



Baština Akademije nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine

## **Godišnjak 49: Godišnjak/Jahrbuch CBI ANUBIH**

**Govedarica, Blagoje**

**2020**

Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine

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AKADEMIJA NAUKA I UMJETNOSTI BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE  
AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN UND KÜNSTE  
VON BOSNIEN-HERZEGOWINA

# GODIŠNJAK JAHRBUCH

Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja  
Zentrum für Balkanforschungen  
KNJIGA / BAND 49

*Urednik / Herausgeber*  
Blagoje Govedarica

*Redakcija / Redaktion*  
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SARAJEVO 2020

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## Reviewing the question of *Delminium*

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**Abstract:** Delminium is one of the oldest settlements in the territory of Western Balkans known by its name. It is a fortified Delmataean settlement whose name was written down by Greco-Roman authors when describing conflicts between Delmataean communities and Rome during the Middle and the Late Republic. The only exception is Claudius Ptolemy who specified the geographical longitude and latitude where we should locate this settlement. The name of the settlement appears in the classical literature in different forms – Dalmion, Delmium, and Delminium. Interestingly, the Romans founded a municipal unit with the same name following the complete pacification of the province of Dalmatia. This is corroborated by inscriptions carved on epigraphic monuments. This paper addresses the issue of locating pre-Roman Delminium and municipium Delminensium by comparing different theses based on external and internal criticism of the source material, interpreting archaeological material, and analyzing inscriptions carved on epigraphic monuments. Epigraphic monuments lead us to assume that municipium Delminensium was founded during the reign of Hadrian (117–138) or Antoninus Pius (138–161). The paper concludes with a detailed analysis of four ancient epigraphic monuments that confirm the municipal status of Delminium.

**Keywords:** Delmatae, Delminium, *municipium Delminensium*, Lib, Borčani, Tomislavgrad, Duvno, epigraphic monuments

### The territory of Illyrian people of the Delmatae in the works of Graeco-Roman authors

Written sources enable us to perceive the Delmatean territory and its expansion initiated by certain historical circumstances. Authors who give us the most information about the territory of the Delmatae are Polybius, Strabo, Pliny the Elder, Appian, and Claudius Ptolemy.<sup>1</sup> The texts left behind these historians and geographers enable us to conclude that the territory of the Delmatae was spreading gradually from the inland, from the karst fields of western Bosnia and central Dalmatia, towards the sea-coast. We should certainly have in mind that the Delmatean peregrine civitas is not equal to the territory controlled by the Delmatae before the Roman conquest. It is assumed that the Delmatean alliance was formed during the 4th century when Gre-

co-Roman authors did not write about the Delmatae. This alliance was a political unification of smaller communities gathered around one leading community whose territory included the settlement of Delminium. During this period, the territory of the Delmatean alliance was located in the Duvno field and the neighbouring area which gravitated toward it.<sup>2</sup> The foundation of the alliance resulted in the appearance of a new identity collectively identified by the 2nd century classical sources as the Delmatae. This identity is primarily conditioned by the formation of a political alliance, although we should not entirely reject the elements of a mutual cultural habitus.<sup>3</sup> The communities that were a part of the Delmatean alliance additionally affirmed their identity through the experience of confronting the Daorsi, Liburnians, Greek colonists, and the Romans.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Čače 1979, 113.

<sup>3</sup> Džino 2006, 75.

<sup>4</sup> Džino noted that the Delmatean identity can be observed through a social and anthropological framework, and in that context, it represents a good example of the creation of a new identity as a political instrument. Džino also notes

<sup>1</sup> Polyb. 32.9; Strabo, 7. 5.5. 315; Pliny, *HN* 3. 142; App. *Ill.* 11. 25-29; Ptol. *Geog.* 2. 16. 11.

Following the dissolution of the Illyrian kingdom, which was an alliance of peoples in itself, a border imperial zone was created. The existence of an imperial zone certainly strengthened indigenous political alliances such as the Delmatean or Iapodian alliance. The period of Octavian's campaign until the end of the Great Illyrian Revolt was marked by the formation of a provincial organization which was certainly a turning point in the construction of indigenous identities. Džino notes that the social structure of indigenous communities in this region before the Roman conquest is not clear. Another problem is relative invisibility of the elite and settlement pattern farther away from the coast.<sup>5</sup> The majority of these communities retained the names of indigenous groups, known from the period of conquests, but we do not know how the population number was defined, particularly of those groups who resisted the Romans. This group also includes the Delmatae.<sup>6</sup> Unlike the pre-Roman period, Delminium lost its importance in the Roman period. Epigraphic evidence suggests that Rider in the territory of Danilo in Croatia was the political center of the Delmatean civitas because the Romans wanted to reconstruct the distribution of power between the regional elite following the conquest.<sup>7</sup>

Namely, the Delmatae were a livestock-farming people an alliance of inland communities, so their ethnic territory only encompasses Duvanjsko, Livanjsko, Glamočko, Kninsko, Sinjsko, and Imotsko polje.<sup>8</sup> In the context of eth-

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that following the foundation of the Delmatean alliance, the features of an ethnic group (*ethnie*) were met. These features were defined by British historical sociologist Anthony D. Smith in this work *National Identity and Myths of Ethnic Descent* (1986). The features of *ethnie* in the case of the Delmatae were common culture (religion, customs, language), common name, mutual solidarity (military alliance), a common place of residence or the perception of a mutual origin (regionalism), and common historical experiences acquired through warfare with neighbours and the Romans. Džino 2006, 75-77.

<sup>5</sup> Džino 2014, 222.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 224.

<sup>7</sup> Rendić Miočević 1989, 623-703; Džino 2014, 226-227.

<sup>8</sup> The findings of looms, scissors, and sheep bells corroborate intensive animal husbandry of smaller animals during the pre-Roman times; Imamović 1987, 32; Busuladžić 2014, 89. The popularity of the cult of Silvanus among the lower layers of the indigenous population during the Roman period can also be associated with animal husbandry. We should also note that contemporary scholarship has increasingly rejected the thesis of the indigenous character of the

no-geographic borders, it should be noted that the territory of the Liburnian communities was situated to the west of the Delmatae, while the Iapodes were situated to the north-west. The territory of the Ditiones can be situated north-east of the Delmatae. The easternmost neighbours of the Delmatae were the Daorsi at the Neretva.<sup>9</sup> We can, accordingly, conclude that the Delmatean territory in the Roman province of Dalmatia (present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina) can be located in the area that is surrounded by mountains Šator, Vitorog, Cincar, Ljubuša, and Vran.

## A short overview of Graeco-Roman sources mentioning Delmatean settlement Delminium

Ancient authors mention *Delminium*, i.e. *Delminon*, as the headquarters of Delmatean resistance to the Romans. Strabo is the oldest of these authors who mentions Delminium. He associated this settlement with the Delmatae and writes that "the people was named after this settlement".<sup>10</sup> The prevailing opinion in the contemporary scholarship is that Delminium, mentioned by Strabo, was not the capital of all the Delmatae, but a political hub of one of the Delmatean communities, whence the name of entire Delmatean alliance – *Dalmatae*, i.e. *Delmatae*.<sup>11</sup>

Appian reports that the first military campaign for the conquest of Delminium was undertaken by Gaius Marcius Figulus. His campaign could be dated to 158 AD. Zaninović and Šašel Kos argue that Figulus began this campaign in Narona since it was a trade centre and a rich settlement near Issa and the Daorsi, a Roman ally.<sup>12</sup> The first phase of Figulus's campaign was unsuccessful because the Delmatae repelled him from the camp and attacked his army until he found a refuge at the Naro (Neretva). According to Appi-

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cult of Silvanus. The argument is that the worship of Silvanus was used as a platform for communication and forming identities of different sub-cultural groups in Dalmatia during the Early Empire. Džino 2012, 267-268.

<sup>9</sup> Zaninović 1966, 27-92; Wilkes 1969, 162-163; Bojanovski 1988, 216, 233-234; Mesihović 2011a, 60; Zaninović 2015, 325.

<sup>10</sup> Strabo, 7. 5. 5. 315

<sup>11</sup> Čače 1994-1995, 107; Škegro 2000, 396; Džino / Domić Kunić 2013, 65-66.

<sup>12</sup> Zaninović 1966, 28, 38; Šašel Kos 2005, 299.

an, in the second campaign phase, Figulus again unsuccessfully besieged Delminium where the Delmatae from other settlements had gathered. Upon realising that Delminium will not be conquered, Figulus attacked and conquered other settlements that were partially abandoned due to the gathered forces in Delminium.<sup>13</sup> He eventually set Delminium on fire. We can clearly conclude from this information Appian offered us that Delminium was the political headquarters of the Delmatae.

