

Ausonius Éditions
— Scripta Antiqua 79 —

AdriAtlas et l'histoire de l'espace adriatique du VI^e s. a.C. au VIII^e s. p.C.

Actes du colloque international de Rome (4-6 novembre 2013)

textes réunis par
Yolande MARION et Francis TASSAUX

Ouvrage publié avec le concours de l'ANR (projet AdriAtlas)
Le colloque a été financé par l'ANR et l'École française de Rome

— Bordeaux 2015 —

Notice catalographique :

Marion, Y. et F. Tassaux, éd. (2015) : *AdriAtlas et l'histoire de l'espace adriatique du VI^e s. a.C. au VIII^e s. p.C., Actes du colloque international de Rome (4-6 novembre 2013)*, Ausonius Scripta Antiqua 79, Bordeaux.

Mots clés :

Atlas informatisé, historiographie, ethnie, peuplement, colonisation, migration, dynamique territoriale, romanisation, habitat, commerce, céramique, amphore, navigation, port, ville, *vicus*, agglomération secondaire, *villa*, ferme.

AUSONIUS

Maison de l'Archéologie

F - 33607 Pessac cedex

<http://ausonius.u-bordeaux-montaigne.fr/EditionsAusonius>



Directeur des Publications : Olivier Devillers
Secrétaire des Publications : Nathalie Tran
Graphisme de Couverture : Stéphanie Vincent Pérez

Tous droits réservés pour tous pays. La loi du 11 mars 1957 sur la propriété littéraire et intellectuelle interdit les copies ou reproductions destinées à une utilisation collective. Toute représentation ou reproduction intégrale ou partielle faite par quelque procédé que ce soit sans le consentement de l'éditeur ou de ses ayants droit, est illicite et constitue une contrefaçon sanctionnée par les articles 425 et suivants du Code pénal.

© AUSONIUS 2015
ISSN : 1298-1990
ISBN : 978-2-35613-145-4

Achevé d'imprimer sur les presses
de l'imprimerie Gráficas Calima
Avenida Candina, s/n
E - 39011 Santander (Espagne)

1^{er} septembre 2015

**The history of the eastern Adriatic region
from the vth to the viith centuries AD:
historical processes and historiographic problems**

Hrvoje Gračanin

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The history of the eastern Adriatic region from the early vth to the early viith centuries is, for the most part, a collection of research questions that cannot be answered with much certainty. To be sure, historians are not forced to operate entirely in darkness since there are various types of sources at their disposal. However, the evidential input is not sufficient enough, thus making the historical reconstruction speculative in many aspects. Since it is intended here to give an historian's outlook, we are primarily concerned with the written sources, albeit the archaeological evidence is most often crucial for more complete and refined understanding of historical processes. Furthermore, over the past few decades there has been several theoretical advances in the history of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages which have to be taken into account. With regard to the written evidence, the deconstructionism as a methodological criticism has undoubtedly improved our understanding of literary sources as multilayered and multifaceted products of certain times, socio-political contexts, intentions, experiences and beliefs of the authors, and views, interests and needs of the audience for which they were intended and to which they were directed¹. The discourse and the selection of presented facts also depend upon pre-existing texts and testimonies that the authors used or relied upon in creating their own narrative, and in doing so they could make mistakes intentionally or unintentionally². This is to say that the written sources, especially the narrative ones, cannot be taken at face value as an objective representation of historical truth, and one always has to bear in mind that historical narratives operate within certain intellectual and ideological frameworks which have to be first deciphered as to fully understand the nature of these texts and how their authors imagined and constructed the past. To be sure, historical texts are an invaluable source of historical information, and the pitfalls of the post-modernist and post-structuralist hypercritical reading of the written sources should be avoided if there is any chance at their meaningful evaluation and examination. Nevertheless, historians have always got to be conscious of the context and character of the

1 Jones 1999, 223-224. The basic bibliography includes Berkhofer 1997; Jenkins 1997; McCullagh 2004; Munslow 2006.

2 Bálint 2010, 148-149.

written sources to be able to interpret them properly. Moreover, they have to be aware that their interpretation, for all intents and purposes, is merely a historiographic construct, more or less convincing or plausible, and not a petrified truth of historical processes.

STATE OF THE RESEARCH

A comprehensive synthesis of the eastern Adriatic region in Late Antiquity remains yet to be written. This is not to say that there are no monographic treatment of the history of Dalmatia and Istria in Late Antiquity: a recently published book by Robert Matijašić³ is a first attempt – and by far the best handbook of Late Antiquity in the Croatian historiography – at a synthetic overview of the late antique history of the region between the river Drava and the Adriatic, where the main historical processes in Dalmatia and Istria have been duly treated. The book offers a well-founded narrative based on relevant sources and up-to-date scholarly literature, which are discussed in separate sections. An historical overview with an emphasis on the history of Christianity and the Church in the modern Croatian lands in Late Antiquity is offered by Radoslav Katičić⁴. A chapter written by Bruna Kuntić-Makvić for the first volume of the publication *Croatia and Europe. Culture, Science and Art*, rendered in English as *Croatia in the Early Middle Ages: A Cultural Survey*, similarly, though much more concisely, surveys the history of modern Croatian lands in Late Antiquity⁵. There are also two monographs by Croatian specialists that are oriented toward history of Dalmatia and Istria in Late Antiquity with specific geographical and chronological scope. Both books have appeared practically simultaneously and are based on the MSc theses of the respective authors. On Dalmatia, Vladimir Posavec deals, strictly speaking, with a mere quarter of a century (454-480), but, given the limitations of the source material, the author has expanded his examination to cover the period from the late ivth to the late vth centuries⁶. He has analyzed the literary sources and discussed the archaeological evidence, and successfully managed to provide a coherent picture of the principal historical processes and events, which gives more than a sound basis for further research. He has explored the role of Marcellinus and Julius Nepos in the then military-political events as well as the socio-economic circumstances of the vth century Dalmatia, surveyed the moveable archaeological material, funerary sculpture, architecture, monuments and inscriptions, and dealt with towns and settlements, population and religion, and the burial practices. In a separate section of the book he has gathered the selected passages from the extant literary sources (mainly from chronicles and histories) relevant for the history of the late antique Dalmatia, both in the original Latin and Greek and in Croatian translation. With the history of Dalmatia in Late Antiquity Posavec has also dealt in a paper that offers a view on the province's history in the first half of the vth century⁷. The other book is by Andrej Novak who examines the features of the Ostrogothic and early

3 Matijašić 2012.

4 Katičić 1998, 97-151.

5 Kuntić-Makvić 1997, 80-85, *Ead.* 1999, 81-86.

6 Posavec 2007.

7 Posavec 1997.

Byzantine rule over Istria⁸. The emphasis is on the analysis of the available literary sources, scarce as they are for Istria in the VIth century, with particular attention on Cassiodorus' letters and papal correspondence. Understandably, the church history looms large in the book.

Another overview of political, socio economic and ecclesiastical circumstances in the VIth century Istria is offered by Marina Vicelja Matijašić in her art history book⁹. Danijel Dzino, an Australia-based scholar of Croatian/Bosnian descent, has much interpretatively interesting to offer in his monograph, especially with regard to the written sources on the migrations of the Slavs, however brief and succinct his overview of Dalmatia in Late Antiquity is¹⁰. Ivo Goldstein's book¹¹, based on his PhD thesis, deals extensively with Justinianic age on the eastern Adriatic, drawing much of its conclusions from the archaeological record, and it is still the most comprehensive treatment of the history of the eastern Adriatic region during the rule of Emperor Justinian I and his immediate successors. The non-Croatian specialists, too, have turned their attention to the history of the eastern Adriatic region. A still valid narrative for Dalmatia in Late Antiquity is offered by John J. Wilkes¹². More recent is a detailed regional study of Western Illyricum in Late Antiquity by Friedrich Lotter (in collaboration with Rajko Bratož and Helmut Castritius)¹³. It deals with the military-political history of the late Roman and post-Roman Western Illyricum with special emphasis on the changes of Roman political-administrative and ecclesiastical structures, movements of various non-Roman, mostly Germanic groups, and the emigration and survival of the Roman provincial population.

The monographic surveys are supplemented by a number of specific studies and papers covering the variety of research topics. Mate Suić's monograph is indispensable when it comes to the transformation of the Roman town in the eastern Adriatic region in Late Antiquity, especially with regard to the process of castrization¹⁴. Suić has also presented his findings in a synthetic paper¹⁵. Miroslav Katić has focused on the late antique towns that developed from the late IVth century onwards in the coastal Dalmatia¹⁶. For the transformation of the late antique settlement landscape as well as the question of settlement continuity on the eastern Adriatic important are several studies and surveys: the still unpublished PhD thesis by Maurizio Levak, Slavko Ciglencečki's studies, the works by Zlatko Karač, Bruna Kuntić-Makvić, Nikolina Maraković and Tin Turković, and Duje Rendić-Miočević¹⁷, while Perica Špehar's study is primarily concerned with the inland of the Late Roman Dalmatia, but has some valuable remarks and conclusions for the coastal area, too¹⁸. The transformation of the urban structure of individual towns in the late antique Dalmatia has also received

8 Novak 2007.

9 Vicelja Matijašić 2007, 5-52.

10 Dzino 2010, 74-117.

11 Goldstein 1992, 17-111.

12 Wilkes 1969, 416-437.

13 Lotter *et al.* 2003.

14 Suić 2003, 341-375 (2nd revised and supplemented edition). The first edition appeared in 1975.

15 Suić 1997a, 103-111, also in Eng.: *Id.* 1999, 101-111.

16 Katić 2003.

17 Levak 2009; Ciglencečki 1987, 69-72, 78-79, 86-87 and 104-107; *Id.* 2003; Karač 1995; Kuntić-Makvić 1998a; Maraković & Turković 2006; Rendić-Miočević 1984 and 2011.

18 Špehar 2008.

scholarly attention¹⁹. A particular set of research problems concerning the patterns of functionality of the late antique settlements is inseparably related to the question of continuity and discontinuity, for which two papers particularly offer valuable insights²⁰.

The structural and functional changes of the late antique villas on the eastern Adriatic has not yet been adequately explored, but recent studies have started to make up for this shortcoming²¹. The complex in Polače bay on the island of Mljet is one of rare examples of well studied late antique villa sites along the coastal Dalmatia, having spawned a number of papers²².

The Ostrogothic period on the eastern Adriatic has attracted some attention. Among the first Croatian researchers who studied specifically the aspects of the Ostrogothic presence in Dalmatia was Mihovil Abramić²³. There are two relatively recent surveys dedicated to the Ostrogoths in Dalmatia²⁴. A still useful overview of the Ostrogothic period in Dalmatia, along with the brief narrative on the early Byzantine rule in the VIth century, is also offered by Mate Suić in his 1981 study²⁵. The question of the province of Liburnia, i.e. *Liburnia Tarsaticensis* in Late Antiquity, has been treated several times, most thoroughly thus far by Mate Suić, Julijan Medini and Tin Turković and Ivan Basić²⁶. Three studies are dedicated specifically to individual late antique towns on the eastern Adriatic during the Ostrogothic period²⁷. Branko Marušić has produced a monographic study of Pula in the late antique and early Byzantine period as well as a study of a late antique fortified settlement of Novigrad (Istria)²⁸. Mihovil Abramić's succinct treatment of the late antique and early Byzantine period of *Salona* in his short general survey still provides a valid and informative narrative²⁹. Another study of the life of the Dalmatian capital in Late Antiquity, with a broader chronological scope and from an archaeologist's point of view, is by Zdenko Vinski who has analyzed the archaeological evidence for the functionality and importance of *Salona* between the early Vth and early VIIth centuries³⁰. Cassiodorus' letters relevant for Istria in Late Antiquity have been examined by Robert Matijašić³¹. A brief overview of political-military and administrative effects of the Ostrogothic rule over the region between the Drava and the Adriatic can be found in Andreas Schwarcz's paper³². Julijan Medini and Slobodan Čače have investigated the settlement network in the late Roman Dalmatia based on an early medieval source that appa-

- 19 For instance: Chevalier & Mardešić 2006; Jeličić-Radonić 2007; Maraković & Turković 2012; Marin 1988; Čaušević 2006.
- 20 Babić 1996; Cambi 1999.
- 21 Such as Begović & Schrunck 2001 and Zeman 2012.
- 22 Prijatelj 1949; Karaman 1957; Dyggve 1959; Cagiano de Azevedo 1968; Fisković 1997 and 1998; Stošić *et al.* 2002 and Turković 2011.
- 23 Abramić 1956.
- 24 Uglešić 1992; Posavec 1996.
- 25 Suić 1981, 319-326, 340-343.
- 26 Suić 1970; Medini 1980b, 393-434; Turković & Basić 2011, 63-71, 83-89; *Ibid.* 2014, 45-58 and 69-73.
- 27 Antoljak 1973; *Id.* 1992; Dyggve 1949; Uglešić 2005.
- 28 Marušić 1967; *Id.* 1989.
- 29 Abramić 1917a; *Id.* 1991.
- 30 Vinski 1967.
- 31 Matijašić 1988.
- 32 Schwarcz 2000.

rently derives its information from the VIth century Gothic authors writing in the Ostrogothic Kingdom of Italy³³.

Closely related to the research of the Ostrogothic period is the investigation of Justinianic and post-Justinianic age on the eastern Adriatic, which has spawned a number of different studies and papers, covering a variety of research themes: archaeological, art history, chronological, cultural history, military history, medical history, numismatics³⁴. A number of studies by Croatian and non-Croatian scholars have dealt specifically with the administrative and organizational questions concerning Istria and/or Dalmatia in the Vth to VIth centuries³⁵.

The military-political circumstances of the Vth and VIth centuries have been examined by Frank E. Wozniak³⁶. The socio-economic history of the late antique Istria has been explored by Robert Matijašić³⁷. Certain aspects of the economic history of the late antique and early Byzantine Dalmatia have been examined by Ivanka Nikolajević³⁸. Unfortunately, the late antique period is not in the focus of two detailed regional monographic studies on economic history of Istria and Dalmatia in Antiquity, Robert Matijašić's and Ante Škegro's³⁹. András Mócsy has provided an insight into the ethnic structure of the Late Roman Dalmatia based on the epigraphic evidence, especially in relation to the IVth and Vth century *Salona*⁴⁰. John J. Wilkes has examined an epigraphic evidence for the emigration of Roman population from Pannonia to Dalmatia, and Rajko Bratož has also explored the examples of the refugees' influx from Pannonia to the adjacent regions, including Dalmatia⁴¹. Two epigraphic testimonies for the emigration of Pannonians to Dalmatia, i.e. *Salona* have been lately presented by Ivan Basić⁴². Ivanka Nikolajević has dealt with the fate of the people captured by the barbarians in Dalmatia⁴³.

Two personages of the late Roman history who had direct links to the eastern Adriatic have attracted considerable scholarly interest. The life and career of Marcellinus, a high ranking army officer who seems to have been in effective control of Dalmatia for quite some time around the middle of the Vth century, has been extensively examined by both Croatian and non-Croatian specialists⁴⁴. The life and career of Julius Nepos, the last legitimate Western Roman Emperor who met his doom in Diocletian's Palace in Dalmatia, has

33 Medini 1980a; Čače 1995.

34 For instance, Antoljak 1956; Cambi 1998; Ciglenečki 2009, 208-10, 213-15; Goldstein 2000; *Id.* 2005; Grmek 1998; Jeličić-Radonić 1998; Margetić 1997; Marović 1995; Tomičić 1998.

35 Bileta 2011; Ferluga 1957; *Id.* 1978; *Id.* 1992, 175-178; Gračanin 2005, 28-30, and note 29; 2006a, 54-8; 2006b, 109-10; Margetić 1997a-b; Ravegnani 1999; Rogošić 1962, 95-104, 115-63, 167-77; Zaninović [1987] 1996.

