

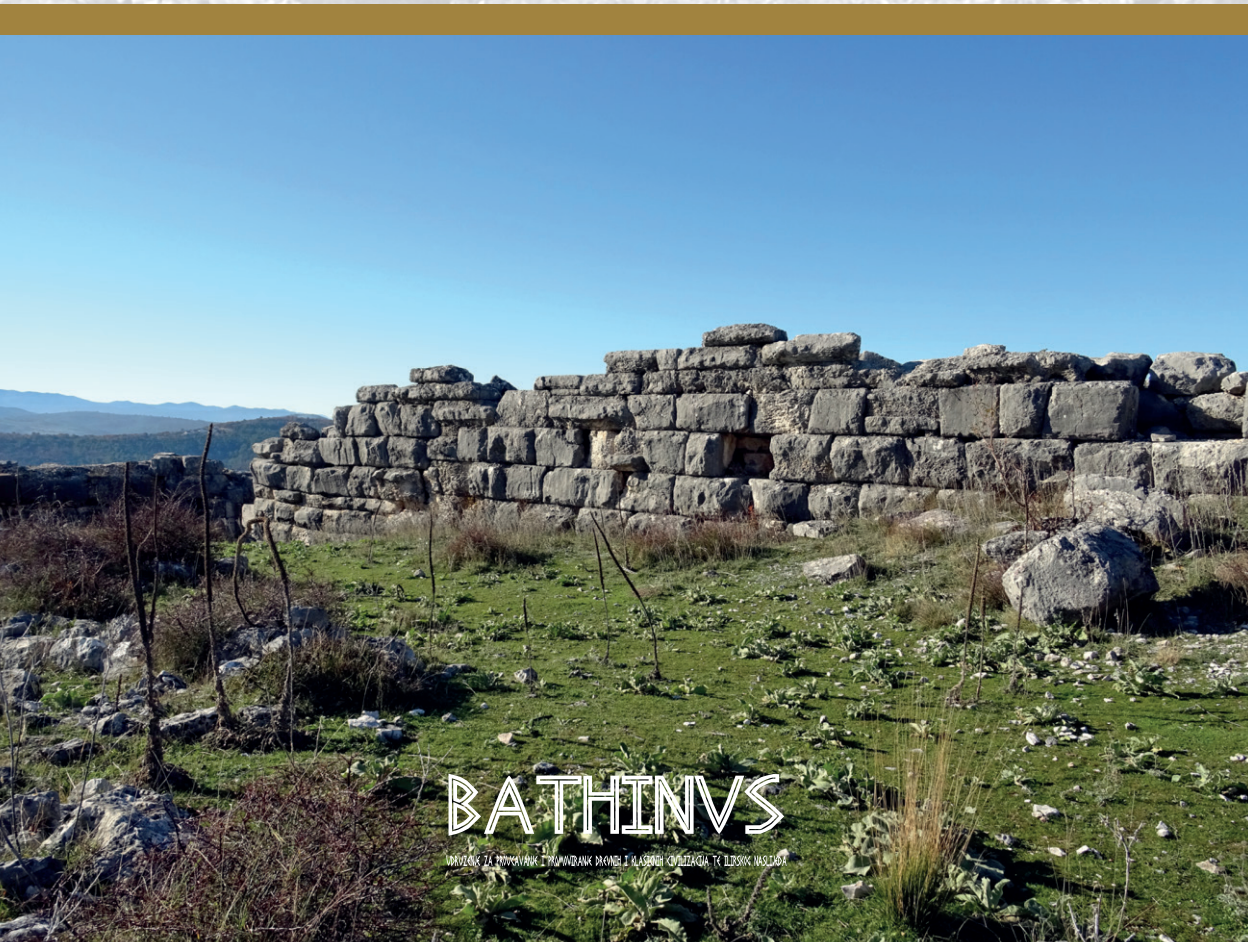
DJANI BEHRAM

HISTORIJA ANTIČKIH DAORSA NA ISTOČNOM JADRANU

od 2. stoljeća prije nove ere do 2. stoljeća nove ere

THE HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT DAORSI IN THE EASTERN ADRIATIC

from the second century BCE to the second century CE



BATHINVS

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Djani Behram

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Sarajevo, 2025.

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Skraćenice

App. – Apijan

AE – L'Année épigraphique

Cic. – Ciceron

CIL – Corpus Inscriptionum
Latinarum

Flor. – Flor

Front. – Frontin

Ill. – Illyrice

LTF. – Pisma prijateljima

*NH. – Historija starog svijeta
(Naturalis Historia)*

Polyb. – Polibije

Ptol. Geog. – Ptolomej, Geografija

Strat. – Strategemata

Abbreviations

App. - Appian

AE - L'Année épigraphique

Cic. - Cicero

CIL - Corpus Inscriptionum
Latinarum

Flor. - Florus

Front. - Frontinus

Ill. - Illyrice

LTF. - Letters to Friends

*NH. - Natural History (Naturalis
Historia)*

Polyb. - Polybios

Ptol. Geog. - Claudius Ptolemy
Geography

Strat. - Stratagems

Predgovor

Ova knjiga je rezultat mog magistrarskog rada iz historije o antičkim Daorsima, koji sam odbranio 2022. godine, kao i dodatnog istraživanja koje sam uradio nakon odbrane magistrarskog rada. Nadam se da će stvoriti raspravu u istraživačkim krugovima o antičkim Daorsima i antičkom istočnom Jadranu te nadahnuti buduće studente i studente historije i arheologije da dodatno istraže ovu temu. Veoma sam sretan zbog knjige o antičkim Daorsima više od 100 godina od početka njihovog istraživanja. Želim se zahvaliti mnogim osobama. Najprije, zahvaljujem se Udruženju za proučavanje i promoviranje ilirskog naslijeđa, drevnih i klasičnih civilizacija BATHINVS koji je izrazio želju da objavi knjigu. Zatim, zahvaljujem se prof. dr. Amri Šaćić Beća i prof. dr. Almiru Mariću što su recenzirali knjigu. Ova knjiga ne bi bila moguća bez njih. Osim toga, želim se zahvaliti i Ivi Dragičeviću što mi je dao mnogo savjeta tokom pisanja ove knjige.

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Preface

This book is a result of my master's thesis in history about the ancient Daorsi, which I defended in 2022, and further research I did after I defended the master's thesis. I hope this book will create a debate in research circles about the ancient Daorsi and the ancient Eastern Adriatic, and inspire potential students and students of history and archaeology to further research the subjects. I am very happy that one will finally have a book about the ancient Daorsi over 100 years since the research about them started. There are many people I want to thank. First of all, I want to thank BATHINVS for wanting to be the publisher of the book. Next, I want to thank Amra Šaćić Beća and Almir Marić for reviewing this book. This book would not have been possible without them. In addition, I want to thank Ivo Dragičević for giving a lot of advice in the process of writing this book.

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1. Uvod

Istraživači su decenijama istraživali antičke Daorse na istočnom Jadranu. U ovoj knjizi predstaviti ću svoje tumačenje Daorsa i njihov historijski razvoj od 2. stoljeća prije nove ere do 2. stoljeća nove ere. Ovo tumačenje zasniva se na prethodnim istraživanjima Daorsa, istočnog Jadrana i drugih regija u antičko doba. Društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa zasigurno je postojala tokom prve polovine 2. stoljeća prije nove ere. Do prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere, središte društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa bilo je smješteno na Ošanjicima u današnjoj Bosni i Hercegovini. Prije prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere, društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa vjerovatno je uspostavila savez. Savez društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa postojao je do prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa nastavila je postojati nakon prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Nakon prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere, središte društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa bilo je smješteno u Stocu u današnjoj Bosni i Hercegovini. Kasnije, Rimljani su društveno-političku jedinicu Daorsa pretvorili u peregrinsku civitas (*civitas peregrina*). Središte peregrinske civitas Daorsa bilo je u Stocu, koje se nazivalo Diluntum. Teritorije peregrinske civitas Daorsa uključivale su područja Stoca i Trebimlje u današnjoj Bosni i Hercegovini.

1. Introduction

The ancient Daorsi in the Eastern Adriatic has been researched by researchers for decades. In this book, I will present my interpretation of the Daorsi and their historical development from the second century BCE to the second century CE. This interpretation is based on the previous research of the ancient Daorsi, ancient Eastern Adriatic, and other ancient regions. The sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi certainly existed in the first half of the second century BCE. Until the first half of the 150s BCE, the center of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi was located at Ošanjici in today's Bosnia and Herzegovina. Before the first half of the 150s BCE, the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi probably had established a union. The union of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi lasted until the first half of the 150s BCE. The sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi continued to exist after the first half of the 150s BCE. After the first half of the 150s BCE, the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi had its center in Stolac in today's Bosnia and Herzegovina. Later, the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi was transformed into a *civitas peregrina* by the Romans. The center of the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi was located in Stolac, which was called Diluntum. The territories of the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi included the Stolac- and Trebimlja-areas in today's Bosnia and Herzegovina, where these two areas were

ni gdje su ova dva područja spojena jedna s drugim. U drugoj polovini 1. stoljeća nove ere ili u prvoj polovini 2. stoljeća nove ere, Diluntum je postao *municipium* (municipij). Kada je u pitanju središte i teritorija, postojao je kontinuitet između peregrinske civitas Daorsa i municipija Diluntuma u mnogim područjima. Međutim, jedna od najvažnijih promjena je ta da je naziv “Daorsi” postepeno zamenjen nazivom “Diluntum”.

1.1. Donja Neretva

U ovoj knjizi često koristim pojam “donja Neretva”. Ovo je pojednostavljeni pojam. Donju Neretvu definiрам kao područje koje je smješteno južno od rijetke Neretve. Ono obuhvaća područja od današnjeg Mostara do Ploče, uključujući gradove i sela koji su smješteni direktno istočno i zapadno od južnog dijela Neretve, npr. Stolac, Neum, Ljubuški, Čitluk i Polog u današnjoj Bosni i Hercegovini i Hrvatskoj. U geografski pojam donje Neretve ubrajam i poluostrvo Pelješac. Pelješac se nalazi u današnjoj Hrvatskoj.

connected. Diluntum became in the last half of the first century CE or the first half of the second century CE a *municipium*. There was continuity between the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi and *municipium* of Diluntum in many areas, for example, when it comes to the center and territory. However, one of the most important changes was that the name Daorsi was gradually replaced by the name Diluntum.

1.1. The Lower Neretva

In this book, I often use the term lower Neretva. This is a simplified term. I define the lower Neretva as the area which is located in the southern part of the Neretva River. This includes areas from today's Mostar to Ploče, including the towns and villages that are located directly to the east and west of the southern part of the river Neretva, for example, Stolac, Neum, Ljubuški, Čitluk, and Polog in today's Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. I also include the Pelješac peninsula in the geographical term of the lower Neretva. Pelješac is located in today's Croatia.



Slika 1: Rijeka Neretva. Autor slike: Šarafanje.

Figure 1: The river Neretva. Photo by Šarafanje.

1.2. Pojmovi, koncepti i radovi koji su me inspirisali

U ovoj knjizi inspiraciju pronalazim u različitim pojmovima, konceptima i radovima za pristup arheološkim i pisanim dokazima.

1.2.1. Peer polity interaction (interakcija između jednakih jedinica)

Jedan od osnovnih koncepata je “peer polity interaction”. Renfrew definiše ovaj koncept na sljedeći način: “Peer polity interaction označava cijeli raspon međusobnih razmjena koje se ostvaruju (uključujući imita-

1.2. Terms, concepts, and works which I take inspiration from

In this book, I will take inspiration from different terms, concepts, and works to approach the archaeological and written evidence.

1.2.1. Peer polity interaction

One fundamental concept is peer polity interaction. Renfrew defines the concept in the following way: “Peer polity interaction designates the full range of interchanges taking place (including imitation and emulation, competition, warfare, and the

ciju i emulaciju, konkurenciju, ratovanje i razmjenu materijalnih dobara i informacija) između autonomnih (tj. samoupravnih i u tom smislu politički nezavisnih) društveno-političkih jedinica koje su smještene jedna pored druge ili blizu jedna drugoj unutar jedne geografske regije ili, u nekim slučajevima, šire.”¹ Najvažnija ideja ovog koncepta za ovu knjigu je postojanje autonomnih društveno-političkih jedinica koje na različite načine stupaju u interakciju jedne s drugima.

1.2.2. Istraživanje predrimске Galije koje su proveli Roymans i Fernández-Götz

U svom istraživanju predrimskog istočnog Jadrana, posebnu inspiraciju pronalazim u djelima Roymansa i Fernández-Götza. Oni ističu kako se predrimska Galija zasnivala na domaćinstvima, proširenim porodicama / lokalnim grupama, *pagi* i *civitates* / plemenima. Proširena porodica je bila skup domaćinstava, *pagus* je bio skup proširenih porodica, *civitas* / pleme je bilo skup *pagi*. Osim toga, postojala je veza između *civitates* / plemena, gdje npr. jedan *civitas* / pleme je dominiralo nad drugim *civitas* / plemenom.²

exchange of material goods and of information) between autonomous (i.e. self-governing and in that sense politically independent) socio-political units which are situated beside or close to each other within a single geographical region, or in some cases more widely.”¹ The most important point from this concept for this book is the existence of autonomous sociopolitical units, which interact with each other in different ways.

1.2.2. The study of pre-Roman Gaul by Roymans and Fernández-Götz

In my interpretation of the pre-Roman Eastern Adriatic, I also especially take inspiration from the works of Roymans and Fernández-Götz. They point out how pre-Roman Gaul was based on households, extended families/local groups, *pagi*, and *civitates*/tribes. An extended family was a collection of households, a *pagus* was a collection of extended families, a *civitas*/tribe was a collection of *pagi*. In addition, there were relationships between the *civitates*/tribes, where, for example, one *civitas*/tribe dominated another *civitas*/tribe.²

1 Renfrew 1986, 1.

2 Roymans 1990, 17-47; Fernández-Götz 2014, 41-79.

1 Renfrew 1986, 1.

2 Roymans 1990, 17-47; Fernández-Götz 2014, 41-79.

1.2.3. Selandov model hijerarhije u četiri nivoa u državi u odnosu na pomorsku trgovinu na velikim udaljenostima

Seland je razvio model za ispitivanje pomorske trgovine na velikim udaljenostima u Indijskom okeanu u 1. stoljeću nove ere. Pisao je o tome da je država zasnovana na hijerarhiji u četiri nivoa. Država je imala kapital (A), središta od sekundarne važnosti koji su se zvali gradovi (B), emporij ili *emporion* / trgovačka luka (C) i druga naselja na obali (D). Glavni grad je dobijao dobra od središta od sekundarne važnosti i drugih naselja na obali. Nakon toga, glavni grad je izvezio ova dobra u druge države putem emporija / trgovačke luke. Osim toga, glavni grad je uvezio dobra iz drugih država putem emporija / trgovačke luke. Kada je glavni grad dobijao dobra iz drugih država putem emporija / trgovačke luke, preraspoređivao je uvezena dobra u druga središta u državi. Funkcioniranje emporija / trgovačke luke zavisilo je od glavnog grada države. Sva trgovina na velikim udaljenostima, koja se obavljala morem, odvijala se samo u emporiju u jednoj državi.³ Selandov model koristit ću kao inspiraciju i uraditi određena prilagođavanja. Jedno od prilagođavanja je to da ne koristim pojam "država", već društveno-političke jedinice i savezi. Jedna društveno-politička jedinica je imala kontrolu nad drugim društveno-političkim jedinicama i

3 Seland 2007.

1.2.3. Seland's model of the four-level hierarchy in a state in relation to maritime long-distance trade

Seland developed a model for the study of maritime long-distance trade in the Indian Ocean in the first century CE. He writes that a state was based on a four-level hierarchy. The state had a capital (A), centers with secondary importance which were called cities (B), *emporion*/port of trade (C), and other settlements at the coast (D). The capital received goods from centers with secondary importance and other settlements at the coast. Afterwards, the capital exported these goods to other states through the *emporion*/port of trade. In addition, the capital imported goods from other states through the *emporion*/port of trade. When the capital received goods from other states through the *emporion*/port of trade, the capital redistributed the imported goods to other centers in the state. The functioning of the *emporion*/port of trade was dependent on the capital of the state. All long-distance trade, which was maritime, happened only at the *emporion* in one state.³ I will take inspiration from Seland's model and make some adaptations. One adaptation is that I am not using the term state, but sociopolitical units and unions. One sociopolitical unit took control of other sociopolitical units and thus created

3 Seland 2007.

činile su savez. Sve društveno-političke jedinice su imale središte. Središte društveno-političke jedinice koja je imala kontrolu nad drugim društveno-političkim jedinicama i njihovim središtima, postalo je glavno središte saveza, dok su središta podređenih društveno-političkih jedinica postali sekundarna središta saveza. Drugo prilagođavanje je to da ću koristiti sljedeće kategorije: glavno središte (A), sekundarno središte (B), emporij (C) i druga naselja (D). Treće prilagođavanje je to da ću se bazirati na trgovinu na kopnu i moru. Četvrto prilagođavanje je postojanje četiri različita mjesta koja su funkcionirala kao emporiji. Lokaliteti koji su funkcionirali kao emporiji bili su locirani pokraj mora ili na kopnu. Važno je pojasniti da se u emporiju odvijala trgovina između npr. dva različita saveza. Peto prilagođavanje je to da je glavno središte saveza primalo dobra iz vlastite društveno-političke jedinice, središta (sekundarnih središta) podređenih društveno-političkih jedinica koje su pripadale savezu i vanjskih društveno-političkih jedinica i saveza. U glavnom središtu saveza organizirala se roba iz različitih regija radi izvoza i preraspodjele. Nakon toga, glavno središte saveza je izvozilo robu vanjskim društveno-političkim jedinicama i savezima. Osim toga, glavno središte je preraspoređivalo robu vlastitoj društveno-političkoj jedinici i središtima (sekundarnim središtima) podređenih društveno-političkih jedinica koje su pripadale savezu.

a union. All sociopolitical units had a center. The center of the sociopolitical unit which took control of other sociopolitical units and their centers, became the main center in the union, while the centers of subordinated sociopolitical units became secondary centers in the union. Another adaptation is that I use the following categories: main center (A), secondary center (B), *emporion* (C), and other settlements (D). The third adaptation is that I am basing myself on trade both on land and maritime. The fourth adaptation is the existence of four different sites which functioned as emporia. The sites which functioned as emporia were located by the sea and on the land. It is important to clarify that it was at the *emporion* that trade between, for example, two different unions happened. The fifth adaptation is that the main center of a union received goods from its own sociopolitical unit, centers (secondary centers) of subordinated sociopolitical units that belonged to the union, and external sociopolitical units and unions. It was at the main center of a union that commodities from different regions were organized for export and redistribution. After this happened, the main center of a union exported goods to external sociopolitical units and unions. In addition, the main center redistributed the goods to its own sociopolitical unit and to centers (secondary centers) of subordinated sociopolitical units that belonged to the union.

1.2.4. Trgovina pod ugovorom

Aubet definira trgovinu pod ugovorom ("administered trade") na sljedeći način: "Trgovina pod ugovorom ili sporazumom (koja je bila uobičajena u antičkom svijetu) implicira uspostavljanje manje ili više formalnih sporazuma i ugovora između strana."⁴ Pored toga, Rotstein pojašnjava sljedeće: "Trgovina se obavlja ugovornim metodama koje obuhvataju stope ili cijene pri kojima se roba razmjenjuje, kao i druge elemente transakcije, uključujući kvalitet, težinu, skladištenje, čuvanje i plaćanje."⁵ Cunliffe također ističe sljedeće: "Trgovina pod ugovorom se obično obavlja u trgovačkoj luci (ili emporiju) – mjesto izdvojeno od komercijalnih transakcija štiteći stranog trgovca."⁶

1.2.5. Model prestižne robe

Steponaitis pojašnjava model prestižne robe na sljedeći način: "U suštini, ovaj model pretpostavlja da poglavari stižu i održavaju moć preuzimanjem kontrole nad proizvodnjom i/ili distribucijom društveno vrijednih predmeta – tj. prestižne robe – koja se često detaljno izrađuje koristeći egzotične materijale. Prema ovom modelu, izvor moći poglavara leži u davanju takvih predmeta kako bi se privukli sljedbenici, utvrdili savezi

1.2.4. Administered trade

Aubet defines administered trade in the following way: "Administered trade, also called treaty trade (which would have been typical of the ancient world) implies the setting up of more-or-less formal treaties and agreements between the parties."⁴ In addition, Rotstein explains the following: "The trade is carried on by administrative methods which extend to the rates or prices at which goods are exchanged as well as to other elements of the transaction, including quality, weight, storage, safekeeping, and payment."⁵ Cunliffe also points out the following: "Administered trade would normally be practiced at a *port-of-trade* (or emporium) - a place set aside for commercial transactions giving protection to the foreign trader."⁶

1.2.5. Prestige goods model

Steponaitis explains the prestige goods model in the following way: "In essence, the model presumes that chiefs acquire and maintain power by gaining control of the production and/or distribution of socially valued objects - that is, prestige goods - which are often elaborately crafted and made of exotic materials. The root of chiefly power, according to this model, lies in giving such objects away in order to attract followers, to

4 Aubet 2013, 34.

5 Rotstein 1970, 121.

6 Cunliffe 1988, 5.

4 Aubet 2013, 34.

5 Rotstein 1970, 121.

6 Cunliffe 1988, 5.

ili nametnuli dugovi.”⁷ Na osnovu toga, za ovu knjigu su potrebna dva prilagođavanja. Kao prvo, prestižnu robu dijelili su i npr. kraljevi, tirani i aristokrate / oligarsi. To je možda bio i izvor njihove moći ili jedan od izvora. Kao drugo, osoba bi dijelila prestižnu robu iz sva tri razloga, tj. da stekne sljedbenike, učvrsti saveze i stvori dug.

1.2.6. Odnos između pokrovitelja i klijenta

Pelras definira odnos između pokrovitelja i klijenta na sljedeći način: “Odnos između pokrovitelja i klijenta može se općenito okarakterizirati kao nejednak (ali teoretski neobavezan) odnos između pretpostavljenog (pokrovitelja ili vođe) i nekolicine podređenih (klijenata, sluga ili sljedbenika).”⁸

cement alliances, or to inflict debt.”⁷ Based on this, two adaptations are necessary for this book. First, prestige goods were also given away by, for example, kings, tyrants, and aristocrats/oligarchs. This could also have been the root of their power or one of the roots of their power. Second, a person gave prestige goods away because of all three purposes, namely to get followers, strengthen alliances, and create debt.

1.2.6. Patron-client relationship

Pelras defines the patron-client relationship in the following way: “The patron-client relationship can be characterized generally as an unequal (but theoretically nonbinding) relationship between a superior (a patron or leader) and a number of inferiors (clients, retainers, or followers).”⁸

7 Steponaitis 2016, 121.

8 Pelras 2000, 394.

7 Steponaitis 2016, 121.

8 Pelras 2000, 394.

2. Dokazi direktno povezani s antičkim Daorsima

Postoje različiti dokazi koji su direktno povezani s antičkim Daorsima na istočnom Jadranu. Dokazi se zasnivaju na pisanim izvorima, arheološkim lokalitetima, kovanicama i epigrafiji.

Potrebno je napraviti pregled dokaza koji su povezani s antičkim Daorsima.

2.1. Pisani izvori

Antički autori koji spominju antičke Daorse na istočnom Jadranu u pisanim izvorima su Polibije (oko 200. – 118. god. prije nove ere),⁹ Livije (59. god. prije nove ere – 17. god. nove ere),¹⁰ Strabon (oko 64. god. prije nove ere – 19. god. nove ere),¹¹ Plinije Stariji (23/24. – 79. god. nove ere),¹² Apijan (oko 100. – 160. god. nove ere)¹³ i Ptolemej (oko 95. – 170. god. nove ere).¹⁴ Moguće je da su drugi antički autori spominjali antičke Daorse na istočnom Jadranu kroz pisane izvore, ali radovi tih autora nisu sačuvani ili su dijelovi u kojima se spominju Daorsi izgubljeni.

2. Evidence directly connected to the ancient Daorsi

There is different evidence that is directly connected to the ancient Daorsi in the Eastern Adriatic. The evidence is based on written sources, archaeological sites, coins, and epigraphy.

It is necessary to make an overview of the evidence that is connected to the ancient Daorsi.

2.1. Written sources

The ancient authors who mentioned the ancient Daorsi in the Eastern Adriatic through written sources were Polybios (ca. 200-118 BCE),⁹ Livy (59 BCE-17 CE),¹⁰ Strabo (ca. 64 BCE-19 CE),¹¹ Pliny the Elder (23/24-79 CE),¹² Appian (ca. 100-160 CE),¹³ and Claudius Ptolemy (ca. 95-170 CE).¹⁴ It is possible that other ancient authors mentioned the ancient Daorsi in the Eastern Adriatic through written sources, but the works of these authors have not survived or the parts where the Daorsi was mentioned have been lost.

9 Polyb. 32.5.9; Potter 2018, 12.

10 Livy, 45.26; Potter 2018, 11.

11 Strabo, 7.5.5; Schmitz 2022, 99.

12 Pliny, *NH.* 3.22; Purcell 2012, 1162.

13 App. *Ill.* 10.1.2; Potter 2018, 13.

14 Ptol. *Geog.* 2.15; Defaux 2017, 21.

9 Polyb. 32.5.9; Potter 2018, 12.

10 Livy, 45.26; Potter 2018, 11.

11 Strabo, 7.5.5; Schmitz 2022, 99.

12 Pliny, *NH.* 3.22; Purcell 2012, 1162.

13 App. *Ill.* 10.1.2; Potter 2018, 13.

14 Ptol. *Geog.* 2.15; Defaux 2017, 21.

2.2. Arheološki lokaliteti

U ovom odjeljku predstaviti ću dva najvažnija arheološka lokaliteta koja su zasigurno direktno povezana s antičkim Daorsima.

2.2.1. Ošanjići

Prvi lokalitet se nalazi na Ošanjićima kod Stoca. Arheolog Marijan, koji je godinama istraživao lokalitet, podijelio je lokalitet u tri dijela povezana jedna s drugim. Prvi dio je tzv. akropola. Ovdje se može pronaći npr. veliki megalitski zid s dvije kule i dva ulaza, jedan spremnik, jedan tumul nepoznate funkcije i hram. Drugi dio je orijentiran ka planini ispod akropole, koji je obuhvatao mnogo terasa i temelja za zgrade na ovim terasama. Treći dio je područje Banje koje je smješteno sjeveroistočno i istočno od akropole. Ovaj dio sadrži mnogo temelja za zgrade, dva spremnika, mjesta susreta i grobove. Osim toga, na sjeveru od nekropole i područja Banje nalazi se kamenolom. Na Ošanjićima su pronađene velike količine grčko-italskih amfora, keramike tipa Gnathia, različite vrste nakita, dijelovi skulptura, reljefi boginje Nike, bronzani disk, ilirska kaciga, oružje i različite vrste kovanica koje su pripadale npr. Daorsima, Korintu, Epidamnosu, Apoloniji, Rimskoj republici, kralju Antigonu II Gonatu i kralju Ballaios. Također je pronađena željeznodobna ostava, koja je

2.2. Archaeological sites

In this section, I will introduce two of the most important archaeological sites that were surely directly connected to the ancient Daorsi.

2.2.1. Ošanjići

The first site is located at Ošanjići near Stolac. The archaeologist Marijan, who has researched the site for many years, has divided the site into three parts, which were connected to each other. The first part is the so-called acropolis. Here one has found, for example, a large megalithic wall with two towers and two entrances, one cistern, one tumulus which had an unknown function, and a temple. The second part is the mountainside below the acropolis, which included many terraces and foundations for buildings on these terraces. The third part is the Banje-area, which is located northeast and east of the acropolis. This part has a lot of foundations for buildings, two cisterns, meeting places, and graves. In addition, one has a quarry north of the acropolis and Banje-area. On the site at Ošanjići one has found, for example, enormous amounts of Greco-Italic amphorae, finewares like the Gnathia-type, different kinds of jewelry, parts of sculptures, relief of goddess Nike, bronze disc, Illyrian helmet, weapons and different kind of coins belonging to, for instance, the Daorsi, Corinth, Epidamnos, Apollonia, Roman Republic, Antigonos II Gonatas,

uključivala 245 predmeta. U okviru ove željeznodobne ostave, možemo posebno spomenuti alate za rad s metalom i drvetom, alate za rad na poljoprivredi, bronzani kovčeg i bronzanu kofu.¹⁵

and King Ballaios. One has also found a metal-depot which included 245 objects. From this metal-depot one can especially mention the tools for working with metal, agriculture, and wood, a bronze chest, and a bronze bucket.¹⁵



Slika 2: Arheološki lokalitet na Ošanjićima.
Fotografiju snimio Ivo Dragičević.

Figure 2: The archaeological site at Ošanjići.
Photo by Ivo Dragičević.

15 Marić 1973; Marić 1977; Marić 1979; Marijanović 1984; Marić 1988, 178-179 (20.216); Marijan 2000-2001; Marijan 2011; Dragičević 2016; Dragičević 2022; Palameta, Palameta 2024.

15 Marić 1973; Marić 1977; Marić 1979; Marijanović 1984; Marić 1988, 178-179 (20.216); Marijan 2000-2001; Marijan 2011; Dragičević 2016; Dragičević 2022; Palameta, Palameta 2024.



Slika 3: Jedan od ulaza u unutrašnjost odbrambenih zidova. Fotografiju snimio Djani Behram.

Figure 3: One of the entrances to the space at the inside of the defensive walls. Photo by Djani Behram.



Slika 4: Veliki odbrambeni zid na Ošanjićima. Fotografiju snimio Djani Behram.

Figure 4: The large defensive wall at Ošanjići. Photo by Djani Behram.



Slika 5: Blokovi velikog odbrambenog zida na Ošanjićima. Fotografiju snimio Djani Behram.

Figure 5: Blocks from the large defensive wall at Ošanjići. Photo by Djani Behram.



Slika 6: Jedno od stepeništa na Ošanjićima. Fotografiju snimio Djani Behram.

Figure 6: One of the stairs from Ošanjići. Photo by Djani Behram.



Slika 7: Veliki odbrambeni zid na Ošanjićima. Fotografiju snimio Djani Behram.

Figure 7: The large defensive wall at Ošanjići. Photo by Djani Behram.



Slika 8: Lokalitet na Ošanjićima. Jasno se mogu vidjeti terase na brdu, koje su se nalazile na unutrašnjoj strani odbrambenih zidova. Fotografiju snimio Djani Behram.

Figure 8: The site at Ošanjići. One can clearly see the terraces on the hill, which were located on the inside of the defensive walls. Photo by Djani Behram.



Slika 9: Jedan od metalnih kalupa
pronađenih na Ošanjićima. Fotografiju
snimio Adnan Šahbaz uz dozvolu
Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine.

Figure 9: One of the metal casting molds
which was found at Ošanjići. Photo by
Adnan Šahbaz, courtesy of the National
Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina.



Slika 10: Jedan od metalnih kalupa
pronađenih na Ošanjićima. Fotografiju
snimio Adnan Šahbaz uz dozvolu
Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine.

Figure 10: One of the metal casting molds
which was found at Ošanjići. Photo by
Adnan Šahbaz, courtesy of the National
Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina.



Slika 11: Bronzana kutija za nakit
pronađena na Ošanjićima. Fotografiju
snimio Adnan Šahbaz uz dozvolu
Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine.

Figure 11: Bronze jewelry box, which was
found at Ošanjići. Photo by Adnan Šahbaz,
courtesy of the National Museum of Bosnia
and Herzegovina.



Slika 12: Grčko-ilirska kaciga sa Ošanjića.
Fotografiju snimio Adnan Šahbaz uz
dozvolu Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i
Hercegovine.

Figure 12: Greek-Illyrian helmet from
Ošanjici. Photo by Adnan Šahbaz, courtesy
of the National Museum of Bosnia and
Herzegovina.



Slika 13: Bronzana situla sa Ošanjića.
Fotografiju snimio Adnan Šahbaz uz
dozvolu Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i
Hercegovine.

Figure 13: Bronze situla from Ošanjici.
Photo by Adnan Šahbaz, courtesy of
the National Museum of Bosnia and
Herzegovina.

2.2.2. Stolac

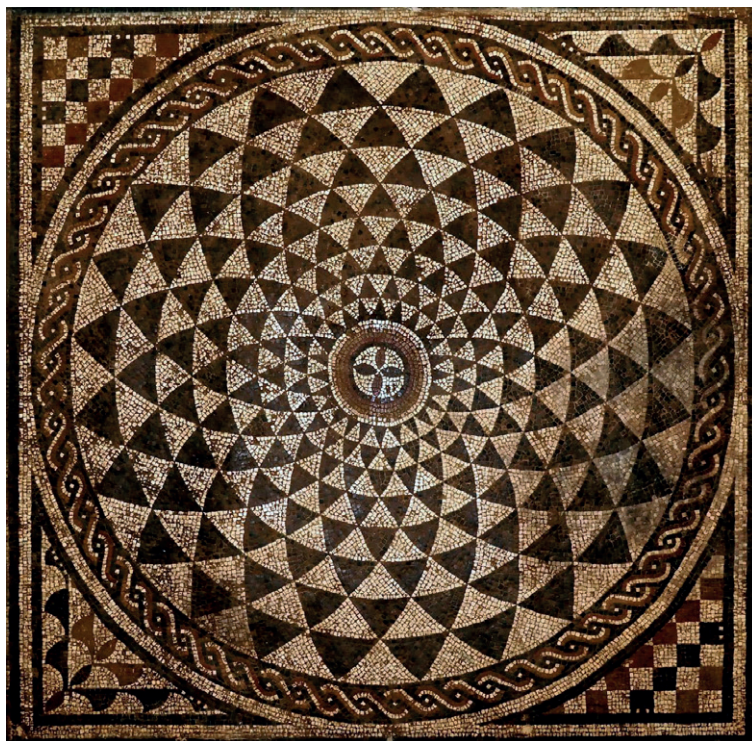
Drugi lokalitet se nalazi u Stocu. Ov-
dje su istraživači pronašli npr. mau-
zolej, terme, kanale za dovod vode,
kanalizaciju, različite natpise i kuće
s mozaicima. Osim toga, pronađene
su kovanice koje pripadaju Apoloni-

2.2.2. Stolac

The second site is located in Stolac.
Here researchers have found, for ex-
ample, mausoleum, thermae, chan-
nels for water supply, sewage, dif-
ferent inscriptions, and houses with
mosaics. In addition, one has found

ji, Epidamnosu i Rimskoj republici iz 1. stoljeća prije nove ere. Također su pronađene kovanice koje pripadaju Rimskom Carstvu od 1. do 4. stoljeća nove ere.¹⁶

coins belonging to Apollonia, Epidamnos, and Republican Rome from the first century BCE. Additionally, one has found coins belonging to Imperial Rome from the first to fourth century CE.¹⁶



Slika 14: Jedan od rimskih mozaika pronađenih u Stocu. Fotografiju snimio Ivo Dragičević uz dozvolu Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine.

Figure 14: One of the mosaics from Roman times, which was found in Stolac. Photo by Ivo Dragičević, courtesy of National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

16 Atanacković-Salčić 1988, 192 (20.484); Busuladžić 2008, 45-50; lična komunikacija s Ivom Dragičevićem; Šaćić Beća 2024, 45.

16 Atanacković-Salčić 1988, 192 (20.484); Busuladžić 2008, 45-50; personal communication with Ivo Dragičević; Šaćić Beća 2024, 45.



Slika 15: Jedan od rimskih mozaika
pronađenih u Stocu. Fotografija
Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine

Figure 15: One of the mosaics from
Roman times, which was found in Stolac.
Photo by National Museum of Bosnia and
Herzegovina.

2.3. Kovanice

Do sada je pronađeno 19 kovanica Daorsa. Na aversu možemo pronaći glavu čovjeka sa šeširom. Na reversu se nalazi brod. Na reversu, DAORSON (ΔΑΟΡΣΩΝ) ili DAOERSON (ΔΑΟΕΡΣΩΝ) napisano je na grčkom. Kovanice potiču iz prve polovine 2. stoljeća prije nove ere. Neke od kovanica Daorsa pronađene su na Ošanjićima, Berkovićima, Pljevljima i Gackom u današnjoj Bosni i Hercegovini i Crnoj Gori. Lokaliteti drugih kovanica Daorsa su nepoznati.¹⁷

¹⁷ Džino 2007, 71; Dragičević 2016; Dragičević 2023.

2.3. Coins

So far one has found 19 Daorsi coins. On the obverse, one finds a head of a man, who is wearing a hat. On the reverse, one finds a ship. On the reverse, DAORSON (ΔΑΟΡΣΩΝ) or DAOERSON (ΔΑΟΕΡΣΩΝ) is written in Greek. The coins date to the first half of the second century BCE. Some of the Daorsi coins have been found at Ošanjići, Berkovići, Pljevlja, and Gacko in today's Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro. Other Daorsi coins have unknown find sites.¹⁷

¹⁷ Džino 2007, 71; Dragičević 2016; Dragičević 2023.



Slika 16: Jedna od kovanica Daorsa na kojoj piše DAORSON.
Fotografiju snimio Ivo Dragičević.

Figure 16: One of the Daorsi coins where DAORSON is written.
Photo by Ivo Dragičević.



Slika 17: Jedna od kovanica Daorsa na kojoj piše DAOERSON.
Fotografiju snimio Ivo Dragičević.

Figure 17: One of the Daorsi coins where DAOERSON is written.
Photo by Ivo Dragičević.

2.4. Natpisi

Istraživači su do sada pronašli dva natpisa na kojima piše “Daorsi”. Oba natpisa su povezana s rimskim auk-silijarima. Prva vojna stela je pronađena u današnjem njemačkom gradu Bingen am Rhein. Ovaj natpis potiče iz oko 74. godine nove ere.¹⁸ Druga vojna stela je pronađena u današnjem Solinu u Hrvatskoj. Ovaj natpis potiče iz 93. godine nove ere.¹⁹ Također je važno spomenuti natpis koji spominje Diluntum. Ovaj natpis je pronađen u

2.4. Inscriptions

So far researchers have found two inscriptions where “Daorsi” was written. Both inscriptions are connected to Roman auxiliaries. The first military stele was found in today’s Bingen am Rhein in Germany. This inscription dates to around 74 CE.¹⁸ The second military stele was found at today’s Solin in Croatia. This inscription dates to 93 CE.¹⁹ It is also important to mention the inscription which mentions Diluntum. This inscription was

18 CIL 13, 07507; Domić Kunić 1988, 87.

19 CIL 16, 00038; Domić Kunić 1988, 94.

18 CIL 13, 07507; Domić Kunić 1988, 87.

19 CIL 16, 00038; Domić Kunić 1988, 94.

Trebimlji u današnjem Ravnom u Bosni i Hercegovini i datira iz 2. stoljeća nove ere.²⁰ Iako ovaj natpis ne spominje Daorse, ključan je za pokušaj tumačenja razvoja Daorsa.

found in Trebimlja in today's Ravno in Bosnia and Herzegovina and dates to the second century CE.²⁰ Even though this inscription does not mention the Daorsi, it is fundamental when one tries to interpret the development of the Daorsi.

20 AE 1980, 0677; Bojanovski 1977, 82-87.

20 AE 1980, 0677; Bojanovski 1977, 82-87.

3. Daorsi u očima istraživača

U ovom poglavlju ću spomenuti autore koji su istraživali Daorse i njihovu historiju. Nakon toga ću predstaviti postojeće tumačenje Daorsa i njihove historije. Nadalje, istaknut ću neke od problema ovog tumačenja. Na kraju ovog poglavlja, spomenut ću koje ću dijelove postojećeg tumačenja koristiti u svom tumačenju Daorsa i njihove historije.

3.1. Istraživači koji su se bavili Daorsima

Istraživači koji su se bavili Daorsima su Carl Patsch, Đuro Basler, Zdravko Marić, Ivo Bojanovski, Marin Zaninović, Mithad Kozličić, Duje Rendić-Miočević, Nenad Cambi, Boško Marijan, Snježana Vasilj, Almir Marić, Ibrahim Pašić, Ivo Dragićević, Alka Domić Kunić, Danijel Džino, Marina Prusac-Lindhagen, Adam Lindhagen i Milijan Dimitrijević.

3.2. Postojeće tumačenje Daorsa i njihova historija

Prvo ću pisati o tome kako su Daorsi i njihova historija bili tumačeni prije nego što su postali peregrinska civitas. Kao što ću navesti kasnije, istraživači su već tvrdili da su Daorsi bili peregrinska civitas.²¹ Prije nego što

3. The Daorsi in the eyes of researchers

In this chapter, I will mention the researchers who have researched the Daorsi and its history. Afterwards, I will present the existing interpretation of the Daorsi and its history. Further, I will point out some of the problems with this interpretation. At the end of this chapter, I will mention what parts of the existing interpretation I will use in my interpretation of the Daorsi and its history.

3.1. Researchers who have researched the Daorsi

The researchers who have researched the Daorsi are Carl Patsch, Đuro Basler, Zdravko Marić, Ivo Bojanovski, Marin Zaninović, Mithad Kozličić, Duje Rendić-Miočević, Nenad Cambi, Boško Marijan, Snježana Vasilj, Almir Marić, Ibrahim Pašić, Ivo Dragićević, Alka Domić Kunić, Danijel Džino, Marina Prusac-Lindhagen, Adam Lindhagen, and Milijan Dimitrijević.

3.2. The existing interpretation of the Daorsi and its history

I will first write about how the Daorsi and its history have been interpreted before the Daorsi became a *civitas peregrina*. As I will point out later, researchers have already argued that the Daorsi was a *civitas peregrina*.²¹

21 Bojanovski 1988, 96; Dzino 2010, 164.

21 Bojanovski 1988, 96; Dzino 2010, 164.

su postali peregrinska civitas, Daorsi su bili nazivani narod, narod-zajednica, pleme, država, pleme-država, grupa, etnička zajednica, savez, politija, poglavarstvo, zajednica i društveno-ekonomska mreža.²² Većina istraživača navodi da su Daorsi bili Iliri.²³ Lokalitet na Ošanjićima je interpretiran kao prvo središte / glavni grad / glavno središte Daorsa.²⁴ Nakon što je središte na Ošanjićima uništeno, Daorsi su premjestili svoje središte u Stolac.²⁵ Čini se da se autori slažu da su teritorije Daorsa bile locirane na Ošanjićima i Stocu i oko ovih mjesta. Međutim, ne slažu se oko veličine teritorije Daorsa i koliko daleko se protezala. Rasprava u vezi s teritorijama Daorsa usloženjena je potvrdom nekoliko autora o tome da su se teritorije Daorsa vremenom mijenjale.²⁶

The Daorsi before it became a *civitas peregrina* has been called a people, people-community, tribe, country/state, tribe-country/state, group, ethnic community, alliance, polity, chiefdom, community, and socio-economic network.²² Many researchers have stated that the Daorsi were Illyrians.²³ The site at Ošanjići has been interpreted as the first center/capital/main center of the Daorsi.²⁴ After the destruction of the center at Ošanjići, the Daorsi moved its center to Stolac.²⁵ It seems like the researchers agree that the territories of the Daorsi were located in and around Ošanjići and Stolac. However, there are disagreements about how big the territory of the Daorsi was and where it stretched. The discussion regarding the territories of the Daorsi is complicated by the acknowledgment of several authors that the territories of the Daorsi changed over time.²⁶

22 Basler 1971, 333; Marić 1975, 103; Marić 1985, 50; Marić 2000, 37; Zaninović 2003, 281; Prusac 2007, 48; Prusac 2010, 13; Marić 2014, 123; Džino 2010, 38; Vasilj, Čuljak, Paponja 2012, 32; Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 91, 105; Dragičević 2016, 108; Dimitrijević 2018, 21.