The following year Delminium was conquered by consul Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica. The following is Strabo's description of Delminium's conquest: "Nasica reduced it to a small settlement and made the plain a mere sheep-pasture".<sup>14</sup> Polis, how Strabo refers to Delminium, probably suffered a large-scale destruction after Nasica's campaign in 155 BC. It is very likely that the settlements at the foothill of gradinas (hill-forts), that are an indispensable part of such suburban units, were entirely ruined. Strabo's information about Nasica "reduced it to a small settlement" corresponds to Frontinus's information about Nasica taking a large number of the Delmatae captive.<sup>15</sup> Due to the enslavement, Delminium became in fact reduced, so it seems that Strabo was correct when he pointed out the connection between Nasica's triumphal celebration over the Delmatae and settlement reduction. Although, at first, it seems that this is a territorial reduction, in fact, it is a population reduction. However, we should emphasize that archaeological indicators of the demographics of the Delmatean region before or after the Roman conquest were not explored, so we can only make speculations regarding this topic. In the context of wars against the Romans, Delminium is also mentioned by Florus while describing events from 40/39 BC when Gaius Asinius Pollio conquered the Delmatae.<sup>16</sup> Delminium is also mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium in his work *Ethnika*.<sup>17</sup> It is believed that Stephanus of Byzantium took the name of the main Delmatean settlement over from Strabo from whom he literally took over the data

regarding the redistribution of land every eight years. Writing about Delminium, this Byzantine lexicographer furthermore quoted Appian, but we should not dismiss the possibility that he used the works of other Greco-Roman authors.<sup>18</sup> Strabo's information regarding this important Delmatean settlement was taken over by Byzantine author Eustathius of Thessalonica.<sup>19</sup>

Ptolemy recorded the only more specific information that helps us to locate this settlement. Namely, Ptolemy listed it among the inland settlements of Dalmatia and positioned it at 44°45' N and 43°50' W.<sup>20</sup> This means that Delminium was situated southeast of Dinara and north-east from Salona, i.e. in the part of Dalmatia which Strabo calls inland Dalmatia.<sup>21</sup> This information provided by Ptolemy is exceptionally important since Delminium is not mentioned by Roman itineraries, probably since not a single road station had that name. Nevertheless, it should be noted that Delminium was located at the regional road *Salona – Argentaria* and that its nearest road station was *Bistue Vetus* that can be located in Duvanjsko polje.<sup>22</sup>

It should also be noted that ancient sources give different names for this Delmatean political centre, i.e. the main settlement. Strabo and Stephanus of Byzantium use two names for this settlement – *Dalmion/Delminon*.<sup>23</sup> Appian and Ptolemy use the name *Delminium (Delminion)*.<sup>24</sup> Florus and Frontinus also use the name *Delminium*.<sup>25</sup>

Different names in written records encouraged scholars to attempt finding a cause for such usage. Thus, Bojanovski and Šašel Kos argued that the name used by Strabo, *Dalmion/Delminium*, was corrupted and that it should be corrected into *Delmi[ni]on*.<sup>26</sup> On the other hand, Čaće argues that the name *Dalmium/Delmium* (apart from Strabo, also used by Stephanus of Byzantium) was the original name of the main settlement of the Delmatae, and not *Delminium*.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>13</sup> App. *Ill.* 11. 30-33.

<sup>14</sup> Strabo, 7. 5. 5. 315. Translated into English by Horace Leonard Jones.

<sup>15</sup> Frontin. *Str.* 3.6. 2.

<sup>16</sup> Flor. 2.25.

<sup>17</sup> Steph. Byz. *Ethn.* 216.

<sup>18</sup> Čaće 1994–1995, 107.

<sup>19</sup> Eustath, B 95.

<sup>20</sup> Ptol. *Geog.* 2. 16. 11.

<sup>21</sup> Bojanovski 1988, 217-218.

<sup>22</sup> Tab. Peut. 5.3-6, 2; Rav. *Cosmographia*. 4. 211. 15; Bojanovski 1974, 141, 160-165; 1988, 162-163, 227.

<sup>23</sup> Strabo, 7. 5. 5. 315; Steph. Byz. *Ethn.* 216.

<sup>24</sup> App. *Ill.* 11. 30-33; Ptol. *Geog.* 2. 16. 11.

<sup>25</sup> Flor. 2, 25; Front. *Str.* 3. 6, 2.

<sup>26</sup> Bojanovski 1988, 218; Šašel Kos 2005, 294.

<sup>27</sup> Čaće 1994–1995, 119.



From a linguistic point of view, Čačević's thesis is unfounded, because Katičić notes that the name *Delminium* would better correspond to the name of the main settlement of the Delmatae.<sup>28</sup> By analysing Appian's text, Šašel Kos also came to a conclusion that their main settlement was named Delminium. Namely, she argues that Appian, in fact, used the name *Delminium* because he may have used a relevant source since in his short narrative he even discussed the names *Delminium* and *Delmatae*. Then she noted that Varro, who must have dealt with this topic in more detail, used the name *Delminium*. Thus, Šašel Kos does not dismiss the possibility that *Delminium* could have been a dialectal, abbreviated name for this settlement. However, she pointed out that it is less likely that *Delminium* was the name of the main settlement of the Delmatae before the Roman occupation, as opposed to the later Roman *Delminium*.<sup>29</sup> We can conclude from the aforementioned that there was no discontinuity in the name of the Delmatean capital, i.e. that the Roman *municipium* took over the previous name – *Delminium*.

This short overview of the sources that mention Delminium clearly shows that this was the most important settlement of the Delmatae. It should be noted that Delminium is the settlement that ancient sources mention the most when it comes to the territory in the eastern parts of the Dalmatian province. The majority information regarding this settlement refers to the period of the mid-Republic and late Republic; thus, apart from Ptolemy's and Pliny's texts, there is no information about Delminium, i.e. *municipium Delminensium*, in the period of the early Roman Empire. Namely, the authors who lived during the Early Empire period, such as Strabo, Appian, and Florus, refer to events that are older than the time they lived in.

## The problem of locating pre-Roman Delminium and municipium Delminensium

After comparing written records that refer to the pre-Roman period and epigraphic monuments from the early Roman Empire, we can clearly observe the continuity of a settlement named Delminium. In the pre-Roman period, this set-

tlement was the political hub of the Delmatean alliance or Delmatean people, while in the Roman period it was an administrative centre of a municipal unit. This is not uncommon given that *municipia* had developed from more or less important epichoric settlements, usually regional centres. In accordance with general Roman policy, these settlements were transferred from hill-forts to valleys and plains, as well as along newly constructed provincial roads.<sup>30</sup> Nevertheless, we should note that municipium Delminium is a Roman creation for certain purposes of the Roman administration. This local administration can certainly be associated with the local elite which was the first to accept the legacy of the Roman imperial culture.

Patsch did the first systematic research with the purpose of locating Delminium. He dismissed the earlier theses about its location in Gardun near Trilj and suggested the favourable traffic position of Duvanjsko polje. Based on the position and archaeological material, Patsch located pre-Roman Delminium on Lib mountain above Borčani. For the location of the Roman settlement, he offered two sites – Crkvina in Tomislavgrad and Kamenica in Borčani below Lib. In Crkvina, he discovered a building which he assumed to be a forum, while in Kamenica he discovered the remains of a basilica.<sup>31</sup> The research subsequently conducted by Benac have proved that Patsch correctly located pre-Roman Delminium on Lib. Due to systematic reconnaissance of the Delmatean defence system of Duvanjsko, Livanjsko, and Glamočko polje, Benac determined that the hill-fort Lib should be considered the only hill-fort that matches the description of the Delmatean capital provided by Strabo and Appian.<sup>32</sup> Most scholars concur with the location of pre-Roman Delminium on the hill-fort Lib since it is the only hill-fort in Duvanjsko polje that dominates the entire plain and it is large enough to offer refuge for the neighbouring population.<sup>33</sup> It should be noted that the main challenger of this thesis is Zaninović who located pre-Roman Delminium in Gradina near Gaj, whereas he argues that Roman Delminium

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 295.

<sup>31</sup> Patsch 1895, 285; 1897a, 227; 1904, 172-174.

<sup>32</sup> Benac 1985, 22-25; 61, 69, 89-90; 1987, 755.

<sup>33</sup> Pašalić 1960, 35-38; Bojanovski 1988, 229-230; Kos / Šašel Kos 1995, 291; Šašel Kos 2005, 304-305.

<sup>28</sup> Katičić 1976, 176.

<sup>29</sup> Šašel Kos 2005, 294.



was situated in the foothill of this hill-fort. Zanimović argues that this site had the best communication position since this hill-fort was central in Duvanjsko polje.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, Čače and Škegro argue that the location of pre-Roman Delminium on Lib is questionable, and that this issue should remain open.<sup>35</sup> However, regardless of different scholarly opinions, hill-fort Lib may be the most acceptable location since after Benac no systematic research has been conducted that would suggest otherwise. Besides, Benac has identified a large number of hill-forts in the vicinity of Lib and that were visually well-connected with the settlement on Lib.

The second important question is – where is the administrative centre of the Roman *municipium Delminensium*? There are two theses about the location of this *municipium*. The older thesis is that the municipal headquarters was in present-day Tomislavgrad which was put forward by Patsch, and accepted by Pašalić, Wilkes, Cambi, Dodig, etc.<sup>36</sup> The second thesis is that Roman Delminium, i.e. *municipium Delminensium*, should be located in Borčani below Lib. Of all the scholars who advocate this thesis, especially prominent is Bojanovski.<sup>37</sup>

Rich archaeological findings discovered in Borčani below Lib and Crkvina in Tomislavgrad are the reason why these two archaeological sites are identified with the administrative centre of *municipium Delminensium*. Building fragments (capital pilaster and acroterium) have been discovered in Tomislavgrad, as well as the spa remains in Crkvina. According to Patsch's adherents, these findings have corroborated the existence of a settlement forum in Tomislavgrad. A large number of votive and funerary monuments have also been found in this area.<sup>38</sup>

Since Borčani is located below Lib, the site of pre-Roman Delminium, Bojanovski suggests a continual habituation and argues that a settlement that was a successor of *oppidum* on Lib was developed in Borčani. He, accordingly, argues that there is no precursor in Tomislavgrad that would correspond to the descriptions of ancient authors, no analogies to Roman urbanism in Dalmatia that the Roman successor developed at a completely different location. Namely, Lib is 9 km away from Tomislavgrad. Moreover, Bojanovski notes that pinpointing the location of *municipium Delminensium* in Tomislavgrad is contrary to the direction of Roman communication.<sup>39</sup> The remains of Roman settlements and necropolises have been discovered in Borčani. Archaeologists have determined that the Roman findings can be dated to the period from the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>40</sup> Just like in Tomislavgrad, a large number of epigraphic inscriptions, mostly votive and sepulchral character, have been found in Borčani as well.<sup>41</sup> It should be especially noted that an honorary inscription for Publius Aelius Quintus, a public notary (*scriba publicus*) from *municipium Delminensium*, has been discovered on Lib.<sup>42</sup> The abbreviated form of this *municipium* is indicated on this monument.<sup>43</sup> Conversely, not a single epigraphic monument from Tomislavgrad mentions the name of the *municipium* or its institutions.

