

4 Terrestrial Communications in the Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages in the Western Part of the Balkan Peninsula

VLADETA PETROVIĆ

The Balkan Peninsula, the geographical and geological bond between Europe and Asia, is a big landmass in the south-east of Europe. It is characterized by two separate geographical units: the *continental block* and the *Aegean area*. Its eastern, southern and western boundaries are demarcated by the Black, Marmara, Aegean, Adriatic and Ionian Seas. Running along the courses of the rivers Danube, Sava and Kupa, and reaching Rijeka on the Adriatic in a straight line across the Dinarid mountains, its northern boundary has also been determined, especially in the area after the mouth of the river Kupa, by the Austro-Ottoman border that passed there for centuries.⁸⁷²

Since the most ancient times, the Balkan Peninsula was considered inaccessible and difficult to pass. Its huge mountain massif stretching from the Black Sea to the Alps, separated the *civilized* South from the cold and *barbarian* North.⁸⁷³ This notion of the Balkans was preserved until the

872 J. Цвијић, *Балканско полуострво. Основи антропогеографије*, Београд 1966, 6, 10, 36. (= Цвијић, *Балканско полуострво*)

873 According to Greek geographers, the mountain massif of Hemus stretched along the Balkan Peninsula. Strabo was the first to stress its importance as the boundary dividing the civilized South, Hellas and Thrace, from the barbarian and almost unknown North. Concepts of this unaccessible massif remained unchanged for almost two millenia. In 1553, Italian humanist Jobus Veratius was the first to mention the huge mountain massif *Catena Mundi*, stretching from the Black Sea to the Pyrenees, with its eastern

beginning of the nineteenth century; the *Central ridge* was drawn on geographical maps until 1870.⁸⁷⁴ It was only after the voyage of Ami Boué and Viquesnel that Western Europe began meeting a new image of this area. The region was intersected with a series of natural routes running vertically and transversely through passages and valleys, of which the valleys of the rivers Morava and Vardar, connecting the Pannonian Plain with the Aegean Sea, represented the most important ones.⁸⁷⁵

Along these natural communications, people, cultures and ideas have traversed and encountered each other since the appearance of first human communities until this very day. Adjoining the Pannonian Basin with a wide stretch, the Balkan Peninsula lies entirely open on one side to the north and to the influences of Central Europe, and on the other side to southern Russia and the Western Asia.⁸⁷⁶ The convergence of these influences, one of the most

part passing through the Balkans. See: M. Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, New York 2009, 25-26.

874 The Central ridge was simplified and presented in such a distinctive and typical manner only on Sanson's maps. It was preserved in this form in great atlases of Bleu, Sanson and Homann. See: Цвијић, *Балканско полуострво*, 3.

875 Ami Boué, according to many, the father of geology in the countries of the Balkan Peninsula, went on a journey through Serbia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Albania, Greece, Bosnia and Turkey, from 1836 to 1838, together with geologists A. Viquesnel and F. Montalembert, Friedrihstal, botanist, and Schwab, zoologist. He published his accounts on geography, topography, geology, botany and ethnography in the four volumes of *La Turquie d'Europe*, in 1840. Viquesnel published geological diary from his journeys the same year, entitled *Esquisse géologique de la Turquie d'Europe*. Some time later, Ami Boué published also his *Recueil d'itinéraires dans la Turquie d'Europe* in Vienna. See: V. Jović, *The Development of Geology in Serbia*, Publications of The Astronomical Observatory in Belgrade 85 (2008) 113-127; B. Пајковић, *Путовање Амј Буеа кроз наше крајеве*, Новопазарски зборник 32 (2009) 119-125.

876 Archaeological material from various periods indicates that diverse cultures and peoples interacted extensively in the Pannonian plain. Archaeological material dating from the Early Middle Ages from the area of the Carpathian basin confirms the interconnection between the Avar, Slavic, Germanic and Roman populations, and the strong links between the area around the mid-Danube with the Byzantine towns of the Balkans and Italy on one side, and with the Merovingian world on the other. For further information on this issue, see: T. Vida, *Conflict and Coexistence. The Local Population of the Carpathian Basin under Avar Rule (Sixth to Seventh Century)*, *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages: Avars, Bulgars, Khazars, and Cumans* (ed. F. Curta), Leiden 2008, 13-46; P. Stadler, *Avar Chronology Revisited, and the Question of Ethnicity in the Avar Qaganate*, *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages: Avars, Bulgars, Khazars, and Cumans* (ed. F. Curta), Leiden 2008, 47-82.

important features of the central Balkans, did not stop at the boundaries of seemingly impassable massifs of the Balkan Peninsula. The ethno-cultural movements that caused profound upheavals in local cultures were carried out in both directions through the valleys and basins that connect the areas along the river Danube and the Dinaric mountains with the Aegean regions.⁸⁷⁷

Although a plethora of archaeological sites speak about the wealth of the earliest past of these areas, the earliest sources, written by Greek authors, usually provide only descriptions of the Balkan littoral area. Being a merchant and seafaring people, the Greeks forayed into and learned of central Balkan regions from the coasts of the Black Sea and the Adriatic, where they were founding their colonies.⁸⁷⁸ But, although fragmentary and relatively modest, the familiarity of Greek geographers with the north of the Balkan peninsula is hardly insignificant. Descriptions of particular lands, peoples, rivers, mountains and settlements were put down already in Herodotus' writings. At the same time, central parts of the Peninsula were entered into several maps that, like so many other Ancient Greek maps, have not been preserved. Their possible partial reconstruction is based on certain literary sources.⁸⁷⁹

With the fall of the Balkan Peninsula into the Roman sphere of influence, and with the later expansion of the Empire towards the east, Roman writers and cartographers deepened their interest for central Balkan areas. Quite detailed information on physical geography, with plenty of hydronyms and oronyms, are provided to us by Strabo⁸⁸⁰ and Pliny the Elder.⁸⁸¹

877 The influences of cultures from Central Europe, steppes of southern Russia, and the Mediterranean on the development of societies in the Balkan Peninsula are traceable ever since the Paleolithic. On the ethno-cultural movements in the Balkan Peninsula in Prehistory, see texts by D. Srejović in *Историја српског народа I* (уред. С. Ђирковић) Београд 1994, 3-65.

878 On the shores of the eastern Adriatic in the works of Greek authors, see: M. Kozličić, *Historijska geografija istočnog Jadrana u starom vijeku*, Split 1990.

879 M. Marković, *Razvitak kartografskih upoznavanja današnjih jugoslavenskih zemalja. Prvi dio: od najstarijih vremena do kraja 17 stoljeća*, Zagreb 1975, 4-5.

880 Strabo's *Geographica* was translated into Latin for the first time in the second half of the fifteenth century. The first Greek edition was printed in Venice, in 1516. A research project on the preparation of a new critical edition of this work was initiated during the 1980s at the University of Groningen (Netherlands), led by prof. Stefan L. Radt. For further information on Strabo and his work, see also: D. Dueck, *The Date and Method of Composition of Strabo's „Geography“*, *Hermes* 127/4 (1999) 467-478; D. Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia. A Greek Man of Letters in Augustan Rome*, London and New York 2000.

881 Pliny's encyclopedic work in 37 books entitled *Naturalis Historia* was based on 473 different texts of authors from the Antiquity. In order to compose

Pliny's information, primarily the ones relating distances between larger settlements, were not reproduced from earlier sources, but rely instead on the results of a survey carried out over the entire Roman state, with the intention to gain precise information on the size and appearance of the Empire. Reports on this survey from the time of Emperor Augustus are recorded in multiple sources. The general Marcus Vispanius Agrippa conducted it and had the original map carved in marble and placed on the Field of Mars in Rome.⁸⁸² This map, and later copies of it, has regrettably not been preserved, but its reconstruction is possible from the treaties *Divisio orbis terrarum* and *Dimensuratio provinciarum*⁸⁸³, as well as from the works of geographers Pomponius Mela⁸⁸⁴ and Dionysius Periegetes.⁸⁸⁵

his geographic descriptions, Pliny used in equal measure the information of his time and older travel writings. His sources included inscriptions, administrative lists, and of Roman writers he uses mainly Cornelius Nepos and Agrippa. Four of the books dealt with geography (books 3 – 6). The third and the fourth book are particularly relevant to our topic, as they contain descriptions of the provinces of Dalmatia, Pannonia, Moesia, Macedonia, Dacia, Thrace and Greece, among others. This treatise was printed for the first time in Venice, in 1469. See: O. A. W. Dilke, *Itineraries and Geographical Maps in the Early and Late Roman Empires*, The History of Cartography I (edd. J. B. Harley, D. Woodward), Chicago and London 1987, 242-243. (= Dilke, *Itineraries*); A. Domić Kunić, *Literarni izvori za iliričke provincije (Dalmaciju i osobito Panoniju) u Naturalis historia Plinija Starijeg*, Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu 37 (2004) 120.

882 Pliny the Elder was the first author to rely on Agrippa's map as his source. For further information on this map, see: O. A. W. Dilke, *Maps in the Service of the State. Roman Cartography to the End of the Augustian Era*, The History of Cartography I (edd. J. B. Harley, D. Woodward), Chicago and London 1987, 207-208; K. Brodersen, *Mapping (in) the Ancient World*, Journal of Roman Studies 94 (2004) 185.

883 *Divisio orbis terrarum* was written in the fourth century, and was preserved in Dicuil's geographic treatise from the ninth century. *Dimensuratio provinciarum* was written in the fourth or fifth century. Both of these two writings directly or indirectly relied on the geo-political map compiled by M. Vipsanius Agrippa in the first century AD. See: A. H. Merrills, *History and Geography in Late Antiquity*, New York 2005, 70. (= Merrills, *History*)

884 Pomponius Mela was one of the few Roman geographers of the Early Empire. In his three-volume *Chorografia* he described the then-known world as a landmass divided in two parts, surrounded by sea: Asia in the east and Europe and Africa in the west. The first printed edition of this work appeared in Milan, in 1477. See: Dilke, *Itineraries*, 242.

885 Dionysius Periegetes wrote a description of the world known in the time of Hadrian, entitled *Oikoumenēs Periēgēsis*. This treatise, written in Greek hexameters, was extraordinarily popular, especially in schools. It was translated

The appearance of the Balkan peninsula, which is depicted in Mela's map as a narrow and stretched landmass, is considerably different from all the previous ones. The way this part of Europe had been portrayed persisted in the Late Roman works of Ammianus Marcellinus,⁸⁸⁶ Iulius Honorius,⁸⁸⁷ Orosius⁸⁸⁸ and Isidorus Hispalensis (Isidore of Seville).⁸⁸⁹

into Latin by Rufius Festus Avienius in the fourth century, while Eustathius of Thessalonica wrote a commentary on it in the twelfth century. See: G. Aujac, *Greek Cartography in the Early Roman World*, *The History of Cartography I* (edd. J. B. Harley, D. Woodward), Chicago and London 1987, 171-173.

886 Ammianus Marcellinus gives a series of geographic and ethnographic information in his work entitled *Res Gestae*, in the form of digressions, especially in the sections concerning the Emperor Julian. The purpose of these digressions was, apart from enhancing its narrative function, to expand the scope of the sections dedicated to the enumeration of Emperor Julian's deeds, and emphasising the importance of the countries in which Ammianus took part in military campaign himself. He provided geographic information based on written sources, but also on his personal experience. The first thirteen books of this comprehensive treatise are lost. The first printed edition was published in Rome, in 1474, and the first critical edition in Paris, in 1681 (ed. Henricus Valesius). In the nineteenth century, Eyssenhardt (1871) and Gardthausen (1874-75) wrote critical editions of this work. The most recent editions in English were published by W. Seyfarth (1978) and W. Hamilton (1986). See: D. Rohrbacher, *The Historians of Late Antiquity*, London and New York 2002, 14-41. (= Rohrbacher, *The Historians*).

887 *Cosmographia* by Iulius Honorius represents a compilation made in the fifth century AD. A segment of this text, preserved in fragments, pertains to the province of Dalmatia, which is of the utmost importance for this study. See: Dilke, *Itineraries*, 244.

888 Orosius used writings entitled *Divisio orbis terrarum* and *Dimensuratio provinciarum* as sources for the geographic section of his *Historiam adversum paganos*. A critical edition of Orosius' *Historiam adversum paganos libri VII* was published in 1882, in *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*. The most recent English edition was printed in 2010, edited by the Liverpool University Press. For further information on Orosius, see: Rohrbacher, *The Historians*, 135-149; Merrills, *History*, 35-99; E. Edson, *Maps in Context. Isidore, Orosius, and the Medieval Image of the World*, *Cartography in Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Fresh Perspectives, New Methods* (edd. R. J. A. Talbert, R. W. Unger), Leiden and Boston 2008, 219-236. (= Edson, *Maps*)

889 The works of Isidore of Seville, like Orosius', have been almost entirely preserved and are easily accessible, which is why they served as the base for the majority of medieval geographic texts and maps. In the period ranging from 1470 to 1529, ten editions of the principal Isidore of Seville's work were published, entitled *Etymologiae* or *Origines*. The world map from his work *Etymologiae* was the first map to be printed in Europe (1472). Stephen A. Barney prepared the most recent English edition of *Etymologiae*, in 2006. For further information on Isidore of Seville, see: Merrills, *History*, 170-228; Edson, *Maps*.

The standard sources for reconstruction of the network of settlements and communications between the sixth and eleventh centuries, belong mainly to the Late Antiquity and Early Byzantine period; the exception is *Geographia* by Ptolemy. Written in the second century and preserved in transcripts from later periods, this comprehensive geographical treatise had a decisive influence on the development of European cartography.⁸⁹⁰ The first seven books deal with the general principles of cartography, while the eighth contains an atlas with a world map and 26 regional maps. Of special interest to our topic are the tables showing the provinces in the Balkan peninsula.⁸⁹¹ It is important to emphasize that due to the use of old and unverified sources, many cities that had existed in Ptolemy's time are missing, while other cities, long gone before his time, appear, especially in Dalmatia. Despite all these shortcomings, the objective to set the cities and the river sources into a coordinate grid had a decisive influence on the further development of cartography, i.e. determining the geographical positions, longitude and latitude. Thus, regardless of a sequence of incorrect topographical data, one portion of the towns was precisely located (72 out of 117, according to Miller), and in most cases the latitude was correctly established.⁸⁹²

Besides the remains of settlements, roads and milestones, epigraphic material, to determine particular travel routes, itineraries such as *Tabula Peutingeriana*, *Itinerarium Antonini* and *Itinerarium Burdigalense* are of high value. At the same time, information on the geographical location of a sequence of cities in the Late Antiquity can be found in *Cosmographii* by the Anonymous of Ravenna, *Ethnici* by Stephanus Byzantinus, *Synecdemos* by Hierocles, Procopius' *De aedificiis* and the *Notitia dignitatum*. Unlike the maps that were included within the comprehensive Geography of Ptolemy, whose initial purpose was to achieve a realistic presentation of the then-known world and to place the physico-geographical elements into a coordinate system, *Tabula*

890 Ptolemy's *Geography* was translated into Latin in the fifteenth century and from then on numerous editions appeared. See: W. Eames, *A List of Editions of Ptolemy's Geography 1475-1730*, New York 1886.

891 Except for Ptolemy's *Geography*, detailed information on the western part of the Balkan Peninsula can be found in: A. Цермановић-Кузмановић, *Југословенске земље на Птоломејевој карти*, Monumenta cartographica Jugoslaviae I: Античке карте (уред. Р. Новаковић), Београд 1974, 11-30. (= Цермановић-Кузмановић, *Југословенске земље*).

892 Цермановић-Кузмановић, *Југословенске земље*, 14.

Peutingeriana is a pictorial itinerary (*tabula picta*). The original was probably created between 355 and 366, while to us today reached a copy from the twelfth or early thirteenth century. The specific purpose determined the appearance of this, in all things exceptional, map of the then-known world. The parchment scroll is 6.75 m long and 0.34 m wide, and depicts areas between the British Isles in the west and India in the east. The primary intent of the author to place all the main roads of the Roman Empire gave it a specific, elongated deformity, making the examination of orographic and hydrographic elements difficult. At the same time, the cartographic solutions for the roads are practical, noticeable and allow easy and reliable use of the map.⁸⁹³

Itinerarium Antonini is the most important written itinerary preserved. The first part, titled *Itinerarium provinciarum Antonini Augusti*, describes the terrestrial communications in the Empire. The sea routes are the topic of the second part, bearing the title *Imperatoris provinciarum Antonini Augusti itinerarium maritimum*. Probably created during the reign of Emperor Caracalla, this itinerary covers the road network in most provinces of the Empire. Descriptions of each travel route start off with a reference to the first and the terminal station on the road, the distance between the two, and it continues with a listing of other stations on the way.⁸⁹⁴

Itinerarium Burdigalense, also known as *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum*, is the oldest Christian itinerary. It describes the voyage of an anonymous pilgrim in 333, from Burdigala (the present-day Bordeaux) to the Holy Land. Especially important to us are the parts of the itinerary that list settlements and stations on the road segment from northern Italy, down the rivers Danube and Velika Morava, all the way to Constantinople, and on the way

893 This map was discovered by Conrad Celtes, who gave it as a gift to Conrad Peutinger in 1508. Today, it is in the National Library in Vienna (Codex Vindobonensis 324). The first entire edition was printed in 1598 in Antwerp. For further information on this map, see: Dilke, *Itineraries*, 238; E. Albu, *Rethinking the Peutinger Map*, Cartography in Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Fresh Perspectives, New Methods (edd. R. J. A. Talbert, R. W. Unger), Leiden and Boston 2008, 111-120. Following authors wrote more extensively on the western part of the Balkan Peninsula, as represented in Peutinger's *tabula*: Г. Шкриванић, *Југословенске земље на Појтингеровој табли*, Monumenta cartographica Jugoslaviae I: Античке карте (уред. Р. Новаковић), Београд 1974, 33-60. (= Шкриванић, *Југословенске земље*)

894 Dilke, *Itineraries*, 235-236; B. Salway, *Travel, Itineraria and Tabellaria*, Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire (edd. C. Adams, R. Laurence), London and New York 2001, 39-43. (= Salway, *Travel*)

back through Macedonia and Otranto, mentioning their rank (*civitas*, *mansio* or *mutatio*).⁸⁹⁵

Cosmographia by the Anonymous of Ravenna represents a compilation of different maps, from which a list of about 5000 place names was compiled, most probably in the seventh century. Porcheron, the first publisher of *Cosmographia*, in 1688, divided its content in three parts. The first book provides an explanation of the shape of the Earth and the way it can be represented. The second, third, and fourth books provide descriptions of many different countries with lists of towns and rivers, while the subject of the fifth book is the Mediterranean, with a list of coastal towns and descriptions of islands. For the greatest part, the content is made of lists of towns along a certain road. *Cosmographia* mentions quite a lot of road stations, whose names (most often corrupted) indicate the names of towns and settlements from the Late Antiquity.⁸⁹⁶

Ethnica by Stephanus Byzantinus, most probably written in the sixth century, has not been preserved in the original form, but in the abridged one, attributed to one Hermolaus. Parts of the original have been preserved in the treatises of Constantine Porphyrogenitos *De administrando imperio* and *De tematibus*.⁸⁹⁷

Together with *Ethnica*, an important source for Constantine Porphyrogenitos' *De tematibus* was also the *Synekdemos*, a list of towns in the Eastern Roman Empire, compiled in the late fifth century from administrative documents. The towns are indexed according to their geographical position within a particular province. The document was most likely preserved thanks to its similarity with episcopal notices.⁸⁹⁸

De aedificiis is a six-volume treatise by Procopius, listing and describing all that was built during the reign of Emperor Justinian: new

895 For further information on this source, see: L. Douglass, *A New Look at the Itinerarium Burdigalense*, *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 4/3 (1996) 313-333; J. Elsner, *The Itinerarium Burdigalense. Politics and Salvation in the Geography of Constantine's Empire*, *The Journal of Roman Studies* 90 (2000) 181-195; Salway, *Travel*, 26, 34-36, 59.

