



The area of the upper course of the Drina river (in Bosnia and Herzegovina) in the 2nd and 3rd century

Abstract: The upper course of the Drina river was a part of the Roman province of Dalmatia – more precisely it was located in the eastern part of the province. The mentioned territory, which in present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina includes towns Goražde and Foča as well as smaller villages, belonged to the municipal unit whose center was in the village of Komini near Pljevlja – Montenegro. This administrative unit is known as *Municipium S(...?)*. There is no mention of this administrative unit in the written source material. Accordingly, epigraphic monuments are the main sources from which the past of this administrative unit can be studied. They mention elements that testify to the administrative organization. As there is no information in the written source material, reconstruction can only be partially done. Many questions, starting with the name of the administrative unit, are still not clarified.

Keywords: *Municipium S(...?)*, Drina river, administrative unit, Goražde, Foča, Komine, Romanization, Dalmatia.

Apstrakt: Gornji tok rijeke Drine bio je dio rimske provincije Dalmacije, tačnije nalazio se u njenom istočnom dijelu. Navedeno područje, koje u današnjoj Bosni i Hercegovini uključuje gradove Goražde i Foču, kao i manja sela, pripadalo je municipalnoj jedinici čije je središte bilo u selu Komine kod Pljevalja u Crnoj Gori. Ova upravna jedinica poznata je kao *Municipium S (...?)*. U literarnim izvornim vrelima ne pominje se ova administrativna jedinica. U skladu sa tim, glavni izvori iz kojih se može proučavati prošlost municipijuma S su epigrafski spomenici. Spomenici daju informacije koje svjedoče o administrativnom uređenju. Kako u pisanom izvornom materijalu nema podataka, rekonstrukcija se može izvršiti samo djelimično. Mnoga pitanja, počevši od naziva upravne jedinice, još uvijek nisu razjašnjena.

Ključne riječi: *Municipium S(...?)*, rijeka Drina, administrativna jedinica, Goražde, Foča, Komine, Romanizacija, Dalmacija.

Introduction – the area and people of the upper course of the Drina river in the written source material

When we look at the material provided by literary sources, what can be seen immediately is a scarcity of information related to the area of the upper course of the Drina river and the people who inhabited that area. In the literary sources of Greco-Roman writers, the upper course of the Drina river as well as the people living there, are mentioned only incidentally. Velleius Paterculus and Dio Cassius offered information about the Roman conquest of the territory of eastern Bosnia, northwestern Montenegro, and western Serbia, based on which we can read the information on topography since they describe the territory of the people conquered by the Romans. The most useful is the information of Pliny the Elder, who speaks of nations.

It is believed that the area that administratively belonged to *Municipium S (...?)* was inhabited by the Siculi or, according to another theory, the Pirustae. The oldest mention of the Pirustae is in the work of Titus Livius, who mentions them in the context of the third Illyrian war.¹ Strabo mentions the Pirustae as the Pannonian people.² This is certainly a mistake because it contradicts the statements of other sources. Velleius Paterculus mentions them as the people who took part in the Great Illyrian Uprising and which are located east of the Desitiates.³ In his *Gallic Wars*, Gaius Julius Caesar mentions the Pirustae who attacked the border areas of the province of Illyricum.⁴ Velleius wrote that the territories of the Pirustae and the Desitiates were located in mountainous areas with narrow passageways and that they were finally appeased by Tiberius.⁵ Interestingly, Velleius mentions only two communities by name. Ptolemy includes them among the *civitates* of eastern Dalmatia.⁶ As the Pirustae were not included in Pliny's list after the uprising, it seems that they did not get their *civitas*.⁷

Among the communities of the Naronitan convent, Pliny mentions the community of the Siculi with 24 decuries, belonging to the *Conventus Naronitanus*.⁸ Ptolemy also mentions the Siculi, whom he located near the Docleatae, in the southeastern part of

¹ *Liv.* 45. 26. 13.

² *Strab.* 17. 5. 3.

³ *Vell. Pat.* 2. 115. 1.

⁴ *Caes. BGall.* 5. 1.

⁵ *Vell. Pat.* 2. 11

⁶ Bojanovski 1988, 204.

⁷ Grbić 2014, 295.