Zanimović, just like Bojanovski, argues that pre-Roman Delminium and Roman *municipium Delminensium* were very close to one another, i.e. that the Roman settlement had developed at the foothill of the Delmatean settlement. According to Zanimović, if the Delmatean stronghold could be located on Lib mountain, then Delminium should be pinpointed in Borčani, in its foothill, or if Roman Delminium is identical to the ancient settlement from Crkvine and Karaula in Tomislavgrad, then the Delmatean stronghold should be pinpointed in Gradina near Gaj (Pod-

<sup>34</sup> Zanimović 1967, 11; 1969, 49-56; 2015, 332-333.

<sup>35</sup> Čače 1994-1995, 114; Škegro 2000, 400.

<sup>36</sup> Patsch 1895, 285; 1897, 227; 1904, 172-174; Pašalić 1960, 35-38; Wilkes 1969, 271; Cambi 1989, 2406; Dodig 2009, 47.

<sup>37</sup> Bojanovski 1988, 229-230.

<sup>38</sup> *ILJug III*, 1758; *ILJug III*, 1760; *ILJug III*, 1761 = *CIL III*, 14976, 1; *ILJug III*, 1762; *ILJug III*, 1767; *AE* 1999, 1226 = *ILJug II*, 784; *AE* 2004, 1105; *CIL III*, 14320, 4; *CIL III*, 14320, 3; *CIL III*, 14320, 5 = *CIL III*, 14320, 5 + p. 2328, 159; *CIL III*, 14320, 1; *CIL III*, 14320, 2; *CIL III*, 14976, 5; *CIL III*, 14320, 8 = *CIL III*, 14320, 8 + p. 2328, 159; *CIL III*, 12812. (B) = *CIL III*, 12812 + p. 2259 = *CIL III*, 12812 + p. 2328, 122; *AE* 2009, 1019; *AE* 2009, 1021; *AE* 2009, 1022.

<sup>39</sup> Bojanovski 1988, 229-230.

<sup>40</sup> Arheološki leksikon BiH, tom III, 275.

<sup>41</sup> *AE* 1901, 190 = *CIL III*, 14976, 7; *ILJug III*, 1764; *ILJug III*, 1765; *AE* 1994, 1364 = *AE* 2003, 1327; *CIL III*, 14976, 2; *CIL III*, 12811 = *CIL III*, 12811 + p. 2328, 122 = *AE* 2009, 1020; *CIL III*, 14976, 6.

<sup>42</sup> *AE* 1994, 1364 = *AE* 2003, 1327.

<sup>43</sup> It should nevertheless be borne in mind that there is a possibility that this monument had been brought here from a different location.



Fig. 1 The position of the archaeological site assumed to be the hill-fort (*gradina*) settlement of *Delminium* or *municipium Delminensium*

gaj) in Tomislavgrad.<sup>44</sup> Šašel Kos and Škegro believe that Roman *Delminium* cannot be located with certainty, although both of them pointed out the continual habitation of the pre-Roman and Roman settlement.<sup>45</sup>

Considering the information obtained from the studies of renowned scholars who addressed the problem of locating *municipium Delminensium*, it is clear that no precise answer could be provided for this scientific problem without further archaeological systematic explorations. Scholars unanimously agree that the municipal centre should be found in Duvanjsko polje, which is certainly what epigraphic monuments, mentioning decurions and other local officials from this *municipium*, suggest. Four of such monuments have been discovered in Duvanjsko polje.<sup>46</sup> However, not one of these monuments has been found at the sites where archaeological findings indicate the municipal centre. Most of them were already in the antiquity used for secondary purposes, thus, they were not discovered at their

original location, which additionally impedes the pinpointing of *municipium Delminensium*. Next, it should be borne in mind that local officials did not usually live in administrative centres, so their funerary monuments were usually erected outside of an urban centre in the Roman period.<sup>47</sup> Nevertheless, it should be noted that the likely location of the administrative centre of Roman *Delminensium* was Duvanjsko polje.<sup>48</sup>

## Municipium Delminensium in the light of epigraphic findings

Based on the inscriptions from Trilj and Prisoje in Buško Blato where the name is carved in its

<sup>44</sup> Zaninović 1967, 11-12; 1969, 53-59; 2015, 332-333.

<sup>45</sup> Šašel Kos 1997, 394; 2005, 305-306; Škegro 2000, 399-400.

<sup>46</sup> *ILJug II*, 782; *ILJug II*, 783 = *AE* 1992, 1375 = *AE* 1994, 1363 = *AE* 2003, 1327; *AE* 1994, 1364 = *AE* 2003, 1327; *AE* 1958, 62 = *ILJug I*, 167.

<sup>47</sup> Such analogy can be observed in the example of *municipium Malvesiatium* and *municipium Aquae S(...?)*. For example, the headquarters of *municipium Malvesiatium* was archaeologically confirmed to be in Skelani, but the inscriptions of decurions and *duumvir* from this *municipium* were discovered in the valley of Lima (near present-day Rudo) and Zlatibor district in western Serbia (Užice-Požega region); Bojanovski 1968, 251. Moreover, the monument of local magistrates from *municipium Aquae S(...?)*, whose headquarters is located in Ilidža near Sarajevo, was found in situ in Krivoglavci near Vogošća; Šaćić Beća 2018, 157.

<sup>48</sup> I thank my colleague, Adnan Kaljanac, PhD for helping me to make maps with archaeological sites.



full form, we can observe that this name is restored as the plural genitive word *Delminensium*.<sup>49</sup> It's a quite common practice in municipal units from the inland region (*Malvesiatium*, *Novensium*, *Bistuensium*, etc.). When it comes to the inscription from Trilj (Split-Dalmatia County in Croatia), it should be noted that it is the first discovered inscription that refers to the municipal unit *Delminensium*. This is a building inscription that was immured into a bridge over the *Hippius* river (the present-day Cetina river), which mentions that the bridge had been restored upon the request of *municipii Novensium, Delminensium, and Riditarum*.<sup>50</sup> These three *municipia* that participated in the bridge restoration were relatively apart from one another but were connected by a *Salona – Narona* road.<sup>51</sup> It is assumed that they funded the bridge reconstruction because it connected two banks of the Cetina whose watercourse cut through that important road communication.<sup>52</sup> The Peutinger Map also suggests this. Namely, *Tillurium*, the find-spot of this monument, is drawn on this itinerary as one of the road stations on the road that connected the capital *Salona* with the inland of the province of *Dalmatia*.<sup>53</sup> Due to Emperor Commodus's *cursus honorum* carved on the monument, we can date the inscription to 184 AD.<sup>54</sup>

Precise dating of the monument from Trilj is important since it proves that *Delminium* was a *municipium* already in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. Judging by epigraphic monuments, it can be concluded that *Delminium*, i.e. *municipium Delminensium*, got this status under Hadrian (117–138 AD). Namely, decurions and their family members that appear on the inscriptions usually have Hadrian's *nomen Aelius*.<sup>55</sup> We should certainly not dismiss the possibility that these *nomina* originate from Hadrian's successor Antoninus Pius (138–161).

In this context, we should bear in mind that some individuals and families had been granted Roman rights even before their settlements became autonomous administrative units of municipal or colonial type. Moreover, we should not exclude the possibility of obtaining an individual status after the settlement became a *municipium* because not all citizens of a municipal unit were granted Roman citizenship simultaneously. Such examples can be found in the inland of the Roman province of *Dalmatia*. Namely, the presence of the principes among the *Delmatae*, *Dindari*, and *Iapodes*, corroborates that during the first phases, mostly members of the elite were granted citizenship, i.e. not all members of an indigenous community were granted Roman citizenship at the same time.<sup>56</sup>

During the explorations of a basilica from the Late Antiquity in *Prisoje* in *Buško Blato*, the remains of two epigraphic monuments mentioning officials from *municipium Delminensium* have been discovered. Especially important is the funerary monument for *Publius Aelius Iuvenalis*.<sup>57</sup> This monument includes several local positions carried out by the decedent and his father. *Publius Aelius Iuvenalis* was a member of the council of decurions, *quaestor*, and *duumvir*, while his father was a *quaestor* and *quattuorvir quinquennalis*. The magistracies suggest that *municipium Delminensium* had a well-organised government and it is one of the few *municipia* from the territory of the Roman province of *Dalmatia* that can prove the existence of local magistrates such as *quaestors* and *quattuorvir quinquennales*. These magistracies are associated with censor and financial positions.<sup>58</sup> It should be noted that *Bojanovski* associated this inscription with the early phase of Romanisation because he argues that the *cognomen* of decedent's father, *Varanus*, is a Latinised form of the Illyrian name *Varo*.<sup>59</sup> Such conclusion is reasonable since decedent's mother has an Illyrian *cognomen Buo*.<sup>60</sup> Since the decurion and his parents have Hadrian's *nomen*, and indigenous onomastic elements appear on

<sup>49</sup> *CIL III*, 03202 + p. 1651 = *CIL XVII*, 04, 00323a; *ILJug II*, 782.

