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Udruženje za proučavanje i promoviranje ilirskog naslijeđa i  
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“BATHINVS”

# Acta Illyrica

Godišnjak Udruženja BATHINVS  
Godina VIII/Broj 8



SARAJEVO, 2024.





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## **The Daorsi, Daorson, *Municipium Diluntum*, and the Question of (Dis)continuity**

**Abstract:** New methodological principles must be observed regarding the Daorsi, Daorson (the settlement in Ošanići), and the *Municipium Diluntum*. The paper analyses the term “Daorsi” in the context of Greco-Roman authors, epigraphic monuments, and published results of archaeological research. The analysis of source materials shows the role the Dalmatae and Romans played in the establishment of the identity of the Daorsi during the Late Republic. This paper provides a critical overview on identifying the term “Daorsi” from the period of the Illyrian Kingdom with the term *civitas peregrina* of the *Daversi* in Pliny’s list of communities of the Naronia conventus. Literature shows that the name of the settlement in Ošanići, Daorson, was a construct of contemporary authors. The settlement near Ošanići, which likely became the center of the *Municipium Diluntum* under the Flavian dynasty, did not inherit the role of the ethnic center that is frequently noted in the literature. However, the example of the population of this municipium can be used to trace the existence of different identities within one microregion. The identities of the local elites and others social strata, including auxiliary and immigrants, are clearly pronounced.

**Keywords:** Daorsi, *civitas peregrina*, identity, *Municipium Diluntum*, Ošanići, Stolac, elites, auxiliary, onomastics, literary sources

**Apstrakt:** Kada je riječ o Daorsima, Daorsonu (naselju na Ošanićima) i municipiju Diluntum potrebno je sagledati nove metodološke pristupe. U radu je analiziran pojam Daorsa u kontekstu grčko-rimskih izvora, epigrafskih svjedočanstava i objavljenih rezultata arheoloških istraživanja. Kroz analizu izvorne građe prepoznata je uloga Delmata i Rimljana u formiranju identiteta Daorsa u periodu kasne republike. Urađen je kritički osvrt na izjednačavanje pojma Daorsi iz vremena Ilirskog kraljevstva

u odnosu na pojam *civitas peregrina* Daversi koju susrećemo na Plinijevom popisu zajednica iz Naronitanskog konventa. Uvidom u literaturu utvrđeno je da je naziv za naselje na Ošanićima Daorson zapravo konstrukt savremenih autora. Naselje u blizini Ošanića koje je vjerovatno za vrijeme Flavijevske dinastije postalo središte rimskog municipija *Diluntum*, nije naslijedilo ulogu etničkog središta kako se često navodi u literaturi. Međutim, na primjeru stanovništva ovog municipija može se pratiti postojanje različitih identiteta unutar jedne mikroregije. Jasno su izraženi identiteti lokalnih elita i drugih slojeva društva kojima pripadaju auksilijari i doseljenici.

**Ključne riječi:** Daorsi, *civitas peregrina*, identitet, *Municipium Diluntum*, Ošanići, Stolac, elite, auksilijari, onomastika, literarni izvori

In present-day Herzegovina, the existence of only one municipal unit has been confirmed – that of *Municipium Diluntum*. The possible cause of the lack of municipalization of this relatively large area is the proximity to the Roman colony of *Narona* (*Colonia Iulia Narona*), whose *ager* covered the larger portion of western and southern Herzegovina.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, there are indications that the southeasternmost part of Herzegovina (the middle and lower courses of the Trebišnjica River) was part of the *ager* of Epidaurus colony (*Colonia Iulia Epidaurum*).<sup>2</sup> However, it should be pointed out that there is no literary and epigraphic evidence for the link between the *agers* of Herzegovina and *Epidaurus*.

The existence of *Municipium Diluntum* has been corroborated in written and epigraphic sources. In the context of road stations, this administrative unit was mentioned in two Roman itineraries – Antonine Itinerary (*Itinerarium Antonini*) and Peutinger Table (*Tabula Peutingeriana*).<sup>3</sup> *Diluntum* is also mentioned in AD 533 when it was assigned to the bishop of the newly established Diocese of Sarsenterum (*Dioecesis Sarsenterensis*).<sup>4</sup> Scholars believe that the administrative center of this municipium was located in present-day Stolac.<sup>5</sup> Stolac and its surroundings are also associated with the Daorsi and its settlement Daorson (Ošanići near Stolac).

<sup>1</sup> Alföldy 1965, 138; Wilkes 1969, 251; Bojanovski 1977a, 98; Zaninović 1980, 178, 179; Vučić 2005, 163; Marić 2015, 41–43.

<sup>2</sup> Bojanovski 1977b, 67; Bojanovski 1988, 76, 81; Marić 2015, 49.

<sup>3</sup> *Itin. Ant.* 338. 4–39, 5; *Tab. Peut.* 5. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Sarsenterensis episcopus basilicas, quae in monicipiis Dellontino, Stantino, Nouense (Neuense) per Rusticiarum, Potuatico et Beuzavatico (Benzavatico) et supra constitutae sunt* (Bojanovski 1988, 100, fn. 70; Puljić, Škegro 2006, 7).

<sup>5</sup> Sergejevski 1962, 111–113; Bojanovski 1973, 138; Bojanovski 1977b, 86; Atanacković-Salčić 1979, 8–10; Bojanovski 1983, 14; Bojanovski 1988, 88–102, 337; Kos, Šašel Kos 1995, 291; Busuladžić 2012, 105; Marić 2015, 70; Petrović 2015, 72, Donev 2019, 22.





However, the term *Diluntum* should be observed independently of the terms “Daorsi” and “Daorson”. In literature, these terms are often observed from a chronological and geographic perspective leading to an erroneous conclusion that *Diluntum*, at a certain historic moment, took over the role that the Iron Age settlement in Ošanići had in prehistoric times or Hellenism. *Diluntum* was a Roman municipium created for Roman administrative purposes. On the other hand, the narrative about the Daorsi and Daorson requires a more complex methodological analysis.

## The Daorsi and Daorson: the perceptions of identity

When it comes to the Daorsi and Daorson (Ošanići), we should first of all point out new theoretical approaches to the study of identity. Modern methodological concepts are based on the post-structural interpretation of the past. This means that the terms such as “Daorsi” are interpreted as the products of pseudo-ethnographic taxonomy used by Greek and Roman intellectuals to explain the “Others”.<sup>6</sup> Clearly the communities during the Iron Age were not a single ethnic corpus that reflects the contemporary concepts of nations and identities. The narrative regarding the settlement in Ošanići, as the capital of the Daorsi, was constructed using a contemporary understanding of ethnicity. The same logic was used to obtain the settlement name in Ošanići. However, does such archaeological and historical construct reflect the distant past?