⁸ *Plin. NH.* 3. 144.

the province, near the Narensi and the Sardeates.⁹ There was an opinion, represented by Alföldy, that the *civitas Sicolatorum*,¹⁰ mentioned by Pliny, arose from the division of the Pirustae into smaller Peregrine communities, and he later came to the conclusion that it was a displaced Dalmatian population.¹¹ The name can be related to the toponym *Sikuli*, which is located in Bijač near Salona, and there, according to Pliny's testimony, Emperor Claudius settled veterans, while the local Dalmatian population had been previously moved to eastern Dalmatia.¹² When it comes to the writing of Cassius Dio, it is significant settlement for the location of *Municipium S...* because it shows that it is not Splonum, since he stated that the army from Splonum went to Raetinium,¹³ which will be discussed later on in the text.

As for the area of the upper course of the Drina river and its road communication, something can be read from the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and itineraries. These are the *Itinerarium Antonini* and the *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia*. All three of these sources have shortcomings, but when compared with each other, certain information can be deduced for the territory that is the subject of this paper.

Archaeological researches

In the Roman period, the upper course of the Drina river belonged to a municipality of an unknown name, from which only the initial letter S is known. This municipal unit is located in Komine near Pljevlja. The Roman settlement acquired the status of a municipality and had a certain significance.

The archaeological site of *Municipium S....* is located near the village of Komine near Pljevlja. Archaeological material concerns the Roman city and does not solve the problem of breaking the continuity between the pre-Roman population of this area and the one confirmed on Roman monuments.¹⁴ This territory has been the subject of scientific interest for more than 200 years.¹⁵ Consuls and researchers came to Pljevlja and on that occasion left behind valuable notes about what they found in the field.¹⁶ Arthur Evans visited these areas at the end of the 19th century

⁹ *Ptol.* 2. 16. 5..

¹⁰ *Plin. NH.* 3. 144. *Civitas* mentioned by Pliny is not confirmed in epigraphic sources.

¹¹ Grbić 2014, 170.

¹² Grbić 2014, 170.

¹³ This proves that Splonum was located in the valley of the river Unac. *Dio.* 56. 11. 2.

¹⁴ Mirković 2013, 33.

¹⁵ Vujović, Cvijetić 2011, 106.

¹⁶ Selimović 2018, 80 <http://www.ff.unsa.ba/index.php/bs/zavrsni-diplomski-radovi-his/5215-zavrsni-diplomski-rad-arnela-selimovic>

and carried out significant research, whereas Karl Patsch was the first to properly publish epigraphic monuments.¹⁷ In 1899, Austrian army intervened in Komine due to the collapse of the land that buried graves from the Roman period. Then they excavated the Roman necropolis and discovered three graves.¹⁸

Aleksandrina Cermanović-Kuzmanović and Dragoslav Srejić began systematic research in the 1960s.¹⁹ Archaeological excavations of necropolises I and II were carried out systematically in the period from 1964 to 1976 but new information was also obtained through excavations at the Grad site in 2007 and 2008.²⁰ Two necropolises with a total of over 750 graves were discovered there.²¹ They give us a picture of a city that experienced a sudden boom at the end of the 2nd century, bustling with life during the 3rd century, and died out in the middle of the 4th century.²² Necropolis I is not older than the 1st century, and necropolis II was in operation from the 2nd to the 4th century.²³ It can be assumed that the younger necropolis (II) leans on the older (I).²⁴ In the first necropolis, the deceased were cremated, while in the second they were cremated, but there were also several inhumations.²⁵ The issue of growing an autochthonous settlement into a Roman city is one of the most interesting, but also the most difficult issues. So far, we are familiar with those who had lived there solely based on information from the necropolises. The population was Romanized during the 2nd-3rd century, but religion and customs of burial were retained the longest.²⁶

The research led by Cermanović-Kuzmanović provided a large amount of archaeological material.²⁷ With the help of institutions²⁸ that supported the research of Cermanović-Kuzmanović and Srejić, the research continued during

¹⁷ Ružić 2013, 27.

¹⁸ Selimović 2018, 79.

¹⁹ Vujović, Cvijetić 2018, 106.

²⁰ Ružić 2013, 27.

²¹ Vujović, Cvijetić 2011, 106.

²² Vujović, Cvijetić 2011, 106.

²³ Mirković 1975, 104.

²⁴ The older necropolis I is located on Belo brdo (hill), and the younger necropolis II is located on the slopes of Belo brdo. Mirković 2013, 33.

²⁵ At the monuments from Komini, we can find those who moved their families from the coast of Dalmatia to this city. Ružić 2013, 28.

²⁶ Ružić 2013, 28.

²⁷ Mirković 2013, 36.

