity of these settlements. The subtle differences revealed in their wording and expression may be perceived as, and reveal, cultural messages conveyed, just as with the material remains.

When analysing early Roman civitates peregrinae, one must take into account that the Roman conquest represented a watershed in the construction of indigenous identities. While some indigenous communities might have kept the same names, it is difficult to assume that their identity remained unchanged. The social structure of indigenous societies in this region before the conquest is not clear – there were probably different forms both of vertical power struggles ongoing between the elite and other segments of society, and of horizontal links between regional elites. The relative invisibility, in material terms, of elites and settlement-patterns further from the coast for the Late Iron Ages and of the Conquest era too presents problems.

This region belonged to the conventus iusridicus of Narona: Pliny names 13 peregrine communities (those of non-citizen subjects in the Empire) in it: Cerauni, Daversi, Desitiae, Docleatae, Deretini, Deraemistae, Dindari, Glinditiones, Melcumani, Naresi, Scirtari, Siculotae and Vardaei. Docleates (Δοκλεάται) are mentioned by Appian, among the tribes Octavian defeated in 33 BC. In the time of Augustus, Pliny states there are 33 decurii in this civitates (Docleatae XXXIII). Claudius Ptolemy locates them south of the Naresii, together with the Siculotae.

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1 Džino 2014, 219-231.
2 Pliny, NH III.22 143.
3 App. Ill. 16.
4 Pliny, NH III 22 143.
5 Ptol. II 16.5; for more on the peregrine communities in Illyricum, cf. Grbić 2014.
Apart from written evidence, there is limited but important epigraphic evidence about these *civitates* and their administrators. The epigraphy shows, in early Flavian times, the existence of different indigenous magistrates, mainly *principes* (which are attested in different communities) such as the *princips civitatis Docl(e)atium*:

*Caius Epicadi f(ilius) princeps / civitatis Docl(e)atium hic situs / hoc fieri iussit genitor / sibi et / suis set(!) fili eius Plassus Epicadus / Scerdis Verzo et summa adiecta / eff<e>cit(!) istud / opus est pietas natique / hoc auxisse(!) videntur et decorant / facto et docent esse pios.

And his brother or relative as *princeps castelli Salthuae*:

As we can see, in this period the Docleates were peregrines, led by tribal aristocracy from their *castelli*. In this particular case from Salthua, on the main road from Narona to Shkodra. Their names reveal that they were not Roman citizens, although they used Latin language in their inscriptions. In another inscription from Vuksanlekići *gens Latiniana et Epicadiana* is mentioned: it can be seen as evidence of the patriarchal tribal organisation.

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6 ILJug 1853.
7 ILJug 1852.
8 Wilkes 1969, 259; Alföldy 1965, 144.
9 CIL III 14601: *Dis M(anibus) sacr(um) / genti Latinianae / et Epicadianae*. 
of the Docolates\textsuperscript{10}. So far, this issue was discussed by Géza Alföldy and Fanula Papazoglu. According to Alföldy, term \textit{cognatio} would indicate matrilineal relations, as gens would denote patrilineal relatives\textsuperscript{11}. On the other hand, Papazoglu considered it simply a term to designate prominent families\textsuperscript{12}. One can suppose that only the elite used Latin and that the process of Romanization started with contacts with Italic colonies and the military recruitment of the indigenous population, as is shown by CIL XIII 7039 (Mogontiacum, modern Mainz):

\begin{verbatim}
Talanio(\?) / Plassi (filius) / Docolas / mil(es) ex coh/or(rite) V Da(l)/matarum / \((\text{centuria}) \) Capitonis / anno(rum) XXXV / stip(endiorum) VI b(ic) s(itus) e(st) / Ziraeus po/s[s]uit mun/ iceps suo.
\end{verbatim}

Ziraeus set up this funerary monument for his fellow citizen, a soldier from \textit{cohorts} \textit{V Dalmatarum}. The cohort was stationed in Germania Superior, although its camp is not known, and the unit is attested in Böckingen, Arnsburg, Wiesbaden and Mainz\textsuperscript{13}. Ziraeus himself was probably an auxiliary soldier or civilian who followed the military troops to the West\textsuperscript{14}. For them, being \textit{Docolas} was of great significance – even in the remote Germanic regions, thus showing the strength of regional identity.

