

Mining in the Inland of the Roman province of Dalmatia in the 3rd and 4th centuries

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Abstract

The paper starts with a short overview of the mining activities in the inland of the Roman province of Dalmatia during the first two centuries of the Roman rule, followed by a detailed analysis of Roman mining in this province in the 3rd and 4th centuries. The interpretation of narrative sources and texts carved on ancient epigraphic monuments presents the administration in the mines in the context of gold, lead, silver, and iron mining. It should be noted that the most important mines in the province of Dalmatia are located around Domavia. This mining settlement was the administrative centre of the largest Dalmatian mining district of Argentaria, whose name we know from the itinerary *Tabula Peutingeriana* from Late Antiquity. Under the Severan dynasty (193–235), Domavia got its municipal status. Epigraphic monuments corroborated that Domavia was declared *colonia metalla* during the period of barracks emperors. Using the official title, we concluded that the mines and colonies were mutually dependent primarily on state interests in order to maintain a high level of silver and lead production. During the 3rd and 4th centuries, Domavia was the centre of *procurator argentariarum*, i.e., *procurator metallorum Pannoniorum et Delmaticorum*. Apart from Argentaria in the eastern part of present-day Bosnia, other important mining centres of Dalmatia were in central Bosnia, southwestern Serbia, and northwestern Montenegro. Sources suggest that Dalmatian mines of the 3rd and 4th centuries were part of a single mining administration that, in different time periods,

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were ruled by *curator Illyrici metallarius*, *comes sacrarum largitionum*, and *comes metallorum per Illyricum*. The mines in the inland of Dalmatia, hidden by inaccessible Bosnian mountains, were relatively well-protected from barbarian intrusions during the Late Empire.

Keywords: mining, Dalmatia, *procurator metallorum*, Illyricum, Domavia, Argentaria, epigraphy, Late Antiquity, Late Empire, third century, fourth century.

Archaeological and historical research suggests that mining was one of the most important industries in the Roman province of Dalmatia. Indeed, one of the motives for conquering the Adriatic hinterland was to control this mining wealth. Through their previous trade connections, the Romans were familiar with the fact that the inland of the Roman province of Dalmatia was rich in gold, silver, iron, and copper mines. In order to better understand the process of production and administration of Dalmatian mines in the 3rd and 4th centuries, we present a short overview of mining in the earlier period, as follows.

A short overview of mining in the 1st and 2nd centuries

The narrative source analysis suggests that after quelling the Great Illyrian Uprising (AD 6–9), the Romans started mining gold in the area. The Roman author and historian Publius Annius Florus wrote that Emperor Augustus ordered the military legate (*praepositus Delmatiae*) of the province of Dalmatia, Gaius Vibius Postumus, to recruit locals for mining gold veins and gold panning.¹ Pliny the Elder and Publius Papinius Statius also wrote about the gold mining in Dalmatia during the 1st century.² According to the analysis of the archaeological finds, epigraphic monuments, and narrative sources, Dalmatian gold mines were located in central Bosnia (the foothills of Vranica mountain and the valleys of the rivers Lepenica, Željeznica, and Fojnica).³ Dušanić assumes that the administration of Illyrian mines was centralized under *tabularium* within the office of *procurator a rationibus* under the Flavian dynasty (69–96).⁴ All precious metal mines in Illyricum, including those

1 Flor, *Epit.* 2.25.

2 Plin. *Nat. hist.* 33.67; Stat. *Silv.* 3.3.89.

3 Škegro, “Eksploatacija zlata,” 149–155; Škegro, *Gospodarstvo rimske provincije Dalmacije*, 51–52; Hirt, *Imperial Mines*, 73–74; Šačić, “Antički epigrafski spomenici,” 91–92.

4 Dušanić concluded that the jurisdiction of the office of *procurator a rationibus* also included the surveillance of imperial mines during the 1st century based on a poem about the father

in Dalmatia, may have been consolidated under a single administration. On the other hand, the data from Late Antiquity suggest that iron mines were organized differently.

There are two epigraphic monuments attesting to gold mining in this area – those from Salona and Rignanum mentioning *Augusti commentariensis aurariarum* and *dispensator aurariarum*, respectively.⁵ This function is associated with the mining administration in the gold mines.⁶ The dating of the monument is relatively uncertain, but through onomastic analysis, Škegro dated them to the reign of Trajan (117–138).⁷ Although this conclusion should be taken with a grain of salt, it is justified to assume that Dalmatian mines lost their importance following Trajan's conquest of Dacia.⁸ Nevertheless, given the epigraphic monuments from Dacia (*Ampelum*), we know that gold mines were governed by procurators and their deputies (*subprocuratores*) during the 2nd century.⁹ We can anticipate that Dalmatian mines had the same model of administration, i.e., Dalmatian mines were not leased to private persons (*conductores*). Nevertheless, we should note that Dalmatian gold mines were not large in terms of capacity, so we can assume that they were already exhausted in the 1st century.

The first reliable information regarding iron, silver, and lead mining in the Roman province of Dalmatia only appears in the 2nd century. The oldest evidence is numismatic, in the form of small copper coins (*nummi metallorum*)

of Claudius Etruscus written by Statius (*Stat. Silv.* 3.3.89-90: ([...] *ab auriferis eiectat Hiberia fossis, Dalmatico quod monte nitet*). Dušanić, "Aspects of Roman Mining," 93–94.

- 5 *D(is) M(anibus) / Thaumasto / Aug(usti) comen-/tarie(n)si(!) aurari-⁵/arum Delmatarum / felicissimus dis-/pe(n)sator titu-/lum p(osuit) (CIL 03, 01997 = ILS 1595); Iovi Op(timo) M(aximo) / M(arcus) Ulpus Aug(usti) lib(ertus) / Thaumastus / a commentariis ⁵/ operum publicorum / et rationis patrimonii / d(ono)d(edit) (CIL 11, 03860 = ILS 1603 = EDR 145750).*
- 6 This expression primarily referred to the person who took care of the finances in wealthy homes, but in time it became a term that refer to civil servants in charge of the public treasury (Andreau, *Banking and Business*, 65; Fagan, *Bathing in Public*, 204).
- 7 Škegro, "Eksploatacija zlata," 147; Škegro, *Gospodarstvo rimske provincije Dalmacije*, 43.
- 8 Considering the epigraphic monuments from Dacia and the mining region *Apulum*, we can conclude that the Dacian gold mines were ruled by procurators and their deputies (*subprocuratores*) during the 2nd century.
- 9 *D(is) M(anibus) / M(arco) Ulpio Aug(usti) / lib(erto) Hermiae proc(uratori) / aurariarum cuius ⁵/ reliquiae ex indulgentia / Aug(usti) n(o)stri Romam latae / sunt / Salonia Palestrice / coniunx et Diogenes ¹⁰/ lib(ertus) bene merenti fecer(unt) / vixit ann(os) LV (CIL 03, 01312 = ILS 1593 = EDH 045816); I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Taviano / et dis deabusque / pro salute et victori[a] ⁵/ domini n(o)stri sanctissimi / [T?]avianus Aug(usti) lib(ertus) / sub pro(curator) auraria[r(um)] / v(otum) s(olvit) a(nimo) [l(ibenter)] (CIL 03, 01088 = CIL 03, 01088 add. p. 1390).*

whose reverse contains the text *Metalli Ulpiani Delm(atici)* and which can be dated to the period from 102/103 to 111/112.¹⁰ Given the plural form of the word *metallum*, Bojanovski concluded that Trajan's mines in Dalmatia and their smelters encompassed many smaller plants that belonged to the imperial treasury (*fiscus*).¹¹ Such an administrative principle was maintained even among Trajan's successors, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. These two emperors also forged money with the legend *Metalli Ulpiani Delm(atici)*.¹²

We can make certain conclusions regarding the organization of iron mines in the province of Dalmatia in the 2nd century based on *lex metalli Vipascensis* (LMV). Although this law refers to the organization of mining districts in the Roman Vispascense (modern-day Aljustrel in Portugal), the discovery of this law is a very important resource for the study of mining in other provinces, since scholars believe that this law may be a corroboration that there was a general law on iron mines (*lex ferrariarum*) under Antoninus.¹³ Such a conclusion seems logical, since an imperial-level law regulating the mining operations must have existed. Some provisions of *lex metalli Vipascensis* regarding the matters of private lease of mines or iron production can be assumed to have been implemented in Dalmatian iron mines.

The votive altar discovered in *Municipium Claudium Virunum* (present-day Liebenfels in Austria) shows that the iron mines from the province of Dalmatia were leased to conductors in the first half of the 2nd century.¹⁴ A monu-

10 RIC II, 249 no. 705; RIC III, 234, 235; Cohen, *Description historique*, 183; Dušanić, "Organizacija rimskog rudarstva," 10-13; Bojanovski, "Antičko rudarstvo u unutrašnjosti provincije Dalmacije," 95; Škegro, "Rimski rudnički novac," 175.

11 Bojanovski, "Antičko rudarstvo u unutrašnjosti provincije Dalmacije," 95-96.

12 RIC II 474 no. 1013; RIC II 474 no. 1014; RIC III, 534 no. 1856; Pašalić, *Antička naselja i komunikacije*, 92; Dušanić, "Aspects of Roman Mining," 69; Škegro, "Rimski rudnički novac," 175; Hirt, *Imperial Mines*, 65.

13 The first plate contains a carved text that reads that *the lessee was entitled to seize the anvil from persons who were doing shoe repair services without authorization and to sell it in accordance with the law on iron mines* (LMV I, 4, 2). Although there is no direct corroboration that this law existed, Hirt believes that the existence of a law on iron mines for the entire Empire is possible, and compares it with the information from Hadrian's rescript to Aphrodisias (Paulus, *Dig.* 39.4.11. pr., Hirt, *Imperial Mines*, 244). Using the same source, Mateo believes that a general law on iron mines was made under Vaspasian's reign and used even under Antoninus (Mateo, *Observaciones sobre el régimen jurídico*, 191-192).