²⁸ Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, Heritage Museum Pljevlja, and the Institute for the Protection of Culture Monuments of Cetinje.

the 21st century.²⁹ After the hiatus, research resumed in 2007 and 2008, when two luxurious buildings were found to the east of the necropolis.³⁰ There was an underfloor heating system in one of the two luxurious buildings – the hypocaust.³¹ Remains of stone walls, characterized as ramparts of an ancient settlement, were discovered at the Grad site located not far from the necropolis.³² The results obtained so far indicate the existence of luxurious public buildings in the city center, which were protected by ramparts.³³ The town of Komine lived intensively until the second half of the 4th century, when it was abruptly and completely abandoned.³⁴

Two mortaria were also found in Komine.³⁵ A fragmentary rim of one was found, but the other finding of a larger mortarium with a massive spout at the bottom is more interesting.³⁶ The inscription *AP. VLPI | VLPIARI* is found on the rim – it is probably the name of a person who made it or the owner of the workshop.³⁷ Judging by the *nomen gentilicium* *Ulpus*, the mortarium can be dated to the 2nd or 3rd century, which corresponds to the archaeological context in which it was discovered during the period of the greatest rise of *Municipium S*³⁸

In addition to the archaeological findings in the area of the municipality itself, there are findings from the upper course of the Drina river, in the area of today's Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the area of today's Foča and Goražde, monuments dedicated to the god Terminus were found, which will be discussed later.³⁹ Monuments from Miljevin, to the south of Foča, date back to the late 2nd or 3rd century.⁴⁰ Votive monuments were found in Foča, Sopotnica near Goražde, and Ustikolina. In Kopači, near Goražde, the remains of three villas were recorded, and the fourth villa

²⁹ Ružić 2013, 30.

³⁰ Vujović, Cvijetić 2011, 106.

³¹ Zotović 2002, 28.

³² In 2008, towers 1 and 2 and part of the southern rampart were found. Ružić 2013, 31-32.

³³ Ružić 2013, 34.

³⁴ Ružić 2013, 34.

³⁵ Mortarium – an interesting type of Roman vessel that has not been previously recorded in Montenegro. The most probable structure of the inscription is *Ap (pius) Ulpi (us) / Ulpiari (us)*. This is the period when the local Illyrian element slowly began to accept the Roman way of life and the time when the population with the adopted Roman way of life probably immigrated, especially food preparation and consumption, which explains the presence of mortaria in the inland of the province of Dalmatia. Vujović, Cvijetić 2013, 107, 108, 109.

³⁶ Vujović, Cvijetić 2013, 107.

³⁷ Vujović, Cvijetić 2013, 108-109.

³⁸ Vujović, Cvijetić 2013, 109.

³⁹ Šaćić Beća 2018, 116.

⁴⁰ Bojanovski 1987a, 206.

was found in Hubjeri, on the right bank of the Drina river.⁴¹ Several villas rustica were found in the area of Goražde. One of the largest Roman settlements in the upper Podrinje was located at the confluence of the Kolina river and the Drina river in Ustikolina. A mosaic used to decorate the floor was also found there.⁴² There are several Roman sites in the wider surroundings of Foča, such as Trbušće, to the south of the city, the origin of the architectural elements of a Roman mausoleum.⁴³ The findings showed that this area was well populated.

Location of *Municipium S(...?)* and the name problem

There is no indication in the epigraphic sources that a Roman administrative unit was present in the area of the upper course of the Drina river, and therefore, historians assume that this area was connected with the municipal unit whose headquarters was in Komini.⁴⁴ Dušanić believes that these monuments had the role of separating the two mining areas bordering at today's Bosnia and Herzegovina territory: the mining district of northeastern Bosnia – *Argentaria* and the mining district of southeastern Bosnia and northwestern Montenegro (today's Foča and Prijeplje).⁴⁵ This means that the upper course of the Drina river was administratively separate from Domavia and the municipality of Malvesiatium and belonged to a municipal unit from northwestern Montenegro. Archaeological research has also confirmed that there was no urban settlement in the area.⁴⁶ Accordingly, Bojanovski concluded that the Podrinje area belonged to the *Municipium S*.⁴⁷ The territory of this municipality includes the valley of the river Čehotina with its seat in Komini near Pljevlja. The inscription, erected by the decision of the Council of Decurions for Roman knight and decurion Titus Aurelius Sextian, mentioned an important determinant.⁴⁸ It stated that this man was the decurion of *Municipium S (...?)*.⁴⁹

⁴¹ Bojanovski 1987a, 207. These four estates testify to the intensive agriculture of this area.

⁴² Zotović 2002, 28.

⁴³ Bojanovski 1987a, 209.

⁴⁴ Šačić Beća 2018, 117.

⁴⁵ Šačić Beća 2018, 117.