<sup>50</sup> *CIL III*, 03202 + p. 1651 = *CIL XVII*, 04, 00323a.

<sup>51</sup> It is interesting that the inscription does not mention *Tillurium*, since the bridge is closer to it, but very distant places south-east and north-west from the river, which corroborates the importance of this bridge for the wider community; *Milošević* 2009, 174.

<sup>52</sup> *Bojanovski* 1977, 90.

<sup>53</sup> *Tab. Peut.* 5. 3-6, 2.

<sup>54</sup> *Kienast* 1996, 148-149.

<sup>55</sup> *ILJug II*, 782; *ILJug II*, 783 = *AE* 1992, 1375 = *AE* 1994, 1363 = *AE* 2003, 1327; *AE* 1994, 1364 = *AE* 2003, 1327.

<sup>56</sup> *ILJug III*, 1582; *AE* 1910, 0216 = *ILJug III*, 1544; *CIL III*, 14326; *CIL III*, 14324.

<sup>57</sup> *ILJug II*, 782.

<sup>58</sup> *Langhammer* 1973, 157-161; *González* 1986, 182; *Lintott* 1993, 145.

<sup>59</sup> *Bojanovski* 1970, 8.

<sup>60</sup> *Álföldy* 1969, 167.

the monument, it is reasonable to consider this monument as another evidence supporting the hypothesis that Delminium became a *municipium* during Hadrian's reign.

An Illyrian name appears in another inscription from Prisoje that mentions a *duumvir quinquennalis*, Titus Curiatius Seneca.<sup>61</sup> Namely, *duumvir*'s wife has a *cognomen Pano* which is a quite rare Illyrian name only recorded on this epigraphic monument to this point.<sup>62</sup> However, female names ending in -o are typical for the Delmatae (*Buvo, Dasto, Dutieio, Epatino, lato, Lavo, Paio, Paiio, Seio, Trio*, etc.).<sup>63</sup> Such names had retained for a long time in the territory of the Delmatae, meaning that the Romanisation process was very slow.

A monument indicating the name of a local official, a decurion, has been discovered near Prisoje in the village of Mokronoge near Tomislavgrad.<sup>64</sup> This is a votive altar dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus where the *municipium*'s name was carved in abbreviated form DEL. This inscription is special because Delminium here is named as a *civitas*, which is a term that was used in the context of a settlement or certain settlement administration, as seen in the example of the Antonine Itinerary.<sup>65</sup> The term *civitas* may be appearing in this inscription because it is quite younger than other inscriptions mentioning the *municipium*'s name. Other monuments can be dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, while this monument can be dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

*Municipium Delminensium* is the only *municipium* from the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina where the role of a public notary (*scriba publicus*) has been corroborated. Namely, a certain Publius Aelius Quintus is titled as *scriba publicus* in *municipium Delminensium* on an honorary inscription discovered on Lib hill near Tomislavgrad.<sup>66</sup> *Scriba publicus* was a junior official who carried out the duties of secretary, book-keeper, and accountant.<sup>67</sup> Judging by the imperial *nomen Aelius*, it is quite possible that this person

was of domestic provenance. If correct, it would mean that the local population had the right to education, since the position of *scriba publicus* required a good command of Latin language. Besides, there is no information regarding the education as a segment of Romanisation in the inland of Dalmatia, thus, this is a very interesting information.

On the basis of the distribution of epigraphic monuments, Bojanovski concluded that *municipium Delminensium* owned a large territory that encompassed the entire Duvanjsko polje and Buško Blato. This is the territory enclosed by mountains Kamešnica and Tušnica in the south-west, Ljubuša in the north, Vran in the north-east, and Zavelim in the south.<sup>68</sup> Such conclusion is logical since municipal units had clearly defined territories that were commonly enclosed by the mountain ranges in the inland of Dalmatia.

## Catalogue

### Cat. 1. Votive altar for Jupiter Capitolinus from Victor, the decurion of *municipium Delminium*

A votive altar discovered in 1954 in the village of Mokronoge near Tomislavgrad. The marlstone monument was found in a well-preserved condition. The top and bottom parts of this monument are moulded. In the top part, above the inscription field, there are two ivy leaves carved. The inscription was slightly damaged during the excavation process. Namely, the locals who found the inscription carved a bottom stroke on the letter P. The letter shape is irregular as the result of a bad stonemasonry. Today it is kept in the lapidarium of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

**Dimensions:** Height: 76 cm; Width: 44 cm; Depth: 40 cm; Letter height: 4.5–3.5 cm

AE 1958, 62 = *ILJug I*, 167.

EDCS-10000263; EDH 019702.

**Bibliography:** Sergejevski 1957, 110-111; Imamović 1977, 360; Bojanovski 1988, 220; Škegro 2000, 399; Mesihović 2011b, 581-582.

*I(ovi) Cap(itolino). / Victor dec(urio) / D<e>l(minensium?) c(ivitatis?) v(otum) s(olvit) / l(ibens) m(erito).*

<sup>61</sup> *ILJug II*, 783 = AE 1992, 1375 = AE 1994, 1363 = AE 2003, 1327.

<sup>62</sup> Bojanovski 1970, 13; Škegro 2003, 137.

<sup>63</sup> Katičić 1963, 255-292; Bojanovski 1970, 13, fn. 33; Škegro 2003, 137-138.

<sup>64</sup> AE 1958, 62 = *ILJug I*, 167.

<sup>65</sup> Čače 1995, 13.

<sup>66</sup> AE 1994, 1364 = AE 2003, 1327.

<sup>67</sup> Lintott 1993, 51; Škegro 2003, 139.

<sup>68</sup> Bojanovski 1988, 216.



Fig. 2 Votive altar for *Jupiter Capitolinus* from Victor, the decurion of *municipium Delminium*. Image adopted from a public domain <http://lupa.at/23748/photos/1> (author: Ortolf Harl) © National museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina

To *Jupiter Capitolinus*. Victor, the decurion of Delminian community, fulfilled his vow willingly and deservedly.

L.1: The words are carved in short form. The space between the letters is unequal so the text looks disorganised. – L.2: There is a short stroke added to the letter R. Sergejevski claimed that the inscription's discoverer added this line. The letter R in the word *Victor* is carved as P as the result of stonemason's mistake. A small cross is noticeable in the letter C, also added by the discoverer. – L.3: It can be assumed that the letter E was left out as a consequence of stonemason's mistake. – L.4: The words are carved as abbreviations.

**Dating:** 3<sup>rd</sup> century

The majority of scholars believe that there is a reference to *Delminium* on this monument.

However, it should be noted that Bojanovski maintains that Sergejevski's generally accepted reconstruction is not accurate.<sup>69</sup> According to Bojanovski, DLC should not be read as *D<e>l(minensium?) c(ivitatis?)*, as most authors do, but as *dec(reto) d(decurionum) l(loco)*.<sup>70</sup> Although Bojanovski's proposal is not unreasonable, the abbreviation DEL already appears in the inscriptions that refer to *Delminium*, so it is reasonable to conclude that the name of this municipal unit was carved in this inscription.<sup>71</sup> Despite different readings, all authors who analysed this inscription believe that this is a monument that attests the location of the administrative centre of *municipium Delminium* in Duvanjsko polje.<sup>72</sup>

Only the *cognomen* of the dedicator, Victor, was carved on the monument. This *cognomen* is common in Roman onomastics; thus it does not reveal anything about this person's provenance. Much more important information for the study of the administrative history is the information that the dedicant was a decurion of *municipium Delminium*. It is particularly interesting that *Delminium* is named *civitas* in this inscription. This term was used in the context of a settlement or certain settlement administration as can be concluded from the analysis of the Antonine Itinerary.<sup>73</sup> Finally, it should be noted that this monument is apparently the youngest among the monuments which mention public persons in *municipium Delminium*.

#### Cat. 2. Honorary inscription for Publius Aelius Quintus, the public notary (*scriba publicus*) from *municipium Delminium*

This monument was discovered in 1980 on the hill Lib near Tomislavgrad. The marlstone monument has been fragmentarily preserved. Scholars assume that it was brought from a site in Prosoja where many epigraphic monuments have been discovered. This is apparently a statue base where a text was carved. Only the front side with inscription has been preserved. The text is

<sup>69</sup> Sergejevski 1957, 110-111; Imamović 1977, 360; Mesihović 2011b, 581-582.

<sup>70</sup> Bojanovski 1988, 220.

<sup>71</sup> *ILJug II*, 783 = AE 1992, 1375 = AE 1994, 1363 = AE 2003, 1327.

<sup>72</sup> Sergejevski 1957, 110-111; Imamović 1977, 360; Bojanovski 1988, 220; Škegro 2000, 399; Mesihović 2011b, 581-582.

<sup>73</sup> Čaće 1995, 13.



