

Burialscares of Rab Island (North East Adriatic): The Role of Sepulchral Evidence in the Reconstruction of Roman and Late Antique Rural Settlement Pattern

Konestra, Ana; Androić Gračanin, Paula; Welc, Fabian

Source / Izvornik: **Annals for Istrian and Mediterranean Studies. Series Historia et Sociologia**, 2021, 31, 391 - 412

Journal article, Published version

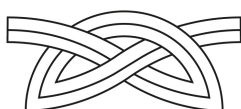
Rad u časopisu, Objavljena verzija rada (izdavačev PDF)

<https://doi.org/10.19233/ASHS.2021.25>

Permanent link / Trajna poveznica: <https://urn.nsk.hr/urn:nbn:hr:291:974374>

Rights / Prava: [Attribution-NonCommercial 3.0 Unported/Imenovanje-Nekomercijalno 3.0](#)

Download date / Datum preuzimanja: **2024-09-08**



INSTITUT ZA
ARHEOLOGIJU

Repository / Repozitorij:

[RIARH - Repository of the Institute of archaeology](#)



ANNALES

Anali za istrske in mediteranske študije
Annali di Studi istriani e mediterranee
Annals for Istrian and Mediterranean Studies
Series Historia et Sociologia, 31, 2021, 3





ANNALES

**Anali za istrske in mediteranske študije
Annali di Studi istriani e mediterranei
Annals for Istrian and Mediterranean Studies**

Series Historia et Sociologia, 31, 2021, 3

**UREDNIŠKI ODBOR/
COMITATO DI REDAZIONE/
BOARD OF EDITORS:**

Roderick Bailey (UK), Simona Bergoč, Furio Bianco (IT), Alexander Cherkasov (RUS), Lucija Čok, Lovorka Čoralčić (HR), Darko Darovec, Devan Jagodic (IT), Vesna Mikolič, Luciano Monzali (IT), Aleksej Kalc, Avgust Lešnik, John Martin (USA), Robert Matijašič (HR), Darja Mihelič, Edward Muir (USA), Vojislav Pavlović (SRB), Peter Pirker (AUT), Claudio Povolo (IT), Marijan Premović (ME), Andrej Rahten, Vida Rožac Darovec, Mateja Sedmak, Lenart Škof, Marta Verginella, Špela Verovšek, Tomislav Vignjević, Paolo Wulzer (IT), Salvator Žitko

**Glavni urednik/Redattore capo/
Editor in chief:**

Darko Darovec

**Odgovorni urednik/Redattore
responsabile/Responsible Editor:**

Salvator Žitko

Urednika/Redattori/Editors:

Urška Lampe, Boštjan Udovič, Gorazd Bajc

Prevajalci/Traduttori/Translators:

Petra Berlot (it.)

**Oblikovalec/Progetto grafico/
Graphic design:**

Dušan Podgornik, Darko Darovec

Tisk/Stampa/Print:

Založništvo PADRE d.o.o.

Založnika/Editori/Published by:

Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko - Koper / *Società storica del Litorale - Capodistria*© / Inštitut IRRIS za raziskave, razvoj in strategije družbe, kulture in okolja / *Institute IRRIS for Research, Development and Strategies of Society, Culture and Environment / Istituto IRRIS di ricerca, sviluppo e strategie della società, cultura e ambiente*©

**Sedež uredništva/Sede della redazione/
Address of Editorial Board:**

SI-6000 Koper/Capodistria, Garibaldijeva/Via Garibaldi 18
e-mail: annaleszdjp@gmail.com, **internet:** https://zdjp.si

Redakcija te številke je bila zaključena 30. 10. 2021.

**Sofinancirajo/Supporto finanziario/
Financially supported by:**

Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije (ARRS), Mestna občina Koper

Annales - Series Historia et Sociologia izhaja štirikrat letno.

Maloprodajna cena tega zvezka je 11 EUR.

Naklada/Tiratura/Circulation: 300 izvodov/copie/copies

Revija *Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia* je vključena v naslednje podatkovne baze / *La rivista Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia è inserita nei seguenti data base / Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in:* Clarivate Analytics (USA): Arts and Humanities Citation Index (A&HCI) in/and Current Contents / Arts & Humanities; IBZ, Internationale Bibliographie der Zeitschriftenliteratur (GER); Sociological Abstracts (USA); Referativnyi Zhurnal Viniti (RUS); European Reference Index for the Humanities and Social Sciences (ERIH PLUS); Elsevier B. V.: SCOPUS (NL); Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ).

To delo je objavljeno pod licenco / *Quest'opera è distribuita con Licenza / This work is licensed under a Creative Commons BY-NC 4.0.*



Navodila avtorjem in vsi članki v barvni verziji so prosto dostopni na spletni strani: <https://zdjp.si>.
Le norme redazionali e tutti gli articoli nella versione a colori sono disponibili gratuitamente sul sito: https://zdjp.si/it/.
The submission guidelines and all articles are freely available in color via website http://zdjp.si/en/.



VSEBINA / INDICE GENERALE / CONTENTS

- Pavel Jamnik, Bruno Blažina, Borut Toškan, Slavko Polak & Draško Josipovič:** Uršnja luknja v Podtaborski steni pri Šembijah. Ostanki moustérienskega planega tabora, naplavljeni v jamo z drobirskim tokom 367
La grotta Uršnja luknja nella parete di Podtabor presso Šembije. Resti di un accampamento del musteriano trasportati nella grotta da un flusso di detriti
The Uršnja luknja Cave in the Podtabor Wall at Šembije. Remains of a Mousterian Open-Air Site Washed into the Cave by Debris Flow
- Ana Konestra, Paula Andoić Gračanin & Fabian Welc:** Burialscapes of Rab Island (North East Adriatic): The Role of Sepulchral Evidence in the Reconstruction of Roman and Late Antique Rural Settlement Pattern 391
Paesaggi sepolcrali dell'isola di Arbe (Adriatico Nordorientale): il ruolo dell'evidenza sepolcrale nella ricostruzione del modello insediativo romano e tardo antico
Grobiščna krajina otoka Raba (severovzhodni Jadrana): vloga grobišč pri rekonstrukciji rimskega in poznoantičnega podeželskega modela poselitve
- Ladislav Placer:** Kulturno in zgodovinsko sporočilo Milanje – 2. del: Sv. Jurij v Ilirski Bistrici in Sv. Marija v Knežaku 413
Messaggio culturale e storico di Milanja – parte 2: San Giorgio a Ilirska Bistrica e Santa Maria a Knežak
Cultural and Historical Significance of the Milanja– Part Two: St George in the Town of Ilirska Bistrica and St Mary in the Village of Knežak
- Chrysi Rapanta, Leandro Madrazo, Maria Irene Aparicio, Nuno Fonseca, Rosalice Pinto & Špela Verovšek:** Assessing the Quality and Social Impact of Creative Placemaking Practices 427
Valutare la qualità e l'impatto sociale delle pratiche di "placemaking" creativo
Vrednotenje kreativnih praks ustvarjanja prostora skozi s preminjanje vrednot in vpliv na družbeno-fizične podobe prostora
- Aurora Saidi, Matija Svetina & Tadeja Zupančič:** Memorable Impressions as Significant Descriptors of the Qualities of a House: Exploring the Experiential Qualities of the Traditional House in Tetovo 441
Impronte di memoria quali descrittori significativi delle qualità di una casa: esplorare le qualità esperienziali della casa tradizionale a Tetovo
Bivalne izkušnje kot pomembni opisovalci lastnosti hiše: raziskovanje izkustvenih lastnosti tradicionalne hiše v Tetovu
- Nada Bulić & Ante Matan:** *Josephi Schneider "Carminum libri octo". La Mors, componente essenziale dell'espressione poetica di Joseph Schneider* 465
Joseph Schneider "Carminum Libri Octo". The Mors, Essential Component of Joseph Schneider's Poetic Expression
Josephi Schneider "Carminum libri octo". Mors, bistvena prvina pesniškega izraza Josepha Schneiderja

Ana Toroš: Marisa Madieri, Jan Morris and Irena Žerjal: English, Istrian Triestine and Slovene Literalisation of Trieste and the Surrounding Area at the End of World War II 475 <i>Marisa Madieri, Jan Morris e Irena Žerjal: Letteratura inglese, triestina istriana e slovena sulla Trieste e dintorni alla fine della seconda guerra mondiale</i> <i>Marisa Madieri, Jan Morris in Irena Žerjal ter angleška, istrskotržaška in slovenska literarizacija Trsta in tržaškega prostora ob koncu druge svetovne vojne</i>	Rok Smrdelj: Research on Migration on Slovenian Media: The “Other” in the Period of “Crisis” 519 <i>Il tema delle migrazioni nei media sloveni: “gli altri” nel periodo di “crisi”</i> <i>Raziskovanje migracij v slovenskih medijih: “drugi” v obdobju “krize”</i>
Tatjana Vujović: Perception and Coping With Mobbing towards Women in Montenegro 487 <i>La percezione del mobbing sulle donne sul posto di lavoro in Montenegro</i> <i>Percepcija in soočanje z mobbingom nad ženskami v Črni gori</i>	Vladimir Prebilič & Simona Kukovič: Cooperation Between Local Communities and the Civil Protection in Overcoming the Covid-19 Crisis: <i>Ad omnia parati sumus</i> 535 <i>Cooperazione tra le comunità locali e la protezione civile per superare la crisi relativa al covid-19: Ad omnia parati sumus</i> <i>Sodelovanje lokalnih skupnosti in civilne zaščite v premagovanju covid-19 krize: Ad omnia parati sumus</i>
Aleksej Kalc: O vzpostavitvi izseljenske zakonodaje v Kraljevini Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev 507 <i>Sull'introduzione della legge sull'emigrazione nel Regno dei Serbi, Croati e Sloveni</i> <i>Regarding the Introduction of the Emigration Law in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes</i>	Kazalo k slikam na ovitku 545 <i>Indice delle foto di copertina</i> 545 <i>Index to images on the cover</i> 545

received: 2020-08-07

DOI 10.19233/ASHS.2021.25

BURIALSCAPES OF RAB ISLAND (NORTH EAST ADRIATIC): THE ROLE OF SEPULCHRAL EVIDENCE IN THE RECONSTRUCTION OF ROMAN AND LATE ANTIQUE RURAL SETTLEMENT PATTERN

Ana KONESTRA

Institute of Archaeology, Jurjevska 15, HR-10000 Zagreb, Croatia
e-mail: ana.konestra@gmail.com

Paula ANDROIĆ GRAČANIN

Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw (UKSW), Institute of Archaeology, Wóycickiego 1/3 (23), PL-01-938 Warsaw, Poland
e-mail: paula.androic@gmail.com

Fabian WELC

Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw (UKSW), Institute of Archaeology, Wóycickiego 1/3 (23), PL-01-938 Warsaw, Poland
e-mail: f.welc@uksw.edu.pl

ABSTRACT

On the bases of archaeological and documentary data an overview of the burial evidence of Roman and late Antique date on the island of Rab (North East Adriatic, Croatia) is brought forth, spatially analysed and interpreted within the so-far defined rural settlement pattern. While aiding in the definition of burial practices and their diachronic changes, data derived from such evidence and interpreted from a social perspective, can be indicative for continuity and changes within the island's rural landscape organisation.

Keywords: island of Rab, Arba, province of Dalmatia, Roman rural funerary evidence, Roman rural settlement, burial practices

PAESAGGI SEPOLCRALI DELL'ISOLA DI ARBE (ADRIATICO NORDORIENTALE): IL RUOLO DELL'EVIDENZA SEPOLCRALE NELLA RICOSTRUZIONE DEL MODELLO INSEDIATIVI ROMANO E TARDO ANTICO

SINTESI

Sulla base di dati archeologici e documentari il contributo intende fornire una panoramica delle evidenze sepolcrali romane e tardoantiche dell'isola di Arbe (Adriatico nordorientale, Croazia), analizzate nel contesto insediativo extra-urbano finora definito. Definendo le pratiche funerarie e il loro cambiamento diacronico, i dati derivanti da tali evidenze e interpretati in prospettiva sociale, possono essere indicativi della continuità e dei cambiamenti nell'organizzazione dei paesaggi rurali dell'isola.

Parole chiave: Isola di Arbe, Arba, provincia di Dalmazia, tracce funerarie rurali romane, insediamento rurale romano, pratiche di sepoltura

INTRODUCTION

Data derived from funerary evidence and burials can be interpreted in various ways, taking into account monumental and epigraphic features, small finds, anthropological evidence as well as evidence on ritual and spatial organisation of the burials (Botturi, 2016 with earlier bibliography; see also Migotti, 2019, 274–275). Roman funerary evidence can thus be illustrative of belief systems, traditions, communal and self-perception, shedding light on social practices and structure, while the burials, through the reconstruction of rituals, speak of culture and identity (Morris, 1992; Parker Pearson, 1993; Derks, 2011; Migotti, 2019, 279–280). Nevertheless, when regarded outside of its “socio-cultural marker” (Botturi, 2016, 44) funerary evidence can shed light on the organisation of landscape and its diachronic change, which can be interpreted in relation to the wider settlement pattern (Čače, 1981; Parker Pearson, 1993, 206–207; Botturi, 2016, 44). Finally, funerary evidence can be used topographically, as evidence of sites themselves or in relation to other features, being sometimes the only signal of a nearby rural settlement (Kurilić, 2006, 60), or informing us on their extension, and possibly that of their *fundi* (Francisci, 2010, 283; Carre & Tassaux, 2012, 106).