23 Basler 1971, 333; Prusac 2010, 13; Marijan 2011, 177; Vasilj, Čuljak, Paponja 2012, 200; Marić 2014, 123; Vasilj 2019, 113.

24 Basler 1971, 333; Cambi 1993, 42; Marijan 2000-2001, 24; Zaninović 2003, 282; Vasilj, Čuljak, Paponja 2012, 200; Marić 2014, 135; Dragičević 2016, 108; Vasilj 2019, 113.

25 Marijan 2000-2001, 24.

26 Basler 1971, 333-334; Marić 1975, 103; Zaninović 2003, 281; Marić 2014, 123.

22 Basler 1971, 333; Marić 1975, 103; Marić 1985, 50; Marić 2000, 37; Zaninović 2003, 281; Prusac 2007, 48; Prusac 2010, 13; Marić 2014, 123; Džino 2010, 38; Vasilj, Čuljak, Paponja 2012, 32; Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 91, 105; Dragičević 2016, 108; Dimitrijević 2018, 21.

23 Basler 1971, 333; Prusac 2010, 13; Marijan 2011, 177; Vasilj, Čuljak, Paponja 2012, 200; Marić 2014, 123; Vasilj 2019, 113.

24 Basler 1971, 333; Cambi 1993, 42; Marijan 2000-2001, 24; Zaninović 2003, 282; Vasilj, Čuljak, Paponja 2012, 200; Marić 2014, 135; Dragičević 2016, 108; Vasilj 2019, 113.

25 Marijan 2000-2001, 24.

26 Basler 1971, 333-334; Marić 1975, 103; Zaninović 2003, 281; Marić 2014, 123.

Neki istraživači su istakli da je Hekatej Milećanin (560. – 480. god. prije nove ere) bio prvi koji je spomenuo Daorse.²⁷ Na osnovu ovoga, Daorse možemo pratiti do vremena Hekateja Milećanina. Marić je također tvrdio da su Daorsi postojali prije vremena Hekateja Milećanina.²⁸ Nadalje, navedeno je da su Daorsi bili dio Ilirskog kraljevstva do pada Ilirskog kraljevstva 168. god. prije nove ere. Ovaj pad kraljevstva je povezan s Trećim ilirskim ratom (170. – 169. god. prije nove ere) kada je Rim bio u sukobu s Gencijem, kraljem Labeata i tadašnjim vođom Ilirskog kraljevstva.²⁹ Tokom ovog rata, Daorsi su zamijenili strane s Rimljanima.³⁰ Rimljani su pobijedili u Trećem ilirskom ratu.³¹ To je dovelo do oslobađanja od poreza i nezavisnosti za Daorse nakon rata.³² Istovremeno, Daorse je štitio Rim, ali Rim nije imao vojsku na njihovoj teritoriji.³³ Istaknuto je da su Daorsi i Rim bili u dobrim odnosima nakon Trećeg ilirskog rata.³⁴

Istraživači su istakli da su Daorsi funkcionirali kao trgovački posrednici između obale i zaleđa.³⁵ Mno-

Some researchers have pointed out that Hecataios of Miletos (560-480 BCE) was the first to mention the Daorsi.²⁷ Based on this, one can trace the Daorsi back to the time of Hecataios of Miletos. Marić even argued that the Daorsi existed before the time of Hecataios of Miletos.²⁸ Further, it has been pointed out that the Daorsi was part of the Illyrian Kingdom until the Illyrian Kingdom collapsed in 168 BCE. This collapse was connected with the Third Illyrian War (170-169 BCE), where Rome was in conflict with Genthius, the king of the Labeatae and the leader of the Illyrian Kingdom at this time.²⁹ During this war, the Daorsi switched sides to the Romans.³⁰ Romans won the Third Illyrian War.³¹ This resulted in tax exemption and independence for the Daorsi after the war.³² At the same time, the Daorsi was protected by Rome, but Rome did not have a military presence in its territory.³³ It has been pointed out that the Daorsi and Rome had a good relationship with each other after the Third Illyrian War.³⁴

Researchers have argued that the Daorsi functioned as an intermediary in trade between the coast and

27 Marić 1973, 109; Marić 2014, 123.

28 Marić 1975, 103.

29 Marić 1985, 49; Džino, Domic Kunić 2013, 87-92.

30 Marić 1985, 49.

31 Džino, Domic Kunić 2013, 90-93.

32 Marić 1985, 49; Džino 2010, 57.

33 Marić 1985, 49.

34 Džino 2010, 76, 85.

35 Zaninović 2003, 281; Marić 2014, 125; Dragičević 2016, 108.

27 Marić 1973, 109; Marić 2014, 123.

28 Marić 1975, 103.

29 Marić 1985, 49; Džino, Domic Kunić 2013, 87-92.

30 Marić 1985, 49.

31 Džino, Domic Kunić 2013, 90-93.

32 Marić 1985, 49; Džino 2010, 57.

33 Marić 1985, 49.

34 Džino 2010, 76, 85.

gi su istakli da su Delmati razorili središte Daorsa na Ošanjićima.³⁶ Međutim, postoji neslaganje oko vremena ovog razaranja. Neki istraživači smještaju razaranje u 2. stoljeće prije nove ere.³⁷ Drugi ga datiraju u sredinu 1. stoljeća prije nove ere.³⁸ Nakon ovog razaranja, Daorsi su premjestili svoje središte iz Ošanjića u Stolac.³⁹ Mnogi istraživači su smjestili Diluntum u današnji Stolac.⁴⁰ Kasnije su Daorsi postali peregrinska civitas sa 17 dekurija.⁴¹ Peregrinska civitas Daorsa je bila dio rimske provincije Dalmacije i Naronitanskog konventa.⁴² Osobe iz peregrinske civitas Daorsa bili su auksilijari (*Auxilia*, pomoćne trupe) u rimskoj vojsci.⁴³ Kasnije je Diluntum postao municipij.⁴⁴ Istaknuto je da je postojao kontinuitet peregrinske civitas Daorsa i municipija Diluntum.⁴⁵

the hinterland.³⁵ Many have pointed out that the center of the Daorsi at Ošanjići was destroyed by the Delmatae.³⁶ However, there is a disagreement when this destruction happened. Some researchers place the destruction in the second century BCE.³⁷ Others date the destruction to the middle of the first century BCE.³⁸ After this destruction, the Daorsi moved its center from Ošanjići to Stolac.³⁹ Many researchers have placed Diluntum in today's Stolac.⁴⁰ Later, the Daorsi became a *civitas peregrina* with 17 decuriae.⁴¹ The *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi was part of the Roman province of Dalmatia and the *conventus* of Naronia.⁴² Individuals from the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi were auxiliaries in the Roman army.⁴³ Later, Diluntum became a *municipium*.⁴⁴ One has pointed out that there was continuity between *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi and the *municipium* of Diluntum.⁴⁵

36 Zaninović 2003, 282; Marić 2014, 129; Dzino 2010, 93.

37 Zaninović 1982, 74-75 (fusnote 16 i 17); Lindhagen, neobjavljeni rad.

38 Marijan 2000-2001, 24; Marić 2014, 129; Dzino 2010, 93.

39 Marijan 2000-2001, 24.

40 Bojanovski 1988, 99-100; Marijan 2000-2001, 24; Busuladžić 2011, 105.

41 Bojanovski 1988, 96; Dzino 2010, 164.

42 Dzino 2010, 164.

43 Domić Kunić 1988, 87, 94.

44 Bojanovski 1988, 101.

45 Bojanovski 1988, 96.

35 Zaninović 2003, 281; Marić 2014, 125; Dragičević 2016, 108.

36 Zaninović 2003, 282; Marić 2014, 129; Dzino 2010, 93.

37 Zaninović 1982, 74-75 (footnote 16 and 17); Lindhagen, unpublished paper.

38 Marijan 2000-2001, 24; Marić 2014, 129; Dzino 2010, 93.

39 Marijan 2000-2001, 24.

40 Bojanovski 1988, 99-100; Marijan 2000-2001, 24; Busuladžić 2011, 105.

41 Bojanovski 1988, 96; Dzino 2010, 164.

42 Dzino 2010, 164.

43 Domić Kunić 1988, 87, 94.

44 Bojanovski 1988, 101.

45 Bojanovski 1988, 96.

3.3. Neki od problema postojećeg tumačenja Daorsa i njihove historije

Prvi problem je taj što mnogi istraživači rijetko definiraju šta misle pod različitim pojmovima koje koriste za Daorse prije nego što su postali peregrinska civitas. Naprimjer, šta za različite istraživače znači pleme ili etnička zajednica? Drugi problem je argument da je Hekatej Milećanin spomenuo Daorse na istočnom Jadranu. Stefan Bizantinac (5. stoljeće nove ere) je sačuvao dijelove rada Hekateja Milećanina.⁴⁶ Na osnovu Hekateja Milećanina, Stefan Bizantinac je napisao sljedeće: "Daorsi, narod Trakije; Hekatej <ih spomenu> u Evropi."⁴⁷ Ovdje se navodi da su Daorsi Tračani. Zanimljivo je da je Herodot (oko 485. – 424. god. prije nove ere) spomenuo tračansko pleme *Dersaei*, a Tukidid (oko 460. – 400. god. prije nove ere) je spomenu tračansko pleme pod *Dersaeans*.⁴⁸ To ukazuje da su u Trakiji postojali neki Daorsi. Na osnovu ovoga možemo reći da je Hekatej Milećanin vjerovatno mislio na Daorse u Trakiji, a ne na Daorse na istočnom Jadranu. Drugim riječima, Hekatej Milećanin nije spomenuo Daorse na istočnom Jadranu.

To znači da je Polibije bio prvi autor, za kojeg znamo, da je spomenuo Daorse na istočnom Jadranu u

3.3. Some problems with the existing interpretation of the Daorsi and its history

The first problem is that many researchers rarely define what they mean with the different terms they use for the Daorsi before it became a *civitas peregrina*. What does, for example, a tribe or ethnic community mean for the different researchers? The second problem is the argument that Hecataios of Miletos mentioned the Daorsi in the Eastern Adriatic. Stephanus of Byzantium (fifth century CE) preserved parts of Hecataios of Miletos' work.⁴⁶ Stephanus of Byzantium, based on Hecataios of Miletos, wrote the following: "Darsier, Thracian people; Hecataios <mentions them> in the Europe [translated from German to English]."⁴⁷ Here it is stated that the Daorsi was a Thracian people. It is interesting that Herodotos (ca. 485-424 BCE) mentioned a Thracian tribe named the Dersaei and Thukydides (ca. 460-400 BCE) mentioned a Thracian tribe named the Dersaeans.⁴⁸ This indicates that there was a Daorsi in Thracia. Based on this, one can say that Hecataeus of Miletos probably meant the Daorsi in Thracia, not the Daorsi in the Eastern Adriatic. In other words, Hecataeus of Miletus did not mention the Daorsi in the Eastern Adriatic.

46 Matijašić 2011, 295.

47 Stephanus of Byzantium, D.24.

48 Herodotus, 7.110; Thucydides, 2.101; McInerney 2018, 19, 25.

46 Matijašić 2011, 295.

47 Stephanus of Byzantium, D.24.

48 Herodotus, 7.110; Thucydides, 2.101; McInerney 2018, 19, 25.

kontekstu događaja iz prve polovine 2. stoljeća prije nove ere.⁴⁹ Treći problem jeste taj što ne možemo sa sigurnošću reći da je naziv Daorsa postojao na istočnom Jadranu prije prve polovine 2. stoljeća prije nove ere. Četvrto, Daorsi nisu na početku bili Iliri. "Iliri" je pojam kojeg su izumili Grci, a kasnije preuzeli Rimljani da odrede društveno-političke jedinice, saveze, geografske oblasti i ljude s potencijalno sličnim kulturnim crtama.⁵⁰ Istina, predrimsko stanovništvo na teritoriji istočnog Jadrana moglo je preuzeti ovaj pojam izvana da sebi dodijeli ime. Međutim, zanimljivo je da i dalje ne postoji dokaz da je predrimsko stanovništvo na teritoriji istočnog Jadrana koristilo pojam "ilirski" za sebe, svoje teritorije, društveno-političke jedinice i saveze. Peto, kada su istraživači razmatrali teritorije Daorsa, čini se da nisu bili svjesni činjenice da Ošanjići nisu bili jedino središte u donjoj Neretvi. Ošanjići su zapravo bili jedno od nekoliko središta u donjoj Neretvi.

Kao što ću objasniti kasnije, Grad Nakovana, Hamzići i Zvonigrad također se mogu tumačiti kao središta. Kao što ću navesti kasnije, može se tvrditi da je postojalo nekoliko društveno-političkih jedinica s vlastitim središtima i teritorijama u donjoj Neretvi. Ako je postojalo nekoliko

This means that Polybios was the first author, we know about, to mention the Daorsi in the Eastern Adriatic in the context of events that happened in the first half of the second century BCE.⁴⁹ The third problem is that one cannot say with certainty that the name Daorsi existed in the Eastern Adriatic before the first half of the second century BCE. Fourth, Daorsi was not at the start Illyrian. Illyrian was a term that was invented by the Greeks and later taken over by the Romans to designate sociopolitical units, unions, geographical areas, and humans with potentially alike cultural traits.⁵⁰ True, the pre-Roman population in the Eastern Adriatic could have taken over this term from the outside to designate themselves. However, it is interesting that there is still no evidence that the pre-Roman population in the Eastern Adriatic used the term Illyrian for themselves, their territories, sociopolitical units, and unions. Fifth, when researchers discussed the territories of the Daorsi, it seems like they were not conscious of the fact that Ošanjići was not the only center in the lower Neretva. Actually, Ošanjići was one of several centers in the lower Neretva.

As I will explain later, Grad Nakovana, Hamzići, and Zvonigrad can also be interpreted as centers. As I will argue later, one can thus speak of

49 Polyb. 32.5.9.

50 Dzino 2014, 2; Boršić, Džino, Radić Rossi 2021, 17.

49 Polyb. 32.5.9.

50 Dzino 2014, 2; Boršić, Džino, Radić Rossi 2021, 17.

središta u donjoj Neretvi, koje središte je pripadalo Daorsima? Kasnije ću pokazati koje središte je pripadalo Daorsima. Šesti problem je mogućnost da je rimski projektil iz perioda Rimske republike otkriven u grobnici na Ošanjićima. To nam može dati drugačiju perspektivu u vezi s razaranjem Ošanjića. Otkriće rimskog projektila iz perioda Rimske republike prvo je istakao Dragičević, iako je artefakt otkriven 1963.⁵¹ Sedmi problem je taj što neki istraživači nisu razdvojili Daorse na one prije nego su postali peregrinska civitas i one nakon što su postali peregrinska civitas. Peregrinska civitas Daorsa je bila rimski konstrukt; Daorsi prije nego su postali peregrinska civitas nisu bili rimski konstrukt. Bojanovski i Zaninović su naveli primjer za to. Bojanovski navodi da je teritorija peregrinske civitas Daorsa bila smještena na području od današnjeg Mostara do Metkovića.⁵² Međutim, Zaninović, koji se referira na Bojanovskog, pogrešno navodi da je Bojanovski mislio da je ovo bila teritorija Daorsa tokom cijele njihove historije.⁵³

several sociopolitical units with their own centers and territories in the lower Neretva. If there were several centers in the lower Neretva, which center belonged to the Daorsi? I am going to show which center belonged to the Daorsi later. The sixth problem is that one has possibly discovered a Roman projectile from the Roman republican period in a grave at Ošanjići. This may give us a different perspective regarding the destruction of Ošanjići. The discovery of a Roman projectile from the Roman republican period was first pointed out by Dragičević, even though the artifact was discovered in 1963.⁵¹ The seventh problem is that some researchers do not separate the Daorsi before it became a *civitas peregrina* and after it became a *civitas peregrina*. *Civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi was a Roman construction, the Daorsi before it became a *civitas peregrina* was not a Roman construction. This is exemplified by Bojanovski and Zaninović. Bojanovski states that the territory of *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi was located from today's Mostar to Metković.⁵² However, Zaninović, who refers to Bojanovski, states wrongly that Bojanovski meant that this was the territory of the Daorsi throughout its whole history.⁵³

51 Lična komunikacija s Ivom Dragičevićem; Marić 1973, 176 (Tabla XV.3).

52 Bojanovski 1988, 92.

53 Zaninović 2003, 281.

51 Personal communication with Ivo Dragičević; Marić 1973, 176 (Tabla XV.3).

52 Bojanovski 1988, 92.

53 Zaninović 2003, 281.

3.4. Dijelovi postojećeg tumačenja koje ću koristiti u tumačenju Daorsa i njihove historije

Postoje neki dijelovi postojećeg tumačenja koje ću koristiti u svom tumačenju Daorsa i njihove historije. Počet ću s Daorsima prije nego su postali peregrinska civitas. Slažem se da je središte Daorsa bilo isprva locirano na Ošanjićima, a kasnije u Stocu. Također se slažem da su Daorsi imali teritoriju. Nadalje, potvrđujem da su Daorsi bili dio takozvanog "Ilirskog kraljevstva", ali u ovoj knjizi ću predstaviti drugačije tumačenje "Ilirskog kraljevstva". Nadalje, slažem se da su Daorsi prešli na stranu Rima tokom Trećeg ilirskog rata te da su nakon ovog rata dobili nezavisnost i oslobođenje od poreza od Rima. Osim toga, rimska vojska nije bila prisutna na teritoriji Daorsa odmah nakon Trećeg ilirskog rata. Također se može tvrditi da je Rim štitio Daorse nakon Trećeg ilirskog rata.

Daorsi i Rim su istovremeno imali dobru saradnju, posebno po pitanju trgovine, nakon 168. godine prije nove ere. Također se slažem s istraživačima koji su istakli da je lokalitet na Ošanjićima uništen u 2. stoljeću prije nove ere. Moguće je da su Delmati uništili lokalitet na Ošanjićima. Međutim, novi dokaz postojanja rimskog projektila na Ošanjićima iz perioda Republike, koji je otkriven u grobnici, stvara osnovu za različite

3.4. Parts of the existing interpretation that I will use in my interpretation of the Daorsi and its history

There are some parts of the existing interpretation that I will use in my interpretation of the Daorsi and its history. Again, I will start with the Daorsi before it became a *civitas peregrina*. I agree that the center of the Daorsi was located first at Ošanjići and afterwards in Stolac. I also agree that the Daorsi had a territory. Furthermore, I acknowledge that the Daorsi was part of the so-called "Illyrian Kingdom", but I will give a different interpretation of the "Illyrian Kingdom" in this book. Further, I agree that the Daorsi switched sides to Rome during the Third Illyrian War and that the Daorsi after this war got independence and tax exemption from Rome. In addition, no Roman army was present on the territory of the Daorsi immediately after the Third Illyrian War. It is also possible to argue that the Daorsi was protected by Rome after the Third Illyrian War.

At the same time, the Daorsi and Rome had good cooperation after 168 BCE, especially when it came to trade. I also agree with the researchers who point out that the site at Ošanjići got destroyed in the second century BCE. It is possible that the site at Ošanjići was destroyed by the Delmatae. However, the new ar-

perspektive u vezi s historijom razaranja Ošanjića o kojima ću govoriti. Također se slažem da su Daorsi funkcionirali kao trgovački posrednici između obale i zaleđa. Nadalje se slažem da su Daorsi kasnije postali peregrinska civitas. Osim toga, potvrđujem da se Diluntum nalazio u današnjem Stocu. Osobe iz peregrinske civitas Daorsa bili su auksilijari (*Auxilia*, pomoćne trupe) u rimskoj vojsci. Kasnije je Diluntum postao municipij. I na kraju, slažem se da postoji kontinuitet peregrinske civitas Daorsa i municipija Diluntum.

gument regarding the existence of a Roman projectile from republican times at Ošanjići, which was found in a grave, creates a foundation for different perspectives regarding the history of the destruction of Ošanjići, which I will discuss. I also agree that the Daorsi functioned as a middleman in trade between the coast and the hinterland. Further, I agree that the Daorsi later became a *civitas peregrina*. In addition, I acknowledge that Diluntum was located in today's Stolac. Individuals from the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi were auxiliaries in the Roman army. Later, Diluntum became a *municipium*. Lastly, I agree that there is a continuity between the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi and the *municipium* of Diluntum.

4. Društveno-političke jedinice i savezi na predrimskom istočnom Jadranu

Pisani izvori ne sadrže informacije o društveno-političkoj strukturi Daorsa u predrimskom periodu. Nadalje, teško je potpuno razumjeti društveno-političku strukturu Daorsa u predrimskom periodu samo na osnovu arheoloških lokaliteta i artefakata. Međutim, pisani izvori sadrže mnogo informacija o općoj društveno-političkoj strukturi u predrimskom istočnom Jadranu. Možemo govoriti o postojanju društveno-političkih jedinica i saveza u predrimskom istočnom Jadranu. To ću objasniti i ilustrirati u ovom poglavlju. Ovo objašnjenje i ilustracija pružaju osnovu za razumijevanje društveno-političke strukture Daorsa, jer stvaraju kontekst u okviru kojeg se mogu razumjeti pisani izvori, arheološki lokaliteti i kovanice povezani s Daorsima.

4.1. Društveno-političke jedinice na predrimskom istočnom Jadranu

Postojale su mnoge društveno-političke jedinice u predrimskom istočnom Jadranu. Postojanje određenih društveno-političkih jedinica moglo je varirati tokom vremena. Društim riječima, u nekim slučajevima, društveno-politička jedinica koja je

4. Sociopolitical units and unions in the pre-Roman Eastern Adriatic

We do not get information in the written sources about the Daorsi's sociopolitical structure in pre-Roman times. Furthermore, it is difficult to fully understand the Daorsi's sociopolitical structure in pre-Roman times based on archaeological sites and artifacts alone. However, we get a lot of information in the written sources about the general sociopolitical structure in the pre-Roman Eastern Adriatic. One can speak of the existence of sociopolitical units and unions in the pre-Roman Eastern Adriatic. I will explain and illustrate this in this chapter. This explanation and illustration provide us with a foundation for the understanding of the Daorsi's sociopolitical structure because it creates a context in which the written sources, archaeological sites, and coins, which are connected to the Daorsi, can be understood.

4.1. Sociopolitical units in the pre-Roman Eastern Adriatic

There were many sociopolitical units in the pre-Roman Eastern Adriatic. The existence of specific sociopolitical units could have varied through time. In other words, in some instances, a sociopolitical unit that existed in the fourth century BCE

postojala u 4. stoljeću prije nove ere možda je propala do 2. stoljeća prije nove ere. Društveno-politička jedinica na predrimskom istočnom Jadranu sastojala se od nekoliko elemenata, tj. središta, teritorije, političkog sistema, stanovništva i naziva.

4.1.1. Središte

Prvi element društveno-političke jedinice bio je središte. Pojmove *oppidum*, *urbs*, *civitas*, *asty* i *polis* obično su spominjali grčki i latinski autori kada su pisali o događajima u predrimskom istočnom Jadranu.⁵⁴ *Oppidum*, *urbs*, *civitas*, *asty* i *polis* često se prevode kao "grad".⁵⁵ Ono što su antički pisci zvali *oppidum*, *urbs*, *civitas*, *asty* i *polis*, mogu se tumačiti kao središta društveno-političkih jedinica. Središte je najvažnije mjesto društveno-političke jedinice. Veličina i izgled središta društveno-političkih jedinica su varirali.

4.1.2. Teritorija

Društveno-politička jedinica je imala i svoju teritoriju. Teritorija društveno-političke jedinice uvijek je uključivala središte. Osim središta, možda je uključivala uobičajene gradine i/ili sela. Veličina teritorije različitih

could have collapsed by the second century BCE. A sociopolitical unit in the pre-Roman Eastern Adriatic consisted of several elements, namely a center, territory, political system, population, and name/names.

4.1.1. Center

The first element of a sociopolitical unit was the center. The terms *oppidum*, *urbs*, *civitas*, *asty*, and *polis* are often mentioned by Greek and Latin authors when they write about events in the pre-Roman Eastern Adriatic.⁵⁴ *Oppidum*, *urbs*, *civitas*, *asty*, and *polis* often translates into city or town.⁵⁵ What ancient authors called *oppidum*, *urbs*, *civitas*, *asty*, and *polis*, can be interpreted as the centers of the sociopolitical units. The center was the most important place of the sociopolitical unit. The size and appearance of the centers of the sociopolitical units varied.

4.1.2. Territory

A sociopolitical unit also had its own territory. The territory of the sociopolitical unit always included a center. The territory of the sociopolitical unit could have included ordinary hillforts and/or villages in

54 Polyb. 3.16; Livy, 44.30; Cic. *LTF*. 256; Front. *Strat.* 3.6.3; Flor. 2.25; App. 10.2.11, 10.4.16.

55 Onuf 1994, 294; Wachter 1995, 16; Mitchell 2000, 1; Becker 2008, 71; Taylor 2011, 705.

54 Polyb. 3.16; Livy, 44.30; Cic. *LTF*. 256; Front. *Strat.* 3.6.3; Flor. 2.25; App. 10.2.11, 10.4.16.

55 Onuf 1994, 294; Wachter 1995, 16; Mitchell 2000, 1; Becker 2008, 71; Taylor 2011, 705.

društveno-političkih jedinica je varirala. Osim toga, moguće je da se ova teritorija vremenom mijenjala.

4.1.3. Politički sistem

Treći element društveno-političke jedinice bio je politički sistem. Društveno-politička jedinica je mogla biti, naprimjer, tiranija, monarhija, aristokratija / oligarhija ili demokratija. Seland pojašnjava da je tiranija sljedeće: "Tiranija opisuje političku stvarnost, a ne oblik vladavine. Neki tirani bi zadržali rad tradicionalnih institucija sve dok bi dozvolile da se njima manipulira zbog lične popularnosti, straha, mita i prijetnji."⁵⁶ Nadalje, Seland pojašnjava da monarsi znače "jedini vladari".⁵⁷ Osim toga, društveno-politička jedinica je mogla biti aristokratija / oligarhija gdje je "elita imala monopol nad vladavinom".⁵⁸ Društveno-politička jedinica je također mogla biti demokratija. Demokratija znači "vladavina naroda".⁵⁹ Društveno-politička jedinica također je mogla istovremeno imati elemente različitih političkih sistema. Politički sistem u društveno-političkoj jedinici se mogao mijenjati. Dobar primjer za to je Atina. Vjerovatno su u početku njome upravljali kraljevi, a zatim je bila oligarhija pa demokratija. Osim toga, prošla je pe-

addition to the center. The territorial size of the different sociopolitical units varied. In addition, the territory of a sociopolitical unit could have changed throughout history.

4.1.3. Political system

The third element of a sociopolitical unit was the political system. A sociopolitical unit could have been, for example, a tyranny, monarchy, aristocracy/oligarchy, or democracy. Seland explains tyranny in the following way: "Tyranny describes a political reality rather than a form of government. Some tyrants would keep the traditional institutions functioning as long as they allowed themselves to be manipulated through personal popularity, fear, bribery and threats."⁵⁶ Further, Seland explains how monarchs translates into "sole rulers".⁵⁷ Additionally, a sociopolitical unit could have been an aristocracy/oligarchy, where "government was monopolized by the elite".⁵⁸ In addition, a sociopolitical unit could have been a democracy. Democracy means "government by the people".⁵⁹ The sociopolitical unit could also have had elements of different political systems at the same time. The political system in a sociopolitical unit could have changed. Athens is a good example. It probably went from

56 Seland 2022, 60.

57 Seland 2022, 60.

58 Seland 2022, 60-61.

59 Seland 2022, 61.

56 Seland 2022, 60.

57 Seland 2022, 60.

58 Seland 2022, 60-61.

59 Seland 2022, 61.

riode tiranije.⁶⁰ Politički sistemi različitih društveno-političkih jedinica je varirao.

4.1.4. Stanovništvo

Četvrti element društveno-političke jedinice bilo je stanovništvo. Stanovništvo društveno-političke jedinice je vjerovatno bilo podijeljeno na različite grupe ljudi na osnovu npr. klanova i religija. Međutim, stanovništvo društveno-političke jedinice je ujedinjavala povezanost s npr. zajedničkim središtem i/ili kraljem.

4.1.5. Naziv(i)

Peti element društveno-političke jedinice bio je naziv(i). Naprimjer, Daorsi je naziv. S jedne strane, Polibije i Livije su koristili naziv "Daorsi" da identificiraju društveno-političku jedinicu.⁶¹ S druge strane, kovanice koje su kovali Daorsi, gdje je DAORSON ili DAOERSON bilo napisano na grčkom, jasno pokazuju da je stanovništvo društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa koristilo naziv "Daorsi" da se identificira.⁶² Važno je istaći da ovaj primjer pokazuje da su se ovi nazivi, koje su navodili grčki i latinski pisci, često koristili među stanovništvom na istočnom Jadranu. Važno je naglasiti da je društveno-politička jedinica također mogla imati različite nazive. Naprimjer, središte, ari-

being ruled by kings to being an oligarchy and to being a democracy. In addition, it experienced periods of tyranny.⁶⁰ The political systems of the different sociopolitical units varied.

4.1.4. Population

The fourth element of a sociopolitical unit was the population. The population of a sociopolitical unit could have been divided into different groups of people based on, for example, clans and religions. However, what united the population of a sociopolitical unit was the connection to, for example, a common center and/or king.

4.1.5. Name/names

The fifth element of a sociopolitical unit was the name or names. For example, the Daorsi is a name. On the one side, Polybios and Livy used the name the Daorsi to identify a sociopolitical unit.⁶¹ On the other side, the coins which were produced by the Daorsi, where DAORSON or DAOERSON was written in Greek, clearly show that the population in the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi used the name Daorsi to identify themselves.⁶² It is important to point out that this example indicates that the names, which are mentioned by Greek and Latin authors, were often used by the populations in the Eastern Adriatic. It

60 Seland 2022, 76-77.

61 Polyb. 32.5.9; Livy, 45.26.

62 Dragičević 2016; Dragičević 2023.

60 Seland 2022, 76-77.

61 Polyb. 32.5.9; Livy, 45.26.

62 Dragičević 2016; Dragičević 2023.

stokratija / oligarhija i stanovništvo društveno-političke jedinice mogli su imati različite nazive, ali im je pripadnost istoj društveno-političkoj jedinici bila zajednička.

4.1.6. Društveno-političke jedinice kod Kava

Dijelovi Livijevega teksta mogu se koristiti kao ilustracija društveno-političkih jedinica na predrimskom istočnom Jadranu. Livije piše kako je Gentije, kralj Labeata, poslao svog polubrata Karavancija da potčini Kave (Cavii) tokom Trećeg ilirskog rata.⁶³ Labeati su bili locirani u području današnjeg Skadra u Albaniji i Crnoj gori.⁶⁴ Kavi su vjerovatno bili locirani u Kandaviji (Candavia) zapadno od Ohridskog jezera i jugoistočno od Lješa u današnjoj Albaniji.⁶⁵ Livije je opisao događaje koji su uslijedili na sljedeći način: "Kada je Karavancije stigao među Kave, grad Durnium ga je gostoljubivo dočeka; drugi grad, Caravandis, nije mu dozvolio ulazak; dok je nadaleko i naširoko pustošio njihovu teritoriju, neki od vojnika bili su ubijeni u napadu seljaka."⁶⁶ Iako su Durnium i Caravandis bili dio Kava, odabrali su drugačije kada su se suočili s Karavancijem. Dakle, može se protumačiti da je Caravandis bio dio jedne društveno-političke jedinice, a

is important to express that a sociopolitical unit also could have had different names. For example, the center, aristocracy/oligarchy, and the population in a sociopolitical unit could have had different names, but what they had in common was that they belonged to the same sociopolitical unit.

4.1.6. The sociopolitical units in the Cavii

Parts of Livy's text can be used as an illustration of the sociopolitical units in the pre-Roman Eastern Adriatic. Livy writes how Genthius, king of the Labeatae, sent his half-brother Caravantius to subordinate the Cavii during the Third Illyrian War.⁶³ The Labeatae were located in today's Shkodër-area in today's Albania and Montenegro.⁶⁴ The Cavii were perhaps located in Candavia, which is west of Lake Ohrid and southeast of Lezhë in today's Albania.⁶⁵ Livy described the subsequent event in the following way: "As Caravantius arrived among the Cavii, the town of Durnium received him hospitably; Caravandis, another city, shut him out; and while he was ravaging their territory far and wide, a few scattered soldiers were killed by the rallying farmers."⁶⁶ Although Durnium and Caravandis were part of the Cavii, they made dif-

63 Livy, 44.30; Šašel Kos 2005, 283; Dzino 2010, 56.

64 Šašel Kos 2005, 283.

65 Šašel Kos 2005, 286.

66 Livy, 44.30.

63 Livy, 44.30; Šašel Kos 2005, 283; Dzino 2010, 56.

64 Šašel Kos 2005, 283.

65 Šašel Kos 2005, 286.

66 Livy, 44.30.

da je Durnium bio dio druge. Livije je Durnium nazvao *oppidum*, a Caravandis *urbs*.⁶⁷ Može se protumačiti da je Durnium bio središte jedne društveno-političke jedinice, a da je Caravandis bio središte druge.

Nadalje, može se tumačiti da je društveno-politička jedinica kojoj je Caravandis pripadao imala vlastitu teritoriju koju je Karavancije napao. Čak i ako se izričito ne spominje u tekstu, može se reći i da je društveno-politička jedinica kojoj je Durnium pripadao imala vlastitu teritoriju. Nije jasno kakve političke sisteme su imale društveno-političke jedinice kojima su pripadali Caravandis i Durnium, ali zasigurno su imali političke sisteme. Teritoriju društveno-političke jedinice kojoj je pripadao Caravandis branili su seljaci. Ovi seljaci bili su dio stanovništva društveno-političke jedinice kojoj je pripadao Caravandis. Naprimjer, stanovništvo je bilo povezano s društveno-političkom jedinicom koju su seljaci branili. Možemo pretpostaviti da je društveno-politička jedinica kojoj je Durnium pripadao također imala vlastito stanovništvo koje je npr. bilo povezano sa zajedničkim središtem, tj. Durniumom. Osim toga, Caravandis je bio jedan naziv, a Durnium je bio drugi naziv. Ove nazive su koristili strani autori poput Livija da imenuju središta dvije zasebne društveno-političke jedinice. Istovremeno, nazive je vjerovatno koristilo lokalno stanovniš-

ferent choices when they faced Caravantius. It can therefore be interpreted that Caravandis was part of one sociopolitical unit, while Durnium was part of another sociopolitical unit. Durnium was called *oppidum* and Caravandis was called *urbs* by Livy.⁶⁷ It can be interpreted that Durnium was the center of one sociopolitical unit and Caravandis was the center of another sociopolitical unit.

Furthermore, it can be interpreted that the sociopolitical unit which Caravandis belonged to, had its own territory, which Caravantius attacked. Even if it is not explicitly mentioned in the text, one can say that the sociopolitical unit which Durnium belonged to also had its own territory. It is not clear what kind of political systems the sociopolitical units that Caravandis and Durnium belonged to had, but they must have had political systems. The territory of the sociopolitical unit which Caravandis belonged to, was defended by farmers. These farmers were part of the population which belonged to the sociopolitical unit which Caravandis belonged to. The population was connected to, for example, the territory of the sociopolitical unit, which the farmers defended. One can assume that the sociopolitical unit which Durnium belonged to also had its own population, which was connected to, for example, a common center, namely

67 Livy, 44.30.

67 Livy, 44.30.

tvo da imenuje svoje središte i da se identificira.

4.2. Savezi u predrimskom istočnom Jadranu

Kada društveno-politička jedinica uspostavi kontrolu nad drugim društveno-političkim jedinicama, dobijamo savez. Društveno-političke jedinice koje je podredila jedna društveno-politička jedinica nastavljaju postojati i većinom su bile samoupravljanje, ali podređene drugoj društveno-političkoj jedinici. Središte društveno-političke jedinice koja je imala kontrolu nad drugim društveno-političkim jedinicama i njihovim središtima, postalo je glavno središte saveza. Društveno-politička jedinica koja je imala kontrolu nad drugim društveno-političkim jedinicama imala je koristi. Naprimjer, vodeća društveno-politička jedinica mogla je prikupljati poreze od podređenih društveno-političkih jedinica u savezu. Osim toga, savez je obično nosio naziv po društveno-političkoj jedinici koja je imala kontrolu nad drugim društveno-političkim jedinicama. Ovaj naziv se mogao zasnivati i na imenu kralja, nazivu središta, aristokratije / oligarhije, rijeke, geografske oblasti ili nečega drugog što je bilo u vezi s društveno-političkom jedinicom koja je imala kontrolu nad drugim društveno-političkim jedinicama. Postoji nekoliko primjera saveza u

Durnium. In addition, Caravandis was one name and Durnium was another name. These names were used by foreign authors like Livy to name the centers of the two separate sociopolitical units. At the same time, the names were probably used by the local populations to name the centers and to identify themselves.

4.2. Unions in the pre-Roman Eastern Adriatic

When a sociopolitical unit managed to establish control over other sociopolitical units, one got a union. The sociopolitical units which got subordinated by one sociopolitical unit continued to exist and they had mostly self-governance, but they were subjects of another sociopolitical unit. The center of the sociopolitical unit which took control of other sociopolitical units and their centers, became the main center in the union. The sociopolitical unit which took control over other sociopolitical units got benefits. For example, the leading sociopolitical unit could have collected taxes from subordinated sociopolitical units in the union. In addition, the sociopolitical unit which took control over other sociopolitical units, often named the union. This name could have been based on the name of the center, king, aristocracy/oligarchy, a river, geographical area or something else, which was connected to the sociopolitical unit which took

predrimskom istočnom Jadranu na osnovu pisanih izvora. U ovoj knjizi ću istaći tri takva primjera.

4.2.1. Savez Kava

Prvi primjer je Livijev opis Kava (Cavii). Livije opisuje Kave u kontekstu Trećeg ilirskog rata na sljedeći način: "Kada je Karavancije stigao među Kave, grad Durnium ga je gostoljubivo dočeka; drugi grad, Caravandis, nije mu dozvolio ulazak; dok je nadaleko i naširoko pustošio njihovu teritoriju, neki od vojnika bili su ubijeni u napadu seljaka."⁶⁸ Može se protumačiti da su Kavi bili jedinica koja se sastojala od dvije društveno-političke jedinice. Kao što sam prethodno istakao, Caravandis je bio dio jedne društveno-političke jedinice, a Durnium druge. Livije je koristio pojam *urbs* za Caravandis, a pojam *oppidum* za Durnium.⁶⁹ Može se protumačiti da je Caravandis bio središte jedne društveno-političke jedinice, a da je Durnium bio središte druge. Wachter ističe važan zaključak: "Pojam *Urbs* se obično prevodi kao grad i koristio se za opisanje naselja višeg statusa nego onaj koji bi se mogao zvati *oppidum*."⁷⁰

Na osnovu Wacherovog zaključka, možemo reći da je Caravandis imao veći status od Durniuma. Jedan od razloga za to je taj što je društveno-po-

control of other sociopolitical units. There are several examples of unions in the pre-Roman Eastern Adriatic based on the written sources. I will point out three of these examples in this book.

4.2.1. The union of the Cavii

The first example is Livy's description of the Cavii. Livy describes the Cavii in the context of the Third Illyrian War in the following way: "As Caravantius arrived among the Cavii, the town of Durnium received him hospitably; Caravandis, another city, shut him out; and while he was ravaging their territory far and wide, a few scattered soldiers were killed by the rallying farmers."⁶⁸ It can be interpreted that the Cavii was a union that consisted of two sociopolitical units. As I pointed out above, Caravandis was part of one sociopolitical unit and Durnium was part of another sociopolitical unit. Livy used the term *urbs* for Caravandis and the term *oppidum* for Durnium.⁶⁹ It can be interpreted that Caravandis was the center of one sociopolitical unit and Durnium was the center of another sociopolitical unit. Wachter points out an important point: "*Urbs* is normally translated as city, and it was used to describe a settlement of higher status than one which might be called an *oppidum*."⁷⁰

68 Livy, 44.30.

69 Livy, 44.30.

70 Wachter 1995, 16.

68 Livy, 44.30.

69 Livy, 44.30.

70 Wachter 1995, 16.

litička jedinica kojoj je Caravandis pripadao uspjela imati kontrolu nad društveno-političkom jedinicom kojoj je pripadao Durnium. Time se stvorio savez Kava. Istovremeno, Caravandis je postao glavno središte saveza. Stoga se status Caravandisa poboljšao u poređenju s Durniumom. Nadalje, društveno-politička jedinica kojoj je Caravandis pripadao mogla je nametati poreze društveno-političkoj jedinici kojoj je pripadao Durnium. Time se društveno-politička jedinica kojoj je pripadao Caravandis bogatila, dok je društveno-politička jedinica kojoj je pripadao Durnium postajala siromašnija. Društveno-politička jedinica kojoj je pripadao Caravandis mogla je koristiti dodatni prihod od poreza da izgradi npr. veće zidine i zgrade u centru Caravandisa što društveno-politička jedinica kojoj je pripadao Durnium to nije mogla. Time se također poboljšao status Caravandisa u poređenju s Durniumom. Važno je istaći mogućnost da se naziv Kavi (Cavii) zasniva na nazivu Caravandis. U tom slučaju to bi značilo da je Caravandis dao naziv savezu Kava. To dodatno podupire tezu da je društveno-politička jedinica kojoj je pripadao Caravandis uspjela imati kontrolu nad društveno-političkom jedinicom kojoj je pripadao Durnium. Nadalje, to osnažuje tvrdnju da je Caravandis bio glavno središte saveza Kava.