36 Wozniak 1981.

37 Matijašić 2009.

38 Nikolajević 1971.

39 Matijašić 1998; Škegro 1999.

40 Mócsy 1965.

41 Wilkes 1972, 377-393; Bratož 2007a = 2011a.

42 Basić 2008, 84-90.

43 Nikolajević 1974.

44 Recent relevant contributions: Demandt 1970, 684-687; Gaggero 1982; Henning 1999, 277-281; Kulikowski 2002; MacGeorge 2002, 15-67 and 294-296; Martindale 1980, 708-710; Nikolanci 1985, 5-14; Posavec 2007, 35-38, 51-55, 59-65, 66-67.

rently derives its information from the VIth century Gothic authors writing in the Ostrogothic Kingdom of Italy³³.

Closely related to the research of the Ostrogothic period is the investigation of Justinianic and post-Justinianic age on the eastern Adriatic, which has spawned a number of different studies and papers, covering a variety of research themes: archaeological, art history, chronological, cultural history, military history, medical history, numismatics³⁴. A number of studies by Croatian and non-Croatian scholars have dealt specifically with the administrative and organizational questions concerning Istria and/or Dalmatia in the Vth to VIth centuries³⁵.

The military-political circumstances of the Vth and VIth centuries have been examined by Frank E. Wozniak³⁶. The socio-economic history of the late antique Istria has been explored by Robert Matijašić³⁷. Certain aspects of the economic history of the late antique and early Byzantine Dalmatia have been examined by Ivanka Nikolajević³⁸. Unfortunately, the late antique period is not in the focus of two detailed regional monographic studies on economic history of Istria and Dalmatia in Antiquity, Robert Matijašić's and Ante Škegro's³⁹. András Mócsy has provided an insight into the ethnic structure of the Late Roman Dalmatia based on the epigraphic evidence, especially in relation to the IVth and Vth century *Salona*⁴⁰. John J. Wilkes has examined an epigraphic evidence for the emigration of Roman population from Pannonia to Dalmatia, and Rajko Bratož has also explored the examples of the refugees' influx from Pannonia to the adjacent regions, including Dalmatia⁴¹. Two epigraphic testimonies for the emigration of Pannonians to Dalmatia, i.e. *Salona* have been lately presented by Ivan Basić⁴². Ivanka Nikolajević has dealt with the fate of the people captured by the barbarians in Dalmatia⁴³.

Two personages of the late Roman history who had direct links to the eastern Adriatic have attracted considerable scholarly interest. The life and career of Marcellinus, a high ranking army officer who seems to have been in effective control of Dalmatia for quite some time around the middle of the Vth century, has been extensively examined by both Croatian and non-Croatian specialists⁴⁴. The life and career of Julius Nepos, the last legitimate Western Roman Emperor who met his doom in Diocletian's Palace in Dalmatia, has

33 Medini 1980a; Čače 1995.

34 For instance, Antoljak 1956; Cambi 1998; Ciglenečki 2009, 208-10, 213-15; Goldstein 2000; *Id.* 2005; Grmek 1998; Jeličić-Radonić 1998; Margetić 1997; Marović 1995; Tomičić 1998.

35 Bileta 2011; Ferluga 1957; *Id.* 1978; *Id.* 1992, 175-178; Gračanin 2005, 28-30, and note 29; 2006a, 54-8; 2006b, 109-10; Margetić 1997a-b; Ravegnani 1999; Rogošić 1962, 95-104, 115-63, 167-77; Zaninović [1987] 1996.

36 Wozniak 1981.

37 Matijašić 2009.

38 Nikolajević 1971.

39 Matijašić 1998; Škegro 1999.

40 Mócsy 1965.

41 Wilkes 1972, 377-393; Bratož 2007a = 2011a.

42 Basić 2008, 84-90.

43 Nikolajević 1974.

44 Recent relevant contributions: Demandt 1970, 684-687; Gaggero 1982; Henning 1999, 277-281; Kulikowski 2002; MacGeorge 2002, 15-67 and 294-296; Martindale 1980, 708-710; Nikolanci 1985, 5-14; Posavec 2007, 35-38, 51-55, 59-65, 66-67.

been repeatedly examined. Apart from the already mentioned contributions by Demandt, Henning, Martindale, Nikolanci, and Posavec, John P. C. Kent's study deserves to be mentioned⁴⁵. Four studies by Croatian scholars analyse Julius Nepos' coinage, of which three are dedicated to the issues from the Salonitan mint⁴⁶. Another short-term Western Roman Emperor, Glycerius, ended his days in Dalmatia as bishop of *Salona*. The latest study of his life and career is, next to Henning's contribution, by Massimo Gusso⁴⁷.

Rather well researched, particularly since recent times, is the history of early Christianity and the ecclesiastical organization on the eastern Adriatic in Late Antiquity. There are numerous studies with general or specific scopes, on the history of Christianity and church in *Salona*⁴⁸, on the Salonitan church councils of 530 and 533 and their acts⁴⁹, on the features of the early Christian architecture in Dalmatia⁵⁰, on the early Christianity in Dalmatia⁵¹, on the early Christianity in Istria, to which the previously mentioned monograph by Andrej Novak is to be added, where the ecclesiastical history of Istria in the 6th century is extensively examined⁵² and on papal possessions on the eastern Adriatic and the early ecclesiastical organization in the southeastern Dalmatia⁵³. Especially rich and encompassing is the research contribution by Rajko Bratož⁵⁴. Individual late antique bishoprics in Dalmatia and Istria have also attracted much scholarly attention⁵⁵. Finally, one recent paper investigates the late antique and early medieval monasteries on the islands in Kvarner Bay⁵⁶.

WRITTEN SOURCES

When approaching the study of the eastern Adriatic in Late Antiquity, a researcher is almost immediately struck by a lack of literary source material. The available body of evidence that can be used for historical reconstruction is rather meager, and it is obtainable primarily from histories and chronicles written by writers who flourished in the Eastern Roman Empire in the vth to viith centuries. The focus of the late antique writers is rarely on the eastern Adriatic since the region was, on the one hand, mostly spared barbarian incursion and military clashes, and, on the other hand, did not play significant role in the collapse of the Roman rule. The exception are the 530's to 550's when the eastern Adriatic held importance

45 Demandt 1970, 677-680; Henning 1999, 51-55, 172-176, 204-208, 282-288; Martindale 1980, 777-778; Nikolanci 1985, 14-22; Posavec 2007, 38-48, 55-56, 65-67; Kent 1966, 146-150.

46 Zmajić 1957; Demo 1988; *Id.* 1989; *Id.* 2005.

47 Henning 1999, 50-51, 171-172 and 203-204; Gusso 1992.

48 Abramić 1917b = 1991; Dyggve 1951 = 1989; Caillet 2008; Kuntić-Makvić 1998; Musa 2008; Rizzo 2008; Škegro 2001b = 2002; *Id.* 2007a; *Id.* 2008a.

49 Basić 2009a; Prozorov 2011; Škegro 2009a.

50 Basler 1972 = 1993; Chevalier 1995; Cvijanović 2006; Migotti 1992a.

51 Gabričević 1987 = 1991 (reprint); Zeiller 1906 (2nd edition 1967).

52 Marušić 1978; Margetić 1983, 113-30, 155-66; Sotinel 2005, 306-370 (with Bratož 2007b); Novak 2007, 86-153.

53 Škegro 2001a; *Id.* 2004 = 2005a; *Id.* 2010c.

54 Bratož 1986 = 1987a; *Id.* 1987b, 1990a = 1994; 1990b; 1996; 2002; 2011b.

55 Basić 2009b; 2010; Migotti 1992b; Puljić & Škegro 2006; Škegro 2005b; 2007b; 2007c; 2008b-c; 2008d; 2009b; 2009c; 2010a-b; 2011; Vučić 2005; Zgrablić 2012.

56 Bully & Čaušević-Bully 2011.

take command of the army (a. 540.6)⁶⁰. The Continuator also provides a sole testimony on the effects of the Justinianic plague on *Illyricum* (presumably both Eastern and Western): a great mortality ravages Italy after it had already oppressed the East and *Illyricum* (a. 543.3).

Procopius of *Caesarea* (VIth c.) wrote his *History of the Wars* at Constantinople, and it is the first-rate narrative source for events on the eastern Adriatic during Justinian's war against the Ostrogoths in Italy⁶¹. A brief overview of the pertinent information is as follows: Mundus' military operations and the Gothic counterattack in *Dalmatia* around *Salona* until Mundus' death on the battlefield (5.5.2, 11, 5.7.1-5); neither the Roman troops nor the Goths, who fear the enmity of the Roman population in *Salona*, enter the city following the battle in its vicinity, in which the Romans prevail, but Mundus is killed (5.7.9-10); Constantianus, *comes sacri stabuli*, forces the Goths under Gripas to quit *Dalmatia*, puts the entire *Dalmatia* with *Liburnia* under his control, winning over the Gothic population settled in the province, and renovates the decaying walls of *Salona* (5.7.26-37); the Gothic commanders Asinarius and Uligisalus are given a strong army and many large ships so they would lay siege to *Salona* from the land and the sea, Asinarius recruits the barbarians in *Suabia*, while Uligisalus leads his Goths into *Liburnia*, but suffers a defeat at *Scardona* and retreats to *Burnum*, where he awaits the arrival of Asinarius, Constantianus prepares for the siege, which the Goths start, but the Romans thwart the Gothic attempt (5.16.8-18); Vergentinus, Roman senator, escapes from *Mediolanum* through *Venetia* and the adjacent regions to *Dalmatia* (6.21.41); Vitalis, Roman commander, arrives with his troops from *Dalmatia* to Italy and guards the northern bank of the river Po (6.28.2), Constantianus is ordered to go from *Dalmatia* to *Ravenna* (6.30.2); Belisarius and Vitalis, after mustering troops, arrive in *Salona* (7.10.3); Belisarius travels with his troops to *Salona* and thence to *Pola*, where he lands (7.10.12); Belisarius travels across *Dalmatia* on his way to *Epidamnus* (*Dyrrachium*) (7.13.19); Constantianus controls the territory all the way to *Liburnia* (7.15.16), Totila sends a strong force and a fleet under the command of Indulf against places in *Dalmatia*, Indulf first plunders a place called *Muikuron*, which is close by to *Salona*, Claudianus, Roman commander of *Salona*, tries to stop the Goths and sends a naval force against them, but the Romans suffer a heavy defeat at the place called *Laureate*, and thus the Goths return to Italy with a rich booty (7.35.25-29); strayed Roman soldiers that fled in every direction after Verus and other Roman commanders suffered defeats at the hands of the Goths gather in *Istria* at the news of Germanus' arrival (7.39.4); the Roman commanders John, nephew of Vitalianus, and Justinian, son of Germanus, march to *Dalmatia* and arrive in *Salona* for the winter (7.40.11, 27); John winters in *Salona* and intends to march against Totila and the Goths in Italy, but receives the orders from the Emperor to stay put and await the arrival of Narses (7.40.30, 8.21.4-6, 8.22.1, 8.23.4); John leaves *Salona* on his own and sails to *Scardona*, where he is shortly met with Valerianus (8.23.8); he returns to *Salona* after he and Valerianus forced the Goths to lift the siege of *Ancona* following their defeat at *Sena Gallica* (8.23.42); Totila's envoys offer Justinian to cede Sicily and *Dalmatia* to the Romans, provinces

60 Whereas the Continuator has Constantianus sent to Rome, Procopius mentions *Ravenna* (cf. *De bellis*, 6.30.2).

61 The literature on Procopius and his *Wars* is abundant. Recent studies include: Cameron 1985; Greatrex 2003; Howard-Johnston 2002; Kaldellis 2004; Treadgold 2007, 176-227 and Whitby 2007. The standard edition: Jakob Haury, Gerhard Wirth (Leipzig 1962-1963).

they already hold (8.24.4); Narses sets off from *Salona* leading his army against Totila (8.26.5); a Goth named Goar had come from *Dalmatia* to Constantinople as a prisoner of war at the time when Vitiges fought the Romans (8.27.5). Procopius provides occasional testimony for movements of barbarian groups: the Longobards, setting off from the area south of the Danube, plunder *Dalmatia* and *Illyricum* up to the region of *Epidamnus*, and take the local inhabitants into slavery (7.33.12); the Slavs retreat from Thessalonica through the mountainous area of *Illyricum* in *Dalmatia* (7.40.8). The historian also makes meteorological and geographical observations: a very strong, dry wind often blows in *Dalmatia*, which forces everyone to clear the streets and seek shelter in their houses (5.15.5-6); *Beneventum* lies opposite of *Dalmatia* (5.15.7); *Dalmatia* is situated to the north of *Precalis*, i.e. *Praevalis* and belongs to the West, and is joined by *Liburnia*, *Istria* and *Venetia* (5.15.25). Procopius offers much debated pieces of information about Marcellinus of *Dalmatia*: Marcellinus controls *Dalmatia* in the time of the great Eastern Roman naval expedition against the Vandals in *Africa*, and he got in the possession of the province after rebelling against the (unnamed) Emperor following Aetius' death and inducing the inhabitants of *Dalmatia* to follow his suit (3.6.7-8).

Jordanes wrote his *Getica* and *Romana* at Constantinople in the mid-vith century⁶². In the *Getica*, he touches upon the regions on the eastern Adriatic several times. Apart from two general geographical observations – a ship bound for *Ravenna* from Greece sails along *Epirus*, then *Dalmatia*, *Liburnia* and *Istria*, and finally *Venetias* (149); *Pannonia* borders *Dalmatia* on the south (264) – Jordanes has two entries pertinent to *Dalmatia* in the vth century: after hearing about the accession of Romulus Augustus Nepos, son of *patricius* Marcellinus' sister (239), flees to *Dalmatia* and, deprived of his throne, dies in the very province where already Glycerius, a former emperor, holds the bishopric of *Salona* (241); the Suevi under their king Hunimund make an inroad into *Dalmatia*, which is near *Suavia* and not far from the parts of *Pannonia* where the Goths live (273-274). In the *Romana*, there is an entry on the wedding between Valentinian III and Licinia Eudoxia, Theodosius II's daughter, on which occasion the Western Roman government is said to have relinquished its rights to the entire *Illyricum* (328), and an entry on Nepos, son of Nepotianus, who is first made Caesar in *Ravenna*, and then overthrows Glycerius and has him ordained bishop of *Salona* in *Dalmatia* (338).

Two fragmentary classicising Greek historians from the vth century and one from the vith century, whose works are only reconstructed from later excerpts and citations, have also valuable pieces of information pertinent to *Dalmatia*. The *History* of Olympiodorus of Thebes (vth c.) mentions Alaric's withdrawal from "the barbarian lands" near *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia*, where he had been dwelling, and his crossing to *Epirus* (fr. 3.2 Blockley = Sozomen 9.4.4); and an Eastern Roman expedition against the usurper John that is led by generals Ardabur and Aspar, who, accompanied by Galla Placidia and Valentinian III, cross *Pannonia* and *Illyricum* and take *Salona* by storm (fr. 43.2 Blockley = Philostorgius 12.13)⁶³. The *History* of Malchus of

62 For more recent studies on Jordanes and his work, see Amici 2002; Amory 2003, 291-307; Bradley 1993; Christensen 2002; Croke 1987, 117-134, 2003, 373-375; 2005; Giordano 1973; Goffart 1989, 58-105; Liebeschuetz 2011; O'Donnell 1982; Wagner 1967, 3-59; Weissensteiner 1994; Zottl 2004, 93-123. Standard editions: Theodor Mommsen (*MGH AA* 5.1; Berlin 1882), Francesco Giunta & Antonino Grillone (*Fonti per la Storia d'Italia* 117; Roma 1991).

