

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

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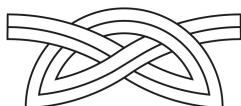
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## BURIALSCAPES OF RAB ISLAND (NORTH EAST ADRIATIC): THE ROLE OF SEPULCHRAL EVIDENCE IN THE RECONSTRUCTION OF ROMAN AND LATE ANTIQUE RURAL SETTLEMENT PATTERN

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### 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.<sup>1</sup> 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).<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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)certainty, 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.

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

<sup>3</sup> 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 <sup>th</sup> -5 <sup>th</sup> centuries)	Konestra et al., 2017.
2.	Barbat - Environs of st. Stephen	Sarcophagus(i?) (Fig. 4B)	Environs of St. Stephen church	/	Late 5 <sup>th</sup> -beginning of the 6 <sup>th</sup> century	Chronicle of Kampor (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 <sup>nd</sup> century	Lazinica, Maršić, 2017 with previous bibliography. Possibly found in the sea in front of the location of Ošit spring (Chronicle of Kampor, 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 <sup>nd</sup> 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 <sup>th</sup> 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 <sup>st</sup> century	Unpublished.
8.	Kampor-in the environs of the monastery?	Osteotheca, side with tabula ansata (Fig. 7)	St. Bernardine monastery in Kampor (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 infelicissima	First half of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> century	CIL III, 3125; Schleyer, 1925, 122; Chronicle of Kampor, I, 174; Nedved, 1990.
9.	Kapor/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]3] / E[3]EB CLAVDIVS [ (http://db.edcs.eu/)	Early Antiquity	Nedved, 1990; <a href="http://db.edcs.eu/">http://db.edcs.eu/</a> (EDCS-10101960); <a href="https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD035314">https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD035314</a> .
10.	Kaštelina-Miral	Fragment of embedded portrait relief (Fig. 6)	St. Bernardine monastery in Kampor (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 <sup>st</sup> 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 Kampor (museum)	/	End of the 1 <sup>st</sup> 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 <sup>th</sup> 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 Kampor, I, 751-752: At the beginning of the 20 <sup>th</sup> 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 Kampor (one tegula)	/	Roman period?	Chronicle of Kampor, 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 Kampor, 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.	Kampor-Livera	Finds of human bones	/	/	Roman period?	Chronicle of Kampor, V, 61-63.
17.	Kaštelina-Miral	Graves made with bricks	/	/	Roman period?	Brusić V., 1926, 176-177; Chronicle of Kampor, 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 Kampor, IV, 573.
19.	Lopar-Lukovac	Sarcophagus with bones and a coin	/	/	Late Antiquity?	
20.	Lopar-Podšilo	Mentions of graves with coin finds	/	/	?	Chronicle of Kampor, I, 136.