As Wilkes suggested\textsuperscript{15}, the \textit{municipium} Docola was established under the Flavians, possibly by Titus, to whom a posthumous dedication was set up by a magistrate (\textit{IIIvir}) of the city\textsuperscript{16}:

\begin{verbatim}
Divo(\?) / Tito(\?) / Aug(---) / L(ucius) Flavius Quir(ina) / Epidianus / IIIvir i(ure) d(icundo) q(uinquennalis) m(unicipii) D(ocleatium) / obhonor(em) // IIIV
\end{verbatim}

Most members of the elite bear the family name \textit{Flavius} and belong to the Flavian \textit{tribus Quirina}, one of the last rural tribes, established in 241 BC\textsuperscript{17}. This placement indicates an extensive grant of citizenship to the upper classes on the founding of the city. In Docola, \textit{Flavii} predominate, followed by one or two native Romanised families, the \textit{Epidii}\textsuperscript{18} and \textit{Pletorii}\textsuperscript{19}. Families of Italian origin did settle at Docola, such as the \textit{Caninii}, \textit{Novii}, \textit{Servenii}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[10] Grbić 2014, 147.
\item[16] CIL III 12680.
\item[18] \textit{L. Flavius Quir(ina) Epidianus} (CIL III 12680 = 13818); \textit{M. Caesius Epidianus} (IIIJug 1851); \textit{T. Cassius Valerius Epidianus}, \textit{ Epidia Tatta} (IIJug 1830); \textit{Epidia Celera} (CIL III 8287); cf. Alföldy 1969, 83.
\item[19] \textit{Plaetoria Titulla} and \textit{Plaetoria Iulla} (IIJug 1848); \textit{Lucius Plaetorius Valens} (CIL III 14602); this gentilicium was common in Venetian and Illyrian areas, cf. Alföldy 1969, 109.
\end{footnotes}
and Titii. They probably came from the nearby coastal cities, the Novii probably from Epidaurus, the Servenii from Risinium. Not all the population was enfranchised under the Flavians. Some in the area received citizenship under Hadrian, and during the 2nd century immigrants were arriving from other areas of Dalmatia, from Salona and Iader, or even from Gaul. Greek cognomina usually indicated freedmen or the spreading of the foreign names among the indigenous population. There were many traders and foreigners in the municipii of south-eastern Dalmatia.

In Doclea, IIIviri were almost immediately superseded by IIviri and all later magistrates bear that title. Other offices attested in Doclea were decuriones, praefecti fabrum, viator consulum et praetorum, sacerdos (priest of the Imperial cult), and scriba quaestorius.

Both ancestry and municipal duties and virtues formed the civic identity of these prominent men and women. In many ways inscriptions naturally become the preferred means to trace the histories of these literate elites. Another matter worthy of enquiry would be what municipal virtues were prominently displayed? An obvious example from these parts is Marcus Flavius Fronto, with his impressive list of offices held in Doclea and neighbouring cities. One inscription gives an impressive list of magistracies and priesthoods held by the father, M. Flavius Fronto, at Doclea and other settlements in south-eastern Dalmatia. He was sacerdos in the colonies of Narona and Epidaurum, IIvir quinquennalis in the colony of Shkodra, IIvir in Risinium, while in Doclea he was IIvir quinquennalis, praefectus collegii fabrum and flamen divi Titii:

M(arco) Flavio T(itii) f(ilio) Quir(ina) / Frontoni sacerd(oti) / in coloni(i)s Naron(a) / et Epidaura IIvir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) / Iu<l>io Risin(i)o IIvir(o) / <q>uinquennali / <p>on<t>(ifici) in co<l>(onia) / S<co>dr(a) IIvir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) qui<n>[q(uennali)] / <fl>am(ini) [...] praef(ecto) <f>[abra(um)] / pleps(!) / ex aere conla<to>

The significance and wealth of Doclea is manifested in the great personal fortune of the leading family, that of M. Flavius Fronto and his wife Flavia Tertulla. His praenomen