63 On Olympiodorus and his *History*, see Baldini 2000; 2004; Blockley 1981, 27-47 and 137-43; Gillett 1993;

Philadelphia (vth c.) refers to Theodoric Amal's offer to Emperor Zenon's envoy Adamantius to go to *Dalmatia* and restore Julius Nepos (fr. 20, 221 Blockley)⁶⁴. Menander the Guardsman's *History*, which was composed in the late vith century, records the Avar threat to (the inland) *Dalmatia*⁶⁵: the Kutrigurs cross the river Save and devastate the land towards *Dalmatia* (fr. 12.5, 90-93 Blockley); Emperor Tiberius II sends military commanders through *Illyricum* and *Dalmatia* to provide assistance to *Sirmium* that is being beleaguered by the Avars (fr. 25.2, 89-93 Blockley); the Avars have built a bridge to *Dalmatia* (fr. 27.3, 1-3). Menander's information on the Avar raid against *Dalmatia* is supplemented by Theophylact Simocatta's *History* (viith c.)⁶⁶, which refers to an Avar attack led by the Khagan and reaching a Dalmatian place called *Bonkeis* that is taken by siege engines and afterwards forty forts are sacked by the Avars (7.12.1). A vth century church historian Evagrius Scholasticus, who wrote his *Ecclesiastical History* at Antioch in Syria in the early 590's⁶⁷, found it interesting enough to record that Nepos, after expelling Glycerius, has him appointed bishop of the Romans in *Salona*, a city in *Dalmatia* (2.16). The information that Glycerius was ordained bishop of *Salona* after his deposition also caught interest of John of Antioch who probably wrote his historical work, preserved only in fragments, in the vith century or the beginning of the viith century at the latest (fr. 232.2 Mariev)⁶⁸. Even a prophetic-apocalyptic writing in Greek entitled *The Oracle of Baalbek*, which was composed in the province of *Phoenice Libanensis* in the early vith century, has a valuable note: Geiseric, King of the Vandals, will capture and humble Rome, and *Dalmatia* will altogether be plunged into the sea, and Campania and Calabria captured (133-135)⁶⁹. This "ruin of *Dalmatia*", obviously due to Vandal raids on its coasts, is substantiated by Victor of Vita, a bishop from *Africa*, who, in 489/90, wrote the *History of the Persecution of*

Matthews 1970; Rohbacher 2002, 73-81; Thompson 1944; Treadgold 2004; 2007, 89-96. The standard edition: Roger C. Blockley, in *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire. Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus*, vol. II (ARCA 10, Liverpool, 1983, 151-220). It is worth pointing out that Socrates Scholasticus (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 7.32.2; ed. Günther Christian Hansen, *Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte, Neue Folge* 1, Berlin 1995) merely says that, after the death of Honorius, Emperor Theodosius II dispatched troops to *Salona* in a preventive attempt to check any seizing of imperial power in the West. It is believed that Galla Placidia's initiative was actually behind this action (Wilkes 1972, 388; MacGeorge 2002, 21, note 23).

- 64 On Malchus and his *History*, see Baldwin 1977; Blockley 1981, 71-85, 150-154; 2003; Errington 1983; Treadgold 2007, 103-107; Wiemer 2009; 2014. The standard edition: Roger C. Blockley, in *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire. Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus*, vol. II (ARCA 10, Liverpool, 1983, 402-62).
- 65 On Menander and his *History*, see Baldwin 1978; Brodka 2007; Treadgold 2007, 293-9. The standard edition: Roger C. Blockley, in *The History of Menander the Guardsman* (ARCA 17, Liverpool, 1985).
- 66 On Theophylact Simocatta and his *History*, see Frendo 1988; Efthymiadis 2010, 169-186; Olajos 1988; Whitby 1988; Treadgold 2007, 329-40. The standard edition: Carl Gotthard de Boor (Leipzig 1887), repr. P. Wirth (Stuttgart 1972).
- 67 On Evagrius Scholasticus and his *Ecclesiastical History*, see Allen 1981; Leppin 2003 and 2012; Treadgold 2007, 299-307. Standard editions: Joseph Bidez & Léon Parmentier (London 1898, repr. Amsterdam 1964), Adelheid Hübner (2 vols, *Fontes Christiani* 57; Turnhout 2007).
- 68 On John of Antioch and his historical work, see Sotiroudis 1989; Treadgold 2007, 311-29. Standard editions: Sergei Mariev (*Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae* 47; Berlin-New York 2008), Umberto Roberto (*Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 154; Berlin 2005).
- 69 The standard edition: Paul J. Alexander, in *The Oracle of Baalbek. The Tiburtine Sibyl in Greek Dress* (Washington 1967).

the province of Africa under Vandal kings Geiseric and Huneric, a Latin account of the cruelties that the orthodox Christian population had to endure at the hands of Arian Vandal kings⁷⁰. Victor enumerates provinces, which suffered from Vandal raiding: *Hispania, Italia, Dalmatia, Campania, Calabria, Apulia, Sicilia, Sardinia, Bruttium, Lucania, Epirus Vetus, and Hellas* (1.17)⁷¹.

Several late antique Western Latin chronicles preserve information pertinent to *Dalmatia*, but they solely record Nepos' flight from Italy and his subsequent demise in *Dalmatia*: *Auctarium Havniensis Prosperi ordo prior* (a. 475.1, 480); *Auctarium Havniensis Prosperi ordo posterior* (a. 475.1, 480); *Auctarium Havniense ordinis posterioris margo* (a. 475.1, 480); *Fasti Vindobonenses priores* (616, 626: omitting the province where Nepos was assassinated); Cassiodorus' *Chronicle* (1301, but omits Nepos' death); *Anonymus Valesianus pars posterior: Chronica Theodericiana*, VII, 36: mentions *Salona* as a place to which Nepos fled from *Ravenna*)⁷². Both *Auctarium Havniensis Prosperi ordo prior* and *Auctarium Havniensis Prosperi ordo posterior* (a. 482.1) as well as Cassiodorus' *Chronicle* (1309) record that Odovacer defeated and killed Ovida, i.e. one of Nepo's assassins Odiva (Cassiodorus) in *Dalmatias*, whose death was undoubtedly also noted by the *Fasti Vindobonenses priores*, but the name is now missing (630). It is worth noting that these sources consistently use the province's name in a plural form⁷³. On the other hand, Prosper Tiro's *Chronicle* (mid 5th c.) has an entry on Aetius' escape from Italy to *Dalmatia* and then to the Huns in *Pannonia* (1310)⁷⁴.

A principal literary source for *Dalmatia* and *Istria* under the Ostrogothic rule in the first decades of the 6th century is Cassiodorus' *Variae*⁷⁵. There are several letters that specifically deal with the Eastern Adriatic region: Theodoric commands *vir illustris* and *comes* Osuin to make sure that the soldiers at *Salona* engage in regular military exercises (1.40); he sends *vir clarissimus* and *comes* Simeon to *Dalmatia* entrusting him with the duty of collecting the arrears of *siliquaticum*, and the search for the iron ore (3.25); he commands *vir illustris* and *comes* Osuin to provide all the necessaries for Simeon's mission in *Dalmatia* (3.26) and he directs *vir senatorius* and *consularis* of the province of *Dalmatia* Epiphanius to reclaim

70 On Victor of Vita and his *History*, see Howe 2007; Lancel 2000; Schwarcz 1994. Standard editions: Serge Lancel (Collection Budé, Paris, 2002), Konrad Vössing (Darmstadt 2011).

71 It is likely that the information about Vandal raids against *Dalmatia* and *Epirus Vetus* is hidden in Procopius of Caesarea's note that Geiseric pillaged *Illyricum* (*De bellis* 3.5.23-25).

72 Standard editions: Theodor Mommsen (MGH AA 9, *Chronica minora* I; Berlin 1892, repr. 1961), 274-98 (*Fasti Vindobonenses posteriores*), 298-339 (*Continuatio Havniensis Prosperi*), 306-28 (*Anonymi Valesiani pars posterior*); (MGH AA 11, *Chronica minora* II; Berlin 1894, repr. 1961), 120-61 (*Cassiodori Senatoris Chronica*); *Anonymus Valesianus pars posterior*: Jacques Moreau & Velizar Velkov (Leipzig, 2nd ed., 1968), Ingemar König, in *Aus der Zeit Theoderichs des Großen* (Darmstadt 1997); *Cassiodorus, Chronica*: Michael Klaasen, in *Cassiodorus' Chronica. Text, Chronography and Sources* (PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2010, 36-110).

73 On this issue see now Basić forthcoming.

74 On Prosper Tiro and his work, see Muhlberger 1990, 48-135; Yoon Hwang 2009. The standard edition: Theodor Mommsen (MGH AA 9, *Chronica minora* I, Berlin, 1892 [1961], 385-485).

75 On Cassiodorus and the *Variae*, see Amory 2003, 50-78; Barnish 2008, 7-22; Bjornlie 2013; Gillett 1998, 37-50; Kakridi 2005; Krautschick 1983; Macpherson 1989; O'Donnell 1979; especially 55-102, Pferschy 1986. Standard editions: Theodor Mommsen (MGH AA 12; Berlin 1894, repr. 1961, 1-385), Åke Johansson Fridh, in *Magni Aurelii Cassiodori Senatoris Opera* I (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 96, Turnhout 1973, 1-499).

for the royal treasury the estate of a late Joanna, widow of Andreas, if, after an inquiry, it is ascertained that she has died intestate and without heirs (5.24); the *formula* of the *comes* of Krk and Cres Islands (*comes insulae Curitanae et Celsinae*) (7.16); the *formula* of the *princeps* of *Dalmatias* (7.24); Athalaric asks the Romans settled in Italy and *Dalmatias* for the oaths of allegiance (8.4); Athalaric appoints *vir illustris* Aratus, who hails from the province and was once sent by the provincials of *Dalmatias* on an embassy to Theodoric, to the post of *comes domesticorum* (8.12); Athalaric appoints *vir illustris* and *comes* Osuin to the duty of governor of *Dalmatias* and *Savia*, the provinces which he had governed once before as a young man (9.8); Athalaric informs the Goths and Romans settled in the provinces that he sends back Osuin as governor and, with him, *vir illustris* Severinus who has fiscal duties, and that he has ordered a remission of the tax *augmentum* fixed at the fourth indiction (9.9); Cassiodorus, *praefectus praetorio* of Italy, writes to the provincials of *Istria* ordering the requisition of wine, oil, and corn, products with which the province abounds, in the amount of the *solidi* due for the payment of tribute for the first indiction, and informs the provincials that he has provided money from the treasury for the additional purchase of these products, saying that *Istria* is to *Ravenna* what *Campania* is to Rome, praising the beauty of the province and calling it loyal (12.22); Cassiodorus orders *vir experientissimus* Laurentius to carry out the task of requisition and purchase in *Istria* (12.23); Cassiodorus instructs the *tribuni maritimum* to provide ships for transport of wine, oil, and corn from *Istria* (12.24); Cassiodorus informs *vir strenuus* Paul that in *Istria* he may buy wine, which is normally supplied for the use of the army from the towns of *Concordia*, *Aquileia* and *Forum Iulii* (12.26). The *Variae* also provides a testimony that Valentinian III's and Licinia Eudoxia's wedding was connected with the division of the provinces of *Illyricum* between the Eastern and Western Roman Empire (11.1.9).

Valuable information can also be extracted from legal documents. For instance, imperial constitutions of the *Codex Theodosianus* testify to the general situation in *Illyricum* due to the insecurity caused by barbarian incursions in the early 5th century⁷⁶. In two constitutions dated to 408 and 412 respectively, the Emperors order the reparation of town walls in *Illyricum* (11.17.4, 15.1.49), and in two others dated to 408 and 410 respectively, they forbid the enslavement of the refugees (10.10.25, 5.7.2). In the *Codex Iustinianus* there is a law, dated to 1 June 473, on property that children who are in their father's power acquire through marriage or in some other way, which is issued in the names of Emperors Leo I and Anthemius and directed to Julius Nepos, who is called *magister militum Dalmatiae* (6.61.5)⁷⁷. A document known as the *Notitia Dignitatum*, which is believed to be up to date for the Western Roman in 420's, is indispensable for the study of the late Roman administration in *Dalmatia* and *Istria*⁷⁸. It records administrative division as well as diocesan and provincial offices and posts with jurisdiction over *Dalmatia* and *Istria*: *comes Italiae* (*Not. Dign. Occ.* 1.31), *consularis Venetiae et Histriae* (1.53), *praeses Dalmati<c>arum* (1.86), *provincia Venetiae* in the diocese of Italy (2.11), *provincia Dalmatiarum* in the diocese of *Illyricum* (2.31), *comes Illyrici* (7.40), *fabrica*

76 The standard edition: Theodor Mommsen & Paul Martin Meyer (2 vols, Berlin, 1904-1905).

77 The standard edition: Paul Krüger, in *Corpus iuris civilis*, vol. II (8th ed., Berlin, 1906).

78 On the *Notitia Dignitatum*, see Brennan 1996, Kulikowski 2000, Purpura 1995. Standard editions: Robert Ireland (Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1999; München, 2002), Concepción Neira Faleiro (Nueva Roma - Bibliotheca Graeca et Latina Aevi Posterioris 25, Madrid, 2005).

Salonitana armorum in the diocese of *Illyricum* (9.22), *comes largitionum per Illyricum* (11.4), *rationalis summarum per Pannoniae secundae, Dalmatiae et Saviae* (11.10), *praepositus thesaurorum Salonitanorum, Dalmatiae* (11.23), *praepositus thesaurorum Aquileiensem, Venetiae* (11.27), *procurator gynaecii Bassianensis, Pannoniae secundae - translati Salonis* (11.46), *procurator gynaecii Iovensis, Dalmatiae - Aspalato* (11.48), *procurator gynaecii Aquileiensis, Venetiae inferioris* (11.49), *procurator bafii Salonitani, Dalmatiae* (11.66), *procurator bafii Cissensis, Venetiae et Histriae* (11.67), *comes commerciorum per Illyricum* (11.86), *rationalis rei privatae per Italiam* (12.8), *rationalis rerum privatarum per Illyricum* (12.6), *procurator rei privatae per Dalmatiam* (12.20), *praefectus classis Venetum, Aquileiae* in the province of Lower Venetia (42.4), *praeses Dalmatiae, vir perfectissimus* (45.4), with the subordinate officials: *princeps officii* (45.7), *cornicularius* (45.8), two *tabularii* (45.9), *commentariensis* (45.10), *adiutor* (45.11), *ab actis* (45.12), *subadvua* (45.13), *exceptores* and other *cohortalini* (45.14).

The letters of Jerome, who was writing from the safety of the distant Palestine, depict a grim picture of the situation in *Dalmatia* in the late IVth and early Vth century⁷⁹. In a letter to Heliodorus dated to 396 (60.16, 2-3), Jerome mentions the twenty-year long hardships that the provinces between Constantinople and the Julian Alps – *Dalmatia* among them – had to endure at the hands of various barbarians, and in a letter to Julian dated to 406, he notes that the entire province was overrun by a barbarian enemy and that in the general devastation Julian's estate has also been destroyed (118.2). At the turn of the VIIth century Pope Gregory I offers valuable information on Slavic incursions in *Dalmatia* and *Istria*⁸⁰. In a letter to the Salonitan bishop Maximus, dated to July 600, the Pope notes that the Slavs threaten *Salona* and that they have already started entering Italy through *Istria* (10.15 Ewald). Two other letters, dated to 599, inform us of the efforts by Callinicus, *Exarchos* of *Ravenna*, to fight off the Slavs who had invaded *Istria* (9.141 Ewald; 9.154 Ewald).

One geographic work, albeit dating from the early Middle Ages, but thought to reflect the situation in the first half of the VIth century, is particularly worth mentioning since it is usually adduced as an important evidence for the continuity of settlements. The *Cosmographia* of the *Anonymous* of *Ravenna* lists place-names covering the known world from India to *Hibernia* (Ireland)⁸¹. In the *patria Dalmatia*, which the *Anonymous* locates around the sea coast near *Illyricum*, he mentions 62 *civitates*, some of which had actually belonged to the province of *Praevalis*, and six rivers (4.16). In the *patria Liburnia Tarsaticensis* or just *patria Liburnia* he enumerates 19 *civitates*, and notes that the *patria Istria* extends from *Liburnia* (4.22). *Istria* is also listed among eighteen provinces of Italy (4.29), and it is designated once as *regio* with seven *civitates* (4.30). The *Anonymous* defines *Arsia* as the border between the province of *Liburnia* and *Istria*, and then proceeds to list the *civitates* in both *Istria* and

79 The standard edition: Isidor Hilberg (*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 54-56; *Pars I-III*, Wien-Leipzig, 1910-1918).

80 Standard editions: Paul Ewald & Ludwig Moritz Hartmann, (2 vols, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Epistolae*, Berlin, 1891-1899), Dag Ludvig Norberg (*Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* 140-140A, Turnhout, 1982).

