

The Diocese of Sarsenterensis

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Izveček

Omembo sarsenterske škofije najdemo v aktih druge salonitanske sinode, ki je potekala pod vodstvom salonitanskega nadškofa Honorija II. (528-547) leta 533 v Saloni. Na tej sinodi so bile ustanovljene nove škofije v Sarsenteru, Mukuru in Ludru (*in Sarsentero, Muccuro et Ludro*) in posvečeni njihovi škofi. Mnenja predhodnih piscev, ki so se ukvarjali s sarsentersko škofijo, se precej razlikujejo, avtor tega članka pa meni, da moramo središče sarsenterske škofije - Sarsenterum (*Sarsiteron*) iskati v ostankih antične urbane naselbine v Stolcu. Ta naselbina s svojo velikostjo in pomenom prevladuje med ostalimi antičnimi naselbinami na širšem območju spodnje Neretve, z izjemo Narone.

Ključne besede: rimska Dalmacija, zgodnje krščanstvo, Sarsenterum (*Sarsiteron*), sarsenterska škofija

Abstract

A reference to the Diocese of Sarsenterensis can be found in the acts of the Second Ecclesiastical Synod, which was presided over by archbishop Honorius II (528-547) in 533 in *Salona*. It was during this synod that the new dioceses in *Sarsenterum*, *Muccur* and *Ludrum* were founded (*in Sarsentero, Muccuro et Ludro*) and their bishops ordained. It is clear from the acts of the same synod that the Sarsenterian diocese was given the basilicas from the municipal areas of *Dellontino* and *Stantino*, *Nouense (Neuense) per Rusticiarum, Potuatico et Beuzavatico (Benzavatico)* and others as well (*Sarsenterensis episcopus basilicas, quae in municipiis Dellontino, Stantino, Nouense (Neuense) per Rusticiarum, Potuatico et Beuzavatico (Benzavatico) et supra constitutae sunt*). The opinions of authors differ on the matter of the diocese of Sarsenterensis.

Keywords: Roman province of Dalmatia, Early Christianity, Sarsenterum (*Sarsiteron*), Diocese of Sarsenterensis

1. AN OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH COMPLETED THUS FAR

Early authors

Wilhelm Tomaschek (1841-1901) located "Sarsiter" in Goranci at the foot of Bila by Poleg (*sic!*) near Mostarsko blato. He identified it with *Sarsenterum* - which from the time of the second *Salona* synod became the seat of the Sarsenterian diocese.¹ He interpreted the founding of this diocese in a specific way² and concluded that it had been allocated the *municipium Ad Novas* (Runović, Imotski),

Stantium (sic!) or also *Constantium* - that is Kočerina (Široki Brijeg), *Delontium* - the estates and the grazing lands *Pecuaticum* and *Beuzavaticum*. *Delontium* irresistibly reminded him of the name *Epilantium* - with the meaning "on the other side of the marsh" and located it at the fields of Posušje - that is, Lončari near Imotski (*sic!*). He viewed *Pecuaticum* as a large grazing land, and *Beuzavaticum* as the estate of some Delmataean with the name *Beuza*, claiming that the name *Beusas* was a quite common Dalmatian name.³ D. Mandić questioned Tomaschek's opinion, arguing that there were no traces of an important ancient settlement in that area.⁴

¹ Tomaschek 1880, 547.

² Tomaschek 1880, 547-548: "ut Sarsenterensis episcopatus basilicas, quae in municipiis Delontino Stantino Novense (et) per rusticaria Pecuatice et Beuzavatico supra sunt constitutae, in parochia consequatur".

³ Tomaschek 1880, 548.

⁴ Mandić 1959, 77; 1963b, 31.

F. Rački (1828-1894) considered that *Sarsenterum* was located at the area between Imotski and Duvno, namely at Roško Polje,⁵ and he also identified *Dellontino* with *Epilentium*, deeming it to have been between *Librae* and *Novae* in Garbovac-Zagvozd (Imotski),⁶ and assumed that *Stantino* was situated in Krstacije-Slivno near Imotski (*forsitan in valle Krstacije-Slivno*), identifying *Novense* with *Novas* and locating them at Runović (Imotski),⁷ and locating *Rusticiarium* at Rastovača (Posušje).⁸ He also identified *Potuatico* with *Pazinatum*,⁹ whereas he considered *Beuzuvatico* a corruption, and thought it to be *Bulsanaticum* or *Bulsinium*, locating it at Bužanin grad in the area of Duvno.¹⁰

L. Jelić (1864-1922) sought "Sarsiter" in Stržanj or Strmica grad near Šuica.¹¹ He identified it with the "renowned Delmatian diocese".¹² He located *Lontino* (*Epi-Lentio* or rather *De-Lontino*) at Imotski,¹³ *Stantino* at Stanik to the east of Voštane (Sinj), *Novense* at Runović, *per Rasticianum* (*sic!*) at Rastok (Vinjani, Posušje) or Raštane (the eastern part of Duvansko plain), and he identified *Petuatico* with *Bestuatico* or *Bistue vetus*, locating it at Šuica or Bužanin grad in the area of Duvno.¹⁴

F. Bulić (1846-1934) located *Sarsenterum* in Aržano and considered that the diocese of *Sarsenterensis* was founded at the second *Salona* synod, with Paulinus as its first bishop. He also identified *Novense*, also a part of the diocese of *Sarsenterensis*, with the municipality of *Novae*, locating it at Runović. The main argument in favour of this was the three-naved early Christian basilica in Dikovača (Zmijavci, Imotski) (*fig. 1*).¹⁵ He locat-

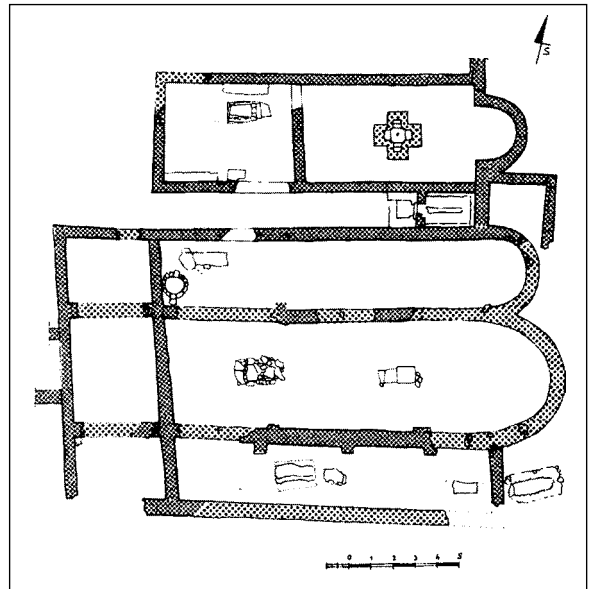


Fig. 1: Early Christian basilica from Dikovača (according to: Cambi, Gamulin, Tonković 1999).

Sl. 1: Zgodnjekršćanska bazilika v Dikovači (po: Cambi, Gamulin, Tonković 1999).

ed *Rusticiarium* approximately at Rastok (Vrgorac), and considered *Delontinum* and *Stantinum* unknown sites, locating them between Runović and Trilj, and associated *Beusavaticum* with Bužan-grad, whereas he claimed that *Potuaticum* had an unknown location.¹⁶ Bulić's theses were accepted by V. Klaić, F. Šišić, M. Barada, N. Bilogrivić (1893-1947),¹⁷ A. Ujević,¹⁸ K. Draganović,¹⁹ J. Wilkes,²⁰ N. Cambi,²¹ J. Buturac and A. Ivandija,²² R. Bratož,²³ J. Kolarić²⁴ but not L. Katić (1887-1961).²⁵

⁵ Rački 1894, 16 note: *Rav. cosmographi IV, 16 inter Aufustis (aufustianis, ad Fusciana) et Bistue vetus, inter Imosko et Duvno, in valle Roškopolje.*

⁶ Rački 1894, 16 note: *De Lontino videtur esse cosmographi rav. (loc. cit.) Epi-lentio, inter Libros et Novas (Imosko) in valle Grabovac-Zagvozd.*

⁷ Rački 1894, 16 note: *Novae (tab. peut. segm. VI, 4. Rav. cosmogr. IV, 16), nunc Runović (CIL III 302) in Dalmatia.*

⁸ Rački 1894, 16 note: *fors Rastovača, ubi antiqua rudera visuntur.*

⁹ Rački 1894, 16 note: *Pazinatum, municipium. Bulletino di Archaeol. e Storia dalm. XIV, 163.*

¹⁰ Rački 1894, 16 note: *fors. corruptum pro Bulsanatico, tab. peut. (segm. VI, 4) "in monte Bulsinio", cosmogr. Rav. IV, 16 monte Vulsii, inter Bistue et Libros, forte Bužanin grad.*

¹¹ Jelić 1898, 548, 550; Jelenić 1990, 15; Stržanj was located near Šuica also by Radimsky 1894, 284.

¹² Jelić 1898, 548.

¹³ He supposed that the ancient name of Imotski was *Saloniana* but also not *Emotha*.

¹⁴ Bužanin grad was located at the base of Tušnica mountain near the village of Miši in the Duvno region: Radimsky 1892, 223-224; 1894, 284; Mayer 1940, 127-128, 129).

¹⁵ Cambi *et al.* 1999, 132.

¹⁶ Bulić, Bervalđi 1912, 55.

¹⁷ Bilogrivić 1998, 35.

¹⁸ Ujević 1991, 61, 69.

¹⁹ Draganović 1943a, 97, 116.

²⁰ "... *ecclesia Sarsenterensis*, which has been identified with Aržana (*sic!*) near Duvno" Wilkes 1969, 432.

²¹ Cambi 2002, 206, 209.

²² Buturac, Ivandija 1973, 25.

²³ Bratož 1986, 378 n. 80.

²⁴ Kolarić 1993, 9; 1998, 9.

²⁵ Katić 1959, 2.

V. Klaić (1849-1928) first relied on Tomaschek's thesis.²⁶ Later he stated that the diocese "Sarnitensis" was actually related to the *Sarnitae*, the *Sarnadae* or *Sarniclo*, which he claimed to have been around the source of the Sana River in western Bosnia. He concluded that the diocese of Sarsenterensis was given Ston (*Stagnum*) and Runović (*Novense, Novae*),²⁷ with which he made this diocese even larger than the archdiocese of *Salona*.

F. Šišić (1869-1940) emphasized that the dioceses of *Sarsenterensis*, *Muccur* and *Ludrum*, founded at the second Synod of *Salona*, were located to the west of the Bestoen diocese.²⁸ He located *Novense (Municipium Novense)* at Runović, *mun. Rasticianum* at Rastok (Vrgorac), and *mun. Delontinum* at Stolac. He did not know the location of *Stantinum*, he looked for *mun. Beuzavaticum* at Bužangrad or Buško blato, while he concluded that *Potuaticum* had an unknown location.²⁹ Despite the more than obvious illogical claims, the theories of Tomaschek, Rački, Bulić, and Šišić can still be encountered in some textbooks. All of this is still being accepted, despite the overlapping jurisdictional questions of the bishops of *Muccur* and *Sarsenterum* (fig. 2), which in the process of creating dioceses was not the intention of the bishops at the second Synod of *Salona*.³⁰

N. Vulić (1872-1945) identified the diocese of *Sarsenterensis* from the acts of the second *Salona* synod with the *Sarsiteron* of the Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna (*Geogr. Rav. 211, 14*), locating it somewhere along the *Aufustiana - Bistue Vetus* road in the Dalmatian area.³¹

M. Barada (1889-1957) also accepted the Tomaschek-Bulić-Šišić location of *Sarsenterum* at Aržano and *Novense (Novae)* at Runović. He placed *Rusticianum* in Rastok in the hinterland of Biokovo Mountain and Rastočko polje near Vrgorac.³²

K. Draganović (1903-1983) was initially satisfied with the claim of the creation of three new dioceses at the second synod of Solin (*sic!*): *Muccur*, *Ludrum* and *Sarsenterum*,³³ only to conclude

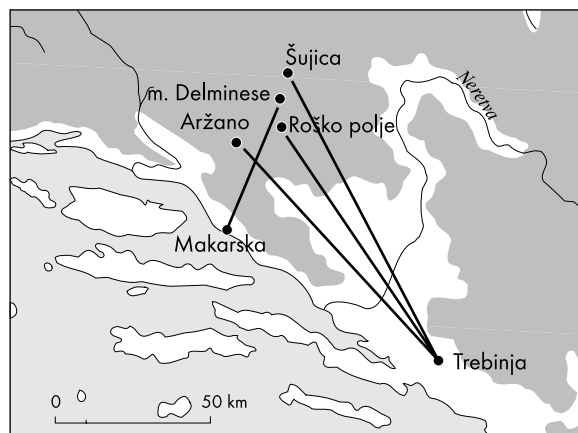


Fig. 2: Overlapping jurisdictional questions of the bishops of *Muccur* and of *Sarsenterum*.