14 *Isidi Norei(ae) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) / pro salute / Q(uinti) Septuei⁵ / Clementis / con(ductoris) fer(rariarum) N(oricarum) P(annoniarum) D(almatarum) / et Ti(beri) Cl(audi) Heraclae / et Cn(aei) Octa(vi) Secundi / pro(curatorum) fer(rariarum) Q(uintus) Septueius¹⁰ / Valens pro(curator) ferr(ariarum)* (CIL 03, 4809 = ILS 1467 = EDH = 042469).

ment was erected to the health of Quintus Septueius Clemens, the conductor of the iron mines of Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Noricum. Conductors were private persons that leased mines for five years and paid half of their earnings to the imperial fiscus.¹⁵ Apart from the conductor, the monument also mentions three procurators who seemed to be in charge of the administration of leased mines in these three provinces. In this specific case, the Dalmatian iron mines unmistakably imply only the mines of central Bosnia.¹⁶ This is because archaeological explorations have shown that iron was intensively mined in Roman central Bosnia.¹⁷ The monument from Virunum is the only epigraphic monument mentioning *ferrariae Dalmaticae*.

The text of another law on mining, *lex metallis dicta* (LMD), was found in the same mining district in Aljustrel, Portugal. This law's provisions regulate the silver and lead mining in imperial mines, unlike *lex metalli Vipascensis* which regulates the iron mines.¹⁸ It is important to note that both of these laws distinguish three different territorial units within the mining administrative region (district): *vicus / vici metalli*, *metallum / metalla*, and *territoria metallorum* or *finis metallorum*.¹⁹ By all accounts, the mining districts of Dalmatia were organized under the same principle as shown on the example of Argentaria mining district whose administrative centre is located in the village of Sase near Srebrenica in the eastern part of present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina. Namely, archaeological exploration has proved the existence of a *vicus* in Sase near Srebrenica, which is believed to be the administrative centre of the district (Domavia), during the 1st and 2nd centuries.²⁰ The existence of the other two territorial units *metallum*, as well as *territoria metallorum* within Argentaria

15 Elkington, "Roman mining law," 62.

16 Dušanić believes that in the 2nd century, when this monument was produced, the mines of the valley of the Japra River in northwestern Bosnia belonged to *ferrariae Dalmaticae* and states that he believes that the mines of northwestern Bosnia were consolidated into *ferrariae Pannonicae* in the 3rd century (Dušanić, "Aspects of Roman Mining," 83-84). Nevertheless, the analysis of numismatic and epigraphic finds, as well as written sources, suggests that all the mines of northwestern Bosnia, including those from the Japra Valley, belonged to the *ferrariae Pannonicae* since the Flavian dynasty (Šačić, "Administrative organization," 166-181; Merdanić Šahinović, "Administrativno-pravno uređenje," 179).

17 Bojanovski, *Bosna i Hercegovina*, 276; Bojanovski, "Antičko rudarstvo u Bosni," 142; Škegro, *Gospodarstvo rimske provincije Dalmacije*, 103-104; Šačić, "Antički epigrafski spomenici," 97.

18 Mateo, *Manceps, redemptor, publicanus*, 96-120; Mateo, *Observaciones sobre el régimen jurídico*, 126-166; Hirt, *Imperial Mines*, 39; Maričić and Šajin, "The status of the coloni," 287-288.

19 LMD I, 27; LMV I, 5; LMV II, 10; Dušanić, "Roman mining," 249; Hirt, *Imperial Mines*, 49; Šajin, *Uređenje rimskih rudnika*, 63.

20 Srejšević, "Ispitivanje rimske nekropole," 21-27.

mining district, is corroborated by inscriptions of mining officials from the 1st and 2nd centuries.²¹ This is the period when silver and lead mines were at their peak.

The inscriptions on the epigraphic monuments suggest that Dalmatian silver and lead mines, unlike iron mines, were never leased to private persons. The administrative centre of Argentaria mining district was in *municipium Malvesiatium* (Skelani near Bratunac) in the 1st century, and then Domavia (Sase near Srebrenica) was isolated from *municipium Malvesiatium* as a separate *vicus*.²² However, already in the first half of the 2nd century Domavia became the centre of the procurator in charge of all the silver mines of the province of Dalmatia (*procurator argentariarum Delmaticarum*).²³ Thus this settlement became the most important economic centre in the inland of the province.

In the context of the mining administration, Domavia reached its peak under the reign of Marcus Aurelius when it became the administrative centre of all the mines in the three Roman provinces – Dalmatia, Pannonia Superior, and Pannonia Inferior. This is suggested by inscriptions mentioning the persons with the title *procurator metallorum Pannonicorum et Dalmaticorum*.²⁴ It is important to note that, according to their rank, the procurators of the consolidated Pannonian and Dalmatian mines were above the gold mine governors in Dacia, who ranked as *sexagenarian*.²⁵ These procurators, headquartered in Domavia, also governed the mines from present-day western Serbia and all the iron and gold mines from both provinces, including large Pannonian *ferrariarum* from northwestern Bosnia.²⁶ Domavia was selected as the administrative centre of Pannonian and Dalmatian mines for two reasons. Firstly, Domavia was the centre of a rich mining district of Argentaria and had the

21 *CIL* 03, 12728 = EDH 055815, *CIL* 03, 08361, (B) = *CIL* 03, 12721, (B) = EDH 057727. It should be noted that there are different opinions. For example, Dušanić believes that Argentaria signifies the *vicus* of the Drina mines (*metalla*) and not the name of a mining district (Dušanić, “Aspects of Roman Mining,” 90, no. 283; Dušanić, “Organizacija rimskog rudarstva,” 43).

22 Šačić, “Administrative organization,” 273.

23 *CIL* 03, 12739 = *CIL* 03, 12740. (B) = *AE* 1948, 0243 = *ILJug* I, 0083; Dušanić, “Aspects of Roman Mining,” 86; Bojanovski, “Antičko rudarstvo u unutrašnjosti provincije Dalmacije,” 104; Hirt, *Imperial Mines*, 139; Salmedin Mesihović, *Antiqvi homines Bosnae*, 172.

24 *AE* 1956, 0123 = *AE* 1991, 1691 = *AE* 1992, 1866; *CIL* 03, 08361. (B) = *CIL* 03, 12721. (B); Bojanovski, “Prilozi za topografiju, III,” 180; Bojanovski, “Antičko rudarstvo u unutrašnjosti provincije Dalmacije,” 103; Škegro, “Eksploatacija srebra,” 97, no. 37.

25 Šajin, *Uređenje rimskih rudnika*, 122.

26 Dušanić, “Aspects of Roman Mining,” 67; Hirt, *Imperial Mines*, 71-73; Šajin, *Uređenje rimskih rudnika*, 123.

adequate infrastructure for accommodating numerous mining officials. Secondly, Domavia was selected because of its favourable geographical position, relatively close to the mines of central and northwestern Bosnia as well as the mining basins of present-day Serbia and Montenegro.

With the arrival of Commodus, the situation in the Dalmatian mines changes drastically. In order to obtain the money needed for the war against the Sarmatians, Marcomanni, and Quadi as quickly as possible, this Roman emperor dissociated iron mines from the united mining administration and leased them to private lessees.²⁷ We know this because of two facts. In Ephesus in present-day Turkey, an inscription was found for Titus Claudius Xenophon, who claimed to be the procurator of silver mines of Dalmatia and Pannonia (*procurator argentariarum metallorum Pannonicorum et Dalmaticorum*) in his *cursus honorum*, meaning that he was not in charge of iron mines.²⁸ On the other hand, a somewhat later inscription discovered in Ljubija in northern Bosnia shows that iron mines were no longer part of Pannonia and Dalmatia provinces and were leased to private lessees. This is a votive monument erected in 201 for the health of lessees of iron mines (*conductor ferrariarum*).²⁹ Major changes to the management of mining operations in Dalmatia took place in the subsequent period.

Mining in the inland of the province of Dalmatia in the 3rd century

Iron mines

A new era in the development of mining in the province of Dalmatia begins with the reign of Septimius Severus. Under the Severan dynasty (193–235), the Illyrian mines were the leading mines in the entire Empire.³⁰ The texts of jurists Marcianus and Ulpian, preserved in *Digestae*, show the importance

27 Škegro, "Eksploatacija zlata," 9.

28 *CIL* 03, 6575 = *CIL* 03, 7127; Škegro, "Eksploatacija srebra," 9; Bojanovski, "Antičko rudarstvo u unutrašnjosti provincije Dalmacije," 104; Hirt, *Imperial Mines*, 135.

29 *ILJug* II, 779 = *AE* 1973, 0411 = EDH 011306.

30 Apart from the Dalmatian mines, the Illyrian mines include the mines of the provinces Pannonia Superior, Pannonia Inferior, and Moesia Superior. In the wider context, the Illyrian mines also include the mines of Noricum. These provinces were part of the historic territory covered by *portorium Illyrici et ripae Thraciae*.

Septimius Severus gave to metals.³¹ The first major change that took place under the reign of this emperor was that iron mines of Pannonia and Dalmatia were no longer leased to private persons since, after the year 209, the inscriptions from the mining district of northwestern Bosnia mention state officials, the procurators, instead of lessees (i.e. the conductors).³² The youngest monument mentioning the imperial procurator for iron mines dates back to the reign of Emperor Gallienus (235–268), so we can undoubtedly conclude that the iron mines of Dalmatia and Pannonia were not leased to private persons in the first sixty years of the 3rd century.

Unlike the silver and lead mines, iron mines in the inland of Dalmatia are unknown today. A few archaeological, numismatic, and epigraphic finds have helped to determine that the iron mines of this Roman province were located in two geographic micro-regions: the valleys of the rivers Janj and Pliva and the region of central Bosnia.

Traces of Roman mining activities were discovered at several locations in the valleys of the rivers Janj and Pliva.³³ The main metallurgical plant of this region is located in Gromile near Šipovo.³⁴ The mining helped develop an entire urban complex at this site, and scholars believe that *municipium Baloie* should be located here.³⁵ Intensive iron and copper mining in the 3rd and 4th centuries ensured that *Baloie* achieved urban prosperity.³⁶ The largest deposits of iron and copper in central Bosnia were located in the upper Vrbas river and the valleys of the Fojnica and Lepenica rivers.³⁷ The remains of slag and the presence of Roman entrepreneurs show that iron mining occurred in this region. Roman citizens

31 *Dig.* 39.4.16.11 (*Marcianus*); *Dig.* 24.3.7.13–4 (*Ulpian*).