81 On the *Anonymous* of *Ravenna*, see Schillinger-Häfele 1963; Staab 1976; 1998; Stolte 1949. The standard edition: Joseph Schnetz & Marianne Zumschlinge, in *Itineraria Romana* II (Leipzig 1940, repr. 1990, 1-110).

Venetia, even though he fails to mention the latter (4.31). Finally, the epigraphic evidence can also provide very valuable insights. For instance, a fragment of an inscription found at *Porta Andetria* in *Salona* in 2002, combined with another fragment of an inscription discovered at *Salona's Porta suburbia* in 1946, has revealed that an extensive reparation of the city's walls and towers was carried out – it is believed in or around 425 – at the formal behest of two praetorian prefects (presumably of *Illyricum* and Italy) and in the names of Emperors Theodosius II and Valentinian III, while *vir illustris* Publianus was entrusted with the immediate supervision of the works⁸². One magistrate of Dalmatias, probably from the (late) vth century, is only known from an inscription found in the municipality of Podstrana in 1976: *Ausonius vir spectabilis comes sacri consistorii et Dalmatiarum consulens*⁸³. Furthermore, as it has already been noted, epigraphic evidence provides a clear testimony on the migration of population from *Pannonia* to *Dalmatia*. Three inscriptions from *Salona* illustrate such examples in the vth and vith centuries: one is dedicated to an unnamed *clarissima femina* from *Pannonia*, the other to an abbess Joanna, and the third to a young girl Domnica, both of the latter two hailing from *Sirmium*⁸⁴.

SELECTED RESEARCH PROBLEMS

The history of *Dalmatia* in Late Antiquity may tentatively be divided into several chronological segments mirroring political and administrative changes. This periodization, in itself only conditional since there had never been any break in the life of the province, is wrought with problems of chronology as well as the question of jurisdiction, i.e. whether or not *Dalmatia* belonged to the Eastern Roman Empire at some point during the vth century. The chronology of the late antique *Dalmatia* suggested here may be divided into following periods: Western Roman rule (395-437); Eastern Roman rule (437-481/482), a period which may be subdivided into Marcellinus' age (?454-468), Julius Nepos' age (468-474/480), and a short prelude to Odovacer's rule when *Dalmatia* was in control of Nepos' assassins (480-481/482); Germanic rule (481/482-537), which may be subdivided into two periods: Odovacer's rule (481/2-493), and Ostrogothic rule (493-537); and Eastern Roman rule (from 537), with two periods: the Justinianic age (537-565) and the post-Justinianic age (565 onwards). As for Istria, it had remained a part of Italy all this time and shared Italy's political fate.

When it comes to the issue of chronology, three questions particularly stand out: when did Marcellinus come to power in *Dalmatia*; when did Istria and *Liburnia* passed from the Ostrogothic to the Eastern Roman rule; and when did *Salona* ceased to exist as an organized late antique urban entity? It is conventionally thought, on the strength of what Procopius

⁸² For both inscriptions and the interpretation, see Jeličić-Radonić 2007.

⁸³ For the inscription, see Zaninović 1987; Prévot et al. 2010. Zaninović's identification of Ausonius with the Gothic comes Osuin is not likely. However, a *consularis* of Dalmatia named Epiphanius is known from Cassiodorus's *Variae* (5.24).

⁸⁴ For inscriptions, see Wilkes 1972, 377 (*clarissima femina*); Basić 2008, 84 (*CIL*, III, 9551 = *ILCV*, 1653: *Iohanna*), 85 (*CIL*, III, 9576 = *ILCV*, 4455: *Domnica*). The date of abbess Joanna's death is controversial (for an insightful overview, see Basić 2008, 84-88).

of *Caesarea* says, that Marcellinus took over the province in 454⁸⁵, which has recently been contested and Marcellinus' rise to power shifted to the early 460's⁸⁶. The matter remains undecided since Procopius' passage cannot easily be reconciled with what is known from other sources. Istria is usually thought to have been left by the Ostrogoths to the Eastern Roman control by 540, which has been disputed, more or less on the strength of the *ex silentio* argumentation, and the Ostrogothic domination over Istria extended to the year 552⁸⁷. The same has been maintained for *Liburnia* and *Jadera* (as a part of *Liburnia*)⁸⁸. The subsequent refutation of the assumption that the Byzantines had wrested the control of Istria from the Ostrogoths at the later date has not done much to clarify the issue since the available source material had not been properly discussed⁸⁹. This has tipped some scholars more in the favour of the later date⁹⁰. However, based on the evidence provided by Procopius of *Caesarea* (the escape of senator Vergentinus through *Venetia* and the adjacent regions, under which surely *Histria* and *Liburnia* are to be understood, in 539 – 2.22.41; Belisarius' stop and stay at *Pola* from the summer to the autumn of 544 – 7.10.12), it seems that the earlier date should be preferred, especially since the last certain references to the Ostrogothic control of Istria are Cassiodorus' letters which are dated around 537⁹¹. Another piece of evidence adduced to support the later dating is a letter by Pope Pelagius I to *patricius* Valerianus written in 559, which mentions the time when the *tyrannus* Totila held *Istrias et Venetias*⁹². The letter is partially cited in Andrea Dandolo's *Chronicle* written in the XIVth century, where the letter is said to have been directed to *patricius* Narses and the name of the province is changed to read *Ystriam et Veneciam*⁹³. It is fairly certain that the designation *Istriae et Venetiae* in the papal letter refers to the Italian province of *Venetia et Histria*, most likely in a purely administrative sense, and thus it does not necessarily corroborate the hypothesis that the Ostrogoths really controlled the Istrian Peninsula in the time of Totila (541-552). It is more probable that only the Venetian part of the province is meant, which had had more strategic importance in the war between the Byzantines and the Ostrogoths. The plural form of the province's name is probably to explain with the existence of an inner division as testified by the *Notitia Dignitatum*, where *Venetia inferior* is mentioned as the part of the province where *Aquileia* was situated (*Not. Dign. Occ.* 11.49, 42.4), and which also encompassed Istria, whereas *Venetia superior* is deduced accordingly. This division is further attested by Zosimus' mention of both *Venetias* (5.48.3). With regard to the last chronological issue here presented, the exact date of *Salona's* 'fall' has been

85 Cf. for instance, Wilkes 1969, 420; Martindale 1980, 708; Wozniak 1981, 355-356; Posavec 2007, 35 and 59-61. MacGeorge 2002, 40, too, says that Marcellinus established himself as an independent ruler in *Dalmatia* by the 450's.

86 Kulikowski 2002.

87 Antoljak 1956; 1973, 214-217; Medini 1980, 429.

88 Medini 1980, 430-434; Antoljak 1973.

89 Goldstein 1992, 26; 2000, 55. Cf. Novak 2007, 75.

90 Novak 2007, 80-82.

91 Cf. Matijašić 1988, 363-364.

92 Antoljak 1956, 42-43. For the letter, see *Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini aevi*, vol. I, ed. Wilhelm Gundlach (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Epistolae* 3, Berlin, 1892), 445-446. For the date, cf. Martindale 1992, 1361.

93 *Andreae Danduli Chronica*, 5.10, in: *Andreae Danduli Chronica per extensum descriptis aa. 46-1280*, ed. Ester Pastorello (*Rerum italicarum scriptores* 12.1, Bologna, 1938), 71.

a historiographic topic for a long time. The 'fall' was first set to 614⁹⁴, and later to the 630's⁹⁵. The matter has recently shifted to a more balanced and less dramatic explanation of what happened to *Salona* and when it happened, even though the final outcome also meant a disintegration of a late antique urban center. Thus scholars today prefer to speak of a gradual decline and demise over a longer period of time, during the VIIth and possibly even the VIIIth centuries⁹⁶.

Concerning the political-administrative circumstances, several problems have attracted debate: the western *Illyricum* as a contested area between the Western and Eastern Empires, i.e. the jurisdiction over *Dalmatia* in the Vth century and *Dalmatia* as a semi-independent region; the existence of the separate province of *Liburnia* within *Dalmatia*, which is closely related to the usage of the name *Dalmatia* in plural form; who governed *Dalmatia* in the late VIth century; and did *Histria* and *Venetia* have separated civil administration in the late VIth century? The first matter has spawned a variety of theorizing, but the prevalent opinion is that, in 437, a large part of the western diocese of *Illyricum*, probably including *Dalmatia*, had been ceded to the Eastern Empire⁹⁷. Such an arrangement appears to have lasted until 474 when Julius Nepos became the western emperor and after his death in 480, *Dalmatia* was supposed to be reverted to the East, but instead was occupied by Odovacer, which precipitated the break between Ravenna and Constantinople. The Eastern Roman suzerainty seems to have been only formal during Marcellinus' and Julius Nepos' control of the province and Julius Nepos' position had even been formalized with the anomalous post of *magister militum Dalmatiae*. The fact that a variety of the late antique sources mention *Dalmatia* in plural form is best explained by the existence of the separate province of *Liburnia* within *Dalmatia*⁹⁸. This division, if not formalized with the appointment of a separate governor, seems to have been acknowledged by the Ostrogoths as testified by Cassiodorus (7.24, 8.4, 12, 9.8), Procopius of *Caesarea* (5-7.36, 5.15.16, 25, 5.16.13, 18), the Continuator of Marcellinus Comes (a. 540.6), and the Anonymous of Ravenna (4.22, 31). The Ostrogoths even introduced changes in the provincial administration, since *Dalmatias* and *Pannonia Savia* were united under a single *comes* (9.8), and there existed the *comes* of Krk and Cres Islands (7.16), who was subordinate to the *comes* of *Dalmatias*. The exact administrative position of *Dalmatia* in the late VIth century is not clear. The letters of Pope Gregory the Great refer to a proconsul of *Dalmatia* named Marcellinus, who is directly summoned by the Emperor⁹⁹. Probably the same Marcellinus is mentioned in an inscription of the Salonitan priest John¹⁰⁰. Due to the extant evidence some scholars have thought *Dalmatia* to be a province immediately subordinate to the Emperor, with a governor in the proconsular rank, who had had extensive civil and military prerogatives, whereas others have believed this to be a honorary title, and that

94 Bulić 1906; 1984.

95 Marović 1984; 1991.

96 Cf. Goldstein 1992, 83-95. See also Basić 2008, 94-98; Matijašić 2012, 234-237.

97 For the discussion of evidence and the overview of opinions, see MacGeorge 2002, 32-39; Gračanin 2006a, 54-58.

98 Cf. Medini 1980, with Matijašić 2012, 176-177 and Basić forthcoming. Škegro 2001, 11 concludes that the plural points to the former unity of the provinces of *Dalmatia* and *Praevalis*.

99 *Epistolae* 9.158 Ewald; 9.237 Ewald.

100 *CIL*, III, 9527 + p. 2139 = *AE*, 1890, 80 = *ILCV*, 79a+b.

Dalmatia had been governed by a local military commander and belonged administratively to the Exarchate of Ravenna¹⁰¹. Previously it has also been proposed that *Dalmatia* had been under a split jurisdiction, i.e. dependent on the *Exarchos* of *Ravenna* in military matters and on the prefect of *Illyricum* in civil matters¹⁰². Finally, it is not certain whether *Istria* had had a separate civil administration from *Venetia* in the second half of the vith century, with which it had been united earlier, even though *Istria* had now had its own military commander in the rank of *magister militum*¹⁰³.

In relation to the movements of peoples and barbarian incursions in the eastern Adriatic region, one of the most resilient theories in the Croatian, and not only the Croatian, historiography of Late Antiquity is that, in the late ivth and early vth centuries, the Alaric's Goths had penetrated the province of *Dalmatia* as far as the coast, directly jeopardized local communities and even devastated some urban centres. Unquestionably, the Goths had reached the coastal area on the northern Adriatic, to which Jerome provides a testimony, saying that the Goths destroyed his birthplace *Stridon*, which had once been a border between *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia* and had probably been situated in the hinterland of *Tarsatica*, and that they had laid waste the estate of Jerome's neighbour Julian¹⁰⁴. However, some scholars have been of opinion that the Goths had reached *Salona* and raided the city, or that they had been responsible for the destruction of Mogorjelo villa in modern Čapljina or the damage inflicted to *Jadera*¹⁰⁵. On balance, there is no real evidence for such a far reaching Gothic raid, especially since the Goths had been intent on reaching Italy, and all these destructions may as well be attributed to other causes, particularly in view of the fact that they cannot be exactly dated, and thus the interpretation involving a Gothic attack may be dismissed¹⁰⁶. Accordingly, the reparation of town defences in *Dalmatia* in the early vth century is best explained as a result of a general psychological impact of the Gothic danger as well as the instructions issued in two imperial constitutions dated to 408 and 412 respectively. It has also been inferred that, in 402, the Goths had retreated from northern Italy to *Istria*, even to the vicinity of *Tarsatica*, but this is hardly acceptable¹⁰⁷. Finally, at the other end of the chronological span of this paper, traces of the Slavic devastations in *Istria* have been seen in the damage detected at several *Istrian* sites, *Vizače* (*Nesactium*), *Vrsar*, *Žminj* and *Muntajna*¹⁰⁸. The damage might have been the result of the attacks by the Slavic raiders, but it is in no way certain that this had been so in all these cases.

The hypothesis about the so-called *limes maritimus*, which has been devised to describe a network of maritime strongholds along the coast and on the islands of the eastern Adriatic

101 Ferluga 1957 and 1978; Margetić 1997a and 1997b.

102 Hartmann 1889. Cf. also Matijašić 2012, 232.

103 On the administration of *Istria* in the 6th century, see Novak 2007, 156-77.

104 *De viris illustribus* 125, ed. Ernst Cushing Richardson (Texte und Untersuchungen 14.1A, Leipzig, 1896), ed. Aldo Ceresa-Gastaldo (Firenze, 1988); *Epistolae* 118.2. For the location of *Stridon* in the hinterland of *Tarsatica*, see Suić 1986; with Bratož 1990a, 20-25 and 1990b, 533-536.

105 Cf. for instance, Wilkes 1969, 419; Kovačić 1992, 306; Jeličić-Radonić 2007, 22, and n. 24 (*Salona*); Dyggve & Vetter 1966, 44, Cambi 1985, 54 (*Mogorjelo villa*); Ilakovac 1961, 298-299 (*Jadera*).

106 Posavec 2007, 73, 105, n. 448, 112 and 125.

107 Schmidt 1934, 440; Margetić 1990, 29-31. Cf. Posavec 1997, 11, n. 21.

108 Marušić 1957, 64, 65, 91; Piteša 2006, 194. See also Matijašić 2012, 234 for *Nesactium*.

in the Justinianic and post-Justinianic ages, has also become one of the *topoi* of Croatian historiography of Late Antiquity¹⁰⁹. However, the hypothesis has recently been contested¹¹⁰. Quite justifiably, since there is no real basis for such a designation. A similar *limes* has not been discovered anywhere in the Mediterranean, nor it would have any point to create such a military defense system in the Adriatic, since the Byzantines enjoyed an undeniable supremacy at sea. Furthermore, the term itself in the late Roman times appears solely in relation to land survey¹¹¹. Accordingly, these strongholds had not been a part of a military defense system, which the term would imply, but rather served to improve navigation conditions on the main maritime routes by providing additional protection and safety for the ships. Moreover, some strongholds had also probably served as refuges for the nearby population in times of need.

