

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

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(Rossit C., O. Selva et D. Umek, *Imago Adriae*, Trieste,
2006, p. 85)

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Maritime trade in the Pre-Roman Period in the Eastern Adriatic: a preliminary report on a ceramic and numismatic evidence in *Liburnia*

Lucijana Šešelj et Mato Ilkić

The period from the 4th to the 1st c. BC on the eastern Adriatic is marked by the rise of commercial traffic and intensified relations with Hellenised parts of the Mediterranean. This trade exchange is mainly conducted by sea on local, regional and wider Mediterranean scope. There is no ample evidence in ancient literary sources about maritime affairs, so our main source of information is archaeology, study of shipwrecks, ports, maritime sanctuaries, inscriptions and movable finds like amphorae, pottery and coins.

The aim of this contribution is to give an overview of the present state of research on ceramic and numismatic evidence in the territory of *Liburnia* in order to better understand the problems of maritime trade in the Adriatic region during the Hellenistic period¹. In this period it is possible to trace the processes of growing acculturation as a result of continuous strengthening of relations with the Hellenistic world. The first official relations with the Romans were established in the last third of the 2nd century BC, but numismatic finds suggest earlier contacts at least from the 3rd c. BC, probably at the same time when the Romans conquered the Adriatic coast of Italy.

These are only preliminary results but even they can give us a fresh perspective on the subject.

GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

The term *Liburnia* used in this paper refers to the geographical area of the North-eastern Adriatic defined by ancient authors Pliny the Elder² and Florus³ (fig 1). According to them the northern border of this territory is marked by *flumen Arsia*, modern river Raša in Istria and the southern border is marked by *flumen Titius* the river Krka in today's central Dalmatia. The region is limited to a narrow strip of the coast in the North defined by the mountain

1 In archaeological terms this is Late Liburnian period after Batović's periodization of the Liburnian Iron Age culture. Batović 1965, 55-70; *Id.* 1987, 339-390.

2 Plin., *Nat.*, 3.139: *Arsiae gens Liburnorum iungitur usque ad flumen Titium*; Plin., *Nat.*, 3.140-141: *...Rursus incontinente colonia Iader... inde... Colentum insula... ostium Titii fluminis. Liburniae finis et initium Delmatiae Scardona in amne eo XII passuum a mari.*

3 Flor., *Epit.*, 1.21.1: *Illyrii seu Liburni sub extremis Alpium radicibus agunt inter Arsiam Titiumque flumen longissime per totum Hadriani maris litus effusi.*