⁴⁶ In the area between Piva Mountains, Ljubišnje, Kovač, Jahorina, Treskavica, Lelija, Zelengora and Maglić. Šačić Beća 2018, 116.

⁴⁷ Bojanovski 1987a, 206-207.

⁴⁸ *T(ito) Aur(elio) Sextiano / eq(uiti) R(omano) / dec(urioni) m(unicipii) S(...?)*. *T(itus) Aur(elius) Lu-/percus filio⁵/ pientissimo / in memoriam / posuit. / L(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*. *CIL III*, 01708 = *CIL III*, 06343 = *CIL III*, 08309 = *ILJug III*, 1702 = *AE* 1998, 1026; Bojanovski 1987b, 105-106; Bojanovski 1987a, 211; Šačić Beća 2018, 125-127; Mirković 2013, 57.

⁴⁹ Šačić Beća 2018, 117.

Historiography has tried to elucidate what the abbreviation S means, so there are several theories accordingly. Mommsen thought that S refers to the settlement of *Stanelci* which was recorded in Tabula Peutingeriana. Evans believed that it could be the municipality of Splonum. Alföldy reconstructed the text as *municipium S(icularum)* linking the name of the municipality with the Peregrine civitas belonging to the Siculi mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy Claudius.⁵⁰ This was denied by Wilkes, who agrees with Evans, so he reconstructs the abbreviation as *municipium S(plonistarum)*.⁵¹ Some other historians share this view as well.⁵² However, in his writings, Cassius Dio suggested that Splonum was located near the Iapodian *Raetinium*. Therefore, Splonum is located in the Unac River Valley and *Municipium S* can in no way be equated with *Municipium Splonum*. Probably the closest reconstruction of the name of this municipality is that of Alföldy – being *Municipium Sicularum*, but without more specific evidence it is difficult to claim that this assumption is completely correct.⁵³

Administrative position

Unlike its name, the municipal status of this unit is called not in question. *Decuriones*, *duumvirii*, as well as the name of the municipality, are mentioned in the inscriptions. As already mentioned, there is a monument dedicated to Titus Aurelius Sextian, the decurion of the *Municipium S*. There are three beneficiary manuscripts from Komini near Pljevlja that support the fact that the *Municipium S* was located here.⁵⁴ It is not clear when this settlement received the status of a municipality, but it can be discussed based on archaeological findings. As the *nomen gentilicium* Aurelius appears on several inscriptions, it may indicate that it was founded during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, during the mid-3rd century, or later, during Caracalla,⁵⁵ and that it may have acquired municipal status before the end of Antonio Pius's

⁵⁰ *Plin.* 3. 143; *Ptol.* 2. 16. Taken from: Šaćić Beća 2018, 117.

⁵¹ Šaćić Beća 2018, 117.

⁵² Mirković says that either Evans's amendment can be accepted or a new solution can be sought, but she believes that it is very likely that it is Splonum. Grbić shares the same opinion as well. Mirković 2013, 57-58; Grbić 2014, 95.

⁵³ Selimović 2018, 70.

⁵⁴ There are two votive altars and one is a tombstone inscription. Selimović 2018, 70.

⁵⁵ Example: inscription from Kolovrat: *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / P(ublio) Ael(io) Pladome-/ [no] Carvanio an(norum) [--] / [praef(ecto)] civitatium ⁵¹ [Pirustaru?]m praef(ecto) / i(ure) d(icundo) mun(icipii) Aureli S[---]lo(---) / [et] Aelia<e> Pantoni con-/ [iu]gi eius viva<e> parentibus / pietissimis A{t}e(ii)¹⁰ / Titus Lupus et Firmi/-nus h(eredes) p(onendum) c(uraverunt) / h(ic) s(itus) e(st). CIL III, 8208 = AE 1998, 1026; Mirković 1975, 98; Mirković 2013, 57.*

reign.⁵⁶ In any case, we know that it had the status of a municipality already between the year 154 and 160.⁵⁷

In her paper, Ružić raises the question of what forced the Romans to give this city municipal status and answers that the proximity of lead and zinc mines in Šuplja Stijena was an important factor for the formation of the municipality, but also that grave goods and decorative figures on monuments and their most common decorative motif – the vine – depicts an idyllic picture of an area rich in trees and vines.⁵⁸ Today's hill of St. Ilija (brdo Sveti Ilija) is considered as one of the most important settlements within the *Municipium S*. A large number of epigraphic monuments have been found in the area and many assume that this is where pre-Roman settlement was located, and Evans was the first to notice this possibility.⁵⁹ However, as no archaeological research has been carried out here, the existence of a pre-Roman settlement remains only a presumption.⁶⁰ The mines near Lissus belonged to this municipality, so their miners were taken to Dacia.⁶¹ This is what monuments indicate,⁶² and it is interesting for the theory that Pirustae inhabited the territory of *Municipium S* ... because it means that they would have go from Lissus and not from *Municipium S*(...?) to Dacia. The mines near Kolovrat have been confirmed through epigraphy.⁶³