Archaeological research has confirmed that the settlement in Ošanići was during the same period surrounded by smaller fortified settlements in Borojevićima, Donjem Bršaniku, Dragoviji, Krehinom Gracu, Prenju, Gorica kod Gruda, Doljani, Čapljini, Vidu etc.<sup>7</sup> Since there is no connection between these settlements, the population likely had to defend itself from outside enemies individually. Each settlement also had to control certain resources affecting the development of their identities.<sup>8</sup> Still, there certainly had to be a strong interaction between these communities. Just like when the Delmatae or the Iapodes were attacked by a superior common enemy, the inhabitants of these settlements probably established an alliance.<sup>9</sup> Greco-Roman authors identified this alliance as peoples. The Romans also projected familiar social and political concepts on the communities of the Adriatic hinterland.

<sup>6</sup> More on the post-structural interpretation of the past identities of the Iron Age in southeastern Adriatic in: Džino 2007; Džino 2011.

<sup>7</sup> Vasilj 2020, 76; Behram 2022, 13–18.

<sup>8</sup> Dimitrijević 2018, 18–20.

<sup>9</sup> Džino 2007, 75–77; Šačić Beća 2020, 67–68; Šačić Beća 2023, 96–99.



When it comes to the size of these settlements, the one in Ošanići near Stolac was especially prominent. Therefore, historiography recognizes this settlement as the capital of the Daorsi.<sup>10</sup> The discovery of a coin with the legend ΔΑΟΕΡΣΩΝ is one of the arguments to support this thesis.<sup>11</sup> We should have in mind that the discovery of this coin does not corroborate the existence of a single ethnic identity of all inhabitants of this region but an independent political identity of the Ošanići settlement inhabitants or the identity of the local elite who minted coin on the model of the Hellenic elite to strengthen its ruling position.<sup>12</sup> The discovery of a small number of coins of the Daorsi, typologically similar to the coins of the Labeatae from Albania and Montenegro, could possibly indicate the existence of a monetary system in the southern Adriatic.<sup>13</sup> There is a possibility that these coins are evidence of political hegemony that tried to ascertain their dominance over the population of Ošanići, Scodra, and Lissus through a monetary policy.<sup>14</sup> We cannot neglect the fact that the coins of the local ruler Ballaios were discovered in Ošanići.<sup>15</sup> Ballaios was likely one of those hegemony. It is also likely that the Ošanići coins were modeled on the coins of king Gentius. A relatively small number of coins were discovered. Therefore, scholars believe that the coin with ΔΑΟΕΡΣΩΝ legend was minted in a short timeframe in Ošanići where coin production tools were discovered.<sup>16</sup> Minting coins using the model of Gentius is very suggestive. We know that Titus Livius mentions the Daorsi as one of the communities that were part of Gentius's kingdom.<sup>17</sup> We can assume that the local elites from the fortified settlement in Ošanići continued to mint coins like Gentius to consolidate their position among their fellow countrymen. In this way, the local elite looked up to Gentius but became equal to the elite from Scodra and Lissus.

As mentioned earlier, coins have helped determine that the settlement in Ošanići was named Daorson. However, that is a contemporary construct founded on the assumptions of scholars that the word "Daorson" on coins signifies the name of

<sup>10</sup> Bojanovski 1988, 89; Zaninović 2015, 394.

<sup>11</sup> Dragičević 2016; Dragičević 2023.

<sup>12</sup> Džino 2007, 71.

<sup>13</sup> Dragičević 2016, 114; Milivojević 2021, 55, fn. 55.

<sup>14</sup> Džino 2007, 71.

<sup>15</sup> More recent research carried out by the Research Center for the Antiquity of Southeastern Europe of the University of Warsaw and the Center for Conservation and Archaeology of Montenegro has confirmed that *Ballaios* ruled in the mid-3rd century BC, almost a hundred years earlier than originally thought. Moreover, years of systematic research have revealed that the political center of his rule was *Ribzon* (Risan in Montenegro) (Dyczek 2010; Dyczek 2011; Dyczek 2019; Dyczek 2020). New research has proved that the locals from Daorson were connected with hegemony from the south even before the rule of Gentius.

<sup>16</sup> Dragičević 2016, 114.

<sup>17</sup> Livy, 45. 26. 11–15.



the settlement.<sup>18</sup> Cambi believes that the legend on the reverse signifies an indigenous community because it was carved in the genitive plural, not the name of the settlement.<sup>19</sup> This thesis seems acceptable. That community was the most numerous and economically superior compared to other communities in its vicinity. It seems justifiable to assume that their Hellenic and Roman contemporaries called the inhabitants of other settlements from the area of Ošanići the Daorsi because they were the best connoisseurs of the community.

Based on archaeological finds, scholars have concluded that the Daorsi were strongly influenced by Hellenism which is primarily observed in the way they constructed their largest settlement in Ošanići.<sup>20</sup> Although there are architectural elements that can be described as a blend of indigenous and Hellenic construction, the settlement in Ošanići is nevertheless primarily of indigenous character.<sup>21</sup> The Romans named these settlements *refugium*, *castellum*, or *oppidum*.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, the appearance of objects of Hellenic origin is not an indicator of acculturation. A good geographic position close to the Neretva River meant that the trade exchange was much more intense in this part of the Adriatic hinterland than, for example, in central Bosnia. By buying and using luxurious foreign goods, the local elite wanted to display their dominance in society. Moreover, the appearance of the Greek alphabet on coins is no attestation of a high level of Hellenization. Hellenic motifs and letters are present on inscriptions of other prehistoric communities, such as the Celtic population in the south of France.<sup>23</sup> This alliance of indigenous communities named the Daorsi in the sources certainly did not speak Greek or dressed as the Greeks. Certain elements of the Hellenic culture in the assumed territory of the Daorsi should be primarily observed as the result of trade exchange.

## The role of the Delmatae and Romans in the formation of the identity of the Daorsi

Contemporary literature generally accepts that the administrative center of *Municipium Diluntum* is located in Stolac which was the political center of the Illyrian

<sup>18</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1965, 87; Marić 1973, 114.

<sup>19</sup> Cambi 1992/1993, 42.

<sup>20</sup> Marić 1973, 109–137; Marić 1975, 103–111; Marić 1977, 5–99; Marić 1996, 7–38.

<sup>21</sup> Marijan identified three parts of the settlement which, according to him, make one unit. He believes that two parts are an acropolis and a settlement under the acropolis made during the prehistoric phase of the construction, whereas the third part located on the plateau Banje was made during the Hellenic phase of the construction (Marijan 2011, 184).

<sup>22</sup> Cambi 1992/1993, 38–41.