It is these latter aspects that will be the starting point of this research, while the evidence will be regarded in its spatial and diachronic component. We will focus on the association of the collected funerary evidence with that indicative of settlements or other features, in order to propose an organisation of the burials and understand their spatial relationship with settlement organisation, population and perhaps viability (Massa, 1996, 72–73; Esmonde Cleary, 2000, 127, 136–137; Botturi, 2016). By analysing the evidence from Rab island in a larger context, we will try to assess these relationships from the standpoint of our current knowledge on wider regional trends.

SETTING AND DATA SOURCES

Rab island is a mid-sized island of the Kvarner archipelago, located within the northern most inlet of the eastern Adriatic, the Kvarner gulf (fig. 1). The island is characterised by a hilly, rocky and barren north-eastern part and a more flat and densely vegetated south-western part. Here, dense oak forests, maquies and agricultural lands cover most of the sparsely settled landscape. Geology of the island is relatively simple, consisting of two anticlines and two synclines. Cretaceous carbonate

rocks are the oldest outcrops and they are overlain uncomfortably by Eocene carbonates referred to as a ‘flysch’ (Marjanac & Marjanac, 1991; 2007). Within the large flysch plains alluvial deposits created suitable soil for cultivation, while the hilly parts of the island are characterised by carbonates and thus karst, being partly used as pastures. Its relatively small distance from the mainland just as its convenient location within the major regional sea routes insured its connectedness with both the hinterland and the wider Adriatic area from the earliest Antiquity. Suitable environmental requirements for settlement extend from the Upper Palaeolithic when the island was first inhabited, while sparse and sometimes even isolated finds show that it was populated throughout the entire prehistory (Malez, 1974; Batović, 1987a; 1987b; 2003; Rizner, 2012).

In Roman times the island was part of the region *Liburnia*, the northernmost part of province *Dalmatia*, bordering to the west with *Histria* (i.e. the *X regio* of Italy), and is mentioned, as *Arba* or *Arva*, in several historic sources mostly relative to ancient geographers or *itineraria* (Starac A., 2000, 82; Suić, 2003, 426, 435). It is difficult to determine exactly how and when the name of the island originated, but it can be hypothesized that it dates back to no later than the Early Iron Age (see Batović, 1987b, 149–150 with earlier bibliography). At that point in time, hillforts – most common protohistoric types of dwellings on the island dating from the Bronze Age (Batović, 1987b; Glogović, 1989) – already became the hallmark of Rab’s landscape, which is no exception compared to rest of the East Adriatic (Batović, 1985; Batović, 1987a; Čučković, 2017 with earlier bibliography). Only one of the fortified settlements grew to become the urban centre on the island – i.e. *municipium Arba*, nowadays Rab town (Suić, 2003, 222–223; Glavičić, 2009). Old, high ground positions for settlements were almost completely abandoned in the Roman period, while the new ones developed in lowlands, bays oriented towards the sea, or in the central most fertile part of the island (Welc et al., 2019). Besides *Arba*, the remaining settlements can be classified as rural productive and residential complexes (tentatively grouped under the term *villa*, see *infra*).

Since 2013 intense field reconnaissance and survey campaigns have been carried out on the island within the “Archaeological topography of the island of Rab” project with the aim of detecting and digitally mapping all archaeological evidence on the island, creating a tool for multidisciplinary analytical and interpretational approaches to not only the diachronic development of the island’s settlement but also to its landscape.¹ Previous

1 The project was established by the Institute of archaeology in Zagreb, while from 2017 onwards, is conducted in collaboration with the Institute of archaeology of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw, and with the participation of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb just as external collaborators. The project is financed by the Croatian Ministry of culture and media, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw, Institute of archaeology in Zagreb, Lopar municipality and Lopar culture centre. Part of the work presented in this article was supported thanks to a grant from the Polish National Science Center (Narodowe Centrum Nauki): The fall, crisis or transformation? Correlation of the late antique settlement pattern changes with environment and climate fluctuations in the north-eastern Adriatic region based on results of geoarchaeological and palaeoclimatic research, ID: 478202 NO. 2020/37/B/HS3/02458.



**Figure 1: Location of Rab island (A. Konestra, basemap: Google Maps).
Slika 1: Lega otoka Rab (A. Konestra, prirajeno po: Google Maps).**

research has, in fact, been scarce and mostly related to prehistoric periods, while Roman sites were rarely tackled by systematic research (Rizner, 2012 with earlier bibliography; Jurković et al., 2012).

Along with archaeological field campaigns, historic and archival sources were consulted in order to collect all data relevant to the reconstruction of the ancient and medieval topography of the island, as well as data on those features or monuments that are nowadays lost or destroyed (Lipovac Vrkljan et al., 2017). Data collected in this way enabled the detection of a large number of previously unknown sites dating to all periods (Lipovac Vrkljan et al., 2016 with earlier bibliography), including several Roman/late Antique rural complexes dotting the island's flysch fields, its south-eastern coastal belt and Lopar peninsula (Welc et al., 2019, fig. 2). Further multidisciplinary research, still in course, has already enabled a more in-depth understanding of several of

these newly identified sites (Konestra et al., 2019; Welc et al., 2019, fig. 2). Nevertheless, full understanding of their nature is still elusive, precluding us to place them within a typology of rural settlements (farms, *villae*, *vici* etc., cf. Leveau, 1983, 922–923; Rothe, 2018; Bertoldi et al., 2019, 192–194), i.e. define them as nucleated vs. sparse settlements, which is in fact always tentative when relying on archaeological, and especially survey data alone (Massa, 1996; Cantino Wataghin et al., 2007; Habermehl, 2013, 10–11; Patterson, 2006, 22–23; Allen & Smith, 2016), especially within a region where such classifications have rarely been applied (Suić, 1996; Zeman, 2014, 35–36).

Such a combined, field and documentary, approach has proven particularly useful in the detection of burial sites and features, as well as in their interpretation within the identified Roman and late Antique rural settlement pattern. In fact, field surveys, while

key to the detection of structural remains and material scatters fundamental to site detection, rarely provide data relevant to the identification of burial features datable to the Roman/late Antique period. Thus, only one of the sites presented here was identified in such a way (see tab. 1: 1).

On Rab the tradition of recovery of ancient monuments, such as in this case *stelae* or sarcophagi, dates to the end of the 19th century when delegates from various museum and the clergy collected a diverse set of monuments now forming the collections of the city's Lapidarium and that of the Monastery of saint Bernardine from Siena in Kampo, while some are also included in those of the Archaeological museums in Zadar and Split (see Nedved, 1990). On the other hand, several monuments stemming from the ancient town of Rab and there reused over the centuries as building materials, have, in the same period, departed the island to be housed in private collections in Venice (e.g. the Nani collection, see Calvelli et al., 2017).² Most of the epitaphs uncovered on Rab have already been published in the *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL III)* or in more recent corpora (*ILJug*) and, just as some other epigraphic evidence, in dedicated papers (see in Tab. 1 and Bulić, 1879; Nedved, 1990). Only one fragment of a *stela* is thus far unpublished (tab 1:7).

More precise data on some of these monuments, in particular regarding their find-spots and recovery circumstances, can be found within the first historic narratives on the island, both written by friars of Kampo's monastery, Vladislav Brusić (1926) but in particular in Odoriko Badurina's *Chronicle of Kampo*. The latter has a key role in the attempt of locating sites and features, as its author recorded finds unearthed during agricultural or building works occurring on the island within the first half of the 20th century, which are here treated as uncertain data, as their interpretation is mostly non definitive, especially chronologically.

Finally, a set of data comes from more recent find recoveries just as oral accounts collected and documented during the project's field campaigns. All data gathered in the described way is grouped within Table 1, while find-spots are shown in Figure 2.³ Monuments kept at the Lapidarium in Rab will not be considered, as their findspots are unknown, and while their provenance from yet unlocated urban necropolis is supposed, there is no data to support this with certainty. Thus, attention will be focused on the rural landscape of the island. The island's modern administrative division in several settlements served as the bases for data organisation.

Roman funerary evidence from Rab (both island and town) have so far been investigated in the context of their monumental, artistic, epigraphic and chronological value (Glavičić, 2003; Maršić, 2009, 29–31, 75–78; Maršić, 2012; Cambi & Jarak, 2016; Brogiolo et al., 2017; Lazinica & Maršić, 2017), while it was generally not contextualised in a topographic sense (cf. Kurilić, 2006; Derks, 2011, 115–118). Moreover, in larger regional overviews, no rural necropolis has so far been registered on the island, while overall in the region of *Liburnia* our knowledge on rural necropolises and their features, as well as their relationship with settlements is scanty (Serventi & Jurjević, 2012, 199, 204, fig. 1). Some comparative data does, however, come from single sites' excavations (see *infra*) as well as from the nearby areas of *Histra* and *Dalmatia* (e. g. Girardi Jurkić & Džin, 2002; Kamenjarin, 2014). As for the late Antique period, the unsystematic publication of finds stemming from the island precluded their insertion within regional surveys (Baraka Perica, 2018; Kurilić & Serventi, 2018), while new data has become available only recently.

ROMAN BURIALS IN THE ISLAND'S LANDSCAPE

When the collected data is mapped and analysed typologically and chronologically, but also at the level of (un)certainly, the distribution of evidence in the landscape clearly emerges (fig. 2). Although the presented data is partial and often lacking precisely determined find-spots, while epigraphic and monumental finds often cannot be related to more precise archaeological contexts, it is still possible to interpret it in relation to evidence on rural settlement within the island's micro-regions. Often, as it will be shown, the two types of evidence are concentrated in determined areas signalling a topographic connection. Starting from SE and proceeding towards NW, finds collected in Tab. 1 are in the following paragraphs presented in regard to their spatial distribution and main features.

Barbat area

The modern area of Barbat settlement occupies the south-western, mostly coastal strip of the island. This large area is characterised by a large number of evidences belonging to Imperial period and late Antiquity, though more intense research has so far been carried out only at the st. Cosmas and Damian fort (Jurković & Turković, 2012), located at some distance above the today's settlement. The rest of the evidence dots the strip of land stretching from the hills of the island's northern ridge, being more numerous towards the shore.

² For a distribution and interpretation of *spoliae* within the urban centre see Lipovac Vrkljan et al., 2017.

³ On fig. 2 the sites are represented as a polygon marking the maximum extent of the evidence associate with a single territorial unit (site), as evidenced during pedestrian survey.

Table 1: Certain and uncertain funerary evidence on the island of Rab. Tabela 1: Potrjene in domnevne grobne najdbe na otoku Rab.