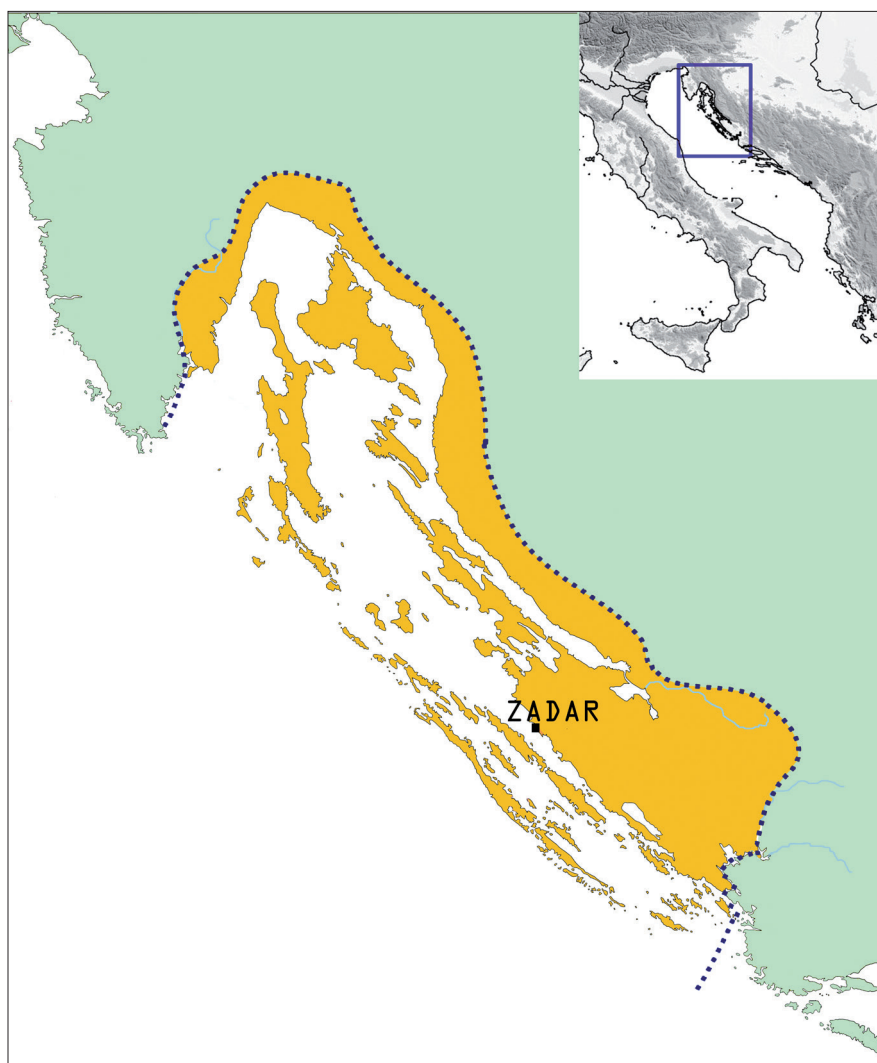


Fig. 1. Territory of Liburnia.

chain of Velebit, the region of Hrvatsko primorje and Kvarner and the adjoining islands. The border line in hinterland is very hard to define because of the lack of proper excavations and the study of material. This is the main reason why this study is limited to the coastal area and on the hinterland of the northern Dalmatia named Ravni Kotari and Bukovica. But in order to better understand the problem we also had to take into account occurrences in Lika (Transvelebit region) and the area across the river Krka. The question of the South-eastern border of Liburnia is still open to debate as well as the definition of territories of *Ditiones* and *Delmatae*⁴.

4 About problems of borders of *Liburnia* see in: Batović 1987, 339-344; Čaće 1985, 64-81; *Id.* 1989, 59-91; *Id.*, 2007, 69-76; Olujić 2007, 107-134; Šašel Kos 2005, 182-188; Zaninović 1966, 33-43.

In terms of ancient geography and in the maritime context the territory of *Liburnia* is very important if one wants to sail to the North Adriatic, especially to the *Caput Adriae*. Very important passages on the Adriatic and ports of call are situated in Liburnian territory⁵. Particularly important is ancient *Iader*, the modern city of Zadar, but also some other ports like *Scardona*, *Colentum*, *Apsorus*, *Senia*, *Curicta*. The south *Liburnia* is considered to be one of the most dangerous areas for sailing along the eastern Adriatic route. Hundreds of islands and straits, in ancient geography known as Liburnian archipelago (today Šibenik and Zadar archipelago), make this area one of the hardest to navigate and local pilots were required by foreigners sailing to the North Adriatic, as we can read in literary sources⁶.

The Liburni people on the other hand were known as good sailors and renowned shipbuilders, and from the beginning of the 1st millennium BC they developed their own network of transadriatic exchange which lasts almost until the Roman Imperial period⁷. Since the 5th c. BC they had periodical clashes with the Greeks in the Adriatic and because of piracy they obtained bad reputation among them and were perceived in ancient literature as enemies and pirates⁸. But archaeology tells another side of this story. The material evidence shows that the Greeks and Liburnians at some point came to terms, established regular exchange of goods, and navigation through Liburnian waters to the North was opened for the foreign maritime traders.

In recent years a preliminary work has been done on ceramic and numismatic material from this region. Although important analytical studies are still missing, even a glimpse on this material can give us a better insight into complex networks of maritime trade in the Adriatic.

CERAMIC EVIDENCE

Hellenistic pottery in Croatia has never been systematically studied until recently. Preliminary overview has been published only for central Dalmatia⁹. There are a few analytical papers of the previous decades mainly done by Branko Kirigin on *Gnathia* and Alto Adriatico ware found in excavations of a necropolis of the Greek colony *Issa* on the island of Vis¹⁰. Another important contribution was made by Zdenko Brusić in his PhD (published in British archaeological reports) about mould made relief pottery in *Liburnia*, where one chapter was dedicated to Hellenistic relief pottery¹¹. Lately Maja Miše from Split made her PhD on *Gnathia* ware from Issaeon necropolis Martvilo and Lucijana Šešelj's PhD was based on finds from the Hellenistic sanctuary of Diomedes on cape Ploča. Some preliminary work has been published about the material from *Pharos* excavations¹². The basic information

5 Čaće & Šešelj 2005, 167-168.