32 *AE* 1958, 0063 = *ILJug* I, 157 = EDH 019705; *AE* 1973, 0412. = *ILJug* II, 778 = EDH 011309; *AE* 1973, 0413. (B) = *ILJug* II, 780 = EDH 011312; *AE* 1958, 0064. (B) = *ILJug* I, 158. (B) = EDH 019708; *AE* 1973, 0414 (B) = *ILJug* II, 781 = EDH 011315; *CIL* 03, 13240. (B) = *AE* 1958, p. 21 s. n. 65. (B) = *ILJug* I, 161. (B) = EDH 033130; *CIL* 03, 13239 = *AE* 1958, p. 21 s. n. 65. = *ILJug* I, 162 = EDH 033133.

33 Older historiography associates the territory of Stari Majdan in the Sana Valley with the province of Dalmatia. However, the more recent research suggests Pannonian mines.

34 Škegro, *Gospodarstvo rimske provincije Dalmacije*, 122.

35 Rav. *Cosmographia* 4.19; Bojanovski, “Baloie – rimski municipij,” 364; Čače, *Civitates Dalmatiae*, 12; Škegro, “The Diocese of Baloie,” 358; Mesihović, “Prilozi antičkoj topografiji,” 171.

36 During the Late Roman Empire, there was a local workshop for sarcophaguses (Cambis, “Sarkofag iz Šipova,” 6–14; Bojanovski, *Bosna i Hercegovina*, 288–291).

37 Pašalić, *Antička naselja i komunikacije*, 126; Škegro, *Gospodarstvo rimske provincije Dalmacije*, 124–126.

with the title *vir egregius* appeared in this region in the 3rd century.³⁸ In the 3rd century Dalmatian inland, *virii egregii* mostly appeared in mining regions, so imperial procurators in Argentaria mines also had this title.³⁹ We may assume that the iron production intensified after the gold production in Dalmatian mines had nearly been halted at the beginning of the 2nd century. It is assumed that the iron mines in central Bosnia were somewhat threatened by plundering incursions until the mid-3rd century. Such a conclusion is made on the basis of hoards of Roman coins from Fojnica and the surroundings of Kiseljak, which can be dated from Gordian III to Gallienus and from Septimius Severus to Valerian II, respectively.⁴⁰ This scarce data is, unfortunately, the only data that we today have regarding the iron mines in the 3rd century.

Silver mines

Silver and lead mining was the most important industry in the inland of Dalmatia in the 3rd century. Domavia as the administrative centre of all Pannonian and Dalmatian mines in the 2nd century, and subsequently of all silver mines of the mentioned provinces, significantly reflected on the development of mining in the inland of Dalmatia. In the 3rd century, silver was mined in the central region, southeast, and northeast of the province.

The urban development of Domavia accelerated in the 3rd century, implying the expansion of existing and building of new public facilities. Domavia's population undoubtedly grew with the immigration of merchants, craftsmen, mining officials, and tenant farmers (*coloni*) who settled there because of rich silver mines.⁴¹ Hence, Domavia was a municipal unit with a strong economic influence.

Epigraphic research has shown that Domavia had the municipal status at the beginning of the 3rd century, i.e., during the reign of Septimius Severus. Specifically, the monument to the imperial procurator for silver mines Caius

38 *CIL* 03, 12763 = EDH 052302.

39 *CIL* 03, 12724 = EDH 052470 = *CIL* 03, 08361. (B) = *CIL* 03, 12721. (B) = EDH 057727; *CIL* 03, 8363b = *CIL* 03, 8363 + p. 2328, 117 = *CIL* 03, 12733 = EDH 047989; *AE* 1893, 0130b = *CIL* 03, 12734 = EDH 055846; *CIL* 03, 8360 = *CIL* 03, 12720b = EDH 061443; *CIL* 03, 8360 = *CIL* 03, 12720b = EDH 061443; *AE* 1893, 0131. (B) = *CIL* 03, 12736 = EDH 055847.

40 Pašalić, *Antička naselja i komunikacije*, 46; Škegro, *Gospodarstvo rimske provincije Dalmacije*, 126.

41 The settlement of foreigners is manifested through the onomastics and the appearance of oriental cults (Imamović, *Antički kulturni i votivni spomenici*, 257–273). The region of Srebrenica, where Domavia is located, is the one of the rare places in the inland of Dalmatia where monuments in Greek have been found (Bojanovski, *Bosna i Hercegovina*, 201; Mesihović, *Antiqvi homines Bosnae*, 160; Veletovac, "Istočnobosanska rudarska oblast," 117).

Iulius Silvanus Melanio, discovered in the city hall (*curia*), mentions the term *municipium Domavianum*.⁴² Prosopography shows that the fact that Melanio was appointed procurator in his district indicates the importance of this mining region to the Empire. The *cursus honorum* of Caius Iulius Silvanus Melanio, reconstructed by Abascal and Alföldy on the basis of inscriptions from different parts of the Empire, suggests that he was the procurator in twentythree different mining districts in nine different provinces.⁴³ Based on the inscription from Domavia, we see that he had an honorary title of a patron of the province of Dalmatia, meaning that Melanio was a prominent Roman citizen who protected the province with his influence, represented provincial interests before the court, took care of the construction of public facilities and alike.⁴⁴ He is the only procurator who appears on inscriptions associated with Dalmatian mines and who has the term “patron” in his *cursus honorum*. Melanio might have also been a patron of the municipium of Domavia as suggested by earlier text reconstructions.⁴⁵ In any case, the example of this procurator shows the close connection between the Roman provincial administration and the civil municipal administration. The key difference between the municipal and mining administration lies in the fact that municipal representatives directly reported to the provincial governor, whereas mining procurators directly

42 The original inscription reading: *C(aio) Iul(io) Silvano / Melanioni eq(uo) / publ(ico) flam[i]ni Po-/m[on]ali [---]VR om⁵-/nibus eq[ue]s[tri]-/bus militiis [fu]nc(to) / proc(uratori) Aug(usti) [---] / [---]RC per provin(cias)¹⁰ / XXIII proc(ratori) Augu(sti) / [ra]tionis [---] / [---]RCIIRO / [pr]oc(uratori) O[---]¹⁵ / [---] / [---]IC[---] / [patrono] muni[cipii] / [Do]mavianorum²⁰ / [---]NI I[---]E / [---] patrono / [---] provinc(iae) / [---]V[---] (AE 1893, 0129. (B) = CIL 03, 12732. (B). AE 1893, 0129. (B) = CIL 03, 12732. (B)) = EDH 052634.*

On the account of a Greek inscription discovered in 1995 at the site of the Roman town Segobriga (Cuenca, Spain), erected by Caius Iulius Silvanus Melanio in honour of *Zeus Theos Megistos*, Abascal and Alföldy offered a somewhat different text reconstruction compared to earlier readings:

C(aio) Iul(io) Silvano / Melanioni eq(uo) / pub(lico) flam[i]ni Po-/monali [in] u(rbe) R(oma) (?), om⁵-/nibus equestri-/bus militas fune-/t] o proc(uratori) Aug(usti) [fe]rr(ariarum) et/ qrg(entariarum) (?) per provin-/cias XXIII proc(uratori) Aug(usti)¹⁰ / [rationis] [priua-/tae per p]rovinc(ias) (?) / [... p]roc(uratori) C[---] / proc(uratori) pro[ui]nc[---] (?) --- / [---]ic[---]¹⁵ / [---]ic[---] / [---] in] muni-/cipio Do[ma]uiano / [---]ni [---]++[---]++[---] / [---] patrono²⁰ / [optimo?] pro- [u]inc(iae) / [Dalm]a[tiae] (Abascal and Alföldy, “Zeus Theos Megistos,” 159-160).

According to Abascal, Alföldy and Hirt, this monument should be dated to the end of the 2nd century (Abascal and Alföldy, “Zeus Theos Megistos,” 159-160; Hirt, *Imperial Mines*, 133).

43 Abascal, Alföldy, “Zeus Theos Megistos,” 161-162.

44 Following the end of his service in Dalmatia, Melanio was appointed *procurator Augustorum Hispaniae citerioris* (AE 1968, 0229 = EDH 014108; CIL 02, 3136; Hirt, *Imperial Mines*, 133).

45 Radimský, “Generalbericht,” 234; Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres*, 734-735.

improving the water supply of public baths (*balneum*) in a civil settlement in Domavia.⁵⁰ The need for additional water suggests the increased number of public baths in Domavia. Moreover, this also indicates that the number of citizens in the municipium had increased, as well as the number of miners in the district. This information certainly indicates the increased production capacity in the mines, because the immigration of miners implies an increased need for a new workforce.

Interestingly, Valerius Super is titled only as *procuratores argentariarum* on both monuments, unlike his predecessors whose titles include the words *Pannonicarum et Dalmaticarum*.⁵¹ Mrozek and Dušanić provide opposing views regarding this issue. Mrozek believed that the procurators who did not have the full title *procurator argentariarum Pannonicarum et Dalmaticarum* were subordinated to those who had it. This means that Valerius Super had less jurisdiction, unlike the procurators from the central Bosnia mining district who had the title *procuratores argentariarum Pannonicarum et Dalmaticarum*. Unlike Mrozek, Dušanić emphasizes that even Valerius Super had the rank of *vir egregius*, common to both procurator categories of this inscription. Dušanić believes that these procurators had the same duties.⁵² His conclusion seems more likely. The title *procuratores argentariarum Pannonicarum et Dalmaticarum* was likely abbreviated for practical reasons to accommodate the text in the space given for the inscription. Moreover, the full title was possibly implied by the 3rd century, as it had long been in use. The example of procurator Valerius Super shows another important fact – the succession of emperors was not necessarily followed by a change in mining administration.