N.	Site or findspot	Type of evidence	Current location	Epigraphy	Dating	Source
1.	Pudarica	Excavated grave with evidence of further grave structures in the vicinity (Fig. 3)	/	/	Late Antiquity (4 th -5 th centuries)	Konestra et al., 2017.
2.	Barbat - Environs of st. Stephen	Sarcophagus(i?) (Fig. 4B)	Environs of St. Stephen church	/	Late 5 th -beginning of the 6 th century	Chronicle of Kampo (I, 176); Jarak, 2010, 73-78; Baraka Perica, 2018.
3.	Barbat	Cippus of Liburnian type (Fig. 4C)	Ethnographic collection in Barbat	D M PROCVLO C I VALENTI AN XX OP PROT(=IET?)JICA MA[.] R F PIENTISS [---?] D(is) M(anibus). Proculo / C(ai) l(uli) Valenti[s] (servo), ann(or)um XX, / op(timo?), Proietica (vel Protica) ma[te]r f(ilio) pientiss(im)o? / [...?]	Mid-/ second half of the 2 nd century	Lazinica, Maršić, 2017 with previous bibliography. Possibly found in the sea in front of the location of Ošit spring (Chronicle of Kampo, V, 96). Reused as bollard on a pier close to the cemetery in Barbat (i.e. St. Stephen church) (Faber, 1971).
4.	Banjol-Dražica?	Cippus of Liburnian type	Private	D M BAEIBIAE [---] L GAVILIVS [---] M [.] D(is) M(anibus) / Baebiae [---] / L(ucius) Gavilius [---] / m(atri) [p(osit)].	Mid-/ second half of the 2 nd century	Lazinica, Maršić, 2017; possibly found at location Dražica in Banjöl.
5.	Banjol-st. Lawrence	Personal adornment finds from multiple burial grave (later date ossuary?) - Corinthian type buckles	/	/	7 th century	Brogiolo et al., 2017; Jurković, 2019, 118-119.
6.	Banjol - st. Anastasius/ Za Markovičem	Funerary inscription	Lost	MAGIA IUcULLA ANNOR XVIII H S E Magia Luculla, annor(um) XVIII h(ic) s(itus) e(st)	Early Antiquity?	CIL III, 3124; Nedved, 1990.
7.	Banjol - st. Anastasius/ Za Markovičem	Upper fragment of a stela of the portrait and architectonic type (Fig. 5)	Private	/	1 st century	Unpublished.
8.	Kampo-in the environs of the monastery?	Osteotheca, side with tabula ansata (Fig. 7)	St. Bernardine monastery in Kampo (cloister)	D M S REMMIAE L F MAXIMAE ANNORVM XXVII M XI D XXVII MATER INFE LICISSIMA D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Remmiae L(uci) f(iliae) Maximae / annorum XXVII m(ensium) XI / d(ierum) XXVII mater infe/licissima	First half of the 2 nd century	CIL III, 3125; Schleyer, 1925, 122; Chronicle of Kampo, I, 174; Nedved, 1990.
9.	Kampo/Stipurina, Tudorini house	Funerary inscription	Lost	Several transcriptions exist: IO HIC SITVS EST [] PETOV[] FLAVI[] VIXIT [] SXVII[] E[] EB CLAVDIVS [(IL)Jug-03, 02952] IO HIC SITVS EST [3] / PETOV[3] FLAVI[3] / VIXIT [ANNIJS XVIII] / E[3]EB CLAVDIVS [(http://db.edcs.eu/)	Early Antiquity	Nedved, 1990; http://db.edcs.eu/ (EDCS-10101960); https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD035314 .
10.	Kaštelina-Miral	Fragment of embedded portrait relief (Fig. 6)	St. Bernardine monastery in Kampo (museum)	T BAEIVS T F IVSTVS DEC AN XXXIX TETTIA [] NIS [] AN XXII [] T BAEIVS T F IVSTI [] T(itus) Baebius / T(it) f(ilius) Iustus / dec(urio?) an(norum) XXXIX // Tettia [---]/nis [f(ilia)?] / an(norum) XXI[---?] // T(itus) Baebius T(it) f(ilius) Iust[inus?]	Second half of the 1 st century	Glavičić, 2003; Kurilić, 2006; Maršić, 2009, 30-31, 76-78; Maršić, 2015.
11.	Kaštelina-Miral	Two fragments of embedded portrait relief (Fig. 6)	St. Bernardine monastery in Kampo (museum)	/	End of the 1 st century	Glavičić, 2003; Maršić, 2009, 30-31, 76-78; Maršić, 2015.
12.	Barbat - Environs of st. Stephen?	Sarcophagus	Lapidarium in Rab	/	Second half of the 6 th century	Basić, 2012; Jarak, 2010, 73-78; Baraka Perica, 2018.
13.	Barbat-st. John de Lenona/le Nona	Incineration graves (25-30) in pots or amphorae	/	/	Roman period?	Chronicle of Kampo, I, 751-752: At the beginning of the 20 th c., around the church of st. John de Lenona/le Nona, locals have excavate 25-30 pots or amphorae with ashes. More graves are reported in an unknown location more to the south.
14.	Barbat-Kordiči	Grave made with tegulae	Museum collection of St. Bernardine monastery in Kampo (one tegula)	/	Roman period?	Chronicle of Kampo, V, 95-96: Find of a grave made with tegulae, one stamped (C. AVC. EP. S); previously other supposed graves and small finds; in the environs a Roman stone slab was walled in a house.
15.	Banjol-Snuga	Finds of human bones near ancient walls	/	/	Roman period?	Chronicle of Kampo, V, 103: At the location called "at Snuga" in Banjöl, while digging for a vineyard, a 5m long, 1.5 m deep wall was found, near which previously bones were unearthed.
16.	Kampo-Livera	Finds of human bones	/	/	Roman period?	Chronicle of Kampo, V, 61-63.
17.	Kaštelina-Miral	Graves made with bricks	/	/	Roman period?	Brusić V., 1926, 176-177; Chronicle of Kampo, I, 134-135.
18.	Lopar-st. John the Baptist	Sarcophagi in the environs of the parish church	/	/	Late Antiquity?	The local population mentions finds of sarcophagi during earth works in front of the church of st. John the Baptist in Lopar. Chronicle of Kampo, IV, 573.
19.	Lopar-Lukovac	Sarcophagus with bones and a coin	/	/	Late Antiquity?	
20.	Lopar-Podšilo	Mentions of graves with coin finds	/	/	?	Chronicle of Kampo, I, 136.

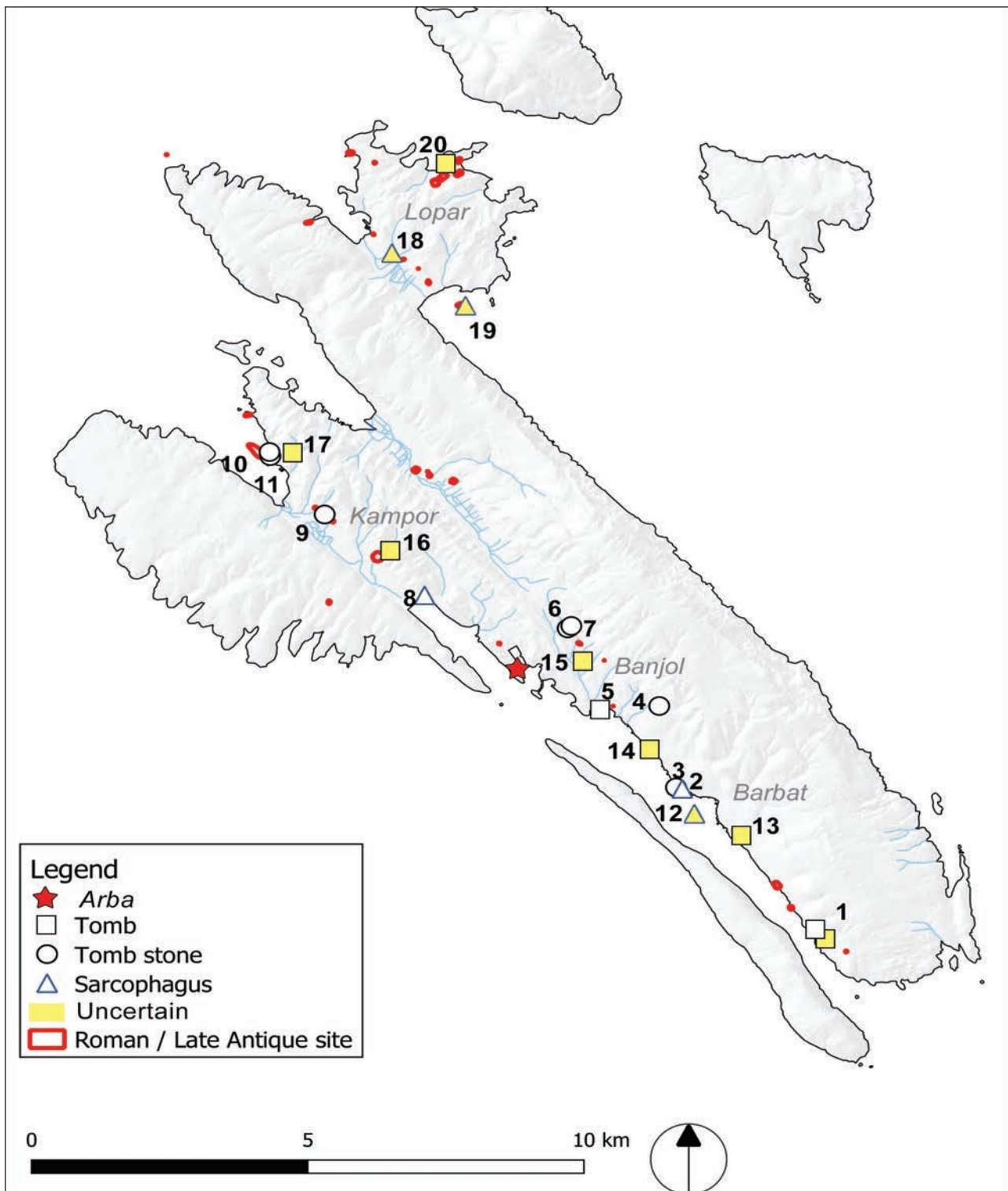


Figure 2: Map with Roman and late Antique funerary occurrences on the island of Rab. For finds' numbering refer to tab. 1 (Image: A. Konestra, basemap: digital elevation model (DEM) from Croatian State Geodetic Administration and The Public Institution Office for Physical Planning of Primorje-Gorski Kotar County).

Slika 2: Zemljevid rimskih in poznoantičnih grobnih najdb na otoku Rab. Za številke najdb glej tab 1. (A. Konestra, prirejeno po: digital elevation model (DEM) from Croatian State Geodetic Administration and The Public Institution Office for Physical Planning of Primorje-Gorski Kotar County).

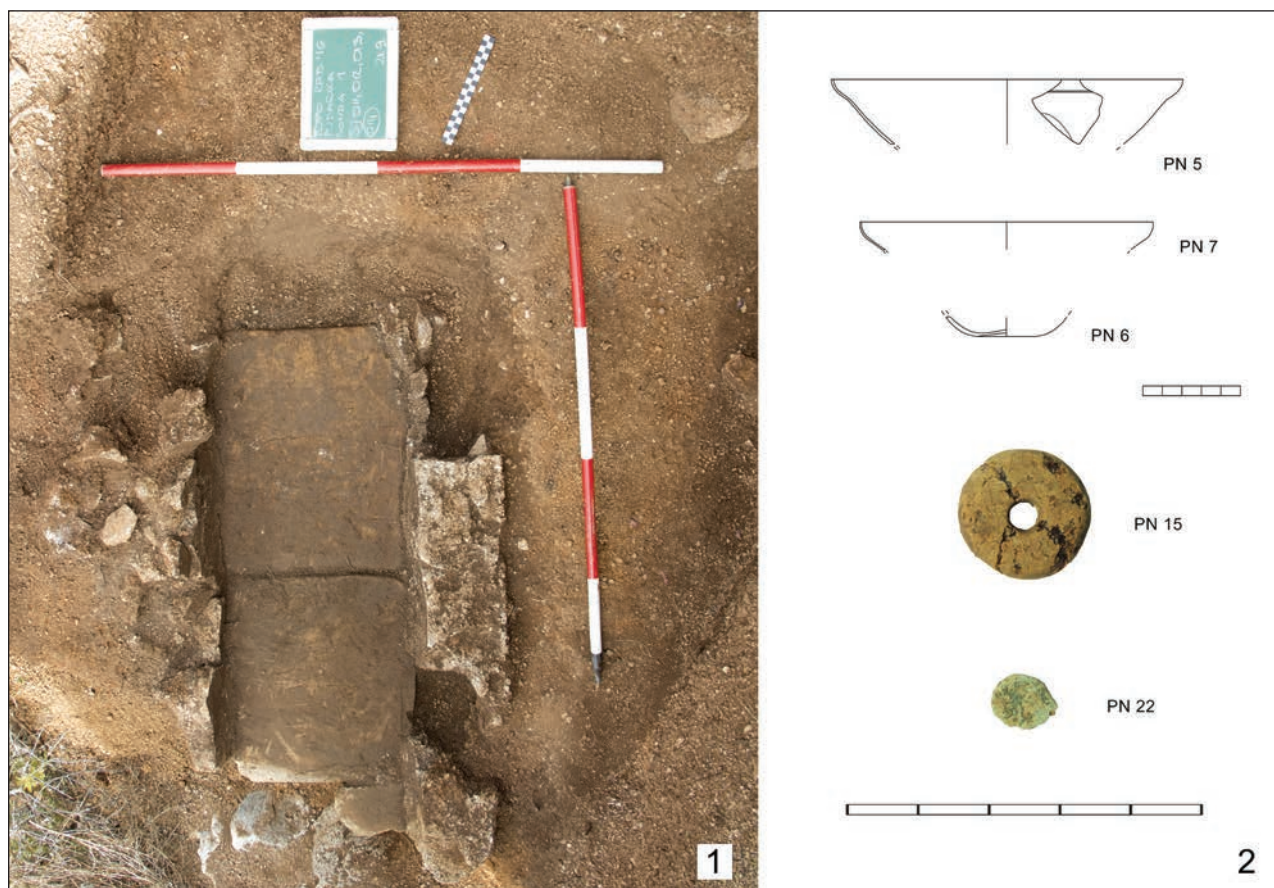


Figure 3: Pudarica (Barbat) – excavated grave (1); finds (2): glass, amber bead, bronze coin (Photos and drawings: A. Konestra).

Slika 3: Pudarica (Barbat) – izkopani grob (1); najdbe (2): steklene posode, jantarna jagoda, bronasti kovaneć (Foto in skice: A. Konestra).

Funerary evidence in Barbat can be grouped around four micro-locations, starting from the southernmost one in Pudarica bay where a grave has been excavated (tab. 1: 1), in the central part of Barbat in the environs of the church of st. John de Lenona (or le Nona) (tab. 1: 13), that of st. Stephen (tab. 1: 2, 12), and further north at the location Koridići (tab. 1: 14). In between, several areas with architectural remains were recorded, such as Mirine/Va(l)martina (Lipovac Vrkljan et al., 2014), Val Pasquala⁴ (Čaušević-Bully & Bully, 2015) and perhaps to the south of tab. 1: 1, just as scatters of material in Barbat bay, its hinterland and around the coastal spring Ošit (Lipovac Vrkljan & Konestra, 2015; Konestra et al., 2018, 126) (fig. 2).