896 I. Bojanovski, *Dolabelin sistem cesta u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji*, Sarajevo 1974, 21-22. (= Bojanovski, *Dolabelin sistem*); O. A. W. Dilke, *Cartography in the Byzantine Empire*, *The History of Cartography I* (edd. J. B. Harley, D. Woodward), Chicago and London 1987, 260; S. Čače, *Civitates Dalmatiae u „Kozmografiji“ Anonima Ravenjanina*, *Diadora* 15 (1993) 347-349, 353.

897 *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, New York and Oxford 1991, 1953-1954.

898 *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, New York and Oxford 1991, 930.

towns, fortifications, palaces, churches, etc. The high degree of veracity of geographical and toponymic information comes from the use of contemporary, official documents, travel guides (*Mirabilia*) and notes (*Periplus*), as well as from using the proper literature from the Antiquity.⁸⁹⁹

Notitia Dignitatum is one of the few preserved sources that pertains to the administrative organisation of the Roman Empire. Most likely it represented an official list of several thousand civilians and military officials, compiled between 386 and 394.⁹⁰⁰

* * *

The Roman encroachment into the interior of the Balkan Peninsula began in the third century BC. They were moving in from two directions: from the west they moved from the Adriatic, and from the east through Macedonia. Founded in the second century BC as a defensive colony to check the Illirian and Celtic tribes, Aquileia became the starting point for Roman expansion from the west.⁹⁰¹ After decades of warfare, the western part of the Balkan Peninsula finally submitted to Augustus.⁹⁰² Alongside their advancement from the west, the Romans were moving in from the south as well. Having conquered Macedonia in the mid-second century BC, they started defending its northern borders, gradually making advances into the north, only to reach the river Danube in the 70s BC. However, it took another 90 years of warfare to make the river Danube a Roman frontier.⁹⁰³

With the expansion of Roman control, different parts of the Balkan Peninsula were gradually incorporated into the military and

899 Ф. Баришић, *Прокопије*, Византијски извори за историју народа Југославије I (уред. Г. Острогорски), Београд 1955, 20.

900 On the administrative division of the Balkan Peninsula, as noted in *Notitium Dignitatum*, see: M. Kulikowski, *The Notitia Dignitatum As a Historical Source*, *Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 49/3 (2000) 358-377.

901 Founding of a string of colonies in northern Italy in the second century BC would culminate with the foundation of Aquileia, that was to become a regional centre from which Roman political, military and economic influence spread. See: D. Dzino, *Illyricum in Roman Politics 229 BC – AD 68*, Cambridge 2010, 29, 58.

902 For further information on the conquest of Illyricum, see: M. Šašel Kos, *Appian and Illyricum*, Ljubljana 2005.

903 М. Мирковић, *Римско освајање и организација римске власти*, Историја српског народа I (уред. С. Ђирковић), Београд 1994, 66.

economic system of the Empire, through the construction of new terrestrial communications. This network of traffic ways, the construction of which lasted throughout Roman mastery of the Balkan Peninsula, was somewhat expanded and restored at the time of Justinian and was to be used throughout the entire Middle Ages.⁹⁰⁴

To more easily construct and maintain the road network vital for military expansion and economic organisation, and for everyday life in the empire, Roman roads were classified into several groups, according to their importance. According to the Roman jurist Ulpianus, Roman roads were divided into *viae publicae*, *viae privatae* and *viae vicinales*. *Viae publicae* were constructed on public land and were available to everybody. *Viae vicinales* connected *viae publicae* with settlements. These two types of roads were maintained by the central, more often local, authority, while *viae privatae* were constructed and maintained by landowners.⁹⁰⁵

For the sake of postal service's efficiency and travelers' comfort, two kinds of stations were built along the roads: *mansiones* and *mutationes*. *Mansiones* were inns where one could spend the night, while *mutationes* were daily stations for the change of horses. *Mansiones* were mainly linked to the state-run postal service (*cursus publicus*).⁹⁰⁶ Inside them were built settlements with residential and economy buildings, warehouses and stables. At least ten persons of different occupations, who

904 Some of these traffic ways have been preserved and are used to this day as local village roads, recognizable for their adaptation to the terrain, moderate bends and sometimes steep ascents, as well as for their straight-line directions in the plains. They were frequently delimited with old hedges and boundary landmarks; in some places, cobblestone road sections and the curbstones have been partially preserved, while their routes circumvent narrow canyons and river valleys, and they are between 3 and 4 meters wide. See: Bojanovski, *Dolabelin sistem*, 30, 35.

905 C. Tilburg, *Traffic and Congestion in the Roman Empire*, London and New York 2007, 9. (= Tilburg, *Traffic*)

906 *Praeposites* or *mancipes* were in charge of these stations, the postal service and the passenger traffic. Only passengers with special permits, issued by the emperor, had the right to use their services. These were official messengers, in the first place: *agentes in rebus*, who transmitted emperor's messages to military and provincial authorities, *domestici et protectores*, sent by the emperor on particularly sensitive missions, and *mittendarii*, couriers of pretorial *praefectus* and *comes* of the imperial treasury. Except for the messengers that transmitted emperor's messages, permits could also be obtained by bishops, court personnel, high officials and military commanders. See: M. Vasić, G. Milošević, *Mansio Idimum*, Beograd 2000, 129-139 (= Vasić, *Mansio*).

were permanent residents, took care of travelers' animals and the postal system.⁹⁰⁷ Judging by written sources and archaeological excavation, three different types of *mansiones* can be established. Those of the urban type were within urban settlements and were composed of a single large building, dispersed in a block of buildings. The other type were mansions beside forts, most often on the adjacent road, next to the fort entrance. These were composed of a single large building with a courtyard in the middle. In their vicinity, down the road, *vici* gradually developed. The third type of stations were built next to the *vici*. Some of them had ramparts which protected them and at the same time separated them from the facilities of the *vici*. People on the road, travelling the empire for various purposes, trade, pilgrimage⁹⁰⁸ could spend the night and use other services provided in the settlements along the road stations. In certain places by the road, inns and wells were to be found, while the security was provided by numerous watchtowers, towers and forts, as well as by military camps and fortified towns. Although the structure, in great measure, depended on the climate, available material, and the season in which the construction and repair took place, some essential characteristics were common for all Roman roads. One of the most obvious traits of Roman roads were short and straight segments, which often changed directions suddenly. The goal was to conquer space in as easier and shorter direction as possible. Roman surveyors avoided ravines and mounds, adapting route to the terrain. They chose the most suitable directions, probably using the local population's experience. A road was delimited with two parallel ditches, between which foundations were layered on a firm, levelled roadbed. The layering of the roadbed was carried out through several layers of different thickness in order to provide drainage, which was essential for the maintenance of the road's compactness and solidity. The width of a road depended on its function and importance, as well as on the quality of the soil. Roads with firm foundations allowing for vehicle traffic (so-called *viae munitae*), were mainly macadam roads in Dalmatia (*viae glareatae*), 3.5 – 4 m wide, paved with stone blocks only in the vicinity of major settlements or when crossing swamplands. At the same time, the most important Roman roads (*decumani maximi*), such as *Via Apia* or *Via Flavia*, were up to 12 m wide.

907 V. Petrović, *Дарданија у римским итинерерима. Градови и насеља*, Београд 2007, 70 (= Petrović, *Дарданија*); Tilburg, *Trafic*, 46, 56.

908 Vasić, *Mansio*, 80, 138-139.

Next to the main roads, massive cylindrical columns of marble or granite (so-called milestones) were placed, most often at an interval of 1 Roman mile (1480 m), with carved-in information on distances between stations, and about rulers and officials which were in charge of constructing and maintaining the road, and of construction of individual segments.⁹⁰⁹

Although a systematic archaeological research of Roman roads in the Balkan Peninsula has not been conducted yet, we can assume with great certainty that some of them followed old, pre-Roman ways. Recently discovered prehistoric settlements in the vicinity of the sections of *Via militaris* (the most important Roman road in the Balkans that connected the Pannonian Basin with the eastern Mediterranean) confirm this as well.⁹¹⁰ Results of archaeological excavations conducted in Srem, area next to the northernmost border of the Peninsula, support this assumption by indicating that there was a continuity of communications and settlements in this part of Pannonia. Pre-Roman settlements such as *vici* and *pagi* are given the function of way stations in Roman times. Smaller settlements such as *aedificias* lasted up to the middle of the first century AD when, as if by a rule, they ceased to exist, replaced by agricultural estates, *villae rusticae*.⁹¹¹ A great number of preserved cart tracks corroborates that there

909 Bojanovski, *Dolabelin sistem*, 27, 31; Петровић, *Дарданија*, 26-27, 30, 36-37; Tilburg, *Trafic*, 15-28.

910 In the vicinity of the Roman settlement *Praesidium Pompei*, adjacent to the present-day Aleksinac, a Bronze Age necropolis containing cremated skeletons was discovered on the site of *Školska gradina*. Fragments of Iron Age ceramics were also discovered, as well as a Celtic sword dated to the second/first century BC. Not far from *Školska gradina*, a waste pit containing Late La Tene material was discovered. Due to the fact that this pit contained waste material discharged from settlements or households, it was assumed that this settlement represented remains of a Celtic settlement. Prehistoric settlements dating from the Early Neolithic period and Bronze Age were discovered in the vicinity of the present-day Dimitrovgrad, in the course of a research undertaken on the Roman road section. See: Д. Рашковић, *Римско насеље Praesidium Pompei. Римљани у Алексиначкој котлини*, Ниш и Византија: Зборник радова 5, Ниш 2007, 206-208 (= Рашковић, *Римско насеље*); М. Лазић, *Римски пут Via militaris код Цариброда*, XXXIV Скупштина и годишњи скуп Српског археолошког друштва, Краљево 2011, 54 (= Лазић, *Римски пут*).

911 О. Брукнер, *Домородачка насеља*, Археолошка истраживања дуж аутопута кроз Срем, Нови Сад 1995, 91-136; О. Брукнер, *Римска насеља и виле рустике*, Археолошка истраживања дуж аутопута кроз Срем, Нови Сад 1995, 137-174; А. Јовановић, *Arheološke beleške iz antičke prošlosti Panonije*, Balkan i Panonija kroz istoriju, Novi Sad – Sremska Mitrovica 2005, 11-12.

was a continuity of some terrestrial communications in the Roman province of Dalmatia. This kind of vehicle-made furrows points to Celtic and Illirian beginnings of the basic road network, but is insufficiently researched to come to any final conclusions, unlike in Noricum, Raetia or Gaul.⁹¹²

In the first couple of centuries after Roman conquest, new roads gradually outlined and crisscrossed the entire Balkan Peninsula, allowing for military and economic settling of the Empire, and its defence. Along the northern, eastern and western frontier of the Peninsula, by following the rim of the Pannonian Plain, the Pontic, Aegean, Ionic and Adriatic coastline, roads were constructed that defined the frame within which all important, main and local communications would spring up. Along the southern rim of the Pannonian Plain, roads lay, following the course of the rivers Sava, Drava and Danube, connecting Aquileia on the Adriatic, via Singidunum, with the northern Pontus. In the south, one of the most important and oldest Roman roads in the Balkans was an extension of the Italic *Via Appia*, connecting the Adriatic ports Appolonia and Dyrrachium, via Thessalonica, with Byzantium. South of this route, communications lay between ancient Greek towns, while the central Balkan area in the north was crisscrossed with a road network connecting the Adriatic coast with the rivers Sava and Danube and the roads leading from the Danubian lands towards the Aegean and the Propontis.

Aquileia was the starting point of the main communications connecting Italy with Noricum and Pannonia, across the Alps and further on to the river Danube via the river Sava and Drava, and also with the interior of Dalmatia by the eastern coast of Adriatic. The construction of these communications commenced already in the days of Augustus, when the Appenine Peninsula was connected with Pannonia and Noricum with the Aquileia – Emona route, across the Alps.⁹¹³ This track overlapped with the ancient Amber Road that connected the Mediterranean and the Baltic.⁹¹⁴ This road, known as *Via Gemina*, led up to Emona along the stations

912 E. Pašalić, *Antička naselja i komunikacije u Bosni i Hercegovina*, Sarajevo 1960, 103-104. (= Pašalić, *Antička naselja*)

913 Bojanovski, *Dolabelin sistem*, 15.

914 The old merchant road began at Aquileia on the Adriatic coast, followed the direction Emona – Celeia – Poetovio – Sala – Savaria – Scarbantia, and reached Carnuntum, situated on the Danube limes, from where it passed into Germania. In Poetovio, a traffic way heading to the south of the Drava valley branched off. See: S. Andrić, *Južna Panonija u doba velike seobe naroda*, *Scrinia Slavica* 2 (2002) 120, 123. (= Andrić, *Južna Panonija*)

Ponte Sonti, In Alpe Iulia, Longatico and Nauporto.⁹¹⁵ The junction in the Ljubljana basin separated into two roads, one along the river Drava, the other along the river Sava, both leading to Sirmium and then, rejoined, to Singidunum and Viminatium.⁹¹⁶ The northern road passed the stations Sauo Fl., Ad Publicanos, Adrante, Celeia, Ragandone, Petauione, Remista, Aqua Uiuia, Populos, Botiuo, Sonista, Piretis, Luntulis, Iouia, Sirotis, Bolentio, Marmianis, Seronis, Berebis, Iouallio and Mursa Minor to the present-day Osijek (Mursa Maior), where was an important road knot.⁹¹⁷ From the west

915 Ponte Sonti (Pons Sonti) was probably located at Rubi, on the river Soča. The station In Alpe Iulia was, according to G. Škrivanić, in Kruška gora, and Longatico in Logatac. P. Petru's opinion was that the station In Alpe Iulia was located at the ancient fortification at Lanišče near Čogatac, which occupied a central position in the middle section of the Alpine passage's defence. Nauporto (Nauportus) was a military camp in the Late Antiquity, at the site of the present-day village of Vrhniko. See: Шкриванић, *Југословенске земље*, 39; P. Petru, *Najnovija istraživanja Juljskih Alpa*, Osječki zbornik 12 (1969) 6-9, 12. (= Petru, *Najnovija istraživanja*).

916 These two main communications were interconnected by numerous side roads. Remains of the local roads passing through the gorge of Požega have been recently uncovered at the localities of Radovanci and Velika. See: K. Minichreiter, *Arheološki lokaliteti na trasama cesta Požeške kotline*, Ann. Inst. archaeol. 1 (2005) 80-81.