Sl. 2: Območje prekrivanja pristojnosti sosednjih škofij (*Muccur* in *Sarsenterum*).

afterwards that the diocese of *Sarsenterensis* might also have been Aržano.³⁴ Later he refuted his own theory of locating *Sarsenterum* at Aržano. Relying on D. Mandić and Đ. Basler, he was more inclined to place it in Bišće polje at the mouth of the Buna River to the southeast of Mostar, where he claimed four important Roman roads intersected. Draganović considered the early Christian basilicas at Potoci, Cim, and Žitomislčići to be peripheral churches that belonged to the diocese of *Sarsenterensis*.³⁵

M. Vanino (1879-1965) concluded that the diocese of *Sarsenterensis* at the time of its founding was given Stolac (*Daluntum, municipium Delontinum*) and the *Beuzavaticum* municipality (Bužan? Buško Blato?), and that the diocese of Makarska (*Muccur*) was given Duvno (*municipium Delminense*).³⁶ He did not take into consideration the jurisdictional overlapping of the mentioned dioceses.³⁷

Despite the fact that he argued against the authenticity of the *Salona* synod acts,³⁸ V. Ćorović (1885-1941) still believed that the dioceses in *Sarsenterum*, *Muccur* and *Ludrum* were created at the second synod. He concluded that the location of the *Sarsenterian* diocese was unknown, but its

²⁶ Klaić 1882, 40-41 n. 32.

²⁷ Klaić 1912, 314.

²⁸ About this diocese: Škegro 2005.

²⁹ Šišić 1914, 156; 1990, 171.

³⁰ About this cf.: Barada 1928, 46; Mandić 1957, 66; 1963a, 21; Puljić 1999, 95 and n. 14; Škegro 2002b, 45-47.

³¹ Vulić 1923, 51.

³² Barada 1928, 41.

³³ Draganović 1934, 4; 1943b, 201, 220.

³⁴ Draganović 1943a, 97, 116.

³⁵ *Šematizam* 1975, 386.

³⁶ Vanino 1998, 144.

³⁷ Vanino 1998, 150.

³⁸ Ćorović 1940, 91 n. 4.

position could be found, considering that it had been given parishes that were until then part of the *Salona* diocese, and that one of them was identical to the municipality *Novae* in Runović. He considered that the diocese of *Sarsenterensis* also encompassed a part of the Ljubuški and Duvno areas.³⁹

Recent research

A. Ujević (1944-1992) accepted Bulić's location of *Sarsenterum* at the Aržano area. He attributed the Imotska region, except for Zagvozd, to the diocese of *Sarsenterensis* and identified *Novense* with *Novae* locating it at Runović and *Rusticiarum* (*Rusticiatico*) at Rastok (Posušje). He considered that *Lontino*, *Stantino*, *Pecuatico*, *Bezzavatico* should be sought in the Imotska area and the neighbouring districts.⁴⁰

D. Mandić (1889-1973) searched for the "town of *Sarsiteron*", the seat of the diocese of *Sarsenterensis*, near the source of the Radobolja River in Mostar. In his view, this diocese was founded for the area of central and western Herzegovina.⁴¹ He considered the cathedral of the diocese of *Sarsenterensis* to be the basilica at Zdinj (Ilići) in Mostar,⁴² however at Zdinj no early Christian basilica has been found. He thought that this diocese stretched from Stolac (*Daluntum*) to Runović (Imotski), where he also located *Ad Novas*, and in the north to the Bosnian and Herzegovinian mountains.⁴³ The diocese of *Sarsenterensis* was destroyed during the Avaric devastations and before Slavic tribes settled the area.⁴⁴ In favour of Mandić's attempt to locate *Sarsenterum* in the Mostar region are earlier settlements from the broader Mostar area⁴⁵ and the

early Christian basilicas at: Cim,⁴⁶ Grčine-Potoci,⁴⁷ Hum-Lišani,⁴⁸ Kratine in Humilišani,⁴⁹ Kute,⁵⁰ Sutina,⁵¹ Tepčići⁵² and Žitomislići.⁵³

B. Rupčić (1920-1984) located the centre of the diocese of *Sarsenterensis* at Biskup-Krupac (Glavatičevo, Konjic) near the mouth of the Ladanica River where it enters into the Neretva River.⁵⁴ However, no ancient basilica was found in that area, but rather a memorial chapel from the late Middle Ages.⁵⁵ An early Christian basilica was found at another place – Bare (Tadići) near Konjic.⁵⁶ In the name of *Sarsenterum*, Rupčić would see a settlement of the Illyrian *Autariatae*, which was built by flowing water.⁵⁷ He looked for the diocese of *Sarsenterensis* to the north of the dioceses of *Epidaurum* or *Narona*, to the northeast and east of Makarska, and to the south of the Bestoen diocese. It included the areas to the east of Zagvozd and the Duvno area.⁵⁸ He located *Delontino* (*Diluntum*) at Hutovo near Stolac, *Stantinum* he identified with Ston, *Novense* with *Ad Novas*, also locating them at Runović, he identified *Rusticiarum* with Raštani (Mostar), whereas he could not identify *Poutuatico* and *Beusavatico*. Rupčić did not accept locating *Beusavatico* at Buško Blato. By including Stolac, Ston and Runović in the diocese of *Sarsenterensis*, he realized that he had extremely minimized the dioceses of *Narona* and *Epidaurum*.⁵⁹ Rupčić's theory is in contradiction with the reform of the diocesan borders and the creation of new dioceses at the second *Salona* synod (fig. 3). The same goes for locating *Sarsenterum* at Cim, that is at Žitomislići (Mostar).⁶⁰ He neglected the fact that at the *Salona* synod, the Bestoen bishop also demanded the division of his diocese because

³⁹ Ćorović 1940, 90-91.

⁴⁰ Ujević 1991, 61, 69.

⁴¹ Mandić 1957, 65-68; 1959, 71-77; 1963a, 19-23, 1963b, 24-31.

⁴² Mandić 1959, 77; 1963b, 31.

⁴³ Mandić 1959, 71; 1963b, 24.

⁴⁴ Mandić 1963b, 26.

⁴⁵ *Arheološki leksikon Bosne i Hercegovine* 3 (Sarajevo 1988) 283-309.

⁴⁶ Anđelić 1974, 179-244; 1980, 257-262; 1988a, 292 br. 24.45.

⁴⁷ Miletić 1962, 153-157; Patsch 1904a, 271-273; 1904b, 39-43.

⁴⁸ Atanacković-Salčić, 1997, 26-27.

⁴⁹ Atanacković-Salčić 1988c, 300 no. 24.222.

⁵⁰ Atanacković-Salčić 1988a, 292 no. 24.39.

⁵¹ Atanacković-Salčić 1988b, 292 no. 24.42; 1997, 24-26.

⁵² Anđelić 1995b, 95-115.

⁵³ Anđelić 1978b, 293-314; 1980, 262-264; 1988b, 292 no. 24.44; 1999b, 1-60; Ribarević Nikolić 1998, 699-701.

⁵⁴ Rupčić 1957, 69-84; 1959, 78-87.

⁵⁵ Anđelić 1973, 192-193.

⁵⁶ Glavaš 1986, 113-128.

⁵⁷ Rupčić 1957, 73-74.

⁵⁸ Rupčić 1957, 82, 83.

⁵⁹ Rupčić 1957, 83-84; 1959, 85-86.

⁶⁰ Puljić 1999, 102.

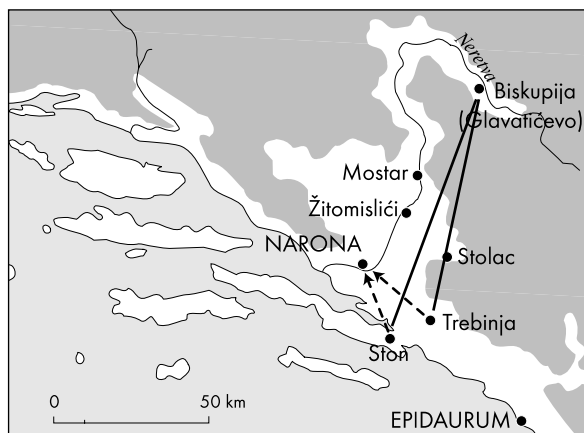


Fig. 3: Overlapping jurisdictional questions of the bishops of *Narona* and *Sarsenterum*.

Sl. 3: Območje prekrivanja pristojnosti sosednjih škofij (*Narona* in *Sarsenterum*).

it was very large.⁶¹ Rupčić's opinion was very similar to that of A. Benković (1890-1970), who assumed that the centre of the diocese of *Sarsenterensis* was in Dalmatia or in Herzegovina and that it encompassed a large part of Herzegovina.⁶² The *Sarsenter* diocese is also located somewhere north of Mostar in the Catholic Encyclopaedia.⁶³

Đ. Basler (1917-1990) initially located the diocese of *Sarsenterensis* (*Sarsiteron*, *Sarsenterum*) at Mostar, included in it the area of Stolac (*Diluntum*), *Stantino* (locating it approximately at the area of Ljubuški), *Nove* (Runović), *per Rusticiarum* (locating it approximately at Posuški Gradac and Rastovača near Posušje), *Potuatico*, which he assumed to be in Potoci (Mostar), and *Beuzavatic*, which he could not locate. According to him,

this diocese encompassed the areas of central and western Herzegovina,⁶⁴ but he couldn't locate its centre.⁶⁵ After the excavations of the early Christian complex in Žitomislići (fig. 4), he connected the diocese of *Sarsenterensis* to this.⁶⁶ The decline of the diocese of *Sarsenterensis* took place the first half of the seventeenth century.⁶⁷ Basler's locating *Sarsenterum* at Žitomislići was accepted to some extent by M. Vidović ("around the Buna River or at Žitomislići"),⁶⁸ F. Šanjek ("Žitomislići?"),⁶⁹ B. Goluža ("Žitomislići or Mostar"),⁷⁰ B. Kuntić-Makvić ("Žitomislići?"),⁷¹ and so forth. T. Anđelić, who researched the early Christian monuments from Cim and Žitomislići, considered that an early Christian ecclesiastical community was in Žitomislići. He placed the centre of the diocese of *Sarsenterensis* in Cim basilica (fig. 5).⁷² Anđelić's opinion was accepted by S. Vasilj⁷³ and A. Barun,⁷⁴ whereas P. Chevalier is not sure whether the *ecclesia Mactaritana* (sic!) or *Sarsenterum* were located in Cim.⁷⁵ She sought the latter alternatively at Aržano or Mostar ("Aržano? ou Mostar?").⁷⁶

J. Buturac (1905-1993) and A. Ivandija (1917-1997) considered that at the second *Salona* synod four new dioceses were created in the area of the Solin metropolitan see: *Muccur* (Makarska), *Ludrum* (in the Kninsko plain or along the Cetina River), *Sarsenterum* (Aržano), and *Baloie* (around the source of the Sana River).⁷⁷ They emphasized that this was "criticized by Rome", because they claimed that smaller places got bishops in this way, whereas the care of souls could have been carried out by common priests.⁷⁸

The most absurd opinion about the diocese of *Sarsenterensis* was suggested by E. Imamović,

⁶¹ Klaić 1967, 84: *Andreas vir venerabilis [episcopus] bestoensis ecelesiae dixit: "Necesse nobis est bonae institutionis formam libenter amplecti, praesertim cum de sacro laudabiliter cogitatur obsequio adque ideo quaeso, ut a loco Copella et Arena usque ad has urbes basilicas, quae in mea patrocinia continentur, ad proponendum iisdem locum faciatis episcopum pertinere. Tanta vexationis labore submoto, aptior mihi sollicitudo sit de sacerdotibus plebeque commissa, quanto grex dominicus vicino pastore melius gubernetur"*.

⁶² Benković 1966, 16.

⁶³ Catholic Encyclopedia: Bosnia and Herzegovina: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02694a.htm>, January 9, 2006.

⁶⁴ Basler (Kujundžić) 1982, 140.

⁶⁵ Basler 1986, 19; 1990, 29.

⁶⁶ Basler 1984, 327, 339-340, fig. 103; 1990, 101-102, fig. 47; 1991, 3.

⁶⁷ Basler 1982, 143.

⁶⁸ Vidović 1996, 17.

⁶⁹ Šanjek 1991, 9; 1996, 33; 1997, 218.

⁷⁰ Goluža 1998, 97.