This brief presentation of selected research problems may be concluded with two questions, among many others, regarding the ecclesiastical organization in Late Antiquity. The first question is related to the observance of the Arian cult during the Ostrogothic domination in *Dalmatia*, and the problem of the existence of a church dedicated to the Arian worship at *Salona*. It has been proposed that one *basilica urbana* had actually served the Arian worshippers¹¹². However, the arguments are not conclusive enough and the scholarship has rejected this proposal, which does not imply that an Arian church had not existed at *Salona*, possibly near the governor's palace, which would create a situation analogue to that in *Ravenna*, where the Arian basilica was located in the immediate vicinity of Theodoric's palace¹¹³. The second question concerns the localization of the seat of the Bishopric of *Cissa*, which attracted the most of attention of the scholarship. The right localization seems undoubtedly to be Istria as opposed to *Cessa* (modern Novalja) on the island of Pag or *Ceneta* in *Venetia*¹¹⁴. It is usually conjectured that the Bishopric of *Cissa* had been located on the island of Brioni/Brijuni¹¹⁵. However, there exists also an opinion that it should be searched for in modern Betiga/Betika on the southeastern coast of Istria¹¹⁶.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

As shown, the study of history of the eastern Adriatic region, i.e. Istria and Dalmatia, in Late Antiquity has produced a number of valuable studies on a variety of research topics. What is generally clear from the scholarly examination and interpretation of the available sources – in spite of all the limitations caused by the scanty evidence – is the continuity of Roman way of life in the period from the early vth to the early viith century. There was no significant disruptions before the early vth century since Dalmatia and Istria were more or

109 Cf. Rapanić 1985; Goldstein 1992; Suić 1997.

110 Brusić 1989; Katić 2003.

111 Guillaumin 2007, 137-55.

112 Dyggve 1948.

113 Cf. Gabričević 1987, 310-311; *Id.* 1991, 349-50.

114 Šonje 1981; Škunca 1991 (*Cessa* on the Pag); Margetić 1983, 126-130 (*Ceneta*).

115 Suić 1987 and 1992.

116 Marušić 1990.

less completely spared the raiding that had plagued the frontier provinces. Before the Slavic incursions in the late VIth and early VIIth centuries, the only major threat was posed by the Goths in the incipient years of the Vth century, but the assumption that they had raided the towns and settlements in *Dalmatia* as far as *Salona* and *Jadera* is to be dismissed. The Vandal raids and a Suebic incursion in the 460's in *Dalmatia* were isolated incidents. When there arose a gap in the continuity of the political authority, with the Germanic power wielders, first Odovacer and then the Ostrogoths, in control of the eastern Adriatic from the 480's to the 530's, this did not entail any break with the Roman political, administrative, economic and cultural traditions. Even the Ostrogothic-Byzantine war, which had done much to destroy the prosperity of Italy, did not gravely impact *Dalmatia* and *Istria*. The late Roman provincial organization had survived, even though the Ostrogoths introduced certain changes to it that corresponded to their needs (for instance, the fusion of the administration of *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia Savia*), and the separation of military and civil competences had been retained under the Ostrogoths as well as under Justinian I.

A relative security that was enjoyed by *Dalmatia* and *Istria* made them a sort of a safe haven for the population from neighbouring provinces who wanted to escape the dangers of the exposed frontiers. There seems to have been two major waves, one in the early Vth and the other in the late VIth century (however, the epitaph of abbess Joanna's cannot be adduced as an evidence for the second wave as opposed to that of Domnica's). Moreover, the major urban center such as *Salona* surely continued to attract population independently of the current military-political situation. The written evidence also testify to the presence of the new ethnic groups on the eastern Adriatic, primarily the Ostrogoths, which is further confirmed by the archaeological evidence. At the same time, the Roman population remained prevalent. The majority of settlements retained its vitality and functionality until the VIIth century, especially those in the coastal area. The evidence of imported goods from North Africa and Eastern Mediterranean in the Vth to the VIIth centuries testify to long-distance commercial contacts and economic activity¹¹⁷. The strength of the ecclesiastical organization is an evidence of the vigor of urban communities. This was especially evident in the Justinianic age, which saw a significant rise in building activity. To be sure, the fundamental changes in form, pattern, structure and function of settlements could not be avoided. The process of castrization and the creation of refuge sites was particularly characteristic of *Istria*. Rural settlements such as villas and villages, and ecclesiastical structures such as monasteries and rural churches also underwent the functional transformation. In the end, what had a decisive impact on the survival of many a settlement in the eastern Adriatic was their immediate access to the sea and their location on the Byzantine maritime routes.

To conclude, the research done in the past decades has elucidated many aspects of the history of the eastern Adriatic region in Late Antiquity. Many questions will surely remain open or, in the lack of better, in the domain of speculation, more or less probable theories and assumptions. Others still await a more comprehensive study and in-depth approach, such as the transformation of settlements and rural and urban communities, population changes and dynamics, ethnic identities and inter-ethnic relations, socioeconomic conditions and

117 Cf. Brusić 1988, 141-142 (Polače, Mljet) and Jurišić 2006, 190 (Mali Brod, Lastovo).

regional eco-history. Notwithstanding the scarcity and inconclusiveness of the written sources, their re-interpretation might offer new and valuable insights. However, having said this, the future answers to the majority of fundamental questions lies with archaeology.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Atti Rovigno*: Collana degli atti, Centro di ricerche storiche-Rovigno.
- BUCEMA*: *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre*.
- RFfZ*: *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru*.
- VAHD*: *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*.
- Abramić, M. (1917a): "Zur Geschichte Salonas", in: *Forschungen in Salona I*, Wien, 1-6 [= "O povijesti Salone", in: Cambi 1991, 39-46].
- (1917b): "Zur Geschichte des Christentums in Salona", in: *Forschungen in Salona I*, Wien, 7-10 [= "O povijesti kršćanstva u Saloni", in: Cambi 1991, 321-325].
- (1956): "Gli Ostrogoti nell'antica Dalmazia", in: *I Goti* 1956, 37-41.
- AE*: *L'Année épigraphique* 1890, editor-in-chief René Cagnat, Paris.
- Alföldy, G. (1965): *Bevölkerung und Gesellschaft der römischen Provinz Dalmatien*, Budapest.
- Allen, P. (1981): *Evagrius Scholasticus, the Church Historian*, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense 41, Louvain.
- Amici, A. (2002): *Iordanes e la storia gotica*, Spoleto.
- Amory, P. (2003): *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489-554*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th S. 33, Cambridge.
- Antoljak, S. (1956): "Da li je Istra upravo 539. potpala pod Bizant? [Did Istria Really Fall under the Byzantium in 539?]", *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta*, 4, 31-45.
- (1973): "Zadar unter ostgotischer Herrschaft", *Diadora*, 6, 207-220.
- (1992): "Zadar pod vlašću Istočnih Gota", in: Antoljak 1992, 255-266.
- , éd. (1992): *Hrvati u prošlosti: izabrani radovi*, Split.
- Babić, I. (1996): "Sudbina antičkih naselja na tlu Hrvatske i susjednih Sklavinija [The Fate of the Roman Settlements in Croatia and the Neighbouring Sclaviniae]", in: Jurković & Lukšić 1996, 29-35.
- Baldini, A. (2000): "Considerazioni sulla cronologia di Olimpiodoro di Tebe", *Historia*, 49, 488-502.
- (2004): *Ricerche di tarda storiografia (da Olimpiodoro di Tebe)*, Studi di Storia 9, Bologna.
- Baldwin, B. (1977): "Malchus of Philadelphia", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 31, 91-107.
- (1978): "Menander Protector", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 32, 99-125.
- Bálint, C. (2010): "A contribution to research on ethnicity: a view from and on the east", in: Pohl & Mehofer 2010, 145-182.
- Barnish, S. J. (2008): "Roman Responses to an Unstable World: Cassiodorus' *Variae* in Context", in: Barnish *et al.* 2008, 7-22.
- Barnish, S. J., L. Cracco Rugini, L. Cuppo, R. Marchese and M. Breu (2008): *Vivarium in Context. Essays on Late Antiquity and Armenian Art*, Vicenza.
- Basić, I. (2008): "*CIL*, III, 9551 i njegovi tumači [*CIL*, III 9551 and its Interpreters]", *Tusculum: časopis za solinske teme*, 1, 81-108.
- (2009a): "Pristupna razmatranja uz popise biskupa Zapadnoga Ilirika u aktima crkvenih koncila u Saloni 530. i 533. g. [Preliminary Considerations about the List of Bishops of the Western Illyricum in the Acts of the Church Councils of Salona of 530 and 533]", *Tusculum: časopis za solinske teme*, 2, 59-69.

- (2009b): "Ecclesia Scardonitana – Stanje i problemi istraživanja skardonske ranokršćanske crkve [*Ecclesia Scardonitana – State and Problems of the Research on the Early Christian Church of Scardona*]", in: Kuntić-Makvić 2009, 45-85.
- (2010): "Scardonitana paleochristiana. Nova razmatranja temeljem podataka iz spisa *Historia Salonitana Maior* [*Scardonitana paleochristiana. New Reflections on the Basis of Data from the Work Historia Salonitana Maior*]", in: Šeparović et al. 2010, 167-92.
- (forthcoming): "Dalmatiae, Dalmatiarum: a study in historical geography of the Adriatic (in the light of the new inscription from Córdoba)", in: *Illyrica Antiqua II: in honorem Duje Rendić-Miočević, Radovi s međunarodnoga znanstvenog skupa u Šibeniku 2013.*, Zagreb.
- Basler, D. (1972): *Arhitektura kasnoantičkog doba u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo.
- (1993): *Spätantike und frühchristliche Architektur in Bosnien und Herzegowina*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Schriften der Balkan-Kommission, Antiquarische Abteilung 19, Wien (redigiert von Renate Pillinger, Andreas Pülz, Hermann Vetters).
- Begović, V. and I. Schrunck (2001): "Preobrazbe rimskih vila na istočnom Jadranu u kasnoj antici i ranom srednjem vijeku [Transformations of Roman Villas on the Eastern Adriatic Coast in Late Classical Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages]", *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu*, 18, 157-172.
- Berkhofer, J. and R. F. (1997): *Beyond the Great Story. History as Text and Discourse*, Cambridge-London.
- Bileta, V. (2011): "At the Crossroads of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages - The Rise and Fall of the Military Elite of Byzantine Histria", *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, 17, 100-23.
- Bjornlie, M. S. (2013): *Politics and Tradition between Rome, Ravenna and Constantinople: A Study of Cassiodorus and the Variae 527-554*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought-Fourth Series 89, Cambridge.
- Bleckmann, B. and T. Stickler, eds (2014): *Griechische Profanhistoriker des fünften nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts*, Historia-Einzelschriften 228, Stuttgart.
- Blockley, R. C. (1981): *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire. Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus*, vol. I, ARCA 6, Liverpool.
- (2003): "The Development of Greek Historiography: Priscus, Malchus, Candidus", in: Marasco 2003, 289-315.
- Boshof, E. and H. Wolff, ed. (1994): *Das Christentum im bairischen Raum. Von den Anfängen bis ins 11. Jahrhundert*, Köln-Weimar-Wien.
- Bradley, D. R. (1993): "In altum laxare vela compulsus. The 'Getica' of Jordanes", *Hermes*, 121, 211-36.
- Bratož, R. (1986): "Razvoj organizacije zgodnjekršćanske cerkve na ozemlju Jugoslavije od 3. do 6. stoletja. Kratek oris", *Zgodovinski časopis*, 40, 363-395.
- (1987a): "Die Entwicklung der Kirchenorganisation in den Westbalkan-Provinzen (4. bis 6. Jahrhundert)", in: Gjuzelev & Pillinger 1987, 149-196.
- (1987b): "Nastanek, razvoj in zaton organizacije zgodnjekršćanske cerkve v Istri (4.-6. stoletje). The Formation, Development and Decline of the Organization of Early Christian Church in Istria (4th-6th Centuries)", in: Mihevc-Gabrovec et al. 1987, 13-26.
- (1990a): *Vpliv oglejske cerkve na vzhodnoalpski in predalpski prostor od 4. do 8. stoletja* [*The Influence of the Aquileian Church on the Eastern Alpine and Pre-Alpine Region from the 4th to the 8th Centuries*], Zbirka Zgodovinskega časopisa 8, Ljubljana.
- (1990b): "Die Geschichte des frühen Christentums im Gebiet zwischen *Sirmium* und *Aquileia* im Licht der neueren Forschungen", *Klio*, 72, 508-50.
- (1994a): "Der Einfluß Aquileias auf den Alpenraum und das Alpenvorland (Von den Anfängen bis um 700)", in: Boshof & Wolff 1994, 29-61.
- (1994b): "Die antike Geschichte des Gebietes zwischen Donau und Adria in den Vorstellungen der mittelalterlichen Autoren", in: Brunner & Merta 1994, 264-292.
- (1996): "Ecclesia in gentibus. Vprašanje preživetja krščanstva iz antične dobe v času slovansko-avarske naselitve na prostoru med Jadranom in Dunavo. *Ecclesia in gentibus* [The Question of the Survival of Christianity in Antiquity in the Time of the Slavic and Avar Settlement in the Region between the Adriatic and the Danube]", in: Rajšp 1996, 205-225.
- (2002): "Die Beziehungen zwischen den ethnischen und konfessionellen Gruppen (Katholiken, Arianer, Heiden) im Ostalpen- und Mitteldonauraum im Lichte der schriftlichen Quellen", in: Tejral 2002, 73-98.

- (2007a): "Izseljevanje prebivalstva iz Zahodnega Ilirika v 5. in 6. stoletju. Vojni ujetniki in begunci v pozni antiki", in: Šenk 2007, 247-284.
- (2007b): "Poznoantična Akvileja in njena cerkvena skupnost v luči nove monografije [A review of Sotinel 2005]", *Zgodovinski časopis*, 61, 175-200.
- (2008): "Podoba poznoantičnega Ilirika v historiografiji pozne antike in srednjega veka [The Image of the Late Antique *Illyricum* in the Late Antique and Medieval Historiography]", in: Valenčič 2008, 293-321.
- (2011a): "Die Auswanderung der Bevölkerung aus den pannonischen Provinzen während des 5. und 6. Jahrhunderts", in: Konrad & Witschel 2011, 589-614.
- (2011b): "Die kirchliche Organisation in Westillyricum (vom späten 4. Jh. bis um 600) – Ausgewählte Fragen", in: Heinrich-Tamáška 2011, 211-248.
- Bratož, R., ed. (2000): *Slovenija in sosednje dežele med antiko in karolinško dobo. Začetki slovenske etnogeneze [Slovenien und die Nachbarländer zwischen Antike und karolingischer Epoche. Anfänge der slowenischen Ethnogenese]* I, Situla 39, Ljubljana.
- Brennan, P. (1996): "The *Notitia Dignitatum*", *Entretiens Fondation Hardt*, 42, 147-178.
- Brodka, D. (2007): "Zum Geschichtsverständnis des Menander Protektor", in: Brodka & Stachura 2007, 95-103.
- Brodka, D. and M. Stachura, ed. (2007): *Continuity and Change. Studies in Late Antique Historiography*, Electrum 13, Kraków.
- Brunner, K. and B. Merta (1994): *Ethnogenese und Überlieferung. Angewandte Methoden der Frühmittelalterforschung*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 31, Wien-München.
- Brusić, Z. (1988): "Antička luka u Polačama na otoku Mljetu [The Ancient Port at Polače on the Island of Mljet]", *Izdanja HAD*, 12, 139-151.
- (1989): "Kasnoantička utvrđenja na otocima Rabu i Krku [Late Antique Fortifications on the Islands of Rab and Krk]", *Izdanja HAD*, 13, 111-119.
- Bulić, F. (1906): "Sull'anno della distruzione di *Salona* (con due Tav. n. XIII. e XIV.)", *Bullettino di archeologia e storia Dalmata*, 29, 8-12, 268-304.
- (1984a): "O godini razorenja Solina", in: Bulić 1984b, 291-331.
- (1984b): *Izabrani spisi*, Split.
- Bully, S. and M. Čaušević-Bully (2011): "Le monachisme insulaire dans l'archipel du Kvarner (Croatie) entre le V^e et le XI^e siècle. Projet de recherches archéologiques, 2011-2014", *BUCEMA*, 15, 1-35. URL: <http://cem.revues.org/12017>; DOI: 10.4000/cem.12017. Accessed on 7 June 2014.
- Cagian de Azevedo, M. (1968): "Il 'Palatium' di Porto Palazzo a Meleda", in: *Tardo antico e alto medioevo*, 273-283.
- Caillet, J.-P. (2008): "L'église salonitaine à l'époque des évêques Étienne et Honorius II", in: Dukić *et al.* 2008, 211-219.
- Cambi, N. (1985): "Arhitektura Narone i njezina teritorija u kasnoj antici [The Architecture of *Narona* and Its Territory in Late Antiquity]", *RFZ*, 24 (1), 33-59.
- (1998): "L'âge de Justinien en Dalmatie et en Istrie", in: Cambi & Marin 1998, 933-958.
- (1999): "Kontinuitet ili diskontinuitet: kasna antika - rani srednji vijek", *Historijski zbornik*, 52, 107-116.
- Cambi, N., ed. (1991): *Antička Salona*, Studia Salonitana I, Split.
- Cambi, N. and E. Marin, ed. (1998): *L'Époque de Justinien et les problèmes de VI^e et VII^e siècles*, Radovi XIII. međunarodnog kongresa za starokršćansku arheologiju II, Vatican-Split.
- Cameron, A. (1985): *Procopius and the Sixth Century*, The transformation of the classical heritage 10, Berkley-Los Angeles.
- Chevalier, P. (1995): *Ecclesiae Dalmatiae: L'architecture paléochrétienne de la province romaine de Dalmatie (IV^e-VII^e s.), en dehors de la capitale Salona*. Tome 1. *Catalogue*. Tome 2. *Illustrations et conclusions*, Coll. ÉFR 194 / Salona: recherches archéologiques franco-croates à Salone 2, Rome-Split.
- Chevalier, P. and J. Mardesić (2006): "La ville de Salone dans l'antiquité tardive: Déprise spatiale, mutations et renouveau de la parure monumentale", *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 12, 55-68.
- Christensen, A. S. (2002): *Cassiodorus, Jordanes and the history of the Goths: studies in a migration myth*, Copenhagen.