917 Stations Sauo Fl. and Ad Publicanos were located at the sites of the present-day villages of Laza and Vača, situated on the river Sava. Adrante is the present-day village of Trojane. Celeia is the present-day town of Celje, from where the road stretched to Virnum (Maria Saal/Gospa Sveta) in Austria. From there, the Pannonian road joined the numerous roads leading from western parts of the Empire. Station Ragandone was located at the site Belo Mesto, in the vicinity of the village of Čadram. Petauione is the present-day town of Ptuj. Station Remista was situated at the site of the present-day village of Formin. Ubication of the station Aqua Viva has not been established with certainty. According to the majority of researchers, this station was located near the present-day village of Petrijanec. Populos was situated on the river of Plitvica, south-east of Varaždin. The settlement Iovia-Botivo was situated at the site of the village of Ludbreg, and the station of Sonista near Kunovec. Piretis was located at the site of the village of Vlajislava. Luntulis is the present-day town of Đurđevac. Station Iouia was situated at the site of the present-day village of Kloštar, while Sirotis was located at the village of Orašac and Gašišće. Bolentio was situated near Sopja, Marmianis at the site of Donji Miholjevac. Station Seronis was situated at the site of the present-day village of Viljevo, and Berebis at the site of the present-day village of Podravski Podgajci. Station Iouallio stood at the site of the present-day town of Valpovo, while Mursa Minor was at the site of the village of Petrijevci, on the river Drava. See: Шкриванић, *Југословенске земље*, 39-40; B. Vikić-Belančić, *Tipovi naselja u severozapadnoj Hrvatskoj*, Antički gradovi i naselja u južnoj Panoniji i graničnim područjima, Beograd

led another traffic way, along the Drava road, that cut across the land between the rivers Sava and Drava, by the Siscia – Varianae – Aquae Balissae – Incerum – Stravianae – Mursa Maior route.⁹¹⁸ Communications to Pecs (Sopianae), and Nemetin (Ad Labores) on the *limes*, and to Aquinicum, commenced from Osijek.⁹¹⁹ The eastward road from Osijek passed by the stations Ad Labores, Pont Ulcae, Cibalae, Cansilena, Ulmo and Spaneta to Sirmium, the capital of Pannonia, beside which was a large station of *beneficarii consularis* with a shrine to Jupiter.⁹²⁰ From Sirmium, the road passed by the stations Bassianis and Idimino to Taurunum (the present-day Zemun), where it joined the Danubian road coming in from Aquinicum.⁹²¹

1977, 42-44; I. Šarić, *Antičko naselje u Petrijancu*, Antički gradovi i naselja u južnoj Panoniji i graničnim područjima, Beograd 1977, 49-62; M. Bulat, *Stanje istraživanja antičkih naselja u Slavoniji*, Antički gradovi i naselja u južnoj Panoniji i graničnim područjima, Beograd 1977, 63-87 (= Bulat, *Stanje istraživanja*).

918 Stations lying on this road have not been localized with certainty. Its route could have followed the direction northwards of Slavonsko gorje or passed between Psunj and Ravna gora. See: Andrić, *Južna Panonija*, 122.

919 Sections of the road Mursa – Aquinicum were discovered at Bilje. See: D. Pinterović, *Problemi u istraživanju limesa na sektoru Batina Skela – Ilok*, Osječki zbornik 12 (1969) 57 (= Pinterović, *Problemi istraživanja limesa*); M. Bulat, *Topografska istraživanja limesa u Slavoniji i Baranji*, Osječki zbornik 12 (1969) 45.

920 The route of the Roman road passing through Srem, from Tovarnik to Zemun, was reconstructed in its entirety, and its length was 115 km. The station Ulmo was located at Orašje, between Tovarnik and Šid, while *mutatio* Spaneta was near the village of Kukujevac. See: D. Popović, *Glavna antička komunikacija u Sremu u svjetlu arheoloških istraživanja*, Putevi i komunikacije u antici, Materijali 17, Beograd 1980, 101-105.

The remains of the *beneficarii* station at Sirmium were discovered in 1988, outside Roman ramparts, in the vicinity of the western gate, located on the border-line of the big necropolis. A surface area of approximately 25 000 m² was researched, with the most important segment of the construction complex. Its size downgraded the well-known station of Osterburken in Germany to a second place. For further information on this station, see: M. Mirković, M. Jeremić, P. Milošević, *Sirmium. Beneficijarna stanica*, Arheološki pregljed 1988, Ljubljana 1990, 157-160; B. Поповић, *Sirmium. Град царева и мученика*, Сремска Митровица 2003, 187-197.

921 According to *Tabula Peutingeriana*, stations Bassianis (Donji Petrovci) and Idimino (Ugrinovci) were located along the road Sirmium-Singidunum. According to *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, *mutatio* Noviciana and *mutatio* Altina were on the same route. These stations could correspond to Roman archaeological sites around the villages of Vojka and Ugrinovci, as well as to those in Zemun Polje. A section of the Roman road stretching 8 km westwards was discovered in the area of Batajnica in 1958. See: Шкриванић, *Југословенске*

This *limes*-trailing road passed by the forts of Teutoburgium, Cornacum, Cuccuium, Malata or Bononia, Cusum, Acumincum, Rittium, Burgenaema and Taurunum, before reaching Singidunum.⁹²²

The southern road, going along the Sava, started in Emona and passed through the stations of Aceruone, Ad Protorium, Crucio, Nouiodum, Romula, Quadrata, Ad Fines reached Siscia, from where the road forked toward Osijek, Ptuj and Senj.⁹²³ The road to Sirmium, after passing the river Kupa, turned southward to the Moštanica village, where it turned east, toward Baćin and Dubica. The road continued south of the Sava, by the way station Ad Praetorium, until the crossing between Servitia and Urbata. Further on, the road kept on following the river Sava, passing the stations Marsonie, Saldis and Drinum. The road crossed the river Sava three times: in the Pričaci village, between Gunja and Račinovci, and in Sirmium.⁹²⁴ Beside this southern Siscia - Sirmium connection that

земље, 41; D. Dimitrijević, *Istraživanje rimskog limesa u istočnom Sremu s posebnim osvrtom na pitanje komunikacija*, Osječki zbornik 12 (1969) 84-85.

922 Teutoburgium is the present-day Dalj. Remains of the road connecting Sirmium with Teutoburgium, joining the main road trailing the Danubian limes, were found between Ilok and Tovarnik. Cornacum was situated at the site of the present-day Sotin, while Cuccuium was at the present-day Ilok. Malata or Bononia is the present-day Banoštor, where a harbour used to be, that was connected to Sirmium across the Fruška gora mountain. The stations Cusum, Acumincum, Rittium and Burgenaem were located on the sites of the present-day settlements of Petrovaradin, Stari Slankamen, Surduk and Banovci. See: Pinterović, *Problemi istraživanja limesa*, 56; Bulat, *Stanje istraživanja*, 77-80; Andrić, *Južna Panonija*, 127-128; K. Minichreiter, *Arheološki lokaliteti na trasi Iločke transverzale, brze ceste od Iloka do Lipovca*, Ann. Inst. archaeol. 3 (2007) 90-91.

923 Aceruone was at the site of the present-day Višnja Gora. The station Ad Protorium was at the site of the present-day village of Trebnje, near Novo Mesto. The station Crucio stood at the site of the present-day Novo Mesto. Nouiodum was located at the site of the present-day village of Ozalj. Romula stood at the site of the present-day village of Dubovac, whereas Quadrata was located at the site of the present-day village of Vojnić. Ad Fines was situated at the site of the present-day town of Glina. Siscia was located at the present-day Sisak. A big road junction was in Siscia, from where the roads towards Osijek, Ptuj, Ljubljana and Senj led. See: Шкриванић, *Југословенске земље*, 42-43; I. Bojanovski, *Prilozi za topografiju rimskih i predrimskih komunikacija i naselja u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji IV. Rimska cesta Siscia – Sirmium (Tab. Peut.) i njena topografija*, Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka istraživanja 22/20 (1984) 155. (= Bojanovski, *Prilozi IV*)

924 The station Ad Praetorium was located at the present-day village of Gornji Baćin. Servitium, an important road junction and the seat of the *praefectus* of the river flotilla, was located at the present-day Bosanska Gradiška, at the site

went along the river Sava, there was an alternative direction north of the river Sava, between the rivers Sava and Drava, passing the stations Varianae, Menneianae, Incerum, Picentium, Leuconum and Certissa all the way to Cibalae.⁹²⁵ A segment of this road starting in Certissa, connected the southern road by the river Sava with the road by the river Drava. The same segment connected the present day Slavonski Brod (Marsonie) and Vinkovci (Cibalae).⁹²⁶

Along the old way that led through the Morava valley, that chief natural connection between the Pannonian Plain and the Mediterranean, the Romans constructed a new way, *Via militaris*, along the route of an old one. *Via militaris* is one of the most important terrestrial communications between the East and the West, connecting Singidunum with Byzantium (Constantinopolis). Several great junctions lay on this road, 624 Roman miles long (about 924 km), at Viminatium, Naissus, Serdica, Philippopolis and Hadrianopolis, which forked into roads to different parts of the Balkan Peninsula and the Empire.

From Singidunum, *Via militaris* trailed right of the river Danube until Viminatium, passing the stations Tricornio, Monte Aureo and the municipium of Margum.⁹²⁷ Viminatium, the greatest urban settlement in

of the Turkish fortress of Berbir. The station Urbate was most probably located in Srpcce, at the site of Cagangrad. Marsonia was the present-day town of Slavonski Brod. Stations Ad Basantem, Saldis and Drinum fl. were situated at Županja, Posavski Podgajci and Brodac. See: Bojanovski, *Prilozi IV*, 161-222.

925 *Itinerarium Antonini* contains information about the road Siscia – Certissa. The station Varianae was most likely located in the vicinity of Kutina, and Menneianae at the foothill of Psunj. According to S. Andrić's hypothesis, the station Incerum was located near Požega, while M. Bulat identified it as gradina, near Tekić. Andrić suggested Ruševo and Levanjska Varoš as possible locations of the stations Picentium and Leuconum. Certissa was situated at the site of Štrbinci, near Đakovo. See: M. Bulat, *Stanje istraživanja*, 81-83; Andrić, *Južna Panonija*, 122.

926 Plentiful archaeological sites have been discovered south of the village of Gundinci, representing remains of a bigger settlement (*vicus*), located on the road Siscia – Sirmium. See: M. Dizdar, *Terenski pregled dela trase višenamjenskoga kanala Dunav - Sava*, *Ann. Inst. archaeol.* 4 (2008) 104.

927 From Singidunum, the Roman road led to the hill Bajdina, where the station Ad Sextum, attested in *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum*, most likely stood. The road continued further on towards the Mlakovački stream, then followed the course of the Danube and reached Ritopek, where the station Tricornio was located. The road stretched from Ritopek, passed by Provalije and Plavinci, and reached the area between the bank of the river Danube, the hill called Careva glavica, and the present-day Grocka, the Roman station Ad sextum miliare. Monte Aureo has not been precisely located. It was most probably

Moesia Superior, developed near the confluence of the Mlava and Danube, an important fork of three roads.⁹²⁸ The first one was an extension of *Via militaris* towards south, the second one led along the river Danube toward the Black Sea, and the third one went through Laderata toward north.⁹²⁹ After Viminatium, *Via militaris* was suddenly turning southwards to reach the town of Horreum Margi (the present-day Ćuprija, at the meeting of the rivers Ravanica and Morava) by passing the route Municipium – Iovis Pagum – Bao – Idimum – Ad Octavum.⁹³⁰

A local road commenced at the site of a bridge, of which remains were still visible in the nineteenth century, and led to the mining areas in

situated at the site of the present-day village of Brestovik, south-east of Grocka. *Municipium* Margum was situated on the right bank of the river Morava, near its confluence with Danube, in the vicinity of the present-day village of Orašje. On this location, a settlement of the pre-Roman era was confirmed. In the first century AD, Margum was one of the most important settlements lying in the western part of the Moesian limes, and represented a significant strategic point defending passage from the valley of Morava to the south. It has not been confirmed whether this settlement had the status of colony, like Singidunum and Viminatium. In the sources dating from the fourth to the sixth century, it was mentioned as *civitas*. Further information on this settlement in the aftermath of the Hunnic invasion of the fifth century remain uncertain. See: M. Mirković, *Rimski gradovi na Dunavu u Gornjoj Meziji*, Beograd 1968, 49-55. (= Mirković, *Rimski gradovi*); Шкриванић, *Југословенске земље*, 44; D. Bojović, *Rimski put Singidunum – Castra Tricornia – Ad Sextum miliare*, Putevi i komunikacije u antici, Materijali 17, Beograd 1980, 86-88.

928 For further information on Viminatium, see: Љ. Зоковић, Ч. Јордовић, *Viminacium. Некропола „Више гробаља“*, Beograd 1990; М. Кораћ, *Slikarstvo grobnica u Viminacijumi*, Beograd 2000; Д. Спасић-Ђурић, *Виминацијум: Главни град римске провинције Горње Мезије*, Пожаревац 2002; М. Кораћ, *Slikarstvo Viminacijuma*, Beograd 2007; М. Кораћ, *Viminacium. Više grobalja 2*, Beograd 2007.

929 Mirković, *Rimski gradovi*, 56.

930 The road stretched southwards, parallel to the course of the river Velika Morava, along the valley of Mlava, and reached the present-day Ćuprija (Horeum Margi) from the north, after having crossed the river Resava. *Mansio* Municipium was located at the Plateau of Gradac, near the village of Kalište, where a fortification dating from the fourth century was discovered. Archaeological research of the *vicus* that was located in the proximity of this station confirms the continuity of this settlement's existence, encompassing the period from the second to the sixth century. The remains of the settlement Iovis Pagus were found not far from Gradina on Busur, whereas *mutatio* Bao most likely stood in the vicinity of the present-day Ćovdin. The remains of Idimum were confirmed in the proximity of the present-day village of Medveđa, on the river Resava. Ad Octavium was situated in the area of the present-day village of Glogovac. See: Vasić, *Idimum*, 139-158; Петровић, *Дарданија*, 67-75.

Šumadija; somewhat more to the south, through the valley of the Western Morava, led a road to the river Drina and the mining district of *Domavia-Argentaria*.⁹³¹ Two important junctions on this road were at the mouth of the river Ibar and at the ancient settlement on the site of the present-day Čačak, with a *beneficarii consularis* station. The main traffic road towards south stretched along the Ibar valley, as confirmed by a string of sites from the Antiquity,⁹³² while the Roman route leading northwards stretched along the Gruža valley, up to the rich mining districts and the mount Rudnik, from where it followed the course of the rivers Ljig and Kolubara, through the present-day villages of Stojnik, Guberevac and Barajevo, finally reaching Singidunum.⁹³³ A traffic road going towards south from the present-day Čačak, across the mountain Jelica, led to Novi Pazar, while another road towards north passed through Trbušani, Prijedor, Družetić and Vlajkovci, reaching Valjevo and the road that followed the course of the rivers Jadar and Kolubara.⁹³⁴

From *Horreum Margi*, *Via militaris* went through *Sarmatae*, *Praesidium Dasmini*, *Cametae*, *Praesidium Pompei* and *Gramrianae* (*Rapiana*), all along the rivers of Velika Morava and Južna Morava, and reached Naissus, the next important junction of the Balkans.⁹³⁵ One of the oldest

931 М. Зотовић, *Југозападна Србија у доба Римљана*, Ужички зборник 2 (1973) 29; Т. Михаиловић, *Антички локалитети у околини Краљева*, Археолошка налазишта Крушевца и околине, Крушевац-Београд 2001, 230. (= Михаиловић, *Антички локалитети*)

932 These include the necropolis Lanište in the village Korlaće, dating from the Late Antiquity, a constructed tomb in Baljevac, and several fortification and settlement types. See: Михаиловић, *Антички локалитети*, 231.

933 The confluence of Gruža at Kraljevo opens the passage to a fertile valley leading northwards, towards the mountain of Rudnik. Precisely at that location there was a settlement with a brickworks at its rim. See: Г. Шкриванић, *Путеви у средњовековној Србији*, Београд 1974, 103, 104; Михаиловић, *Антички локалитети*, 227.

934 Even though the description of this road dates back to the eighteenth century, the two sites at the village of Prijedor, dating from the Late Antiquity, attest that its route at least partly followed the route of the communication line from the Antiquity. See: М. Исаиловић, *Ваљево и околне области у средњем веку*, Ваљево 1989, 70, 72; М. Васић, *Касноантичка налазишта у Чачку и околини*, Богородица Градачка у историји српског народа, Чачак 1993, 10-11, 15; П. Петровић, *Из епиграфске збирке чачанског музеја*, Богородица Градачка у историји српског народа, Чачак 1993, 23-24; Д. Булић, *Манастир Илиње код Овчар Бање. Рановизантијско и средњовековно утврђење*, Историјски часопис 53 (2006) 69.

935 *Mutatio Sarmate* was the first station on the territory of Naissus. Of the following ones, only the station *Praesidium Pompei*, located in the area of the villages of Rutevac and Čićin, was precisely localized. From there a local road led

and most important traffic ways in the Balkan Peninsula went through the valleys of Timok and Salaška rivers; from Naissus, it connected the central Balkan regions with Ratiaria on the river Danube. The stations on this 91 mile (about 130 km) long road were: Timacum Maius, Timacum Minus and Combustica.⁹³⁶ The northern section of the Timok road led along the shores of the river Beli Timok towards the basin of Zaječar, from where it branched off into three ways leading to Taliata, Bononia and Aquae. The roads leading to the present-day Pirot (Turres), Morava valley and the mining areas between the rivers Beli Timok and Crni Timok joined the road Naissus – Ratiaria at a natural junction between the rivers

towards the valley of Timok. The second auxiliary road led towards the river Južna Morava, and crossed it near the village of Bobovište. Farmers found its remains while digging through this terrain at the end of the nineteenth century. From the passage on the Morava, this road passed through the lower ranges of Mojsinje mountains, stretched towards the valley of Zapadna Morava and further west. According to D. Rašković, the main road *Via militaris* probably crossed the river Južna Morava and continued southwards via Prčilovica and Tešica; from Supovac, the road followed the right river bank. See: Д. Рашковић, *Рекогностицирање античких локалитета и комуникација на подручју Мојсињских и Послонских планина*, Гласник САД 14 (1998) 185; Петровић, *Дарданија*, 67-75; Рашковић, *Римско насеље*, 214.