<sup>23</sup> Kos 1997, 176.



people Daorsi.<sup>24</sup> Along with the Delmatae, the Daorsi is a community that is mostly mentioned in the source materials regarding the communities that inhabited the region of Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Roman period.<sup>25</sup> Greco-Roman authors gave a lot of attention to their mutual relations. Polybius noted that, together with the representatives of *Issa*, the Daorsi complained to the Romans about the attacks of the Delmatae.<sup>26</sup> This suggests that these communities or alliances bordered each other. It was therefore not far for the Delmatae from their home territory (present-day western Herzegovina and southwestern Bosnia) to descend to the colonies of *Epetium* (Stobreč) and *Tragurium* (Trogir) of the Roman ally *Issa* in the Adriatic Sea or to attack the Daorsi.<sup>27</sup> Based on Polybius's text, we can assume that the Delmatae imposed a certain tax to the Daorsi in the form of cattle and crops. In the context of forming the identity of the Daorsi, this information is important as it implies that the communities were forced to establish an alliance to defend themselves from the aggressive politics of the Delmatae.

Unlike the Delmatae, the Daorsi were the allies of Rome. Livy clearly stated that the Daorsi left Gentius and sided with the Romans in the conflicts between the Roman Republic and the Illyrian Kingdom in 168/167 BC.<sup>28</sup> The Delmatae often attacked the Daorsi, the Roman allies. Scholars believe that after the Delmatae conquered

<sup>24</sup> Marić 1973, 124; Bojanovski 1988, 93; Marić 1995; Paškvalin 1998-999, 48; Šašel Kos 2005, 363; Mesihović 2011, 60; Grbić 2014, 134.

<sup>25</sup> In a different context, the Daorsi are mentioned by Hecataeus (Hecat. frg. 175 (FGrH 93-97); Polybius (Polyb. 32. 9), Titus Livius (Livy, 45. 26. 13-14), Strabo (Strabo, 7. 5. 5), Pliny the Elder (Plin. *HN*. 3. 143), Appian (App. *Ill.* 2.3), Ptolemy (Ptol. *Geog.* 2. 16. 5).

<sup>26</sup> ... the Senate sent a commission under C. Fannius to inquire into the state of Illyria and in particular into the conduct of the Delmatae. This happened because Issa often sent embassies to complain about their continuous attacks on their territory and the cities in league with it, Epetium and Tragurium. Similar accusations were brought by the Daorsi. As long as Pleuratus lived, the Delmatae submitted to him but when he died and Genthius succeeded to the throne, they revolted from him, making war on the tribes on their borders. They subdued the neighbouring peoples, some of whom even paid them tribute in the form of cattle and grain (Polyb. 32. 9; Translated into English by M. Šašel Kos).

<sup>27</sup> After analyzing regional relations following the dissolution of Gentius's kingdom, Milivojević made an interesting conclusion about the objective of the attacks of the Delmatae on Roman allies Daorsi and Greek colonies on the Adriatic from 158 to 157 BC. According to Milivojević, this was no ordinary robbery but a systemic political expansion beyond the borders of the home territory. The eventual success of the Delmatae would allow them to assume the role of hegemon previously held by the Illyrian kingdom (Milivojević 2021, 62). Such an interpretation of the objectives of the Delmatae seems logical because, like the Ardiaei, the Delmatae do not represent an ethnically homogenous unit and had an ambition of expanding their political influence. Cultural, military, and political circumstances were nevertheless significantly different compared to the time when the Ardiaei began to spread their influence in the eastern Adriatic and the Adriatic hinterland. Rome was a much more serious enemy than the local leaders as well as poorly organized rulers and alliances of Macedonia and Epirus with which Agron and his successors had military and political relations.

<sup>28</sup> Livy, 45. 26. 11-14.

Roman general Aulus Gabinius in 48 BC they took advantage of the weakening of Roman influence in the inland and ravaged the territory of the Daorsi. The biggest consequence of this devastation was the fact that the Delmatae set fire to their political center on the hill of Ošanići above Stolac. Although written sources do not mention it, archaeological research has corroborated that the settlement in Ošanići was destroyed and burned during this period.<sup>29</sup> Therefore, we can conclude that the Delmatae briefly extended their influence to the eastern coast of the Neretva River and the valley of the Bregava River. The Delmatae did not stay in that territory for long because Pliny the Elder mentioned the Daorsi during the Early Empire as well. Based on this, we can conclude that some local identities survived the disappearance of the settlement on Ošanići.

### Who were the Daorsi and what is *civitas peregrina*?

During the Early Empire, Strabo, Pliny the Elder, and Claudius Ptolemy wrote about the Daorsi.<sup>30</sup> The data they have left are important for locating their territory, including the area that was part of the *Municipium Diluntum*. Strabo wrote that the Daorsi were one of the peoples who lived around the Neretva River.<sup>31</sup> Based on the analysis of Pliny the Elder, Bojanovski concluded that the Daorsi controlled the left bank of the Neretva River, more precisely its middle and lower course, whereas the Narensi inhabited the upper course of the Neretva River.<sup>32</sup> Such a conclusion can be made by comparing Strabo's data with the one of Claudius Ptolemy: *...the Daorsi are in Dalmatia, below which are the Melcumani and Vardaei, and below them are the Narensi and Sardiatæ*.<sup>33</sup> Bojanovski located the territory of the Melcumani in

<sup>29</sup> Marić 1973, 173–235; Marić 1975/1976, 5–99; Marić 1995, 43–65; Marić 1996, 7–33; Bojanovski 1988, 91; Marijan 1999, 73–91; Marijan 2000/2001, 7–29; Marijan 2011, 177–187, Šašel Kos 2005, 363, Marić 2015, 43.

<sup>30</sup> Strabo, 7. 5–5; Plin. *HN*. 3, 143; Ptol. *Geog*. 2. 16. 8.

<sup>31</sup> *Next comes the Naro River and those who are settled in the regions along the river, the Daorizi (= Daorsi), the Ardiaei, and Pleraei; not far from the latter is the island of Black Corcyra, the foundation of the Cnidians, while not far from the Ardiaei the island of Pharos is situated, formerly called Paros; it is the foundation of the Parians.* (Strabo, 7.5.5 C 315 Translated into English by M. Šašel Kos). The information mentioned by Strabo originates from an earlier source. We can conclude this based on the data that the Ardiaei lived in the coastal area where they had lived before 135 BC and the campaign of Fulvius Flaccus who, due to piracy, displaced them inland, where they died out, unaccustomed to the new conditions (Strabo, 7.6.315). The conclusion that the Ardiaei died out is fairly tendentious. Pliny the Elder mentions them in the list of *civitas peregrina* in Dalmatia (Plin. *HN*. 143). A small number of decuriae could be an indicator of assimilation after resettlement. Some of the Ardiaei probably entered into an alliance with the Delmatae.

<sup>32</sup> Bojanovski 1985, 11; Bojanovski 1988, 96–97.