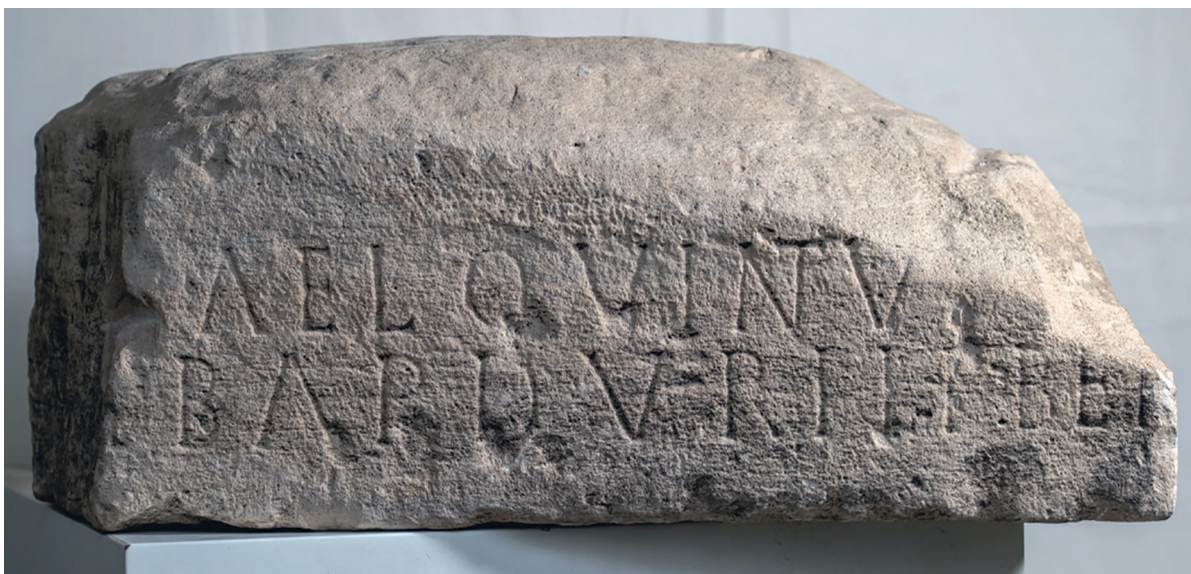


Fig. 3 Honorary inscription for *Publius Aelius Quintus*, the public notary (*scriba publicus*) from *municipium Delminium*. Image adopted from a public domain <http://lupa.at/30584/photos/1> (author: Ortoft Harl)  
© Franciscan Museum Tomislavgrad

carved in two lines. The letter shape indicates monumental provincial capitals. The monument is being kept today in the Franciscan Museum “Fra Jozo Križić” in Tomislavgrad.

**Dimensions:** Height: 17 cm; Width: 36 cm; Depth: 41 cm; Letter height: -

AE 1994, 1364 = AE 2003, 1327.

EDCS-00380810 = EDH 040012.

**Bibliography:** Škegro 1997, 92; Škegro 2003, 138-139; Mesihović 2011b, 610.

*P(ublius) Ael(ius) Quintus [scr]-/iba p(ublicus) D(elminiensium) v(otum) re(ddidit) liben[s]*

*Publius Aelius Quintus*, a public notary of *Delminium*, willingly gave back his vow.

L.1: NT is carved in ligature. The first letter in line, P, is partially damaged. Moreover, the last letters, SCR, are damaged. – L.2: The words *publicus*, *Delminiensium*, *votum* and *reddidit* are carved as abbreviations.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> century

The monument represents another evidence for locating *municipium Delminium* in the territory of Duvanjsko polje (near Tomislavgrad). We can conclude that the monument was erected by *Publius Aelius Quintus*, a public notary in *municipium Delminium*. This means that he was a junior settlement official, who carried out the duties of a secretary, bookkeeper, and accountant.<sup>74</sup> It should be noted that notaries (*scribae*)

rarely appear in inscriptions in the Roman province of Dalmatia, although their role in the administrative system of a certain *municipium* was very important.

All onomastic elements in this inscription are common and there are no signs of domestic onomastics. Nevertheless, judging by the imperial *nomen gentilicium Aelius* and *cognomen Quintus*, it can be assumed that this is a local person. Bojanovski, namely, has included the *cognomen Quintus* among the most common Latin *cognomina* given to the Delmatae.<sup>75</sup> Moreover, Rendić-Miočević argues that in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century the domestic Romanised inhabitants usually had *praenomen Publius* and *nomen Aelius* as Emperor Hadrian.<sup>76</sup> If this public notary was, in fact, a local person, this information would suggest that locals were also proficient in the Latin language, grammar and spelling. This phenomenon is certainly closely related to the Romanisation process.

In the context of prosopography, it should be noted that this person probably appeared on another epigraphic monument. It is a Jupiter's votive altar whose dedicant is also a certain *Publius Aelius Quintus*.<sup>77</sup> The monuments were made in

<sup>74</sup> Lintott 1993, 51; Škegro 2003, 139.

<sup>75</sup> Bojanovski 1988, 222.

<sup>76</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1989, 654.

<sup>77</sup> AE 1999, 1226 = *ILJug II*, 784.

the same period so it is impossible that this is the same person from the local aristocracy.

### Cat.3. Building/honorary inscription on the bridge over the *Hippius* river (the present-day Cetina)

A limestone monument discovered 1849 on the left bank of the Cetina in the settlement of Trilj (Split-Dalmatia County). This is a Latin inscription immured into a bridge over the Cetina. The inscription field is framed. The text is carved in twenty lines. The letters are regular. Today it is kept in the Archaeological Museum of Split.

**Dimensions:** Height: 162 cm; Width: 78 cm; Depth: 31 cm; Letter height: -

*CIL III*, 03202 + p. 1651 = *CIL XVII*, 04, 00323a.

EDCS-28600193 = EDH 053712.

**Bibliography:** Jagenteufel 1958, 49-50; Bojanovski 1977, 90; 1988, 219; Škegro 2000, 396; Milošević 2009, 174, Mesihović 2014, 211; Kolb 2014, 659.

*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) / M(arcus) Aurelius / [[Commodus]] / Antoninus <sup>5</sup>/ Aug(ustus) Pius Sarm(aticus) / Germ(anicus) Maximus / Brittannicus / pont(ifex) max(imus) trib(unicia) / pot(estate) VIII imp(erator) VI <sup>10</sup>/ co(n)s(ul) IIII p(ater) p(atriciae). / Pontem Hippī fluminis vetustate cor-/ruptum restituit / sumptum et operas <sup>15</sup>/ subministrantibus / Novensibus Delmi-/nensibus Riditis cu-/rante et dedicant e / L(ucio) Iunio Rufino Procu-/liano leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore).*

*Imperator Caesar, Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Augustus, Pious, Sarmaticus, Germanicus Maximus, Britannicus, Pontifex Maximus* (high priest), (holder of) the tribunician powers (for) the ninth time, emperor for the sixth time, elected consul for the fourth time, father of his country, restored the bridge over the river *Hippus* damaged by the passing of time while the people of *Novae Delminium*, and *Rider* covered the expenses and provided the workforce under the supervision of *L. Iunius Rufinus Proculianus*, dedicant and governor (of the province of Dalmatia).<sup>78</sup>

L.1: The words are carved as abbreviations. – L.2: *Marcus* is carved as an abbreviation. – L.3: *Commodus's* name is deleted (*damnatio memo-*

*riae*). – L.4–6: The words *Antoninus*, *Pius*, and *Maximus* are carved in full form, while other words are carved as abbreviations. The letters are smaller than the letters in previous lines. – L.7: The letters are carved shallow and hardly legible. Apart from the second line, this is the line where the letters are damaged the most. – L.8–20: The letters are preserved. The ligatures are not noticeable. In the last line, the letters are quite smaller than in the other lines.

**Dating:** 184 AD

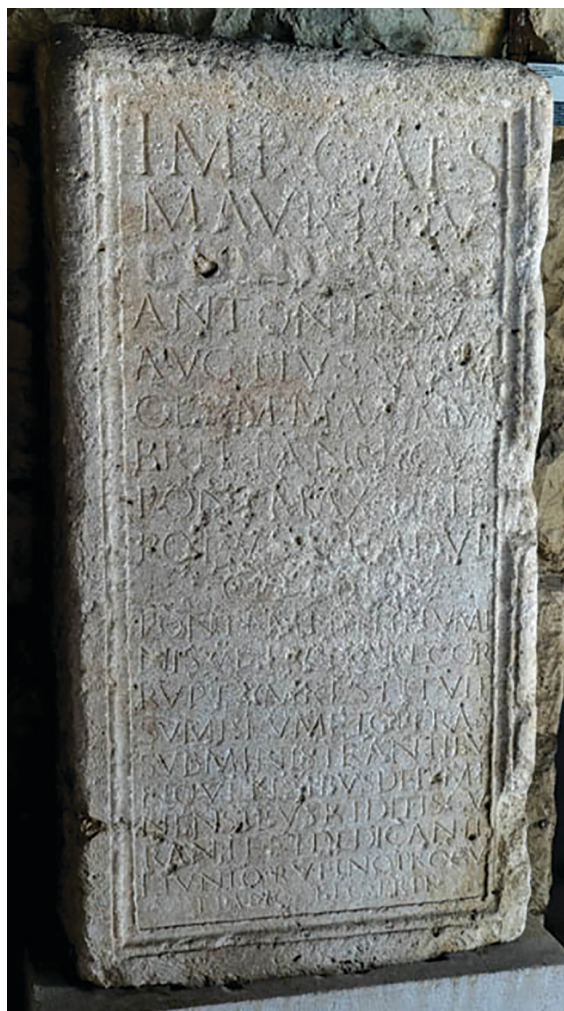


Fig. 4 Building/honorary inscription on the bridge over the *Hippius* river. Image adopted from a public domain <http://lupa.at/24Arheoloski muzej u Splitu644/photos/1> (auhtor: Ortoolf Harl) © Archaeological museum in Split

In the context of research history, this is the first discovered epigraphic monument mentioning *municipium Delminium*. In the 19<sup>th</sup> centu-

<sup>78</sup> English translation by Kolb 2014, 659.