- 936 Judging by archaeological excavations, Timacum Maius was probably located close to the village of Nišavac, at the site of a big settlement, primarily situated on the left bank of the river Timok; it was only during the third and the fourth centuries, that it expanded onto the right bank as well. The Roman road most probably led from Naissus, via the villages of Mlanče and Vrela to the Pass of Gramada, from where it stretched towards north-west and the village of Plužine. From Plužine, it led to Niševac and Svrlijig Fort. The Roman military camp Timacum Minus was situated at the present-day village of Ravno, in the vicinity of Knjaževac. It was the oldest Roman fortification in the region of Timok. Today, it is under protection, and archaeological excavations are being carried out. Combustica was located at the site of the present-day Kladorup. See: V. P. Petrović, V. Filipović, *Newly-discovered Traces of the Roman Naissus. Ratiaria Road and the Problem of Locating Two Timacum Stations*, *Balcanica* 38 (2007) 40; V. P. Petrović, V. Filipović, *Locating the Timacum Maius Station on the Roman Road Lissus - Naissus - Ratiaria. New Archeological Research*, *Balcanica* 39 (2008) 56-57; V. P. Petrović, V. Filipović, *The Roman Station Timacum Maius (?) Evidence of Urbanization and Communications*, *Balcanica* 40 (2009) 26-29; М. Ромер-Благојевић, Г. Милошевић, М. Николић, *Истраживање могућности обнове и презентације археолошког локалитета Timacum Minus у контексту специфичног културног пејзажа*, Гласник Друштва конзерватора Србије 33 (2009) 101-108; Петровић, *Дарданија*, 82-83, 87; В. П. Петровић, В. Филиповић, *Положај станице Timacum Maius на римском путу Lissus - Naissus - Ratiaria*, Гласник Друштва конзерватора Србије 34 (2010) 63-67.

Svrljiški Timok and Trgoviški Timok. The mineral wealth of the surrounding mountains had a significant effect on the development of the relatively spread out road network in the area of Gornji Timok, in addition to the favourable geographic position. Because of this natural wealth, roads were constructed, connecting forts with the mining districts on Tupižnica and Stara Planina.⁹³⁷

From Naissus, a road trailed through the valley of the river Nišava and reached the Sofia Valley, across the watershed that was the borderline between Moesia and Thrace. Along this segment of road there were the stations Radices, Ulmus, Remesiana, Latina, Turres and Meldia.⁹³⁸ From Serdica, *Via militaris* passed through Sparata, Egerica, Zirmis and Lissae and reached Philippopolis, from where the roads leading to valley of the Danube and the Adriatic Sea branched off.⁹³⁹ Hadrianopolis was the next

937 The road passed along the valley of Trgoviški Timok and followed direction of Turres. The road stretching along the valleys of river Grezanska and Moravica led towards the station Praesedium Pompei. At the village of Balevac, a communication line branched off this road, leading towards the valley of Crni Timok. See: П. Петровић, *Римљани на Тимоку*, Археологија источне Србије, Београд 1997, 119-121; С. Јовановић, *Античке комуникације у Горњем Тимоку*, Гласник Српског археолошког друштва 14 (1998) 41-55.

938 Remesiana was an ancient settlement situated at the site of the present-day Bela Palanka. Its status has not been precisely determined, and was probably changing through time. The vicinity of a rich mining area greatly contributed to the development of the settlement. Two local roads led to this area: the first stretched towards Vlasina and Pautala, and the second along the river Svrljiški Timok. *Mansio* Turres was located at the site of the present-day Pirot. Local roads most likely spread from this site towards Timacum Maius, as well as towards the south-west and the present-day Babušnica. The exact sites where the remaining stations stood have not been accurately determined. Radices was located in the vicinity of the present-day Prosek or Jelašnica, Ulmus at the site of Medena stena, Latina near Crnoklište and Staničenje, or at the mouth of the river Temnišica, while Meldia was situated between the present-day Dragoman and Slivnica. See: И. Велковъ, *Стари римски пјтишта и селища въ днешнитѣ български граници*, Българска историческа библиотека 2/4 (1929) 49 (= Велковъ, *Стари*); Петровић, *Дарданија*, 75-81. For the first time in Serbia, a Roman road, preserved nearly in its entirety, was excavated between the stations of Turres and Meldia, during the archaeological excavations undertaken in 2010. The researched section is 38.70 meters long. The road is 7.50 meters wide, composed of uneven trimmed pieces of limestone. The road followed the right bank of the river Nišava, near Gojinodolski kale, from where it continued towards the Bulgarian border. See: Лазић, *Римски пут*, 54.

939 Sparata was located at the site of the present-day Vakarel, Egerica at the site of the present-day Ihtiman, while Lissae was situated at the site of the present-day Vetren. From Philippopolis, in the vicinity of the present-day Plovdiv, two

important junction. The road to it passed by the stations Syrnota, Parembole, Ranilum (Cellae), Carasura, Pizus, Arzus, Subzupara and Ramae.⁹⁴⁰ In Hadrianopolis three rivers merged: the Hebros (Marica), Artiskos (Arda) and Tonzus (Tundža), and the roads leading to the Propontis, Pontus and Aegean joined there as well. The road to Byzantium stretched towards south-east, via Ostudizus (Nike), Burtudizus, Bergule (Virgolis), Narcum, Drusipara, Tipsum, Tzurullum, Beoduzum and reached Perinthos (Heraclea).⁹⁴¹ The roads leading to Anchialus on the Black Sea branched off at the stations Ostudizus and Drusipara, while *Via militaris* joined up in Perinthos with *Via Egnatia* that was starting in Dyrrachium.⁹⁴²

There were two ways from Perinthos to Byzantium: the sea route, along the shores of the bay, and the hill road, passing through the hinterland. The older Roman road, Eutropius' *strata verus*, registered in *Tabula Peutingeriana* and *Itinerarium Antonini*, led from Perinthos into the interior

important routes stretched: the first northwards, towards Oecus on the Danube, and the second towards the Adriatic Sea, via Nicopolis ad Nestum. See: Велковъ, *Стари*, 53, 59; К. Јиречек, *Војна цеста од Београда за Цариград*, Зборник Константина Јиречека I (уред. М. Динић), Београд 1959, 94 (= Јиречек, *Војна цеста*); Л. Тонев, *Градоустройството по българските земи през античноста*, София 1995, 65 (= Тонев, *Градоустройството*).

940 Syrnota (Sernota) was positioned at approximately 10 miles from Philippopolis, at the bridge crossing the Sermius (the present-day Stanimačka river). The fortification Parembole was situated in the vicinity of the village of Papazli. The fortification Carasura was located at the present-day village of Karasarly, from where the road stretching towards Augusta Traiana branched off. The Fortification Opizus or Pizus was positioned between Almali and Haskej. The remains of the fortification lying between Mali Irendžik and Uzundžova might be the remains of Arzus. The town of Subzupara (Castrum Jarba, Castozbra) was probably located in the vicinity of the present-day Harmanli, at the estuary of Uzundža. A borderline between the province of Thrace and Hemimont passed by *mutatio* Ramae. See: Велковъ, *Стари*, 56-57; К. Јиречек, *Војна цеста од Београда за Цариград*, Зборник Константина Јиречека I (уред. М. Динић), Београд 1959, 104-106. (= Јиречек, *Војна цеста*).

941 Ostudizus (Nike) was situated at the present-day Hafsa. The fortified *mansio* Burtudizus secured passage across Teka Deresi, which was a borderline between the province of Hemimont and Europe in the Late Roman era. Town Bergule (Virgolis), renamed Arcadiopolis during the Emperor Arcadius' reign, was located at the site of the present-day Lile Burgas. *Mansio* Drusipara (Drysiporo, Drizupara, Drusipera, Drizipera) was situated on a small hill, in the proximity of the present-day Karištiran. Perinthos (Heraclea) was an ancient Samian colony, founded c. 600 BC. See: Јиречек, *Војна цеста*, 107-109.

942 The road stretching from Ostudizus towards Anhiala was noted in *Tabula Peutingeriana*. See: Јиречек, *Војна цеста*, 107.

and the Caenophrurium fort. The road intersected the one coming from Bizya at the site of the present-day Indžigis. Melanthias was the last station on the road before Byzantium. The sea route led from Perinthus via Braunnae, Selymbria, Callum and Athyra.⁹⁴³

In the immediate vicinity of Byzantium, the roads leading from Dyrrachium and the Adriatic Sea, those from Viminatium, the Danube valley and the Black Sea, all joined the branches of *Via militaris*. Although *Via militaris* was the shortest way from Viminatium to Byzantium, a traveler in the Antiquity could also reach the city on the Bosphorus by the road that followed the Danubian *limes* and the Black Sea coast.⁹⁴⁴ This road was divided into two segments. The first passed along the right bank of the Danube, up to its mouth in the Black Sea and the station Ad Stoma, while the second road stretched along the western coast of the Black Sea, from Ad Stoma to Byzantium on the south.

Road construction on the *limes* in Upper Moesia began in the first century AD. It carried an exceptional strategic significance and was one of the most important construction projects of the Roman world. The works undertaken during the first stage of construction were mainly committed to the construction of a terrestrial road through the nearly impassable Đerdap gorge, and to improving navigation, which in the Antiquity could be done on this section of the Danube only by hauling.⁹⁴⁵ This traffic road, finished in Emperor Trajan's time, connected forts on the Danube, and, after joining the roads in Pannonia, enabled connection with Italy.⁹⁴⁶ Troops from one part of the Empire travelled to another by using this road. Although the road linking Italy to the eastern provinces was longer, the Roman emperors frequently traveled on it while journeying east, since important military camps lay along it. The economic significance of the road considerably grew after the conquest of Dacia and after peaceful trade and traffic of goods were secured.⁹⁴⁷ Roads leading to Dacia and further

943 Јиречек, *Војна цеста*, 109-112.

944 Construction of the road passing along the Danubian *limes*, representing a terrestrial communication link between the river Inn and the Black Sea, was completed by the end of the second century AD. For further information on the Danube in the Roman period, see: J. J. Wilkes, *The Roman Danube. An Archeological Survey*, *The Journal of Roman Studies* 95 (2005) 124-225.

945 П. Петровић, *Римски пут у Ђердапу*, *Старинар* 37 (1986) 41.

946 For further information regarding this section of the *limes*, see: *Roman Limes on the Middle and Lower Danube*, Belgrade 1996.

947 Mirković, *Rimski gradovi*, 31-32.

north set out from it, at Viminatium, Faliatis and Egeta. Its first section passed by many stations located along it, among which Vicus Cuppae, Taliata, Egeta, Bononia, Ratiaria, Oescus, Ad Novas, Durostorum, Sucidava, Axiopolis, Noviodunum, Aegyssus and Ad Stoma were of particular importance.⁹⁴⁸

The other section of the Viminatium – Byzantium road started off in the Danube Delta and reached Byzantium after passing through the important Pontic ports of Tomis, Odessos and Ancialis. The overall length of this section was approximately 1045 miles (1547 km).⁹⁴⁹

Parallel to the Danubian route of the Viminatium – Byzantium, another two routes existed: : Melta – Nicopolis ad Istrum – Marcianopolis

948 Vicus Cuppae was positioned at the present-day town of Golubac. Taliata was located in the vicinity of the present-day Donji Milanovac, at the curve of the river Danube, where a wide passage to the south opened. Numerous fortifications defended the passage towards the hinterland of Moesia. Egeta was positioned at the site of the present-day Brza Palanka. The two roads stretching from Taliata joined at that location: the longer one, leading along the Danube valley, and the shorter, terrestrial road via Miroč. Bononia was located at Vidin. Ratiaria, the only Trajan's colony in Upper Moesia, was situated at the present-day Arčar. It gained the status of a colony thanks to its position; it was situated at the shortest communication line leading from the river Danube to the Adriatic Sea, via Naissus. The colony of Oescus, at the present-day town of Gigen, was situated in the vicinity of the estuary of the river Isker at the Danube. Built at the beginning of the first century in the proximity of the ancient Thracian settlement, it became the second most important settlement in Upper Moesia. Ad Novas and its important military camp were positioned in the vicinity of the present-day Svištovo, at the site of Stklen. Durostero, the present-day Silistria, had the status of *civitas* and *municipium* since Marcus Aurelius' time. It represented, together with the military camp, a significant junction on the road stretching along the valley of Danube. Sucidava was located at the village of Rasovo. Axiopolis was positioned in the vicinity of Černa Voda. Noviodunum had, most probably, the status of *civitas*. It was located in the proximity of the Danube delta. Aegyssus was located at the present-day Tulcea. Ad Stoma was probably situated at the present-day Sulina. See: Велковъ, *Стари*, 60-63; Mirković, *Rimski gradovi*, 103, 108, 114; G. Škrivanić, *Roman Roads and Settlements in the Balkans, An Historical Geography of the Balkans* (ed. F. W. Carter), London and New York and San Francisco 1977, 126-128 (= Škrivanić, *Roman Roads*); Тонев, *Градоустройството*, 70, 78; Петровић, *Дарданија*, 87; .

949 Tomis was located at the present-day Konstanca. Odessos, old Greek colony, was positioned at the present-day town of Varna. It was an important economic and political center during the Roman rule. It reached its pinnacle in the Early Byzantine period. Ancialis was the most important Roman centre lying on the Black Sea coast, from where several roads towards the hinterland of the Peninsula stretched. See: Škrivanić, *Roman Roads*, 128-129; Тонев, *Градоустройството*, 99-100.

– Odesa, and more to the south Ranilum – Cabyle – Ancialis. The roads connecting the Danubian road with *Via militaris*, by crossing the Hemus mountain, started off from Oecus, Ad Novas and Durostorum, on the shores of the Danube.⁹⁵⁰ The most important of them commenced in Oecus and reached Philippopolis, passing by eleven stations.⁹⁵¹ The other road led from Oecus through the valley of river Iskar to Serdica. From Serdica, it went on along the upper river Struma, passing through Pautalia, then across the Osogov mountains and the Bregalnica valley, reaching the junction with *Via Axios* at Stobi, ultimately reaching Heraclea and *Via Egnatia*.⁹⁵² From Novae, one road ran southwards, reaching Augusta Traiana across the Šipka pass and Nicopolis ad Istrum.⁹⁵³

Via Egnatia, one of the oldest Roman roads in the Balkan Peninsula, was constructed in the second half of the second century BC over the earlier Macedonian road, *Via regia*. It was an extension of *Via Appia* that led from Rome towards Italian south and it reached Egnatia, a place situated on the Adriatic coast between Bari and Brindisi. Depending upon the place of departure, i.e. whether it was Bari or Brindisi, the starting points on *Via Egnatia* were Dyrrachium or Aulona. The length of the road section from Dyrrachium to Byzantium was 754 miles (1117 km), with Thessalonica in the middle. Up to there, the road went through the valley of the river Škumba, passing through Clodiana (Coladina), Scampis (Scampu), Genesis Fl., Ad Dianam, In Canabia (Candauia), Pons Seruili, Lychnidus, Nicea, Heraclea, Cellis (Celae), Edessa and Pella.⁹⁵⁴ On the section from Thessalonica to Byzantium, there were

950 Тонев, *Градоустройството*, 65-66.

951 В. Велков, *Градът в Тракия и Дакия през късната античност*, София 1959, 170 (= Велков, *Градът*).

952 The road from Serdica to Stobi was 152 miles long (224,9 km) and it passed the stations Aelea (the present-day Palanka), Pautalia (the present-day Ćustendil), Tranupara (the present-day village Orizari) and Astibo (the present-day Štip). The extension of the road, from Stobi to Heraclea, was 47 miles long (69,5 km), passing the stations Euristus (the present-day Varoš, by Prilep) and Ceranus (the present-day Drenovo). See: Велковъ, *Стари*, 51; Шкриванић, *Југословенске земље*, 55.

953 In Nicopolis ad Istrum the roads leading from Novae, Oecus, Melta, Philippopolis, Hadrianopolis and Marcianopolis met. See: Велковъ, *Стари*, 63-64.

954 Clodiana (Coladina) is the present-day town of Peqini in Albania. Scampis (Scampa) is the present-day Elbasan, situated at the middle course of the river Škumba. Genesis Fl. was situated at the site of the village of Polisi. Ad Dianam is the present-day village of Bablja, located north-east of Elbasan. In Canabia (Candauia) was positioned at the site of the present-day village

many stations, the most important being Appollonia, Philippis, Neapolis, Topiro, Porsulis and Traianopolis.⁹⁵⁵ At Traianopolis, *Via Egnatia* forked into two branches. The first one led towards Hadrianopolis, where it joined *Via Militaris*, while the second stretched along the coast and reached Byzantium after passing through Cypsele, Syracella, Risista, Perinthos, Caenofruri and Melantiada. Except for the main traffic way, there were several side roads.⁹⁵⁶

A road system connecting ancient Greek towns started at Apollonia, and it had several important road junctions: Actium Nicopolis, Larissa, Argus, Corinthus, Athenae and Megara. Two routes led from Actium Nicopolis northwards and towards Apollonia: the terrestrial road via Hadrianopolis and Amatria, and the coastal one via Rutharotum and Aulona. The road for Larissa stretched towards the east and the Aegean Sea and passed through Epirus and Thessaly, while another terrestrial traffic way followed the Ionian coast and the Bay of Corinth, leading to Megara. From Megara, the road crossed the Isthmus of Corinth and the eponymous town and went along the coast of Peloponnese, connecting the important centers of the peninsula. Along its eastern part, a traffic way ran and passed through Argus, Megalopolis, Lacedemone, Gythium and Boas; on the east, the road led from Corinth through Lech, Sisione, Pathras, Dyme, Cyllene, Netide, Olimpia, Samoco and Messene. Towards north and Thessalonica, the road began at the Athenian port of Piraeus and passed through Athens, Eleusina, Plataeae, Thermopylas, Pharsalus, Larissa, Olympus, Stenas, Sabatium, Dium and Beroe, connecting ancient Greek towns with the valleys of Morava and Vardar, as well as with the river Danube.⁹⁵⁷

of Kukesi, east of Elbasan. Pons Seruili is the present-day village of Uraka, west of Ohrid. Lychnidus was located at the present-day Ohrid. Niceu was most probably situated in the vicinity of the present-day village of Džavato, at the saddle of Džavato. Heraclea was situated 2 km south of the present-day town of Bitolj. Cellis (Celaie) is the present-day Ostrovska Banja. Edessa is the present-day town of Voden in Greece. The Ancient town of Pella was positioned at the site of the present-day village bearing the same name, near Jenidža in northern Greece. See: Шкриванић, *Југословенске земље*, 53.