In the first case, a grave (tab. 1: 1), preserved only partially due to a cut by a modern pathway (Rizner, 2012, 39), was excavated, allowing to define its type and chronology with more certainty. Late 4th - early 5th c. dating of the grave can be proposed based on a few sparse grave goods⁵ that were found along with the multiple (subsequent) child burials (Konestra et al., 2017, 105–108) (fig. 3). Its typology - built tomb paved with tegulae and covered with tegulae and imbrices connected by mortar, the latter found destroyed due to the multiple inhumations – supports the proposed dating, and is very common in both the northern Adriatic and in the region (Cipriano & Sandrini, 2015, 235; Cividini, 2015, 320–321; Kurilić & Serventi, 2018, 454). Its

⁴ On different maps the place names are marked differently, rendering the exact location of each toponim difficult (Croatian 1:2500 and 1:5000 maps, Habsburg Empire Second 1851–1854 and Third 1869–1887 military surveys). In the 1828 cadastral map only Val Pasquala is noted in connection to the remains of a possible church, while the area with graves is marked as Artich (Cape).

⁵ The finds include: fragments of glass vessels (Isings, 1956, 144–147, n. 116, 117; Lazar, 2003, 85, n. 2.6.4–2.6.5), an amber bead (e.g. Palavestra & Krstić, 2006, 374–376), an AE 4 coin, a nail, and a small bronze wire. Also, only one bone fragment pertaining to an adult individual was recovered.

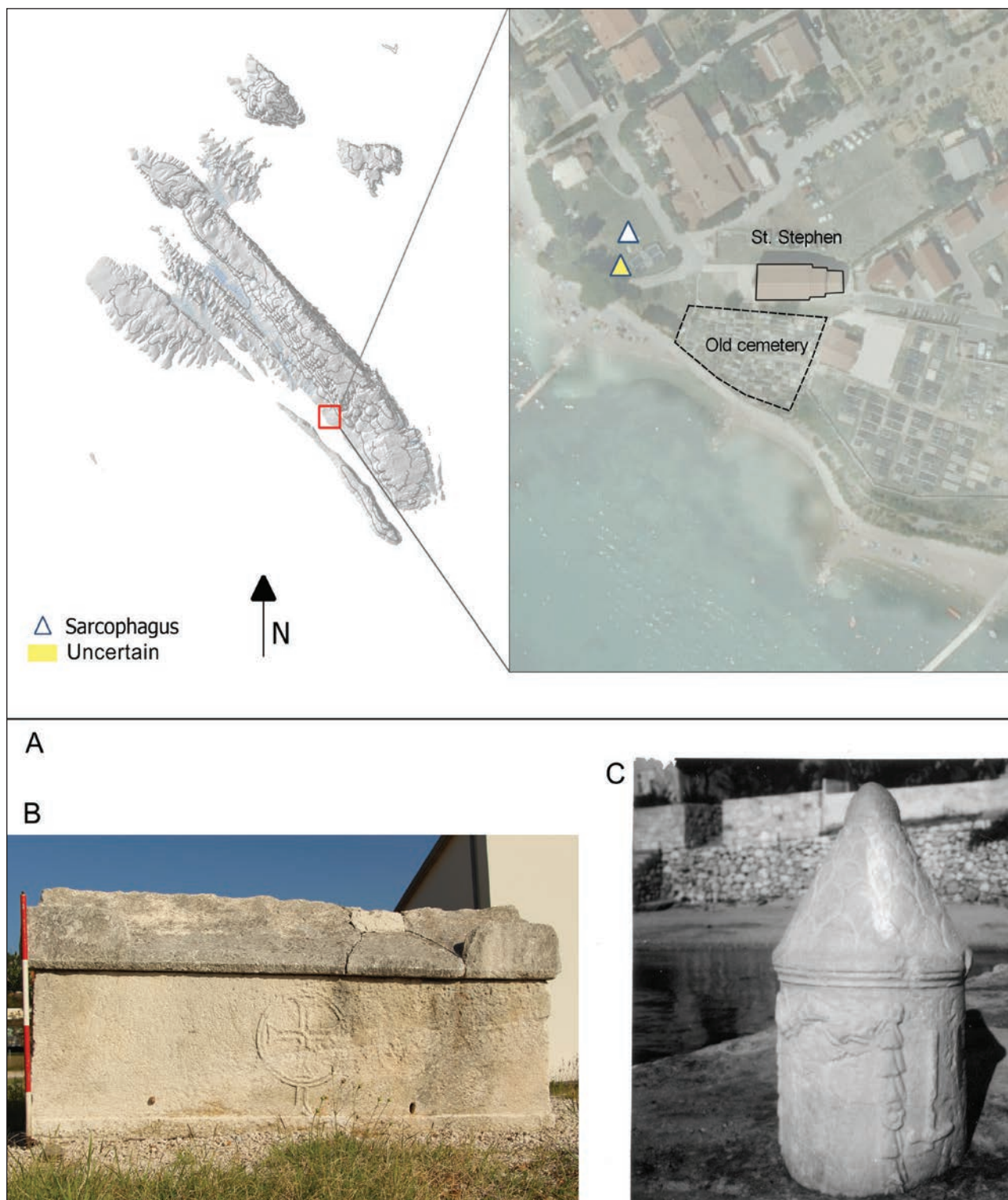


Figure 4: A: Topography of the area of St. Stephen in Barbat (tab. 1: 2, 3); B: Sarcophagus at St. Stephen in Barbat; C: Liburnian cippus used as bollard (Photo: A. Konestra, A. Faber – Archive of the Institute of archaeology, Zagreb – D624; Basemap: DOF/DEM Croatian State Geodetic Administration).
Slika 4: A: Topografija območja cerkve Sv. Stjepana v Barbatu (tab. 1: 2, 3); B: Sarkofag pri Sv. Stjepanu v Barbatu; C: Liburnijski cippus, rabljen kot priveznik (Foto: A. Konestra, A. Faber – Arhiv arheološkog instituta, Zagreb – D624; vir: DOF/DEM Croatian State Geodetic Administration).

walls, erected against the cut in the ground, were built with stone and copious usage of lime mortar, which was also used to cover their internal surface. To the north of the excavated tomb, the disturbed structure of the cover of another analogous burial was identified, pointing to the presence of at least two graves, while scattered pottery located more to the NE and in the profile of the path might point to the existence of more burials. The possibility that this site could be interpreted as a necropolis is perhaps indicated by the fact that multiple subsequent inhumations occurred within the same tomb structure (which then must have been marked) and by a spatial organisation of the burials (e.g. Massa, 1996, 73–74). Also, it might be indicative of a dedicated area for child burials within the burial ground, a feature detected elsewhere in the region (Serventi & Jurjević, 2012, 210–211; Ožanić Roguljić & Konestra, 2016).

To the north of Barbat bay, in the environs of the church of St. Stephen (the current building dates to the 19th c., but it is ascertained that it stands in place of a Benedictine monastery and a probably earlier church), a sarcophagus of the so-called Brač-salonitan type with relief cross on the side was found (tab. 1: 2), dated to the end of the 5th-beginning of 6th c. and, possibly a second one,⁶ from the mid-6th c. (tab. 1: 12) (Basić, 2012; Jarak, 2017, 73–78; Baraka Perica, 2018) (fig. 4, B). Data on the more precise, original location of tab. 1: 2 is provided by the *Chronicle of Kapor* (I, 176), where the accounts of its finding are narrated. It was dug out, sometime between the late 19th-early 20th century, from the narrow strip of land standing between the path that is connecting the parish house and St. Stephan church, to the west of the old cemetery (fig. 4, A). During digging, the locals reported the finding of another sarcophagus, but buried much deeper, which is why it was not dug out. Moreover, in the mid-20th century, during further digging in the environs, a floor made of “regularly laid earthen bricks” was found (*Chronicle of Kapor* I, 176). Findings of walls are also reported by more recent oral accounts (IARH – Arhindoks, D 624–627; Rizner, 2012), some are perhaps still visible in the boundary walls of the cemetery, signalling the presence of structures.

To the north, along the coast from the above-described location, finds of graves, one made with tegulae, are reported by the *Chronicle of Kapor* (V, 95–96) at Kordići (tab. 1: 14), of which one inscribed tegula is still kept in the Kapor Monastery. Similarly, the chronicle reports grave finds (incinerations in

25–30 urns/pots or amphorae) to the south of Barbat bay, close to the church of st. John de Lenona/le Nona (tab. 1: 13), where apparently walls had been unearthed too (*Chronicle of Kapor*, I, 751–752).

Finally, between Barbat bay and St. Stephens church, possibly at the location of Ošit spring (*Chronicle of Kapor*, V, 96), a *cippus* was found in the sea. Whether it is the same, so-called Liburnian type *cippus* later reused on the quay in front of the church is uncertain (tab. 1: 3), but the later certainly stems from the wider Barbat area (fig. 4, C).

Banjol area

Banjol occupies an area of the central part of the island, immediately to the east of the town of Rab and stretching for some 3 km to the north of Barbat. Funerary evidence from Banjol should perhaps include the *cippus* (tab. 1: 4) which was supposedly found in its hinterland.⁷ More certain data is provided by the recently excavated remains of a 5th-6th centuries church with a later interpolation, dedicated to st. Lawrence (Budak, 2006, 123–124; Brogiolo et al., 2017; Jurković, 2019, 118), where, among later evidence, few late Antique (7th century) finds suggest the existence of graves datable to that period (tab. 1: 5). The church, located almost on the shore, is of very large dimensions, and in its environs several accounts mention the existence of walls and foundations (*Chronicle of Kapor*, I, 617; Jurković, 2019, 118–119).

A group of earlier finds stems from the environs of the Za Markovićem site and the late Medieval church of st. Anastasius, that are located on a small hill within the central island's field (the larger area is also known as Caplaca and Snuga) (Lipovac Vrkljan & Konestra, 2015). Here, the funerary inscription of *Magia Luculla* is known from the CIL (III, 3124) (tab. 1: 6), but today it is lost, while recently another tomb stone has been located in private property (tab. 1: 7) (fig. 5). The latter, a *stela* of the architectonic and portrait type with semicircular niche (e. g. Starac A., 2000a, 64; Maršić, 2003, 158–164), lacking the inscription, was reused in the walls of the church, when it was probably also furnished with the *sacrum deu(m?)* inscription on the beam under the frons. The portrait, preserved only partially, presents without a doubt a male figure, and since the *stela* is preserved only in its upper left half (i.e. probably 1/6 of its original dimensions), another portrait can be expected to the right, but it shouldn't be linked with the afore-mentioned dedication (due to the type of

6 The first mention of a second sarcophagus (today displayed in Rab's Lapidarium) being found in the environs of st. Stephen is in Domjan, 2007, 49.

7 The location of the findspot, reported in Lazinica & Maršić (2017), was reconstructed on the bases of the modern cadastre which reports the place name Dražica for several parcels in the hinterland of Banjol, not far from the monument's current location.



Figure 5: Za Markovićem (Banjol) (tab. 1: 7), 1 – location of the remains of the church of St. Anastasius, location of the possible settlement (visible and walls supposed on the bases of GPR) and of a zone with stray finds, from east; 2 – stela from St. Anastasius church (2) (Photos: K. Rabięga, A. Konestra).

Slika 5: Za Markovićem (Banjol) (tab. 1: 7), 1 – lega ostankov cerkve Sv. Anastazija, arheološke lokacije (vidni tudi zidovi, locirani s pomočjo georadarskih meritev) in območja z ostanki keramike, z vzhoda; 2 – stela iz cerkve Sv. Anastazija (Foto: K. Rabięga, A. Konestra).

niche only one row of portraits and one inscription field are supposed). While Magia's inscription is difficult to date as we lack data on its support,⁸ the stela provides enough data to be dated within the 1st c. (Starac A., 2000a, 69; Maršić, 2003, 173–175).

The *Chronicle* (V, 103) mentions another funerary find in the area of Snuga associated to finds of architecture (tab. 1: 15), but the exact location is unclear.

Kampor

Kampor stretches in the south-western part of the island, comprising a large field and adjacent areas. Funerary evidence are grouped in three areas, and the provenance of most can be more or less precisely located.

Three fragments belonging to two embedded portrait reliefs (tab. 1: 10, 11) come from the Kaštelina site (north-western cape of Kampor), more precisely from the shores of the bay Miral located to the east of it (for the monuments and find-spots see Tomičić, 1988, T. 9; Maršić, 2009; 2015; Glavičić, 2003) (fig. 6). Also, finds of tombs made with bricks in the area are reported by Brusić and the *Chronicle*, as well as finds possibly related to grave goods

(tab. 1: 17) (Brusić V., 1926, 176–177; *Chronicle of Kampor*, I, 134–135; see also Glavičić, 2003, 92). The two reliefs belong to two different types of monument, indicating that at least two monumental tombs were erected in the necropolis belonging to the settlement at Kaštelina between the end of the 1st and the early 2nd century AD. If the information supplied by Brusić and Badurina are correct, more simple tombs existed in the same location.

Another funerary monument, testified by its inscription (tab. 1: 9), was found walled in a house in the central part of Kampor field. The location is flanked from east and west by sites presenting traces of pottery scatters and exposed stratigraphy (Konestra et al., 2018).