6 *Peljar* I, 1982, 176-177; A. R., *Argon.*, 4-522-528.

7 Čaće 2006, 67.

8 Čaće 2002, 83-100.

9 Kirigin *et al.* 2006, 204-201, 217-219.

10 Kirigin 1990b; *Id.* 1992.

11 Brusić 1999, 7-17.

12 Jeličić Radonić & Rauter Plančić 1996; Miše 2005, 25-48.

about Resnik pottery has been given in the exhibition catalogue *Ancient Siculi*¹³, as well as preliminary reports on pottery from Nakovana cave¹⁴ and Palagruža¹⁵. From Liburnian sites three graves with large quantity of fine ware from Hellenistic necropolis of Nadin (ancient *Nedinum*) were published in 2013¹⁶. The Hellenistic pottery from other sites is usually just mentioned in reports, often without any specification and usually without a drawing or a photograph. So, the majority of material is still unknown to those who have never entered the museum depots.

Hellenistic fine ware from *Liburnia* is almost completely unknown, only a few pieces have been published from several sites, which gives a general impression that this archaeological material is hardly present on Liburnian sites. But this is really just an impression, the fact is that there is a great quantity of this material from at least 28 sites in *Liburnia* (fig. 2). Most of the material comes from settlement surveys and excavations but the greatest quantity comes from a necropolis at Nadin and Velika Mrdakovica.

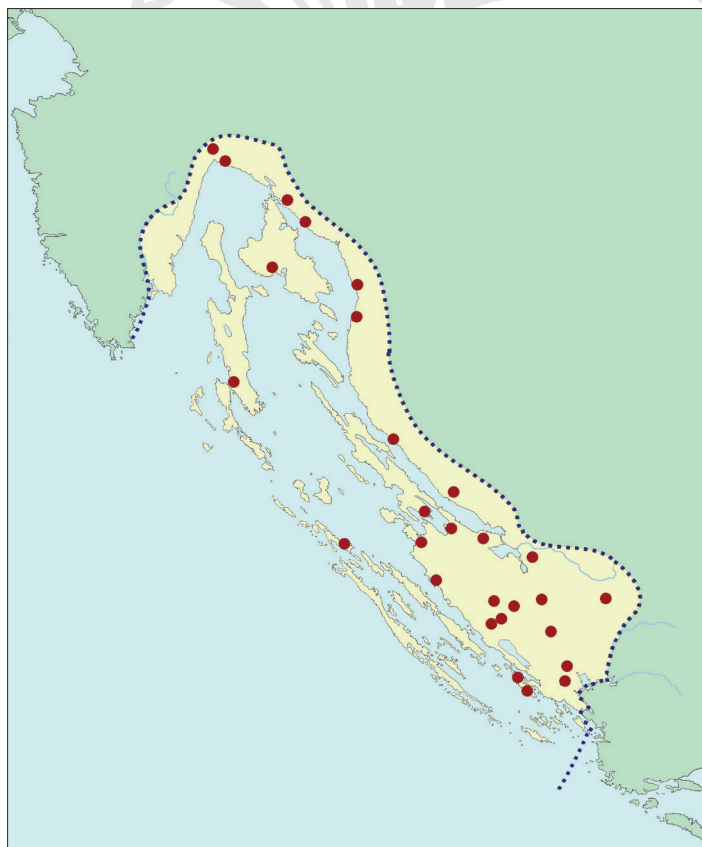


Fig. 2. Map of Hellenistic pottery sites in Liburnia.

13 Kamenjarin 2011, 65-72.

14 Forenbaher & Kaiser 2003, 79, 90-91.

15 Miše & Šešelj 2008, 113-115.

16 Batović & Batović, 2013.

Here I will present preliminary results from 3 sites in *Liburnia*: Zadar as the major Liburnian centre, necropolis Nadin with its specific material and one small site, not of any high importance, so far known only from survey but with impressive archaeological remains, Lergova gradina as an example of Hellenistic influence on urbanisation in this period.