Population

At the beginning of this paper, there was word about historians believing that the Siculi or Pirustae inhabited this area before the arrival of the Romans.⁶⁴ The thesis that the Pirustae inhabited an area administratively belonged to *Municipium S* is represented primarily by Bojanovski.⁶⁵ Sources also mention the Siculi.⁶⁶ We see

⁵⁶ Zotović 2002, 72.

⁵⁷ Zotović 2002, 72.

⁵⁸ Ružić 2013, 29.

⁵⁹ Bojanovski 1987a 210; Mirković 2013, 75-76.

⁶⁰ Selimović 2018, 73.

⁶¹ Selimović 2018, 73.

⁶² Mirković 2013, 85.

⁶³ Mirković 1975, 105.

⁶⁴ The Pirustae are mentioned by Titus Livy, Velleius Paterculus, Caesar, and Strabo. Strabo misleads them as a Pannonian people.

⁶⁵ Bojanovski 1987a, 137.

⁶⁶ Pliny the Elder mentioned the Siculi and placed them in the Naronitan convent. He also said that they were divided into 24 decuries (*Plin.* 3. 143). They are also mentioned by Ptolomey Claudius (*Plin.* 3. 143).

in the literature that historians are inclined to place the Pirustae on the territory of *Municipium S*.

Bojanovski believes that the presence of the Pirustae in the Pljevlja area should be completely justified.⁶⁷ According to Mesihović, it is more probable that the Pirustae were situated south of the upper course of the Drina river and western Sandžak.⁶⁸ Grbić thinks that after the Great Illyrian Uprising, the Delmatae from the vicinity of Salona moved to northern Montenegro, and her main argument and that of other scholars who support this thesis is the coincidence of names, i.e., the names of the local population are typical of the Delmatae.⁶⁹ The same author believes that *Municipium S*... is certainly *Municipium Splonistarum*, so the Siculi are not located there, but in Albania, as the first Delmatae to be displaced.⁷⁰ According to Mirković, it is unlikely that Pirustae inhabited the territory of *Municipium S*, because names from the southern Illyrian language area in which the core of the Pirustae should be sought were not found on epigraphic monuments from Pljevlja.⁷¹ She concluded that no nation can be reliably bound to the area of *Municipium S* (...?).⁷² Šačić Beća concluded that due to a large number of immigrants, as indicated by onomastics, it is difficult to determine at the territory of which indigenous communities the *Municipium S* (...?) originated. Šačić Beća stated that there is a possibility that the first letter of the name of the municipality could indicate the Siculi, but according to her, this seems unlikely because it is not common for municipal units to be named after the *peregrine civitas*.⁷³

Although it is not possible to say exactly which people inhabited this area, the Pirustae or the Siculi and although literature leans more towards Pirustae, it is more probable that this area was inhabited by the Siculi. The initial letter of *Municipium S* could suggest numerous assumptions since there is also a thesis that this municipality may be *Municipium Sicularum*. Also, information about the holding of the mines in Lissus by Pirustae and records from Caesar's Gallic Wars could indicate that they were situated closer to the coast. However, this question has not yet been fully answered.

⁶⁷ Bojanovski 1987a, 90.

⁶⁸ Selimović 2018, 74.

⁶⁹ Grbić 2014, 295.

⁷⁰ Grbić 2014, 295.

⁷¹ Mirković 1975, 103.

⁷² Šačić Beća 2018, 118.

⁷³ Šačić Beća 2018, 118.