⁷¹ Kuntić-Makvić 2003, 38.

⁷² Anđelić 1980, 262-262; 1999b, 37; 1999c, 5.

⁷³ Vasilj 1993, 17-18.

⁷⁴ Barun 2003, 48.

⁷⁵ Chevalier 1995a, 394-395, 400.

⁷⁶ Chevalier 1995b, 195, 22 map 2.

⁷⁷ *Baloie* was located by Bojanovski at the Roman settlement at Šipovo (central Bosnia): Bojanovski 1968, 1-4; 1974a, 347-369; 1988, 287-292, 292, 329, 374; 1991, 287-289.

⁷⁸ Buturac, Ivandija 1973, 25.

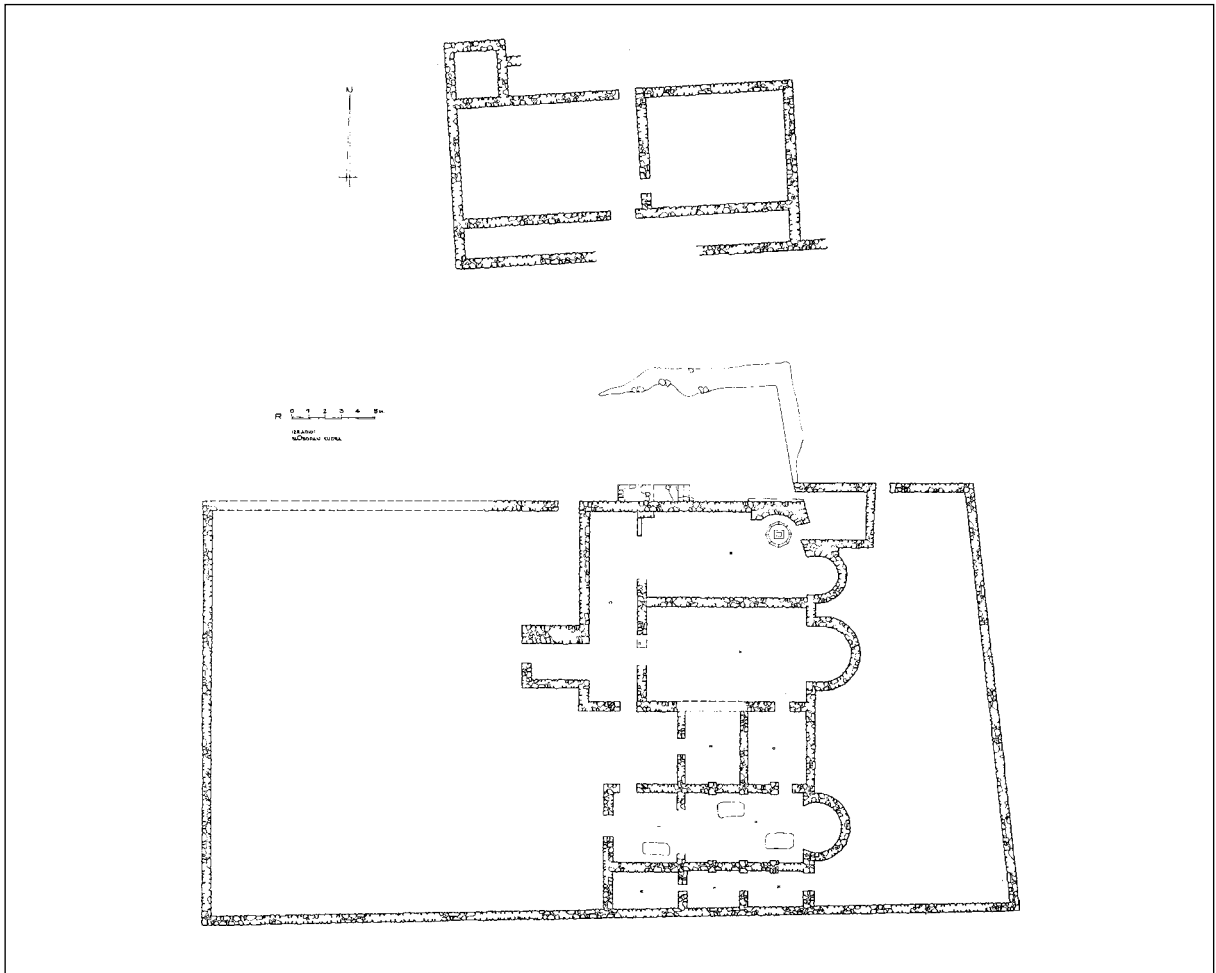


Fig. 4: Early Christian objects in Žitomislići (according to: Anđelić 1978b).
Sl. 4: Zgodnjekršćanski objekti v Žitomislićih (po: Anđelić 1978b).

according to whom it included "today's Stolac (*municipium Diluntum*) and the municipality *Beuzavaticum* (maybe Bužan, Buško Blato), the diocese of Makarska contained Duvno, and the diocese in *Ludrum* (perhaps today's Knin) was given Glamoč with its surroundings, as well as *Sarziaticum*".⁷⁹ If the diocese of Sarsenterensis really included the area from Buško Blato in the west all the way to Stolac in the east, it would have been intersected by the territory of the diocese of Naronia, which the synod fathers would never have approved. During the creation of the new dioceses, the geographical logic of the area was taken into consideration, as well as the economical potential, all in accordance with the needs of the church and its clergy for a more efficient Christianization.⁸⁰

N. Cambi assumed that the diocese of Sarsenterensis was located near Mostar, where the diocese of Naronia extended until the creation of the former. He deemed that the exact position of the seat of this diocese was not definitely established.⁸¹ He finally embraced to some extent the location of *Sarsenterum* at Aržano.⁸²

I. Bojanovski (1915-1993) identified the *Sarsiteron* of the Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna with the *Sarsenterum* from the acts of the synods of *Salona*. He identified a diocese in it from 533, and, somewhat reluctantly related it to the basilica in Cim.⁸³ At Konjic Bojanovski located *Potuatice* (*mun. Potuaticum?*), in Stolac *Dellontino*, in Ston *Stantino* and *Novense* (*Novae*) in the Imotsko plain. Unidentified were *per Rusticiarum*, *Potuat-*

⁷⁹ Imamović 1983, 45.

⁸⁰ Cambi 2001, 11.

⁸¹ Cambi 1985, 35.

⁸² Cambi 2002, 206, 209.

⁸³ Bojanovski 1988, 381.

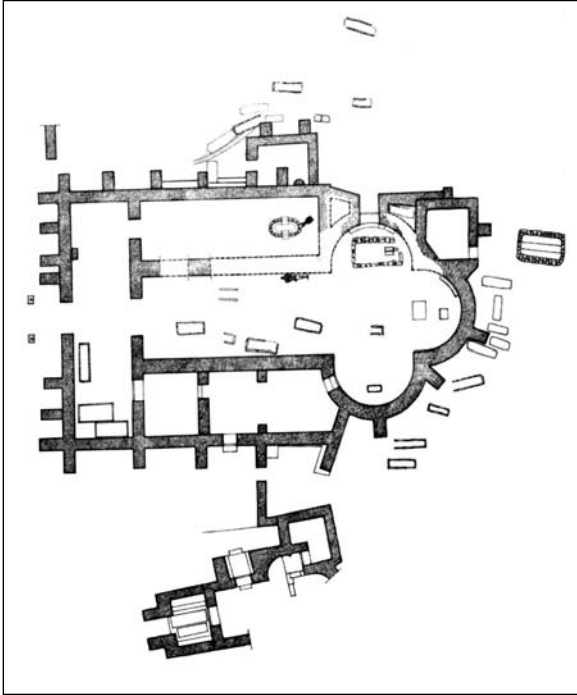


Fig. 5: Early Christian basilica in Cim (according to: Andelić 1978a).

Sl. 5: Zgodnjekršćanska bazilika v Cimu (po: Andelić 1978a).

ico and Benzavatico. Tracing the Roman road *Narona* – Sarajevo plain,⁸⁴ he located *per Rusticiarum* at the Nevesinjsko plain, *Potuatice* at Konjic, and *Benzavatico* possibly at Rama. However, he left open other possibilities.⁸⁵ He initially thought that *Sarsiteron* was located at Cim, *Benzavatico* at Konjic, *per Rusticiarum* at Nevesinjsko plain, and *Potuatice* at Glavatičevo on the upper Neretva River.⁸⁶ In all the places mentioned, he found early Christian parishes (*parochia*).⁸⁷ However, an excellent expert in the topography of the area around Konjic, P. Andelić (1920-1985) left no possibility of locating *Sarsenterum* or any place from the diocese of Sarsenterensis in the area of Konjic.⁸⁸

A. Dračevac (1920-1993) thought it most probable that the diocese of Sarsenterensis was created for

the area of Zahumlje (Hum), Pelješac, and Primorje (the coastal area) all the way to Rijeka Dubrovačka, and that the diocese of Sarsenterensis should be located by the area of Mostar. The diocese of Sarsenterensis was suppressed during the advances of the Slavs and the Avars in the years 614/615, but he also claimed that Christianity in this area was not entirely extinguished. It was renewed in the form of the diocese of Zahumlje or Ston,⁸⁹ which was its legal successor in the same area where the diocese of Sarsenterensis had been located.⁹⁰ The *Stantania* of the archbishop of Bar, Gregory (the Priest of Dioclea), was identified by this author with *Stantin* of the diocese of Sarsenterensis and with *Turris Stagna* from the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, locating them at ancient Ston (Stari Grad and the knoll of St. Michael and Gorica).⁹¹ According to V. B. Lupis, the diocese of Zahumlje or Ston expanded on the tradition of the dioceses of Narona and Sarsenterensis.⁹²

V. Paškvalin claimed that there were no reliable arguments for locating Sarsenterum at Cim.⁹³ He placed the eastern part of Mostar (Bijelo Polje, Bišće polje, and others) into the ager of the *municipium Diluntum*.⁹⁴ He had doubts about placing *Sarsenterum* or *Diluntum* at Stolac.⁹⁵

I. Goldstein saw the reason for the creation of the dioceses of *Sarsenterum*, *Muccur* and *Ludrum* in the "impossibility to properly monitor the wide territory of the diocese of *Salona*" (*sic!*). He placed the centre of the diocese of Sarsenterensis in the area near Aržano, while the diocese he placed along Buško Blato all the way to Stolac,⁹⁶ emphasizing that the county of Imota inherited the position of the "Sarsenter parish" (*sic!*).⁹⁷

S. Čače was certain that *Sarsiteron* from the "Cosmography" of the Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna is identical to the *Sarsenterum* from the acts of the second Synod of *Salona*. He searched for it somewhere in the area of Mostar, but not in Cim. He also accepted the location of *Dellontino* at Stolac, and *Novae* at Runović, whereas he claimed

⁸⁴ Bojanovski 1978, 66-98; 1988, 135 n. 14.

⁸⁵ Bojanovski 1988, 135.

⁸⁶ Bojanovski 1978, 114.

⁸⁷ Bojanovski 1978, 114; 1988, 135.

⁸⁸ Andelić 1973, 103-108, 175, 192-193.

⁸⁹ Dračevac 1987, 78.

⁹⁰ Dračevac 1987, 78; 1988, 85.

⁹¹ Dračevac 1988, 84.

⁹² Lupis 2000, 12-13 and n. 6; 2001, 198-199, and n. 6.

⁹³ Paškvalin 1999, 47-83; 2003, 245-270.

⁹⁴ Paškvalin 1999, 48, 82; 2003, 246, 269.

⁹⁵ Paškvalin 2003, map after p. 349.

⁹⁶ Goldstein 1995, 61.

⁹⁷ Goldstein 1995, 163.