Based on Wachter's point, one can say that Caravandis had greater status than Durnium. One of the reasons why Caravandis had greater status than Durnium, was because the sociopolitical unit which Caravandis belonged to, had managed to take control of the sociopolitical unit which Durnium belonged to. This created the union of the Cavii. At the same time, Caravandis became the main center in the union. Thus, the status of Caravandis increased compared to Durnium. Furthermore, the sociopolitical unit which Caravandis belonged to, could have imposed taxes on the sociopolitical unit which Durnium belonged to. This made the sociopolitical unit which Caravandis belonged to richer, while the sociopolitical unit which Durnium belonged to became poorer. The sociopolitical unit which Caravandis belonged to, could have used the extra income from taxes to build, for example, bigger walls and buildings at the center of Caravandis, which the sociopolitical unit which Durnium belonged to, could not afford. This also increased the status of Caravandis compared to Durnium. It is also important to point out that the name Cavii is perhaps based on the name Caravandis. If this is the case, then this means that Caravandis named the union of the Cavii. This further supports the claim that the sociopolitical unit which Caravandis belonged to managed to take control of the sociopolitical unit which Durnium belonged

4.2.2. Savez Delmata

Drugi primjer saveza su Delmati prije i tokom rata protiv Rimljana u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Glavno središte saveza Delmata, barem u prvoj polovini 2. stoljeća prije nove ere, bio je Delminij, koji je vjerovatno bio lociran na brdu Lib u blizini današnjeg Tomislavgrada u Bosni i Hercegovini.⁷¹ Opisi rata između Delmata i Rimljana u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere koje su napisali Flor (2. stoljeće nove ere)⁷² i Apijan mogu se koristiti da ilustriraju da su Delmati u ovo vrijeme bili savez. Flor je napisao sljedeće: "Delmati su većinom živjeli u šumama odakle su često išli u predatorske pohode. Konzul Marcije [Figul, ispravka autora] već ih je onesposobio paljenjem Delminija, njihovog glavnog grada."⁷³ Apijan je napisao sljedeće: "Dok su se Delmati vraćali kući (jer se sada približavala zima), Figul [Marcije Figul, ispravka autora] se nadao da će ih dočekati nespremne, ali zatekao ih je ponovno okupljene iz svojih gradova na vijest o njegovom približavanju. Ipak, otjerao ih je u grad Delminij odakle su prvo dobili naziv Delmatenses, koji je kasnije primijenjen u Delmati. Ne mogavši jurišom ostaviti nikakav utisak na ovaj čvrsto branjeni grad, niti koristiti mašine koje je imao, zbog visine mjesta, napao je

to. Further, it strengthens the claim that Caravandis was the main center of the union of the Cavii.

4.2.2. The union of the Delmatae

Another example of a union is the Delmatae before and during the war against the Romans in the first half of the 150s BCE. The union of the Delmatae's main center, at least in the first half of the second century BCE, was Delminium, which was probably located at hill Lib near today's Tomislavgrad in Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁷¹ Florus' (second century CE)⁷² and Appian's description of the war between the Delmatae and the Romans in the first half of the 150s BCE can be used to illustrate that the Delmatae were a union at this time. Florus wrote the following: "The Dalmatians for the most part lived in the forests, whence they frequently made predatory raids. Marcius [Figulus, my correction] the consul had already crippled them by burning Delminium, their capital."⁷³ Appian wrote the following: "As the Dalmatians were returning home (for winter was now approaching), Figulus [Marcius Figulus, my correction] hoped to fall upon them unawares, but he found them reassembled from their towns at the news of his approach. Nevertheless, he drove them into the city of Delminium, from which place they first got the name

71 Dragičević 2017, 169-170.

72 Gryksa 2017, 38.

73 Flor. 2.25.

71 Dragičević 2017, 169-170.

72 Gryksa 2017, 38.

73 Flor. 2.25.

i zauzeo druge gradove, koji su bili djelomično napušteni zbog koncentracije snaga u Delminiju. Zatim je, vrativši se u Delminij, iz katapulta u grad bacio drvene štapove, duge dva lakta, prekrivene lanom i namazane smolom i sumporom. Njih je pro-puh rasplamsao i leteći u zrak poput baklji, gdje god su pali izazivali su požar, tako da je veći dio grada bio spaljen.”⁷⁴

of Delmatenses, which was afterward changed to Dalmatians. Not being able to make any impression on this strongly defended town by assault, nor to use the engines that he had, on account of the height of the place, he attacked and captured the other towns, which were partially deserted on account of the concentration of forces at Delminium. Then, returning to Delminium, he hurled sticks of wood, two cubits long, covered with flax and smeared with pitch and sulphur, from catapults into the town. These were fanned into flame by the draught, and, flying in the air like torches, wherever they fell caused a conflagration, so that the greater part of the town was burned.”⁷⁴



Slika 18: Brdo Lib. Fotografiju snimio Mate Radoš, arhiv Franjevačkog muzeja u Tomislavgradu.

Figure 18: Hill Lib. Photo by Mate Radoš, archive of Franciscan Museum in Tomislavgrad.

74 App. Ill. 10.2.11.

74 App. Ill. 10.2.11.

Zahvaljujući Apijan, jasno je da su Delmati imali više središta. Ova središta mogla su pripadati različitim društveno-političkim jedinicama. Stoga se Delmati mogu tumačiti kao savez koji se sastojao od različitih društveno-političkih jedinica. Društveno-politička jedinica kojoj je pripadao Delminij bila je vodeća društveno-politička jedinica unutar saveza Delmata. Ovu tvrdnju podupire Flor koji je Delminij nazvao glavnim gradom Delmata. Istovremeno, Apijan je istakao da su Delmati dobili ime po Delminiju. Društveno-politička jedinica, čije središte je bilo u Delminiju, uspjela je preuzeti kontrolu nad drugim društveno-političkim jedinicama i njihovim središtima. Time se stvorio savez Delmata. Ovo je razlog zbog kojeg je Delminij bio glavni grad (glavno središte) Delmata i zbog kojeg je savez Delmata dobilo ime po Delminiju.

4.2.3. Savez Japoda

Savez Japoda je bio smješten u današnjoj Lici, Ogulinu, na rijeci Uni, u Gorskom Kotaru i južnom dijelu Bele krajine u današnjoj Hrvatskoj, Bosni i Hercegovini i Sloveniji. Također su imali pristup obali.⁷⁵ Na osnovu Strabona i Apijana, jasno je da je savez Japoda imao više središta te stoga i društveno-političkih jedinica. Prema Apijanu, Japodi su imali

Based on Appian, it is clear that the Delmatae had multiple centers. These centers could have belonged to different sociopolitical units. Therefore, one can interpret the Delmatae as a union, which consisted of different sociopolitical units. The sociopolitical unit which the center of Delminium belonged to, was the leading sociopolitical unit inside the union of the Delmatae. This is supported by Florus, who called Delminium the capital of the Delmatae. At the same time, Appian pointed out that Delminium named the Delmatae. The sociopolitical unit which had Delminium as center had managed to take control of other sociopolitical units and their centers. This created the union of the Delmatae. This is the reason why the center of Delminium was the capital (main center) of the Delmatae and why the center of Delminium named the union of the Delmatae.

4.2.3. The union of the Iapodes

The union of the Iapodes was located in today's Lika, Ogulin, the Una River, Gorski Kotar, and the southern part of White Carniola in today's Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Slovenia. They also had access to the coast.⁷⁵ Based on Strabo and Appian, it is clear that the union of the Iapodes had multiple centers and thus sociopolitical units. According

75 Mesihović 2011, 60; Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 67-68.

75 Mesihović 2011, 60; Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 67-68.

i glavni grad (glavno središte), tj. Metul.⁷⁶ Stoga se može protumačiti da je društveno-politička jedinica kojoj je pripadao Metul bila vodeća društveno-politička jedinica u okviru saveza Japoda. Društveno-politička jedinica kojoj je pripadao Metul bila je vodeća društveno-politička jedinica zbog toga što je uspjela preuzeti kontrolu nad drugim društveno-političkim jedinicama te tako stvorila savez Japoda. Međutim, Apijan je podijelio savez Japoda na cisalpski dio i transalpski dio.⁷⁷ Zanimljivo je da Strabon ne pravi ovakvu podjelu saveza Japoda.⁷⁸

Na osnovu ovoga može se protumačiti da je savez Japoda bio podijeljen, ali ne formalno, na cisalpski i transalpski dio zbog toga što je ponekada društveno-političkoj jedinici kojoj je Metul pripadao, koja je bila dio transalpskog dijela, bilo teško da u potpunosti upravlja cisalpskim dijelom. Drugim riječima, društveno-politička jedinica kojoj je Metul pripadao upravljala je i cisalpskim Japodima, ali u određenim periodima je gubila punu kontrolu nad ovim dijelom saveza iako su cisalpski Japodi teoretski i dalje bili pod kontrolom društveno-političke jedinice kojoj je Metul pripadao. Naziv Japodi se vjerovatno zasnivao na društveno-političkoj jedinici kojoj je Metul pripadao. Međutim,

to Appian, the Iapodes also had a capital (main center), namely Metulus.⁷⁶ It can therefore be interpreted that the sociopolitical unit which the center Metulus belonged to was the leading sociopolitical unit in the union of the Iapodes. The reason why the sociopolitical unit which Metulus belonged to was the leading sociopolitical unit was because it managed to take control of other sociopolitical units and thus it created the union of the Iapodes. However, Appian divided the union of the Iapodes into a Cisalpine part and a Transalpine part.⁷⁷ Interestingly, Strabo does not make this kind of division of the union of the Iapodes.⁷⁸

Based on this it can be interpreted that the union of the Iapodes were in periods divided, but not formally, between a Cisalpine and a Transalpine part. The reason for this was because it was sometimes difficult for the sociopolitical unit which Metulus belonged to, which was part of the Transalpine part, to fully control the Cisalpine part. In other words, the sociopolitical unit to which Metulus belonged controlled also the Cisalpine Iapodes, but in periods it lost its full control over this part of the union, even though the Cisalpine Iapodes were in theory still under the control of the sociopolitical unit

76 Strabo, 4.6.10, 7.5.4; App. *Ill.* 10.4.16-10.4.21.

77 App. *Ill.* 10.4.16-10.4.21; Šačić Beća 2023, 97.

78 Šašel Kos 2005, 424.

76 Strabo, 4.6.10, 7.5.4; App. *Ill.* 10.4.16-10.4.21.

77 App. *Ill.* 10.4.16-10.4.21; Šačić Beća 2023, 97.

78 Šašel Kos 2005, 424.

naziv Japodi vjerovatno ne potiče od naziva središta (Metul) i stanovništva (Metulijanci). Moguće je da potiče od teritorije, rijeke, aristokratije / oligarhije ili kralja koji je bio povezan s društveno-političkom jedinicom kojoj je Metul pripadao.

which Metulus belonged to. The name Iapodes is probably based on the sociopolitical unit which Metulus belonged to. However, the name Iapodes probably does not come from the name of the center (Metulus) and population (Metulians). It perhaps comes from a territory, river, aristocracy/oligarchy, or king which was connected to the sociopolitical unit which Metulus belonged to.

5. Lokacija društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa i saveza Daorsa

U prethodnom poglavlju pokušao sam objasniti i ilustrirati društveno-političke jedinice i saveze u predrimskom istočnom Jadranu. Ovo pruža kontekst koji nam pomaže da razumijemo društveno-političku strukturu Daorsa. Od sada ću se samo fokusirati na Daorse. Sa sigurnošću se može reći da je naziv “Daorsi” postojao u prvoj polovini 2. stoljeća prije nove ere jer su ovaj naziv spomenuli Polibije i Livije u kontekstu događaja koji su se dogodili u prvoj polovini 2. stoljeća prije nove ere.⁷⁹ Može se pretpostaviti da se naziv “Daorsi” odnosio i na društveno-političku jedinicu i na savez u periodu kada su Polibije i Livije spomenuli Daorse u kontekstu događaja koji su se dogodili u prvoj polovini 2. stoljeća prije nove ere. Osim toga, kovanice Daorsa, na kojima je pisalo DAORSON ili DAOERSON, ukazuju da je stanovništvo društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa koristilo naziv “Daorsi” kao svoj naziv.⁸⁰ Središte društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa nalazilo se na Ošanjićima do prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Prije prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere, društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa imala je kontrolu nad drugim društveno-političkim

5. The location of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi and the union of the Daorsi

In the previous chapter, I have tried to explain and illustrate the sociopolitical units and unions in the pre-Roman Eastern Adriatic. This has created a context, which can help us understand the sociopolitical structure of the Daorsi. From now on, I will only focus on the Daorsi. One can say for certain that the name Daorsi existed in the first half of the second century BCE because this name was mentioned by Polybios and Livy in the context of events that happened in the first half of the second century BCE.⁷⁹ One can assume that when Polybios and Livy mentioned the Daorsi in the context of events that happened in the first half of the second century BCE, the name Daorsi referred to both a sociopolitical unit and union. In addition, the Daorsi coins, where DAORSON or DAOERSON are written, indicate that the population in the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi used the name Daorsi to name themselves.⁸⁰ The center of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi was located at Ošanjići until the first half of the 150s BCE. Before the first half of the 150s BCE, the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi had taken control of other sociopolitical units in

79 Polyb. 32.5.9; Livy, 45.26.

80 Dragičević 2016; Dragičević 2023.

79 Polyb. 32.5.9; Livy, 45.26.

80 Dragičević 2016; Dragičević 2023.

jedinicama u donjoj Neretvi i tako stvorila savez Daorsa.

Nakon prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere, društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa nastavila je postojati, ali ne i njen savez. Istovremeno, društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa premjestila je svoje središte iz Ošanjici u Stolac. Nakon rimskog osvajanja cijelog istočnog Jadrana u drugoj polovini 1. stoljeća prije nove ere i početkom 1. stoljeća nove ere, društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa je postala peregrinska civitas. Središte ove peregrinske civitas bilo je smješteno u današnjem Stocu. Više istraživača je poistovjetilo Diluntum sa Stocem.⁸¹ Ta tvrdnja je važna za ova tumačenja. Počinje prikazivanjem zašto se središte društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa nalazilo na Ošanjici-ma do prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere, a u Stocu nakon prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere. To će nam također omogućiti da dublje zaronimo u društveno-političku jedinicu Daorsa prije i nakon prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Osim toga, pomoći će nam da razumijemo kakve vrste društveno-političkih jedinica su bile podređene društveno-političkoj jedinici Daorsa prije prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Nadalje, pruža osnovu za lociranje teritorija kasnije peregrinske civitas Daorsa, što nam

the lower Neretva and thus created the union of the Daorsi.

After the first half of the 150s BCE, the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi continued to exist, but not its union. At the same time, the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi moved its center from Ošanjici to Stolac. After the Romans conquered the whole of the Eastern Adriatic in the last half of the first century BCE and the beginning of the first century CE, the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi was transformed into a *civitas peregrina*. The center of this *civitas peregrina* was located in today's Stolac. Multiple researchers have identified Diluntum with Stolac.⁸¹ It is important to argue for these interpretations. It starts by actually showing why the center of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi was located at Ošanjici until the first half of the 150s BCE and after the first half of the 150s BCE in Stolac. This will also allow us to go deeper into the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi before and after the first half of the 150s BCE. In addition, it will help us understand what kind of sociopolitical units were subordinated to the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi before the first half of the 150s BCE. Furthermore, it gives us a foundation to locate the territories of the later *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi, which also helps us to un-

81 Naprimjer: Bojanovski 1988, 99-100; Marijan 2000-2001, 24; Busuladžić 2011, 105.

81 For example: Bojanovski 1988, 99-100; Marijan 2000-2001, 24; Busuladžić 2011, 105.

pomaže da razumijemo peregrinsku civitas Daorsa.

derstand the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi.

5.0.1. Daorsi u donjoj Neretvi

Strabon je jedini autor koji je ostavio izričite informacije o lokaciji Daorsa. Međutim, nije poznato o kojem periodu Strabon govori kada spominje Daorse. Možda govori o Daorsima u periodu prije prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere, nakon prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere i/ili kada su Daorsi postali peregrinska civitas. Iz ovog razloga koristim samo naziv "Daorsi" a ne društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa, savez Daorsa ili peregrinska civitas Daorsa kada spominjem Strabona. Strabon je napisao sljedeće: "Zatim dolazi rijeka Naro i ljudi koji žive oko nje – Daorsi, Ardijejci i Plereji. Otok zvan Korčula i grad koji su osnovali Knidani blizu su Plerejaca, dok je Pharos (ranije zvan Paros, jer su ga osnovali Parijanci) blizu Ardijejaca."⁸² Rijeka Naro je današnja Neretva.⁸³ Zahvaljujući Strabonu, jasno je da se Daorsi mogu locirati kod rijeke Neretve. Međutim, Strabon ne navodi jasno gdje su Daorsi locirani kod rijeke Neretve. Samo na osnovu Strabona, Daorse možemo smjestiti u gornji, srednji i donji tok Neretve.

Kovanice društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa su važne jer nam mogu pomoći da razjasnimo gdje su druš-

5.0.1. The Daorsi in the lower Neretva

Strabo was the only author who gave explicit information about where the Daorsi were located. However, it is not known which period Strabo referred to when he mentioned the Daorsi. He could have referred to the Daorsi based on the period before the first half of the 150s BCE, after the first half of the 150s BCE and/or when the Daorsi became a *civitas peregrina*. This is the reason I only use the name Daorsi and not the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi, union of the Daorsi or *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi when I discuss Strabo. Strabo wrote the following: "Then come the River Naro and the people who live about it - the Daorizi, the Ardiaei, and the Pleraei. An island called the Black Corcyra and also a city founded by the Cnidians are close to the Pleraei, while Pharos (formerly called Paros, for it was founded by Parians) is close to the Ardiaei."⁸² The Naro River is today's Neretva.⁸³ It is clear from Strabo that the Daorsi was located at the Neretva River. However, Strabo is not specific where the Daorsi were located at the Neretva River. Based on Strabo alone, one can place the Daorsi in the upper, middle, and lower Neretva.

⁸² Strabo, 7.5.5.

⁸³ Lindhagen 2014, 93.

⁸² Strabo, 7.5.5.

⁸³ Lindhagen 2014, 93.

tveno-politička jedinica Daorsa i savez Daorsa bili locirani kod rijeke Neretve u prvoj polovini 2. stoljeća prije nove ere. Kao što sam prethodno istakao, ove kovanice se mogu datirati u prvu polovinu 2. stoljeća prije nove ere.⁸⁴ Društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa je na svoje kovanice stavljala brodove.⁸⁵ To znači da je društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa bila opsežno usmjerena na brodogradnju. Pristup morskoj obali je razlog ove usmjerenosti na brodogradnju društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa i/ili društveno-političkih jedinica kojima je društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa upravljala putem svog saveza. Ovaj pristup morskoj obali bio je nužan za izgradnju i korištenje brodova za trgovinu i vojsku. Na osnovu ovoga možemo reći da su društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa i savez Daorsa bili locirani u donjoj Neretvi prije prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere.

Iako su postojale mnoge društveno-političke jedinice u donjoj Neretvi, prema mom mišljenju jedini savez koji je postojao u prvoj polovini 2. stoljeća prije nove ere u donjoj Neretvi bio je savez koji je uspostavila društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa. Ardijejci i Plereji nisu se nalazili u donjoj Neretvi u bilo kojem trenutku u prošlosti, iako to Strabon tvrdi. Kasnije ću raspravljati o tome gdje su se nalazili savezi Ardijejaca

The coins of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi are important, because they can help us clarify where the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi and the union of the Daorsi were located at the river Neretva in the first half of the second century BCE. As I pointed out earlier, these coins are dated to the first half of the second century BCE.⁸⁴ The sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi placed ships on their coins.⁸⁵ This expresses that the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi had an extensive ship-orientation. The reason for this ship orientation was because the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi and/or the sociopolitical units that the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi controlled through its union, had access to the seacoast. This access to the seacoast made it necessary to build and use ships for trade and military purposes. Based on this, one can say that the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi and the union of the Daorsi were located in the lower Neretva before the first half of the 150s BCE.

In my opinion, although there were many sociopolitical units in the lower Neretva, the only union that existed in the first half of the second century BCE in the lower Neretva was the union that the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi had established. The Ardiaeii and Pleraei were not located in the lower Neretva at any time in the past, even though Strabo claimed

84 Džino 2007, 71.

85 Dragičević 2016; Dragičević 2023.

84 Džino 2007, 71.

85 Dragičević 2016; Dragičević 2023.

i Plereja. Uskoro ću pokazati gdje se nalazilo središte društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa u donjoj Neretvi prije i nakon prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Prije toga, važno je pokazati da je postojalo nekoliko središta te stoga i društveno-političkih jedinica u donjoj Neretvi. Na ovaj način moguće je dobiti bolje razumijevanje društveno-političke situacije u donjoj Neretvi u predrimskom periodu.

5.0.2. Središta i društveno-političke jedinice u donjoj Neretvi prije potpunog rimskog osvajanja istočnog Jadrana

Središte je bio važan element društveno-političke jedinice. Stoga, identificirajući središte možemo identificirati i društveno-političku jedinicu i njene druge elemente. Uspio sam utvrditi neka središta koja su pripadala različitim društveno-političkim jedinicama u donjoj Neretvi u predrimskom periodu. Jedno od središta je bilo na Ošanjićima kod Stoca. Već sam prethodno opisao neke od nalaza. Kao što sam već istakao, Stolac je postao središte nakon razaranja lokaliteta na Ošanjićima. Već sam prije opisao neke od nalaza iz Stoca. Drugo središte je bilo locirano u Zvonigradu kod Donjeg Pologa u blizini Mostara. Ovdje su pronađeni veliki obrambeni zid, mjesto susreta i možda fragmenti helenističkih amfora na površini lo-

this. I will discuss where the unions of the Ardiaei and Pleraei were located later. Soon I will show where the center of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi was located in the lower Neretva before and after the first half of the 150s BCE. Before this, it is important to show that there were several centers and thus sociopolitical units in the lower Neretva. This way one can get a better understanding of the sociopolitical situation in the lower Neretva in pre-Roman times.

5.0.2. The centers and thus sociopolitical units in the lower Neretva before the full Roman conquest of the Eastern Adriatic

The center was an important element of the sociopolitical unit. Thus, by identifying the center, one can also identify the sociopolitical unit and its other elements. I have managed to identify some centers that belonged to different sociopolitical units in the lower Neretva in pre-Roman times. One center was in Ošanjići by Stolac. I have already described some of the findings previously. As I have already pointed out, Stolac became a center after the destruction of the site at Ošanjići. I have already described some of the findings in Stolac before. Another center was located in Zvonigrad by Donji Polog near Mostar. Here one has found an enormous defensive wall, a meeting

kaliteta.⁸⁶ Drugo moguće središte u donjoj Neretvi je bilo brdo Krstina u Hamzićima blizu Čitluka. Znamo malo podataka o ovom lokalitetu, ali ističem da ima mogućnost središta jer se izdvaja iz krajolika. Još jedno središte u donjoj Neretvi se nalazilo na brdu Grad u naselju Nakovana na poluostrvu Pelješac. Ovdje je pronađena npr. helenistička keramika. Nadalje, pored brda Grad u naselju Nakovana postoji pećina Nakovana koja se koristila za prinošenje žrtava u vjerske svrhe.⁸⁷ U donjoj Neretvi se nalazilo više središta pa tako i društveno-političkih jedinica, ali nisam ih uspio identificirati. Uprkos tome, može se reći da je u donjoj Neretvi u predrimskom periodu postojalo više središta i prema tome društveno-političkih jedinica. Koje središte je pripadalo društveno-političkoj jedinici Daorsa?

place, and perhaps fragments of Hellenistic amphorae on the surface of the site.⁸⁶ Another possible center in the lower Neretva was on hill Krstina in Hamzići near Čitluk. One knows little about this site, but I point out the opportunity of this being a center, because it stands out from the landscape. Another center in the lower Neretva was located at Grad, Nakovana, on the Pelješac peninsula. Here one has found, for example, Hellenistic ceramic. Furthermore, there is a cave near the Grad Nakovana, the Nakovana cave, which was used for religious sacrifices.⁸⁷ There were more centers and thus sociopolitical units in the lower Neretva, but I have not managed to identify them. Despite this, one can say that there were multiple centers and therefore sociopolitical units in the lower Neretva in pre-Roman times. Which center belonged to the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi?

86 Marić 2000, 39.

87 Forenbaher, Rajić Šikanjić 2006; Kaiser, Forenbaher 2014.

86 Marić 2000, 39.

87 Forenbaher, Rajić Šikanjić 2006; Kaiser, Forenbaher 2014.



Slika 19: Grad Nakovana na lijevoj strani.
Fotografiju snimio Timothy Kaiser.

Figure 19: Grad Nakovana to the left. Photo
by Timothy Kaiser.



Slika 20: Blokovi velikog zida na
Zvonigradu. Autor slike: Šarafanje.

Figure 20: Blocks from a large wall at
Zvonigrad. Photo by Šarafanje.



Slika 21: Brdo u Hamzićima, koje je vjerovatno bilo središte u antičko doba. Fotografiju snimio Djani Behram.

Figure 21: The hill at Hamzići, which was probably a center in ancient times. Photo by Djani Behram.

5.0.3. Ošanjići i Stolac

Kao što sam prethodno istakao, postoji dobar razlog da vjerujemo da su Ošanjići bili središte društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa do prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Nakon razaranja središta na Ošanjićima, vjerovatno u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere, društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa premjestila je svoje središte u današnji Stolac. Diluntum se locira u današnjem Stocu. Diluntum se može tumačiti kao nastavak središta društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa u Stocu. O tome ću detaljnije pisati kasnije. Od svih središta u donjoj Neretvi, zašto se središte društveno-političke jedini-

5.0.3. Ošanjići and Stolac

As I pointed out above, there is good reason to believe that Ošanjići was the center of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi until the first half of the 150s BCE. After the center at Ošanjići got destroyed probably in the first half of the 150s BCE, the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi moved its center to today's Stolac. Diluntum was located in today's Stolac. Diluntum can be interpreted as a continuation of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi's center in Stolac. I will go deeper into this later. Of all the centers in the lower Neretva, why can one place the center of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi until the first

ce Daorsa do prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere može locirati na Ošanjićima, a nakon prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere u Stocu? Društveno-politička jedinica koja je prvo imala Ošanjiće a kasnije Stolac kao svoje središte dugi period je imala posredničku ulogu u trgovini do konačnog rimskog osvajanja istočnog Jadrana u drugoj polovini 1. stoljeća prije nove ere i početkom 1. stoljeća nove ere.⁸⁸ Posrednička trgovačka uloga društveno-političke jedinice koja je prvo imala Ošanjiće a kasnije Stolac kao svoje središte potvrđena je dvjema rimskim cestama.

Prva rimska cesta išla je od Narone (današnji Vid u Hrvatskoj)⁸⁹ do Sarajeva preko Nevesinja i Konjica u današnjoj Bosni i Hercegovini. Ova cesta je prolazila pored Ošanjića i Stoca.⁹⁰ Može se protumačiti da Bojanovski navodi da se ova ruta koristila u predrimskom periodu.⁹¹ To znači da je rimska cesta od Narone do Sarajeva preko Nevesinja i Konjica bila izgrađena na postojećoj lokalnoj ruti. Predrimska ruta se vjerovatno koristila mnogo godina prije rimskog osvajanja ovog područja. Ova cesta je bila jedna od prvih cesta koju su Rimljani izgradili na istočnom Jadranu.⁹² To odražava važnost ove rute do konačnog rimskog osvajanja istočnog Jadrana u drugoj polovini 1. stoljeća

half of the 150s BCE at Ošanjići and after the first half of the 150s BCE in Stolac? The sociopolitical unit which first had Ošanjići and afterwards Stolac as the center had for a long period an intermediary position in the trade until the final Roman conquest of the Eastern Adriatic in the last half of the first century BCE and the beginning of the first century CE.⁸⁸ The intermediary position in the trade of the sociopolitical unit which first had Ošanjići and thereafter Stolac as the center, is supported by two Roman roads.

The first Roman road went from Narona (today's Vid in Croatia)⁸⁹ to Sarajevo via Nevesinje and Konjic in today's Bosnia and Herzegovina. This road passed nearby Ošanjići and Stolac.⁹⁰ One can interpret that Bojanovski states that this route was used in pre-Roman times.⁹¹ This means that the Roman road from Narona to Sarajevo via Nevesinje and Konjic was built on an existing local route. This pre-Roman route could have been used for many years before the Romans conquered the area. This road was one of the first roads the Romans built in the Eastern Adriatic.⁹² This supports the importance of this route until the final Roman conquest of the Eastern Adriatic in the last half of the first century BCE

88 Dzino 2010, 99-155.

89 Lindhagen 2016, 226.

90 Bojanovski 1978.

91 Bojanovski 1978, 66-67.

92 Bojanovski 1974, 15; Imamović 1985, 32.

88 Dzino 2010, 99-155.

89 Lindhagen 2016, 226.

90 Bojanovski 1978.

91 Bojanovski 1978, 66-67.

92 Bojanovski 1974, 15; Imamović 1985, 32.

prije nove ere i početkom 1. stoljeća nove ere.⁹³ Važno je razumjeti ovu rutu u odnosu na naselje Issa (Vis u današnjoj Hrvatskoj),⁹⁴ Pharos (Hvar u današnjoj Hrvatskoj),⁹⁵ Naronu, Ošanjici, gradinu u selu Borci pored Konjica i nekropolu u Brezi pored Sarajeva u današnjoj Bosni i Hercegovini u vezi s periodom prije prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere.

and the beginning of the first century CE.⁹³ It is important to understand this route in relation to Issa (Vis in today's Croatia),⁹⁴ Pharos (Hvar in today's Croatia),⁹⁵ Naron, Ošanjici, a hillfort in Borci near Konjic, and the necropolis in Breza near Sarajevo in today's Bosnia and Herzegovina in connection to the period before the first half of the 150s BCE.



Slika 22: Dijelovi rimske ceste u Nevesinju od Narone do Sarajeva. Fotografiju snimila Amra Šaćić Beća.

Figure 22: Parts of the Roman road in Nevesinje, which went from Naron to Sarajevo. Photo by Amra Šaćić Beća.

93 Dzino 2010, 99-155.

94 Lindhagen 2016, 228.

95 Lindhagen 2016, 228.

93 Dzino 2010, 99-155.

94 Lindhagen 2016, 228.

95 Lindhagen 2016, 228.

Issa i Pharos su bila grčka naselja osnovana tokom 4. stoljeća prije nove ere.⁹⁶ Kasnije ću detaljnije objasniti kako se vino proizvodilo na Issi i Pharosu.⁹⁷ Grčko-italske amfore su se proizvodile vjerovatno i na Issi i Pharosu.⁹⁸ Issa je također proizvodila keramiku.⁹⁹ Kao što ću kasnije navesti, i Issa i Pharos su funkcionirali kao posrednici između dijelova istočnog Jadrana, npr. Narone, i Mediterana. Pseudo-Skilak je 330-ih godina prije nove ere naveo kako je postojao *emporion* na rijeci Naron.¹⁰⁰ Rijeka Naron je današnja Neretva.¹⁰¹ *Emporion* se može povezati s pojmovima trgovačko mjesto i trgovačka luka.¹⁰² Istraživači su poistovijetili *emporion* s Naronom.¹⁰³ Do prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere, Narona je funkcionirala kao trgovačko mjesto / trgovačka luka.¹⁰⁴ Grčko-italske amfore su pronađene u Naroni.¹⁰⁵ Kao što sam prethodno istakao, na Ošanjićima, koje je bilo središte društveno-političke jedinice do prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere, pronađena je grčko-italska amfora.¹⁰⁶ Na gradini u Borcima, pronađena je helenistička keramika koja ukazuje da su sta-

Issa and Pharos were Greek settlements which were founded during the fourth century BCE.⁹⁶ As I will go deeper into later, wine was produced by Issa and Pharos.⁹⁷ Greco-Italic amphorae were produced probably both on Issa and Pharos.⁹⁸ Issa also produced finewares.⁹⁹ As I will show later, both Issa and Pharos also functioned as intermediaries between parts of the Eastern Adriatic, for example, Narona and the Mediterranean. Pseudo-Skylax mentioned in the 330s BCE how there was an *emporion* at the Naron river.¹⁰⁰ The Naron river is today's Neretva.¹⁰¹ *Emporion* can be associated with the terms trading post and port of trade.¹⁰² Researchers have identified this *emporion* with Narona.¹⁰³ Until the first half of the 150s BCE, Narona functioned as a trading post/port of trade.¹⁰⁴ Greco-Italic amphorae have been found at Narona.¹⁰⁵ As I pointed out above, one has found Greco-Italic amphora at Ošanjići, which was the center of a sociopolitical unit until the first half of the 150s BCE.¹⁰⁶ At a hillfort in Borci one has found Hellenistic ceramic, which indicates that the in-

96 Lindhagen 2016, 228.

97 Lindhagen 2014, 94.

98 Kirigin, Katunarić, Šešelj 2004, 198-200.

99 Kirigin, Katunarić, Šešelj 2004, 206-207.

100 Pseudo-Skylax, 24; Shipley 2012, 121;

Lindhagen 2016, 226.

101 Manenica 2012, 280.

102 Lindhagen 2016, 226; Dommelen 2018.

103 Cambi 1980, 127.

104 Lindhagen 2016, 226-232.

105 Lindhagen 2016, 229-230.

106 Lindhagen 2016, 229.

96 Lindhagen 2016, 228.

97 Lindhagen 2014, 94.

98 Kirigin, Katunarić, Šešelj 2004, 198-200.

99 Kirigin, Katunarić, Šešelj 2004, 206-207.

100 Pseudo-Skylax, 24; Shipley 2012, 121;

Lindhagen 2016, 226.

101 Manenica 2012, 280.

102 Lindhagen 2016, 226; Dommelen 2018.

103 Cambi 1980, 127.

104 Lindhagen 2016, 226-232.

105 Lindhagen 2016, 229-230.

106 Lindhagen 2016, 229.

novnici imali interesovanje za grčku robu.¹⁰⁷ Rimska cesta od Narone do Sarajeva preko Nevesinja i Konjica, koja je vjerovatno izgrađena na lokalnoj ruti, prolazila je pored ove gradi-
ne u Borcima.¹⁰⁸ U nekropoli u Brezi pronađena je helenistička keramika s Isse.¹⁰⁹ To ukazuje da je antičko stanovništvo u današnjoj srednjoj Bosni bilo zainteresirano za robu s Isse.

Ako povežemo Issu, Pharos, Naronu, Ošanjiće, Borce i Brezu na osnovu rute od Narone do Sarajeva preko Nevesinja i Konjica u pogledu perioda do prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere, možemo reći da je Naronu imala posredničku trgovačku ulogu između Isse / Pharosa i društveno-političke jedinice čije središte je bilo na Ošanjićima. Društveno-politička jedinica čije središte je bilo na Ošanjićima imala je posredničku trgovačku ulogu između Narone i današnjeg Nevesinja, Boraca i srednje Bosne. Druga rimska cesta je išla od Narone preko Stoca do današnjeg Panika u Bosni i Hercegovini.¹¹⁰ Ova cesta se zasnivala na predrimskoj ruti.¹¹¹ U Paniku se nalazila raskrsnica. Jedna rimska cesta je išla ka Cavtatu u blizini Dubrovnika u današnjoj Hrvatskoj. Još jedna rimska cesta je išla ka Foči preko Gackog u današnjoj Bosni i Hercegovini. Treća rim-

habitants had an interest for Hellenistic goods.¹⁰⁷ The Roman road from Naronu to Sarajevo via Nevesinje and Konjic, which was probably built on a local route, passed nearby this hillfort at Borci.¹⁰⁸ At the necropolis in Breza, one has found Hellenistic ceramic from Issa.¹⁰⁹ This indicates that there was an interest from the inhabitants in today's Central-Bosnia in ancient times for goods from Issa.

If one connects Issa, Pharos, Naronu, Ošanjići, Borci, and Breza based on the route from Naronu to Sarajevo via Nevesinje and Konjic in relation to the period until the first half of the 150s BCE, one can say that Naronu had an intermediary position in trade between Issa/Pharos and the sociopolitical unit which had Ošanjići as center. The sociopolitical unit which had Ošanjići as the center had an intermediary position in trade between Naronu and today's Nevesinje, Borci, and Central-Bosnia. The second Roman road went from Naronu via Stolac to today's Panik in Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹¹⁰ This road was based on a route from pre-Roman times.¹¹¹ At Panik, there was a crossroad. One Roman road went to Cavtat near Dubrovnik in today's Croatia. Another Roman road went towards Foča via Gacko in today's Bosnia and Herzegovina. The third Roman

107 Bojanovski 1978, 96.

108 Bojanovski 1978.

109 Džino 2009, 81.

110 Bojanovski 1973.

111 Bojanovski 1973, 170-171.

107 Bojanovski 1978, 96.

108 Bojanovski 1978.

109 Džino 2009, 81.

110 Bojanovski 1973.

111 Bojanovski 1973, 170-171.

ska cesta je išla prema Skadru.¹¹² Ove rimske ceste su se također vjerovatno zasnivale na predrimskim rutama. Društveno-politička jedinica čije središte je bilo na Ošanjićima također je imala posrednički položaj između Narone i Panika. Središte društveno-političko političke jedinice na Ošanjićima je uništeno vjerovatno u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Nakon toga, ova društveno-politička jedinica je svoje središte premjestila u Stolac. U drugoj polovini 2. stoljeća prije nove ere, Narona se razvila u urbano naselje kojim je upravljao Rim.¹¹³ Istovremeno, ovo područje su naselili italijanski doseljenici.¹¹⁴ U Naroni i okolici se proizvodilo i vino.¹¹⁵ Narona je vjerovatno proizvodila i druga dobra.

Osim toga, Narona je funkcionirala kao posrednik između zaleđa i ostatka Mediterana. Narona je uvozila robu iz zaleđa i izvozila je u zaleđe rutom koja je išla iz Narone do Sarajeva preko Nevesinja i Konjica. Stoga, društveno-politička jedinica čije središte je bilo u Stocu svakako je bila posrednik u trgovini između Narone i današnjeg Nevesinja, Konjica i srednje Bosne do konačnog rimskog osvajanja istočnog Jadrana u drugoj polovini 1. stoljeća prije nove ere i početkom 1. stoljeća nove ere.¹¹⁶ Osim toga, društveno-politič-

road went towards Shkodër.¹¹² These Roman roads could also have been based on pre-Roman routes. The sociopolitical unit which had Ošanjići as center also had an intermediary position between Narona and Panik. Probably in the first half of the 150s BCE, the center of the sociopolitical unit at Ošanjići got destroyed. Afterwards, this sociopolitical unit moved its center to Stolac. In the last half of the second century BCE, Narona developed into an urban settlement which was administered by Rome.¹¹³ At the same time, one got Italian settlers in the area.¹¹⁴ Wine was now also produced in Narona and the area around.¹¹⁵ Narona could also have produced other goods.

In addition, Narona functioned as an intermediary between the hinterland and the rest of the Mediterranean. Narona imported goods from the hinterland and exported goods to the hinterland based on the route that went from Narona to Sarajevo via Nevesinje and Konjic. Therefore, the sociopolitical unit which had its center in Stolac was definitely an intermediary in trade between Narona and today's Nevesinje, Konjic and Central-Bosnia until the final Roman conquest of the Eastern Adriatic in the last half of the first century BCE and the beginning of the

112 Bojanovski 1973; Bojanovski 1987.

113 Lindhagen 2016, 232.

114 Lindhagen 2009, 94.

115 Lindhagen 2016, 231.

116 Dzino 2010, 99–155.

112 Bojanovski 1973; Bojanovski 1987.

113 Lindhagen 2016, 232.

114 Lindhagen 2009, 94.

115 Lindhagen 2016, 231.

ka jedinica čije središte je bilo u Stocu vjerovatno je funkcionirala i kao trgovački posrednik između Narone i današnjeg Panika na osnovu rute od Narone do Panika preko Stoca do konačnog rimskog osvajanja istočnog Jadrana u drugoj polovini 1. stoljeća prije nove ere i početkom 1. stoljeća nove ere.¹¹⁷ Rim je vjerovatno nagradio društveno-političku jedinicu čije središte je bilo u Stocu zbog trgovačke saradnje s Naronom dajući joj status peregrinske civitas. Naziv ove peregrinske civitas bio je naziv društveno-političke jedinice čije središte je prvo bilo na Ošanjićima a kasnije u Stocu, tj. društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa.

5.0.4. Elementi društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa prije prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere

Na osnovu prethodno navedenog, možemo reći da je središte društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa bilo locirano na Ošanjićima prije prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Nije poznato kolika je bila teritorija društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa prije prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Zanimljivo je da je središte na Ošanjićima gledalo na veliku poljoprivrednu oblast. Također je nepoznato kakav je bio politički sistem društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa. Kovanice društveno-politič-

first century CE.¹¹⁶ In addition, the sociopolitical unit with its center in Stolac maybe also functioned as an intermediary in trade between Narona and today's Panik based on the route from Narona to Panik via Stolac until the final Roman conquest of the Eastern Adriatic in the last half of the first century BCE and the beginning of the first century CE.¹¹⁷ The sociopolitical unit which had Stolac as center was probably rewarded by the Romans for their trade cooperation with Narona by getting to be its own *civitas peregrina*. The name of this *civitas peregrina* was the name of the sociopolitical unit which first had Ošanjići and afterwards Stolac as center, namely the Daorsi.

5.0.4. The elements of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi before the first half of the 150s BCE

Based on the discussion above, one can say that the center of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi was located before the first half of the 150s BCE at Ošanjići. How big the territory of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi was before the first half of the 150s BCE, is unknown. It is interesting that the center at Ošanjići overlooked a large agricultural area. What the political system of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi was, is also unknown. The coins of the sociopoliti-

¹¹⁷ Dzino 2010, 99-155.

¹¹⁶ Dzino 2010, 99-155.

¹¹⁷ Dzino 2010, 99-155.

ke jedinice Daorsa pokazuju osobu. Neki tvrde da je ta osoba bog Hermes. Drugi tvrde da je ta osoba bila vladar.¹¹⁸ Ako kovanice zaista pokazuju vladara, onda nije sigurno je li ta osoba bila monarh, tiranin, izabrani vođa ili aristokrata. Društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa imala je vlastito stanovništvo koje je bilo ujedinjeno na osnovu npr. pripadnosti istom središtu na Ošanjićima.

Izgradnja i održavanje velikih odbrambenih zidova na Ošanjićima bili su jedan od mnogobrojnih načina za izgradnju i održavanje jedinstva stanovništva koje je bilo ujedinjeno na osnovu npr. pripadnosti istom središtu. Kao što sam prethodno istakao, Daorsi je bio naziv. Koristili su ga Polibije i Livije kada su pisali o događajima prije i tokom prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere.¹¹⁹ Može se pretpostaviti da se naziv u ovom periodu koristio da se identificiraju društveno-politička jedinica i savez. Osim toga, DAORSON i DAOERSON su napisani na kovanicama Daorsa.¹²⁰ DAORSON i DAEORSON se očigledno zasnivaju na nazivu "Daorsi". To ukazuje da je stanovništvo društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa koristilo naziv "Daorsi" da se identificira. Nije poznato je li se u početku naziv "Daorsi" zasnivao na nazivu središta, stanovništva, aristokratije / oligarhije, monarha,

cal unit of the Daorsi show a person. Some have argued that this person is the god Hermes. Others have argued that this person was a ruler.¹¹⁸ If the coins show a ruler, then it is uncertain if this person was a monarch, tyrant, elected leader, or aristocrat. The sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi had its own population which was united by, for example, belonging to the same center at Ošanjići.