At the site of a former city hall (*curia urbana*), honorary inscriptions were carved on the base of the statue erected in honour of Alexander Severus and his mother Iulia Mamaea. The monument construction was funded with public money.⁵³ The council of decurions of the municipium Domavia approved

50 *[[Im[p(eratore) Caes(are) M(arco) Aure]]]-/[[[li]o [Antonino Aug(usto) III]]] / [[et] Com[azonte co(n)s(ulibus)]]] / Val(erius) Super v(ir) e(gregius) pr[o(urator) argentari] -^s/arum balneo p[ublico a]-/quam sufficiente[m ind]ux[it] (AE 1893, 0130b = CIL 03, 12734 = EDH 055846).*

51 CIL 03, 8361 = CIL 03, 12721; CIL 03, 12739 = CIL 03, 12740 = *ILJug* I, 83 = AE 1948, 243.

52 Mrozek, "Die kaiserlichen Bergwerksprokuratoren," 48; Dušanić, "Aspects of Roman Mining," 87.

53 *[[[[Iuliae Ma]]]/[[maeae Aug(ustae)]]] / [[matri]] Imp(eratoris) / Caes(aris) [[M(arci) Aur(eli)]]^s / [[Seve[ri] Alexa]]]/[[n[dri] P]ii [Fel(ici) in]]]/[[v[ic(ti)]]] Aug(usti) [[e[t]]] / [[castr(orum) e[t]]] senat(us) / ac patr(iae) ordo / mun(icipii) Domav(ianorum)¹⁰ / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica) dedicante / Iul(io) Tacitano / v(iro) e(gregio) proc(uratore) Aug(usti) [[n(o)stri]]] / [[de-votissimo]] / [[numini eorum]] (CIL 03, 8360 = CIL 03, 12720b = EDH 061443).*

the use of public money for this purpose, while imperial procurator Iulius Tacitianus was signed as the dedicant of the monument.⁵⁴ This example shows how closely associated were the mining administration and municipal institutions. The mediation of procurators in the erection of monuments in honour of emperors is a clear indicator that Domavia played an important role within the imperial domain.

The analysis of the texts carved on public inscriptions reveals a difference in the context of presenting titles of mining procurators. Namely, Iulius Tacitianus, the mining procurator under Alexander Severus, is titled as *procurator Augusti*, whereas Valerius Super, as the mining procurator under Macrinus and Elagabalus, is titled *procurator argentariarum*. This might reflect the administrative change in silver mines of Dalmatia that appear to have happened under Alexander Severus.⁵⁵ Škegro believes that *procurator Augusti* is a title that refers to the procurator of a single mine, not the entire district, based on the example of a mine from Rudnik mountain in western Serbia. An honorary inscription erected for Emperor Septimius Severus by a certain Cassius Ligurinus titled *procurator Augusti* was discovered at the site of Gornji Milanovac (Rudnik, western Serbia).⁵⁶ Škegro suggests that it is significant that the name of the province was left out from the title of Cassius Ligurinus.⁵⁷ Dušanić also believes that this procurator was in charge only of mines near Rudnik mountain, because other people appear as procurators in other mines from the same region.⁵⁸ Škegro's comparison is a good indicator that there may be

Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) [[M(arco)]] / [[Aurel(io) Severo]] / [[Alexandro]] / [[Pio Fel(ici) inv[ic]it[is] o]]⁵ / [[Aug(usto) pont(ifici) ma[x]imo]] / [[trib(unicia) pot(estate) X[I]t[er] p[at]at[is]]] / [[p(atriciae) co(n)s(uli) I[[I]I [i]ndul]] / [[gent[is]s[imo]]] / [[principi]] ordo¹⁰ / mun(icipii) Dom(avianorum) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) / p(ecunia) p(ublica) dedicante / Iul(io) Tacitano / v(iro) e(gregio) proc(uratore) Aug(usti) [[n(ostri)]] / [[num[ini] ei]u[s]]¹⁵ / [[devotissimo]] / [[e]t d[i]c[at]issimo]] (CIL 03, 8360 = CIL 03, 12720b = EDH 058377).

54 These inscriptions are very important for determining the name of the municipium. Bojanovski claims that the comparison of the texts of these two monuments under Alexander Severus corroborate that the municipium's name was *Domavia*. Namely, both monuments were erected by *ordo mun(icipii) Dom(avianorum)*, or *ordo mun(icipii) Domav(ianorum)* (Bojanovski, "Antičko rudarstvo u unutrašnjosti provincije Dalmacije," 102; Bojanovski, *Bosna i Hercegovina*, 196; Bojanovski, "Antičko rudarstvo u Bosni," 139, no. 33).

55 Šaćić, *Administrative organization*, 301, no. 1045.

56 *Imp(erator) Caes(ar) L(ucius) Septimius / Severus Pert(inax) Aug(ustus) templ(um) / Terr(a) Matris conlaps(um) restituit sub cura⁵ / Cassi Ligurini proc(uratoris) Aug(usti) / instantia(!) P(ublio) Fundanio Eutyche/te et P(ublio) Ael(io) Muciano colon(is)* (CIL 03, 8333 = CIL 03, 6313 = EDH 035636).

57 Škegro, "Eksploatacija srebra," 100.

58 Dušanić, "Aspects of Roman Mining," 89.

other procurators with the title of *procurator Augusti* who governed only one mine, not the entire district. On the other hand, we should be cautious when making conclusions regarding this issue, because the title of procurators from the Pannonian mining district of northeastern Bosnia is also only *procurator Augusti* even though they governed the entire district.⁵⁹ In this context, we can offer another hypothesis. Since *procurator argentariarum* governed all silver mines of Pannonia and Dalmatia, procurators titled *procurator Augusti* might have governed only the mines of one of these two provinces. This means that Valerius Super was the procurator of all silver mines of Pannonia and Dalmatia, and Iulius Tacitianus was the procurator of silver mines in Dalmatia only.

Apart from Iulius Tacitianus, we know of another procurator under Alexander Severus – *Marcus Arrius*[-]nianus – whose cognomen has not been preserved.⁶⁰ Interestingly, *vilici* do not appear in inscriptions from Argentaria, but they do appear in other Illyrian mining districts. The fact that no inscriptions with their names have yet been discovered does not necessarily mean that they did not exist, as it is difficult to imagine a Roman mining district without a *vilicus*, because *vilici* took care of the technical implementation of production – they supervised miners, smelters, and other workers in charge of metal production.

A votive altar under Gordian III (238–244) suggests that the practice of procurators being low-ranked knights, *virii egregii*, was retained after the Severan dynasty.⁶¹ The monument was dedicated to Jupiter, additionally emphasizing the military character of procurators who governed Dalmatian silver mines in the 3rd century. Škegro set forth an interesting thesis regarding this monument. He believes that under Gordian III, the procurators of the Argentaria mining district were no longer in charge of silver mines in Dardania.⁶² He supports his argument with an epigraphic monument of Titienus Verus who was a *procurator metallorum municipii Dardanorum* under Gordian III.⁶³ How-

59 Šačić, “Administrative organization,” 301, fn. 1045.

60 *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Iunoni R(eginae) / M(arcus) Arrius / [-]nianus* ⁵/*proc(urator) Aug(usti) / pro sal(ute) [sua] / et suor[um] // v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit)* (AE 1893, 10 = CIL 03, 12725 = CIL 03, 13269 = CIL 03, 14219 = ILJug III, 1519 = EDH 033912).

61 *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / et Genio loc[i] / pro salute I[mp(eratoris)] / M(arci) A[nton(ini) G] o[r]i* ⁵/*diani Pii Fel(icis) / Aug(usti) N[on]M[on]A[nt]us v(ir) e(gregius) / proc(urator) eius / [---]V[er] / 10 / [-----]?* (CIL 03, 12724 = EDH 052470).

62 Škegro, *Gospodarstvo rimske provincije Dalmacije*, 85–86.

63 *Invicto et / super omnes / indulgentis-/simo Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) ⁵ / M(arco) Ant(onio) Gordiano / nobilissimo prin/cipi / dedicante Tit[i]¹⁰/eno Vero v(iro) e(gregio) / proc(uratori) mm(etallorum) DD(ardanorum) / ordo colonor(um) / devotus numi¹⁵/ni maiestati/que eius* (ILJug I, 503 = EDH 033718).

ever, silver mines from Dardania were never administratively connected with Domavia, because they were located in Upper Moesia, while the procurators from Domavia only controlled the mines in Dalmatia and Pannonia. This is known because research has confirmed that the mines of Dardania were already consolidated into one district under the direction of imperial procurators titled *procurator metallorum* at the beginning of the 2nd century under Trajan.⁶⁴ The same can be said for the mines from northern Moesia whose administration was located in *Demessus*.⁶⁵

Because of two inscriptions preserved on two honorary monuments, we know that Domavia became *colonia metalla* during the period of the barracks emperors. The council of decurions of the mining colony Domavia had these monuments made in honour of Trebonianus Gallus and his son Vibius Volusianus between 251 and 253.⁶⁶ It is clear from the title *colonia metalla* that the colonial administration had ties with the mining district. There are a few key reasons why Domavia obtained the status of *colonia metalla*. The first reason is the demographic changes or economic boom that led to a considerable increase in the population. The second reason could be the interests of the local elite. We can assume that members of the local elite, as private entrepreneurs, were involved in the local mining industry.⁶⁷ The third reason could be the need to reduce the number of mining officials and conceding a part of the administrative affairs to the local administration. This means that the local administration now took over a part of the obligations regarding the mining production.

We can assume that the distribution of duties between the mining administration and local authorities in the context of mining operations and metal production was the result of the poor economic situation in the Empire after Alexander Severus. Therefore, Dušanić and Bojanovski concluded that the mines and colonies were mutually dependent primarily due to state interests in order to maintain a high level of silver and lead production, believing that

64 Dušanić, "Aspects of Roman Mining," 72; Dušanić, "Organizacija rimskog rudarstva," 1980, 25; Hirt, *Imperial Mines*, 58; Šajin, *Uređenje rimskih rudnika*, 162.

65 Dušanić, "Late Roman mining," 221.

66 *Imp(eratori) C(aesari) / G(aio) Vibio / Traebo -/niano(!)⁵ / Gallo P(io)/F(elici) Inv(icto) Aug(usto) /ordo dec(urionum) / col(oniae) m(etallae) D(omavianae)* (CIL 03, 12728 = EDH 055815).
Imp(eratori) C(aesari) / G(aio) Vibio / Traebon(iano)(!) / Veldum(niano)⁵ / Volusi- /ano P(io) F(elici) / Inv(ictis) Aug(ustis) / ord(o) dec(urionum) / col(oniae) m(etallae) D(omavianae) (CIL 03, 12729 = EDH 055822).