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20 Alföldy 1965, 144.
21 Alföldy 1965, 145; ILJug 1839 (Salona), CIL III 8291 and 12704 (Iader); CIL III 12704, ILJug 1835 and 1838 (Gaul).
22 Ibid; i.e. CIL III 12708 and 13822.
23 CIL III 12680.
24 Wilkes 1969, 260; IIviri CIL III 12695, 8287, 8287e, 12697.
25 CIL III 8287, CIL III 12699, 12700, ILJug 1832, ILJug 1834, CIL III 13827, CIL III 12691.
26 CIL III 8287e, 12692, 12695.
27 CIL III 13827.
28 CIL III 13827 (ll.6-7: sacerd(os) at (!) ar[a]m Caesar(i)).
29 CIL III 12690.
30 CIL III 12695.
implies that he was at least a second generation citizen\textsuperscript{31}, perhaps of Italic origin\textsuperscript{32}. For J.J. Wilkes there seems to be no doubt that they were the ruling family of the Docleatae, barely disguised behind the titles and designation of the city elite\textsuperscript{33}. He and his wife were responsible for building the basilica, and probably the whole forum complex, which they dedicated to the memory of their son M. Flavius Balbinus, who died at the age of fifteen\textsuperscript{34}.

The young man was also venerated by an equestrian statue which his parents had gilded, and the city council had already voted him a pedestrian statue and a public funeral after he had obtained ‘every honour that was permitted by the law’\textsuperscript{35}:

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\textsuperscript{31} Wilkes 1969, 260.
\textsuperscript{32} Alföldy 1965, 145.
\textsuperscript{33} Wilkes 1977, 766.
\textsuperscript{34} CIL III 12692, cf. 13819.
\textsuperscript{35} CIL III 13820.
The *duumviri iuri (iure) dicundo* were the highest judicial magistrates in the cities of Italy and the provinces. Their chief duties were concerned with the administration of justice. *Duumviri quinquennales* were also municipal officers, not to be confused with the magistrates mentioned above, who were elected every fifth year for one year to exercise the function of the censors, which was then suspended for the intervening four years. Although Doclea had many other magistrates, and even a person of the equestrian order among them, it seems that the wealth and influence of M. Flavius Fronto were not easily surpassed. This family’s rise to the ruling class of the cities in the area was swift and comprehensive. Another member of the Flavian gens buried in Doclea appears in the city council in Acruvium.

Marriages also played a significant role in the social status: a decurion, Q. Cassius Aquila, probably a descendant of the illustrious equestrian family from Salona, married one Epidia Celerina, from one of the leading native families of Doclea:

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Q(uinto) Cassio Aquiae / decurioni Epidia Cellerina uxor et Cassia / Aqu(i)lina filiapatri
  / piissimo et sibi et suis / vivae fecerunt.
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In the hinterland, epigraphic evidence shows a strong early presence of the indigenous elite in the ranks of municipal political institutions. Changes in the dynamics of the local elites also changed the ways culture and identities were constructed on a local level. There was no strict ethnic division among the population in Municipium S. Illyrian ancestry was not an obstacle for a marriage with a Roman citizen. Illyrian names are also attested frequently in Roman families. A nice example can be seen in an inscription from Otilovići, where the father was Pletor, mother Maximina and the daughter has a full Roman name Statia Fuscinia and son also has Roman name Victorinus:

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D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) | Pleto|r(i) Maxi|mina vi|va sibi f(ecit) e|t Victor|ino et Stat|ie (!) Fuscinie f|lie (!) car(issimae) pi|ent(issimae) b(ene) m(erenti) marito.
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36 CIL III 12690: D(is) M(anibus) / M(arcì) Marii / Ambacti / Corneli / dom(o) Br<cia / P(ublius) Scrasius / Naeolus aeq[uo](!) / p(ublico) scriba q(uaestorius) / amico in/conparabi/[lli] ------

37 Wilkes 1969, 316.

38 CIL III 13829: D(is) M(anibus) / Fl(avi) Urs(a) do(mo?) / A< <o>qui vlixit a(mnos) p(lus) m(inus) / XXXVIII Val(eria) / Marcelli/[na] ------

39 CIL III 8287.

40 Mirković 2012, 44ff.

41 CILG Montenegri 266.
One member of the civic elite in Municipium S is particularly interesting:

Sexto / Aur(elio) Lupi/ano Lupi / filio princip(i) / decuriones / collegae et pop/ulares et
pere/grini incolae / civi optimo ob / merita pos(uerunt) / epulo dedi/cata / l(oco) d(ecreto)
d(ecurionum).