- Ciglencečki, S. (1987): *Höhenbefestigungen aus der Zeit vom 3. bis 6. Jh. im Ostalpenraum*, Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, Razred za zgodovinske in družbene vede, Dela 31 / Institut za arheologijo 15, Ljubljana.
- (2003): "The basic characteristics of the late antique settlement pattern within the eastern Alpine region and Dalmatia", *Histria Antiqua*, 11, 263-281.
- (2009): "Justinijanovo utvrđivanje Ilirika [The Fortification of *Illyricum* by Justinian]", *Archaeologia Adriatica*, 3, 205-222.
- CIL: *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* III/1-2, ed. Theodor Mommsen, Berlin 1873, *Supplementa* 1-2, ed. Theodor Mommsen, Otto Hirschfeld, Alfred von Domaszewski, Berlin 1902.
- Croke, B. (1987): "Cassiodorus and the *Getica* of Jordanes", *Classical Philology*, 82, 117-34 [= Croke, B. (1992): *Christian Chronicles and Byzantine History, 5th-6th Centuries*, Aldershot-Brookfield].
- (2001): *Count Marcellinus and his Chronicle*, Oxford.
- (2003): "Latin Historiography and the Barbarian Kingdoms", in: Marasco 2003, 349-89.
- (2005): "Jordanes and the Immediate Past", *Historia*, 54, 473-94.
- Čače, S. (1995): *Civitates Dalmatiae u "Kozmografiji" Anonima Ravenjanina [The Civitates Dalmatiae in the Cosmographia of the Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna]*, Arheološki muzej Zadar / Katalozi i monografije 3, Zadar.
- Čaušević, M. (2006): "Les cités antiques des îles du Kvarner dans l'antiquité tardive: *Curicum, Fulfinum et Apsorus*", *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 12, 19-41.
- Davison, D., V. Gaffney and E. Marin, ed. (2006): *Dalmatia. Research in the Roman Province 1970-2001. Papers in honour of J. J. Wilkes*, Bar Intern. S. 1576, Oxford.
- Demandt, A. (1970): *RE, Suppl.* 12, s.u. *Magister militum*, 553-790.
- Demo, Ž. (1988): "The Mint in Salona: Nepos and Ovida (474-481/482)", in: Kos & Demo 1988, 241-79.
- (1989): "Nov Nepotov solid salonitanske kovnice [A New Solidus of Nepos from the Mint in Salona]", *Numizmatičke vijesti* 31(42), 41-44.
- (2005): "Another tremissis from the Salonitan mint of Iulius Nepos", in: Sanader *et al.* 2005, 187-94.
- Diarte Blasco, P. and A. M. López, ed. (2012): *Arqueología de un paisaje en transición. Antigüedad tardía y alta Edad Media*, Zaragoza.
- Dukić, J., S. Kovačić and E. Višić-Ljubić, ed. (2008): *Salonitansko-splitska crkva u prvom tisućljeću kršćanske povijesti. Zbornik međunarodnoga znanstvenog skupa u povodu 1700. obljetnice mučeništva sv. Dujma, Split, 2004*, Split.
- Dyggve, E. (1948): "Druga basilica urbana s baptisterijem u Saloni. The Other *Basilica Urbana* with a Baptistery at Salona", *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu* 1, 369-374 [= reprinted in: Cambi 1991, 391-396].
- (1949): "L'Influence des Goths à Salone", *Byzantion*, 19, 74-77.
- (1951): *History of Salonitan Christianity*, Oslo.
- (1959): "Palača na otoku Mljetu sa novog gledišta [A New Perspective on the Palace on the Island of Mljet]", *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino*, 5-6, 79-90.
- (1989a): "Povijest salonitanskog kršćanstva", in: Dyggve 1989b, 19-137.
- (1989b): *Izabrani spisi*, Split.
- Dyggve, E. and H. Vetters (1966): *Mogorjelo. Ein spätantiker Herrsitz im römischen Dalmatia*, Wien-Graz-Köln.
- Dzino, D. (2010): *Becoming Slav, Becoming Croat. Identity Transformations in Post-Roman and Early Medieval Dalmatia*, East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450-1450, vol. 12, Leiden-Boston.
- Efthymiadis, S. (2010): "A historian and his tragic hero: a literary reading of Theophylact Simokatta's *Ecumenical History*", in: Macrides 2010, 169-86.
- Errington, R. M. (1983): "Malchos von Philadelpheia, Kaiser Zenon und die zwei Theoderiche", *Museum Helveticum*, 40, 82-110.
- Ferluga, J. (1957): *Vizantiska uprava u Dalmaciji [The Byzantine Administration in Dalmatia]*, Srpska akademija nauka, Posebna izdanja 291 / Vizantološki institut 6, Beograd.
- (1978): *L'amministrazione bizantina in Dalmazia*, Miscellanea di studi e memorie 17, Venezia.
- (1992): "Istria da Giustiniano a Carlomagno", *AVest*, 43, 175-178.

- Fisković, I. (1997): "Jesu li Polače na Mljetu bile sjelo vladara Dalmacije? [Were Polače on the Mljet a Seat of a Ruler of Dalmatia?]", *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu*, 13-14, 61-82.
- (1998): "Late antique buildings in Polače on the island of Mljet", in: Cambi & Marin 1998, 273-286.
- Frendo, J. D. C. (1988): "History and Panegyric in the Age of Heraclius: The Literary Background to the Composition of the 'Histories' of Theophylact Simocatta", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 42, 143-156.
- Funari, P. P. A., M. Hall and S. Jones, eds. (1999): *Historical archaeology: back from the edge*, London-New York.
- Gabričević, B. (1987a): "Kršćanstvo u Iliriku do dolaska Slavena", in: Gabričević 1987b, 278-314.
- (1987b): *Studije i članci o religijama i kultovima antičkog svijeta*, Split.
- (1991): "Kršćanstvo u Iliriku do dolaska Slavena [Christianity in Illyricum before the Arrival of the Slavs]", in: Cambi 1991, 327-352.
- Gaggero, G. (1982): "Il comes Marcellino e l'autonomia della Dalmazia", *Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi*, 2, 241-269 (*Miscellanea Agostino Pertusi*).
- Gauthier, N., E. Marin and F. Prévot, ed. (2010): *Salona IV. Inscriptions de Salone chrétienne, IV^e-VII^e siècles*, vol. 2, Rome.
- Gillett, A. (1993): "The Date and circumstances of Olympiodorus of Thebes", *Traditio*, 48, 1-29.
- (1998): "The Purposes of Cassiodorus' *Variae*", in: Murray 1998, 37-50.
- Giordano, O. (1973): *Jordanes e la storiografia nel VI secolo*, Bari.
- Gjuzelev, V. and R. Pillinger, ed. (1987): *Das Christentum in Bulgarien und auf der übrigen Balkaninsel in der Spätantike und im frühen Mittelalter*, *Miscellanea Bulgarica* 5, Wien.
- Goffart, W. A. (1971): "Zosimus, The First Historian of Rome's Fall", *The American Historical Review*, 76, 412-441.
- (1988): *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550-800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon*, Princeton.
- Goldstein, I. (1992): *Bizant na Jadranu. Bizant na Jadranu od Justinijana I. do Bazilija I* [Byzantium on the Adriatic. Byzantium on the Adriatic from Justinian I to Basil I], *Biblioteka Latina et Graeca* 13, Zagreb.
- (2000): "How the Byzantines Made Use of Adriatic Sea in the War Against the Ostrogoths in 535-555", *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta*, 38, 49-59.
- (2005): "Funkcija Jadrana u ratu Bizantskog carstva protiv Ostrogota 535-555. godine", *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest*, 37, 23-34.
- Gračanin, H. (2005): "Huni i južna Panonija", *Scrinia Slavonica*, 5, 9-47.
- (2006a): "The Huns and South Pannonia", *Byzantinoslavica*, 64, 29-76.
- (2006b): "Goti i južna Panonija [The Goths and Southern Pannonia]", *Scrinia Slavonica*, 6, 83-126.
- (2006c): "Komes Marcellin i njegova *Kronika*. Marcellinus Comes and His Chronicle", in: *Kronika* 2006, 5-54.
- Greatrex, G. B. (2003): "Recent work on Procopius and the composition of Wars VIII", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 27, 45-67.
- Grmek, M. (1998): "Les conséquences de la peste de Justinien dans l'Illyricum", in: Cambi & Marin 1998, 787-794.
- Guillaumin, J.-Y. (2007): *Sur quelques notices des arpenteurs romains*, Paris.
- Gusso, M. (1992): "Sull'imperatore Glicerio", *Studia et documenta historiae et iuris*, 58, 168-193.
- Hartmann, L. (1899): *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Verwaltung in Italien*, Leipzig.
- Heinrich-Tamáská, O., ed. (2011): *Keszthely-Fenékpuszta im Kontext spätantiker Kontinuitätsforschung zwischen Noricum und Moesia*, *Castellum Pannonicum Pelsonense* 2, Budapest-Leipzig-Keszthely-Rahden/Westf.
- Henning, D. (1999): *Periclitans res publica: Kaisertum und Eliten in der Krise des Weströmischen Reiches 454/455-493 n. Chr.*, *Historia-Einzelschriften* 133, Stuttgart.
- Howard-Johnston, J. (2002): "The Education and Expertise of Procopius", *Antiquité Tardive*, 10, 19-30.
- Howe, T. (2007): *Vandalen, Barbaren und Arianer bei Victor von Vita*, Frankfurt am Main.
- I Goti* (1956): *I Goti in Occidente. Problemi* (29 marzo-5 aprile 1955), *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* 3, Spoleto.

- Iakovac, B. (1961): "Novi nalaz ostataka rimskih zgrada u Zadru 1960. godine [Newly Found Remains of Roman Buildings in Zadar in 1960]", *Diadora*, 2, 271-301.
- ILCV: *Incriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres* I-III, ed. Ernst Diehl, Berlin 1924-1931; IV: *Supplementum*, ed. Jacques Moreau, Henri Irénée Marrou, Berlin 1967.
- Jeličić-Radonić, J. (1998): "The Salonitan Cultural Circle of Justinian's Time", in: Cambi & Marin 1998, 1023-1046.
- (2007): "Salona at the Time of Bishop Hesychius", *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 13.1, 13-24.
- Jenkins, K. (1999): *The Postmodern History Reader*, London-New York.
- Jones, S. (1999): "Historical categories and the praxis of identity: the interpretation of ethnicity in historical archaeology", in: Funari *et al.* 1999, 219-232.
- Jurković, M. and T. Lukšić, ed. (1996): *Starohrvatska spomenička baština. Radanje prvog hrvatskog kulturnog pejzaža. Zbornik radova znanstvenog skupa Zagreb, 1992.*, Zagreb.
- Jurišić, M. (2006): "The maritime trade of the Roman province", in: Davison *et al.* 2006, 175-192.
- Kakridi, C. (2005): *Cassiodors Variae. Literatur und Politik im ostgotischen Italien*, Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 223, Leipzig.
- Kaldellis, A. (2004): *Procopius of Caesarea. Tyranny, History, and Philosophy at the End of Antiquity*, Philadelphia.
- Karadž, Z. (1995): "Tragovi bizantskog urbanizma u Hrvatskoj [Traces of Byzantine Town Planning in Croatia]", *Prostor*, 3.2 (10), 285-298.
- Karaman, L. (1957): "O rimskom zaseoku u Polačama na otoku Mljetu [On a Roman Hamlet at Polače on the Island of Mljet]", *VAHD*, 56-59, 102-107.
- Katičić, R. (1998): *Litterarum studia. Književnost i naobrazba ranoga hrvatskog srednjovjekovlja [Literature and Education in the Croatian Early Middle Ages]*, Zagreb.
- Katić, M. (2003): "Nova razmatranja o kasnoantičkom gradu na Jadranu [New Remarks about the Late Antique Town on the Adriatic]", *Opuscula Archaeologica*, 27, 523-528.
- Kent, J. P. C. (1966): "Julius Nepos and the Fall of the Western Empire", in: Swoboda-Milenović 1966, 146-150.
- Konrad, M. and C. Witschel, eds (2011): *Römische Legionslager in den Rhein- und Donauprovinzen - Nuclei spätantik-frühmittelalterlichen Lebens ?*, Abhandlungen, Neue Folge 138, München.
- Kos P. and Ž. Demo, ed. (1988): *Studia numismatica Labacensia Alexandro Jeločnik oblata*, Situla 26, Ljubljana.
- Kovačić, V. (1992): "Ranokršćanski natpis iz Trogira [An Early Christian Inscription from Trogir]", *Diadora*, 14, 301-310.
- Krautschick, S. (1983): *Cassiodor und die Politik seiner Zeit*, Habelts Dissertationsdrucke, Reihe Alte Geschichte 17, Bonn.
- Kronika* 2006: *Prejasni muž komes Marcellin, Kronika [Chronicon Marcellini viri clarissimi comitis]*, ed. and transl. Bruna Kuntić-Makvić, introductory study and commentary Hrvoje Gračanin, Biblioteka Latina & Graeca 36, Zagreb.
- Kuhoff, W. (2010): "Zosimos, oströmischer Historiker", *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, 31, 1541-1555.
- Kulikowski, M. (2000): "The *Notitia Dignitatum* as a historical source", *Historia*, 49, 358-377.
- (2002): "Marcellinus 'of Dalmatia' and the Dissolution of the Fifth-Century Empire", *Byzantion*, 72, 177-191.
- Kuntić-Makvić, B. (1997): "Grčka i rimska starina. Greek and Roman Antiquity", in: Supićić 1997, 73-91.
- (1998a): "La continuité de la mentalité urbaine: de Pline l'Ancien à Constantin Porphyrogénète", *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 4, 231-237.
- (1998b): "Honorius iunior, Salonitanae urbis episcopus [Essai sur la Dalmatie de son temps]", in: Cambi & Marin 1998, 997-1002.
- (1999): "Greek and Roman Antiquity", in: Supićić & Jovanović-Barolda 1999, 73-91.
- Kuntić-Makvić, B., ed. (2009): *Studia Varvarina* 1, Zagreb-Motovun.
- Lancel, S. (2000): "Victor de Vita, témoin et chroniqueur des années noires de l'Afrique romaine au v^e siècle", *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 144.4, 1199-1219.
- Leppin, H. (2003): "Evagrius Scholasticus oder: Kirchengeschichte und Reichstreue", *Mediterraneo antico*, 6, 141-153.