Zadar

The modern city of Zadar, ancient *Iader*, was the most important Liburnian centre. It is situated on the peninsula which encloses a port today's Jazine. Archaeological excavations, started after the end of the 2nd World War continue until today. They have revealed an enormous quantity of finds from different periods. Building activities, especially from Roman Imperial period but also from later times, as well as bombing during the 2nd World War heavily destroyed a lot of layers. But it is still possible to determine that the settlement started in the early Iron Age (10/9th c. BC). Finds, especially pottery, indicate that *Iadassinoi* (inhabitants of *Iader* mentioned on the 4th c. BC inscription) occupied at least 12 ha of the Zadar peninsula¹⁷. Numerous imports, particularly from the region of *Picenum* and *Apulia* (especially pottery and jewellery) during the Iron Age¹⁸, but also in Hellenistic period, confirm that *Liburnia* had special connections with this part of Italy. We find imports of Greek archaic and classical pottery (Corinthian, Attic black and red figured and possibly Laconian), but also numerous Hellenistic imports, namely *Alto Adriatico* pottery coming probably from *Spina* and *Adria*, *Gnathia* pottery and grey ware attributed to Apulian production centres, black slipped Attic, mould made relief bowls and large plates produced probably in Asia Minor. Besides these, two fragments of moulds for production of Hellenistic relief pottery were found¹⁹. Fragments of the bowls and kraters in Zadar itself, as well as on numerous other sites in North Dalmatia suggest that Zadar could be one of the production centres during the Hellenistic period.

Nadin

Nadin, ancient *Nedinum* is a hillfort situated in the fertile area of Ravni Kotari in the hinterland of Zadar. The site has been occupied through Iron, Roman and early Medieval period. Although the settlement has never been excavated, the necropolis has from the late 60's on. The flat necropolis is actually a complex consisting of graves and architecture, and this is the first of the kind to be investigated in Liburnian culture. Burials of the deceased in the extended position are usually associated with the Hellenistic period in *Liburnia*. Although we find this practice even earlier (from the 6th c. BC.) in the Hellenistic period this seems to be the normal pattern. Also in this period we find multiple burials in a single grave, usually interpreted as family tombs (besides Nadin, we find them in V. Mradakovica, Dragišić)²⁰. It seems that in the Hellenistic period burial ritual is changing. Unlike in earlier phases of Liburnian culture we find now great quantities of pottery in the graves. These are usually vessels for preparing and drinking wine: kraters, jugs, skyphoi, kantharoi, bowls etc. There

17 About pre-Roman Zadar in: Čače 1985, 725-730.

18 Batović 1976.

19 Brusić 1999, 11.

20 Kukoč 2009, 14-14, 38-42, 45, 63, 73.

are many imports, particularly *Gnathia* pottery, but we also find local imitations of *Gnathia* style, relief moulded bell kraters, which seems to be characteristic for Liburnian territory²¹.

Lergova gradina

Lergova gradina is a small native settlement in the vicinity of Zadar. It is situated in a heavily karst area, on the altitude of 270 m, and overlook the entrance of the Novigrad sea from the Velebit channel²². Survey indicate that it was inhabited only during the Late Hellenistic period. There are numerous fragments of Lamboglia 2 amphorae, Hellenistic mould made relief pottery and Numidian coins. But the most impressive thing built in this native settlement is a beautiful Hellenistic city wall which is unique in *Liburnia* (fig. 3).

Ceramic evidence is not conclusive. Only preliminary work has been done so far, but it is possible to make some observations: Hellenistic fine ware is presented on every site inhabited in this period; it comes from different archaeological contexts, settlements, tombs, ports. There are some imports but the bulk of the material comes from what we at the moment call local "Dalmatian" production²³. This is because we still haven't found exact sites of pottery production, although there are some indicators. In *Liburnia* finds of two moulds for production of Hellenistic relief bowls and kraters suggest that one of these sites could be in Zadar. Preliminary analyses of pottery suggest that most of the imported pottery in the early Hellenistic period comes from Italy, especially the area of *Daunia*, *Peucetia* and some fragments from *Messapia*, the most common type is *Gnathia* pottery. There are some fragments of gray ware which could also be attributed to Apulian sites. From the North Adriatic, probably from *Spina* and *Adria*, very common in the 4th and 3rd c. BC is *Alto Adriatico* type. In



Fig. 3. Detail of city walls of Lergova gradina.

21 Batović & Batović 2013; Brusić 1999, 11.

22 Batović 1973, 131; Čače 1985, Dodatak I., br. 17.

23 Šegvić *et al.* 2012, 84.

this period we also find imports from Athens, some pieces of Attic pottery are found in the cities of Zadar and Nin (ancient *Aenona*). In the later Hellenistic period imported fine ware is increasing on sites and more and more “Dalmatian” products are found. Although we still find material from Italy at this phase, imports from Asia Minor also became common, for now we can confirm *Ephesus* production.

NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE²⁴

Since pottery evidence is not conclusive, in order to better understand the maritime trade in this period one should also take into account numismatic evidence from *Liburnia*, which is very intriguing.

In general, numismatic finds from *Liburnia* in the pre-imperial period have never been systematically studied before²⁵. The exception is the problem of hoards which are specific for the Liburnian and Iapodian region. So the problem of hoards has been the focus of all numismatic studies so far²⁶. Unlike these publications the new study focuses on single finds from the settlement context, which are a very important indicator of widespread use of coinage as a means of exchange among Liburnians.

Up to now we have noted more than 1000 coins from 41 known sites in *Liburnia* and most of them are preserved in museums and private collections and they haven't been published before (fig. 4)²⁷.

Preliminary analyses show that the main concentration of pre-imperial coins is in the native settlements of southern *Liburnia* (northern Dalmatia today). The reason is obvious, this fertile area was one of the most densely inhabited in the eastern Adriatic coast during the Hellenistic period²⁸. But also we have to take into consideration that the area under the Velebit Mountain and the Liburnian part of Istria are poorly excavated and hardly publicised, especially regarding numismatic finds²⁹. So the picture of coin distribution at the moment can be more a reflection of the state of research than a real situation.

Preliminary analyses clearly show that the most numerous are coins attributed to Carthage and Numidia, then Roman Republican coins from the earliest period on (fig. 5). 79% of all coins found on Liburnian sites belong to one of these three types. 61% of all types

24 This chapter is based on our recently published preliminary report of numismatic finds from the territory of ancient *Liburnia*, Šešelj & Ilkić 2014, 43-53.

25 Batović 2011; Dubolnić-Glavan & Glavaš 2011.

26 Mirnik 1981, 33-49; Čače 1985, 484-498; Crawford 1985, 222-223.

27 Our study on numismatic finds from the territory of ancient *Liburnia* is going to be published in the monograph *Coinage and money circulation in Liburnia in the pre-imperial period (From the oldest finds until the reform of Augustus in the years 23 to 19 BC)*. Also we have to mention that in museum collections there are many more coins which can be attributed to this period but their provenance is unfortunately unknown. All of them belong to well known types from the area and even if we take them into consideration they will surely increase our statistics but that will not influence our interpretation.

28 Čače 2006, 67.

29 Dubolnić-Glavan & Glavaš 2011.

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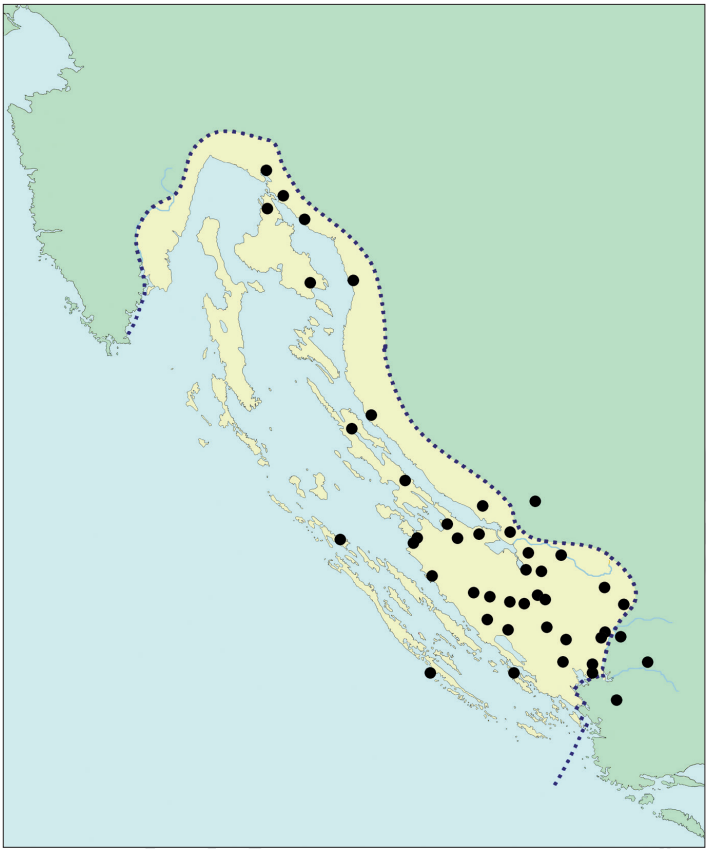


Fig. 4. Map of numismatic sites in Liburnia.