In the cloister of the Monastery in Kampor the side of an ostotheca with inscription in *tabula ansata* is walled (tab. 1: 8) (*CIL* III, 3125) (fig. 7). The *Chronicle* mentions that it was found somewhere within the monastery's garden (Schleyer, 1914, 122; *Chronicle of Kampor*, I, 174);⁹ the slab was clearly reworked at some point, as a hole was drilled in its lower left corner, which might indicate its use as lintel or doorstep and its probable recovery while already in secondary position. The ostotheca, made

⁸ A dating to the Roman period could be supported by the *hic situs est* phrase which, according to Cambi, is commoner for incineration graves as well as *ara* and *stela* monument types (Cambi, 2010, 35).

⁹ In the environs of the Monastery other decontextualised finds have been noted (Glavičić, 1997, 33), thus allowing for the location of Roman structures not far from it.



Figure 6: Kaštelina (Kampor), 1 – Locations of the villa site and supposed area of funerary monuments, from west; 2 – the fragments of embedded reliefs recovered at Miral bay (tab. 1: 10–11) (Photo: K. Rabięga, A. Dugonjić).
Slika 6: Kaštelina (Kampor), 1 – lega vile in domnevno območje najdb nagrobnikov, od zahoda; 2 – fragmenti vgrajenih reliefov, najdenih v zalivu Miral (tab. 1: 10–11) (Foto: K. Rabięga, A. Dugonjić).

of limestone, is of a type with *tabula ansata*, common in central *Dalmatia* (Salona) where its production should be placed (Cambi, 2010, 25; 2013), but so far not attested in *Liburnia*. Details derived from the typology and use of the object, just as from the inscriptions, allows dating within the first decades of the 2nd century.¹⁰

The rest of the data related to Kampor is more sporadic and uncertain, mostly stemming from the *Chronicle*, which mentions finds of graves at the Livera site (tab. 1: 16), not far from the location of tab. 1: 8.

Lopar

Lopar peninsula is located in the northern part of the island, and separated from its mainland by the northernmost hilly ridge Kamenjak. In recent years the archaeological topography of Lopar has been substantially enriched with new finds and more detailed data on the known ones. Nevertheless, no certain funerary evidence has so far been identified. During data collection, the local population informed us of the find of sarcophagi in the environs of the parish church of st. John the Baptist (tab. 1: 18) (the current building dates to the XVII c.), apparently destroyed upon discovery (Lipovac Vrkljan et al., 2014, 206). As there is no way to check this data, the information is taken with caution, although further

accounts of finds in its immediate adjacency make it more probable (*Chronicle of Kampor*, I, 136), just as the toponym Cimiter (i.e. cemetery) related to its environs (Lipovac Vrkljan et al., 2014, 206). From the *Chronicle* we are informed of two inscriptions in private collection, at the time of reporting already walled within the village houses, and which might have belonged to a funerary context. The *Chronicle* also mentions a discovery of a grave on the hill “Podšilo”, which can probably be located on either of the two sides of the homonymous bay (tab. 1: 20) (*Chronicle of Kampor*, I, 136). During recent archaeological work within the bay a complex Roman rural settlement was discovered (lastly in Konestra et al., 2020), while reconnaissance of the wider area might however indicate that burials’ location could be sought on its northern slopes, close to stray finds of pottery and one wall foundation located there (Lipovac Vrkljan et al., 2014).

A more probable find, again mentioned in the *Chronicle*, is that of a sarcophagus (tab. 1: 19) recovered within the complex on Lukovac islet in the eastern part of the peninsula. The fact that bones and a coin are mentioned to have been found inside it, and corroborated by the fact that on Lukovac a 6th century church and other structures are present (Čaušević-Bully & Bully, 2015), makes this mention perhaps the most funded of all related to Lopar.

¹⁰ The authors would like to thank prof. Nenad Cambi for his help in identifying the correct function of the monument (i.e. ostotheca vs. sarcophagus) and detailing its possible workshop provenience, and dating. A detailed analysis of the monument will be dealt with in a separate publication (Konestra & Cambi, 2020–2021).



Figure 7: Kapor monastery – ostothea of Remia L.f. Maxima (tab. 1: 8) (Photo and drawing: F. Welc).
 Slika 7: Samostan v Kaporju – ostoteka Remije Maksime, Lucijeve hčerke (Foto in skica: F. Welc).

EXTRACTING DATA FROM THE EVIDENCE – BURIAL CONTINUITY AND THEIR RELATION TO RURAL SETTLEMENT

Through protohistory the typology of burials detected on the island can roughly be divided in burial mounds and flat necropolises. The oldest known burial site is that of Gromačica hill on Kamenjak ridge, above the Lopar field. In 1967 one large tumulus and three other graves were heavily destroyed before rescue excavations. Rather disturbed, imprecise context reinforced with methodologically inappropriate documentation of rescue excavation somewhat limits our understanding of this otherwise exceptional burial site that was subsequently in use from the 9th to 6th century BC (Matejčić, 1968; Kukoč, 2009; Blečić Kavur, 2014). Typology of Gromačica tumulus as well as of the other rescue excavated graves in its vicinity remain unknown, while its association to nearby hillforts is also somewhat speculated due to a lack of excavations. Another context of destroyed tumulus burial was revealed while conducting recent systematic archaeological survey campaigns (Lipovac Vrkljan et al., 2014). Along the ridge, on the Kruna plateau, to the SI of Gromačica, scattered elements of attire and jewellery were collected around a partly ransacked tumulus. These elements of attire dating from the 5th to 4th centuries BC are almost without a doubt damaged grave inventory, regardless of their disturbed context.¹¹

Recent survey together with the old data resulted in recognising more than 20 individual stone burial (?) mounds on Rab, majority of them located in the northern part of the island (Batović, 1985; Rizner, 2012; Lipovac Vrkljan et al., 2014; Lipovac Vrkljan et al., 2016; Konestra et al., 2017). Considering the two aforementioned sites (Gromačica and Kruna) as the only two unearthened tumuli on the island, current state of research therefore cannot allow the interpretation of the rest of the identified stone mounds exclusively as sepulchral monuments (e.g. Mihovilić et al., 2011). They can rather be looked upon within their landscape settings, as in most of the Adriatic zone, defined by their symbolic-functional dichotomy (Čače, 1982; Govedarica, 1989; Mihovilić et al., 2011; Čučković, 2017). The only remaining protohistoric burial site registered on the island is roughly located below the hillfort settlement of Kaštelina which lies on promontory of Stolac in Lopar. The exact position of the necropolis is not recorded, but assumed skeletal remains in crouched position were identified buried under the stone slab, and recognised due to strong erosion that uncovered graves laying in sandy terraces outside the Kaštelina settlement (Batović, 1987b, 160; Brusić Z., 1990, 334; Konestra et al., 2020). Grave good, i.e. attire mostly dated to the 3rd c. BC, were collected but the excavation was not conducted

(see Batović, 1987b; Brusić Z., 1990). Lack of proper documentation or excavations leaves us guessing the possible position of the flat necropolis near the access route to the protohistoric hillfort settlement of Kaštelina.

Early Roman funerary evidence on the island is very sparse and mostly uncertain, both in respect to precise locations as well as to typology of burial, but is in many aspects radically different than that of earlier periods, briefly delineated above. Funerary monuments do, however, offer a glimpse on the organisation and location of rural necropolises, as it is well testified by the Kaštelina example in Kampor. Here, just to the north-east of the *villa* located on Kaštelina cape (Jurković et al., 2012 with earlier bibliography; Jurković, 2019, 121; Jurković & Turković, 2019), within Miral bay, fragments of two monumental tombs point to the location of the necropolis, further indicated by finds of simpler, “brick” built graves (tab. 1: 10, 11, 17) (fig. 6). They were probably arranged along a road leading from the site to the municipal centre (see also in Maršić, 2012, 26), while epigraphy informs us on the owners of one of the monumental tombs, i.e. the *Baebii* family, otherwise known as members of the municipal elite of *Arba* (Glavičić, 2003; 2009). Location, monumentality (and thus expenditure, see Kurilić, 2003) and epigraphy of the monuments allow us to link the *Baebii* to the residence at Kaštelina, and probably to a larger area in the western part of Kampor, where the *praedium* of members of this Liburnian family should be sought (Glavičić, 2003, 93; lastly Jurković & Turković, 2019, 16–17). The location of the necropolis, so close to the settlement and probably not far from the shore finds parallels at Caska on the nearby island of Pag (Kurilić & Serventi, 2018, 772) and Baška on the nearby island of Krk (Bekić & Višnjić, 2008; Marohnić, 2014).

Another recently reinterpreted, a bit later and less monumental, but still more expensive (Kurilić, 2010, 141) funerary monument, enables us to locate a second *Baebii* estate in the hinterland of Banjol (tab. 1: 4) (Lazinic & Maršić, 2017). Unfortunately, as no other data is known from this location, its relation to possible (rural) architectural remains eludes us. Anyhow, such correlation of evidence of an affluent local family - whose members held high ranks in the municipal hierarchy (Glavičić, 2003) - and rural possessions in at least two distinct parts of the island, allows us to link the wealth of early Roman *Arba* more firmly to rural (re)source, as already supposed by previous research (Lipovac Vrkljan et al., 2017, 328).

While the evidence from Kaštelina and Miral is known for some time, a similar interconnectedness of certainly proven rural site with a nucleus of funerary finds (tab. 1: 6, 7) might allow us to locate the centre of another rural property in the Banjol area in the environs of st. Anastasius church. In fact, a hundred meters

¹¹ Dr Martina Blečić Kavur helped with the typological identification and chronological determination of the finds. Hereby we express our gratitude for her help.

from the church, remains of Roman architecture have recently been localised and preliminarily investigated (Konestra et al., 2018) (fig. 5). Small finds date the excavated layers to later Antiquity (perhaps 4th-5th c.), while finds of *dolia* fragments, lumps of *opus signinum* with large stone *tesserae* mosaic and fragments of grinding stones, are all indicative of a rural productive site. To the east of the small stream springing just below the site, more evidence of Roman architecture is present, while to the south stray pottery finds were recovered, allowing us to propose a connection between these sites, whose necropolis should be located more to the north, perhaps along a road stretching towards the large plains located in the north-western part of the island (Mundanijsko polje) (Konestra et al., 2017, 107; Jurković, 2019, 118).¹² Interestingly, funerary evidence points towards early Roman dating, while all other evidence is rather later, thus combined they provide complementary data on settlement duration. Again, apart from the monuments, not much is known on the necropolis, but a certain tenor of its occupants is testified by the portrait *stela* (Kurilić, 2003), whose type might point us to its belonging to an autochthonous (wealthy) Liburnian family (Kurilić, 2010, 139 with earlier bibliography).

On the other hand, a series of evidence suggest the presence of smaller (?) or detached settlements in various areas of the island (tab. 1: 3, 9, 13–16, 19), some stemming from within the Kampo field area or its easternmost bay, and which could have multiple interpretations, further complicated by uncertain dating of most of them. In fact, they could be connected to rural-productive segments of the *fundus* centred at Kaštelina, but could also indicate *praedia* belonging to different owners. Among these, the *ostotheca* of Remmia Maxima (tab. 1: 8, fig. 7), if in fact originating from the environs of the monastery, might point us to the presence of another monumental necropolis at Kampo, as these monuments, similarly to the typologically analogous sarcophagi (Cambi, 2010, 72–80), were used above ground.

Scantier is the evidence for other earlier and mid-Roman necropolises locations - supposed incineration graves around st. John's church at Barbat (tab. 1:13), a grave made with *tegulae* to the north of st. Stephen's church and the *cippus* possibly found just to the south of its - while all are possibly related to architecture or pottery scatters (i.e. possible sites), still they do not offer enough data to draw firmer conclusions. The *cippus* (tab. 1: 3) does, perhaps, offer a glimpse on estate organisation as persons of possibly servile status are mentioned by the epitaph (Lazinica & Maršić, 2017, 193).

Certain data on late Roman funerary practices is less numerous, but perhaps more telling, as it can in some cases be connected to ascertained or supposed

early Christian cult buildings. Nevertheless, evidence provided by the (only) excavated grave at Pudarica bay (tab. 1: 1), tentatively dated to the 4th-5th centuries on the bases of grave goods, and probably pertaining to a wider burial ground, would suggest that this connection happened at a somewhat later date. It would in fact seem that no connection to a church building can be supposed in this case. The uncertain association of the graves with architectural remains in the environs unfortunately precludes understanding settlement-burial relationships (see *supra*), but we might propose that the burial grounds could have been located at the outskirts of a settlement and perhaps along minor viability leading to the easternmost part of the island (Jurković, 2019, 119). In fact, the evidence described for Barbat covers an area of almost 5 km (fig. 2), thus it is difficult to place it within the same context, while the ascertained or supposed typologies of burials would suggest a wide chronology, possibly spanning from early Roman period to most probably the 5th and 6th centuries. Such a concentration of finds might then also point to a diachronic development of the settlement in this area, with more smaller properties later converging in larger ones (perhaps to be located at St. Stephen's and the Valmartina/Val Pasquala area). Evidence grouped around the church of St. Stephen in Barbat, where at least one sarcophagus was excavated (tab. 1: 2), while several others are supposed to have been found (tab. 1: 11 and *supra*), might signal the aforementioned shift in burial locations. Position of the sarcophagi, their type and the consequent late 5th-6th centuries date do indicate the possibility of their interring if not within, then in the close environs of a church building, perhaps in a mausoleum or *memoria* as it is known from several regional parallels (Baraka Perica, 2018, 406–407 with earlier bibliography).