67 Mócsy, *Gesellschaft und Romanisation*, 90.

the colony of Domavia participated in some way in the mining administration.⁶⁸ A comparable case of associating a mining district with a local municipal administration appears in Moesia Superior for the mines in Sočanica in Kosovo. The previously mentioned inscription of procurator Titienus Verus contains the following term *m(etallorum) m(unicipii) D(ar)d(anorum)*.⁶⁹ Although Domavia was a colony, the settlement from Upper Moesia was a municipium, so we can make a parallel on the basis of the term *metallorum* that appears in the official inscriptions of both of these administrative units. The term *metallorum* suggests the integration of imperial mines with municipium and colony into a new administrative unit. This consolidation was done by means of a legal act ensuring the equal status of mines, as well as the colony of Domavia, in order to facilitate the economic position of the imperial mining district.⁷⁰ In this manner, the care of some administrative and technical needs of the mining district of Argentaria would be transferred to the neighbouring colony Domavia.⁷¹ In practice, this means financial and technical support of the colonial administration for mines.⁷² In general, the official title *ord(o) dec(urionum) col(oniae) m(etallae) D(omavianae)* clearly implies that the local assembly (the council of decurions) extended its influence over the mining district from eastern Dalmatia. We should note that Domavia is the only settlement in the inland of the province of Dalmatia where the colony rank has been confirmed.

The last *procurator argentariarum* from the 3rd century is Aurelius Verecundus, as suggested by epigraphic finds. He is mentioned in a public inscription from AD 274.⁷³ The text carved on the monument reads that this procurator ordered the exterior of old baths to be restored (*balneum vetustate conlapsum ad pristinam faciem reformare curavit*). It is apparent that city baths had been ruined as

68 Dušanić, "The Antinous inscription," 247-254; Dušanić, "Aspects of Roman Mining," 90; Dušanić, "Organizacija rimskog rudarstva," 45; Bojanovski, "Antičko rudarstvo u unutrašnjosti provincije Dalmacije," 105; Bojanovski, "Antičko rudarstvo u Bosni," 147.

69 *ILJug* I, 503 = EDH 033718.

70 Such a form of association became binding, most probably under the Severan dynasty, and should be observed as a form of *contributio* of mines and towns in its vicinity (*Dig.* 50.6.6.11; Šajin, *Uređenje rimskih rudnika*, 167).

71 Dušanić, "The Antinous inscription," 250; Bojanovski, "Antičko rudarstvo u Bosni," 147.

72 Dušanić, "The Antinous inscription," 224.

73 *[[[Imp(eratore) Caes(are) L(ucio)] D[om]m[iti]o [Au]re[li]ano [A]u[g(usto)]]] / II et Capitolino co(n)sulibus) / Aur(elius) Verecundus v(ir) e(gregius) pro(curator) / argentariarum balneum⁵/vetustate conlapsum / ad pristinam faciem re -/formare curavit (AE 1893, 0131. (B) = CIL 03, 12736 = EDH 055847).*

suggested by a comparison with the inscription from AD 220 stating that previously mentioned Valerius Super restored a public bath.⁷⁴ However, the purpose of restoration is different. Under Elagabalus, the existing baths were expanded to accommodate the increased number of citizens, whereas under Aurelian they were restored. There is a hypothesis that public baths in Domavia were restored because they were destroyed in some Barbarian invasion, since by the mid-3rd century there was a growing pressure from the Barbarians on the borders of the Danubian provinces.⁷⁵ And a rich mining colony, like Domavia, was obviously attractive to the Barbarians. The fact that a representative of the imperial government restored the destroyed bath suggests that the destruction was not a consequence of a local fire or natural disaster. However, the sources reveal no information to support this claim because the raid of the Vandals in Pannonia can hardly be associated with the incineration of the baths in Domavia.⁷⁶ The major construction works performed under Aurelian, such as the restoration of the city baths, can be interpreted as a consequence of the economic boom that occurred during the short-lasting reign of Aurelian.

The importance of the Dalmatian silver mines undoubtedly grew as a result of Aurelian's monetary system reforms. Zosimus wrote that Aurelian revoked the damaged, old coins and replaced them with new, silver ones.⁷⁷ Coins that have been discovered have helped determine that the quality of money under Aurelian's reforms increasingly improved, because the silver content rose considerably. On the other hand, state control over money production was much stricter.⁷⁸ One of the four imperial mints was located in Siscia, which was the main mint of Aurelian at the beginning of his reign. This Pannonian town minted one-quarter of Aurelian's money.⁷⁹ We can thus conclude that the silver mines in the inland of Dalmatia, which were geographically close to Siscia, were the main source of raw material – silver – for the coin production in Siscia.

The aforementioned texts carved on epigraphic monuments dated between 238 and 274 clearly show that the mines from the eastern part of the province

74 *AE* 1893, 0130b = *CIL* 03, 12734 = EDH 055846.

75 Watson, *Aurelian and the Third Century*, 19; Šajin, *Uređenje rimskih rudnika*, 140.

76 *Dex. Frag.* 7; v. *Aur.* 18.2, 30.2, 33.4; *Zos.* 1.48-49.1, 50.1; *Petr. Patr. Frag.* 11; Jacob, *Aurelians Reformen*, 38-40; Kovács, *A history of Pannonia*, 260-264.

77 *Zos.* 1.61.3.

78 Contemporary analysis of such coins suggests an increase in silver content compared to the average before the reforms, rising from 3.49% to 4.1% after (Watson, *Aurelian and the Third Century*, 129).

79 Watson, *Aurelian and the Third Century*, 133-134.

of Dalmatia – the mining district of *Argentaria* – were under the jurisdiction of the state official titled *procurator argentariarum*.

Some scholars assume, based on a single piece of data from the biography of Claudius Gothicus preserved in *Historiae Augustae*, that the crisis produced by Barbaric incursions caused the consolidation of the mining administration in the entire Illyricum.⁸⁰ This biography mentions a state supervisor over the mines in Illyricum – *curator Illyrici metallarius*.⁸¹ Following this text, we can conclude that the administration of the mines in Illyricum was consolidated before AD 268 when Claudius Gothicus officially became the emperor. *Curator Illyrici metallarius* is mentioned in the part of this biography referring to the period of his life before he was crowned emperor, i.e., when he served as a military tribune under the reign of Decius (269–251). Thus, the oldest data regarding the possible consolidated mining administration should be dated to the reign of Decius, not Claudius II (268–270).⁸² The title can be literally translated as the *supervisor concerning the mines / who is in charge of the mines of Illyricum*, and we get the impression that this official controlled all the mines in Illyricum, not only the silver mines. Interestingly, the source states that he was paid in silver, implying that this data refers to the silver mines of Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Upper Moesia. Nevertheless, having in mind that *Historia Augusta* is the only source containing this information, we cannot say more about the existence of a consolidated mining administration in Illyricum. We should not rule out the possibility that this term is intended to remind people of the title *procurator argentariarum metallorum Pannonicorum et Dalmaticorum* from the 2nd century.

Although the mines around Domavia, i.e., the mining district of *Argentaria*, were the most important ones, we should mention other ore rich regions in the inland of the province of Dalmatia. Archaeological exploration has

80 Škegro, *Gospodarstvo rimske provincije Dalmacije*, 88; Freu, “Le statut du metallarius,” 428.

81 *...tantum ei a nobis decretum salarii, quantum habet Aegypti praefectura... tantum argenti, quantum accipit curator Illyrici metallarius* (HA Claud. Goth., 15.4).

82 Dušanić believes that *curator Illyrici metallarius* represents a variation of terms *procurator metallorum per Illyricum* or *comes metallorum per Illyricum*. He also believes that this term was taken over from a later source, i.e., *Codex Theodosianus* which mentions *comes metallorum* (CTh. 10.19.3). The same assumption was made by Freu (Freu, “Le statut du metallarius,” 428). On the other hand, Dušanić does not entirely dismiss the possibility that a consolidated mining administration existed in Illyricum in the mid-3rd century. He believes that it is possible that Gallienus appointed this governor of consolidated Illyrian mines because a mint was opened in Siscia (Dušanić, “The Roman mines of Illyricum,” 154, no. 89).

shown that silver, lead, zinc, and copper were mined in the southeast of the province in the 3rd century. This is the territory of present-day southwestern Serbia and northern Montenegro – the territory of the valleys of rivers Čeotina and Lim.⁸³ These mines might have belonged administratively to the mining district whose centre was in Domavia.⁸⁴ Inscriptions found on epigraphic monuments are the main resources with regard to mining in this part of the Roman province of Dalmatia. Representatives of the mining administration that appear on these monuments are *procurator* (mining governor), *argenti actor* (senior mining official), and *vilicus* (governor of the metal production plan).⁸⁵ It should be noted that there is a possibility that two more mining officials, *tabularii argentariarum* (state archivists in silver mines) and *adiutores tabulari* (auxiliary archivists), appear on the inscriptions from the valley of the river Lim.⁸⁶ However, this assumption is based on a vague reconstruction of the text of two epigraphic monuments from Kolovrat near Prijepolje, Serbia, and should be taken with some caution.

Ore was more intensively produced in this part of the Roman province of Dalmatia in the 3rd century, as suggested by several factors. The preserved epigraphic monuments from the 3rd century corroborate an increased presence of

83 Škegro, “Eksploatacija srebra,” 94–95.