ry, this misled scholars to locate Delminium in Gardum near Trilj (Roman *Tillurium*). However, the research results from the 20<sup>th</sup> century have shown that this *municipium* should be located in Duvanjsko polje.<sup>79</sup>

Based on *cursus honorum* of Emperor Commodus, we can date the monument to 184 AD when Commodus was consul for the fourth time and emperor for the sixth time.<sup>80</sup> Judging by this inscription, upon the request of three Dalmatian *municipia*, the bridge over the *Hippius*, i.e. Cetina, was reconstructed in 184 AD. The following *municipia* are mentioned in the inscription: *Rider*, *Novae*, and *Delminium*. Research has proved that the urban and administrative centre of *municipium Rider* was in Danilo near Šibenik, whereas *Novae* was located in Runović near Imotski.<sup>81</sup> The three *municipia* that restored the bridge were geographically relatively apart but were connected through *Salona – Narona* road. It is assumed that these three *municipia* funded the restoration of the bridge over the Cetina because it connected the two banks of the river that divided this important communication.<sup>82</sup> Moreover, *Tillurium*, where this monument was discovered, was indicated in the Peutinger Map as one of the road stations on the road that connected the capital *Salona* with the inland of Dalmatia province.<sup>83</sup>

From the carved text we learn that provincial governor (*legatus pro praetore*), *Lucius Iunius Rufinus Proculianus*, was responsible for supervising the bridge construction. He is one of the five governors of the province of Dalmatia under Commodus whose names we know from epigraphic monuments.<sup>84</sup> Apart from this inscription, there is no information about his governorship in Dalmatia. Based on one monument from Dacia we know that prior to his arrival to Dalmatia he was *tribunus laticlavius* of the legion XIII Gemina.<sup>85</sup> This is not surprising since we know

that under Antoninus governors were persons from the military class.

Cat. 4. Tombstone for decurion, *quaestor*, and *duumvir Publius Aelius Iuvenalis* from *municipium Delminium*

A monument discovered in 1969 during the research of a basilica from the Late Antiquity in Prosoja in Buško blato near Tomislavgrad. This area is territorially associated with Duvanjsko polje. The monument was immured into the floor of this basilica, so apart from the inscription field, the rest of this sepulchral monument has been destroyed. It is assumed that it was a cippus. We can notice that the inscription field had a moulding which was destroyed in order to immure the monument into the basilica. The cippus was made of marlstone. The letters are carved deeply in square capitals, suggesting that the monument was made by a skilful and well-trained stonemason. The remains of guidelines (*hederae*) are visible in the inscription field. The monument is kept today in the Franciscan Museum “Fra Jozo Križić” in Tomislavgrad.

**Dimensions:** Height: 114 cm; Width: 74 cm; Depth: 13 cm; Letter height: 7.5–2.7 cm

*ILJug II*, 782.

EDCS-10000794 = EHD 034266.

**Bibliography:** Bojanovski 1970, 6-11; 1974, 241; 1988, 219; Škegro 1997, 92; 2000, 396, fn. 8; Mesihović 2011b, 590-591.

*D(is) M(anibus). / P(ublio) Aelio P(ubli) filio / Iuvenali dec(urioni) / municipi(i) Delmine-<sup>5</sup>/ nsium quaestori / Ilviro vixit annos / XXXIII. P(ublius) Aelius / Victor Varanus / dec(urio) municipi(i) eius<sup>10</sup>- / dem IIIIvir q(uin)q(ennalis) et / Aelia Buo parentes / filio pientissimo / posuerunt et sibi / et suis.*

To the Spirits of the Departed. To *Publius Aelius Iuvenalis*, the son of Publius, the decurion of *municipium Delminium*, *quaestor* and *duumvir* who lived for 33 years. *Publius Aelius Victor Varanus*, the decurion of *municipium*, also *quattuorvir quinquennalis* and *Aelia Buo*, parents erected (the monument) to their most pious son and themselves and their family.

L.1: The words are carved as abbreviations. Between words there is an ivy-shaped punctuation mark (*hedera distinguens*). – L.2: AE is carved in ligature. The letters ILIO are smaller

<sup>79</sup> Bojanovski 1988, 223-224; Škegro 2000, 396.

<sup>80</sup> Kienast 1996, 148-149.

<sup>81</sup> Wilkes 1969, 239, 245; Bojanovski 1988, 373; Kos / Šašel Kos 1995, 294-295; Mesihović 2014, 211.

<sup>82</sup> Bojanovski 1977, 90.

<sup>83</sup> Tab. Peut. 5. 3-6.2.

<sup>84</sup> AE 1920, 45 = AE 1939 + 81; CIL 03, 3157 + p. 1650 = CIL 03, 8663 = CIL 03, 14239, 4 = AE 1994, 1346; CIL 03, 2809; CIL 14, 4089, 26 = CIL 15, 2164; Mesihović, 2014, 201-214.

<sup>85</sup> *Sarapi et Isidi / L(ucius) Iunius Rufi/nus Proculia/nus trib(unus) l(ati) c(lavius) / mil(itum) leg(ionis) XIII g(eminae) (CIL 03, 7770).*

than other letters. The words are separated by a punctuation mark in the form of a dot (*punctum distinguens*). All words in the following lines as are separated by punctuation marks. – L.3: The letter C is smaller than other letters. – L.4: The letters are smaller than the letters in other lines. – L.5: AE is carved in ligature. The front line in the letter N at the beginning of the line is damaged. – L.6: The final letters in the line, OS, are smaller than other letters in this line. – L.7: All letters are equal and well-preserved. – L.8: AN is carved in ligature. – L.9: The letters VN at the end of the line are much smaller than other letters. Also, we notice that letters are dense in this line. – L.10: A part of the word continues from the previous line. The letters are equal. The words are carved as abbreviations. – L.11: TE is carved in ligature. – L.12: The letter I is smaller than other letters. – L.13: NT is carved in ligature. The letters SIB are carved shallow at the end of the line. – L.14: The letters are carved in the centre of the inscription field. The letters are of unequal size.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> century

This monument has a great historical value since it attests the existence of *municipium Delminium*. This is the only hitherto discovered epigraphic monument from Duvanjsko polje with carved name of *municipium Delminium*. According to the scholarship, the administrative centre of this *municipium* was in Duvanjsko polje, the territory inhabited by the Delmatae.<sup>86</sup> It should be noted that the administrative centre still cannot be precisely pinpointed in terms of a certain archaeological site. However, it is likely that this centre was located in some of the archaeological sites in Duvanjsko polje as corroborated by this inscription.

This funerary monument indicates that decedent *Publius Aelius Iuvenalis* carried out multiple functions in *municipium Delminium*. He was a member of the council of decurions, a *quaestor* and a *duumvir*. In his name, we can observe a Roman trinomial onomastic formula (*tria nomina*). However, although all onomastic elements are typical for Roman onomastics, this inscription is associated with the first phase of political

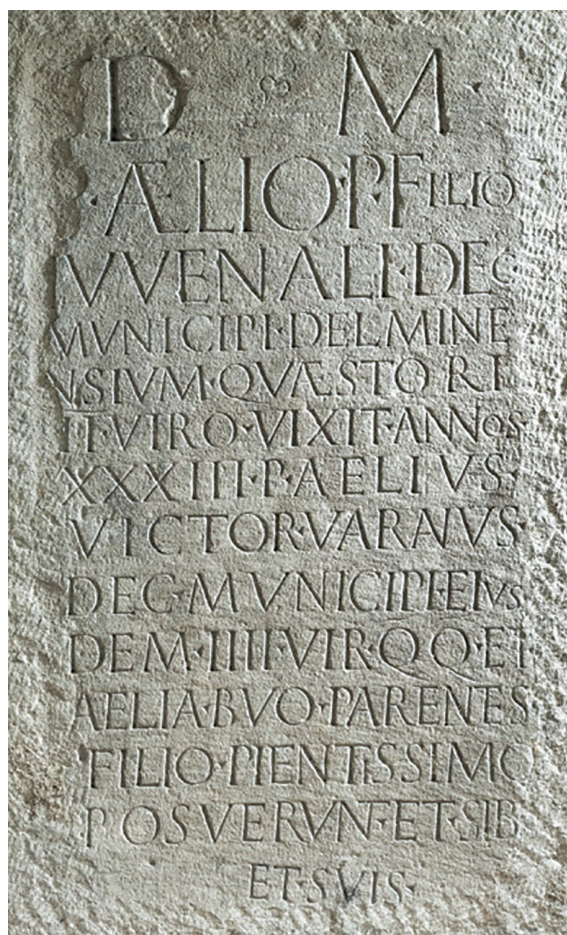


Fig. 5 Inscription on the monument erected by a decurion, quaestor, and duumvir *Publius Aelius Iuvenalis* from *municipium Delminium*. Image adopted from a public domain <http://lupa.at/30585/photos/2> (author: Ortolf Harl) © Franciscan Museum Tomislavgrad

Romanisation for many reasons. Firstly, it should be noted that here appears a filiation which scholars associated with the initial Romanisation phases in the case of Illyrian territory. Secondly, his *praenomen* is a possible indicator of the early Romanisation phase. Namely, Rendić-Miočević claimed that the name *Publius* can be associated with the beginnings of Romanisation, since a large-scale granting of Roman citizenship in Glamočko, Livanjsko, and Duvanjsko polje is associated with Hadrian, and, apart from Hadrian's *nomen gentilicium*, the domestic population took his *praenomen Publius*.<sup>87</sup> Moreover, Bojanovski associated this inscription with the early Romanisation phase, because he believes that the *cogno-*

<sup>86</sup> Pašalić 1960, 36-38; Alföldy 1965, 157; Zaninović 1966, 44; 1969, 49-56; Wilkes 1960, 71-272; Bojanovski 1970, 9; 1974, 240-243; 1988, 216; Kos / Šašel Kos 1995, 291; Škegro 2000, 396-398; Mesihović 2011b, 591; Mesihović / Šačić 2015, 92.