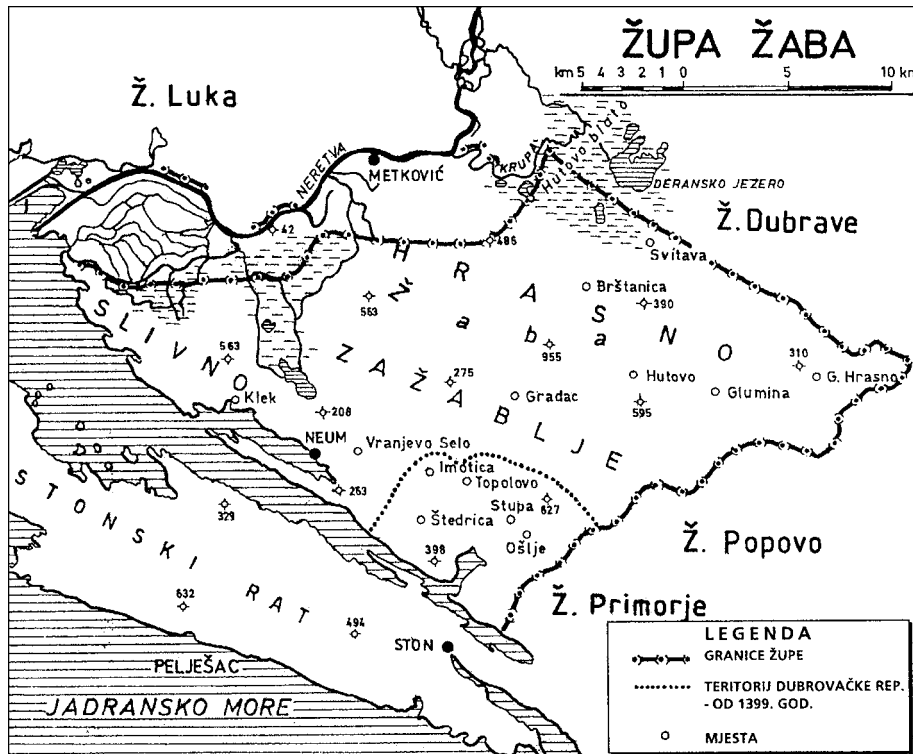


Fig. 6: Medieval district of Zažablje (according to: Anđelić 1999).
Sl. 6: Srednjeveška župa Zažablje (po: Anđelić 1999).

that the locations of *Beuzavatico*, *Potuatico* and *Stantino* are unknown.⁹⁸

I. Puljić placed the diocese of Sarsenterensis in the area that was inhabited at earlier times by the united Illyrian tribes of the *Daorsei*, and *Sarsenterum* in the center of this area – Stolac. He located the diocese of Sarsenterensis in the area between the dioceses of *Narona* and *Epidaurum*, as well as Martaritan and Bestoen.⁹⁹ He identified *Stantino* with Ston, while *Delontino* – on the basis of inscriptions of the decurion of the *municipium Delunti*,¹⁰⁰ the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and the *Itinerarium Antonini*, he locates at Trebinja in the Popovo area.¹⁰¹ The other municipalities that were a part of this diocese he located in the area around Mostarsko Blato and Potoci (Mostar) to Jablanica and Konjic in central Herzegovina.¹⁰² Puljić stated

that the ancient roads and settlements in the area of eastern Herzegovina are not very well known.¹⁰³ According to his reading of the "Historia Salonita Maior", he located *Novense* (*Neuense*) and identifies it with the Neum area (*Neon*, *Novum*) in the medieval district of *Žapska* (*Zažablje*) or *Nevesinje* in eastern Herzegovina (fig. 6).¹⁰⁴ To corroborate his thesis, he enumerated several ancient sites and objects from the Neum area.¹⁰⁵ Puljić also located *Potuatico* at Potoci (Mostar), *per Rusticiarum* at Raštani on the right bank of the Neretva River, and *Beuzavatico* at *Žvatić* (*Beu-Zavatic-o*) near Zvonigrad in Mostarsko Blato and alternatively at Bišće.¹⁰⁶ He also believed that the diocese of Sarsenterensis survived the migration period as the diocese of Ston-Zahumlje, which encompassed the same areas as the diocese of Sarsenterensis.¹⁰⁷

⁹⁸ Čače 1993, 390-391.

⁹⁹ Puljić 1994, 129-131; 1995, 22-26; 1996, 92-98; 1997, 13; 1999, 93-116; 2006, 33-54.

¹⁰⁰ Sergejevski 1935, 17-18, Pl. IV, fig. 1; Bojanovski 1977, 84; Atanacković-Salčić 1979, 7-40; Šašel 1986, no. 1740: *D(is) m(anibus) s(acrum) / P. Aplio Pl[as]/so patri pientis/[s]imo dec(ur)ioni m(unicipii) Dil(unti) /^s et M[...][c[...]] / infelicissi/ma(e) def(unctae) an(norum) VIII (?) / P. Aplius Anni/us v(ivus) sibi et / suis fecit.*

¹⁰¹ Puljić 1994, 130; 1995, 23; 1996, 93.

¹⁰² Puljić 1995, 22; 1996, 91-98.

¹⁰³ Puljić 1995, 23 and n. 53.

¹⁰⁴ O župi Žaba: Anđelić, Sivrić, Anđelić 1999, 47-69.

¹⁰⁵ Puljić 1994, 130; 1995, 23-24; 1996, 94-95.

¹⁰⁶ Puljić 1994, 130; 1995, 24 and n. 54; 1996, 94-95.

¹⁰⁷ Puljić 1995, 24, 25.

In favour of this thesis, he stated the fact that Ston from 533 was a "parish" of the diocese of Sarsenterensis and that the bishop took refuge in it, as well as the bishops of *Epidaurus* and *Salona* who took refuge in fortified *Ragusium* and in Diocletian's Palace in Split.¹⁰⁸ The mother church of the Ston parish dating back to ancient times is generally accepted to be the basilica dedicated to St. Magdalena of Gorica, which also survived the advances of the Slavs.¹⁰⁹ Puljić emphasized that in the process of establishing the area of the diocese of Sarsenterensis, care was not taken about its size and its road network, as well as its relation to the neighbouring dioceses. As an example of this, he stated the location of *Rusticiarium* at Rastok (Vrgorac), which gravitates towards the center of the diocese of Naronia and to no other place where the center of the diocese of Sarsenterensis is sought.¹¹⁰ Puljić searched for *Sarsentereum* at Stolac,¹¹¹ where the remains of a larger ancient settlement have been verified, and not, as is commonly said, *Diluntum*.¹¹² In favour of this thesis, he cited the "Cosmography" of the Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna, where there is no mention of the name *Diluntum*. Puljić concluded from these facts that *Diluntum* had no special traits to have deserved to be the seat of the diocese.¹¹³ No early Christian basilica has yet been found at Stolac. Still there is a possibility that it was located in the area of Podgrad, that is beneath *Careva Džamija* (the Sultan's Mosque) in Stolac, which was erected on the foundations of some early Christian sacral object, or somewhere else,¹¹⁴ because no systematic investigation has been undertaken in Stolac at all.¹¹⁵ In Stolac, a *domus ecclesiae* existed as early as the pre-Constantinian times.¹¹⁶

On the basis of inscriptions mentioning the parish council (*ordo decurionum*) from this place¹¹⁷ and Trebinja,¹¹⁸ A. Škegro placed *Diluntum* at Stolac.¹¹⁹ He concluded that the fate of the late Roman and early medieval churches from the area of Stolac,¹²⁰ were sealed by the devastations of war in 534 and 535, when the Byzantine emperor Justinian (527-565) suppressed the Ostrogoths in Dalmatia.¹²¹

Basing his theory on the existence of a large urban settlement and two monumental fortifications in Gradac near Posušje, P. Oreč tied the centre of the diocese of Sarsenterensis to the double-naved early Christian basilica at *Brižak* in Gradac by Posušje.¹²² The problem of the Sarsenter diocese was also discussed by J. Vučić.¹²³ He preferred the identification of *Diluntum* or *Delontino* as Stolac, of *Novense* as Runović, and of Sarsenter as Mostar.¹²⁴ His definition and identification of the centre of the Sarsenter diocese and the individual settlements that composed it is not based on a review of the overall research results, or on the extant sources – the medieval ones in particular.

2. WHAT DO THE SOURCES SAY?

The diocese of Sarsenterensis is also mentioned in the acts of the second synod of *Salona*, which was held in the city in 533, presided over by the Salonitan archbishop Honorius II. The acts of the *Salona* synod were added to some manuscripts of the "Historia Salonitana Maior" by the chronicler of Split, Thomas the Archdeacon. The authenticity of those acts was refuted by I. Lučić (*Joannes Lucius*, 1604-1679),¹²⁵ and nowadays by I. Babić,¹²⁶

¹⁰⁸ Puljić 1995, 25-26.

¹⁰⁹ Fisković 1980, 222, 224.

¹¹⁰ Puljić 1996, 93 n. 19.

¹¹¹ Puljić 1999, 93-116.

¹¹² Bojanovski 1988, 88-102, 93, 97, 99-100, 102.

¹¹³ Puljić 1996, 93-94.

¹¹⁴ *Hercegovina* 1985, 134; Hasandedić 1990, 9; 1997, 14/90.

¹¹⁵ *Hercegovina* 1985, 134; Hasandedić 1990, 9; 1997, 14/90.

¹¹⁶ Truhelka 1892, 356-358; 1931, 100-102; Basler 1990, 25.

¹¹⁷ *CIL* III 13874; Bojanovski 1973, 151, note 54: — / [— m]atri k[astrorum?] —? / [—] sc(—) ob[— / —?] dicati(ssimus?)—? / [— / m —? /⁵—] cos[—? / —] un[—?] l(oco) d(ato) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) [—?].

¹¹⁸ Bojanovski 1977, 83-86: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / P(ublio) Aplio Plas/so patri pientis/simo dec(urioni) m(unicipii) Dil(unti) /⁵ et A[nniae] fil(iae)] infelicissi/mae def(unctae) an(norum) VIII. / P(ublius) Anni/us v(ivus) sibi et /¹⁰ suis fecit.*

¹¹⁹ Škegro 2001, 72-78; 2002a, 11-25.

¹²⁰ Anđelić 1999a, 117-120.

¹²¹ Škegro 2002a, 15-16.

¹²² Oreč 1982, 55-85; 1994, 86; 1996, 135-136.

¹²³ Vučić 2005, 164, 165-166.

¹²⁴ Vučić 2005, 166.

¹²⁵ Lucius 1673, 73: "... et quaecunque in illo de actis conciliorum Dalmatiae, epistolis papalibus et epitaphio Zvonimiri regis scripta sunt, ea omnia ficta et supposititia sunt".

¹²⁶ Babić 1993, 13-57.

but not by D. Farlati (1690-1773),¹²⁷ I. Batthyán (1741-1798),¹²⁸ F. Rački,¹²⁹ F. Šišić,¹³⁰ V. Blažević,¹³¹ N. Klaić (1920-1988),¹³² S. Gunjača (1909-1981),¹³³ M. Ivanišević,¹³⁴ etc.

"Historia Salonitana Maior"

The acts of the first synod of *Salona* were co-signed by the *Vitalis presbyter*, whom the oldest manuscript "Historia Salonitana Maior", the Vatican *Congregatio de propaganda Fide* addresses as the *sarniensis*, that is *sarntesis*, and in the Barberine manuscripts as *sarnitensis*. Based on this, some authors consider *Vitalis* to be a priest from *Sarsenterensis*.¹³⁵ If this is truly a place that became a diocese during the second Salonitan synod, one gets the impression that *Sarsenterum* had quite a reputation even before the creation of the diocese, and because of this it became the seat of the diocese.

At the second synod of *Salona*, *Sarsenterum* is mentioned in the context of the ordination of three new bishops (*in Sarsentero, Muccuro et Ludro episcopi debeant consecrari*) and mention is made of the election of the priest *Paulinus* as bishop (*in Sarsentero Paulinum presbiterum*).¹³⁶ The diocese of *Sarsenterensis* (*sarsinterensis*) is mentioned during the choosing of places for the newly formed diocese.¹³⁷ Finally, the acts of the second synod of *Salona* were also co-signed by the bishop of *Sarsenterensis*, *Paulinus episcopus ecclesie sarsenterensis*.¹³⁸

Thus it is obvious that in the period of late antiquity the diocese of *Sarsenterensis* (*Ecclesia sarsenterensis, sarsinterensis, sarsiterensis*) was created in the area of the *Salona* metropolitan see in a place called *Sarsenterum*. "Historia Salonitana Maior" does not state precisely where this place would be. However, considering the order of the newly formed dioceses, it could be found east of the diocese *Muccur*. "Historia Salonitana Maior" gives evidence that *Sarsenterum* was an urban settlement that was among the first municipalities given to the bishop of *Sarsenterensis*. According to the words of the Salonitan archbishop Honorius II, which he spoke before the decision on the creation of the new dioceses, it is clear that this was primarily a case of taking into consideration the canonical rules related to dioceses. Special care was taken not to damage the dignity of the bishops' service.¹³⁹ As early as in 343/344, even the synod in *Serdica*¹⁴⁰ determined that "it is not permitted to ordain a bishop in any village or smaller settlement; where a single priest is sufficient there is no need for a bishop to be present as well, so that his name and dignity could be undermined".¹⁴¹ The synod fathers held to these norms in the year 533, when they chose the centres of the newly formed dioceses.¹⁴² The legislation of emperor Iustinian also tended to the preservation of the dignity of the bishop's service. These dioceses were founded during his reign. The legislation of this emperor did not allow for the creation of new dioceses either in rural or in smaller urban settlements.¹⁴³ According to the acts of the Split synod in the

¹²⁷ Farlati 1753, 162-164; 173-174.