84 Zotović, *Population and Economy*, 64.

85 *S(ilvano) // A(u)g(usto) // Mercu//rius / argen^s//ti / actor // v(otum) l(ibens) p(osuit) (ILJug III, 1685 = EDH 33987); Inuictio / Aug(usto) Aur(elius) / [A]rgyria/[n]us proc(urator) / [Aug(usti)?] Orfito^s / [c]o(n)s(ule) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito) po(suit) (AE 1998, 1027 = CIL 03, 13849. (B) = CIL 03, 13849 add. p. 2320 = EDH 042305); D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Vurus vil(i)cus HA / Secandoni parin(ti) (!) / q(ui) vixit an(nos) LXXX / e(t) Sicundoni c(oniugi) / q(uae) v(ixit) a(nnos) XX e(t) sii viv(us) / m(emoriam) p(o)s(uit) (ILJug III, 1690 = EDH 033992).*

86 In her paper *Iz istorije Polimlja u rimsko doba* (1975), Miroslava Mirković proposed that two abbreviations AT and TA, that appear on two monuments mentioning slaves, should be read as *tabularii argentariarum* or *adiutores tabulari* (AE 1980, 0700 = EDH 006000; AE 1980, 0703 = EDH 006009; Mirković, “Iz istorije Polimlja,” 106). Škegro accepts such a reading in his paper *Eksploatacija srebra na području rimskih provincija Dalmacije i Panonije* (1998) in his book *Gospodarstvo rimske provincije Dalmacije* (1999) (Škegro, “Eksploatacija srebra,” 96; Škegro, *Gospodarstvo rimske provincije Dalmacije*, 70). On the other hand, for the inscription AE, 1980, 0700, Loma offered a reading revision where she reconstructed the abbreviation AT as *aet (!) conp(ari)* (Loma, “Domaće stanovništvo municipija S.,” 40). As far as the second inscription is concerned, AE 1980, 0703, the abbreviation TA may have signified the rest of the name. According to Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg, the most widely accepted reading of these two inscriptions is the following: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) [---] / Secund[us] / Aug(usti) lib(ertus) AT[---] / et Alb(ia) Ingen[ua]^s / cum Secun/dina filia e[x] / v(oto) p(ientissimi?) p(osuerunt) (AE 1980, 0703 = EDH 006009); D(is) M(anibus) / Narens / v(ixit) a(nnos) XXXVIII / Amac(a)e Ael(iae) P^s/antoni(s) ser(va) / v(iva) s(ibi) aet(!) conp(ari) p(osuit) (AE 1980, 0700 = EDH 006000).*

the Roman military that was obviously tasked with guarding the mines during the reign of Alexander Severus when the Roman Empire started to stagnate.⁸⁷ The mines from this south-eastern part of Dalmatia were located in the border area between the provinces of Dalmatia and Moesia Superior, so the surveillance of these mines had to be increased.

It is evident that the reign of Aurelian in the inland of Dalmatia marked the revival of the mining activities. A monument of the procurator from AD 270, i.e., from the first year of the reign of Aurelian, was discovered in the valley of the river Čeotina.⁸⁸ This mine governor had the title *procurator Augusti*, unlike the previously mentioned procurator from Domavia, whose title was *procurator argentariarum*, meaning that the procurator from the Čeotina Valley was subordinate to the procurator from Domavia in the silver mine organizational hierarchy in the 3rd century.

The importance of the mines in the inland of Dalmatia for the Empire in the 3rd century resulted in the reconstruction of roads from Salona and Narona towards the eastern part of the Dalmatia province. We should note that Argentaria was connected through roads with the most important urban centres of Pannonia and Dalmatia. There is evidence of the existence of a road through the Drina Valley that connected the mining district of Argentaria with Sirmium in Pannonia. This road did not end in Argentaria, but continued towards Salona.⁸⁹ A road section in the Nevesinje field in eastern Herzegovina branched off toward the second most important centre of Dalmatia – Narona.⁹⁰ Ivo Bojanovski, the scholar who has done most to explore these roads, concluded that the majority of milestones discovered in this region can be dated to the 3rd and 4th centuries.⁹¹ When analysing the 3rd century specifically, milestones reveal that these roads were intensively restored from AD 235 to AD 276.⁹² This means that silver

87 *ILJug* III, 1689 = EDH 033991; *ILJug* III, 1692 = *CIL* 03, 13848 = EDH 033993.

88 *AE* 1998, 1027 = *CIL* 03, 13849. (B) = *CIL* 03, 13849 add. p. 2320 = EDH 042305.

89 Bojanovski, *Dolabelin sistem cesta*, 146-151; Bojanovski, "Prilozi za topografiju, III," 189-191; Imamović, "Rimske rudarske ceste," 33-37; Popović, "Rimske komunikacije," 204-208; Popović, "Rimska putna stanica Gensis," 55-60.

90 Bojanovski, "Prilozi za topografiju, II," 63-64; Samardžić, "Epigrafski miljokazi," 182-183.

91 Bojanovski, "Prilozi za topografiju, II," 64.

92 The majority of epigraphic milestones from the roads connecting the mining district Argentaria with large provincial urban centres can be dated to the reigns of Maximinus Thrax, Philip the Arab, Decius, Trebonianus Gallus, and Tacitus (*CIL* 17, 04, 00426 = EDH065587; *ILJug* III, 2972; *AE* 1980, 0682 = *CIL* 17, 04, 00411; Fig. α; Fig. β = *ILJug* III, 1026 = EDH 005967; *AE* 1980, 0683 = *CIL* 17, 04, 00416; Fig. α; Fig. β = EDH005970; *ILJug* III, 2972 = *CIL* 17, 04, 00420; Fig. α; Fig.

production was particularly intense in the mining district of Argentaria in this period.

Mining in the inland of the province of Dalmatia in the 4th century

The evidence of mining in the inland of Dalmatia in the 4th century is very scarce. However, there are some indirect indicators. Archaeological finds and epigraphic monuments show the accelerated urban development of settlements in present-day central Bosnia in the 4th century.⁹³ This development could be linked with mining. Due to its geostrategic position, Domavia could no longer have the importance it had in the 3rd century. On the other hand, the iron, silver, and lead mines of central Bosnia were distant enough from the limes for undisturbed ore production, which strongly suggests certain economic events.

The most recent epigraphic research concluded that a preserved monument from the Late Empire mentions *procurator metallorum Pannonicorum et Delmaticorum*.⁹⁴ This monument was found in 1884 at the site of Gradina in the village of Sase near Srebrenica and erected in honour of Lucius Domitius Eros, who was *procurator metallorum Pannonicorum et Delmaticorum*. The monument was dedicated by a knight of the highest rank (*ducenarius*), Marcus Aurelius Rusticus, and was previously dated to the period between AD 170 and 250.⁹⁵ However, as in the case of procurator Melanio, the discovery of a

β = EDH 035338; *AE* 1980, 0682 = *ILJug* III, 1026 = *CIL* 17, 04, 00411; Fig. α; Fig. β = EDH 005967; *ILJug* III, 2970 = *CIL* 17, 04, 00368 = EDH 035336; *CIL* 03, 13306 = *CIL* 17, 04, 00429 = EDH057706; *CIL* 03, 10166 = *CIL* 03, 10166 + p. 2174 = *CIL* 17, 04, 00423; Fig. α u. γ; Fig. β = EDH 057971; *AE* 1980, 0680 = *CIL* 17, 04, 00383 = EDH 005961; *ILJug* III, 2965 = *CIL* 17, 04, 00443; Fig. α u. β; Fig. = EDH 035331; *CIL* 03, 13311 = *CIL* 17, 04, 00436; Fig. α; Fig. β = EDH 057710; *CIL* 03, 10165 = *CIL* 03, 10165 + p. 2174 = *CIL* 17, 04, 00422; Fig. α u. γ; Fig. β = EDH 057970; *ILJug* III, 2973 = *CIL* 17, 04, 00419; Fig. α; Fig. β = EDH035339).

93 *CIL* 03, 12764 = *ILJug* III, 1610 = EDH 055950; *CIL* 03, 12768 = *ILJug* III, 1610 = EDH 055951; *AE* 1937, 0248 = *ILJug* III, 1578 = EDH 023622; Basler, *Arhitektura kasnoantičkog doba*, 125-134; Bojanovski, *Dolabelin sistem cesta*, 114-115; Bojanovski, *Bosna i Hercegovina*, 146; Čače, *Civitates Dalmatiae*, 84; Škegro, "The Bestoen bishopric," 370; Šaćić Beća, "Koji je administrativni status," 155.

94 *L(ucio) Domitio* / {I} *Eroti vi-/ro ex eques-/tribus tur-⁵/mis egregio* / *procuratori* / *metallorum* / [P] *annon(iorum)* / [et] *Delmat(orum)*. *Mi-¹⁰/[r]ae integritatis* / [e]t *bonit[ati]s* / *M(arcus) Aur(elius) Ru[s]ticus* / *v(ir) e(gregius) ducen(arius) amico* / *praestan[tissimo]* (*CIL* 03, 08361. (B) = *CIL* 03, 12721. (B) = EDH 057727).

95 Bojanovski, "Antičko rudarstvo u unutrašnjosti provincije Dalmacije," 103; Škegro, "Eksploatacija srebra," 97, no. 37; Mesihović, *Antiqvi homines Bosnae*, 164-165. In Epigraphic Database

monument outside the territory of Dalmatia offered a new interpretation of this important inscription. Namely, an honorary inscription in the name of Emperor Diocletian, erected by seemingly the same dedicant Marcus Aurelius Rusticus, was discovered in Turkey in 2002.⁹⁶ The Turkish scholars Akyürek Şahin and Metin Türktüzün believe that Marcus Aurelius Rusticus was initially a *ducenarius* in Dalmatia, after which he was appointed as the governor of imperial property (*procurator patrimonii*) in the province of Asia.⁹⁷ It is possible that Rusticus erected the monument in honour of Emperor Diocletian as a token of gratitude for changing his service.

Following the comparison of these two monuments with the previously mentioned monument of *procurator argentariarum* Aurelius Verecundus, we can conclude that the consolidated administration of all the mines of Pannonia and Dalmatia was re-established after the reign of Aurelian. The centralized administration of all Pannonian and Dalmatian mines with the centre in Domavia might have been introduced in the first years of the reign of Diocletian. This can be associated with Diocletian's visit to the Illyrian mines in 293-294. Namely, we know from *Codex Iustinianus* that Emperor Diocletian visited the Pannonian mines and quarries in the vicinity of Sirmium.⁹⁸ The Pannonian mines visited by the emperor had to be under the authority of the procurator in Domavia which was, judging by the aforementioned inscription from the vicinity of Srebrenica, the centre of *procurator metallorum Pannonicorum et Delmaticorum* at the end of the 3rd century and the beginning of the 4th century. Coins from the reign of Diocletian were also found in the remains of baths in Domavia, supporting this thesis.⁹⁹ This means that these baths were operating in this period, i.e., that life in the mining settlement was bustling.

There were attempts in historiography to date the honorary inscription from Glamoč, mentioning *procurator metallorum*, to the end of the 3rd and the

Heidelberg (EDH), this monument is dated between AD 300 and 400.