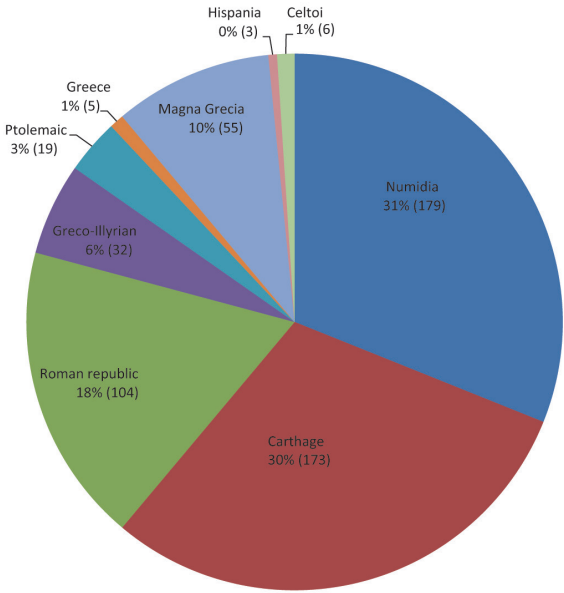


Fig. 5. Coins distribution by type : percentage and number in brakets (n).

belong to the North African, which are the most widespread coin types in Liburnia. Ptolemaic coins, coins of *Apollonia* and *Dyrrachium*, coins of *Issa*, *Heracleia*, *Pharos* and other Greek cities from Greece itself as well as south Italy and Sicily are found, but their quantity is quite low especially when compared to the situation in central and south Dalmatia where these types dominate³⁰. Here we should also emphasise the presence of coins of Apulian cities and rare Hispanic and Celtic coins³¹. It is important to mention that most of them are made of bronze while silver coins are rare.

When we look at typology we can tell that the most common type is the late Carthaginian coin dated to the second half of the 3rd and the first half of 2nd c. BC with the head of Tanit/Persephone and the horse standing right or horse standing right with the head turned. These bronze coins are found on 13 sites.

Numidian coins are always represented with a laureate bearded head on the obverse and a prancing horse on the reverse, dated to the end of the 3rd and the 2nd c. BC, attributed to king Massinisa and his successors. These bronze coins have been found on 13 sites so far.

Roman republican coins are present in *Liburnia* from the middle of the 3rd c. BC, and they were used during the whole period and are very common in the region. We also have to mention that we found earlier cast bronze coinage and even some pieces of *ramo secco* bars (4 so far)³². These bronze and silver coins are found on 13 sites.

Greek coins found in this area belong to Greek Adriatic cities for example coins of *Issa* type with the head of goddess Athena with Corinthian helmet and the goat, dated to the 3rd c. BC, coins of *Pharos*, then the coin of the unknown Adriatic city *Heracleia*, and several pieces of the coins of Illyrian kings Ballaios and Genthios. Also we find coins of *Dyrrhachium* and *Apollonia* dated to the 2nd c. BC and coins of the Achaean league (3./2. c. BC), *Korkyra*, *Laconia*, *Thessalonike* which are also found in central Dalmatia. Coins of Syracuse all belong to Hieron II.

Apulian coins belong to cities *Salapia*, *Luceria*, *Teate*, *Arpi*, *Brundisum*, and as well as the coin of *Bruttium* are dated to the end of the 3rd c. BC³³. There is one coin from Campania, one from *Neapolis* and several coins from Lucania: *Metaponto*, *Velia*, *Laos*.

Celtic coins are quite rare in this area, but we find them on 5 Liburnian sites and they all belong to well-known *Noricum* type of tetradrachme with male head/Apollo and the horse. They are dated to the 1st c. BC³⁴.

30 Dukat & Mirmik 1976, 175-210; Kirigin 1990a, 293-295, 300-301, 317-320; Popović 1987, 155, fig. 29; Brunšmid [1898] 1998, 47-98; Bonačić Mandinić 2012-2013, 352-379.

31 Šešelj & Ilkić 2014, 45, fig. 2 and 3.

32 Ilkić *et al.* 2012, n° 33 and 34.

33 According to Crawford these coins are related to the events of the Second Punic War. Crawford 1985, 64-69; Guidarelli 2010, 80-108.