Speaking of the autochthonous and immigrant population, Mirković presented arguments regarding onomastics, i.e., that the onomastic analysis determined the names of the autochthonous population, showing that part of the population was of Illyrian origin.⁷⁴ The local population left its mark on onomastics through Roman inscriptions. Most of the names on the inscriptions from Pljevlja and the surrounding area belong to Illyrian onomasticon, i.e., the one that is considered typical of the central Dalmatian region.⁷⁵ The highest number of onomasticon matches from the area of Pljevlja was with the onomasticon of the coastal part of Dalmatia.⁷⁶ Some names on monuments are associated with the Celts and the Thracians, with Thracian names being confirmed only in exceptional cases.⁷⁷ Some of the names are not known outside the area of Prijepolje and Pljevlja, so it can be concluded that this is the Romanized indigenous population.⁷⁸ In the vicinity of Pljevlja, the prominent Celtic names are *Belzeius*, *Lavius*, and *Madussa* while the Thracian names are *Bessus*, *Teres*, and *Plares*.⁷⁹ These names suggest that these persons were immigrants. An epigraphic monument discovered in 1906 testifies to the population structure of the municipalities in Komine.⁸⁰ Roman citizens are mentioned as *populares*, *peregrini*, *incolae*.⁸¹ So the city was inhabited by Roman citizens (necessary for the city to be a municipality), locals and foreigners. Romanization can be traced back to the 2nd century. This is when the *nomen gentilicium* Aelli appears, suggesting that the local population during the reign of Emperor Hadrian (117-138) and Antoninus Pius (138-161) began to receive citizenship, and a certain number of inhabitants had the *nomen gentilicium* Aurelii.⁸² Certainly, they received Roman citizenship from Marcus Aurelius (161-180), during whose reign the municipality was founded. By means of the Edict of Caracalla in 212, the remaining population acquired the status of Roman citizens.

⁷⁴ Mirković 2013, 38.

⁷⁵ Mirković 2013, 41.

⁷⁶ Mirković 2013, 42.

⁷⁷ There is a particularly significant mention of Celtic names, while the Thracian names are confirmed only in exceptional cases. Mirković 2013, 38.

⁷⁸ Mirković 2013, 42.

⁷⁹ Mirković 2013, 45.

⁸⁰ Selimović 2018, 76.

⁸¹ "Populares can have the same meaning as *Populus*, i.e., the whole nation or the population of one city. 'Populi' are also peoples under the Roman rule ..." The meaning of the term *incola* is also clear. It means those who were out of a place of their origin, the one in which they were registered and which gave them origins." Mirković 2013, 91-92.

⁸² Selimović 2013, 76.

Religion

We learned about the religion of this administrative unit through preserved monuments. Several votive monuments were found in the Ustikolina area. The majority were used as a construction material for various modern buildings. During the construction of a church in 1936, the remains of a stone tomb from ancient times were found.⁸³ At that time, several ancient stone monuments were found. An inscription dedicated to Jupiter was found on the votive altar.⁸⁴ From Ustikolina there is also a dedication to Terminus himself.⁸⁵ The shape of this altar is interesting, considering that it is a triple altar. The name of the god Terminus was also found on a fragment that was built into the old church in Sopotnica near Goražde.⁸⁶ The other two gods mentioned on the altar from Ustikolina are Liber and Jupiter. An altar for Jupiter *cohortalis* originates from Sopotnica.⁸⁷ A votive relief dedicated to Mercury is also from Sopotnica. It is believed that this relief was dedicated by the Greeks or the Orientals.⁸⁸

Terminus was the ancient Roman god of boundaries.⁸⁹ Liber was probably equated with Silvanus,⁹⁰ and the altar from Ustikolina provides evidence of the community of Liber, Terminus, and Jupiter.⁹¹ No monuments have been found to testify to the cult of Terminus in other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Votive altars and monuments to Silvanus and Mithras were found in Pljevlja, and votive altars dedicated to Hercules were found isolated from other parts of the Dalmatian province in Prijepolje and Pljevlja.⁹² Epigraphic dedications to Serapis and Isis were also found in Pljevlja, and this is the only part of the eastern province of Dalmatia where they were found. Since the establishment of Roman domination, the idea of a powerful empire has spread, which was to be served by the introduction of the

⁸³ Sergejevski 1936, 4.

⁸⁴ *Term(ino) Lib(ero) P(atri) I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo)*. Sergejevski 1936, 4.

⁸⁵ Bojanovski 1987a, 206.

⁸⁶ Sergejevski 1936, 5.

⁸⁷ *I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) c(oh)or-(tali)*. CIL III, 13856 = 8370; Bojanovski 1981, 72. Jupiter *cohortalis* is found in Dalmatia, so it is believed that it should have connections with the army and crew. Patsch also explained that the altar with the dedication of *Termio* is the boundary stone of a cohort, the same one that set the same Jupiter *cohortalis*. Bojanovski 1981, 72.

⁸⁸ Zotović 2002, 58.

⁸⁹ Bojanovski 1987a, 207.

⁹⁰ Pašalić 1984, 292.

⁹¹ Zotović 2002, 56.