955 Appollonia was situated south-east of the lake Bolbo, at the present-day Polina. Philippis had the status of colony. Neapolis, medieval Hristopoli, was the most important harbour lying between the mouths of Strimon and Mesta. Topeiros was located in the vicinity of the Nesta mouth. Porsulis stood at the site of the present-day town of Mesinkalesi. Trianopolis was an important harbour town, situated at the estuary of the river Hebrus. See: Škrivanić, *Roman Roads*, 125.

956 Škrivanić, *Roman Roads*, 126.

957 Škrivanić, *Roman Roads*, 129-133.

The foundations of the road network in Dalmatia that enveloped the western part of the Balkan Peninsula were placed in the first years of Tiberius' reign, while its construction began at the time of his successors – that of Claudius, especially. The preparatory work began most likely already during the reign of Augustus, but the construction works began soon after the emperor's death. The weak connection between Pannonia and Dalmatia became apparent when an uprising took place in Dalmatia and Pannonia (6 – 9 AD). Therefore, the first concern of the Roman military command in the aftermath of the military operations was to connect the unstable and insecure territories with the headquarters in Salona, and with the supply sources. In less than seven years, between 14 and 20 AD, the imperial governor Publius Cornelius Dolabella built more than 550 miles of roads. A series of inscriptions speak for Dolabella's productive and multifarious work, and the so-called *Inscriptions of Solinus*, carved into four plates and subsequently embedded in the steeple of the cathedral of Split, offer the most relevant information regarding the road construction works. These epigraphic monuments proved to be of the utmost significance for the study of topography and network of the first Roman communications built in the Dalmatian hinterland in the Antiquity. They revealed that Roman legions constructed five roads connecting Salona with the interior of the Balkan Peninsula, by reaching the river Sava radially at Sisak, Gradiška, near the mouth of the river Bosna and at Mitrovica. Soon after the construction of these roads, the communications along the Adriatic coast were built to connect Salona with Aquileia in the north and Narona, Scodra and Dyrrachium in the south. That is how the road network was systematized at a rapid pace; first and foremost for the needs of the state apparatus and the military, and later on for the needs of civilians.⁹⁵⁸

All traffic ways of Dalmatia composed a unique system, connected via Aquileia with Italy and other territories of the Empire. The four major traffic ways began at Aquileia, and connected Illyricum and the valley of Danube with Rome: Aquileia – Lauriacum; Aquileia – Carnuntum; Aquileia – Emona – Sirmium – Viminatum; Aquileia – Salona – Dyrrachium.⁹⁵⁹

As it was already mentioned, five traffic ways of different length and importance led from Salona, the centre of the province, into its hinterland. Up to Klis, they followed the same route, and passed through the

958 Bojanovski, *Dolabelin sistem*, 15-17, 183, 245.

959 Bojanovski, *Dolabelin sistem*, 248-249.

only natural entrance into the hinterland, the so-called gorge or ravine of Klis, and then branched off into three directions at Klis and the Plateau of Dugopoljska.⁹⁶⁰

The road from Salona to Servitium, 154 Roman miles long, passed through Livanjsko polje, Glamočko polje and Podraško polje, reached Banja Luka and continued along the valley of Vrbas towards Bosanska Gradiška. It was the most important connection of Salona with the valleys of Sava and Danube.⁹⁶¹ It linked the maritime regions of Dalmatia and Italy to the fertile lands of Pannonia, and was at the same time contributing to the defence of the imperial frontier, which Augustus had already shifted onto the Danube. According to *Itinerarium Antonini*, this traffic way stretched from Klis towards Aequo, Pelva, Salviae, Sarnade, Leusaba, Aemate, Ad Ladios and Servitio.⁹⁶² As the *Tabula Peutingeriana* states, the

960 Bojanovski, *Dolabelin sistem*, 52.

961 Pašalić, *Antička naselja*, 18-19.

962 Colonia Claudia Aequum represented, after Salona, Narona and Jader, the most important Roman urban agglomeration in the province of Dalmatia. It stood at the site of the present-day Čitluk, near Sinj. It was mentioned in the decisions of the Ecclesiastical Council of Salona under the name of *municipium Equitinum* in 533. At that time, it was assigned to the new diocese of Ludrum. It was devastated during the Avar incursion at the end of the sixth century. A local road most likely began from this location, connecting the settlements along the river Cetina. According to Bojanovski, Kiepert, Tomaschek and Ballif, Pelva should be localized at the village of Lištane in Livanjsko polje. According to Pašalić, this settlement had the status of *municipium*, and was situated at Livno. *Mansio* Salviae was positioned at Halapić, in Glamočko polje. The aforementioned station could also be identified as *municipium Salvium*. The station of Sarandae was situated at Pecka and Leusaba at the present-day Mrkonjić Grad or Jovana. From Lausaba, the routes of *Itinerarium Antonini* and *Tabula Peutingeriana* have been identical. The station Aemate or Lamatis is to be localized at Gradina, near the spring of the river Krupa, or 3 km southward, at the spring of Begovac. Castra was positioned at the site of the Roman settlement in Banja Luka. The road probably passed along the main street, along which Banja Luka was gradually formed as a settlement erected on a passage-way. Up to Laktaši, it followed the natural route, via the river valley, between Potkozarje and Vrbas, and passed through the present-day settlements of Budžak, Trn and Klačince. Nowadays, a smaller section of the Roman road can be seen at Trn, where the station Ad Ladios once stood. According to Bojanovski, the station Ad Fines marked the pre-Roman borderline between the tribes of Oseriats and Mezei. But according to Pašalić, this station is to be located in Mahovljani near Laktaši, as well as the borderline between Pannonia and Dalmatia. The majority of the authors locates Ad Fines at Laktaši. See: Bojanovski, *Dolabelin sistem*, 44-45, 51-103. Regarding different localization, see: Pašalić, *Antička naselja*, 25-30.

stations Aequo, In Alperio, Bariduo, Ionnaria, Saritte, Indenea, Baloie, Leusaba, Lamatis, Castra, Ad Fines and Servitio followed after Salona.⁹⁶³ The road *Salona - ad fines provinciae Illyrici*, mentioned in the inscription of Salona CIL III 3198a = 10156, could have followed the route of the *Itinerarium Antonini* or the one mentioned in *Tabula Peutingeriana*, but it may have followed, at least partially, another direction as well.⁹⁶⁴

The road Salona – Andeterium, the so-called *Via Gabiana*, was constructed in 16/17 AD by the legionaries of the VII legion, stationed at Trilje on Cetina (Tilurium) as a connection with Burnum on the Krka (Ivoševci, Kistanje), which was where the XI legion was stationed. The road's purpose was to ease the operational contact between these two legions, and to conduct a more efficient oversight over the recently conquered Dalmates.⁹⁶⁵ This traffic road followed the route of an older road built by native populations that passed by the oldest Dalmate forts and settlements in the valleys of the rivers Vrba, Čikola and Krka, connecting Drniško polje with Sinjsko polje. The road was 24 km long and was a part of a traffic way under construction. By 17 AD, the section up to Andetrium

963 According to Bojanovski, the section from Aequum to Leusabe, inscribed into *Tabula Peutingeriana*, followed the direction Čitluk – Prolog – Livno – Šujica – Lupreško polje – Janj – Šipovo – Jezero on Pliva – Majdan – Mrkonjić Grad. Additionally, he placed Baloie at Šipovo, Indeneae at Mujdžiće, Saritte at Strojice, Ionnaria at Blagaj, Bariduum at Livno and In Alperio at Vaganj, on Dinara. In one section, from G. Malovina in Kupreško polje to Vagani in Janj, this road corresponded to „Solarski road“. In Šujica, the road Salona – Servitium intersected another Dolabella's road, coming from the direction of Duvno. See: Bojanovski, *Dolabelin sistem*, 103-125. For further information regarding another proposed ubication, see: Pašalić, *Antička naselja*, 31-32.

964 According to Bojanovski, the route of Dolabella's old communication line corresponded to the route described in *Tabula Peutingeriana*. In his opinion, a road segment of *Itinerarium Antonini* not corresponding to the route of *Tabula Peutingeriana* was built in a later period. On the other hand, according to Pašalić, Dolabella's road followed the direction Salona – Prolog – Livno – Podgradina (Kamen) – Pecka – Šipovo – Majdan – Podrašničko polje – Šljivovo – Banja Luka – Mahovljani (Ad Fines). See: Bojanovski, *Dolabelin sistem*, 125-127.

965 A *beneficarii consularis* station stood in Burnum. Incidentally, Burnum gained the status of municipium upon the deaprture of the legions. As an important traffic knot, situated at the only possible crossing over the Krka, Burnum survived until the sixth century and the invasion of the Goths. See: M. Zaninović, *Beneficarii consularis na području Delmata*, Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu 24 (2007) 182.

(the present-day Gornji Muć) was completed, and three years later it was extended up to Promina and the valley of Krka.⁹⁶⁶

According to the inscriptions of Salona, the third traffic way was the road *a Salonis ad Hedum castellum Daesitiatum per millia passum CLVI* (CIL III 3201 = 10159 + 3198, b = 10156, b). A string of prehistoric gradinas this way passes by indicates this road's antiquity and the possibility that it was a route travelled in the pre-Roman period that was merely adapted by the Romans. Initially, the road's principal purpose was to secure control over the subjugated Dezidiat tribe because it led to their tribal capital, Hedum castellum Daesitiatum.⁹⁶⁷ After Dolabella, this main road was extended to Argentaria, i.e. to the mining area lying in the area of the middle river Drina. Since it passed through three mining basins (Gornji Vakuf, Fojnica and Srebrenica), in time it gained economic importance. It was placed in *Tabula Peutingeriana* as the traffic way Salona – Argentaria that led from Duvanjsko polje to Kupreško polje, via the valley of Šujica, and towards the valley of Vrbas, via Velika kupreška vrata. It followed the only existing natural passage that led from Dalmatia and the karst fields of south-western Bosnia to central Bosnia.⁹⁶⁸ The stations Tilurio, Ad Libros, In monte Bulsinio, Bistue Vetus, Ad Matricem, Bistue Nova, Stanecli and Argentaria, all lay on the mentioned route.⁹⁶⁹ Without taking into consideration the distance between the last two stations, which was not entered, the length of the road was approximately 183 km.⁹⁷⁰

966 Bojanovski, *Dolabelin sistem*, 130-132.

967 Hedum castellum Daesitiatum should be located in the surroundings of Breza, where the following inscription was discovered: ...*Valens princeps Daesitiatum*. See: Bojanovski, *Dolabelin sistem*, 183-184.

968 Bojanovski claims that Pašalić and other archaeologists had localized the route of the communication line Salona – Argentaria in the most unaccessible areas of the Central Bosnia, misled by Patscha's authority and his ubication of the town of Delminium and the stations Bistua Vetus and Bistua Nova. See: Bojanovski, *Dolabelin sistem*, 150-151.

969 According to Pašalić, the station Ad Libros was situated at Zidine, on the southern rim of Buško blato; nevertheless, Bojanovski locates it slightly northwards, at Gradina in Bukova Gora. The station In monte Bulsinio was situated at Žbanica on Privala, where the only road stretching from the coastal regions towards the hinterland stands even today. According to Bojanovski, Bistue Vetus should be localized at Duvno, whereas Pašalić, like Patsch, suggested the ubication at Varvara. According to Bojanovski, the station Ad Matricem is to be positioned in the area of Otinovci – Vrila, while Pašalić proposed the surroundings of Gornji Vakuf. See: Pašalić, *Antička naselja*, 47-48; Bojanovski, *Dolabelin sistem*, 151-174.

970 Bojanovski, *Dolabelin sistem*, 133.

Since the location of the ancient *Argentaria* at the site of the present-day Srebrenica has not been confirmed, the tracing of this route should be taken into consideration with reserve.⁹⁷¹ Now, only its main route that led from *Salona* eastwards, to Trilj on *Cetina* (*Tilurium*), and towards north-east and central parts of the present-day Bosnia, has been established as certain. Therefore, discovery of the location of the *municipium* Bistue Nova... is of the utmost importance for tracing the extension of the traffic road leading from the station Bistue Nova to *Argentaria*.⁹⁷² According to Bojanovski, who locates this settlement in Bugojno, the traffic road continued through Bugojnsko polje to Mali Mošunj, where he positioned the station Stanecli...⁹⁷³ The extension of the road into the Travnik region followed the route that linked the upper Bosna valley with the valley of Lašva, passing through Busovača and Kiseljak to eventually join the traffic road *Narona* – *Sarajevsko polje* – *Romanija* – *Drina* in *Sarajevsko polje*, which was the principal route leading to the valley of *Drina*.⁹⁷⁴ Pašalić located Bistue Nova in Mali Mošunj and thought that the extension of the *Salona* – *Argentaria* road had to follow the route *Kiseljak* – *Visoki* – *Breza* and further on, towards north-eastern Bosnia, via *Olovo*, *Kladanj* and the valley of *Drinjača*, up to the river *Drina*, where was the mining district of *Argentaria*.⁹⁷⁵

We are familiar with the commencing points and the lengths of the traffic roads *ad Ba[thinum flu]men* and *ad imum montem Ditionum*

971 According to S. Dušanić, *municipium Domavianorum*, the later Domavia colony, coexisted with *vicus metalli*, most probably called *Argentaria*. See: S. Dušanić, *The Princeps mvnicipii Dardanorvm and the metalla mvnicipii Dardanorvm*, *Živa antika* 54 (2004) 31 (= S. Dušanić, *The Princeps*).

972 On the ubication of the *municipium* Bistue Nova, see: A. Škegro, *The Bestoen Bishopric in the Light of Prior Research*, *Arheološki vestnik* 56 (2005) 369-389.

973 In Šujica, this route intersected the road *Salonae* – *Servitium*, and from there it overlapped, up to *Riličko polje*, with the section described in *Tabula Peutingeriana*. Further on, the road passed through *Velika vrata* and reached *Čipuljići* at Bugojno, where, according to the author, Bistue Nova was situated. See: Bojanovski, *Dolabelin sistem*, 168-174.

974 Bojanovski suggests the ubication of the antique *Argentaria* in the rich silver mining district of *Fojnica* and *Lepenica*, where an important ancient settlement was located, at the site of the present-day *Višnjica* and *Gromiljak*. At the same time, he emphasizes the assumption that the old *Argentaria* was in the area of *Srebrenica* and the *Drina* valley, with its center at *Domavia*, the mining centre of the provinces *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia*, and the center for silver extraction. See: Bojanovski, *Dolabelin sistem*, 179-182, 186-187.

975 The author locates the station *Stanecli* at *Kiseljak*. See: Pašalić, *Antička naselja*, 50-51.

Ulcirum from the inscriptions of Salona, but we lack information on their routes and terminal stations. The road *ad Bathinum flumen*, 158 miles or approximately 235 km long, connected Salona with the lower course of the river Bosna, but its route has not been traced so far.⁹⁷⁶ Unlike this traffic road, the road *ad imum montem Ditionum Ulcirum* fits partly to the data provided by the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, and the remains of its route can be traced in the field as well. Several construction stages were undertaken in order to connect Salona with Burnum and Tilurium, two important military strongholds. It extends *Via Gabinia*, which was expanded up to the Sana valley in the time of Claudius. In the valley of Moštanica, it joined the traffic road passing along the river Sava, that led from Siscia to Sirmium, and was, in all likelihood, the shortest possible way from Salona to Pannonia.⁹⁷⁷

The aforementioned main roads that connected Salona with the Sava valley, Central Bosnia and the valley of Drina, were intertwined with a network of side roads, built in time through the entire province of Dalmatia, enabling communication between the interior and the coastal centres. The importance of this branched road network is even more evident in terms of maritime transport that connected Dalmatia with Italy and the entire Roman world. At the same time, the naval transport to Greece and Asia Minor went directly, without passing by Italy. Only a few naval routes were mentioned in the *Itinerarium Antonini: a Pola Iader, ab Ancona Iader, ab Aterno Salonas* and a

976 If the opinion presented by the majority of the authors is accepted, according to which *Ba[thinum flu]men* is the present-day river Bosna, then the possible route of this communication line could be traced, since it connected Salona with the lower course of the river Bosna. According to Bojanovski, the four routes are traceable: Salona – Livno – Kupreško polje – Šipovo – Jajce – Turbe – Travnik – Zenica – Žepče, Salona – Livno – Kupreško polje – Bugojno – Mošunj – Zenica – Žepče, Salona – Trilj – Duvno – Kupres – Bugojno – Mošunj – Zenica – Žepče and Salona – Trilj – Duvno – Varvara – Gornji Vakuf – Mošunj – Zenica – Žepče. All this routes reached Travničko polje and overlapped, in one section, the road *a Salonis ad Hedum castellum Daesitiatum*.

977 From Salona, this road followed the valley of Vrba and Čikola up to Burnum, from where it stretched along the river Krka and reached Knin and Strmice in the valley of Bušnica. From the hill named Ulcir, the present-day Ilica, it stretched towards the Sana valley. In the valley of Moštanica, it joined the road that passed along the Sava valley. Important local centers Andetrium, Synodion, Promona and Burnum were located on this important traffic way. The starting points of the important traffic roads leading to Zadar, Sisak and Senj were located at Burnum. See: Bojanovski, *Dolabelin sistem*, 203-219.