<sup>33</sup> Ptol. *Geog*. 2. 16. 8.



the Gatačko polje karst field in eastern Herzegovina.<sup>34</sup> The *Vardaei* is an expression used by the authors of the Empire when referring to the Ardiaei.<sup>35</sup> When mentioned by Ptolemy, their territory was to the west of the Daorsi in the Trebižat River in western Herzegovina.<sup>36</sup>

The text of Pliny the Elder clearly shows that during the Late Republic, i.e., Early Empire, the Daorsi were few. Their *civitas peregrina* had only 17 *decuriae*. According to Bojanovski, the number of the Daorsi in the pre-Roman period must have been higher since they were politically and culturally very important. He also believed that the Daorsi controlled smaller communities from the Neretva and Trebišnjica valleys during the pre-Roman period.<sup>37</sup> Such a conclusion is acceptable if we take into consideration that the indigenous communities were not unique ethnic units. Instead, they consisted of smaller related communities. The Romans certainly established a *civitas peregrina* for administration and tax collection that inherited the name of the alliance or the dominant community in this region. We can assume that some pre-Roman communities were part of an alliance named the Daorsi in literary sources. The Deremisti is one such example. This is corroborated by the fact that also more numerous *civitas*, the Deremisti did not appear in sources under the reign of Augustus. Namely, Pliny the Elder was the oldest and the only literary source mentioning *Civitas Deraemistarum*.<sup>38</sup> Judging by Pliny, this *civitas peregrina* was significantly more numerous than the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi (*Civitas Daversorum*) because it had 30 *decuriae*, i.e., 113 *decuriae* more than the Daorsi. Grbić believes that the Deremisti were created by merging several smaller communities, mentioned by Pliny, that no longer existed during the reign of Augustus.<sup>39</sup> It is likely that all of these communities comprised the alliance of the Daorsi during the pre-Roman period, which was significantly larger than the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Bojanovski 1988; 108–109; 379.

<sup>35</sup> Plin. *HN*. 143

<sup>36</sup> Mesihović 2011, 63.

<sup>37</sup> Bojanovski 1988, 94.

<sup>38</sup> Plin. *HN*. 143

<sup>39</sup> Grbić 2014, 151.

<sup>40</sup> A certain connection between the Daorsi and Deremisti can be observed in the example of a military diploma mentioning *Venetus* of the Daorsi to son *Ditus* (on the diploma, the name of the auxiliary is carved in the genitive case *Veneto*, as well as the name of his community *Daverso*, while the name of the father is carved in the genitive case *Diti*) whose wife *Madena* is the daughter of *Plarens*. It is clearly shown that *Madena* originates from *civitas* Deremist (source text from the diploma *Madenae Plarentis filiae uxori eius Deramist(ae)*). The diploma was issued on 13th of July 93/04 (*CIL* 16, 00038 = *CIL* 03, p 0859 (p 1966) = *CIL* 12, 00074 = *AE* 1950, +00196 = EDH 075700 = EDCS12300242 = TM 399321). This diploma speaks volumes about the existence of two separate identities in the region inhabited by the Daorsi and Deremisti. The origin of both spouses

Moreover, four boundary inscriptions discovered in eastern Herzegovina suggest the existence of a large number of smaller communities that had certain conflicts over the division of territory.<sup>41</sup> It should be noted that territory is one of the most important components when establishing certain identities and conflicts around territory were a relic of pre-Roman times. The discovered inscriptions were carved in rocks at sites such as mountain passes or rivers.<sup>42</sup> That could be the answer as to why the Daorsi were so few during the Roman period despite having a large territory and importance which is attributed to them in the sources during the Hellenistic period.

According to Pliny the Elder, the Daorsi belonged to the Naronā conventus in terms of jurisdiction. This is geographically justifiable since the closest center of one of the three conventi is at their territory. In the context of the territory of *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi, there is no unanimous opinion. In the opinions of Marić and Bojanovski, this *civitas* was in the Neretva Valley, from Bijelo Polje (Mostar) to Slano in the south. Their territory also encompassed Popovo polje and the Bregava River Valley.<sup>43</sup> There are different opinions as well. In recent literature, the thesis that the Daorsi occupied a much smaller territory due to the small number of *decuriae* is increasingly present.<sup>44</sup> It seems reasonable to assume that the territory of the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi was much smaller and limited to the middle course of the Neretva and the valley of the Bregava. Older authors referred to the data shared by ancient authors who perceived the territory of Daorsi from the Hellenistic period, i.e. the Early Republic. The conclusions on territory based on the text of Polybius, Livy, or Strabo, are based on the Roman view of the territory of the kingdoms of

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is clearly specified. On the other hand, this data shows that these two *civitates* were neighbors (Grbić 2014, 151). In support of this thesis, Marić mentions an example from Kazanci near Gacko that probably testifies to the marriages that members of Narensi and Melcumani entered into with each other (*AE* 1994, 1342 (B) = *AE* 2003, 1327 = EDH 039987; Marić 2015, 60). Moreover, Grbić noted that another military diploma from AD 152 was discovered mentioning a person from *civitas* of the Deremisti (*ex pedite Medesti Licconis f. Deremesit(ae)* (!)) (Grbić 2014, 152). Unfortunately, the full text of the diploma has not been published at the moment of writing this paper. Judging by the part of the text analyzed by Grbić, we can conclude that the population between the *ager* of *Epidaurus* and *Municipium Diluntum* was not granted Roman citizenship relatively long time. We can assume that a *municipium* was established in the territory of Stolac, as well as because the local elite from *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi intensively interacted with the southern colonies, unlike other *civitates* in Herzegovina.

<sup>41</sup> *ILJug III*, 1739 = *AE* 2014, 01030 = EDH 034020 = EDCS-10100709 = TM 182614; *ILJug II* 647 = EDH 033908 = EDCS-10000662 = TM 182502 = lupa 23802; *ILJug II*, 648 = EDH 033909 = EDCS-10000663 = TM 182503.

<sup>42</sup> Imamović 1980, 33–35.

<sup>43</sup> Marić 1973, 115; Bojanovski 1985, 11; Bojanovski 1988, 92–93; Marić 1995, 43–65.

<sup>44</sup> Grbić 2014, 136.

Pleuratus and Gentius. The second criterion used by ancient historiography to observe the territory of the Daorsi is their interaction with the Delmatae. As a Roman construct, the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi must be observed separately from the Daorsi from the time of Illyrian or Dalmatian wars.

### *Municipium Diluntum*

The existence of the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi was only a phase in the Roman concept of administration. The arrival of the Romans certainly influenced the identity of the local community. A settlement began to develop in the plain below the fortified prehistoric settlements in the Bregava valley, which became the administrative center of the Roman *Municipium Diluntum*. A settlement had to have a certain infrastructure and other segments of Roman culture to become a municipal center. In this process, the local population was under a strong influence of Roman culture and way of life. This influence did not necessarily come from the Romans themselves but from the indigenous population from the south, which had been in intensive interaction with Rome for a long time.