Sextus Aurelius Lupianus, Lupi filius, is a full Roman citizen, *civis Romanus optimo iure*. He was probably though of peregrine origin; his family was granted citizenship possibly during the reign of Marcus Aurelius or Caracalla. His Romanised peregrine status was perhaps emphasised by his *cognomen* deriving from *lupus*, an important symbol in Roman legend. He was designated *princeps* in the inscription (as well as the sons of Epicadus in the region of Docleates). He perhaps had a special task to fulfil during his office, as *princeps* in a city. His fellow colleagues, members of *populares*, as well as *peregrini incolae* (thus showing the concord in the city), set up his statue in gratitude for all his excellent deeds and organise

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42 CILG Montenegri 211.
43 Mirković 2012, 42.
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a banquet in his honour. Other magistrates in Municipium S include decuriones\textsuperscript{44}, and a IIvir quinquennalis\textsuperscript{45}. In the hinterland, we also have evidence of magistrates in office in several cities. Ulpius Gellianus, who dedicated an altar to Serapis and Isis in Municipium S, was curator in the cities in the interior (Splonum, Maluesa, Metulum) and of the city of Arba (modern Rab)\textsuperscript{46}.

The Paconii were one of the most prominent families in Municipium S, also connected with the Lurii and the Cipii, as shown by the funerary inscription of L. Paconius Barbaro\textsuperscript{47}.

The situation on the coast was somewhat different, as might be expected. Risinium was one of the most significant Illyrian cities, with a colourful history and strong identity. In Roman times, Risinium is documented as an oppidum civium Romanorum, and its most prosperous time came during the 1\textsuperscript{st} and 2\textsuperscript{nd} centuries AD, when huge villas were built in the area and the city rejoiced in 10,000 inhabitants, as well having access to established trade routes. In several earlier sources, the city is designated as municipium Iulium and we should note that many of its leading citizens were listed in the tribus Sergia, a tribe commonly found in Augustan foundations\textsuperscript{48}. It is widely presumed that the city had the status of colonia from the Augustan times\textsuperscript{49}. There were many Roman families, especially traders, resident there. The most distinguished family in Risinium were the Statii, with connections with Doclea and Municipium S, as well as other cities on the coast. One member of that family was a praetorian decorated by Trajan for service in Dacia and then appointed centurion of the legio VII Gemina in Spain\textsuperscript{50}:

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\textsuperscript{44} CILG Montenegri 211, ILJug 604, ILJug 619, CIL III 1708=6343, Patsch 1912, 127, Nr. 11 (heavily restored); cf. ILJug 1691 (Kolovrat) and nearby Berane ILJug 1818: [D(is)] M(anibus) s(acrum) / L(ucius) V(alerius?) Licinius / dec(urio) II(vir) vix(it) / an(nos) XXX Pro(cillaconiunx) / ipiusvix(it) an(nos) XX / L(ucius) V(alerius?) Montal/nus et Bae/biaIulla / parentes / filiopien/tismo et / sibivivis / memoriam / pus(serunt).
\textsuperscript{45} CIL III 6341, CIL III 6342, CIL III 6344: ------(?) / [---] q(uin)q(uennali) et sacerd[oti ---] / [--- sac] erdotali et Au[relia-?] --- / [---]VM P(ublius) Ael(ius) Firmini[anus ---] / [------?
\textsuperscript{46} ILJug 73: Serapidi / et Isidi M(arcus) / Ulpius Gellia/nus eq(ues) R(omanus) / cur(ator) Arben/si(um) / Met(u)lenis(um) / Splonista(rum) / Malvesati(um).
\textsuperscript{47} AE 1983, 748.
\textsuperscript{48} Kubitscheck 1889, 235-236.
\textsuperscript{49} Alföldy 1965, 142.
\textsuperscript{50} CIL III 6359.
It is interesting that after all his adventures, he chose his native city to commemorate all his successes and to celebrate them with a feast. As Wilkes suggested, perhaps this was the case of an Italian family becoming established in a smaller city such as Risinium, before achieving status at Salona\textsuperscript{51}. The other prominent family were the Egnatii, also of Italic origin, attested in Risinium and Salona. It seems they were connected with the important Statii\textsuperscript{52}. It is accepted that many of the Risinium families had their roots in Italy: the Servenii and Tifatii came from south Italy, the Mindii from Ostia, others (the Caesii, Egnatii, Lurii, Manlii, Minucii, Paconii, Publii and Statii) were from central and southern Italy\textsuperscript{53}. The Caesii were found in various places in the interior of the province\textsuperscript{54}, but again their main centres were at Risinium and Salona\textsuperscript{55}. The Lurii were known only in Salona and Risinium (with two in nearby Acruvium). Perhaps they also started out in a smaller centre; in Risinium they are known from two funerary inscriptions and two more from Acruvium\textsuperscript{56}. In Salona, one of the witnesses in a military diploma is P. Lurius Moderatus Risinitan(us)\textsuperscript{57} and they also appear in the upper classes\textsuperscript{58}. Alföldy names