Salonas Sipunte, insulae Absoros Brattia Solentia Issa Lissa and a Melta Epidauros. Following the Adriatic coast, the main longitudinal traffic way led from Aquileia to Dalmatia, passing alternately into the hinterland and along the coast, towards Dyrrachium, where it joined *Via Egnatia*.⁹⁷⁸ On the road section leading to Salona, there were the following stations: Fonte Timai, Tergeste, Parentino, Pola, Portus Planticus, Arsia, Aulona, Tarsatica, Senia, Auendone, Arypio, Epidotio, Ancus, Ausancatione, Clambrtis, Havre ab Havre, Burnomilia, Burno, Promona, Magno and Andretio.⁹⁷⁹ From Salona, this main traffic way led to the passage over Cetina in Trilj, partially overlapping with the routes Salona – Servitium and Salona – Argentaria. From Trilj, the road passed through Cista Velika, Lovreč, Imotsko and Ljubuško polje to Narona.⁹⁸⁰ Parallel to this route, a coastal branch passed through the stations Epetio and Oneo.⁹⁸¹ From

978 Bojanovski, *Dolabelin sistem*, 221-232, 248-249.

979 Fonte Timai is the source of the small river of Timava, lying north-west of Trieste. Tergeste, Parentio and Pola are the present-day towns of Trst, Poreč and Pula. Portus Planticus, Arsa and Aulona were located in eastern Istria, at the site of the present-day Plomin, Raša and Labin. Tarsatica is the present-day Rijeka, and Senia the present-day Senj. Auendone was located at the site of the present-day village of Brlog. Arypio was positioned at the site of Vitalj, near Otočac, and Epidotio at the site of Kvarte, near Perušić. Ancus was the present-day village of Kula. Ausancatione was probably located at the village of Medak, near Gospić. Clambrtis was the present-day town of Obrovac. Havre ab Havre was probably the present-day village of Medveđa. Burnomilia has not been located. On the section from Burnum to Salona, the route overlapped with the road *ad imum montem Ditionum Ulcirum*. See: Шкриванић, *Југословенске земље*, 46-47; Bojanovski, *Dolabelin sistem*, 206-212.

980 According to *Tabula Peutingeriana*, the following stations were located on this section of the road: Tilurio, Billubio, ad Novas, ad Fusciana, and Bigeste, whereas according to *Itinerarium Antonini* these included the following: Ponte Tiluri, Trono, Bilubio and Aufustianis. Pons Tiluri was located at the site of the present-day Trilj. The station Tronum was positioned at the site of Cista Velika, and the station Bilubium at Lokvičići. Novae was the most important settlement on this road. It was located at the site of Kamenje in Runovići, on the rim of Imotsko polje. The station Ad Novas was situated in the vicinity of the junction not far from the present-day Šabići, from where a road leading for Duvanjsko polje began. The station Ad Fusciana was located at Tkanica, and Bigeste at Radišići, near Ljubuški. See: Pašalić, *Antička naselja*, 55-56; I. Bojanovski, *Prilozi za topografiju rimskih i predrimskih komunikacija i naselja u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji*, *Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka istraživanja* 15/13 (1977) 91, 97, 123-127.

981 Epetio was the present-day Stobeč in the vicinity of Split, Oneo was the present-day Omiš. See: Шкриванић, *Југословенске земље*, 49.

Narona, the main route went further on, via the stations Ad Turres, Dilunto, Pardua, Ad Zizio, Leusino, Sallunto, Sanderua, Varis, Sallunto, Hallata, Bersumno, Sinna, Scobre, Lissum, Pistum and reached Dyrrachium, where it joined *Via Egnatia*.⁹⁸²

The road leading to the coast via Grahovo branched off at the Sallunto station in Riječani, where remains of an old road were established.⁹⁸³ According to a tradition, noted down by Evans in Krivošije, these were the remains of *Sava's road (Savin put)*, which indicates that this was, most likely, an important communication line, leading from Boka Kotorska to

982 Different opinions exist regarding the route and the ubication of the mentioned stations. According to some, the road followed the natural passage Stolac – Ubosko – Gradac – Krinje – Ljubomir, and had been used since the prehistoric times. On the basis of that hypothesis, Bojanovski located the station Ad Turres at the village of Tasovčići, the station Dilunto at Stolac, Pardue at the village of Gornji Gradac and Ad Zizia at the village of Mosko. Leusino (Leusinium) was most likely located at the village of Panik, north-east of Trebinje. The station Sallunto (Salluntum) was positioned at the site of Suntuli in Riječani. Possible locations of Sanderu (Anderba, Andaraba) are the fort of Nikšić and the sites of Ogradice in OZRINIĆI and Moštanica in Štedim. Ubication of the station Varis has not been confirmed yet. Nevertheless, it can be assumed that the road stretched along the left bank of the Zeta. Sallunto (Salluntum) was located between Spuž and Povije. According to some, Hallatu (Alata) was situated in the vicinity of the surroundings of Spuž, but it might also be localized at the confluence of the rivers Ribnica and Morača, where the remains of a Roman road 6 m wide were uncovered. Depending on the ubication of Alata, the stations Bersumno (Bersuminum) and Sinna (Cinna) were localized at Podgorica and in the surroundings of Vuksan-Lekići or at the gradinas of Samobor and Kodra-Maršenjt. According to Puljić and Škegro, Diluntium was not localized at Stoce, but Sarsenterum, the seat of the Sarsenter diocese. See: I. Bojanovski, *Rimska cesta Narona – Leusinum kao primjer saobraćajnog kontinuiteta*, *Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka istraživanja* 10/8 (1973) 139-166; Шкриванић, *Југословенске земље*, 50-52; I. Puljić, A. Škegro, *Sarsenterska biskupija*, *Povjesni prilozi* 30 (2006) 27-28; D. Gazivoda, *Antičke komunikacije na tlu Crne Gore* (magistarski rad u rukopisu), Univerzitet u Beogradu, Filozofski fakultet, Beograd 2008, 28-33 (= Gazivoda, *Antičke komunikacije*).

983 It is assumed that three local roads passed through the hinterland of Risan. The first connected Risan with Riječane via Poljice, Mačja stopa, Jovčina voda, the Plateau of Krnja jela, Orijen, Cerovo ždrijelo and Grahovo. The second one stretched from Risan and passed via Smokvice, Gornje Ledenice, Markov dol, Dragalj and Grahovo. The third road branched off from the second one at Grkavci and led towards Trešnjevo. See: Gazivoda, *Antičke komunikacije*, 68.

Pljevlja and Prijepolje.⁹⁸⁴ From Anderba, it most probably followed the modern route Nikšić – Pljevlja, via Šavnik.⁹⁸⁵

Another junction was at the station Ad Zizio, which was probably in the vicinity of the present-day village of Mosko, from where a coastal road led to Skadar and passed through the stations Asamo, Epitaurum, Resinum, Batua and Vicinium.⁹⁸⁶

Two important traffic roads began at Naronum and Epidaurum, connecting them with the valley of Drina and the interior of the Balkan Peninsula. Although not comparable to the main imperial roads, circulation-wise, the two roads, along with a number of smaller ones, did form a network of mining, pastoral and merchant roads that had an economic significance, primarily. There are no information about these roads in either itineraries or other written sources, and the only traces of their existence in the Antiquity are the remains of the roads themselves, and of the settlements in their vicinity, with plentiful milestones.⁹⁸⁷

984 Although this route cannot be traced with certainty, it probably passed through Šavnik and Jezera, the mountain of Tara and reached Komine. See: *Историја Црне Горе I. Од најстаријих времена до краја XII вијека*, Титоград 1967, 173, 177

985 Gazivoda, *Antičke komunikacije*, 68; A. Цермановић-Кузмановић, *Подручје Пљеваља у римско и рановизантијско доба*, Историја Пљеваља, Пљеваља 2009, 54.

986 Epidaurum is the present-day Cavtat. Different opinions regarding Resinum were voiced. This station was located in the vicinity of Rose and Risan. If the hypothetical ubication of Resinum at Rose is accepted, the ancient road most likely reached Herceg Novi via Sveti Ivan and Sutorina. The exact location of the passage to the other coast has not been established yet. The road stretched further on across the Peninsula of Luštice and Grbalj and reached Batua, the present-day Budva. From Budva, this communication line most probably followed the route of the modern road to Ulcinj (Vicinium), from where it branched off towards Bojana and Skadar (Scobre). Lissum is the present-day Lješ, while Pistum, the last station before the road reached Dyrrachium, was located at the site of the present-day village of Išmi. See: Шкриванић, *Југословенске земље*, 51; Gazivoda, *Antičke komunikacije*, 39-43.

987 I. Bojanovski, *Prilozi za topografiju rimskih i predrimskih komunikacija i naselja u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji. II – Prehistorijska i rimska cesta Naronum – Sarajevsko polje s limitrofnim naseljima*, *Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka istraživanja* 17/15 (1978) 52 (= Bojanovski, *Prilozi II*); I. Bojanovski, *Prilozi za topografiju rimskih i predrimskih komunikacija i naselja u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji. V – Gornje Podrinje u sistemu rimskih komunikacija*, *Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka istraživanja* 25/23 (1987) 66 (= Bojanovski, *Prilozi V*).

The road that began at Naronā was a traffic road attached to the great Roman communication line Aquileia – Salona – Naronā – Dyrrachium – Byzantium. Trailing the material sources in the field, it is possible to partially reconstruct the route of this main road that began at Naronā and overlapped, on the section up to Dubrave of Stolac, with the continental road leading to Skadar. From there, it proceeded further north, towards Nevsinjsko polje, Zaboran, Lipet, Boračko polje, Konjic and Ivan-sedlo up to Ilidža near Sarajevo. From the Roman spa in Ilidža, the road went onwards to Prača, Rogatica and Višegrad on the river Drina. From Višegrad, one road led northwards towards Sirmium, while the other stretched towards Dobrun. From Dobrun, a communication line passed through Varište and Mokra gora and along the river Đetinja, leading to Užice and Požega, to ultimately reach the valley of Zapadna Morava, while the road known as *Bosanski drum* continued along the Uvce valley and further, towards the Plateau of Sjenica.⁹⁸⁸

A communication line began at Epidaurus, and passed through Trebinje – Bileća – Gacko – Foča – Pljevlja – Prijepolje – Sjenica – Novi Pazar. A medieval *Dubrovački drum* (*Via Drina*) followed this route, too, and was, until recently, the only existing passageway from western to eastern Balkans. Mines of nonferrous metals lay on the very road, near Foča, Pljevlja and Prijepolje. In Foča, a traffic way leading to Skelani on the river Drina and further north towards Argentaria and Sirmium branched off,⁹⁸⁹ while *Dubrovački drum* stretched onwards to the mining districts around Pljevlja and Prijepolje, where existed important urban centers, *mun. S(plonum)*,⁹⁹⁰ at the present-day Komine, and the settlement in the present-day Kolovrat. A junction of the several significant communications going

988 Bojanovski, *Prilozi II*, 51-59, 65; Bojanovski, *Prilozi V*, 134-135.

989 According to one recently conducted research, *Municipium Malvesiatium* was located at Skelani. For further information on different opinions regarding the ubication of this *municipium* and its *ager*, see: F. Papazoglu, *Le municipium Maluesatium et son territoire*, *Živa antika* 7 (1957) 114-122; П. Петровић, Ј. Бућић, *Municipium Malvesiatium код Пожере*, *Ужички зборник* 12 (1983) 19-55; I. Bojanovski, *Bosna i Hercegovina u antičko doba*, Sarajevo 1988, 177-192; Р. Зотовић, *Један нови поглед на питање муниципијума Малвесијатума*, *Ужички зборник* 17 (1988) 79-90; *Municipium Malvesiatium*, Sreberenica 2009.

990 The appellation *municipium S...* has been accepted to designate this Roman settlement. Thanks to a recently discovered epigraphic monument, it is almost certain that the full name of this *municipium* was *Splonum*. See: С. Лома, *Домаће становништво муниципија S. у светлости нових епиграфских сведочанстава*, *Старинар* 53-54 (2003-2004) 36.

back to the Early Metal Age was in *mun. S(plonum)*. The road connection to Kolovrat passed across the saddle of Jabuka, where A. Evans uncovered remains of a milestone. The road towards the upper course of the river Lim and the present-day Bijelo Polje stretched along the Čehotina and across Kamena Gora.⁹⁹¹ Just like *mun. S(plonum)*, the settlement at Kolovrat was an important road junction. The road along the valley of Lim passed by that site, as did the roads leading towards Pešter and Novi Pazar.⁹⁹²

On the Plateau of Pešter, somewhere around Sjenica, *Dubrovački drum* and *Bosanski drum* joined, and from that point continued downwards towards the valley of Raška.⁹⁹³ The road section stretching across the Plateau of Pešter passed, most likely, by the site of Velika Gradina, at the village of Vrsenica, where remains of a fortification built in the early fourth century to offer protection on this important traffic road are still visible.⁹⁹⁴ After Sjeničko polje, the road proceeded further on towards Novi Pazar, where a *beneficiarius consularis* station was built to secure communications with the neighbouring mining areas.⁹⁹⁵ A traffic

991 It is probable that a road stretched from the valley of Lim towards northern Metohija. See: E. Čerškov, *Rimljani na Kosovu i Metohiji*, Beograd 1969, 48 (= Čerškov, *Rimljani*).

992 For further information regarding the route connecting Epidaurus with the valley of Raška, see: Bojanovski, *Prilozi V*, 91, 96, 99, 108, 111, 113.

993 Bojanovski, *Prilozi V*, 96, 115, 119, 142.

994 For further information on this fortification, see: M. Popović, V. Bikić, *Vrsenice. Kasnoantičko i srpsko ranosrednjovekovno utvrđenje*, Beograd 2009. (= Popović, *Vrsenice*)

995 There are two different opinions on the route of the road that led from Sjeničko polje to Novi Pazar. According to one, the road turned towards Šarski krš and went on across the slopes of Golija. On this road, known as *Stari Kraljev put* (The old king's road), remains of fortifications in Šarski krš (the fifth-sixth century), and at Gradina in the village of Radalica (sixth century) were discovered. Its route changed to a certain extent during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: it led southwards via Duga Poljana, along Pastrmac and reached the valley of the river Ljudska. According to recent findings, the main communication line that led from the Plateau of Pešter to Novi Pazar stretched along late antique fortifications in Tuzinj, Trojan and Ramoševo, then passed through Koštam polje and, above Sopoćani, descended into the Raška valley. See: M. Мирковић, *Бенефицијарна станица код Новог Пазара*, *Жива антика* 21/1 (1971) 265, 269. (= Мирковић, *Бенефицијарна станица*); J. Калић, *Стари Краљев пут*, *Зборник радова Византолошког института* 23 (1984) 95-105; Д. Премовић-Алексић, *Траса пута на деоници Пријеполје – Нови Пазар у светлу новијих археолошких истраживања*, *Новопазарски зборник* 15 (1991) 40, 42 (= Премовић-Алексић, *Траса пута*); Popović, *Vrsenice*, 124-125.

road led towards the rich mining district of Golija, following the valley of the river Deževska, and went along the valley of Moravice towards Arilje and Požega. The road from Novopazarska Banja led towards the mines of Rogozina, and onwards to *Municipium DD* (at the site of the present-day Sočanica), via Vučja Lokva, Zminjak, Plakaonica, and along the valley of the river Grkajska.⁹⁹⁶ The road leading towards the east began at the valley of Ibar, and reached Naissus across Kopaonik and the valley of the river Toplica.⁹⁹⁷

From *Municipium DD* an extension of one of the most important vertical main roads in the Balkan Peninsula stretched along the river Ibar and connected the Adriatic coast and central Bosnia with the south of the Balkan Peninsula. Coming in from the north-west, it cut through the plain of Kosovo and led to the colony of Scupi in the valley of the river Vardar, via Slatina, Kosovska Mitrovica, Vučitrn and Kačanik.⁹⁹⁸ The rich mines around Sočanica were connected with the valley of Vardar and Thessalonica, which is why we may even call it *via metallica*.⁹⁹⁹ From Scupi (the present-day Skoplje), the major section of the road passed through the valley of Vardar, via the stations Presidio, Ad Cephalon, Gurbita, Stopis,

996 According to E. Čerškov, the road connecting Novi Pazar with Kosovska Mitrovica passed via Rogozna and along the river Banjska. Cf: E. Čerškov, *Rimljani*, 46; Мирковић, *Бенефицијарна станица*, 265-266; Премовић-Алексић, *Траса пута*, 44.

997 From the valley of river Ibar, the road passed close to the present-day village of Šipačina, then led across the mountain range of Kopaonik and descended into the villages of Đerekare and Sudimlje. The sites Gradina - Lisina, Gradina - Končulić, Gradina - Kaznoviće and the fortification of Đerekari confirm the existence of this road. More extensively on this issue: Д. Булић, *Рановизантијско утврђење Градина - Лисина на западном Копонику*, *Историјски часопис* 54 (2007) 43-62; Д. Булић, *Градина - Казновиће. Резултати археолошких истраживања*, *Историјски часопис* 55 (2007) 45-62; Д. Булић, *Утврђење Градина - Кончулић код Рашке*, *Историјски часопис* 57 (2008) 29-58.

998 This road led down the valley of Ibar towards a smaller settlement from the Antiquity situated in the vicinity of Kosovska Mitrovica and the station Vicianum, from where it passed through the gorge of Kačanik onto Scupi. Along this route, there were *beneficarii consularis* stations at Slatina, near Sočanica, at Kosovska Mitrovica, Vučitrn and Kačanik. In the vicinity of Kačanik, an inscription was discovered that confirms the existence of a *beneficarii* station, which protected the entrance to the gorge of Kačanik, and of a customs station at the present-day Runjevo. See: Čerškov, *Rimljani*, 46-47; Мирковић, *Бенефицијарна станица*, 265-266, 268; И. Микулчић, *Антички градови во Македонија*, Скопје 1999, 225.