<sup>87</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1989, 654.

men of decedent's father, *Varanus*, is a Latinised form of Illyrian name *Varo*.<sup>88</sup> This association with the beginning of Romanisation is also seen in the onomastics of the decedent's mother who has Illyrian *cognomen* *Buo*.<sup>89</sup> These theses are acceptable since they presuppose that *Delminium* got its municipal status under Hadrian.<sup>90</sup>

*Cursus honorum* of the decedent and his father contains a series of magistracies, of which *quaestor* and *quattuorvir quinquennalis* are especially interesting. These magistracies are uncommon in municipal inscriptions in the eastern parts of the Dalmatian province. Thus, apart from this inscription, the function of *quattuorvir quinquennalis*, when it comes to the inland of Dalmatia, appears only in the inscription from the Sarajevo area (*municipium Aquae*).<sup>91</sup> *Quattuorviri quinquennales* comprised a collegium formed of *duumviri iuri dicundo* and *duumviri aediles*.<sup>92</sup> The name of the collegium implies that it consisted of four persons, whereas Bojanovski states that this collegium is known from *lex Iulia municipalis* under the name of *censores municipales*.<sup>93</sup> The members of this collegium performed certain censor duties. On the other hand, a *quaestor* was in charge of financial matters in a *municipium*.<sup>94</sup> These functions performed by family members, whose names were carved on the monument, clearly indicate that they belonged to the highest class of local aristocracy that had probably originated from some of the Delmatean communities. Moreover, we can conclude that the local administration was clearly structured in *municipium* *Delminium*. It was modelled on classical Roman model typical for *municipia*.

#### Cat. 5. Tombstone for the wife of *duumvir quinquennalis* *Titus Curiatius Seneca*

This monument has been preserved in a fragmentary state. The first of the two fragments was discovered in 1968 during the research of a basilica from the Late Antiquity in Prosoja in

Buško blato near Tomislavgrad (Duvanjsko polje). The second fragment was discovered in 1991 in Vidikovac in Prosoja. Judging by the depth of the preserved fragments, it can be assumed that this cippus was destroyed during the secondary usage. The inscription field is framed in relief moulding. Foliage ornaments are also visible. The monument is made of marlstone. The letters are elongated and of unequal height. A punctuation mark in the form of a dot (*punctum distinguens*) is found between all the words in the inscription. The monument fragment is kept today in the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The second monument fragment is kept at the Franciscan museum "Fra Jozo Kržić" in Tomislavgrad.

**Dimensions:** Height: 16 cm; Width: 68 cm; Depth: 36 cm; Letter height: 3.8 cm

*ILJug II*, 783 = *AE* 1992, 1375 = *AE* 1994, 1363 = *AE* 2003, 1327.

EDCS-00380809 = EDH 040008.

**Bibliography:** Bojanovski 1970, 11-13; 1988, 221-222; Škegro 1997, 92-93; 2000, 399, fn. 13; 2003, 136-138; Mesihović 2011b, 596-597.

-----] / *P(ubliae) Ael(iae) P(ubli) f(iliae) Panoni / coniugi karissi-/m(a)e. T(itus) Curiatius / Seneca marit[us] / Ilvir q(uin)q(uennalis) Del[min(iensium)?] / [-----*

To the dearest wife *Publia Aelia Pano*, the daughter of *Publius. Titus Curiatius Seneca* husband *duumvir quinquennalis* of (*municipium*) *Delminium* ...

L.1: Apart from *cognomen Pano*, all other words are carved as abbreviations. The words are separated by a punctuation mark (*punctum distinguens*). – L.2: The word *karissima* is carved with the letter K although it is usually carved with the letter C in inscriptions. – L.3: The syllable of the last word of the previous line continues in this line. The letters in the first two words are damaged at the bottom. – L.4: The words are well-preserved. – L.5: The words *duumvir quinquennalis* are carved in abbreviated form. The name of the *municipium* contained more words than it was preserved on the monument. It can be assumed that at least three letters are missing at the end of the line.

**Dating:** 2<sup>nd</sup> century

This monument corroborates that *municipium Delminium* was located in Duvanjsko polje. Unfortunately, the name of this municipal unit

<sup>88</sup> Bojanovski 1970, 8.

<sup>89</sup> Alföldy 1969, 167.

<sup>90</sup> Alföldy 1965, 157, 183; Wilkes 1969, 71-272; Bojanovski 1970, 9; 1988, 211.

<sup>91</sup> *AE* 2006, 1022.

<sup>92</sup> Langhammer 1973, 43.

<sup>93</sup> Bojanovski 1988, 220.

<sup>94</sup> Langhammer 1973, 157-161; González 1986, 182; Lintott 1993, 145.



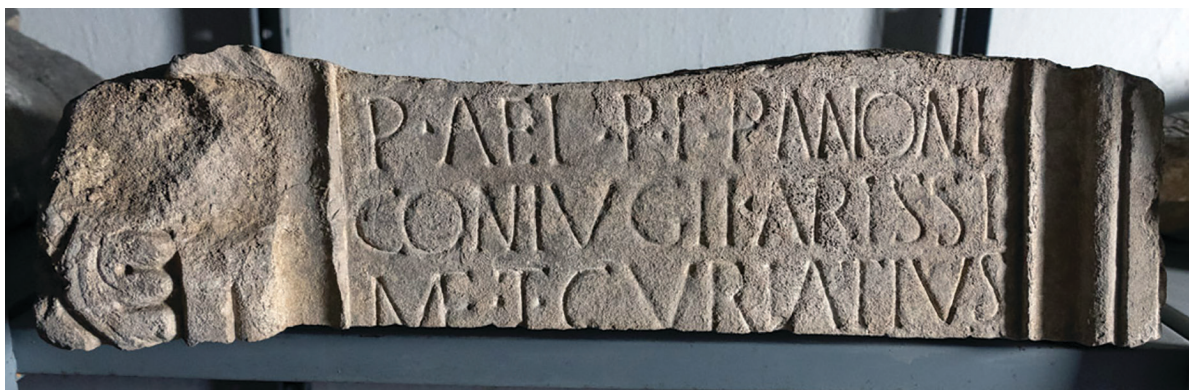


Fig. 6 The fragment of the tombstone of the wife of duumvir quinquennalis *Titus Curiatius Seneca*.

Image adopted from a public domain <http://lupa.at/23750/photos/1> (author: Ortolf Harl)

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has been only partially preserved on this monument. We learn that this is a funerary monument erected by a *duumvir quinquennalis* *Titus Curiatius Seneca* for his wife *Publia Aelia Pano*. Since the *duumvir* has a common Roman name, his origin cannot be determined. On the other hand, we can safely claim that his wife is of domestic origin, as suggested by her *cognomen* *Pano*. This is an extremely rare Illyrian name only recorded on this epigraphic monument.<sup>95</sup> However, it should be noted there are other female names ending with O that appear in other inscriptions from the Delmatean territory such as *Buvo*, *Dasto*, *Dutieio*, *Epatino*, *Lato*, *Lavo*, *Paio*, *Paio*, *Seio*, *Trio*, etc.<sup>96</sup> It is interesting that this woman also has a *praenomen* in her name formula, which is rare in inscriptions from Dalmatia. It should be especially pointed out that the onomastics of the wife of the *duumvir quinquennalis* reveals that the monument was made during the initial phase of Romanisation. Namely, apart from the Illyrian *cognomen* *Pano*, this is also suggested by the name of the wife's father and her *praenomen* *Publia*. According to Rendić-Miočević, in combination with *nomen Aelius*, this *praenomen* is associated with the Delmatean population that was granted Roman citizenship directly by Emperor Hadrian.<sup>97</sup> Therefore, this inscription certainly corrob-

orates the thesis that Delminium became a *municipium* under the reign of Emperor Hadrian.<sup>98</sup>

## Conclusion

The Delmatae, who we know from narrative sources, are in fact a reflection of historical memories of communities from the Adriatic hinterland, who formed a political alliance as a result of historical circumstances. Although the social structure of indigenous communities in this region before the Roman conquests is not clear, we can assume that before the Roman occupation, the Delmatae represented an established ethnical group whose identity was founded on a common culture, mutual solidarity, connection with the territory, the perception of a mutual origin, and common historical experiences founded on the wars with Daorsi, Liburnians, Greek colonists, and the Romans. During the first phases of the interaction of these communities, the community whose political headquarters was in Delminium probably had the leading role. This paper accepts the thesis of Alojz Benac that this hill-fort was located on Lib mountain near Tomislavgrad in south-western Bosnia and Herzegovina. Unfortunately, there is no new archaeological evidence to corroborate this claim, so the paper does not further analyse this problem. In the context of writing about Delminium, Greco-Roman scholars mostly referred to older events than their

<sup>95</sup> Bojanovski 1970, 13; Škegro 2003, 137.

<sup>96</sup> Katičić 1963, 255-292; Bojanovski 1970, 13, fn. 33; Škegro 2003, 137-138.

<sup>97</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1989, 654.