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\item \textsuperscript{51} Wilkes 1969, 302.
\item \textsuperscript{52} Wilkes 1969, 301.
\item \textsuperscript{53} Alföldy 1965,142.
\item \textsuperscript{54} ILJug 1715 (Municipium S).
\item \textsuperscript{55} In Risinium, CIL III 1720-1722.
\item \textsuperscript{56} CIL III 1725f, CIL III 1726; CIL III 1715 and CILG Montenegri 39 (Acruvium).
\item \textsuperscript{57} CIL XVI 14.
\item \textsuperscript{58} CIL III 1971f: \\
\end{itemize}
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the Iulii and Plaetorii in Risinium as the Romanised native families. One of the leading citizens in Risinium during the Early Principate was Quintus Manlius Rufus, decurio and iudex, an equestrian and benefactor of the city:

\[
Q(\text{uintus}) \text{ Manlius } Q(\text{uinti}) f(\text{ilia}) \text{ Rufus / dec(urio) iudex ex quing(ue)}
\]
\[
decurii equo publico / testamento fieri iussit / et epulo dedicari / in hoc opus Statia Sex(ti) f(ilia)
\]
\[
Fida mater adiecit HS XXXV\text{(trigintaquinquemilia)} et summae operi et epulo relictae / XX fisco
\]
\[
intulit HS XIII\text{(tredecimmmilia)}CC solo publico.
\]

This benefactor and his mother combined their resources for opus and epulum (feast) worth around 300,000 sestertia. We have no way of knowing how the sum was divided between the two gifts; nevertheless, the total amount is quite generous.

The connections between Municipium S and Risinium are attested among the members of the families of the Caesii, Statii, Egnatii and Paconii. Lucius Paconius Barbarius, buried by his family in Municipium S, was a decurion in Risinium. Statia Aspasia was presumably from Risinium, but married and buried at Municipium S.

Unfortunately, in the civil administration of Risinium only decuriones are attested.

Even though it seems that in the Roman times most of the leading families were of Italic origin, civic identity in Risinium was also embodied in the great Illyrian walls.

\[59\] Alföldy 1965, 142.
\[60\] CIL III 1717.
\[61\] ILJug 1715.
\[62\] ILJug 611.
\[63\] ILJug 613; cf. also Mirković 2012, 58.
\[64\] CIL III 1717, CIL III 8395.
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and in the divinity Medaurus, as attested in the famous inscription from Lambesis (CIL VIII 2581):

Moenia qui Risinni Aeacia qui colis arcem Delmatiae(!) nostri publice Lar populi sancte Medaure domi e[t] sancte hic nam templa quoq(ue) ista vise precor parva magnus in effigia successus laeva sonipes cui surgit in auras altera dum letum librat ab aure manus talem te consul iam designatus in ista sede locat venerans ille tuus [[---]] notus Gmdivo belli vetus ac tibi Caesar Marce in primore [cl]arus ubique acie adepto consulatu [[---]] tibi respimntem faciem patrii numinis hastam eminus quae iaculat refreno ex equo tuus Medaure dedicat Medaurius.

This Dalmatian god, Medaurus, is almost unknown to us from any other source. As a matter of fact, the only other dedication to Medaurus can be found in the very same Asclepius temple in Lambaesis, with the inscription Medauro Aug(usto) sacrum65, most probably closely related to the first inscription, and possibly offered by the very same senator66. Several researchers have analysed the text and tried to deduce more about this divinity and his cult, but many things are still obstinately obscure67.