- , ed. (2009): *Jenseits der Grenzen. Beiträge zur spätantiken und frühmittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibung*, Berlin-New York.
- (2012): "Roman Identity in a Border Region: Evagrius and the Defence of the Roman Empire", in: Pohl *et al.* 2012, 241-258.
- Levak, M. (2009): *Kastrizacija u Istri: preobrazba načina života i privredvanja u Istri na prijelazu iz kasne antike u rani srednji vijek (doktorska disertacija)* [Castrization in Istria: Transformation of the Way of Life and Economy in Istria during the Transition from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages] (PhD dissertation), Zagreb.
- Liebeschuetz, J. H. W. G. (2003): "Pagan historiography and the decline of the Empire", in: Marasco 2003, 177-218.
- (2011): "Making a Gothic History: Does the Getica of Jordanes preserve genuinely Gothic Traditions?", *Journal of Late Antiquity*, 4, 185-216.
- Lotter, F. (2003): *Völkerverschiebungen im Ostalpen-Mitteldonau-Raum zwischen Antike und Mittelalter (375-600)*, Berlin-New York (unter Mitarbeit von Rajko Bratož und Helmut Castritius).
- MacGeorge, P. (2002): *Late Roman Warlords*, Oxford.
- Macpherson, R. (1989): *Rome in Involution. Cassiodorus' Variae in Their Literary and Historical Setting*, Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, Seria filologia klasyczna 14, Poznań.
- Macrides, R., ed. (2010): *History as Literature in Byzantium: Papers from the Fortieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, 2007*, Farnham.
- Maraković, N. and T. Turković (2006): "Social Change and the Idea of Urbanity Between Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages", *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 12, 91-99.
- (2012): "Late Antique Changes in the Urban Structure of the Dalmatian Metropolis - the Episcopal Complex in Salona", in: Diarote Blasco & López 2012, 27-30.
- Marasco, G., ed. (2003): *Greek and Roman Historiography in Late Antiquity: Fourth to Sixth Century A.D.*, Leiden.
- Margetić, L. (1983): *Histrice et Adriaticae. Raccolta di saggi storico-giuridici e storici, Atti Rovigno 6*, Trieste.
- (1990): *Rijeka, Vinodol, Istra*, Rijeka.
- (1997a): "Marcellinus - scolasticus i proconsul Dalmatiae [Marcellinus - Scolasticus and Proconsul of Dalmatia]", *Historijski zbornik*, 50, 1-8.
- (1997b): "Dalmacija u drugoj polovici VI. stoljeća i Justinijan [Dalmatia in the Second Half of the 6th Century and Justinian]", *Zbornik Pravnog fakulteta u Zagrebu*, 47, 205-215.
- Marin, E. (1988): *Starokršćanska Salona: studije o genezi, profilu i transformaciji grada [The Early Christian Salona: Studies on the Genesis, Profile, and Transformation of the City]*, Biblioteka Latina et Graeca 7, Zagreb.
- Marin, E. and D. Mazzoleni, ed. (2009): *Il Cristianesimo in Istria fra Tarda Antichità e Alto Medioevo. Novità e riflessioni. Atti della giornata tematica dei Seminari di Archeologia Cristiana, Roma, 2007*, Vatican.
- Marović, I. (1984): "Reflections about the Year of the Destruction of Salona", *VAHD*, 77, 293-314.
- (1991): "O godini razorenja Salone [On the Year of the Destruction of Salona]", *Kulturna baština*, 21, 57-84 [= *Ibid.*, *VAHD*, 99 (2006), 253-273].
- (1995): "O pretpostavljenoj kovnici novca u VI. st. u Saloni [On the Supposed Mint at Salona in the 6th Century]", *Numizmatički vjesnik*, 1(14), 19-24.
- Martindale, J. R. (1980): *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. II: *A.D. 395-527*, Cambridge.
- Marušić, B. (1957): "Slavensko-avarski napadi na Istru u svjetlu arheološke građe [The Slavic-Avar Incursions into Istria in the Light of Archaeological Evidence]", *Peristil*, 2, 63-70.
- (1967): *Kasnoantička i bizantinska Pula* [The Late Antique and Byzantine Pula], Kulturno-povijesni spomenici Istre 6, Pula.
- (1978): "Kršćanstvo i poganstvo na tlu Istre u IV i V stoljeću [Christianity and Paganism in the Territory of Istria in the 4th and 5th Centuries]", *AVest*, 29, 549-567.
- (1989): "Kasnoantički kaštel Novigrad (Istra) u svjetlu arheološke građe [The Late Antique Fortress of Novigrad (Istria) in the Light of Archaeological Evidence]", *Diadora*, 11, 285-316.

- (1990): "Še o istraski Kisi (*Cissa*) in kesenskem škofu (*episcopus Cessensis*) [More About the Istrian *Cissa* and the Bishop of *Cissa* (*episcopus Cessensis*)]", *AVest*, 41, 403-429.
- Matijašić, R. (1988): "Kasiodorova pisma kao izvor za poznavanje kasnoantičke povijesti Istre (Cass., *Var.*, XII, 22, 23, 24) [Cassiodorus's Letters as a Source for the Knowledge of the History of Istria in Late Antiquity]", *Zgodovinski časopis*, 42.3, 363-371.
- (1998): *Gospodarstvo antičke Istre. Arheološki ostaci kao izvori za poznavanje društveno-gospodarskih odnosa u Istri u antici* (*I. st. pr. Kr. - III. st. posl. Kr.*) [The Economy of Ancient Istria. Archaeological Remains as Sources for the Knowledge of Socio-Economic Relations in Istria in Antiquity (1st c. BC - 3rd c. AD)], Pula.
- (2009): "Società e commercio nell'Istria e i rapporti con il Mediterraneo nella Tarda Antichità", in: Marin & Mazzoleni 2009, 47-69.
- (2012): *Povijest hrvatskih zemalja u kasnoj antici od Dioklecijana do Justinijana* [A History of Croatian Lands in Late Antiquity from Diocletian to Justinian], Zagreb.
- Matthews, J. F. (1970): "Olympiodorus of Thebes and the history of the West (AD 407-425)", *JRS*, 60, 79-97.
- McCullagh, C. B. (2004): *The logic of history: putting postmodernism in perspective*, London-New York.
- Medini, J. (1980a): "O nekim kronološkim i sadržajnim značajkama poglavlja o Dalmaciji u djelu *Cosmographia* anonimnog pisca iz Ravene [On Certain Chronological and Substantial Characteristics of the Chapter on Dalmatia in *Cosmographia* by an Anonymous Author from Ravenna]", in: Mikl-Curk & Todorovic 1980, 69-83.
- (1980b): "Provincia Liburnia", *Diadora*, 9, 363-441.
- Migotti, B. (1992a): "Antičko-srednjovjekovni sakralni kontinuitet na području Dalmacije [The Sacral Continuity in the Territory of Dalmatia between Antiquity and the Middle Ages]", *Opuscula archaeologica*, 16, 225-49.
- (1992b): "Ranokršćanska biskupija Scardona (Skradin) [The Early Christian Bishopric of Scardona (Skradin)]", *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu*, 9, 101-112.
- Mihevc-Gabrovec, E., K. Gantar and M. Benedik, ed. (1987): *Antični temelji naše sodobnosti. Referati slovenskih udeležencev na 4. znanstvenem zborovanju Zveze drus tev za antične študije Jugoslavije v Pulju 1986*, Ljubljana.
- Mikl-Curk, M. and J. Todorovic, ed. (1980): *Putevi i komunikacije u antici. Simpozij Saveza arheoloških društava Jugoslavije, Peč, 1978*, Materijali Saveza arheoloških društava Jugoslavije 17, Beograd.
- Mirosavljević, V., D. Duje Rendić-Miočević and M. Suić, ed. (1970): *Adriatica praehistorica et antiqua miscellanea Gregorio Novak dicata. Zbornik radova posvećen Grgi Novaku*, Zagreb.
- Mócsy, A. (1965): "Zur Bevölkerung in der Spätantike", in: *Alföldy 1965*, 212-226.
- Muhlberger, S. (1990): *The Fifth-Century Chroniclers: Prosper, Hydatius, and the Gallic Chronicler of 452*, Leeds.
- Munslow, A. (2006): *Deconstructing History*, London-New York.
- Murray, A. C., ed. (1998): *After Rome's Fall. Narrator and Sources of Early Medieval History*, Toronto-Buffalo-London.
- Musa, I. (2008): "Pitanje metropolitanskog, vikarijskog i nad-biskupskog položaja Salonitanske crkve [Question of the Metropolitan, Vicarial and Archi-Episcopal Position of the Salonitan Church]", in: *Dukić et al. 2008*, 289-298.
- Nikolajević, I. (1971): "Veliki posed u Dalmaciji u v i vi veku u svetlosti arheoloških nalaza [The Large Estate in Dalmatia in the 5th and 6th Centuries in the Light of Archaeological Findings]", *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta*, 13, 284-292.
- (1974): "The Redemption of Captives in Dalmatia in the 6th and 7th century", *Balcanoslavica*, 2, 73-79.
- Nikolanci, M. (1985): "Dalmatinska dinastija i propast Zapadnog Rimskog Carstva [The 'Dalmatian Dynasty' and the Fall of the Western Roman Empire]", *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest*, 18, 5-22.
- Novak, A. (2007): *L'istria nella prima età bizantina, Atti Rovigno 27*, Rovigno.
- O'Donnell, J. J. (1979): *Cassiodorus*, Berkley-Los Angeles-London.
- (1982): "The Aims of Jordanes", *Historia*, 31, 223-240.
- Olajos, T. (1988): *Les sources de Théolophylacte Simocatta historien*, Byzantina Neerlandica 10, Leiden.
- Paschoud, F. (1972): *RE*, 10 A, s.u. Zosimos, col. 795-841.

- (1975): *Cinque études sur Zosime*, Paris.
- Perkić, D., ed. (2010): *Arheološka istraživanja u Dubrovačko-neretvanskoj županiji: znanstveni skup, Dubrovnik, 2005.*, Izdanja HAD 24, Zagreb.
- Pferschy, B. (1986): "Cassiodors' *Variae*. Individuelle Ausgestaltung eines spätrömischen Urkundenformulars", *Archiv für Diplomatik*, 32, 1-127.
- Piteša, A. (2006): "The Slavs and the early Croatian state", in: Davison *et al.* 2006, 193-212.
- Pohl, W., C. Gantner and R. E. Payne, ed. (2012): *Visions of Community in the Post-Roman World: The West, Byzantium and the Islamic World, 300-1100*, Farnham.
- Pohl, W. and M. Mehofer, ed. (2010): *Archaeology of Identity - Archäologie der Identität*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften 406, Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 17, Wien.
- Posavec, V. (1996): "Prilog poznavanju ostrogotskog razdoblja u Dalmaciji", *Historijski zbornik*, 49, 1-15.
- (1997): "Pogled na prošlost rimske Dalmacije u prvoj polovici v. stoljeća [A View on the Past of the Roman Dalmatia in the First Half of the 5th century]", *Historijski zbornik*, 50, 9-20.
- (2007): *Dalmacija u vrijeme Marcelina i Julija Nepota [Dalmatia in the time of Marcellinus and Julius Nepos]*, Split.
- Prévot, F., D. Feissel and N. Gauthier (2010): "N° 426. Épitaphe ? d'Ausonius, *vir spectabilis* et comte du consistoire sacré et [...] des Dalmaties", in: Gauthier *et al.* 2010, 766-769.
- Prijatelj, K. (1949): "Kasnoantična palača u Polačama na otoku Mljetu [The Late Antique Palace at Polače on the Island of Mljet]", *Arhitektura*, 3, 25-27, 89-93.
- Prozorov, V. (2011): "Salonitanski crkveni sabori iz šestog stoljeća [The Sixth Century Councils of Salona]", *VAHD*, 104, 309-337.
- Puljić, I. and A. Škegro (2006): "Sarsenterska biskupija [The Diocese of *Sarsenterum*]", *Povijesni prilozi*, 30, 7-50.
- Purpura, G. (1995): "Sulle origini della *Notitia Dignitatum*", in: *Il tardo impero. Aspetti e significati nei suoi riflessi giuridici. Atti del X Convegno Internazionale Accademia Romanistica Costantiniana (in onore di Arnaldo Biscardi, Spello-Perugia-Gubbio 1991, Annali dell'Università di Palermo 42, Napoli, 347-357.*
- Rajšp, V., ed. (1996): *Grafenauerjev zbornik*, Ljubljana.
- Rapanić, Ž. (1985): "Istočna obala Jadrana u ranom srednjem vijeku (Povijesna i povijesnoumjetnička razmatranja) [The Eastern Adriatic Coast in the Early Middle Ages (Historical and Art-historical Reflections)]", *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, 3/15, 7-30.
- Ravegnani, G. (1999): "L'Istria Bizantina: Le istituzioni militari ai confini dell'esarcato Ravennate", *Acta Histriae*, 7, 77-84.
- Rendić-Miočević, D. (2011a): "Područje provincije Dalmacije u kasnoj antici [Territories of the Province of Dalmatia in Late Antiquity]", in: Rendić-Miočević 2011b, 259-265 [= *Id.* (1984): "I territori della provincia Dalmatia nel Tardo Antico", in: *Il Crinale d'Europa. L'area illiroco-danubiana nei suoi rapporti con il mondo classico*, Roma, 105-11].
- (2011b): *Dalmatia christiana. Opera omnia*, Zagreb-Split.
- Rizzo, F. P. (2008): "La chiesa di Salona nel conflitto dei *Tria Capitula*", in: Dukić *et al.* 2008, 275-287.
- Rogošić, R. (1962): *Veliki Ilirik (284-395) i njegova konačna dioba (396-437). Kriična istraživanja Ilirika iz kasnije povijesti Rimskog Carstva [The Greater Illyricum (284-395) and its Final Division (396-437). Critical Research of Illyricum in the History of Later Roman Empire]*, Zagreb.
- Sanader, M., M. Šegvić and I. Mirnik, ed. (2005): *Illyrica antiqua ob honorem Duje Rendić-Miočević*, Zagreb.
- Rohrbacher, D. (2002): *The Historians of Late Antiquity*, London-New York.
- Scharer, A. and G. Scheibelreiter, ed. (1994): *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichte 32, Wien-München.
- Schillinger-Häfele, U. (1963): "Beobachtungen zum Quellenproblem der *Kosmographie* von Ravenna", *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 163, 238-251.
- Schmidt, L. (1934): *Geschichte der deutschen Stämme bis zum Ausgang der Völkerwanderung: Die Ostgermanen*, 2nd ed., München.