The construction and maintenance of the large defensive walls at Ošanjići were one of many ways one could have constructed and maintained the unity in the population, which was united by, for example, belonging to the same center. As I already pointed out above, Daorsi was a name. It was used by Polybios and Livy when they referred to events before and during the first half of the 150s BCE.¹¹⁹ One can assume that the name at this time was used to identify a sociopolitical unit and union. In addition, DAORSON and DAOERSON are written on the coins of the Daorsi.¹²⁰ DAORSON and DAEORSON are clearly based on the name Daorsi. This indicates that the population in the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi used the name Daorsi to identify themselves. It is not known whether the name Daorsi was at the starting point based on the name of the center, the population, the aristocracy/oligarchy, a monarch,

118 Dragičević 2016, 111-112.

119 Polyb. 32.5.9; Livy, 45.26.

120 Dragičević 2016; Dragičević 2023.

118 Dragičević 2016, 111-112.

119 Polyb. 32.5.9; Livy, 45.26.

120 Dragičević 2016; Dragičević 2023.

rijeke, geografske oblasti i/ili nečega drugog u društveno-političkoj jedinici Daorsa.

a river, a geographical area, and/or something else in the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi.

5.0.5. Savez društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa do prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere

Kao što sam prethodno istakao, moja pretpostavka je da je naziv “Daorsi” predstavljao i društveno-političku jedinicu i savez u periodu kada su Polibije i Livije spominjali Daorse u kontekstu događaja koji su se dogodili u prvoj polovini 2. stoljeća prije nove ere.¹²¹ Društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa sa središtem na Ošanjicima bila je ta koja je preuzela kontrolu nad drugim društveno-političkim jedinicama u donjoj Neretvi. Stoga, imamo savez Daorsa koji je nazvan po društveno-političkoj jedinici Daorsa, sa svojim središtem na Ošanjicima. Nadalje, središte društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa na Ošanjicima postalo je glavno središte saveza Daorsa. Može se reći da je savez Daorsa bio jedini savez u donjoj Neretvi u prvoj polovini 2. stoljeća prije nove ere. Društveno-političke jedinice podređene društveno-političkoj jedinici Daorsa imale su centre na brdu Grad u naselju Nakovana, na Krstini i u Zvonigradu. Istovremeno, postojalo je više središta, kao i društveno-političkih jedinica u donjoj Neretvi, npr. u današnjem Neumu i

5.0.5. The sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi's union until the first half of the 150s BCE

As I pointed out earlier, my assumption is that when Polybios and Livy mentioned the Daorsi in the context of events that happened in the first half of the second century BCE, the name Daorsi meant both the sociopolitical unit and the union.¹²¹ It was the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its center at Ošanjici that took control of other sociopolitical units in the lower Neretva. Thus, one got the union of the Daorsi, where the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi, with its center at Ošanjici, named the union. Furthermore, the center of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi at Ošanjici became the main center in the union of the Daorsi. One can say that the union of the Daorsi was the only union in the lower Neretva in the first half of the second century BCE. The sociopolitical units that were subordinated to the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi had centers at Grad Nakovana, Krstina, and Zvonigrad. At the same time, there were more centers and thus sociopolitical units in the lower Neretva, for example, in today's Neum and Ljubuški, but I have not managed to identify them. These

121 Polyb. 32.5.9; Livy, 45.26.

121 Polyb. 32.5.9; Livy, 45.26.

Ljubuškom, ali ih nisam uspio identificirati. Ove društveno-političke jedinice i njihova središta također su bili podređeni društveno-političkoj jedinici Daorsa.

Da bismo razumjeli zašto je društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa upravljala ovim središtima, kao i društveno-političkim jedinicama u donjoj Neretvi, važno je istaći tri rimske ceste u donjoj Neretvi. Prva je bila rimska cesta koja je išla od Narone do Sarajeva preko Nevesinja i Konjica, a koja je prolazila pored Ošanjica.¹²² Može se protumačiti da Bojanovski navodi da se ova ruta koristila u predrimskom periodu.¹²³ To znači da su Rimljani izgradili cestu od Narone do Sarajeva preko Nevesinja i Konjica na osnovu predrimske rute. Druga rimska cesta je išla od Narone do Panika preko Stoca.¹²⁴ Ova ruta je postojala i u predrimskom periodu, što znači da je rimska cesta izgrađena na postojećoj predrimskoj cesti.¹²⁵ U Paniku se nalazila raskrsnica gdje je jedna rimska cesta išla ka Cavtatu, druga cesta je išla ka Foči preko Gackog, a treća je išla ka Skadru.¹²⁶ U Foči se nalazila raskrsnica gdje je jedna rimska cesta išla ka Pljevljima.¹²⁷ Ove rimske ceste su se također vjerovatno izgradile na predrimskim rutama. Stoga se može pretpostaviti da su ove rute postojale

sociopolitical units and their centers were also subordinated to the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi.

To understand why all these centers and thus sociopolitical units in the lower Neretva were controlled by the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi, it is important to point out three Roman roads in the lower Neretva. The first was the Roman road which went from Naron to Sarajevo via Nevesinje and Konjic, which passed by Ošanjici.¹²² It can be interpreted that Bojanovski states that this route was used in pre-Roman times.¹²³ This means that the Romans built the road from Naron to Sarajevo via Nevesinje and Konjic based on a pre-Roman route. The second Roman road went from Naron to Panik via Stolic.¹²⁴ This route existed also in pre-Roman times, which means that the Roman road was built on an existing pre-Roman route.¹²⁵ At Panik, there was a crossroad, where one Roman road went to Cavtat, another road went to Foča via Gacko, and the third went to Shkodër.¹²⁶ At Foča there was a crossroad where one Roman road went to Pljevlja.¹²⁷ These Roman roads could also have been built on pre-Roman routes. Therefore, one can assume that these routes existed in pre-Roman times. It is important

122 Bojanovski 1978.

123 Bojanovski 1978, 66-67.

124 Bojanovski 1973.

125 Bojanovski 1973, 170-171.

126 Bojanovski 1973; Bojanovski 1987.

127 Bojanovski 1987, 97.

122 Bojanovski 1978.

123 Bojanovski 1978, 66-67.

124 Bojanovski 1973.

125 Bojanovski 1973, 170-171.

126 Bojanovski 1973; Bojanovski 1987.

127 Bojanovski 1987, 97.

le u predrimskom periodu. Važno je istaći kovanice Daorsa koje su pronađene u Gackom i Pljevljima.¹²⁸ Moguće je da su ove kovanice došle rutom Narona – Stolac – Panik – Gacko – Foča – Pljevlja. Treća rimska cesta je išla od Narone do Solina.¹²⁹ Ova cesta se također vjerovatno izgradila na predrimskoj ruti.

Za društveno-političku jedinicu Daorsa bilo je važno preuzeti kontrolu nad drugim društveno-političkim jedinicama u donjoj Neretvi. Na taj način je društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa uspjela preuzeti kontrolu nad glavnim rutama u donjoj Neretvi koje su išle prema Sarajevu, Paniku i Solinu. Tako je društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa preuzela kontrolu nad cijelom trgovinom u donjoj Neretvi sa Issom / Pharosom i savezima prema Sarajevu, Paniku i Solinu. Kao posljedica, društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa postajala je bogatija i snažnija. Kontrola društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa nad drugim društveno-političkim jedinicama u donjoj Neretvi pozitivno je uticala i na Issu / Pharos, saveze ka Sarajevu, savez Plereja i savez na sjeverozapadu. Pružala je sigurnost brodovima i trgovcima koji su sa Isse / Pharosa uplovljavali u Naronu da razmjenjuju robu u Naroni bez napada drugih saveza u donjoj Neretvi morem, kopnom i rijekom. Istovremeno, Issa / Pharos, savezi ka Sarajevu, save-

to point out the Daorsi coins which have been found at Gacko and Pljevlja.¹²⁸ It is possible that these coins came via the route Narona-Stolac-Panik-Gacko-Foča-Pljevlja. The third Roman road went from Narona to Solin.¹²⁹ This road could also have been built on a pre-Roman route.

It was important for the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi to take control of other sociopolitical units in the lower Neretva. This way, the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi managed to take control of the main routes in the lower Neretva which went towards Sarajevo, Panik, and Solin. This way the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi took control of all trade in the lower Neretva with Issa/Pharos and the unions towards Sarajevo, Panik, and Solin. The result was that the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi grew richer and more powerful. The sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi's control over other sociopolitical units in the lower Neretva was also positive for Issa/Pharos, the unions towards Sarajevo, the union of Pleraei, and the union in the northwest. It made it safe for ships and tradesmen from Issa/Pharos to sail into Narona and exchange goods at Narona without being attacked by other unions in the lower Neretva by sea, land, and river. At the same time, it was effective, predictable, and systematic for Issa/Pharos, the unions towards Sarajevo,

128 Dragičević 2023.

129 Bojanovski 1977.

128 Dragičević 2023.

129 Bojanovski 1977.

zi Plereja i savezi ka sjeverozapadu mogli su na lakši, predvidiv i sistematičan način sarađivati u pogledu trgovine s jednom društveno-političkom jedinicom u donjoj Neretvi, tj. Daorsima koji su kontrolirali druge društveno-političke jedinice u donjoj Neretvi. Alternativa za Issu / Pharos, saveze ka Sarajevu, savez Plereja i savez ka sjeverozapadu bila je saradnja s nekoliko saveza u donjoj Neretvi, koja bi bila manje efikasna, predvidiva i sistematična, možda čak i opasna. Drugim riječima, kontrola koju je društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa imala nad drugim društveno-političkim jedinicama u donjoj Neretvi putem svog saveza bila je dobra situacija za društveno-političku jedinicu Daorsa, Issu / Pharos i saveze na ruti ka Sarajevu, Paniku i Solinu.

the union of Pleraei, and the unions towards northwest to cooperate in trade with one sociopolitical unit in the lower Neretva, namely the Daorsi which controlled other sociopolitical units in the lower Neretva. The alternative for Issa/Pharos, the unions towards Sarajevo, the union of Pleraei, and the union towards northwest was to cooperate with several unions in the lower Neretva, which would have been less effective, predictable, and systematic, maybe even dangerous. In other words, the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi's control over other sociopolitical units in the lower Neretva through its union was a good situation for the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi, Issa/Pharos, and the unions on the routes towards Sarajevo, Panik, and Solin.



Slika 23: Ušće rijeke Neretve gdje su brodovi sa Isse / Pharosa uplovljavali u Naronu. Autor slike: Šarafanije.

Figure 23: The mouth of the river Neretva, where ships from Issa/Pharos would have entered to sail to Naron. Photo by Šarafanije.

5.0.6. Savez Ardijejaca i savez Plereja

Gdje možemo smjestiti Plereje i Ardijejce koji su se prema Strabonu nalazili u donjoj Neretvi?¹³⁰ Savez Plereja se vjerovatno može smjestiti u područjima Panika, Trebinja i Bileće, uključujući morsku obalu u npr. današnjem Dubrovniku i Cavtatu. U područjima Trebinja, Panika i Bileće nalaze se plodne poljoprivredne površine. Kao što sam prethodno istakao, Panik je funkcionirao kao raskrsnica rimskih cesta.¹³¹ Ove ceste su se vjerovatno izgradile na predrimskim rutama. Na osnovu toga, moguće je da je savez Plereja funkcionirao i kao trgovački posrednik između obale i različitih saveza na sjeverozapadu, sjeveroistoku i jugoistoku. Jasno je da je savez Ardijejaca na početku bio smješten negdje u zaleđu. Kada je pisao svoje djelo *Periplus* u 330-im godinama prije nove ere, Pseudo-Skilak nije spomenuo savez Ardijejaca na morskoj obali.¹³²

Savez Ardijejaca može se locirati na morskoj obali od barem početka 3. stoljeća prije nove ere zbog njihovog piratstva.¹³³ Tada se savez Ardijejaca nalazio u Boki kotorskoj u današnjoj Crnoj Gori. Ovo argumentira Polibije. Dok je Teuta, koja je tokom Prvog ilirskog rata (229. god. prije nove ere) vodila savez Ardijejaca, gu-

5.0.6. The union of the Ardiaei and the union of the Pleraei

Where can one place the Pleraei and Ardiaei, who according to Strabo were located in the lower Neretva?¹³⁰ The union of Pleraei can most probably be placed in the Panik-, Trebinje-, and Bileća-areas, including the seacoast at, for example, today's Dubrovnik and Cavtat. At the Trebinje-, Panik-, and Bileća-areas there are fertile agricultural areas. As I pointed out above, Panik functioned as a crossroad for Roman roads.¹³¹ These roads could have been built on pre-Roman routes. Based on this, it is possible that the union of the Pleraei also functioned as an intermediary in trade between the coast and different unions to the northwest, northeast, and southeast. It is clear that the union of the Ardiaei was at the starting point placed somewhere in the hinterland. The union of the Ardiaei was not mentioned by the seacoast by Pseudo-Skylax when he wrote his *Periplus* in the 330s BCE.¹³²

The union of the Ardiaei can be placed by the seacoast at least from the third century BCE, because of their piracy.¹³³ At this time, the union of the Ardiaei was located in the Bay of Kotor in today's Montenegro. This is supported by Polybios. When Teuta, the leader of the union of the Ardiaei during the First Illyrian War

130 Strabo, 7.5.5.

131 Bojanovski 1973; Bojanovski 1987.

132 Pseudo-Skylax, 20-27; Šašel Kos 2005, 171.

133 Eckstein 2012, 33.

130 Strabo, 7.5.5.

131 Bojanovski 1973; Bojanovski 1987.

132 Pseudo-Skylax, 20-27; Šašel Kos 2005, 171.

133 Eckstein 2012, 33.

bila od Rimljana, pobjegla je, od svih mjesta, u Rizinum, današnji Risan.¹³⁴ Arheološka iskopavanja Risana pokazala su da je mjesto funkcioniralo kao središte u predrimskom periodu. Ovo podupiru nalazi npr. utvrda, velikog broja kovanica, helenističke keramike i kompleksa palače.¹³⁵ Rimljani su 135. godine prije nove ere ratovali s Ardijejcima i Palarima.¹³⁶ Ardijejci su se vjerovatno nakon ovog rata preselili u unutrašnjost.¹³⁷ Njihova tačna lokacija nije poznata. Palari se mogu identificirati s Plerejima, ali to nije sigurno.¹³⁸ Ako su Palari zapravo bili Plereji, onda nije poznato šta se dogodilo s njima nakon rata 135. godine prije nove ere.

5.0.7. Savez Glindiciona, Naresa i Desidijata

Važno je dublje analizirati saveze koji su bili smješteni na ruti od Narone do Sarajeva preko Nevesinja i Konjica i koji su došli nakon saveza Daorsa. Možemo pretpostaviti da su Glindicioni bili savez koji je došao direktno nakon saveza Daorsa. Moguće je da su bili smješteni u današnjem području Nevesinja.¹³⁹ Nadalje, može se pretpostaviti da je savez Naresa bio smješten nakon saveza Glindiciona,

(229 BCE), was losing against the Romans, she escaped - of all places - to Rhizon, today's Risan.¹³⁴ Archaeological excavations in Risan have shown that the place functioned as a center in pre-Roman times. This is supported by finds of, for example, fortifications, huge numbers of coins, Hellenistic ceramic, and a palace complex.¹³⁵ In 135 BCE, the Romans waged a war with the Ardiae and Palarii.¹³⁶ It was probably after this war that the Ardiae were resettled to the interior.¹³⁷ Where their exact location was, is not known. The Palarii can maybe be identified with the Pleraei, but it is not certain.¹³⁸ If the Palarii was actually the Pleraei, then it is not known what happened to them after the war in 135 BCE.

5.0.7. The unions of the Glinditiones, Naresi, and Daesitiates

It is important to go deeper into the unions which were located on the route from Narona to Sarajevo via Nevesinje and Konjic, and came after the union of the Daorsi. One can assume that the union, which came directly after the union of the Daorsi, was the Glinditiones. They were perhaps located in today's Nevesinje-area.¹³⁹ Further, one can assume that

134 Polyb. 2.11; Dyczek et al. 2004, 101; Eckstein 2012, 34, 40.

135 Dyczek 2020.

136 App. III. 10.2.10; Džino 2010, 64-65.

137 Džino 2010, 64-65.

138 Džino 2010, 64-65.

139 Šašel Kos 2005, 415.

134 Polyb. 2.11; Dyczek et al. 2004, 101; Eckstein 2012, 34, 40.

135 Dyczek 2020.

136 App. III. 10.2.10; Džino 2010, 64-65.

137 Džino 2010, 64-65.

138 Džino 2010, 64-65.

139 Šašel Kos 2005, 415.

tj. u gornjoj Neretvi.¹⁴⁰ Nakon saveza Naresa dolazi savez Desidijata, koji je bio smješten npr. u području Sarajeva i Breze.¹⁴¹ Na osnovu rute od Narone do Sarajeva preko Nevesinja i Konjica, možemo reći da nakon Narone dolazi savez Daorsa, nakon saveza Daorsa dolazi savez Glindiciona, nakon saveza Glindiciona dolazi savez Naresa, a nakon saveza Naresa dolazi savez Desidijata.

5.0.8. Savezi prema sjeverozapadu nakon saveza Daorsa

Kao što sam istakao, Delminij, glavno središte Delmata, vjerovatno je bio smješten na brdu Lib u blizini današnjeg Tomislavgrada.¹⁴² Međutim, nije sigurno da je savez Delmata u početku graničio sa savezom Daorsa u prvoj polovini 2. stoljeća prije nove ere. Drugi savez ili savezi mogli su graničiti sa savezom Daorsa na sjeverozapadu. Možda ih je osvojio savez Delmata u periodu oko 180-ih godina prije nove ere ili u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere, što je rezultiralo kolapsom ovih saveza i pripajanjem društveno-političkih jedinica savezu Delmata.

the union of the Naresi was located after the union of the Glinditiones, that is in the upper Neretva.¹⁴⁰ After the union of the Naresi came the union of the Daesitiates, which were located, for example, in the Sarajevo- and Breza-area.¹⁴¹ Based on the route from Narona to Sarajevo via Nevesinje and Konjic, one can say that after Narona came the union of the Daorsi, after the union of the Daorsi came the union of the Glinditiones, after the union of the Glinditiones came the union of the Naresi, and after the union of the Naresi came the union of the Daesitiates.

5.0.8. Unions towards the northwest after the union of the Daorsi

As I pointed out, Delminium, the main center of the Delmatae, was probably located at hill Lib near today's Tomislavgrad.¹⁴² However, it is not certain that the union of the Delmatae was at the start neighbors of the union of the Daorsi in the first half of the second century BCE. Another union or unions could have bordered the union of the Daorsi to the northwest. These were perhaps conquered by the union of the Delmatae from around 180s BCE or from the first half of the 150s BCE, which resulted in the collapse of these unions, and the fact that the sociopolitical units were incorporated into the union of the Delmatae.

140 Šačić 2012, 101.

141 Domić Kunić 2006, 82–83; Šačić Beća, Veletovac 2019, 32.

142 Dragičević 2017, 169–170.

140 Šačić 2012, 101.

141 Domić Kunić 2006, 82–83; Šačić Beća, Veletovac 2019, 32.

142 Dragičević 2017, 169–170.

6. Savez Daorsa u trgovini do prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere

U prethodnom poglavlju, razjasnio sam društveno-političku jedinicu Daorsa i savez Daorsa u periodu prije prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Središte društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa nalazilo se na Ošanjićima do prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa preuzela je kontrolu nad drugim društveno-političkim jedinicama i njihovim središtima u donjoj Neretvi prije prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Tako je nastao savez Daorsa. Savez Daorsa dobio je naziv po društveno-političkoj jedinici Daorsa. Istovremeno, središte društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa na Ošanjićima postalo je glavno središte saveza. Tokom postojanja saveza Daorsa, društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa imala je ekskluzivni pristup trgovini sa Issom / Pharosom u donjoj Neretvi preko Narone, savezom Glindiciona, Naresa, Desidijata prema Sarajevu, savezom Plereja prema Paniku i savezom prema sjeveroistoku.

Na osnovu tri rute koje su išle od Narone do Sarajeva, od Narone do Panika i od Narone do Solina, savez Daorsa funkcionirao je kao trgovački posrednik između Isse / Pharosa, saveza Glindiciona prema Sarajevu, saveza Plereja prema Paniku i save-

6. The union of the Daorsi in trade until the first half of the 150s BCE

In the previous chapter, I have clarified the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi and the union of the Daorsi from the time before the first half of the 150s BCE. The center of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi was located at Ošanjići until the first half of the 150s BCE. The sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi took control of other sociopolitical units and their centers in the lower Neretva before the first half of the 150s BCE. Thus, one got the union of the Daorsi. The union of the Daorsi was named by the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi. At the same time, the center of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi at Ošanjići became the main center in the union. While the union of the Daorsi existed, the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi had exclusive access in the lower Neretva to trade with Issa/Pharos through Narona, the unions Glinditiones, Naresi, Daesitiates towards Sarajevo, the union of Pleraei towards Panik, and a union towards the northeast.

Based on the three routes which went from Narona to Sarajevo, from Narona to Panik, and from Narona to Solin, the union of the Daorsi functioned as an intermediary in trade between Issa/Pharos, the union of Glinditiones towards Sarajevo, the union of Pleraei towards Panik and a union

za prema sjeverozapadu.¹⁴³ U ovom poglavlju ću pisati o internoj organizaciji trgovine u savezu Daorsa. Također ću dublje analizirati kakvu robu su Issa / Pharos izvozili u društveno-političku jedinicu Daorsa i njen savez. Osim toga, spomenut ću kakvu robu su društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa i njen savez izvozili na Issu / Pharos. Također ću istaći kakvu robu su društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa i njen savez mogli izvoziti u saveze prema Sarajevu, Paniku i sjeverozapadu. Nadalje, istaći ću šta je društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa mogla ponuditi stanovništvu društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa i stanovništvima drugih podređenih društveno-političkih jedinica u savezu Daorsa.

6.1. Organizacija trgovine u savezu Daorsa

U analizi interne trgovine u savezu Daorsa inspiraciju pronalazim u Selandovom modelu kojeg sam predstavio u 1. poglavlju.¹⁴⁴ Središte na Ošanjićima se može kategorizirati kao glavno središte (A). Središta u Zvonigradu, na brdu Grad u naselju Nakovana i na Krstini mogu se kategorizirati kao sekundarna središta (B). Naronu se može kategorizirati kao emporij (C). Možemo pretpostaviti da su postojala tri druga lokaliteta koja su funkcionirala kao emporiji (C), ali na

towards northwest.¹⁴³ In this chapter, I will discuss the organization of trade internally in the union of the Daorsi. I will also go deeper into what kind of goods Issa/Pharos exported to the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi and its union. In addition, I will mention what kind of goods the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi and its union exported to Issa/Pharos. Additionally, I will point out what kind of goods the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi and its union could have exported to the unions towards Sarajevo, Panik, and northwest. Furthermore, I will point out what the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi could have offered the population of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi and the populations of other subordinated sociopolitical units in the union of the Daorsi.

6.1. The organization of trade in the union of the Daorsi

In the discussion of trade internally in the union of the Daorsi, I will take inspiration from Seland's model, which I introduced in chapter 1.¹⁴⁴ The center at Ošanjići can be categorized as the main center (A). The centers at Zvonigrad, Grad Nakovana, and Krstina can be categorized as secondary centers (B). Naronu can be categorized as an *emporion* (C). One can assume that there were three other sites which functioned as *emporia* (C),

143 Bojanovski 1973; Bojanovski 1977;
Bojanovski 1978.

144 Seland 2007.

143 Bojanovski 1973; Bojanovski 1977;
Bojanovski 1978.

144 Seland 2007.

kopnu, na granici između saveza Daorsa i saveza Glindiciona prema Sarajevu, saveza Daorsa i saveza Plereja prema Paniku i saveza Daorsa i saveza prema sjeverozapadu. Gradine i sela na teritoriji društveno-političke jedinice sa središtem mogu se kategorizirati kao druga naselja (D). Sve društveno-političke jedinice su imale središte. Međutim, nisu sve društveno-političke jedinice imale sela i/ili gradine na svojim teritorijama. Gradina na Konštici je primjer drugih naselja. Nalazi se u blizini Ošanjića, koje je bilo središte društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa do prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere.

but by land, at the borders between the union of the Daorsi and the union of Glinditiones towards Sarajevo, the union of the Daorsi and the union of Pleraei towards Panik, and the union of the Daorsi and a union towards northwest. Hillforts and villages, which were located in the territory of a sociopolitical unit with a center, can be categorized as other settlements (D). All sociopolitical units had a center. However, not all sociopolitical units had villages and/or hillforts in their territories. I will use the hillfort at Konštica as an example of other settlements. It is close to Ošanjići, which was the center of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi until the first half of the 150s BCE.



Slika 24: Gradina Konštica dolje desno.
Fotografiju snimio Djani Behram.

Figure 24: The hillfort of Konštica down to the right. Photo by Djani Behram.

Konštica nije bila središte. Stoga, Konštica je primjer drugih naselja koja su bila dio teritorije društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa. Lokalizacija na Konštici se može datirati u period helenizma zahvaljujući nalazima keramike.¹⁴⁵ Moguće je da su postojale druge gradine i/ili sela na teritoriji društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa i drugih društveno-političkih jedinica koje se klasificiraju kao druga naselja (D), ali u ovoj knjizi ću se ograničiti na Konšticu. Može se pretpostaviti da je društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa imala poreze koje je stanovništvo na njoj teritoriji, uključujući stanovništvo koje je živjelo u drugim naseljima (D) na njoj teritoriji, moralo plaćati. Ovi porezi su se držali u središtu na Ošanjićima. Nadalje, možemo pretpostaviti da su društveno-političke jedinice koje su bile podređene društveno-političkoj jedinici Daorsa također imale poreze koje je njihovo stanovništvo, uključujući stanovništvo koje je po mogućnosti živjelo u drugim naseljima (D) na njihovim teritorijama, moralo plaćati. Ovi porezi su se držali u središtima podređenih društveno-političkih jedinica. S obzirom na to da je društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa upravljala drugim društveno-političkim jedinicama, društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa je mogla narediti podređenim društveno-političkim jedinicama da im plaća poreze.

Konštica was not a center. Therefore, Konštica is an example of other settlements, which were part of the territory of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi. Based on the findings of ceramic, one has dated the site at Konštica to Hellenistic times.¹⁴⁵ There were probably other hillforts and/or villages in the territory of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi and other sociopolitical units which classify as other settlements (D), but I will limit myself to Konštica in this book. One can assume that the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi had taxes, which the population in its territory, including the populations which lived at other settlements (D) in its territory, had to pay. These taxes were stored at the center at Ošanjići. Further, one can assume that the sociopolitical units which were subordinated to the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi also had taxes, which their populations, including the populations which potentially lived at other settlements (D) in their territories, had to pay. These taxes were stored at the centers of the subordinated sociopolitical units. Since the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi controlled other sociopolitical units, the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi could have ordered the subordinated sociopolitical units to pay them taxes.

The subordinated sociopolitical units probably sent parts of their collected taxes from their centers (B) to the

¹⁴⁵ Basler 1988, 183 (20.305); Marić 2000, 39.

¹⁴⁵ Basler 1988, 183 (20.305); Marić 2000, 39.

Podređene društveno-političke jedinice vjerovatno su slale dijelove prikupljenog poreza iz svojih središta (B) u središte društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa na Ošanjićima (A) gdje su se držali. Svi porezi su se vjerovatno temeljili na prirodnim proizvodima. Trgovina između Isse / Pharosa, saveza Daorsa, saveza Glindiciona, saveza Plereja i saveza prema sjeverozapadu od saveza Daorsa, vjerovatno se temeljila na trgovini pod ugovorom. Društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa sa svojim savezom sklapala je ugovore sa Issom / Pharosom, savezom Glindiciona, savezom Plereja i savezom prema sjeverozapadu. Mogli su se uspostaviti emporiji u kojima se odvijala razmjena dobara između dvije različite strane. To znači da se razmjena dobara između Isse / Pharosa i saveza Daorsa odvijala u emporiju Narona (C). Nadalje, razmjena dobara između saveza Daorsa i saveza Glindiciona odvijala se na neutvrđenoj lokaciji koja je funkcionirala kao emporij (C), ali kopnom na granici između ova dva saveza na ruti od Narone do Sarajeva. Slično tome, na granici između saveza Daorsa i saveza Plereja, na ruti od Narone do Panika preko Stoca, mogao je postojati emporij (C). Osim toga, na granici između saveza Daorsa i saveza prema sjeverozapadu, na ruti od Narone do Solina, mogao je postojati emporij (C).

Društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa primala je dobra od Isse / Pharosa

center of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi at Ošanjići (A) where they were stored. All taxes were probably based on natural products. The trade between Issa/Pharos, the union of the Daorsi, the union of Glinditiones, the union of Pleraei, and a union towards northwest from the union of the Daorsi was probably based on administered trade. The sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its union made treaties with Issa/Pharos, the union of Glinditiones, the union of Pleraei, and a union towards northwest. One could have established *emporia*, where the exchange of goods happened between two different parties. This means that exchange of goods between Issa/Pharos and the union of the Daorsi happened at *emporion* Narona (C). Furthermore, the exchange of goods between the union of the Daorsi and the union of Glinditiones happened at an unidentified site which functioned as an *emporion* (C), but by land, at the border between these two unions on the route from Narona to Sarajevo. Similarly, one could have had an *emporion* (C) at the border between the union of the Daorsi and the union of Pleraei on the route from Narona to Panik via Stolac. Additionally, one could have had an *emporion* (C) at the border between the union of the Daorsi and a union towards northwest on the route from Narona to Solin.

The sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi received goods from Issa/Pharos at the *emporion* Narona. These goods were

sa u emporiju Narona. Ova dobra su transportovana iz Narone (C) na Ošanjiće (A). Nadalje, društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa primala je dobra od saveza Glindiciona na neidentificiranom lokalitetu koji je funkcionirao kao emporij na granici između saveza Daorsa i saveza Glindiciona na ruti od Narone do Sarajeva. Ova dobra su dolazila iz današnjeg Nevesinja, Konjica i srednje Bosne. Ova roba je transportovana iz emporija (C) na Ošanjiće (A). Osim toga, društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa primala je dobra od saveza Plereja na neidentificiranom lokalitetu koji je funkcionirao kao emporij na granici između saveza Daorsa i saveza Plereja na ruti od Narone do Panika. Ovi proizvodi su mogli dolaziti iz današnjeg Panika, Gacka, Foče, Pljevalja i Skadra. Ova dobra su transportovana iz emporija (C) na Ošanjiće (A). Također, društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa primala je robu od saveza koji se nalazio sjeverozapadno od saveza Daorsa na neidentificiranom lokalitetu koji je funkcionirao kao emporij na granici između saveza Daorsa i saveza na ruti od Narone do Solina. Ova dobra su transportovana iz emporija (C) na Ošanjiće (A).

Nakon što bi se dobra iz donje Neretve, sa Isse / Pharosa, rute ka Sarajevu, rute ka Paniku i rute ka Solinu prikupljala na Ošanjićima, društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa bi počela preraspodjelu ovih dobara.

transported from Narona (C) to Ošanjići (A). Further, the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi received goods from the union of Glinditiones at an unidentified site which functioned as an *emporion* at the border between the union of the Daorsi and the union of Glinditiones on the route from Narona to Sarajevo. These goods came from today's Nevesinje, Konjic, and Central Bosnia. These commodities were transported from the *emporion* (C) to Ošanjići (A). In addition, the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi received goods from the union of Pleraei at an unidentified site which functioned as an *emporion* at the border between the union of the Daorsi and the union of Pleraei on the route from Narona to Panik. These products could have come from today's Panik, Gacko, Foča, Pljevlja, and Shköder. These goods were transported from the *emporion* (C) to Ošanjići (A). Additionally, the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi received commodities from a union located northwest from the union of the Daorsi at an unidentified site which functioned as an *emporion* at the border between the union of the Daorsi and the union on the route from Narona to Solin. These goods were transported from the *emporion* (C) to Ošanjići (A).

After the goods from the lower Neretva, Issa/Pharos, the route towards Sarajevo, the route towards Panik, and the route towards Solin were collected at Ošanjići, the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi started the redistribution

Neka dobra iz područja donje Neretve, rute ka Sarajevu, rute ka Paniku i rute ka Solinu slala su se s Ošanjića (A) za Naronu (C). Ova dobra su primali Issa i Pharos. Nadalje, neka dobra iz područja donje Neretve, Isse / Pharosa, rute ka Paniku i rute ka Solinu transportovala su se s Ošanjića (A) na neidentificirani lokalitet koji je funkcionirao kao emporij (C) na granici između saveza Daorsa i saveza Glindiciona. Ova dobra je primao savez Glindiciona. Savez Glindiciona je možda uzimao dio ovih dobara za sebe, a dio slao drugim savezima na ruti od Narone do Sarajeva. Osim toga, neki proizvodi iz područja donje Neretve, Isse / Pharosa, rute ka Sarajevu i rute ka Paniku transportovali su se s Ošanjića (A) na neidentificirani lokalitet koji je funkcionirao kao emporij (C) na granici između saveza Daorsa i saveza koji se nalazio na ruti od Narone do Solina. Ova dobra je primao savez koji se nalazio sjeverozapadno od saveza Daorsa.

Osim toga, neki proizvodi iz područja donje Neretve, Isse / Pharosa, rute ka Sarajevu i rute ka Solinu transportovali su se s Ošanjića (A) na neidentificirani lokalitet koji je funkcionirao kao emporij (C) na granici između saveza Daorsa i saveza Plereja na ruti od Narone do Panika. Ovu robu je primao savez Plereja. Savez Plereja je možda uzimao dio ovih proizvoda za sebe, a ostatak slao drugim savezima, naprimjer ka Gackom i Skadru.

of these commodities. Some goods from the lower Neretva, the route towards Sarajevo, the route towards Panik, and the route towards Solin were sent from Ošanjići (A) to Naronna (C). These goods were received by Issa and Pharos. Further, some goods from the lower Neretva, Issa/Pharos, the route towards Panik, and the route towards Solin were transported from Ošanjići (A) to an unidentified site which functioned as an *emporion* (C) at the border between the union of the Daorsi and the union of Glinditiones. These goods were received by the union of Glinditiones. The union of Glinditiones could have taken some of these goods for themselves and sent some of the goods to further unions on the route from Naronna to Sarajevo. In addition, some products from the lower Neretva, Issa/Pharos, the route towards Sarajevo and the route towards Panik were transported from Ošanjići (A) to an unidentified site which functioned as an *emporion* (C) at the border between the union of the Daorsi and a union which was located on the route from Naronna to Solin. These goods were received by the union which was located northwest from the union of the Daorsi.

Additionally, some products from the lower Neretva, Issa/Pharos, the route towards Sarajevo and the route towards Solin were transported from Ošanjići (A) to an unidentified site which functioned as an *emporion* (C) at the border between the union of the Daorsi and

Istovremeno, društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa preraspoređivala je dobra s područja Isse / Pharosa, donje Neretve, rute ka Sarajevu, rute ka Paniku i rute ka Solinu podređenim društveno-političkim jedinicama unutar saveza Daorsa. Stoga su se ova dobra slala s Ošanjića (A) u središta (B) podređenih društveno-političkih jedinica unutar saveza Daorsa. Iz njihovih središta (B), podređene društveno-političke jedinice preraspoređivale su ovu robu svom stanovništvu, uključujući stanovništvo koje je po mogućnosti živjelo u drugim naseljima (D) na njihovim teritorijama. Osim toga, društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa preraspoređivala je dobra iz područja donje Neretve, Isse / Pharosa, rute ka Sarajevu, rute ka Paniku i rute ka Solinu za svoje stanovništvo, uključujući stanovništvo koje je živjelo u drugim naseljima (D) unutar društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa. Na Ošanjićima je pronađena građevina s 94 amfore.¹⁴⁶ Može se protumačiti da je ova građevina funkcionirala kao objekt za skladištenje. Ovo je važan argument koji podupire tvrdnju da je roba, npr. vino, prikupljana i skladištena na Ošanjićima.

the union of Pleraei on the route from Naron to Panik. These commodities were received by the union of Pleraei. The union of Pleraei could have taken some products for themselves and sent the rest to other unions, for example, towards Gacko and Shkodër. At the same time, the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi redistributed goods from Issa/Pharos, the lower Neretva, the route towards Sarajevo, the route towards Panik, and the route towards Solin to the subordinated sociopolitical units inside the union of the Daorsi. These goods were thus sent from Ošanjići (A) to the centers (B) of the subordinated sociopolitical units inside the union of the Daorsi. From their centers (B), the subordinated sociopolitical units redistributed these commodities to their populations, including the populations which potentially lived at other settlements (D) in their territory. In addition, the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi redistributed goods from the lower Neretva, Issa/Pharos, the route towards Sarajevo, the route towards Panik, and the route towards Solin to its own population, including the population which lived at other settlements (D) inside the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi. On Ošanjići one has found a building with 94 amphorae.¹⁴⁶ It can be interpreted that this building functioned as a storage facility. This is an important argument that commodities, for example wine, were collected and stored at Ošanjići.

¹⁴⁶ Marijan 2000–2001, 18.

¹⁴⁶ Marijan 2000–2001, 18.

6.2. Dobra koja su Issa i Pharos izvozili u društveno-političku jedinicu Daorsa s njenim savezom

Issa i Pharos su proizvodili vlastite proizvode koje su izvozili. Issa i Pharos su također funkcionirali kao trgovački posrednici između dijelova istočnog Jadrana i ostatka Mediterana. To znači da su Issa i Pharos mogli nuditi dobra iz dijelova Mediterana. Kirigin podupire teoriju da su Issa i Pharos funkcionirali kao trgovački posrednici, predlažući na osnovu nalaza keramike u oba naselja da su imali trgovačke veze sa Spinom.¹⁴⁷ Spina se nalazila u današnjoj sjevernoj Italiji.¹⁴⁸ Osim toga, Agatarhid (oko 215. god. do nakon 145. god. prije nove ere), koji je većinu svog života živio u Aleksandriji u današnjem Egiptu, spominjao je vino sa Isse.¹⁴⁹ To može ukazivati da je Issa također imala trgovačke odnose s istočnim Mediteranom.

6.2.1. Vino

Issa i Pharos su proizvodili vino.¹⁵⁰ To vino se izvozilo u grčko-italskim amforama koje su vjerovatno napravljene na Issi i Pharosu.¹⁵¹ Grčko-italske amfore su pronađene na-

6.2. Goods that Issa and Pharos exported to the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its union

Issa and Pharos produced their own products, which they exported. Issa and Pharos also functioned as intermediaries in trade between parts of the Eastern Adriatic and the rest of the Mediterranean. This means that Issa and Pharos also could have offered goods from parts of the Mediterranean. That Issa and Pharos functioned as intermediaries in trade, is supported by Kirigin, who suggests, based on findings of ceramics in both settlements, that they had connections in trade with Spina.¹⁴⁷ Spina was located in today's Northern Italy.¹⁴⁸ In addition, Agatharchides (ca. 215 to later than 145 BCE), who lived most of his life in Alexandria in today's Egypt, mentioned the wine from Issa.¹⁴⁹ This can indicate that Issa also had relations in trade with the eastern Mediterranean.

6.2.1. Wine

Issa and Pharos produced wine.¹⁵⁰ This wine was exported in Greco-Italic amphorae, which was probably made at Issa and Pharos.¹⁵¹ One has found

147 Kirigin 2004, 212.

148 Reusser 2024.

149 Kirigin, Katunarić, Šešelj 2004, 193; Sacks 2012, 35.

150 Lindhagen 2014, 94.

151 Kirigin, Katunarić, Šešelj 2004, 198-199; Lindhagen 2016, 229.

147 Kirigin 2004, 212.

148 Reusser 2024.

149 Kirigin, Katunarić, Šešelj 2004, 193; Sacks 2012, 35.

150 Lindhagen 2014, 94.

151 Kirigin, Katunarić, Šešelj 2004, 198-199; Lindhagen 2016, 229.

primjer u Naroni i na Ošanjićima.¹⁵² Moguće je da se određena količina vina sa Isse / Pharosa također transportovala u bačvama i mješinama. Međutim, transport u bačvama i mješinama je arheološki nevidljiv.¹⁵³ S obzirom na to da su Issa / Pharos funkcionirali kao trgovački posrednici za velike dijelove Mediterana, mogli su također izvoziti vino koje se pravilo na drugim mjestima Mediterana u društveno-političku jedinicu Daorsa s njenim savezom. Ovo vino se moglo transportovati amforama, bačvama i/ili mješinama. Vino je bilo omiljeno piće mnogih osoba. Vino je također bilo skupo.¹⁵⁴ Može se tumačiti kao prestižna roba. Moglo se davati za “privlačenje sljedbenika, utvrđivanje saveza ili zaduživanje”.¹⁵⁵ Kao što sam istakao u 1. poglavlju, davanje prestižne robe se zasnivalo na sve tri svrhe.

6.2.2. Amfore

Issa i Pharos su vjerovatno izrađivali grčko-italske amfore.¹⁵⁶ Grčko-italske amfore su pronađene naprimjer u Naroni i na Ošanjićima.¹⁵⁷ Issa / Pharos su također mogli izvoziti amfore izrađene na drugim mjestima na Jadranu u društveno-političku jedinicu Daorsa s njenim savezom. Amfore su

Greco-Italic amphorae at, for example, Naron and Ošanjići.¹⁵² It is possible that some of the wine from Issa/Pharos was also transported in barrels and skins. However, the transport with barrels and skins is archaeologically invisible.¹⁵³ Since Issa/Pharos functioned as intermediaries in trade for large parts of the Mediterranean, they could also have exported wine which was produced at other places in the Mediterranean to the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its union. This wine could have been transported in amphorae, barrels, and/or skins. Wine was a drink that many people liked to drink. Wine was also expensive.¹⁵⁴ It can be interpreted as a prestige good. It could have been given away to “attract followers, to cement alliances, or to inflict debt.”¹⁵⁵ As I pointed out in chapter 1, giving prestige goods away was based on all three purposes.