96 *Bona Fortuna // Fortissimo ac Piissi[mo] / [I]mp(eratori) Caes(ari) Gaio Valerio / Diocletiano P(io) F(elici) Inuict(o) / Aug(usto) pontifici maximo / tribuniciae potestatis VII / p(atri) p(atriciae) procons(uli) restitutori orbis / M(arcus) Aurel(ius) Rusticus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) proc(urator)¹⁰ / [p]atrimonii(i) prov(inciae) Asiae d(evotus) n(umini) m(aiestatique) / eorum(!) // ἀγαθῆ τύχῃ (AE 2008, 1341).*

97 Akyürek Şahin and Türktüzün, "Weihung eines Patrimonialprocurators," 143.

98 The quarry Lugio in Pannonia near *Ad statua* (at the beginning of November 293), *Aur(a)riae* to the south of Sirmium (3 May 294), *T(h)rac(i)* (the mine or quarry near Sirmium in May or July 294), *(Metalla) Agrippi (a)* again in the region to the south of Sirmium (5 August 294) (Mommsen, *Über die Zeitfolge*, 428-441; Dušanić, "Roman mining," 268).

99 Šajin, *Uređenje rimskih rudnika*, 135, no. 610.

beginning of the 4th century, i.e., under the reign of Diocletian.¹⁰⁰ However, this monument is dated between AD 1 and 150. The most recent research shows that this inscription is associated with the administration of the gold mines from the Early Empire.¹⁰¹ A proper reconstruction of the monument's text is impossible today as the result of considerable damage. Interestingly, this is the only inscription associated with the gold mine administration discovered in the inland area. This honorary inscription was probably produced at the time when Dalmatian gold mines operated at full capacity, which is, chronologically, quite distant from the reign of Diocletian.

It is difficult to determine how Diocletian's decision on the monetary system reform and introduction of new denominations influenced the silver mines in the inland of Dalmatia.¹⁰² Nevertheless, the silver production in Dalmatia was certainly more impacted by the reforms of Constantine the Great and the introduction of gold coins – *solidus*.¹⁰³ Šain believes that Constantine the Great decided to introduce a new monetary system precisely because of the general state in Illyricum. She presented a thesis that gold mines in eastern provinces (from Asia Minor and Pontus) were better protected from the Barbaric incursions forcing Constantine the Great to turn to gold coins.¹⁰⁴ This thesis has a certain validity since we know that the role of *solidi* became more important up until 324, when Constantine became a ruler over Licinius's part of the Empire. He then gained control over the mines and access to new sources of metal from the eastern provinces. By conquering the east, Constantine came into possession of large stores of metal from pagan temples, and he turned the gold from these into coins. This sudden influx of gold ensured that *solidi* could become a sustainable currency used throughout the Empire.¹⁰⁵ We can suppose that Constantine's monetary policy directly caused the reduction of silver production in Dalmatia.

The Dalmatian mines following the year 324 were administratively under the control of the high official holding the title *comes sacrarum largitionum*.¹⁰⁶ We

100 *ILJug* III, 1655 = EDH 033953; Dušanić, "Aspects of Roman Mining," 86; Dušanić, "Late Roman mining," 221.

101 Hirt, *Imperial Mines*, 74.

102 Allen, "How Prosperous were the Romans?" 332; Estiot, "The Later Third Century," 548-550.

103 Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae* 14.11.10; Van Dam, *The Roman Revolution*, 238.

104 Šajin, *Uređenje rimskih rudnika*, 141.

105 Depeyrot, "Economy and Society," 237-238.

106 It is difficult to date the establishment of an office that was in charge of *comes sacrarum largitionum* with any certainty. A series of high officials appeared in the twenty-five years from

can conclude from the text of *Codex Theodosianus* that this high official was, among other things, in charge of collecting direct taxes for the production of precious metals. One of the tasks of *comes sacrarum largitionum* was to supervise the administration in mines.¹⁰⁷ Low-ranked officials in the mining administration from the first half of the 4th century are unknown.

Later, in the second half of the 4th century, the mines of the province of Dalmatia were part of a consolidated administration of Illyrian mines. *Comes metallorum per Illyricum* was at the head of this administration who is mentioned in *Notitia Dignitatum*.¹⁰⁸ Apart from Dalmatian, he controlled the Pannonian and Moesian mines.¹⁰⁹ The centre of the consolidated Illyrian mines in the second half of the 4th century is unknown, since there is no sufficient epigraphic or other evidence to help answer this question.

Milestones are important archaeological evidence from the 4th century in the context of mining. Mining was the main economic activity of the inland of Dalmatia, and milestones are evidence of the restoration of roads used to transport the ore. Judging by milestone findings, the roads in the inland of Dalmatia were restored again in the period of the tetrarchy.¹¹⁰ The milestones and honorary inscriptions made after the end of the tetrarchy in 324 mention only Constantine the Great and Julian the Apostate.¹¹¹ Interestingly, the majority of milestones originate from the short reign of Julian the Apostate (361-363). Two milestones from this period were discovered in the vicinity of Glamoč on the road *Salona – Servitium*.¹¹² This road section

213 to 337. It is possible that this position *comes sacrarum largitionum* was established after the victory of Constantine the Great over Licinius and consolidating the Empire. Some scholars believe that this position was established around 326 since it coincides with promoting *magistra officiorum* from *tribune* to *comes* (Kelly, "Bureaucracy and Government," 190).

107 *CTh.* 10.19.4.12.

108 *Not. Dig. Or.* 42.26.

109 Dušanić, "Organizacija rimskog rudarstva," 53; Hirt, *Imperial Mines*, 209.

110 *CIL* 17, 04, 00378; Fig. α; Fig. β; Fig. γ = *ILJug* III, 2971 = EDH 035337; *CIL* 17, 04, 00352; Fig. α; Fig. β = *ILJug* III, 2981 = *AE* 1999, 1221 = EDH HD035355; *CIL* 17, 04, 00307; Fig. α; Fig. β = *ILJug* 2993 = EDH 035371; EDH 056557.

111 *ILJug* III, 2968 = *CIL* 17, 04, 00379; Fig. α u. β = EDH 035334; *ILJug* III, 2992 = *CIL* 17, 04, 00308; Fig. α; Fig. β = EDH 035370; *ILJug* III, 2994 = *CIL* 17, 04, 00306; Fig. α u. β; Fig. δ; Fig. γ = EDH 035372; *CIL* 03, 13304 = *CIL* 17, 04, 00376; Fig. α; Fig. β = EDH 058957; *CIL* 03, 13319 = *CIL* 17, 04, 00359; Fig. α; Fig. β = EDH 059003.

112 Through systematic archaeological research, Ivo Bojanovski determined that the waystation *Salviae*, mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary, should be located in Halepići in Glamočko polje (Bojanovski, "Pelva i Salviae," 508-520; Bojanovski, *Dolabelin sistem cesta*, 59-74; Bojanovski, *Bosna i Hercegovina*, 238-239).

is mentioned by the Antonine Itinerary from Late Antiquity.¹¹³ This road passed along the iron mines in the inland of Dalmatia in the valleys of the rivers Janj and Pliva. We can thus assume that the road restoration in the inland between 361 and 363 can be associated with the increased iron production in the Dalmatian mines.

The iron production in Dalmatia in the mid-4th century is corroborated by a narrative source preserved in the work *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* of an anonymous author whose origin can be dated to the period of 350-362.¹¹⁴ This work states that apart from cheese and wood, Dalmatia also exports iron.¹¹⁵ Iron was listed as one of the three most important products of Dalmatia in the 4th century in this source.¹¹⁶ Although we should not dismiss the iron coming from Dalmatian mines, and this source implies from the mines in the valleys of the rivers Sana and Japra, it is more plausible that this information refers to the iron mines of present-day central Bosnia. Wilkes and Dušanić believe that the administrative centre of these mines was in the vicus *Ad Matricem*, which can be located near presentday Gornji Vakuf.¹¹⁷ Indeed, there are archaeological remains of buildings from Late Antiquity at the site of Otinovci (presentday Kupres municipality) relatively close to Gornji Vakuf, indicating the existence of some form of administrative centre in the Late Empire.¹¹⁸ The name *Ad Matricem* can also be associated with mining. According to Dušanić, the name of this mining settlement derives from the Latin words *matrix* or *matricula*, meaning a list of *coloni* in the imperial domain. Such lists were displayed in public places in imperial mining settlements.¹¹⁹ The word *matricula* for the register was used in Latin in Late Antiquity. Protected by high mountains (Vranica, Zec, Raduša, Vlašić, Vitorog, Šator, Komar, Igman), iron mines in this region could operate

113 *Itin. Ant.* 268-269.

114 Grüll, "Expositio totius mundi," 630; Basić, "Dalmatinski biskupi," 179; Veletovac, "Provincija Dalmacija u doba ostrogotske prevlasti," 62, no. 262.

115 *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, ed. Riese, 119.

116 Veletovac notes that in his interpretation of this source Škegro translates the term *res species* as the "three types of iron", while in other issues this term is interpreted as the three types of produces (cheese, construction wood, and iron) that are exported from the province of Dalmatia (Škegro, *Gospodarstvo rimske provincije Dalmacije*, 127; Veletovac, "Provincija Dalmacija u V. stoljeću," 55, no. 134; Pillon, "Une énigme," 124). It is possible that this text in brackets was later added by someone who edited the text.

117 *Tab. Peut.* 5.3-6.2; Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, 274; Dušanić, "Aspects of Roman Mining," 86; Dušanić, "Roman mining," 254.

118 Basler, "Kupres," 339-340; Gudelj, "Ranokršćanski kompleks," 100-110.

119 Dušanić, "Organizacija rimskog rudarstva," 22-23, no. 100.

almost without interruption in the period when Dalmatian iron was praised by the anonymous author of *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*.

According to Tabula Peutingeriana, *Ad Matricem* was connected with Salona and Argentaria through a Roman road: *Salona XVI – Tilurium XXII – ad Libros IX – in monte Bulsinio VI – Bistue Vetus XXV – ad Matricem XX – Bistue Nova XXIV – Stanecli ... – Argentaria*.¹²⁰ In case of this source from Late Antiquity, we should note that Tabula Peutingeriana is the only source that has preserved the name of the largest Dalmatian mining district. Interestingly, Argentaria is the only mining district in the wider territory of Illyricum whose name has been preserved. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the data of this itinerary refers to the Early Empire, not the 4th century when the itinerary was made.