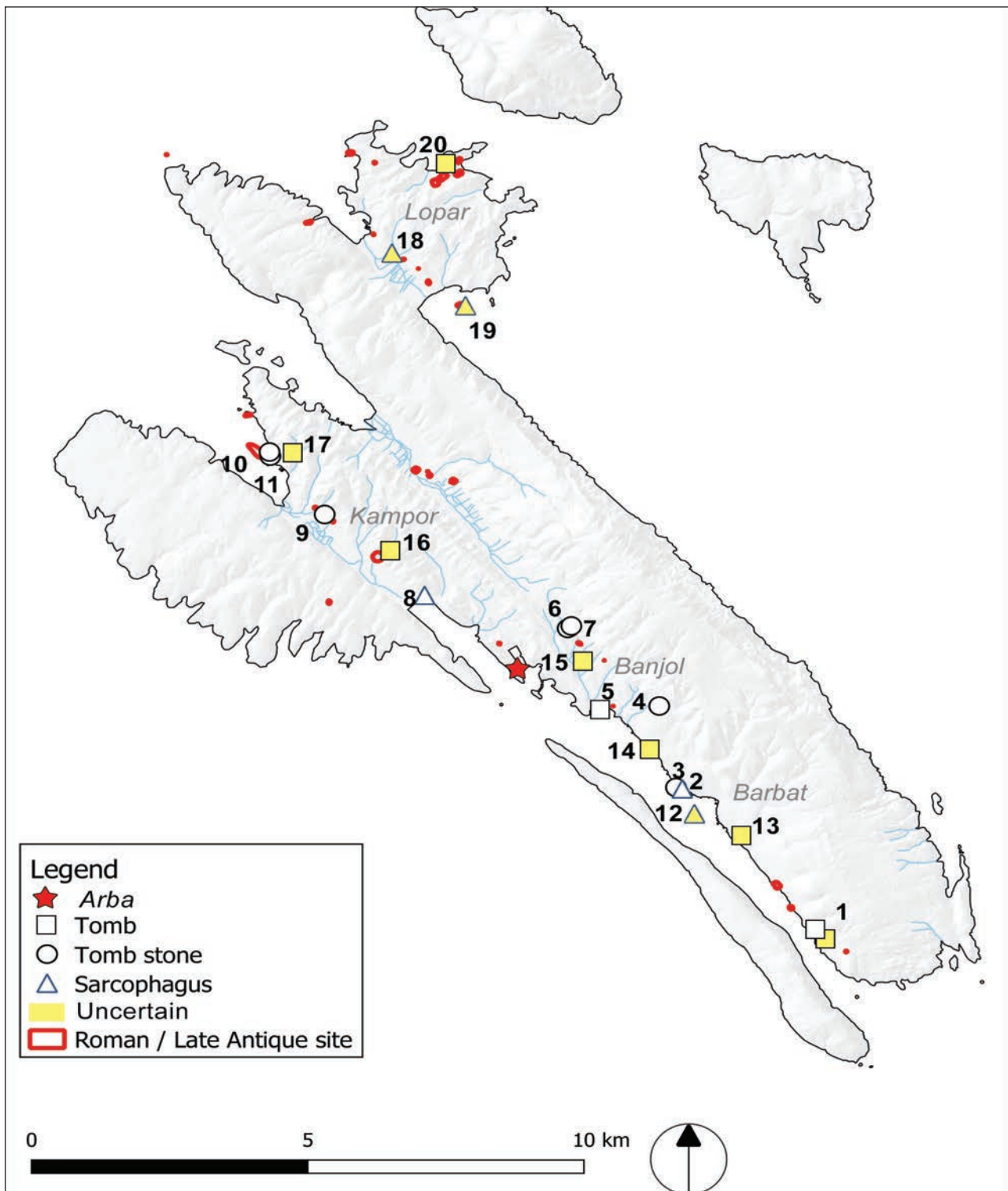
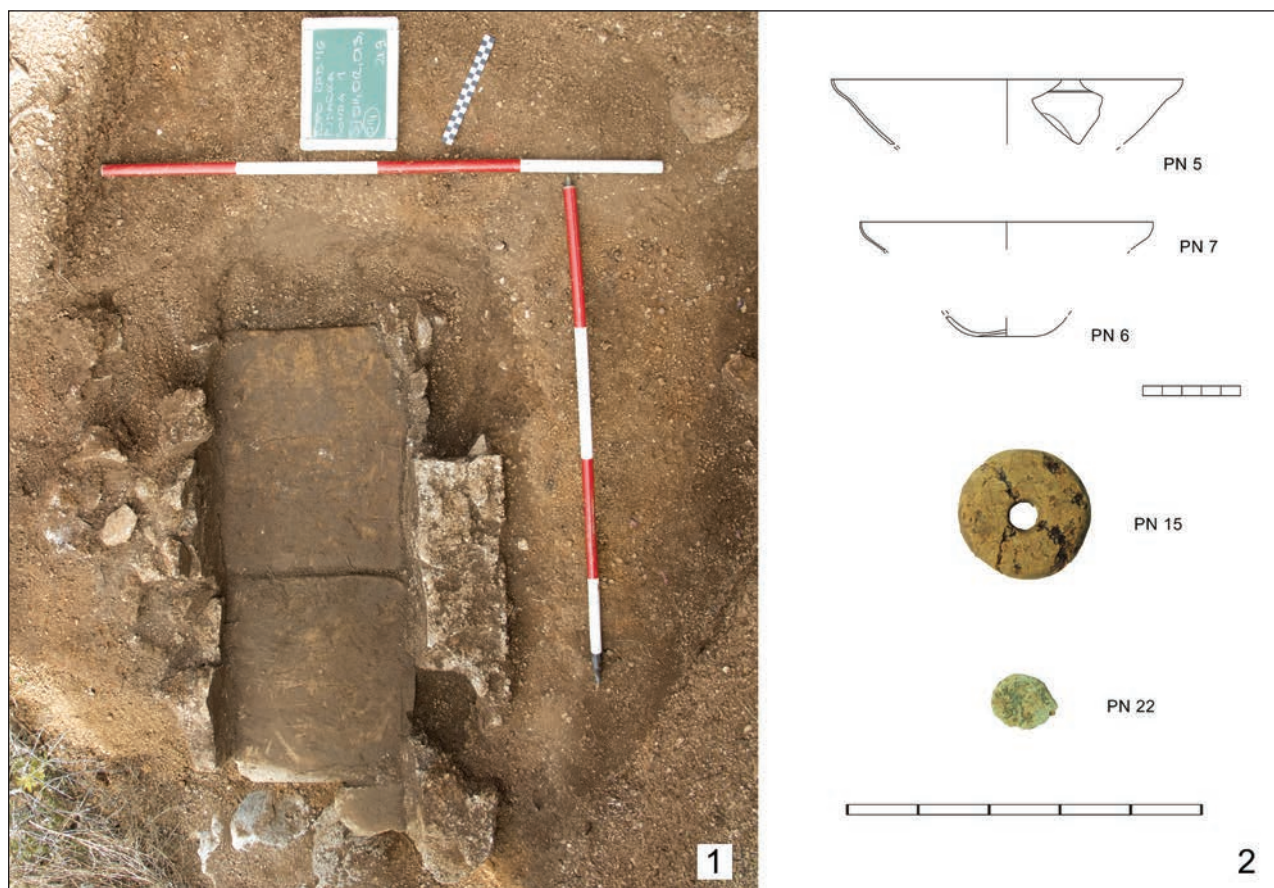