⁹² Zotović 2002, 52-54, 56

cult of main gods, among whom the cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus was the most widespread in eastern Bosnia.⁹³

Therefore, in the area of the upper course of the Drina river, the cults of Jupiter, Terminus, Liber, and Mercury were worshipped. Tribute to Terminus in Bosnia is typical of the upper course of the Drina river. In other parts that administratively belonged to *Municipium S*, and that are not in the territory of today's Bosnia and Herzegovina, epigraphic findings testify to the worship of Silvanus and Diana, Hercules, Serapis, and Isis.⁹⁴ Roman, Greek, and Oriental cults were present.

Road communications

Economic progress that took place in Roman times in this area could not be possible without road communications.⁹⁵ We have reliable information about the Roman road across Romanija mountain only from the 3rd century, but it must have been built earlier for strategic reasons, as a military road that connected the area around the Drina river with the valley of the Bosna river and further with Salona.⁹⁶ Over time, this communication became an important trade route, *Salona–Argentaria–Sirmium* and served as the backbone for all internal traffic in the region of eastern Bosnia.⁹⁷ Not all roads are marked on any itinerary, not even Tabula.⁹⁸ Komine was a significant crossroad.⁹⁹

According to the analysis of itineraries, the Tabula, and milestones, some roads of this region can be traced. There was a road from Sarajevo through Romania to the Drina Valley,¹⁰⁰ and the question arises whether the road Sarajevo–Romanija–Drinjača was an integral part of the road *Salona Bistue vetus–Bistue nova–Stanecli–Argentaria*.¹⁰¹

In the area of Foča–Goražde–Višegrad, findings of money and Roman settlements are rare. The issue of roads remains unresolved, but one road certainly

⁹³ Pašalić 1984, 291.

⁹⁴ Of course, that is all we know from archaeological findings. Other cults may have been worshipped.

⁹⁵ Bojanovski 1981, 127.

⁹⁶ Bojanovski 1981, 127.

⁹⁷ Bojanovski 1976, 20.

⁹⁸ For example, there is no large map of Narona–Nevesinjsko polje–Konjic–Sarajevsko polje–Romanija–Podrinje on the Tabula. Bojanovski 1974, 21.

⁹⁹ There was a significant road Komine–Kolovrat. Bojanovski 1987b, 108.

¹⁰⁰ Mesihović 2009, 56.

¹⁰¹ This is believed so because Roman objects and money were found in the graves next to today's road. Pašalić 1960, 70.

passed through the Drina valley in this direction as well.¹⁰² One Roman road from Epidaurus led to the interior of the Balkans. It also passed through Foča and Pljevlja, and through Kolovrat and Prijepolje it led to Novi Pazar.¹⁰³ The roads of the upper course of the Drina river, despite their significance for the wider region, still cannot be treated equally as the great imperial roads¹⁰⁴ Not all aspects of road communications have been revealed; many are still speculated about.

Romanization

Romanization of the upper course of the Drina river can be traced through several aspects. It is a political and legal aspect that implies that the native population became a part of the Roman Empire, followed by the cultural aspect – the acceptance and adoption of Roman culture, as well as the religious aspect. Romanization can be traced mostly through the epigraphic material of tombstones and votive monuments.¹⁰⁵ According to Radmila Zotović, we know nothing about the population of the eastern part of the province of Dalmatia in the earliest period of Romanization, which is probably the military-political period and the only information we have is from the 1st century, from the Komini I necropolis showing the absence of the Roman element and that the people from this area did not start the process of Romanization.¹⁰⁶ At that time, the leaders of Romanization were the soldiers who settled in this area.¹⁰⁷

Following the above, the first indication of Romanization of the eastern part of the province of Dalmatia can be dated to the middle of the 2nd century from Skelani and Pljevlja. Since then, the *nomen gentilicium* Aelli can be traced in the Pljevlja area, indicating that the population received Roman citizenship under the reign of Hadrian and Antonio Pius. Part of the population was named Aurelii. Certainly, as it has been noted, Marcus Aurelius proclaimed them Roman citizens, during whose reign the municipality was founded, but Aurelius also appears with Titus, which is the first name of Emperor Antoninus Pius.¹⁰⁸ With the edict of Caracalla from

¹⁰² Pašalić 1960, 70.

¹⁰³ The road system began to be built by Dolabella between the ages of 14 and 21 (Bojanovski 1987b, 63). Only a part of this mentioned road Ad Zizio-Leusinum, i.e. Mosko-Panik, between the part of the road Trebinje and Bileća was entered into the itinerary, *Itin. Ant.* 338, 6; taken from Bojanovski 1987b, 67.