6.2.2. Amphorae

Issa and Pharos probably produced Greco-Italic amphorae.¹⁵⁶ One has found Greco-Italic amphorae at, for example, Naron and Ošanjići.¹⁵⁷ Issa/Pharos could also have exported amphorae which were made at other places in the Mediterranean to the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with

152 Lindhagen 2016, 229-230.

153 Glicksman 2005, 221.

154 Kaiser, Forenbaher 2014, 271.

155 Steponaitis 2016, 121.

156 Kirigin, Katunarić, Šešelj 2004, 198-199.

157 Lindhagen 2016, 229-230.

152 Lindhagen 2016, 229-230.

153 Glicksman 2005, 221.

154 Kaiser, Forenbaher 2014, 271.

155 Steponaitis 2016, 121.

156 Kirigin, Katunarić, Šešelj 2004, 198-199.

157 Lindhagen 2016, 229-230.

se koristile za transport robe, npr. vina.¹⁵⁸ Amfore su se također koristile kao votivni pokloni. U jezeru Desilo u blizini Hutovog blata u Bosni i Hercegovini pronađeno je mnoštvo amfora tipa Lamboglia 2.¹⁵⁹ Amfore tipa Lamboglia 2 su se izrađivale u periodu od oko 125. god. do 25. god. prije nove ere.¹⁶⁰ Moguće je da su u antičko doba amfore bile žrtvovane u jezero. Pećina Nakovana blizu brda Grad u naselju Nakovana bila je svetište. Ovdje su pronađene amfore koje su se vjerovatno koristile kao pokloni.¹⁶¹ Amfore se mogu tumačiti kao prestižna roba koja se mogla dijeliti za “privlačenje sljedbenika, utvrđivanje saveza ili zaduživanje”.¹⁶² Kao što sam već istakao, davanje prestižne robe se zasnivalo na sve tri svrhe.

its union. Amphorae were used for transport of commodities, for example, wine.¹⁵⁸ The amphorae were also used as votive offerings. In lake Desilo near Hutovo Blato in Bosnia and Herzegovina one has found a lot of Lamboglia 2 amphorae.¹⁵⁹ Lamboglia 2 amphorae were produced from around 125 to 25 BCE.¹⁶⁰ It is possible that the amphorae were sacrificed in the lake in ancient times. The Nakovana cave near Grad Nakovana was a sanctuary. Here, one has found amphorae which were probably used as offerings.¹⁶¹ Amphorae can be interpreted as prestige goods, which could have been given away “to attract followers, to cement alliances, or to inflict debt.”¹⁶² As I already pointed out, giving prestige goods away was based on all three purposes.



Slika 25: Jezero Desilo na lijevoj strani.
Autor slike: Šarafanje

Figure 25: Lake Desilo down to the left.
Photo by Šarafanje.

158 Mattingly 2012, 75; Lindhagen 2016, 229.

159 Lindhagen 2016, 238.

160 Lindhagen 2016, 231 (fusnota 27).

161 Kaiser, Forenbaher 2014, 267.

162 Steponaitis 2016, 121.

158 Mattingly 2012, 75; Lindhagen 2016, 229.

159 Lindhagen 2016, 238.

160 Lindhagen 2016, 231 (footnote 27).

161 Kaiser, Forenbaher 2014, 267.

162 Steponaitis 2016, 121.

6.2.3. Keramika

Issa je također izrađivala npr. keramiku tipa Gnathia. Proizvodnja datira u 3. i 2. stoljeće prije nove ere.¹⁶³ Keramika tipa Gnathia je pronađena npr. u Naroni, pećini Nakovana i na Ošanjićima.¹⁶⁴ Issa / Pharos su također mogli izvoziti keramiku izrađenu na drugim mjestima na Mediteranu u društveno-političku jedinicu Daorsa s njenim savezom. Jasno je da se keramika, poput one tipa Gnathia, koristila kao votivni poklon u npr. pećini Nakovana. Može se tumačiti kao prestižna roba koja se mogla dijeliti za “privlačenje sljedbenika, utvrđivanje saveza ili zaduživanje”.¹⁶⁵ Opet, davanje prestižne robe se zasnivalo na sve tri svrhe.

6.2.3. Fine wares

Issa also produced, for example, Gnathia-ware. The production dates to the third and second centuries BCE.¹⁶³ One has found Gnathia-ware at, for example, Naron, Nakovana Cave and Ošanjići.¹⁶⁴ Issa/Pharos could also have exported fine ware which was produced at other places in the Mediterranean to the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its union. It is clear that fine wares, like the Gnathia-type, were used as votive offerings at, for example, the Nakovana cave. It can be interpreted as a prestige good, which could have been given away “to attract followers, to cement alliances, or to inflict debt.”¹⁶⁵ Again, giving prestige goods away was based on all three purposes.



Slika 26: Pećina Nakovana. Fotografiju snimio Timothy Kaiser.

Figure 26: The Nakovana Cave. Photo by Timothy Kaiser.

163 Kirigin, Katunarić, Šešelj 2004, 206–207.

164 Kirigin, Katunarić, Šešelj 2004, 206–207.

165 Steponaitis 2016, 121.

163 Kirigin, Katunarić, Šešelj 2004, 206–207.

164 Kirigin, Katunarić, Šešelj 2004, 206–207.

165 Steponaitis 2016, 121.

6.2.4. Drugi proizvodi

Kao što sam istakao, Issa i Pharos su bili posrednici u trgovini između dijelova istočnog Jadrana i Mediterana. Između ostalog, mogli su izvoziti krzno koje je dolazilo, npr. iz današnje Italije, Grčke i Egipta u društveno-političku jedinicu Daorsa s njenim savezom. Krzno iz daleka vjerovatno je imalo veći status od lokalnog krzna iz istočnog Jadrana jer je bilo egzotično. Stoga je moglo biti prestižna roba koja se mogla dijeliti za “privlačenje sljedbenika, utvrđivanje saveza ili zaduživanje”.¹⁶⁶ Kao što sam istakao, davanje prestižne robe se zasnivalo na sve tri svrhe.

6.3. Dobra koja je društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa sa svojim savezom izvozila na Issu / Pharos

Društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa sa svojim savezom mogla je izvoziti dobra na Issu / Pharos koja su poticala iz donje Neretve, rute ka Sarajevu, rute ka Paniku i rute ka Solinu.

6.3.1. Perunika

Nikandar iz Kolofona je bio “helenistički pjesnik koji je pisao u drugoj polovini 2. stoljeća prije nove ere”.¹⁶⁷ Napisao je djelo pod nazivom *Theriaca*.¹⁶⁸ U ovom djelu piše o perunici

6.2.4. Other products

As I pointed out, Issa and Pharos were also middlemen in trade between parts of the Eastern Adriatic and the Mediterranean. Among many things, they could also have exported fur that came from, for instance, today's Italy, Greece, and Egypt to the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its union. Fur from afar possibly had greater status than local fur from the Eastern Adriatic, because it was exotic. It could therefore have been a prestige good, which could have been given away “to attract followers, to cement alliances, or to inflict debt.”¹⁶⁶ As I pointed out, giving prestige goods away was based on all three purposes.

6.3. Goods that the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its union exported to Issa/Pharos

The sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its union could have exported goods to Issa/Pharos that came from the lower Neretva, the route towards Sarajevo, the route towards Panik, and the route towards Solin.

6.3.1. Iris

Nicander of Colophon was “a Hellenistic poet who flourished in the second half of the second century BCE.”¹⁶⁷ He wrote the *Theriaca*.¹⁶⁸ In

166 Steponaitis 2016, 121.

167 Rosół 2016, 447.

168 Rosół 2016, 447.

166 Steponaitis 2016, 121.

167 Rosół 2016, 447.

168 Rosół 2016, 447.

na “obalama Narona”.¹⁶⁹ Naron je bilo jedno od antičkih naziva za današnju Neretvu.¹⁷⁰ Plinije Stariji je također napisao sljedeće: “Najcjenjeniji je u Iliriji, ali i tamo ne u primorskim krajevima, nego u šumovitim predjelima u blizini Drinona i oko Narone.”¹⁷¹ Činjenica da su Nikandar iz Kolofona i Plinije Stariji spomenuli peruniku na obali rijeke Neretve i Narone pokazuje da je perunika s ovih lokaliteta bila poznata u nekim dijelovima Mediterana. To može biti pokazatelj da se perunika s područja rijeke Neretve i Narone izvozila u neke dijelove Mediterana. Na osnovu toga, društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa sa svojim savezom mogla je izvoziti peruniku na Issu / Pharos preko Narone. Perunika je korištena npr. kao lijek.¹⁷²

6.3.2. Drvena građa

Kao što je napisao Glicksman, u rimskoj Dalmaciji bilo je mnogo drvene građe koja se izvozila iz ove provincije.¹⁷³ Ako je drvene građe bilo u izobilju na istočnom Jadranu u rimskom periodu, isto se može tvrditi za predrimski period. Wells pojašnjava kako se drvena građa koristila npr. za izgradnju namještaja i brodova.¹⁷⁴

this work he writes about the iris at “the banks of Naron”.¹⁶⁹ Again, Naron was one of the ancient names of today’s Neretva River.¹⁷⁰ Pliny the Elder also wrote the following: “The most highly esteemed is found in Illyria, and even there not in the coastal districts, but in the woody parts near the Drinon and around Narona.”¹⁷¹ That Nicander of Colophon and Pliny the Elder mentioned the iris at the river Neretva and Narona shows that iris from these locations was known in some parts of the Mediterranean. This can be an indication that iris from the river Neretva and Narona was exported to some parts of the Mediterranean. Based on this, the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its union could have exported iris to Issa/Pharos through Narona. Iris was used, for example, as medicine.¹⁷²

6.3.2. Timber

As Glicksman writes, there was a lot of timber in Roman Dalmatia and it was exported from this province.¹⁷³ If timber was plentiful in the Eastern Adriatic in Roman times, the same can be said for the pre-Roman times. Wells explains how timber was used, for example, for building furniture and ships.¹⁷⁴

169 Nicander of Colophon, *Theriaca* 600.

170 Manenica 2012, 280.

171 Pliny, *NH*. 21.19.

172 Stipčević 1989, 68.

173 Glicksman 2005, 212.

174 Wells 1980, 69.

169 Nicander of Colophon, *Theriaca* 600.

170 Manenica 2012, 280.

171 Pliny, *NH*. 21.19.

172 Stipčević 1989, 68.

173 Glicksman 2005, 212.

174 Wells 1980, 69.

6.3.3. Robovi

Strabon je napisao sljedeće: “Akvilleju, koja je najbliža udubljenju Zaljeva, osnovali su Rimljani kao utvrdu protiv barbara koji su se nalazili iznad nje; a onamo postoji kopneno putovanje za trgovačke brodove, putem rijeke Natiso, na udaljenosti većoj od šezdeset stadija. Akvilleja je data kao emporij onim plemenima Ilira, koja žive u blizini Iстера; potonji toware na kola i nose u kopno morske proizvode i vino pohranjeno u drvenim posudama, kao i maslinovo ulje, dok prvi u zamjenu dobivaju robove, stoku i kožu.”¹⁷⁵ Akvilleja se nalazila u današnjoj sjevernoj Italiji.¹⁷⁶ Ister je današnja rijeka Dunav.¹⁷⁷ Može se protumačiti da su tzv. Iliri izvozili robove, stoku i kožu u Akvilleju. Moguće je da je društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa sa svojim savezom izvozila robove i na Issu / Pharos preko Narone. Robovi su bili izrazito važni za Grke i Rimljane. Budin pojašnjava sljedeće: “Uz potencijalni izuzetak minojske Krete, svi Grci su koristili rad robova.”¹⁷⁸ Osim toga, ona dodaje: “Ali, općenito, Grci su preferirali robove koji nisu iz Grčke.”¹⁷⁹ Woolf ističe sljedeće: “Tokom 2. stoljeća prije nove ere, bilo je mnogo znakova koji su ukazivali da ropstvo postaje sve važnije u rimskoj ekonomiji.”¹⁸⁰

175 Strabo, 5.1.8.

176 Gallo et al. 2014, 7.

177 Mihajlović 2018.

178 Budin 2004, 133.

179 Budin 2004, 134.

180 Woolf 2022, 101–102.

6.3.3. Slaves

Strabo wrote the following: “Aquileia, which is nearest of all to the recess of the Gulf, was founded by the Romans as a fortress against the barbarians who were situated above it; and there is an inland voyage thither for merchant-vessels, by way of the River Natiso, for a distance of more than sixty stadia. Aquileia has been given over as an emporium for those tribes of the Illyrians that live near the Ister; the latter load on wagons and carry inland the products of the sea, and wine stored in wooden jars, and also olive oil, whereas the former get in exchange slaves, cattle, and hides.”¹⁷⁵ Aquileia was located in today’s Northern Italy.¹⁷⁶ Ister is today’s river Danube.¹⁷⁷ It can be interpreted that the so-called Illyrians exported slaves, cattle, and hides to Aquileia. It is possible that the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi and its union also exported slaves to Issa/Pharos through Narona. Slaves were extremely important for the Greeks and Romans. Budin explains the following: “With the possible exception of Minoan Crete, all Greeks made use of slave labor.”¹⁷⁸ In addition, she adds: “Generally, though, the Greeks preferred non-Greek slaves.”¹⁷⁹ Woolf points out the following: “During the second century BC there are many signs that slavery was becoming more

175 Strabo, 5.1.8.

176 Gallo et al. 2014, 7.

177 Mihajlović 2018.

178 Budin 2004, 133.

179 Budin 2004, 134.

Stoga je potreba za ropstvom bila ogromna.

6.3.4. Životinjski proizvodi

Prema pisanju Strabona, Iliri su također izvozili kožu i stoku u Akvileju.¹⁸¹ Sir se izvezio iz rimske Dalmacije.¹⁸² Moguće je da se u predrimskom periodu sir izvezio i iz istočnog Jadrana. Lindhagen ističe da su se vuna i krzno izvozili iz ilirskog zaleđa.¹⁸³ Na osnovu toga može se tvrditi da je društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa sa svojim savezom imala i mogućnost izvoza kože, krzna, vune, stoke i sira na Issu / Pharos. Naprimjer, krzno iz istočnog Jadrana moglo se tumačiti kao egzotično među stanovništvom u npr. današnjoj Italiji, Egiptu i Grčkoj. Stoga je status osobe u današnjoj Grčkoj, Italiji i Egiptu bio veći ako je osoba imala krzno koje potiče iz istočnog Jadrana.

6.3.5. Metali

Željeznodobna ostava na Ošanjićima, koja je uključivala 245 različitih predmeta, jasno pokazuje da je stanovništvo koje je živjelo u društveno-političkoj jedinici Daorsa radilo s metalima. Naprimjer, proizvodili su male figurice od metala.¹⁸⁴ Ovo je jasan dokaz da je društveno-poli-

and more important in the Roman economy.”¹⁸⁰ The demand for slaves was therefore huge.

6.3.4. Products from animals

As Strabo wrote, hides and cattle were also exported by the Illyrians to Aquileia.¹⁸¹ Cheese was exported from the Roman Dalmatia.¹⁸² It is possible that cheese also was exported from the Eastern Adriatic in pre-Roman times. Lindhagen points out that wool and fur were exported from the Illyrian hinterland.¹⁸³ Based on this, one can say that the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its union also had the opportunity to export hides, furs, wool, cattle, and cheese to Issa/Pharos. For example, fur from the Eastern Adriatic could have been interpreted as exotic for the populations in, for instance, today's Italy, Egypt, and Greece. It therefore increased one's status in today's Greece, Italy, and Egypt if one had fur from as far as the Eastern Adriatic.

6.3.5. Metals

The metal-depot at Ošanjići, which included 245 different objects, shows clearly that the population, which lived in the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi, worked with metals. They produced, for example, small figurines out of metal.¹⁸⁴ This is clear ev-

181 Strabo, 5.1.8.

182 Glicksman 2005, 210.

183 Lindhagen 2016, 229.

184 Marić 1979.

180 Woolf 2022, 101-102.

181 Strabo, 5.1.8.

182 Glicksman 2005, 210.

183 Lindhagen 2016, 229.

184 Marić 1979.

tička jedinica Daorsa imala pristup rudama. Škegro pojašnjava da su se rude zlata, srebra, bakra i željeza eksploatirale u predrimskom Iliriku.¹⁸⁵ Na osnovu toga, moguće je da je društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa sa svojim savezom izvozila različite rude na Issu / Pharos.

6.4. Dobra koja je nudila društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa i njen savez

Društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa sa svojim savezom mogla je nuditi robu koja je dolazila sa Isse / Pharo-sa, donje Neretve, rute ka Sarajevu, rute ka Solinu i rute ka Paniku. Mo-guće je da su se velike količine vina iz grčko-italskih amfora prenosile sa Isse / Pharosa u bačvama i mješina-ma na Ošanjice radi transporta za, naprimjer, današnje Sarajevo rutom od Narone do Sarajeva preko Ne-vesinja i Konjica. Razlog je taj što su bačve i mješine bile efikasnije za kopneni transport od amfora.¹⁸⁶ Me-đutim, kako Glicksman pojašnjava, transport u bačvama i mješinama je arheološki nevidljiv.¹⁸⁷ Kao što sam ranije istakao, keramika sa Isse je pronađena u Brezi kod Sarajeva.¹⁸⁸ Osim toga, pronađena je helenistič-ka keramika u današnjim Borcima na ruti od Narone do Sarajeva.¹⁸⁹ To

idence that the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi had access to ores. Škegro explains how gold, silver, copper, and iron as ores were exploited in pre-Ro-man Illyricum.¹⁸⁵ Based on this, it is possible that the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi and its union exported different ores to Issa/Pharos.

6.4. Goods the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi and its union had to offer

The sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its union could offer commod-ities which came from Issa/Pharos, the lower Neretva, the route towards Sarajevo, the route towards Solin, and the route towards Panik. It is possible that large parts of the wine in Gre-co-Italic amphorae from Issa/Pharos were transferred to barrels and skins at Ošanjici, for transport to, for ex-ample, today's Sarajevo, based on the route from Narona to Sarajevo via Nevesinje and Konjic. The rea-son was that amphorae are less effi-cient in land transport, while barrels and skins are more efficient in land transport.¹⁸⁶ However, as Glicksman explains, the transport with barrels and skins is invisible archaeological-ly.¹⁸⁷ As I pointed out earlier, ceram-ic from Issa has been found at Breza near Sarajevo.¹⁸⁸ In addition, one has found Hellenistic ceramic in today's

185 Škegro 1999, 23.

186 Glicksman 2005, 221.

187 Glicksman 2005, 221.

188 Džino 2009, 81.

189 Bojanovski 1978, 96.

185 Škegro 1999, 23.

186 Glicksman 2005, 221.

187 Glicksman 2005, 221.

188 Džino 2009, 81.

ukazuje jasno interesovanje stanovnika Breze i Boraca za grčka dobra.

Kovanice Daorsa u Gackom i Pljevljima mogu se tumačiti kao dokaz trgovine između društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa sa svojim savezom i saveza na već spomenutoj ruti Narona – Stolac – Panik – Gacko – Foča – Pljevlja.¹⁹⁰ Važno je istaći da je za stanovnike koji su živjeli, naprimjer, na ruti od Narone do Solina, ili u njejoj blizini, bilo prestiž da imaju, naprimjer, krzno iz današnjeg Sarajeva pošto se vjerovatno smatralo egzotičnim. Savez koji se nalazio na ruti od Narone do Solina, na granici saveza Daorsa ka sjeverozapadu, mogao je dobijati krzno iz današnjeg Sarajeva preko društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa. So je također bila roba koju je društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa izvozila, posebno ka današnjem Sarajevu. Harding pojašnjava sljedeće: “Za zdravlje ljudi i životinja potreban je svakodnevni unos određene količine soli; a so ima niz primjena u domaćinstvu i industriji, posebno za čuvanje prehrambenih proizvoda svojim antimikrobnim dejstvom.”¹⁹¹ Društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa sa svojim savezom također je mogla nuditi druge morske proizvode, poput ribe.

Borci, on the route from Narna to Sarajevo.¹⁸⁹ This indicates clear interest from the inhabitants at Breza and Borci in Greek goods.

The Daorsi coins at Gacko and Pljevlja can be interpreted as evidence of trade between the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its union and the unions on the already mentioned route Narona-Stolac-Panik-Gacko-Foča-Pljevlja.¹⁹⁰ It is important to point out that it was also prestigious for the inhabitants which lived, for example, on or near the route from Narna to Solin to have, for example, fur from today's Sarajevo, since it perhaps seemed exotic. The union which was located on the route from Narna to Solin, bordering the union of the Daorsi to the northwest, could have received fur from today's Sarajevo through the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi. Salt was also a commodity that the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi exported, especially towards today's Sarajevo. Harding explains the following: “A certain daily intake of salt is needed for human and animal health; and salt has a range of uses in domestic and industrial life, notably for the preservation of foodstuffs through its antimicrobial action.”¹⁹¹ The sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its union could also have offered other sea products, like fish.

190 Bojanovski 1973; Bojanovski 1987;
Dragičević 2023.
191 Harding 2013, 11.

189 Bojanovski 1978, 96.
190 Bojanovski 1973; Bojanovski 1987;
Dragičević 2023.
191 Harding 2013, 11.

6.5. Preraspodjela dobara društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa u donjoj Neretvi

Društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa je svom stanovništvu i stanovništvu svojih drugih podređenih društveno-političkih jedinica nudila robu koja je dolazila sa Isse / Pharosa, donje Neretve, rute ka Sarajevu, rute ka Paniku i rute ka Solinu. Neke društveno-političke jedinice podređene društveno-političkoj jedinici Daorsa nisu imale pristup moru. Stoga nisu imale pristup soli i drugim morskim proizvodima. Društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa dobijala je poreze od vlastitog stanovništva i stanovništva drugih podređenih društveno-političkih jedinica. Kada je društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa preraspoređivala dobra nakon što ih je dobila od Isse / Pharosa, podređenih društveno političkih jedinica iz donje Neretve, područja oko rute ka Sarajevu, rute ka Paniku i rute ka Solinu, moguće je da je preraspoređivala dobra poput soli i ribljih proizvoda koji su dolazili iz podređenih društveno-političkih jedinica u savezu Daorsa, drugim podređenim jedinicama u savezu Daorsa u donjoj Neretvi.

6.5. The sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi's redistribution of goods in the lower Neretva

The sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi had to offer the population of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi and the populations of other subordinated sociopolitical units in the union of the Daorsi goods that came from Issa/Pharos, the lower Neretva, the route towards Sarajevo, the route towards Panik, and the route towards Solin. Some sociopolitical units that were subordinated to the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi did not have access to the sea. Therefore, they did not have access to the salt and other sea products. The sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi got taxes from its own population and populations of other subordinated sociopolitical units. When the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi redistributed goods after receiving them from Issa/Pharos, subordinated sociopolitical units in the lower Neretva, the route towards Sarajevo, the route towards Panik, and the route towards Solin, it could have redistributed goods, like salt and fish products, which came from subordinated sociopolitical units in the union of the Daorsi to other subordinated units in the union of the Daorsi in the lower Neretva.

7. Društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa i njen savez u kontekstu Labeata, Rima i Delmata do prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere

U ovom poglavlju ću pisati o društveno-političkoj jedinici Daorsa s njenim savezom u kontekstu Labeata, Rima i Delmata do prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Prvo ću pisati o društveno-političkoj jedinici Daorsa s njenim savezom u odnosu na savez Labeata. Poslije ću je analizirati u odnosu na Rim. Nakon toga ću analizirati savez Delmata i njihov napad na društveno-političku jedinicu Daorsa i njen savez u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere.

7.1. Društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa sa svojim savezom u kontekstu Labeata

7.1.1. “Ilirsko kraljevstvo”?

U novije vrijeme se “Ilirsko kraljevstvo” tumači kao savezništvo različitih, ali kulturno sličnih, saveza, gdje je jedan od saveza dominirao nad drugim savezima u okviru ovog savezništva. Grčki autori su vođu dominantnog saveza u okviru “Ilirskog kraljevstva” zvali kralj Ilira.¹⁹² “Ilirsko kraljevstvo” potiče iz oko 4. stoljeća prije nove ere,¹⁹³ ali je “svoj vrhunac dostiglo u kasnom 3. stoljeću i

¹⁹² Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 74.

¹⁹³ Boršić, Džino, Radić Rossi 2021, 17.

7. The sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi and its union in relation to the Labeatae, Rome, and the Delmatae until the first half of the 150s BCE

In this chapter, I will discuss the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its union in relation to the Labeatae, Rome, and the Delmatae until the first half of the 150s BCE. I will first discuss the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its union in relation to the union of the Labeatae. Afterwards, I will discuss it in relation to Rome. After this, I will go into the union of the Delmatae and their attack on the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi and its union in the first half of the 150s BCE.

7.1. The sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its union in relation to the Labeatae

7.1.1. The “Illyrian kingdom”?

The “Illyrian kingdom” has in recent times been understood as an alliance between different, but culturally alike, unions, where one of the unions dominated the other unions in this alliance. The leader of the dominant union internally in the “Illyrian kingdom” was called the king of Illyrians by Greek authors.¹⁹² The “Illyrian kingdom” originates from around the fourth century BCE,¹⁹³

¹⁹² Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 74.

¹⁹³ Boršić, Džino, Radić Rossi 2021, 17.

ranom 2. stoljeću prije nove ere kada su njime vladale elite među Ardijejima iz Boke kotorske i Labeata koji su živjeli na području oko Skadarskog jezera”.¹⁹⁴ Pojam “Ilirsko kraljevstvo” je problematičan. Kao prvo, pojam ukazuje kao da je postojala jedna društveno-politička jedinica. Ranije sam objasnio da se predrimski istočni Jadran sastojao od mnogih društveno-političkih jedinica. Kao drugo, upotreba pojma “ilirski” je problematična. Ovaj pojam su izumili Grci, a kasnije preuzeli Rimljani, da odrede društveno-političke jedinice, saveze, geografske oblasti i ljude s potencijalno sličnim kulturnim crtama na istočnom Jadranu.¹⁹⁵

Stoga, pojam “ilirski” potiče izvana i može značiti različite stvari. Predrimsko stanovništvo na istočnom Jadranu je možda preuzelo pojam “ilirski” izvana da bi imenovalo sebe, društveno-političke jedinice, saveze i geografska područja na kojima su živjeli. Međutim, zanimljivo je da i dalje ne postoji dokaz da je predrimsko stanovništvo na teritoriji istočnog Jadrana koristilo ovaj pojam da imenuje sebe i svoje teritorije. Na osnovu toga, u naučnoj literaturi se ne može koristiti pojam “Ilirsko kraljevstvo”. Umjesto toga, možemo govoriti o tome kako je savez Ardijejaca, a kasnije savez Labeata, uspio da preuzme kontro-

but it “reached its peak in the later 3rd and early 2nd century BC when it was ruled by the elites of the Ardiaei from the Boka Kotorska gulf and the Labeatae who lived around the Lake of Scodra.”¹⁹⁴ The term “Illyrian kingdom” is problematic. First, the term makes it appear as if there was one sociopolitical unit. I have earlier explained that the pre-Roman Eastern Adriatic consisted of many sociopolitical units. Second, the use of the term “Illyrian” is problematic. The term was invented by the Greeks and later it was taken over by the Romans to designate sociopolitical units, unions, geographical areas, and humans with potentially alike cultural traits in the Eastern Adriatic.¹⁹⁵

Thus, the term “Illyrian” originates from the outside and can mean different things. The pre-Roman population in the Eastern Adriatic could have taken over the term “Illyrian” from outside to designate themselves, the sociopolitical units, unions, and geographical areas they lived in. However, it is interesting that there is still no evidence that the pre-Roman population of the Eastern Adriatic used this term to designate themselves and their territories. Based on this, one should not use the term “Illyrian kingdom” in scientific literature. One can rather speak of how the union of the Ardiaei and later the union of the Labeatae

194 Boršić, Džino, Radić Rossi 2021, 17.

195 Džino 2014, 2; Boršić, Džino, Radić Rossi 2021, 17.

194 Boršić, Džino, Radić Rossi 2021, 17.

195 Džino 2014, 2; Boršić, Džino, Radić Rossi 2021, 17.

lu nad drugim savezima. Prevlast saveza Ardijejaca nad drugim savezima postojala je npr. prije i tokom Prvog ilirskog rata (229. god. prije nove ere). Prevlast saveza Labeata nad drugim savezima postojala je prije i tokom Trećeg ilirskog rata.¹⁹⁶ Činjenica da je jedan savez upravljao drugim savezima nije jedinstvena predrimskom istočnom Jadranu, jer je postojala slična situacija u npr. Galiji. Roymans ističe kako su “Eburoni i Kondrusi bili *clientes* Trevera”.¹⁹⁷ Osim toga, “Ubijci su morali odavati počast Sjevima”.¹⁹⁸

7.1.2. Kontrola saveza Labeata nad savezom Daorsa

Nije poznato je li “Daorsi”, kao naziv društveno-političke jedinice i saveza, postojao u kontekstu dominantnog položaja saveza Ardijejaca nad drugim savezima. “Daorsi”, kao naziv društveno-političke jedinice i saveza, po prvi put se spominje u pisanim izvorima u kontekstu događaja iz prve polovine 2. stoljeća prije nove ere.¹⁹⁹ Osim toga, kovanice Daorsa, a kojima se spominje DAORSON ili DAOERSON, također se datiraju u prvu polovinu 2. stoljeća prije nove ere.²⁰⁰ U Trećem ilirskom ratu, Rimljani su ratovali s Gencijem, kraljem

managed to take control of other unions. The union of the Ardiaei’s dominance over other unions happened for example before and during the First Illyrian War (229 BCE). The union of the Labeatae’s dominance over other unions existed before and during the Third Illyrian War.¹⁹⁶ That one union controlled other unions is not special for the pre-Roman Eastern Adriatic, because there was a similar situation in for example Gaul. Roymans points out how “the Eburones and Condrusi were *clientes* of the Treveri.”¹⁹⁷ In addition, “Ubii were obliged to pay tribute to the Suebi.”¹⁹⁸

7.1.2. The union of the Labeatae’s control over the union of the Daorsi

We do not know if the name Daorsi for a sociopolitical unit and union existed in the light of the union of the Ardiaei’s dominant position over other unions. The name Daorsi for a sociopolitical unit and union is for the first time mentioned in the written sources in light of events that happened during the first half of the second century BCE.¹⁹⁹ Additionally, the Daorsi coins, where DAORSON or DAOERSON is mentioned, also date to the first half of the second century BCE.²⁰⁰ In the Third Illyrian War, the Romans went

196 Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 74-96.

197 Roymans 1990, 39.

198 Roymans 1990, 39.

199 Polyb. 32.5.9; Livy, 45.26.

200 Džino 2007, 71; Dragičević 2016; Dragičević 2023.

196 Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 74-96.

197 Roymans 1990, 39.

198 Roymans 1990, 39.

199 Polyb. 32.5.9; Livy, 45.26.

200 Džino 2007, 71; Dragičević 2016; Dragičević 2023.

saveza Labeata.²⁰¹ Livije spominje kako su Daorsi napustili Karavancija, polubrata Gencija, i prešli na stranu Rimljana tokom rata.²⁰² Na osnovu toga, možemo zasigurno tvrditi da je savez Daorsa bio podređen savezu Labeata tokom Trećeg ilirskog rata. Polibije je naveo da je savez Delmata bio podređen kralju Pleuratu, ocu Gencija, te da se savez Delmata pobunio kada je Gencije postao kralj.²⁰³ To znači da je u određenom periodu savez Labeata osvojio savez Delmata. Glavno središte saveza Delmata prije i tokom prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere bilo je Delminij, koji se vjerovatno nalazio na brdu Lib u blizini Tomislavgrada, sjeverozapadno od donje Neretve.²⁰⁴



Slika 27: Jedna od kovanica kralja Gencija iz saveza Labeata. Uz dozvolu Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu. Fotografiju snimio Zoran Alajbeg, AMS-3118.

to war against Genthius, king of the union of the Labeatae.²⁰¹ Livy mentioned how the Daorsi left Caravanti-us, the half-brother of Genthius, and went over to the Romans during the war.²⁰² Based on this, one can say that the union of the Daorsi was subordinated to the union of the Labeatae certainly during the Third Illyrian War. Polybios expressed that the union of the Delmatae were subordinated to king Pleuratus, the father of Genthius, and that the union of the Delmatae revolted when Genthius became king.²⁰³ This means that the union of the Delmatae were at some point in time conquered by the union of the Labeatae. The main center of the union of the Delmatae before and during the first half of the 150s BCE was Delminium, which was probably located at hill Lib near Tomislavgrad, which is northwest of the lower Neretva.²⁰⁴



Figure 27: One of the coins of King Genthius of the union of the Labeatae. Courtesy of the Archaeological Museum in Split. Photo by Zoran Alajbeg, AMS-3118.

201 Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 90.

202 Livy, 45.26; Šašel Kos 2005, 286.

203 Polyb. 32.5.9; Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 88.

204 Dragičević 2017, 169-170.

201 Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 90.

202 Livy, 45.26; Šašel Kos 2005, 286.

203 Polyb. 32.5.9; Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 88.

204 Dragičević 2017, 169-170.

Da je Savez Labeata osvojio savez Delmata kopnom, najbliže bi im bilo da idu donjom Neretvom. Možemo pretpostaviti da je naziv “Daorsi”, kao naziv društveno-političke jedinice i saveza, postojao prije 167. god. prije nove ere, tj., prije nego što ih je spomenuo Livije u kontekstu Trećeg ilirskog rata.²⁰⁵ Osvajajući savez Delmata kopnom, savez Labeata je osvojio i savez Daorsa. S druge strane, savez Labeata je postigao dogovor sa savezom Daorsa da prolazi kroz teritorije društveno-političkih jedinica koje su bile dio saveza Daorsa, ali bez podređivanja savezu Daorsa, kako bi došao do saveza Delmata. Također je moguće da je savez Labeata morem prevezio vojnike do saveza Delmata, bez prolaska kroz donju Neretvu. Ipak, jedno je sigurno, savez Daorsa je bio podređen savezu Labeata tokom Trećeg ilirskog rata. Savez Daorsa se oslobodio kontrole saveza Labeata tokom Trećeg ilirskog rata, tj. kada je savez Daorsa sklopio savez s Rimljanima protiv saveza Labeata.²⁰⁶

If the union of the Labeatae conquered the union of the Delmatae by land, it would have been the closest for them to go through the lower Neretva. One can assume that the name Daorsi for a sociopolitical unit and union may have existed before 167 BCE, that is before they were mentioned by Livy in light of the Third Illyrian War.²⁰⁵ By conquering the union of the Delmatae by land, the union of the Labeatae also conquered the union of the Daorsi. Alternatively, the union of the Labeatae made a deal with the union of the Daorsi to go through the territories of the sociopolitical units that were part of the union of the Daorsi, but without subordinating the union of the Daorsi, to get to the union of the Delmatae. It is also possible that the union of the Labeatae transported soldiers to the union of the Delmatae by sea and thus without going through the lower Neretva. Nevertheless, the only thing we know for certain is that the union of the Daorsi was subordinated to the union of the Labeatae during the Third Illyrian War. The union of the Daorsi was freed from the union of the Labeatae's control during the Third Illyrian War, that is when the union of the Daorsi allied themselves with the Romans against the union of the Labeatae.²⁰⁶

205 Livy, 45.26.

206 Livy, 45.26.

205 Livy, 45.26.

206 Livy, 45.26.

7.2. Društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa sa svojim savezom u kontekstu Rima nakon Trećeg ilirskog rata

U Trećem ilirskom ratu, Gencije je izgubio od Rimljana.²⁰⁷ Rimljani su sklopili mirovni sporazum i najavili ga u Skadru 168/167. god. prije nove ere.²⁰⁸ Jedna od posljedica rata i mirovnog sporazuma bila je kolaps dominantnog položaja saveza Labeata nad drugim savezima.²⁰⁹ Na osnovu Livijeve 45. knjige djela *Ab Urbe Condita*, može se protumačiti da je društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa sa svojim savezom dobila nezavisnost od Rima i bila oslobođena plaćanja poreza nakon mirovnog sporazuma postignutog u Skadru 168/167. god. prije nove ere.²¹⁰ Osim toga, Polibije pruža dodatne informacije o društveno-političkoj jedinici Daorsa s njenim savezom u odnosu na Rim. Napisao je da je društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa sa svojim savezom napala savez Delmata. Napadi saveza Delmata na savez Daorsa dogodili su se, kao što ću tvrditi u kasnije, u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Polibije je napisao sljedeće: “Kako su ljudi sa Isse često slali izaslanstva u Rim da se žale da Delmati nastavljaju harati njihovom teritorijom i gradovima koji su bili u savezu s njima, Epetij i Tragurium, i kako su

207 Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 90.

208 Livy, 45.26; Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 91-93.

209 Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 91-93.

210 Livy, 45.26.

7.2. The sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its union in relation to Rome after the Third Illyrian War

Genthius lost against the Romans in the Third Illyrian War.²⁰⁷ The Romans made a peace treaty and announced it at Shkodër in 168/167 BCE.²⁰⁸ One of the results of the war and peace treaty was that the union of the Labeatae's dominant position over the other unions collapsed.²⁰⁹ It can be interpreted from Livy's book 45 of *Ab Urbe Condita* that the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its union got independence and tax exemption from Rome with the peace of Shkodër in 168/167 BCE.²¹⁰ In addition, Polybios gave us additional information regarding the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its union in relation to Rome. He wrote that the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its union was attacked by the union of the Delmatae. The attacks on the union of the Daorsi by the union of the Delmatae happened, as I will argue later, in the first half of the 150s BCE. Polybios wrote the following: “As the people of Issa had often sent embassies to Rome to complain that the Dalmatians continued to raid their territory and the cities in league with them, Epetium and Tragyrum, and as similar accusations had been brought by the Daorsi, the senate dispatched

207 Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 90.

208 Livy, 45.26; Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 91-93.

209 Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 91-93.

210 Livy, 45.26.

slične optužbe iznosili Daorsi, senat je poslao komisiju pod vodstvom Gaja Fanija da ispita stanje Ilirika, a posebno ponašanje Delmata. Potonji su mu se pokoravali dokle god je Pleurat živio, ali kad je on umro i Gencije naslijedio prijestolje, odmetnuvši se od njega, zaratili su s plemenima na svojim granicama i smanjili susjedne narode, od kojih su im neki čak plaćali danak u vidu stoke i žita.”²¹¹

Polibije je također napisao sljedeće: “Po povratku Gaja Fanija i ostalih legata iz Ilirika, izvijestili su da su Delmati toliko daleko od toga da isprave bilo koju od stalnih zloupotreba na koje su se žalili njihovi tužioci, da ih nisu htjeli ni saslušati, govoreći da nemaju ništa zajedničko s Rimljanima. Izvijestili su također da nisu imali smještaj i hranu, te da su im Delmati čak silom oduzeli konje koje su doveli iz drugog grada, te su bili spremni na nasilje na same legate, da se nisu pokorili okolnostima i otišli sasvim tiho. Senat ih je saslušao s velikom pažnjom i bio je vrlo ogorčen na tvrdoglavost i grubost Delmata; ali njihov glavni motiv za djelovanje bio je taj što su iz nekoliko razloga smatrali da je vrijeme bilo pogodno za ratovanje s Delmatima. [...] Stoga su odlučili pokrenuti rat protiv ovog naroda kako bi obnovili, tako reći, duh i revnost svojih vlastitih trupa, i zastrašivši Ilire kako bi ih natjerali da poslušaju njihove zapovijedi. To su,

211 Polyb. 32.5.9.

a commission under Gaius Fannius to inquire into the state of Illyria and especially into the conduct of the Dalmatians. The latter, as long as Pleurat lived, submitted to him, but when he died and Genthius succeeded to the throne, revolting from him they took to making war on the tribes on their borders and reduced the neighboring peoples, some of whom even paid them tribute in the shape of cattle and corn.”²¹¹

Polybios also wrote the following: “On the return of Gaius Fannius and the other legates from Illyria, they reported that the Dalmatians were so far from consenting to set right any of the constant abuses complained of by their accusers, that they would not even listen to them, saying they had nothing in common with the Romans. They also reported that they had neither been given a residence nor supplied with food, and that the Dalmatians had even taken away from them by force the horses they had brought from another town, and were ready to lay violent hands on the legates themselves, had they not yielded to circumstances and left quite quietly. The senate heard them with much attention and were highly indignant at the stubbornness and rudeness of the Dalmatians; but their chief motive for action was that for several reasons they thought the time a suitable one for making war on the Dalmatians. [...] They, therefore, re-

211 Polyb. 32.5.9.

dakle, bili razlozi zašto su Rimljani zaratili s Delmatima, ali su pred svima rekli da su se na rat odlučili zbog uvrede svojih veleposlanika.”²¹²

Na osnovu onoga što je Polibije napisao, jasno je da Rimljani nisu imali vojnu kontrolu nad društveno-političkom jedinicom Daorsa i njenim savezom. Da su Rimljani imali vojnu kontrolu nad savezom Daorsa, onda bi se savez Delmata susreo s Rimljanima kada su napadali društveno-političku jedinicu Daorsa s njenim savezom u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Međutim, savez Delmata se nije susreo s Rimljanima kada su napadali savez Daorsa. Rimljani su poslali svoju vojnu snagu protiv saveza Delmata nakon što je savez Delmata napao savez Daorsa u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere. To znači da je društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa sa svojim savezom još uvijek imala vojnu kontrolu nad donjom Nere-tvom nakon 168/167. god. prije nove ere. Drugim riječima, na osnovu Livijeve 45. knjige djela *Ab Urbe Condita* i onoga što je ostalo nakon Polibija, savez Daorsa je bio nezavisan i oslobođen od plaćanja poreza od Rima nakon 168/167. god. prije nove ere.²¹³ Međutim, analiza tekstova Polibija, dijelova tekstova Livija, Apijana i Zonare (12. stoljeće nove ere),²¹⁴ po mogućnosti nam daje složeniju

solved by undertaking a war against these people both to recreate, as it were, the spirit and zeal of their own troops, and by striking terror into the Illyrians to compel them to obey their behests. These, then, were the reasons why the Romans went to war with the Dalmatians, but to the world at large they gave out that they had decided on war owing to the insult to their ambassadors.”²¹²

Based on Polybios, it is clear that the Romans did not have military control over the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi and its union. If the Romans had military control over the union of the Daorsi, then the union of the Delmatae would have met the Romans when they attacked the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its union in the first half of the 150s BCE. However, the union of the Delmatae did not meet the Romans when they attacked the union of the Daorsi. The Romans sent their military force against the union of the Delmatae after the union of the Daorsi was attacked by the union of the Delmatae in the first half of the 150s BCE. This means that the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its union still had military control over the lower Neretva after 168/167 BCE. In other words, based on Livy's book 45 of *Ab Urbe Condita* and what has survived from Polybios, the union of the Daorsi was independent and had tax exemption from Rome

212 Polyb. 32.7.13.

213 Polyb. 32.5.9; Polyb. 32.7.13; Livy, 45.26.

214 Momigliano 2012, 1592.

212 Polyb. 32.7.13.

verziju odnosa između Rima i saveza Daorsa. Zonara zasniva svoj tekst na Dionu Kasiju (oko 164. – 230. god. nove ere).²¹⁵

Polibije je pisao o događajima koji su se dogodili prije rata između Rima i saveza Delmata u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Prethodno sam citirao Polibijev tekst.²¹⁶ Livije, Apijan i Zonara su pisali o događajima koji su se dogodili prije i tokom sukoba između saveza Delmata i Rima u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere. U periohama, *Periochae*, Livije je napisao sljedeće o ovom periodu: “Konzul Gaj Marcije krenuo je u pohod protiv Delmata, isprva bez uspjeha, ali kasnije pobjednički. Uzrok rata s ovim narodom bio je taj što su opljačkali Ilire, koji su bili saveznici rimskog naroda. Konzul Kornelije Nasika pokorio je Delmate.”²¹⁷ Apijan je napisao sljedeće: “Delmati, još jedno ilirsko pleme, izvršili su pohod na ilirske podanike u Rimu, a kada su im poslani veleposlanici da prigovore, nisu bili primljeni. Rimljani su stoga poslali vojsku protiv njih, s Marcijem Figulom kao konzulom i zapovjednikom.”²¹⁸ Zonara je napisao sljedeće: “Kasnije su Rimljani krenuli u pohod na Delmate. [...] Uzrok rata bio je taj što su zlostavljali neke od svojih komšija koji su uživali u prijateljstvu s Rimljanima, a kada

after 168/167 BCE.²¹³ However, by studying Polybios, parts of Livy, Appian, and Zonaras (twelfth century CE)²¹⁴ in combination, it potentially gives us a more complicated version of the relationship between Rome and the union of the Daorsi. Zonaras builds his text on Cassius Dio (ca. 164-230 CE).²¹⁵

Polybios wrote about the events that happened before the war between Rome and the union of the Delmatae in the first half of the 150s BCE. I have quoted Polybios’ text above.²¹⁶ Livy, Appian, and Zonaras wrote about the events that happened before and during the conflict between the union of the Delmatae and Rome in the first half of the 150s BCE. What Livy wrote regarding this time is preserved in the *Periochae*: “Consul Gaius Marcius campaigned against the Dalmatians, at first without success, but later victoriously. The cause of the war with this people was that they had plundered the Illyrians, who were allies of the Roman People. Consul Cornelius Nasica subdued the Dalmatians.”²¹⁷ Appian stated this: “The Dalmatians, another Illyrian tribe, made a raid on the Illyrian subjects of Rome, and when ambassadors were sent to them to remonstrate they were not received. The Romans accordingly sent an army against them, with Marcius Figulus as

215 Woods 2013, 1108; Potter 2018, 14.

216 Polyb. 32.5.9; Polyb. 32.7.13.

217 Livy, 47.

218 App. Ill. 10.2.11.

213 Polyb. 32.5.9; Polyb. 32.7.13; Livy, 45.26.

214 Momigliano 2012, 1592.

215 Woods 2013, 1108; Potter 2018, 14.

216 Polyb. 32.5.9; Polyb. 32.7.13.

217 Livy, 47.

su se Rimljani pridružili izaslanstvu u njihovu korist, Delmati nisu uzvratili s poštovanjem, pa su čak uhapsili i ubili izaslanike drugih nacija. Scipion Nasika je pokrenuo kampanju protiv ove rase i pokorio ih; jer je zauzeo njihove gradove i nastavio prodavati zarobljenike.”²¹⁹

Livije, Apijan i Zonara nisu izričito spomenuli Daorse.²²⁰ Međutim, ako bismo analizirali tekstove Polibija, Livija, Apijana i Zonare zajedno, mogli bismo pretpostaviti da su Livije, Apijan i Zonara mislili da su Delmati napali Daorse.²²¹ Ako su u svojim tekstovima mislili na Daorse, onda su Livije, Apijan i Zonara zastupali ideju da je društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa sa svojim savezom imala vojnu kontrolu nad donjom Neretvom nakon 168/167. god. prije nove ere. Da su Rimljani imali vojnu kontrolu nad savezom Daorsa, onda bi se savez Delmata susreo s Rimljanima kada su napadali savez Daorsa u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere, kao što ću tvrditi kasnije u tekstu. Međutim, savez Delmata se nije susreo s Rimljanima kada su napadali savez Daorsa. Rimljani su poslali svoju vojnu silu protiv saveza Delmata nakon što je savez Delmata napao savez Daorsa, kao što tvrde Livije, Apijan i Zonara, ako su mislili na Daorse u svojim tekstovima.²²² Ako

consul and commander.”²¹⁸ Zonaras wrote the following: “Later the Romans made a campaign against the Dalmatians. [...] The cause of the war was that they had been abusing some of their neighbours who enjoyed the friendship of the Romans, and when the Romans joined an embassy in their behalf, the Dalmatians returned no respectful answer, and even arrested and killed the envoys of the other nations. Scipio Nasica made a campaign against this race and brought them to submission; for he captured their towns and proceeded to sell the captives.”²¹⁹

Livy, Appian, and Zonaras did not explicitly mention the Daorsi.²²⁰ However, if one studies the texts of Polybios, Livy, Appian, and Zonaras in combination, one can speculate that Livy, Appian, and Zonaras meant that the Delmatae attacked the Daorsi.²²¹ That the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its union had military control over the lower Neretva after 168/167 BCE is also supported by Livy, Appian, and Zonaras if they meant the Daorsi in their texts. If the Romans controlled the union of the Daorsi militarily, then the union of the Delmatae would have met the Romans when they attacked the union of the Daorsi, as I will argue later, in the first half of the 150s BCE. However, the union of the Del-

219 Zonaras, 9.25.

220 Livy, 47; App. *Ill.* 10.2.11; Zonaras, 9.25.

221 Polyb. 32.5.9; Polyb. 32.7.13; Livy, 47;

App. *Ill.* 10.2.11; Zonaras, 9.25.