The importance of the geographic position of Dalmatian mines at the end of the 4th century can be deduced from a letter from Saint Jerome. This Christian author wrote that Dalmatia was one of the provinces raided and sacked by Barbarians on a daily basis.¹²¹ Such an unfavourable social and political situation must have certainly reflected on the mining, but in case of Barbarian incursions the mines in the inland of Dalmatia were in a much better position compared to the Pannonian and other Illyrian mines.

The mines in the inland of Dalmatia in the 4th century were most certainly an important source of raw materials for mints in the Pannonian centres of Siscia and Sirmium. The money minted in these *officinae* was used to finance the construction of limes that were supposed to protect the Pannonian provinces and Dalmatia from the Barbarians. Along with the intensity of forging coins in these mints, we can trace the intensity of ore production in the 4th century. In Siscia, money was most intensively forged under Diocletian, Constantine the Great and his sons, and Valentinian.¹²² Due to constant threat from the Barbarians, Emperor Theodosius shut down all *officinae* in Siscia in 387.¹²³ The mint in Sirmium was closed much sooner under Valens and Valentinian, probably in 365.¹²⁴ Due to the unfavourable geographic position, the mint in Sirmium had not opened until the period of the Visigoths when silver money was forged in Sirmium in honour of emperors Anastasius (491-518) and Justinian I (527-565). On the other hand, the mint in Siscia operated under Honorius (393-423) and

120 *Tab. Peut.* 5.3-6.2.

121 NPNF, II, 6. St. Jerome, *Letter* 60.16.

122 Buzov, "Siscijska kovnica," 624-626.

123 Biró-Sey, "Currency," 345; Sardelić, "Literary Sources," 77.

124 Kos, *Leksikon antične numizmatike*, 314.

Theoderic the Great (489–526).¹²⁵ The closure of mints in Sirmium and Siscia in the 4th century decreased the demand for metals from Dalmatian mines, as reflected in the silver and copper mines. On the other hand, iron production in Dalmatia never depended on large Pannonian centres because iron was produced for local usage and the production of tools and weapons.

In his poem *De Bello Gothico* dedicated to the famous commander (*magister militum*) Stilicho, the poet Claudius Claudianus wrote that the cities in Illyricum produced iron used for forging weapons.¹²⁶ This information should be dated to the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century since Stilicho, the commander of Emperor Honorius, was at the peak of his power. Although not specified in the source text, it is possible that Dalmatian mines gave iron for the production of weapons under the reign of Honorius. Dalmatian mines were most certainly part of the Illyrian mines – a generic term for all mines in the Balkans.

The sources from Late Antiquity contain data regarding the quality of Dalmatian lead. The quality of lead mined in Dalmatia is mentioned in a text that represents a compilation of works of Greek alchemists, including Gnostic mystic Zosimus of Panopolis who lived in the 4th century in southern Egypt.¹²⁷ Berthelot, the editor of the collection on Greek alchemists, noted that *the lead from Sabye and Dalmatia was pure and soft, and if it is processed without other admixtures, for every ten libras, one libra of zinc had to be added*. The objective was to point out the difference in the quality of lead from Sabye and Dalmatia compared to that produced in other parts of the Empire, for which the same source states that it was *astringent and dirty, and fifty libras of lead from Sabye and one libra of white zinc had to be added so it did not crack*.¹²⁸ Dušanić means that the term *plumbum Sabye*, in fact, means *plumbum Saviense* – the Sava silver mines. It is possible that in Late Antiquity this term implied Pannonian mines with an echo of an earlier name *Pannonia Savia* that contained the word *Savia*.¹²⁹ To support this thesis of Dušanić, Škegro notes that the previously mentioned poet Claudius Claudianus, in his work *De consulatu Stilichonis* from 399, described the activities of Stilicho in Pannonia and used the term *Pannonius potorque Savi*.¹³⁰ On the other hand, by mentioning Dalmatian lead mines this source implies lead

125 Kos, *Leksikon antične numizmatike*, 314, 316; Buzov, “Siscijska kovnica,” 627.

126 Cl. Claudianus, *De Bello Gothico*, 535.

127 Škegro, *Gospodarstvo rimske provincije Dalmacije*, 92–93; Šajin, *Uređenje rimskih rudnika*, 141, no. 643.

128 Berthelot, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, 17, 377.

129 Dušanić, “Organizacija rimskog rudarstva,” 21, no. 87.

130 Škegro, *Gospodarstvo rimske provincije Dalmacije*, 93.

mines in Domavia. Therefore, we can conclude that this information regarding the quality of Pannonian and Dalmatian lead from Late Antiquity refers to the mines under the authority of *procurator metallorum Pannonicorum et Delmaticorum*, whose centre was in Domavia. We can assume that even in the 4th century Domavia retained its administrative character as the centre of mines from the eastern part of Dalmatia and the southern part of eastern Pannonia.

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Abbreviations

- AE* *L'année épigraphique*, Paris.
- CIL* 03 *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum III* (ed. Th. Mommsen), Berlin 1873: Supplementa 1889-1902.
- CIL* 11 *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum XI* (ed. E. Bormann), Berlin 1888: Supplementa 1888-1926.
- CIL* 17 *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum XVII, Miliaria Imperii Romani / Pars quarta, Illyricum et provinciae Europae Graecae. Fasciculus primus, Miliaria provinciarum Raetiae et Norici* (eds. A. Kolb, G. Walser, G. Winkler, M. G. Schmidt, U. Jansen), Berlin 2005.
- EDR Epigraphic Database Rome / L'Épigraphic Database Roma (project: Electronic Archive of Greek and Latin Epigraphy (EAGLE)).
- ILJug* *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL e MCMLX repertae et editae sunt* (ed. A. et J. Šašel), Situla 5, Ljubljana 1963 (št. 1-451); *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX e MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt* (ed. A. et J. Šašel), Situla 19, Ljubljana 1978 (št. 452-1222); *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt* (ed. A. et J. Šašel), Situla 25, Ljubljana 1986 (št. 1223-3128).
- ILS* *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (ed. H. Dessau), Berlin 1892-1916.
- LMD *Lex Metallis Dicta in Lex Metallis Dicta. Studi sulla seconda tavola di Vipasca* (ed. S. Lazzarini), Rome 2001.
- LMV *Lex Metallis Vipascensis in Ephemeris Epigraphica* (ed. W. Henzen), Berlin 1877.
- RIC II *The Roman imperial coinage. Vespasian to Hadrian*, Vol. 2 (ed. H. Mattingly and A. E. Sydenham), London 1926.
- RIC III *The Roman imperial coinage. Antoninus Pius to Commodus*, Vol. 3 (ed. H. Mattingly and A. E. Sydenham), London 1930.

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Sažetak

Rudarstvo u unutrašnjosti rimske provincije Dalmacije u trećem i četvrtom stoljeću

Predmet analize u ovom radu će biti administrativno uređenje rimskih rudnika sa područja današnje srednje i istočne Bosne, te zapadne Srbije i sjeverozapadne Crne Gore. Riječ je o rudarskim oblastima za koje sa sigurnošću znamo da su u administrativnom smislu pripadali rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji. *Tabula Peutingeriana* je jedini pisani izvor na osnovu kojeg je potvrđeno da se rudarski distrikt zvao *Argentaria*. Distrikt se locira na prostoru današnje istočne Bosne i zapadne Srbije. S druge strane, za rudarsku oblast srednje Bosne

još uvijek nije pouzdano utvrđeno da li je u pitanju zaseban rudarski distrikt ili dio spomenute Argentarije. To pitanje će se svakako problematizirati i u ovom radu. Osnovni izvor za izučavanje rudarstva u unutrašnjosti provincije Dalmacije u trećem stoljeću su tekstovi uklesani na antičkim epigrafskim spomenicima. Korpus pronađenih spomenika ukazuje da je rudarstvo na ovom prostoru bilo posebno intenzivno u razdoblju od vladavine Makrina (217–218) do vladavine cara Aurelijana (270–275). Za razliku od drugih rudarskih područja u rimskim provincijama Panoniji i Dalmaciji, u *Argentariji* imamo posvjedočeno postojanje municipalnog uređenja. Naime, natpisi na epigrafskim spomenicima jasno potvrđuju da je rudarska uprava bila smještena u *municipium Domavianum* (urbano sjedište locira se u selu Sase kod današnje Srebrenice). Pored toga, utvrđeno je i to da je u periodu između 235. i 253. godine Domavija imala status *colonia metalla*. Po svemu sudeći, rudnici i kolonije bili su međusobno ovisni, te je lokalna uprava na neki način participirala u rudarskoj administraciji. Nakon 274. godine nema više nikakvih epigrafskih dokaza o rudarskoj upravi u Argentariji. Situacija u svim rudnicima, pa tako i u dalmatinskim, mijenja se značajno u četvrtom stoljeću. U pitanju je razdoblje koje je obilježilo stalno političko previranje usljed slabljenja centralne vlasti i pritiska barbarskih naroda na granice imperije. O stanju u rudnicima u unutrašnjosti provincije Dalmacije u četvrtom stoljeću najbolje svjedoče dva kasnoantička izvora (*Expositio totius mundi et gentium* i *Cl. Claudianus, De Bello Gothico*, 535). Unutarnja i vanjska kritika izvora ukazuje da je proizvodnja ruda u ovom dijelu carstva bila manjeg intenziteta u četvrtom u poređenju sa proizvodnjom iz trećeg stoljeće. Između ostalog, zbog teških uslova za rad rudari su počeli bježati iz rudnika. Eksploatirana ruda u unutrašnjosti Dalmacije primarno se koristila za proizvodnju oružja i kovanje novca u rimskim kovanicama u Sisciji i Sirmiju. Nakon zatvaranja kovanica u Sisciji 387. godine i 397. godine u Sirmiju ilirski rudnici gube značaj koji su imali. Njihova proizvodnja se temelji na zadovoljavanju potreba lokalne zajednice. Međutim kontinuitet rada ilirskih rudnika može pratiti u narednom periodu odnosno u srednjem vijeku.