Figure 2: Map with Roman and late Antique funerary occurrences on the island of Rab. For finds' numbering refer to tab. 1 (Image: A. Konestra, basemap: digital elevation model (DEM) from Croatian State Geodetic Administration and The Public Institution Office for Physical Planning of Primorje-Gorski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

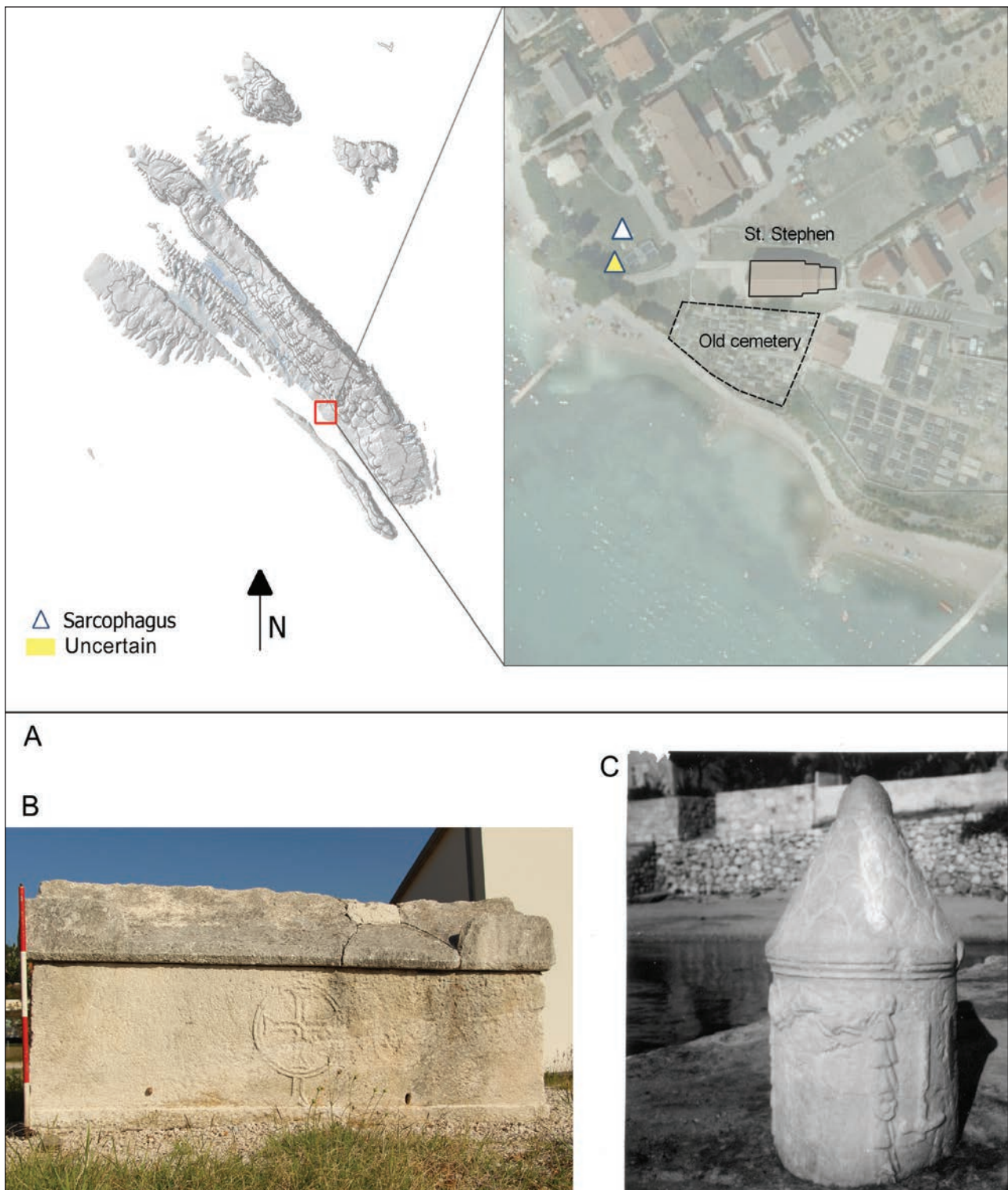
**Slika 3: Pudarica (Barbat) – izkopani grob (1); najdbe (2): steklene posode, jantarna jagoda, bronasti kovaneć (Foto in skice: A. Konestra).**