<sup>98</sup> I thank my colleague archaeologist Stipan Dilber from Tomislavgrad who familiarized me with the current state of ancient epigraphic monument used in this paper.



time, meaning that their information refers to pre-Roman *Delminium*. Authors who wrote of *Delminium* in this context were Strabo, Florus, Appian, Claudius Ptolemy, Frontinus, Stephanus of Byzantium, and Eustathius of Thessalonica. On the other hand, we get the information regarding the Roman *municipium* of the same name only from epigraphic monuments. The paper also analyses when *municipium Delminensium* was granted municipal status. Although the literature generally accepts the thesis that *Delminensium* became a *municipium* under Hadrian (117–138), this issue remains open in this paper. Generally accepted dating is based on the analysis of a monument of the local elite whose nomen is *Aelius*, i.e., the nomen of Emperor Hadrian or his successor Antoninus Pius. Nevertheless, the local elite could have been granted Roman citizenships before *Delminensium* was proclaimed an autonomous administrative unit. On the other hand, the inscription of an official from *Delminium* could be younger than the rule of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius since nomen gentile were inherited elements within the Roman onomastic system. By carefully comparing the data from written sources with the texts carved on monuments, we conclude that there is no continuity between pre-Roman and Roman settlements. The first obvious discontinuity is visible in the context of locating the settlement. The assumed ethnic headquarters of the *Delmatae*, according to the lifestyle of the citizens, is Lib mountain, whereas the Roman *municipium* was in Duvno field. Therefore, we can conclude that both settlements inherited the historical circumstances in which they existed. One settlement represents the symbol of the political unification of the *Delmatean* communities, whereas the *Delmatean municipium* reflects the Roman provincial policy. *Municipium Delminensium* is a Roman administrative unit created for the purposes of local Roman administration. The Roman *Delminensium* nevertheless did not have the importance of the pre-Roman hill-fort. Such conclusion is suggested by an inscription of the local elite from Rider in Croatia, which reveals that the headquarters of *Delmatean* *civitas* was in this part of the former *Delmatean* territory. It is not excluded that this is a consequence of a direct Roman influence. It is possible that the Romans, while favoring the elite from Rider, wanted a *Delmatean* alliance led by

a community from *Delminian*. The only observable continuity is the same name. This is nothing unusual, because the majority of *municipia* in the inland of the Roman province of Dalmatia bears pre-Roman names (e.g., *Malvesiatium*, *Bistuensium*, *Domavia*, etc.).

Translation: Samra Čebirić, MA

## Sažetak

### Propitivanje problema Delminija

Strabon je najstariji izvor koji spominje Delminijum. To naselje Strabon veže uz ime *Delmata*. U savremenoj nauci preovladava mišljenje da *Delminium* koji spominje Strabon nije bio glavni grad svih *Delmata*, već političko sjedište jedne od *delmatskih* zajednica. Po tom gradu je kasnije cijeli *Delmatski savez* prozvan *Dalmatae*, odnosno *Delmatae*. Pored Strabona, ovo predrimsko naselje spominju još Apijan, Fontin, Flor, Ptolemej Klaudije i Stefan Bizantinac. Treba podvući da svi izvori, izuzev Ptolemeja Klaudija, Delminij spominju u kontekstu rimsko-*delmatskih* sukoba iz perioda srednje i kasne republike. Jedinu konkretniji topografski podatak za njegovu lokalizaciju zabilježio je Ptolemej. Naime, Ptolemej precizira lokaciju tog *delmatskog* naselja, odnosno ubraja Delminij u unutrašnje gradove *Dalmacije*, navodeći podatke o geografskoj širini i dužini. Ime tog *delmatskog* političkog centra, odnosno glavnog naselja, u antičkim izvorima različito se navodi. Strabon i Stefan Bizantinac koriste dva naziva za to naselje – *Dalmion* / *Delminion*. Apijan i Ptolemej koriste izraz *Delminium* (*Delminion*). Također, Flor i Frontin koriste ime *Delminium*. Ukoliko se uradi detaljna analiza pisanih izvora, može se zaključiti da je ipak vjerovatno *Delminium* bilo ime najznačajnijeg *delmatskog* naselja prije rimske okupacije. *Delmati* koje poznajemo iz narativnih izvora zapravo su odraz historijskog sjećanja na zajednice iz jadranskog zaleđa koje su usljed određenih historijskih okolnosti formirale politički savez. Iako nije jasna društvena struktura autohtonih zajednica u ovoj regiji prije rimskih osvajanja, u ovom konkretnom slučaju može se pretpostaviti da su *Delmati* prije rimske okupacije predstavljali oformljenu etničku skupinu čiji se identitet temeljio na zajedničkoj kulturi međusobnoj solidarnosti, povezanosti s teritorijom, percepciji zajedničkog porijekla te zajedničkim povijesnim iskustvima utemeljenim na ratovanju s Daor-

sima, Liburnima, grčkim kolonistima i Rimljanima. U prvim fazama interakcije spomenutih zajednica vodeću ulogu je po svemu sudeći imala zajednica čije je političko središte bilo u Delminiju.

Pažljivom komparacijom podataka iz pisanih izvora i tekstova uklesanih na spomenicima dolazi se do zaključka da nema kontinuiteta između predrimskog i rimskog naselja. Prvi očigledan diskontinuitet vidljiv je u kontekstu lociranja naselja. Pretpostavljeno etničko središte Delmata se u skladu s načinom života njegovih stanovnika locira na brdu Lib, dok je rimski municipium bio u ravnici Duvanjskog polja. Stoga se može zaključiti da oba naselja baštine tradiciju historijskih okolnosti u kojima egzistiraju. Jedno naselje predstavlja simbol političkog ujedinjenja delmatskih zajednica, dok istoimeni municipium odražava rimsku provincijalnu politiku. Bez sumnje *Municipium Delminensium* je rimska administrativna jedinica nastala iz određenih potreba lokalne rimske uprave. Svakako, rimski *Delminensium* ipak nije imao onu važnost koju je za indigeno stanovništvo imala predrimska gradina istog imena. Na takav zaključak upućuju natpisi lokalnih elita iz Ridera iz Hrvatske iz kojih se saznaje da je središte delmatske *civitas* bilo u tom dijelu nekadašnjeg delmatskog teritorija. Nije isključeno da je to posljedica direktnog rimskog utjecaja. Moguće je da su Rimljani, favorizirajući eite iz Ridera, željeli osloboditi delmatski savez predvođen zajednicom iz Delminija. Jedini kontinuitet koji se može uočiti jeste isto ime. To nije neobično jer većina municipia u unutrašnjosti rimske provincije Dalmacije nosi predrimske nazive (npr. *Malvesiatium*, *Bi-stuensium*, *Domavia* itd).

Većina naučnika se slaže s lociranjem predrimskog *Delminiuma* na gradini Lib jer je to jedina gradina u Duvanjskom polju koja dominira nad cijelom ravnicom i dovoljno je velika da bude sklonište za susjednu populaciju. S druge strane, problem lociranja administrativnog središta istoimenog rimskog municipija je još uvijek otvoreno. U tom smislu jedino što se sa sigurnošću može potvrditi jeste da municipalno središte treba tražiti u Duvanjskom polju. Primarno na to upućuju epigrafski spomenici na kojima se pojavljuju dekurioni i drugi lokalni dužnosnici iz *municipium Delminensium*. Na kraju se može zaključiti da su postojala dva Delminija koja baštine dvije različite tradicije: starije predrimsko naselje baštini delmatsku tradiciju, a mlađe rimsku municipalnu.

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### Abbreviations

|       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|-------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| AE    | L'année épigraphique, Paris                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| CIL   | <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (ed. Th. Mommsen), Berlin 1873: Supplementa 1889–1902.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| EDH   | Epigraphische Database Heidelberg (project: Gottfried-Wilhelm-Leibniz-Preis (DFG) by Prof. Géza Alföldy)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| EDR   | Epigraphic Database Rome / L'Epigraphic Database Roma (project: Electronic Archive of Greek and Latin Epigraphy)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| ILJug | <i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL e MCMLX repertae et editae sunt</i> (ed. A. et J. Šašel), Situla 5, Ljubljana 1963 (št. 1-451); <i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX e MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt</i> (ed. A. et J. Šašel), Situla 19, Ljubljana 1978 (št. 452–1222); <i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt</i> (ed. A. et J. Šašel), Situla 25, Ljubljana 1986 (št. 1223–3128). |
| LCL   | The Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge (Massachusetts) – London                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |

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Godišnjak izlazi od 1957. godine. Prva (I) i druga sveska (II-1961) štampane su u izdanju Balkanološkog instituta Naučnog društva BiH, a od 1965. (III/1) izdavač časopisa je Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja ANUBiH. Počev od sveske XXXIX/37 numeracija je svedena na prvu cifru koja se izražava arapskim brojem. Objavljeni radovi su vrednovani od strane međunarodne redakcije i recenzenata.

Das Jahrbuch erscheint seit dem Jahr 1957. Der erste (I) und zweite Band (II-1961) wurden im Balkanologischen Institut der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft B-H herausgegeben. Seit dem Band III/1, 1965 erscheint die Zeitschrift im Zentrum für Balkanforschungen der AWK B-H. Ab Band XXXIX/37 wird die Nummerierung auf die erste, folglich arabisch ausgedrückter Zahl, zurückgezogen. Die veröffentlichten Artikel wurden von der internationalen Redaktion und Rezensenten begutachtet.

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Naslovna strana / Titelblatt  
Dževad Hozo

Ilustracija na naslovnoj strani / Illustration am Titelblatt  
Amblem proslave 140 godina arheologije u Bosni i Hercegovini / Zeichen der Jubiläumsfeier 140 Jahren  
der Archäologie in Bosnien und Herzegowina

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Tiraž / Auflage  
500

Štampa / Druck  
Dobra knjiga, Sarajevo

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