222 Livy, 47; App. *Ill.* 10.2.11; Zonaras, 9.25.

218 App. *Ill.* 10.2.11.

219 Zonaras, 9.25.

220 Livy, 47; App. *Ill.* 10.2.11; Zonaras, 9.25.

221 Polyb. 32.5.9; Polyb. 32.7.13; Livy, 47;

App. *Ill.* 10.2.11; Zonaras, 9.25.

Rim nije imao fizičku vojnu kontrolu nad društveno-političkom jedinicom Daorsa s njenim savezom, onda kakav odnos je postojao između saveza Daorsa i Rima? U periohama, Livije koristi pojam *socios*.²²³ Prema tome, između Darosa i Rima postojao je *socius*, ako je Livije mislio na Daorse u svom tekstu. Prema Sherwin-Whiteu i Cornellu “*socii* su bili saveznici Rima. Rimsko osvajanje Italije rezultiralo je sistemom vojnih saveza na osnovu kojih su domaće zajednice ostale teorijski nezavisne, ali su u praksi bile podaničke”.²²⁴

Zanimljivo je da Apijan navodi kako je savez Delmata napao “podanike Rima”.²²⁵ Kao što su naveli Sherwin-White i Cornell, *socii* su bili nezavisni, ali su bili i podanici Rima.²²⁶ Prema tome, možemo tvrditi da je Apijan također podrazumijevao da je između saveza Daorsa i Rima postojao *socius*. Međutim, Zonara je koristio riječ *philia* (φιλία), koja znači “prijateljstvo”.²²⁷ “Prijateljstvo” na latinskom je *amicitia*.²²⁸ Na osnovu Polibija, Livija, Apijana i Zonare zajedno, te u slučaju da su Livije, Apijan i Zonara mislili na Daorse, onda na jednoj strani imamo Livija i Apijana koji su mislili da je savez Daorsa bio jedan od rimskih *socii*, dok, s druge strane, imamo Zonaru koji je

matae did not meet the Romans when they attacked the union of the Daorsi. The Romans sent their military force against the union of the Delmatae after the union of the Delmatae attacked the union of the Daorsi, as it is also supported by Livy, Appian, and Zonaras if they meant the Daorsi in their texts.²²² If Rome did not have physical military control over the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its union, then what kind of a relationship existed between the union of the Daorsi and Rome? In Livy’s *Periochae*, the term *socios* is used.²²³ Based on this, a *socius* existed between the Daorsi and Rome if Livy meant the Daorsi in his text. According to Sherwin-White and Cornell, “*socii* were allies of Rome. The Roman conquest of Italy resulted in a system of military alliances by which native communities remained theoretically independent but were in practice reduced to subjects.”²²⁴

It is interesting that Appian stated that the union of the Delmatae attacked the “subjects of Rome”.²²⁵ As Sherwin-White and Cornell stated, the Roman *socii* were independent, but also subjects of Rome.²²⁶ Based on this, one can argue that Appian also meant that there was a *socius* that existed between the union of the Daorsi and Rome. However, Zonaras used the word *philia* (φιλία), which means

223 Livy, 47.

224 Sherwin-White, Cornell 2012, 1377.

225 App. *Ill.* 10.2.11.

226 Sherwin-White, Cornell 2012, 1377.

227 Zonaras, 9.25; Rapp 2013, 23.

228 Finkelstein 2020, 807.

222 Livy, 47; App. *Ill.* 10.2.11; Zonaras, 9.25.

223 Livy, 47.

224 Sherwin-White, Cornell 2012, 1377.

225 App. *Ill.* 10.2.11.

226 Sherwin-White, Cornell 2012, 1377.

pisao da je savez Daorsa bio *amicitia* s Rimom. Također je moguće da se odnos s Rimom zasnivao na konceptima *amicitia* i *socius*. Nije poznato šta je najbliže istini. To nam daje ideju o odnosu između saveza Daorsa i Rima nakon Trećeg ilirskog rata. Ako Livije u periohama, kao i Apijan i Zonara nisu mislili na Daorse, onda jedino što sa sigurnošću znamo kada je u pitanju odnos između Rima i saveza Daorsa na osnovu Polibija i Livijeve 45. knjige djela *Ab Urbe Condita* je to da su Daorsi dobili samostalnost od Rima i bili oslobođeni od plaćanja poreza nakon Trećeg ilirskog rata.²²⁹

7.3. Savez Delmata i njegov napad na savez Daorsa

Kao što sam ranije istakao, prije i tokom rata između Delmata i Rimljana u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere, Delmati su bili savez s više društveno-političkih jedinica. Društveno-politička jedinica čije središte je bilo u Delminiju preuzela je kontrolu nad drugim društveno-političkim jedinicama i njihovim središtima. Time se stvorio savez Delmata. Delminij je vjerovatno bio smješten na brdu Lib u blizini današnjeg Tomislavgrada u Bosni i Hercegovini.²³⁰ Polibije nam daje opće informacije o savezu Delmata, kao i širenju saveza Delmata. Ove informacije se zasnivaju na situaciji iz prve

friendship.²²⁷ Friendship in Latin is *amicitia*.²²⁸ Based on Polybios, Livy, Appian, and Zonaras in combination, and if Livy, Appian, and Zonaras meant the Daorsi, then we have on the one side Livy and Appian who meant that the union of the Daorsi was one of Rome's *socii*, while on the other side one has Zonaras who wrote that the union of the Daorsi were in an *amicitia* with Rome. It is also possible that the relationship with Rome was based on both *amicitia* and *socius*. What is closest to the truth, is unknown. This gives us an idea of the relationship between the union of the Daorsi and Rome after the Third Illyrian War. If Livy in *Periochae*, Appian, and Zonaras did not mean the Daorsi, then the only things we know for certain when it comes to the relationship between Rome and the union of the Daorsi based on Polybios and Livy's book 45 in *Ab Urbe Condita*, is that the Daorsi got independence and tax exemption from Rome after the Third Illyrian War.²²⁹

7.3. The union of the Delmatae and its attack on the union of the Daorsi

As I pointed out earlier, before and during the war between the Delmatae and the Romans in the first half of the 150s BCE, the Delmatae were

229 Polyb. 32.5.9; Polyb. 32.7.13; Livy, 45.26;

Livy, 47; App. *Ill.* 10.2.11; Zonaras, 9.25.

230 Dragičević 2017, 169–170.

227 Zonaras, 9.25; Rapp 2013, 23.

228 Finkelstein 2020, 807.

229 Polyb. 32.5.9; Polyb. 32.7.13; Livy, 45.26; Livy, 47; App. *Ill.* 10.2.11; Zonaras, 9.25.

polovine 2. stoljeća prije nove ere. Polibije je napisao sljedeće: “Kako su ljudi sa Isse često slali izaslanstva u Rim da se žale da Delmati nastavljaju harati njihovom teritorijom i gradovima koji su bili u savezu s njima, Epetij i Tragurium, i kako su slične optužbe iznosili Daorsi, senat je poslao komisiju pod vodstvom Gaja Fannija da ispita stanje Ilirika, a posebno ponašanje Delmata. Potonji su mu se pokoravali dokle god je Pleurat živio, ali kad je on umro i Gencije naslijedio prijestolje, odmetnuvši se od nje, zaratili su s plemenima na svojim granicama i smanjili susjedne narode, od kojih su im neki čak plaćali danak u vidu stoke i žita.”²³¹ Pleurat je bio vođa saveza Labeata.²³² Gencije je bio njegov sin.²³³ Može se tumačiti da je savez Labeata imao kontrolu nad savezom Delmata tokom vladavine Pleurata.²³⁴

Gencije je naslijedio Pleurata prije 180. god. prije nove ere.²³⁵ Jasno je da se savez Delmata pobunio protiv Gencija. Stoga se može protumačiti da savez Delmata više nije bio podanik saveza Labeata oko 180. god. prije nove ere. Može se protumačiti i da je savez Delmata uključivao manji broj društveno-političkih jedinica za vrijeme vladavine Pleurata. Savez Delmata se proširio nakon pobune protiv Gencija. Na osnovu

a union with multiple sociopolitical units. The sociopolitical unit which had Delminium as center, took control of other sociopolitical units and their centers. This created the union of the Delmatae. Delminium was most probably located at hill of Lib near today's Tomislavgrad in Bosnia and Herzegovina.²³⁰ Polybios gave us information about the union of the Delmatae in general and the union of the Delmatae's expansion. This information is based on the situation in the first half of the second century BCE. Polybios stated the following: “As the people of Issa had often sent embassies to Rome to complain that the Dalmatians continued to raid their territory and the cities in league with them, Epetium and Tragurium, and as similar accusations had been brought by the Daorsi, the senate dispatched a commission under Gaius Fannius to inquire into the state of Illyria and especially into the conduct of the Dalmatians. The latter, as long as Pleuratus lived, submitted to him, but when he died and Genthius succeeded to the throne, revolting from him they took to making war on the tribes on their borders and reduced the neighboring peoples, some of whom even paid them tribute in the shape of cattle and corn.”²³¹ Pleuratus was the leader of the union of the Labeatae.²³² Genthius was his son.²³³ It can be in-

231 Polyb. 32.5.9.

232 Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 87–88.

233 Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 88.

234 Šašel Kos 2005, 296.

235 Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 88.

230 Dragičević 2017, 169–170.

231 Polyb. 32.5.9.

232 Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 87–88.

233 Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 88.

Polibijevog teksta, postavlja se pitanje kada se savez Delmata proširio. Prvo tumačenje je da se savez Delmata pobunio protiv Gencija oko 180. god. prije nove ere i odmah se proširio. Tokom ovog proširenja, savez Delmata je eliminirao druge saveze. Društveno-političke jedinice koje su prethodno bile dio saveza postale su dio saveza Delmata. Susjedni savezi, koje je savez Delmata napao odmah nakon 180. god. prije nove ere i prije prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere, nisu uključivali savez Daorsa.

Rimljani su proglasili rat savezu Delmata u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere.²³⁶ To je povezano s napadima saveza Delmata na savez Daorsa u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Stoga, moguće je datirati žalbe društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa Rimljanima na napad saveza Delmata u prvu polovinu 150-ih godina prije nove ere.²³⁷ Ako su Livije u periohama, Apijan i Zonara mislili na Daorse, onda to znači da je savez Daorsa bio *socius* ili *amicitiae* ili i *socius* i *amicitiae* Rima.²³⁸ Napadi na savez Daorsa su stoga bili napadi na *socius* ili *amicitiae* ili i *socius* i *amicitiae* Rima. Također je važno istaći da je društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa sa svojim savezom bila dio mirovnog sporazuma postignutog u Skadru 168/167. god.

terpreted that the union of the Labeatae had control over the union of the Delmatae during Pleuratus.²³⁴

Genthius succeeded Pleuratus before 180 BCE.²³⁵ It is clear that the union of the Delmatae revolted from Genthius. This can be interpreted that the union of the Delmatae was no longer subject of the union of the Labeatae around 180 BCE. It can be interpreted that the union of the Delmatae included a smaller number of sociopolitical units at the time of Pleuratus. The union of the Delmatae expanded itself after they revolted against Genthius. Based on the text of Polybios, the question is when the union of the Delmatae expanded itself. The first interpretation is that the union of the Delmatae revolted from Genthius around 180 BCE and immediately expanded itself. In this expansion, the union of the Delmatae eliminated other unions. The sociopolitical units, which were previously part of other unions, were included in the union of the Delmatae. The neighboring unions who got attacked by the union of the Delmatae immediately after around 180 BCE and before the first half of the 150s BCE, did not include the union of the Daorsi.

The Romans declared war on the union of the Delmatae in the first half of the 150s BCE.²³⁶ This is connected with the attacks of the union of the Delma-

236 Šašel Kos 2005, 298.

237 Polyb. 32.5.9.

238 Livy, 47; App. III. 10.2.11; Zonaras, 9.25.

234 Šašel Kos 2005, 296.

235 Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 88.

236 Šašel Kos 2005, 298.

prije nove ere.²³⁹ S mirom u Skadru 168/167. god. prije nove ere, Rimljani su stvorili poredak u južnom dijelu istočnog Jadrana.²⁴⁰ Stoga, napad na savez Daorsa je bio napad na poredak kojeg su stvorili Rimljani. Savez Delmata je napao savez Daorsa u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere, što je bio još jedan od razloga zašto su Rimljani proglasili rat savezu Delmata u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Rimljani nisu mogli tolerirati da je neko napao savez Daorsa, jer su u tom slučaju napali njihov *socius* ili *amicitiae* ili i *socius* i *amicitiae* kao i poredak koji su Rimljani stvorili pomoću skadarskog mira.

Kao što sam prethodno objasnio, moguće je da Livije u periohama, Apijan i Zonara nisu mislili na Daorse.²⁴¹ Stoga, nije sigurno da je savez Daorsa bio *socius* ili *amicitiae* ili i *socius* i *amicitiae* Rima. Međutim, savez Daorsa je bio dio mira postignutog u Skadru 168/167. god. prije nove ere.²⁴² Rimljani su sklopili mir u Skadru.²⁴³ Rimljani su napade na savez Daorsa, koji je počinio savez Delmata, mogli tumačiti kao direktnu prijetnju poretku kojeg su uspostavili u južnim dijelovima istočnog Jadrana na osnovu skadarskog mira. Jedan od razloga zbog kojeg je Rim proglasio rat savezu Delmata u prvoj

tae on the union of the Daorsi in the first half of the 150s BCE. Therefore, one can date the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi's complaints to the Romans about the union of the Delmatae's attacks on them to the first half of the 150s BCE.²³⁷ If Livy in *Periochae*, Apian, and Zonaras meant the Daorsi, then this means that the union of the Daorsi was *socius* or *amicitiae* or both *socius* and *amicitiae* of Rome.²³⁸ Attacks on the union of the Daorsi were therefore attacks on Rome's *socius* or *amicitiae* or both *socius* and *amicitiae*. Another important point is that the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its union was part of the peace of Shkodër in 168/167 BCE.²³⁹ With the peace of Shkodër in 168/167 BCE, the Romans created an order in the southern part of the Eastern Adriatic.²⁴⁰ An attack on the union of the Daorsi was therefore also an attack on the order which the Romans created. The union of the Delmatae attacked the union of the Daorsi in the first half of the 150s BCE, which was also one of the reasons why the Romans declared war on the union of the Delmatae in the first half of the 150s BCE. The Romans could not tolerate that someone attacked the union of the Daorsi, because then they attacked their *socius* or *amicitiae* or both *socius* and *amicitiae* and the order the Romans created with the peace of Shkodër.

239 Livy, 45.26.

240 Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 91.

241 Livy, 47; App. *Ill.* 10.2.11; Zonaras, 9.25.

242 Livy, 45.26.

243 Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 91.

237 Polyb. 32.5.9.

238 Livy, 47; App. *Ill.* 10.2.11; Zonaras, 9.25.

239 Livy, 45.26.

240 Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 91.

polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere bio je taj što su napadi saveza Delmata na savez Daorsa počinjeni u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Rimljani nisu mogli tolerirati da neko napada savez Daorsa, jer je to predstavljalo prijetnju poretku kojeg su Rimljani uspostavili skadarskim mirom 168/167. god. prije nove ere. Polibijev tekst može se protumačiti i na drugi način, tj. savez Delmata se pobunio protiv Gencija oko 180. god. prije nove ere, ali su krenuli u rat protiv susjednih plemena u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere. U ovo vrijeme se savez Delmata proširio, eliminirao druge saveze i uključio društveno-političke jedinice, koje su prethodno bile dio drugih saveza, u savez Delmata.

Kao što sam prethodno istakao, Rimljani su krenuli u rat protiv saveza Delmata u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere.²⁴⁴ To je povezano s napadima saveza Delmata na savez Daorsa u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Prva polovina 150-ih godina prije nove ere stoga je bila period kada je savez Daorsa slao žalbe Rimu na napad saveza Delmata na njih.²⁴⁵ Opet, ako su Livije u periohama, Apijan i Zonara mislili na Daorse, onda to znači da je savez Daorsa bio *socius* ili *amicitiae* ili i *socius* i *amicitiae* Rima.²⁴⁶ Napad na društveno-političku jedinicu Daorsa

As I explained above, it is possible that Livy in *Periochae*, Appian and Zonaras did not mean the Daorsi.²⁴¹ It is therefore not certain that the union of the Daorsi was Rome's *socius* or *amicitiae* or both *socius* and *amicitiae*. However, the union of the Daorsi was part of the peace of Shkodër in 168/167 BCE.²⁴² The Romans made the peace of Shkodër.²⁴³ Attacks on the union of the Daorsi by the union of the Delmatae, could have been interpreted by the Romans as direct threats to the order they made in the southern parts of the Eastern Adriatic with the peace of Shkodër. One of the reasons why Rome declared war on the union of the Delmatae in the first half of the 150s BCE, was because the attacks of the union of the Delmatae on the union of the Daorsi happened in the first half of the 150s BCE. The Romans could not tolerate that somebody attacked the union of the Daorsi because in this way they threatened the order the Romans created with the peace of Shkodër in 168/167 BCE. The second way to interpret Polybios is that the union of the Delmatae revolted against Genthius around 180 BCE, but they went to war against neighboring tribes in the first half of the 150s BCE. It was at this time that the union of the Delmatae expanded itself, eliminated other unions and included sociopolitical units, which were previously part of other unions, into the union of the Delmatae.

244 Šašel Kos 2005, 298.

245 Polyb. 32.5.9.

246 Livy, 47; App. *Ill.* 10.2.11; Zonaras, 9.25.

241 Livy, 47; App. *Ill.* 10.2.11; Zonaras, 9.25.

242 Livy, 45.26.

243 Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 91.

s njenim savezom stoga je bio napad na *socius* ili *amicitiae* ili i *socius* i *amicitiae* Rima. Također je važno istaći da je savez Daorsa bio dio mira postignutog u Skadru 168/167. god. prije nove ere kojim su Rimljani stvorili poredak.²⁴⁷ Napadi na savez Daorsa mogli su značiti i napade na ovaj poredak. Savez Delmata je napao savez Daorsa u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere, što je bio jedan od razloga zašto je Rim proglasio rat savezu Delmata u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Opet, Rimljani nisu mogli tolerirati da neko napadne njihov *socius* ili *amicitiae* ili i *socius* i *amicitiae* i ospori poredak uspostavljen u Skadru.

Kao što sam već prethodno napisao, moguće je da Livije u periohama, Apijan i Zonara nisu mislili na Daorse.²⁴⁸ Stoga, jedan od razloga zbog kojeg je Rim proglasio rat savezu Delmata u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere bio je taj što je savez Delmata osporio poredak koji je Rim uspostavio skadarskim mirom napadajući društveno-političku jedinicu Daorsa s njenim savezom u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere.²⁴⁹ Kao što sam objasnio, društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa sa svojim savezom bila je dio mirovnog sporazuma postignutog u Skadru.²⁵⁰ Stoga, napad na savez

As I pointed out above, the Romans went to war against the union of the Delmatae in the first half of the 150s BCE.²⁴⁴ This is associated with the union of the Delmatae's attacks on the union of the Daorsi in the first half of the 150s BCE. The first half of the 150s BCE is, therefore, the time when the union of the Daorsi sent complaints to Rome about the union of the Delmatae's attacks on them.²⁴⁵ Again, if Livy in *Periochae*, Appian, and Zonaras meant the Daorsi, then the union of the Daorsi was Rome's *socius* or *amicitiae* or both *socius* and *amicitiae*.²⁴⁶ An attack on the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its union, was, therefore, an attack on Rome's *socius* or *amicitiae* or both *socius* and *amicitiae*. Another point is, again, that the union of the Daorsi was part of the peace of Shkodër in 168/167 BCE, which was an order the Romans created.²⁴⁷ Attacks on the union of the Daorsi would also have been attacks on this order. The union of the Delmatae attacked the union of the Daorsi in the first half of the 150s BCE, which was one of the reasons why Rome declared war on the union of the Delmatae in the first half of the 150s BCE. Again, Rome could not tolerate that somebody attacked their *socius* or *amicitiae* or both *socius* and *amicitiae* and challenged the order of Shkodër.

247 Livy, 45.26; Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 91.

248 Livy, 47; App. *Ill.* 10.2.11; Zonaras, 9.25.

249 Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 91.

250 Livy, 45.26.

244 Šašel Kos 2005, 298.

245 Polyb. 32.5.9.

246 Livy, 47; App. *Ill.* 10.2.11; Zonaras, 9.25.

247 Livy, 45.26; Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 91.

Daorsa bio je napad na poredak kojeg su stvorili Rimljani s mirovnim sporazumom u Skadru. Napad saveza Delmata na društveno-političku jedinicu Daorsa s njenim savezom dogodio se u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere, što je bio jedan od razloga zašto je Rim proglasio rat savezu Delmata u tom periodu. Rim nije mogao tolerirati napade na društveno-političku jedinicu Daorsa s njenim savezom jer je to prijetilo poretku kojeg su Rimljani uspostavili skadarskim mirom. Bez obzira odlučimo li tvrditi da je savez Delmata počeo napadati susjedne saveze odmah nakon što su se pobunili protiv Gencija, tj. oko 180. god. prije nove ere, ili nekada nakon pobune protiv Gencija, tj. u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere, važno je istaći da je savez Delmata napao savez Daorsa u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere.

7.4. Razaranje središta društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa na Ošanjićima

Središte društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa na Ošanjićima u jednom trenutku je bilo razoreno. Nakon razaranja, lokalitet je bio napušten.²⁵¹ Razaranje središta vjerovatno se može datirati u prvu polovinu 150-ih godina prije nove ere.

As I already stated above, it is possible that Livy in *Periochae*, Appian, and Zonaras did not mean the Daorsi.²⁴⁸ Then one of the reasons why Rome declared war on the union of the Delmatae in the first half of the 150s BCE, was because the union of the Delmatae challenged the order Rome made with the peace of Shkodër by attacking the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its union in the first half of the 150s BCE.²⁴⁹ As I explained, the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its union was part of the peace of Shkodër.²⁵⁰ An attack on the union of the Daorsi, was therefore also an attack on the order which the Romans created with the peace of Shkodër. The union of the Delmatae's attacks on the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its union happened in the first half of the 150s BCE, which was one of the reasons why Rome declared war on the union of the Delmatae at this time. Rome could not tolerate attacks on the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its union, because they threatened the order which the Romans established with the peace of Shkodër. No matter if one chooses to argue that the union of the Delmatae started to attack neighboring unions immediately after they revolted against Genthius, that is around 180 BCE, or sometime after they revolted against Genthius, that is in the first half of the 150s BCE,

248 Livy, 47; App. *Ill.* 10.2.11; Zonaras, 9.25.

249 Džino, Domic Kunić 2013, 91.

250 Livy, 45.26.

251 Marijan 2000–2001, 24.

7.4.1. Argumenti za razaranje središta društveno- političke jedinice Daorsa na Ošanjićima u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere

Postoji nekoliko argumenata koji idu u prilog tvrdnji da je središte na Ošanjićima bilo razoreno u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Prvo, kao što sam prethodno naveo, napad saveza Delmata na društveno-političku jedinicu Daorsa s njenim savezom dogodio se u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Napad je pridonio razaranju središta na Ošanjićima. Drugo, na arheološkom lokalitetu Ošanjići pronađene su grčko-italske amfore.²⁵² Grčko-italske amfore su izrađene u periodu od oko 300. do 125. god. prije nove ere.²⁵³ Amfore tipa Lamboglia 2 razvile su se iz grčko-italskih amfora.²⁵⁴ Amfore tipa Lamboglia 2 su izrađene u periodu od oko 125. do 25. god. prije nove ere.²⁵⁵ Ako je središte na Ošanjićima bilo razoreno sredinom 1. stoljeća prije nove ere, onda bi Lamboglia 2 bio dominantan tip fragmenata amfora. Amfore tipa Lamboglia 2 pronađene su, naprimjer, na arheološkom lokalitetu Desilo.²⁵⁶ Međutim, amfore tipa Lamboglia 2 nisu pronađene na arheološkom lokalitetu na Ošanjićima. Treće, Marić pojašnjava da je

the important point is that the union of the Delmatae attacked the union of the Daorsi in the first half of the 150s BCE.

7.4. The destruction of the center of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi at Ošanjići

The center of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi at Ošanjići was at one point in time destroyed. After the destruction, the site was abandoned.²⁵¹ The destruction of the center can be dated probably to the first half of the 150s BCE.

7.4.1. Arguments for the destruction of the center of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi at Ošanjići in the first half of the 150s BCE

There are several arguments which support the claim that the center at Ošanjići got destroyed in the first half of the 150s BCE. First, as I argued above, the attack of the union of the Delmatae on the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its union happened in the first half of the 150s BCE. This attack contributed to the destruction of the center at Ošanjići. Second, one has only found Greco-Italic amphorae at the archaeological site of Ošanjići.²⁵² Greco-Italic amphorae

252 Lična komunikacija s Adamom Lindhagenom.

253 Lindhagen 2016, 231 (fusnota 27).

254 Lindhagen 2020, 344.

255 Lindhagen 2016, 231 (fusnota 27).

256 Lindhagen 2016, 238.

251 Marijan 2000-2001, 24.

252 Personal communication with Adam Lindhagen.

željeznodobna ostava s 245 predmeta bila sakrivena u 2. stoljeću prije nove ere tokom nesigurnog i opasnog vremena. Vlasnik (ili više vlasnika) željeznodobne ostave se nikada nije vratio da je vrati.²⁵⁷ Na osnovu toga, moguće je da je željeznodobna ostava bila sakrivena u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere te da se vlasnik nije vratio (ili više vlasnika) da je vrati jer je u tom trenutku bio mrtav (ili su bili mrtvi).

Četvrto, Lindhagen pojašnjava da se funkcija Narone promijenila u drugoj polovini 2. stoljeća prije nove ere: "U drugoj polovini 2. stoljeća prije nove ere, Narona je prerasla iz trgovačkog mjesta (iako je čak i tada možda imala urbane karakteristike) u pravo urbano naselje kojim je upravljala i kojeg je organizirala Rimska republika."²⁵⁸ Od druge polovine 2. stoljeća prije nove ere, Narona je također imala italijanska naselja.²⁵⁹ To je povezano s razaranjem središta društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa na Ošanjićima u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Nakon razaranja središta društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa na Ošanjićima u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere, društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa nastavila je postojati, ali ova društveno-politička jedinica premjestila je svoje središte u Stolic. Istovremeno, društveno-politič-

were produced from around 300 to 125 BCE.²⁵³ Lamboglia 2 amphorae were developed from the Greco-Italic amphorae.²⁵⁴ Lamboglia 2 amphorae were produced from around 125 to 25 BCE.²⁵⁵ If the center at Ošanjići got destroyed in the middle of the first century BCE, then the Lamboglia 2 amphorae would have dominated the amphorae fragments. Lamboglia 2 amphorae have been found, for example, at the archaeological site at Desilo.²⁵⁶ However, one has not found Lamboglia 2 amphorae at the archaeological site at Ošanjići. Third, Marić explains that the metal-depot with 245 objects was hidden in the second century BCE in an uncertain and dangerous time. The owner/owners of the metal-depot never returned to bring it back.²⁵⁷ Based on this, it is probable that the metal-depot was hidden in the first half of the 150s BCE, and that the owner/owners never returned to bring it back because they got killed at this time.

Fourth, Lindhagen explains how the function of Narona changed in the last half of the second century BCE: "Narona grew in the second half of the 2nd century BC from a trading post (although perhaps even then it had urban traits) into an urban settlement proper which was administered and organized by the Roman

257 Marić 1979, 23, 25, 65.

258 Lindhagen 2016, 232.

259 Lindhagen 2009, 94.

253 Lindhagen 2016, 231 (footnote 27).

254 Lindhagen 2020, 344.

255 Lindhagen 2016, 231 (footnote 27).

256 Lindhagen 2016, 238.

257 Marić 1979, 23, 25, 65.

ka jedinica Daorsa bila je oslabljena razaranjem svog središta na Ošanjićima. Slabljenje društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa dovelo je do kolapsa saveza Daorsa. Društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa više nije imala kontrolu nad drugim društveno-političkim jedinicama u donjoj Neretvi. To je stvorilo vakuum političke moći u donjoj Neretvi koji su Rimljani popunili preuzimajući kontrolu nad Naronom. Italijani su postepeno naseljavali ovo područje. To je također zahtijevalo od Rimljana / Italijana da oduzimaju poljoprivredne površine lokalnog stanovništva u donjoj Neretvi za npr. proizvodnju vina. Lindhagen pojašnjava sljedeće: "Postoje mnoge indikacije da je Naron a njena teritorija predstavljala ekonomski centar za masovni izvoz vina iz centralne dalmatinske obale ka Jadranu i istočnom Mediteranu, kao i ka zapadnom Mediteranu, već od 2. stoljeća prije nove ere."²⁶⁰ Na osnovu ovih argumenata, možemo reći da je središte društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa na Ošanjićima bilo uništeno u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere.

Republic."²⁵⁸ From the second half of the second century BCE, Naron a also had Italian settlements.²⁵⁹ This is connected with the destruction of the center of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi at Ošanjići in the first half of the 150s BCE. After the destruction of the center of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi at Ošanjići in the first half of the 150s BCE, the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi continued to exist, but this sociopolitical unit moved its center to Stolac. At the same time, the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi was weakened with the destruction of its center at Ošanjići. The weakening of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi led to the collapse of the union of the Daorsi. The sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi did no longer have control over other sociopolitical units in the lower Neretva. This created a power vacuum in the lower Neretva, which the Romans filled by taking control over Naron a. Gradually Italians settled the area. This also necessitated Roman/Italian confiscation of agricultural areas from the local population in the lower Neretva to, for example, produce wine. Lindhagen explains the following: "There are many indications that Naron a and its territory formed the economic centre for the mass export of wine from the central Dalmatian coast towards the Adriatic and the Eastern Mediterranean, and also the western Mediterranean, from as ear-

260 Lindhagen 2016, 231.

258 Lindhagen 2016, 232.

259 Lindhagen 2009, 94.

7.4.2. Objašnjenje nalaza i potencijalnih nalaza na Ošanjićima koji potiču iz perioda nakon prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere

Nakon razaranja središta društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa na Ošanjićima u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere, društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa nastavila je postojati, ali ova društveno-politička jedinica premjestila je svoje središte iz Ošanjića u Stolac.²⁶¹ Međutim, postoje određeni nalazi s lokaliteta Ošanjići koji potiču iz perioda nakon prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Naprimjer, pronađene su kovanice koje potiču iz 1. stoljeća prije nove ere.²⁶² To ne znači da su Ošanjići funkcionirali kao središte društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa i nakon prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Lokalitet na Ošanjićima je vjerovatno bio u sjećanju većine stanovništva koje je živjelo u društveno-političkoj jedinici Daorsa i većini stanovništva drugih društveno-političkih jedinica, posebno u donjoj Neretvi. Stanovništvo je možda posjećivalo lokalitet na Ošanjićima da oda počast prethodnom središtu i mrtvima. Za to vrijeme možda su žrtvovali neke predmete i/ili su ih izgubili na tlu.

ly as the 2nd century BC.”²⁶⁰ Based on these arguments, one can say that the center of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi at Ošanjići was destroyed in the first half of the 150s BCE.

7.4.2. Explaining findings and potential findings at Ošanjići that date to the period after the first half of the 150s BCE

After the center of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi at Ošanjići got destroyed in the first half of the 150s BCE, the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi continued to exist, but this sociopolitical unit moved its center from Ošanjići to Stolac.²⁶¹ However, there have been some findings at the site of Ošanjići that date to the period after the first half of the 150s BCE. One has found, for example, coins which date to the first century BCE.²⁶² This does not mean that Ošanjići functioned as a center for the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi also after the first half of the 150s BCE. The site at Ošanjići was probably in the memory for most of the population that lived in the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi and most of the populations of other sociopolitical units, especially in the lower Neretva. The populations may have visited the site at Ošanjići to honor the previous center and the dead. In the process, they could have sacrificed some objects and/or lost them on the ground.

²⁶¹ Marijan 2000–2001, 24.

²⁶² Dragičević 2022, 48.

²⁶⁰ Lindhagen 2016, 231.

²⁶¹ Marijan 2000–2001, 24.

²⁶² Dragičević 2022, 48.

7.4.3. Ko je razorio središte društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa na Ošanjićima?

Ko je razorio središte društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa na Ošanjićima u ovom periodu? Prema dosadašnjem stajalištu, savez Delmata je uništio središte.²⁶³ Međutim, Dragičević tvrdi da je Marić pronašao rimski projektil koji potiče iz perioda Rimske republike u jednom od grobnica na Ošanjićima.²⁶⁴ Kako se može tumačiti ovaj rimski projektil u kontekstu uništenja središta na Ošanjićima u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere? Prvo tumačenje je da je savez Delmata nekako došao do rimskih projektila i koristio ih za uništenje središta na Ošanjićima. Drugo tumačenje je da savez Delmata vjerovatno nije uništio ili barem nije potpuno uništio središte na Ošanjićima, već je zapravo preuzeo središte i društveno-političku jedinicu Daorsa. Kada su Rimljani stigli da se bore protiv saveza Delmata, savez Delmata je prisilio stanovništvo društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa da se s njima bori protiv Rimljana. Rimljani su vjerovatno koristili rimske projekte za napad središta na Ošanjićima u nadi da će pobijediti u borbi. Rezultat ove borbe je potpuno uništenje središta na Ošanjićima. Ipak, najvažnija činjenica je da je

263 Zaninović 2003, 282; Marić 2014, 129; Džino 2010, 93.

264 Lična komunikacija s Ivom Dragičevićem; Marić 1973, 176 (Tabla XV.3).

7.4.3. Who destroyed the center of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi at Ošanjići?

Who destroyed the center of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi at Ošanjići at this time? The view until now was that the union of the Delmatae destroyed the center.²⁶³ However, Dragičević argues that Marić has found a Roman projectile that dates to the Roman republican period in one of the graves at Ošanjići.²⁶⁴ How can one interpret this Roman projectile in light of the destruction of the center at Ošanjići in the first half of the 150s BCE? The first interpretation is that the union of the Delmatae somehow got to Roman projectiles and used them to destroy the center at Ošanjići. Another interpretation is that the union of the Delmatae probably did not destroy or at least did not fully destroy the center at Ošanjići, but actually took over the center and the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi. When the Romans arrived to fight the union of the Delmatae, the union of the Delmatae forced the population of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi to fight with them against the Romans. Probably the Romans used the Roman projectiles to attack the center at Ošanjići in hope to win the battle. The result of this battle was that the center at

263 Zaninović 2003, 282; Marić 2014, 129; Džino 2010, 93.

264 Personal communication with Ivo Dragičević; Marić 1973, 176 (Tabla XV.3).

središte na Ošanjićima bilo uništeno u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere.

Ošanjići was fully destroyed. Nevertheless, the important point is that the center at Ošanjići was destroyed in the first half of the 150s BCE.

8. Društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa nakon razaranja središta na Ošanjićima u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere i dok nije postala peregrinska civitas

Nakon što su Rimljani proglasili rat savezu Delmata u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere, Rimljani su 155. god. prije nove ere razorili Delminij, koji je bio središte društveno-političke jedinice koja je uspostavila savez Delmata preuzimajući kontrolu nad drugim društveno-političkim jedinicama i njihovim središtima.²⁶⁵ Stoga se može protumačiti da je savez Delmata izgubio rat i da su ga Rimljani istjerali iz donje Neretve. Društveno-politička jedinica pod nazivom Daorsi nastavila je postojati nakon prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere. To posebno zagovara Plinije Stariji. Plinije Stariji je spomenuo naziv Daorsi.²⁶⁶ Džino navodi da je Plinije Stariji spomenuo Daorse kao peregrinsku civitas.²⁶⁷ To znači da je društveno-politička jedinica pod nazivom Daorsi nastavila postojati nakon prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere i dok nije postala peregrinska civitas, a ova peregrinska civitas se nazivala Daorsi. Međutim, društveno-politička jedi-

8. The sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi after the destruction of the center at Ošanjići in the first half of the 150s BCE and until it became a *civitas peregrina*

After the Romans declared war on the union of the Delmatae in the first half of the 150s BCE, in 155 BCE the Romans destroyed Delminium, which was the center of the sociopolitical unit that established the union of the Delmatae by taking control of other sociopolitical units and their centers.²⁶⁵ It can therefore be interpreted that the union of the Delmatae lost the war and was pushed back from the lower Neretva by the Romans. The sociopolitical unit which was named the Daorsi continued to exist after the first half of the 150s BCE. This is especially supported by Pliny the Elder. Pliny the Elder mentioned the name Daorsi.²⁶⁶ Džino states that Pliny the Elder mentioned the Daorsi as a *civitas peregrina*.²⁶⁷ This means that the sociopolitical unit which was named the Daorsi continued to exist after the first half of the 150s BCE and until it became a *civitas peregrina* and this *civitas peregrina* was named the Daorsi. However, the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi was weakened after the de-

265 Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 105.

266 Pliny, *NH.* 3.22.

267 Džino 2010, 164.

265 Džino, Domić Kunić 2013, 105.

266 Pliny, *NH.* 3.22.

267 Džino 2010, 164.

nica Daorsa bila je oslabljena nakon razaranja središta na Ošanjićima u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere.

Slabljenje društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa dovelo je do kolapsa saveza Daorsa u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Kolaps saveza Daorsa stvorio je vakuum političke moći u donjoj Neretvi. Rimljani su popunili ovaj vakuum političke moći preuzimanjem kontrole nad Naronom i dijelovima donje Neretve. Od druge polovine 2. stoljeća prije nove ere, Naron je postala urbano naselje kojim je upravljao Rim, a postepeno su se u području formirala italijanska naselja.²⁶⁸ To je zahtijevalo od Rimljana / Italijana da oduzimaju poljoprivredne površine od lokalnog stanovništva u donjoj Neretvi. O društveno-političkoj jedinici Daorsa nakon prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere znamo veoma malo. Društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa vjerovatno je premjestila svoje središte s Ošanjića u Stolac nakon prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere.²⁶⁹ Diluntum se nalazio u današnjem Stocu.²⁷⁰ Diluntum se može tumačiti kao nastavak središta društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa u Stocu koje je vjerovatno bilo uspostavljeno nakon razaranja središta na Ošanjićima. Nije poznato zašto središte na

struction of its center at Ošanjići in the first half of the 150s BCE.