Within the same timeframe belongs the elusive and only documentary evidence of sarcophagi finds from Lopar (tab. 1: 18), especially interesting being those from the islet of Lukovac (tab. 1: 19), but as the data is uncertain, no further discussion is possible.

To a later date belongs the detected funerary function of st. Lawrence church (tab. 1: 5), which might point to the presence of a not only privileged cemetery in relation to this church of substantial dimensions and furnishing (Brogiolo et al., 2017, 673; Jurković, 2019, 119). On the other hand, being the data on adjacent structures scanty (Budak, 2006, 124 and *supra*), it is difficult to define typology and nature of the actual settlement.

The delineated evidence offer the possibility to follow another aspect of funerary practices, that is the changes in burial rite. Evidence for incineration and the probably accompanying tomb furniture (*stelae*, *cippi*) has been

¹² The modern pathway stretching to the south of the site and towards st. Anastasios was recently excavated (Institute of archaeology, directed by A. Konestra), revealing no traces of ancient construction, which does not exclude that viability was present, but its exact course was not maintained unaltered to modern times.

recorded by the *Chronicle* and through monumental evidence, while the passage towards inhumation is marked already in the 2nd c. by the somewhat particular burial rite associated with ostothecae. Inhumation, both in built tombs and sarcophagi, but possibly also in more simple burials (e.g. tab. 1: 5), is so far best evidenced and to the current knowledge marks a period from at least the 4th to the 7th century.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

From this analysis some general conclusions emerge, which will be further detailed taking into consideration the current state of research and tapping into regional and wider parallels, remaining nevertheless tentative and open to elaborations. Roman *Arba* developed from an autochthonous *oppidum* into a Roman *municipium* at a probably early (Augustan?) date, becoming the centre of all autochthonous communities on the island (of which not much is currently known, see Brusić Z., 1990, and e.g. Čače, 2006, 69–70). What emerges from epigraphy is that both early Roman urban and rural settlement on the island seems to respect late Iron age social structure, with local elites now leading municipal affairs and gaining wealth from the countryside through a new, Roman organisation of the economy (for nearby *Curicta* on Krk island see Starac A., 2006, 107–108; Matijašić, 2006, 84). It remains uncertain whether this retraces earlier land organisation (e.g. Migliario, 2010, 102) or signals elite land assignments, although the former could be more probable as elites organised their sepulchral areas within their rural estates, thus possibly residing permanently in the countryside or just furthering their connection to the land and their ancestry (e.g. Suić, 1996, 437–441, 444; Royman & Derks, 2011, 14; Derks, 2011, 117). Similarly, burials of the municipal elite within their rural estates were interpreted in other regions of the Empire in view of the availability of free burial plots and better protection of the tomb, while monumental family tombs might have acted as enhancers of status and identity (Derks, 2011, 116–117). In this respect additional data is provided by monuments typology, which sees elaborate tomb types or in any case expensive tomb stone solutions all of the Roman type and without any detected connection to previous burial practices or spaces, indicating yet again how, while maintaining certain native traits, the autochthonous population was quick in adopting Roman customs, in this case funerary ones, even in rural areas (Dublonić Glavan & Maršić,

2019).¹³ Moreover, the location of funerary areas might be indicative of *fundus* boundaries or settlement nuclei, and be located along communication routes, indicating a sparse territorial organisation of the countryside (i.e. rather *villae* than *vici*), at least within the *flysch* fields and along the coast.

Funerary epigraphy does not inform us on the successive development of the settlement pattern on the island, mainly due to very few occurrences and the autochthonous naming system being lost through the 2nd c. AD (Starac A., 2006, 108; Kurilić, 2008, 13). Parallels could propose the passage of property to immigrants, as possibly indicated by the italic *nomen* on some epitaphs (tab. 1: 8 and 6) (Kurilić, 1999, 174; Šašel Kos, 2009, 193) or state elites (or even to the Emperor, Starac A., 2006, 110–111), which are testified at *Arba* as well (Kurilić, 2008, 64; Glavičić, 2009; Šašel Kos, 2009, 197). Vibrant rural settling is perhaps suggested by the evidence with wider dating, and topography might indicate a continuation of a basically sparse habitation in the countryside at least throughout the 4th and possibly the beginning of the 5th century. Another constant is the presence of richly furnished graves and the organisation in necropolises or smaller burial grounds.

Substantial changes in the organisation of life and social structure on the island in late Antiquity can be discerned from several historical sources, which inform us on the foundation of the bishopric of *Arba* (certainly attested in the 6th century, but possibly to be dated earlier, and including the nearby island of Pag, Čaušević-Bully & Bully, 2015, 252, 261), but also from the erection of numerous cult buildings¹⁴ and the aforementioned aggregation of funerary evidence traced around some of them, be it certain or supposed. So far no continuity of burial usage has been detected on these sites, but it is present in their environs (for e.g. to the south of St. Stephen, tab. 1: 3), perhaps suggesting a shift occurring due to the erection of the cult space or, for the time span of the 5th–6th centuries, the shift of at least privileged burials (e.g. Migotti, 1994/95, 114; Pettenò & Rossi, 2015, 220; Kurlić & Serventi, 2018, 460). How these new buildings integrated within the structure of the previous and/or wider settlement, which is attested in all occasions at least by documentary sources,¹⁵ is still hard to tell, but it might explain the location chosen for burials. Parallels in Roman *Dalmatia* do see the erection of churches in connection to *fundi*, especially on their margins, on the seashore or in vicinity to communications, but also on the ac-

13 Perhaps late Iron Age – early Roman burial continuity could be expected in necropolis of *Arba*, which is still to be located.

14 Remains of two early Christian churches have been recently excavated (Jurković, 2019), while at least other three are supposed in the island's countryside (Čaušević-Bully & Bully, 2015). Along these, a smaller cult building is present within the fort of st. Cosmas and Damian, and another on the islet of Lukovac (possibly also a fort) (Čaušević-Bully & Bully, 2015). In the town of *Arba*, along with the cathedral, one certain early Christian church is present, while others are supposed on the bases of documentary sources, dedication etc. (Domjan, 2007). As for dating, most are placed within the 6th century, although an earlier date is proposed for st. Lawrence (Brogiolo et al., 2017, 669).

15 Traces of an earlier settlement can be supposed in the environs of other detected early Christian churches on the island (Jurković, 2019).

tual remains of earlier architecture (Migotti, 1994/95, 118–120; Starac R., 2000, 231; Baraka Perica, 2013, 141, 157–158), which have in certain cases been lately connected with public rather than private function and character (Zeman, 2014, 36). In the latter case, the integration of the new building within the tissue of earlier rural settlements is still unclear, as well as their (non) contemporaneity (Zeman, 2014, 37; for other areas e.g. Chavarria Arnau, 2010, 40; Fiocchi Nicolai, 2018, both with earlier bibliography). It would nevertheless seem that the erection of cult spaces marked a (last?) big investment in the countryside of the island in late Antiquity (Lipovac Vrkljan et al., 2017; e.g. Zeman, 2014, 38; Kurilić & Serventi, 2016, 2285; see also Curta, 2013, 151), supported by the investment in burial furnishing, as exemplified by the certain and supposed sarcophagi. Rural churches in Dalmatia have mostly been defined as having a mixed, congregational, funerary, and especially when furnished with one, baptismal function (Migotti, 1994/95, 114, 117; Baraka Perica, 2013), while in some cases they have been connected with a maritime function (Brusić Z., 1993; Čaušević-Bully & Bully, 2015, 262–268), perhaps to be seen in relation to viability in general (Cantino Wataghin et al., 2007, 104). None of the aforementioned does exclude private investment (Fiocchi Nicolai, 2018, 223–224), but whether it might also suggest a concentration of property (see Castrorao Barba, 2014, 277–281, n. 31 with earlier bibliography) is still to be determined, while certainly an aggregational function for the rural population can be supposed, as well as the continuity of stable rural settlement (e.g. Baraka Perica, 2013,

150, 154; Lipovac Vrkljan et al., 2017). In the Kvarner area, a parallel from nearby Baška on the island of Krk, suggest that it is possible that the whole rural community partly invested in the construction of churches (as opposed to one owner of the *fundus*) which had a congregational and a funerary function within the rural settlement pattern (Starac R., 1996; 2019, 31–35; Kurelić & Serventi, 2016; for the possibility see Fiocchi Nicolai, 2018, 223, n. 99). Only further research within late-Roman rural complexes, early Christian churches and burial grounds on the island will help answer the delineated perplexities, especially determining whether the aggregational role of the early Christian churches might signal a development of a less sparse settlement pattern (i.e., a “village”?) or signal changes in rural organisation at the level of ownership (Christie, 2017, 88–89).

Though uncertain, data on funerary evidence within the island’s rural landscape allowed us to delineate a radical shift from protohistory to Roman period, propose the location of burial nuclei, test their connection to ascertained or supposed settlements, propose their diachronic development and use it complementarily so to obtain more certain data on habitation duration, and to finally suggest preliminary social interpretations, open to further elaborations as new evidence will be available. Particularly interesting will be to compare rural and urban situations once more data will be gathered, as their close interconnectedness has already been suggested (Lipovac Vrkljan et al., 2017, 328–329; see Royman & Derks, 2011, 14; Rothe, 2018, 44).

GROBIŠČNA KRAJINA OTOKA RAB (SEVEROVZHODNI JADRANA):
VLOGA GROBIŠČ PRI REKONSTRUKCIJI RIMSKEGA IN
POZNOANTIČNEGA PODEŽELSKEGA MODELA POSELITVE

Ana KONEŠTRA

Inštitut za arheologijo, Jurjevska 15, 10000 Zagreb, Hrvaška
e-mail: ana.konestra@gmail.com

Paula ANDROIĆ GRAČANIN

Univerza kardinala Stefana Wyszyńskiego v Varšavi (UKSW), Inštitut za arheologijo, Wóycickiego 1/3 (23), 01-938 Varšava, Poljska
e-mail: paula.androic@gmail.com

Fabian WELC

Univerza kardinala Stefana Wyszyńskiego v Varšavi (UKSW), Inštitut za arheologijo, Wóycickiego 1/3 (23), 01-938 Varšava, Poljska
e-mail: f.welc@uksw.edu.pl

POVZETEK

Zaradi redkih najdb grobov na otoku Rab (severovzhodni Jadran, Hrvaška) je ta tema le redko obravnavana v stroki, raziskave pa se v glavnem osredotočajo na monumentalne najdbe in z njimi povezano epigrafiko. Po za-
slugi arhivskih raziskav, topografskih pregledov, geofizikalnih raziskav in izkopavanj, so bili zbrani novi arheološki
podatki, ki jih je možno prostorsko interpretirati, pripomorejo pa k boljšemu razumevanju lokacije, organizacije
in značaja grobišč iz antičnega in poznoantičnega obdobja. Ko se zbrane podatke poveže s podatki o poselitvi,
jih je možno integrirati v razumevanje organizacije podeželja in njegovega diahronega razvoja. V prispevku so
zbrani vsi doslej znani podatki o rimskih in poznoantičnih grobiščih v podeželskih predelih otoka, ki so integrirani
in dopolnjeni z drugimi dostopnimi podatki, vključno s tistimi o pokopavanju v prazgodovini. Namen je opre-
deliti pogrebne običaje podeželskih otoških naselij (tradicionalno definiranih kot villae). Pridobljeni rezultati so
analizirani iz diahrone in družbene perspektive z namenom, da se evidentira kontinuiteto in spremembe ne samo
pogrebnih običajev, temveč tudi modela podeželske poselitve.

Ključne besede: otok Rab, Arba, provinca Dalmacija, podeželje, grobišča, naselbine, pogrebni običaji

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

CIL III – Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Vol. III Inscriptiones Asiae, provinciarum Europae Graecarum, Illyrici Latinae. Edidit Th. Mommsen, 1873.

IARH – Arhindoks, D 624-627 – Faber, A. field notes and photographs, 1971 (unpublished).

ILJug – Šašel, A. & J. Šašel (1986): Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt. Ljubljana, Situla.

Chronicle of Kapor – Badurina, O., *Chronicle of Kapor* (vol. I-VI), manuscript. Rab, Archive and library of the Franciscan Monastery of saint Bernardin from Siena in Kapor.

EDCS – Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss / Slaby. [Http://db.edcs.eu](http://db.edcs.eu) (last access: 15. 3. 2020).

EDH – Epigraphic Database Heidelberg. <https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/home/> (last access: 15. 3. 2020).

Allen, M. & A. Smith (2016): Rural settlement in Roman Britain: morphological classification and overview. In: Smith, A., Allen, M., Brindle, T. & M. Fulford (eds.): *New Visions of the Countryside of Roman Britain: Volume 1: The Rural Settlement of Roman Britain* (Britannia Monograph Series No. 29). London, Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 17–43.

Baraka Perica, J. (2013): Chiese battesimali rurali dell'arcipelago dalmata. *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, 89, 119–168.