¹⁰⁴ Pašalić 1964, 238.

¹⁰⁵ Zotović 2003, 20.

¹⁰⁶ Zotović 2003, 20.

¹⁰⁷ Pašalić 1964, 227.

¹⁰⁸ Selimović 2018, 76.

212, the population acquired the status of Roman citizens.¹⁰⁹ The mechanism of Romanization took place gradually, with the implementation of urbanization.¹¹⁰

Retired soldiers received Roman citizenship, which was another type of Romanization.¹¹¹ In this area, domestic names, along with the *nomen gentilicium* Aurelii or Aelli, were maintained in the first generation, while in the second generation already, Roman names were predominate.¹¹² We can follow the process of Romanization in the area of *Municipium S* by means of an example of the Firminii family.¹¹³ They became the new Roman aristocracy and the findings of gold and silver in the tomb of this family testify to their high status, whose descendants later became *decuriones* and *duumvirii*.¹¹⁴

During the 2nd century, mostly the elite became Romanized, and in the 3rd century, Romanization was actively conducted both in the middle and lower classes.¹¹⁵ In the eastern part of the province of Dalmatia, there are rare findings of monuments dedicated to local gods.¹¹⁶ As it could be observed when addressing the matter of religion, the *Interpretatio Romana* was present.

Onomastic formulas show, according to their developmental stages, that the mechanism of Romanization of individuals cannot be observed in a logical, chronological order.¹¹⁷ It depends on the economic factors of the individual or the social group and vice versa, as well as psychological factors in some people who have their “own” understanding of the Romanization process. Overall, the native population showed, especially through women’s clothing and jewelry, that the remains of traditional conservatism persisted for a very long time, until the late 3rd century. It can be concluded that Romanization first changed people’s names, and only later their clothing and traditionalism. Moreover, economic factors played a significant role in the process of Romanization. Cultural and political Romanization was also carried out.

Translation by the author

¹⁰⁹ Bojanovski 1987a, 212.

¹¹⁰ Zotović 2002, 21.

¹¹¹ Mirković 2013, 74.

¹¹² Mirković 2013, 109.

¹¹³ Zotović 2002, 22.

¹¹⁴ Zotović 2002, 22.

¹¹⁵ Zotović 2002, 34.

¹¹⁶ Selimović 2018, 99.

¹¹⁷ Zotović 2002, 74.

Sažetak: Administrativno uređenje gornjeg toka rijeke Drine (u Bosni i Hercegovini) u II i III stoljeću

Područje gornjeg toka rijeke Drine pripadalo je administrativnoj jedinici *Municipium S (...?)* čije puno ime nije poznato. Riječ je o administrativnoj jedinici na prostoru današnjeg mjesta Komine kod Pljevalja i postoje razne rasprave o imenu ovog municipija. Neki su smatrali da je *Municipium S(...?)* zapravo Splonum, što je bez sumnje pogrešno. Mnogo je realnije tumačenje da bi to mogao biti *Municipium Sicularum*. Ovo mjesto bilo je predmet arheoloških istraživanja, dosta se govorilo da li su tu živjeli Sikuloti ili Pirusti. Slovo S moglo bi ukazivati na Sikulote, iako sve to ostaje pretpostavka i trenutno se ne može tačno utvrditi. Stanovništvo je bilo i autohtono i doseljeno, što se može zaključiti po onomatističkim analizama, obzirom da imena pronađena na spomenicima odgovaraju i ilirskim i stranim imenima – keltskim, tračkim, rimskim. Na ovom području su bili zastupljeni različiti kultovi, a osobenost područja gornjeg Podrinja jeste štovanje boga Termina.

Kada su u pitanju ceste neke su zabilježene na itinerarijima, neke ne, a njihovom rekonstrukcijom najviše se bavio Bojanovski i on je iznio svoja mišljenja o postojanju nekih cesta za koje ne postoje pomeni u itinerarijima. Romanizacija je provođena od sredine II stoljeća, što se može pratiti po genitilnim imenima onih koji su obnašali vlast. Literarni izvori o ovim prostorima su oskudni i historija gornjeg Podrinja se može rekonstruisati najviše iz arheoloških nalaza i sa epigrafskih natpisa. Zbog toga mnoge stvari još nisu rasvijetljene. Literatura je relativno brojna, ali mora se pažljivo porediti sa arheološkim nalazima, jer naučnici ponekad donose dosta smjele zaključke, poput toga da je *Municipium S(...?)* zapravo municipij Splonum.

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