The weakening of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi led to the collapse of the union of the Daorsi in the first half of the 150s BCE. The collapse of the union of the Daorsi created a power vacuum in the lower Neretva. The Romans filled this power vacuum by taking control of Naron and parts of the lower Neretva. From the second half of the second century BCE, Naron became an urban settlement that was administered by Rome and gradually one got Italian settlements in the area.²⁶⁸ This necessitated Roman/Italian confiscation of agricultural areas from the local population in the lower Neretva. When it comes to the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi after the first half of the 150s BCE, we know very little. Probably the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi moved its center from Ošanjići to Stolac after the first half of the 150s BCE.²⁶⁹ Diluntum was located in today's Stolac.²⁷⁰ Diluntum can be interpreted as a continuation of the center of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi in Stolac, which was established probably after the center at Ošanjići got destroyed. Why the center at Ošanjići never got rebuilt, we do not know. It is possible that the Romans, who took control of

268 Lindhagen 2009, 94; Lindhagen 2016, 232.

269 Marijan 2000-2001, 24.

270 Bojanovski 1988, 99-100; Marijan 2000-2001, 24; Busuladžić 2011, 105.

268 Lindhagen 2009, 94; Lindhagen 2016, 232.

269 Marijan 2000-2001, 24.

270 Bojanovski 1988, 99-100; Marijan 2000-2001, 24; Busuladžić 2011, 105.

Ošanjićima nikada nije bilo ponovno izgrađeno. Moguće je da Rimljani, koji su preuzeli kontrolu nad Naronom i dijelovima donje Neretve od druge polovine 2. stoljeća prije nove ere, nisu željeli ponovno izgraditi središte na Ošanjićima, jer bi time teže upravljali društveno-političkom jedinicom Daorsa. Stoga, Rimljani su primorali društveno-političku jedinicu Daorsa da premjesti svoje središte u Stolac.

Drugim riječima, središte društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa nakon prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere nalazilo se u Stocu. U Stocu su pronađene npr. grčke i rimske kovanice iz posljednjih stoljeća prije nove ere.²⁷¹ Drugi element društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa bila je njihova teritorija. S obzirom na to da se središte društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa nalazilo u Stocu, područje Stoca je zasigurno pripadalo društveno-političkoj jedinici Daorsa. Međutim, nije nam poznata veličina teritorije. Područje oko Stoca ima mnogo poljoprivredne površine. Treći element je politički sistem. Nije nam poznat politički sistem društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa u ovom periodu. Nadalje, društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa je naravno imala vlastito stanovništvo, koje je bilo povezano s npr. središtem u Stocu. Peti element društveno-političke jedinice bio je naziv Daorsi, koji se nastavio koristiti nakon prve polovine 150-ih

Narona and parts of the lower Neretva from the last half of the second century BCE, did not want the center at Ošanjići to be rebuilt, because it would have been more difficult to control the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi. Therefore, the Romans forced the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi to move its center to Stolac.

In other words, the center of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi after the first half of the 150s BCE was located in Stolac. In Stolac one has found, for example, Greek and Roman coins from the last centuries BCE.²⁷¹ Another element of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi was its territory. Since the center of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi was located in Stolac, the Stolac-area surely belonged to the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi. However, we do not know the size of the territory. The area around Stolac has a lot of agricultural areas. The third element is the political system. We do not know the political system of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi at this time. Furthermore, the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi had, of course, its own population, which was connected to, for example, the center in Stolac. The fifth element of the sociopolitical unit was the name Daorsi, which continued to be used after the first half of the 150s BCE. As I pointed out above, Pliny the Elder mentioned the Daorsi and he re-

271 Atanacković-Salčić 1988, 192 (20.484).

271 Atanacković-Salčić 1988, 192 (20.484).

godina prije nove ere. Kao što sam prethodno istakao, Plinije Stariji je spomenuo Daorse i nazvao ih je peregrinskom civitas.²⁷² To znači da je stanovništvo društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa nastavilo da koristi naziv "Daorsi" da se identificira nakon prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Ovo je također razlog zbog kojeg su Rimljani peregrinsku civitas Daorsa nazvali Daorsi. Društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa sa svojim središtem u Stocu bila je trgovački posrednik između Narone i Sarajeva. Kao što sam prethodno istakao, posrednički položaj društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa sa središtem na Ošanjićima, a nakon toga u Stocu, između Narone i Sarajeva, podupire činjenica da je rimska cesta išla od Narone do današnjeg Sarajeva preko Nevesinja i Konjica. Ova cesta je prolazila pored Ošanjića i Stoca.²⁷³

Ruta od Narone do Sarajeva preko Nevesinja i Konjica koristila se u predrimskom periodu.²⁷⁴ Cesta od Narone do Sarajeva preko Nevesinja i Konjica bila je jedna od prvih cesta koju su Rimljani izgradili na istočnom Jadranu.²⁷⁵ Činjenica da je to bila jedna od prvih cesta koju su Rimljani izgradili na istočnom Jadranu pokazuje da je ova ruta bila važna i prije nego što su Rimljani uspostavili kontrolu nad cijelim istočnim Jadr-

ferred to them as *civitas peregrina*.²⁷² This means that the population in the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi continued to use the name Daorsi to identify themselves after the first half of the 150s BCE. This is also the reason why the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi was named the Daorsi by the Romans. The sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its center in Stolac was a middleman in trade between Naronia and Sarajevo. As I pointed out earlier, the intermediary position of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its center at Ošanjići and thereafter in Stolac between Naronia and Sarajevo, is supported by the Roman road which went from Naronia to today's Sarajevo via Nevesinje and Konjic. This road passed near Ošanjići and Stolac.²⁷³

The route from Naronia to Sarajevo via Nevesinje and Konjic was used in pre-Roman times.²⁷⁴ The road from Naronia to Sarajevo via Nevesinje and Konjic was one of the first roads the Romans built in the Eastern Adriatic.²⁷⁵ That this was one of the first roads the Romans built in the Eastern Adriatic shows that this route was important also before the Romans established control over the whole of the Eastern Adriatic in the last half of the first century BCE and the beginning of the first century

272 Pliny, *NH.* 3.22; Dzino 2010, 163–164.

273 Bojanovski 1978.

274 Bojanovski 1978, 66–67.

275 Bojanovski 1974, 15; Imamović 1985, 32.

272 Pliny, *NH.* 3.22; Dzino 2010, 163–164.

273 Bojanovski 1978.

274 Bojanovski 1978, 66–67.

275 Bojanovski 1974, 15; Imamović 1985, 32.

nom u drugoj polovini 1. stoljeća prije nove ere i početkom 1. stoljeća nove ere.²⁷⁶ Osim toga, postojala je rimska cesta koja je išla od Narone do Panika preko Stoca.²⁷⁷ Ova ruta se koristila u predrimskom periodu.²⁷⁸ Na osnovu toga, moguće je da je društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa funkcionirala i kao posrednik između Narone i Panika u ovom periodu. Drugim riječima, društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa bila je trgovački posrednik između Narone i Sarajeva i vjerovatno između Narone i Panika nakon prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Na osnovu toga, društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa sa svojim središtem u Stocu usko bi sarađivala s Rimljanima / Italijanima u Naroni kada je u pitanju trgovina.

Kao što sam prethodno istakao, Naronu i područje oko nje koristilo se za proizvodnju vina, koje se masovno izvozilo u mnoge dijelove Mediterana od 2. stoljeća prije nove ere.²⁷⁹ Moguće je da se ovo vino također izvozilo u unutrašnjost, tj. ka Sarajevu i Paniku preko društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa. Vino je vjerovatno bilo jedno od nekoliko stvari koje je Naronu izvozila u unutrašnjost. Moguće je da je Naronu uvozila i stoga izvozila dobra iz donje Neretve u mnoge dijelove Mediterana rutom ka Sarajevu i po mogućnosti rutom ka

CE.²⁷⁶ In addition, there was a Roman road which went from Naronu to Panik via Stoloc.²⁷⁷ This route was used in pre-Roman times.²⁷⁸ Based on this, it is possible that the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi also functioned as an intermediary between Naronu and Panik at this time. In other words, the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi was an intermediary in trade between Naronu and Sarajevo and possibly between Naronu and Panik after the first half of the 150s BCE. Based on this, the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its center in Stoloc would have cooperated closely with the Romans/Italians in Naronu when it comes to trade.

As I pointed out earlier, Naronu and the area around it was used for the production of wine, which was mass exported to many parts of the Mediterranean from the second century BCE.²⁷⁹ This wine could also have been exported to the interior, that is, towards Sarajevo and Panik via the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi. Wine was probably one of several things that Naronu exported to the interior. Naronu could have imported and thus exported to many parts of the Mediterranean goods from the lower Neretva on the route towards Sarajevo and possibly the route towards Panik. These goods I have

276 Dzino 2010, 99–155.

277 Bojanovski 1973.

278 Bojanovski 1973, 170–171.

279 Lindhagen 2016, 231.

276 Dzino 2010, 99–155.

277 Bojanovski 1973.

278 Bojanovski 1973, 170–171.

279 Lindhagen 2016, 231.

Paniku. Ova dobra sam već opisao u 6. poglavlju. Posrednička trgovačka uloga društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa sa svojim središtem u stocu između rimske Narone i srednje Bosne i po mogućnosti rimske Narone i današnjeg Panika, rezultirala je bliskom saradnjom između društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa i Rimljana u Naroni, koja je možda dovela do toga da su Rimljani nagradili društveno-političku jedinicu Daorsa ulogom peregrinske civitas.

already described in chapter 6. The intermediary position in the trade of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its center in Stolac between Roman Narona and Central-Bosnia and potentially between Roman Narona and today's Panik, resulted in close cooperation between the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi and the Romans in Narona, which could have resulted in that the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi got rewarded by the Romans to be its own *civitas peregrina*.

9. Peregrinska civitas Daorsa

Plinije Stariji je opisao rimsku provinciju Dalmaciju.²⁸⁰ Neki od izvora koje je koristio potiču iz sredine 1. stoljeća nove ere.²⁸¹ Džino sažima kako je Plinije Stariji opisao rimsku provinciju Dalmaciju na sljedeći način: “Plinije spominje podjelu Dalmacije na tri *conventus iuridici* radi upravljanja peregrinskim zajednicama smještenim na obali, Skardona, Solin i Naron. Također navodi nazive pojedinih peregrinskih civitates, pa čak i broj njihovih podjedinica, dekurija (*decuriae*), ali samo za salonitanske i naronitanske konvente *conventus*.”²⁸² Plinije Stariji je spomenuo Daorse sa 17 dekurija.²⁸³ Na osnovu Džininog tumačenja teksta Plinija Starijeg, Daorsi su bili peregrinska civitas sa 17 dekurija. Istovremeno, peregrinska civitas Daorsa je bila dio naronitanskog konveta. Naronitanski konvent je bio dio provincije Dalmacije.²⁸⁴

Wacher definira peregrinske civitates na sljedeći način: “Peregrinske civitates, samoupravni distrikti onih koji nisu bili rimski državljani, i njihove glavne gradove obično je uspostavljala provincijska uprava Britanije jer je svaka oblast bila oslobođena

9. *Civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi

Pliny the Elder gave a description of the Roman province of Dalmatia.²⁸⁰ Some of the sources he used dated to the mid-first century CE.²⁸¹ Džino summarizes Pliny the Elder’s description of the Roman province of Dalmatia in the following way: “Pliny mentions the division of Dalmatia into three *conventus iuridici* for the administration of peregrine communities based on the coast, Scardona, Solin and Naron. He also provides the names of individual *civitates peregrinae* and even the number of their subdivisions, *decuriae*, but only for the Salonitan and Naronitan *conventus*.”²⁸² Pliny the Elder mentioned the Daorsi with 17 *decuriae*.²⁸³ Based on Džino’s interpretation of Pliny the Elder’s text, Daorsi was a *civitas peregrina* with 17 *decuriae*. At the same time, the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi was part of the *conventus* of Naron. The *conventus* of Naron was part of the province of Dalmatia.²⁸⁴

Wacher defines the *civitates peregrini* in the following way: “*Civitates peregrinae*, self-governing districts of non-citizens, and their capital towns would normally have been set up by the provincial administration in

280 Pliny, *NH.* 3.21-3.22.

281 Mesihović 2011, 57.

282 Džino 2010, 163.

283 Pliny, *NH.* 3.22.

284 Pliny, *NH.* 3.21-3.22; Džino 2010, 163-164.

280 Pliny, *NH.* 3.21-3.22.

281 Mesihović 2011, 57.

282 Džino 2010, 163.

283 Pliny, *NH.* 3.22.

284 Pliny, *NH.* 3.21-3.22; Džino 2010, 163-164.

vojne kontrole.”²⁸⁵ Isto se može reći za rimsku provinciju Dalmaciju. Peregrinska civitas Daorsa također se može tumačiti kao društveno-politička jedinica. Prvi element društveno-političke jedinice bio je središte. Kao što Wacher pojašnjava za rimsku Britaniju, peregrinske civitates su imale glavne gradove.²⁸⁶ Isto se može reći za rimsku provinciju Dalmaciju. Središte (glavni grad) peregrinske civitas Daorsa bilo je smješteno u današnjem Stocu. Stolac je mjesto koje je nekoliko istraživača identificiralo kao Diluntum.²⁸⁷ Diluntum se može tumačiti kao nastavak središta društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa u Stocu koji je bio uspostavljen nakon razaranja središta na Ošanjicima. Istraživači su u Stocu pronašli npr. mauzolej, terme, kanalizaciju, kanale za dovod vode, različite natpise i kuće s mozaicima.²⁸⁸ To ide u prilog zaključku da se u današnjem Stocu nalazilo rimsko urbano središte.

Kao što uskoro pojasniti, Diluntum je kasnije postao municipij.²⁸⁹ Municipij Diluntum također se može tumačiti kao društveno-politička jedinica. Wacher ističe sljedeće o rimskoj Britaniji: “Administrativna jedinica kolonije, i vjerovatno municipija, sastojala se od grada i nje-

Britain as each area was freed from military control.”²⁸⁵ The same can be said for the Roman province of Dalmatia. The *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi can also be interpreted as a sociopolitical unit. The first element of the sociopolitical unit was the center. As Wacher explains for Roman Britain, the *civitates peregrini* had capital towns.²⁸⁶ The same can be said for the Roman province of Dalmatia. The center (capital) of the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi was located in today’s Stolac. Stolac is the place which several researchers have identified as Diluntum.²⁸⁷ Diluntum can be interpreted as a continuation of the center of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi in Stolac, which was established after the center at Ošanjici got destroyed. In Stolac, researchers have found for example, mausoleum, thermae, sewage, channels for water supply, different inscriptions, and houses with mosaics.²⁸⁸ This supports the point that there was a Roman urban center located in today’s Stolac.

As I will go into soon, Diluntum later became a *municipium*.²⁸⁹ *Municipium* of Diluntum can also be interpreted as a sociopolitical unit. Wacher points out the following for Roman Britain: “The administrative unit of

285 Wacher 1995, 22.

286 Wacher 1995, 22.

287 Bojanovski 1988, 99-100; Marijan 2000-2001, 24; Busuladžić 2011, 105.

288 Atanacković-Salčić 1988, 192 (20.484); Šaćić Beća 2024, 45.

289 Bojanovski 1988, 101.

285 Wacher 1995, 22.

286 Wacher 1995, 22.

287 Bojanovski 1988, 99-100; Marijan 2000-2001, 24; Busuladžić 2011, 105.

288 Atanacković-Salčić 1988, 192 (20.484); Šaćić Beća 2024, 45.

289 Bojanovski 1988, 101.

govog territoriuma, koji se tretirao kao nastavak grada.”²⁹⁰ Isto se može reći za rimsku provinciju Dalmaciju. Municipij Diluntum se vjerovatno može protumačiti kao nastavak peregrinske civitas Daorsa kao društveno-političke jedinice. Kao što ću kasnije pojasniti, jedina razlika između peregrinske civitas Daorsa i municipija Diluntum bila je ta da se status stanovnika i naziv društveno-političke jedinice promijenio kada se peregrinska civitas Daorsa pretvorila u municipij Diluntum. Na osnovu toga možemo reći da je peregrinska civitas Daorsa imala vlastitu teritoriju. Koje su bile teritorije peregrinske civitas Daorsa?

Ako tvrdimo da se Diluntum nalazio u Stocu, koji je bio središte peregrinske civitas Daorsa, onda je cijelo područje Stoca bilo dio peregrinske civitas Daorsa. Osim toga, pronađen je natpis u Trebimlji. Natpis potiče iz 2. stoljeća nove ere. Na natpisu piše da je Publije Aplije Plaso (Publius Aplius Plasso) bio dekurion u municipiju Diluntum.²⁹¹ Dekurion je bio član gradskog vijeća *ordo decurionum*.²⁹² *Ordo decurionum* je bilo gradsko vijeće.²⁹³ Kao što sam prethodno istakao, municipij Diluntum se može tumačiti kao nastavak peregrinske civitas Daorsa kao društveno-političke jedinice. Razlike između peregrinske civi-

a colonia, and probably also of a municipium, consisted of the town and its territorium, which was treated as being an extension of the town.”²⁹⁰

The same can be said for the Roman province of Dalmatia. *Municipium* of Diluntum can probably be interpreted as a continuation of the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi as a sociopolitical unit. As I will go into later, the only certain difference between *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi and *municipium* of Diluntum was that the inhabitants' status and name of the sociopolitical unit changed when the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi was transformed into *municipium* of Diluntum. Based on this, one can say that *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi had its own territory. What were the territories of *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi?

If one is basing oneself that Diluntum was located in Stolac, which was the center of *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi, then the whole Stolac-area was part of the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi. In addition, one has found an inscription in Trebimlja. The inscription dates to the second century CE. On the inscription it says how Publius Aplius Plasso was a *decurion* in *municipium* of Diluntum.²⁹¹ A *decurion* was a member of the *ordo decurionum*.²⁹² An *ordo decurionum* was a town/city council.²⁹³ As I pointed out

290 Wachter 1995, 36.

291 AE 1980, 0677; Bojanovski 1977, 82-87; Marić 2023, 119.

292 Salomies 2020, 159.

293 Imamović 2012, 108; Serventi 2015, 149.

290 Wachter 1995, 36.

291 AE 1980, 0677; Bojanovski 1977, 82-87; Marić 2023, 119.

292 Salomies 2020, 159.

293 Imamovic 2012, 108; Serventi 2015, 149.

tas Daorsa i municipija Diluntum bile su te da se status stanovnika i naziv društveno-političke jedinice promijenio kada se peregrinska civitas Daorsa pretvorila u municipij Diluntum. Stoga, natpis iz Trebimlje može ukazivati na to da je područje Trebimlje bilo dio peregrinske civitas Daorsa. Stoga su područja Stoca i Trebimlje bila dio peregrinske civitas Daorsa te su ove dvije teritorije vjerovatno bile povezane jedna s drugom.

Područje Stoca je pripadalo društveno-političkoj jedinici Daorsa prije nego što su Rimljani društveno-političku jedinicu Daorsa pretvorili u peregrinsku civitas. Međutim, područje Trebimlje je pripadalo drugim društveno-političkim jedinicama prije nego što je bilo inkorporirano u peregrinsku civitas Daorsa. Društveno-političke jedinice u području Trebimlje možda su bile podređene društveno-političkoj jedinici Daorsa do prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Kada su Rimljani uspostavili peregrinsku civitas Daorsa, Rimljani su povezali područja Stoca i Trebimlja jedne s drugima. Zbog toga možemo reći da su Rimljani kreirali granice peregrinske civitas Daorsa. Nije poznato je li peregrinska civitas Daorsa imala pristup morskoj obali. Treći element društveno-političke jedinice je politički sistem. Postojanje gradskog vijeća *ordo decurionum* u municipiju Diluntum podupire već spomenuti natpis iz Trebimlje iz 2. stoljeća nove ere, na kojem se navo-

above, the *municipium* of Diluntum can be interpreted as a continuation of the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi as a sociopolitical unit. The differences between *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi and *municipium* of Diluntum were that the inhabitants' status and the name of the sociopolitical unit changed when *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi was transformed into *municipium* of Diluntum. Thus, the inscription from Trebimlja can indicate that the Trebimlja-area was part of the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi. Therefore, the Stolac - and Trebimlja -areas were part of *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi and the two territories were probably connected.

The Stolac-area belonged to the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi before the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi was transformed into a *civitas peregrina* by the Romans. However, the Trebimlja-area belonged to other sociopolitical units before the Trebimlja-area was incorporated into the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi. The sociopolitical units in the Trebimlja-area may have been subordinated to the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi until the first half of the 150s BCE. When the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi was established by the Romans, the Stolac- and Trebimlja-areas were connected with each other by the Romans. This is why one can say that the borders of *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi were created by the Romans. If *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi had access to the seacoast

di da je Publije Aplije Plaso (Publius Aplius Plasso) bio dekurion u Diluntumu.²⁹⁴ Dekurion je bio dio gradskog vijeća *ordo decurionum*.²⁹⁵ Kao što sam prethodno objasnio, *ordo decurionum* je bilo gradsko vijeće.²⁹⁶

Kao što sam prethodno istakao i kao što ću kasnije objasniti, municipij Diluntum se može tumačiti kao nastavak peregrinske civitas Daorsa kao društveno-političke jedinice. Jedine sigurne razlike bile su te da se status stanovnika i naziv društveno-političke jedinice promijenio kada se peregrinska civitas Daorsa pretvorila u municipij Diluntum. Na osnovu toga možemo reći da je *ordo decurionum* postojao i u peregrinskoj civitas Daorsa. Curchin pojašnjava *ordo decurionum* na sljedeći način: “*Ordo decurionum* je bilo tijelo fiksne veličine, iako je ova veličina varirala od grada do grada. To je bila elitna grupa, čija imovina je ispunjavala uslove za prijem, ali i nedemokratska, jer su nove članove kooptirali postojeći, bez obzira na pripadnost narodu.”²⁹⁷ Osim toga, Šačić Beća pojašnjava da je municipij Delminensium imao lokalne magistrate.²⁹⁸ Municipij Delminensium imao je središte u današnjem Tomislavgradu ili pod brdom Lib u Borčanima.²⁹⁹

is not known. The third element of a sociopolitical unit is the political system. The existence of an *ordo decurionum* in *municipium* of Diluntum is supported by the already mentioned inscription from Trebimlja from the second century CE, which mentions that Publius Aplius Plaso was a *decurion* in Diluntum.²⁹⁴ A *decurion* was part of *ordo decurionum*.²⁹⁵ As I explained above, an *ordo decurionum* was a city/town council.²⁹⁶

As I pointed out earlier and as I will go into later, the *municipium* of Diluntum can be interpreted as a continuation of *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi as a sociopolitical unit. The only certain differences were that the inhabitants' status and the name of the sociopolitical unit changed when *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi was transformed into *municipium of Diluntum*. Based on this, one can say that an *ordo decurionum* also existed in the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi. Curchin explains the *ordo decurionum* in the following way: “The *ordo decurionum* was a body of fixed size, though this size varied from town to town. It was both an elite group, with a property qualification for admission, and an undemocratic one, since new members were co-opted by the existing ones, without reference to the people.”²⁹⁷ In addition, Šačić Beća

294 AE 1980, 0677; Bojanovski 1977, 82–87; Marić 2023, 119.

295 Salomies 2020, 159.

296 Imamovic 2012, 108; Serventi 2015, 149.

297 Curchin 2004, 94.

298 Šačić Beća 2020, 73.

299 Šačić Beća 2020, 71.

294 AE 1980, 0677; Bojanovski 1977, 82–87; Marić 2023, 119.

295 Salomies 2020, 159.

296 Imamovic 2012, 108; Serventi 2015, 149.

297 Curchin 2004, 94.

Možemo reći da su i u municipiju Diluntum postojali lokalni magistrati. S obzirom na to da se municipij Diluntum može tumačiti kao nastavak peregrinske civitas Daorsa kao društveno-političke jedinice, onda možemo reći da postoji i mogućnost da su lokalni magistrati postojali u peregrinskoj civitas Daorsa. Edmondson pojašnjava kako su lokalni magistrati birani: "Lokalni magistrati su se obično birali među članovima gradskog vijeća *ordo decurionum* kako bi služili tokom perioda od 12 mjeseci, iako je ponavljanje službe bilo dozvoljeno."³⁰⁰ Kao što sam prethodno istakao, Plinije Stariji je spomenuo kako je peregrinska civitas Daorsa imala 17 dekurija.³⁰¹ *Decuria* znači grupa od deset ili grupa.³⁰² To znači da je peregrinska civitas Daorsa bila podijeljena na 17 različitih grupa. Ne znamo jesu li ove grupe bile zasnovane na npr. lokalnim klanovima ili su ih Rimljani formirali kao potpuno novu konstrukciju. Nije poznata ni njihova funkcija. Četvrti element je bilo stanovništvo. Peregrinska civitas Daorsa imala je vlastito stanovništvo koje je bilo po-

explains how *municipium* of Delminensium had local magistrates.²⁹⁸ *Municipium* of Delminensium had its center in today's Tomislavgrad or below hill Lib in Borčani.²⁹⁹

The existence of local magistrates can also be said for *municipium* of Diluntum. Since the *municipium* of Diluntum can be interpreted as a continuation of the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi as a sociopolitical unit, then one can also say that local magistrates potentially existed in the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi. Edmondson explains how the local magistrates got elected: "It was usually from among members of the *ordo decurionum* that the local magistrates were elected to serve for a term of 12 months, although iteration in office was permitted."³⁰⁰ As I pointed out earlier, Pliny the Elder mentioned how *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi had 17 *decuriae*.³⁰¹ *Decuria* translates to a group of ten or a group.³⁰² This means that the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi was divided into 17 different groups. If these groups were

300 Edmondson 2006, 272. Argument da je peregrinska civitas Daorsa po mogućnosti imala *ordo decurionum* i magistratske inspiracije pronalazi u Roymansovom argumentu da su Rimljani nakon osvajanja organizirali galska plemena / *civitates* sa središtem, gradskim vijećem *ordo decurionum* i magistratima (Roymans 1990, 22-23).

301 Pliny, *NH*. 3.22.

302 Morwood 2005, 51.

298 Šaćić Beća 2020, 73.

299 Šaćić Beća 2020, 71.

300 Edmondson 2006, 272. The argument that the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi potentially had *ordo decurionum* and magistrates is inspired by Roymans' argument that the Gallic tribes/*civitates*, after the Roman conquest, were organized by the Romans with a center, *ordo decurionum*, and magistrates (Roymans 1990, 2223).

301 Pliny, *NH*. 3.22.

302 Morwood 2005, 51.

vezano putem npr. pripadnosti istoj peregrinskoj civitas.

Peti element je bio naziv. Stanovnici društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa nastavili su koristiti naziv Daorsi da bi se identificirali i dali naziv društveno-političkoj jedinici u kojoj su živjeli dok Rimljani nisu pretvorili ovu društveno-političku jedinicu u peregrinsku civitas. Iz ovog razloga su Rimljani peregrinsku civitas Daorsa nazvali Daorsi. Plinije Stariji naročito podržava ideju da su Rimljani peregrinskoj civitas Daorsa dali naziv Daorsi.³⁰³ Rimljani vjerovatno ne bi peregrinsku civitas Daorsa nazvali Daorsima da stanovnici prethodne društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa nisu koristili ovaj naziv. Stanovnici peregrinske civitas Daorsa vjerovatno su koristili naziv Daorsi da identificiraju peregrinsku civitas i sebe nakon što je društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa postala peregrinska civitas. Nadalje, pronađena su dva natpisa koja spominju naziv Daorsi. Jedan natpis potiče iz Njemačke oko 74. god. nove ere. Na njemu se spominje Annaius Pravai kao Daors. Bio je član rimske auksilijarne jedinice.³⁰⁴

Nadalje, pronađena je diploma pokraj današnjeg Solina pored Splita u Hrvatskoj koja potiče iz 93. god. nove ere. Na njoj se spominje Veneto Diti kao Daors. Ova osoba je također bila član rimske auksilijarne

based for example on local clans or if they were constructed by the Romans as a totally new construction, we do not know. What their function was, we do not know either. The fourth element is the population. The *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi had its own population which was connected by, for example, belonging to the same *civitas peregrina*.

The fifth element was the name. The inhabitants of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi continued to use the name Daorsi to identify themselves and name the sociopolitical unit in which they lived until this sociopolitical unit was transformed into a *civitas peregrina* by the Romans. This is the reason why the Romans named the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi as the Daorsi. That the Romans named the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi as the Daorsi, is especially supported by Pliny the Elder.³⁰³ The Romans would probably have not named the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi as the Daorsi if the inhabitants of the previous sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi did not use this name. The inhabitants of the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi probably used the name Daorsi to identify the *civitas peregrina* and themselves after the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi became a *civitas peregrina*. Furthermore, one has found two inscriptions that mention the name Daorsi. One inscription is from Germany, which dates to around 74 CE.

303 Pliny, *NH*. 3.22.

304 CIL 13, 07507; Domić Kunić 1988, 87.

303 Pliny, *NH*. 3.22.

jedinice.³⁰⁵ Natpisi nam pokazuju da se naziv Daorsi za peregrinsku civitas Daorsa i dalje aktivno koristio u drugoj polovini 1. stoljeća nove ere. Postoje i drugi nazivi koji su povezani s peregrinskom civitas Daorsa, npr. Diluntum. Osobe izvan peregrinske civitas Daorsa mogli su koristiti naziv Diluntum da identificiraju grad u Stocu, koje je bilo središte peregrinske civitas Daorsa. Istovremeno, stanovnici peregrinske civitas Daorsa mogli su koristiti naziv Diluntum da identificiraju svoje središte kao i sebe same. Nije poznato odakle potiče naziv Diluntum. Osobe izvan peregrinske civitas Daorsa kao i stanovništvo peregrinske civitas Daorsa vjerovatno su istovremeno koristili nazive Daorsi i Diluntum. Ukratko, peregrinska civitas Daorsa može se tumačiti kao društveno-politička jedinica koja je uključivala svih pet elemenata društveno-političke jedinice.

It mentions Annaius Pravai as Daorsi. He was part of the Roman auxiliary troops.³⁰⁴

Further, one has found a diploma by today's Solin near Split in Croatia which dates to 93 CE. It mentions Veneto Diti as Daorsi. The person was also part of the Roman auxiliary troops.³⁰⁵ The inscriptions show us that the name Daorsi for the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi was still active in the last half of the first century CE. There were other names that were connected to the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi, for example, Diluntum. The externals could have used the name Diluntum to identify the town/city in Stolac, which was the center of *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi. At the same time, the inhabitants of the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi could have used the name Diluntum to identify their center and also themselves. Where the name Diluntum originates from, is unknown. The names Daorsi and Diluntum were probably used at the same time both by externals and the population in the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi. In summary, the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi can be interpreted as a sociopolitical unit that included all five elements of a sociopolitical unit.

305 CIL 16, 00038; Domić Kunić 1988, 94.

304 CIL 13, 07507; Domić Kunić 1988, 87.

305 CIL 16, 00038; Domić Kunić 1988, 94.

10. Od peregrinske civitas Daorsa do municipija Diluntum

Prema Bojanovskom, Diluntum je postao municipij tokom Flavijevske dinastije (69. – 96. god. nove ere) ili tokom vladavine Hadrijana (117. – 138. god. nove ere).³⁰⁶ Kao što sam ranije istakao, municipij Diluntum kao društveno-politička jedinica se može tumačiti kao nastavak peregrinske civitas Daorsa. Nije sigurno jesu li dekurije nastavile postojati kada je Diluntum postao municipij. Možda su nastavile postojati, ali moguće je i da više nisu postojale. Međutim, postojale su dvije određene razlike između peregrinske civitas Daorsa i municipija Diluntum. Prvo, Wacher pojašnjava kako *municipium* “opisuje gradove čiji je ustav također bio uređen poveljom. Stanovnici bi imali rimski ili latinski status prema razredu municipija. Međutim, kasnije bi grad samo s latinskim pravima dobio puna rimska prava”.³⁰⁷ To znači da su stanovnici municipija Diluntum imali latinska i/ili rimska prava.

Drugo, Džino i Domić Kunić pojašnjavaju kako je u provinciji Panoniji identitet municipija preuzeo identitet civitasa, posebno tokom 2. stoljeća nove ere.³⁰⁸ Isto možemo reći i za municipij Diluntum. Kao što sam prethodno istakao, osobe izvan

10. From *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi to *municipium* of Diluntum

According to Bojanovski, Diluntum became a *municipium* during the Flavian emperors (69-96 CE) or during Emperor Hadrian (117-138 CE).³⁰⁶ As I pointed out earlier, the *municipium* of Diluntum as a sociopolitical unit can be interpreted as a continuation of the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi. There is uncertainty about whether *decuriae* continued to exist when Diluntum became a *municipium*. They could have continued to exist, but it is also possible that they no longer existed. However, there were two certain differences between the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi and the *municipium* of Diluntum. First, Wacher explains how *municipium* “described towns whose constitution was likewise governed by charter. The inhabitants would have been of Roman or Latin status according to the grade of the *municipium*. Later, however, a town with only Latin rights might have received full Roman rights.”³⁰⁷ This means that the inhabitants of *municipium* of Diluntum got Latin and/or Roman rights.

Second, Džino and Domić Kunić explain how *municipium*-identity took over for *civitas*-identity in the province of Pannonia, especially during

306 Bojanovski 1988, 101; Scarre 2012, 15, 98.

307 Wacher 1995, 16.

308 Džino, Domic Kunic 2012, 104-105.

306 Bojanovski 1988, 101; Scarre 2012, 15, 98.

307 Wacher 1995, 16.

peregrinske civitas Daorsa kao i stanovništvo peregrinske civitas Daorsa vjerovatno su istovremeno koristili nazive Daorsi i Diluntum. Međutim, naziv Diluntum je postepeno zamijenio naziv Daorsi, posebno od 2. stoljeća nove ere. Natpis iz Trebimlje ide u prilog toj činjenici. Kao što sam prethodno istakao, natpis potiče iz 2. stoljeća nove ere. Natpis spominje Publija Aplija Plasa (Publius Aplius Plaso) kao dekuriona u municipiju Diluntum. Natpis ne spominje naziv Daorsi.³⁰⁹ To znači da je stanovništvo municipija Diluntum postepeno zamijenilo naziv Daorsi s nazivom Diluntum koje je koristilo da identificira sebe i društveno-političku jedinicu municipija Diluntum. Apijan i Ptolomej napisali su posljednje sačuvane antičke tekstove koji spominju naziv Daorsi u 2. stoljeću nove ere.

Apijan je spomenuo Daorse u svjetlu ilirskog genealoškog stabla, što je po meni potpuna fantazija i nije sigurno kada je ova priča napisana.³¹⁰ Kao što sam prethodno istakao, "Iliri" je pojam kojeg su izumili Grci, a preuzeli Rimljani da odrede društveno-političke jedinice, saveze, geografske oblasti i ljude s potencijalno sličnim kulturnim crtama.³¹¹ Predrimsko stanovništvo na teritoriji istočnog Jadrana moglo je preuzeti

the second century CE.³⁰⁸ The same can be said for *municipium* of Diluntum. As I pointed out above, the names Daorsi and Diluntum were probably used at the same time both by externals and the population in the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi. However, the name Diluntum gradually replaced the name Daorsi, especially from the second century CE. This is supported by the inscription from Trebimlja. As I pointed out earlier, the inscription dates to the second century CE. The inscription mentions how Publius Aplius Plaso was *decurion* in the *municipium* of Diluntum. The inscription does not mention the name Daorsi.³⁰⁹ This means that the population in the *municipium* of Diluntum gradually replaced the name Daorsi with the name Diluntum to identify themselves and the sociopolitical unit of *municipium* of Diluntum. Appian and Claudius Ptolemy produced the last ancient texts, which have survived, which mention the name Daorsi in the second century CE.

Appian mentioned the Daorsi in light of an Illyrian genealogical tree, which to me is complete fantasy and it is uncertain when this story was made.³¹⁰ As I pointed out earlier, Illyrian was a term that was invented by the Greeks and taken over by the

309 AE 1980, 0677; Bojanovski 1977, 82-87; Marić 2023, 119.

310 App. *Ill.* 10.1.2.

311 Dzino 2014, 2; Boršić, Dzino, Radić Rossi 2021, 17.

308 Dzino, Domic Kunic 2012, 104-105.

309 AE 1980, 0677; Bojanovski 1977, 82-87; Marić 2023, 119.

310 App. *Ill.* 10.1.2.

ovaj pojam izvana da sebi dodijeli ime. Međutim, i dalje ne postoji dokaz da je predrimsko stanovništvo na teritoriji istočnog Jadrana koristilo pojam “ilirski” za sebe, svoje teritorije, društveno-političke jedinice i saveze. Ptolomej je naveo da su se Daorsi nalazili u provinciji Dalmaciji.³¹² Od Ptolemeja imamo samo ovu informaciju. S obzirom na to da su Apijan i Ptolomej autori posljednjih sačuvanih djela koji su spomenuli Daorse, može se protumačiti da su osobe izvan municipija Diluntum također prestale koristiti naziv Daorsi da identificiraju npr. stanovnike municipija Diluntum. Drugim riječima, naziv Daorsi je postepeno zamijenjen nazivom Diluntum, posebno od 2. stoljeća nove ere.

Romans to designate sociopolitical units, unions, geographical areas, and humans with potentially alike cultural traits.³¹¹ The pre-Roman population in the Eastern Adriatic could eventually have taken over this term from the outside to designate themselves. However, there is still no evidence that the pre-Roman population in the Eastern Adriatic used the term Illyrian for themselves, their territories, sociopolitical units, and unions. Claudius Ptolemy mentioned that the Daorsi was located in the province of Dalmatia.³¹² We do not get other information than this from Claudius Ptolemy. Since Appian and Claudius Ptolemaios are the last surviving authors who mentioned the Daorsi, it can be interpreted that people from outside the *municipium* of Diluntum also stopped using the name Daorsi to identify, for example, the inhabitants of *municipium* of Diluntum. In other words, the name Daorsi was gradually replaced by the name Diluntum, especially from the second century CE.

312 Claudius Ptolemy 2.15.

311 Dzino 2014, 2; Boršić, Džino, Radić Rossi 2021, 17.

312 Claudius Ptolemy 2.15.

11. Sažetak

U 1. poglavlju predstavio sam različite pojmove, koncepte i radove koje sam koristio u ovoj knjizi i koje su me inspirisale. U 2. poglavlju iznio sam dokaze povezane s antičkim Daorsima. U 3. poglavlju govorio sam o tome kako su istraživači do sada tumačili Daorse, neke od problema ovih tumačenja te koje dijelove postojećih tumačenja sam koristio u svom tumačenju Daorsa. U 4. poglavlju predočio sam elemente društveno-političke jedinice i objasnio šta je savez. Osim toga, ilustrirao sam postojanje društveno-političkih jedinica i saveza u predrimskom istočnom Jadranu. U 5. poglavlju pisao sam o tome gdje su društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa i savez Daorsa bili locirani do prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa imala je središte na Ošanjićima do prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Osim toga, društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa stvorila je savez Daorsa preuzimanjem kontrole nad drugim društveno-političkim jedinicama u donjoj Neretvi prije prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere.

U 6. poglavlju objasnio sam kako je trgovina funkcionirala unutar saveza Daorsa i kako je savez Daorsa funkcionirao kao trgovački posrednik između Isse / Pharosa, rute ka Sarajevu, rute ka Paniku i rute ka Solinu. Također, pisao sam o dobrima kojima je

11. Summary

In chapter 1, I presented different terms, concepts, and works, which I used and took inspiration from for this book. In chapter 2, I presented the evidence which is connected to ancient Daorsi. In chapter 3, I presented how Daorsi has been interpreted so far by researchers, some of the problems with this interpretation, and what parts of the existing interpretation I used in my interpretation of the Daorsi. In chapter 4, I introduced the elements of a sociopolitical unit and explained what a union was. In addition, I illustrated the existence of sociopolitical units and unions in the pre-Roman Eastern Adriatic. In chapter 5, I discussed where the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi and the union of the Daorsi were located until the first half of the 150s BCE. The sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi had its center at Ošanjići until the first half of the 150s BCE. In addition, the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi created the union of the Daorsi by taking control of other sociopolitical units in the lower Neretva before the first half of the 150s BCE.

In chapter 6, I explained how the trade functioned internally in the union of the Daorsi and how the union of the Daorsi functioned as an intermediary in trade between Issa/Pharos, the route towards Sarajevo, the route towards Panik, and the

društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa trgovala. U 7. poglavlju govorio sam o društveno-političkoj jedinici Daorsa i njenom savezu u kontekstu saveza Labeata, Rima i saveza Delmata do prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Također sam predstavio argumente za razaranje središta društveno-političke jedinice Daorsa na Ošanjićima u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere. U 8. poglavlju pisao sam o situaciji u vezi s društveno-političkom jedinicom Daorsa nakon razaranja središta na Ošanjićima u prvoj polovini 150-ih godina prije nove ere. Društveno-politička jedinica Daorsa nastavila je postojati, ali je premjestila središte iz Ošanjića u Stolac. Istovremeno, nakon prve polovine 150-ih godina prije nove ere, savez Daorsa više nije postojao.

U 9. poglavlju govorio sam o Daorsima kao peregrinskoj civitas i pokazao kako se peregrinska civitas Daorsa također može tumačiti kao društveno-politička jedinica. Središte peregrinske civitas Daorsa bilo je smješteno u Stocu. Središte se zvalo Diluntum. U 10. poglavlju pisao sam o tome kako je Diluntum postao municipij tokom Flavijevske dinastije ili vladavine Hadrijana. Naveo sam da se municipij Diluntum može tumačiti kao nastavak peregrinske civitas Daorsa kao društveno-političke jedinice. Međutim, dogodile su se dvije važne promjene kada se peregrinska civitas Daorsa pretvorila u municipij Diluntum. Prva je promjena zakon-

route towards Solin. I also discussed what kind of goods the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi handled in trade. In chapter 7, I discussed the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its union in relation to the union of the Labeatae, Rome, and the union of the Delmatae until the first half of the 150s BCE. I also presented arguments for the destruction of the center of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi at Ošanjići in the first half of the 150s BCE. In chapter 8, I discussed the situation regarding the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi after the center at Ošanjići got destroyed in the first half of the 150s BCE. The sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi continued to exist, but it moved its center from Ošanjići to Stolac. At the same time, after the first half of the 150s BCE, the union of the Daorsi no longer existed.