Baraka Perica, J. (2018): The Late Antique Sarcophagi in Liburnia (between the 4th and the 6th century). In: *The Basilica of St Sophia During the Transition from Paganism To Christianity*. International scientific conference, Sofia, March 11–13, 2014, Vol. VII, Serdica – Sredets – Sofia, 397–417.

Basić, I. (2012): Prilog datiranja zlatnog enkolpija iz Barbata na Rabu. In: Andrić, J. & R. Lončarić (eds.): *Rapski zbornik II*. Rab, Ogranak Matice hrvatske u Rabu, 427–442.

Batović, Š. (1985): Rekognosciranje otoka Raba u godini 1984. *Obavijesti hrvatskoga arheološkog društva*, XVII, 1, 13–15.

Batović, Š. (1987a): Liburnska grupa. In: Benac, A. (ed.): *Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja vol. V, Željezno doba*. Sarajevo, Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 339–391.

Batović, Š. (1987b): Prapovijesni ostaci na otoku Rabu. In: Mohorovičić, A. (ed.): *Rapski zbornik I*. Rab, Ogranak Matice hrvatske u Rabu, 147–170.

Batović, Š. (2003): Stanje istraživanja prapovijesti na Kvarnerskim otocima. *Diadora*, 21, 253–348.

Bekić, L. & J. Višnjić (2008): Južni dio antičke nekropole na položaju Sv. Marko – Baška. *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 41, 209–257.

Bertoldi, S., Castiglia, G. & A. Castorao Barba (2019): A Multi-scalar Approach to Long-Term Dynamics, Spatial Relations and Economic Networks of Roman Secondary Settlements in Italy and the Ombrone Valley System (Southern Tuscany): Towards a Model? In: Verhagen, P., Joyce, J. & M. Groenhuijzen (eds.): *Finding the Limits of the Limes. Modelling Demography, Economy and Transport on the Edge of the Roman Empire*. Cham, Springer, 191–214.

Blečić Kavur, M. (2014): Na razmeđu svjetova za prijelaza milenija: Kasno brončano doba na Kvarneru (Katalozi i monografije Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, Svezak XI). Zagreb, Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu.

Botturi, C. (2016): 'Landscapes of Life' and 'Landscapes of Death': The Contribution of Funerary Evidence to the Understanding of the Perception and Organisation of Roman Rural Landscapes in Northern Italy. In: Mandich, M. J., Derrick, T. J., Gonzalez Sanchez, S., Savani, G. & E. Zampieri (eds.): *TRAC 2015: Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Leicester 2015*. Oxford, Oxbow Books, 43–56.

Brogiolo, G. P., Chavarria Arnau, A., Giacomello, F., Jurković, M. & G. Bilogrivić (2017): The Late Antique Church of Saint Lawrence, Banjol (Island of Rab, Croatia) – Results of the First Two Archaeological Campaigns (2015–2016). *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 23, 2, 666–675.

Brusić, V. (1926): Otok Rab. Rab, Franjevački kampski samostan sv. Eufemije.

Brusić, Z. (1990): Otok Rab. Rekognosciranje gradina/Hillfort survey. *Arheološki pregled/Archaeological reports*, 1988, 29, 229–233.

Brusić, Z. (1993): Starokršćanski sakralni objekti uz plovidbenu rutu Istočnom obalom Jadrana. *Diadora*, 15, 223–236.

Budak, N. (2006): Urban Development of Rab – a Hypothesis. *Hortus artium medievalium*, 12, 123–135.

Bulić, F. (1879): Iscrizioni inedite. *Bulletino di archeologia e storia dalmata*, II, 9, 129–130.

Calvelli, L., Crema, F. & F. Luciani (2017): The Nani Museum: Greek and Roman Inscriptions from Greece and Dalmatia. In: Demicheli, D. (ed.): *Illyrica Antiqua 2*. In honorem Duje Rendić-Miočević (Conference proceedings, Šibenik, 12-15 September 2013). Zagreb, University of Zagreb, 265–290.

Cambi, N. (2010): Sarkofazi lokalne produkcije u rimskoj Dalmaciji od II. do IV. stoljeća. Split, Književni krug.

Cambi, N. (2013): A Review of the Development of the Funerary Monument in Dalmatia. In: Cambi, N. & G. Koch (eds.): *Sepulkralna skulptura zapadnog Ilirika i susjednih oblasti u doba Rimskog Carstva*, Zbornik radova s međunarodnog simpozija održanog od 27. do 30. rujna 2009, Split. Split, Književni krug, 17–99.

Cambi, N. & M. Jarak (2016): O Dobrom pastiru kao sepulkralnom motivu u povodu objave fragmenta sarkofaga s otoka Raba. *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, 109, 305–337.

Cantino Wataghin, G., Fiocchi Nicolai, V. & G. Volpe (2007): Aspetti della cristianizzazione degli agglomerati secondari. In: Bonacasa Carra, M. R. & E. Vitale (eds.): *La cristianizzazione in Italia tra tardoantico e altomedioevo*. Atti del IX congresso nazionale di archeologia cristiana, Agrigento 20-25 novembre 2004, vol. 1. Palermo, Saladino, 85–134.

Carre, M.-B. & F. Tassaux (2012): Kompleks sveta Marina, Lorun i Červar. In: Carre, M.-B., Tassaux, F. & V. Kovačić (eds.): *Sjeverno priobalje poreštine u antici*. Poreč, Zavičajni muzej poreštine, 94–106.

Castrorao Barba, A. (2014): Continuità topografica in discontinuità funzionale: trasformazioni e riusi delle ville romane in Italia tra III e VIII secolo. *European journal of post-classical archaeologies*, 4, 259–296.

Chavarria Arnau, A. (2010): Alcune osservazioni sulle chiese rurali di epoca tardo antica: documentazione testuale e fonti archeologiche. In: Galetti, P. (ed.): *La tarda antichità tra fonti scritte e archeologiche (Dpm quaderni dottorato 7)*. Bologna, CLUEB, 35–53.

Christie, N. (2017): Cities. In: Diarte-Blasco, P. (ed.): *Lands and Ports in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Archaeologies of Change*. Bradypus, Rome, 83–95.

Cipriano, S. & G. M. Sandrini (2015): ...*redditur eniim terrae corpus* (Cic. *De Leg*, 2, 56). Le necropoli di Oderzo tra media e tarda età imperiale. In: Rinaldi, F. & A. Vigoni (eds.): *Le necropoli della media e tarda età imperiale (III-IV secolo d.C.) a Iulia Concordia e nell'arco Altoadriatico*. Organizzazione spaziale, aspetti monumentali e strutture sociali (Atti del convegno di studio, Concordia Saggittaria, 5–6 giugno 2014). Rubano, Fondazione Colluto, 225–244.

Cividini, T. (2015): Tra Tagliamento e Torre. Evidenze funerarie di epoca medio e tardo imperiale nel Friuli collinare. In: Rinaldi, F. & A. Vigoni (eds.): *Le necropoli della media e tarda età imperiale (III-IV secolo d.C.) a Iulia Concordia e nell'arco Altoadriatico*. Organizzazione spaziale, aspetti monumentali e strutture sociali (Atti del convegno di studio, Concordia Saggittaria, 5–6 giugno 2014). Rubano, Fondazione Colluto, 311–333.

Curta, F. (2013): The Beginning of the Middle Ages in the Balkans. *Millennium – Yearbook on the Culture and History of the First Millennium C.E.*, 10, 145–214.

Čače, S. (1981): Naselje i nekropola u prostoru zajednice. *Dometi*, XIV, 5, 35–40.

Čače, S. (1982): Liburnske zajednice i njihovi teritoriji. *Dometi*, XV, 12, 41–52.

Čače, S. (2006): South Liburnia at the Begging of the Principate: Jurisdiction and Territorial Organisation. In: Čače, S., Kurilić, A. & F. Tassaux (eds.): *Les Routes se l'Adriatique Antique. Géographie et Économie*. Bordeaux-Zadar, Institut Ausonius, Université de Zadar, 65–79.

Čaušević-Bully M. & S. Bully (2015): Organisation et architecture des sites ecclésiastiques paléochrétiens de l'archipel du Kvarner (Croatie) – nouvelles pistes. In: Marion, J. & F. Tassaux (eds.): *AdriAtlas et l'histoire de l'espace adriatique du VIe s. a.C. au VIIIe s. p.C.*, Actes du colloque international de Rome (4–6 novembre 2013) (Ausonius Scripta Antiqua 79). Bordeaux, Institut Ausonius, 247–272.

Čučković, Z. (2017): Claiming the sea: Bronze Age fortified sites of the North-Eastern Adriatic Sea (Cres and Lošinj Islands, Croatia). *World Archaeology* 49, 4, 526–546.

Derks, T. (2011): Town-Country Dynamics in Roman Gaul. The Epigraphy of the Ruling Elite. In: Roymam, N. & T. Derks (eds.): *Villa Landscapes in the Roman North*. Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 107–137.

Domjan, M. (2007): Rab. Grad umjetnosti. Zagreb, Barbat.

Dublonić Glavan, M. & D. Maršić (2019): Monumentalna nadgrobna arhitektura i reljefna skulptura rimske Enona (*Aenona*). *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru*, 61, 5–46.

Esmonde Cleary, S. (2000): Putting the Dead in their Place: Burial Location in Roman Britain. In: Pearce, J., Millet, M. & M. Struck (eds.): *Burial, Society and Context in the Roman World*. Oxbow books, Oxford, 127–142.

Fiocchi Nicolai, V. (2018): Le chiese rurali di committenza privata e il loro uso pubblico (IV–V secolo). In: Gasparri, S. & S. Gelichi (eds.): *Seminari del Centro interuniversitario per la storia e l'archeologia dell'alto medioevo*. Spazio pubblico e spazio privato: Tra storia e archeologia (secoli VI–XI). Turnhout, Brepols, 107–144.

Francisci, D. (2010): Le sepolture come indicatori di centuriazione. Due casi di studio dal Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol (Italia). *Agri centuriati*, 7, 283–288.

Girardi Jurkić, V. & K. Džin (2002): Sjaj antičkih nekropola Istre. Pula, Arheološki muzej Istre.

Glavičić, M. (1997): Kipić božice Dijane iz Kampora na otoku Rabu. *Radovi*. *Razdio povijesnih znanosti* 36, 23, 33–43.

Glavičić, M. (2003): Nadgrobni spomenik obitelji *Baebius* iz Arbe. *Senjski zbornik*, 30, 83–96.

Glavičić, M. (2009): Magistrati i uglednici Arbe. *Senjski zbornik*, 36, 57–66.

Glogović, D. (1989): Prilozi poznavanju željeznog doba na sjevernom Jadranu, Hrvatsko primorje i Kvarnerski otoci. Zagreb, Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zavod za arheologiju.

Govedarica, B. (1989): Rano bronzano doba na području istočnog Jadrana (Djela ANUBiH 67). Sarajevo, Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine.

Habermehl, D. (2013): Settling in a Changing World. Villa Development in the Northern Provinces of the Roman Empire. Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press.

Isings, C. (1956): Roman glass from dated finds. Groningen, J.B. Wolters.

Jarak, M. (2017): Studije o kasnoantičkoj i ranosrednjovjekovnoj skulpturi s otoka Raba. Zagreb, FF press.

Jurković, M. (2019): The Transformation of Adriatic Islands from Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages. In: Cau Ontiveros, M. A. & C. Mas Florit (eds.): Change and Resilience. The Occupation of Mediterranean Islands in Late Antiquity (Jurkowski Institute Publications 9). Oxford, Oxbow books, 111–137.

Jurković, M., Brogiolo, G.P., Turković, T., Chavarria Arnau, A. & I. Marić (2012): Kaštelina na otoku Rabu. Od rimske vile do ranobizantske utvrde. In: Andrić, J. & R. Lončarić (eds.): Rapski zbornik II. Rab, Ogranak Matice hrvatske u Rabu, 1–13.

Jurković, M. & T. Turković (2012): Utvrda sv. Kuzme i Damjana u Barbatu na otoku Rabu – revizija istraživanja. In: Andrić, J. & R. Lončarić (eds.): Rapski zbornik II. Rab, Ogranak Matice hrvatske u Rabu, 15–36.

Jurković, M. & T. Turković (2019): Kaštelina – vila obitelji Bebija. *Ars Adriatica*, 9, 7–20.

Kamenjarin, I. (2014): Rimskodobna nekropola Krtine u Kaštel Sućurcu (exhibition catalogue). Kaštela, Muzej grada Kaštela.

Konestra, A., Šegvić, N., Androić Gračanin, P. & R. Starac (2017): Arheološka topografija otoka Raba: geofizička, sondažna i topografska istraživanja u 2016. Godini. *Annales Instituti Archaeologici*, XIII, 103–110.

Konestra, A., Welc, F., Dugonjić, A., Androić Gračanin, P., Šegvić, N. & K. Rabiega (2018): Terenski pregledi, geofizička i sondažna istraživanja projekta „Arheološka topografija otoka Raba“ u 2017. godini. *Annales Instituti Archaeologici*, XIV, 121–126.

Konestra, A., Welc, F., Dugonjić, A., Androić Gračanin, P., Rabiega, K., Solecky, R. & B. Nowacki (2019): Istraživanja projekta „Arheološka topografija otoka Raba“ u 2018. godini na području Lopara: nova saznanja o prapovijesnim i kasnoantičkim lokalitetima. *Annales Instituti Archaeologici*, XV, 187–194.