Members of some Italian families from Risinium made their careers in the army, as is seen from another example of a soldier in Germania Superior, stating his geographic origin, CIL XIII 6852 (Mainz):

[[[om/[...][us L(uci) f(ilius) / [Ser]gi(a) Risi[nio] Vale[nos?] / [mil(es)] leg(ionis) II / [...] ann(orum) / [...] stip(endorum) / [...] llo / [...]OAN / [...] lib(ertus) f(ecit)68.

Alföldy made a presumption that one family from Risinium in the 3rd century had connections deeper in the hinterland, near to modern day Rogatica. A decurion of colonia Ris( ) T. Claudius Maximus was buried there69, and Alföldy believed that the abbreviated name of the colonia points to Risinium70. Nevertheless, there exist also other hints and suggestions for the existence of a settlement named specifically colonia Ris( ) in the area of Rogatica71.

In the vicinity of Risinium, in Acruvium (modern Kotor), Roman colonisation began in the late 2nd century BC: many of the inhabitants were of Italic origin. The family of the Cipii was probably from Ostia72, and three of its members are attested as magistrates

65 CIL VIII 2642.
66 VÁRHELYI 2010, 34-35.
67 Most recently, see STEVVIĆ 2014, 33-45.
68 We should also note that this inscription is now in much worse condition and the words Risinio could not be traced anymore as seen in EDH, no. HD055935.
69 CIL III 8369=12748=IIJug 1571: D(is) M(anibus) / T(ito) Cl(audio) Maxi/mo dec(urioni) / c(oloniae) Ris(---) de(functo?) / [an(norum)?] LV Ti[---] / [-----.
70 ALFÖLDY 1965, 142.
71 FERJANČIĆ, SAMARDŽIĆ 2017, 472; MESIHOVIĆ 2009, 55-74.
72 WILKES 1969, 308.
in Acruvium\textsuperscript{73}. Sex. Cipius Firmianus, with his father and cousin, who were both called C. Cipius Aper, gave feasts to the *decuriones*, probably to celebrate their election. Later came the Anicii\textsuperscript{74}, Aemilii, Clodii, Publuii, and Valerii and even later the Caesonii, Lurii, Statii and Statilii\textsuperscript{75}. There is also an equestrian, *IIvir iure dicundo*, attested during the Early Principate\textsuperscript{76}.

With the analysis of these epigraphic sources in mind, an important next question would be what level of need was there on the part of authors to emphasise an elite position, as well as their municipal virtues. Greek and Latin literary and epigraphic sources benefit from a rich vocabulary for the definition of the topmost social and economic rank of individuals or entire groups that played an important part in public life of the city in the Roman period. There are several epithets that express social snobbery and reflect an increasing tendency for social differentiation, even within the higher social layer itself. Greek language employs much more and diverse epithets for their leading citizens and magistrates. In Greek honorific inscriptions, those first citizens were showered with honours and described with many municipal virtues. Latin inscriptions are more restrained in this sense. In these epigraphic examples only general expressions are to be observed – such as *ob honorem* (for honour)\textsuperscript{77}, *honores omnes* (all honours)\textsuperscript{78} or *ob merita* (for services to the city)\textsuperscript{79}. Also, many magistrates were described in their funerary inscriptions with known familial virtues, such as *piissimus*\textsuperscript{80}, *incomparabilis*\textsuperscript{81} and *optimus optima*\textsuperscript{82}, emphasising their exceptionally virtuous persona.

One can also discern plain titles, ones without any concrete content, which merely describe people of high social status, of noble descent and with high moral qualities, whilst at the same time there are employed others with a special meaning concerning a certain activity in local or provincial politics. However, it is not always feasible to distinguish