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 Pasquala<sup>4</sup> (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 goods<sup>5</sup> 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

<sup>4</sup> 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).

<sup>5</sup> 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,<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> 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,<sup>8</sup> 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.

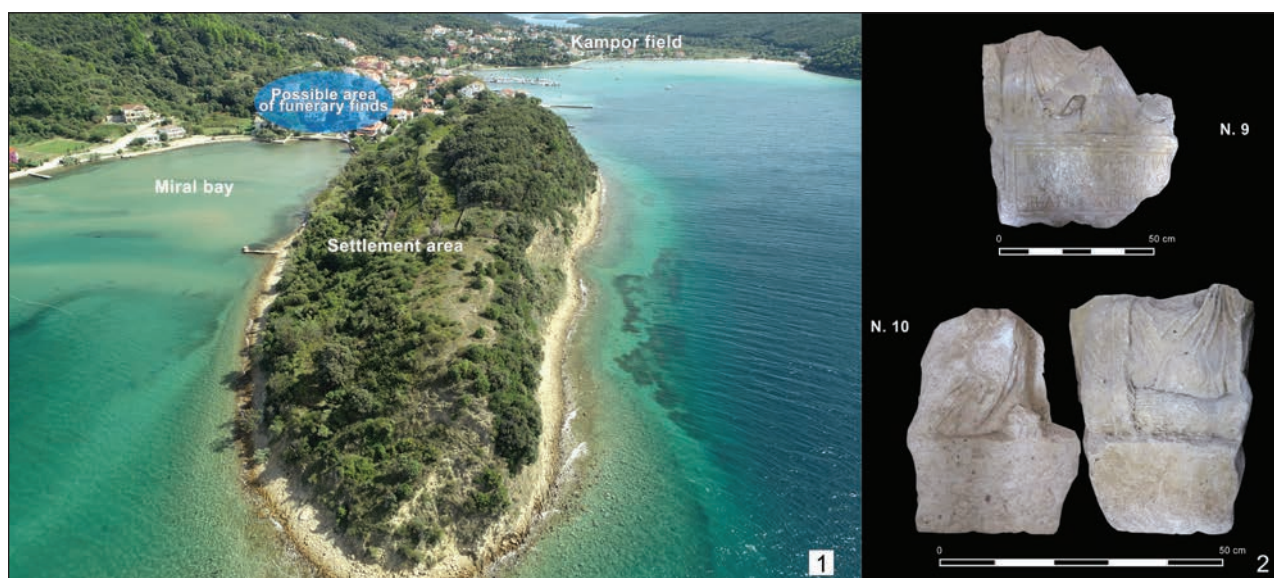
Another funerary monument, testified by its inscription (tab. 1: 9), was found walled in a house in the central part of Kampor field. The location is flanked from east and west by sites presenting traces of pottery scatters and exposed stratigraphy (Konestra et al., 2018).

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);<sup>9</sup> 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

<sup>8</sup> 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).

<sup>9</sup> 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. Dugonjć).  
**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. Dugonjć).

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.<sup>10</sup>

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.

<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup>

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. Anastastius church. In fact, a hundred meters

<sup>11</sup> 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).<sup>12</sup> 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

<sup>12</sup> 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).<sup>13</sup> 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 *fylsch* 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 buildings<sup>14</sup> 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,<sup>15</sup> 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

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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

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