Archaeological finds, such as stamps of pottery-works *Pansiana*, *Solonas*, *Q. Clodius Ambrosianus*, *Tiberius Vetti Aviti*, imported from north Italian workshops, corroborate intense trade and the existence of the elite that could afford expensive foreign goods.<sup>45</sup> Some scholars connected this to the beginning of development of a Roman urban settlement in Stolac.<sup>46</sup> Although this thesis should not be dismissed, it is difficult to connect these findings to anything other than trade.

Epigraphic monuments are the main source of study of the administrative and territorial organization of the municipium in the inland of Dalmatia, including *Municipium Diluntum*. Three votive monuments were discovered in areas present-day Stolac (the Bregava valley), the location of the administrative center of Diluntum, dedicated by *beneficarii consularis* of the *Legio XIV Gemina* and *Legio I Italica*.<sup>47</sup> The *beneficarii consularis* station in Diluntum dates back to the Late Principate period.<sup>48</sup> The presence of *beneficarii consularis* is closely associated to municipal centers. Moreover, it can also be justified by the fact that *Diluntum* was located on

<sup>45</sup> Bojanovski 1978, 170.

<sup>46</sup> Marić 2015, 43.

<sup>47</sup> *CIL* 03, 08431, (B) = *CIL* 03, 12789. (B) = EDH 002463 = EDCS-31900268 = TM 181747; *CIL* 03, 08435. (B) = *CIL* 03, 12789 = EDH 052720 = EDCS-30800077 = TM 184323; *CIL* 03, 14631 = EDH 052293 = EDCS-32500128 = TM 184281.

<sup>48</sup> Matijević 2020, 34.



the road that went from Naronā to present-day Montenegro.<sup>49</sup> While analyzing *Itinerarium Antonini*, Bojanovski noted that there are 36 km from Stolac (*Diluntum*) to Vid (*Naronā*) down the Bregava River, the same as in *Itinerarium Antonini* (mpm XXV). On the other hand, the distance from Stolac (*Diluntum*) to Tasovčići (*Ad Turres*) corresponds to *mpm XIII* mentioned in *Tabula Peutingeriana*.<sup>50</sup>

Apart from the inscriptions of *beneficarii consularis*, a fragment of a votive or honorary inscription was discovered in Stolac. It notes that the erection of the monument was approved by the decision of the Council of Decurions.<sup>51</sup> The Council of Decurions had the role of the local senate and their decision to erect a monument is another important piece of evidence for determining the location of the municipium. Archaeological research has also corroborated that an important Roman settlement, the municipal administrative center, was developed in the territory of Stolac. The uncovered archaeological remains and objects date from the 1st to 4th century, which shows the longevity of this settlement with a lifestyle modeled on large towns of the Roman province of Dalmatia. A high level of urbanization is reflected in the fact that the remains of residential buildings, public buildings with mosaics, thermal baths with pools and a hypocaust, and channels for water supply and sewage were found.<sup>52</sup> Since Stolac is located in the foothill of Ošanići hill, it is obvious that the Roman administrative center was formed in the area where a developed Epichoric center had already existed. This is not unusual since the Roman population in the *Municipium Diluntum* consisted mainly of indigenous people. Just like the indigenous population, the Romans also chose an area that provided good life conditions.

We can notice that on the monuments, the representatives of the local elites have indigenous names within their anthroponymic formula. In the inscriptions of local officials from the *Municipium Diluntum*, different indigenous onomastic forms appear in the form of personal names and cognomina (*Aplius*, *Blodus*, *Epicadus*, *Laedio*, *Plassus*, and *Tatta*).<sup>53</sup> Interestingly, the name *Plassus* appears on two monuments of the local elite, so Bojanovski concluded that these two inscriptions were

<sup>49</sup> *Itin. Ant.* 338. 4–339, 5.

<sup>50</sup> *Itin. Ant.* 338. 4–339, 5; *Tab. Peut.* 5. 5; Bojanovski 1973, 151; Bojanovski 1988, 100.

<sup>51</sup> ---]AIRI R[---] / [---]MC OB[---] / [---] dicati[ssimus(?) ---] / [---]M[---] / [---]COS[---] / [---] VN[---] / [---] l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) [ (CIL 03, 13874 = EDH052721 = EDCS-31900016 = TM 184324).

<sup>52</sup> Sergejevski 1962, 111–113; Atanacković-Salčić 1979, 8–28; Bojanovski 1988, 99–100.

<sup>53</sup> Katičić 1964, 39; Alföldy 1969, 166, 193, 266, 267, 305; Rendić-Miočević 1971, 159, 16; Katičić 1976, 179–180; Rendić-Miočević 1989, 651–652; Wilkes 2001, 83–87; OPEL I, 65; OPEL I, 124; OPEL II, 119; OPEL III, 16; OPEL III, 145; OPEL IV, 109.

carved by members of the same family. There is a possibility that *Plassus* or *Plasso* was a pre-Roman name of an aristocratic family or genus in the local community on whose territory the *Municipium Diluntum* was formed in the Roman period.<sup>54</sup> The monuments mentioning the name *Plassus* were discovered in Trebimlja village in Popovo polje (present-day Ravno municipality) and Stolac.

The monument from Trebimlja reads that *Publius Aplius Annius* erected a tombstone for his daughter *Annia* and father *Publius Aplius Plassus*.<sup>55</sup> The fact that deceased *Publius Aplius Plassus*, the decurion of the *Municipium Diluntum*, was mentioned on the monument is very important for the study of administrative history. This is the only epigraphic confirmation of the municipium's name. This is why certain scholars, such as Pašalić, Alföldy, and Wilkes, located the administrative center of the municipium *Diluntum* in Trebimlja in Popovo polje.<sup>56</sup> However, unlike Stolac, archaeological finds in this area are much scarcer. In Trebimlja, by all accounts, there was private land held by local officials from the *Municipium Diluntum*.<sup>57</sup> Moreover, the data from Roman itineraries exclude the possibility of locating the municipal center in Trebimlje. However, the territory of Trebimlja (present-day Ravno municipality) was probably part of the ager of the *Municipium Diluntum*. When it comes to local administration, it is also interesting that there is a possibility that this decurion did not have Roman citizenship, because apart from the *praenomen* *Publius*, there are no Roman onomastic elements with his anthroponymic formula. With the help of *Lex Irnitana*, we know that a person had to have Roman citizenship to become a member of the council of decurions.<sup>58</sup> Although the date of creation of the monument cannot be specified, judging by the onomastic it is likely that it was produced in the 1st century. Such dating supports the thesis that *Diluntum* became a municipium during the Flavian dynasty (AD 69 to 96).

## Different identities of the population of the *municipium Diluntum*

The tombstone of the *aedile* and *quatrovir jure dicundo* from Naronia of *Titus Flavius Laedio* and his family can be taken as possible proof that *Diluntum* received

<sup>54</sup> Bojanovski 1977b, 86.