In chapter 9, I discussed the Daorsi as a *civitas peregrina* and showed how the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi can also be interpreted as a sociopolitical unit. The center of the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi was located in Stolac. This center was called Diluntum. In chapter 10, I wrote how Diluntum became a *municipium* during the Flavian-emperors or Emperor Hadrian. I expressed how the *municipium* of Diluntum can be interpreted as a continuation of the *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi as a sociopolitical unit. However, there were two important changes when *civitas peregrina* of the Daorsi was transformed into *muni-*

skog statusa stanovnika. Druga je postepena zamjena naziva Diluntum nazivom Daorsi, posebno od 2. stoljeća nove ere. Kada su u pitanju buduća istraživanja antičkih Daorsa, smatram da je važno da svi imaju pristup arheološkim nalazima s Ošanjića i Stoca radi istraživanja. Posebno je važno da se ova istraživanja predstave u digitalnoj formi. Osim toga, vlasti na svim nivoima u Bosni i Hercegovini trebaju bolje raditi na zaštiti lokaliteta na Ošanjićima. Istovremeno, važno je nastaviti arheološka iskopavanja na Ošanjićima i u Stocu.

cipium of Diluntum. The first was that the legal status of the inhabitants changed. The second was that the name Diluntum gradually replaced the name Daorsi, especially from the second century CE. When it comes to the way forward regarding the research of ancient Daorsi, I think it is important to make the archaeological findings from Ošanjići and Stolac more available for everyone to study. It is especially important to present these findings digitally. In addition, the governments on all levels in Bosnia and Herzegovina need to do a better job in protecting the site at Ošanjići. At the same time, it is important to continue the archaeological excavations at Ošanjići and Stolac.

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Recenzije

Daorsi su predmet istraživanja arheologa i historičara već dugo vremena. U historijatu istraživanja ove teme svakako je najznačajnije ime Zdravko Marić koji je dugo godina u ime Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine istraživao lokalitet Gradina na Ošanjićima, ali i druge lokalitete koje je povezivao sa Daorsima. Marić je objavio veliki broj radova, ali nikad nije objavio zasebnu monografiju koja bi obuhvatila sve rezultate do kojih je došao tokom višedecenijskih istraživanja. Pored Marića, treba istaknuti Boška Marijana i Snježanu Vasilj, koji su se također u dužem vremenskom razdoblju iz arheološke perspektive bavili Daorsima.

Rukopis koji je predmet recenzije predstavlja nešto potpuno drugačije u odnosu na ranije autore, posebno kada je u pitanju metodološki pristup. Behram je u obradi teme koristio različite koncepte i modele:

1. Koncept *peer polity interaction* koji su razradili Colin Renfrew i John Cherry;
2. Studije o predrimskoj Galiji u radovima Roymansa i Fernandez-Gotza;
3. Selandov model o četiri stepena hijerarhije u državi u odnosu na pomorsku trgovinu na velikoj udaljenosti;
4. Model administrirane trgovine i
5. Model prestižne robe.

Reviews

The Daorsi have been the subject of research by archaeologists and historians for a long time. In the history of research on this topic, the most significant name is certainly Zdravko Marić, who for many years, on behalf of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, researched the site of hillfort at Ošanjići, as well as other sites that he connected with the Daorsi. Marić published many works, but he never published a separate monograph that included all the results of his extensive research. In addition to Marić, Boško Marijan and Snježana Vasilj should be noted, who also dealt with the Daorsi from an archaeological perspective for a long time.

The text that is the subject of the review, represents something completely different compared to earlier authors, especially regarding the methodological approach. Behram used various concepts and models when dealing with the topic:

1. *Peer polity interaction* as a concept developed by Colin Renfrew and John Cherry;
2. Studies on pre-Roman Gaul in the works of Roymans and Fernández-Götz;
3. Seland's model of the four-level hierarchy in a state in relation to maritime long-distance trade;
4. Administered trade model; and
5. Prestige goods model.

Odabrani pristup Behram je konzistentno koristio u cijelom tekstu što je pohvalno.

Sa ovako postavljenim teorijskim okvirom autor je analizirao uglavnom sve poznate izvore i materijalnu građu koji su povezani sa Daorsima u širokom vremenskom okviru od srednje Republike do drugog stoljeća nove ere. Radi se o grčkim i rimskim autorima, arheološkim lokalitetima, novcima i natpisima. Na dosta inovativan način obrađeno je pitanje Daorsa u dosadašnjoj historiografiji. Prvo je uopšteno naveo istraživače koji su se bavili Daorsima, te njihove interpretacije Daorsa. Ukazao je na dijelove postojećih interpretacija koje će koristiti u svojoj analizi ove tematike.

U poglavlju o sociopolitičkim jedinicama na istočnom Jadranu, autor je opisao osnovne elemente sociopolitičkih jedinica: centar, teritorij, politički sistem, stanovništvo i ime / imena. Kavi su poslužili kao primjer sociopolitičke jedinice na ovom prostoru. Prateći logiku zadatog teorijskog okvira autor je zatim obradio unije na istočnojadranskoj obali gdje su kao primjer ponovo poslužili Kavi, ali i Delmati.

Koristeći princip dedukcije, nakon što je obradio širi istočnojadranski prostorni okvir, Behram se fokusirao na Daorse. Prema Behramu, sociopolitička jedinica Daorsa je prije prve polovine 150-ih godina p. n. e.

Behram used the selected approach consistently throughout the text, which is commendable.

With this theoretical framework, the author analyzed mostly all known sources and materials related to the Daorsi in a broad timeframe from the Middle Republic to the second century CE. These include Greek and Roman authors, archaeological sites, coins, and inscriptions. He addressed the issue of the Daorsi in historiography in a rather innovative way. First, he generally listed the researchers who have researched the Daorsi, and their interpretations of the Daorsi. He suggested the parts of existing interpretations that he will use in his analysis of this topic.

In the chapter regarding the sociopolitical units in the Eastern Adriatic, the author described the basic elements of sociopolitical units: center, territory, political system, population, and name(s). The Cavii served as an example of a sociopolitical unit in this area. Following the logic of the given theoretical framework, the author then discussed the unions on the Eastern Adriatic coast, again using the Cavii and the Delmatae as examples.

Using the principle of deduction, after examining the broader spatial framework of the Eastern Adriatic, Behram focused on the Daorsi. According to Behram, before the first half of the 150s BCE, the sociopolitical unit of

preuzela dominaciju nad drugim sociopolitičkim jedinicama sa donje Neretve i time formirala uniju Daorsa. Centar ove sociopolitičke jedinice do tog razdoblja bili su Ošanjici, dok je kasnije funkciju centra preuzelo naselje na području današnjeg Stoca. Behram je kao centre sociopolitičkih jedinica na prostoru donje Neretve također identificirao Zvonigrad kod Pologa i Krstinu u Hamzićima kod Čitluka, lokalitet koji nije zastupljen u literaturi kao naprijed navedeni centri.

Behram je značajnu pažnju posvetio trgovini unije Daorsa do prve polovine 150-ih godina p. n. e. Detaljno je obrađeno pitanje organizacije trgovine u njihovoj uniji, a posebno pitanje dobara koje su Isa i Faros izvozili u sociopolitičku jedinicu Daorsa sa njenom Unijom poput vina, amfora, luksuznih proizvoda itd. S druge strane, od dobara koje su Daorsi izvozili na Isu i Faros istakao je iris (perunika), drvenu građu, robove, životinjske proizvode i metale. Na kraju dijela o trgovini prikazao je dobra koja su Daorsi imali za ponuditi unijama u zaleđu poput vina ili nekih luksuznijih proizvoda.

Odnosi sociopolitičke jedinice Daorsa i njihove unije sa Labeatima, Rimom i Delmatima do prve polovine 150-ih godina p. n. e. su tema novog poglavlja. Kroz teoriju o sociopolitičkim jedinicama i uniji Behram je također obradio odnose Daorsa

the Daorsi assumed dominance over other sociopolitical units from the Lower Neretva and thus formed the union of the Daorsi. The center of this socio-political unit until that period was Ošanjici, while subsequently the function of the center was taken over by a settlement in the area of today's Stolac. Behram also identified Zvonigrad near Polog and Krstina in Hamzići near Čitluk as centers of socio-political units in the area of the Lower Neretva, a site that is not represented in the literature as the previously mentioned centers.

He devoted significant attention to the trade of the union of the Daorsi before the first half of the 150s BCE. The issue of trade in their union was addressed in detail, especially the issue of the goods that Issa and Pharos exported to the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi with its union, such as wine, amphorae, luxury products, etc. On the other hand, among the goods that the Daorsi exported to Issa and Pharos, he noted iris, timber, slaves, animal products, and metals. At the end of the part about trade, he presented the goods that the Daorsi had to offer the unions in the hinterland, such as wine or some more luxurious products.

Relations of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi and its union with the Labeatae, Rome, and the Delmatae before the first half of the 150s BCE are the subject of a new chapter. Through

sa Ilirskim kraljevstvom, odnosno Labeatima. Na osnovu onoga što su pisali antički autori autor je pokušao rekonstruisati složene odnose koje su imali Daorsi na donjoj Neretvi, kako sa rimskom Republikom, tako i prvim susjedima Delmatima. U literaturi se često navodi da su Delmati uništili Gradinu na Ošanjićima 40-ih godina 1. st. p. n. e. Behram je pristalica teze koju je ranije iznio Marin Zaninović da se to ipak desilo više od stotinu godina prije. Prema njegovom mišljenju, Delmati su centar sociopolitičke jedinice Daorsa na Ošanjićima uništili u prvoj polovini 150-tih godina p. n. e. Argument za uništavanje centra Daorsa u ovom periodu Behram pronalazi u djelu Livija, Apijana i Zonare koji spominju napad Delmata na saveznike Rima u tom periodu, a što se prema autoru odnosi upravo na Daorse iako to u ovim izvorima nije direktno napisano. Pored toga, Lamboglia 2 amfore nisu pronađene na Ošanjićima. Naime, ova vrsta amfora je rađena u razdoblju 125–25. p. n. e., pa je sasvim izvjesno da bi bile pronađene na Ošanjićima u slučaju da je do uništenja naselja došlo sredinom 1. st. p. n. e. Behram kao argument navodi i pretpostavku da je poznati depo sa oko 250 predmeta koji je pronađen na Ošanjićima također napušten u pretpostavljenom napadu Delmata na Daorse 150-ih godina p. n. e. Četvrti argument povezuje porast značaja Narone u drugom dijelu 2. stoljeća p. n. e. sa opadanjem utje-

the theory of sociopolitical units and union, Behram also addressed the relations of the Daorsi with the Illyrian Kingdom or the Labeatae. Based on ancient authors, Behram tried to reconstruct the complex relations of the Daorsi both with the Roman Republic and with their first neighbors, the Delmatae, in the Lower Neretva. Literature often notes that the Delmatae destroyed the hillfort at Ošanjići during the 40s BCE. Behram advocates the thesis previously put forward by Marin Zaninović that it did happen more than a hundred years ago. According to him, the Delmatae destroyed the center of the socio-political unit of the Daorsi at Ošanjići in the first half of the 150s BCE. Behram finds an argument for the destruction of the center of the Daorsi in the works of Livy, Appian, and Zonaras, who mentioned the attack of the Delmatae on the Roman allies in that period, which, according to the author, refers to the Daorsi, although this is not directly written in these sources. Moreover, Lamboglia 2 amphorae were not discovered at Ošanjići. Namely, this type of amphorae was produced from around 125 to 25 BCE, so it is quite certain that they would have been found at Ošanjići in the event that the settlement had been destroyed in the middle of the first century BCE. Behram also notes the assumption that the famous metal-depot with around 250 objects found at Ošanjići was also abandoned in the supposed at-

caja Daorsa na prostoru donje Neretve.

Uništenje Ošanjica nije značilo nestanak Daorsa. Behram se slaže sa tezom da se njihov novi centar formirao na mjestu današnjeg Stoca. Iz novog centra i dalje su imali ulogu posrednika u trgovini prema unutrašnjosti. Dolaskom Rimljana formira se njihova peregrinska civitas koja se može interpretirati kao sociopolitička jedinica koja uključuje sve elemente ovakvog načina organiziranja. Kasnije se na ovom prostoru razvio municipij Diluntum koji je značio novi pravni status njegovih stanovnika, ali i promjenu imena sociopolitičke jedinice, prema Behramu. Diluntum je kao urbani centar postojao sve do vremena kasne antike.

Rukopis pod naslovom *The history of the ancient Daorsi in the Eastern Adriatic from the second century BCE to the second century CE* predstavlja vrijedan doprinos poznavanju antičke prošlosti istočnojadranske obale i današnje Bosne i Hercegovine iz više razloga. Radi se o inovativnom djelu koju u našu nauku uvodi potpuno nove teorije i pristupe u izučavanju ove epohe. Ovakav pristup zasigurno će otvoriti nove perspektive kada je u pitanju proučavanje Daorsa, ali i drugih tema iz naše antičke historije. Korištena metodologija je korektno primijenjena, uz korištenje relevantnih izvora i literature. Svakako, vrlo je vrijedno što će publikacija biti

tack of the Delmatae on the Daorsi in the 150s BCE. The fourth argument connects the rise in significance of Naronia in the last half of the second century BCE with the declining influence of the Daorsi in the area of the Lower Neretva.

The destruction of Ošanjici did not mean the disappearance of the Daorsi. Behram agrees with the thesis that their new center was formed at the site of today's Stolac. From the new center, it continued to play the role of intermediary in trade with the inland. With the arrival of the Romans, its *civitas peregrina* was formed, which can be interpreted as a sociopolitical unit that includes all the elements of this type of organization. Later, the *municipium* of Diluntum developed in this area, which meant a new legal status for its inhabitants, but also a change in the name of the sociopolitical unit, according to Behram. Diluntum existed as an urban center until Late Antiquity.

The history of the ancient Daorsi in the Eastern Adriatic from the second century BCE to the second century CE represents a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the ancient past of the Eastern Adriatic coast and today's Bosnia and Herzegovina for several reasons. It is an innovative work that introduces entirely new theories and approaches to the study of this period. This approach will certainly open up new perspectives when it comes

štampana dvojezično, čime će biti dostupna široj publici. Zbog svega navedenog sa zadovoljstvom predlažem da se ovaj rukopis objavi.

Prof. dr. Almir Marić

Mostar, 10. 10. 2024.

to the study of the Daorsi, but also other topics from our ancient history. The methodology used was correctly applied, with the use of relevant sources and literature. It is certainly very valuable that the publication will be printed bilingually, making it accessible to a wider audience. Due to all of the above reasons, I am pleased to propose that this manuscript be published.

Dr. Almir Marić, Associate Professor

Mostar, 10 October 2024

Zajednice koje su naseljavale jadransko zaleđe u kasnom željeznom dobu, odnosno helenizmu, ostavile su trag u grčko-rimskoj historiografiji. Neke od tih zajednica bile su posebno inspirativne klasičnim autorima zbog njihove interakcije sa mediteranskim svijetom. Jedna od takvih zajednica bili su i Daorsi. Kada pratimo literarna vrela, vidjet ćemo da su Daorsi nakon Delmata zajednica sa prostora današnje Bosne i Hercegovine koju najviše spominju klasična vrela. Ipak, to je mač sa dvije oštrice. Naime, djela grčko-rimskih pisaca predstavljaju konstruisanu stvarnost uslovljenu administrativnim, političkim i etničkim konceptima zajednice iz koje pisci tih djela potječu. Hiljadama godina kasnije arheolozima i historičarima ti tekstovi su poslužili da svoja istraživanja usmjere na dokazivanje tih narativa. Međutim, ko su zaista bili Daorsi koje spominje Hekatej, Polibije, Tit Livije, Strabon, Plinije Stariji, Apijan i Ptolemej Klaudije? To je pitanje na koje u knjizi *The history of the ancient Daorsi from the second century BCE to the second century CE* pokušava odgovoriti autor ove knjige.

Ovo djelo predstavlja dopunjenu verziju master teze *Daorsi: Statsutvikling i Vest-Balkan fra jernalder til romersk tid* (*Daorsi: State development in Western Balkans from Iron Age to Roman times*) koju je autor uspješno odbranio na prestižnom norveškom univerzitetu Universite-

The communities that inhabited the Adriatic hinterland in the late Iron Age, or Hellenism, left their mark on Greco-Roman historiography. Some of these communities particularly inspired classical authors because of their interaction with the Mediterranean world. One such community was the Daorsi. If we follow literary sources, we will see that after the Delmatae, the Daorsi are the community from the area of today's Bosnia and Herzegovina that is most frequently mentioned in classical sources. However, it is a mixed blessing. Namely, the works of Greco-Roman authors represent a constructed reality conditioned by the administrative, political, and ethnic concepts of the community from which these authors originate. Thousands of years later, archaeologists and historians used these texts to focus their research on proving these narratives. But who really was the Daorsi mentioned by Hecataeus, Polybius, Titus Livius, Strabo, Pliny the Elder, Appian, and Ptolemy? This is the question that the author attempts to answer in his book *The history of the ancient Daorsi from the second century BCE to the second century CE*.

This book represents an updated version of the master thesis on the *Daorsi: Statsutvikling i Vest-Balkan fra jernalder til romersk tid* (*Daorsi: State development in Western Balkans from Iron Age to Roman times*) which the author successfully defended at the prestigious Norwegian university

tet i Bergen (University of Bergen). Kako bi bila dostupna široj čitateljskoj publici, knjiga će biti objavljena na engleskom i bosanskom jeziku što će olakšati razumijevanje stranim, ali i regionalnim stručnjacima. Rukopis se sastoji od deset poglavlja koja se dijele na više manjih tematskih cjelina. Pohvalno je što je autor odabrao takvu koncepciju teksta jer to omogućava lakše čitanje teksta.

U uvodnom dijelu autor postavlja nekoliko istraživačkih pitanja:

1. Kako je tekao kulturno-historijski razvoj prostora koji će kasnije biti pretpostavljena teritorija Daorsa? Hronološki, ovo pitanje ograničava se na period od 750. godine stare ere do formiranja zajednice ili saveza koji izvor poznaju pod imenom Daorsi.
2. Kako je savez Daorsa formirao svoje identitete kroz prizmu kulture, politike i privrede?
3. Kako se može protumačiti savez Daorsa u svjetlu međunarodne politike do početka sredinom drugog stoljeća stare ere?
4. Šta se dogodilo sa savezom nakon početka 150-ih godina stare ere? Kada Daorsi postaju jedna od peregrinskih civitates?

Uvod je također odlično metodološki postavljen. To znači da se jasno prepoznaju sve četiri osnovne faze u metodološkom pristupu definisane: heuristika, kritička analiza izvora,

Universitetet i Bergen (University of Bergen). In order to be accessible to a wider readership, the book will be published in English and Bosnian, which will make it easier to understand for foreign, as well as regional experts. The book consists of ten chapters, which are divided into several smaller topics. It is commendable that the author chose such a concept because it makes the text easier to read.

In the introductory part, the author poses several research questions:

1. How did the cultural and historical development of the area that would later be the assumed territory of the Daorsi take place? Chronologically, he limits this question to the period from 750 BCE to the formation of the community or union known as the Daorsi.
2. How did the union of the Daorsi form its identities through the prism of culture, politics, and economy?
3. How can the union of the Daorsi be interpreted in light of international politics beginning in the mid-second century BCE?
4. What happened to the union after the beginning of the 150s BCE? When did the Daorsi become one of the *civitates peregrini*?

The introduction is also organized well methodologically. This means

kritika prikupljenog materijala, naučno objašnjenje proučavanja historijskih pojava i sinteza faktografskih činjenica. Da bi se razumjela tema, potrebno je definisati prostor što autor čini prepoznavajući kao prostornu odrednicu donju Neretvu. Inspiraciju za svoj metodološki pravac autor pronalazi u radovima savremenih istraživača kao što su Nico Roymans, Manuel Fernández-Götz i Eivind Heldaas Seland, María Eugenia Aubet, Abraham Rotstein, Vincas Steponaitis itd.

Nakon što je u uvodu objašnjena metodološka paradigma knjige, u nastavku teksta čitatelj će da se upozna sa najvažnijim izvorima za izučavanje Daorsa. Podjela je izvršena na pomalo neuobičajen način jer se autor poslužio kvalitativnom metodom, te se nije vodio tradicionalnom podjelom na pisane (literarne) i materijalne (arheološke) izvore. Dok su literarni izvori samo pobrojani, unutar arheoloških nalaza pravi se kvantitativna distinkcija gdje se jasno naselje u Ošanićima kod Stoca izdvaja od ostalih arheoloških, prahistorijskih lokaliteta. U kontekstu antike izdvojen je kao primarni lokalitet Stolac. Kao dvije važne vrste izvora za izučavanje identiteta daorškog saveza, Behram izdvaja kovanice i epigrafske spomenike.

Treće poglavlje simbolično je naslovljeno *Daorsi u očima istraživača*. U ovom poglavlju koje je posvećeno

that all four basic phases defined in the methodological approach are clearly recognized: heuristics, critical source analysis, criticism of collected material, scientific explanation of studied historical phenomena, and synthesis of factual facts. In order to understand the topic, one must define the space, which the author does by recognizing the Lower Neretva as a spatial determinant. The author finds inspiration for his methodology in the works of contemporary researchers such as Nico Roymans, Manuel Fernández-Götz, and Eivind Heldaas Seland, María Eugenia Aubet, Abraham Rotstein, Vincas Steponaitis, etc.

After the methodological paradigm of the book is explained in the introduction, the reader will be introduced to the most important sources for the study of the Daorsi in the remainder of the text. The division was made in a somewhat unusual way because the author used a qualitative method, and was not guided by the traditional division into written (literary) and material (archaeological) sources. While the literary sources are only enumerated, a quantitative distinction was made within the archaeological finds, where the settlement at Ošanići near Stolac is clearly distinguished from other archaeological, prehistoric sites. In the context of antiquity, Stolac was singled out as the primary site. As two important source types for studying

historijatu istraživanja prepoznati su terminološki problemi u vezi s definiranjem pojma “Daorsi”. Tako na primjer susrećemo izraze narod, zajednica, pleme, država / država, pleme, grupa, etnička zajednica, savez, država, zajednica i socioekonomska mreža. Također, imamo u literaturi na engleskom jeziku pojavu pojmoveva poput *chiefdom* i *peoplecommunity*. S pravom se ističe da značajan broj naučnika Daorse naziva Ilirima, a naselje na Ošanićima njihovim glavnim gradom i glavnom etničkim centrom. U ovom poglavlju napominje se da različiti stručnjaci uništenje naselja na Ošanićima različito datiraju. Postoje i određena neslaganja oko toga gdje se nalazio *municipium Diluntum* iako prevladava mišljenje da je administrativno središte ipak bilo u Stocu. U kontekstu historijata istraživanja izdvojeno je čak sedam naučnih problema oko kojih se stručnjaci ne slažu kao npr. zašto imamo različite termine za Daorse prije formiranja peregrinske civitas? Da li Hekatej zaista spominje Daorse ili neku zajednicu sličnog imena iz Trakije? Zašto nemamo pojavu imena Daorsa prije prve polovine drugog stoljeća? Kakve veze termin Ilira ima s Daorsima? Da li su Ošanići etnički centar Daorsa? Da li je pogrešno izjednačiti Daorse sa kasnijom peregrinskom civitas? Iako će ova pitanja biti propitivana kroz naredna poglavlja teksta, na neka autor sugestivno odgovara već u trećem poglavlju. Odbacujući tradicionalnu analizu Hekatejevog

the identity of the union of the Daorsi, Behram singles out coins and epigraphic monuments.

The third chapter is symbolically titled “The Daorsi in the eyes of researchers”. In this chapter, which is dedicated to the history of the research, terminological problems related to defining the term “Daorsi” are identified. For example, we find the terms people, tribe, country/state, tribe-country/state, group, ethnic community, alliance, polity, community, and socioeconomic network. Terms such as *chiefdom* and *people-community* also appear in the literature in English. It is rightly noted that a significant number of scholars call the Daorsi *Illyrians*, and the settlement at Ošanići their capital and main ethnic center. In this chapter, it is noted that different experts date the destruction of the settlement at Ošanići differently. There is also certain disagreement about the location of the *municipium Diluntum*, although the prevailing opinion is that the administrative center was in Stolac. In the context of the history of research, seven scholarly problems were singled out on which experts disagree, such as: Why do we have different terms for the Daorsi before the formation of the *civitas peregrina*? Does Hecataeus really mention the Daorsi or a community with a similar name from Thrace? Why the name Daorsi did not exist before the first half of the second century? What

teksta, Behram prvi spomen Daorsa pripisuje Polibiju. U tom kontekstu autoru nedostaje bolje argumentacije. Nasuprot tome, dobro je argumentirano zašto je pojam "Iliri" grčko-rimski konstrukt jer nema dokaza da su stanovnici jadranskog zaleđa imali ikakav ilirski identitet. Najavljena je u ovom poglavlju i rasprava zašto Ošanići nisu jedini centar u regiji donje Neretve. Svoj osvrt na ranija istraživanja autor zaključuje nabrajajući zaključke svojih prethodnika sa kojima se slaže.

U četvrtom poglavlju autor čitatelja uvodi u svijet stanovnika jugoistočnog Jadrana u periodu prije dolaska Rimljana. Već iz uvodnih razmatranja iznesenih u ovom poglavlju jasno nam je da je pred autorom težak zadatak. Naime, u ovom poglavlju se problematizira teza o postojanju društveno-političkih jedinica i saveza u predrimskom istočnom Jadranu. Ovaj problem se sagledava kroz nekoliko pitanja: etničkih centara, teritorija, političkih sistema, stanovništvo i ime / imena. Radi komparacije, odabrane su tri zajednice / savezi iz jadranskog zaleđa (Kavi, Delmati i Japodi). Jedna kratka, ali kompleksna analiza pokazala je da se mogu prepoznati različiti identiteti unutar saveza koji izvori percipiraju kao jednu etničku i identitetsku cjelinu.

U petom poglavlju autor se u potpunosti fokusira na Daorse. Autor pravi distinkciju između Daorsa kao socijalno-političku zajednicu i Daor-

does the term Illyrian have to do with the Daorsi? Is Ošanići the ethnic center of the Daorsi? Is it wrong to identify the Daorsi with the later *civitas peregrina*? Although these questions will be examined in the following chapters of the book, the author provides suggestive answers to some of them already in the third chapter. Rejecting the traditional analysis of Hecataeus' text, Behram attributes the first mention of the Daorsi to Polybius. In this context, the author lacks better arguments. In contrast, it is well argued why the term "Illyrians" is a Greco-Roman construct because there is no evidence that the population of the Adriatic hinterland had any Illyrian identity. This chapter also introduces a discussion of why Ošanići is not the only center in the Lower Neretva. The author concludes his review of earlier research by listing the conclusions of his predecessors, those with which he agrees.

In the fourth chapter, the author introduces the reader to the world of the population of the southeastern Adriatic in the period before the arrival of the Romans. It is clear from the introductory remarks presented in this chapter that the author is faced with a difficult task. Namely, in this chapter, the thesis about the existence of sociopolitical units and unions in the pre-Roman Eastern Adriatic is considered. This problem is viewed through several questions: ethnic centers, territories, political

sa kao saveza. U ovom poglavlju je precizirano da se socijalno-politička zajednica, čije je središte bilo u Ošanićima, zvala Daorsi. Ta zajednica je sredinom drugog stoljeća pod svoju kontrolu stavila druge zajednice koje su naseljavale donji tok rijeke Nere-tve. U ovom poglavlju prepoznato je nekoliko važnih arheoloških lokaliteta koji su, po svemu sudeći, bili centri drugih zajednica koje su činile savez koji izvori i literatura nazivaju Daorsima. Npr. na gradini Zvonigrad (Gornji Polog) pronađeni su ostaci obrambenih zidova i fragmenti helenističke keramike. Na osnovu reljefa autor je iznio pretpostavku da je i gradina Krstina (Hamzići kod Čitluka) bila centar jedne zajednice. Potraga za centrima zajednica autora je odvela i do Pelješca. U ovom poglavlju se vidi jedan potpuno novi narativ o tome kada je uništeno naselje na Ošanićima i kada prostor Stoca postaje središte lokalne zajednice. Autorova hipoteza jeste da je naselje u Ošanićima uništeno sredinom drugog stoljeća i da središte se tada preseljava u današnji Stolac. Jedan od argumenata za ovu hipotezu je taj što je predrimski put, koji je povezivao priobalje sa rudnicima istočne Bosne, prolazio stolačkom regijom. Rimljani su kasnije preuzeli tu trasu, a riječ je o komunikaciji koja nije navedena u itinerarijima. U literaturi se često ova naziva rimska cesta Naro-na – Sarajevsko polje. Premda je ova hipoteza teško dokaziva, otvara nova promišljanja o povezanosti Ošanića i

systems, population, and name(s). For the purpose of comparison, three communities/unions from the Adriatic hinterland (Cavii, Delmatae, and Iapodes) were selected. A short but complex analysis showed that different identities can be recognized within the union, which the sources perceive as one ethnic and identity unit.

In the fifth chapter, the author focuses entirely on the Daorsi. The author makes a distinction between the Daorsi as a sociopolitical community and the Daorsi as a union. In this chapter, the author specifies that the sociopolitical unit with its center in Ošanići was called the Daorsi. In the mid-second century, this community brought other communities that lived in the lower course of the Neretva River under its control. This chapter identifies several important archaeological sites which were apparently the centers of other communities that made up the union that sources and literature call the Daorsi. For example, at the Zvonigrad hillfort (Gornji Polog), remains of defensive walls and fragments of Hellenistic pottery were discovered. Based on the relief, the author hypothesized that the Krstina hillfort (Hamzići near Čitluk) was also the center of a community. The search for community centers also led the author to the Pelješac peninsula. This chapter shows a completely new narrative about when the settlement at Ošanići was destroyed and when the Stolac area became the center of the

Stoca. Pri tome se, naravno, ne misli samo na geografsku povezanost. S druge strane, potpuno je prihvatljiva teza da se zajednica čiji je centar bio na Ošanićima zvala Daorsi jer to sugeriše natpis pronađen na novčićima koji su kovani na toj ilirskoj gradini. Dominantan položaj zajednice iz Ošanića nad drugim zajednicama u regiji, autor prepoznaje i u činjenici da im je kontrola nad putevima omogućila ekonomsku dominaciju. Na osnovu literature, u ovom poglavlju se također problematiziraju socijalno-političke zajednice iz okruženja Daorsa (Plereja, Ardijejaca, Glidiciona, Naresa i Delmata).

Kao važna komponenta, u identitetu zajednice, koja se zvala Daorsi i čije je središte bilo na Ošanićima, Behram prepoznaje trgovinu. To se odnosi na razdoblje do sredine 2. stoljeća stare ere. Vodeći se Selandovim modelom, autor je prepoznao sljedeći urnek u trgovačkoj mreži Daorsa:

- a) Glavni centar je bio na Ošanićima.
- b) Sekundarni centri su Zvonigrad, Grad Nakovana i Krstina.
- c) Emporium je Narona.
- d) Naselja koja se nalaze na teritoriju zajednice.

U toj trgovinskoj mreži zasigurno je jačao položaj zajednice sa središtem u Ošanićima što je i dovelo do toga da ima dominantan položaj u savezu. Urađena je analiza na osnovu koje se stiče slika koja roba je bila glavni predmet trgovine.

local community. The author hypothesizes that the settlement at Ošanići was destroyed in the mid-second century and that the center was then moved to today's Stolac. One of the arguments for this hypothesis is that the pre-Roman road that connected the coast with the mines of eastern Bosnia went through the Stolac area. The Romans later took over this route which is not listed in the itineraries. In the literature, this is often called the Roman road Narona – Sarajevo polje (field). Although this hypothesis is difficult to prove, it introduces new reflections about the connection between Ošanići and Stolac. This does not mean only geographical connection. On the other hand, it is an entirely acceptable thesis that the community whose center was in Ošanići was called the Daorsi, as this is suggested by the inscription found on the coins that were minted at that Illyrian hillfort. The author connects the dominant position of the community from Ošanići over other communities in the region with the fact that their control over the roads enabled them economic dominance. Based on the literature, this chapter also examines the sociopolitical communities from the surroundings of the Daorsi (Pleraei, Ardiaei, Glinditiones, Naresi, and Delmataei).

Behram recognizes trade as an important component in the identity of the community called the Daorsi, whose center was at Ošanići. This re-

Nakon apostrofiranja važnosti trgovine u šestom poglavlju, u narednom poglavlju se problematizira odnos Daorsa sa Labeatima, Rimljanima i Delmatima do sredine drugog stoljeća stare ere. Kao i većina savremenih historičara, Behram s pravom problematizira naziv "Ilirsko kraljevstvo" ističući da je vjerojatno riječ o nazivu koje su toj konfederaciji dali Grci, odnosno Rimljani. Daorsi su kao zajednica vjerovatno bili podređeni Labeatima. Autor iznosi izuzetno zanimljiv koncept o položaju Daorsa u odnosu na Labeate u periodu Pleuratove i Gencijeve vladavine. Također, zanimljiva je percepcija položaja Daorsa u međusobnom odnosu Labeata i Delmata. U kontekstu rimsko-dao-rških odnosa u Trećem ilirskom ratu, Behram donosi kompleksnu analizu koja je izrodila nekoliko zanimljivih hipoteza. Isto se može reći za sukobe sa Delmatima i uništenje Ošanića. Autor konstruiše mogući scenarij kako su Delmati uništili središte zajednice. Pozivajući se na arheološke nalaze, uništenje naselja na Ošanićima datira u sredinu drugog stoljeća stare ere. Iznosi čak zanimljivu tezu da su Delmati natjerali Daorse da se bore sa njima protiv Rimljana. Argumentaciju za ovu tezu nalazi u arheološkim nalazima.

Osmo poglavlje problematizira kulturno-historijski razvoj Daorsa u razdoblju od sredine drugog stoljeća do formiranja peregrinske civitas. Autor konstruiše narativ da, nakon

fers to the period up to the mid-second century BCE. Guided by Seland's model, the author observed the following pattern in the trade network of the Daorsi:

- a) The main center was at Ošanići.
- b) Secondary centers are Zvonigrad, Grad Nakovana, and Krstina.
- c) Emporium is Narona.
- d) Settlements located on the community's territory.

In that trade network, the position of the community with its center at Ošanići was certainly strengthened, which led to its dominant position in the union. An analysis was conducted to gain an understanding of which goods were the main subject of trade.

After emphasizing the importance of trade in the sixth chapter, the next chapter discusses the relationship of the Daorsi with the Labeatae, Romans, and Delmatae until the mid-second century BCE. Like most contemporary historians, Behram rightly questions the name "Illyrian Kingdom", pointing out that it is probably the name given to that confederation by the Greeks or the Romans. The Daorsi, as a community, were probably subordinated to the Labeatae. The author presents a very interesting concept about the position of the Daorsi in relation to the Labeatae during the period of the reign of Pleuratus and Gentius. The perception of the position of the Daorsi in the relationship between

uništenja Daorsona, značajno oslabljena zajednica Daorsa seli svoj centar na prostor današnjeg Stoca. U ovom poglavlju nailazimo na zanimljivo promišljanje da Rimljani nisu dopustili Daorsima da obnove svoje središte na Ošanićima. Budući da Plinije Stariji spominje Daorse kao jednu od peregrinskih civitates u naronitanskom konventu, autor s pravom zaključuje da se ime zadržalo i nakon uništenja Daorsona. Važnu ulogu u čuvanju identiteta, autor prepoznaje u saobraćajnom položaju novog centra Daorsa u Stocu.

Peregrinska civitas Daorsa je deveto poglavlje u kojem se akcentira odnos Daorsa sa Rimom u periodu kasne republike i ranog principata. Kako bi se čitateljima približila tematika, u ovom poglavlju se, najprije, daje detaljan osvrt na treće poglavlje Plinijevog enciklopedijskog djela *Historia Naturalis*. Daorsi se spominju kao jedna od najmalobrojnijih peregrinskih civitates u provinciji Dalmaciji sa svega 17 dekurija. Autor zaključuje da peregrinske civitates predstavljaju zajednice. Wachter je iznio tezu da svaki civitas ima glavni grad, koju prihvata i Behram. Zatim navodi da Diluntum može biti protumačen kao nastavak centra društveno-političke jedinice Daorsi u Stocu, koji je osnovan nakon što je centar u Ošanićima uništen. Navedeno je pet odrednica kojima se argumentira ova tvrdnja. Iz perspektive rimske municipalne historije ovo je zanimljiva hipoteza

the Labeatae and Delmatae is also interesting. In the context of the relations between the Daorsi and Romans in the Third Illyrian War, Behram provides a complex analysis that has given rise to several interesting hypotheses. The same can be said for the conflicts with the Delmatae and the destruction of Ošanići. The author constructs a possible scenario of how the Delmatae destroyed the community's center. Referring to archaeological finds, the destruction of the settlement at Ošanići can be dated to the mid-second century BCE. He even presents an interesting thesis that the Delmatae forced the Daorsi to fight with them against the Romans. He finds the argument for this thesis in archaeological finds.

The eighth chapter discusses the cultural and historical development of the Daorsi in the period from the mid-second century to the formation of the *civitas peregrina*. The author constructs a narrative that, after the destruction of Daorson, the significantly weakened community of the Daorsi moved its center to the area of today's Stolac. In this chapter, we come across an interesting observation that the Romans did not allow the Daorsi to rebuild its center at Ošanići. Since Pliny the Elder mentioned the Daorsi as one of the *civitates peregrini* in the *conventus* of Naronia, the author rightly concludes that the name persisted even after the destruction of Daorson. The author recognized an important

za, ali teško dokaziva. Municipalna organizacija predstavlja neki potpuno novi habitus koji teško da može predstavljati neki identitetski kontinuitet. Ipak, humanističke nauke pa i historija ne podržavaju jednoduše, stoga svako novo viđenje određenog problema može donijeti i neko novo rješenje.

U posljednjem poglavlju, *From civitas peregrina of the Daorsi to municipium of Diluntum*, autor u identitetskom smislu povezuje Diluntum sa Daorsima. Za autora Diluntum reprezentira Daorse jer ih poznaju i autori iz drugog stoljeća poput Apijana i Ptolemeja Klaudija. Podatke koje daju autori iz drugog stoljeća naše ere ipak treba uzeti sa rezervom jer oni koriste grčke i rimske izvore starije od svog vremena. Autor je dobro primijetio da se municipium Diluntum pojavljuje na epigrafskom spomeniku iz Trebimlje. Povezanost Diluntuma i Daorsa je evidentna u kontekstu teritorije i porijekla stanovništva. Sama riječ Diluntum vjerovatno je autohtonog porijekla kao što su i nazivi drugih municipija u unutrašnjosti, *Bistuensium* i *Malvesiatium*. U bukvalnom smislu Diluntum jeste zamijenio naziv Daorsi u rimskom periodu.

Na kraju rukopisa, čitatelj će naići na sažetak u kome autor daje pregled svojih ranije iznošenih mišljenja i rezultata istraživanja. Na osnovu popisa bibliografskih jedinica jasno je da se autor služio širokim spektrom

role in preserving identity in the road communication of the new center of the Daorsi in Stolac.

Civitas peregrina of the Daorsi is the ninth chapter which focuses on the relationship of the Daorsi with Rome in the period of the Late Republic and Early Principate. In order to introduce this topic to the readers, this chapter first provides a detailed review of the third chapter of Pliny's encyclopedic work *Historia Naturalis*. The Daorsi is mentioned as one of the fewest *civitates peregrini* in the province of Dalmatia with only 17 *decuriae*. The author concludes that *civitates peregrina* represent communities. Wachter put forward the thesis that every *civitas* has a capital town, which Behram also accepts. He then notes that Diluntum can be interpreted as a continuation of the center of the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi in Stolac, which was established after the center at Ošanići was destroyed. Five determinants are mentioned to argue this claim. From the perspective of Roman municipal history, this is an interesting hypothesis, but difficult to prove. The municipal organization represents a completely new habitus that can hardly represent any continuation of identity. However, the humanities and even history do not support single-mindedness, so every new view of a particular problem can introduce a new solution.

In the last chapter, *From civitas peregrina of the Daorsi to municipium of*

izvora i literature. U metodološkom smislu tekst je jako zanimljivo postavljen. Shodno navedenom, preporučujem rukopis za objavu.

Prof. dr. Amra Šaćić Beća

Sarajevo, 17. 10. 2024.

Diluntum, the author connects Diluntum with the Daorsi in terms of identity. For the author, Diluntum represents the Daorsi because they were also known to second-century authors such as Appian and Ptolemy Claudius. The information provided by authors from the second century CE should still be taken with a grain of salt, as they use Greek and Roman sources older than their time. The author has well noted that the *municipium Diluntum* appears on an epigraphic monument from Trebimlja. The connection between Diluntum and the Daorsi is evident in the context of the territory and the origin of the population. The word Diluntum itself is probably of indigenous origin, as are the names of other *municipia* in the inland, *Bistuensium* and *Malvesiatium*. In a literal sense, Diluntum did replace the name Daorsi in the Roman period.

At the end of the book, the reader will find a summary in which the author provides an overview of his previously expressed opinions and research results. Based on the list of bibliographic units, it is clear that the author used a wide range of sources and literature. In a methodological sense, the text is very interestingly presented. Accordingly, I recommend the book for publication.

Dr. Amra Šaćić Beća, Associate Professor

Sarajevo, 17 October 2024

...Prema Behramu, sociopolitička jedinica Daorsa je prije prve polovine 150-ih godina p. n. e. preuzela dominaciju nad drugim sociopolitičkim jedinicama sa donje Neretve i time formirala uniju Daorsa. Centar ove sociopolitičke jedinice do tog razdoblja bili su Ošanjići, dok je kasnije funkciju centra preuzelo naselje na području današnjeg Stoca.

...According to Behram, before the first half of the 150s BCE, the sociopolitical unit of the Daorsi assumed dominance over other sociopolitical units from the Lower Neretva and thus formed the union of the Daorsi. The center of this socio-political unit until that period was Ošanjići, while subsequently the function of the center was taken over by a settlement in the area of today's Stolac.

Dr. Almir Marić, Associate Professor

...Hiljadama godina kasnije arheolozima i historičarima ti tekstovi su poslužili da svoja istraživanja usmjere na dokazivanje tih narativa. Međutim, ko su zaista bili Daorsi koje spominje Hekatej, Polibije, Tit Livije, Strabon, Plinije Stariji, Apijan i Ptolemej Klaudije? To je pitanje na koje u knjizi *The history of the ancient Daorsi from the second century BCE to the second century CE* pokušava odgovoriti autor ove knjige.

...Thousands of years later, archaeologists and historians used these texts to focus their research on proving these narratives. But who really was the Daorsi mentioned by Hecataeus, Polybius, Titus Livius, Strabo, Pliny the Elder, Appian, and Ptolemy? This is the question that the author attempts to answer in his book *The history of the ancient Daorsi from the second century BCE to the second century CE*.

Dr. Amra Šaćić Beća, Associate Professor

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