¹²⁸ Batthyán 1785, 285-293.

¹²⁹ Rački 1894, 13-18.

¹³⁰ Šišić 1914, 157-164.

¹³¹ Blažević 1967, 9-11, nos. 8, 9.

¹³² Klaić 1967, 76-85.

¹³³ Gunjača 1973, 50-56.

¹³⁴ Ivanišević 1994, 159-161.

¹³⁵ Farlati 1753, 172; Batthyán 1785, 290; Šišić 1914, 157, 161; Klaić 1967, 81 n. 221.

¹³⁶ Farlati 1753, 173; Batthyán 1785, 291; Rački 1894, 16, note; Šišić 1914, 162; Klaić 1967, 83; Gunjača 1973, 54; Ivanišević 1994, 161.

¹³⁷ Farlati 1753, 173; Batthyán 1785, 291; Rački 1894, 18, note; Šišić 1914, 162; Klaić 1967, 83; Gunjača 1973, 54; Ivanišević 1994, 161.

¹³⁸ Farlati 1753, 174; Batthyán 1785, 293; Rački 1894, 18, note; Šišić 1914, 164; Klaić 1967, 85; Gunjača 1973, 56; Ivanišević 1994, 161.

¹³⁹ *Ad ordinandum nuper episcoporum curam, facta distributione, credimus pertinere, presertim cum nihil canonicis sit contrarium constitutis, quia nec episcopalis vilescit auctoritas... Quapropter, quos vel in quibus locis episcopi debeant consecrari, diligentius pertractemus.* Klaić 1967, 82 (615r).

¹⁴⁰ About this synod: Bratož 1987, 154-155.

¹⁴¹ Kurtscheid 1951, 107: "Licentia danda non est ordinandi episcopum aut in vico aliquo aut in modica civitate, cui sufficit unus presbyter, quia non est necesse ibi episcopum fieri ne vilescat nomen episcopi et auctoritas".

¹⁴² *Tractatu itaque habito, adicto, quomodo hoc comuni noscitur sedisse consilio, ut in Sarsentero, Muccuro et Ludro episcopi debeant consecrari futurorum personas antistitum decretorum tenor adsignet.* Klaić 1967, 82 (615r).

¹⁴³ Jedin 1995, 418-427.

year 925, this norm was also valid during the tenth century.¹⁴⁴ Considering the context of these developments, we can easily comprehend the speech of archbishop Honorius II, where he emphasizes the importance of the preservation of canonical norms and the dignity of the bishops, as well as the importance of the newly formed dioceses for which they are ordained. They use the term *debere* (must) for it, which emphasizes a strong moral commitment.¹⁴⁵ The ordination of these bishops was accepted by all the bishops at the second synod of *Salona*.¹⁴⁶ It is not clear whether these or any other ordinations are related to the reproaches that were addressed in the year 550 to the administrator of the Pope's patrimony in Dalmatia (*Dalmatiarum patrimonium, patrimonium in Dalmatia*), the Deacon Sebastianus by Pope Vigilius (537-555).¹⁴⁷ Bearing in mind the large time span from when the Salonitan synod was held and when the Pope's letter arrived, this seems far-fetched.

The "Cosmography" of the Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna

The "Cosmography" of the Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna consists of short and long lists of towns (*civitates*) based on cartographic and itinerary traditions.¹⁴⁸ Although it goes back as far as the seventh century, the information it gives refers to the first half of the sixth century.¹⁴⁹ Among other towns in Dalmatia (*Dalmatia, Dalmatiae*) on the road leading from *Burzuman* to *Nova (Novas)* this work also mentions *Sarsiteron (civitas Sarsiteron, Sarsitheron)*: "Next to *Burzumon* there are also towns called *Medione, Anderba, Ausustis, Emanio, Sarsiteron,*

Bistue Betus, Montebulsi, Libros, Orbam, Naurtio, Epilentio, Novas."¹⁵⁰ *Burzumon* is identified with the *Bersumun (Birzuminium)* mentioned in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and it is located in Podgorica,¹⁵¹ *Medione* is identified with the fortification *Meteon* of the Illyric tribe of the *Labeates* in Medun (Kuča), north-east of Podgorica, and *Anderba* with Nikšić (Montenegro).¹⁵² *Ausustis* is identified with the travel station *Ad Fusciana* mentioned in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, i.e. with *Aufustianis* from the *Itinerarium Antonini*, and is located at Tkanice (Tihaljina), *Emanio* by its name refers to Imotski,¹⁵³ *Bistue Betus* is identical with *Bistue Vetus* mentioned in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and is located at Tomislavgrad,¹⁵⁴ i.e. at Čipuljić (Bugojno),¹⁵⁵ *Montebulsi* is identified with the station *In monte Bulsinio* mentioned in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and is sought at Privala on the slopes of Tušnica between Buško Blato and the Duvanjsko plain,¹⁵⁶ *Libros* is identified with *Ad Libros* mentioned in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and is located at Gradina (Bukova Gora) near Buško Blato,¹⁵⁷ whereas Orba is located at Aržano, Naurtio at Studenci (Imotski), *Epilentio* at Proložac (Imotski),¹⁵⁸ and *Novas* has been identified since 1880 with *Ad Novas*, i.e. with *Novae* and is located at Runović (*fig. 7*).¹⁵⁹ The "Cosmography" of the Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna points to the fact that *Sarsiteron* was located between *Burzumon* (Podgorica) and *Medion* (Medun, Kuči near Podgorica) in Montenegro, and *Bistue betus (Bistue vetus)* in southeastern or central Bosnia. This work, however, still does not reveal any details about *Sarsiteron*. Based on the fact that there is no mention of *Diluntum* in the "Cosmography", one can rightfully assume that this place has not been omitted by mistake, because it was

¹⁴⁴ *Non licet in modicis ciuitatibus uel villis episcopos statui, ne nomen episcopi uilescat.* Kostrenčić, Stipišić, Šamšalović 1967, 31; Klaić 1967, 99, fig. 628v.

¹⁴⁵ *Quapropter, quos vel in quibus locis episcopi debeant consecrari, diligentius pertractemus. Tractatu itaque habito, adiecte, quoniam hoc comuni noscitur sedisse consilio, ut in Sarsentero, in Muccuro et Ludro episcopi debeant consecrari.* Klaić 1967, 82-83, n. 254: *debeatur.*

¹⁴⁶ Klaić 1967, 83.

¹⁴⁷ Mansi 1960, 355; Migne 1848, epist. XIV, 50-51; Ivanišević 1994, 162; Škegro 2002b, 76-77.

¹⁴⁸ Čače 1993, 352.

¹⁴⁹ Čače 1993, 348.

¹⁵⁰ *Item iuxta Burzumon est civitas quae dicitur Medione, Anderba, Ausustis, Emanio, Sarsiteron (Sarsitheron), Bistue betus, Montebulsi, Libros, Orbam, Naurtio (Naurcio), Epilentio (Epilencio), Novas (per Novas).* Čače 1993, 357; *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia, IV, 16*; Cambi, Pasini 1980, 290.

¹⁵¹ Garašanin 1967a, 127; 1967, 171.

¹⁵² Garašanin 1967, 127-133.

¹⁵³ Čače 1993, 389.

¹⁵⁴ Bojanovski 1974b 160-166, 170, 187, 189, 233, 236, 244.

¹⁵⁵ Paškvalin 1998, 549-619; 2003, 129-191.

¹⁵⁶ Bojanovski 1974b 149, 156-160; Čače 1993, 392.

¹⁵⁷ Bojanovski 1974b 152-155; Čače 1993, 392.

¹⁵⁸ Čače 1993, 392-393.

¹⁵⁹ Čače 1993, 390 and n. 147.

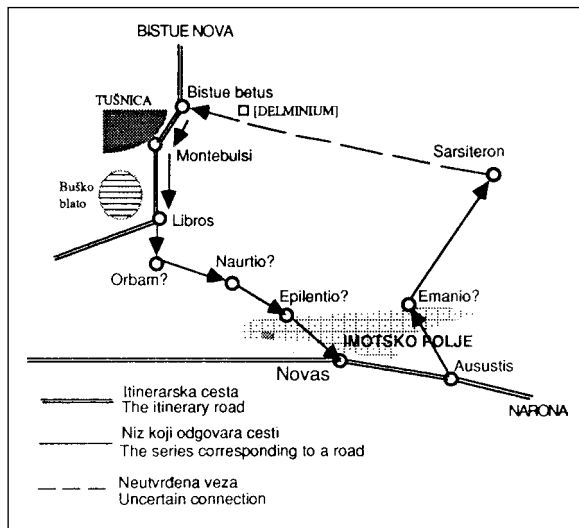


Fig. 7: Sarsiteron of the Anonymus of Ravenna (according to: Čače 1993).

Sl. 7: Sarsiteron Anonimnega Ravenata (po: Čače 1993).

not important enough for the author to have mentioned it. If it had been a larger and more important settlement, the Anonymus Geographer of Ravenna would not have left it out, like he has not left out the largest urban settlement in the basin of the lower Neretva - *Narona*.

3. THE TERRITORY OF THE DIOCESE OF SARSENTERENSIS

Sarsenterum - Sarsiteron

Despite the fact that systematic archaeological research has not begun in the area of Stolac, random archaeological finds, as well as the rescue investigation of some ancient sites, demonstrate that an important ancient urban settlement developed in this area. In the wider area of Herzegovina, if one excludes *Narona*, there are no traces of a larger urban settlement except in Stolac.¹⁶⁰ With its size and cultural achievements, it is the most prominent settlement in the wider area of the eastern Adriatic hinterland.¹⁶¹ The development of an ancient

settlement in Stolac that obtained municipal status appears logical. A beneficiary station was also situated there.¹⁶² Nearby, at Gradina in Ošanići, in the Hellenic period, the centre of the Illyric tribal community of the *Daorsei* was located.¹⁶³ After being devastated by the *Delmatae* around the middle of the second century BC, they erected a new settlement by the Bregava River.¹⁶⁴ The *Daorsei* in the time of the Illyrian - Roman wars took sides with the Romans and as a consequence suffered considerable losses, yet as Roman allies they earned certain privileges and thus had a better perspective, unlike other itinerant populations that stood up to the Romans, which largely contributed to the development of this settlement in the ancient Roman times. In the early imperial period, as *civitas peregrinorum*¹⁶⁵ they were autonomous under the protection of the Roman senate.¹⁶⁶ Their new center earned its municipal status somewhere around the time of the Flavian dynasty (69-96), that is, during the time when municipal status was more favourable than colonial.¹⁶⁷ According to early Christian norms, this place had the potential of becoming a diocese, depending on the influence of the Christian municipality. "Historia Salonitana Maior" gives evidence that *Sarsenterensis* is even more important than *Diluntum*. This is also directly confirmed in the "Cosmography" of the Anonymus Geographer of Ravenna, where *Diluntum* was not even mentioned. The "Cosmography" locates *Sarsenterum* in the far hinterland of the eastern Adriatic, while *Tabula Peutingeriana* places the station *Diluntum* closer to the shore.

Dellontino

The Salonitan synod fathers assigned the *basilicas, quae in municipiis Dellontino, Stantino, Neunense - Nouense*,¹⁶⁸ *per Rusticiarum Pecuatice et Beuzavatico* to the bishop of Sarsenterensis in the year 533. As *Dellontino* is mentioned first among them, it is justified to assume that it was a place that, like the others, gravitated towards *Sarsenterum* and was the closest one. *Tabula Peutingeriana*

¹⁶⁰ Bojanovski, 1973, 151; 1969, 146-150.

¹⁶¹ Atanacković-Salčić 1979, 35; Čremošnik 1984, 63-77.

¹⁶² Schallmayer 1990, 382-384, nos. 485-487.

¹⁶³ Marić 1977, 5-50; 1979, 61-181; 1989, 57-59; 1995, 43-93; 1996, 7-33.

¹⁶⁴ If the toponymic form Kostolac came from *castellum*, it could be a way of interpreting the genesis of the name of Stolac: Skok 1972, 57-58; Šimunović 1986, 80, 63 n. 10.

¹⁶⁵ Bojanovski 1988, 75, 94.

¹⁶⁶ Marić 1985, 49; Bojanovski 1988, 89-90, 94.

¹⁶⁷ Bojanovski 1973, 151 and n. 54.

¹⁶⁸ Klaić 1967, fig. 17.