<sup>55</sup> *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / P(ublio) Aplio Plas-/so patri pientis-/simo dec(urioni) m(unicipii) Dil(unti) / et A[nniae fil(iae)] infelicissi-/mae def(unctae) an(norum) VIII / P(ublius) Aplius Anni-/us v(ivus) sibi et / suis fecit (AE 1980, 0677 = AE 1939, 0300. (B) = ILJug III 1740 = EDH 005674 = EDCS-10100710 = lupa 30609).*

<sup>56</sup> Pašalić 1960, 63; Alföldy 1965, 144; Wilkes 1969, 291.

<sup>57</sup> Bojanovski 1977b, 86; Atanacković-Salčić 1979, 28–36; Bojanovski 1988, 100.

<sup>58</sup> *Lex Irnitana*, 21. 40–45.

municipal status during the reign of Vespasian or his sons.<sup>59</sup> The fact that Titus Flavius Laedio was an *aedile* and a member of the four-member court council (*quartum vir iure dicundo*) in the Roman colony of Narona is important for the study of administrative history. He was one of the highest-ranking officials of that important town in the province of Dalmatia.<sup>60</sup> His position surpassed that of the local aristocracy, which was at the head of the municipium of Diluntum at the end of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century. All family members on the cippus of Titus Flavius Laedio, discovered in Stolac, have Flavian nomen but their cognomen is indigenous. This indicates that they were the first generation of Roman citizens.<sup>61</sup> Namely, research of Rendić-Miočević shows that after obtaining Roman citizenship, the local population kept their pre-Roman name as a cognomen.<sup>62</sup> A patronymic appears within the anthroponymic formula, which is also typical of the first-generation Roman citizens. According to this, it is justified to count *Diluntum* among the Flavian municipalities.

Obtaining municipal rank does not automatically mean obtaining Roman citizenship for all the peregrini that inhabited that territory. Epigraphic inscriptions show that the population gradually obtained citizenship, both in *Diluntum* and in other municipia in the inland of Dalmatia. In the first phase, when *Diluntum* became a *municipium*, citizenship was first obtained by the local, pre-Roman aristocracy, which is clearly visible from the inscriptions. It is certainly in line with the Flavian provincial policy. Such an approach certainly influenced the formation of a certain identity.

Also, part of the indigenous population obtained citizenship thanks to military service. In *Bingium* in Germania Superior, a stela was discovered belonging to Annus Pravai, the son of *Daverzeus*, i.e., the Daorsi.<sup>63</sup> The monument is dated to the 1st century.<sup>64</sup> *Annus Pravai* was an infantryman in *Cohors IV*

<sup>59</sup> *T(ito) Flavio Blodi f(ilio) / Plasso patri / pientissimo an(norum) L / et Flaviae Tattae matri / an(norum) XXXX bene meritae / et T(ito) Flavio Epicado fratri / an(norum) XII et T(ito) Flavio Laedioni / [---] aed(ili) IIIvir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) Naronae / [---] Laedio f(ilius)vivos(!) sibi et s(uis) f(icit)* (*ILJug I, 00117 = EDH 032932 = EDCS-10000220 = TM 182263 = lupa 30284*).

<sup>60</sup> Sergejevski 1948, 168; Langhammer 1973, 62.

<sup>61</sup> The term Romanization should be understood as *terminus technicus*.

<sup>62</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1989, 651–652.

<sup>63</sup> *Annaius Pravai f(ilius) Daverzus / mil(es) ex coh(orte) IIII Delmatarum / ann(or)um XXXVI stipend(iorum) XV / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) h(eres) p(osuit)* (*CIL 13, 07507 = EDH 075611 = EDCS-11001618 = lupa 32598*).

<sup>64</sup> Literature offers different dates for this monument. Domić Kunić dated the monument to AD 74, while Grbić dated it to the second half of the 1st century (Domić Kunić 1988, 87; Grbić 2014, 139). On the other hand, based on data about the *Bingium* auxiliary camp, German scholars date the creation of this monument to the period between AD 30 to 50 (Lehner 1918, 266–267, Nr. 661; Boppert 2005, 89–93, Nr. 49).



*Delmatarum*. Interestingly, in his ethnonym *Daverzeus*, the letter Z was carved with a central horizontal line, which could indicate that this grapheme represents a sign that does not exist in the Latin language.<sup>65</sup> In this case, it is important that a person who has been away from his homeland for many years still strongly emphasizes their identity even through the lexicon. This means that belonging to a *civitas* is an important part of the identity of not only the elite because auxiliary *Annaius Daverzus* did not belong to the elite. Since he did not have Roman citizenship, he used the name of his indigenous community as a cognomen. The need to emphasize identity is stronger among people who live outside their home territory. This auxiliary certainly belonged to the community that was called as such in the period before the Romans constructed the *civitas peregrina* in this area.

The same example can be found on the military diploma that was found in Solin (*Salona*). We learn from the text of the diploma that *Venetus Daversus* (the Daorsi), the son of *Ditius*, was discharged from the *Cohors III Alpinorum* in AD 93/94 after serving the full military service.<sup>66</sup> Some scholars have interpreted the fact that this soldier received citizenship in AD 93 or 94 as proof that *Diluntum* could not have received municipal rank before AD 93, because this inscription confirms the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi still existed under Domitian.<sup>67</sup> However, we should have in mind that *Venetus Ditius* was recruited during the reign of Nero when *Cohors II Alpinorum* was stationed in Dalmatia and when there was certainly no *Municipium Diluntum*.<sup>68</sup> Therefore, the granting of Roman citizenship to soldiers, in this case, should not be tied to the date when *Diluntum* became a *municipium*. If municipalization was conditioned by the fact that all the free citizens had Roman citizenship, then municipia on the territory of today's Bosnia and Herzegovina did not exist before AD 212, i.e., the Edict of Caracalla.

When we compare inscriptions mentioning the local elite with inscriptions mentioning people from the lower strata of society serving in the Roman army, we can see a different understanding of identity in the period of the Early Empire. Among the elites, identity is manifested through the preservation of their pre-Roman name in their *cognomina* without emphasizing any ethnonym. The elites had Roman citizenship or had already adopted the *tria nomina* principle as the decurion *Publius Aplius Plassus*. Also, the elites lived among the population of the same or similar

<sup>65</sup> Grbić 2014, 139.

<sup>66</sup> *CIL* 16, 00038 = *CIL* 03, p. 0859 (p 1966) = *CIL* 12, 00074 = *AE* 1950, +00196 = EDH 075700 = EDCS-12300242 = TM 399321, Bojanovski 1988, 101; Domić Kunić 1988, 94.

<sup>67</sup> Bojanovski 1988, 101.