34 On Tauriscan coins see: s.v. Taurisci in Kos 1998, 340-342; Göbl 1973, 99-100. On the chronology of Tauriscan coinage see most recently Kos & Šemrov, 2003, 381-395.

Rare Hispanic coins from 3 Liburnian sites all come from the city of Castulo (*Castulo Tarraconensis*) in a rich mining zone and are dated to the second half of the 2nd c. BC until the beginning of the 1st century BC.

When did coinage appear in *Liburnia*? Probably at the beginning of the 3rd c. BC, but at the moment it seems that it becomes more common in the middle of the century. From this period on it is very common and we find different types of coins until the 1st c. BC when the Roman republican coins started to dominate on the whole eastern Adriatic. The earliest coins found are Roman republican, as well as a few samples from Greek colonies and Carthaginian coins. From the 2nd c. BC Numidian and Ptolemaic are more common. The phenomenon of Roman and north African coinage domination in the Liburnian region is still open to debate. What we know about this problem is mainly based on the study of the hoards evidence and the explanations presented in literature are: a) coins were collected as valuable metal or b) isolated pieces are evidence for the movement of individuals, pilgrims, soldiers etc³⁵. But the numerous finds from settlements and fragmentation of coins suggest that these explanations are too simple and do not explain their quantity and distribution in the native settlements. We suggest that these coins were used in everyday transactions.

CAPE PLOČA, THE QUESTION OF THE EASTERN ADRIATIC ROUTE AND THE ISSUE OF MARITIME TRADE

The archaeological finds from Hellenistic sanctuary on cape Ploča should also be presented as further evidence that this money circulated and was used in the region of the northern part of the eastern Adriatic. On this cape the remains of maritime sanctuary dedicated to Greek hero Diomedes were found (Pliny the Elder names it *promonturium Diomedis*, 3.141).

The sanctuary is situated on the most dangerous part of the eastern Adriatic route, in the area of sudden weather changes, clashes of winds and waves, and for the mariners of all periods it was synonymous with danger. It was the same for the Greeks who founded it. But the foundation of the sanctuary only makes sense if one sails into the northern Adriatic, *id est* through Liburnian waters³⁶. Although literary tradition gives us the picture of Liburnians as ancient Greek enemies, archaeological research suggests that this is not the case, from at least the end of the 4th c. BC. Increased maritime traffic in the whole Mediterranean, as suggested from statistics of shipwrecks, is also visible in the Adriatic³⁷. It suggests that maritime trade was the most important factor in relations between Liburnians and foreigners entering their waters. They obviously found common interests, and from this period on the regular eastern maritime route was established and it seems that all interested parties benefited from it. The sanctuary of Diomedes thus became the symbol of this peaceful co-existence. The numismatic and ceramic evidence related to Greek colonies *Issa*, *Pharos* and *Heracleia* on Liburnian sites supports this thesis. If we take a look at numismatic finds from cape Ploča we clearly see that almost all coin types present on the eastern Adriatic coast are found

35 Crawford 1985, 221, 223; Čače 1985, 484-498.

36 Bilić-Dujmušić 2002, 485-486; *Id.* 2004, 123-128; Šešelj, 2010, 387-392.

37 Parker 1992, 8; Šešelj 2010, 456-470.

here (fig. 6)³⁸. The highest concentration comes from western Greece, then Italy and northern Africa. Considering that the coins were votive offerings of the sailors we can presume that they were brought to the sanctuary from the successful voyages and they were left on purpose in the sanctuary possibly as a testimony of their sailing destinations for which they asked the favour of the god. Also these finds are a very good indicator of money circulation in the northern part of the Adriatic.

If we look at the spatial distribution of coinage types, especially in hoards' evidence, we can notice that in the south and deeper hinterland and the Danube region the system of coinage of *Apollonia* and *Dyrrachium* is formed³⁹. On central Dalmatian islands after the domination of local coinage of Greek poleis we find emissions related to Illyrian zone (*Apollonia*, *Dyrrachium*, Illyrian kings). In general in central and south Dalmatia we can observe a very strong connection with the southeast in spite of a strong penetration of Roman republican money. Unlike this area different types of Celtic coinage dominate in the Alpine and Pannonian area, and from the west the Roman republican coins are spreading gradually. Between these two great spaces the Liburnian-Iapodian region is situated where the North African and Roman republican money dominated⁴⁰. How can we explain this phenomenon?