999 S. Dušanić, *The Princesps*, 11.

Antigona (Asigonia), Stenae, Idomenia, Tauriana, Gallicuma and finally reached Thessalonica.¹⁰⁰⁰

A great number of local roads stretching from settlements and mines far from the main communication system, flowed into this main communication line.¹⁰⁰¹ An important side road stretched along the left bank of the river Beli Drim, connecting the settlements lying in the northern part of Metohija with the settlements in Prizrensko polje. At Zlokućani and Klina, it joined the road leading along the northern rim of Metohija and mainly followed the route of the modern road Kosovska Mitrovica – Peć.¹⁰⁰²

The most important junction in Kosovo was at the station Vicianum where the aforementioned route *Municipium DD* – Scupi – Thessalonica intersected the communication way Naissus – Lissus, which was the shortest possible connection from the Imperial capital with the central Balkans and the Danubian valley. According to *Tabula Peutingeriana*, the road linking Naissus and Kosovo stretched along the valley of the river Toplica and passed by the stations Ad Herculem, Hammeum, Ad Fines and Vindenis. From Vicianum, this traffic road reached the Adriatic coast via Theranda, Gabuleum, Creveni and Ad Picarias.¹⁰⁰³ The same source indicated that in the vicinity of the present-day

1000 Ф. Папазоглу, *Македонски градови у римско доба*, Скопје 1957, 82 (= Папазоглу, *Македонски градови*).

1001 Roads that led from Ulpiana and the settlements in the vicinity of the present-day Priština joined this route as well. See: Мирковић, *Бенефицијарна станица*, 268.

1002 Čerškov, *Rimljani*, 47-48.

1003 Ad Herculem was located at the site of Glavšinska čuka, in the vicinity of the present-day Žitorađa; archaeological excavations have confirmed the existence of a fortification lying on this location. Hammeum (Acmeon) was situated at the foothill of Hisar, at the site Latinska crkva, in Prokuplje. Ad Fines was situated in the vicinity of the present-day Kuršumlija, where remains of Roman structures and a necropolis with constructed tombs, dating from the Late Antiquity, were researched. The station Vindenae was located in the vicinity of Podujevo, in the surroundings of the village of Glavnik, where the remains of a settlement, villas and an antique necropolis from the third or the fourth century were discovered. Vicianum was probably situated in the vicinity of Ulpiana, near Ugljar or Čaglavica. Most of the researchers decided that the route of the following section of the road should be based on the geo-physical features of the terrain; so, the stations Theranda and Gabuleum have not been localized up to the present. The first station was on the territory of Metohija, around Suva Reka or Ljubižda. The road most likely passed through Prizren, where

Prokuplje, at Hammeum, a road branched off southwards, towards Scupi and the Aegean Sea.¹⁰⁰⁴ This traffic road passed close to Iustiniana Prima, at the present-day Lebane, across the mountain of Goljak and close to the riversource of the Južna Morava, and at Runjevo, it joined the road coming from Vicianum, or maybe the road reached Scupi via Bujanovac, Ristovac and Kumanovo. Most probably, several routes stretched towards south from Naissus, which is why it is not possible to establish with certainty, at this time, which of these routes did the compiler of *Tabula Peutingeriana* have in mind.¹⁰⁰⁵

* * *

The branched road system played an important role in the expansion of Roman domination, but would turn out to be one of the weakest points in the defence of the Empire upon the arrival of Huns on the eastern frontiers of Europe in the second half of the fourth century. Barbarian tribes used this dense and well-maintained road network lying along natural communication ways for their rapid incursions into the Balkan provinces and further into the west. Built as a solid logistical base to facilitate the military expansion and secure peace in the conquered and pacified areas, Roman roads (at least, the most important ones) became in the centuries that followed arteries through which travelled not only marauders, but different bands of immigrants.

a Roman inscription was discovered. The road crossed the river Beli Drim at the village of Škoze, where a *beneficarii* station stood. Gabuleum was most probably located in the province of Dalmatia, just like Creveni and Ad Picarias. Creveni was at the site of the present-day Spaž, while Ad Picarias stood at the site of the present-day Puka. See: Čerškov, *Rimljani*, 43-46; Мирковић, *Бенефицијарна станица*, 269; Петровић, *Дарданија*, 87-95.

1004 According to M. Mirković, due to the limited space, the branching of the road to the Vardar valley was incorrectly mapped out in *Tabula Peutingeriana*: instead of the station Viciano, the station Hammeo was marked. According to the number and sequence of stations on the direction Scupi – Stobi, established by F. Papazoglu, M. Mirković reconstructed the section Naissus – Scupi. In her opinion, it was not in the station Hammeum, but in Viciano, that the road branched off and led to Scupi, via Kačanik and the stations Anausaro, Ad Fines and Ad Hercule. See: Папазоглу, *Македонски градови*, 82; М. Мирковић, *Римски пут Naissus-Scupi и станица Ad Fines*, *Živa antika* 10 (1960) 252-253.

1005 Čerškov, *Rimljani*, 48-49; Петровић, *Дарданија*, 100.

A time of centuries-long insecurity set upon the Balkan provinces, and on the roads that traversed and connected them, when the first bands of the Goths and Alans crossed into the Empire's territory in 376.

With the help of the roadguides, of the miners from the Thracian tribe Bessi, and of the Germanic turncoats from the Roman mercenary army, the barbarian hosts ravaged almost the entire diocese of Thrace, except for towns and fortifications. Two years later, after the Roman army had suffered defeat at Hadrianopolis, the Empire fell into an almost insurmountable crisis. The Gothic bands had reached Perinthus and Constantinople, and then effortlessly penetrated into Illyricum, upon the retreat of the Roman forces from the gorge of Succi, the most important strategic point on *Via Militaris*, and then proceeded to ravage almost every Balkan province.¹⁰⁰⁶ Many roads and road stations that had been reconstructed during the reign of Theodosius I were damaged then.¹⁰⁰⁷

In the decades that followed, incursions across the lower Danube continued, which, among other things, caused complete insecurity on the terrestrial communications in the Balkan Peninsula.¹⁰⁰⁸ In their forays, which reached the Julian Alps and the Pannonian regions, the Goths moved along the main Roman roads in the lands between the valleys of Sava, Drava and Danube.¹⁰⁰⁹ The Ostrogoths would use the same routes to move in 488, as would the Langobards a century after them on their way to Italy, together with other peoples from Pannonia.¹⁰¹⁰

Unlike the Gothic forays that harmed mostly smaller settlements and road stations, the Balkan provinces fared far worse in the Hunnic onslaught. The Hunnic units captured a series of towns and fortifications on their campaign in the years 441/442 and 447, while advancing along *Via Militaris* and the Danubian *limes*. Viminatium was first to fall, followed by Singidunum and Sirmium. Having continued their incursions along the valley of Morava, the Hunnic host captured Margum and Naissus. Ratiaria and Aecus on the *limes* and on the road trailing along the Danube towards the Black Sea, were razed the following year.¹⁰¹¹ An even

1006 Jireček, *Vojna cesta*, 112.

1007 Велков, *Градът*, 37.

1008 Because of the complete insecurity in Thrace, the envoys from the Eastern Roman Empire to the Huns left Constantinople and reached Aquileia by sea, and from Aquileia they arrived to Pannonia via the old Roman road. See: H. Gračanin, *Huni i južna Panonija*, *Scrinia Slavica* 5 (2005) 23 (= Gračanin, *Huni*).

1009 Gračanin, *Huni*, 9-13.

1010 Antić, *Južna Panonija*, 140, 163.

1011 Gračanin, *Huni*, 32.

more devastating ravage happened in 447, when the Huns entered Thrace using the aforementioned traffic road, stopping only at Thermopilae in Thessaly.¹⁰¹² At least seventy towns were seized then, among which the colonies on the Danube, Serdica, Filippopolis, and Arkadiopolis (Bergule) situated on *Via Militaris*. About the horrendous wasteland the Hunnic troops left in their wake, we may read in the report of Priscus on the Byzantine diplomatic mission to Attila in 448. The envoys traveled along *Via Militaris*, without a single remaining road station, and Serdica and Naissus in ruins.¹⁰¹³

Since the barbaric incursions took place along the main roads, it was essential for the Empire to, besides fortifying the *limes*, preserve and protect the main road junctions. That is the reason why Justinian was particularly active in his construction endeavours around Niš, where the two main directions of barbarian forays met, one being the valley of Morava and the other the valley of Timok. Thirty two new forts were built and seven restored in the vicinity of this important Balkan junction.¹⁰¹⁴ Such measures reflected the official state strategy to consolidate the state authority in the northern Illyricum and its *limes*,¹⁰¹⁵ which played a key role in Justinian's defence system of the Balkan Peninsula. Already in the early 530s, a significant number of borderline fortifications was restored or built, while the first signs of building activity can be noticed in the Illyricum's interior. The beginning of construction activity in this area was marked by the foundation of Iustiniana Prima, significant not only for its military role, but also as a symbol of novelties introduced into the organization of governance in the prefecture of Illyricum.

The main phase of the comprehensive and lengthy fortification works in the northern and central Balkans was the extension of *limes*-fortifying efforts, which was finished by 554. But the construction works

1012 H. Gračanin, *Ilirik u Marcellinovoј Kronici*, *Ekonomska i ekohistorija* 1/1 (2004) 17-18.

1013 Jireček, *Vojna cesta*, 113-114.

1014 The area around Naissus is distinct, since it was only in that area that the number of newly-erected fortifications was greater than that of restored ones. See: Љ. Максимовић, *Византијски свет и Срби*, Београд 2008, 43. (= Максимовић, *Византијски свет*)

1015 On the right bank of the Danube, between the confluence of the Porečka river and the Timok, more than 20 fortifications dating from the Early Byzantine period have been archaeologically examined. More extensively on this issue: P. Špehar, *Materijalna kultura iz ranovizantijskih utvrđenja u Đerdapu*, Beograd 2010.

came too late and were undertaken either as a reaction to the assaults they should have preceded, or were conducted simultaneously with those attacks.¹⁰¹⁶

The multitude of fortifications did not prevent the Slavic tribes from invading or settling the Balkans in the first half of the seventh century. Their forces posed a threat to the Empire during Justinian's reign, with almost every part of eastern Illyricum being in their way.¹⁰¹⁷ By the time the Avars took over the Pannonian basin, these assaults were carried out in equal measure by the Pannonian and the "Valachian" Slavs. The first of these raids were mostly for pillaging.¹⁰¹⁸ On their campaigns into Thrace, the Slavic forces crossed the lower Danube, but they flooded the traffic ways in the valleys of Morava and Timok when raiding eastern parts of Illyricum.¹⁰¹⁹ During their campaign of 548, the Slavs advanced all the way to Dyrrachium. But the pinnacle of this campaign into Thrace happened two years after, when the town of Topeiros, on the Aegean coast, was seized. An exceptionally massive incursion was undertaken in the second half of the year 550/51 throughout the wide area from Adrianople to Bosnia, during which the Slavs, for the first time, overwintered in the Balkans.¹⁰²⁰

With the arrival of the Avars in Pannonia in 567/68, the Pannonian Slavs lost their independence, but continued participating in the military campaigns against Byzantium, now within the Avar army. Unlike the Pannonian Slavs, the "Valachian" Slavs¹⁰²¹ kept their independence and were

1016 Максимовић, *Византијски свет*, 27-28, 41-44.

1017 For further information on the relations between the Slavs and the Avars, see: Т. Живковић, *Прилог хронологији аварско-словенских односа 559-578. године*, *Историјски часопис* 42/43 (1997) 227-236; Т. Živković, *Forging Unity. The South Slavs between East and West 550-1150*, Belgrade 2008, 7-29 (= Živković, *Forging Unity*).

1018 Т. Живковић, *Словени и Ромеји*, Београд 2000, 49-50 (= Живковић, *Словени*).

1019 According to Lj. Maksimović, the campaigns of 548 and 550/51 were undertaken by the "Valachian" Slavs, who, after having crossed the Danube at the borderline with Illyricum, proceeded with their penetration via the valley of Timok on their way to Naissus. Yet another opinion was presented by Т. Živković, who claims that the Slavs from Pannonia participated in the aforementioned military campaigns, and reached Naissus by *Via militaris*. Cf: Живковић, *Словени*, 50-51; Максимовић, *Византијски свет*, 38.

1020 Максимовић, *Византијски свет*, 37-38.

1021 More extensively on the "Valachian" Slavs, see: Živković, *Forging Unity*, 45-70.

crossing the river Danube either as Avar confederates or on their own accord until 586, and starting from 588 in a wholly independent manner.¹⁰²²

After the downfall of the Gepid Kingdom and the fall of Sirmium to the Avars in 582, commences an uninterrupted Slavic penetration into the Balkan Peninsula and the wider area around the river Danube. During the ninth decade of the sixth century, the Slavic troops besieged Thessalonica twice, and the Avars razed a considerable number of towns on the *limes* and along the river Danube.¹⁰²³ To the west, the Slavic hosts moved along the valleys of rivers Sava and Drava, heading towards Dalmatia and what used to be the province of Noricum, up to the very frontier of the Apennine Peninsula. They pushed towards Italy in directions east – west and north – south, moving along the courses of the rivers Sava, Drava and Mura; into the Dalmatian hinterland they descended by moving along the tributaries of the Sava. Using the old Roman traffic road that overlapped with the ancient Amber Road, they captured Petovion, Celeia and Emona in 587.¹⁰²⁴ From the Ljubljana valley, the Slavs advanced further into Friuli, passing through the mountain pass of Postojna Gate.¹⁰²⁵ The question regarding the route the Avars took during their incursion into Dalmatia in 597 still remains open. The prevailing opinion holds that the Avar and Slavic forces advanced along the ancient Roman traffic road that connected Sirmium with Salona, but there is an opinion that they used the road stretching along the river Sava, and then the road Servitium – Salona.

The devastation of towns in Illyricum and the displacement of the Roman population opened space for Slavic colonization of the Balkans, which began during the Emperor Heraclius' reign (610-641).¹⁰²⁶ The "Valachian" Slavs inundate the territory from the lower Danube towards south-west, all the way to southern Albania. A decade later, the Pannonian Slavs settled the valleys of Timok, Morava and Vardar, gradually descending towards Scupi. It is impossible to determine the names of all the Slavic tribes that settled the central and western areas of the Balkan Peninsula, but the two paramount ones, whose arrival marked the end of centuries-long Slavic migrations, were the Serbs and the Croats. As imperial

1022 Живковић, *Словени*, 57.

1023 Т. Живковић, *Јужни Словени под византијском влашћу*, Београд 2002, 177-182 (= Живковић, *Јужни Словени*).

1024 Н. Граћанин, *Slaveni u ranosrednjovjekovnoj južnoj Panoniji*, *Scrinia Slavica* 8 (2008) 24-26.

1025 I. Goldstain, *Bizant na Jadranu*, Zagreb 1992, 81 (= Goldstain, *Bizant*).

1026 Живковић, *Словени*, 50-51, 57.

foederati, they crossed into the imperial territories to prevent further Avar incursions. At the same time, the area north of the line Dyrrachium – Thessalonica – Hadrianopolis came under the control of these two and several other, smaller Slavic tribes.¹⁰²⁷

At the time of Slavic colonization, the great centers of the Late Antiquity were already deserted, and the mining centers of central Bosnia died out in the mid-fifth century during the destructive Hunnic campaign.¹⁰²⁸ This discontinuity of the urban life is one of the most prominent features of the Balkan hinterland, but the duration of the discontinuity differs from place to place. In the central parts of the Peninsula, which were intersected by the most important communication lines stretching along the valleys of Morava and Vardar, a number of Roman settlements continued to exist throughout the Middle Ages: Singidunum in Belgrade, Viminatum in Braničevo, Naissus in Niš, Ulpiana in Lipljan, Scupi in Skoplje. By restoring its authority over this area in the eleventh century, the Empire endeavoured to revive these urban centres, which it organized as hubs of its administrative system and political and cultural influence.¹⁰²⁹

Unlike in the Peninsula's interior, the Roman population managed to survive in smaller towns and settlements on the Adriatic coast. With the marginalization of the traffic ways in the Western Balkan interior, taken or jeopardized by the barbarians, the sea lane along the Adriatic coast, the so-called *limes maritimus*, became crucial.¹⁰³⁰ At the same time, the breakdown of the terrestrial communication system condemned Salona, the capital of the province, to the loss of its economic importance, while Split and Trogir rose to pre-eminence, due to their considerably more favourable position on the maritime route stretching along the eastern Adriatic coast. A string of settlements of a new kind emerged along the route, specific for their strategic and defensive function. Besides the ancient ports, the "emporium", such as Split, Trogir and Zadar, and besides the newly-built settlements with harbours and harbour buildings within their walls, a series of new fortifications were built away from the sea, in the places allowed for the surveillance of the transport carried out on the

1027 Extensively on the settling of the Serbs and the Croats, including relevant bibliography: Живковић, *Јужни Словени*, 274-314.

1028 Живковић, *Јужни Словени*, 266.

1029 С. Ђирковић, *Работници, војници, духовници. Друштва средњовековног Балкана*, Београд 1997, 259-260.

1030 For more detailed information regarding this road, see: Goldstain, *Bizant*, 29-59.

main maritime road.¹⁰³¹ This sea lane functioned in the tenth century as well, when Constantine Porphyrogenitos wrote about it and the Dalmatian towns inhabited by the Romaion population.¹⁰³²

Besides the information on maritime settlements and the "Romaioi", the Emperor's treatise *De administrando imperio* mentions many towns situated in the areas inhabited by the Serbs and the Croats. Quite a lot of these towns were located, such as those in the maritime Serb regions in Travunia¹⁰³³ (Terbounia,¹⁰³⁴ Ormos,¹⁰³⁵ Rhisena,¹⁰³⁶ Loukabetai,¹⁰³⁷ Zetlibi¹⁰³⁸), in Zachlumia/Zahumlje¹⁰³⁹ (Stagnon,¹⁰⁴⁰ Mokriskik,¹⁰⁴¹

1031 Goldstein, *Bizant*, 31, 58, 91.

1032 The following towns were mentioned as the inhabited Romaion towns: Kotor, Raguza, Split, Trogir and Zadar, as well as Arba (Rab), Vekla (Krk) and Opsara (Cres), lying on the eponymous islands. See: *Византијски извори за историју народа Југославије II*, Београд 1959, 13 (= *Византијски извори II*).