<sup>68</sup> Domić Kunić 1988, 94.

ethnic origin, so they did not have to emphasize which community they came from. On the other hand, for young men recruited into the Roman army, an important part of their identity is the name of the community they came from. They were more exposed to Roman influence because they were part of the official Roman military system. Undoubtedly, that system was designed to support different identities. The auxiliary system is based on the fact that the members of the auxiliary units do not have Roman citizenship. On the other hand, the elites tied their identity to their origin, which gave them the right to govern a certain *municipium*. The formation of municipalities represented an opportunity for the elites to continue to rule. The municipal administration became an important factor in the formation of their identity because, through the functions of *decurion* and *duoviri*, they were again separated from the rest of the community. Therefore, we could conclude that, for the local elites, the creation of the *Municipium Diluntum* represented continuity that enabled them to maintain their position in society. For the rest of the population, the formation of the *municipium Diluntum* gradually influenced the adoption of a new way of life. It was certainly a long-term process that had to result in some new identity. We will hardly ever know what was the identity of the inhabitants of a *municipium* in the interior of the province. However, we must stop looking at the Roman *Diluntum* as the successor of the settlement from Ošanići. These are two entirely different concepts of identity.

The indigenous population must have been affected by the immigration of foreigners and veterans. Due to the relative proximity of Narona, the area of the Bregava and Neretva valleys was interesting to foreigners for economic reasons. A tombstone mentioning the Italic family *Caesidius* was discovered in Stolac.<sup>69</sup> It is assumed that this family relocated from Italy to Salona, and then in the 3rd century came to the territory of the *Municipium Diluntum*.<sup>70</sup> The appearance of cursive writing on the monument and the lack of the *praenomen* indicates a later date. Except the onomastics, which indicate an Italic origin, we cannot find anything else from the text of the monument. It is unlikely that the immigration of this family was an isolated example. Since the monument was not discovered *in situ*, it is difficult to conclude whether these were foreigners who had a villa on the territory of the *municipium Diluntum* or whether these were merchants and craftsmen who lived in the urban part which was the center of the municipal administration. An inscription was also discovered,

<sup>69</sup> *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Caesidio / Quadratianus / patri pientis-/simo qui vixit / annos LXXX / Tertianus et / Quadratianus / filii fecer(u)nt* (Atanacković-Salčić 1979,14; EDH 056530 = TM 184996).

<sup>70</sup> Samardžić 2022, 164.

testifying to the immigration of veterans.<sup>71</sup> There was certainly an intense interaction between the local population and foreigners, which must have resulted in a new habitus.

In contrast to the fortified settlement on Ošanići, which primarily had an indigenous character, the urban center of *Municipium Diluntum* had an infrastructure typical of Roman settlements, as remains characteristic of Mediterranean urban culture were discovered. This especially refers to the remains of water supply, villas with mosaics, thermal baths, with hypocausts.<sup>72</sup> Even the remains of Roman medical equipment were found, which is another legacy of Roman civilization.<sup>73</sup> Based on the finds of epigraphic monuments, we can assume that either a temple of Jupiter or a sanctuary existed in the municipal center.<sup>74</sup> The discovery of previously mentioned inscriptions of *beneficarii consularis* indicate such a conclusion.<sup>75</sup> *Diluntum* appears as a road station on two Roman itineraries. *Tabula Peutingeriana* recorded that the *Diluntum* station was located on the road that went from Narona (Vid near Metkovići) via *Ad Turres* (Tasovčići near Čapljina). After *Diluntum*, that road went towards *Pardua* (Gradac near Ljubinja) and *Ad Zizio* (Ukšići) (*Narona - XXII - Ad Turres - XIII - Dilunto - XIII - Pardua - XVI - Ad Zizio*).<sup>76</sup> *Itinerarium Antonini* also mentioned *Diluntum* as a road station on the road *Salona – Dirahium*.<sup>77</sup> The position of *Diluntum* on an important road must have intensively contributed to a stronger interaction with the coast and the adoption of certain aspects of the Roman-Mediterranean way of life. Later, this Roman road will be an important link with the Christian centers in the south.<sup>78</sup> This will lead to the gradual formation of a new, Christian identity that will be very pronounced in Late Antiquity. The new religion-based identity will perceive the earlier identities as completely wrong.

<sup>71</sup> *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / C(aio) Fresio / Valentino / veter(ano) ex s(centurione) / coh(ortis) II mil(iariae) / [Dalm(atarum) ---] / [----- (AE 1934, 0205 = ILJug III, 1907 = EDH 027064 = EDCS-10100853 = TM 182127).*

<sup>72</sup> Atanacković-Salčić 1979, 14–17; Busuladžić 2011, 64; Marić 2015, 46.

<sup>73</sup> Busuladžić 2015.

<sup>74</sup> *ILJug III, 1910 = EDH 034229 = EDCS-10100856 = TM 182822; CIL 03, 12776 = CIL 03, 12776 add. p. 2256 = EDH052292 = EDCS-31400228 = TM 184280 = lupa 23728; CIL 03, 14631 = EDH 052293 = EDCS-32500128 = TM 184281 = lupa 23302.*

<sup>75</sup> Glavaš 2016, 28.

<sup>76</sup> *Tab. Peut.* 5. 5; Samardžić 2015, 348.

<sup>77</sup> *Itin. Ant.* 338, 4–339, 5.

<sup>78</sup> *Diluntum (Dillunto)* is mentioned in the acts of the Second Salona Church Council from AD 533 as one of the municipia which, by decision of the archbishop Honorius Junior, fell under the jurisdiction of Diocese of Sarsenterum (*Ecclesia Sarsenterensis*) (Puljić, Škegro 2006, 7; Veletovac 2017, 133).