There is no doubt that the occurrence of this coinage has to be related to Liburnian maritime contacts. The relations with the western coast of the Adriatic, especially with the area of *Picenum* and *Apulia* are well established from the early Iron Age and persist during the Hellenistic period, which is confirmed with ceramic and numismatic evidence. It seems that political changes in Italy and the arrival of Romans on the Adriatic do not seriously affect the exchange of goods between the two coasts. On the contrary, it seems that the first contacts



Fig. 6. Coin types found in Hellenistic sanctuary on cape Ploča.

38 Bonačić Mandinić 2004, 151-161.

39 See the map in: Popović 1987, 155, fig. 29.

40 This phenomenon was first noticed and described by Čače 1985, 494-494.

and good relations with the Romans (confirmed by later literary sources) are established in this phase and the appearance of Roman coins is its direct consequence. This could also explain the presence of coinage of Apulian cities from the period of the 3rd c. BC, which is not otherwise widespread outside Italy.

The appearance of Celtic coinage in northern Dalmatia must also be connected to the trade with the *caput Adria*. This is also confirmed by Strabo when he is mentioning the role of *Aquileia* in the trade with the *Noricum* area, the people of *Taurisci* and the Pannonians⁴¹. Sea fruits, wine, olive oil were exchanged for slaves, leather, gold, iron etc. This is also confirmed by archaeology, especially for the Magdalensberg⁴². Analyses of archaeological finds indicate intensive trade contacts with *Aquileia* in the late Republican period⁴³. Here we would like to make an observation about numismatic and ceramic finds in *Aquileia*: the same coin types appear here as in the Liburnian territory, except coins from Carthage⁴⁴. Also the latest archaeological excavations have revealed the fragments of Hellenistic mould made ware, which can surely be attributed to Dalmatian provenance⁴⁵. This is the first time that “Dalmatian” Hellenistic pottery has been found in this region, which should be considered in the context of trade. We do not suggest that this pottery was an object of trade, it is found in really small quantity, but rather that its presence could be the indicator of “Dalmatian” traders in *Aquileia*.

With the foundation of *Aquileia* the eastern Adriatic route is transformed into one of the major commercial seaways leading to the northernmost part of the Adriatic (fig. 7). This is confirmed by evidence from cape Ploča, where we can see an enormous quantity of material from the 2nd and 1st c. BC. A great part of this route goes through Liburnian waters and we must assume that they had their share in this trade, at least before the domination of Italian traders in the second half of the 1st c. BC.

It is the hardest to explain the phenomenon of North African coinage in the Liburnian area. It remains unclear whether it comes to the Liburnian area across Italy or whether there were more direct contacts with the western Mediterranean and North Africa.

The evidence of finds of Numidian bronze issues outside North Africa, the frequency of coastal finds including the hoards from port cities all indicate that maritime trade was the single most important factor behind the movement of these coins across the Mediterranean⁴⁶. The problem is that we do not find other North-African material in the Adriatic from this period, the only known Punic amphorae come from the Torre S. Sabina late Republican cargo (type Ramón 7.6.2.1) dated from the middle of the 2nd and middle of the 1st c. BC⁴⁷. During this period Graeco-Italic and Lamboglia 2 amphorae absolutely domi-

41 Str. 5.1.8.

42 Schindler-Kaudelka & Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker 2006, 152-162.

43 Scotti Maselli 1991, 306-307.

44 Personal insight into numismatic collection in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Aquileia.

45 The fragments have been found in archaeological excavations conducted by the University of Padua in Aquileia, former Cossar property. Here I would like to express my gratitude to D. Dobрева, V. Mantovani, A. Grigio for showing me the fragments and allowing me to present them publicly.

46 Visonà 2014, 126.

47 For this information I would like to express my gratitude to colleague and friend Rita Auriemma.



Fig. 7. Major eastern Adriatic routes in the Hellenistic period.

nate on the eastern Adriatic coast. Of course there is always a possibility that objects of this trade are not archaeologically visible, such as grain, timber etc. In this regard, it seems fitting that the structure of the ship sunk in the Baie de Cavalière c. 100 B.C. was according to Parker “mostly of Bosnia pine, with tree-nails of fir and evergreen oak”, suggesting that this vessel had been built in Italy or Dalmatia⁴⁸. Of course this is only an indicator of where to look for a solution to this problem, and further study of the archaeological material is necessary.

48 Parker 1992, 133.

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