\textsuperscript{73} CIL III 1710: Sex(to) Cipio / C(ai) f(ilio) Serg(ia) / Firminiano / G(aius) Cipius Aper / pater t(itulum?) p(oni?) i(ussit?) / et epulo d(ec)dicari / G(aius) Cipius Aper / consobrin(us) / heres pos(uit) / l(ocus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).
\textsuperscript{74} Only one fragmentary mention CIL III 8387.
\textsuperscript{75} Alföldy 1965, 142-143.
\textsuperscript{76} CIL III 1711: C(ai) Clodio C(ai) f(ilio) Serg(ia) Vitellino IIvir(o) / i(ure) d(icundo) iudic(i) ex V dec(uriiis) equo publ(ico) [h]uiic / de/fect(o) ordodecur(ionum) locum sepul(ture) a in[pen]um[funeris --- decrevit].
\textsuperscript{77} CIL III 12680 (Doclea).
\textsuperscript{78} CIL III 13819 (Doclea).
\textsuperscript{79} AE 2002, 1115 (Municipium S).
\textsuperscript{80} II Jug 1834 (Doclea), II Jug 1818 (Berane), CIL III 6343–8309 (Municipium S), CIL III 8288 (Doclea), CIL III 8287 (Doclea).
\textsuperscript{81} II Jug 611 (Municipium S).
\textsuperscript{82} CIL III 19699 (Doclea), CIL III 12701 (Doclea, *matri optimae*).
between titles of the former and the latter categories. Some researchers regard some of these terms as ‘empty’ titles, without any implication of a special role in public life. Another believe that ‘the first citizens’, *protoi, principales, principes, primates*, are those recognised as such by their fellow citizens but not wielding any authority, a situation that arises from the fact that there was no clear dividing line between official and unofficial power. Regional variation should be, however, always kept in mind, which makes it difficult to draw overarching and valid conclusions. Moreover, the particular political structure of every place, as well as the nature of both the Roman influence and the substratum of the local institutions, needs to be taken into account.

All these elite families in the Roman settlements of south-eastern Dalmatia could be seen as a pattern of active immigration into the province during the Principate. During the early Empire, civic elite families established a network first connecting nearby cities and then gradually expanding throughout the province. Roman Dalmatia was not a conservative and isolated region as scholarship has often assumed, especially in the case of its interior. It was rather a very active field, where Roman identity was negotiated in different ways on diverse social levels, using and combining elements of continuity and change to produce new cultural forms.

The issue of imperialism and identities on the edges of the Roman world cannot be understood without looking at two crucially important matters: Empire and Imperial periphery as characterised by political and cultural fluidity. In the older literature, we have an image of Rome on the one side and the conquered society on the other, both more or less static and homogenous. The pattern is seen as embodying a Roman point of view. Perhaps though the whole concept of ‘original cultures’, ones seen as unified, stable and persistent, which on meeting then give rise to amalgams, needs to be rejected.

A local elite was offered the possibility of integrating into the imperial networks of both symbolic and real power. Apart from social and political change, Roman conquests brought significant cultural changes, a kind of reverse ‘culture shock’, to the provinces. Cultural practices in society are frequently related to a dominant group, reflecting and justifying power-structures and their functioning within the society. Roman provincial societies were in most cases dominated by local elites, working from within imperial power-structures. So, in order to understand the nature of the change arising from the Roman conquest, we also need to understand the changes within indigenous social groups after the conquest, in particular shifts occurring in local power-dynamics and the

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83 Zoumbaki 2008, 221-222.
84 Italic Republican families are attested in Dalmatia solely in Narona see Wilkes 1969, 298.
geography of power. Was there an elite-driven cultural change? I tend to agree with Millet that the native elite adopted Roman material culture and ways of living as a response to the changing political realities, and that these changes then filtered down through society as a result of emulation of the elites by the non-elites. For the people of provinces, their Roman identity resided within their practical knowledge of how to act within a changing social context, learning new ways of how to expressing their place in the local community. As Revell indicated, Roman ideologies and Roman material culture became bound up in the negotiation of local hierarchies, with the privileging of the wealthy, adult, free-born male through the persona of the urban magistrate; the less powerful participants became less visible.

What did the civic identity mean for the elite of these specific Roman settlements? They were shaped by their mostly Italic origins, as well involving indigenous features. A civic elite was defined both by Roman recognition and acceptance, and the aping and pursuit of the lower classes. They set about emulating the illustrious families of Rome in various ways, but inevitably were still very connected to their Dalmatian homeland. Their civic virtues were demonstrated by their munificence and generosity to the city in the form of municipal building or banquets. One can assume, as Džino suggested, that local elites gradually accepted their indigenous ancestry and Roman identity as existing in tandem and were equally proud of both, modifying and merging them into a ‘specific, regional kind of Romanness’.

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87 Revell 2009, 192-193.
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