## **Sažetak: Daorsi, Daorson, *Municipium Diluntum* i pitanje (dis)kontinuiteta**

Postojanje municipija *Diluntum* čije se administrativno središte locira u današnjem Stocu je potvrđeno u pisanim i epigrafskim izvorima. Stolec i njegova okolina se također povezuju sa zajednicom Daorsa i njihovim naseljem Daorson (Ošanići kod Stoca). Međutim, pojam *Diluntum* treba posmatrati neovisno od pojmova Daorsi i Daorson. Često se u literaturi ovi pojmovi posmatraju iz hronološke i geografske perspektive. To dovodi do pogrešnog zaključka da je *Diluntum* u jednom historijskom momentu preuzeo ulogu koju je željeznodobno naselje na Ošanicima imalo u vrijeme prahistorije odnosno helenizma. Kada je riječ o Daorsima, o njima ne možemo govoriti kao o jedinstvenom etničkom korpusu reflektirajući savremene koncepte nacije i identiteta na željeznodobne zajednice. Vodeći se savremenim shvaćanjima o etnicitetu konstruisan je i narativ o naselju na Ošanicima kao glavnom gradu Daorsa. Arheološka istraživanja su potvrdila da je naselje na Ošanicima (Daorson) bilo u istom vremenskom periodu okruženo utvrđenim manjim naseljima u Borojevićima, Donjem Brštaniku, Dragoviji, Krehinom Gracu, Prenju, Gorici kod Gruda, Doljanima, Čapljini, Vidu itd. Svaka od tih zajednica je imala svoj identitet. Vjerovatno su u situacijama kada su napadani od nekog superiornijeg, zajedničkog neprijatelja stanovnici ovih naselja formirali savez. Taj savez grčko-rimski pisci prepoznaju kao narod jer projicira poznate društveno-političke koncepte na zajednice iz jadranskog zaleđa. Danas je uglavnom prihvaćeno da se naselje na Ošanicima zvalo Daorson. Međutim, to je savremeni konstrukt utemeljen na pretpostavkama naučnika da riječ Daorson na kovanicama označava ime naselja. Čini se opravdanim pretpostaviti da su njihovi helenski i rimski savremenici stanovnike drugih naselja iz okoline Ošanića nazivali Daorsima jer su najbolje poznavali tu zajednicu. Može se pretpostaviti da su domaće elite iz utvrđenog naselja u Ošanicima kovale novac po uzoru na Gencija kako bi učvrstile svoj položaj kod svojih sunarodnjaka. Na taj način lokalne elite su se ugledale na Gencija, ali su i postale ravnopravne elitama iz Skodre i Lissosa. Naselje na Ošanicima su uništili Delmati nakon što su pobijedili 48. god. p.n.e. Cezarevog vojskovođu Aula Gabinija. Prisustvo jakog saveza kao što je bio Delmatski u velikoj mjeri je utjecalo na jačanje identiteta zajednica koje su formirale Daorški savez. Iz teksta Plinija Starijeg jasno se vidi da su Daorsi u kasnorepublikansko odnosno ranocarsko doba bili malobrojni, odnosno da je njihova peregrinska *civitas* imala samo 17 dekurija. Rimljani su zasigurno iz svojih administrativnih i poreznih potreba formirali peregrinsku *civitas* koja je baštinila ime saveza ili dominantne zajednice u toj regiji. Može se pretpostaviti da su neke zajednice



kao naprimjer Deremisti u predrimskom periodu bile dio saveza koje literarna vrela nazivaju Daorsima, a Rimljani su ih izdvojili formirajući tako zasebnu peregrinsku *civitas*. Četiri međašna natpisa otkrivena na prostoru istočne Hercegovine pokazatelji su postojanja velikog broja manjih zajednica koje su imale određene sukobe oko podjele teritorija. Postojanje peregrinske *civitas* Daorsa samo je bila faza u rimskom konceptu uprave. Kada kompariramo natpise na kojima se spominju domaće elite sa natpisima na kojima imamo spominjanje ljudi iz nižih slojeva društva koji služe u rimskoj vojsci vidimo različito poimanje identiteta u periodu ranog carstva. Kod elita identitet se očituje kroz čuvanje svog predrimskog imena u svom *cognomina* bez isticanja bilo kakvog etnonima. Elite imaju rimsko građanstvo ili su već usvojili princip *tria nomina* kao što vidimo na primjeru dekuriona Publija Aplija Plasa (*Publius Aplius Plassus*). Također, elite žive među stanovništvom istog ili sličnog etničkog porijekla pa ne moraju naglašavati iz koje zajednice dolaze. S druge strane, za mladiće koji su novačeni u rimsku vojsku važan dio identiteta je ime zajednice iz koje potječu. Oni su više izloženi rimskom utjecaju jer su dio zvaničnog rimskog vojnog sistema. Međutim, taj sistem je tako osmišljen da podržava različite identitete. Auksilijarni sistem se temelji na tome da pripadnici auksilijarnih jedinica nemaju rimsko građanstvo. Elite pak svoj identitet vežu za svoje porijeklo koje im daje za pravo da upravljaju municipijem. Formiranje municipija za elite predstavlja priliku da nastave kontinuitet vladanja. Municipalna uprava postaje važan činilac u formiranju njihovog identiteta jer kroz funkcije dekuriona i duovira oni se ponovo odvajaju od ostatka zajednice. Zato bi se moglo zaključiti kako nastanak municipija *Diluntum* za lokalne elite predstavlja kontinuitet koji im omogućava da održe svoj položaj u društvu. Za ostatak stanovništva formiranje *municipium Diluntum* je postepeno utjecalo na usvajanje novog načina života. Svakako to je bio dugotrajan proces koji je morao rezultirati nekim novim identitetom. Kakav je identitet stanovnika jednog municipija u unutrašnjosti provincije teško je da ćemo ikada saznati. Međutim, ono što jeste važno je to da prestanemo posmatrati rimski *Diluntum* kao nasljednika naselja sa Ošanića. Zaključak je da su to potpuno dva različita identitetska koncepta.





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### Abbreviations

- AE* *L'Année Epigraphique* published in *Revue Archéologique* and separately (1888–).
- CIL* 03 *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum III* (ed. Th. Mommsen), Berlin 1873: Supplementa 1889–1902.
- CIL* 16 *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum XVI, Diplomata militaria, Band 16* (eds. Nesselhauf, Herbert). Berlin, 1936.
- EHD Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg (Service provider: Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften).  
<http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/home?&lang=de>.
- EDSC Epigraphik Datenbank Clauss/Slaby (Frankfurt).  
[http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/epi\\_de.php](http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/epi_de.php).
- FGrH* Fragmente der griechischen Historiker (ed. F. Jacoby), 1923 –
- ILJug* *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL e MCMLX repertae et editae sunt* (ed. A. et J. Šašel), Situla 5, Ljubljana 1963 (št. 1–451); *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX e MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt* (ed. A. et J. Šašel), Situla 19, Ljubljana 1978 (št. 452–1222); *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt* (ed. A. et J. Šašel), Situla 25, Ljubljana 1986 (št. 1223–3128).
- LCL Loeb Classical Library (Harvard University Press)
- lupa UBI ERAT LUPA – Roman Stone Monuments (Friederike und Ortolf Harl, Bilddatenbank zu antiken Steindenkmälern). <http://lupa.at>.
- OPEL I *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, Vol. I: Aba-Byanus, (ed. Lőrincz B. et al.), Budapest, 1994.
- OPEL II *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, Vol. II: Cabalicius – Ixus, Ex materia ab (ed. Lőrincz B. et al.), Wien, 1999.
- OPEL III *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, Vol. III: Labareus-Pythea (ed. Lőrincz B. et al.), Wien, 2000.
- OPEL IV *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, Vol. IV: *Quadratia – Zures* (ed. ed. Lőrincz B. et al.), Wien, 2002.
- TM *Trismegistos: An Interdisciplinary Portal of the Ancient World*

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