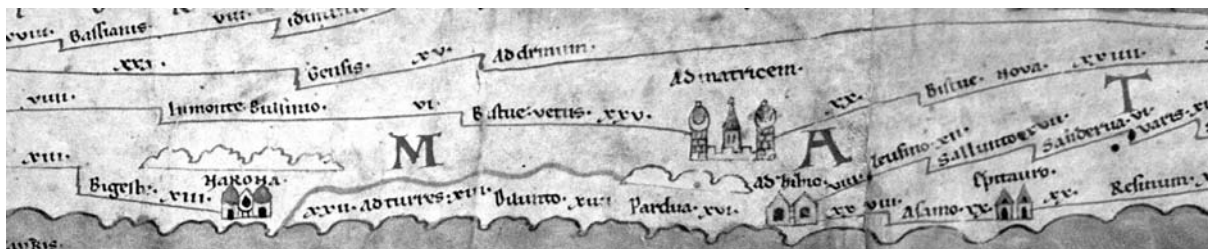


Fig. 8: Place of the station *Dilunto* from the *Tabula Peutingeriana*.
Sl. 8: Lokacija Dilunta na Tabuli Peutingeriani.

states that the station *Dilunto* was located thirty-five miles east of *Narona*, on the left side of the Neretva River beyond the station *Ad Turres* and before *Pardua* and *Zizio* (*Narona - XXII - Ad Turres - XIII - Dilunto - XIII - Pardua - XVI - Ad Zizio*) (fig. 8). *Dalluntum Dalluntum* is also mentioned on the *Itinerarium Antonini* on the road that led from *Salona* to *Durrës* (*Dyrrachium*) in northern Albania (*a Salonis Dyrrachium mp CCCIII - Ponte Tiluri XVI. Tronto XII - Bilubio XIII - Aufustianis XVIII - Narona XXV - Dallunto - XXV - Leusinio XL - Andarba XXVIII - Salunto XVIII - Alata XVII - Birziminio X - Cinna XVIII - Scodra XII - Dyrrachio L*).¹⁶⁹

From this one can conclude that the travel station *Dallunto* should be sought to the east of *Narona*. It has mostly been located in different areas of eastern Herzegovina. W. Tomaschek¹⁷⁰ and A. Mayer sought it in Hutovo (Hutovo Polje),¹⁷¹ H. Cons in Neum,¹⁷² M. Hoernes (1852-1917) in Vranjevo Selo (Neum),¹⁷³ G. Novak (1888-1978) in Neum,¹⁷⁴ H. Kiepert (1818-1899) in Popovo,¹⁷⁵ K. Miller (1844-1933) in Popovo (or Kotezi),¹⁷⁶ E. Pašalić (1915-

1967) around Trebinja in Popovo,¹⁷⁷ G. Alföldy in the local area of the Illyrian Deremists (*Dere-mistae*) or in Trebinja, but was still not sure where to seek it,¹⁷⁸ J. J. Wilkes reluctantly placed it at Ljubinje or at Trebinja in Popovo,¹⁷⁹ while A. J. Evans (1851-1941),¹⁸⁰ Č. Truhelka (1865-1942),¹⁸¹ D. Sergejevski (1886-1965),¹⁸² D. Mandić,¹⁸³ Đ. Basler,¹⁸⁴ I. Bojanovski,¹⁸⁵ and A. Škegro placed it in Stolac,¹⁸⁶ and I. Puljić at Trebinja.¹⁸⁷ Modern authors did not suspect that this itinerary station was in Stolac, in favour of which they referred to traces of an ancient settlement from Trebinja and two inscriptions that mentioned members of a municipal council (*ordo decurionum*) from Stolac¹⁸⁸ and Trebinja.¹⁸⁹ While locating *Dilunto* in Stolac, the remains of an ancient settlement with mosaics, frescos, baths, temples, buildings with hypocausts, etc., in Trebinja were unjustifiably ignored.¹⁹⁰

Some travel stations from the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, among which *Dilunto* was also mentioned, are mentioned in the "Cosmography" of the Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna in a list of towns

¹⁶⁹ Parthey, Pinder 1848, 338; Pašalić 1960, 62; Bojanovski 1973, 168; *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia* IV, 16; Cambi, Pasini 1980, 289.

¹⁷⁰ Tomaschek 1880, 548-549 and 553; Pašalić 1960, 62 and n. 12.

¹⁷¹ Mayer 1940, 141-142, 150; 1991, 116; Pašalić 1960, 63.

¹⁷² Cons 1882, 370-371, 380, 390, 398; Pašalić 1960, 62.

¹⁷³ Mayer 1940, 137; Pašalić 1960, 62.

¹⁷⁴ Novak 1944, 66.

¹⁷⁵ Kiepert 1893-1914, map 17; Pašalić 1960, 62-63.

¹⁷⁶ Kiepert 1893-1914, 468, 482; Pašalić 1960, 63.

¹⁷⁷ Pašalić 1960, 64.

¹⁷⁸ Alföldy 1965, 144, 178, 207.

¹⁷⁹ Wilkes 1969, 167, 258-259, 290.

¹⁸⁰ Evans 1883, 92-93, 103; Pašalić 1960, 62; Bojanovski 1988, 99.

¹⁸¹ Truhelka 1892, 364. Truhelka wrote: "Evans located Assano in Stolac." Truhelka 1892, n. 1.

¹⁸² Sergejevski 1935, 17-18; 1962, 111-113; Pašalić 1960, 63.

¹⁸³ Mandić 1962, 20.

¹⁸⁴ Basler (Kujundžić) 1976b, 25-26; 1982, 140.

¹⁸⁵ Bojanovski, 1969, 146-150; 1973, 151; 1980, 183; 1988, 99-102, 377.

¹⁸⁶ Škegro 2002a, 11-13.

¹⁸⁷ Puljić 1999, 111-112.

¹⁸⁸ *CIL* III 13874; Bojanovski 1973, 151, note 54: — / [— m]atri k(astrorum?) —? / [—] sc(—) ob[— / —?] dicati(ssimus?)—? / — / m —? /³—] cos[—? / —] un[—?] l(oco) d(ato) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) [—?].

¹⁸⁹ Bojanovski 1977, 83-86: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) / P(ublio) Aplio Plas(so) patri pientis/simo dec(urioni) m(unicipii) Dil(unti) /³ et A[nniae] fil(iae)] infelicissi/mae def(unctae) an(norum) VIII. / P(ublius) Anni(us) v(ivus) sibi et /¹⁰ suis fecit.*

¹⁹⁰ Bojanovski 1973, 152.

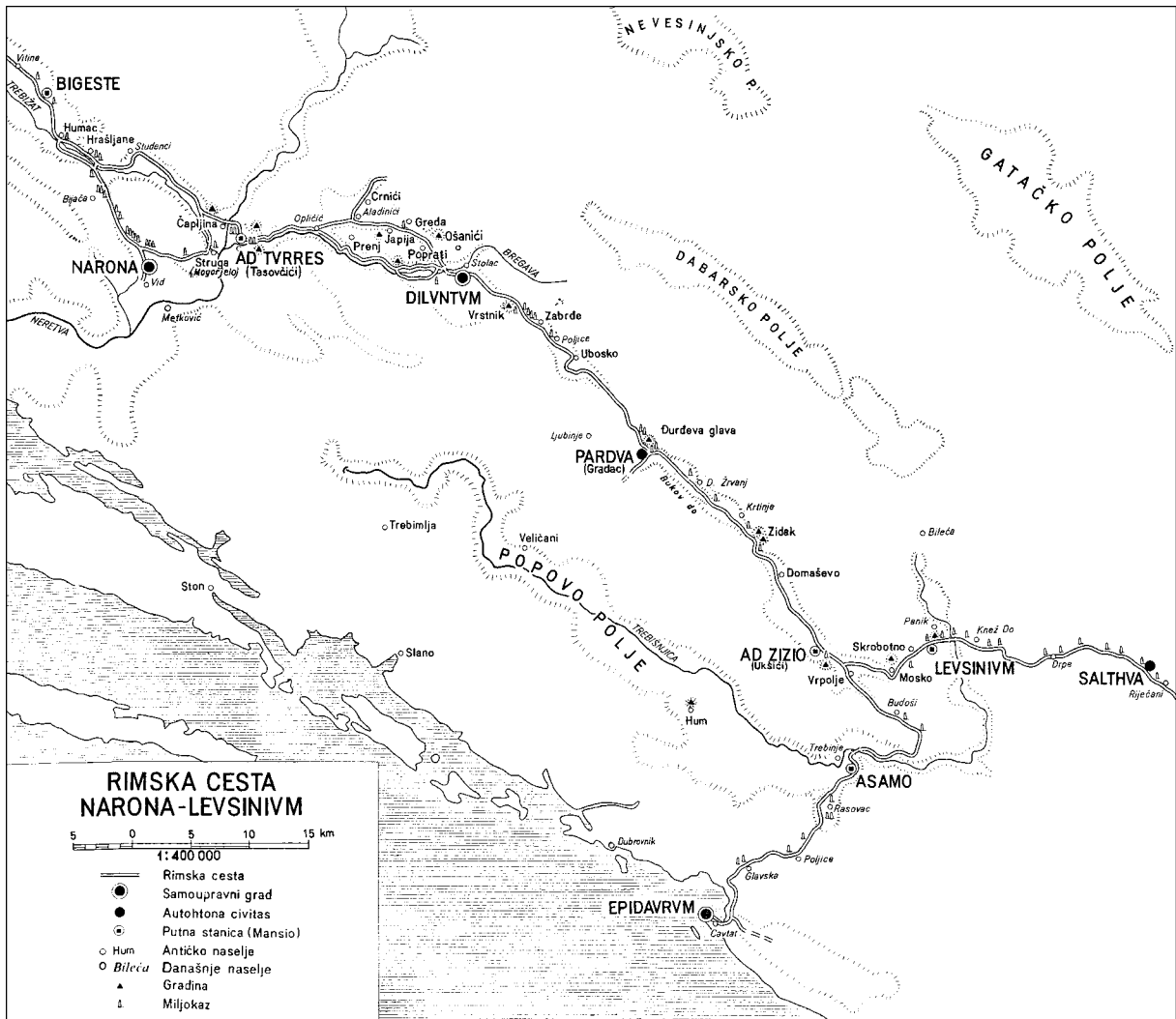


Fig. 9: Roman road in eastern Herzegovina (according to: Bojanovski 1973).

Sl. 9: Rimska cesta v vzhodni Hercegovini (po: Bojanovski 1973).

on the coast (*per litus maris*). They are *Epitaurum id est Ragusium*, *Asamon*, *Zidion*, *Pardua id est Stamnes*, *Turres*, *Narrona*. On the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, the *Dilunto* travel station is mentioned between *Turres* and *Pardua* in the "Cosmography" of the Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna. In some other instances, the "Cosmography" becomes more detailed, so that right along the coast (*circa ipsa litora maris*) it mentions among other items: *Epitauron*, *Assidium*, *Bretorum*, *Turres*, *Narrona*.¹⁹¹ It is evident for *Assidium* that this is the same as *Ad Zizio*, and *Turres* is obviously *Ad Turres* from the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. These are travel stations from the group of stations along the coast, where *Dilunto* is mentioned as well. Considering the fact that it

is located on the same travel route, *Dilunto* cannot be further from the shore, so it is not wise to locate it at Stolac. The ancient road towards the east connected *Narona* and *Stolac* (fig. 9), and this route is well documented in the sources.¹⁹² Therefore there are no arguments to tie this road with the roads from the *Tabula Peutingeriana* or the "Cosmography" of the Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna. These sources do not contain descriptions of all the ancient roads.¹⁹³ The important road which led from *Narona* over the Nevesinjsko plain deeper inland towards eastern and central Bosnia was not recorded by any sources,¹⁹⁴ despite the fact there is much evidence in the form of unpaved roadways, beaten paths, milestones, traces of ancient

¹⁹¹ *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia* V, 14; Cambi, Pasini 1980, 289, 291.

¹⁹² Bojanovski 1980, 183.

¹⁹³ Bojanovski 1974b, 21.

¹⁹⁴ Bojanovski 1978, 52.

settlements next to it, and the like. This road can be easily traced from the valley of the Neretva River through the Bregava River canyon, going straight over the Dubrava plateau, Brštanik, Stjepan Krst, Jasena, etc. It is one of the oldest Roman roads in Dalmatia, which was constructed before the great builder and governor of Dalmatia *Publius Cornelius Dolabella* (14-20).¹⁹⁵ In addition to the inscriptions from Trebinja and Stolac, one of the crucial arguments for identifying the ancient settlement of Stolac with *Dilunto* is this very road that ran through Stolac as well. This road is identified with the route from the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and the *Itinerarium Antonini*, although its track through eastern Herzegovina has not been precisely determined. Thus, for instance, the route from *Narona* to Stolac, Ljubomir, and Trebinje to *Epidaurus* (Cavtat) is uncertain, because of the fact that there were at least two more logical, and by a third shorter, road directions, next to which traces of ancient edifices have been verified as well. One runs over the Hrasno plateau, and the other is located in the coastal area of Dubrovnik.