Konestra, A., Welc, F., Androić Gračanin, P., Rabiega, K., Nowacki, B. & A. Kuleka (2020): Tipologija i organizacija otočnih naselja Raba kroz dijakronijski pristup – prvi podaci multidisciplinarnih istraživanja. *Annales Instituti Archaeologici*, XVI, 229–244.

Konestra, A. & N. Cambi (2020-2021): Rapska osteoteka: novi pogled na sepulkralni spomenik Remije Maksime iz franjevačkog samostana u Kamporu na otoku Rabu/Osteotheca from Rab: new insights on the sepulchral monument of Remmia Maxima held in the Franciscan monastery at Kampor on the island of Rab. *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, 113, 357–382.

Kukoč, S. (2009): Nadin, liburnski kult mrtvih, Istraživanja 2004., 2005. *Asseria*, 7, 11–79.

Kurilić, A. (1999): Pučanstvo Liburnije od 1. do 3. st. po Kristu: antroponimija, društvena struktura, etničke promjene, gospodarske uloge (unpublished Phd thesis). Zadar, University of Zadar.

Kurilić, A. (2003): Un contributo per la valorizzazione economica dei monumenti epigrafici della Liburnia romana. *Radovi FFZD. Razdio povijesnih znanosti*, 40, 27, 77–92.

Kurilić, A. (2006): Epigraphy as a Source for the Topography. In: Čače, S., Kurilić, A. & F. Tassaux (eds.): In: Čače, S., Kurilić, A. & F. Tassaux (eds.): *Les Routes se l'Adriatique Antique. Géographie et Économie*. Bordeaux-Zadar, Institut Ausonius, Université de Zadar, 54–61.

Kurilić, A. (2008): Ususret Liburnima (Posebna izdanja Odjela za povijest Sveučilišta u Zadru, vol. 2). Zadar, Odjel za povijest Sveučilišta u Zadru.

Kurilić, A. (2010): Komemoratori i pokojnici s liburnskih cipusa: tko su, što su i odakle su?. *Asseria*, 8, 131–274.

Kurilić, A. & Z. Serventi (2016): Mosaic Inscriptions in the Basilica of Sv. Nikola (St. Nicholas) on the island of Krk. In: Brandt, O. & G. Castiglia (eds.): *Acta XVI Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae, Romae (22-28.9.2013), Costantino e i costantinidi. L'innovazione costantiniana, le sue radici e i suoi sviluppi (Pars II)*. Vatican City, Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2281–2306.

Kurilić, A. & Z. Serventi (2018): Late Roman Tombs and Burial Places in the Province of Dalmatia. In: *The Basilica of St Sophia During The Transition From Paganism To Christianity*, International scientific conference, Sofia, March 11–13, 2014, Vol. VII. *Serdica – Sredets – Sofia*, 450–468.

Lazar, I. (2003): Rimsko steklo Slovenije/The Roman Glass of Slovenia. Ljubljana, Založba ZRC.

Lazinica, B. & D. Maršić (2017): Following the Trail of the New Liburnian Cippus from Rab. *Arba – New Production Center of Liburnian Cippi*. In: Demicheli, D. (ed.): *Illyrica Antiqua 2. In honorem Duje Rendić-Miočević (Conference proceedings, Šibenik, 12-15 September 201)*. Zagreb, University of Zagreb, 187–199.

Leveau, P. (1983): La ville antique et l'organisation de l'espace rural: *villa*, ville, village. *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 38, 4, 920–942.

Lipovac Vrkljan, G., Šiljeg, B., Ožanić Roguljić, I., Konestra, A., Kostešić, I. & N. Šegvić (2014): Projekt Arheološka topografija otoka Raba: rezultati terenskog pregleda poluotoka Lopara u 2013. godini. *Annales Instituti Archaeologici*, X, 202–208.

Lipovac Vrkljan, G. & A. Konestra (2015): Projekt Arheološka topografija otoka Raba – rezultati terenskog pregleda na području grada Raba u 2014. godini i izložba *Arheološka topografija: putovanje kroz prošlost Lopara*. *Annales Instituti Archaeologici*, XI, 128–132.

- Lipovac Vrkljan, G., Konestra, A. & I. Radić Rossi (2016):** Rezultati aktivnosti projekta „Arheološka topografija otoka Raba“ u 2015. g.: terenski pregledi, obrada arheološke građe, popularizacija znanosti. *Annales Instituti Archaeologici*, XII, 201–205.
- Lipovac Vrkljan, G., Konestra, A. & N. Šegvić (2017):** Felix Arba – Reconstructing Urban and Rural Economic Capacities through GIS. In: Plosnić Škarić, A. (ed.): *Mapping Urban Changes*. Institute of art history, Zagreb, 314–335.
- Malez, M. (1974):** Tardigravetien Lopara na otoku Rabu. *Arheološki radovi i rasprave*, 7, 45–71.
- Marjanac, T. & L. Marjanac (1991):** Pleistocene and Periglacial Deposits on Middle Adriatic Coast. In: *Abstracts IAS 12 Regional Meeting*. Bergen, 32.
- Marjanac, T. & L. Marjanac (2007):** Sequence Stratigraphy of Eocene Incised Valley Clastics and Associated Sediments, Island of Rab, northern Adriatic Sea, Croatia. *Facies*, 53, 4, 493–508.
- Marohnić, J. (2014):** Ulomak rimskog nadgrobnog natpisa iz Baške. *Krčki zbornik*, 70, 15–20.
- Maršić, D. (2003):** Nove aserijatske portretne stele. *Asseria*, 1, 157–183.
- Maršić, D. (2009):** Ugradbeni i građevni portretni reljefi u Istriji i Dalmaciji/Embedded and Structural Portrait Reliefs in Istria and Dalmatia. Zadar, Arheološki muzej Zadar.
- Maršić, D. (2012):** Ugradbeni nadgrobnici reljefi Arbe. *Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, 30, 19–29.
- Matejčić, R. (1968):** Zaštitno iskapanje nekropole na Gromačici kod Lopara na otoku Rabu. *Diadora*, 4, 75–83.
- Matijašić, R. (2006):** La liburnia settentrionale all’inizio del Principato: uno schizzo dell’organizzazione amministrativa e territoriale. In: Čače, S., Kurilić, A. & F. Tassaux (eds.): *Les Routes de l’Adriatique Antique*. Géographie et Économie. Bordeaux-Zadar, Institut Ausonius, Université de Zadar, 54–61.
- Massa, S. (1996):** La necropoli del Lugone (Salò): analisi della struttura sociale. In: Brogiolo, G. P. (ed.): *La fine delle ville romane: trasformazioni nelle campagne tra tarda antichità e alto medioevo*. I Convegno Archeologico del Garda, Gardone Riviera (Brescia). Mantova, SAP Società Archeologica S.r.l., 71–79.
- Migliario, E. (2010):** Anticipi di romanizzazione: pianificare, dividere, delimitare gli spazi nel mondo veneto. *Ageographia Antiqua*, XIX, 99–110.
- Migotti, B. (1994/95):** Vrste i namjene ranokršćanskih zdanja u Dalmaciji. *Radovi FFZD*, 34, 21, 113–144.
- Migotti, B. (2019):** The Interdependence of the Epitaph and Portraiture in Interpreting Inscribed Funerary Monuments. In: Porod, B. & P. Scherrer (eds.): *Akten des 15. Internationalen Kolloquiums zum Provinzialrömischen Kunstschaffen*. Der Stifter und sein Monument Gesellschaft – Ikonographie – Chronologie (14. bis 20. Juni 2017 Graz / Austria). Graz, Universal-museum Joanneum, 274–283.
- Mihovilić, K., Hänsel, B., Matošević, D. & B. Teržan (2011):** Burial Mounds of the Bronze Age at Mušego near Monkodonja, Results of the Excavations 2006–2007. In: Borgna, E. & S. Müller-Celka (eds.): *Ancestral Landscapes: Burial Mounds in the Copper and Bronze Ages (Central and Eastern Europe – Balkans – Adriatic – Aegean, 4th-2nd millennium B.C.)*, (Travaux de la Maison de l’Orient 58). Lyon, Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée, 367–373.
- Morris, I. (1992):** *Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Nedved, B. (1990):** Felix Arba. Pregled povijesti i spomenika Otoka Raba u rano rimsko doba. Rab, SIZ za kulturu.
- Ožanić Roguljić, I. & A. Konestra (2016):** Illuminating the Way: Later Roman Factory Lamp from a Grave Context in Crikvenica. In: Lipovac Vrkljan, G., Ožanić Roguljić, I. & M. Ugarković (eds.): *Rimske i kasnoantičke svjetiljke: proizvodnja i distribucija, kontakti na Mediteranu/Roman and Late Antique Lamps: Production and Distribution, Contacts on the Mediterranean* (Proceedings of the International round table, Zagreb 2nd February 2015, e-ZIA 1). Zagreb, Institut za arheologiju, 128–136.
- Palavestra, A. & V. Krstić (2006):** The magic of amber (Archaeological monographies 18). Belgrade, National Museum.
- Parker Pearson, M. (1993):** The Powerful Dead: Archaeological Relationships between the Living and the Dead. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 3, 2, 203–229.
- Patterson, J. R. (2006):** *Landscapes and Cities. Rural Settlement and Civic Transformation in Early Imperial Italy*. Oxford, Oxford university Press.
- Pettenò, E. & C. Rossi (2015):** Le necropoli tardo romane di Padova. Dati per una ricostruzione complessa. In: Rinaldi, F. & A. Vigoni (eds.): *Le necropoli della media e tarda età imperiale (III-IV secolo d.C.) a Iulia Concordia e nell’arco Altoadriatico*. Organizzazione spaziale, aspetti monumentali e strutture sociali (Atti del convegno di studio, Concordia Saggittaria, 5-6 giugno 2014). Rubano, Fondazione Colluto, 201–224.
- Rizner, M. (2012):** Arheološka topografija otoka Raba. In: Andrić, J. & R. Lončarić (eds.): *Rapski zbornik II*. Rab, Ogranak Matice hrvatske u Rabu, 37–42.
- Rothe, U. (2018):** The Roman Villa. In: Marzano, A. & G. P. R. Métraux (eds.): *The Roman Villa in the Mediterranean Basin. Late Republic to Late Antiquity*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 42–58.
- Royman, M. & T. Derks (2011):** Studying Roman Villa Landscape in the 21st Century. A Multi-dimensional Approach. In: Royman, M. & T. Derks (eds.): *Villa Landscapes in the Roman North: Economy, Culture and Lifestyles*. Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 1–44.

Schleyer, W. (1914): Arbe. Stadt und Insel. Ein Schatzkastlein der Natur und Kunst in Dalmatien. Wiesbaden, C.W. Kreidel's Verlag.

Serventi, Z. & M. Jurjević (2012): Odnos nekropola i naselja u rimskodobnoj Liburniji/The Relation between Necropolises and Settlements in Roman Liburnia. Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu, 29, 195–214.

Starac, A. (2000): Rimsko vladanje u Istriji i Liburniji. II, Liburnija (Monografije i katalozi 10/II). Pula, Arheološki muzej Istre.

Starac, A. (2000a): Rimske stele u Istriji. *Histria archaeologica*, 31, 61–132.

Starac, A. (2006): The Countryside in Liburnia. In: Davison, D., Gaffney, V. & E. Marin (eds.): *Dalmatia. Research in the Roman province 1970–2001. Papers in honour of J. J. Wilkes* (BAR International series: 1576). Oxford, Archaeopress, 107–114.

Starac, R. (1996): Sulla scoperta di un'altra chiesa paleocristiana nell'isola di Krk (Veglia). *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 2, 137–141.

Starac, R. (2000): Two Examples of Rural Ecclesiastical Architectural Continuity on the Island of Krk. *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 10, 231–236.

Starac, R. (2019): Opatija i crkva svete Lucije u Jurandvoru. Baška, Općina Baška.

Suić, M. (1996): Odnos grad-selo u antici na istočnoj jadranskoj obali. In: Cambi, N. (ed.): *Odabrani radovi iz stare povijesti hrvatske – opera selecta*. Zadar, Matica hrvatska, Arheološki muzej Zadar, 427–454.

Suić, M. (2003): Antički grad na istočnom Jadranu. Zagreb, *Golden marketing – tehnička knjiga*, Institut za arheologiju.

Šašel Kos, M. (2009): A New Altar to the Nymphs and the Magii in Dalmatia. *Histria Antiqua*, 18, 2, 191–202.

Tomičić, Ž. (1988): Arheološka svjedočanstva o ranobizantskom vojnom graditeljstvu na sjevero-jadranskim otocima. Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu, 5/6, 29–53.

Welc, F., Konestra, A., Dugonjić, A., Androić Gračanin, P., Rabiega, K. & B. Nowacki (2019): Multidisciplinary Insight into late Roman Rural Settlement on the Northeastern Adriatic Coast of Croatia: Island of Rab Case Study. *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 28, 2, 481–508.

Zeman, M. (2014): Problemski pristup istraživanju razvoja i transformacija rimskih »vila«: sklop u Bilicama kod Šibenika kao studija slučaja. *Peristil*, 57, 35–45.