- Schwarz, A. (1994): "Bedeutung und Textüberlieferung der *Historia persecutionis Africanae provinciae* des Victor von Vita", in: Scharer & Scheibelreiter 1994, 115-140.
- (2000): "Der Nordadria- und Westbalkanraum im 6. Jahrhundert zwischen Goten und Byzantinern", in: Bratož 2000, 59-71.
- Šenk, T., ed. (2007): *Arhivistika - zgodovina - pravo: Vilfanov spominski zbornik*, Ljubljana.
- Šeparović, T., N. Uroda and M. Zekan, ed. (2010): *Zbornik Stjepan Gunjača i hrvatska srednjovjekovna povijesno-arheološka baština. Zbornik radova sa Znanstvenog skupa u povodu 100. obljetnice rođenja akademika Stjepana Gunjače, Split, 2009*, Split.
- Sotinel, C. (2005): *Identité civique et christianisme: Aquilée du III^e au VI^e siècle*, Bibliothèque des École française d'Athènes et de Rome 324, Rome.
- Staab, F. (1976): "Ostrogothic Geographers at the Court of Theodoric the Great: A Study of Some Sources of the Anonymous Cosmographer of Ravenna", *Viator*, 7, 27-58.
- (1998): *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, 11, s.u. Geograph von Ravenna, 102-109.
- Stolte, B. H. (1949): *De Cosmographie van den Anonymus Ravennas. Een studie over de bronnen von boek II-V*, PhD dissertation, University of Amsterdam.
- Stošić, J., I. Tenšek, I. Valjato-Vrus and I. Žile (2002): "Ispravljeni tlocrt kasnoantičke palače u Polačama na otoku Mljetu [Corrected Ground-plan of the Late Antique Palace in Polače on the Island of Mljet]", *Dubrovnik. Časopis za književnost i znanost*, 13.1-2, 271-276.
- Suić, M. (1970): "Liburnia Tarsaticensis", in: Mirosavljević et al. 1970, 705-716.
- (1987): *Zadar u starom vijeku [Zadar in Antiquity]*, Prošlost Zadra I, Zadar.
- (1986): "Hijeronim Stridonjanin, građanin Tarsatike [Jerome of Stridon, Citizen of Tarsatica]", *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 426, 213-278.
- (1987): "Cissa Pullaria - Baphium Cissense - episcopus Cessensis", *Arheološki radovi i rasprave*, 10, 185-219 [reprinted in: *Odabrani radovi iz stare povijesti Hrvatske. Opera selecta*, Zadar 1996, 689-724].
- (1992): "Episcopus Cessensis iterum", *Croatica Christiana Periodica*, 16 (30), 11-35 [= *Odabrani radovi iz stare povijesti Hrvatske. Opera selecta*, Zadar 1996, 725-750].
- (1997a): "Kontinuitet urbane kulture [The Continuity of Urban Culture]", in: Supićić 1997, 93-115.
- (1997b): "Bizantinski limes na istočnoj obali Jadrana [The Byzantine Limes on the Eastern Adriatic Coast]", *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 35, 133-145.
- (1999): "Continuity of Urban Civilisation in the Croatian Lands", in: Supićić & Jovanović-Barolda 1999, 93-115.
- (2003): *Antički grad na istočnom Jadranu [Ancient Town on the Eastern Adriatic]*, Zagreb.
- Supićić, I., ed. (1997): *Hrvatska i Europa. Kultura, znanost i umjetnost I: Srednji vijek (VII - XII. stoljeće). Rano doba hrvatske kulture*, Zagreb.
- Supićić, I and R. Jovanović-Barolda, ed. (1999): *Croatia in the Early Middle Ages. A Cultural Survey*, London-Zagreb.
- Steuer, H. and V. Bierbrauer, ed. (2008): *Höhensiedlungen zwischen Antike und Mittelalter von den Ardennen bis zur Adria*, RGA-E 58, Berlin-New York.
- Swoboda-Milenović, R. M., ed. (1966): *Corolla memoriae Erich Swoboda dedicata*, Römische Forschungen in Niederösterreich 5, Graz-Köln.
- Škegro, A. (1999): *Gospodarstvo rimske provincije Dalmacije [The Economic History of the Roman Province of Dalmatia]*, Zagreb.
- (2001a): "Papinski patrimonij u Dalmaciji", *Bosna franciscana*, 9 (14), 147-171.
- (2001b): "Upravitelj dobara Salonitanske crkve", *Povijesni prilozi*, 22, 19-28.
- (2002): "Procurator Ecclesiae Salonitanae", *Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja*, 32 (30), 407-417.
- (2004): "Papal possessions in the eastern Adriatic", *AVest*, 55, 429-438.
- (2005a): "Papinski posjedi na istočnojadranskom prostoru", *Hrvatska misao. Matica hrvatska Sarajevo, časopis za umjetnost i znanost* 35-37/26, 88-103.
- (2005b): "The Bestoen bishopric in the light of prior research", *AVest*, 56, 369-89.

- (2007a): "Natal i Maksim – posljednji salonitanski nadbiskupi [Natalis and Maximus – the Last Salonitan Archbishops]", *Hrvatska misao. Matica hrvatska Sarajevo, časopis za umjetnost i znanost*, n.s., 45/32, 31-44.
- (2007b): "Ludrumska biskupija (*Ecclesia Ludroensis*)", *Hercegovina: godišnjak za kulturno i povijesno naslijeđe*, 21, 59-92 [= "The Diocese of Ludrum (*Ecclesia Ludroensis*)", *Povijesni prilozi*, 32, 9-24].
- (2007c): "The Diocese of Baloie (*Ecclesia Baloiensis*)", *AVest*, 58, 357-365.
- (2008a): "Kriza grada Salone i Salonitanske crkve u doba nad/biskupâ Natale i Maksima [The Crisis of the City of Salona and the Salonitan Church in the Time of Arch-Bishops Natalis and Maximus]", in: Dukić *et al.* 2008, 299-315.
- (2008b): "Kontroverzni biskup Malho i tzv. Delminijska biskupija [The Controversial Bishop Malchus and the Diocese of *Delminium*]", *Archaeologia Adriatica*, 11, 519-527.
- (2008c): "Tobožnja delminijska biskupija [The Alleged Diocese of *Delminium*]", *Opuscula Archaeologica*, 31, 283-302.
- (2008d): "Mukurska biskupija (*Ecclesia Muccuritana*)", *Povijesni prilozi*, 34, 9-26 [= "The Diocese of Muccurum (*Ecclesia Muccuritana*) in Dalmatia", *AVest*, 59, 291-303].
- (2009a): "Akti salonitanskih metropolitanskih sabora održanih 530. i 533. godine – Analiza [The Acts of the Salonitan Metropolitan Councils Held in 530 and 533 - An Analysis]", *Archaeologia Adriatica*, 3, 191-204.
- (2009b): "Naronitanska biskupija (*Ecclesia Naronitana*)", *Hercegovina: godišnjak za kulturno i povijesno naslijeđe*, 23, 7-34 [= "The Diocese of Narona (*Ecclesia Naronitana*)", *AVest*, 61, 229-244].
- (2009c): "The Diocese of *Epitaurum* (*Ecclesia Epitauritana*)", *Histria Antiqua*, 18.2, 203-213.
- (2010a): "Maktaritanska / Martaritanska biskupija (*Ecclesia Mactaritana / Martaritana*)", *Bosna franciscana*, 18/32, 119-144.
- (2010b): "Sarnienska dijezeza (*Sarniensis Ecclesia*)", *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 3.37, 247-263.
- (2010c): "Najranija crkvena organizacija na području Dubrovačko-neretvanske županije [The Earliest Ecclesiastical Organization in the Territory of Dubrovnik-Neretva County]", in: Perkić 2010, 117-123.
- (2011): "Barcenska biskupija - *Barcensis Ecclesia*", *Histria Antiqua*, 20, 449-456.
- Škunca, J. (1991): "Problem Cisse i njezine biskupije [The Problem of *Cissa* and Its Bishopric]", *Croatica Christiana Periodica*, 15 (27), 1-20.
- Šonje, A. (1981): "L'ubicazione della sede del vescovo di Cessa, Vindemio", *Atti Rovigno*, 11, 85-130.
- Špehar, P. (2008): "Late antique and early Byzantine fortifications in Bosnia and Herzegovina (hinterland of the province of Dalmatia)", in: Steuer & Bierbrauer 2008, 559-594.
- Tardo antico e alto medioevo* (1968): *Tardo antico e alto medioevo. La forma artistica nel passaggio dell'antichità al medioevo. Atti del Convegno Internazionale 1967*, Roma.
- Tejral, J., ed. (2002): *Probleme der frühen Merowingerzeit im Mitteldonauraum*, Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno 19, Brno.
- Thompson, E. A. (1944): "Olympiodorus of Thebes", *The Classical Quarterly*, 38, 43-52.
- Tomičić, Ž. (1998): "Le traccie della riconquista giustiniana sulla costa dell'Adriatico orientale", in: Cambi & Marin 1998, 1075-1090.
- Treadgold, W. (2004): "The Diplomatic Career and Historical Work of Olympiodorus of Thebes", *The International History Review*, 26, 709-733.
- (2007): *The Early Byzantine Historians*, Basingstoke-New York.
- Turković, T. (2011): "The Late Antique 'Palace' in Polače Bay (Mljet) – Tetrarchic 'Palace'?", *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 17, 211-233.
- Turković, T. and I. Basić (2011): "Nuove conoscenze sulla *Liburnia Tarsaticensis* nel contesto dello studio delle fonti geografiche", *Atti Rovigno*, 41, 49-102.
- (2014): "Kasnoantička i ranosrednjovjekovna Tarsatička Liburnija (*Liburnia Tarsaticensis*) u svjetlu geografskih izvora", *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, 3.40, 33-80.
- Uglešić, A. (1992): "Rimska provincija Dalmacija pod vlašću Istočnih Gota [The Roman Province of Dalmatia under the Rule of the Ostrogoths]", *RFfZ*, 30 (17), 65-78.

- (2005): "O Naroni u istočnogotsko doba na temelju arheoloških nalaza [On Narona in the Time of the Ostrogoths on the Basis of Archaeological Evidence]", *Diadora*, 21, 201-212.
- Valenčič, R., ed. (2008): *Liturga theologia prima: zbornik ob 80-letnici profesorja Marijana Smolika*, Ljubljana.
- Vicelja Matijašić, M. (2007): *Istra i Bizant. Neki povijesno-ikonografski aspekti u interpretaciji umjetnosti 6. stoljeća u Istri [Istria and Byzantium. Some Historical-Iconographic Aspects in the Interpretation of the 6th-century Art in Istria]*, Rijeka.
- Vinski, Z. (1967): "Kasnoantički starosjedioci u salonitanskoj regiji prema arheološkoj ostavštini pred-slavenskog supstrata [The Late Antique Native Population in the Salonitan Region According to the Archaeological Remains of the Pre-Slavic Substrate]", *VAHD*, 69, 5-86.
- Vučić, J. (2005): "Ecclesia Naronitana, Prostor i granice [The Ecclesia Naronitana, Territory and Borders]", *VAHD*, 98, 159-170.
- Wagner, N. (1967): *Getica. Untersuchungen zum Leben des Jordanes und zur frühen Geschichte der Goten, Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte der germanischen Völker, Neue Folge 22 (146)*, Berlin.
- Weißensteiner, J. (1994): "Cassiodor/Jordanes als Geschichtsschreiber", in: Scharer & Scheibelreiter 1994, 308-325.
- Whitby, M. (1988): *The emperor Maurice and his Historian. Theophylact Simocatta on Persian and Balkan Warfare*, Oxford.
- (2007): "Religious Views of Procopius and Agathias", in: Brodka & Stachura 2007, 73-94.
- Wiemer, H.-U. (2009): "Kaiserkritik und Gotenbild im Geschichtswerk des Malchos von Philadelphia", in: Leppin 2009, 25-60.
- (2014): "Malchos von Philadelphia, die Vandalen und das Ende des Kaisertums im Westen", in: Bleckmann & Stickler 2014, 121-159.
- Wilkes, J. J. (1969): *Dalmatia*, London.
- (1972): "A Pannonian Refugee of Quality at Salona", *Phoenix*, 26, 377-393.
- Wozniak, F. E. (1981): "East Rome, Ravenna and Western Illyricum 454-536", *Historia*, 30, 351-82.
- Yoon Hwang, A. (2009): *Prosper of Aquitaine: A Study of His Life and Works*, Washington.
- Zaninović, M. (1987): "Avsonivs vir spectabilis - Novi namjesnik kasnoantičke [Avsonivs vir spectabilis: A New Governor of the Late Antique Dalmatia]", *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 26, 11-22 [reprinted in Zaninović, M. (1996): *Od Helena do Hrvata*, Zagreb, 375-384].
- Zeiller, J. (1906): *Les origines chrétiennes dans la province romaine de Dalmatie*, Paris (2nd ed., Roma, 1967).
- Zeman, M. (2012): "Transformation of the Roman Rural Landscape in Central Dalmatia (Roman Dalmatia) - From Residential Villas to Administrative Centers", in: Diarte Blasco & López 2012, 65-68.
- Zgrablić, M. (2012): "Naselja, crkve i biskupi u Istri između kasne antike i ranoga srednjeg vijeka : primjer Pulske biskupije [Settlements, Churches and Bishops in Istria between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Example of the Bishopric of Pula]", *Tabula*, 10, 129-146.
- Zmajčić, B. (1957): "Novci Juliusa Neposa (474-480), posljednjeg priznatog zapadnorimskog cara [The Coinage of Julius Nepos (474-480), the Last Legitimate Western Roman Emperor]", *Numizmatičke vijesti*, 4 (10), 19-24.
- Zottl, C. M. (2004): "De origine actibusque Getarum: Textanalytische Gedanken zur Gotengeschichte des Jordanes", *Concilium medii aevi*, 7, 93-123.

ERRATA CORRIGE

p. 72

instead of „Apart from the already mentioned contributions by“, read „Apart from the contributions by“

instead of „nu-merous studies“, read „numerous studies“

p. 73

instead of „sta-tioned in Italy“, read „stationed in Italy“

p. 76

instead of „is supple-mented by“, read „is supplemented by“

p. 77

instead of „was undoub-tedly“, read „was undoubtedly“

instead of „the duty of col-lecting“, read „the duty of collecting“

p. 78

instead of „Athalaric appoints *vir illustris* Aratus, who hails from the province and was once sent by the provincials of Dalmatias on an embassy to Theodoric, to the post of *comes domesticorum*“, read „Athalaric appoints *vir illustris* and *comes domesticorum* Arator, who was once sent by the provincial of Dalmatias on an embassy to Theodoric, to a *comes* post“

instead of „The *Variae* also provides“, read „The *Variae* also provide“

p. 78

instead of „when did Marcellinus came to power in *Dalmatia*; when did *Istria* and *Liburnia* passed from the Ostrogothic to the Eastern Roman rule; and when did *Salona* ceased to exist as an organized late antique urban entity?“, read when did Marcellinus come to power in *Dalmatia*; when did *Istria* and *Liburnia* pass from the Ostrogothic to the Eastern Roman rule; and when did *Salona* cease to exist as an organized late antique urban entity?“

note 83

instead of „from Cassiodorus's *Variae*“, read „from Cassiodorus' *Variae*“

p. 81

instead of „Belisarius' stop and say at *Pola*“, read „Belisarius' stop and stay at *Pola*“

instead of „is probably to explain“, read „is probably to be explained“

p. 81

instead of „the damage inflic-ted to“, read „the damage inflicted to“

p. 84

instead of „the problem of the existance“, read „the problem of the existence“

p. 85

instead of „Others still await a mre comprehensive study“, read „Others still await a more comprehensive study“

ADDENDA

p. 70

add in note 21 after Zeman 2012:

See also Turković 2011, 213-215, 223, 227 (note 6), 229 (notes 37 and 38), 233 (notes 111 and 112).

add after the sentence „A brief overview of political-military and administrative effects of the Ostrogothic rule over the region between the Drava and the Adriatic can be found in Andreas Schwarcz's paper“:

while Frank E. Wozniak has examined the Ostrogothic administration in Dalmatia.

add in note 32 after Schwarcz 2000:

Wozniak 1984, 374-384.

p. 71

add in note 38 after Nikolajević 1971:

with 1975.

p. 72

add after the sentence: „Finally, one recent paper investigates the late antique and early medieval monasteries on the islands in Kvarner Bay“:

whereas another study has examined the evidence for early monasticism on islands of central Dalmatia.

add in note 56 after Bully & Čaušević-Bully 2011:

Uroda 2013.

p. 74

add after the sentence „the Roman commanders John, nephew of Vitalianus, and Justinian, son of Germanus, march to *Dalmatia* and arrive in *Salona* for the winter (7.40.11, 27)“:

the Roman commander Artabanus makes forced landing on the island of *Melita* (Mljet) after the fleet under his command has suffered losses off Calabria due to storms and adverse winds and his own ship has been carried off by currents (7.40.14-17);

p. 93

add after — (1974): „The Redemption of Captives in Dalmatia in the 6th and 7th century“, *Balcanoslavica*, 2, 73-79:

— (1975): „Salona Cristiana aux VI^e et VII^e siècles“, *Disputationes Salonitanae 1970*, ed. Željko Rapanić, Split: Arheološki muzej, 1975, 91-95.

p. 97

add after — (2005): „O Naroni u istočnogotsko doba na temelju arheoloških nalaza [On Narona in the Time of the Ostrogoths on the Basis of Archeological Evidence]“, *Diadora*, 21, 201-212.

Uroda, N. „Beginnings of monasticism on central Dalmatian islands - problems and perspectives“, *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 19 (2013), 113-20.

add after Wozniak F. E. (1981): „East Rome, Ravenna and Western *Illyricum* 454-536“, *Historia*, 30, 351-82:

— (1984): „The Continuity of Roman Traditions and the Ostrogothic Administration of Dalmatia in the Sixth Century“, in: *Papers of the Vth Congress of Southeast European Studies (Belgrade, September 1984)*, eds. Kot K. Shangriladze & Erica W. Townsend, Columbus 1984, 374-382.