Stantino

The "Cosmography" by the Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna identifies the travel station *Pardua* with *Stamnes* (*Pardua id est Stamnes*),¹⁹⁶ which Čače explains as "Pardua, from which you can reach another town, namely Ston" or "in the vicinity of which there is another town, namely Ston" or "on the other side there is another town, namely Ston" or to put it in a simplified way, "Pardua, and here is also Ston" (fig. 10).¹⁹⁷ During the Middle Ages, Ston was also called *Stona* (*Stannum*, *Stannu*, *Stagno*, *Stagnum*).¹⁹⁸ This signified an underwater place, stagnant water, dead water, and a salt lake, which are all traits of the Veliki Ston area.¹⁹⁹ *Stagnon* (τό Στάγνον) is discussed in the thirteenth chapter of the work entitled "De administrando Imperio" of the Byzantine emperor Constantinus VII Porphyrogenetus as the first of five towns in the territory of the Zahumlje

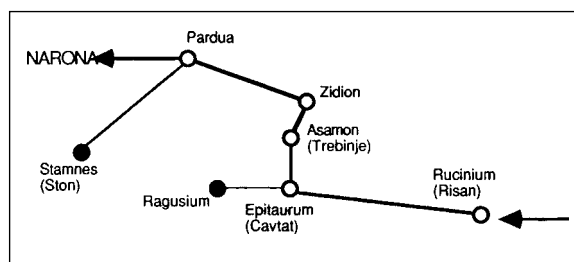


Fig. 10: *Pardua* and *Stamnes* of the Anonymous of Ravenna (according to: Čače 1993).

Sl. 10: *Pardua* in *Stamnes* Anonimnega Ravenata (po: Čače 1993).

people.²⁰⁰ The Byzantine writer Kekaumenos (the second half of the eleventh century) mentions *Stamnon* (τήν Στάγνον).²⁰¹ *Civitas Stagnum*, which was part of the *Salona* metropolitan see, is mentioned as well in the late medieval source called *Provinciale vetus*.²⁰² The same source refers to the bishop of Ston (*episcopus Stagnensis*), who was under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan see of Dubrovnik.²⁰³ This title was retained by the bishops of Ston afterwards as well (*episcopi stagnenses*).²⁰⁴

Stantino is mentioned in the "Historia Salonitana Maior" as the second municipality whose basilica had been assigned to the bishop of *Sarsenterum*. *Antibarum's* archbishop Gregory (the priest of Dioclea) calls Ston at the end of the twelfth century *Stantania*.²⁰⁵ Including *Stantania* in the diocese of *Sarsenterensis* makes the location of its centre at the distant Biskup-Krupac (Glavatičevo, Konjic) absurd, as well as at Mostar and Žitomislčići, which were the natural hinterland of *Narona* and which they certainly were a part of in 533. *Stantino* was separated from the diocese of *Narona* and assigned to the diocese of *Sarsenterensis*. The road connecting Ston with Stolac, along which the author of this work locates *Sarsenterum*, is much more favourable than the road connecting Ston with *Narona*, and it was used throughout the year. Its existence has been verified by the numerous ancient edifices that have been found along this road (Neum, Neljetovlje, Vranjevo Selo, Moševići, Gradac, Broćanac, Prapratnica, Hutovski Grad, Hutovo - Crkvine, Previšića Gradina, Basarića Gradina, Burmazi, Poplat).²⁰⁶

¹⁹⁵ Bojanovski 1974b, 15; Puljić 1999, 107.

¹⁹⁶ *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia* IV, 16; Cambi, Pasini 1980, 289. "Pardua, (Stamnes), današnji Ston". Novak 2001, 66.

¹⁹⁷ Čače 1993, 397.

¹⁹⁸ Skok 1922, 129-130; 1973, 338.

¹⁹⁹ Zaninović 1987, 16, 17.

²⁰⁰ Porfirogenet 2003, 89.

²⁰¹ Čače 1993, 397 n. 170.

²⁰² Škegro 2005, 52-53.

²⁰³ Škegro 2005, 63.

²⁰⁴ Farlati 1800, 324-362; Gams 1873, 421; Eubel 1913, 487.

²⁰⁵ Šišić 1928, 327; Mošin 1950, 75.

²⁰⁶ Truhelka 1892, 350-365; Marijan 1989, 35-59; Puljić 1994, *passim*; 1995, 21.

Pardua

Pardua, with which Stamno (*Stamnes*) is identified, is located at Gradac near Ljubinje,²⁰⁷ more to the north in Gacko in eastern Herzegovina.²⁰⁸ In the context of identifying it with *Stamnum* (Ston), this does not seem at all logical. If *Pardua* were located in one of the places mentioned, then the trip from *Narona* to *Stamnum* (Ston) would be longer, despite the four times shorter naval route *Narona - Stamnum*. The fact that the *Tabula Peutingeriana* is not a reliable source has been known for a long time,²⁰⁹ which becomes prominent precisely in the context of this naval route. The inscription in memory of the decurion of the *municipium Deluntum* from Trebinja²¹⁰ would not support locating *Pardua* at the cited places. The inscription indicates that whether or not *Diluntum* was at Trebinja, its area was certainly part of the *Diluntum ager*. Travelling from *Narona* to *Pardua*, which was according to the "Cosmography" the same as Ston (*Pardua id est Stamnes*), the traveller would, according to the *Tabula Peutingeriana* have to go through *Diluntum* (thus including Trebinja) and finally after that, having passed at least fourteen miles, turn towards *Stamnum* (Ston),²¹¹ which does not at all seem logical. The travel station *Leusino* was also without valid reason placed outside the Trebinje-Dživar area and located at Panik near Bileća.²¹² This is in contradiction to the Montecassino Chronicles, in whose epitomes it is stated that the emperor Justinian awarded numerous estates to Benedict of Nursia (ca. 480 - ca. 550), among which there is one in *Lausinum (In Dalmatia Pontem Tiluri, Biludium, Lausinium, Salluntum)*. A Benedictine estate has been verified only in Dživar (Trebinje), as well as at St. Peter's in the Field (sv. Petar u Polju).²¹³ The road mentioned is more logically to be sought in a more natural direction, namely somewhere on the way from *Narona* through Hrasno and Gornje Popovsko towards Hum,²¹⁴ and through Hutovo and Gradac and the Dubrovnik coastal area, which could be reached via Vukov

Klanac.²¹⁵ In accordance with this, it would be logical to look for the travel station *Dilunto* at the place where it has been verified, namely in the remains of the ancient settlement in Trebinja, or in its vicinity. Those who know lower Herzegovina know that Popovsko Polje (plain) is inundated most of the year, and because of that it could not possibly be the centre of a region, but rather a place that separates it. It separates the coastal area from the region to the north of Popovsko Polje, which also includes Stolac, whereas Trebinja belongs to the coastal area.²¹⁶

Nouense per Rusticiarum pecuatico

Since there are no original texts of the *Salona* synods' acts, one cannot connect with certainty the terms *Novense (Neuense)* with *Rusticiarum (Rasticiarum, Rusticiarum, Rusticarum)* and *pecuatico (Pecuatia, Potuatico, pecuatio, potuatico)*, which was noted after it. The oldest copy by the *Congregatio de propaganda Fide* directs the reader to read it as *Neuense per Rusticiarum pecuatico* without the full-stop mark as the separator, which is, for instance, found between *Stantino* and *Neuense*, as well as after *Pecuatico* and before et *Beuzavatico*. *Pecuatico* is also written with a small initial letter, which is also the case with *dellontino* in the copy of the acts by the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. The copy of the Kaptol archives in Split 529b, 25r, also suggests the reading of *Nouense per Rusticiarum pecuatio* without commas, which are placed before and after these terms. This would lead to the conclusion that there is a possibility of a unique term. The copy 485, on the other hand, in the same archive, in the name *Nouensi* makes the letter "i" longer by drawing a longer curved line, which ends in such a way as if the author wanted to put a full stop before that name. He makes a distinction between the term *per Rusticiarum* and *pecuatico*, which he also writes with a small initial letter, like the above-mentioned cop-

²⁰⁷ Sergejevski 1962, 111-113; Bojanovski 1973, 158; 1980, 183.

²⁰⁸ Bojanovski 1973, 158 n. 69.

²⁰⁹ Mommsen: *CIL* III 290; Mayer 1940, 145; Pašalić 1960, 63-64; Bojanovski, 1980, 183; 1983, 9, 11-13.

²¹⁰ Sergejevski 1935, 17-18, Pl. IV, fig. 1; Bojanovski 1977, 84; Atanacković-Salčić 1979, 7-40; *ILJug* 1740.

²¹¹ Bojanovski 1980, 183-189; 1983, 15.

²¹² Bojanovski 1988, 84-85, 378.

²¹³ Ostojić 1963, 80; Popović 1973, 313-347.

²¹⁴ Near Hum an isolated hill called *Cicina* could be the crossroad *Ad Zizio* that is mentioned in *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

²¹⁵ During the excavations in Dubravica, archeologists found the remains of a path that led towards Vukov Klanac. This information was shared with me by Mr. Vidović.

²¹⁶ Bojanovski notes the geographical connection of Trebinje to the coastal region. However, this assumption does not suggest to him the location of *Diluntum* in this region, but rather the conclusion that the sea-coast of Slano was part of *Diluntum*. Bojanovski 1988, 100.

ies, with a comma placed a little lower. All these copies lead to the conclusion that one cannot claim with certainty whether these are three terms, two terms or just one. It is also not clear what the connection between them is, or rather if there is any connection between them at all! It is especially curious that the third name in four of the six copies is written with a small initial letter *p*, which is not the case with any other name. This leads to the conclusion that this name might be considered an adjective.

Nouense per Rusticiarum, as it is usually read by authors of newer editions of the acts of the diocese of *Salona*, is mentioned after *Dellontino* and *Stantino* as a part of the diocese of Sarsenterensis.²¹⁷ If we accept the fusion of these two terms, as well as the fusion of these with *pecuatico*, as it is suggested in the above-mentioned copies, in this case it would be a settlement that had the traits of a municipality like the previous two settlements, but it would also be an ethnic territory. There are some indications for this in the fact that the *Muccur* diocese was founded simultaneously with the *Sasenter* and the *Ludrum* dioceses, and that at the same synod of *Salona* was also assigned the territory of the Delmatic tribe - *Onestini* (*delminese Onestinum*), which is located in Srednja Poljica in the heart of Mosor.²¹⁸ *Nouense* (*Neuense*) *per Rusticiarum* probably refers to the area that was inhabited by the Illyrian tribe *Narensae* somewhere between late antiquity and the medieval period. The name was found on an early Roman tombstone in Trgovište at the foot of Brljevska glavica in Kazanci near Gacko.²¹⁹ They are also mentioned by Pliny the Younger (*Naresi*),²²⁰ Ptolemy (Ναρένδιοι),²²¹ and Appian (Ναρέδιοι).²²² Judging by the other sources that are to

some extent close to these epigraphic materials,²²³ it seems that the *Narensai* tribe lived in Dabarsko plain to the southeast of Stolac, where there have been attempts to locate the *Deremistae*.²²⁴ Judging from onomastics, the *Narensae* resisted the Romans for quite a long time. It seems that a large reason for this was their economic power – in stockbreeding – due to which they remained a rustic population (*Narensae Rustici*). Another reminder of the stock-breeding tradition of ancient times in eastern Herzegovina is the border inscription carved on the cliff of Sarića Greda (Zmajevac) in Stolac near Gacko at the crossing from Gatačko plain to Cernica.²²⁵ Ancient settlements have been verified on Dabarsko plain,²²⁶ which is very well connected by roads with Stolac.²²⁷ *Narensae* is not difficult to connect linguistically to the *Nouense* - (*Neuense*) from the "Historia Salonita Maior",²²⁸ as well as Nevesinje, which the archbishop of Bar, Gregory (the priest of Docleia)²²⁹ and other earlier writers²³⁰ mention under the name *Netusini* (*Netussigne*).²³¹ Tomaschek saw *Petuaticum* as a large grazing field, locating it in the western area of Herzegovina.²³² Considering the location of *Sarsenterum* at the ancient settlement in Stolac, we would rather place *Nouense per Rusticiarum* in the area gravitating towards the Stolac area, since it is connected to it by roads. The most appropriate area in this context seems to be the Nevesinjsko plain, which has optimal conditions for extensive stock-breeding.²³³ It was connected to the ancient settlement in Stolac by a very old road which ran through the canjon of the Bregava.²³⁴ Attempts have been made to locate the Illyric tribe of the *Glinditiones*²³⁵ in the Nevesinjsko plain region, that is, *per Rusticiarum* from the area of the diocese of Sarsenterensis.²³⁶ There were several

²¹⁷ Klaić 1967, 83; Gunjača 1973, 54; Ivanišević 1994, 161.