1033 Chapter XXXIV in the treatise *De Administrando Imperio* focuses on Travunia. See: *Constantine Porphyrogenitus De administrando imperio* (edd. G. Moravcsik, R. J. H. Jenkins), Washington 1967, c. 34 (= *DAI*).

1034 Terbounia is the present-day town of Trebinje in Herzegovina. See: *Византијски извори II*, 63; T. Živković, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus's katra oikoumena*, *Istorijski časopis* 57 (2008) 12 (= Živković, *Katra oikoumena*).

1035 Ormos was the medieval town of Vrm in Herzegovina. See: *Византијски извори II*, 63; С. Ђирковић, „Насељени градови“ *Константина Порфирогенита и најстарија територијална организација*, ЗРВИ 37 (1998) 15 (= Ђирковић, „Насељени градови“); A. Loma, *Serbisches und Kroatisches sprachgut bei Konstantin Porphyrogenetos*, ЗРВИ 38 (2000) 114 (= Loma, *Sprachgut*); Živković, *Katra oikoumena*, 12.

1036 Rhisena is the present-day town of Risan, lying in the bay of Boka Kotorska. See: *Византијски извори II*, 63; Ђирковић, „Насељени градови“, 15; Loma, *Sprachgut*, 115; Živković, *Katra oikoumena*, 12.

1037 Loukabetai has not been localized with certainty. It was either at the location of Luka, in the vicinity of Trebinje, or on the hill of Lukavac, lying between Bileća and Nevesinje. See: *Византијски извори II*, 63; Loma, *Sprachgut*, 113; Živković, *Katra oikoumena*, 12.

1038 Zetlibi has not been localized with certainty. Its possible locations are: the village Necviće in Herzegovina, Stolivo in the bay of Boka Kotorska, or the village Četoljubi in eastern Herzegovina. See: *Византијски извори II*, 63; Loma, *Sprachgut*, 110; Živković, *Katra oikoumena*, 12.

1039 Chapter XXXIII of *De administrando imperio* speaks of Zahumlje. See: *DAI*, c. 33.

1040 Stagnon is the present-day town of Ston. See: *Византијски извори II*, 61; Živković, *Katra oikoumena*, 11.

1041 Mokriskik was most likely located in the vicinity of Mokro, near Mostar. See: *Византијски извори II*, 61; Loma, *Sprachgut*, 114; Živković, *Katra oikoumena*, 11.

Iosli,¹⁰⁴² Galoumainik,¹⁰⁴³ Dobriskik¹⁰⁴⁴) and in Paganía (Mokron,¹⁰⁴⁵ Beroullia,¹⁰⁴⁶ Ostrok¹⁰⁴⁷ and Lavinetza¹⁰⁴⁸), Doclea/Duklja (Gradetai,¹⁰⁴⁹ Nougrade,¹⁰⁵⁰ Lontodokla¹⁰⁵¹) as well as Croatia¹⁰⁵² (Nona,¹⁰⁵³ Beogradon,¹⁰⁵⁴ Belitzin,¹⁰⁵⁵

- 1042 Iosli was located at the site of the present-day village of Ošlje, near Ston. See: *Византијски извори II*, 61; Loma, *Sprachgut*, 110-111; Živković, *Kastra oikoumena*, 11.
- 1043 Galoumainik was located at the site of the present-day village of Glumin or Golubnica. See: *Византијски извори II*, 61; Loma, *Sprachgut*, 105-106; Živković, *Kastra oikoumena*, 11.
- 1044 Dobriskik most likely represented the medieval Dabar. See: *Византијски извори II*, 61; Loma, *Sprachgut*, 110; Živković, *Kastra oikoumena*, 11.
- 1045 Mokron was located at the site of the present-day town of Makarska. See: *Византијски извори II*, 65; Ћирковић, „Насељени градови“, 16; Živković, *Kastra oikoumena*, 13.
- 1046 Beroullia was most likely situated in the vicinity of Vrulja, although certain authors consider it was located in the proximity of the present-day settlement of Brelo. See: *Византијски извори II*, 65; Ћирковић, „Насељени градови“, 16; Loma, *Sprachgut*, 107; Živković, *Kastra oikoumena*, 13.
- 1047 Ostrok was most probably located at the site of Zaostroga, in the vicinity of Makarska. See: *Византијски извори II*, 65; Ћирковић, „Насељени градови“, 16; Loma, *Sprachgut*, 114; Živković, *Kastra oikoumena*, 13.
- 1048 Lavinetza or Slavinetza has not been localized with certainty. This town might have been located at the site of Gradac, just outside the delta of the Neretva, but also at the site of Lobčane, Lapčanj. See: *Византијски извори II*, 65; Ћирковић, „Насељени градови“, 16; Loma, *Sprachgut*, 116; Živković, *Kastra oikoumena*, 13.
- 1049 Gradetai has not been localized, but was most probably situated at Grblje, in the bay of Boka Kotorska. See: *Византијски извори II*, 64; Ћирковић, „Насељени градови“, 22; Loma, *Sprachgut*, 108; Živković, *Kastra oikoumena*, 12.
- 1050 Nougrade has not been definitely localized. It was probably located near Gradac and the village Prevlaka, or in the surroundings of the present-day town of Budva. See: *Византијски извори II*, 64; Ћирковић, „Насељени градови“, 22; Loma, *Sprachgut*, 114; Živković, *Kastra oikoumena*, 12.
- 1051 The town Lontodokla has not been localized. However, there is a possibility that it was situated in the vicinity of the antique Dioclea. See: *Византијски извори II*, 64; Ћирковић, „Насељени градови“, 23; Loma, *Sprachgut*, 113; Živković, *Kastra oikoumena*, 12.
- 1052 Chapters XXX and XXXI of *De administrando imperio* speak of the Croats. See: *DAI*, cc. 30, 31.
- 1053 Nona is the present-day Nin. See: Loma, *Sprachgut*, 114; Živković, *Kastra oikoumena*, 10.
- 1054 Belgradon is the present-day town of Biograd. See: *Византијски извори II*, 44; Loma, *Sprachgut*, 106; Živković, *Kastra oikoumena*, 10.
- 1055 Belitzin has not been localized. See: *Византијски извори II*, 44; Loma, *Sprachgut*, 107; Živković, *Kastra oikoumena*, 10.

Skordona,¹⁰⁵⁶ Hlebena,¹⁰⁵⁷ Stolpon,¹⁰⁵⁸ Tenin,¹⁰⁵⁹ Kori,¹⁰⁶⁰ Klaboka¹⁰⁶¹). The only town in the interior that was indentified is Salines (the present-day Tuzla), whereas the localities of Destinikon, Tzernabouskei, Megyretous, Dresneik, Lesnik, Katera and Desnik still remain unknown.¹⁰⁶²

Writing about the areas settled by the Serbs and the Croats, Constantine Porphyrogenitos probably used an unknown Latin source regarding the ecclesiastical organization in the western Balkans. Relying on this source, Porphyrogenitos included into his treatise lists of „settled towns“ – that means lists of towns with ecclesiastical organization and belonging to the Christian *oikoumene*.¹⁰⁶³ Additionally, the towns Bona, Hum, Ras and Duklja were mentioned specifically when certain events are described. These towns obviously existed at the time when this work was written, but were not part of the ecclesiastical organization spoken of by the unknown author.¹⁰⁶⁴

As the the list of towns of Croatia, Zachlunia, Paganian and Travunia opens with the mention of the episcopal centers Nin, Ston, Mokro and Trebinje, we can claim, with great certainty, that Gradetai and Destinikon were the ecclesiastical centres of Doclea and Serbia.¹⁰⁶⁵

After the new settlers arrived and the terrestrial traffic between the East and the West ceased, most of the Balkan Peninsula fell out of sight for the contemporaries in other parts of Europe.

Via Egnatia, "*Via militaris*" and the road through Corinth, the three main routes that connected the eastern capital of the Empire with

1056 Skordona is the present-day Skradin. See: *Византијски извори II*, 44; Loma, *Sprachgut*, 115; Živković, *Kastra oikoumena*, 11.

1057 Hlebena is the present-day Livno. See: *Византијски извори II*, 44; Loma, *Sprachgut*, 117; Živković, *Kastra oikoumena*, 11.

1058 Stolpon might be the present-day Stupin. See: *Византијски извори II*, 44; Loma, *Sprachgut*, 116; Živković, *Kastra oikoumena*, 11.

1059 Tenin is the present-day Knin. See: *Византијски извори II*, 44; Živković, *Kastra oikoumena*, 10.

1060 Kori is the present-day town of Karin. See: *Византијски извори II*, 44; Loma, *Sprachgut*, 112; Živković, *Kastra oikoumena*, 11.

1061 The town of Klaboka has not been localized. See: *Византијски извори II*, 44; Loma, *Sprachgut*, 111; Živković, *Kastra oikoumena*, 11.

1062 *Византијски извори II*, 58; Loma, *Sprachgut*, 109-113, 115-116; Živković, *Kastra oikoumena*, 11.

1063 Živković, *Kastra oikoumena*, 18-19.

1064 DAI, c. 32.50, c. 33.10, c. 35.10.

1065 Živković, *Kastra oikoumena*, 25-26.

the West, fell out of use in that time; in the period between 700 and 866, Italy was connected with Constantinople exclusively by sea. In the middle of the ninth century, regular traffic was re-established on these roads. The ancient Roman road *Via Militaris*, now connected Constantinople with Great Moravia and became known as *the Moravian way*, which is its name in the Pannonian legend, too.¹⁰⁶⁶ Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos provided information on this road, too; probably relying on an anonymous itinerary from the tenth century, according to which the journey from Thessalonica to Belgrade lasted eight days, from Belgrade to Trajan's bridge three days, and from Belgrade to Sirmium two days.¹⁰⁶⁷ However, after only thirty years, wars with Bulgaria and the arrival of the Hungarians once again brought an end to the re-established circulation of people and goods.¹⁰⁶⁸

As the travelers on the Balkan roads did not travel great distances, or journeyed from one part of Europe to another, during this long time of unrest and uncertainty, reports on the condition of the terrestrial communications in the areas recently settled by the Slavic tribes are scarce. However, certain directions of the roads built in the Antiquity were used later on, during the late medieval ages and after the Ottoman conquest. It leads to the conclusion that the new populations must have maintained the roads they had found, at least to a measure.¹⁰⁶⁹ As the important Roman traffic ways stretched along the routes of the most favourable natural communications, a considerable part of the ancient road network remained preserved.¹⁰⁷⁰

On the other hand, the local population kept using the benefits of the already existing roads that connected regions and settlements. In

1066 Јиречек, *Војна цеста*, 125; M. McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy. Communications and Commerce AD 300-900*, Cambridge 2001, 68-69 (= McCormick, *Origins*); M. McCormick, *Byzantium on the Move, Travel in the Byzantine World*, Aldershot and Burlington 2002, 27-28 (= McCormick, *Byzantium*); J. Калић, *Европа и Срби. Средњи век*, Београд 2006, 309 (= Калић, *Европа*).

1067 See: *DAI*, 40.30, 42.15; Калић, *Европа*, 40.

1068 McCormick, *Origins*, 68-69; McCormick, *Byzantium*, 27-28.

1069 That way, the routes of the medieval *Bosanski drum* and *Dubrovački drum* corresponded, for the best part, to the routes of the ancient Roman roads. The situation is similar regarding the majority of the routes that intersected the territory of Kosovo and Метохија. More extensively on this issue: Шкриванић, *Путеви*, 62-75, 103-109, 123-128, 128-131.

1070 Archaeological findings recently uncovered underneath the road stones of the road section near the present-day Dimitrovgrad yield further information about *Via militaris* in the Middle Ages. See: Лазвић, *Римски пут*, 54.

certain cases, the new population took hold of Antique or Early Byzantine forts that controlled the roads and settled them. In a later period, these traffic roads were called *ancient roads*, *long roads* or *imperial roads* in Serbian sources, while documents in Latin and Italian designate them as *via regis* and *la via antica*.¹⁰⁷¹

Still, the ancient road network began gradually dilapidating, for the lack of systematic maintenance. This led to a reorganization of the terrestrial traffic that underwent changes in scope, means of transport, transported goods, distances, etc. The disappearance of the well-organized state postal system reflected upon the quality and safety of both goods transportation and human travel.¹⁰⁷² The most important change was transition from carriages, used on well-maintained and paved Roman roads, to draft animals, convenient for transportation of goods on shorter relations and by roads of poorer quality.¹⁰⁷³ This transition took place already during the sixth century in the southern and eastern regions of the former Roman Empire. That is how caravan transport became the predominant form of traffic between the Adriatic coast and the Balkan hinterland throughout the Middle Ages. However, carriage transport was in use in the interior, especially in the plains and the less hilly terrains - in the valleys of Morava and Lim, in Hvosno and in Kosovo; that is also evident from the expressions such as *kolnik*, *voznik* and *kolovoz*, attested in the Late Medieval documents.¹⁰⁷⁴

One of the roads still suitable for carriage transport was the ancient Roman *Via militaris*, used by Hungarian and German merchants to transport craft goods, luxury fabrics and Oriental spices.¹⁰⁷⁵

The consolidation of the Byzantine rule in the Balkan Peninsula in the early eleventh century, and the spread of Christianity in Hungary, led to a more intensive use of the road connecting Belgrade with Constantinople, which became the *Road of Pilgrims*, the shortest possible connection between Europe and the Holy Land. Groups of pilgrims traveling this road were becoming bigger and bigger, and were soon followed by the Crusader armies in 1096, 1147 and 1189. After having left Belgrade, these travelers reached the thick "Bulgarian forests" and swampy areas lying between

1071 Шкриванић, *Путеви*, 18.

1072 The Byzantine Empire preserved, in a certain form, the state postal system as late as the eleventh century. See: McCormick, *Origins*, 75.

1073 McCormick, *Origins*, 76, 402.

1074 Шкриванић, *Путеви*, 14-17.

1075 Калић, *Европа*, 309.

Braničevo and Ravno that slowed down their movement, partly because of the bad condition of particular road sections, and partly because of the re-occurring conflicts with the local population.¹⁰⁷⁶ The pilgrimages to the Holy Land were undertaken more and more from the mid-eleventh century and onwards.¹⁰⁷⁷ At the same time, the forces of the Pechenegs ravaged the valley of Velika Morava, and the areas lying between the rivers Danube and the Hemus, through which led the shortest road to Constantinople. St. Lietbertus, bishop of Cambrai, encountered the Pecheneg forces on his pilgrimage in 1054.¹⁰⁷⁸ Ten years later, German prelates led several thousand pilgrims on the so-called *Great German Pilgrimage*. After having crossed the river Morava, they found themselves in constant danger of thieves and bandits throughout their entire journey, all the way until Constantinople.¹⁰⁷⁹

Equally unfavourable were the conditions on the roads in the hinterland of the Adriatic coast. In his description of the campaign of the count Raymond IV of Toulouse, Raymond d'Agil wrote of a 40-day long, onerous journey through *Slavonia*. According to his words, *Slavonia* was a deserted mountainous land deprived of roads. The savage population did not engage in contact with the Crusader army, but fled their villages and fortifications, and attacked the exhausted travelers who followed the army. It was particularly difficult to undertake a counter-assault on the mountainous terrain covered with dense forests.¹⁰⁸⁰

In their negotiations with the Crusader leaders, the Byzantine rulers tried to prevent the pillage and the conflict with local population in

1076 K. Belke, *Roads and Travel in Macedonia and Thrace in the Middle and Late Byzantine Period*, *Travel in the Byzantine World*, Aldershot and Burlington 2002, 79-81 (= Belke, *Roads*).

1077 S. Runciman, *The Pilgrimages to Palestina Before 1095*, *A History of Crusades* (ed. K. Setton), London 1969, 76 (= Runciman, *Pilgrimages*).

1078 More extensively on this pilgrimage: A. Узелац, *Скитски разбојници у Бугарској пустињи. Поглед једног ходочасника на Поморавље средином XI века*, *Историјски часопис* 59 (2010) 59-75.

1079 These were: Sigfridus archiepiscopus Moguntiacensis, Wilelmus episcopus Traiectensis, Otto episcopus Ratibonensis and Guntherius praesul Babenpergensis. See: *Annales Altahenses Maiores*, *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in Usus Scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicae recusi*, Hannoverae 1890, 66-67.

1080 A. C. Krey, *The First Crusade. The Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants*, Princeton 1921, 64-67; Н. Фејић, *Западни писци и путници из времена крсташких ратова о Србима. Од околности упознавања до образовања историјске представе*, *Европа и Срби (Међународни научни скуп 13-15. децембра 1995)*, Београд 1996, 118-119.

the areas these armies had to pass through, as well as the conflict with the local population, by promising to allow the free passage and to provide undisturbed supply.¹⁰⁸¹ But such conflicts would unavoidably follow each in every campaign. Multitudes of crusaders had been passing through the Balkan Peninsula for more than a century, frequently leaving devastation in their wake; it was only in 1204 that they directed all their forces towards the splendour of Constantinople, which they would be despoiling throughout the decades that were to follow.

With the fall of Constantinople in the Fourth Crusade, the centralized state that had succeeded, after centuries of efforts, to regain control over the most significant communication routes of the Balkans - over *Via Egnatia* and *Via Militaris* - ceased to exist.¹⁰⁸² Even after the Reconquista of Michael VIII, these traffic ways did not come entirely under the Byzantine control, as much of the lands they passed through were by then within the realm of the Serbian and the Bulgarian medieval states.

1081 To stop that, the emissaries of the Emperor Isaac II Angelos signed an agreement with Friedrich I Barbarossa in Nurnberg in 1188. Friedrich I Barbarossa arrived with his troops in Belgrade on the 29th of June, 1189. See: Калић, *Европа*, 314.

1082 Belke, *Roads*, 82.