²¹⁸ Klaić 1967, 83; Gunjača 1973, 54; Ivanišević 1994, 161; Škegro 2002b, 50-53.

²¹⁹ Mandić Studo 1985, 192; Bojanovski 1988, 109; Atanacković-Salčić 1990, 8; Škegro 2003, 154-157, n. 18: [*Tattaris / Veneti (filius) vel fil(ius) / et Temus B[a]/tonis fil(ia), / ⁵Narensai. / Annaei (filiae) ann(or)um / XXV. Hic sita / est.*

²²⁰ *PLIN.*, *Nat. hist.*, III, 143.

²²¹ *PTOL.*, II, 16, 5.

²²² *APP.*, III, 16.

²²³ *CIL* III 12800; Bojanovski 1988, 110; Škegro 2003, 155-157.

²²⁴ Bojanovski 1988, 110-112.

²²⁵ Sergejevski 1938, 20 n. 18; Bojanovski 1988, 108: *Te(rminus?) IN (...) Te(rminus?) VCV (...)?*.

²²⁶ Bojanovski 1987, 89; 1988, 110-111.

²²⁷ Vego 1957, 29-30.

²²⁸ Klaić 1967, p. Fig. 17. fol. 615r.

²²⁹ Mošin 1950, 75.

²³⁰ Šišić 1928, 327; Mošin 1950, 75.

²³¹ Mužić 2002, 55, 190; Bojanovski locates *per Rusticiarum* in the Nevesinjsko plain: Bojanovski 1988, 135.

²³² Mužić 2002, 55, 190.

²³³ Tomaschek 1880, 548.

²³⁴ Bojanovski, 1988, 106-108.

²³⁵ Bojanovski 1978, 78-95, add. I; 1987, add. II, appendix I, appendix II.

²³⁶ Bojanovski 1988, 106-108.

ancient settlements discovered in the Nevesinje area, which were attached to ancient communication routes. The largest one was on both sides of Zalomka in Drenovik near Kifin Selo (Nevesinje), where several adjacent routes crossed.²³⁷

Beuzavaticum - Benzavaticum

What lies underneath the term *Beuzavaticum - Benzavaticum* still remains unclear. The authors mentioned above placed it, for the main part without argument, in different places. Tomaschek saw in it the estate of some Delmataean named *Beuza*, because he claimed that *Beusas* was a common Delmataean name. *Beusas* or *Beuzas* is a common Illyrian name (*cognomen*).²³⁸ It is quite probable that it was located on the northern or northeastern border of the diocese of Sarsenterensis.²³⁹ It is also possible that it referred to the area of Gacko plain.

4. CONCLUSION

The "Historia Salonitana Maior" gives evidence that in the year 533, at the second synod of *Salona*, the diocese of Sarsenterensis was founded. Paulin was ordained to be its bishop. Basilicas were assigned to it, as written in the copies of "Historia Salonitana Maior": *in monicipiis Dellontino, Stantino, Noenese (Neuense) per Rusticiarum pecuatico, et Beuzavatico supra constituto*. With the solutions given by the authors mentioned above, this work suggests that the area of *Narensae* might be the same as *Novensae (Nouense per Rusticiarum)*, that *Pecuaticum* could be identified with Nevesinjsko plain, and that the area of *Beuzavaticum* or *Benzavaticum* could also be found in the area of eastern Herzegovina. Considering the usual customs of the Church in ancient times, i.e. that dioceses could be founded only in places worthy of episcopal dignity, one comes to the conclusion that the centre of the diocese of Sarsenterensis - *Sarsenterum (Sarsiteron)* should be found in the ancient urban

settlement of Stolac. In terms of its size and importance, it exceeds all other ancient settlements from the wider area of the lower Neretva River except for *Narona*. The growth of the urban settlement in Stolac and its significance for the wider surrounding area was conditioned by the special status that Rome awarded to the *Daorsei* tribe as their allies in the wars with the Illyrian tribes, as well as by its central position in this specific and different mini-region. Besides that, the line of communication of *Stantino* and *Delontino* with Stolac was geographically more favourable and natural than that of *Narona* and other dioceses of that time, which was not taken into account by the researchers. Christianity in Stolac consolidated in pre-Constantinian times.²⁴⁰ Judging by the traces of sacral objects from the wider area of Stolac, it particularly blossomed until late antiquity, which was the prerequisite for the founding of a new diocese. In the wider region of the lower Neretva River, excluding *Narona*, only the ancient settlement at Stolac possesses the qualities of an urban settlement.²⁴¹ In this context, it is only logical to connect the centre of the diocese of Sarsenterensis precisely with this. The remains of this settlement are also not contrary to the norms that in late antiquity applied to the creation of dioceses. Just like *Narona*, the ancient settlement of Stolac could contribute with its importance to episcopal dignity. Thus, it is illogical to place *Diluntum* in Stolac, and then to search for a larger settlement that would be the centre of the diocese of Sarsenterensis. Such an arrangement of places included in this diocese produces a naturally integrated and a historically justified territory. The diocese of Sarsenterensis did not terminate with the migration of barbarian peoples. Its bishop retreated during those tumultuous times into his more sheltered parish of Ston (*Stantino* from 533 AD). It is precisely because of this that the Split synods from 925 and 928 AD do not deny the right of existence of the Ston diocese. The diocese of Sarsenterensis became the diocese of Ston because of the migration of its bishop, or rather the diocese of Zahumlje, which was named after the principality where it extended.

²³⁷ Bojanovski 1978, 114; 1988, 135 n. 14.

²³⁸ Bojanovski 1978, 84; 1988, 106.

²³⁹ Alföldy 1969, 165.

²⁴⁰ Bojanovski 1988, 375.

²⁴¹ Basler 1976a, 88-89; 1986, 17; 1988, 31; 1990, 25.

²⁴² Atanacković-Salčić 1979, 7-40; Bojanovski 1988, 88-102.

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Sarsenterska škofija

Povzetek

Omembo sarsenterske škofije najdemo v aktih druge salonitanske sinode, ki je potekala pod vodstvom salonitanskega nadškofa Honorija II. (528-547) leta 533 v Salonu. Na tej sinodi so bile ustanovljene nove škofije v Sarsenteru, Mukuru in Ludru (*in Sarsentero, Muccuro et Ludro*) in posvečeni njihovi škofi. Iz aktov te sinode je razvidno, da so bile sarsenterski škofiji dodeljene bazilike s področij municipijev Delontina in Stantina, "*Nouense (Neuense) per Rusticiarum*", Potuatika in Beuzavatika oz. Benzavatika ter nekaterih drugih (*Sarsentersis episcopus basilicas, quae in municipiis Dellontino, Stanti-*

no, Nouense (Neuense) per Rusticiarum, Potuatico et Beuzavatice (Benzavatice) et supra constitutae sunt). Ker za Sarsenter (*Sarsenterum, Sarsiteron*) ni epigrafskih dokazov, se lahko pri iskanju lokacije škofije in mest oz. področij pod pristojnostjo njene škofa naslanjamo le na itinerarije in geografske vire ter rezultate arheoloških raziskav. S to škofijo se je ukvarjala že vrsta avtorjev, od katerih sta bila prva I. Lučić (1604-1679) in D. Farlati (1690-1773). Razen D. Mandića (1889-1973), B. Rupčića (1920-1984) in I. Puljića so jo le mimogrede omenili v okviru drugih vprašanj poznoantične oz. zgodnesrednjeveške

zgodovine. Trditve o njej so pogosto postavljali ne ozirajoč se na norme, ki so veljale v obdobju zgodnjega krščanstva, pogosto celo v nasprotju s pravili o izogibanju prekrivanju pristojnosti sosednjih škofij. Pri soočanju z zapletenim problemom iskanja središča sarsenterske škofije in njenega ozemlja je večina avtorjev uporabljala trditve o tej škofiji, ki so jih postavili W. Tomaschek (1841-1901), F. Bulić (1846-1934) in F. Šišić (1869-1940). Naslanjajoč se bolj na njihovo avtoriteto kot na lastno presojo so pogosto prišli do zelo nenavadnih rešitev. Nekateri so središče sarsenterske škofije iskali v Aržanu (Imotski), njeno ozemlje videli od Stolca v vzhodni, do Buškega blata in Šuice v severozahodni Hercegovini, obenem pa pripisovali Duvanjsko polje mukurski škofiji. Drugi so iskali Sarsenter na področju Konjica, Mostarja oz. Stolca, obenem pa pripisovali širše področje spodnjega toka Neretve naronitanski škofiji. Tretji so iskali središče sarsenterske škofije v večjih zgodnjekrščanskih stavbah najdišč v Hercegovini.

"Historia Salonitana Maior" priča, da je bila na drugi salonitanski sinodi 533 ustanovljena tudi sarsenterska škofija. Za škofa je bil posvečen duhovnik Pavlin. Vanjo so bile vključene bazilike, kakor je zapisano v nekaterih prepisih tega spisa: *in monicipiis Dellontino, Stantino, Nouense (Neuense) per Rusticiarum pecuatico, et Beuzavatico supra constituto*. Ta prepis dopušča interpretacijo, da je področje Narensov (*Narensae*) z Debarskega polja jugovzhodno od Stolca mogoče identificirati z Novensami (*Nouense per Rusticiarum*), da se Pekuatik (*Pecuaticum*) lahko enači z Nevesinjskim poljem ter da lahko področje Beuzavatika oz. Benzavatika (*Beuzavaticum - Benzavaticum*) iščemo na vzhodnohercegovskem prostoru. Če upoštevamo antično cerkveno prakso, da se škofije lahko ustanavljajo samo na mestih, ki so vredna škofovskega dostojanstva, pridemo do ugotovitve, da moramo središče sarsenterske škofije - Sarsenterum (*Sarsiteron*) iskati v ostankih antične urbane naselbine v Stolcu. Ta naselbina s svojo velikostjo in pomenom prevladuje med ostalimi antičnimi naselbinami na širšem območju spodnje Neretve, z izjemo Narone. Rast urbane naselbine v Stolcu in njen pomen za širšo okolico sta pogojena s posebnim statusom, s katerim je Rim nagradil Daorse (*Daorsei*) kot svoje zaveznike v vojnah z Iliri, ter z njegovo centralno pozicijo v tej specifični in od okolice drugačni miniregiji. Poleg tega je bila komunikacija med Stantinom in Delontinom

ter Stolcem geografsko ugodnejša in bolj naravna kot z Narono in drugimi tedanjimi škofijskimi središči, česar dosedanji raziskovalci niso upoštevali. Krščanstvo se je v Stolcu zakoreninilo še v predkonstantinski dobi. Če lahko sodimo po ostankih sakralnih objektov s širšega območja Stolca, se je krščanstvo na tem območju do časa pozne antike resnično razcvetelo, kar je bilo obenem predpogoj za osnovanje nove škofije. Na širšem območju spodnjega toka Neretve, z izjemo Narone, ima samo antična naselbina v Stolcu značilnosti urbane naselbine. Glede na to je smiselno povezovati prav to naselbino s središčem sarsenterske škofije. Ostanki te naselbine tudi niso v nasprotju z normami, ki so v pozni antiki veljale za ustanavljanje škofijskih središč. Tako kot Narona je tudi antična naselbina v Stolcu s svojim pomenom lahko prispevala k škofijskemu dostojanstvu. Glede na to je nesmiselno v Stolcu locirati *Diluntum* in potem iskati večjo naselbino, v katero bi lahko postavili središče sarsenterske škofije. S tako razporeditvijo mest, vključenih v to škofijo, dobimo naravno celovito in zgodovinsko upravičeno ozemlje. Sarsenterska škofija se ni končala v burnem času selitev barbarskih ljudstev, temveč se je njen škof zatekel v svojo bolj zavarovano župnijo Ston (*Stantino* iz leta 533). Prav zato splitski sinodi iz let 925 in 928 ne zanikata pravice do obstoja Stonski škofiji. Sarsenterska škofija s selitvijo njenega škofa v Ston (*Stantino*) postane stonska oz. zahumska škofija, ime pa dobi po kneževini, v kateri se je nahajala.

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